

## Political Power Shift in Gujarat: From Congress to BJP

Dr. Priyanka R. Patani<sup>1\*</sup>

### ABSTRACT

The political landscape of Gujarat has undergone a significant transformation over the past few decades, marked by the shift of power from the Congress Party to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Once a stronghold of Congress, Gujarat witnessed a steady decline in its influence, culminating in BJP's dominance since the mid-1990s. This study examines the socio-political factors that contributed to this power shift, focusing on electoral trends, leadership influence and governance strategies. Using a mixed-methods approach, this research incorporates historical analysis, electoral data interpretation and secondary sources such as government reports, academic literature and media narratives. The research highlights journey and decline of Congress in Gujarat, critical events such as the political instability in Gujarat, the leadership of Narendra Modi and his ability to consolidate a strong voter base in Gujarat. Findings suggest that BJP's success was not only due to Congress's decline but also to its ability to adapt to Gujarat's evolving socio-economic landscape, leveraging identity politics and economic growth as electoral tools. Findings suggest that BJP's success in Gujarat can be attributed to a combination of effective political strategy, ideological consolidation and economic policies appealing to various voter segments. The research underscores the broader implications of Gujarat's political shift on national politics, serving as a case study for understanding BJP's electoral strategy across India. The study concludes that Gujarat's political transformation reflects deeper socio-political currents, making it a crucial model for analysing contemporary political dynamics in India.

**Keywords:** *Gujarat politics, BJP, Congress, Political transition, Hindutva, governance, Elections.*

### ***Post-Independence and the Struggle for Statehood***

Gujarat played a crucial role in India's independence movement, producing leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Salt March of 1930 was a defining moment in the struggle. After independence in 1947, Gujarat was part of Bombay State until 1960, when it became a separate state, shaping its unique identity. The state of Gujarat was officially formed on May 1, 1960, following its separation from Bombay State. This formation was the result of the Maha Gujarat Movement, which called for the creation of a separate state for Gujarati-speaking people. The movement was part of a larger linguistic reorganization in post-independence India, where states were restructured based on linguistic and cultural identities. To understand how Gujarat emerged as a state, it's essential

<sup>1</sup> Asst. Prof. of Political Science, P. G. Dept. of Political Science, Sardar Patel University, V.V. Nagar, India

\*Corresponding Author

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to explore its historical background, political evolution and the political movements that led to its formation.

The Maha Gujarat Movement (1956–1960) was a crucial turning point, fuelled by the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission (1956), which suggested states be formed based on linguistic identity. Led by Indulal Yagnik, the movement saw widespread participation from students, workers and business leaders, involving mass protests and strikes. Clashes with authorities resulted in violence and casualties, increasing pressure for change.

As a result, the Bombay Reorganization Act, 1960 was passed, leading to the official formation of Gujarat on May 1, 1960, with Ahmedabad as its first capital. Later, Gandhinagar was developed as the permanent capital. Jivraj Narayan Mehta became Gujarat's first Chief Minister. This event remains significant in the state's history and May 1 is celebrated as Gujarat Sthapana Divas (Gujarat Foundation Day).

### *Introduction to Gujarat's Politics*

Gujarat has played a significant role in India's political history, both as a birthplace of national leaders and as a key state in shaping political trends. In the early decades after independence, Gujarat was a stronghold of the Indian National Congress (INC). From 1960 until the mid-1990s, Congress consistently held power in the state, with occasional interruptions. This era saw Congress dominating Gujarat's political space, largely due to its national popularity and association with the independence movement. The party's policies during this time emphasized industrial development, agrarian reforms and social welfare, aligning with the broader Nehruvian vision of nation-building.

However, the 1990s marked a significant political shift in Gujarat with the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). By 1995, the BJP formed its first government in the state, breaking the long-standing Congress dominance. Since 1998, the BJP has maintained continuous power, transforming Gujarat into one of its core bastions. This transition reflected broader changes in Indian politics, such as the decline of Congress hegemony and the rise of regional and ideological alternatives.

