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How community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts human health, WASH infrastructure and service longevity in low- and middle-income countries: a realist review

Journal:	BMJ Open	
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2021-053320	
Article Type:	Original research	
Date Submitted by the Author:	15-May-2021	
Complete List of Authors:	Nelson, Sarah; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health Drabarek, Dorothy; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health Jenkins, Aaron; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health; Edith Cowan University, School of Science Negin, Joel; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health Abimbola, Seye; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health	
Keywords:	PUBLIC HEALTH, Health policy < HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT, Tropical medicine < INFECTIOUS DISEASES	

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- 1 How community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts human health, WASH
- 2 infrastructure and service longevity in low- and middle-income countries: a realist review

- 4 Sarah Nelson^{1*}, Dorothy Drabarek¹, Aaron Jenkins^{1,2}, Joel Negin¹, Seye Abimbola¹
 - 1: School of Public Health, University of Sydney, Fisher Road, Camperdown, NSW 2006, Australia
 - 2: School of Science, Edith Cowan University, Joondalup Drive, Joondalup, WA 6027, Australia

- 8 *Corresponding author
- 9 Email: s.a.nelson@live.com

Abstract

- Objective: To understand how, and under what circumstances community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts availability (of safe water and sanitation), change in health status or behaviour, and longevity (of resources and services).
- 16 Design: Realist review
- 17 Data sources: PubMed, Web of Science and Scopus databases to identify studies from low- and
- 18 middle-income countries from 2010 to 2020.
- 19 Eligibility criteria for selecting studies: Broad inclusion criteria were developed for studies to be
- 20 included. The contribution each paper was assessed based on relevance and rigour (e.g., can it
- 21 contribute to context, mechanism or outcome, and is the method used to generate that information
- 22 credible).
- 23 Analysis: Inductive and deductive coding was used to generate context-mechanism-outcome
- 24 configurations.
- 25 Results: 73 studies conducted in 29 countries were included. We identified five mechanisms that
- explain availability, change and longevity outcomes: 1) accountability (policies and procedures to hold
- communities responsible for their actions and outcomes of an intervention), 2) diffusion (spread of an
- 28 idea or behaviour by innovators over time through communication amongst members of a
- community), 3) market (the interplay between demand and supply of a service or resource), 4)
- 30 ownership (sense of possession and control of the service or resource), and 5) shame (a feeling of
- disgust in one's behaviour or actions). Contextual elements identified include community dynamics
- 32 (such as community leadership and communication), technical skills and knowledge, resource access
- and dependency, committee activity and practices (such as the presence of rules and management
- 34 plans), location, and level of community participation.

Conclusions: The findings highlight five key mechanisms, impacted by 19 contextual factors that explain the outcomes of community-based water and sanitation interventions. Policymakers, program implementers, and institutions need to consider community dynamics, location, resources, committee activity, and practices, and level of community participation, before the introduction of community-based water and sanitation interventions.

Strengths and limitations

 The size of the review allowed for diverse CMOs to be explored and understood from a range of contexts from 29 countries.

- The paper identified 19 contextual factors that explain the outcomes of community-based water and sanitation interventions.
- The papers selected for this review were limited to those available in English, peer-reviewed and available online through a database search but did not include grey literature.
- Most of the papers identified only focused on outcomes over a short time period, with only a
 few looking over five years. The short time frames are usually insufficient for behaviour
 change or resource/service longevity to be observed.
- The paper did not include papers that looked at communities' natural resource management and interventions, it only included papers where an external party such as NGO or government was involved in the natural resource management and interventions.

Keywords: Context-mechanism-outcome configuration, low- and middle-income countries, realist review, communities

Introduction

Access to water and sanitation is fundamental for human health (1). Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) interventions continue to be implemented to improve availability and services, especially in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). WASH interventions include hardware interventions such as toilets and water points, and their operation and maintenance, or software intervention such as education programmes and training. But the literature shows mixed effects of these interventions – some display positive impacts, with others showing no impact on health (2,3). In an effort to understand why WASH interventions fail, an expanding body of research seeks to examine the contexts (environmental, socio-cultural, institutional, economic) into which they are introduced (4–7). This emphasises the importance of understanding the influence of context on the success (or failure) of community-based WASH interventions and highlights that no single strategy can be successful in all contexts and circumstances (1,8,9).

WASH interventions are designed to take into account a broad range of factors such as cultural traditions (10,11), resource dependency (12), service quality and satisfaction (13), and rules and procedures used by the community (14). Further, the resources required for long term maintenance of interventions are often limited in LMICs, leading to their failure (1). It is difficult for cities, especially in LMICs, to improve sanitation and expand potable water access while keeping up with population growth and migration (15). Failure of interventions can occur for several reasons, such as lack of

community participation in design (16,17), lack of ownership (18,19), abuse of funds or poor financial management (20), lack of willingness of community members to contribute (19–21), lack of communication and connectedness (22) and no ongoing support and acknowledgement of behaviour change (23–25).

Current literature shows multiple benefits of community participation; e.g., it allows cultural exchange and the building of knowledge between the implementing partners, and it can ensure interventions are more relevant to local priorities (7,26). Also, communities (particularly Indigenous communities), have developed knowledge structures by place, space, and relationality over generations that are passed from one generation to the next, providing information on how to use resources to promote their longevity (7). It can also cause issues as communities may have beliefs that do not align with the intervention (27). Lack of community participation is often seen as a hindrance in collaborative action (28). The definition and manifestation of community participation in WASH interventions vary significantly across articles and studies (4). In rural areas, community participation involves the active engagement of users in water services management (4). Community participation can also mean the involvement of community members in the planning, construction, decision-making, and ongoing management of their water system (29). Community participation also refers to enabling communities to initiate project ideas, make decisions about technology type and facility location that best suits their needs (20). In the context of this paper, community participation is defined as community members having a role in planning, design, construction, decision-making or management (including financial and operations and maintenance) of WASH interventions (4,20,26,29).

Understanding the impact of contextual factors is important for designing and implementing long-lasting WASH services within communities, given the vast heterogeneity of community contexts (6). Some literature reviews have been conducted to examine the impact of specific contextual factors or a single water or sanitation intervention (4,6). Our realist review attempts to address this gap in the literature. The aim is to answer how and under what circumstances does community participation in water and sanitation interventions impact availability of safe water and sanitation, change in health status or WASH behaviour, and longevity of water resources, infrastructure and services.

Materials and Methods

Rationale for using a realist approach to review

The realist approach was chosen as it aims to understand and unpack the mechanisms through which an intervention works or fails in different contexts and settings (30). It is a theory-driven approach

that can help explain why an intervention works in one setting and not in another (30). The realist approach begins with the understanding that interventions are complex because of their reliance on the interpretation, reasoning and actions of social agents to bring about change (31,32) and that the human agency of these social agents are in turn influenced by the socioeconomic, geographical, institutional structures in which they exist (i.e. context) (30). In realist synthesis, an outcome of an intervention is shaped by the interaction between these contextual factors and the intervention, which triggers some kind of action (or not) among social agents as determined by their reasoning, which then results in some kind of change (or not). Context-Mechanism-Outcome (CMO) configurations summarise explanations of how contextual factors (C), influence the production of outcomes (O), by triggering human agency in the form of mechanisms (M). 'Mechanism' refers to the combination of reasoning and resources that influence the actions of participants and stakeholders in an intervention. The mechanism may be activated under the right contextual conditions (33). Therefore, WASH interventions may change how a community receives or responses to this intervention, and this is dependent on the context in which they live.

Search strategy

In preparation for the realist review, we conducted preparatory sessions by reading a variety of WASH literature. This helped us identify possible outcomes, contexts, and mechanisms to guide the literature research and the best keywords to use. We conducted preliminary searches to see what type of papers were identified, and the breadth and depth of WASH interventions covered. This process helped guide the final review question as it highlighted gaps in documented knowledge, and in turn shaped the interventions we focused on i.e. "new" interventions, endogenous or exogenous in origin.

Two literature searches of PubMed, Web of Science and Scopus was conducted to identify peer-reviewed papers on how community participation in water and sanitation interventions impact availability of safe water and sanitation, change in health status or behaviour, and longevity of water resources and services outcomes in LMICs. The search terms used were 'water', 'WASH', 'water resource', 'hygiene', 'sanitation', 'community participation', 'demand driven', 'community led', 'community engage*', 'community based', 'community manage', 'sustain*' and 'health'. The search strategy was developed with the assistance of a research librarian. Filters were applied to exclude reviews. Only English papers were considered. Only articles from 01-01-2010 to 03-04-2019 were considered in the first search conducted in April 2019. Only articles from 01-01-2019 to 31-12-2020 were considered in the second search conducted in March 2021. Papers were identified and exported into Zotero. Duplicates were identified and removed. In conducting and reporting this realist synthesis

we followed the synthesis production and quality standards (RAMESES) (34) and training materials (35) and other examples of reviews (31,36).

After screening the abstracts, full papers were assessed on the intervention, the outcome of interest, community role, study type and location. The intervention may be endogenous or exogenous in origin. The intervention had an intended outcome linked to water, sanitation, health or resource/service longevity. The community had to participate in one or more of the following ways were included: a) community had full authority in decision-making and autonomy of the management of water resource or intervention, b) community had the majority of authority in decision-making and/or management of water resource or intervention, whether the latter is endogenous or exogenous in origin, c) community members (e.g. leaders, community health workers) were involved in the design and/or delivery of an intervention by an external agent. Community members may have varying degrees of autonomy in their work and decision-making power and d) community had a role through participation, consultation or engagement in activities and actions of an intervention by an external agent. Levels of decision-making power of community members may vary and may be as low as being easily overruled by an external agent. Only studies conducted in countries considered to be LMICs according to World Bank definitions were included (37).

Only studies with primary data were included. Formal quality appraisal was not carried out for individual papers could contribute to a different element of CMO configurations and exclusion reduces the validity of the findings (30). The contribution of any section of each paper was assessed based on relevance (i.e. whether it can contribute to emerging CMO configurations); and rigour (i.e. whether the method used to generate each piece of data relevant to the CMO configurations is credible).

<u>Data extraction and categorisation</u>

The first database searches found 595 entries from PubMed, 1,010 from Web of Science and 1,449 from Scopus (Figure 1). The searches from each database were merged, and 1,346 duplications were removed. A further 30 publications were removed based on their format, as they were a book or a review. After review of the remaining titles and abstracts, 1,523 were excluded reducing the selection to 155 publications. These 155 papers were read and assessed according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria by reviewers (SN and DD, in consultation with SA) on their relevance and rigour. Judgements on inclusion and exclusion were based upon two criteria: relevance (does the paper contribute to the understanding of how community participation in WASH interventions impacts any outcome of interest) and rigour (whether the method used to generate the data is credible e.g., not using primary

data). The second database searches found 739 entries from PubMed, 460 from Web of Science and 528 from Scopus (Figure 1). The same data extraction and categorisation steps were carried out in second search. A final 73 papers were included in the review.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE]

We followed the stepwise approach used by Abimbola et al (31) (Table 1). Five papers were randomly selected, and iterative data extraction was conducted independently by three of the authors (SN, DD and SA) to determine the categories into which data will be extracted and the consistency of the extraction process across authors. Data from the papers were extracted into an excel spreadsheet into the following categories: study population, country, community role, intervention, water, sanitation or hygiene linkage, study type, and context, mechanism, and outcome components. The extraction process guided the initial development of preliminary understandings of what was involved in behaviours, actions, social phenomena, reasonings that connected outcomes with contexts in each paper. These preliminary understandings contributed to the creation of mechanisms. It was not always possible to extract data about the outcome, context, and mechanism from each paper.

By synthesising the information in each paper, we identified five mechanisms that explain the outcomes from the studies: accountability, diffusion, market, ownership, and shame. Papers had multiple mechanisms. Across the five mechanisms three sets of outcomes were identified:

Availability (of resources and services such as clean water, and sanitation) at an individual or community level,
 Behaviour change (to prevent disease, such as a reduction in open defection and increase the

use of handwashing) or change in health status (e.g. reduction in disease levels, reduction in health status such as diarrheal rates) at individual or community level,

(3) Longevity (of water and sanitation infrastructure, services, and resources, including factors that impact on their long-term use, such as the technical capacity to repair, operate and maintain infrastructure, resource, or service).

We identified factors (socioeconomic, geographical, institutional) that enabled or hindered outcomes, and these were categorised as context. Concurrently, a list of potential midrange theories that could help explain our interpretations of relationships between identified contexts, WASH interventions and outcomes of interest was drawn from the literature and team discussions. The list was refined until

five theories could coherently explain the identified outcomes of community participation in WASH

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215 interventions.

Table 1: Steps taken in the realist analysis

Step	Process
Step 1: Identifying outcomes	This involved reading and re-reading the papers, first to gain familiarity with the studies and second to identify
(description)	outcomes which occur because of community WASH initiatives e.g., hogy community engagement in water and
	sanitation interventions impact access (to safe water and sanitation), change (in health status or behaviour), and
	longevity (of these resources.
Step 2: Identifying contextual	This involved further reviewing of papers to identify (enablers and hindered) of the identified outcomes. These
components of outcomes (abduction)	included skills and knowledge (including financial capabilities and technical abilities to for operations and
	maintenance), social cohesion and connectedness, communication, wilgngness to pay, leadership and diverse
	involvement in the intervention (of women and at different stages of degign, planning and implementation), and
	community characteristics and location.
Step 3: Theoretical redescription	This step involved exploring the selected outcomes and their contextual components within the theories to better
(abduction)	understand what the represent. Five theories informed our analysis.
	the state of the s
	1) Social accountability holds people in place to achieve actions because of fear of exposure, professional or public
	reprisal or cost of reputation leads to responsiveness by following a certain behaviour or idea (36). We adapted this
	idea to include formal accountability mechanisms such as policies, procedures and rules to hold communities and
	committees responsible for their actions and outcomes of an initiative.
	2) Diffusion of innovation theory is the spread or adaption of an idea or a behaviour through a process which people
	adopt over time (38). The idea or behaviour spreads through innovators (those who try and idea or behaviour first),
	and early adopters (opinion leaders who enjoy leadership roles and embece change opportunities) who influence
	and change ideas or behaviours throughout the community (38). We utilised this theory for leaders and key people in
	the community to be the innovators to shape and influence WASH behaviors within the community.
	3) Demand theory is an economic theory that is the interplay between demand and supply of a good or service (it is
	a balanced supply and the price that people are willing to pay for it (39). There is an important dynamic to ensure the system market does not fail, because of changes in price or demand. This theory is adapted to focus on the supply
	and demand for water resources, and a community's or individuals' willing ress to pay for them and other factors that influence the supply and demand balance.
	4) Arnstein's ladder of participation proposes that increased meaningful roommunity participation correlates with
	more power in the decision-making process and thus more control over the change it may bring, leading to a sense
	of ownership (40). With this mechanism, we focused on how a sense of ownership within resources or service related
	to WASH such as water can help build a sense of value, and lead communities or individuals to manage the resources
	to wash such as water can help build a sense of value, and lead confindinges of individuals to manage the resources

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Theoretical framing

We used retroductive analysis to identify the mechanisms underlying our O-C pairings (Step 4). This was done by reading and rereading papers and reviewing the extracted data concurrent to undertaking a close reading of the theory. This, along with team discussions, led to the exploration of the wider literature. And in a process of deductive and inductive reasoning, we identified five theories that informed our analysis (Step 3 for details). The first theory, social accountability explains how people are held accountable for a certain behaviour or idea because of fear of exposure, professional or public reprisal, or damaged reputation for not fulfilling it (36). The second theory, diffusion of innovation, explains the pattern of the spread and adoption of a new idea, technology or behaviour over time in social systems (38). It proposes that a population is made up of innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards who follow a predictable pattern of adoption that is cumulative over time (38). Thirdly, demand theory is an economic theory that explains the relationship between the supply and demand of a service or good, and its price (39). Typically, when a good or service becomes more readily available and supply increases, prices tend to fall, and when the price of a good or service increases demand tend to fall (39). Fourthly, Arnstien's Ladder of Citizen's Participation provides a framework for understanding the impact of the extent to which a community contributes to, is involved in, and owns community interventions (40). The level of participation has implications for power and control a community can exert (40). Lastly, social comparison theory explains that people shape ideas and behaviours in comparison to those surrounding them and they change their ideas or behaviours to conform to those around them (41).

These five theories are broad in their potential application. For this reason, they are only a starting point for the development in the CMO configurations. Through a process of retroductive analysis, the five theories produced five mechanisms: 'social accountability' became the 'accountability' (e.g. policies and procedures to hold communities and committees responsible for their actions and outcomes of an intervention), 'diffusion of innovation' became the 'diffusion' (e.g. the spread or adoption of the behaviour or action due to leaders or influential community members making the change earlier), 'demand theory' became 'market' (the interplay between demand and supply of a service or resource to ensure availability or longevity), 'Arnstein's Ladder' became 'ownership' (e.g. the level of individual or community participation became impacts the degrees of control and sense of possession over a service or resource impacted the outcomes of interest), and lastly 'social

comparison' became 'shame' (e.g. a feeling of disgust in one's behaviour or actions as they are not seen as desired or comply with other people's behaviours in the community).

Results

Overall, 73 papers were identified, and presented data from 29 countries (Figure 2), with different WASH intervention focus (Figure 3). We identified five mechanisms made possible by WASH interventions: 'accountability', 'diffusion', 'market', 'ownership' and 'shame'. The analysis focused on mechanisms, rather than the country as we were focused on community-based interventions and each community intervention and context builds to a piece of the mechanism development. The analysis did also not look at the type of intervention as the outcomes identified can be linked to WASH interventions. As the country and the type of intervention were not specifically named in the finding a separate table has been created in the Supplementary Appendix.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE]

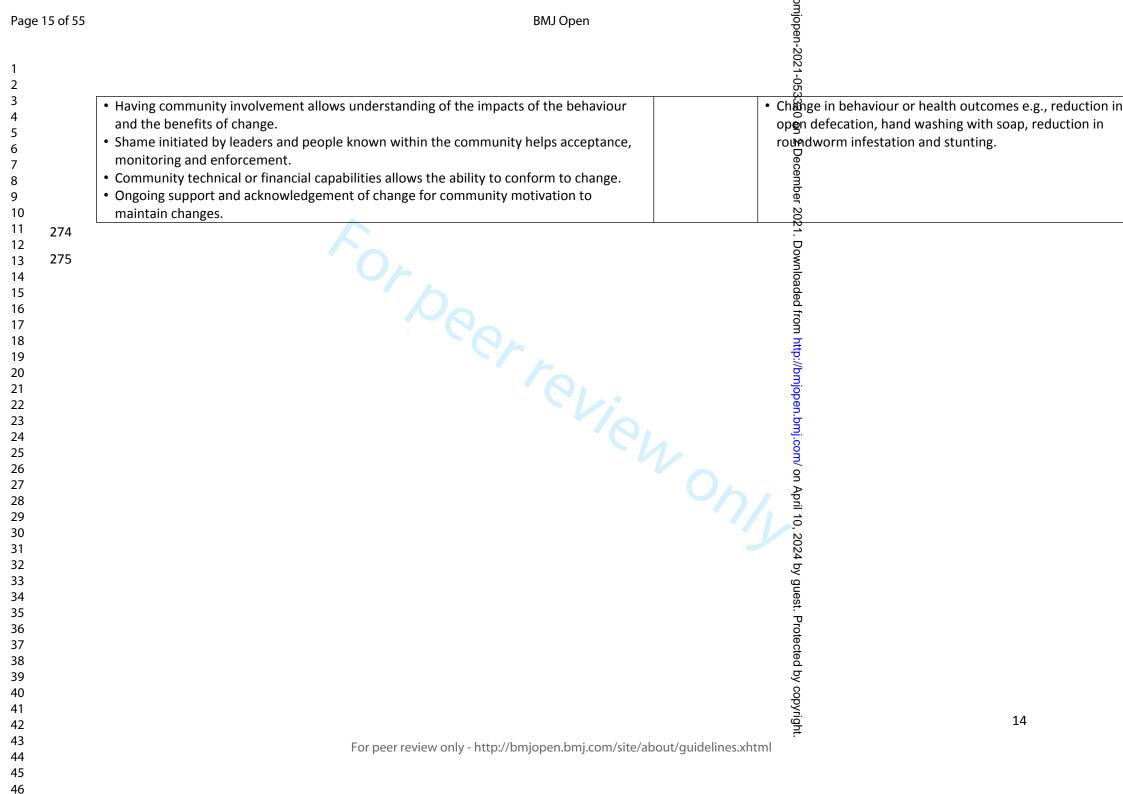
267 [INSERT FIGURE 3 AROUND HERE]

The next section describes each mechanism in detail, followed by a description of each based on the individual outcome, and key contextual factors highlighted as identified through the literature review. See Table 2 for a summary.

omjopen-2021-053320

273 Table 2: Enabling context-mechanism-outcome configurations

Context	Mechanism	Outceme
 Easily accessible community (e.g., size and location) to allow access for monitoring visits. Having opportunities to share information (e.g., meetings) between users and committee members for internal monitoring. Having active and functional community committees for internal monitoring Committees with clear responsibilities, rules and management plans that are followed and understood (e.g., written working plans for system breakdowns). Having consequences for not conforming to change (e.g., fines). 	Accountability	 Availability of a service or a resource e.g., to ensure that santation facilities are in place or to assess the levels of graindwater. Changes in behaviour or health outcomes e.g., reduction of goen defecation, improvements in children's height and weight. Sustainability of water resources and services.
 Having strong leaders or committees to help share the spread of ideas and initiate change. Having higher levels of social cohesion and connectedness in small rural and remote communities to help create supportive environment for change and influence new social norms. Having regular communication among peers to build and share knowledge. 	Diffusion	 Availability of resources or services e.g. latrines, handwashing facilities and water. Changes in behaviour or health outcomes e.g. reduction of open defecation, water purification and waterborne diseases. Maintenance and sustainability of latrines and water acess/systems.
 Having strong leaders or committees to help share the spread of ideas and initiate change. Having higher levels of social cohesion and connectedness in small rural and remote communities to help create supportive environment for change and influence new social norms. Having regular communication among peers to build and share knowledge. 	Market	Availability of resources e.g., water. Sustainability of water services or latrine quality.
 Having community or committee knowledge or skills e.g. technical - the ability to repair hardware. Having resource dependency to ensure community investment in supply and ongoing maintenance and operational costs. Community involvement (including women) in the design, planning or implementation to promote accessibility, equitable access and the desire to maintain the resource. Having opportunities to communicate about the state of the resource or service to help maintenance. 	Ownership	Availability of resources or services e.g., water and latrines. Sustainability of the water system or service. by guest. Prote
• Small, cohesive, and isolated communities with high social cohesion and connectedness helps the conformity of behaviour.	Shame	• Ava lability of resources e.g., individual or household oværership of latrines and handwashing facilities.



