Perceived barriers to the widespread commercial use of Radio Frequency Identification Technology¹

Mark J. Rodrigues

Master of E-Business Graduate, Murdoch University School of Business, Murdoch University, 90 South Street, Murdoch, WA, 6150, Australia

Tel: 61-8-93606000

E-mail: mark.rodrs@gmail.com

Kieran James*

Senior Lecturer in Accounting & Business Ethics, School of Accounting, Economics & Finance, Faculty of Business, University of Southern Queensland, West Street,

Toowoomba, Qld, 4350, Australia Tel: 61-7-46311456

Fax: 61-7-46311886

E-mail: jamesk@usq.edu.au *Corresponding author

Abstract: This paper provides a unique insight into the perceptions of leading Australian Radio Frequency Identification (RFID) suppliers/integrators regarding the present state and future of their industry, and barriers to more widespread adoption of the technology. Five (5) leading Australian suppliers/integrators with significant relevant industry

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experience were interviewed by an interviewer (the first-mentioned author) with 15 years working experience in the Canadian and Australian RFID industries. We find that the interviewed integrators were realistic and circumspect about the industry's future and potential supply chain savings, which can be contrasted with the 'hype' evident in the extant 'pro-innovation' commercial literature (for example, AIM-RFID Connections, 2003). One interviewee predicts that RFID share will equal barcode share in Australia by 2012, with barcodes having only 20% share (RFID 80%) by 2020. Understanding leading integrators' current perceptions about the industry will help vendors and others to develop applications that will be more likely to gain widespread acceptance. The interview responses, and accompanying discussion, may also help allay the fears of consumer groups regarding the impact of RFID tags upon consumer privacy.

Keywords: adoption; barcodes; barriers; consumer privacy; diffusion; electronic commerce; implementation; innovation; Radio Frequency Identification.

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Biographical notes: Mark J. Rodrigues is a Technology Analyst based in Toronto, Canada. His industry specialty includes Radio Frequency Identification and eGovernment citizen centric solutions. He is experienced in technology development, emerging technology strategies, and delivering end-to-end technical solutions for business ranging from customer service, marketing for technology, non-profit and government organizations. He has spent the majority of his career in POS, RFID, barcoding, training, product management and website projects. He received a Diploma in Electronics Engineering at Centennial College of Technology in Toronto, Canada and a Masters in E-Business from Murdoch University, School of Business in Perth, Western Australia.

Kieran James is a Senior Lecturer in Accounting and Business Ethics at University of Southern Queensland (Toowoomba, Australia). He has 17 years of teaching experience in Australia and Singapore and has published over 15 articles in leading international and national journals including Accounting Forum, Asian Journal of Business and Accounting, Critical Perspectives on Accounting, International Journal of Critical Accounting, Managerial Auditing Journal, and Musicology Australia. His main research interests are: business ethics and business ethics education; employment prospects in accounting and business for minority groups; ethical, privacy and security issues in

relation to the introduction of new technologies; labour union strategy and immigrant worker issues; and the sociology of death-metal and punk music scenes.

1 Introduction

The adoption of Radio Frequency Identification Technology (RFID) is creating major improvements for consumer goods manufacturers. RFID offers a huge spectrum of applications, through increased flexibility, transparency, and performance in supply chain management and warehouse execution systems. However, marketing research companies have invaded the consumer market by million-dollar predicting unrealistic investment. and applications for today. They have caused attention to focus upon consumer privacy concerns that have reduced the adoption of the technology. Managers of large companies are encouraged to block out the hype and exploit the technology for its ability to increase return on investment in the supply chain.

RFID (Radio Frequency Identification) can be thought of as Smart Labels or Silent Commerce. RFID new-generation are the computer tags attached to an item and containing full product information which, when activated, transmit information to an RFID reader as the customer leaves the store with the product (Turban et al., 2006). They are the technology most likely to replace the standard barcode in supermarkets and department stores (Turban et al., 2006, p.294) if the adoption process follows the standardized model suggested in Rogers (1995) and the adoption rate reaches 100% or close to 100%. The demand for RFID has been increasing over the past few years. The hype in the market-place and in some consumer circles that 'everything will be tracked' is rapidly becoming a reality.

