



The 2014/15 SWS Survey of Enterprises on Corruption

***Presented in cooperation with the
National Competitiveness Council
Hotel JEN Manila
27 August 2015***

- ***The 2014/15 Survey of Enterprises on Corruption is the 12th in a series conducted in 2000-2009, and restarted in 2012.***
- ***The 2014/15 Survey was conducted by SWS with support from the USAID-funded Integrity for Investments Initiative (i3), in partnership with the National Competitiveness Council and The Asia Foundation.***

PRESENTATION OUTLINE

A. SURVEY DESIGN

B. SURVEY RESULTS

- 1) Corruption In The Government**
- 2) Net Sincerity In Fighting Corruption**
- 3) Government Efforts To Fight Corruption**
- 4) Access To Government Information**
- 5) Transactions With Government**
- 6) Enterprises Solicited For A Bribe**
- 7) Private Sector Corruption**
- 8) Business Efforts To Fight Corruption**
- 9) Honest Business Practices**
- 10) The Business Climate**

THE 2014/2015 SURVEY OF ENTERPRISES ON CORRUPTION: SURVEY DATES AND SAMPLE SIZES

<u>Fieldwork Dates</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Large</u>	<u>Small & Medium</u>	<u>Error Margin</u>
<i>Nov 14, 2014 - May 12, 2015</i>	<i>7 areas</i>	<i>966</i>	<i>325</i>	<i>641</i>	<i>± 3%</i>
<i>Nov 14, 2014 - May 12, 2015</i>	<i>NCR: National Capital Region</i>	<i>356</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>236</i>	<i>± 5%</i>
<i>Jan 27, 2015 - Feb 28, 2015</i>	<i>Ang: Metro Angeles</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>±10%</i>
<i>Jan 27, 2015 - Apr 15, 2015</i>	<i>CLB: Cavite-Laguna-Batangas</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>±10%</i>
<i>Jan 26, 2015 - Feb 26, 2015</i>	<i>Ilo: Iloilo City</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>±10%</i>
<i>Jan 24, 2015 - Feb 28, 2015</i>	<i>Ceb: Metro Cebu</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>±10%</i>
<i>Jan 27, 2015 - Mar 2, 2015</i>	<i>CDO-I: Cagayan de Oro/Iligan City</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>±10%</i>
<i>Jan 22, 2015 – Feb 26, 2015</i>	<i>Dav: Metro Davao</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>±10%</i>

THE SURVEYS OF ENTERPRISES ON CORRUPTION, 2000 TO 2014/2015

a. Are Time Series

- 12 rounds in National Capital Region (since 2000)
- 9 rounds in Metro Cebu and Metro Davao (since 2004)
- 8 rounds in Cavite-Laguna-Batangas and Cagayan de Oro-Iligan (since 2005)
- 3 rounds in Metro Angeles and Metro Iloilo (since 2012)

b. Are Stratified by Size

- 2/3 weight: Small & Medium Enterprises
- 1/3 weight: Large Enterprises

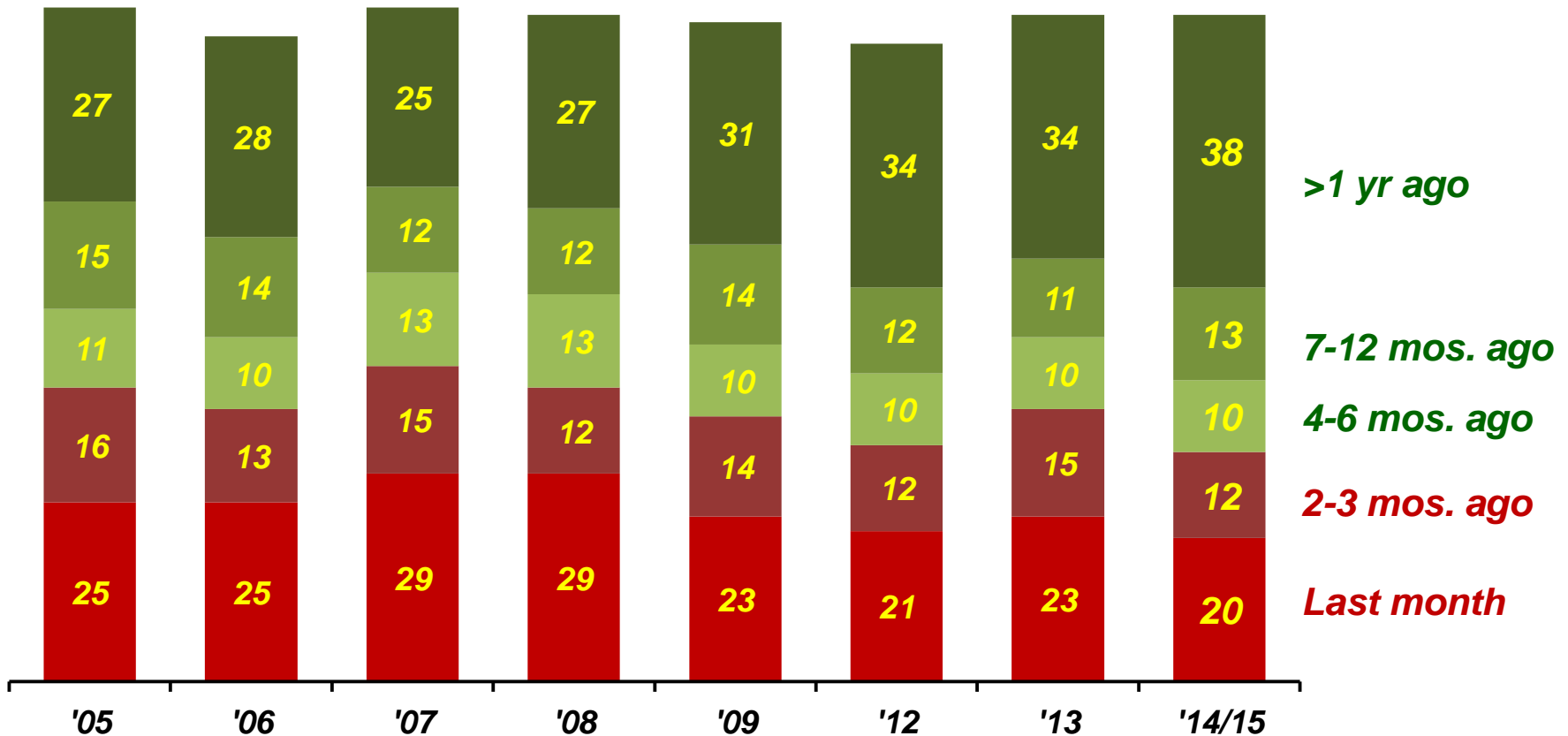
c. Partial Panel Survey by design

- SWS interviewed respondents interviewed in previous round
- 70% panel in 2014/15 (n=966): 677 panel, 286 new

1) ***CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT***

NEW LOW 32% WITH PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF PUBLIC SECTOR CORRUPTION IN THE LAST 3 MONTHS IN THEIR LINE OF BUSINESS, 2005 – 2014/15

Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Government

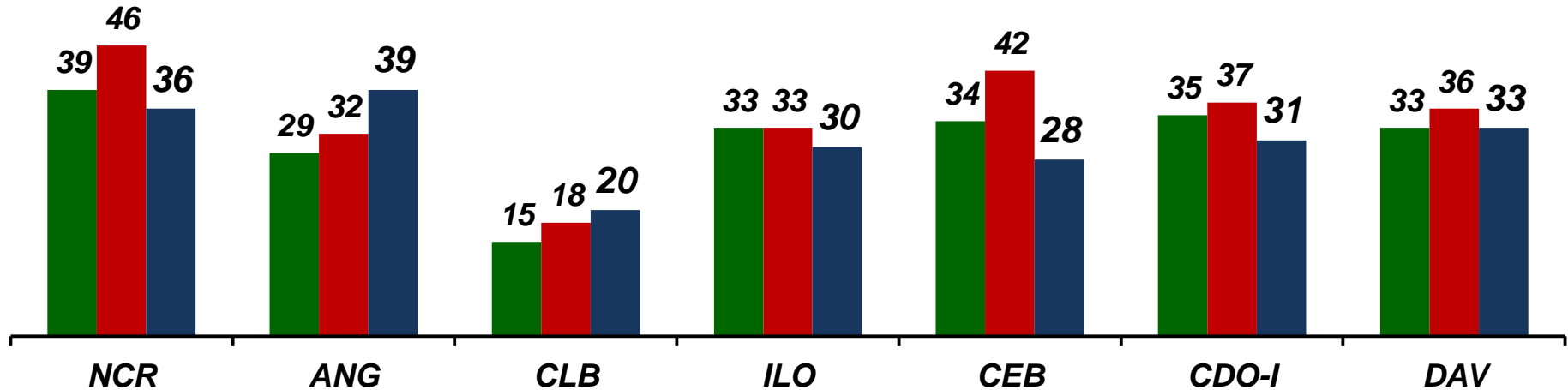


Q52. When was the last time you had personal knowledge of a corrupt transaction with government by a company in your sector of business?

% WITH PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF PUBLIC SECTOR CORRUPTION IN THEIR SECTOR OF BUSINESS IN THE PAST 3 MONTHS, BY AREA, 2012 – 2014/15

Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Government

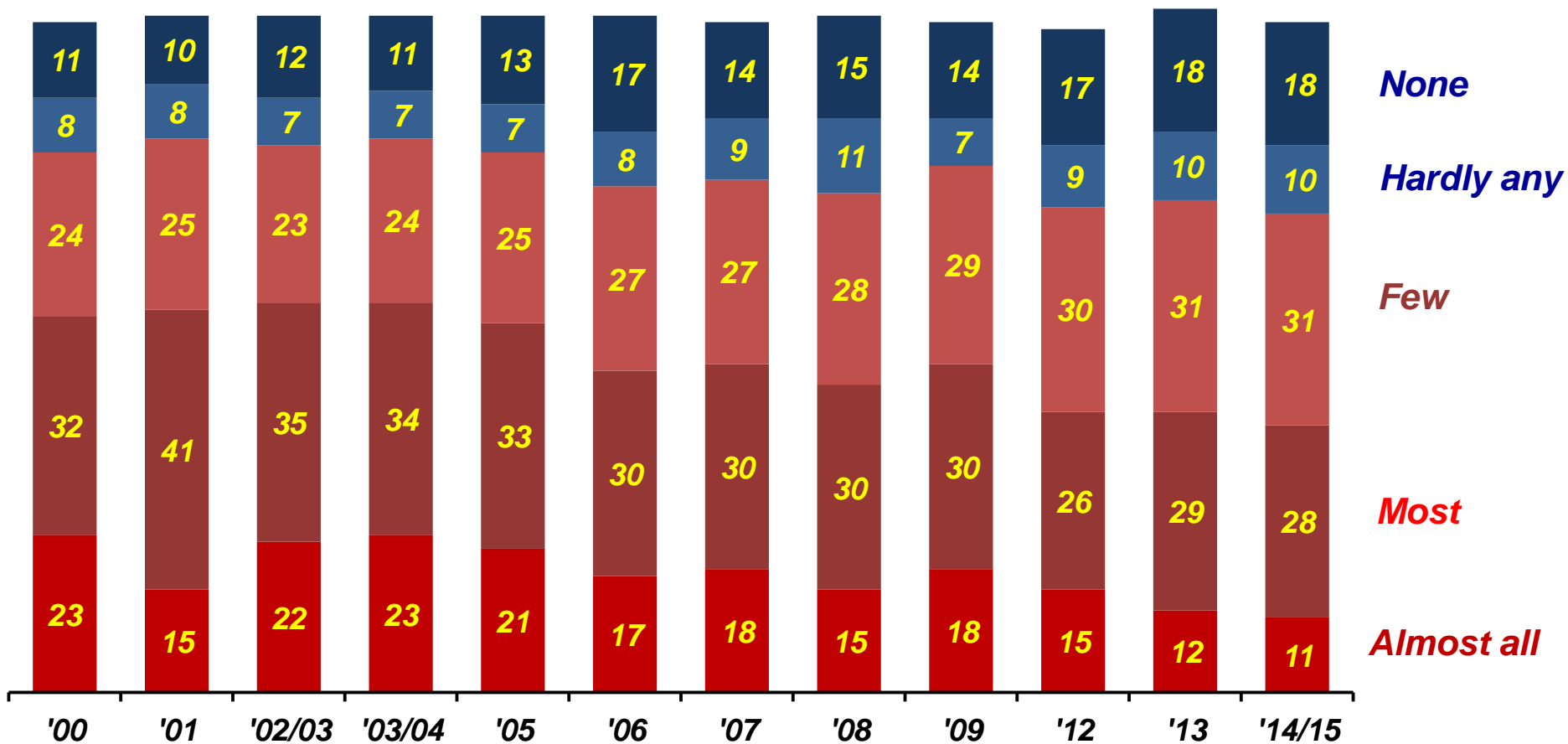
■ 2012 ■ 2013 ■ 2014/15



Q52. When was the last time you had personal knowledge of a corrupt transaction with government by a company in your sector of business?

NEW LOW 39% SAYING MOST COMPANIES IN THEIR LINE OF BUSINESS GIVE BRIBES TO WIN PUBLIC SECTOR CONTRACTS, 2000 TO 2014/15

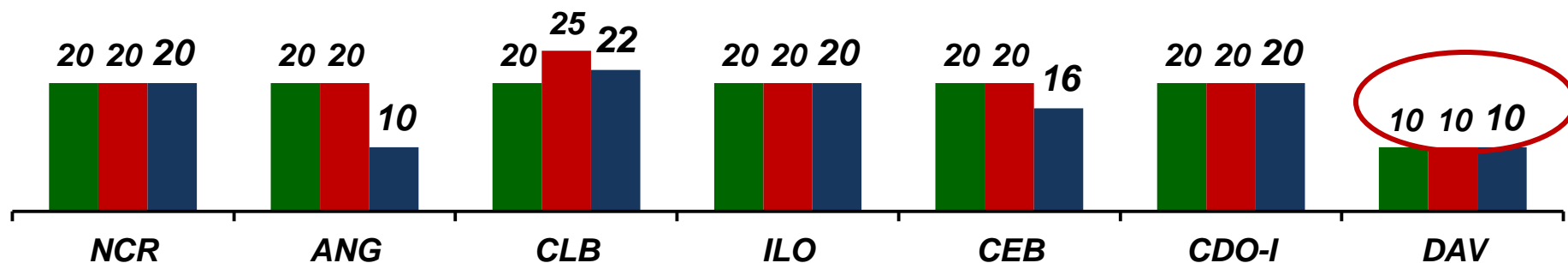
Base: Total Who Say Companies in Their Sector Allot a Percentage for Bribes to Win Public Sector Contracts



Q53. In your line of business, how many companies do you think give bribes to win public sector contracts?

MEDIAN PERCENTAGE OF CONTRACT ALLOTTED AS BRIBE TO WIN PUBLIC SECTOR CONTRACT, BY AREA, 2012 – 2014/15

■ 2012 ■ 2013 ■ 2014/15



Q41. In instances when bribery happens, what percentage of an average contract is allotted for bribes to win public sector contracts?

10

The 2014/15 SWS Survey of Enterprises on Corruption
November 14, 2014 – May 12, 2015

2) NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

2014/15 RATINGS OF SINCERITY OF 36 INSTITUTIONS IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION: 21 FAVORABLE, 9 NEUTRAL, 6 UNFAVORABLE

- **5 Very Goods (+50 to +69):** SEC, SSS, PSE, Office of the President, DTI
- **8 Goods (+30 to +49):** Filipino business associations, Supreme Court, CSC, DepEd, Sandiganbayan, Office of the Ombudsman, COA, DOJ
- **8 Moderates (+10 to +29):** DOH, GSIS, DSWD, barangay gov't, DOF, PCGG, GCG, city government
- **9 Neutrals (+9 to -9):** DILG, trial courts, DENR, AFP, DBM, DOTC, Senate, BIR, COMELEC
- **5 Pooors (-10 to -29):** DA, PNP, DPWH, House of Representatives, LTO
- **0 Bad (-30 to -49):** None
- **1 Very Bad (-50 to -69):** BOC

EX - Excellent: +70 and above; **VG** - Very good: +50 to +69; **G** - Good: +30 to +49; **M** - Moderate: +10 to +29;

N - Neutral: +9 to -9;

P - Poor: -10 to -29; **B** - Bad: -30 to -49; **VB** - Very bad: -50 to -69; **EC** - Execrable: -70 and below

LATEST MOVEMENTS IN RATINGS OF SINCERITY OF INSTITUTIONS IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

UPGRADES (8)

	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
Sandiganbayan	M	G
Ombudsman	M	G
<u>COA</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>G</u>
BIR	P	N
LTO	B	P
	<u>2009</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
DOF	N	M
PCGG	P	M
GSIS	N	M

NO CHANGE (19)

	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
SSS	VG	VG
DTI	VG	VG
Supreme Court	G	G
DepEd	G	G
DOJ	G	G
City governments	M	M
Trial courts	N	N
DENR	N	N
DBM	N	N
DOTC	N	N
Senate	N	N
Comelec	N	N
PNP	P	P
DPWH	P	P
House of Reps	P	P
BOC	VB	VB
	<u>2005</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
SEC	VG	VG
PSE	VG	VG
DA	B	B

DOWNGRADES (7)

	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
Ofc of President	EX	VG
DOH	VG	M
DSWD	VG	M
DILG	M	N
	<u>2009</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
Fil bus assoc.	VG	G
AFP	M	N
	<u>2005</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
Brgy governments	G	M

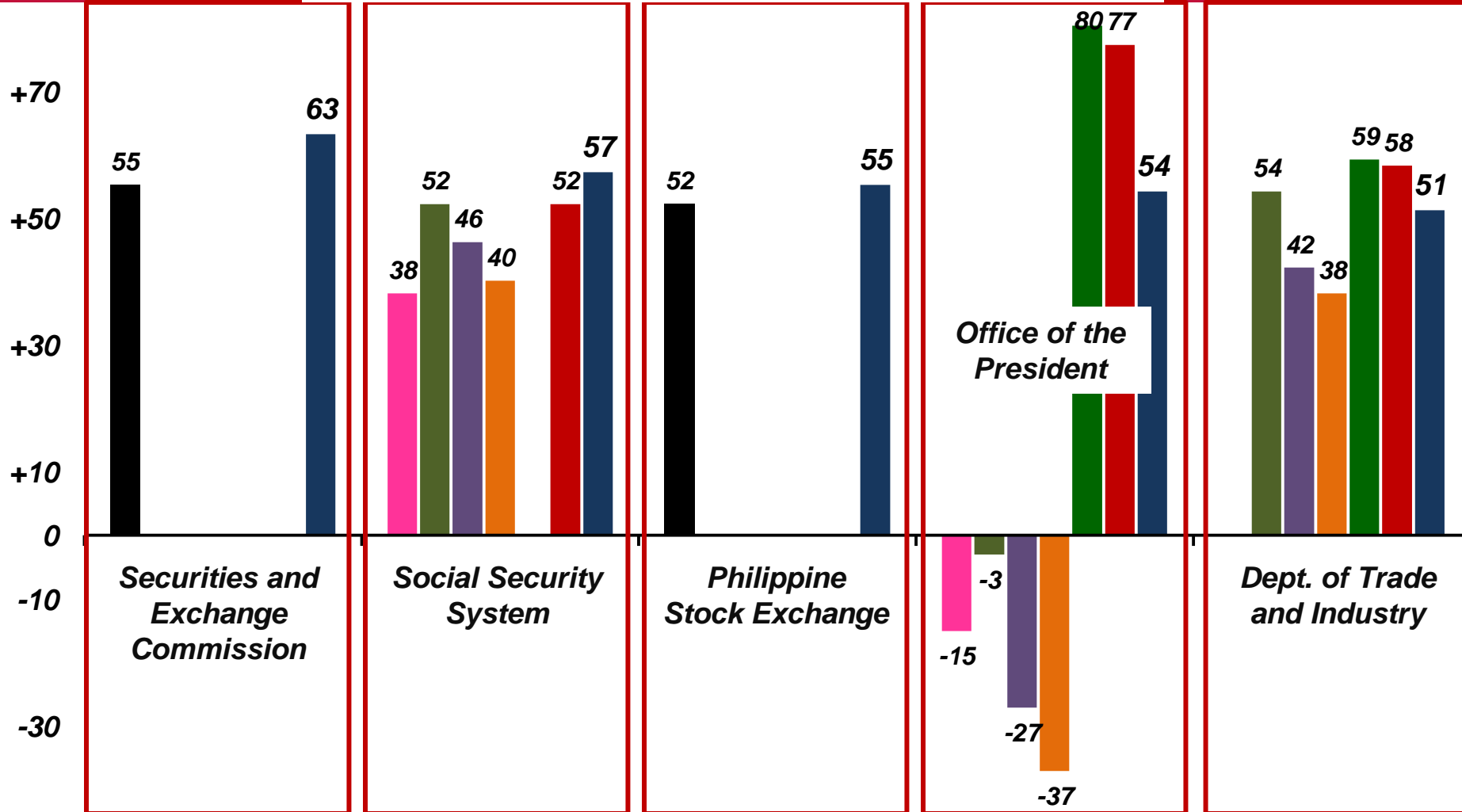
EX - Excellent: +70 and above; VG - Very good: +50 to +69; G - Good: +30 to +49; M - Moderate: +10 to +29;

N - Neutral: +9 to -9;

P - Poor: -10 to -29; B - Bad: -30 to -49; VB - Very bad: -50 to -69; EC - Execrable: -70 and below

