Every year during its Winter Carnival, the village of McCall, located in the mountainous region of west central Idaho, transforms itself into an outdoor museum of snow and ice. Sculptures made entirely of snow and as large as buildings can be found on street corners, in front of buildings, and in the park. The “local” sculptures are ostensibly made by townspeople and are extraordinarily realistic, drawing upon literature, popular culture, and local life. Visitors might see a giant Snoopy or Darth Maul rendered in ice, wild bears frolicking over fallen logs, or a Model T car stuck in the snow. “State” sculptures are part of a state competition, located in the park, and are less detailed and often abstract. All are festive objects and designed to attract tourists to this remote and scenic resort town, who travel around to view them as part of the Carnival’s activities. The other primary festival attraction is the main parade, which entails a Mardi Gras theme, but somewhat incongruously concludes with a quasi-Chinese dragon that wends its serpentine way down main street and is manned by local schoolchildren.

It turns out that not only the snow competition but also the entire festival is fraught. Winter Carnival is plagued by a host of problems common to modern Chamber of Commerce tourist productions, including a continual shortage of volunteers, burn-out, and general ambivalence (Thoroski and Greenhill 2001). The festival’s purpose is to generate dollars during a slump in the winter season, but people here are ambivalent about tourists and dislike Winter Carnival crowds. Despite Chamber of Commerce rhetoric that Winter Carnival is “[economically] good for the community,” many businesses claim they don’t make a cent during Winter Carnival, since their regular customers stay away. “Local” snow sculptures are often outsourced to outside groups. As an all-volunteer event, it takes a tremendous amount of effort to produce Winter Carnival.
Carnival, and many people wonder why they do it. Residents breathe a sigh of relief when it is over. But Winter Carnival continues to occur annually. Why? What is going on? And why does the Mardi Gras parade conclude with a Chinese-Mardi Gras hybrid dragon anyway?

This article illustrates how the McCall Winter Carnival, and more specifically the snow sculptures and the parade, are a primary means through which local residents reflect on and negotiate major recent controversial socioeconomic transformations. The cultural performances that constitute Winter Carnival are collective productions grounded in and emerging from local culture and social life, in a setting in which local culture and social life have undergone major change over the past decade.

The McCall area has been affected primarily by the reorganization of industrial capital, which in turn has reconfigured local space. McCall is situated on the shores of Payette Lake and surrounded on all sides by national forest, which is in turn adjacent to the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness Area. It is a quiet, beautiful scenic area that has been primarily a logging community since it was founded in 1889. The prominent Brown family owned the local timber mill for most of the twentieth century, and the mill employed many people in McCall during that time. McCall also served as a social hub for loggers working in lumber camps in the backcountry, who came into town on weekends to dance, drink, and socialize. The Forest Service has played an important role in the economy, since almost eighty-eight percent of land in the county is federally owned. The headquarters for the Payette National Forest has been located in McCall since 1908 (Preston 1998) and McCall has been a smokejumper base since 1943. The timber industry, government agencies such as the Forest Service and Fish and Game, and the surrounding ranching areas have cultivated an outdoors-oriented population, the majority of whom work closely with the natural environment.

Summer tourism also has always played an important secondary role. McCall’s location on the shores of Payette Lake has made it a site for summer cabins since 1906, and the area has attracted visitors for the purposes of fishing, hiking and camping, and other outdoor recreation due to its immediate access to mountain lakes, rivers, and primitive wilderness areas. Yet tourism remained of secondary importance until the 1960s and 1970s, when winter tourism began to be developed, transforming tourism from a single season industry to a year-round business. The area has developed increasingly into a destination resort for the very wealthy since that time, but particularly during the past decade. The entire region is replete with the discourse of crisis that comes with
the restructuring of capital as it has transformed from logging town into elite resort.

This transformation has its roots in the 1960s. In 1964, the Brown family sold the timber mill to the Boise-Cascade corporation, a sign of coming deindustrialization. Citing pressure from environmental policies, Boise Cascade closed the McCall mill in 1977, forcing workers to seek employment in other Boise Cascade mills throughout the region. The area also began emphasizing winter sports activities during the 60s to supplement the traditional summer season. Local residents had always participated in winter sports such as skiing, dog sledding, and skating—indeed, in addition to a culture of logging the area historically had cultivated a culture of skiing and had been very active in the development of skiing as a sport throughout the twentieth century—but winter activities that had primarily been local pastimes now began to be exported to new audiences. Brundage Ski area, for example, opened in 1961 as the area’s first modern ski lift with the help of Corey Engen, an Olympic ski sensation whose family founded Alta ski resort in Utah. The increase in popularity of snowmobiles such as the Ski-Doo during the same period allowed visitors to access forest land during the winter in addition to the summer season. And in 1965, the newly formed Area Chamber of Commerce revived Winter Carnival in order to attract tourists during the slow winter season. The regional timber industry fully deindustrialized during the late 1990s and in 2000, when Boise Cascade closed all of its regional mills in west-central Idaho. The Payette Lakes area has become a major blip on investment radar screens since the closure of the mills, primarily through land speculators who purchased old Boise Cascade lands as well as lakeshore property for investment portfolios. These speculations capitalized on the largely untouched, scenic nature of the region and spurred the development of exclusive golf courses, private clubs, and vacation mansions. The most important development was the 2004 opening of Tamarack ski area eleven miles south of McCall by French developer Jean-Pierre Boespflug. The Brundage ski area is largely an area attended by residents of the state, but Tamarack markets itself as a world class destination ski and golf resort. It was visited by President George W. Bush on his vacation to Idaho in August 2005 and “star investments” include a luxury hotel owned by tennis superstars and resort investors Steffi Graff and André Agassi.