The aim of this study is to examine the perceptions of RFID among Australian **RFID** suppliers/integrators, and the role and importance that perceptions play in the actual adoption process. As the Chicago School often proclaimed, Sociology perceptions are ʻreal in their consequences' (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.8, cited in Rogers, 1995, p.209). This project also examines how integrators' perceptions can act upon present expectations of RFID technology. An understanding of what leading integrators think at this moment may help vendors and others create applications that will eventually secure more widespread This study acceptance. was undertaken using qualitative data collection methods, i.e. personal interviews with a sample of leading RFID suppliers/integrators located in Australia.

2 Theoretical framework

framework This theoretical examines issues pertaining adoption and barriers to adoption of a technology and related perception issues. Questions posed to respondents in this study derived from Thomas Ehrmann's Business Model theory and are used to analyze the perceptions industry managers regarding RFID adoption

Two other theories are used. Firstly,

we use Efraim Turban's theory (Turban et al., 2002; 2006) about companies can adopt systematic approach to discover their Electronic Commerce (EC) opportunities in the market place. Secondly, we refer to Everett Rogers' (1995) adoption theory which deals with the process through which an individual or other decision maker unit passes knowledge from first of innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, and then finally (if the innovation is not rejected) to implementation of the new idea. According to Ehrmann (in Jones, 2003), the following outlines the 'Appraisal of a Business Model' theory: The way to appraise a business model or proposition is to

evaluate each of the following:

content, structure, and governance.

innovation,

proposition,

value

2.1 Value proposition

According to Ehrmann (in Jones, 2003, p.720), 'value proposition' asks customers what value does the product have on the entire supply chain? This, in turn, focuses upon the business idea, economic role, and the value that the product yields the customer. The use integration is another form of value, i.e. how successfully can product integrate with new systems?

Turban et al. (2006, p.596) suggest that companies may be 'Market-Driven', waiting to observe what the competitors in their industry are 'When doing. one or competitors starts to use EC, and it seems that they are doing well, it is time to follow suit' (Turban et al., 2002, p.691). This can be linked to Rogers' theory of Diffusion of Innovations (see Rogers, 1995) which suggests that, at awareness stage, 'the individual is exposed to the innovation but lacks complete information about it' (CIA Advertising, 1998). In terms of Rogers' (1995) diffusion model with RFID in Australia we already have 'innovators' and 'early adopters' using, or at least trialing, the technology in primarily niche applications. However, we have not yet reached 'critical mass' (Rogers, 1995. pp.313-330). The 'early majority', 'late majority'

'laggards' are all yet to come on board. Critical mass is especially vital in what Rogers (1995, p.313) terms 'interactive innovations', i.e. innovations, such as the Internet and Facebook, where each new user increases the benefits of adoption for all past users (by giving them access to more people) and also for all future users. RFID is essentially interactive since the system will clearly work best when all suppliers and all customer companies (other than end-consumers) own both readers and tags. In order evaluate the RFID industry in this study, the questions posed to interview respondents are interpreted within the context of the Ehrmann Business model, as well as Rogers' (1995) theory.

2.2 Innovation

According to Ehrmann (Jones, 2003, p.720), the process 'innovation' is defined as reducing costs of producing or offering existing goods or services through a business channel. Innovation deals with cost savings, and the consequent advantages it bestows upon the innovating firm relative to its competitors. As Rogers (1995, pp.413-414) makes clear, innovators and early adopters of a technology, such as the Iowa hybrid wheat farmers in the classic early diffusion study by Ryan and Gross (1943), typically reap windfall profits that are denied to more risk-

averse later adopters. Innovation in the business model also considers production costs, and the market structures that are developed to support the product. This can be linked to Rogers' (1995) theory which suggests that, at the interest or information stage, 'the individual becomes interested in the new idea and seeks additional information about it' (CIA Advertising, 1998). Turban et al. (2006, p.596) suggest that innovation may be 'Problemdriven', i.e. 'Organizations have a problem such as inventory delays and deliveries. EC applications may be attempted in order to solve the problem' (Turban et al., 2002, p.691). Turban et al. (2002) also argue that much innovation occurs simply because organizations are fear and/or greed driven: 'Companies are either so scared that they are afraid that if they do not practice EC they will be big losers, or they think that they can make lots of money going EC' (Turban et al., 2002, p.691). Fear and greed are not specifically recognized in the Rogers' model but are consistent with Rogers' (1995) key argument that adoption of innovations is largely a social and psychological process. For her part, ethicist of new technology Cynthia K. West (2001, pp.124, 128) notes that fear of loss has been the major selling point used by retailers of biometric face, finger, and retina surveillance and identification technologies.

