Reinventing Government: The Role of Plain Language

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Introduction

Although the focus of the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 was on strategic planning (specifically on requiring annual performance plans and reports), on managerial accountability and flexibility, and on performance budgeting, the Clinton Administration closely linked the success of reinventing government to a plain language initiative throughout the federal government.1

A Plain Language Action Network (PLAN) was established as part of Vice President Al Gore’s National Partnership for Reinventing Government (NPR). Here are some of the results of this initiative: (1) The Plain English Network (PEN), whose members represent agencies throughout the federal government, all with a special interest in and dedication to the use of plain language in all government documents; (2) The production of a major guidance document entitled “Writing User-friendly Documents,” which is available on-line at PLAN’s home page on the World Wide Web (http://plainlanguage.gov/main.htm), and, in June of 1998, (3) the issuance of a presidential memorandum to heads of executive departments and agencies requiring the use of plain language in government documents. This memorandum included a summary of the document cited in (2) and set deadlines for the use of plain language in government documents: October 1, 1998 in all new documents, other than regulations, that relate to obtaining government benefits and services and January 1, 1999 in all proposed and final rulemakings published in the Federal Register. The memorandum further specified that by January 1, 2002, all documents created prior to October 1, 1998 must also be in plain language.

In addition to describing the above initiatives in more detail, this paper will present examples of revisions of documents in English to comply with the plain language directive of the president, and will make some initial observations (based on preliminary analysis of government documents in Spanish) concerning how such an initiative might be implemented in Spanish-speaking countries.

The Plain Language Action Network (PLAN)

Here is a description of the Plain Language Action Network (PLAN) quoted from its homepage on the World Wide Web:

1 I wish to thank Cristina Leira Kerr for reading and commenting insightfully on the entire paper and for assistance with the analysis of the Spanish-language examples; she will also have translated the paper into Spanish before it is presented at CLAD IV. Wolfgang Pindur read an early draft and
The Plain Language Action Network (PLAN) is a government-wide group working to improve communications from the federal government to the public. We believe better communication will increase trust in government, reduce government costs, and reduce the burden on the public. We want to help your agency comply with the Presidential Memorandum on Plain Language.

The National Partnership for Reinventing Government (NPR) (then the National Performance Review) and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) established PLAN. We are guided by a small steering committee, called the Plain English Network (PEN). The members of PEN come from agencies with a special interest in and dedication to plain language. ([http://www.plainlanguage.gov](http://www.plainlanguage.gov))

To my knowledge, no one has yet undertaken a comprehensive study of the effectiveness of PLAN in implementing the Presidential Memorandum cited earlier. Some indication of the potential impact of a full implementation of the plain language initiative is given in the following passage from a paper by Richard Conoboy, (originally published in *The Armed Forces Comptroller* and available at PLAN’s website). Conoboy’s article cites the possible cost savings to the U.S. Department of Defense if the Plain Language initiative were fully implemented:

Plain language is a money saver. We have all had the experience of spending hours, if not days, poring over complicated texts to determine whether or not an obscure rule applies. Not only does your employer pay for this unnecessary research time; difficult texts tend to produce error prone work. For the private sector, [lack of] plain language can be deadly to profits. Who is going to read through turgid text to determine if an insurance policy or a contract is a good deal when a competitor clearly states the advantages to his product or service?

Experts claim we can easily cut 25% from our writings. Think of this in the context of saving disk space on computers or shelf space in reference libraries. How many fewer sheets of paper would the Department of Defense use were it to reduce all texts by one fourth? On the NPR website is an article which tells of a 1989 study of Naval Officers who took 17% to 23% less time to read a plain language version of a document versus the document in its original form. Furthermore, their comprehension increased after reading the clearer text. By placing dollar figures on the results using an average hourly pay figure for officers, the study determined the Navy would save from $27 million to $37 million on the low end and $57 million to $73 million on the high end just from the time saved reading plain language documents. If all Navy personnel read plain language documents, then the saving would be in excess of $250 million each year!

