From TikTok to Tradition

Exploring the Political Ideologies Behind the Tradwife Movement

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Abstract

The Tradwife movement has been gaining popularity since 2020, but little is known about the identity of this trend. Research on Tradwives describe it as a far-right movement with radical ideas, but this has not been previously investigated. This study goes back to the beginning in order to establish a foundation for what this movement entails. This research investigates the extent to which the Tradwife movement is politically oriented, and it explores the possible similarities with conservative, alt-lite, or alt-right ideologies.

This study provides insights into the digital political landscape of the social media platform TikTok and the potential shifts towards the adoration of more traditional or even extreme right-wing values within future society. Due to the concerning rise of alt-right and alt-lite movements, it is important to analyze this trend in order to understand the ideologies these influencers express to their audiences who mainly consist of adolescents.

With the use of qualitative content analysis on 159 TikTok videos (posted by nine English-speaking Tradwife influencers), this research identifies themes such as femininity, doubts about society, and gender roles.

The findings reveal that this Tradwife movement is strongly politically oriented, with significant similarities to conservative and alt-lite ideologies. This movement supports traditional conservative ideas about religion and family, and it supports more extreme alt-lite ideas about society, feminism, and gender roles. Such a political orientation is alarming for these adolescents who are creating an identity and who are still trying to learn which political ideology to adhere to. Therefore, future research could investigate the development of identity and political values by this audience with the use of a longitudinal study.

Keywords: Tradwife movement, Tradwives, TikTok, social media, influencers, political ideology, conservatism, alt-lite, alt-right, traditionalism, gender roles, anti-feminism, femininity, identity.

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Introduction

'Tradwives' have emerged on social media (Hopner & Sykes, 2024). This new and popular trend, which started in 2020, stands for 'traditional wives', and it involves a group of (mostly young) women who post videos of themselves online, while obeying traditional gender roles. These videos show how these women are taking care of the children, making dinner for their family, performing other household chores, and doing all of these tasks while so-called spoiling their husbands (Love, 2020). These stay-at-home women make videos in which they articulate their opinions about what a woman should or should not do, while being subordinate to their husbands (Llanera, 2021). Tradwives want to live according to a traditional ideology which supports a traditional lifestyle (Proctor, 2023), and they use social media to communicate their ideas about womanhood to their online community (Hopner & Sykes, 2024). One social media app to upload these videos on is TikTok; a new and popular internet sensation (Easwar et al., 2023). Although it sounds ironic (given that these Tradwives use a progressive and modern social media platform to express a conservative lifestyle) the number of followers of the trend is growing by the day (Hopner & Sykes, 2024).

Young people in particular use this visually appealing app for their entertainment and to gain new insights, which happens naturally when social media is such a significant part of one's life (Ferraz et al., 2022). Given that these adolescents are still in the midst of their transition to adulthood, platforms like TikTok provide a modern space for self-expression (Stahl & Literat, 2022) and identity formation (Ferraz et al., 2022), which is crucial during this developmental phase of their lives. New norms, values, and ideologies can easily be discovered and shared (Stahl & Literat, 2022) within an online community that accepts, confirms, or encourages these ideas (Ferraz et al., 2022). This app is a medium that facilitates an environment for adolescents to embrace values they need for successful social interactions (Potts, 2015). This socialization process is an important factor in a young person's life. Through what they see online, TikTok provides a platform that educates young people how to behave, what to think, and what values they should adhere to (Maccoby, 2015).

Tradwives seem to promote a conservative lifestyle, but some express more extreme ideas. They claim that modern feminism leads to a man-hating society (Hopner & Sykes, 2024), that women

are subordinate to their husbands (Llanera, 2021), or they create a narrative of white nationalistic beliefs were they (according to themselves) represent the ideal woman (Tebaldi, 2023). The radicalization within this movement can be seen as alarming when looking at the current political climate and the rise of right-wing populist leaders (Joo, et al. 2024).

The rise of extreme right-wing political ideologies, such as alt-right and alt-lite (Moffitt, 2023), are causing people to be concerned about those anti-democratic (Moffitt, 2023) and nationalistic beliefs (Taylor, 2020). Due to the way these Tradwives seem to behave (very traditional, conservative, or even extreme right-wing) this trend seems to appear politically motivated and because these Tradwives have an extensive adolescent audience, it could be troubling if such a popular online trend turned out to be an extreme political movement.

Unfortunately, not much is known about the true essence of this content. Are these women just showing conservative lifestyles? Or are they expressing (radical) right-wing ideologies? These influencers reach young audiences who are still creating a sense of identity and who are discovering different values, by which they ultimately form their political preferences (Buckingham, 1999). It is therefore important to investigate whether this movement does or does not express political values, and if so; to investigate which ideologies they adhere to most. It is therefore that this research tries to find answers to following questions:

- *To what extent is the Tradwife movement politically oriented?*
- *To what extent does this movement have similarities with conservatism, alt-lite, or alt-right ideologies?*

Analyzing the content of this Tradwife trend is of societal relevance, because more knowledge offers new insights into potential shifts towards the adoration of more traditional or even extreme right-wing values within future society. Moreover, it is important to understand how these influencers use an online platform like TikTok to reflect their ideologies to young audiences.

Investigating the content of this trend is of scientific relevance, because there is still a lot unknown about the values Tradwives adhere to. Due to the concerning rise of alt-right and alt-lite

movements, it is important to analyze this trend in order to understand the ideologies these influencers express to their audiences. Analyzing this Tradwife trend will also provide a deeper awareness of the digital political landscape of TikTok, provide insights into the evolving norms and values of contemporary society, and it clears the contradictory descriptions of this trend within different studies. This research will clarify if this trend is politically oriented, and if so; to which ideology these Tradwives adhere to.

Theoretical framework

In order to find answers to the research questions, a theoretical framework is adapted from the existing literature about the Tradwife movement and the different political ideologies. This chapter provides a deeper understanding of the Tradwife movement, examines when something is perceived as politically oriented, and presents an overview of the three political ideologies (conservatism, alt-lite, and alt-right). This theoretical framework will elaborate into more detail.

Tradwives

The name 'Tradwife' is a combination of the words 'traditional' and 'wife'. The concept has been around for decades (Hopner & Sykes, 2024), but it gained more publicity in 2020 due to an interview with the well-known Tradwife Alena Kate Pettitt on the BBC. From that year on, the term saw a boost in Google searches (Proctor, 2023). In this interview, Pettitt explained that she is a woman who serves and pampers her husband as if she were living in the 1950s (Hopner & Sykes, 2024). Pettitt lays an interesting foundation for what this Tradwife trend exactly entails.

Tradwives promote a lifestyle where they are subordinate to their husbands (Llanera, 2021), take care of the household, and have many children (Love, 2020). These women are mainly white, English-speaking mothers (Mattheis, 2018), who document their everyday lives and opinions on social media where they promote their ‘Tradlife’ (traditional life) (Llanera, 2021) and adhere to traditional gender roles (Proctor, 2023). They post videos (some known as 'mommy vlogs' (Love, 2020)) in which

they explain how women should behave. In these videos men are portrayed as the strong leaders of the family who should provide the income (Llanera, 2021), and women are the fragile caregivers (Proctor, 2023) who do not have to worry about the troubles of the outside world (Llanera, 2021). They want to make it clear to their audience that there are only two genders: male and female (Llanera, 2021), but these women prefer to call themselves ‘mother’ or ‘wife’ (Hopner & Sykes, 2024).

Tradwives use the conveniences of digital platforms to create a safe space on which they communicate their ideas (Hopner & Sykes, 2024). They create a beautiful aesthetic online world, which is pleasant to look at (Love, 2020). Tradwives wear appealing clothes, put a lot of effort in their appearance, and they cook every meal from scratch, because of that they manage to attract their audience (Llanera, 2021).

On social media, Tradwives talk about their lives, give advice on how to be the best mother and wife, and discuss femininity (Llanera, 2021). The term 'femininity' is very important in this context (Zahay, 2022), because in the Tradwife world femininity is seen as the direct opposition to feminism (which they perceive as a malicious movement (Hopner & Sykes, 2024)). While Tradwives show what meal they are going to prepare for that day, they talk about 'real' femininity (Zahay, 2022) and make it clear why feminism has failed them (Love, 2020). Tradwives claim that contemporary fourth-wave feminism leads to a man-hating society (Hopner & Sykes, 2024), which strives for a civilization where women are superior to men (Hopner & Sykes, 2024). An example for this idea is the #MeToo movement, which is an online trend where victims of sexual harassment can share their stories (Braileanu et al., 2021). Tradwives see this trend as a dangerous concept invented by feminism, causing men to no longer respect women (Love, 2020). They believe that feminism has prevented them from being who they truly want to be, namely the nurturing stay-at-home mother (Llanera, 2021). Tradwives frame their own ideas within a new form of feminism (Mattheis, 2018). Within this post-feminism (as they call it), Tradwives see themselves as powerful women who live according to their own traditional ideology (Proctor, 2023) and who are not forced to participate in the working society. The option to stay at home, to be feminine, and to obey their husband is a hyper-feminist choice, according to some influencers (Llanera, 2021).

Tradwives use inventive and unique ways to engage viewers. By using (search) terms like ‘homemaker’, ‘traditional living’, and ‘feminine not feminist’, they cleverly share their perspectives (Hopner & Sykes, 2024) and with results. On the social media platform TikTok the trend is extremely popular; well-known Tradwives obtain thousands of followers and their videos are sometimes viewed more than a million times (Hopner & Sykes, 2024)

Politics

Due to the online environment these Tradwives use, they can easily address their beliefs and values towards their audiences in the outside world (Mattheis, 2018). Values are the foundation upon which political ideologies are constructed (Caprara et al., 2006). Values convey different aspects of our varied personality (Caprara, 2006). They are cognitive representations that guide individuals through one’s life (Schwartz, 1992) and there are five functions that values fulfill: values are deeply ingrained personal beliefs, crystallized ideas about certain behaviors, sources of clarity in moments of crises, guiding lights during difficult events, and hierarchically ranked from less to very significant (Schwartz, 1992).

