



# Two Fountains and a Changing Waterscape in Rural Greece

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**Abstract:** Water's role in shaping human societies, economies, and cultures extends beyond its status as a natural resource. This water quality, the entanglement of the social and natural, constructs the waterscape. This paper discusses how a community fountain and its replica, in a rural community of Greece, constructed by different agents with divergent motivations and objective, form a waterscape, expressing the socionature of water. Perceptions, imaginaries, values, and connotations are considered in the making and (dis)continuity of the waterscape. Community practices, social and cultural meanings, economy, commodification, collective work, privatisation, memory, and nostalgia are schemes that flow within the waterscape, over time. Flows and uses, livability, and emotions display diverse patterns of sense of rootedness on the community space.

**Keywords:** bottled water; traditional fountain; landscape; waterworld; soundscape; nostalgia; rural community; local identity; socionature

## 1. Introduction

Water is more than a natural resource or a landscape component. It is a fundamental element that shapes human societies and cultures, space and emotions, across time [1–8]. From the Amazon River to the Mississippi River, from lakes to oceans and wetlands, water is a source of life and a symbol of spirituality, power, local identity, and expression. As Wateau [9] notes and Balestero [10] punctuates, water is peculiar in its semiotic, historic, political, and material dimensions. It bears physical and social elements that are intertwined together [11,12]. It is a physical resource that integrates social and cultural qualities, creating a content that encompasses human actions, functions, performances, and formations. Water is interpreted through various lenses—art and literature, religion, history, policy, kinship, territory, health, economy, gender—and considered an important global or local issue, an object, a means of social and cultural performance, a total social fact [13–23].

Socionature structures everyday reality and employs imaginaries of the water. For example, access to water resources is the precondition for the development of certain activities, such as agriculture or the establishment of a water bottling industry, which in turn influence social structures, hierarchies, governance, and institutions, and influenced by them. Water may be perceived as a vehicle, or even a strategy for the establishment of governance systems and institutions. It has a substantial impact on shaping social identity and values. Water management and allocation decisions could be used as a tool for power-sharing or political control, particularly in settings where water resources are scarce or unevenly distributed.

The physical and conceptual space in which water embodies these qualities alludes to the waterscape [24–26]. The term “waterscape” is employed to encompass the social aspects of human interactions and connections with water. Waterscape is shaped by cultural beliefs, values, meanings, performances, practices, and perceptions about purity, access, property, control, asset, democracy, care, and justice related to water. The waterscape is characterised by its fluid dynamics, continuously evolving in response to social, economic,



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and environmental properties. It encompasses more than just a defined area or territory where water holds significance, it dominates over land; rather, it is intricately intertwined with and influenced by social, cultural, political, and historical processes [25–28].

Water, an essential social fact, holds profound symbolic power and serves as a rich source of inspiration that outlines discourses about identity [29] and rights. Acknowledging the significance of water, this work explores intersecting themes such as sensory experiences, perceptions, social meanings, remembrance, the emergence, and the change in a waterscape. It investigates how the local community interprets water, both in material and metaphorical terms, examines how the fluidity of water within the “grounded” building skin of the fountain, and contributes to the construction of social meaning and identity.

This paper is concerned with the social, political, economic, and cultural properties of two fountains in a rural community, in the region of Peloponnese, in Greece. The first fountain, the original, is situated in a village square, while the second fountain, the replica, is located beside the industrial plants of a water bottling company. This work is driven by the research of Fontein [30], Krause and Strang [22], Linton [31], Cook et al. [32], and Strang [25] and concerns the multifaceted meanings of water. It acknowledges that the provision of water is influenced by perceptions of both the natural and social environment, as discussed by Swyngedouw [33], Anand [34,35], and Ramakrishnan et al. [36]. It recognises the fountain as a water infrastructure composed of both social and material elements [37,38].

The conceptual frameworks of “water cultures” as delineated by Bakker [39], Bijker [40], and Zwarteveen [41], and the conceptualisation of “waterworld” articulated by Hastrup [6], Orlove and Caton [24], and Barnes and Alatout [42] instruct this essay. The employed conceptual framing approach provides insights into the sociocultural, environmental, and economic dimensions of the fountains, their underlying metaphors, and organisational structures.

The paper addresses nostalgia, a powerful and pervasive emotion, triggered by traditional artefacts and vernacular architecture, which serve as a potent reminder of past rural experiences and connections. Nostalgia is a complex and multifaceted emotion that holds great significance for individuals and communities alike and it is influenced by social and political factors, technology, and economy, and alters the perceptions of the world [43].

This study investigates the ways in which consumers of a particular brand of bottled water engage with the replica fountain by immersing themselves in memories. A water-bottling industry builds a fountain (replica of the community fountain) and this changing waterscape embodies the ethics and the process of commodification, which are subtly imposed, exploiting historical remembrance of the rural community. The changing waterscape is ingrained in people’s memories and the feeling of nostalgia. The fountain acts as a catalyst for reminiscing and reconstructing a bygone era and the inception of a new pattern. It is discussed the symbolic representation of the (in)compatibility among water, collective action, and cultural circulation. The paper delves into the social significance and values attributed to both fountains and the waterscape.

## 2. Landscape and Waterscape

The landscape could be perceived as a discourse structure produced by locals, nature, institutions, their representations, and their interconnectedness in a place. It denotes an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the outcome of the action and interaction of natural and social systems according to European legislation [44]. Menatti and Casado [45] argue that landscape is a process of interaction between the environment and the perceiver(s) of a place. This interaction establishes connections and networks of relationships between them and is defined by natural and cultural elements. Ingold [46] challenges the common perception of landscape as a passive backdrop or a symbolic arrangement and he introduces the concept of the ‘dwelling perspective’, emphasising the interconnectedness of humans and their surroundings. In Ingoldian landscapes, human activities and environmental qualities are seen as interconnected and mutually constitutive. Rather than viewing landscapes as passive backdrops or resources to be exploited, Ingold highlights the active

participation of humans in shaping and being shaped by their surroundings. He emphasises embodied skills and sensory perception in agents' engagements with the environment. Kyvelou and Gourgiotis [47] note that landscapes are dynamic and complex socioecological systems that encompass natural and cultural heritage. Berkes and Folke [48] define socioecological systems as complex, integrated systems in which humans are a part of nature, and their key elements often interact in unsystematic, unforeseeable, and impulsive ways. These interdependencies are of particular importance as they stipulate the patterns of feedback and landscape's evolution. Landscape should be comprehended not only in terms of its intrinsic natural elements but also by understanding the spectrum of human activities and perceptions that frame and influence its configuration [49,50]. Cosgrove [51] states that landscapes are the outcomes or consequences, the states of affairs brought about by interactions between social and ecological components within a specific place, highlighting the inseparability of landscapes from their historical, cultural, and economic contexts. Specifically, landscapes are not isolated entities but are deeply embedded within social, cultural, and economic processes, reflecting the interactions and transformations that occur within time and place. This perspective recognises that landscapes are not static but constantly evolving and influenced by various factors. Daniel [52] highlights the key attributes that define landscapes: architecture and technology, social perception, and cognitive constructs. These attributes play a crucial role in shaping the comprehension and interpretation of landscapes by individuals and communities. Daniel's approach focuses on the social and cognitive processes by which the landscape is perceived and imbued with significance.

