Love, romance and behaviour; finding Juliet, finding meaning

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ABSTRACT

In the continuing debates about authenticity, it is possible to add to the academic treatment of the term by assessing tourists' reactions to sites. In Verona, Italy, there is one site which attracts global tourist interest; it is the courtyard and balcony alleged to be that of Juliet Capilano and made famous in Shakespeare's balcony scene in the tragic play Romeo and Juliet. There is a collision of fact and fantasy in declaring this site to be the one in the famous play. Object authenticity in the sense of historical continuity (Cohen, 2011) is at best a slim possibility. More importantly, the contemporary space labelled as Juliet's balcony is a commercial tourism hub, attracting a truly diverse international audience who are arguably at least intrigued by the potential for contact with a site embodying love and a tragic romance. The research conducted at the site involved detailed time recordings by two observers who closely monitored the activities of individuals from stratified sub groups of visitors who were of different ages. Using the time tourists spent at the site as an organiser, combined with TripAdvisor ratings, the researchers revealed how authenticity was variously rejected, redefined and constructed through the tourists' behaviour.

INTRODUCTION

In the wide array of tourist attractions across the globe, just a few special locations are defined by the theme of love and romance. The attraction of special interest in this study is that of Juliet's house and balcony in Verona, Italy. The international attention to the site is linked to key scenes in Shakespeare's play *Romeo and Juliet*. In studying tourists' behaviour and experience at this site there are several questions worthy of research attention. Does the objective authenticity of the site matter to those who visit? To what extent is this "love and romance" location valued because it provides some kind of authentic link to desired states of mind? Further, if the essence of authenticity for such sites is an emotional feeling rather than an appreciation of the visible bricks and mortar of a physical place, how do tourists create an experience for themselves?

The approaches to authenticity in this study are in line with the variants of authenticity identified by Cohen (2007). The key concepts being explored can be summarised as an awareness and assessment of firstly, the physical properties of a site (objective authenticity); secondly, the attribution of authenticity due to time and custom (emergent authenticity); and finally, authenticity achieved through reflective, participatory immersion in an experience (embodied subjective authenticity) (cf. Buchmann, Moore & Fisher, 2010). The first two terms direct attention to the physical features and history of the place, that is its artefacts and a recognition of contemporary endorsement, while embodied subjective authenticity involves

tourists establishing personal meanings of value through their actions and attitudes (Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry, 2004; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Pearce, 2011). This chapter is less concerned with tracking aspects of existential authenticity which has become a key direction for academic analysis (Rickly-Boyd, 2013a; Wang, 1999; 2000). The perspective offered in this paper is that tourists "work at" creating authenticity or as Cohen and Cohen (2012) have outlined, there is a process of hot authentication at play. Their use of the term hot authentication identifies an emotion charged set of performative practices which help generate, safeguard, and amplify the authenticity of the visited site or event (2012:1300). Cool authentication, by way of contrast, is the formal process of a legitimate organisation or figure with power and credibility asserting that the setting is authentic. For the present case of Juliet's balcony, there is not a truly credible authority consistently claiming that the site was the basis of Shakespeare's dramatic efforts. This ambiguity paves the way for the direct study of the power and process of hot authentication.

The researchers do not deny the relevance of existential authenticity to certain specific distinctive tourist moments. Nevertheless, it can be argued that while academic attention is often drawn to exceptional and numinous moments principally involving tourists effectively examining big questions about existence, for many the issues about authenticity often revolve around more immediate, direct and mundane judgments (Caru & Cova, 2003; Edensor, 2007). Further, in the context of assessing tourists' direct experiences at a site and observing their behaviour, the current emphasis is directed towards how the acts and sequences of moving through an attraction offer authenticity linked insights. The use of mixed methods and multiple sources of information assist these assessments.

In seeking to answer questions about tourists' visits to the Juliet's balcony site, this chapter benefits from several lines of academic inquiry. The researchers draw on both philosophical and literary writing about love and the social psychological research on the types of love relationships. This literature provides a pathway to considering tourists' personal and cultural capital when they visit the specific setting. It is argued that tourists' capital shapes their perception of objective authenticity and, further, guides their acts and strategies for enjoying themselves at the location. The study is informed by the collection of on-site observational records, and together with on-line evaluations of the site these data are used to address the questions of interest. The focus of the study is quite clearly on one site and linked to the love and romance theme, but the wider implications of the research offer some insights into how tourists can construct meaning and authenticity from their embodied tourist experiences, even under the duress of being in heavily crowded and congested popular places.

