



Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences

Volume 19

Article 8

December 2016

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Recommended Citation

Medley-Rath, Stephanie (2016) ““If You Want To Do It, You Will Have the Time” : Combining Family, Work, and Leisure among Scrapbookers,” *Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences*: Vol. 19 , Article 8.
Available at: <http://digitalcommons.butler.edu/jiass/vol19/iss1/8>

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***“If You Want To Do It, You Will Have the Time”:
Combining Family, Work, and Leisure among Scrapbookers****

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ABSTRACT

This research explores how the scrapbook industry sells and promotes time-saving strategies and resources to both time-starved and time-affluent scrapbookers, through in-depth interviews with 38 scrapbookers and 11 industry workers. Industry workers argue that if people want to scrapbook, then people will make the time. Both industry workers and hobbyists note that life is busy, but they offer conflicting perspectives on fitting scrapbooking (i.e., leisure time) into their lives. In particular, the frequency and duration of scrapbooking increase through when access is gained to permanent leisure space or to social supports that enable the scrapbooker (usually a woman) to scrapbook outside the home (i.e., a crop). Centering the subject of scrapbooks on family life frames scrapbooking as fulfilling gender roles, enabling women to justify their participation in the hobby to themselves and to others. Others pursue industry work as a means of extending their hobby participation. Industry workers, in particular, regularly combine, break apart, and reconfigure their work, leisure, and family foci.

KEY WORDS Frequency and Duration; Time-Starved; Time-Affluent; Scrapbook; Leisure

Studying scrapbooking provides insight into how people, especially women, fit leisure time into their already full lives. Scrapbooking is a hobby that can take place within the home, enabling women to participate in their hobby while meeting the needs of their families. This study draws on in-depth interviews with 38 scrapbookers and 11 scrapbook industry workers (e.g., salespeople, business owners). Scrapbookers and industry workers emphasize busyness as hindering scrapbooking, yet industry workers suggest that

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Acknowledgments: I thank Ralph LaRossa, Adia Harvey Wingfield, Wendy Simonds, Kristin Wilson, and members of the Research Support Group at Indiana University Kokomo for their feedback on this research.

scrapbookers can devote more time to the hobby if they prioritize the hobby. Industry workers, however, find that their own roles as employees in the industry decrease their own ability to scrapbook. Overall, respondents are able to increase the frequency and duration of scrapbooking through laying claim to permanent space, leaving the home to scrapbook (i.e., attend a crop), or combining scrapbooking tasks with other activities. This research illuminates the ways in which scrapbookers not only negotiate boundaries between work and home (see Nippert-Eng 1995) but also negotiate work and home with leisure.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Modern Scrapbooking

Scrapbooks hold photographs, journaling (i.e., written narratives), embellishments (e.g., stickers), and memorabilia (e.g., a ticket stub) on archival paper. People have made scrapbooks for generations, but an industry devoted to the hobby emerged only during the 1980s. The scrapbook industry shapes the norms of the hobby and provides rationales for keeping scrapbooks. Scrapbooking is promoted by the industry as enjoyable, an artistic and therapeutic outlet, and a method for documenting the history of a family (see Demos 2006).

Several scholars (Christensen 2011; Demos 2006; Downs 2006; Goodsell and Seiter 2011) note how scrapbooking conforms to conventional gender roles and emphasizes normative family stories. Further, Stalp and Winge (2008:205) find that having a crafting stash contributes to one's identity as a handcrafter (including scrapbookers).

This research explores how access to leisure space affects the frequency and duration of leisure time among scrapbookers. A person's ability to increase frequency and duration of their leisure activity depended on the permanence of their leisure space. Marketing research indicates that nearly 75 percent of scrapbookers have space in their home devoted to scrapbooking (Donofrio 2005). These spaces range from permanent (i.e., a room) to temporary and often shared spaces (i.e., a dining room table). An encroachment on leisure time is setting up and cleaning up leisure space; access to devoted leisure space therefore increases participation in leisure (Nelson, LaBat, and Williams 2005; Stalp 2007). Handcrafters, however, may not get devoted craft space in their homes until children move out (Doyle 1998; Stalp 2006, 2007; Stalp and Winge 2008). Demos (2006) finds that women scrapbookers take their craft outside of the home to make time for themselves away from family constraints on their space and attention. Women must negotiate a specific set of challenges to make leisure happen.

