

1 *Type of the Paper (Article)*

2 **Empowerment and Tech Adoption: Introducing the** 3 **Treadle Pump Triggers Farmers' Innovation in** 4 **Eastern Ethiopia**

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16 **Abstract:** In 2013, thirty-eight treadle pumps (TPs) were installed as low-cost technology
17 introduction for small-scale irrigation in eastern Ethiopia. The pilot project also included training of
18 selected farmers on well excavation, installation and maintenance of pumps. In June 2015,
19 researchers visited nine of the 38 TP sites, and found only two functional TPs. The rest were replaced
20 with a new technology. Farmers who adopted the new technology stated that the limited water
21 output and high labor demand of the conventional TP did not optimally fulfil their irrigation water
22 requirements. The new hybrid technologies have spread quickly to more than one hundred
23 households due to three key factors. First, farmers' innovative modifications of the initial excavation
24 technique addressed the discharge limitations of the conventional TP by excavating boreholes with
25 wider diameter. Second, community ownership of the new technology, including local skills used
26 in well drilling and fabricating excavation implement, made the new irrigation technology
27 affordable and accessible to a higher number of households, leading to faster diffusion of the
28 technology. Third, this innovation has spread organically without any external support. Adoption
29 of the new technology enabled some farmers to accumulate enough resources to diversify their
30 livelihoods into non-farm activities.

31 **Keywords:** irrigation; technology adoption; farmers' innovation; diffusion

32

33 **1. Introduction**

34 In Ethiopia, smallholder farmers contribute to more than 90% of all the agricultural production
35 and cultivate over 96% of the total arable land [1]. Thus, agricultural growth has the potential to
36 contribute not only to food security, but also to poverty reduction and livelihood improvement for
37 the rural population. This is particularly true in light of the high yield gap between potential and
38 the actual agricultural production in Ethiopia as compared to the rest of the world [2]. Almost all
39 smallholder farming in Ethiopia is rain-fed [3]. Erratic rainfall and recurrent drought exposes the
40 majority of the rain-fed farming population to food insecurity and perpetual poverty [4], and
41 negatively affect the economy of Ethiopia [5]. Given the rapid population growth and low level of
42 current food production, the country cannot meet its food deficit through rain-fed production alone
43 [6]. Even during relatively good rainfall years, the survival of about 10% of the population depends
44 on external food assistance [7]. Furthermore, climate change is expected to exacerbate extremes in
45 weather patterns and rainfall variability [8]. Paradoxically, the highlands of Ethiopia receive very

46 high amounts of rainfall, with annual runoff volume of up to 122 billion m³ of water from 12 major
47 river basins. The region also possesses an estimated ground water potential of 27 to 40 billion m³
48 [3,9-11]. However, lack of water storage structures [5], weak water management governance, and
49 poor implementation of water use and management policies in Ethiopia have limited realization of
50 the economic potential possible from the abundant water resources [12].

51 The government, recognizing the economic and livelihood importance of agriculture, expresses
52 commitment to solve this paradox through an agriculture focused development program that also
53 includes irrigation development as one of the major strategies [13]. Key government documents
54 such as the Water Resources Management Policy [14], Water Sector Strategy [15], and the country's
55 Growth and Transformation Plans have all emphasized irrigation development as crucial to ensure
56 food security, reduce poverty, and improve the broader national economy [16]. Small-scale
57 irrigation development is widely viewed as having great potential for improving livelihoods of
58 rural households and facilitating adaptation to climate change [17]. As rural households constitute
59 more than 80% of the population [17], significant effort is being made by Ethiopian government and
60 its development partners to expand irrigated agriculture, including small-scale irrigation [18].