In his well-known work ‘A System Analysis of Political Life’ (1965), American political scientist David Easton defined politics as an interaction in which values are authoritatively allocated within a society. With this definition, he made an essential distinction between a political system and other systems. Politics are a dynamic process whereby goals are set, and in which values are determined and distributed (Kolb, 1978). In the complex field of the political system, it is important that values are accepted within the majority of the society (Easton, 1965). This is why politics is a system centered around power, the power to spread one's own values and ideologies (Weber, 1919). That power is greatly desired, knowing that it results in the spreading of one's own values, so it can lead to conflict (Sorzano, 1975). Politics therefore become a pursuit of power for those who wish to convey their own values or ideologies (Weber, 1919). These political ideologies (consisting of a set of values and beliefs) can be divided among different political groups. In Western societies, these groups can range from extreme left to extreme right (Kolb, 1978). Parties that are oriented towards the left are seen as progressive and forward-thinking, whereas parties in the (extreme) right-wing spectrum prefer less

change in the nation (Kolb, 1978). This division between left and right leads to a significant diversity in values and ideologies (Caprara et al., 2006).

Values become political when they cover ‘abstract, prescriptive beliefs about humanity, society, and public affairs’, Goren (2005). Gender equality and traditionalism are recognizable basic political values (Caprara et al., 2006), topics that also often seem to appear in the content of Tradwives. Someone's personal set of values develop through socialization processes early on in one's life (McCann, 1997), this also contains political beliefs about society, government, and equality (McCann, 1997). Tradwives attract a lot of adolescent viewers (who are still in the process of developing their core set of (political) values) whilst they often seem to reflect political values and beliefs. It is therefore interesting to look at political right-wing ideologies, such as conservatism, alt-right, and alt-lite, whose ideas may reflect values that Tradwives could relate to.

To summarize, if this Tradwife trend is politically oriented it can be expected that the content of this movement will express political values. This goes beyond mere personal preferences, attitudes, habits, and behavior. A Tradwife who posts videos of herself baking bread or going to the park with her children is (by this definition) not immediately politically oriented. Only when she expresses her own values, can it be tested if these values are politically oriented. Their political beliefs can be categorized into five categories: political views, family structure, feminism, religious preferences, and self-identification. Ultimately, these categories will help to recognize if this movement is politically oriented or not.

Conservatism

Conservatism is one of those right-leaning ideologies. Although there may be differences in the degree of extremism, conservatives primarily seek ways to slow down or oppose societal changes (Kolb, 1978). This ideology primarily holds on to traditional values (Barber & Pope, 2019). They attach great importance to faith, economic freedom, and the identity of their society, and struggle with progressivism, social reform, and feminism (Hopner & Sykes, 2024). The conservative movement strongly advocates for the preservation of traditionalism. Traditionalism can be found in religious social norms and values (Bizumić & Duckitt, 2013), and that reflects into gender ideology. For instance,

conservatives believe that there are different roles between the two genders. Men are responsible for providing income, while women are responsible for the household (Love, 2020). Conservatism is adhered to by both men and women, primarily those who place a high value on faith (Celis & Childs, 2018).

In Schwartz's theory on Basic Human Values, he explained that conservative values are associated with three pillars: security, conformity, and tradition (Schwartz, et al., 2010). The concept of 'security' reflects on personal and societal insurance. Within this framework, values such as maintaining a stable government, preventing diseases, staying healthy, and being orderly are emphasized (Schwartz, et al., 2012). The pillar of 'conformity' highlights values that imply compliance. This includes obedience, discipline, following the rules, showing respect, and politeness (Schwartz, et al., 2012). Lastly, 'tradition' is an essential element in conservatism, emphasizing the preservation of cultural and religious traditions. It is considered crucial to act according to religious teaching, and to uphold these religious duties carefully (Schwartz, et al., 2012). Traditional family values are therefore greatly acclaimed (Goren, 2005). Among the classical political ideologies, conservatism is known for its faithful attachment to their core values and its strong resistance to unfamiliar ones (Barni, et al., 2013).

Alt-right

'Alt' political movements emerged at a time when politicians were no longer sure how to categorize all these different ideologies and ideas within the traditional left-right political spectrum (Moffitt, 2023). Alt-right (which stands for 'alternative right') is a movement with values that combine various extreme right-wing ideas. They hold interests such as white nationalism, anti-Semitism (Blee & Creasap, 2010), anti-immigration, and gender traditionalism in high regard (Taylor, 2021). This movement started in 2008 and grew larger during the 2016 American elections (Hawley, 2019). Before that time, this group remained largely unnoticed in the political domain (Main, 2018). Although the political views of former US President Donald Trump did not fully align with the ideas of alt-right (Moffitt, 2023), he still addressed this group multiple times and therefore attracted a lot of support for that political movement (Forscher & Kteily, 2019). Due to the interaction between Trump and alt-right

this movement received attention and recognition it had never had before, resulting in more popularity (Moffitt, 2023).

A major difference from the more familiar conservative mindset is the fact that alt-right does not strive for universal equality, or even believe in it (Hawley, 2019). According to alt-right, there is a significant difference between race, nation, culture, gender, and sexuality, with heterosexual, white, Western men at the top of this hierarchy (Taylor, 2021). Therefore, this group can be seen as a radical extremist movement (Main, 2018).

The alt-right movement is largely dominated by men, some of whom have far-reaching and extreme ideas about gender traditionalism. One of these misogynistic ideas is the 'white sharia' (Sykes & Hopner, 2024). Proponents of these views encourage and see this sharia as the ideal state, with the total subjection of women, openly justifying rape, and sexual slavery (Laryš, 2023). This extreme group within alt-right cultivates deep hatred towards women and see them only as 'wombs for the cause or caretakers of men' (Mattheis, 2018). This group validates their ideas through their own 'scientific' explanations of their white, male superiority (Dasgupta et al., 2024).

Despite the fact that this movement mainly consists of men with extremely violent ideas about women, there are also women who adhere to this ideology (Llanera, 2023). These white women may be inferior to white men who comply with these alt-right ideologies, but they are in fact superior to all others who do not have the same values and desired characteristics (Llanera, 2023). These women want to liberate the white race from oppression and feminism, which prevents them from being their soft and nurturing selves (Llanera, 2023). Alt-right women believe that feminism is a false promise and that they must reclaim their true destiny, staying at home and be the perfect wife (Mattheis, 2018).

Alt-right values can be characterized due to their extremism. While these values may sometimes look similar to conservative ideologies (Hutchinson, 2019), alt-right supporters adopt a more radical stance. Dean et al. (2016) have conceptualized six core themes within alt-right: anti-immigrant sentiment, anti-establishment views, protection of Western culture, commitment to democratic reform, traditionalism, and a desire for a strong state. Alt-right sympathizers highly value their Western characteristics and Christian beliefs, and they want to protect that culture at all costs. They strongly disapprove of foreigners and refugees who are non-Western and adhere to different religious

preferences. The alt-right maintains a clear distinction between themselves and these other citizens, whom they believe should not be allowed the same rights (Dean, et al., 2016).

The alt-right movement opposes the established order, promoting a populist anti-elite society. They advocate for the 'representation of the will or common sense of the people' (Dean, et al., 2016), placing themselves as the superior group. Their ideology encourages extreme forms of nationalism, with a desire to turn back to a traditional lifestyle. Alt-right followers long for the preservation of traditional values, striving for 'individual freedom and the right to cultural preservation in order to maintain the integrity of their national identity as a western-style, liberal democracy' (Dean, et al., 2016).

Alt-lite

A different branch of the radical alt-right is the less extreme alt-lite (also known as 'alt-light' or 'dissident right') that emerged in 2016 (Moffitt, 2023). This movement positions itself between conservatism and alt-right (Almeida et al., 2024), in which they believe that the conservative movement has become

too sloppy in upholding right-wing ideas (Hopner & Sykes, 2024) and in which they do not entirely agree with the anti-Semitic and (white) nationalistic ideologies of the alt-right movement (Mamié, et al., 2021)**.** They do in fact fully align themselves with the alt-rights anti-feminism and anti-immigration opinions (Ma, 2021).

Because they have less radical ideas, their way of communicating is also less extreme and therefore more easily seen in mainstream media (Moffitt, 2023). Their tactics for spreading their message are less radical (and therefore more refined) than those of the alt-right, allowing them to gain a large number of followers online (Nagle, 2017). Alt-lite supporters portray their ideas in such an attractive way that as a result viewers do not immediately realize what the content is about, so they are quickly drawn into the web of alt-lite ideologies (Zahay, 2022). Not only men are spreaders of this message, women are also active promoters of these viewpoints (Mattheis, 2018). They explain to their audience that these ideas actually 'support' women more than any other political movement (Llanera, 2021).

In most cases alt-lite holds the same values as alt-right, but they are less extreme (or they are expressed less extremely) (Moffitt, 2023). Alt-lite followers are (just like the supporters of the alt-right) excessively protective and nationalistic about their country (Hopner & Sykes, 2024), but they do not embrace 'white supremacy', anti-Semitism, and other forms of ethnic discrimination (Almeida et al., 2024). They do reject feminism and gender equality, since they believe that there is a clear divide between males and females (by which they see men as superior) (Sykes & Hopner, 2024).