Scrapbooking is a hobby that allows participants—particularly women—to remain committed to both their families and their hobby. Compared to other hobbies, such as dog sports (Gillespie, Leffler, and Lerner 2002) or whitewater kayaking (Bartram 2001), scrapbooking does not force participants to choose between their hobby and their families. Because scrapbooking can take place in the home, it can be done once children are asleep; that is, scrapbooking can be fit in after childcare needs are met. Other hobbies are less accommodating. For example, dog sports require daily care of the dogs, and the competitions take place on weekends while children are awake. As a result, women's participation in hobbies involves disregarding traditional gender roles within the family

(Gillespie et al. 2002; Raisborough 1999) or suspending leisure activities while children are dependent (Bialeschki 1994). Further, unlike other hobbies, the end result—the scrapbook album—is said to be for the family because the subjects of many scrapbooks are family-centered. Centering the subject of scrapbooks on family life frames scrapbooking as fulfilling gender roles, enabling women to justify their participation in the hobby to themselves and to others.

Temporality: Frequency and Duration

Time is perceived as a commodity (Glucksmann 1998; Howard and Hollander 1993; Zerubavel 1987) that is scarce (see Marks 1977), and as a commodity, time may or may not be spent (or allocated) well (LaRossa 1983). Although Americans spend five to six hours per day on leisure, American society views leisure time as “wasted time that is neither valued nor valuable” (Schor 1991:159; see also U.S. Department of Labor 2014). Stalp (2007) argues that combining family and leisure is a strategy to alleviate tension between the two. Scrapbooking therefore straddles the boundary between wasted and valued time.

Affluent Americans are more likely to describe their lives as busy than the less affluent (Greenfeld 2005), though cross-national data also suggest overall growth in feelings of busyness (Gershuny 2005). Gershuny (2005:298) argues, “Busyness is a subjective state that results from the individual’s assessment of her or his own recent or expected activity patterns in the light of current norms and expectations.” Further, time scarcity is real, but of our own doing (Goodin et al. 2005). What were once leisure activities (e.g., exercise) have been reframed as duty (e.g., exercise to stay fit) (Greenfeld 2005). Goodin et al. (2005) suggest that time scarcity is an illusion brought about by people devoting more time than absolutely necessary to required tasks (e.g., paid labor, personal hygiene). Further, people do things more efficiently, enabling them to fit more tasks into a day (Robinson and Godbey 1997).

My research illuminates how the relationship between temporality (i.e., frequency and duration) and space enables scrapbookers to accomplish their hobby. Marketing research suggests that 51 percent of scrapbookers spend at least ten hours per month and 76 percent spend more than five hours per month scrapbooking (Rice 2004), typically doing scrapbooking tasks weekly or daily (Young 2004). Flaherty (2011:36–37) writes:

How often is something *allowed* to happen? And how often does a person *make* something happen? In other words, people routinely and knowingly seek to control or customize the rate at which they experience various activities. ... [People] are constantly adjusting frequencies to changing circumstances as well as other needs and desires.

I ask, “What is the frequency with which scrapbooking is done? Under what circumstances does a scrapbooker adjust her or his frequency of scrapbooking? What role do industry workers play in increasing the frequency and duration of scrapbooking

among hobbyists?" My research indicates that scrapbookers recount how much time they spend scrapbooking by focusing on both frequency (i.e., how often) and duration (i.e., how long) rather than on only one or the other.

Further complicating the measurement of frequency and duration of scrapbooking is that asking such questions assumes that people focus on discrete tasks during specific periods of time (see Daly 1996). The boundaries between leisure and work, however, are easily blurred, so that time designated for leisure takes on the characteristics of work, and vice versa. Scrapbooking "combines boundedness and boundlessness" (Zerubavel 1991:120), as exemplified by industry workers who regularly combine, break apart, and reconfigure their work, leisure, and family foci.

The scrapbook industry grew by obscuring the boundaries between work, home, and leisure. For example, scrapbooking was popularized through direct selling companies, which offer time-flexibility conducive to women (Boden 1999; Mullaney and Shope 2012), who are 86.4 percent of direct sellers across industries (Direct Selling Association 2008). Time flexibility enables women to both work and continue providing childcare and eldercare. This time flexibility, however, is less consistent and offers unreliable income compared to other forms of paid work (see Mullaney and Shope 2012). Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie (2006) find that parents—especially mothers—are frequently multitasking through combining tasks within the household. Further, mothers and fathers are spending more time engaged in child-oriented activities (Bianchi et al. 2006; see also Walker 1996). Scrapbooking exemplifies this type of multitasking because scrapbookers emphasize that they scrapbook for themselves (as leisure), yet the family-centered narratives contained in the albums allow it to be both a hobby of one's own and done for the family.

