

GABRIEL DE ROCHE

Curriculum Vitae

University of California, Santa Barbara
2035 Initiative
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Santa Barbara, CA 93106–5160

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RESEARCH INTERESTS

Environmental politics; public opinion methodology; energy politics; migration; causal inference.

POSITIONS

Postdoctoral Fellow

2025 – present

Postdoctoral Fellow & Director of Polling and Survey Research
2035 Initiative, University of California, Santa Barbara — Santa Barbara, CA

Executive Director

2026 – present

Arc Policy Lab – Toronto, ON, Canada

EDUCATION

Ph.D.

2025

University of California, San Diego — La Jolla, CA
Department of Political Science
Dissertation: “Climate migration: the politics of human mobility in a warming world”
Committee: Tom K. Wong (Chair), Fonna Forman, Claire Adida, Zoltan Hajnal.

M.A.

2021

University of California, San Diego – La Jolla, CA
Department of Political Science

B.A. (Hons.)

2010

University of Toronto (Trinity College) — Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Maj: International Relations. Graduated with High Distinction

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Mildenberger, Matto, Sara M. Constantino, Paasha Mahdavi, Parrish Bergquist, Gabriel De Roche, Emma Franzblau, Cesar Martinez-Alvarez, and Ingmar Sturm. 2025. “How publics in small-island states view climate change and international responses to it.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS)* 122 (30). [\[link to article\]](#)

Bergquist, Parrish, Gabriel De Roche, Kathryn Harrison, Erick Lachapelle, Matto Mildenberger. 2022. “The politics of intersecting crises: The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on climate policy preferences.” *British Journal of Political Science*. [\[link to article\]](#)

UNDER REVIEW *(working papers available upon request)*

De Roche, Gabriel (*first author, corresponding author*), Sophia Tomany de Brito, Yohan Min, Sanjay Poudel, Madalsa Singh, Patricia Hidalgo-Gonzalez, Ranjit Deshmukh, Grace C. Wu, and Matto Mildenberger. “State and local attitudes toward household electrification in California: evidence from a large survey.” *Under Review*. [\[link to pre-print\]](#)

De Roche, Gabriel (*first author, corresponding author*), Sara M. Constantino, Yohan Min, Shawn Rumery, Robi Nilson, Ben Hoen, Holly Caggiano, David Gahl, Grace C. Wu, and Matto Mildenberger. “When do communities support clean energy infrastructure? Results from a large, representative survey of planned and prospective utility-scale solar sites in the United States.” *Under Review*.

Singh, Madalsa, Rajni Kant Bansal, Gabriel De Roche, Yohan Min, Sanjay Poudel, Grace C. Wu, Matto Mildenberger, Patricia Hidalgo-Gonzalez, and Ranjit Deshmukh. “Distributional Impacts of Electricity Rate Reform in California.” *Under Review*.

Min, Yohan, Madalsa Singh, Gabriel De Roche, Sanjay Poudel, Patricia Hidalgo-Gonzalez, Ranjit Deshmukh, Matto Mildenberger, and Grace C. Wu. “Survey-based, spatially resolved adoption for household electrification pathways and equity implications.” *Under Review*.

De Roche, Gabriel, Cesar B. Martinez-Alvarez. “Climate change and migration in the world’s small-island states: evidence from a novel, large survey.” *Under Review*.

WORKING PAPERS (*available upon request*)

De Roche, Gabriel (*first author, corresponding author*) and Matto Mildenberger. “The Quiet Climate Voter: Issue Salience and the Illusion of Climate Backlash in 17 Countries.”

Bergquist, Parrish, Sara Constantino, Alex Gazmararian, Gabriel De Roche, Matto Mildenberger, Paasha Mahdavi. “Political effects of clean energy policy enactment and retrenchment.”

De Roche, Gabriel. “Preferences for the Admission of Climate Migrants in the United States.”

De Roche, Gabriel. “Admitting Climate Migrants: Experimental Evidence from a Survey of Ten Countries.”

WORKS-IN-PROGRESS

“The Climate Hush: Assessing the Evidence on Electoral Backlash to Climate Commitments in the United States” (with Matto Mildenberger).

“Designing effective local community engagement procedures for utility-scale solar development” (with Matto Mildenberger, Sara Constantino, and Ireri Hernandez Carballo).

“Public Opinion on Economic Transitions in Oil- and Gas-Producing Communities” (with Paasha Mahdavi, Matto Mildenberger, Dustin Tingley, Ranjit Deshmukh, and Cesar Martinez Alvarez).

“Largescale classification and evaluation of party manifesto/platform commitments on climate and the clean energy transition across the world’s democracies” (with Matto Mildenberger).

