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Scrapworthy Lives: A Cognitive Sociological Analysis of a Modern Narrative Form

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SCRAPWORTHY LIVES:

A COGNITIVE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF A MODERN NARRATIVE FORM

by

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Under the Direction of Ralph LaRossa

ABSTRACT

Over the past 20 years, scrapbooking has become immensely popular in America. This dissertation is the study of scrapworthy lives, that is, how lives become structured by scrapbooking and how people show others that their own life and the lives of their loves ones are value—or scrapworthy. I conducted in-depth interviews with 38 scrapbookers, 11 scrapbook industry workers, and 10 family and friends of scrapbookers. I also used photo-elicitation interviewing techniques with both the scrapbookers and the family members and friends of 10 scrapbookers to examine a selection of scrapbook pages the respondents had completed. I used grounded theory methods to analyze my data, providing a more thorough understanding of scrapbooking.

Scrapbooks are a site where people socially construct a narrative of their life. Through scrapbooking, scrapbookers do gender, family, race, ethnicity, and religion. Stratification within the larger society can be seen within the scrapbooking thought community. Moreover, through scrapbooking, people can demonstrate their membership in other thought communities (e.g., motherhood). Though scrapbookers are able to demonstrate their gender, family status, race, ethnicity, and religion through scrapbooking, the hobby is done primarily for the scrapbookers and not for others. Scrapbooking is a leisure activity, though some may consider it as a form of work.

Scrapbookers are a thought community in their own right and an excellent site to explore Zerubavel's (1997) six cognitive acts (i.e., perceiving, classifying, reckoning time, attending, assigning meaning, and remembering). In particular, scrapbookers come to classify nearly everything (including people, things, time, and space) in the world around them as either scrapworthy or not.

Scrapbooks are a modern narrative form, though versions of scrapbooks have been around for centuries. Scrapbooks are memorials about everyday life. The content of scrapbooks is what is left out of the typical history book but is considered just as memorable by scrapbookers. Scrapbookers are storytellers. These stories could just as easily be passed down orally or recorded on blogs and some scrapbooks combine elements of oral histories and blogs. Ultimately, scrapbooks are memorials about the scrapbooker.

INDEX WORDS: Scrapbook, Cognitive sociology, Doing gender, Doing family, Narrative, Leisure

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DEDICATION

For Rachel

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Over the past 20 years scrapbooking has grown from an obscure, kitschy craft stereotypically practiced by grandmothers and Mormons, to an economic powerhouse practiced by men and women of all walks of life. Though economically scrapbooking has leveled off, it is still an incredibly popular hobby. Scrapbooking involves arranging photographs, journaling[1] a story, and placing embellishments[2] (e.g., stickers), memorabilia[3] (e.g., a ticket stub), or both on archival[4] paper and then placing the page in a scrapbook album[5] (i.e., an album specially designed to hold scrapbook pages[6]) telling a story about a life or a subject in a way a conventional photo album does not.

In this dissertation I present the results of 59 interviews with scrapbookers, family and friends of scrapbookers, and industry workers to elucidate how scrapbooking is currently practiced and understood. My research draws on cognitive sociology, symbolic interactionism,

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[1] Journaling refers to the words on the scrapbook page that tell the story of the photographs.

[2] An embellishment is a decoration such as a sticker, chipboard, or ribbon; they are items included in the scrapbook that are not the paper background, photographs, or journaling.

[3] Memorabilia includes items collected from everyday life serving as souvenirs, such as ticket stubs or wedding invitations.

[4] Paper designed for use in scrapbooks is acid-free and lignin-free and plastic page protectors that hold the scrapbook pages are PVC-free. Acid, lignin, and PVC can all damage and degrade photographs over time. Lignin naturally occurs in wood and causes paper to degrade.

[5] A scrapbook album is the book form that contains scrapbook pages.

[6] A scrapbook page may consist of a one-page layout or be one page in a layout.

and ethnomethodology for a theoretical framework. Overall, I argue that the lives of scrapbookers come to be structured in terms of *scrapworthiness*—everything comes to be scrapworthy or not, including, but not limited to people, everyday items, and time. Like other leisure activities, scrapbooking "shape[s] the meanings people give to their lives" just like "work, family, and religion" (Gillespie, Leffler, and Lerner 2002:285). Before discussing my results in detail, I now provide a literature review about scrapbooking and photographs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scrapbooks have existed for centuries. Mark Twain actually sold a patented scrapbook in 1873, Giorgio Vasari recommended storing art in albums similar to scrapbooks in 1551, and memory keeping in general has been practiced since at least the early Greeks[7] (Ott, Tucker, and Buckler 2006). Despite this long history, only recently has the hobby of scrapbooking gained currency as an actual hobby.

Many scrapbooks preserve a family's history (Donofrio 2005; Gagnon 2004; Maguire 2005; Mire 2004; Schoen 2004) and are meant to be passed down to future generations within the family (Broili 2005). As this research shows, however, how the popular press characterizes scrapbooking is not necessarily how scrapbookers see it.

The center of most scrapbooks is photographs, but the scrapbook provides more detail than a photograph alone; therefore, it is appropriate to consider the literature on photography when discussing scrapbooking. Scrapbooks are like photographs in that they visually preserve memories (Walker and Moulton 1989), tell us something about ourselves (Caufield 1996;

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[7] See Tucker, Ott, and Buckler (2006) for a more thorough description regarding the history of scrapbooking and its precursors.

Prosser 1998), and are a significant part of social rituals (Blyton 1987; Goffman [1976] 1979; Reiakvam 1993). According to Orvell (2003), "we can hardly conceive of an event 'happening' unless it has been photographically recorded" (p. 161) (see also Holland 1991). The photograph, as Orvell (2003) sees it, provides proof (see also Beloff 1985; Cronin 1998; Ferrarotti 1993; Reiakvam 1993). Photographs, however, only provide proof of what was physically in the view of the camera's lens, can contain a lot of information, and "are a minute time sample—a hundredth-of-a-second slice of reality" (Collier Jr. and Collier 1986:13). Though photographs serve as evidence and memory prompts, they are just a sample of what really happened.

Photographs do tell a story, but that story can be easily manipulated (Blyton 1987; Dowdall and Golden 1989; Harper 1998). Scrapbooks tend to tell more of a story than a photograph alone and can also be edited, but are still an important source of information about how people live. Moreover, what really happened might not even matter. What might be more important is what image and what story the photographer or scrapbooker chooses to share.

Photographs (and scrapbooks) are deeply important to people and are mentioned as things that people would save if their house were on fire (Noble 2004; Smith 1999). People have a deep relationship with photographs, finding them difficult to throw away. Cutting or tearing a photograph is considered as an act of violence (Mavor 1997) and beginning scrapbookers often have great difficulty cutting their photographs as scrapbookers commonly do for their albums. People have such difficulty throwing away photographs that they will sell photographs of unknown people in a rummage sale and restaurateurs will hang up these photos of unknown people on the walls of popular chain restaurants.[8]

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[8] Holland (1991:13) refers to this as the "commodification of nostalgia."

In particular, photographs preserve the memory of close relatives (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981). To throw photographs of people away would be like throwing away someone's child or father. The importance of photographs can be further seen by what is stored with photographs: marriage certificates, love letters, and other important family documents (Seabrook 1991).

Photographs of family members are for many people, especially women, their favorite possession (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Photographs can stand-in for the people in the photograph (Musello 1979), especially if "they are far away, or grown up, or dead" (Beloff 1985:9). Moreover, scrapbooks are becoming an important addition to funerals because of their ability to keep a person's memory alive.

Important possessions are an extension of a person's self and allow a person to know one's past and the past of her or his family (Belk 1988). Handcrafted possessions, such as scrapbooks, are especially important. In contrast to mass-produced possessions, handcrafted possessions take longer to create and therefore more of a person's self is part of the finished product (Belk 1988). In this way, scrapbooks are so much bigger than the photographs they contain.

In a scrapbook, individuals can create proof of their existence, memorializing their life and the lives of their loved ones. Studying scrapbooking allows the researcher to explore what people remember and choose to memorialize for future remembering. Moreover, scrapbooking is therapeutic (Cass 2004; Chadwick 2004; Donofrio 2005; Geering 2004; Meeks 2005; Murray 2005; Nolan 2004; O'Malley 2004; Sheridan 2005), a stress reliever (Dempsey 2004; Nies 2004), a form of relaxation (Eaton 2004; Levy 2003; Pederson 2003), a form of escape (Adkins 2005; Laue 2004), and a chance to socialize (Arthur 2004; Castleman 2003; Laue 2004). At the same

time scrapbooking is described as an addiction (Broili 2005; Burt 2005; Francis 2004; Gagnon 2004; Kelley 2005; Levy 2003; Nies 2004; Tayler 2004), an obsession (Brokaw 2004; Hennebury 2006; Sauer 2004), and a passion (Hennebury 2006; Johnson 2004). Scrapbooks and scrapbooking, then, do much more than provide a narrative of a person's life.

As a narrative, scrapbooks are autobiographical occasions, which Vinitzky-Seroussi (2000:57), following Zussman (1996), defines as "an opportunity to constitute an identity, to lay claim to one's own life, to the right to tell one's own story." Scrapbooks can be autobiographical because they often memorialize the scrapbooker's life and what is important to her or him (see Stewart 1993). Scrapbooks, like autobiographies, are a great source to better understand Goffman's (1959) concept of "self" because in an autobiography, authors are free to present their "selves" in a favorable light (Bjorklund 1998). Scrapbooks, however, are also distinct from autobiographies and memoirs because the latter are completed further away from the time of the event and tend to include more reflection (Buckler 2006). Overall, scrapbooking is an occasion for impression management and therefore an important source to explore how people do this (Demos 2006).

Though scrapbooks are autobiographies, scrapbookers are storytellers; and as storytellers they are constructing the reality of their lives via scrapbooking. Scrapbookers, however, do not create scrapbooks in isolation—scrapbooks and scrapbookers are also products of our society. The scrapbook industry, in particular, influences scrapbookers—in sometimes unobvious ways. For example, people may not think about scrapbooking the photographs he or she took when remodeling her or his home until seeing stickers made for scrapbooks about home remodeling.

Ultimately, a scrapbook is a medium in which people can tell their stories. Alternatively, one could use a blog. Like blogging (Boyd 2006), scrapbooking is a process. Therefore, the

process of scrapbooking should be explored instead of relying only on analysis of the end product. In this dissertation, this process will be illuminated, but first I discuss a brief history of the growth of scrapbooking, previous sociological research on scrapbooking, and scrapbooking terms.

THE GROWTH OF SCRAPBOOKING

The first scrapbooking store opened in Spanish Fork, UT in 1981 (Davis 1997; Helfand 2008) and later became the first online scrapbook store in 1996 (Helfand 2008; Scrapbook Classroom 2008). Scrapbooking grew from a nearly non-existent industry in 1995 (Davis 1997) to a $2.5 billion industry in 2003 (Castleman 2003). The Hobby Industry Association went from having zero booths devoted to scrapbooking product at their annual trade show in 1996 to 100 booths in 1997 (Davis 1997). Though the scrapbooking industry experienced a sharp increase in its early days, sales have declined since about 2004 (Crow 2007). At its peak, scrapbooking was said to be more popular than golf. The pervasiveness of scrapbooking, however, is open to debate due to flawed industry sponsored marketing research.

According to one allegedly nationally representative study, nearly 30 percent of U.S. households have at least one member who scrapbooks (CK Media 2007). Another study from Scrapbooking.com found "that only 1.7 percent of the American population, or 4.5 percent of women between the ages of 16 and 64" scrapbook (Conforto 2007:7). Finally, a third study by the Craft & Hobby Association suggests that 12 percent of households contain a scrapbooker (Anonymous 2007). I believe the truth lies somewhere in between. Part of the difficulty in assessing how many households or how many people scrapbook has to do with what counts as a scrapbook and the fact that many people may scrapbook but do not identify as scrapbookers. Part of it has to do with the motives of the data collectors. It is difficult to get the full details of any of

these studies, as the data are sold for marketing purposes rather than shared for free with anyone.[9]

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[9] I contacted the authors of two of the studies (the CK Media and Scrapbooking.com study). I could not get anywhere with CK Media. The company was sold in 2009 and I could find no information beyond a press release from 2005 regarding their 2004 survey. In December 2003, "[t]hree scrapbooking-related questions were distributed to 40,000 households as part of a large general study; 65 percent of households responded. Phase II of the survey, conducted by Rose Market Research, targeted 2,500 households that were identified as scrapbooking households in order to create a consumer profile by querying them on their spending habits, supplies and resources used, time spent on the hobby, etc. Thirty-five percent of households responded" (Anonymous 2004:n.p.). The author of the Scrapbooking.com study did follow-up with me. Conforto (2009), the author of the study, described how their study was superior to the CK Media (2007) study but he still did not use random sampling or get any sort of nationally representative sample. Scrapbooking.com has surveys on their website every week that visitors of the website can choose to complete. The first problem is that the only people who might complete their survey are people visiting Scrapbooking.com—people who are likely to be scrapbookers. Their sample may be large and may provide a better picture regarding the number of scrapbookers in America, but they still are not very accurate in terms of being representative. Conforto (2009) was critical of the CK Media (2007) survey in that he argued the company over-inflated their numbers to make the industry appear much larger than it actually was so that they could sell their company. I do not doubt this at all. CK Media sold their results to scrapbook store owners and these store owners would base their business models off of these results. It is no

Even less is known about how large the scrapbook industry is outside the U.S., but it is an international industry. For example, Creative Memories® has consultants in eight countries[10] and its word stickers are available in English, French, and Spanish. Scrapbooking is how many middle class citizens of the world are passing down their family histories and stories. Scrapbooking is classed because it is not free, like oral histories. For example, American scrapbookers spend approximately $90 a year on scrapbooking supplies (CK Media 2007). Scrapbooking may exist in many Western Nations, but it is by far most common in the United States. This is not because people in other societies do not want to scrapbook, but it is due to the nature of the industry. Most of the manufacturers of scrapbook supplies are based in the United States so once shipping costs are factored into the cost of supplies the hobby becomes cost-prohibitive for many outside the United States.

Scrapbooking is different from traditional forms of storytelling such as oral histories, in that there is an entire industry devoted to this form of narrative. The scrapbooking industry is an example of an industry "devoted to telling people how to *do* biography" (LaRossa and Sinha 2006:434). Scrapbook manufactures choose what they will produce and in this way shape the

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wonder that many scrapbook stores have had to close because they were and still are being sold bad market research data.

[10] These countries are: Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States (Creative Memories® 2010). Creative Memories® expanded to South Africa in 2004 and left in 2008. Creative Memories® products are still sold in South Africa through a distributor called Forever Memories (whose owner was a South African Creative Memories® consultant when Creative Memories® left) (Forever Memories 2009).

stories that people consider for their scrapbooks. Scrapbooking to preserve family stories has become normalized to the point that one wonders how non-scrapbookers preserve their family stories. Moreover, scrapbooks provide evidence that something "really" happened in a society requiring evidence for nearly everything. For instance, one respondent shared a scrapbook page about her grandchild sitting up as a newborn and talked about how no one would have believed her without the photograph.

The number of scrapbookers may be open to debate, but what is not open to debate is that scrapbooking is incredibly important to many of the people who do it. Furthermore, what scrapbookers do is important work because they memorialize the things that often get left out of the history books. In this way, they provide rich detail about how people lived—even if it is a biased account (like any other historical account). Scrapbooking, also, has largely been overlooked by scholars as a serious source of inquiry, which I now be discuss.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON SCRAPBOOKING

Previous scholars provided valuable sociological information about scrapbooking as I discuss throughout this dissertation. This dissertation builds on the work started by Demos (2006), Downs (2006), Goodsell and Seiter (2010), Kelly and Brown (2005), and Stalp and Winge (2008) who all examine how scrapbookers socially construct gender and family through scrapbooking. This research, however, differs in significant ways.

Both Demos (2006) and Downs (2006) observed in-store crops[11] and interviewed 30 and 42 scrapbookers respectively. Downs (2006) interviewed 24 additional women scrapbook

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[11]An in-store crop refers to people scrapbooking together in a store. The act of scrapbooking is often referred to as to crop or cropping and scrapbookers are sometimes referred to as croppers.

industry workers and completed a discourse analysis of a selection of layouts[12]—one or more scrapbook pages that tell a story—from approximately two scrapbooks self-selected from each of her respondents. Kelley and Brown (2005) interviewed 11 women scrapbookers who were part of a scrapbooking club. Demos (2006), Downs (2006), and Kelley and Brown (2005) miss a large segment of scrapbookers, by focusing on scrapbookers who attend crops and belong to scrapbooking clubs. Not all scrapbookers could be thought of as scrapbookers who attend crops, as my research clearly indicates. Only a few of my respondents ever crop with other people and even fewer crop at stores. Moreover, cropping at stores is becoming less common because there are fewer scrapbook stores that remain open, compared to when these researchers collected their data.

Demos' (2006) sample ranged in age from 20-70. Most of her respondents had children (80 percent), worked at least part-time (60 percent), were married (84 percent), and were white (80 percent). Downs' (2006) sample overwhelmingly included married, white women. Neither researcher interviewed men. Kelley and Brown's (2005) sample ranged in age from 33-58, most had children, and all were white women. My sample fits this model yet differs in important ways in terms of gender, race, marital status, parental status, sexual identity, and religion, as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

Goodsell and Seiter's (2010) research is different in that their focus of analysis was 998 scrapbook pages (11 volumes) that all belong to one woman scrapbooker (who was white, middle-class, married, and a mother). Though their sample is derived from one person, it is an

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[12] A layout is the completed scrapbook page; a layout is usually one or two scrapbook pages.

important study in that they focused on how the life history of a family changes over time and how the scrapbooker's scrapbooking style changes over time.

Finally, Stalp and Winge (2008) did not focus exclusively on scrapbookers but instead interviewed 44 handcrafters, which included scrapbookers. This study is important because the authors focus on how handcrafters collect and hoard raw materials to create their crafts and how they negotiate their crafts with others, especially those sharing the same living space. Their research shows that scrapbookers are a segment of a larger group of people sharing common discourse and challenges as handcrafters.

This research builds on the work of previous scholars, yet also explores many areas that they overlooked. For example, my sample includes men and child-free women, both of whom are generally thought not to scrapbook at all. I interviewed 59 scrapbookers, industry workers, and family and friends of scrapbookers and used grounded theory methods to provide a more thorough understanding of scrapbooking and how people come to have scrapworthy lives.

In addition to differences in my sample compared to other scholars, my theoretical framework also differs. Other scholars have used symbolic interactionism (Kelly and Brown 2005), cultural capital (Goodsell and Seiter 2010), and family discourse theory (Downs 2006; Goodsell and Seiter 2010) to frame their research. Demos (2006) employed Goffman's presentation of self, a feminist perspective (i.e., second shift, feeding the family), and collective memory as her theoretical framework. This research too, relies on symbolic interactionism as part of the theoretical framework. My research differs in that it relies on cognitive sociology to frame the project. In particular, my research illustrates how thinking is socially constructed; that is, our thoughts may be our own, but they are socially patterned.

SCRAPWORTHY LIVES

The story that this dissertation tells is about how scrapbooking is a way to both view the world and communicate that one's life has value. Most scrapbookers come to view the world through the eyes of a member of the scrapbooking subculture or thought community. Scrapbooking becomes a structure through which they live their lives. Moreover, by scrapbooking their lives and the lives of their loved ones, scrapbookers are communicating that their life and the lives of scrapbooked others have value because they are worth remembering. Scrapbooks are memorials.

My theoretical framework draws on cognitive sociology, symbolic interactionism, and ethnomethodology. Examples of how the six cognitive acts (i.e., perceiving, classifying, reckoning time, attending, assigning meaning, and remembering) are shaped by scrapbooking are the basis of several chapters of this dissertation. Symbolic interactionist theory provides the basis for exploring how people give meaning to their lives through scrapbooking. In Chapter 2, I detail how cognitive sociology, symbolic interaction, and ethnomethodology are relevant to this study.

I explain my methodology in Chapter 3. I discuss my sample, data collection methods, and methods of analysis. I interviewed 59 scrapbook industry workers, scrapbookers, and family or friends of a scrapbooker. My interviews were structured with an interview guide but follow-up questions were asked where appropriate. In my interviews with scrapbookers and a family or friend of a scrapbooker, I used photo-elicitation interview techniques to learn more about the actual scrapbooks that are being made. Finally, I used grounded theory methods to analyze my data.

The discussion of my results begins in Chapter 4 where I explain how the scrapbooking subculture is a thought community. Here, I discuss the various sources of scrapbooking norms,

what the norms of scrapbooking include, and how scrapbooking comes to shape one's perspective. I focus on how the language of deviance is used by scrapbookers to describe their hobby despite the fact scrapbookers themselves do not explicitly consider themselves to be deviant. Lastly, I explore the process of becoming a scrapbooker.

In Chapter 5, I address how gender, family, race, ethnicity, and religion both shape and are shaped by scrapbooking. To talk about scrapbooking is to talk about gender because most scrapbookers are women. This research provides further evidence of how people "do gender" (i.e., the social construction of gender) through scrapbooking. In other words, scrapbookers demonstrate their gender through scrapbooking. Moreover, family is socially constructed through scrapbooking (both by the actual scrapbooker and their family), by scrapbookers with and without children. Scrapbooking is also a site where race, ethnicity, and religion are socially constructed. In sum, scrapbooking allows people to demonstrate both achieved and ascribed statuses.

In Chapter 6, I explain how scrapbooking is a classification system. Here, I talk about how scrapbooks are distinct from other forms of personal recordkeeping (e.g., diaries or photo albums), who scrapbookers are (e.g., artists, historians, or crafters), where scrapbooking takes place, how people scrapbook, and what the rules of scrapbooking are. In this chapter, I introduce the core variable, scrapworthiness, which is what guides the other topics in this chapter and the rest of the dissertation. Finally, I close this chapter with a discussion about how scrapbooking reinforces and blurs the boundaries between home and work.

Scrapbooking is a site to explore the social construction of time, which I address in Chapter 7. Choosing to scrapbook means choosing to spend time scrapbooking (i.e., in leisure) instead of doing other things (i.e., working or providing childcare). People scrapbook because

they choose to spend some of their (free) time scrapbooking, not because they have the (free) time to scrapbook and others do not. Lack of time is a standard accepted explanation as to why someone does not do something, yet this explanation is rarely challenged in any way. Time is also given as a reason as to why scrapbooking has increased in popularity. In particular, my respondents talk about how life is more fast-paced than it was in the past, which draws people to scrapbooking.

In Chapter 8, the discussion turns to how memory is shaped by society. Scrapbookers exemplify the value society places on both photographs and memories and how the two are connected. Here, my respondents draw on similar explanations as to why scrapbooking increased in popularity in the early 2000s. Because scrapbooks often chronicle family life, they are a source of collective family memory. Moreover, I assess the validity of the criticism scrapbookers receive for over-emphasizing the positive and neglecting the negative altogether in their scrapbooks—focusing on perfect memories. These memories—especially positive memories— tend to be shaped by the calendar. Scrapbooks are calendar-like and in fact, are often organized chronologically. The calendar-like aspect of scrapbooking allows the researcher to explore what dates people are likely to scrapbook. Finally, I explore how scrapbookers use imitation and replication in their scrapbooks as this process often attempts to recreate past time periods within specific scrapbook types.

I conclude this dissertation in Chapter 9. Here, I discuss the limitations of this study and questions and concerns future research should address. I conclude with a discussion of this dissertation's contribution to sociology. Before proceeding to my discussion of my theoretical framework, it is important to provide a note on the terms I use in this dissertation because there are terms unique to the scrapbooking thought community.

A NOTE ON TERMS

I have chosen to use the words artists, crafters, hobbyists, and handcrafters interchangeably when referring to scrapbookers. As I discuss in Chapter 6, scrapbookers consider their work to be both an art and a craft, which is consistent with previous research (see Kelley and Brown 2005). Craft refers to "consumption activity in which the 'product' concerned is essentially both 'made and designed by the same person' and to which the consumer typically brings skill, knowledge, judgment and passion while being motivated by a desire for self-expression" (Campbell 2005:23). In Western Society, art is typically thought of as that which is exhibited and sold (Nelson, LaBat, and Williams 2005) and being housed in an art museum confirms its status as art (Peterson 2003). For the most part, scrapbooks are not exhibited or sold but that does not mean they are not a form of art. One industry leader, Creative Memories®, prefers the term album-making instead of scrapbooking because "scrapbooking is viewed as a hobby or a craft, while making keepsake albums is about building connections enriching our lives, and leaving a lasting family legacy" (Lightle and Anderson 2002:4). My research finds that most people who are making scrapbooks are also "building connections, enriching our lives, and leaving a lasting family legacy" as Lightle and Anderson (2002:4) suggest. The point is, that the terms are used inconsistently and different thought communities want to prevent these terms from being diluted by others. Nelson et al. (2005) argue that leisure activities done predominantly by women, such as textile art (e.g., quilting, knitting, crocheting), are typically not elevated from crafts to art by outsiders. Outsiders (and even insiders) may reflect this line of thinking with regards to scrapbooking. Others suggest that scrapbooking of the past may have been a craft, but today it is "a sophisticated art form" (Fantin 2010:n.p.). At the very least scrapbooking is a form of domestic art (Stalp and Winge 2008) or memory craft (Powley 2006)

and may be considered as either casual leisure[13] (Stebbins 1982; 1997; 2001) or serious leisure[14] (Stebbins 1982; 1992; 2001).

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[13] Stebbins (2001:58) defines casual leisure "as immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it."

[14] The six qualities of serious leisure are "the occasional need to persevere," making it a career, effort (acquired knowledge, training, or skill), durable benefits or outcomes, an identity found through the activity, and a unique ethos (Stebbins 2001:6-7).

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I use cognitive sociology, symbolic interactionism, and ethnomethodology for my theoretical framework because these theoretical perspectives allow the researcher to further understand how thought processes are socially patterned and how people assign meaning in their lives. Most scrapbooks are assembled individually, yet are socially patterned. Moreover, what is considered scrapworthy is typically taken for granted. These theoretical perspectives allow me to challenge the taken-for-granted world of scrapbooking. The world of scrapbooking is also an important site for exploring gender, race, and class in society as scrapbooking is gendered, raced, and classed.

COGNITIVE SOCIOLOGY

Which stories are included in a scrapbook and how these stories are told within the scrapbook is determined by the individual scrapbooker in interaction with her or his society. For example, a scrapbooker might include the wedding program, engagement announcement, and photographs of the wedding party, guests, cake, and so on in a scrapbook about a wedding. The bride creating this scrapbook of her wedding would probably include photographs from the honeymoon. She might even include photographs of the inside of the hotel room. It is highly unlikely, however, that she would include any photographs or journaling detailing any sexual intimacy beyond photographs of her and the groom kissing at the wedding ceremony in her scrapbook that holds the story of her wedding. In this research, for example, only one scrapbooker out of 38 showed me any scrapbook pages that included adult nudity. Clearly, some subjects are scrapworthy and some are not. Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social construction of reality perspective helps illuminate the process scrapbookers use to determine scrapworthiness. Every scrapbook is unique, yet remains socially patterned because the scrapbooker has a unique

perspective that is grounded within the society in which he or she resides. Using a social construction of reality perspective allows me to understand the commonsense knowledge and taken for granted world of scrapbookers and learning what is and is not scrapworthy.

A cognitive sociological focus is on intersubjectivity—in contrast to subjectivity and objectivity. Zerubavel (1997) explains that intersubjectivity means that our experiences are based not on personal experience alone (i.e., subjectivity) or are logically inevitable (i.e., objectivity) but instead bridge these two thought processes in socially patterned ways. A memory may seem subjective but through being corroborated by another person is shown to actually be intersubjective. For example, one respondent says that she and her mom share photographs. During our interview with her and her mother, this respondent said "this was one example of how if we both have taken pictures at the same time that we share them so that we can each take whatever is useful for what it is that we want to remember." In this way, pages are made about memories they intended to remember and pages are made of memories they had not considered prior to seeing the photographs taken by the other person. Scrapbooking is an excellent place to learn more about intersubjectivity because scrapbooks make memories concrete. Others can view the scrapbook and assess the memory for accuracy.

Drawing on Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social construction of reality perspective and Mannheim's (1936 [1929]) sociology of knowledge, Zerubavel (1997:5) outlines a theory of cognitive sociology to help "explain why our thinking *is similar to as well as different from* the way other people think." In other words, a person's thought patterns are influenced by one's socialization or thought community, which is like a subculture. Each person belongs to multiple thought communities, leading to multiple perspectives of the world. One scrapbooker included adult nudity in her scrapbook, was a practicing Pagan, and some of the scrapbook pages with

nudity were scrapbook layouts chronicling Pagan rituals. This respondent belongs to the thought communities of scrapbookers and Pagans, among others. For her, adult nudity in the scrapbook was perfectly normal, whereas most other respondents felt nudity was something that was definitely not scrapworthy.

In addition to providing theoretical insights for understanding how thinking is socially patterned yet also individually determined, Zerubavel (1997) identifies six cognitive acts to illustrate this process. The six cognitive acts are: perceiving, classifying, attending, assigning meaning, remembering, and reckoning time.

Perceiving is influenced by a person's previous experiences and by others' perceptions. Becoming a scrapbooker actually changes how a person interacts with and perceives the world. The scrapbooker now views the world through the lens of a scrapbooker. For example, going on vacation is no longer just a chance to explore a new place or relax but it is now a chance to collect items for the scrapbook. The menu at the restaurant is no longer just a menu to choose food from but is now an item to include in the scrapbook so that the person remembers every detail about the food he or she ate while on vacation. What other vacationers might view as trash, the scrapbooker views as memorabilia. *Memorabilia* is anything that the scrapbooker infuses with meaning that can stand in for something on the scrapbook page; in other words, symbols. The scrapbooker does not just include anything and everything, but is selective—classifying some items as scrapworthy and other items as not scrapworthy. Memorabilia can be considered as souvenirs which symbolize a physical memory (Stewart 1993). Zerubavel (1997) would consider memorabilia to be social souvenirs—physical items serving as memory prompts.

Scrapbookers rely on multiple mental lenses (or "optical" pluralism) (Zerubavel 1997) to determine scrapworthiness. By mental lenses, Zerubavel (1997) recognizes that not only do

different individuals have different and shared perspectives, but also, individuals have different perspectives within themselves. If we examine the example of the scrapworthiness of a restaurant menu, we can understand how different scrapbookers may perceive that menu. Some would perceive it as trash, just like a nonscrapbooker. Of those who perceive the menu as scrapworthy, however, how to scrapbook the item differs. Some scrapbookers would not keep the menu in its original form because it is typically not of archival quality. They may photograph or photocopy the menu and include the archival quality copy in their scrapbook. Others would include the original menu and risk it deteriorating and contaminating other items in their scrapbook. Among both of the groups who view the item as scrapworthy, they also might scrapbook it differently in terms of whether the whole menu or only pieces of the menu are scrapworthy. Does the scrapbooker want to remember the food (then copy the part of the menu that lists the food)? Does the scrapbooker want to remember the cost of the food (then emphasize the price of the food)? Does the scrapbooker just want to remember the actual restaurant (then focus on the front of the menu with the name and logo of the restaurant)? The point is, even among those who deem an item as scrapworthy, how the item is scrapworthy varies.

Zerubavel (1997:32) points out that there also exist "*'optical' deviants* who dare to defy or ignore the *'optical' norms* of their social environment that by maintaining a 'view' of the world that is at odds with the one commonly shared by others around them." Even among scrapbookers, where there supposedly are no rules, a couple of respondents reported feeling marginalized by other scrapbookers due to the subject matter of their scrapbooks, their scrapbooking style, or both. Despite scrapbooking bringing together people who otherwise have nothing in common, it is still possible for deviants to be excluded for violating the norms of scrapbooking.

Scrapbooking actual food, for instance, would be deviant. Not one of my respondents scrapbooked actual food, because food would rot and deteriorate making it not scrapworthy in its current form even though the food may be memorable. The restaurant menu in the eyes of the scrapbooker, then, is "lumped" into the scrapworthy pile, while the actual food is "split" off into the not scrapworthy pile. The menu symbolizes the food and is classified as scrapworthy. The culture of scrapbooking is a very good place to understand Zerubavel's (1991) concepts of lumping and splitting—*classification* in action. The menu is not the only way that the food could be memorialized in the scrapbook. The scrapbooker might take a photograph of the food before it is eaten and include the photograph in the scrapbook. Or the scrapbooker might write or *journal* about the food he or she ate: what food was eaten, how the food tasted, or why was this food chosen over other food items. The actual food is not scrapworthy in its present form because it would deteriorate, in direct contradiction of one of the purposes of a scrapbook, which is preservation. The line between trashworthy and scrapworthy is a very fine line as a few respondents referred to their scrapbooking supplies as others sometimes do: "crapbooking" supplies. By dropping a single letter, nonscrapbookers are emphasizing the trashworthiness of items scrapbookers consider to be scrapworthy. Not only does this classification pattern vary depending on whether a person is a scrapbooker or not, but it also varies depending on the person's overall mindset.

Zerubavel (1997) suggests that there are three types of minds when it comes to classifying: rigid, flexible, and fuzzy. Rigid-mindedness is inflexible and characterized by an either/or mindset. Fuzzy-mindedness is characterized by lack of boundaries. Flexible-mindedness is fluid and described as a both/and mindset. The mindset of a scrapbooker varies depending on how they classify their work. Those who consider it art seem to practice fuzzy-

mindedness over other types of mindsets. Those who consider scrapbooking as very purposeful outside of the realm of art (e.g., I must scrapbook my child's first year because I am the child's mother and this is what mother's do) may have a more rigid-mind. The scrapbooking thought community is somewhere in between having flexible-mindedness rather than rigid- or fuzzy-mindedness. In some cases, they are very rigid (e.g., "It must be archival to be included in the scrapbook"), while in other cases they are very fuzzy (e.g., "It's not archival, but I still think it belongs in the scrapbook, so I'll include it anyway"). Scrapbookers overall are flexible-minded but the other thought communities the person belongs to could cause the individual scrapbooker to be more rigid- or fuzzy-minded than flexible-minded.

Scrapbookers attend to the world differently than non-scrapbookers. *Attending* refers to how people come to mentally focus on what it is to which one directs her or his focus. People, places, and things are photographed, photographs are printed, and photographs are ultimately chosen for inclusion in the scrapbook with care in an effort to tell or direct focus on a particular story. Scrapbookers perceive some of their surroundings as scrapworthy while the rest of their surroundings are perceived as not (or imperception) scrapworthy. Even the photographs the scrapbooker takes are different than they were before he or she became a scrapbooker. The scrapbooker often takes more photographs than he or she did as a non-scrapbooker and he or she now takes photographs differently to create the perfect shot for the scrapbook. He or she might take hundreds of photos but chooses only a third of the photos to be printed and then includes only half of the printed photos in the finished scrapbook.

Studying what people attend to as important and what people disregard as irrelevant leads the researcher to a broader understanding of mental horizons. Zerubavel (1997) proposes that mental horizons are our perceptual field in that our mental horizon consists of the lines between

what is perceived and what is ignored. As scrapbookers become more experienced scrapbookers, they begin to take photographs differently. Whereas before, they may have taken photographs just to get *a* shot, now they take photographs to get *the* shot. Respondents mention taking more photographs than before, but also they are more likely to focus their photographic lenses on the story they want to tell in their scrapbooks. If the people are what are important, then the photograph may contain very little outside of the people (i.e., white space or background).

The scrapbooker *assigns meaning* to particular items and uses items that have already been assigned meaning (e.g., symbols) in order to tell their story. For example, a respondent shared with me her scrapbook of her trip to Washington, DC during the National Cherry Blossom Festival. Her entire scrapbook was about this trip. Most of the pages and the album cover were the same light pink color as the cherry blossoms. The color was chosen to emphasize how pink the city is when the cherry trees are in bloom. The color was the "signifier," which stood in for the actual cherry blossoms, or the "signified" (Zerubavel 1997).

Symbols are typically symbolic in relation to what they do not symbolize. Zerubavel (1997) introduces the "semiotic square" to illustrate how symbols are related to one another and become distinct by being contrasted with other symbols. In scrapbooking this can clearly be seen in baby books. Scrapbooks about baby girls regularly include pink while scrapbooks about baby boys regularly include blue. Pink symbolizes femaleness, while blue symbolizes maleness. Pink and female are semantically associated with one another just as blue and male are semantically associated with one another. At the same time, pink and blue are syntactically contrasted with one another, while female and male are syntactically contrasted with one another. Zerubavel

(1997:74) lays out the semiotic square as such:

a.	Pink	(-)	a.	Blue
b.	Leaves	(-)	b.	Flowers
	(+)			(+)
a.	Female	(-)	a.	Male
b.	Fall	(-)	b.	Spring

(-) Syntactically Contrasted

(+) Semantically Associated

FIGURE 2.1. SEMIOTIC SQUARE

In the second example, leaves and flowers can be syntactically contrasted (-) as plant matter as can fall and spring as seasons. Leaves are semantically associated (+) with fall and flowers semantically associated with spring. Scrapbook pages about fall are much more likely to include stickers or papers of leaves (in fall colors of brown, red, orange, and purple) and pages about spring are more likely to include stickers and papers of flowers. In this way, a page about fall or spring does not have to state that it is about fall or spring as long as accepted symbols are used to signify the season. Studying how scrapbookers use symbols, allows the researcher to not only understand how a signifier stands in for the signified, but also how symbols are semantically associated and syntactically contrasted with one another forming a semiotic square.

Symbols are used to help a person remember. Moreover, choosing to scrapbook something, says to the world that this is something worth *remembering*. Remembering is done both individually and collectively. People are socialized as to what is important to remember and what is important to forget (Zerubavel 1997; 2003), which is how some things become scrapworthy and some do not. Through scrapbooking, people communicate to the world that

their life is scrapworthy—that it is worth remembering. Furthermore, scrapbooks serve to corroborate our memories when we view the scrapbook with others.

Scrapbooks are narratives about the past. In essence, scrapbooks are historical stories of the scrapbooker's life (or the person the scrapbook is about). A scrapbook may be the only narrative that exists of the person's history (see Milgram 1976). These narratives, though highly personal, are constructed in socially patterned ways. Memory may be private (Milgram 1976), but it is also socially constructed (Zerubavel 1997); memory, then is intersubjective.

What is considered scrapworthy is generally, that which is also considered to be memorable. In this way, scrapbooking serves as a useful site to study the "social *rules of remembrance* that tell us quite specifically what we should remember and what we must forget" (Zerubavel 1997:84). Though scrapbookers insist that the reason most of the memories scrapbooked are happy memories due to social conventions regarding photography and a belief that they will remember the unhappy memories just fine without them being scrapbooked, it does not change the fact that scrapbooks contain mostly happy memories. Happy memories are both more easily forgotten and are more scrapworthy than unhappy memories according to respondents. The narrative in scrapbooks then, is overwhelmingly happy.

Rules of remembrance include beginnings and endings. At what point does a scrapbook begin or end? Does an album about a marriage begin with the wedding ceremony, the proposal, or the first date? Does the same album end with the opening of wedding gifts, writing thank you cards, the end of the honeymoon, the first anniversary, or even the end of the marriage through divorce or death? Wedding albums often begin with the preparation for the actual ceremony (that day or day before during a rehearsal dinner) and end with the end of the reception. It is as if everything leading up to the wedding has nothing to do with the wedding and does not even exist

as something that is memorable (though the case could be made that the pre-wedding should be more memorable than the actual wedding as the wedding is just the culmination of the relationship up to that point). Everything after the wedding is perceived as just as forgettable if not considered scrapworthy.

Rules of social remembrance are taught to us through mnemonic socialization (Zerubavel 1997). In the above example, weddings are scrapbooked and remembered in socially patterned ways because of the mnemonic tradition involving weddings. The actual wedding ceremony is typically held up as more important than the relationship before and after the ceremony in scrapbooks because the ceremony is thought to actually transform the couple in some profound way. A man becomes a husband and a woman becomes a wife through marriage. Different mnemonic communities (or thought communities) may see things differently. If a person does not see marriage as transformative beyond a change in legal status of the relationship, then they might be more likely to chronicle the relationship prior to and after the wedding in the scrapbook because it is considered all equally important and therefore memorable. A scrapbook emphasizing the wedding over the relationship prior to the wedding serves to mnemonically decapitate (Zerubavel 1997; 2003) all that happened prior to the wedding. The story of the couple, then, begins with the wedding.

As previously mentioned, scrapbooks can serve as a source for the corroboration of memories. Many scrapbooks serve as social souvenirs of abstract memories for not only individuals but also groups, in particular, families. According to Zerubavel (1997), social souvenirs are physical items that serve as memory prompts. Scrapbooks contain the collective memory of groups even if only compiled by one person because the books typically are made to contain both the individual scrapbooker's memories, but also her or his family's collective

memory. The scrapbook eventually comes to represent the family's collective memory in that everything not included in the scrapbook is forgotten. Of course, if family members disagree with how the scrapbooker portrays various memories or chooses to include or exclude certain memories, a mnemonic battle may ensue (Zerubavel 1997). In a family with a scrapbooker, there is typically only one scrapbooker who is making a scrapbook that contains the family's collective memory; therefore, it is likely that their memory prevails in the scrapbook, though the oral story that goes along with the scrapbook may point out mnemonic battles with other family members.

Finally, the sixth cognitive act, *reckoning time*, can be explored through scrapbooks. Zerubavel (1981; 1997; 2003) proposes that different thought communities keep time in different ways. Reckoning time is illustrated in many different ways by scrapbookers. Scrapbookers commonly scrapbook in two main ways: thematically and chronologically. A chronological scrapbooker typically creates a scrapbook chronicling a chunk of time in her or his life or their family's life, using a standard time-reckoning framework. The year may spread across multiple scrapbook albums but very rarely would a scrapbooker assign a smaller chunk of time (e.g., a month, week, or day) than a year in one album with any regularity. Standard time-reckoning frameworks would include measuring time by year, month, day, hour, minute, and so forth (Zerubavel 1981; 1997). Even thematic scrapbookers often rely on chronology to determine how to organize the pages in their album. For example, a scrapbook may be about a vacation. Everything in the album is about the vacation. The album is then organized by day with the album beginning with the arrival at the destination and album ending with the arrival home.

As previously discussed, choices about when a scrapbook begins or ends are shaped by social dating frameworks. A social dating framework means that individuals and groups, such as families, date the past in ways that are meaningless to others (Zerubavel 1997). For example, a

family may consider moving into a new house as a significant moment in time in that any one family member can say, 'remember, it was when we moved into this house,' rather than, 'it was in September of 1996.' Everyone in the family knows it was September 1996, but the time measurement becomes a personal reference, moving into a new house. Moving into a new house, serves as a sociotemporal landmark (Zerubavel 1997). Levine (1997) distinguishes types of time as well. He would consider 'moving into the house' as event time and 'September 1996' as calendar time.

Moving into a new house could serve as watershed moment, delineating one period of time from another (or periodization) (Zerubavel 2003). Many scrapbooks contain very little outside of watershed moments for the family or individual, jumping from Easter, to a high school graduation, to a summer wedding, then to Christmas, for instance. Scrapbooks, then, serve as a place to understand what events or moments scrapbookers consider scrapworthy and in extension are a way to understand how a scrapbooker periodizes their and their family's lives. Scrapbooks are often structured using a combination of event time and clock time. Clock time may jump from event time to event time. For example, an album may hold stories of things that happened in 2008 (clock time). Inside the album, pages may jump from event to event. Instead of being organized by day, week, or month, it is organized by event. There may not be any events that occurred during January, but something scrapworthy happened in February and that gets memorialized. Moreover, the scrapbook then begins with the first event, which occurred in February, rather than in January when according to clock time, a new year begins.

As I have shown, studying scrapbooking and drawing on cognitive sociology, allows the researcher to further understand how thinking is socially patterned. Cognitive sociology draws upon symbolic interactionist theory. Symbolic interactionist theory's main premise is that

meanings come from our interactions with others (Blumer 1969). Furthermore, symbols only have meaning because individuals agree on the meaning (Rothman [1981] 1991). According to Mead ([1967] 2005), it is the response to the symbol that gives the symbol meaning.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

A researcher using a symbolic interactionist perspective is paying attention to how "people act towards things on the basis of the meaning that these things have for them, not on the basis of the meaning that these things have for the outside scholar" (Blumer 1969:51). In other words, what things mean to an individual influences how he or she will act towards the thing. For example, to most, children's artwork is not artistic and worth displaying or even saving. To the parents of the child whose artwork it is, however, the artwork is art and should be saved or even displayed. Parents proudly display their children's artwork on refrigerator doors or even in frames on a wall in the home. The artwork holds meaning to the individuals because of their connection to the person who created the art. Most people without a connection to the child artist would simply view the art as trash and not art at all. In terms of scrapbooking, then, what is deemed scrapworthy is in the eye of the scrapbooker. While others may view an item as trashworthy, scrapbookers may consider it scrapworthy and include it in their scrapbook.

Symbolic interactionism has three premises first articulated by Herbert Blumer (1969). The first premise is that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings the things have for them" (Blumer 1969:2). Scrapbooks contain physical items such as photographs and abstract items such as memories and are often one of a person's most prized possessions. Many scrapbookers (and the scrapbook industry supports this practice) take steps to make sure their scrapbooks will not deteriorate. With the goal of preservation in mind, scrapbookers are careful to only include archival quality materials in their scrapbooks and carefully share their scrapbooks

with others. In sum, scrapbookers will act toward items on the basis of something that is to be remembered or not.

This leads to Blumer's (1969:2) second proposition: "the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows." Building on the previous example, scrapbooks are created to preserve more specifically a person's or a family's stories for future generations. The scrapbook derives its meaning not only from the scrapbooker but also from any person the scrapbook is shared with or is about. Many people continue scrapbooking because they have received a positive reaction to their work through other's willingness to look at their books or others soliciting their assistance to create a book of their own. Scrapbooking, then, becomes meaningful in its own right through the positive social interactions that result from it.

The way a scrapbooker interprets another's reaction to their hobby influences their participation in the hobby, pointing to Blumer's (1969:2) third axiom that "these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he [sic] encounters." Scrapbooking is a site to explore meaning-making and how this process of meaning-making supports a person's continued involvement in scrapbooking. Meaning emerges through scrapbookers interacting with each other and through their interactions with nonscrapbookers. For instance, some respondents report that their husbands would roll their eyes at their hobby, yet they did not interpret this eye rolling as a serious threat or mockery of their scrapbooking. Instead, they interpreted this eye rolling as fun (i.e., kidding around without negative intent). Husbands may find scrapbooking to be a bit silly, but would never prevent their wives from actually scrapbooking. Scrapbookers who interpret the eye rolling as criticism may eventually quit scrapbooking.

Overall, scrapbookers continue to scrapbook and people begin scrapbooking because they find value in it. Scrapbookers find this value through their interactions with others regarding their hobby. Moreover, scrapbooking is used by scrapbookers to shape others' interpretations of themselves, or as Goffman (1959) would consider it, scrapbooking is a way for people to practice impression management.

Goffman's (1959) contribution to this dissertation is his proposition that social interaction should be viewed as a performance. Three concepts are important to understanding his argument as I apply it to scrapbooking: front stage, back stage, and impression management. The front stage is our performance for others or what we allow others to see of us (Goffman 1959). The back stage is everything we hide from the view of others. Successfully managing our front stage and back stage is referred to as impression management. Scrapbooks are used in a couple of different ways as part of impression management. For example, mothers might scrapbook their children's lives in an effort to demonstrate to themselves, their children, and others that they are good mothers (Demos 2006).

The process of scrapbooking delineates the front stage and back stage. The back stage might include all the photographs that were taken but did not make it onto the scrapbook page and the front stage is the final scrapbook. The story included in the scrapbook is the story a person is comfortable sharing with others partially in an attempt to manage the impression others have of the person. No matter what happens in a person's life, he or she can present that life as a good life in a scrapbook regardless of whether that portrayal is accurate. Lyman and Scott (1970) argue that what counts is whether a life can be portrayed positively when it matters. In other words, if a person can present a positive front stage in a scrapbook, it is unimportant to observers if the back stage is actually negative.

ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

Garfinkel (1967) coined the term ethnomethodology and proposed that sociologists study the taken for granted everyday life of society. This approach allows for an understanding of how people actively create their social reality instead of understanding social reality as something existing outside of her or his self. Garfinkel (1967:11) "use[s] the term 'ethnomethodology' to refer to the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life."

An ethnomethodological approach allows the researcher to question the taken for granted world under study. In this case, it allows me to investigate the world of scrapbooking as an outsider to the hobby instead of investigating it as someone who is a member of the scrapbooking thought community. One way I did this was through a breaching experiment. A breaching experiment attempts to challenge accepted social norms (Garkinkel 1967) and in this case I attempted to challenge the accepted social norms regarding scrapbooking. As I later discuss in Chapter 6, I showed my respondents three items: a conventional scrapbook, a bulletin board, and a conventional photograph album. I asked respondents which item or items could be considered a scrapbook. All agreed the conventional scrapbook was in fact a scrapbook. Most seemed surprised at the thought of considering the other two items as a scrapbook. Some agreed the other two items could be considered scrapbooks either as is or they could be considered varieties of scrapbooks. Moreover, during the course of the interviews when I examined my respondents' scrapbooks with my respondents, I would ask them why they chose to include a particular item or take a photograph of a particular subject. I did the best I could to get my respondents to explain their taken for granted behaviors surrounding scrapbooking in order to understand how they socially construct scrapbooking. Finally, I asked my respondents how I

should scrapbook my wedding bouquet. It seemed unlikely that any would say a wedding bouquet in its usual form would be scrapbookable but I asked anyway to see what sorts of responses I would get.

