

GSG FOR Transgender Freedom Alliance
October 2025

Virginia Governor Messaging Survey

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



Methodology

Voters

Global Strategy Group conducted a multi-channel (phone + text-to-web) survey of **800 likely General Election voters in Virginia** between October 9 – 13, 2025.

Margin of error

The margin of error at the 95% confidence level is +/- 3.5%.

The margin of error on sub-samples is greater.

Key Findings

1

The ads attacking transgender rights have broken through

Nearly the entire electorate can recall something about Spanberger. The negative slightly outpaces the positive with the open-ended responses clearly showing persuadable voters are seeing the ads. The new Jones attacks are also getting noticed and likely to grow given the change in Earle-Sears' traffic recently.

2

However, Spanberger's messaging counters it and she holds her advantage from May

What the campaign is doing works and the fundamentals of the race have changed little. Proof lies in how Spanberger maintains her 9-point advantage from May. Each candidate has consolidated their partisan bases of support, while Independents have broke Spanberger's way.

3

Few are still up for grabs – but there is potential for defections

The number of potential late movers is small and even fewer changed their vote in the survey. However, there are signs that some Democratic and Independent women who otherwise support Spanberger are uneasy about her positions on transgender policies. The survey shows these potentially softer supporters could defect to Earle-Sears as they tune in and pay attention to the transgender issue debate.

4

Mitigate the transgender attack by focusing on safety, hit Earle-Sears on her loyalties & priorities

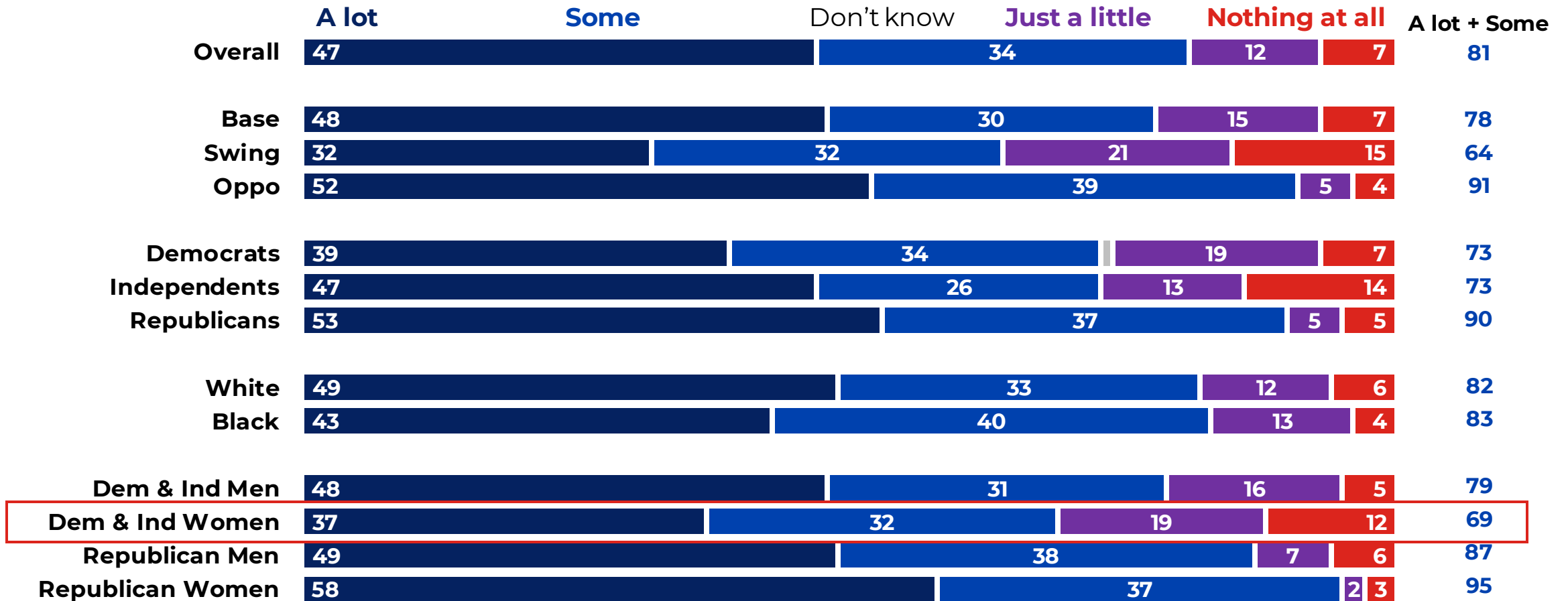
The potential defectors are most concerned about Spanberger's commitment to keeping kids safe. She can build trust with them by showing her toughness and clarity around safety. These potential defectors are largely women. Go on the offense by criticizing Earle-Sears for her fealty to Trump, anti-abortion positions, and lack of focus on rising costs.

