

## **The Problematic of the Regionalism: Theoretical Debates and the Case of Multan Region**

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### **Abstract**

*Regionalism is a complex and multi-dimensional conception of social science. It basically is not only a universal phenomenon rather a micro view of nationalism too. It indeed tends to assume a decisive role in the operational sphere of multi – ethnic, societies especially in developing reigns of the world. This study offers theoretical debates of and about regionalism in the context of political scenario developed with the passage of time with special reference to the politics of Multan region. The region under consideration had a separate political and administrative identity as a state, as a province and as an administrative unit since the time of Alexander the great i.e. 32 BC till the inception of Pakistan in 1947. The study examines attributes, elements and varying aspects of regionalism. Different theories like functionalism, neo-functionalism, realism and neo-realism are discussed in the context of regionalism. The article engulfed the conditions under which regionalism flourishes in different countries of the world and applies them to the case of Pakistan in general and that of Multan in particular. After independence the people of this region hoped that the new state would restore its old historic position, but different policies and events eventually pushed the historic region of Multan towards tendency of the regionalism. The article also addresses political aspirations of the people for their common cause and it effects on local and national politicians in the context of regionalism.*

**Key Words:** Regionalism, Multan, Politics, Ethnicity, Provincialism.

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

Regionalism to Gove and Webster (1971) is a political ideology which focuses on the interests of a particular region or group of regions, whether traditional or formal like administrative divisions, country subdivisions, political divisions and sub-national units. Regionalism centers on increasing the regions' influence and political power, either through movements for limited form of autonomy demanding devolution, states' rights, and decentralization or through stronger measures for a greater degree of autonomy i.e. sovereignty, separatism and independence. Regionalists often favour loose federations or

confederations over a unity state with a strong central government. (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, 1971: 1912)

Scruton (1984) has opined that "Regionalism is the advocacy of forms of government which permit and encourage the development of indigenous culture and institutions within or separate regions of the jurisdictions and which involve the delegation of substantial political and legal powers to regional authorities with less than full 'sovereignty' but more than merely administrative functions". (*A Dictionary of Political Thought*, 1984: 398) This expression quite aptly favours the creation of Saraiki province.

David Easton (1965: 32) takes politics as allocation of values in a given society. He defines that general problems common to all political systems are survival, reproduction, and adaptation. He conceived all political systems as means of processing inputs through external and internal demands on the system-the latter termed supports into outputs, through decisional process and then feedback. Negative feedback indicates faulty decisions and policies and positive feedback indicates the resources mobilized to fulfill the objectives of policy-decisions. Through this process the political system 'authoritatively allocated' the values of a society. Values are directly or indirectly interlinked with society. Politics also link people, society and state with multiple interactions at various levels.

## **II. OPERATIONISATION OF THE CONCEPT**

In some countries, the development of regional politics may be a prelude to further demands for greater autonomy or even full separation, especially when ethnic and cultural disparities are present. This has been demonstrated in the late 1980s in Yugoslavia, among other examples. Internationally, Regionalist Action Party (RAP) of Chili (in northern areas of Chili) the Savoy Region Movement in France (Sovoy), the Friesen and South Schleswig Voter Federation in Germany (Friesland) and Telugu Desam Party in India (Andra Pradesh) are main examples of Regionalism. Similarly, two main factions i.e. Pakistan Saraiki Party and Bahawalpur Movement in the Punjab Province of Pakistan exist. Pakistan Muslim League, Jamat'i-Islami and Pakistan People's Party obviously develop links at the time of election with them at national level.

Likewise, at provincial level, certain political parties seem dominant, e.g. Jiya Sindh Movement (Sindh), ANP in NWFP (Now Khyber Pakhtoon Khaw Province), Baluchistan National Front (Baluchistan). Regional Party is a regional political party promoting autonomy for its region, with its base almost entirely in a single region. However, regional parties often cannot receive enough votes or legislative (lawmaking) seats to be politically powerful however; they may join political alliances or seek to be part of a coalition government.

