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REVIEW ARTICLE

Behind Monosexual Norms: A Scoping Review of Bisexual Experiences in Southern Europe

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Abstract

Bisexual individuals remain significantly underrepresented in research, practice, and policy, particularly beyond Anglophone contexts. This scoping review aims to map and synthesize empirical studies on the lived experiences of bisexual (bi+) populations in Southern Europe. Our research goal was to examine the types of studies, main themes, and forms of evidence used between 2010 and 2024 to explore bi+ experiences within psychology, sociology, and gender studies. Following PRISMA-ScR guidelines, we conducted a systematic search across five databases (PsycINFO, PubMed, Web of Science, Scopus, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses), using terms such as bisexual, pansexual, plurisexual, and non-monosexual. A total of 935 records were identified. Gray literature was also reviewed (n = 12,433). The screening processes were conducted using Rayyan software. After analysis, 16 studies met inclusion and quality criteria. The findings reveal a sparse, uneven empirical landscape, with most studies conducted in Italy. There is a notable lack of research addressing how bi+ individuals experience their identities in everyday life, especially within cultural, religious, and sociopolitical contexts that may act as both stressors and sources of resilience. We can conclude that the lack of consensus regarding terminology is a challenge for research on bisexual experiences. In addition, the main areas of research addresses by studies included (i) health and well-being, (ii) intersectional bisexual experiences and monosexism and (iii) binegativity. This review underscores the need for context-sensitive intersectional research and prompts a call for inclusive policies, competency-based education, and efforts to dismantle heteronormative and monosexist structures across health, education, and social services.

Keywords Bisexuality · Southern Europe · Scoping review · LGBTQI + population

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Introduction

Unlike the research carried out in recent decades on the experiences of lesbian and gay people and, more recently, on trans individuals, less attention has been given to the lived experiences of bi+people (Barker, 2012; Bollas, 2023; Monro et al., 2017). This population represents the majority within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+) community (Beach & Hall, 2020; Jones, 2022), especially amongst youths (Monto & Neuweiler, 2023; Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2025; Savin-Williams, 2021), yet paradoxically, the number of studies focused on understanding bi+identities remains limited (Clarke et al., 2010; Nelson, 2023).

In recent years, efforts have been made to establish an interdisciplinary field of bisexual studies in Europe (Maliepaard & Baumgartner, 2020; Monro, 2015), with steps having been taken institutionally (Bi+Equal, n.d.; Bisexual Research Group, 2024). In this area, a body of scientific work that goes beyond a reparative approach focused solely on the challenges associated with bi+identification is called for. Instead, the objective is to explore the potential of bisexuality as a key to thinking through intersections of sex, gender, sexuality, and desire, as well as questioning the boundaries of socially constructed dichotomies (Hayfield, 2022; Monro, 2015). In other words, the aim is to promote research committed to a positive approach to the contemporary theorization of bisexuality, centered on the experiences of people who are attracted to more than one sex or gender (Galupo et al., 2019; Savin-Williams, 2021; Wang & Feinstein, 2022).

Despite this, it remains essential to acknowledge that, in many cases, research continues to focus on the negative aspects of bi+identity, particularly due to the urgency of critical issues related to health and social justice within this population. Indeed, this emphasis is not unwarranted: available studies indicate that bisexual people are at higher risk in terms of physical and mental health, often exceeding that of the monosexual population (e.g., lesbian and gay populations) (Chai, 2024; Jorm et al., 2002; Ross et al., 2017). Moreover, statistics show higher rates of mental health problems, greater exposure to sexual violence (Flanders et al., 2019), and heightened levels of isolation (Martinez et al., 2024; Prell & Traeen, 2018). These go along with lower feelings of belonging (Gonzalez et al., 2021; McLaren & Castillo, 2021), a diminished sense of community, and perceptions of exclusion within the LGBTQI+community itself (Gonzalez et al., 2021; Pollitt & Roberts, 2021; Rust, 2000).

To address that, there is a significant lack of public policy measures specifically aimed at addressing the needs of the bi+population, with a few notable exceptions (Rankin et al., 2015; van Lisdonk & Keuzenkamp, 2017). This absence underscores a persistent misalignment between the concrete needs of this population and institutional commitments to equality, particularly in the field of public health (Ford & Shefner, 2023; McCann et al., 2021). It is important to highlight that this evaluation does not intend to overlook the crucial role played since the 1960s by social movements and states in the international struggle for LGBTQI+rights and the achievements made toward equality and nondiscrimination. However, it is equally important to recognize that, despite progress in social acceptance, education, and public policy, particularly in the so-called WEIRD (i.e., Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich,

Democratic) countries, the LGBTQI+population, and specifically bisexual people, continue to face significant challenges that have not yet been addressed (Maliepaard & Baumgartner, 2020; Monro, 2015). These challenges are linked to deeply embedded social norms that regulate and shape everyday lives, well-being, and the intimate and sexual citizenship of queer individuals (Monro, 2015; Warner, 1991). In addition to the persistence of cisheteronormativity, which affects all individuals who do not identify as cisgender and/or heterosexual, bi+people face additional, specific challenges due to monosexism—a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p. 131) that permeates both heterosexual society and lesbian and gay spaces (Arriaga & Parent, 2019; Flanders et al., 2015), even outside Western societies (Chan & Leung, 2023).

Monosexism, rooted in the concept of monosexuality, refers to a belief system that privileges sexual orientations involving attraction to only one gender, typically heterosexuality or homosexuality, while marginalizing or invalidating non-monosexual identities such as bisexuality and pansexuality (Roberts et al., 2015; Santos & Craig, 2023). This framework operates within a broader historical and social construction of sexuality that upholds monosexuality as the normative standard; it reinforces a rigid heterosexual-homosexual binary, and contributes to the erasure, misrepresentation, and devaluation of individuals with more fluid or inclusive sexual orientations (Cassidy & Wong, 2018). Consequently, non-monosexual people often face distinct forms of marginalization, including microaggressions and systemic biases embedded in social, cultural, and institutional contexts (Bauer, 2014). Challenging monosexism requires a critical examination of the societal norms, power relations, and exclusionary frameworks that sustain the invisibility and stigmatization of non-monosexual identities. This form of oppression, often subtle and normalized, fuels specific forms of discrimination, and is frequently characterized as a pervasive yet invisible manifestation of biphobia or binegativity (Galupo, 2018; Janssen, 2024).

The international bisexual movement has also denounced these practices and called for the creation of more inclusive and informed spaces (Beach & Hall, 2020; Maliepaard, 2020; Taylor & Bruckman, 2024). In practice, the presence of rigid norms that enforce compulsory monosexuality and mononormativity results in phenomena of double discrimination that permeate the everyday lives of bi+individuals (Doan Van et al., 2019; Roberts et al., 2015; Velasco et al., 2024). These "regimes of truth"[1] operate in ways that silence and invalidate their experiences, both in heteronormative and LGBTQI+contexts.