Another way in which ethnomethodology informs this dissertation is through applying West and Zimmerman's (2002) concept of "doing gender," which is an important part of impression management, to the study. West and Zimmerman (2002):

> propose an ethnomethodologically informed, and therefore distinctively sociological, understanding of gender as a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment. … Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures.' (P. 4)

For example, a person may wear a dress, jewelry, and make-up to communicate to others that she is in fact a she—a woman and not a man. It is reasonable to expect that people scrapbook in gendered ways because people take photographs—a main component of scrapbooks—in gendered ways (Clark-Ibanez 2004; Harper 2003). Moreover, the majority of "snapshooters" are women (Evans 2001) reinforcing the image of women as the family record keepers. It makes sense that women are more likely than men to scrapbook because women are more likely to take photographs in the first place. Moreover, something becomes gendered when predominantly only men or only women participate in it (West and Zimmerman 2002). LaRossa (1997) suggests that tasks become gendered in order to recruit certain individuals to fill these roles in the first place. Using a narrow definition of scrapbooking as this study unintentionally does, but does nonetheless, means that women are overrepresented as scapbookers. Conventional scrapbooking, then, is marked as a woman's activity. In this way, women are able to use scrapbooking as a way

to do womanhood and men are able to do manhood by not scrapbooking. The existence of men scrapbookers challenges society's expectations of behavior of men. Straight men scrapbook differently than women, but gay men tend to scrapbook like women indicating the role sexual identity plays in shaping notions of doing gender. There are no noticeable differences between the way lesbian and straight women scrapbook.

Parenthood is another status that shapes how men and women do gender. Scrapbooking is one way women not only do gender, but also do motherhood. In extension, other identities are also done such as daughterhood or sonhood. These family identities are gendered and can be explored through studying scrapbooking.

Mothers who scrapbook do motherhood through scrapbooking; however, not all scrapbookers are mothers or women. Scrapbooking is a site where mothers can demonstrate their expertise on their children. If mothers are believed to be more informed on their children than fathers are (see LaRossa 1997), then mothers and not fathers should be the family scrapbooker. Also, not all mothers view scrapbooking as a way to do motherhood, emphasizing how scrapbooking is for them and not for their children even if the subject of the scrapbooks is primarily their children. Many child-free women scrapbookers may not be doing motherhood for their own current children, but make scrapbooks with their future children in mind or make them for nieces and nephews. In this way, even child-free women may be doing motherhood through scrapbooking.

Most scrapbookers do family in some capacity at least some of the time through their scrapbooks. Downs (2006) finds that families are typically portrayed as heterosexual, happy, and child-centered in scrapbooks. The scrapbooking industry also supports this image by producing products emphasizing happy families and ideal childhoods and failing to produce products

reflecting nonheteronormative or unhappy families (Downs 2006). There are exceptions, however, to this norm. Some scrapbookers do include events contradicting perpetual happiness such as funerals and miscarriage. Downs (2006:61) argues that scrapbookers typically frame— even these unhappy family events as "empowering or sanitized versions of family life." I find this happens, but is not always true.

Scrapbooking is not only gendered, but also classed and raced. Mothers of all races take photographs of their children (Lustig 2004), but not all mothers scrapbook. It is unknown to what extent non-white people scrapbook compared to white people, but as later discussion shows, the industry (e.g., manufacturers and celebrities) is overwhelmingly white. Smith (1999:115) argues that photographs of babies became treasured as a way for "white Americans to reinforce dominant misrepresentations of themselves as good, healthy, natural, powerful, elite." It is possible that scrapbooks are used for similar purposes. In contrast, the accessibility of photography has allowed black people to create images that contest racist imagery of themselves (hooks 1994a; 1994b; see also Walsh 2002). It is possible non-white people use scrapbooks similarly.

It should come as no surprise, that like most American industries, the scrapbooking industry is overwhelmingly white. Scrapbooking celebrities are almost always white (In 2004, a black woman, Faye Morrow Bell had a successful idea book published and briefly became a scrapbooking celebrity and more recently Renee Pearson has seen success online.) Manufacturers create product that is reflective of white people's lives and experiences. Stickers and other embellishments of people are almost always white. Moreover, the experience of white middle class women is held out as the normative version of womanhood for all women (Byrne 2006) by the scrapbooking industry.

In addition to being raced, scrapbooking is also classed. What it means to be a mother and how people do motherhood varies by race and class (Collins 2000). Baby books, a variant of scrapbooking, historically (and currently) were connected to science in that they ask parents to record things such as their child's measurements and baby books indicate class status when they provide space to record things such as a list of birthday presents (Smith 1999). The ability to complete a pre-printed baby book in its entirety means that your family conforms to the normative version of family. Though scrapbooks are typically not pre-printed like baby books, they rely on materials that have been manufactured for scrapbooking. Scrapbookers, then, (have to) rely on what the industry has printed up.

Not only does the scrapbook industry emphasize whiteness, but it also assumes scrapbookers are middle and upper class in the pages of scrapbooking magazines. In this world, everyone not only has a permanent space in their home to scrapbook but an entire room dedicated to the hobby complete with furniture and organizational supplies to decorate the room. The hottest trend in the scrapbook industry over the past couple of years has been personal die-cutting machines, which can cost anywhere from $30 to $300 for the machine and anywhere from $5 to $200 for dies to be used with the machine. One can easily scrapbook without any sophisticated equipment, but to participate fully in the scrapbooking community, a person needs some disposable income to pay for the essentials (e.g., an album, adhesive, and photographs) and some of the status symbols (e.g., personal die-cutting machines and permanent scrapbooking space).

As photography has become accessible to nearly everyone in society, scrapbooks serve as a class marker. Photography allowed the middle class to emulate the wealthy who were able to procure painted family portraits (Smith 1999). As members of all social classes have access to

photographs, scrapbooks are a more expensive way to showcase one's photographs and hence demonstrate one's middle class status.

Overall, the scrapbooking thought community illustrates not only how thought processes are socially patterned or how meaning is used in social interaction, but also serves as microcosm of the rest of society. Stratification in the larger society can be seen within this thought community especially regarding gender, race, and class.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

I come to this project with a unique perspective as not only a sociologist doing research about scrapbooking, but also as a scrapbooker who happens to be a sociologist. My first exposure to contemporary scrapbooking occurred in 1999, when I received a completed scrapbook as a gift. I created my first scrapbook in 2002 as part of my duties as secretary for a student organization. I began scrapbooking for myself after my first trip to Europe resulted in dozens of photographs. My interest in the hobby remained directed towards scrapbooking vacations until I began working at a scrapbook store in 2003. I worked anywhere between 15-30 hours a week from 2003-2004. From 2004-2008, I worked only 4-6 hours a week during my summer breaks from full-time teaching. While working at this store, I worked a shift at Scrapbook EXPO[TM] in 2003 for a scrapbooking manufacturer and attended the Craft & Hobby Association's annual tradeshow in 2005. I parted ways with this store permanently when the store closed in 2008. At that point I became an independent consultant[15] for a scrapbooking company because the thought of paying retail for my scrapbook supplies was unappealing. I decided to stop selling for this company in 2010 because I want to be able to spend my scrapbooking budget with more than one manufacturer. I now scrapbook everyday life in addition to vacations. Not only do I belong to the scrapbooking thought community, but I also have spent countless hours over the last seven years as an industry worker.

My insider status was beneficial in that it allowed me to more easily gain access within scrapbook stores in order to advertise my project and recruit respondents. Belonging to this thought community allowed me "to ask questions and gather information others could not" (Zinn

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[15] An independent consultant is someone who sells products through a direct selling company.

1979:212). Importantly, not all of my respondents knew that I was a scrapbooker or an industry worker. Some respondents only learned that I was a scrapbooker or industry worker through the course of our interview. I was not upfront with my respondents about being a scrapbooker or an industry worker because I wanted them not to assume that I knew what they were talking about so that they would explain their answers in greater detail. I was the "acceptable incompetent" (Lofland et al. 2006)—I did my best to feign ignorance regarding scrapbooking so that my respondents would be more comfortable telling me obvious things about scrapbooking. I now will discuss my sample.

SAMPLE

I used nonprobability sampling (a combination of convenience sampling and purposive sampling) to identify respondents because no complete list of scrapbookers exists. I began recruiting respondents through my insider status at City Scrapbooks[16] where I initially advertised my project. The owner posted my advertisement on City Scrapbook's e-mail list, I was allowed to hang a flyer (see Appendix A) in the store, and I had a stack of flyers placed next to the register. Store employees did not give out flyers to every customer, but if a customer fit a particular demographic I was seeking they would inform the customer of my project and encourage the customer to contact me. Six industry workers were found through City Scrapbooks. One of the industry workers found through City Scrapbooks did not work at City Scrapbooks. Thirteen scrapbookers were found through City Scrapbooks. Two of them were referred by customers of City Scrapbooks but did not necessarily shop there. I also placed a flyer at Swanky Scrapbooks and at The Scrapbook Chain. One respondent saw my flyer at Swanky

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[16] All store, company, vendor, and respondent names are pseudonyms.

Scrapbooks and also referred her partner to the study. One respondent saw my flyer at The Scrapbook Chain. Inspired Stories—a direct selling company—allows you to locate consultants in your area through their website.[17] I emailed all five consultants that were near my zip code and two were willing to be interviewed. I announced my study on an e-mail list of scrapbookers for the state of Georgia and interviewed one person who contacted me from this list. My study was announced on an e-mail list for scrapbookers of color, a blog read by gays and lesbians, and two other scrapbook stores' e-mail lists in the Atlanta Metro area, but no respondents were found this way. I hung flyers in coffee shops in my neighborhood and found one respondent this way. Four respondents[18] and four non-respondents[19] told eight of my other respondents about the project. I contacted one of these referrals directly and the rest contacted me. Six respondents contacted me after they heard about my study at their local Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' (LDS) church. I have a friend who attends this church and spread the word about my study at her church so that I would be sure to find sufficient numbers of LDS scrapbookers. I announced my project in all of the courses I was teaching and some of my colleagues did the same. I found five respondents this way (one of my students who then referred her mom and dad, one student referred her mom, another student referred his girlfriend, and two students heard the

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[17] I later learned that consultants have to reach a sales minimum in order to be found through the locate-a-consultant feature. This means I only contacted the top sellers near my zip code, rather than all of the consultants near my zip code.

[18] I do not include referrals from City Scrapbook's employees in this number.

[19] I do not include referrals from nonrespondents who saw the flyer at City Scrapbook's in this number.

announcement from other professors). All family and friends of scrapbookers that I interviewed were referred by respondents. Table 3.1 lays out where each respondent was recruited.

TABLE 3.1. WHERE RESPONDENTS WERE RECRUITED

Location	N
City Scrapbooks[a]	
Industry Workers[b]	6
Scrapbookers	14
Swanky Scrapbooks	2
The Scrapbook Chain	1
Inspired Stories Locate-a-Consultant	2
Georgia Scrapbookers E-mail List	1
Personal Referral (Respondent)	4
Referral (Nonrespondent)	4
Flyer handed out at LDS	6
Flyer at local coffee shop	1
Class or colleagues	5

[a]City Scrapbooks posted a message to their e-mail list, displayed a flyer, placed flyers by the register, and referred customers to my study.
[b]One of the industry workers did not work at City Scrapbooks but found out about the study there.

All of my interviews except one occurred over an eight month period in 2008 within 100 miles of Atlanta. I conducted one phone interview of a respondent in the northeast. I decided to conduct the phone interview because this respondent was both gay and a man—two groups that were difficult to recruit for this study. Even though part of the interview involved photo-elicitation techniques, this was still possible because he emailed me copies of some of his scrapbook pages. I looked at the pages on my computer while he looked at the pages at his location during the interview. Even though most of the interviews took place near Atlanta, I would not say this is a study about Atlanta or even Southern scrapbookers. I did not ask respondents how long they had lived in the Atlanta Metro area but many respondents were not born or raised in the area. One was actually preparing to move back out west at the time of our

interview and another was only living in Atlanta for the summer. For this reason, I had no problem conducting a phone interview with a respondent who lived so far from the rest of the respondents. Most interviews took place in the respondents' homes, though several took place in coffee shops convenient to respondents. One interview took place at a scrapbook store.

As the study progressed, I used purposive sampling and targeted my advertising so that I would get more men, nonwhite, gay or lesbian, and Mormon scrapbookers (see Appendix A). I also created a flyer specifically for Mormons that a friend handed out at her church. Previous research on scrapbooking had samples of scrapbookers who were all women and were predominantly white, married, with children (see Demos 2006; Downs 2006; Goodsell and Seiter 2010; Kelly and Brown 2005; Stalp and Winge 2008) and I wanted to be sure to include a more diverse group in this study.

I began each interview by going over and gaining informed consent (see Appendix B) from my respondents. One respondent was a minor so I obtained parental permission (see Appendix C). Every respondent was asked to complete a demographic sheet (see Appendix D) before the interview began (a parent completed this sheet for the minor). I then interviewed the respondent with a specific interview guide depending on if they were an industry worker, a scrapbooker, or a family member or a friend of the scrapbooker (see Appendix E). In a couple of cases questions were asked from more than one interview guide. This occurred, for example, when I intended to interview a man as a family member and found out that he had actually recently began scrapbooking, too. I then asked questions from both interview guides. After the interview, scrapbookers completed a second demographic sheet about their scrapbooks (see Appendix F), while I photographed the scrapbook pages that we discussed in the interview. I did not introduce this demographic sheet until after the interview because it offered ideas as to what

topics a person might scrapbook and I did not want to give the respondent ideas prior to the interview.

Sample Limitations

I strove to obtain a diverse sample on a variety of measures (e.g., gender, race, religion, sexual identity), yet did not obtain diversity on other measures. For instance, one-third of the sample came from City Scrapbooks (both industry workers and scrapbookers). This is clearly a limitation of this study; however, two-thirds of the sample came from other sources.

The case could be made that this sample is heavily skewed towards more devoted scrapbookers rather than a balance of more devoted and less devoted scrapbookers. Part of this can be attributed to self-selection. If a person believes scrapbooking is important, then he or she may be more likely to volunteer for a study about scrapbooking. In contrast, if a person believes scrapbooking is kind of silly, then he or she may be less likely to volunteer for this kind of study. The reasons respondents decided to be or not to be interviewed remain unknown.

Demographics of Industry Workers

Industry workers had worked in the industry from 2-12 years with a mean of 5.7 years. At the time of the interview, all but one currently worked in the industry (one respondent had quit a few months prior to our interview). Two respondents no longer work in the industry due to the closing of City Scrapbooks and another respondent quit working in the industry shortly after our interview. Four of my scrapbooker respondents also worked in the industry, though our interview focused on them as a scrapbooker rather than an industry worker and are not referred to as industry workers in this dissertation. All industry workers were heterosexual women. One was black; the remaining ten were white. Eight were married, the other three were single. Six had children. Only three worked full-time in the scrapbook industry—all owned their scrapbooking

business. Two part-time industry workers were also full-time students. Three industry workers either had full-time or full-time equivalent work outside of the industry. All industry workers had at least a Bachelor's degree except for the two workers who were currently enrolled in a Bachelor's degree program. Two industry workers declined to report their household income. One indicated she worked part-time because she did not need to work full-time anymore. Both college students earned less than $19,000 a year. The rest earned more than $40,000 a year. Most industry workers were not in the industry to make money purely to support their families. Several had other jobs or spouses with incomes who could support their working part-time for little more than minimum wage (e.g., at scrapbook stores) or for pure commission (e.g., as an independent consultant).

Demographics of Scrapbookers

I interviewed 38 scrapbookers. The scrapbookers ranged in age from 21 to 67, with a mean age of 37. The age ranges of my respondents were: 14 were aged 21-29, 10 were aged 31-39, nine were aged 40-49, three were aged 50-59, and two were aged 60-69.

Previous scholars (see Demos 2006; Downs 2006; Goodsell and Seiter 2010; Kelly and Brown 2005; Stalp and Winge 2008) have only studied women scrapbookers but my experience working in the industry is that, though rare, men also scrapbook, so I wanted to be sure to include some men in my sample. I was able to interview six men scrapbookers. Men were difficult to find. I stumbled upon two men scrapbookers while interviewing their partners. Both women reported that their partners had begun scrapbooking as a way to spend time with them. I was already scheduled to interview both men as family members of scrapbookers and they allowed me to also interview them as scrapbookers. Two other men scrapbookers actually work in the industry though I interviewed them as scrapbookers rather than industry workers. Three of

the men scrapbookers were gay. Overall, 29 scrapbookers were heterosexual, five were lesbian, three were gay, and one was bisexual. I specifically targeted gay and lesbian scrapbookers to provide another dimension of diversity.

Many scrapbookers become scrapbookers upon marriage because they want to preserve their wedding in a scrapbook. I wanted to make sure that I had scrapbookers who were not married or never-married so that I would learn other pathways to becoming a scrapbooker. I did not specifically target marital status in my advertising but did have 13 currently single respondents (five were divorced) and 25 married or partnered respondents. One of the married respondents was a woman in a polyamorous marriage with two men.

Another common pathway to becoming a scrapbooker is parenthood with many new parents wanting to complete a baby book for their child, though some respondents scrapbooked and completed separate baby books. Nineteen scrapbookers were parents—18 mothers and one father and 19 of the scrapbookers were not parents.

My sample is not racially diverse. Only six of my respondents did not identify as white (one identified as Middle Eastern, one identified as other, and the rest identified as black). I had difficulty finding nonwhite scrapbookers. I tried several strategies to increase participation among nonwhite scrapbookers. In my advertising, I mentioned that I was looking for nonwhite scrapbookers. I talked to the owners of four different scrapbook stores in the Atlanta area letting them know that I was interested in interviewing nonwhite scrapbookers so that they could suggest my research to potential respondents. My advertisement was posted on an e-mail list for scrapbookers of color. I had several potential respondents contact me. One scheduled interview I had to cancel because of car trouble and was never able to reschedule. Several respondents were

interested but never scheduled the interview. I personally contacted scrapbookers of color whom I knew but had no luck gaining participants this way.

I recruited Mormons for inclusion in this study because Latter-day Saint's (LDS) beliefs are credited with helping to increase the popularity of scrapbooking. Genealogy work is religious duty for members of the LDS church. Mormons research their family histories in order to obtain the names of their ancestors so that they can be baptized and receive salvation in the spirit world (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2010a). Moreover, LDS members (at least women) are encouraged to keep family histories in photo albums, scrapbooks, and books of remembrance and personal journals (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2010b). My sample was religiously diverse. Though I did not specifically target other religious groups, I did end up with a surprisingly diverse sample as described in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF RESPONDENTS

Religion	N
Agnostic	2
Catholic	4
Interfaith[a]	2
Jewish	4
LDS	8
None[b]	4
Pagan	1
Protestant[c]	13
Total	38

[a]Interfaith includes Unitarian Universalist.
[b]None includes no answer.
[c]Protestant includes Baptist, Christian, Methodist, Nazarene, Presbyterian, and Southern Baptist.

I based social class on education and income. My respondents were overwhelmingly middle class to upper-middle class. Every respondent had at least some college education and the majority had completed a college degree. Eighteen respondents had a Bachelor's degree, one had

an Associate's degree, 11 respondents had a graduate or professional degree, and eight had some college but no degree (three were currently students).

Of my 10 respondents reporting a household income of less than $39,999, five were currently students. Eleven respondents had household incomes of between $40,000 and $79,999. Eight respondents had incomes of between $80,000 and $119,999. Five respondents had incomes of between $120,000 and $159,999. Two respondents had incomes higher than $160,000. Two respondents did not disclose their income. I conducted the interviews with both respondents who did not disclose their income in their homes. Based on the homes and the neighborhoods they lived in, I think it is safe to say that these respondents had incomes on the higher end of the spectrum. For example, one respondent lived in a neighborhood where homes were being advertised for sale in the upper $300,000s. One reason for the lack of social class diversity in my sample could be where my sample came from. Most of my respondents shopped in local independently owned scrapbook stores (LSS) or were referred by somebody who did. It could be that scrapbookers with lower incomes are less likely to shop at an LSS because they believe it is too expensive compared to shopping at a craft superstore such as Michaels® or Hobby Lobby® or at a store such as Wal-Mart® or Target® (a few respondents discussed LSS as more expensive). Moreover, LSS are located in areas where the population can support them, and this was true of the LSS in Atlanta—they were all located in areas that are economically prosperous.

Economically, my sample reflects the readership of Scrapbooking.com[20] (2010). Ninety-two percent of their readers earn incomes above $26,000 a year. Over a third (31 percent) of their

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[20] Scrapbooking.com receives 350,000 visitors per month and over one billion hits per year (Scrapbooking.com 2009).

readers earns $86,000 per year or more. Campbell (2005) suggests that it is members of the middle-class who are most likely to be crafters and in particular, professionals, who have seen their work deprofessionalized and increasingly controlled through bureaucracy. In other words, my sample may reflect the reality of who scrapbooks in terms of social class.

Twenty-seven respondents were employed (19 worked full-time and 8 worked part-time). Eleven were not employed or seeking employment. Interestingly, one respondent, was retired from her full-time job and currently worked as an Inspired Stories consultant but marked that she was not employed on her demographic survey suggesting that being an independent consultant is not work at all and at the very least is not her career.

Demographics of Family and Friends of Scrapbookers

Six of the 10 family or friends of scrapbookers that I interviewed were either married or partnered to the scrapbooker. One was a friend, one was the scrapbooker's 10-year-old son, one was the scrapbooker's mother, and one was her mother-in-law. Two respondents in this set of interviews were gay or lesbian. There was only one black pair of respondents in this group, while the rest were white. All respondents except the college students had household incomes of at least $40,000. They ranged in age from 10 to 65 with a mean age of 36.6. All had at least some college except for the child.

How Many Scrapbooks

At the end of the interview, my respondents who were scrapbookers completed a survey (see Appendix F) about how many scrapbooks they have completed, how they organize their scrapbooks, and the topics of the scrapbooks. I had respondents complete the survey after the interview to avoid bias in the interview itself.

Respondents were asked how many scrapbooks they had ever completed, how many they had completed in the past two years, and how many they had completed in the past six months. Asking about two separate points in time allowed me to see how their interest in the hobby has grown or declined[21] and how recently they have become involved in scrapbooking. What this question ultimately does is give some idea as to how many scrapbooks my respondents report having completed or have in progress. Some respondents specified whether their scrapbooks were digital or traditional. A few respondents do both kinds of scrapbooking. My respondents completed a total of 476 scrapbooks with a mean of 12.86 scrapbooks each and a range of 1 to

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[21] This is not a true indicator of how their interest has grown or declined because I have no way of knowing how much time they spend on a scrapbook page. For example, over the course of an hour, one scrapbooker might complete several scrapbook pages, while another person does not even complete one page. The scrapbooker who completes several pages may have been thinking about how he or she would scrapbook those pages over a few days. The scrapbooker who has not completed even one page, may only now begin thinking about how to scrapbook the page. Scrapbooking is like baking. One person might bake six cakes in one day and another person might bake one cake. The six-cake baker might be using a box mix and the one-cake baker might be baking from scratch. Which baker is more serious or spends more time baking? Unlike baking, a scrapbook might never be considered complete or it might be considered complete today but tomorrow, the scrapbooker goes back and changes something or adds a page to the album.

75.[22] In the previous two years, respondents completed a total of 149 scrapbooks with a mean of 4.03 scrapbooks each and a range of 0 to 19. Four respondents had not completed a scrapbook in the past two years. In the six months prior to our interview, respondents completed a total of 54 scrapbooks with a mean of 1.54 scrapbooks each and a range of 0 to 5. Eight respondents had not completed a scrapbook in the six months prior to our interview. The majority of respondents are active scrapbookers. Also, just because a respondent stated they had not completed any scrapbooks in the past six months or two years does not mean that they are not scrapbooking; it just means that they have not completed an album.

INTERVIEWS

In-depth interviewing allowed me to gain access to multiple perspectives in order to provide the richest detail possible about the meaning(s) of scrapbooking (Weiss 1994). In-depth interviewing accomplishes the following: considers the meanings people give to the subject, connects these meanings with the informant's behavior, and involves interpretation (LaRossa 1989). I obtained permission from my respondents to use a digital voice recorder to record the

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[22] If a respondent gave a range, I took the mean as the correct number. If a respondent specified 0.50 or the mean contained 0.50, then I rounded up to the next whole number. If a respondent specified "more than N," I used N. One respondent simply responded "many" for the number of scrapbooks ever completed. I entered the number they had completed in the last two years here because many could mean something different to every respondent. I had not asked respondents to tally up the number of scrapbooks ahead of time so most were estimating (this was especially true for respondents who had made scrapbooks as gifts or who were interviewed outside of their home and could not go count their albums).

interviews. From the recordings, I produced verbatim transcripts of approximately 16 of the interviews and then hired a transcriber to transcribe the remaining interviews. I listened to each recording along with the transcript once it was returned to me to ensure accuracy. This way I was able to familiarize myself with the transcript, correct errors, and embed the photographs of the scrapbook pages (more on this below) into the transcript.

Photo-Elicitation Interviews

Part of my interview with the scrapbookers and the entire interview with family and friends of scrapbookers involved photo-elicitation interviews (PEI). PEI is a qualitative methodology where photographs are used to "expand on questions and simultaneously, participants can use photographs to provide a unique way to communicate dimensions of their lives" (Clark-Ibanez 2004:1507). In this research, the photograph was the scrapbook page or album cover rather than individual photographs. PEI was used to unearth anything that remained invisible on the scrapbook page. PEI is useful to gain more information than a word-only interview could gain because the photographs (and in this case, scrapbook pages) can spark memories that otherwise might remain hidden (Blyton 1987; Clark-Ibanez 2004; Gold 2004; Harper 2002; Samuels 2004) and contested versions of what really happened in the photographs can be explored (Twine 2006).

Advantages of PEI are that respondents often respond to photographs without hesitation and with little concern for the interviewer's presence, and are more comfortable in the interview setting (Schwartz 1989). Using PEI helps illuminate how scrapbook pages, like the photographs they typically contain, can have multiple meanings (Clark-Ibanez 2004). Using the scrapbook pages in the interview provided richer and more meaningful data than viewing the scrapbook pages alone could provide as Collier Jr. and Collier (1986) suggest photographs do in a PEI.

PEI is not without its disadvantages. Tension could have resulted between the scrapbooker and the family member or friend being interviewed about the scrapbook if disagreements about meaning occurred. Another challenge of using PEI is that the respondents may need to be convinced that the researcher does not necessarily understand what is going on in the photograph (Harper 1998; Prosser and Schwartz 1998) and in this case the scrapbook page. I anticipated that this might be particularly problematic because many scrapbookers intend for the scrapbook page to stand on its own without any oral narrative as is common with conventional photograph album viewing. My concern was unfounded as many respondents did not intend for their scrapbooks to stand on their own without an oral narrative. Other respondents did intend their scrapbooks to be viewable without them, but I found that they often told me more of the story than was preserved on the scrapbook page or they did not care if the viewer got the same thing out of the page that they intended. Another limitation of using photographs (and scrapbook pages) is that it raises issues of privacy and confidentiality because the people in the photographs have not granted permission to me to analyze their images (Dowdall and Golden 1989). They might not even know that their image is in anyone's scrapbook.

I requested that my respondents who were scrapbookers select 10-15 of their scrapbook pages that they felt were representative of what they scrapbook and 5-10 scrapbook pages that they felt were atypical. Most respondents asked me what I meant by representative or atypical. I told them that the terms mean whatever they thought the terms meant but also told them that atypical could include subjects they do not normally scrapbook or techniques they do not regularly use. Every scrapbooker shared her or his scrapbooks with me and allowed me to photograph the pages we discussed. The scrapbookers showed me a mean of 40.35 pages with a range of 1 to 149. Very few specifically identified pages they felt were truly atypical. Sometimes

I would observe something on a page that seemed atypical compared to the other pages they showed me and would ask them if they felt it was atypical. I anticipated studying 600-1,000 scrapbook pages, but was shown 1,493 scrapbook pages. Some pages were discussed in great detail and others were discussed very briefly. I let my respondents show me however many pages they wanted rather than cutting them off after a predetermined number of pages had been discussed. Most of my respondents seemed genuinely grateful to share their scrapbook pages with somebody who was truly interested in seeing them and hearing about them (more on this later), though some seemed skeptical as to why anyone else would be interested in their scrapbook pages.

I photographed every scrapbook page shown to me by my respondents. We first discussed the pages and then at the end of the interview, I photographed the pages we discussed. If I also interviewed a family member or a friend of the scrapbooker, then I would conduct that interview before photographing the scrapbook pages.

Rather than analyzing these photographs separately from the interviews, I embedded the photographs in my transcripts so that I could study the scrapbook pages within the context in which they were discussed. The photographs provide a visual record of my respondents' words. Future research could include developing a sampling procedure to analyze the photographs separately from the transcripts.[23] The photographs are not reprinted in this dissertation because

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[23] Other concerns about analyzing the scrapbook pages independently of the transcripts are determining the unit of measurement. Does an album cover count as a page? Should a two-page layout count as one unit or two units? Moreover, some of the scrapbook pages are incredibly difficult to read without the oral narrative as they only make sense to the scrapbooker. These

my informed consent does not allow sharing the photographs of the scrapbook pages with anyone except my dissertation chair.

I planned to interview scrapbookers and their family members or friends separately and successfully did so part of the time. Honesty is risked in conjoint interviews and anonymity is risked in separate interviews (LaRossa, Bennett, and Gelles 1981). One family member was 10-years-old and his mother remained in the next room and came in during the interview. I was not going to prevent her from being near her son during the interview if that was what she wanted. Other respondents might have gone to the next room but continued listening; they might shout out something to remind the family member what was happening on a scrapbook page being discussed in the interview, for example. Two scrapbookers were present for the entire interview with their family member. In one of those interviews, the family member was also present during the scrapbooker's interview. At the beginning of this interview, the scrapbooker stated that she had nothing to hide from her mother and that they are very close so she was perfectly comfortable with her being present during the interview. The other interview where the scrapbooker was present for the family member's interview was a mother-in-law—daughter-in-law pairing. Of the 10 interviews with a family or friend, only two were conducted completely alone. I do not believe that the lack of separate interviews is a detriment to this research due to the nature of the study. I was not asking family or friends how they felt about their loved one's scrapbooking but asking them to report on what was happening on the scrapbook page. The goal

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pages are also taken out of context. I may have only been shown one page from a four page spread so the page may be incoherent on its own but make complete sense in the context of the other pages.

was to see whether they would describe the scrapbook page similarly to how the scrapbooker had. I wanted to know if the scrapbook page could tell the complete story[24] or not and if the page triggered memories for them that were different than the scrapbooker's memories.

During the first few PEIs, I adhered to the interview guide (see Appendix E) but found difficulty keeping respondents focused on the questions I had prepared because they wanted to just talk about their pages. I began just letting my respondents tell me about their pages. I would ask probing questions periodically and refer to the interview guide for questions that had not yet been considered. It felt very much like they were sharing their scrapbooks with a friend but I was also reminded I was still the researcher when I would be asked "do you need to see more pages?" Furthermore, I would sometimes have to move the interview along if they began to show me what seemed to be every scrapbook page they had ever made.

GROUNDED THEORY METHODS

I used grounded theory methods (GTM) described by LaRossa (2005) to analyze my data (GTM were first developed by Glaser and Strauss [1967]; see also Glaser [1978]; Strauss [1987]). I did open coding, axial coding, and selective coding until I reached theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation means no new insights are being generated by the analysis of additional data. The goal of GTM is to build theory from data rather than to test theory.

I coded each segment of text.[25] Some segments were only a few words and others were several sentences in length. Most segments had multiple codes. By code, it is meant that each

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[24] Though it seems unlikely a scrapbook could tell a complete story, the industry encourages scrapbookers to journal on their pages instead of only including photographs so that the story is more complete and can be understood without an oral narrative.

unit was labeled with a code that indicates the meaning of the data in order to develop concepts (Charmaz 2006). According to LaRossa (2005:841), "a *concept* is a symbol or conventional sign attached to a referent."

Through memo-writing, the researcher not only identifies concepts and variables, but also, interrogates the concepts and variables by asking questions (Charmaz 2006). What do the variables mean? What are the indicators from the transcript that led to the emergence of this concept, which in turn, lead to the development of this variable? By reading and rereading the transcripts, indicators, concepts, and variables are linked and the building blocks of theory develop.

During open coding I used memo-writing to keep track of the emerging variables. Variables are created by arraying two or more concepts and may be discrete or continuous (LaRossa 2005). *The degree to which time is thought to be a scarce resource* is a continuous variable that emerged. This variable is suggested by the indicator "whatever pocket of time I can get" leading to the concept of *pocket of time*. *The degree to which time is thought to be a scarce resource* is also suggested by the indicator "before you know it, they're [your child] 9.5 months old." This indicator implies the concept of *time moves fast*. Time is perceived as a scarce

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[25] I used Qualrus[TM] to help organize and code my transcripts. Though Qualrus[TM] is capable of suggesting codes as it learns how the user codes, I did not use this function. Qualrus[TM] allowed me to code segments of the text and type up memos attached to these segments. I read through each transcript repeatedly until no new codes appeared. I then was able to print out a file that contained all segments and memos that had the same code. From here, I edited and revised my memos.

resource because people's lives are busy with many obligations leaving only "pockets of time" for things such as scrapbooking and young children move from one stage to another much more rapidly than older children or adults leading parents in particular to view time as moving fast. Having only pockets of time not already committed and viewing time as moving fast can cause a person to believe time really is a scarce resource. Alternatively, this means that for some, time is not a scarce resource. Time could be abundant for some. The unemployed or child-free may view time as more plentiful and less scarce than others. Those who are both employed and have children may view time as scarcer than others.

A discrete variable that emerged is *types of time*. This variable includes the following concepts: wasted time, valued time, scrapbooking time, work time, flexible time, rigid time, family time, "me" time, and real time. An indicator of both *work time, scrapbooking time,* and *free time* comes from the following statement from one respondent: "I worked in an office job, so it just made sense to do it at night after dinner and just to relax." This statement was in response to the question as to when she scrapbooked. Scrapbooking is something done separately from work, during the free time during the evenings. In this way, scrapbooking time and free time could occur during the same time period. Moreover, both free time and scrapbooking time occur separately from work time in this example. Another type of time, *family time,* was indicated by statements such as "but I stayed home with him a lot this week because he had surgery, so I felt like we got our good *mommy time* in so I was ok doing this [attending an in-store crop]." Here, family time is seen as separate from both work time and scrapbooking time despite the fact the subject of the scrapbooks is this scrapbooker's son. For this respondent, scrapbooking about family was not the same as spending time with family. Moreover, family time was further specified as mommy time suggesting different types of family time. Other

scrapbookers, however, did see scrapbooking about family members as spending time with family. Most often, this conceptualization occurred when the family member was deceased. During open coding, I also axial coded because each coding process is not a distinct stage in GTM.

Axial coding can best be described as identifying how the variables are related to one another. In other words, the researcher develops hypotheses during axial coding, with theory being viewed as a set of interconnected hypotheses. Strauss and Corbin (1998:126; see also Strauss 1987) list the following tasks essential to axial coding: (1) identifying properties and dimensions of the category, (2) identifying the conditions, actions, and consequences of the category, (3) relating the category to its subcategories, and (4) using the data to relate categories to one another. To illustrate, examine the following segment from one transcript:

> **Interviewer**: Scrapbooking has increased in popularity in the last 10 years, why do you think this is?
>
> **Respondent**: …I also think this is more psychological than I guess, I really I am not a psychologist, but **the world has gotten much faster in the last 10 years**, **things are happening**, it is the microwave theory that **instant gratification**, I think it provides **a slowdown** and I can realize that from myself where I am **constantly on the move** and it allows you the ability to appreciate what you have done, so **it provides that slowdown** even if it is **just an hour a week** that you can look back and take a deep breath and be calm and then look through what you have done and just kind of smile **in the haste of everything going on in the world**, so...

This segment helps answer the question of *why* is time viewed as a scarce resource. The world has gotten much faster in the last 10 years (time moves fast), things are happening (busyness),

instant gratification (time moves fast), slowdown (time moves fast), constantly on the move (busyness), it provides that slowdown (time moves fast), just an hour a week (pocket of time), and in the haste of everything going on in the world (time moves fast and busyness) are all indicators (concepts in parentheses). Time is viewed as a scarce resource because time is perceived to go by more quickly than in the past. Scrapbooking provides a slowdown in contrast to fastness, instant gratification, and haste. Scrapbooking can be accomplished with just pockets of time (just an hour a week), implying that the rest of one's time is otherwise occupied, which is suggested by constantly on the move and things are happening. Scrapbooking time then is slow-paced. In contrast, the rest of one's life (e.g., work time, family time) is fast-paced. When time is viewed as scarce, it is also viewed as moving fast. When time is viewed as abundant, it is viewed as moving slow.

During selective coding, the researcher focuses on one single variable referred to as the core variable. The core variable should be central, occur frequently in the data, relate to other variables, imply a more general theory, move the theory forward, and allow for maximum variation (Strauss 1987; Strauss and Corbin 1998). It is from this core variable that the core story is shaped (LaRossa 2005).

The core variable is *scrapworthy*. Every other variable is shaped by whether or not it is scrapworthy. For example, a ticket stub to most scrapbookers would be considered scrapworthy. A ticket stub serves as an indicator for the concept of symbol because the ticket stub symbolizes an event the scrapbooker attended. Alternatively, nonscrapbookers may throw away a ticket stub seeing it as nothing more than a piece of paper used to gain entry to some past event but does not actually symbolize the event or any memories from the event. Physical items are defined by

scrapbookers as either scrapworthy or not. Scrapworthy items are saved and added to scrapbooks.

Moreover, scrapbookers' lives become structured by scrapbooking; therefore, they are living in a world where nearly everything is potentially scrapworthy. An abstract concept such as time becomes scrapworthy. *A pocket of time* could be used for many things, but scrapbookers will use these fleeting moments to scrapbook defining *a pocket of time* as *scrapbooking time*. They also will combine various types of time with scrapbooking so that they can accomplish multiple tasks at once. For example, one respondent typed up journaling while at work and emailed it to herself to scrapbook it at home. Here she combined both *work time* and *scrapbooking time*. Though her primary task was work, she thought of what she wanted to journal so she typed it at work and emailed it to herself so she would have it when she could devote her time solely to scrapbooking.

Alternatively, the core variable could have been *scrapbooking norms*. Saving a ticket stub (indictor) to use as a symbol (concept) could have been considered a scrapbooking norm. Attending a crop is also a scrapbooking norm. Instead of thinking about how time gets defined as scrapworthy, instead I could have focused on under what conditions a scrapbooker might choose to partake in the norm of attending a crop and how this norm came into existence in the first place. Though these indicators and concepts point to the variable of scrapbooking norms, it was discarded as a core variable because it lacks "clear implications for a more general theory" (Strauss 1987).

Scrapworthiness works as the core variable because it helps illuminate not only how things and memories become scrapworthy but also how scrapbooking comes to structure people's lives. Lives become scrapworthy as a topic but also become structured by the hobby.

The scrapbooker thinks about scrapbooking even when not physically compiling a book, as is later explained.

Scrapworthiness is not just about scrapbooking. This research shows how a leisure activity structures people's lives. The leisure activity could be anything, as other scholar's suggest (see Gillespie et al. 2002; Stalp 2006a; Stebbins 1982; 1992; Wheaton 2000). Moreover, what things become scrapworthy are those things that scrapbookers assign value to and make an additional effort to remember. Their medium is scrapbooking but, as discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, these stories could be passed down orally or recorded in a blog. Scrapworthy, then, is that which is considered memorable or can be used to spark a memory. Scrapbooks are compilations of scrapworthy items that are used as memorials about an individual person or family. This dissertation is the story of scrapworthiness.

CHAPTER 4: THE SCRAPBOOKING THOUGHT COMMUNITY

We think as individuals, but our thoughts or way of thinking are structured by the thought communities to which we belong (Zerubavel 1997; see also Mannheim 1936 [1929]). Scrapbookers are one such community. Most scrapbooks are thought of as being created by an individual most of the time. By talking about the ways in which scrapbookers are helped in their scrapbooking, it is possible to learn from where the sources of scrapbooking norms come.

Respondents rarely acknowledge receiving help scrapbooking when asked directly, but they did mention throughout the interview how others help them (e.g., posing for photographs). My respondents interpreted the question as if I were asking if they had help in creating the actual scrapbook page, rather than did they get help before the construction of the page. Sometimes their friend or family member that I also interviewed talked about how they had helped the scrapbooker even after the scrapbooker had insisted they never had help.

Scrapbookers receive help in their scrapbooking in several ways. Husbands watch children so their wives can scrapbook. Family members, friends, and children's teachers email digital photographs to parents and send printed photographs home with children for their parents. Others take photographs for the scrapbooker so that the scrapbooker's image can be in the scrapbook. Some of these people work on improving their photography skills for the benefit of the scrapbooker. Family and friends consent to have their photograph taken for the scrapbook. Family members provide financial resources so the scrapbooker can buy supplies (most often husbands but also parents of college-aged scrapbookers). Family members also purchase scrapbook supplies as gifts for the scrapbooker. One respondent's mother (who lived in another part of the country) buys her supplies she cannot find in Atlanta and ships them to her. Children (and others) save mementos for the scrapbook (e.g., art projects or programs). Scrapbookers find

support through receiving general encouragement (e.g., "can I see your scrapbook?") and when partners and children go shopping with them for scrapbooking supplies. Scrapbookers more actively solicit help in some instances. They ask others to write journaling or corroborate their memory for their journaling, label photographs for the scrapbook, and proofread journaling. Though rare, the scrapbooker may have someone else complete a page for their album. At crops, scrapbookers often ask for input from scrapbooking peers for ideas or techniques to use on their own pages. In other words, most scrapbookers do receive some form of help—some more than others—with their scrapbooking. Help from others is also done in more recognizable ways: through reading books and magazines about scrapbooking, using the internet for scrapbooking tips, watching scrapbooking television shows, and taking classes on scrapbooking. Importantly, scrapbookers insist, by and large, that they do not get help from others even when they obviously do receive some help.

SOURCES OF SCRAPBOOKING NORMS

Very few industry workers read magazines or idea books, visit chat rooms or message boards, or watch television shows devoted to scrapbooking with any regularity. Scrapbookers, however, do read magazines (and often subscribe to them) and idea books. Some use message boards but rarely if ever, visit scrapbooking chat rooms. Some watch television shows about scrapbooking. In particular, shows on QVC where the purpose is to buy product rather than simply learn technique, were most frequently cited.

The Internet

Industry workers do not regularly visit internet chat rooms or message boards devoted to scrapbooking talk. Industry workers visit these places if somebody directs them to read a particular thread or to solve a scrapbooking problem. Industry workers visit for specific reasons,

and not to build any sort of community or camaraderie with other industry workers or scrapbookers. In fact, industry workers are typically discouraged from visiting online scrapbooking forums because the people making comments are described as often being very catty and negative in unconstructive ways. One industry worker said that it is mainly the really devoted scrapbookers who spend a lot of money on the craft that are commenting in the chat rooms—such a small group that she should not concern herself with their opinions. In contrast, the owner of Posh Scrapbook Supplies owns and operates a message board for scrapbookers of color. She started the message board so that her customers could communicate with one another because as an online retailer, her customers were not going to meet one another any other way.

Scrapbookers also rarely visit discussion forums about scrapbooking. Several respondents had no idea they even existed. The internet is used primarily to share their own work, for ideas for their own pages, to come up with ideas for pages through scrapbooking challenges issued online, or to research scrapbooking products prior to purchase. A couple of respondents regularly upload copies of their pages to share with online communities via online galleries[26] or their personal blog. Though scrapbookers generally avoid discussion forums, some read blogs about scrapbooking or listen to podcasts about scrapbooking. Only one respondent visits discussion forums with any regularity—several times a day—but he works for a scrapbooking manufacturer and visits for his job.

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[26] There are many websites that exist where scrapbookers can upload their pages to share in what are called online galleries. Here scrapbookers can receive comments from other scrapbookers about their work.

Idea Books and Magazines

Scrapbook magazines are read religiously by some; while others do not even remember what they subscribe to because they do not read it as often as they receive it. Some never purchase or read scrapbook magazines, while others do only occasionally. Scrapbook magazines are used similarly to the internet discussion forums. Magazines are used for ideas, inspiration, scraplifting,[27] challenges, and getting a different perspective. Since my interviews took place, the scrapbook industry's magazine category has declined like the magazine industry as a whole due to fewer advertising dollars to subsidize the magazines for consumers. Several magazines have folded, reduced their number of issues, or have went exclusively online eliminating their print version altogether.

Industry workers are much more likely to purchase and read scrapbook idea books compared to scrapbookers. This makes sense because they are more devoted scrapbookers and therefore, are more willing to spend the extra money for an idea book. A magazine may only cost $4 while an idea book may run closer to $20. Scrapbookers, too, would rather spend their scrapbooking budget on actual supplies rather than idea books or magazines. Moreover, industry workers are more likely to be familiar with specific scrapbooking designers and want their latest books. Idea books are written by individual scrapbook designers, are collections of reader submitted content based around a certain theme or technique, or are produced by a manufacturer and showcase how their products can be used.

Employees at The Scrapbook Chain are the only industry workers that are so encouraged to read scrapbook magazines that they are given a subscription as their holiday bonus each year.

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[27]Scraplifting refers to copying the scrapbooking design of another.

The magazines, in particular, are designed to sell more scrapbooking products. Both idea books and magazines list the manufacturer of every product on scrapbook pages published in the magazine. The advertising is so pervasive that it often goes unrecognized by the reader. One respondent who is an Inspired Stories consultant regularly reads the magazine her company published (publication ceased in 2009) instead of other magazines because she thought the other magazines were just too full of advertising despite her company's magazine exclusive use of Inspired Stories products on their pages.

Scrapbooking Celebrities

Several scrapbook designers who have their work published in idea books are celebrities within the scrapbook industry. Most respondents did not talk about how the celebrities influence their own scrapbooking but one industry worker talked about how her scrapbooking is guided by the scrapbooking philosophies she has learned from a couple of scrapbooking celebrities via their blogs, idea books, and magazine columns. Other industry workers make it a point to mention that they do not purchase idea books just because it is by a particular designer (in contrast to those scrapbookers who do).

Only a handful of respondents mention scrapbooking celebrities at all. One respondent talked about how all the celebrities were at Creating Keepsakes University when she attended and how she was the teacher's assistant for one of these celebrities. Another respondent talked about one of the celebrity's scrapbooking philosophies and how that applied to her own work. By having celebrities such as Ali Edwards discussing how she does not always use acid-free materials, it validated this respondent's choice not to exclusively use acid-free materials. It is really only the more devoted scrapbookers who discuss scrapbooking celebrities at all, let alone actually look to them for guidance.

Scrapbooking on Television

Very few industry workers watch any television shows about scrapbooking. I was told that reruns are all that is being shown and that the channels that had carried scrapbooking television shows had moved onto the latest craze of home renovation and house flipping. For the most part, scrapbooking television is watched when a person is bored, out of curiosity, to learn new techniques, to get ideas, or because the scrapbooker is shopping for supplies (e.g., QVC). Only a couple of respondents ever watch with any regularity and they no longer did because they no longer receive the channel that carries the shows or the shows are no longer airing.

Beginning scrapbookers are more likely to watch scrapbooking shows on television than more experienced scrapbookers. Those who watch scrapbook-related television point out that they do not watch because the target audience seems to be beginners so they did not get anything out of it. Viewers are also turned off by the cost of the projects shown on television as being out of their reach economically or for being too tedious.

A couple of respondents do not watch scrapbooking-related television but they do view videos online or videos that come with their scrapbooking magazine subscription. In particular, one industry worker views videos online that manufacturers uploaded to YouTube after the Craft & Hobby Association's annual tradeshow. This way she is able to learn about new products without having to attend the annual tradeshow.

Scrapbooking Classes

Industry workers and scrapbookers occasionally take classes on scrapbooking in order to learn more. The Scrapbook Chain actively encourages its employees to take any of their free classes that they offer. At City Scrapbooks, employees can take their classes for the price of the materials used in the class.

Several respondents took beginning scrapbook classes or learned about scrapbooking during at-home parties which are often arranged in a class format. Even more advanced scrapbookers, took classes, with a couple respondents having attended Creating Keepsakes University. Some did not take classes before they began scrapbooking but did so when the time came to do a more complicated or more important project (e.g., a heritage album[28]).

Industry Workers

Industry workers can be considered as one scrapbooking thought community. Industry workers are encouraged to learn more about scrapbooking. They are allowed to take scrapbook classes for free or at cost and given scrapbook magazine subscriptions or at the very least, encouraged to flip through the magazines while at work. Industry workers are expected to be knowledgeable about scrapbooking. They have to attract customers and convince customers to buy their product. Industry workers typically do not have any formal training regarding scrapbooking. Regardless, industry workers believe that customers perceive them as the experts—customers come to scrapbook store employees to solve their problems or get help with ideas.

Industry workers are hired because they are not only knowledgeable about scrapbooking, but also passionate. Most scrapbook stores do hire non-scrapbookers, but only under certain circumstances. For example, a potential employee may not scrapbook but does other paper crafts (e.g., handmade card making or altered books). An employee may not have much experience in scrapbooking before they are hired. I had only made a couple of scrapbooks before I was hired in the industry and looking back at those albums, they are more like "glorified" photo albums than

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[28] A heritage album is a genre of scrapbooking chronicling one's ancestors.

scrapbooks as I currently understand them. I had the basic knowledge and the desire and ability to learn more. Passion is important, too, because as one respondent states "you don't get paid a whole lot and it's a lot of work."

Industry workers work at convincing others to become scrapbookers and to buy more scrapbooking supplies. Classes and crop time are offered so that people make their scrapbooks, but in the process buy more. Scrapbookers do not need more supplies unless they actually use what they have. Though sales are important, relationships with customers are emphasized by both local scrapbook store workers and independent consultants. These relationships are thought to be critical for the businesses that are not chains or big box stores because they typically are not able to compete with those retailers on price. A few industry workers, ironically, consider themselves not be sales people. They do not like to push product on people. In this way, industry workers can be cognitive deviants as members of the "sales people" thought community and "scrapbook industry" thought community.

Industry workers, such as scrapbooking celebrities, are a source of scrapbooking norms while other industry workers are simply the messenger of these norms. Industry workers, however, do have control over what products they sell and in this way influence what ultimately is considered scrapworthy. They also influence what people scrapbook through their reactions and interactions with customers to topics scrapbookers may consider scrapworthy but the industry worker does not. For example, industry workers recounted stories about some of the stranger scrapbooking topics customers had come in with, such as a story about a customer who did a page about things the person's dog ate. Because I did not formally observe the way in which industry workers interact with customers it is difficult to know what influence they have on customers, but from my informal observations as an industry worker, it is safe to say that they

do have some influence. Scrapbooking customers, then, are a scrapbooking thought community somewhat separate from the scrapbook industry workers thought community.