## **III. ELEMENTS OF REGIONALISM**

Andrew Haywood (1997: 2-3) asserts that "Politics exists because people disagree. They disagree about how they should live? Who should get what? How should power and other resources be distributed? Should society be based on cooperation or conflict? And so on. They also disagree about how such matters should be resolved. How should collective decisions be made"? These are the questions that warrant a fair play in politics of the region. Politics in its broadest sense is the activity through which people make pressure and amend the general rules under which they live. (Ibid, 1997)

#### **IV. CENTRAL QUESTION OF THE STUDY**

Central question of the study is “How regional interests affect political scenario?” In fact, the entire study is revolving around this very question. This trend may envious and empower both the region and federation and their contradictions need to be resolved in the light of constitution. Ultimately, this strengthens loyalty for the federation. The aspiration of the people of Multan is restoration of its status as *Saraiki* Province in the light of its historical perspective. Otherwise this may prove a permanent ‘threat’ to the central government and a source of integration or disintegration, as well.

The main thrust of the study is to explore whether the creation of ‘Saraiki province’ would lead to integration or disintegration in Multan. Then in case of fulfillment of the people’s desire, on what direction the politics of the region might lead the public. At the same time, who may lose and/or gain, general masses or feudals/shrines. Moreover, the action and reaction of the central government with reference to creation of Saraiki province are also of vital importance. All these aspects have been touched upon wherever needed throughout the study.

#### **V. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The canvas of history is replete with pragmatic strategies to solve the issue of differences. What is common to all human-being, is not so important in the world of politics, as are disparities that matter a lot. The fact is that territorial imperative motivates regional groups to develop unity for collectively converging interests in the light of political realism; states/regions seek to enhance their power. Similar is the case of disgruntled intra-state regional groups. Apparently an uneven state of affairs in development ever created conditions of centre and periphery. So in Pakistan warring factions of ethnic elite have been acting and reacting for their survival against the state-elite. Admittedly, the state-elite cannot avert such a situation as the idea of basic units of internal relationship is rooted in human nature. At the same time whatever the circumstances are an ideal regional unit is just a utopia. In Pakistan, another possibility is that in case of becoming an independent unit, the inhabitants of the region may have a better chance to survive.

The theory of balance of power is as old as the history of mankind. As naturally things are in a state of flux so, emergence of certain inter/intra state movements is no exception. Equilibrium or, balance, signifies stability within a system composed of a variety of autonomous forces and this stability may be guaranteed in presence of a proper balance between different geographical regions. The point to be noted is that maintenance of only stability will not suffice as it can be achieved by allowing some overwhelming group to destroy the weaker one. The aim of the system is stability as well as preservation of all the elements of a system. Whenever policies of the state elite in social, political and economic spheres prove unjust, the edifice of a community is bound to crumble down. At the same time justice and force go side by side. According to Pascal, justice without force is impotent and force without justice is tyrannical.

##### **5.1. Functionalism**

In addition to Ardrey’s theory of amity enmity relationship, the application of neo-functionalism and new realism are quite appropriate to the present study where conflict and cooperation in social fabric have been focused. In recent years functional integration has received the greatest theoretical attention Professor Hamid A. K. Rai

(1983:261) says that the basic statement of functionalism comes from David Mitrany who argued that “federalism would not be the best framework for such a new international system to replace the one whose breakdown had led to two world wars”. He is of the view that federalism cannot overcome the forces of nationalism and ideology. For example if a sufficient number of federal units could be established, this scheme would leave the world still divided on the competitive grounds. For a sustainable, pragmatic and global solution, Professor Rai (1983:262) comments on the case put-forward by Mitrany.

Peaceful exchange would come not through a shift of national boundaries but by means of actions taken across them. States would not surrender formal sovereignty which they certainly remained reluctant to do in any case but would transfer executive authority for specific ends. World peace would best be promoted if international activities were to be organized around basic functional needs such as transportation, health and welfare necessities, scientific and cultural activities, trade and even production.

Functional aspect of international organization is really promising. In functionalism, some expectations with universal approach were: (i) Though the immediate outlook was not favourable for political union yet functional union would allow all states to work together, (ii) the successful performance of functional activities by the bodies and authorities concerned would bring nations closer together and build a common interest in peace, (iii) instead of engaging in controversies over political schemes, states could easily take part in practical works.

Moreover, Ernst B. Haas developed a modified version of Mitrany's functionalism while studying the operation of the European Coal and Steel Community. For Haas, the essence of functionalism was that economic decisions at micro level were better to crucial political choices. He held that the operation of growing controversial policies would ultimately bring about the establishment of a new supranational authority regardless of the wishes of the individual actors. Hence Haas' functionalism assumed that economic self interest was more important than political commitment. At the same time incremental decision making were more effective towards integration than purposive behaviour with regard to elaborate grand designs.