Many scrapbookers are able to combine work, leisure, and family through their hobby, whereas others find it necessary to maintain stricter boundaries between these activities. For instance, Demos (2006) finds that scrapbookers declare time that is not yet claimed by others or will reclaim part of their time as "me" time to scrapbook. In other cases, women find it necessary to scrapbook outside the home to lay claim to leisure time (Demos 2006; Kelley and Brown 2005).

METHODS

This study draws on in-depth interviews with 38 scrapbookers and 11 scrapbook industry workers. I analyzed my interview transcripts using grounded theory (LaRossa 2005).

Other scholars used samples reflective of how scrapbookers are characterized by the industry—that is, overwhelmingly white married mothers (see Demos 2006; Downs 2006; Goodsell and Seiter 2011; Stalp and Winge 2008). In contrast, I used purposive sampling to include scrapbookers of color, men, gays, and lesbians. I sought out Latter-day Saint scrapbookers because of their important role in the development of the scrapbooking industry. Further, my respondents had diverse lives. Some worked outside the home, and others were retired or were stay-at-home parents. Others had preschool-aged children or were divorced. They had a variety of responsibilities, yet all made time to scrapbook. Table 1 details the demographics of my sample.

Table 1. Selected Demographics of Scrapbookers and Industry Workers

	Scrapbookers	Industry Workers
Men	6	0
Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual	10	0
Non-white	7	1
Latter-day Saints ^a	8	0
Married or partnered	25	8
Parent	19	6
Worked full time or part time ^b	27	11
Income greater than \$39,000	28	9
Bachelor's or graduate degree	29	9
Total	38	11

Notes: ^a I interviewed Latter-day Saints ($n = 8$) scrapbookers because Mormon practices of researching their family histories (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2004) and keeping family histories (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2000) contributed to the growth of scrapbooking as an industry.

^b Three industry workers worked full-time as scrapbook business owners. Two part-time industry workers were also full-time students, and three worked full time in other occupations.

FINDINGS

“If you want to do it, you will have the time.”

A person's ability to scrapbook depended on the permanence of his or her scrapbooking space and where scrapbooking ranked in terms of the person's priorities. Space, in particular, mattered because regardless of how high a priority one made scrapbooking, if a person lacked the space to do it, then scrapbooking could not be accomplished.

Lack of permanent scrapbooking space limited leisure time. Those with temporary scrapbooking space allocated longer but less frequent chunks of time to scrapbooking. Only those with permanent space ever scrapbooked in short chunks of time (i.e., less than an hour). A scrapbooker with permanent space explained, “If I have 20 minutes ... I can just go in there [her scrapbook room] and ... work on whatever page I'm working on and get up and walk away from it and nothing has to be cleaned up.” Respondents who lacked permanent space revealed that “drag[ging]” out her scrapbook supplies “is not something you just want to do for ten minutes.”

Not only does “dragging” out one's supplies take up time that could be spent on making scrapbooks, but a temporary space may be a shared space in the home. This temporary space may already be claimed by others even if one has time to scrapbook. One respondent explained, “I would have scrapbooked this weekend, except that I have got company coming in and [we're] going to need the dining room table.” This respondent had time to scrapbook, but not space because her shared space (i.e., the dining room table) was needed for her guests.

Permanent scrapbooking space was necessary to scrapbook frequently, but it did not guarantee that the scrapbooker would spend more time scrapbooking. For example, one respondent transitioned from stay-at-home motherhood to working outside the home and disappointingly noted, "Now I have this great room and not as much time to utilize it as I once did." For her, the demands on her time changed so that work now took up time that she otherwise would have spent scrapbooking.

Industry workers emphasized that scrapbookers who found the time to scrapbook indicated that scrapbooking "is what I'm going to do for me. This is something that is a priority for me. This is something that I wanted to do." Industry workers insisted that people could scrapbook more frequently if they made it a priority. One industry worker stressed that "everybody has time" to scrapbook. Another industry worker said, "A lot of people say, 'I don't have time, I just don't have time.' But if you want to do it ... you will have time." Industry workers acknowledged that "people have less and less time" yet stressed that "if it's something people really value, they find time to do it."