The Media Ecosystem

Typically more engaged voters in base and oppo have heard more of the anti-trans attacks than the remaining swing voters

Non-GOP women, who as you will see move more in this survey, have heard significantly less than other groups

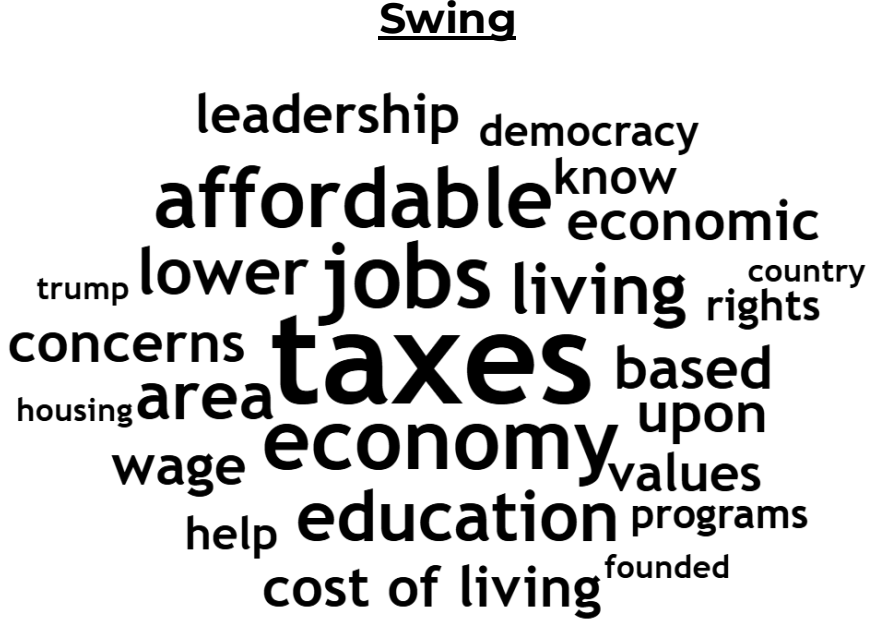
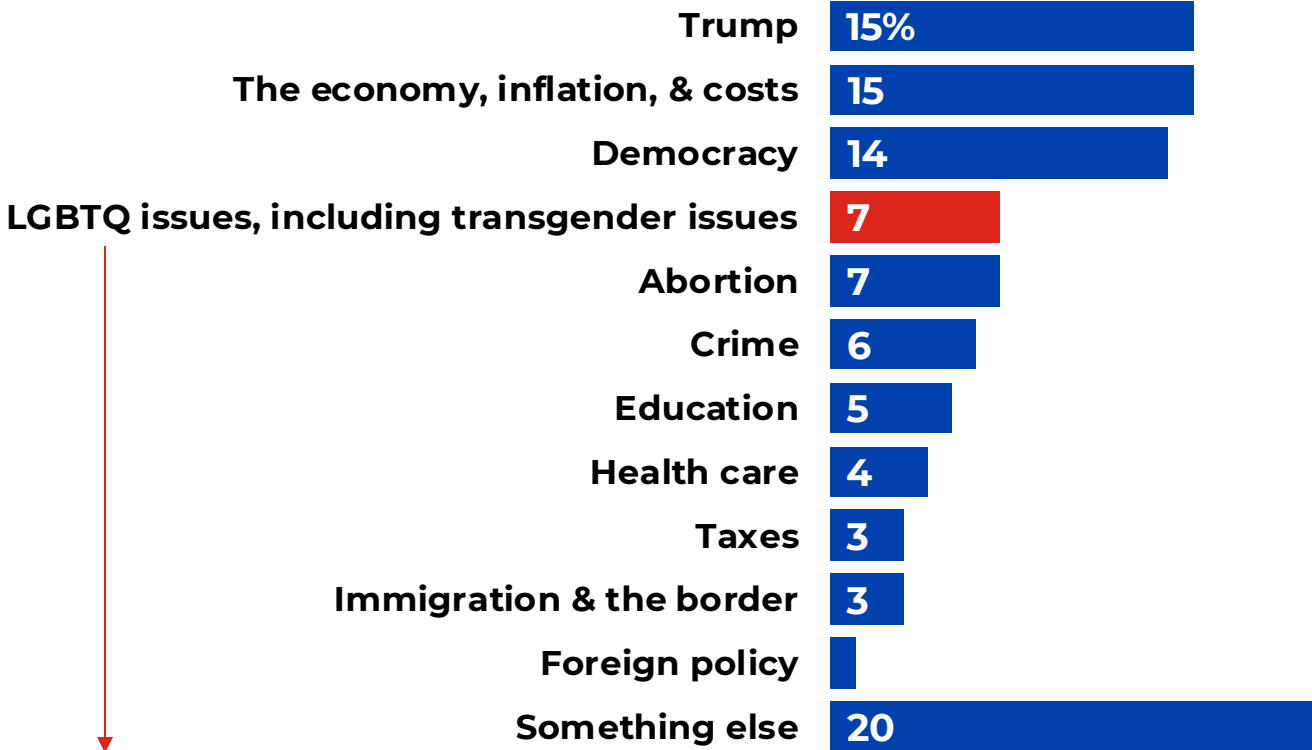
Seen/heard anti-trans attack before – IF NOT VOTED



