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LABOR MIGRANTS IN RUSSIA: SETTLING DOWN IN THE SITUATION OF FAILED INTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT

The dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the intensification of migration processes and formation of post-Soviet migration system in which Russia plays the role of the recipient country. During the post-Soviet decades the configuration of migration flows changed resulting in the mass migration consisting largely of young residents of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics. Labor migration is primarily a return migration, however, a significant proportion of labor migrants settle in Russia, staying legally or illegally.

Drawing on a long-term fieldwork which comprised participant observation and series of in-depth interviews with first-generation migrants in St. Petersburg, Russia we explore the migrants' decisions to stay in Russia despite the failure of their initial expectations and weak integration into receiving society.

We suggest that initial decision to migrate is taken collectively by households as a strategy to control risk by diversifying sources of income and acquiring capital in the form of regular remittances to finance production and consumption. It is overwhelmingly a temporary migration. On the segmented labor market in Russia migrants are mostly offered unskilled and semi-skilled 3D jobs shunned by local workers as being of low prestige. However, this fact does not undermine migrants' social status, because for them these jobs are only a means to the end of earning money for improving their life at home. On the contrary, in the perception of their home communities their status is raised.

However, with the accumulation of migration experience some migrants extend their stay in Russia, repeat it and finally settle down. Those who successfully integrate in Russian society maintain their status in both societies. Those who fail to integrate rely on their social networks and stay in Russia fearing to definitely lose their status at home, if they return.

Keywords: social integration, labor migrants, social status, permanent settlement
INTRODUCTION

The dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the intensification of migration processes and formation of post-Soviet migration system in which Russia plays the role of the recipient country. During the post-Soviet decades the configuration of migration flows changed. The exodus of Russian-speaking population from the former Soviet Republics in the 1990s was gradually replaced by mass labor migration of mostly male migrants from Central Asian and Transcaucasian Republics in the first half of the 2000s. The high oil prices and the growth of Russian economy further intensified the trend of mass labor migration in the second half of the 2000s. In the last decade the character of labor migration changed. 1) the residents of large cities are replaced by citizens of small towns and villages; 2) the educational level of migrants is falling; 3) most of the migrants are poorer than in previous years; 4) the cultural and religious gap between local population and migrants is growing [1: 8].

Labor migration is primarily a return migration, however, a significant proportion of labor migrants settle in Russia, staying legally or illegally. The migrants are mainly attracted by prosperous regions and big cities, e.g. Moscow and Moscow Region, St. Petersburg and Leningrad Region. In this research we explore the case of St. Petersburg.

We suggest that initial decision to migrate is taken collectively by households as a strategy to control risk by diversifying sources of income and acquiring capital in the form of regular remittances to finance production and consumption (for theoretical synthesis of migration theories see: [2]). It is overwhelmingly a temporary migration. On the segmented labor market in Russia migrants are mostly offered unskilled and semi-skilled 3D jobs shunned by local workers as being of little prestige (for the theory of segmented labor markets see: [3, 4: 117-156]). However, this fact does not undermine migrants' social status, because for them these jobs are only a means to the end of earning money for improving their life at home. On the contrary, in the perception of their home communities their status is raised.

With the accumulation of migration experience some migrants extend their stay in Russia, repeat it and finally settle down. Those who successfully integrate in Russian society maintain their status in both societies. Those who fail to integrate rely on their social networks and stay in Russia fearing to definitely lose their status at home, if they return.

METHODS

The research is based on a series of 53 cases of migration to St. Petersburg. Most of the cases (42) were collected by in-depth interviews. 11 cases were explored by field researchers in the form of case study. The interviews and case study were conducted from 2011 to 2016. The collected data represent immigration cases in Saint Petersburg during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods from the 1960s to 2010s.

Obviously, informants who came to Leningrad (the name St. Petersburg in the Soviet period up to 1991) several decades ago at the time of the interview had completed a full cycle of integration into the local community and are Russian citizens with long migration experience. Interviews with them were made in the framework of the biographical research strategy to gain knowledge about the experience of their adaptation and integration in Leningrad/St. Petersburg.
New cases of immigration in the early XXI century are represented by the people who have a marginal status [5]. The process of their adaptation in the recipient community passes through different stages. Some informants have already solved the basic problem of permanent employment and housing and have already reunited with their families. Other immigrants of the 2010s only start new life in St. Petersburg. They are not integrated in the recipient community, work temporarily, live under uncomfortable and harsh conditions and, as a rule, are separated from their families. The majority of migrants in this category had not made a final decision to stay in St. Petersburg permanently and plan to return home after a certain time (usually long) of stay in Russia. Some of the new migration cases were described in the framework of the case study strategy that involves not only informant's biographical narrative, but also direct observations on accessible moments of migrant's life.