Destination resorts are places of conspicuous consumption, created specifically for the display of wealth, luxury, and ostentation. Resorts are purposefully designed to be set apart from everyday life; they are
fantasy places to which people go to escape their normal lives. A resort is a “place-out-of-place” (cf. Falassi 1987), illustrating perfectly how tourism invents differences, presenting an aestheticized picture of the world rather than the world itself (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Resorts commonly are found in rural or remote areas such as Valley County, where McCall is located. Time and money—hoarded or saved in other locations—are freely spent or even squandered in resorts, situating them as liminoid-ish places of “play” for those who visit.

Resort development can be a mixed blessing for those who work and live in them. Resorts can create much-needed jobs, but they also increase economic disparity by offering temporary, seasonal, or part-time employment. Resorts jack up real-estate values for investors. One common effect of resort development is that people who work or live near resort areas often not only cannot afford the resort’s luxuries, but also cannot afford to own property, so workers are bussed in from other counties or else live in resort-owned or subsidized housing. The result can be the creation of significant economic discrepancies between visitors and locals, as well as a transformation in the character of the location.

These changes have led to widespread conflict throughout the McCall community about development and about what kind of place the region has become. Resort development has led to conflicts between traditional local attitudes, which typically have been conservative, pro-business, and pro-private property, and newer stances that acknowledge growth does not always equal progress. New social issues associated with rapid growth, such as land-use issues, a lack of affordable housing, and the tenuous nature of service employment are now at the political fore. Grassroots organizations have called for more socially responsible programs and politicians have promised larger social roles for the government in election campaigns. Labels such as “tourist,” “visitor,” and “resident,” which have always been in use, now have become highly contested and politicized social and identity categories (Gabbert 2007).

The reconfiguration of local space that has occurred in McCall and the concomitant crisis of identity are central to theories of globalization, which in very basic terms suggest that localities are not isolated entities but are constructed through and by their relations with other places beyond themselves. Globalization, which originated conceptually in political science and international relations, has since become a significant component of general social theory. It is basically a process by which particular places become more intricately interconnected to each other, while territorial boundaries—particularly those of nation-
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States—become less significant or even nonexistent in the regulation of people, ideas, and information. "Supraterritorial" or "transborder" social relations, according to Scholte (2003), are defining features of globalization, ones that distinguish it from previous concepts in political science of internationalization, liberalization, universalization, and westernization. Resort development in McCall is the result of multinational corporate investment. These transnational businesses hold sway beyond the borders of nation-states and engage in practices of economic colonialism, creating and recreating pockets of wealth and poverty across the globe that are necessary not only for capital to survive but also to insinuate itself into all aspects of life. McCall has become, from a macroeconomic global perspective, one node on a transnational network of resorts that structure economic inequality in particular ways.

One interesting result of the emphasis on the relatedness of places on a global scale has been a renewed emphasis on the local. The initial fears of some scholars that globalization was merely a euphemism for western imperialism and that local cultures would be eradicated in the wake of the emergence of a singular, homogenized culture have proved unfounded. A renewed emphasis on the local and on localized identities has appeared instead, since, as Tomlinson notes, the globalization of modernity produces not a homogenization of culture and identity, but rather an excess of peculiarly modern identity formations of which regional identity or locality is one (Tomlinson 1999, 2003; see also Pieterse 2004; Knauft 2002). This is why practices become more local at the time that they become more global (Friedman 1990; Robertson 1995). These ideas are essential for folklorists interested in exploring expressive culture in relation to space, landscape, and place, since historically these terms have been naturalized rather than problematized (Shuman 1993; for an anthropological answer to the issues Shuman raises, see Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003).