Impact on Race to Date

LGBTQ issues still are not breaking through as a top issue though, especially with swing voters

Most important issue when deciding vote for Governor [OPEN END]

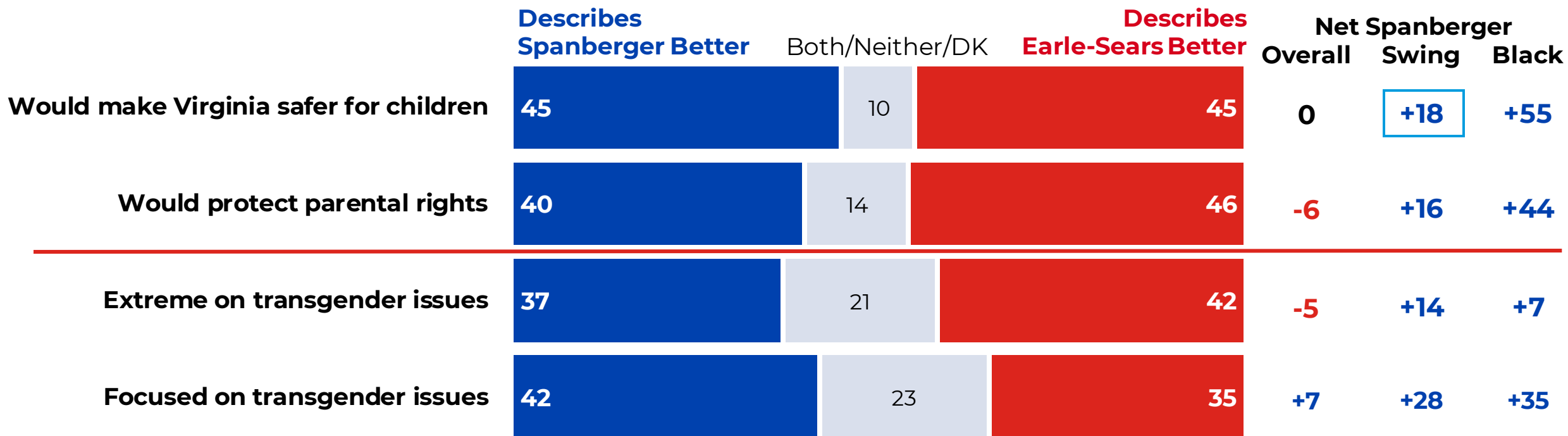


LGBTQ issues are being driven by the Right. The voters saying that's a top issue are 90% Republican. Only 2% of swing voters say LGBTQ issues are most important to them. For comparison, 23% choose economy/costs.

Swing voters simultaneously perceive Spanberger as better for safety/parents *and* more focused/extreme on trans issues

Spanberger has notably better numbers though, than Democrats at large did in our May poll