([http://www.plainlanguage.gov/library/comptrol.htm](http://www.plainlanguage.gov/library/comptrol.htm))

The Plain Language Action Network has been very active throughout the Federal Government since its initiation early in the Clinton-Gore administration. Vice President Al Gore has been the leader of these efforts. He even wrote a memorandum of his own entitled “How to Comply with the President’s Memo on Plain Language.” ([http://www.plainlanguage.gov/cites/vpguide.htm](http://www.plainlanguage.gov/cites/vpguide.htm)). It is a very helpful document that gives specific guidance concerning not only actions needed to meet the President’s deadlines for producing documents in plain language but also concerning how to write using plain
language. The final paragraph in the Vice President’s memorandum provides a succinct rationale not only for the plain language initiative but also for the entire movement to reinvent government that was initiated by the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993:

The American people expect clear information from their government, and the President and the Vice President take this expectation very seriously. Plain language in all of our communications is the very foundation of good service to our customers.

(http://www.plainlanguage.gov/cites/vpguide.htm)

In the next section of this paper, I will summarize the principal recommendations contained in “Writing User-friendly Documents,” which is, as I have mentioned, the most comprehensive guidance document produced by The Plain Language Action Network. In the section following the next section of this paper, I will make some preliminary observations related to possible plain-language initiatives in Spanish-speaking countries.

A Summary of “Writing User-friendly Documents”

The full text of “Writing User-friendly Documents” is available: (1) in Internet format (html and hyper text), (2) as a downloadable Microsoft Word document, and (3) as a downloadable pdf document (readable by Adobe Acrobat Reader) at PLAN’s homepage on the World Wide Web (http://www.plainlanguage.gov). The Microsoft Word version of the document is 45 pages long and contains many “before and after” examples illustrating how to implement its various recommendations. Today, I have time to discuss only a few of these recommendations, but I urge you to examine the full document on PLAN’s web site. The document is very rich in detailed and well-explained examples of how to produce plain-language documents. To give you an idea of the kinds of information contained in the “Writing User-friendly Documents,” I have grouped its major recommendations into four categories (which do not necessarily correspond to the order in which they are discussed in the document):

1) Recommendations about organizing the content of a document to meet the special needs of its users.
   a) Identify your audience; think about your readers’ needs, and organize the document to meet those needs.
   b) Use question-and-answer format; this is enormously helpful to readers.
   c) Put the main message up front, and use a sympathetic opening tone.

2) Recommendations about formatting a document to make it easy to understand.
   a) Use a format that is appealing to the eye, with plenty of open spaces on the page.
   b) Use many informative headings and subheadings.
c) Use bold and italic type to highlight important information (but not all capital letters).
d) Use vertical lists but do not center them on the page.

3) Some important recommendations about **plain language** that might apply to **both English and Spanish**.

a) Use shorter sentences instead of multi-clause sentences.

b) Use common, everyday words instead of legalistic or bureaucratic terms.

c) Address the reader as “you.” Instead of saying, “Copies of tax returns must be provided,” say “You must return copies of your tax returns.”

4) A few examples of recommendations about **plain language** that apply **only to English**.

a) Use the active voice (especially in letters).

b) Be sure to place the words “only” and “always” next to the words they modify.

c) Avoid unfamiliar (and legalistic) words like *aforementioned, hereinafter, hereby, whereas, whosoever,* . . .

There are many other recommendations in the document, some of them relating to general issues of content and format but most of them referring to specific issues of plain language. The list that I have just provided focuses on the most important general recommendations and on just a few of the more important specific issues of plain language.

Here are three citations showing how “Writing User-friendly Documents” uses “before and after” examples to clarify some of the above recommendations. The first example (adapted from page 16 of the Microsoft Word version of the document) relates primarily to item 1b in the list above, (Use question and answer format; it is enormously helpful to readers.) The column at the left (with the “thumbs-down” symbol) contains the version needing revision; the column at the right (with the “thumbs-up symbol) contains the improved “plain-language” version.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Special Grants for Economic Development and Core Management Grants to Small Tribes</th>
<th>Economic Development and Core Management Grants to Small Tribes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§ 254.11 Indian Rights.</td>
<td>§ 254.11 How do the procedures in this part affect Indian rights?</td>
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<tr>
<td>§ 254.12 Applications.</td>
<td>§ 254.12 How do I apply for a grant under this part?</td>
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<tr>
<td>§ 254.13 Multi-tribal</td>
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<tr>
<td>grants.</td>
<td>§ 254.13 When must I submit my application?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 254.14 Administrative requirements.</td>
<td>§ 254.14 Can a multi-tribal organization submit a single grant request?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 254.15 Appeals</td>
<td>§ 254.15 What special information do I need for an application by a multi-tribal organization?</td>
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<td>§ 254.16 Must each tribe in a multi-tribal organization submit certification forms and budgets?</td>
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<td>§ 254.17 If I receive a grant under this part, what requirements must I follow?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>§ 254.18 What reports must I submit after receiving a grant?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>§ 254.19 How can I appeal administrative actions under this part?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The second example (taken from page 23 of the Microsoft Word version of “Writing User-friendly Documents”) relates primarily to item 3a in the summary list given earlier (Use shorter sentences instead of multi-clause sentences), but it also relates to item 3c (Address the reader as “you”):