ACCOUNTABILITY

The accountability mechanism is built on the idea of social accountability where one party holds another accountable for something, such as an action. The accountability mechanism we propose is a formal mechanism is triggered by the rules, procedures, and policies to hold committees, communities and households responsible for decisions and actions. These can include monitoring and fines to help ensure actions and decisions taken are appropriate to promote availability, behaviour change and resource longevity. Accountability is more likely to be achieved when there the community is easily accessible, opportunities are present to share information and there is a strong and functional committee as it is easier to uphold and enforce rules, procedures, and policies. The three outcomes identified were availability, change and longevity.

Availability

Triggered by internal or external monitoring, accountability may result in improved community availability to a resource or service. The focus of such monitoring may be progress towards achieving a goal. The goal may be about the availability of a service – e.g., to ensure that sanitation facilities are in place (10,23,42–48), that facilities meet the needs of people with disabilities (49), or that water is accessible (50,51). The goal may also be resource preservation (safety and/or accessibility) so that water is available to be accessed as desired – e.g., to check water samples for faecal or arsenic contamination (16,52–55), or to assess the level of groundwater available for agriculture throughout the year (56). Internal monitoring can be conducted by a chief or village headman (10,23,42), locally trained volunteers (52), community members (44,56) or by the community's health, water or community—total led sanitation committee (46–48,50–53). External monitoring can be conducted by NGO facilitators (44,49), health workers (43,46,57) or political leaders and council officials (48).

Opportunities and platforms for regular communication and meetings between community members, service users and health or water committees help build a sense of trust and connection between all parties and helps to hold them accountable (49,52,55). This is reinforced where community leadership is transparent and has open channels for communicating with community members (10,23,42,51), communities make plans to change i.e. display of stickers to show the commitment to build latrines (45) and the use of technology allows up to date monitoring (42,53). Government guidelines can reinforce safe standards and monitoring of resources e.g. water (48,58). Accountability is also strengthened where there is a functional, long-standing water or health committee whose members are active, motivated and committed, and have clear roles and responsibilities (50,51). These can be

reinforced through committee trainings (53). A gender-balanced committee opens up the space for accountability, as more opinions and views are considered on what factors are important and need to be considered (47,50,51,54,59,60). Despite of a gender-balanced committee, there can be challenges in accepting the involvement of women (47).

Change

Ongoing external monitoring can hold communities accountable for changing their health, hygiene and sanitation behaviours (44,46-49,57,61,62), leading to improved health of children as seen in height and weight changes and diarrhoea occurrence (47,62). Without ongoing internal or external monitoring, loss of momentum for change can occur, halting behaviour change progress (24,48). Ongoing monitoring is enabled by regular meetings and sharing of information to enforce behaviour change (26,47,52). However, limited availability to communities due to a remote location, inadequate or unreliable transport, violence, and large community size and layout, understaffed organisations are barriers to ongoing external monitoring (48,51,62). Accountability can also influence behaviour change when triggered by fines (e.g. money, goat, or chicken) imposed as a penalty for not conforming to the desired behaviour. For example, penalties can be used to enforce standards for latrines (26), for not constructing a latrine, and for open defection (10,48), and fines for not respecting water use limits (55). Trust is an essential contextual factor for such penalties – tensions arise when a community does not trust the person or committee collecting the fines and what they will do with the fines (19,26). Trust depends on the person or committee's record of financial management, and whether they have clear rules about the use of such penalties. Lack of trust from external organisations can also prevent change in communities' behaviours (55).

Longevity

Accountability within community committees can facilitate their continued activities, therefore promoting the longevity of resources and services for which they are responsible. This requires that committees have internal feedback systems, take minutes and set agendas with written working plans, reflecting high self-organising capabilities, and a sense of obligation among committee members to attend meetings and take action to manage and maintain resources, thus contributing to the longevity of water and sanitation interventions (18,26,50,52,58,63). Accountability to government entities (e.g., water boards) for reports and abiding by government policies can promote longevity as it can hold committees and communities responsible for funds to maintain resources and services (16,18,58,64,65). Communication with the broader community holds committees accountable for their roles and responsibilities concerning water and sanitation infrastructure in a community

(18,29,65). Communication can help enable the diffusion of efforts to change the landscape of governance within local communities, check the progress of actions and the enforcement of rules (10,21,55).

Committee accountability is enabled when committees have clear roles, responsibilities, rules and procedures (which they understand) on responding to system breakdowns, and managing ongoing maintenance and missing parts, with direct implications for the longevity of water availability and WASH infrastructure (22,26,50,53,58,66). The longevity of resources and services is facilitated by a committee's ability to make funds available or having bank accounts for operational and maintenance costs, and by it having rules and procedures for funds management (e.g., having a well-educated treasurer who manages and collects funds within the community), or by having the community participate actively in monitoring committee finances (16,20,22,50,55). However, where there are known instances of abuse of funds or poor financial management, community members are less willing to contribute, leading to low longevity of resources or services (19-21). Transparency in committee activities and community trust can help address this (55). Committee activity and social participation play key roles in managing maintenance and operation of water and sanitation systems and assist in the management of funds ensuring continued service provision (17,59,66-68). This can promote good governance and practice (17). While committee activity and social participation is an enabling factor, this alone is not enough to ensure the longevity of community water and sanitation infrastructure (69).

DIFFUSION

This mechanism captures the processes by which an idea, technology or behaviour that is perceived as new (i.e. they are considered innovations in a community) spreads and is adopted by individuals or a community. Our interpretation of how the diffusion of innovation theory works to bring about change was guided by the LMICs contexts from which we drew our review data. Diffusion of ideas in communities was observed as mostly unplanned, horizontal, peer-mediated spread (32), however in cases where the innovation was endogenous it was more likely that adoption was actively promoted (60), this difference can be explained by the effect of sense of ownership, which is explained in the mechanism ownership below.

The diffusion mechanism underscores that strong and stable social relations are essential for wide and sustained adoption of WASH interventions in communities, and illustrates the importance of *who* introduces new ideas, behaviours or technologies (exogenous WASH interventions) or champions

homegrown new ideas, behaviours or technologies (endogenous WASH interventions). These people are identified as "innovators" (i.e. individuals who are the first to develop and try out new ideas) and "early adopters" (i.e. opinion leaders who enjoy leadership roles and embrace change opportunities) who over time through their influence, existing relationships and communication amongst members of a community (38,71) can encourage adoption of new ideas, both passively and actively. Innovators and early adopters in a community include teachers (72,73), leaders (10,23,42,48,71–75), healthcare workers (57,72,73,76–78), and community committees (22,63,70,79). This mechanism is therefore triggered primarily by contexts of strong social relations, and our analysis resulted in availability, change, and longevity.

Availability

In communities lacking provision of basic WASH infrastructure by governments, availability to services can be obtained through external agencies such as NGOs or by internal innovation. In both cases availability of services is not instantaneous and depends on motivation, organisation and negotiation, the successes of which are in turn shaped by the character of social relations within a community, the more cohesive the better. In this way, availability of resources such as latrines (8,11,42,45,46,48,63,74,75,80–82), water infrastructure such as pipes (29,70,83,84) and handwashing facilities (46,48,81,82) can be driven by diffusion; when these facilities or the idea of them are new, the collective action necessary to build or obtain them depends on the extent to which appreciation for their value spreads in the community.

Additionally, information on community-led interventions that reflect the needs of the community takes root more readily than interventions introduced by external sources which more often do not address community needs accurately or at all. Information about the need for the WASH infrastructure or service can diffuse more readily where people have similar experiences of need and importantly high levels of social cohesion and sense of connectedness. Social cohesion and connectedness refer to the extent of ongoing interaction and linkages in communities, and cooperation as people engage and work together. Meaning that people may be more concerned about others, may be more likely to cooperate, communicate and work with one another, and agree on community priorities and goals. Attainment of resources is made easier if a significant number of people believe in its benefit and value. Social cohesion helps to promote infrastructure or resource attainment and ultimately change in access to WASH, as without it 'early adopters' would not be able to build the necessary momentum, enthusiasm and confidence (8,45,63,80). In communities of high social cohesion, innovators can draw on the existing influence of leaders to set new social norms (11,42,45,74), and early adopters draw on

the existing skills within the community to work on a resource or intervention (29,42,63,70). The success, respect and acceptance of the early adopters can provide the rest of the community confidence to adopt the new social norm (45,48). Diffusion can also within sections of the community such as among women and other community groups, as within these smaller groups they may have different sets of social norms and acceptable behaviours (11,70). Locally accessible resources enable availability (46,48).

Change

Diffusion can occur through communication among peers, which leads to shared understanding, therefore reinforcing the adoption of new behaviour at an individual or community level (42,63,72,83). Examples of diffusion influencing behaviour change include reduction of open defecation (10,46,48,61,64,71,73,82,85), water purification (83), disposal of rubbish and care of animals (61), and sanitation and hygiene behaviours e.g. handwashing and safe disposal of faecal material (47,70,75,82), which may lead to improved health outcomes such as a reduction in diarrhoea rates, waterborne diseases and respiratory infections (47,48,57,70,78). Behaviour change is enabled by diffusion in communities with high levels of social cohesion and connectedness by enabling communication among peers, to build and share knowledge i.e. through community and marketing events or radio shows (46,48,63,78,81,82), and as highly regarded leaders influence the spread of new behaviour and create new social norms through their endorsement (11,21,71,73,82). Higher levels of social cohesion in small rural and remote communities can also help sustain long-term behaviour change (e.g., reduction in open defecation), especially where people stick together to create a supportive environment for long-lasting change. In these contexts, the focus is on behaviour change at the community rather than at an individual's level (61,73). Increased latrine quality and cleanliness can reinforce the behaviour change (46,47).

Longevity

The longevity of resources such as water pumps or piping infrastructure or has often been difficult to achieve in LMICs where resources and technical expertise required for their maintenance are not easily available. However, if the value of the resource, through demonstrated health benefit for example has diffused and taken root in a community, this may assist in the mobilisation of efforts to maintain the resource or service. Strong social bonds between community members characterised shared goals and trust help facilitate the spread of information about the benefit of new ideas and encourage their adoption (29,63,72,74). The perceived need to collectively mobilise resources to address water or sanitation problems is shared by committees and within committees

(29,79,83,86,87). The willingness of community members to help one another further allows the diffusion to lead to longevity of resources such as latrines (8,81) and water access (79,83), through the maintenance of the resources (29). Gender-balanced committees or the active involvement of women facilitates the spread of ideas within the community, especially about resources such as water systems that women are particularly involved in using and managing daily (21,22,50,56,70).

MARKET

The market mechanism operates through the dynamic relations between demand and supply which determines the price of a good or service. It is a mechanism allowing the distribution of resources. The market mechanism is a dynamic balance between supply and demand, and can easily be thrown out of balance, and lead to failure. Typically, when a good or service becomes more readily available and supply increases, prices tend to fall, and when the demand for a good or service reduces, prices tend to increase. The continued presence of a market system is important as it also a way that communities and people support themselves. Supply and demand of resources, especially in relation to WASH is influenced by contextual factors such as community or committee knowledge or skills, resource dependency and use in the community, ability to access resources for operation and maintenance, and a weather resilience system. These factors influence the want and need for services and resources. Market systems need to be resilient and adaptable to address fluctuations in supply and demand to ensure that there are continued resource or service availability and longevity for communities.

Availability

Knowledge mediates relations between supply and demand, lack of knowledge results in imbalances between supply and demand. Without knowledge, the availability of a resource or service may remain low, even when it is available at an affordable price. Hence, to lead to improved use, efforts to increase and improve the quality of supply (e.g. through training to increase the skills of local artisans on well design), require complementary efforts to increase household knowledge (e.g. through social media and public demonstrations) (88). The greater the level of community dependence on a resource (e.g. high levels of need for clean, safe, drinkable water for domestic purposes), the more likely it is that the community will invest in its supply (e.g. by promoting local development of skills required to maintain hardware), thus, helping to maintain or increase the availability of water (17,20,52,59,70,79).

Longevity

Varying levels of demand for a resource or service due to seasonality can have an important influence on longevity. For example, water kiosk services are viable during the dry season when people are willing to pay for water because of limited rain and availability of water. However, market failure of water kiosks occurs (and they become unviable in the long term) due to continued supply during the wet season in settings where there is increased availability of water due to cheaper options linked to rains then becomes unviable in the long term (67). Willingness to pay for a water system (18–20,22,67) and community-based water supply projects costs (53,68,69) often determines a system's reliability or longevity, and this is linked to demand, affordability and financial capacity in a community. The ability to access resources and funding is important when communities lack knowledge and skills, and the ability to pay for such skills lacking (52).

User fees are often imposed when there is limited internal or external financial support, and the resource or service requires ongoing maintenance and operational costs. User fees can also help to regulate demand and promote the responsible use of resources, promoting longevity (52,58,68), although this requires enforcement to pay fees (55). Low levels of willingness to pay (sometimes reflecting low levels of need or capacity to pay) can become a barrier to operation and maintenance and longevity of the water service and latrine quality (17,20,22,52,68). Where willingness exists in conjunction with the inability to access funds and, resources or need from external funding availability to water and latrines is compromised (22,58,85). Willingness to pay may also depend on satisfaction with and quality of the service, which in turn depends on how well it is operated or maintained (20).

OWNERSHIP

Endogenous interventions (interventions initiated by community members) are far better at reflecting and meeting a community's needs compared to interventions that are brought into the community by external agents with minimal or without community consultation and involvement. These are two extremes of a spectrum of community involvement captured in Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (40), which proposes that increased meaningful community participation correlates with more power in the decision-making process and thus more control over the change it may bring. Control of an object, process or idea is considered a key characteristic of the phenomenon of ownership (89). Examples of total ownership may be rare in the literature, but not rare at all in day-to-day practice within communities. However, well-planned collaboration between communities and external agents, which engage communities in co-planning, co-production, and co-management (90) or maintenance can achieve 'citizen control' and build an effective sense of ownership while overcoming barriers of access posed by lack of resources. Meaningful participation as co-production

is important as people often feel that they own something they create, shape or produce (89). A secure sense of ownership over a water resource, water infrastructure or hardware is crucial as is it promotes investment and commitment to its preservation at individual and community levels. Community involvement and inclusion, power and control are all necessary for an individual or community to feel a sense of ownership over WASH infrastructure, and this sense of ownership has significant impact on shaping outcomes availability and longevity of WASH interventions.

Availability

The need for the resource can help promote ownership, as the communities have a dependency on it and take greater steps to ensure the availability of resources such as water and latrines (48,54-56,81,91). Ownership can be initiated by need or want of a resource: such that as a community plays a role in obtaining an intervention, their sense of ownership can be increased when the intervention is in place, thus creating a self-reinforcing loop between availability and ownership. The extent to which community members feel a sense of ownership towards a resource can influence whether they seek external or draw on internal technical and financial support to ensure that the resources (e.g., water and sanitation facilities) are in place (22,29,47,52,63,73,92). High levels of social cohesion and connectedness is an enabler of efforts to access external funds or mobilise community resources (22,29,55,63,92). Access to loans and grants can help promote ownership (47,55). The involvement of a broad range of community members in water and sanitation interventions can promote a collective sense of ownership, which, in turn, can facilitate social cohesion and connectedness by providing opportunities for a community to share a common goal (8,93,94). By promoting community ownership of a resource, involving community members in capacity building (e.g. in managing the resource) can promote availability (42,48,56,81), and involving women, leaders and people with disabilities (e.g., in decision-making) can ensure that access is equitable and safe (49,50,55,65,72,93,95). Ownership by a range of community members, including those who are often underrepresented in positions of power and control, can increase availability for these community members as with ownership comes the opportunity for people to alter what they own, therefore satisfying their needs (89).

Longevity

Ownership is enabled by involving communities in the co-design, co-planning and co-implementation of hardware, increasing the likelihood that the resource reflects community needs (16,94), the costs are appropriate and affordable (17,20), the community has the appropriate information for operations and maintenance (20,53,66,96), and the community is willing and able to commit to bear hardware costs and ongoing operational and maintenance costs (17,64,97,98), thus becoming self-sufficient

(17,20,92). In the absence of this, a community may need to rely on external sources for the longevity of resources (19,54,68,96,98). Ownership is enabled when communities are allowed or granted decision-making authority in operations and have responsibility for the maintenance of hardware (19,99). Taking ownership requires a leader or committee to champion action (18,36,52,53,92), especially when a leader or committee has to manage the hardware (e.g. in terms of speed and adequacy of repair), and to raise and manage funds necessary to maintain the hardware (e.g. their water system) in the long term (50,52,53,60,66,79,84,92). Financial management ability, can be hampered when communities have low budget resources or communities are unable to afford the service and the committee receives limited funds to maintain a water system, impacting the longevity of the water service (16,52,54).

The capacity to manage the hardware can promote a sense of ownership (18,22,53,56,68,94). Therefore, retention of human resources and committee members can lead to resource/service longevity as knowledge and skills are retained in communities (22,51,66). Having a broad range of members (including women) on such committees can promote buy-in from the community, and diverse voices in decisions leading to a greater sense of ownership, and desire to maintain the resource (17,20,26,29,50,51,54). Involvement of women is important as they use water regularly and have a great need for water, and in some cases, their sense of ownership can be sufficiently strong to enable them to independently fund, plan, build and maintain water systems (70), allowing them to gain status, take on leadership roles and support younger women in the community (17,70). Women communicate with the committees about system breakdowns and without whom, such information sharing that lead to repair may not occur (29). Such active communication reflects ownership and indicates a willingness to work together and build connections within the community which promotes longevity by facilitating ongoing response to maintenance issues (22,56,79,83). Lack of ownership of hardware can occur in communities with low socioeconomic status as they may have other priorities, or where the need for the hardware is limited, which in turn limits commitment to its maintenance (18).

SHAME

Shame is based on the theory of social comparison where others compare themselves to those around them to determine their own self-worth and can trigger disgust, disappointment, or embarrassment in one's behaviour or actions. It is activated by individuals comparing themselves to each other where the shame of not conforming to the appropriate or undesirable WASH behaviours such as open defecation, leads communities or individuals to change their behaviour or action to become more

socially acceptable. Shame can be leveraged as a feature of interventions that seek to reset community norms, so community members view open defecation and not washing hands as disgusting and as harmful to the whole community. Comparison between individuals, between households and between communities, can lead to shame as it brings out elements of competition and can result in shame from the loss. This may manifest by introducing incentives (e.g. in the form of prizes and rewards) to motivate communities to achieve a water or sanitation goal in comparison to one another (10,42,43,51,62,81). Contextual factors such as socioeconomic status, location, leadership, resources, and social capital enable and reinforce the appropriate and desired behaviour or action. Availability and behaviour change are the two outcomes associated with the shame mechanism.

