

Tradwives on social networks: ideology and advertising. The case of RoRo on Instagram

Tradwives en redes sociales: ideología y publicidad. El caso de RoRo en Instagram

Tradwives nas redes sociais: ideologia e publicidade. O caso da RoRo no Instagram

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2026.9086>

ARACELI CASTELLÓ-MARTÍNEZ¹

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5783-344X>

BLANCA MIGUÉLEZ-JUAN

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8834-7644>

This article examines the tradwife phenomenon through the case of the Spanish influencer RoRo on Instagram. A mixed-methods content analysis of 153 posts is conducted from a communication and gender perspective. The findings reveal the reproduction of traditional femininity imaginaries and their articulation with advertising content, particularly in sectors associated with the domestic sphere, as well as a predominantly transparent integration of commercial collaborations.

KEYWORDS: Tradwife, Instagram, advertising, social networks, influencers, gender.

Este artículo analiza el fenómeno tradwife a través del caso de la influencer española RoRo en Instagram. Desde una perspectiva de comunicación y género, se aplica un análisis de contenido mixto a 153 publicaciones. Los resultados evidencian la reproducción de imaginarios tradicionales de feminidad y su articulación con contenidos publicitarios, especialmente en sectores vinculados al ámbito doméstico, así como una integración mayoritariamente transparente de las colaboraciones comerciales.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Tradwife, Instagram, publicidad, redes sociales, influencers, género.

Este artigo analisa o fenómeno tradwife por meio do caso da influenciadora espanhola RoRo no Instagram. A partir de uma perspectiva de comunicação e gênero, é realizada uma análise de conteúdo mista em 153 publicações. Os resultados evidenciam a reprodução de imaginários tradicionais de feminilidade e sua articulação com conteúdos publicitários, especialmente em setores ligados ao âmbito doméstico, bem como uma integração, em sua maioria, transparente das parcerias comerciais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Tradwife, Instagram, publicidade, redes sociais, influenciadores, gênero.

How to cite:

Castelló-Martínez, A., & Miguélez-Juan, B. (2026). Tradwives on social networks: ideology and advertising. The case of RoRo on Instagram. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, e9086. <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2026.9086>

¹ Corresponding author.

araceli.castello@gcloud.ua.es

Submitted: 05/27/25. Accepted: 03/13/26. Published: 05/20/26.

INTRODUCTION

The tradwife movement

In the third decade of the 21st century, one of the terms that has gained the greatest traction on digital platforms is *tradwife*. This concept, formed from the fusion of *trad* (an abbreviation of “traditional”) and *wife*, refers to women who make visible on social media a revindication of the “classic” wife—one who returns to the domestic sphere to serve her husband, children, and household duties—thus defending a highly traditional heteronormative interpretation (Galbraith, 2023; Leidig, 2023; López Ruiz, 2024; Love, 2020; Sykes & Hopner, 2024).

Although the hashtag #tradwife was first used on social media in 2013 (Tebaldi, 2021), this trend gained prominence during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown period, particularly in the United States of America, and is situated within the so-called “momosphere”, defined as the set of blogs and social media platforms focused on parenting, relationships, cooking, and domestic life (Proctor, 2022).

The tradwife movement has expanded through digital globalization and influencer culture (Deem, 2023), although it has roots in earlier antifeminist protests, such as those led in the 1970s in the United States by Phyllis Schlafly, who argued that women should find self-fulfilment in the roles of mother, wife, and homemaker. Schlafly’s activism inspired the television miniseries *Mrs. America* (2020), created by Dahvi Waller, produced by FX, and distributed by Hulu. At the beginning of the 21st century, Sarah Palin promoted the conservative Tea Party movement, which introduced the concept of the “Mama Grizzlies”, portraying women as ambassadors of traditional values and protectors of their families.

Márquez and Martínez (2025) conceptualize the tradwife phenomenon as a reaction within the digital sphere to fourth-wave feminism (Cobo, 2019; Varela, 2023). Through their analysis of the Spanish influencer RoRo Bueno, the authors identify both supporters and critics of the movement, a division that reveals social tensions and the polarization of media discourse.

Sykes and Hopner (2024) propose a typology of tradwives ranging from the defence of traditional gender roles and feminine lifestyles to

ideological radicalism. This extremism is presented as a cultural manifestation of alt-right neoliberalism (Del Campo, 2023; Zahay, 2022), grounded in positions such as antifeminism or white supremacy rooted in a colonialist discourse (Smith & Nicholas, 2020), which frames these women as symbols of the American nation (Tebaldi, 2023). In turn, Bower (2024) identifies three subtypes of tradwives as content creators: the nostalgic, the ex-feminist, and the Southern Belle.

Posts on Instagram or TikTok by these women are characterized by a highly curated aesthetic, often evoking the 1950s, and by an ideology centered on family life and submission to the husband, who holds economic, social, and political power (Sykes & Hopner, 2024). Moreover, they present their lifestyle as an ideal, exuding happiness, security, and emotional fulfillment in their feminine identity (Zahay, 2022), and justify their discourse through a feminist rhetoric based on the notion of free choice regarding how to live their lives as empowered women, with the aim of countering inevitable criticism (Love, 2020; Proctor, 2022). Simpson's (2024) study confirms the influential power of tradwives among younger audiences, driven by elements such as personal testimony, relatability, and perceived authenticity. In some cases, the messages disseminated carry an intrinsic political intent (Soer, 2024) or explicitly promote a critical stance towards progressive values that contradict their ideal, including opposition to abortion, contraception, or the LGBTQ community (Campion & Ingram, 2023). According to Proctor (2022), the tradwife pursues three main objectives: to legitimize her identity, to illustrate how life should be lived, and to build community through identification.

