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Representation of Single Motherhood in Selected Facebook Pages

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ABSTRACT

Single Motherhood has become the new 'norm' in the world, as most single parent families are headed by single mothers. However, few studies have related the topic of single motherhood to gender and sociology and none of these has given the issue a critical linguistic approach. This article examines the discourses of single motherhood in selected Facebook pages, with the aim of revealing how single mothers are represented by different social actors and the effect this has on societal cohesion. This is done through analysis of linguistic items that represent single mothers in selected Facebook pages; The article is based on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis which allows for a nuanced exploration of language as a tool for social power and identity construction. Through this approach the paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the societal narratives surrounding single motherhood and highlights the need for a more inclusive and equitable discourse in contemporary discussions. The methodology entailed selection of Kenyan Facebook pages and Facebook users which constituted two sets of the population. A sample of four most popular pages were selected using purposive sampling procedure, the second sample of 40 Facebook users was selected using simple random sampling method. Textual and interview guides were used as data collection tools. Data was analyzed using Critical Discourse Analytical procedures, particularly Norman Fairclough's Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis principles. Findings were presented in tables accompanied by narratives and descriptions. This article is useful to the society as it critiques and unearths the linguistically binarized positioning of single mothers.

Keywords; Representation, Single Motherhood, Selected Facebook Pages

INTRODUCTION

An increasing rise in single motherhood has been registered worldwide as most of the families are changing to solo-parent family (Landau and Griffiths, 2007). According to the U.S Census Bureau (2021) out of 11 million single parent families with children under the age of 18, nearly 80 percent are headed by single mothers. Ypeij and Ypeij (2009) call this a matrifocal family where mothers head families and fathers play a less important role in the home and in bringing up children. Africa is not an exception in this regard as Dlamini (2006) reveals the following unsettling figures of children staying with their mothers: South Africa (34.4%), Namibia (27.3%) and Zimbabwe (26.3%). In the Kenyan 2019 National Census, single parent families were recorded to have risen from 25.1 percent in 2009 to 38.2 percent in 2019 and most were headed by single mothers.

The increase of conjugal instability and declining rates of marriage has resulted in a substantial increase in the number of single mother families (Clarke & Hamplová, 2010). Notably the rising divorce rates and the number of children born outside wedlock have heightened the issue of single motherhood. There is evidence in literature on the growing number of divorce rates and the increase in non-marital fertility in many industrialized countries as well as developing countries which has affected the well-being of women and children (Amato, 2005). The American Psychological Association (2019) states that people see all sorts of single-parent families as consisting of mothers, husbands, and even grandparents bringing up their grandchildren. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2020) reports that the Philippines has around 15 million single parents, of whom 95% are women. These studies have revealed that the issue of single motherhood is a concern to many, yet it has not been addressed from a linguistic perspective, particularly, scholars have not critically examined how single motherhood is represented in social media. This article examines the discourses of single motherhood in selected Facebook

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pages.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The arguments in this article are anchored on Critical Discourse Analysis Theory of Norman Fairclough, Teun, Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak. CDA argues that the complex interactions of discourse and society could not be analyzed, unless through linguistic and social approaches. CDA abridges the social and the linguistic realm. CDA" focuses on social problems and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination" (Van Dijk, 2001:96)

Norman Fairclough established eight principles of Critical Discourse Analysis program. He comments that it takes an authoritative position in order to understand, expose and altogether uncover social inequality. The language that is used by the people of one society is critically analysed to decode how a user exploits language according to their needs. Therefore, by studying the language of a particular society we can understand how social relationships work in that society. It also gives us additional information about its culture, power relations and taboos.

Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2001, 2003, 2015) argues that language is a form of social practice and needs to be investigated at both text level and beyond text level. He emphasizes linguistic as well as intertextual analysis. CDA mostly embodies a three-layered method of analysis: analysis of the text (at micro level), analysis of the discursive practices (at meso level) and analysis of social practices (at macro level) which is an elaborate and more fruitful (Fairclough, 2015)

CDA according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), power relations are discursive and CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised through discourse. CDA also addresses social problems by focusing on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. Using this theory, I intend to examine the discourses of single motherhood as used in sample pages in Facebook and how power relations can be applied through Facebook discussions.

