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Gendered Framing and the Politics of Equality: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Kenyan Policy and Presidential Speeches

Naftal Nyakundi

Department of Language and Literature Education, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya

Email: nyakundinaftali1986@gmail.comORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9639-0426>

ABSTRACT

Kenya has adopted progressive gender equality frameworks over the last two decades. Legal reforms promise inclusion, representation, and protection. Yet gender inequality remains deeply rooted in social and political life. This paper examines how gender is constructed in Kenyan public discourse. It focuses on national policy texts and selected presidential speeches. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, the study investigates lexical choices, agency patterns, and discursive strategies. The analysis shows that policy language promotes equality at a rhetorical level. However, it often frames women as vulnerable, dependent, or instrumental to development. Male authority remains structurally centered. The paper argues that linguistic framing shapes public understanding of gender justice. It concludes that transformative equality requires discursive change, not only legal reform.

KEYWORDS: Critical Discourse Analysis, Gendered Framing, Gender Equality Policy, Kenya, Political Discourse.

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Introduction

Language is not neutral. It is a site of power, ideology, and social reproduction. Critical scholars have long argued that discourse shapes social reality rather than merely describing it (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 2008). In feminist linguistics, language is understood as a central mechanism through which gender hierarchies are normalised and sustained (Cameron, 1992; Lazar, 2005).

Public policy texts and political speeches therefore do more than communicate governance priorities. They construct gendered subject positions. They define who acts, who is protected, and who holds authority. Globally, research shows that equality discourse often coexists with subtle patriarchal framing. Policy language may promote empowerment while simultaneously representing women as vulnerable, dependent, or economically instrumental (Bacchi, 2009; Lombardo & Meier, 2008).

Such discursive contradictions are not accidental. They reflect deeper ideological tensions between liberal inclusion and structural transformation. In African contexts, scholarship on gender and language has expanded recently. Studies have examined gender representation in textbooks, proverbs, media discourse, and political rhetoric.

However, much of this research remains descriptive. It documents bias but rarely interrogates how grammatical and discursive structures reproduce power relations. There is limited work that applies systematic Critical Discourse Analysis to national policy frameworks in sub-Saharan Africa. In Kenya, constitutional reform marked a major shift in gender governance. The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya introduced the two-thirds gender principle and strengthened equality provisions. Subsequent frameworks, including the National Gender and Equality Commission Act, institutionalised gender oversight mechanisms.

Presidential speeches by leaders such as Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto frequently invoke empowerment and inclusion. Despite these reforms, gender inequality persists in political representation, economic participation, and protection from violence. Existing Kenyan linguistic studies have focused on ethnic languages, media portrayals, or educational texts. There is little systematic examination of how national policy language constructs gendered agency and power. The discursive architecture of equality has not been critically analysed.

This paper argues that the language of Kenyan public policy reflects a dual movement. On the surface, it promotes inclusion and empowerment. At a deeper structural level, it often re-centres masculine authority and frames women through protectionist and developmentalist lenses. By applying Critical Discourse Analysis, the study demonstrates that gender equality in Kenya is mediated through specific linguistic patterns that shape public perception and institutional practice.

The study makes three contributions. First, it extends feminist discourse analysis to East African policy contexts. Second, it bridges legal reform and linguistic structure. Third, it advances debates on how postcolonial states negotiate gender justice within neoliberal development frameworks.

Literature Review

Gender and Language: Theoretical Foundations

The relationship between language and gender has been widely theorised in sociolinguistics and feminist scholarship. Early work focused on difference and dominance. Lakoff (1975) argued that women's language reflected social subordination.

Spender (1980) later demonstrated how linguistic systems encode male normativity. These foundational studies established that language both reflects and sustains gender hierarchies. Subsequent research shifted from surface forms to discourse structures. Cameron (1992) rejected essentialist claims about "women's language" and instead examined how gender is performed through discourse.

Butler (1990) further conceptualised gender as performative. Gender is not a stable identity. It is constituted through repeated linguistic and social acts. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) strengthened this analytical turn. Fairclough (1992, 2001) argued that discourse is a social practice shaped by power relations. Language choices are ideological. They naturalise specific social arrangements.

