

GSG For Vera Action, May 2025

# Virginia Public Safety Survey



CONFIDENTIAL. FOR RECIPIENT'S USE ONLY. UNAUTHORIZED USE, DISTRIBUTION OR COPYING IS PROHIBITED



# Methodology

## Voters

Global Strategy Group conducted a live phone and text-to-web survey of **1,075 likely 2025 Virginia General Election voters** between May 1<sup>st</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, 2025.

This includes a base sample of 600 interviews and oversamples of the following groups:

- 115 African American likely voters resulting in a total of 216 African American interviews
- 180 Hispanic likely voters resulting in a total of 220 Hispanic interviews
- 180 AAPI likely voters resulting in a total of 209 AAPI interviews

## Margin of error

The margin of error at the 95% confidence level is +/- 4.0%.

The margin of error on sub-samples is greater.

# Key Findings

1

## **The political environment in VA is favorable to Democrats in 2025, as voters are sour on Trump.**

Consistent with the historical partisan lean of VA, Democrats hold a small advantage on party self-identification (47% Democrat/40% Republican), which translates to a 10-point lead in the race for Governor. Although Youngkin is above water, the impacts of Trump's actions are clear with both Trump (41% fav/57% unfav) and Musk (38% fav/58% unfav) deeply unpopular.

2

## **Voters are split on which party they trust on public safety – suggesting brand strength for Republicans. But Virginians favor policies to prevent crime.**

Virginians are more divided on which party they trust on public safety. But to improve safety, voters believe preventative policies like improving schools, increasing access to mental health care, and getting illegal guns off the streets will be most effective, while “tough on crime” proposals like mandating longer sentences are least effective. When forced to choose, voters opt for a preventive approach over a “tough on crime” focus by close to a 2:1 ratio.

3

## **In response to typical crime and immigration-centered attacks, Democrats should emphasize approaches to safety that prioritize prevention and affordability.**

Swing voters and voters overall find the profile that focuses on “preventing crime before it happens” and the importance of costs more convincing, and Spanberger grows her lead after they hear it. Similarly, while both responses to the immigration attack are successful, emphasizing “terrorizing communities” “without due process doesn’t make us safer” extends her lead, moving Independents, Hispanic voters, and swing voters more than the alternative.

4

**Trump’s MAGA agenda raises safety concerns for Virginians.** Voters overwhelmingly see actions such as slashing safety nets (51% a lot less safe), mass layoffs (48%), and tariffs (48%) as making them less safe. Notably, Trump’s mass deportations have limited appeal as a safety priority. These sentiments lead more to agree that Republicans are making things worse and pursuing the wrong priorities (40%) than returning to the failed policies of the past (20%).

# Landscape and Key Targets

# Likely 2025 Electorate

## Washington DMA – Rest 20% of electorate

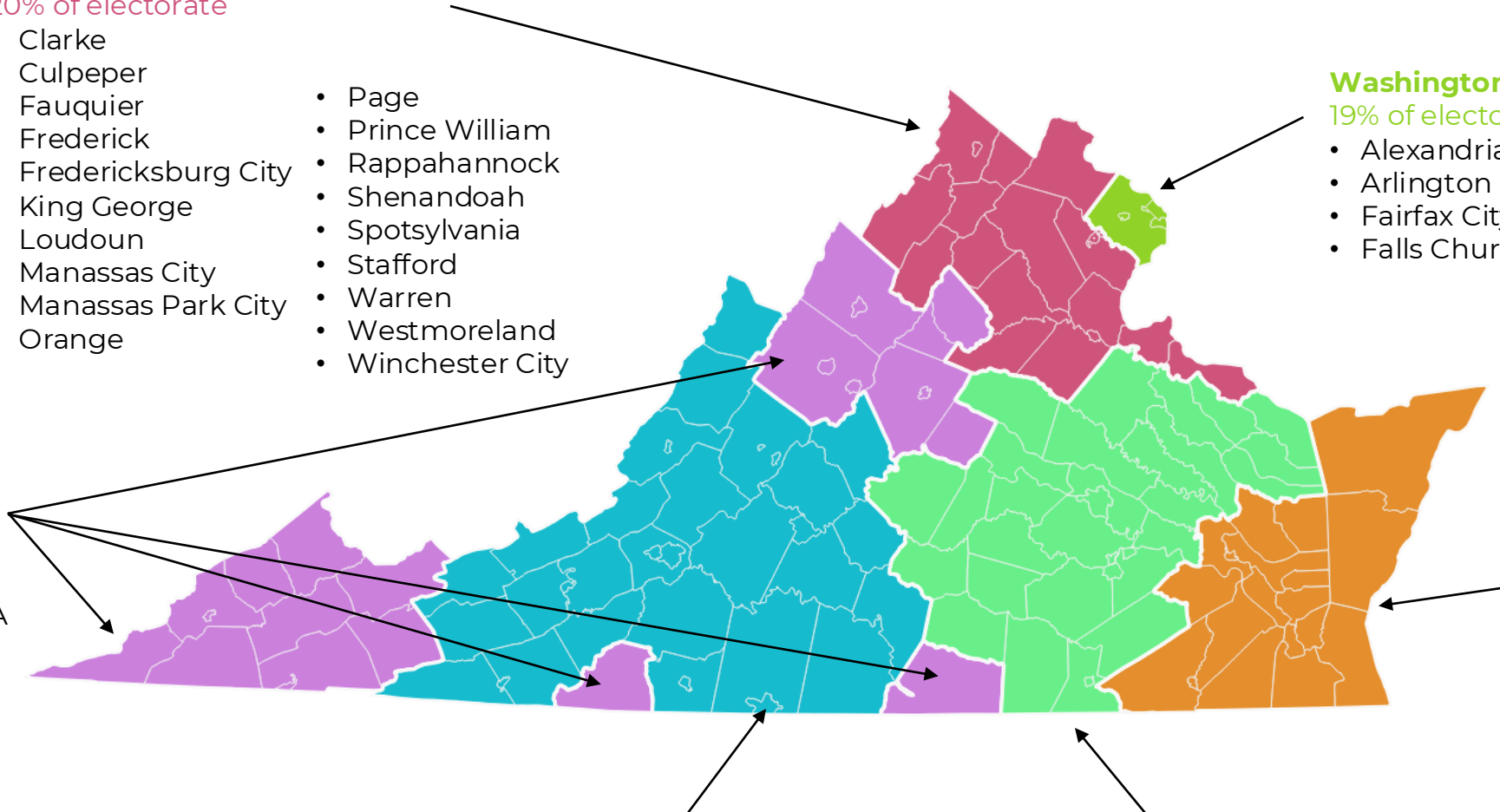
- Clarke
- Culpeper
- Fauquier
- Frederick
- Fredericksburg City
- King George
- Loudoun
- Manassas City
- Manassas Park City
- Orange
- Page
- Prince William
- Rappahannock
- Shenandoah
- Spotsylvania
- Stafford
- Warren
- Westmoreland
- Winchester City

## Washington DMA – Metro 19% of electorate

- Alexandria City
- Arlington
- Fairfax City/County
- Falls Church City

## Outer Markets 9% of electorate

- Charlottesville, VA DMA
- Tri-Cities, TN DMA
- Harrisonburg, VA DMA
- Bluefield, WV DMA
- Greensboro-High Point-Winston-Salem, NC DMA
- Raleigh-Durham DMA



