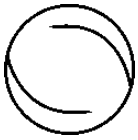

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‘Brand-Centred Control’: A Study of Internal Branding and Normative Control

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Abstract

In this article I present *brand-centred control* as a new form of normative control and examine the ways in which it affects employees. To do so, I draw on the results of a qualitative case study of a consumer products company with a strong corporate culture and brand, and examine internal branding as an extension of culture management. The key insights of the case study show that brand-centred control – unlike traditional normative control that typically works inside the company – also engages an external audience (customers, fans, and the wider public) as an additional source of normative control. As employees internalise the brand image of this external audience, they turn into brand representatives even in absence of face-to-face interactions with others and in their private lives. Brand-centred control thus blurs the boundaries between work and employees’ private lives in unprecedented ways. I discuss the ways in which employees respond to and resist brand-centred control and point to further research on brand-centred control as a significant new form of normative control.

Keywords

brand-centred control, internal branding, normative control, external audience

Introduction

Since the 1990s culture management and normative control have been dominant themes in organizational research and critical management writings (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Casey, 1995; Kunda, 1992; Willmott, 1993). Normative control, according to Alvesson and Willmott (2002), is about ‘regulating employees “insides” – their self-image, their feelings and identifications’ (p. 622). In the last decade, the interest in normative control appeared to decrease, as related images and practices were gradually institutionalised (Barley & Kunda, 1992). Recent research, however, points to new developments of normative control: Fleming and Sturdy (2009, 2011), for example, present ‘neo-normative’ control as based on an extension of culture management which invites aspects of employees’ personal lives into the set-up of normative

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control. These developments and their ramifications call for a re-examination of normative control and the ways in which it affects employees.

Internal branding (or 'employee branding'[1]) is another extension of culture management (Edwards, 2005; Kornberger, 2010) that has the potential to regulate employees' identities and lead to new developments of normative control. The goal of internal branding is the alignment of employees' 'identities' with the brand (Cushen, 2009; Edwards, 2005; Kornberger, 2010; Land & Taylor, 2010) which means, according to internal branding advocates, that the employees' behaviours, attitudes, demeanours, outward appearances and language use become 'branded' (Bergstrom, Blumenthal, & Scott, 2002; Boyd & Sutherland, 2006; Burmann & Zeplin, 2005; Chong, 2007). Internal branding thus differs from other branding concepts, as it engages employees not only as an additional audience for brand messages (as, e.g., in corporate branding or employer branding), but urges employees to actually *be the message* (Edwards, 2005).

The purpose of this article is to examine how internal branding influences normative control through tying employees' identities and selves to the brand. So far, only few studies in organizational research revolve around the topic of branding and examine, for example, the effects of corporate branding on employees as an additional audience (Brannan, Parsons, & Priola, 2015; Kärreman & Rylander, 2008) or internal branding more specifically (Cushen, 2009; Land & Taylor, 2010). However, to better understand current trends in normative control, we need to advance our knowledge of internal branding in practice, its potential influence on normative control and, in turn, on employees' selves. I therefore ask the following question: *In what ways do internal branding approaches impact normative control and affect employees?*

To address this question, I present a qualitative case study of a company with a strong focus on culture management and normative control, and on its brand: an IKEA store. This setting is ideal, as IKEA combines traditional culture management with internal branding efforts. The in-depth case study builds on various data sources including interviews and employee observations in the store.

This article extends the literature on normative control by introducing the concept of brand-centred control as a result of internal branding. Unlike traditional forms of normative control (Casey, 1995; Kunda, 1992; Willmott, 1993), brand-centred control involves the external audience (friends, strangers, customers, fan-communities, and the wider public) and the beliefs of employees about what others think about the brand and about them as its representatives. In this way, the external audience turns into an additional source of normative control for employees. Brand-centred control is thus not tied to the workplace and working times any longer, but extends to employees' private lives. I thus argue that the dynamic of brand-centred control blurs the boundaries between work and private life in more fundamental ways than described before (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009, 2011; Land & Taylor, 2010). As new forms of control also 'generate new forms of resistance' (Gabriel, 1999, p. 192), I further illustrate how employees engage in resistance to brand-centred control.