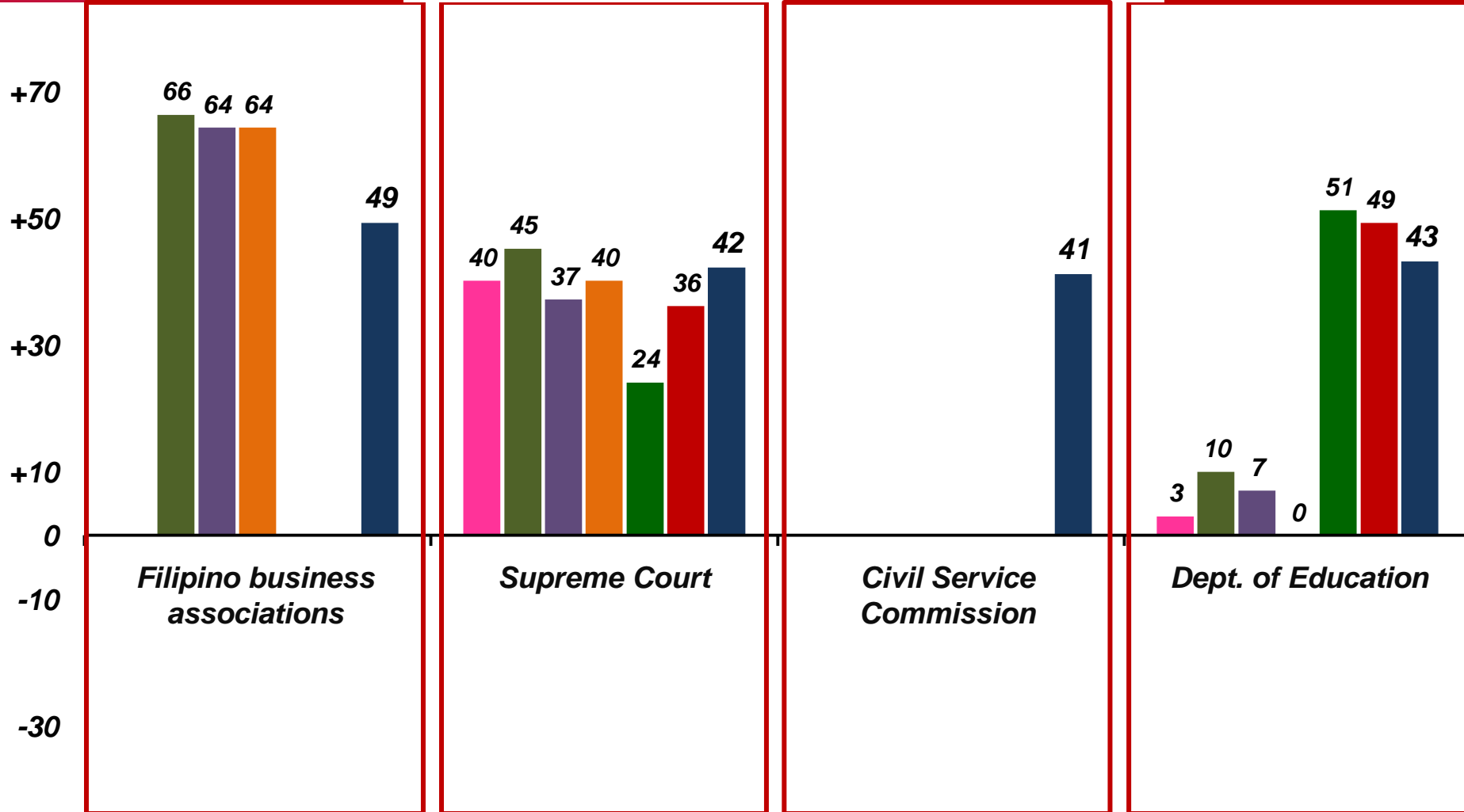
VERY GOOD NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

■ '05 ■ '06 ■ '07 ■ '08 ■ '09 ■ '12 ■ '13 ■ '14/15



GOOD NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

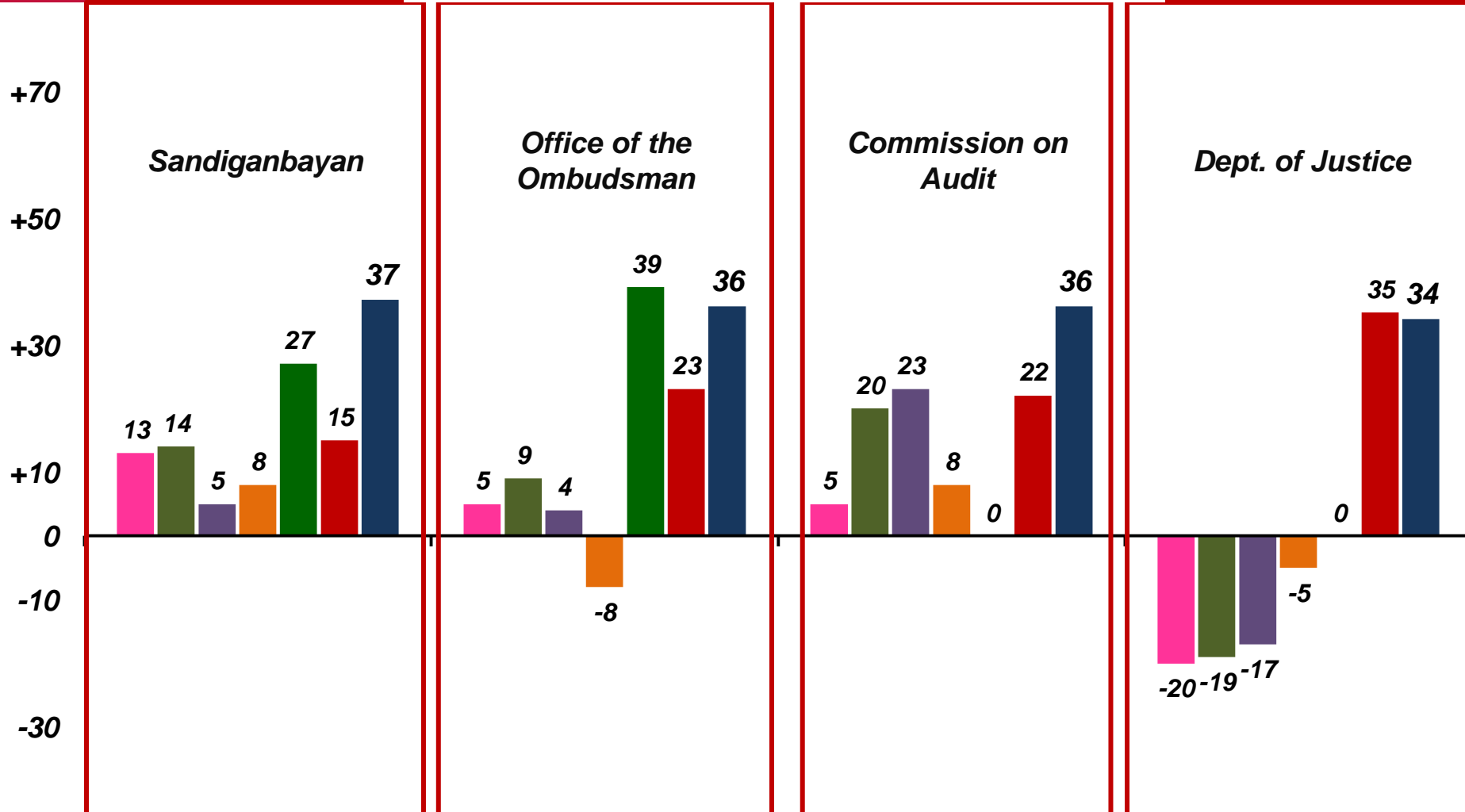
'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15



GOOD NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

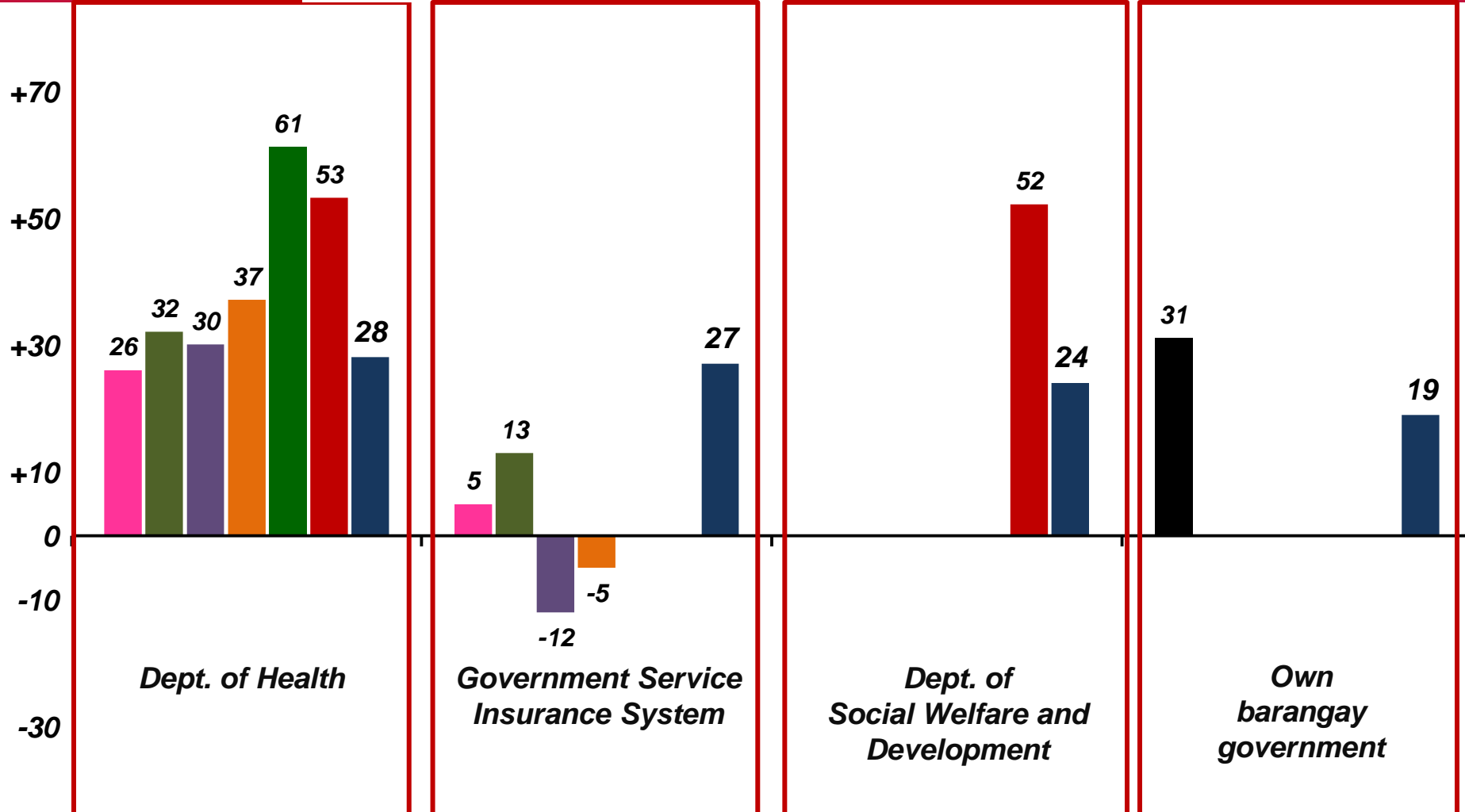
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'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15



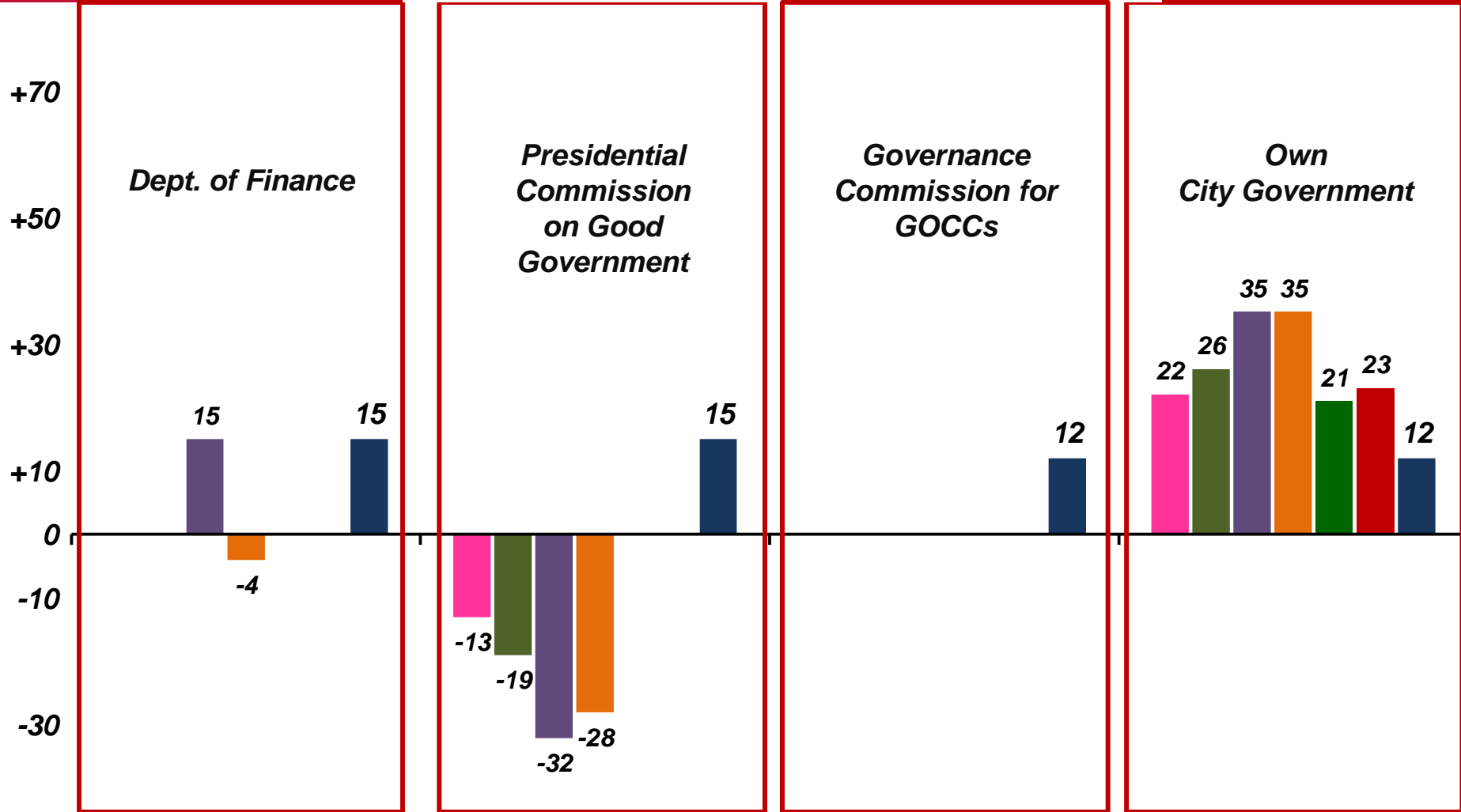
MODERATE NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

■ '05 ■ '06 ■ '07 ■ '08 ■ '09 ■ '12 ■ '13 ■ '14/15



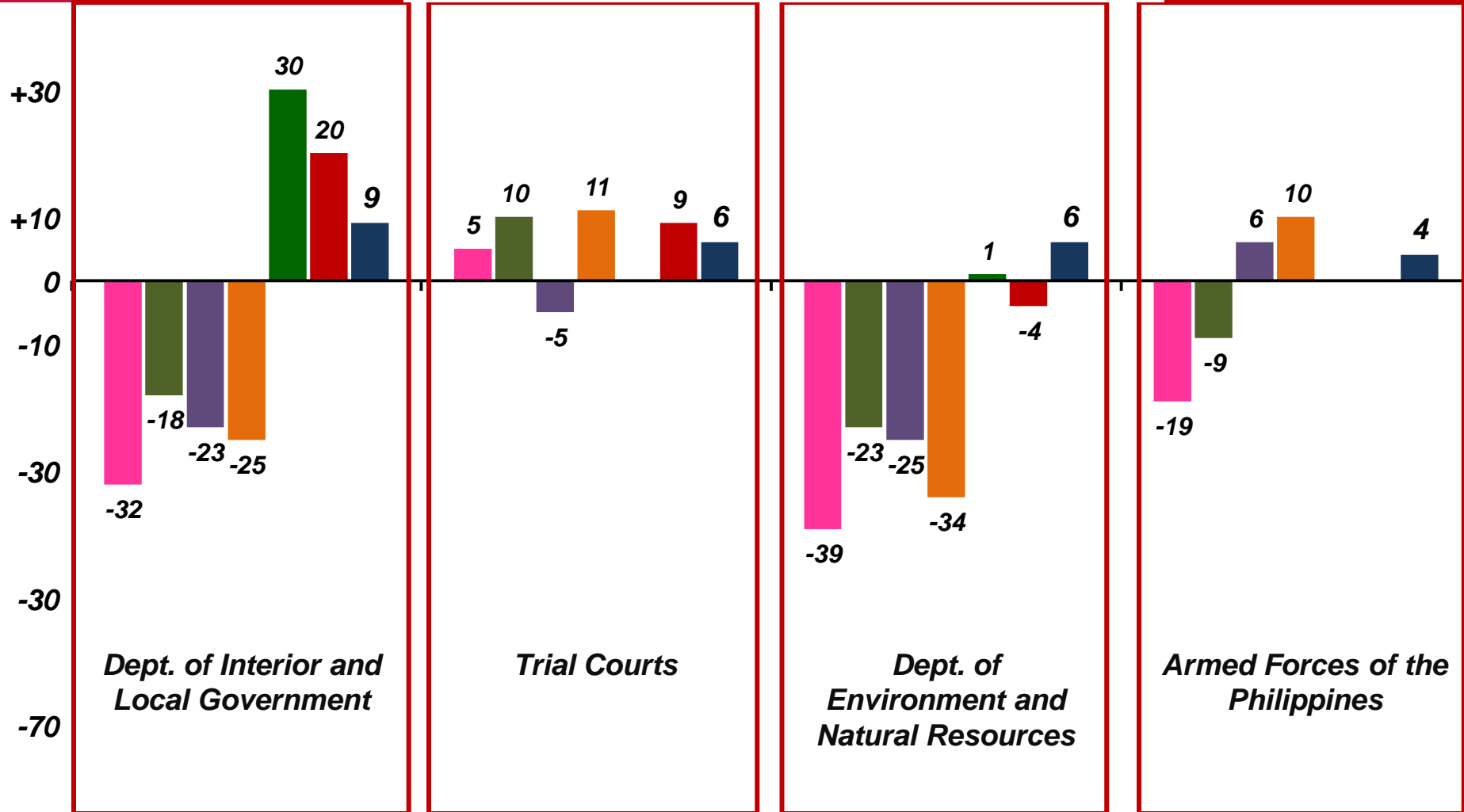
MODERATE NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15



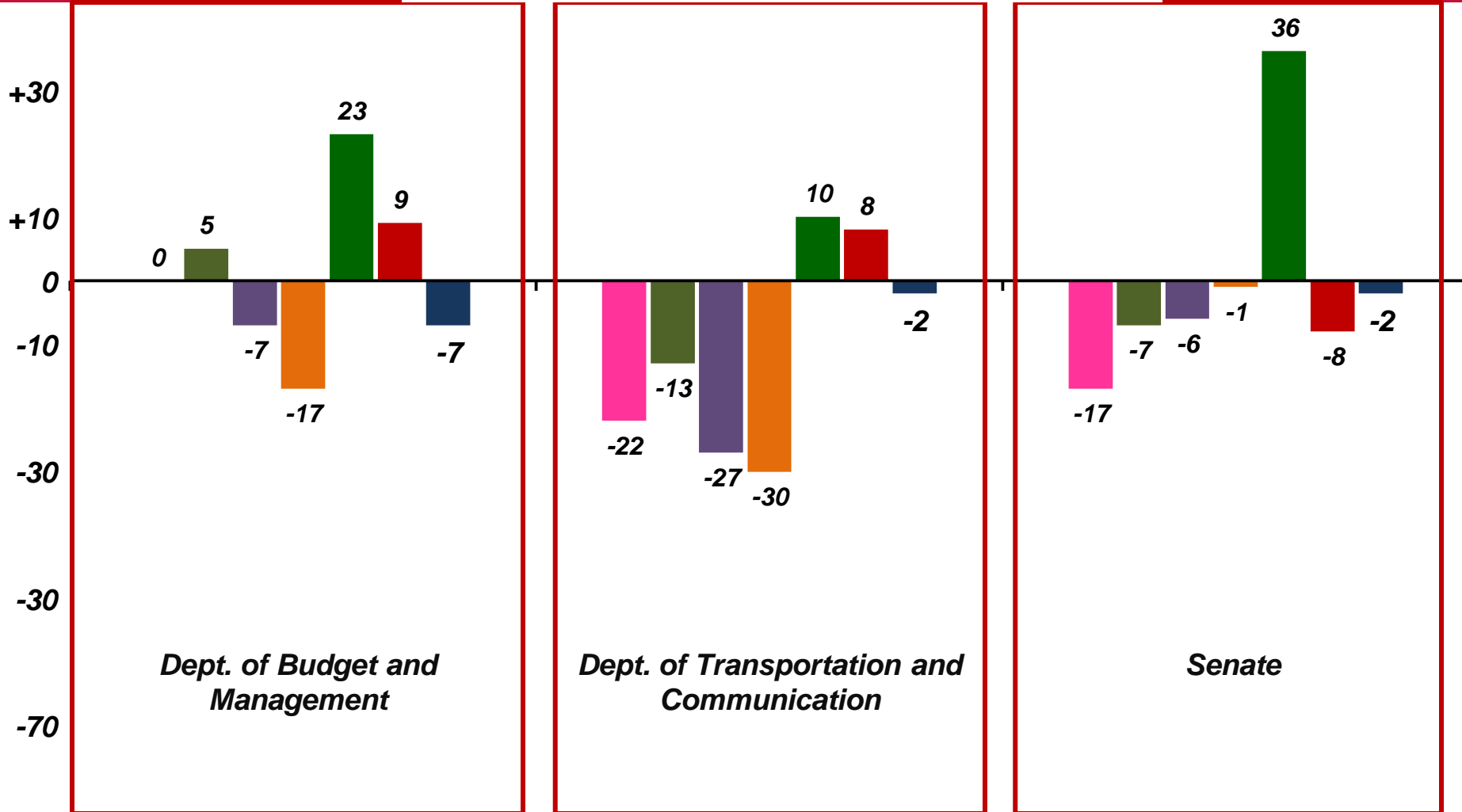
NEUTRAL NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15



