

### The Green Gender Gap: How Women are Shaping the Climate Vote

Key findings from predictive models identifying climate-first voters across 21 states.

April 2025



#### **Executive Summary**

This report highlights key findings from 21 states<sup>1</sup> where the Environmental Voter Project (EVP) built predictive models to identify registered voters who have a high likelihood of listing either "climate change" or "clean air, clean water, and the environment" as their top political priority.

Unlike polls, which attempt to measure the attitudes of an entire population or its subgroups, predictive models identify specific individuals who have a high likelihood of prioritizing an issue — in this case, climate change or environmental issues. These individuals can then be targeted for mobilization campaigns, and the aggregate voter data often reveals the relative size of certain voting blocs as well as some of their unique characteristics.

The Environmental Voter Project's February 2025 predictive modeling data have identified a dramatic gender gap among climate voters in all 21 states studied — with women significantly more likely than men to name climate change or environmental issues as their top political priority. We have further found that this gender gap is most pronounced among the youngest voters (aged 18-24) and among Black voters. This report details EVP's findings on this climate voter gender gap, while also highlighting how it varies across different racial groups, age groups, and geographies.<sup>2</sup>

#### Significant Gender Gaps among all types of Climate Voters.

- **25pt gender gap among climate voters.** 62% of climate voters are women, compared to only 37% being men. This 25pt gender gap is significantly larger than the 5pt gender gap (52%-47%) among all registered voters.
- Young women are twice as likely as young men to list climate as their top priority. Among
  the various age groups, the climate voter gender gap is most dramatic among the youngest
  voters (aged 18-24). As a point of comparison, among all registered voters 18-24 year-olds
  are equally split among women and men (50.4%-49.6%), but among 18-24 year-old climate



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 21 states included in this study are Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Voters identified as "climate voters" are registered voters who have an 85.00% – 99.99% likelihood of listing either "climate change" or "clean air, clean water, and the environment" as their top priority according to EVP's February 2025 predictive models.

voters, 67% are women and only 33% are men.

- Black women are twice as likely as Black men to list climate as their top priority. Among racial and ethnic groups, the climate voter gender gap is most dramatic among Black voters

   a 67%-33% gender gap.
- AAPI climate voters have a comparatively small 18pt gender gap. Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) climate voters have the smallest gender gap, with 59% of AAPI climate voters being women compared to 41% being men.

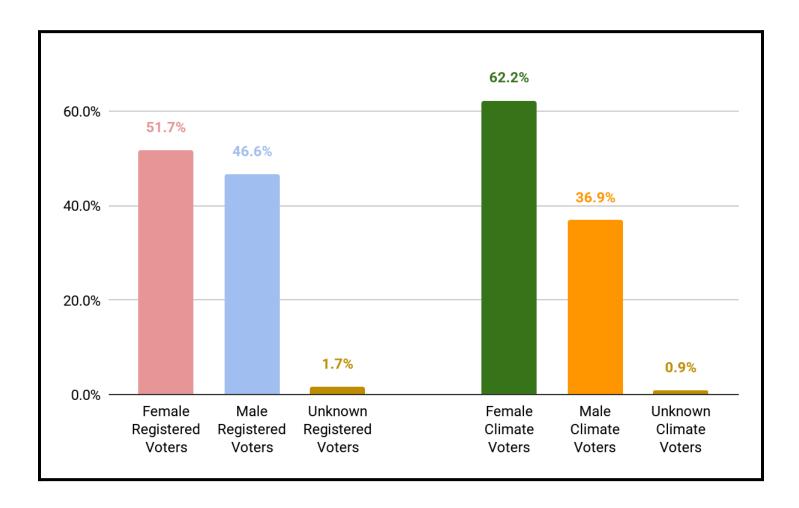
#### Are Mothers and Grandmothers the New Core of the Climate Voting Bloc?

• Women aged 25-49 and 65+ collectively make up 46.6% of all Climate Voters. Although we do not have precise data on which voters are parents or grandparents, it is noteworthy that women aged 25-49 combined with those 65 and older collectively make up a much larger portion of climate voters (46.6%) than their presence in the underlying electorate (35.5%).