FOUNDATION LITERATURE

Romantic love

The topics of love and romantic relationships have been tackled in various ways across the spectrum of humanities and social science disciplines. Ideas and conceptualisations from historians, literary critics and philosophers have provided key streams of thought. Social scientists and especially social psychologists have added to these notions. The existence of a powerful consuming kind of attachment linking people together was recognised in early Greek writing (Ferguson, 2012). Of the six kinds of love recognised by that society, mania or

obsessive love, as a form of "madness from the gods", stood out from realistic love, companionate love, altruistic love, playful love and a concern for beauty (Lee, 1974). In this context and for many of the Greek writers, mania or obsessive love was most often felt or sought by men for other men, as this was viewed to be on higher plane than the love of men for women (Clift, Luongo & Callister, 2002).

An important step in building the modern view of romantic love derives from obtaining the recognition of a queen or favoured lady. The knights who served the medieval dynasties in Europe, and particularly the royal courts in France, typically pledged their devotion, lives and their actions in battle to a preferred lady of the court (Southern, 1973). They may not have been particularly chaste outside the court environment, but in the context of elevating a woman in their life to the status of a desirable goddess, they paved the way for the conception of romantic love (Bloch, 2009). At core, this idea became one of not only acting in a courteous and charming way in the presence of the desired woman, but involved extolling her virtues in prose and poetry. In this way one woman might have many admirers, all desperately keen to impress her. Typically none of them had any prospects for moving the relationship from polite fantasising to physical fulfilment.

In considering the broad conceptions of love which tourists might bring to the Romeo and Juliet site in Verona, romantic love is arguably now viewed as a "normal state" rather than an aberration. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, composed about 1597-1599, is at the heart of this increasingly common and powerful view of the meaning and intensity of romantic love (Levenson, 1987). Landmark popular culture performances of *Romeo and Juliet* across the centuries did much to popularise the romantic view (Bryson, 2016). This pivotal position in the development of an ideal of love has undoubtedly built upon the widespread practice of including *Romeo and Juliet* in the curriculum of many hundreds of high school English courses across the globe. Quite possibly, this educational legacy can be partly explained by the presumed relevance of studying relationships, feelings and emotions with classes of adolescents. A number of films centering on the Romeo and Juliet story, most recently *Letters to Juliet*, have reinforced the importance of the story.

Social scientists and psychologists have also conducted a suite of empirical studies about the development of relationships and the meaning of love. In early work, Driscoll, Davis and Lipetz (1972), studying the facilitators and inhibitors to love relationships, identified a phenomenon they termed "the Romeo and Juliet effect". They reported positive correlations between a measure of parental interference as perceived by the couple and responses describing the intensity of that couple's feelings; the greater the interference, the more intense were the reports of feeling in love. It is not just parental opposition that intensifies romantic love relationships. Rubin (1972) reports that similar effects can occur when the couples have been in a relationship for a short time but were from different religions.

As Bloch (2009) suggests, romantic love has an obsessive quality where the individual feels incomplete without contact with the other and any separation invokes feelings of initial despair as well as the excited anticipation of reuniting. Peele and Brodsky (1975) have used the term addiction to describe these aspects of romantic love. Both the early work in social psychology and more recent studies adopt a view that romantic love is unlikely to last unless continuing separation and cultural rules prevent the development of the relationship (Berscheid, 2010; Gonzaga, Turner, Keltner, Campos, & Altemus, 2006; Ransom, 1980). There is a recognition

that romantic love can over time slowly transform into companionate love, a less passionate state but one embodying care, concern and deep affection (Acevedo & Aron, 2009). These ideas fit well with other expansive and informative writing about the philosophy of love and people's unrealistic mind sets about expecting romantic love to forever prevail over companionate love (de Botton, 2016). Both states are seen as healthy and desirable in the course of an individual's life and a couple's development (Martin, Carlson & Buskist, 2007). It is noteworthy though, that recommendations about preserving some of the delights of early passionate love are often made (Grayling, 2006: p.44).