Normative Control and Beyond

Culture management and normative control

Organizational control, according to Ouchi (1977), is an evaluation process of behaviour or outputs compared to a standard. Normative control, more specifically, is typically associated with corporate culture management (Casey, 1995; Kunda, 1992; Willmott, 1993) and requires employees to 'develop self-images and work orientations that are deemed congruent with managerially defined objectives' (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002, p. 619). Normative control is based on strong identification with company goals rather than physical coercion or economic rewards and sanctions (Gabriel, 1999; Kunda, 1992). Kunda (1992) provides a classic description:

> Normative control is the attempt to elicit and direct the required efforts of members by controlling the underlying experiences, thoughts, and feelings that guide their actions. … In short, under normative control it is the employee's *self* – that ineffable source of subjective experience – that is claimed in the name of the corporate interest. (p. 11, original emphasis)

Normative control requires employees to internalise cultural values and 'assess their own worth in these terms' (Willmott, 1993, p. 522). Willmott, drawing on Foucault (1982), writes that employees 'are invited and induced to become "tied to their identity by conscience or self-knowledge"' (p. 522). Moreover, Kunda (1992) mentions that normative control works through recognition by a 'faceless mass' within the company that determines an employee's reputation (p. 17). In this statement we see the complex and paradoxical relational aspect of the 'self', as people look to others to see the image of themselves reflected back in their words, attitudes and actions (Burkitt, 2008). However, the notion of Kunda's faceless mass goes beyond concrete 'others' that are physically present and is reminiscent of Mead's (1974) concept of the 'generalized other' in the form of the 'attitude of the whole community' (p. 154). The individual internalises the attitudes of a community in the form of the 'generalized other' that 'enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking' (p. 155). Through this internalization process the self becomes self-conscious, as it can refer to itself as part of this community. 'It is in this form of the generalized other', Mead continues, 'that the social process influences the behaviour of the individuals … i.e. that the community exercises control' (p. 155). The generalized other, thus, becomes part of the 'self-disciplining power' (Willmott, 1993, p. 538) of normative control.

Employees, however, are not just passive objects of normative control, but 'active participants in the shaping of themselves and of others' (Kunda, 1992, p. 21) through various forms of acceptance and resistance. Resistance, or 'oppositional workplace practices', are based on a constant process of negotiation and re-inscription (Thomas & Davies, 2005) and can range from open confrontation to subtle subversions (Collinson & Ackroyd, 2005, p. 306) such as cynical distancing (Fleming & Spicer, 2003). The literature on employee responses to normative control also shows that employees often experience – apart from 'corporate selves' that are dominated by the organization – 'real selves' that feel more authentic and help them cope with normative control (Costas & Fleming, 2009; Fleming & Spicer, 2003; Kunda, 1992; Willmott, 1993).

In the last decade, the concept of normative control had entered a 'theoretical stalemate: written off by some and over estimated by others' (Cushen, 2009, p. 102); related images and practices were gradually institutionalised (Barley & Kunda, 1992) and scholars turned to other topics. However, Fleming and Sturdy (2009, 2011) point to important developments: neo-normative control, for example, is a culture management extension that is based on value-centred discourses (e.g., around authenticity, individuality, or having fun) and the encouragement to bring private life aspects to the workplace. It invites employees to '*be themselves* rather than normatively conform to an externally engineered, homogeneous and organizationally based identity' (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009, p. 570 original emphasis). Authenticity – or a corporate-approved version of it – then becomes part of the very set-up of normative control, so that the employees find it difficult to resist. Fleming and Sturdy (2009) ask pointedly 'How might one resist being oneself?' (p. 578). These developments call for renewed attention to normative control, its effects, and resistance.

Internal branding and new forms of normative control

Another, and different, extension of culture management (Brannan, Parsons, & Priola, 2011b; Cushen, 2009; Edwards, 2005; Kornberger, 2010; Land & Taylor, 2010) is internal branding: the

idea of *branding employees as a means to communicate the brand to customers*. Internal branding has received much attention in the marketing and management literature in the last 15 years (e.g., Burmann, Zeplin, & Riley, 2009; Ind, 2001; Mitchell, 2002; Punjaisri, Wilson, & Evanschitzky, 2008). Branding techniques, however, are also integrated in related concepts such as corporate branding (e.g., Hatch & Schultz, 2003), employer branding (e.g., Barrow & Mosley, 2007), or behavioural branding (Henkel, Tomczak, Heitmann, & Herrmann, 2007). According to Foster, Punjaisri, and Cheng (2010), internal branding and employer branding are sub-concepts of corporate branding: corporate branding, as the broader concept, involves the branding of external stakeholders, current and prospective employees, procedures, spaces, and more (Hatch & Schultz, 2003); employer branding focuses on branding the organization as an employer brand to attract the 'best' prospective employees (Barrow & Mosley, 2007), whereas internal branding focuses almost exclusively on branding the organization's current employees.