Candidate Traits – ALL VOTERS

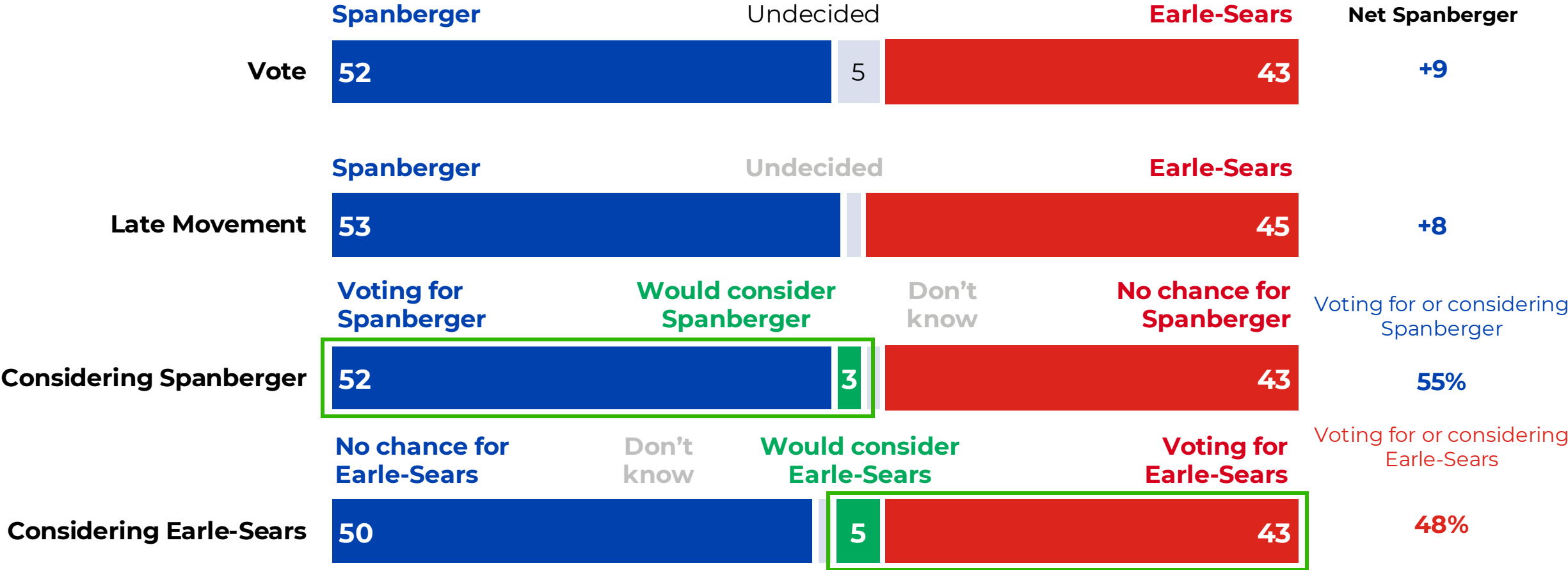


Overall, Spanberger is in a better place relative to Democrats generically on traits related to the transgender issues we tested in May:

- In May, more believed Dems are more extreme on transgender issues than Republicans (+2 Dems).
- In May, a huge majority believed Dems focused on transgender issues more than Republicans (+33 Dems).

Fewer than 1-in-10 still open to switching their vote; Earle-Sears' ceiling is lower than Abigail's