There are several implications for the present study stemming from this review of key points in the evolution of romantic love and the role of the Romeo and Juliet story in that account. One implication arising from this account lies in an appreciation of what people do and have always done when struck by the "madness mania" which the Greeks identified over 2000 years ago. Kissing, touching, and fondling one another, as well inscribing objects with initials or names are common public displays of affection. Of course, cultural rules and religious dictates do determine the permissiveness in any expression of affection. In the contemporary Italian cultural context, such intimate activities, and some others, may be a part of the observable tourist behaviours at the site. A further and more important implication of this history of love and the Romeo and Juliet theme can be identified. It can be suggested that some of the tourists' responses to the site depend on the extent to which they can be seen as "intelligent tourists"; that is, well versed in the meaning and history of the site being visited and the ideas it represents (Horne 1990). An awareness of the role of the Romeo and Juliet story in the promulgation of the romantic love concept can be seen as a kind of cultural capital which some tourists will very likely use to contemplate the authenticity and meaning of the space.

Cultural and personal capital

The concept of capital has been used in some broad but powerful ways in social science research. Its first use was in political treatises by Marx and Engels to designate how wealth is produced and workers exploited (Dahrendorf, 1959). This sense of the term is of less interest in the present paper, which relies more on the next three ways the term has been developed. Firstly, Bourdieu (1986) offered the expression cultural capital, which he described primarily as long lasting dispositions of the mind. In his own work Bourdieu used the term to understand the educational and life advantages conferred on children by their well-informed and cultured parents. In a somewhat different use, Putnam (2001) noted the growing decline in the United States of the social bonds and networks which tied members of communities together. Using a metaphor drawn from the social leisure activity of ten pin bowling, he defined the purported decline in "social" capital as "bowling alone". Social capital emphasises common knowledge of how to behave and how to relate to one another in public life. A further use of the term occurs in the world of development studies and most especially with the concept of sustainable livelihoods. In efforts to understand how to build resources in struggling communities, a number of commentators have expanded the expression to include a community's social, human, physical, financial and natural capital, and stressed the community's ability to put these forms to productive use (Ashley & Carney, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; Carney, 2003).

In this chapter the terms are borrowed in the following ways. A tourist arriving at Juliet's balcony can be thought of as bringing with them two aspects of cultural capital and two facets of human or personal capital. This approach captures how tourists are likely to respond to the

features they find at Juliet's house. In terms of cultural capital, as described in part by Bourdieu, the two aspects of interest are the views of love and romance which prevail in the individual's community and the knowledge and awareness of the story of Romeo and Juliet and Shakespeare's work. It is argued here in particular that these components of cultural capital influence how tourists respond to the object authenticity of the site. Further, the tourists' personal capital can be added into their experience of the visit. In this case, the first component of particular interest is the tourists' current relationship status, which is of special relevance if the tourist is accompanied by a potential or actual partner. Personal capital also matters in another way. On this occasion the tourists' existing knowledge about the site and their expectations of its properties and layout may be seen as further influences on the immediacy of their response and the behaviours they adopt. These forms of capital may be linked in multiple ways to the likely views of the authenticity of the site and the experiences on offer at this location.

The argument which underpins the empirical part of this study lies in suggesting that those who are rich in cultural capital and understand the origins of Shakespeare's play, including the conventions which gave rise to romantic love, are likely to reject the object authenticity of the site. This should be manifested in two ways. It can be expected that some of these tourists with a deep understanding of the construction of Shakespeare's work may view the site as a commercial invention and feel unable to relate to its mass promotion and appeal. Or some tourists in this group, but possibly not very many, may choose to adopt a more postmodern perspective: that is recognise the tenuous links between what is being promoted and Shakespeare's dramatic fiction, but still enjoy the site because of its stimulus to think about how concepts of love and romance have become enshrined in the public consciousness.

