## 1. Title and project coordinator

Title: **RE**integration Through **A**ctive **L**abour **M**arket Reforms (**REALM**). Coordinator: Prof. John Rand, Development Economics Research Group (DERG), Department of Economics, University of Copenhagen (UCPH).

## 2. State of the art and rationale

Myanmar is in a historical political, economic and social transition. A key element to ensure inclusive development in the transition is a well-functioning labour market. Recognizing this, the Government of Myanmar (GoM) has (on paper) set in motion a myriad of initiatives to improve labour market dynamism while also protecting workers' rights. The process has so far prioritized the "pace of reform" instead of building a rigorous evidence base. However, the GoM's reform intentions has recently been challenged, questioning its true objectives in terms of reintegration across ethnicity and gender.[1] Little is therefore known about the potential consequences of recent labour reforms across different groups in Myanmar (Bernhardt et al., 2016). Moreover, since a very high share of the Myanmar work force is employed informally an important challenge will be to identify how these new labour laws directly or indirectly influence informal workers and employers. This project (REALM) seeks to fill this gap.

In addition to an uncertainty about de jure versus de facto reform intentions, the recent rapid changes to the regulatory framework has added confusion among labour market participants, and awareness of labour laws among employers and employees remain low, with labour law compliance rates at levels below ASEAN averages (ILO, 2017). Moreover, implementation and monitoring of labour laws have been left to local townships and district offices, which often do not have a thorough understanding of new labour regulations or enough resources to make regular inspections (Myo, 2017).

Adding to the confusion is the fact that most labour laws only apply to specific legal entities and often only cover a relatively limited share of the total labour force. One example is the *Employment and Skills Development Law* (2013) which makes it mandatory for employers and workers to sign an employment contract within 30 days after employment, but only for formally registered firms with five or more workers. Another example is the *Social Security Law* (2012) and *Rules* (2013) which require that only enterprises with five or more workers register and pay regular contributions to the Social Security Township Office, leaving the number of covered workers to around one million in 2017 (Lynn, 2017). While relatively few workers to date are covered, and though the *Social Security Law* in principle should provide unemployment and pension guarantees for workers, this requirement is yet to be met (Danish Trade Council, 2016; ILO, 2017) due to the governments low spending capacity (Dutta et al., 2015).

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[1] Examples include that (i) several laws continue to discriminate against Muslims and women; (ii) Parliament continues to have no Muslim representatives; (iii) the minister of religion has referred to Muslims as second-class citizens; (iv) the minister of immigration, who is responsible for the citizenship of Rohingyas, said that he prefers a continuation of policies that exclude certain Muslim communities (Bärwaldt, 2016).

Certain new labour law initiatives have even led to increased tensions between employers and employees. An example is the *Minimum Wage Act* (2013), which came into effect in September 2015) provided a legal basis for a minimum daily basic wage (currently set at 4,800 Kyat). However, many low skilled workers experienced a real wage decline as a result of moving away from the old wage compensation system composed of in-kind benefits, allowance fees and more irregular wage payments, which in has led to labour disputes.

It should also be noted that these labour market reforms are initiated in a period when Myanmar faces severe internal conflicts. Putnam (2007) and van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) have highlighted that cultural diversity and ethnic conflicts may hinder social cohesion, which in turn may lead to failure of nation building. In addition, Gravers and Kyed (2017) highlight that Myanmar may be a special case where the traditional reintegration model may not be a viable route to successful integration and economic prosperity. At the same time, theory (Hirschman, 1994) and empirical evidence (de Soysa and Vadlamannati, 2017) question the importance of societal diversity as an explanation of reform failure, even in contexts of severe ethnic fractionalisation. Whether labour market restructuring in Myanmar is "doomed to fail" or whether ongoing labour market initiatives (such as the tripartite dialogue process) can lead to trust-building opportunities that can be replicated in other contentious situations, is therefore a question of first order importance. Recognizing the significance of political and historical motives and causes behind ongoing conflicts in Myanmar, REALM will seek to evaluate current labour market reforms in this context.