This article uses materials of 9 typical cases – 3 interviews, representing the regional migration of the Soviet period, and 6 case studies, representing cross-border migration of the XXI century (see Table 1).

Table 1. List of informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Gender/Age of Research</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Migration experience (year of arrival to Leningrad (St. Petersburg)/Age at the time of arrival)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informant 1</td>
<td>woman, 44, 2013</td>
<td>a small town in the Krasnodar region in the South of the European part of Russia</td>
<td>mid 1980s, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 2</td>
<td>woman, 60, 2013</td>
<td>a village in the Murmansk region in the North of the European part of Russia</td>
<td>1972, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 3</td>
<td>woman, 61, 2014</td>
<td>a village in the middle reaches of the Volga river (European part of Russia)</td>
<td>1977, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 4</td>
<td>woman, 30, 2011</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>2005, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 5</td>
<td>woman, 35, 2011</td>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>2009, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informant 6</td>
<td>woman, 33, 2011</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>2005, 27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RESULTS

At the start of migration process the majority of international labor migrants do not have definite plans of permanent residence and integration into the host community. On the contrary, the initial arrival in St. Petersburg is usually associated with objectives that imply going back home after a certain time (usually a year) is spent in Russia. It is overwhelmingly a temporary migration.

In the late Soviet period, regional migration from villages and small towns to Leningrad took place primarily through the educational channels. But in fact it was a labor migration, as training in most technical schools and higher schools implied future employment, which in many cases was obligatory [6; 7].

In modern Russia a major pull factor in labor migration is the demand for the unskilled and semi-skilled labor on the segmented labor market, which provides significantly higher income than in most post-Soviet countries. Relatively high salaries and low entry barriers are major incentives for the arrival in St. Petersburg. She came to earn money, as in Uzbekistan she has two children and she raises them without her husband (Informant 4).

People who come to Russia for the first time take up 3D jobs shunned by local workers as being of low prestige. However, this fact does not undermine migrants’ social status, because for them these jobs are only a means to the end of earning money for improving their life at home. On the contrary, in the perception of their home communities their status is raised. These jobs are unstable and migrants understand that they can lose the source of their income as quickly as they gained it. "My husband worked... in the fish production ... It was hard, 12 hours a day on his feet. Then he had a quarrel with his superiors from the warehouse, and he said that he would leave ... after that he got a loader job on wineproducing factory" (Informant 6).

The underdevelopment of social services, the xenophobic attitude of the public and harsh conditions of 3D jobs lead to a migrant's perception of integration into the host community as a very risky and costly enterprise. In these circumstances, the rational strategy is to minimize the investments in the life abroad. However, with the accumulation of migration experience some migrants extend their stay in Russia, repeat it and finally settle down.

Our study was focused on migrants' decision to remain in St Petersburg. As a rule this decision is made not before, but after moving to the host community. Often this decision is combined with plans to overcome marginalization, above all to build a family. "There will be informant' wedding soon, he will marry a girl from his native city ... the wedding will be in summer, he will return to work in autumn. The girl will remain
in Uzbekistan ... he wishes to acquire Russian citizenship and live in Russia with his family" (Informant 9).

Today, the majority of migrants come to St. Petersburg from post-Soviet countries in a visa-free regime. They almost never report serious obstacles in preparation for the move and during passage itself. Sometimes migrants use the services of intermediaries. In this case the available narratives usually refer to recruitment procedures and organization of transfers, backgrounding rather passive behavior of the migrants themselves. So Informant 4 arrived in Russia as part of an organized group of compatriots, which was accompanied by a female guide. However, the intermediary institutions can be very risky. For example, the members of a group with whom Informant 4 arrived in Russia lost their documents because the female guide who accompanied them had simply abandoned the group taking with her all the passports. As a result, the young woman became homeless and after a while was taken by the police.