According to its advocates, internal branding involves aligning the employees' behaviours and attitudes with the company brand: all employees – regardless of their having customer contacts or not – should align their attitudes (Burmann & Zeplin, 2005; Punjaisri et al., 2008), appearances (Chong, 2007; Miles & Mangold, 2004), demeanours, behaviours (Bergstrom et al., 2002; Miles & Mangold, 2004) and language use (Alcorn, Campanello, & Grossman, 2008; Boyd & Sutherland, 2006; Morhart, Herzog, & Tomczak, 2009) with the brand. Miles and Mangold (2004) write that 'employees internalise the desired brand image and are motivated to project the image to customers' through 'their demeanour, appearance, and manner of interacting with customers' (p. 68). Internal branding advocates suggest appraisal and reward systems around branded behaviour (e.g., Boyd & Sutherland, 2006; Chong, 2007) or punishment of 'off-brand' behaviour (Bergstrom et al., 2002).

Internal branding activities are primarily brand training programmes revolving around how to 'live the brand' which are aligned with internal and external communications, or with logoed clothes (Edwards, 2005) that turn employees into 'animate artifacts' (Harquail, 2006, p. 171). These activities illustrate the fundamental difference to corporate branding: the employees are not just an additional audience for brand messages, but *they turn into the message*. Internal branding emphasises 'the representation of the brand outside the workplace as part of the employee's lifestyle and identity' (Brannan et al., 2011b, p. 188). According to Edwards (2005), the employees (not organizations) are the 'branded entity' that conveys the brand messages to 'customers who interact with branded employees' (p. 272). As the employees are also members of the external audience, they find themselves in the peculiar situation of being the brand message and part of its audience at the same time.

The organizational literature so far only includes a few articles on branding, for example Kärreman and Rylander (2008) or Brannan, Parsons, and Priola (2011a, 2015), and has focused on corporate branding. These important studies show that brand messages designed for customers also work inside the organization and influence the employees' identification processes and identity work. In these studies though, culture management and brand management are not necessarily closely linked as in internal branding. The existing literature thus either focuses on traditional culture management (as in many classic papers) or on corporate branding with additional effects on employees (as in few recent papers).

Research has yet to engage with the specific focus of internal branding – selling the brand by means of the employees – and the ways in which it influences the dynamics of normative control. Internal branding adds new ingredients to culture management and normative control, such as the idea of employees as a 'branded entity' (Edwards, 2005) and an external audience for the brand messages. Internal branding therefore has the potential to change the employees' relations to their

company and brand, and to themselves. I thus want to find out in *what ways internal branding approaches impact normative control and affect employees*.

Method

To examine the impact of internal branding on normative control, I present a qualitative case study that allows me to include the voices of employees in various organizational positions and provide a 'non-objective' view of management techniques (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992).

Context

I draw on a case study of an IKEA store in a German speaking country.[2] While most studies emphasise relationships between IKEA and external stakeholders, I focus on its internal side. The interlinkage between a highly visible and popular brand[3] and a strong organizational culture makes this company an ideal setting to examine internal branding (e.g., Tarnovskaya, 2011) and normative control. Henkel et al. (2007), for instance, also mention IKEA in their study of 'behavioural branding'.

IKEA is a privately held, international home products company that designs and sells ready-to-assemble furniture. In 2014 the total revenue was €29.3 billion.[4] It was founded in 1943 in Sweden by Ingvar Kamprad. INGKA Holding, a tax-exempt, not-for-profit Dutch firm, which controls the IKEA group, and the Interogo Foundation in Liechtenstein, which controls the intellectual property of the brand, are still closely connected to Mr. Kamprad.[5] The company entered the German speaking market in the 1970s.

In his 'testament of a furniture dealer' (2011[1976]) Kamprad describes the basic values of the organization's culture. The key elements of the IKEA culture – informality, equal relationships, team-spirit, and cost-consciousness – appear closely related to the Swedish culture (Salzer, 1994). Similarly, the former IKEA group CEO Dahlvig (Dahlvid, Kling, & Goteman, 2003) describes the typical IKEA culture as being informal, cost-conscious, humble, down-to-earth, and based on a few values that have their roots in the Swedish culture. Swedishness and family orientation – aspects that IKEA emphasises (Torekull & Kamprad, 1998) – are central parts of the brand and link positive stereotypes about the Swedish culture to the products and corporate culture. Culture workshops and training programmes for employees started in the 1980s when the company began to produce written policies (Salzer, 1994, p. 145). In those years, IKEA began to deliberately spread the 'IKEA culture' – as a product of active culture management – in all stores and created the public story about IKEA (Edvardsson & Enquist, 2002). According to Salzer (1994), IKEA consciously reflects on its culture and identity, and 'explicitly tries to manage people through a shared "corporate culture"' (p. 37) – if employees do not fit into the IKEA 'family', they are 'cruelly repelled by the organization within a year' (p. 158). IKEA also started to advertise their culture externally through newspaper adverts and outdoor posters and its promotions, particularly TV spots, quickly gained a reputation for being 'different, humorous and provocative' (Salzer, 1994, p. 114). In this way, IKEA made its culture publicly known and visible and turned it into the key factor of its high brand awareness.

