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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. This pilot project also trained six farmers
18 on tube well excavation, installation and maintenance of pumps. In June 2015, researchers visited
19 nine of the 38 TP villages, and found only two functional TPs. The rest were replaced with a new
20 technology developed by the trained farmers. Adopters of the new technology stated that the
21 limited water output and high labor demand of the conventional TP did not optimally fulfil their
22 irrigation water requirements. The new technology had 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, local ownership of the new technology, including skills used in well
26 drilling and manufacturing excavation implement, made the new irrigation technology affordable
27 and accessible to the majority of households. Third, this innovation spread organically without any
28 external support, confirming its sustainability. Farmers, empowered by training, gained more
29 control in developing technology options tailored to local needs and conditions of their
30 communities.

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 [2]. Almost all smallholder farming in Ethiopia is
39 rain-fed [3]. Erratic rainfall and recurrent drought exposes the majority of the rain-fed farming
40 population to food insecurity and perpetual poverty [4], and negatively affect the economy of
41 Ethiopia [5]. Given the rapid population growth and low level of current food production, the
42 country cannot meet its food deficit through rain-fed production alone [6]. Even during relatively
43 good rainfall years, the survival of about 10% of the population depends on external food assistance
44 [7]. Furthermore, climate change is expected to exacerbate extremes in weather patterns and rainfall

45 variability [8]. Paradoxically, the highlands of Ethiopia receive very high amounts of rainfall, with
46 annual runoff volume of up to 122 billion m³ of water from 12 major river basins [3]. The region also
47 possesses an estimated ground water potential of 27 to 40 billion m³ [3,9-11]. However, lack of
48 water storage structures [5], weak water management institutions, and poor implementation of
49 water use and management policies in Ethiopia have limited realization of the economic potential
50 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 the Ethiopian government
60 and its development partners to expand irrigated agriculture, including small-scale irrigation [18].

61 Similar to other parts of sub-Saharan Africa [19], data on small-scale irrigation in Ethiopia is
62 very limited [9]. It is estimated that current irrigated area covers only about 5-6% of the total
63 estimated 5 million hectares considered suitable for irrigation [20,11]. The Ethiopian government
64 has introduced new irrigation technologies for small-scale irrigation that includes rainwater
65 harvesting, ponds, hand-dug-wells and stream diversions. Depending on the spatial position of the
66 farm plots and the water sources, farmers are introduced to the use of gravity irrigation, manual
67 water lifting devices, treadle and powered pumps to irrigate their crops [18,21]. Because of the
68 enhanced productivity, relative to rain-fed farming, governmental and non-governmental
69 development actors have invested considerable efforts and resources to support adoption of
70 irrigation by smallholder farmers [18] with some positive results in, both rural poverty reduction
71 and improved technology adoption [22]. However, many researchers observed that the uptake rate
72 of improved agricultural technology is lower than expected due to primarily the top-down
73 approach and coercive nature of agricultural development in general and implementation of
74 extension services in particular [23] contributing to chronic food insecurity in Ethiopia. In order to
75 improve the relationships between farmers and researchers, we designed an empowering approach
76 through participatory action research, which developed pilot projects, based on community stated
77 needs, and assessed the performance of these pilot projects for lessons learnt for improvement,
78 scaling and sustainability.

79 In 2010, we developed a long-term collaborative research program, "Farming, Food and
80 Fitness" (3F), which aimed to develop strategies to enhance agricultural productivity, improve
81 dietary practices and measure the efficacy of these strategies through participatory action research
82 and pilot projects in two of the most drought prone regions in Ethiopia: East Hararghe Zone and
83 South Wollo Zone [24]. Baseline information collected in 2010 and 2011 revealed high demand for
84 access to irrigation among study households. In order to address this high demand through a pilot
85 project, the 3F research program sponsored International Development Enterprise (iDE) Ethiopia to
86 install 38 treadle pumps (TPs) in 2013. This report presents the result of a preliminary assessment of
87 this pilot project. The objectives of the preliminary assessment were to assess outcomes of the pilot
88 project in general and the status of TPs installed by iDE in particular from the farmers' perspectives.
89 The preliminary assessment had the following research questions. What was the status of the TPs
90 installed by the pilot project? What were the benefits and limitations of the TPs? Why did farmers
91 switched to the new technology? What were the contributing factors for the diffusion of the new
92 technology? What were the outcomes of the pilot project?