Availability

Without external support, shame can promote availability of and individual/household ownership of latrines (23,42,44–46,48,49,73,75,76,81,82,85,95,100–102) and handwashing facilities (43,46,48,72,81,82). These outcomes are limited in communities and households with financial and technical challenges (25,48,62,80,85,95,102). Enablers include initiating shame by leaders and people known within the community, which helps the acceptance, monitoring and enforcement of new norms (23,42,44,73,75,76,81,82,100). Smaller homogenous communities with effective leadership, are more likely to achieve universal sanitation coverage because people have closer relationships and are more mindful of the impact of their behaviours on others, therefore change in social norms occur more readily (42).

Social cohesion and connectedness are important enablers of household latrine construction because a level of cooperation and collective action it promotes can help overcome the inequality in resources and skills necessary to build latrines (11,24,48,63,71,72,74,80). Together they promote friendship and community respect, and an appreciation of social benefit of private goods that may help reduce open defecation (81). Social cohesion and connectedness also enable 'shame' to be transmitted throughout a community. However, when communities lack technical or financial capabilities (25,85,95), availability may be compromised by the lack of privacy, safety and construction of low standard latrines (95), although when the new social norm is sufficiently established, communities may seek to repair or rebuild such latrines (73,85). The shame of losing in a competition can have a negative effect on the non-winners who may be demotivated as a result (81). Improvements in the availability of latrines and handwashing facilities (43,81) may occur as a result of the motivation of winning prizes

(e.g., motorcycles) or simply the right of a leader to claim they 'won' by their community being first to become open defecation free (42,43).

Change

Efforts to avoid shame can result in a change in sanitation behaviour (i.e. reduction in open defecation, increase latrine use, appropriate disposal of excreta material and clean facilities) (10,11,25,42,44,48,51,62,71,72,75,82,85,88,100-103) and an increase in levels of overall hygiene behaviour, including handwashing (25,26,82,101) and safe drinking water and storage (i.e. lower E. coli levels) (25,75). These changes impact health outcomes such as a reduction in childhood in diarrheal disease, roundworm infestation and stunting (42,62,75,80,85,100). Behaviour change is limited where prior beliefs about the negative impact of open defecation are weak (100), where open defecation solves a cultural problem such as men and women not being allowed to share a toilet (10,11), where there is a focus on latrine construction over utilisation (101), where there is a lack of water for latrine cleaning and hand washing facilities close to latrines (85) and the latrine is full (102). Shame is more effective for behaviour change in small, cohesive, and isolated total communities with similar views, as people want to fit in and conform to social norms (88), where effective leadership and community involvement help reinforce change in social norms (10,44,72,85), and where high social cohesion and connectedness makes people more likely to conform for the benefit and social wellbeing of the community (8,48,80), especially as social pressure mounts and community tolerance for undesirable behaviour decreases (11,23,80). Latrine quality and cleanliness can help ensure people utilise it and feel safe (44). Increased respect and social acceptance for latrine ownership can help the shift social norms (48). Celebration by village members and local media coverage of open defecation free status can reinforce the undesirable behaviour and shame of those not conforming to the social norm (44).

Effective leadership is an important enabler of reduced levels of open defecation in communities, as it helps reinforce changes in social norms (10,72,82,85). High rates of latrine ownership and availability, can indicate a change in social norms and the acceptance of the new behaviour (73). Communities that have a lead role in an intervention, allows them to identify the impacts of their behaviour and helps them understand the importance of change in behaviour leading to a paradigm shift to promote sanitation facilities and stop open defecation (85). However, an increase in latrine ownership does not always guarantee their sustained use, increase in handwashing or reduction in open defecation (10,25,73,85). Without ongoing support, acknowledgement of change and loss of

messaging impact, behaviour change is unlikely to be sustained as there is a tendency for fatigue or loss of motivation within communities (23–25,102).

Discussion

In this realist review, we investigated how (mechanisms) and under what circumstances (context) community efforts and decisions regarding WASH interventions promote health and resource/service longevity (outcomes) in LMICs. To our knowledge, this is the first realist review to do so. We identified five mechanisms: accountability, diffusion, market, ownership, and shame. The five theories we identified five theories that acted as foundations for the mechanisms. We also identified contextual factors that lead to positive and negative outcomes for availability, behaviour change, health, and resource/service longevity in both external and internal interventions in a community setting.

Our study identified 19 contextual factors that need to be considered before interventions start including community location, communities with similar characteristics, communication, leadership, fines/penalties, seasonality, resource dependency, access to resources and funding, community financial and technical skills and knowledge, leadership, ongoing support and acknowledgement of change, community connectedness and social cohesion, community willingness to pay, committees with followed and understood responsibilities, rules and management plans, active committees that include women and community/committee involvement in the design, planning or implementation of the intervention. Different combinations of these factors lead to different outcomes. Amongst the mechanisms, overlapping contextual factors were identified including social cohesion and connectedness, skills and knowledge (including financial capabilities and technical abilities for operations and maintenance), willingness to pay, communication, communities with similar characteristics and views often in a remote location, leadership and diverse involvement in the intervention (of women and at different stages of design, planning and implementation). Of these contextual factors, social cohesion and connectedness, leadership, and diverse involvement in the intervention (including of women and at different stages of design, planning and implementation) stood out as being common across successful interventions.

Our findings have some similarities with the realist reviews by Loevinsohn et al (5) and Stefanelli et al (7) showing community cohesion and connectedness, community involvement and skills and knowledge as enabling factors. Further, Loevinsohn et al (5) found organisations made the decisions of where and when to intervene, but they had limited transparency and accountability which can lead to inequalities in services. This reflects the need for key contextual factors we identified to be

considered such as leadership and diverse involvement in the intervention. Other evidence shows issues with co-management of water resources, the need to redevelop current water governance practices and barriers to implementation such as difficulties engaging Indigenous participants (7). Other evidence highlights flaws in much existing WASH interventions aimed at reducing infections and suggest the need for greater intensity (e.g. through frequent contact between promoters and community members) to facilitate behaviour change. These studies indicate a need focus on broader strategies to reduce contamination in the household environment (e.g. through the complete separation of animal faeces from people's living environments), rather than only behaviour change (104).

Also, other literature reviews have been conducted to explore contextual factors impacting WASH outcomes and interventions. While Jiménez et al (4) categorised their outcomes differently (the legitimacy of the process, increased awareness from the population, participant empowerment, better management and accountability and improved sustainability), their findings resonant with ours. Like our CMO configurations, Jiménez et al developed procedural elements and contextual factors that influence rural drinking water, rural sanitation and urban drinking water and sanitation. Further, other factors such as access to adequate and timely information were identified (4). What our paper adds, is what factors have positive and negative outcomes. In their systematic review, Novotný et al (6) provide a health-outcome nexus assessing how contextual factors impact different sanitation outcomes. Again, similar outcomes and contextual factors were identified, but with a broader range of community and individual socioeconomic factors (6).

Monitoring is a major component of the accountability mechanism, and it can be conducted through multiple forms including reports and follow up visits. However, the downside of ongoing monitoring is that it is expensive, time-consuming, labour and resource-intensive, and increased frequency can induce reactivity from subjects (105,106). Outsider reporting of activities and changes may also not be accurate (105). The length of time involved in monitoring and observation may be inconvenient for households and communities and may change their routines (106). Higher social economic households show greater responses to monitoring or observation, and may not reflect the population (107).

Diffusion of innovation has been widely identified as a mechanism in public health, for example in the adoption of new health policies and technologies, and the use of new drugs (108). In using this mechanism, there is a growing push to highlight the psychological and physical health benefits of what is being adopted (109). New behaviours may need to be adapted to meet the cultural needs of the

target population (108,109) before adoption. A downside of the diffusion mechanism is that blame can be put on an individual and on those of lower social-economic status who are unable to conform or adopt an innovation or new behaviour due to financial barriers (109).

The market mechanism builds on the economic theory of demand. For this mechanism to be sustained there needs to be a delicate balance between supply, demand and pricing on the resource (39). The downside of markets is that they may not be sensitive to the cultural and social dimensions involved in the use of water and sanitation services or resources (110,111). Further, the market mechanism does not take into consideration the effects of climate change and the changing population demands (110,111). Research in the United Kingdom highlighted the difficulty of using the market mechanism to predict underlying patterns to sustain WASH interventions (110).

Ownership can be broken into several components, including 1) process (who has a voice and whose voice is heard), 2) outcome (who influences the decisions and from what effort), and 3) distribution (who is affected by the process and outcome) (112). Ownership can be difficult to achieve, especially equally and fairly within a community, especially as a privilege and socioeconomic status are involved in who has a voice, whose voice listened to, who has the power or influence within the community to be involved in decision-making, and who has the power or influence to be involved in negotiations (112). The literature that was used to inform the development of the ownership mechanisms, with a focus on co-production was based on examples in high-income contexts where priorities and power of communities and individuals are very different. A systematic review found ownership a key component for health intervention sustainability within Sub-Saharan Africa (113).

Shame as a mechanism has been widely used in sanitation, tobacco control and obesity interventions (114–116). Shame has been employed by community-led total sanitation since the 1990s (116). However, there are recent arguments in global health that shame should never be employed as a mechanism to drive improved health outcomes (117), because it can lead to psychological harm especially among poor households who cannot afford to make the change, and because it can be a direct attack on a person's identity or concept of self and be detrimental to their self-esteem (21,118,119). The shame mechanism is woven into many behaviour change sanitation interventions. Before using this mechanism, detailed discussions need to occur to highlight the potential downsides of focusing on shame.

Further work is needed to validate our five proposed mechanisms and CMO configurations in empirical studies. We recognise that there are alternative theories that can be used to explain the outcomes n the identified studies. For example, nudge theory provides an alternative explanation to accountability where positive nudges within the community such as monitoring or meetings, act as a positive reinforcement for their behaviour change or actions of the community. Ongoing meetings and monitoring may also be seen as positive nudges for people to perform the socially acceptable behaviour or action being nudged. On the other hand, fines for defaulting act as negative nudges and reinforce the appropriate actions and behaviours (120). The transtheoretical (or "stages of change") model also offers an alternative explanation for behaviour change at the community level with a key contextual factor being the selection of natural leaders who can help guide and influence communities through the stages of behaviour change (121). The transtheoretical model can also be linked to shame, as actions as taken to provide information about others approval for a behaviour such as a walk of shame to indicate open defaecation behaviour in a community (121). Indeed, shame itself may represent a negative nudge. Persuasion theory is yet another theory that could explain changes in behaviour around water use and open defecation (122). In smaller communities, monitoring, strong leadership, and communication in the community can be used to persuade people to change their behaviour as they understand the consequences. Greater knowledge and understanding of the impact of the change and social influence can persuade people to achieve a more desirable behaviour. These three theories offer alternative explanations but were not chosen as the initial guiding theories as they do not include the diversity of contextual factors and were mainly linked to behaviour change outcomes. The five guiding theories that were selected flexible, and well-studied in the literature, so this allowed us to build a detailed understanding, and how they relate specifically to the WASH sector.

Strengths and limitations

This review involved a thorough detailed search, which identified 73 papers, from 29 countries for inclusion. The size of the review allowed for diverse CMOs to be explored and understood. Only one paper from Small Island Developing States (SIDS) matched our inclusion criteria that matched our inclusion criteria was located. Most papers included in the study were from the African and Asian LMICs. Due to this, it is unreasonable to generalise the findings to all contexts, we would need to include papers from a wider range of contexts and varied locations. This is an important factor to consider as SIDS have different priorities and challenges for water and sanitation in comparison to Asian and African countries. Research should be conducted within SIDS to further refine the CMO configurations identified in this review and to develop new CMO configurations which can be used to

explain multiple outcomes around water and sanitation interventions in these settings, as the literature has tended to only look at one or the other.

The papers selected for this review were limited to those available in English, peer-reviewed and available online through a database search. We also only looked at published articles and did not include grey literature such as NGO and government reports. Most of the papers identified only focused on outcomes over a short time period, with only a few looking over five years (20,79). The short time frames are usually insufficient for behaviour change or resource/service longevity to be observed. In the Māori population of New Zealand, a frame of less than 50 years is not appropriate as it does not consider, the 'mokopuna of the mokopuna' [grandchild of the grandchild] (123). Among the papers included in our study, it was hard to identify 'physical' and 'social' contextual factors, as very limited information was often provided on these, and details were not deemed relevant information for the paper. If more information was available, then the types of contextual factors may have been found to play a bigger role than we identified. Lastly, we did not include papers that looked at communities' natural resource management and interventions, we only included papers where an external party such as NGO or government was involved in the natural resource management and interventions. Further research needs to be conducted to identify the mechanisms involved in such intervention.

Based on our findings, the diverse involvement of communities to assess the design and plan of an intervention is one of the most important enabling factors for resource/service longevity and behaviour change. For water resource-focused interventions where the goal is to promote availability or longevity of the resource then the accountability, market and ownership mechanisms seem to be particularly important, but these mechanisms depend more on a broad range of community-level contextual factors. For behaviour change, mechanisms shame and diffusion of innovation seem to be particularly effective, but they are most effective in smaller homogenous communities. Before starting any intervention, it is important to understand the contextual factors within each community and to tailor the intervention accordingly. For example, interventionists who want to consider using the "accountability" mechanism to achieve desired outcomes will do well to ask themselves if the communities in which they seek to intervene have the necessary contextual factors (e.g. easily accessible community to allow access for monitoring visits, community-level platforms that facilitate internal monitoring etc) as shown in Table 2. And if not, whether to consider another mechanism or support their target communities to develop such favourable contextual factors before or while introducing an intervention.

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This study brings together the knowledge generated from 73 water and sanitation interventions in LMICs where communities are involved. Health, infrastructure and resource/service longevity-related outcomes are influenced by five mechanisms. The mechanisms are, 1) accountability (policies and procedures to hold communities and committees responsible for their actions and outcomes of an intervention), 2) diffusion (spread of an idea or behaviour by innovators over time through communication amongst members of a community), 3) market (the interplay between demand and supply of a service or resource), 4) ownership (sense of possession and control of the service or resource), and 5) shame (a feeling of disgust in one's behaviour or actions). We identified 19 individual contextual factors that impact these mechanisms. These contextual factors can be utilized by policymakers, program designers and implementers and NGOs in the development of interventions. They can also help improve the likelihood of success for targeted outcomes and infrastructure and service longevity. The results also provide a framework for analysing and understanding the performance of WASH interventions retrospectively.

Abbreviations:

- LMICs Low-and-middle income countries
- 833 NGO Nongovernmental organisation
- 834 SIDS Small Island Developing States
- 835 WASH Water, sanitation, and hygiene

Data availability statement

- Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no datasets were generated or analysed during this
- 839 current study.

Patient and Public Involvement

842 No patient involved

Competing interests

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

847 Funding

- This work was supported by the Stronger Systems for Health Security grant scheme by the Indo-Pacific
 Centre for Health Security, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australia (Grant No: SSHS 74427),
 and Bloomberg Philanthropies Vibrant Oceans Initiative (Grant No: 53006). The funders had no role in
 the study design, data collection and analysis, decision to publish or preparation of this manuscript.
- 853 <u>Authors' contributions</u>
 - 854 Conceptualization: Sarah Nelson, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
 - 855 Data Curation: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek
 - 856 Formal analysis: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek, Seye Abimbola
 - 857 Funding acquisition: Aaron Jenkins, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
 - 858 Investigation: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek
 - 859 Methodology: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek, Seye Abimbola
 - 860 Supervision: Aaron Jenkins, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
 - 861 Validation: Sarah Nelson, Seye Abimbola
 - 862 Visualisation: Sarah Nelson, Seye Abimbola
 - Writing original draft preparation: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek
 - 864 Writing review & editing: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek, Aaron Jenkins, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
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Figure 1: Results taken in the literature search

Table 2: Enabling context-mechanism-outcome configurations

Table 1: Steps taken in the realist analysis

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1185 Figure 2: The study country origin

Figure 3: Intervention focus

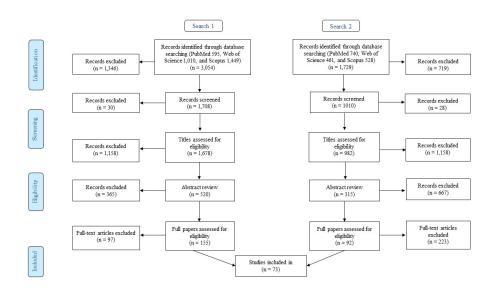


Figure 1: Results taken in the literature search 338x190mm (96 x 96 DPI)

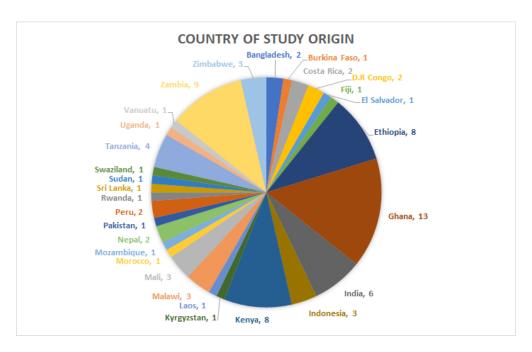


Figure 2: The study country origin 124x78mm (144 x 144 DPI)

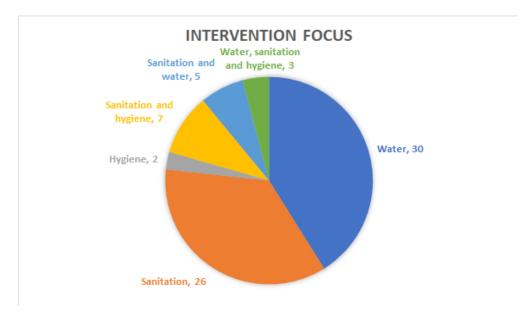


Figure 3: Intervention focus 104x60mm (144 x 144 DPI)