RELATED LITERATURE

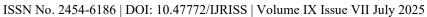
People are generally not conscious of the language they are using and mostly end up using a language which often leads to biasness against a particular group. Discrimination through language can be through words, phrases and other linguistic items which demean or ignore a particular group and fail to treat them equally. In gender and language studies, it has been revealed that language can be used to make women invisible by using the male as the default in plural even when women are present. It can also be used to trivialize one gender, often women, as inferior (see Wambura, 2018).

Gender biasness where women are expected to display warm traits while men display competent traits is evident in the lexical choices of everyday communication. As a result, language produces the societal asymmetries of status and power in favour of men. To reduce gender biasness in language it is necessary that people are enlightened of the importance of gender sensitive linguistic expressions. Single motherhood has not escaped this kind of discrimination where single mothers have been depicted unfairly and in a negative way. This agrees with what Dejean et al. (2012) found that single mothers are commonly stereotyped as poor, unhappy, or deviant.

Language and Single Motherhood

Globally, there has been a significant increase in single-mother households. According to a report by the Pew Research Center (2018), the number of children living with single mothers in the United States has more than doubled since 1968, reflecting broader global patterns. In Sub-Saharan Africa, changes in socio-economic conditions, health crises (such as HIV/AIDS), and migration have also contributed to the increase in single-mother households (Posel & Rudwick, 2013).

Recent literature highlights the need for a nuanced understanding of single motherhood, especially in the context of globalization and changing cultural norms. Researchers like Hays (2021) argue that single motherhood is





increasingly viewed as a form of resistance against patriarchal expectations. Additionally, studies show that single motherhood is more socially accepted in countries with stronger social welfare systems that provide substantial support for child-rearing (Esping-Andersen, 2019). The rise of social media has also enabled single mothers to form supportive online communities, where they can share their stories and advocate for policy changes. These platforms have become spaces for challenging stigmatizing discourses and promoting positive narratives about non-traditional families.

Norman Fairclough's perspective that language is a form of social practice implies that language not only serves as a means of communication but also reflects and shapes social realities and power relations. In the context of single motherhood, language plays a significant role in reinforcing societal norms, stereotypes, and attitudes towards women who parent alone. The discourse surrounding single motherhood is highly gendered, with female-headed households being more common and visible than male-headed ones, and facing distinct social challenges.

The traditional family structure, historically seen as a two-parent household, is evolving, with single-parent families predominantly female-headed on the rise. In many societies, cultural, religious, and social factors influence attitudes toward single mothers, often leading to varied degrees of acceptance. For example, widows tend to receive more social empathy compared to divorced or never-married single mothers, as widowhood is perceived as a result of unavoidable circumstances (Farmer, 2008; Kange'the & Mafa, 2014).

The notion that women who depart from conventional family structures harm public morality is not new. McCarthy (2010) highlights that any deviation from socially accepted roles, such as being a single mother, divorcee, or an "unruly daughter," has historically been viewed as a moral threat. This traditional mindset continues to stigmatize single mothers, often branding them as morally deviant, regardless of the circumstances leading to their singlehood, such as widowhood, divorce, or even personal choice.

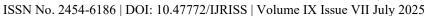
In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of "choice motherhood," where women consciously decide to parent without a partner. Such women are often older, educated, and financially stable, reflecting a shift towards autonomy in family planning (Jadva, Badger, Morrissette, & Golombok, 2009). Despite their financial independence, these women still face societal discrimination. Bumpass (2010) argues that due to the instability of marriage guarantees, many women recognize the necessity of self-sufficiency, which has contributed to the rise of single motherhood by choice.

Empowerment movements and changing social norms have emboldened some women to challenge traditional expectations. Studies show that, while there is still stigma, the visibility and acceptance of various family structures are increasing, particularly in urban areas (Van Gasse & Mortelmans, 2020). However, these shifts are uneven, with some communities and cultural contexts maintaining rigid views that continue to marginalize single mothers.