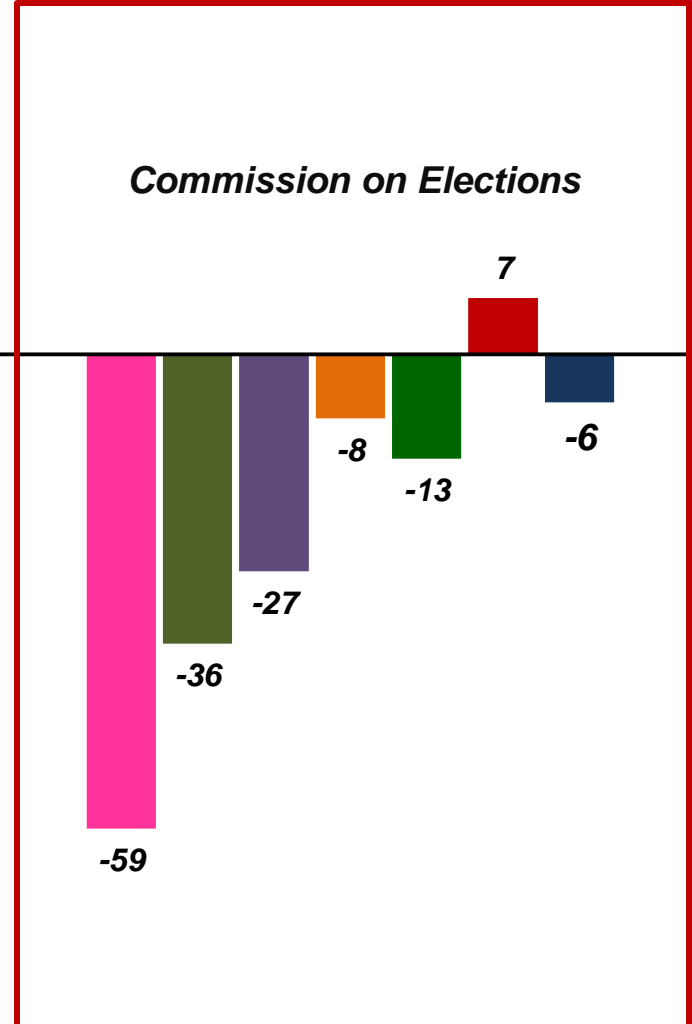
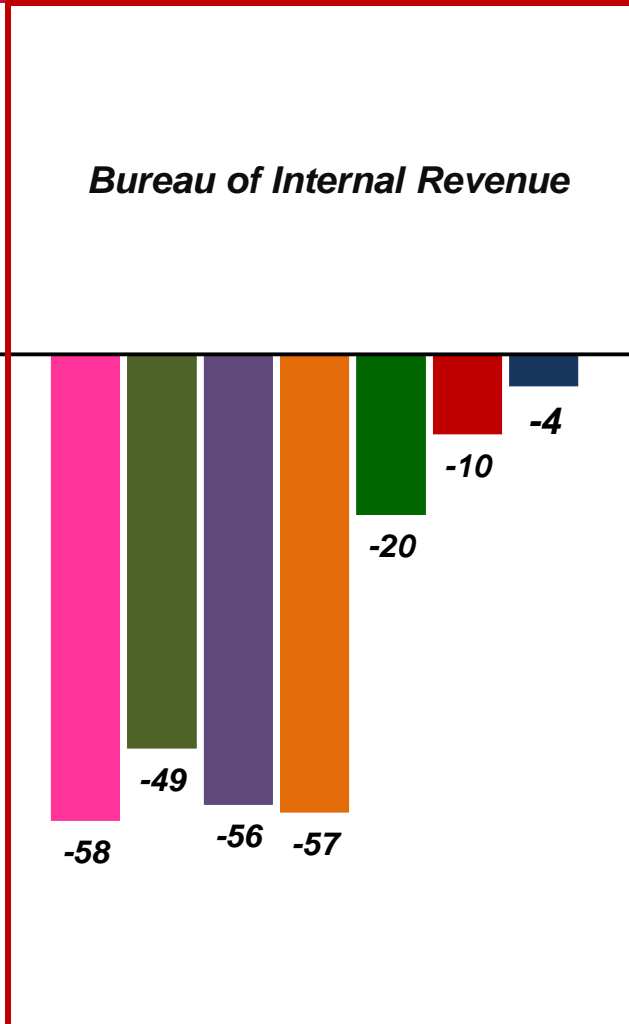
NEUTRAL NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15



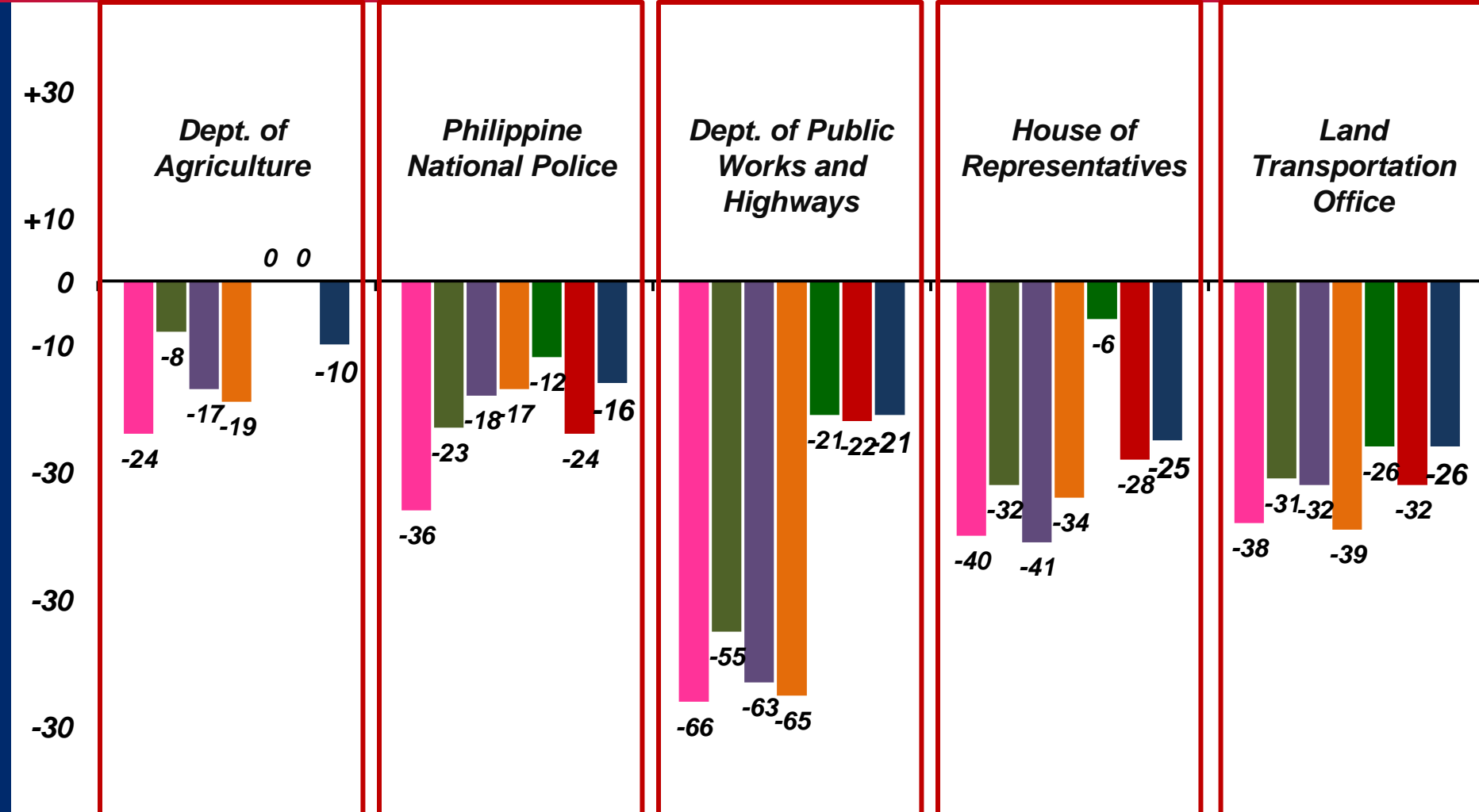
NEUTRAL NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15

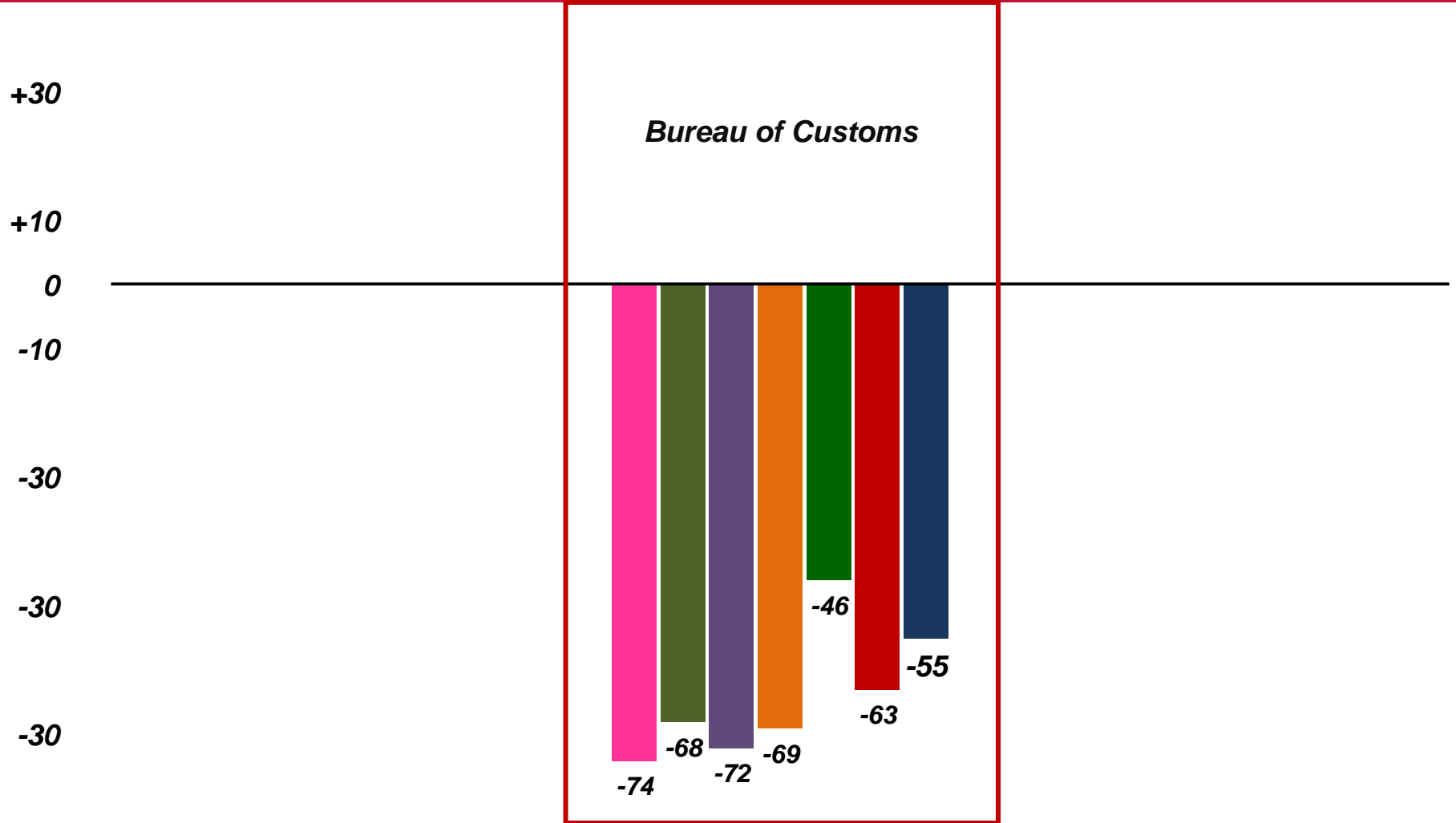


POOR NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

'06 '07 '08 '09 '12 '13 '14/15

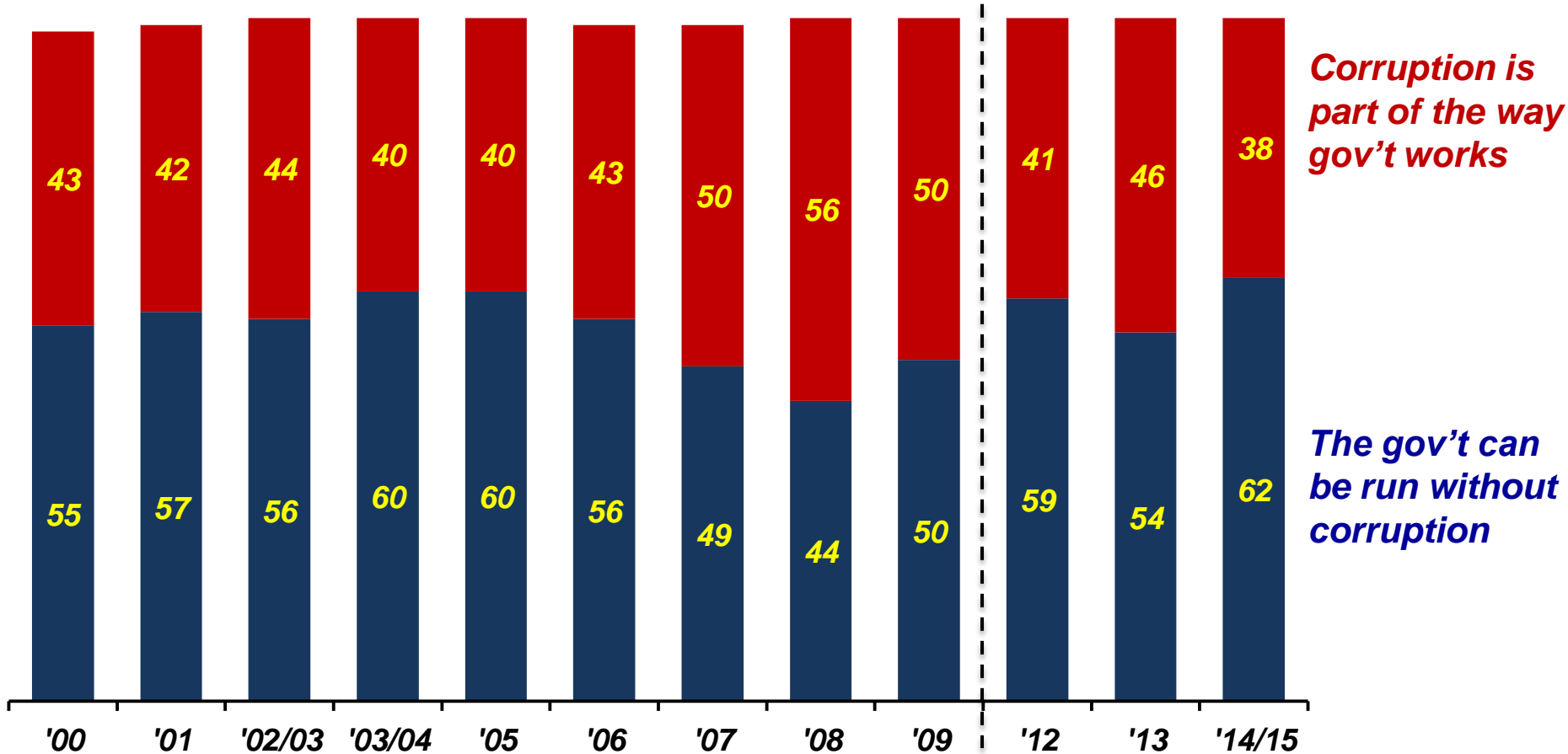


VERY BAD NET SINCERITY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION



3) GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO FIGHT CORRUPTION

NEW HIGH 62% SAYING “THE GOVERNMENT CAN BE RUN WITHOUT CORRUPTION”

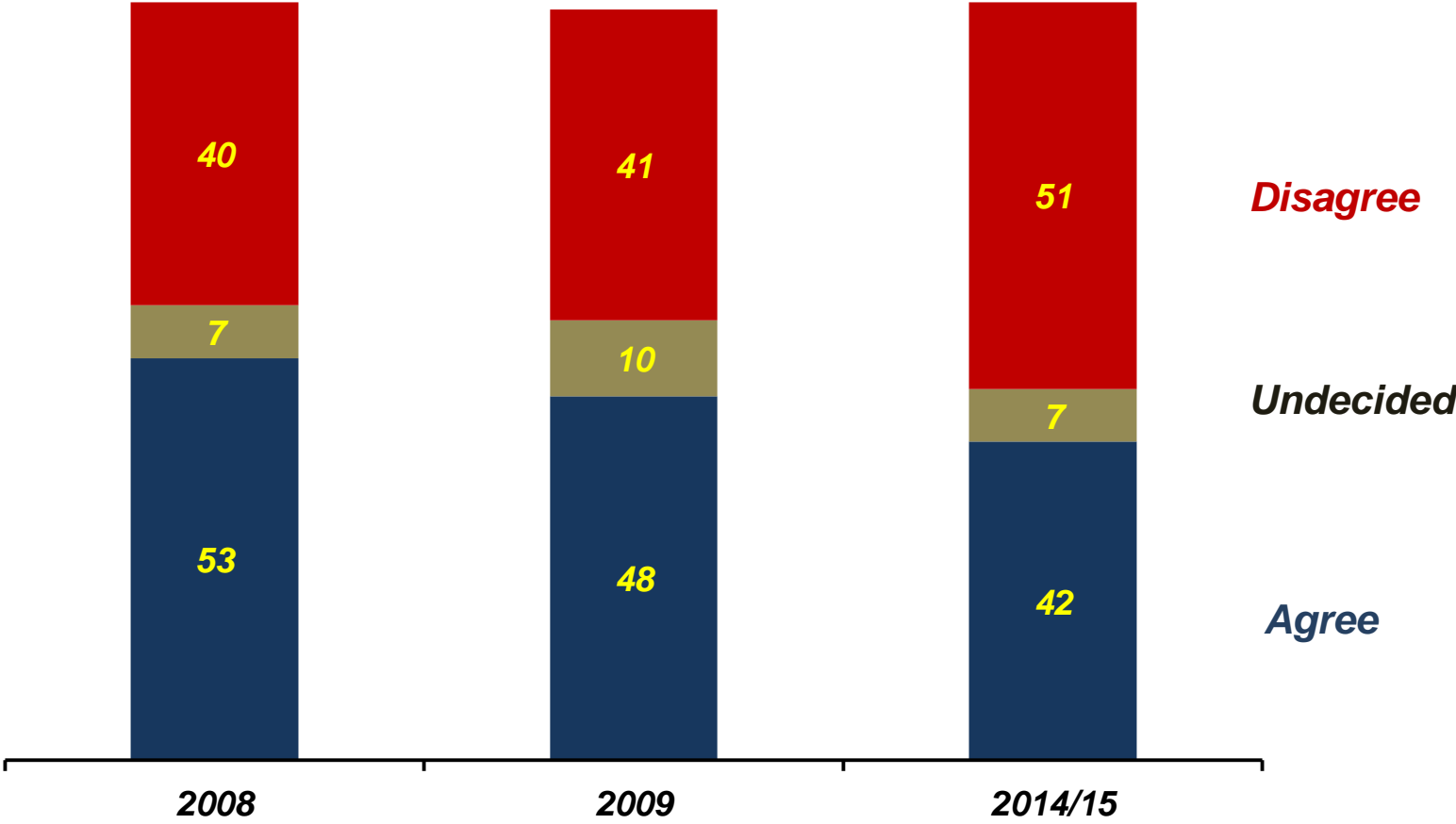


Q4. Which of these two statements is closer to your opinion? [CORRUPTION IS PART OF THE WAY GOVERNMENT WORKS IN THE PHILIPPINES; THE GOVERNMENT CAN BE RUN WITHOUT CORRUPTION]