Van Dijk (2008) emphasised how elite discourse influences public cognition. Political texts therefore shape collective understandings of inequality. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) integrates these traditions. Lazar (2005) argues that FCDA examines how patriarchal ideologies are embedded in institutional discourse. It pays attention to agency, transitivity, lexical choices, and framing. Importantly, it also analyses silences. What is not said can be as powerful as what is articulated. These theoretical developments establish a key principle. Policy language does not simply promote equality. It constructs gendered subjects within relations of power.

Gender in Policy Discourse

Gender mainstreaming became a global governance strategy after the Beijing Platform for Action (1995). States adopted equality language in national policies. However, critical scholars question whether this shift transformed structural power.

Bacchi (2009) proposes the "What's the Problem Represented to Be?" approach. She argues that policies construct problems through language. If women are framed primarily as vulnerable, then protection becomes the solution. If women are framed as economic resources, then productivity becomes central. Policy framing shapes intervention logic.

Lombardo and Meier (2008) show that equality policies often contain discursive ambiguities. Terms such as "empowerment" and "participation" are flexible. They can support transformative change or reproduce existing hierarchies. The tension between liberal inclusion and structural redistribution remains unresolved. In many contexts, gender discourse is embedded within neoliberal development frameworks. Women are presented as drivers of growth, entrepreneurs, and caretakers of social stability. Such representations shift responsibility from institutions to individuals. Structural patriarchy becomes obscured. These findings suggest that analysing grammatical and discursive patterns in policy texts is crucial. Equality rhetoric may coexist with subtle reinforcement of traditional gender roles.

African Contexts and Postcolonial Governance

In African scholarship, gender and language research has focused heavily on cultural expressions. Proverbs, idioms, and oral narratives have been examined for patriarchal patterns. Media studies have analysed portrayals of women in politics. Educational research has investigated textbook bias. However, fewer studies interrogate national policy language itself. Where analysis exists, it often centres on legal compliance rather than discursive construction. There is limited integration of feminist linguistics with postcolonial governance analysis.

Postcolonial states face complex pressures. They respond to global equality norms while negotiating local cultural values. This tension influences policy language. Gender discourse must align with international frameworks while remaining politically acceptable domestically. As a result, equality texts may contain hybrid ideological positions. They may promote rights while reaffirming traditional family roles. They may invoke empowerment while maintaining state paternalism.

Gender and Public Discourse in Kenya

Kenya provides a compelling case. The Constitution of Kenya marked a significant legal shift. Article 27 guarantees equality and freedom from discrimination. The two-thirds gender rule aimed to transform political representation. Institutional mechanisms followed. The National Gender and Equality Commission Act established oversight structures. National policy frameworks emphasise inclusion, access, and participation.

Political leadership has publicly endorsed gender equality. Speeches by Uhuru Kenyatta frequently referenced women's empowerment in development agendas. William Ruto has similarly framed women as central to economic transformation. Yet gender disparities persist in parliamentary representation, wage equality, and protection from gender-based violence.

Existing Kenyan linguistic research has examined gender bias in textbooks and ethnic discourse. Few studies apply systematic CDA to national governance texts. There remains a gap in understanding how equality is linguistically constructed at the highest institutional levels. Specifically:

1. How is agency distributed between men, women, and the state?
2. Are women framed primarily as beneficiaries rather than actors?
3. Does policy language centre male authority implicitly?
4. How does development discourse intersect with gender framing?

This study addresses these questions through a structured discourse analysis of selected Kenyan policy documents and presidential speeches.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis and Power

This study is grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA views discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1992). Language both reflects and shapes social structures. It is embedded in relations of power. It contributes to the production of ideology.

Fairclough (2001) proposes a three-dimensional model of discourse. Texts are analysed at the level of linguistic features. They are then interpreted in relation to discursive practice. Finally, they are situated within broader social structures. This framework allows micro-level grammatical choices to be linked to macro-level institutional power.

Van Dijk (2008) further argues that elite discourse plays a central role in shaping public cognition. Political leaders and policy institutions influence how social groups are represented. Repetition of certain frames naturalises them. Over time, these frames become common sense. CDA therefore treats policy documents and presidential speeches as sites of ideological production. They are not neutral administrative texts. They contribute to the construction of social hierarchies.