The growth in followers experienced by many "traditional women" profiles on social media has transformed them into opinion leaders who monetize their messages through brand collaborations (Llanera, 2023, p. 163). This situation creates a tension with the very philosophy of tradwives, as they ultimately operate as entrepreneurs whose work consists of producing and monetizing content on social media—through public visibility and freedom of expression made possible by broader social advances (Herrera Sánchez, 2024).

Influencer culture

Influencers are individuals with social media profiles who are granted a certain degree of credibility on specific topics (Asociación Española de Anunciantes & Autocontrol, 2020; Sixto-García & Álvarez, 2020). As such, they are capable of fostering conversation and generating engagement (IAB Spain, 2019), not only by prescribing tastes, values, and lifestyles (Martínez-Sanz & González Fernández, 2018), but also by promoting products and services from brands that collaborate with them (Sokolova & Pérez, 2021).

For audiences, influencer profiles on platforms such as Instagram are appealing due to aspirational motivations (Bürklin & Faber, 2019), including authenticity, consumerism, creative inspiration, and envy (Lee, Sudarshan et al., 2022). These elements contribute to perceptions of leadership (Sokolova & Kefi, 2020; Pérez-Cabañero et al., 2023) and empathy (Chopra et al., 2021), while simultaneously fostering long-term psychological bonds (Tafesse & Wood, 2021).

These figures are perceived as being as relatable as individuals encountered in offline relationships, generating identification and diluting the perception of commercial intent through four key factors: community building, thematic micro-specialization, perceived proximity, and social amplification (Audrezet et al., 2020). For particularly sensitive audiences, such as adolescents, influencers become genuine figures of reference and admiration (Yan & Yang, 2021), given the subjective importance of imitating trending behaviors (Jin et al., 2021). However, studies such as that by González Loyola et al. (2024) show that there is not always a correspondence between the personality of the influencer and that of their followers, as this relationship depends on factors such as leadership style, content, and message framing.

Audiences tend to respond positively to products and services promoted by influencers when the content is relevant and consistent with their personal brand (Ahmadi et al., 2022; Ahmadi & Leamsom, 2022; Belanche et al., 2020; De Frutos Torres & Pastor Rodríguez, 2020; Janssen et al., 2021; Lee, Huan et al., 2022; Martín-García, 2021; Thakur et al., 2023), particularly among digital-native generations, who perceive the presence of brands within influencer content as natural (Van-Dam & Van-Reijmersdal, 2019). However, audiences are

increasingly experiencing advertising saturation across influencers' channels, even within organic content (Martín-García, 2021).

According to InfoAdex (2025), advertising investment in influencer marketing in Spain grew by 58% between 2023 and 2024, reaching an estimated €125 million in 2024. According to IAB Spain (2024a), after accounts belonging to people in their immediate social circle, the most followed profiles on social media are those of influencers (49%), particularly among users aged 12 to 17 (87%), with Instagram being the preferred platform for following them (Casaló et al., 2020). Moreover, Instagram leads all social media platforms in terms of interactions, engagement, and efficiency (IAB Spain, 2024b).

Instagram has become fully integrated into brands' advertising strategies (Coll & Micó, 2019; Vinader-Segura et al., 2020), to the extent that in sectors such as beauty (Villena Alarcón & Fernández Torres, 2020) and fashion (Tentori et al., 2023), influencer endorsement on Instagram has become central to communication strategies, largely due to the high levels of interaction enabled by the platform (Pilgrim & Bohnet-Joschko, 2019).

There are different types of influencers, particularly based on the size of their following (Conde & Casais, 2023): megainfluencers (more than one million followers), macroinfluencers (between 100 000 and one million followers), and microinfluencers (between 1 000 and 100 000 followers). While megainfluencers –globally recognized celebrities– have a broad reach but tend to generate lower engagement rates due to their large audiences, microinfluencers, despite their more limited visibility, connect more effectively with their communities through shared personality traits and interests. As a result, they achieve higher levels of trust among their audiences and are increasingly sought after by brands (Fernández-Gómez & Quintas-Froufe, 2025; González-Oñate et al., 2025; Gupta & Mahajan, 2019; Park et al., 2021; Rios-Marques et al., 2020; Sarmiento-Guede & Rodríguez-Terceño, 2020; Silalahi, 2021).

One of the most prominent influencer groups on Instagram consists of women who offer lifestyle advice within the domestic sphere (Casey & Litter, 2022), many of whom embody the “superwoman” ideal (Chae, 2018; Devos et al., 2022). What distinguishes tradwife influencers from

this group is their emphasis on traditional roles, submission to their husbands, and adherence to patriarchal norms. The tradwife movement must be understood within the broader context of social media and influencer culture, which play a significant role in the internalization of gender stereotypes –a process that begins at early life stages such as preadolescence and adolescence (Martín-Cárdaba et al., 2024). Furthermore, findings from studies such as that by Martín-Cárdaba et al. (2024) highlight a widespread tendency among minors to reproduce behaviors and preferences associated with traditional masculine and feminine stereotypes.

Regulation of influencer advertising

The legal framework governing influencer posts with commercial intent in Spain includes Law 34/1988 on General Advertising (hereinafter, LGP), of November 11; Law 3/1991 on Unfair Competition (LCD), of January 10; Law 17/2001 on Trademarks, of December 7; Law 34/2002 on Information Society Services and Electronic Commerce (LSSI), of July 11; Law 7/2010 on General Audiovisual Communication, of March 31; and Law 13/2022 on General Audiovisual Communication, of July 7. All these regulations share the principles of identification, authenticity, truthfulness, and transparency that any advertising message must comply with, regardless of the medium or format (Martínez Pastor & Gaona Pisonero, 2016), in order to ensure that audiences can recognize it as such.