### Women are much more Likely than Men to List Climate or Environment as a Top Priority

Across the 21 states studied, approximately 13 million registered voters were identified as highly likely to list either "climate change" or "clean air, clean water, and the environment" as their top issue priority, and the data show that this population is overwhelmingly female, with women outnumbering men 62% to 37%. This 25-point gender gap is significantly larger than the underlying 5-point gender gap that exists among all registered voters in these states.<sup>3</sup>



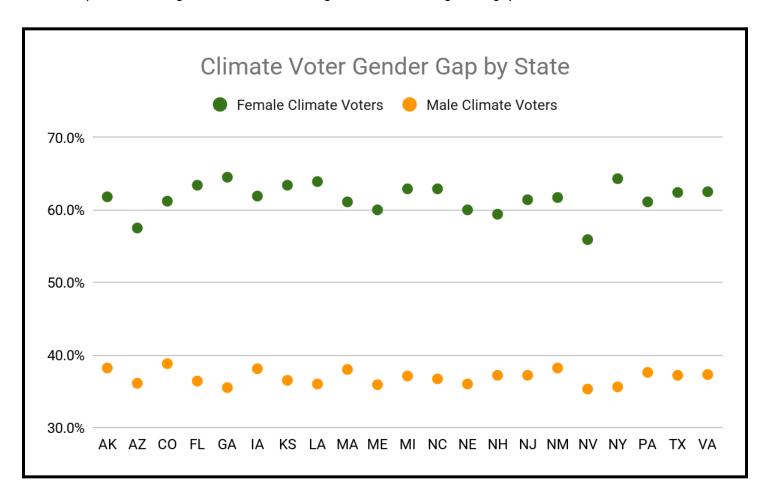
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Voter file data includes sex — rather than gender — as a demographic category. In some instances, this identifier is self-selected by the voter and in others it is state-identified or modeled. Since sex is not analogous to gender, this report presents only the "male" and "female" identifiers categorized as sex in SmartVAN voter files. In our narrative discussion, we use the term men to encompass the group identified as male and the term women for the group identified as female. Some states do not supply data about the sex of each registered voter, so the data for those states must be commercially sourced and is therefore incomplete, leading to varying rates of "unknown" sex for voters across the states in this report. This report also includes the commonly-used term "gender gap" when referring to aggregate differences in the sex of voters.



### 2. The Green Gender Gap is consistent across all 21 states studied

The green gender gap is remarkably consistent across all 21 states studied, with female climate voters outnumbering male climate voters by as little as 21 percentage points (pp) in Nevada to as much as 29pp in Georgia.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, this green gender gap is at its largest in states with the largest populations of Black voters. Of the 21 states included in the chart below, the 9 states with the largest percentages of Black voters (Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, New York, Michigan, New Jersey, and Texas) are all among the 10 states with largest climate voter gender gaps.



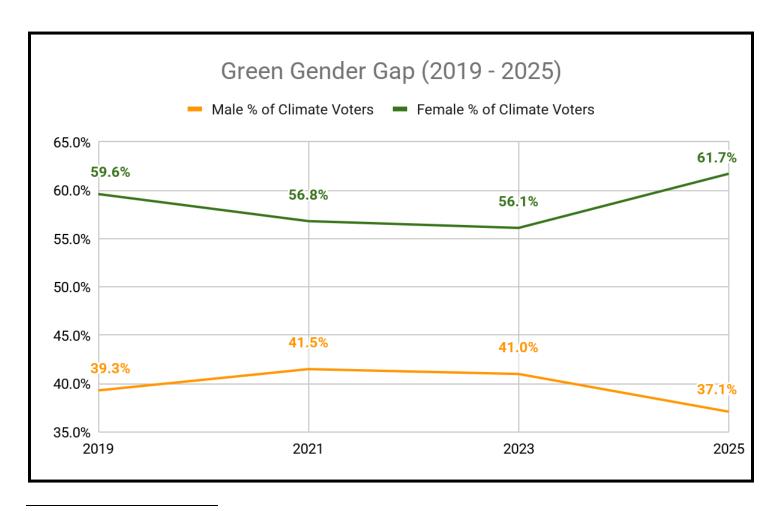
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nevada and Arizona do not supply data about the sex of each registered voter, so the data for those two states must be commercially sourced and is therefore incomplete, leading to a high percentage of "unknown" sex for Nevada and Arizona voters.



