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Beyond Class: Fragmented Political Consciousness in The Transitional Economy of Haryana

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Abstract

One of the assumptions of classical political sociology is that people align their political and social orientations as part of a coherent, ideologically oriented continuum (e.g., progressive vs. conservative, left vs. right) with objective social class as a leading factor. This paper, based on the findings of an empirical study of 250 respondents in a transitional socio-economic context of Haryana, India, rejects this assumption. The study results indicate that objective class location is only moderately correlated with general value orientations, but is unable to predict explicit ideological positions. The study turns to event-based attitudes to understand this disjunction. A review of 221 key cross-event and within-event correlations finds that there is a condition of "Fragmented and Hybrid Event-based Consciousness. Respondents' bricolage the ideology, fusing market-modernism with cultural conservatism, and selective nationalism with agrarian protest sympathy. The paper concludes with a proposed new model of political cognition, in which citizens do not make their judgments based on one single ideology, but rather on four different types of judgments, Substantive, Distributional, and Affective judgments.

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INTRODUCTION

A crisis of ideological coherence and the search for political consciousness

Over the years, the school of political sociology and political economy has been engaged in an ongoing search for a theoretical "transmission belt" which would link the object of the material life of an individual with his or her subject of political consciousness. The main analytical framework, which was much influenced by classical Marxist and early structuralist traditions, assumed the coherence of ideology for more than a hundred years. According to this orthodox model, people in the same structural position in the economic base (a "class-in-itself") would certainly form a common, coherent ideological framework (a "class-for-itself"). Within this framework, political attitudes are conceived as being neatly arrayed along predictable continuums: The proletariat should have a collectivist, redistributive, progressive political attitude; and the bourgeoisie should have an individualistic, market-oriented, conservative political attitude. But this idealistic belief in citizens' ideological uniformity has been put to a serious test as scholars have been questioning citizens' political behaviour in the 21st century.

The certainty that citizens' political orientations are packaged together as "left-wing" or "right-wing" is constantly undermined in today's societies, where they are increasingly hyper-connected and undergoing transition. The ideological orthodoxy here is embodied in material reality that is stronger in the Global South. The Indian context is characterised by a process of capitalist modernisation facing longstanding traditional cleavages in society – caste, kinship, religion – which leads to the absence of the European-style class ideologies. Instead, human beings experience "contradictory class locations"—socio-cultural circumstances in which people's economic position often collides with their cultural and social status. As a result, a lot of research that uses the typical ideology questions to come up with a person's score is incorrect in its diagnosis of voters—calling people "irrational," "inconsistent", or "uninformed" because their responses do not fit neatly into the unidimensional scales that political theorists have constructed.

Haryana as a Crucible of Transitional Consciousness

To investigate this breakdown of ideological coherence, this study utilises the state of Haryana as an exceptional socio-economic crucible. Haryana represents one of the most dynamic and contrasting transitional economies in modern India. On one hand, its agrarian heartland is defined by the enduring legacies of the Green Revolution, which cultivated a powerful, land-owning agrarian bourgeoisie and entrenched traditional, caste-based networks of social capital. On the other hand, the state contains hyper-modern, globally integrated capitalist enclaves—most notably the National Capital Region (NCR) hubs like Gurugram—which host multinational corporations, vast industrial zones, and a burgeoning urban middle and working class.

This dual economy creates a highly volatile socio-economic matrix. A single citizen in Haryana might simultaneously belong to a dominant land-owning caste (enjoying traditional

social supremacy) while engaging in precarious gig-work in the urban economy (experiencing acute economic vulnerability). In such a landscape, the state's populist welfare programs, the democratisation of digital media, and the intense politicisation of religious and caste identities subject individuals to a barrage of competing cultural and economic narratives. Therefore, Haryana offers the perfect laboratory to test whether rapid economic stratification actually produces coherent class ideologies, or if it generates an entirely different cognitive architecture.

The Empirical Puzzle: The Failure of Abstract Ideology

The foundation of this specific paper rests upon an empirical puzzle discovered during a broader, multidimensional investigation of class character in Haryana (N = 250). In earlier phases of the research, a multidimensional Social Class Index (SCI) was constructed to rigorously measure objective material inequality. When this objective class metric was tested against respondents' broad normative values (such as the desire for economic security or the quest for truth), a modest but statistically significant correlation emerged. Material vulnerability dictated a predictable desire for survival-oriented values.

