

The State Policy of Plain Language in Ceará: decoloniality, citizenship, and human rights

ARTICLE

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Abstract

The State Policy of Plain Language in Ceará, Brazil, aims to democratize public communication, promoting inclusion and access to rights. The article investigates its relationship with decoloniality, citizenship, and human rights, analyzing its impacts on citizen participation and the strengthening of these rights through accessible communication. The study, which follows a qualitative approach and a case study design, is based on legal sources and authors such as Alcoff (2016), Bobbio (2004), Caldeira (1991), Demo (2001), and Flores (2009). The results indicate that the policy, aligned with decolonial perspectives, challenges technical language as a mechanism of exclusion and ensures the right to comprehension. It concludes that the Plain Language Policy represents a movement toward strengthening citizenship and human rights, emerging as an essential tool for a more inclusive and participatory Public Administration.

Keywords: Plain Language. Inclusion. Citizenship. Decolonial Communication.

A Política Estadual de Linguagem Simples no Ceará: decolonialidade, cidadania e direitos humanos

Resumo

A Política Estadual de Linguagem Simples no Ceará busca democratizar a comunicação pública, promovendo inclusão e acesso a direitos. O artigo investiga sua relação com decolonialidade, cidadania e direitos humanos, analisando seus impactos na participação cidadã e no fortalecimento desses direitos por meio de uma linguagem acessível. O estudo, de abordagem qualitativa e do tipo estudo de caso, baseia-se em fontes legais e autores como Alcoff (2016), Bobbio (2004), Caldeira (1991), Demo (2001) e Flores (2009). Os resultados indicam que a política, alinhada à perspectiva decolonial, desafia a linguagem técnica como instrumento de exclusão e assegura o direito à compreensão. Conclui-se que a Política de Linguagem Simples representa um movimento para o fortalecimento da cidadania e dos direitos humanos, tornando-se uma ferramenta essencial para uma Administração Pública mais inclusiva e participativa.

Palavras-chave: Linguagem Simples. Inclusão. Cidadania. Comunicação Decolonial.

1 Introduction

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The article deals with the plain language used in official government communication with society, specifically that adopted by the Government of the State of Ceará, with the aim of making not only the availability of information more accessible to less educated communities, but above all its comprehension.

The implementation of the State Policy of Plain Language in Ceará reflects an important reorientation of administrative practices towards inclusion, social participation and citizenship (Ceará, 2022a). By adopting more accessible communication, the government recognizes the fundamental right to comprehension and promotes equal access to public information, which are crucial for the full exercise of human rights.

The question is how the use of plain language is articulated with the precepts of decoloniality, citizenship and human rights. To answer this central research problem, a qualitative study (Minayo, 2007) was carried out, of the case study type (Gil, 2010), with the general objective of understanding the State Policy of Plain Language in Ceará and its imbrications in favor of increasing citizen participation and the achievement of human rights through the use of a more accessible and decolonial language.

It is assumed that this initiative not only responds to the population's proficiency and comprehension challenges, but also aligns itself with the decolonial perspective by questioning historical power structures that use technical language as a mechanism of exclusion. In this way, plain language acts as a democratizing tool, expanding the capacity for dialogue between the state and the population. Inspired by the ideal of epistemic justice, the Plain Language Policy seeks to make knowledge accessible to all, shift the focus from institutions to citizens and recognize them as active subjects in the construction of public space and knowledge.

The social relevance of this study lies in the fact that the Ceará State Plain Language Policy seeks to promote inclusion by guaranteeing the right to comprehend public information, allowing more citizens to actively participate in democratic life and reducing linguistic exclusion as a barrier to the exercise of citizenship. The scientific

relevance of this study is that it broadens the debate on language and governance in public policies, articulating concepts of epistemic justice and decoloniality to demonstrate how accessible communication can be an instrument of democratization and social inclusion.

The text of the article is subdivided into 6 sections: “1 Introduction”, which contextualizes the Ceará State Plain Language Policy and its relationship with decoloniality, citizenship and human rights; “2 Methodology”, which details the qualitative approach and the single case study, based on documentary and theoretical analysis; “3 The Ceará State Plain Language Policy”, which explores the legal frameworks, practical implementation and the challenges faced in democratizing public communication; “4 Decolonial inclusion”, which discusses how the simplification of language challenges colonial power structures, promoting epistemic justice and the recognition of marginalized knowledges; “5 Social participation in the development of citizenship and human rights”, which analyses the relationship between accessible communication, civic engagement and the realization of human rights; and “6 Conclusions”, which summarizes the findings, points out limitations of the study and suggests future research to broaden the debate on inclusive language in other realities.