METHODOLOGY

This study from which this article is derived made use of a qualitative research design. The study adopted a qualitative research design in examining the discourses of single motherhood in Facebook pages because this design describes phenomena as they exist. This design enabled the researcher to focus on the description, analysis and explanation of the Facebook discourses with the aim of showing how single motherhood is portrayed. This study took place virtually on social media accounts, specifically on Facebook. The study focused on Facebook because Facebook has a large following on social media and it is modern and many people can hide behind social media and insult you by branding you names therefore it gave me sufficient information for this study. The target population for this research was Facebook pages and Facebook users while the sample constituted only those posts that portray single mothers negatively. This study used four Facebook pages of Kenyan men and women addressing issues of single mothers (pseudo names): Kenyan page one, Kenyan page two, Kenyan page three, Kenyan page four.

The researcher carefully selected the four Facebook pages based on the content that they present on single motherhood. The pages were specifically chosen because they present gendered ideas regarding how single





motherhood is viewed in the society. The pages were selected using purposive sampling procedures. Two of the selected pages (Kenyan page one and Kenyan page two) are highly male chauvinistic and hold a low regard for women especially for single mothers as they portray single motherhood as a sin and discourage "real men" from associating with single mothers. Kenyan page three is a page that empowers women especially those who have been castigated harshly by the society like single mothers and women in general who are looked down upon by men and expected to follow a particular norm. Kenyan page four was selected because it is a page where single mothers and fathers can freely interact and mingle to form relations but contrary to that, single dads are praised for being good dads while the single mothers are body shamed and labeled harshly and that informed the choice of this page. The second set of samples constituted Facebook users. These were selected randomly. There was a total of 10 users per page. Eight females and two males. The researcher's interest was on females but males

Table 1 provides the demographic characteristic of the Facebook pages administrators.

Table1: Facebook Pages Admins

Kenyan Page Three	38 K Followers
Kenyan Page Two	21131 Followers
Kenyan Page One	441k Members
Kenyan Page Four	281k Followers

were also included to get their views on single motherhood.

Data collection was done in stages. Then selection of texts for analysis was carried out through an electronic search on Facebook for information about postings and comments addressing single motherhood. Secondly, the researcher's selected and downloaded the relevant texts identified through electronic searches from the selected Facebook pages from the period 2021-2025 which addresses single motherhood. Thirdly, the researcher's saved and printed the selected documents and read them for better understanding and extracted the lexical items that portrayed single mothers negatively. The researcher's sought consent from the interviewes and then recorded the interviews. The interviews took between 30-45 minutes. Lastly the collected interviews were transcribed and prepared for analysis.

Data was coded into categories, then the researcher extracted what was vital to address the objectives in the data and made a summary. The researcher used discourse analysis and examined the social context in which the interaction occurred and examined power relationships during the interactions. The findings from data analysis were presented in form of discourses, descriptions and narratives.

DISCUSSION

From the data, single motherhood was discursively presented through discourses. Lexical items and metaphors were used as cues of these discourses.

The Discourse of Promiscuity

According to Jones and Paulhus (2012) Promiscuity is the willingness to engage with several partners, have casual sex and get involved in sexual activities sooner rather than later. Buss, D.M (1998) also defines promiscuity as mating with more than one partner in a relatively short-time period. In Single mums and dads mingle, one of the Facebook pages selected for this study; a group that was intended to give the single mothers and single fathers an opportunity to mingle and form new relationships, single mother are represented as promiscuous.

In one of the posts, there are lexical items and metaphors that cue this discourse. One of the participants, a single mother of two, posted a picture of herself with the caption; A single mother of two boys, a Christian and a good chef based in Nyeri, looking for a husband. Serious men only." The post attracted responses most of which had negative comments, or ambivalent comments filled with negative connotations. For instance, P1 stated, "I totally





hate single mums ni usherati wao ndio unafanya wanaachika kwenye ndoa zao." (I totally hate single mums because of their promiscuity which is the reason why their marriage breaks). Here, the participant castigates the single mother through the lexical item promiscuity by alleging that she was promiscuous and that this was the reason why her marriage broke, even though this may not be the case.