However, when objective class was tested against explicit ideological propositions—abstract survey questions regarding wealth redistribution, privatisation, caste-based reservations, and authoritarian leadership—the correlation completely collapsed. Objective social class failed to predict any systematic alignment with broad ideological doctrines. Furthermore, respondents exhibited virtually no internal consistency among these ideological positions. A respondent might champion sweeping wealth redistribution while simultaneously demanding aggressive capitalist economic growth over environmental protections. This profound empirical disjunction forces a critical methodological realisation: asking citizens to evaluate abstract ideological propositions fails to capture their true political consciousness. Abstract questions are "costless" and heavily mediated by media rhetoric, allowing respondents to endorse conflicting narratives without confronting real-world trade-offs.

The Shift to Event-Based Attitudes and the "Four Layers" Framework

If abstract ideology is an illusion, how do citizens actually evaluate political reality? This paper argues that true political consciousness in a transitional society can only be mapped by examining event-based attitudes. Concrete socio-political events—such as the massive Farmers' Protests, the abrogation of Article 370, the decriminalisation of Section 377, the implementation of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, and the Hathras case—act as high-stakes stress tests. They force individuals out of the realm of abstract rhetoric and demand that they navigate real distributional consequences, confront perceived cultural threats, and process deep emotional reactions.

Through a rigorous correlation analysis of 221 significant cross-event and within-event attitudes, this paper deconstructs the myth of ideological coherence. The data reveals a citizenry

engaged in complex ideological bricolage, actively combining market-modernism with cultural conservatism, and selective nationalism with agrarian protest sympathy. Far from being "irrational" or "inconsistent," this paper posits that respondents are exercising a highly sophisticated, fragmented form of consciousness.

Ultimately, this paper introduces a novel theoretical framework to explain this phenomenon. It argues that event-based political judgment does not operate on a single ideological axis, but rather across four distinct evaluative layers: Substantive Judgment (what the policy achieves), Distributional Judgment (who bears the economic cost), Procedural Judgment (the legitimacy of the methods used), and Affective Judgment (the emotional identification with the actors). By mapping these four layers, this research provides a new empirical and theoretical vocabulary for understanding the complex, hybrid reality of political consciousness in the 21st century.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Design and Sampling Strategy

This study employs a quantitative, empirical, and descriptive-analytical research design to deconstruct the formation of political consciousness. The empirical investigation is anchored in the state of Haryana, an ideal socio-economic laboratory characterised by a transitional dual-economy where rapid capitalist integration intersects with enduring traditional and agrarian institutions.

Primary data were collected through a structured survey from a socio-economically diverse sample of 250 respondents ($N = 250$). The sampling strategy intentionally captured a broad demographic spectrum, including variations in age (Mean = 41.42 years), educational attainment (no formal schooling to postgraduate), social categories (General, SC, OBC), and occupational profiles (agricultural labourers, farmers, formal sector employees, and business professionals). Notably, the sample maintains a balanced agrarian base, with 52% of

respondents owning agricultural land and 48% functioning within the non-agrarian or landless economy.

2.2 Variable Construction and Measurement

To isolate the cognitive mechanisms of political judgment, the study developed distinct sets of variables:

- **Objective Social Class (Independent Variable):** Moving beyond univariate metrics like income, a multidimensional Social Class Index (SCI) was constructed, aggregating scores across five domains: Educational Attainment, Occupational Status, Family Income, Asset Ownership, and Social Capital.
- **Broad Values and Explicit Ideology (Baseline Subjective Variables):** Measured via a Value Orientation Index (VOI) and an Ideological Orientation Index (IOI) using 7-point Likert scales.
- **Event-Based Attitudes (Primary Dependent Variables):** To capture concrete political cognition, respondents were asked to evaluate major socio-political and economic events (e.g., Farm Laws, Section 377, GST, Demonetization, Hathras case, EWS Quota). Responses were specifically designed to measure substantive, distributional, procedural, and affective reactions to each event.

2.3 Analytical Procedure

The primary analytical mechanism deployed in this phase of the study is a comprehensive bivariate correlation matrix utilising Pearson's correlation coefficient (r). The objective was to identify how attitudes interconnect across seemingly unrelated events. Out of the vast matrix computed among all event statements and major indices, 221 correlations were found to be statistically significant. The distribution of these significant correlations (detailed in Table 1) forms the empirical foundation for analysing fragmented consciousness.

