

The Lipstick Effect and Outdoor Cultural Consumption in Slovakia in Times of Crisis¹

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Abstract

The paper deals with shifts in outdoor cultural consumption in Slovakia and explores the presence of the so called “Lipstick effect” related to the hedonic consumption in times of economic downturns. Based on the two-stage primary research we analyse the attendance at cultural events (visit to theatre, cinema, concert, opera, ballet, dance, exhibition, vernissage and others) during the pre-crisis and crisis period in view of contrasting perspectives. The results of our research suggest that the outdoor cultural consumption, however being a deferrable need, is not necessarily abandoned in times of economic downturns. On the contrary, it may be sustained or even enhanced during recessionary periods. Our research identified the predominance of psychological aspects over economic factors within arts participation with an increased role of emotional drivers during the recession. Although, the outdoor cultural consumption tends to be sustainable even in times of crisis, the consumption patterns are modified with regard to the intensity of participation and the spending on attended cultural events. Based on our findings we conclude that the outdoor cultural consumption in Slovakia had the Lipstick effect during the global economic crisis.

Keywords: *Global economic crisis, consumer behaviour, culture and the arts, outdoor cultural consumption, Lipstick effect, Slovakia*

JEL Classification: D12, Z10

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Introduction

Since 2007 when the global financial crisis started in the USA and was followed by the global economic recession (Whitney, 2009), the phenomenon of crisis has become a common part of major economic debates. Slovakia experienced a reverse in its positive development trends in the last quarter of 2008 after the period of a consecutive economic growth in 2005 – 2008 (Okáli a kol., 2009). The positive development of the Slovak economy was regained in 2010, however, with much lower and unstable growth rates (NBS, 2017). It should be highlighted that European countries given their own particular economic, cultural and social characteristics responded differently to challenges brought by the global economic crisis (Secondulfo and Setiffi, 2016).

In addition, the recent global economic crisis was specific in many aspects. Particularly in the accumulation of multiple crisis phenomena in the same timeframe, like the virtualization of financial sector, globalization influences, polarization of wealth and poverty in the society, huge increase in moral hazard, debt crisis, wars and climate change (Hontyová and Ivanová, 2012). Moreover, new problems emerged during the last few years including migrant crisis, Brexit and EU integrity, and value crisis. In this regard, Bonet and Donato (2012) consider the problem to be more profound and argue that we began to live in a period of a structural crisis based on the lacking reliability of the current social, economic and political systems. Accordingly, Šikula (2009) points our two crucial discrepancies of our civilization which came into a critical magnitude: The contradiction between the economy and humans, and the economy and natural environment.

It is assumed that the insecurity related to diverse crises emerging over the last decade has produced a significant impact on the way how consumers deal with their consumption and influenced current consumption patterns. There are several studies analysing specific consumption phenomena related to crisis periods. In general, consumers tend to decrease their spending, have a higher preference of substitutes, postpone purchase of durables, use more repair services and provide some services by their own (Shama, 1981; Ang, 2001; Alímen and Bayraktaroğlu, 2011). Within the Slovak context, the studies explored consumption habits in dependence on the income stratification in pre-crisis and crisis periods (Pauhofová and Martinák, 2014), and inequalities in household consumption as a result of crisis (König and Dovářová, 2016).

However, there are also areas where the mentioned effects were not confirmed. In this regard, a specific phenomenon of an increased pleasure seeking consumer behaviour during the recessionary periods was highlighted in the academic literature. Since this trend was first observed in the beauty industry, it was

labelled as the “Lipstick effect”. Nevertheless, in recent years the phenomenon of Lipstick effect was identified also in other sectors and product categories, like fashion, wine, liqueurs, sweets and movies. All of them have a common feature, which is the ability to provide affordable pleasures. According to Tajtáková et al. (2010) the outdoor cultural consumption is a typical example of pleasure seeking consumer behaviour with a significant role of emotional appeals and individual and/or social hedonism as driving forces for attending cultural events.

The aim of this paper is to explore the effects of the global economic crisis on outdoor cultural consumption in Slovakia in view of the Lipstick effect. The outdoor cultural consumption is understood as a participation in cultural events outside consumers' households (visit to theatre, cinema, opera, ballet, dance, exhibition, vernissage and others) involving interactions with other consumers.

1. Cultural Consumption: A Conceptual Framework

Several factors are known to influence consumer behaviour in culture and the arts. First, the education is seen as one of the main predictors of arts participation (DiMaggio, Seem and Brown, 1978; Colbert et al., 1994; Kotler and Scheff, 1997; Hill, O’Sullivan and O’Sullivan, 1997). Here, the question of early exposure to the arts was explored by numerous studies providing the evidence that childhood exposure increases adult demand (Bamosy, 1982; Morrison and West, 1986; Bergonzi and Smith, 1996; Gray, 1998).

Second, a dependence of current consumption patterns upon a past behaviour has to be highlighted. In this regard, most authors describe the taste for culture and the arts as acquired or discovered and point out that the rate of cultural consumption increases over time with exposure (Gray, 1998; Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2003). This logic was highlighted already by Alfred Marshall in his book *Principles of Economics* (1890) suggesting that “...the more good music a man hears, the stronger is his taste for it likely to become” (Marshall, 1890). In this claim Marshall actually anticipated the current theory of *Arts Appropriation Cycle* (Carù and Cova, 2005), which explains how a man gradually becomes arts consumer in the cycle of repeated cultural experiences.

Furthermore, it has been argued that the appreciation of more complex arts requires investments into “consumption skills”, what basically means learning to understand (Gray, 1998). This is supported by a theory of *Learning by consuming*, developed by Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette (1996), according to which consumers are supposed to be unaware of their true taste that they discover only through repeated experiences in a sequential process of unsystematic learning by consuming.