Upon examining research on experiences of violence against and support for bisexual people outside the dominant contexts of the US, UK, Canada, and/or Australia (Taylor et al., 2019), such data is found to be absent or limited (Maliepaard & Baumgartner, 2020, p. 1; Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010, p. 272). This gap reinforces a tendency to universalize bi+experiences, conceptualizing them through epistemologies rooted in those countries, while overlooking the specific sociocultural dimensions shaping such experiences (Maliepaard, 2018, 2020; Parker, 2009). Thus, despite increasing calls for research addressing LGBTQI+experiences across diverse sociocultural and political contexts, a significant limitation persists within the fields

[1] According to Foucault (1980), each society has its own "regime of truth" that determines what is accepted as true and who is authorized to say so (p. 131).

of sexualities and LGBTQI+psychology (Clarke et al., 2010; Monro et al., 2017; Salvati & Koc, 2022). This need for more context-sensitive approaches has also been highlighted within bisexuality studies (Barker & Richards, 2015; Maliepaard & Baumgartner, 2020; Nelson, 2023), where similar demands for greater inclusivity and contextual awareness have gained visibility.

The political, cultural, and social specificities of Southern Europe were forged by a historical legacy which was deeply influenced by Judeo-Christian traditions, right-wing authoritarianism, and persistent conservative values. They have shaped, and continue to shape, how gender, sexuality, and desire are understood and lived (Alonso et al., 2023; Author, 2018; Ferrera, 2005).

Southern Europe can be considered as a geopolitical context in which the particularities of welfare regimes and "gender regimes" (Walby, 2001) reveal distinctive features; when compared to other European countries (Ferrera, 2005; Trifiletti, 1999), it becomes clear that scientific evidence on the experiences of bi+individuals in this region is even more incipient (Breveglieri, 2008; Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010; Ponjoan et al., 2022). Research in this area is still a mirage or a wish, even though some work is already emerging.

In this study, we aim to address this gap by exploring bi+experiences through a context-sensitive analysis considering the historical, social, and cultural specificities influencing the forms of oppression, resistance, and recognition experienced by this population. It is crucial to investigate bisexual experiences in Southern Europe, particularly in this current historical moment marked by the gradual rise of rhetoric and social practices rooted in far right and anti-LGBTQI+ideologies (Kuhar, 2025; Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017), which threaten main core principles of democracy such as equality and nondiscrimination. Simultaneously, there is a notable increase in those identifying as bi+, especially among younger populations, a trend that reflects both formal and informal advances in visibility, LGBTQI+rights, and community recognition (European Commission, 2023; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2012, 2019, 2023).

Method

Scoping Review

To advance research on bisexuality in Southern Europe, we conducted a scoping review in order to map existing empirical studies that can inform future research and policy. Scoping reviews are a valuable tool for synthesizing scientific evidence, offering a comprehensive overview of what is currently known, identifying gaps in knowledge (Munn et al., 2018), and helping clarify key concepts, working definitions, and conceptual boundaries within the field (Peters et al., 2015). Moreover, this approach was particularly suited for addressing the experiences of bisexual individuals, an area where research remains limited, fragmented, or under-theorized, especially when viewed through a psychological lens (Barker, 2007; Hayfield, 2022; Pollitt et al., 2018).

This scoping review followed the nine-stage framework by Peters et al., (2015, 2021), an extension of the original five-stage framework by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) and Levac et al. (2010). The approach is consistent with the methodological guidance of the Joanna Briggs Institute (JBI) and the reporting guidelines of the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses extension for Scoping Reviews (PRISMA-ScR) (Page et al., 2021), both of which informed the design and reporting of the present review. In accordance with these frameworks, we refined our research questions to ensure greater specificity and alignment with the existing literature. This methodological orientation enabled us to map a diverse range of studies related to bisexual experiences and everyday life in Southern Europe, encompassing various research approaches, target populations, and outcome measures, without restricting the review to a single analytical level.

In this study, the geographical context of Southern Europe was considered essential to better understand the nuances of bisexual individuals' experiences and how they are shaped by specific sociocultural and political conditions. Drawing on literature on welfare regimes and gender and sexual politics (Author, 2018; Ferrera, 2005; Pichardo Galán, 2011), we defined Southern Europe not only as a geographical region but also as a sociopolitical context marked by shared characteristics, including familistic welfare models. The countries of Portugal, Spain, and Italy were taken as key examples of this framework.

Defining and Aligning the Objective(s) and Question(s)

The initial step in the study involved defining the research question and objectives, with careful consideration given to the scope and purpose of the review (Pollock et al., 2021). To guide our research methods, definitions (e.g., bisexual) were required to ensure our parameters were appropriate for our research question.

We defined the research question using the "PCC" (population, concept, and context) mnemonic suggested by Page et al. (2021). The "P" was the bisexual population, with its identity broadly defined as being situated within a spectrum and used as an umbrella term (Flanders, 2017). We thus acknowledge that different terms have been employed in literature to capture similar experiences. Accordingly, we included designations in our research such as *pansexual*, *plurisexual*, and *non-monosexual*, which collectively point to an understanding of bisexuality as the experience of emotional, romantic, and/or sexual attraction to more than one gender. Regarding the remaining elements of the mnemonic, the first "C" represented the phenomenon of interest, for example, empirical studies conducted in Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) to address lived experiences of bi + identities from 2010 to 2024. The second "C" referred to the context of knowledge production, specifically the scientific literature produced within the fields of psychology, sociology, and gender studies, the aim being to map and characterize existing scholarly knowledge on bisexual experiences within these disciplinary contexts. Accordingly, we formulated the following research question: What types of studies, main themes, and forms of evidence have been produced between 2010 and 2024 to explore bisexual experiences and lives in Southern Europe within psychology, sociology, and gender studies?

Eligibility Criteria

Inclusion and exclusion criteria were established to produce accurate, meaningful, and evidenced results, such that the literature considered in this scoping review was relevant to its purpose. The inclusion criteria were as follows: (a) empirical studies (quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods) conducted in Portugal, Spain, and Italy[2]; (b) research involving participants who identified as bisexual, using the multiplicity of terms presented in the search[3]; (c) papers published in English, Portuguese, or Spanish; (d) studies published from 2010 until 2024 (inclusive); and (e) peer-reviewed journal articles. The exclusion criteria included were: (a) nonempirical manuscripts (e.g., theoretical studies); (b) articles not focused on this population[4] or (c) studies that did not highlight salient specific results for the bisexual population; and (d) studies conducted outside of Portugal, Spain, or Italy. Given the existence of relevant sources of evidence addressing the experiences of bisexual individuals beyond this specific context, we also included gray literature, particularly master's theses and doctoral dissertations.

