

To: Interested Parties

From: John Hagner, Clarity Campaign Labs

Re: Polling on the Alabama Special Senate Race and the role of Abortion

On November 4th & 5th, Clarity Campaign Labs, on behalf of Planned Parenthood Votes, surveyed 707 Alabama voters about the state's upcoming special Senate election. The calls were conducted by live callers to a mix of landlines and cell phones, and weighted to reflect an off-year general election turnout. The margin of error is +/- 3.59% at a 95% confidence interval.

The goal of this research was to discover the role of abortion in moving support between the two candidates in this special election. This survey was conducted prior to several accusations of sexual misconduct being made against Republican candidate Roy Moore. The landscape of this race has shifted since the fielding of this survey. However, it is unlikely that abortion has become a more prominent issue in the race. Prior to the fielding of this survey, conservative groups had aired attack ads against Doug Jones centering abortion.

Our major finding in this research is that abortion is moving less than 1% of the total electorate to support Roy Moore over Doug Jones. Eighty-one percent of Moore supporters were always voting for him - and less than 1.5% (or 0.7 pts) of Moore's total support is made up of voters who switched from considering supporting Jones to supporting Moore because of Jones' position on abortion. Additionally, 1.6% (or 0.6 pts) of Jones' support comes from voters who considered supporting Moore, but moved towards Jones based on his pro-reproductive health care position.

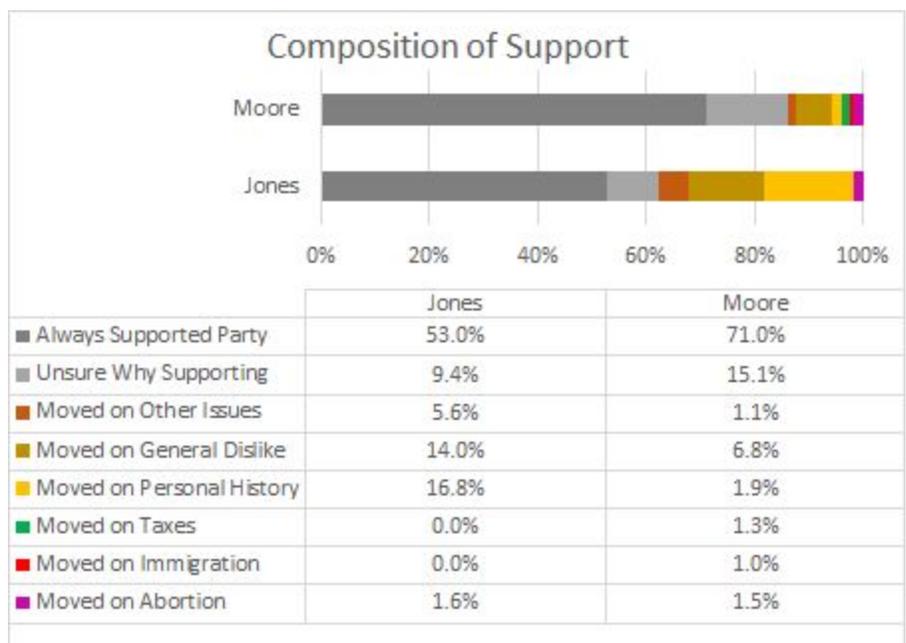
While likely Alabama voters oppose legal abortion 62% - 28%, nearly one in five Moore voters support legal abortion, with 18% of Moore voters believing that abortion should be legal in all or most cases, compared to 76% believing that the right to seek an abortion should be restricted by law in most or all cases. This indicates room for Jones to pick up support among these voters as the landscape of this race continues to shift.

Among undecided voters, abortion is not the driving issue in determining final vote. Twenty nine percent report Health Care as the most important issue, followed by immigration and the economy, with only 8% of undecided voters placing abortion as the most important issue in their vote choice.

Overall, we found a single digit race, with Roy Moore in the lead but under 50%. The race stood at 41% Moore, 35% Doug Jones on the first ask; once undecided voters were asked which way they leaned, it was 45% Moore, 38% Jones.

Moore's lead at the time of fielding was built on the strength of Alabama's Republican identity, but he was only winning 76% of Republicans, with 13% supporting Jones and 11% undecided or who refused to say. That was driven mostly by self-identified moderate Republicans, who were voting 55% Moore and 24% Jones. Jones led Democrats 86% - 6%, with 8% undecided and refused. The two candidates split Independents evenly, 39% to 39%.