> For good reasons, the Secretary may grant extensions of time in 30-day increments for filing of the lease and all required bonds, provided that additional extension requests are submitted and approved before the expiration of the original 30 days or the previously granted extension.

We may extend the time you have to file the lease and required bonds. Each extension will be for a 30-day period. To get an extension, you must write to us giving the reasons that you need more time. We must receive your extension request in time to approve it before your current deadline or extension expires.

The third example (taken from page 33 of the Microsoft Word version of “Writing User-friendly Documents”) relates primarily to item 3b in the list given earlier (Use common, everyday words instead of legalistic or bureaucratic terms); however, it is also another example of items 3a (use shorter sentences instead of multi-clause sentences) and item 3c (Address the reader as “you”).

> If the State Secretary finds that an individual has received a payment to which the individual was not entitled, whether or not the payment was due to the individual’s fault or misrepresentation, we will require the individual to pay the entire sum back.

If the State agency finds that you received a payment that you weren’t entitled to, you must pay the entire sum back.
the individual shall be liable to repay to the State the total sum of the payment to which the individual was not entitled.

The numbered summary list presented earlier and these three examples only begin to give an idea of the rich array of issues and examples contained in “Writing User-friendly Documents.”

**Plain Language in Government Documents in Spanish-Speaking Countries**

*(Some Preliminary Observations)*

Although I have some knowledge of the Spanish language, I must confess that I have not yet had the opportunity carefully to examine authentic samples of printed government documents from Spanish-speaking countries. What I have done as part of the research for this paper is examine a wide variety of textual materials on the Internet Web pages of government agencies, especially in Mexico.

The content and format of those pages tend to conform closely to the plain language guidelines that I described in the previous section of this paper. This is also true of U.S. Government Web sites. But it does not necessarily indicate that printed government documents also conform to those content and format guidelines. This is because many of the plain-language maxims related to content and format are simply part of the culture of the World Wide Web. If the content of a Web site is not clearly and concisely written and presented in a visually appealing way, then the Web surfer is likely to move on to another source of information, or, if that is not possible, to be much more annoyed than in dealing with the same content and format in a paper document.

What this means is that the Web pages of government agencies are almost always more clear and concise in content and more friendly in format than printed publications of those same agencies. A practical by-product of this situation is that any agency that has hired a competent web-master or engaged a consulting firm to design its Web site also has available the expertise to initiate the content and format reforms that would be part of a plain-language initiative.

But what about plain language itself? Language Professionals in the English-speaking world seem to agree that there is indeed such a thing as plain English and that it is distinct from the traditionally complex and sometimes obscure English of the bureaucracy (the list of references at the end of this paper contains works on plain language by British and Australian authors in addition to U.S. authors). **But is there such a thing as plain Spanish?** I have not been able to discover evidence of a plain-Spanish movement through either internet or traditional research searches. In fact, it is my impression that the rhetorical tradition in the Spanish-speaking world greatly values the use of complex syntax and specialized vocabulary – both of which are considered elegant, not obscure.