**Roanoke DMA**  
13% of electorate

**Richmond DMA**  
19% of electorate

**Norfolk DMA**  
20% of electorate

# Demographics of the Likely 2025 Virginia Electorate

Gender	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
Men	46	47	42	43	36
Women	54	53	58	57	64

Age	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
18-29 year olds	8	7	8	13	25
30-44 year olds	19	17	23	34	25
45-64 year olds	36	36	37	37	32
Seniors 65+	36	39	33	16	18

Education	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
High school or less	17	19	15	10	5
Some college	39	37	50	45	36
Bachelor's Only	20	19	17	23	28
Post-Graduates	24	25	17	22	30

Ethnicity	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
White	74				
White non-college	42				
White college	32				
Black	16				
Hispanic	4				
AAPI	6				

Politics and Identity	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
Very important	37	36	42	47	29
Somewhat important	32	33	31	29	35
Not important	31	32	27	24	36

Party Self-ID	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
Democrats	47	42	72	50	51
Independents	12	10	14	14	26
Non-MAGA Republicans*	7	7	6	8	10
MAGA Republicans	33	40	8	26	14

Ideology	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
Liberal	31	31	28	34	38
Moderate	32	26	53	37	47
Conservative	37	43	18	29	14

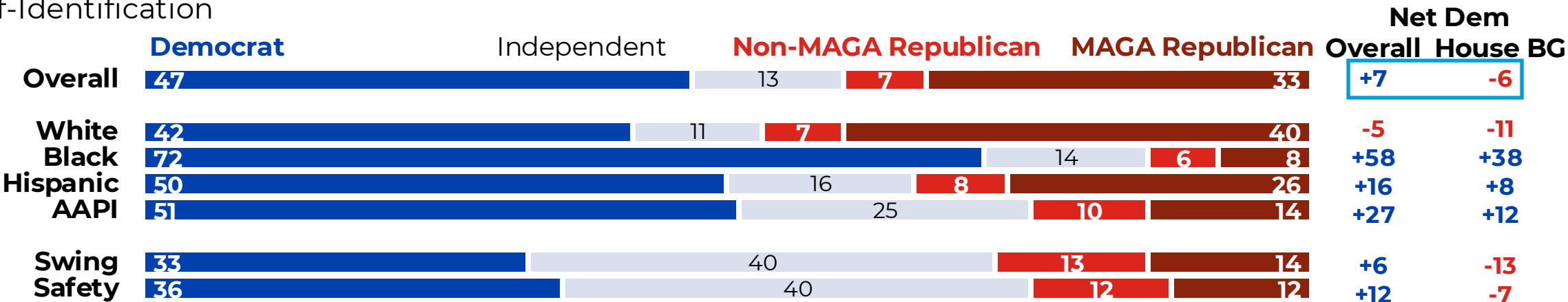
Region	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
DC DMA – Total	38	37	26	66	83
DC Metro	19	18	10	31	48
DC Rest	20	19	16	34	36
Richmond	19	19	28	12	7
Norfolk	20	18	35	15	8
Roanoke	13	15	9	3	0
Outer Markets*	9	12	2	4	2

Density	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
Urban	31	26	39	51	55
Suburban	38	36	46	37	42
Rural	32	38	15	11	3

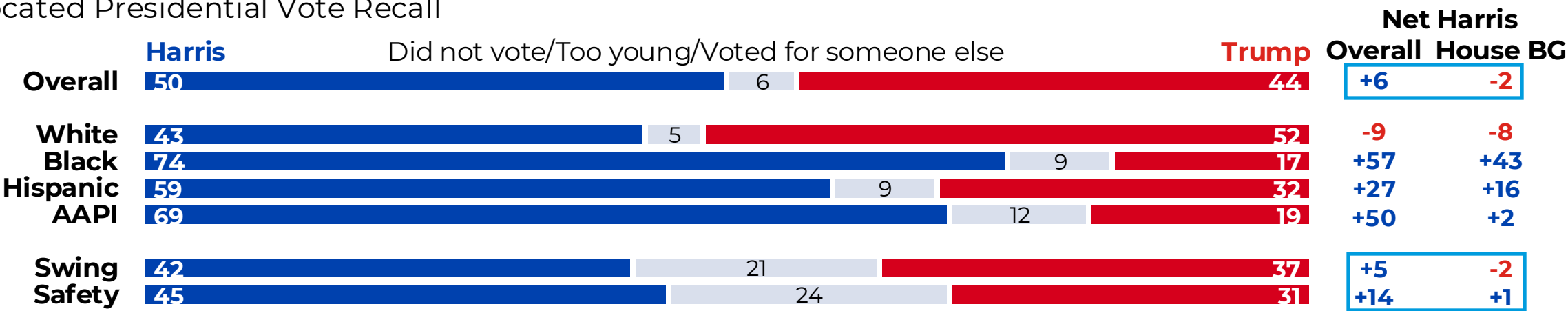
News Consumption	Overall	White	AfAm	Hisp	AAPI
Seeks out news	77	79	70	69	69
News comes to me	23	21	29	31	29