The factors conducive to regional integration include a pluralist social structure, economic development, and a low level of ideological politics. However, these elements are not generally found in under developed regions where there is authoritarian leadership, a one party political structure and an emphasis on centralization. Pakistan is a good example of the same sort of politics.

Functionalism correctly predicts international and interest group behaviour. Professor Rai (1983:264) quotes Haas that: “in the absence of a statesman (a Bismarck or a Cavour) with the vision to weld desperate public together, we have no alternative if we wish to integrate a region, but to resort to gradualism, to indirection of functionalism”. It means satisfaction of disgruntled regional group, gradual development and integration is possible through functioning of regional politics and their concerted efforts and not mere planning. So, functionalism offers a useful means for making sense of the complex and sprawling integrative enterprise. Professor Rai (1983:265) comments that “Functionalist theory has viewed de-politicization and a technical treatment of issues as the most promising route to ultimate political integration.” The preceding consideration shows that

this integration is limited to European model. The next theoretical stage is Neo-functionalism.

### **5.2. Neo-functionalism**

Neo-functionalism is a theory and a strategy of regional integration as well. Neo-functionalists focused their attention in the process of integration among states, i.e. regional integration. At the outset states integrate in limited functional or economic areas. Thereafter, partially integrated states experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in different related areas. This invisible hand of integration phenomenon was termed ‘spill-over’, by the neo functionalist school of thought. Integration can be resisted but harder to stop. Neo functionalists are of the view that there are two kinds of spill-over: (i) functional and (ii) political. In other words ‘functional spillover is the interconnection of various economic sectors or issue areas, and the integration in one policy area spilling over into others. Political spillover is the creation of supranational governance models.

Ernst B. Haas is one of its protagonists. Jean Mounet’s approach to European integration, which aimed at integrating individual sectors in hopes of achieving spillover effects to further the process of integration, followed the neo functionalist school’s course of action. Unlike previous theories of integration, neo functionalism declared to be non-normative and tried to describe and explain the process of regional integration based on empirical data. Integration was regarded as an inevitable process, rather than a desirable state of affairs that could be introduced by the political or technocratic elites of involved states’ societies. Its strength however, was also its weakness. While it understood that regional integration is only feasible as an incremental process where as its conception of integration as a linear process made the explanation of setbacks impossible.

### **5.3. Realism**

The realist theory of power politics survived as a relatively simple, persuasive and comprehensive explanation of international politics in a conceptual environment. Professor Rai (1983:276) says, “In its pure form it is based on proposition that states seek to enhance their power”. The major assumptions of realist thought are implicit in this statement. The idea can be further illustrated that all the unit of the system behave essentially in the same manner which means that their goal is to enhance if not to maximize their power. In the light of realism, a theory consists in ascertaining facts and giving them meaning through reason. It assumes that the character of a foreign policy can be ascertained only through the examination of the political acts performed and the foreseeable outcomes of these acts. Thus one can find out what statesmen have actually done and what their objectives might have been. Some principles of political realism seem essential for better illustration:

- a. Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. In order to improve society it is first-necessary to understand the law by which society lives. A theory of politics must be subjected to the dual test of reason and experience.
- b. The main signpost that helps political realism to find its ways through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. History shows no exact and necessary correlation between the quality of motives and the quality of foreign policy. How often have the statesmen been motivated by the desire to improve the world, and ended it by making it worse? (The circumstances in Afghanistan and Iraq are self-evident). How often have

they sought one goal, and ended by achieving something they neither expected nor desired? Salisbury's remark that the only bond of union that endures among nation is the absence of all clashing interest.

- c. Admittedly, interests not ideas dominate directly the actions of men. The realist indeed believes that interest is the perennial standard by which political action must be judged and directed.
- d. Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. Realism maintains that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation; instead they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place. The individual may say for himself, let justice be done, even if the world perish.
- e. Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. Moderation in policy cannot fail to reflect the moderation of moral judgment.
- f. The difference then, between political realism and other school of thought is real and profound. The political realist asks: 'how does this policy affect the power of the nation as the economist asks how this policy affects the wealth of society?' (Hans J. Morgenthau, 1985: 7-12).

Precisely, political realism is based upon a pluralistic conception of human nature. Real man is a composite of economic man, political man, moral man, religious man, and so forth. A man who is nothing but a 'political man' would be a beast (in Pakistan there is a variety of beasts in the world of polity). Similarly, a man who is nothing but a 'religious man' would be a saint as he may lack in worldly desires.

