How to Board an Aircraft in Chukotka

Elena Davydova

Submit your article to this journal

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at journal-mobilityhumanities.com

How to Board an Aircraft in Chukotka

Elena Davydova

Abstract

Based on ethnography of airports in Eastern Arctic Russia (Chukotka), this article examines institutionalised practices of active waiting prior to the boarding of an aircraft, called the *podsadka*. On the one hand, a distinct feature of Russian Arctic aviation is its unpredictability. Delays, cancellations of flights, and persistent waiting by passengers are an inevitable part of the everyday life of airports in Chukotka. On the other hand, even in remote places of the Russian North, airports are spaces of heightened control. This article argues that the disjuncture between the rigidity of airports and the flexibility of people creates a podsadka game among passengers and contributes to its "hunting"/"active" peculiarities. The article begins with a comparison of passenger and air carrier perspectives, which are termed "lucky" and "efficient" mobilities, respectively. It expands on this theme by considering airports as spaces for displays of diverse airport regulations and passenger intentions. Finally, it focuses on specific traits of Chukotkan mobility that include overcoming multiple queues and waiting, revealing the strategies applied by local people to be lucky in their travels.

Keywords

Arctic Area, Aviation, Luck, Mobility, Temporality, Transport Infrastructure, Waiting

CONTACT   **Elena Davydova** elena.davydova@univie.ac.at
PhD Candidate, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria

Introduction

Podsadka was one of the first things I learned about on my first trip to Chukotka (north-eastern Russia). It comes from the verb "*podsadit*," which in colloquial Russian means "to help someone get somewhere"; in the airport context, it means boarding an airplane on a standby basis. I was planning to briefly visit Anadyr', the capital of Chukotskii avtonomnyi okrug (Chukotka Autonomous Area), before travelling to the remote villages of Iul'tinskii raion (Iul'tin District). At that time, in 2017, online booking was unavailable and it was possible to purchase tickets for Chukotkan domestic flights only at local ticket offices. As it was my first visit and I did not have acquaintances in Chukotka, I only had tickets for the flight Moscow–Anadyr'. I was planning to buy tickets to the village upon arrival. But it was the end of December, and with the New Year's holiday approaching there were no tickets available for the nearest dates at all. Moreover, travelling with a family—my husband and son—made it even more difficult to secure tickets. Seeing that we were frustrated by the impossibility of reaching our desired destination, various people recommended that we "try a *podsadka*." They believed that we would fly eventually. At the same time, there was no clear and consistent information on how to do this. As I learned later during my following five expeditions to this region, *podsadka* is an institutionalised practice regulated by the airport administration and ChukotAVIA (the airline company)[1] according to which passengers without tickets can buy them just before the start of the boarding process. By that time, airport management knows the exact number of additional available places on the aircraft[2] and sells them to people on standby. It is an officially permitted practice, and every passenger who gets a place during *podsadka* (with rare exceptions) receives an ordinary, official ticket. I also learned later that information about the technology of *podsadka* is not concentrated in one location, but is rather spread across various locations and disparate sources, and one has to synthesise these distributed elements of knowledge to operate effectively in this system. Paraphrasing Tim Ingold's statement about hunters, the experienced traveller is a knowledgeable traveller ("The Temporality" 153).

But what was clear to me even then was that one cannot just come and say they would like to sign up for standby boarding (*zapisat'sia na podsadku*) and get a ticket. The embodied knowledge of queueing at local airports is of great importance. They have to be active, even proactive, to get these places on board. For example, people recommended that I come to the airport as early as possible, or that I emphasise and even cry loudly in the queue that I was travelling with a child, and also to show to the airport staff the documents (*pis'mo otnoshenie*) from my employer (the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography) that

---

1   Airports of Chukotka represent a federal government enterprise, while the airline company is a Joint-Stock Company subsidised by the state budget.

2   I discuss the origins of the additional seats in detail in the following sections.

proved that my travel was official. They made it clear that any formal document works as a good argument. Our neighbours in a hotel in Anadyr'—from the village of Meinypil'gyno—recommended that I feed the spirits and ask my son whether or not we would fly. Chukchi people believe that children can foresee the future, and they use children's connection with the spirit world to organise their movements properly. I applied most these recommendations and eventually succeeded in getting to our destination.

All northern airports operate in specific conditions caused by the harsh environment in which they exist. In short, unpredictable weather makes flying unpredictable. In any case, one can say that delays and cancellations of flights, waiting, and bored passengers are an inevitable part of the everyday life in all airports of the world. Nevertheless, my experience of travelling in Chukotka demonstrates that there can be multiple reasons for the uncertainty of flying (apart from the constantly changing weather) and some of them are specific to certain regions. This article analyses the characteristics of passenger air transport in Chukotka not only to reveal peculiarities of the functioning of local airports but also to contribute to anthropological discussions on luck and active waiting. I argue that the disjuncture between the rigidity of airports, airline company, and the state, on the one hand, and the flexibility of people, on the other hand, creates a *podsadka* game among passengers and contributes to its "hunting"/"active" peculiarities.

Creating a contemporary airport ethnography could be a tricky task because of the "issues of secrecy" (Chalfin 523) and the relative invisibility of some actors in aviation, such as technical experts (engineers) (Hirsh 216), pilots, and management, which are common to all airports around the world. This article draws on the ethnography of a boarding process. Passenger behaviour at airports is open to observation, not hidden from a curious ethnographer, and I believe at the same time it provides insights into both the logic of airport/airline management and the intentions of passengers.

Based on my long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Chukotka, which included airport ethnography, I analyse the institutionalised practice of *podsadka*, which is common to this region. In particular, I focus on the shortage and unpredictability of flights to investigate how people perceive and cope with uncertainties in obtaining seats on board. This article brings together the logic of the airport and the logic of the passenger in order to understand how *podsadka* becomes possible; who is interested in its existence, and what practices and knowledge accompany it? To answer these questions, I begin by confronting air carrier and passenger perspectives, which I term "efficient" and "lucky" mobilities, respectively. The first one presupposes the efficient use of every flight by the airport and airline management, while the second refers to a passenger's good fortune to board an aircraft timely. The article continues the comparison of passenger and airport logics by analysing the spaces of airport facilities. I show that the clash between airport/airline regulations and passenger intentions manifests itself in the interiors of airport buildings. Finally, I consider specific traits of Chukotkan mobility, including overcoming multiple queues and waiting, which reveals strategies applied by local people to achieve success in their travels.

Active Waiting and Luck in the Context of Uncertainty in Northern Airports and Aviation

The anthropology of infrastructure is an autonomous and expanding subdiscipline (Buier; Larkin). Many anthropologists have already investigated the relationships between humans and transport infrastructures, showing how they influence different aspects of social life (Harvey and Knox, "The Enchantments"; Hirsh and Mostowlanski; Schweitzer et al.; Vakhtin). Airport ethnography (see Chalfin; Elixhauser; Hirsh), which is a subfield of the anthropology of infrastructure, has been explored less than the ethnography of roads, railroads, or ships (Argounova-Low; Gavrilova et al.; Harvey and Knox, Roads; Markkula; Mostowlanski and Marschall; Schweitzer et al.). However, more broadly, social studies about airports, aviation, and air transportation have contributed to a variety of theoretical debates and have shown how airmobilities impact societies and individuals (Adey, *Aerial Life*). The mobility turn within social sciences (Faist; Urry) has given additional impetus to aeromobilities research that discusses a variety of topics related to aviation development, some of which overlap with this research: passengers' subjective experiences, among them affective ones (Adey, "Airports"; Adey et al.; Millward; Rust; Shilon and Shamir); the specificity and uniqueness of airport places (Augé p.38, p.39 Gottdiener; Kellerman; Knox et al.; Lloyd; Pascoe); temporal aspects of aviation and airports (Elixhauser; Harris; Schindler); the improvisational potential of aeromobilities (Lin); the role of airports in the production of hierarchies and inequalities (Aaltola); and the impact of airport spaces and designs on airport socialities (Adey, "Airports"; Elliott and Radford; Urry 135–56).