### *Research Problem*

Over the past few decades, Gujarat has witnessed a significant transformation in its political landscape-transitioning from being a stronghold of the Indian National Congress to becoming a stronghold of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). This political shift has not only altered the electoral dynamics of the state but has also influenced its governance, development model and socio-political identity. Understanding the underlying causes and consequences of this shift is critical to analysing broader trends in Indian politics

### *Scope of the Study*

The study will adopt a historical, socio and political approach.

- **Historical:** Tracing the roots of Congress dominance post-Independence and the gradual emergence of BJP.
- **Political:** Investigating party strategies, voter base shifts and ideological changes.
- **Socio-Economic:** Exploring how development models, caste dynamics, urbanization and economic growth contributed to BJP's rise.

### ***Key Research Question***

Why did Gujarat shift from Congress to BJP and what were the driving forces behind this political transformation?

### ***Objectives of the Study***

1. **To analyse the historical dominance of the Indian National Congress in Gujarat**, particularly in the post-Independence period through the late 1980s.
2. **To examine the socio-political factors behind the BJP's rise in Gujarat**, including changing voter demographics, caste alliances and Hindutva ideology.
3. **To assess the role of leadership in this political shift**, focusing on influential figures such as Narendra Modi.
4. **To discuss the impact of BJP's governance on Gujarat's policies**, economic growth, administrative reforms and communal relations.

### ***The Journey of Congress in Gujarat (1960–Present)***

The Indian National Congress (INC) played a central role in shaping the political destiny of Gujarat after the state's formation in 1960. From leading the first government to facing eventual marginalization, the Congress's journey is marked by both successes and crushing setbacks.

#### ***(1960–1969)***

When Gujarat was carved out of Bombay State in 1960, Congress emerged as the unquestioned political force. Dr. Jivraj Mehta became the first Chief Minister of Gujarat. With its legacy in the freedom struggle and deep grassroots presence, Congress won the 1962 and 1967 assembly elections with ease. The party's policies focused on development, education and cooperative movements. However, internal rifts began surfacing toward the end of the decade.

#### ***Challenges and Mobilizations (1970–1979)***

The 1970s were a difficult time for the Congress party in Gujarat. The party split into two groups—Congress (O) and Congress (I)—which made it weaker and gave other parties a chance to gain support. In 1974, a student protest called the Navnirman Movement which was socio-political movement started against high mess bills and poor quality of food. It quickly turned into a big anti-corruption movement that forced the Chief Minister, Chimanbhai Patel, to resign. This hurt the Congress party's image badly. Things got worse during the Emergency (1975–77), when many freedoms were taken away under Indira Gandhi's rule. People became angry and in the 1977 elections, Congress lost badly to the Janata Party. Despite these problems, Madhavsingh Solanki started thinking about new ways to bring different communities together and rebuild the party's support for the future.

#### ***The KHAM Strategy (1980–1985)***

The early 1980s marked a significant turnaround for the Congress in Gujarat, led by Madhavsingh Solanki. In a bid to rebuild the party's voter base, Madhavsingh Solanki introduced the KHAM strategy—an alliance of Kshatriyas, Harijans (Dalits), Adivasis (tribals) and Muslims. This coalition represented about 70% of Gujarat's population and aimed to bring historically disadvantaged communities into the political mainstream. The strategy proved highly successful in the 1980 and 1985 state elections. In 1985, the Congress won a historic 149 out of 182 seats, achieving one of its most dominant performances in the state's history.

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This period was marked by progressive policy initiatives focused on social justice, such as expanding educational access, improving healthcare in tribal areas and promoting employment opportunities for backward castes. The KHAM coalition symbolized a shift from elite-dominated politics to inclusive governance. However, this transformation also generated resentment among the upper castes and segments of the urban middle class, who felt politically and socially marginalized. The introduction of reservation policies for backward communities led to widespread anti-reservation agitations, particularly in urban centres like Ahmedabad. Violent protests erupted in 1981 and again in 1985, exposing deep societal fault lines.