2 Methodology

A qualitative single-case study was carried out with the aim of understanding a specific phenomenon related to a public policy implemented in a single Brazilian federal entity.

Qualitative research focuses on understanding social phenomena, analyzing meanings, beliefs, values, aspirations, motives and attitudes. Rather than quantifying data, this approach seeks to interpret human experiences and perceptions within the context lived by the subjects, allowing an in-depth investigation of the symbolic and subjective dimensions of social reality (Minayo, 2007). Unlike methodologies aimed at generalizations, qualitative research values the subjectivity of the individuals involved,

considering their ideas, desires and immaterial aspects that enrich critical analysis (Nogueira; Cunha; Fialho, 2023). This approach is especially relevant to this research, which sets out to explore non-quantifiable nuances in the use of plain language. The critical reflection generated by this approach aims to highlight the need to make public information more accessible to the population, in a context of greater inclusion and social participation.

The single case study was chosen for its ability to investigate a specific phenomenon in detail and in depth (Fialho; Neves, 2021). This strategy is widely used in the social sciences and is characterized by the detailed analysis of one or a few objects, with the aim of providing a comprehensive view of the problem and identifying the factors that influence it or are impacted by it. By focusing on one phenomenon, the single case study contributes to an improved understanding of the object studied and can help to develop theories, allowing for a detailed and in-depth analysis (Gil, 2010).

The State of Ceará was chosen as the locus of the study because, as a result of the Ceará Plain Language Program, which began in 2020, the State Plain Language Policy was implemented, instituted by Law No. 18,246, of December 1, 2022. This policy is a direct response to the challenges of linguistic exclusion and low reading proficiency. Furthermore, the local socio-economic context, characterized by educational inequalities and functional illiteracy, is a relevant scenario for analyzing how language simplification can broaden social participation, strengthen citizenship and promote human rights. Thus, Ceará presents itself as an emblematic case for investigating the practical impacts of inclusive public communication.

Data collection was based on documentary sources, namely Federal Law n. 12,527/2012, known as the Access to Information Law (Brasil, 2012); Federal Law No. 13,460/2017, which deals with the participation, protection and defense of the rights of the user of public services of the Public Administration (Brasil, 2017); Federal Law n. 14,129/2021, the Digital Government Law (Brasil, 2021); and Ceará State Plain Language Policy, established by Law n. 18,246/2022 (Ceará, 2022a). These documents were selected because they guide the principles of transparency, social participation and

access to public information, as well as providing legal grounds for simplifying language as a strategy to guarantee the right to comprehend and make citizenship effective in the context of the policy analyzed.

The analysis of these sources considered not only the legal norms established by the aforementioned laws, but also their effectiveness in the context of Ceará's Public Administration and their impact on the democratization of information. In this sense, the principles and guidelines present in federal and state legislation were examined, highlighting how the adoption of plain language aligns with the right of access to information and citizen participation. In addition, we sought to understand how this public policy contributes to overcoming language barriers, which have historically restricted the full exercise of citizenship, especially in a context marked by educational inequalities and social exclusion. Thus, the research delved into the relationship between the simplification of language and the promotion of more inclusive governance, starting from the premise that clarity in state communication is fundamental for strengthening human rights and epistemic justice.

3 Ceará State Plain Language Policy

In Brazil, in order to ensure the citizen's right to understand the information made available by the state, it is the duty of public officials to use plain language that is clear and easy to understand, in accordance with the provisions of the following legal regulations:

1 – Article 5 of Federal Law No. 12,527/2012 – Access to Information Law (Brasil, 2012), **“it is the duty of the state to guarantee the right to access information, which will be provided through objective and agile procedures, in a transparent and clear manner and in easy-to-understand language”** [authors' emphasis];

2 – In Article 5, caput, XIV, of Federal Law n. 13,460/2017 – the law on the participation, protection and defense of the rights of users of public services of the Public Administration (Brasil, 2017):

Article 5 **Public service users have the right to adequate service provision, and public agents and public service providers must comply with the following guidelines:**

[...].

