# *Roti, Kapra Aur Makan: Slogan Remain a Slogan*

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**Abstract**

*Our political history witnessed many catchy phrases and beautiful sets of words which become famous and people of our beloved country begun to follow it in the hope that these are truly represent their pent up feelings while living in Pakistan. These are not merely words for the people who are deprived of their right of bread and butter along with shelter but the audacity of hope of the better and prosperous future for them and their generations to come. Roti, Kapra Aur Makan is one of all time favorite slogans of lower middle class people which are raised by the political elite of our country who had never tasted the misery of these three words in entire of their lives. The present study will highlight and discuss the origin, adaptation and the role of this beautiful and catchy slogan that was used during the elections days in large processions and rallies only to gain the vote of the people who are still striving hard to get these basic amenities in their lives and sometimes they become pray of these three words. The analytical and comparative study will show that this slogan used in the elections played very important role in getting public support and how this election slogan mould the situation in the favor of a political party. In this way, the aim and objective of the study would be that it will made researchers able to look the elections scenario in a broader perspective and importance of slogans in electoral process of our beloved country where a significant portion of the population is illiterate and still believe in catchy slogans enchanted in the big processions .*

**Keywords:** *Slogan, elections, political parties, impact, results, people's consciousness.*

## Introduction

Slogans are concise and memorable phrases or expressions that convey a specific message, idea, or sentiment. They are often used in politics, advertising, branding, and various forms of communication to capture attention and influence people's thoughts or behavior. Slogan is a word of phrase used to express a characteristic position or goal to be achieved. When it comes to politics, it becomes the key word of any political party or political leader. They used the slogan on large gatherings, rallies and printed them on huge posters and pan flexes. Sometimes these beautiful and catchy slogans were turned into songs by adding music also. The slogans play a key role during the elections and election campaigns to attract the voters. Political leaders and other Politicians use slogans to gain their personal popularity and attract the general public to listen them and vote them subsequently at the day of the election.

The word slogan has been defined in many ways by different scholars, political and advertising experts. Dictionary dates the word 'slogan' back to the 16th century and attributes it Gaelic origins: sluagh-ghairm, from sluagh, 'army' + gairm, 'cry.' This means that originally the slogan was used as 'a battle cry' by the Celtic tribes in parts of Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man and it was meant to galvanize the members of a tribe or clan to fight fearlessly for its protection or the extension of its glory.[1] The linguist, William Safire in Safire's Political Dictionary gives an introductory definition of slogan as "a rallying cry; catch phrase; a brief message that crystallizes an idea, defines an issue, the best of which thrill, exhort, and inspire." Here Safire asserts a purpose for the slogan that captures its persuasive use within political society. To thrill, exhort, and inspire is at the heart of persuading an audience. To evoke these emotions is the start of persuasion. As such, the slogan was meant to focus the attention of the warriors and press them into action embodying several features: dynamism, spontaneity, and rhythm.[2]

Barry defines a political slogan as "a catchword or rallying motto distinctly associated with a political party or other group." It is possible for slogans to transcend party lines and become adopted by the nation as a whole. While its origins might remain rooted in an event or administration, the most

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[1] Geoffrey Hare, "*Studying political slogans as communication*." *Francophonie: The French Journal of the Association for Language Learning* 3 (June 1991): 24.

[2] William Safire, *Safire '.s Political Dictionary 3d ed., An enlarged, up-to-date edition of The New Language of Politics* (New York and Toronto: Random House, 1978) 654.

successful slogans need not be forever tied to a particular party.[3] In function, political slogans are typically a brief statement of a single idea" Brevity makes them" easy to remember and repeat. Slogans can come to characterize the ideas of those who use it. They become concise expressions of consent for a political action. By adopting a slogan, the user is offering his or her approval of the action that it defines. A single slogan contrasts starkly with an entire multi-faceted political agenda. The slogan is a generalized conception of what may in reality be a complex political initiative.[4]

The Oxford English Dictionary define slogan as "A short and striking or memorable phrase used in advertising."[5] In the same way the word slogan is defined in Merriam-Webster Dictionary as "A word or phrase that is easy to remember and is used by a group or business to attract attention."[6] American Marketing Association define slogan in marketing related publication that "A slogan is a brief, memorable phrase used in marketing and advertising to convey a specific message or identity for a product, brand, or organization."[7] The Political Campaign Strategist explained the word slogan that Slogans are the heartbeat of political campaigns. They distill complex policy positions into digestible messages that resonate with voters and create a sense of unity. In psychology the term slogan is explained in a manner that Slogans tap into the psychology of persuasion. They trigger emotions, associations, and familiarity, making consumers more likely to choose a particular product, service or political party.