In a similar vein, the concept of waterscape embraces the interconnectedness of water and society. Like landscapes, waterscapes are shaped by dynamic processes of interactions between water and human action and task. The term "waterscape" highlights the significance of water as a defining feature of a particular environment and the social, cultural, and economic practices that revolve around it. By considering the qualities of water for nature and society, the concept of waterscape is the nexus between them, recognising the integral role of water in shaping human societies, cultures, and space and vice versa. It underscores the need to understand interconnectedness and mutual dependence between water resources, sociocultural practices, and the broader socioecological system in which water resources are located.

Aristotle (4th century B.C.E.) argued that it is extremely difficult to decipher "what is a place". Likewise, unravelling the complexities of a waterscape proves to be a formidable and demanding endeavour. It could be argued that waterscape is the ambience or the aura of a place that is inspired by the presence of water in a certain social–ecological context. It is the energy field of agents, cognitive schemes, political institutions, economic priorities, social structures, cultural norms, heritage, perceptions, emotions, and senses that envelops water and its ground, lake, river, swamp, or fountain. It is the ambience which is moulded by and exerted upon nature (the materiality of water and the natural environment beyond humans), society (community and identity, culture, tradition, heritage), history and time (collective memory, nostalgia), morality (modes and moods of people's behaviour and human rights), policy (governance, institutions), and economy (asset, production, consumption, profit). The waterscape has a multifaceted character, like its ingredient, water. The actions enacted upon it encompass not only the physical limits of the water but also the diverse conceptualisations and conceptions ascribed to it by the subjects involved with it.

The term waterscape originated from the idea that nature, in the form of water, and society are intertwined and form socionature. The concept of socionature recognises the interdependence between social and ecological processes, illustrating how they mutually shape and impact one another, in diverse and intricate ways. It challenges the notion of a strict divide between society and water, acknowledging that human activities and social systems have ecological consequences, while ecological changes have social implications. Time and space shape water and its bodies and the expressions of it, while culture and geography disclose its power and limitations [33,53–57]. For example, the construction of dams,

canals, and irrigation systems has often been driven by political and economic interests, leading to displacement of communities and ecological damage. Waterscape can also be a place of resistance and social change. Women have played a crucial role in managing water resources in many societies, challenging patriarchal norms, and empowering themselves. Indigenous communities have fought for the recognition of their rights to water and land, asserting their sovereignty and cultural identity. The term waterscape entails social, economic, political, and ecological arrangements [58,59], and overall, it highlights how water evolves space [24,60] and tasks. Waterscape is not viewed as a rigid and all-encompassing concept, but rather as a framework [57] that enables scholars to express the central question of how nature, society, and imaginary are formed by water and form the water action.

### 3. Materials and Methods

To explore waterscape, a conceptual framing approach and on-the-ground research have been applied. The adopted conceptual framing approach goes beyond relying solely on the case study, as it incorporates the assimilation and synthesis of concepts, such as waterworld and local identity. By integrating these concepts, a contextualised understanding of the role of the fountains in the societal context is developed. In that sense, this paper builds on concepts of waterworld and waterscape that are developed and discussed through the fieldwork and their interpretation within a specific local context. The paper describes the function of the water fountains and their emerging world. It tries to identify the waterworld by disclosing antecedents and the social cognitive process.

The study area is situated in the region of Peloponnese, which is a part of West Greece (Figure 1). The village, nestled between the town of Aigio and the village of Diakofto, is the home to the two fountains, under investigation. The village has a population of 575 inhabitants, which doubles during the summer months due to an influx of seasonal residents or visitors.



**Figure 1.** The study area. Source: <https://earth.google.com/web> (accessed on 7 August 2023).

Applying on-the-ground research, the data are gathered directly within the community or the waterworld of the fountains. Periods of time were spent in the community and interviews were conducted with locals to comprehend their views, beliefs, values, and experiences. The authors engaged with the locals, and observed their behaviours, practices, interactions, and discourses in their social environment. The research was carried out in two phases. The initial round of interviews unfolded in the months of July and August, during the summer vacation period in Greece, in both 2017 and 2018, a period predating the upheaval of the COVID-19 crisis. Subsequently, with an acute awareness of potential shifts in perceptions, we embarked on a follow-up study in July and August of 2019 and 2020. There have been no shifts or transformations in the perceptions of the fountains and waterworld during these two phases. A total of 80 participants, consisting of 35 users

of the replica fountain and 45 residents and visitors who sought solace near the original fountain in the village square, offer their voices, attitudes, and perceptions to this study. Few respondents expressed reticence to be explicitly quoted or recorded. The waterscape of the replica fountain did not permit the safe recording due to the noise by the passing vehicles. Notes were therefore taken by hand and later transcribed.

The interviews were unstructured, but a “roadmap of questions” was developed (Appendix A). The aim in developing this map was to help the researchers to explore and perceive the connections between individuals and the community, the sense of place, emotions, and the imaginaries that emerge, synthesise, and define the waterscape(s). We engaged in informal conversations with the locals in the village, emphasising the conception of the fountains from the perspective of the interlocutors. Although several questions may appear similar, this intentional repetition facilitated a comparative analysis of responses. This enabled us to discern the varied views and attitudes of the interlocutors and ensured reliability and in-depth comprehension. The interviews usually start with “why do you visit this fountain” or “how do you decide whether to use a drinking water fountain” for the users of replica fountain and for those resting on the village square “if they have noticed the fountain in the square”. A common question for both fountains was “can you share any story or experience related to water fountain”. Storytelling was implied as a method of data collection. Narratives shared by individuals unveil insights into social norms, values, and practices. This practice stands as one of the means of transmitting information, knowledge, norms, codes, and values.

In adherence to ethical standards, obtaining informed consent from all interlocutors was imperative to safeguard their privacy and prevent the inadvertent disclosure of their identities. Additionally, refraining from providing precise location details was a deliberate measure taken to uphold the safety of the research interlocutors and to maintain ethical standards.