XIV – **use plain language that is understandable**, avoiding the use of acronyms, jargon and foreignisms [authors' emphasis].

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3 – In Article 3, caput, VII, of Federal Law n. 14,129/2021 – Digital Government Law (Brasil, 2021), “the following are principles and guidelines of Digital Government **and public efficiency:** [...]. VII – **the use of clear language that can be understood by any citizen**” [authors' emphasis].

The state's duty to ensure the transparency and accessibility of public information, as established in the aforementioned laws, is intrinsically linked to citizens' fundamental right to understand and interact with government services and data. The legal regulations reinforce that clarity in communication is not a mere formality, but an obligation aimed at democratizing access to information, eliminating linguistic and technical-bureaucratic barriers. The Access to Information Law (12,527/2012) highlights transparency as a pillar of public management, while Law 13,460/2017 extends this commitment by linking plain language to the quality of services, guaranteeing dignity and respect for the user. The Digital Government Law (14,129/2021) updates these guidelines for the virtual environment, recognizing digital inclusion as an essential part of contemporary citizenship. Taken together, these provisions show that the use of understandable language is not just a communication technique, but a mechanism for realizing rights, ensuring that citizens can actually play an active role in democracy, whether by participating, monitoring or demanding state accountability.

In fact, only 12% of the Brazilian population is proficient in reading, a percentage that is only 5% in the Northeast region (Instituto Paulo Montenegro, 2018). However, around 65% of young Brazilians, in one year, had read a text of up to 10 pages for the longest text (Iede, 2023).

The lack of reading habits and low reading proficiency among the Brazilian population, especially in the Northeast region, are serious problems that make it difficult for the general public to understand the information provided by the Public Administration.

Furthermore, reading fluency education takes little account of the multiple skills involved in the task of reading, focusing primarily on decoding and linguistic comprehension, which leads to functional illiteracy (Medeiros; Manfré; Shimazaki, 2024). In addition, the complexity of the language used by public officials makes the situation worse, preventing a large part of the population from understanding and reacting appropriately to public information, affecting the efficiency and transparency of the Public Administration.

Based on the alarming data on reading proficiency and reading habits in Brazil, which show that 88% of the population lacks reading proficiency (Instituto Paulo Montenegro, 2018), and with a view to increasing accessibility and social participation, the problem of using a more inclusive, clear and understandable language was put on the government agenda in the State of Ceará. Several alternatives were considered to improve the public administration's communication with the population, including training public agents, simplifying official documents and adopting new technologies to facilitate communication.

Initially, the Laboratório Íris de Inovação e Dados (Ceará State Government's Iris Innovation and Data Laboratory) began holding awareness-raising lectures, training workshops for civil servants and prototyping simplified document models on a new plain language model for public administration through the Ceará Plain Language Program in 2020.

The result of this experience was that the State of Ceará decided to transform the Ceará Plain Language Program into the State Policy of Plain Language in Ceará. To this end, message 8,994 of November 17, 2022, authored by the Governor at the time, Maria Izolda Cela de Arruda Coelho, was sent to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Ceará at the end of her term. The message contains the following excerpt (Ceará, 2022b):

As a whole, official communications require specialized knowledge of legislation and administrative procedures, both for employees of public bodies and for citizens directly affected by the information. **Delivering a clear, objective and accessible text is a fundamental task of the democratic state in order to guarantee the public's right of access to public information, guaranteed by the 1988 Federal Constitution.**

As an innovative and change management process, Plain Language is about thinking (or rethinking) government communication from a different perspective, proposing that information be written and disseminated from the perspective of the citizen, not just the institutions. For this reason, it is necessary to plan and structure this communication taking into account, among other factors, the social profile and the different levels of literacy and digital inclusion [authors' emphasis].

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This message already shows the State of Ceará's intention to transform government communication, prioritizing clarity and accessibility to ensure that public information is understood by all citizens, regardless of their level of literacy or digital inclusion. By proposing the institutionalization of the Plain Language Program as a state policy, the need to adopt a public-centric perspective was reinforced, in line with legal regulations and combating barriers that hinder democratic access to information, in favor of transparency and effective social participation.

