



---

## **Neoliberal capitalism and the political aesthetics of tradwife imagery**

AUTHOR(S)

Imogen Richards, Callum Jones, V Trott

PUBLICATION DATE

01-01-2026

HANDLE

[10779/DRO/DU:30404215.v2](#)

Downloaded from Deakin University's Figshare repository

Deakin University CRICOS Provider Code: 00113B



## Neoliberal capitalism and the political aesthetics of tradwife imagery

Imogen Richards, Callum Jones & Verity Trott

**To cite this article:** Imogen Richards, Callum Jones & Verity Trott (2026) Neoliberal capitalism and the political aesthetics of tradwife imagery, *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 27:1, 102-117, DOI: [10.1080/1600910X.2025.2550259](https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2025.2550259)

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2025.2550259>



© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 25 Sep 2025.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 7523



[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)

## Neoliberal capitalism and the political aesthetics of tradwife imagery

Imogen Richards<sup>a</sup>, Callum Jones<sup>a</sup> and Verity Trott<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Department of Criminology, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia; <sup>b</sup>School of Media, Film and Journalism, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

### ABSTRACT

This article examines the political aesthetics of tradwife imagery, situating online tradwife communities within a socio-political landscape that intersects with, yet remains distinct from, explicitly white supremacist far-right movements. While tradwife discourse reflects reactionary and anti-feminist ideologies, its visual and rhetorical strategies construct a version of aspirational femininity extending beyond overt political activism. Through nostalgic portrayals of domestic life, tradwife imagery positions homemaking, child-rearing, and female submission as simultaneously empowering personal choices and pathways toward cultural renewal. A discourse and narrative analysis of tradwife imagery highlights its reliance on privatized forms of social reproduction, the commodification of domesticity, and the gendered impacts of economic insecurity. Drawing upon Nancy Fraser's theory of social reproduction and Walter Benjamin's insights into political aesthetics, this study explores how nostalgic visual cues in tradwife media offer critiques of capitalist modernity while simultaneously reinforcing neoliberal social and economic structures. By romanticizing an imagined past, tradwife imagery mobilizes affective appeals centred around security and stability, obscuring the underlying economic conditions necessary for such lifestyles. This article situates the tradwife phenomenon within broader debates on gender, labour, and digital capitalism, interrogating its inherent contradictions as both reactionary and deeply commodified.

### KEYWORDS

Political aesthetics; neoliberal capitalism; social reproduction; tradwife imagery; far right; gendered precarity; economic precarity

## Introduction

The growing influence of far-right political movements in Europe and former European colonial states has drawn renewed attention to their ideological foundations and the cultural strategies through which they assert influence. Aesthetics have become a key rhetorical and political tool in these movements, shaping ultra-traditionalist gender politics while legitimizing social and cultural forms of domination and exclusion (Askanius and Keller 2021; Caiani 2024). Aesthetic narratives also emerge in response to contemporary crises like global heating and worsening economic inequality, which far-right actors frame as evidence of western civilizational decline, and the failure of liberal or social democratic systems (Forchtner 2019).

The aestheticization of traditional domesticity within ultra-traditionalist communities offers a visible manifestation of these contemporary dynamics. 'Tradwife' and broader traditional lifestyle groups (referred to hereafter as 'tradelife'), seek to actively reframe rather than merely respond to contemporary crises caused by neoliberalism, instrumentalizing issues such as environmental degradation and economic inequality to promote nostalgic visions of rural life and domestic self-sufficiency (Love 2020). Tradwife influencers in particular present homemaking, child-rearing, and adherence to traditional gender roles as both moral imperatives and solutions to the disadvantage and precarity felt by their intended audiences. Through highly aestheticized representations of an idealized past, however, tradwife media simultaneously obscures the structural forces driving the very forms of oppression it diagnoses (Stern 2022; Richards 2025).

Walter Benjamin's theory of political aesthetics can usefully illuminate how tradwife imagery operates through mass-mediated narratives that promise solutions to contemporary social problems (Benjamin 1936). While early fascist movements accompanying the Nazi and Italian regimes deployed technologized

**CONTACT** Imogen Richards  [imogen.richards@deakin.edu.au](mailto:imogen.richards@deakin.edu.au)  Department of Criminology, Deakin University, 221 Burwood Hwy, Burwood, Melbourne VIC 3125, Australia

© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

representations of nature, family, and homeland to legitimize genocidal and authoritarian projects (Hewitt 1993), today's digital platforms facilitate romanticized imagery that frames reactionary social and cultural attitudes as remedies for the supposed ills caused by cultural and economic globalization (Sykes and Hopner 2024). Within tradwife communities, these representations appear to address widespread economic anxieties but at the same time they conceal the structural mechanisms of capitalist exploitation perpetuating disadvantage and precarity on a global scale (Proctor 2022; Forchtner 2023).

This study combines Benjamin's framework with Nancy Fraser's theory of social reproduction to analyse the visual and discursive strategies employed by tradwife content producers regarding gender, domesticity, domestic economics and alienation from the natural environment. It draws on Fraser's (2017) understanding of how, neoliberal restructuring has led to the reprivatization of care and commodification of domesticity, reinforcing inequitable gender divisions of labour and broader circumstances of economic and social precarity. As the paper argues, tradwife aesthetics often superficially critique the outcomes of social reproduction, alongside consumer culture and neoliberal capitalism, yet they are also fundamentally embedded in global and online neoliberal marketplaces (Feldman 2023).

The article proceeds as follows. First, we examine the background and conceptual framework for the study, exploring the recognized contradictions of tradwife communities and their online strategies, before establishing the theoretical and historical foundations for this research through an exposition of historical developments in social reproduction theory. A methodology section then outlines the data collection and analytical approach used to examine the dataset. The analysis section is structured around three key themes, exploring how tradwife aesthetics function through nostalgic temporalities that support the reprivatization of social reproduction, that construct identity through gendered submission and reproduction politics, and that reveal fundamental contradictions in tradwife media's commodification of domesticity within digital economies. In the conclusion we synthesize findings from this research to demonstrate how tradwife discourse, while appearing to reject neoliberalism, ultimately reinforces the very systems and structures it claims to oppose.

## Background and conceptual framework

### *Conceptualizing capitalism and neoliberalism*

This analysis employs several interconnected but distinct conceptual frameworks that require clarification. For this analysis, capitalism refers to the broader economic system characterized by private ownership of productive resources, wage labour, and market-driven accumulation. Neoliberalism refers to the post-1970s restructuring of capitalism characterized by the privatization of public services, deregulation of markets, individualization of social risks, and the extension of market logic into previously non-commodified spheres of life, including particularly care work and social reproduction (Bakker 2007). Neoliberal policies and conditions fundamentally altered how societies organize reproductive labour, shifting costs from state institutions to private households and simultaneously creating new markets around previously unpaid forms of domestic work. The neoliberal project has in this respect involved not merely economic restructuring, but a comprehensive remaking of social relations wherein market-based solutions become the primary response to collective social problems (Fraser 2013).