61 1.1. Small Scale Irrigation in Ethiopia

62 Similar to other parts of sub-Saharan Africa [19], data on small-scale irrigation in Ethiopia is
63 very limited [9]. It is estimated that current irrigated area covers only about 5-6% of the total
64 estimated 5 million hectares considered suitable for irrigation [20,11]. The Ethiopian government
65 has introduced new irrigation technologies for small-scale irrigation that include rainwater
66 harvesting, ponds, hand-dug-wells and stream diversions. Depending on the spatial position of the
67 farm plots and the water sources, farmers are introduced to the use of gravity irrigation, manual
68 water lifting devices, treadle and powered pumps to irrigate their crops [18,21]. Because of the
69 enhanced productivity, relative to rain-fed farming, governmental and non-governmental
70 development actors have invested considerable effort and resources to support adoption of
71 irrigation by smallholder farmers [18]. Introduction of treadle pump (TP) system in Haramaya
72 Woreda (district) of East Hararghe is one of such efforts.

73 1.2. Project Background

74 In 2010 and 2011, baseline information collected for a long-term collaborative, food security
75 research project revealed high demand for access to irrigation among study households in two of
76 the most drought prone regions in Ethiopia: East Hararghe Zone and South Wollo Zone [22]. In
77 2012, the project sponsored iDE Ethiopia to explore the feasibility of installing TPs in study sites
78 with high ground water potential. An inventory of shallow ground water levels in both Hararghe
79 and Wollo preceded installation of the TPs, to select sites accessible by manual water lifting devices
80 such as TPs. In Wollo, small-scale irrigation practices are mainly based on river/stream diversions,
81 springs, lakes and ponds. Hand-dug shallow groundwater wells usually serve community water
82 supply for domestic consumption. By contrast, in Hararghe, Haramaya Woreda, groundwater
83 based irrigation is widely practiced. However, even in Haramaya, households are at different levels
84 in their irrigation practices and technologies they employ. Most irrigating households use simple
85 open shallow wells (Figure 1), while few use wells with concrete casings with motorized pumps.
86 Results of the feasibility assessment revealed that overall there was greater potential, interest, and
87 experience in accessing shallow groundwater for irrigation in Hararghe than in Wollo. Hence, the
88 TP intervention was piloted in Haramaya Woreda in the East Hararghe Zone of the Oromia Region.

89 Between 2012 and 2013, a total of 55 wells were drilled in Haramaya Woreda as a pilot project
90 (3 wells around Bate town, 9 wells in Damota, 6 wells in Fenkele, 7 wells in Tenike, and 30 wells in
91 Tuji Gabissa kebeles). Out of the 55 wells drilled during the pilot project, 38 wells were successful.

92 **Figure 1.** Open shallow well (Photo by authors)



93

94 The remaining 17 wells were unsuitable due to stone impediment, insufficient and/or absence of
95 permeable layer, and static water level being too deep for manual pumping. The depth of the wells
96 drilled ranged from 15 to 32 meters and the average well depth was 22 meters. For the successful 38
97 wells, foot-operated Suction Only Treadle Pumps (35) and hand-operated Rope & Washer Pumps
98 (3) were installed in the five kebeles. Farmers were trained in basic operation and minor
99 maintenance of these pumps. During the project, six individuals, selected from the community,
100 took a rigorous training on well drilling and pump installation. Although the training mainly
101 focused in manual well drilling, it also included skills on well casing installation, maintenance of
102 wells, installation and maintenance of pumps. The trainees, hired as daily laborers during the
103 project, participated in excavating and installing TPs and quickly attained the skills required to
104 maintain the wells and service the equipment for proper function. After the completion of the pilot
105 project, these trainees, in collaboration with local artisans, were capable of producing locally
106 manufactured replacement parts and excavation tools modified from the original implements.
107 These local entrepreneurs proceeded to install modified technologies based on farmers' needs and
108 willingness or ability to invest in additional technological solutions.