Though the Congress was at the height of its electoral power, the unrest created a polarizing environment that the party struggled to navigate. The alienation of upper castes and growing urban dissatisfaction began to erode Congress's traditional support base in these communities. These developments laid the groundwork for the emergence of alternative political narratives and forces, especially the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which began capitalizing on the discontent. Thus, while the KHAM strategy brought temporary political dominance, it also initiated socio-political shifts that eventually contributed to Congress's decline in Gujarat.

### ***Caste and Communal Tensions (1985–1990)***

During this period, Congress continued to implement welfare-oriented policies, including public health campaigns and tribal upliftment schemes. Its rural base remained largely intact and the party maintained its commitment to social justice. However, the political climate was increasingly shaped by rising caste conflicts and communal tensions. Anti-reservation agitations intensified and communal riots in cities like Ahmedabad further fractured social harmony. These issues eroded the Congress's credibility as a unifying force.

The party's inability to effectively manage the fallout from its own KHAM strategy, along with growing dissatisfaction among upper-caste and urban voters, led to a significant loss of support. The 1990 elections were a major setback, with Congress securing only 33 seats—a dramatic decline from its earlier dominance. This electoral rout signalled the end of Congress's hegemonic position in Gujarat politics and marked the BJP's emergence as a serious political contender.

### ***The Rise of BJP and Congress's Struggles (1990–2001)***

The 1990s were a transformative decade for Gujarat politics, as the BJP emerged as the dominant political force. Congress attempted to recover by holding on to its tribal support base and launching efforts to modernize its party machinery. It initiated youth outreach programs, improved internal communication and tried to rebuild its image in the face of growing competition. However, these attempts were undermined by leadership crises and ideological confusion.

The BJP, riding the wave of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement and Hindu nationalist sentiments, rapidly gained popularity. Its disciplined cadre, strong organizational structure and active RSS support gave it an edge in grassroots mobilization. Congress, by contrast, was plagued by internal divisions and failed to offer a coherent ideological alternative.

Electoral defeats in successive state and national elections further demoralized party workers. Congress leaders were often seen as disconnected from local issues, while BJP's message of cultural nationalism and economic development struck a chord with the public.

Even as Congress raised important concerns around social justice and rural development, it failed to frame them in a manner that resonated with the changing aspirations of Gujarat's electorate.

By the end of the 1990s, the BJP had firmly established its dominance and Congress was relegated to a secondary role in state politics. The gap between the two parties widened significantly, setting the stage for the BJP's consolidation under Narendra Modi in the next decade.

### ***The Era of Narendra Modi in Gujarat (2001–2014): Defeating Congress and Redefining Development***

The rise of Narendra Modi as the Chief Minister of Gujarat in 2001 marked a turning point in the state's political and developmental landscape. After decades of Congress dominance followed by growing BJP influence in the 1990s, Narendra Modi's leadership brought both consolidation of BJP power and a new political narrative that side-lined the Congress further. His tenure redefined governance in Gujarat through a mix of economic reforms and a strong focus on administrative efficiency.

When Narendra Modi took office in 2001, Gujarat was recovering from the devastating Bhuj earthquake. His early leadership during the crisis was marked by swift action and bureaucratic coordination, which helped establish his image as a decisive and efficient administrator. However, it was the 2002 Gujarat riots—triggered by the Godhra train burning incident—that brought Modi into national focus. Despite widespread criticism and allegations of administrative failure during the riots, Modi successfully turned the discourse towards development and governance.

Modi and the BJP strategically used themes of Gujarati pride, governance and anti-corruption to weaken Congress's traditional voter bases. Congress, already weakened by internal splits, appeared directionless in countering the BJP's new development narrative. While Congress continued to speak the language of social justice and welfare, Modi projected himself as a visionary leader who prioritized economic growth, infrastructure and stability.