# The partisan environment in Virginia is friendlier than the current environment in the House Battleground

Party Self-Identification

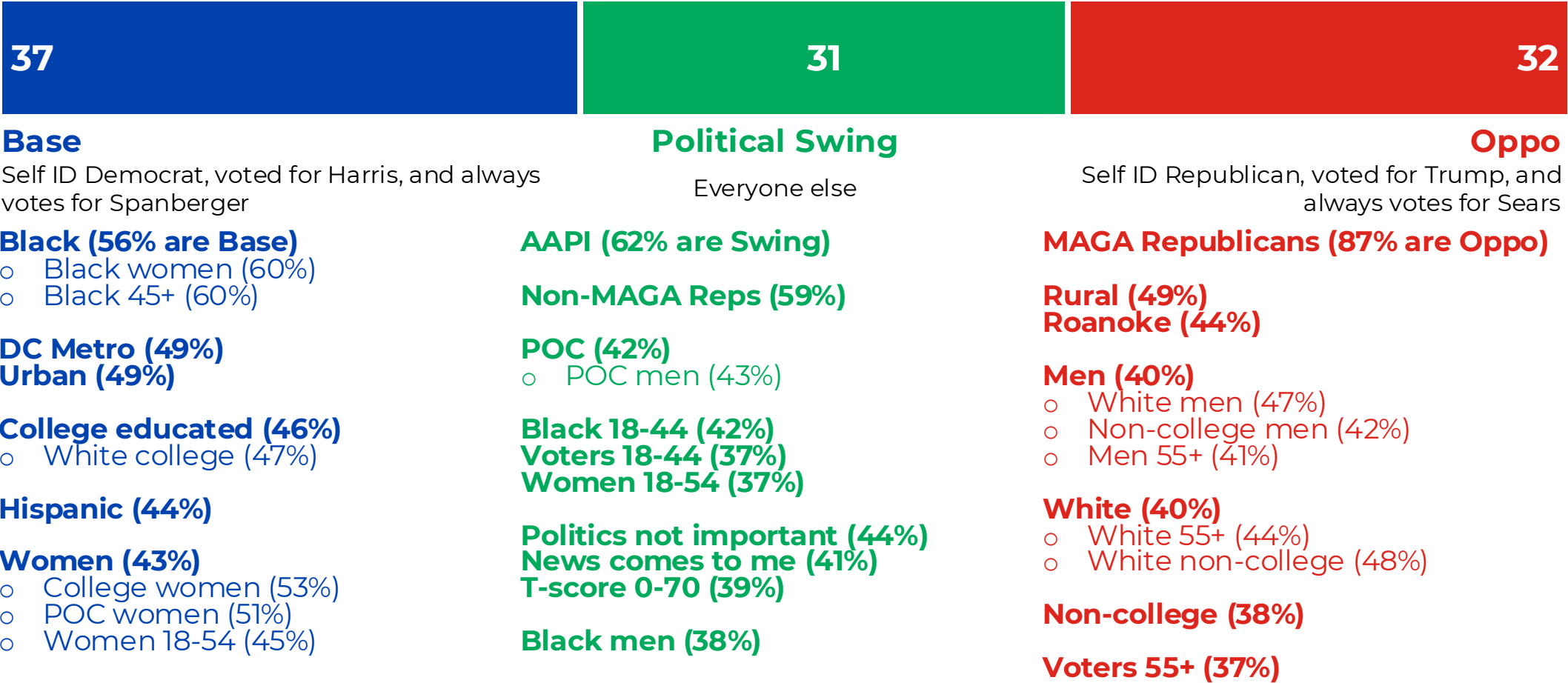


2024 Allocated Presidential Vote Recall



# Political swing voters are more likely to be POC, younger, and less engaged than the broader electorate

## Political Targets





# Key Group: Public Safety Targets

Safety targets make up **15%** of the 2025 Virginia electorate. They do not trust Democrats to improve community safety AND are not supporting the Republican candidate on the generic ballot.

Similar to the safety targets we identified in our House BG research, VA Safety targets are more diverse, less ideological, and less educated than the overall electorate. There is significant overlap between safety targets and political swing voters.

Overall Electorate 100%	Safety Targets 15%	Total
47	36	Dem
12	40	Ind
41	23	Rep
31	21	Liberal
32	51	Moderate
37	26	Conservative
37	21	Politics v impt
32	28	Politics smwt impt
31	52	Politics not impt

Overall Electorate 100%	Safety Targets 15%	Total
43	48	<55
57	52	55+
74	61	White
16	24	Black
4	4	Hispanic
6	11	AAPI
26	39	POC

Overall Electorate 100%	Safety Targets 15%	Total
57	61	Non-college
43	39	College
38	38	DC DMA
19	19	Richmond
20	19	Norfolk
13	11	Roanoke
9	12	Outer Markets
77	67	Seeks out news
23	32	News comes to me

**80% of safety targets are swing voters**  
**39% of swing voters are safety targets**

# Views on Public Safety

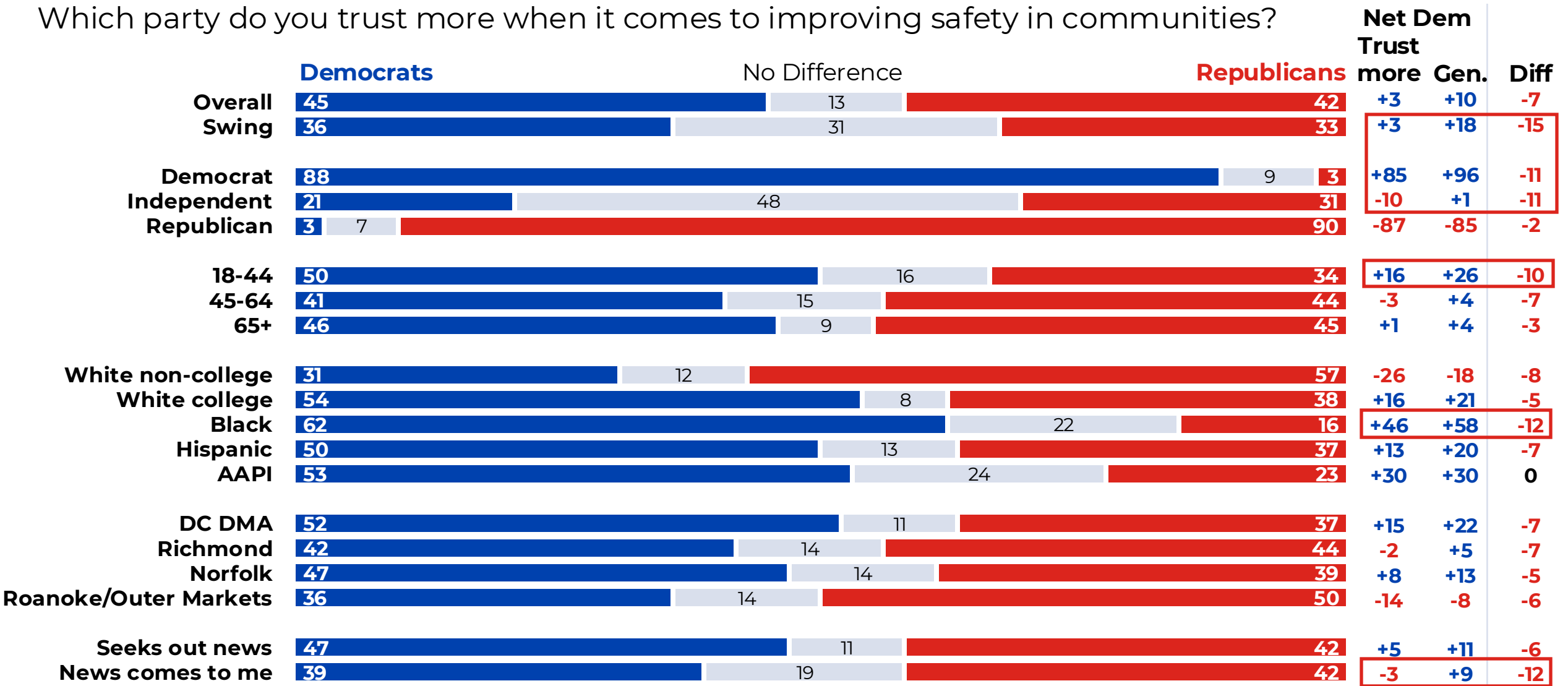
# Virginians, particularly voters of color, are most concerned about gun violence; Like House BG voters, drug related crimes are a top concern

## Concern with Types of Crime

	% Very Concerned	% Very Concerned										House BG
		Dem	Ind	Rep Non-MAGA*	Rep MAGA	White	Black	Hisp	AAPI	Swing	Safety	
Gun violence	63	76	53	52	53	60	78	69	67	61	57	47
Homelessness and public drug use	60	50	59	35	81	60	69	64	40	57	46	54
Opioids and fentanyl abuse	59	45	49	46	83	59	59	66	47	55	50	59
Street crime like muggings or assaults	52	37	50	53	75	52	56	53	48	49	51	37
Migrant crime	44	13	40	38	89	47	34	37	35	37	31	39
Carjackings	42	27	43	38	63	41	45	45	39	37	33	32
Retail theft	40	22	41	31	65	41	36	32	32	35	28	37

# Democrats run behind partisanship on public safety, particularly with swing, younger voters, Black voters, and passive news consumers

Which party do you trust more when it comes to improving safety in communities?