P2 while referring to the same post says, "Single mothers woote wenye mabwana bado wako hai ,ni vichwa ngumu saana, ni magaidi, ni washerati, hawatumii akili kufikiria wanatumia kuma kufikiria, single mothers ni washenzi Zaidi!" (single mothers whose husbands are still alive are thick headed, terrorists, defiant, promiscuous, very stupid and do not use their brains but only use their private parts to reason.) P3 said," Single mothers kwangu ni vyombo tuu vya kujitosheleza ki ngono but sio wa kuoa, simple!" (To me single mothers are just like objects of sexual satisfaction not for marriage). This portrait of single mothers is underpinning the under-privilege of not having a husband and it is a sign that they are struggling to fulfill the emotional desires biologically. Single mothers are unlucky of not having a life companion and this could be one of the reasons they are being labelled as objects of sexual satisfaction.

P4 added that," Single mothers wamelimwa na different sponsors, kazi yao ni kupanua tu miguu na kudriliwa proper na ma sponyo wenye ni mabwana wa wenyewe, na wako na ma sponyo wamepanga laini 24hours." (Single mothers have been dug by several sponsors, their duty is to open legs and be drilled proper by sponsors who are people's husbands. They have sponsors queuing for 24 hours.)

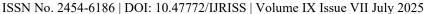
P5 said," Dating a single mother is like dating a broken vessel, they are broken and the only thing they have to offer is sex, cheap sex!" In addition, the president of single mothers, Akothe, admitted on a past interview that it's difficult to date a single mother especially one who has not collected and repackaged herself altogether and that most single mothers use affirmation quotes to hide the pain they feel inside from their broken relationships. P6 mentioned that, "My best advice to any married man out there is that if possible, keep your wife away from single mothers, former and current prostitutes, bed to bed midfielders and divorcees!"

In another post from Kenyan page two, a page by a Kenyan male celebrity who has declared himself to be antifeminism, a participant posted that 'single mothers are the best to marry." In response to the above post, a commentator (while sarcastically prefixing his comment) said, P7....". have you heard that shit eti single mothers have been beaten by life, wife material and can settle down well." The admin had this to say in regard to the comment. A single mother above 35 years has seen 1001 dicks. He added that single mothers don't have brakes na ni masuruali (tattered rags?) moto sana (meaning they don't have self-control they want sex 24 hours.) In my view the discourse of promiscuity used to describe single mothers often stems from societal biases and stereotypes. Both men and women may use language that perpetuates these negative perceptions, though the motivations and contexts can vary. Here's how these discourses might manifest.

Men and women may use judgmental language to imply promiscuity, such as "loose," Ngono kante" "sex Fabregas" "irresponsible," or "easy." Example: "Some people view single mothers as promiscuous because they assume they must have had multiple partners." In addition, to this, both genders might engage in blaming and shaming rhetoric, attributing single motherhood solely to perceived promiscuous behavior. Example: "She's a single mother because she couldn't keep her legs closed," or "He's just another guy who left a trail of single mothers behind him."

There are instances of double standards where women may sometimes perpetuate these discourses due to internalized sexism or adherence to traditional gender norms. From my observation, In the Kenyan context for instance, there's still a double standard where men who have borne children with multiple partners are praised for sowing their wild oats, but women are condemned as promiscuous if they have children outside of marriage." The majority of society criticizes and ridicules single-mothers while single-fathers are considered honorable (Dejean et al., 2012). Single mothers are viewed as mostly irresponsible and are accused of not taking responsibility for their actions, while single fathers receive compassion and full support. Also discovered that single mothers are perceived negatively as unhappy, poor, deviant, and irresponsible beings who will raise illegitimate children.

These findings present a picture similar to what Mafa (2014) found in his study about the strategies adopted by





single mothers in Chiredzi town, Zimbabwe, where single mothers resort to prostitution due to the desperation

to escape poverty by all means. This shows that single mothers in different contexts are viewed as promiscuous. This is a gendered perspective since the same reference is not used for single fathers. It is this kind of unequal representation of gender that Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to challenge.

The Discourse of Gold Digger

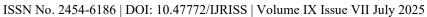
The term 'gold digger', which started off as a 20th century slang, first entered into print in Rex Beach's 1911 book, 'The Ne'er-Do-Well', and was used to refer to people who were "money mad". While it did not have the gendered connotation at this point, the American suffragist Virginia Brooke in her 1915 book, 'My Battles with Vice', specifically referred to women who sought romantic relationships with men as 'gold diggers'. They were presented as highly manipulative — one of the characters, Chrissy Tate, dresses provocatively, and has the ability to even "get money from a 'Gypshun' mummy".