Rogers' (1995, Figure 7.2, p.262) theory views 'early adopters' as a group which comprises 13.5 percent of the total population. This group is comprised of highly educated and wealthy innovators who are highly visible and respected among their peers p.269). (Rogers, 1995, Early adopters play a key role in the adoption process for new technology, determining the times when an innovation will be adopted by others. This category contains most of the 'opinion-leaders' who, largely through word-of-mouth among peer networks, extol the benefits of new technology to their less well-connected and influential peers (Rogers, 1995, p.264). Although Walmart, Gillette, and the United States of America (USA) Department of Defense are clearly innovators or early adopters of RFID they may be less able to function as opinion-leaders, hence slowing the rate of growth of the technology. Small businesses. foreign businesses, and those dealing in niche and/or luxury products may not necessarily have strong contacts at Walmart or be influenced significantly by what Walmart does. The same comment applies to Woolworths and Coles in Australia. We also must remember the opposition that Walmart has fuelled in the small business sector and among public interest pressure groups. This opposition has tended

to be the result of either the corporation's ruthless cost-cutting and discounting practices (clearly aimed at crippling small players), imperialistic expansion policies, and/or anti-labour union ideologies (Fishman, 2006). Fishman (2006) notes that surveys reveal that the second-largest group of Walmart shoppers despise the corporation and everything it stands for but are forced to shop there due to lack of alternative cheap retailers.

2.3 Content

According to Ehrmann (Jones, 2003, p.720), 'content' in the appraisal of business models refers to the goods and information that are being exchanged. This business model looks upon the individual capabilities required to exchanges in the supply chain. Content evaluates the information that is being exchanged in the supply chain, and examines new products. We can also reference Turban et al. (2002, p.691) where they state that '[t]echnology exists and the company is trying to use it. In doing so, the company may find problems that no one knew existed'. When this occurs people may modify or stop using the technology. Rogers (1995, p.320) explains that, just as critical mass is added quickly, it can also rapidly fall away as people abandon an innovation in droves.

2.4 Structure

According to Ehrmann (Jones, 2003, p.720), 'structure' refers to the actors that are linked in the value chain. The structure model analyzes customers at both ends of the business. Structure refers to the underlying partners, and focuses on a specific network rather than dealing with the entire value chain.

Turban et al. (2006, p.596) state companies are frequently 'Problem-driven'. If the problem is to reduce inventory errors, then the advantage of RFID is in accurate tracking of information. Rogers' (1995) theory suggests that adoption goes through a trial stage, as 'the individual makes full use of the innovation' (CIA Advertising, 1998). Many companies presently adopting, trialing, considering adopting or trialing, RFID technology in the supply chain.

2.5 Governance

Ehrmann (Jones, 2003, p.720) mentions 'Governance' which deals with the way in which exchanges are executed. The model looks at property rights that are allocated between parties to the transaction. Also, governance deals with the setup of market roles, operations, and strategic tasks. The commercial RFID literature has repeatedly viewed RFID in the context of

consumer privacy issues. Rogers (1995, chap.11) agrees that not all innovations are socially desirable. He cites the examples missionaries introducing the steel ax into an Australian aboriginal tribe (which undermined the entire traditional social structure of the tribe and lessened respect for elders) and the introduction of snowmobiles amongst Finnish Lap communities. **Rogers** (1995.chap.3) warns against the 'proinnovation' bias of many diffusion scholars and the many profit-fixated corporations who sponsor diffusion studies. The consequences adopting an innovation remain an under-researched area in diffusion studies. Furthermore, Rogers (1995, p.412) explains that consequences can be desirable or undesirable. direct or indirect, and anticipated or unanticipated. In similar vein, West (2001, p.140, emphasis added) puts forward the view that discussion of values and ethics is needed both within the information technology industry as well as in the communities in which they [the technologies] are deployed'.