94 2. Approach and Methods

95 2.1. Approach

96 This preliminary assessment and the pilot project were part of the long-term multi-disciplinary,
97 collaborative research program, 3F, involving three universities: University of Nebraska-Lincoln in
98 the USA, and Haramaya and Wollo Universities, both in Ethiopia. The partners are engaged in a
99 participatory approach to address agricultural productivity, food security and nutrition in two
100 drought prone areas: South Wollo and East Hararghe in Ethiopia (see Figure 2). Qualitative fieldwork
101 and extensive quantitative surveys were conducted in 2010 and 2011, respectively, to provide
102 baseline information for the program [24]. Subsequent fieldwork focusing on small-scale irrigation in
103 Haramaya was carried out in 2012 and 2013 to assess areas suitable for installing TPs for low cost
104 Household Irrigation Technologies (HITs).

105 Between February and June 2013, fifty-five wells were drilled in five *Kebeles* (sub districts)
106 Haramaya Woreda (district) in East Hararghe as a pilot project to provide HITs (Figure 2). Out of
107 the 55 wells drilled during the pilot project, 38 wells were successful, with sufficient water at
108 appropriate depth for manual pumps. The remaining 17 wells were unsuitable due to stone
109 impediment, insufficient and/or absence of a permeable layer, and static water level being too deep
110 for manual pumping. This 70% success rate is considered good by international standards [25].

111 **Figure 1.** Traditional Irrigation Water Extraction (3F Photo Archive)



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118 During the pilot project, the area irrigation branch of the ministry of agriculture, in collaboration
119 with Haramaya University and an iDE Ethiopia, trained six individuals in drilling boreholes and
120 installing casings, hoses and pumps. Although the training mainly focused in manual well drilling,
121 it also included skills on well casing installation, maintenance of wells, installation and
122 maintenance of pumps. The trainees, hired as daily laborers during the pilot project, participated in
123 excavating and installing TPs and quickly attained the skills required to maintain the wells and
124 service the equipment for proper function. The TP technology, although very low in capacity, was
125 an improvement over the preexisting farmers' irrigation practices in the study sites. The pilot
126 project assumption was that TPs, in addition to being low-cost HITs, would also minimize the
127 dependency of local farmers on harvesting water in big and open hand-dug wells, with diameters
128 of up to 20 meters (Figure 1). These wells created large soil disturbances and required costly
129 cleaning, using both human labor and excavators when the water level drops during the dry
130 season, to remove accumulated sediment. Moreover, these open wells pose perpetual danger to
131 human and livestock.

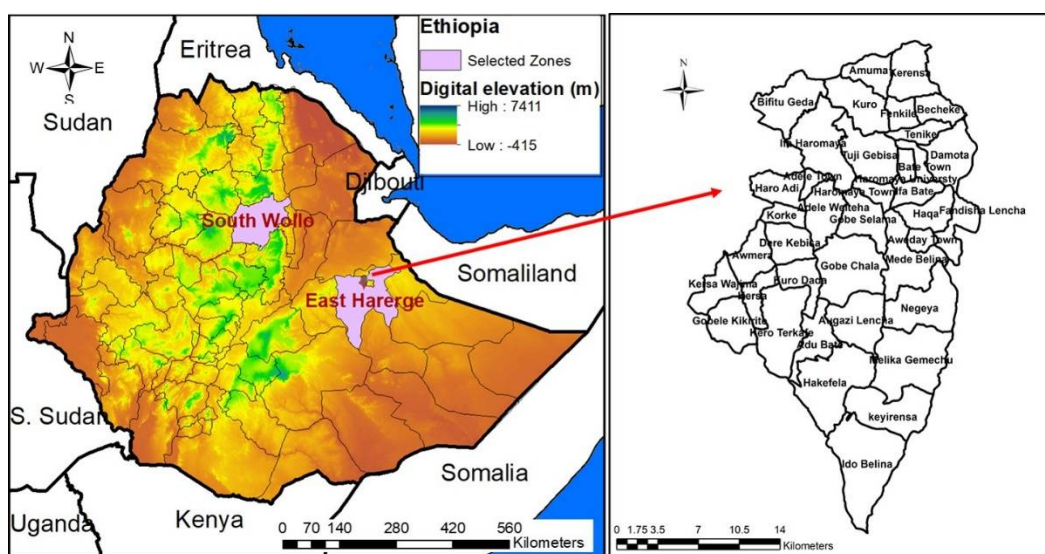
132 After the completion of the pilot project, these trainees, in collaboration with local artisans,
133 were able to locally manufactured replacement parts and excavation tools modified from the
134 original implements. These local entrepreneurs proceeded to install modified technologies based on
135 farmers' needs and willingness or ability to invest in additional technological solutions. Using the