In addition, from the marketing perspective culture and the arts can be considered as experiential goods where the experience itself constitutes a core product within their consumption (Tajtáková et. al, 2010). According to Caldwell (2001) buying-consuming experiences in culture and the arts involve a unique combination of factors, which besides others, are underpinned by multiple motives, sometimes unconscious, that facilitate or inhibit each other. Moreover, the author claims that arts attending experience involves a set of complementary, often symbolic, and sometimes ritualistic and/or compensatory behaviours.

However, all of the above mentioned studies focus predominantly on endogenous factors related to individual predispositions, tastes and experiences. We argue that the consumer research in culture should equally encompass the assessment of exogenous factors. Currently, the impact of the global economic crisis causing consumers' insecurity and potentially influencing consumption patterns in culture and the arts should be explored.

2. Specifics of Consumer Behaviour in Crisis Periods – The Lipstick Effect

At the aggregate economic level, recessions are marked by widespread decreases in consumer spending (Shama, 1981; Ang, 2001; Bohlen, Carlotti and Mihas, 2010; Dibaji, Powers and Keswani, 2010; Alimen and Bayraktaroğlu, 2011; Hill et al., 2012). In addition, economic declines can also have psychological consequences related to consumption (Hill, 2012; Netchaeva and McKenzie, 2016; Sacco, Bermond and Young, 2016). Although spending on most consumer products during the recent recession has predictably declined, one class of products is believed to have fared unusually well: beauty products (Schaefer, 2008; Allison and Martinez, 2010; Hill et al., 2012), the so called “Lipstick effect”.

The Lipstick effect has been defined as (Kurian, 2013, p. 119): *Indicator of adjusted consumer purchasing behaviour, based on the economic situation. Reference to the sale of lipstick; that is, during hard times, sales of lipstick increase as consumers indulge their buying habits by buying cheaper items rather than more expensive ones such as designer dresses or handbags.*

The Lipstick effect can be traced back to the Great Depression of the 1930s. In the four years from 1929 to 1933, industrial production in the U.S. halved, but sales of cosmetics rose (Elliott, 2008). However, Mason, Moretti and Raggiotto (2017) claim that the Lipstick effect concerns mainly lower-income consumers. Ling (2012) interprets its basic principle as a compensation of an increased pressure on people given by harsh financial conditions. She explains that although lipsticks are not necessary in life, they are cheap and can give psychological

comforts to consumers. Similarly, Murgea (2012) claims, that purchase decision in this case is driven by psychological factors (a rapid mood enhancer) and less by rational ones (the level of income). This kind of consumer behaviour reflecting besides others a certain degree of irrationality in purchase decisions has been largely addressed by the behavioural economy (Závodný Pospíšil and Kozák, 2013).

In addition, Hill et.al. (2012), based on five studies, argue that the presence of Lipstick effect could be considered as a third indicator of economic recessions, with roots in individual ancestral psychology. Murgea (2012) develops the idea by suggesting that the propensity to buy lipsticks seems to be inversely correlated with the capital market evolution.

However, as already mentioned, the Lipstick effect does not concern only the sales of lipsticks anymore. Yet, it has been manifested also in other sectors and product categories. Gordin and Biciunaite (2013) suggest considering the Lipstick effect as a metaphor since the type of product varies with time and geography; for instance ice cream in France, confectionery in UK, chocolate in Germany, textiles in Italy, wine in China and others.

Overall, it is assumed that the Lipstick effect shows how people tend to prioritise buying small pleasures over large luxuries in order to satisfy their desire for consumption even with limited resources during the economic downturns. Gordin and Biciunaite (2013) labelled these small pleasures as “affordable luxuries”. They emphasize that while the manner and form of the Lipstick effect may be different in different countries and categories over time,² there is one thing that all recession-proof items have in common: they offer instant gratification and are generally affordable.

3. The Lipstick Effect and Cultural Consumption

There are several contrasting perspectives and theoretical approaches applicable on cultural consumption in times of crises. First to mention is the *Maslow's hierarchy of needs* (1954) which associates the need of culture with the upper levels of pyramid comprising social needs, needs for esteem and self-actualization. These are also called secondary needs and encompass social and higher individual needs including the desire for beauty (Richterová a kol., 2015). Their satisfaction shows a lesser urgency than satisfying physiological needs or safety needs which belong to the lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy (primary

² For example, nail polish can be considered the new “lipstick” of the last recession. In 2008/2009, nail polish was the fastest growing category in the global beauty and personal care industry, and it was an austerity-hit (Gordin and Biciunaite, 2013).

needs). Hence, in view of the deferrable nature of the need of culture (Tajtáková et al., 2010), it could be expected that people postpone or even abandon their arts participation due to lacking resources in economically, socially or politically problematic periods. This would reflect a predominance of rational factors in purchase decisions resulting from consumers' insolvency and indicate an individual impact of the crisis.

Further, the cutting of marketing budgets of arts organizations during the crisis times may lead to diminished incentives towards cultural participation. Given the supply-driven demand for culture and the arts (Evrard, 1999) the restrictive policy in recessionary periods can negatively influence the cultural consumption. Accordingly, the latent character of demand for culture and the arts (Busson, 1993) suggests that demand is manifested predominantly as a reaction to a particular cultural offering. Therefore, when lacking marketing incentives the demand for culture may not be expressed. In this case, the consumer behaviour would be affected by organisations' insolvency during the economic downturns reflecting an institutional impact of the crisis.