To summarize, the conservative ideology emphasizes the importance of preservation of (religious) traditions, personal safety, security, and conformity. The alt-right ideology also adheres to tradition, but becomes much more extreme and radical in their ideas. Alt-right aligns itself with strict patriarchal structures, anti-feminist ideas, (ethno-)nationalistic and anti-Sematic standpoints. 'White supremacy' and the dominance of white culture are being highly valued. The alt-lite ideology is a combination of the first two political movements. It is an extreme traditional ideology, which will promote traditional gender roles and oppose the ideas of feminist movements, but they will not express the same (ethno-)nationalistic and anti-Sematic values as alt-right. Therefore, alt-lite can be seen as a milder version of alt-right. The five political categories (political views, family structure, feminism, religious preferences, and self-identification) will help to determine the extent to which these women turn out to be conservative, alt-lite, or alt-right oriented.

Methodology

The aim of this research is to get a better understanding of the possible allocation of political values from Tradwives to their audiences. The videos of nine English-speaking Tradwife influencers are being analyzed with the use of qualitative content analysis. A code frame is developed based on the theoretical framework about political ideologies and is used to analyze the Tradwife content. These steps and choices will be discussed in more detail in this next chapter.

Research type

This research will conduct a qualitative content analysis (QCA), with a deductive approach. This concept-driven method uses the theoretical framework (Schreier, 2012) (on the definition of politics and the different political ideologies) to build a code frame that will be based on the five important political categories (political views, family structure, feminism, religious preferences, and self-identification). This research type is a good way to reduce large amounts of material and effectively select useful information (Schreier, 2014). Qualitative research differs from quantitative research due to its more in-depth analysis of the human experience, rather than a methodological technique to gather numerical categories (Marvasti, 2004). QCA differs from other qualitative methods because it places a greater emphasis on the information provided in the content that is given. It is a good method for examining videos (Schreier, 2012), like the one's Tradwives post on TikTok. Despite involving human perception, it is still a very technical way of analyzing (Akbari, 2022). QCA is a systematic way of investigating, which allows trends, patterns, and other differences to be discovered (Krippendorff, 2019) and a phenomenon to be better understood (Akbari, 2022). Because data must be treated systematically (Schreier, 2014), coding is done by using the pre-compiled code frame which is allowed to develop while analyzing the content.

Sample selection

This research will examine the content of videos posted by Tradwives on TikTok. TikTok is a social media app that has grown into one of the largest online platforms since 2016 (Kaye et al., 2020). It has more than 1 billion users, of which more than 60% are adolescents. Among this young group, TikTok is the most used social media app (Stahl & Literat, 2022). This platform has become a profitable area for influencers, individuals who create online content (Soyudoğan & Abdalli, 2023). Influencers have enormous followings and gain lots of engagement (likes, views, and comments) online (Kay, et al., 2020). In this research, meso-influencers (who have between 10.000 and 1 million followers (Pozharliev, et al., 2022)) are selected to be analyzed. According to Pozharliev, et al. (2022) these influencers have a large reach and are social role models, which makes them interesting to analyze. These popular content creators have a large following and are therefore major players in this Tradwife

movement. Knowing that they will fully align with this trend's ideology, they will outline the contours of what this movement embodies with the most effect.

Different from quantitative research where participants are selected randomly, qualitative research uses a conscious and calculated approach to select respondents with the purpose to find participants who theoretically fit the topic (Marvasti, 2004). A form of snowball sampling (Goodman, 1961) is used to select Tradwives on TikTok. Through the use of search words such as: tradwife, traditional wife, and traditional lifestyle, nine English-speaking women who identify themselves as Tradwives (which is determined by the captions they use in their videos or the biography information on their profile) and who have an influencers status can be sampled. The content of these nine Tradwives should be enough to capture the essence of what this movement entails. These chosen Tradwife influencers are anonymized and listed in *table 1*.

Table 1 - Anonymized sample list of used Tradwives

Anonymized Tradwife-name	**Followers as shown by TikTok**
TW1	908.000
TW2	199.200
TW3	123.900
TW4	85.900
TW5	68.500
TW6	71.800
TW7	39.500
TW8	25.300
TW9	22.100

Source: TikTok, data found on November 20th.

Data collection strategy

The data will be analyzed in the period between August and October of 2024. To determine if an influencer is actually a Tradwife, signal words and hashtags such as: #Traditionalwife, #Tradwife, #Homemaker, #Traditionalliving, #Femininenotfeminist, and #Tradlife are being used to find useful content creators. In order to get a full understanding of the essence of this Tradwife movement, this research will observe the most recent videos these Tradwives have uploaded. Therefore, only videos that are published in the months June and July of 2024 will be analyzed. In total there are 159 videos that can be analyzed. The videos are downloaded and stored on the first of August, ensuring that this research will have a dataset that cannot be altered. If a chosen sampled Tradwife decides to change or delete a video after this date, it will not affect the research in any way.

All the videos will be transcribed using the transcribe option of Microsoft 365. Afterwards those translations will be personally checked and revised to ensure that there are no mistakes in the transcriptions. Only spoken- or written text in the videos will be used in the transcription process. After that, the transcriptions are analyzed next to the code frame.

Construction of the code frame

The code frame is compiled based on the previous mentioned theoretical framework. The five political categories (political views, family structure, feminism, religious preferences, and self-identification) are used as codes to identify the different political values in this Tradwife content.

The code frame is paired with descriptions and examples to get a clear impression of what the codes entail. The code frame is designed to demonstrate whether the Tradwife content is politically oriented or not. While analyzing the Tradwife videos, the content is examined to fit the described theory and the associated codes in the frame. Because this research is exploring the content of this relatively new trend, it is possible that this code frame will change or develop while analyzing. The code frame can be found at the end of this research paper in *Appendix A*.

Coding strategy

After the 159 TikTok videos were downloaded, analyzed, and transcribed, the coding process began. A form of open coding is applied, based on the pre-compiled code frame. The transcripts are analyzed individually, and each statement is assessed to determine whether it aligns with any of the predefined political categories (political views, family structure, feminism, religious preferences, and self-identification). The comments of these Tradwives are human statements, which indicate that a quote may reveal more than one political expression. It could happen that a statement corresponds with multiple categories. Therefore, a statement can be assigned to more than one political category. Once all statements have been assigned to the best fitting categories, various themes are applied to each statement based on a form of open coding. These themes describe the content of that statement. As a quote may express multiple ideas or beliefs, several themes may apply to the same statement. This is useful, because it helps the identification of patterns and connections later on (Elliot, 2018). The transcripts are analyzed and coded a total of three times (Elliot, 2018) to ensure the process is as accurate as possible. Following this procedure, 17 themes were identified that cover the content of the Tradwife statements. A code book is developed with every used statement and identified theme. This code book can be found at the end of this research paper in *Appendix B*.