#### **5.4. Neorealism**

Neorealism is a philosophy expounded in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by Edwin Bissell Holt and others (US based scholars). The central feature of the new realism is a rejection of the epistemological dualism of John Locke and the older forms of realism. In 1979 Kenneth Waltz (b. 1924) attempted to reformulate realism in a new and distinctive way. His aim lets cure the defects with earlier theories of international relations, including classical realism, by applying a more scientific approach, classical realists saw international politics in terms of the characteristics of states and their interaction with each other, Waltz believed that there was a level above this state of affairs. According to Waltz "The idea that international politics can be thought of as a system with precisely defined structure is new realism's fundamental departure from traditional realism" (Kenneth N. Waltz, 2000: 5-41).

Thus Waltz's theory is not a theory of foreign policy and does not attempt to predict or explain specific state actions, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the theory explains only general principles of behavior that govern relations between states in an anarchic international system, rather than specific actions. The principles of behavior also include balancing of power. In "Theory of International Politics" Waltz suggests that explanation rather than prediction is expected from a good social science theory.

Behaviouralism is the scientific foundation is the study of human behaviour objectivity and empirically is called "Behaviouralism". Realists recognize that human desires range widely and are remarkably variable. They emphasize, however, 'the limitations which the sordid and selfish aspects of human nature place on the conduct of diplomacy'. Ultimately, conflict and war are rooted in human nature. Classical realists

also often emphasized the role of statesmanship and the analysis of the attributes of state power (Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater, 2009: 32-33).

On the contrary, the Neorealism is structural and states outcomes depend not only on the qualities of states, but also on variation of the structure within which their actions occur. The most common criticism of structural theory is that it fails to include consideration of the effects of policies and behaviors of states on international policies. Neorealism is after all a theory about international politics and not a theory about foreign policy. The theory of international politics explains how external forces shape states' behavior but says nothing about the effects of internal forces. One may however wonder which version of realism 'offensive' or 'defensive' is the more useful one. Offensive realism asserts that more (power) is always better. States want more power, and they always need more power, in order to feel more secure. Realist theory, properly viewed is neither offensive nor defensive. States have to take care of themselves by combination of internal efforts and external alignment (John J. Mearshiemer, 2001: 4-8).

The present study largely corresponds to Robert Ardrey's (1908-1980) theory based on the amity-enmity relationship. Ardrey very aptly coined the phrase, "an amiable xenophobic whole" with reference to his observation of rhesus monkeys and their instinctive tendency to establish proper hostility to neighboring groups, largely applies to human territorial group behaviour. Here Ardrey expression needs to be explained, where hostility is the result of neighbours' exploitation and denial of basic rights to their counterparts. On the other hand friendship develops among the neighbouring regions/groups in response to good relationship (IVOD. Duchacek, 1986: 25)

Ardrey as quoted by Duchacek presented the amity-enmity relationship in a mathematical formula, " $A = E + h$ , in which amity (A) is equal to the sum of the force of enmity (E) that originate in human associations plus the forces of hazard (h, natural and supernatural dangers)". Again the forces of amity and enmity react according to the prevailing relationship among the species and their regions. In fact disputes emerge where the central government violates some theoretical basis of regional planning. Some evolutionary biologists and psychologists have had various views about the man-land relationship where Aristotle's dictum proves true with reference to man-land relationship that man is political animal (David L Sills, 1972: 378).

Ardrey's theory is further underpinned by certain biological studies. Sills quotes that "Ardrey basis his theory of the 'territorial imperative' on the hypothesis that lower species have an instinct to defend definite and precise boundaries. He then extends the hypothesis to explain the foundations of national state, patriotism and universal prevalence of war" (*Ibid*, 1972: 378). So self-defense is an instinctive urge which cannot and should not be suppressed otherwise hostility is certain. The importance of existence of the territorial groups has been reiterated by Sills, "If territorial groups do not exist, political organization would have to call them into being in order to function... These groups converge and organize around interests-locality being a major interest. Society itself is seen as a group of groups". In the light of this idea, it is the responsibility of the state to see and ensure proper functioning of all regional/provincial groups. This study of Multan region definitely falls within the purview of Ardrey's theory of 'territorial imperative' (*Ibid*, 1972: 378-379).