The research site for this study was an IKEA store with about 500 employees. The store's web page mentioned the 'IKEA Way' and told prospective applicants that only people who can 'identify' with this way can become employees. The web page mentioned cultural values such as teamwork or diversity that correspond to the core themes of Swedishness and informality. These values and themes were part of the communication with external audiences, but also of the socialization process of employees; moreover, the same values and themes also appeared in internal documents and related activities.

Table 1. Data sources and use in the analysis.

Source	Details	Use in the analysis
1. Interviews and observations in the store	– Interviews with employees in various positions (store manager, team leaders, shop floor employees) (21) – during 14 months – Interviews with ex-employees and an employee of a security company (3) – Observations during extensive visits at the store – Informal conversations with other employees during the visits	*Understand the employees' perception of the organizational culture and brand and their relations to it* through analysing clues about the employees' 1) everyday life experiences at the store; (2) socialization processes into the organizational culture; (3) awareness of the organizational culture (management); (4) awareness of IKEA as a brand; (5) awareness of an external audience
2. Internal documents	– The founder's account on the company culture (1976) – Booklets and employee brochures (Die IKEA Symbole, Our Human Resources Idea, etc.)	*Track brand value*s through thematic analysis of texts for employees
3. Academic studies on other IKEA stores	– Studies on IKEA; e.g., in the field of organization studies (Salzer) and branding (Tarnovskaya)	*Triangulate interview data and observations at the store* through analysing academic accounts on the company culture
4. The company's communication to the wider public	– IKEA websites in German – German IKEA TV spots in the years 2011 to 2013 (12 spots)	*Triangulate interview data and observations at the store* through analysing IKEA's central brand messages to the external audience (e.g., slogans such as 'IKEA: the home of your life')

Data collection

I collected data from four different sources: 1) interviews and observations in the store; 2) internal documents; 3) academic studies on IKEA; 4) the company's communication to the wider public, i.e. websites and TV spots (see Table 1 for details on these sources and their use in the analysis).

The main sources of data were semi-structured interviews and observations of employees at the store over a period of 14 months. I audio-recorded all interviews and anonymised the interviewees' names (I use pseudonyms). In the interviews, I asked questions about culture and brand while trying to leave as much room as possible for employees to come up with their own topics and use their own words.

The first interview was with the store manager who gave permission to interview employees; the human resource manager then suggested some employees to interview. After these first interviews, the interviewee selection was based on snowball sampling: employees pointed out colleagues as interview partners or had conversations in groups about who might be an 'interesting' interviewee for me. I then contacted these employees either in person, if present, or called them later. A few employees did not want to be interviewed (without giving any specific reasons), but most agreed. I also interviewed two ex-employees: both had worked part time (while studying) for longer periods, but also full time (during study breaks), and left after having finished their studies. As they had no intent to work for IKEA again, they did not have to display 'branded' behaviour or attitudes.

I guaranteed the employees anonymity and no reporting back to the management, and thus had the impression that they could, to some extent, speak freely with me. I combined the interviews-based approach with observations at the store before, after, or between interviews (see Alvesson, 2003): the employees, for example, were joking, relating to each other and to me, reacting to telephone calls, or informally talking about IKEA TV spots or working conditions. I had many informal conversations with employees (individually or in groups), while they were working in the open plan office or sitting in the staff cafeteria. I documented these observations and conversations in field notes. In accordance with Alvesson (2003), I viewed the interviews and their production processes as socially and linguistically complex. Instead of relying on the idea of interviewees as 'moral truth tellers' I aimed to take my role as an external interviewer and their interactions with me into account. In companies with strong cultures, employees have to conform to a certain extent to not be 'excommunicated' (Willmott, 1993, p. 535) and I was aware that this effect could influence the findings of this case study. This influence nonetheless is a typical effect of normative control, similar to a potential hesitation to talk to outsiders and the urge of 'keeping it all in the family' (Gabriel, 1999, p. 180).

The interviewees were employees at different hierarchical levels: the store manager, employees in sales including team leaders of teams of around three to 10 people, employees in other areas (e.g., office), and additionally three 'outsiders' (ex-employees, employee of a security company). In terms of the proportion between team members and team leaders and between men and women, the sample was balanced. Some employees had studied before or while working there, some had worked before in other retail companies, and others had some form of vocational education. Most of the interviewees had been working full time in the company for four to 11 years; one had only started four months before the interview took place.