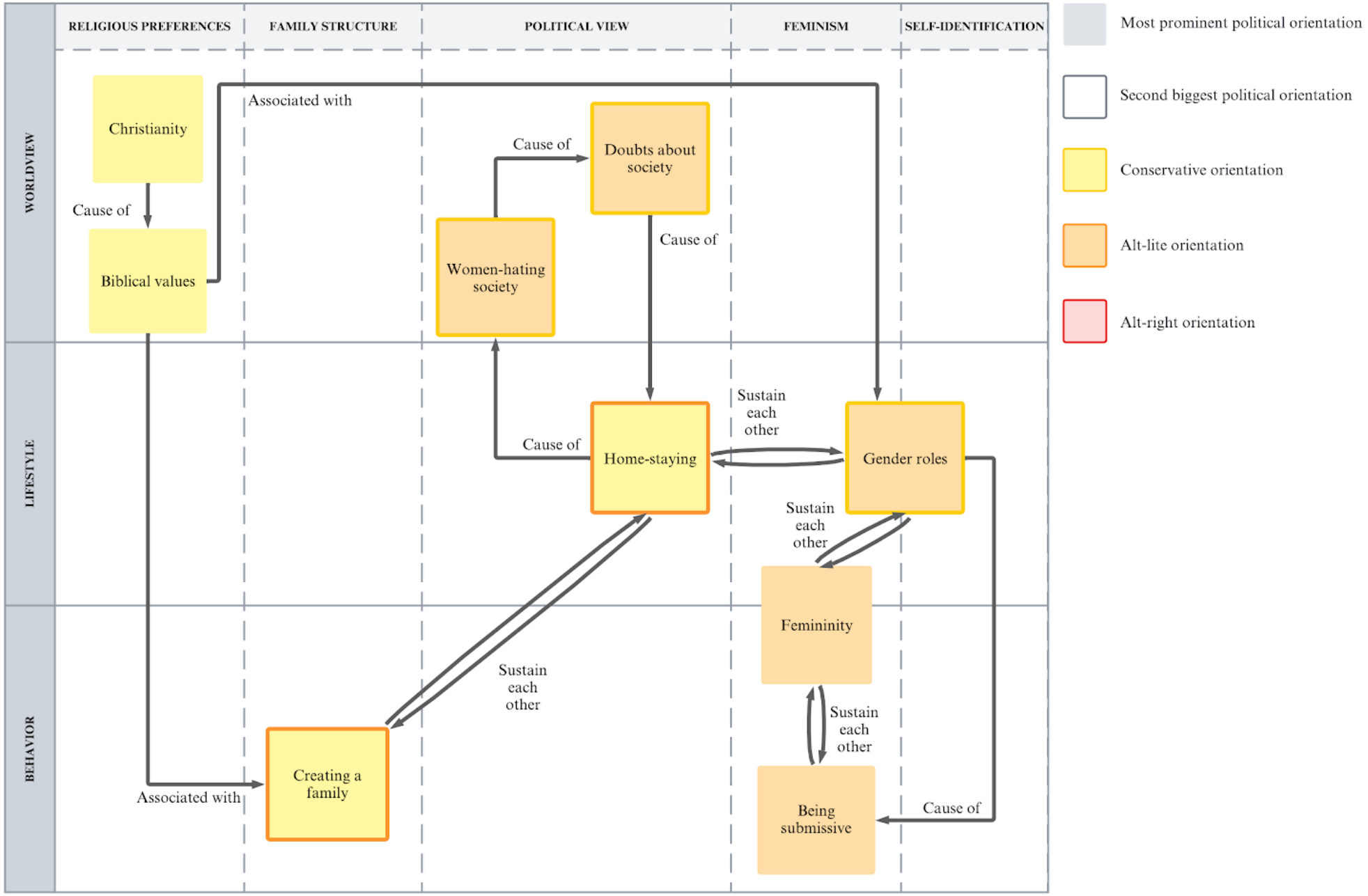
Results

After analyzing the video content, it appears that these Tradwives express politically oriented values that go beyond mere personal preferences and attitudes. Tradwives communicate their ideas about gender (roles), they articulate their opinions about society and how it should look like, and they talk about their preferred way of life. Their political perspective is a combination of the traditional ideas of conservatism and the more extreme ideas about womanhood and gender roles of the alt-lite ideology. This chapter will now unpack the Tradwife content and elaborate in more detail in order to find answers to the research questions.

Themes

After transcribing the Tradwife videos, coding according to the pre-constructed code frame, and finding the most occurring themes in these codes, a figure (*figure 1*) can be created to visualize the most occurring themes that emerged from the Tradwives content. This figure illustrates how the beliefs of these Tradwives are politically oriented and how they are connected to each other. Overarching categories (worldview, lifestyle, and behavior) are introduced, and they help to demonstrate how a theme plays a role in the life of a Tradwife. *Figure 1* (displayed on the next page) helps to find an answer to the first research question: *to what extent is the Tradwife movement politically oriented?*

Figure 1 - Tradwife map of most occurring themes and their connections



The five political categories (religious preferences, family structure, political views, feminism, and self-identification) are formulated at the top (on the horizontal line) of the figure. These categories are used in the code frame to analyze political values and ideologies. The most common themes that emerged after coding were therefore organized into the political category in which they appeared most frequently. The theme 'gender roles' presented itself in two categories (feminism and self-identification) and is therefore placed on the middle line.

On the left side of the figure (on the vertical line) different overarching categories (worldview, lifestyle, and behavior) are displayed. These categories illustrate on which level the themes operate most often and explain on which stage these Tradwives express their values and beliefs. 'Worldview' describes how these Tradwives look at the world and society around them, 'lifestyle' indicates how these influencers organize their lives, and 'behavior' illustrates themes that explain how Tradwives behave. All the nine emerged themes can therefore also be applied to one of these overarching categories. The theme 'femininity' fits into two layers (lifestyle and behavior) and is therefore placed on the middle line.

After the coding process, the themes can be assigned to a political orientation in which they occurred most frequently. The different color combinations in this figure indicate to which political orientation the themes belong. Yellow stands for the conservative ideology, orange for the alt-lite ideology, and the color red stands for the alt-right ideology. Each theme in this figure has its own assigned color, which represents the most prominent political orientation in which this theme appeared during the coding process. Some themes have an exceptional different colored border, this indicates that this theme also frequently appeared in another political orientation. The different colors in this figure therefore explain how politically oriented the themes appear in the Tradwives content and how these political orientations can be connected to each other.

The nine themes that occurred the most are shown in *figure 1*. The themes are: ‘Christianity’ (the Tradwives talk about their faith), ‘biblical values’ (Tradwives describe in their videos how the Bible inspires or motivates them), ‘doubts about society’ (these women talk about their experiences with society), ‘women-hating-society’ (Tradwives explain why they feel unaccepted in this society), ‘home-staying’ (the influencers describe their desires for home-staying), ‘gender roles’ (the Tradwives express ideas or preferences that confirm different gender roles), ‘femininity’ (these women talk about

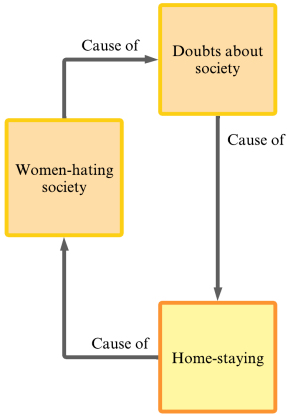
their views on feminism and femininity), ‘being submissive’ (the influencers describe how they behave to their partners), and lastly ‘creating a family’ (The Tradwives emphasize the importance of having and creating a family).

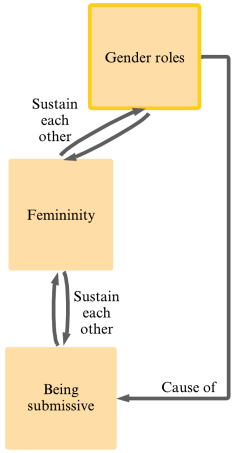
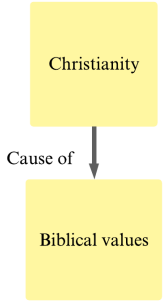
Combined, these findings show that these Tradwives are indeed politically oriented, in which the conservative and alt-lite ideology are mostly represented. This conclusion will now be elaborated on in more detail. The next part goes into more depth on *figure 1* and explains how the themes are connected to each other.

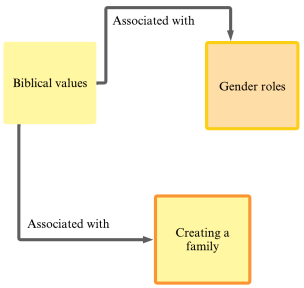
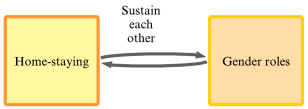
Patterns & Connections

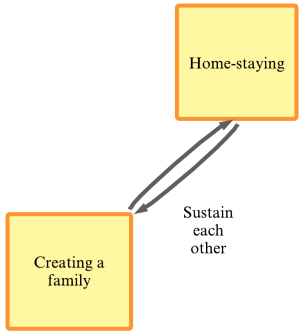
The themes in *figure 1* are connected in a lot of different ways. This research will show the connections between the themes in more detail, in order to establish more insights into the content of the Tradwives. The themes and connections give a deeper understanding of how the Tradwives express themselves and how this can be linked to a political ideology. *Table 2* goes into more depth and gives examples and explanations on how the themes and ideologies are connected to each other. *Table 2* is displayed on the next page.

Table 2 - Explanation and examples of how the most occurring themes are connected to each other

Linked themes	Example	Explanation
	**TW5:** If I wanted to destroy a generation of women, I'd tell them [...] being "just" a stay-at-home-mom is wasting your potential **TW3:** 'Stay at home moms know that they'll be looked down on. We know that what we do isn't making money, but we also know that some of the most valuable, impactful work in this world isn't paid.' **TW3**: 'But our current society does not praise or value femininity in a lot of cases. And so I think a lot of us grew up believing that we needed to act masculine in order to be valued in order to be respected.'	Tradwives express how they feel treated by society. They doubt society, because according to them their lifestyle (as stay at home women) is not being accepted. These three themes often occur alongside each other in the statements of these Tradwives.

	**TW3**: 'The really great thing about femininity is that if you are a female, you already have it deep within you. It is in your DNA. It is in every part of you. [...] If you can just find someone or something to take care of right now today [...]' **TW1**: 'But then there are other days when I'm like: oh, I love having a man that's the head of the household. I love being told what to do. I think it's hot, but honestly, we exist. We are out there.' **TW7**: 'Sure I could have a career, but I'd much rather serve my husband, bake bread, and frolic around in pretty dresses.'	Tradwives talk about what femininity means to them. It often goes along with expressing forms of (traditional) gender roles and sometimes even submissives towards their partners.
	**TW7**: 'Because I am a Christian, my set of values comes from the Bible. I make my decisions based off what it says about me and how to live my life.'	Tradwives often talk about their Christianity. They express their love for God, or they talk about how they adapt their lifestyle on what they

		learned from the Bible. These biblical values are the cause of their faith.
	**TW5**: How sad is it to live in a world that tells you [...] God isn't real, you can change your gender, [...] marriage and family = misery, [...] abortion is healthcare, [...] there's more to life than what you've been told	Those biblical values form the base on the way these women think about gender roles and creating a family. The themes regularly appear together in the comments of the Tradwives.
	**TW6**: When he works hard so you can be a stay at home mom who bakes fresh sourdough on the daily.	Tradwives often express how they view gender roles. They expect their partners to provide for them, so they can stay at home. The themes sustain each other.

	**TW1:** In my forever passenger princess, homemaking, childbearing, kiss him when he gets home, always look like a 90's supermodel stage because 12 years ago a farmer boy told me he couldn't live without me and he meant it	These themes are connected, because talking about creating a family and home-staying frequently go together in statements.

Mechanisms

After analyzing *figure 1* and *table 2* it becomes clear that among the identified themes, different mechanisms have emerged. These mechanisms are political in nature and clearly demonstrate that the Tradwife movement is politically oriented. This research will now elaborate on two examples.