109 The TP technology, although very low in capacity, was an improvement over the preexisting
110 farmers' irrigation practices in the study sites. The assumption was that TPs would minimize the
111 dependency of local farmers on harvesting water in big and open hand-dug wells, with diameters
112 of up to 20 meters. These wells created large soil disturbances and required costly clean-up, using
113 both human labor and excavators when the water level drops during the dry season, to remove
114 accumulated sediment. Moreover, these open wells pose perpetual danger to human and livestock.
115 This preliminary assessment was therefore conducted to: (a) evaluate the status of TPs installed in
116 2013, (b) explore farmers' views on their TP use and adoption experience, and (c) assess impacts of
117 TP use.

118 In order to get a variety of perspectives, several irrigated farms were observed. Discussions
119 included farmers, development agents, government officials, NGOs staff, researchers, and local
120 experts in the study area of Haramaya Woreda. A wide range of irrigation practices in terms of
121 technologies, management arrangements, crop types, and scales of operation was observed. This
122 article focuses on local innovations in drilling technology for small-scale irrigation that has become
123 wide spread in Haramaya Woreda.

124

125 Conceptual framework for agriculture technology adoption

126 Improved agricultural technologies have the potential to enhance productivity, income and
127 food security for the majority of the population in developing countries. However, the rate of
128 improved technology adoption is slow, particularly in Africa [23,24]. Even when smallholder

129 farmers adopt a technology, they may not adopt it immediately or may dis-adopt it after the initial
130 trial period. Often only a certain segment of the population adopts the technology and only on a
131 small portion of their land, especially during the initial trial period [25]. Attempts to understand the
132 constraints of agricultural technology adoption have led to the proliferation of the literature on
133 'determining factors' [23,26-32]. Some of the widely reported factors that influence agriculture
134 technology adoption and diffusion reported from these studies include: wealth, access to capital,
135 education level, access to labor, perception of risk, tenure security, access to market, social network,
136 and social learning [33]. Depending on farming context [34], a combination of these and other
137 factors may influence the adoption and diffusion of agricultural technology in a variety of ways.
138 For example, many studies have shown that larger landholding is likely to lead to higher adoption
139 rate. This finding is often attributed, among other things, to risk tolerance [35]. Conversely, there is
140 also some evidence indicating the reverse may be valid [36]. For example, the higher adoption rate
141 of improved pigeon peas seeds, in Tanzania, by farmers with smaller landholdings is attributed to
142 the need to intensify due to land pressure [36]. In some studies, the size of landholding may be
143 positively associated with adoption of one technology, and negatively correlated with another [37].
144 The search for what influences farmers' decision-making in adopting new technology has led to a
145 wide variety of associated factors as aptly summarized by [38].

146 One of the most influential theories in agricultural technology adoption is the theory of
147 'diffusion of innovations' by Everett Rogers [32]. Rogers' diffusion of innovations theory is the most
148 appropriate for investigating the adoption and subsequent fate of the TPs introduced in Eastern
149 Ethiopia. This theory explains not only how innovations are adopted and spread through a
150 population, but also how they are modified or altered during implementation. According to Rogers
151 [32], five features of an innovation (a technology, an idea or a practice) influence the speed with
152 which it spreads within a population. These features include: (a) the level of improvement the
153 innovation provides relative to the old practice, (b) the compatibility of the innovation with the
154 existing practice and values, (c) the ease and simplicity of using the innovation (trialability), (d) the
155 ability of users to test or experiment with the innovation, and (e) the ease and speed with which
156 farmers can see benefits.