### ***Development Model: The 'Gujarat Model'***

The hallmark of Narendra Modi's leadership was the promotion of what came to be known as the 'Gujarat Model of Development'—a mix of industrial growth, public-private partnerships, improved infrastructure and administrative reforms. This model focused on:

- **Industrial Growth** Narendra Modi's government actively promoted Gujarat as an investment destination. Major industrial corridors were developed, including the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC). Large-scale projects like the Tata Nano plant in Sanand symbolized the state's pro-business environment. Vibrant Gujarat summits, launched in 2003, became a global branding exercise to attract domestic and foreign investors.
- **Infrastructure and Urban Development** Gujarat under Modi witnessed significant improvements in roads, electricity supply and urban planning. The Jyotigram Yojana, launched to provide 24x7 electricity to rural areas, was a widely praised initiative that improved agricultural productivity and rural lifestyles.
- **Water Management and Agriculture** Despite being a water-scarce state, Gujarat made major progress in water management. Narendra Modi's administration expanded check dams, drip irrigation and canal systems linked to the Narmada

project. Programs like Krishi Mahotsav promoted agricultural best practices among farmers, increasing productivity.

- **Governance and Technology** Modi emphasized e-governance, transparency and result-oriented administration. Through initiatives like SWAGAT (State Wide Attention on Grievances by Application of Technology), citizens could directly communicate their grievances to the Chief Minister. Bureaucratic efficiency became a hallmark of the administration.
- **Public Image and Communication** Narendra Modi's leadership style was marked by strong central control, frequent use of media and image-building. His personal visibility, coupled with a media-savvy approach, contrasted sharply with the Congress leadership in the state, which appeared fragmented and reactive.

### ***Decline of Congress in Gujarat***

During Narendra Modi's tenure, the Congress party struggled to present a coherent alternative. The party failed to counter the BJP's economic narrative and often appeared disconnected from grassroots realities. Despite occasionally raising issues like farmer distress, caste discrimination and minority rights, Congress was unable to challenge the broader perception of Modi as a successful leader.

Congress's lack of strong local leadership further weakened its position. While the BJP effectively used a cadre-based structure and support from the Sangh Parivar for mobilization, Congress was plagued by factionalism and poor coordination.

In the 2002, 2007 and 2012 assembly elections, Modi led the BJP to comfortable victories, each time increasing the party's hold across rural and urban constituencies. His ability to appeal across caste and class lines—especially to the urban middle class, youth and industrialists—helped the BJP expand its voter base.

### ***Gujarat Politics: Socio-Political and Economic Factors in Congress and BJP Governments***

The political evolution of Gujarat since independence has been marked by the alternating dominance of the Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), each responding differently to the state's socio-political and economic realities. While Congress laid the foundation of political mobilization in the early decades, the BJP has redefined the political narrative since the 1990s. This section explores the role of caste, urbanization, economic development and electoral strategies under both regimes.

#### **1. Caste Dynamics**

- **Congress Era (Post-independence to late 1980s):** Caste was a central tool in Congress's political strategy. The party governed Gujarat through broad-based social coalitions, culminating in the KHAM alliance (Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi, Muslim), engineered by Madhavsinh Solanki in the early 1980s. This strategy helped Congress dominate the electoral landscape, with a record-breaking victory in 1985. However, it alienated the influential Patidar community, who perceived KHAM as a threat to their political and economic dominance.
- **BJP Era (1990s onwards):** The BJP successfully reorganized caste alignments by integrating Patidars, upper castes and segments of OBCs. Rather than relying on caste identities alone, the BJP promoted a broader Hindu identity through the ideological influence of the RSS. This pan-Hindu appeal allowed the party to overcome traditional caste divisions and build a more cohesive and loyal voter base.

Congress, meanwhile, failed to update its caste strategies, leading to fragmentation of its support.