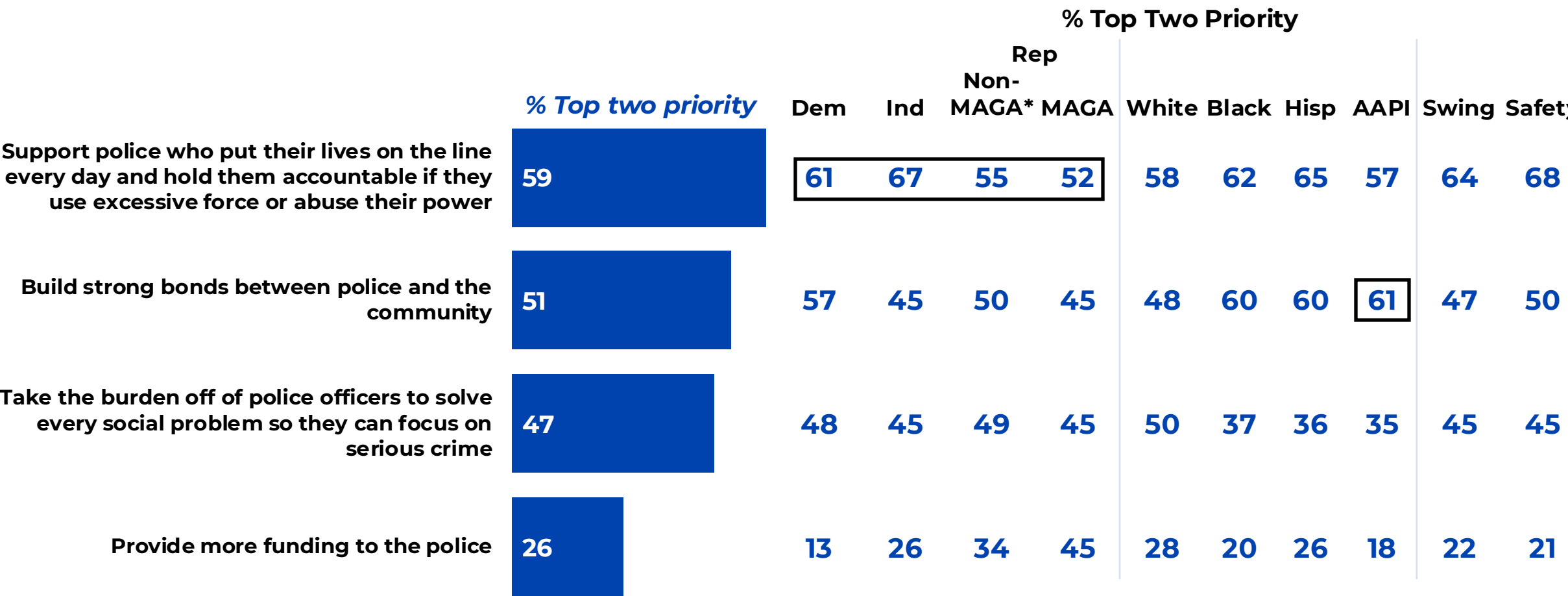
# Across racial and partisan lines, voters believe improving schools and building trust between police and the communities they serve will make them safest; MAGA Republicans are alone in their support of ‘tough on crime’ proposals

## Impact of Proposals on Community Safety

	% A Lot Safer	Rep				% A Lot Safer						House BG
		Dem	Ind	Non-MAGA*	MAGA	White	Black	Hisp	AAPI	Swing	Safety	
Improving schools and programs for young people	70	81	61	54	61	67	82	74	73	72	67	58
Building trust between police and the communities they serve	65	65	59	69	64	64	69	61	58	61	66	59
Increasing access to mental health care	64	80	63	45	47	63	73	79	55	67	65	63
Getting illegal guns off the streets	63	76	47	52	54	62	73	69	59	61	52	61
Sending trained health professionals when people are experiencing a mental health crisis	58	79	46	49	35	54	76	71	55	57	61	52
Paying people a living wage	57	79	48	31	33	53	75	66	49	54	55	49
Investing in preventing crime before it happens	55	66	45	42	45	52	65	66	64	54	51	-
Closing loopholes in gun laws and requiring stronger gun background checks	53	80	35	36	24	49	66	65	66	49	41	52
Increasing affordable housing	48	68	47	24	26	46	61	56	45	50	49	42
Putting more police officers on the streets	40	23	33	36	67	42	31	42	31	32	31	50
Deporting immigrants who are accused of crimes swiftly without due process	38	7	20	46	85	42	23	29	21	27	23	-
Mandating longer sentences for people who commit crimes	35	14	24	33	68	37	29	39	26	25	24	48

# Virginians agree that supporting police while holding them accountable will make communities safest; additional funding has the least appeal

Which priority do you think is most likely to make communities in Virginia safer?

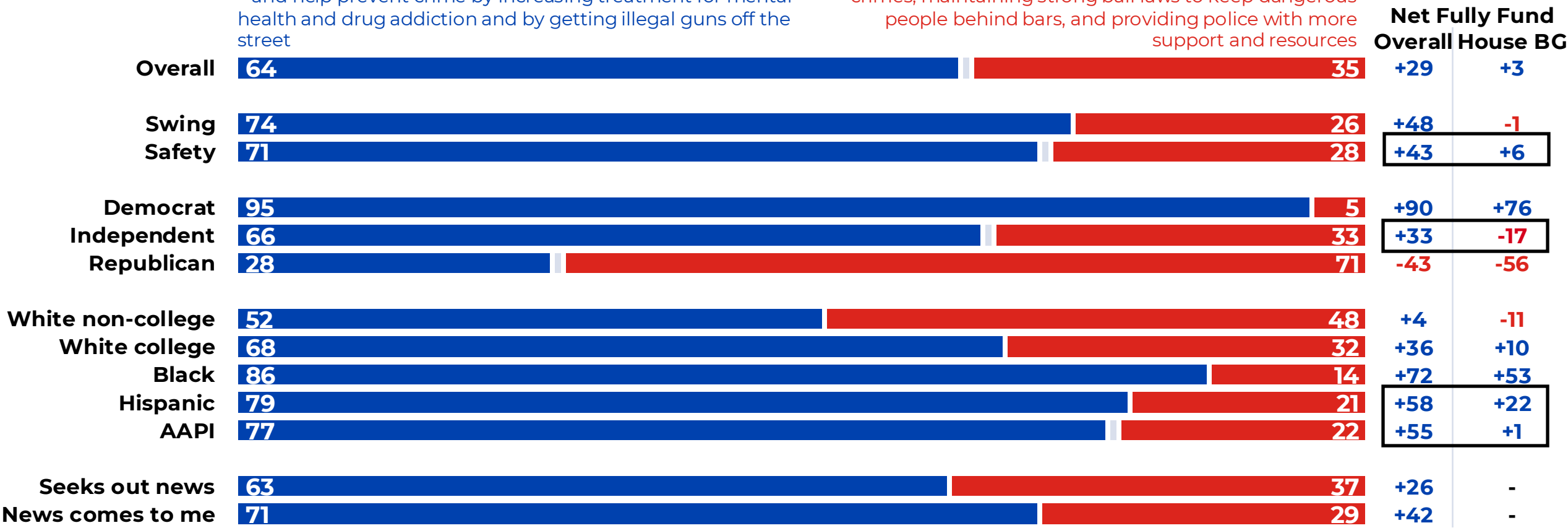


# Virginians prefer a comprehensive approach over getting tough on crime; the difference with the House BG is greatest among independents, Hispanic, and AAPI voters