Moreover, to encapsulate contemporary debates on bisexual terminology (Hayfield, 2020; Nelson, 2023; Savin-Williams, 2021) we included other terms, such as non-monosexual, plurisexual and pansexual, that provided a broader definition of the self-defined population under study. These terms were chosen for their commonality in previous studies (Cipriano et al., 2022; Olivo et al., 2024), and because they are claimed at a political level (Ochs & Deihl, 1992). This is aligned with our aim to capture patterns of knowledge production in the specific context of Southern Europe. The definition of bisexuality noted earlier was adopted in this review.

Data Charting Process

Searching for the Evidence

The planned literature search was conducted on January 27, 2025. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were further refined, along with electronic databases to identify scientific literature in psychological, sociological, and gender studies. The initial search included databases such as PsycINFO, PubMed, Scopus and Web of Science, and the search terms used were "bisexuality" OR "bisexuals*" OR "bi+" OR "bi" OR "bisexual identity" or "bisexual umbrella" OR "bi people" OR "parasexuality" OR "pansexuals*" OR "pansexuality" OR "plurisexuals" OR "plurisexual identity" OR "monosexual identity" OR "nonmonosexuality" OR "nonmonosexuals*". We limited the search to studies published between 2010 and 2024 and written in English, Por-

[2] Countries were not used as an inclusion/exclusion criterion in order to capture studies that might not specify the geographical context in the title/abstract.

[3] Key terms included in the search were: bisexual, plurisexual, non-monosexual and pansexual. The inclusion of multiple forms of describing bisexual identities and experiences, and this broad understanding of bisexuality, conceptualized as a bisexual umbrella, allowed a contemporary understanding of bisexuality to be provided and the subjectiveness of interpretation to be reduced.

[4] Studies that focused exclusively on the bisexual population, or that, although not exclusively dedicated to this population, presented relevant differentiated results.

tuguese, or Spanish. These terms were used by the first author to capture the broad spectrum of language employed in the literature when relating to an individual who experiences "emotional, romantic and/or sexual attractions to, or engages in romantic or sexual relationships with, more than one sex or gender" (American Psychological Association, n.d.), and were deemed by all authors to be the most appropriate to answer this study's research question. The resulting data were imported in Rayyan (accessed via https://www.rayyan.ai/), a specialized program for storing data.

The entire electronic search strategy for the Web of Science and Scopus can be found in Table S1 in Online Resource 1, following PRISMA-ScR and JBI guidelines to ensure transparency and reproducibility.

Selection of the Evidence

A total of 935 articles records were found in the databases: 161 in Web of Science, 1 in Medline/PubMed, 748 in Scopus, and 25 in PsycINFO (see Fig. 1). All identified records were retrieved and uploaded into Rayyan. Software such as Rayyan can enhance the efficiency and transparency of the organization and screening processes for articles in scoping reviews. Specifically, these tools facilitate the identification of duplicate records, the assessment of similarities between abstracts, and the systematic documentation of reasons for including or excluding the studies (Mak & Thomas, 2022).

After removing seven duplicates from the initial search using Rayyan's identification tool, 928 were identified, and the first author and the second author reviewed their titles and abstracts independently, using the Rayyan blind function to ensure an unbiased screening process. The terms "bi+" and "bisexual" produced a more significant number of articles that were irrelevant for the research question (i.e., studies outside our research scope, studies focused on sexual behavior, not focused on self-definition or inclusion of terms as "Men who have sex with men" or broad definitions such as queer women). After removing these unrelated titles and titles that did not exclusively meet the inclusion criteria, 145 were deemed relevant to the research question and were selected for the full-text review phase by the first author. Following a review of these 145 studies by the first and second authors to clarify the research question, nine records seemed to meet the inclusion criteria after reaching inter-rater agreement, and were included in the scoping review. Disagreements were solved through discussion between the research team, with the senior author providing a final decision in case of discordance.

Due to the very limited knowledge produced on bisexual experiences in Southern Europe, gray literature was also included.[5] Thus, we selected ProQuest dissertations and theses, key terms and inclusion criteria being applied in the same way as the initial database search. The Rayyan platform was also employed to screen records resulting from the gray literature search. The first author reviewed the title and abstract of each article to assess inclusion criteria. To enhance research agreement, the second author was involved in the screening process. Given the large volume of

[5] PhD dissertations and master's theses were included. Despite being considered gray literature, we acknowledge that a peer-review process increases the sources' credibility.