The importance of a well-functioning labour market for economic efficiency and social equity is widely recognized (Cruces et al., 2017). However, while labour market reforms may improve formal sector worker outcomes they can also lead to market segmentation, where formal sector wage settings through tripartite negotiations may incentivize firms to "hide" in informality. Still, a summary of the literature finds that the appropriate level of labour market regulation depends on country context, so more rigorous evaluations of labour regulations are needed (Betcherman, 2015). Moreover, such evaluations of labour market reforms suffer from lack of generalizability and transferability to contexts of severe ethnic division and internal conflict. McMullin (2013) notes that this is of critical importance as labour market reforms and reintegration efforts must go together to ensure a successful transition towards a market economy. Labour market interventions need to acknowledge the history of ethnic conflicts, and make sure that support mechanisms benefit entire communities.

At the same time, the validity of existing literature on labour market regulation has been challenged. Crépon and van den Berg (2016) emphasize the lack of methodological rigour in previous observational research focusing on active labour market interventions and highlight the importance of critically assessing policy effectiveness using appropriate analytical tools for establishing causality. In addition, Autor et al. (2016) question the conclusions in previous research, especially regarding distributional and equalizing effects of labour market reforms.

REALM will clarify these debates and generate new knowledge about labour market reforms and their distributional impacts across gender and ethnic divides, using up-to-date quantitative analytical tools and newly generated data with a view of supporting improved policymaking.

## 3. Relevance

With the declaration of its 12-point economic policy, the Government of Myanmar has provided a roadmap to coordinate and implement economic reform to support the objectives of national reconciliation and the emergence of vibrant federal democratic union in the country. Key in this approach is a focus on the labour market and the priority attention to vulnerable groups. This corresponds well with Danida's explicit focus on gender equality in the 2016-2020 Myanmar country programme and the importance of equal opportunities emphasized under Goals 5 and 8 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It will on this background be of both specific and general interest to uncover the quantitative impacts and mechanisms behind the distributional consequences of the recently implemented regulations and laws related to the labour market in Myanmar.

The project will also contribute to the following specific objective of Danish support to development research: *to strengthen research capacity in developing countries and to create new knowledge capable of alleviating development problems* and the three immediate objectives (Danida, 2014). The project will strengthen research capacity in Myanmar at policy, institutional and individual levels; produce innovative and relevant results; and make sure the results are usable for development practitioners and policy-makers.

## 4. Objectives

With its 12-point economic policy, the GoM has provided a roadmap to coordinate and implement reforms to support national reconciliation and inclusive development with a specific focus on vulnerable groups. This corresponds well with Danida's explicit focus on equity (in terms of gender and ethnicity) in the 2016-2020 Myanmar country programme and the importance of equal opportunities emphasized under SDGs 5, 8 and 10. Moreover, special interest has been expressed from both the Danish Embassy and the GoM to uncover the quantitative impacts and mechanisms behind the distributional consequences of the recently implemented labour market regulations and laws. REALM will accommodate this demand by utilizing access through the Ministry of Labour, Immigration and Manpower and the Central Statistical Office (CSO) to nationally representative quantitative surveys (covering all states and regions) at the individual and firm level. At the same time, this unique data access will facilitate new quantitative research contributing to the academic debate about cultural diversity and ethnic disputes and their impact on social cohesion and economic development.

REALM is designed to help advance implementation of a key set of reforms, raising awareness of their main distributional consequences. Moreover, REALM will broaden ongoing policy dialogue, exploring and shedding light on labour market dynamics. These topics have not previously been rigorously analysed in Myanmar.

As such, the overall objectives of REALM are to:
*(i)*     *Deepen understanding of the impact of recent labour market reforms and*
*(ii)*    *Gain context-specific insights into the complex relationship between labour market reforms and societal reintegration.*

REALM consists of three work packages aiming to: (i) identify the impact (and driving mechanisms) of social security provision at the firm level (with a special focus on SMEs) on labour dynamics and productivity, (ii) identify the driving mechanisms and the impact of worker training on job mobility and labour efficiency, (iii) examine the impact of minimum wages on inequality and formal/informal sector composition.

## Work package 1: Social Security Provision

*Specific objective 1*: Identify the impact (and driving mechanisms) of social security provision at the firm level on labour dynamics and productivity.