Although influencer advertising is already legally framed within this regulatory context, various studies –both from the academic field (Castelló-Martínez et al., 2023; Segarra-Saavedra et al., 2023; Tailon et al., 2020) and the professional sphere (Asociación Española de Anunciantes & Autocontrol, 2020)– have highlighted the lack of clear identification of the advertising nature of influencer posts on social media, often with the aim of not diminishing the effectiveness of commercial messages (Ramos Gutiérrez & Fernández Blanco, 2021).

The failure to disclose the commercial intent of such posts may constitute covert advertising due to its deceptive nature –classified as unlawful advertising under the LGP– since it misleads audiences by not informing them that the content is disseminated in exchange for remuneration (Casado Navarro, 2023; González Pons, 2019; Gutiérrez

García, 2021; Martínez Pastor & Gaona Pisonero, 2016). In these contexts, it appears that “covert and misleading advertising are the norm, while transparency regarding both content and the nature of the advertising message remains the exception” (Sixto-García & Álvarez, 2020, p. 1620).

From a self-regulatory perspective, the *White Paper on Native Advertising* (IAB Spain, 2023), the *Legal Guide: Influencer Marketing* (IAB Spain, 2016), the *Best Practice Recommendation in Influencer Marketing* issued by the European Advertising Standards Alliance (2023), and the *Code of Conduct on the Use of Influencers in Advertising* (Asociación Española de Anunciantes & Autocontrol, 2020) all emphasize that influencer content of a commercial and/or advertising nature must be clearly identifiable to followers. This is typically achieved through expressions such as “in collaboration with” or “sponsored by”, or through hashtags such as #advertising or #ad.

However, these recommendations are voluntary, particularly in the case of microinfluencers. In fact, Royal Decree 444/2024, of April 30, which regulates the requirements for being considered a user of special relevance within video-sharing platform services –developing Article 94 of Law 13/2022 on General Audiovisual Communication, of July 7– applies only to influencers with annual income exceeding €300 000 and an audience of more than one million followers. Based on this contextual framework, the following research questions are proposed:

- RQ1. What are the characteristics of tradwife influencers’ profiles and messages on Instagram?
- RQ2. Do tradwives engage in advertising collaborations with brands?
- RQ3. If the answer to RQ2 is affirmative, which sectors and types of products predominate in their advertising collaborations?
- RQ4. If the answer to RQ2 is affirmative, are advertising collaboration messages clearly identified as such?

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The main objective of this study is to examine the tradwife phenomenon on Instagram as a form of content production. The specific objectives are to analyze the discursive and visual narratives employed

in these profiles and posts to construct digital identity, as well as to identify brand collaborations and assess compliance with advertising regulations.

To this end, the selected method is a case study of what is considered the only Spanish tradwife influencer up to mid-2025: RoRo (@whoisRoRo). This classification is supported by various media outlets, such as *El Mundo* (“Roro, la tradwife española”, 2024) and *Diario Público* (“La polémica por la ‘tiktokker’ Roro”, 2024).

Rocío López Bueno, known on social media as RoRo, is a 24-year-old Spanish influencer who has gained prominence on platforms such as TikTok and Instagram. Her content focuses on the preparation of elaborate recipes, crafts, and garment-making, all presented with a carefully curated aesthetic. As of May 2025, her Instagram account had 3.5 million followers.

A total of 153 posts published by the influencer on Instagram were monitored, covering the entire period since the account’s creation on April 21, 2018: 80 videos (reels or videos integrated into the feed) and 77 image-based posts (static posts).

The content analysis combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, with data from each post recorded in systematized coding sheets following the model proposed by Neuendorf (2017). The quantitative analysis focused on measuring the frequency of posts with promotional intent, the types of products promoted, and the sectors involved –based on the InfoAdex (2025) classification– as well as the presence (or absence) of commercial disclosures (e.g., #ad, #paidpartnership) in these posts.

The qualitative analysis, in turn, focused on the type of brand presence and the construction of discourse. Brand placement was classified following the framework proposed by Sánchez-Olmos et al. (2019), which defines different levels of brand visibility and prominence depending on their integration into the visual narrative: overt, obvious, subtle, background, or discreet. The analysis of discourse examined the narrative strategies employed, the gender roles represented, the predominant visual aesthetics, and the emotional tone of the messages, with particular attention to the couple, the home, and other elements constitutive of the tradwife imaginary.

Finally, specific variables were incorporated to analyze the potential symbolic transfer of attributes from RoRo's personal brand to the promoted brands, based on meaning transfer theory (McCracken, 1989; Schouten et al., 2020). Fieldwork was conducted in May 2025, with data collected and analyzed using Microsoft Excel.

RESULTS

Among the 153 posts analyzed, 58 (37.9%) contained a tradwife-related discourse and/or brand presence, as shown in Figure 1:

	With tradwife discourse	Without tradwife discourse	Total
Brand references identified as collaboration	8	18	26
Brand references not identified as collaboration	3	3	6
No brand references	26	95	121
Total	37	116	153

Source: The authors.

RoRo's tradwife discourse

In 37 posts (24.2%), all of them in video format, the content creator constructs a discourse that embodies the imaginaries of the traditional wife. These posts are characterized by a repetitive and affective narrative structure, as well as by an idealized domestic setting, primarily centered on the kitchen. In most of these videos, RoRo appears performing tasks associated with care and attention toward her partner –always referred to as “Pablo”– using expressions that reinforce the idea of loving and accommodating devotion: “Today Pablo feels like...”, “Pablo asked me to prepare...”, “This is for Pablo, made with love”. When the male partner appears, he remains in the background, tasting the recipe, praising the result, or expressing approval, thereby reinforcing a narrative of male validation.