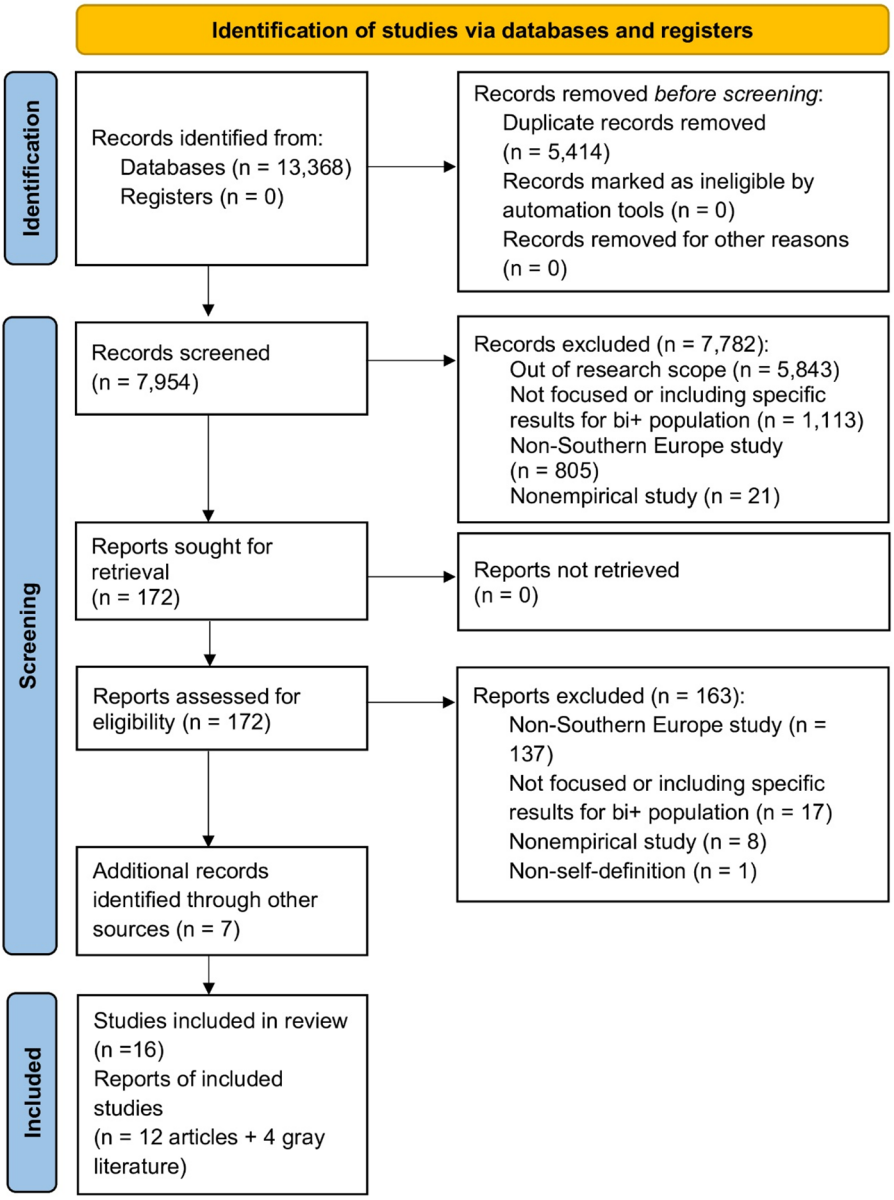


Fig. 1 PRISMA flow diagram of study selection. *Notes.* PRISMA=Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses.*Source*: Page et al., 2021; https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71; This work is licensed under CC BY 4.0. To view a copy of this license, visit

documents, it was decided that the second author would review a random one quarter of the records. After this stage, 6999 records were excluded and 27 were selected for full-text review.

However, none of these 27 records were included as they failed to fulfill the inclusion criteria. Given the limited number of documents matching our research question, we conducted a manual search using Google Scholar and the reference lists of peer-reviewed articles. This process yielded seven additional sources that met the inclusion criteria and were included in the final group of records deemed relevant for this scoping review.

Extracting the Evidence

After the full-text review process for peer-reviewed articles (from databases and via a manual search) and gray literature (databases and manual search), a total of 16 records were retrieved, which were reread by the authors to ensure they fit the research question, and included in the analysis. The majority of documents were peer-reviewed articles (12); however, three master's theses and one doctoral dissertation were included. The first author extracted data using Rayyan and organized it in an Excel spreadsheet to facilitate the data extraction phase. The main characteristics of the included studies are presented in Table S2 in Online Resource 2. This document gives the key characteristics of each study: author names, year of publication, study location, key aim(s) of the study, study design(s), methodology, sample and participants' available sociodemographic data (e.g., gender, age range, gender identity), and main keywords used by authors to describe their studies.

Analysis of the Evidence

Analysis of the evidence was conducted by the first author and the senior researcher. For each study, data were charted and assessed descriptively after being related to the review questions and objectives. After this process, sources of evidence were clustered by the first author according to domains or main thematic areas, and the senior researcher revised the process. Evidence regarding areas of study and gaps allowing for avenues for future research was identified.

Results

All sources of evidence (16) were published between 2017 and 2024. Notably, most of them (11) were produced from 2021 onwards, suggesting that the social phenomenon of bisexual experiences has only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. This concentration of recent publications indicates that the literature on bisexuality in Southern Europe is still emerging and gradually gaining visibility. Most of the sources of evidence (12) were peer-reviewed articles; however, one doctoral dissertation (Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022) and three master's theses (Alberto, 2018; Cabral, 2023; Santos, 2024) were identified. Nine sources of evidence were produced in Italy (Castro, 2021; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Fantacci et al., 2023; Gusmano, 2018;

Monaco, 2020; Pistella et al., 2023; Rucco et al., 2023; Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023), four in Portugal (Alberto, 2018; Cabral, 2023; Pereira et al., 2017; Santos, 2024), and three in Spain (González Robles et al., 2024; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022; Velasco et al., 2024).

Study Design

Ten studies used a quantitative research methodology (Alberto, 2018; Fantacci et al., 2023; González Robles et al., 2024; Pistella et al., 2023; Rucco et al., 2023; Santos, 2024; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022; Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023; Velasco et al., 2024), five used a non-experimental qualitative methodology (Cabral, 2023; Castro, 2021; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Gusmano, 2018; Pereira et al., 2017), and one applied a mixed methods approach (Monaco, 2020). Although quantitative research methodologies were the most common, this evidence allowed us to show diversity in approaching the lived experiences of the population of interest. The use of non-experimental research designs limits deductions of cause-and-effect relationships between the variables but also expands understanding of the social phenomena regarding bisexual people in Southern Europe (Cabral, 2023; Castro, 2021; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Gusmano, 2018; Pereira et al., 2017). Furthermore, in terms of type of research design (methods) applied, all the quantitative studies were cross-sectional, meaning that data was collected in a certain period and therefore could not capture changes, processes, or developments. All qualitative studies used interviews as a data collection technique but in three of them (Castro, 2021; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Gusmano, 2018), narrative approaches were adopted, allowing the researchers to focus on how people made sense of their experiences by telling stories, highlighting lived experiences in their complexity rather than focusing on causality.

Participants

In the study samples, most of the studies focused exclusively on bisexual or bi+populations; however, a few of them included heterosexual participants (e.g., Alberto, 2018; Castro, 2021; González Robles et al., 2024; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022) or a monosexual population (Alberto, 2018; González Robles et al., 2024; Pistella et al., 2023; Santos, 2024; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022) as a comparison. They were included because findings were significant for the bisexual population, particularly regarding everyday life experiences (e.g., Castro, 2021; Pistella et al., 2023; Santos, 2024) and social attitudes toward bisexuality that influence those lived experiences (e.g., Alberto, 2018; González Robles et al., 2024; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022). These contributions helped capture the sociocultural landscape of bisexual lives in Southern European contexts. Other studies were included because, although their aim was to explore consensual non-monogamy, they highlighted bisexual experiences (Castro, 2021; Gusmano, 2018).

Terminology and Definitions

When collecting data about participants, differences emerged in how sexual identity was described. Most studies (11) selected participants based on their self-definition as bisexual; however, they did not specify the meaning of the term bisexual (Alberto, 2018; Cabral, 2023; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Fantacci et al., 2023; González Robles et al., 2024; Gusmano, 2018; Monaco, 2020; Pistella et al., 2023; Rucco et al., 2023; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022; Velasco et al., 2024) and only a few provided a clear definition (Castro, 2021; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Santos, 2024). Furthermore, some studies referred to participants as *bi+*(Castro, 2021; Rucco et al., 2023), while others adopted the term *bisexual spectrum* (Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023), and one study used the term *plurisexual* (Santos, 2024). Those studies which employed the *bi+*terminology described participants that experience attraction to more than one gender (Castro, 2021) or explicitly mentioned identities such as "bisexual, pansexual, asexual, polysexual, omnisexual, demisexual, queer, among others" (Rucco et al., 2023). Studies using the term *bisexual spectrum* included individuals who identified as "bisexual, polysexual, pansexual, and related identities" (Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023). One study used *plurisexual* as a term that refers to participants who identified themselves as "bisexual, pansexual, demisexual, or queer" (Santos, 2024).