3 Study approach

The interview dialogues are presented below. Questions were posed to each participant based upon Ehrmann's Appraisal of Business Model theory. Respondents were asked to express

their perceptions of the RFID industry as it presently stands.

The first-mentioned author contacted leading suppliers/integrators presently working for organizations which were (at the time of the initial contact) leading integrators RFID technology within Australia. Respondents were selected purposeful sampling rather than by sampling. random Α structured interview approach was used as the data collection method. A pre-prepared list of 14 interview questions was first e-mailed to all respondents. The actual interviews were all conducted by telephone because the interviewer was based in Perth whereas the respondents were based in Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne. Length interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 80 minutes. No tape-recorder was used. However, the interviewer took detailed shorthand notes. On the evening of each interview, the interviewer summarized responses and noted key themes that were emerging from the data. The firstmentioned author has 15 years of experience with RFID systems, including many years selling RFID systems for Paxar Canada leading early adopters such Walmart. Because of his industry experience, he was in a position to carefully select interviewees for the study and ask questions that were relevant and prescient from the practical industry perspective.

The 14 questions sent to the interviewees in advance were designed to meet the following objectives:

- Document the selected RFID integrator's perception on each issue; and
- ➤ Evaluate responses within the context of the RFID academic and commercial literature.

The five (5) interviewees were guaranteed strict confidentiality. Although interviews were July conducted between and 2004, informal December of conversations in late 2006 between the first-mentioned author and each of the interviewees confirmed that their views on the state of the RFID industry in Australia had not changed significantly between 2004 and 2006. None of the interviewees elected to modify, delete, or add to their original set of responses. Interviewees are denoted (A), (B), (C), (D), and (E) in the following Results section.

4 Results for interviews

The respondents were provided with an opening vignette which appeared in the initial e-mail sent to the respondents above the list of interview questions. The vignette is as follows:

'RFID (Radio frequency identification) can be thought of as Smart Labels or Silent Commerce. demand for RFID increased over the past few years. The hype in the industry (that "everything will be tracked") is fast becoming a reality. At one end of the spectrum, RFID is viewed as a tracking and security device for enterprise application. At the other extreme, RFID is viewed as a true technological wonder that is going transform the way that businesses will operate.'

In response to the 1st question 'What economic value will RFID Tags have on the business chain?' (A) answers that economic value in the supply chain 'will amount to US\$10 to US\$100 million within 4 years [i.e. in Australia]'. provides the longest response but he does not attempt to put a value on supply chain savings. He notes that '[i]t will have a big value. It will stop fraud and authenticate drugs, perfume and electronic goods. Read and write tags will make it database independent. Therefore, the cost of goods should come down in the supply chain'. (B) notes that a major positive feature of the technology, compared to barcodes, is that '[a]ssuming enough read ranges, goods can be moved within the

logistics without line of sight'. Barcodes are limited in that they cannot be read at a faster rate than 1 every 2 or 2.5 seconds. By contrast, an RFID reader reading 100 RFID second is certainly per possible. We conclude that the respondents have a realistic view of the impact of RFID on the supply chain, which can be compared to the more optimistic view 'hype') which has been frequently expressed within the commercial literature. For example. Industry analyst firms predicted in 2003 that RFID would become a US\$3 billion market globally by 2008 (AIM -RFID Connections, 2003).

In response to the 2nd question 'What economic value will Smart Labels have on the consumer?' (A) notes that '[i]n the supply chain 30% of the savings will pass on to the consumers. The rest will ... [flow through as] stock and dividend profits which will be with consumers'. shared comments that RFID will create '[m]ore choices for consumers. Easier to shop and locate products store setting. Provide authentication of genuine goods.' In similar vein, (D) indicates that consumers will benefit from 'high security infrastructure, tracking the history of products'. (E) agrees, also emphasizing that RFID will ensure that '[p]roducts are not copies', there is 'an i.e.