136 most influential theories in agricultural technology adoption, the theory of 'diffusion of
 137 innovations' by Everett Rogers [26] [27], this report investigates the adoption and subsequent fate of
 138 the TPs introduced during the pilot project and the diffusion of the new technology in East
 139 Hararghe Ethiopia. This theory explains not only how innovations are adopted and spread through
 140 a population, but also how they are modified or altered during implementation, providing an
 141 appropriate framework for interpretation of the preliminary assessment findings in this report.

142 2.2. Study Areas

143 Haramaya Woreda (district) is located in East Hararghe Zone of Oromia Regional State (Figure
 144 2). The capital town, Haramaya, is located about 500 km from Addis Ababa. Haramaya Woreda has
 145 33 rural and two urban *Kebeles* (subdistricts) with a total population of 220,986 [28]. Most of the
 146 *Kebeles*, including those selected for this study, are considered highland and mid-land. The average
 147 annual rainfall, based on 25 years of data from the Haramaya meteorological station, shows a mean
 148 total annual rain fall of 775 mm [29]. Although the amount and pattern vary locally, rainfall is
 149 bimodal in distribution; a short season from March to May is known as *belg*, and a longer rainy reason
 150 from July to September is known as *meher*. The maximum and minimum mean annual temperatures
 151 for the area are 23.8 °C and 9.6 °C respectively [30]. The endowed with high underground water, the
 152 woreda is characterized by frequent drought, crop failure, severe land degradation, and increased
 153 vulnerability to chronic food insecurity.

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



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157 In East Hararghe Zone, Lake Haramaya and shallow, ground water (6 to 30 m deep) in the dry
 158 lakebed and catchments provided the opportunity to access irrigation for the households that can
 159 afford the irrigation infrastructure [31]. Deep wells, open pits, and ponds were used to access the
 160 underground water for irrigating fields (Figures 1). The management of these small-scale irrigation
 161 schemes also varied; most are privately owned but large ponds were shared by multiple
 162 households. Farmers used furrow and flood irrigation by pumping the water directly to the fields
 163 using large hoses, often using motorized pumps. Alternatively, farmers pumped water to a
 164 reservoir (3000 to 10000 m³) first and then distributed the water from the reservoir to fields (Figure
 165 3). Sometimes, they also have a series of reservoirs and pumps that can take the water more than
 166 half a kilometer away from the original source. Irrigation is primarily used for vegetable and high
 167 value cash crops in East Hararghe. The major vegetable crops include onion, potato, tomato, carrot,
 168 beets, various leafy greens and Khat, a perennial shrub produced for its stimulant leaf and soft buds
 169 [32]. Farmers dedicate irrigation plots primarily to market-oriented high value crops, although it is

170 common to observe a portion of irrigated plot used for the production of subsistence crops during
171 one of the cropping cycles [32].