Sabina Magliocco notes that "in the context of the twin processes of globalization/localization, festivals serve as sites for the construction of identity and authenticity" (2001:168). Magliocco identifies the construction of identity and authenticity in festivals as a means of producing locality (see also Neustadt 1992 on the invention of festival tradition in the interest of producing the local). Drawing on Magliocco, as well as Tomlinson's notion that "the local" as an identity feature is a phenomenon that has emerged within the wake of recent forms of globalization, I suggest here that not only is the annual Winter Carnival produced by the village of McCall a primary means by which the village situates
itself as “local,” but that it does so by strategically inventing a “non-local beyond” as a point of contrast. Festivals, world’s fairs, and similar forms of public display and cultural performance were a means of situating a community, region, or nation as being “modern” by negotiating between tradition and modernity in previous periods of industrialization. Tradition was an invention of the modern era in such sites—one posited a traditional “other” in order to be modern. The proliferation of small town, commodified public celebrations such as peach and raspberry festivals throughout the country, black-and-white days in Utah, and the McCall Winter Carnival in Idaho can be similarly understood as a means by which a community situates itself as local within the broader context of the globalization of capital. These festivals are more importantly, however, a means by which a “global” is posited or even invented as a point of contrast. Not only are the local and global intricately interconnected—as has been noted by many scholars—but what constitutes the global is constructed at local levels, rather than the other way around.

Victor Turner was particularly interested in cultural performances as responses to widespread crisis such as the kind that has occurred in McCall because for him, these performances are the “eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board on which creative actors sketch out what they believe to be more apt or interesting ‘designs for living’” (1986:24). Others have referred to festivals more specifically as arenas of self-reflexive social critique and transformation (Smith 1975; Babcock 1978; Bakhtin 1984; recently Nasr and Bagader 2001). Turner’s model of social drama has proved popular, yet Magliocco (2006) points out that the relationship between conflict, crisis, and festival historically has been overlooked in folklore scholarship in favor of an emphasis on the community-enhancing aspects of public celebration, particularly the concept of communitas (for exceptions to the conventional focus on communitas, see Santino 2001; Roth 2005).

I suggest that broad social crisis is, by contrast, the backbone of Winter Carnival. Like all festivals, Winter Carnival collects large numbers of people—spectators and performers, tourists and locals—and realigns them with particular kinds of associations, moving them in particular ways in particular spaces under the guise of “play” and “having fun” (cf. McMahon 2000). Each event within the festival configures these associations in slightly different ways, based on the participants’ expectations of an event’s genre (cf. Hodge and Kress 1988). This produces a new set of social relationships over the course of the festival,
with multiple audiences and performers representing various social categories. The festival thus functions as an active mechanism for reorganizing and redirecting social energies. This manipulation of kinetic energy, the collective movement of festive bodies, organizes experience in such a way that attention is transformed and new/alternative kinds of knowledge/experience are produced (Sklar 2001). Festival energy is embodied, mobilized, and spatialized in the main parade, while it is objectified and concretized in the creation of festive objects. Both sites, however, construct particular configurations of locality by inventing the larger-than-local as a point of reference, and they do so by drawing upon and redirecting social energy obtained for the festive moment between participants and visitors.

**WINTER CARNIVAL**

Winter Carnival begins the last weekend of January and runs ten days over two weekends. It is largest public celebration in the region, rivaled only by the Fourth of July at the opposite end of the yearly cycle. A 1965 revival of a moribund winter sports festival held during the 1920s and 30s, its ostensible purpose is to promote winter recreation and attract tourists during a slump in the season. It is a money-making event for the Chamber and run ad hoc by volunteers, who may or may not be associated with the Chamber itself.

Sculptures made of snow and ice are the primary attraction, as is characteristic of Winter Carnivals across northern America and Europe. Sculptures for the local event are constructed by various groups before the festival begins and entered into competition for prizes in various categories. The highlight of the second weekend is the state sculpture competition, which was added to the program in 1987, two years after Winter Carnival expanded from a three to a ten-day festival. The sculptures are mapped out by the Chamber and visitors are encouraged to visit them during their stay.

Opening ceremonies begin on Friday evening with a children’s torchlight/neon parade, in which local children, wearing plastic neon necklaces and brandishing light sabers, wend their way from the library through the downtown area to the Opening Ceremonies stage. The local sculptures are judged on Friday morning and the winners are announced during the evening event. A bonfire is lit when the children arrive, although sometimes it is started beforehand, depending on the weather. Ceremonies also usually include a litany of thank-yous to sponsors and volunteers and conclude with a band or some kind of musical performance.
Winter Carnival events vary from year to year, but they typically include a number of winter sports competitions such as various downhill skiing and cross-country events, a snowmobile fun run, various all-you-can-eat breakfasts and spaghetti feeds; a Monte Carlo casino night; a masquerade ball; ongoing sleigh rides; a snowshoe golf tournament; a monster dog pull; beard, hairy, and sexy-leg contests; an outdoor beer garden; an art auction and wine tasting; senior bingo and an Optimist teen dance. The local playhouse usually produces a play. Various food vendors concentrate in the downtown area. The state snow sculpture competition concludes the second weekend and all sculptures are demolished with backhoes and tractors the following Monday.