Scrapbooking Manufacturers

Scrapbook manufacturers are a source of scrapbook norms in two main ways. First, they work at getting customers to purchase their products by emphasizing their superiority over other products. Second, they make available the products for the themes and subjects that they think are scrapworthy, thereby communicating to scrapbookers what is and is not scrapworthy.

Inspired Stories is known for emphasizing their products over their competitors. Their style of scrapbooking is distinct among scrapbooking in an effort to maintain customer loyalty. They further maintain customer loyalty by planting seeds of doubt over the quality of competing products when consultants are encouraged to emphasize the testing that all Inspired Stories products go through.

Scrapbooking manufacturers are a source of scrapbooking norms in that they make products that are to memorialize mainstream culture and in the process, communicate what is and is not scrapworthy. Scrapbooking products emphasize white, heterosexual, English language, and Christian themes. A scrapbooker may be able to find non-English language stickers and papers online and perhaps one or two options in a brick and mortar scrapbook store. Most likely, the scrapbooker will not be able to find any scrapbooking supplies of people of color at a brick and mortar store. For example, stickers of people are almost always of white people. Embellishments about love relationships are always heterosexual in nature. One company has introduced a line of embellishments of people that are silhouettes. This way, scrapbookers of color would be able to use stickers of people that are not obviously white. Moreover, most religious scrapbooking products reflect Christianity and not other religious traditions because the

bulk of the scrapbooking industry is controlled by members of the Church of Jesus Christ Latter-day Saints.

The lack of diversity among scrapbooking products is not lost on scrapbookers. For example, one lesbian respondent mentions how irritated she gets when she picks up a sheet of stickers about love and inevitably there is a sticker that says "the man I love." Overall, scrapbook products reflect a very traditional view of America. I have never seen scrapbook stickers about step-parenthood or step-siblings. Products about multiples (i.e., twins, triplets) or adoption do exist but are difficult to find offline. Arguably, no one needs any of these products to actually create their scrapbook and tell their story, however, the fact that these products rarely, if ever exist communicates to scrapbookers who belongs to the scrapbooking thought community and who does not, whose lives are scrapworthy and whose are not, what is worth memorializing and what is not.

Other Sources

My respondents rarely learn about scrapbooking purely from industry workers or avenues controlled by industry workers (e.g., scrapbooking-related television or magazines). Most scrapbookers learn about scrapbooking initially from a family member or a friend. Occasionally, this friend or family member invites them to an at-home scrapbooking party. The source of entrée into the thought community is typically reflected in their scrapbooking style. Those that enter through an at-home party, tend to scrapbook in that style, for example.

Other scrapbookers are a source of norms beyond just introducing the hobby to others. Other scrapbookers provide feedback and ideas directly and indirectly (e.g., sharing a scrapbook with a new technique causes the viewer to then want to try that technique).

As I discuss elsewhere, popular culture is referenced on scrapbook pages. Popular culture is scrapworthy itself or is used as inspiration on a page. For example, popular movie titles might be used as titles of scrapbook pages. Other respondents talk about how they even got ideas for their pages from non-scrapbooking advertising in terms of design. Sources of scrapbooking norms are varied and most are industry driven. Now, I discuss the norms found amongst my respondents.

SCRAPBOOKING NORMS

Scrapbooking may not have rules like other leisure activities, such as sports, but that does not mean there are not norms. Scrapbooking norms can be grouped into a few categories: purpose of scrapbooking, viewing the scrapbook, and telling the story.

Purpose of Scrapbooking

Scrapbooking is many things to many people and has varied purposes. Overall, scrapbooking is relaxing and a fun way to archive one's memories for future generations and spend time with others. Not all people scrapbook for these reasons, but most do at least some of the time. I discuss each of these reasons and a fourth category, other purposes that respondents mention. When asked what they would tell new scrapbookers, my respondents said they would caution new scrapbookers to focus on why they are scrapbooking rather than getting hung up on all the scrapbooking paraphernalia. Scrapbooking has several purposes, but also it can be thought of in terms of what it is not. In particular, it is not a competition, which I later discuss.

It's relaxing and fun. My respondents discuss how they had fun scrapbooking. It was an enjoyable hobby and made them happy to do it. For some, this was the only reason they scrapbook. Others consider their hobby an addiction or a passion (more on this later in the chapter). Many view scrapbooking as a way to express their self or use it as a creative or artistic

outlet. Finally, my respondents emphasize that scrapbooking is not supposed to be stressful, but was supposed to be a stress reliever. For those finding scrapbooking to be stressful, they should take a step back and figure out why. Scrapbooking, then, is another example of a leisure activity that is used to reduce stress (Iwasaki et al. 2006).

It's for the future. Most scrapbookers have the future in mind when they are scrapbooking. For some, a primary goal of scrapbooking is so they will not forget what happened in their lives as they grow older. They want to remember the good times, their family, and what's important. The future is also thought of in terms of future generations. They want to leave a legacy and want to pass down their stories. Part of this legacy involves learning about one's own family history, so genealogical research occurs. Industry workers in particular emphasize that scrapbooks are for the future. If they are only for the scrapbooker, then there is little reason to make sure one uses archival materials. Scrapbooks may memorialize the past but they are for the future.

Even among respondents who emphasize their scrapbooks are for the future, rarely exclusively use archival products and they typically mention how they did not care if others receive the same message they intend in their scrapbooks. It seems there is a contradiction among many scrapbookers in that they say one thing, but then do another that does not always support what they say.

It's social. Scrapbooking is a way to spend time with others. Others may be physically present so that time is spent scrapbooking with them or they may only be present on the pages and in the photographs. A couple of respondents talk about scrapbooking as a way to spend time with deceased loved ones and how scrapbooking helped the grieving process.

Scrapbooking brings people together. People who otherwise have nothing in common, have common ground (and something to talk about) in scrapbooking, just as quilting (Doyle 1998) or knitting (Potts 2006) brings otherwise dissimilar people together. Though most of my respondents do not crop with others, those who do emphasized the importance of the social aspect of cropping. One scrapbooker began attending crops after the death of her boyfriend as a way to meet people. Scrapbooking also brings people together over shared memories within the pages of a scrapbook.

Other purposes. A few respondents mention other purposes of scrapbooking, too. Even though most of these purposes are mentioned by only one or two respondents, through my work in the industry, I have observed other scrapbookers emphasizing these reasons, too. One purpose is just to organize one's photos and memorabilia and nothing more. Once these things are organized, they are done scrapbooking.

Respondents also talk about how scrapbooking is a process and that the process was the purpose. They use scrapbooking as a way to work through emotional issues. Similar to scrapbookers, Stalp (2006b:120) finds that while non-quilters focus on the finished product—the quilt, her respondents (quilters), focus on the "process of quilting." Non-scrapbookers focus on the finished product, while scrapbookers focus on the process. This is one reason why scrapbookers rarely even look at their albums or are not as upset if an album is lost. For example, one respondent lost an album of about 50 scrapbook pages. She says "it wasn't as devastating as I thought because I did it all with my mom and the process was already kind of done."

Another respondent put it best: "scrapbooking is about heart and soul. The pictures are the heart of the album and the journaling is its soul." In other words, the purpose of scrapbooking can be an abstract state of mind rather than a purely functional means to an end.

Though none of my respondents talk about scrapbooking for charity, this does occur, especially among crop attendees. Local scrapbook stores almost always offer at least one crop a year with the express purpose of raising money for charity. *Scrapbooks Etc.* (Meredith Corporation 2010b) sponsors Scrap Pink, a yearly crop event put on by local stores and groups to raise money for breast cancer. Creative Memories® teams up with an organization for several years at a time to raise money for that organization. They sell scrapbook products that are priced higher than the other products with the price difference going to the chosen organization as a donation. Chosen organizations typically have something to do with memory. Creative Memories® is currently teamed up with the Make-A-Wish Foundation® and in the past has teamed up with the Alzheimer's Association®. Though scrapbookers may raise money for charities through scrapbooking, I have never observed people scrapbooking for charitable reasons first and foremost, like knitters have been known to do (see Potts 2006).

A sense of community. Scrapbookers are united with one another through their common interest even when they otherwise have nothing in common. Scrapbooking can be a bridge to connect people immediately. For instance, one industry worker got her job in the industry when she began dating her boyfriend because his mom owned a scrapbook store. When she met his mom, they had an immediate connection through scrapbooking and she happened to need another employee. Industry workers also report that their customers sometimes become their friends. Direct sellers typically rely on their friends to be some of their initial customers, but customers of all industry workers may begin as customers and then become friends.

Many scrapbookers seek out a community of other scrapbookers. This is one purpose of crops, which I later discuss. Scrapbooking communities do not just exist in real life but also exist online. The increase in popularity in scrapbooking coincided with the explosive growth of the

Internet. Some scrapbooking communities only exist online. One industry worker began a message board for her customers of her online business so that they could gain a sense of community (as they might get from a brick and mortar store).

It's not a competition. Industry workers argue that scrapbookers are not competitive (in contrast to society at large). They say that scrapbookers should not compare their pages with one another as if in competition. One industry worker, however, did mention that instead of focusing on who has the better scrapbook page, the focus is on "look how cute my kids are"—this is still competition.

Scrapbooking may not be competitive like a sport in that competition is typically woven throughout the activity, but like mushrooming (Fine 1998) there are definitely some competitive elements to the hobby and industry. At crops, there might be a prize at the end of the night for the scrapbooker who completes the most pages. At scrapbook conventions, there might be page competitions that visitors can vote as to which page they like best. Submitting a layout for publication is nothing but competition. The winners might not win a prize, but they do earn status, and are one step closer to being selected to be on a design team and potentially making a living at scrapbooking. One industry worker actually found himself on this path. He was working in a scrapbook store and was designing for a small scrapbook company. One of his designs got picked up for commercial distribution and then picked up by one of the magazines. He now works full time for a scrapbooking manufacturer as an education manager.

Competition is used to get people interested in the hobby. One scrapbooker mentions how her children created scrapbook pages of a particular event and everyone that participated voted on which page was the best. Her children do not normally scrapbook, so by making it a game, she was trying to get them interested in scrapbooking.

None of my scrapbooker respondents submit layouts for publication. A few said they had been told by others that they should but they had not yet or that they were planning on it. Most never even considered it or realized that is something people did. A couple of respondents do submit layouts for other competitions but none had yet won.

Idea books, magazines, scrapbooking classes, and the like would not exist unless scrapbookers believe they could improve on their scrapbooking. Helfand (2008) rightly points out and criticizes this contradiction in that scrapbooking as a hobby is meant to be for the individual. If this is the case, than concern with the audience both seems and is out of place.

Even though there are competitive elements within the scrapbooking thought community, there is a pronounced de-emphasis on any competitive elements. When respondents are asked what a not-so-good scrapbook looked like, they have difficulty answering the question. Most often, they feel uncomfortable judging others' work because it is so subjective and they are just happy if others are scrapbooking. One respondent says that "it's 100 percent subjective." I asked her what her rules would be to judge a scrapbook. She says:

> My rules, that's a horrible way to think because if somebody takes the time to glue some
> pictures down and write about them, you shouldn't minimize that. That's awesome
> because a lot of people talk about it and never do it.

Most respondents say something along the same lines: it is so important to them that other people do this that they do not want to minimize that or in any way discourage them by judging the quality of the finished product.

There of course are noticeable exceptions. For example, one respondent believes her scrapbooks are good compared to others because she has an advanced degree in design. She believes that if others had this specialized training, they too would produce good scrapbooks. She

goes on to say it is not that they are not good, just not good in the same way. Good then, depends on the educational background of the scrapbooker. Color is one aspect of good design and respondents mention that being color-blind might be a hindrance to scrapbooking for this reason. The idea of good and bad scrapbooks also varies depending on the scrapbooking thought community one belongs to. For example, one respondent says that my sample scrapbook was not a good scrapbook because it was not in the Inspired Stories style.

Good scrapbooks are not just about design. Other scrapbookers equate the amount of time spent on a page as indicative of how good the page is. This measurement is in direct contradiction with scrapbook competitions that focus on the quantity of layouts a scrapbooker completes during a crop session rather than the quality of layouts. Scrapbooks also are judged differently depending on the purpose of the album. Scrapbooks compiled without such abstract concepts as thought or creativity are thought to be not-so-good. Good scrapbooks effectively communicate the message of the scrapbooker (though not all scrapbookers are concerned that others receive the same message they intend). The message can easily get lost for example, if a scrapbook page is "too busy."

Beginning scrapbookers have the most difficulty articulating what a good or bad scrapbook looks like. This was partly because they have not yet been socialized within the scrapbooking community but also because they often do not know other scrapbookers. They have nothing to compare their own work to and no idea if their work would be considered good or not. This isolation is further illustrated by more advanced scrapbookers because many of them flat out say that their early scrapbooks were examples of not-so-good scrapbooks. Here, scrapbookers see their style progress from bad to good over time. In sum, scrapbookers may deemphasize competition within the hobby, but there are definitely competitive elements that

exist and scrapbookers can choose not to participate in the competition and still participate in scrapbooking.

Viewing the Scrapbook

According to Ott et al. (2006:25) "no scrapbook can present meaning without the collaboration of a reader, yet no reader (aside from the scrapbook maker) knows enough to interpret any scrapbook authentically and definitively." Though industry workers may intend for scrapbookers to create scrapbooks that can stand on their own, most scrapbooks do not and require the collaboration of its maker in order for the viewer to fully understand what is going on in the scrapbook. Scrapbooks are regularly shared with others and this is most often the only time the scrapbooker looks at her or his completed work. Scrapbookers share their scrapbooks (and their stories) with nearly anyone who is interested: friends, family, co-workers, therapists, and other scrapbookers.

One respondent reports, the only family member who seems to really enjoy looking at her scrapbooks is her mother because she is also a scrapbooker. It is difficult to know if her mom would be less interested if she were not a scrapbooker, too. Scrapbookers anticipate that people whose memories are also preserved in their scrapbooks would take an interest in the books. Another respondent made an album about a trip she had taken with a friend and notes how "she's never even asked me to see the vacation scrapbook and she was on the trip!" Partners can also be a source of appreciation. Other's lack of appreciation is explained by their upbringing. One respondent said her husband's lack of appreciation was due to his family growing up with little money and the fact they did not take photos very often while he was a child. This respondent goes on to discuss the difference in appreciation based on gender: "the women in the family (who are all scrapbookers) are all involved and excited and we look at each other's scrapbooks,

we talk about it, we go scrapbook shopping." Another participant points out two groups that she expects to be uninterested in her scrapbooks: people outside the immediate family and non-scrapbookers; however, another respondent sees his friends as being more appreciative of the scrapbooks than his family because his friends are in his books more than his family (his family lives several states away).

Only one respondent says that his scrapbooks are for adults and not for children. He is the only respondent who does not use page protectors and points out that his books are not for children to look at so (and the page protectors would intrude on his design), the page protectors are unnecessary. Unlike adults, however, children look at scrapbooks repeatedly. Respondents with young children (pre-junior high age) talk about how their children look at the scrapbooks over and over again. Some scrapbookers also share their layouts online, posting them to their personal blog, sharing them with an online community of scrapbookers, or submitting them to more public scrapbooking galleries for strangers to view, too. Overall, scrapbooks are not shared very often—not because they are too private, but because scrapbookers do not find many people are interested in looking at the books. Interestingly, scrapbookers rarely look at their own scrapbooks either.

For most scrapbookers, the only time they look at their scrapbooks is if they are sharing them with others. Some mention looking at their album to get ideas if they are currently working on their scrapbooks. Even when scrapbooks are looked at, every scrapbook is not viewed. It would be safe to say that at most, each scrapbook album the scrapbooker creates is looked at once or twice a year. Only a couple of respondents mention looking at their scrapbooks multiple times a week. Even when viewed, scrapbooks are rarely viewed in their entirety. For instance, the viewer may not read the journaling.

Through sharing their scrapbooks with others, scrapbookers shape how others interpret the narrative contained in the scrapbook. Scrapbooks, then, are a source to help illuminate sociology of perception. A sociology of perception refers to "[t]he way we perceive things is often influenced by the way they are perceived by others around us" (Zerubavel 1997:23). How the narrative is understood varies depending on if the scrapbooker is present during the viewing of the scrapbook. Moreover, the scrapbooker actively shapes other's perception of the scrapbooker and her or his family through selectively choosing what to include and exclude in the scrapbook.

Telling the Story

Scrapbooks contain narratives about the past. These narratives to some extent "must be fictionalized in order for us to make sense of our lives … in order to survive" (Mavor 1997:115). Scholars note how people omit negative memories from their photograph albums (Holland 1991), so it would be easy to assume that scrapbookers do the same. Industry workers emphasize that every scrapbooker should be truthful in their scrapbooks—that honesty matters. Being truthful includes scrapbooking the good and the bad and being careful with editing the story. Cropping a photograph might change the story the photograph tells, for instance. Scrapbookers often cut out objects that were not the focus of the photograph, but those objects may provide context, telling a more complete story. The point is that scrapbookers do strive to tell a truthful story. The story may not be "the truth" but it is "their truth;" outright dishonesty is rare. Lies of omission are quite common and scrapbookers have various reasons why some things are not scrapworthy, but truthfulness is held out as a norm among scrapbookers.

Scrapbookers are to varying degrees truthful in their scrapbooks. One respondent censors the copies of the heritage album she is creating for her brothers because she does not think they

would understand the whole truth. She says she does not lie but "tells the most positive truth" she can. No other scrapbookers talk about censorship in this way, even when they did censor their books. For example, one respondent is careful about scrapbooking nudity so as not to raise the suspicion of child protective services.

Lies of omission can be as minor as only taking pictures of buildings and statues when on vacation. One respondent says, "I can't stand people who travel and don't ever take any people pictures; it's like, wasn't there any people on your trip?"

Non-scrapbookers overestimate the amount of lying and editing that takes place in scrapbooks. One respondent recounts how her son was crying for his picture with the Easter Bunny and her dad was like, "oh, I guess you can't scrapbook it." She did scrapbook it and thought "why wouldn't I?" Though critics of scrapbooking and of snapshot family photography (Holland 1991), are right to criticize the ability of the scrapbooker or family archivist to edit the story, they overemphasize this point.

Scrapbookers are storytellers and they make decisions every step of the way to direct the viewer's focus. Scrapbookers are attending their world, or mentally focusing their mental horizon towards the scrapworthy. Zerubavel (1997) argues that mental horizons include everything we perceive. Everything we ignore is outside of our mental horizon and is disregarded as unimportant. The story, then that is told by scrapbookers is shaped by their mental horizon. Though scrapbookers come to see everything as either scrapworthy or not, they still had a perspective on the world prior to becoming a scrapbooker. Scrapbookers belong to multiple thought communities and each of these thought communities influence their scrapbooking. As I discuss earlier, being part of the American thought community, for example, shapes what is

considered not scrapworthy. The following discussion focuses on how scrapbookers shape the stories in their scrapbooks, thereby shaping the mental horizon of viewers of their scrapbooks.

Photo editing is one way that scrapbookers edit the story and in extension, the truthfulness of the scrapbook. The focus is also shaped through the title, journaling, and embellishments. Some scrapbookers include few, if any embellishments because they feel it distracts from the story they are telling.

Photo editing. Photographs are edited from the beginning—when the photographer decides to take a photograph something remains unphotographed—to the end—when photo-editing software can be used to improve photo quality or cut out undesirable elements (people or things). Photographs are further edited through the selection of choosing which printed photos to include in the scrapbook and if any further editing should occur. Critics overstate the role of photo-editing in scrapbooking. True, photo editing software is used to "eliminate [everything from] red-eye to a deadbeat dad" (Helfand 2008:169), but my respondents report that most photo-editing involves the former (i.e. red-eye), and very rarely involves the latter (i.e., deadbeat dad). Moreover, should scrapbookers be held to a higher standard than professionals? Photo-manipulation is no longer just the domain of magazine or newspaper editors but also occurs in scientific journals (Wade 2006). The point is that published photographs are almost always edited and are taken for granted as "the truth," why not do the same with a scrapbooker's photographs?

Photo editing is an important part of the storytelling in scrapbooking. For example, cropping is used to direct the viewer's focus to what the scrapbooker feels is important. In other cases, a photo is cropped after it has been printed so that more photographs will fit on the scrapbook page. Here the issue is space, without intent of changing the story. Other times a

scrapbooker may crop a photograph to provide interest on the page. For example, a photograph may be cut into a circle or a triangle to break up the monotony of rectangles (the standard printed shape of photographs). Cropping may also be done to eliminate "empty space." Empty space most often is the background—the sky, water, or a wall—nothing of interest (i.e., white space).

Photo editing changes shape as scrapbookers become more experienced photographers and begin taking pictures with their scrapbook in mind. For example, a respondent mentions how she takes photographs differently by trying to eliminate as much "junk" (e.g., an empty potato chip bag in the background) from the image before even taking the photograph and discusses what she plans to do differently on her next outing (e.g., using an actual picnic basket instead of plastic grocery bags is better for the photograph). Here the editing begins before the photograph is even made. Some items cannot be removed from the view of the camera as one respondent reports regularly removing a facial mole from his face with photo editing software. Industry workers actually caution scrapbookers from cropping too many photographs or too much of a photo because things that seem unimportant now may be very important in the future (e.g., a painting on the wall at your grandparents' house seems unimportant in a photo of your grandparents now but later, that painting may serve as an important reminder of your grandparents).

Occasionally, photographs are edited as they are taken. One respondent's camera can merge two photos together. She showed me the resulting photograph. One click of the camera records her husband next to a sign and the next click records her next to the sign. The final photograph is of the two of them next to the sign as if they both really had been in front of the camera at the same time. Unfortunately, this camera setting is imperfect in that the merged

photos did not match up evenly so upon close examination, one can tell the photo had been edited.

Photographs are edited for artistic reasons, too. For example, one respondent tinted all of his photos from a trip to the beach blue to better go with the beach theme of sky and water. Photographs are edited, but rarely in ways to intentionally mislead the viewer. Photo editing is not the only editing that takes place. Occasionally, a scrapbook layout is redone.

Redoing the layout. Redoing a scrapbook page is rare. One scrapbooker talks about how she redid one layout three times before giving up on it. She does not redo layouts anymore. In this example, she redid the layout to get the look she wanted, not to edit the story at a later time.

A scrapbook page may be later edited to fix spelling errors or add details that are remembered later. Not all errors are corrected, though. For example, a respondent's father started a family tree and one of the birth dates was incorrect. She included this tree in the scrapbook, errors and all because her father created it. She then compiled an accurate family tree to also include in the book and wrote journaling about the original family tree pointing out the error. She did not think twice about not erasing what her dad had written and correcting the tree, but corrected it in a different way.

Another respondent talks about how she wants to redo one of the pages she showed me because she just does not like the colors. It is unknown if she ever did redo the page. Others talk about redoing a page that is falling apart; here they are repairing the page, not necessarily redoing the page. Though Goodsell and Seiter's (2010) respondent never redoes pages and is held out as the exception among scrapbookers, not redoing pages is standard practice. Redoing pages is very rare and when they are redone, it is typically for artistic reasons rather than to rewrite the story. The story is written with photographs, embellishments, and journaling.

Journaling. Journaling provides the context to the photographs. Many beginning scrapbookers do not include much journaling at all because they get so enamored with all the stickers, papers, and other embellishments the industry sells, that they do not yet see any value in journaling. Others do not know what to say in their journaling or are convinced that the pictures alone are all they need to remember what happened. Other scholars find that scrapbookers report that without journaling, they find scrapbooks less meaningful (Goodsell and Seiter 2010; Kelley and Brown 2005). In Goodsell and Seiter's (2010) study, they report that the woman increased the amount of journaling her scrapbooks contain over the years. I find a similar pattern, that the longer a person scrapbooks the more they journal and the greater importance they place on journaling. Even scrapbookers who see the value in journaling do not always provide much if any journaling on every scrapbook page. Scrapbookers often leave space to do journaling later, but they may not ever come back and fill in the space.

Respondents rarely suggest that a photograph could stand on its own and tell a complete story without any words, despite the common saying that "a picture is worth a thousand words." The addition of journaling communicates which of those thousand words are relevant. Signorile (1987) argues that what happens is that not only is a picture worth a thousand words, but that a word, then, is worth a thousand pictures. Moreover, "[w]hat cannot be put into words will ultimately prove to be meaningless" (Signorile 1987:287). In other words, without the words, the pictures become meaningless and without the pictures, the words become meaningless.

Journaling is done in one's own handwriting or typed up and printed out from a computer. Using one's own handwriting provides a personal touch (Kelley and Brown 2005). One respondent struggles with journaling because she does not like her handwriting. Part of the

problem here can be attributed to the scrapbooking magazines:

> **Respondent:** I don't write pretty, so I don't journal a lot.
>
> **Interviewer:** So if you wrote prettier, do you think you would journal more?
>
> **Respondent:** Probably. Probably, you know, I don't know if you get any of the scrapbooking magazines or not, but Ali Edwards [a scrapbooking celebrity] has some of the prettiest handwriting I have ever seen.

It is unknown how this scrapbooker felt about her handwriting prior to reading the magazines, but the fact that the magazines mainly show scrapbook pages with pretty handwriting is not helpful to her. Scrapbook magazines are like other women's magazines in that they hold out archetypal models for readers to aspire to and when women do not fulfill these expectations, they feel badly about it. Industry leaders argue that readers should treat scrapbook magazines like fashion magazines, use them for inspiration but do not let them prevent the reader from scrapbooking (Izzy Video LLC 2010).

Journaling is important because without the words or the context, your photographs are going to end up in a yard sale, according to one industry worker. She has old family photographs that are not labeled and says they are completely meaningless to her because she does not even know who the people are in the photographs.

At a minimum, most scrapbookers include the date (the photographs were taken) on the scrapbook page. Generally, the date is as specific as possible: month, day, and year (e.g., March 1, 2010 instead of Monday of the first week of March in 2010). At a minimum the year is either included on the page or is assumed because the page is in an album based on a specific year. In the case of holidays, the date usually is not included outside of the year (e.g., Easter 2010 instead of April 4, 2010).

A discussion of norms is incomplete without some discussion of deviance. Interestingly, the discussion of deviance is how scrapbooking itself is deviant rather than how individual scrapbookers are deviant scrapbookers. This is not to say that scrapbookers are never deviant because many are; the focus in this dissertation is simply how scrapbooking is conceptualized as deviant among scrapbookers.

SCRAPBOOKING IS DEVIANT

Scrapbookers and industry workers use a discourse commonly associated with deviance when discussing scrapbooking. Scrapbookers talk about how they are addicted to scrapbooking. Their scrapbooking supplies are their stash and sometimes their stash is contraband in their scrapbooking thought community. They are pushers, pushing scrapbooking onto others so that they too, become addicted. Moreover, like other deviant behaviors, scrapbooking has the potential to be stigmatizing. Finally, some scrapbookers scraplift—a scrapbooking behavior that straddles the line between socially acceptable and deviance.

Addiction

Newspaper reporters commonly describe scrapbooking as addicting[29] (Broili 2005; Burt 2005; Francis 2004; Gagnon 2004; Kelley 2005; Levy 2003; Nies 2004; Tayler 2004), an obsession (Brokaw 2004; Hennebury 2006; Sauer 2004), and a passion (Hennebury 2006; Johnson 2004). My respondents also use these terms when describing their or others relationship to scrapbooking.

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[29] Fifty-five percent of scrapbookers consider themselves addicted to scrapbooking (Kelley 2005; Prete 2005).

Some scrapbookers consider themselves addicted to buying scrapbooking product, scrapbooking itself, or both. Industry workers commonly come to work in the industry because they are able to get their supplies at a discounted rate as an industry worker. Industry workers often say that they began working in the industry because they "were always there [at the store] anyway …might as well get paid to be there [and] … get the larger discount."

Many scrapbookers become "hooked" on scrapbooking after completing one project. For example, a scrapbooker may intend to complete one and only one scrapbook and once it is completed, find other scrapbooking projects to complete. In this case, scrapbooking is what is addictive. Scrapbookers are neither the first nor the last hobbyists to describe or be described by others as addicted to their hobby. For example, Wheaton (2000) finds that windsurfers often describe their hobby as so addicting that they do not want to make other plans just in case it is windy enough to windsurf and Major (2001:24) observes that serious runners occasionally show "addiction-like symptoms" if the runner has missed a run.

Downs (2006:114) argues that scrapbook stores feed the addiction through issuing punch cards to encourage customer loyalty and to encourage "women to spend more money in order to receive a full punch," though scrapbook stores are neither the first nor the only type of business with customer loyalty programs. The scrapbook industry also encourages scrapbookers to conceptualize their hobby as an addiction by producing merchandise such as stickers (for use in a scrapbook) that proclaim "Addicted to Cropping" (Downs 2006) or through brand names, such as Stampers Anonymous, which sells a line of stamps. Scrapbookers describe their quest to get others addicted to the hobby. This seems to be especially true among respondents who have few if any friends who currently scrapbook, one respondent mentions how others refer to her as a "scrapbook pusher."

Are there people truly addicted to scrapbooking? Are there people who lose their jobs or family members because they simply are unable to stop scrapbooking long enough to keep them? Perhaps, but this seems highly unlikely. Being addicted to scrapbooking appears to be like being addicted to collecting other items. Belk (1995:141) argues that:

> for most collectors who describe themselves as suffering from a disease (a mania, madness, addiction, obsession, or compulsion), the use of such terms is only half-serious hyperbole intended to justify their ostensibly selfish and indulgent collecting behavior as something they cannot help.

In other words, considering scrapbooking as an addiction, allows a person to justify making purchases to support their craft or spending time on their craft. Hobbyists use the language of addiction because to participate in their leisure pursuit is a choice (Brackett 2000). Despite the lack of seriousness in considering scrapbooking as an addiction on par with drug, alcohol, or gambling addictions, considering it as an addiction serves to undermine the hobby. For instance, Doyle (1998) argues this characterization serves to undermine quilting as a serious leisure pursuit.

Stash

Stalp and Winge (2008) (see also Stalp 2006b) find that many handcrafters (e.g., needle crafters such as quilters, paper crafters such as scrapbookers, and others) refer to their supplies as their "stash." These handcrafters strategize collectively and individually to hide their stash from family members because non-crafters typically portray the supplies negatively (Doyle 1998; Stalp and Winge 2008). The negative portrayal stems from the fact that these supplies take up time, space, and economic resources independent of other family members. Stalp and Winge (2008:199-200) argue that "[h]aving a stash legitimates a handcrafter's identity, but often causes

tension with non-crafting others;" however, this tension does not cause the handcrafter to apologize for their hobby in any way. Handcrafters are like other hobbyists in either regard including Pez® collectors (Fogle 2003), romance fiction readers (Brackett 2000; Radway 1984), and dog sport hobbyists (Gillespie et al. 2002).

Depending on where one fits within the scrapbooking world, some types of scrapbook stash may be described as contraband. In particular, Inspired Stories consultants and scrapbookers refer to non-Inspired Stories products as contraband, illustrating how strong their message is regarding the inferiority of other manufacturers' products. To test the use of the word contraband among Inspired Stories style scrapbookers, I purposefully asked one of my respondents if there is contraband in her album after she mentioned occasionally buying supplies from Inspired Stories' competitors. Without hesitation, this respondent, said "yeah."

Stigma

Not only do handcrafters hide their "stash," but Stalp (2006a; 2006b) finds that quilters hide their identity as quilter from both family and friends and Simonds (1992) finds that women readers of self-help books prefer to read at home rather than be subjected to the scrutiny of their reading choice by co-workers and others in public. My respondents did not talk about hiding their identity as scrapbookers from others like quilters or self-help readers do. Perhaps this is because the nature of scrapbooking is that of collaboration. In particular, scrapbookers need others to consent to being photographed for the scrapbook. The nature of scrapbooking does not allow the scrapbooker as much ability to hide her or his hobby. Regardless, some respondents did talk about how scrapbooking can be potentially stigmatizing.

Women scrapbookers talk about how they thought men scrapbookers are stigmatized

negatively. According to one woman scrapbooker, men generally do not scrapbook because:

> it is the stigmas that people place on scrapbooking. That it's you know, you get taunted like, 'that's a girl thing.' It's just like if a guy knits, he is going to get labeled that he is gay or something if he scrapbooks. I think it's just the stigmas that we place on certain activities.

In my sample, the men scrapbookers were both straight and gay but they both scrapbook in different ways. The straight men either began scrapbooking as a way to spend time with their girlfriends or wives or compiled a scrapbook that was more like a photo album and less like a conventional scrapbook. None of the women in this study did this and consider it scrapbooking. In my sample, the men who create scrapbooks like women are gay. Importantly, straight men scrapbook like women, too, they just do not appear in my sample. For example, one gay scrapbooker had a straight male friend who scrapbooks like he does, but lives too far away for me to have interviewed him. The lack of men scrapbookers in my sample could speak to the stigma placed on them in that it prevents some men from scrapbooking in the first place.

Not only do stigmas potentially prevent some men from becoming scrapbookers, but women scrapbookers also talked about the stereotypes placed on them and scrapbooking and how they did not fit the stereotype of a scrapbooker. For example, a respondent says:

> I think that a lot of people view it as it probably was 20 years ago when it was just like moms and grandmothers doing a lot of like religious or stuff about babies and kids and using cheesy store bought stickers and papers, whereas there is certainly a new moment, if you want to call it that, or at least what I do, it's a more like personal. It's like a form of art journaling.

Here this scrapbooker discusses how scrapbooking has changed from what it once was (negative, old-fashioned, provincial) to something different (and improved, arty, cutting edge) and at the very least what she is doing is the latter. In other words, she does not fit the stereotypical image of a scrapbooker and neither do her scrapbooks.

It seems that those scrapbookers who are marginalized in some other way or who feel less welcome in the scrapbooking community are most likely to discuss how the hobby is stigmatized or how they are stigmatized. For example, one respondent talks about how her partner thought she was kind of nerdy for being involved in scrapbooking. The characterization did not, however, cause her to stop scrapbooking. Other respondents also mention others thinking scrapbooking is nerdy or quirky. Scrapbookers are potentially stigmatized for some of their scrapbooking activities within the thought community of scrapbookers or by outsiders using outside standards to judge scrapbooking. It is possible that the already stigmatized are more perceptive to others stigmatizing them for their scrapbooking compared to those who are not stigmatized in other ways.

Scraplifting

In academia, to copy another's words directly or to take another person's idea and fail to attribute it to its original author is plagiarism and can cause a person's career to be over or at least seriously damaged. In the world of film or music to take pieces of a film or song or do a cover of it could result in a fine or even imprisonment for copyright infringement. Scraplifting, however, is not against the law and most within the scrapbooking community do not even frown upon it. Several respondents showed me layouts that they scraplifted in one way or another. Scraplifting has not always been an accepted norm in scrapbooking (Fantin 2010), but today it is perfectly accepted if not encouraged by the industry. If scraplifting were punished, then the

scrapbook magazines and idea books would cease to exist. For scrapbookers, scraplifting is like using a recipe to cook with. Of course, one may deviate from the recipe, but you consult the recipe when necessary and some recipes are strictly followed. Also, like recipes from magazines, scrapbookers commonly rip out layout ideas they like to consult later when they are stumped. Moreover, many scrapbook classes are nothing but assembling identical layouts.

Scraplifting refers to taking someone else's layout idea and using it for your own scrapbook. The extent of the scraplifting varies. One respondent scraplifts most of her page layouts and only changes the content. The photograph(s), paper style, and embellishments are not the same as what is in the magazine but the design is typically identical. Each item is arranged in the same location as the layout in the magazine. Others may scraplift elements but not the entire design. In this case, they might decide to try out a particular technique or arrange a portion of their layout in a particular way after seeing someone else do it.

Not all scrapbookers (or industry workers) view scraplifting positively. One respondent uploads most of his layouts to his blog. He says he does not mind if others copy his layouts exactly, but he likes to know it was his original idea. Here, it is okay for others to scraplift his pages, but he prefers to not scraplift despite using idea books and magazines on occasion for inspiration. It is unclear, however, where inspiration ends and scraplifting begins. Another respondent reports that she does not like to resort to scraplifting because she believes she is capable of coming up with her own ideas because of her experience as an industry worker but scraplifts in an effort to complete more pages in a shorter period of time.

In addition to saving time, scrapbookers scraplift because they eventually run out of ideas "after doing so many pages about Christmas" or because they do not believe they are creative enough. In some instances, it is difficult to know if a page is scraplifted or not. Sometimes

scrapbook layouts look the same even when the scrapbooker has not scraplifted. For example, two respondents had a one-page layout with five photographs. Each photograph was of the towel animal that is left on a person's bed on a cruise each day. The pages are even laid out the in the same way with one photo in each corner and one photo in the center. In this case, the pages look identical despite not being scraplifted. Though scrapbooks may be done individually and without much influence from the scrapbooking industry, scrapbookers do draw on conventional notions about photography and therefore, scrapbooks come to look alike in some ways. Scholars (Klein 1991; Seabrook 1991; Spence 1991; Tabor 2002; Williams 1991) argue that despite the personal nature of photographs, family photographers tend to follow conventional norms in that the happy family is typically portrayed. Scrapbooks follow similar patterns.

SCRAPBOOKERS VIEW THE WORLD DIFFERENTLY

The sources of scrapbooking norms are varied and many. Respondents use the internet, idea books and magazines, scrapbooking celebrities, television shows, classes, industry workers, manufacturers, and their scrapbooking peers as sources of scrapbooking norms. Most respondents, however, say there are few, if any, rules of the hobby, though there are definitely norms related to the purpose of scrapbooking, viewing the scrapbook, and telling the story. Scrapbooking is also commonly discussed in terms of deviance. Scraplifting is deviant—at the very least—it is described with terms more commonly used to describe deviant (and illegal or immoral) behaviors (e.g., gambling, alcoholism). Scrapbookers are addicted to buying supplies to build their stash and are addicted to actually scrapbooking. They push their hobby onto others so that they can be addicted, too. Though my respondents are rarely stigmatized in anyway, they discuss how a person could be stigmatized and how some aspects of the hobby could be stigmatizing (e.g., using scrapbooking contraband or scraplifting).

Ultimately, once someone becomes a scrapbooker, they begin viewing the world through the eyes of a scrapbooker, as a member of the scrapbooking thought community—dividing their world up into the scrapworthy and the not scrapworthy. One respondent articulates this point:

> Like we used to go on vacations before my mom scrapbooked and we took very little pictures and now we go places just to take pictures [laughs]. It's so silly and like they—I don't know my brother and my dad—they're teasing us about it but they're really not teasing us—they're saying, 'I'm glad that you love us enough to take 5,000 pictures at Disney World®,' which we did. We took 5,000 pictures [laughs].

Because they are going to create a scrapbook about their trip to Disney World®, this respondent and her mom took many more photographs than they otherwise would have taken.

In another case, a respondent took steps to preserve her wedding bouquet in a way that she would be able to include portions of it in her scrapbook. If she had not planned on scrapbooking her bouquet she would not have taken care to preserve it like she did. Goodsell and Seiter (2010:23-24) also find this to be true in their study. They state:

> Occasionally a picture will seem posed, but Deborah insisted that she would not put a baby onto someone's lap to create a photo opportunity. Instead, she carried the camera with her so that she was ready when a particular moment happened.

Scrapbookers, like photobloggers[30] (Cohen 2005), become open to photo opportunities in their everyday life and now there is a place to showcase and share those photos. One scrapbooker is sure to throw her tiny digital camera in her purse when she wants to be sure she has one handy.

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[30] "Photobloggers are people who make photographs and post them on the web in the form of photoblogs or photographic journals" (Cohen 2005:885).

Another respondent, who only began scrapbooking nine months before our interview, was not regularly a photographer. She took pictures of special events but did not usually have her camera with her. She says:

> I am thinking about it more [taking her camera with her] than I would have been in the past like before I started scrapbooking. And when I think about it, all I think after an event is like, oh, I wish I had taken pictures. Now I think, okay, I have to remember to take my camera. And I might still not even remember to take pictures, but it still has changed my mindset somehow that I do think I am trying to keep a record of things that happened.

This respondent talks about how she tries to remember to take her camera with her more often especially for the things that are not as special (e.g., dinner with friends). Scrapbooking is changing her photography habits. Scrapbookers are more likely to carry their camera with them once they become a scrapbooker if they were not already doing so.

Not only do scrapbookers begin keeping their camera with them, but they begin staging photographs for the scrapbook. Even non-staged candid shots might be taken as a scrapbooker works through a mental checklist of photographs that should be taken to make a particular layout. To understand this process, I asked my respondents what they would include on a layout about a child's first birthday party. Most mentioned they would try to take the following pictures:

- Child eating cake (in particular, child with cake all over her or his face). This picture is such a common photograph that one respondent talked about how she had to stage a photo like this for her daughter's first birthday because her daughter wanted nothing to do with the cake.
- Child opening the gifts
- The gifts alone

- Everyone who was there

The first birthday photographs have been standard for a very long time. For example, one respondent who is in her sixties talked about her sister's first birthday cake picture when I brought up this question and suspected that her grand-niece's photos will be very similar.

Scrapbookers realize they are working through a mental checklist as they take photographs and mention that "it is a little over the top." Respondents mention how they would wait to take a picture until other people got out of the way and carefully compose photographs so that they do not have to later be cropped down (e.g., cut down) for the scrapbook.

Scrapbookers are also often on the lookout for scrapworthy objects. One scrapbooker included found items off the street, while most scrapbookers would consider these items to be garbage; they too, use many found objects in their scrapbooks (i.e., memorabilia). Even family members of scrapbookers begin seeing the world as a member of the scrapbooking thought community. One scrapbooker talks about how her son told the orthodontist that he wanted to take his braces with him after they were removed because his mom would want them for the scrapbook. She had not asked her son to do this but he was right, she ended up putting them in the scrapbook. Another respondent talked about how his partner was learning to take better photographs for this respondent's scrapbook. Not all scrapbookers begin viewing the world as scrapbookers where everything either is or is not scrapworthy, but most seem to at least to some extent.

Within the scrapbooking thought community, there are thought communities and these thought communities have their own way of thinking, too. A couple of respondents referred to Inspired Stories as promoting a particular way of thinking—referring to the company as a cult and cautioning new scrapbookers from getting "duped into their way of thinking."

Respondents talk about how their scrapbooking is influenced by the scrapbooking industry. One respondent explains how she tries to do more introspective pages after seeing those types of pages in the magazines. She says:

> But like some people I've noticed in scrapbooking magazine, some people will do a page like you know, why I don't get along with my mother or, you know, my sister had an affair with my husband and they'll talk about it. Because I tend to think about scrapbooking as about happy things, but it really is about your life, and on that one page, I did talk about how this was really a tumultuous year for our family. It is on my mind now and it's in my mindset that people are doing that, so I'll probably do that eventually will talk about some unpleasant experiences and stuff going on in my life that I'm willing to share.

Another scrapbooker regularly scraplifts layout ideas from magazines. Others talk about how they do things in their scrapbooks after learning about them in a class or at a crop with other scrapbookers.

Most scrapbookers view the world differently than they did before they were scrapbookers. Their thought process is shaped by the scrapbooking industry (i.e., internet, books, magazines, television, celebrities, workers, classes, and manufacturers) and by each other. Most scrapbookers resist the idea that there are rules of scrapbooking but identify several norms of the thought community. Scrapbookers not only come to view everything in their world as scrapworthy or not but take steps to make sure they can accurately record those moments that are scrapworthy (i.e., carrying a camera with them or working through a mental checklist of photos to take). Scrapbookers are like other hobbyists in that their participation in their chosen hobby shapes their lives. For example, Stalp (2006a:206) argues that once quilters came to identity as

quilters, "they began to think mostly in terms of quilting (e.g., their heads would swim with ideas for new quilts, they envisioned quilt patterns everywhere including in nature and architecture and they would solve problems with their quilts while engaging in other activities)."

BECOMING A SCRAPBOOKER

Though scrapbooking structures many scrapbooker's lives, it does not structure the lives of all people who scrapbook. Most of my respondents consider themselves to be scrapbookers and I refer to all of them as scrapbookers in this dissertation. Not all people who scrapbook, however, are scrapbookers. At least one of my respondents does not consider himself to be a scrapbooker. Future researchers need to carefully recruit people who scrapbook or have had scrapbooked rather than focusing solely on scrapbookers—that is, people who identify as a scrapbooker. Moreover, more research needs to be done regarding how one comes to identify as a scrapbooker and what this identity fully entails. I outline below preliminary research as to what a scrapbooking identity consists of through an examination of the pathway to becoming a scrapbooker and an industry worker.

Even for those scrapbookers whose lives are the most structured by scrapbooking, "the world does not center solely around leisure" (Kelly 1992:250; see also Kelly 1983). Scrapbooking, like other leisure activities, is contextual and relational. This is most clearly seen when one examines how people combine scrapbooking with other tasks such as scrapbooking while spending time with friends or family. It is naïve to think that the scrapbooking is a bigger priority over the other task that is accomplished at the same time. Both may be equally important or their importance may shift.

People become scrapbookers because they want to organize their photographs, they have been introduced to the hobby by a friend or family member, or they have experienced an

important milestone or transition in their life (e.g., parenthood, marriage, or retirement). Scrapbooking is increasingly becoming the norm for how photographs are organized—though many people keep their photographs on memory cards, computers, mobile phones, shoe boxes, dresser drawers, blogs, and conventional photograph albums. According to one industry worker, "people kind of think they're doing something wrong if they're not" scrapbooking their photographs. Not only is scrapbooking a way to organize photographs, but it is also a way to organize memorabilia.

Industry workers are in agreement that scrapbooking has become more popular because it is more accessible to people than it once was when it was not an industry. Moreover, the industry has grown so that there are multiple ways to scrapbook. There is something for everyone. A couple of respondents had been introduced to scrapbooking through an Inspired Stories party but did not like the look of that scrapbooking style. It was not until years later when they learned there were other ways to scrapbook that they became scrapbookers.

The Role of Guilt is Uncommon

Industry workers work to convince others that scrapbooking has value and is a fun hobby to do in order to sell scrapbooking products (and validate their own participation in the hobby). They guide potential scrapbookers to scrapbooking. One industry worker emphasizes that her role is to help people to scrapbook even if that means holding their hand to get it done. She says she helps remove the overwhelming feelings and guilt that many potential scrapbookers feel. Guilt, it seems, is something potential scrapbookers are thought to feel.

Though I did not ask my respondents specifically about the role of guilt as it relates to scrapbooking, very few expressed having any guilt or if they had guilt it was said tongue-in-cheek (e.g., mothers of more than one child kidded that their younger children had fewer

photographs and scrapbook pages compared to the oldest child because that is just what happens to younger children). Guilt prompted one respondent to create a scrapbook for her current boyfriend about their relationship because she had made one for her previous boyfriend (and the current boyfriend was aware of this fact). Even though she made her current boyfriend a scrapbook she still feels guilty because she was not able to do as elaborate of a first page for her current boyfriend as she did for her previous boyfriend due to constraints on her time. Guilt is also experienced through scrapbooking if it involves leaving the home in order to scrapbook. One respondent comments that she feels less guilty about attending an in-store crop because she had taken off of work earlier in the week and spent time with her son (she took off of work due to medical issues with her son, not just so she could scrapbook that weekend).

Guilt is expressed in unpredicted ways. For example, one respondent feels guilty about not including photos she has printed or supplies she has purchased because it seems wasteful to just throw them away. In fact many scrapbookers explain that items are included in the scrapbook because they just are there—they exist in their stash. In a culture where being wasteful is increasingly discouraged, throwing things out can seem wrong and can cause feelings of guilt if they are wasted.

People Become Scrapbookers Because…

Some people become scrapbookers because they are already doing related activities. For example LDS members keep journals as records of their lives as part of their religious practice. Scrapbooking is a natural extension of this activity. In fact, many manufacturers of scrapbooking supplies are companies owned and operated by LDS members. Others had worked on their school's yearbook, newspaper, or other school assignment and were introduced to principles of scrapbooking through that work. Another respondent learned about the hobby when she began

volunteering as the historian for a group she was a part of not having any idea what the responsibilities included. Through this activity, she learned about scrapbooking. Some respondents became scrapbookers because of their involvement in other crafts. Crafts are what they do, so naturally they would try scrapbooking just as they would try knitting or quilting. A common pathway to becoming a scrapbooker is completing related projects that draw on principles of scrapbooking, such as card making.

Instead of or in addition to people coming to scrapbooking through a related project, another common path is experiencing a life changing event. Life changing events include the birth of a child (becoming a mother or aunt, specifically), a wedding, an important vacation (e.g., a trip to Europe or an Alaskan cruise, not a weekend trip to a city one has already visited), one's child's high school graduation, one's own retirement, or a death of a loved one.

The birth of a child or a wedding can be thought of as the beginning of the family (Noble 2004) and is the event that propelled them into scrapbooking. The scrapbook then, symbolizes a break between "everything that happened prior to a given historical turning point from everything that has happened since" (Zerubavel 1998:317). In this way, the scrapbooker lumps together that which they were (child-free or single) from that which they are (a mother/father or wife/husband).

People, who become scrapbookers as a result of a life changing event or other reasons, do not necessarily jump right into scrapbooking. For example, one respondent had always kept photo albums and had been given supplies to start a scrapbook. She said the supplies sat in her closet for years before she finally started scrapbooking because she knew it could become very expensive. She credits getting a digital camera as being the impetus to start scrapbooking as now she "started taking way too many pictures" and she needed to do something with them.

For many respondents, their entrée into scrapbooking was a long time coming. Many had collected memorabilia or were taking lots of photographs throughout their life. They organized this stuff in various ways (e.g., magnetic albums) before discovering scrapbooking (and its archival properties, which magnetic albums lack) and began scrapbooking by redoing previously made albums.

People become scrapbookers as a way to spend time with their loved ones. Two man scrapbookers started scrapbooking to spend time with their partners who were already scrapbooking. They both scrapbook their own projects while their partners work on their own scrapbooks, too. Both respondents had only taken up scrapbooking within a few months of our interview and it is unknown if they came to take on the identity of a scrapbooker or if they continue to see it more as something to do rather than something they are.

