

ESTABLISHING THE REGIONAL IDENTITY IN NORTHERN RUSSIA. HISTORY AND MODERNITY¹

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Abstract: *It seems a paradox but the regional identity has never been an issue in the light of possible causes of the state collapse, except for periods of national crisis. Comprehension of the regional identity in Russia is based on archival sources and results of the fieldwork and data collection made by the authors of the article in remote areas of the Arkhangelsk region of the Russian Federation. The article also presents its history of exploration and settlement. The specificity of the area is its cultural fragmentation. The government made an effort to create economic ties between localities and contributed to the setup of national Russian identity, rather than the regional one.*

Keywords: *territorial identity, regional identity, the Arkhangelsk Region of Russia, “we – the other”, locality*

Rezumat: *Construirea identității regionale în nordul Rusiei: istorie și modernitate. Pare paradoxal, dar identitatea regională nu a fost niciodată o problemă în ceea ce privește posibilele cauze ale colapsului statal, cu excepția perioadelor de criză națională. Înțelegerea identității regionale în Rusia se bazează pe sursele de arhivă și pe rezultatele muncii pe teren și de colectare a datelor realizate de autorii articolului în zone îndepărtate ale regiunii Arkhangelsk din Federația Rusă. Articolul prezintă, de asemenea, istoricul explorării și colonizării zonei respective. Specificul regiunii este dat de fragmentarea sa culturală. Guvernul a făcut eforturi pentru a crea legături economice între localități și a contribuit la configurarea identității naționale rusești, mai degrabă decât a unei regionale.*

Résumé : *La construction de l'identité régionale au nord de la Russie histoire et modernité. Il semble paradoxal, mais l'identité régionale n'a jamais été un problème en ce qui concerne les possibles causes du collapse étatique, sauf les périodes de crise nationale.*

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Comprendre l'identité régionale en Russie signifie se baser sur les sources des archives et sur les résultats du travail sur le terrain, ainsi que sur la collection des données réalisés par les auteurs de l'article dans les régions lointaines de la région Arkhangelsk de la Fédération Russe. L'article ci-joint présente, de plus, l'histoire de l'exploitation et de la colonisation de la zone respective. La fragmentation culturelle donne le spécifique de la région. Le gouvernement fit des efforts pour créer des liaisons économiques entre les localités et contribua à la configuration de l'identité nationale russe, plutôt que d'une régionale.

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE REGIONAL IDENTITY STUDY

In this article, it is proposed to consider local (regional or territorial) identity as a special form of collective identity. Such an approach allows determining the conditions for the regional identity transformation in a cultural and historical context. Based on the notions of collective identity that have been developed in the scientific literature, it is possible to identify several aspects of the study. First, the conditionality of territorial, historical, and cultural factors. Secondly, the influence of the home policy of the state. Third, the dependence on the socio-cultural characteristics of the population. The authors of the article argue that constructivist and instrumentalist approaches to the interpretation of identity are not always true and believe that local identity does not always initially represent an achieved socio-cultural construction. Under certain conditions, local identity is formed under the influence of external factors and it is determined by the dichotomy "we - they".

Local (regional, territorial) identity is usually a result of cohabitation of people. Identity shows a common value system, similar reactions to social processes and social (collective) actions. A complex concept of "the other" accompanies the process of establishing such an identity. Inclusion of local social organisms in a complex "advanced society" makes the regional identity to dissolve in more common cultural forms. However, this does not happen.

Regional identity always has a geographical location, and its carriers are capable of spatial and temporal identification and self-correlation with the outside world. In our case, the location of the study is the Arkhangelsk region, one of the northwest areas of the Russian Federation. The image of the region appears as a collection of symbols associated with a certain territory, accumulated over time and represented in culture. On the other hand, regional identity will be a product of the regional culture perception made by a collective consciousness reflecting the result of social integration in a given region. Thus, it is important to study the

cultural objects, written or verbal creativity of the region, etc.

One significant difference between Russia and other European countries is that local differences in the more densely populated European countries are more frequent and expressive than in Russia. At the same time, the inhabitants of an area support *these differences*. Differences are reflected in common conditions of economy, social and political spheres. They are demonstrated in clothes preferences or language, etc.

Many scholars admit “obvious cultural homogeneity of Russia, certain interpretations of the nature of the Russian plain, the historically established and more developed Russian (all-Russian) identity than the identity of Russian “historical provinces”, the idea of the Russian people as a nation of nomads who have a penchant for permanent colonization”. All these points are in use to explain the fact that regional identity is not always obvious in Russia².