On the other hand, participation in culture and the arts is regarded as a kind of escapist therapy during economic downturns or other turbulent times. People tend to seek cultural activities in order to immerse themselves in an imaginary world and forget about their problems. Nowadays, the escapist tendency is particularly evident in the movie industry which is considered to be "recession-proof" (Winters-Keegan, 2008). In addition, Tajtáková and Olejárová (2012) analysed historical examples when culture and the arts played an important role in the survival of hard times and actually helped people to cope with crises. Hence, these cases would reflect a predominance of psychological factors and emotional drivers for cultural consumption in times of crises.

Ling (2012) claims that cultural consumption in crisis periods has a typical Lipstick effect, since people get a spiritual consolation by consuming cultural goods and services. So far, the Lipstick effect in outdoor cultural consumption has been documented mainly in the movie industry and labelled also as the "Hollywood effect".

Winters-Keegan (2008) analysed box office grosses during five of the last economic downturns in the U.S. – including the '70s oil crisis and the burst of the dot-com bubble in the early 2000s. She argues that the total number of movies people see in a year tends to rise in recessionary periods.

Similar effects were reported also in China (Quiwen, 2016) where the box office quadrupled between 2010 and 2015, while the GDP growth had been steadily slowing down. The increased cinema-going activity might suggest the consumer behaviour seeking a temporary relief from the economic headwinds.

In general terms, Qing (2011) has predicted that as a result of the Lipstick effect there would be a tendency of increase for the cultural industry on the contrary of the economic growth circle.

3.1. Methods

Primary data were gathered by a two-stage quantitative survey using a standardized questionnaire. Forty interviewers participated in data collection carried out by means of a face-to-face survey. They interviewed selected respondents from the panel and were supposed to explain the wording of questions if necessary.

The starting point of the study was a quantitative survey conducted before the crisis (2006 – 2007) with the aim to identify the typology of cultural consumption in Slovakia. The second survey was initiated during the crisis (2009 – 2010) and intended to explore the effects of the global economic crisis on cultural consumption. The same standardized questionnaire including closed-response, semi closed-response, multiple-choice and five-point-scale ranking questions was used in both surveys. However, in the crisis period two more questions were added. Respondents were asked about changes in their consumer behaviour manifested during the recession. Data collection method was the same for both surveys.

It should be noted that the results reported in this paper represent only partial findings mapping the outdoor cultural consumption. The whole survey was much larger and covered also the areas related to the purchase of cultural goods (books, periodicals, audiovisual media) and diverse aspects of indoor cultural consumption (subscriptions to digital platforms, rentals, borrowing, piracy). These partial results have been already presented at scientific conferences (see Tajtáková, Filo and Žák, 2011; Tajtáková, Žák and Filo; 2012).

In total, 1468 questionnaires were gathered from both surveys. The sample consisted of the Slovak population (a semi-panel) and was divided into eight age groups comprising respondents from under 18 to over 76 years. Females represented 55% and males 45% of the sample. Different educational levels as well as different professional activities were included in the sample. The research was carried out in all eight geographic regions of Slovakia encompassing both respondents from urban and rural areas.

The collected primary data were processed using the statistical software SPSS. Descriptive statistics and CHI-SQUARE tests were applied for the analysis and the assessment of statistical significance. In this respect, the statistical significance of four socio-demographic variables (gender, age, education and geography) was tested. Consequently the two examined periods (pre-crisis and crisis) were compared. Further we confronted our results with the overall trends

of households' expenditures on hedonic consumption (culture and recreation), economic growth and final household consumption in the time span of 2006 – 2016 (data by the Slovak Statistical Office and National Bank of Slovakia). However, since the official statistics covers different categories from those explored in our survey (it merges cultural consumption with recreation) we used it only to show the trend of consumer behaviour within outdoor leisure activities in the examined period.

Finally, provided that European countries due to their own particular economic, cultural and social characteristics have responded differently to challenges brought by the global economic crisis, our main research question is: Has the outdoor cultural consumption in Slovakia the Lipstick effect?

3.2. Findings

Outdoor Cultural Consumption in Slovakia before and during the Economic Crisis

A predominant outdoor cultural consumption pattern identified consistently by both surveys (Table 1) was a sporadic attendance at cultural events (several times a year but less than once a month on average). This was claimed by 65.8% of respondents in the pre-crisis period (PCP) and 71.9% in the crisis period (CP). While the occasional participation in culture and the arts increased during the crisis, the regular attendance (at least once a month on average) remained almost unchanged (15.8% in PCP vs. 15.7% in CP). The number of non-attendees dropped during the recession (from 12.5% in PCP to only 6.4% in CP).

Besides the categories of no attendance, sporadic attendance and regular attendance, the introductory question deliberately involved three options mapping a personal engagement in culture and the arts – as a hobby, volunteering or employment. The reason for including these alternatives was to avoid biased results in case if personal engagements of respondents were too high within our sample. Nevertheless, all three categories together represented only 5.9% of all respondents, so we considered the sample to be convenient for the research. In this regard, the survey identified a slight increase in active involvement in cultural activities as a hobby (4.4% in PCP vs. 5.1% in CP) but a complete drop in volunteering (1.1% in PCP vs. 0 % in CP) in the crisis period.

With respect to socio-demographic and geographic factors four significant correlations were identified: gender, age, education and geographic area. Although there are differences among people participating in different kinds of cultural events, the typical arts consumer is usually described as a “female, with higher education, earning a relatively high income and holding a white-collar job” (Colbert, 2003).