After a rapid legislative process, the State Plain Language Policy was approved by Law No. 18,246 of December 1, 2022. The State of Ceará has therefore chosen to adopt a regulatory public policy on plain language. This policy establishes standards of behavior for public bodies, with the aim of ensuring that public agents use clear language that is understandable to as many people as possible.

Implementing Ceará State Plain Language Policy involves training public officials in the use of plain language techniques, revising official documents and communications, and creating monitoring mechanisms to ensure that the policy is applied consistently. These initiatives are aimed at the bodies and entities of the Direct and Indirect Administration of the State of Ceará. The policy also includes the creation and institutionalization of permanent actions and internal Plain Language hubs, the integration of Plain Language into strategic planning and participation in networks and institutions dealing with the topic.

It is believed that the Ceará State Plain Language Policy, as an instrument of social change, will be able to contribute substantially to both decolonial inclusion and social participation in the development of citizenship and human rights.

4 Decolonial inclusion

The fight against the erosion of social rights, especially in the face of neoliberal ideology that often puts the market above social justice, must also include the creation of accessible communication policies. Ceará Plain Language Policy is a clear example of how this can be done. By making public discourse more comprehensible, the opportunity is created for more people to fully exercise their rights, recognizing everyone's access to understanding socialized information. In this sense, plain language not only facilitates people's access to information, but also elevates them from subjects to citizens, by ensuring that clarity of information is a concrete right. As Bobbio (2004, p. 7) states, "democracy is the society of citizens, and subjects become citizens when they are granted certain fundamental rights".

However, "it is one thing to proclaim a right, but quite another to actually enjoy it" (Bobbio, 2004, p. 11). Thus, human rights must not only guarantee freedoms and protection from abuse, but also allow everyone to have an active voice in shaping public policy and the destiny of society. This calls for a new form of human rights that takes into account the exclusion of a large part of the population from the supposed benefits of the current economic order (Flores, 2009).

As Demo (2001, p. 10) points out, we must promote a "cultural policy that nurtures the population's cultural evolution towards the ability to read their own reality critically and with due historical identity". Inclusion through language therefore becomes an essential tool for combating exclusion and ensuring that social achievements are preserved and expanded.

In this sense, as Marinho (2021, p. 97) observes, "the pain of the periphery [...] differs from the pain of other places", reinforcing the importance of policies that tackle precariousness and exclusion. After all, "the majority of the population tends to see the rights of expression, participation in associations and individual freedom as luxuries" (Caldeira, 1991, p. 168), and this perception needs to be combated so that civil rights can be fully exercised, instead of being seen as privileges (Caldeira, 1991).

Decoloniality, in this scenario, is a critical approach that questions the legacies of colonialism, especially with regard to the production and dissemination of knowledge and the “hierarchization” of learning (Loch; Fagundes, 2019, 2745). Relating this concept to the simplification of language in communications and public policies, the Plain Language Policy can be seen as a mechanism for the democratization of knowledge, aligned with decolonial critique by challenging elitist and exclusionary structures, since the priority is no longer the rigid use of normative grammar and cultured language in favor of communication that dialogues with the culture and customs of the people, considering colloquial language (Olinda, 2023).

According to Bragato (2014, p. 211), “the idea of epistemic disobedience, a central proposal of decolonial thinking, has to do with the need to decolonize knowledge”, given that “the relations of dependence between center and periphery” are reproduced “also in the construction of knowledge”, which is used as an “instrument of colonization” (Bragato, 2014, p. 212).

Formal and bureaucratic language has historically consolidated the power of certain social groups, limiting access to information and perpetuating inequalities. When communications and public policies are presented in a complex way, only those who master these languages, usually specialists, are able to understand them and fully access their rights and duties. In this sense, as opposed to this, Plain Language Policy works as a way of realizing the right to clear information.

Technical language functions as a tool of power that excludes those without the necessary training or cultural capital to understand it. The State Plain Language Policy proposal, by structuring ideas in a way that is accessible to ordinary citizens, subverts this logic of exclusion. The possibility of understanding public communications and exercising your voice should not be something restricted to VIPs (Very Important Persons), but accessible to everyone.