Regarding participants' age, 13 of the studies reported mean ages of up to 30 years (Alberto, 2018; Cabral, 2023; Castro, 2021; Fantacci et al., 2023; González Robles et al., 2024; Monaco, 2020; Pistella et al., 2023; Rucco et al., 2023; Santos, 2024; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022; Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023; Velasco et al., 2024). This might suggest greater access to the younger population (e.g. Gen Z and millennials), indicating that these generations are more open to identifying as bisexual or, at least, to the public visibility of bisexuality as an existing or possible sexual identity.

Main Thematic Research Areas

The sources of evidence addressed three key thematic areas of research: (i) health and well-being, (ii) lived experiences and intersectional dimensions of bisexuality, and (iii) monosexism and binegativity. All authors agreed that the presentation of results was in accordance with the aims and research questions of this analysis. Additionally, a conceptual summary of the main thematic areas addressed, the methodological approaches used in the included studies, and the research gaps identified can be found in Table 1.

Health and Well-Being

This theme encompasses a body of research—much of it conducted in Italy—that explored the complex interplay between identity development, minority stressors, and broader social and structural contexts shaping the psychological well-being of bisexual individuals (Fantacci et al., 2023; Pereira et al., 2017; Pistella et al., 2023; Rucco et al., 2023; Santos, 2024; Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023; Velasco et al., 2024).

Drawing on minority stress theory (Meyer, 2003), several studies highlight how both distal (e.g., discrimination, stigma, anti-bisexual prejudice) and proximal

Table 1 Conceptual summary linking thematic areas, methodological approaches, and gaps identified in the reviewed literature

Thematic areas	Methodological approaches	Identified gaps
Health and well-being Research exploring the complex interplay between identity development, minority stressors, and broader social and structural contexts shaping the psychological well-being of bisexual individuals	Mostly quantitative (cross-sectional design); one qualitative study (online survey with open-ended questions)	Lack of a shared, consistent terminology across studies Scarcity of data on Southern European bi + populations Need for more bi + positive research Need for interventions specific to bi + individuals
Lived experiences and intersectional dimensions of bisexuality Research highlighting how bisexual individuals' lived experiences are shaped by the interplay of multiple social identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity, age) and structural conditions	Quantitative (cross-sectional design) and qualitative (critical narrative approaches, semi-structured interviews, and online survey with open-ended questions); one mixed methods study (online survey and interviews)	Invisibility of marginalized groups within bi + populations
Monosexism and binegativity Research exploring how stigma, erasure, delegitimization, and structural marginalization impact bisexual individuals' lived experiences in multidirectional and multidimensional ways	Quantitative (cross-sectional design) and qualitative (critical narrative approaches, semi-structured interviews, and online survey with open-ended questions); one mixed methods study (online survey and interviews)	Scarcity of agendas and policies shaped by bi + individuals' needs Underrepresentation of Southern European regions in international discourses on the structural marginalization of bi + individuals

stressors (e.g., internalized and anticipated binegativity) are closely associated with increased levels of anxiety, depression, and emotional distress in bisexual individuals (Rucco et al., 2023; Scandurra et al., 2020). For example, Scandurra et al. (2020) found that these stressors were strongly correlated with psychological distress. In addition, resilience emerged as a significant protective factor: participants who reported higher levels of anti-bisexual discrimination and internalized or anticipated binegativity also reported higher levels of anxiety and depression. In contrast, those with greater resilience and higher levels of outness experienced lower levels of binegativity and distress. Interestingly, while participation in LGBTQI + activism fostered both resilience and visibility, it was also associated with increased exposure to discrimination, as in previous studies (Feinstein et al., 2016).

Differences in psychological outcomes among bisexual individuals also emerged across age, gender, and gender identity (Fantacci et al., 2023; Scandurra et al., 2020, 2023). Fantacci et al. (2023) report moderate levels of anxiety and challenges regarding identity development among bisexual individuals, with important demographic variations. Women experienced higher anxiety and more frequent emotional abuse than men, while younger participants (18–25 years) reported stronger identity affirmation and less motivation to conceal their sexual orientation compared to those over 35. In contrast, bisexual men reported greater uncertainty and concern about their

sexual orientation, higher levels of internalized homonegativity, and more difficulties in developing and accepting their LGB identity compared to bisexual women.

Pistella et al. (2023) found significant differences between lesbian and bisexual women in terms of internalized sexual stigma, perceived safety, positive affect, identity self-awareness, and identity uncertainty. Their study also reveals that identity self-awareness and identity uncertainty play mediating roles in shaping psychological well-being. Non-binary participants reported lower levels of social support and worse psychological well-being than their cisgender peers but also demonstrated higher identity affirmation, possibly reflecting deeper engagement in identity reflection and self-definition (Monaco, 2020; Scandurra et al., 2023).

According to Pereira et al. (2017), fear of rejection by family and friends was a major source of anxiety for bisexual men. Shame, guilt, and identity invalidation were key factors negatively impacting their mental health. Participants reported using a variety of coping strategies to manage stigma, including limiting emotional involvement in sexual encounters, compartmentalizing aspects of their identity, or depersonalizing sexual experiences—all while striving to preserve a sense of personal freedom.

While concealment of identity may offer short-term psychological protection, it was consistently linked to greater psychological distress. This distress was often driven by internalized stigma, anticipated discrimination, and the cognitive burden of maintaining a "divided self" across public and private spheres (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2013; Sedlovskaya et al., 2013), as well as by reduced access to affirming social networks.

Structural stigma, manifested through legal and political discrimination, also had a profound impact on bisexual mental health. Rucco et al. (2023) show how the rejection of the Zan Bill, the aim of which was to combat anti-LGBT+discrimination in Italy, had a detrimental effect on the psychological well-being of bisexual individuals, underscoring their structural vulnerability. The study reports increases in discrimination, internalized binegativity, anxiety, and depression in the emergence of the political backlash regarding equality and non-discrimination.

As mentioned earlier, protective factors such as identity affirmation and social support were consistently associated with better psychological outcomes. Scandurra et al. (2023) show that identity affirmation mediates the relationship between social support and mental health, especially among non-binary bisexual individuals. Although this group often experienced heightened marginalization, they also reported stronger identity affirmation, potentially due to more active identity work. Nevertheless, they remained particularly vulnerable due to limited social support and intersecting forms of exclusion.