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	Paper details	Country	Intervention	Exogenous or Endogenous	Mechanism(s)	Outcome
1	Abedin, M. A., Habiba, U., & Shaw, R. (2014). Community perception and adaptation to safe drinking water scarcity: salinity, arsenic, and drought risks in coastal Bangladesh. <i>International Journal of Disaster Risk Science</i> , 5(2), 110-124.	Bangladesh	Water	Both 2 Dece	Accountability Ownership	Availability
2	Dey, N. C., Parvez, M., Islam, M. R., Mistry, S. K., & Levine, D. I. (2019). Effectiveness of a community-based water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) intervention in reduction of diarrhoea among under-five children: Evidence from a repeated cross-sectional study (2007–2015) in rural Bangladesh. <i>International journal of hygiene and environmental health</i> , 222(8), 1098-1108.	Bangladesh	Water, sanitation and hygiene	Exogger 2021. Dov	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability Change
3	Dickin, S., Bisung, E., & Savadogo, K. (2017). Sanitation and the commons: The role of collective action in sanitation use. <i>Geoforum</i> , 86, 118-126.	Burkina Faso	Sanitation	Exogen ous	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability
4	Madrigal-Ballestero, R., & Naranjo, M. A. (2015). Adaptive capacity, drought and the performance of community-based drinking water organizations in Costa Rica. <i>Journal of Water and Climate Change</i> , 6(4), 831-847.	Costa Rica	Water	Exogen ous	Accountability Diffusion Ownership Market	Availability Longevity
5	Madrigal-Ballestero, R. (2019). Household and community responses to seasonal droughts in rural areas of Costa Rica. <i>Waterlines</i> , <i>38</i> (4), 286-304.	Costa Rica	Water	Exogenous	Accountability Ownership	Availability Longevity
6	Jimenez-Redal, R., Soriano, J., Holowko, N., Almandoz, J., & Arregui, F. (2018). Assessing sustainability of rural gravity-fed water schemes on Idjwi Island, DR Congo. <i>International Journal of Water Resources Development</i> , <i>34</i> (6), 1022-1035.	D.R Congo	Water	Exogenous i.com/ c	Ownership	Availability Longevity
7	Andrade, E. L., Bingenheimer, J. B., Edberg, M. C., Zoerhoff, K. L., & Putzer, E. M. (2019). Evaluating the effectiveness of a community-based hygiene promotion program in a rural Salvadoran setting. <i>Global Health Promotion</i> , <i>26</i> (1), 69-80.	El Salvador	Hygiene	Exogenous prii	Ownership	Change
8	Degebasa, M. Z., Weldemichael, D. Z., & Marama, M. T. (2018). Diarrheal status and associated factors in under five years old children in relation to implemented and unimplemented community-led total sanitation and hygiene in Yaya Gulele in 2017. <i>Pediatric health, medicine and therapeutics</i> , 9, 109.	Ethiopia	Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogenous 024 by 91	Ownership Shame	Availability Change
9	Zeleke, D. A., Gelaye, K. A., & Mekonnen, F. A. (2019). Community-Led Total Sanitation and the rate of latrine ownership. <i>BMC research notes</i> , <i>12</i> (1), 14.	Ethiopia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion Shame	Availability
10	Tessema, R. A. (2017). Assessment of the implementation of community-led total sanitation, hygiene, and associated factors in Diretiyara district, Eastern Ethiopia. <i>PloS one</i> , <i>12</i> (4), e0175233.	Ethiopia	Sanitation	Exogenous Crea a	Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability Change

omjopen-2021-053

11	Anthonj, C., Fleming, L., Cronk, R., Godfrey, S., Ambelu, A., Bevan, J., & Bartram, J. (2018). Improving monitoring and water point functionality in rural	Ethiopia	Water	Exogenous	Accountability Ownership	Availability Change
	Ethiopia. <i>Water, 10</i> (11), 1591.			on 2	o winership	Longevity
12	Crocker, J., Geremew, A., Atalie, F., Yetie, M., & Bartram, J. (2016). Teachers and	Ethiopia	Sanitation	Exog&hous	Diffusion	Availability
	sanitation promotion: an assessment of community-led total sanitation in			cen	Ownership	Change
	Ethiopia. Environmental science & technology, 50(12), 6517-6525.			mbe	Shame	
13	Gebremariam, B., & Tsehaye, K. (2019). Effect of community led total sanitation	Ethiopia	Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogenous	Shame	Change
	and hygiene (CLTSH) implementation program on latrine utilization among adult)21		
	villagers of North Ethiopia: a cross-sectional study. <i>BMC research notes</i> , 12(1), 1-			. Do		
14	6. Soboksa, N. E., Hailu, A. B., Gari, S. R., & Alemu, B. M. (2019). Water supply,	Ethiopia	Water, Sanitation and	Exogenous	Diffusion	Availability
14	sanitation and hygiene interventions and childhood diarrhea in Kersa and Omo	Еппоріа	Hygiene	l &	Shame	Change
	Nada districts of Jimma Zone, Ethiopia: a comparative cross-sectional		Пубісне	lded	Shame	Change
	study. Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition, 38(1), 1-14.			fro		
15	Crocker, J., Saywell, D., & Bartram, J. (2017). Sustainability of community-led	Ethiopia and	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Availability
	total sanitation outcomes: Evidence from Ethiopia and Ghana. <i>International</i>	Ghana		₫	Ownership	Change
	Journal of Hygiene and Environmental Health, 220(3), 551-557.			//bi	Shame	
16	Opare, S. (2011). Sustaining water supply through a phased community	Ghana	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Availability
	management approach: Lessons from Ghana's "oats" water supply			oen	Diffusion	Change
	scheme. Environment, Development and Sustainability, 13, 1021-1042.			b	Ownership	Longevity
17	Nunbogu, A. M., Harter, M., & Mosler, H. J. (2019). Factors associated with levels	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Availability
	of latrine completion and consequent latrine use in northern Ghana.			o B	Shame	Change
4.0	International journal of environmental research and public health, 16(6), 920.	C.		0	D:(C :	
18	Crocker J, Abodoo E, Asamani D, Domapielle W, Gyapong B, Bartram J. (2016).	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Availability
	Impact evaluation of training natural leaders during a community-led total			Ž.	Shame	Change
	sanitation intervention: A cluster-randomized field trial in Ghana. <i>Environ Sci Technol.</i> 50(16):8867–75.			10, 2		
19	Kosinski, K. C., Crocker, J. J., Durant, J. L., Osabutey, D., Adjei, M. N., & Gute, D.	Ghana	Water	Exogenous	Ownership	Change
	M. (2011). A novel community-based water recreation area for schistosomiasis				'	
	control in rural Ghana. Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for			by gues		
	Development, 1(4), 259-268.			lest		
20	Woode, P. K., Dwumfour-Asare, B., Nyarko, K. B., & Appiah-Effah, E. (2018). Cost	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Change
	and effectiveness of water, sanitation and hygiene promotion intervention in			otected		
	Ghana: the case of four communities in the Brong Ahafo region. <i>Heliyon</i> , 4(10),			cte		
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21 Morinville, C., & Harris, L. M. (2014). Participation, politics, and panaceas: exploring the possibilities and limits of participatory urban water governance in Accra, Ghana. <i>Ecology and Society</i> , 19(3).	Ghana	Water	Exogenous.	Accountability Ownership	Availability Longevity
Harter, M., Inauen, J., & Mosler, H. J. (2020). How does Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) promote latrine construction, and can it be improved? A cluster-randomized controlled trial in Ghana. Social science & medicine, 245, 112705.	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous Exogenous	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability
Nti, E. K., Wongnaa, C. A., Edusah, N. S. E., & Bakang, J. E. A. (2020). Assessment of the sustainability of community-managed water supply services in Ghana. <i>Environment, Development and Sustainability</i> , 22(7), 7097-7120.	Ghana	Water	Exogenous .1 Do	Ownership	Longevity
24 Klug, T., Shields, K. F., Cronk, R., Kelly, E., Behnke, N., Lee, K., & Bartram, J. (2017). Water system hardware and management rehabilitation: Qualitative evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. <i>International journal of hygiene and environmental health</i> , 220(3), 531-538.	Ghana, Kenya, Zambia	Water	Exogenous Daded from	Accountability Ownership	Longevity
25 Kelly, E., Shields, K. F., Cronk, R., Lee, K., Behnke, N., Klug, T., & Bartram, J. (2018). Seasonality, water use and community management of water systems in rural settings: Qualitative evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. <i>Science of the Total Environment</i> , 628, 715-721.	Ghana, Kenya, Zambia	Water	Exogettp://bmjo	Market	Longevity
Behnke, N. L., Klug, T., Cronk, R., Shields, K. F., Lee, K., Kelly, E. R., & Bartram, J. (2017). Resource mobilization for community-managed rural water systems: Evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. <i>Journal of Cleaner Production</i> , <i>156</i> , 437-444.	Ghana, Kenya, Zambia	Water	Both.bmj.con	Ownership	Longevity
27 Kelly, E., Lee, K., Shields, K. F., Cronk, R., Behnke, N., Klug, T., & Bartram, J. (2017). The role of social capital and sense of ownership in rural community-managed water systems: Qualitative evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. <i>Journal of Rural Studies</i> , <i>56</i> , 156-166.	Ghana, Kenya, Zambia	Water	Both on April 10	Accountability Ownership	Availability
28 Sarkar, S., Greenleaf, J. E., Gupta, A., Ghosh, D., Blaney, L. M., Bandyopadhyay, P., & Sen Gupta, A. K. (2010). Evolution of community-based arsenic removal systems in remote villages in West Bengal, India: assessment of decade-long operation. <i>Water Research</i> , <i>44</i> (19), 5813-5822.	India	Water	Exogenous 0024 by gu	Accountability Market	Availability Longevity
29 Rout, S. (2014). Institutional variations in practice of demand responsive approach: evidence from rural water supply in India. <i>Water Policy</i> , <i>16</i> (4), 650-668.	India	Water	Endo enous Prot	Accountability Market Ownership	Longevity
30 Singh, C. (2018). Is participatory watershed development building local adaptive capacity? Findings from a case study in Rajasthan, India. <i>Environmental development</i> , 25, 43-58.	India	Water	Exoged by copyright	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability Longevity

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31	Maheshwari, B., Varua, M., Ward, J., Packham, R., Chinnasamy, P., Dashora, Y.,	India	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Availability
	& Rao, P. (2014). The role of transdisciplinary approach and community			on on	Ownership	Longevity
	participation in village scale groundwater management: insights from Gujarat			N		
	and Rajasthan, India. <i>Water</i> , 6(11), 3386-3408.			De		
32	Orgill-Meyer, J., Pattanayak, S. K., Chindarkar, N., Dickinson, K. L., Panda, U., Rai,	India	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Availability
	S., & Jeuland, M. (2019). Long-term impact of a community-led sanitation			mbe		Change
	campaign in India, 2005–2016. Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 97(8),			er 2		
	523.			202		
33	String, G. M., Singleton, R. I., Mirindi, P. N., & Lantagne, D. S. (2020). Operational	India, DRC,	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Availability
	research on rural, community-managed water safety Plans: case study results	Fiji, and		Jown	Market	Longevity
	from implementations in India, DRC, Fiji, and Vanuatu. Water research, 170,	Vanuatu		/nloa		
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34	Cameron, L., Olivia, S., & Shah, M. (2019). Scaling up sanitation: evidence from	Indonesia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Change
	an RCT in Indonesia. Journal of development economics, 138, 1-16.			fror	Ownership	Longevity
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35	Roekmi RAK, Baskaran K, Chua LH. (2018). Community-based water supplies in	Indonesia	Water	Endo g enous	Accountability	Availability
	Cikarang, Indonesia: Are they sustainable? Natural Resource Forum;42(2):108–			//bi	Market	Longevity
	22			njo	Ownership	
36	Ganing, A., Abu, A., Muslimin, I., & Adam, A. (2018). Community empowerment	Indonesia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Change
	in management community-based total sanitation through health education in			n.br	Ownership	Longevity
	Majene. Indian Journal of Public Health Research & Development, 9(12), 1466-		\mathbf{N}_{I}	bmj.co		
	1471.			Con		
37	Ogendo, K. N., Kihara, A. B., Kosgei, R. J., Tweya, H., Kizito, W., Murkomen, B., &	Kenya	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Change
	Ogutu, O. (2016). Assessment of community led total sanitation uptake in rural		()	D →		
	Kenya. East African Medical Journal, 93(10), 39-42.		<u> </u>	Apri		
38	Babb, C., Makotsi, N., Heimler, I., Bailey, R. C., Hershow, R. C., Masanga, P., &	Kenya	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Change
	Mehta, S. D. (2018). Evaluation of the effectiveness of a latrine intervention in			, 20		
	the reduction of childhood diarrhoeal health in Nyando District, Kisumu County,			2024		
	Kenya. Epidemiology & Infection, 146(9), 1079-1088.			by		
39	Gimaiyo, G., McManus, J., Yarri, M., Singh, S., Trevett, A., Moloney, G., &	Kenya	Sanitation	Exog @ nous	Accountability	Change
	Lehmann, L. (2019). Can child-focused sanitation and nutrition programming			est.	Diffusion	
	improve health practices and outcomes? Evidence from a randomised controlled			. Pro	Shame	
	trial in Kitui County, Kenya. <i>BMJ global health, 4</i> (1).			- 		
40	Karinja, M., Schlienger, R., Pillai, G. C., Esterhuizen, T., Onyango, E., Gitau, A., &	Kenya	Hygiene	Exogenous	Diffusion	Change
	Ogutu, B. (2020). Risk reduction of diarrhea and respiratory infections following			<u>ā</u>		
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	a community health education program-a facility-based case-control study in rural parts of Kenya. <i>BMC public health</i> , 20, 1-9.			3320		
41	Wardle, C. (2018). Sustainability and long-term impact of community-managed water supply in rural Kyrgyzstan, Central Asia. <i>Waterlines</i> , <i>37</i> (2), 118-131.	Kyrgyzstan	Water	Exogenous O	Diffusion Market Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
42	Keoprasith, B., Kizuki, M., Watanabe, M., & Takano, T. (2013). The impact of community-based, workshop activities in multiple local dialects on the vaccination coverage, sanitary living and the health status of multiethnic populations in Lao PDR. <i>Health promotion international</i> , 28(3), 453-465.	Laos	Sanitation and hygiene	Exogenous er 2021. I	Accountability Diffusion	Change
43	Biran, A., Danquah, L., Chunga, J., Schmidt, W. P., Holm, R., Itimu-Phiri, A., & White, S. (2018). A cluster-randomized trial to evaluate the impact of an inclusive, community-led total sanitation intervention on sanitation access for people with disabilities in Malawi. <i>The American journal of tropical medicine and hygiene</i> , <i>98</i> (4), 984-994.	Malawi	Sanitation	Exogenous loaded fro	Accountability Ownership Shame	Availability
44	Kayoka, C., Itimu-Phiri, A., Biran, A., & Holm, R. H. (2019). Lasting results: A qualitative assessment of efforts to make community-led total sanitation more inclusive of the needs of people with disabilities in Rumphi District, Malawi. <i>Disability and health journal</i> , 12(4), 718-721.	Malawi	Sanitation	Exogenous enttp://bmjc	Ownership Shame	Availability
45	Longwe, B., Mganga, M., & Sinyiza, N. (2019). Review of sustainable solar powered water supply system design approach by Water Mission Malawi. <i>Water Practice and Technology</i> , 14(4), 749-763.	Malawi	Water	Exogenous bm.	Accountability Market Ownership	Availability Longevity
46	Pickering, A. J., Djebbari, H., Lopez, C., Coulibaly, M., & Alzua, M. L. (2015). Effect of a community-led sanitation intervention on child diarrhoea and child growth in rural Mali: a cluster-randomised controlled trial. <i>The Lancet Global Health</i> , <i>3</i> (11), e701-e711.	Mali	Sanitation	Exogenous on Apri	Accountability Shame	Change Longevity
47	Jones, S. (2011). Participation as citizenship or payment? A case study of rural drinking water governance in Mali. <i>Water alternatives</i> , 4(1).	Mali	Water	Exogenous 2022	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability
48	Alzúa, M. L., Djebbari, H., & Pickering, A. J. (2020). A community-based program promotes sanitation. <i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i> , <i>68</i> (2), 357-390.	Mali	Sanitation	Exog e nous guess	Accountability Shame	Availability Change
49	Azemzi, H., & Erraoui, E. H. (2021). Irrigation water management and collective action: understanding the shift from community management to participatory management in Souss-Massa (Morocco). Euro-Mediterranean Journal for Environmental Integration, 6(1), 1-12.	Morocco	Water	Endogenous of ected	Accountability Ownership	Availability Change Longevity

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50	Harter, M., Mosch, S., & Mosler, H. J. (2018). How does Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) affect latrine ownership? A quantitative case study from Mozambique. <i>BMC public health</i> , <i>18</i> (1), 387.	Mozambique	Sanitation	Exogious O On 2	Diffusion Ownership	Availability Longevity
51	Barrington, D., Fuller, K., & McMillan, A. (2013). Water safety planning: adapting the existing approach to community-managed systems in rural Nepal. <i>Journal of water, sanitation and hygiene for development</i> , <i>3</i> (3), 392-401.	Nepal	Water	Exogenous cemb	Diffusion	Longevity
52	Bright-Davies L, Lüthi C, Jachnow A. (2015). DEWATS for urban Nepal: a comparative assessment for community wastewater management. <i>Waterlines</i> . <i>34</i> (2):119–38.	Nepal	Water	Exogenous	Ownership	Longevity
3	Padawangi, R. (2010). Community-driven development as a driver of change: water supply and sanitation projects in rural Punjab, Pakistan. <i>Water Policy</i> , 12(S1), 104-120.	Pakistan	Sanitation and water	Exogenous	Market Ownership	Availability Longevity
54	Hubbard, B., Sarisky, J., Gelting, R., Baffigo, V., Seminario, R., & Centurion, C. (2011). A community demand-driven approach toward sustainable water and sanitation infrastructure development. <i>International journal of hygiene and environmental health</i> , <i>214</i> (4), 326-334.	Peru	Sanitation and Water	Endogenous from http:	Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
5	Smyrilli, C., Selvakumaran, S., Alderson, M., Pizarro, A., Almendrades, D., Harris, B., & Bustamante, A. (2018). Sustainable decentralised wastewater treatment schemes in the context of Lobitos, Peru. <i>Journal of Environmental Engineering and Science</i> , <i>13</i> (1), 8-16.	Peru	Water	Exogenous open.b	Ownership	Longevity
6	Chankova, S., Hatt, L., & Musange, S. (2012). A community-based approach to promote household water treatment in Rwanda. <i>Journal of water and health</i> , 10(1), 116-129.	Rwanda	Water	Exogenous o	Diffusion	Availability Change Longevity
57	Aladuwaka, S., & Momsen, J. (2010). k, water resources management and women's empowerment: the Wanaraniya Water Project in Sri Lanka. <i>Gender & Development</i> , 18(1), 43-58.	Sri Lanka	Water	Endogenous pri:	Diffusion Market Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
8	Ibrahim, S. H. (2017). Sustainability assessment and identification of determinants in community-based water supply projects using partial least squares path model. <i>Journal of Sustainable Development of Energy, Water and Environment Systems</i> , <i>5</i> (3), 345-358.	Sudan	Water	Exogenous 024 by gu	Market	Longevity
9	Mlenga, D. H., & Baraki, Y. A. (2016). Community led total sanitation for community based disaster risk reduction: A case for non-input humanitarian relief. <i>Jàmbá: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies</i> , 8(2).	Swaziland	Sanitation	Exogenous Proft	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
50	Madon, S., Malecela, M. N., Mashoto, K., Donohue, R., Mubyazi, G., & Michael, E. (2018). The role of community participation for sustainable integrated	Tanzania	Sanitation and hygiene	Exogenous dopyright	Accountability Ownership Shame	Availability Change Longevity

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	neglected tropical diseases and water, sanitation and hygiene intervention programs: a pilot project in Tanzania. <i>Social Science & Medicine</i> , 202, 28-37.			3320 o		
61	Mwakitalima, A., Massa, K., Seleman, A., & Kassile, T. (2018). Scaling up rural sanitation in Tanzania: evidence from the National Sanitation Campaign. <i>Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development</i> , 8(2), 290-306.	Tanzania	Sanitation	Exogenous Decemb	Accountability Diffusion Market Shame	Availability
62	Kema, K. M., Komwihangiro, J., & Kimaro, S. (2012). Integrated community based child survival, reproductive health and water and sanitation program in Mkuranga district, Tanzania: a replicable model of good practices in community based health care. <i>The Pan African Medical Journal</i> , 13(Suppl 1).	Tanzania	Sanitation and water	Exogenous 2021. Dow	Accountability Ownership Shame	Availability
63	Safari, J., Mohamed, H., Dimoso, P., Akyoo, W., Odhiambo, F., Mpete, R., & Mwakitalima, A. (2019). Lessons learned from the national sanitation campaign in Njombe district, Tanzania. <i>Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development</i> , <i>9</i> (4), 754-764.	Tanzania	Sanitation	Exogenated from	Accountability Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability Change
64	Okolimong, C. D., Ndejjo, R., Mugambe, R. K., & Halage, A. A. (2020). Effect of a Community-Led Total Sanitation Intervention on Sanitation and Hygiene in Pallisa District, Uganda. <i>The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene</i> , 103(4), 1735-1741.	Uganda	Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogentp://bmjc	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
65	Harvey, P. A. (2011). Zero subsidy strategies for accelerating access to rural water and sanitation services. <i>Water Science and Technology</i> , <i>63</i> (5), 1037-1043.	Zambia	Sanitation and water	Exogenous bmj.	Market Ownership Shame	Availability Change Longevity
66	Zimba, R., Ngulube, V., Lukama, C., Manangi, A., Tiwari, A., Osbert, N., & Larsen, D. A. (2016). Chiengi district, Zambia open defecation free after 1 year of community-led total sanitation. <i>The American journal of tropical medicine and hygiene</i> , 95(4), 925-927.	Zambia	Sanitation	Exogenous on Apri	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
67	Russpatrick, S., Tiwari, A., Markle, L., Musonda, E., Mutunda, A., Osbert, N., & Larsen, D. A. (2017). Mobility up the sanitation ladder following community-led total sanitation in rural Zambia. <i>Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development</i> , 7(3), 436-444.	Zambia	Sanitation	Exogenous 2024 by	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability
68	Tiwari, A., Russpatrick, S., Hoehne, A., Matimelo, S. M., Mazimba, S., Nkhata, I., & Larsen, D. A. (2017). Assessing the impact of leveraging traditional leadership on access to sanitation in rural Zambia. <i>The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene</i> , <i>97</i> (5), 1355-1361.	Zambia	Sanitation	Exogenous Dest. Prote	Accountability Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability
69	Yeboah-Antwi, K., MacLeod, W. B., Biemba, G., Sijenyi, P., Höhne, A., Verstraete, L., & Hamer, D. H. (2019). Improving sanitation and hygiene through	Zambia	Sanitation and hygiene	Exogenous	Diffusion Shame	Availability Change