Slogans act as a means by which the general public may express their opinions on public issues. Bailey goes so far as to assert, "slogans or catch phrases are about the only medium through which large numbers of ordinary citizens can express their views personally and repeatedly for or against given candidates or propositions. "[8] While it is to the merit of slogans that they at least encourage interest and participation in the political system, a negative implication of their use is that they do not

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[3] Herbert Barry III, *Politically Speaking*, ed. Ofer Feldman and Christ'l De Landtsheer (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998), p, 161.

[4] Ibid.

[5] The Oxford Dictionary, 1st ed, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom

[6] Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 1831, George Merriam, Massachusetts, USA, merriam-webster.com

[7] American Marketing Association, 1937, ama.org

[8] Thomas A. Bailey with Stephen M. Dobbs, *Voices of America: The Nation's Story in Slogans, Sayings and Songs,* (New York: The Free Press, 1976) 501.

foster in-depth knowledge of public issues. Several authors have pointed out that slogans may have detrimental effects on the public. "Catch phrases are undoubtedly foes of sober reasoning; they implant the comfortable but illusory feeling that the user is thinking when only mouthing."? "Most people would rather die than think. In fact some do."[9]

Slogans or catch phrases are almost invariable one sided, with little or no room for qualifiers or argument. They often contain untruth or half-truths. Because slogans generalize the idea in question, typically with the intent to evoke persuasive emotion from the listener, they encourage that a blind eye be turned towards the facts surrounding the issue. In this type of use, a slogan serves not only to generalize the matter at hand, but also as an "opiate for the conscience." For the listener, adopting the slogan serves as a substitute for mentally weighing the moral aspects of a political decision. The attractiveness of a slogan from a rhetorical standpoint does not determine its success with the public. Alliteration, a popular rhetorical tool within political slogans, often suggests by its presence, the absence of content: the less specific the idea, the larger the vocabulary a speech writer can select from in order to find a matching consonant.[10] Meaning is key to the success of slogans. Regardless of the pleasantries achieved through sloganeering, the message must be one of meaning and importance to achieve popular use and success. Slogans work better if they mean something.[11]

## Emotions and Slogans

Emotions are attached with all human being and it plays a significant role in molding a situation into the favor of particular groups or nations. The relation between emotion and politics is deep rooted existing in all layers of relations at individual level, group level, community level and mass level. Politics is also an emotional activity. The role of emotions in politics is not a new phenomenon; it is only a rediscovery of process after decades of negligence. The Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle have described emotions as playing important role in political rhetoric and misleading the common people through demagogues. Machiavelli and Hobbes evaluated how emotion of love and fear influence power and Hume

[9] Bertrand Russell, qtd. in Bailey, *Voices of America,* (1931)502.
[10] Alliteration Abuse, *The Economist, (*15 January 1994), 20.
[11] Ibid,

analyzed the impact of moral sentiments on human reason.[12] Emotions help to understand the way in which people construct their political attitudes, behavior, motivations, perceptions, intentions which have undeniable effects for democracy. People built their opinion and political behavior, likeness and dislike, selection and rejection not only through reasoning but also through emotions. Emotions appear first and come before cognition, thoughts and perceptions. Thus emotions are basis of an individual behavior. In politics, emotions appear as power and act as a determinant for political decision making process. On the basis of emotions an individual evaluates political leader and decides to vote in elections. A candidate with good character and reputation creates a good feeling of honor, respect, or hope while a politician with bad character and negative repute causes uneasiness, anger and irritation. Individual is the fabric of society and on the basis of these emotions, one elects or rejects a candidate in election and emotions becomes a determining feature of decision making process in electoral politics.[13]