Santos (2024) explored how anticipated stigma and expectations of social support differed between plurisexual and monosexual individuals, particularly regarding aspirations toward parenthood. Plurisexual individuals, especially men, expressed a stronger desire to become parents and anticipated less stigma around parenthood than their gay or lesbian peers. These findings underscore the nuanced intersections between sexuality, gender, and life goals, and highlight the unique psychosocial dynamics experienced by plurisexual populations.

Lived Experiences and Intersectional Dimensions of Bisexuality

Collectively, these studies offer a nuanced understanding of bisexual experiences through an intersectional lens, highlighting how bisexual individuals' lives are shaped by the interplay of multiple social identities and structural conditions. They focus on their lived experiences, often examining intersections with gender (Cabral, 2023; Fantacci et al., 2023; Santos, 2024), race and ethnicity (Castro & Carnassale, 2019), age (Fantacci et al., 2023; Scandurra et al., 2023), and relational structures (Castro, 2021; Gusmano, 2018).

Sexual fluidity, understood as an evolving and internally experienced characteristic, was explored by Sbrana and de Miguel (2022), who demonstrate how changes in sexual attraction are associated with specific cognitions and attitudes. Their findings support the idea that bisexuality is not a fixed identity, but rather a fluid, context-dependent experience that varies across individuals and social settings.

Focusing on bisexual men, Pereira et al. (2017) illustrates how they negotiated their identities over time while navigating aggression and hostility across structural (macro), community (meso), and interpersonal (micro) levels. Notably, the most acute hostility was reported in interpersonal contexts, particularly within romantic and social relationships. Participants also described the emotional toll of identity invalidation and the protective strategies they adopted, including compartmentalization and emotional distancing.

Monaco (2020) added to this conversation by emphasizing the everyday practices through which bisexual identity is enacted, showing that identity is not only internal but also expressed through habits, behaviors, and social routines that foster a sense of belonging. This aligns with earlier work by Alberto (2018), who offers a foundational perspective on identity construction, underscoring how external perceptions shape self-understanding and identity stability. Notably, masculine bisexuality was often perceived as unstable and subjected to high levels of discrimination, whereas feminine bisexuality was frequently dismissed as experimental or inauthentic, revealing the gendered double standards surrounding the recognition of bisexual identities.

The importance of relational structures and community support is strongly emphasized in Castro's (2021) work, which shows how bi+men often find affirmation and belonging within networks of consensual non-monogamy. While not entirely free from binegativity and erasure, these spaces function as crucial affirming environments where desire can be expressed and identity validated. Similarly, Gusmano (2018) uses a structural and cultural approach to examine how bisexual and polyamorous identities are negotiated within Italy's familistic welfare regime, highlighting the influence of sociopolitical context on both identity expression and intimate life.

The influence of partner gender on bisexual experiences was further explored in studies by Santos (2024) and Cabral (2023), who demonstrate how the gender of intimate partners significantly shaped relationship dynamics, identity negotiation, and public perception. These findings underscored that bisexuality cannot be fully understood apart from gendered expectations and normative assumptions.

Monosexism and Binegativity

Adopting a complementary perspective, Sbrana and de Miguel (2022) examined the relationship between sexual fluidity and attitudes toward bisexuality. Their findings show that sexually fluid individuals held more positive views of both male and female bisexuality compared to non-fluid individuals. Women were more likely than men to perceive bisexuality, particularly female bisexuality, as stable, while bisexual participants generally expressed more favorable attitudes than their heterosexual counterparts.

Despite growing awareness, bisexuality remained structurally marginalized in many social and political contexts. This marginalization was driven by monosexism and binegativity, which encompasses the stigma, erasure, and delegitimization of bisexual identities. These forms of oppression operate simultaneously across psychological, relational, spatial, and political dimensions. The studies demonstrate that bisexual individuals often face multidirectional discrimination, encountering prejudice from both heterosexual and LGBTQI + communities. Such hostility is particularly acute in interpersonal settings, especially within romantic and sexual relationships, where common stereotypes (e.g., confusion, promiscuity, indecisiveness) are frequently imposed. Research by Pereira et al. (2017) and Velasco et al. (2024) confirms that this bias is not limited to mainstream society; it is also manifested within the so called LGBTQI + communities, revealing the internalization of monosexist logics even in supposedly inclusive spaces.

One of the most insidious consequences of monosexism is its capacity to render bisexuality invisible, either by denying its legitimacy outright or by misinterpreting a personal identity based on the gender of their current partner. Gusmano (2018) described this as "selective invisibility," leading many bisexual individuals to adopt strategic forms of self-presentation. In some contexts, choosing not to disclose one's orientation became a form of agency and self-protection, particularly in familial or professional environments where visibility may carry social or emotional risk.

Gender plays a pivotal role in shaping how binegativity was experienced. For example, Cabral (2023) illustrates how bisexual women's relational experiences differ markedly depending on the gender of their partners. Relationships with men were often characterized by objectification, power imbalances, and gendered expectations, whereas relationships with women tended to offer more emotional reciprocity, equality, and space for authentic identity expression. These findings underscore the ways in which monosexism is deeply entangled with heteronormative and patriarchal norms, generating distinct vulnerabilities across gender lines.

Geography plays a critical role in shaping bisexual individuals' experiences, particularly in terms of safety, visibility, and sense of belonging. As Monaco (2020) observes, so-called "rainbow cities," urban areas known for their LGBTQI + inclusivity, tend to offer greater opportunities for connection, community support, and social recognition. In contrast, rural or socially conservative regions are often associated with heightened isolation, stigma, and limited access to affirming spaces. For many bisexual people, internal migration or even international emigration becomes a strategy to seek more supportive and inclusive environments, underscoring how socio-

political contexts and public policies can directly influence mental health, identity development, and overall well-being.

Recent research in Portugal (Alberto, 2018) and Spain (González Robles et al., 2024) has contributed to the conceptual and methodological advancement of binegativity studies. These works have developed validated instruments to measure binegativity and revealed strong correlations between binegativity, sexism, homophobia, and political conservatism. Such findings highlight the importance of intersectional approaches that account for gender, sexual orientation, political ideology, religiosity, and proximity to bisexual individuals.

Ultimately, binegativity is not merely a collection of stereotypes, it is a structural phenomenon, deeply rooted in binary gender norms, monosexual assumptions, and sociocultural frameworks that perpetuate marginalization (Alberto, 2018; Sbrana & de Miguel, 2022: Velasco et al., 2024). Its psychosocial consequences are profound, including heightened rates of depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, and identity concealment. However, the data also pointed to important forms of resistance (Castro, 2021; Gusmano, 2018; Pereira et al., 2017). From participation in nonnormative communities such as polyamorous networks (Castro, 2021; Gusmano, 2018) to the creation of localized, supportive spaces that affirm sexual and gender diversity, bisexual individuals continue to challenge erasure and reclaim visibility through collective and personal strategies of resilience.