In at least 12 of these videos, RoRo uses ritualized phrases such as “Pablo loved it”, “Pablo loved them too”, or “It makes me immensely happy that others can enjoy it as well”, thus reinforcing the notion that her identity is fulfilled through caring for others. No explicit references to feminism are detected; however, the discourse and staging reinforce a model of femininity closely tied to domesticity. These posts construct an identity based on sweetness, obedience, and devotion, imbued with strong symbolic and emotional content.

This type of discursive construction not only reproduces a domestic aesthetic but also activates a specific ideological imaginary linked to traditional femininity. In line with authors such as Proctor (2022) and Zahay (2022), these representations function as cultural devices that normalize hierarchical gender roles under an emotional and everyday appearance, facilitating their acceptance in contemporary digital environments.

The presence of commercial content in RoRo's posts

Among the 153 posts analyzed, 32 (20.9%) included brand presence. Of these, 26 clearly disclosed their commercial nature (81.6%): 18 did so through the hashtag “#publi”, and 8 through the formula “ambassador of...”. According to the classification proposed by Sánchez-Olmos et al. (2019), these placements can be considered subtle, as the brand is integrated into the staging of the content and shapes the narrative development.

In the remaining six posts, brands are mentioned but without explicit disclosure of collaboration. These include references to restaurants, makeup brands, tourist destinations, or supermarkets, although in two cases the influencer explicitly clarifies that the content is not advertising.

Regarding the sectors involved in these collaborations, and following the InfoAdex (2025) classification, most are naturally integrated into the domestic visual and symbolic narrative that characterizes RoRo's profile. The most represented sectors are food and beverages (including brands such as McDonald's, Coca-Cola, and Gullón), and retail and supermarkets (such as Carrefour and Bonarea), reinforcing the connection to everyday domestic consumption.

Fashion and accessories brands (such as Pandora and Singularu), as well as cosmetics and beauty brands (such as L'Oréal, Maybelline, and Garnier), appear in self-care contexts and are articulated within the content through narratives of feminine self-care. Although less frequently, technology brands (such as Xiaomi and PC Componentes) are associated with her lifestyle.

In most cases, brands are not only mentioned in the caption accompanying the post but are also functionally and organically integrated into the visual narrative. The analysis of Instagram posts shows that the majority of this commercial content maintains visual consistency with RoRo's style, employing the same aesthetic codes (soft color palettes, warm and emotionally driven staging).

The integration of brands in this type of content goes beyond a purely commercial strategy, as it is embedded within a previously constructed symbolic ecosystem. Thus, products are not merely displayed but are associated with specific values –care, dedication, and domesticity– thereby reinforcing the coherence between ideological discourse and advertising practice.

Tradwife discourse and advertising in RoRo's posts

In eight posts published in 2024, brand collaborations are identified that also explicitly reproduce tradwife discourse. These posts, which together accumulated 2 736 557 “likes”, reinforce the figure of the caring, devoted, and domestically fulfilled woman, while simultaneously integrating products or services into this narrative. Common patterns can be observed across these posts: affective language, subtle or functional product placement, and an emotionally driven tone. In these cases, the brand does not disrupt RoRo's personal narrative; rather, it is reinforced through the symbolic coherence of the overall content.

This convergence between tradwife discourse and advertising content allows RoRo's profile to be interpreted as a space in which ideology and market logic not only coexist but mutually reinforce one another. Brands benefit from a previously legitimized symbolic framework in which traditional femininity operates as a positive cultural value. In this way, commercial content does not interrupt the narrative but extends it, contributing to the normalization of specific gender models through consumption practices.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The case of RoRo, as a singular example of the tradwife phenomenon in the Spanish context, illustrates how ideals of traditional femininity are updated and articulated in contemporary terms through the strategic use of social media. Following the typology proposed by Sykes and Hopner (2024), RoRo's profile can be situated within a normative or "mainstream" tradwife category, which prioritizes the construction of a carefully curated aesthetic to portray a traditional lifestyle without explicit political references. Her narrative aligns with what Zahay (2022) terms "antifeminist populist aesthetics": rather than presenting itself as a direct opposition to feminism, it is framed as an apparently innocuous and desirable alternative.

Regarding RQ1, the findings confirm that RoRo's Instagram posts consistently reproduce the discourses associated with the tradwife movement, not only in thematic terms but also in form. The visual aesthetics of the content, the narrative tone, the repetition of ritualized phrases, and the idealization of the domestic space are key elements, along with emotional devotion to the male partner. As noted by Proctor (2022) and Deem (2023), these influencers seek to legitimize their identity, demonstrate how a traditional life should be lived, and build community—albeit through the paradoxical notion of empowerment associated with tradwives as public figures (Love, 2020). Although they promote an ideal of women as invisible, submissive, and home-centered, they do so from a position of visibility, digital autonomy, and the monetization of their image.

In relation to RQ2, the analysis shows that RoRo is a professionalized content creator who engages in advertising collaborations with brands, in line with the findings of Llanera (2023) and Herrera Sánchez (2024). Of the 153 posts analyzed, 32 (20.9%) include brand mentions, and 26 of these (81.6%) clearly disclose their commercial nature. Regarding RQ3, the sectors most represented in these collaborations are consistent with the domestic imaginary projected by the influencer. These findings reinforce previous research on influencer-brand congruence (Ahmadi & Leamsom, 2022; Belanche et al., 2020; Schouten et al., 2020). Brands appear not as external elements but as integral components of

RoRo's narrative universe, contributing to the symbolic construction of a desirable lifestyle.

In response to RQ4, although most advertising content is properly disclosed through labels such as “#publi” or “ambassador”, there are still instances of brand or product mentions that are not transparently presented as advertising and therefore do not comply with established regulations. This finding is consistent with previous studies (Castelló-Martínez et al., 2023; Ramos Gutiérrez & Fernández Blanco, 2021), which highlight the persistence of covert advertising in influencer profiles.