Arriving in St. Petersburg migrant workers almost always turn out to be in a situation of "social shock". To overcome initial difficulties they often rely on social networks which are constituted by their relatives, friends and compatriots arrived earlier. If these social resources are unavailable they may endure great hardship. So, former schoolgirls who came to study at the Leningrad technical school find themselves in a dormitory barracks without shower, 6 persons in a room (Informant 2). Today, after more than 40 years, some migrant workers continue to live in St. Petersburg, 6 persons in a room, and private bed is celebrated by them as a sign of relative well-being.

Once in St. Petersburg, people are not only significantly reduce the amount of communication with the sending community and State, but sometimes refuse the State support, even in extreme situations. For example, the Informant 4 after the loss of the documents does not address the Uzbekistan consulate (that any tourist would do in a similar situation) and begins wandering virtually destitute. In the next three years she did not get in touch with her mother with whom she left her two young children. Placing small children in care of other family members and drastically reducing communication with them for many years is a common practice for the modern generation of immigrants. "We left home six years ago. During this time I was at home 3 times, and my husband none. I have not seen the child for 6 years ..." (Informant 6). Migrants of the Soviet era, as a rule, had not had children before coming to Leningrad, but their visits home were also rare, as well as their relatives' visits. "I just went there a couple of times ... Mom came, but too rarely, just once or twice" (Informant 1).

Another version of the weakening of social ties in relation to the native community is switching to a social network of relatives and countrymen, who had moved to St. Petersburg earlier. In fact, it compensates for the loss of ties with the homeland, because it swaps one supporting network for the other. For example, the Informant 8 talks about a wide range of compatriots in St. Petersburg, "and relatives, and classmates and friends", but during 4 years stay he never went home to visit his mother.

The actual conditions of working and living in big cities, the availability of social and cultural services is usually far worse than it seems at the start of the migration process. In interviews this assessment is not explicit, but the emotional tone of relevant fragments emphasizes that the informants had to go through a very difficult period.
There is a strong contrast between an image of St. Petersburg's life formed, as a rule, before the arrival in the city and stories of this life based on actual experience of informants. A beautiful image of a big city populates the social networks of future migrants: Informant's 1 sister and Informant's 2 teacher enthusiastically told about Leningrad. This image is also supported by private recreational experience: Informant 3 visited Leningrad in the framework of a guided tour. On the contrary, in real experience of migrants in the 1970s significant events were associated with shower arrangement in a dormitory and a reduction in the number of roommates.

In their biographies migrants often mention the attempts to return; people can not withstand difficult conditions and leave St. Petersburg. But if conditions at home do not significantly change or improve people are forced to re-migrate. It is in this return journey that many become aware of their new identity. "There, in Arkhangelsk I realized that for me Leningrad became my hometown" (Informant 2). However, the informants who have lived in the city for decades, still do not identify themselves as genuine Petersburgers. They rather refer to their social circle, as migrants adapted to the big city. "...I went away from there and did not take root here. I understand this city, I accept the behavior of people who live here ... I hope my dialect is gone. But to say one hundred percent that I consider myself a Petersburger, I hardly ever can say it with confidence" (Informant 1).

The main obstacles to the repatriation can be living conditions even more severe than in St. Petersburg ("... no hot water, no toilet, nothing ...", Informant 3; Informant 2 got a job in Arkhangelsk at the shoe factory and obtained a place in the dormitory which she did not like), the weak development of leisure opportunities ("...I found it very boring to live here", Informant 3), "provincial" model of social interaction ("...at the dorm ... on my bed some guys ... were reclining at ease", Informant 2).

To stay in St. Petersburg migrants agree to low-paying jobs, poor living conditions, illegal stay, criminal activity – all that actually preserves their marginal social status. Nevertheless, migrants demonstrate satisfaction with their living and working conditions despite the reports of a harsh exploitation by the employer. "I am happy with the working conditions. With the salary I am also happy. My working day is from 8-00 to 23-00. The workplace is also convenient. I haven't got break for lunch, so I eat when there are no customers at the counter" (Informant 4). "She says she has to receive 17,000 rubles, considering the fact that they "take away 7800" every month. The boss does not explain the reason for that and urges not to talk about the salary" (Informant 7). This positive assessment may be explained by the need to maintain a success story of their migration.

CONCLUSION

1. In the beginning of migration process the majority of labor migrants do not have definite plans of permanent residence and integration into the host community. It is primarily a temporary migration. However, with the accumulation of migration experience some migrants extend their stay in Russia, repeat it and finally settle down.