Discussion

The aim of this scoping review was to map empirical research conducted between 2010 and 2024 in Southern Europe, specifically Portugal, Spain, and Italy, on bisexual experiences and identities. We focused on contributions from psychology, sociology, and gender studies and sought to identify types of evidence produced and thematic areas explored within these fields. This approach allowed us to gain a comprehensive overview of the state of research on bisexuality in this region, while also identifying key gaps that may inform future research directions.

Our findings show that existing studies on bisexual identities and experiences tend to highlight specific dimensions, particularly those involving the navigation of daily tensions between oppression and resistance, invisibility and affirmation, and marginalization and resilience. Across the results, bisexuality consistently emerged not only as a contested identity, but also as one that is structurally erased and epistemologically marginalized. These dynamics reflect the ongoing influence of cis-heteronormative and monosexist frameworks, which regulate not only the lived experiences of bisexual individuals but also the academic disciplines that seek to study them. This trend is unsurprising, as this population faces particular challenges that remain unresolved or which are only beginning to be explored (Bostwick & Hequembourg, 2013; Tangeman, et al., 2025).

Importantly, these dynamics can act as either adverse or beneficial factors, depending on the broader social context and on the individual's access to supportive networks, sense of community belonging, and resources that affirm their identity. However, the studies consistently point to the persistent presence of negative factors

shaping the experiences of bisexual people, which compromise their health and well-being and impose additional challenges in navigating daily life in Southern Europe. These findings are consistent with a growing body of research that has consistently shown that bisexual individuals face additional stressors (Chan et al., 2020; Habibi & Stueck, 2018; Schrimshaw et al., 2018).

Naming and Framing Bisexuality

A central issue identified across the reviewed studies was the role of terminology in shaping the (in)visibility of bisexuality. The lack of a shared, consistent framework generates conceptual ambiguity, with significant implications for research and everyday life. Without clear, agreed-upon definitions, bisexuality is often misclassified or erased in academic, clinical, and social contexts, undermining its recognition as a distinct and legitimate identity (Maliepaard, 2020; Turai, 2020).

Despite increasing attention to sexual diversity, bisexuality is frequently overlooked or subsumed under broad umbrella terms such as "non-heterosexual," "LGBT," or "queer." This terminological imprecision limits the visibility of bisexual-specific experiences and needs, reinforcing epistemological gaps. Language thus plays a crucial role in either perpetuating or challenging bisexual (in)visibility. The proliferation of identity labels, including pansexual and queer, particularly among younger generations, reflects broader shifts toward fluid understandings of sexuality and gender. Individuals may define their identities in overlapping but distinct ways, shifting between labels depending on social context (Bian et al., 2017; González Robles et al., 2024; Hayfield & Křížová, 2021). Bisexuality itself may be re-signified within these evolving frameworks. While this fluidity can foster inclusivity, it can also perpetuate bisexual invisibility when not explicitly named, theorized, or recognized in research and policy. This complicates clear representation and has implications for personal access to healthcare and support, as well as for political recognition and policy development.

These challenges underscore the need for a critical re-evaluation of language, categories, and epistemological frameworks in bisexuality research (Bordas et al., 2024). Studies from the US, UK, Australia, and Belgium document generational shifts toward more fluid identity labels (Dhoest, 2022; Grant et al., 2020; Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2015; Russell et al., 2009), yet empirical data from Southern Europe remain limited (Breveglieri, 2008; Maliepaard & Baumgartner, 2020). Addressing this gap is essential to produce knowledge which accurately reflects bisexual lives in diverse sociocultural contexts.

A second key issue is the scarcity of data on bisexual populations in this region. This gap is particularly significant given that bisexual + individuals constitute one of the largest subgroups within the broader LGBTQI + population (Copen et al., 2016; Gates, 2011; Kann et al., 2016). Filling this gap is crucial not only to understand how bisexual people perceive and articulate their experiences and sexual identity, but also to explore how legal and sociocultural changes over the last two decades in Southern Europe have influenced these experiences in terms of equality and nondiscrimination. For example, Fantacci et al. (2023) found that younger bisexual adults (18–25) reported lower motivation to conceal their identity and higher levels of identity affir-

mation than older cohorts. This suggests a shift toward more open and affirming identity expressions—a trend echoed in Meyer et al. (2021) and Puckett et al. (2022), and partially mirrored in early Portuguese data (Pereira et al., 2017).

Intersectional Dimensions of Marginalization

The results also highlight the contributions of intersectional research (Castro, 2021; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Gusmano, 2018; Rucco et al., 2023), which reveal how race, gender identity, non-monogamy, and cultural background intersect with bisexuality. For instance, bisexual people of color and non-monogamous individuals often report navigating multiple, overlapping stigmas, requiring continuous negotiation of their identities in relation to dominant cultural norms. These findings are consistent with international research (Chun & Singh, 2010; Feinstein et al., 2022; Rodriguez et al., 2013).

Further, Scandurra et al. (2023) found that non-binary bisexual individuals reported lower levels of social support and overall well-being compared to their cisgender counterparts, despite showing higher levels of identity affirmation. This suggests that identity affirmation may be insufficient to counterbalance the effects of unsupportive environments. Non-binary bisexual people, in particular, often experience dual invalidation—of both their gender and sexual identities. The marginalization faced by bisexual individuals is thus further intensified for those occupying multiple minority positions, as confirmed by our findings and supported by other studies (Holm et al., 2022; Katz-Wise et al., 2017; Mitchell et al., 2023).

These findings also support previous research suggesting that female sexuality is often perceived and experienced as more fluid than male sexuality. They further demonstrate how gender, sexual fluidity, and bisexual visibility intersect to shape both societal attitudes and individual self-perceptions. Furthermore, our results reveal clear gendered patterns of binegativity: bisexual men are more likely to experience internalized binegativity and uncertainty regarding their sexual orientation, while bisexual women report higher levels of emotional abuse and sexual objectification (Pistella et al., 2023; Santos, 2024). These patterns reflect broader gendered expectations around sexuality, whereby bisexual men are often met with suspicion, and bisexual women are either fetishized or dismissed—as also noted in other studies (Charley et al., 2023; Manalastas et al., 2023; Yost & Thomas, 2012).

The Impact of Monosexism and Binegativity

One of the most salient findings was the pervasive influence of monosexism and binegativity on bisexual individuals' health and well-being. These forces manifest at various levels, shaping identity development and everyday experiences in Southern Europe.