### 3.1. The Original Fountain

The waterscape formed by a fountain has received little attention due to its smaller scale in comparison to those formed by larger volumes of water, such as lakes or rivers. However, its socioculture engenders a vibrant mosaic of experiences, sensory perceptions, social behaviours, and actions, which are intimately centred on or permeated with water. Fountains can be found in a wide range of contexts, from public parks and plazas to private gardens and estates and are often appreciated for their cultural qualities, together with their functional uses, providing a source of drinking water or cooling the surrounding environment. Fountains are associated with specific historical periods and architectural styles, or they may be used in religious or ceremonial contexts. In ceremonial representations, they may be associated with specific deities or spiritual beings, serving as objects for prayer, meditation, or offerings. Fountains function as a meeting point or place of gathering and may be the site of public events, festivals, or performances. “Fountains are like hangout spots where you meet up with friends and relatives and become the scene for part festivals, and gatherings”, stated a middle-aged man. They hold symbolic meaning and social value beyond their vibrant appearance in various cultures, often representing purity, renewal, the life-giving properties of water, identity, and sense of belonging and place.

Throughout Greek history, fountains were of great importance, serving utilitarian and symbolic–religious, social, economic, and political purposes, coupled with the everydayness, functional, and mundane tasks. They were deeply embedded in the social fabric of the community. In Greek mythology, fountains were imbued with symbolic and religious significance. In “The Odyssey”, Odysseus offered sacrifices to Naiades, the nymphs of rivers, streams, lakes, marshes, fountains and springs, and daughters of Zeus.

These mythological narratives and their cultural impact persisted in the agrarian communities of Greece until the early 20th century. Imaginary beings associated with water and fountains have served as vehicles for societies to express their beliefs, values, and cultural narratives about water and its natural and supernatural power.

Historical records, such as Pausanias' writings, from the 2nd century B.C.E., accentuate the association between a fountain's presence and the idea of community and its meaning. According to Pausanias, the establishment of a fountain at the heart of a cluster of dwellings symbolised its transformation into a cohesive community. Fountains were social spaces, serving as gathering points and fostering a sense of community, *"a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to being together"* [61]. For millennia, communities in Greece engage with fountains in a myriad ways, social actions and performances informed by experiences and desires and transcend the simple act of quenching the thirst. Vase paintings from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE depict fountains as spaces for personal cleanliness and grooming, serving both men and women. Beyond hygiene, these fountains naturally became meeting places, facilitating social interactions and exchanges. Men utilised them as spaces for political or social exchanges, while women used them for their social activities and washing clothes.

During the Ottoman era, beyond a social place, fountains in the region of Peloponnese, Greece, became sites of competition between community members and water carriers known as "Sakades". Sakades were workers who loaded two sheepskins, called "sakades", onto a horse, one on each side of the animal. The owner of the horse, holding a large metal container, fills the sakades with water sourced from the fountain, and transports the contents to the neighbouring town, for sale. Restrictions were imposed on Sakades, because the fountain was built to meet the right of thirst of the local community and not for economic performances. Dedicatory inscriptions adorned the fountains, warning and prohibiting Sakades from approaching the water source. The prohibition highlights water's social character in addressing the communal needs.

The construction of a fountain in Greece was a collaborative effort, and allocation of resources such as time, funding, labour, and skills among the members of the community. It was a collective venture that bore the materiality of water, the cooperation, reciprocity, community's values, and aesthetics, forged through cultural practices and the lived experiences of everydayness. Financial support entails donating money to cover the expenses involved in hiring skilled craftsmen. The fountain reflects a sense of collective responsibility and community commitment, beyond its material manifestation.

In addition to financial support, community members also offer their labour during the construction. This deliberate involvement indicates the deep dedication of the community members and their readiness or enthusiasm to actively contribute and engage in the community's well-being. By engaging in fountain's building, the members forge bonds and strengthen their connections, fostering a sense of place and solidarity.

The community not only exerts influence on its environment through architecture but is also moulded by it. Through vernacular architecture, the community fosters a sense of belonging and reinforces its connection to its land. The active participation of community members in building and nurturing the communal space, represented by the fountain, plays a role in reinforcing their commitment to safeguarding their cultural customs and practices. The craftsmen were known for their skills, creativity, resourcefulness, and cultural knowledge. Their craftsmanship in constructing fountains, using materials from the local natural setting, showcases a blend of practicality, adaptability, and a deep-rooted connection with the community and its traditions. Craftsmen's contributions, although often uncredited by signature, were deeply embedded within the fabric of the community's collective memory and cultural heritage. As actors in the construction process, artisans and the community engage in a complex interaction where they cooperatively inspire, create, or negotiate the social legitimacy surrounding the fountain construction. This legitimacy defines the communal identity and involves repercussions for the broader social fabric [62]. Material improvements and creative expressions serve as catalysts to empower and inspire the community to develop its collective narrative and its imaginary.

The fountains in villages form public spaces, sustain a powerful manifestation and a material outcome of social processes, not merely a passive matrix, but rather a hot-spot for

exerting influence, and a tool for social control. The fountain forms a waterscape that was both a space of freedom, a meeting point for individuals of different age groups, gender, and social order, where they could exchange ideas, news, knowledge, goods, and services, and simultaneously a space of public constraint, the sphere of invent and enforcement rules, attitudes, norms, and moral codes. The fountain forms a public space, the milieu in which locals met, interacted, and collaborated, and adhered to the social and cultural codes; it forms the waterscape. An old couple remembers, *“Young girls used to go to the fountain to fetch water for their homes. This gave them the opportunity to leave the house and socialise with their peers, free from the strict gaze of their mothers. On the other hand, the young men would gather in the square to see the girls and try to strike up a conversation with them. . . and perhaps, that’s where love begins. . .”*.

Following the 1960s, the village fountain embarked on a countdown as a consequence of migration and technological progress. This era, agrarian areas experienced a gradual exodus, and the utility and societal relevance of the fountain diminished. The abandonment of the countryside and the decline of traditional living patterns played a role in the waning importance of the fountain. The evolving societal landscape and processes of modernisation brought about a change in social performances, relegating the fountain to the status of a nostalgic relic of a bygone era. However, despite its diminishing relevance, the fountain was carrying profound cultural and historical significance. It serves as a tangible reminder of a time when it held a central place in the daily lives of agrarian communities and it represents a unique blend of local history and culture, evidence of the past.