Within this neoliberal framework, platform capitalism describes the contemporary digital economy where technological platforms extract value from user-generated content and social interactions (Kenney and Zysman 2016). These platforms represent a particular manifestation of neoliberal capitalism that monetizes social and cultural activities previously outside market relations. Digital capitalism encompasses the broader integration of digital technologies into capitalist production and social reproduction, including the global supply chains that sustain technological infrastructure.

Late capitalism, following Toscano's (2017) analysis, refers to capitalism's current crisis-ridden phase, characterized by heightened contradictions between economic imperatives and social reproduction needs. This concept helps explain how contemporary far-right movements, including tradwife communities, emerge from and respond to these systemic tensions while remaining embedded within capitalist relations.

These conceptual distinctions are important for understanding how tradwife discourse operates simultaneously as a critique of certain aspects of neoliberal capitalism (such as dual-income household pressures) while remaining fundamentally dependent on its digital and platform manifestations. The analysis that

follows demonstrates how this apparent contradiction reveals the movement's ultimate reinforcement of the very systems it claims to oppose.

### ***The contradictions and online strategies of tradwife communities***

The internal contradictions of tradwife communities become particularly evident through their strategic use of digital platforms. Despite positioning themselves as critics of neoliberalism, content producers within these movements paradoxically work to reinforce the forms of hierarchy and inequality intrinsic to neoliberal capitalism, actively participating in the highly technologized market systems they claim to reject. Understanding these contradictions and tensions requires examining both the ideological content of tradwife discourse and the material conditions of its circulation.

At the core of tradwife media lies the promotion of ultra-traditionalist gender roles and a rejection of more egalitarian societal norms; views which are collectively framed as an opposition to 'modern feminism' (Tebaldi 2021; Ballos 2024a, 2024b). This discourse celebrates domesticity and motherhood as women's natural vocation, constructing a narrative in which 'feminism' is accused of alienating women from more authentic forms of self-fulfilment (Ballos 2024a; Chagas Linhares 2020). Proponents of these narratives tend to link the decline in prevalence of 'traditional', nuclear families both more and less directly to neoliberal capitalism, arguing that dual-income households undermine social stability by forcing both partners into unnatural patterns of wage labour (Tebaldi 2021).

These critiques of neoliberalism and the labour precarity it creates, however, reveal ideological tensions within the tradwife movement's claims of economic liberation. Tradwife producers' advocacy for women's financial dependence on men within nuclear marriages (Tebaldi 2021; Llanera 2021) undermines their wider claims of promoting empowerment for women, while at the same time revealing the underlying class dynamics entrenched within tradwife communities. In a global, societal context marked by shrinking social safety nets and high divorce rates, women's financial dependence on men exposes them to increased risks of poverty and abuse. Moreover, such a choice of financial dependence is also only accessible to women with higher-earning partners, effectively excluding working-class families and globally less advantaged communities that rely on dual incomes from tradwife communities' utopian dream.

These contradictions are also further intensified by the economic activities of tradwife influencers (Kisyova, Veilleux-Lepage, and Newby 2022; Zahay 2022), who are often situated in the wealthy world, and seek to monetize their performances of traditional femininity through the same digital and highly technologized infrastructures they ostensibly critique.

Fraser's theoretical lens can shed light on how the commodification of domesticity in tradwife media raises critical questions about women's economic autonomy in market-driven systems. Such forms of political-economic messaging may be said to exemplify what Toscano (2017) has termed 'reactionary modernism', referring to a far-right ideological disposition based on the critique of aspects of capitalist modernity, such as cultural pluralism, liberalism, and consumerism, but that also ultimately promotes ongoing capital accumulation, alongside the reinforcement of racial and other social hierarchies (Toscano 2017). Unlike historical reactionary fascist movements, contemporary tradwife communities tend to foreground women's workforce participation rather than explicit racial politics. Specifically, the largely anonymous online collectives associated with the movement engage more directly with cultural and political debates about women's roles in the formal workforce than with issues of racial discrimination or violence.

While not all tradwife proponents therefore overtly embrace 'far-right' or white supremacist ideologies, their visual and discursive strategies do often celebrate ethno-cultural homogeneity and the reinstantiation of heteropatriarchal social systems (Mattheis 2021). These strategies also frequently employ libertarian or 'proprietary' rhetoric advocating minimal state intervention in domestic arrangements related to child-care and reproductive healthcare (Sitler-Elbel 2021; Llanera 2021). Certain tradwife media does also explicitly signal white supremacist or extremist ideologies; for example, by invoking concepts like 'white sharia' (Tebaldi 2021; Bryant 2023). Where the term is sometimes invoked as a form of trolling parody, some tradwife proponents mean to seriously laud what they view as a desirable form of women's subservience in Islamic religious lore. The invocation of Islam in this case is paradoxical, given that much of the western far right typically defines itself in opposition to Islam, portraying the many billions of Muslim religious

adherents erroneously as criminal or terroristic, and the religion itself as incompatible with ‘Western’ values and liberal democracy (Jones, Roberts, and Robards 2024; Pearson 2020).

Recent scholarship has then highlighted how the notion of ‘from scratch’ serves as a central organizing principle in the political economy of certain tradwife communities (Brouillette and Lorange 2024). Beyond culinary practise, this concept historically signalled the broader rejection of industrial modernity in favour of pre-technological domesticity, with ‘scratch’ also itself denoting money. The tradwife movement’s intrinsic contradiction then also becomes clear through this critique: while promoting the ideals of frugality and anti-consumerism, many tradwife influencers simultaneously profit from their participation in platform capitalism driven by stylistic preference over frugality or convenience (Kenney and Zysman 2016), wherein they transform necessary forms of domestic labour into monetized content.

### ***Social reproduction theory and the wages for housework legacy***

To understand the relationship between tradwife media and neoliberalism, we first must examine its ideological signposting to social reproduction and the historical relationship of this theory with wider forms of feminist struggle tradwife communities often more broadly claim to oppose.

Social reproduction theory explains both the affective and material labour conditions essential for maintaining social organization, incorporating activities such as childbirth, child-rearing, caregiving, and household maintenance (Lins 2023). Unlike economic production, which centres on market-driven labour, social reproduction involves the formation of human relationships that sustain society and ensure the production of new generations whose labour power is essential to capital accumulation (Curry 2020). Without social reproduction, there would be no culture, economy, or political organization. Herein, social reproduction serves as a conceptual framework providing important insights into how capitalism depends on forms of labour that it systematically devalues and excludes from wage relations.

The intellectual foundations of social reproduction theory lie in the Marxist feminist critiques of the 1970s, particularly the Wages for Housework movement led by Silvia Federici and Mariarosa Dalla Costa. Federici’s historical materialist analysis, especially in *Caliban and the Witch and Revolution at Point Zero*, argues that the rise of capitalism was predicated on the violent enclosure of women’s reproductive labour within the private sphere (Federici 2012). Domestic work, in this view, is not a natural extension of femininity but a key site of capitalist accumulation; essential yet systematically excluded from the wage relation. This foundational insight politicizes the home as a site of struggle, constituting a theme that now resonates deeply with the tradwife movement’s emphasis on reclaiming the home as a space of moral and aesthetic authority.