One of the most significant findings of this study is that, in posts where brands and tradwife discourse are simultaneously integrated, a symbolic transfer occurs from the influencer's personal attributes to the brand. This dynamic aligns with McCracken's (1989) meaning transfer model, according to which the cultural attributes of the content creator are projected onto the advertised products. Brands thus appear as natural extensions of a lifestyle that audiences value, idealize, or even aspire to emulate.

The results demonstrate that the ideological and commercial dimensions of the phenomenon cannot be analyzed in isolation. Both operate interdependently: the construction of a traditional imaginary facilitates the integration of brands, while the presence of brands contributes to consolidating and amplifying that imaginary. This hybridization underscores the need to approach the tradwife phenomenon from a transversal perspective that integrates gender studies, digital culture, and advertising communication.

Although the main limitation of this study lies in its focus on a single case, its primary contribution is the systematization of the academic corpus on the tradwife phenomenon, a line of research that is still emerging in the Spanish-speaking context. The literature review not only situates RoRo's profile within a transnational ideological genealogy but also provides a set of theoretical frameworks and analytical categories useful for future research. This study therefore aims not only to describe a singular case but also to contribute to the development of a conceptual foundation for the rigorous analysis of antifeminist, normative, or traditionalist discourses on social media, such as those associated with tradwives.

Future research should expand the analysis to other profiles aligned with tradwife discourse. Additionally, it would be relevant to investigate audience perceptions of this type of influencer –particularly among younger users– in order to further explore the ideological, emotional, and aspirational dimensions of the phenomenon.

Bibliographic references

- Ahmadi, A., Fakhimi, S., & Ahmadi, Y. (2022). Instagram celebrities and positive user responses. The mediating role of user “like.” *Journal of Contemporary Marketing Science*, 5(1), 65-80. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jcmars-01-2021-0002>
- Ahmadi, A., & Leamsom, S. (2022). Influencer fit post vs celebrity fit post: which one engages Instagram users more? *Spanish Journal of Marketing ESIC*, 26(1), 98-116. <https://doi.org/10.1108/SJME-12-2020-0217>
- Asociación Española de Anunciantes & Autocontrol. (2020). *Código de conducta sobre el uso de influencers en la publicidad*. <https://www.autocontrol.es/app/uploads/codigo-de-conducta-publicidad-influencers.pdf>
- Audrezet, A., de Kerviler, G., & Guidry Moulard, J. (2020). Authenticity under threat: When social media influencers need to go beyond self-presentation. *Journal of Business Research*, 117, 557-569. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.07.008>
- Belanche, D., Flavián, M., & Ibáñez-Sánchez, S. (2020). Followers’ reactions to influencers’ Instagram posts. *Spanish Journal of Marketing ESIC*, 24(1), 37-54. <https://doi.org/10.1108/SJME-11-2019-0100>
- Bower, L. J. (2024). The thorn in feminism’s side: black feminist reconceptualization and defence of #tradwives and the #tradwife movement. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 34(7), 1037-1053. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2024.2423198>
- Bürklin, N., & Faber, K. (2019). Capturing the Moment on Instagram: The Case of Successful Storytelling in Huawei’s S-commerce Campaign. In R. Boardman, M. Blázquez, C. E. Henninger, & D. Ryding (Eds.), *Social Commerce: Consumer Behaviour in Online Environments* (pp. 153-167). Palgrave MacMillan.

- Campion, K., & Ingram, K. M. (2023, December 20). Far-right ‘tradwives’ see feminism as evil. Their lifestyles push back against ‘the lie of equality’. *The Conversation*. <https://doi.org/10.64628/AA.xn5d9c67k>
- Casado Navarro, A. (2023). Regulación y autorregulación de la publicidad encubierta en el marketing de influencers: algunas reflexiones sobre su eficacia. In G. A. García Escobar, & A. Gálvez Jiménez (Coords.), *Derecho de la publicidad en Internet: redes sociales y plataformas digitales* (pp. 121-155). Dykinson.
- Casaló, L. V., Flavián, C., & Ibáñez-Sánchez, S. (2020). Influencers on Instagram: Antecedents and consequences of opinion leadership. *Journal of Business Research*, (117), 510-519. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2018.07.005>
- Casey, E., & Littler, J. (2022). Mrs Hinch, the rise of the cleanfluencer and the neoliberal refashioning of housework: Scouring away the crisis? *Sociological Review*, 70(3), 489-505. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003802612111059591>
- Castelló-Martínez, A., Segarra-Saavedra, J., & Hidalgo-Marí, T. (2023). Análisis de la prescripción de marca y de la identificación de su naturaleza publicitaria por parte de rostros televisivos en Instagram. *Fonseca, Journal of Communication*, 26, 165-186. <https://doi.org/10.14201/fjc.29776>
- Chae, J. (2018). Explaining Females’ Envy Toward Social Media Influencers. *Media Psychology*, 21(2), 246-262. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2017.1328312>
- Chopra, A., Avhad, V., & Jaju, A. (2021). Influencer Marketing: An Exploratory Study to Identify Antecedents of Consumer Behavior of Millennial. *Business Perspectives and Research*, 9(1), 77-91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2278533720923486>
- Cobo, R. (2019). La cuarta ola feminista y la violencia sexual. *Paradigma: Revista Universitaria de Cultura*, 22, 134-139. <http://hdl.handle.net/2183/39643>
- Coll, P., & Micó, J. L. (2019). Influencer marketing in the growth hacking strategy of digital brands. *Observatorio (OBS*)*, 13(2), 87-105. <https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS13220191409>