The first mechanism shows how the worldview and lifestyle of these Tradwives is determined by what they feel. This mechanism starts with the theme ‘doubts about society’. Tradwives are doubtful about what is happening in society, and they do not always agree with the way this world works. They do not feel like they fit in and therefore choose to stay at home, which explains the ‘home-staying’-theme. Because these Tradwives choose to stay at home, they get the impression that women like them are not accepted and appreciated in this society. The theme 'women-hating society' reflects the belief among these Tradwives that they are being hated on in this society and this feeling is another reason why they become doubtful about the intentions of this society, which brings this mechanism back to the first theme ‘doubts about society’. This mechanism turns into a vicious circle that sustains itself and will keep on repeating. It is a clear example of how Tradwives view society, and this lifestyle ensures that Tradwives isolates themselves from others more and more. Making such explicit statements that show distrust in society reflect political values.

Another mechanism that occurs affects the lifestyle and behavior of these Tradwives. This mechanism starts with the theme ‘gender roles’. The Tradwives long for a way of life which includes traditional gender roles. To comply with these traditional gender roles, many women refer to their feminine side or their femininity. With the theme ‘femininity’, they primarily want to reflect that they (not only dress, but also) behave like the ultimate traditional woman. This sustains their ideas on traditional gender roles. In some cases, being feminine means that Tradwives believe that women should be submissive to their partners. This submissiveness is a result of their desire for a traditional division of gender roles, and it sustains their way of thinking about femininity. This mechanism (between gender roles, femininity, and submissiveness) will therefore continue and repeat itself. This mechanism illustrates the extreme way Tradwives look at gender, traditionalism, and their own roles as being a woman. Therefore, this mechanism and these themes becomes very politically oriented.

Political categories

To gain a deeper understanding of how the themes within the Tradwife content have emerged, they will now be examined with the use of the five political categories (political views, family structure, feminism, religious preferences, and self-identification). This allows for a better understanding of who these influencers are and what political values they represent. This next chapter will give a comprehensive analysis on the political ideologies that appeared while coding the Tradwife content, and tries to find a more elaborate answer to the second research question: *to what extent does this movement have similarities with conservatism, alt-lite, or alt-right ideologies?*

Political views

This first category covers how these influencers express themselves about society. It involves their political views about 'humanity, society, or public affairs' (Goren, 2005). Tradwives talk about the presidential elections or provide insight into their opinions on how contemporary society is structured.

After analyzing and coding the transcripts, it turned out that almost every Tradwife expressed politically oriented views. A theme that stood out the most was having '**doubts about society**'. The Tradwives gave insights into their worldview and their opinions about society. They expressed their doubts or dissatisfaction about how contemporary society is structured (which often became rather explicit and extreme) and therefore these statements are very alt-lite oriented.

> ***TW3****: I think the most disturbing thing about Western culture right now is the way that we treat children. They are the most vulnerable. They are the most likely to be hurt and taken advantage of, and yet they are at the very bottom of the list of our priorities.*

> ***TW5****: How sad is it to live in a world that tells you… [...] God isn't real, you can change your gender, [...] marriage and family = misery, [...] abortion is healthcare, [...] there's more to life than what you've been told.*

The Tradwives describe how they believe this world operates. For instance, TW3 believes that this world does not care about children and that is the reason she homeschools hers. TW5 writes that this world is full of lies, lies she does not believe in. She describes how this society wants its citizens to believe that abortion is healthcare and that people can change their gender, which indicates that she does not believe in those things. Other statements that express doubts about society focus on how they believe this world makes its citizens sick.

> ***TW3****: Normal is being anxious, normal is being depressed, normal is being unhealthy, normal is being divorced, normal is working at a dead-end job that you hate. That is normal.*
> ***TW6****: And that our society is basically ruled by these industries that are doing the poisoning and don't care how it affects our health. And it is destroying our health and everyone's chronically ill and everyone's disconnected.*

TW3 and TW6 distrust society and describe why they do so. They believe that this world makes people anxious, depressed, disconnected from each other, or even chronically ill, and they see this as the reason for why they choose a different lifestyle. This lifestyle can be described as '**home-staying**', because these influencers choose to stay at home. Their negative and doubtful worldview about society makes them adopt another way of life. These women talk about how they long for a life where their husbands provide for them and where they can stay at home. This desire can be linked to a conservative ideology.

> ***TW5****: May all the women watching this find a masculine cowboy who wants to provide for her so she can stay home and bake pretty cakes [...].*
>
> ***TW8****: I used to want a very lucrative medical based career. I wanted to be working nonstop and then I met my husband. And after I met my husband, my priorities in life changed. My goals changed in life, something that I didn't see changing, but that's what happens in life.*

These influencers describe how their life changed, how they want a man to provide for them, and how they prioritize staying at home, but there is a downside to this lifestyle. The Tradwives experience an alienation from society, because (according to them) their way of life is not being accepted. They feel that this is a '**women-hating society**', a society that does not approve of women like them.

> ***TW3****: But our current society does not praise or value femininity in a lot of cases. And so I think a lot of us grew up believing that we needed to act masculine in order to be valued in order to be respected.*
>
> ***TW8****: Well because culture hates women who feel fulfilled by being a wife and a mother.*

TW3 and TW8 describe how they believe that this society tries to change women with a lifestyle like theirs. They believe that the world wants women to be more masculine, and only then will society approve of them. Their extreme ways of talking about this feeling, makes this theme mostly alt-lite oriented. This feeling of not being accepted, fuels their already existing doubts about society and this makes their desire for home-staying only more appealing. These underlying processes explain how these Tradwives view the world and how that relates to their chosen way of life. This mechanism shows a pattern of how these Tradwives deviate from the norm and create their own lifestyle, which makes them feel even more estranged from society.

Combined, almost every Tradwife talks about their worldview and their lifestyle. They describe how they experience society or how they want society to look like, which indicates that there are political values involved. Most of these political beliefs (the way these Tradwives talk about society) appear to be alt-lite oriented, (less extreme) ideas that cover their desire to stay at home are more conservatively oriented.

Family structure

This political category covers values that involve the family situation, marriage, and having children. The majority of the Tradwives emphasize the importance of '**creating a family**'. Tradwives do this by giving statements in which they express how they envision life for themselves: (getting) married and having children. This desire to create a family aligns the most to the conservative ideology.

> ***TW6****: [...] she traded a 9-5 job for a wedding ring, a baby in her arms & a home to make her own.*
>
> ***TW7****: [...] you became his wife at 18 and now you'll be mother to his children at 23.*

TW6 and TW7 proudly talk about their lives and they are satisfied with what they have accomplished. They do not explicitly tell other women to do the same, but they suggest that this lifestyle is the one to strive for. Other statements become more explicit in their desire to have children. These Tradwives find it important to bear a lot of children, and they express this in more coercive ways.

> ***TW1:*** *Y'all need to settle down and get married. Have a few babies [...].*
>
> ***TW8****: [...] she has eight children. That's successful. That's successful.*
>
> ***TW9****: All I desire in life is to be her wife and carry our babies [...].*

The Tradwives are straightforward about what they find important in life and what they expect other women should do. They emphasize that settling down and having children is crucial, makes you successful, and that it is something to pursue. Their eagerness to create a family is linked to their desire to stay at home, so this relationship is sustaining each other. When a woman wants to stay at home, she

wants to create a family and vice versa; when a woman wants to create a family, she has to stay at home. Therefore, their lifestyle is connected to their behavior.

To conclude; when Tradwives talk about family structure and creating a family, they mostly align themselves with conservative beliefs. Every Tradwife expressed that they expect other women to stay at home and have children, which made these statements align with this ideology. Although, some Tradwives became more expressive in their videos and emphasized the importance of having children and getting married in more coercive ways. Therefore a few statements aligned with the values of alt-lite, and this became the second biggest ideology for this theme.

Feminism

This political category describes how these influencers feel about feminism. Values that this category covers involve Tradwives' take on feminism, femininity, and gender roles. The connected themes (gender roles, femininity, and being submissive) that resulted from the coding process show an interesting mechanism that occurs involving the lifestyle and behavior of these Tradwives.

Most of the influencers are outspoken about feminism. Tradwives see it as a men-hating movement, and they believe that feminism strives for a society where women should behave as men. The term '**femininity**' comes up in multiple videos, and it therefore becomes an alt-lite oriented theme.

> ***TW3****: I find, that is when I feel my most feminine, for a lot of women that is simply being more intentional about raising your children.*
>
> ***TW5****: If I wanted to destroy a generation of women, I'd tell them [...] being feminine is weak [...].*

The Tradwives talk or write about what femininity means to them and they speculate that society sees femininity as a weakness. '**Gender roles**' is another occurring theme that also goes well with this 'femininity'-theme. The differences between gender (roles) is something these influencers often highlight in their videos.

TW6: *When he works hard so you can be a stay at home mom who bakes fresh sourdough on the daily.*

TW7*: We have a traditional marriage with gender roles.*

TW9*: She is the breadwinner and I am the breadmaker.*

The Tradwives express opinions that highlight the importance of having traditional gender roles. It is something that they are proud about or something that they aspire to have one day, and therefore these statements mostly align with the alt-lite ideology.

Remarkable is TW9, she stands out. She explains that her wife provides for the income, which indicates that she is in a LGBTQ+ relationship. This is remarkable, because she believes in traditional family structures, but has a progressive relationship. This unusual and paradoxal construction, could indicate that being a Tradwife is more about creating an own identity, rather than being politically motivated to have a traditional lifestyle.

The influencers advocate for a clear divide between expected gender roles, they express what they feel about feminism and femininity, and after posting those beliefs they sometimes even talk about '**being submissive**' within the household. This results in explicit and extreme statements about what they aspire in life, which all align with alt-lite oriented beliefs.