157 **2. Materials and Methods**

158 **Study Areas**

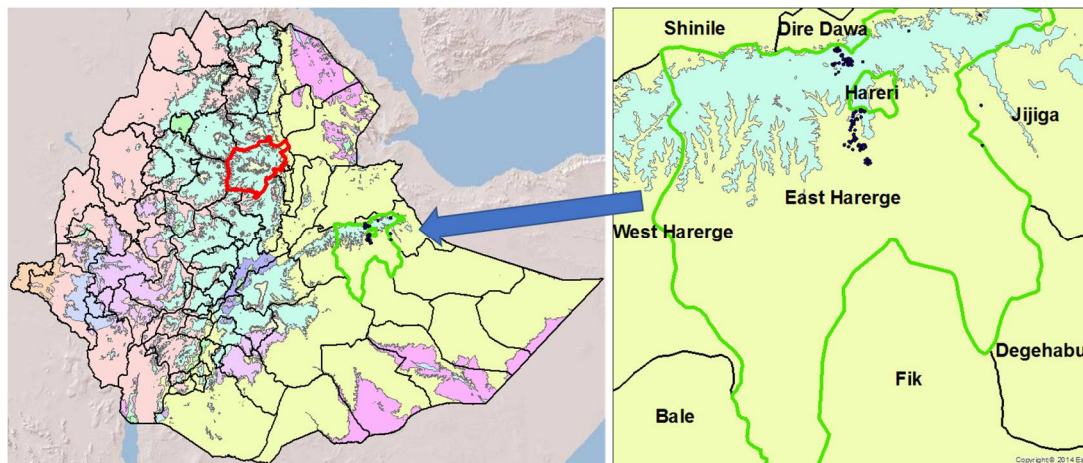
159 Haramaya Woreda is located in East Hararghe Zone of Oromia Regional State. The capital town,
160 Haramaya, is located about 500 km from Addis Ababa. Haramaya has 33 rural and two urban kebeles
161 (subdistricts) with a total population of 220,986 [39]. Most of the kebeles, including those selected for
162 this study, are considered highland and mid-land. The average annual rainfall, based on 25 years of
163 data from the Haramaya meteorological station, shows a mean total annual rain fall of 775 mm [40].
164 Although the amount and pattern vary locally, rainfall is bimodal in distribution; a short season from
165 March to May is known as belg, and a longer rainy reason from July to September is known as meher.
166 The maximum and minimum mean annual temperatures for the area are 23.8 °C and 9.6 °C
167 respectively [41]. The area is characterized by frequent drought, crop failure, severe land degradation,
168 and increased vulnerability to chronic food insecurity. The major crops grown are sorghum and
169 maize under rain-fed conditions, as well as Khat, potato, and vegetables, e.g., lettuce, carrot, onion,
170 tomato, and cabbage, under irrigated conditions [42]. Although drying up, Lake Haramaya and
171 shallow, ground water (6 to 30 m deep) in the dry lakebed and catchments provide the opportunity
172 to access irrigation for the households that can afford the irrigation infrastructure [43].

173 **Data Collection**

174 This study was conducted in three selected kebeles within Haramaya. These sites are part of
175 research areas selected for a long-term multi-disciplinary, collaborative research program involving
176 three universities: University of Nebraska, Haramaya and Wollo Universities. The partners are

177 engaged in a system approach to address agricultural productivity, food security and nutrition in
178 two drought prone areas; South Wollo and East Hararghe in Ethiopia (see Figure 2). Qualitative
179 fieldwork and extensive quantitative surveys were conducted in 2010 and 2011, respectively, to
180 provide baseline information for the program [22]. Subsequent fieldwork focusing on small-scale
181 irrigation in Haramaya was carried out in 2012 and 2013 to assess areas suitable for installing TPs for
182 household-based, small-scale irrigation.

183 **Figure 2.** Map of Ethiopia showing the study areas.



184

185 Before the actual interviews and measurements were made, enumerators obtained informed
186 consent from all participants or parents of children. The University of Nebraska Institutional Review
187 Board reviewed and approved the study protocol and all supporting documents (IRB Approval #:
188 20100710992EP).

189 **Focus-Group Discussion:** Focus-group discussions (FGD) were conducted with farmers from eight
190 different field sites. The size of a group differs from site to site ranging from three to nine farmers of
191 mixed gender, as determined by the number of people available in the proximity of their farm plots.
192 Farmers generally did not have prior knowledge of the visit. Points of discussions covered a wide
193 variety of issues but focused on farmers' perceptions of TP irrigation experience, impacts (both
194 negative and positive) of TP irrigation, cropping patterns, use of inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides),
195 concerns related to irrigation practices and institutions related to water use and management.