One of the distinct features of aviation in Chukotka and the Russian Arctic in general is its unpredictability. Anthropologists who have worked in the Russian North have described this specific trait of air mobility. David Anderson recounts his personal autobiographical experience of a long wait and sudden boarding of a helicopter in the Taimyr region (1–4), while Otto Habeck and Ludek Broz discuss the emotional context of the travel, stressing the challenges of unexpected turns and serendipitous encounters that accompany travel in Siberia and the North. In a recent book, Otto Habeck and Denis Zuev stress the role of the unpredictability of transport in the feasibility of life projects. Agreeing with the authors that flights in the Russian North are erratic, I build an argument on this idea of unpredictability. At the same time, unlike the aforementioned researchers, I emphasise that airports even in remote places of the Russian Arctic are the spaces of rational decision-making and heightened regulation, where actions are arranged by rules and prescriptions. Therefore, building on *podsadka*, I examine the extent to which it is possible for spontaneity, uncertainty, and unpredictability to co-exist alongside well-planned actions and rules.

As *podsadka* represents a queue in which passengers have to wait for a long time before boarding, I follow up on studies of queuing and the growing anthropology of waiting to develop my argument. Research on queuing and waiting are obviously interrelated; both give attention to issues related to the distribution of power and social asymmetries,

colonialism, migration, bureaucracy, the temporality of occupying a queue, and the active management of waiting (Bogdanov; Gandhi; Hage; Janeja and Bandak; Reeves; Seeley). Most work focuses on "the politics of waiting" where waiting is an instrument of domination and power and emphasis is placed on the structures that make people to wait (Auyero; Elliot; Janeja and Bandak; Jeffrey; Olson; Rotter). But "modalities of waiting are shaped not only by those who make others wait, but also by those who wait" (Janeja and Bandak 8), and as waiting presupposes uncertainty and doubt (16), it often motivates those who wait to act in an effort to influence the outcome. The relation of individuals to the outcome of waiting determines its types: inert if people do not care about the outcome or cannot influence it, active if they see the opportunity to make waiting more effective (Janeja and Bandak 2). Some anthropologists have analysed the agentic efforts of individuals to decrease waiting time, revealing particular forms of active work/management in waiting (Ibañez-Tirado; Janeja and Bandak; Reeves; Seeley). Parallel to this, authors have shown that time is very much present in the waiting processes and have stressed its temporal dimension (Castellanos; Janeja and Bandak; Reeves; Schindler). This article builds on the idea of active waiting as well as the debates about the nature of waiting time to demonstrate that passengers' activeness during the *podsadka* process brings the luck of timely mobility to potential passengers.

Ideas of luckiness (*udacha*, *vezenie*) permeate practices and narratives related to air travel in Chukotka. So, a last but not least theoretical component that has inspired this research is the body of literature on (hunting/reindeer) luck predominantly built on Siberian and Arctic ethnographies. Anthropologists have previously separated Western from non-Western approaches to luck, stressing that "in the Western view, the notion of luck or fortune implies the idea of a chance-like incident that is accidental, infrequent, uncontrollable, bounded to individuals and often decontextualized" (Brandišauskas 2; see also Da Col). By contrast, in indigenous communities, luck or fortune is inextricably connected to skills and knowledge (Brandišauskas 3). Donatas Brandišauskas argues that Orochen hunters and herders acquire luck "through interactions with other humans, animals, and spirits as well as with places" (2). "Hunting luck" for Buryat people is "neither 'free' nor 'passive', but context-bound and to some extent 'active'" (Hamayon 100). In a similar way, Nils Oskal has demonstrated that Sami reindeer herders can influence their own "reindeer luck" through actions, behaviour, words, and thought (Oskal). Mongolian Buryats influence their fortune through ritual practices (Swancutt). In the context of Chukotkan airports, obtaining luck also presupposes an active engagement with the environment, but there is almost no difference in the approaches of indigenous and non-indigenous people.

Thus, drawing on (aero)mobility theories that stress subjective, embodied, tactile, and affective human experiences at airports (and other transport infrastructures) around the world (Adey, "Airports"; Adey et al.; Bissel, "Conceptualising"; "Passenger"), as well as the interrelated concepts of "hunting luck" and "active waiting," this article analyses the boarding process at Chukotkan airports to demonstrate that the (pro)activeness of passengers'

behaviour contributes to their successful (timely) mobility.

The Fieldsite and Ethnographic Methods

This research is based on data collected in *Chukotskii avtonomnyi okrug* (the Chukotkan Autonomous Region), namely in *Iul'tinskii raion* (Iul'tin District) from 2017 to 2023. I conducted five expeditions in different seasons with a total duration of one year. I worked in Egvekinot (the regional centre of Iul'tin District), the reindeer herding village of Amguema, reindeer herding brigades in the tundra, the coastal village of Nutepel'men, and I also made short visits to Anadyr' (the administrative capital of Chukotka).

   Most of the airport material I collected was gathered during long waits for my own flights at Chukotka's airports. But this research is not exclusively autobiographical. Although initially I made some observations unintentionally when I was just trying to board a plane or helicopter myself, later I started to use participant observation purposefully. When I was in the field in 2017–18, I perceived the time spent at airports as an obstacle to my "real" research dedicated to the food practices and nutrition in local communities. However, when I returned home from the first visit to Chukotka and started to process the field materials, I realised that I had collected a lot of data on airport ethnography. During my subsequent expeditions I learned to enjoy the time spent at airports, paying attention to their sociality. I walked around, observed diverse activities, and talked with passengers and representatives of the airport staff. I did participant observation at two airports: the airport near Egvekinot, called Zaliv Kresta (Gulf of the Cross), where only the local company ChukotAVIA operates; and the international airport near Anadyr', called Ugol'nyi, which connects the capital of Chukotka with its small settlements, as well as the whole region with other parts of the country.

Fig. 1. "Cartography" (Alexis Sancho-Reinoso)

Ugol'nyi is an important airport for local residents. Although there are flights from large Russian cities to other locations in Chukotka (for example, Magadan–Keperveem or Moscow–Pevek), Anadyr's airport is the main transportation hub for the region. In most cases, ordinary passengers who come to Chukotka from other parts of Russia or who travel beyond Chukotka must use this transport infrastructure facility.

Zaliv Kresta airport in Egvekinot connects this regional centre with small settlements in Iul'tin District and even beyond to Chukotskii District (by flights with a transfer) and Providenskii District (direct flights). For example, one can fly from Egvekinot to Nutepel'men, Vankarem, Konergino, Uel'kal', Mys Shmidta, Lavrentiia, or Provideniia. Egvekinot, with its airport, seaport, and roads is a transport hub and resource distribution centre for the Iul'tin District and beyond. It is also well connected with Chukotka's capital, Anadyr'. Flights from Anadyr' to Egvekinot are rather frequent, especially from April to October. There are scheduled flights almost every day (sometimes twice a day), except for weekends.

Airports are the key transport infrastructure for all of Chukotka, connecting its various locations with each other and with regions beyond. Air transport is a key actor that contributes to and shapes the movement of local people and things in this region. Aviation participates in the delivery of goods, including food items, especially in the spring season, when seaports have not yet opened but the winter ice roads have begun to melt. Some companies use air transport to ship specific products that are perishable, such as fruits or fresh dairy. People use air transport to go on vacation, to get medical help, to visit relatives or friends, to get education, and to draw up documents. Air routes connect different places and reinforce communication between them.