“Assessing frontier LLM capabilities in evaluating compensation regimes in energy project siting” (with Matto Mildenberger).

“Attitudes toward fossil fuel phase-out policies in Santa Barbara County” (with Olivia Quinn, Lucas Boyd, and Paasha Mahdavi)

“Public opinion on the role of offshore wind in the clean transition: evidence from a survey in California’s Central Coast” (with Nathan Mariano, Eleanor Thomas, Carmen Rhodes, and Alexandra Brown-Law).

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS – NON-REFEREED & POLICY

De Roche, Gabriel, Matto Mildenberger. 2026. *The Power and Influence Index: Measuring the Policymaking Window for the Clean Transition*.

De Roche, Gabriel, Matto Mildenberger, Lucas Boyd. 2026. “Polling: Politicians Shouldn’t Hide from Climate.” Santa Barbara, CA: The 2035 Initiative. [link to report](#)

- Quinn, Olivia, Haven Parker, Eleanor Thomas, Nathan Mariano, Lucas Boyd, Gabriel De Roche. 2026. "Potential Community and Labor Impacts of an Onshore Oil Phaseout in Santa Barbara County." Santa Barbara, CA: The 2035 Initiative & UC Santa Barbara Community Labor Center. [\[link to report\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2026. "Taiwan Climate Opinion Map: Modelling Climate Opinion at the Local Level in Taiwan" Santa Barbara, CA: The 2035 Initiative. [\[link to webtool\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2026. "Santa Barbara County Public Opinion on Onshore Oil & Gas." Santa Barbara, CA: The 2035 Initiative & UCSB Community Labor Center.
- Mildenberger, Matto, Gabriel De Roche. 2025. "Climate Change and the BC Election: A Post-Mortem Analysis." Santa Barbara, CA: The 2035 Initiative. [\[link to report \(pdf\)\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel, and Matto Mildenberger. 2025. "Power and Influence Index: UK Survey Report." Santa Barbara, CA: The 2035 Initiative.
- Wong, Tom K., Gabriel De Roche. 2024. *New American Voter Survey*. Chicago, IL and La Jolla, CA: National Partnership for New Americans (NPNA) and U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [\[link to report\]](#)
- Wong, Tom K., Gabriel De Roche. 2024. *National Partnership for New Americans Voter Survey*. Chicago, IL and La Jolla, CA: National Partnership for New Americans (NPNA) and U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC) at UC San Diego. [\[link to report\]](#)
- Wong, Tom K., Gabriel De Roche. 2024. "Democratic and Independent Voters Want President Biden to Advocate for Inclusive Immigration Policies." U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC). [\[link to report\]](#)
- Wong, Tom K., Gabriel De Roche, Jack Trent Dorfman. 2022. "Voters Distrust Border Patrol Agency, Want More Oversight and Accountability." U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC). [\[link to report\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2021. "Canadians Support a Green Economic Recovery from the Pandemic." Ottawa, Canada: Smart Prosperity Institute. [\[link to article\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2021. *Public Preferences for Admitting Migrants Displaced by Climate Change*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC). [\[link to report\]](#) [\[link to methodological appendix\]](#)
- Wong, Tom K., Shelveen Ratnam, Gabriel De Roche. 2020. *Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAP) Poll: North Carolina*. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center (USIPC).

GRANTS & AWARDS

2026-27	European Climate Foundation (Principal Investigator)
2026-27	Stanford Adaptation Accelerator grant to establish the Climate Adaptation Resilience Observatory (Co-investigator)
2025-26	Postdoctoral Fellowship
2021-24	National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship (NSF GRFP, \$138,000)
2022-24	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada) Doctoral Fellowship (\$40,000 CAD)
2022-25	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's Canada Graduate Scholarship (\$105,000 CAD, <i>Declined</i>)
2024	Dean's Office Grant for Fieldwork and Conference Travel
2021-23	Fellowship, Unbound Philanthropy & US Immigration Policy Center at UC San Diego (\$15,000)
2020-21	Research Grant for "Public Opinion and the Status of Climate Migrants", US Immigration Policy Center at UC San Diego (\$2,500)
2020-21	UC San Diego Division of Social Sciences <i>Advancing Racial Justice</i> grant for "Best practices for advancing racial justice via social media: A partnership between UCSD political scientists and San Diego grassroots organizations" (with Marisa Abrajano [PI], LaGina Gause [PI], Zaire Bailey, Alison Boehmer, Nhat-Dang Do, Bianca Freeman, and Laura Uribe).
2010	Gordon Cressy Student Leadership Award (University of Toronto)

TEACHING

As Discussion Section Leader and Teaching Assistant:

2020-21: Introduction to Comparative Politics
2019-20: Ethics and Society

As Teaching Assistant:

2020-21: Politics of Multiculturalism; Politics of Immigration; Policy Analysis; The US Presidency
2019-20: The EU in World Politics; How to Steal an Election; Politics of Immigration; Policy Analysis

SELECT SURVEY & POLLING PROJECTS LED

- 2026:
- 17-country international survey on the clean energy transition. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara
 - Survey of registered voters on issue salience and electoral backlash to climate policy. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara.
 - California Central Coast survey on offshore wind. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara & UCSB Labor Center
 - Survey of businesses on the economic impacts of immigration policy. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Confidential sponsor.*
 - Santa Barbara County survey on fossil fuel phase-out policies. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara.
 - Nationwide survey (US) of people living in close proximity to active oil and gas wells. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara
 - National survey (US) on the impacts of clean energy manufacturing facility cancellations after the repeal of Inflation Reduction Act provisions. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara.
- 2025
- California study on attitudes and preferences toward household electrification technologies. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara.
 - Survey of residents of communities suitable for utility-scale solar development. *Modality:* address-based sampling, mail-to-web. *Sponsor:* DoE SEEDS4 grant with Solar & Storage Industries Institute.
 - Two surveys in the UK on attitudes toward the clean energy transition and trust in fossil/climate actors. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* 2035 Initiative at UC Santa Barbara.
 - Post-election survey of British Columbia (Canada) voters on climate/clean energy salience. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* Clean Economy Fund.
 - US polling on reaction to the first 100 days of the Trump administration. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* US Immigration Policy Center.
- 2024
- National survey on attitudes toward prospective migrants and climate change. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* US Immigration Policy Center.
 - Post-election "exit" polling of racial minority voters. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* US Immigration Policy Center.
 - Extensive pre-election polling (20+ surveys) in the United States focused on immigration policy. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* US Immigration Policy Center.
 - US surveys of naturalized citizen voters. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* US Immigration Policy Center.
 - Canadian survey on vote choice and issue importance. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* Pluriel Research.
- 2023
- Extensive polling in Canada on political support, economic precarity, issue importance, foreign policy preferences, and health care attitudes. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* Pluriel Research.
 - Survey of naturalized citizen voters in the United States. *Modality:* online. *Sponsor:* US Immigration Policy Center.
- 2022
- Survey of residents of all of the world's small-island states and territories on climate attitudes, adaptation, and migration. *Modality:* recruitment via targeted Facebook advertising. *Sponsor:* UC Santa Barbara.

- 2021
- Ten-country survey on climate attitudes and immigration policy preferences. *Modality*: online. *Sponsor*: UC Santa Barbara.
 - Canada/US survey on COVID-era economic recovery preferences and climate attitudes. *Modality*: online. *Sponsor*: UC Santa Barbara & Smart Prosperity Institute.

...and others.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH & CONSULTING EXPERIENCE

- 2023 - Pluriel Research (Toronto, ON; Santa Barbara, CA)
Founding Principal. *Polling, survey, and market research consultancy conducting regular public opinion research and statistical modelling for private and non-profit clients.*
- 2020 - US Immigration Policy Center (San Diego, CA)
Researcher. *Conducted nationally representative polling on migration policy preferences including questionnaire design, sample acquisition, and design of experiments embedded in the questionnaire; analyzed and presented results; drafted a policy brief for US senators and members of Congress.*
- 2021-22 Black Census and Redistricting Hub (California)
Consultant. *Using Maptitude GIS software, conducted analysis on existing and proposed electoral districts (federal & state) in the state of California; drew lines for proposed districts for submission to the state's independent commission on redistricting that balanced population, minority representation, and the contiguity of communities of interest.*

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS – MEDIA & COMMENTARY

- De Roche, Gabriel, Kyla Ronellenfitsch. 2026. *The Culture Lab Podcast*. Toronto, Canada: Air Quotes Media. (32+ weekly episodes of a podcast about public opinion and the culture that shapes our politics.)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2026. Press Conference releasing local estimates of climate and clean energy transition opinion in Taiwan.
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2023. "In selecting Bonnie Crombie, Ontario's Liberals choose the path of restoration – and least resistance." *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December. [\[link\]](#)
- Wong, Tom K., Gabriel De Roche, Jesus Rojas Venzor. 2021. "The migrant 'surge' at the U.S. southern border is actually a predictable pattern." *The Washington Post (Monkey Cage)*, 23 March. [\[link\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2018. "Ontario's Liberals face annihilation. Here's what happened, and what happens next." *Macleans Magazine*, 5 June. [\[link\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2018. "The art of the political flip-flop." *Macleans Magazine*, 17 May. [\[link\]](#)
- De Roche, Gabriel. 2018. "Just how 'pro-business' is Doug Ford, really?" *Macleans Magazine*, 2 May. [\[link\]](#)