The Wages for Housework movement also understood socially-reproductive labour in the home as labour and demanded wages for this work, recognizing that domestic activities like cooking, cleaning, and childcare directly reproduce and maintain conventional workers, thereby contributing to capitalist accumulation. As Federici argued, housework produces the most precious commodity of all: labour power itself. The movement’s analysis demonstrated then that capitalism’s apparent separation between productive and reproductive spheres was ideological rather than material. Reproductive labour was always already integrated into capitalist accumulation, but rendered invisible through its exclusion from wage relations.

If we adopt Federici’s arguments, then the tradwife image is one that is, ultimately, based on a capitalist understanding of gendered labour. Even if the retreat to working the land or in the home attempts to escape capitalism, the traditional housewife role assists in maintaining the (male) worker so that capitalism can continue to function. This insight is critical for understanding how tradwife aesthetics, while appearing to reject the precarity and demands associated with neoliberal capitalism such as long working days, the narratives communicated therein serve to reinforce these forms of capitalist reproduction. The movement’s celebration of unpaid domestic work serves to naturalize and romanticize women’s essential but uncompensated contribution to capital accumulation.

Nancy Fraser can extend this analysis, by her situating social reproduction within capitalism’s broader crisis tendencies (Fraser 2017). Under neoliberalism, reproductive labour is structurally separated from economic production and relegated to the ‘private’ domestic sphere, obscuring its social significance. Fraser identifies a core tension: while social reproduction sustains capital accumulation, neoliberalism’s expansion ultimately undermines the conditions for its continuation (Lins 2023). This creates what Fraser terms a

‘crisis of care’, wherein social reproductive infrastructure erodes in favour of market-based solutions. In her critique of ‘progressive neoliberalism’, then, Fraser (2023) shows how feminism was co-opted to justify labour market deregulation and care privatization.

Alyssa Battistoni (2024) has also challenged the tendency to treat reproductive labour as inherently resistant to capitalism, arguing for a more nuanced understanding of how reproductive practises can both reproduce and resist capitalist norms. Beverly Best (2021) then revisited the Wages for Housework movement, arguing that reproductive labour occupies a utopian dialectic in that it is both outside of capitalist value production and yet indispensable to it. Amy De’Ath (2018), by comparison, emphasizes the affective and ideological dimensions of social reproduction, showing how domestic labour is internalized through emotional and cultural norms. Each of these insights further illuminate the appeal of tradwife media for its audiences, and the ways in which the forms of gendered labour it presents are naturalized more broadly.

The tensions identified through social reproduction theory must be seen to reflect broader contradictions in capitalist modernity, where economic and technological progress is often accompanied by new forms of exclusion and control. As Adorno and Horkheimer’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment* was foundational in illustrating, capitalism’s pursuit of progress does not necessarily lead to greater freedom but reproduces new structures of domination. The forthcoming analysis correspondingly explores how in digital economies of social reproduction, particularly as expressed through tradlife communities, online platforms serve both as sites of critique and as mechanisms to reinforce existing social oppressions.

## Methodology

### Platform selection and data collection

To investigate the political-economic narratives of tradwife communities, we focused on Tumblr as a primary research site. Tumblr was chosen due to its popularity among aesthetic communities and its unique affordances for tradwife content creation. The platform’s multimodal capabilities support long-form posts alongside multimedia contributions, enabling users to create rich and layered content that combines text, images, and other media elements. The platform also allows for a ‘rhizomatic’ spread of content and ideas in which users reblog posts, contributing to the accumulation of commentary beyond the original poster’s control or authority.

One subculture that has emerged as popular on Tumblr is ‘cottagecore’, an aesthetic movement idealizing rural life that has intersected with tradwife communities. While cottagecore originally was comprised of queer and feminist communities, recent research has highlighted overlapping content between cottagecore and tradwife ideologies on Tumblr, and the co-optation of cottagecore symbolism by tradlife producers. Oliver Mel Allen and colleagues (2025), for instance, revealed tradwife activity after 2021 incorporating cottagecore tags, which also became focused on markers of reactionary ideals related to religion, traditional gender roles and homesteading.

A total of 847 posts between 10 February 2020 and 27 November 2024 were collected for this study using a custom Python scraper that downloaded data via the Tumblr API. These posts were collected using hashtags ‘trad wife’, ‘trad life’, ‘trad woman’, and ‘trad women’, which were selected to query Tumblr’s search function and retrieve relevant posts. The collected data included the text of Tumblr posts alongside metadata such as post ID, blog name, links to associated images, hashtags, publication date, associated tags, and note count.

### Analytical approach and sample development

From this larger dataset, we identified posts that engaged with political economy themes and curated a focused dataset ( $n = 106$  posts) in which producers negotiated issues such as social reproduction, domestic labour, and contemporary gender roles. The selection process involved multiple rounds of qualitative coding, with posts providing extended discussion of economic issues retained for the final sample. This focused dataset allowed for examination of how tradwife identity is not merely aesthetic or personal, but politically and economically situated.

From this reduced sample, we identified 12 recurring content producers who actively promoted tradwife ideology and conducted supplementary analysis of their profiles. Much of the patterns interpreted in the

analysis below is based on observation of their content. This analysis employed discourse and narrative analysis approaches that examined both textual content and associated imagery. Following Jones, Trott, and Wright (2020), our analytical categories for interpreting the content were developed initially deductively based on the conceptual framework of social reproduction, then refined inductively to allow themes to emerge from the data. The final themes for inclusion were: the reprivatization of care; the commodification of domesticity; the reinforcement of gendered economic precarity; the positioning of the home as an ideological refuge; and the embeddedness of tradlife aesthetics within the capitalist infrastructures they claim to resist.

## **Ethics**

This research was conducted in accordance with ethical considerations outlined by Jones, Roberts, and Robards (2024), applying appropriate anonymization while serving the public good by analysing how gendered narratives shape conditions enabling reactionary ideologies. While some users may object to the inclusion of their digital data in academic research, Jones, Roberts, and Robards (2024) argue that when appropriate levels of anonymization are applied and the research serves a broader social good, obtaining informed consent may not always be required. This study contributes to the public good by analysing how gendered narratives shape socio-political conditions that enable the rise of reactionary ideologies, that are in some cases also quasi-fascist or far-right in nature.

All data points have been anonymized and disassociated from original users, in alignment with the Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2023). User handles, profile information, and identifying details have been removed from all quoted material to protect platform user privacy while maintaining the analytical integrity of the research.

## **Analysis**

The following analysis integrates insights from Fraser's theory of social reproduction with Walter Benjamin's ideas on political aesthetics to examine how tradwife media communicates apparent solutions to contemporary neoliberal crises while reinforcing the systems and outcomes it critiques. This exploration reveals how tradwife communities operate within what might be termed the 'aesthetic politics of neoliberalism', where individual lifestyle choices are presented erroneously as substantive forms of political resistance.