THE MARDI GRAS PARADE: POSITING WORLD REVELRY

Santino (2001), drawing on de Certeau, notes that parades are an aggressive and territorial symbolic form. Through the embodied act of marching, parades stake out territory and performatively claim it on behalf of the participants. A parade's route is significant and in arenas of highly contested space, such as Northern Ireland, can lead to conflict and even violence. Space in McCall is not contested at national, ethnic, or religious levels, but in terms of public accessibility, affordability, and use. Lake access, for example, became a point of conflict when proposals to waive building height restrictions were considered that would block views from the street and constrain access. The lake is now only approachable publicly from the parks and the marina. The territory staked out by the Winter Carnival parade route is significant in this broader context. The parade begins and ends at the local high school. Marchers walk east from the high school to intersect with Highway 55 near the downtown area. The parade then turns north and heads toward Payette Lake where it turns west and follows the lakeshore through the heart of the old downtown area. After several blocks, the marchers then turn south and head back toward the high school. The east-north-west-south route outlines the downtown and lakeshore areas, which are historic and generally considered to be the heart of the community.

This staking of territory and outlining of symbolic boundaries depends on the sustained interaction between two groups of people, who together call for, pay attention to, and transform this contested public space. The spectators consist of both locals and visitors who line the streets of the parade route. The marchers are almost entirely local and dress loosely in Mardi Gras fashion. Spectators initiate the accumulation of festival energy as they are the first visible sign that anything is about to happen.
As noontime draws near, the parade route becomes lined with people who collectively provide the living boundaries through which the parade flows. People begin to congregate in the downtown area well before the parade actually begins, and over time the crowds grow bigger and more dense. Spectators line the parade route for blocks and are often three or four people deep. The more aggressive viewers will bring small stepstools or ladders and plant them on the sidewalk in order to assure themselves a good position. Balconies overlooking the parade route are filled to capacity. The marchers, obviously, are nowhere to be seen as they are busy organizing themselves at the high school. Anticipation and energy peaks around noontime, when the parade begins.

From a spectator's perspective, the parade is about being entertained, as "colorful" or "exotic" marchers wend their way before the observers, marching, dancing, and musicking. Spectators must not only pay attention but also demonstrate that they are being entertained, and so exuberance and enthusiasm are displayed by talking, shouting, laughing, and clapping as the parade passes by. Spectators may wear layers of beads, interact with members of the parade as they wave and shout to friends or co-workers, and scream for candy and Mardi-Gras trinkets. Spectatorship also is about being part of a large crowd, which means figuring out where to stand, jockeying for a view, and struggling to move from place to place while trying to stay warm. This experience also includes extended social interaction, since people talk to each other, whether they know them or not. For many locals, the parade is the highlight of the festival because they enjoy seeing their friends march by and chatting with bystanders. Sculptor Mark Bennett, for example, says "I look forward to taking my mom and a few of the old ladies to see the parade" and notes that this is the only Winter Carnival event he does not miss. Other people I spoke to also told me that the parade was their favorite part of Winter Carnival.

For participants, the parade is about being silly, having fun, and commanding attention. People dress up in frilly outfits, sing, dance, laugh, and otherwise behave in festive ways as part of a self-conscious performance. Kathy Eld marched for several years as part of the Head Start entourage, and she encouraged me to parade with her group by saying "It's just so much fun! You get to dress up and be silly and it's okay!" The primary way in which parade participants command attention is by drawing on the language, practices and attitudes of Mardi Gras. Winter Carnival itself is not explicitly a Mardi Gras festival, though it occurs at approximately the same time of year and the main parade is based on
Mardi Gras images, an idea introduced sometime after 1993 in order to make the parade more interesting. The parade, therefore, is quite colorful. Traditional Mardi Gras colors of purple, green, and gold predominate, along with red. Floats are often elaborate, consisting of trucks decorated with balloons, decorated crepe paper, and colored tinsel and even lights. In 2003, one truck was decorated with a tuxedo tie and top hat; another sported a large mask, and a third had a Mardi Gras "beach" theme, complete with a large flock of pink flamingos. Others, however, may simply sport a hand-lettered sign announcing their organization or affiliation. Actual and invented organizations participate. Real organizations include local schools, Head Start, and Job's Daughters. Invented ones include "Girl's Krew" and a dance organization that used shopping carts as props. Individuals march as well, often with their dogs in tow. Costumes signal Mardi Gras in some way through the use of feathers, masks, sequins, boas, and beads, although some people simply wear Mardi Gras beads over regular cold-weather clothing. Others wear wigs, vintage clothing, oversized hats, or skimpy shorts. Beads and candy are thrown to the crowd.