Communities attribute value to village fountains through reflections on collective memories, and this triggers reimagining. The preservation of material culture—the old fountains in rural areas—in recent years is evidence of this procedure. The involvement of expatriate Greek citizens in this revival is notable and depicts their wish to connect with their homeland and display their accomplishments in new surroundings. The funding for fountain projects often comes from individuals or families who are motivated by a desire to honour their origin, uphold religious beliefs, or enhance their reputation. The inscriptions on fountains serve as a reminder of the personal and emotional connections that people maintain with the community. In certain instances, mayors and local councils choose to undertake the repair and restoration of the fountain in alignment with their will to promote local culture. They acknowledge these fountains as meaningful sites of remembrance in the community’s history and heritage. They recognise that fountains not only preserve memories but also actively form history and culture.

In contemporary times, the community fountain has assumed various roles, serving as a gathering point, hosting celebrations, festivals (paniyiri), events, and providing a space for relaxation and reflection, particularly during the summer, when visitors flock to the village for their vacations. Moreover, it has had a positive influence on local businesses, including cafes, restaurants, and shops, which trade bottled water. In this case study, the bottled water is produced by a transnational industry operating in the area, a few kilometres away. The “dwellers” of the waterscape, ignoring the fresh flowing water from the fountain, consume the bottled water. A paradox takes place in this waterscape. *“It is the same water. . . anyway. Whether from the fountain or from the bottle, it doesn’t matter. . .”* stated a taxi driver as he was sipping his coffee.

The fountain does not quench the thirst of the community, but meets the human need for interaction, inclusion, and intimacy, fostering a culture of participation. The fountain and its flowing water contribute to the community’s vitality and liveliness. It becomes an active element that enhances the social fabric, fostering a sense of vibrancy and energy within the community. The constant movement of water in the fountain becomes a symbolic representation of the continuity of life in the village, and enhances the attractiveness of the place, drawing in visitors and potential customers. The restoration of the old fountains reveals the desire to foster community cohesion, and endorses a sense of community and place. A community feeling arises, constructing a new community narrative.

### 3.2. The Replica Fountain

A transnational beverage and water company established its production facilities near the village. As a distinctive part of infrastructure, the company constructed a fountain, adjacent to the manufacturing plants, meticulously designed to align with the local traditional architecture of fountains. The water flowing in the fountain originates from the very spring appropriated by the company for the production of bottled water and beverages.

The fountain follows the traditional pattern with a technological twist, nestled approximately 30 m from the entrance of the industrial facility, next to the main road connecting the village with the neighbouring villages. Fountains in rural Greece, made primarily of stone, are widely spread traditional constructions. However, what sets this fountain apart from others is the technology to control the water flow. A sensor positioned on top of the fountain enables water flow exclusively upon detecting movement. This apparatus significantly reduces water loss compared to conventional fountains, as water is dispensed only upon request, preventing its loss. Therefore, the fountain fosters environmental awareness, a prerequisite to environmental protection, which is implied as a value upheld by the industry, despite the known wastage of 1.39 litres of water in the production of one litre of bottled water.

Residents from the rural community and nearby villages frequently, like modern “Sakades”, drive to the fountain to fill the plastic bottles that often bear the branding of the company, having been previously acquired from local markets. The community has access to safe and affordable tap water through the municipal network supplied by a similar water source. The tap water meets safety standards, which ensures that there is no water quality or quantity anxiety. It is described as safe and cheap. *“Yes, of course, we have water in our homes. It’s good, and we don’t have to pay much for it to the municipality. . .”*. Considering these qualities, the decision by the multinational water-bottling company to replicate the traditional fountain, offering water for free, neither serves a practical purpose nor provides any additional benefit to the locals.

However, the fountain’s popularity stems from its association with the industry brand name, and not with the water source, and its aptitude to summon memories and sentimental associations to its “clients”. The fountain exemplifies the integration of heritage into the contemporary view; the transnational entity values and upholds local culture coupled with water protection. The incorporation of sensor technology in the traditional fountain prevents water loss. The sensor technology which monitors the water flow and adjusts it according to demand achieves the optimal use of the water. This aims to protect the water and aligns with environmental consciousness, but neither consumers nor the company embraces it. The company produces bottled water, which is an unsustainable paradox [63–66] and this paradox is approved and consumed as well. The empty labelled bottles used by the locals sustain the paradox of bottled water.

This fountain presents the potential of amalgamating traditional architectural elements with modern advancements, attesting to aesthetic allure, cultural heritage, and a disingenuous environmental care. It is a fusion of traditional architecture, modern technology, and water governance according to market principles. It reveals and simultaneously obscures the tangible nature of the industrial infrastructure while portrays the established economic system and the property status of water that emerge from and is empowered by the market rules.

The fountain as a decorative element generates an experience that enhances the aesthetics of the local tradition and serves as an emblem of the industrial complex, while having the power of remembrance: emotions and recalls personal and collective histories. It functions as a visual stimulus of the company’s core business and the importance of water in its production processes. It is the nexus of culture, environment, and economy; it is the materialisation of the hydro-reality, the waterworld constructed by the industry for the locals.

The blending of the old and the new not only enhances its visual attractiveness and evokes memories, but also demonstrates a conscientious and smooth approach towards the imposition of industrial presence, and water possession. The fountain signifies the



commodification of water, its transformation into a commodity. The concept of the commodity, as originally defined by Marx [67] characterises the capitalist mode of production. Capitalist commodification processes presuppose the existence of private property, that is, the private property right to exchange products in the market, and therefore commodities are produced for exchange rather than for the direct use of the producers themselves. This means that goods and services are primarily produced as commodities to be sold on the market, to generate surplus, value, and profit. Harvey [68] builds on Marx's framework of primitive accumulation to highlight how capital responds to a crisis of over-accumulation. This is certainly pertinent to understanding the dynamics of water commodification. The concept of "accumulation by dispossession" involves the strategy of making previously uncommodified or inaccessible assets, such as water, available in the market at little or no cost, opening up profit opportunities [69]. The water is commodified by taking the scheme of the bottle and is exchanged in the market. The concept of "accumulation by dispossession" refers to the idea that certain groups or entities accumulate wealth and power through the dispossession or loss of assets and resources from others, often with little or no compensation [68,69]. The provision of free water from the fountain can be perceived as a form of recompense for the dispossession of the water source. The paradoxical act of offering free water on the premises of the factory is in line with the overarching strategy of acquiring and monopolising water for profit generation, through the sale of bottled water.