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	community-led total sanitation: the Zambian experience. The American journal			320		
	of tropical medicine and hygiene, 100(4), 1005-1012.			9		
70	Whaley, L., & Webster, J. (2011). The effectiveness and sustainability of two	Zimbabwe	Sanitation and hygiene	Exogenous	Shame	Availability
	demand-driven sanitation and hygiene approaches in Zimbabwe. Journal of			De		Longevity
	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for development, 1(1), 20-36.			Cer		
71	Madziyauswa, V. (2018). Assessing sustainability of community managed NGOs'	Zimbabwe	Water, sanitation, and	Exogenous	Market	Longevity
	WASH interventions in rural Zimbabwe: the case of Chivi district in Masvingo		hygiene	9r 2		
	province. Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development, 8(4), 640-			2021		
	649.			-		
72	Kwangware, J., Mayo, A., & Hoko, Z. (2014). Sustainability of donor-funded rural	Zimbabwe	Sanitation and water	Exogenous	Accountability	Longevity
	water supply and sanitation projects in Mbire district, Zimbabwe. <i>Physics and</i>) ic	Market	
	Chemistry of the Earth, Parts A/B/C, 76, 134-139.			bad	Ownership	
73	Dhoba, L. (2020). Going to scale with rural water supply: a reflection on	Zimbabwe	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Longevity
	experiences from sustaining community managed piped water schemes in rural			from	Ownership	
	Zimbabwe. Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development, 10(3),					
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How community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts human health, WASH infrastructure and service longevity in low- and middle-income countries: a realist review

Journal:	BMJ Open
Manuscript ID	bmjopen-2021-053320.R1
Article Type:	Original research
Date Submitted by the Author:	02-Nov-2021
Complete List of Authors:	Nelson, Sarah; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health Drabarek, Dorothy; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health Jenkins, Aaron; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health; Edith Cowan University, School of Science Negin, Joel; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health Abimbola, Seye; The University of Sydney, School of Public Health
Primary Subject Heading :	Global health
Secondary Subject Heading:	Health policy
Keywords:	PUBLIC HEALTH, Health policy < HEALTH SERVICES ADMINISTRATION & MANAGEMENT, Tropical medicine < INFECTIOUS DISEASES

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- 1 How community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts human health, WASH
- 2 infrastructure and service longevity in low- and middle-income countries: a realist review

- 4 Sarah Nelson^{1*}, Dorothy Drabarek¹, Aaron Jenkins^{1,2}, Joel Negin¹, Seye Abimbola¹
 - 1: School of Public Health, University of Sydney, Fisher Road, Camperdown, NSW 2006, Australia
 - 2: School of Science, Edith Cowan University, Joondalup Drive, Joondalup, WA 6027, Australia

- 8 *Corresponding author
- 9 Email: s.a.nelson@live.com

Abstract

- Objective: To understand how, and under what circumstances community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts the availability of safe water and sanitation, a change in health status or behaviour, and the longevity of WASH resources and services.
- 16 Design: Realist review
- 17 Data sources: PubMed, Web of Science and Scopus databases were used to identify papers from low-
- and middle-income countries from 2010 to 2020.
- 19 Eligibility criteria for selecting studies: Criteria were developed for papers to be included. The
- 20 contribution of each paper was assessed based on its relevance and rigour (e.g., can it contribute to
- 21 context, mechanism or outcome, and is the method used to generate that information credible).
- 22 Analysis: Inductive and deductive coding was used to generate context-mechanism-outcome
- 23 configurations.
- **Results**: 73 studies conducted in 29 countries were included. We identified five mechanisms that
- explained the availability, change and longevity outcomes: 1) accountability (policies and procedures
- to hold communities responsible for their actions and outcomes of an intervention), 2) diffusion
- 27 (spread of an idea or behaviour by innovators over time through communication amongst members
- of a community), 3) market (the interplay between demand and supply of a WASH service or resource),
- 4) ownership (a sense of possession and control of the WASH service or resource), and 5) shame (a
- feeling of disgust in one's behaviour or actions). Contextual elements identified included community
- 31 leadership and communication, technical skills and knowledge, resource access and dependency,
- 32 committee activity such as the rules and management plans, location, and the level of community
- 33 participation.

- 34 Conclusions: The findings highlight five key mechanisms, impacted by 19 contextual factors that
- 35 explain the outcomes of community water and sanitation interventions. Policymakers, program
- 36 implementers, and institutions should consider community dynamics, location, resources, committee
- 37 activity, and practices, and nature of community participation, before introducing community water
- 38 and sanitation interventions.

Strengths and limitations

- The size of the review allowed for diverse context–mechanism–outcome configurations to be explored and understood from a variety of contexts from 29 countries.
- The paper identified 19 contextual factors that explain the outcomes of community water and sanitation interventions.

- The papers selected for this review were limited to those available in English, peer-reviewed and available online through a database search but did not include grey literature.
- Most of the papers identified focused on outcomes over a short time period, with only a few looking over five years. The short time frames are usually insufficient for behaviour change or WASH resource/service longevity to be observed.
- The review only included papers that looked at communities' natural resource management and interventions linked to water, it only included papers where an external party such as an NGO or government was involved in the water natural resource management and/or intervention/s.

Keywords: Context-mechanism-outcome configuration, low- and middle-income countries, realist review, communities

Introduction

Access to water and sanitation is fundamental for human health (1). Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) interventions continue to be implemented to improve the availability and services, especially in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). This paper examines a range of WASH interventions including hardware interventions such as new latrines and water supply systems and their operation and maintenance, and software interventions such as the introduction of WASH or water committees, and health promotion and education programmes and training. The literature shows mixed effects of these interventions – some display positive impacts, with others showing no impact (2,3). In an effort to understand why WASH interventions fail, there is an expanding body of research seeking to examine the contexts (environmental, socio-cultural, institutional, economic) into which the interventions are introduced (4–7). This research emphasises the importance of understanding the influence of context on the success (or failure) of community WASH interventions and highlights that no single strategy can be successful in all contexts and circumstances (1,8,9).

WASH interventions can be designed to take into account a broad range of factors such as cultural traditions (10,11), resource dependency (12), service quality and satisfaction (13), and the rules and procedures used by a community (14). Further, the resources required for long term maintenance of WASH interventions are often limited in LMICs, leading to their failure (1). Failure of WASH interventions can occur for several reasons, such as a lack of community participation in design (15,16), a lack of community ownership (17,18), the abuse of funds or poor financial management

(19), a lack of willingness of community members to contribute (18–20), a lack of communication and connectedness (21), and no ongoing support and acknowledgement of behaviour change (22–24).

Current literature shows multiple benefits of community participation; for example, participation is a vehicle for cultural exchange and the building of knowledge amongst the implementing partners, and is useful for ensuring interventions are relevant to local priorities (7,25). Also, the literature shows that communities (particularly Indigenous communities), have developed knowledge structures by place, space, and relationality over generations that are passed from one generation to the next, which provide information on how to use water resources to promote their longevity (7). Without participation issues can arise such as as communities may have beliefs that do not align with the intervention (26). Lack of community participation is often seen as a hindrance in collaborative action (27).

The definition and manifestation of community participation in WASH interventions vary significantly across articles and studies (4). In rural areas, community participation involves the active engagement of users in water services management (4). It can also mean the involvement of community members in the planning, construction, decision-making, and ongoing management of their water system (28). Community participation also refers to enabling communities to initiate project ideas, make decisions about technology type and facility location that best suits their needs (19). In the context of this paper, community participation is defined as community members having a role in planning, design, construction, decision-making, delivery or management (including financial, operations and maintenance) of WASH interventions (4,19,25,28).

Understanding the impact of contextual factors is important for designing and implementing long-lasting WASH services within communities, given the vast heterogeneity of community contexts (6). Some literature reviews have been conducted to examine the impact of specific contextual factors or a single water or sanitation intervention (4–7), but none have examined contextual factors and interventions in LIMICs generally. Our realist review has been undertaken to address this gap in the literature. The aim of the review is to determine how and under what circumstances community participation in water and sanitation interventions impacts the availability of safe water and sanitation, a change in health status or WASH behaviour, or the longevity of water resources, infrastructure and services.

Materials and Methods

Rationale for using a realist approach

The realist approach was chosen as this approach aims to understand and unpack the mechanisms through which an intervention works or fails in different contexts and settings (29). It is a theorydriven approach that can help explain why an intervention works in one setting and not in another (29). The realist approach begins with the understanding that interventions are complex because of their reliance on the interpretation, reasoning and actions of social agents to bring about change (30,31), and that the human agency of these social agents are in turn influenced by the socioeconomic, geographical, institutional structures in which they exist (i.e. context) (29). In realist synthesis, an outcome of an intervention is shaped by the interaction between these contextual factors and the intervention, which triggers action or inaction among social agents as determined by their reasoning, which then results in some kind of change (or not). Context-Mechanism-Outcome (CMO) configurations summarise explanations of how contextual factors (C), influence the production of outcomes (O), by triggering human agency in the form of mechanisms (M). 'Mechanism' refers to the combination of reasoning and resources that influence the actions of participants and stakeholders in an intervention. The mechanism may only be activated under the right contextual conditions (32). Therefore, WASH interventions may change how a community receives or responds to an intervention, and this is dependent on the context in which they live.

Search strategy

In preparation for the realist review, we conducted preparatory sessions by reading a variety of WASH literature. This helped us identify possible outcomes, contexts, and mechanisms to guide the literature search and the best keywords to use. We conducted preliminary searches to see what type of papers were identified, and the breadth and depth of WASH interventions covered. This process guided the final review question as it highlighted gaps in documented knowledge, and in turn shaped the interventions we focused on i.e. "new" interventions that were endogenous or exogenous in origin.

Two literature searches of PubMed, Web of Science and Scopus were conducted to identify peer-reviewed papers on how community participation in water and sanitation interventions impact the availability of safe water and sanitation, a change in health status or behaviour, and the longevity of water resources and services outcomes in LMICs. The search terms used were 'water', 'WASH', 'water resource', 'hygiene', 'sanitation', 'community participation', 'demand driven', 'community led', 'community engage*', 'community based', 'community manage', 'sustain*' and 'health'. The search strategy was developed with the assistance of a research librarian. Filters were applied to exclude reviews. Only English papers were considered. Only articles from 01-01-2010 to 03-04-2019 were

considered in the first search conducted in April 2019, and only articles from 01-01-2019 to 31-12-2020 were considered in the second search conducted in March 2021. The ten-year time period was chosen because given the breadth and depth of the work in the field prior to 2010, the number of papers included would otherwise be so large as to preclude an in-depth, realist review (33,34). Papers were identified and exported into Zotero. Duplicates were identified and removed. In conducting and reporting this realist synthesis we followed the RAMESES synthesis production and quality standards (33), realist review training materials (34), and other examples of realist reviews (30,35).

After screening the abstracts, full papers were assessed on the intervention, the outcome of interest, community role, study type and location. Interventions were considered endogenous if initiated by community members, and exogenous if initiated by external organisations e.g., government or NGOs. To be included, the intervention had to have an intended outcome linked to water, sanitation, health or resource/service longevity. Secondly, the community had to participate in one or more of the following ways: a) community had the full authority in decision-making, autonomy of the management or delivery of the water resource or intervention, b) community had the majority of authority in decision-making, management or delivery of the water resource or intervention, whether it was endogenous or exogenous in origin, or c) community members (e.g., leaders, community health workers) were involved in the design and/or delivery of an intervention by an external agent, d) community had a role through participation, consultation or engagement in activities and actions of an intervention by an external agent. Thirdly, the study needed to be conducted in countries considered to be LMICs according to World Bank definitions (36); finally the paper needed to include primary data. In planning the review we were aware that community members may have had varying degrees of autonomy in their work and decision-making power; and the levels of decision-making power of community members could vary and may be low and easily overruled by an external agent.

Formal quality appraisal was not carried out for individual papers as each paper could contribute to a different element of the CMO configurations and exclusion of papers reduces the ability of a realist review to achieve in-depth understanding(29). The contribution of sections of each paper were assessed based on relevance (i.e. whether it can contribute to emerging CMO configurations); and rigour (i.e. whether the method used to generate each piece of data relevant to the CMO configurations is credible).

<u>Data extraction and categorisation</u>

The first database searches found 595 entries from PubMed, 1,010 from Web of Science and 1,449 from Scopus (Figure 1). The searches from each database were merged, and 1,346 duplications were removed. A further 30 publications were removed based on their format, as they were a book or a review. After review of the remaining titles and abstracts, 1,523 were excluded reducing the selection to 155 publications. These 155 papers were read and assessed according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria by reviewers (SN and DD, in consultation with SA) on their relevance and rigour. Judgements on inclusion and exclusion were based upon two criteria: relevance (does the paper contribute to the understanding of how community participation in WASH interventions impacts any outcome of interest) and rigour (whether the paper is trustworthy, reliable and valid e.g., appropriate statistical tests were conducted for the data used when quantitative, or there is evidence of triangulation and decision-making trail when qualitative). The second database searches found 739 entries from PubMed, 460 from Web of Science and 528 from Scopus (Figure 1). The same data extraction and categorisation steps were carried out resulting in 73 papers being added to the review.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE]

We followed the stepwise approach used by Abimbola et al (30) (Table 1). Five papers were randomly selected, and iterative data extraction was conducted independently by three of the authors (SN, DD and SA) to determine the categories into which data would be extracted and to determine the consistency of the extraction process across authors. Data from the papers were extracted into an excel spreadsheet into the following categories: study population, country, community role, intervention, water, sanitation or hygiene linkage, study type, and context, mechanism, and outcome components. The extraction process guided the initial development of preliminary understandings of what was involved in behaviours, actions, social phenomena and reasonings that connected outcomes with contexts in each paper. These preliminary understandings contributed to the creation of mechanisms. It was not always possible to extract data about the outcome, context, and mechanism from each paper.

By synthesising the information in each paper, we identified five mechanisms that explain the outcomes from the papers: accountability, diffusion, market, ownership, and shame. Individual papers revealed multiple mechanisms. Across the five mechanisms three sets of outcomes were identified:

 Availability of resources and services such as clean water, and sanitation at an individual or community level;

- (2) Behaviour Change to prevent disease, such as a reduction in open defecation and increase the use of handwashing, altering health status e.g., reduction in disease levels or in health status such as diarrheal rates at an individual or community level;
- (3) Longevity of water and sanitation infrastructure, services, and resources, including factors that impact on their long-term use, such as the technical capacity to repair, operate and maintain infrastructure, resource, or service.

We identified factors (socioeconomic, geographical, institutional) that enabled or hindered outcomes, and these were categorised as context. Concurrently, a list of potential midrange theories that could help explain our interpretations of relationships among identified contexts, WASH interventions and outcomes of interest was drawn from the literature and team discussions. The list was refined until five theories could coherently explain the identified outcomes of community participation in WASH interventions.

Table 1: Steps taken in the realist analysis

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Table 1: Steps taken in the r	ealist analysis	53320	
Step	Process	on .	
Step 1: Identifying	This involved reading and re-reading the papers, first to gain familiarity with	h the studies, and second	to identify outcomes which
outcomes (description)	occur because of community WASH interventions e.g., how community engage	agement in water and san	itation interventions impact
	the availability (of safe water and sanitation), a change (in health status or b	pehaviour), and the longev	rity (of WASH resources).
Step 2: Identifying	This involved further reviewing of papers to find enabling and hindering factor	ors from the dentified out	comes. These included skills
contextual components	and knowledge (including financial capabilities and technical abilities for	r operation⊠and mainten	ance), social cohesion and
of outcomes (abduction)	connectedness, communication, willingness to pay, leadership, diverse involved	vement in the intervention	n (of women and at different
	stages of design, planning and implementation), community characteristics a	and locatior≰	
Step 3: Theoretical	This step involved exploring the selected outcomes and their contextual co	omponents within the the	eories to better understand
redescription (abduction)	what they represent. Five theories informed our analysis.	ded	
	\sim	fror	
	1) Social accountability holds people in place to achieve actions because of for		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	of reputation leads to responsiveness by following a certain behaviour or	· ·	
	accountability mechanisms such as policies, procedures and rules to hold	d communities and comm	littees responsible for their
	actions and outcomes of an intervention.	<u> </u>	
	2) Diffusion of innovation theory is the spread or adaption of an idea or a b		
	time (37). The idea or behaviour spreads through innovators (those who opinion leaders who enjoy leadership roles and embrace change opportur	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	throughout the community (37). We utilised this theory to explain leaders ar	0	_
	shape and influence WASH behaviours within the community.		fullity being innovators who
	3) Demand theory is an economic theory that is the interplay between dem	nand and su∂nly of a good	d or service (it is a halanced
	supply and the price that people are willing to pay for it) (38). There is an ir	4	· ·
	not fail, because of changes in price or demand. This theory was adapted to		-
	and a community's or individuals' willingness to pay for them and other fact	10	
	4) Arnstein's ladder of participation proposes that increased meaningful co	<u> </u>	• •
	the decision-making process and thus more control over the change it may		
	mechanism, we focused on how a sense of ownership within resources or se		
	sense of value, and lead communities or individuals to manage the resource	es or service better. The ide	ea being a stronger sense of
	ownership means they are more likely to protect it and use it effectively.	ote	
	5) Social comparison theory purports humans need to compare themselves a	0	
	and evaluate their abilities and opinions through comparing themselves with	other peope (40). The infl	luence of social comparison,

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1	
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10	228

Step 4: Identifying
mechanisms
(retroduction)

	and desire to fit into a specific situation can cause changes in verbal and nonverbal behaviour to fit the situation. Comparison can
	have negative impacts on behaviours. We adapted this theory to focus on the element shame as a form of social comparison,
	for people to conform to an appropriate socially accepted WASH behaviour.
ng	This step involved examining the identified outcomes with their hindering or enabling on textual factors with the aim of creating
	processes and systems that resulted from observed patterns across LMICs. This involve moving back and forth between primary
	l

ining the ident.

.ems that resulted from \
.reated in this review to develop.

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These five theories are broad in their potential application. For this reason, they were only a starting point for the development in the CMO configurations. Through a process of retroductive analysis (37), the five theories produced five mechanisms: social accountability became 'accountability' (e.g., policies and procedures to hold communities and committees responsible for their actions and outcomes of an intervention), diffusion of innovation became 'diffusion' (e.g., the spread or adoption of the behaviour or action due to leaders or influential community members making the change earlier), demand theory became 'market' (the interplay between demand and supply of a service or resource to ensure its availability or longevity), Arnstein's Ladder became 'ownership' (e.g., the level of individual or community participation impacts the degrees of control and sense of possession over a service or resource and this impacts the outcomes of interest), and lastly social comparison became 'shame' (e.g., a feeling of disgust in one's behaviour or actions as they are not seen as desired or do not comply with other people's behaviours in the community).

Results

Overall, 73 papers were identified, and presented data from 29 countries (Figure 2), with different WASH intervention focus (Figure 3). We identified five mechanisms made possible by WASH interventions: accountability, diffusion, market, ownership and shame, with 19 contextual factors (Table 2). The analysis focused on mechanisms, rather than the country as we concentrated on community-based interventions and each community intervention and context contributes to a piece of the development of the mechanism. As the country and the type of intervention were not specifically named in the findings a separate table concerning these has been included in the Supplementary Appendix.

- [INSERT FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE]
- 254 [INSERT FIGURE 3 AROUND HERE]

The next section commences with a detailed description of each mechanism. This is followed by a description of each mechanism based on the individual outcome, and key contextual factors identified through in the review (Table 3 provides a summary).

