



# Special Session Proposal

## The CBD Tiebout-Hirschman-Rothschild Model & Ultra-Right Voting

Annie Tubadji, Swansea University (a.k.tubadji@swansea.ac.uk)

### Abstract

The CBD Tiebout Hirschman Rotschild model is a model explaining ultra-right voting and local polarization in political views with a culturally-driven mechanism combining a reflection of people's: (i) Tiebout-like preferences for local level of public expenditure and (ii) Hirschman-Rotschild type of relative deprivation effect driven by the net migration between inflowing immigrants and outflowing emigrants which create a feeling of stuck behind in a place for those who cannot move like their brethren emigrants and face feeling of incoming competitors in the face of the incoming foreign immigrants. The relevance and statistical power of the CBD THR mechanism to explain polarized and ultra-right voting was tested for the case of the UK and the Brexit Vote (Tubadji, Colwill & Webber 2021; Tubadji 2022), Greece (Tubadji & Nijkamp 2019) and the Netherlands (Tubadji, Burger & Webber 2025).

The current special session seeks further replications for other geographies as well as potential extensions for the application of the CBD THR model. Of special interest would be countries like Hungary, France and Italy that have experienced high levels of extreme voting in recent elections. Extensions of the CBD-THR model may include any of the following non-exhaustive examples:

- Does the local investment in cultural heritage as opposed to local investment in living culture affect the Tiebout part of the model?
- Is the diversity of the migrants in the net between incoming and outgoing migrants playing a role in the effect of the Hirschman-Rotschild part of the model?
- How is the balance between cultural heritage and living culture investment (i.e. the cultural entropy (Tubadji 2025a,b) in the locality) related with the THR mechanism and its operation?
- Can we distinguish counterbalancing effects between the voice of the people (the CBD-THR mechanism) and the political will in what drives polarization in society?

### References

- Tubadji, A. (2025a). Culture Based Development : Modelling Cultural Bias in Economic Choice. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Tubadji, A. (2025b). Cultural Entropy, Innovation, and Growth. *Politics & Policy*, 53(4), e70050.
- Tubadji, A., Burger, M., & Webber, D. J. (2025). Geographies of feeling stuck behind and populist voting in the Netherlands. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-31.
- Tubadji, A. (2022). UK Witches: Subversive Narratives and Radicalization. *Available at SSRN 4212249*.
- Tubadji, A., Colwill, T., & Webber, D. (2021). Voting with your feet or voting for Brexit: The tale of those stuck behind. *Regional Science Policy & Practice*, 13(2), 247-278.
- Tubadji, A., & Nijkamp, P. (2019). Cultural attitudes, economic shocks and political radicalization. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 62(3), 529-562.