### 2. Urbanization and Industrial Growth

- **Congress Era:** During the early years, Congress governments prioritized land reforms, agriculture and cooperative movements, particularly in the dairy and textile sectors. Leaders like Morarji Desai and Hitendra Desai laid the groundwork for industrialization. However, economic growth remained uneven and the pace of urban development was relatively slow.
- **BJP Era:** Under the BJP, particularly during Narendra Modi's tenure as Chief Minister (2001–2014), Gujarat positioned itself as a model state for economic reforms and industrial growth. Massive infrastructure development, privatization-friendly policies and business summits like *Vibrant Gujarat* attracted domestic and foreign investment. Urban centres like Ahmedabad, Surat and Rajkot saw rapid modernization, creating a middle-class electorate aligned with pro-market, aspirational politics. The Congress could not offer a competitive development model, which weakened its appeal in urban and semi-urban constituencies.

### 3. Governance and Voter Expectations

- **Congress Era:** Governance during Congress rule was characterized by welfare schemes, state-led development and cooperative movements. However, by the 1980s, growing allegations of inefficiency and lack of responsiveness began to erode public trust. The party struggled to maintain credibility amidst changing political aspirations and rising regional demands.
- **BJP Era:** The BJP emphasized governance marked by efficiency, discipline and infrastructure-led development. Its administration projected an image of being corruption-free and decisive, particularly under Modi. The narrative of the "Gujarat Model" became a key campaign point nationally. Voters, particularly the youth and middle class, responded positively to this governance-oriented approach. Congress was perceived as lacking administrative innovation and clarity in governance priorities.

### 4. Nationalism, Identity and Campaign Strategy

- **Congress Era:** Congress relied heavily on its legacy of the freedom movement, promoting a secular and inclusive national identity. However, in Gujarat, this often translated into vote-bank politics, especially in how the party engaged with minority communities. Over time, this created a perception—amplified by political opponents—of "minority appeasement."
- **BJP Era:** The BJP shifted the discourse towards nationalism, regional pride (*Gujarati Asmita*) and Hindu unity. The party's narrative focused on strength, security and development, moving away from caste and class rhetoric. This ideological clarity, combined with a strong media presence and cadre-based outreach, helped consolidate its voter base. Congress's campaign strategies often appeared disjointed, reactive and lacking a clear emotional connect with the electorate.

## 5. Organizational Strength and Grassroots Presence

- **Congress Era:** In its prime, Congress maintained a strong grassroots presence through local leaders, cooperatives and Panchayati Raj institutions. However, this network weakened over time due to internal factionalism, leadership erosion and loss of ideological direction.
- **BJP Era:** Its booth-level strategy, youth engagement and tech-enabled voter outreach helped it sustain a continuous connection with the electorate. This organizational edge allowed the BJP to dominate even in traditionally Congress-leaning rural and tribal areas.

### *Why Voters in Gujarat Shifted from Congress to BJP?*

Shift in Gujarat's electorate from the Indian National Congress to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) since the late 1980s reflects broader socio-political and ideological transformations. The breakdown of Congress's KHAM alliance and the alienation of dominant castes like the Patidars weakened its traditional voter base. The BJP effectively mobilized support through Hindutva-driven identity politics, the leadership of Narendra Modi and the promotion of the "Gujarat Model" of development.

Urbanization and a rising aspirational middle class further aligned with the BJP's narrative of modernization and governance. The party's organizational strength, grassroots presence and consistent engagement helped consolidate its hold, while Congress struggled with leadership crises, weak messaging and declining grassroots support. A broader shift in political discourse—from caste and welfare to development and nationalism—cemented the BJP's dominance in Gujarat's political landscape.