196 **Key Informant Interview:** Key Informant Interviews (KII) were held with government officials (in
197 zonal and woreda offices), development agents, local well drillers, technical experts, NGO staff,
198 researchers, university officials and local elders. The KIIs included semi-structured interviews
199 covering information, among other things, on aggregate data on irrigation in each woreda, policies
200 and practices related to irrigation development, institutional support to farmers and market-related
201 and natural resource (e.g., water) management issues.

202 **Field Observation:** During farm visits, observations were made on the status of the irrigation
203 schemes, major crop types grown on irrigated fields, cropping patterns (strip or intercropping),
204 cropping cycles, irrigation methods used (flood, furrow or other), climatic impacts (frost), plant pests
205 and disease pressures and use of TP systems and the new technology.

206 3. Results and Discussion

207 In East Hararghe Zone, the major source of water for irrigation is groundwater. Nevertheless,
208 irrigation practices using wells, open pits, and ponds were observed, indicating that the form in
209 which irrigation water is available dictates how it is used for irrigation. The management of these
210 small-scale irrigation schemes also varied considerably. Similar to the observations in other parts of

211 the country, irrigation is primarily used for vegetable and high value cash crops in East Hararghe.
 212 The major vegetable crops include onion, potato, tomato, carrot, beets, and various leafy greens.
 213 Khat, a perennial shrub produced for its stimulant leaf and soft buds, is often an upper canopy
 214 intercrop that benefits from the irrigation of under story annual crops. Farmers dedicate irrigation
 215 plots primarily to market oriented high value crops, although it is common to observe a portion of
 216 irrigated plot used for the production of subsistence crops during one of the cropping cycles.

217 Farmers visited in East Hararghe used furrow and flood irrigation with motorized pumps.
 218 They pump the water directly to the fields using large hoses or to a reservoir (3000 to more than
 219 10000 m³ in volume) and distribute the water from the reservoir to fields (Figure 3). Sometimes,
 220 they also have a series of reservoirs and pumps that can take the water more than half a kilometer
 221 away from the original source.

222 **Figure 3.** Water pumping to a reservoir (Photo by authors)



223

224 The extraction of underground water was so wide spread in Haramaya Woreda, farmers often
 225 express fear of ground water depletion due to excess extraction. The unsustainable use of water is a
 226 concern of all stakeholders in the area due to the drying up of Lake Haramaya and gradual
 227 receding of ground water depth. *3.1. Subsection*

228 **3.1. Farmers Perception of Irrigation**

229 The majority of farmers were enthusiastic about using irrigation. Farmers who have access to
 230 irrigation explained their resulting:

- 231 • Ability to cultivate two or three times per year (intensification);
- 232 • Ability to grow high value cash crops for income generation;
- 233 • Ability to build assets (oxen for plough or milk cows);
- 234 • Ability to meet some of their financial needs (for children education, health care, and better
 235 homes to mention a few);
- 236 • Ability to expand irrigation;
- 237 • Minimized risk from drought; and
- 238 • Improved well-being of families and community at large compared to their lives before
 239 irrigation.

240 All farmers that have practiced irrigation for at least two cropping cycles mentioned improved
 241 production and increased income. However, farmers also explained the challenges they face in their
 242 effort to realize the full potential of irrigation agriculture as described below.

243

244 **3.1.2. Major Challenges for Irrigation Farmers**

245 **Seeds** In all areas visited, farmers stressed the shortage of seeds. Even when available, seeds are often
246 expensive and/or of very poor quality. Farmers stated that they sometimes travel more than 500 km,
247 as far as Addis Ababa, to purchase vegetable seeds with no guarantee of seed quality. Sometimes,
248 farmers could obtain seeds from government or research institutes. However, the amount was
249 insufficient, obliging farmers to purchase additional seeds from different, oftentimes informal
250 sources. Farmers view their inability to access quality seeds as the highest risk factor in attaining the
251 benefit of irrigation.