## VI. *RAISON DE TOR OF REGIONALISM*

Regionalism flourishes under the following conditions: (i) Acute ethnic variations in the federating units for example: in Canada, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, India and Nigeria; (ii) Excessive centralization accompanied by authoritarian rule, (Pakistan is a good example of it); (iii) weakening hold of the unifying forces such as of the religion or of the desire to continue to live as an integral part of one political unit. (the separation of East-Pakistan (Now Bangladesh) amply illustrates this point); (iv) Wide economic disparity between the regions as prevails in Pakistan and India, (v) Domination – political economic and administrative – of one region or part over other units due to its size, population and richness in natural resources such as the Punjab in Pakistan, the Northern State in India, (vi) presence of regional-based political parties as exist in Pakistan (Verinder Grover, 2000: 120).

Pakistan, like India and Sri Lanka, was formed through the amalgamations of several “nations” – groups with distinctive languages, cultures, and ethnicity (Garg Baxter, *et. al.*, 1988: 185).

#### **VII. REGIONALISM IN PAKISTAN**

Being inherent in a multi-national country like Pakistan, regionalism as such is not a problem. What makes it problematic is its steady growth and eventual sway over centripetal forces upsetting the federation – state equation. Any attempt to contain it with coercion could provoke resistance. The separation of former East Pakistan in 1971 (Now Bangladesh) is an example. The case of Baluchistan is also a fragment of regionalism. A region is a reservoir of energy, the development of which depends upon man. Verinder Grover (1997: 118) has counted following factors responsible for the growth of regionalism in Pakistan:-

- (i) Centralization accompanied by political authoritarianism;
- (ii) Ethnic and linguistic differences;
- (iii) Wide economic disparity amongst the regions;
- (iv) The sway of one province over others; and,
- (v) The absence of a nationally – based political party having roots in all the provinces”

#### **VIII. REGIONALISM IN MULTAN**

Multan is an important region of Pakistan since the dawn of history. Multan has been in the limelight in the subcontinent. On the regional politics of Multan it is inevitable to determine pros and cons of the study. Some bits of research material are available which definitely highlight the existing regional situation but all this is a partial attempt. Unfortunately no specific and systematic research has been done on the politics of the region.

The available material and books are mostly concerned with the history of rulers, Nawab and their lives – sketches of different invaders who dominated the region during different periods. Most of the available articles and books on the politics of the region are written by local writers in Urdu. These books are written in typical oriental style and their utility is quite limited. They are helpful and provide basic information with reference to the cultural and ethnic point of view, but no writer deals with political aspect (Ahmed Nabi Khan, 1988: 1980), which focus the architectural design of different buildings and tombs of the area.

Historically Multan region has enjoyed a unique position during different periods in history. Among the few ancient cities of Pakistan, Multan has the distinction of



possessing an almost uninterrupted history of religious, political and social activities spread-over a period of not less than five thousand years. It is the region where Indus Harrappa civilization flourished which is one of the oldest civilizations of the world. This civilization flourished in the years 5000-1500 BC. Since then or at least with the dawn of the historic era in this part of the sub continent, Multan region has been in the limelight. It was the oldest trade route from Central Asia, Kabul, and Delhi. It was an important city politically, militarily and a centre of considerable commerce and trade between India, Central Asia and the Middle Eastern countries (Hanif Raza, 1988: 146-147; I. H. Qureshis, 1984: 36-37).

### **8.1 Exclusivity of Multan Region**

Multan region has a separate identity throughout history. The historical record shows that it was a separate province of the Hindu state of Sindh (Before 712 AD), a province of Arab state (712-1206 AD), a province of Delhi sultanate (1206-1526 AD), a province of the Mughal Empire (1526-1857) and a province of Sikh kingdom (1818-1849). It was an independent state during the era of 1206-1227 AD and 1437 to 1527 AD. Historically Multan had a separate and unique identity for about two thousand and five hundred years. Multan region has its own language, culture, art, architecture and folk lore.

### **8.2 Colonial Eccentricity of Multan**

In 1949 the British merged it in Punjab and after the creation of Pakistan in 1947 Multan was given the status of a Division in the Punjab province, but this merger was not liked by the people of this area. It gave rise to a strong sentiment of regionalism in the area and a movement was launched for a (Saraiki) province with its capital in Multan. The movement did not succeed, but the sentiment stayed and still persisted as a strong element in the politics of the area.

The basic problem for analysis in this study was to search whether Multan region aspires for the status of a province within the federation of Pakistan? Is the region in favour of a separate province with its historic name Multan or Saraiki province? What kind of political behaviour prevails there, all the above queries were the basis of this venture.