Table 1
Attendance at Cultural Events and Personal Engagement in Culture

How would you describe your attitude towards a participation in culture and the arts? (Theatre, cinema, concert, opera, ballet, dance, exhibition, vernissage, hobby, volunteering, profession....)	n	%	Gender		Age								Education			Location						
			Male	Female	Up to 18	19 – 25	26 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	66 – 75	76 and over	Elementary	Secondary short cycle	Secondary long cycle	University degree	Over 100 000 inhabitants	50 000 - 100 000 inhabitants	5000 - 50 000 inhabitants	Up to 5000 inhabitants		
Pre-crisis period	I do not attend cultural events	92	12.5	13.2	11.7	5.9	6.5	4.0	5.0	8.6	16.7	28.8	57.9	23.1	19.5	12.5	8.2	8.7	16.4	9.4	17.8	
	I attend cultural events from time to time	483	65.8	62.1	70.3	72.1	64.1	69.7	74.2	69.0	66.7	55.8	42.1	57.9	74.4	68.1	37.7	62.7	67.2	67.6	65.5	
	I regularly attend cultural events	116	15.8	18.2	12.9	17.6	24.8	20.2	15.8	10.3	11.1	10.6	0.0	15.8	2.4	14.5	28.7	24.3	13.4	16.1	8.3	
	I am actively involved in culture as a hobby	32	4.4	4.5	4.2	4.4	4.6	6.1	1.7	12.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	3.7	18.3	4.3	1.5	4.3	6.7	
Crisis period	I work in culture as a volunteer	8	1.1	1.5	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	5.5	4.8	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.9	6.7	0.0	1.5	1.3	1.7	
	I am employed in culture	3	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	
	Together	734	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Correlation			$\chi^2 = 6.95$; df = 5; p = 0.2245	$\chi^2 = 197.64$; df = 35; p = 0.0000									$\chi^2 = 38.18$; df = 25; p = 0.0000					$\chi^2 = 39.40$; df = 15; p = 0.0006			
Crisis period	I do not attend cultural events	47	6.4	4.5	8.8	7.1	0.0	6.0	18.5	7.1	10.6	0.0	100.0	7.1	27.0	13.5	1.1	9.5	4.7	5.9	4.8	
	I attend cultural events from time to time	528	71.9	75.0	68.2	67.9	73.4	60.3	73.9	77.1	68.1	100.0	0.0	67.9	73.0	78.8	66.8	67.3	69.3	74.7	75.5	
	I regularly attend cultural events	115	15.7	17.8	13.0	25.0	21.4	24.2	7.6	9.3	4.2	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	3.4	24.7	15.1	18.1	17.6	12.3	
	I am actively involved in culture as a hobby	37	5.1	2.7	7.9	0.0	5.2	9.5	0.0	2.7	17.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	6.2	8.1	7.9	1.8	3.7	
Crisis period	I work in culture as a volunteer	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	I am employed in culture	7	0.9	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	Together	734	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	Correlation			$\chi^2 = 27.31$; df = 4; p = 0.0000	$\chi^2 = 162.15$; df = 28; p = 0.0000									$\chi^2 = 156.80$; df = 20; p = 0.0000				$\chi^2 = 39.40$; df = 15; p = 0.0006				

Source: Own processing.

Our research did reveal a significant correlation between gender and arts participation, however, only in the crisis period ($\chi^2 = 27.31$; $df = 4$, $p = 0.0000$). Women prevailed over men among both occasional and regular attendees (75.0% vs. 68.2% and 17.8% vs. 13%), and were less numerous among non-attending respondents (4.5% vs. 8.8%). The age, on the contrary, was significant in both examined periods ($\chi^2 = 197.64$; $df = 35$, $p = 0.0000$ in PCP and $\chi^2 = 162.15$; $df = 28$, $p = 0.0000$ in CP). All age groups have modified their consumer behaviour to certain extent during the recession period. In some cases they shifted towards a more regular participation (under 18, 26 – 35), however, in others the regular participation decreased (36 – 45, 56 – 65, 66 – 75). People over 76 years appeared to be mostly affected by the crisis since they stopped attending arts events at all during the crisis (42.1% in PCP vs. 0% in CP).

Our research confirmed the importance of education within cultural consumption and identified a significant correlation between the educational level and arts consumption in both examined periods ($\chi^2 = 38.18$; $df = 25$, $p = 0.0000$ in PCP and $\chi^2 = 156.80$; $df = 20$, $p = 0.0000$ in CP). The positive effect of education was particularly evident within the category of regular arts attendance where the ratio of respondents with a university degree increased from 41.4% in PCP to 87.8% in CP; and within an active involvement in culture as a hobby where the number of university graduates rose from 50% to 75.7% in the recession period.

Regarding the geographic factors ($\chi^2 = 39.40$; $df = 15$, $p = 0.0006$ in PCP and $\chi^2 = 39.40$; $df = 15$, $p = 0.0006$ in CP) the occasional attendance increased in all locations with the biggest growth in the areas below 50 000 inhabitants. On the other hand, the regular participation significantly dropped in urban areas over 100 000 inhabitants (from 24.3% in PCP to 15.1% in CP) but rose in smaller towns and villages.

Spending on Outdoor Cultural Events³ before and during the Economic Crisis

The survey revealed generally quite low spending on outdoor cultural events in both examined periods (Table 2). Up to 90.7% of respondents in PCP and up to 94.3% in CP did not spend more than 33.19 EUR on outdoor culture per month. This category includes also people spending nothing at all (24.3% in PCP and 17.1% in CP). In the pre-crisis period most of the respondents were split into three more or less equally represented categories encompassing no spending, spending up to 6.64 EUR and up to 16.60 EUR per month.

³ The spending on outdoor culture is shown in EURO currency in both years. However, Slovakia joined the EU Monetary Union only in 2009, so in the first survey the spending was examined in the Slovak Crowns (SKK). We used the same spending categories converted into EURO (by a conversion rate 1 EUR = 30.126 SKK) in the questionnaire in 2009 – 2010 survey. This is the reason why the presented sums are not round.