We asked voters who were supporting Roy Moore if they considered voting for Jones, or if they wouldn't vote for any Democrat. Seventy-one percent of people supporting Moore would never vote for a Democrat, while 19% considered voting Jones before deciding otherwise. We gave those voters - who seriously considered Jones before deciding to support Moore - an open-ended chance to tell us what about Jones made them decide not to support him. Eight percent of those people, so a total of less than 1% of the Alabama electorate - reported that Jones' position on abortion was what drove their opposition. On the other side of the equation, 4% of the people who sometimes vote Republican but are supporting Jones in this race cite Roy



Moore's opposition to abortion as a reason to oppose him.

Selected Questions from the Survey

In December, there's a special election for the US Senate. What would you say are the chances you vote in the upcoming election? Are you almost certain you'll vote, probably voting, are the chances 50-50, or are you not voting?

Almost Certain	70%
Probably	13%
50-50	10%
Not Voting	8%

If the election for Senate were held today, would you vote for Republican Roy Moore or for Democrat Doug Jones? [Ask if Undecided] I know you are undecided now, but if you had to decide, would you lean towards Republican Roy Moore or Democrat Doug Jones?

Roy Moore	45%
Doug Jones	38%
Refused	6%
Unsure	11%

[Ask if Voting Moore] Did you consider voting for Doug Jones, or would you definitely not vote for a Democrat for US Senator?

Considered voting Jones	19%
Would Not Vote for a Democrat	71%
Refused	2%
Unsure	8%

[Ask if Voting Moore and Considered Voting Jones] What made you decide not to vote for Doug Jones? [Open End]

Personal History	10%
Abortion / He's Pro-Choice / I'm Pro-Life	8%
Taxes	7%
Immigration	5%
Trade / Economy / Jobs	3%
Hillary Clinton	2%
Want Candidate to Support Trump	1%
Other / General Dislike	36%
Unsure	27%

[Ask if Voting Jones] Have you voted for Republicans in other important races, or do you always support Democratic candidates?

Have Voted Republican	40%
Always Vote Democrat	53%
Refused	0%
Unsure	7%

[Ask if Voting Jones and Have Voted Republican] What made you decide not to vote for Roy Moore? [Open End]

Personal History: Corruption	19%
Personal History: General/Other	14%
Personal History: Ten Commandments / Religious	9%
Want Candidate to Oppose Trump	6%
Doesn't Care about People Like Me	5%
Abortion / He's Pro-Life / I'm Pro-Choice	4%
Healthcare	2%
Trade / Economy / Jobs	1%
Other / General Dislike	35%
Unsure	6%

[Ask if Voting Jones and Always Vote Democrat] Are there any specific issues that keep you from voting Republican?

Don't Care about People Like Me	8%
Health Care	7%
Trade / Economy / Jobs	6%
Abortion / They're Pro-Life / I'm Pro-Choice	4%
Want Party to Oppose Trump	4%
Taxes	2%
Immigration	1%
Other / General Dislike	44%
Unsure	25%

[Ask if Undecided] As you decide who to vote for, which issues are most important for you to learn about?

Health Care	29%
Immigration	10%
Trade / Economy / Jobs	9%
Abortion	8%
Taxes	7%
Support / Oppose Trump	5%
Care about People Like Me	1%
Unsure	31%

There are a wide range of opinions about whether or not abortion should be legal. Which of the following comes closest to your view? Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, do you think it should be mostly legal, with some exceptions, do you think it should not be allowed except in limited cases, like rape and incest and if the mother's life is at risk, do you think it shouldn't be allowed unless the mother's life is at risk, or do if you think it should always be illegal?

Legal in All Cases	15%
Legal in Most Cases, with Some Restrictions	13%
Not Allowed, Except in Limited Cases, such as Rape, Incest, or Mother's Life Endangered	32%
Not Allowed, Except when Mother's Life Endangered	13%
Illegal in All Circumstances	17%
Unsure	10%

Now, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent? [Ask if Independent] Would you say you generally lean Republican, lean Democratic, or are purely an Independent?

Republican / Lean Republican	50%
Democrat / Lean Democrat	29%
Independent, No Party	18%
Named 3rd Party	0%
Refused	3%

And what about your ideology? Do you think of yourself as conservative, liberal, or moderate? [Ask if Moderate] Would you say you usually lean more conservative or liberal?

Conservative / Lean Conservative	61%
Liberal / Lean Liberal	22%
Moderate / No Lean	10%
Refused	7%

Just to make sure we have a representative sample, are you from a Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish-speaking background?

[Ask if No] And also to make sure we have a representative sample, what is your race?

White	73%
Black	17%
Hispanic / Latino	2%

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Other / Multiple
Refused

5%
3%