### **8.3 Idiosyncrasy of Multan after Independence**

After the creation of the new state of Pakistan in 1947 the people of Multan region hoped that the new state may restore its old historic position. But the following political policies and events pushed (G.W. Choudhry, 1988: 231-237; K.K. Aziz, 1976: 32-36) the historic region of Multan towards regionalism:

- i) In 1948, government declared "Urdu" as national language; Bengalis who were in majority of the population (53%) opposed it. It was the start of regionalism.
- ii) In 1949 government adopted quota system based on regional proportionality of population for all entrants to the superior civil services, so it was a policy provoking regional identities.
- iii) In 1955 – 1970, Pakistan's four western provinces were merged into one administrative unit with its capital in Lahore. This step was opposed by all the regions, and provinces.
- iv) During 1955 – 1970 Pakistan had two provinces i.e. West Pakistan and East Pakistan. Population of West Pakistan was 47% while East Pakistan 53%, which should have been dealt with at equal level, East Pakistanis (Bengalis) were in

majority and they thought it a threat or an effort to convert the majority into minority so it increased tendencies of regionalism.

- v) In October 1958, Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law and the people felt deprived of protection and security. The people and politician started agitations against Ayub Khan for a change. Another military General Yahya Khan took-over the government on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1969.
- vi) General Yahya Khan denounced One Unit System and divided West Pakistan into four provinces, Punjab population (60%), Sindh (23%), NWFP (14%) and Baluchistan (05%). This situation resulted in certain grievances among all the regional and ethnic groups. Multan region was merged in Punjab.

All the policies and political process increased the regional political activities when Yahya Khan restored the provinces in November 1969 and merged Multan region into Punjab. It was the desire of the people of the Southern Punjab that Multan region should be restored as a province with in the federation of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan tried to satisfy the people by setting up a university in 1974 and during Zia period 1977 – 88 a Bench of the Lahore High Court in Multan. (Taj Muhammad Langah, 2005: 2-5) But these arrangements could not work; instead it injured the feelings of the people of Multan.

The problem of regionalism has been a universal phenomenon since the end of 2nd World War. The present study on Multan region quite fairly relates to the worldwide problem of regionalism. Neo-functionalists are of the view that “partially integrated states experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in related areas. This inevitable hand of integration phenomenon was termed ‘spill-over’ by the neo-functional school. Although integration can be resisted but it becomes harder to stop integration reach as it progresses” (Ernst Haas, 1975). This means that different economic sectors or areas and governance models cannot stand isolated permanently instead they spill over gradually in response to call of the time and urgency.

Zeki Kutuk comments on Haas’s theory of ‘Neo-functionalism’ that: “spillover is a situation in which a given action, renamed to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn creates a further condition and a need for more action, and so forth”. The concept of ‘spillover’ has been used by Haas to show that integrating one sector of the economy for example, coal and steel will inevitably lead to the integration of other economic activities. “As a result of this process, economic integration starting in a limited sector will spread primarily to other sectors of the economy and will eventually cover all spheres of the national economies” (Zeki Kutuk, 1953: 33).

Economic factor is the crucial one whether it is a matter of integration or division. The integration of certain areas of interest spreads to all spheres of economy. Ernst B. Haas is an exponent and founder of the theory of ‘neo-functionalism’. His theory (Ernst Haas, 1975) is a realistic approach to the study of integration that says “neo-functionalism recognizes the importance of national states but also stresses the role of regional interest groups and the bureaucracy of regional organizations...and national governments increasingly solve conflicts of interest by conferring more authority on the regional organizations, and citizens increasingly look to the regional organization for solutions to their problems.” The exponent of another theory of ‘territorial imperative’, Robert Ardrey (1970) is of the view that instinctive bent of territorial groups is self-defense, which may lead to amity or enmity reflecting and reacting to the treatment of central government This also leads to integration or disintegration of a state.

## IX. CONCLUSION

The supposition of the study was based upon the assumption that the population of Multan region wants the Saraiki province. This study was aimed to know about the political behaviour of the local people of Multan region, in terms of regionalism. One of the targets of the study was to see the political aspirations and role of the people of the region with reference to the political policies adopted by the government from time to time, what were their losses and gains through this experience. Another persistence of the research was to analyze the region's role and its attitudes towards the movement started for a separate province with its capital in Multan (Saraiki Movement). The major outcome of the research is that the people of the region are not happy being part of the Punjab province and the majority of the people of Multan aspire for a separate province. The study has also find out the definite aspirations of the people of Multan towards the political movement to determine the features of regionalism.

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