2. People who come to Russia for the first time take up 3D jobs shunned by local workers as being of low prestige. However, this fact does not undermine migrants' social status, because for them these jobs are only a means to the end of earning money
for improving their life at home. On the contrary, in the perception of their home communities their status is raised.

3. The system of recruitment and transfer of migrants is much better developed than the system of their integration into the recipient community.

4. From the beginning the migration process involves the weakening of social ties in relation to the community of origin. It may take the form of placing children in care of other family members and drastically reducing communication with them for many years or switching to a social network of relatives and countrymen, who had moved to St. Petersburg earlier.

5. Being in marginal life situation the majority of migrants are going through a phase of disappointment after their arrival in Saint Petersburg. Severe conditions of life and work do not correspond to attractive images of a large city, made up before the start of the migration process. For migrants who sacrifice themselves a lot for the good of their families it is, however, important to demonstrate satisfaction with working and living conditions and with life in St. Petersburg in general thereby maintaining a success story of their migration.

6. Typically, migrants make an attempt to return. But such attempts are usually unsuccessful. If conditions at home do not significantly change or improve people are forced to re-migrate. Many people at this stage begin to identify themselves with St. Petersburg. Hard living conditions and the "dirty" work in the recipient community is perceived now as a more appropriate, beneficial and understandable in comparison with offers on the labor market and available standard of living at home.

6. The migrants who failed to adapt in the recipient community are often stigmatized at home. Therefore, the majority of migrants are afraid to return home more than to marginalize their status in the recipient community. The decision to migrate is a claim to success, the reason why a person leaves their home, their country and loved ones. Only success confirmed by remittances to the donor community is able to justify the decision to leave and stay abroad. So, an essential task for a migrant is to demonstrate economic viability through significant remittances, even with a modest and not always regular income.

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REFERENCES


LATERO-CERVICAL BRANCHIAL CYST

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ABSTRACT
Branchial cysts are very rare, with difficult diagnosis. The paper presents a 56 years old man who was admitted for the development of a cervico-lateral mass. The ultrasound exam revealed an anechogenic tumor, in contact with the left thyroid lobe. The fine needle aspirative biopsy and cytological exam were inconclusive, but the intraoperative exploration established the diagnosis of branchial cyst. The surgical resection of the tumor was performed. Postoperative course was favourable. Conclusions: the branchial cyst is an often forgotten diagnosis. The ultrasound exam is non-specific with different patterns. Gold standard treatment is the surgical resection.

Key words: cervical branchial cyst, surgery

INTRODUCTION
Gill cysts of the neck are rare birth defects that occur in abnormal embryonic development (persistent first two gill arches) and can be clinically evident both at birth and throughout life [1-3]. Cysts occur when first two pharyngeal arches does not grow in caudal direction and does not cover the III-IV gill arches, so I-IV overdue segments of the pharyngeal slits develop a cyst, possibly skin fistulising, on the face side of the neck, just anterior the sternocleidomastoidian muscle.

CASE PRESENTATION
Male, 56 years old, hospitalized in emergency for development of a tumor formation in the left antero-lateral cervical region, with delusive inflammatory characters. The debut was insidious, the tumor being discovered by the patient a few years ago; initially, it was smaller, then gradually increasing and becoming evident at inspection.

After endocrinological consult, which raised suspicion of nodular cystic goiter, the formation was punctured, with about 100 ml of sero-hematic liquid extraction, followed by complete disappearance of the tumor. Fluid cytology revealed no malignant or thyroid cells.

In about 3 months after the puncture, the tumor was rebuilt at the previous size. Examination of the neck, reveals a left antero-lateral tumor formation left of 8/4 cm, well defined, elastic, painless and mobile with swallowing movements, without minimal inflammatory changes of the superjacient skin. Cervical radiographs revealed a discrete right mediastinal deviation of the cervical-thoracic trachea, due to the presence of a soft
tissue opacity of 8/4 cm. Cervical ultrasound found: right thyroid lobe with normal size and structure; adjacent to the left thyroid lobe, it visualizes a inhomogeneous fluid formation of 79/54 mm, without Doppler signal inside. ENT exam, by indirect laryngoscopy showed symmetric bilateral vocal cord mobility, in breathing and phonation.