172 2.2. Data Collection

173 Qualitative data was collected using focus group discussions, key informant interviews and field
174 observations. Before the actual interviews were made, enumerators obtained informed consent from
175 participants. The University of Nebraska Institutional Review Board reviewed and approved the
176 study protocol and all supporting documents (IRB Approval #: 20100710992EP).

177 **Focus-Group Discussion:** Focus-group discussions (FGD) were conducted with farmers from eight
178 different villages in Haramaya where the TPs were installed. The size of a group differs from village
179 to village ranging from three to nine farmers of mixed gender, as determined by the number of people
180 available in the proximity of their farm plots. Points of discussions covered a wide variety of issues
181 but focused on farmers' perceptions of TP irrigation experience and impacts (both negative and
182 positive) of TP irrigation. Included in the discussion were topics, such as cropping patterns, use of
183 inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides), concerns and challenges related to irrigation practices and
184 institutions related to water use and management. Also included were questions related to why
185 farmers switched to the new technology, whether or not there are households who abandoned the
186 TP without switching to the new technology, and why as detailed in the Appendix.

187 **Key Informant Interview:** Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were held with government officials (4),
188 development agents (2), local well drillers (2), technical experts (1), researchers (2), university officials
189 (4) and local elders (4). The KIIs included semi-structured interviews covering a wide variety of
190 information, depending on the interviewee's institutional affiliation. It included topics on aggregate
191 data on irrigation, policies and practices related to irrigation development, institutional support to
192 farmers, market-related and natural resource management issues.

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

197 3. Results and Discussion

198 3.1. Farmers Perception of Irrigation

199 The majority of farmers in the focus group discussions were enthusiastic about access to
200 irrigation. Farmers who have access to irrigation explained the benefits, but also challenges of access
201 to irrigation. Among the benefits, farmers explained that they were able to cultivate at least two times
202 a year, which would not have been possible without irrigation. In addition, they stated that irrigation
203 enabled them to produce high value crops for the market. This enabled them to generate income to
204 meet some of their financial needs, such as children education, health care services and improved
205 homes. The income generated from TP irrigation, for example, paid for the new technology. The most
206 important outcome in all focus group discussions was that access to irrigation minimized the impacts
207 of drought. They also indicated that access to irrigation improved the wellbeing of not only the
208 households who have access to irrigation but also communities at large due to the social support
209 system of relatives and friends.

210 Farmers that have practiced irrigation for at least two cropping cycles mentioned improved
211 production and increased income. The challenges farmers faced included not realizing the full
212 potential of irrigation agriculture due to limited access to improved seeds and other inputs, price
213 fluctuations for their crops, and plant pests and diseases. Despite these challenges, which sometimes

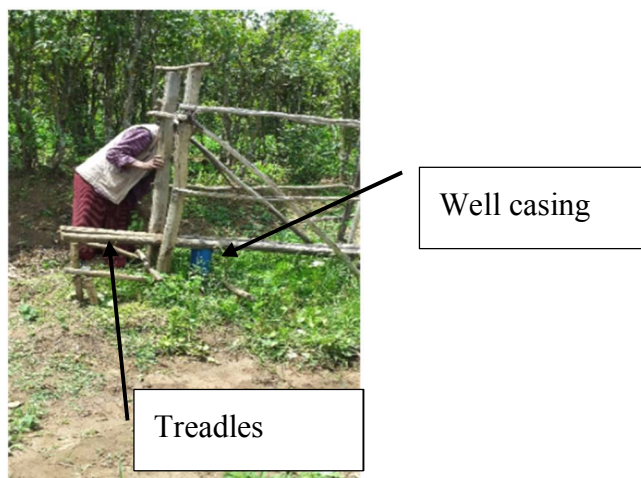
214 caused economic losses, farmers claimed that irrigation agriculture outperformed rainfed agriculture
215 significantly.