Data analysis

The analysis was based on data sources outlined in Table 1. First, I sought to develop a rich understanding of the organizational culture as context of the employees' perceptions and assumptions about culture and brand. I tried to understand how the company presents itself to employees in internal documents, to prospective employees and customers on its web pages, and to the wider public through the media (e.g., in TV spots). Second, I turned to the literature in organizational research and its portrayals of the company; these accounts of IKEA's organizational culture and employees' responses to it helped me conceptualise the findings. Finally, I analysed the employees' perceptions and understanding of culture and brand at the store. I treated the interviews and the observations in the store as complementary empirical material and worked back and forth between my field notes and the interview transcripts.

For the thematic analysis, I turned to Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2012), who use a data structure as visual aid for readers to understand the coding process (Figure 1), as it shows how first-order themes relate to second-order and more abstract overarching themes. Although Gioia et al. (2012) suggest grounded theory, i.e., induction, as their research approach, I drew on abduction, which includes theoretical preconceptions in all phases of research (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). I thus looked for specific statements in the data related to the topic of normative control and its conceptualization in the literature. First, I identified initial codes (first-order themes) by adhering to the terms the informants used. I then searched for relationships between these themes and ordered them around emerging second-order themes, which were more abstract theoretical concepts. I distilled these second-order themes into even more abstract overarching themes. The emergent data structure (Figure 1) served as the basic structure of the findings section.

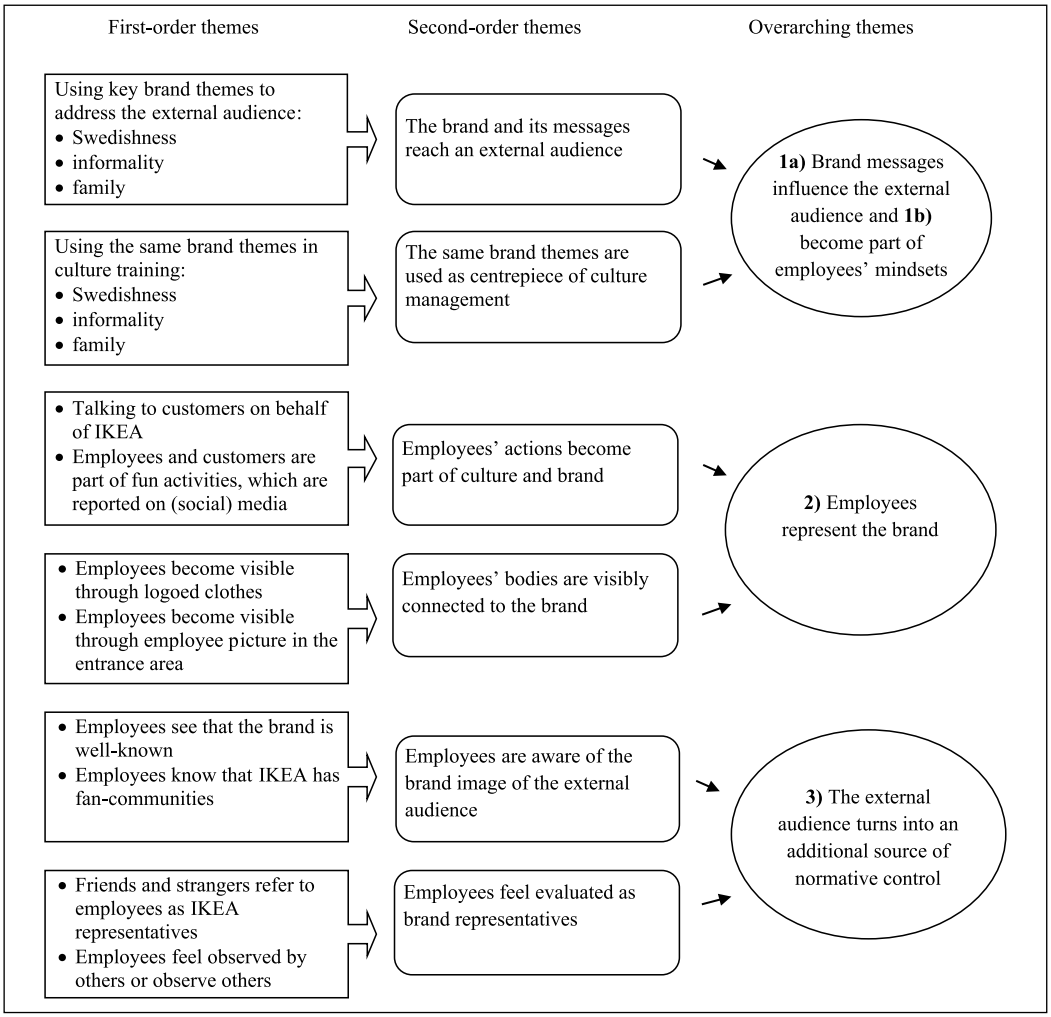

Figure 1. Data structure.