Benjamin's essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936) usefully explores how technological advancements such as those to be examined here, transformed art and its political reception, particularly through his notion that the 'aura' of a work of art was diminished by mechanical reproduction. The erosion of aura during the Weimar period (1918–1933), driven by the rise of new cinematic forms and mass communication technologies like radio, film, print media, and early television, helped make art more accessible but also introduced new ways to promote ideology within media audiences. Today, digital media platforms have in some comparable ways transformed information circulation, making it easier for global audiences to engage with reactionary worldviews that are often exclusionary and parochial, and that are often developed or co-opted by far-right political movements.

Benjamin was particularly concerned with how authoritarian and emerging fascist movements aestheticized politics, using spectacle to captivate and control the masses while preserving existing power relations, as captured in his famous observation that 'fascism sees its salvation in giving these masses not their right, but instead a chance to express themselves' (1936, 16). As the following discussion explores, tradwife aesthetics similarly deploy a distinct form of political-economic messaging that offers a superficial promise of relief from neoliberal capitalism, while simultaneously sustaining and reinforcing neoliberal capitalist systems.

## ***Nostalgic temporalities and the reprivatization of social reproduction***

Within Tumblr's platform culture, tradwife aesthetics emerge from what can be understood as a collage of imagery and discourse creating temporal ambiguity, where the past is not a fixed or even interpretive historical reality but reassembled to serve present desires. Platform capitalism's technical infrastructure, as exemplified by Tumblr, supports such forms of temporal fluidity through reblogging, tagging and archival depth, challenging the forms of chrononormative time aligned with productivity and progress. This

temporal dislocation serves a very specific ideological function in the case of tradwife discourse, allowing this media to engage discursively with contemporary social and economic circumstance, while avoiding substantive political-economic critique.

Such expressions frame the home not as a site of socially reproductive labour, but as an exclusive refuge from remunerated labour, rendering invisible in doing so the intensive work required to maintain domestic spaces, positioning this work as a gift rather than an economic arrangement. These expressions also frame homemaking not as an economic necessity but as a form of spiritual practise and temporal luxury, representing a fundamental misrecognition of the economic pressures driving contemporary domestic arrangements. Through emphasis on mindfulness and attention to detail symbolically, necessary labour is transformed into an aesthetic practise, therein obscuring its material dimensions and elevating its moral significance.

While tradwives claim to reject modern economic life's pressures, particularly dual-income household demands and financial instability, their advocacy for highly privatized care models also ultimately reinforces a neoliberal market logic. In this vision, women assume primary responsibility for domestic labour and child-rearing as aspirational moral ideals rather than economic inevitabilities. By framing homemaking herein as both a personal choice and higher calling, tradwife narratives obscure the global and disparate, capitalist and structural forces making single-income households increasingly unsustainable for most families (Tebaldi 2021; Chagas Linhares 2020).

Another user conveyed similar sentiments, stating: 'I was passionless, depressed, anxious, fearful, and miserable at work'. These types of expression reflect tradwife proponents' widespread disillusionment with professional success, portraying these forms of success as spiritually hollow and physically harmful. Several users of the platform, then, contrast this experience with homemaking's meaningfulness, which is often framed as a 'calling' and path to 'healing'. The linguistic patterns employed in this situation incorporate juxtaposition and movement from professional alienation to domestic authenticity. Traditional family roles are here seen as ways for women to reclaim their true purpose and contribute to a more stable society (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Images depicting idealized domestic spaces and homemaking activities that construct nostalgic visions of traditional domesticity.

There was also particular emphasis on homeschooling, with several users providing detailed rationales for educating children at home. This trend reflects not only a growth in prevalence in recent years of the US Christian Right's religious separatism from wider institutions; it also echoes the broader reprivatization of social reproduction, where public institutions like schools have been abandoned in favour of privatized domestic arrangements, or in favour of private schools. Educational withdrawal is herein positioned as a principled choice rather than a response to the systematic underfunding of public education systems.

The nostalgic temporal structures of most tradwife imagery through employing images of housework echoes then what Toscano (2017) has identified as a key feature of late fascism, characterized by the construction of imagined pasts serving present political projects, while also remaining embedded within contemporary capitalist relations. The tradwife movement's temporal fantasy involves not a genuine historical return but an aesthetic reconstruction of selected elements from various historical periods, combined in ways that serve contemporary audiences, and that are in many ways also redolent of historical, far-right syncretism (Griffin 2005).

### ***Identity construction and the politics of submission***

Temporal reconstructions of idealized domestic life within tradwife communities also construct specific forms of identity centred on marriage in connection with homemaking, and gendered submission, often incorporating co-appearing hashtags like '#youngmarriage' and '#earlywife'. Despite Tumblr's relatively small tradwife community, new users follow a consistent pattern when introducing themselves, foregrounding marital status and life aspirations through posts that serve collectively to establish marriage as the primary identity marker, while positioning current employment as a temporary impediment to authentic feminine fulfilment.

As one user further elaborated: 'Submission and simplicity can be most attractive during times of duress'. Such framing positions domination and submission not only as defined and natural, but even romantic, echoing the far-right social hierarchies of a master-slave relationship (Sitler-Elbel 2021). They also posit submission as an aesthetic and emotional strategy rather than a symptom structural subordination, implying that radical hierarchies within relationships can provide stability during periods of uncertainty. Submission is herein consistently rebranded as empowerment, masking structural inequalities as freely chosen lifestyles (Figure 2).

Women's submission is promoted within tradwife media in the context of rigidly defined heteronormative frameworks where men's authority is likewise naturalized, while women's deference is moralized. Tradwife imagery often portrays women as moral guardians of the household, embodying devotion, obedience, and domestic expertise (Tebaldi 2021; Ballos, 2024). Such representations effectively construct narratives in which traditional lifestyles are framed as stabilizing responses to such socio-cultural change as urbanization, women's increasing economic and political participation, and changing normative gender expectations.

Posts referring to women's submission frequently include language emphasizing emotional availability and domestic service. These narratives work to transform women's emotional labour or 'administration' into a moral obligation, while positioning men's wage labour as a sacrifice deserving domestic reward. The linguistic patterns employed typically involve some form of reciprocal exchange, where women are seen to provide domestic services in return for financial security, but this exchange is mystified through romantic and spiritual language effectively obscuring its economic dimensions.

Motherhood is also elevated as both biological inevitability and woman's highest moral calling within tradwife discourse. Our dataset contained numerous posts framing maternal devotion as an instinctive, even sacred, extension of femininity, in turn concealing or downplaying the physical, emotional, and economic burdens associated with child-rearing (Badalich 2019). Posts included explicit statements like '8 kids without pain medication' and 'Never take birth control, children are a blessing', positioning 'natural' childbirth and unlimited reproduction as morally superior and spiritually fulfilling (Figure 3).