Corruption is part of the way gov't works

The gov't can be run without corruption

NEW HIGH 51% DISAGREE THAT “THE PRESENT LAWS TO FIGHT CORRUPTION IN OUR COUNTRY ARE ALREADY ADEQUATE,” 2008 – 2014/15



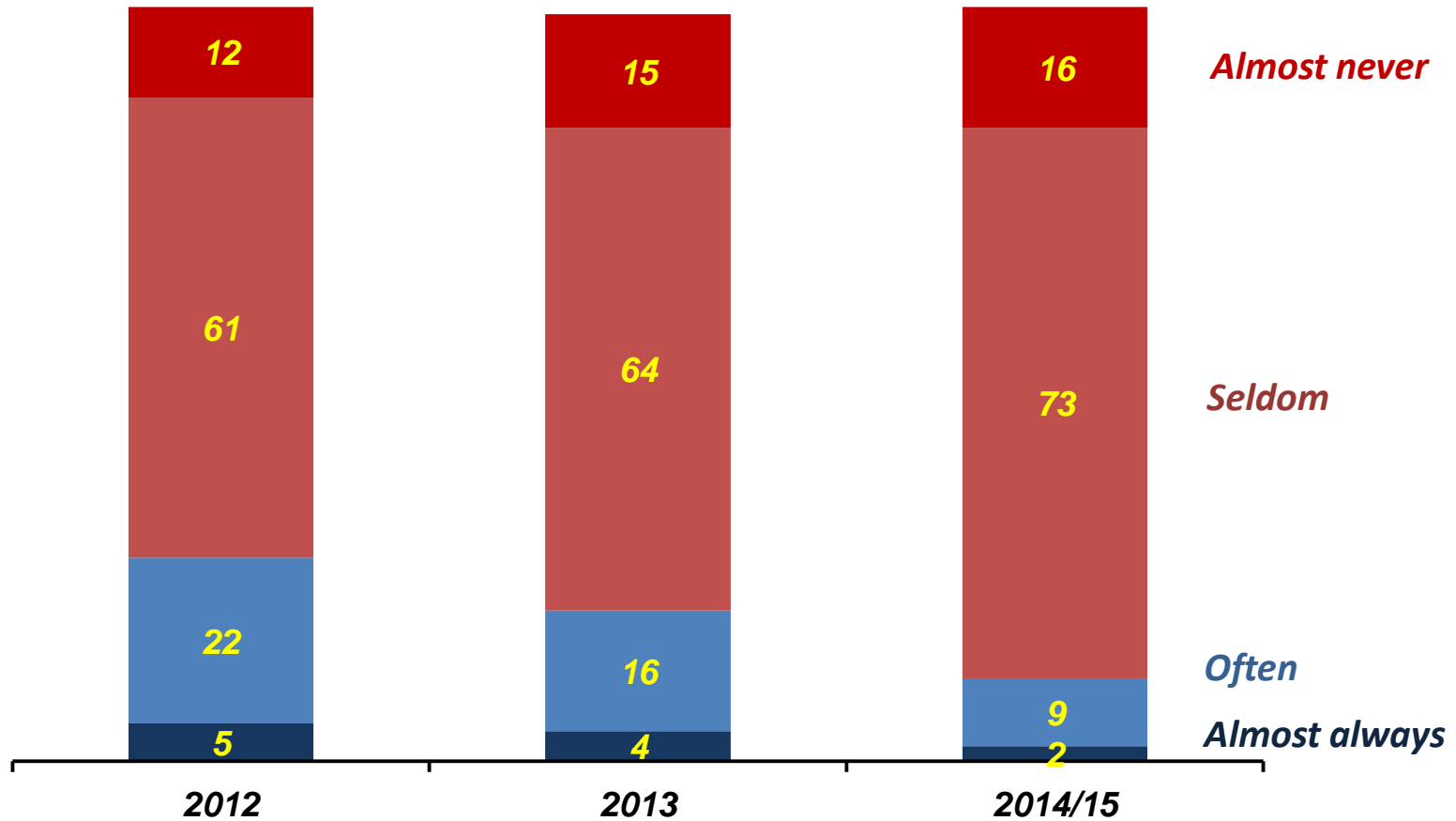
*NET Agreement computed as % Agree minus % Disagree.

Q7. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: “The present laws to fight corruption in our country are already adequate”?



Integrity for Investments Initiative (i³)

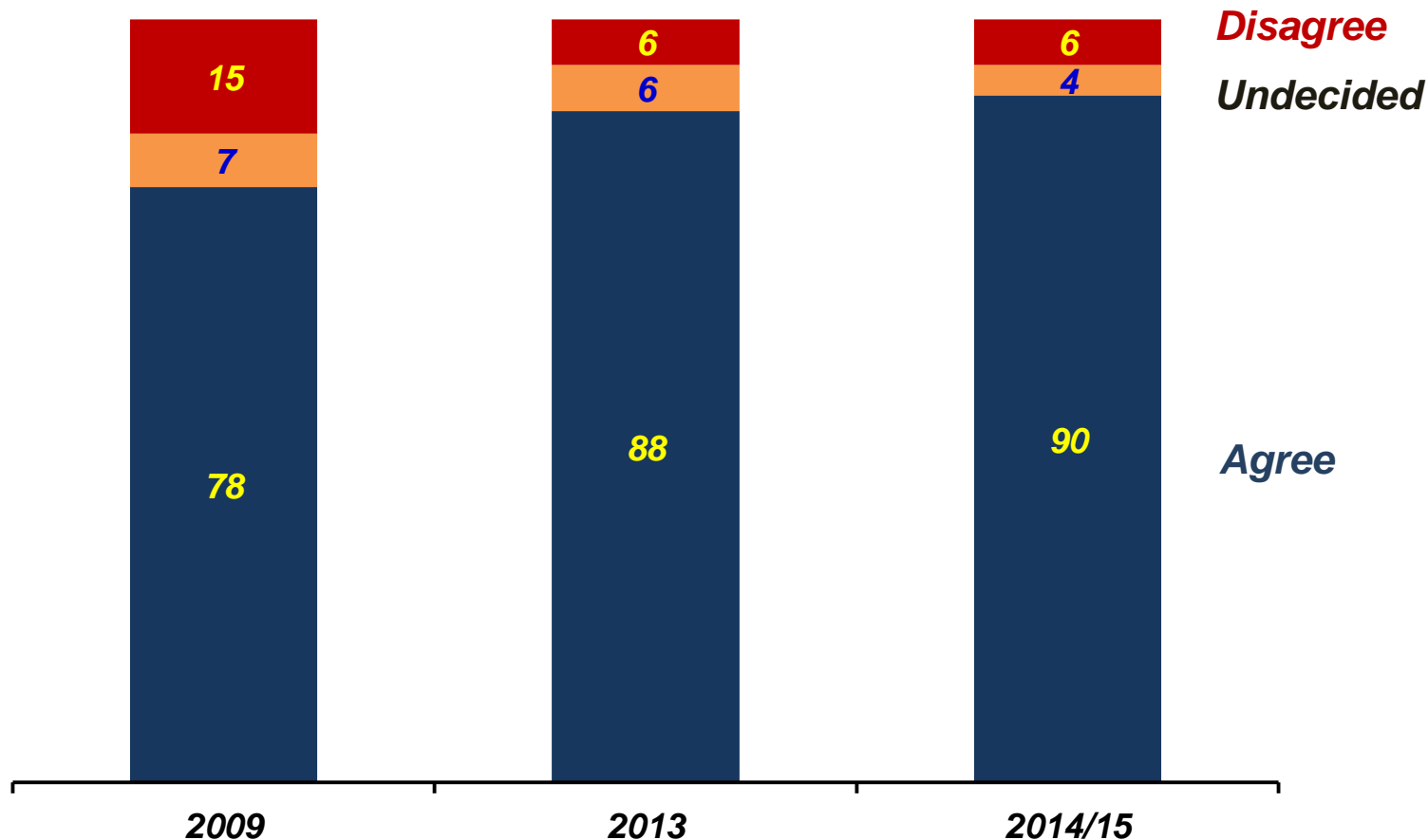
NEW LOW 11% SAY THAT GOVERNMENT "OFTEN/ALMOST ALWAYS" PUNISHES CORRUPT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.



Q55. In your opinion, how often does the government punish corrupt government officials?

4) ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT INFORMATION

90% AGREE THAT “CORRUPTION WILL BE REDUCED BY THE PASSAGE OF A STRONG LAW ON THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO INFORMATION FROM THE GOV’T.” 2009 – 2014/15

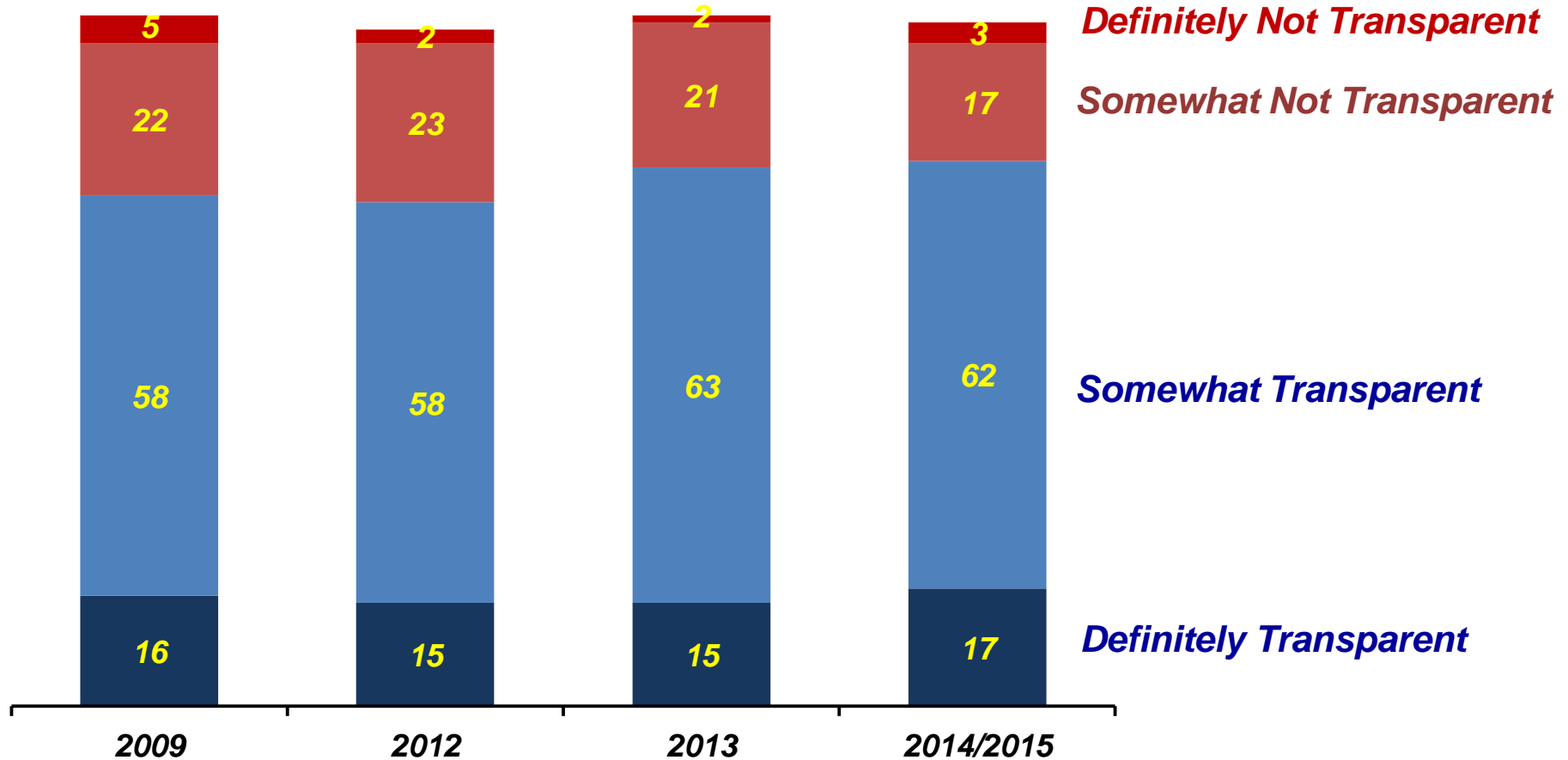


**NET Agreement computed as % Agree minus % Disagree.*

Q78. Do you agree or disagree that corruption will be reduced by passage of a strong law on the right of the people to information from the government?

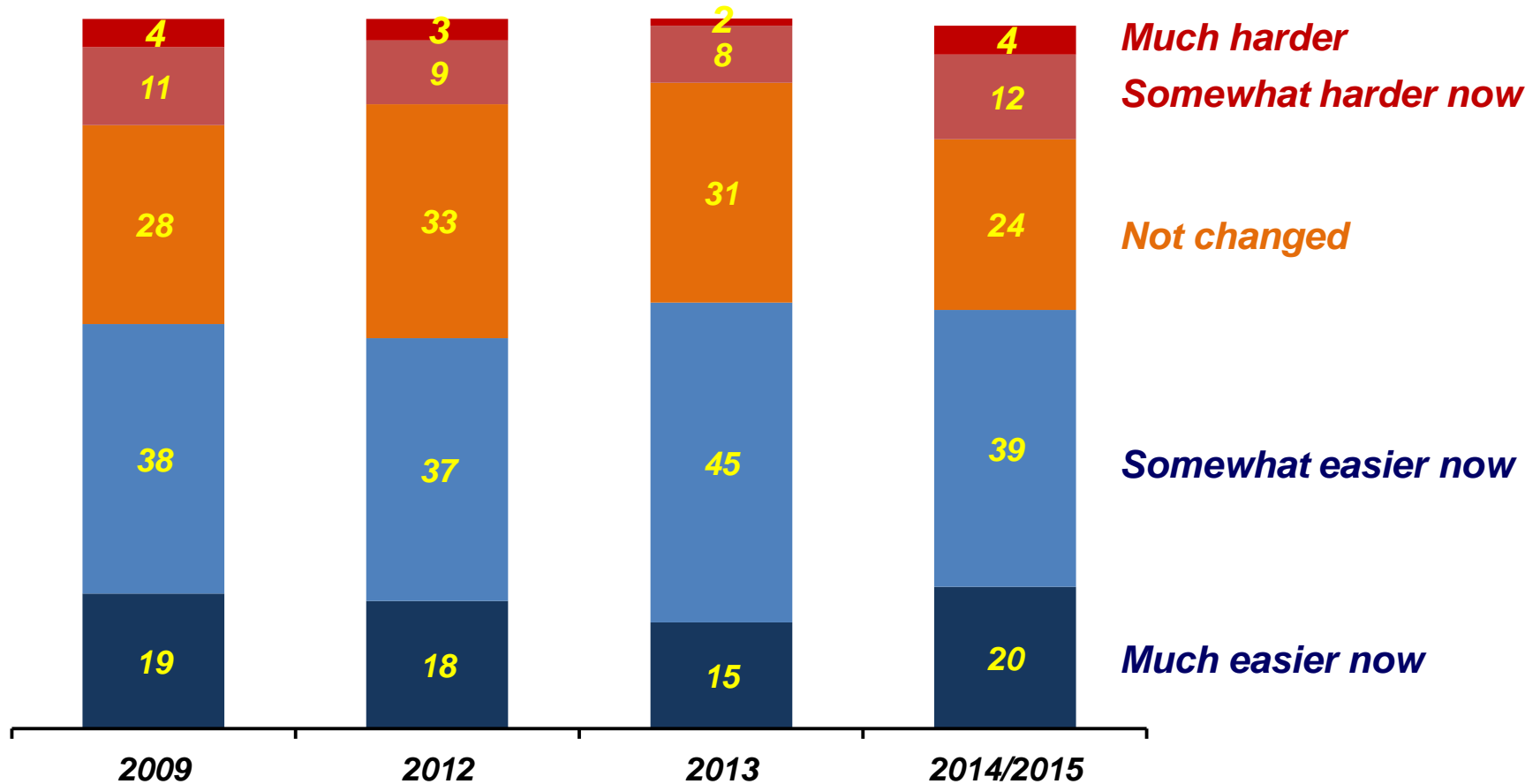
5) TRANSACTIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

79% SAY TRANSACTION PROCEDURES OF CITY/MUNICIPAL GOV'T OFFICES ARE SOMEWHAT/DEFINITELY TRANSPARENT



Q64. OVERALL, how transparent or understandable are the procedures or system of transactions of the offices of your city/municipal government that you have had transactions with? Would you say it is...

59% SAY THE PROCESS OF BUSINESS PERMITS/LICENSES RENEWAL IS EASIER NOW THAN 3 YEARS AGO, 2009 – 2014/15



Q66. Compared to three years ago, has the process of annual renewal of the company's business permits or licenses BECOME MUCH EASIER, BECOME SOMEWHAT EASIER, NOT CHANGED, BECOME SOMEWHAT HARDER, or BECOME MUCH HARDER?

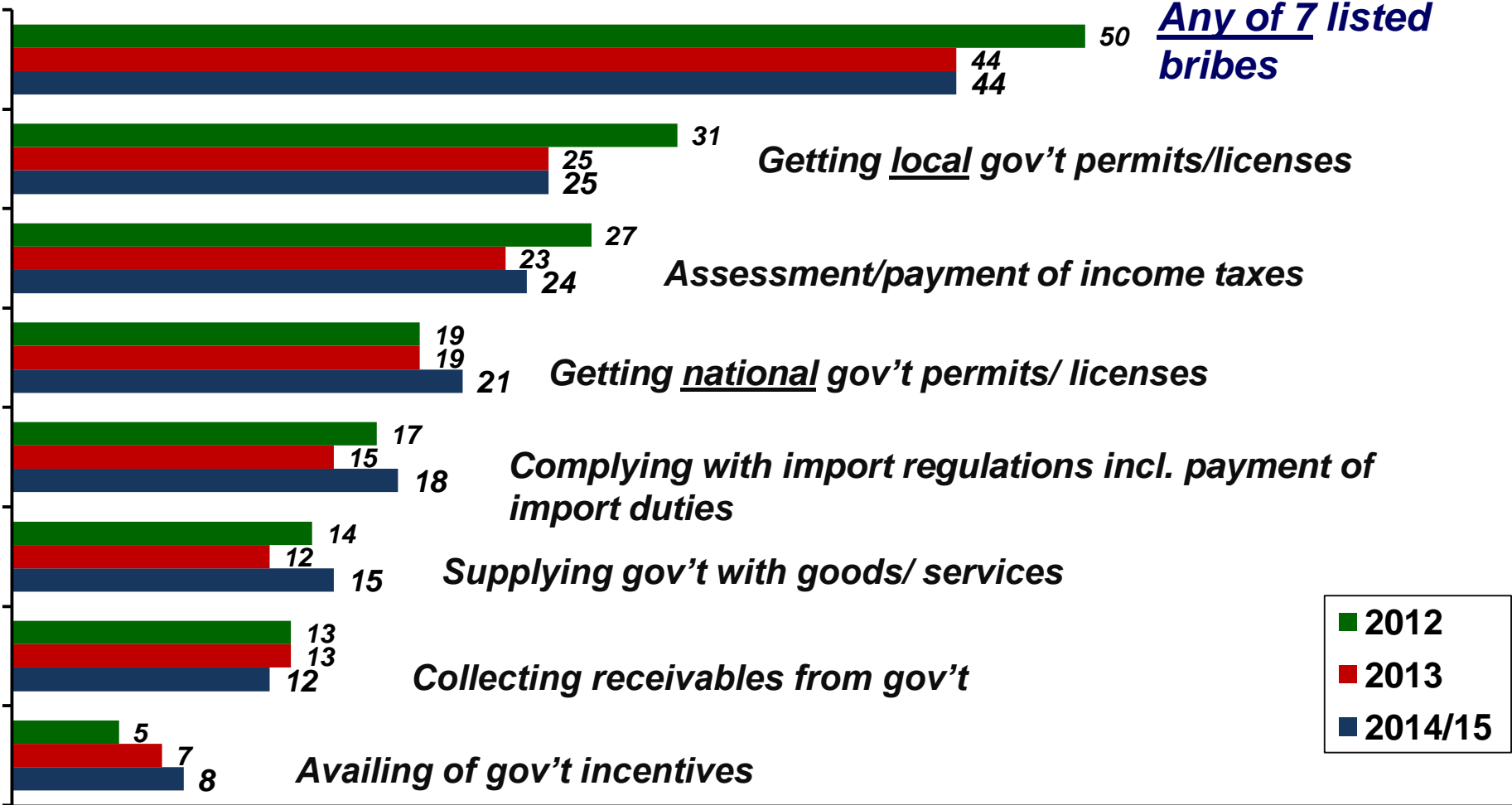
USE OF THE INTERNET TO TRANSACT WITH GOVERNMENT HAS GROWN FAST, 2007 – 2014/15

	<u>2007</u>	<u>2014/15</u>
<i>Uses the Internet to transact with gov't</i>	39%	75%
Payment of income tax or other national taxes	24	52
Getting national government permits or licenses	8	22
Payment of property tax or other local taxes	9	20
Bidding for government projects	7	19
Looking for business with government	11	17
Getting local government permits or licenses	4	17
Availing of government incentives	8	8
Collecting receivables from government	2	7
Other transactions, specify	10	19
Does not use the Internet to transact w/ gov't	44	18
Does not use the Internet at all	17	7

Q118. Does your company use the Internet for transactions with government? IF YES: What kind of transactions are these?
(ENCIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

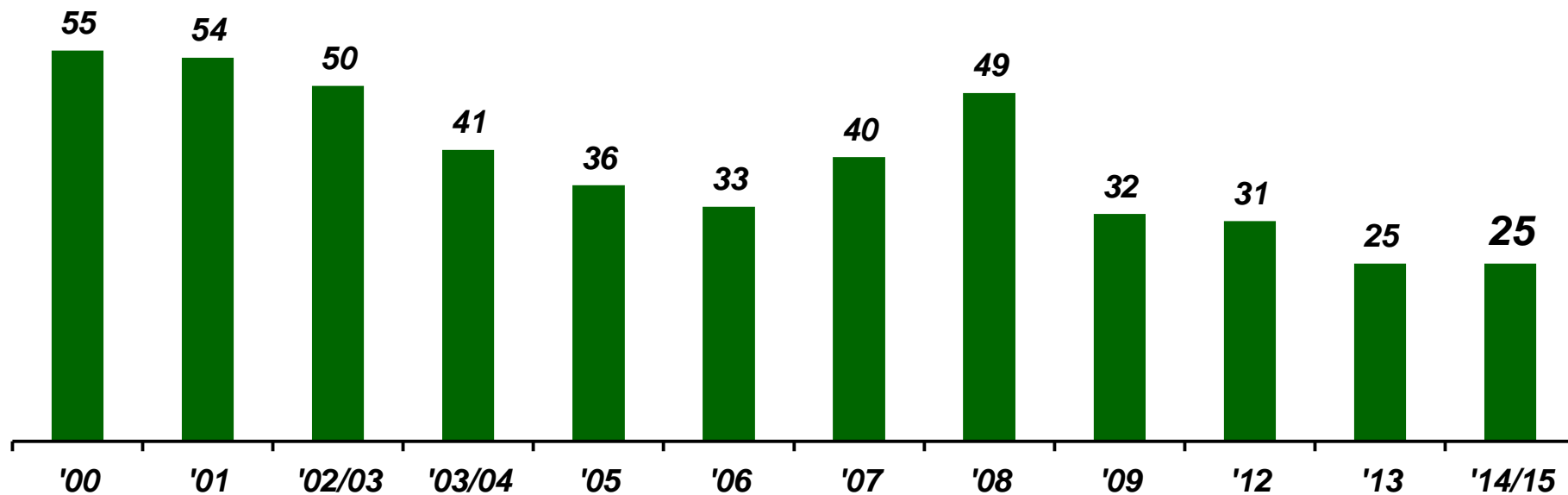
6) ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE

BEING SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE FELL FROM 50% IN 2012 TO 44% IN 2013 AND IN 2014/15.



Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: GETTING LOCAL GOV'T PERMITS/LICENSES, 2000 – 2014/15

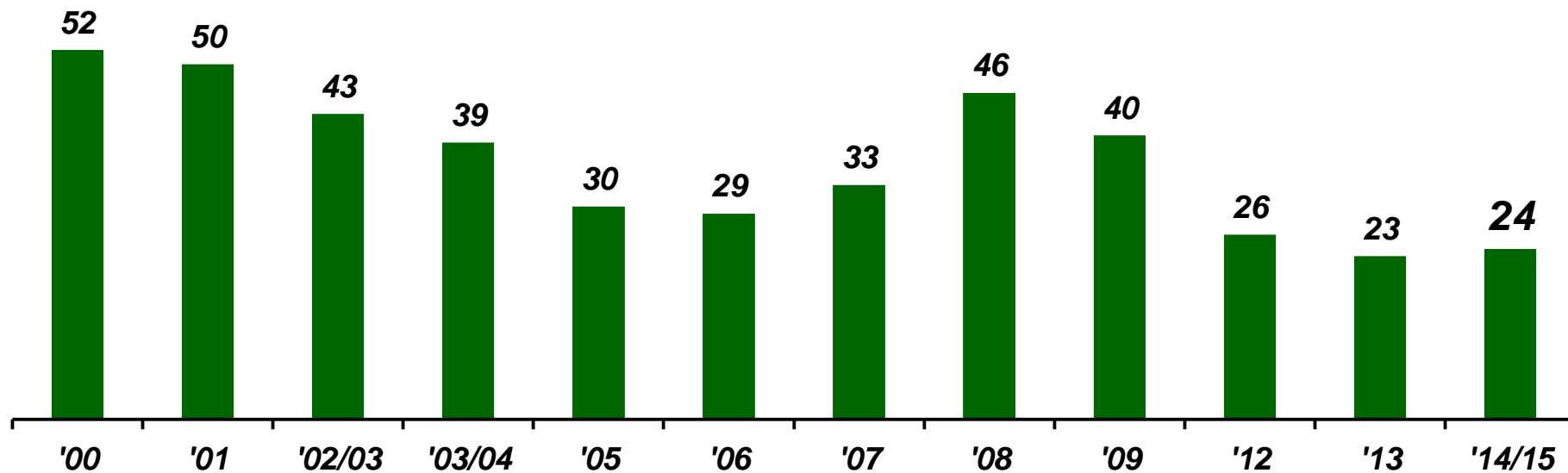


Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

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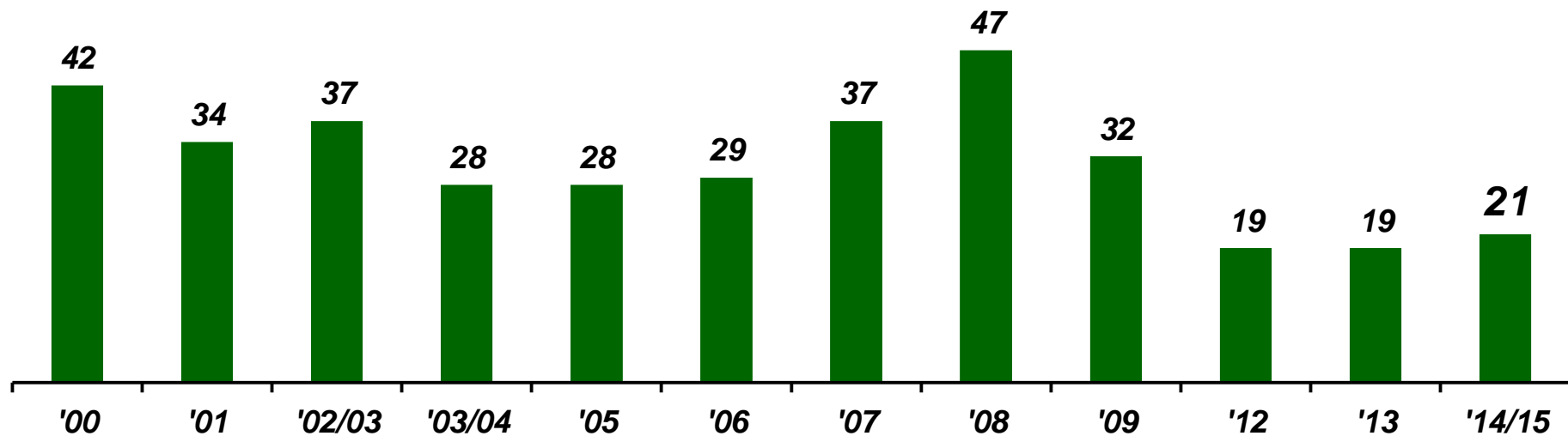
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ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: ASSESSMENT/PAYMENT OF INCOME TAXES, 2000 – 2014/15



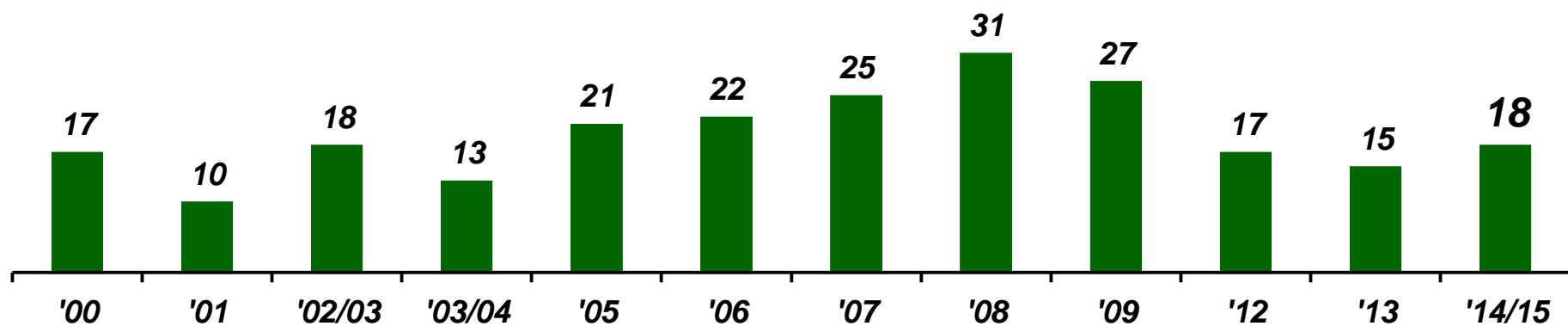
Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: GETTING NATIONAL GOV'T PERMITS/ LICENSES, 2000 – 2014/15



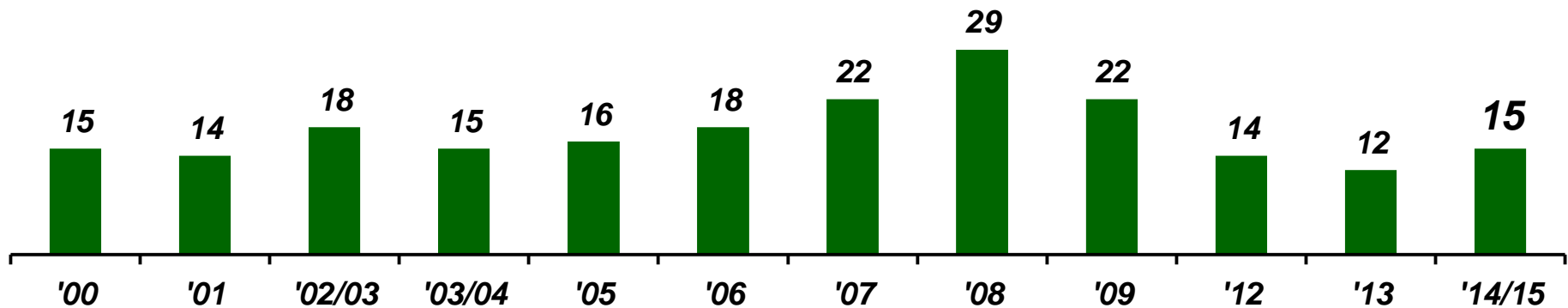
Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: COMPLYING WITH IMPORT REGULATIONS INCL. PAYMENT OF IMPORT DUTIES, 2000 – 2014/15



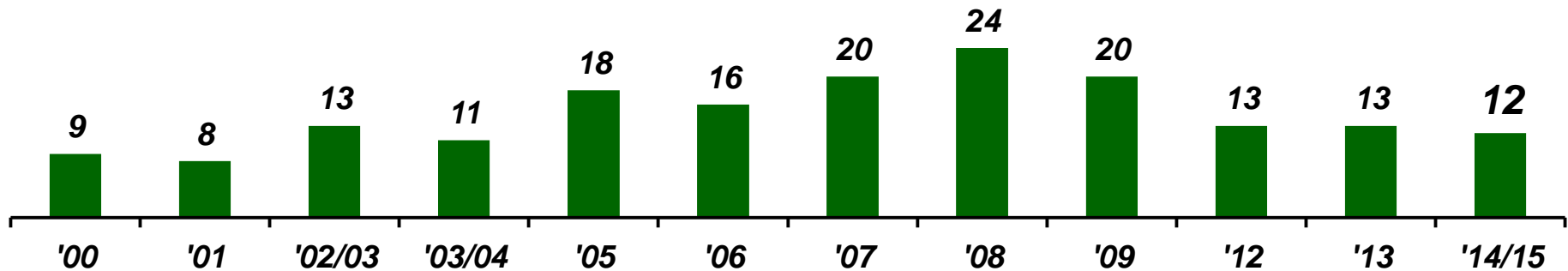
Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: SUPPLYING GOV'T WITH GOODS/ SERVICES, 2000 – 2014/15



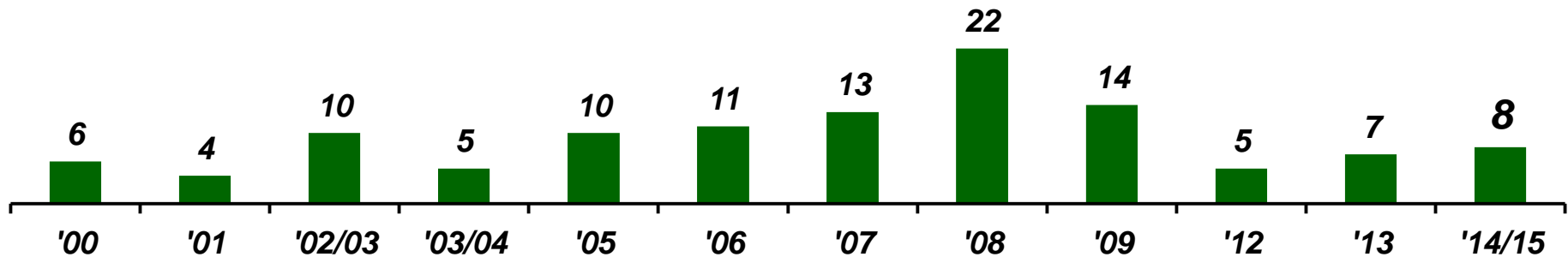
Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: COLLECTING RECEIVABLES FROM GOV'T, 2000 – 2014/15



Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

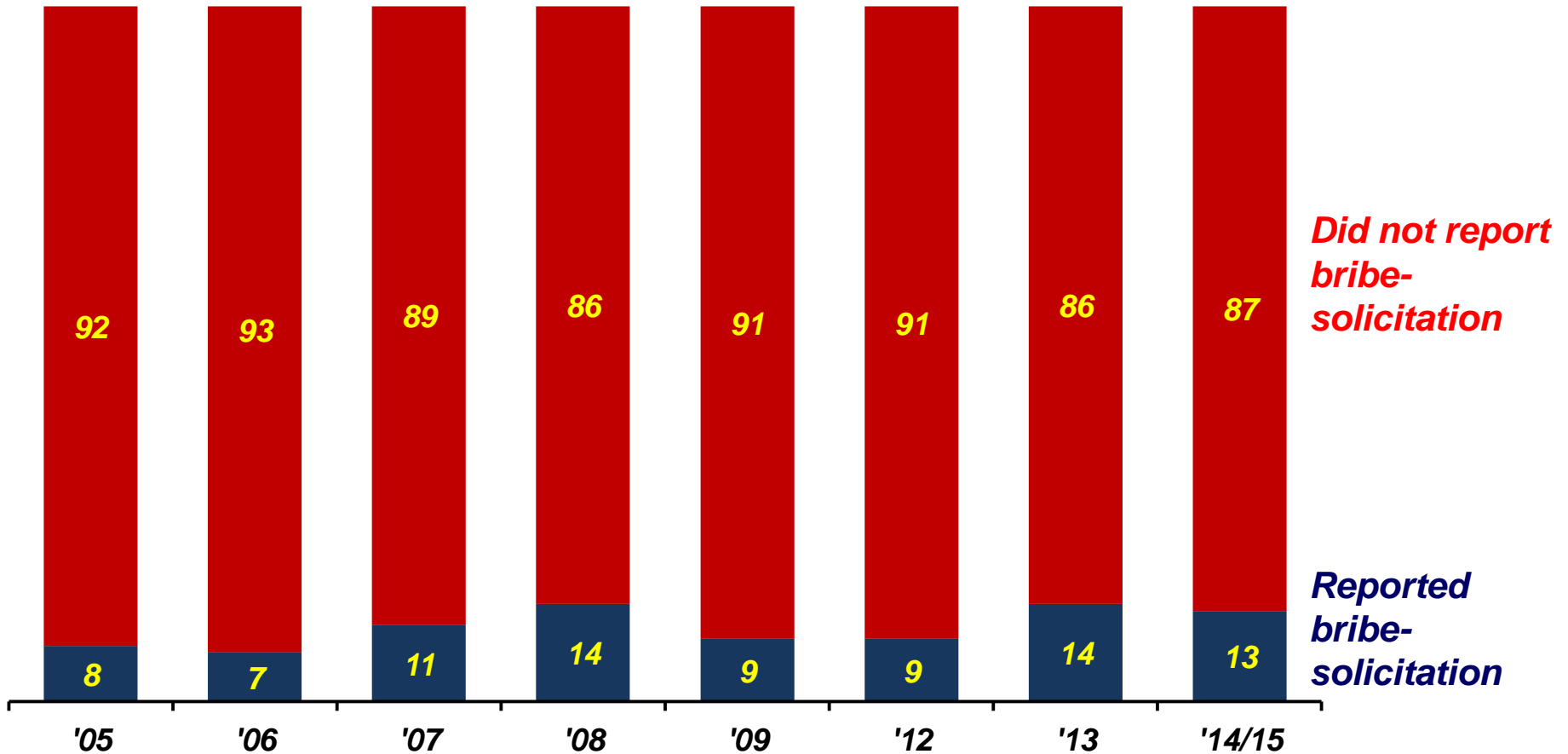
ENTERPRISES SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE: AVAILING OF GOV'T INCENTIVES, 2000 – 2014/15



Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

ONLY 13% OF THOSE SOLICITED FOR A BRIBE REPORTED IT

Base: Those Who Were Solicited for a Bribe



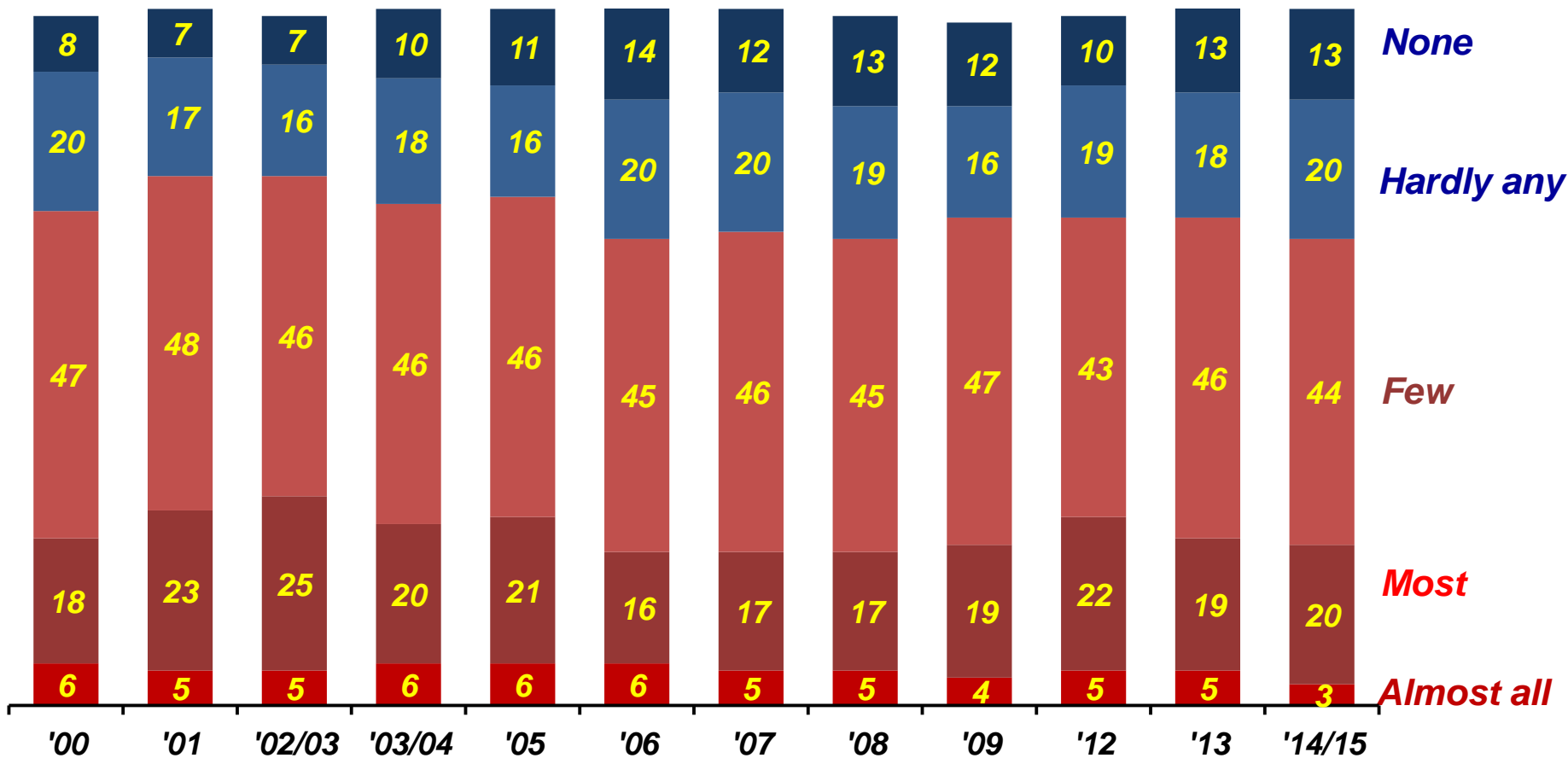
Q68-74. In which of the following transactions has your company been asked for a bribe by anyone in government during 2013-2014?

Q75. IF ENCIRCLED ANY CODE 1 IN Q68-74: Did you...?