Scrapbooking filled the time left over from work, school, and family. For instance, one respondent indicated she might scrapbook for "as much as eight hours ... if it's my off day [from work]. I might get up early in the morning, staying there. ... I can stay then for eight hours just looking through and trying to figure out what I want to do." Another respondent scrapbooked during "weekend time." Further, scrapbooking frequency ebbed and flowed "depending on the time of year." Students scrapbooked "on and off" or during the summer when off from classes. Parenting scrapbookers found time during the change in seasons, noting, "I tend to do more [scrapbooking] in the winter months when there wasn't really many other distractions."

The combination of parenting and lack of devoted scrapbooking space complicated one's ability to prioritize scrapbooking. The presence of children prevented leaving out scrapbook materials in the home. A respondent said, "If she's [her infant daughter] around me, I'm not going to be scrapbooking because she gets into everything and it's too much of a mess." This respondent had left her supplies out permanently before having a child but now kept them put up unless her daughter was sleeping. Childcare responsibilities and an inability to leave her supplies set up limited her scrapbooking time.

After work was done, children were asleep, and semesters ended, then scrapbookers could scrapbook. Scrapbookers were apt to devote longer, less frequent chunks of time to scrapbooking rather than shorter but frequent chunks of time to scrapbooking. For instance, a person might devote "12 hour[s]" to it or have a "scrapbook marathon." One scrapbooker who worked full time indicated that she scrapbooked at "night, like when I come home from work ... every couple of months" and that she did this "maybe three times a year for two weeks at a time."

Scrapbooking involved more than just gluing photographs to pretty paper. Thinking about scrapbooking happened with greater frequency than making scrapbooks. One scrapbooker clarified that just "because I am not as committed hourly to doing it [scrapbooking] does not mean that I am not thinking about it. ... I easily spend three or four hours a week thinking about where that next idea will come from." Another scrapbooker described "narrat[ing] journaling in [my] head" when not physically

scrapbooking. Scrapbookers assessed whether or not an occurrence or piece of memorabilia was worth recording in a scrapbook. For instance, one respondent described performing this process while vacationing with her sister:

We were in this shop and we were all getting the shirts, then I saw these stickers. . . . I think it's actually for your car or something. It has the same design [as the shirts]. I was like, "Look at these." My sister is, "Are you thinking what I'm thinking? That could be a scrapbook page." So we bought the stickers, too. We're always thinking of stuff like that . . . or pictures that I want to take because I want to put that in our scrapbook.

Scrapbookers worked through a mnemonic checklist of details to collect for the scrapbook. This process was illuminated when respondents described how they would scrapbook a first birthday. Most indicated they would take a photo of the cake-covered child. This photo was such an expectation that one scrapbooker staged the photo after her daughter's birthday party because her daughter wanted nothing to do with the cake at her party. Although this photo was staged, it was staged later, keeping the focus on the present moment rather than disrupting the moment to get the expected photo. Mnemonic checklists enable scrapbookers to keep their recording activities invisible, maintaining the spontaneity of the moment. This invisibility further serves to minimize the scrapbook work taking place behind the scenes.

Making scrapbook pages, thinking about scrapbooking, setting up, cleaning up, and organizing a scrapbooking work area were the most common scrapbooking-related tasks. Other tasks mentioned by respondents included shopping for scrapbook supplies, working in the industry, consuming scrapbooking media (i.e., TV, magazines, websites, electronic message boards), keeping a blog, journaling, talking with others about scrapbooking, working with photographs (i.e., taking, editing, and printing photographs), looking at and sharing their scrapbooks, sketching layouts, collecting memorabilia or ephemera, and attending scrapbooking classes. Not all scrapbookers did all tasks. Further, some tasks were done with other tasks (e.g., folding clothes and watching a scrapbooking television show).

Although scrapbookers struggled to make scrapbooking happen, more people were picking up the hobby at the time of these interviews.¹ Scrapbookers suggested that more people were scrapbooking because "our lives have become so fast-paced that people are enjoying just being able to sit back and take the time and look back at things" and "do[ing] things that matter." Scrapbookers even commented on the passage of time in their albums:

Interviewer: What made you decide to include the sticker of a clock?

Respondent: Because it's about time to me. What I was trying to express was time keeps ticking by, and its minutes, hours and days, you can get caught up and getting rushed and let time pull

you, instead of keeping focused on what you're trying to achieve in life.