Although it is difficult to overestimate this channel of mobility, its significance varies in different communities depending on the state of other infrastructures. Amguema, for example, which is connected to the regional centre by road, is not as dependent on air transport as Nutepel'men. This remote coastal village is literally cut off from other settlements in spring and autumn due to high water levels in local rivers and lakes. Only aircraft can supply Nutepel'men with essential goods during these periods. The local health care system also relies on air transport. Medical flights help bring patients from remote villages and the tundra to a hospital located in Egvekinot in cases of emergency. Some patients have to be flown to Anadyr'.

Flights to Anadyr' are in great demand among the residents of Iul'tin District despite the fact that there are alternative ways to get to the capital of Chukotka. One can get to Anadyr' by sea or by winter ice roads. But these modes of mobility are seasonal and take much more time than air travel. Boat trips are rather seldom—once or twice a month in the summer season. The use of winter ice roads is unofficial, sometimes more expensive, and depends on personal contacts with drivers. Air transport, on the other hand, runs all year round, lasts about two hours, and is scheduled almost every day. But this does not mean that a potential passenger can easily board an aircraft. Rather, it is more likely that they will have to resort

to *podsadka*, which often means a long wait. To secure a trip, one has to buy air tickets in good time, especially in vacation season (*otpusknoi sezon*). In the summer, tickets are usually sold out several months in advance. Those who are late getting tickets still have some hope of getting on a flight through the *podsadka* process. But there is no guarantee that these passengers will fly in time.

Efficient Mobility vs Lucky Mobility

In the introduction, I deliberately referred to the phenomenon of *podsadka* as an institutionalised practice, because it is, in fact, regulated by the airport and ChukotAVIA. Seeking efficiency, the airline company tries to distribute the waiting passengers among the available seats on board. This helps to solve two interrelated problems: reducing the number of waiting passengers (to fulfil social obligations); and filling aircraft with paying passengers, thus preventing flights with empty seats (to earn money).

The technique of *podsadka* is a result of several factors, the first of which is a shortage of flights in the region. I observed a rush at a ticket office in Egvekinot just before the opening of ticket sales for a vacation season that starts in May and lasts until September. Some people started queuing the night before the sale. Furthermore, this event was postponed twice. On the day of the sale itself, people queued until the ticket office closed, and the same situation occurred the next day. The competition for tickets flared up in earnest. There were disputes, accusations, conflicts. As one woman said, explaining this behaviour: "We are all good people and we all have good relations, but only until it comes to getting places on board." Valeria Vasil'ieva and Kseniia Gavrilova describe the social mechanisms underlying the compensation for deficits of goods, services, and infrastructure in the northern villages of Taimyr and Kamchatka, focusing on informal grassroots initiatives (exchange, distribution) as opposed to institutionalised forms of overcoming diverse shortages (99–131). *Podsadka* also compensates for shortages, but it is both the airport/airline company as an institution (as well as a representative of the state) and the initiatives of ordinary passengers that create and maintain it.

Second, *podsadka* emerges from the relationship between the airline company and the state. This has to do with where the extra seats on the aircraft come from. Although passengers sometimes do give up their tickets, the extra seats mostly result from the release of mandatory reservations made for representatives of the state (administration personnel, medical workers, etc.). Typically, six to eight seats are reserved, thus ensuring predictability for state personnel to reach a settlement at any time. Since air transportation is the most reliable, fast, and sometimes the only possible way to reach a settlement in the Chukotkan context, state requires a certain number of seats to be available on demand on any flight. Consequently, since these seats are sold just before departure, the boarding process becomes unpredictable for passengers, creating a space for "hunting luck" and "active

waiting."

Yet the state, represented by the airline, also has a social obligation to the northern communities to meet their travel needs. The official website of the airline company ChukotAVIA states:

> Currently, the Airline carries out air transportation of passengers, baggage and cargo, mail delivery, and also performs various types of aviation work, including providing emergency medical care within the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug [...] One of the "main goals of the Airline is to meet public needs and solve social problems." Passenger transportation is carried out in accordance with the schedule agreed with the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug *at subsidized rates* (my emphasis). (ChukotAVIA; my emphasis)

One of the main public demands in Chukotka today is to increase the number of flights. People told me about it constantly, stressing the lack of flights. But as flights cost the company money, they are provided only in cases of urgent need. The airline has the ability to deploy additional aircraft, or to replace a small plane DHC-6 (Dashka) with a larger An-24, An-28 (Annushka), or Mi-8 helicopter. Such actions increase the number of available seats, making *podsadka* possible and decreasing social tension. Moreover, despite the strict ban on the use of medical aircraft for transporting ordinary passengers, it sometimes happens in difficult situations, such as when the airport is overcrowded due to multiple cancellations of flights for many days or some local residents urgently need to travel. While waiting for my own *podsadka* on a helicopter to Anadyr' in June 2023, I witnessed how a representative of an airport came to the crowd of waiting passengers and suggested they fly to Anadyr' by medical aircraft. However, such a departure scenario was not suitable for everyone, including myself. First, in this turn of events, passengers do not receive official tickets. This means that passengers on a business trip will not get reimbursement for the flight. Second, medical flights do not arrive at the airport Ugol'nyi, but in the city of Anadyr' itself. If a passenger has a flight to catch at the airport, they must travel from the city to Ugol'nyi. This trip is both expensive and not always possible due to weather conditions.

Again, the supply of additional aircraft is never planned in advance. The decision appears spontaneous from the passengers' perspective. The airline company, when making such decisions, relies on the number of passengers waiting for the flight at the airport, as well as the number of complaints received by phone.

The logic of the airport/airline is to be efficient in the context of uncertainty about the state's need to use flights for its own purposes, the necessity to fulfil social obligations before local residents (as the company receives money from the state budget), changing weather conditions, the high costs of flights, and the shortage of seats. To achieve this efficiency, ChukotAVIA collects information about potential passengers and uses this information to calculate future flight congestion and to control the number of passengers on each plane. For example, a representative of the local administration recommended that I call

in advance for a *podsadka*, so that the company could predict the flow of passengers at a certain time and take action, such as adding an extra aircraft. I followed this advice. However, when I arrived at the airport on the scheduled date, I learned that I had to register for a *podsadka* again, since ChukotAVIA collects information by phone only to get statistical data, not to make a waiting list. Upon arrival at the airport, I had to wait in a real physical queue to put my name on the waiting list for *podsadka* at the ticket office—that is, to finally get in the queue for a flight.

As I have mentioned, information about the presence/absence of *podsadka* seats is only available just before the boarding process starts. Local people often say: "They [meaning ChukotAVIA] deliberately create a crowd." Indeed, this might make sense for an airline company seeking to make a profit on ticket sales and facing multiple risks (Urry 139). The aviation industry increases its profit/loss margin in different ways (Urry 141). In Chukotka, it is more effective for the airline to create a queue and maintain a sense of a shortage among passengers. So, instead of sending half-empty planes on a flight, the airline company "organises" a crowd so that it is evenly distributed among aircrafts. For this reason, information about available seats, flights, and their cancellations are not available to ordinary passengers in advance. People can predict their chances of getting on a plane only by their personal observations. For example, when trying to sign up for *podsadka* on the next day, I asked a cashier about my chances. She merely said that there were a lot of people already waiting for extra seats and she could not tell exactly how many people needed them and how many seats would be available.

Passengers waiting for a flight prefer to remain at the airport all the time to be aware of any news about it. The airport does not report the cancellation of a flight in the morning, even if the weather conditions are obviously unfavourable. They keep postponing the flight hour after hour until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they officially cancel it if the weather has not improved. Flight-related knowledge is a kind of secret and even sacred knowledge available to airport and airline staff. For this reason, any acquaintance with a ChukotAVIA employee is highly valued by local people and perceived as good "social capital" (Bourdieu), as it allows one to obtain this hidden information.