From the data, single mothers are represented as gold diggers. The findings also revealed that single mothers are viewed as women who are desperate in need of money to meet their basic necessities and also to raise their children. In the process the single mothers are viewed suspiciously by the men who conclude that their sole aim is to reap money from boyfriends or sponsors. In Kenyan page four, a lady posted a picture with a little boy captioned "A single mum of 30 years with one son of two years hoping to find a loving and caring man. serious men only." The post elicited a number of reactions from online participants and this is what they had to say; P008 said," shida ya hawa madem wako na watoi husumbua sana, ukiona hivi ako desperate ndo maana anataka mtu wa kumuoa." (The problem with these single mothers with kids is that they are stubborn and very desperate in need of someone to marry them so that they can get help.) P009 remarked that, "I wonder why single mums wa siku hizi wamekuwa con women.... mtu anakudanganya anakupea hope mnachat umepatikana na silent nyamgondo alafu unamtumia fare akishapata hiyo fare anakublock pap! (single mothers have become con women in that they make you believe that they genuinely are interested in you and after sending them fare (money) to come visit you they keep the money and don't turn up then block you immediately.) P10 said, " achana na single mothers hao ni waombaji pesa tu, money grubbers phone snatchers ,wavutaji bangi na malaya!" (leave single mothers alone they are only interested in borrowing money, money grubbers, phone snatchers, drug abusers, and prostitutes.)

In Kenyan page two the gold digger discourse is also evident. Through the lexical items and metaphors as cue a commentator says that "single mums are just looking for money for rent, money for raising kids and someone to donate a sperm." P11 said that "marrying a divorcee or single mother is like wife inheritance. The discourses of "gold digger" directed at single mothers by their counterparts can be highly stigmatizing and derogatory. Its use often implies that single mothers are primarily motivated by financial gain in their relationships, overlooking the complexities of their situations.

The phrase "dating for money" implies that single mothers seek relationships primarily for financial security rather than love or companionship. In addition, the term" Materialistic" suggests that single mothers prioritize material possessions or financial stability over other aspects of a relationship, implying that they are gold digger. Love (2023) finds that being a single mother is challenging and being materialistic in nature help them rise in power. Such discourses might manifest in assumptions of financial motivation. Participants use the term "gold digger" to suggest that single mothers enter relationships solely for financial support or material gain, Example: "He thinks she's just a gold digger, only interested in his money because she's a single mother. "A participant in a social page lament(I wonder for how long will I be assisting this brat, though I love her despite she was married, have spent a lot doing shopping and paying fees for her two kids, she has drained me financially). From this context a man laments about a single mother normally referred to as baby mum being money searching through a man who is a breadwinner. Stack R J, Meredith (2018) findings hold the same view as found in the current study.

By labeling single mothers as "gold diggers," their counterparts may invalidate their genuine emotions and desires for companionship and support. Example: "She's accused of being a gold digger whenever she tries to express her need for emotional connection and stability. "I just need a man to love me, am unlucky to be without a man, I would give myself to a man fully even if it means worshipping him. Singlehood is loneliness that is





killing me. I need a man, I have feelings. From previous study findings, Bhatt (2022) and Bowlby (1973) highlights similar challenges that single mothers face, it's a trend that cuts across social media in different parts of the world.

This discourse reinforces stereotypes about single mothers as opportunistic and manipulative, perpetuating stigma against them. Example: "The gold digger stereotype adds another layer of judgment to the already challenging experience of being a single mother. Example: Tweets or Facebook posts portray a generalized position about single mothers, suggesting that they are all seeking financial security through relationships. Another man whom I sat next to in a function in the village criticized me of pointing fingers at straight men who think single mothers are not human beings to be loved, he said, "they shouldn't be loved and we run away from them because they think we have money to give them." Single mothers are beggars and straight men run away from them. A study by Amato (2001) proves the credibility of the current study's findings about single mothers and the way they are treated and what they need. Similar study findings show that the situations and conditions surrounding single mothers still prevail to an extent of being stereotyped and stigmatized.