*'Social Security Provision'* in terms of primary health care services targeted to formal sector workers and their family members as well as on-site mobile health education and prevention services has been documented to enhance labour productivity and social relations between employers and workers (effects of fringe benefits – see Rand and Tarp (2011) for an exploration). However in the context of Myanmar, compliance both at the employer and worker side of social security payments have been challenging, and REALM will therefore try to provide rigorous evidence on the effects of improved quality of and access to social security services.

## Work package 2: Skills Certified Worker Training

*Specific objective 2*: Identify the impact (and driving mechanisms) of skills certified worker training on job mobility and labour efficiency.

*'Skills Certified Worker Training'* has the immediate aim at ensuring better integration with skill standards in overseas destinations of Myanmar migrant workers. This will especially be an important driver for labour mobility and productivity as well as the prospects of higher income for the skilled labour. REALM will try to better understand how recent initiatives in realigning primary and higher educational services can be further strengthened by careful designing skills training to employer needs. Timely research to examine the impact of such alignment can help inform the government to fine-tune their skill programs.

## Work package 3: Minimum Wages

*Specific objective 3*: Examine the impact of minimum wages on inequality and the formal/informal sector composition.

*'Minimum Wages'* will look into details of the recently restructured minimum wage legislation (September 2015), where careful consideration will be given to its simplicity and efficiency of enforcement of the wage floors. The Government of Myanmar has set a target to review on the impact of minimum wage every second year, particularly on inequality across the sectors and

regions. REALM will therefore provide a much needed rigorous quantitative analyses for such reviews, and will moreover contribute to the academic debate on how to measure minimum wage policies (see Hansen et al. 2016 for a methodological discussion).

## 5. Expected outcomes and outputs

The online application provides an overview of the expected outcomes and outputs and can be summarized as follows:

Summary of outcomes: REALM is a two pillar project with (i) a strong capacity building component and (ii) a focused quantitative/econometric research component. By focusing the training-of-trainers (TOT) within the areas of the work packages of the research component, an expected outcome is that knowledge generated through REALM will naturally spill-over to research institutions, government think-tanks, and other relevant government bodies. An additional outcome of REALM will be new knowledge (both in terms of academia and policy) on: (a) the impact of social security provision on labour dynamics and productivity, (b) the impact of skills certified worker training on job mobility and labour efficiency, and (c) the impact of minimum wages on inequality and sectoral composition.

Summary of outputs: The project aims at delivering 5 research papers of which most are aimed for submission to (and eventually to be published in) peer reviewed international journals; 3 relevant research/policy briefs; 3 presentations at international conferences; 3 training-of-trainers (TOT) courses of which 1 will take place in Thailand (Chiang Mai University – given that MoUs can be established); supervision and guidance of 2 Master students studying abroad (Thailand); 2 training/policy workshops; access to 2 quantitative datasets.

## 6. METHODOLOGY

REALM will use quantitative/econometric methods for panel and cohort data in combination with qualitative interviews to tease-out underlying mechanisms behind the quantitative findings. It will exploit the unique opportunity that the project coordinator is involved in the collection of the first nationally representative SME survey in Myanmar, known by its acronym MEMS, in the period 2017-2020. By incorporating the panel structure of the MEMS data and questions specifically targeted at analysing relevant labour market initiatives, the analytical team can address key issues in a methodologically sound manner, not otherwise possible within the budget frame of the project. Given CESD is already a key institution in work on labour market reforms, the research team will be in a unique position to follow up on the 2015 Labour Force Survey (LFS) and influence the coming LFS data collection efforts to facilitate analysis of targeted quantitative questions. Intended methodological approaches are described briefly below:

Work package 1: Labour supply effects of social security provision are not well-understood (Coucher et al., 2014). Utilizing both the MEMS (focusing on SMEs) and LFS data (focusing on workers), REALM will use a treatment-effect setup (matched difference-in-difference) to quantify the relationship between firm performance and job quality. In addition, qualitative data from in-depth interviews will increase our understanding of the reasons for low

compliance rates with the Social Security Law among formal SMEs. The analysis will highlight the importance of exposing firms to potential benefits of social security provision, which may progressively incentivize informal firms to become registered. This could broaden coverage and help support future sustainability of a scaled-up system of fringe benefits.