252 **Market** Price fluctuation is one of the most significant problems farmers face, often leading to losses.
253 Good carrot price in one year encouraged the expansion of carrot production; however, as production
254 increased, demand declined, price decreased, and many farmers lost significant amounts of money.
255 Another crop commonly affected by price fluctuation is tomato. Tomato farming is risky because of
256 high farm management cost, price fluctuation and the inability of farmers to keep the product fresh
257 for long. The second issue related to markets is the lack of 'modern' markets. In most areas, farmers
258 have to transport their produce to local, open-air markets, where the volume they can sell is limited.
259 For example, farmers in East Hararghe mentioned that occasionally, they had to discard excess
260 vegetables, such as tomatoes, if they were unable to sell in the open market.

261 **Other Issues** Although seeds and markets were the major concerns, crop pests, diseases and weeds
262 were also common concerns raised by farmers. Various pests, some encouraged by inefficient use of
263 irrigation, cause significant damage to crops, discouraging farmers from trying new practices. Some
264 weeds, especially grassy weeds, demand high manual labor to remove them. Often farmers have to
265 hire additional labour for weeding, leading to seasonal shortage of labour and high labour cost. Frost
266 is a major problem from October to January on the exposed, hilly side of Highlands above 2000 m
267 asl. Timing of the cropping cycle is critical in this area, making irrigation even more important. In
268 Tuji Gebissa, for example, frost has forced farmers to convert their perennial Khat plots into vegetable
269 crops in some hilly areas.

270 Farmers and others (officials and experts) are in agreement with issues related to markets and
271 agricultural inputs, but differ in most other issues. Experts and government officials believe that
272 current irrigation practices use water inefficiently, perhaps related to limited irrigation experience.
273 This may be accurate, especially for furrow and flood irrigation. They also expressed concern related
274 to 'cultural inertia'. For example, in many areas, it is culturally unacceptable for a farmer to rely on
275 purchased grain for its own household consumption. Farmers, therefore, use part of their plots, or
276 one of the irrigation cycles, for subsistence crops, such as corn, barely teff, pulses, etc. Experts view
277 such practice as relinquishing the opportunity to grow high value crops, while farmers perceive it as
278 insurance for food security. Farmers and experts can also be at odds with farming practices. For
279 example, experts believe optimum spacing would produce larger and higher quality onions in
280 irrigated farms, while farmers prefer small sized bulbs from more crowded planting to meet the
281 preferences of customer in the open local markets. Despite these challenges, farmers view irrigation
282 farming as key to improving their livelihoods. The ability to produce a diversity of crops and multiple
283 times per year outweighed the challenges according to the farmers.

284 3.1.3. Farmers' Innovation in East Hararghe

285 This study focused on sites where nine of the 38 TPs were installed and where farmers were
286 available for interview during research visits. Most of the TP component systems were partially or
287 entirely replaced by locally modified technology. Farmers stated that the TPs had two primary
288 limitations:

- 289 1. Limited capacity of water lifting – farmers mentioned that the area that can be irrigated with TP
290 is at most 50 by 50 meters, which was too small for most farmers' needs.
- 291 2. High demand for labor – the manual operation of the TP required high labor input for the small
292 amount of water output.

293 Figure 4. One of still functional treadle pumps (Photo by authors)



294

295 For these two reasons, among the nine TP sites observed, only two were still functional (Figure
 296 4). The other seven had been replaced by locally modified technology. Furthermore, of the two TPs
 297 that were still functional, one was being used as a supplement to a new system installed about 5
 298 meters away, and the other owned by an elderly farmer. One of the female farmers who recently
 299 moved to the new technology acknowledged the significant impact of the TP. She stated, “the TP has
 300 enabled me to compete with male farmers” and that she would not be in the position she is now, if
 301 she did not have the TP.