The constraints on scrapbooking motivated respondents to make time and space for it.

"It's a busy life."

Industry workers socialized new scrapbookers and helped solve temporal and spatial problems for scrapbookers. Industry workers had solutions for time-starved memory keepers, such as scraplifting. Scraplifting refers to copying the design of scrapbook layouts created by others, such as in a magazine. The time spent on designing a layout was no longer necessary for a scraplifter. One scrapbooker explained, "I'll ... make my page look exactly [like] what's there [on the magazine page]" and compared it to using a recipe. Scrapbooking kits served a similar purpose. One industry worker's business involved selling scrapbooking kits to consumers. Her business was devoted to helping to "lessen the amount of time they need to spend coordinating supplies." She said, "It helps them get their pages done faster by having coordinated supplies with ideas." Not all scrapbookers were sold on kits or scraplifting, however. One scrapbooker, for example, found that kits failed to live up to their time-saving promises. She found it ridiculous that the kit took "three hours to put together ... this one page."

My interviews coincided with digital scrapbooking becoming mainstream among hobbyists. Some respondents had never heard of digital scrapbooking, yet one scrapbooker was also a direct seller for a digital scrapbooking company. She emphasized the time-saving promise of digital scrapbooking over conventional scrapbooking, saying, "Like if you're at the doctor's office ... you can take your laptop. ... It really helps me time-wise to keep me current." Digital scrapbooking, then, was seen as a means of fitting scrapbooking into smaller chunks of time and into time that would otherwise be wasted (i.e., waiting at the doctor's office).

Would-be scrapbookers were perceived as coming from the ranks of the time-affluent (Levine 1997). Industry workers noted that stay-at-home-moms of school-aged children were potential scrapbookers because "they need something to fill up their time." A scrapbooker described introducing the hobby to a friend who had found herself among the time-affluent once she completed her dissertation. She said, "After she [her friend] finished her dissertation, she was very lost (laughs) because all of a sudden, she had all this time on her hands and she wanted a hobby."

Industry workers simultaneously served the needs of both the time-starved and time-affluent. Moreover, industry workers promoted time-saving strategies and emphasized that scrapbooking was "a way for people to slow down."

Perhaps the practice that best exemplified how industry workers met both the spatial and temporal needs of scrapbookers while reaching both the time-starved and time-affluent was through hosting crops (i.e., scrapbooking with others, typically outside of the home). Industry workers hosted crops as a source of space for scrapbookers without it and as a source of time for those who needed to schedule their scrapbooking time or enforce stricter boundaries between their hobby and other aspects of their lives.

One respondent had worked at a convention center that was the site of large scrapbooking crops. I asked him why he thought people attended these events. He said, "It's a busy life. You don't always get to do things you want to do. So you go to these conventions as your scrapbooking time. ... For a lot of people, you have to schedule activities. ... Like if you go fishing, you plan a fishing trip and you go fishing." Attending a crop was a means of securing a chunk of time to devote to scrapbooking. Some scrapbookers perceived crops as a chance to socialize and have adult time. A scrapbooker noted that attending crops enabled her to "be more me and less mom." As a stay-at-home mom, she relished the chance to get social interaction at a crop with other adults. Not all scrapbookers sought to socialize at crops, however. One industry worker noted tension with the purpose of a crop:

I've had customers come in and they're like, "I'm not going to talk because I've got work to do," and so they just kind of sit off to themselves. And my daughter is one of those because she has small children and she wants to make the most of her time away from them.

In this case, attending a crop marked a boundary between family and leisure, though not all scrapbookers were comfortable marking this boundary. Another scrapbooker described her struggle with attending a crop as a working mom:

It's hard to, working full time and having a baby. I feel guilty getting away from the house. Because I like to do the twelve-hour crops, which is what I did yesterday, and I haven't done that in probably, six or seven months. 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.

For her, scrapbooking came after both work and family obligations were met.

Crops were a means of securing scrapbooking time and space away from the family and other obligations. Scrapbooking at home, however, depended on others to occupy children. One scrapbooker said, "My husband usually takes them [their kids] to the gym or ... to watch a movie." Other mothers waited for children to sleep. One respondent said she scrapbooked at night "when my son's gone to bed." None of the men in this study had children who needed occupied.