## 1. Collapse of Congress's KHAM Alliance

- **Original Strategy:** The Congress strategy, particularly under former Chief Minister Madhavsinh Solanki, was the formation of the KHAM (Kshatriya, Harijan, Adivasi and Muslim) alliance. This coalition of marginalized and numerically significant groups delivered massive victories in the 1980s.
- **The Breakdown:** The strategy inadvertently led to the alienation of the dominant upper and intermediary castes, most notably the Patidars (or Patel) community, who felt marginalized in terms of political power and educational opportunities. The Patidars, historically significant agriculturalists and business owners, became a crucial, early base for the emerging BJP.

## 2. Rise of Hindutva and Identity Politics

- **The Ayodhya Movement:** The BJP effectively capitalized on the nationwide Ram Janmabhoomi movement (Ayodhya) in the late 1980s and early 1990s, using it to mobilize Hindu identity. This allowed the party to transcend caste barriers and unite disparate Hindu communities under a common religious banner, a strategy that Congress struggled to counter effectively.
- **Communal Polarisation:** Periods of communal tension further solidified the identity-based shift toward the BJP, painting the Congress as a party engaging in "minority appeasement."

## 3. The Narendra Modi Factor and the 'Gujarat Model'

- **Strong Leadership:** Narendra Modi's tenure as Chief Minister (2001-2014) provided the party with a strong, charismatic and stable leadership that Congress lacked. He cultivated an image of a decisive administrator.



- **The 'Gujarat Model':** Modi effectively promoted the "Gujarat Model" of development, which emphasized industrialization, infrastructure (roads, electricity) and ease of doing business. This narrative resonated deeply with an aspirational middle class and the burgeoning urban centres, successfully shifting the political discourse from traditional caste-based appeals and welfare politics to governance, economic growth and modernization.

#### 4. Organizational Superiority and Grassroots Strength

- **Cadre-Based Party:** The BJP, supported by its ideological parent, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), possesses a highly efficient, disciplined and extensive grassroots organizational structure (cadre-based party).<sup>3</sup>
- **Consistent Engagement:** This allows the BJP to engage voters consistently, not just during elections and to micro-manage booths, ensuring effective vote consolidation on polling day, something the Congress organizationally struggled to match.

#### 5. Congress's Internal Weaknesses

- **Leadership Vacuum:** After the 1990s, Congress suffered from persistent internal factionalism, a lack of strong, regionally popular leadership and poor messaging that failed to adapt to the changing political environment.
- **Weak Opposition:** The party became associated with a "soft-Hindutva" strategy in an attempt to counter the BJP, which alienated its core secular and minority supporters without successfully winning over the Hindu nationalist base, leaving its core political identity ambiguous.

### CONCLUSION

The shift in political dominance to the BJP in Gujarat, particularly since the 1990s and consolidated under Narendra Modi, is strongly linked to significant developmental and economic benefits for the state, which formed the basis of the highly publicized "Gujarat Model." The long-term, stable political environment allowed the BJP government to pursue consistent policies focused on accelerated economic growth and industrialization. Gujarat successfully marketed itself globally as a prime investment destination through flagship events like the Vibrant Gujarat Global Summits, resulting in massive investment inflows. This focus led to the development of world-class industrial infrastructure, including better roads and the integration of key corridors, translating into a notable increase in the state's Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) and per capita income, which particularly benefited the aspirational urban and business classes.

Beyond industrial growth, the benefits extended to crucial areas like infrastructure and administrative efficiency. Landmark initiatives, such as the Jyotigram Yojana, ensured reliable 24x7 electricity across all rural areas, dramatically boosting both rural quality of life and agricultural productivity. Furthermore, the government prioritized complex, long-term projects like the expansion of the Sardar Sarovar Narmada Dam Project to tackle the state's water scarcity issues, benefiting the agricultural sector through expanded irrigation. Administrative reforms, including an emphasis on e-governance through systems like SWAGAT, fostered an image of stable, efficient and corruption-free governance, reinforcing the public's confidence in the BJP's ability to deliver tangible, infrastructure-led progress.

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### ***Conflict of Interest***

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