In the past, electoral politics in Pakistan had consisted mainly of drawing-room negotiations and bargaining. Voters were often approached through intermediaries, including police and revenue officials, village notables, castes and clan elders. But Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political strategy and style, the traditional modes of contact were set aside in many electoral districts. Public meetings, rallies, processions, announcers and slogan-chanting teams in vehicles fitted with loudspeakers, posters and handbills dominated the year-long election campaign in 1970. Politicians delivered fiery speeches in cities and towns and some, notably Bhutto, went to villages and addressed peasants. The people of Pakistan took to politics with great enthusiasm. Party flags flew on tops of private homes and portraits of favored political leaders graced shops. Lack of formal education appeared to be irrelevant to political participation. Issues were discussed not only in coffee houses, intellectual forums, and the press but in homes, barbers' shops, and the workplace.[14]

## Slogans of PPP

[12] Hobbes, T. *Leviathan*. London: (1968) Penguine Books 153.
[13] Marcus, G. *Emotions in Politics*. Political Science Annual Review (2000), 221-50.
[14] Anwar H. Syed, "*The Discourse and Politics of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto"*, The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1992, P. 69

The PPP ran a folksy and colorful campaign. Large portraits of Bhutto were displayed at meetings and carried in processions. Rhyming and catching slogans were invented and shouted at public meetings and rallies. For instance: "Bhutto Sada Sher Hai, Baqi Her Pher Hai" (Our Bhutto is truly a lion while the others are merely devious); "Valika Tha, Amrika Tha, Bhutto Wah, Wah, Wah" (Valika, the industrialist, is down, America is down, cheers for Bhutto); "Sada BhuttoAwe-i-Awe" (Our Bhutto is bound to come to power); "Bhutto Jiye Hazar Sal" (May Bhutto live a thousand years). On his part, Bhutto proved to be a tireless campaigner. He addressed huge gatherings at the celebrated meeting grounds in major cities-Mochi Gate in Lahore, Liaqat Bagh in Rawalpindi, Chowk Yadgar in Peshawar, Nishtar Park in Karachi. But he also went to poor neighborhoods, city slums, small towns, and villages. There were times when he addressed as many as a dozen public meetings in a single day. His speeches were often long, and some of them went on for two or even three hours; the length of time for which a speaker can hold his audience is a measure of his oratorical excellence, which is highly regarded in the Pakistani political culture. A political speech may have educational value, but it is also entertainment. A short speech would be disappointing to listeners who had traveled some distance to the meeting place; not worth the time and effort they had spent.[15]

It was a catchy abbreviation of a slogan among students: Roti, Kapra aur Makaan Mang raha hai har insan (Bread, clothes and housing is the demand of all human beings). In Pakistan, the slogan electrified the masses.[16] There is no iota of doubt that the slogan Roti, Kapra aur Makaan was the need of the hour and had voiced from the hearts of every citizen who were deprived from these basic amenities. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's charismatic appeal for the poor was based. However, not just on the modern possibilities for the conscientization he offered, summed up more in the 1970 election cry for musawat (equality) than in the famous call for Roti, Kapra aur Makaan (Food, Clothing and Shelter). It also had more

[15] Anwar H. Syed, "*The Discourse and Politics of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto"*, The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1992, p. 70

[16] Rafi Raza, "*Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-1977*", Oxford University Press, p, 7

traditional roots.[17] This beautiful slogan exposed the pent up feelings of the majority of the people of the Pakistan who were being exploited by the elite class of the society whose resources were unlimited as compared with have not's. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's charismatic leadership was a crucial.

## Origin of Roti, Kapra aur Makaan

As far as the adaptation of this beautiful and public friendly slogan of Roti, Kapra aur Makaan is concerned, these three most striking words were taken from the famous Punjabi Sufi Poet of Kasur Baba Bhully Shah was a 17th and 18th-century Punjabi revolutionary philosopher, reformer and a Sufi poet, universally regarded as the "Father of Punjabi Enlightenment". He spoke against powerful religious, political and social institutions.[18] He is regarded as the "Poet of the People,"[19] His poetry marked a new era in Punjabi literature and spread a wave of reformist ideas throughout the Punjab, which included social, religious and political reforms. He realized the basic need of every person even in that times and coined the following verses[20] which were well explained and articulate in its construction.