Personal capital, in the sense of visiting the attraction with a newly minted or passionate partner, may act to support the postmodern and more playful treatment of the site. Additionally, for those in an ongoing intimate relationship, it may be entertaining to behave in certain ways at this attraction with the social norms of what one can do in such a setting being somewhat more relaxed than at many tourist attractions. The personal capital may extend to what the individual has read or learnt from promotional material and pivotal guidebooks. In particular, Verona is widely known as the city of love. While this is no longer always endorsed by the destination marketing personnel in the region, it is an established tag line for Verona, expressed repeatedly in tourist souvenirs and shops. Further, some guidebooks have created distinctive tourist attraction behaviours for the site. For some time, Lonely Planet guidebooks have suggested that kissing one's partner at the attraction is a likely guarantee that the relationship will continue. Additionally, touching the breast of the Juliet statue at the site has been linked to good luck. Such behaviours, if noted consistently at the site, conform neatly to the importance of hot authentication - that is creating a sense of authenticity through emotion charged and personal acts (Cohen & Cohen, 2012). Further distinctive on-site behaviours which lead to and support emergent authenticity and embodied subjective authenticity will be noted from the detailed observational work in the study.

Using these ideas from the literature, specifically the history and the evolution of romantic love combined with linking key facets of the broad concept of authenticity - especially object authenticity and embodied subjective authenticity- with that of cultural and personal capital, the researchers collected diverse sources of information to examine the study aims. These aims can be restated succinctly as follows. It is the generic intention of this chapter to assess the

perceptions of authenticity at the Verona piazza site, which is widely labelled as the House of Juliet. The second aim of the study is to explore tourists' patterns of on-site actions by employing the ideas of cultural and personal capital as explanatory forces which can be linked to objective, emergent, and embodied subjective authenticity.

CONTEXT

The location of interest consists of a small rectangular courtyard (piazza), which provides access to what was supposedly Juliet's balcony, where perhaps the most famous scene in the play was enacted. The courtyard features a life size statue of Juliet, located below the balcony. Additionally, the walls of the courtyard are covered in lovers' messages. Locks signifying the binding of relationships are attached to most available surfaces. There are also several interpretive panels as well as two souvenir shops that can be entered from the courtyard. Entrance to the courtyard through an arched tunnel is free but it is possible to pay for a tour to access the first floor balcony. Figures 1 and 2, taken from the researchers' collections, illustrate some key site characteristics as well as tourists' activities.

Figure1. Views of the site: balcony, Juliet's statue and love notes. (Source: Researchers' photographs).

Figure 2. Adorning the walls, views of the balcony, crowd mingling to touch and photograph Juliet's statue, on-site love souvenirs (Source: Researchers' photographs).

The researchers employed three interrelated methods to investigate the aims of the study. Firstly, archival analysis was used to fully understand the history of the site. Materials sourced in this assessment included promotional items from the city of Verona as well as more substantial historical accounts of Verona and its history from academic papers and books. Secondly, three on-site visits spread across a three year time span (2014-2016) were made. These visits were conducted in different seasons of the year and included one visit in early winter while the other two occasions were in early summer and mid-summer. Tourist numbers to the site were not noticeably different at any of these times of the year. The purpose and timing of these visits varied. The initial visit was one of familiarisation with the features of the site and its layout. The second and third visits were more focused with unobtrusive observation being used on the second visit. The specific approach on the second visit followed the "systematic lurking" suggested by Dann, Nash and Pearce (1988). This technique consists of mingling in the crowded space and listening to comments and remarks tourists make about their immediate experience. This information was valuable as an input to the systematic recording of tourists' behaviour and visit times conducted by two researchers on a third visit.

In the third visit conducted in early summer 2016, two researchers documented the paths taken through the attraction and measured site visit times for a stratified sample of visitors. The five categories of visitors observed were based on age (estimated as either over 40 or less than 40) and gender. This resulted in four target groups; older and younger males and females. In most

cases the individuals observed were accompanied by an opposite sex partner. A fifth group, that of families, was also assessed. As a third source of information the researchers accessed the numerous TripAdvisor commentaries about the site. Intensive and close monitoring of 50 tourists was undertaken at the site. The principleof saturation, that is when the information being collected appeared to be highly repetitive, was employed to guide the choice of completing the observational work after 50 cases (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

The procedure employed at the Juliet's balcony site involved the researchers selecting a member of one of the five targeted groups at the point of entry to the site. A semi-circular tunnel, richly adorned with love notes and signs, provides the access to the little rectangular space and the researchers commenced their observation of each individual at the start of this tunnel. An agreed on set of activities and position points was established and the tourists' behaviours at the site were documented. One of the keys to good observational studies lies in the comprehensiveness and usefulness of the codes used to categorise the observed behaviour (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1989; Pearce, 2013). Measures were taken of the total time at the site and the activities of photographing the statue and the balcony, writing on the walls, sending letters to Juliet, adding padlocks to the display, shopping and taking a tour. Additionally, the key demographics of the person observed were noted.