7) PRIVATE SECTOR CORRUPTION

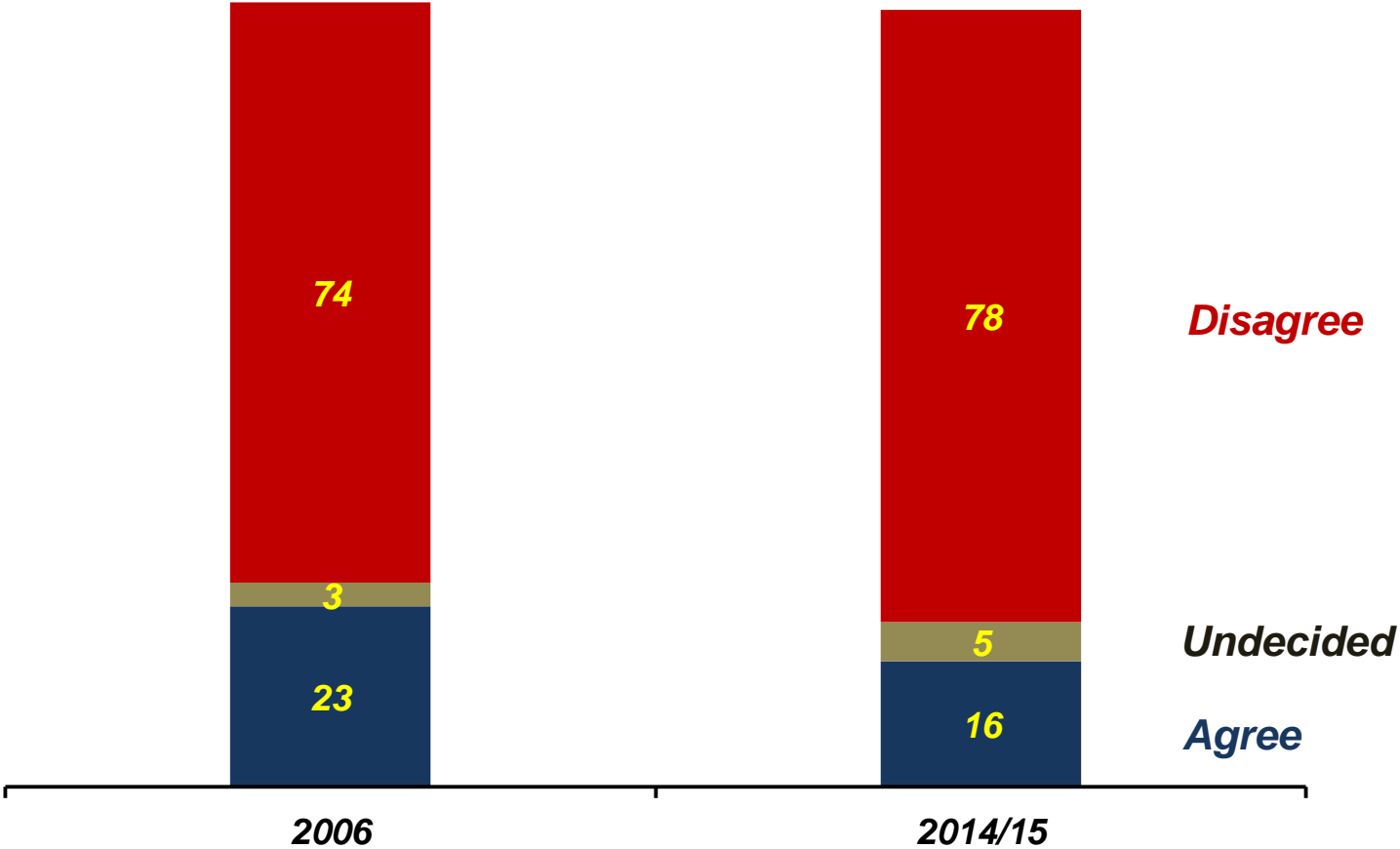
23% SAY MOST COMPANIES IN THEIR LINE OF BUSINESS GIVE BRIBES TO WIN PRIVATE SECTOR CONTRACTS, 2000 - 2014/15

Base: Total Who Say Companies in Their Sector Allot a Percentage for Bribes to Win Private Sector Contracts



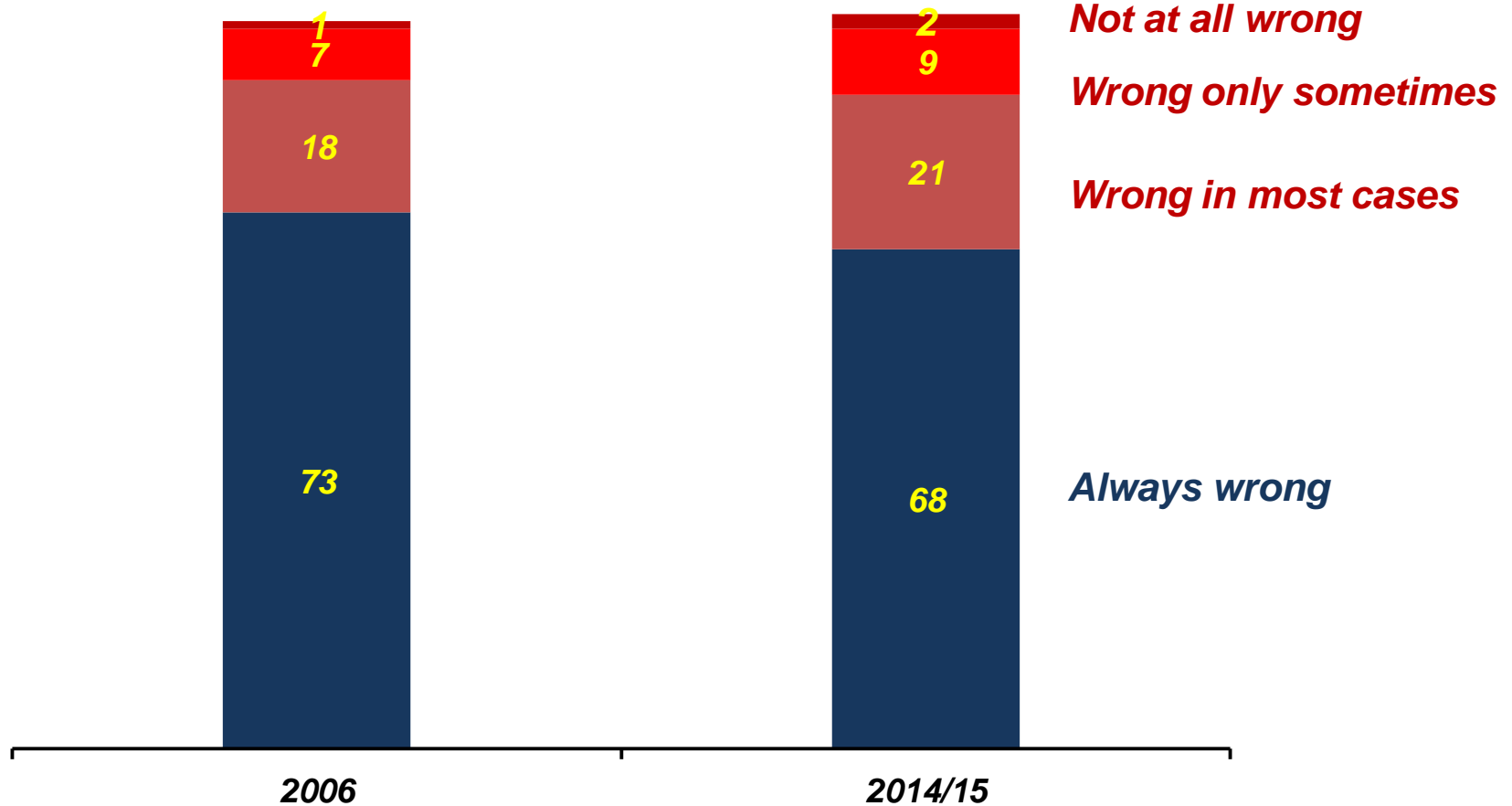
Q53. In your line of business, how many companies do you think give bribes to win public sector contracts?

78% DISAGREE THAT “TO PROSPER IN BUSINESS IN THE PHILIPPINES TODAY, ONE HAS TO BE CORRUPT,” 2006 - 2014/15



Q6. Do you agree or disagree with this statement: “To prosper in business in the Philippines today, one has to be corrupt”?

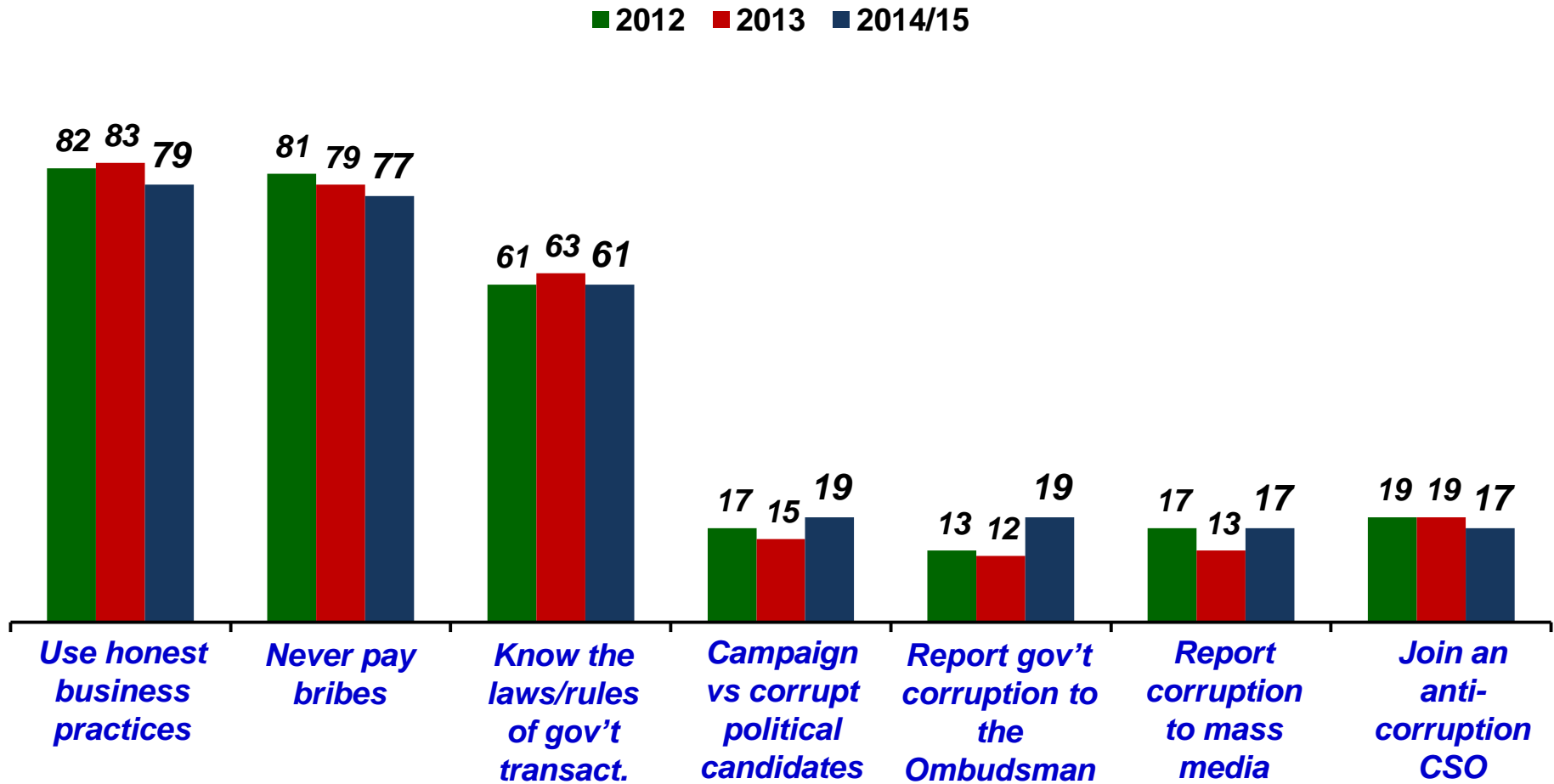
THOSE SAYING THAT CHEATING THE GOV'T FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COMPANY IS ALWAYS WRONG DROP TO 68%.



Q2. If a business executive says: "CHEATING THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT BAD IF IT IS FOR THE BENEFIT OF MY COMPANY, AND NOT FOR MYSELF," would you say that this attitude is:

8) ***BUSINESS EFFORTS TO FIGHT CORRUPTION***

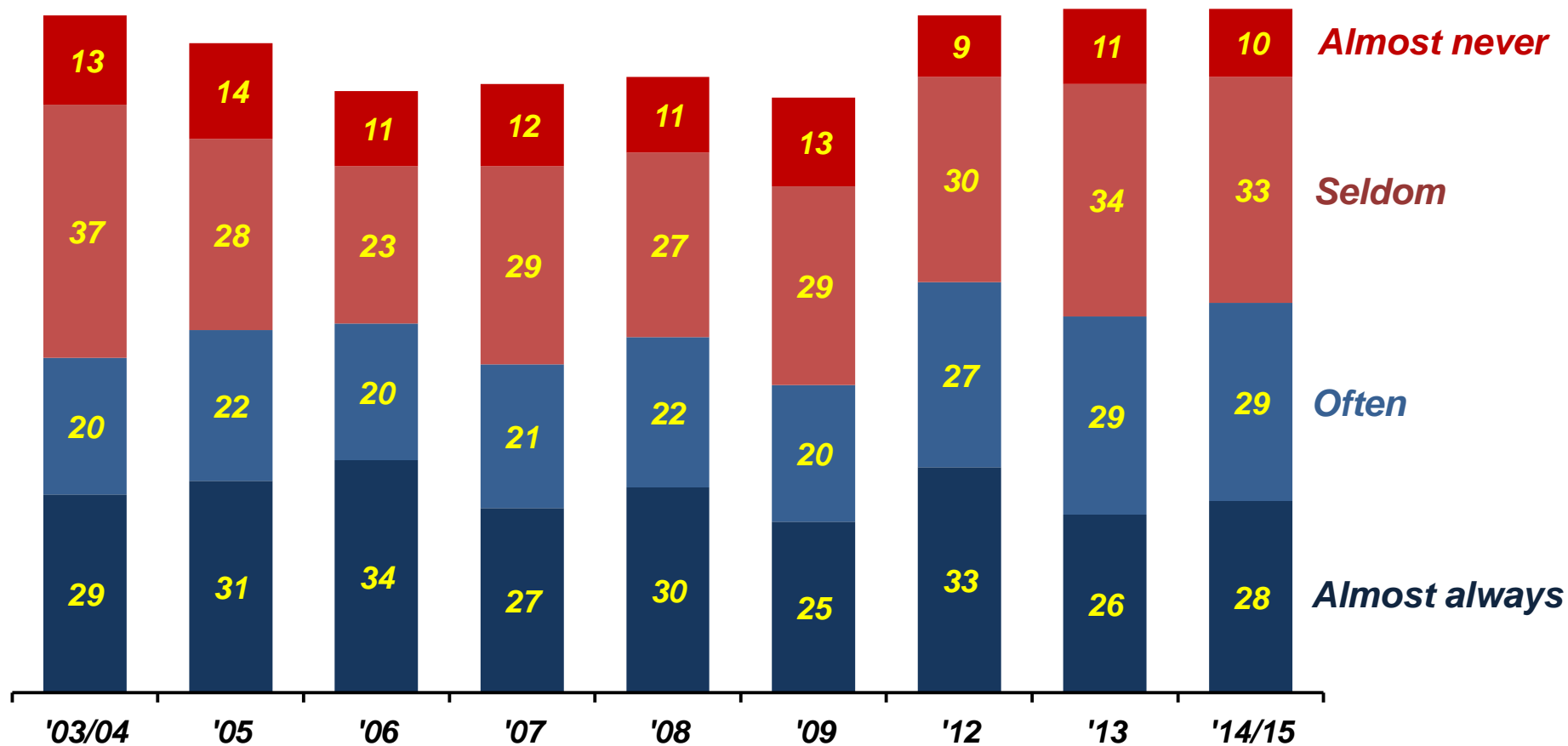
ENTERPRISES: THE BEST WAYS FOR BUSINESSES TO REDUCE CORRUPTION ARE (a) USE HONEST BUSINESS PRACTICES, (b) NEVER PAY BRIBES, AND (c) KNOW THE LAWS/RULES.



Q98. Among the following, which do you think are the THREE best ways for private businesses to help reduce corruption in the country? (THREE RESPONSES ALLOWED)

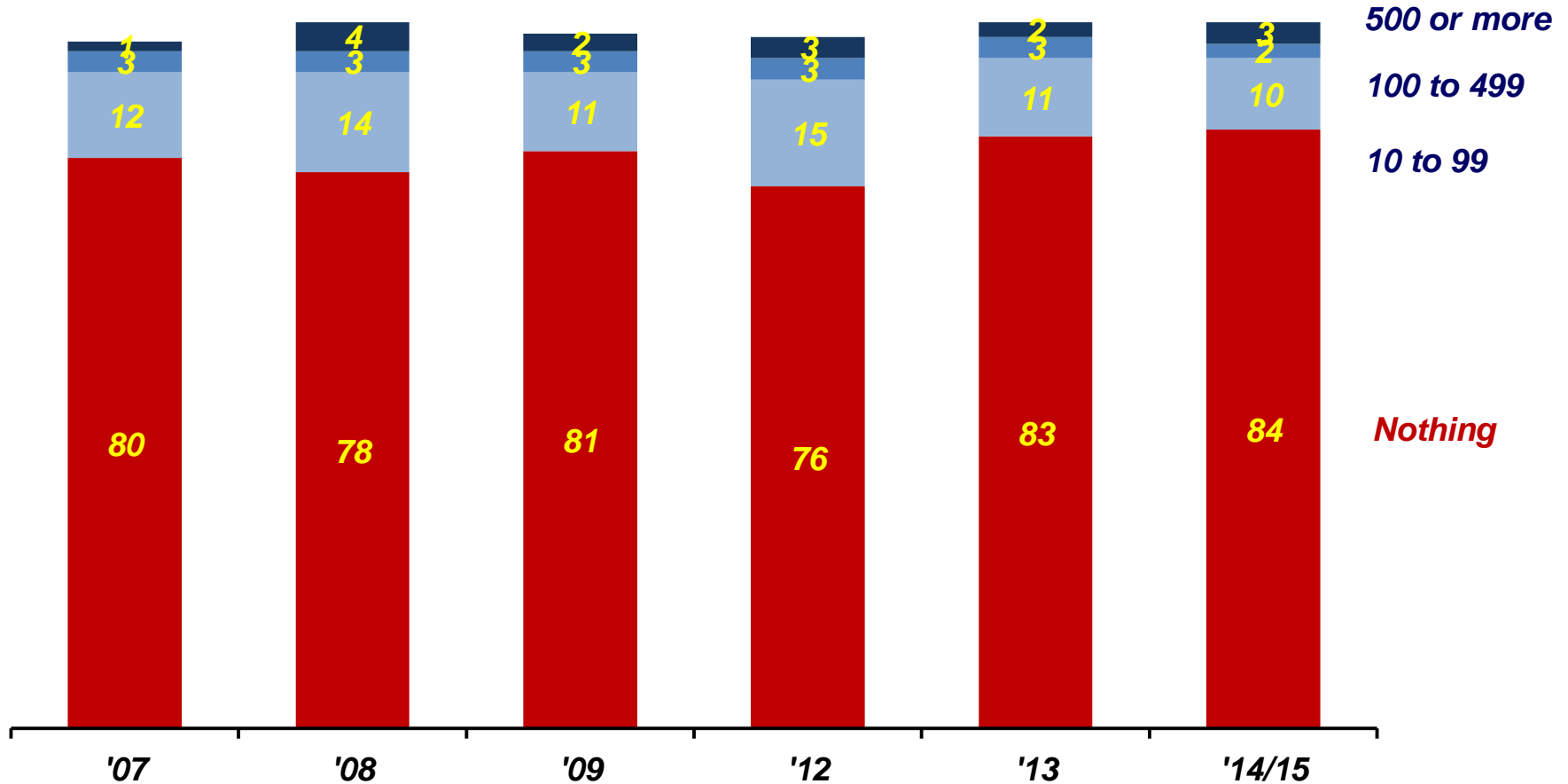
ONLY 57% SAY THAT CORRUPT EXECUTIVES IN THEIR OWN SECTOR OF BUSINESS ARE OFTEN PUNISHED

Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Private Sector



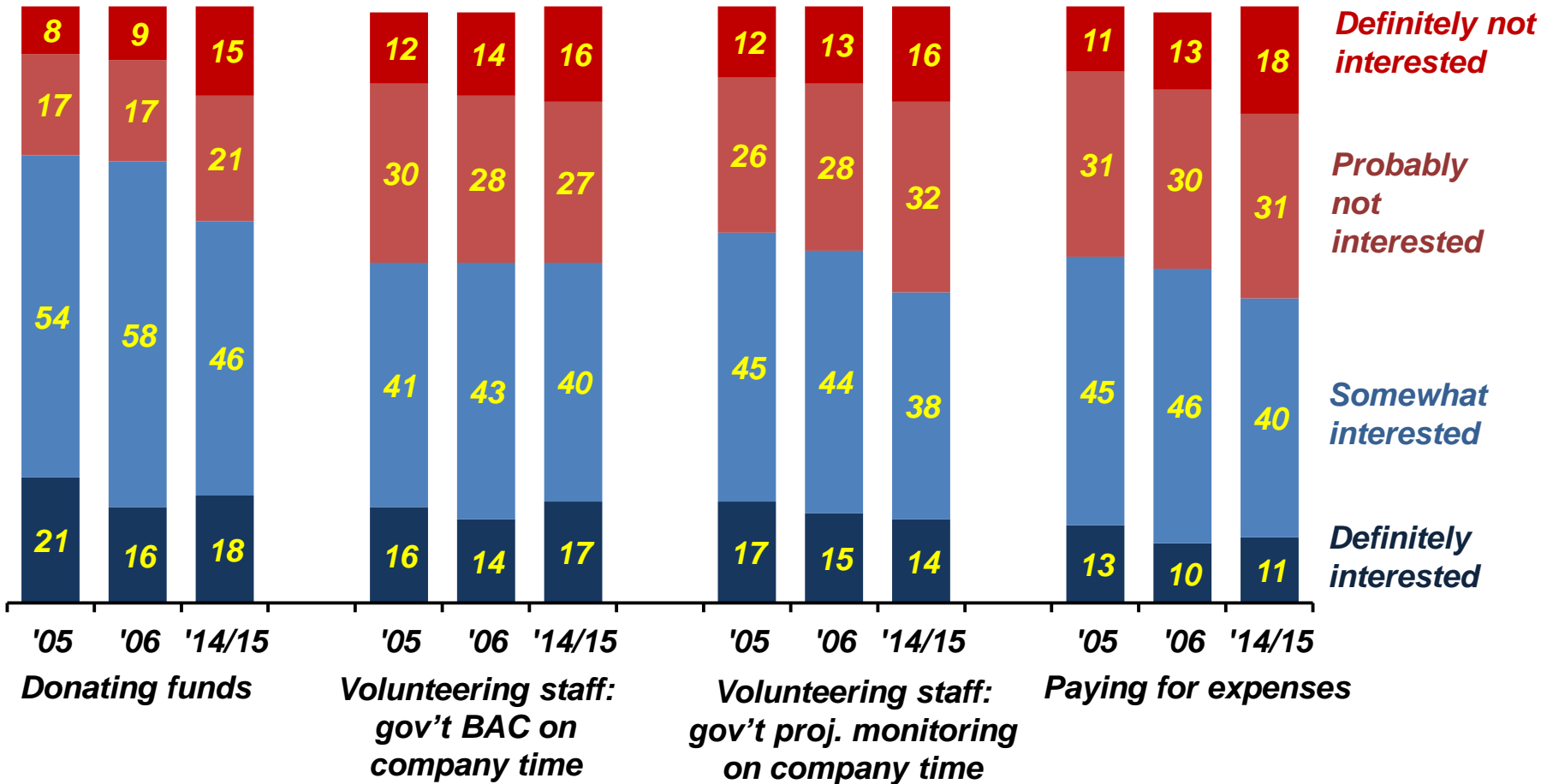
Q59. In your sector of business, how often do enterprises punish their corrupt executives?