Tradwife communities' repeated emphasis on large families, natural childbirth, and intensive mothering practises reflects a broader trend towards pro-natalist ideologies in far-right political communities, which frame declining birth rates in Western nations as evidence of a civilizational demographic crisis. These discourses frequently interpolate or are founded upon white nationalist conspiracy theories, such as the 'Great Replacement' theory and its historical antecedents in white genocide theories. Renaud Camus' Great



**Figure 2.** Images from iconic Hollywood movies that depict traditional gender roles and female submission to male authority.

Replacement theory now presents increasing migration and the supposed growing of large families among migrant groups in Western states as eschatological threats to the continuation of an ancestral racial and cultural identity of ‘whiteness’. Herein, women’s reproductive labour is also positioned as a political and moral duty (Tebaldi 2021; Bryant 2023).

Our analysis reveals that ethnocultural messaging, while not universal across tradwife discourse, appears in ways that support claims about the movement’s relationship to broader far-right ideologies. These references typically employed euphemistic language that maintained plausible deniability while engaging with ethnonationalist themes.

Posts within the dataset made connections between reproductive choices and cultural preservation, translating private reproductive decisions into public political statements, where individual family choices were framed as responses to broader societal concerns. The emphasis on large families and ‘traditional values’ frequently intersected with demographic anxiety narratives that align with broader far-right conspiracy theories, particularly around declining Western birth rates and cultural continuity.

The euphemistic nature of much of this content became apparent in discussions of ‘demographic winter’, ‘cultural preservation’, and ‘civilizational decline’ without explicitly naming racial categories. Users employed coded language around cultural identity and heritage that allowed participation in broader ethnonationalist discourse while maintaining focus on domestic and familial concerns.



**Figure 3.** Various images that depict motherhood as central to female identity, emphasizing maternal devotion, domesticity, and the nurturing role of women within the home.

While not all tradwife content explicitly embraces white supremacist ideology, the recurring themes of cultural preservation, demographic concerns, and civilizational decline can demonstrate significant overlap with far-right political narratives. This coded language allows users to engage with ethnonationalist ideological themes subtly, maintaining plausible deniability about explicitly racist content while participating in broader demographic anxiety discourse. In some tradwife circles, these narratives intersect with religious far-right discourses which are further predicated on the entrenchment of patriarchal authority. The Quiverfull movement, which is popular in evangelical Christian communities, for example, promotes unrestricted childbirth as a divine mandate, situating large families as a means of ensuring ‘biblical’ values transmission and strengthening patriarchal control within families and the societies to which they belong (Joyce 2009). This is also reflected at the state level internationally, with far-right European politicians introducing pro-natalist policies designed to encourage reproduction within ethnonationalist frameworks (Richards 2025).

The political economy of reproduction thus idealizes the labour of women’s unpaid caregiving, while promoting it as solution to declining Western-country birth rates. By aestheticizing motherhood as an act of love and duty rather than a role shaped by economic conditions, tradwife media obscures the structural realities making caregiving a free choice for some and an unequal burden for others. In practise, many Western women as well as communities and women disadvantaged internationally face significant barriers to work-family balance, limiting their autonomous choices regarding domestic arrangements.

The issues around gendered labour accessed by tradwife media are brought into stark relief by the realities of the gendered pay gap, with women in the US earning 82 cents per dollar earned by men in 2022. This has remained largely unchanged over two decades, with parenthood existing as a major contributing factor, such

that mothers aged 25–44 are less likely to participate in labour force and, when they are employed, often work fewer hours than childless counterparts (Pew Research Center 2023). In the UK, the gender pay gap is 13.1% per hour, while this is also primarily due to childcare-related career interruptions (ONS 2024).

These statistical realities disrupt tradwife narratives that present domestic arrangements as free choices unconstrained by economic pressures. The persistent gender pay gap in the countries where this media is consumed, and effective penalties for women who do become parents, reveal how structural inequalities shape domestic arrangements in ways obscured by tradwife discourse's consistent focus on individual preference and moral choice.

### ***Commodified contradictions: domesticity in domestic economies***

Some posts also directly detail homemaking as a method of therapeutic practice during grief or stress, while recognizing an extant societal lack of structural support for care and affective labour. For example:

My grandma passed away. I don't have a lot of sick leave from work. I've felt stagnant and uncertain. I can't figure out what I need in order to grieve. I am doing a big clean of the house. Cleaned the kitchen, vacuumed, folded laundry. It's not fixing it all but it's allowing me to feel fresh and productive at least.

Domestic labour in this conception becomes an emotional regulation strategy in the place of formal support systems or other forms of emotional support, which are recognized as contextually inadequate. Simultaneously, then, this type of affective expression facilitates empathy among the media's primary consumers, with producers encouraged to generate shareable content about stories of personal struggle and resilience.

Tumblr's visual and narrative affordances importantly enable users to aestheticize care work through multimedia posts combining text, images, and other media elements. The platform's reblogging features support a slow content culture that also mirrors the rhythms of domestic life, contrasting temporally with rapid consumption cycles more commonly seen on platforms like Instagram or TikTok. Whether it involves childcare, laundry, or cooking, this aestheticization of care work also detaches these types of content from the realities of exhaustive domestic labour, rendering these activities instead as visually appealing and emotionally resonant digital products.

Various content is carefully curated on Tumblr to frame domestic labour as aesthetically comforting and peaceful, including imagery of older artefacts and pre-digital modes of living: teapots on stoves, analogue devices, clothes lines, handwritten notes, and vintage kitchen equipment. These visual elements construct a semblance of authentic experience and expression through producers' references to supposedly attractive and simpler times, when domestic life was less mediated by technology and industrial production (Figure 4). This constructed past imagery is ultimately repackaged, however, into content for digital consumption, which is specifically designed for engagement, visibility and monetization within contemporary marketplaces for this content.

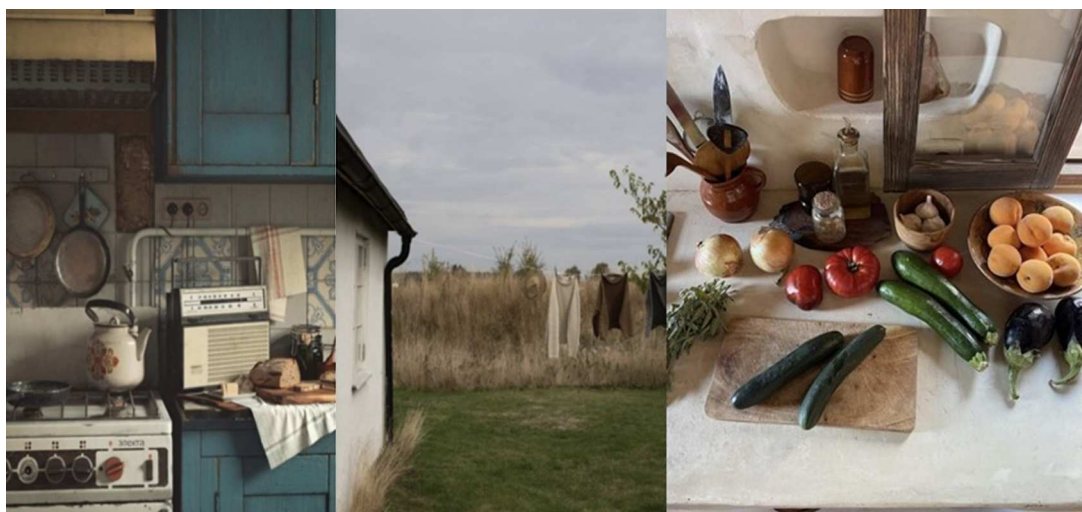


**Figure 4.** Images depicting aestheticized forms of domestic labour, including vintage kitchen equipment and pastoral scenes that construct idealized visions of pre-modern domesticity.