### 3. The Green Gender Gap is not New, but it is Larger than Ever

To track climate voter gender gaps over time, the Environmental Voter Project focused on the 12 of this report's 21 states where EVP has consistently built predictive models over the past six years.<sup>5</sup>

These six years of data suggest three findings: (1) the existence of this green gender gap has been consistent over recent history, (2) the gap is currently at its largest point in our six years of data collection in these states, and (3) although the green gender gap had narrowed from 20pp six years ago to 15pp more recently, its 2025 jump up to 25pp is particularly noteworthy because other political gender gaps — such as with voting choices — have stayed remarkably consistent over recent years.<sup>6</sup>



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This longitudinal data includes predictive modeling data from voters in the following 12 states: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Models were built in 2019, 2021, 2023, and 2025.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Gender Differences in 2024 Vote Choice." 2025. Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Although "the growing gender gap" was much discussed during the 2024 presidential election, ultimately the difference in male vs. female vote choice in 2024 was remarkably similar to the vote-choice gender gap that has existed for close to 30 years. In every presidential election since 1996, women have been between 7pp and 13pp more likely than men to vote for the Democratic presidential candidate, and women's +10pp support for Kamala Harris over Donald Trump in 2024 was right in the middle of that small 7–13pp historical spread.<sup>7</sup>

By comparison, the climate voter gender gap that EVP has traced over the past six years exists within a 15–25pp spread, suggesting that both its historical trend and its recent surge to +25pp cannot solely be explained by women historically being more likely to support progressive candidates or causes.

# 4. The Gender Gap Among Climate Voters is Largest Among Young People

The climate voter gender gap is consistently large across all age groups, but it is noteworthy that this green gender gap is at its largest among 18-24 year olds, which also happens to be the only age cohort where men have almost exact voter-registration parity with women.

There are more women in the United States than men, which is a baseline gender gap that carries over to the population of registered voters.<sup>8</sup> As shown in the table below, this underlying gender gap among registered voters starts fairly small — with women aged 18-24 outnumbering men by just +0.8pp — but then consistently grows to a +10.0pp gender gap among voters 65 and older. This age-increasing aspect of the gender gap is likely due to two factors: (1) higher incarceration rates among men, which leads to growing numbers of men being removed from the voting rolls as they age, and (2) women consistently living longer than men.

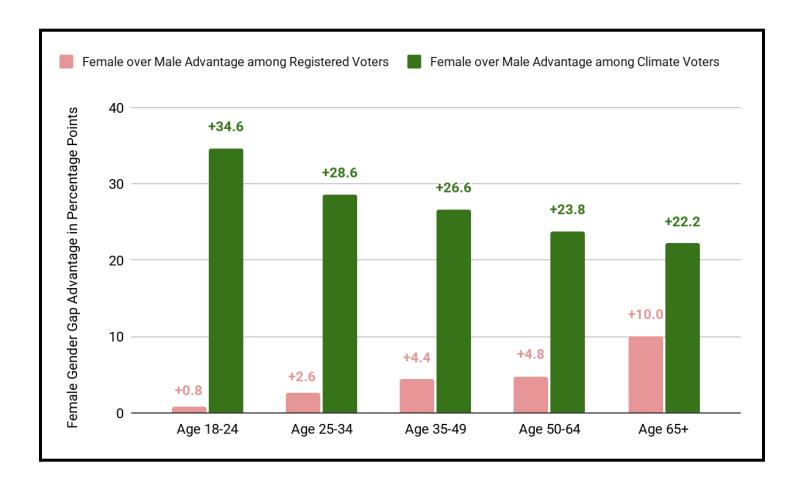
Since climate voters are a subset of registered voters, we would expect to see the same age-increasing trend in the gender gap among climate voters, but surprisingly our data show just the opposite: female climate voters aged 18-24 are +34.6pp more prevalent than their male



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Gender Differences in Voter Turnout." 2025. Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

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counterparts, but this green gender gap then consistently *shrinks* as we move through older age groups, rather than increasing.