Work package 2: Ensuring private enterprise growth requires production factor mobility. Even so, only a few studies of the relationship between factor mobility and productivity growth have considered labour force heterogeneity beyond that of formal education. The impact of entrepreneurship and skills training remain scarcely studied. However, labour force heterogeneity may be pivotal in Myanmar given that 31% of the labour force has no formal education while only 2% have received training (LFS, 2015). The linked employer-employee MEMS data can facilitate an analysis of both the direct effects of formal worker training (e.g. skills certified training under the NSSA) and indirect effects stemming from spillovers obtained through job mobility. In this way, the analysis can offer evidence in support of a shift of the current attention from overseas employment opportunities to domestic SMEs, while providing further support to recent initiatives of the Ministry of Labour, Immigration and Manpower in improving job search mechanisms. This will be of importance for inclusive development and distribution policies, and for current reintegration initiatives.

Work package 3: The implementation of the LFS in 2015 covering over 23,000 individuals came before the introduction of minimum wages. The subsequent LFS follow-up in 2017 covering approximately 50,000 individuals can serve as valuable data sources for before/after comparisons. Utilizing the LFS data, we will analyze minimum wage differences across time and sectors to estimate the impact of minimum wage legislation on wage inequality. In this framework, it will be possible to rigorously analyse whether (i) non-compliance with the minimum wage law generally implies non-impact and (ii) whether spillover effects to the informal sector are likely to increase or reduce general wage inequality across gender and among different ethnic groups. As such, this research component will be central for identifying whether current labour market regulatory initiatives contribute to economic reintegration of vulnerable ethnic minorities and the empowerment of women.

## 7. Overview of research plan

The project is scheduled to run from January 2019 to December 2021 (3 years) and is summarized in Table 1 by quarter. Research time for team members is not listed in the Table as each researcher time allocation has been devoted to a specific work package as described under *organisation and management*. Moreover, time allocated to capacity building and supervision is not specified as it is difficult to estimate and will be absorbed within the research time on an ongoing basis. Organization of stakeholder meetings, workshops and conferences will be the responsibility of CESD. Finalization of working papers and policy briefs is normally concentrated in the final year of the project, but we expect intermediate outputs to be produced throughout the project (in the range of 1 paper in 2019, 2 papers in 2020 and 2 papers in 2021). Note that besides access to all documentation (data, programme files,

papers) to facilitate replication of the research, all quantitative data material as well as all materials for the CAPI and TOT courses (discussed in Section 9) will be available on DERG and CESD homepages at the end of the project.

All parts of this project have been designed with a view to a possible continuation. First, WP1 and WP2 builds on the collection of a representative panel dataset of manufacturing firms in Myanmar. As the continuation of the data collection effort would facilitate longer run analysis of labour market initiatives of such interventions mentioned under the *methodology*. Second, related to WP3, a second Labour Force Survey (LFS) will become available by the end of the project enabling more in-depth analysis of the possible distributional consequences of heterogonous *changes* in minimum wages – both in terms of employability and remuneration of formal and informal sector workers.

Table 1: Research and resource allocation plan

| | | 2019 | | | | 2020 | | | | 2021 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Q1 | Q2 | Q3 | Q4 | Q1 | Q2 | Q3 | Q4 | Q1 | Q2 | Q3 | Q4 |
| WP1 | Start-up meeting | █ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Data collection (MEMS, etc.) | | | █ | | | █ | █ | | | | █ | |
| | Design and field work (qualitative data) | | █ | | | | | | | | █ | █ | |
| | Design and fieldwork (quant panel data, MEMS) | | | █ | █ | | | | | █ | █ | | |
| | Analysis using quant MEMS | █ | █ | | | | | | | █ | █ | █ | |
| | Analysis using qual. MEMS | | | | | █ | █ | █ | | | | | |
| | Dissemination of results | | | | █ | | | | █ | | | | █ |
| | Workshop | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Finalization of research papers and policy brief | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP2 | Start-up meeting | █ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Data collection (MEMS, etc.) | █ | | █ | | | █ | █ | | | | █ | |
| | Design and field work (qualitative data) | █ | | | | | | | | | █ | █ | |
| | Design and field work (quant panel data, MEMS) | █ | | █ | █ | | | | | █ | █ | | |
| | Analysis using quant MEMS | █ | █ | | | | | | | █ | █ | █ | |
| | Analysis using qual. MEMS | | | | | █ | █ | █ | | | | | |
| | Dissemination of results | | | | █ | | | | █ | | | | █ |
| | Workshop | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Finalization of research papers and policy brief | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP3 | Start-up meeting | █ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Obtaining access to LFS and MEMS | | █ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Design and field work (MEMS and LFS) | | | █ | █ | | | | | | | | |
| | Data collection (MEMS, etc.) | | | | | █ | █ | | | | | | |
| | Analysis using MEMS and LFS | | | | | | | | █ | █ | █ | █ | |
| | Dissemination of results | | | | | | | | | | | | █ |
| | Finalization of research papers and policy brief | | | | | | | | | | | | █ |
| Training courses and supervision | TOT/CAPI course - NT responsible | | █ | | | | | | | | | | |
| | TOT course - JR and HH responsible | | | | | █ | █ | | | | | | |
| | TOT courses Chiang Mai – CESD responsible | | | | | | | | | █ | █ | | |
| | Supervision and education of MAs and RAs | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ | █ |

Note: The MEMS project is doing qualitative interviews with firm owners in 2018 and 2020, and a follow-up (on 2017) quantitative study is planned for 2019. Utilizing these data opportunities are central for implementation of WP1 and WP2.

## 8. Organisation and management

This project will support a new collaborative partnership between the Centre for Economic and Social Development (CESD) (https://myanmarcesd.org/) and the Development Economics

Research Group (DERG) ([www.econ.ku.dk/derg](www.econ.ku.dk/derg)). The experience capacity and networks already in place at the two centres signal that this partnership has high potential of expanding beyond this project to other initiatives in Myanmar related to research, education and dissemination.

The main administrative and financial managerial responsibilities rest with DERG's deputy director, who is PI for the project.[2] In terms of technical management, the project aims at implementing a "flat" organization structure among the involved main researchers in the decision-making processes, with the intension of helping elevate each researcher's feeling of ownership and level of responsibility. This organizational structure is chosen to facilitate closer cooperation between Myanmar and Danish researchers, which is crucial for the outcomes and policy relevance of the project. On the one hand, Myanmar researchers' knowledge about the culture, sociology and history of the Union as well as their personal experience before, during and after the political transition are essential for analysing and interpreting the dynamics of labour markets in Myanmar. On the other hand, the project has a strong focus on strengthening of Myanmar research capacity in the field of economic evaluation, especially strengthening quantitative skills within impact assessments, an area in which local research capacity remains weak, and where research experience and knowledge in DERG is internationally recognized.

More specifically the project will assign a responsible researcher from both Denmark and Myanmar to each work package, who will jointly oversee developments related to the described work plan. The technical management teams are as follows:

WP1: Dr. Zaw Oo (Myanmar) and Professor Finn Tarp (Denmark)

WP2: Ngu Wah Win (Myanmar) and Dr. Neda Trifkovic (Denmark)

WP3: S Kanayde and Nang Seng Pin (Myanmar) and Professors Henrik Hansen and John Rand (Denmark)

Quarterly meetings (either face-to-face or through skype/video conference calls) among responsible researchers will guarantee sufficient coordination and ensure that the overall project reaps the benefits of the synergies that exist between the different work packages. Moreover, as part of the annual workshops, the project will gather responsible representatives from all participating institutions to discuss project progress, annual reports and revision of activity plan and budget for the coming year.

## 9. Capacity strengthening

Five primary mechanisms will help enhance research capacity and knowledge at CESD: (i) Co-authorship of the main research outputs (working papers and policy briefs), (ii) Training-of-trainers (TOT) courses with a focus on labour market reforms, industrial relations, data analytics and econometric evaluation methods, (iii) Course on computer assisted personal

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[2] As a unit under the Department of Economics at University of Copenhagen, DERG follows the established procedures and principles for financial control and is audited by the Danish State Auditor.

interviewing (CAPI) techniques, (iv) Joint supervision of graduate students and research fellows at CESD, and (v) Longer-term placement of Danish interns/PhD/Post Doc at CESD.