TW1*: [...] I love having a man that's the head of the household. I love being told what to do. I think it's hot, but honestly, we exist. We are out there.*

TW7*: Sure, I could have a career but I'd much rather serve my husband, bake bread, and frolic around in pretty dresses.*

TW9: *Things I do as a submissive wife: [...] I support my wife with all her dreams and goals, I'm learning how to be a surrendered wife, [...] my wife orders for me when out at restaurants and cuts up my food at the table, my wife drives us and I'm the passenger princess [...].*

Combined, these themes create a mechanism that sustains itself and is unlikely to change. Once a Tradwife chooses to adhere to traditional gender roles and to be more feminine, becoming more submissive to their partner will follow and vice versa. Not only do most Tradwives adhere to traditional gender roles, they also explicitly express wanting to be submissive to their partners. Their desire to be the obedient spouse, their strong opinions about femininity, and their beliefs about feminism being something harmful, all correspond with alt-lite values.

Religious preferences

The religious preference category covers values that involve the importance of religion. Tradwives frequently show signs of their '**Christianity**'. They repeatedly show and express their gratitude and love for God and Jesus. They thank the lord for their marriage, their children, or for the life they are living. When there was an assassination attempt on former president Donald Trump, TW1 posted a 1.44-minute political oriented video in which she expressed her gratitude for the lord who saved him. These Tradwives only talk about Christian elements or their '**biblical values**' and they never discuss other religions, which makes these themes align with the conservative ideology.

TW1*: But of course the internet, because our lifestyle is the least lucrative to society. They're going to attack us with every fiber of their being, because the traditional wife lifestyle is in line with biblical values.*

TW6*: Proverbs chapter 31, verse 13, says she works with her hands in delight.*

TW7*: Because I am a Christian, my set of values comes from the Bible. I make my decisions based off what it says about me and how to live my life.*

So, the Tradwives explain that their worldview comes from biblical values, and these values can be connected to their lifestyle and behavior. These women like to stay at home, want to adhere to traditional gender roles, and want to create a family, which are all rooted within the biblical values that they share. They are outspoken about what God means to them and that they live according to biblical values, therefore the religious preferences of these Tradwives mostly align with conservative values.

Self-identification

This last category involves values on how Tradwives see themselves and their traditional lifestyle. They talk about being traditional, being subordinate, or having traditional '**gender roles**'. This theme is not only relevant within the political category 'feminism', but also within 'self-identification'. This demonstrates that the themes are closely connected to each other, and that they can appear in more than one category. In this case, the tradwives eagerly express that they are traditional housewives, with a traditional division of gender roles. TW7 gives a clear example.

> ***TW7****: How we split the bills 4 years married as a traditional couple. Him: groceries, mortgage, cars/gas, clothing. Me: I'm having his baby.*

TW7 explains that her husband must provide for the family, which she must bring into this world. This traditional division of gender roles makes it evident what Tradwives want in life. Other influencers are even more extreme in their statements. TW3 writes about her female gender and how she wants to be referred to. She clearly states that she does not accept any alternative terms for the word 'woman'.

> ***TW3****: I don't want to be referred to as a womb owner. I don't want to be referred to as a pregnant person. I don't want to be referred to as a bleeder. I don't want to be referred to as a*

birthing person. I don't want to be referred to as a chest feeder. I don't want to be referred to as a CIS woman. I am just a woman.

To conclude, expressing the importance of traditional referring terms (and disapproving of alternative ones) shows an extreme way of thinking about gender, which aligns the values of alt-right. However, even though there are sometimes extreme exceptions, most statements tend to be somewhat less radical and therefore become mostly alt-lite oriented.

Conclusion and discussion

The aim of this research was to examine whether the Tradwife movement is politically oriented and if so, to identify to which political ideology the movement mostly aligned. A qualitative content analysis was conducted on 159 videos of nine Tradwife influencers. These videos were collected from the social media platform TikTok in a period of two months (June and July of 2024). After analyzing and coding the content of these videos, themes emerged that helped understand the way Tradwives relate to political values. This research tried to find answers to the following research questions:

- *To what extent is the Tradwife movement politically oriented?*
- *To what extent does this movement have similarities with conservatism, alt-lite, or alt-right ideologies?*

In the beginning of this study, there was not much known about the true essence of the Tradwife content. A question was raised whether these Tradwives just adhered to a conservative lifestyle, or if they indeed actively expressed (radical) right-wing ideologies. After analyzing the Tradwife videos it became clear that these influencers express values that cover beliefs about society, humanity, and public affairs (Goren, 2005), and as a result these values became political. The first

research questions (*to what extent is the Tradwife movement politically oriented?*) can therefore be answered. The Tradwife movement is strongly politically oriented. These Tradwives expressed politically oriented values that extended beyond mere personal preferences, attitudes, habits, and behavior, which makes this a politically oriented movement.

After finding an answer to the first research question, this study wanted to find out what similarities this movement had with right-wing ideologies. After analyzing the Tradwife videos, the second research questions (*to what extent does this movement have similarities with conservatism, alt-lite, or alt-right ideologies?*) can be answered: the Tradwife movement displays evident similarities with conservative and alt-lite political ideologies. Because this Tradwife movement never expresses 'white supremacy' or anti-Sematic statements, it cannot be labelled as alt-right. It can also be concluded that this combination of ideologies indicates that the movement adopts some aspects from one ideology and other aspects from the other ideology, meaning that this Tradwife movement is a flexible trend that can change (the intensity of) their values depending on the topic. For the conservative aspects, these Tradwives align themselves with the traditional views of this ideology. This essential element of conservatism emphasizes the preservation of (religious) traditions (Schwartz, et al., 2012). Tradwives express this by talking about their faith and their biblical values, or in the way they see family as one of the most important things in life (Goren, 2005). Their conservative values are centered around their religion and their family status. When these Tradwives become more extreme in their opinions, they align themselves more with the alt-lite ideas about: being doubtful about society, rejecting feminism (Ma, 2021), and adhering to traditional gender roles (Sykes & Hopner, 2024). The Tradwives see feminism as a men-hating movement and they fully support a clear divide between males and females, by which they often see men as superior (Sykes & Hopner, 2024). Therefore, these values become more extreme than conservative- and less radical than alt-right ideas, resulting in an alt-lite political orientation.

This research expressed concerns about the potential negative effects this trend could have on adolescents. This group of young people is in the midst of their transition to adulthood, making this

phase a crucial moment for socializing (Potts, 2015) and identity formation, on which they will develop their political preferences (Buckingham, 1999). 60% of TikTok users are adolescents (Stahl & Literat, 2022) and this social media app provides a platform for young people to learn how to behave, what to think, and what to adhere to (Maccoby, 2015). Therefore, it is important to recognize that they are exposed to the conservative and alt-lite values of this Tradwife movement. Future research could investigate how the Tradwife movement and their content is perceived by these adolescents. Considering that this research addresses the possible effects on this young group, research could investigate the development of identity and political values by this audience with the use of a longitudinal study.

Remarkable in this research is the paradoxical nature of a Tradwife who adheres to traditional gender roles, but highlights the fact that she is in a LGBTQ+ relationship. Therefore, it can be suggested that the Tradwife character may be less about adhering to political ideologies, but more about creating an online identity. Because these Tradwives are doubtful about society and feel like they do not fit in, this sense of belonging to a movement or identity can make them feel empowered. Sykes and Hopner (2023) write about the Tradwife subculture that provides security and belonging that 'offers support in an increasingly insecure world'. Further research could therefore explore how this movement provides a sense of stability and identity for people in uncertain times.

There are some limitations to this research, which will now be discussed. First, this research focuses on a limited number of Tradwives. Therefore, the full diversity of the movement is not represented. Expanding the sample size could increase the generalizability of the findings. Secondly, this research only examines the influencers and not the audience. Even though this research raises concerns on what influence the Tradwife movement has on its audience, it does not examine this concern. Lastly, the data collection might introduce bias or errors. The interpretation of statements, codes, themes, and ideologies is entirely subjective and although this research attempts to eliminate every form of bias, there will always be a possibility that unintended errors are made. The addition of a second coder could resolve this issue.

To conclude, it can be stated that the Tradwife movement is indeed very politically oriented, with a significant overlap between conservative and alt-lite ideologies. Because Tradwives' ways of communicating are not as radical as alt-right adherents, they are much more easily seen on (social) media platforms such as TikTok (Moffitt, 2023). Therefore, spreading their own (extreme) ideas is easy and allows them to gain large numbers of followers online (Nagle, 2017). This indicates that adolescents are confronted with these extreme traditional and conservative ideas at a very crucial development age. Ultimately, this Tradwife movement serves as a powerful reminder of how online identities can underscore a broader societal trend. A trend where belonging and political ideology become inseparably linked in the digital age, proving that research on identity, politics, and the power of social media is now more important than ever.