Benjamin's (1936) theory can help shed light on this situation, illustrating how the mass reproducibility of technologized media has the capacity to detach content from its original context, thereby reconfiguring cultural artefacts as commodities. The forms of digital media reproduced within tradwife communities enables the endless replication and modification of tradwife aesthetics, rendering domestic life an aesthetized spectacle. Stripped of its material context, domesticity here becomes a consumable product, which is circulated and repackaged in ways that ultimately feed the same conditions of neoliberal capital accumulation the movement claims in many ways to reject.

The matter of what exactly is being commodified in tradwife media requires careful analysis, however. The commodity in question is not simply the influencer's actual domestic labour for their family, but rather the aesthetic representation of that labour, the curated, photographable, shareable version of domesticity that generates engagement and revenue through digital platforms. This could also be said to reflect what Fraser (2017) identifies as an unprecedented alteration in social reproduction, through the development of digital economies: traditionally unpaid reproductive labour becomes monetized not through direct wage relationships, but through aesthetic production that transforms domestic activities into content commodities.

This commodification process operates then through several interconnected mechanisms. Tradwife influencers convert home-based activities into commercial products through their own employment of sponsorship deals, affiliate marketing, and advertising revenue streams. They then monetize the aesthetic representation of domestic labour through these means, while simultaneously critiquing the very market systems enabling their success. The labour involved here is complex and multifaceted: it includes the actual domestic work, the aesthetic curation of that work, the digital content creation, audience engagement management, and brand development – which must all be understood as forms of labour that sustain influencer income streams more widely within platform capitalism.

Analysis of user profiles from our dataset also reveals the sophisticated content strategies used. Successful tradwife accounts tend to maintain consistent posting schedules, develop recognizable aesthetic signatures, engage regularly with followers, and carefully balance personal disclosure with aspirational content. Such patterns reveal awareness of content creation as a form of skilled labour requiring strategic planning and emotional management.

Platform capitalism's infrastructure supporting tradwife content should then itself be recognized as deeply reliant on global supply chains that exemplify neoliberal capitalism's extractive practices that much environmental, rural, and 'from scratch' tradwife discourse and imagery claims to oppose. The technological devices we use to access social media platforms rely on rare earth minerals, which are much mined under exploitative conditions, including child labour in Mongolia and Democratic Republic of Congo (Faber, Krause, and Sierra 2017). Meanwhile, content moderation maintaining these platforms is outsourced to workers in developing nations like the Philippines, where poor labour conditions including extended shifts of more than 12 hours prevail (Arboleda 2020). Contrary to parochial tradwife scenes of simplicity, anti-technology and ethnocultural homogeneity, this media is situated within highly abstracted forms and systems of reproduction that are globally and materially constituted.

Building on Benjamin's political aesthetics theory, a Bourdieusian concept of misrecognition as a notion foundational to the maintenance of unequal relations, also provides insight into how tradwife media conceals its embeddedness with the types of economic structures and modern, technological systems it purports resisting. Tradwife narratives exploit the misrecognition for the grievance they ideologically access by framing traditional family life despite its remediation as emblematic of unalienated labour, and rural simplicity as an untarnished moral ideal (Tebaldi 2021; Badalich 2019; Figure 5). This is apparent, for example, through posts that consistently emphasize personal choice and individual agency: 'I just wish the world would stop shaming me for my choice to marry and have children', and, 'I find it annoying when people assume that I am a hyper-Christian oppressed nut because I aspire to be a homemaker'.

Although it would not be fair to assume far-right dispositions on the part of the producers examined here, or in some tradwife communities, it is also useful to note how this framing echoes Jeffrey Herf's (1984) concept of reactionary modernism. This concept recalls how historical Nazism and more contemporary forms of far-right social reaction mutually fused an embrace of technological modernity with longing for a pre-modern social order. Contemporary tradwife in some ways similarly critiques aspects of modernity both implicitly and implicitly through narrative and visual framing, while remaining fundamentally embedded within contemporary capitalist technological and economic systems. The movement's



**Figure 5.** Images depicting tradlife imagery, which idealises domesticity and reinforces rigid gender roles by romanticising women's labour in the home.

simultaneous dependence on and rejection of digital technology exemplifies its wider, contradictory relationship with modernity itself.

Following Fraser's analysis of social reproduction under neoliberalism, romanticized calls to restore traditional family structures derive not from genuine desires of returning to a pre-modern social order but from the reactions against neoliberal economic conditions that make such visions seem desirable (Fraser 2017). As the neoliberal restructuring of developed economies shifted the burdens of social reproduction from public institutions to private households, this disproportionately affected women during periods or a prolongation of economic uncertainty. Tradlife narratives similarly aestheticize domestic labour as both fulfilling and aspirational, overlooking realities like rising childcare costs that make full-time homemaking less a lifestyle choice than an economic necessity for many families under increasing economic strain.

As discussed above, current economic data illustrates these pressures clearly. In the United States, childcare costs have risen nearly 220% since 1990, now exceeding in-state university tuition costs in many states (FFYF 2023). In the UK, nearly half of mothers over successive years have reported reducing work hours due to unaffordable childcare, demonstrating how financial constraints rather than ideological conviction often dictate domestic *arrangements*. These and wider economic realities contradict tradwife narratives that present domestic choices as unconstrained by material pressures.

By framing homemaking as an empowered rejection of neoliberalism, tradwife discourse obscures the material realities making waged labour an economic necessity for most households. Rather than offering escape from commodification, much of this media transforms anti-consumerist rhetoric into its own consumable aesthetic, such that it is sustained through the very market forces it claims resisting. The movement's apparent critique of capitalism herein becomes another product within capitalist markets, demonstrating furthermore how neoliberalism incorporates opposition into its own reproduction mechanisms.

## Conclusion

This study has shown how tradwife discourse operates not outside neoliberal capitalism, but from deep within its economic and technological infrastructures. While these communities frame domesticity as resistance to market rationality, they are shaped by platform capitalism, digital branding, and algorithmic amplification. This contradiction reflects broader dynamics in which reactionary movements adapt to digital capitalism by masking their economic participation in these systems in nostalgic, aestheticized forms of dissent.