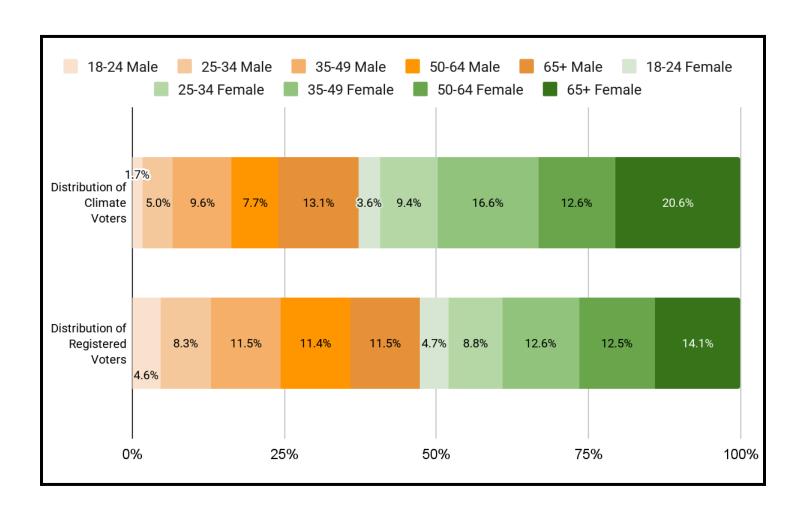


# 5. Do Mothers and Grandmothers make up the Core of the Climate Voting Population?

When analyzing the population of climate voters, it is immediately clear that 25-49 year-old women combined with women aged 65 and older make up a disproportionately large proportion of this climate-first cohort. Among the baseline of registered voters in the 21 states studied, 25-49 year-old women and 65+ year-old women collectively make up 35.5% of the electorate. By comparison, 25-49 year-old women and 65+ year-old women collectively make up almost a majority (46.6%) of climate voters.



Although voter file data cannot tell us which individual voters are mothers or grandmothers, the following background data suggest that motherhood and grandmotherhood could be a factor in the disproportionately large presence of 25-49 year-old and 65+ women in the climate movement: (1) the mean age of U.S. mothers at first birth is 27.3, putting this 25-49 year-old female voter cohort squarely in the population most likely to be mothers with children in the home, and (2) only 27% of U.S. 40-64 year-olds are grandparents, whereas 71% of Americans aged 65+ are grandparents, which also aligns 65+ year-old female voters with those Americans who are most likely to be grandmothers. This age/sex data merely suggests a motherhood/grandmotherhood connection to climate concern, so we suggest that this theory is ripe for further research to determine whether this factor, a combination of factors, or something else is driving this trend.



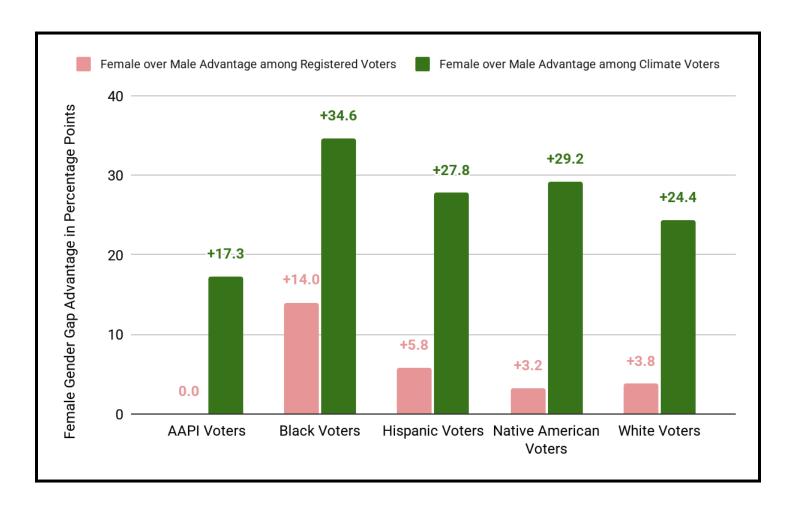
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> National Vital Statistics Reports for 2021, vol. 72, no. 1. National Center for Health Statistics.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Prevalence of Grandparenthood in the U.S., 2021. National Center for Family & Marriage Research.

### 6. The Green Gender Gap is Largest among Black Voters and Native American Voters

Among racial and ethnic groups, the green gender gap is technically largest among Black climate voters, but the green gender gap is more *anomalous* among Native American voters because there is already a large underlying gender gap among Black registered voters, whereas the Native American green gender gap contrasts sharply with the relatively small voter-registration gender gap among Native Americans.



Black female climate voters outnumber Black male climate voters by a 2-to-1 margin (67.3% - 32.7%), translating to a 34.6pp green gender gap among Black climate voters. Although striking, the size of this green gender gap is less significant when considered against the backdrop of the already large 14.0pp gender gap



that exists among all Black registered voters, which likely exists due to disproportionately high Black male incarceration rates<sup>11</sup> and disproportionately low Black male life expectancy.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the large 29.2pp gender gap among Native American climate voters stands in stark contrast to the relatively small underlying 3.2pp gender gap among all Native American registered voters, which suggests that unique variables could be driving the large green gender gap among Native Americans.