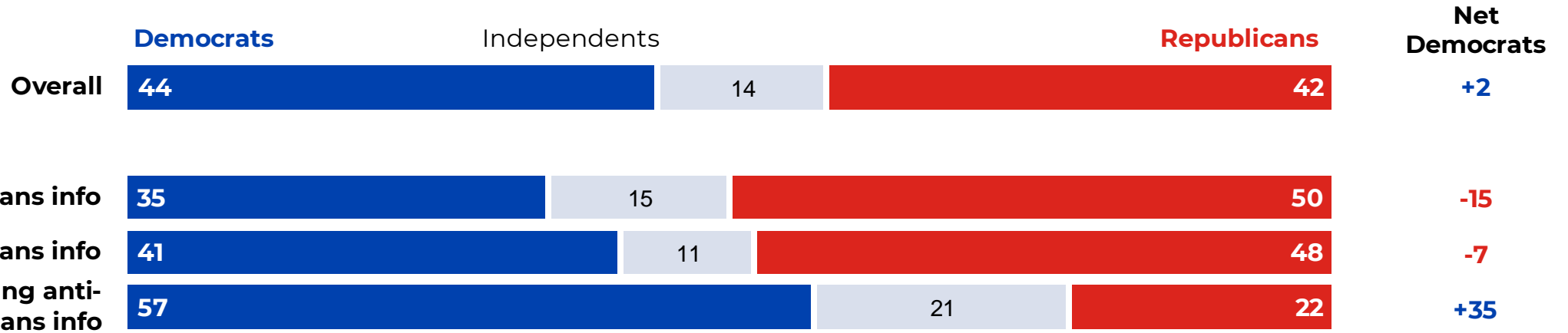
Vote for Governor



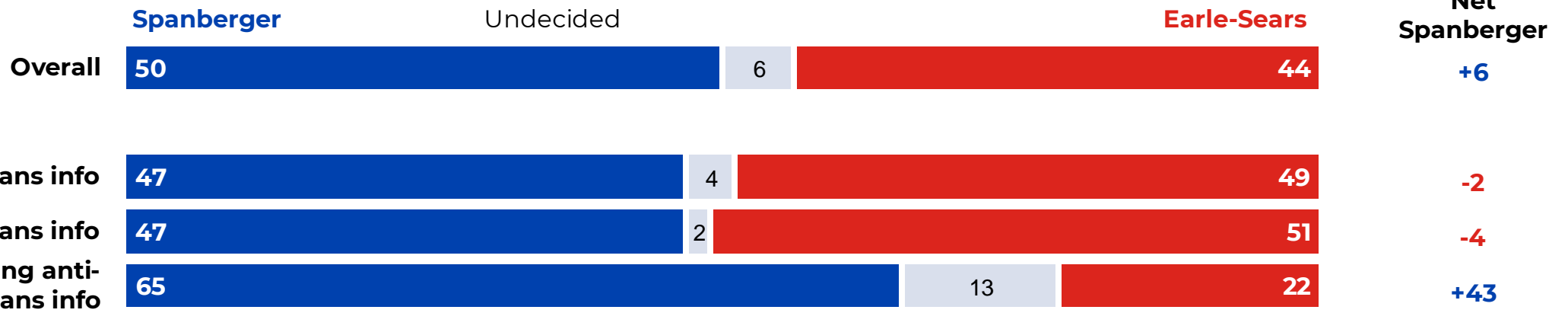
- Late movers are 9% of electorate and lean toward the GOP but a plurality are independents (24D/42I/34R).
- They favor Spanberger (37% to 13%) but many are undecided (33%) and a notable number say they will not vote (17%).

Spanberger is outperforming partisanship even among those who are disproportionately hearing the anti-trans ads

Hearing Anti-trans Information on Spanberger and Party ID



Hearing Anti-trans Information on Spanberger and Initial Vote – IF NOT VOTED

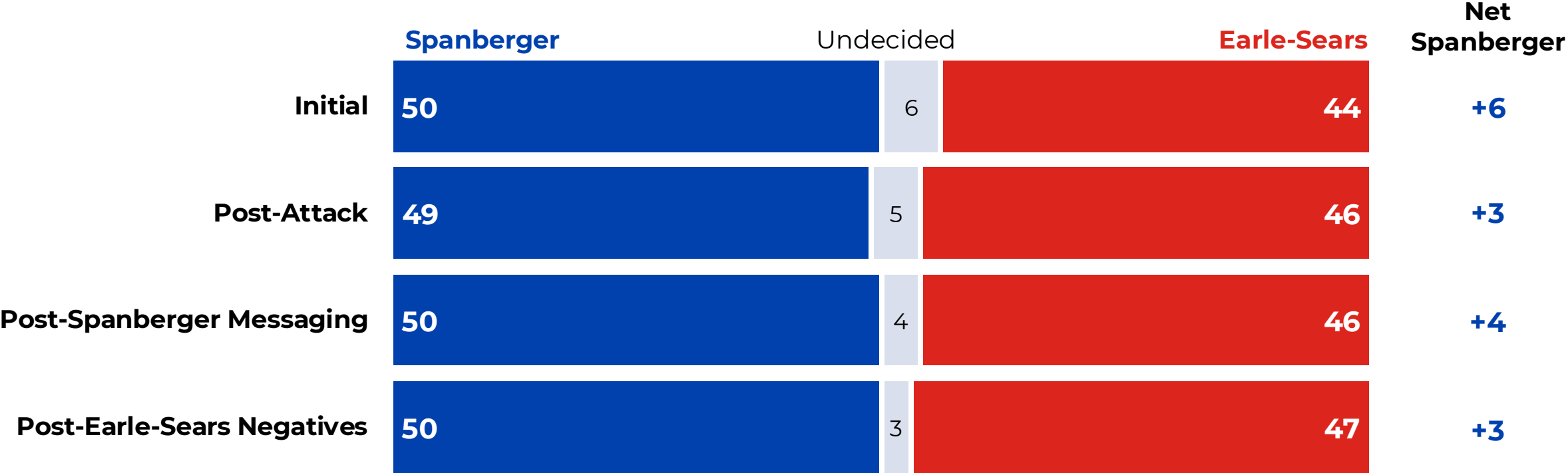


Impact Moving Forward

The remaining electorate is largely static with only slight movement

Earle-Sears' way in a back and forth on transgender issues

Vote Movement – IF NOT VOTED



The shift away from Spanberger spans a range of demos but is most substantial among independents, non-GOP women, and Black women