216 3.2. Farmers' Innovation in East Hararghe

217 Most of the TP component systems installed in 2013 had been partially or entirely replaced by locally
218 modified technology. Farmers stated that the TPs had two primary limitations:

- 219 1. Limited capacity of water lifting – farmers mentioned that the area that can be irrigated with TP
220 is at most 50 by 50 m, which was too small for most farmers' needs, especially when they need
221 to expand irrigated fields.
- 222 2. High demand for labor – farmers explained that the manual operation of the TP required high
223 labor input for the small amount of water output. One of the farmers, who still uses the original
224 TP as his only means of irrigation, stated that he was planning to switch to the new technology.

225 **Figure 4. Still Functional Treadle Pump (3F Photo Archive)**



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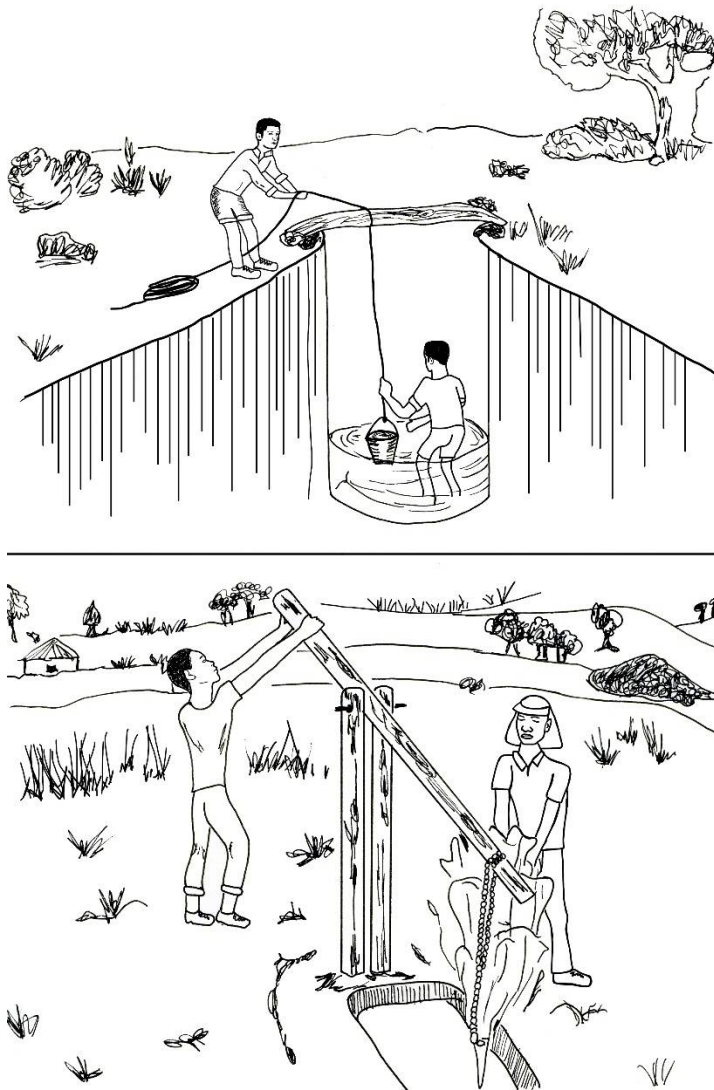
227 For these two reasons, among the nine TP sites observed during the preliminary assessment,
228 only two were still functional. The other seven had been replaced by locally modified technology.
229 Furthermore, of the two TPs that were still functional, one was being used as a supplement to a new
230 system installed about 5 m away. The second, owned by an elderly farmer, was the only TP still in
231 use as a sole source for household irrigation (Figure 4). During the preliminary assessment, this
232 farmer was planning to switch to the new technology. One of the female farmers who recently moved
233 to the new technology acknowledged the significant impact of the TP. She stated, “the TP enabled
234 me to compete with male farmers” and that she would not be in the position she is now, if she did
235 not have the TP.