As noted, monosexism and binegativity operate both structurally and interpersonally. These dynamics, as highlighted by the reviewed studies, undermine psychological well-being, limit access to affirming communities, and delegitimize bisexual identities, often prompting individuals to adopt invisibility as a protective strategy. These findings should also be interpreted within the broader sociopolitical contexts

of Southern European countries, where LGBTQ+rights, visibility, and public recognition remain uneven and politically contested (Author, 2022; Montecchio, 2025; Venegas, 2025). In countries such as Italy, recent public and governmental debates concerning LGBTQ+rights, family recognition, and anti-discrimination protections have contributed to a particularly polarized context for sexual and gender minority communities (Montecchio, 2025). Such sociopolitical conditions may shape both the visibility of bisexual experiences and the ways in which sexual identities are negotiated, recognized, or contested within public and private spheres.

Bisexual individuals are frequently portrayed as navigating complex identity trajectories and are often pressured to conform to monosexual norms by "picking a side" or concealing their sexual orientation (Brownfield & Brown, 2022; Feinstein et al., 2020). Bisexuality is commonly positioned as unstable or transitional, which contributes to its marginalization within both heterosexual and queer spaces.

From an epistemological perspective, bisexuality is situated in a liminal or in-between space—between genders, sexes, and sexualities (Hemmings, 2002)—which challenges binary thinking but is also frequently framed as ambiguity or confusion. Such positioning is aligned with what Yoshino (2000) refers to as "epistemic erasure," and what others have named "epistemic injustice" (Bostwick & Hequembourg, 2013; Breetveld, 2020). These conceptualizations help make sense of how bisexuality is rendered invisible and unintelligible within dominant cultural and academic discourse. An additional layer of concern highlighted in our findings is the internalization of this erasure. It is not only externally imposed, but also anticipated and internalized, leading to significant impacts on self-concept and mental health. These internal processes compound the stressors faced by bisexual people and are echoed in broader patterns of psychological vulnerability. Moreover, other serious consequences have been reported in the literature, particularly in relation to gender. For example, bisexual women are found to be at greater risk of experiencing additional forms of violence, such as sexual violence and harassment (Coston, 2021; Flanders et al., 2019; Lambe et al., 2017), and often report poorer physical health outcomes compared to their heterosexual and lesbian counterparts (Lambe et al., 2017). These intersecting experiences underscore how binegativity and gender-based violence can compound marginalization.

Paradoxically, despite facing widespread marginalization, bisexual+individuals seem to represent one of the largest groups within the LGBTQI+population in recent data (Copen et al., 2016; Gates, 2011). This trend is also reflected in other national data sources (e.g., in the UK) where people with plurisexual orientations (here broadly referred to as bisexual) constitute the largest group among minority sexual identities (Jones, 2022; ONS, 2025). This visibility in numbers, however, does not translate into cultural or political recognition, further reinforcing the invisibility and invalidation they experience (Tangeman, 2025).

This evidence underscores the urgency of challenging dominant social norms, particularly monosexism and cisheteronormativity, which operate as regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980) by regulating how gender and sexuality are lived and embodied. By framing bisexuality as illegible or deviant, these norms perpetuate epistemic injustice and create vulnerabilities that compromise health, well-being, and social participa-

tion. Exposing and deconstructing them is therefore both a theoretical and ethical–political imperative.

Concluding Remarks

This review maps studies published between 2010 and 2024 on bisexual experiences in Southern Europe, exposing significant gaps in both research and practice. Firstly, there is a need for more bisexual + positive research rather than a predominant focus on negative experiences. This requires dismantling monosexist assumptions in academia, public policies, and mental health practices. For instance, while some national LGBTQI + policies in other regions have been critiqued for neglecting bisexuality, no comparable analysis exists for Southern Europe, a gap that undermines inclusive policymaking. Secondly, bisexual individuals remain underrepresented in psychology, sociology, and gender studies. Greater attention should be given to processes of self-identification and to marginalized groups such as bisexual men, trans and non-binary people, bisexual people of color, and older bisexual adults. Thirdly, there is a lack of bi + specific interventions. Culturally competent and structurally informed mental health practices are needed, explicitly recognizing binegativity as a distinct stressor. Such interventions should address systemic forms of exclusion at various levels, supported by robust theoretical frameworks on identity, community exclusion, and institutional discrimination. Finally, challenging monosexism and binegativity requires research agendas, policies, and activism shaped by bisexual needs and leadership. Southern European contexts must be more fully integrated into international conversations on the structural marginalization of bisexuality.

This study underscores the urgency of enhancing bisexual visibility, community engagement, and social support in Southern Europe, where bisexuality remains largely invisible. Visibility and support are essential for belonging, identity development, and well-being, though unevenly distributed across axes such as race/ethnicity, gender identity, socioeconomic status, and geography. While bisexual resilience, particularly among younger generations, demonstrates the importance of affirming spaces and rights-based progress, it must not be romanticized as a substitute for structural change. Bisexual lives remain vulnerable unless systemic transformations are achieved.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite offering a comprehensive overview of bisexuality studies in Southern Europe (2010–2024), this scoping review has several limitations. Research in this field often relies on small, nonrepresentative, and urban-centered samples, limiting the generalizability of findings. Terminological inconsistencies, together with the lack of bisexual-specific measures, further constrain comparability across studies. Moreover, few studies adopt intersectional frameworks or community-based participatory approaches, restricting the potential for more inclusive and emancipatory forms of knowledge production.

Future research may benefit from further engaging with the lack of universally operationalizable definitions of bisexuality and related plurisexual identities. Previous research suggests that identities such as bisexual, queer, and pansexual may overlap while also being differently conceptualized across individuals and groups (Cipriano et al., 2022; Galupo et al., 2014). In particular, recent qualitative findings indicate that bisexual-identified and non-bisexual plurisexual individuals may differ in how they define bisexuality and understand its inclusivity regarding gender diversity (Cipriano et al., 2022). Future studies should therefore carefully consider how identity categories are operationalized when defining samples and interpreting findings, as different conceptualizations of bisexuality and related plurisexual identities may shape participant inclusion, categorization processes, and the interpretation of group differences.

Future research should also prioritize longitudinal, intersectional, mixed methods, and community-led designs centered on bisexual voices and experiences. In addition, greater attention should be paid to the structural and institutional dynamics that shape bisexual lives, including policy frameworks, healthcare systems, and community contexts. Advancing such research is essential to promoting equity, social justice, and the full recognition of bisexual experiences across diverse sociocultural and geopolitical contexts.

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Data Availability Additional data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon request.

Declarations

Competing interests The authors report there are no relevant financial or nonfinancial interests to declare.

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