The consumption of bottled water prompts individuals to perceive water as a commodity contributing to the gradual corporate domination of water resources [63,70]. The fountain is a corporate narrative that establishes a nexus between the company's brand and the provision of clean and refreshing water and reinforces the company's role as a provider of high-quality drinking water. The corporate narrative reflects the capitalist perception of water, emphasising its purity and distinctiveness as guaranteed by the company. The transnational company is depicted as an operational entity that fosters innovation and environmental stewardship and upholds local culture, while shapes public perceptions regarding water resources governance and emphasises the ceding of their "possession" in a market setting. In addition, it has the potential to exert influence and mould individual perceptions regarding the quality, the distinctive nature of water.

The fountain's symbolism holds significant political connotations, highlighting the role of the private sector in environmental governance and the limited state/community intervention in driving environmental stewardship and social-ecological wealth.

The presence of the fountain in the company's facility underscores the significance of water as a valuable economic resource, one that is subsequently transformed into a marketable product in the form of bottled water. It brings attention to the industrial processes entailed in converting a natural element into a tradable commodity. It establishes a linkage between the prevailing economic and political framework, guided by the industry's objectives and the emotional life and heritage of the local community.

### 3.3. *The Waterscape*

Waterscape could be perceived as the space that involves the reciprocation between community and water within a particular social-ecological context. It is a space that evokes feelings of connectivity and emotional engagement [71]. It provides the setting in which individuals interact with, interpret, and make sense of their past and present experiences in a constantly shifting surrounding [72]. Cognitive schemes and social bonds engage in a continuous dialogue with the water, both consciously and unconsciously.

The original fountain is at the epicentre of the community, both geographically and relationally. Locals, as key agents, play a significant role in shaping and perceiving the character of the waterscape. Their interactions with the fountain, their social practices, and the oral history, social, cultural, and religious traditions around it, leave an imprint on the waterscape. Local knowledge, ethics, and beliefs form the waterscape and value it. This waterscape served as a vital place where social practices, behaviours, and policies, together with imagination, performances, and attitudes, were created, experienced, and

interpreted according to community vision and aspiration. The fountain was more than a mere decorative structure; it was an essential component of the community's social fabric. It was built and functioned by the community's energy, perspective, and imagination; it was a collaborative endeavour. Water social practices and structures shape the overall character and ambience of the social edifice and refer to formal and informal institutions and social interactions within the waterscape.

In the replica, the social interactions are constrained. The fountain, primarily constructed for marketing purposes, lacks the capacity to facilitate the community's energy or foster social engagement. The primary objective is to promote the company's assets, and portray its socially and environmentally amicable facade, emphasising water governance. The fountain built by the company serves as a passive object imposed by the industry and does not function as an active platform for interpersonal interaction.

In the village square, the communal water infrastructure serves as more than a convenient source of water. The fountain in the village square holds symbolic significance, representing the unity and identity of the rural community. It does not just stand for offering potable water but mainly serves as a focal point for cultural, political, and social interactions. The community-owned fountain formed a meeting point for the locals, where they instinctively engage in spontaneous participation in various forms of exchange, fostering reciprocal relations and connections. The fountain functioned as a hub for the flow and dissemination of cultural, political, and social performances and initiatives, shared traditions, stories, local knowledge, social values, and norms. The praxis of the right of thirst was intertwined with the active involvement in public affairs and decision-making processes. The fountain encompasses various forms of engagement, such as voting, public meetings, local festivals, and voicing opinions on social and political issues. Moreover, the active participation of community members nurtured a shared sense of collective responsibility amidst the soothing sounds of flowing water, the gentle rustling of trees, the sounds of birds, and the presence of passing animals—stray cats and dogs—quenching their thirst. The fountain, collectively constructed and preserved by the local community, functions as a common property resource, and symbolises their deep attachment to the community. This communal approach to water governance not only ensures access to a crucial resource but also reinforces social bonds and enhances cohesion among the locals.

The replica fountain has emerged amidst the water industry plants and the road. While the locals meet their need for "magic water" [66], they show no inclination to engage in social interactions. They prioritise the materialistic flowing character of the water, focusing on its utilitarian value over interpersonal relationships and community engagement. They are absorbed in their thoughts, preoccupied with personal affairs, or simply prefer privacy. The act of collecting water at this fountain resembles a typical consumerist practice. Locals stop by the fountain solely to replenish their plastic water bottles, driven by the influence of advertisements that promote the water as "pure" and "naturally superior". Their engagement with the surrounding environment, both natural and social, remains limited, lacking further active involvement.

"We believe that this water is healthier than our tap water" is the common response among users of this fountain. The appeal for accessing and consuming water from this fountain is driven by the belief that this water promotes hygiene or well-being. Tap water is being ignored in favour of water from this fountain, and this perception is being attributed to marketing practices that influence consumer preferences. They consider themselves fortunate to have access to this highly esteemed water without cost, while others have to purchase it. "... It is the most famous water all over Greece and we are fortunate that we can have it for free, while others have to pay for it." Marketing has played a crucial role in generating demand and persuading customers of the excellence of the product, the water. The company has a strong brand identity and has established long-term customer relationships by forming consumer preferences, and behaviours.

While individuals often jest about their practice of fetching water from the fountain, they are prompt to emphasise that this practice bears no relation to the village fountain or their communal traditions. “. . .In the age of our grandparents and even parents, the fountain was a place of socializing and social bonding, where people would come together and enjoy each other’s company. Now, however, it is more of a utilitarian experience; we come, fill our containers with water, and leave after exchanging only a few words”.

Locals who retrieve water from this fountain lack social connections, or a sense of familiarity with one another. Although they may briefly encounter each other during their visits to the fountain, their interactions tend to be short-lived and superficial. Furthermore, locals note that the fountain’s location adjacent to a busy road, with noise emanating from passing vehicles, does not facilitate meaningful social exchanges. The perception of the water (labelled) scape is indicative of water’s transformation into a commodity rather than a shared experience. Waterscape-making extends beyond the mere construction of physical spaces; it involves the intricate act of imbuing them with meaning and forging a sense of identity [73]. In the changing waterscape, the fountain is a source of natural elements (water), an asset of the company, and the “product” is being accessed and appropriated under the “supervision” of the company. This waterscape is formed according to the company’s view (economic perspective) over water, disregarding social realities. Once the fountain was considered a common property resource, now it is a company’s asset. Once revered as a communal and collective experience, the fountain has now transformed into an initiative driven by corporate interests and innovation. What was once seen as a space of shared memories and social imagination has now evolved into a consumption-oriented environment that appropriates nostalgia and memory.