authentication guarantee'. All of these benefits are relatively specific and localized and encourage early adoption of **RFID** in niche applications. These conclusions are similar to those expressed publicly by key industry figures in the USA such as Ms Linda Dillman, Walmart's executive vice-president Chief Information Officer (CIO) who has said that '[f]rom the supplier and the manufacturer, to the retailer and the consumer, we see this initiative [RFID] as a win everyone. Benefits include better tracking and moving of inventory, faster receiving and shipping, improved quality inspection, fewer out-of-stock items resulting in improved shopper satisfaction, [and] greater predictability in product' (cited in Mishra, 2004). The benefits and cost savings of RFID seem real and significant but the technology must reach critical mass of adopters or the benefits may not fully materialize. For this to happen, costs of both readers and tags must down (to be discussed come shortly). In addition to this, we expect supermarket would customers would need to actively push for the technology to be introduced to replace barcodes has not happened which Australia. Supermarket shoppers in Australia evidently do not yet feel the 'need' for faster check-out experiences. Rogers (1995, p.164) defines a 'need' as 'a state of

dissatisfaction or frustration that occurs when one's desires outweigh one's actualities'. He notes that often a perceived need must precede adoption of an innovation, although, at times, an innovation is adopted without the prior perceived need.

In response to the 3rd question 'What is the RFID network size?' there is marked disagreement across respondents. Some respondents, i.e. (A), (C), (D) and (E), claim that the RFID network size is 'big'. For example, (E) states that '[i]t will have a big value. It will stop fraud and authenticate drugs, perfume and electronic goods'. (A) mentions the widespread use of RFID in animal tracking and the transport industry, while (E) refers to 'animal tracking and security applications' creating demand for Confirming his view that industry will be 'big', (D) notes that '[i]t will require updating systems, and purchases of reader and writers. Microsoft involvement in new software will bring changes across the industry'. However, by contrast, (B) summarizes the industry as still being 'small, in its infancy, mainly propriety installations and pilot tests'. We conclude that, whilst the network size is potentially huge globally, in terms of actual realization the industry in Australia remains in its infancy at least in mainstream non-niche applications that involve the end-consumer. This

is a reasonable conclusion given that neither Woolworths nor Coles (Australia's groceries duopoly) at the date of writing have actually implemented RFID systems (Mills, 2005; Walters, 2005).

A Woolworths' spokesperson has said that RFID adoption is not an immediate priority and that other projects with 'more certain' patterns of perceived benefits will be pursued more vigorously than **RFID** adoption (Mills. 2005: Walters. 2005). A study Woolworths' and Coles 2006, 2007, and 2008 annual reports by the second-mentioned author (Coles is part of the Wesfarmers Limited group of companies for the 2008 and following financial years) reveals no further mention of RFID or RFID trials in these reports. Woolworths' Managing Director, Michael Luscombe, claims that, even without RFID adoption, '[b]y lowering our costs of doing business, we have created a worldclass model of efficiency and logistical expertise' (Managing Woolworths Director's Report, Limited, 2008 Annual Report, p.6). Woolworths, the 25th largest retailer in the world according to the corporation, does seem profitable and efficient enough without RFID. The second-mentioned author has computed Return on Equity (ROE), Return on Assets (ROA). Inventory Turnover Days 28.11%, 10.98%, and 29.76 days,

respectively, for Woolworths based on publicly available consolidated accounting data taken from the independently audited Woolworths Limited 2008 Annual Report. For its part, Coles has undertaken RFID pilot tests but has generally viewed the technology as too expensive when compared to barcodes (Walters, 2005).

In response to the 4th question 'Do you think there is a demand for RFID Technology?' there is again marked diversity in the responses. commentator focuses different perceived benefits and user groups. (A) provides the most detailed and quantified response as follows: 'By 2012 bar codes and RFID tags will equal each other in usage. The conversion from legacy systems in grand scale will happen. By 2020, 20% of the supply chain will be used by bar codes, which becomes a niche market'. In terms of willingness to offer detailed projections of future developments, (A)'s response takes on Marxian proportions. His key dates for Australia are: 2012 (equal usage barcodes and RFID tags) and 2020 (barcodes a niche market; 20% barcodes; 80% RFID tags). While the projections are expressed in precise terms they indicate that market dominance for RFID tags (over 50% adoption rate) is still some years away. His predictions are simply that, predictions. Even the great philosopher Karl Marx, correct about so many things, was hopelessly wrong in his prediction of the worldwide triumph of communism. Future rates ofadoption of RFID technology may surpass or underperform predictions. Rogers (1995) points out how new technologies often differ significantly in terms of the time it takes for the adoption rate to reach 100%. For example, in the education sphere in the USA, it took 50 years for kindergartens to be fully adopted, as opposed to 18 years for driver training, and only 5 years for modern math (Rogers, 1995, p.64). (D) is also optimistic, noting that '[t]he demand will depend upon the government, added security, fraud, and line of sight for identifying products. Also consumers are pushing the demand for cheaper and time saving retail experiences'. (C) is more circumspect, noting that whilst there is 'demand for information', '[t]he process is not in place with RFID tags'. He attempts to temper excessive enthusiasm by drawing upon history to note (correctly) that '[i]t took 20 years for bar codes to accepted'. (B) urges be also restraint and a wait-and-see approach: 'Only in niche industries at the moment [is there demand]; demand in retail will be led by large organizations such as Walmart, CML [Coles-Myer Limited, now Coles] here in Australia'. Critical mass has most definitely not been reached in Australia outside niche