Huge and poorly populated Russia has always confused researchers. Even in the most difficult periods of the history, Russia did not experience a territorial breakdown. If a threat of territorial disintegration emerged, for political reasons mostly, Russia was able to overcome it quickly.

Two explanations of territorial identity of Russians are popular among the Russian historiographers. S. M. Solovyev, V. O. Klyuchevsky, advocated the first one. They based their point of view on the awareness of the geographical uniformity of Russia and believed that the resettlement of Russians had no conditions that could affect the formation of sharp regional differences. N. I. Kostomarov first introduced the second explanation of Russian identity and marked the beginning of the local history movement. N. I. Kostomarov believed that the specific features of Russian history affected the regional originality but it could not lead to the establishment of a corresponding identity.

When we study the regional identity establishment in the regions of Russia, it is necessary to pay attention to the following features: the presence of a huge territory and relatively low population density, which complicates the construction of any infrastructure, as well as the historically developed cultural homogeneity of territories where regional differences are not always notable. An important factor in the formation of regional identity was the historical path of our country, the peculiarities of its colonization, as well as the milestones of the home policy of the state.

²М.П. Крылов, *Региональная идентичность в Европейской России* [Regional identity in Russia]: диссертация ... доктора географических наук: 25.00.24 / Ин-т географии РАН. Москва, 2007. С. 3

ESTABLISHING REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Historians get troubles, while examining and evaluating such processes. It happens due to the aspiration to rely on facts. Therefore, the study of regional identity should be based on the data representing concrete situation in a concrete area. We have chosen the Arkhangelsk region – a subject of the Russian Federation. It occupies a vast and poor populated (because of the climate conditions) area in the North of Russia. In the beginning of the 20th century the population density there was just at the level of 0,4 people per sq.km. Huge northern and northeast territories of Russia remained almost deserted³.

The population of the Arkhangelsk region – mostly Russians involved in exploration of this area for centuries. The lands of the Arkhangelsk region, like the other territories of the European north of Russia, were among the first to become a part of the Russian state through colonization. As S. M. Solovyov wrote: "How did the Dvinskaya Oblast receive the Russian population and become the possession of Great Novgorod – all this happened quietly, imperceptibly for the historian"⁴. Initially, this land was almost deserted. A few Finno-Ugric peoples lived and fished there. The new population assimilated some of them and other migrated to neighbouring territories.

The colonization of the northern territories was of great economic importance. Initially, most of the colonialists did not seek to establish permanent settlements and develop the infrastructure. They were mainly interested in seasonal economic activity. Probably, therefore, the territory of the Arkhangelsk region remained sparsely populated for a long time. Nevertheless, the situation changed due to the intensity of the economic development over the centuries.

Ethnographers, who studied the population of the Arkhangelsk region, wrote about cultural similarities of people despite of the rare contacts between them. On the other hand, scholars admitted disunity of settlements and at the same time, they marked strong community cohesion that was not possible to destroy during the first years of Bolsheviks ruling.

³Россия. 1913 г.: Статистико-документальный справочник [Russia 1913. Statistics and Docs directory]. С.-Петербург, 1995. С. 11, 18-21, 23

⁴С. М. Соловьев, *История России с древнейших времен* [History of Russia from ancient times]. Москва, 1988, кн.1, т.1, с. 58

COLONIZATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION

Significant socio-cultural differences of the northern territories arose under the influence of a number of factors: the history of settlement and the consequences of economic development.

Colonization of the Arkhangelsk region occurred over a long period; it was unevenly distributed over time and it depended on home politics of the government. As a result, people with different cultural background could live next door. In this regard, huge distances, low population density and impassability facilitated the localization of the population. Alienation could be caused by the preserved collective memory based on memories of old conflicts or due to cultural differences and the reasons for migration.

Until the end of the 17th century before the official "attachment" of the population to places of residence, there were almost no permanent settlements observed. The Arkhangelsk region is a "risky farming zone". Commercial and agricultural occupations require frequent changes of residence. Between the 9th and the 17th centuries, Russians engaged in fishing settled in the northern areas of the Arkhangelsk region. Later these people moved to Siberia. Peasants who burned the forest in order to clear the land and to start farming populated the southern areas of the region. Thus, an unstable population emerged and moved further - to the north and northeast (*to expand the fishing areas and to search for new lands for agriculture*). The royal edicts of the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century "attached" people to their places of residence. Therefore, permanent population appeared in the area. These people were mostly Russians, but culturally heterogeneous due to different places of origin.