- Conde, R., & Casais, B. (2023). Micro, macro and mega-influencers on instagram: The power of persuasion via the parasocial relationship. *Journal of Business Research*, 158, 113708. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2023.113708>
- De Frutos Torres, B., & Pastor Rodríguez, A. (2020). ¿Seguimos confiando en las redes sociales? Un estudio sobre la valoración de las redes y su publicidad. In J. Sierra Sánchez, & A. Barrientos Báez (Coords.), *Cosmovisión de la comunicación en redes sociales en la era postdigital* (pp. 1141-1159). McGraw-Hill.
- Deem, A. (2023). ‘Feminine, not feminist’: Trad truth-making on social media. *Ethnologia Europaea*, 53(2), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.16995/ee.8841>
- Del Campo, F. (2023). New Culture Wars: Tradwives, Bodybuilders and the Neoliberalism of the Far-Right. *Critical Sociology*, 49(4-5), 689-706. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205221109169>
- Devos, S., Eggermont, S., & Vandenbosch, L. (2022). Instagram Influencers as Superwomen: Influencers’ Lifestyle Presentations Observed Through Framing Analysis. *Media and Communication*, 10(1), 173-184. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v10i1.4717>
- European Advertising Standards Alliance-EASA. (2023). *EASA Best Practice Recommendation on Influencer Marketing Guidance 2023*. <https://tinyurl.com/easa-2023>
- Fernández-Gómez, E., & Quintas-Froufe, N. (2025). Micro-influencers y publicidad. Transparencia y ética en la creación de contenido. *Doxa Comunicación*, 40, 203-220. <https://doi.org/10.31921/doxa-com.n40a2175>
- Galbraith, A. (2023, August 23). *Tracing Tradwives: An Emerging Alternative Influence Network*. <https://www.amiegalbraith.com/research-item/anonymous-resistance-vr-raves>
- González Loyola, P. A., Correa Jiménez, P. A., & Pugo Bacuilima, P. A. (2024). Marketing, influencers y similaridad: rasgos de personalidad compartidos con sus seguidores. *Revista de Marketing y Publicidad*, 10, 27-48. <https://doi.org/10.51302/marketing.2024.21397>
- González-Oñate, C., Fanjul-Peyró, C., & Camila Navarrete-Carli, V. (2025). El panorama actual de los micro influencers y creadores de contenidos como nueva estrategia digital. *Cuadernos del Audiovisu-*

- al, 13. <https://cuadernosdelaudiovisual.es/ojs/index.php/cuadernos/article/view/38>
- González Pons, E. (2019). Prácticas comerciales desleales e influencers. Un nuevo reto para el Derecho de la Competencia Desleal. In A. Tato Plaza, J. Costas Comesaña, P. Fernández Carballo-Calero, & F. J. Torres Pérez (Eds.), *Nuevas Tendencias en el Derecho de la Competencia y de la Propiedad Industrial II* (pp. 51-64). Comares.
- Gupta, S., & Mahajan, R. (2019). Role of Micro-Influencers in Affecting Behavioural Intentions. *International Journal of Recent Technology and Engineering*, 8(4-5), 189-192. <http://www.doi.org/10.35940/ijrte.D1045.1284S519>
- Gutiérrez García, E. (2021). La publicidad encubierta a través de influencers: la urgencia de una regulación. *Revista de Derecho de la Competencia y la Distribución*, 29. <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14352/97747>
- Herrera Sánchez, S. (2024). De ‘Mrs. America’ a la polémica de les ‘tradwives’: l’antifeminisme com a basa de la ultradreta a xarxes socials. *COMeIN*, 146. <https://doi.org/10.7238/c.n146.2459>
- InfoAdex. (2025). *Estudio InfoAdex de la Inversión Publicitaria en España 2025*. <https://www.infoadex.es/es/reports/resumen-estudio-de-inversiones-2025>
- IAB Spain. (2016). *Guía legal: marketing de influencers*. https://iab-spain.es/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/12Guialegal_influencers.pdf
- IAB Spain. (2019). *Marketing de influencers. Libro Blanco*. <https://bit.ly/libroblanco-influencers>
- IAB Spain. (2023). *Libro blanco de publicidad nativa*. <https://tinyurl.com/iab-nativa-2023>
- IAB Spain. (2024a). *Estudio de Redes Sociales 2024*. <https://iabspain.es/estudio/estudio-de-redes-sociales-2024/>
- IAB Spain. (2024b). *XII Edición del Observatorio de Marcas en Redes Sociales*. <https://iabspain.es/estudio/xii-edicion-del-observatorio-de-marcas-en-redes-sociales/>
- Janssen, L., Schouten, A. P., & Croes, E. A. J. (2021). Influencer advertising on Instagram: product-influencer fit and number of followers affect advertising outcomes and influencer evaluations via credibility and identification. *International Journal of Advertising*, 41(1), 101-127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2021.1994205>