Details on the five planned capacity building initiatives are as follows:

**Ad (i)**: Production of rigorous academic and policy-relevant research is a central pillar of the overall project. The research team will utilize the professional networks of its members and relevant policy and stakeholder meetings to make sure that research within each work package is continuously relevant. Through dissemination of findings and application of results, the project will aim to actively influence the ongoing policy formulation process related to labour market policies in Myanmar. To achieve this goal, co-authorship involving both DERG and CESD members is essential.

**Ad (ii):** One training-of-trainers (TOT) course with a focus on quantitative evaluation methods will be offered within the CESD network. Likely attendants will be both academics and technical staff at both domestic and international research institutions. Professors Henrik Hansen and John Rand have previously carried out similar training initiatives in Ghana and Tanzania under the Danida Building Stronger Universities (BSU) programme. This training course will take place at CESD offices in Yangon. In addition, two certificate-level training-of-trainers (TOT) courses with a focus on labour market reforms, industrial relations and data analytics will be offered to approximately 60 people through the CESD collaboration with Chiang Mai University.

**Ad (iii):** One course on computer assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) techniques will be offered within the CESD network in Yangon benefiting 20 trainees comprising of researchers as well as local facilitators from labour unions and industrial associations. DERG has previous experience in Vietnam, Mozambique and Myanmar of carrying out CAPI courses with in-the-field training and experiments included as part of the training. The project is currently planning to utilize the possibility of involving participants in the CAPI training course in the implementation of the second round data collection under the MEMS project (meaning that this activity will be co-funded by UCPH through the ongoing MEMS project with the CSO).

**Ad (iv):** Supervision of both graduate students (MA students under the umbrella of the project) and research fellows at CESD will follow standard UCPH procedures for supervision.[3] As part of the capacity building initiative the supervision will not be confined to the area of the Call (labour market) but put in the broader context of economic development.

**Ad (v):** Quality of education in Myanmar remains weak and after suffering from decades of international isolation under sanctions that prevented young Burmese to study abroad, technical expertise within quantitative evaluation methods remains limited. In addition to the above TOT courses, the project will create a framework facilitating visiting scholarships at CESD for Danish interns/PhDs/Post Docs. By facilitating semester long visits the project will ensure that follow-up mechanisms are in place related to the training in quantitative methods and to assist with day-to-day issues related to programming (STATA), quantitative analyses and report writing. As such, the Danish researchers will help inspire and train local researchers. DERG is currently experimenting with this type of capacity building initiative with

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[3] Payment for the supervision is not included separately in the budget (Appendix C) and this service will be part of the salaries paid to Danish researchers under the project.

success in Mozambique and will seek to implement a similar programme geared to the institutional context of CESD.

## 10. Partnerships

The project is based on close institutional partnership between a key Myanmar and a key Danish research institution, respectively the CESD and the DERG. This partnership holds significant research and policy impact potential given the respective comparative strengths of the partners. In addition, they both engage in extensive professional networks in Myanmar and internationally that will be brought into play based on project resources and other supplementary resources, to be mobilised during project implementation.

## 11. Publication and dissemination strategy

A special focus will be put on translating the research results into practice and policy advice on labour market related issues. Based on the new knowledge generated, the research project aims at identifying ways for the international community to support the processes and structures that strengthen labour market dynamics in a transitioning environment in an effective manner. Workshops and conferences held in Yangon (and maybe one in Nay Pyi Taw) will discuss results (in working papers) and recommendations (in policy briefs), and will also point out how best to support initiatives taken by the Government of Myanmar (aid effectiveness). Both working papers and policy briefs will be posted on the CESD and DERG websites. They will also be distributed widely through different social media, as regular posts and blog pieces by researchers on their respective social media sites. This is an effective tool to disseminate findings of the project to a broader audience. All academic papers, which will be institutionally co-authored, are expected to be submitted to peer-reviewed journals or to become chapters in scholarly books. This will ensure that project findings are validated and disseminated through traditional academic channels. Moreover, each of the MAs will write a dissertation with a focus on labour market reforms in Myanmar. At least 2 MA policy papers could be expected from this work. And finally, to support wider research and learning efforts, all teaching material and data collected from the project will be organized, anonymized and made available at the end of the pilot project on CESD and DERG websites for public use.

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