Winter Carnivals are not necessarily pre-Lenten Carnival or Mardi Gras celebrations per se, but they often exhibit Mardi Gras elements. The addition of the Mardi Gras theme to the McCall parade seems partly to be based on its symbolic capacity to add a "party" or "festive" element to any celebration and its capacity to signify the exotic. Mass-mediated venues such as the Internet and MTV have made Mardi Gras a globally distributed meaningful form. Mardi Gras (along with MTV-style Spring Break) signifies the "ultimate party" in the public consciousness, and as such has the capability of exporting and recontextualizing itself into highly unusual situations. These include not only a year round (and hence, de/recontextualized) "Mardi Gras" catering to tourists in parts of the French Quarter, but also phenomena such as end-of-school-year "Mardi Gras" celebrations on college campuses in May or "World Mardi Gras" bars in suburban malls. Adopting a Mardi Gras theme allows Winter Carnival parade participants not only to index and link themselves to actual, pre-Lenten Carnival celebrations across the world, but even more importantly, to a more general symbolic set of references that frames the event as "This is a party. We are having fun here."

Nested within the Mardi Gras theme is a twenty foot long, yellow, red, and green Chinese dragon, manned by local schoolchildren, which is the parade’s grand finale. For visitors unfamiliar with the local legend, the dragon may function in a manner similar to the Mardi Gras
theme, indicating, for example, that one is in the midst of "celebration." The dragon symbolizes Sharlie, the affectionately-named monster that according to local tradition inhabits Payette Lake (Gabbert 2000), and which shows up in other elements of the festival. It is both an icon of and an indexical reference to a local place legend, linking the parade with narrative, a festive object with words. Its location at the conclusion of the parade rekeys the world Mardi Gras frame that has preceded it, affirming that the purpose of producing a global is to establish locality through means of relation.

But this local symbol is masquerading in Chinese garb, which makes this rekeying complex. A Chinese dragon invokes a global that is even more exotic than Mardi Gras, linking local culture with a much wider field, in part because in the US Mardi Gras has become so mainstream and commercialized. But of course this is an American version of a Chinese dragon; this is Chinese-like style with a decidedly provincial accent that marks the Chinese dragon as a symbol of local identity (cf. Volóshinov, cited in Hodge and Kress 1988:80). Local culture draws upon traditional Carnival and Chinese images of celebration in the parade to link itself to the outside world through the appropriation of tradition as a kind of style. Locality is framed within an ideology of tradition, which is not "authentic tradition" but rather a "traditional style" that allows participants to intensify and concentrate festive energy by means of narrowing the range of celebratory possibilities. Traditional style is then used to situate the local in broader contexts of affiliation, which are in turn immediately rekeyed to highlight local identity. The rekeying itself is subsequently further rekeyed, producing multiple layers of meaning.

The parade is more than the sum of its parts, and at its peak intensifies and concentrates social energy: people, colors, lights, sounds, smells, music, dancing, marching, singing, socializing, mixing, world celebration, masks, feathers, boas—every device imaginable is used to draw attention to this event and to mark the downtown area as worthy of attention. The costumes and festive objects concentrate attention on their bearers, but at the same time the spectators are the primary object of interest for people in the parade, since the marchers have a clear path through the crowds. Energy is both embodied—bodies decorated, musicked, danced, and made loud; they scream, sing, and talk—and spatialized: spectators stay put, parade participants move. This embodiment and spatializing facilitates the interchange of energy, allowing spectators and marchers to become objects of attention and transient
interaction for each other. Global symbols also are used to call attention here, temporarily transforming the downtown into an international social arena. Parades are territorial, but the parade symbols used here index celebrations that transcend specific cultures and festivals, territorializing, localizing, and embodying global celebration while at the same time situating this local festival in transnational contexts of world revelry. The parade concludes, appropriately, with a hybrid symbol—a local legend iconified and masquerading as a Chinese dragon within a Mardi Gras context—and so the grand finale situates local culture at the heart of world celebration. This is, in essence, a vision of the global in which the local is constitutive and central rather than peripheral, marginal, or dominated economically as it appears to be in the everyday (Stoeltje and Bauman 1989; see also Bauman 1984). It is by positing a particular kind of relationship to world celebration and festivity that the people of McCall situate locality and assume a prominent place.

The parade depends on the sustained exchange of energy for the efficacious transformation of public space, as noted above, and this is obvious from the way in which it ends. Once the parade turns north back toward the high school away from the downtown area, typically fewer spectators appear. Technically, the marchers are supposed to finish at the high school. In reality, at this point most of them fan out in a variety of directions toward their cars, illustrating that without an audience there is no reason to march. Just as the town would suffer economic collapse without tourists, the parade collapses without spectators. The parade dissipates and fades away as it turns the corner and the downtown area once again becomes the contested site of ordinary politics.