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Appendix A - Code frame

Code	Description	Examples
Politically oriented		
101 Political views	Values involving views about humanity, society, and public affairs.	- Has clear ideas about how society should look like - Has clear ideas about humanity and the different gender roles - Expresses things woman should or should not do
Conservative political orientation		
202 Family structure	Values involving the family situation, marriage, and children.	- Expects women to stay at home - Expresses the importance of marriage in society - Finds it a woman's job to take care of the children
203 Feminism	Values involving their take on feminism and gender roles.	- Sees feminism as something bad for humanity and society

		- Believes society should adhere to traditional gender roles
204 Religious preferences	Values involving religious elements.	- Finds Christian beliefs important for society - Shows signs of Christian symbolism
205 Self-identification	Values involve their beliefs about being a woman.	- Expresses that women have certain duties in this society
Alt-lite political orientation		
302 Family structure	Values involving the family situation, marriage, and children.	- Sees it as a woman's duty to stay at home - Emphasizes that marriage is very important for all women - Finds it very important that women bear a lot of children
303 Feminism	Values involving their take on feminism, femininity, and gender roles.	- Sees feminism as a man-hating movement, which is dangerous for society - Advocates post-feminism

		- Talks about womanhood or embracing femininity - Believes humanity has a clear divide between gender - Wants to provide for her husband - Sees men as superior in this society
304 Religious preferences	Values involving religious elements and their take on other religions.	- Expresses strong Christian beliefs - Talks about Christianity as the only acceptable faith for humanity
305 Self-identification	Values involve their beliefs about being a woman and their trad-lifestyle.	- Emphasizes that women have certain duties in this society - Advocates being proud to be calling herself and other women 'Tradwife' - Finds marriage one of the most important things in one's life
Alt-right political orientation		

402 Family structure	Values involving the family situation, marriage, and children.	- Sees it as an obligation for women to stay at home - Emphasizes that marriage is the most important thing in women's life - Bears a lot of children because that is what women are made for
403 Feminism	Values involving their take on feminism, femininity, and gender roles.	- Sees feminism as a man-hating movement, that must be destroyed in order to save humanity and society - Advocates for a post-feminism society in an extreme way - Talks about women embracing femininity - Believes humanity has a clear divide between gender and acts like it - Sees heterosexual white men as superior in society

		- Wants to serve her husband
404 Religious preferences	Values involving religious elements and their take on other religions.	- Has extreme strong Christian beliefs - Talks about Christianity as the only acceptable faith for humanity - Shows deep hatred towards other religions in society - Expresses anti-semetic sentiment
405 Self-identification	Values involve their beliefs about being a woman and their trad-lifestyle.	- Emphasizes womens inferiorness towards heterosexual white men - Is proudly calling herself and others 'Tradwife' - Actively uses terms like 'tradwife', 'tradlife', and other forms of traditionalism

Appendix B - Code book

101	**TW1**	● But of course the Internet, because our lifestyle is the least lucrative to society. They're going to attack us with every fiber of their being, because the traditional wife lifestyle is in line with biblical values.	**non-lucrative lifestyle, biblical values**
		● Society is pushing this lifestyle. Why? You ask. Because if we hate traditional men and we're constantly being run ragged, we're tired. And tired women, we develop all kinds of issues, from emotional distress, autoimmune diseases to just straight up gossiping and hating on our neighbor. That's just how women are.	**men-hating society, mad feminist, doubts about society**
	TW2	● When people add you to their "2024 blockout list" Because you support Trump	**Trump**
	TW3	● But our current society does not praise or value femininity in a lot of cases. And so I think a lot of us grew up believing that we needed to act masculine in order to be valued in order to be respected.	**women-hating society, doubts about society, femininity**
		● Again, there are so many other things that you can do to kind of feel more feminine to shed off that masculinity, that again society I feel like has just incentivized us to have. But I think the first step and the biggest thing anybody can do right now today is to nurture.	**women-hating society, femininity, doubts about society**
		● And what's ironic is that if you ask these exact people, you value the profession of house cleaner, cook, teacher, party planner, chauffeur, interior decorator, nurse, psychiatrist, mediator, they would all say: 'yes of course, the work that those people do is	**women-hating society, doubts about society, home-staying**

		important to our world, to our society'. But when they see a woman doing all of those things. And not for her paycheck, but just because she wants to. She's actually not doing anything at all.	**doubts about society**
		● And for a while, I think a lot of Americans just didn't really care. I think we figured, well, these news organizations have been around for so long like they must be credible. But now it's like we're not falling for it anymore. You people are hypocrites. This kind of divisiveness, this kind of hypocrisy... is not journalism.	
		● Heaven forbid any parent want to deviate from that norm. Heaven forbid anybody look at that and go: "you know what? I don't want that for my kids." And of course even homeschoolers, anybody can experience those things. But to pretend like normal is such an amazing thing, and it's like this high bar that we've set. It's just a lie.	**doubts about society**
		● There's nothing empowering about feeling coerced into celebrating a woman in a position of power, regardless of where she stands on policy. Simply because of her gender. There's nothing empowering about letting somebody's gender override their personal character.	**doubtful of woman**
		● So, for millions of women across the country, we do not share the same values as Kamala Harris. We do not believe that she represents us. We share a gender, sure, but that's about it.	**doubtful of woman**
		● I think the most disturbing thing about Western culture right now is the way that we treat children. They are the most vulnerable. They are the most likely to be hurt and taken advantage of, and yet they are at the very bottom of the list of our priorities.	**doubts about society**
			doubts about society

		• Normal is being anxious, normal is being depressed, normal is being unhealthy, normal is being divorced, normal is working at a dead end job that you hate. That is normal.	
	TW4	• They have led us to believe that we can't do it, we can't make it, it must be store bought. I implore you to throw out that narrative. You can make it, and you should make it. Food impacts our health. It impacts every part of our lives.	**doubts about society**
	TW5	• May all the women watching this find a masculine cowboy who wants to provide for her so she can stay home and bake pretty cakes, who loves Jesus, doesn't watch p*rn, wants to build a homestead, buy her cows and chickens, makes her feel safe and loved, and have lots of kids with her.	**Home-staying, love god, gender roles, create a family**
		• How sad is it to live in a world that tells you… [...] God isn't real, You can change your gender, [...], Marriage and family = misery, [...], Abortion is healthcare, [...], There's more to life than what you've been told	**doubts about society, gender roles, biblical values, create a family, christianity**
		• Is someone gonna match my freak? (eats beef and eggs every day, would rather stay home and garden, happily spends all day making food for my husband, wants as many babies as God can give, knows 💉 are a scam)	**Home-staying, christianity, gender roles, create a family**
	TW6	• And that our society is basically ruled by these industries that are doing the poisoning and don't care how it affects our health. And it is destroying our health and everyone's chronically ill and everyone's disconnected.	**doubts about society**
		• As a millennial, I'm pretty confused right now. Why is it that everybody is so impressed with the big houses, the brand new cars, new phones every single year, the expensive clothing, and all those things are are for looks. They don't bring any value to anyone's life. They just bring status. We need to stop living so materialistic and start going back to some of our old ways. We	**doubts about society**

		need to embrace slow living. We need to embrace peace, because the way the world's spinning right now, it's spinning so fast that nobody can keep up. • Today, society is sicker than ever, disease is rampant. But does anyone wonder why? We've become so disconnected from our food that we have forgotten that food is thy medicine and my medicine is thy food.	**doubts about society**
	TW7	• Being traditional is having a set of values that you make your life decisions from. We all do this, it's called having a worldview. Because I am a Christian, my set of values comes from the Bible. I make my decisions based off what it says about me and how to live my life.	**doubts about society, biblical values**
	TW8	• Well because culture hates women, who feel fulfilled by being a wife and a mother.	**women-hating society**
		• I used to want a very lucrative medical based career. I wanted to be working non stop and then I met my husband. And after I met my husband, my priorities in life changed, my goals changed in life, something that I didn't see changing, but that's what happens in life.	**non lucrative lifestyle, home-staying**
202	**TW1**	• In my forever passenger princess, homemaking, childbearing, kiss him when he gets home, always look like a 90's supermodel stage because 12 years ago a farmer boy told me he couldn't live without me and he meant it	**home-staying, creating a family**
		• Should Hannah leave all her kids and everything to do all the things that y'all tell her she should do. Absolutely not.	**home-staying**
	TW3	• When you land a guy who just wants a simple life with kids, church, a dog and some home cooked food.	**creating a family**

	TW5	• POV: you're an ex OnlyFans girl... which according to strangers on the internet means you're worthless and will never find a man... but you just got married	**creating a family**
	TW6	• POV: she traded a 9-5 job for a wedding ring, a baby in her arms & a home to make her own.	**creating a family, home-staying**
	TW7	• POV: you became his wife at 18 and now you'll be mother to his children at 23	**creating a family**
203	**TW1**	• And it's a supernatural type of love, to be cared for, protected and supported, heard, understood. He doesn't just see me, he knows me and he supports my dreams and my lifestyle.	**home-staying**
	TW3	• So on its face, feminism sounds great, right? Equality for all, and girls supporting girls. That sounds so beautiful. But the second you kind of test that out, you very quickly find that it has just become a total facade. If I'm putting on makeup for my husband to come home from work or if I'm cooking for him. They get upset. They don't like that, like whoever the head of PR is for feminism needs to be fired. They are doing a horrible job, because almost all of their representatives who are outspoken they just seem so miserable, so hateful, so bitter	**mad feminist, women-hating society**
		• No, Kamala Harris Presidency would not be a victory for all women.	**doubtful of woman, doubts about society, women-hating society**
	TW6	• We've been taught that women don't belong in the kitchen because it's a waste of time demeaning, because cooking is too hard and takes too much time, and that quality food is best purchased in the package. This has caused us to become fully disconnected from our food source.	**doubts about society**