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

American Political Science Association:

- 2026: "The Quiet Climate Voter: Issue Salience and the Illusion of a Climate Backlash in 17 Countries."
- 2025: "Preferences for the Admission of Climate Migrants in the United States"
- 2023: "Migration Aspiration in the World's Small-Island States: Evidence from a Novel, Large Survey"
- 2022: "Admitting Climate Migrants: Experimental Evidence from a Survey of Ten Countries"
- 2021: "The Climate Migrant Mismatch: Public Preferences for Admitting Migrants Displaced by Climate Change"
- 2020: "The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on climate concern and climate policy preferences."

Canadian Political Science Association

- 2024: "Migration Aspiration in the World's Small-Island States: Evidence from a Novel, Large Survey"

Political Economy of Climate and the Environment Conference:

2023: "Migration Aspiration in the World's Small-Island States: Evidence from a Novel, Large Survey"

UCSD Migration Research Conference, Interdisciplinary Perspectives

2022: "Admitting Climate Migrants: Experimental Evidence from a Survey of Ten Countries"

Midwest Political Science Association:

2021: "Climate Migration: a Mismatch between Public Opinion and Migration Policies."

Western Political Science Association:

2021: "The effectiveness of grassroots organizing on social media." (*Presented by co-author*)

Global Conference on Environmental Taxation:

2020: "The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on climate concern and climate policy preferences." (*Presented by co-author*)

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC):

2021: "The effectiveness of grassroots organizing on social media." (*Presented by co-author*)

NON-ACADEMIC & PRACTITIONER CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2026: Presentation launching the Power & Influence Index, *New York Climate Week* (New York, NY)

Panellist, "Creating Linkages between Researchers and Solar Developers," *RE+ Midwest* (Chicago, IL)

Speaker, "Public Opinion on Climate Change and the Clean Energy Transition in Taiwan," (Taipei, Taiwan)

2025: Presenter, "Survey Results on the Clean Energy Transition in the UK" (London, UK)

Panellist, "Evaluating the Effectiveness of Community Engagement in Solar Development," *RE+* (Las Vegas, NV)

2021: Panellist, US Immigration Policy Center's *Strategy Conference on Climate Displaced Persons* (San Diego, CA)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Account Director, Public Affairs and Corporate Communications

2016 - 2019

Hill+Knowlton Strategies — Toronto, Ontario, Canada

- Designed and led government relations and public policy programs for national and international clients, including managing national teams of consultants. Extensive work in public opinion research including questionnaire design and data-informed communications and government relations programs.

Senior Advisor to the Minister

2010 - 2016

Government of Ontario — Toronto, Ontario, Canada

- *Office of the Minister of Health and Long-Term Care*: led public opinion research program, behaviour-change marketing initiatives, communications on the 2014-15 Ebola crisis, among other duties.
- *Office of the Minister of Economic Development and Trade*: led development of Ontario's first International Trade Strategy, FDI-attraction, Ontario's assent to the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada and the European Union, multiple trade missions, among other duties.
- *Office of the Minister of Children and Youth Services*: led communications on the province's response to high-profile incidents of youth violence, speechwriting and media relations, among other duties.
- *Office of the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration*: participated in policy development on immigrant settlement and labour market integration, led speechwriting and communications.

Other professional & internship experience

2007 - 2009

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Munk Debates; Institute for Canadian Citizenship; Atlantic Council of Canada (now NATO Association of Canada); University of Toronto G8 Research Group (Team Leader & Analyst, Compliance Unit); Attaché Journal of International Affairs (Co-Editor-in-Chief and Member of the Editorial Board)

SERVICE TO THE UNIVERSITY

UCSD Police Accountability Board Working Group – 2023

UC San Diego Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Politics Workshop (Coordinator) – 2022-23

OTHER COMMUNITY SERVICE

Soundstreams, a contemporary music company (Board of Directors and Chair of the Board's Audience Development Committee) Toronto, Canada – 2016-19

Business for the Arts (Committee Member, ArtsScene Toronto), Toronto, Canada – 2017-19

LEAP: Pecaut Centre for Social Impact (Pro bono government relations consultant and member of the Investment Committee), Toronto, Canada – 2016-19

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association; Canadian Political Science Association

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

<i>Languages:</i>	English (native), French (working proficiency).
<i>Citizenship:</i>	United States and Canada.

REFERENCES

Available upon request