Attack on Spanberger – IF NOT VOTED

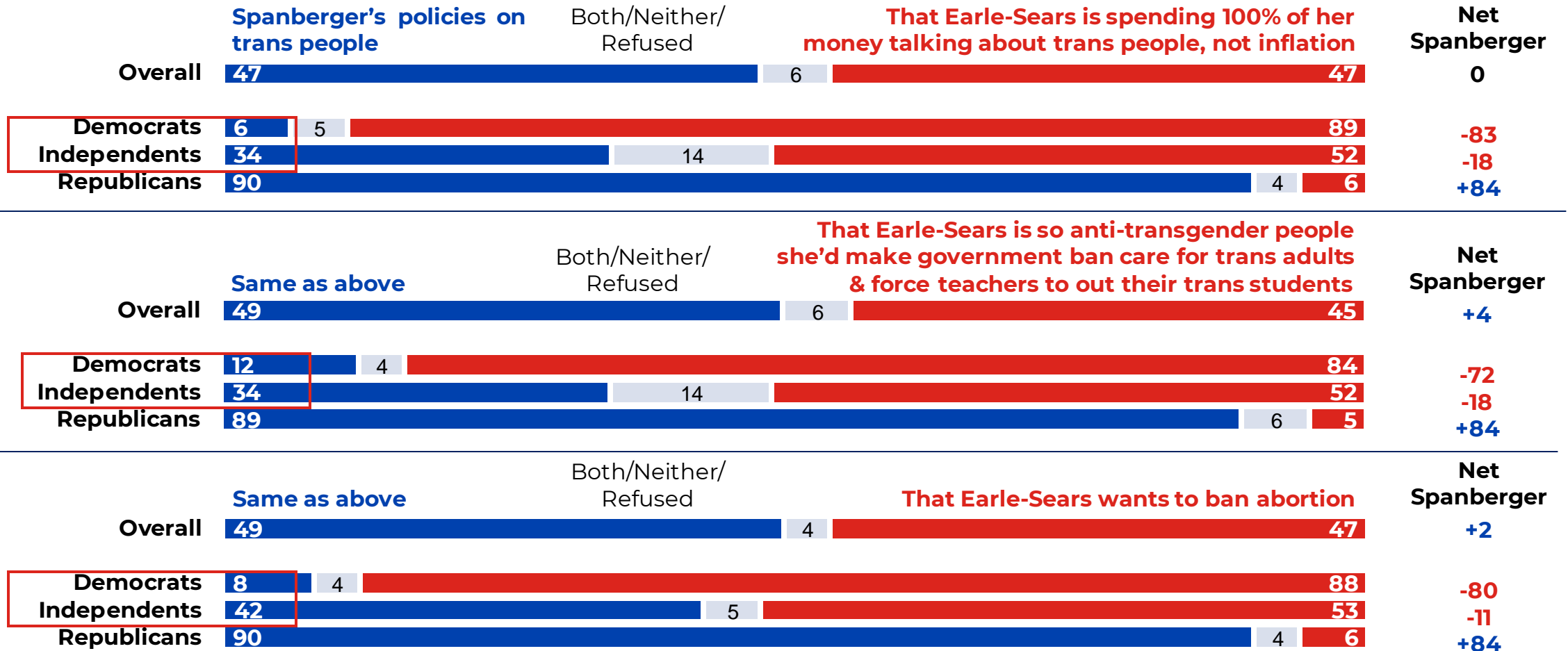
Radical Abigail Spanberger has extreme views when it comes to transgender issues. She didn't just vote to let men in girls' locker rooms, she wrote the bill, allowing men to undress next to little girls. But it goes even further, she believes that if a child wants to change genders, the parents shouldn't be told. That's insane. Abigail Spanberger is for they/them, not us.