Table 2
Individual Spending on Outdoor Culture in the Last Month

Spending on outdoor culture in the last month (per person)	n	%	Gender		Age										Education				Location									
			Male	Female	Up to 18	19 – 25	26 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	66 – 75	76 and over	Elementary	Secondary short cycle	Secondary long cycle	University degree	Over 100 000 inhabitants	50 000 - 100 000 inhabitants	5000 - 50 000 inhabitants	Up to 5000 inhabitants								
0 EUR	178	24.3	23.2	25.2	26.5	7.8	14.1	20.0	19.0	27.8	46.1	78.9	46.3	41.5	21.1	14.5	10.8	22.4	28.9	33.3								
up to 6,64 EUR	194	26.4	26.1	26.7	44.1	36.6	8.1	21.6	25.9	38.9	23.1	15.8	27.4	35.4	28.2	22.7	28.1	19.4	26.4	30.0								
6,65 – 16,60 EUR	183	24.9	26.7	23.4	11.8	28.8	44.4	33.3	17.2	25.0	15.4	5.3	9.5	14.6	29.1	9.1	31.3	25.4	22.1	21.7								
16,61 – 33,19 EUR	111	15.1	14.7	15.5	8.8	22.9	23.2	10.0	19.0	2.8	11.5	0.0	9.5	4.9	17.6	13.7	14.6	19.4	14.9	12.8								
33,20 – 66,39 EUR	34	4.6	3.6	5.5	5.9	2.6	4.1	10.0	5.2	0.0	3.9	0.0	4.2	2.4	2.3	10.0	8.7	4.5	4.3	1.1								
66,40 – 99,58 EUR	22	3.0	3.3	2.7	2.9	1.3	2.0	1.7	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	1.2	1.1	20.0	3.2	4.5	3.4	1.1								
99,59 – 165,97 EUR	8	1.1	1.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	4.1	1.7	0.0	5.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	10.0	2.2	3.0	0.0	0.0								
more than 165,98 EUR	4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.4	0.0	0.0								
Together	734	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0								
Correlation			$\chi^2 = 5.65; df = 7; p = 0.5815$		$\chi^2 = 266.23; df = 49; p = 0.0000$										$\chi^2 = 221.60; df = 35; p = 0.0000$				$\chi^2 = 63.65; df = 21; p = 0.0000$									
Crisis period																												
0 EUR	125	17.1	23.3	11.9	10.7	8.7	15.5	22.9	23.5	19.1	46.2	100.0	32.1	62.2	20.7	3.5	8.5	18.1	21.7	19.8								
up to 6,64 EUR	152	20.7	16.1	24.5	21.5	25.8	9.5	25.0	19.7	23.4	0.0	0.0	21.4	8.1	29.3	11.2	18.6	16.5	23.1	23.0								
6,65 – 16,60 EUR	257	35.0	30.0	39.1	32.1	37.7	30.2	15.2	41.5	44.7	53.8	0.0	28.6	13.5	29.3	48.8	36.2	33.1	37.1	32.6								
16,61 – 33,19 EUR	158	21.5	25.8	18.1	35.7	19.4	33.6	30.4	15.3	8.5	0.0	0.0	17.9	16.2	20.7	31.7	22.6	30.7	15.8	20.9								
33,20 – 66,39 EUR	31	4.2	2.7	5.4	0.0	5.6	9.5	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	12.1	0.0	0.0	3.7								
66,40 – 99,58 EUR	9	1.2	2.1	0.5	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.0	0.0	2.3	0.0								
99,59 – 165,97 EUR	2	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0								
more than 165,98 EUR	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0								
Together	734	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0								
Correlation			$\chi^2 = 38.26; df = 6; p = 0.0000$		$\chi^2 = 138.82; df = 42; p = 0.0000$																$\chi^2 = 140.32; df = 30; p = 0.0000$				$\chi^2 = 84.08; df = 18; p = 0.0000$			

Source: Own processing.

However, in the crisis period more than one third of the sample (35%) belonged to the group which spent between 6.65 and 16.60 EUR. Consequently, the number of people in very low spending categories (0 – 6.64 EUR) and the number of people in middle and high spending groups (from 33.20 EUR to more than 165.98 EUR) was lower in the recession period. On the other hand, the upper low categories (6.65 – 16.60 EUR and 16.61 – 33.19 EUR) were more numerous during the crisis. Surprisingly, the number of respondents spending nothing at all decreased in the recession period (17.1%) in comparison to the pre-crisis period (24.3%).

No significant correlation between spending and gender was found in the pre-crisis period ($\chi^2 = 5.65$; $df = 7$, $p = 0.5815$). However, in the crisis period the gender was significant ($\chi^2 = 38.26$; $df = 6$, $p = 0.0000$) and more contrasts between spending of males and females were manifested. Especially, the number of women with no spending dropped from 25.2% in PCP to 11.9% in CP, while the number of men remained almost unchanged. On the contrary, men within low spending categories spent slightly more during the crisis.

The age was a significant influential factor in both surveys ($\chi^2 = 266.23$; $df = 49$; $p = 0.0000$ in PCP and $\chi^2 = 138.82$; $df = 42$; $p = 0.0000$ in CP). As expected, the high spending groups (over 99.59 EUR) were formed only by economically active population between 26 and 65 years of age. Yet, the high spending categories almost disappeared in the crisis period and the number of people in low spending groups increased. The strongest negative influence of the crisis was observed in respondents over 76 years of age who completely stopped spending on culture during the recession.

Similarly, the education had a significant influence on spending too ($\chi^2 = 197.64$; $df = 35$, $p = 0.0000$ in PCP and $\chi^2 = 156.80$; $df = 20$, $p = 0.0000$ in CP). People with university degree were much more numerous in high spending groups (over 99.59 EUR) representing 83.3% within this category. However, this trend did not continue during the crisis since all educational levels were concentrated mostly in the upper low spending categories (up to 33.19 EUR).