Though scrapbooking with others is uncommon among my respondents, many respondents are introduced to the hobby through a friend, family member, neighbor, or even co-worker. They may not actually scrapbook with those people, but they spend some scrapbooking time with those people (e.g., talking about scrapbooking, sharing ideas, or shopping for supplies). Not all scrapbookers who were introduced to the hobby in this way, jumped right in. For example, one respondent had a co-worker that scrapbooks and she asked her to bring in her scrapbooks so she could see them. What really intrigued her was that this was a way to record her life now so that her future children could see what she did before she had children (she knew nothing about her own parent's lives pre-children, despite them being married for several years prior to her arrival). She is still somewhat apprehensive about becoming scrapbookers just because she thought it was kind of hokey. Another respondent comments how stupid she thought scrapbooking was when she first learned about it in her early twenties. Today she has an entire

room in her house where she only scrapbooks. Another respondent says she started scrapbooking because her mom is an Inspired Stories consultant, so she joked that she "had no other choice." She actually started scrapbooking in college when her mom introduced the hobby to her roommates (both of whom had mothers who had passed away). They were having fun with it so she decided to join them.

Most of my respondents do not watch any scrapbooking television, but one respondent actually became a scrapbooker because she saw it on QVC. QVC had programming about various scrapbooking products and she decided that scrapbooking is something that interested her. She started ordering products and became a scrapbooker this way.

Finally, people may scrapbook for a very specific reason and not consider her or himself to be a scrapbooker. One respondent created a scrapbook as a way to show people that he did have hair in high school (he began balding at age 19) and eventually his scrapbook about his LDS mission serves as a communication tool for others when he talks to them about his mission. This respondent does not consider himself to be a scrapbooker and refers to his box full of memorabilia and photos that will probably not be scrapbooked out of laziness as indicative of him not really being a scrapbooker.

There are many pathways to becoming a scrapbooker and not all people who ever create a scrapbook consider themselves to be scrapbookers. Moreover, scrapbookers have varying levels of experience and knowledge about scrapbooking. Scrapbooking plays a huge role for some and a minor role in other's lives. Similar to other hobbies, such as windsurfing, (Wheaton 2000), there are levels of scrapbooking: beginning scrapbookers and ongoing scrapbookers.

Levels of Scrapbooking

The *beginning scrapbooker* is just that, someone who has recently become a scrapbooker or who has never scrapbooked before in her or his life. Industry workers recognize beginning scrapbookers by the way their pages look. One industry worker says that "their first [page] always looks the same." One reason this may happen is if the beginner took a beginning scrapbook class. This is the scrapbooking television show's target audience according to my respondents. Interestingly, new industry workers report that they are more likely to work with beginning scrapbookers because the scrapbooker has not yet established a relationship with any of the other employees in the store. People creating only one project are almost always going to fall in the category of beginning scrapbooker.

Beginning scrapbookers can further be distinguished by age. A beginning child scrapbooker does not scrapbook in the same way that a beginning adult scrapbooker scrapbooks. One respondent introduced scrapbooking to her daughters as soon as they were old enough to do arts and crafts. Her pre-school aged daughter's scrapbook looked like the art of a pre-school aged child. Her school-aged daughter began scrapbooking the same way, but now takes it very seriously and now scrapbooks more like her mom.

Beginning scrapbookers serve as a reference point as to what a not-very-good scrapbook looks like. Many respondents exclaim "do you want to see one of my first scrapbooks?" when I asked them what a not-very-good scrapbook looked like. I did see some of the books and they always look different from later scrapbooks.

Beginning scrapbookers may add new techniques and knowledge to their repertoire of scrapbooking skills. Eventually, beginning scrapbookers progress to ongoing scrapbookers, marginal scrapbookers, expert scrapbookers, or quit scrapbooking altogether.

Most *ongoing scrapbookers* take on the identity of a scrapbooker. Ongoing scrapbookers may do the following:

- Try to get others to take up scrapbooking

- Use scrapbooking terminology (e.g., cardstock,[31] archival, photo-safe, journaling)

- View the world as a member of the scrapbooking thought community

- Seek out scrapbooking opportunities

- Think about scrapbooking even when not planning on scrapbooking

- Would rather be scrapbooking than doing almost anything else

- Are as likely to scrapbook the everyday in addition to events and holidays

- Shops for scrapbooking supplies just to see what is new rather than for a specific project

- Attends crops

Not all ongoing scrapbookers do everything on the above list, but most do some of the items at least some of the time. Ongoing scrapbookers may progress and become expert scrapbookers.

Industry workers are typically expert scrapbookers, though the two are not mutually exclusive. Scrapbookers who become industry workers, may not start out as experts but quickly become experts as is required of their job. As industry workers, these scrapbookers are expected to keep up with the trends by reading scrapbooking magazines, learning how to use the new products, and attending trade shows. Industry workers are experts, but their expertise may be very broad or very limited depending on where they fit within the industry. As previously noted, most industry workers had little knowledge of the competing thought communities (i.e., brick and mortar scrapbook stores, online stores, at-home parties). Expert scrapbookers are more likely

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[31] Cardstock is a heavier weight paper that is used as the base of most scrapbook pages.

to include cutting-edge scrapbooking techniques and supplies in their scrapbooks compared to ongoing and beginning scrapbookers.

Marginal scrapbookers are not necessarily marginalized scrapbookers (i.e., feel unwelcome in the thought community) but are people who are only marginally involved in the hobby. They have years experience as scrapbookers but have little knowledge about the industry. They may scrapbook very infrequently (a couple of times a year). They scrapbook what they have but do not seek out scrapbooking opportunities. Marginal scrapbookers tend to only think about scrapbooking when they are planning to or actually scrapbooking. Marginal scrapbookers are more likely to experience scrapbooking as an obligation or simply as one of many leisure activities they might choose among. These scrapbookers are more likely to discuss scrapbooking negatively in terms of others considering it a "nerdy" hobby. They also, more frequently, talk about the expense of the hobby. Marginal scrapbookers are event-based scrapbookers, though an event-based scrapbooker is not necessarily a marginal scrapbooker.

Expert scrapbookers may become industry workers, though some industry workers do not enter the industry as an expert. For example, one respondent became both a scrapbooker and an industry worker at the same time. She had seen a display by an Inspired Stories consultant and decided she wanted to remove her photographs from magnetic albums and put them in scrapbooks. Once she realized how many albums she needed to complete the task she decided to become an Inspired Stories consultant to get the product at a discount. Here, an industry worker was not an expert scrapbooker when she entered the industry but later became an expert.

Many industry workers are already customers of the business where they begin working. One respondent became an independent consultant, because the consultant she bought from

decided to deactivate.[32] Not all industry workers jump right into industry work. Scrapbook industry workers who own a business typically do more research to develop their business before opening up shop. The owner of City Scrapbooks says that not doing their homework first was one reason many scrapbook stores are not successful. Industry workers who became business owners typically leave other careers or are looking to be self-employed rather than looking for an employee discount. The owner of Posh Scrapbook Supplies had a somewhat different trajectory into business ownership. She had been teaching classes at her local scrapbook store before moving across the country. Her students were disappointed to see her go (good scrapbook teachers often get a following of students who take their classes just because they are teaching it regardless of topic). She started an online kit club so that way she could still provide her students with a version of her class through the mail.

Several of my scrapbooking respondents are also industry workers to one degree or another. I did not always know they also work in the industry until some point during our interview. Overall, at least seven of my scrapbooking respondents also work in the industry. In most cases, I did not ask them about their work in the industry so all references to industry workers exclude these scrapbookers unless specifically noted. Generally, these respondents enter the industry for the discount (i.e., independent consultants), because they are asked to make a

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[32] In the world of independent consulting, consultants do not quit and they are not fired—they deactivate. What this means is that they did not meet their sales quota for a specified time period. Most of these programs allow the deactivated consultant to reactivate for a fee.

scrapbook for another person (i.e., freelance scrapbookers), or they had are asked to teach scrapbooking classes or join the design team[33] at a local scrapbook store.

It is possible for an industry worker to earn a living at scrapbooking but this is rarely accomplished. Scrapbookers may become an independent consultant for the discount but find it difficult to make the minimum in sales and quickly leave the industry. Most industry workers work purely for commission as independent consultants or for roughly minimum wage as workers at local scrapbook stores. One respondent worked his way up from local scrapbook store worker, to member of a design team for a manufacturer, to eventually being employed full-time for a manufacturer of scrapbooking products. His story was the exception, not the rule. Most industry workers are only able to work in the industry because they either have other full-time jobs or partners that have incomes high enough to support their part-time work in the industry.

Most scrapbookers who want to earn money from scrapbooking want to do so as a scrapbooker rather than as a seller of scrapbooking supplies or educator about scrapbooking. A couple of respondents do some freelance scrapbooking. Their customers want a scrapbook for a particular event (e.g., wedding or recent death), do not have time to scrapbook but still want a scrapbook, or believe they are not creative enough to create a scrapbook themselves. Freelance scrapbookers can be paid very well for their work; they charge anywhere from $12-$20 per scrapbook page (not layout), which includes both parts and labor. A completed scrapbook album easily costs the customer several hundred if not thousands of dollars. Freelance scrapbookers,

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[33] Design teams help sell products by providing examples of how those products can be used. Design team members may be paid money, product, or only receive a discount on the product (including what they use for their designs for their sponsor).

however, did not find as much pleasure in scrapbooking for others even when they are paid well for it because they are not using their own photographs or memories. The photographs and memories are what bring people to scrapbooking in the first place.

CHAPTER 5: DOING GENDER, FAMILY, RACE, ETHNICITY, AND RELIGION

*"*That family album was a record of my accomplishments! It's like what a resume is for a man,*"* says Marge Simpson when the Simpson's family album is destroyed by fire. Daughter Lisa agrees with her mom and adds, "But we'll have to move on. It's not like we can restage all our family photos." In the next scene, Marge is seen restaging Bart's baby photos. This scene from *The Simpsons* (FOX Broadcasting Corporation 2007) illustrates how important family photographs are to women and mothers in particular. Scrapbooking is a site where not only is gender and family socially constructed, but so are race, ethnicity, and religion.

DOING GENDER

People use photography (Hollad 1991; Lustig 2004; Meredith 2000; Reiakvam 1993; Titus 1976), quilting (Bard 1998; Stalp 2006), at-home parties such as Tupperware (Vincent 2003), feeding work (DeVault 1991), and scrapbooking (Demos 2006; Downs 2006; Goodsell and Seiter 2010) to do gender, family, and motherhood.

West and Zimmerman (2002:4) provide an ethnomethodologically informed understanding of gender with their concept of "doing gender," which "involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures.' " Industry workers report that gender shapes the approach men and women take to preserving their stories. For instance, the owner of Scan Your Story finds that men, too, want their stories and photographs preserved, but they want their

photographs scanned so that the photographs are protected digitally.[34] Women are more interested in using their photographs to tell their stories and are not as concerned with protecting the photographs digitally. Men also prefer making photographic slideshows on DVDs rather than conventional scrapbooks. This is one explanation as to why there seems to be few men scrapbooking. It is not that men do not want to preserve their memories, but that they are doing so differently than women.

Though it is quite challenging to find men scrapbookers, those I interviewed scrapbooked differently than most women scrapbookers. Scrapbooking is gendered in that many more women than men do it, but there is variety in terms of scrapbooking styles among women scrapbookers and men scrapbookers; however, my sample of men scrapbookers is simply too small to draw any definitive conclusions.

The fact that women scrapbook and men—for the most part—do not, reinforces the perceived natural differences between men and women. Respondents think that women scrapbook because they have the time, energy, emotions, and personality to be scrapbookers. Women are thought to "need that community of connectiveness" that is obtained through scrapbooking according to an industry worker. Moreover, more women are drawn to scrapbooking than men because of the way men and women do relationships differently. Respondents said that men tend to compartmentalize their friends (i.e., work buddies, gym buddies, etc.) whereas women take a more holistic approach to friendships and that women need

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[34] Digital copies are thought to be more permanent than physical copies. A physical copy could be lost in a fire, but a digital copy stored online (and in multiple locations), is less likely to be destroyed.

these relationships more than men do. Ultimately, women often became scrapbookers during transitional periods in their life such as becoming a mother or a wife, whereas men scrapbookers did not become scrapbookers due to life transitions. It is possible that these life transitions are either not as monumental as they are for women or they are memorialized in some other way (e.g., men have bachelor parties before getting married to memorialize their transition from bachelor to husband). What is not acknowledged by my respondents is that women, for the most part, have always been the family historians (Holland 1991; Martin 1991). Women are already taking snapshots of the family and arranging professional photograph sessions for their children. Women are already compiling family photograph albums. If the scrapbook is replacing the family photograph album then it makes sense that women are the family's scrapbooker.

The gender gap lessens when the definition of a scrapbook is expanded[35] (Ott 2006), as my research demonstrates. Moreover, in recent years, the scrapbook industry has reached out to men in attempts to expand their customer base in a declining market (Crow 2007). One of the newest "scrapbooking celebrities" is in fact, a man, Tim Holtz, who has his own line of scrapbooking products.

Regardless of attempts to include men in scrapbooking, the industry still promotes traditional gender norms. For example, one respondent recalls reading a scrapbooking magazine article about how one should scrapbook little boy's pages differently than little girl's pages. In particular the magazine says that for boy's pages it is okay to use ribbon, but "resist tying a

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[35] Ott (2006:29) expands the definition of a scrapbook to include "laboratory books, ship and travel logs, science notebooks, newspaper clipping books about businesses" in addition to "conventional scrapbooks."

bow." A man scrapbooker thinks this is ridiculous especially once one considers the fact that every little boy has bows on his shoes (i.e., shoelaces tied in a bow). Gender plays a role not only in who scrapbooks but also how scrapbook pages get made depending on the genderedness of the subject on the page. Scrapbookers do things like use gender appropriate colors on scrapbook pages about girls (i.e., pink) and boys (i.e., blue). Captioned stickers are often gendered and may say things like "chick's rule" or "100% man."

Another way in which gender is done through scrapbooking is that the scrapbook industry is built around women either owning scrapbook stores (Downs 2006) or selling scrapbook products inside people's homes to friends and family as independent consultants. All of the industry workers in this study are women. In the case of the independent consultants, this makes sense because 86.4% of all (scrapbooking and other) independent consultants are women (Direct Selling Association 2008). In this sample, the independent consultants like that the work allows them a flexible work schedule so that they can still provide primary childcare and eldercare. Vincent's (2003:182) findings regarding Tupperware consultants, where being a consultant allows women to "organize their work around their other responsibilities" supports my findings. Downs (2006) finds that women scrapbook store owners do gender as part of their job by providing food, childcare,[36] holiday wish lists for husbands, and emotional comfort[37] to

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[36] Some scrapbook stores have areas in their store for children to play while their mothers shop. At the store I worked at, there was not a play area because it was a liability. Even though there was no play area for children, customers would sometimes leave their children under the care of an employee while they ran out to the car. When children were left in my care, the mother was

customers. Moreover, the success of local scrapbook stores is contingent upon the store owner's ability to do womanhood (Downs 2006). In other words, successful store owners need to be gender appropriate.

There are other aspects of the scrapbooking industry that really only work as long as the hobby remains the domain of women, and men remain marginalized. For example, scrapbook retreats involve communal bathrooms and shared sleeping quarters (Crow 2007). Even crops that do not require an overnight stay (i.e., in-store crops) are typically women's only spaces (Crow 2007). At scrapbooking conventions, the assumption that men do not participate is such a given that men's bathrooms are typically renamed women's bathrooms for the duration of the convention. Despite scrapbooking's reputation of being a women-only domain, approximately one million men completed a scrapbook in 2006 (Crow 2007).

Because crop attendees are primarily women, they are often called modern day quilting bees (see Chapter 6 for more discussion on bees). Industry workers comment that women's participation in quilting bees in the past is a reason women are drawn to scrapbooking today— quilting bees and crops fill a need women seem to have that men do not. Not only do women get something tangible out of a crop (a finished scrapbook) or a quilting bee (a quilt), but according

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typically on her way out the door when she asked if I could watch the child, assuming I was both willing and capable of caring for her child.

[37] I have helped customers pick out products to create scrapbooks to memorialize recently lost loved ones (people and pets), scrapbooks that are for potential birth mothers to look through to choose adoptive parents, and scrapbooks detailing chronically ill children and their Make-a-Wish® foundation experiences.

to one industry worker, these spaces give women the opportunity to complain about their husbands, their children, or their work. These "women's only" spaces serve a purpose for women. Only one of the men respondents had actively participated in the thought community as a scrapbooker in terms of attending crops. He talks about how he would be the only man at a crop among 500 women scrapbookers. What he finds is that women are especially interested in his scrapbooks because they wonder what exactly a man might scrapbook. He says:

> I think they expect it to be like all hammers and screwdrivers and you know I have probably more ribbon than a lot of women have in their scrapbooks and I have flower embellishments and I based it on the layout and the event, not on my gender.

On the lack of men involved in the hobby, another respondent who is a man states:

> It's a shame that more men aren't involved in the stories of their lives and maybe that's just a syndrome of many men that aren't involved in their stories of their lives as much as they should be, as much as they could be.

This respondent sees scrapbooking as a way to tell a story about your life and thinks more men should be scrapbooking. Moreover, he sees the lack of men scrapbooking as a symptom of men not being involved in their own lives.

Women, too, notice the absence of men in the hobby. The fact that scrapbookers are overwhelmingly women leads women scrapbookers to devalue and question their own participation in the hobby, especially for those scrapbookers considering themselves to be feminists.[38] In this way, gender inequality is maintained. One respondent discusses scrapbooking

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[38] Respondents were not asked if they considered themselves or scrapbooking to be feminist. They were not asked about feminism at all. Personally, I believe the most basic definition of a

as something she struggles with as a feminist and has discussed this struggle with a friend she was trying to get interested in scrapbooking. Her friend initially wanted nothing to do with scrapbooking because the friend thought it "put a woman back in her traditional position." Her friend, however, quickly became hooked on scrapbooking but still "thinks it's a little weird from a feminist perspective." She emphasizes that scrapbooking is feminist because it gives women the ability to tell their story.

It is women's memory dominating scrapbooks. As the keeper of other family records (e.g., addresses, birthdays, anniversaries), scrapbookers are recording the *memory* of the family. Kuhn (2002:14) asks, "whose memory is to prevail in the family archive?" Well, the scrapbooker's memory of course. It is easy to dismiss something as being contradictory to feminism because by and large women participate in it and men do not but it would be naïve to simply dismiss something as non-feminist just because more women than men do it as is seen with scrapbooking.

Journaling in a scrapbook is comparable to writing a caption to a photograph. Previous researchers point out that the person who writes the caption has quite a bit of power over the interpretations of the photograph (Chaplin 2005; Sontag 2003). Whoever constructs the family's scrapbooks has control over how the family is presented and what family stories are preserved. Scrapbookers are often the family's historians and as family historians, as noted by LaRossa (1995), they can dictate the stories told about their family. The scrapbooker in the family has the

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feminist is someone who believes in and supports equal rights for men and women. I purposefully leave the term undefined as it is highly contested.

power over the family's memories. This power can involve censoring or misrepresenting memories. In other words, scrapbookers have the power to control "others' access to information" (Zerubavel 2006:39), including memories.

In addition to giving women the power to tell the family's story, the scrapbook industry has catapulted many women into successful careers as store owners, manufacturers or designers of scrapbooking product, bloggers, and idea book authors. It is unknown however, what the gender split is throughout the industry in terms of who actually runs many of these companies. A woman may be the face of the company, but that does not make her the most powerful person in the company.

Regardless, women doing things men traditionally do (i.e., sports or work) are seen as potentially challenging patriarchy. In fact, a woman's mere presence in some areas within sport or work (i.e., those areas that have been almost completely absent of women) is seen as disrupting patriarchy. What about women doing things women traditionally do (such as scrapbooking)? Is it possible to disrupt and challenge patriarchy while doing traditional womanhood? Unlike feeding work, scrapbooking is not only for the family—it is for the scrapbooker, too and sometimes is not for the family at all.

My respondents made scrapbooking fit in their lives. For the most part, they did not scrapbook because they felt obligated to scrapbook as mothers, wives, or as female members of their family. Respondents scrapbook because they want to scrapbook. They scrapbook for themselves and most consider the albums their own rather than their family's albums. Perhaps it is because my sample had higher income and educational attainment than average that their experience as scrapbookers appears to be more empowering than oppressive. Female respondents with children may have had to go to a scrapbook store or have a husband commit to childcare

duties so that they could scrapbook, but they were able to get their husbands to do these things without argument. These women demonstrate how leisure can be something that women are entitled to (see Henderson and Dialeschki 1991) and scrapbooking just happens to be their leisure activity of choice.

Though men typically are not compiling a scrapbook that does not mean, however, that they do not contribute to the scrapbooks their partners compile. In cases where husbands control the economic resources, he influences the quality and quantity of supplies his wife can purchase. Importantly, none of my respondents say they did without because of lack of resources even when they depend on their husbands providing their scrapbooking budget.

Many respondents explain how they request input from their husbands in their scrapbooks. They request journaling from male partners, have them take photographs for them or collect memorabilia. The respondent who most successfully, obtains her husband's input on the journaling did so because they keep a family blog. He is much more likely to post on the family blog than sit down and type up journaling expressly for the scrapbook. This respondent regularly includes these blog posts in her scrapbooks; therefore, her husband does contribute to the family scrapbook.

DOING FAMILY

Though not all scrapbookers memorialize the family in their scrapbooks, scrapbooks are a site where people can do family. Previous scholars note the important role family photographs play in family life and I discuss in Chapter 8 scrapbooks as a source of a family's collective memory. Noble (2004) argues that a family's history exists primarily through photographs and the memories that are attached to those photographs. Beloff (1985) takes this a step further stating, that personal histories are actually validated by family albums. Not only do people do

family through their scrapbooks, but they transmit "family capital" through their scrapbooks. Goodsell and Seiter (2010:3) argue that scrapbookers are building "family capital," that is, "build[ing] a habitus in her children that is in line with what she [the woman in their study] considers to be a legitimate family type." Children gain competence in the family type they are raised in and privileged family types (i.e., white, heterosexual, middle-class), offers advantages to the children now and in the future (Goodsell and Seiter 2010). Drawing on Bourdieu (1996), Goodsell and Seiter (2010) argue that women are more likely to scrapbook than men because constructing the family is left to women. Not only do children learn how to do family through the scrapbooks produced [by their mothers], but they also "get to know their mothers (and families) better" (Kelley and Brown 2005).

In addition to doing family in terms of building family habitus, scrapbooks serve as a means of communication for a family. For scrapbookers with family they see infrequently, the scrapbook serves as a tool to communicate what has happened to the scrapbooker since they last saw each other. The scrapbook allows others to catch up on what has been happening in one's life. This is the same reason why some scrapbookers have started blogging, scrapbooking digitally (making scrapbooks which can be emailed or posted to their blog or a social networking site), or both. Though non-family members are occasionally the audience for scrapbooks, family is the primary audience. Scrapbooks can also help family members understand their children's behavior. For example, one respondent made a scrapbook about her tattoos. Her mom viewed the book and finally understood why her daughter got each of her tattoos. The message communicated is not always positive, but may be intended to change another family member's behavior. One respondent made a scrapbook for her sister and purposefully selected photos of her sister from when she was thinner as a way to pressure her to lose weight. Her sister did not

lose the weight and has since passed but the weight gain was clearly distressing for this respondent. Other scrapbookers choose not to share their scrapbooks with family members at all. For instance, one lesbian respondent does not share her scrapbook with her father because "he is not super comfortable with the gay thing and my scrapbook is very gay," as she includes pages about gay pride events and same-sex weddings she has attended in her scrapbook.

In the case of heritage albums, the scrapbooker is explicitly doing family, making decisions about who is family and who is not by who gets included and who gets excluded in this particular scrapbooking style. The role of family is very important in most scrapbooks because:

It helps you connect with people in your family; to connect with ancestors maybe you never met, to get to know them a little better and understand your family history; and, maybe if you had a grandparent who did things a certain way and you never knew that, but you do things that same way. It helps you relate to them [other family members].

Respondents discuss how they learn about deceased and living family members and come to know them better through scrapbooking. Though heritage albums may show most explicitly how scrapbookers are doing family, all scrapbooks serve as a device that communicates who belongs in the family and who does not. Burgess, Enzle, and Morry (2000:628) observe that even strangers who are photographed together "expressed greater social identity and greater mutual affinity than did" strangers who are not photographed together. Simply placing people within the same photographic frame creates a bond between them. Scrapbooks can do the same thing.

Another aspect of doing family is not just documenting that a familial relationship exists, but capturing the essence of that relationship in the scrapbook. Sometimes the relationship is not just about the people in the photo. For example, one respondent mentions how she likes to take photos of her son and his father together because she misses her own parents and wants to

memorialize the parent-child relationship for her son. Scrapbooks, then, like family vacations (Shaw, Havitz, and Delemere 2008), may be done to provide children with positive memories of their family as a unit.

Some scrapbookers do family more consciously in their scrapbooks than others. A respondent in a polyamorous family is very conscious about who gets scrapbooked. She focuses on including things that happen to the whole family rather than what happens to individuals in her family scrapbook and keeps things that happen to individuals in separate albums.

Though most respondents do not go to such extremes, others respondents also talk about struggles they have regarding the inclusion of various family and ex-family members. For example, one respondent is estranged from her family of origin but does have a few scrapbook pages about her estranged family members even though they were difficult for her to create. Another respondent is divorced but has a child with her ex-partner. They all celebrate this child's birthday together so inevitably, the ex is photographed and included in the scrapbook. This respondent emphasizes that the scrapbooks are about her child's family, which is not necessarily the same as her family. Moreover, this scrapbook is for her, not her ex, so if her ex wants a scrapbook about their child she has to make it herself.

Scrapbooking may be difficult at times when it involves deciding how to include family and ex-family, but oftentimes scrapbook layouts read like love letters to various family members. For example, one respondent makes pages about her feelings towards each of her brothers with each brother garnering separate pages in the scrapbook. What is interesting, though, is that these pages remain in the scrapbook and are not given to the family member. It is difficult to know if the brothers even realize these tribute pages exist. Regardless, this reemphasizes that

scrapbooking is primarily for the scrapbooker rather than for others even if the subject is about others.

Scrapbooks are about current family relationships, past family relationships, and new family relationships. In the case of weddings and births, a page or an album about the wedding or birth illustrates this addition to the family. One respondent recounts how one of the scrapbook pages his wife created reminded him about how he came to feel more like part of the family because it was on that trip that the children decided to take his name, too (none of these details, however, are included on the scrapbook page). In this way, the scrapbook helps prompt a story about how the family has expanded to include him. Scrapbooks are also made to communicate that a person is part of the family. For instance, one respondent made a scrapbook page about his non-biological nephew as soon as his biological nephew was born to communicate to the non-biological nephew that he, too, was an important member of the family.

Doing Motherhood

Scrapbooking is a hobby that allows women to remain fully committed to both their family and their hobby. In contrast, other hobbies, such as dog sports (Gillespie et al. 2002) or whitewater kayaking (Bartram 2001), force women to choose between their hobby and their family on many occasions. One common strategy for mothers who wish to scrapbook is to do so once the children are asleep. Other hobbies are not so accommodating. For example, dog sports require care of the dogs on a daily basis and the competitions take place on weekends while children are awake. Women's participation in hobbies has involved disregarding traditional gender roles within the family (Gillespie et al. 2002; Raisborough 1999) or suspending leisure activities while children are dependent (Bialeschki 1994). Among my respondents, neither is true.

Many of my respondents are not only mothers, but mothers of infants and pre-school aged children who require full-time care (older children in contrast, typically attend school for at least part of the day and are able to entertain themselves for a little bit of the time when they are home). These women are not suspending their leisure activities while their children are dependent. Though these women may participate in this hobby because it is fun, it is also gender appropriate. Scrapbooking can be done in the home while children sleep, allowing women to do both their hobby and motherhood during the same period of time. Women who scrapbook do so because of their personal interests, but as Wiley, Shaw, and Havitz (2000) suggest, people's involvement in leisure activities is due to a combination of their personal interests and what is considered to be gender-appropriate (see also LaRossa 1997). Assuming women and in particular, mothers, scrapbook only because it is gender-appropriate is short-sighted. Yes, gender-appropriateness cannot be underestimated, but one also has to consider how women are gender-inappropriate through scrapbooking. For some women, especially those who come to own scrapbooking businesses, their participation in the hobby does not neatly conform to expectations of womanhood. Like windsurfers, "participation is an empowering experience and an important site for the creation and negotiation of a cultural identity that is detached from their roles as mothers and from their partners" (Wheaton and Tomlinson 1998:253). Scrapbooking is many things to many people and, like other leisure activities, can have different meanings for the same person at different points in time, can have different meanings to different people, or the same meanings to different people (Kelly 1983). Other scholars (Kelley and Brown 2005) have found that participating in scrapbooking makes many women feel guilty for spending money and time away from their family. One respondent, does not say she feels guilty but does feel scrapbooking became more of an obligation after she became a mother even though it is still fun.

If scrapbooking conforms neatly to gender roles, then women should not feel guilty at all (see Chapter 4 for more discussion on guilt).

Like quilting (Stalp 2006), the act of scrapbooking is done for the scrapbooker, but the product, the scrapbook itself, is thought to be made for the family. Imagining scrapbooking in this way allows women to feel less guilt[39] and to feel one's time is being spent productively (Demos 2006; Downs 2006). Women who scrapbook, however, do not necessarily see their hobby as an extension of motherhood or housework. Instead, they see scrapbooking as a way to escape these roles (Demos 2006), similarly to how romance readers view their reading as an escape from traditoinal gender roles (Radway 1984). As is I later discuss, my respondents see the scrapbooks as belonging to them. They may make scrapbooks for the family, but the scrapbook is still controlled by them.

Respondents who are mothers often discuss how scrapbooking benefits their children. One industry worker states:

> I think for children—my son's adopted but we knew his birth mother. We still keep in touch with her. For him, he knows his whole story. He knows everything about his birth mother. He knows everything about his adoption. Because it's all in his album. He is completely confident with what happened with what his life is really about. What happened. He knows he's loved beyond, beyond because somebody loved him enough to

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[39] Though guilt is not a given, industry workers believe that one reason people become scrapbookers is because they feel guilty about not doing it and scrapbookers are thought to feel guilty for spending time scrapbooking instead of devoting themselves to other family obligations.

keep him to begin with and to make sure he had a home that would take care of him. And parents that would love him and you know provide for him. He might not sit around and say, "Oh I know I'm so loved because I have the pictures I can look at," but you know some day this will make sense for him when he's an older teenager [and] adult he can look back and say this really is important that I have these pictures. For him, he will probably take it for granted because he's always had his life but I mean I have [had older mothers and grandmothers] who say please tell young moms to do this. They say a child holding a picture raises their self-esteem. So when you think about if they have a whole album of themselves with people surrounded by people who love them what does that do for them.

This respondent shows her love for her son and demonstrates that she is a good mother through creating scrapbooks about him—creating his biography, and in extension, creating her autobiography as a good mother. Mothers tell their stories carefully in their scrapbooks to send a particular message. One respondent mentions how she took great care to tell the story of her son's arrival. Her son was not planned or unplanned. She does not tell this part of the story in the scrapbook because she never wants him to feel for even a minute that he was not wanted. In contrast her other child was planned, so the story told in her second child's scrapbook needs to remain consistent with the first child's story.

The transition to motherhood, finds some women becoming scrapbookers. Demos (2006) reports that most scrapbookers in her sample actually begin scrapbooking after the birth of their first child. Industry workers support this finding—that many of their customers are new moms or moms pregnant with a subsequent child. One of the scrapbook stores that industry workers worked at was in the same shopping center as a retailer of baby products. The employees at the

baby store sometimes refer customers to this scrapbook store for a wider selection of baby books and photo albums; therefore, new moms could be overrepresented as new scrapbookers at this particular scrapbook store, however, other scholars (Martin 1991) note that having a baby prompts families to obtain a camera, so clearly having a baby is considered something to be memorialized photographically.

Not only do new mothers begin a scrapbook for their new baby, but pregnant women begin scrapbooks before the baby is even born. This reinforces the increasing acceptance that a fetus is a child (Isaacson 1996). For example, the baby's first photograph is typically in utero (i.e., a sonogram photograph). When one respondent and her partner were attempting to become pregnant, they threw a party to celebrate the insemination and that party is memorialized in the scrapbook. The respondent had taken photographs and saved memorabilia from the event thinking it would all go in a baby book, but since the insemination was unsuccessful, she put it in her scrapbook instead.

Family scrapbooks are often child-centered. According to Noble (2004:244), "[c]hildren are central to a sense of the 'fullness' of family life because they represent its genealogical continuity into the future. Child-centered scrapbooks demonstrate one way in which women do motherhood. Even though the subject may be a mother's children, scrapbooks about children are also about mothers because the mother is often the person creating the scrapbook about the children (Demos 2006). Furthemore, women use the scrapbook and photographs it contains as evidence of good motherhood (Downs 2006; Martin 1991).

Mothers with multiple children must decide whether to create albums for each child or albums for the family as a whole. Industry workers caution scrapbookers to focus on family albums rather than trying to create an album for each child. This way they are less likely to

become overwhelmed and leave the hobby or not begin the hobby in the first place. The decision to make albums of children separate from albums of the family is illustrative of how an individual has memories that are independent of the family's collective memory. Creating albums for individual children separate from albums about the family emphasizes the individuality of the child as distinct from the collective family unit.

Industry workers reinforce the notion that the finished scrapbook will belong to the scrapbooker's child(ren) one day. They remind customers that their children are not going to care if every page is a work of art, but what their children will care about is that the scrapbook is completed in the first place. By deemphasizing artistry, scrapbooking becomes something attainable to anyone regardless of artistic or creative ability. In other words, industry workers emphasize that there is no excuse not to create a scrapbook for your family.

Scrapbook makers often render their own motherhood invisible. For example, one respondent made a scrapbook about her children for their grandmother. The title of the book was "For Grandma" even though the children did not make the album; their mother did. The status of grandmother superseded the status of mother and her work is made invisible by making the gift come from her children despite the fact she made the album. Mothers are usually behind the camera[40] instead of in front of the camera, too, though many respondents make an effort to have others take photographs so that their picture can also be in the scrapbook. Many scrapbooks may

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[40] Holland (1991) argues in our culture, snapshooting is classified as a domestic skill and something women can do, unlike becoming a professional photographer (e.g., fashion photographer, photojournalist).

be a site where women do motherhood, but that motherhood is often made invisible in the scrapbook itself.

If mothers do motherhood through scrapbooking, do fathers also do fatherhood by their very absence from scrapbooking? Titus (1976) finds that both men and women use photography to do parenthood and Holland (1991) argues that parents of young children are the most likely people to take family photographs; therefore, it stands to reason that at least some fathers might be doing fatherhood through scrapbooks, too.

Doing Fatherhood

Fathers do fatherhood in scrapbooking primarily by taking care of the children so that their wives can scrapbook. Even digital scrapbooking, which only requires a computer, requires children to be otherwise occupied. Respondents who are mothers almost always mention how they scrapbook only when their husbands can take over their children's bedtime rituals or can take the children out of the house for the day so she can scrapbook.

In the scrapbooks themselves, women who are making albums about their children do fatherhood for their husbands. In journaling about fathers and their children, scrapbookers might talk about how much "daddy loves his little girl" or how much the child loves her or his daddy (even when the child is an infant and cannot yet verbally express this love). Mothers assert these messages of love from fathers to children in the scrapbook pages in a similar way to how they do other forms of kin work as I later discuss.

Motherhood may be done through actually making the scrapbooks, but fatherhood can be done through displaying and sharing the scrapbooks. Husbands occasionally take the scrapbooks their wives make to work to share with coworkers, for instance.

The scrapbook also makes up for the time fathers spend away from the family. Husbands who work long hours away from home are appreciative of their wife's scrapbooking because it allows them to get to know their children better and become more informed about what they miss while they were at work. Because this discussion of doing fatherhood is based on the reports of their wives, future research needs to ask the husbands of these scrapbookers about how their parenting is structured through their wives scrapbooking.

The Child-Free

Doing parenthood is something that child-free scrapbookers also do. Child-free respondents report that they include the personal context in their scrapbooks so that years from now when their children or grandchildren read the album they will learn more about their parents or grandparents. Here scrapbooks are created with the thoughts of future children and future grandchildren in mind. Kelley and Brown (2005) find that all the women in their sample—both mothers and child-free women—create scrapbooks for either their current children or for future generations. Not all child-free respondents in my sample, however, intend on ever having children. These scrapbookers are more likely to deemphasize the role scrapbooks might play for future generations. They may also emphasize their role as caretaker of a pet more than a parent or a child-free scrapbooker who intends to be a parent one day might do in a scrapbook.

Child-free respondents say that the pervasiveness of the image of mothers creating scrapbooks pushes scrapbookers without children to the margins. One child-free respondent, who does not intend on ever having children, states:

For me, I am a person without children and a lot of people who scrapbook seem to think why in the world would someone without children scrapbook which lessens to me in my mind the value of my life and my experience. You're saying that my life isn't worth

scrapbooking which is absurd. Because we have family and friends…if I'm gone

somebody might actually want to remember me. If I'm here forever I might want to

remember my nieces and my nephews, my grandparents whoever…so many people think

that why would I scrapbook myself? I mean I can't imagine thinking like that and

thinking my mom and dad are not worth me scrapbooking.

Clearly, scrapbooking is about more than just doing motherhood or there would not be a place

for child-free scrapbookers.

Moreover, most child-free scrapbookers still make scrapbooks about their family to

varying degrees. Scrapbookers without children of their own (both men and women) make

scrapbooks about nieces and nephews (scrapbookers who were mothers also make pages about

their nieces and nephews). Several of these respondents make baby scrapbooks for their brother

or sister's child and the birth of the child was sometimes the trigger to becoming a scrapbooker.

In addition to scrapbooking nieces and nephews, child-free scrapbookers sometimes

anticipate eventual parenthood through their scrapbooking. Though one respondent's sorority life

is very important to her right now, she chooses to put those mementos in her scrapbook rather

than on her wall in anticipation that she will not want that stuff all over the house once she is "a

mother and a wife." Respondents make scrapbooks about their current lives so that their future

children know what it was like for their mother or father when they were younger.

Family Support of Hobby

Most respondents report support for their hobby to varying degrees from their family. In

fact, other family members are more supportive than non-family. My respondents do not report

experiencing conflict over their leisure activity of choice. According to Goff, Fick, and Oppliger

(1997), serious leisure participation can be harmful to family relations unless the spouse is

supportive of the leisure activity. For instance, Doyle (1998) observes that quilters with permanent space in the home devoted to sewing still struggled to be able to quilt as their husbands prefer their wives to spend time watching television with them instead of spending time in their sewing room quilting. Even women who accommodate their husbands in this way might bring some of their quilting to work on while watching television are still challenged by husbands to devote their full attention to them. I do not find this type of husbandly self-centeredness and controlling behavior among my respondents. Husbands may roll their eyes or "think it is dumb" yet they still accommodate their wife's hobby by taking care of children's needs while their wife scrapbooks or providing financial resources to be put toward scrapbooking. It could be that scrapbookers who are supported in their leisure activity are more likely to consent to be interviewed in the first place. In other words, they feel confident that their hobby is something worth talking about with a researcher because their partners are supportive. Overall, there were no reports of the hobby harming family relationships, consistent with what previous scholars have found.

I did not specifically ask about how the hobby is negotiated in the household but did ask respondents how their family feels about their scrapbooking (see Chapter 4). Not one respondent talks about lying to other family members about how much they spend on their hobby or that they hide recent purchases[41] from family members as previous research suggests happens among other women crafters (Downs 2006; Stalp 2006b; Stalp 2006c).

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[41] At City Scrapbooks, customers can write checks out to the acronym of the store, "CS," so husbands are not be suspicious of checks written out to "City Scrapbooks."

Family support extends beyond sharing space and economic resources with scrapbooking but also involves consenting to be photographed, taking pictures (of the scrapbooker), learning to take better photographs, going places for the scrapbook (e.g., scrapbook shopping and picture taking opportunities), and contributing their thoughts to the scrapbook. Family members have the right to refuse having their photograph taken, though most respondents did not mention this happening. Refusing to be photographed was the exception, not the rule. For example, one respondent comments how her family would not let her photograph them when they were seasick. Other than at that moment, they usually were good sports about it.

Not only do most scrapbookers want photographic images of family members for their scrapbooks, but they also want their words. Scrapbookers have various strategies for getting other family member's words and thoughts in the scrapbook. Respondents use family member's blog posts for journaling. Others email family members questionnaires to use in the scrapbook. Scrapbookers ask family to do things as simple as labeling photographs so that they knew what the caption for various photographs should read.

Extended family members also help scrapbookers scrapbook. The primary way extended family members help is by sending photographs to the scrapbooker who lives too far away to regularly see nieces, nephews, and grandchildren and take photographs themselves.

Overall, respondents feel like they are supported in their hobby by other family members. They feel the most support from family members who also scrapbook\ (or do other crafts), then from other female family members, and the least support from men family members. Husbands and boyfriends look at the scrapbooks but they do not really take an interest in the scrapbooks, like mothers or other women do (i.e., asking about the scrapbooks or wanting to see the scrapbooks). Scrapbookers seem to feel their hobby is most validated when another person

becomes a scrapbooker, when they are asked to create scrapbooks for the family (e.g., heritage albums or an album for an elder family member's 80th birthday), or they are asked to use their scrapbooking tools and supplies for other projects.

Not only do my respondents experience family support for their hobby, scrapbookers create scrapbooks to support their family and show them love. Respondents talk about how scrapbooks about other family members communicate their love to that family member or their family as a whole. Moreover, scrapbookers report that other family members love that they scrapbook, love looking through the scrapbooks, and love receiving scrapbooks as gifts. Scrapbooking is another example of how people, especially women, do kin work.

Kin Work

By kin work, di Leonardi (1987) refers to "the conception, maintenance, and ritual celebration of cross-household kin ties" (p. 442). Family relationships are maintained through scrapbooking in at least three ways: scrapbooking can be a family activity; scrapbooks are offered as gifts (Downs 2006); and family history is chronicled within scrapbooks. Moreover, photographs work to reinforce kinship relations, with photography regularly being a part of significant family rituals such as births and weddings (Musello 1979). Kin work falls primarily on women and is part of the unpaid, domestic work many women do (di Leonardo 1987). Even in same-sex couples, kin work tends to fall on the partner who does the majority of the domestic work (Carrington 1999). Respondents recognize that the scrapbook industry influences who does this form of kin work. One respondent, for instance, believes that because the industry (the magazines in particular) typically showcase white, middle class families and layouts produced by women, it let's men off the hook in terms of scrapbooking and also in terms of being full members of the family.

The scrapbooker in the family often becomes the family historian (or is already the family historian and becomes the scrapbooker). This occurs regardless of the presence of children in the person's life. For example, even though one respondent does not have children of her own and is single, she is still the primary kin worker in her family of origin, as a sister and a daughter. It is difficult to know whether or not this task falls on her because she is a scrapbooker, the oldest daughter, does not have her own children or a spouse and is thought to have more time to devote to her family of origin, or some combination of the three.

Kin work can most fully be accomplished with the support of the family. For example, one respondent takes photographs of all the family members at family reunions. I asked him if he struggled to get all family members to consent to being photographed. He says:

> Yeah, there are always a few people that you have to twist their arm, but they know that I warned them, and they're now used to having a flash bulb go off in their face because of me. It's pretty easy now to get the pictures that I want.

In contrast to this family's compliance, another respondent expects her daughter-in-law to provide photographs of her grandchildren for the scrapbook. She expresses frustration over the fact her daughter-in-law does not send photographs. She finally enlisted her son to send photographs instead. It is not that photographs are not being taken; the problem is they were not being sent to her. Despite the fact both her daughter-in-law and son work full-time, this respondent still feels her daughter-in-law should be sending the photographs. In this example, this respondent fully expects the kin work role to be performed by the women in the family even if they are employed full-time.

Kin work is passed on to future generations when scrapbooks are passed down to select family members (usually women), who then become the keeper of these records. Several

respondents say that their daughters, not their sons, get the scrapbooks when they die. Mothers did not see sons as caring about the scrapbooks like their daughters did or would (most of these children are younger than five, too young to have really developed any kind of opinion towards scrapbooking at the time of their mother's interviews). In other words, mothers rely on gender stereotypes. This could be due to the fact most scrapbookers are women, most of the support they get for their craft comes from other women (e.g., mothers, sisters, mother-in-laws, female friends), women are typically the kin workers both inside and outside of scrapbooking, or all of these reasons.

Respondents report that they scrapbook their husband and boyfriend's photographs and memorabilia. They think their male family members are not going to do it because of the stigma attached to the hobby. In this way, scrapbookers are not only compiling their own memories or the family's collective memory, but also are compiling the memories of family members from before they were part of his life.

Though respondents talk about scrapbooking as something that is fun, this does not negate the fact that work goes into the hobby. Moreover, just because some scrapbookers view scrapbooking as fun, does not mean some scrapbookers do not see it as work, similar to the work involved in other domestic tasks (e.g., the holiday work of meal preparation and gift giving) (Pleck 2004). The work that goes into the scrapbook is often not fully realized by others, as I discuss regarding gift scrapbooks. The work part is made further invisible when husbands do not even realize what their wives are already doing in the scrapbooks. For example, one respondent comments that her husband is supportive of the hobby but says things like, "we should really write down all the things that she [their daughter] says or does." She replies, "I do that." He has no idea that she is already doing that sort of thing. Though none of my respondents conceptualize

scrapbooking only as work or as just another chore on par with childcare or feeding the family, scrapbooks as gifts is another story.

Most respondents had made a scrapbook as a gift at some point. Some made several while others no longer make gift scrapbooks. I heard horror stories about what gift receivers have been rumored to do with these gifts. For example, one respondent had a friend who made a scrapbook as a gift and the receiver stored the album in a garage in Florida! Now, the scrapbooker was not expecting the gift to be stored on the coffee table necessarily (as some scrapbookers report their gift-recipients had done), but they do expect some care to be taken in the storage of the scrapbook. A garage in Florida is simply too humid and will destroy the book. Making a scrapbook as a gift often requires more time, thought, emotion, and money, than is typically put into selecting a gift. For these reasons, scrapbookers are disappointed if the gift recipient does not display what they consider to be appropriate appreciation. My findings support previous scholar's (Kelley and Brown 2005) findings on gift scrapbooks. That is, scrapbookers selectively make scrapbooks as gifts because they quickly learn that not everyone appreciates the time, thought, emotion, and financial resources that go into creating them. These findings are similar to the findings regarding other crafters. Potts (2006:36) finds that among knitters, "time and effort mean, and make tangible, love and care" and they also are disappointed by the lack of appreciation of their hand-knitted gifts.

Like quilters who give quilts as gifts to friends and family, these gifts strengthen these ties in gendered ways (Doyle 1998; Stalp 2006b). Gift scrapbooks are made for family, boyfriends and girlfriends, friends, co-workers, and children's teachers. Co-workers are given scrapbooks as going away gifts when they retire or quit. Most often the reaction to the gift is that the recipient loves it. Sometimes gift scrapbooks take the place of a thank you card. For example,

in one respondent's scrapbook for the respondent's mother she included photographs of her children on the bicycles their grandma bought them with the caption, "thanks, grandma." Most gift scrapbooks are done out of love and the scrapbooker intends the recipient to get the message that they love them through the gift scrapbook. Gift scrapbooks, like photographs, are exchanged to reaffirm family bonds (Musello 1979).

Sometimes gift scrapbookers are intentionally incomplete. For example, a scrapbooker might make an album with spots reserved for photos as a gift for a friend who is having a baby with the intent that the friend will put photos in those spots later.

Whose Scrapbook is it?

Scrapbooks about others are not necessarily for others. As I explain elsewhere in this dissertation, most respondents plan on passing their scrapbooks onto other family members after their own death. In most cases, the scrapbooks belong to the scrapbooker rather than the family as a unit or the person who was the main subject of the album. Respondents discuss when the albums may technically belong to their children (eventually) and mention that major life events, such as marriage, turning 18, or graduating from high school or college, would prompt them to give the scrapbook to the child and even then, the scrapbooker is not sure they will be able to part with the album(s). Respondents discuss giving their children their albums once they reach an age when the child is settled down (i.e., college graduate or married) in an effort to make sure their child is old enough to appreciate the scrapbook.

Scrapbookers could of course make a photocopy of the scrapbook, and some do. A copy, however, is "a mere representation of the original. The original will always supplant the copy in a way that is not open to the products of mechanical reproduction" (Stewart 1993:139). Respondents were not asked what they thought of copies of the scrapbook, but it does seem that

a photo copy would be given to someone else before the original would be parted with implying that a copy is not quite the same as the original.

Ultimately, scrapbooking is for the scrapbooker which is why most respondents had given very little thought to whether or not others would understand the scrapbook. I was very surprised by this as an industry worker; I have been taught that the importance of using archival materials is so that the scrapbooks will exist for future generations. Though most respondents consider future generations viewing the scrapbooks, they care very little as to whether or not future generations will get the message that the scrapbooker intends. In sum, scrapbooks may be a place to do family and may be about the family, but that does not mean they are for the family instead of the scrapbooker.

DOING RACE AND ETHNICITY

Because lack of good data exists as to who actually scrapbooks, it is difficult to know if the perceived lack of scrapbookers of color is due to racism within the scrapbooking industry or if the products produced by manufacturers and the scrapbookers that are published in the magazines are simply a reflection of who actually scrapbooks. I believe that there is much more diversity among scrapbookers than is reflected by the industry from my work within the industry and from these interviews. Furthermore, there are online scrapbooking communities (at least online) for African American scrapbookers (e.g., Scraps of Color can be found at http://scrapsofcolor.ning.com/).

Through analyzing scrapbooking, one can see a color-blind ideology (i.e., the belief that race no longer shapes life chances) at work. Race, by and large, is not understood as a hierarchy within the pages of scrapbooks, but instead through "racially coded styles and products" reducing "these symbols to commodities or experiences which whites and racial minorities can

purchase and share" (Gallagher 2003:5). For instance, one white respondent talks about wanting to be Latina and has a page with a photograph of herself in a t-shirt with the Spanish language printed on the t-shirt. Here, pretending to be Latina, is as simple as donning a t-shirt. In another case, a white respondent purchased a scrapbook idea book written by an African American woman under the belief that this author has a different perspective than herself. Here, the respondent recognizes that being black could influence one's perspective. Among white scrapbookers, race is done primarily through "doing racial difference" (West and Fenstermaker 2002).