Throughout the late 17th and 18th centuries, old believers engaged in agriculture voluntarily or compulsorily resettled in remote northern regions. They were forced to pay high taxes, began to develop industry and moved to uninhabited territories rich with the necessary resources.

Therefore, the population of the Arkhangelsk region came from different parts of the country and it is hardly possible to speak about its cultural unity. Even increasing in numbers, the population of the region did not seek to establish economic, cultural or social connections.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GROUNDS FOR DISUNITY

Local population explained differences between neighbouring villages using the history of the settlements. For example, Timoshenskaya parish in the Pinega district of the Arkhangelsk region consisted of two villages facing each other across the narrow and shallow river called Nyukhcha and a village Kuchkas located 7 km in the forest. According to legends, the first Russians there were descendants of the Novgorod fishers, who defeated local people. The surviving natives hid in the forest and founded the village Kuchkas. People from this village continued traditional occupations (hunting, forestry and fishing), did not communicate with the aliens, who were also hunters. People, who settled on the other side of the river to do farming, came later. They brought Christianity and built a church. "This settling system was the origin of disputes between villages. It came to fisticuffs. For a long time Christianity <...> coexisted with pagan believes of descendants of the Novgorodians. As a result, a part of the local population was more religious and others were superstitious. In Kuchkas people did not believe in anything. Everybody lived in isolation". Thus, the parish had a peculiar division of economic activities (some were engaged in handicrafts and others – in agriculture) and management functions. The representatives of one village put forward a church elder and the others – members of rural administration⁵.

Similar semi-legendary stories were available in each locality and explained the relationships between neighbouring villages. Collective memory reflected in such stories was creating a sense of threat posed by neighbours and contributed to the cohesion of the villagers. During the revolution of 1917 and the civil war from 1917 to 1922, it was usual for the entire village to support one side or the other ("reds" or "whites"). According to memoir, if the villagers had to decide

⁵ Государственный архив Архангельской области, Отдел документов социально-политической истории (ГААО. Отдел ДСПИ). Ф. 8660 Оп. 3 Д.201. Л. 148-152, 188. See: Т.И. Трошина, *Документы личного происхождения, собранные в 1920-30-е годы «Комиссиями по истории партии и революции» как источник этнографической и историко-культурной информации (на материалах Вологодского и Архангельского архивов)* [The collection of ego-documents (personal memoirs), collected by the Commissions on the History of the Communist Party and the Revolution in the 1920s and 1930s, as a source of ethnographic, historical and cultural information (on material from the Vologda and Arkhangelsk archives)], "Антропологический форум", 2011, № 15, с. 421-440.

whom to send to the partisan detachment (to support one or another opposing party), they decided based on the principle: "if one goes, all go!"⁶ Every local society had mechanisms to use against hesitant people and to make them join the majority: threats to destroy and burn property, not to give a piece of land in case of (land) division and to exclude from the community.

We should keep in mind that the settlement of the Arkhangelsk region was caused by different reasons and migration flows arose from different areas. Neighbouring villages could experience some tension caused by a natural distrust of the "others", and conserved due to the absence of roads and regular contacts between the settlements. The state attempted to consolidate the population; it created territorial units (counties; parishes united people who lived on a considerable space for tax collection and assignment of various duties (*public duties such as military service, the provision of accommodation and transport for officials and soldiers, construction and repair work for government purposes*)). However, the huge roadless space was the reason for surrounding areas, even as part of a single administrative entity (county or parish), to have little contact with each other and did not maintain any special connections. As a result, people able to observe the life of the northern villages (officials, clergy, and travellers), recorded noticeable differences of the settlements included, for example, in one county.

Therefore, it was difficult to overcome the fragmentation of the population due to the huge size of the territory and absence of roads. It led to conflicts between villages. The conflicts had economic nature. The peasants used to consider not only land, but also forests, water surrounding of their settlements as their ownership. Inconsistency of such views and state laws often led to disputes with the state authorities.

REGIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE DICHOTOMY "WE – THE OTHER"

In the Arkhangelsk region the division of territories into "own" and "their" has a very ancient origin but with no problems on this ground. The Arkhangelsk region was a sparsely populated area and all its residents existed safely among the others. It was enough space for everyone. Therefore, the idea of "own" and "their" territory existed rather on a subconscious level than in reality. Perhaps, villagers used force in order not to let the "outsiders" in. Some legends contain doubtful evidence. For example, in old days people used to say that remote Glotovo village

⁶ ГААО, Отдел ДСПИ, Ф. 8660, Оп. 3, Д. 156.