Scrapbookers who went from having greater time to scrapbook to having less time to do it indicated that they changed how they scrapbooked to fit the time they did have. For example, one respondent stated, "I like for [a layout] to be kind of artistic looking, but I like to keep it simple at the same time. I don't want to spend three hours on a scrapbook page anymore." Other scrapbookers were critical of scrapbooking quickly: "Simple would be ... those people who do 30 layouts in one night, you're just putting pictures on a piece of paper or using a kit maybe, just very simple, just not putting a lot of

time and effort and creativity into it." As he was speaking, this scrapbooker realized that his life circumstances influenced how he scrapbooked. He said, "I may put more time in mine, but you know, I also don't have kids, we don't even have a dog, and so when I come home at night, he's [his partner] down in his office, I'm up here [in his scrapbook room]; what else would I do?"

Work was another facet of respondents' lives that scrapbooking had to fit around. Scrapbookers made distinctions between work time and scrapbooking time. One respondent stated that she scrapbooked "obviously when I am not at work," though indicated that she thought about scrapbooking most of the time when she was awake. She drew a mental boundary between work time and scrapbooking time by only thinking about scrapbooking outside of work.

Other scrapbookers explained that they scrapbooked at night after work "to relax." One respondent pointed out that at night, "everything is quieter. ... I can put the day behind me. It gives me a chance to kind of plug out anything that's happened during the day and I can just focus. ... I am able to lose myself in it." In contrast, a retiree appeared to take pleasure in her ability to scrapbook "whenever I want" because of her status as retired. She made it clear that she had scrapbooked only on Friday and Saturday nights before retirement.

For others, time free from paid work was not necessarily spent scrapbooking. One respondent expressed, "I do not like to use the weekends [for scrapbooking], because the weekends are a time when I spend doing things around the house, landscaping or whatever." Scrapbooking time also competed with volunteer time. One scrapbooker volunteered for a political group and found this "has caused there to be less time for scrapbooking." Even paid work in the industry impeded one's ability to scrapbook.

"Being in the industry hinders my scrapbooking."

Scrapbookers become industry workers for spending money, to start careers (Christensen 2011), to earn discounts (Mullaney and Shope 2012), to support their families, or for a combination of these factors. Industry workers noted that some scrapbookers become industry workers through store ownership because they mistakenly believe that they will get to scrapbook frequently; they were allocating greater clock time to scrapbooking, but it was work, not leisure. Industry workers felt that they had less time to scrapbook compared to when they were not working in the industry. All of my respondents who worked in the industry had begun working in the industry because they enjoyed scrapbooking and, in the case of business owners, saw it as a way to financially support themselves and their families.

Most scrapbookers did not seek to combine scrapbooking with their paid work, but some did. One industry worker indicated that her industry work was her hobby. When I asked her why she continued working in a scrapbook store, she said, "When I found that I didn't have to work full time, I really wanted a hobby, and this one fits my lifestyle perfectly." It was usually direct sellers, however, emphasizing how industry work fit their lifestyle. Direct selling offered consultants flexible work time. One direct seller explained, "It's got a lot of flexibility. I can work when I want to, and I can work around

my schedule. I have a child. I'm taking care of my mother, who's elderly. So I just have a lot of flexibility in the world." The promise of flexibility through direct selling was not always fulfilled. Another direct seller indicated that work time conflicted with hobby time. She said, "Sometimes I don't have a lot of time. Because the business takes a good bit of time. But I try to make it [scrapbooking] a priority, too."

The allure of combining work and scrapbooking was common:

Respondent: I would much rather scrapbook [than work], but that doesn't pay the bills, but people have recommended that I do that instead of a full-time job ...

Interviewer: And what's stopping you?

Respondent: Mortgage, health insurance.

Interviewer: You don't think you could make enough doing the scrapbooking ...

Respondent: Health insurance and just having a guaranteed income. You can't—I mean maybe if I was married and there was another source of income where this could be supplemental, but I have to have a paycheck regularly. ... I mean, you would have to have a lot of plans lined up before you could even leave your other job. And I just don't think that's practical at this point in my life.