		• When he works hard so you can be a stay at home mom who bakes fresh sourdough on the daily.	**Home-staying, gender roles**
204	**TW1**	• Praying over everything before I put it in my cart because homemaking is more than just cooking from scratch – it's about being devoted in praying for your household. • When the doctors said your baby wouldn't make it. BUT GOD	**home-staying, thanking god** **christianity**
		• So we know yesterday there was assassination attempt on the President and let me tell you, friends, that the Lord spared him. And even though it's a scary time and there, you know, there's a lot of questions, there's a lot of confusion, there's a lot of fear. Let me tell you, God is on the throne.	**thanking god, Trump**
		• Anyways, I don't care what your political party is. This applies to everyone and our prayers and thoughts are with President Donald Trump as he recovers from this. And it is my prayer that he will truly be born again, and that revival will come to America. Because we need the Lord.	**christianity, trump**
		• I'll never be able to say 'thank you' enough to God, but I shall try for the rest of my life.	**thanking god**
		• But of course the Internet, because our lifestyle is the least lucrative to society. They're going to attack us with every fiber of their being, because the traditional wife lifestyle is in line with biblical values	**non lucrative lifestyle, biblical**

			values, gender roles, doubts about society
	TW3	• No, it isn't that they were mocking Christianity because, let's be honest, there is nothing new about that. It's getting boring at this point.	**christianity**
		• As Christians I think we get really defensive about our beliefs and about Christ as we should. But the truth is that our faith is not that fragile. It has been mocked so many times and to the point where I'm just like over it. It's old, it's boring, it doesn't even make me angry anymore, because I just don't care. It's boring. But if you really study the life of Jesus Christ himself, you'll see that he is very clear on what he thinks of people who put children in dangerous situations.	**biblical values, christianity**
		• If you are a Christian, if you are a religious person, if you are a decent person in general, that is what should really offend you.	**biblical values, christianity**
	TW5	• May all the women watching this find a masculine cowboy who wants to provide for her so she can stay home and bake pretty cakes, who loves Jesus, doesn't watch p*rn, wants to build a homestead, buy her cows and chickens, makes her feel safe and loved, and have lots of kids with her.	**home-staying, gender roles, love god, create a family**
		• How sad is it to live in a world that tells you… [...] God isn't real, [...]	**christianity, biblical values, doubts about society, gender roles**
		• Lover of Jesus	**love god**

		● If I wanted to destroy a generation of women, I'd tell them… [...] God isn't real	**christianity**
	TW6	● I asked God to take my habit away. God said no, it is not for me to take away, but for you to give it up. I asked God to grant me patience. God said no, patience is a by product of tribulations. It isn't granted, it is earned. I ask God to give me happiness. God said no, I give you blessings. Happiness is up to you. I ask God to spare me pain. God said no, suffering draws you apart from worldly cares and brings you closer to me. I ask God to make my spirit grow. God said no, you must grow on your own, but I will prune you to make you fruitful. I asked for all things that I might enjoy in life. God said no, I will give you life so that you may enjoy all things. And I asked God to help me love others as much as he loves me, God said. Finally, you get the idea.	**thanking god**
		● Sat down, did my devotions. I've been going through Ezekiel lately, and a lot of end times prophecy, which has been really nice and my sourdough turned out so beautifully.	**christianity**
		● Proverbs chapter 31, verse 13, says she works with her hands in delight.	**christianity**
	TW7	● Is somebody gonna match my freak? [...] and loving Jesus	**love god**
		● Because I am a Christian, my set of values comes from the Bible. I make my decisions based off what it says about me and how to live my life.	**biblical values, christianity**

		• No one gets to define who I am, except for God.	**christianity**
		• Who I am comes from an understanding of the Bible, [...]	**biblical values**
		• Why wait when God brought us together at the perfect time?	**thanking god**
205	**TW1**	• In my forever passenger princess, homemaking, childbearing, kiss him when he gets home, always look like a 90's supermodel stage because 12 years ago a farmer boy told me he couldn't live without me and he meant it	**home-staying, creating a family, gender roles**
	TW3	• So if you're kind of in a rut and you kind of just want to like, not necessarily, like spice things up, but you want to be a better wife, you want to be a better spouse, you want to be a better partner? I recommend getting ready. Doing some make-up. Putting on a cute outfit before you see your husband	**gender roles**
	TW6	• I accidentally boss girled too hard & now I'm a stay at home mom who bakes	**home-staying**
		• When he works hard so you can be a stay at home mom who bakes fresh sourdough on the daily.	**home-staying, gender roles**
		• POV: she traded a 9-5 job for a wedding ring, a baby in her arms & a home to make her own.	**home-staying, creating a family, gender roles**
302	**TW5**	• Is someone gonna match my freak? [...] wants as many babies as God can give	**creating a family**

	TW7	• Is somebody gonna match my freak? [...] lots of babies [...]	**creating a family**
	TW9	• Things I do as a submissive wife: [...]	**being submissive**
303	**TW1**	• It's unrealistic and I know that nobody stopped to think about this, but have you ever stopped to think about maybe she wants a man who's a little more traditional? Maybe she wants a man who's going to tell her what to do.	**being submissive, gender roles**
		• But then there are other days when I'm like, oh, I love having a man that's the head of the household. I love being told what to do. I think it's hot, but honestly, we exist. We are out there.	**being submissive, gender roles**
		• Because if we hate traditional men and we're constantly being run ragged, we're tired. And tired women, we develop all kinds of issues, from emotional distress, autoimmune diseases to just a straight up gossiping and hating on our neighbor. That's just how women are. Men who are constantly hated.	**men-hating society**
	TW3	• That's why we're starting to see the like the tradwife stuff on TikTok is because people are so sick of the other side like so done with the angry man hating like putting women down.	**men-hating society**
		• The secret to being more feminine [...]	**femininity**
		• The really great thing about femininity is that if you are a female, you already have it deep within you. It is in your DNA. It is in every part of you.I think the number one way is to nurture that really is the core and really is the essence of femininity. If you can just find someone or something to take care of right now today [...]	**femininity, gender roles**

		• I find that is when I feel my most feminine for a lot of women that is simply being more intentional about raising your children. • Again, there are so many other things that you can do to kind of feel more feminine to shed off that masculinity, that again society I feel like has just incentivized us to have. But I think the first step and the biggest thing anybody can do right now today is to nurture. • But our current society does not praise or value femininity in a lot of cases. And so I think a lot of us grew up believing that we needed to act masculine in order to be valued in order to be respected.	**femininity, creating a family** **femininity, doubts about society** **women-hating society, doubts about society, femininity**
	TW5	• How sad is it to live in a world that tells you… [...], You can change your gender, [...] • Is someone gonna match my freak? [...] happily spends all day making food for my husband • If I wanted to destroy a generation of women, I'd tell them… [...] Being feminine is weak	**gender roles, doubts about society** **home-staying, gender roles** **femininity**
	TW7	• Sure I could have a career but I'd much rather serve my husband, bake bread, and frolic around in pretty dresses.	**being submissive, gender roles, femininity**

		• Is somebody gonna match my freak? [...] submitting to my husband [...] • We have a traditional marriage with gender roles.	**being submissive** **gender roles**
	TW8	• Anytime you go against what is countercultural, to the mean narrative of what a woman should be according to feminism, you're an enemy.	**mad feminist**
	TW9	• Things I do as a submissive wife: [...] • She is the breadwinner and I am the breadmaker	**being submissive** **gender roles**
304	**TW1**	• And it is my prayer that he will truly be born again, and that revival will come to America. • Women are just the problem. So, we're gonna just be really toxic and go out on our own and the Lord ... and the whole reason why He made a woman., was because men have no business being alone.	**christianity** **doubtful of woman, christianity**
305	**TW1**	• I, as a traditional wife, have had many interviews go wrong. • But of course the Internet, because our lifestyle is the least lucrative to society. They're going to attack us with every fiber of their being, because the traditional wife lifestyle is in line with biblical values.	**Tradwife** **non lucrative lifestyle, biblical values, gender roles**

	TW3	● Stay at home moms know that they'll be looked down on. We know that what we do isn't making money, but we also know that some of the most valuable, impactful work in this world isn't paid.	**non lucrative lifestyle, home-staying, women-hating society**
	TW5	● How sad is it to live in a world that tells you… [...] Marriage and family = misery, [...]	**creating a family, doubts about society**
		● Is someone gonna match my freak? [...] would rather stay home and garden	**home-staying**
		● Happy housewife and homemaker	**home-staying**
		● If I wanted to destroy a generation of women, I'd tell them… [...] Being "just" a stay-at-home-mom is wasting your potential	**doubts about society, home-staying, women-hating society**
	TW7	● A day in my life as a tradwife content creator	**tradwife**
		● How to convince people that you're a tradwife	**tradwife**
		● One of the most important ways to convince people that you're a tradwife, is by what you wear.	**tradwife**
		● How we split the bills 4 years marries as a traditional couple: Him:	**gender roles**

		Groceries Mortgage Cars/gas Clothing Me: I'm having his baby	
		• Being a tradwife online is a really crazy thing, because you run across a lot of people who don't understand having a set of values that you make your life decisions from. The people with the most opinions on what it means to be a trad wife are not the people in the trad community, but actually people who are completely opposite and against what tradwives believe and stand for.	**doubts about society, tradwife**
		• We have a traditional marriage with gender roles.	**gender roles**
		• Tradwife. Tradwife. Tradwife. Tradwife. Tradwife. Tradwife. Tradwife. Tradwife.	**tradwife**
	TW8	• DITL of a 25 yr old Tradwife	**tradwife**
	TW9	• She said I was only wearing this floral dress so I could fit in with the other trad wives	**tradwife**
402	**TW1**	• Y'all need to settle down and get married. Have a few babies [...]	**creating a family**
	TW8	• [...] she has eight children. That's successful. That's successful.	**creating a family**

	TW9	• All I desire in life is to be her wife and carry our babies…	**creating a family**
405	**TW3**	• I don't want to be referred to as a womb owner. I don't want to be referred to as a pregnant person. I don't want to be referred to as a bleeder. I don't want to be referred to as a birthing person. I don't want to be referred to as a chest feeder. I don't want to be referred to as a CIS woman. I am just a woman.	**gender roles**