Net Spanberger			
	Initial	Post-Attack	Change
Overall	+6	+3	-3
Democrats	+96	+93	-3
Independents	+31	+25	-6
Republicans	-88	-90	-2
Men	-1	-2	-1
Women	+13	+8	-5
Under 45	+28	+24	-4
45-64	-2	-5	-3
65+	-5	-7	-2
Seen "a lot"	-2	-5	-3
Not seen "a lot"	+13	+10	-3

Net Spanberger			
	Initial	Post-Attack	Change
Overall	+6	+3	-3
Dem & Ind men	+75	+74	-1
Dem & Ind women	+84	+78	-6
Republican men	-90	-91	-1
Republican women	-86	-89	-3
White men	-13	-13	0
White women	-4	-8	-4
Black Men*	+53	+49	-4
Black Women	+67	+59	-8

There are some non-Republican voters supporting Spanberger right now who *could* defect on this issue

More concerned post-attack – IF NOT VOTED



Only 1% of Dems and 24% of Inds initially support Earle-Sears.

The small pool of persuadable voters and potential defectors are disproportionately non-GOP women

Base – Always Spanberger, but not concerned about trans position or not soft & undecided

Swing – Not always for same candidate, always Spanberger but concerned about trans position, soft & und

Oppo – Always Earle-Sears, but not soft & undecided

	100% Overall	42% Base	16% Swing	42% Oppo
Gender				
Men	46	46	38	49
Women	54	54	60	51
Age				
Under 45	28	34	40	18
45-64 year olds	36	32	35	40
Seniors 65+	36	34	25	42
Ethnicity				
White	75	68	64	86
White non-college	42	29	42	56
White college	32	39	20	30
Black	16	22	26	6
Hispanic	4	4	2	4
Asian	5	6	8	3
Turnout Score				
0-70	37	36	43	36
71-90	37	37	29	41
91-100	25	27	29	23

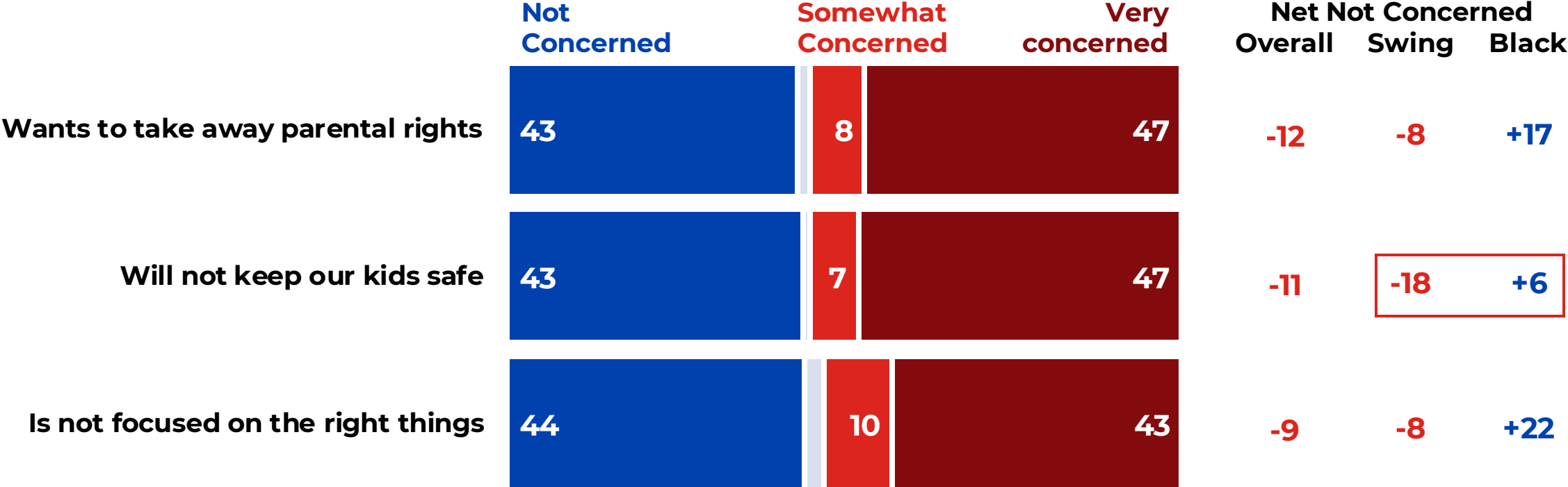
	100% Overall	42% Base	16% Swing	42% Oppo
Party Identification				
Democrats	44	85	52	1
Independents	13	14	27	7
Republicans	42	2	21	92

	100% Overall	42% Base	16% Swing	42% Oppo
Party & Gender				
Democratic men	18	36	14	0
Democratic women	27	49	38	1
Independent men	7	8	16	4
Independent women	6	6	12	3
Republican men	21	1	8	45
Republican women	21	0	11	47