Table 1: Distribution of Significant Correlations Among Event-Based Attitudes and Major Indices

Category of Correlations	Count	Description
Cross-Event	188	Correlations connecting attitudes between two entirely different socio-political events.
Within-Event	10	Correlations connecting competing or complementary attitudes regarding the same event.
Involving Major Indices	23	Correlations linking event attitudes directly to SCI, ASC, VOI, or IOI scores.
Total Significant Correlations	221	Analysed at $p < 0.05$ and $p < 0.01$ significance levels.

Source: Prepared by the Researcher based on Sample Survey.

3. The Illusion of Ideological Coherence: Cross-Event Analysis

The analysis of the 188 significant cross-event correlations yields a profound sociological insight: respondents in Haryana do not possess a single, internally coherent left-right, progressive-conservative, or bourgeois-proletarian ideology.

Instead, their event-based attitudes are cross-cutting, selective, situational, and frequently contradictory from the perspective of orthodox political theory.

The data indicate that citizens engage in ideological bricolage—selectively curating bespoke value systems drawn from a variety of competing cultural and economic narratives.

Table 2 highlights some of the most theoretically disruptive cross-event correlations discovered in the dataset.

Table 2: Key Significant Cross-Event Correlations Demonstrating Ideological Bricolage

Variable 1 (Event A)	Variable 2 (Event B)	Pearson's <i>r</i>	<i>p</i> -value	Thematic Pattern
Section 377: Uneasy with non-tradition	Privatisation: Supported Reform	0.234	< 0.001	Market-Modernist Cultural Conservatism
Farm Laws: Harm Small Farmers	Triple Talaq: Hopeful for Muslim Women	0.209	< 0.001	Cross-Domain Vulnerability
Demonetization: Defended	Privatisation: Criticised as Corporate Sale	0.208	< 0.001	Selective State-Policy Judgment
Hatteras: Systemic Oppression	NEP 2020: Worried for Access	0.195	0.002	Cross-Domain Vulnerability
Farm Laws: Modernise Agriculture	GST: Frustrated Small Traders	0.180	0.004	Pragmatic Economic Consciousness
CAA: Protects Minorities	#MeToo: Exposed Patriarchy	0.168	0.008	Hybrid Religious-Gender Politics
Article 370: Essential for Integration	Farm Laws: Shared Protest Support	0.151	0.017	Nationalism with Policy Autonomy

Source: Prepared by the Researcher based on Sample Survey.

Based on these statistical relationships, four major patterns of fragmented political consciousness emerge:

3.1 Market-Modernist Cultural Conservatism

Classical ideological models assume that a "traditionalist" will resist both cultural changes and rapid economic transformations. The data strongly refutes this. The strongest cross-event correlation in the entire matrix demonstrates that respondents who express deep cultural unease regarding non-traditional sexual identities (Section 377) simultaneously support aggressive economic privatisation ($r = 0.234$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, those who view the decriminalisation of Section 377 as a threat to tradition also tend to view the Goods and Services Tax (GST) as a positive, simplifying reform ($r = -0.210$, $p < .001$). This reveals a distinct configuration in Haryana where individuals actively embrace capitalist market integration and economic modernism while utilising those economic gains to vigorously defend conservative cultural paradigms.

3.2 Cross-Domain Vulnerability Consciousness

The data reveals a broad, humanitarian orientation that operates completely independently of partisan ideology. Concern for structural disadvantage in one domain accurately predicts concern in an entirely different domain. For instance, respondents expressing material concern that the Farm Laws harm small farmers are significantly more likely to express social hope for Muslim women following the Triple Talaq ban ($r = 0.209$, $p < .001$). Similarly, viewing the Hathras case through the lens of systemic caste oppression is strongly correlated with worrying about unequal access for the marginalised in the National Education Policy 2020 ($r = 0.195$, $p = .002$). These respondents do not subscribe to a unified "left-wing" doctrine; rather, they apply a generalised sensitivity to structural disadvantage—whether the victims are farmers, women, or lower castes.

3.3 The Fragmentation of State-Supporting Nationalism

A common assumption in contemporary Indian politics is the existence of a monolithic, pro-government nationalist bloc that uniformly supports all state interventions. The cross-event correlations dismantle this assumption. A respondent may

fiercely defend a major state intervention like Demonetization, yet simultaneously criticise Privatisation as a corporate sell-out ($r = 0.208$, $p < .001$).