With respect to the geographic factors, again a significant correlation was revealed in both surveys ($\chi^2 = 63.65$; $df = 21$; $p = 0.0000$ in PCP and $\chi^2 = 84.08$; $df = 18$; $p = 0.0000$ in CP). In pre-crisis period the high spending categories (over 99.59 €) were identified only in urban areas with more than 50 000 inhabitants. On the other hand, no spending on culture was predominantly found in rural places up to 5 000 inhabitants. This finding was expected since cities and towns offer more opportunities for outdoor cultural consumption than rural areas. Moreover, it is quite usual that cultural events in smaller towns and villages are offered free of charge. Nevertheless, the number of respondents with no

spending significantly decreased in the recession period, and mainly in these rural areas (from 33.3% in PCP to 19.8% in CP).

Motivation to Outdoor Cultural Consumption before and during the Economic Crisis

Diverse drivers for outdoor cultural consumption were examined in both examined periods (Table 3). Respondents were asked to evaluate the importance of twelve different motivation factors using the 5-point Likert scale in the following way: (5) very important, (4) rather important, (3) neither important nor unimportant, (2) rather unimportant, (1) very unimportant. The given motives encompassed emotional, intellectual and social stimuli which corresponded to the usual reasons for participation in culture and the arts claimed by culture attendees in published consumer surveys.⁴

The first three motives for attending cultural events remained unchanged in both analysed periods. Respondents prioritized a leisure attitude towards cultural consumption highlighting the entertainment and relaxation together with social dimension associated with meeting friends. However, there were some changes in ranking the motivation factors between the fourth and the seventh positions. The most evident one was the move of emotional stimulus from the sixth place in the pre-crisis period to the fourth one in the crisis period. Interestingly, respondents tended to attribute more extreme values to the importance of different motivation factors in the crisis period (ranging from 1.50 to 4.21) in comparison to the pre-crisis one (ranging from 1.60 to 3.75).

Table 3

Motivation Factors for Attending Cultural Events

Order	Motives			
	<i>Pre-crisis period</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Crisis period</i>	<i>Mean</i>
1.	Entertainment	3.75	Entertainment	4.21
2.	Relaxation	3.61	Relaxation	4.08
3.	To meet with friends	3.34	To meet with friends	3.65
4.	To go out	3.07	To feel emotion	3.54
5.	Meaningful leisure time spending	3.04	To go out	3.48
6.	To feel emotion	2.99	Educational development	3.38
7.	Educational development	2.95	Meaningful leisure time spending	3.37
8.	General interest in culture	2.92	General interest in culture	3.22
9.	Social interaction	2.47	Social interaction	2.52
10.	Accompany a partner	2.30	Accompany a partner	2.47
11.	To dress up	1.91	To dress up	1.83
12.	To improve one's image	1.60	To improve one's image	1.50

Note: (5) very important, (4) rather important, (3) neither important nor unimportant, (2) rather unimportant, (1) very unimportant.

Source: Own processing.

⁴ See for instance Boudier-Pailler, 1999; Cuadrado and Mollà, 2000; Bourgeon-Renault, 2000; Botti, 2000.

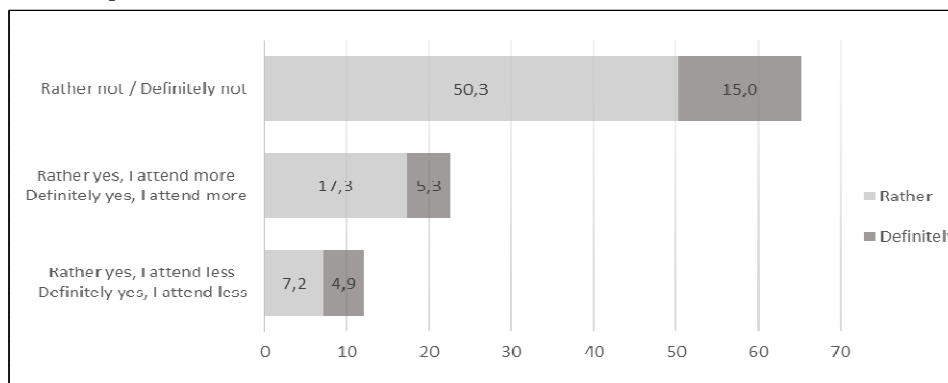
Changes in Attendance at Cultural Events during the Recession Period

The survey (Table 4/Graph 1) identified 65.3% of respondents whose attendance at cultural events remained unchanged during the recession period. Moreover, 22.6% of the sample claimed that their arts participation was even higher. Together, this makes 87.9% of respondents with an equal or a higher cultural attendance in the time of recession. Yet, only 12.1% of the sample reported decreased arts participation during the crisis. These respondents were asked to identify reasons for their lower attendance at cultural events. The reason number one stated by 43% of respondents (out of 12.1%) was an overload in job. The economic reason connected with saving during the crisis was placed on the second position (26% out of 12.1%). The family reasons (13% out of 12.1%), and prioritizing other activities over culture (10.6% out of 12.1%) occupied the third and the fourth place. Other reasons (including marketing incentives) were found irrelevant.

All four examined influencing factors were significant. With respect to the gender ($\chi^2 = 45.14$; $df = 5$; $p = 0.0000$) 60% of women and 73% of men reported no changes in their arts participation in the recession period. However, surprisingly, 16.8% females vs. 7.2% males attended less. The consumer behaviour of both genders was the least differentiated in case of increased participation during the crisis (23.2% females and 19.8% males). Regarding the age ($\chi^2 = 194.74$; $df = 35$; $p = 0.0000$) the only category reporting a substantial shift in consumer behaviour towards the arts attendance during the crisis were people between 66 and 75 years of age. 53.8% of them attended rather less and 46.2% attended rather more. In all other age groups the predominant behaviour (from 53% up to almost 90% within the groups) stayed without changes. In this respect, the most stable one was the category between 36 and 45 years of age.