Through cycling between emerging themes and key concepts in the literature, I was able to not only see what themes were related to prior literature (e.g., traditional normative control), but also whether my findings indicated a new theoretical concept (see Gioia et al., 2012). The iterative comparisons between theoretical concepts and themes pointed towards changes in normative control, which were closely related to internal branding. I thus propose the concept of *brand-centred control* as a new form of normative control, which includes the company brand as its pivot point and involves audiences outside the organization in its dynamic.

Findings

A key insight of the findings was that brand-centred control went beyond traditional forms of normative control as the brand turned into the pivot point of normative demands and the external audience (friends, strangers, customers, fan-communities and the wider public) into an additional

source of normative control for the employees. The findings highlighted the following overarching themes, as presented in the data structure in Figure 1.

Brand messages reach the external audience and become part of employees' mindsets

The findings show that the company used the same brand themes to communicate to the wider public through TV spots and other media channels and at the same time as the basis of culture management. This tight link between external and internal brand communication is a central element of brand-centred control because it informs both an external audience and employees about the central themes of the brand and how employees could or should enact them.

The brand and its messages reach an external audience. IKEA's branding efforts for the external audience revolved around the key themes of Swedishness, informality, and family, as the reviews of TV spots and other advertising and branding activities confirmed. The aspect of Swedishness is something IKEA emphasises through the website, TV spots, or blue-and-yellow colours of the logo, store buildings, and employee working clothes (matching the Swedish flag). All products in the store typically have Swedish names, the store offers traditional Swedish food, and in IKEA's TV spots the German speaker addresses the audience informally and with a 'Nordic' accent. The informal address is a well-known linguistic peculiarity – '*the most well-known thing of IKEA anyway*' (Iris, team leader) – for the external audience. The family theme (around IKEA as family-and-home oriented) is also a key message in IKEA's external communication. The slogans in the TV spots at the time of the interviews were 'the home of your life' (Das Zuhause deines Lebens), 'because it's your home' (Weil es dein zuhause ist) or 'This is your home – you decide' (Hier wohnst du, hier bestimmst du); these TV spots, but also the catalogue pictures, typically visualise family life in various situations. IKEA even welcomes customers as part of the extended family[6] by means of the 'family card'. In this way, IKEA communicates their interpretation of the informal down-to-earth Swedish family culture and ties it to the company brand.

These advertising and branding efforts reach the wider public and as employees are also members of this audience, they are often already partially socialised before they start to work at IKEA. Applicants, according to the store manager, are often '*dazzled by the brand*' when they apply for a job. This (positive) pre-knowledge then becomes more detailed through culture management activities at IKEA, through which employees learn how to communicate the brand to the external audience.

The brand is also used as the centrepiece of culture management. Many interviewees told me that they learned about the brand in culture workshops:

> *We had this module that every employee has to attend, … and there you learned that IKEA is Swedish, that Ingvar Kamprad named the company, you know, the IK* [of IKEA], *and so on. … They also made it clear that they don't want to be a luxury brand, but more a matey brand*. (Mark, ex-employee)

Most of the employees appeared to like the culture workshops, but Mark also mentioned that he did not care too much about culture and brand: '*it went in one ear and out the other; it was not relevant for our type of work*'. Alex (office) remembered the workshops in a more critical way:

> *The culture workshops … yes, I remember them very well, ahm, let's say it straightforward: I had the impression that it was like brainwashing from Jehovah's witnesses, ok? … But I am just too critical for this kind of thing and I looked at my colleagues. According to their level of education they liked it*.

The workshops included various topics, in which the themes of Swedishness, informality, and family were core elements.

The aspect of Swedishness was immediately evident for me in a reply to my initial and rather formal email to the company, as the reply started with 'Hej' (the typical informal address in Sweden) and my first name. Nearly all employees commented on the company's Swedishness in positive ways. Lisa (team leader) mentioned that initially she had not been that interested in Sweden, '*but then, somehow, you start to be interested in Sweden ... and then I could go to the headquarters in Älmhult. This was such an experience! Such motivation!*' Paul (sales) said: '*The yellow and blue of IKEA. Every time you see the brand, you see Sweden, everywhere; in all rooms the employees can see posters of Sweden*.' Tom, a team leader, however, was a bit cynical: '*Everything is wonderfully Swedish*.'