SCULPTING THE LOCAL BY INVENTING THE STATE

Snow sculptures also are a central component of Winter Carnival, and they are the region's most developed form of public art. Snow sculptures, like the parade, demand energy and attention. But while festival energy is harnessed through embodiment in the parade, here it is objectified and made concrete through the creation of conspicuous festive objects designed to attract attention. Snow, inherently a fragile and transitory substance, becomes hypertrophied during festival time: it is piled up, intensified, and aestheticized by making large artistic sculptures that appear permanent—at least for the duration of the festival. Snow is important to the local economy, so this ritualistic intensification is unsurprising. Melting snow is the primary source of water for the region and it is central to a winter tourist economy based
on skiing, snowmobiling, and other winter sports. Without snow, the tourist economy would not survive. In this way, snow here is a resource, akin to life-giving agricultural products. During festival time this fact is manifestly true (Gabbert 2002).

Understanding the organization of communicative resources, as Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (1990), and others note, is essential for understanding the organization of meaning in processes of cultural production. The organization of Winter Carnival snow sculpture competitions at first glance appears to be concerned with sorting out and reifying contested social categories of local and non-local since they are subject to local and state sculpture classifications. The local competition has existed since 1965, when Winter Carnival was revived. Local sculptures are made or sponsored by local businesses prior to the festival, judged on opening day, and scattered throughout town. The state sculpture competition was introduced in 1987, an addition that retroactively created the "local" title for the original competition by situating the local through contrast with an invented state. State sculptures are made during the festival, follow nationally established regulations, and are concentrated in a city park or empty lot. Winners carry the title of Idaho State Snow Sculpting champions and participants generally are not local residents but come from across Idaho and even other states, since Idaho residency is not a requirement for participation. Both competitions channel festival energy into creating works of art, but the processes and results are quite different. The local competition primarily faces "inward." It is about the performance of community values and situating oneself in a nexus of immediate, localized social relationships; hence, the main audience for the local competition is not tourists but one's friends, neighbors, and co-workers. The state competition faces both "inward" and "outward." It faces inward by transforming strangers into locals through the performance of ideals of locality in interactions between sculptors and tourists. At the same time, the competition situates participants within a hemispheric context of national and international competitions, so the production of locality that obtains between sculptors and audience here is immediately rekeyed to highlight global affiliations.

Local sculpture-building begins when teams feel like starting, which can be as early as two weeks prior to the festival. People begin work when they think it is time to start; there is no "official" time when participants must begin. Teams usually consist of two to eight people. Signs of activity can be seen around town as teams of sculptors begin to organize by gathering and preparing massive amounts of snow. Snow is
moved from one place to another to create gigantic stockpiles. Teams shovel snow off building roofs, gather it in pails, or use large equipment such as tractors and backhoes as a means of accumulation. If supply is short, extra snow can even be ordered from the city, which delivers tractor-fulls free. Some teams, such as the Krahns, pick out dirt, rocks, and grass from their stockpiles of snow so that their finished sculpture will look pure white. Once enough clean snow is collected, teams create the sculpture's base—a "form" in local terms—by hammering pieces of scrap plywood together. The forms are then filled with snow and water, and stamped down by foot with waterproof Sorel boots in order to provide a solid foundation. People haul bucketfuls of snow up ladders, turn on garden hoses for water, and beg, borrow, or steal backhoes and other construction equipment in order to make this year's sculpture bigger and better than the last. The process of construction is one of addition: the sculpture is created by adding a thick mixture of snow and water ("slush"), letting it freeze in place, and adding another layer, much like one would work with wet clay. Spatulas, blowtorches, chain saws, metal files, log peelers, Jell-o molds, and other household and construction items are dragged into the service of making a sculpture. Bare hands are used as well. Some restrictions dictate what construction materials may be used (no plywood, lumber or cardboard), but local teams may use armatures such as lathe, wire, PVC pipe, and rebar in order support their sculptures where necessary. Piles of snow are covered with blue tarps to protect them from the sun, should it become too hot.

Energy increases as Winter Carnival draws near. The evening before Winter Carnival begins the work pace is frenzied as teams race to finish their pieces before the festival begins on Friday; some teams work frantically throughout the night under bright construction lights in subzero weather. The entire construction period, but particularly final evening before Winter Carnival, is a period of intense social bonding and festive behavior for sculptors. Yet the construction process in the local competition is a relatively private affair, occurring beyond the official timeframe of the festival. Sculptors may converse with passersby, but the primary audience for this construction event (cf. Jones 1997; Jordan-Smith 1999) is primarily one's neighbors, since making sculptures is seen as a kind of civic duty, a public sign of community citizenship (see below). For sculptors, festival time as defined behaviorally occurs before Winter Carnival actually begins; this time is for locals only (Tokofsky 2000). Once Winter Carnival begins, the local sculptors disappear, leaving behind their creations to the Winter Carnival crowds.
Organizationally and processually, the state competition is exactly the opposite. Local people usually do not participate unless they are attempting to win the title of state champion. Rather, teams consist of people from around the state or even from other parts of the country. State sculptures are not publicly associated with any particular organization or business, and the event is concentrated in a single area, usually a public park or parking lot where teams work in close proximity to each other. The event follows national sculpting guidelines and as such is highly regulated. Only three people are allowed per team and the entire event is timed. Teams have three days to finish a sculpture and they begin and end at the same time. The construction process differs from the local competition as well. Teams do not gather their own snow, but instead are provided with pre-made blocks measuring 5' x 5' x 8'. Rather than expending energy collecting snow, team energy is spent sculpting the block within the allotted time period. The process is one of reduction, like working with stone. State sculptures do not adhere to a theme and often are abstract in nature, indicating their status as "art."