## Approach to Increasing Safety

**We should fully fund things that are proven to create safe communities** – like good schools, jobs, and affordable housing – and help prevent crime by increasing treatment for mental health and drug addiction and by getting illegal guns off the street

**We should do more to get tough on crime** – like having longer sentences for people convicted of violent crimes, maintaining strong bail laws to keep dangerous people behind bars, and providing police with more support and resources



# The Race for Governor



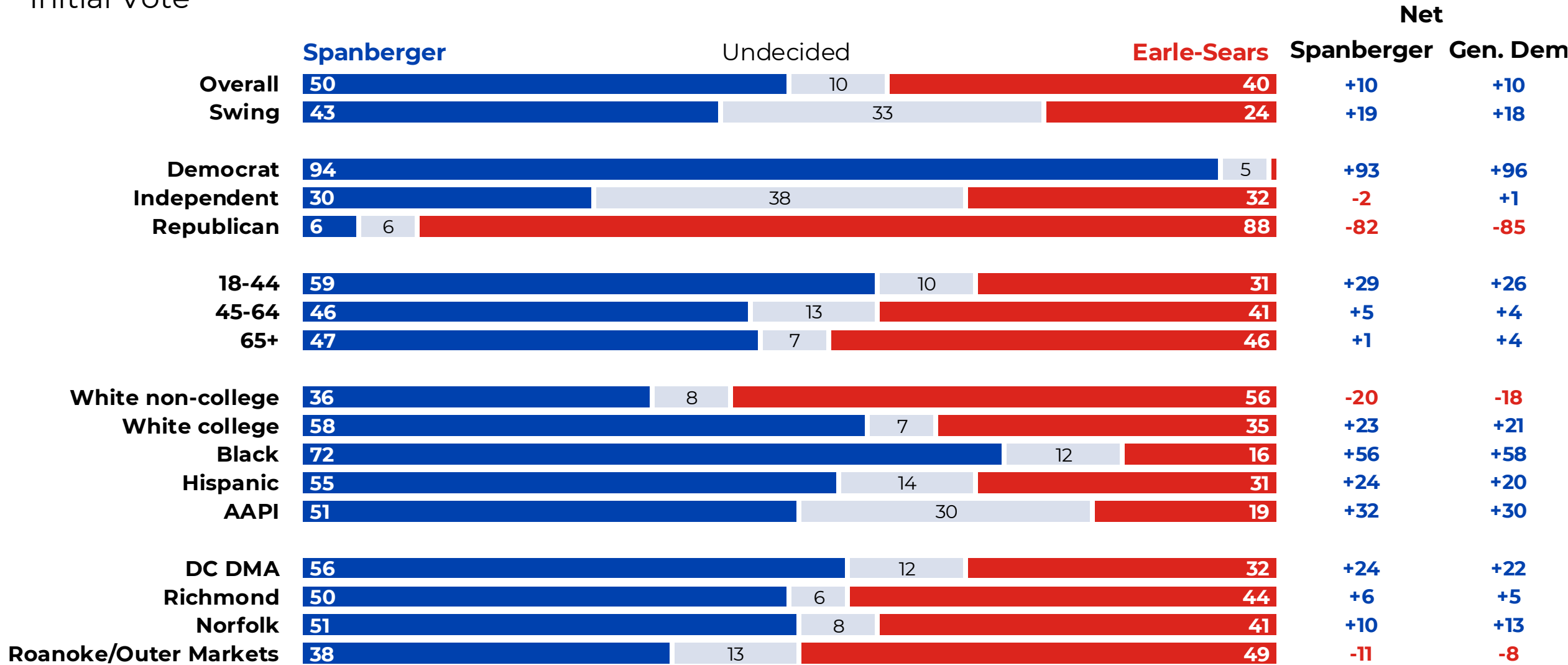
# Pluralities are unfamiliar with Sears and Spanberger; Trump, DOGE, and Musk are all deeply unpopular in Virginia

Personal Popularity of Public Figures and Groups

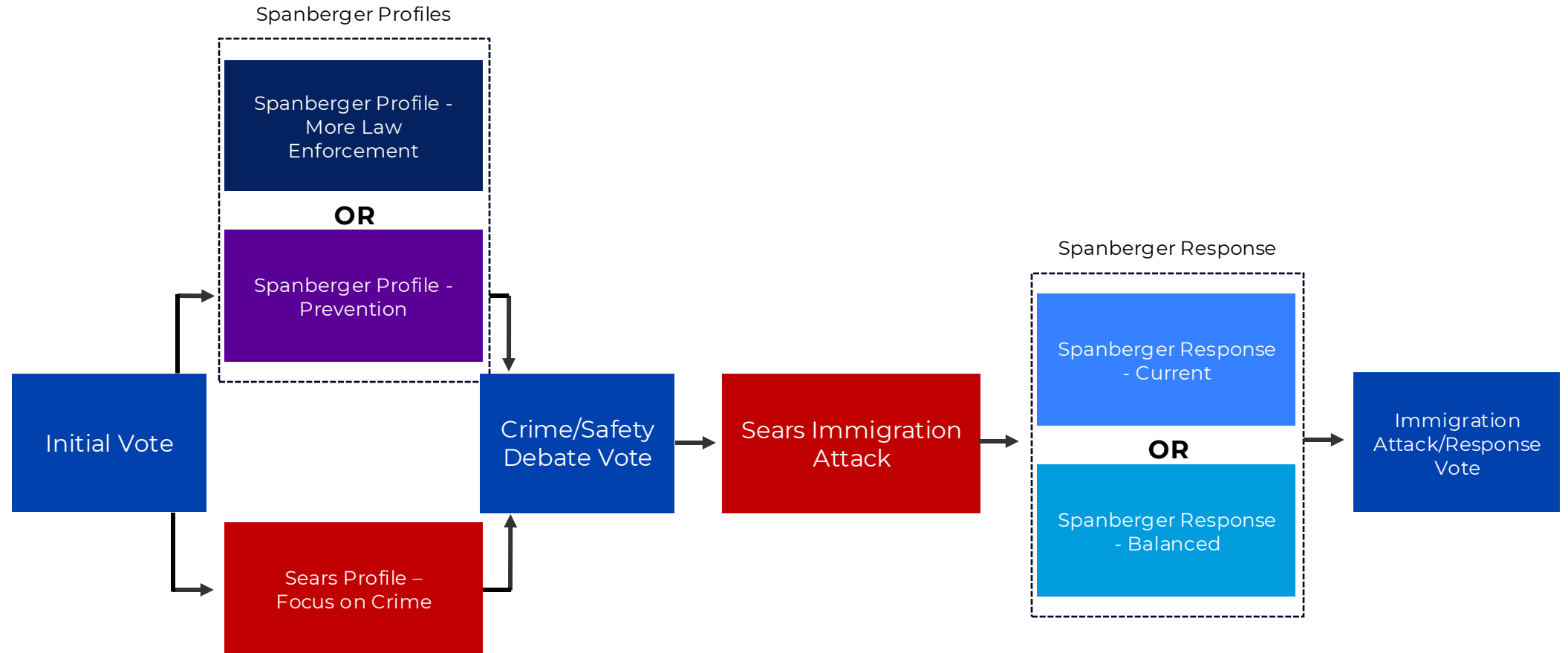
Personal Popularity of Public Figures and Groups					Net Fav									
	Fav	Don't know	Unfav	Overall	Dem	Ind	Rep		White	Black	Hisp	AAPI	Swing	Safety
							Non-MAGA*	MAGA						
Abigail Spanberger	36	42	22	+14	+58	+4	+1	-42	+10	+32	+20	+22	+16	+18
Winsome Earle-Sears	32	42	26	+6	-43	+13	+24	+69	+13	-21	0	-1	+3	-2
Glenn Youngkin	48	6	46	+2	-72	+33	+31	+91	+9	-29	-3	-15	+10	+9
Donald Trump	41		57	-16	-97	-32	+4	+98	-3	-67	-23	-49	-33	-48
The Department of Government Efficiency, otherwise known as DOGE	40	8	52	-12	-86	-13	-4	+91	-4	-44	-20	-38	-24	-17
Elon Musk	38	4	58	-20	-98	-37	-15	+91	-5	-78	-46	-53	-41	-56