236 3.3. Local “Reinvention”: The New Technology

237 As mentioned above during the pilot project, one of the interventions included training selected
238 community members on construction and maintenance of TP systems. The training aimed to build
239 local capacity for maintaining installed TP systems or for installing new TPs if the demand would
240 arise. Although the local demand for access to irrigation was high and the drilling skills acquired by
241 trained farmers was expected to be high, the assumption was that the conventional TPs would spread
242 widely. However, the demand was more for the higher capacity system than what the conventional
243 TP could provide and the newly trained individuals were able to meet this demand through local
244 innovation. This local innovation had four main components: locally manufactured efficient
245 excavation tools, wider diameter boreholes, effective casing and installing pumps. The later three are
246 the direct result of training by the pilot project. However, the first, although inspired by the auger
247 used in the pilot project, was an improved version, in both its diameter and excavating efficiency due
248 to its serrated edges.

249 **Locally constructed tools:** The need to increase the diameter of the well required a different sized
 250 drilling tool than the one used originally for TP systems. The trained individuals, in consultation with
 251 the local blacksmith, were able to design a more efficient auger with different diameters and serrated
 252 edges. These augers, developed locally, were used to excavate wider boreholes to provide a larger
 253 volume of water than the TP system could provide, meeting farmer's demands for higher water
 254 volume per unit time.

255 **Figure 5. Well Excavation: Traditional (Top) and New Excavation (Bottom).**



256

257 **Wider diameter of borehole:** One of the limitations of the TP technology is the narrow diameter of
 258 the well. According to farmers, the TP borehole of 4 cm in diameter was too small to conduct enough
 259 water to irrigate more than one plot (an average household plot was about 0.2 ha and households
 260 typically have multiple plots). The farmers trained during the pilot project were now able to excavate
 261 wells with a diameter of 13 cm, which, depending on the discharge rate of the well, can deliver three
 262 times more water than the original TP. This diameter seems optimal for Haramaya households, where
 263 the average landholding is about 0.5 hectares [24]. The wide use of underground water raised issues
 264 among communities. Farmers revealed their concerns for underground water depletion due to
 265 increased extracting of water for irrigation and other purposes. However, they also indicated hope
 266 on the recent watershed management efforts and signs of recovery of the dried Lake Haramaya.

267 **Cost effective casing:** One of the major constraints for traditional methods of accessing underground
268 water for irrigation in Haramaya *Woreda* was the collapsing of well walls, due to the common nitisols
269 soil [33] in Haramaya [33] that easily fall apart. The high diameter of the open pits wells in the *woreda*
270 minimized wall collapse (Figure 1). The trained farmers were able to innovate using cost effective,
271 plastic casing for the new system to function properly.

272 Between the end of the pilot project in June 2013 and the preliminary assessment in June 2015,
273 community members trained during the pilot project constructed more than 100 new systems.
274 Furthermore, the new system costs 250 to 400 USD. Farmers used to pay more than 1,000 USD for
275 excavation of traditional water pits as in Figure 1. One particularly large water pit, shared by 21
276 individuals, cost nearly 2,000 USD. Traditional water pits are not only expensive to construct and
277 maintain, as the walls cave in frequently, but also take more land that could be used for cultivation.

278 Since the introduction of the TP system, farmers reported doubling crop production. Using the
279 new system, they reported increases in income from an estimated 2,000 USD to 4,500 USD annually
280 (Focus Group Discussion in Tuji Gebissa, June 13, 2015). According to farmers, the new excavation
281 techniques (Figure 5) go deeper, up to 30 meters making more areas available for irrigation, while the
282 initial TP excavation could reach a maximum depth of only 20 meters. The new systems can support
283 up to 10 households, with an average of six individuals per household. This, according to farmers
284 interviewed, is 10 times more than the original TP system. Building the capacity of selected farmers
285 empowers local communities and individuals to think and act in their own interests and to develop
286 irrigation technologies that meet their needs and conditions without the support or direction of
287 external bodies. This confirms the sustainability of the innovation.