302 3.1.4. Local “Reinvention”: The New Technology

303 During the project implementation phase, one of the interventions included training selected
 304 community members on construction and maintenance of TP systems. Thus, the area irrigation
 305 branch of the ministry of agriculture, in collaboration with Haramaya University and an IDE Ethiopia
 306 expert, trained six individuals in drilling of boreholes and installing casings, hoses and pumps. This
 307 training aimed to build local capacity for maintenance of installed TP systems or installation of new
 308 ones if the demand would arise. However, although the local demand for drilling wells was high, a
 309 demand existed for a higher capacity system, which the newly trained individuals were able to meet.
 310 This local innovation had four main components: wider diameter boreholes, efficient excavation
 311 tools, local manufacturing, and effective casing.

312 **Wider diameter of borehole:** One of the limitations of the TP technology is the narrow diameter of
 313 the well. According to farmers, the TP borehole of 4 cm in diameter was too small to conduct enough
 314 water to irrigate an average household plot. The farmers trained during the pilot project were now
 315 able to excavate wells with a diameter of 13 cm, which, depending on the discharge rate of the well,
 316 can deliver three times more water than the original TP. This diameter seems optimal for Haramaya
 317 households, where the average landholding is about 0.5 hectares [22].

318 **Locally constructed tools:** The need to increase the diameter of the well required a different sized
 319 drilling tool than the one used originally for TP systems. The trained individuals, in consultation with
 320 the local artisan, were able to design a more efficient auger with a wider diameter and serrated edges.
 321 These augers, developed by local artisans, were used to excavate wider boreholes to provide a larger
 322 volume of water than the TP system could provide, meeting farmer’s demands.

323 **Cost effective casing:** One of the major problems to accessing underground water for irrigation in
 324 Haramaya Woreda was the collapsing of well walls, due to the nature of the soil in Haramaya. That
 325 is also the reason for high diameter of the open pits wells in the woreda. Once again, the trained

326 farmers were able to innovate by using cost effective, plastic casing for the new system to function
 327 properly.

328 **Figure 5.** Controlled excavation for a treadle pump system (Photo by authors)



329

330 Between 2013 and 2015, community members trained during the pilot project constructed more
 331 than 100 new systems. Furthermore:

- 332 • The new system costs 250 to 400 USD. Farmers used to pay more than 1,000 USD for excavation
 333 of traditional water pits. One particularly large water pit, shared by 21 individuals, cost nearly
 334 2,000 USD. Traditional water pits are not only expensive to construct and maintain, as the walls
 335 cave in frequently, but also take more land that could be used for cultivation.
- 336 • Since the introduction of the TP system, farmers reported doubling of crop production. Using
 337 the new system, they reported increases in income from an estimated 2,000 USD to 4,500 USD
 338 annually (Focus Group Discussion in Tuji Gebissa, June 13, 2015).
- 339 • According to farmers, the new excavation techniques go deeper, up to 30 meters, while the initial
 340 TP excavation could reach a maximum depth of only 20 meters.
- 341 • The observed new or hybrid systems can support up to 10 households, with an average of six
 342 individuals per household. This, according to farmers, is ten times more than the original TP
 343 system.