# With pluralities unfamiliar with Sears and Spanberger, Spanberger tracks the generic ballot

Initial Vote

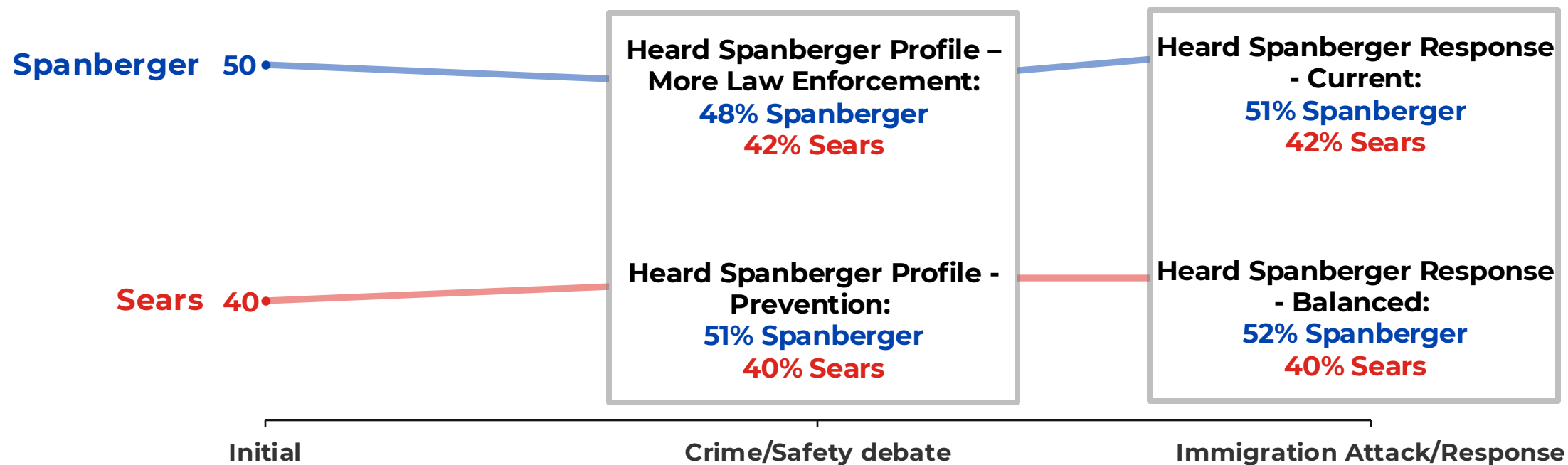


## Survey Structure



# Spanberger maintains her lead throughout the survey, even after responding to an attack on immigration

Vote Movement





# Focusing on prevention and rising costs is a better response to a Sears intro that attacks Democrats on crime and immigration

Crime/Safety Debate

		% Very Convincing	
		Overall	Swing
Split sample	<b>Spanberger More Law Enforcement</b> For Abigail Spanberger, service to country, community, and the Commonwealth runs deep. Growing up near Richmond... After 9/11, she joined the CIA in the fight against terrorism and later served in Congress, where she led multiple efforts — working with both Democrats and Republicans — <u>to help Virginia’s police departments pay for more officers and first responders. As Governor, Spanberger will prioritize making sure Virginia’s law enforcement officers have the training, tools, and resources they need to keep our Commonwealth’s communities safe.</u>	30	22
	<b>Spanberger Prevention</b> For Abigail Spanberger, service to country, community, and the Commonwealth runs deep. Growing up near Richmond... After 9/11, she joined the CIA in the fight against terrorism and later served in Congress, where she worked with Democrats and Republicans to invest in <u>creating safe communities with good schools and housing that is affordable. As Governor, Spanberger will focus on preventing crime, not just responding after it happens, by increasing treatment for mental health and drug addiction and by getting illegal guns off the street.</u>	31	26
	<b>Sears</b> Winsome Earle-Sears was born in Jamaica and immigrated to America as a child... Sears believes crime in Virginia is a growing problem that needs serious action. As Governor, Sears will work to eliminate sanctuary cities, fire rogue prosecutors who are letting dangerous criminals walk the streets, fight Democrat politicians who are trying to defund local police, and work with the FBI Gang Taskforce to catch and deport migrant gang members who are making our streets less safe. Putting Virginians’ safety first will always be Sears’ top priority.	34	22
		Net Spanberger	
Initial Vote		+10	
Heard Law Enforcement		+6	
Heard Prevention		+11	

# The prevention profile, which includes the solutions to safety that voters rate as the most effective, boosts Spanberger across the board

Vote Movement – Crime/Safety Debate

	Net Spanberger – More Law Enforcement				Net Spanberger – Prevention		
	Initial	Informed	Change		Initial	Informed	Change
Total	+11	+6	-5	Total	+10	+11	+1
Swing	+19	+1	-18	Swing	+17	+23	+6
Democrat	+95	+88	-7	Democrat	+91	+90	-1
Independent	+2	+6	+4	Independent	-5	+2	+7
Republican	-82	-88	-6	Republican	-83	-78	+5
18-44	+37	+27	-10	18-44	+22	+28	+6
45-64	+8	+5	-3	45-64	0	-3	-3
65+	-4	-7	-3	65+	+6	+9	+3
White non-college	-26	-35	-9	White non-college	-14	-12	+2
White college	+21	+23	+2	White college	+24	+26	+2
Black	+67	+57	-10	Black	+45	+45	0
Hispanic	+30	+28	-2	Hispanic	+18	+15	-3
AAPI	+45	+29	-16	AAPI	+21	+40	+19
DC DMA	+21	+15	-6	DC DMA	+28	+28	0
Richmond	+6	+3	-3	Richmond	+6	+8	+2
Norfolk	+17	+17	0	Norfolk	+3	+6	+3
Roanoke/Outer Markets	-9	-18	-9	Roanoke/Outer Markets	-12	-7	+5