Furthermore, sound and space maintain a reciprocal relationship, exerting mutual influence and collectively forming a comprehensive and immersive experience. The qualities of the space shape the nature of the sounds within it, while the sounds themselves are influenced by the specific characteristics of the space [73–79]. Sound is part of the affective and aesthetic properties of the waterscape, and it profoundly influences how the waterscape is experienced sensually. The interplay between sound and space shapes the perception and engagement with the waterscape, influences thoughts, emotions, and behaviours, and facilitates the interaction with the environment in a meaningful way. In the construction of community’s identity, individuals are influenced not exclusively by their social and cultural surroundings, but also by their material encounters and senses [80]. Feld [74] points out that “*place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place*”. According to Ingold [81], sound should not be confined to a mental or material dimension. Instead, it should be understood as a medium of perception and an immersive phenomenon of experience. Sound extends beyond mere auditory perception and becomes a comprehensive, multisensory experience. It encompasses a wide range of sensory experiences that contribute to our holistic understanding of the environment around us. Sound transcends the act of hearing alone and becomes an integral component of our holistic perception of the world [73]. All sounds are related to the total apperception of the waterscape even if they occur completely randomly and independently [82].

The proximity of the fountain to the road, where the sound—as noise—generated by passing vehicles, disrupts individuals, has significantly influenced the perception of the waterscape, rendering it an unfavourable space for social interaction. The disruptive effects of vehicular noise on the sensory environment have significant implications for individuals’ perception and engagement with public space, leading to a decline in its attractiveness for social interactions. The intrusive sound of engines from trucks or agricultural machinery is the aural manifestation of the dominant presence of vehicles within this waterscape. Almost all the interlocutors noticed that “*this isn’t the ideal location for a conversation, as there’s too much noise from passing cars*”.

Excessive noise, particularly from vehicular sources, adversely affects human well-being and health, leading to increased stress levels and decreased cognitive function [83,84]. In the context of public spaces, the disruptive nature of vehicles hampers effective com-

munication and diminishes the inclination to frequent these places, thereby leading to a decline in social interaction and engagement. When there is a constant flow of noise from passing vehicles, it becomes challenging to discern spoken words or even concentrate on a conversation. This can lead to miscommunication or the need for repetitive exchanges, which can be frustrating. The loud vehicular noise can divert attention away from conversations or important information and disrupts the flow of communication by causing individuals to lose focus or become preoccupied with the noise itself. This distraction can result in fragmented or incomplete conversations. In noisy environments, nonverbal communication such as facial expressions and body language become less discernible. The background noise masks subtle nonverbal signals, making it difficult for individuals to accurately interpret the intentions or emotions of others. When sound becomes unwelcome, unpleasant, or disruptive, it generates a dissonance that fragments social cohesion and undermines the shared experiences that bind people together [85].

In the original waterscape, there is a symphony of sounds, from the sound of running water and the gentle rustling of leaves in the breeze to the rhythmic footsteps of passersby, a never-ending sound of life. The sounds of animals passing by, whether it is the fluttering of wings or the patter of paws, add to the rich tapestry of sounds that make up the waterscape. The voices and chants of locals, whether in conversation or song, are a reminder of the culture of the community. And during times of celebration, the traditional music of the festival (paniyiri) fills the air with a melody that brings people together. Sound creates a sense of belonging and community, bringing people together in common experiences, perception, cognition, and emotions acting as a unifying social element. All these sounds, both natural and human, create a unique and vibrant atmosphere that is a manifestation of the multifaceted character of the waterscape. *“At the paniyiri, held in the village square, near the fountain, the community experiences a renaissance. Every year on the same date, we convene to exchange updates, reconnect, and reminisce about the things that bind us together”* a circle of friends stated. And young boys and girls mentioned *“When we have panigyri, many people from the surrounding villages gather as well. It’s like a celebration for everyone. And often, we reminisce about our grandparents’ own paniyiri, and their storytelling, right next to the fountain, as we follow the same steps in the traditional dances, in accordance with the local music”*. Nevertheless, the fountain in the village square is a palimpsest, a structure that retains visible or perceptible traces or layers of community narratives and experiences a cycle of flourishing, decline, and flourishing once again. It carries the imprints of its past and it contains multiple layers of meaning or influence under the sound of flowing water. Tuan [86] argues that places are *“centres of meaning constructed out of lived experience”* and through time are perceived significant to the lives of the people [87]. The (water)place becomes soaked by social meanings, constructed by lived experience, and are transformed into a waterscape just like Pausanias noted. The village fountain bears locals’ experiences and practices intertwined with culture, heritage, and tradition. Place transcends its physical coordinates, and this waterscape embodies a dynamic cultural process shaped by social performance, ethics, and weaving of narratives. Oral history of the place, personal or family stories, and collective memories are embodied in the water flow from the fountain.

#### 4. Results

In the agrarian community, the village fountain was a symbol of the community’s identity and culture. Its significance extended beyond its practical purpose, as it fostered a sense of belonging and wove a narrative that defined roles, practices, and norms

However, as piped water systems gradually replaced traditional fountains, and the agrarian population dwindled due to urbanisation, the importance of the village fountain began to wane. The changing waterscape mirrored the evolving social landscape, shaped by modernisation. The recent years, a replica fountain was erected, albeit in an incongruent setting next to industrial facilities. Unlike its predecessor, this new fountain lacked the social meaning and relevance that once bonded the community. Instead, it appeared as an imposition from economic dominance and water governance, disconnected from the

social context and cultural values. The replica fountain, however, tapped into a powerful force—nostalgia. It evoked emotions and sentiments associated with the desire to relive the sense of community and belonging from the bygone era. Marketing often appropriates this nostalgia in promoting products—bottled water is one of them—influencing consumer preferences. Yet, beneath the facade of nostalgia, power dynamics are at play. The multinational company behind the replica fountain utilised it as a vehicle to manage and shape people’s preferences regarding drinking water and water governance.

Users of the new fountain expressed a profound sense of loss for the simpler times when life revolved around close-knit relationships. Articulating this sense of loss became a way of acknowledging the undeniable changes in both social structures and the environment over time.

The story of the village fountain is a testament of the complex waterworld, the interaction among culture, history, and economy. It serves as a reminder that seemingly benign symbols can hold immense influence, reflecting the complexities of economic arrangements.

Table 1 provides a comparison of the waterworld of both the traditional and the replicated fountain.