Moreover, nationalism does not erase the capacity for protest sympathy. Respondents who firmly believe the abrogation of Article 370 was essential for national integration are statistically likely to share sympathy for the anti-government Farmers' Protests ($r = 0.151$, $p = .017$). This proves that support for the state's sovereignty and territorial integrity does not mandate blind obedience to the state's domestic economic policies. Citizens exercise a highly sophisticated selective nationalism.

3.4 Issue-Specific Agrarian and Economic Pragmatism

Agrarian and economic attitudes do not form a clean, anti-market "farmer ideology." Respondents who support the Farm Laws because they modernise agriculture are simultaneously capable of recognising and expressing frustration over the negative impact of GST on small urban traders ($r = 0.180$, $p = .004$). Economic consciousness in Haryana is deeply pragmatic. Respondents evaluate economic reforms not based on abstract commitments to "socialism" or "neoliberalism," but by carefully calculating the localised, distributional consequences for specific demographic groups—be they rural farmers, small business owners, or corporate entities.

4. The Anatomy of Ambivalence: Within-Event Analysis

If the cross-event correlations demonstrate that citizens lack a unified macro-ideology, the within-event correlations explain exactly how they navigate this cognitive complexity on a micro level. When asked to evaluate different dimensions of a single political event, respondents frequently held seemingly contradictory views. A binary ideological model (which expects a respondent to be uniformly "pro" or "anti" an event) would classify these responses as cognitive dissonance or measurement error.

However, the empirical data suggests otherwise. As detailed in Table 3, an analysis of the 10 significant within-event correlations reveals that respondents are engaging in highly sophisticated, multi-layered assessments. They actively separate policy objectives from procedural methods, and objective socio-economic consequences from subjective cultural anxieties.

Table 3: Significant Within-Event Correlations and Identifying Ambivalence

S. No.	Variable 1 (Critique / Evaluation A)	Variable 2 (Critique / Evaluation B)	Pearson's <i>r</i>	<i>p</i> -value	Thematic Interpretation
1	EWS Quota: Diluted Caste Fight	EWS Quota: Criticised for Ignoring Caste	-0.170	0.007	Differentiated anti-policy consciousness
2	Farm Laws: Protests Were Disruptive	Farm Laws: Inspired by Farmers	0.156	0.013	Critical solidarity with protest
3	Farm Laws: Harm Small Farmers	Farm Laws: Shared Protest Support	0.150	0.017	Material grievance-based solidarity
4	Section 377: Promotes Inclusiveness	Section 377: Threatens Tradition	0.146	0.021	Liberal recognition with cultural anxiety
5	GST: Frustrated Small Traders	GST: Supported Reform	-0.143	0.024	Distribution-sensitive economic judgment
6	NEP 2020: Inclusive and rooted	NEP 2020: Criticised Elitism	0.142	0.024	Qualified policy endorsement
7	EWS Quota: Undermines Affirmative Action	EWS Quota: Justice for the Weak	0.136	0.032	Competing-justice consciousness
8	Jat Reservation: Angered by Violence	Jat Reservation: Support Expanding Reservation	0.133	0.035	Substantive support with procedural rejection
9	Section 377: Uneasy with non-traditional	Section 377: Endorsed LGBTQ Rights	-0.125	0.047	Consistent cultural conservatism
10	NEP 2020: Inclusive and Rooted	NEP 2020: Excited for Tradition	0.125	0.049	Cultural-rootedness affirmation

Source: Prepared by the Researcher based on a sample survey.

An analysis of these correlations uncovers the specific mechanisms through which political ambivalence is constructed in transitional societies:

4.1 Critical Solidarity

A traditional binary model assumes that if a citizen supports a protest movement, they will blind themselves to its negative externalities. The data refutes this. There is a statistically significant positive correlation between respondents finding the Farmers' Protests functionally disruptive to daily life and simultaneously feeling inspired by the farmers ($r = 0.156$, $p = 0.013$). Respondents actively separated the negative consequences of collective action (disruption) from positive emotional identification with the actors (inspiration). They are effectively stating: "The protests disrupted normal life, but I was still inspired by the farmers' cause." This represents a deeply nuanced stance of critical solidarity.