Informality was also central in IKEA's culture workshops. In German, people use the informal address typically for family members or friends, and the formal address for all other persons, particularly in official or work contexts. The employees at the store, however, used the informal address between all hierarchical levels, which felt very unusual for some of them: '*In the beginning I tried to evade and talk around it, so that I did not have to address the person directly [laughs]. In the meantime this has changed. ... But it took half a year; you just have to find a way*' (Martha, sales). Many employees confirmed that the informal address would lead to a better atmosphere: '*You realise that it changes the way to deal with people. There is a better atmosphere and this makes your work easier*' (Vanessa). The informal address also worked as a control mechanism to check if fellow employees were already 'IKEA': '*You would make yourself conspicuous if you didn't* [use the informal address]' (Vicky, office) and employees even made fun of colleagues who did not adapt quickly to the informal address: '*Especially when we have older employees, they have difficulties at the beginning, and the others make fun of them, a little bit*' (Tom, team leader).

The family theme was also very prominent in the interviews. Alex (office) said: '*But there is this feeling of home ... I mean IKEA is not my home, but a big part of my life now … .*' All interviewees stated that they considered this family atmosphere the biggest 'plus point' of their workplace. Jana (team leader) explained that '*IKEA is ... ah, somehow it is a family for me, a second family, because of all the team work, the sense of cohesion*', but alongside the family theme was also the notion of individuality: '*the employees don't count as ... everyone is seen as an individual, with an individual personality*' (Paul, sales). Doris (team leader) explained: '*This is one family. 30,000 people around the world ... no, they are apostles or followers, as he* [Kamprad] *once put it*.' However, the family-and-home themes were sometimes at odds with the hierarchical structure of the company and its authoritarian power. Doris, for example, mentioned problems around overtime and understaffing, concluding: '*I would not cut down on personnel and exhaust people till it's efficient*.' Moreover, not all employees liked that Oliver from the security company had to check their bags for stolen items on their way out (on request of the management). Alex mentioned feelings of belonging, but added a joke with a darker undertone:

> *When you drive past one of the stores – I feel really embarrassed now – then you have that comforting feeling. A feeling of 'I belong there too'* … [laughs] … But why is that embarrassing? *I don't know. Have you seen 'the Wave'?*[7] The movie? *Yes, yes, it does not matter, even the book … have you read it? – it started just like that! … Hey, that was a joke – it was just a jo-hoke!* [Interviewer's speech in non-italic]

Through communicating the same core brand themes to the external audience and employees (in culture training sessions), both employees and the external audience were on the same page regarding the brand. Moreover, brand and culture basically became one for the employees. Paul (sales) said: '*When I see an IKEA store, as a private person, I think that it is awesome ... It is a*

brand of which I think: respect! But as an employee I cannot distinguish between the brand and the culture.' This statement nicely illustrates that the interviewees' mentioning of 'IKEA' referred to culture, brand and even company – without actually distinguishing (or being able to distinguish) between them. And the culture training, which was '*about IKEA and what it stands for, and how we behave, how we present ourselves … things like that*' (Paul, Sales), showed employees how they could be representatives of the brand.

Employees represent the brand

The findings illustrate that employees, often already partially socialised through a positive brand image before they had started to work at IKEA, became – with more or less engagement – representatives of the brand; for example, when they interacted with customers in the course of special fun events, or became visible as IKEA employees by means of logoed clothes.

Employees' actions become part of the culture and brand. The interviews revealed that the employees often interacted with customers – sometimes even the wider public – in unusual ways that go beyond their typical job descriptions and turn them into representatives of the brand. The store manager, for example, referred to employees as 'brand managers': '*if you are an employee you will talk to other people about it, and so you are a brand manager*' (Phillip). As 'brand managers' employees were in the service of the brand all around the clock. Doris (team leader), for instance, turned into an IKEA representative when she tried to convince a friend to buy IKEA products in her holidays: '*Ok, I really sold the complete furniture for an entire room while sitting at a beach in my holidays … .*' Some interviewees said that they had been told to use the informal address to talk to customers, but not all customers were fond of that: '*In the beginning they told me to say "Du' also to customers, but I never really did that*' (Anne, sales), as some customers had complained about it. In any case, however, the encouragement of employees to talk to customers informally indicates that the employees acted as representatives of the brand.