**Table 1.** Waterworld properties of the traditional and the replica fountains.

Properties	Traditional Fountain	Replica Fountain
Water Source	Utilised natural springs and local water sources	Utilises the same spring appropriated by the company
Location	Utilised natural springs and local water sources	Utilises the same spring appropriated by the company
Social Functions	Found in various contexts	Located adjacent to the company’s manufacturing plants
Social Interaction	Facilitates community interaction and social bonding	Limited social connections and superficial interactions
Historical and Cultural Significance	Deeply embedded in history and local tradition	Emphasises the industry’s activities and environmental values
Construction	Deeply embedded in Greek tradition, built by the community	Deeply embedded in Greek tradition, built by the company with sensor technology for water control
Water Usage	Served the local community’s needs for drinking water (in agrarian period)	Provides water for free, promoting the brand of the bottled water
Symbolism	Represents renewal, life-giving properties of water, unity, identity, and cultural heritage; water as a commons	Symbolises the commodification of water; emphasises the industry’s brand and environmental awareness
Social Impact	Fostered community cohesion and narrative	Illustrates the industry’s economic control over water resources
Environmental Awareness	Not explicitly focused on environmental aspects	Includes technology (sensor) to minimise water loss
Cultural Heritage	Reflects the local community’s history and tradition	Integrates traditional architecture with modern advancements
Local Tradition	Embedded in community practice and cultural heritage	Disconnected from communal traditions and memories
Market	No marketing influence on perception and water preference	Represents the company’s strategy of water commodification

Table 1. Cont.

Properties	Traditional Fountain	Replica Fountain
Property Status and Governance	Community-owned, common property resource	Imposed by the company, private ownership
Political Implications	Emblem of community values and identity	Highlights the private sector's role in environmental governance
Community	Central and vital role in shaping community's waterscape	Lacks capacity to foster community engagement in the waterscape
Sound and Space	Integrates with ambient sounds, enriching experience	Proximity to road noise disrupts social interactions
Emotional Engagement	Evokes feelings of connectivity and sense of place	Focus on utilitarian value, lacks emotional connection
Cultural context	Embodies oral history, personal and family stories, and collective memories	Lacks layers of meaning and narratives in the waterscape

## 5. Discussion: Nostalgia and the Fountain

The fountain in the village square and its formed waterscape, functioned as a symbol of the community and local identity, contributed to belonging, and created a narrative legitimising certain practices, performances, roles, and relations. When a place is recognised as important, it contributes to people's identity, supports and accommodates social actions, and patterns of behaviour, which in turn develop and establish the community's identity [88,89]. Moreover, Relph [90] notes that certain relationships and connections are mainly spatialised.

The fountain in the agrarian community was a sign of its pride, identity, and prosperity. Later, when piped distribution systems provided fresh tap water inside residential homes and the agrarian population began to shrink, the fountain initially lost its material value and gradually its symbolic significance faded. The change in the community's waterscape was slow, and nested within existing social structures, which, in turn, underwent their transformations. The fountain remained and functioned as a cultural, political, and economic relic of the agrarian past of the community.

By contrast, the new fountain, next to industrial facilities, has neither social meaning nor prescribes certain forms of social actions. The newly constructed fountain close to the production plants establishes a connection between technological advancements and cultural heritage and provides new representations of water and (economic) values. This waterscape is weakly linked to the lives of "dwellers" and could be perceived as imposed and disconnected from the present time and context. Adjacent to the road, the waterscape is triggered by economic authority, technological advancements, and water governance, decoupled from cultural values and disengaged from social interactions.

This waterscape depicts the current corporate business-led water governance and the process of enclosure, contestation, and appropriation of water resources. This fountain is the symbol of "hydroschizophrenia", the disconnection between the local community and water [23], an emblem of "accumulation by dispossession". The visual arrangement of the material object organises the waterscape, reflects the political and economic edifice of the dominant economic status, while recalls information from long-term memory, stirs nostalgia, and invoke emotions.

Nostalgia commonly refers to a sentimental yearning for a bygone era that no longer exists [91] and appertains to both social and individual consciousness and diverse forms of social remembering [92]. Nostalgia refers to a specific preference towards objects that were of high importance in the past: "a longing for a past that is personally and socially meaningful, accompanied by positive emotions and a sense of loss" [43]. It is a complex emotion that involves a deep longing for the past, the memory of personal perceptions and social context. Nostalgia is often coupled with positive feelings; individuals reminisce about

moments, ties, and experiences that have passed them by, and reflect on past occurrences and encounters that they have lived, heard, or imagined. One of the key features of nostalgia is its ability to transfer individuals back in time, allowing them to relive past experiences and emotions vividly. At the waterscape of the replica fountain, the “dwellers” experience the articulation of the past in the present through the recollection of “Sakades”, disconnecting themselves from the community, disengaging themselves from the sense of belonging and communal involvement.

Nostalgia can also serve as a source of inspiration and motivation, as individuals seek to recapture the positive aspects of their past and integrate them into their present lives. Sentimentally influenced depictions of the past are explored by the water bottling company, for economic interest. Marketing and advertising that appeals to historical nostalgic thoughts have been shown to be highly effective at persuading and influencing people [93]. This fountain serves as a motivation for the preference of choosing labelled water. Nostalgia focuses on community heritage, highlighting a shared past and a sense of loss. It is often associated with imaginary connections to a place’s past, as discussed by Basu [94], Nash [95], and Bennett [96]. The tangible political character of the replica fountain, through water flowing and its stasis, forms a strong framework that urges individuals or communities to come to terms with and accept the fact that change is inevitable: the prevalence of processes of commercialisation and privatisation, which transform the water from a common good to a commodity or an asset. According to Dreyfuss and Frankel [97], an asset may combine space, a natural resource, a material element, with the expectation of political and legal transformations that may affect future revenue streams.

The replicated fountain represents a deliberate endeavour to incorporate tangible remnants from the past and infuse them with new meanings into the present. It serves as a material manifestation of historical or cultural significance, borrowed from the original fountain, enriched with the modern conception of the water. Technology (motion detector), however simple it may be, contributes to the transition from the old to the contemporary, from the traditional to the industrial, and from collective to private.

Geertz [98] states that water brings into play the different forms of power within societies. Rasmussen and Orlove [99] underline the ability of water to move across political positions is an apt starting point for shaping the way that people cognitively represent themselves and conceptualise their world, according to the dominant regulatory practice. The fountain and its emerged waterscape provide the multinational company, the holder of the water, an opportunity to exert its power to manage and manoeuvre people’s preferences regarding drinking water and water governance, and to ensure its future profits.

The phenomenon of nostalgia has intensified in parallel with the rapid pace of social and cultural change during modernity and late modernity. Nostalgia attempts to explain how memories are formed, modified, shared, and validated within specific sociocultural contexts [100]. The narratives of nostalgia reflect a desire to recapture a sense of community and place that is seen as lost in the present. By romanticising an earlier era, these narratives evoke emotions and sentiments associated with a perceived decline in social cohesion and a longing for a sense of belonging [100–102].