# 7. AAPI Women and White Women make up a Disproportionately Large Percentage of Climate Voters

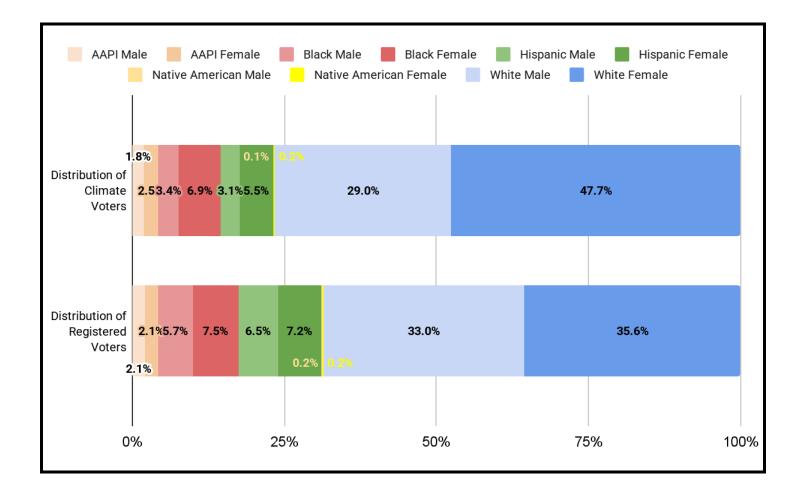
White women make up a substantial 47.7% of all climate voters, which is significantly larger than their 35.6% share of the overall electorate across the 21 states studied. AAPI women make up 2.5% of climate voters, which is also larger than their 2.1% share of the overall electorate.

By contrast, Hispanic men are considerably underrepresented among climate voters, making up just 3.1% of the constituency, which is less than half of their 6.5% presence in the overall electorate. At 3.4%, Black men also represent an appreciably smaller percentage of climate voters than their 5.7% portion of the overall electorate.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Black American men currently face a 16.2% lifetime risk of imprisonment, compared to a less than 2% likelihood for Black women — a significant gap that far surpasses the risk-of-imprisonment gender gaps in other ethnoracial groups. "Lifetime risk of imprisonment in the United States remains high and starkly unequal." Science Advances, Vol. 8, No. 48, Fig. 2, Dec. 2, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> An American Black man born 30 years ago has a 70.7-year life expectancy, compared to a 76.8-year life expectancy for Black women. This 6.1pp life-expectancy gender gap is larger than the life-expectancy gaps among white Americans (4.8pp), AAPI Americans (4.1pp), and Hispanic Americans (5.8pp), and it is similar to the 6.2pp life-expectancy gender gap among Native Americans. National Vital Statistics Reports, Vol. 72, No. 12, Nov. 7, 2023.



#### 8. Suggested Areas of Further Study

- A. **Motherhood, Grandmotherhood, and Climate Concern:** With women aged 25-49 and 65+ making up almost a majority of climate voters, it suggests that grandmotherhood or having a child in the home could be driving climate concern, but in-depth surveys are necessary to test this theory.
- B. **Green Gender Gap vs. Broader Political Gender Gaps:** Why is the green gender gap significantly larger than the vote-choice gender gap? Why has the green gender gap expanded, even while the vote-choice gender gap has remained relatively stable?
- C. **Does Gender Inequality Relate to Women Prioritizing Climate as Voters?:** Much research has shown that the climate crisis is not "gender neutral," with women bearing the risks and burdens of climate impacts much more than men. Are these unequal impacts related to the climate voter gender gap?



#### The Environmental Voter Project

The Environmental Voter Project (EVP) is a non-partisan nonprofit that uses data analytics to identify environmentalists who don't vote and then applies cutting-edge behavioral science messaging to nudge them into being more consistent voters. With over 7,000 volunteers, EVP will canvass, call, mail, and send digital ads to non-voting and seldom-voting environmentalists in over 400 local, state, and federal elections in 2025.

#### Methodology

From January 2 – 16, 2025, the Environmental Voter Project and TargetSmart Communications surveyed 10,500 registered voters in 21 states over a variety of online panels and text-to-web panels. Voters were asked about their top issue priorities and matched to voter file records so their responses could be combined with voter file and other publicly available data to build predictive models identifying how likely each voter in these 21 states is to list either "climate change" or "clean air, clean water, and the environment" as their top priority over other issues.

Unlike polls — which attempt to measure the attitudes of an entire population — predictive models identify specific individuals who have a high likelihood of prioritizing a particular issue. Thus, the end result of a predictive model is not a representative sample of the population; rather, it is a set of issue-priority likelihood scores assigned to each single voter in that population, with the highest scores correlating with voters who are the most likely to list either "climate change" or "clean air, clean water, and the environment" as their top priority.

In this memo, voters identified as "climate voters" or "environmentalists" are registered voters with approximately an 85.00–99.99% likelihood of listing either "climate change" or "clean air, clean water, and the environment" as their top priority. Race, age, sex, and vote history data have been sourced from Smart VAN voter files.