Nevertheless, let us take a close look at one Spanish text taken from the Web site of an agency of the Mexican Federal Government and evaluate it in light of some of the previously
mentioned axioms relating to plain language. The text is from the home page of the Secretary of Social Development (Secretario de Desarrollo Social SEDESOL) and describes the agency’s Program of Education, Health, and Nutrition (Programa de Educación, Salud y Alimentación), which is labeled PROGRESA. The text describes PROGRESA, its mission and its parts

(cf. http://www.sedesol.gob.mx/progresa/progresa.htm). I have chosen this particular example text for two reasons: (1) It is very typical of the type of text that is the focus of the Plain Language initiative in the United States, i.e., documents from government agencies that are specifically produced to communicate with clients of that agency about what services the agency supplies and about what the public needs to do to take advantage of those services. (2) It is also very typical of the many texts that I examined while doing research on the internet by visiting the Web sites of many government agencies in Spanish-speaking countries. I am therefore confident that insights gained from analyzing it will have broad relevance. Here is the text. I will continue my discussion after you take some time to examine it.

[Text about PROGRESA from the Home Page of the Mexican Secretary of Social Development]

http://www.sedesol.gob.mx/progresa/progresa.htm

Progresa

"Todos los mexicanos tenemos vocación y convicción por la justicia, con esa convicción y con esa vocación los invito a respaldar y a impulsar el Progreso para romper el círculo vicioso de la pobreza, pues sólo así lograremos el verdadero desarrollo de nuestra patria."

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León Cardonal, Hidalgo, 6 de agosto de 1997

En agosto de 1997 el Presidente de la República, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, puso en marcha el Programa de Educación, Salud y Alimentación Progresa, para intensificar el combate a la pobreza, atacando sus causas de manera integral.

Al finalizar 1998, Progresa atenderá a 1,951,048 familias de 45,546 localidades ubicadas en 1,926 municipios, en las regiones donde se registran los mayores rezagos y mas altos índices de pobreza en 30 estados de la República.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Evolución de la cobertura de Progresa</th>
<th>Etapas de instrumentación 1997-1998</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Estados</strong></td>
<td><strong>Municipios</strong></td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>13</td>
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Con **Progresa**, el Gobierno de la República redobla sus esfuerzos para abatir la pobreza. Con ello se afianzan las bases de justicia y equidad para el progreso de México. Además, superar la pobreza es imprescindible para la plena consolidación de un sistema político plural y un desarrollo económico sostenido.

Para ello:

- **Progresa** conjuntara los esfuerzos de instituciones federales y estatales coordinando sus acciones en favor de una mejor educación, salud y alimentación para las familias que viven en condiciones de pobreza extrema, y buscara complementarse con otros programas sociales, como los de mejoramiento de la vivienda, agua potable y capacitación para el trabajo.

- **Progresa** centrará su atención en la familia, apoyando principalmente a los niños y jóvenes, de ambos sexos, alentando los esfuerzos de los padres de familia para la superación de sus hijos.

- **Progresa** orienta sus acciones de forma encadenada para un aprovechamiento integral de sus beneficios.

**Progresa** tiene tres componentes:

**EDUCACIÓN**

Se proporcionarán becas educativas y apoyos para la adquisición de útiles para alentar la asistencia escolar de los niños y jóvenes. Asimismo, se buscará mejorar la cobertura y la calidad de la enseñanza mediante capacitación a los maestros y reforzamiento del equipamiento de las escuelas.

**SALUD**

Se ampliará la cobertura de servicios de salud y se mejorará su calidad mediante equipamiento a las unidades y capacitación al personal. Se proporcionará sin costo un paquete básico de servicios de salud y se otorgara un suplemento nutricional a todas las madres embarazadas o en lactancia y a los niños menores de dos años para prevenir y atender la desnutrición. Se fomentará el autocuidado de la salud, de las familias a través de educación y capacitación en salud, nutrición e higiene.
ALIMENTACIÓN

Se proporcionará a través de las madres de familia un apoyo monetario para complementar los ingresos familiares. Mediante educación e información se proporcionarán los usos más provechosos de este apoyo para mejorar la alimentación y bienestar del hogar, principalmente de los niños y jóvenes.

- Las familias atendidas por Progresa se incorporan al programa mediante un procedimiento transparente en la selección de beneficiarios, que asegura una cobertura equitativa y evitar cualquier atisbo de discrecionalidad.

- Progresa se funda en la corresponsabilidad social y familiar. Promueve la participación y el compromiso de las familias como un elemento fundamental para el buen funcionamiento del Programa y el logro de sus objetivos, así como de la comunidad en el control y vigilancia de las acciones del mismo.