To summarise, I believe that the chaotic *podsadka* is a planned and rational strategy of the airport and ChukotAVIA. As I explain below, *posadka* is, in fact, a kind of queue which functions to fairly distribute scarce services among ChukotAVIA's customers. Being a queue, this institution serves for fairly distributing its scarce services among consumers. This state distribution system has a long tradition in Russia rooted in Soviet history (Bogdanov). The need to respond efficiently to the uncertainties created by the state's wish for predictability of access to all settlements, the airline's desire to make a profit, and the unpredictable weather conditions produce the institutionalised practices of *podsadka* and contribute to its "hunting" peculiarities, which I discuss in detail below.

The logic of a passenger is to use this system, but at the same time to bypass it deceptively,

if possible, because no one wants to be evenly distributed: everyone wants to be the first in the queue. I argue that the waiting time defines the whole journey and its (un)luckiness for a passenger. It means that all travellers eventually do manage to board an aircraft. "We all will fly," they like to repeat. Boarding on time, instead, is the key to good fortune in mobility. Passengers themselves perceive their success in boarding an aircraft at the right time as a stroke of luck. Words like *udacha* (luck) and *vezenie* (luckiness) always accompany stories about all types of mobility. When I was trying to organise my own trips while in the field, I often heard the phrase "*povezet—ne povezet*," which can be translated, "you might be lucky or you might not." But in Russian, this phrase has a second connotation of automobility, meaning "you might get a ride or you might not." It means that if you are lucky, you will be in the right place at the time: adjusting to multiple unpredictabilities, one has to be sensitive to both dimensions.

But as other anthropologists have shown, *udacha* is not something given to a person as a gift and passively taken by him. It has an active component (Brandišauskas; Hamayon; Oskal; Swancutt). Brandišauskas revealed the relationship between luck and attentiveness among Evenki-Orochen reindeer herders and hunters. He stressed that unpredictable economic environments made luck a crucial concern for Orochen reindeer herders and hunters in the post-Soviet period (2). In a similar way, the uncertainty of flights leads to passengers' preoccupation with luck. Furthermore, both passengers at airports and hunters and herders in the taiga regard movement as an important activity for catching luck (Brandišauskas 126–44). Developing the approaches of Siberian and Arctic anthropologists to luck (Brandišauskas; Hamayon; Oskal), I demonstrate further that the ability to get lucky at northern airports is a skill of active waiting. But first, I show the implications of the logics of "efficiency" and "luck" in the airport space.

The Space of *Podsadka*: Zaliv Kresta Airport (Egvekinot)

All transport infrastructures, such as roads, railroads, and seaports, operate and function according to certain prescriptions and rules. But airports are probably the most tightly controlled places for security reasons (Chalfin 523). They are inflexible or rigid infrastructures, given that all activities within them are tightly coordinated by rules under the control of airport personnel. Various restrictions and rules are manifested in and enacted by the airport interior. Here I describe in detail a room of Egvekinot's airport, Zaliv Kresta, in order to demonstrate this statement. At the same time, as there is room for greater passenger flexibility at small and remote northern airports compared to large airports, then I discuss the space of the airport as a display, revealing the "inclusions" of *podsadka* logic in the interior, including those related to travel luck.

All airports are governed by regulations (Shilon and Shamir 253). They are spaces of rote formality and compliance (Chalfin 519). In Egvekinot's airport, such principles are embodied

in the numerous posters on the walls announcing prohibitions and recommendations. These posters seem to make no sense, although they are reminders of the existence of rules and they distract the bored passengers who read them from time to time. Sometimes airport personnel and passengers do refer to them to justify certain actions. For example, once, after another flight cancellation, I decided to get a free-of-charge accommodation. According to Russian legislation, airports should provide passengers with a hotel and transportation to it in the event of a delay of more than eight hours. The airport did not refuse my request, as they were aware of passengers' rights, but they did point to a notice on the wall with the telephone number of the person responsible for such arrangements, and recommended that I contact them. I did not succeed in reaching this person and ended up having to solve the accommodation problem myself.

Several specific areas that are more typical of airports help to sort the different passenger flows and groups of airport staff. There is a waiting room with a departure board, a corner with a food and beverage vending machine, a book area, a photo exhibition, a lavatory, a ticket office, a passport control, a baggage weighing desk, a screening area, a passenger holding area after screening, administrative staff rooms, and a pilot zone. At the same time, the interior of Zaliv Kresta has some specific features connected with *podsadka*, the unpredictability of flights, and the passenger's sensorial and careful attunement to the surroundings.

The infrastructure of waiting (Schindler 6)—the shops, restaurants, seats, and free internet that most airports provide—is rather ascetic. At Zaliv Kresta there is no wi-fi and no cafes, shops, or play zones for children. The airport building has a limited number of seats and one small vending machine. By not being entertained and distracted, passengers focus on the main purpose for their presence at the airport—to depart on a flight. So, the design of the airport encourages passengers to be primarily busy with getting information about flights and places on board airplanes.

There is no arrival board at the Egvekinot airport. Indeed, this information is not so essential for passengers. The people in the airport building are eagerly awaiting updates only on departing flights. So, the departure board occupies a central position within the airport building. People usually congregate around this board, casting occasional glances as they wait for their flights. As mentioned previously, the airport management would typically postpone a flight until midday, when it could be officially cancelled and rescheduled for the next day. Passengers waiting and looking at the departure board occupy a space of hope.

Nonetheless, details of arriving aircraft are also relevant data for passengers hoping to catch luck and a flight. For example, the flight route Anadyr'—Egvekinot—Anadyr' starts in the capital of Chukotka; a plane arrives from Anadyr' to Egvekinot and then returns. This means that information about the departure of the plane from Anadyr' sparks hope among passengers waiting in Egvekinot. If the weather does not turn bad and they get a seat, they will board an aircraft in about three hours. The sound of the approaching aircraft mobilises

passengers, as it portends the forthcoming registration process. For that reason, people are "perceptually attuned to picking up information in the environment" (Ingold, "The Temporality" 153). If a plane departs from Anadyr', passengers in Egvekinot will quickly know about it; they make calls to acquaintances in Anadyr' and listen carefully for conversations among airport personnel. More recently, people have started using WhatsApp, where one can find a group called "*Aeroport Zaliv Kresta*" (Zaliv Kresta Airport), which provides current information about flights to and from Egvekinot. If they learn of an Anadyr' departure from WhatsApp, later on they will either see or hear the approaching aircraft.

Another hallmark of the airport's space is the permeability of passenger and staff areas, which provides a certain degree of flexibility. For instance, on one occasion, I needed to store luggage at the airport, as it was difficult to commute to the airport from Egvekinot with my child every morning carrying heavy rucksacks. The airport representatives informed me that they did not provide such a service. However, driven probably by compassion, they allowed me to leave the bags in their working office. These offices were located in separate rooms, but were open to anyone who needed to ask questions. Despite the limited welcome to passengers, trespasses into the personnel area were sometimes inevitable. For example, when accessing the toilet, passengers had to go through the pilot zone located on the second floor, which was marked with a sign saying "entrance prohibited." Such infiltration of passengers into working spaces can generate valuable observations. If an aircraft's arrival or departure is not imminent, employees may be engaged in a game of billiards. However, if a flight is expected, the staff will be busy attending to their tasks. Therefore, the absence of the distinct sound of billiard balls colliding may indicate a higher probability of a flight.