4.2 Liberal Recognition vs. Cultural Anxiety (Section 377)

Perhaps the most theoretically disruptive within-event finding occurs in the evaluation of Section 377's decriminalisation. A unidimensional ideological scale assumes that recognising a policy as "inclusive" requires rejecting the idea that it "threatens tradition." However, the data yield a positive correlation: respondents can simultaneously believe the ruling promotes inclusiveness while also believing it threatens traditional norms ($r = 0.146$, $p = 0.021$). The respondent objectively recognises the advancement of liberal rights while subjectively feeling anxiety over the erosion of cultural stability. This is not a contradiction; it is a classic manifestation of ambivalent consciousness.

4.3 Qualified Policy Endorsement and Competing Justice (NEP & EWS)

The evaluations of state policies further highlight the electorate's refusal to grant blanket endorsements. Regarding the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, respondents simultaneously praised the policy's vision as culturally rooted and inclusive, while criticising it for containing embedded elitism ($r = 0.142$, $p = 0.024$). They support the philosophical direction but remain wary of unequal implementation. Similarly, in evaluating the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) Quota, respondents simultaneously agreed that it provides justice for the weak while also worrying that it undermines historical affirmative action for marginalised castes ($r = 0.136$, $p = 0.032$). They are holding two competing principles of justice—economic deprivation versus historical caste disadvantage—in tension within a single cognitive frame.

4.4 Substantive Support with Procedural Rejection (Jat Reservation)

The data surrounding the Jat Reservation agitation clearly separates policy demands from the methods used to achieve them. Respondents expressed anger at the violence of the protests while still supporting the core demand to expand the reservation ($r = 0.133$, $p = 0.035$). This highlights a crucial distinction in event-based consciousness: a citizen can view a political objective as entirely legitimate while viewing the procedural method used to pursue it as wholly unacceptable.

5. Theoretical Synthesis: The Four Layers of Event-Based Political Judgment

The findings from both the cross-event and within-event analyses culminate in a critical theoretical realisation: political ambivalence and "contradiction" are illusions generated by flawed, unidimensional measurement tools. When citizens evaluate a political event, they do not simply ask, "Does this fit my class ideology?" Instead, the data suggest that respondents deconstruct events through four distinct, autonomous evaluative layers.

As summarised in Table 4, a citizen's final stance on an event is a hybridised configuration of these four layers of judgment.

Table 4: The Four Layers of Event-Based Political Cognition

Evaluative Layer	Cognitive Question Addressed	Empirical Example from Haryana Data
1. Substantive Judgment	What does this policy actually do in principle?	Recognising that the decriminalisation of Section 377 objectively promotes legal inclusiveness and rights.
2. Distributional Judgment	Who gains and who loses economically?	Supporting the macroeconomic vision of GST reform, but criticising it because it functionally frustrates small traders.
3. Procedural Judgment	Were the methods legitimate or functional?	Acknowledging that the Jat Reservation demand is justified, but condemning the violent agitation methods used.
4. Affective / Emotional Response	How does this event make me feel?	Acknowledging that the Farmers' Protests are disruptive, yet feeling emotionally inspired by their struggle.

Source: The Four Layers of Event-Based Political Cognition

By separating political cognition into these four layers, the apparent contradictions of the Haryana electorate are entirely resolved. A respondent is not contradicting themselves when they say a protest is disruptive (a negative Procedural judgment) but that they are inspired by it (a positive Affective judgment). Similarly, a respondent is entirely coherent when they praise the vision of the NEP (a positive Substantive judgment) but worry about unequal access (a negative Distributional judgment).

Ultimately, this framework proves that political consciousness in transitional economies is not defined by ideological purity or strict material determinism. It is defined by a highly sophisticated, multi-layered adaptability that evaluates each political event on its own complex merits.

5. Theoretical Contribution: The Four Layers of Event-Based Consciousness

The empirical findings from both the cross-event and within-event analyses present a formidable challenge to orthodox political sociology. If objective class location does not generate a unified ideology, and if citizens routinely combine seemingly contradictory positions, how do we model political cognition? This paper proposes that the concept of "ideological diffusion" is a necessary but insufficient starting point. To truly understand political behaviour in transitional economies, we must recognise that citizens do not evaluate socio-political events through a singular, monolithic ideological lens.