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

While CDA examines power broadly, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) focuses specifically on gendered power relations. Lazar (2005) argues that FCDA investigates how patriarchal ideologies are embedded in institutional discourse. It interrogates both explicit and implicit constructions of gender. FCDA is particularly attentive to:

- a) Agency and transitivity
- b) Lexicalisation of social actors
- c) Metaphor and evaluative language
- d) Nominalisation and abstraction
- e) Silences and exclusions

Agency analysis is central. Transitivity structures reveal who is positioned as actor and who is positioned as affected participant. If women frequently appear as recipients of state action rather than as initiating agents, this signals asymmetrical power. Lexical choices also carry ideological weight. The pairing of “women and children” can infantilise adult women. The frequent use of “vulnerable groups” can obscure structural causes of inequality. Protectionist discourse can coexist with empowerment rhetoric. FCDA does not assume overt sexism. It analyses subtle patterns that normalise hierarchy while appearing progressive.

Ideology, Neoliberalism, and Development Discourse

Gender equality discourse in contemporary governance often intersects with neoliberal development ideology. Neoliberal discourse emphasises productivity, entrepreneurship, and self-reliance. When applied to gender, women may be framed as economic assets. This instrumentalisation shifts focus from structural transformation to individual participation. Women are encouraged to contribute to development. Structural patriarchy receives less attention.

Fairclough (2003) refers to this as the marketisation of public discourse. Social justice language becomes intertwined with economic rationality. Equality is justified in terms of growth rather than rights. In postcolonial contexts, this dynamic is intensified. States align with global development agendas while negotiating local political realities. As a result, policy texts may contain hybrid discourses. They combine rights-based language with traditional gender norms and developmentalist framing.

This study examines whether Kenyan public discourse reflects such hybridity.

Analytical Categories for the Study

To operationalise the framework, the analysis focuses on five linguistic dimensions:

1. Transitivity and Agency: Examines who performs actions and who receives them. Identifies patterns of actor versus beneficiary positioning.
2. Lexicalisation: Analyses word choice in relation to women, men, family, leadership, and development.
3. Modality: Investigates obligation, necessity, and possibility. Looks at modal verbs such as “shall”, “must”, and “may”. Strong modality indicates institutional commitment.
4. Nominalisation: Identifies abstraction of actions into nouns. Nominalisation can obscure responsibility. For example, “empowerment of women” removes the actor responsible for empowerment.
5. Interdiscursivity: Examines how equality discourse intersects with development, morality, family, or national unity discourse.

These categories allow systematic linkage between linguistic structure and ideological positioning.

Research Methodology

Research Design

This study adopts a qualitative desk-based research design grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis. The research relies exclusively on publicly available institutional texts. No human participants were involved. Ethical clearance was therefore not required. The design is interpretive but systematic. It combines close textual reading with structured linguistic coding. The objective is not to measure attitudes but to examine how gender is discursively constructed in elite public discourse.

Corpus Selection

The corpus consists of two categories of texts:

1. National policy and constitutional documents
2. Presidential speeches delivered during official state functions

Policy Documents

The following policy texts were selected:

1. Constitution of Kenya
2. National Gender and Equality Commission Act
3. Kenya National Policy on Gender and Development
4. Kenya Vision 2030 (social pillar sections on gender)

These documents were selected because:

- a) They represent formal state commitment to gender equality.
- b) They have long-term governance implications.
- c) They structure national discourse on gender.

Only sections directly addressing equality, representation, development, family, and social protection were extracted for analysis. Purely procedural clauses were excluded.

Presidential Speeches

To examine elite political discourse, four presidential speeches were selected:

Two speeches delivered by Uhuru Kenyatta and two speeches delivered by William Ruto

Selection criteria included:

- a) Speeches delivered on national occasions
- b) Speeches containing explicit reference to gender, women, equality, or development
- c) Speeches accessible through official government archives.

Campaign speeches were excluded to maintain focus on institutional rather than partisan rhetoric.

Sampling Strategy

A purposive sampling strategy was used. The study did not aim for representativeness in a statistical sense. Instead, it selected texts that carry high institutional authority.

Within each document, excerpts containing references to women, men, youth, family, equality, representation, protection, and development were extracted into a working corpus. The final corpus comprised approximately 18,000 words.