With the State Plain Language Policy, the focus of communications, previously concentrated on the state and its representatives, has shifted to the recipient – the citizen. This aligns with decoloniality by challenging the monopoly of knowledge by the

state and bureaucratic elites, making the interpretation and use of information accessible to all. In addition, plain language makes it possible for previously silenced points of view to finally express themselves and become known, presenting themselves as possibilities to challenge “the standard of normalization of the human condition elected by modernity”, related to “the model of the subject of European origin, male, white, Christian, heteronormative, holder of the means of production and without disabilities” (Pires, 2020, p. 316).

There is no justification for millions of people being excluded from the right to read, understand and form an informed opinion. This scenario reflects what Santos (2017, p. 7) observes when he states that “the unequal distribution of resources means that some individuals are made precarious in the condition they experience unequally based on norms of recognition of what is, or is not, human”. The lack of recognition of these disparities makes “equal participation in social life impossible” (Lucas; Oberto, 2010, p. 34), limiting the possibilities for the full exercise of citizenship.

Inclusion through language can also be seen as a step towards epistemic justice, a decolonial concept that advocates recognizing and valuing the knowledge of historically marginalized populations (Pires, 2020). When the Public Administration adapts its communication to the reality of the citizen, it recognizes the differences and singularities of the various social groups. This allows more people to understand and critically participate in the decisions that impact their lives, expanding the space for plural voices in the construction of society. This inclusion, as well as being a form of recognition, can have a redistributive impact by allowing these new perspectives to reverberate in public policies.

Therefore, the Plain Language Policy transcends a communication strategy: it is a movement towards the democratization of knowledge, aligning itself with decolonial principles by enabling citizens from different contexts to become protagonists in interpreting the world and participating in public policies. As Lucas and Oberto (2010, p. 33) state, “the politics of recognition points to cultural injustices, which are rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication; the remedy for injustice is

cultural or symbolic transformation”. By communicating public administration in plain language, understanding and building society are no longer the exclusive responsibility of specialists, but a collective commitment accessible to all.

5 Social participation in the development of citizenship and human rights

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The relationship between citizenship, human rights and social participation is a fundamental mechanism for strengthening democracy, in which the rights to information and pluralism play a central role. These rights ensure that citizens can influence public decisions and actively participate in administrative management, reinforcing a more inclusive society.

In this context, active and informed citizenship is indispensable for the full exercise of human rights, which go beyond civil and political guarantees, including effective participation in decisions that impact collective life. As Flores (2009, p. 71) observes, “we cannot understand rights without seeing them as part of the struggle of social groups committed to promoting human emancipation, despite the chains that bind humanity”.

The right to participation manifests itself in both direct and indirect intervention by citizens in decision-making processes, whether in an advisory, deliberative or supervisory capacity. Participation allows citizens to actively exercise their citizenship and contribute to building a state that is more sensitive to collective demands.

The State Plain Language Policy reinforces this link by simplifying access to information, broadening the possibilities for people to get involved. By ensuring that citizens understand communications and public policies and can speak out about them, politics democratizes language, ensuring that social demands are more visible and that private interests do not take precedence over the common good.

Flores (2009, p. 163) stresses that human rights are “the discursive, expressive and normative means that strive to reinsert human beings into the circuit of reproduction and maintenance of life, allowing us to open up spaces for struggle and demands”. Plain

language, by promoting inclusion and equality, encourages participation and connects freedom to diversity. Clarity in communicating human rights and the ability to act on them are crucial elements. This is not just a technical issue, but an ethical requirement. As Segato (2006, p. 229) observes, “on this path, the we shows itself to be sensitive and vulnerable to the challenging existence of others, and strange, dissident, non-conforming wills slowly inscribe their aspirations in the discourse of the law”.

As Pereira (2015, p. 15) points out, “dignity is above all a moral value, and as such has the characteristic of being inexhaustible”. Furthermore, according to Bobbio (2004, p. 7), “the process of democratization advances with the expansion of the recognition and protection of human rights”. In this way, clarity and accessibility in communication transform the relationship between citizens and the state, creating greater equality and dignity.

By enabling direct involvement and citizen oversight of public policies, social participation also becomes a mechanism for empathy and transformation. Strengthening citizenship involves recognizing the importance of dissent and criticism as drivers of democratic transformation. Such tensions are not a threat, but a driving force behind social change.