Instead, this paper theorises that event-based political consciousness operates through Four Autonomous Layers of Judgment. When confronted with a political event, a citizen deconstructs the phenomenon and applies independent cognitive criteria to different dimensions of that event. These four layers operate simultaneously but autonomously:

5.1 Layer 1: Substantive Judgment

This layer addresses the core philosophical or policy objective of the event: What does this policy actually do in principle? At this level, respondents evaluate the abstract merits of a state action or social movement. For example, in the Haryana dataset, respondents objectively recognised that the decriminalisation of Section 377 promotes legal inclusiveness, or that the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 introduces a culturally rooted educational vision. Substantive judgments are often driven by broad normative values (e.g., the desire for

truth, tradition, or inclusion) rather than strict material class interests.

5.2 Layer 2: Distributional Judgment

This layer addresses the localised material consequences: Who gains and who loses economically? While a citizen might approve of an event at the substantive level, they critically evaluate its economic fallout at the distributional level. The empirical data highlights this clearly: respondents supported the macroeconomic modernisation intended by the Goods and Services Tax (GST) reform (a positive substantive judgment) while simultaneously withdrawing support because it functionally frustrated and harmed small traders (a negative distributional judgment). Distributional judgments are where objective economic vulnerability and class position exert their strongest, most localised influence.

5.3 Layer 3: Procedural Judgment

This layer assesses the legitimacy of the methods employed: Are the tactics used to achieve the goal acceptable and functional? The data proves that citizens sharply separate the legitimacy of a demand from the methods used to secure it. Respondents agreed that the Jat community's demand for reservation expansion was substantively justified, yet expressed deep anger at the violence and disruption of the agitation. Similarly, respondents recognized the Farmers' Protests as functionally disruptive to civil order. A negative procedural judgment does not automatically invalidate a positive substantive one; it merely moderates the citizen's overall political endorsement.

5.4 Layer 4: Affective / Emotional Response

The final layer addresses subjective internalisation: How does this event make me feel? Political cognition is not a purely rational calculus of material interests; it is deeply embedded in cultural identity and emotional resonance. The Haryana data reveals that citizens can feel deeply inspired by the Farmers' Protests despite criticising their disruptive nature, or experience profound cultural anxiety over the erosion of traditional norms (Section 377) even while cognitively recognising the legal rights of minority groups.

5.5 Synthesising the Hybrid Consciousness

By mapping political cognition across these four layers, the apparent "contradictions" of the Haryana electorate are entirely resolved. A respondent is not suffering from cognitive dissonance or "false consciousness" when they express both

support and opposition toward a single event. They are engaging in a highly sophisticated, pragmatic evaluation—balancing substantive goals, distributional harms, procedural legitimacy, and affective resonance. This multidimensional evaluation process constitutes the architecture of Fragmented and Hybrid Event-Based Consciousness.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This investigation aimed to interrogate the transmission belt between objective social class and subjective political ideology in the rapidly transforming socio-economic context of Haryana. By shifting the analytical focus from abstract ideological propositions to concrete, event-based attitudes, this study exposes the limitations of classical deterministic models of class character.

The empirical findings yield the following major conclusions:

- The Failure of Abstract Ideology: Objective social class—while retaining a modest relationship with broad survival-oriented values like economic security—fails to predict explicit ideological positions. Citizens in transitional economies do not organise their political worldviews along rigid progressive-conservative or bourgeois-proletarian continuums.
- The Prevalence of Ideological Bricolage: The cross-event analysis demonstrates that citizens actively curate bespoke political identities, freely combining attitudes that orthodox theory deems mutually exclusive. The coexistence of market-modernism with cultural conservatism, and selective nationalism with agrarian protest sympathy, proves that the electorate navigates political reality without relying on pre-packaged partisan ideologies.
- The Four Layers of Political Cognition: The within-event analysis reveals that citizens evaluate political reality through four distinct layers: Substantive, Distributional, Procedural, and Affective. Recognising this multi-layered cognitive architecture prevents researchers from misdiagnosing nuanced political ambivalence as voter irrationality or ignorance.
- The Decoupling of Class and Political Action: Ultimately, this research concludes that while material inequalities in Haryana remain sharply defined and structurally rigid, they no longer dictate a uniform political consciousness. Political mobilisation in the 21st century relies less on unifying a single economic class, and more on navigating the complex, intersecting, and issue-specific judgments of a deeply pragmatic electorate.

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