**Shift Work in the Russian Far East: "Offshore Labor" and "Spaces of Exclusion"**

In 2017, a group of researchers from the School of Economics and Management (FEFU) conducted a study on the potential for staff relocation to the Russian Far East (hereinafter referred to as RFE). The project was initiated by the Agency for the Development of Human Capital in the Far East (affiliated with the Ministry of Development of the Far East, 2015–2021). The project's goal was to test the idea to encourage employees working on a rotational basis to move for a permanent resettlement for the development of the Khabarovsk and Vladivostok urban "agglomeration". In total, within the framework of this project, researchers collected 90 keynote interviews, primary (from job search sites) and secondary (Rosstat, published and upon request) statistical data, and analyzed relevant legal acts.

The hypotheses to be tested during the project were assumed that (1) the lack of workers of the relevant quality and quantity in the local labor markets of the Far East shift the demand of enterprises towards shift workers, who (2) under certain socio-economic conditions are ready to change their status and move for permanent resettlement to the Russian Far East, which may have a significant impact on the population of the district as a whole.

The first significant contradiction with the initial hypotheses was a discrepancy between estimates of the statistical number of shift workers based and information received from recruitment agencies, managers and stuff. Official statistics "do not see" the shift workers in the industries which have been operating at the expense of shift workers for a long time. So, according to official data of the Primorsky Krai, a significant proportion of shift workers was only observed in the forest industry. However, according to our estimates, shift work is one of the most common forms of employment in at least 6 other areas of activity in the Primorsky Krai.

The second significant contradiction we noted is that among the main reasons for using the shift workers labour, as opposed to attracting local workers, employers named not only the lack of available human capital in the regions where enterprises are located (lack of people and competencies). The ability of shift workers to withstand an intensive work schedule, greater motivation to work and minimization of efforts on the part of management to maintain workplace discipline were also noted as important factors. Besides, despite the “high cost” of shift work declared by employers, no real attempts are made to “anchor” these employees in the territory where the enterprise is located (to transfer them to the category of “local” on “local payroll”).

One of the possible explanations for the contradictions we have identified is that it is actually profitable for Far Eastern enterprises to use shift but not local workers, but it is not profitable to officially employ them as shift workers. According to our data, the enterprises implement known informal patterns for hiring "shift, but not shift workers": pseudo-fixed-term contracts (staff leasing, long-term business trips), piecework contract, etc. As a result, the working conditions of such people often turn out to be discriminatory and even outright fraud, which excludes their relocation within the framework of existing incentive federal and regional programs. In turn, we believe that the reasons for the spread of informal patterns are the “guarantees for workers on a rotational basis” enshrined in the legislation, which limit, for example, the frequency of movement, the duration of work and the financial support of such workers.

Although in many sectors of the Russian Far East there is a significant presence of organizations registered in the central regions of the country (including intermediaries affiliated with state corporations and “quasi-state corporations”), a paradoxical situation has arisen leading to emergence of "offshores" (in the understanding of J. Urry 2014) in the local labor market. In fact, shift workers are subjected to severe disciplinary actions (in particular, high penalties), do not have social guarantees (sick leaves, vacations, etc.), are forced to agree to irregular and unstable payments, despite the fact that their working conditions are regulated by law. Thus, enterprises create "spaces of exclusion" where the power of an employer is sovereign (as understood by G. Agamben 1995).

As part of the study, we test the analytical apparatus of post-Marxist theories (M. Foucault 1988; Postone 1993; G. Standing 2011; Tronti 2019, etc.) and studies of modern capitalism (A. Ong 2006; S. Sassen 2014; J. Morris J. 2016 and others) to explain the causes of the discovered phenomenon. The paper discusses informal practices of attracting "rotational workers" to various sectors of the RFE, disciplinary practices and discriminatory working conditions, as well as contextual data explaining the reasons for the above mentioned practices.