- Jin, S. V., Ryu, E., & Muqaddam, A. (2021). I trust what she's #endorsing on Instagram: Moderating effects of parasocial interaction and social presence in fashion influencer marketing. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 25(4), 665-681. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JFMM-04-2020-0059>
- La polémica por la 'tiktoker' Roro y el fenómeno de las 'tradwife': "Es el modelo de mujer que promovía la Sección Femenina". (2024, July 24). *Diario Público*. <https://tinyurl.com/publico-roro>
- Lee, S. S., Huan, C., & Lee, Y. H. (2022). How endorser-product congruity and self-expressiveness affect Instagram micro-celebrities' native advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 31(1), 149-162. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPBM-02-2020-2757>
- Lee, J. A., Sudarshan, S., Sussman, K. L., Bright, L. F., & Eastin, M. S. (2022). Why are consumers following social media influencers on Instagram? Exploration of consumers' motives for following influencers and the role of materialism. *International Journal of Advertising*, 41(1), 78-100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2021.1964226>
- Leidig, E. (2023). *The Women of the Far Right. Media Influencers and Oline Radicalization*. Columbia University Press.
- Llanera, T. (2023). The misogyny paradox and the alt-right. *Hypatia*, 38(1), 157-176. <https://doi.org/10.1017/hyp.2023.4>
- López Ruiz, S. (2024). Tradwives: entre la tragedia y la farsa. *El viejo topo*, 443, 25-27.
- Love, N. S. (2020). Shield maidens, Fashy Femmes, and TradWives: Feminism, patriarchy, and right-wing populism. *Gender, Sex and Sexualities*, 5(1), 1-3. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2020.619572>
- Márquez de la Orden, R., & Martínez Sánchez, M. (2025). Tradwives: la reacción femenina a los avances feministas de la cuarta ola. *Cuestiones de Género: de la igualdad y la diferencia*, 20, 473-490. <https://doi.org/10.18002/cg.i20.8750>
- Martín-Cárdaba, M. Á., Lafuente-Pérez, P., Durán-Vilches, M., & Solano-Altaba, M. (2024). Estereotipos de género y redes sociales: consumo de contenido generado por influencers entre los preadolescentes y adolescentes. *Doxa Comunicación*, 38, 81-97. <https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.n38a2034>

- Martín-García, A. (2021). Percepción de los estudiantes del grado de publicidad y RR.PP. sobre la relación entre marcas e influencers en Instagram. *Vivat Academia. Revista de Comunicación*, 154, 57-78. <http://doi.org/10.15178/va.2021.154.e1337>
- Martínez Pastor, E., & Gaona Pisonero, C. (2016). Límites jurídicos de la publicidad en redes sociales: Facebook, Instagram y Twitter. In C. Mateos Martín, & F. J. Herrero Gutiérrez (Eds.), *La Pantalla Insomne* (pp. 2410-2421). Cuadernos Artesanos de Comunicación. <http://www.cuadernosartesanos.org/2015/cac98.pdf>
- Martínez-Sanz, R., & González Fernández, C. (2018). Comunicación de Marca en Instagram, ¿Una Cuestión de Género? El Rol del Influencer de Moda. *Masculinities and Social Change*, 7(3), 230-254. <http://doi.org/10.17583/MCS.2018.3693>
- McCracken, G. (1989). Who is the celebrity endorser? Cultural foundations of the endorsement process. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(3), 310-321. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209217>
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071802878>
- Park, J., Min Lee, J., Yiqi Xiong, V., Septianto, F., & Seo, Y. (2021). David and Goliath: When and Why Micro-Influencers Are More Persuasive Than Mega-Influencers. *Journal of Advertising*, 50(5), 584-602. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2021.1980470>
- Pérez-Cabañero, C., Veas-González, I., Navarro-Cisternas, C., Zuleta-Cortés, H., & Urizar-Urizar, C. (2023). Influencers who most engage on Instagram. The effect of their expertise, taste leadership and opinion leadership on their followers' behavioural intentions. *Cuadernos de Gestión*, 23(2), 7-20. <https://doi.org/10.5295/cdg.221863cp>
- Pilgrim, K., & Bohnet-Joschko, S. (2019). Selling health and happiness how influencers communicate on Instagram about dieting and exercise: Mixed methods research. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-7387-8>
- Proctor, D. (2022). The #tradwife persona and the rise of radicalized white domesticity. *Persona Studies*, 8(2), 7-26. <https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.873023567302359>

- Ramos Gutiérrez, M., & Fernández Blanco, E. (2021). La regulación de la publicidad encubierta en el marketing de influencers para la Generación Z. ¿Cumplirán los/as influencers el nuevo código de conducta de autocontrol? *Prisma Social. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 34, 61-87. <https://revistaprismasocial.es/ps/article/view/4370>
- Rios-Marques, I., Casais, B., & Camilleri, M. A. (2020). The effect of macro celebrity and microinfluencer endorsements on consumer-brand engagement on Instagram. In M. A. Camilleri (Ed.), *Strategic Corporate Communication in the Digital Age* (pp. 131-143). Emerald. <https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-80071-264-520211008>
- Roro, la tradwife española que se ha hecho viral por complacer a su novio hasta límites insospechados. (2024, July 23). *El Mundo*. <https://tinyurl.com/elmundo-roro>
- Sánchez-Olmos, C., Segarra-Saavedra, J., & Hidalgo-Marí, T. (2019). ‘Brand Placement’ en los videoclips del Billboard Hot 100: ¿integración o imposición de marcas? *Tripodos*, 44, 63-81. <https://raco.cat/index.php/Tripodos/article/view/360642>
- Sarmiento-Guede, J. R., & Rodríguez-Terceño, J. (2020). La comunicación visual en Instagram: estudio de los efectos de los micro-influencers en el comportamiento de sus seguidores. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 26(3), 1205-1216. <https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.65046>
- Schouten, A. P., Janssen, L., & Verspaget, M. (2020). Celebrity vs. Influencer endorsements in advertising: The role of identification, credibility, and Product-Endorser fit. *International Journal of Advertising*, 39(2), 258-281. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2019.1634898>
- Segarra-Saavedra, J., Hidalgo-Marí, T., & Castelló-Martínez, A. (2023). (Auto)influencers y ficción: la prescripción de series españolas de Netflix por parte de actrices y actores. *ICONO 14. Revista Científica de Comunicación y Tecnologías Emergentes*, 22(1), e2097. <https://doi.org/10.7195/ri14.v22i1.2097>
- Silalahi, A. T. (2021). Micro-influencer celebrity’s communication strategy in brand promotion. *Humaniora*, 12(1), 21-28. <https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v12i1.6786>