Given the number and extensive information provided in the TripAdvisor reviews, (over 7000 postings), it was possible to select recent responses from the same five target groups assessed in the observational study. All reviews were accessed from the site: https://www.tripadvisor.com.au/Attraction_Review-g187871-d246496-Reviews-Casa_di_Giulietta-Verona_Province_of_Verona_Veneto.html. This selection was done using two criteria; the review had to be sufficiently long to provide detailed information and the reviewers' age and demographic characteristics had to be clearly identifiable. The most recent reviews which matched these criteria were then considered.

FINDINGS

The resources used to present the following narrative summary of the tourists' experiences and their links to authenticity were generated by combining the sources of information employed and using time as the organising variable. Four time-based groups were identified and their experiences and characteristics and views are presented in turn. The divisions between the time based groups follow the distribution of the time data; group one stayed at the site for a very short time (one or two minutes) while a second group visited from three to seven minutes. There was a clear gap and separation in the time periods between groups 2 and 3 (9-15 minutes) and between groups 3 and 4 (30 minutes or longer).

Group One: Duration of the visit: 1 or 2 mins

Twelve of the tourists observed, effectively 24% of the sample, spent two or fewer minutes at the Juliet's balcony site. The listed activities for this group consisted of walking as quickly as possible through the tunnel and then pausing at the tunnel exit to take in a quick overview of the site. The one to two minutes or less visitors typically paused at the tunnel exit, often causing and contributing further to the congestion in the space which during the researcher's

observations was consistently occupied by 60 or more other visitors. The dimensions of this space are approximately 15 metres by 10 metres so it can be readily appreciated that tourists who pause at any point prevent the easy flow of others. The close observational data revealed that there was no inspection by any members of this group of the information panels and that distant observation of the statue and the balcony were the only two activities in which this short stay group participated. The demographics of this group consisted of a proportionately greater number of older men. The TripAdvisor comments which can be tied to this group in terms of the age and gender demographics provide multiple reasons for the short stay. Two forces can be seen as important. Firstly, there is a rejection of the meaning of the site in terms of its object authenticity while a second frequently cited reason lies in annoyance at the crowd and congestion. The comments heard while tracking this group of tourists plus the remarks recalled from the systematic lurking approach provide a part of the justification for this interpretation. The following TripAdvisor comments represent the views of Group 1 tourists.

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As an English major I have read many of Shakespeare's works. When I planned our trip to Italy it seemed incomplete without a trip to Verona & Juliet's house. I have never been so disappointed in a venue. The arched entrance to the courtyard would have been beautiful except for the overwhelming graffiti. As I stepped into the courtyard the scene that greeted me was simply disgusting. Locks all over a wall & graffiti is scrawled everywhere. A wonderful literary piece deserves at least a little bit of respect & this place doesn't even come close! I'm honestly sorry I wasted my time going there.

Way too crowded and touristy, especially for fictional characters...Between the crowds fondling the Juliet statue, the gum on the back wall, and the souvenir store right on site, I can't think of a less interesting or romantic place. No thanks.

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Group 2: The 3 to 7 minute group

Thirty-eight percent of the sample observed spent between three and seven minutes on site. The group had approximately equal numbers of men and women and, like group one, were slightly older than the remaining groups. The activities which were commonly recorded for this group were to observe the balcony from a distance and take a photo from the central point of the little piazza. Photos taken by this group were of the statue of Juliet rather than with the statue and only one member of the group participated in shopping. The group members tended to move to the centre of the square and then simply observe the scene relatively briefly before exiting through the tunnel rather than the shops. The commentary and the TripAdvisor remarks represent a strong awareness of emergent authenticity: that is the value of being somewhere which is worth looking at because it is well known and much publicised. The revealing TripAdvisor comments matching these comments specify these interests and attitudes.

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If you have limited time in Verona then this really is a must-see sight. It's easy to find, won't cost a centime and is everything you'd expect. Whether you've seen the movie 'Letters from Juliette' or a Shakespeare fan, you'll enjoy seeing the statue and the balcony. It might be corny,

it's not entirely 'authentic' but it is enjoyable and you'll probably walk away with a smile on your face.