Race is also constructed as a choice. Scrapbookers can choose to emphasize or deemphasize their race and ethnic backgrounds through their scrapbooks. For example, one white respondent is married to an Asian-American man and emphasizes his culture in her scrapbooks as it is her culture now, too, especially as it relates to their daughter. The scrapbook includes celebrations important to his culture and words written in his native language. Interestingly, the words are written in Latin characters instead of Chinese characters. Race is included in the scrapbook as a way to teach their daughter about her cultural heritage. Respondents also write words in the language of their ancestors in addition to including photographs of those ancestors. One white respondent in particular was especially interested in exploring ethnicity in her heritage album as a way to respond to the racist talk she hears from various family members. She hopes the scrapbook reminds her family that they are only first and second generation Americans so they should be more understanding of the plight of immigrants. Finally, another respondent covers up racial diversity in her scrapbook. In one photo, there is a black man and a white woman in the background. This white respondent covered up the black

man with a sticker because "he was just so prominent" in the background. She did not cover up the white woman who, to me, seems just as prominent.

Though black respondents are not any more likely to talk explicitly about how race shapes their lives in the pages of scrapbooks, the absence of a discussion of race is perhaps more troubling in the scrapbooks of white respondents. Importantly, white privilege is ignored in the pages of scrapbooks. Narratives emphasizing achievement (e.g., college graduation) render white privilege invisible and race as non-existent, for instance. White scrapbookers emphasize the race of others or view race as optional, while failing to acknowledge whiteness as a race.

Though scrapbooking could easily be dismissed as something that white people do and people of color do not, the point is that race is accomplished through meeting normative expectations, but also "engaging in action at the risk of race assessment" (West and Fenstermaker 2002:68). The scrapbook industry may promote scrapbooking as for white people through their lack of inclusion of products reflecting non-white life and disproportionately showcasing the work of white scrapbookers, but this does not mean that non-whites are not scrapbooking.

Another issue to consider is how scrapbooks overall, are racially segregated in that most of the people included in scrapbooks are the same race as the respondent. This is a product of the segregated lives in which many Americans tend to live with few Americans having friends or family members of another race. Racially segregated scrapbooks create boundaries between who belongs and who does not. Cases where racial others are included (as friends or family), are notable exceptions. Most likely, racial others are included because they are in the background of a photograph.

Race and ethnicity may not be a major theme of scrapbooks but they do play a role in some scrapbooks some of the time. Moreover, the scrapbook industry as a whole deemphasizes race when it fails to produce products that reflect racial diversity and when it fails to provide examples of scrapbooks from non-white scrapbookers. This lack of diversity is not lost on scrapbookers, white or not. For example, a couple of respondents mention one black scrapbooking celebrity by name and how she no longer seemed to be a part of the industry.

As mention in Chapter 1, scrapbooking is by far most common in the United States. In Chapter 1, I explain that one reason for this is because scrapbooking manufacturers are based in the United States and shipping costs make scrapbooking cost prohibitive for many people overseas. Something else to consider is that scrapbooking is a way for Americans to be American. Though scrapbookers may emphasize their racial or ethnic roots at least occasionally in their scrapbooks, what they are mainly doing is emphasizing their Americaness. Pleck (2004) argues that holidays and other rituals are used to maintain ethnicity, but that many holidays and rituals are discarded or reformulated by immigrants and entrepreneurs to be more in line with what is already being practiced in America. I argue that people use scrapbooks to emphasize their Americaness. In particular, this work can clearly be seen in scrapbooks that have pages about 9/11 (see Chapter 6).

DOING RELIGION

A discussion on scrapbooking is incomplete without a discussion of the role religion plays within individual scrapbooks, but also within the industry. Among my respondents, scrapbooks occasionally demonstrate the significance of religion in the scrapbooker's life. For instance, one respondent only includes photographs of family members and her church's

ministers. One genre of scrapbooking is called faithbooking, which involves compiling a scrapbook about one's faith and their spiritual journey.

For most scrapbookers who are religious, however, their scrapbooks inevitably leave out a significant part of their life because they are often prohibited from taking photographs of religious ceremonies. Pages about Baptisms may include photographs from before or after the ceremony and the Baptism certificate, but not always the actual ceremony because of this prohibition. For example, it is against the rules to take photographs inside a Mormon Temple, whereas other religions may only discourage photography of certain ceremonies or during certain parts of a ceremony. Moreover, photographs are more likely to be taken of special religious ceremonies rather than everyday religious life.

Religion is also important to a discussion about scrapbooking because the LDS church is credited with popularizing scrapbooking. Several respondents mention the LDS church as being the reason scrapbooking is more popular today than in the past. LDS members are not required to scrapbook, but they are encouraged to record their histories. This recording may take the form of scrapbooking, journaling, or even blogging.

Other respondents had a religious like devotion to scrapbooking and wanted "to spread the Gospel of scrapbooking." They read scrapbooking magazines religiously—doing nothing else until the latest issue has been read from cover to cover. One respondent writes in her blog religiously—easily posting two or three times a day. This works out well for her "picture-a-day" scrapbook because she uses her blog postings for a lot of the journaling. Finally, non-Inspired Stories scrapbookers describe Inspired Stories as "the cult" because of users' devotion to using only Inspired Stories products. Even when respondents do not scrapbook for religious reasons,

they use a religious discourse to illustrate how important scrapbooking is in their life and in other's lives.

Religion also matters in that religious groups sponsor crops. Churches and synagogues regularly hold scrapbooking nights or afternoons for their members to come scrapbook. Scrapbooking, then, is a leisure activity accepted and condoned by religious groups and is a way for scrapbookers to do religious practice.

In Chapter 5, I explained how through scrapbooking, scrapbookers are able to do gender, family, race and ethnicity, and religion. Both the scrapbooking industry and individual scrapbookers shape how gender, family, race and ethnicity, and religion are done through scrapbooking. Next, my discussion turns to classification, one of Zerubavel's (1997) six cognitive acts.

CHAPTER 6: SCRAPBOOKING AS A CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

Zerubavel (1997) argues that classifying the world is both personal and social. Scrapbooking is a great place to explore how this classification occurs because scrapbooks are deeply personal, yet are also socially created. "Boundary work" and "boundary play" can also be examined through studying scrapbooking. Nippert-Eng (1995:xiii) explains that boundary work "is the never-ending, hands-on, largely visible process through which boundaries are negotiated, placed, maintained, and transformed by individuals over time." Boundary play involves manipulating agreed upon boundaries for amusement. In particular, boundaries are drawn in terms of what a scrapbook is, who scrapbookers are, how scrapbooking is done, and what is scrapworthy. Lastly, boundaries between work and home are reaffirmed and challenged through scrapbooking.

The way social phenomena are classified influences the way they are understood (Isaacson 1996). Boundaries are one way in which social phenomena are classified and they are reinforced through lumping and splitting. The scrapbook industry helps shape what is considered scrapworthy from that which is not scrapworthy. The implication of this is that individual's memories are now being structured by the scrapbook industry. For example, I might make a scrapbook page about Valentine's Day because there is scrapbook paper for Valentine's Day. Because there is no scrapbook paper for Labor Day, I may choose not to create a scrapbook page about Labor Day.[42] In this way, some holidays become scrapworthy and others do not.

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[42] In my hometown, there is a parade and a fair that takes place over Labor Day. My hometown's parade, at least at one point, was the largest Labor Day parade in the entire state. For residents of

Throughout this chapter, I show how scrapbooking is a site where boundaries are continuously being drawn and redrawn. Scrapbookers draw lines in their lives when they decide what and who is and is not scrapworthy. Some scrapbookers have fairly strict boundaries and others have very few if any boundaries in their scrapbooking. These boundaries are challenged not only by scrapbookers but also by non-scrapbookers. The focus of this chapter, however, is on how scrapbookers and industry workers do boundary work through scrapbooking.

Before turning attention to classification, I first want to comment that the six cognitive acts are interrelated with each other. Though the focus of this chapter is classification, the other cognitive acts are occasionally be emphasized in relation to classification. This pattern continues throughout the rest of the dissertation. It is impossible to completely disentangle each cognitive act from all others and discuss it completely independently of the other acts. With that being said, now I begin the discussion of classification by addressing what a scrapbook is or how a scrapbook is socially constructed.

WHAT IS A SCRAPBOOK?

In popular culture, scrapbooks are described as "essentially a photograph album with decorations" (Anonymous 2007:73). My respondents would probably agree with this assessment, but would also be quick to point out that these photograph albums with decorations preserve memories and tell stories. In other words, popular culture reduces scrapbooks to its superficial elements instead of promoting an understanding of the context in which these decorations reside. For the most part, scrapbookers know a scrapbook when they see it, though as will be clear by

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my hometown, Labor Day is worth remembering, even if others just see it as a day off from work.

the end of this chapter, what counts as a scrapbook is quite broad. Most respondents understand scrapbooks as permanent collections of memories, stories, photographs, and memorabilia. Some contain more of these items than others. Moreover, most scrapbooks are about the scrapbooker. They are autobiographies.

Scholars who choose scrapbooks as a source of analysis must decide from the beginning how they are going to define a scrapbook because there is tremendous variation. In this study, I rely on self-definition. If a respondent says they are a scrapbooker and what they showed me is a scrapbook, then they are a scrapbooker and it is a scrapbook. Nearly all of my respondents scrapbook in the conventional sense shaped by the scrapbooking industry, but there are notable exceptions. Other scholars are more restrictive in their selection of scrapbooks to study. For example, in Jessica Helfand's (2008:x) compilation of "beautiful" scrapbooks, she excludes those "scrapbooks consisting solely of photographs or merely of clippings" because "they lacked the formal complexity that [she] believed would most convincingly represent a person and the moment in which that individual lived."

My respondents are better able to explain what scrapbooks are not rather than what scrapbooks are. For example, someone says a scrapbook is "not your grandma's photo album." In this way, the respondent distances herself from the stereotypical scrapbooker similarly to how romance fiction readers distance themselves from the stereotypical reader of romance fiction (Brackett 2000). Scrapbookers, then, know that others perceive scrapbooking differently than they do and take steps to distance themselves and their hobby from stereotypical imagery.

Scrapbookers, industry workers, and scholars of scrapbooking draw upon a common language to define what a scrapbook is or is not. It did not take much prodding on my part to quickly learn that there is a diversity of ideas as to what is or is not a scrapbook. Scrapbooks

share common elements with other items such as photograph albums, while at the same time makers claim they are something else entirely.

Most scrapbooks are designed to be permanent. In Chapter 4, I discuss the infrequency in which scrapbooks are redone and later in this chapter I discuss the role of using archival materials in terms of permanence. Not all scrapbooks, however, are meant to be permanent. Portions of scrapbooks may be stored in a temporary location. For example, respondents frame some of their scrapbook pages and put them on a wall. At some point in the future, the page may end up in an album, but for the time being, it is framed. Even in this case, the page itself is permanently made; it just is stored in an impermanent place.

Early in each interview, I conducted a breaching experiment as described in Chapter 3. I attempted to challenge accepted social norms regarding scrapbooking by showing my respondents a cork style bulletin board, a conventional photograph album, and a conventional scrapbook. I then asked respondents which of the items could be considered a scrapbook.

On the cork style bulletin board, I included elements that might be considered scrapworthy (e.g., a wedding invitation, a photograph of my dog, a grocery list, a thank you card, and a Ticketmaster envelope). Ultimately, my respondents agree that corkboards change too frequently to consider them as a scrapbook even though one can include elements on a corkboard that one finds in a scrapbook. Corkboards are inherently temporary and are typically considered to be a message center. A corkboard may tell a story like a scrapbook but it is generally, not something that is passed down to the next generation, like scrapbooks are. Some respondents, however, did think that the corkboard is a variation of scrapbooking—similar to the front of a person's refrigerator.

Others consider the corkboard to be a pre-scrapbook. The corkboard is a place where a scrapbooker stores items temporarily until they are scrapbooked. In this sense, the corkboard is not unlike a shoebox full of photographs and other memorabilia "awaiting the day when the gatherer will become a compiler" (Ott et al. 2006:12).

Most respondents discuss scrapbooks as books of memories, a way to tell one's story, or both. Other scholars agree with this characterization. According to Ott et al. (2006:3) scrapbooks "are a material manifestation of memory."

Though the center of most scrapbooks is photographs, scrapbooks are not photograph albums. For many respondents, including only the basic details of a photograph are not enough for it to be a scrapbook. The journaling needs to explain the story behind the photograph. Instead of just the who, what, when, and where, scrapbooks should explain the scrapbooker's feelings, emotions, and reactions to whatever is being scrapbooked. An album where a person can slip in photographs and label the photographs, for the most part, is not considered to be a scrapbook by my respondents.

When pressed as to whether the conventional photograph album could be transformed into a scrapbook, most emphasize the decoration. If I added some pretty paper or stickers, then that would help. Most said, more details of the story need to be included, but I could write that in on slips of paper and put the journaling in a spot intended for a photograph.

Though scrapbooks do not have to contain products produced by the scrapbooking industry, nearly every scrapbook I was shown did. It seems then, that scrapbooks must contain product, something my conventional photo album and corkboard do not. This definition of a scrapbook is the definition the industry promotes. If scrapbooking magazines select reader-submitted pages with only words and photographs, then what might happen to their advertiser's

profits? Scrapbooks made by scrapbookers outside of the mainstream scrapbooking thought community looked different from the scrapbooks made by scrapbookers within the mainstream scrapbooking thought community. For example, a couple of respondents include no product beyond their photographs and writing, which is rather atypical.

Scrapbooks are Distinct from Diaries and Journals

The main difference between most diaries or journals and scrapbooks is that the latter includes photographs along with words instead of just words. Others argue that journals can also contain photographs, so the photographs are not the defining line between a journal and a scrapbook. The role of the photographs affects the content of a journal or a scrapbook. It seems that journals and diaries may contain photographs, but are thought-led. Scrapbooks, on the other hand, also contain words, but are photograph-led—meaning most memories are scrapbooked because a photograph exists to prompt the memory. One respondent describes a journal as "more of a stream of consciousness" in comparison to scrapbooks, though scrapbooks are characterized in the same way. Seabrook (1991:176) argues that photographs serve as a prompt for memories otherwise forgotten and can "release a stream of consciousness." Others suggest that scrapbooks are different because they contain the extras: pattern paper and embellishments, and journals do not. In this sense, the story is essentially the same but the way the story is told differs. Buckler (2006) argues that diaries, journals, and even letters are distinct from scrapbooks in that the former are briefer.

Some respondents say they keep scrapbooks instead of keeping a diary or a journal, suggesting that scrapbooks, journals, and diaries are all alternatives of the same thing. Others treat their scrapbooks like a diary or a journal some of the time. Still others keep diaries and journals in addition to making scrapbooks. A respondent who keeps both journals and

scrapbooks talks about how the journaling differs in each. She had taken a class on scrapbooking and saw examples of what other people were doing. She was surprised to see all of the words on this one page that only had one photograph, "like she was explaining this whole story behind" the photograph. This respondent already did this in her journal, so she did not use many words in her scrapbooks. In sum, some scrapbooks are diaries, some scrapbooks are journals, some scrapbooks are only scrapbooks, and some scrapbooks include dimensions of diaries and journals some of the time.

When scrapbookers treat their scrapbook like a diary or journal, they may or may not share those pages with other people. The audiences of the three forms of storytelling are different. Journals and diaries are generally not meant to be shared unlike scrapbooks. Respondents see journals as more private than scrapbooks and diaries as more private than journals. Sometimes scrapbookers explicitly censor their scrapbooks for various reasons. For example, one respondent is making three heritage albums (one for herself and one for each of her brothers). A heritage album is a scrapbook about one's ancestors. She is intentionally leaving out negative details because she believes her brothers will misunderstand those details. Those negative details, however, are in her version of the heritage scrapbook, just not in her brothers' versions, which are identical in every other way. Journals and diaries are thought to almost always be private in that one does not just share their contents with others. Scrapbooks, however, are often shared with others, but not always, making them both public and private at the same time.

Scrapbooks are Both Public and Private

It is common for scrapbookers to share their scrapbooks with others at least some of the time. Scrapbooks are both public and private at the same time. I consider scrapbooks to be semi-

private—more private than public. Though some respondents publish their scrapbook pages or upload them to the internet, most do not share their scrapbooks so publicly. Whether a scrapbook is perceived as private, public, or semi-private depends on the individual scrapbooker and also the scrapbooking thought community. It seems the thought community perceives scrapbooks as semi-private.

Walker and Moulton (1989:160) argue that photograph albums are private because the photograph album "maker or possessor" chooses with whom to share it. Furthermore, because of the size of a photograph album, only a few audience members can view an album at any one time (Walker and Moulton 1989). Typically, the album's possessor is present at the viewing in order to tell the stories of the photos (Walker and Moulton 1989). Moreover, whoever shows the album also controls the narrative surrounding the album (Walker and Moulton 1989).

Scrapbooks, like blogs (Boyd 2006; 2008), straddle the boundaries of what is perceived to be public and private. I argue that scrapbooks are more private than blogs, but in some instances scrapbookers publish their scrapbooks on their blog. Those scrapbooks are more public than non-published scrapbooks because only if the blogger has password protected their blog, can they have any control over who views it. Scrapbookers on the other hand, have much more control over who views the scrapbook. Ott et al. (2006:12) also see a similarity between scrapbooks and blogs but note that "many scrapbooks more closely resemble the junk drawer found in kitchens and desks." In other words, blogs are meant to be understood by others and scrapbooks are not.

Scrapbookers are aware that their scrapbooks are to be shared with others and occasionally strategize to include scrapworthy items privately in their albums. Future researchers who select scrapbooks as a source of analysis should be sure to completely disassemble at least

some scrapbooks so that they get a more complete story as some scrapbookers hide things in their scrapbooks. Scrapbookers might hide journaling by sticking it on the back of the page or underneath a photograph. They might include elements on the page that have to be opened in order to be viewed knowing that few people will take the time to open the item or even recognize that the element can be opened. Sometimes this hiding work is done intentionally to hide part of the story. In other cases, this hiding work is done simply to get a more complete story included within certain parameters (i.e., the person runs out of space on their layout so they include the rest of the story on the back of the layout instead of starting another page). Others hide journaling to be less shocking in their scrapbook. For example, one respondent explains how she hid the journaling about her miscarriage underneath the sonogram photograph so that way people viewing the scrapbook are not so shocked by an unhappy moment in the pages of the scrapbook. This event was scrapworthy but she does not want to upset the audience either.

Scrapbooking may share qualities that diaries, journals, corkboards, conventional photograph albums, and blogs share, but they are not exactly substitutes for each other. Each has its own purpose. Scrapbooks are semi-private, permanent, collections of memories. They may contain photographs, memorabilia, words, and scrapbooking product. Ultimately, scrapbooking is one way a person can tell her or his story.

WHO ARE SCRAPBOOKERS?

Scrapbookers are many things and do many things in their scrapbooks. In this section, I consider how scrapbookers are artists and historians in particular.

Scrapbookers are Artists

Many scrapbookers and industry workers consider scrapbookers to be artists and historians, though professional artists and historians may and do disagree (see Helfand 2005).

Industry workers, in particular, emphasize the artistry in scrapbooking. They call it art and refer to themselves as artists. Scrapbook store owners reinforce this perception by displaying scrapbook pages in frames on the walls of their stores. Though many scrapbooks may basically be photographs glued to pretty paper, requiring little skill, many scrapbookers draw on techniques found in other crafts and arts. Scrapbookers paint, assemble their own embellishments, draw, doodle, sew, create items out of clay, attach eyelets (or grommets), staple, sand, emboss, and more in their scrapbooks. Because scrapbooking draws on such a diverse set of skills, many scrapbookers quickly learn to shop outside of the scrapbooking section of a department too. In fact, promoting a product for scrapbooking can increase the price of the item.

Scrapbookers may be artists in that they draw on skills other artists use and produce scrapbook pages worthy of being displayed outside of a scrapbook. Scrapbooking may be an art, but scrapbookers are not going to starve for their art. Industry workers note that the economic turmoil beginning in 2008 impacted their business. One industry worker states:

> scrapbooking comes under crafting and that's something that people spend their discretionary dollars on. It's not a necessity. So people have to cut somewhere and they've found that a lot of them are cutting on their craft budget that becomes a little more difficult for us.

After being in business for eight years, City Scrapbooks closed its doors six months after this interview. Even though scrapbooking is very important to people, it is still just a hobby and as a hobby, it is an extra.

Industry workers are much more likely than scrapbookers to discuss scrapbooking in terms of art. Scrapbookers, however, do not seem to see scrapbooking as always being art. For example, respondents point out how some of the stuff in the magazines is "really artsy" in

comparison to what they do or that they are also artists in addition to scrapbookers, suggesting scrapbooking is not art. Another respondent describes scrapbooking as "an artistic way of displaying your photos," while others talk about how some of their pages were more artistic than other pages because of the techniques used.

Scrapbooking as art is most clearly articulated when respondents describe what good and not-so-good scrapbooks looked like. Nearly all respondents have difficulty describing a not-so-good scrapbook because they say it is so subjective. Most refer to their early scrapbooks as examples of not-so-good scrapbooks instead of comparing their work to the work of others.

Scrapbookers are Historians

Scrapbookers often are historians—specifically, they are their families' historians. Not all scrapbookers take on the role of historian in terms of learning about their or their family's past, but the simple act of scrapbooking makes them a record keeper of their present life. Heritage books in particular draw on history in order to be completed in the first place. Even in non-heritage scrapbooks, scrapbookers relate how they add historical facts and trivia to their scrapbooks. For example, respondents research and include the price of various items during the time period memorialized in heritage scrapbooks. Others include facts about the places he or she visits. Sometimes this involves including memorabilia such as brochures with this information and other times it involves looking up the information and writing it in the scrapbook. Scrapbookers take great care to provide richer stories by putting their stories into a larger cultural context. One company, It Takes Two®, actually has an entire line of stickers for each year between 1901 and 2008 with information about things such as the price of gas and the number one film from the year in addition to stickers with facts from various national parks and about several different sports (It Takes Two® 2008). Though respondents do not say they use these

stickers, their existence illustrates that this is something many scrapbookers do in their scrapbooks and is at least encouraged by the industry.

For many scrapbookers, it is important to know where they come from, which is why they scrapbook not only the present, but also the past. In some cases, they are researching their racial or ethnic heritage as discussed in Chapter 5. What scrapbookers are doing is something non-scrapbookers do as well. For example, in 2010 NBC is running a show called *Who Do You Think You Are?*® produced in partnership with ancestry.com® where a celebrity with the help of local historians traces a branch of the celebrity's family tree. The show's tagline is "To know who you are, you have to know where you come from" (National Broadcast Corporation 2010). Ancestry.com® has one million paying subscribers (and presumably has been used by many more who are no longer subscribers) (Ancestry.com® 2010). Some of these subscribers are compiling scrapbooks and many more are compiling variations of scrapbooks through this genealogical research. People use scrapbooking as a way to learn and share their family's history and thereby demonstrate an identity.

Industry workers encourage scrapbookers to include the historical context in their scrapbook pages. For example, scrapbookers are discouraged from cropping out too much of a photo as they may inadvertently delete some of the historical context (e.g., that orange shag carpeting may be hideous but it dates the photo so some of it should remain in the photo). Scrapbook manufacturers produce products that have a vintage look to recreate a historical moment in time. Though critics opine that scrapbooking is too commercialized because scrapbookers are more likely to use vintage reproductions rather than originals (see Helfand 2008), they are missing the biggest difference in that the reproductions are more likely to be of archival quality. If a scrapbooker's purpose is preservation, then they are not going to use some

original items because they will deteriorate and damage photographs and other items on the scrapbook page as they deteriorate. (In Chapter 8, there is more discussion on the use of items that are reproduced for scrapbooking.)

WHERE DO YOU SCRAPBOOK?

Scrapbookers may be artists and historians, but they also are scrapbooking shoppers and croppers. Both shopping and cropping shape the identity of the scrapbooker as a scrapbooker and shape their larger identity outside of scrapbooking. Scrapbookers shop for scrapbook supplies where they think they will find scrapworthy items. The decision as to where to shop for supplies is shaped by industry workers. Industry workers focus on how their business differs from the competition in terms of pressure applied to the customer, the relationship they have with the customer, and the knowledge they share with the customer. Customers, however, focus on the economic side of the equation in making decisions about where to shop, though there are many reasons customers purchase scrapbooking products beyond price. Scrapbooking occurs through shopping but also cropping. Respondents crop alone and with others, in their homes, other's homes, stores, and religious centers. Where scrapbooking takes place is considered in terms of shopping and cropping.

Shopping

Scrapbook supplies were first sold in small independently-owned, local scrapbook stores and through direct selling companies. As scrapbooking grew in popularity, larger established businesses (e.g., Target®, Wal-Mart®) expanded their floor space devoted to crafting— specifically scrapbooking (Levy 2003). Businesses that did not traditionally sell craft supplies (e.g., Barnes & Noble®) are now doing so (Young 2004). Unlike chain stores, local scrapbook stores tend to cater towards more established scrapbookers offering more personalized service,

whereas the chain stores may simply expose people to the hobby (Levy 2003; O'Malley 2004). Local scrapbook stores are important to scrapbookers because some scrapbookers visit their favorite scrapbook stores as often as four times a week (Brokaw 2004).

Scrapbooking is also a huge industry online. Many scrapbook stores in fact are only located online. Moreover, there are many websites devoted to discussing scrapbooking. The most popular scrapbooking website is Two Peas in a Bucket (http://www.twopeasinabucket.com/) (Arthur 2004). Two Peas—as insiders call it—has 400,000 users, began in 1999 in Middleton, WI, and was the first online retailer that sold scrapbook supplies like a local scrapbook store (i.e., individual sheets of paper rather than scrapbook kits) (Leisure Web LLC 2009). Two Peas in a Bucket not only sells scrapbook supplies but it actively builds community among customers through its extensive discussion board system.

People who work in the scrapbook industry see their way of selling[43] the product as superior to the alternative. I was surprised to find that industry workers overall had little knowledge about their competitors. One reason for this is because industry workers shopped for supplies where they were both convenient and less expensive due to their employee discount. They had little motivation to seek out scrapbook supplies elsewhere. Most direct sellers did not use brick and mortar stores and most brick and mortar workers had never been to a direct selling event. Very few purchased scrapbook supplies online. Their ignorance of the competition

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[43] City Scrapbooks, Swanky Scrapbooks, Metro Scrapbooks, and The Scrapbook Chain are all brick and mortar stores. Inspired Stories, Let's Stamp, and Geneology Digital Scrapbooks are all direct selling companies. Posh Scrapbook Supplies is an online store that sells scrapbook kits.

strengthened the differences between direct selling companies, brick and mortar stores, and online stores for them.

Brick and mortar stores are known for carrying a wide variety of product from a variety of vendors. Online stores are able to carry even more product than scrapbook stores because they do not have the overhead costs allowing them to have an even larger variety of product in-stock. Direct selling companies offer products that may not be found elsewhere (e.g., Inspired Stories) or they may sell products made by them and also some products from other manufacturers made exclusively for them[44] (e.g., Let's Stamp). Scrapbook stores and online stores have more product diversity than direct selling companies because direct sellers are individuals who have to store their inventory in their home.

The issue of space also comes up in terms of offering crops.[45] Brick and mortar stores are better able to have permanent space for several scrapbookers. Direct sellers are limited by the size of their home or their ability to procure another space to offer cropping space to their customers. What the direct sellers and scrapbook customers often do not consider is that it is very expensive for a brick and mortar store to offer crop space. Many stores could make more money by putting inventory in the space for sale or decreasing the size of their store (saving on rent and utilities) but then they would drive some customers away who want a place to crop. It is unknown how effective crop space is to increasing sales in relation to the cost of having the crop

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[44] Let's Stamp may officially carry only exclusive products, but some of the products they sell are available elsewhere. They might just change the color of the product to make it a Let's Stamp exclusive item.

[45] The act of scrapbooking is often referred to as cropping.

space in the first place. Businesses may charge for crop space or provide it for free. Even a free crop gets customers in the doors that then may purchase products. Free crops are sometimes perceived as a ploy by scrapbookers to get them to buy more merchandise. Regardless, if people do not have the space in their home to scrapbook, they are less likely to do it. Offering a space for them to scrapbook gets them scrapbooking and gets them to buy more scrapbook supplies in the process.

Industry workers who are direct sellers and work in brick and mortar stores feel the competition from online retailers. The internet makes it much easier for customers to find what they are looking for, but at the same time means they may begin staying home more to do their shopping. Industry workers, however, emphasize the advantages of purchasing offline instead of online, such as being able to see and touch an item before committing to buying it.

Scrapbookers emphasize price, while industry workers emphasize the shopping experience. Most likely, this difference is because all of the industry workers were selling products that, for the most part, can be purchased for less money elsewhere. These industry workers are selling more than just merchandise—they are selling a pleasant shopping experience.

The shopping experience. Industry workers emphasize that they do not pressure customers to purchase products, they offer better customer service, and they are more knowledgeable about scrapbooking than the competition. Though industry workers distinguish their businesses from other types of scrapbook retailers on the last two characteristics, they focus on their business as a scrapbooking business in comparison to other businesses that happen to sell scrapbooking products.

In terms of pressuring the customer, however, brick and mortar industry workers see direct sellers as pressuring customers to buy from them. Brick and mortar industry workers talk

about how even when their store offers free classes, they never put pressure on customers to make a purchase. Direct sellers are viewed as a group as using pressure sales tactics but when brick and mortar industry workers buy from direct sellers, they point out that their consultant do not use these tactics. Direct sellers are lumped together as being pushy, yet individual consultants may deviate from this stereotype and be split off as different from the typical consultant.

The pressure does not seem to come directly from the consultant but from the structure in which the product is sold. Typically, potential customers are invited to a friend or family member's house where a direct seller (often the host's friend) will demonstrate or show available product. Industry workers talk about how they feel pressure to attend these parties because they had been invited by a friend or a family member and that this made them feel compelled to also make a purchase. Pressure—real or imagined—also appears to come from the other guests. One industry worker talks about how she did not like attending these parties because she cannot afford to buy very much compared to the other guests. Direct sellers, however, do not see themselves as applying pressure on customers and note that if they did, they would make more money than they do.

Direct selling works through using a person's relationships to sell product. Brick and mortar industry workers may not invite their friends and family in for a sales pitch, but they do focus on building a relationship with their customers and retaining customers based on this relationship. Local scrapbook store industry workers explain that they are able to offer personalized customer service that large chain stores are not.

Industry workers emphasize customer service, not sales pressure tactics as distinguishing them from the competition. Another key difference between the various sources of scrapbooking supplies is the knowledge of the employees. Industry workers talk about how they have

customers who have taken scrapbooking classes at chains from instructors that were assigned the class at the last minute that had never even scrapbooked. Brick and mortar industry workers explain that they are hired for their expertise as scrapbookers or for their experience in related activities (e.g., an art student or handmade card maker). Being a scrapbooker is seen as helpful to working in the industry because it means the employee uses the same discourse, is better able to show customers how to use the products in addition to just selling the products, and is better able to share ideas and support compared to a non-scrapbooker employee. Industry workers regularly mention that employees at other stores are not scrapbookers and are not as knowledgeable about scrapbooking. Even employees hired with little scrapbooking experience are expected to learn more about scrapbooking than the customer so that they can better serve the customer.

Shopping and Spending Money on Scrapbooking

Excluding business owners, industry workers earn close to minimum wage, commission-only, or a combination of the two in addition to discounted supplies. A running joke among brick and mortar employees is that it costs them more to work in the scrapbook store than they earn as they spend much of that income on more scrapbooking supplies, though some respondents argue they do save money because they would be buying the merchandise anyway only now they get a discount. What seems to be happening is that women are working in the industry so that they can spend their own money on their hobby without having to justify their spending to themselves or their partners—though none of my respondents mention this type of tension, it is in line with other research regarding women and work. For example, research on childcare expenses finds that women see childcare expenses as coming out of their paycheck rather than the household's overall budget (Tahmincioglu 2009). In contrast, men do not seem to be taking a job at the golf

course to pay for the golf game but instead the expense comes out of the household's budget (read, his budget).

Scrapbooking crops and classes may or may not cost customers money. Industry workers discuss the advantages and disadvantages of charging a fee. For instance, when Inspired Stories originally began consultants charged guests small fee to attend a party. This fee paid for materials (they made a project) but more than anything, it made it much more likely that the person would show up for the party. Local scrapbook stores often have very strict cancellation policies for similar reasons. Today, Inspired Stories consultants do not charge the fee because hosts did not like having to collect the money, though some do charge fees for certain types of classes beyond a basic class and will collect payment for the cost of supplies. Since Inspired Stories, began, however, there has been a cultural shift where people expect free services (e.g., free cell phone or DVR with service contract or free ad-supported email or television) (see Anderson 2009). Charging for services can be challenging when customers expect more and more things for free.

The local scrapbook store. Owning a scrapbook store is challenging. Local scrapbook stores tend to charge more for their products because they are not getting the same bulk discounts as larger stores. These stores also tend to be located in higher income areas because this is their customer base—people who can afford to pay a little bit more to support a local business and get personalized customer service in the process. The paradox is that the rent in these areas is often too much for these small businesses.

Even stores located in affluent areas have customers on a budget. For instance, scrapbookers who rely on a partner to provide them with money for the scrapbooking supplies may have a scrapbooking budget that is much smaller than could be based on their household's

overall income. Regardless, local scrapbook stores close because of poor ownership decisions independent of the local economy. For example, one industry worker has worked at two different scrapbook stores. The first store was part of a small scrapbook store chain that was bought by another company. The new corporate owners did not know how to run a scrapbook store and the store was ultimately closed shortly after the change in ownership. Though some scrapbook stores close, others will open and new people are becoming scrapbookers every day.

Many people become scrapbookers because of the money they are already spending on photography (e.g., cameras, memory cards, and printed photographs). Because they have spent so much money on their photographs, they want to store them outside of a drawer or a shoebox. At the same time, more people are better able to afford cameras (they are standard on most mobile phones) (see Chalfen 1987 for discussion of how common "Kodak culture" has become). It is more likely for people to have photographs of themselves and their family compared to people in the past. In other words, scrapbooking is big business and will remain big business for the foreseeable future.

Scrapbooking is perceived as an expensive hobby and can quickly become expensive, but industry workers are quick to point out that it does not have to be that way. There are less expensive and more expensive items. Many items are extras that do not have to be used at all. On the other hand, as industry workers mention, shopping for scrapbook supplies can be a cheap thrill. A person can get their retail therapy without spending very much money at all and there are few other places a person could go to spend so little and get the same effect.

Scrapbookers also talk about the cost of scrapbooking. Some talk about it in terms of their husband's and other's opinions that the hobby was expensive or even a waste of money.

Though many agreed that scrapbooking is expensive, some argue it actually is quite affordable, especially in comparison to other hobbies (e.g., quilting or stained-glass making).

Respondents figure out ways to make the hobby more affordable for them. They use coupons, buy scrapbook kits (i.e., more items at a higher price is cheaper than buying the pieces individually), order off of QVC, volunteer for scrapbooking conventions (to get free admission, product, or both), and become industry workers to save money on their scrapbooking supplies. Others selectively purchase supplies that make scrapbooking more affordable. For example, one respondent explains how she uses alphabet stamps instead of alphabet stickers because a stamp can be used over and over again, whereas once the common letters are used from a sheet of stickers, the scrapbooker is left with x's and z's and has to go buy more stickers. Others mainly shopped at chain stores rather than local scrapbook stores because it is more affordable.

Part of the reason scrapbooking gets the bad rap of being an expensive hobby comes from scrapbooking manufacturers producing items that can be had for much less money elsewhere. Simply by labeling it as being for scrapbooking increases the price. One respondent says she would never pay money for something she could do herself in her scrapbooking. For example, she will never buy a bottle cap from the scrapbooking aisle of a store because she can get a bottle cap so much cheaper elsewhere. The commercialization of everything by the scrapbooking industry turns off both scrapbookers and non-scrapbookers.

Almost all respondents buy at least some of their supplies from big box crafting retailers like Micheals®, Hobby Lobby®, or Jo-Ann Fabric and Craft Store® and other non-craft chain stores such as Target® or Wal-Mart®. A few respondents shop at local scrapbook stores in the Atlanta area, with most mentioning that they do so because they want to support local businesses and that they like the owner(s) of the store(s) where they shop. Even these "buy local"

scrapbookers buy from the big box stores, too. Some preferred the anonymity of the big box stores, where he or she is not bothered by the employees. Only a couple of respondents buy supplies online. Online shoppers typically shop online because they do not live near a local scrapbook store or because they are not able to find the types of supplies they are interested in off-line. Only one subscribes to a monthly kit club. Very few buy supplies ordered from television. Scrapbookers who do not buy from these sources, buy from an independent consultant. One Inspired Stories consultant does buy non-Inspired Stories products but justifies it by talking about how she buys items that Inspired Stories does not make (e.g., NASCAR® themed stickers) or because she has a coupon.

A few respondents shop at local scrapbook stores while vacationing. Scrapbook shopping is something people do even when on vacation. A major reason people do this is because those stores might have something their store back home does not carry.

During the time of our interview, there was a clear distinction between the products that are available at local scrapbook stores and chain stores but the chain stores are encroaching on the local scrapbook stores' product selection. Once product becomes available at the chain stores it is more challenging for the local scrapbook stores to continue carrying it because they cannot get the volume discounts that the chain stores get and pass those savings onto consumers. Some companies only want to do business with high volume retailers as can be seen by Martha Stewart's entrée into the scrapbook industry. Originally Michaels® and select local scrapbook stores were allowed to carry her scrapbooking products at the time of this debut. Michaels® stores had to remodel their stores to her specifications in order to carry her product. City Scrapbooks was one of the select local scrapbook stores that was chosen to carry her products, but the store would have had to purchase a minimum of $10,000 in product. Most orders that

came into the store are only a few hundred dollars, rarely ever an order over a thousand dollars. For this reason, City Scrapbooks simply could not afford to carry this line of products. Other scrapbook companies sign exclusive deals with chain stores so that local scrapbook stores cannot carry their product despite having carried it in the past. Today, local scrapbook stores are becoming harder and harder to find not only because their merchandise tends to be more expensive, but also because it is increasingly difficult to compete with the chain stores on procuring the merchandise in the first place. Shopping for scrapbooking supplies is only one aspect of where scrapbooking takes place. Now I consider where cropping takes place.

Cropping

The decision as to where to actually crop draws a line between work, home, and hobby though this boundary is quite blurry. Cropping at home means still being "on call" to housework and childcare (Demos 2006), which is why most scrapbookers who are mothers of young children wait until their children are asleep or their husbands can tend to their needs before they begin cropping. Cropping outside the home draws a line whereby the scrapbooker is now focused on the hobby and not on day to day housework or childcare. Regardless, family members can interrupt crops outside the home when husbands call wives on the phone while she is attending a crop (Demos 2006). Furthermore, although family members may not be physically present, typically, they are present in the subject matter of the scrapbook. In this way, scrapbooking is not a chance to get away from the family but is still very much a part of doing family, as I discuss in Chapter 5. Scrapbooking, then, is a site where the line between pure leisure and doing family work is quite unclear. DeVault (1991) raises this same issue when it comes to feeding the family—it is difficult to delineate feeding activity that is work from that

which is leisure. Though scrapbooks, like quilts (Stalp 2006), may be used by the family, the hobbyist does not necessarily view this leisure time or activity as being for the family.

Cropping space may be temporary or permanent. Temporary cropping spaces may be within the scrapbooker's home, another person's home, or a more public place like a scrapbook store or a Church basement. Most of my respondents crop in the home. Some of these spaces are permanently devoted to scrapbooking but most are not. Scrapbookers may commandeer the dining room table for scrapbooking to such an extent that it looks like a permanent space, but all of the scrapbooking supplies are stored away if company comes over for a meal. Scrapbookers may take over a space within the home for two or three weeks at a time before packing up their supplies for several months.

Some scrapbookers crop outside of the home all of the time or some of the time. The ability to crop outside the home depends on having a place outside the home to crop, having the funds to cover the cost of renting the space (i.e., crop fees) or belonging to a community (i.e., a church) that provides free table time, and feeling welcome at a public crop. Being able to crop outside the home assumes the scrapbooker has transportation, childcare, and scrapbooking luggage[46] of some sort so that he or she can transport scrapbook supplies to the cropping space. Some of my respondents report not always feeling welcome at store crops or have never attended a store crop for fear of being unwelcomed. Scrapbookers who are already marginalized due to

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[46] There are wheeled totes full of pockets and compartments making it easier to transport scrapbooking supplies to and from crops though a person could easily use other types of luggage they already own. I used a large duffle bag when I began attending crops as a scrapbooker and only used a scrapbooking tote when a friend gave me hers when she moved.

race, class, or sexual identity may not feel especially welcomed if the vast majority of scrapbookers cropping are white, heterosexual, and middle class. Scrapbookers may crop at a friend's house, but this means the scrapbooker has a person who both scrapbooks and has the space to invite others to scrapbook at her or his house. Cropping at a friend's house may mean that children are also welcome, which may make it easier for mothers to scrapbook with other people. In this case, home comes with the scrapbooker, making it even more difficult to draw a line between home and hobby. Even if a person is able to crop outside the home, the hobby still is part of the home because supplies and finished products are stored in the home.

Scrapbookers crop outside the home not only because they do not have the space in their home to do it or because they are trying to draw lines between home and hobby but also because of the socializing and availability of materials that happen at crops.

One respondent has been to crops at people's homes and also at the store she worked at. She finds cropping at the home of someone who is more affluent to be more fun because they often share their supplies. If the person is not so affluent, then it is not as fun because she has to make sure she brings all of her own supplies which she says can be a hassle. Cropping at a scrapbook store, then, is advantageous because a scrapbooker can simply buy whatever item he or she needs rather than having to bring it with her or him or relying on the generosity of the host. If the at-home crop is hosted by a direct-selling consultant, the consultant typically has inventory to purchase but still not as much as one would find in a brick and mortar store.

For some scrapbookers, physically spending time with a specific person is just as if not more important than actually accomplishing the scrapbooking. Some crop with religious groups strengthening their involvement with both their religion and their hobby in the process. Cropping to also socialize is often compared to quilting bees. Attending crops is a chance:

to share. It reminds me of the old quilting bees of years ago where women would get together and work on a joint project and when it was done they had something that they did that they could share and the experience of it and also share in the outcome of it. Scrapbooking is the same way even though you are working on your own book; people share leftover papers and scraps of this or techniques of ideas. So that in the end of it, you've got something beautiful that a community of people have had input in.

Scrapbookers cropping together share ideas, materials, and tools. They also motivate one another so that they believe they are more productive. Respondents mention cropping at a store was a way to make friends. One respondent uses meetup.org to find scrapbooking friends to crop with.

Scrapbookers are not the first, nor the last to do their craft (or work) in groups. Other crafters, such as knitters (Potts 2006), practice their craft in groups, too. The Oneida Community did many of their tasks "by the ordinance of bees" (Robertson 1970:48). Doing tasks such as shelling peas or paring apples as a group makes the work fun whereas to do it alone is monotonous. It is possible that some scrapbookers feel the same way about scrapbooking though this does not seem to be the case among my respondents. The Oneida Community find the bees to be "a good promoter of family spirit" (Robertson 1970:61). In other words bees are used to make tedious work fun and contribute to a sense of we-ness or group solidarity. Scrapbooking, too, can be tedious and people who otherwise have nothing in common find a sense of community among other scrapbookers, often through crops. Doing things together and at the same time—or temporal synchronicity—contributes to a sense of we-ness (Zerubavel 1981).

The same socializing that some find appealing, others find unappealing. For instance, one respondent only likes scrapbooking with her mother because she is shy and finds cropping with others to be too distracting. It seems that crops are a place where some scrapbookers are able to

accomplish a lot of scrapbooking because it gives them space and time to devote to the hobby. For others, it is a hassle (to bring all of their supplies) and too distracting to accomplish much scrapbooking. Some never considered cropping with others or do not know others who scrapbook. Others have not found a group they click with. Finally, some respondents once cropped with others and do not anymore.

Some scrapbookers no longer crop with others for several reasons. The scrapbooker now has a permanent space in her or his home to scrapbook eliminating the need for scrapbooking space elsewhere. Others mention not fitting in with the scrapbooking community in some way. One respondent explains how she had cropped through crops organized by an Inspired Stories consultant but no longer does because she feels the other croppers are too critical of her use of non-Inspired Stories products. Others say they do not have time to crop outside the home with others. Unless the scrapbooker brings all of their supplies with them, they have to plan the pages they want to make ahead of time (i.e., pre-scrap[47]) and they do not always have time to do this. Another respondent never attended crops as a participant but did work at a convention center where crops are occasionally held. He talks about some of his observations and compares it to other hobbies, such as fishing. Few people can just get up one morning and go fishing. Most have to plan that activity. He sees people having to do the same thing with scrapbooking.

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[47] Pre-scrapbooking refers to selecting the paper, photographs, embellishments, and memorabilia the scrapbooker wants to include on a page. Some will sketch the layout they wish to create. The scrapbooker does everything, except assemble the page ahead of time.

Is Scrapbooking McDonaldized?

Ritzer (2008:1) defines McDonaldization as "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world." A McDonaldization process is characterized by control, efficiency, calculability, and predictability. Parts of the scrapbook industry embrace McDonaldization, yet at the same time scrapbookers resist McDonaldization.

For instance, scrapbook kits used as intended (e.g., efficiency) would be a lot more common if individuality is unimportant. That being said, photo books (photographs printed directly into a bound book) are increasingly popular and these are only individualized by the photos. The photos are often filled in by a computer program (e.g., control). Stacy Julian's Library of Memories or Creative Memories® scrapbooking methods seem to be the closest to McDonaldization because one goal of these methods is to scrapbook more quickly (i.e., efficiency).

There is tension regarding calculability among scrapbookers. For instance, one respondent recalls attending crops where prizes are given to the participant that completes the most pages. He might spend days on a single layout. For him, quality is much more important than quantity. For other scrapbookers, quantity matters in terms of getting photos in albums (e.g., Library or Memories).

Finally, as scrapbooking as an industry has grown, bigger companies demand more retail space pushing out smaller companies and stores. Moreover, as local scrapbook stores close, it is more difficult to find diverse products as the big box stores carry fewer brands (while carrying more product overall). Visiting a new scrapbook store loses its appeal if they all contain the same product (i.e., predictability).

In sum, scrapbooking is McDonaldized to some extent, yet McDonaldization is also resisted by scrapbooking. Something else to consider is how the industry has commodified things that may or may not need to be commodities. For instance, one can hire a free-lance scrapbooker to create her or his scrapbooks. The personalized nature of scrapbooks, however, limits this practice. One free-lance scrapbooker comments that she experiences dissatisfaction with the process because she is not scrapbooking her own memories, while another free-lance scrapbooker does not have this experience. Hiring someone else to scrapbook one's own memories could potentially be one of those things that "money shouldn't buy" like surrogacy, voting, or military service (Sandel 2003).

I have been unofficially following a couple dozen scrapbook-related blogs over the past few months. There are a few patterns that are emerging. First, most layouts shown on these blogs are product-heavy with only one or two photos and several pieces of product. Second, giveaways are quite common. The product given away is from a scrapbook company or related company (e.g., computer printers or camera bags). A third, less prominent theme, is that of showing off the blogger's recent purchases (e.g., a European trip, shoes, or a handbag). The focus is on the commercial products. Of course, blogs earn the blogger money through some of these transactions, so it is understandable to some extent. I suspect readers looking for content and not all commercials will begin looking elsewhere for scrapbooking related information. The lives of several scrapbooking celebrities are becoming nearly completely commodified as they blog about nearly everything that is happening in their life in addition to blogging about scrapbooking-related topics.

Scrapbooking both embraces and resists McDonaldization and commodification. Where a person scrapbooks tells us something about how they draw boundaries between home, work, and

hobby. It also tells us where a person fits within the scrapbooking thought community and can predict how a person scrapbooks.

HOW DO YOU SCRAPBOOK?

Methods and Styles

My respondents primarily scrapbook traditionally (i.e., with paper, adhesive, and printed photographs). Today, there are tools available to create scrapbooks digitally and then have them print and bound like a book or individual pages can be printed and slid into a conventional scrapbook album. Some do a little of each and others combine the two doing what is called hybrid scrapbooking. Only one of my respondents digitally scrapbooks nearly exclusively (she started out as a traditional scrapbooker and still intends to complete a traditional album she has started but plans to then only scrapbook digitally).

Most of my respondents are traditional scrapbookers and do no digital scrapbooking. Traditional scrapbookers may use a computer to edit photographs or type up journaling, but they still consider these scrapbooks traditional. Most of the industry workers have little experience with digital scrapbooking because that is not the product they are selling. The owner of Scan Your Story has the most experience with digital scrapbookers because her business digitized photographs for people making it even easier to just create a digital scrapbook.

The owner of Scan Your Story finds that younger women are more drawn to digital scrapbooking compared to older women because younger women are more comfortable with the technology. Older scrapbookers in my sample support this respondent's assertion. They mention they are too old to figure out digital scrapbooking on computers, though this is not true for all older respondents. Future research on scrapbooking should make sure to account for younger scrapbookers who may be overlooked because they are scrapbooking digitally instead of

traditionally. Respondents, for the most part, say they are drawn to traditional scrapbooking instead of digital scrapbooking because they like all the "stuff"—the ribbons, the stickers, and so on. Digital scrapbooking, though may include digital versions of these embellishments, is seen as just not the same. Digital scrapbookers say that it is less time consuming and easier than traditional scrapbooking and they are on the computer anyway. It is interesting that digital scrapbooking is described as easier than traditional scrapbooking because it requires computer knowledge whereas traditional scrapbooking ultimately boils down to just gluing pictures to paper. The imagined "simplicity" of traditional scrapbooking is one reason outsiders often do not view it as art.

Some respondents have no interest in learning about or ever trying digital scrapbooking. They see the computer as for work and do not want to work on the computer for fun, too. The lack of interest in digital scrapbooking among most of my respondents boils down to the process. Many enjoy the process of traditional scrapbooking and "getting their hands dirty" that they feel that is lost by digital scrapbooking. Others think that digital scrapbooks are "not as warm and fuzzy." If scrapbooking is only about the finished product, then it would not matter what the process is to get to the finished product. Traditional scrapbooking, then, like quilting (Gabbert 2000), has a sensory quality to it. Those that digitally scrapbooked usually are very purposeful. For example, one respondent makes a digital scrapbook of her blog (the blog company she uses allows the blogger to purchase a printed and bound copy of the blog posts). Another respondent makes digital scrapbooks as gifts and makes traditional scrapbooks for herself. Some respondents express interest in scrapbooking digitally but do not really understand the process. For example, they may have bought or been given software to make a scrapbook digitally but do not know what to do next. Do they just leave the digital scrapbook on the computer? Do they

print it out themselves? Being used to scrapbooking in a 12" x 12" format (as most traditional scrapbookers are) means they would need to purchase a printer that could accommodate that paper size or scrapbook in a different size altogether.