344 It may be instructive to see our preliminary observation through the framework of Rogers'
 345 diffusion of innovation theory [32] particularly the five attributes that influence the rate of adoption:
 346 relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability. First, with respect to
 347 relative advantage, it is clear that both in terms of water output and reduced labor demand, the new
 348 technology is considered advantageous over both the TP system it replaced and the traditional pit
 349 well irrigation system. Second, the technology is consistent with values, experiences and needs of
 350 farmers in Haramaya Woreda, where about 60% households were engaged in some form of irrigation
 351 prior to the pilot project [22]. Third, the unique aspect of the new technology in Haramaya is that it
 352 was a local innovation, which makes the 'complexity attribute' [32] a nonissue. The relatively rapid
 353 spread of the innovation is an indication of its ease of use for local farmers. Fourth, regarding
 354 trialability, the rapid diffusion of the innovation and the preliminary nature of our study preclude
 355 the proper assessment of this attribute. The training of selected farmers and their participation in
 356 installing the TP systems can be considered trialing without cost to them. It is also fair to assume that
 357 the close social network of farmers in Haramaya would allow the rapid dissemination of information
 358 about the nature of the TP as well as the new technology experiences across the woreda and beyond.
 359 Finally, in terms of 'observability', the results of the new technology will be apparent at least to
 360 neighboring farmers immediately. The same mechanism mentioned for rapid dissemination of

361 information mentioned above, would also enhance observability of the results to distant farmers.
362 Moreover, the proximity of the study kebeles to the University and Woreda Extension Office, two
363 entities that have interest to associate with the farmers' success story, could have helped.

364 Another insightful contribution by Rogers [32] is the concept of "reinvention" – "the degree to
365 which an innovation is changed or modified by a user in the process of its adoption and
366 implementation" (p. 180). He argues that although experts and development agents do not generally
367 see reinvention as desirable, a higher degree of reinvention often leads to faster rate of adoption as
368 reinvention makes the innovation fit to a broad range of adopters' conditions [32]. As reinventions
369 enhance the fit between an innovation and adopters' needs, they are likely to lead to the continued
370 use of the innovation, hence to the sustainability of the innovation [32,44]. Although difficult to
371 generalize from this preliminary study, the reinvention of the TP system in East Hararghe has led to
372 not only the rapid diffusion, but also the technical sustainability of the new technology. Future
373 studies in East Hararghe may reveal that reinvention on the TP system also plays a key role in scaling
374 up of the new technology.

375 In East Hararghe, almost all farmers with TP systems have invested in reinvention and created
376 a new irrigation system. Nevertheless, the new system would not have been possible without the
377 introduction of the TP system in the first place and, in particular, without the training of local farmers
378 on excavating boreholes and installing the pump system. However, without the independent
379 experimentation of the trained farmers, the new systems would not have been possible. The local
380 origin of the new technology suggests it will continue to be adopted by farmers until further
381 improvements, which meet the changing needs of farmers, replace it. This has profound implications
382 to adoption and diffusion of agricultural technologies elsewhere. This can be a classic example of
383 capacity building and provision of technology options open enough to empower local communities
384 to shape their own destiny.

385 4. Conclusions

386 The breakthrough and the missing link from the existing irrigation schemes in Haramaya
387 Woreda to the pilot project was the introduction of the controlled excavation technique compared
388 to hand excavation before the pilot project. Training local community members on controlled
389 excavation, which is now-wide spread in the project areas, led to innovative modifications of the
390 initial technology and the excavation technique to satisfy existing needs of the farmers. The
391 opportunity for trained farmers to experiment independently, and develop new tools locally, was
392 key for developing solutions tailored to the local needs. The major impact of the new technology is
393 that it made irrigation accessible to a large number of households and enabled many farmers to
394 accumulate enough resources to diversify their livelihoods into off-farm activities. It is not,
395 therefore, surprising to see the rapid diffusion of the new technology. A more detail study is
396 necessary to gain more insights into the nuances of this successful case of technology introduction,
397 reinvention (innovative modification) and diffusion for possible replication in other sites with
398 similar conditions.

399 **Acknowledgments:** We gratefully acknowledge financial support from Daugherty Water for Food Global
400 Institute at University of Nebraska-Lincoln and in-kind support of Haramaya University. We thank our partners
401 at Haramaya University, Haramaya Woreda officials, and iDE Ethiopia for their time and commitment. We are
402 also grateful for all the farm households who took their time to respond to our interviews.

403 **Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

404

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