In African context like in Kenya, a study by Odero (2020) examined how Kenyan Facebook users construct feminine identities through metaphors. The study found that women were often depicted using metaphors that portrayed them negatively, such as being compared to commodities, animals, or objects, reflecting societal biases and patriarchal views. Another study in Philippines studies Charisma Archibido Frace (2024) conducted a qualitative analysis of gendered language on Facebook, focusing on word compounds, blends, abbreviations, and stylized spelling. The research highlighted how both male and female users creatively employed language, influenced by their social networks, to express emotions and daily activities, contributing to identity construction online.

In a study in Europe Indonesia: I Gusti (2017) explored figurative and lexical varieties in Facebook posts, analyzing how users employed similes, metaphors, personification, hyperbole, and idioms. The study revealed that these linguistic features were used to convey emotions and construct identities, with variations observed between male and female users.

United States studies revealed that while specific studies on single mothers' representation on Facebook are limited, research on related topics provides insight. For instance, Atambo et al. (2021) examined the lexicalization of women in political discourse, highlighting how language constructs gender roles and influences societal perceptions. Although focused on political contexts, the findings offer parallels to understanding language use in social media representations as of current study.

Discourse of Hard Worker

Despite facing a wealth of discrimination from the society which has portrayed single mothers negatively, there are few instances where the single mothers have been depicted positively as heroes who can overcome social disadvantages and work hard to take good care of their children single handedly. In a 2011 survey carried out in Canada, single mothers were portrayed positively thus challenging the dominant discourses of evil woman seen on social media. Single mothers have been portrayed as those who have fought against difficult situations, raised kids singlehandedly and doing everything in their power to take care and provide for their children independently.

Kackute, (2019) in his study of Contemporary French Autobiographical novels which discusses how migrant single mothers are envisioned it is revealed that single mothers are marginalized in terms of not being native, coupled or middle class but also portrayed as resourceful and diligent women who have struggled successfully to make good lives for themselves and their children.

In one of the selected Facebook pages; Kenyan page three, a number of participants hailed single mothers as talked of them positively:

P019...But what did we single mothers ever do for us to be disliked this much we are innocent and just hard working.





P020... *I think single mothers are superheroes!*

P021...misogynists have turned single mothers to be their punching bag yet they are doing an amazing job.

P022...revealed that she loves Akothee, President of single mothers, because she is hardworking, determined and resilient despite being a single mother.

In the discourse of Hard-worker single mothers are depicted in a positive way where they are appreciated for the roles that they play in the lives of their children single handedly despite the many challenges. The educated ones are hardworking whereas those who are not well-educated struggle to do odd jobs like being house nannies, daybugs who work casual jobs and are paid on a day-to-day basis. On the other hand, those who are educated and have been employed are striving to be better so that that they get job promotions so as to earn better and provide for their children a better life.

Language can be a powerful tool when used positively as it helps to challenge discrimination meted on marginalized groups; in this case single mothers. By looking at single mothers as hardworking, determined, resilient and heroes, language can contribute to deconstructing the damaging narrative about single mothers being poverty-stricken and in need of societal help.

SUMMARY

Discursive Uses of Identified Linguistic Items found that the discourses of promiscuity and financial opportunism were prevalent in the analyzed texts. Single mothers were often portrayed as "gold diggers," using men primarily for financial gain, with terms like "con woman," "money grubber," and "opportunist." This reinforces a societal view of single mothers as exploitative and untrustworthy. These discourses were not only directed by men but were also reinforced by some women, illustrating how internalized sexism can perpetuate stigmatization.

CONCLUSION

The article concludes that the lexical choices and metaphors used on social media platforms contribute to a negative portrayal of single mothers. These terms are primarily rooted in societal biases that stigmatize single motherhood by associating it with promiscuity and financial opportunism. This stigmatization is a reflection of patriarchal ideologies that persist in many societies. Lexical items and metaphors serve as tools that reinforce societal prejudices against single mothers, implying that they engage in relationships for financial or immoral reasons. Such language perpetuates negative stereotypes, casting moral judgments that stigmatize single mothers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

Media, literature, and popular culture should aim to portray single mothers in a positive light, emphasizing their resilience, contributions, and strengths rather than reinforcing negative stereotypes. Advocate for policies that protect the rights of single mothers, including those addressing discrimination and promoting gender equality, as well as measures ensuring access to essential services like housing, healthcare, and childcare.

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