Walter Benjamin's theory is relevant in understanding this dynamic, with his 'Angel of History' (1940) also further elaborating this ideological tension. Tradwife content, similarly to the angel, looks backwards, yearning for an idealized domestic cast while being captivated by its destruction and at the same time being propelled forward by the very forces it claims to resist, in this case neoliberal restructuring, global markets, and digital infrastructure. It does not engage critically with history but renders it a stylized spectacle, or a curated fiction designed for online consumption.

This study has sought to illustrate how Benjamin's critique of fascist aesthetics is instructive in shedding light on tradwife media, because both have involved mobilizing nostalgic imagery in service of contemporary and reactionary political aims. While tradwife discourse in several cases naturalizes gender hierarchies and economic inequality by romanticizing domestic labour, it also offers a depoliticized retreat to an imagined pre-modern order. Like fascist and far-right aesthetics historically its backward gaze is less historical consciousness than ideological reconstitution, and its resistance is embedded within a wider ideological framework of extreme social reaction.

As Fraser (2013, 2017) has argued, neoliberalism reframes the structural crises within social reproduction as individual responsibility. In this context, tradwife discourse can be seen to cast unpaid domestic labour as aspirational, thereby obscuring the economic pressures shaping these choices. While the aesthetic politics of tradwife media reflects the logic of spectacle (Debord 1967), ideology is not delivered through argument but through emotionally resonant imagery. Tradlife's heavily curated domestic scenes offer the illusion of stability, yet anti-modern content is herein enabled and sustained by hyper-modern systems of global distribution, visibility, and monetization. Tradwife discourse functions as a form of political-economic messaging that personalizes and aestheticizes responses to structural conditions, with its appeal lying not in its coherence but in its capacity to turn affective reaction into shareable, marketable content. It exemplifies neoliberalism's ability to absorb and commodify resistance, offering a comforting vision of moral order while reproducing the conditions that make that order unattainable for most.

These dynamics must also be understood to determine how we understand this form of labour. We suggest that tradwife influencers engage in a form of what might be called 'reproductive influencer labour', constituting hybrid forms of unpaid care, content creation, and brand maintenance. Reflecting Guy Standing's (2011) notion of a "feminization of labour", care, flexibility, emotionality, and precarity all become defining features of work and capital under neoliberalism.

Tradwife media's global reach then finally demonstrates how visual aesthetics can transcend language to facilitate an internationalization of a shared set of conservative or reactionary styles, values, and affective cues circulating across borders, albeit often articulating parochial, and ethnonationalist or bioregionalist ideas. These dynamics highlight how platform capitalism such as that extant within tradwife communities on Tumblr, reshapes critique as commodity and aesthetic opposition into marketable forms of identity. What appears as a retreat from neoliberalism is in fact integration, with tradlife media revealing the need for structural, not symbolic alternatives to the present order.

## Disclosure statement

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

## Notes on contributors

*Imogen Richards* is a Senior Lecturer in criminology at Deakin University. She researches in the areas of new and alternative forms of media, the political economy of terrorism and counter-terrorism, and the performance of security in response to social crisis.

*Callum Jones* is a Research Fellow in Criminology at Deakin University. His research principally focuses on employing data science and network methods to crime and terrorism, and has published widely in the area of extremism.

**Verity Trott** is a Senior Lecturer in Digital Media Research at Monash University. Her published research examines feminist connective actions, Indigenous women's use of social media, everyday political talk online, rape culture in popular media, and online harassment.