The mutual penetration of the space and activities of passengers and crew is a specific feature of Chukotkan aviation. Aircrafts themselves have this peculiarity. For example, the space of a Dashka aircraft is shared with the pilots; passengers sitting in the front seats can watch them fly the plane and see a navigation map. During one of my trips from Anadyr' to Egvekinot, the weather was extremely windy, and the landing turned out to be really difficult: the plane fell into air pockets and almost landed on its nose. As the pilots landed the plane, the passengers sat in fear while the main pilot began shouting obscenities, not hiding his emotions from the passengers. Some passengers know the pilots personally and talk to them before take-off and after landing. Once, a woman sitting next to me on a flight told me a whole biographical story about a pilot who was flying the aircraft. In helicopters, space is shared with passengers' luggage and trade cargo. People are able to control their own luggage and to catch sight of goods they will be able to buy in a local shop in the near future. In general, this interpenetration of spaces with its tactile and audiovisual dimensions and "constant push and pull of affect between a human body and its surroundings" (Budd 1012) reinforces the possibility for passengers to be deeply attentive to the actions and words of airport representatives; they can pick up information related to *podsadka* and "be attuned to information of a certain sort" (Ingold, "On Not Knowing" 26).

Thus, airports are not homogeneous non-places around the world (Auge 75–79; Urry

146); they can be quite different, and designs or "philosophies do differ from airport to airport" (Adey, "Airports" 445). The specific traits of the spaces of northern airports are related to the potential flexibility of passengers and are shaped by the life itself that takes place there. Airports do not represent the "pause" between arrival and departure (Morris 41; Augé 75-115; Urry 33). Passengers, through careful listening, observing, and noticing what is happening at airports, actualise these designs (Adey, "Airports") to influence their own (un)lucky mobilities. Further below, I elaborate on why passengers should be active and proactive when travelling by air in Chukotka.

Layers of Queues and (Pro)active Waiting

The focus of this section is on the temporal dimension of queuing, which is apparent in the act of waiting. Waiting is an integral part of air travel because airports consist of a meshwork of queues (Schindler 2). The practice of *podsadka* also involves queuing, specifically, waiting in queues that are interconnected with each other, creating layers of queues to navigate in order to reach a destination. At its most elemental, a queue is the means by which access to service is regulated in time and space (Gandhi).

   This section analyses the "active work of waiting" (Reeves 22) at Chukotkan airports before boarding an aircraft to develop the idea of the "active luck" that becomes possible due to the dual nature of local aviation: rationality and the unpredictability of flights. Queuing itself is twofold: the acts of the claimant and the acts of the service provider together form particular queues in different social and cultural contexts (Seeley 488). These two actors—airport/airline management or staff and passengers—co-create *podsadka* in Chukotka.

   Here I provide an ethnographic account of queuing in Chukotka, demonstrating the various stages that must be navigated when travelling by air, based on my own frequent trips from the village of Amguema to Anadyr'. Becoming an air passenger is a process that starts before arriving to an airport and requires engagements with a "myriad of diverse practices" (Bissell, "Passenger" 270; Shilon and Shamir 248). Before coming to the airport and getting into a queue there, a passenger must overcome another bunch of queues. First, a traveller has to get to Egvekinot. This can be accomplished either by bus or car. Families who possess their own vehicles may elect to leave during the night and arrive at the airport early in the morning and join the queue the first. People with no car of their own can opt to call a taxi, although this is rather expensive. If they are lucky, they will join one of the fellow villagers who have plans to drive to Egvekinot. The most popular option is travelling by public bus: it is much cheaper than a taxi and affordable to all villagers.

   The Housing and Communal Services Office (*Zhilishnoe Komunal'noe Khoziaistvo,* referred to colloquially as *ZheKeKha*), located in the village administration building, sells tickets for the "Amguema–Egvekinot–Amguema" public bus the day before the trip. Initially, *ZheKeKha* staff would start selling them at nine o'clock in the morning on the day before departure,

but as the bus was always full, people started queuing at six o'clock in the morning. Recently, the ticket sellers decided to improve the situation a little bit and started selling tickets in the afternoon so that villagers would not have to come at such an early hour. But the result was quite different. People still came as early as they could. In the summer of 2022, for example, there were cases of people coming at two in the morning. But the embodied work and temporality of queuing changed. The inhabitants of Amguema stopped standing in a queue all together all the time. They came, found a queue, waited for the next potential passenger to queue up, and then went home. When the ticket office finally opened, they came back and formed a new queue, more or less understanding who was behind whom. Six months later, I observed a new practice. The first person in the queue would stick a piece of paper on the door of the office, write their surname on it, and then enumerate a list for others. Subsequent potential passengers would add themselves or their relatives and friends to this list. However, there were cases of these papers being swapped. Such deceit moved people who had been first on the list to the end of the list. The history of the development of queueing practices reveals how passengers and carriers are highly attentive to environmental conditions and adjust to them. The switch from a real queue to a paper one resulted from the creative work of people who were searching for an easier, more comfortable and effective way of taking a bus.

Often, passengers arrive in Egvekinot a few days before their flight. Indeed, it is more reliable to arrive in advance, because a bus may break down or poor weather conditions may lead to cancellations. On the day of their scheduled flight, passengers must take a bus or taxi to get to the airport, located five kilometres from Egvekinot. A taxi is preferable, as it allows one to come earlier to get a place in the queue. But there is only one taxi driver in town, and this causes demand to exceed supply; in other words, due to a shortage of taxi services, the people waiting for it form a queue. The size of the queue and the waiting time are known only to the taxi driver taking the orders. Furthermore, it is impossible to make an appointment for a certain time in advance. Why does a taxi driver only accept orders in real time? While taking my youngest son to his kindergarten in Ozernyi, I gained insight into the matter.

Ozernyi is a microdistrict of Egvekinot, but it is located thirteen kilometres away. Despite its official status, locals perceive it as a separate settlement. The power plant in the area produces electricity for Egvekinot and Amguema. Ozernyi was originally populated only by employees of this enterprise, but now it has a population of more than four hundred, many of whom recently relocated from Chukotkan national villages (*natsional'nye sela*). Ozernyi features a kindergarten, a school, a post office, and two shops. While in the field in Egvekinot, I sought a spot in a kindergarten for my three-year-old son. Unfortunately, the kindergarten in Egvekinot was fully booked. The head of the kindergarten recommended a placement in their branch located in Ozernyi. Although inconvenient, I had to accept the offer due to a lack of kindergarten places and babysitters. I had two options for travelling to Ozernyi twice per day—by bus or by taxi. Initially I had planned on taking a taxi. I was

taken aback when the taxi driver refused and instead tried to convince me to switch to the bus option. It was perplexing as to why he would jeopardise a consistent source of income. Regardless, I persisted with the taxi service for the subsequent week; however, it was quite uncomfortable, as I had to wait thirty, forty or even sixty minutes for his arrival. I realised that a single taxi driver was hardly enough for all the potential passengers intending to catch a flight; in the morning, there was always a queue waiting for him. The driver would evenly distribute the passengers, similar to the practice of ChukotAVIA. He would receive orders from both Egvekinot and Ozernyi (the airport is located between the two). The taxi driver would bring passengers from Egvekinot to the airport, then proceed to Ozernyi to collect additional passengers before returning to the airport. It appeared to be an almost regular shuttle run. When clients booked a ride, the driver always asked how many people would be going to the airport. This careful and calculative information-gathering approach allowed him to combine orders, that is, to literally compact passengers from different orders and locations. Such a technique has rational logic and contributes to the effectiveness of a taxi driver's job.

Besides taxi ordering, passengers must also resolve issues related to their temporary accommodation. First, they have to find it through friends, relatives, and local landlords. Second, they must organise the handover of keys before leaving for the airport and, in the event of a flight cancellation or failed *podsadka*, arrange to take them back. Therefore, when imagining the taxi drivers' route, passengers must also navigate the temporal constraints of both the taxi and the landlord. They have to adjust to the multiple temporalities of different actors (Ssorin-Chaikov).