288 It may be instructive to see our preliminary observation through the framework of Rogers'
289 diffusion of innovation theory [26] particularly the five attributes that influence the rate of adoption:
290 relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, and observability. First, with respect to
291 relative advantage, it is clear that both in terms of water output and reduced labor demand, the new
292 technology is considered advantageous over both the TP system it replaced as well as the traditional
293 pit well irrigation system. Second, the technology is consistent with values, experiences and needs of
294 farmers in Haramaya *Woreda*, where about 60% households were engaged in some form of irrigation
295 prior to the pilot project [24]. Third, the unique aspect of the new technology in Haramaya is that it
296 was a local innovation, which makes the 'complexity attribute' [26] negligible. The relatively rapid
297 spread of the innovation is an indication of its ease of use for local farmers. Fourth, regarding
298 trialability, the rapid diffusion of the innovation and the preliminary nature of our study preclude
299 the proper assessment of this attribute. The training of selected farmers and their participation in
300 installing the TP systems can be considered trialing without cost to them. It is also fair to assume that
301 the close social network of farmers in Haramaya would allow the rapid dissemination of information
302 about the nature of the TP as well as the new technology experiences across the *woreda* and beyond.
303 Finally, in terms of 'observability', the results of the new technology will be apparent at least to
304 neighboring farmers immediately. The same mechanism mentioned for rapid dissemination of
305 information mentioned above, would also enhance observability of the results to distant farmers.
306 Moreover, the proximity of the study *Kebeles* to Haramaya University and *Woreda* Extension Office,
307 two entities that have an interest in associating with the farmers' success stories, could have helped.

308 Another insightful contribution by Rogers [26] is the concept of "reinvention" – "the degree to
309 which an innovation is changed or modified by a user in the process of its adoption and
310 implementation" (p. 180). He argues that although experts and development agents do not generally
311 see reinvention as desirable, a higher degree of reinvention often leads to faster rate of adoption as
312 reinvention makes the innovation fit to a broad range of adopters' conditions [26]. As reinventions
313 enhance the fit between an innovation and adopters' needs, they are likely to lead to the continued
314 use of the innovation, hence to the sustainability of the innovation [26,32]. Although difficult to
315 generalize from this preliminary study, the reinvention of the TP system in East Hararghe has led to

316 not only the rapid diffusion, but also the sustainability of this local innovation. Future studies in East
317 Hararghe may reveal that the reinvention on the TP system also plays a key role in scaling up of the
318 new technology.

319 In East Hararghe, almost all farmers with TP systems have invested in the reinvention and
320 created a new irrigation system. Nevertheless, the new system would not have been possible without
321 the introduction of the TP system in the first place and, in particular, without the training of local
322 farmers on excavating tube wells and installing pump systems. However, without the independent
323 experimentation of the trained farmers (empowerment), the new systems would not have been
324 possible. The local origin of the new technology suggests it will continue to be adopted by farmers
325 until further improvements, which meet the changing needs of farmers, replace it. The local control
326 of this technology suggests it will continue to be sustainable. This has profound implications to
327 adoption and diffusion of agricultural technologies elsewhere. This can be a classic example of
328 capacity building and provision of technology options open enough to empower local communities
329 to shape their own destiny.

330 4. Conclusions

331 Trained farmers, empowered to experiment independently, developed new tools and came up
332 with sustainable solutions tailored to the local needs. The breakthrough and the missing link from
333 the traditional irrigation schemes in Haramaya *Woreda* to the pilot project was the introduction of
334 the controlled excavation technique. Compared to the traditional hand excavation, the new
335 excavation technique was more efficient in reducing cost, labor and the land area needed for
336 construction of the system, which enhanced its comparative advantage. The introduction of
337 controlled excavation, now wide spread in the study areas, led to innovative modifications of the
338 initial TP technology to satisfy the needs and aspiration of the farmers. The major impact of the new
339 technology is that it made irrigation affordable and accessible to a large number of households and
340 enabled many farmers to accumulate enough resources to diversify their livelihoods into off-farm
341 activities. It is not, therefore, surprising to see the rapid diffusion of the new technology. Local
342 capacity for installing and maintaining the whole irrigation structure and for fabricating tube well
343 excavating tools ensures sustainability of the innovation. A more detailed study is necessary to gain
344 more insights into the nuances of this successful case of technology introduction, reinvention
345 (innovative modification) and diffusion for possible replication in other sites with similar
346 conditions.

347

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352

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