NEW HIGH 84% DIDN'T CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING IN THE LAST 2 YEARS TO ANY PRIVATE ANTI-CORRUPTION PROGRAM



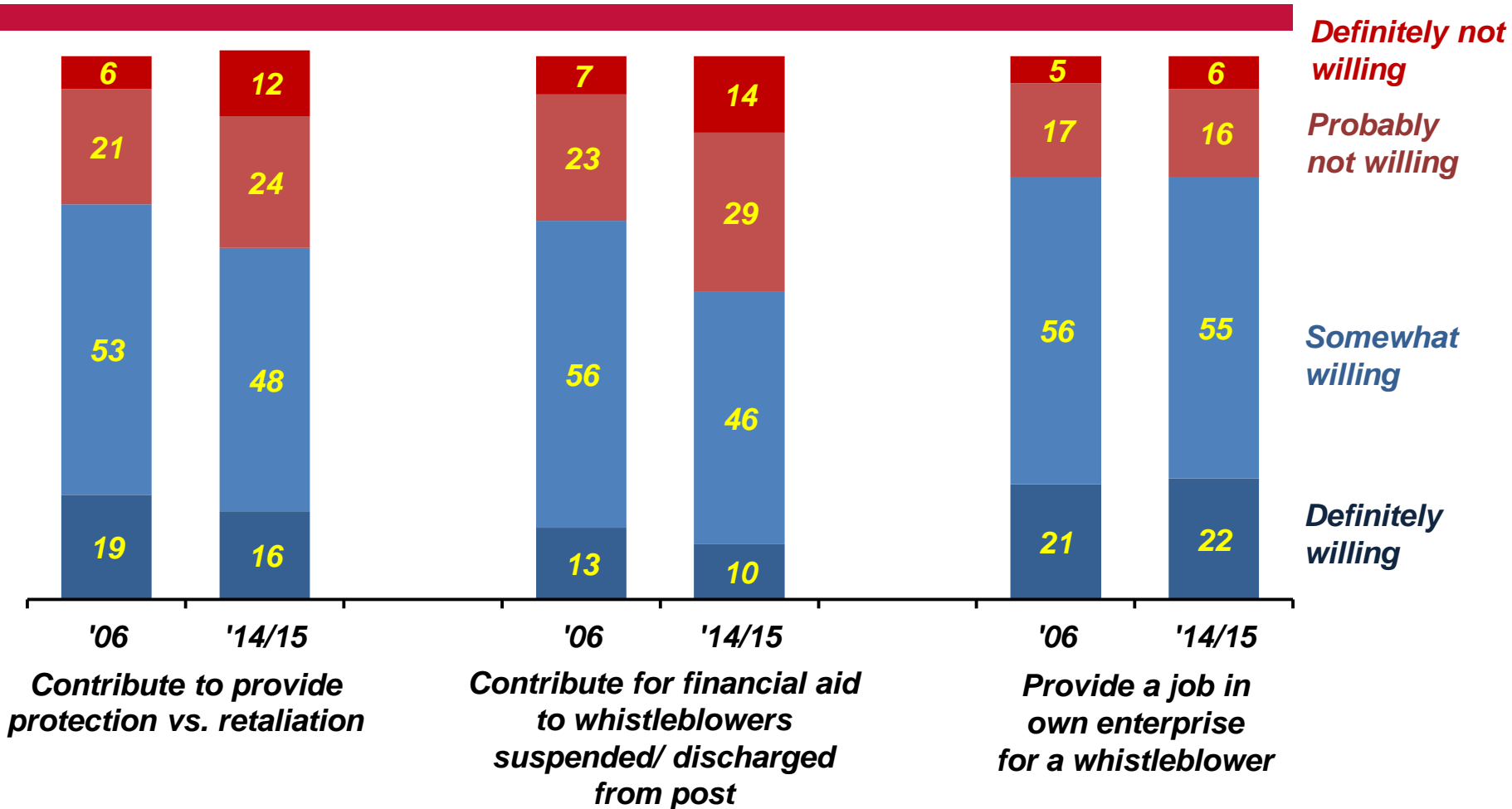
Q96. In the last 2 years, how much, more or less, did your company contribute to any private anti-corruption program? Total amount over the last 2 years: PhP

ENTERPRISES' INTEREST IN SUPPORTING GROUPS FIGHTING CORRUPTION IS SLIDING.



Q99-102. The following are some ways by which a company could support groups fighting corruption. Please tell us if your company would be definitely interested, probably interested, probably not interested, or definitely not interested in supporting them:

ENTERPRISES' WILLINGNESS TO HELP GOVERNMENT WHISTLEBLOWERS IS SLIDING -- EXCEPT FOR PROVIDING PRIVATE JOBS



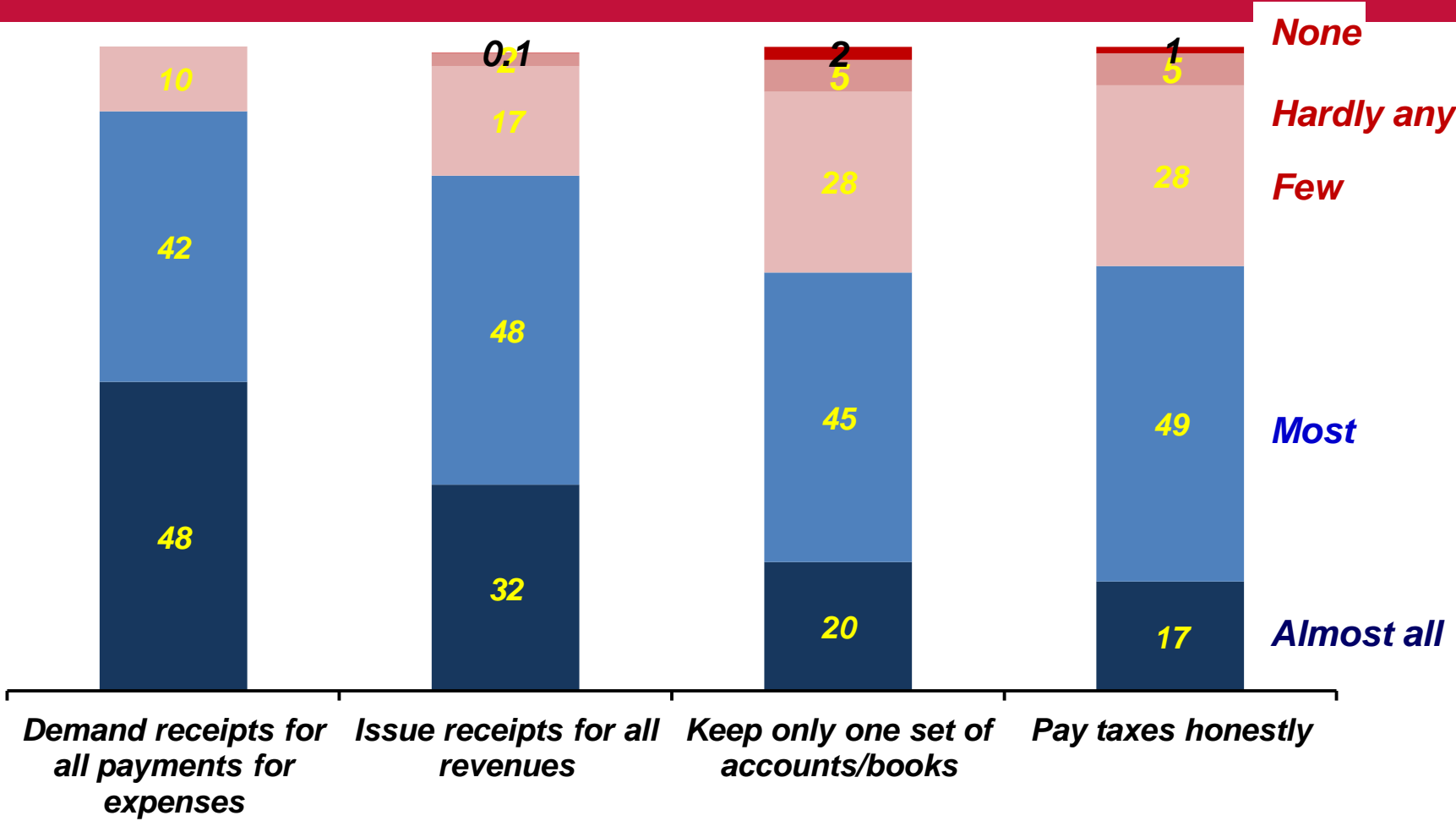
Q107-108. If there would be a private sector fund in your area that would be used to [read activities] ... How willing would you be to contribute to it? Will you be Definitely willing, Probably willing, Probably not willing, Definitely not willing to contribute to it?

Q114. If a government whistleblower in your area needs a new job, how willing would you be to find a job for him/her in your own enterprise?

9) HONEST BUSINESS PRACTICES – STILL MUCH TO BE DESIRED

NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN YOUR LINE OF BUSINESS THAT CONDUCT HONEST BUSINESS PRACTICES, 2014/15

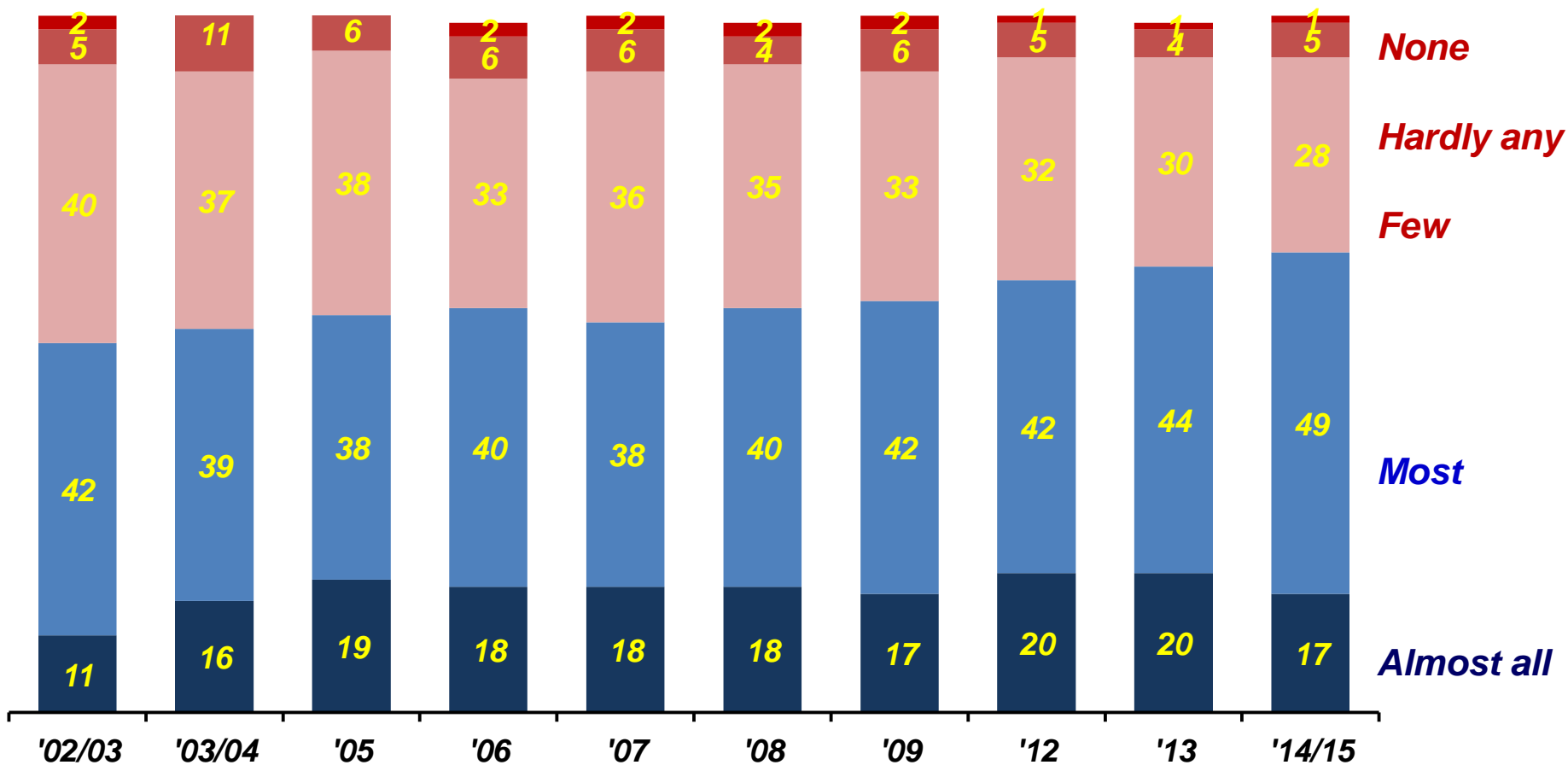
Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Private Sector



Q60-63. In your sector of business, how many companies do you think ... [PAY TAXES HONESTLY; ISSUE RECEIPTS FOR ALL REVENUES; KEEP ONLY ONE SET OF ACCOUNTS/BOOKS; DEMAND RECEIPTS FOR ALL PAYMENTS FOR EXPENSES]?

NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN YOUR LINE OF BUSINESS THAT PAY TAXES HONESTLY, 2002/03 – 2014/15

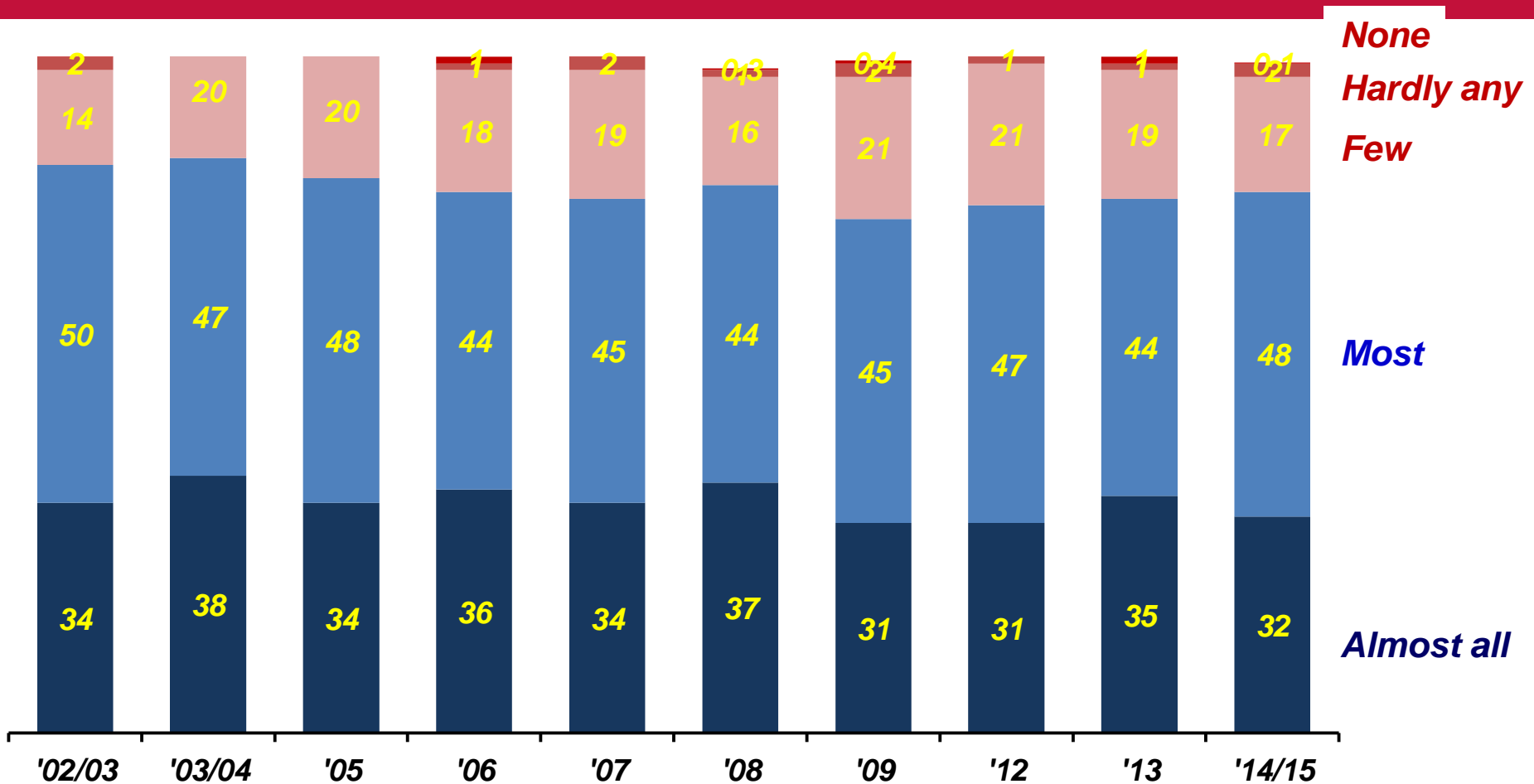
Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Private Sector



Q60. In your sector of business, how many companies do you think pay taxes honestly?

NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN OWN LINE OF BUSINESS THAT ISSUE RECEIPTS FOR ALL REVENUES, 2002/03 – 2014/15

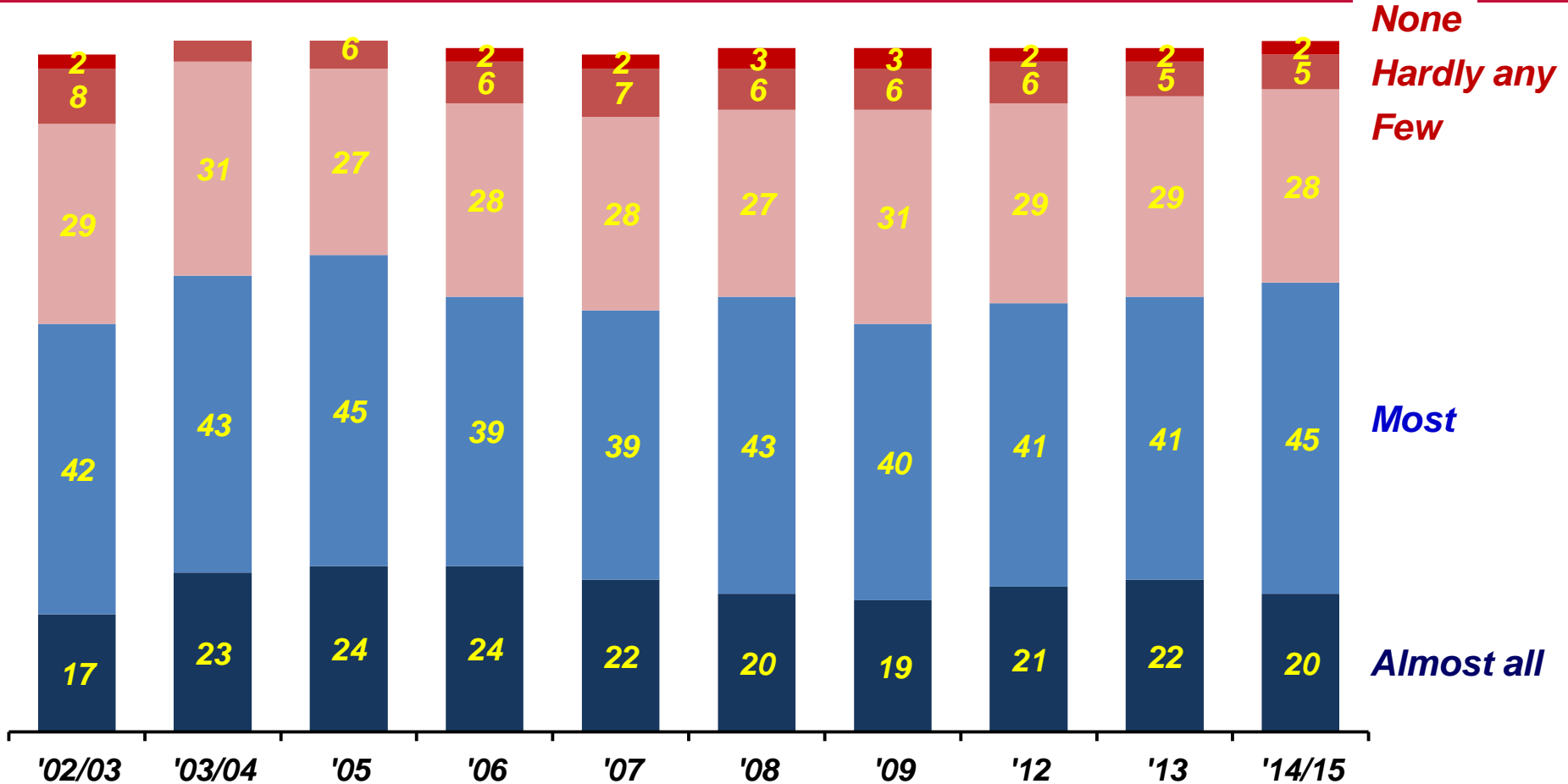
Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Private Sector



Q61. In your sector of business, how many companies do you think issue receipts for all revenues?

NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN OWN LINE OF BUSINESS THAT KEEP ONLY ONE SET OF ACCOUNTS, 2002/03 – 2014/15

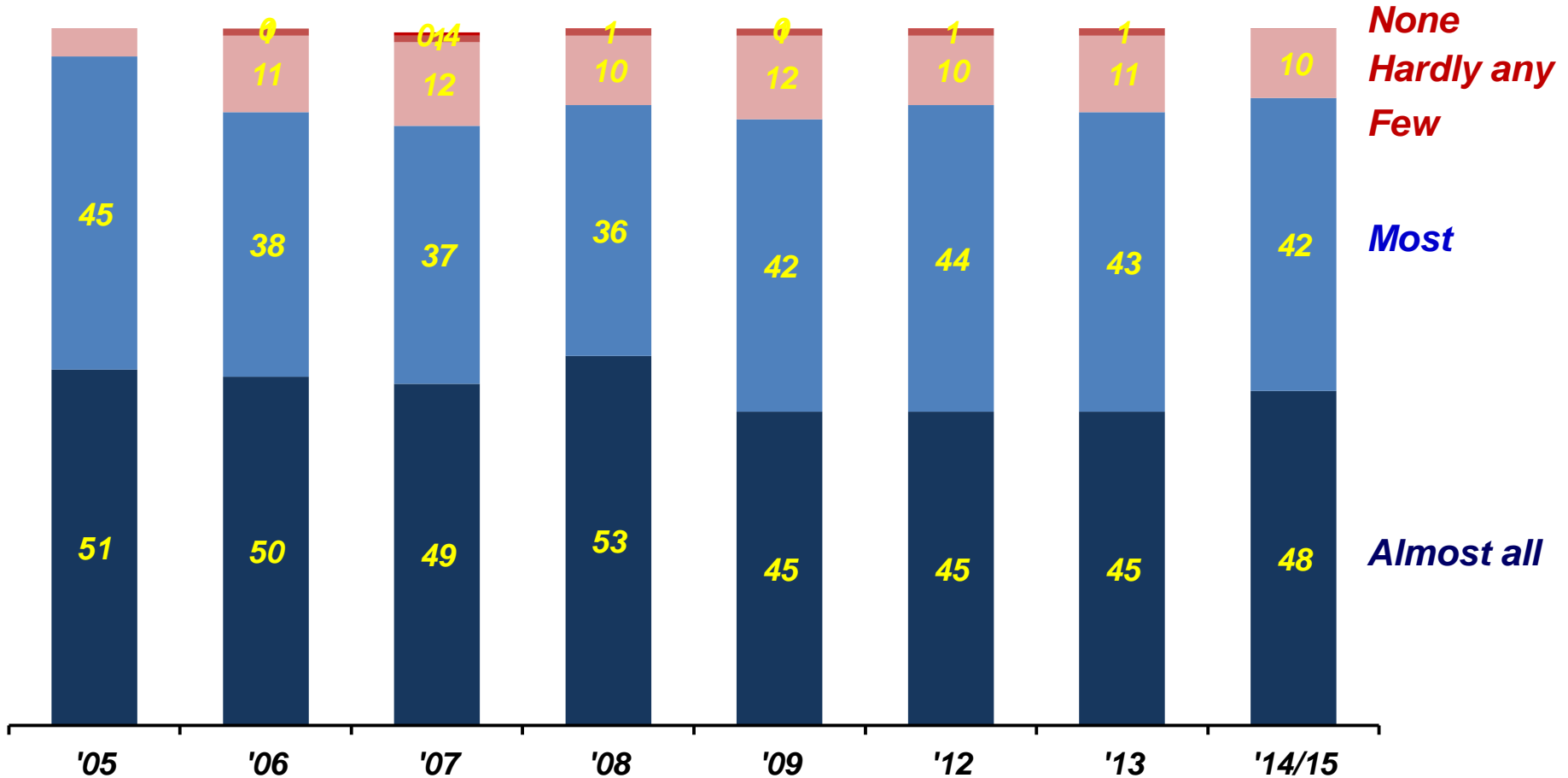
Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Private Sector



Q62. In your sector of business, how many companies do you think keep only one set of accounts/books?

NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN OWN LINE OF BUSINESS THAT DEMAND RECEIPTS FOR ALL PAYMENTS, 2005 TO – 2014/15

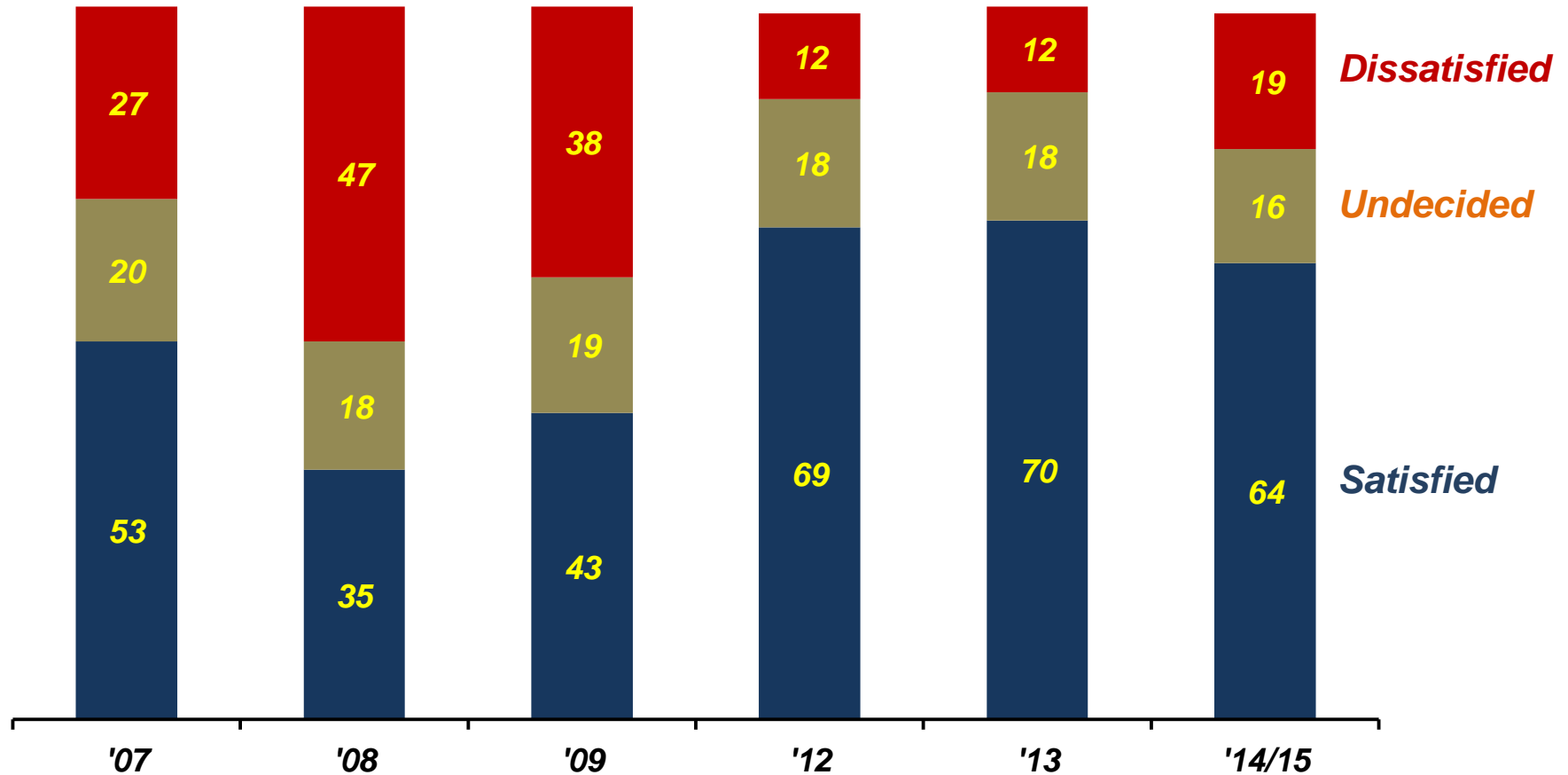
Base: Total Who Say There Is Corruption in the Private Sector



Q63. In your sector of business, how many companies do you think demand receipts for all payments for expenses?

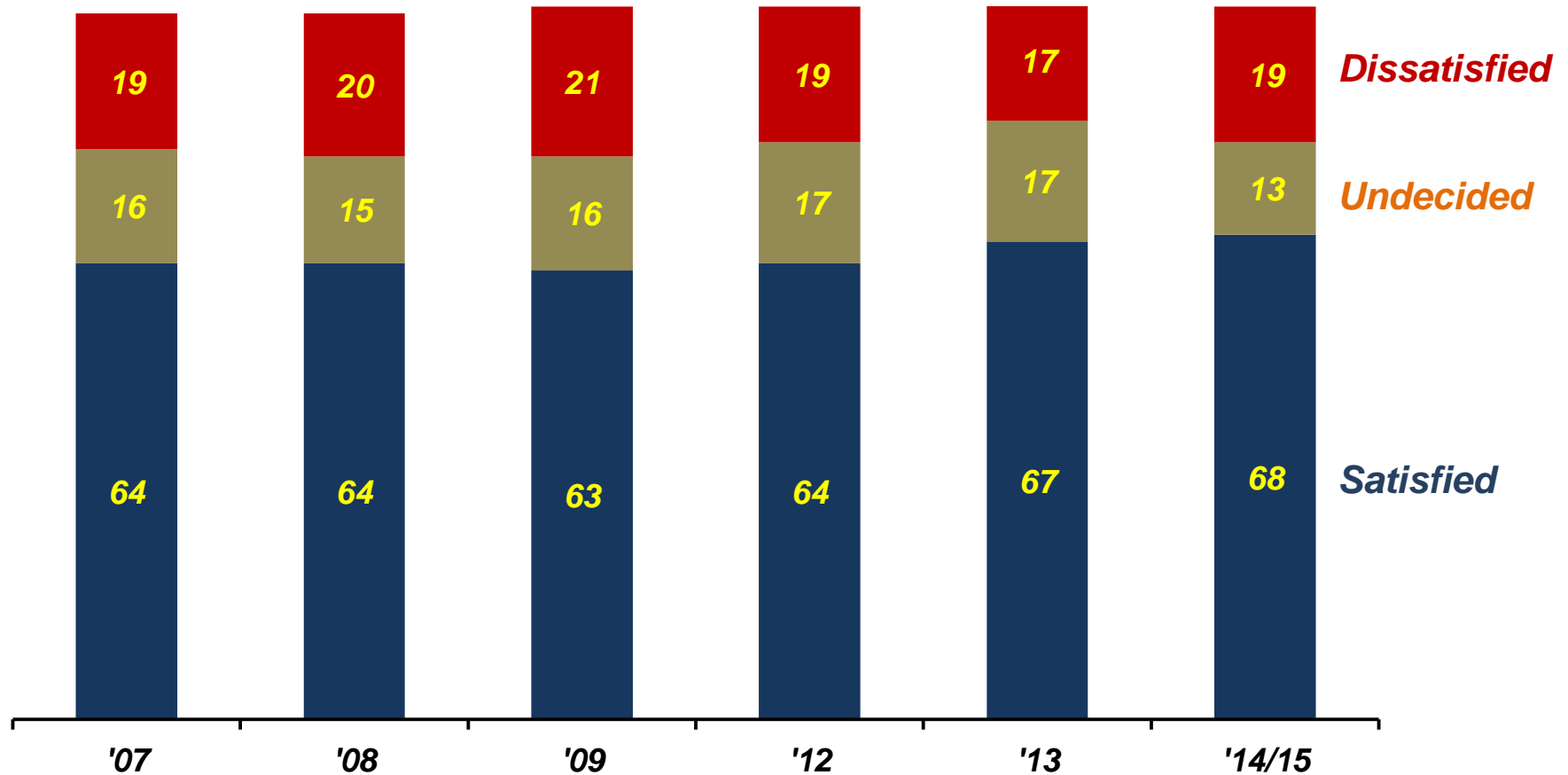
10) ***BUSINESS CLIMATE – VERY FAVORABLE***

64% ARE SATISFIED WITH THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE IN PROMOTING A GOOD BUSINESS CLIMATE.



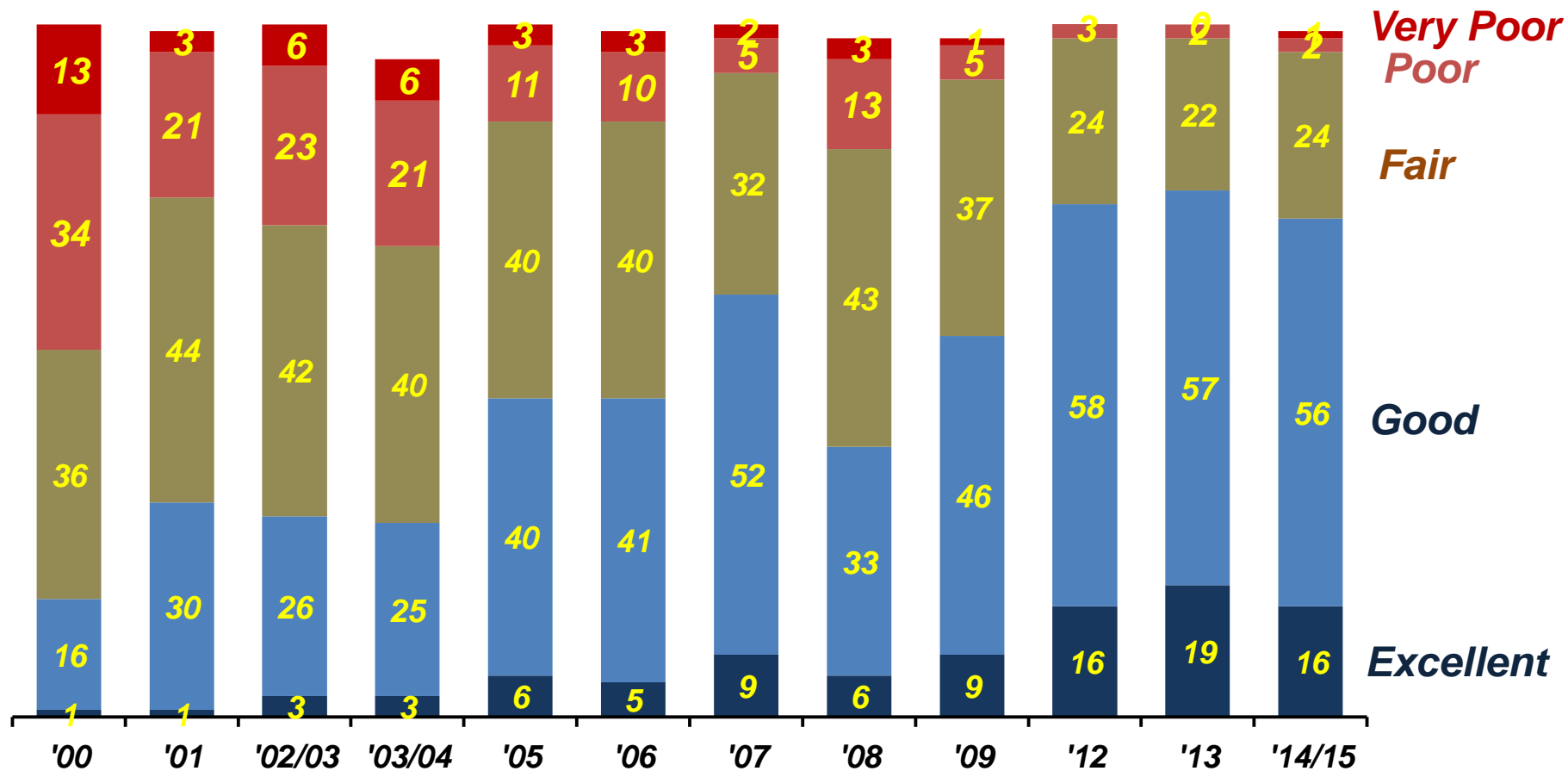
Q131. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the National Government's performance in promoting a good climate for business in the Philippines?

68% ARE SATISFIED WITH THEIR CITY GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE IN PROMOTING A GOOD BUSINESS CLIMATE



Q132. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the City/Municipal Government's performance in promoting a good climate for business in this City/Municipality.?

72% HAVE GOOD/EXCELLENT EXPECTATIONS FOR BUSINESS IN THE NEXT 2 YEARS



Summary of Findings (1):

- **New low 32%** have personal knowledge of a corrupt transaction with government in the last 3 months in their line of business
- **New low 39%** say most companies in their sector of business give bribes to win public sector contracts
- **2015 ratings of sincerity of 36 institutions in fighting corruption: 21 favorable, 9 neutral, 6 unfavorable. (2013 ratings of 24 institutions: 14 favorable, 8 neutral, 6 unfavorable)**
- **2015 movements in ratings: 8 upgrades, 19 no-change, 7 downgrades; 2 first-time. (2013 movements: 5 upgrades, 9 no-change, 10 downgrades; 2 first-time)**

Summary of Findings (2):

- **New high 62%** say *“the government can be run without corruption.”*
- **New high 51%** disagree that *“the present laws to fight corruption in our country are already adequate.”*
- **New low 11%** say that government *“often/almost always” punishes corrupt government officials.*
- **90% agree** that *“Corruption will be reduced by the passage of a strong law on the right of the people to information from the government.”*

Summary of Findings (3):

- **New high 79%** say transaction procedures of city/municipal gov't offices are somewhat/definitely transparent
- **59%** say the process of business permits/licenses renewal is easier now than 3 years ago
- **Use of the internet to transact with government has grown very much**
- **Being solicited for a bribe fell from 50% (2012) to 44% (2013 and 2015).**
- **Only 13%** of those solicited for a bribe reported it.

Summary of Findings (4):

- *23% say most companies in their line of business give bribes to win private sector contracts.*
- *78% disagree that “to prosper in business in the Philippines today, one has to be corrupt.”*
- *68% say that cheating the government for the benefit of the company is always wrong.*
- *The best ways for businesses to fight corruption are to (a) use honest business practices, (b) never pay bribes, and (c) know the laws/rules.*

Summary of Findings (5):

- **Only 57%** say that corrupt executives in their own sector of business are often punished.
- **New high 84%** did not contribute in the last 2 years to any private anti-corruption program.
- Enterprises' interest in supporting groups fighting corruption is sliding, e.g. from 75% (2005) to 64% (2015) interest in donating funds.
- Enterprises' willingness to help whistleblowers is sliding -- except for providing private jobs (77%).

Summary of Findings (6):

- **Honest business practices still leave much to be desired.**
- **64% are satisfied (record 70% in 2013) with the national government's performance in promoting a good business climate.**
- **New high 68% are satisfied with their city government's performance in promoting a good business climate/**
- **72% have good/excellent expectations (record 76% in 2013) for business in the next 2 years**

THE SWS MISSION IS TO GENERATE DATA –

- ✓ *to help eyes to see – Education*
- ✓ *to cause hearts to feel – Conscientization*
- ✓ *to help minds to understand – Analysis*

Quot homines tot sententiae

As many opinions as there are people

 SOCIAL
WEATHER
STATIONS

30 years

1985-2015

Statistics
for Advocacy

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