# Responding to an immigration attack from Sears with an affirmative message that prioritizes “safety, stability, and security” better positions Spanberger, though both responses are effective

## Immigration Attack and Response

### Sears Ad

MS-13 and other criminal illegals are threatening communities in Virginia and putting our families in danger. Recently, a top MS-13 leader was arrested in Virginia. Abigail Spanberger voted to allow sanctuary cities that keep vicious and ruthless killers like him in America and on our streets, but Winsome Earle-Sears has a different message for these monsters: Your days in America are numbered. Like Trump, Sears understands that her first job is to keep Virginians safe. As Governor, Sears will do everything in her power to dismantle MS-13 and keep Virginia from becoming a safe haven for migrant criminals.

Split  
sample

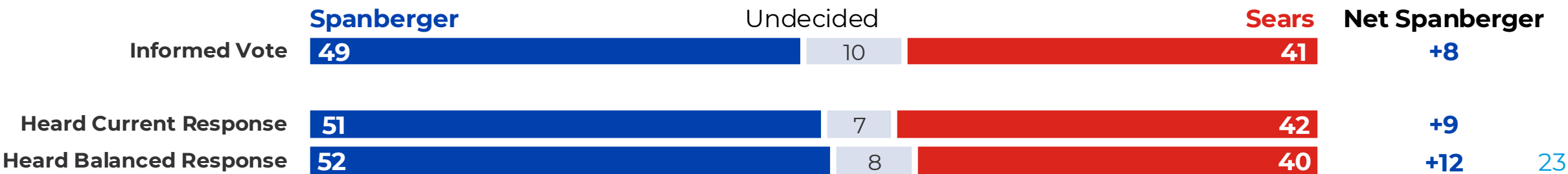
### Spanberger Response – Current

Abigail Spanberger is a former law enforcement officer and mother who cares deeply about the safety of our communities. Spanberger opposes making Virginia a sanctuary state and will prioritize deporting violent offenders. But that shouldn't mean terrorizing communities with indiscriminate raids on schools and churches, or arresting legal, law-abiding immigrants and deporting them without due process. As Governor, Spanberger will work with law enforcement and community leaders on solutions that prioritize safety, respect the rule of law, and recognize the value that immigrants bring to our state.

Split  
sample

### Spanberger Response – Balanced

Abigail Spanberger is a former law enforcement officer and mother who cares deeply about the safety of our communities. Spanberger believes in safety, stability, and security for everyone. We need a balanced approach to immigration; terrorizing communities with indiscriminate raids on schools and churches, or arresting legal, law-abiding immigrants and deporting them without due process doesn't make us safer. As Governor, Spanberger will work with law enforcement and community leaders on solutions that prioritize safety, respect the rule of law, and recognize the value that immigrants bring to our state.



# Spanberger extends her lead with both responses, but the balanced response produces bigger gains, particularly with Swing, Inds, and Hispanic voters

Vote Movement – Immigration Attack

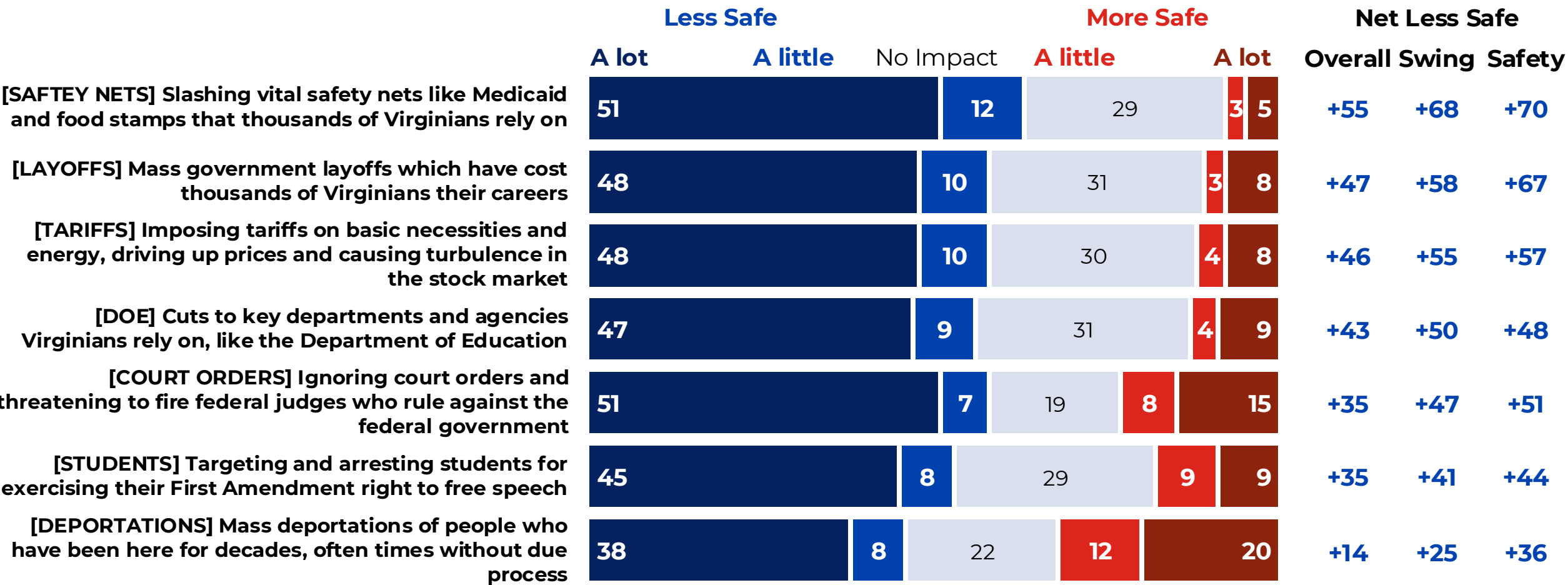
	Net Spanberger – Current Response				Net Spanberger – Balanced Response		
	Informed	Final	Change		Informed	Final	Change
Total	+8	+9	+1	Total	+8	+12	+4
Swing	+13	+16	+3	Swing	+12	+22	+10
Democrat	+89	+92	+3	Democrat	+90	+94	+4
Independent	+17	+20	+3	Independent	-8	+3	+11
Republican	-85	-88	-3	Republican	-81	-83	-2
18-44	+21	+24	+3	18-44	+35	+37	+2
45-64	+2	+4	+2	45-64	+2	+3	+1
65+	+5	+3	-2	65+	-2	+1	+3
White non-college	-27	-25	+2	White non-college	-21	-15	+6
White college	+24	+21	-3	White college	+26	+26	0
Black	+52	+51	-1	Black	+50	+50	0
Hispanic	+22	+21	-1	Hispanic	+21	+31	+10
AAPI	+42	+58	+16	AAPI	+27	+19	-8
DC DMA	+24	+26	+2	DC DMA	+19	+21	+2
Richmond	-2	-2	0	Richmond	+12	+18	+6
Norfolk	+2	+2	0	Norfolk	+21	+23	+2
Roanoke/Outer Markets	0	0	0	Roanoke/Outer Markets	-24	-20	+4



# Trump Agenda and Safety

# Voters see Trump’s actions as making them less safe, particularly slashing safety nets and mass layoffs. Mass deportations and targeting students have limited appeal

Does this action make Virginia communities more safe, less safe, or does it have no impact on safety?