The local competition highlights finished objects. The state competition highlights the artists themselves and the construction process; here, people and labor are on display as sculptors begin and end their projects during the festival itself. The finished objects are important, but the emphasis here is on their creation. State sculptures are created during the festival and the teams are concentrated in a single area allowing for extensive social interaction between the artists and the festival-goers, as well as between competing teams. Thus, an innate part of the sculpting experience here is conversing with visitors. Many state sculptors feel that this social interaction is one the most important dimensions of their sculpting experience as it engenders feelings of community.

The state championship stimulates feelings of belonging in other ways. According to event organizer Diane Wiegand, some teams have been participating for more than seventeen years. The state teams are treated well, since participating teams are given free lodging, meals, and tee-shirts. The rooms are donated by a local hotel and meals are prepared by a local restaurant. Returning teams get to know Diane and the people associated with these local businesses. They also get to know each other, and look forward to their annual week-long trip to the area. And, of course, even if they are new to the event, they develop bonds with the other teams over the course of the three days since all the teams are concentrated in a single space.
The local competition, in contrast, is fraught at a number of levels. In the early years of Winter Carnival, local business owners, willing employees, friends and family worked together to make a sculpture. Making snow sculptures, however, requires a lot of time, money, and manual labor. Over the years many businesses have dropped out of the process for a variety of reasons, including a lack of time and manpower, the increasing cost of water, fatigue, and boredom. Most businesses that currently participate now sponsor the sculpture and outsource the work by paying somebody to do it. Businesses that outsource often are desperate for people to build, and so must scramble to hire anybody they can; team makeup varies widely from year to year, ranging from local school or church youth groups to art students or fraternity houses at state institutions, random volunteers, and professional sculptors. The practice of outsourcing has caused concern about commodification of sculptures among festival organizers, and even those businesses that practice it are ambivalent about having to do it.

Tensions prevail over which businesses do or do not build or sponsor a sculpture. Winter Carnival (supposedly) benefits local businesses during a slump in the winter season, and so local businesses are expected to contribute to Winter Carnival by making a sculpture. The practice of outsourcing remains controversial, but it also is generally understood that those who do so are participating at some level. Businesses that do not build/sponsor sculptures at all, however, are soundly criticized by participants—particularly if they benefit financially from festival crowds, such as restaurants or hotels. Some participants resent local non-participants because they (the participants) feel they are being taken advantage of by those who do not contribute. Making a sculpture (or not), therefore, is a public statement about the nature of one’s relationship and obligations to, and dependence upon, the local community. Team artists certainly bond with each other as they work, but at a broader level the local competition intensifies and makes manifest problems such as civic duty, reciprocation, rights, and neighborliness—all small town, dearly-held conventional values that have been challenged by resort development and that are openly questioned and debated within the festival context.

The state competition, which is a highly regulated, authoritative, and centralized event, ironically becomes the framework through which strangers transform themselves into natives. The state participants assume the identity of “friendly” locals to passersby, while the artists themselves feel “local” because they contribute to the festival by making
a sculpture and because of the attention from and interaction with festival visitors. Diane says that some of the sculptors consider McCall to be their second home, and they look forward to participating annually. The state competition also stretches outward. State winners and local judges have gone on to participate in national, international, and Olympic arenas, situating McCall in a hemispheric context of international snow competitions and festivals. The local competition, in contrast,—which situated itself as local by inventing the state competition—is highly fraught and ritually intensifies conflict. The local competition annually brings out sore issues into the open and apparently threatens community relations. The competitions work together, ritually intensifying both communitas and conflict through differentially organized processes of production. In doing so, what can/should/could constitute the nature of “the local,” “community,” and “the global”—that is, ideas about social relationships—is debated, contested, explored, and challenged here on an annual basis, using art.

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Winter Carnival ends on Sunday evening. The event has lasted a full ten days. The sculptures are necessary for Winter Carnival to occur; indeed, they are considered the primary attraction. But the snow sculptures are no longer needed once Winter Carnival is over. In fact, in the context of everyday life sculptures are a nuisance since they take up street space and are dangerous to walk around as they create an icy, slippery mess at the base. Most are weathered, somewhat melted, and look bad. Festival participants and city workers return the city to normality early Monday morning by unceremoniously mowing them down with tractors in order to clear city streets and make room for parking. Just as the parade dissipates without spectators, the sculptures are demolished once visitors return home. City space is reclaimed as the space of everyday life.