With nodular cystic goiter and left thyroid lobe cyst diagnosed, it was surgical intervention. After anterior Kocher cervicotomy, it was dissected the subhyoidian muscle plan in the median raphe and it was isolated a cystic tumor formation about 7/3 cm, well encapsulated and defined from the other tissues (left jugulo-carotid vascular pedicle, thyroid lobe, trachea, esophagus). The tumor is not related to the thyroid gland, which is apparently normal but pushed to the right. The tumor was relative simple excised, surrounded by a fat atmosphere (fig.1). The residual cavity was filled with Biopad and the intervention ended with drainage and suturing of the anatomic planes. The cyst contained therein, about 60 ml of brown liquid brown, musty odor. The postoperative evolution was favorable, the tube was suppressed after 48 hours, and the patient was discharged in third postoperative day.

![Image](image.png)

Fig 1: Branchial cyst in an adipose atmosphere (resection piece)

Histopathology describes a cystic formation with sclero-hyaline thick wall, chronic inflammatory interior papered, with areas of foamy macrophages or loaded with hemosiderin pigment.
DISCUSSIONS

Pharyngeal (gill) arches are the central element in the development of head and neck. They appear in the IVth-Vth week, separated by deep spaces, called pharyngeal (gill) slits, flanked by lateral pharyngeal recesses. So pharyngeal arches, pharyngeal slits and pharyngeal recesses are equivalent of the gills in fish and amphibians.

Each pharyngeal arch consists of a central region with mesenchymal tissue, covered on the outside by ectoderm and lined the interior by endoderm. The first pharyngeal arch consists of a portion of the dorsal portion – maxilar processus and a ventral one – mandibular processus, that contains Meckel cartilage. The second pharyngeal arch is formed by the Reichert cartilage and is known as the hyoid spring. Each pharyngeal arch has its own musculature.

Gill cysts are remnants of embryonic gill apparatus (comprising six gill arches, the last three rudimentary), rarely thymo-pharyngeal channel, with a dermoid or mucoid structure. They can be located on the midline or antero-lateral neck, supra- or subhyoidian [4].

Gill cysts can be sorted by spring gill root (I-III). The sided cysts come usually, from the second pharyngeal arch, and are most common - 95%. There are reported in the literature, cases of intrathyroid branchial cysts.

In a topographic classification (Bailey), simple and easy to apply in practice, bronchial cysts divided into four types:
- Type I - located in the superficial fascia of the neck, on the edge of sternocleidomastoidian muscle;
- Type II - located in the deep fascia of the neck, in relation with the large vessels;
- Type III - developed in the cervical lodge of the large vessels;
- Type IV – small cyst, in relation to endopharynx, growing to the base of the skull.

Our patient presents a type II branchial cyst, developed in the deep fascia, in relation to the neck neurovascular package.

Branchial cysts are more often unilateral, located in the lower pole of one of the thyroid lobes; classical studies belive that laterocervical location is more common (as in our case), but recent medical literature demonstrates no statically significant differences in this direction. There is no gender predisposition; they are common both in children and adults, more common in age 20-30.

Clinic, branchial cysts are spherical / oval tumors, varying in size; they are pasty and painless. It can become infected and generate persistent fistulas. The preoperative diagnosis benefits of cervical ultrasound, CT scan. MRI. Ultrasound cannot totally exclude a thyroid condition, but with the puncture needle, followed by cytologic examination with highlighting of cell carcinoma, can be suggestive for positive diagnosis.

Differential diagnosis with cystic lymphangioma, glom tumors, cystic nodular goitre, lipoma, hydatid cyst of the neck, thyroglossal duct cyst, adenitis tuberculoust lymphadenitis nonspecific cervical tumors and metastases etc.

The treatment is only surgical, with ablation of fibrous cyst and its extensions to the carotid sinus, to avoid recurrence. For complete excision, it can be intraoperative
intrachistic, injected methylene blue [5-12]. Histopathological examination of resected piece is required, especially as there are described cases of malignant degeneration (bronchogenic carcinomas) [13-14]. In cases overinfected, cyst ablation is done during second time after incision, drainage of the abscess and inflammatory phenomena remission.

CONCLUSIONS

Gill cysts are rare conditions, but should not be omitted from the diagnostic protocol of cervical tumors. The clinical and ultrasound lends itself to confusion with cystic nodular goiter. They can be complicated by infection or malignancy and are aesthetically and in size bothersome. The puncture is usually followed by recurrence of the cyst, so the only appropriate treatment is the surgical removal.

REFERENCES