Though most respondents only scrapbook traditionally, traditional scrapbooks draw on digital technologies. A new method of scrapbooking draws on both traditional and digital scrapbook methods and is called hybrid scrapbooking. Most respondents do not draw on much digital technology, but many do edit their photos with various software programs or type up journaling and print it out for their scrapbook.

Traditional, digital, and hybrid scrapbooking can be considered scrapbooking methods. These methods can be still further distinguished into styles. A person's scrapbooking style signals where he or she fits in the social world of scrapbooking. Similar to drumming (Curran 1996) and windsurfing (Wheaton 2000), outsiders may not notice the distinctions between different scrapbook styles and instead simply lump all scrapbooks together as the same. Where a person buys their scrapbooking supplies often influences their scrapbooking style. Any scrapbooking business is going to promote only the products they actually sell. One industry worker says:

> like a Let's Stamp party, they're going to show you that they have letter stamps and that's how you create a title. But at a store they'll have die-cuts, and rub-ons, and sticker letters, and stencils, and everything.

Industry workers are going to only show customers items that they can purchase through their respective businesses. If a person exclusively purchases from one business over another, their style, generally, reflects this. Brick and mortar industry workers argue that their customers' styles are going to be more eclectic because they carry product from multiple vendors. In

contrast, the direct sellers typically only carry one company's products so there is less diversity in terms of scrapbooking styles using those products.

Direct selling companies are also accused of promoting their method of scrapbooking in an attempt to keep the scrapbooker coming back to them rather than purchasing from competitors. For example, Inspired Stories has a method and style of scrapbooking that is promoted over other methods and styles. Inspired Stories customers and consultants refer to non-Inspired Stories products as contraband—emphasizing the deviance implicit in choosing to use products from competitors (see Chapter 4). Inspired Stories customers say they are made to feel excluded by the consultants or other customers if they use products from other venders. The scrapbooking styles that are driven by manufactures turn off potential scrapbookers. A few respondents note that they initially did not like scrapbooking until they realized there were other options besides Let's Stamp or Inspired Stories.

In addition to scrapbooking styles that reflect various thought communities in scrapbooking from various manufacturers, actual scrapbooking styles can be described as clean lines (as opposed to spirals and circles), symmetrical, eclectic, flat, frilly, contemporary, plain, simple, artistic, and creative. One freelance scrapbooker (a person who makes custom scrapbooks for other people) has a portfolio of various scrapbooking styles that clients can choose from. Industry workers emphasize that simple scrapbooks are perfectly acceptable. *Simple Scrapbooks* was a popular scrapbooking magazine (final issue May/June 2009) devoted to scrapbooking simply. According to industry workers, simple scrapbooking refers to focusing on the photos and the journaling rather than focusing on the decoration (e.g., embellishments). Scrapbooks without 3-D embellishments are referred to as flat by respondents and are a hallmark of Inspired Stories. A typical Inspired Stories scrapbooker uses paper, stickers, and photos; all

items that are flat. Scrapbookers with greater familiarity with the various scrapbooking manufacturers often refer to a specific brand or scrapbooking celebrity that they say their style reflected—assuming that I knew what they were talking about.

Though scrapbookers may describe their styles as "plain and simple" instead of "artistic and creative," there is often overlap. Some of their pages may be simpler or more creative than others. The terms, too, are not mutually exclusive. A simple page could be very artistic.

Most respondents talk about how their scrapbooking style has evolved through the years. Industry workers, in particular, saw their scrapbooking style evolve to follow what happened in the industry at large. Scrapbooking products are like fashion in that some types of products become very popular, only to be pushed to the side when the latest craze comes around. Years ago it was quite typical to go in a scrapbook store and have rolls of stickers lining an entire wall. Today, stickers are still sold in scrapbook stores, but are not nearly as prevalent. For the most part, local scrapbook stores mainly carry stickers for new scrapbookers rather than for more advanced scrapbookers. Other respondents talk about how they have gone into ruts, using a particular technique over and over again until it is replaced by another technique, for example.

By working in a scrapbook store, industry workers learn how other people (i.e., other scrapbookers) scrapbook. Industry worker's scrapbooking styles are challenged when they see the new items and emerging scrapbook trends. One industry worker says, "I don't think my scrapbooks would have grown … I would've stuck rather than trying something different or new or stepping outside of what I was comfortable with." Working in the scrapbook industry causes scrapbookers to try new things based on what they saw through their work, which runs contrary to the notion that your personality shows through in your scrapbooks. It also points to the fact

that despite scrapbookers and industry workers proclaiming there are no rules that there at least is pressure to conform to the norms of the scrapbooking thought community.

There are No Rules

Every decision a scrapbooker makes is shaped by their thought community's mindset. Zerubavel (1997) identifies three classifying mindsets: rigid, flexible, and fuzzy. These mindsets can most clearly be understood in terms of the rules of scrapbooking. My respondents appear to be flexible-minded when it comes to scrapbooking supporting the assertion that the scrapbooking thought community is flexible-minded. Few strictly follow any rules regarding scrapbooking (i.e., rigid-mindedness). The most often mentioned rule has to do with the archival quality of scrapbooking materials and every respondent breaks this rule at least some of the time. Few still are closer to fuzzy-minded regarding the rules of scrapbooking. Though most cannot readily articulate any rules of scrapbooking, all eventually identify some rules or at least guidelines that they follow and think others should follow. Flexible-mindedness can be characterized as a both/and mindset (Zerubavel 1997). An item might not be scrapworthy because it is not of archival quality but it is scrapworthy because it symbolizes an important memory. In this way an item can be both scrapworthy and not scrapworthy at the same time. Respondents regularly practice this kind of thinking in their scrapbooks, which is why it is so difficult for most to identify any strict rules regarding the hobby. Overall, the scrapbooking thought community practices flexible-mindedness.

Industry workers in particular emphasize that there are no rules of scrapbooking, which is something many scrapbookers find appealing about the hobby. Digging deeper, one quickly realizes, that there are no rules like there are in formal games like golf, but as one industry worker points out "there are easier ways, maybe and there are certainly good, the right kind of

materials, but in terms of the outcome, you can't do it wrong. You can't make a mistake. It's your world." Moreover, respondents do mention "rules" regarding the materials and design used to create a scrapbook.

Scrapbookers should use "appropriate" materials in their scrapbooks, by which industry workers mean archival.[48] One industry worker states, "if you're going to go through that time and effort that you want them to last so you should use materials that are going to help be durable and long lasting." Industry workers find it frustrating if customers resist using non-archival materials in their scrapbooks because one of the goals for industry workers is that scrapbooks are meant to hold and preserve memories for future generations. Using non-archival materials defeats the purpose in their eyes. Most scrapbookers, too, emphasize using archival products in their scrapbooks. Scrapbookers talk of "resuscitating" the photographs and memories they find in older family albums by removing the photographs from non-archival albums (e.g., magnetic albums) and placing them in archival quality scrapbooks.

Though most scrapbookers use archival materials most of the time, they do include non-archival materials for various reasons. For example, most respondents would include portions of my hypothetical wedding bouquet, such as the ribbon and some of the dried and pressed petals for sentimental and symbolic reasons (i.e., the flowers symbolize and serve as a reminder of the wedding day). Others say to take a photograph instead of trying to include the physical bouquet because the bouquet is too bulky and even pressed and dried petals will decay. On this subject

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[48] Archival materials include using paper that is acid-free and lignin-free (e.g., not pages from magazines or newspapers), photo-safe adhesive (e.g., not rubber cement), and a waterproof pen (e.g., not a Sharpie®).

one respondent comments "I try to follow the rules of acid-free[49] [and] archival quality but if it's important to me I am going to put it in there." In other words, using archival materials may be the rule and the norm, but scrapbookers can and do deviate if the item is important.

The use of non-archival materials also varies depending on where the person fits within the thought community of scrapbooking. For example, Inspired Stories emphasizes the superiority of their products over all others and extensively tests all of their products for durability. Inspired Stories scrapbookers are less likely to include non-archival materials and products not made by Inspired Stories even if labeled safe for scrapbooking because they have a tendency to believe that all non-Inspired Stories products are inferior, potentially non-archival, and non-safe.

The emphasis on archival materials also depends on the purpose of one's scrapbook. If the purpose is to preserve one's memories for future generations, then archival materials are very important. If, however, one's purposes are only that the person enjoys the process of scrapbooking, then using archival materials may not be as important. The use of archival materials also depends on what photographs are going into the album. Scrapbookers using older photographs (i.e., heritage albums) or photographs that belonged to a loved one (i.e., their mother) tend to be more concerned with using archival materials. From my observations working in the industry, one major shift has been the technology. With digital cameras it is so much easier to just print out another photo than with film cameras. Because of this, it seems more scrapbookers are less concerned with exclusively using archival materials compared to when

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[49] Paper typically contains acid which breaks down over time and will migrate to items it touches, such as photographs, destroying them, too. Scrapbook paper does not contain acid.

they were using photos developed from film (whose negatives may be non-existent). One respondent mentions this difference and her apprehension with scrapbooking the older family photographs. Her mother-in-law, who was present during the interview, points out, however, that the photographs are no less safe outside of the scrapbook. In this case, if the photographs are not going to be safe, then they might as well not be safe in a scrapbook rather than a shoebox.

What is new about the reincarnation of scrapbooking is the emphasis on using archival materials and the industry that has arisen to help scrapbookers improve their scrapbooking skills. As one respondent notes, people have "always recorded their memories. … newspaper articles …tucked in the photo album or family *Bible*." The family *Bible* has been replaced by the family photo album, which is now being replaced by the family scrapbook. Importantly, even the family photo album is scrapbook-like in that many contain non-photographs such as newspaper clippings or letters (Ott et al. 2006). Modern scrapbookers also use different tools.

Appropriate materials refer to both archival quality of the items in the scrapbook and also, appropriate tools. For example, industry workers try to sell new scrapbookers a paper trimmer to cut photos and paper with. Scissors, which most people already own, would work, but they are not as precise as a paper trimmer for cutting straight lines. Scrapbook stores often sell what they refer to as a "basics kit," which includes those tools that these industry workers find to be indispensable: a paper trimmer, adhesive, a pen, scissors, and a paper piercer. The basics kit arose because there are so many tools that can be used in scrapbooking that to present all of the options at once is thought to be overwhelming to the customer new to the craft. For example, a simple search on Google for "scrapbook tool" returns three million results.

Industry workers disagree as to rules about what a scrapbook should actually look like. Some think that scrapbookers should be familiar with basic color theory and design composition.

One industry worker is a certified Scrapbook Design & You® instructor who teaches a series of classes at her store called Scrapbook Design & You® that educate scrapbookers about basic color theory and design composition. Moreover, scrapbookers can find "good" design in scrapbook magazines and idea books where they can then "scraplift" the page by copying the design. In other words, good design is attainable by all. The scrapbooking industry, then, has a self-help (see Simonds 1992) aspect to it in that scrapbookers can read books and magazines, watch television, interact with blogs, and take classes in order to improve their scrapbooking skills.

Other industry workers feel that there are no rules regarding design because the scrapbooker can show some of her or his personality with their scrapbook design. The scrapbooker does this through the colors he or she chooses and the embellishments he or she uses. It seems that scrapbooking products are necessary in order to show more of your personality. One might think that your photos and words are enough to show your personality in a scrapbook. The scrapbook industry is like other industries such as the fashion industry, where purchased accessories are promoted as necessary so that you can share more of your personality.

Rules or guidelines regarding scrapbook design help create a boundary between a grown-up hobby and child's play. Scrapbooking is so easy that a child could do it compared to other hobbies (e.g., quilting, woodworking). Mothers introduce the hobby to their daughters at a young age (e.g., six or seven), which is common among handcrafters (Stalp and Winge 2008), though most of my respondents became scrapbookers as adults. A child could easily confuse mommy's scrapbooking supplies with her or his own art supplies so care is taken to mark the boundary between what is for grown-ups and what is for children. The rules make the activity grown-up. For example, one industry worker comments that the difference in design between adult

scrapbookers and child scrapbookers can be seen in the colors chosen for the scrapbook page. She finds that children pick out whatever color they like for their background paper without regard for how it works with their photographs. Children scrapbook without thinking about any rules, whereas adult scrapbookers are influenced by rules. Children pick a color not because it fits in with color technique or design but because they happen to like the color at the moment. Their scrapbook page reflects the colors they like at that time whereas adult scrapbookers pick colors based on commonly accepted design-rules (i.e., using a color wheel) rather than what their favorite color is at the moment. In some ways, a child's scrapbook communicates more about their personality than an adult's scrapbook.

Industry workers believe that the reason they had few scrapbookers who are not adults is because children and teenagers are not scrapbooking "in the safe way" (i.e., following the "rules" by using archival materials) yet. It could be that children and teenagers simply do not have the economic resources to scrapbook using supplies from a specialized retailer and instead rely on obtaining their materials as birthday gifts or as an extra purchase from Wal-Mart® while their parents shop for necessities. My sample only includes adults, reflecting the lack of youth who shop at specialized scrapbook stores. Younger scrapbookers are also not in my sample because it could be that very few young people are actually scrapbooking. Other scholars note that as people age, they use objects to demonstrate their social history (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Though unlikely, it could be that younger people simply are not scrapbooking because of their much shorter social history compared to adults.

Another rule of scrapbooking has to do with its purpose (see Chapter 4). One purpose of scrapbooking is that of enjoyment. Respondents argue scrapbooking is supposed to be fun and if

it stops being fun and instead is stressful, then the scrapbooker needs to step back and figure out why or quit scrapbooking altogether.

Most respondents could only identify rules when pressed. I asked my respondents what they would tell a new scrapbooker. In addition to the previously discussed rules, respondents mention scrapbookers should:

- Spell correctly

- At the very least caption photographs

- Not worry about straight lines

- Decide how much time and money they want to devote to it because it is easy to get overwhelmed with all the options

- Realize it doesn't take a lot of creativity

- Learn the basics before you get started (like anything new)

- Not set your cup of coffee on your crop table (it could spill)

- Know that you can't make a mistake

- Know there is emotion involved

Scrapbookers and industry workers may deemphasize rules, yet, most have suggestions to offer new scrapbookers. Some strictly adhere to rules imposed by the industry or themselves while most break the rules at least some of the time—buying supplies they will never use or including non-archival items on a scrapbook page. To further understand what rules scrapbookers might use in their scrapbooks, I asked my respondents to share with me examples of atypical and typical scrapbook pages they have completed.

(A)typical Boundaries

Few respondents were able to show me scrapbook pages that they believed to be atypical compared to their typical style. Most respondents just showed me some of the scrapbook pages and while looking at them, I raised questions as to whether something seemed atypical or typical. The respondent often agreed with my assessment, but not always. The page may have just been atypical for that scrapbook or may have been atypical of their style at the time that album was made but now is very typical. What this exercise did, however, was show that the boundary between typical and atypical is not clear-cut.

Few scrapbookers adhere to a set standard style on all of their pages. Only one respondent mentions certain features that are present on all of her scrapbook pages. She follows the "rule of three" in her design, includes at least one photograph, includes at a minimum the date, and includes a 3-D embellishment on each of her pages.

I intentionally left the words atypical and typical open to interpretation and would simply respond that "they mean whatever you want them to mean" when respondents ask me to clarify these terms prior to and during our interview. Some respondents compare their pages to unidentified others. For example, one respondent includes a certificate from her sorority and mentions this was a really important page to her "even though this is not what people think of when they first open a scrapbook." Respondents themselves often cannot explain why they marked a page for our interview as atypical with a couple mentioning they should have taken notes so they would remember why they thought it was atypical. Having a negative reaction to the page is often the only reason some respondents consider the page to be atypical. They simply do not like how the page turned out.

What is atypical for individual scrapbookers is often atypical for scrapbookers as a whole. Respondents showed me atypical methods, styles, and elements. Respondents almost always include photographs and use page protectors over their scrapbook pages. One respondent glues her scrapbook pages to the outside of the page protectors instead of slipping the pages inside the page protectors and another respondent never uses page protectors. Atypical journaling might be a print out of an email or in the scrapbooker's own handwriting—though most scrapbookers see value in using one's own handwriting, many rarely actually use their own handwriting. Scrapbookers typically only include pages they make themselves in their scrapbooks. Some respondents only do two-page layouts, though most do a combination of one and two-page layouts.

There is no standard number of photographs per page among scrapbooks but individual scrapbookers typically use approximately the same number of photographs on each page. Scrapbookers either use only one or two photographs or regularly use several (four or five) photographs on each page.

Photographs are usually of clothed people and include their faces. Photographs of body parts or nudity[50]—especially adult nudity—are rare. Most often scrapbookers include photographs of people rather than of things (e.g., buildings or nature). Scrapbookers rarely make pages explicitly about themselves or write introspectively on pages about themselves or others.

Respondents, who are better able to recognize atypical things in their scrapbooking, had been scrapbooking for a greater length of time. For them, atypical things are things they

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[50] Child nudity is more common than adult nudity. Mothers in particular have pages about a child's first bath or photographs of their child right after birth where the child was nude.

primarily did as beginners but no longer do. For example, one respondent inserted a blank piece of cardstock (the paper used as the base for a scrapbook page) into the left-side page protector and only included items on the right-side page protector in her first albums. Another respondent would use paper and embellishments that were completely unrelated to the photographs when she was first starting out.

Most scrapbook albums shown to me are standard albums. They are standard size and format. Scrapbookers typically insert their own paper in the album instead of using the paper provided by the album manufacturer.[51] Most scrapbookers use different colored paper throughout the album. Occasionally, scrapbookers use other formats for their albums. The scrapbook industry produces albums in various formats and shapes that scrapbookers use to challenge themselves or just to do something different. For example, one respondent has made an album out of chipboard that is held together with safety pins.

Different scrapbookers showed me pages that are of common events such as holidays or life transitions. Seeing how different scrapbookers capture these moments in their scrapbooks illustrates how standardized scrapbooks can be. For example, pages about childbirth and pregnancy typically include sonogram photographs, medical bracelets from the hospital stay, and name cards placed in the baby's basinet at the hospital. Atypical pages about the same subject

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[51] Some scrapbook albums come with paper already in the page protectors. Most scrapbookers replace this paper because they tend to use more colors rather than the white paper included with many scrapbooks. In some albums, the paper is not removable. In these cases, the scrapbooker may use the paper as the background or cover it up with other paper.

include WIC checks and Medicaid cards. Moreover, it is rare that a respondent emphasizes a lower social class in their scrapbooks through including things indicating government assistance.

Though scrapbookers are influenced by mainstream American culture in what they choose to scrapbook, they do not often record popular culture in their scrapbooks. A few scrapbookers regularly include popular culture references but for most this is atypical. For example, one respondent has an entire layout around the CD artwork from one of her favorite artists. In other cases, the popular culture reference is incorporated into the layout. For example, a respondent includes a quote from one of her daughter's favorite authors on a page about her daughter.

Scrapbookers also showed me pages that look very typical to the untrained eye, but are in fact atypical because the scrapbooker uses a new technique or type of product on the page. They may have enlarged a photograph or edited the photograph before printing it out. Some respondents try new techniques such as sewing on their pages only to discard the technique and never do it again, while others begin regularly using the new technique.

Though scrapbooks are rarely identical and there is tremendous variety in terms of scrapbooking styles, scrapbookers do common things on their scrapbook pages. Most scrapbookers include journaling for instance, but the journaling style may vary. One scrapbooker may include the date the photographs were taken, a title, and caption the photographs. Another scrapbooker may provide extensive journaling talking about how the photographs make them feel. Some scrapbookers use similar color schemes throughout their scrapbooks, while others are more varied.

Some respondents make sure to always do particular things on their pages. One respondent includes both individual shots of each of her children and a group shot of them

altogether on each page. A few respondents include trivia or facts about the place they were that the scrapbook page is about. Only one respondent includes standard items on each page (i.e., "a title, big pictures, embellishments, age" or "date, pictures, 3-dimensional embellishment").

By discussing atypical and typical scrapbook pages, what becomes clear is that most respondents scrapbook in typical ways—at least for them. They have difficulty identifying atypical pages or explaining why a page is atypical. Moreover, though there is variation between scrapbookers, by and large, most scrapbooks look very similar. They contain photographs, words, and embellishments on pretty, and generally colorful, paper. One thing that is true of most scrapbookers is that scrapbooking is never done. There is always more to scrapbook. For this reason, most scrapbooks do not really begin or end but continue on into another scrapbook. Generally, scrapbooks only end if they are about a very specific subject (e.g., a wedding, a vacation).

(In)complete Scrapbooks

An individual scrapbook album rarely has a beginning or a conclusion unless it is of a very specific topic, which has a natural beginning and ending (like a vacation, for example). Some scrapbooks may be planned to have a beginning and an ending. Many scrapbooks are ongoing and the end comes when the scrapbooker runs out of photos or no more pages fit in the album, whichever comes first, at which point the scrapbooker begins a new album. Though many scrapbooks are really multi-volume ongoing collections, few respondents label their scrapbooks in any way to indicate that the volume continues into another album.

Scrapbookers rarely complete an album from beginning to end but instead work in a more random order and then organize their pages in an order they see fit (most often, chronological). If a scrapbooker does complete a title page, this is typically done once the album is otherwise

finished. Some of my respondents have so recently began the hobby that they have not completed a whole album so they have not even considered how it might begin or end. One respondent always makes sure to include a beginning and an ending but believes she does because of her career. She is a published author so is used to writing with an introduction and conclusion and tries to do the same in her scrapbooks.

When scrapbookers have completed a beginning of an album they do things such as use a photograph of their child on the first day of school to begin an album about a child's educational career. One respondent created an album about her husband's family as a gift for them and it in announced her own pregnancy. She begins the album with a photograph of her mother-in-law and father-in-law and ended the album with the sonogram photo of the child she and her husband were expecting. Beginning pages may be very specific or somewhat general. For example, one album begins with an introductory page titled, "growing a crop of memories" and includes the year the photos in the album were taken. A couple of respondents take great care in creating title pages that are like a table of contents. One respondent includes a copy of a photograph from each page of the scrapbook, for instance.

Most scrapbooks do not have title pages or concluding pages ending the album because most scrapbooks shown to me are in various stages of completion. In a couple of cases, memorabilia is literally shoved into the page protector for pages to be completed in the future. Some pages are not even in page protectors yet.

Another aspect to consider regarding how complete a scrapbook page is has to do with whether or not the whole story is included on the scrapbook page. Journaling may be missing, for instance. From my photo-elicitation interviews, I find that very rarely is the whole story included. The oral story almost always provides more details than the scrapbook page. Moreover,

the photo-elicitation interviews with a family member or a friend of the scrapbooker really drives this point home when they either give me additional details or are unable to communicate anything beyond what is physically in front of them on the scrapbook page. For example, one scrapbook page contains one photograph of the respondent, her son, and her husband and the journaling says "lunch with mom and dad '04." That is it. When I looked at the page with my respondent and then looked at it separately with her son, both respondents told me about how this was a real special day because all three family members were able to make it to the lunch at school. Normally, only the respondent (mom) is able to make it to the lunch with her son. This part of the story is not mentioned on the scrapbook page and a person would have no way of knowing this story except through viewing the scrapbook page with the scrapbooker or with her son who was in the photograph. Scrapbooks are like autobiographies in that they can only be understood in their entirety if one understands who is included in the intended audience (Bjorklund 1998). Scrapbookers only need to provide as much information as they believe their intended audience needs in order to interpret the story.

Some parts of a scrapbook may always be incomplete. For example, a family tree will be incomplete as long as more people join the family in the future or more ancestors are identified that can be added to it. Some pages of the scrapbook are only partially complete because the scrapbooker intends to add to them as time goes by. For example, one respondent has a page about her pets and adds photos to it as more pictures of her pets are taken. Some albums are incomplete in that there are still pages that could be scrapbooked but are not.

Respondents feel their albums are complete when one of two things happen. First, no more pages can physically be added to the album. Second, the topic is complete. For example, a

scrapbook about a vacation is complete once the scrapbooker runs out of scrapworthy photographs and memorabilia from the vacation.

Scrapbooks are rarely complete narratives. Most scrapbooks cannot be viewed in isolation from one another if the goal is to learn the complete story of the scrapbooker. Scrapbooks are ongoing narratives about a person or a family. According to Kuhn (2002:19), family photograph albums are cyclical showing the same events that occur annually and are "more characteristic of the open-ended narrative form of the soap opera than of the closure of classical narrative." As time moves forward, there is simply more to scrapbook. Most scrapbooks are organized based on the passage of time, but could be organized in other ways.

Scrapbook Organization

Many scrapbookers organize their scrapbooks chronologically. Even scrapbooks organized by theme are typically also organized chronologically. For example, a vacation scrapbook begins with what happened at the beginning of the trip and ends with what happened at the end of the trip with everything in between organized by time, too. Time is a primary means by which scrapbookers lump various photographs and memorabilia together for inclusion in a scrapbook.

Most respondents indicate they scrapbooked both thematically and chronologically (N=21). For example, a scrapbook may be about one vacation (theme) but is organized by day (from the beginning to the end of the vacation). Four respondents indicate they organize their scrapbooks thematically and seven indicate they organized their scrapbooks chronologically. Two scrapbookers respond that they scrapbooked whatever inspires them and place the completed pages in an album wherever they want rather than by theme or time. In this case, the scrapbooker may lump photographs from different points in time but of the same subject together

(see also Demos 2006). Three scrapbookers did not answer the question. One respondent says she also sometimes organizes her scrapbooks by color or technique in addition to thematically and chronologically organizing her scrapbooks.

In non-thematic scrapbooks, the theme is a unit of time—most commonly a year. Most often the year is based on the calendar, but some respondents measure years in scrapbooks according to the birthday of the main subject (i.e., a child) or by school year (i.e., a scrapbook about one's college days begins in August, on move-in day). Occasionally, smaller units of time are used. Personally, I have compiled a scrapbook that chronicled a day in the life of my daughter. Everything included in that book happened on that specific day. Some scrapbookers do a combination of themed and chronological scrapbooks. If a big event happens (e.g., a vacation or a wedding) during the year, that event might have its own album and may or may not be mentioned in that year's scrapbook (i.e., cross-referenced). Organizing scrapbooks chronologically serves to mnemonically decapitate all that happened before the scrapbook as pre-history (Zerubavel 1997; 2003).

In general scrapbooks organized chronologically are organized from the beginning of the year to the end of the year. New Years Day often begins the album and Christmas often ends the album (unless something else scrapworthy occurs between Christmas and New Years Day). One respondent who organizes her scrapbooks by year uses her child's birthday as the start and end point for the albums. Birthdays, Christmas, and New Years Day serve as "critical dates" (Zerubavel 1981) or watershed moments (Zerubavel 1997) signaling the beginning of one year and ending of another year (Zerubavel 1981). The decision to use a child's birthday as the start and end point rather than a calendar based date such as January 1, illustrates the importance of that date to the scrapbooker and just how monumental the date a child is born is to a mother.

Scrapbookers compiling education albums generally base the beginning and ending of the scrapbook on the school calendar (i.e., beginning in August with the first day of school and ending the album with the last day of school or graduation).

Most scrapbookers use a combination of a standard-time reckoning framework (or clock time [Levine 1997]) and a social dating framework (or event time [Levine 1997]). A standard time-reckoning framework measures time in standard ways such as a year, month, or day (Zerubavel 1997). Standard time-reckoning is used in that everything that is scrapworthy that occurred in March of 2010 typically will be placed in the scrapbook before scrapworthy things from April 2010. The beginning and end point, however, is based on a social dating framework. For instance, yearly albums about a family may begin whenever the scrapbooker defines the family as beginning (most commonly the wedding or birth of a child). Yearly albums may be compiled (standard time-reckoning framework), but the date the album begins is actually the wedding anniversary or child's birthday (social dating framework). Some scrapbookers do a combination of time reckoning in their scrapbooks.

The first year of a child's life seems to be more scrapworthy than subsequent years. Some scrapbookers make sure to scrapbook their child's first year in a special album but then resume scrapbooking one family scrapbook each year. Not only is a child's first year scrapworthy, but also the first year of a relationship is sometimes chronicled in an album.

Just because an album may be organized chronologically does not mean it was scrapbooked chronologically. It is far more common for a respondent to scrapbook whatever they want and then organize the pages chronologically for the album. Layouts are almost always organized chronologically. Photographs on the layouts are not necessarily organized chronologically, but some respondents took care to make sure that they are. The photographs on

a layout are typically from one event or short period of time (e.g., usually a day or a week, occasionally a month, rarely a year). Occasionally, a layout may contain photographs across different years. For example, one respondent does this with some older photographs of herself across several years that she did not really know what else to do with. She organizes them chronologically on one page and focuses on the outfits producing a fashion timeline.

There is a thought community within the scrapbooking community that emphasizes themes and inspiration rather than time as the basis of organization. Big Picture Scrapbooking is an online education program (Julian and Rehn 2009) devoted to "giving permission" to people to scrapbook non-chronologically. This philosophy posits that scrapbookers should sort their photographs into meaningful categories[52] and scrapbook what inspires them when they are scrapbooking without regard to the passing of time. This philosophy is a result of what happens when scrapbookers focus solely on chronological scrapbooking: they inevitably fall behind and are constantly trying to get caught up (see Chapter 7). Big Picture Scrapbooking encourages scrapbookers to organize their photographs around a few simple categories and then scrapbook what inspires them. One of my respondents mentions how she was trying to follow this philosophy "because sometimes when you see this photograph next to another photograph, it brings to your mind some connection that you previously would never have made." The

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[52] Stacy Julian wrote *The Big Picture* (2005) and *Photo Freedom* (2008) and shares with scrapbookers the categories she finds meaningful: people, places, and things. The categories are further refined based on the people, places, and things in your life. Photographs and memorabilia are sorted into these categories and scrapbooked from there instead of from the point in time in which they occur.

existence of this thought community within scrapbooking indicates there are competing ways to perceive the past. Most scrapbookers start out as chronological scrapbookers even when they are scrapbooking thematically and rarely scrapbook purely based on inspiration.

Chronological albums may not start based on time in terms of the calendar but may begin at the beginning of something else entirely. For example, albums about a child's first year typically begin either with a sonogram photograph or photographs when the child is born. Some women create separate albums chronicling the pregnancy separate from the child's first year suggesting that the pregnancy is not about the child as much as it is about the mother. The child comes to symbolize the beginning of the family even though the scrapbooker was more than likely part of a family before the child came into existence. It is as if the family did not exist before the scrapbook put the family into existence. Children sometimes wonder what their parents were like before they had children. Because few people document their lives prior to having children, it is difficult for children to understand what their parents were like before they were parents. Parents have always been parents without any evidence to the contrary. Without a scrapbook documenting life before children, it is as if a person had no life before their children were born.

Albums are most often organized chronologically because they tell a coherent story this way. First this happened and then that happened. The story makes more sense when it is based in time. Turning the pages in a chronological scrapbook also shows how a person has progressed (most history after all, is written as the story of progress).

Scrapbooks may begin to look repetitive if a scrapbooker does yearly albums because the scrapbook may jump from one holiday to the next and the way the holiday is scrapbooked may become repetitive, too. If every holiday looks the same in a scrapbook, what is the point in

scrapbooking it each year? The scrapbook industry has stepped in to solve this "problem" of repetition creating nontraditional products for traditional holidays (e.g., Christmas-themed supplies now include pink in addition to traditional red and green) and producing idea books that show new ways to scrapbook common events. In this way, the scrapbook industry is no different than other businesses, such as greeting card companies or florists that provide products for holiday celebrations (see Pleck 2004).

Several respondents showed me albums that are both thematic and chronological. Though scrapbookers do create wedding books and baby books, I was not shown any albums specifically devoted to these topics. I was shown albums devoted to birthdays, Christmas, education, and vacation—all are organized chronologically.

Thematic albums illustrate how some events and activities are viewed as more important than others. Consider, for example, education scrapbooks, which several respondents compile. Most often it is the education record book of their child but occasionally they have one for themselves. These books include the official school photo, report cards, and other significant events surrounding their or their child's educational career. These books illustrate the value these scrapbookers place on education. One respondent, in particular, articulates that the importance of this book is that it communicates to her son that school is important. For another respondent, the book serves as evidence[53] if and when child services visits her home that her son is in fact being

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[53] Child services has visited this respondent's home in the past and has confiscated her scrapbooks, too, due to nudity in the scrapbooks. They were returned to her but she is much more cautious about what is included in the scrapbooks as she knows they can serve as evidence against her ability to mother. On a related note, during the American Civil War, Dr. A. H. Platt

home schooled. She takes photographs of some of the activities they do in the home and on field trips. There is nothing new about compiling these types of records. I had a small book as a child where I could paste my school photo and it included a pocket where I could store my report cards, newspaper clippings, or other memorabilia. Most scrapbook stores carry paper and stickers for each school grade so people can now create their own education scrapbooks instead of purchasing pre-made books like I had as a child.

Education scrapbooks in particular illustrate how scrapbookers periodize their lives. Zerubavel (2003) defines periodization as delineating one period of time from another. Some scrapbookers make exactly two pages for each school year, while others make several pages for each school year. Generally, respondents try compiling chunks of educational time in these books. Education scrapbooks might be about elementary school, high school, or college in that the whole album is about one of these chunks of time rather than by year or some other unit of time. Arranging books in this way is illustrative of how scrapbookers periodize their lives (and the lives of their children) around education.

Some scrapbooks are not organized chronologically and the only thing thematic about them is the pages are about the scrapbooker or her or his family. These scrapbookers have taken Big Picture Scrapbooking's philosophy to heart. Moreover, these scrapbookers tend to memorialize the ordinary (e.g., what they had for lunch) instead of or in addition to the

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published a genealogical album for families to compile their family records so that "widows and orphans of those who gave their lives in the war would be" able "to prove their relationship to the deceased" so that they would not lose land or pensions from the government (Siegel 2006:260).

extraordinary (e.g., a wedding rehearsal dinner). Pages about Christmas may still be made, but instead of focusing on Christmas morning and actually unwrapping presents, the pages may be about the mess that was made from unwrapping the presents.

Scrapbookers create scrapbooks of specific events but also "general family scrapbooking" which includes "keeping up with vacations, birthdays, regular pictures." A more out of the ordinary scrapbook subject is about a person's occupation. One industry worker has a customer who is a musician and his scrapbooks are of his recital halls and music instruments and another respondent has a customer who did a page about the things the customer's dog had eaten.

Respondents were given a list of themes. They were asked to check the themes that they have scrapbooked. They were also given a few open ended selections to provide more detail about the theme (see Appendix F). The list of themes is based on Bjorklund's (1998) list of topics that she used to analyze autobiographies. I used this list as a jumping off point for compiling my list because scrapbooks are "autobiographical occasions," meaning "an opportunity to constitute an identity, to lay claim to one's own life, to the right to tell one's own story" (Vinitzky-Seroussi 2000).

All themes are scrapbooked by at least two respondents. The most popular themes to scrapbook are family (N=34), events (N=32), relationships (N=29), and holidays (N=28) (see Appendix G for complete results). Husbands (N=17) are twice as likely as wives (N=8) to be scrapbooked. I suspect this is because most respondents are women and only one of the men scrapbookers is even married. The immediate family as a unit (N=27) is the most common way family is scrapbooked. Vacations (N=31) are the most popular event to scrapbook, followed by weddings (N=24), concerts (N=20), sports (N=18), musicals (N=13), and funerals (N=8).

Friendships (N=28) are the most common relationship[54] scrapbooked. Boyfriends (N=14) are almost twice as likely to be scrapbooked compared to girlfriends (N=8). Interestingly, five respondents have scrapbooked breakups and two have scrapbooked divorce. Christmas (N=18) is by far the most popular holiday scrapbooked with Easter and the Fourth of July (N=7) tying for second. Other holidays scrapbooked are New Year's Eve, Halloween, Thanksgiving, Valentine's Day, Chanukah, St. Patrick's Day, Rosh Hashanah, Mother's Day, Father's Day, and Pagan holidays (e.g., Ostara, Lammas, Yule, and Samhain).

IS IT SCRAPWORTHY?

Goodsell and Seiter (2010:4-5) argue that "[t]here are multiple layers of reality [in a scrapbook]: what happened, the pictures of what happened, the narrative constructed through the selection of pictures and other materials for inclusion in the scrapbook, the scrapbooker who makes these decisions about what is to be included and how it is to be displayed and narrated, and the various, potential audiences of the scrapbook." Ultimately, scrapbookers are deciding what is scrapworthy and what is not and deciding who is scrapworthy and who is not. This perception is shaped by their membership in the scrapbooking thought community.

In particular, scrapbookers "uninvite" people from their photographs through editing the photograph so that certain people are not included in the scrapbook (Downs 2006). Furthermore, scrapbooking is a site where families draw boundaries regarding family membership, just as families do in public settings such as a zoo (DeVault 2000). Scrapbookers do family in their

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[54] The theme relationship contains the subthemes friendships, boyfriend, girlfriend, dating, breakups, and divorces.

scrapbooks (see Chapter 5), but my respondents did not talk about "uninviting" people from their scrapbooks.

Scrapbookers "frame" memories to be remembered in scrapbooks, implying that all other memories can be discarded or ignored (Zerubavel 1991; 2006) (i.e., mnemonically decapitated [Zerubavel 1997]). Scrapbookers are deciding which memories are scrapworthy—or are worth remembering. To be scrapworthy an item, person, or memory is perceived to be worth remembering and memorializing. The scrapbook communicates that a life has worth because it is worth remembering. Similarly, Stewart argues that "[b]ecause of its connection to biography and its place in constituting the notion of the individual life, the memento becomes emblematic of the worth of that life and of the self's capacity to generate worthiness" (Stewart 1993:139).

Respondents struggle with explaining why they make the choices they do as far as what is included in the scrapbook, especially after the photograph(s) and journaling were accounted for. Most commonly, respondents say they do not know why they chose a particular piece of paper over another. Photographs are generally chosen because they are of good quality (discussed later), tell a cohesive story, or are the only photograph—regardless of quality—of a memory. No one includes every single photograph taken, memorabilia collected, or scrapbook embellishment purchased in their scrapbooks.

It is the rare scrapbooker who can detail exactly how they decide what is scrapworthy because most respondents have either learned to ignore this decision making process or are completely unaware of it. One respondent, who says he is very organized, gives this example:

Take a week-long vacation as the subject. I get the photographs developed and lay out the photographs by day. Whatever happened Monday goes in the Monday pile, and whatever happened Tuesday goes in the Tuesday pile. I will then pick through the pile for each day

and sort out the photos—eliminate blurry photos and photos to be used elsewhere. I will then start to lay out the page, so I will lay out the photos first and how I really want to prioritize the photos based on what fits. And then I add stickers and journaling.

Another scrapbooker actually plans out layouts before he even takes the photographs. He knows what photographs he wants to get in order for his vision to be realized on the scrapbook page. Others include pictures that tell a cohesive story. For example, the scrapbooker may have photographs of every noteworthy moment (i.e., photographs in front of Epcot® at Walt Disney World®, but not photographs of them sleeping in the hotel room) from the trip, but only those photos that tell a story are scrapbooked.

What makes it so difficult to discuss what makes a memory, photograph, or piece of memorabilia scrapworthy is that it is so obvious to the scrapbooker that the question seems absurd to most respondents. Scrapbookers are more likely to be able to discuss why something is scrapworthy when the scrapbook is made for somebody else because in this case, the audience is taken into consideration.

Scrapbookers lump together items they consider scrapworthy and split them from the rest which they consider to be not scrapworthy (i.e., trashworthy or forgettable). Scrapworthiness is shaped by how scrapbookers classify their lives within their scrapbooks. For example, a scrapbooker may consider both holidays and their family as scrapworthy, but they only scrapbook holidays their family celebrates in some way. Even then, not all celebrated holidays are scrapbooked. Moreover, scrapbookers also chronicle non-holiday family events in scrapbooks. In this way a child's high school graduation (family) is mentally closer to Christmas (family and holiday) than Labor Day (holiday) is to Christmas (holiday and family). Family is lumped together with family and split off from holidays, though holidays could be lumped

together and split off from family. Scrapbooking then is a site to explore how lumping and splitting happens and where these mental quantum leaps occur (Zerubavel 1991), furthering the understanding of how thought communities are also "optical" communities with their own "optical" tradition (Zerubavel 1997). In other words, scrapbookers view the world differently than non-scrapbookers, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Scrapbookers may play with boundaries through scrapbooking. Nippert-Eng (2005) argues that two conditions must be met in order for boundary play to occur. "First, players must possess a shared, normative expectation for where one draws the line between two semiotically related, categorical (classificatory) boundaries. Second, players must then decide that they do, in fact, wish to use that boundary as the source or focal point of their amusement" (Nippert-Eng 2005:304). Boundary play can most clearly be seen by how scrapbookers push the limits of scrapworthiness. For example, a respondent talks about how she knows of other scrapbookers who make pages about their young child's mischief. The child dumps the contents of a bathroom drawer into the toilet. The child is punished in some way, but mom takes a photograph of the child and the mess. The scrapbook page most likely does not detail any punishment but serves as a reminder of the mess that is made and perhaps that innocent look on the child's face when caught. In this way, a negative event becomes reframed as a positive event. This particular respondent is unsure what parenting message this sends to a child, but recognizes that sometimes parents have to reframe their child's behavior in order to keep their sanity. The scrapbooker plays with the boundaries between discouraging unacceptable behavior while at the same time wanting to capture the moment to remember in the future. Scrapbookers regularly include moments and things that are unexpected and play with boundaries in a variety of ways. The boundaries in the above example may be further played with if the scrapbooker titles the page

"Here Comes Trouble" using lyrics from a popular song of the same name by Bad Company. Here, the song may mean one thing outside the scrapbook but has been repurposed to give meaning to the events portrayed on the scrapbook page.

Scrapbookers determine what is scrapworthy by sifting through the photographs they have taken or been given of moments from their life. Photographs are not taken continuously but are taken selectively. Scrapbookers then have to label a moment as scrapworthy in order to consider photographically recording the moment. What moments, then, are considered scrapworthy?

Scrapworthy Moments

Scrapbookers make scrapbook pages about extraordinary and ordinary events that happen in their life. Most extraordinary events are holidays or transitioning events (e.g., birth, death, marriage, graduation). Extraordinary events also include visits from people a person does not see every day or family reunions—big and small. Accomplishments such as winning an award or paying off a mortgage are also extraordinary events.

All respondents feel holidays are scrapworthy. They do not necessarily scrapbook the same holidays or scrapbook the holiday each time it occurs, but holidays are definitely scrapworthy.

Holidays are scrapbooked to showcase who the scrapbooker spends time with on the holiday, the traditions they practice, and any special food that is part of the holiday celebration. Some of these things might not actually take place on the holiday itself. For example, Easter egg hunting might take place the day before Easter. Those photographs are still included with Easter because the tradition exists as part of the holiday. Photographs are taken to emphasize certain aspects of the holiday while deemphasizing other aspects. For example, one respondent makes a

point not to include photographs of the presents for either Christmas or her son's birthday because she wants the focus on these events to be on the people, not the stuff. Other scrapbookers mention they would definitely take photographs of the gifts for a child's first birthday (an example respondents were asked to describe in our interview).

Most holiday scrapbook pages are put into albums chronologically in addition to whatever else might have been scrapbooked for a given year. Christmas is the only holiday where more than one scrapbooker actually has one album devoted to it—adding new Christmas pages each year.

Scrapbookers tend to use traditional colors and symbols on pages about holidays. For example, they use orange and black for pages about Halloween or red and green for pages about Christmas. When I asked one respondent why she used orange paper on her scrapbook page about Thanksgiving I was met with an explanation: "well, isn't it Thanksgivingy?" Colors used on holiday pages are chosen based on how representative they are of the holiday independent of design considerations.

Some scrapbookers only scrapbook extraordinary events, while others also scrapbook ordinary events from their everyday life. One respondent who focuses primarily on ordinary moments in her scrapbooks explains that scrapbooks are there to help you remember the little things because the big things will be remembered without the scrapbook. Another respondent echoes these thoughts; she says that the everyday is a bigger deal than the special occasions, especially now that she is a mother. She now scrapbooks more pages about ordinary events and fewer pages about extraordinary events. For example:

So now I think the big events get scrapbooked but I tend to do them almost less, like Christmas just gets a page and I know in my first scrapbook, it got like a whole spread of

pages because it just seemed so important because it was my son's first Christmas. But now Christmas seems much smaller than the everyday. Years from now, you're going to look back and think, 'oh, first Christmas! Wow that was special!" But what was more special was that day you looked at your child and thought, 'wow, you're growing up,' and having the feelings that you have about the, those are more special.

Scrapbooks then showcase normative photographs such as portraitures but unlike photograph albums of the past, they also contain photographs of everyday life.

Most of my respondents do not scrapbook societal-wide events, but some do. In particular, several respondents had created pages about 9/11. Some included magazine covers or newspaper articles, while others included their thoughts about the terrorist attack. It seems, societal-wide events only become scrapworthy when they move the person personally in a significant way. This makes sense. Scrapbookers have no reason to chronicle these types of events as they are memorialized by journalists and professional historians. Moreover, scrapbookers typically do not have photographs of societal-wide events to include in their scrapbook.

Finally, some scrapworthy moments are staged. Most scrapbookers use candid photographs but many also stage photographs. For example, one respondent has staged photographs of food items that are representative of a holiday she celebrated. Each photograph was taken for the scrapbook. Parents of young children are the only respondents who regularly use staged, professional photographs (of their children). Moreover, several respondents take pictures purely for scrapbooking reasons.

Photograph Quality

Not a single respondent scrapbooks every photograph; instead focusing on scrapbooking photos of good quality. With digital technology, it is less likely a person will end up only with poor quality photographs because they can preview the photographs on the camera before they move on from their photographic shot.

Poor quality photographs and photographs that do not show a person's best side are not always excluded from the scrapbook. For example, one respondent has a photograph of her and her boyfriend that she just hates because they look really drunk when they were not—they were just exhausted from work. The photograph, however, is one of the first photographs she has of the two of them as a couple. Despite her dislike for how they look in the photograph, she still sees it as scrapworthy.

Some scrapbookers creatively use poor quality photographs more as embellishments rather than photographs. For example, one respondent had taken photographs with an underwater camera when she went snorkeling. Most of the photographs came out all blue with nothing except water. She cut these photos up into one-inch squares and used them to decorate the page. When I first looked at the page, I asked her what made her decide to include vellum (something she had not done on other pages). She told me that they were photographs. The photographs did not look like photographs at all. Another respondent cut letter shapes out of some of her poorer quality photographs to use as the title on a page (the cut-up pictures are from the event being documented).

In addition to quality considerations, respondents also select photographs, that they feel captured their children's personalities, tell their story best, or are exceptionally good photographs. Industry workers encourage scrapbookers to simply throw away not so good

photographs (e.g., blurry) and not even store them in a shoebox unless there is a story behind the photograph. Without the story, the photograph is not scrapworthy. Cutting a photograph with scissors, known as cropping, or editing a digital photo before it is even printed alters the story because one never knows what has been cut out. In their analysis of one woman's scrapbooks, Goodsell and Seiter (2010), find that in the early years of this woman's hobby she rarely cut up photos but did this more as the years progressed. They argue that "[p]hysically cutting photos with a pair of scissors forces the scrapbooker to acknowledge the editorializing that goes on in scrapbooking" because one purpose of cropping is to direct the viewer's attention (Goodsell and Seiter 2010:21). Most often it is just background or white space that is cut out but as one industry worker suggests, something may be cut out that is important to that time period—dating the photograph—and telling a more complete story (see Chapter 4 for further discussion on editing).

Just because a moment is considered scrapworthy does not mean it is easily photographable. In some cases, people are not allowed to take photographs (e.g., religious ceremonies or some performances). Though not being allowed to take photographs was occasionally an issue, the main problem is that the scrapbooker is often behind the lens instead of in front of the lens. This means that most photographs do not include the actual scrapbooker. Respondents, however, have partners, other family members, friends, or even strangers who would take photographs so they would also be included in some photographs. Several respondents have family members that automatically send them photographs of their nieces and nephews. Others solicit photographs from friends and family members that were at the same event or on the same vacation. Finally, scrapbookers ask others for photographs that had been taken in the past of themselves (e.g., childhood photographs) so that they can include these in their scrapbooks, too.

Scrapworthy Things

Scrapbookers are on the lookout for scrapworthy items. Nearly anything can be considered to be scrapworthy if it adds to the story or just looks cool. These items may be considered memorabilia or souvenirs, but many of the items are just random ephemera—printed items that were not meant to be saved beyond their original purpose. Scrapworthy items include news articles, paper products, worn items, organic matter, and other items that do not fit into the previously mentioned categories.

Newspaper or magazine articles might be about people in the family, things important to the family, things important to society as a whole (e.g., 9/11), or other things important to the scrapbooker independent of the family. Paper memorabilia includes: labels off of food items, certificates of achievement, membership cards, ticket stubs, brochures, post cards, whole cards (e.g., birthday, wedding, thank you, invitations), pieces of cards (i.e., the front of the card used as decoration or the signature cut out), WIC checks, Medicaid card, maps, programs (funerals, weddings), playbills, name tags, purchased autographed photographs, parking tickets, report cards, napkins, CD artwork, child's artwork, chain emails, personal emails, packaging from purchased items, cruise schedules, and signs placed on dorm room doors by resident assistants. Worn items include items such as cloth tags off of clothing, pieces of or whole clothing items (e.g., "fat" pants, newborn's hat or t-shirt, or patch from military uniform), and wristbands (from concerts, clubs, and hospitalizations). Organic matter includes shells from the beach, hair from a first hair cut, first lost tooth, and dried flowers. Other things used as memorabilia include: shopping bags, embroidered items, keys, expired driver's licenses, student identification cards, and purchased items for decoration rather than for a memory prompt (e.g., buttons, bottle caps, ribbon, and fabric). Other items also includes items that are sometimes used in scrapbooks but

are generally not sold as scrapbook supplies and may be used either for artistic reasons or to provide a memory prompt. These items include unused bandages, paint chip samples, netting that is used to plaster a hole in the wall, and pieces of store-bought cards.