	100% Overall	42% Base	16% Swing	42% Oppo
Media Market				
DC DMA	38	43	32	35
DC - Metro	18	22	20	14
DC - Rest	20	22	12	21
Richmond DMA	20	22	14	19
Norfolk DMA	20	17	33	18
Roanoke DMA	13	11	11	16
Outer DMAs	9	7	10	12

While the attack works on a number of levels, swing voters are most concerned Spanberger will not keep our kids safe

Concern for Spanberger – IF NOT VOTED



Messaging and Positioning

Spanberger can best build trust by showing her toughness and clarity around keeping kids safe; pivoting to costs is effective

More effective Spanberger messaging – IF NOT VOTED

	Overall	Swing	D & I Women	Black	
	% much more likely to trust Spanberger				
	43	55	77	67	[PLANS] Spanberger wants you to do your research because her plans are clear: keep kids safe , parents in charge and...
Split A	45	53	80	66	...to get back to lowering cost of living.
Split B	41	58	75	68	...make sure law-abiding adults don't face discrimination.
	42	48	72	65	[JAIL] Spanberger says who you are doesn't matter. What you do does. Spanberger put serial predators who expose themselves to kids in jail and she'll do it again.
Split A	41	46	69	62	Anything to keep our kids safe...
Split B	43	52	74	69	...and get back to lowering the cost of living.
	42	46	75	57	[TRUST] Spanberger trusts parents and doctors to make the decisions that are best for their families , no matter what kind of health care they're dealing with.
	33	43	57	47	[PARENTS-FIRST TO KNOW]* As Governor, Spanberger will make sure that parents are the first to know and the last to have a say over what's best for their kids .

Focusing on the complex debates around sports, health care, and parental rights is relatively less effective at building trust

Less effective Spanberger messaging – IF NOT VOTED

Overall	Swing	D & I Women	Black	
% much more likely to trust Spanberger				
40	41	72	62	[REASSURE FOCUS] As Governor, Spanberger will make sure all kids are safe and sports are fair so that we can get back to what is keeping Virginians up at night: rising costs and a need for more good jobs.
36	39	67	47	[COMPLEX] Spanberger says health care for transgender young people is complicated and so is the policy around it. She's ready to ask the tough questions, to make sure doctors are relying on the evidence, parents - not politicians - are in charge, and kids are safe.
41	39	71	64	[PARENTS-HARM'S WAY]* Spanberger will never let a kid be put in harm's way. That means supporting parents who create safe homes and cracking down on abusers who don't.
41	37	70	57	[KNOWS DIFFERENCE] As a former law enforcement officer, Spanberger tracked down predators and as a mom, she's raising three girls. She knows the difference between predators exploiting the system and kids just trying to figure out who they are, and will keep all our kids safe.
32	36	59	42	[LOCAL] Spanberger believes decisions about allowing trans kids to participate in sports should be made locally, by the schools, coaches, and parents impacted – not with blanket rules that will require young girls to answer invasive questions and undergo physical inspections by strangers.

Trying Earle-Sears to Trump and attacking her for *no real plans* could complement; her positions on abortion also helpful

Earle-Sears Negatives – IF NOT VOTED

Overall	Swing	D & I Women	Black	
% raises major doubts				
47	64	83	78	[TRUMP] Winsome Earle-Sears has gotten so desperate, she's repeating Trump's attack ads word for word. Because she's for Trump, not Virginia.
45	61	76	71	[PLANS]* Elections should be a debate of ideas and visions. Winsome Earle-Sears is so MAGA, she'd rather spread lies than tell you her plans.
48	57	82	75	[ABORTION] Winsome Earle-Sears wants government making healthcare decisions, not you. She repeatedly voted to ban abortion, calling it, "wicked" and "genocide."
46	57	81	74	[100%] Winsome Earle-Sears is now spending 100% of her ads running lies about Abigail Spanberger's policies in schools rather than telling you how she'd help lower your cost of living.
44	43	79	69	[SAFETY]* Winsome Earle-Sears is so fixated on transgender people that she has called on teachers to out their students, even when it puts the student's safety at risk.
37	35	64	59	[INSANE] Winsome Earle-Sears keeps saying Abigail Spanberger has "insane" policies. That's because they are insanely false. Fact checker after fact checker has said so.

GSG FOR Trans Freedom Alliance
October 2025

Thank You

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