Graph 1

Did Your Attendance at Cultural Events Change during the Last 12 Months?
(% crisis period)



Source: Own processing.

Table 4
 Did Your Attendance at Cultural Events Change during Last 12 Months? (crisis period)

Did your attendance at cultural events change during last 12 months?	n	%	Gender		Age										Education				Location			
			Male	Female	Up to 18	19 – 25	26 – 35	36 – 45	46 – 55	56 – 65	66 – 75	76 and over	Elementary	Second. short cycle	Second. long cycle	University degree	Over 100 000 inh.	50 000 – 100 000 inh.	5000 – 50 000 inh.	Up to 5000 inh.		
Rather not	369	50.3	51.2	50.0	75.0	41.3	42.2	63.0	59.6	57.4	0.0	100.0	54.6	29.7	61.0	52.5	56.3	56.7	39.4	53.4		
Definitely not	110	15.0	21.8	10.0	0.0	12.3	12.1	26.1	19.1	17.0	0.0	0.0	21.4	43.2	18.3	3.0	13.6	15.0	14.5	18.2		
Rather yes, I attend more	127	17.3	18.0	17.3	17.9	22.6	28.5	3.3	9.8	12.8	53.8	0.0	16.9	0.0	7.7	32.3	12.1	19.0	17.2	23.0		
Definitely yes, I attend more	39	5.3	1.8	5.9	7.1	9.5	1.7	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	0.0	4.2	1.0	1.5	10.8	1.1		
Rather yes, I attend less	53	7.2	2.4	11.6	0.0	13.5	3.4	0.0	3.8	8.5	46.2	0.0	0.0	8.1	7.2	6.0	11.0	6.3	8.6	3.2		
Definitely yes, I attend less	36	4.9	4.8	5.2	0.0	0.8	12.1	7.6	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.0	5.8	0.0	6.0	1.5	9.5	1.1		
Together	734	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Correlation			$\chi^2 = 45.14; df = 5; p = 0.0000$		$\chi^2 = 194.74; df = 35; p = 0.0000$										$\chi^2 = 169.46; df = 25; p = 0.0000$				$\chi^2 = 78.35; df = 15; p = 0.0000$			

Source: Own processing.

The educational level ($\chi^2 = 169.46$; $df = 25$; $p = 0.0000$) was significant mainly in case of a higher attendance during the crisis. Here the most outstanding category were respondents with a university degree, since 85.5% of them claimed that their arts participation increased in the recessionary period.

Finally, with respect to the geographic location ($\chi^2 = 78.35$; $df = 15$; $p = 0.0000$) most of the areas reported predominantly unchanged outdoor cultural consumption during the crisis (around 70% of respondents). Only in towns between 5 000 and 50 000 inhabitants the ration of unchanged arts attendance within the recession period was lower (53.9%).

4. Discussion

In terms of arts participation, no significant negative impact of the global economic crisis was identified. Up to 87.9% of respondents attended cultural events equally or more during the crisis period (2009 – 2010) vs. the pre-crisis period (2006 – 2007). Moreover, 22.6% of them claimed that their arts participation was even higher in the times of recession. However, a negative impact of the crisis on outdoor cultural consumption was observed in elder people over 76 years. On the other hand, the arts attendance remained unchanged especially in case of women, and even rose in highly educated people and in rural areas under 5 000 inhabitants.

The most important reason for the lower arts participation during the crisis, though reported only by 12.1% of the sample, was an overload in job (43% out of 12.1%). Furthermore, our research revealed a negative economic impact of the crisis explicitly identified by 26% of respondents (out of 12.1%). Yet also the overload in job can be – besides other factors – attributed partly to the crisis (people work harder in order to keep their jobs or businesses). So, we can assume that up to 8.7% of the whole sample might have been negatively affected by the economic crisis.

A significant correlation between outdoor cultural consumption and four examined variables (gender, age, education, geographic area) was confirmed. However, only two factors had a constant influence in both examined periods – age and education.

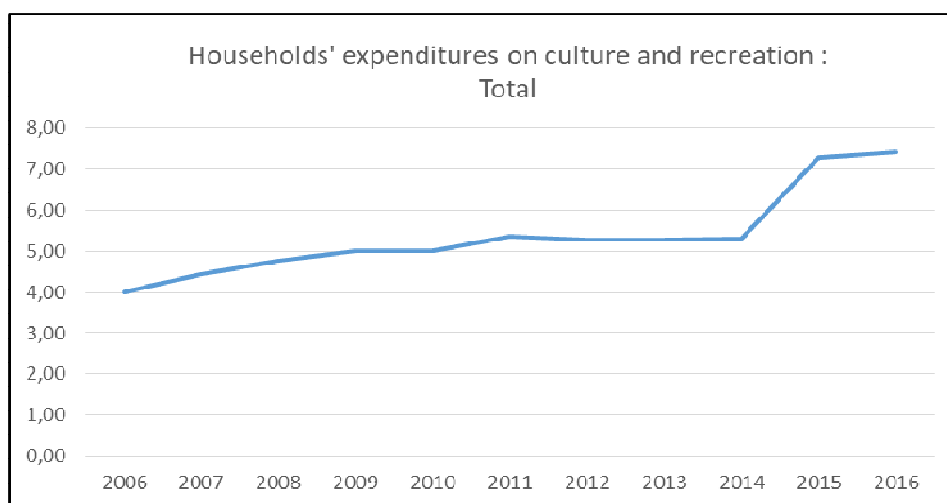
In this respect Oakes (2003) highlighted the need of demographic consideration of arts audience profile. While the influence of different age groups was not consistent in terms of a positive or negative impact on cultural consumption (excluding the category over 76 years) the higher educational level was uniformly identified as a decisive factor positively influencing participation in cultural events.