رب توں بندیا منگ
گُلی، جُلی، کُلی

The meaning of گُلی is Roti (Bread), جُلی is Kapra (Clothes) and کُلی is Makaan (Shelter). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto is said to have heard these three words during his visit of Kasur after resigning the Foreign Minister office and planning to establish his new political party. He was invited by the Ahmad Raza Kasuri, after visiting the shrine of Baba Bhully Shah, Ahmad Raza Kasuri briefed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto about the philosophy and poetry of Bhully Shah he stated that the Bhully Shah was the first revolutionary of Punjab who challenged the status quo of that time and gave a strong blow to the religious hegemony. To strengthen his arguments, Ahmad Raza Kasuri recited the aforementioned verse of Bhully Shah which was liked the most by the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and influenced the strong message given in this

[17] Ian Talbot, *"Pakistan A New History"*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2012, p, 94.
[18] Mara Brecht; Reid B. Locklin, "*Comparative theology in the millennial classroom : hybrid identities, negotiated boundaries*", (2016),New York, Routledge.
[19] Sadia Abbas, "*At Freedom's Limit : Islam and the Postcolonial Predicament*", New York, (2014), Fordham University Press.
[20] Asif Khan, "*Aakhya Bhullay Shah Ne*", Lahore (1989), Pakistan Punjabi Adbi Board, p, 165

verse. He incorporated these three words in the manifesto of his political party and also made it the prime slogan of his political campaign.[21] The adaptation of this Roti, Kapra aur Makaan as a slogan is also explained by many writers that these three magical words had be taken from the verses of Bhullay Shah.[22]

The PPP bandwagon gained momentum. The slogan Roti, Kapra aur Makaan had caught the public imagination. Everywhere, Party flags were to be seen of different sizes and varying shades, demonstrating they were made individually by the poor at their own cost. The people saw and heard, for the first time, a leader whose words voiced their grievances and aspirations. A surge of support in the Punjab followed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Lahore Mochi Gate public meeting on 9 March, and this in turn had its impact on Sindh, particularly among the waderas (feudal landlords) who recognized the importance of the Punjab in the power game. When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto sought to appease religious sentiment, he talked about Musawaat-i-Muhammadi (Equality of Islam) instead of Islamic Socialism.[23] Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's cry was "Roti, Kapra, aur Makan" ("Bread, Cloth, and Shelter"). It soon became the perennial slogan of his People's Party, for those basic needs would remain unsatisfied after each interlude of his party's rule.[24]

## Conclusion

The Pakistan Peoples Party's politics revolves around this slogan particularly during election campaigns and turning the voters attention to vote them. The slogan Roti, Kapra aur Makaan is no doubt a very powerful and catchy but unfortunately this was remain a slogan only the Pakistan Peoples Party made very little efforts to implement this slogan in planning different programs but on the face of reality no serious and whole heated approach was adopted to make this slogan in the core line of action of the party and to provide the plebian with these basic thing as they enchanted it in the large gatherings and processions. The hope of the general public is

[21] Nawabzada Ahmad Raza Kasuri reveal this facts in an interview conducted by the social media platform TCM while stating the beginning of his relationship with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and highlighted the case in detail in which Bhutto was charged in murder https://youtu.be/DpT4VJpkxzk?si=AgiK1Zmrz6epQrvo

[22] Asar Chohan, "Siyasat Nama", (2020) Lahore, Nawa-i-Waqat Publisher, p,8

[23] Rafi Raza, "*Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-1977*", Oxford University Press, P, 19

[24] Stanley Wolpert, "Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His life and Times", Oxford University Press, P, 177

still encircled with these three things Roti, Kapra aur Makaan but after gaining vote under the hope of the slogan Roti, Kapra aur Makaan being implemented just to play with the emotions of poor and needy people or person living under the poverty line whose entire life and even work hard unable them to have these three things at the same time. Having good food is unimaginable for them, wearing a fine clothes is unfulfilled desire and having their own home is an actual dream for the laity. Unfortunately, on the other hand who addresses the large gathering and heading the high-level meetings to provide the public Roti, Kapra aur Makaan had never tasted even one thing in entire of their lives. This is not meant for them but for the general public who believe in the true spirit of the catchy and powerful slogan Roti, Kapra aur Makaan which is enchanted by their fellow beings.