We pass by this famous place while touring Verona. Yes, it's crowded like any other famous place but it's worth the visit. Go and have fun!

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Group 3: The 9 to 15 minutes group

Twenty-eight percent of the sample spent between nine and fifteen minutes at the location. Individuals who were tracked in this group were often in large parties of peers or family groups. They were somewhat more likely to go on a balcony tour than the previous two groups and much more likely to both take a photo of the Juliet statue and have a photo of themselves with the bronze figure. Further, some individuals in this group exhibited behaviours not seen in the previous two groups, specifically writing on the walls, kissing, adding a lock to the collection of locks around the site, and writing a letter to Juliet. Both in observing their concerted effort to push through the crowd to take photos, and listening to their verbal remarks, revealed a playful enthusiasm for creating a memorable experience. For many members of this group Juliet's house and balcony is indeed a stage for their own onsite performance. These behaviours are the epitome of the hot authentication concept. Further, this effortful co-creation of an experience with others at the site represents embodied subjective authenticity. Any concern with objective authenticity in the sense of the imputed link to the work of Shakespeare is cast aside to embrace the theme of love and romance in a more immediate and personal way. The setting serves as a prompt and prop for a personally created good time. The TripAdvisor comments illustrate the enthusiasm and the personal, subjective approach to experiencing the feeling of authenticity.

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Nice place to visit: Even though it's just a balcony, the feeling is great. To feel the love floating, all declarations of love, to see all the locks of love full of dreams and aspirations. Gives a positive feeling.

It's kind of sweet - why not... No problem with this place. If it encourages love to be shared, how can it be a bad thing? It's absolutely packed, but it is good humoured, and a sweet spot to make a romantic gesture to a loved one. Really liked seeing the most amorous and adventurous of souls expressing their love by climbing the gate to place a padlock as high as possible - gets a good cheer. Good fun.

The courtyard and balcony make for a romantic and beautiful setting. It is very Italian. Come early if you want a picture of yourself & friends in the courtyard. If you come later in the day, the courtyard will be packed with hundreds of tourists. Still come for a visit though, as the balcony is on the 2nd story and is always visible above the sea of masses. My wife and I locked our love there with a padlock we signed and brought from home. At the youth hostel later that night, we were talking with Hans, a biker from Belgium. When I told him my wife thought my gesture to lock our love was sweet, but that the Casa di Giulietta was not a real place, he responded that romance is a choice, and that makes it real. For romantics and all

teen-aged girls choosing to write and leave real love notes on the wall, remember to bring sticky paper & a pen.

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Group 4: The extended time group; 30 minutes or more.

Ten percent of the sample spent 30 minutes or more at the attraction; the longest time recorded was 55 minutes. Participants in this group took the tour of Juliet's house so one part of their visit time was involved in inspecting the costumes and rooms inside Juliet's house. Only one participant in all the other groups took this tour. The time taken by members of this group also included taking photographs with the statue and writing letters to be answered by "Juliet's secretaries"; a service provided by the commercial interests operating the tour at the site. An interest in history and architecture and an apparently richer personal capital in the sense of knowing about the Romeo and Juliet story and its use by Shakespeare characterised this group.   TripAdvisor comments from members of this small number of visitors tended to recognise the emergent authenticity of the attraction, but also embraced the site through embodied subjective authenticity. The researchers often used the entrance way to the house as a useful and unobtrusive position while recording the movement of tourists in the piazza. In this location many comments were heard which had the style of tourists seeking to make the most of their visit and see as much of the story and its associated objects as possible. These conversations were reinforced by a number of TripAdvisor reports from the longer stay tourists.

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Love is in the air. A must see for all the lovers in the world. Is it a story, did it actually happen? In any case a beautiful place to visit and enjoy. The outside is like in the play, a balcony in a court yard. The museum is also a nice place to visit.

While in Verona, if you're a lover of history or literature a visit to Casa Di Giulietta is an absolute must. Located in the centre of the city visitors can take photos of themselves beside a statue of Juliet touching her right breast for good luck in the courtyard, then explore her home and pose on the famous balcony an entry fee of about €5. (Make sure there is someone in the courtyard to take your photo, if you want to capture the view from below!) Romantics can be prepared by mailing a letter to which the Secretaries of Juliet will respond and by attaching a padlock to a fence in the courtyard.