In contrast to the relatively stable or slightly higher arts participation during the crisis, the research revealed a decrease in individual spending on outdoor culture within the recessionary period. Thus, although people participated more during the crisis they spent less money. In addition, changes in distribution of people into different spending groups were observed. In particular, the category of people spending less money increased in comparison to the higher spending categories during the recession.

Nevertheless, let's confront our findings with the official spending report of the Statistical Office of Slovak republic in the years 2006 – 2016. As shown on the Graph 2 household's expenditures on culture and recreation (person per month) had a steadily growing tendency from 2006 to 2016, followed by a significant increase in 2015. No particular deviation from the trend was identified during the crisis period.

Graph 2

Households' Expenditures on Culture and Recreation in EUR/Month and Person in the Years 2006 – 2016



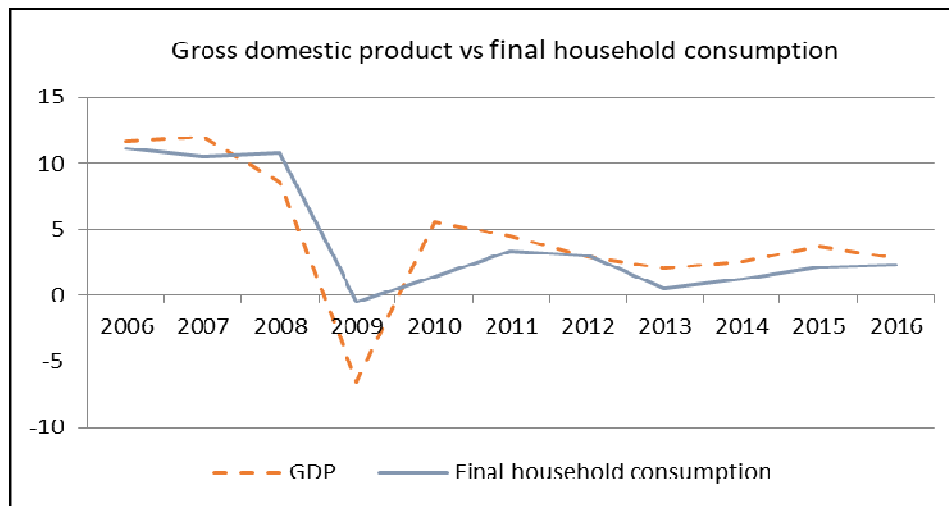
Source: Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (2017).

However, when comparing households' expenditures on culture and recreation (Graph 2) and overall economic growth in Slovakia vs. final household consumption – both measured by GDP expenditure method in 2006 – 2016 (Graph 3) – contrasting trends can be observed. While the final household consumption in the examined period clearly copies the trend of the GDP development (with a significant decrease in the crisis period), the households' expenditures on culture and recreation show a constantly growing tendency without any significant

decrease during the examined time frame. These findings are consistent with the results reported by other studies suggesting that certain areas of outdoor cultural consumption might be considered to be resistant to crisis.

Graph 3

GDP vs. Final Household Consumption in the Years 2006 – 2016



Note: * Gross domestic product, GDP expenditure method, current prices, seasonally adjusted [SK, n, sa, %]; NBS calculations. ** Final household consumption, GDP expenditure method, current prices, seasonally adjusted [SK, n, sa, %]; NBS calculations.

Source: National Bank of Slovakia (2017).

Conclusions

The results of our research suggest that outdoor cultural consumption, however being a deferrable need, is not necessarily abandoned in times of economic downturns. On the contrary, it may be sustained or even enhanced during recessionary periods. The analysis of the secondary statistical data revealed that in contrast to the final household consumption which copied the trend of the overall GDP development in Slovakia in the years 2006 – 2016 and reflected the impact of the crisis in 2009, the households' expenditures on culture and recreation had a constantly growing tendency with no particular deviation during the examined period.

Our primary research identified a positive shift in consumer behaviour of non-attendees and occasional arts participants towards more intensive outdoor cultural consumption during the economic crisis, while the behaviour of regular arts attendees remained unchanged. This is consistent with a general belief that people tend to seek entertainment and cultural activities as a part of the escapist therapy in recessionary periods. It reflects the predominance of psychological

aspects over economic factors within outdoor cultural consumption and highlights the importance of emotional drivers for attending arts events.

On the other hand, our research revealed that although people did not reduce their arts participation, they declared a decrease in individual spending on outdoor culture in the recessionary period. This finding suggests a shift in consumption patterns towards a more intensive arts attendance, however, at less expensive or free-of-charge cultural events during the crisis. Furthermore, two major influencing factors on cultural consumption were identified – the age and education. However, only the education had a constant positive effect in terms of the sustainability and intensity of arts participation.

Our findings show that outdoor cultural consumption tends to be sustainable even in times of crisis, although, the consumption patterns are modified with regard to the intensity of participation and the spending on attended cultural events. Based on our research we conclude that the outdoor cultural consumption in Slovakia has the Lipstick effect in times of crisis.

Limitations of Research

The limitations of our research consist mainly in the concentration of the study on a particular geographic area (a small Central European country) wherein the own cultural background. Therefore, our results may not be valid for other geographical and cultural areas. Furthermore, some limitations related to the wording of questions in the questionnaire have to be admitted. They were discovered during the research and were treated by providing more explanatory guidelines to respondents from the side of interviewers.

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