(located in the Komi Republic) was impossible to reach because all the people would be “swallowed” by the water monster “GLOT”⁷.

Of course, in the late 19th century, the locals did not kill the “outsiders” of the communities. On the contrary, “outsiders” were allowed to use the community-owned natural resources, but for a fee. It was decided to impose the natural duties or other responsibilities on the “outsiders” in exchange for permission to use the land and other resources. Farmers from the coast of the White Sea traditionally claimed “the rights of the community for the coastal waters near their village”, so they took away all harvested fish from the “outsiders” by force⁸. Colonists of the Murman coast “initiated conflicts with the Pomor-fishermen and harassed them”, “forbade to repair the fisherman's hut, threatened to destroy them”, demanded the others to “search for the other crafts areas”⁹.

The government tried to consolidate the neighbouring population, by organizing a joint “official” work (e. g., maintenance of roads, bridges and crossings) imposed to residents of a particular territory in the form of public services. This work aimed at forcing the population to establish contractual relationships. However, the artificiality of the consolidation manifested itself fully in the era of revolutionary anarchy: territorial entities began to disintegrate and the joint maintenance of roads was neglected and it led to greater fragmentation of individual societies.

REGIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

In the first decades of the 20th century, the population was seemingly convinced of the benefits they have brought through a better communication with other territories (commodity exchange and additional earnings). The events of the Civil War created new fears and motivated people to privacy in order not to let the “outsiders” come to their places of residence. In conditions of political “turmoil”, armed groups from neighbouring territories (rural communities, townships, counties) were used to serve this purpose.

⁷ В.П. Шляпин, *Удора* [Udora], “За работу!”, 1921, № 1, с. 76

⁸ *Сельская поземельная община в Архангельской губернии, по описаниям, представленным в статистический комитет: Вып. II. Кандалакская община Ковдской волости Кемского уезда* [Rural community of the Arkhangelsk Region, based on descriptions presented to the statistical committee: Issue 2. Kandalaksha community, Kovdoy parish, Kemsky district], Архангельск, 1884, с. 26

⁹ ГААО, Ф. 352, О. 1, Д. 576, Л. 445,

The weakening of the central power contributed to the situation when the population began to implement their “rights”, idea which was preserved in the collective memory. Therefore, inhabitants of villages along the rivers demanded payment for the use of the rivers¹⁰ from those who used to carry timber to the factories. The State imposed burdensome taxes on local businesses regarding the use of local resources (e.g., tar and salt production), despite the fact that the local business gave farmers an extra income.

An important outcome of social development is the integration of single local communities in a “wider” society. Actually, this process accompanies the further establishment of the state: development of general laws, norms and political history. Thus, any local society tends towards isolation, towards the return of archaic forms of sociality¹¹. Government forced such communities to engage in intense communications with neighbouring ones by creating relevant economic and political circumstances.

Specific for the social life in the North of the European Russia was the damage caused by the climate that complicated the possibility of territorial division of labour and economic exchange. A more important factor of integration was the state and its actions. The government used paternalistic approaches in the “dialogue” with the local population and worked through its cultural operators and social mediators – the clergy, the bureaucracy, and the intelligentsia. Such social ties were less strong than the economic interdependence of territories among themselves and with the urban centres. However, the paternalistic efforts of the state and the overall economic development of the country led to the stronger economic determination of social life in the Northern provinces in the early 20th century.

OVERCOMING THE LOCALITY

Industrialization, urbanization, social and cultural modernization help to overcome the locality and move towards greater regional identity. They exclude a person from the usual, local connections and force contacts with the others. In order to understand these processes one should refer to E. Durkheim and his types of social solidarity. Traditional society is common for the mechanical type

¹⁰ ГААО, Отдел ДСПИ, Ф 8660, Оп. 4, Д. 81; ГААО, Ф.1, Оп.4, т.3, Д.1222, Л.90.

¹¹See: А.С. Ахизер, *Архаизация как категория общественных наук: на опыте России* [Archaization as a category of social sciences: Russian experience], “Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии”, 2001, Т. 4, № 1, С. 89-90.

of solidarity or interconnection under the fear of the group protection loss and strict repressive measures that punish the slightest deviation from the norms of the collective behaviour. In the early 20th century, Russian society experienced an active transition from mechanical type of solidarity to organic solidarity. It was a move towards solidarity grounded not on similarity but on the difference between people and rooted in division of social labour, which, according to E. Durkheim, contributed to the development of the individualized personality and to the separation of the primary social structures.