- Simpson, S. (2024). Traditional wives and feminine lives: A mixed methods analysis for understanding the traditional wife (#tradwives) phenomenon and its impact on US American women within a Presidential election year [Master's thesis]. Malmö University. <https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-69622>
- Sixto-García, J., & Álvarez Vázquez, A. (2020). Influencers en Instagram y publicidad engañosa: la necesidad de regular y autorregular. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 26(4), 1611-1622. <https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.66921>
- Smith, M. J., & Nicholas, J. (2020). Soft rejuvenation: Cosmetics, idealised white femininity, and young women's bodies, 1880-1930. *Journal of Social History*, 53(4), 906-921. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shz036>
- Soer, A. (2024). From lady Jane Franklin to #tradwife: Gender, race, and class in colonial complicity in the North American High North. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1(1), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2024.2378238>
- Sokolova, K., & Kefi, H. (2020). Instagram and YouTube bloggers promote it, why should I buy? How credibility and parasocial interaction influence purchase intentions. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 53, 101742. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2019.01.011>
- Sokolova, K., & Pérez, C. (2021). You follow fitness influencers on YouTube. But do you actually exercise? How parasocial relationships, and watching fitness influencers, relate to intentions to exercise. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 58, 102276. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2020.102276>
- Sykes, S., & Hopner, V. (2024). Tradwives: Right-Wing Social Media Influencers. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 53(4), 453-487. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912416241246273>
- Tafesse, W., & Wood, B. (2021). Followers' engagement with instagram influencers: The role of influencers' content and engagement strategy. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 58, 102303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2020.102303>
- Taillon, B. J., Mueller, S. M., Kowalczyk, C. M., & Jones, D. N. (2020). Understanding the relationships between social media influenc-

- ers and their followers: the moderating role of closeness. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 29(6), 767-782. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPBM-03-2019-2292>
- Tebaldi, C. (2021). Make women great again: Women, misogyny and anti-capitalism on the right. *Fast Capitalism*, 18(1), 72-82. <https://doi.org/10.32855/fcapital.202101.007>
- Tebaldi, C. (2023). Tradwives and truth warriors: Gender and nationalism in US white nationalist women's blogs. *Gender & Language*, 17(1). <https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.18551>
- Tentori, M., SanMiguel, P., & Torregrosa, M. (2023). Estrategias de localización en el marketing de influencers de moda: un estudio exploratorio. *Revista Panamericana de Comunicación*, 5(1), 51-68. <https://doi.org/10.21555/rpc.v5i1.2866>
- Thakur, A., Singla, K., & Irshad, T. M. (2023). An Exploratory Study on Stimulators in Influencer Marketing: A Critical Review on Content and Audience Engagement. In S. Jayasingh, K. Boobalan, & T. Thiagarajan (Eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Emerging Trends in Business & Management (ICETBM 2023)* (pp. 165-177). Atlantis Press. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-94-6463-162-3_15
- Van-Dam, S., & Van-Reijmersdal, E. (2019). Insights in adolescents' advertising literacy, perceptions and responses regarding sponsored influencer videos and disclosures. *Cyberpsychology*, 13(2), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.5817/cp2019-2-2>
- Varela, N. (2023). Historia de los textos de referencia en la construcción del discurso feminista del siglo XXI como estrategia frente a su devaluación mediática. *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 28(2), 317-326. <https://doi.org/10.5209/hics.92240>
- Villena Alarcón, E., & Fernández Torres, M. J. (2020). Relaciones con los públicos a través de Instagram: los influencers de belleza como caso de estudio. *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Públicas*, 10(19), 111-132. <https://doi.org/10.5783/revrpp.v10i19.641>
- Vinader-Segura, R., Vicente-Fernández, P., & Gallego-Trijueque, S. (2020). El rol de los influencers en comunicación publicitaria. Dulceida, un caso de éxito. *Creatividad y Sociedad*, 33, 151-178. <https://creatividadysociedad.com/wp-admin/Art %c3 %adculos/33/6.pdf>

- Yan, Q., & Yang, F. (2021). From parasocial to parakin: Co-creating idols on social media. *New Media and Society*, 23(9), 2593-2615. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820933313>
- Zahay, M. L. (2022). What 'real' women want: Alt-right femininity vlogs as an anti-feminist populist aesthetic. *Online Communities and Populism*, 10(4), 170-179. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v10i4.5726>

PROFILES

Araceli Castelló-Martínez

University of Alicante, Spain

araceli.castello@gcloud.ua.es

Full professor in the Department of Communication, Advertising & Social Psychology at the University of Alicante. She holds a Ph.D. in Communication from Cardenal Herrera-CEU University, a Master's degree in Integral Communication from the Complutense University of Madrid, an Executive Master's degree in Community Management from the University of Alicante, and a Bachelor's degree in Advertising and Public Relations from the University of Alicante. She has been a visiting professor at the University of Málaga, Carlos III University of Madrid, and Pablo de Olavide University in Seville, among others. Internationally, she has held visiting positions at the University of Costa Rica, the Los Libertadores University Foundation (Colombia), and the Technological University of El Salvador, among others. She has taught at international universities such as Andrés Bello University (Chile).

Blanca Miguélez-Juan

University of the Basque Country, Spain

blanca.miguel@ehu.eus

Ph.D. in Social Communication with an international specialization and Special Doctoral Award from the University of the Basque Country (EHU), where she currently serves as an

associate professor in the Department of Audiovisual Communication and Advertising. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Advertising and Public Relations from the same university and has combined her academic career with professional experience at leading agencies such as Publicis, Leo Burnett, and Contrapunto BBDO, where she has worked in art direction and advertising creativity. Her main lines of research focus on higher education within the EHEA, creativity and advertising art direction, creative professional profiles, digital communication, and new technologies, areas in which she has published scientific papers, participated in international conferences, and undertaken national and international research stays.