applications. These are usually in settings not involving direct dealings with end-consumers.

In response to the 5th question 'Is the market structure established for RFID?' there is also a diversity of responses. Both (D) and (E) refer to structure established with respect to specific applications. (D) notes 'a structure [exists] for example [in] the government control of animal tracking', whilst (E) refers to the auto-parts industry where million RFID [tags] are used in the [Australian] auto industry year'. (A)'s measured response notes the privacy concerns that consumer groups have expressed regarding RFID: 'The market has been established but the privacy issue has given RFID a bad start. There seems to be some confusion in consumer perceptions'. Endconsumers do not seem unduly concerned about privacy issues regarding RFID usage in auto-parts most likely because the end product is not a standard retail shoppingmall item and people rarely feel any psychological or emotional closeness to purchased auto-parts.

In response to the 6th question 'Have other users in the industry caused interest in RFID?' most respondents refer to Walmart mandating RFID use for their Top 100 suppliers since January 2005 (Business Week Online, 2004a, 2004b; Kaiser, 2004; Lundquist,

2003; Turban et al., 2006, p.77; Walters, 2005). Other major users globally are Gillette and the USA Department of Defense (Turban et al., 2006, p.410) although Gillette is yet to mandate its use for suppliers. (C) refers to the 'Brazilian government use of RFID tags to track animals'. (A) notes that "...since 1995 I have been influenced by when Australia Post became interested in tracking mail'. More generally (B) comments that '[c]ertainly Walmart's drive has created interest in the retail sector'. whilst (D) is cynical and wary: 'Initially [users] got fired up but [before long they] did not care'. In Walmart. Rogers' terminology, Gillette, and the USA Department of Defense can be classified as innovators or as early adopters. Mr Con Colovos, CIO of the Australian early adopter Moraitas Fresh (a supplier of tomatoes to the major supermarkets), has recently stated that the Walmart mandate means that widespread adoption of RFID in Australia is now 'inevitable' (Walters, 2005). Innovators and early adopters do tend to be much more upbeat than others about the prospects of rapid diffusion of an innovation. We should note that Walmart giving its suppliers no choice in the adoption decision means that adoption by its suppliers is an 'authority innovationdecision' (Rogers, 1995, p.29). Therefore, it is different from the classic innovation problems such as

hybrid wheat adoption by Iowa farmers as studied by Ryan and Gross (1943). RFID adoption in Australia is unlikely to follow the 'mandate model'.

In response to the 7th question 'How and who will manage the information of RFID Technology?' and the 8th question 'What goods and information will be exchanged in the RFID tag?' the respondents note that ownership of information should not be exclusive to any one industry or organization. of managers Information Technology will own the content for each good. The commercial literature explains that an Object Name Service (ONS), such as UPC (companies will need to maintain ONS servers locally), will store information for quick retrieval. The ONS will keep track of data for everv **EPC-labeled** object (Shankland, 2002). As (C) explains: 'IT managers within the company will manage the information for goods entering the company; same barcode item numbering as systems. Proprietorship information on the tag will be allowed by the manufacturer, e.g. authentication of a refrigerator for the disposal of product'. (D) points out that '[t]he retail industry will not be able to write tags'. (E) stresses that databases do exist for some niche application areas such governmentas **'NLIS I**the mandated National Livestock

Identification Scheme for Australian cattlel and the Automotive Industry database'. (E) goes on to add that: 'RFID will provide for the maintenance history of machinery to be recorded on the tag for the [benefit of the] services industry'. Barcodes do not and detailed include such cannot information.