Due to the nature of historical processes in a country with a huge territory, the transition from one type of solidarity to another often occurred through the geographical movement of people: a person moves from the village dominated by traditional and social relations and subordination, to the city with the elements of a civil society. As a geographical move, especially with the development of the transport network, it was carried out easily enough, people did not have time to adapt to the new conditions.

The “regional identity” was formed first among the young men who were forced to live in a foreign country or in an unfamiliar environment (military service, seasonal work, etc.). Compatriotic associations were consistent with those forms of cohabitation people were accustomed to: if you are dissolved in the society of “countrymen”, the adaptation period in the new conditions passes easier. Military service, for instance, was a real “melting pot” where all the local differences disappeared after the adaptation period.

At the factories and plants, the “fraternities” appeared by the county principle. In the Northern provinces in the second half of the 19th century, significant number of sawmills employed migrant seasonal workers. First, these factories and plants employed migrant workers from the communities where the tradition of factory work had existed. For example, “migrant workers from Vaga (“vagane”) worked as finishers and sawyers at the sawmills and were engaged in laying planks on the exchange. Workers from Onega (“onegane”) were traditionally engaged in the rollout of the woods. Onegane and vagane lived in separate barracks. During the holiday period or after the salary they fought and sometimes created a vast carnage from killing and maiming”¹².

Enterprises with permanent (“factory”) workers and temporary (seasonal) workers had a tradition to offend and humiliate “the rednecks”. On one metallurgical plant located over the Ural Mountains, “in the evening during the holiday time factory people were very violent. The young ones went with flails,

¹² ГААО, Отдел ДСПИ, Ф. 8660, Оп. 3, Д.34, Л. 40

knives, axes, fights and murders were very frequent if strangers [from Vologda counties], walked along the bustling streets in the evening"¹³. This danger made the newcomers to unite by the principle of the territory. Moreover, the traditional way of hiring the migrants meant arity, when the people from the same village headed by an experienced elder went to look for a job in a town. Such an *artel* had rules and regulations adopted at home, which protected workers, and at the same time, it gave the employer the guarantee of an honest and high quality assigned work. The statistics of the earnings of the migrant workers shows that the *artel* workers had a much higher income than those who looked for a job independently¹⁴. These people had no protection from their compatriots and could be robbed. Seasonal workers without an elder control could be subjected to urban temptation and squander all earnings.

Conditions for erosion of community solidarity in northern villages revealed themselves. However, even by the early 20th century property differentiation did not turn into a social one. Those members of the local society who had been (in the city, in the army, or at school) subjected to integration into a different social context, arriving temporarily or permanently to their villages, experienced "group pressure" and "switched" to existing rules and regulations. According to (*Russian historian and philosopher, 1886-1951*) G. P. Fedotov, the Russian North had "ethnographic resistance to the corrupting modes of urban civilization"¹⁵.

Unstable times give examples of the severance of ties between territories, administrative units, and villages. Economic problems were not the main cause of this process. The weakening of the state actualized the desire for protection and the absolutism of their local interests was kept by the population in the form of legends and obscure representations.

The years 1917 and 1918 had been a period of active territorial and political "division": Russian state collapsed and its provinces were divided. A change in the boundaries of counties, townships, and rural societies occurred most often in the form of new territorial formations. The desire for territorial division within the administrative units had been observed before, in relatively stable times. It

¹³ К. Жаков, *Очерки из жизни рабочих и крестьян на Севере* [Essays about the life of workers and peasants in the North], С-Петербург, 1906, с. 48.

¹⁴ See: *Отчеты Архангельского статистического комитета за 1899-1905 гг.* [Arkhangelsk Statistics Committee reports 1899-1905]

¹⁵ Г.П. Федотов, *Будет ли существовать Россия?* [Will Russia exist?] [1929], in Г. П. Федотов, *Судьба и грехи России: Избранные статьи по философии русской истории и культуры*, Т. 1, С-Петербург, «София», 1991, с. 176.

actualized in the revolutionary era, when the mood of people was generally directed to all sorts of changes. The analysis of petitions of northern farmers during the period 1880-1917¹⁶ reveals main problems between the neighbouring communities: unwillingness to pay for the maintenance of the church building and for clergy together with the neighbours; the desire to have a parish board in their village; conflicts caused by the duties associated with the repair and maintenance of roads, bridges and crossings. The common reason for these conflicts was the roads and the huge distances that separated the settlements included in a single county, township, or parish.