Analytical Procedure

The analysis followed a four-stage process.

Stage 1: Preliminary Reading

All texts were read multiple times to identify recurring themes and patterns. Initial observations were noted regarding tone, framing, and emphasis.

Stage 2: Linguistic Coding

Extracted excerpts were coded according to five analytical categories:

- 1. Transitivity (actor vs affected participant)
- 2. Lexicalisation
- 3. Modality
- 4. Nominalisation
- 5. Interdiscursivity

Coding was manual. Each clause was examined for subject position, verb type, and object structure.

For example:

- a) Clauses where “government” appears as actor and “women” as object were coded as state-led agency.
- b) Clauses where “women” appear as economic contributors were coded under developmental framing.

Stage 3: Pattern Identification

Coded excerpts were grouped into thematic clusters. Patterns of repetition were identified. Attention was given to:

- a) Frequency of women as beneficiaries versus agents
- b) Recurrent lexical pairings
- c) Shifts in modality strength
- d) Discursive overlaps between equality and development rhetoric

Stage 4: Ideological Interpretation

Findings were interpreted in relation to the theoretical framework. Linguistic patterns were linked to broader ideological formations. Particular attention was given to contradictions between equality claims and structural positioning.

Validity and Reliability

CDA does not claim objectivity in the positivist sense. However, analytical rigour was ensured through:

- a) Transparent coding categories
- b) Repeated reading of the corpus
- c) Direct quotation of excerpts in the findings section
- d) Alignment of interpretation with established CDA principles
- e) Interpretive claims are grounded in observable linguistic patterns rather than speculation.

Limitations

This study has three limitations.

First, the corpus is limited to selected high-level documents. It does not include grassroots discourse.

Second, the analysis is qualitative. It does not provide statistical generalisation.

Third, interpretation is shaped by the researcher's theoretical orientation. However, this is consistent with critical scholarship, which acknowledges positionality.

Despite these limitations, the study offers a focused examination of how institutional discourse constructs gender in contemporary Kenya.

Findings and Analysis

Constitutional Equality and the Language of Formal Neutrality

The Constitution of Kenya adopts a formally neutral tone. Article 27 states that every person is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law. The lexical choice “every person” constructs universality. Gender is not foregrounded. This neutrality appears progressive. It avoids explicit male normativity. However, neutrality also abstracts inequality. Structural asymmetries are not named. Patriarchy is not mentioned. The text frames discrimination as an individual violation rather than a systemic pattern. Modality is strong. The Constitution uses “shall” in relation to state obligation. For example, the state “shall take legislative and other measures” to implement equality. This signals institutional commitment.

However, agency is consistently attributed to the state. Women are not constructed as initiating actors. They are beneficiaries of state action. The two-thirds gender principle is framed as a requirement that “not more than two-thirds of members” of elective bodies shall be of the same gender. The wording avoids specifying male dominance. It uses mathematical abstraction rather than explicit recognition of male overrepresentation. This linguistic strategy softens the political nature of inequality. The Constitution thus performs equality through formal neutrality. It avoids overt hierarchy. Yet it also depersonalises structural power.

Protectionist Framing in Gender Policy Texts

In the Kenya National Policy on Gender and Development, women are frequently grouped with children and other vulnerable populations. The lexical pairing “women, youth and persons with disabilities” recurs. This clustering constructs women as a vulnerable category. Transitivity patterns reinforce this positioning. Clauses such as “the government will provide support to women” and “measures shall be taken to protect women from violence” position women as recipients of protection. The state is the actor. Women are objects of policy intervention. Protection discourse is necessary in contexts of gender-based violence.

However, repetition of protective framing risks infantilisation. Adult women are symbolically aligned with children. Their agency is backgrounded. Nominalisation also appears frequently. Phrases such as “empowerment of women” and “promotion of gender equality” remove explicit actors. The grammatical subject becomes abstract. Responsibility is diffused. Structural actors disappear from the clause. This pattern reflects what Bacchi (2009) identifies as problem representation. Women are framed as vulnerable and underdeveloped. The implied solution is state-led support. Structural patriarchy is not foregrounded.