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Table	e 2: Contextual factor examples	BMJ Open BMJ Open-2021-053320 on
Тарк	Contextual Factor	Examples e
1	Community location	Easily accessible location and community layout and size with reliable transport (38–40)
2	Communities with similar characteristics	Communities with similar values and homogenous characteristics such as socio-economic status (41–44)
3	Communication	Regular communication, and places to share information e.g., meetings between communities, committees or organisations (10,17,20,22,28,38,39,44–52)
4	Leadership	Community or committee leadership lead and help enforce change in begaviours or standards of services (10,11,41,44,53–63)
5	Fines or penalties	Fines or penalties in communities when people do not conform to the destred behaviour or their sanitation facility is not up to the appropriate standard (10,25,38,45)
6	Seasonality	Variation in weather over different times of the year (64,65)
7	Resource dependency	Communities' need the water resource for their health, livelihood or income 16,19,50,66–68)
8	Access to resources and funding	The communities or committees' ability to access funds through user fees or funds from the community or government (21,38,45,49,50,59,69–71)
9	Financial and technical skills and knowledge	Community or committee ability to manage money and make financial degisions. Technical skills to operate and maintain WASH services or infrastructure over time or when issues arise 18–21,24,38–40,43,54,59,72–75)
10	Ongoing support and acknowledgement of change	External or government support for communities with the resources they need; and acknowledgment of changes in behaviour (22–24,75).
11	Community connectedness and social cohesion	Ongoing interaction, and linkages in communities and cooperation as people engage and work together (8,21,38,41,72,76,77). These can be through collective action or mobilisation of resources to work as a community (28,67,76,78,79)
12	Community willingness to pay	Communities' willingness to pay user fees or provide money to invest in esources or services for use or operations and maintenance (17–19,21,59,65,71,80–82)
13	Committees with followed and understood responsibilities	Committee with clear responsibilities that are followed and understood by its members (25,39,83)
14	Rules and management plans	Structures and processes in place that guide actions for operation and maintenance of resources, services, and behaviours of the community or committee (15,17,19,21,25,41,45,50,71,73,31,83)
15	Active committees that include women	Committees that are active and inclusive in communities with decision-making, maintaining resources and services (16,19–21,25,28,39,64,66,68,69,77,83,84)

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I committee involvement including women and those with design, planning or of the intervention to ensure the needs of all people are considered and met
of the intervention to ensure the needs of all people are considered and met
,85 – 91)
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pring of communities and committees including reports by inturnal or external parties to ensure
longevity of resources or services and behaviour change occors
,44,46,49,50,53,64,69,77,81,83,92–95)
mong members of communities, committees, and organisations inspires confidence that allow
ly with paying fines (18,25,45), take action or change their behaviour.
ewarded through internal or external parties e.g., through partizes or sharing success stories in
(10,39,40,44,51,95)
(10,39,40,44,51,95) and from http://bmjopen.bmj.com/ on April 10, 2024 by guest

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Table 3: Enabling context-mechanism-outcome configurations

Context	Mechanism	Outcome 5
 Easily accessible community (e.g., size and location) to allow access for monitoring visits. Having opportunities to share information (e.g., meetings) between users and committee members for internal monitoring. Having active and functional community committees for internal monitoring. Committees with clear responsibilities, rules and management plans that are followed and understood (e.g., written working plans for system breakdowns). Having consequences for not conforming to change (e.g., fines). 	Accountability	 Availability of WASH service or a water resource e.g., to ensure that sanitation facilities are in place or to assess the levels of groundwater. Changes in Behaviour or health outcomes e.g., reduction of open defecation, improvements in children's height and weight. Longevity of water resources and services.
 Having strong leaders or committees to help share the spread of ideas and initiate change; Having higher levels of social cohesion and connectedness in small rural and remote communities to help create supportive environment for change and influence new social norms. Having regular communication among peers to build and share knowledge. 	Diffusion	 Availability of resources or services e.g. latrines, handwashing facilities and water. Changes in behaviour or health outcomes e.g. reduction of open defecation, water purification and waterborne diseases. Maintenance and longevity of latrines and water access/systems.
 Having community or committee knowledge or skills e.g., technical - the ability to repair hardware. Having resource dependency to ensure community investment in supply and ongoing maintenance and operational costs Having a resource or services that is not impacted by the weather. 	Market	 Availability of gesources e.g., water. Longevity of water services or latrine quality.
 Having community or committee knowledge or skills e.g., technical - the ability to repair hardware. Having resource dependency to ensure community investment in supply and ongoing maintenance and operational costs. Community involvement (including women and those with disability) in the design, planning or implementation to promote accessibility, equitable access and the desire to maintain the resource. Having opportunities to communicate about the state of the resource or service to help maintenance. 	Ownership	Availability of resources or services e.g., water and latrines. Longevity of the water system or service. by guest. Protected.

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• Small, cohesive, and isolated communities with high social cohesion and connectedness helps the conformity of behaviour.	Shame • Availability of WASH resonant was the shame of th	
• Having community involvement allows understanding of the impacts of the	facilities.	
behaviour and the benefits of change.	• Change in behaviour or	health outcomes e.g.,
• Shame initiated by leaders and people known within the community helps	reduction in open defecatio	<u> </u>
acceptance, monitoring and enforcement.	reduction in roundworm inf	
• Community technical or financial capabilities allows the ability to conform to	2021	
change.	•	
Ongoing support and acknowledgement of change for community motivation	Down	
to maintain changes.		
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ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is more likely to be achieved when the community is easily accessible, opportunities are present to share information and there is a strong and functional water committee as it is easier to uphold and enforce rules, procedures, and policies. The three outcomes identified were availability, change and longevity.

Availability

Triggered by internal or external monitoring, accountability may result in improved community availability to a WASH resource or service. The focus of such monitoring may be progress towards achieving a goal. The goal may be about the availability of a service – e.g., to ensure that sanitation facilities are in place (10,22,38,44,49,53,69,93,95), that facilities meet the needs of people with disabilities (46), or that water is accessible (39,83). The goal may also be resource preservation (safety and/or accessibility) so that water is available to be accessed as desired – e.g., to check water samples for faecal or arsenic contamination (15,45,50,64,81), or to assess the level of groundwater available for agriculture throughout the year (77). Internal monitoring can be conducted by a chief or village headman (10,22,44), locally trained volunteers (50), community members (53,77) or by the community's health, water or community—total led sanitation committee (38,39,49,50,69,81,83). External monitoring can be conducted by NGO facilitators (46,53), health workers (49,92,95) or political leaders and council officials (38).

Opportunities and platforms for regular communication and meetings involving community members, service users and health or water committees help build a sense of trust and connection amongst all parties and helps to hold everyone accountable (45,46,50). This is reinforced where community leadership is transparent and has open channels for communicating with community members (10,22,39,44), communities make plans to change i.e. display of stickers to show the commitment to build latrines (93), and the use of technology allows up-to-date monitoring (44,81). Government guidelines can reinforce safe standards and monitoring of resources e.g., water (38,71). Accountability is also strengthened where there is a functional, long-standing water or health committee whose members are active, motivated and committed, and have clear roles and responsibilities (39,83). These roles and responsibilities can be reinforced through committee trainings (81). A gender-balanced committee opens up the space for accountability, as more opinions and views are considered on what factors are important and need consideration (39,64,66,69,83,84). There can be challenges in accepting the involvement of women in a gender-balanced committee (69).

Change

Ongoing external monitoring can hold communities accountable for changing their health, hygiene and sanitation behaviours (38,40,46,49,53,69,92,94), leading to improved health of children as seen in height and weight changes and diarrhoea occurrence (40,69). Without ongoing internal or external monitoring, loss of momentum for change can occur, halting behaviour change progress (23,38). Ongoing monitoring is enabled by regular meetings and sharing of information to enforce behaviour change (25,50,69). However, limited availability to communities due to a remote location, inadequate or unreliable transport, violence, and large community size and layout, or understaffed organisations are barriers to ongoing external monitoring (38-40). Accountability can also influence behaviour change when triggered by fines (e.g., money, goat, or chicken) imposed as a penalty for not conforming to the desired behaviour. For example, penalties can be used to enforce standards for latrines (25), for not constructing a latrine, and for open defecation (10,38), and fines given for not abiding by water use limits (45). Trust is an essential contextual factor for such penalties – tensions arise when a community does not trust the person or committee collecting the fines and what they will do with the fines (18,25). Trust depends on the person or committee's record of financial management, and whether they have clear rules about the use of such penalties. Lack of trust from external organisations can also prevent change in communities' behaviours (45).

Longevity

Accountability within community committees can facilitate their continued activities, therefore promoting the longevity of WASH resources and services for which they are responsible. This requires that committees have internal feedback systems, take minutes and set agendas with written working plans, demonstrate high self-organising capabilities, and a sense of obligation among committee members to attend meetings and take action to manage and maintain resources, thus contributing to the longevity of water and sanitation interventions (17,25,41,50,71,83). Accountability to government entities (e.g., water boards) for reports and abiding by government policies can promote longevity as this can hold committees and communities responsible for funds to maintain WASH resources and services (15,17,48,71,90). Communication with the broader community holds committees accountable for their roles and responsibilities concerning water and sanitation infrastructure in a community (17,28,48). Communication can also help enable the diffusion of efforts to change the landscape of governance within local communities, check the progress of actions, and the enforcement of rules (10,20,45).

Committee accountability is enabled when committees have clear roles, responsibilities, rules and procedures (which they understand) on responding to system breakdowns, and managing ongoing maintenance and missing parts, with direct implications for the longevity of water availability and WASH infrastructure (21,25,71,73,81,83). The longevity of resources and services is facilitated by a committee's ability to make funds available or having bank accounts for operational and maintenance costs, and by the committee having rules and procedures for fund management (e.g., having an educated treasurer who manages and collects funds within the community), or by having the community participate actively in monitoring committee finances (15,19,21,45,83). Issues with longevity can also arise when there has been abuse of funds or poor financial management, and therefore community members are less willing to contribute (18-20). Transparency in committee activities and community trust can help address this (45). Committee activity and social participation play key roles in managing maintenance and operation of water and sanitation systems and can assist in the management of funds ensuring continued service provision (16,65,66,73,80). This can promote good governance and practice (16). While committee activity and social participation is an enabling factor, this alone is not enough to ensure the longevity of community water and sanitation infrastructure (82).

DIFFUSION

This mechanism captures the processes by which an idea, technology or behaviour that is perceived as new (i.e. they are considered innovations in a community) spreads and is adopted by individuals or a community. Our interpretation of how the diffusion of innovation theory works to bring about change was guided by the LMICs contexts from which we drew our review data. Diffusion of ideas in communities was observed as mostly unplanned, horizontal, and peer-mediated spread (31), however in cases where the innovation was endogenous it was more likely (when compared to exogenous interventions) that adoption was actively promoted (60), this difference can be explained by the effect of a sense of ownership, which is explained in the mechanism ownership.

The diffusion mechanism underscores that strong and stable social relations are essential for wide and sustained adoption of WASH interventions in communities, and illustrates the importance of *who* introduces new ideas, behaviours or technologies (exogenous WASH interventions) or champions homegrown new ideas, behaviours or technologies (endogenous WASH interventions). Champions are identified as "innovators" (i.e. individuals who are the first to develop and try out new ideas) and "early adopters" (i.e. opinion leaders who enjoy leadership roles and embrace change opportunities) who over time through their influence and their existing relationships and communication with

members of the community (55,96) can encourage adoption of new ideas, both passively and actively. Innovators and early adopters in a community include teachers (56,62), leaders (10,22,38,44,55–58,62), healthcare workers (47,56,61,62,92), and community committees (21,41,67,68). This mechanism is triggered primarily by contexts of strong social relations, and our analysis resulted in availability, change, and longevity outcomes.

Availability

In communities lacking provision of basic WASH infrastructure by governments, availability to services can be obtained through external agencies such as NGOs or by internal innovation. In both cases availability of services is not instantaneous and depends on motivation, organisation and negotiation, the successes of which are in turn shaped by the character of social relations within a community, the more cohesive the better. In this way, availability of resources such as latrines (8,11,38,41,44,49,51,57,58,60,72,93), water infrastructure such as pipes (28,68,70,79) and handwashing facilities (38,49,51,60) can be driven by diffusion; when these facilities or the idea of them are new, the collective action necessary to build or obtain them depends on the extent to which appreciation for their value spreads in the community.

Additionally, information on community-led interventions that reflect the needs of the community take root more readily than interventions introduced by external sources, as they often do not address community needs accurately or at all. Information about the need for the WASH infrastructure or service can diffuse more readily where people have similar experiences of need and importantly high levels of social cohesion and sense of connectedness. Social cohesion and connectedness refers to the extent of ongoing interaction and linkages in communities, and cooperation as people engage and work together (8,38,41,72). This builds on social constructs such as social capital and collective action, where individuals' shared knowledge and trust can promote cooperation through self-organisation, action and information sharing (21,41). Communities with greater cooperation, shared norms and values can act more collectively (41,72,77). This means that people may be more concerned about others, may be more likely to cooperate, communicate and work with one another, and agree on community priorities and goals. Attainment of WASH resources is made easier if a significant number of people believe in its benefit and value. Social cohesion helps to promote infrastructure or resource attainment and ultimately change in access to WASH, as without it early adopters are not be able to build the necessary momentum, enthusiasm and confidence (8,41,72,93). In communities of high social cohesion, innovators can draw on the existing influence of leaders to set new social norms (11,44,57,93), and early adopters draw on the existing skills within the community to work on a resource or intervention (28,41,44,68). The success, respect and acceptance of the early adopters can provide the rest of the community confidence to adopt the new social norm (38,93). Diffusion can also occur within sections of the community such as among women and other community groups, as within these smaller groups they may have different sets of social norms and acceptable behaviours (11,68). Locally accessible resources enable availability (38,49).

Change

Diffusion can occur through communication among peers, which leads to shared understanding, therefore reinforcing the adoption of new behaviour at an individual or community level (41,44,56,79). Examples of diffusion influencing behaviour change include reduction of open defecation (10,38,49,55,59,60,62,90,94), water purification (79), disposal of rubbish and care of animals (94), and sanitation and hygiene behaviours such as handwashing and safe disposal of faecal material (58,60,68,69), which may lead to improved health outcomes such as a reduction in diarrhoea rates, waterborne diseases and respiratory infections (38,47,68,69,92). Behaviour change is enabled by diffusion in communities with high levels of social cohesion and connectedness by enabling communication among peers, to build and share knowledge i.e. through community and marketing events or radio shows (38,41,47,49,51,60), and as highly regarded leaders influence the spread of new behaviour and create new social norms through their endorsement (11,20,55,60,62). Higher levels of social cohesion in small rural and remote communities can also help sustain long-term behaviour change (e.g., reduction in open defecation), especially where people stick together to create a supportive environment for long-lasting change. In these contexts, the focus is on behaviour change at the community rather than at an individual's level (62,94). Increased latrine quality and cleanliness can reinforce behaviour change (49,69).

Longevity

The longevity of resources such as water pumps or piping infrastructure has often been difficult to achieve in LMICs where resources and technical expertise required for their maintenance are not readably available. However, if the value of the resource, through demonstrated health benefit for example has diffused and taken root in a community, this can assist in the mobilisation of efforts to maintain the resource or service. Strong social bonds amongst community members characterised by shared goals and trust helps facilitate the spread of information about the benefit of new ideas and encourages their adoption (28,41,56,57). The perceived need to collectively mobilise resources to address water or sanitation problems is shared by committees and within communities (28,67,78,79,97). The willingness of community members to help one another further leads to

longevity of resources such as latrines (8,51) and water access (67,79), through the maintenance of the resources (28). Gender-balanced committees or the active involvement of women facilitates the spread of ideas within the community, especially about resources such as water systems that women are particularly involved in using and managing daily (20,21,68,77,83).

MARKET

The market mechanism operates through the balance of demand and supply, determining the price of a good or service. It is a mechanism that allows the distribution of resources, however the dynamic balance between supply and demand can easily be thrown out of balance, and cause failure. Typically, when a good or service becomes more readily available and supply increases, prices tend to fall, and when the demand for a good or service reduces, prices tend to increase. The continued presence of a market system is important as it is also a way that communities and people support themselves. Supply and demand of resources, especially in relation to WASH is influenced by contextual factors such as community or committee knowledge and skills, resource dependency and use in the community, ability to access resources for operation and maintenance, and a weather resilience system. These factors influence the want and need for WASH services and resources. Market systems need to be resilient and adaptable to address fluctuations in supply and demand to ensure that there are continued WASH resource or service availability and longevity for communities.

Availability

Knowledge mediates relations between supply and demand, and lack of knowledge results in an imbalance between supply and demand. Without knowledge, the availability of a WASH resource or service may remain low, even when it is available at an affordable price. Hence, to lead to improved use, efforts to increase and improve the quality of supply (e.g. through training to increase the skills of local artisans on well design), require complementary efforts to increase household knowledge (e.g. through social media and public demonstrations) (43).

Where communities have alternatives to a safer water supply that they perceive as meeting their needs and protecting their health, they may be less willing to invest g in the longevity of the safe water resource/service. Hence, a greater perceived need for a WASH resources (e.g., high levels of need for clean, safe, drinkable water for domestic purposes) means it is more likely that a community will invest in its supply (e.g. by promoting local development of skills required to maintain hardware), thus, helping to maintain or increase the availability of water (16,19,50,66–68).

Longevity

Varying levels of demand for a WASH resource or service due to seasonality can influence longevity. For example, water kiosk services are viable during the dry season when people are willing to pay for water because of limited rain and availability of water. Market failure occurs for water kiosks during the wet season as there is increased water supply with cheaper options, and the service becomes unviable in the long term (65). Willingness to pay for a water system (17–19,21,65) and community water supply project costs (80–82) often determines a system's reliability or longevity, and this is linked to demand, affordability and financial capacity in a community. The ability to access resources and funding is important when communities lack knowledge and skills, and the ability to pay for such skills lacking (50).

User fees are often imposed when there is limited internal or external financial support, and the WASH resource or service requires ongoing maintenance and operational costs. User fees can help to regulate demand and promote the responsible use of resources, promoting longevity (50,71,80), although this requires enforcement to pay fees (45). Low levels of willingness to pay (sometimes reflecting low levels of need or capacity to pay) can be a barrier to operation and maintenance and longevity of the water service and latrine quality (16,19,21,50,80). Where willingness exists in conjunction with the inability to access funds, resources or need from external funding availability to water and latrines is compromised (21,59,71). Willingness to pay may also depend on satisfaction with and quality of the service, which in turn depends on how well a service is operated or maintained (19).

OWNERSHIP

Endogenous interventions (interventions initiated by community members) are better at reflecting and meeting a community's needs compared to interventions that are brought into the community by external agents with minimal or without community consultation and involvement. These are two extremes of a spectrum of community involvement captured in Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (98), which proposes that increased meaningful community participation correlates with more power in the decision-making process and thus more control over the change it may bring. Control of an object, process or idea is considered a key characteristic of the phenomenon of ownership (99). Examples of total ownership are rare in the literature yet are common in day-to-day practice within communities. However, well-planned collaboration between communities and external agents, which engage communities in co-planning, co-production, and co-management (100) or maintenance can achieve 'citizen control' and build an effective sense of ownership while overcoming barriers of access posed by lack of resources. Meaningful participation as co-production

is important as people often feel that they own something they create, shape or produce (99). A secure sense of ownership over a water resource, water infrastructure or hardware is crucial as it promotes investment and commitment to its preservation at individual and community levels. Community involvement and inclusion, power and control are all necessary for an individual or community to feel a sense of ownership over WASH infrastructure, and this sense of ownership has significant impact on shaping outcomes availability and longevity of WASH interventions.

Availability

The need for the resource can help promote ownership, as the communities have a dependency on it and take greater steps to ensure the availability of resources such as water and latrines (38,44,45,51,64,77). Ownership can be initiated by need or want of a resource: such that as a community plays a role in obtaining an intervention, their sense of ownership can be increased when the intervention is in place, thus creating a self-reinforcing loop between availability and ownership. The extent to which community members feel a sense of ownership towards a resource can influence whether they seek external or draw on internal technical and financial support to ensure that the resources (e.g., water and sanitation facilities) are in place (21,28,41,50,62,69,85). High levels of social cohesion and connectedness is an enabler of efforts to access external funds or mobilise community resources (21,28,41,45,85). Access to loans and grants can help promote ownership (45,69). The involvement of a broad range of community members in water and sanitation interventions can promote a collective sense of ownership, which, in turn, can facilitate social cohesion and connectedness by providing opportunities for a community to share a common goal (8,87,88). Promoting community ownership of a resource, involving community members in capacity building (e.g., in managing the resource), and involving women, leaders and people with disabilities (e.g., in decision-making) can ensure availability, and access is equitable and safe (38,44-46,48,51,56,74,77,83,88). Ownership by a range of community members, including those who are often underrepresented in positions of power and control, can increase availability for these community members as with ownership comes the opportunity for people to alter what they own, therefore satisfying their needs (99).

Longevity

Ownership is enabled by the involvement of communities in the co-design, co-planning and coimplementation of hardware, increasing the likelihood that the resource reflects the community needs (15,87), the costs are appropriate and affordable (16,19), the community has the appropriate information for operations and maintenance (19,73,81,91), and the community is willing and able to

commit to bear hardware costs and ongoing operational and maintenance costs (16,86,90,101), thus becoming self-sufficient (16,19,85). In the absence of this, a community may need to rely on external sources for the longevity of resources (18,64,80,86,91). Ownership is enabled when communities are allowed or granted decision-making authority in operations and have responsibility for the maintenance of hardware (18,89). Taking ownership requires a leader or committee to champion action (17,35,50,81,85), especially when a leader or committee has to manage the hardware (e.g., in terms of speed and adequacy of repair), and to raise and manage funds necessary to maintain the hardware (e.g., their water system) in the long term (50,67,70,73,81,83–85). Financial management ability, can be hampered when communities have low budget resources or communities are unable to afford the service and the committee receives limited funds to maintain a water system, impacting the longevity of the water service (15,50,64).

The capacity to manage WASH hardware can promote a sense of ownership (17,21,77,80,81,87). Therefore, retention of human resources and committee members can lead to resource/service longevity as knowledge and skills are retained in communities (21,39,54,73). Having a broad variety of members (including women) on such committees can promote buy-in from the community, and diverse voices in decisions can lead to a greater sense of ownership, and desire to maintain the resource (16,19,25,28,39,64,83). Men typically manage the operations and maintenance of water systems, and women manage the collection and domestic uses. This leads to women facing a greater burden in maintaining water quality and supply. Women may need to travel further to collect the same volume of water or to care for ill family members. Because of this burden it is important for women to have a voice in decision-making. Involvement of women can increase their sense of ownership and enable them to independently fund, plan, build and maintain water systems (68), allowing them to gain status, take on leadership roles and support younger women in the community (16,68). Women can communicate with the committees about system breakdowns and without this, such information sharing that leads to repair may not occur (28). Such active communication reflects ownership and indicates a willingness to work together and build connections within the community which promotes longevity by facilitating ongoing response to maintenance issues (21,67,77,79). Lack of ownership of hardware can occur in communities with low socioeconomic status as they may have other priorities, or where the need for the hardware is limited, which in turn limits commitment to its maintenance (17).