"Better than expected"...You can then get "the picture" of your wife/husband/partner/lover on the balcony giving you a kiss and shouting those famous words... It doesn't really matter if it was actually the balcony or the house, it's what your imagination can give you. Definitely worth doing when in Verona.

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CONCLUSION

This study marries the work on understanding the origins of romantic love and the kinds of capital which tourists bring to a site. By interrelating these ideas, the researchers attempted to

understand the continuing relevance and power of the concept of authenticity. The focus on a specific and world famous tourist site, and the use of empirical evidence, both through observing tourists and reviewing their comments, prompts the researchers to suggest that tourists view authenticity in a number of distinctive ways.

In the language of cultural and personal capital used in this study, the time-based groups varied in their cultural and personal capital when visiting the location. For those who left the site very quickly, it appeared that they had no personal capital about the site. They were altogether unprepared for the crowds, and the creation of the commercial opportunities afforded by the link to Shakespeare's play. They repeatedly saw the site as fake and commercialised and reiterated the theme that it was not objectively tied to the famous play. For the three to five minute tourists, it was apparent that the visit consisted of a desire to "tick off" the site, simply because it was famous. Indeed, the promotion of Verona as the city of love and the "must do" theme echoed in their commentaries, reinforce the view that they did hold personal capital about the site and wanted to ensure they had achieved their goal of being there. Emergent authenticity, the fame of the site, may have outstretched its appeal for some members of this group, but many responded positively to the chance to be in the location. The largest group of tourists made active choices to celebrate the features of the site, even when they possibly recognised its lack of objective authenticity. They did appear to understand the limitations of the site and often brought some advanced cultural capital to assist their gaze and behaviours. Many of the members of this group noted their own study of the play and even their degrees as English majors. Comments about the historical continuity of the Italian families who had lived at the site and the architectural embellishments of the piazza were positive. It was notable that this group, who favoured creating their own good time while on stage in this tourist setting, were typically assisted by the fellowship of others. In a close parallel to the work of Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010), the results of this part of the investigation highlighted that embodied subjective authenticity was valuable as a way to understand the fictional place. The longest stay tourists, those who spent at least 30 minutes, indicated that they built upon and sought detailed information about the story, the period and the architecture of the times. They were informed about the site and the myth, and relished the opportunity to build their cultural capital further even though at times their personal knowledge of the management and presentation of the location resulted in their being surprised at the crowds and behaviours. It can be suggested that the long stay tourists were also experiencing the site through embodied subjective authenticity but in a more thorough and slow paced version of this designation than those who stay for less than a quarter of an hour (cf. Baerenholdt et al., 2004).

This kind of work, together with other recent writing on authenticity, argues that broad and sweeping generalisations about authenticity, alienation and what motivates tourists are inadequate, and fail to capture the variety amongst tourists and their reactions to the settings they visit (Buchmann, Moore & Fisher, 2010; Pearce, 2011). Further, the style of work conducted here builds on the recent analysis by Rickly-Boyd (2012, 2013a, 2013b) both in re-asserting the importance of place, the value of relating to others on-site, and offering the view that types of authenticity matter differently to varied groups of tourists (see also Cohen, 1988; Wang, 1999: 366). The value of case studies, and here just one case in one country, lies in retiring any uniform view of tourists and authenticity - a perspective which recalls the new subtlety in related tourist research areas such as emotion and experience design (Fesenmaier & Xiang, 2016; Pearce & Zare, 2017). By applying diverse versions of authenticity in the study,

the researchers reject the view that the authenticity concept should be abandoned as unworkable in tourist studies (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006).

At the start of this study of Juliet's balcony, the question was posed as to whether tourists can realise a desired state of mind; that is through their behaviours build an authentic memorable visit linked to feelings of love and romance. The answer to this query does vary with the cultural and personal capital of the tourists, but the study permits an affirmative assertion that it is possible for engaged and enthusiastic visitors to manufacture desirable experiences by their own activities. Viewed in this way, the contemporary study of authenticity must continue to perceive tourists as active designers of their authentic experience, not passive consumers who can be simply assigned to etic categories articulated by omniscient researchers.

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