CONCLUSION

The McCall region has recently undergone massive development and economic restructuring as it has transformed itself from a logging community to a high-end destination resort. This restructuring, which is the result of the deindustrialization of the timber industry and the accelerated globalization of capital, has generated community-wide conflict and a crisis of identity. The McCall Winter Carnival is an aesthetic production that responds to that crisis (cf. Turner 1974), incorporating conflict as a primary subtext of this multi-layered cultural performance.
It is not that Winter Carnival "cures" the problems brought about by economic globalization or is even necessarily a form of accommodation or resistance to new regimes of capital (cf. Borland 2006); rather the Winter Carnival articulates, spatializes, concretizes, and experiments with the contradictions of late modernity through the redirection and reorganization of social energy. Festive energy is simultaneously embodied and made mobile in the parade, transforming politically-contested local space into a central component of a global party. Festival energy is concretized, objectified, and made static in the construction and display of snow sculptures, and in the process traditional community values and ideas about global social relationships are transformed into frozen artistic display for all to see and evaluate. Each event draws on its own generic conventions that dictate the range of available roles for participants and audience, fabricating a horizon by means of which they situate, heighten, and transform the importance of locality. Each ends abruptly. The parade dissipates and the sculptures are violently destroyed once the performance contract between audience and artist ends (cf. Georges 1969 for a discussion of contractual obligations in public events).

These events, when read in relation to each other, illustrate yet again that the messages found in festivals are inherently contradictory, ambivalent, and paradoxical and that it is in the piling up of these contradictions that the possibility of new alternatives arise. Dundes and Falassi (1975) suggested that the Palio contained all of Sienese life, providing an opportunity not only to reshuffle the cards but also a way for people to transcend the limitations of both human existence and historical time. The organization of primary festival resources in the McCall Winter Carnival harnesses energy in ways that suggest that the "here" is never only local, and the "now" never only immediate, but both define the here-and-now by relating it to the larger global social organism, that is, the spatially and temporally indefinite.

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NOTES
1. Information for this article is based on fieldwork conducted in 2001, 2003, and 2005.
2. Chamber of Commerce rhetoric suggests that the purpose of Winter Carnival is economic, but, as Mike Davis (1990) points out, Chambers of Commerce are really about boosterism, even at the expense of its members.

3. According to the County Assessor's office, in Valley County 9.4 percent of land is privately owned, 2.9 percent is owned by the state, and 87.6 percent is federally owned (personal communication May 15, 2007).

4. Historically, the United States, and particularly New England, have held ambivalent attitudes towards free time, as Neustadt (1992) explains. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, leisure and recreation were increasingly seen as a healthy and even necessary part of modern life, a means of rejuvenating oneself and maintaining a balanced state of mind. Experiencing nature by getting out into the country was not only promoted as a healthy activity but also as a prescription for urban ills. One of the places to which people escaped were resorts, which had been developed along the eastern seaboard in the early nineteenth century and later became widely accessible through the development of public transportation.

5. In order to clarify the application of the term "liminal" to particular sets of largely religious activities, Victor Turner (1978) identifies liminoid events as being secular, optional, leisure-based, and associated with consumer societies.

6. Scholte views these concepts as being based on territory. Internationalization refers to interterritorial relations, liberalization refers to the opening of borders between clearly defined territorial units, universalization entails the worldwide spread of a particular phenomena, and westernization refers to a kind of influence stemming from a particular geographic region.

7. Tomlinson's understanding of globalization follows that of Anthony Giddens, which is that globalization refers to the globalization of late modernity. Other scholars characterize it differently, as an historical phenomenon with roots in the ancient world, for example.

8. Folklorists, anthropologists, and geographers have taken themselves to task in the past two decades for adhering to unexamined, romantic, and nationalist presumptions about "fit" between land, people, and culture. While these critiques certainly are warranted, the result has been that many scholars now presume a real, historical existence of a kind of boundedness of past societies that presumably no longer exists, rather than understanding this alleged boundedness as a scholarly construction, which is how I see it.

9. The phrase "production of locality" is taken from Arjun Appadurai (1996:178–199), who understands locality as relational and contextual, rather than scalar or spatial. He suggests that much of the ethnographic record can be understood as the documentation of technologies of localization, which is, in his words, "inherently fragile" and cannot be taken as given.
10. The Carnaval de Quebec, for example, is a hybrid example in which one finds jesters and Mardi Gras style costumes. In the St. Paul Winter Carnival, the title “Rex” is used for King Boreas’ nemesis Vulcan, who is associated with a krewe (Harris 2003).

WORKS CITED