SHAME

Shame is based on the theory of social comparison where others compare themselves to those around them to determine their own self-worth. This comparison can trigger disgust, disappointment, or embarrassment in one's behaviour or actions. Shame is activated by individuals comparing themselves with others. The shame of not conforming to the appropriate (handwashing) or undesirable WASH behaviours (open defecation), leads communities or individuals to change their behaviour or action to become more socially acceptable. Shame can be leveraged as a feature of interventions that seek to reset community norms, e.g., community members can be educated that open defecation and not washing hands is disgusting and is harmful to the whole community. Comparison between individuals, between households and between communities, can lead to shame as it brings out elements of competition and can result in shame from the loss. Capturing shame may manifest by the introduction of incentives (e.g. prizes and rewards) to motivate communities to achieve a water or sanitation goal in comparison to others (10,39,40,44,51,95). Contextual factors such as socioeconomic status, location, leadership, resources, and social capital enable and reinforce the appropriate and desired behaviour or action. Availability and behaviour change are the two outcomes associated with the shame mechanism.

Availability

Without external support, shame can promote availability of and individual/household ownership of latrines (22,38,42,44,46,49,51,53,58–63,74,75,93) and handwashing facilities (38,49,51,56,60,95). These outcomes are limited in communities and households with financial and technical challenges (24,38,40,59,72,74,75). Enablers include initiating shame by leaders and people known within the community, which helps the acceptance, monitoring and enforcement of new norms (22,44,51,53,58,60–63). For example, effective leadership in smaller homogenous communities may be more likely to achieve behaviour change, because people have closer relationships and are mindful of the impact of their behaviours on others (44).

Social cohesion and connectedness are important enablers of household latrine construction because cooperation and collective action can help overcome the inequality in resources and skills necessary to build latrines (11,23,38,41,55–57,72). Together, social cohesion and connectedness can promote friendship and community respect, and an appreciation of social benefit of private goods that may help reduce open defecation (51). Collectively they can also enable shame to be transmitted throughout a community. However, when communities lack technical or financial capabilities (24,59,74), availability may be compromised by the lack of privacy and safety (e.g., in the construction of low standard latrines) (74), although when the new social norm is sufficiently established,

communities may seek to repair or rebuild such facilities (59,62). The shame of losing in a competition can have a negative effect on the non-winners who may be demotivated as a result (51). Improvements in the availability of latrines and handwashing facilities (51,95) may occur as a result of the motivation of winning prizes (e.g., motorcycles) or simply the right of a leader to claim they 'won' by their community being first to become open defecation free (44,95).

Change

Efforts to avoid shame can result in a change in sanitation behaviour (i.e. reduction in open defecation, increase latrine use, appropriate disposal of excreta material and clean facilities) (10,11,24,38–40,42–44,52,53,55,56,58–60,63,75) and an increase in levels of overall hygiene behaviour, including handwashing (24,25,42,60) and safe drinking water and storage (24,58). These changes impact health outcomes such as a reduction in childhood diarrheal disease, roundworm infestation and stunting (40,44,58,59,63,72). Behaviour change for sanitation and handwashing is limited where prior beliefs about the negative impact of open defecation are weak (63), where open defecation solves a cultural problem such as men and women not being allowed to share a toilet (10,11), where there is a focus on latrine construction over utilisation (42), where there is a lack of water for latrine cleaning and hand washing facilities close to latrines (59), or where the latrine is full (75). Slippage in behaviour change for safe drinking water and storage could be due to fatigue or loss of motivation, for example, refusing to cover stored drinking water (24), or because of affordability issues (58).

Shame may be a better mechanism situated in smaller, cohesive, and isolated communities with shared views, as people want to fit in and conform to social norms (42,43), or where effective leadership and community involvement help reinforce a change in social norms (10,53,56,59), or where high social cohesion and connectedness makes people more likely to conform for the benefit and social wellbeing of the community (8,38,72), especially as social pressure mounts and community tolerance for undesirable behaviour decreases (11,22,72). Latrine quality and cleanliness can help ensure people utilise latrines and feel safe (53). Increased respect and social acceptance for latrine ownership can help the shift social norms (38). Celebration by village members and local media coverage of open defecation free status can reinforce the undesirable behaviour and shame of those not conforming to the social norm (53).

Effective leadership is an important enabler of reduced levels of open defecation in communities, as it helps reinforce changes in social norms (10,56,59,60). High rates of latrine ownership and availability, can indicate a change in social norms and the acceptance of the new behaviour (62).

Communities with a lead role in an intervention can help identify the impacts of their behaviour and help individuals understand the importance of change in behaviour leading to a paradigm shift to promote sanitation facilities and stop open defecation (59). However, an increase in latrine ownership does not always guarantee their sustained use, nor link to an increase in handwashing or reduction in open defecation (10,24,59,62). Without ongoing support, acknowledgement of change and loss of messaging impact, behaviour change is unlikely to be sustained as there is a tendency for fatigue or loss of motivation within communities (22–24,75).

Discussion

In this realist review, we investigated how (mechanisms) and under what circumstances (context) community efforts and decisions regarding WASH interventions promote health and resource or service longevity (outcomes) in LMICs. We identified five mechanisms: accountability, diffusion, market, ownership, and shame, and 19 contextual factors (Table 2) that may led to positive and negative outcomes for availability, behaviour change, health, and resource or service longevity in both external and internal interventions in a community setting.

Our findings are similar to those of Jiménez et al (4), Loevinsohn et al (5), Novotný et al (6) and Stefanelli et al (7) who reported that community cohesion and connectedness, community participation or empowerment and skills and knowledge are enabling factors. Other factors that these papers found to influence availability and longevity of WASH interventions were access to adequate and timely information (4), and limited transparency and accountability which can lead to inequalities in services (5). These other findings reflect the need for awareness of the key contextual factors we identified such as leadership and diverse involvement to be considered when establishing interventions. These contextual factors were shown to have positive and negative outcomes. Of the 19 contextual factors, social cohesion and connectedness, leadership, and diverse involvement in the intervention (including of women and at different stages of design, planning and implementation) stood out as being common across successful interventions. Other evidence highlights limitations in existing WASH interventions aimed at reducing infections and suggest the need for greater intensity (e.g., through frequent contact between promoters and community members) to facilitate and track behaviour change.

Monitoring is a major component of the accountability mechanism, and it can be conducted through multiple forms including reports and follow up visits. The wider health literature shows other forms that monitoring takes including sentinel surveillance, syndromic surveillance, surveillance by proxy,

environmental monitoring or event-based surveillance (102–105). Downsides of ongoing monitoring is that it is expensive, time-consuming, labour and resource-intensive, and increased frequency can induce reactivity from subjects (106,107). Outsider reporting of activities and changes may also not be accurate (106). The length of time involved in monitoring and observation may be inconvenient for households and communities and may change their routines (107). While there are downsides, increased focus on the utilisation of monitoring is an important tool in WASH interventions and should be prioritised. Monitoring can also be utilised further as a tool to help guide decisions, for disease prevention and resource allocation (104,108).

Diffusion of innovation has been widely identified as a mechanism in public health and not just in the WASH sector, for example in the adoption of new health policies and technologies, and the use of new drugs (109). Other findings are in line with studies showing the application of diffusion of innovation in sanitation interventions (110,111), and add to the new growing body of literature the use of diffusion in water interventions (112). While diffusion of innovation is an important mechanism, it is important to acknowledge the psychological and physical health benefits of what is being adopted (113), and new behaviours may need to be adapted to meet the cultural needs of the target population (109,113) before adoption. A downside of the diffusion mechanism is that blame can be put on an individual and on those of lower social-economic status who are unable to conform or adopt an innovation or new behaviour due to financial barriers (113). These are important components to consider while planning WASH interventions to prevent unintended consequences such as creating further taboo and increased inequalities that can grow and create divisions within communities. If diffusion of innovation is utilised as a mechanism then steps need to be taken such as funding and support to ensure all members of a community can engage in the new WASH behaviour.

The market mechanism builds on the economic theory of demand. For this mechanism to be sustained there needs to be a delicate balance between supply, demand and pricing of the resource (114). The downside of markets is that they may not be sensitive to the cultural and social dimensions involved in the use of water and sanitation services or resources (115,116). To address this, pilot programs should include consideration of relevant cultural and social dimensions in their assessment of acceptability. Further, the market mechanism does not take into consideration the effects of climate change and the changing population demands (115,116). Climate change is an important component that needs to be prioritised and considered in designing for market systems but may require changes in planning and costing. The incorporation of climate change into market systems could help create more resilient adaptable WASH systems and wider environmental benefits, without the need for

major policy changes (117,118). The market mechanism could also be applied at a global scale to help address the growing pressure on global water resources.

The finding that ownership is a key component for health intervention sustainability, has also been reported in Sub-Saharan Africa (119), and in successful water supply and sanitation interventions in LMICs in other regions (120). Ownership can be difficult to achieve, especially so it is characterised by equality and fairness within a community, particularly as privilege and socioeconomic status impact who has a voice, whose voice is listened to, who has the power or influence within the community to be involved in decision-making and negotiations (121). In other research, the literature that was used to inform the development of ownership mechanisms and a focus on co-production was based on examples in high-income contexts where priorities and the power of communities and individuals are different to those in LMIC settings. Further research is required to better understand the relationship of ownership and power in LMIC settings.

The shame mechanism was found to be woven into many behaviour change sanitation interventions and has been employed by community-led total sanitation since the 1990s (122). However, recent arguments in global health emphasise that shame should never be employed as a mechanism to drive improved health outcomes (123), because it can lead to psychological harm especially among poor households who cannot afford to make the required changes, and because it can be a direct attack on a person's identity or dignity and be detrimental to their self-esteem (20,124,125). A focus on shame could create further taboo in WASH behaviours, and potentially limit discussions and acceptance of interventions in communities. Before using this mechanism, detailed discussions with community leaders and members needs to occur to highlight the potential downside of focusing on shame and whether alternative mechanisms are more appropriate.

Further work is needed to refine our five proposed mechanisms and CMO configurations in empirical studies. We recognise that there are alternative theories that could be used to explain the outcomes in the identified studies. For example, nudge theory would provide an alternative explanation to accountability where positive nudges within the community such as monitoring or meetings, act as a positive reinforcement for their behaviour change or actions. Ongoing meetings and monitoring may also be seen as positive nudges for people to perform the socially acceptable behaviour or action. On the other hand, fines for defaulting act as negative nudges and reinforce the appropriate actions and behaviours (126). The transtheoretical (or "stages of change") model also offers an alternative explanation for behaviour change at the community level with a key contextual factor being the

selection of natural leaders who can help guide and influence communities through the stages of behaviour change (127). The transtheoretical model can be linked to shame, as actions taken to provide information about others approval for a behaviour such as a walk of shame to indicate open defecation behaviour in a community (127). Indeed, shame itself may represent a negative nudge. Persuasion theory is yet another theory that could explain changes in behaviour around water use and open defecation (128). In smaller communities, monitoring, strong leadership, and communication in the community can be used to persuade people to change their behaviour as they understand the consequences. Greater knowledge and understanding of the impact of the change and social influence can persuade people to achieve a more desirable behaviour. While these alternative theories offer potential explanations they were not chosen as they do not include the diversity of contextual factors and are mainly linked to behaviour change outcomes. The five guiding theories that were selected are flexible, and well-studied in the literature, enabling us to build a detailed understanding of mechanisms, contextual factors and outcomes in the WASH sector.

Based on these review findings, the diverse involvement of community members to participate in the design and plan of an intervention is one of the most important enabling factors for resource or service availability, longevity and behaviour change. For water resource-focused interventions where the goal is to promote availability or longevity of the resource, the accountability, market and ownership mechanisms are particularly important, but these mechanisms depend on a broad range of community-level contextual factors. To achieve behaviour change, the mechanisms of shame and diffusion were shown to be particularly effective, and are most effective in smaller homogenous communities. Before initiating any intervention, it is important to understand the contextual factors within each community and to tailor the intervention accordingly. For example, interventionists who want to consider using the accountability mechanism to achieve desired outcomes will do well to ask themselves if the communities in which they seek to intervene have the necessary contextual factors (e.g., easy geographical accessible community location to allow monitoring visits, community-level platforms that facilitate internal monitoring etc) as shown in Table 3. If not, whether to consider another mechanism or support their target communities to develop favourable contextual factors before or while introducing an intervention.

Strengths and limitations

This review involved a thorough detailed search, which identified 73 papers, from 29 countries for inclusion. The size of the review allowed for diverse CMOs to be explored and understood. However, one paper from Small Island Developing States (SIDS), and five from the Latin American region were

included in the review. Most papers included in the study were from the African and Asian LMICs. Due to this, it is unreasonable to generalise the findings to all contexts, we would need to include papers from a wider range of contexts and varied locations. This is an important factor to consider as SIDS and Latin America have different priorities and challenges for water and sanitation in comparison to Asian and African countries. Research should be conducted within SIDS and Latin America to further refine the CMO configurations identified in this review and to develop further CMO configurations which can be used to explain multiple outcomes around water and sanitation interventions in these settings, as the literature has tended to only look at one or the other.

The papers selected for this review were limited to those available in English, peer-reviewed and available online through a database search. We also only looked at published articles and did not include grey literature such as NGO and government reports. Given the ten-year limit in the search strategy, we may have missed work looking at these issues in 1990s and early 2000s after the Water Decade and the start of the MDG period (129). As only papers published in English were included, we may have missed experiences of francophone and lusophone Africa, or Latin America. However, it is worth noting that these sets of omissions are consistent with the realist approach to evidence synthesis. The goal is to identify, if tentatively, CMO configurations which may subsequently be enriched through primary research or further reviews. In addition, also consistent with the realist approach to evidence synthesis (33,34), no formal quality appraisal was conducted on the papers included in this study.

Among the papers included in the study, it was difficult to identify 'physical' and 'social' contextual factors, as often very limited relevant information was provided. If additional information was available, then the types of contextual factors may have been found to play a more substantial role than we identified. Lastly, we did not include papers that looked at communities' natural resource management and interventions except those associated with water for a health connection, and we only included papers where an external party such as NGO or government was involved in the water natural resource management and interventions. Further research needs to be conducted to identify the mechanisms involved in such interventions.

Conclusion

This study brings together the knowledge generated from 73 water, sanitation and hygiene interventions in LMICs where communities are involved. Health, behaviour change, infrastructure and resource/service longevity-related outcomes are influenced by five mechanisms. The mechanisms are,

1) accountability (policies and procedures to hold communities and committees responsible for their actions and outcomes of an intervention), 2) diffusion (spread of an idea or behaviour by innovators over time through communication amongst members of a community), 3) market (the interplay between demand and supply of a WASH service or resource), 4) ownership (sense of possession and control of a WASH service or resource), and 5) shame (a feeling of disgust in one's behaviour or actions). Nineteen contextual factors including leadership, monitoring and rewards that impact these mechanisms. These contextual factors can be utilised by policymakers, program designers and implementers and NGOs in the development of interventions. They can also help improve the likelihood of success for targeted outcomes and infrastructure and service longevity. The results also provide a framework for analysing and understanding the performance of WASH interventions retrospectively.

Abbreviations:

- LMICs Low-and-middle income countries
- 822 NGO Nongovernmental organisation
- 823 SIDS Small Island Developing States
- 824 WASH Water, sanitation, and hygiene

Data availability statement

Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no datasets were generated or analysed during this

828 current study.

Patient and Public Involvement

No patient involved

Competing interests

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

836 Funding

This work was supported by the Stronger Systems for Health Security grant scheme by the Indo-Pacific Centre for Health Security, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australia (Grant No: SSHS 74427), and Bloomberg Philanthropies Vibrant Oceans Initiative (Grant No: 53006). The funders had no role in the study design, data collection and analysis, decision to publish or preparation of this manuscript.

842	Authors '	contributions

- 843 Conceptualization: Sarah Nelson, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
- 844 Data Curation: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek
- 845 Formal analysis: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek, Seye Abimbola
- 846 Funding acquisition: Aaron Jenkins, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
- 847 Investigation: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek
- 848 Methodology: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek, Seye Abimbola
- 849 Supervision: Aaron Jenkins, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
- 850 Validation: Sarah Nelson, Seye Abimbola
- 851 Visualisation: Sarah Nelson, Seye Abimbola
- Writing original draft preparation: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek
- Writing review & editing: Sarah Nelson, Dorothy Drabarek, Aaron Jenkins, Joel Negin, Seye Abimbola
- 855 <u>Ethical Approval Statement</u>
- 856 Not Applicable
- 858 References
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Figure/Legends

Figure 1: Results taken in the literature search

Table 1: Steps taken in the realist analysis

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.gin Table 2: Enabling context-mechanism-outcome configurations

Figure 2: The study country origin

Figure 3: Intervention focus

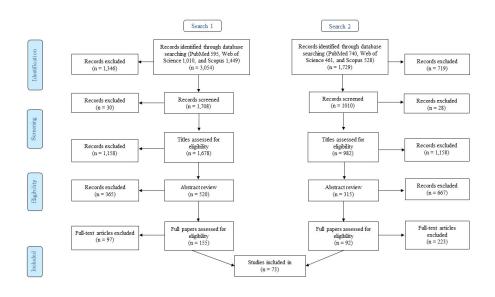


Figure 1: Results taken in the literature search 338x190mm (96 x 96 DPI)

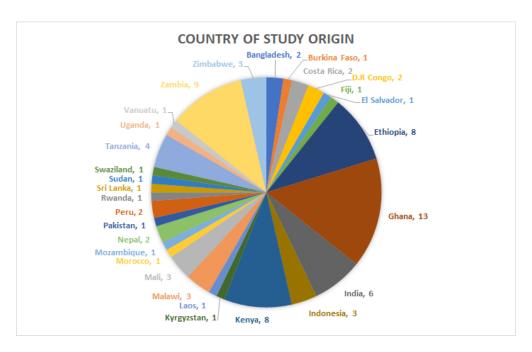


Figure 2: The study country origin 124x78mm (144 x 144 DPI)

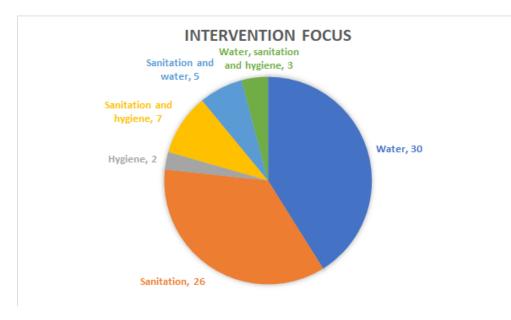


Figure 3: Intervention focus 104x60mm (144 x 144 DPI)