The respondents note that the information on the tag will specify the manufacturer, factory program, service maintenance for personal information of the product. This view is similar to viewpoints commercial expressed in the literature which state that the RFID tags will let you trace a particular unit of product through its lifecycle. However, it is not true that an item can be traced to a particular person. Current applications in the USA allow consumers to choose to 'kill' (de-activate) the tag after they exit the check-out. The data will have business intelligence, such as inventory reduction and total asset visibility (Rossi, Sommerville, and Brown, 2003). This raises the related issues of data integrity and privacy (to be discussed shortly), potentially important 'consequences of innovation'.

Another important issue is that the speeds of the networks for retrieving tag identifiers have not been tested for large volumes. Interestingly, none of the

respondents discuss this concern in their responses. Overall, the commercial literature has emphasized this concern, and has 'hyped' both the privacy issue and the large volume of retail tag usage issue.

In response to the 9th question, 'What price do you expect RFID tags to cost in the coming years?' all five respondents note that the tag price will go down from dollars to cents in the next few years. For example, (D) notes that the retail tag price now (i.e. second half 2004) is A\$1 (US\$0.82 at 10 April 2007 exchange rate) landed, and could go down to A\$0.40 (US\$0.33). As (A) explains, the '[p]rice of tags will go down due to economies of scale. The more users that implement RFID the less the tag/label cost per unit. Tag prices will definitely go down to a few cents US when RFID equals bar codes share'. All respondents note that packing will be the costly item. The commercial literature states that tag costs in volume now (2004) 'could be in the range of (US) 18 to 35 cents each'. However, these costs depend on the type of product the tag is applied to and the kind of adhesive used to secure it to a (Brewin, 2004). package conclude that the respondents perceive the tag pricing similarly to the commercial literature. prices must come down for their usage to be more widespread which

creates something of the 'chicken and egg' scenario that diffusion scholars are well aware of. Critical mass but be reached but this is by no means assured. Many people will adopt if costs come down but costs only come down as more people adopt. However, such a cascade effect is by no means guaranteed as many innovations simply never catch on, such as the Dvorak keyboard discussed in Rogers (1995, pp.8-10).

In regards the crucial 11th question (we skip responses to Questions 10 and 12-14 for space reasons), 'Are you concerned with the privacy issues posed by RFID technology?' all integrators unanimously respond that they are 'not concerned' [(D) and (E)] and that there is 'no problem' (C). (A) offers the most detailed reply. As he explains: 'There has been bad publicity of RFID when it comes to privacy. As business integrators its does not matter, as all technologies have some negatives. Privacy will not pose an issue because consumers will be educated on the plan and usage of the product'. (C) is more specific in directly attempting to consumers' address known concerns as follows: 'Items do not get attached to the person so the does not know purchased the item'. In other words, the tags allow a product to be traced through its life cycle. However, the tag is not 'connected' to the buyer

in any way that does not already occur under the barcode system.

Commercial articles (see. for example, Ferguson, 2002; Wired, 2004) have emphasized that there is a perception among privacy groups that RFID is a real threat to consumer privacy. For example, the recent announcement by Benetton of its planned adoption of RFID led to an immediate call by the USAbased Consumers against Supermarket Privacy Invasion Numbering (CASPIN) organization worldwide boycott Benetton stores. The impact of this boycott caused the implementation of low-cost RFID systems in the retail market to be re-considered by some within the sector. We feel that this outlook is based upon two misconceptions: (1) that the tags contain personal information about the consumer (they do not), and (2) that tags can be read by a nearby reader after the consumer has taken the product back to home or office.

5 Summary and conclusions

We conclude that integrators' perceptions can affect the adoption process. Integrator perceptions can act upon present expectations of RFID technology. Importantly, the interviewed industry integrators are generally more circumspect and realistic than the commercial literature about the future prospects

of RFID. They do not perceive that the consumer privacy concerns are insurmountable as oftentimes concerns have been based upon two misconceptions: (1) that the tags contain personal information about the consumer, and (2) that tags can be read by a nearby reader after the consumer has taken the product back to home or office.

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Author

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