Even those with an airline ticket must prepare to queue during the boarding process, as there are usually a lot of passengers accumulated from different abandoned flights. There is no clear rule as to who should be first to board an aircraft: those with tickets for that day's date, or those whose flights were cancelled in previous days. Since weather conditions in Egvekinot or Anadyr' can rapidly deteriorate, resulting in the cancellation of flights, and some passengers have connecting flights on the same day, they strive to take the earliest available flight for better and safer travel. In other words, passengers should be ready to act, struggling for a seat on an aircraft.

Similarly, those travelling from Anadyr' to a Chukotkan village or to Moscow, Sochi, or other destinations may have to overcome a multiplicity of queues when boarding an aircraft. First, to reach the airport from the capital of Chukotka one must successfully cross the *Anadyrskii Liman* (Anadyr' Firth) by boat, barge, or helicopter, as the city and its airport are situated on opposite shores. To get to the airport from the capital of Chukotka, or vice versa, the type of transport one has available depends on the season. Here, too, one must wait in several queues.

These descriptions give insight into the specificity of people's mobility, which is like a shuttle run. In other words, to get from point A to point B, people have to make intermediate

stops and change their means of transport. This type of movement contributes to the aforementioned unpredictability of travel in the region. The whole journey depends on various infrastructures and means of transport, such as roads, ships, boats, taxis, and hotels, which complement each other (Davydov and Davydova 95–96; Star 381). At the same time, people have the desire and capability to enhance their prospects for a lucky trip. Passengers' audiovisual, kinaesthetic, and tactile attunement in the context of an unpredictable future gives them hope for timely mobility. The embodied knowledge of how to (pro)actively wait and move is crucial to their (un)luckiness amidst uncertainty.

As mentioned above, passengers have the option to arrive early to join a queue; however, this does not entail their arrival at the earliest possible time. Rather, they must stay vigilant regarding their environment. They observe the weather and try to predict it for the next day, "to be ready to catch luck" (Brandišauskas 176). In the event of bad weather, passengers can stay at home or in a hotel and call the airport via phone. But it is never totally obvious what kind of weather is suitable for flying. As one informant put it: "You call the airport, they recommend keeping an eye on the weather. You are looking out the window, but it [the aircraft] is taking off." She meant that it is not always possible to rely just on weather observations to predict whether or not there will be a flight on any given day.

An expert interviewee clarified for me that aircrafts differ in their suitability for flight. In other words, the likelihood of a flight depends on the assigned aircraft for that day. Also, sometimes the weather can be good, but the runway is not cleared, which would result in a flight cancellation. Therefore, the probability of flying depends on the technological capacity of the airport to clear the runway in time or provide a different aircraft. Technology is extremely important for flights. Passengers are often unfamiliar with the technological intricacies of the aviation industry, which contributes to the unpredictable nature of flight cancellations or delays. However, individuals with prior experience may engage in discussions regarding the technological barriers that have affected their travel in the past.

After multiple cancellations, one should consider that crowds of passengers may create a registration queue. This affects the likelihood of departure, which is dependent on the actions of other passengers. Taking into account all of these observations, people decide when and whether to go to the airport.

Passengers bring with them any documents that prove the urgency of their travel. It could be even helpful just to cry out something important or relevant in the crowd like "I have a Moscow flight today." However, some people use this tactic without having the appropriate tickets; they are merely trying to prove by any means possible that they are in a hurry and cannot wait. Once I observed a document trick. The passenger, being at the end of a waiting list, slipped his passport to an acquaintance, whose turn to obtain a *podsadka* ticket had arrived. The cashier sold tickets to both of them without noticing or deliberately missing the trick.

As noted above, the temporal dimension of queuing is waiting; the spatial element is linear

sequencing (Gandhi 17). But passengers in Chukotka persistently resist this linear logic. Visually, the queue resembles a crowd, not a line. I witnessed a typical queueing dialogue while waiting for a boat to cross the Anadyr' Firth. Sometimes not all passengers can board the boat because of a shortage of seats. I arrived at the dock early enough to get at the beginning of the queue, or rather the crowd. The closer the departure time came, the more people gathered there. But they were standing in a chaotic way, not in a strict queue, not asking who was last in the queue. Then one woman who had just arrived asked reasonably who the last person was in this particular queue. No one answered. Nobody considered themself the last. After a long and slightly awkward pause someone said: "Living queue." The term "living queue" (*zhivaia ochered*') is common in Russia and usually means that people have to control the order of people in a queue. It is the opposite of a queue where people have made an appointment in advance, or an electronic queue. But in the context of this dialogue, it had another meaning. It meant that people were constantly moving in this queue, it was permanently restructured and not fixed; it was literally "alive." The woman who wanted to get in the queue answered, sarcastically: "Yes, we know this a living queue— those who were the last will be the first getting on the boat!" In fact, the micro-strategies for moving inside a queue are diverse and widespread. People can shout something, show papers, push forward, or put their bag in the place of their future potential relocation, and if nobody protests a while later, they occupy the place of that bag themselves.

Similarly to cattle-breeding Buryats or Evenki reindeer herders and hunters (Brandišauskas; Swancutt), passengers can use the rules of irrational systems and ritual knowledge. Some of them hedge their bets by going to church to pray or donate. Anyone can do this at the airport, where there is a special box for church donations. My Pentecostal acquaintances prayed hard while their son stood in a line with me for a *podsadka* ticket. Other people feed spirits before they travel, by throwing some food out of the window. In general, local people are more or less fatalists. Not only indigenous people but newcomers also express such ideas. One of my informants, a woman living in Egvekinot for about thirty years, explained: "You cannot be on familiar terms with nature" (*nel'zia byt' s prirodoi na ty*). In other words, you cannot force your mobility; sometimes you must wait and take it for granted. Maybe in the future you will understand that there was a reason for this waiting. This woman gave me several examples of plane crashes, accidents, and other adverse events to demonstrate this. So, there is a kind of a balance between being active and not being too bold and assertive. Passengers sometimes have to wait, but that does not mean that there is no room for their agency.

The common efforts of all passengers may impact the possibility of departure for everyone. Passengers share with each other their concerns about flying luck. I witnessed how people at the airport agreed to call ChukotAVIA together and complain about the long queues to put pressure on the company management and make them allocate an additional aircraft. One woman even got angry at me, as I did not call and complain to the airline company with other passengers. She told me irritably: "Don't you want to fly? Do you

enjoy coming to the airport every day with your children?" From her point of view, I was not active enough in waiting for an aircraft, and therefore did not contribute to the collective luckiness.

Airports and waiting practices duplicate and reproduce existent hierarchies (Aaltola 275; Shilon and Shamir; Schwartz; Urry 151). Local hierarchies in Chukotkan settlements affect *podsadka* as well. For example, a local leader (vliiatel'nyi chelovek), such as the head of the district or a member of the airport management, might be able to help one to obtain tickets in the case of a *podsadka*. I myself used this resource and asked an influential person to help my family get on the plane. It might have been a coincidence, but after his call we managed to fly. I also saw another influential man, who had brought huge investments to the region, accompany his Moscow-based worker to the airport in Egvekinot to help him to get *podsadka* tickets. The man left the airport only after he ensured his colleague would be boarded on the plane.

The capability to get *podsadka* places results from the embodied knowledgeability and skill of the traveller. Previous experience is of great importance here, as "different people with variable past experiences of flying also variably perform their skills as passengers" (Shilon and Shamir 260). Those who have recently arrived in Chukotka are not familiar with local infrastructures and the affordances within the structures. As a result, they are rather unlucky in their travels. That is what happened to me, at least. I remember myself being lost during my first attempts to get *podsadka* seats in 2017–18. I used to spend a lot of time in local airports, even with official tickets bought in advance. By contrast, I myself was surprised at how quickly I was able to depart from Egvekinot in the summer of 2023 without a ticket and with two children at the height of the vacation season. By then, I had experience.