	Paper details	Country	Intervention	Exogenous or Endogenous	Mechanism(s)	Outcome
1	Abedin, M. A., Habiba, U., & Shaw, R. (2014). Community perception and adaptation to safe drinking water scarcity: salinity, arsenic, and drought risks in coastal Bangladesh. <i>International Journal of Disaster Risk Science</i> , 5(2), 110-124.	Bangladesh	Water	Both 2 Dece	Accountability Ownership	Availability
2	Dey, N. C., Parvez, M., Islam, M. R., Mistry, S. K., & Levine, D. I. (2019). Effectiveness of a community-based water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) intervention in reduction of diarrhoea among under-five children: Evidence from a repeated cross-sectional study (2007–2015) in rural Bangladesh. <i>International journal of hygiene and environmental health</i> , 222(8), 1098-1108.	Bangladesh	Water, sanitation and hygiene	Exoger 2021. Dov	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability Change
3	Dickin, S., Bisung, E., & Savadogo, K. (2017). Sanitation and the commons: The role of collective action in sanitation use. <i>Geoforum</i> , 86, 118-126.	Burkina Faso	Sanitation	Exogenous Oa ded	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability
4	Madrigal-Ballestero, R., & Naranjo, M. A. (2015). Adaptive capacity, drought and the performance of community-based drinking water organizations in Costa Rica. <i>Journal of Water and Climate Change</i> , 6(4), 831-847.	Costa Rica	Water	Exogen http://b/	Accountability Diffusion Ownership Market	Availability Longevity
5	Madrigal-Ballestero, R. (2019). Household and community responses to seasonal droughts in rural areas of Costa Rica. <i>Waterlines</i> , <i>38</i> (4), 286-304.	Costa Rica	Water	Exogenous	Accountability Ownership	Availability Longevity
6	Jimenez-Redal, R., Soriano, J., Holowko, N., Almandoz, J., & Arregui, F. (2018). Assessing sustainability of rural gravity-fed water schemes on Idjwi Island, DR Congo. <i>International Journal of Water Resources Development</i> , 34(6), 1022-1035.	D.R Congo	Water	Exogenous	Ownership	Availability Longevity
7	Andrade, E. L., Bingenheimer, J. B., Edberg, M. C., Zoerhoff, K. L., & Putzer, E. M. (2019). Evaluating the effectiveness of a community-based hygiene promotion program in a rural Salvadoran setting. <i>Global Health Promotion</i> , <i>26</i> (1), 69-80.	El Salvador	Hygiene	Exogenous prii	Ownership	Change
8	Degebasa, M. Z., Weldemichael, D. Z., & Marama, M. T. (2018). Diarrheal status and associated factors in under five years old children in relation to implemented and unimplemented community-led total sanitation and hygiene in Yaya Gulele in 2017. <i>Pediatric health, medicine and therapeutics</i> , 9, 109.	Ethiopia	Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogenous 0024 by gu	Ownership Shame	Availability Change
9	Zeleke, D. A., Gelaye, K. A., & Mekonnen, F. A. (2019). Community-Led Total Sanitation and the rate of latrine ownership. <i>BMC research notes</i> , <i>12</i> (1), 14.	Ethiopia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion Shame	Availability
10	Tessema, R. A. (2017). Assessment of the implementation of community-led total sanitation, hygiene, and associated factors in Diretiyara district, Eastern Ethiopia. <i>PloS one</i> , <i>12</i> (4), e0175233.	Ethiopia	Sanitation	expected by copyright	Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability Change

		BMJ Open		omjopen-2021-05		
11	Anthonj, C., Fleming, L., Cronk, R., Godfrey, S., Ambelu, A., Bevan, J., & Bartram, J. (2018). Improving monitoring and water point functionality in rural Ethiopia. <i>Water</i> , <i>10</i> (11), 1591.	Ethiopia	Water	Exogenous 00 on 2	Accountability Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
12	Crocker, J., Geremew, A., Atalie, F., Yetie, M., & Bartram, J. (2016). Teachers and sanitation promotion: an assessment of community-led total sanitation in Ethiopia. <i>Environmental science & technology</i> , <i>50</i> (12), 6517-6525.	Ethiopia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability Change
13	Gebremariam, B., & Tsehaye, K. (2019). Effect of community led total sanitation and hygiene (CLTSH) implementation program on latrine utilization among adult villagers of North Ethiopia: a cross-sectional study. <i>BMC research notes</i> , 12(1), 1-6.	Ethiopia	Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogenous 2021. Dov	Shame	Change
14	Soboksa, N. E., Hailu, A. B., Gari, S. R., & Alemu, B. M. (2019). Water supply, sanitation and hygiene interventions and childhood diarrhea in Kersa and Omo Nada districts of Jimma Zone, Ethiopia: a comparative cross-sectional study. <i>Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition</i> , 38(1), 1-14.	Ethiopia	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogenous Exogenous from	Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
15	Crocker, J., Saywell, D., & Bartram, J. (2017). Sustainability of community-led total sanitation outcomes: Evidence from Ethiopia and Ghana. <i>International Journal of Hygiene and Environmental Health</i> , 220(3), 551-557.	Ethiopia and Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability Change
16	Opare, S. (2011). Sustaining water supply through a phased community management approach: Lessons from Ghana's "oats" water supply scheme. <i>Environment, Development and Sustainability</i> , 13, 1021-1042.	Ghana	Water	Exogenous en.b	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
17	Nunbogu, A. M., Harter, M., & Mosler, H. J. (2019). Factors associated with levels of latrine completion and consequent latrine use in northern Ghana. <i>International journal of environmental research and public health</i> , 16(6), 920.	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
18	Crocker J, Abodoo E, Asamani D, Domapielle W, Gyapong B, Bartram J. (2016). Impact evaluation of training natural leaders during a community-led total sanitation intervention: A cluster-randomized field trial in Ghana. <i>Environ Sci Technol.</i> 50(16):8867–75.	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous pril 10, 20	Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
19	Kosinski, K. C., Crocker, J. J., Durant, J. L., Osabutey, D., Adjei, M. N., & Gute, D. M. (2011). A novel community-based water recreation area for schistosomiasis control in rural Ghana. <i>Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development</i> , 1(4), 259-268.	Ghana	Water	Exogen by guest	Ownership	Change
20	Woode, P. K., Dwumfour-Asare, B., Nyarko, K. B., & Appiah-Effah, E. (2018). Cost and effectiveness of water, sanitation and hygiene promotion intervention in Ghana: the case of four communities in the Brong Ahafo region. <i>Heliyon</i> , 4(10), e00841.	Ghana	Sanitation	Exogenous rote cted by	Shame	Change

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21	Morinville, C., & Harris, L. M. (2014). Participation, politics, and panaceas:	Ghana	Water	Exogenous.	Accountability	Availability
	exploring the possibilities and limits of participatory urban water governance in			on	Ownership	Longevity
	Accra, Ghana. Ecology and Society, 19(3).			N		
22	Harter, M., Inauen, J., & Mosler, H. J. (2020). How does Community-Led Total	Ghana	Sanitation	Exog (ous	Accountability	Availability
	Sanitation (CLTS) promote latrine construction, and can it be improved? A			èm	Diffusion	
	cluster-randomized controlled trial in Ghana. Social science & medicine, 245,			ember	Shame	
23	112705. Nti, E. K., Wongnaa, C. A., Edusah, N. S. E., & Bakang, J. E. A. (2020). Assessment	Chana	\A/a+a	Exogenous	Ownership	l a a a a vide v
23	of the sustainability of community-managed water supply services in	Ghana	Water	Exogetions	Ownership	Longevity
	Ghana. <i>Environment, Development and Sustainability</i> , 22(7), 7097-7120.			Do		
24	Klug, T., Shields, K. F., Cronk, R., Kelly, E., Behnke, N., Lee, K., & Bartram, J.	Ghana, Kenya,	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Longevity
	(2017). Water system hardware and management rehabilitation: Qualitative	Zambia		, <u>~</u>	Ownership	
	evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. <i>International journal of hygiene and</i>			aded	·	
	environmental health, 220(3), 531-538.			fror		
25	Kelly, E., Shields, K. F., Cronk, R., Lee, K., Behnke, N., Klug, T., & Bartram, J.	Ghana, Kenya,	Water	Exogenous	Market	Longevity
	(2018). Seasonality, water use and community management of water systems in	Zambia		ttp:		
	rural settings: Qualitative evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. Science of			p://bmjc		
	the Total Environment, 628, 715-721.					
26	Behnke, N. L., Klug, T., Cronk, R., Shields, K. F., Lee, K., Kelly, E. R., & Bartram,	Ghana, Kenya,	Water	Both	Ownership	Longevity
	J. (2017). Resource mobilization for community-managed rural water systems:	Zambia		bm		
	Evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia. <i>Journal of Cleaner Production</i> , 156, 437-444.			.bmj.co		
27	Kelly, E., Lee, K., Shields, K. F., Cronk, R., Behnke, N., Klug, T., & Bartram, J.	Ghana, Kenya,	Water	Both -	Accountability	Availability
	(2017). The role of social capital and sense of ownership in rural community-	Zambia	Water	Both on	Ownership	rttanasmey
	managed water systems: Qualitative evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Zambia.			p r.	F	
	Journal of Rural Studies, 56, 156-166.			April 10		
28	Sarkar, S., Greenleaf, J. E., Gupta, A., Ghosh, D., Blaney, L. M., Bandyopadhyay,	India	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Availability
	P., & Sen Gupta, A. K. (2010). Evolution of community-based arsenic removal			024	Market	Longevity
	systems in remote villages in West Bengal, India: assessment of decade-long			by		
	operation. Water Research, 44(19), 5813-5822.			g E		
29	Rout, S. (2014). Institutional variations in practice of demand responsive	India	Water	Endo	Accountability	Longevity
	approach: evidence from rural water supply in India. <i>Water Policy</i> , 16(4), 650-			Pro	Market	
30	668. Singh, C. (2018). Is participatory watershed development building local adaptive	India	Water	Evonopous	Ownership	Availability
3U	capacity? Findings from a case study in Rajasthan, India. <i>Environmental</i>	IIIuld	water	Exogenous	Accountability Diffusion	Longevity
	development, 25, 43-58.			by	Ownership	Longevity
	ucreiopinent, 20, 30 00.			copyright.	Ownership	I

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31	Maheshwari, B., Varua, M., Ward, J., Packham, R., Chinnasamy, P., Dashora, Y.,	India	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Availability
	& Rao, P. (2014). The role of transdisciplinary approach and community			on on	Ownership	Longevity
	participation in village scale groundwater management: insights from Gujarat			N		
	and Rajasthan, India. Water, 6(11), 3386-3408.			De		
32	Orgill-Meyer, J., Pattanayak, S. K., Chindarkar, N., Dickinson, K. L., Panda, U., Rai,	India	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Availability
	S., & Jeuland, M. (2019). Long-term impact of a community-led sanitation			mbe		Change
	campaign in India, 2005–2016. Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 97(8),			er 2		
	523.			202		
33	String, G. M., Singleton, R. I., Mirindi, P. N., & Lantagne, D. S. (2020). Operational	India, DRC,	Water	Exogenous	Accountability	Availability
	research on rural, community-managed water safety Plans: case study results	Fiji, and		Jown	Market	Longevity
	from implementations in India, DRC, Fiji, and Vanuatu. Water research, 170,	Vanuatu		/nloa		
	115288.)ad		
34	Cameron, L., Olivia, S., & Shah, M. (2019). Scaling up sanitation: evidence from	Indonesia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Change
	an RCT in Indonesia. Journal of development economics, 138, 1-16.			fror	Ownership	Longevity
				л 	Shame	
35	Roekmi RAK, Baskaran K, Chua LH. (2018). Community-based water supplies in	Indonesia	Water	Endo g enous	Accountability	Availability
	Cikarang, Indonesia: Are they sustainable? Natural Resource Forum;42(2):108–			//bi	Market	Longevity
	22			njo	Ownership	
36	Ganing, A., Abu, A., Muslimin, I., & Adam, A. (2018). Community empowerment	Indonesia	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Change
	in management community-based total sanitation through health education in			n.br	Ownership	Longevity
	Majene. Indian Journal of Public Health Research & Development, 9(12), 1466-		\mathbf{N}_{I}	bmj.co		
	1471.			Con		
37	Ogendo, K. N., Kihara, A. B., Kosgei, R. J., Tweya, H., Kizito, W., Murkomen, B., &	Kenya	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Change
	Ogutu, O. (2016). Assessment of community led total sanitation uptake in rural		()	D →		
	Kenya. East African Medical Journal, 93(10), 39-42.		<u> </u>	Apri		
38	Babb, C., Makotsi, N., Heimler, I., Bailey, R. C., Hershow, R. C., Masanga, P., &	Kenya	Sanitation	Exogenous	Shame	Change
	Mehta, S. D. (2018). Evaluation of the effectiveness of a latrine intervention in			, 20		
	the reduction of childhood diarrhoeal health in Nyando District, Kisumu County,			2024		
	Kenya. Epidemiology & Infection, 146(9), 1079-1088.			by		
39	Gimaiyo, G., McManus, J., Yarri, M., Singh, S., Trevett, A., Moloney, G., &	Kenya	Sanitation	Exog @ nous	Accountability	Change
	Lehmann, L. (2019). Can child-focused sanitation and nutrition programming			est.	Diffusion	
	improve health practices and outcomes? Evidence from a randomised controlled			. Pro	Shame	
	trial in Kitui County, Kenya. <i>BMJ global health, 4</i> (1).			- 		
40	Karinja, M., Schlienger, R., Pillai, G. C., Esterhuizen, T., Onyango, E., Gitau, A., &	Kenya	Hygiene	Exogenous	Diffusion	Change
	Ogutu, B. (2020). Risk reduction of diarrhea and respiratory infections following			<u>ā</u>		
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e 51 o	f 53	BMJ Open		omjopen-2021-053320		
	a community health education program-a facility-based case-control study in			1-05332		
	rural parts of Kenya. BMC public health, 20, 1-9.			O		
41	Wardle, C. (2018). Sustainability and long-term impact of community-managed water supply in rural Kyrgyzstan, Central Asia. <i>Waterlines</i> , <i>37</i> (2), 118-131.	Kyrgyzstan	Water	Exogenous D ec	Diffusion Market Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
42	Keoprasith, B., Kizuki, M., Watanabe, M., & Takano, T. (2013). The impact of community-based, workshop activities in multiple local dialects on the vaccination coverage, sanitary living and the health status of multiethnic populations in Lao PDR. <i>Health promotion international</i> , 28(3), 453-465.	Laos	Sanitation and hygiene	Exogenous er 2021. [Accountability Diffusion	Change
43	Biran, A., Danquah, L., Chunga, J., Schmidt, W. P., Holm, R., Itimu-Phiri, A., & White, S. (2018). A cluster-randomized trial to evaluate the impact of an inclusive, community-led total sanitation intervention on sanitation access for people with disabilities in Malawi. <i>The American journal of tropical medicine and hygiene</i> , 98(4), 984-994.	Malawi	Sanitation	Exogenous loaded fro	Accountability Ownership Shame	Availability
44	Kayoka, C., Itimu-Phiri, A., Biran, A., & Holm, R. H. (2019). Lasting results: A qualitative assessment of efforts to make community-led total sanitation more inclusive of the needs of people with disabilities in Rumphi District, Malawi. <i>Disability and health journal</i> , 12(4), 718-721.	Malawi	Sanitation	Exogenous Exogentp://bmjc	Ownership Shame	Availability
45	Longwe, B., Mganga, M., & Sinyiza, N. (2019). Review of sustainable solar powered water supply system design approach by Water Mission Malawi. <i>Water Practice and Technology</i> , 14(4), 749-763.	Malawi	Water	Exogenous bmj.	Accountability Market Ownership	Availability Longevity
46	Pickering, A. J., Djebbari, H., Lopez, C., Coulibaly, M., & Alzua, M. L. (2015). Effect of a community-led sanitation intervention on child diarrhoea and child growth in rural Mali: a cluster-randomised controlled trial. <i>The Lancet Global Health</i> , <i>3</i> (11), e701-e711.	Mali	Sanitation	Exogenous on Apri	Accountability Shame	Change Longevity
47	Jones, S. (2011). Participation as citizenship or payment? A case study of rural drinking water governance in Mali. <i>Water alternatives</i> , <i>4</i> (1).	Mali	Water	Exogenous 2022	Accountability Diffusion Ownership	Availability
48	Alzúa, M. L., Djebbari, H., & Pickering, A. J. (2020). A community-based program promotes sanitation. <i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i> , <i>68</i> (2), 357-390.	Mali	Sanitation	Exog e nous Guess	Accountability Shame	Availability Change
49	Azemzi, H., & Erraoui, E. H. (2021). Irrigation water management and collective action: understanding the shift from community management to participatory management in Souss-Massa (Morocco). Euro-Mediterranean Journal for Environmental Integration, 6(1), 1-12.	Morocco	Water	Endogenous rote cote ed.	Accountability Ownership	Availability Change Longevity

		BMJ Open		omjopen-2021-05		
50	Harter, M., Mosch, S., & Mosler, H. J. (2018). How does Community-Led Total	Mozambique	Sanitation	Exogenous	Diffusion	Availability
	Sanitation (CLTS) affect latrine ownership? A quantitative case study from Mozambique. <i>BMC public health</i> , <i>18</i> (1), 387.			on 2	Ownership	Longevity
51	Barrington, D., Fuller, K., & McMillan, A. (2013). Water safety planning: adapting the existing approach to community-managed systems in rural Nepal. <i>Journal of water, sanitation and hygiene for development</i> , <i>3</i> (3), 392-401.	Nepal	Water	Exogenous cembe	Diffusion	Longevity
2	Bright-Davies L, Lüthi C, Jachnow A. (2015). DEWATS for urban Nepal: a comparative assessment for community wastewater management. <i>Waterlines</i> . <i>34</i> (2):119–38.	Nepal	Water	Exogenous 021. [Ownership	Longevity
53	Padawangi, R. (2010). Community-driven development as a driver of change: water supply and sanitation projects in rural Punjab, Pakistan. <i>Water Policy</i> , 12(S1), 104-120.	Pakistan	Sanitation and water	Exogenous Winload	Market Ownership	Availability Longevity
54	Hubbard, B., Sarisky, J., Gelting, R., Baffigo, V., Seminario, R., & Centurion, C. (2011). A community demand-driven approach toward sustainable water and sanitation infrastructure development. <i>International journal of hygiene and environmental health</i> , 214(4), 326-334.	Peru	Sanitation and Water	Endogenous from http:	Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
5	Smyrilli, C., Selvakumaran, S., Alderson, M., Pizarro, A., Almendrades, D., Harris, B., & Bustamante, A. (2018). Sustainable decentralised wastewater treatment schemes in the context of Lobitos, Peru. <i>Journal of Environmental Engineering and Science</i> , <i>13</i> (1), 8-16.	Peru	Water	Exogemous mjopen.b	Ownership	Longevity
6	Chankova, S., Hatt, L., & Musange, S. (2012). A community-based approach to promote household water treatment in Rwanda. <i>Journal of water and health</i> , 10(1), 116-129.	Rwanda	Water	Exogenous m/ o	Diffusion	Availability Change Longevity
7	Aladuwaka, S., & Momsen, J. (2010). k, water resources management and women's empowerment: the Wanaraniya Water Project in Sri Lanka. <i>Gender & Development</i> , 18(1), 43-58.	Sri Lanka	Water	Endogenous prii 10	Diffusion Market Ownership	Availability Change Longevity
8	Ibrahim, S. H. (2017). Sustainability assessment and identification of determinants in community-based water supply projects using partial least squares path model. <i>Journal of Sustainable Development of Energy, Water and Environment Systems</i> , <i>5</i> (3), 345-358.	Sudan	Water	Exogenous 024 by gu	Market	Longevity
9	Mlenga, D. H., & Baraki, Y. A. (2016). Community led total sanitation for community based disaster risk reduction: A case for non-input humanitarian relief. <i>Jàmbá: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies</i> , 8(2).	Swaziland	Sanitation	Exogenous Prote	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
60	Madon, S., Malecela, M. N., Mashoto, K., Donohue, R., Mubyazi, G., & Michael, E. (2018). The role of community participation for sustainable integrated	Tanzania	Sanitation and hygiene	Exoged by dopyright	Accountability Ownership Shame	Availability Change Longevity

ge 53 of 53		BMJ Open		bmjopen-2021-053320		
	neglected tropical diseases and water, sanitation and hygiene intervention			-053320		
61	programs: a pilot project in Tanzania. <i>Social Science & Medicine</i> , 202, 28-37. Mwakitalima, A., Massa, K., Seleman, A., & Kassile, T. (2018). Scaling up rural sanitation in Tanzania: evidence from the National Sanitation Campaign. <i>Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development</i> , 8(2), 290-306.	Tanzania	Sanitation	Exogenous Decemb	Accountability Diffusion Market Shame	Availability
62	Kema, K. M., Komwihangiro, J., & Kimaro, S. (2012). Integrated community based child survival, reproductive health and water and sanitation program in Mkuranga district, Tanzania: a replicable model of good practices in community based health care. <i>The Pan African Medical Journal</i> , 13(Suppl 1).	Tanzania	Sanitation and water	Exogenous 2021. Dow	Accountability Ownership Shame	Availability
63	Safari, J., Mohamed, H., Dimoso, P., Akyoo, W., Odhiambo, F., Mpete, R., & Mwakitalima, A. (2019). Lessons learned from the national sanitation campaign in Njombe district, Tanzania. <i>Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development</i> , <i>9</i> (4), 754-764.	Tanzania	Sanitation	Exogoaded from	Accountability Diffusion Ownership Shame	Availability Change
64	Okolimong, C. D., Ndejjo, R., Mugambe, R. K., & Halage, A. A. (2020). Effect of a Community-Led Total Sanitation Intervention on Sanitation and Hygiene in Pallisa District, Uganda. <i>The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene</i> , 103(4), 1735-1741.	Uganda	Sanitation and Hygiene	Exogentp://bmjc	Accountability Diffusion Shame	Availability Change
65	Harvey, P. A. (2011). Zero subsidy strategies for accelerating access to rural water and sanitation services. <i>Water Science and Technology</i> , <i>63</i> (5), 1037-1043.	Zambia	Sanitation and water	Exogenous bmj.	Market Ownership Shame	Availability Change Longevity
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