Developmental Instrumentalisation of Women

In both policy texts and presidential speeches, women are repeatedly framed as drivers of development. References to women as “pillars of the family,” “engines of economic growth,” and “key contributors to national prosperity” are common. In speeches delivered by Uhuru Kenyatta, women are described as central to achieving national transformation. The rhetoric emphasises entrepreneurship and productivity. Similarly, speeches by William Ruto highlight women’s participation in small and medium enterprises. At first glance, this framing appears empowering. Women are positioned as capable economic actors.

However, the discourse is instrumental. Women’s value is linked to development outcomes. Equality becomes justified through economic contribution. Transitivity patterns show that women are actors in economic clauses. For example, “women are driving innovation” or “women are participating in agribusiness.” Yet these clauses often appear within broader narratives of national growth. The focus shifts from rights to productivity. Interdiscursivity is visible here. Gender discourse merges with neoliberal development language. Equality is framed as investment. Women become economic assets. Structural redistribution is not addressed directly. This reflects Fairclough’s (2003) concept of marketised discourse. Social justice is translated into economic rationality.

Persistent Male Normativity and Leadership Framing

Although equality language is present, leadership discourse often remains implicitly masculine. Presidential speeches frequently refer to “our leaders” and “our fathers and mothers”, but high-status political roles are rarely explicitly feminised. Men are not explicitly named as a gender category in policy texts. They appear as default citizens. Women are marked. They are specified as a category requiring attention. This asymmetry reflects male normativity. In clauses addressing national unity, the citizen subject is often abstract and ungendered.

However, when discussing social challenges, women are explicitly referenced. This pattern positions women as a special interest group rather than as the universal political subject. Agency analysis shows that when high-level decisions are described, the actor is “government”, “parliament”, or “leadership”. These terms are historically male-dominated institutions. The linguistic abstraction conceals gender imbalance within those institutions. Thus, while policy texts promote inclusion, they do not disrupt the symbolic centring of masculine authority.

Discursive Contradictions and Hybrid Ideology

Across the corpus, three discursive strands coexist:

- a) Rights-based equality discourse
- b) Protectionist vulnerability discourse
- c) Developmentalist productivity discourse

These strands sometimes align, but they also conflict.

Equality clauses use strong modality and universal language. Protection clauses foreground vulnerability. Development clauses emphasise economic contribution. The result is a hybrid ideological formation. Women are simultaneously equal citizens, vulnerable dependents, and economic instruments. These subject positions are not fully reconciled. This hybridity reflects postcolonial governance dynamics. Kenya aligns with global gender equality frameworks while operating within local socio-political realities. The discourse navigates between transformation and continuity. The findings demonstrate that linguistic framing matters. Equality is not only a legal matter. It is constructed through grammar, lexical choice, and discursive alignment.

Discussion

Equality Without Structural Naming

The analysis demonstrates that Kenyan public discourse performs equality through formal neutrality and strong modality. The Constitution of Kenya uses universal language such as “every person” and “equal protection”. This aligns with liberal constitutionalism. Equality is framed as an individual right guaranteed by the state. However, the absence of explicit reference to patriarchy or structural male dominance is significant. Gender inequality is not named as systemic. It appears as a problem of imbalance rather than a product of entrenched power relations. This mirrors global findings in feminist policy studies (Lombardo & Meier, 2008).

Liberal equality discourse often avoids confronting structural hierarchy directly. By abstracting inequality, the text reduces political tension. Yet abstraction can also dilute transformative potential. In the Kenyan context, this abstraction may serve a stabilising function. Explicit naming of patriarchal dominance could challenge established political networks. Neutral language maintains institutional legitimacy while signalling reform.

The Politics of Protection

Protectionist framing in policy texts positions women as recipients of state intervention. This pattern is not unique to Kenya. However, its repetition constructs a specific gendered subject: the vulnerable woman. Protection discourse can be necessary in contexts of gender-based violence and economic exclusion. Yet when protection becomes the dominant frame, it risks reinforcing dependency narratives. Adult women are symbolically grouped with children and other marginalised categories. From a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, this is a form of paternalistic governance (Lazar, 2005).