The users of the new fountain explain: *“It reminds us of the past years, how our parents or even our grandparents live. . . when people knew each other well. . . and everything was so different and simple”*.

Expressing a sense of loss is often a means of articulating emotions associated with the undeniable change, resulting from transformations in social and ecological systems [101]. It entails a longing for something that has been lost, which can be as abstract as a certain “way of life” [103].

## 6. Conclusions

Fountains have been ascribed to a pronounced interplay between the tangible and the symbolic, signifying an enduring correspondence between reality and the imagination, by a continuous interplay between the visible and the unseen, the signifier and the signified. This

interplay has persisted over the centuries, transcending successive layers and anticipated shifts and transformations. The fountain became a cohesive thread of the community, a tangible and symbolic space of social convergence. The fountain hosts community-based practices of water sociality, concerning moral economy, guided by principles of sharing, material symmetry between community members, and equitable forms of water distribution and use [10,104,105]. The social value of the village fountain informs identity, sense of belonging and place, and memory, and it is created through experience and remembrance about the place's natural and social histories [106].

The fountain is a symbolic statement of the community, contributing to the establishment of the sense of belonging. It is a narrative that legitimises certain practices and performances, and strengthens connections within the community. Fountains have long been regarded as more than just a source of water. They hold a special place in the community, serving as gathering spot for socialising, celebrating, and connecting with others. The materiality of the fountain and its replica are not solely driven by practical considerations. Various agents with different motivations, imaginaries, and aspirations contribute to the creation of the waterscape. Perceptions, imaginaries, values, and connotations all play a role in shaping their waterscape.

In the past, the fountain was not merely a utilitarian structure for fetching water; it was a vibrant hub of social interaction. As times have changed, so too have the dynamics surrounding fountains. Yet, despite this shift, fountain still holds a special place in the community. One such occasion that reignites the spirit of communal connection is the annual festival (paniyiri), held in the village square near the fountain. This celebration brings together not only the locals but also people from surrounding villages. This new waterscape functions as a revival, enabling individuals to re-establish connections, exchange information, engage in nostalgia, and cultivate new narratives.

The emergence of a fountain amidst water industry plants and a road has created an altered waterscape for locals, who collect "*magic water*". However, the focus on the utilitarian value of the water has overshadowed any inclination towards social interactions or community engagement. The access to fountain is a consumerist practice, with locals solely refilling their plastic bottles and not involving themselves in any interactions with the environment (natural and social). The lack of community engagement and focus on personal affairs highlights a concerning trend towards individualism and consumerism. Concerning the new fountain, the absence of social interactions and social performances highlight the contrast with its predecessor.

The water bottling company explores sentimental depictions of the past (nostalgia) for commercial purposes and fosters a positive and emotive association by leveraging the social value of the village fountain from bygone times. The replicated fountain deliberately pursues to incorporate tangible elements from the past and imbue them with new connotations in the present. The fountain adjacent to the factory establishes a novel narrative, based on economic value and commodification of water. Nostalgia is utilised as a cultural catalyst for introducing a deeper level of economic transformation that goes beyond commodification. The brand elicits favourable recollections and emotions, thereby enhancing customer devotion and commitment and introducing locals to a new economic context and meaning of the water. However, the fountain encompasses elements of the undergone transformation. The replica fountain symbolises not only the commodification of water by the bottling company but also the acquisition of the natural resource asset.

The privatisation of water symbolised by the replica fountain aligns with sovereign political ideologies and governance practices; however, it contradicts the longstanding tradition of communal water rights embodied by the original fountain. The longing for a sense of community, belonging, and nostalgia arises as a response to the perceived decline in social cohesion resulting from the rapid social transformations of modernity and late modernity.

Within this waterscape, community practices, social and cultural meanings, economy, commodification, collective work, privatisation, memory, and nostalgia intertwine to create



the everydayness. Flows and uses of water reflect patterns of rootedness within the community and construct the social context. Emotions are stirred as individuals connect with their land and heritage through the waterscape.

The fountain forms a waterscape where social connections are encouraged, memories are made, and local perceptions are upheld. While its role may have evolved over time, its meaning remains intact. The community fountain in the village exemplifies how water weaves together various elements and creates a unique waterscape reflecting the socioculture of water.

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## Appendix A

The roadmap for the field study consists of the following questions:

How do you decide whether to use a fountain?

Do you have some criteria or concerns that influence your decision?

Is it safe to drink water from a fountain, from a tap?

How often do you visit the fountain?

Have you noticed the fountain? What is the primary function of the fountain for you?

Does the fountain ensure equal access to water for all? All the time?

How does the function of the fountain affect your everydayness?

Can you share any story or experience related to fountain?

What are the functions of the fountain?

How do you describe a traditional fountain?

What's the difference with a modern one?

Do you have preferences for the design of the drinking water fountains?

In which public space do you think is most suitable for a fountain?

Do you think the fountain is a monument?

Does the presence of the fountain have an impact on local community?

How does the fountain influence the community?

Is the fountain a symbol of local culture?

Do you think that fountain affects local culture and identity?

Are there any festivals or events that take place near or adjacent to the fountain?

Do you believe that maintaining the fountain in your community helps preserve history and culture?

How does the fountain reflect the cultural heritage? Are there any distinctive designs, materials, or patterns that are indicative of local cultural history?

How is this fountain used in people's daily lives?

How often does your community promote the fountain as a hot spot in activities and events held in the area?

How would you describe the relationship between locals and the fountain?

How does the fountain affect the social bond and the community's surroundings?

How does the fountain affect the sense of the passage of time collectively? Personally?

Are there any memories or stories of the past that evolved at the fountain?

Does the fountain hold any significance to you?

Can you share any personal story or experience regarding the village fountain?

Can you share special moments you have had, or you have heard about the fountain?

How do you feel that the fountain in your community affects social bonds?

Have you taken part in any conversation/action related to the fountain? In any context.

What are your thoughts about fountain(s)?

Have you noticed any change in the quality or quantity of water you drink in your area?

Have you ever noticed drinking water-related problems?

Do you have concerns regarding the environmental impact in using plastic bottles?

How would you characterise the sense/the aesthetic appeal of the fountain?

What feelings or ideas the fountain brings about?

Is there any change in the use or significance of the fountain over time? (before and after COVID-19).

Have the value and importance of the fountain changed in time?

Are there specific public spaces or a location where you think a fountain is needed or underutilised?

Does a fountain form a place? How is a place formed by a fountain?

How does the fountain contribute to shaping your perception of the water and place?

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