These forms of active waiting, which involve certain practiced skills, allow people to catch flying luck; they help people to govern future uncertainty, but simultaneously contribute to the chaotic unpredictability of *podsadka*. Moreover, being active is not enough—one must be proactive by making informed choices, movements, and decisions, based on reflections on past experience, if one is to be lucky in the future.

Conclusion

Infrastructures, including transportation, have been described as mechanisms to control time (Graham and Marvin). Furthermore, aviation is supposed to synchronise time, creating a universal one (Urry 140). This research, instead, reveals the temporal multiplicity, unpredictability, and uncontrollability of (some) airports. Dwelling there implies the acceptance of fate, forgetting about strict plans and schedules, and adopting a flexible approach to managing tasks within given time. On the other hand, Chukotkan airports are spaces where passengers strive to effectively manage their time, as the temporal dimension is crucial for (un)luckiness on their whole journey. Those who succeed, catch luckiness in

the form of timely mobility. To move through space timely does not mean to move faster. Occasionally, passengers would express relief at not flying earlier. Avoiding a delay only to be in an airplane crash is an extreme example of this attitude towards timely mobility.

Developing ideas about the multiplicity and heterogeneity of social times (Ssorin-Chaikov), I have shown that, although different institutions and actors are engaged in the process of passenger air transportation in Chukotka, they have their own temporalities. Passengers and airline/airport management must be attuned to the multiple rhythms for achieving luckiness or efficiency at local airports. The landscape, including airports, roads, ports, and berths, is not just a "record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it" (Ingold, "Temporality" 152); some acts of dwelling in the landscape are not concerned with the past but with anticipated futures.

Chukotka's airport infrastructure embodies the juxtaposition of passenger flexibility and infrastructure rigidity. Being an institutionalised practice, *podsadka* helps people overcome this contradiction. It mitigates the bottlenecks of airports (Adey, "Airports") and helps to distribute social agents in time and space. "Those in the corridors of power" (airline management) use *podsadka* to influence "those in the corridors of movement" (passengers) (Adey, "Airports" 438). Passengers make the best out of the situation to move luckily and eventually make rigid infrastructures flexible and open to change. The actions of passengers who seek "flying luck" have much in common with the actions of those who seek "hunting luck" or "reindeer herding luck," and it is the actions and decisions of airline/airport management that create unpredictable *podsadka*, because they have to provide the state with access to remote settlements and uphold social obligations to local communities while attempting to increase efficiency in flight occupancy while also making profits. In a sense, airline's rationality creates boarding uncertainty. But the uncertainty of life opens up to pure possibility (Ingold, "On Not Knowing"). The passengers' objective is not to overcome aviation's unpredictability; instead, they aim to use it to accomplish their own goals—to catch luck in order to arrive at certain places at certain times. The skill of catching luck in Chukotkan airports, just as in the in taiga or tundra, is acquired through interaction with different actors (wind, snow, taxi driver, landlords, airport staff, other passengers, etc.) and depends on "highly attuned attention to multiple dimensions of environmental co-variation" (Ingold, "Five" 162).

Competing Interests

ORCID

Elena Davydova   http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9299-7551

Works Cited

Aaltola, Mika. "The International Airport: The Hub-and-Spoke Pedagogy of the American Empire." *Global Networks*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2005, pp. 261–78, http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00118.x.

Adey, Peter. *Aerial Life: Spaces, Mobilities, Affects*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

___. "Airports, Mobility and the Calculative Architecture of Affective Control." *Geoforum*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2008, pp. 438–51, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.09.001.

Adey, Peter, et al. "Profiling the Passenger: Mobilities, Identities, Embodiments." *Cultural Geographies*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2012, pp. 169–93, https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474011428031.

Anderson, David. *Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia: The Number One Reindeer Brigade*. Oxford UP. 2000.

Argounova-Low, Tatiana. "Roads and Roadlessness: Driving Trucks in Siberia." *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2012, pp. 71–88.

Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. Verso, 1995.

Auyero, Javier. *Patients of the State: The Politics of Waiting in Argentina*. Duke UP, 2012.

Bissell, David. "Conceptualising Differently-Mobile Passengers: Geographies of Everyday Encumbrance in the Railway Station." *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2009, pp. 173-95, https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802652137.

___. "Passenger Mobilities: Affective Atmospheres and the Sociality of Public Transport." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2010, pp. 270–89, https://doi.org/10.1068/d3909.

Bogdanov, Konstantin. "The Queue as Narrative." *Russian Cultural Anthropology after the Collapse of Communism*, Routledge, 2012, pp. 77-102.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Practical Reason. On the Theory of Action*. Stanford UP, 1998.

Brandišauskas, Donatas. *Leaving Footprints in the Taiga: Luck, Spirits and Ambivalence among the Siberian Orochen Reindeer Herders and Hunters*. Berghahn, 2017.

Budd, Lucy C. S. "On Being Aeromobile: Airline Passengers and the Affective Experiences of Flight." *Journal of Transport Geography*, vol. 19, no. 5, 2011, pp. 1010–16, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2010.06.017.

Buier, Natalia. "The Anthropology of Infrastructure: The Boom and the Bubble?" *Focaal – Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology*, no. 95, 2023, pp. 46–60, https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2022.012401.

Castellanos, Avila D. D. "Rethinking Waiting: A Critical Analysis of the Waiting as a Temporality and its Limitations in Understanding these Processes as a Social Phenomena." *Dialektika: Revista De Investigación Filosófica Y Teoría Social,* vol. 5, no. 14, 2023, pp. 9–32, https://doi.org/10.51528/dk.vol5.id110.

Chalfin, Brenda. "Sovereigns and Citizens in close Encounter: Airport Anthropology and Customs Regimes

in Neoliberal Ghana." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2008, pp. 519–38, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00096.x.

ChukotAVIA Aktsionernoe Obschestvo Website [ChukotAVIA Joint-Stock Company Website]. https://chukotavia.ru/. Accessed 3 May 2023.

Da Col, G. "Introduction: Natural Philosophies of Fortune-Luck, Vitality, and Uncontrolled Relatedness." *Social Analysis* vol. 56, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1–23, https://doi.org/10.3167/SA.2012.560102.

Davydov, Vladimir, and Elena Davydova. "Iul'tinskaia trassa: Proekt razvitiia infrastruktury v zhizni chukotskikh natsional'nykh sel" [Iul'tinskaia Road: Transport Infrastructure Development Project in the Life of the National Villages in Chukotka]. *Sibirskie Istoricheskie Issledovaniia [Siberian Historical Research]*, no. 3, 2020, pp. 89–102, https://doi.org/10.17223/2312461X/29/7.

Elixhauser, Sophie. "Making and Unmaking Airports in Tunu (East Greenland): The Socio-material Dynamics of Hope and Connectivity." *Études Inuit Studies*, vol. 47, nos. 1-2. Preprint.

Elliot, Alice. "Paused Subjects: Waiting for Migration in North Africa." *Time and Society,* vol. 25, no. 1, 2016, pp. 102–16, https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X15588090.

Elliott, Anthony, and David Radford. "Terminal Experimentation: the Transformation of Experiences, Events and Escapes at Global Airports." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 33, no. 6, 2015, pp. 1063–79, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775815595407.

Faist, Thomas. "The Mobility Turn: A New Paradigm for the Social Sciences?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 36, no. 11, 2013, pp. 1637–46, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.812229.

Gandhi, Ajay. "Standing Still and Cutting in Line: The Culture of the Queue in India." *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 2013, pp. 1–18. http://doi.org/10.4000/samaj.3519.

Gavrilova, Kseniia, et al. "Anthropology of the Northern Sea Rout: Introducing the Topic." *The Polar Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2017, pp. 46–57, https://doi.org/10.1080/2154896X.2017.1324691.