By opening up space for citizens to contribute to and monitor the actions of the state, new perspectives on the world and expectations of change are inserted into the public debate. Gorczewski and Tauchen (2008) argue that, in the republican conception, citizenship is centered on political participation, through debate and collective decision-making. And it is in this context that the “ethic of dissatisfaction” described by Segato (2006, p. 236) manifests itself, fueled by the voices of those who have hitherto been excluded.

And this is essential, because, in essence, as Pereira (2015, p. 13) observes, when analyzing Hannah Arendt’s entire history of criticism of human rights, “the key to having access to such rights is to have citizenship, without which we would lose our ‘right to have rights’ and therefore our access to human rights”. Therefore, citizenship and

social participation are dynamic processes that go far beyond voting, encompassing continuous and active participation in defending rights and criticizing social injustices.

Caldeira (1991, p. 172/173) observes that “the elites perceive the expansion of citizenship spaces by the working classes and minorities as an undue invasion”, which would jeopardize the maintenance of privileges and reduce the “social distance”. In addition, he points out that as long as the majority of the population “[...] continues to associate human rights and individual rights with privileges, and to turn a blind eye to the arbitrariness and violence practiced against those they consider to be ‘others’, it will be very difficult to think of consolidating a democratic society in Brazil” (Caldeira, 1991, p. 173).

In this sense, behind human rights is what can be called “human competence”, understood as the ability to interfere in history in the light of human and humanizing standards (Demo, 2001, p. 2), just as behind the emancipatory paths of the human species there is always the capacity to revolt against all kinds of impositions, which can be linked mainly to the phenomenon of “knowledge” in its disruptive potential (Demo, 2001, p. 2).

As Dussel proposes, “analectic” – “a neologism” that invites us to think beyond the limits of traditional thinking – demands that we welcome contributions, perspectives, interpretations and perceptions from groups “whose lives and experiences” have been historically marginalized. This movement makes it possible for “new solutions” to emerge by valuing these silenced voices and broadening the horizons of understanding (Alcoff, 2016, p. 130-131).

Thus, “identities are not experienced as a discrete and stable set of interests, [...] but as a location [where] the person [...] engages in a process of constructing meanings” (Alcoff, 2016, p. 140). Furthermore, “what a person can see underdetermines knowledge or articulates interests, but the correlation between possibilities of perception and identities requires” that identity be taken into account in the formation of “decision-making bodies or knowledge-producing institutions” (Alcoff, 2016, p. 141). In this way, it is the continuous engagement of citizens and the constant transformation of democracy, under

pressure from social demands, that make it possible to build a more inclusive future, with expanded human rights that meet the needs of a constantly evolving society.

The Plain Language Policy is an essential tool for promoting inclusion, guaranteeing the right to comprehend and making public communication accessible and transparent for all. As Demo (2001, p. 2) states, “you can’t have human rights before citizenship, any more than you can have a state that is better than the citizenship that sustains it”. The link “between citizenship and disruptive knowledge” (Demo, 2001, p. 3) necessarily involves access to information, which becomes more accessible through public policies and communications in plain language. This practice is therefore fundamental to building a democratic environment that values diversity and inclusion.

6 Conclusions

The study took as its starting point a critical and reflective analysis of how the use of plain language is articulated with the precepts of decoloniality, citizenship and human rights. Based on what is inferred in national and state legal documents, we sought to understand the State Policy of Plain Language in Ceará and its implications for the promotion of citizen participation and the achievement of human rights through the use of a more accessible and decolonial language.

It was found that by prioritizing language as a right to comprehend, the Ceará State Plain Language Policy transcends the mere change of public communication, asserting itself as an instrument of social transformation and democratization of access to information. The initiative reflects a practical and ethical response to the challenges of exclusion and inefficiency in Public Administration, ensuring that ordinary citizens can understand, give their opinion and actively participate in the policies that impact their lives.

This movement revives the role of language as a fundamental right and as a way of strengthening human rights and citizenship. In a society marked by inequality and the hierarchization of knowledge, Ceará Plain Language Policy represents an unavoidable

commitment to public management that is closer, more inclusive and promotes social justice.

However, as this is a qualitative study focused on a single Brazilian federal entity and based on legal sources, its results are limited and cannot be generalized to other realities. It is therefore suggested that new studies be carried out to investigate and compare how different Brazilian federal entities implement plain language. In addition, it is recommended that research be carried out to empirically assess how the plain language policy translates into the everyday experience of the population.

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