While industry work was appealing to scrapbookers, one industry worker had recently left the industry because it did not coincide with her long-term career goals. Moreover, part-time industry workers usually had full-time jobs, too; their free time was devoted to their part-time job in the industry. Their scrapbooking time was now spent working in the industry rather than creating scrapbooks. Industry workers indicated that their industry work hindered their scrapbooking time. For example, one store owner said, "Being in the industry hinders my scrapbooking because I just don't have as much time to do it as I used to when it was *just a hobby*." Another business owner noted, "I'm spending my time helping other people tell their stories, and [I] do not have time to tell mine. I'm like the cobbler's wife. The cobbler's children don't have any shoes." It is the rare scrapbooker who successfully combined scrapbooking as both a hobby and paid work. One respondent worked for a scrapbook education company and scrapbooked daily as part of his work requirements. He noted that "the majority of what I have time to do [scrapbook] generally gets based around what's needed for the employer." His layouts were personal and his to keep but were made according to the needs of his employer. This type of paid scrapbooking work was rare, however.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Industry workers draw on a generic narrative that people do not scrapbook because they lack time to devote to scrapbooking (see Southerton 2003). As such, the scrapbook

industry attempts to solve both temporal and spatial problems for scrapbookers by hosting crops and selling kits, but industry workers are limited in that they cannot coordinate the schedules of the scrapbookers' social networks to make scrapbooking happen. As this research indicates, most scrapbooking takes place after the needs of work, school, and home are met.

Industry workers exemplify the ways in which people combine and reconfigure work, home, and leisure. Direct sellers are the ideal type in this scenario, yet other industry work also lends itself to this blending. For example, two business owners operated their businesses out of their homes—work and home using the same physical space. For scrapbookers, multitasking increases the frequency of scrapbooking by accomplishing some scrapbooking-related tasks at work. Other scrapbookers combine home with their leisure activity through a shared scrapbook space that is also used by another family member or for other household tasks (e.g., dining room table).

Scrapbookers see their ability to combine home, leisure, and work ebb and flow based on their priorities and changing lives. Consider how having a child affects a scrapbooker's ability to leave out her scrapbook supplies, or an industry worker leaving the industry to focus on jobs related to a future career. The boundary between work, home, and leisure is malleable, yet it is a barrier to leisure. A scrapbooker needs time, space, and the coordination of other people competing for his or her time and attention to scrapbook. Scrapbooking may be an easier leisure activity to combine with other responsibilities when compared to other leisure activities (e.g., dog sports), but the boundaries between these responsibilities are reinforced, such as when scrapbookers scrapbook only when children are sleeping or at school.

The scrapbookers in my sample all prioritized scrapbooking some of the time, whether as leisure time, family time, working time, or some combination of the three. A limitation of this study is that I did not interview anyone who simply bought scrapbook supplies but never made scrapbooks. I did not interview anyone who had not scrapbooked in several years. At the time of our interview, every respondent was allocating some time in his or her life to scrapbooking. My respondents worked, attended school, and were parenting preschool-aged children, among performing other roles, and they all found or made time to scrapbook.

Marks (1977: 925) poses the question "What 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?" Perhaps my respondents' class privilege enabled them to make time for scrapbooking. Lewis and Weigert (1981:447) argue that time as a scarce commodity "acquires meaning relative to one's position in the stratification system and one's resultant ability to control it." Time is perceived as scarce, but class privilege enabled my respondents to increase the frequency and duration of their hobby. They can pay for space to crop outside of the home, for instance. Moreover, many of the industry workers are able to do this work because of their class privilege. Only full-time industry workers rely on their industry work to support their household, while part-time workers have other jobs, spouses, or parents who provide most of their income. Part-time industry work for most is treated as an extension of their hobby rather than as an income-generating job. Future research

should focus on lower-income scrapbookers to explore the way in which class influences one's ability to make time for scrapbooking as either a hobby or work.

The scrapbook industry is part of the "time industry" (Hochschild 1997), but that does not mean customers are buying its time-saving strategies (e.g., crops and kits) or using them as intended. This makes sense, considering the purpose of leisure activities, scrapbooking included. Robinson and Godbey (1997) point out that the original intent of leisure was not efficiency, because leisure is meant to be had without consideration for time. Making leisure efficient defeats the purpose of leisure. Scrapbooking happens for people who both decide to scrapbook and have household support to make time and space for it. Compared with other hobbies, scrapbooking more easily lends itself to the hobbyist who can multitask, because the hobby itself can fit into family life (e.g., scrapbooking at home while children sleep) or work life (e.g., direct sales).

ENDNOTE

1. The scrapbook industry had peaked at the time of these interviews. It is unknown if the industry is declining, holding stable, or evolving.

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