Gottdiener, Mark. *Life in the Air: Surviving the New Culture of Air Travel*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Graham, Steve, and Simon Marvin. *Telecommunications and the City: Electronic Spaces*, Urban Places. Routledge, 1996.

Habeck, Joachim Otto, and Denis Zuev. "Implications of Infrastructure and Technological Change for Lifestyles in Siberia." *Lifestyle in Siberia and the Russian North*, edited by J. O. Habeck, Open Book Publishers, 2015, pp. 35–104, https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0171.02.

Habeck, Joachim Otto, and Ludek Broz. "Introduction: Experience and Emotion in Northern Mobilities." *Mobilities,* vol. 10, no. 4, 2015, pp. 511–17, http://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2015.1061262.

Hage, Ghassan. *Waiting*. Edited by G. Hage, Melbourne UP, 2009.

Hamayon, Roberte N. "The Three Duties of Good Fortune 'Luck' as a Relational Process among Hunting Peoples of the Siberian Forest in Pre-Soviet Times." *Social Analysis*, vol. 56, no. 1, 2012, pp. 99–116, https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2012.560107.

Harris, Tina. "Air Pressure: Temporal Hierarchies in Nepali Aviation." *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2021, pp. 83–109, https://doi.org/10.14506/ca36.1.04.

Harvey, Penny, and Hannah Knox. "The Enchantments of Infrastructure." *Mobilities*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2012, pp. 521–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2012.718935.

___. *Roads: An Anthropology of Infrastructure and Expertise*. Cornell UP, 2015.

Hirsh, Max. "Technical Experts and the Production of China's Airport Infrastructure." *Infrastructure and the Remaking of Asia*, edited by Max Hirsh and Tim Mostowlanski, U of Hawai'i P, 2022, pp. 213–38.

Hirsh, Max, and Tim Mostowlanski, editors. *Infrastructure and the Remaking of Asia*. U of Hawai'i P, 2022.

Ibañez-Tirado, Diana. "'We Sit and Wait': Migration, Mobility and Temporality in Guliston, Southern Tajikistan." *Current Sociology*, vol. 67, no. 2, 2019, pp. 315–33, https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118792923.

Ingold, Tim. "Five Questions of Skill." *Cultural Geographies*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2017, pp. 159–63, https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474017702514.

___. "On not Knowing and Paying Attention: How to Walk in a Possible World." *Irish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2022, pp. 20-36, https://doi.org/10.1177/07916035221088546.

___. "The Temporality of the Landscape." *World Archeology*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, pp. 152–74, https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1993.9980235.

Janeja, Manpreet K., and Andreas Bandak, editors. *Ethnographies on Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2018, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003085317.

Jeffrey, Craig. *Timepass: Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India*. Stanford UP, 2010.

Kellerman, Aharon. "International Airports: Passengers in an Environment of 'Authorities.'" *Mobilities*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2008, pp. 161–78, http://doi.org/10.1080/17450100701797406.

Knox, Hannah, et al. "Enacting Airports: Space, Movement and Modes of Ordering." *Organization*, vol. 15, no. 6, 2008, pp. 869–88, https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508408095818.

Larkin, Brian. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure." *The Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 42, 2013, pp. 327–43, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-092412-155522.

Lin, Weiqiang. "Flying through Ash Clouds: Improvising Aeromobilities in Singapore and Australasia." *Mobilities*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2014, pp. 220–37, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.818276.

Lloyd, Justine. "Airport Technology, Travel, and Consumption." *Space and Culture*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2003, pp. 93–109, https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331203251254.

Markkula, Johanna. "'We Move the World': The Mobile Labor of Filipino Seafarers." *Mobilities*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2021, pp. 164–77, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2021.1880129.

Millward, Liz. "The Embodied Aerial Subject. Gendered Mobility in British Inter-War Air Tours." *The Journal of Transport History*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2008, pp. 5–22, https://doi.org/10.7227/TJTH.29.1.3.

Morris, Meaghan. "At Henry Parkes Motel." *Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1988, pp. 1–47, https://doi.org/10.1080/09502388800490011.

Mostowlansky, Till, and Tobias Marschall. "Road's End: Lines and Spaces across a Divided High Asia." *Infrastructure and the Remaking of Asia,* edited by Max Hirsh and Tim Mostowlanski, U of Hawai'i P, 2022, pp. 178-95.

Olson, Elizabeth. "Geography and Ethics I: Waiting and Urgency." *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2015, pp. 517–26, https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515595758.

Oskal, Nils. "On Nature and Reindeer Luck." *Rangifer*, vol. 20, nos. 2-3, 2000, pp. 175–80, https://doi.org/10.7557/2.20.2-3.1511.

Pascoe, David. *Airspaces*. Reaktion Books, 2001.

Reeves, Madeleine. "The Queue: Bureaucratic Time, Distributed Legality, and the Work of Waiting in Migrant Moscow." *Suomin Antropologi*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2019, pp. 20–39, https://doi.org/10.30676/jfas.v44i2.77733.

Rotter, Rebecca. "Waiting in the Asylum Determination Process: Just an Empty Interlude?" *Time and Society*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2016, pp. 80–101, https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920516645934.

Rust, Daniel L. *Flying Across America: The Airline Passenger Experience*. U of Oklahoma P, 2009.

Sancho-Rainoso, Alexis. "Cartography" *D-Maps*, https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=94152&lang=en

Schindler, Larissa. "Practices of Waiting: Dramatized Timing within Air Travel." *Mobilities*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2020, pp.1–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2020.1802103.

Schwartz, Barry. "Waiting, Exchange, and Power: The Distribution of Time in Social Systems." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 79, no. 4, 1974, pp. 841–70.

Schweitzer, Peter, and Olga Povoroznyuk. "Introduction: Precarious Connections: On the Promise and Menace of Railroad Projects." *Transfers*, vol. 10, nos. 2-3, 2020, pp. 137–51, https://doi.org/10.3167/TRANS.2020.10020311.

Schweitzer, Peter, et al. "Beyond Wilderness: Towards an Anthropology of Infrastructure and the Built Environment in the Russian North." *The Polar Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2017, pp. 58–85, https://doi.org/10.1080/2154896X.2017.1334427.

Seeley, J. Lotus. "Jumping to the Head of the Invisible Line: Queuing and Waiting in Electronic Ticket Systems." *Social Currents*, vol. 6, no. 5, 2019, pp. 487–503, https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496519849405.

Shilon, Mor, and Ronen Shamir. "Becoming an Airline Passenger: Body, Luggage, and Documents." *Subjectivity*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2016, pp. 246–70, http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/s41286-016-0002-y.

Ssorin-Chaikov, Nikolai. *Two Lenins: A Brief Anthropology of Time*. U of Chicago P, 2017.

Star, Susan Leigh. "The Ethnography of Infrastructure." *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 43, no. 3, 1993, pp. 377–91, https://doi.org/10.1177/00027649921955326.

Swancutt, Katherine. *Fortune and the Cursed: The Sliding Scale of Time in Mongolian Divination*. Berghahn Books, 2012.

Urry, John. *Mobilities*. Polity, 2007.

Vakhtin, Nikolai. "Mobility and Infrastructure in the Russian Arctic: Das Sein bestimmt das Bewusstsein?" *Sibirica*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2017, pp. 1–13, https://doi.org/10.3167/sib.2017.160301.

Vasil'eva, Valeriia, and Kseniia Gavrilova. "Obmennye praktiki i sotsial'nye seti kak mechanismy preodoleniia defitsitov v lokal'nykh soobshchestvakh Taimyra i Kamchatki" [Exchange Practices and Social Networks as Means of Coping with Shortages in Local Communities of Taimyr and Kamchatka]. *Antropologicheskii Forum [Anthropological Forum]*, no. 54, 2022, pp. 99–131, https://doi.org/10.31250/1815-8870-2022-18-54-99-131.