In line with conventional baby books, scrapbookers often include medical records in their scrapbooks. One respondent makes sure not only to list birth and death dates of her family members, but also lists any diseases any of the family members have experienced in a heritage album. Other respondents include scrapbook pages devoted to a child's first doctor's visits and first shots. More common was the inclusion of typical baby book information like the child's height and weight from each doctor's visit. Another respondent did a page about her hysterectomy complete with photographs (I was told about, but not shown this page). Photographs of pregnancy test results are sometimes included and one respondent reports that one friend included the actual pregnancy test in her scrapbook. Scrapbookers, then, are also the medical record keepers of the family.

Some mementos and photographs become scrapworthy purely because they exist. One respondent mentions including photographs that have been printed because she feels guilty about just throwing them away. She does not want to be wasteful. She has also created a scrapbook page of a photograph she had taken for non-scrapbooking purposes simply because it existed. Other respondents report finding difficulty using "busy" pattern paper because they do not want to waste the pattern by covering it up.

Other times, items make their way on the scrapbook page because there was room for them. For example, a respondent who exclusively does two-page layouts does not always have enough photos to fill two pages. She then does further research and adds facts to the pages. On a

page about a concert she attended, she includes a typed up copy of the lyrics of one of her favorite songs from the artist, for instance.

Symbols. Scrapworthy things are items that symbolize a particular memory. Respondents use Coca-Cola® themed paper and stickers for pages about trips to the World of Coca-Cola® and paper with images of Mickey Mouse's head for trips to Disney World®. Halloween pages are orange, green, and black and Christmas pages are red, green, and increasingly pink. On pages about love, scrapbookers use heart shaped stickers and loved-themed word stickers (e.g., "truly, madly, deeply" or "so much in love"). Another common element is using the first letter of the subject on the page. For example, a page about a Garth Brook's concert has a large letter G on the page symbolizing his name. School colors are used for sporting events and school events. One respondent actually cut out paper shaped like an element from her daughter's clothing for each page in her daughter's school book.

Not only are elements on a scrapbook page chosen for their symbolism, but the album may be selected because of its symbolism. Scrapbook albums are often selected for how they fit with the theme of the album. For example, one respondent decided to use an album that was damaged for one of her vacation books because the color reminded her of the trip's location (the album is no longer being made in that color, which is why she was not able to exchange the album for an undamaged album). The color is so important and perfect that it did not matter that the album is actually damaged. Every respondent draws from common cultural symbols and uses accepted symbols for particular holidays, events, and vacations to varying degrees.

Beginning scrapbookers are much more likely to focus on symbolic elements in their scrapbooks compared to more experienced scrapbookers. Symbolism is an easy way to communicate a message on the scrapbook page. The page is about Christmas? Well, then be sure

to use signifiers like red or green cardstock and stickers of Christmas trees, Christmas lights, Christmas presents, or all three on the page so that way it is easily communicated that the signified is Christmas. More experienced scrapbookers tend to quickly tire of using conventional symbols because one reason they continue to scrapbook is because of the challenge (as later discussed), though most scrapbookers use symbols at least some of the time. In Chapter 2, I describe Zerubavel's (1997) semiotic square and how signifiers are syntactically contrasted with one another and are semantically associated with a signifier but because scrapbookers tend to phase out of relying on symbols in their scrapbooks a more detailed analysis of his semiotic square does not seem pertinent. Certainly, one could study the symbolism in scrapbooks beyond conventional symbols, but this research does not include a detailed systematic analysis of exactly how symbols are used on scrapbook pages. I now turn to scrapbooking challenges, which are something more experienced and devoted scrapbookers do.

I Wanted the Challenge

Some topics, products, and techniques become scrapworthy because the scrapbooker wants the challenge. The scrapbook industry challenges scrapbookers with books such as *52 Scrapbooking Challenges* (Flannigan 2006)*, 52 More Scrapbooking Challenges* (Kartchner 2009), and *We Dare You: Scrapbook Challenges about Real Life* (Contes et al. 2007). Blogs and electronic bulletin board systems sponsored by scrapbooking companies (e.g., the magazine *Scrapbooks, Etc.* has a blog called "Scrapbook Challenges" [Meredith Corporation 2010a]) and regular scrapbookers also issue challenges to other scrapbookers. Some things become scrapworthy because a scrapbooker chooses to accept one of these challenges. For example, one respondent made a scrapbook page about her commute to work because a website she reads issued a challenge to do a layout about your commute. The fun of the online challenges is that

readers are typically encouraged to post their results (i.e., an image of the resulting scrapbook page) to the site for feedback from other readers (i.e., scrapbookers). The page, then, is done not only for the scrapbooker but also for her or his scrapbooking peers.

Another source of challenges is simply having something in front of the scrapbooker that he or she wants to do something with. One respondent mentions inheriting a dictionary she did not need, but she did not want to throw it out either. Instead she started ripping out its pages and incorporated them into her scrapbook.

Some scrapbooks are done because a product is purchased. The item may have been sold as a scrapbooking product intended to be used like a scrapbook album (e.g., pieces of chipboard cut into the shape of a house and held together with a metal ring) and in some cases material is purchased that the scrapbooker uses to make the actual scrapbook album (e.g., metal tins are held together with paper folded accordion style to make an album). Scrapbookers buy supplies with and without having an intended use in mind. These purchases made without purpose become scrapworthy simply because they are in the scrapbooker's stash. They also become scrapworthy because they might present a unique challenge. In the first case, the purchase might be something like embellishments about a dog. The scrapbooker takes photographs of her or his dog and purchases the embellishment anticipating that there will be more dog photographs and more dog scrapbook pages. In the second scenario, the scrapbooker might buy alcohol ink without ever having used it before. He or she buys it for the challenge of figuring out how to later use it.

Sometimes the photos themselves present challenges. There might be one photo of an important memory, but it is of poor quality (i.e., blurry, out of focus, the subject is cut off, a thumb was in front of the shutter blocking part of the photograph, etc.). Or a photograph might

be a reminder of a difficult time (e.g., a sonogram photo of a pregnancy that ends in miscarriage or photographs of estranged family members that come up when completing a heritage album).

Several scrapbookers report completing introspective scrapbook pages for the challenge. Overall, most of my respondents are not particularly introspective in their scrapbooks. Several mention that they have completed layouts and even entire albums that are "all about me," where the express purpose is to be introspective. I saw some of these finished products and others where the scrapbooker has started but fails to complete this project as it is too challenging. In contrast, one respondent is almost exclusively introspective to the point where I asked whether she includes other people in her scrapbook. She does: "bands I like." Occasionally, she includes other people or her cat, but it is almost all explicitly about her and in particular her thoughts and interests.

If scrapbooks are made for other people, the scrapbooker may be less likely to include introspective pages. When I discussed one respondent's pages with her husband, he really had nothing he could tell me about the introspective page she did and it was not even that introspective—it was just about an organization she was part of by herself independent of the family. Introspective pages may be about a scrapbooker's thoughts, likes, and feelings. Sometimes they are just about the person as seen in albums referred to as "all about me" albums in the industry.

Not Scrapworthy

Almost everything is scrapworthy. Some topics, however, are considered to not be scrapworthy by at least one respondent. Most respondents say they would not scrapbook a funeral. They might create a page about the recently deceased but would not take photographs of the funeral, especially the open casket; however, one respondent had made a scrapbook about her

mother's funeral and included photographs of the open casket. Several respondents mention that they would not scrapbook about current events, their job, or nudity. Only one respondent mentions that sex (before and after is scrapworthy, but not during), excrement, rape, or domestic violence are not scrapworthy topics even though photographs may exist about these topics. It would be the "optical" deviant, then, who scrapbooks any of the above topics.

"Optical" deviants have "a 'view' of the world that is at odds with the one commonly shared by others around them" (Zerubavel 1997:32). In fact, most respondents could not think of anything that is not scrapworthy when asked in general if there were any topics they would not scrapbook. That any respondents are able to identify topics that are not scrapworthy is noteworthy. Most of the topics identified as not scrapworthy are all topics that are somewhat taboo to talk about at all in our culture. One can see Zerubavel's (1997) concept of optical pluralism (or mental lenses) here. As scrapbookers, nearly everything is scrapworthy but as members of American society, some subjects are taboo, and hence, are not scrapworthy for this reason. Here the scrapbooking thought community's optical norms are consistent with the optical norms of American society overall.

BOUNDARIES BETWEEN HOBBY, HOME, AND WORK

Though work is an important part of most people's lives, through studying scrapbooking, one can see how people draw a line between work and the rest of their life. Scrapbooking, for most, exists outside of the world of work. As amateurs, these scrapbookers may be "like professionals in that they 'work' at their 'play,' but they differ from the professionals in that their 'play' is clearly divorced from their occupations" (Ethridge and Neapolitan 1985:54). It is a hobby and as a hobby it is part of home life, not work life, though industry workers challenge this assertion.

Though most respondents who work outside the industry do not scrapbook while at work, some do some scrapbooking work during this time. In fact, several respondents talk about scrapbooking as a way to relax after a long day at work. Others visit blogs about scrapbooking as a "brain break" from work or typed up journaling while at work, whereas others do not do any scrapbooking tasks on the computer at home or at work because of its association with work.

Another way that scrapbooking is used to set work apart from home is through which topics are scrapworthy. Most respondents are employed or have been employed, but even those who do not say that they would not scrapbook employment, rarely scrapbook about their employment or the employment of other family members. One exception is a page a respondent did for Doctor's Day about her husband who is a doctor. This page, however, was about him and his career and not specifically about his work or workplace. Moreover, being a doctor is typically a master status in that one is treated as a doctor and is expected to act as a doctor whether physically in the workplace or not. This same respondent also makes scrapbooks for co-workers about work when they quit their jobs that are full of photographs taken in the workplace and pages about inside jokes from their workplace. This practice is highly unusual among respondents.

As I discuss in Chapter 7, industry workers make scrapbooking their job or at the very least, have figured out how to get paid while scrapbooking. In this case, work and hobby are the same, but the work—for the most part—takes place outside of the home. For some industry workers, the work takes place within the home. Direct sellers, for instance, go into other people's homes to show their company's product and they invite people into their own home to crop and sell product. Moreover, their work is based in their home—receiving shipments, emailing

customers, and storing inventory all happen in the home. There is no boundary, then between work, hobby, or home for direct sellers.

Studying scrapbooking allows the researcher to understand how people draw boundaries within the home. Some more devoted and financially well-off scrapbookers have permanent space devoted to scrapbooking in their home. Others have a portion of a room devoted to scrapbooking. Others have both permanent places to store their materials (e.g., a closet) and a temporary space in which to scrapbook (e.g., the dining room table). Sometimes the temporary space begins to look like a permanent space because the materials are rarely packed up and put away. Still others are only able to scrapbook outside their home because they simply do not have the space—temporarily or permanently—inside their home to scrapbook. Among my respondents, the only real challenge to their use of part of the home for scrapbooking was from pre-school aged children who get into their supplies.

Finally, scrapbooking as a hobby has the potential to be another form of work in line with household labor tasks. Demos (2006:62-63) compares scrapbooking to housework, childcare, and feeding a family, in that all are predominantly "done by women, never ending, and require much mental work and constant planning." For example, the scrapbookers in Demos' (2006) study purchases products for pages to represent activities their children will not participate in until several months later. Scrapbookers who crop at a store also must plan what they hope to accomplish during this time (i.e., pre-scrap). They need to choose photographs, paper, and embellishments to create their pages (Demos 2006). Similar to housework, childcare, and feeding work, scrapbooking is never ending because few scrapbookers feel as though they are ever "caught up" (Demos 2006). Like housework, childcare, and feeding work, the work part is often invisible in scrapbooks, further blurring the boundaries between work and play. Previous

scholars conceptualize scrapbooking as work in line with other household tasks, however, as I explain in Chapter 5, few if any of my respondents talk of scrapbooking as work or comparable to other household tasks. Instead, scrapbooking is something they do for fun. Regardless, considering how scrapbooking blurs and reaffirms the boundaries between hobby, home, and work leads to a discussion of how time is conceptualized by scrapbookers.

CHAPTER 7: TIME

The way time is viewed, used, and experienced depends on one's society. Reckoning time is socially constructed. In other words, time does not exist completely independent of us but instead exists because of us. Time is both social and physical. Physical time can be measured quantitatively and includes those things such as the speed of light (LaRossa 1983). Social time can be measured qualitatively and includes nearly every other way of measuring time (LaRossa 1983). Measuring the passage of time in terms of days, weeks, or months would be an example of social time.

How time is understood depends on the thought communities to which a person belongs. For example, parents of young children are socialized to think of their children's age in terms of weeks and months because a 6-month-old is thought to be significantly different from a 7-month-old whereas a child who is 60-months-old is not thought to be significantly different from a 61-month-old and hence both are referred to as 5-year-olds.[55] Even though this study does not specifically examine whether or how scrapbookers "chronometricalized their children's lives" (LaRossa and Reitzes 2001:385), I do find that parents of young children do group photographs on a scrapbook page based on the child's age. For example, one respondent regularly groups random photographs of her son on one layout with the only common thread being that they are all of him during his sixth month and another respondent photographs her son every six months to record his growth. In other cases, the scrapbooker uses formal portraits of her or his child for

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[55] Unless, of course, one considers the birthday deadline imposed for the correct age to begin kindergarten, in which case, being born one day after the cut-off relegates one to another year of pre-school.

each month of the child's first year, with each month on a separate page or layout. Younger children's ages are typically labeled as one month, two months, and so on, whereas older children's ages are typically labeled with the year or month and year (e.g., February 2010).

Scrapbookers operate under the view that time is scarce. Industry workers discuss how they make time for scrapbooking and appear to be operating under the assumption that time is a scarce resource rather than something that exists in unlimited quantities (see Marks 1977). Industry workers operate under the assumption that many people do not scrapbook because they simply do not have time to scrapbook rather than people choose not to scrapbook. The scrapbooking industry reinforces this thought process by introducing products that are designed to save people time and allow scrapbookers to scrapbook more quickly. Not only is time perceived as a scarce resource, but also something that is used more quickly than in the past. Industry workers believe that one thing that draws people to the hobby of scrapbooking is that people's lives are much more fast-paced than they were in the past.

SPENDING TIME

Industry workers explain that there are many people out there who would like to scrapbook but simply do not have the time to scrapbook right now because they have other responsibilities or roles that they must first fulfill. Time is perceived as a *scarce resource* to be spent on those things a person finds important. Goodin et al. (2005:60) argue that time scarcity, though real, is often our own doing. This time-pressure illusion is largely a result of people devoting more time than absolutely necessary to required tasks (e.g., paid labor, household labor, and personal hygiene).

In order to understand how people choose to spend their time, one must understand how people classify how that time is spent. Classifying how time should be used allows people to

assign value to their time. Work time, "me" time, scrapbooking time, family time, wasted time, valued time, flexible time, and rigid time are some of the ways of classifying one's time. Though each chunk of time appears to be a discrete variable of time, in reality, each variable can easily be blurred (Zerubavel 1991). For example, work time and scrapbooking time or family time and scrapbooking time might occur simultaneously. Moreover, time might earn us money (work time) or cost us money (scrapbooking time) and time might benefit others (family time) or benefit ourselves ("me" time). Time is viewed as being well-spent or not because American society views time as a commodity (LaRossa 1983). Under capitalism, people exchange not only their labor power but their time for money so it makes sense that time is perceived as a scarce resource.

Industry workers argue that scrapbookers and potential scrapbookers often feel as though they do not have time to scrapbook because scrapbooking is not their first priority; their first priority is that of student, employee, parent, or some combination of the three. One strategy to finding time to scrapbook is waiting until one's first priorities are no longer their first priority (e.g., retirement means work is no longer one's first priority freeing up time to scrapbook during the time that was once for work). Another strategy for finding time to scrapbook is through redefining the hobby so that one can justify spending time on it (e.g., it is family time because the scrapbooks I create memorialize my family's life and therefore are for my family). A third strategy is to scrapbook more efficiently—getting more done in less time.

A person's *time is not their own* but instead belongs to, is given to, or sold to their children, their employer, and their school. Maintaining boundaries between distinct chunks of time is work—boundary work (Nippert-Eng 1995). Scrapbookers will declare time that is not yet claimed by others or will reclaim part of their time as *"me" time* in order to scrapbook. Women

sometimes find it necessary to crop outside the home because home does not provide time for women to scrapbook (Demos 2006; Kelley and Brown 2005). Classifying time as "me" time reinforces the idea that time is not ours alone. Crops are sometimes a place for people to scrapbook more efficiently, too, so that they do not waste any of their "me" time. By devoting a set period of time or space to scrapbooking, the scrapbooker is able to block out other obligations or distractions that they might have (e.g., children, spouses, homework, or housework) and solely focus on scrapbooking. Time, like money, *must be budgeted*. And like money spent on scrapbooking, the time devoted to the hobby is the time that is left over after all other obligations are met.

Making scrapbooking a *priority* depends on how one views scrapbooking. Is it an art, a craft, or a hobby? Scrapbooking is all three things but also none of these things at the same time. Scrapbooking is a method for preserving one's memories. Other forms of arts and crafts and other types of hobbies do not usually have this purpose. One industry worker articulates this distinction, saying that potential scrapbookers will say that they do not have time to scrapbook and her reply is that "every page doesn't have to be a work of art." Some pages may be works of art, but not every page and perhaps none of a person's pages could be thought of as a work of art. When scrapbooking is conceptualized as art it implies that it takes time and that a person must be creative. Another way a scrapbooker may prioritize scrapbooking over other obligations is by redefining scrapbooking as something that is done for the family rather than for her or his self; however, by and large, my respondents did not do this.

Benjamin Franklin believed that time is so precious that wasting it is a tragedy. What one considers to be a waste of time, however, depends on one's society. Industry workers do not believe that scrapbooking is a waste of time and work at convincing others of the value they find

in scrapbooking. For people that are part of the thought community of scrapbookers, time spent scrapbooking is not wasted time. Regardless, in U.S. society, time spent on nonessential things (i.e., non-income generating things) is considered wasteful. Industry workers in particular exemplify this belief because many of them work in the industry as a way to spend time scrapbooking. They have figured out how to make money off of their hobby either directly in the case of earning a discount on their supplies through their job or more indirectly by being able to spend time perusing idea books and learning how to use new scrapbooking tools while on the clock at their job instead of during time in which they are not being paid. Industry workers have turned what some might perceive as wasted time into *valued time*. American society views leisure time as "wasted time that is neither valued nor valuable" (Schor 1991:159).

Experiencing *time scarcity* is thought not to be a problem shared by all members of society. Industry workers find potential scrapbookers among those people that they perceive as not experiencing time scarcity. For example, according to one industry worker, stay-at-home mothers with school-aged children are drawn to scrapbooking as a way to "fill up their time." Importantly, this observation came from a child-free industry worker. This assumption implies that what a stay-at-home mom with school-aged children is doing with her time (e.g., laundry, watching television) is not that valuable because it needs to be taken up by something that is valuable (e.g., scrapbooking). Industry workers also point to retirees, students on summer vacation, and empty nesters as people having available time to devote to scrapbooking. My respondents had all found time to scrapbook at some point during the year. Student respondents scrapbook on breaks from school. Employed respondents scrapbook after work in the evenings or on the weekends. Non-employment-seeking respondents had more flexible time but did not simply fill their days with scrapbooking as it is assumed stay-at-home moms might be doing. The

biggest hindrances to scrapbooking among my respondents seemed to be childcare responsibilities or school responsibilities. If people want to scrapbook, time, for most, does not seem to be the issue as they will make time or simply wait until they have more time they can devote to scrapbooking.

Scrapbookers devote some chunks of their time to scrapbooking. The time spent on scrapbook related activities, I classify as *scrapbooking time*. Scrapbookers spend their scrapbooking time doing the following:

- Shopping for scrapbook supplies

- Coming up with ideas for scrapbook pages

- Setting up their scrapbook area so that they can scrapbook

- Cleaning up their scrapbook area once they are finished scrapbooking

- Actually scrapbooking (i.e., gluing photos to paper)

- Thinking about scrapbooking

- Working in the industry

- Reading scrapbooking magazines and idea books

- Watching scrapbooking television shows

- Blogging about scrapbooking or writing a blog that is turned into a scrapbook

- Visiting message boards and blogs about scrapbooking

- Talking about scrapbooking with others

- Taking photographs for the scrapbook

- Collecting memorabilia

- Attending scrapbooking classes

- Looking at and sharing their scrapbooks with others

Not all scrapbookers do all the tasks on the above list. Some of these tasks can be done while doing other tasks (e.g., folding clothes and watching a scrapbooking television show during the same time period). Some of these tasks can be completed while a person is doing their paid work, especially during their breaks from paid work. A couple of respondents regularly read scrapbooking blogs on their work breaks. Some went as far as composing journaling or sketching layout ideas at work. Scrapbooking is what many of these respondents do instead of (or while) watching television in the evening after their paid work has ended. Scrapbooking can take up a little or a lot of time and time devoted to it varies from person to person. Individual scrapbookers may devote more or less chunks of time to scrapbooking, too, for various reasons.

Though some men scrapbook, scrapbookers are primarily women and all industry workers in this study are women. This is important because the way time is discussed could be gendered. By and large, scrapbooking takes place during the second shift—Hochschild's (1989) term for the unpaid work of caring for the home and family after paid work is complete. Moreover, time spent on scrapbooking looks a lot like the work done to feed the family. DeVault (1991) finds that much of the work involved in feeding the family is largely invisible (e.g., thinking about scrapbooking can be done at any moment). Though not all scrapbookers chronicle family life in their scrapbooks, those who do often justify their time spent on scrapbooking by emphasizing that scrapbooking is done for the family. Importantly, scrapbookers do not seem to conceptualize scrapbooking as work. It could be that my respondents are scrapbookers that scrapbook because it is fun rather than that they feel obligated to do so. There are scrapbookers, however, who do conceptualize scrapbooking as work. These scrapbookers have the materials to scrapbook but have not yet created the scrapbook or proclaim on facebook how they are now

"caught-up" on their scrapbooking like they are "caught-up" with other household tasks such as laundry. I have never observed a man saying he is now "caught-up" with golf, for example.

A scrapbooker may not spend a great deal of time on the hobby. Some scrapbookers may purchase scrapbook supplies on their lunch break from work but then not devote time to actually using those supplies. Here, the person has the economic resources to scrapbook, but the person either does not have the time to scrapbook or chooses to occupy their time in other ways.

Overall, 51 percent of scrapbookers spend at least ten hours per month and 76 percent spend over five hours a month scrapbooking (Rice 2004). Some scrapbookers scrapbook every day and visit their local scrapbook store at least once a week (Young 2004). These statistics seem to reflect my sample, too. Some scrapbookers, devote large chunks of time to scrapbooking, yet do so infrequently (i.e., they scrapbook for six hours one Saturday a month or scrapbook every evening for two weeks and then do not scrapbook at all for six months). Most scrapbookers think about scrapbooking at least some of the time when they are not physically scrapbooking.

One task of industry workers is to help scrapbookers and potential scrapbookers *find time* to scrapbook. The scrapbook industry recognizes that potential scrapbookers do not begin scrapbooking and current scrapbookers cannot get "caught up" on their scrapbooking due to their perception that time is scarce. Therefore, the industry has introduced *time saving strategies*. For example, digital scrapbooking is a time saving strategy because of its convenience. Digital scrapbooking allows the scrapbooker to scrapbook on her or his computer (ideally, a laptop), so now the scrapbooker can scrapbook anywhere. It is now reasonable to scrapbook if you only

have a few minutes of time.[56] Now, one can actually scrapbook instead of just thinking about scrapbooking while waiting to pick up their children from school. Moreover, books have even been published on time saving strategies for scrapbookers (e.g., *Scrapbooking for the Time Impaired: Advice and Inspiration for the Too-Busy Scrapper* and *The Busy Scrapper: Making the Most of Your Scrapbooking Time*).

For many scrapbookers, one encroachment on their time for the hobby is the setting up and cleaning up aspect. Without a permanent space for their supplies and pages in progress, they have to set-up and clean-up every time they scrapbook. With digital scrapbooking, this bridges the time and space crunch. Some traditional scrapbookers do not want to scrapbook digitally even if it would allow them to complete more scrapbook pages more efficiently because it would require them to work on a computer. These scrapbookers work on computers all day during work time and do not want to continue working on the computer during their scrapbook time, strengthening the boundary between work and home (Nippert-Eng 1995). The computer itself symbolizes work, rather than how the computer is used, which could symbolize home (e.g., updating one's facebook page to keep in touch with friends) or work (e.g., typing a report for one's boss). The computer is what is attended to in order to make the distinction (Zerubavel 1991).

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[56] In my experience, digital scrapbooking is more convenient because I do not have to get out my supplies, but it is more time consuming overall because once the page is printed, the only way to change the page is to redo it and print it again. I spend more time on a digital scrapbook page than a traditional scrapbook page because of the financial cost of errors on the digital scrapbook page.

Nelson et al. (2005) finds that textile artists are better able to find time to pursue their art once they devote permanent space to their art. Many scrapbookers would love to have permanent space in their home to scrapbook. Nearly 75 percent of scrapbookers have space in their home devoted to scrapbooking—from an entire room to a dining room table (Donofrio 2005; Prete 2005), though not all of these spaces are permanent. Though other handcrafters may not get a permanent space in their home until children move out of the home (e.g., a home office) (Doyle 1998; Stalp 2006b; Stalp and Winge 2008), my respondents do not talk about how in the future they would obtain permanent space in the home or how they only got this space once others moved out of the home. The reality is that permanent space is no guarantee that the scrapbooker will spend more time scrapbooking. For scrapbookers who crop with others, scrapbooking alone at home is unappealing and now they have to pack up their supplies to go scrapbook somewhere else if they want to crop with others. Scrapbook stores often reserve space in their stores for customers to use to scrapbook because the lack of space within the home is one reason some scrapbookers do not scrapbook as often as they would like.

Another time saving strategy is to use scrapbook kits. The owner of Posh Scrapbook Supplies says that her customers are drawn to kits[57] because it saves them the time of having to coordinate their own scrapbook supplies and her kit club provides them with ideas for how to scrapbook using the supplies in the kit. Just because people purchase scrapbook kits, however, does not mean they use them as intended. Most scrapbook kits are actually just coordinated product—meaning the papers and embellishments coordinate with each and often are from the

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[57] A scrapbook kit typically contains papers, stickers, and sometimes embellishments that are coordinated.

same line and manufacturer. Scrapbook kits where the items are explicitly intended to be used together may have items pre-cut and a picture of what the finished product should look like. These types of scrapbook kits were rarely, if ever, used by my respondents. My respondents have purchased both types of kits but use them in unintended ways. They typically split the kit up and use it however they want. At least among my respondents, kits are not used primarily to save time but primarily to save money because you often receive more for your money by buying a kit rather than buying pieces individually. One respondent sees that as a disadvantage of kits, however, because she rarely likes enough of the kit to justify buying more than a couple of individual pieces. A couple of respondents are members of kit clubs—receiving a new kit each month through the mail with a paid subscription. They joined kit clubs because they can receive items they normally would not purchase providing them with a challenge, and in one respondent's case, she does not live near a scrapbook store so it provides her with product she otherwise would not have access.

There is a fine line, however, between using another's ideas for inspiration and actually scraplifting another's layout (see Chapter 4). One respondent, who scraplifts most of her layouts, ironically, does not use scrapbook kits because she "doesn't like being held to one designer's paper and I like compiling lots of different brands and ideas on my own." In other words, scraplifters still have to decide what they will actually use on a layout. Using a scrapbook kit and scraplifting can be compared to painting by numbers or using store-bought cookie dough to freshly bake cookies. In the end you still have a painting and freshly baked cookies, but the process is not the same as coming up with the idea, choosing the colors, or measuring the ingredients yourself. More people are able to scrapbook because of scrapbook kits and the

acceptability of scraplifting, but there are those who criticize the practice as not being as authentic.

Some scrapbookers become industry workers through store ownership because they mistakenly believe that they will now have more time to spend on scrapbooking. The owner of City Scrapbooks finds that many scrapbookers enter the industry by opening scrapbook stores because they think they will now have more time to scrapbook. Because they do not treat their stores like businesses but as an extension of their hobby, these stores typically fail rather quickly. All of my respondents who work in the industry began working in the industry because they enjoy scrapbooking and, in the case of business owners, see it as a way to financially support themselves and their family. Industry workers often feel that they now have less time to actually scrapbook. Their scrapbook time is whittled down by working in the industry. They give up scrapbook time so that they can have more economic resources to support their hobby.

Overall, even respondents who wish for more time to spend scrapbooking, for the most part, do not talk about how they have figured out ways to scrapbook more quickly or efficiently. Scrapbookers will devote time to scrapbooking if they want to and are able to. Scrapbook kits, scraplifting, and books strategizing how to save time in their scrapbooking are not of much interest to my respondents. This makes sense when one considers the purpose of leisure activities—scrapbooking included. According to Robinson and Godbey (1997), the original intent of leisure was not efficiency because leisure is meant to be had without consideration for time. Though many scrapbookers create scrapbooks for their families, plenty of my respondents focus on the fact that the purpose of their hobby is primarily for fun. The industry may promote the hobby as being for others, but respondents focus on the hobby for themselves. Though scrapbookers are influenced by the industry, there seems to be a mismatch between what the

industry thinks and what scrabookers think in terms of actually doing scrapbooking. Moreover, scrapbookers and industry workers are not likely to go around proclaiming that they scrapbook primarily for themselves because that seems selfish in a culture that frowns upon selfishness. For many Americans, "[p]assing the time in activities that are pleasurable in and of themselves is almost a foreign notion" (Robinson and Godbey 1997:45). Could it be that Americans focus on the utilitarian functions of their leisure activity to justify their participation when in actuality their primary purpose is pleasurable? This seems to be the case for many scrapbookers.

Industry workers are the messengers of the hobby. Not only do they actively shape scrapbooking norms and earn a discount on their supplies, but they also share their love of the hobby with others. One industry worker states "I'm spending time helping other people tell their stories and [now I do] not have time to tell mine. I'm like the cobbler's wife. The cobbler's children don't have any shoes." The boundary between hobby and work for industry workers is so blurry that once they are off the clock, they have spent their scrapbooking time on scrapbooking as work rather than on scrapbooking as hobby. Earning money during scrapbook time is a way of showing how valuable a person considers her or his time. By only spending money on scrapbooking time, an outsider could easily view the scrapbooker as wasting time. Even though scrapbook work time eats into scrapbook hobby time, it increases the value of the time spent on scrapbook hobby time because the industry worker is generating income on part of their scrapbook time. Not all handcrafters, however, wish to get paid for their hobby. Stalp and Winge (2008) find that their respondents think that turning a hobby into paid work would ruin the fun of the hobby because it turns it into an obligation. Freelance scrapbookers sometimes feel dissatisfied with the experience when they are scrapbooking for someone else for pay instead of scrapbooking for themselves. So it seems that in order to keep the hobby from becoming ruined,

someone who wishes to earn a living scrapbooking would be better off working in a store or as a consultant rather than selling their talent making scrapbooks for others.

Some industry work offers more flexibility than others in terms of the time devoted to it. In particular, working as an independent consultant with a direct-selling scrapbook company seems to offer the most time flexibility. Instead of clocking in for eight hours, the consultant can work when he or she chooses to work. Direct selling allows work time to be *flexible time* compared to other forms of work time that is *rigid time*. It is especially appealing for women because it allows them to work out of their home at their convenience so that they can continue to provide primary childcare and eldercare to loved ones. 86.4 percent of direct sellers are women (Direct SellingAssociation 2008). One major disadvantage of direct selling compared to working in a scrapbook store is that your income comes solely from commission and the direct seller typically must purchase some inventory for potential customers. Some find this appealing as there really is unlimited earning potential;[58] however, many (probably most) never realize much income through direct selling. Direct selling may be more appealing to women than men because women "have traditionally led a far less compartmentalized life than men, who normally experience a sharp split between the home and work worlds" (Zerubavel 1991:85). Direct selling takes place within the home of the consultant and hosts (who host parties to earn free product). Typically, the consultant sells to those they already have relationships with—family and friends. Direct selling explicitly blurs boundaries between home and work.

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[58] Direct selling companies cannot make any specific claims about how much money a direct seller could earn. There are direct sellers that have become millionaires through direct selling so the possibility is there, but is highly unlikely.

As previously mentioned, scrapbooking time can also be *family time*. Some scrapbookers make an extra effort to find scrapbooking time by also making it family time. They actually spend scrapbook time with another family member in order to accomplish both scrapbooking and catching up with loved ones. As scrapbook widowers, two men scrapbookers began scrapbooking as a way to spend time with their significant other. Scrapbooking time as family time does not mean the other family member is necessarily physically present with the scrapbooker. For example, some scrapbookers have devoted scrapbooks to deceased loved ones in an effort to learn more about the person or they view the finished scrapbook of their deceased loved one in order to help them remember the person. Tubbs, Roy, and Burton (2005) find that mothers consider family time as time where they can develop family relationships with their children. It is unknown whether scrapbookers themselves consider this time spent both scrapbooking and with family as family time or scrapbooking time, but clearly the potential is there for it to be both.

Because family time is thought to impede on one's ability to participate in leisure activities, becoming a new parent is not typically considered the best time to take up new hobbies. Regardless, many people become scrapbookers once they become a parent. People who scrapbooked prior to parenthood discuss how parenthood reduces their scrapbooking time. For example, one respondent no longer volunteers at Creating Keepsakes University because she does not have time to now that she is a mother. Being a parent to a young child also challenges one's ability to leave their scrapbook materials out permanently or even semi-permanently because young children get into everything.

Understanding how the act of scrapbooking about or for family members as family time extends the concept of family time. Family time is often thought of as "time when they could be

engaged with each other, have everyone involved and be aware that they were involved with each other" (Daly 2001:288). Scrapbooks about families depend on the family experiencing conventional family time. Modern family life is characterized as being highly scheduled and many families long to have nothing to do (Daly 2001). A scrapbook serves as evidence of family time. Daly (2001:292) found that "[m]any parents were so preoccupied with creating memories for their children's future enjoyment, they were not paying full attention to their everyday experience." Future research should explore whether or not scrapbookers are so preoccupied with preserving moments in scrapbooks that they are not fully paying attention to the moment. I suspect scrapbookers may focus more on the moment as they work through their mental checklist of details to collect for the scrapbook. Even when working through a mental checklist, scrapbookers still prefer to focus on candid rather than staged shots so as not to disrupt the moment.

The scrapbookers in my sample all make scrapbooking a priority in some aspect of their lives. I did not interview anyone who simply bought scrapbook supplies but never actually scrapbooked. I did not interview anyone who had not scrapbooked in several years. Every respondent is currently making time in their life for scrapbooking. Marks (1977:925) poses the question, "[w]hat happens when the analysis turns up some multiple-role players who do *not* appear to be struggling with role conflicts or suffering from role strain or overload?" My respondents work, attend school, and are parents of pre-school aged children and they all find time to scrapbook. Respondents were not asked if they felt like they were scrapbooking the right amount of time or if they wished they had more time to spend scrapbooking. Industry workers are the most likely to talk about this issue because the industry as a whole emphasizes lack of time as a reason why people do not scrapbook.

THE SPEED OF TIME

In modern society, time is perceived to move more quickly than it did in the past and my respondents describe modern life as *fast-paced*. The media promotes the notion that time simply moves more quickly than in the past (Schor 1991). Americans may perceive their lives as fast-paced in comparison to other societies, but Levine (1997) finds that the U.S. ranks 16th out of 31 nations for the pace of life and Atlanta, GA (where most of these interviews took place) ranks 15 out of 36 U.S. cities. In reality, time does not move any more quickly than time in the past and it is difficult to imagine that time is perceived to move more quickly than the past either. In modern times, people have time for leisure activities in their daily lives and can devote large chunks of their life to leisure activities (e.g., childhood and retirement). In an average day, men spend 5.7 hours and women spend 5.1 hours on leisure activities (U. S. Department of Labor 2009). Despite the fact that leisure time has not disappeared, Americans do have less leisure time and more time devoted to work than in the past and compared to Europe (Schor 1991), though not all scholars agree. For example, Robinson and Godbey (1997) find that there was a five hour weekly increase in leisure time between 1965 and 1985 and argue that their numbers are still accurate as of the publication of their 1997 book.

Lack of time is a standard excuse people view as an acceptable explanation as to why they do not do one thing or another, including scrapbooking. Industry workers see time in addition to people believing they are not creative as the main reasons why people do not scrapbook. Some of these time issues seem to be industry driven in that consumers are overwhelmed by choice, strive for the perfection they see in the magazines, fall for marketing messages that they need to scrapbook all of their photographs, and spend all their time

organizing their supplies (which they bought to reach perfection and because they could not decide) instead of scrapbooking (Izzy Video LLC. 2010).

Regardless, the pace of time is perceived to move more quickly primarily because people do things more efficiently than in the past and choose activities that accomplish the same thing more quickly (Robinson and Godbey 1997). Another explanation for this perception is that a larger proportion of our population is within the age group that is working and raising children and that as this group moves into retirement it is possible that time may be perceived as moving more slowly (Robinson and Godbey 1997).

Time may also be considered to be moving very quickly because of the nature of scrapbooking. Because few scrapbookers would describe themselves as being "caught-up" with their scrapbooking, it is often perceived as a time-consuming and slow-paced hobby—there is always something else to be scrapbooked. Being "caught-up," Goodsell and Seiter (2010) suggest, may limit some of the editing that takes place in scrapbooks in that there is not as much time for hindsight to develop and alter the story told in the scrapbook. Another reason time is perceived to be moving more quickly than in the past is because the world is perceived to be changing more rapidly than it did in the past (e.g., as soon as you buy a new cell phone a more improved model is released the next day). One industry worker suggests that this quickly changing world draws people to scrapbooking because "it feels like we're losing history really quickly."

The availability of digital cameras allows people to take even more photographs than they did in the past because every digital photo does not have to be printed, unlike with film. Digital photographers take an average of 38 photos a month (Mizen 2009). Scrapbookers take more photographs, too, than they might if they were not scrapbookers because they want to tell a

more complete story. A child's birthday party is no longer a complete story with just the photo of the child eating her or his first piece of cake, but is only complete if there are photographs of all the guests, the gifts, the intact cake, and so on. What this means is that it is reasonable to expect that the average scrapbooker has stacks of printed photographs or USB drives full of digital photographs waiting to be printed—they are behind in their scrapbooking. The more scrapbooking a person does, the more one may feel that there is to do similar to LaRossa's (1983) finding that new mothers who are overcommitted to motherhood find more and more to do as a mother. *Keeping up* means scrapbooking your photographs shortly after they are taken; almost like scrapbooking in *real time* as the event happens, though this is an unrealistic expectation. One reason many scrapbookers wish to keep up is so that their memories are scrapbooked before they are forgotten. If a person lets time pass without preserving these memories, he or she risks losing these memories completely and at the very least he or she will not "remember exactly what happened." Keeping up ultimately means that your memories are scrapbooked before they are forgotten—but one has no way of knowing when those memories might be forgotten.

Keeping up or being *caught up* with one's scrapbooking is relatively rare among most scrapbookers because there is always something else to scrapbook. Some scrapbookers are able to get caught up more easily than others because they only scrapbook specific events. For example, one respondent spends a couple of days about four times a year scrapbooking and gets caught up on her books—scrapbooking everything that happened prior to her last scrapbooking session. Once a scrapbooker scrapbooks the big events (e.g., birthdays, weddings, vacations), then he or she might begin scrapbooking the everyday events (e.g., their child playing). Moreover, once a scrapbooker has made the financial investment in their scrapbooking supplies

(if they start out as an event-based scrapbooker), to get the most out of this financial investment, they might feel they need to make a greater time investment in the hobby, too (by becoming an everyday or on-going scrapbooker).

One wonders what would happen to the ongoing scrapbooker if in fact they ever managed to be completely caught up. Then what? One respondent had attended a crop the day before our interview and recounts how another cropper was saying how she "was seven years behind." This respondent thought, "so what if you don't want to start with when your kid was born but you want to scrapbook something that happened today. Do it. I mean the whole point of it should be that it makes people happy."

It is possible that scrapbookers perceive time to move quickly because they are scrapbookers. Many people scrapbook their memories because they have good memories.[59] One reason others do not scrapbook may be because they do not have such good memories. They may be less likely to perceive time as moving quickly as suggested by Flaherty, Freidin, and Sautu (2005:400) who found that people who perceive time to move slowly tended to "focus[ed] on suffering, unpleasant emotions, and waiting."

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[59] By good memories, I am referring to pleasant memories not that their remembering ability is good compared to others.

CHAPTER 8: SOCIAL MEMORIES

The past and history are social constructions—meaning the way we remember events of the past is influenced and shaped by our society through mnemonic socialization (Zerubavel 1997). Zerubavel (1997:81) writes, "[l]ike the present, the past is to some extent also part of a social reality that, while far from being absolutely objective, nonetheless transcends our own subjectivity and is shared by others around us." This is important to this study for several reasons. Scrapbookers are recording their version of history. That history may include information about their family or a vacation. Or that history may be devoted to events experienced by many, such as collective tragedies (e.g., 9/11). Scrapbooking is a place to explore the social rules of remembrance (Zerubavel 1997).

DeGroot (2001) argues that "in nothingness there is stability" (p. 24). In other words, in the face of tremendous changes in recent years, scrapbooking is potentially a way for people to regain stability by focusing on the mundane. Many scrapbookers, like many photobloggers (Cohen 2005), take pictures of real life (the everyday) instead of or in addition to special occasions. The more experienced scrapbooker even begins scrapbooking the mundane parts of special occasions. For example, the scrapbooker may photograph the preparation (i.e., baking the cake) or cleaning up (i.e., washing dishes) details of an event instead of or in addition to the event itself (i.e., the actual birthday party). Scrapbooks are one medium that people use to tell their stories. According to Bruder and Ucok (2000:347), "[s]tories are a fundamental human instrumentality for making sense of the world." The world may be no more confusing than in the past, but what is different is that more people have the tools to record their stories. In other words, what looks like causation may just be correlation.

CULTURAL CHANGES

I asked my respondents why they think that scrapbooking has increased in popularity over the past 10 years. My question asks respondents to think about the history of the past 10 years (at the time of our interview in 2008) and compare it to the history that occurred prior to 1998. The 1990s and 2000s saw a resurgence in the popularity of scrapbooking (Ott et al. 2006) with a whole industry devoted to the craft complete with stores, magazines, scrapbook supplies, Internet chat rooms, books, t-shirts, and so on devoted to it. The company that brought scrapbooking to the masses is Creative Memories®, which was founded in 1987 (Creative Memories® 2010). By the time of my interviews in 2008, scrapbooking had become immensely popular compared to 1998 when it was still building momentum. Respondents point to several cultural changes: technological changes, industry changes, collective tragedies (e.g., 9/11, Hurricane Katrina, the Iraq War), and changes in family norms.

Technological Changes

Ott et al. (2006:11) argue that "[t]he invention of photography in 1837 forever altered the making of scrapbooks and albums." Eastman Kodak's development of an inexpensive camera requiring the user only to push a button to capture an image expanded photography to the masses (Burgess et al. 2000). The digital camera was invented in 1975 and brought to consumers in 1994 (Anonymous 2009). The rise in modern scrapbooking corresponds to the rise in use of digital cameras.

Digital camera technology makes photography much more accessible to more people. It is much easier to quickly accumulate hundreds of photographs of things a person would have only taken a few photographs of using film. Moreover, most Americans own a cellular phone and a camera is standard on most of these phones. Therefore, even individuals who may not be

able to afford a digital camera most likely have the technology via their cellular phone. Digital photographs are much more affordable than film photographs costing nothing to make (unless printed) once the initial equipment costs are made (Cohen 2005).

Industry workers—especially those in the industry for the greatest lengths of time—have seen how digital photography has increased the volume of photographs people are taking. These amateur photographers come to industry workers so that they can figure out how to organize their photographs. Nearly all scrapbook businesses offer some sort of photo storage solution other than just scrapbooking, such as photo-safe boxes for photographic prints or software programs to organize digital photographs. Some of these customers become scrapbookers as a way to organize their photographs because scrapbooks give photographs something to do.

Very few of my respondents rely on film cameras (I did not ask, but most referred to digital cameras and prints at some point during our interview). One respondent experiences frustration with film in that you cannot review the photo after it is taken to make sure it has been taken correctly, which is of greater concern if someone else is taking the photograph. She has not transitioned to digital because she has a lot of money invested in her film camera and lenses. She has not yet reached the point where she is ready to make a similar investment in a digital camera and lenses.

Technology in general is seen as a symbol of the busyness or fast pace of modern life. One industry worker states:

> I think part of it is our culture is becoming more and more isolated between technology and busyness and somehow the expectation that we have to do everything and I think scrapbooking subconsciously harkens back to a simpler time and stopping to relive those memories and capture them for future generations. … Plus it's a way to connect with

people. When you pass them in the car or you're at the soccer game and everyone's on their own cell phone, you don't connect.

Scrapbooking gives people a way to feel connected to others. Scrapbooking is a way to resist technological changes, while at the same time, the industry embraces technology.

Digital scrapbooking has been developed as a way to make scrapbooking more convenient, time saving, and possibly more affordable. Also, digital scrapbooking has developed because members of Generation Y are thought to be very comfortable with technology. Not all industry workers are familiar with digital scrapbooking, but today, many traditional scrapbooking manufacturers have entered the digital scrapbooking world too, by making their products available in both print and digital format. Digital scrapbooks can be printed and bound, stored digitally, or uploaded to the Internet and shared on social network sites. Industry workers encourage scrapbookers to print out their digital scrapbooks because technology changes so quickly that even though one can view the digital scrapbook on a computer today, if the technology changes, one might not be able to view it in the future.

Industry workers point out that the Internet has made it easier than ever to obtain genealogical information, which means that it is easier for people to create scrapbooks about their ancestors. The Internet has changed the way people communicate. Past generations wrote letters to one another and often kept those letters for another person to later find. With email, there is no paper trail of letters. Scrapbooking fills this void left by technology by bringing people back to "personal relationships and keeping personal histories" as one industry worker puts it.

The use of technology has homogenized the culture with mass-produced items. Scrapbooking is a way to make something homemade. The paradox is that the scrapbook may be

constructed by hand, but many of the items in the scrapbook (e.g., embellishments, papers) are mass-produced. Scrapbooking exists in the area in-between do-it-yourself culture and mass culture (Goodsell and Seiter 2010). Ott et al. (2006:18) state "[o]bjects may have originated in the prevailing and impersonal marketplace, but individuals converted the unfamiliar into familiar by cutting up the materials of capitalism and turning them into gifts themselves" (see also de Certeau 1984). Scrapbookers may use mass-produced items, but they make them their own in their scrapbooks. Campbell (2005:37) argues that "the growth of craft consumption in contemporary western societies might represent … a reaction to" the way more and more of our world becomes commodified.

In sum, technology has changed photography and the way we communicate, making it easier than ever to scrapbook. Is technology changing the world more or less than technological changes in the past? Who knows for sure, but what matters is that industry workers and scrapbookers believe that changes in technology are related to an increased interest in scrapbooking.

Industry Changes

Creative Memories® is credited by industry workers and scrapbookers as the pioneering company that spread scrapbooking to the masses. Industry workers who started in the industry ten or more years prior to our interview could remember a time where they had to explain what scrapbooking even was to today, where most people have some familiarity with what scrapbooking involves. Creative Memories® provided the tools to create modern scrapbooks. People have always kept versions of scrapbooks (e.g., tucking newspaper articles in the family *Bible*) but today scrapbooking is an industry. One respondent who has scrapbooked since before it became popular believes that the increased popularity of scrapbooking is just a fad. She

believes that some people are only trying it because it is the latest crafting trend (if this were the 1980s, they may have picked up counted cross-stitching instead). Based on my research and my experience in the industry, I would have to agree that scrapbooking has probably peaked and some of the growth can be attributed to it being a fad. It will remain popular, but the days of overnight success stories of scrapbookers becoming instant celebrities are probably over. The industry has changed quite a bit over the last few years and the recent economic turmoil in America has definitely impacted the scrapbooking industry. Stores and manufacturers have and will continue to go out of business, but others will take their place.

Collective Tragedies

9/11 is said to have increased interest in scrapbooking (Helfand 2008). It is difficult to know whether more people came to scrapbooking because of 9/11 or whether it is just a coincidence. According to one industry worker, after 9/11 her business was really good "because people got back down to what was really important in their life." Not only 9/11, but also Hurricane Katrina and the Iraq War are also seen as events that have served as "wake-up calls" to people and led more people to become scrapbookers. People are increasingly interested in making sure their memories are recorded. Their children will still have these memories in case something happens to the scrapbooker. Zerubavel (2003) argues that people "experience nostalgia during periods of dramatic change" (p. 39). Scrapbooking may be a way for people and families to construct and maintain an identity that has been confronted by rapid change (Zerubavel 2003), such as that experienced during collective tragedies. This is also suggested by Kuhn (2002:49), who writes that simply taking a photograph to record a memory assumes "a future when things will be different, anticipating a need to remember what will soon be past."

Holland (1991), however, sees "[m]aking and preserving a family snapshot is an act of faith in the future" (p. 1).

Changes in Family Norms

Not only have collective tragedies been credited as the impetus to focus more on "what is important," but perceived changes in family norms are also thought to contribute to this newfound interest in scrapbooking. One industry worker suggests that scrapbooking is popular because our culture has come back "to the importance of family and preserving some sort of heritage of history because nowadays people are spread out from their families a lot more than it used to be. …in some ways it's a way to ground ourselves again into our own roots." Interest in genealogy can give a person or a family a sense of identity (Zerubavel 2003). In contrast to popular perceptions of the family (as falling apart), scrapbookers talk about how family seemed more important than it did in the past. For example, one respondent explains how family has changed in that it is more child-centered than it was when she was a child. This focus on the child has given rise to scrapbooking. In sum, scrapbookers and industry workers view the family today differently than family was viewed in the past. Regardless of how the family has or has not changed, one goal of scrapbooking is to preserve a collective family memory.