- Dentro de sus estrategias, Progresa busca mejorar la condición de la mujer, valorando y apoyando el decisivo papel que desempeña en favor del desarrollo familiar y comunitario. Para ello, busca satisfacer sus necesidades de salud y nutrición, así como promover su desarrollo personal.

- Al atender de manera integral y sostenida la educación, la salud y la alimentación, se fortalecerá la capacidad de las familias más pobres del país para que sus integrantes desarrollen cabalmente su potencial humano y puedan así ampliar y aprovechar sus oportunidades sociales, económicas y culturales.

I will now comment on this document in relation to the earlier outline of important recommendations contained in “Writing User-friendly Documents.” I will substitute for section 4 of that outline a section labeled "An example of a recommendation about plain language that applies only to Spanish.”

1) Recommendations about organizing the content of a document to meet the special needs of its users.

a) Identify your audience; think about your readers’ needs, and organize the document to meet those needs. This recommendation is especially relevant to the PROGRESA document. I think that it succeeds well in focusing on readers’ needs and on providing an organizational structure that clarifies its message. The diagram reinforces that clarity.

b) Use question-and-answer format; this is enormously helpful to readers. The PROGRESA document, even though it is already well structured, could be improved if this recommendation were implemented, e.g., by having the following three headings:

i) ¿Cuál es el rol del componente EDUCACIÓN?

ii) ¿Cuál es el rol del componente SALUT?

iii) ¿Cuál es el rol del componente ALIMENTACIÓN?
c) **Put the main message up front, and use a sympathetic opening tone.** The PROGRESA document fulfills this recommendation quite well:

i) The quotation from President Zedillo provides a sympathetic opening tone.

ii) The brief history of PROGRESA and the table listing its accomplishments convey the idea that it is a program that is already having an impact.

iii) The statement following the table that lists accomplishments clearly describes the general purpose of the agency: to reduce poverty and to enhance justice and equality.

iv) The three highlighted statements following that statement describe specific goals in fulfilling that general purpose.

v) The diagram provides a helpful transition from the statements of purpose to descriptions of specific activities and programs that aim to implement the agency's goals.

2) **Recommendations about formatting a document to make it easy to understand.**

a) **Use a format that is appealing to the eye, with plenty of open spaces on the page.** The format of the PROGRESA document, especially in its original version on the agency’s Web site more than meets this recommendation. There is plenty of white space. The sections of the document are clearly indicated. Bold face type is used effectively to enhance comprehension. The use of tables and diagrams further enhances comprehension.

b) **Use many informative headings and subheadings.** (See 2a.)

c) **Use bold and italic type to highlight important information (but not all capital letters).** (See 2a.)

d) **Use vertical lists but do not center them on the page.** In the PROGRESA document, such a vertical list is used effectively in the section on NUTRITION. There are also other sections in the document where vertical lists might improve clarity. For example, in the section on HEALTH, each of the statements concerning what the agency will do could be presented in such a list:

i) Se ampliará la cobertura de servicios de salud y se mejorará su calidad mediante equipamiento a las unidades y capacitación al personal.

ii) Se proporcionará sin costo un paquete básico de servicios de salud.

iii) Se otorgara un suplemento nutricional a todas las madres embarazadas o en lactancia y a los niños menores de dos años para prevenir y atender la desnutrición.
iv) Se fomentará el autocuidado de la salud, de las familias a través de educación y capacitación en salud, nutrición e higiene.

3) Some important recommendations about plain language that might apply to both English and Spanish.

a) Use shorter sentences instead of multi-clause sentences. The memorandum of Vice President Al Gore that was referred to earlier in this paper suggests that the average sentence length in a plain-language document should be between 15 and 20 words and that no sentence should have more than 40 words. The PROGRESA text above has an average sentence length of 28 words, and 7 of its 21 sentences are more than 36 words long. (I also examined an article about population growth in a Spanish language news magazine and found that the average sentence length was 19 words, and no sentence was more than 40 words in length – in fact, the longest sentence was 25 words in length.) I think it is thus reasonable to propose that the issue of sentence length may provide evidence that “plain-Spanish” would favor shorter, less syntactically complex, sentences – sentences somewhat shorter than those in the PROGRESA document.