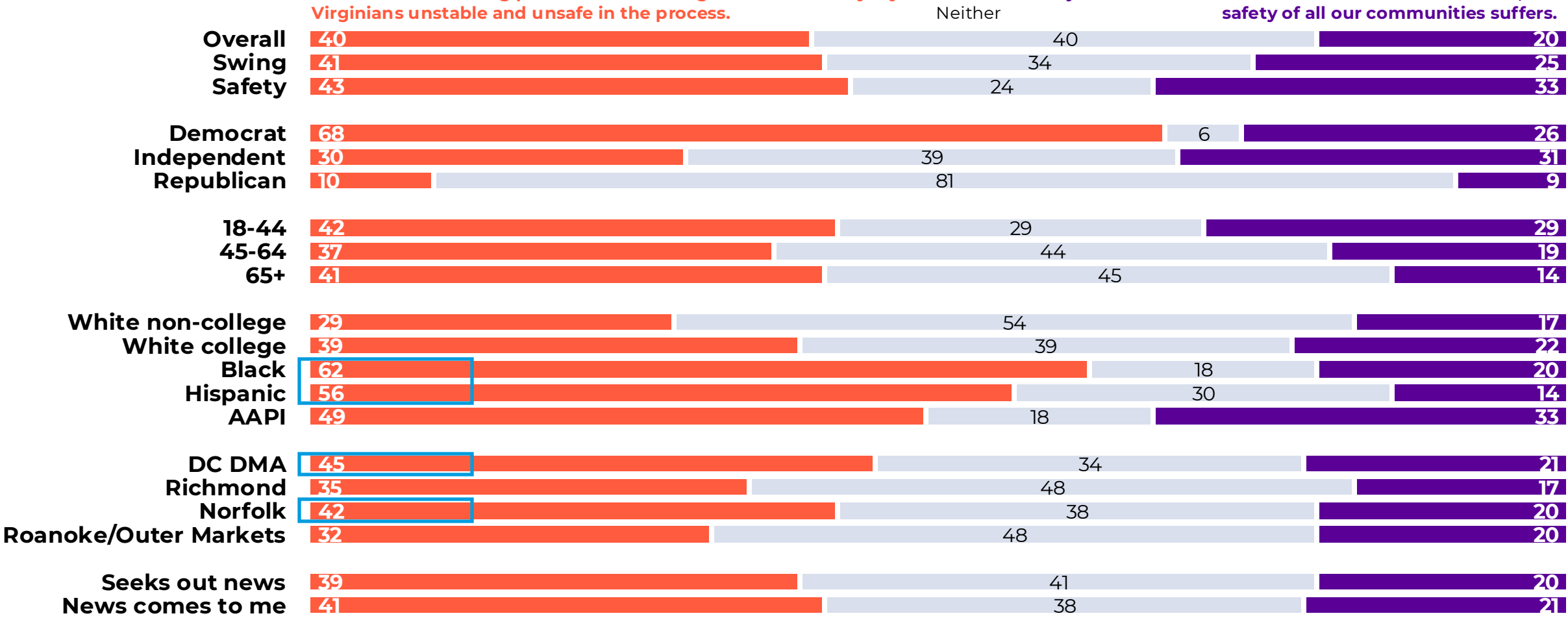


# In a state particularly impacted by DOGE and Trump’s policies, more agree that Reps are making things worse than that they’re returning to failed policies

Which do you agree with more – Wrong Priorities v. Failed Policies

Americans are already struggling with high costs and instability, but **Republicans are making things worse** by gutting jobs across Virginia and cutting health care, education, and local services to give tax cuts to billionaire donors like Elon Musk. **Republicans are focused on the wrong priorities** and **making the lives of everyday Virginians unstable and unsafe in the process.**

**The Republicans’ agenda is a return to the failed policies of the past.** It’s more tax giveaways for billionaires and Elon Musk’s vanity projects, while working Virginians face higher prices and disappearing safety nets. **When people lose their jobs and homes and can’t afford food or childcare, the safety of all our communities suffers.**



# Conclusions and Recommendations

# Conclusions and Recommendations

**Despite a favorable environment in VA, Democrats still face a significant vulnerability on safety. It's critical we engage in the debate**

**When we engage, we win. There is a clear (and favorable) contrast to draw on competing approaches to improving safety in Virginia**

**The voters most persuadable on safety are younger, more likely to be people of color, and less engaged in politics**

1

2

3

- Sears is facing strong national headwinds, with Trump, Musk, and DOGE producing a Democrat-friendly environment.
- Voters have real concerns on issues like guns and drugs and Democrats are in a statistical tie with Republicans when it comes to safety. If we do not engage, we cede the ground to Sears and Republicans on favorable terms to them.
- Virginians, like House BG voters, believe preventative solutions are more effective at improving safety. They need to hear Democrats communicate about improving schools, building trust with police, and expanding mental health care.
- On the other hand, voters are clear-eyed about the negative impact of Trump's policies on public safety. We can make an argument that he and his GOP enablers are actively making things worse by slashing safety nets, raising costs, and ordering mass firings.
- Even more so than voters overall, these voters prefer a focus on crime prevention that is rooted in improving schools, creating jobs, addressing drug addiction, providing access to mental health care, and getting illegal guns off the street.

# Winning the safety debate in VA

**Democrats should address voters' concerns about safety by clearly articulating a plan for preventing crime before it happens, including linking lower costs to safer communities**

1

**Democrats should follow a similar strategy when responding to an attack on immigration, highlighting the need for a balanced approach and respect for the rule of law**

2

- When Spanberger articulates her vision that a) is responsive to voters' concerns about gun violence and drug use, b) is connected to economic issues like housing affordability, and c) is specific about her plan to prevent crime by highlighting the policies that are most appealing to voters – mental health care, tackling illegal drugs, and providing better access to drug treatment – she withstands an appeal from Sears that knocks Democrats for being weak on crime and lays out a conventional “tough on crime” approach.
- Spanberger is best positioned when she responds to an attack on immigration, MS-13, and sanctuary cities by citing the need for safety, security, and stability for everyone, a balanced approach that does not terrorize communities, and respect for the rule of law.
- Spanberger's ability to defend from an immigration attack is consistent with other data in the survey suggesting that Trump's mass deportations have limited appeal.



GSG For Vera Action, May 2025

# Thank You



NEW YORK | WASHINGTON, DC | CHICAGO | DENVER | HARTFORD | LOS ANGELES | NASHVILLE | SEATTLE

# Older voters, white voters, strong partisans, and voters in the Norfolk DMA are most likely to seek out news

News consumption