The state appears benevolent. Women are positioned as in need of safeguarding. Structural accountability becomes secondary. In postcolonial settings, such framing may also reflect donor-driven policy language. International development discourse frequently emphasises vulnerable groups. National texts may reproduce this language to align with global norms. Thus, protection discourse operates at the intersection of local patriarchy and global development frameworks.

Instrumentalisation and Neoliberal Gender

The developmental framing of women as engines of growth reflects a broader neoliberal logic. Equality is justified in economic terms. Women's empowerment is linked to productivity, entrepreneurship, and national competitiveness. This instrumentalisation shifts the moral basis of equality. Instead of grounding rights in justice, discourse grounds them in utility. Women are valuable because they contribute to development. Such framing can expand opportunities. It recognises women as capable economic actors. However, it also narrows equality to market participation. Structural redistribution and care burdens receive less attention.

Fairclough's (2003) concept of marketisation helps explain this shift. Social policy increasingly adopts economic vocabulary. In the Kenyan case, presidential speeches integrate empowerment rhetoric with investment language. Gender becomes part of national growth strategy. This hybrid discourse does not dismantle patriarchy. It rearticulates gender within market logic.

Male Normativity and Symbolic Authority

Despite progressive language, male normativity remains embedded in institutional abstraction. Men are rarely named as a gendered group. They function as the unmarked category. Women, by contrast, are explicitly referenced. They are targeted, supported, empowered, or protected. This asymmetry reinforces the idea that men represent the default political subject. The abstraction of leadership into ungendered institutional terms conceals historical male dominance. Terms such as "government" and "parliament" appear neutral. Yet these institutions have been disproportionately male.

Van Dijk's (2008) insight into elite discourse is relevant here. Power can be reproduced through what remains implicit. Silence regarding male dominance sustains symbolic authority. Therefore, the discourse does not overtly marginalise women. Instead, it maintains a subtle hierarchy by preserving masculine centrality.

Hybrid Ideology in a Postcolonial State

The coexistence of rights-based, protectionist, and developmentalist discourses reveals ideological hybridity. Kenya navigates between constitutional liberalism, local patriarchal norms, and global neoliberal governance. This hybridity is not accidental. Postcolonial states often negotiate multiple audiences. They address citizens, political elites, and international institutions simultaneously. Policy language must satisfy domestic expectations and global frameworks. The result is discursive layering. Equality is declared. Protection is promised. Productivity is celebrated. Yet structural transformation is only partially articulated. The findings suggest that linguistic reform is integral to substantive equality. Without discursive shifts that explicitly name and challenge structural patriarchy, equality remains rhetorically strong but ideologically moderated.

Conclusion

This study examined how gender is constructed in Kenyan public policy documents and presidential speeches. Using Critical Discourse Analysis and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, it demonstrated that equality is not only a legal principle but also a discursive formation.

The analysis revealed three dominant patterns. First, constitutional equality is framed through formal neutrality and strong institutional modality. This projects commitment but abstracts structural patriarchy. Second, gender policy texts frequently position women within protectionist discourse. Women appear as recipients of support rather than primary agents of structural change. Third, presidential rhetoric integrates equality with developmentalist language. Women are constructed as economic drivers whose empowerment serves national growth. These discursive formations are not contradictory by accident. They reflect a hybrid ideological structure shaped by liberal constitutionalism, neoliberal development rationality, and local socio-political realities. Equality is affirmed, yet hierarchy is not explicitly dismantled. Male normativity remains largely unmarked. Institutional abstraction conceals historical gender imbalance.

The findings contribute to feminist discourse studies in three ways. First, they extend Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis to an East African governance context that remains underexamined in global scholarship. Second, they demonstrate how postcolonial constitutional reform can coexist with subtle discursive continuity. Third, they highlight the importance of analysing linguistic structure when evaluating the transformative potential of equality frameworks. The study suggests that legal reform alone cannot secure substantive gender justice. Discursive transformation is equally necessary. Policies that name structural patriarchy, redistribute agency, and avoid instrumental framing may create stronger foundations for change.

Future research could expand the corpus to include parliamentary debates, judicial decisions, and media commentary. Comparative studies across African states would also deepen understanding of postcolonial gender discourse. Ultimately, gender equality is not achieved solely through legislation. It is constructed, negotiated, and contested through language. Examining that language reveals the limits and possibilities of reform.

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