The establishment of the Soviet power on the territory of the former Russian Empire radically changed the regional identity. In the 1920s, ethnic identity came to the forefront. The task of the authorities was to maintain indigenous people because they lack their own written language, and some components of national culture (for example, modern education, literature, etc.). The reason for that was the opinion of the authorities that it would be impossible to build a communist society without certain cultural elements. Establishment of new territorial units during 1920s largely contributed to the instability of regional identity in the Arkhangelsk region, as well as in other regions of the country. Between 1920 and 1937, the Arkhangelsk region changed not only its administrative territorial structure and names but also the territorial composition.

In 1930s, the need to unite the nation in the face of an external threat caused the replacement of the proletarian internationalism by unification policy¹⁷. This is how a supra-ethnic identity emerges, which manifests itself in the concept of a “Soviet citizen”.

“Soviet citizen” – a person of any nationality, who lived on the territory of the USSR, honoured not only his “small homeland”, but also the Soviet ideology and all Soviet country. A Soviet person knew the history and culture of his or her “small homeland” as well as the nation-wide, etc. Thus, the Soviet period was a time of flourishing regional and ethnic identity that fit into the overall concept of “Soviet identity”. The result of this process was twofold: on the one hand, the government welcomed regional differences, and on the other hand, a supra-ethnic

¹⁶ Российский государственный исторический архив. Ф. 1412. Оп. 241.

¹⁷Е. Г. Чумак, *Основные мероприятия государственной образовательной политики в отношении коренного населения севера в 20-50-е гг XX века* [Main activities in the state education policy towards indigenous people of the North in 1920s- 1950s], “Вестник археологии, антропологии и этнографии”, № 8, 2008, с. 113.

and nation-wide identity dominated.

Similar processes were observed in the Arkhangelsk region. The construction of the territorial identity of the inhabitants became more complicated. Self-identification was established on three levels: local, regional and national. For example, I am a person from the village of Karpogory of the Pinezhsky district (local level) of the Arkhangelsk region (regional level), citizen of the USSR (national level). In addition, as economic growth, in the Arkhangelsk region, internal migration had intensified. A large number of immigrants from other regions of the country appeared on its territory, and their identification kept in touch with their “small homeland”.

The post-Soviet period and the disintegration of the state identity led to the actualization of regional identity. However, regional identities in post-Soviet Russia were stronger on the territories with an increase in ethnic identity. The Arkhangelsk region was not affected by these processes. Today, regional identity there is inferior to the all-Russia national identity. However, at the local level, as some scholars note, territorial identity remains strong enough¹⁸.

Modern regional identity is created through speech, as globalization has already fascinated private life of people and they search for a certain local cultural consolidation. Modern Russia has examples of consolidation through speech, cultural speech, first. As a rule, cultural speech exists in the areas with a high migration balance in order to form “local patriotism”. Sociological studies and various analytic reports prove the idea that Russian citizens consider all-country identity more important than the regional or local one (here the term “local identity” means cultural connection with the place of birth).

CONCLUSION

In “troubled” times and in the context of political instability, radical political forces tried to mobilize regional identity in order to find the solution for certain problems. Such a regional identity was absent among the Russian population of the North (Arkhangelsk) province due to a complex of reasons. Local interests of

¹⁸Н. В. Дранникова, «Капитанская деревня»: К вопросу о локальной идентичности жителей села Патракеевки Приморского района Архангельской области [“Captain’s village”: towards a question of the local identity of the people of Patrakeevka village, Primorsky districts of the Arkhangelsk Region], “Ученые записки Петрозаводского государственного университета. Общественные и гуманитарные науки”, №5 (158), 2016, с. 92-93.

each small settlement were embedded in the national ones, because only the state could guarantee the necessary protection. In addition, this is a possible cause of the prevalence of public (national) interests of the Russian individuals and society over the regional ones. Over time, this tendency only increased, despite the home political changes in the country. Imperial territorial identity was replaced by the identity of the "Soviet citizen", which emphasized and generalized all regional identities. In post-Soviet time, citizens of the Arkhangelsk region did not establish strong territorial identity, but it was possible to keep the local identity. Such a trend is still observed nowadays.