## References

- Arboleda, Martín. 2020. *Planetary mine: Territories of extraction under late capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Askanius, Tina, and Nadine Keller. 2021. Murder fantasies in memes: Fascist aesthetics of death threats and the banalization of white supremacist violence. *Information, Communication & Society* 24, no. 16: 2522–39. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2021.1974517
- Askanius, Tina. 2022. Women in the Nordic Resistance Movement and their online media practises: Between internalised misogyny and 'embedded feminism'. *Feminist Media Studies* 22, no. 7: 1763–80. doi:10.1080/14680777.2021.1916772
- Backer, David I., and Kate Cairns. 2021. Social reproduction theory revisited. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 42, no. 7: 1086–104. doi:10.1080/01425692.2021.1953962
- Badalich, Savannah. 2019. "Online radicalization of white women to organized white supremacy." PhD diss., Columbia Univ.
- Bakker, Isabella. 2007. Social reproduction and the constitution of a gendered political economy. *New Political Economy* 12, no. 4: 541–56. doi:10.1080/13563460701661561
- Ballos, Alexandra. 2024a. Compliance and the second sex: Analysing women's participation in the far right through de Beauvoir. *Crossings: An Undergraduate Arts Journal* 4, no. 1: 202–9. doi:10.29173/crossings210
- Ballos, Alexandra. 2024b. "The propaganda of TradWives and ShieldMaidens: A critical analysis of the far-right radicalization of women and its connections to right-wing extremist theory." PhD diss., Univ. of Alberta.
- Battistoni, Alyssa. 2024. Ideology at work? Rethinking reproduction. *American Political Science Review* 118, no. 3: 1205–18.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1936. The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. <http://home.fa.ulisboa.pt/~franc/ext/ext72/BenjaminWorkArtMR.pdf>.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1940. On the concept of history. [https://www.sfu.ca/~andrewf/books/Concept\\_History\\_Benjamin.pdf](https://www.sfu.ca/~andrewf/books/Concept_History_Benjamin.pdf).
- Best, Beverly. 2021. Wages for housework redux: Social reproduction and the utopian dialectic of the value-form. *Theory & Event* 24, no. 4: 896–921. doi:10.1353/tae.2021.0052
- Bhattacharya, Tithi. 2017. How not to skip class: Social reproduction of labour and the global working class. In *Social reproduction theory: Remapping class, recentring oppression*, ed. Tithi Bhattacharya, 68–93. London: Pluto Press.
- Brouillette, Sarah, and Astrid. Lorange. 2024. From scratch. <https://www.versobooks.com/en-gb/blogs/news/from-stratch?srsId=AfmBOopCxoE9IOsXyABOW2eTQ1FiCR-5PCAC063GGaIXlvZy2JO-OSrg>.
- Bryant, Jesse Callahan. 2023. Conservative and far-right thought: Toward an endangered state. <https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/g3fhpf/>.
- Caiani, Manuela. 2024. Visual analysis and the contentious politics of the radical right. *Sociology Compass* 18, no. 9: e13267. doi:10.1111/soc4.13267
- Chagas Linhares, Dominique. 2020. Roles women play in the alt-right: Aspirations and limitations. Master's thesis, Charles Univ.
- Curty, Gaël. 2020. Rethinking capitalism, crisis, and critique: An interview with Nancy Fraser. *Critical Sociology* 46, no. 7–8: 1327–37. doi:10.1177/0896920520918506
- De'Ath, Amy. 2018. Gender and social reproduction. In: B. Best, W. Bonefeld, and C. O'Kane (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of Frankfurt school critical theory, 1534–1550*. London: Sage.
- Debord, Guy. 1967. *The society of the spectacle*. Detroit: Black & Red.
- Faber, Benjamin, Benjamin Krause, and Raúl Sánchez De La Sierra. 2017. Artisanal mining, livelihoods, and child labour in the cobalt supply chain of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Working paper. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/17m9g4wm>
- Federici, Silvia. 2012. *Revolution at point zero: Housework, reproduction, and feminist struggle*. Oakland, CA: PM Press.
- Feldman, Leah. 2023. Trad rights: Making Eurasian whiteness at the 'end of history'. *Boundary 2* 50(1): 69–104. doi:10.1215/01903659-10192117
- FFYF. 2023. *Data finds child care prices continue to rise*. Washington, DC: First Five Years Fund.
- Forchtner, Bernhard, ed. 2019. *The far right and the environment: Politics, discourse and communication*. London: Routledge.
- Forchtner, Bernhard. 2023. Studying the far right's natural environments: Towards a visual turn: Communication and the politics of nature. In Bernhard Forchtner (Ed.), *Visualising far-right environments*, 1–23. Manchester: Manchester University of Press.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2013. *Fortunes of feminism: From state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis*. London: Verso.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2017. Behind Marx's hidden abode: For an expanded conception of capitalism. In *Critical theory in critical times*, eds. Penelope Deutscher and Cristina Lafont, 141–59. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2023. *Cannibal capitalism: How our system is devouring democracy, care, and the planet and what we can do about it*. London: Verso.
- Graeber, David. 2018. *Bullshit jobs: A theory*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Gray, Emily. 2022. "The Handmaid's Tale of anti-feminism: A literary response to 1970s anti-feminist rhetoric and the emerging Christian right." PhD diss., Univ. of Delaware.
- Griffin, Roger, Ed. 2005. *Fascism, totalitarianism and political religion*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2004. *Multitude: War and democracy in the age of empire*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Herf, Jeffrey. 1984. *Reactionary modernism: Technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Hewitt, Andrew. 1993. *Fascist modernism: Aesthetics, politics, and the avant-garde*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.
- Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. 2002. *Dialectic of enlightenment: Philosophical fragments*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University of Press.
- Jones, Callum, Steven Roberts, and Brady Robards. 2024. White warriors and weak women: Identifying central discourses of masculinity in neo-Nazi Telegram channels. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–26. doi:10.1080/1057610X.2024.2318813
- Jones, Callum, Verity Trott, and Scott Wright. 2020. Sluts and soyboys: MGTOW and the production of misogynistic online harassment. *New Media & Society* 22, no. 10: 1903–21. doi:10.1177/1461444819887141
- Joyce, Kathryn. 2009. *Quiverfull: Inside the Christian patriarchy movement*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Kanai, Akane. 2015. Jennifer Lawrence, remixed: Approaching celebrity through DIY digital culture. *Celebrity Studies* 6, no. 3: 322–40. doi:10.1080/19392397.2015.1062644
- Keller, Jessalynn. 2019. Oh, she's a Tumblr feminist: Exploring the platform vernacular of girls' social media feminisms. *Social Media + Society* 5, no. 3: 1–11.
- Kenney, Martin, and John Zysman. 2016. The rise of the platform economy. *Issues in Science and Technology* 32, no. 3: 61–9.
- Kisyova, Maria-Elena, Yannick Veilleux-Lepage, and Vanessa Newby. 2022. Conversations with other (alright) women: How do alright female influencers narrate a far-right identity? *Journal for Deradicalization* 31: 35–72.
- Lins, Bárbara B. 2023. Social reproduction is not a fairy tale: A conversation between Axel Honneth, Silvia Federici, and Nancy Fraser. *Critical Horizons* 24, no. 1: 15–31. doi:10.1080/14409917.2023.2195800
- Llanera, Tracy. 2021. The misogyny paradox and the alt-right. *Hypatia* 38, no. 1: 157–76. doi:10.1017/hyp.2023.4
- Love, Nancy S. 2020. Shield maidens, fashy femmes, and TradWives: Feminism, patriarchy, and right-wing populism. *Frontiers in Sociology* 5: 619572. doi:10.3389/fsoc.2020.619572
- Mattheis, Ashley A. 2021. #TradCulture: Reproducing whiteness and neo-fascism through gendered discourse online. In *Routledge handbook of critical studies in whiteness*, eds. Shona Hunter and Christi Van der Westhuizen, 91–101. London: Routledge.
- National Health and Medical Research Council. 2023. *Australian National Statement on ethical conduct in human research*. Canberra: National Health and Medical Research Council.
- Office for National Statistics (ONS). 2024. *Gender pay gap in the UK: 2024*. London: ONS.
- Oliver Mel Allen, Yi Zhu, Mile Z. Trujillo, and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2025. From flowers to fascism? The cottagecore to tradwife pipeline on Tumblr. Pre-print arXiv DOI: 2505.0461.
- Payne, Stanley G. 1996. *A history of fascism, 1914–1945*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press.
- Pearson, Elizabeth. 2020. Gendered reflections? Extremism in the UK's radical right and al-Muhajiroun networks. In *Terrorism, gender and women*, ed. Alexandra Phelan, 137–60. London: Routledge.
- Pew Research Center. 2023. *The enduring grip of the gender pay gap*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
- Proctor, Devin. 2022. The #Tradwife persona and the rise of radicalized white domesticity. *Persona Studies* 8, no. 2: 7–26. doi:10.21153/psj2022vol8no2art1645
- Rancière, Jacques. 2003. *Disagreement: Politics and philosophy*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.
- Richards, Imogen. 2025. *The aesthetic politics of far-right environmentalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sitler-Elbel, Frankie H. 2021. *From Swifflers to Swastikas: How the #Tradwife movement of conventional gender roles became synonymous with white supremacy*. Annandale-on-Hudson, NY: Bard College.
- Standing, Guy. 2011. *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Stern, Alexandra Minna. 2022. Gender and the far-right in the United States: Female extremists and the mainstreaming of contemporary white nationalism. *Journal of Modern European History* 20(3): 322–34. doi:10.1177/16118944221110101
- Sturman, Anna. 2024. Hegemony, gender and social reproduction. In W. K. Carroll (Ed.), *The Elgar companion to Antonio Gramsci*, 299–314. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Sykes, Sophia, and Veronica Hopner. 2024. Tradwives: Right-wing social media influencers. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 53, no. 4: 453–87. doi:10.1177/08912416241246273
- Tebaldi, Catherine. 2021. Make women great again: Women, misogyny and anti-capitalism on the right. *Fast Capitalism* 18, no. 2: 67–89.
- Toscano, Alberto. 2017. *Late fascism: Race, capitalism and the politics of crisis*. London: Verso.
- Valderrama Rotella, Marta. 2023. "Gender and political identities in social media: An analysis of the discourse strategies used by the #Tradwives movement on Instagram." Master's thesis, Universidad de Valladolid.
- Zahay, Megan L. 2022. What real women want: Alt-right femininity vlogs as an anti-feminist populist aesthetic. *Media and Communication* 10, no. 4: 170–9.