Interestingly, scrapbooking was originally marketed in similar ways as it is marketed today. When various scrapbooks and photograph albums were originally patented in the mid- to late-19th century, marketers advertised their products in such a way to emphasize their role within the family and as a substitute of loved ones who were absent through distance or death (Siegel 2006). Manufacturers also emphasized the scrapbook as a source of patriotism (Siegel 2006). Today, advertisers rely on similar themes in their marketing messages. So what, then, has changed?

COLLECTIVE FAMILY MEMORY

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) note that most cultures preserve the memory of ancestors through shrines within the home (e.g., Japan) or through photographs (e.g., the United States). Scrapbooks serve as one such type of shrine. These shrines embody the family's collective memory.

Buford May (2000:201) defines local collective memory as being "derived in small intimate groups whose members share in frequent interaction and focus on events that are specific to the individuals within the group." Family collective memory is a type of local collective memory and can be built around the stories told in scrapbooks. Previous scholars note that photographs provide a sense of identity to future descendants (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Slater 1991) and scrapbooks do the same thing. Scrapbookers are creating scrapbooks not just for themselves, but often for their family as well. Family scrapbooks can be used by the scrapbooker to build collective identity as a family (Goodsell and Seiter 2010) and in particular, a mainstream family (Kuhn 1991). This means that they are directly shaping the family's collective memory. The scrapbooker helps "corroborate" the family's memories.

Zerubavel (1997) points out how older family members tell stories to children and these stories serve as the earliest memories children have. Older family members (e.g., parents, grandparents, older siblings, aunts, uncles) serve as a "mnemonic community" (Zerubavel 1997) for younger family members (i.e., children). Through scrapbooking, children, who normally would not remember such things as potty training now have scrapbook pages devoted to these events, providing them with knowledge they otherwise would not have (whether they want it or not). Children, then, learn what is memorable through what becomes scrapworthy. Scrapbookers see their scrapbooks as serving as a source of memories for their children. They recognize that

the only reason their children are going to remember some of these stories is because these stories are in the scrapbook. The scrapbook serves as a "social souvenir" (Zerubavel 1997) of the family or of an individual person. Zerubavel (1997:95) rightly points out how "[t]he family photo album … [is one of] the major sites of social memory." Scrapbooking has arisen, however, because of insufficiencies of the conventional family photo album, namely, the lack of a written record. Once older family members who know more of the story pass away, the stories of the photographs are often lost. Conventional family photo albums provide a visual record and a written record limited to dates and names—typically little more and often even less. Scrapbooks, however, provide both the visual record (photographs) and the written record (journaling).

The written record, or journaling, tells the story. A photograph album is not a scrapbook because without words, it does not tell a story and remains meaningless according to respondents. The words are so important, in fact, that photographs are not always necessary. The written account means that the scrapbook creator does not need to be present in order to view the scrapbook and understand it. Sometimes, however, "one great picture" can tell the whole story and the scrapbooker does not have to journal, as noted by some respondents.

Though scrapbooks serve as a place where memories can be corroborated, having a family scrapbook does not mean that all family members will have the same collective memory of that family. Different family members remember their family differently because siblings, for instance, may have different memories of their parents. hooks (1994a) emphasizes this point when discussing a snapshot of her father:

> [a]lthough my sisters and I look at this snapshot and see the same man, we do not see him in the same way. Our 'reading' and experience of this image is shaped by our relationship to him, to the world of childhood and the images that make our life what it is now.

Her father, too, may have another reading of the photo (see Holland 1991; Kuhn 2002). When disagreements about the past occur, a mnemonic battle could ensue (Zerubavel 1997). My respondents did not discuss any disagreements about the memories in the scrapbooks. This could be because scrapbookers selectively share their albums. They might not share their albums with people who might disagree with the story told in the scrapbook.

Regardless of family members having different memories of the family, scrapbooks serve as a reference point as to who is and is not family in a world where family is thought to be on the decline. Photographs (Williams 1991:187) and scrapbooks serve "as a way of reasserting and strengthening family life."

IMITATION AND REPLICATION

Zerubavel (2003) points out that people remember through imitation and replication. In particular, he argues that by imitating we are attempting to reproduce. Scraplifting, as discussed in Chapter 4, would be one example of how imitation and replication occurs among scrapbooks. One genre of scrapbooks that is rife with the use of imitation and reproduction is heritage albums. Many scrapbookers never even think to use modern style scrapbook papers and stickers with photographs that are several decades old. Instead, scrapbookers use papers and stickers that are reminiscent of an earlier time period. For example, patterns that are heavily floral and colors that are subdued (i.e., brown, black, cream). In some instances, vintage patterns and ephemera have been reproduced as scrapbooking products. There are even books and websites devoted to teaching people how to scrapbook heritage photographs. In heritage albums, scrapbookers not only store older photographs but attempt to recreate the time period in which those photographs were taken through the use of scrapbooking products.

The past guides the present not only in heritage albums which are specifically devoted to memorializing the past, but also in more current scrapbooks. Some respondents refer to previous memories on pages about other memories. They might include a photograph of their own child with a photograph of themselves at the same age, for example, comparing the two moments in time. Most respondents have not done anything like this in their scrapbook. One major reason for this is because they have never thought about it before. The most common response to my question about using the past to guide the present was "no, but that's a good idea." A couple of respondents mentioned pages they were planning to make sometime that would do this. For example, one respondent mentions creating a page about a family name and everyone in the family who shared the same name. Being able to do pages comparing the past with the present means a person has a past they want to remember and most likely has photographs that could be included. For example, one respondent talks about how she did not have a fantastic childhood and has very few photographs from her childhood. She said it is highly unlikely that she would ever be able to compare her own childhood to her children's childhood in her scrapbooks for these reasons.

Imitation and replication seems to be inevitable because of mnemonic traditions involving the remembrance of various life events. Zerubavel (1997:87) defines mnemonic tradition as "not only what we come to remember as members of a particular thought community but also *how* we remember it." For example, one respondent did not photograph the presents or her son opening his birthday presents. She did not want the focus of his birthday scrapbook to be on the gifts. She made a point to ignore the gifts in the scrapbook despite strong cultural pressure (and mnemonic tradition) to emphasize the gifts. People are mnemonically socialized to focus on

the gifts as a component of birthday parties making it noteworthy when a person chooses to ignore the gifts.

PERFECT MEMORIES

Scrapbooks rarely tell the whole story of a person's life. Scrapbookers make editorial decisions as to what is scrapworthy and what is not for various reasons. Scrapbooks are photograph driven so they follow some of the same norms that photography follows. For example, people are more likely to photograph happy moments compared to unhappy moments. This is usually looked at negatively because people are selecting their best moments to showcase in photo albums. People do this because photographs serve important functions, such as preserving moments people feel are worth remembering (Chalfen 1987; Milgram 1976; Sontag 1973).

According to Demos (2006), scrapbookers seek to create pages capturing memories—perfect memories. Respondents were asked what perfect meant to them in terms of scrapbooking and in life in general. Most respondents were perplexed by the question because they do not see what they are doing as in any way demonstrating or attempting to demonstrate perfection. For most, they see what they were doing as demonstrating imperfection in their scrapbooks.

Perfect in terms of scrapbooks could mean happy or positive memories or just accurate memories. Respondents did not believe anyone had a perfect memory; so inevitably, something would be left out of the scrapbook page because it had already been forgotten. If they thought that scrapbookers are creating perfect memories—purposefully leaving out the negative—they do not feel there is anything wrong with that. One respondent, who scrapbooked her mother's funeral, says that unhappy memories could still be good memories, regardless of whether they are perfect memories. Another respondent talks about how she could include her ex as much as

she wanted in her scrapbook (they have a child together so they do spend some events together). Others argue that scrapbookers may be striving for perfection or only showcasing happy memories, but they are not unlike non-scrapbookers in this regard. They just happen to be doing it in this particular forum.

It is important to note that scrapbookers do not only include the things they want to remember and simply forget the rest. Some memories—especially unhappy memories—are not things my respondents think they will ever forget. There are rarely photographs or other mementos of unhappy moments so these moments rarely get scrapbooked. Moreover, most of my respondents said they do not scrapbook unhappy moments because they generally only have happy memories. They have not experienced unexpected deaths or other unhappy moments for the most part. Some have had a death of a loved one or had unhappy childhoods, but my respondents seem to be genuinely happy with their current lives. This raises the question as to whether people with "bad" or unhappy lives even scrapbook? Is it only people with "good" or happy lives who scrapbook? I suspect that people who are less happy are less likely to scrapbook, despite research suggesting that looking at personal photographs can make people feel better (Warren 2006).

Though most respondents have not had life altering unhappy moments (e.g., traumatic childhoods, unexpected deaths, or divorce), a few have never considered including any unhappy moments in her or his scrapbooks. For them, this mainly had to do with the lack of photographs. Though they might fight with their partner, there are never any photographs of these arguments. As it is, some scrapbookers occasionally have to do some arm-twisting to get photographs of people during happy moments. It would be nearly impossible, then, to get photographs of unhappy moments. Respondents who only scrapbook certain themes (e.g., Christmas, birthdays,

and school) are probably less likely to even consider scrapbooking unhappy moments compared to scrapbookers who scrapbook the everyday.

Respondents who have created scrapbook pages about unhappier moments shared some of those pages with me. Scrapbook pages about unhappier times, generally, do not look any different than scrapbook pages about happier times; even the respondent who scrapbooked her mother's funeral uses a very cheerful and bright color palette in her scrapbook. One would not realize the scrapbook was about a funeral just from a quick glance.

I find that scrapbookers generally adhere to a norm of honesty in their scrapbooks. Despite Downs' (2006) assertion that scrapbookers regularly "uninvite" people from their scrapbooks and Demos' (2006) argument that scrapbookers are presenting images of perfect lives, I do not find this overall. Some scrapbookers may strive for perfection for some memories, layouts, and albums some of the time, but it is not standard practice. Perhaps the difference stems from differences between our samples. Demos' (2006) and Downs' (2006) samples were derived from scrapbookers who attended in-store crops. These scrapbookers were scrapbooking publicly and would be sharing their scrapbook pages with other scrapbookers at these crops as is a crop norm. Many of my respondents have never attended a crop. Few share their scrapbooks with other scrapbookers or strangers (as many of the other croppers often are or are only friends within this particular setting). Scrapbooks are not like holiday letters, which are sent yearly by many Americans to friends, family, and co-workers to share all the wonderful news of their lives that happened in the previous year while downplaying or ignoring anything negative.

Other scholars have also criticized the editing that takes place within scrapbooks. Goodsell and Seiter (2010:23) argue that scrapbookers do not tell the whole story in their scrapbooks making "the reality of 'what happened' [is] problematic in the scrapbooks." That

may be, but there is no reason for scrapbookers to chronicle the unhappy moments in life because that is the stuff of mainstream history books and news. For example, *Time* magazine wrote a piece referring to the first decade of the 21st century as the "Decade from Hell" while the *New York Times* asked readers to submit photographs that "illustrate[d] what they considered important memories" (Fantin 2010). Fantin (2010) notes that what people submitted to the *New York Times* is "the stuff of scrapbooks"—happy milestones such as the birth of a child or a wedding in addition to unhappy moments that effect us all (e.g., photographs documenting global warming) (see alsoWilliams 1991). In other words, scrapbooks are always going to be incomplete and are not meant to be a complete portrayal of what life was really like for a person. Scrapbooks are the story the scrapbooker is choosing to tell and they are no more complete or incomplete than other forms of storytelling.

Importantly, there really could never be a complete memory as all memories are a narrative of what "really" happened. Everything is carefully selected and edited. Some things are not perceived in the first place but are still part of the narrative or they are perceived but discarded from memory as unimportant. What is important is that many scrapbookers intend a complete story to be told by their scrapbooks. That complete story may be told by the scrapbook alone or through an oral narrative that accompanies the scrapbook during its viewing.

Generally, scrapbookers design their books so that the scrapbook page prompts a more detailed memory; though many respondents intend for the complete memory to be contained on the page, only a few respondents successfully did this most of the time. During the photo-elicitation portion of our interview, respondents regularly told me more of the story than is contained on the page. Furthermore, memories prompted by photographs are produced within both ourselves and our culture (Kuhn 1991).

Respondents reminisce when viewing the scrapbook pages with me. Reminiscing means to "actively intend a memory to come into consciousness and, in a sense, complete the natural process of memory" (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:174). According to Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), the ability to reminisce is uniquely human. Scrapbooks serve as a memory prompt for both individuals and families and help people reminisce.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

Despite this dissertation's best efforts, I am still a scrapbooker and have yet to tire from this topic or hobby. My life is the epitome of scrapworthy and I do not mean that in that my life has any more worth than another's life but that my life is almost completely structured by scrapbooking. I cannot imagine my world without it. Scrapbooking is not just what I do for fun but what I do for work. My time, space, thoughts, and money are consumed by it.

My scrapbooking has changed in unexpected ways due to this project. I now initial and date the back of every page I complete after seeing one of my respondents do this. I silhouette photographs, which I thought I would never do (silhouetting cuts out the background while the focus of the photo remains). I signed up as an independent consultant for a company I had never even bought from before (though I have since resigned or "deactivated" from that position). I have also ventured into digital scrapbooking (something I thought was not really scrapbooking before I began this project). My respondents challenged me to think about both my work and my hobby in new and interesting ways.

I still get strange looks when I say that I study scrapbooking. I think people think that I am a bit obsessed. It is only when I begin explaining what my topic is really about that it clicks as to why this is an interesting topic and important to sociology.

IMPLICATIONS

Scrapworthy Lives is not just about scrapbooking. Scrapbooking is a leisure activity which structures people's lives. Their time, perception, and memories are shaped by whether or not something is classified as scrapworthy. In this way, leisure activities can be seen as just as important influences as other social structures such as religion or gender on people's lives.

Leisure activities are understudied by sociologists even though most Americans do have some leisure time and there are countless stores, products, conferences, conventions, television shows, podcasts, blogs, magazines, websites, stores and more devoted to very specific leisure activities. Just about any hobbyist can find a community of like-minded people pursuing their leisure activity of choice. It is easy to dismiss leisure activities as unimportant, silly games that could easily be eliminated from a person's life, but, as this research shows, people become deeply committed to their leisure activity of choice. Scrapbooking, like other hobbies, has its strong die-hard adherents and those who are just testing the waters to see if they might like it.

For many, scrapbooking comes to structure their life. They no longer leave the house without their camera. They learn to take better photographs. They visit places purely for scrapbooking purposes. They figure out how to work in the industry so that they can earn discounted or free product. They spend time thinking about scrapbooking, visiting blogs about scrapbooking, reading magazines about scrapbooking, and shopping for scrapbooking supplies. They collect memorabilia (or trash as nonscrapbookers might consider it). Nearly every aspect of their life becomes either scrapworthy or not scrapworthy. Some scrapbookers' lives become very structured by scrapbooking, while others do not.

Before taking on this project, I would express that one of my hobbies is scrapbooking but then attach an "I know, right?" after it. It is not that I was ashamed or embarrassed (perhaps I was?), but that how could a self-proclaimed feminist participate in something that is just so domestic and stereotypically feminine? I have come to realize that scrapbooking, like most anything, can be a feminist activity. It has the potential to be liberating because the scrapbooker decides what story to tell about her or himself and her or his family. That is powerful! It also has the potential to be oppressive, as people could feel guilty (especially mothers) for not

scrapbooking their lives or the lives of their loved ones or for not being caught up with their scrapbooking. Individuals should not be made to feel guilty because he or she does not scrapbook or because they are not "caught up." There are other ways to preserve your history if that is important to you. There are other creative outlets if that is what matters. What is important to remember is just because more women appear to be scrapbooking than men, does not negate the feminist potential of an activity. Today I proudly say yes, I scrapbook and no, I do not feel guilty that I am not caught up. I personally never want to be caught up because then I would have nothing else to scrapbook.

Though a few respondents express guilt surrounding scrapbook to some extent, guilt was not a primary motivator to continue or start scrapbooking. Importantly and surprisingly, none of my respondents talk about how they scrapbook exclusively *for* other people. Even if the scrapbook is made as a gift or about someone else, respondents still were scrapbooking for themselves. For many scrapbookers, children are an excuse to scrapbook, not the reason to scrapbook. What this means is that scrapbooking is for scrapbookers. It is their hobby. It is their choice. It is their creative outlet.

Scrapworthy Lives is also about how some things come to be considered scrapworthy, while others are not. Scrapworthiness matters in that these are the things that scrapbookers are *choosing* to memorialize or commemorate. What gets memorialized matters because "the way society conceives its past" (Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991:376) relates to how a society sees its present identity. Scrapbooks are memorials devoted to individual people and families, unlike national monuments which commemorate a nation's history. In this way a scrapbook can be considered as important to an individual person or family as a national monument is to a nation. The scrapbook comes to symbolize the individual person or family.

As Lembcke (1998) points out, how something is remembered (correctly or incorrectly), can be used and manipulated to achieve current goals. Moreover, the stories that are selected to be told also shape the memory of the event. In particular, Lembcke (1998) discusses how film shapes the American collective memory of the Vietnam War (i.e., homeless and otherwise troubled veterans rejected by society) in contrast to the collective memory of World War II (i.e., "the greatest generation"). Film portrays the Vietnam War as the story of soldiers coming home to be abused (and spat upon) by anti-war protestors and soldiers' experiences with post-traumatic stress disorder after the war. In contrast, World War II films are about the war itself with heroic soldiers. The narrative in a scrapbook, then, matters in that it shapes the perception of a person or family. Moreover, as memorials, scrapbooks may be contested. This was not evidenced in this dissertation, but the potential for contested memories within scrapbooks is likely.

Zerubavel (2003:2) states "[a]lthough memory is not a mere reproduction of objective facts, this does not mean that it is therefore entirely subjective." Scrapbooks illustrate not just what an individual considers scrapworthy, but what society considers scrapworthy. Patterns are present in scrapbooks. This is shaped by the scrapbook industry but also society in general. Scrapbooks about education include pages about graduation and first days—the extraordinary. Much less common are pages about doing homework or listening to the teacher. A partial explanation of this is that parents are not present at school during the mundane periods but are only there during the extraordinary moments; however, homework typically happens at home. The hard work that happens between the first day and graduation is rendered invisible (or perhaps is assumed). How does this pattern reflect American values regarding education and hard work? These patterns serve as evidence of "how entire communities, and not just individuals, remember the past" (Zerubavel 2003:2). How memories are scrapbooked fit into pre-

existing models of how things should be remembered. Scrapbooks are manifestations of memories.

As Goodsell and Seiter (2010), argue family scrapbooks serve to socialize family members into an acceptable family discourse; therefore, it makes sense that scrapbooks come to be socially patterned. Children not only learn how to remember and do family life in socially appropriate ways, but they learn how to remember cultural traditions in socially appropriate ways. Zerubavel (2003:5) considers *co-reminiscing* an important process in which children learn "socially appropriate narrative forms for recounting the past as well as the tacit rules of remembrance that help separate the conventionally memorable from that which can—or even ought to—be relegated to oblivion." Co-reminiscing occurs quite obviously when a scrapbooker shares the scrapbook with another person and provides an oral narrative, but even without the oral narrative, the viewer learns how to remember particular things and events in socially appropriate ways through viewing a scrapbook.

Scrapbooks are a place in which individuals can produce their own biography (or are an autobiographical occasion or are a memorial about her or his self). Like class reunions, through scrapbooking a person is able to construct an identity and tell her or his story based on what has happened in her or his life up to the point of the reunion or the moment the scrapbook is considered complete; however, unlike class reunions, one does not have to consciously decide whether or not to partake in the autobiographical occasion. There is no RSVP card to send in committing to or declining to make a scrapbook. Scrapbooks, then, are optional autobiographical occasions.

Bjorklund (1998:17) suggests that "[a]utobiographers select 'events' and 'facts' from their lives that fit into a comprehensible narrative." It makes sense that scrapbookers would use

existing narratives to tell their stories within scrapbooks. Though the concept of scrapworthiness appears to be painfully obvious, what is considered memorable seems to have expanded through scrapbooking. Scrapbookers seek out scrapworthy things when they photograph the everyday in addition to the exceptional. Scrapbooks use existing narratives, but have expanded what should be or could be included in said narratives. For instance, a baby book may include sonogram photographs but a pregnancy scrapbook may include details about every doctor's visit in addition to sonogram photographs making the pregnancy about the mother in addition to being about the baby. What is considered memorable, then, is not just the baby, but the pregnancy itself. Furthermore, even the order in which the scrapbook progresses is typically chronological—an order that is a comprehensible narrative. In fact elementary school students often learn how to write a story by using first, next, then, and finally to structure their story indicating that chronological narratives are normative. Overall, a scrapbook is a modern narrative form used to commemorate the lives of individual people and families.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

I believe that my sample resulted from self-selection bias. I do not believe that my findings are generalizable to all scrapbookers (for several reasons), but they do provide an excellent counterpoint to the stereotypical portrayal of scrapbookers. My respondents talk about how they rarely scrapbook unhappy moments for example, mainly because they have not experienced many unhappy moments. My respondents also do not articulate resistance from their family to their scrapbooking. I suspect that scrapbookers experiencing any hostility, resentment, or belittling of their hobby by the people they live with, would be less likely to participate in research about their hobby. I find it hard to believe that no scrapbookers experience these things as other crafters, such as quilters, do (Stalp 2006b). Just as respondents do not talk of

scrapbooking as an obligation, I think this has to do with who chose to contact me to be interviewed in the first place. My participants are confident that what they were doing is important enough to talk to a researcher about even if they do not often talk about their hobby with others. Moreover, scrapbookers who have the most support in their leisure pursuit may not have selected to be interviewed because they may already have so much support from others that they do not feel the need to have their participation in the hobby validated by a researcher.

My sample was mostly white, heterosexual, Christian women, currently residing in Georgia, though I did have several respondents who did not fit this standard. I am disappointed in particular by the lack of racial diversity in my sample mainly because it is not just white women who scrapbook. The reason I wish there was greater racial diversity in my sample is because the hobby is presented by the (scrapbooking) media as something white people do but not others. Future research should critically examine how scrapbooking as a hobby is raced from the industry side and how scrapbookers interpret this. What I find most bothersome about the industry is that the products are one-size-fits-all despite the fact that most scrapbooking companies do not manufacture hundreds of thousands of products. The industry is big, but small at the same time. It is completely reasonable for products to be designed that reflect groups outside of the group showcased in the scrapbooking magazines.

It is challenging to think exactly which way I would take this project in the future because there are so many aspects of scrapbooking left to examine. In line with talking to more nonwhite scrapbookers about scrapbooking, would be to study the hobby internationally. The hobby exists overseas, but because most manufacturers are based in the United States, shipping makes the hobby extremely expensive elsewhere. It would be interesting to see how people scrapbook abroad. How does it compare? Do people do it abroad for similar reasons that

Americans scrapbook? My observations thus far suggest that there are many who still scrapbook but do so without all of the bells and whistles that American scrapbookers are using.

Another important avenue of research would be to interview people who do not scrapbook to find out why they do not scrapbook and, more importantly, to find out how they preserve their memories (if they do this at all). Why do some people feel the need to preserve their memories in this way while others choose other methods of memorialization or do nothing to preserve their memories? Moreover, why do people stop scrapbooking and why do some people scrapbook yet do not become a scrapbooker?

All of my respondents who are scrapbookers are adults though a few mention that they began scrapbooking as teenagers or that they are teaching their own children how to scrapbook. Future research should examine children's scrapbooks, especially the scrapbooks of children who are taking their own photographs. How does age influence what is considered scrapworthy? Studying children's scrapbooks could also illustrate how people come to be socialized within the scrapbooking thought community. A child may rely on their parent's leftover scrapbooking supplies (and photographs) to make their albums and be influenced very little by the industry at large. How does this influence their scrapbooking? At what point do their scrapbooks begin to look like a normative scrapbook?

Future research should also consider how the stories told in scrapbooks may vary based on where in the life course the scrapbooker is and her or his gender. I focus on the stories in a very superficial sense in that I focus on the topics and themes but do not conduct a detailed analysis of the stories themselves. Fiese et al. (1995) find that fathers are more likely to orally tell stories with achievement themes and mothers are more likely to orally tell stories about affiliation, so it is reasonable to expect that how stories are told within scrapbooks could vary

based on gender. Moreover, the age of the child influences the type of story told (Fiese et al. 1995). Future research should closely analyze the actual stories told in scrapbooks.

Finally, the issue of waste should be considered. Researchers should talk to scrapbookers about their scraps. What do they do with the waste? Paper is cut up, but not all of it is used on a page. ABC stickers are used until all the remains are x's and z's. Then what? Do the scraps get thrown away as not scrapworthy anymore? If scrapbookers are not using scraps, then why are they called scrapbookers? If scrapbookers are saving many things in their albums, at what point do they throw anything away? Moreover, in American society, "being green" is increasingly held out as something to aspire to and become. Scrapbooking can be very wasteful. How do scrapbookers who are "green" reconcile these contradictions (if they even perceive any contradictions)? Several respondents recounted that they include items on their pages simply because they exist. It seems that scrapbookers do not want to be wasteful, but how can they not be?

FINAL THOUGHT

I am not going to lie; I think everyone should scrapbook or at least practice the spirit of scrapbooking. The final product is unimportant in that it could be a scrapbook, a diary, a journal, a shadow box, a blog, a conventional photograph album, or a digital picture frame. Looking at photographs of loved ones and favorite places makes people happy. Remembering good times can make going through bad times easier. Manipulating paper and digital images allows a person to be creative in a world where creativity—though held out as a beneficial character trait—can lead to a person not getting very far in life (if they deviate too far from the norm). Creativity is not often rewarded despite our talk encouraging creativity.

Scrapbooking matters because people are creating memorials about their lives. They are saying that their life and the lives of their loved ones are worth remembering—or are scrapworthy. Scrapbookers, for the most part, are not telling stories about items that appear in the newspaper, history books, or The History Channel®. Instead, they are telling stories that are not getting memorialized in any other way.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. RECRUITMENT FLYERS

Are you a scrapbooker who is Mormon, a man, nonwhite, or gay or lesbian? I want to talk to you! I am interviewing 40 scrapbookers to uncover how, why, and what people scrapbook. This research is being conducted by Stephanie Medley-Rath as part of her doctoral program in sociology at Georgia State University. For more details, contact Stephanie at 404-538-9760 or stephaniemedleyrath@gmail.com.

Each interview will last between one and three hours.

All interviews will remain confidential and will be held in places and at times convenient to the participants. Thank you.

Scrapbooking

Stephanie Medley-Rath: (404) 538-9760

Scrapbook Research
stephaniemedleyrath@gmail.com

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ADVERTISEMENT FOR CITY SCRAPBOOK'S NEWSLETTER

Are you a scrapbooker or someone who works in the scrapbook industry? I want to talk to you! I plan to uncover how, why, and what people scrapbook. I am looking to interview about 40 scrapbookers and 10 people who work in the scrapbook industry. This research project is being conducted by Stephanie Medley-Rath as part of her doctoral program in sociology at Georgia State University. For more details, contact Stephanie at 404-538-9760.

TARGETED ADVERTISING FOR: MEN, NONWHITE, OR GAY OR LESBIAN

SCRAPBOOKERS

Are you a scrapbooker? If so, I'd like to talk to you!

I am doing a study of scrapbookers to uncover how, why, and what people scrapbook. I would like to interview a range of people, and am especially interested in talking to scrapbookers who are: men, nonwhite, or gay or lesbian. This research is being conducted as a doctoral dissertation in sociology at Georgia State University. For more details, contact Stephanie Medley-Rath at 404-538-9760 or stephaniemedleyrath@gmail.com.

TARGETED ADVERTISING FOR: MEN, NONWHITE, GAY OR LESBIAN, OR MORMON

SCRAPBOOKERS

Are you a scrapbooker? If so, I'd like to talk to you!

I am doing a study of scrapbookers to uncover how, why, and what people scrapbook. I would

like to interview a range of people, and am especially interested in talking to scrapbookers who

are: men or nonwhite, or gay or lesbian. I am hoping, too, to be able to speak with individuals

who are Mormons, since scrapbooking is popular among members of this faith. This research is

being conducted as a doctoral dissertation in sociology at Georgia State University. For more

details, contact Stephanie Medley-Rath at 404-538-9760 or stephaniemedleyrath@gmail.com.

TARGETED ADVERTISING FOR: MORMON SCRAPBOOKERS

Scrapbooking

Are you a scrapbooker and Mormon? I want to talk to you! I am interviewing at least 10

Mormons who scrapbook to uncover how, why, and what people scrapbook. This research is

being conducted by Stephanie Medley-Rath as part of her doctoral program in sociology at

Georgia State University. For more details, contact Stephanie at 404-538-9760 or

stephaniemedleyrath@gmail.com.

APPENDIX B. INFORMED CONSENT.

Consent Form Approved by Georgia State University IRB March 18, 2008 – April 5, 2010

Georgia State University

Department of Sociology

Informed Consent

Title: Memorializing the Self, Doing Family, and Building Community: Scrapbooking (In) Everyday Life

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ralph LaRossa

Student Investigator: Stephanie R. Medley-Rath

I. **Purpose:**

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to investigate what people scrapbook, why they scrapbook, and how they came to be a scrapbooker. You are invited to participate because you are a scrapbooker, a family member of a scrapbooker, or you are employed in the scrapbook industry. A total of 60 participants will be recruited for this study. Participation will require one to three hours of your time over one day.

II. Procedures:

If you decide to participate, you will be interviewed face-to-face about your involvement in scrapbooking. You also will complete a form about yourself, and if you scrapbook, a form about your scrapbooks. If you choose to share your scrapbook with the student investigator, she will photograph scrapbook pages you have selected. You will interact only with the student investigator. You and the student investigator will agree upon the time and place of the interview. The interview will be audio recorded. Your participation should take between one and three hours of your time. Completing the forms should take no more than 20 minutes. The

interview will last between one and two hours. Photographing your scrapbook pages should take no more than 30 minutes.

III. Risks:

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life. You are free to pause or stop the interview at any time.

IV. Benefits:

Participation in this study may not benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how, what, and why people scrapbook.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation in research is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Whatever you decide, you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. After the recordings are transcribed, the recordings will be erased. We will use a pseudonym for all names during the study.

Your name and other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally. Data will be stored in a computer and the student investigator will use protected passwords to reach the data. Printed data, including photographs of the scrapbook pages, will be stored in a cabinet or drawer that can only be opened with a key. Only Stephanie R. Medley-Rath will have direct access to the data. There will be occasions when Stephanie R.

Medley-Rath and her advisor, Dr. Ralph LaRossa, will review the interview transcripts and photographs together.

VII. Contact Persons:

If you have questions about the study, or believe you have suffered any injury, you may contact Dr. Ralph LaRossa at 404-413-6507 or Stephanie Medley-Rath at 404-538-9760. Your personal physician will make arrangements for appropriate management and treatment for any physical or psychological injury resulting from this study. Georgia State University, however, has not set aside funds to pay for this care if something should occur. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you may contact Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu.

VIII. Copy of Consent Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this project, please sign below.

_____   _____

Participant   **Date**

_____   _____

Student Investigator   **Date**

APPENDIX C. PARENTAL PERMISSION.

Consent Form Approved by Georgia State University IRB March 18, 2008 – April 5, 2010

Georgia State University

Department of Sociology

Parental Permission Form

Title: Memorializing the Self, Doing Family, and Building Community: Scrapbooking (In) Everyday Life

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ralph LaRossa

Student Investigator: Stephanie R. Medley-Rath

I. **Purpose:**

Your child is invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to investigate what people scrapbook, why they scrapbook, and how they came to be a scrapbooker. Your child is invited to participate because your child is a family member of a scrapbooker. A total of 60 participants will be recruited for this study. Participation will require less than one hour of your child's time over one day.

II. Procedures:

If your child decides to participate, your child will be interviewed face-to-face about your participation in scrapbooking and the content of your scrapbooks. Your child will interact only with the student investigator. You, your child, and the student investigator will agree upon the time and place of the interview. The interview will be audio recorded. Your child's participation should take less than one hour of her or his time.

III. Risks:

In this study, your child will not have any more risks than your child would in a normal day of life. Your child is free to pause or stop the interview at any time.

IV. Benefits:

Participation in this study may not benefit your child personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how, what, and why people scrapbook.

V. Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:

Participation in research is voluntary. Your child does not have to be in this study. If your child decides to be in the study and change her or his mind, your child has the right to drop out at any time. Your child may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Whatever your child decides, your child will not lose any benefits to which your child is otherwise entitled.

VI. Confidentiality:

We will keep your child's records private to the extent allowed by law. After the recordings are transcribed, the recordings will be erased. We will use a pseudonym for all names during the study. Your child's name and other facts that might point to your child will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. Your child will not be identified personally. Data will be stored in a computer and the student investigator will use protected passwords to reach the data. Printed data will be stored in a cabinet or drawer that can only be opened with a key. Only Stephanie R. Medley-Rath will have direct access to the data. There will be occasions when Stephanie R. Medley-Rath and her advisor, Dr. Ralph LaRossa, will review the interview transcripts together.

VII. Contact Persons:

If you or your child has questions about the study, or believe you or your child has suffered any injury, you or your child may contact Dr. Ralph LaRossa at 404-413-6507 or Stephanie Medley-Rath at 404-538-9760. Your child's personal physician will make arrangements for appropriate management and treatment for any physical or psychological injury resulting from this study. Georgia State University, however, has not set aside funds to pay for this care if something should occur. If you have questions or concerns, or if your child has questions or concerns, about your rights or your child's rights as a participant in this research study, you or your child may contact Susan Vogtner in the Office of Research Integrity at 404-413-3513 or svogtner1@gsu.edu.

VIII. Copy of Parental Permission Form to Subject:

We will give you a copy of this parental permission form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this project, please sign below.

_____   _____

Parent or Guardian   **Date**

_____

Child's Name (Please Print)

_____   _____

Student Investigator   **Date**

APPENDIX D. DEMOGRAPHIC SHEET.

DEMOGRAPHICS
1. What was your age at your last birthday? _____
2. What is your gender?
      [ ] Woman
      [ ] Man
      [ ] Other
3. What is your sexual identity?
      [ ] Heterosexual
      [ ] Gay or lesbian
      [ ] Bisexual
      [ ] Other
4. What is your marital status?
      [ ] Married
      [ ] Single, never married
      [ ] Divorced
      [ ] Cohabiting
      [ ] Partnered
      [ ] Widowed
5. Do you have any children?
      [ ] Yes (If yes, proceed to question 5)
      [ ] No (If no, proceed to question 7)
6. How many children do you have? _____
7. For each child, what is his or her age in years at his or her last birthday?
      Child 1 _____   Child 5 _____
      Child 2 _____   Child 6 _____
      Child 3 _____   Child 7 _____
      Child 4 _____   Child 8 _____
8. Are you employed?
      [ ] Yes, full-time (If yes, proceed to question 8)
      [ ] Yes, part-time (If yes, proceed to question 8)
      [ ] No, seeking employment (If no, proceed to question 9)
      [ ] No, not seeking employment (If no, proceed to question 9)
9. What is your occupation? _____
10. Which of the following best characterizes your racial/ethnic background?
      [ ] African American or Black
      [ ] Latino/a
      [ ] White
      [ ] Asian American
      [ ] Native American
      [ ] Multiracial
      [ ] Other
11. What is your religious denomination? _____

12. What is your educational background?
      [ ] Less than high school
      [ ] High school graduate
      [ ] Some college
      [ ] Associates degree
      [ ] Bachelors degree
      [ ] Some graduate or professional school
      [ ] Graduate or professional degree

13. What is your yearly household income?
      [ ] 0-20,000
      [ ] 21,000-40,000
      [ ] 41,000-60,000
      [ ] 61,000-80,000
      [ ] 81,000-100,000
      [ ] 100,000 or higher

APPENDIX E. INTERVIEW GUIDES.

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCRAPBOOKERS

1. Pretend I'm from Mars, what exactly is a scrapbook?
2. I have three items to show you (a scrapbook, a traditional photo album, and a bulletin board). Which one is a scrapbook? Why? What would make the other items a scrapbook?
3. How is a scrapbook different or the same as a photo album, a diary, or a journal?
4. What makes for an excellent scrapbook? In other words, how do you know if a scrapbook is a good scrapbook? Why? Explain.
5. What does a not-very-good-scrapbook look like? Why? Explain.
6. What is your scrapbooking style? What types of things to you include in a scrapbook page? Would you describe your style as more artistic and creative or plain and simple? Do you ever use scrapbook kits? Do you do any digital scrapbooking?
7. Describe how began scrapbooking. (Who, what, when, where, why)
8. Why do you continue to scrapbook?
9. Where do you scrapbook?
10. Do you ever crop with other people or alone? (Who, what, when, where, why)
11. If you have children, what do they do while you scrapbook?
12. Do you make scrapbooks for your children? Do you plan to give scrapbooks about your children to your children at some point? When? Why or why not?
13. Do you include unhappy moments or events in your scrapbooks? How do those pages differ from happy moments or events?
14. How much time do you spend scrapbooking or thinking about scrapbooking? When do you scrapbook? Why?
15. How do you decide what to include in a scrapbook?
16. If you were to scrapbook your child's first birthday? What might/did you include? Photos? Of what? The napkins? The cake? The candles? The gifts? The wrapping paper? The guests? Clothing your child wore? Birthday cards?
17. I want to scrapbook my wedding bouquet. How should I do that?
18. How does your family feel about your scrapbooking? Your spouse/partner? Your children? Other family members?
19. Do your family members help you scrapbook? For example, do they contribute to the journaling or ask if you are going to scrapbook a particular event?
20. What should every scrapbooker know?
21. Where do you buy your scrapbook supplies?
22. Do you watch any scrapbooking TV shows? (Who, what, when, where, why)
23. Do you subscribe or read any scrapbook magazines or books? (Who, what, when, where, why)
24. Do you visit scrapbook chat rooms (e.g., Two Peas in a Bucket)? (Who, what, when, where, why)
25. Do you show your scrapbooks to other people? (Who, what, when, where, why)
26. Have you ever made a scrapbook as a gift? (Who, what, when, where, why)
27. Have you ever submitted a layout for publication? (Who, what, when, where, why)

28. Have you ever attended an at-home scrapbooking party (e.g., Creative Memories®)? (Who, what, when, where, why) What made you decide to attend the party?
29. On your scrapbook pages, how do you make sure the viewer gets the same message from the page that you intend? For example, if somebody were to look at your album in a hundred years, how do you arrange the page to make sure the viewer receives the message you want him or her to receive? What role does journaling and titles play?
30. Do you use symbols on your scrapbook pages? (What, how, why) For example, in a page documenting Christmas, do you include red and green colors or other items representing Christmas?
31. Are there some events/memories that occur in your scrapbooks on a regular basis or you anticipate occurring on a regular basis? For example, Christmas or birthdays. Explain. (what, who, when, where, how often)
32. How do you begin a scrapbook? Is there anything special about the first page of your scrapbook to let the viewer know what the rest of the album is like?
33. How do you end a scrapbook? How does the viewer know the scrapbook ends in that album or does it continue into another album?
34. How do you know when a scrapbook is complete? How do you decide what to include in a scrapbook?
35. Do you ever use the past to guide the present in your scrapbooks? For example, do you ever create pages of your children and compare your children's lives to your own childhood on the scrapbook page? Could you describe or show me?
36. Can you think of any topics or events that you would not scrapbook? What? Why?
37. Critics of scrapbooking have argued scrapbookers create perfect memories in their albums. Do you think scrapbookers create perfect memories? Why or why not? What does perfect mean to you?
38. Many people scrapbook to preserve memories. What do you hope to remember through scrapbooking? Why is it important to have a scrapbook of these memories?
39. Scrapbooking has increased in popularity in the last ten years. Why do you think scrapbooking has grown in popularity? (If respondent has no ideas…suggest the Internet, cell phones, terrorism).
40. Is there anything I haven't asked you yet that you feel is important about your scrapbooking?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PHOTO ELICITATION PORTION OF INTERVIEW

41. What makes this a scrapbook page?
42. Describe to me what is going on in this page.
43. Why did you choose this page to show me?
44. Why did you scrapbook this page like you did?
45. How did you choose all of the items on the page?
46. What does this page mean to you?
47. What did you leave out of this page?
48. Is there anything else I should know about this page?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PEOPLE WHO WORK IN THE SCRAPBOOK INDUSTRY

1. What is your role within in the scrapbook industry?
2. Pretend I'm from Mars, what exactly is a scrapbook?
3. I have three items to show you (a scrapbook, a traditional photo album, and a bulletin board). Which one is a scrapbook? Why? What would make the other items a scrapbook?
4. I want to scrapbook my wedding bouquet. How should I do that?
5. Do you scrapbook? How does that help or hinder your work in the scrapbook industry?
6. Describe how you began working in the scrapbook industry. (Who, what, when, where, why)
7. Why do you continue to work in the scrapbook industry?
8. What should every scrapbooker know?
9. Do you watch any scrapbooking TV shows? (Who, what, when, where, why)
10. Do you subscribe or read any scrapbook magazines or books? (Who, what, when, where, why)
11. Do you visit scrapbook chat rooms (e.g., Two Peas in a Bucket)? (Who, what, when, where, why)
12. Have you ever attended an at-home scrapbooking party (e.g., Creative Memories®)? (Who, what, when, where, why)
13. How do at-home scrapbooking parties compare to a scrapbook store?
14. Describe to me your typical customer.
15. What types of projects are your customers working on?
16. Scrapbooking has increased in popularity in the last ten years. Why do you think scrapbooking has grown in popularity? (If respondent has no ideas…suggest the Internet, cell phones, terrorism).
17. Is there anything I haven't asked you yet that you feel is important about scrapbooking?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR A FAMILY MEMBER

1. Describe to me what is going on in this page.
2. What does this page mean to you?
3. Is there anything that has been left out of this page?
4. Is there anything else I should know about this page?

APPENDIX F. DEMOGRAPHICS OF YOUR SCRAPBOOKS SURVEY

1. How many scrapbooks have you made? _____
2. How many scrapbooks have you made in the previous two years? _____
3. How many scrapbooks have you made in the previous six months? _____
4. How do you organize your scrapbooks?

    [ ] Chronologically. Please describe:

    _____
    _____

    [ ] Thematic. Please describe:

    _____
    _____

    [ ] Both chronologically and thematically. Please describe:

    _____
    _____

    [ ] Organized in some other way. Please describe:

    _____
    _____

5. What themes do you scrapbook? Please check as many as apply.

    [ ] Anniversaries, Please specify: _____
    [ ] Childhood
    [ ] Children
    [ ] Death
    [ ] Education
        [ ] Pre-school
        [ ] Elementary School
        [ ] High School
        [ ] College
        [ ] Graduate School
    [ ] Family
        [ ] Husbands
        [ ] Wives
        [ ] Partners
        [ ] Brothers
        [ ] Sisters
        [ ] Grandfathers
        [ ] Grandmothers
        [ ] Aunts
        [ ] Uncles
        [ ] Nieces
        [ ] Nephews
        [ ] Cousins
        [ ] Sons
        [ ] Daughters
        [ ] Grandchildren

       [ ] Immediate family as a unit
       [ ] Extended family as a unit
       [ ] Other, Please specify: _____

[ ] Emotion
       [ ] Happiness
       [ ] Sadness
       [ ] Surprise
       [ ] Fear

[ ] Environment

[ ] Events
       [ ] Concerts
       [ ] Sports
       [ ] Musicals
       [ ] Vacation
       [ ] Weddings
       [ ] Funerals

[ ] Fate or chance

[ ] Gender

[ ] Genealogy or heritage

[ ] Historical events or personages

[ ] Hobbies, Please specify: _____

[ ] Holidays, Please specify: _____

[ ] Home

[ ] Human nature

[ ] Influential others

[ ] Inherited traits

[ ] Instincts

[ ] Intellectual trends

[ ] Jokes

[ ] Justification for the scrapbook

[ ] Memory

[ ] Occupation and parent' occupations

[ ] Parenthood
       [ ] Adoption
       [ ] Childbirth
       [ ] Mother or motherhood
       [ ] Father or fatherhood
       [ ] Fertility/infertility
       [ ] Foster parenthood
       [ ] Pregnancy

[ ] Pets
       [ ] Dogs
       [ ] Cats
       [ ] Fish
       [ ] Guinea Pigs or Hamsters

        [ ] Other, please specify: _____

[ ] Popular culture

[ ] Psychological terms or ideas

[ ] Rationality

[ ] Reader, direct statements to the

[ ] Relationships

        [ ] Friendships

        [ ] Boyfriend

        [ ] Girlfriend

        [ ] Dating

        [ ] Breakups

        [ ] Divorces

[ ] Religion or Faithbooking

[ ] School Activities

        [ ] Extracurricular Activities, Please specify: _____

        [ ] School Dances

        [ ] Proms

        [ ] Graduation

        [ ] Sports

        [ ] First day of school

[ ] Seasons

        [ ] Spring

        [ ] Summer

        [ ] Fall

        [ ] Winter

[ ] Self-deprecating comments

[ ] Self-descriptions

[ ] Selfhood

[ ] Sexuality

[ ] Truth in scrapbooks

[ ] Turning points

        [ ] Graduations, Please specify: _____

        [ ] Birthdays, Please specify: _____

        [ ] Milestones, Please specify: _____

        [ ] Firsts, Please specify: _____

        [ ] Other, Please specify: _____

[ ] Will or character

[ ] Other. Please list:

APPENDIX G. DEMOGRAPHICS OF YOUR SCRAPBOOKS RESULTS

TABLE A.1. NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING SCRAPBOOKING THE
FOLLOWING THEMES

Theme	N	Theme includes:
Anniversaries	12	Respondents specified scrapbooking their own marriages, big anniversaries (e.g., 50th wedding) the date of the beginning of each relationship, and one-year anniversary with boyfriend.
Childhood	23	
Children	21	
Death	8	One respondent scrapbooked the death of her dog and another respondent specified funerals.
Education	26	
Pre-school	11	
Elementary school	14	
High school	15	
College	19	
Graduate school	6	
Family	34	
Husbands	17	
Wives	8	
Partners	15	
Brothers	24	
Sisters	23	
Grandfathers	20	
Grandmothers	23	
Aunts	16	
Uncles	12	
Nieces	13	
Nephews	14	
Cousins	19	
Sons	12	
Daughters	10	
Grandchildren	5	
Immediate family as a unit	27	
Extended family as a unit	17	

Respondents specified scrapbooking parents, grand-nieces, grand-nephews, partners, kids they have helped raise, pets, friends, sister's family, fathers, and mothers. Two respondents explained here that they were either an only child or from a small family as an explanation for why some family members were not scrapbooked.

Other	7
Emotion	27
Happiness	27
Sadness	14
Surprise	16
Fear	7
Environment	16
Events	32
Concerts	20
Sports	18
Musicals	13
Vacation	31
Weddings	24
Funerals	8
Fate or chance	5
Gender	6
Genealogy or heritage	17
Historical events or personages	12

Hobbies mentioned by respondents include wakeboarding, hiking, scrapbooking, art school, cycling, sewing, cooking, things my children enjoy, boating, painting, reading, swimming, crafts, and sports. Holidays mentioned by respondents include Christmas, Easter, Fourth of July, New Year's Eve, Halloween, Thanksgiving, Valentine's Day, Chanukah, St. Patrick's Day, Rosh Hashanah, Mother's Day, Father's Day, and Pagan holidays.

Hobbies	17
Holidays	28
Home	17
Human nature	8
Influential others	7
Inherited traits	8
Instincts	3
Intellectual trends	3
Jokes	8
Justification for the scrapbook	11

Memory	26	
Occupation and parents' occupation	10	
Parenthood	17	
Adoption	0	
Childbirth	9	
Mother or motherhood	11	
Father or fatherhood	11	
Fertility/infertility	5	
Foster parenthood	0	
Pregnancy	9	
Pets	24	
Dogs	15	
Cats	11	
Fish	2	
Guinea Pigs or Hamsters	0	
Other	2	Ant farm and sugar gliders
Popular culture	9	
Psychological terms or ideas	4	
Rationality	2	
Reader, direct statements to the	11	
Relationships	29	
Friendships	28	
Boyfriend	14	
Girlfriend	8	
Dating	14	
Breakups	5	
Divorces	2	
Religion or faithbooking	10	
School Activities	27	

Extracurricular activities	13	Respondents mentioned Boy scouts, travel, museum outings, clubs, church groups, community service, parties, art shows, piano lessons, school Easter egg hunt, school orchestra, drama, yearbook, band, affiliations and social events, organizations while in college and returning to school as alumni.
School Dances	9	
Proms	12	
Graduation	20	
Sports	10	
First day of school	15	
Seasons	21	
Spring	17	
Summer	17	
Fall	18	
Winter	17	
Self-deprecating comments	2	
Self-descriptions	12	
Selfhood	11	
Sexuality	7	
Truth in scrapbooks	9	
Turning points	27	
Graduations	18	Graduations include college, high school, graduate school, law school, brother's graduation, daughter's high school, son's pre-school, nursing school, and all immediate family's graduations.
Birthdays	24	Birthdays include all birthdays, birthdays the scrapbooker has been to, select birthdays (e.g., 21st, 40th, 50th, 60th, birthdays of family members, birthdays of children, birthdays if the scrapbooker went somewhere or did something, and birthdays if there is a good picture taken at the time.
Milestones	20	Milestones include milestones for baby and family members, retirement, child walking, school achievements, release from field training as a police officer, moving, if there is a good picture taken at the time of a milestone, boyfriend's probate, winning prizes or awards, childhood milestones (e.g., rolling over, crawling), meaning of wilderness camp to family, weddings, ten year college reunion, and sister having a baby.
Firsts	18	Firsts include going somewhere fun, firsts for baby, endurance cycling event, tooth, date, step, time we met, taste of solid foods, learning to walk, learning to read, words, learning to ride a bike, kiss, car, lost tooth, memory, bath, first time feeding self, holidays, random events tried for the first time, first trips, first experiences (college), birthday.

Other	4	Other topics include dieting, child rearing and relationships or understanding of self, and best friend's wedding.
Will or character	11	
Other	10	Other includes journaling day to day emotions, funerals, BDSM, poly couples, pagan festivals, bisexual dates, gay humor, everyday life such as restaurants where I like to eat, movies that I saw, things that I bought and how much they cost, messes that my one-year-old makes, LDS mission trip, daily activities, favorite toys, nicknames, community events or stories, rotary club, conferences, talks by authors, friends and friendships, and how I feel about the kids.