b) Use common, everyday words instead of legalistic or bureaucratic terms. I do not feel that I have sufficient knowledge of Spanish vocabulary to make refined or authoritative judgments about which words in Spanish might qualify as “common, everyday words” and which might not. I am inclined to think that this issue is not as relevant in Spanish as in English, where most of the “common, everyday words” came into the language from Old English (a Germanic language) and where many of the legalistic and bureaucratic terms have a Romance language etymology (i.e., they were borrowed from Norman French between the years 1066 and 1250 or invented by lawyers and scientists based on Latin morphological structures). The vast majority of Spanish words – both conversational and technical -- are of Romance etymology, and there is thus much more of a continuum between common words and bureaucratic words.

c) Address the reader as “you.” Clearly, the PROGRESA text does not address the reader as you, and could be revised to do so by using expressions such as “Here is what Progresa will do for you” or “If you are a nursing mother, Progress will do such and such.”

4) An example of a recommendation about plain language that applies only to Spanish.

a) Avoid sentences that use the impersonal “se” construction. I believe that the PROGRESA text provides several examples of a grammatical structure in Spanish that is analogous to the passive construction in English and that might weaken clarity and confuse the reading audience just as the passive construction does in English. Take another look at the paragraph under the heading “SALUD.” It contains several verb phrases with the impersonal reflexive pronoun se, each of which could be translated by the passive construction in English. Here are some of the many such constructions in that paragraph: se ampliará la cobertura de servicios de salud (health services coverage will be amplified), se mejorará su calidad (its quality will be improved), se
proporcionará . . . un paquete básico de servicios de salud (a basic package of health services will be provided). In fact, a high percentage of the verbs in the PROGRESA text are of this type. Both the passive construction in English and the impersonal se construction in Spanish tend to obscure meaning for at least two reasons: (1) the verbs express actions, but no one is named as being responsible for the actions; thus (2) the reader becomes confused about what the agency’s role is and what the reader’s role might be in these activities. I thus feel comfortable in proposing that a “plain-Spanish” initiative would counsel the avoidance of impersonal se constructions.

Conclusions

My purpose in this paper has been: (1) to describe the Plain-language initiative that has been part of the Clinton-Gore Administration’s program to reinvent government in the United States and (2) to initiate speculation about whether such an initiative might be useful in Spanish-speaking countries.

I hope that I have described the English-language programs in sufficient detail and provided you with useful references. I also hope that my preliminary and tentative speculations about a possible plain-Spanish initiative will prove useful to you. I am especially interested in beginning a dialog on this issue, or in joining a dialog if one is already underway. Please share your ideas, and sample government documents, with me – either here at the conference or by e-mail.

My own feeling is that the recommendations concerning the content and format of government documents that are contained in “Writing User-friendly Documents” are completely transferable to Spanish-language documents. As to plain language per se, I think that proposals relating to sentence length and increased use of “you” are relevant to Spanish language documents and that impersonal se constructions may undermine plain language in Spanish. As to the use of “common, everyday words,” this may be an issue that is not relevant to “plain Spanish.”

I am sure there are other issues that further research could identify, and I hope to play a role in such research. In the meantime, I look forward to hearing your suggestions on any and all of the issues that I have discussed in this paper. Thank you.

References


Conoboy, Richard. “Plain Language in Government.” The Armed Forces Comptroller. [Complete reference information and the complete text of this paper may be found at the following site on the World Wide Web: http://www.plainlanguage.gov/library/comptrol.htm]


Gore, Vice President Al. “How to Comply with the President’s Memo on Plain Language.” Plain Language Action Network. [http://www.plainlanguage.gov/cites/vpguid.htm]


Mills, Gordon and Mark Duckworth. The Gains from Clarity: A Research Report on the Effects of Plain-language Documents. Sydney: Centre for Microeconomic Policy Analysis and Centre for Plain Legal Language, University of Sydney. [Faculty of Law, University of Sydney, Sydney NSW 2000 Australia]


Programa de Educación, Salud y Alimentación (PROGRESA). Secretario de Desarrollo Social. [The source of the material discussed in this paper was this Web site: http://www.sedesol.gob.mx/progresa/progresa.htm]

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