The employees also mentioned unconventional fun events, in which they interacted with customers and the public beyond their typical functions (e.g., as sales personnel). Paul (sales) remembered a jubilee: '*… and every employee got a bicycle from IKEA. And then all employees were riding their bicycles, and they announced it over the radio that the road is closed, because 2000 IKEA employees are on their way. … This was just extremely extraordinary*.' Another jubilee involved customers in swimwear: '*So, the first 25 customers who would show up in their bikini or bathing suits could go through the store for 15 minutes with the yellow bag and take anything for free that they can carry with their hands … We employees laughed a lot*' (Doris, team leader). Other events included employees and customers celebrating Swedish holidays such as Midsummer or Christmas-tree-throwing events in front of the store. Mark (ex-employee) explained that '*they do this for the customers, but also for the employees*'. Such unconventional events turned the store into a 'fun' company for employees and customers, which fit well with IKEA's self-portrayal as having a sense of humour. The employees interacted with customers outside their typical functions and represented IKEA to them. Moreover, these events were reported on (social) media and reached a wider external audience that saw how employees had fun and that the employees obviously liked to be part of IKEA.

Employees' bodies are visibly connected to the company logo. The employees became immediately visible as IKEA representatives through their blue-and-yellow logoed work clothes, which they were also wearing in a big picture of all employees in the store's entrance area. So even when customers were not aware of the picture, the employees knew that they are visible as IKEA employees

in the entrance hall. During my visits nearly all employees were wearing these clothes, regardless of their position. Teresa (sales) stated that she had been proud to wear these clothes and be visible as IKEA employees for the first time: '*The first time you put on the clothes and you go out to the customers was very special. You really think "wow!"*.' The working clothes, according Jakob (office) or Mark (ex-employee) '*are of course something you do for the customers outside*' and interviewees were aware of their visibility as IKEA employees: '*customers recognise you immediately as an IKEA employee*' (Paul, sales).

Some team leaders admitted, that people also 'forget' their work clothes and '*usually have some excuses, for example, the washing machine did not work*' (Doris), and Ben (office), who was not wearing IKEA clothes, told me that he was '*just too lazy to constantly change*'. Team leaders also took care for the 'appropriate' representation, so when '*adventurous employees ... wear, for example, a lilac shirt underneath the IKEA clothes and so on …*' team leaders would tell them to change that to something black or blue – '*otherwise it looks a bit strange for the customers*' (Lisa). The representation of IKEA thus was not open to interpretation: employees should not just be recognizable as sales persons, but also as representatives of the brand.

The interviewees told me some more stories about the work clothes: a part-time employee, for example, actually never wore his work clothes although he had been told off by various superiors and each time agreed to wear them: '*So, over the years he actually never ... I remember that it was always funny. ... He just said that he is not interested and that his clothes are convenient enough and why should he wear IKEA things and so on*' (Mark). Another story was based on the rule that employees first had to change into private clothes and use the customer entrance to buy something at the store, and then change back into work clothes. This unpopular rule should prevent employees from stealing. One employee, however, '*a bodybuilder and in quite good shape*' reinterpreted this rule and '*instead of changing into his private clothes he just took off his T-shirt and went through to the cashiers and asked in a provoking tone if that was ok (laughs)*' (Christian, ex-employee). This employee reinterpreted the rules in a humorous and informal way – one could even say in an 'IKEA'-way.

The external audience turns into an additional source of normative control

The findings also show that the external audience can turn into an additional source of normative control: the employees were aware of the brand image of this audience and had experienced that they were being evaluated – or felt evaluated – as brand representatives at work and in their leisure time.

Employees are aware of the brand image of the external audience. The employees were very well aware of the highly visible brand and the external audience that knew the brand messages and values. As employees are themselves members of the external audience, they often had known about the brand before they actually started to work at the store, as mentioned earlier. Tom, a team leader, said: '*I knew IKEA as a customer and was aware of this strong brand; I mean this brand stands for a lot of things, and these values you know even as a customer*'; Vicky (office) also mentioned that she had liked IKEA long before she started to work there: '*Today you can't get past IKEA ... I am an IKEA customer since the first hour of this store*.' The company's TV spots also was a frequent topic – '*yes, the brand is very present ... What I always like is their TV spots. These ideas!*' (Doris, team leader) – and the employees knew that these spots are popular and heightened the brand awareness of the external audience.

The employees told me that they often talked with friends about IKEA and showed me IKEA Facebook sites or fan-sites.[8] '*IKEA has a lot of fans. Our customers ... it is like a sect*', said Alex (office). Oliver mentioned: '*I just see that some people are crazy about IKEA. They buy only at*

IKEA, so there is really something like a fan club; they just buy at IKEA, IKEA, IKEA. … They are customers, but there are some employees too.' The interviewees also commented on how popular and widely-used IKEA products were: '*When you are watching TV you see all these cooking shows and they all seem to be sponsored by IKEA, because they all cook in IKEA kitchens*' (Alex, office). This knowledge about the brand image of IKEA outside the company made some employees proud to 'stand for it', as Vicky mentioned: '*I have to say that there is also an amount of pride involved: Yes, I work here and I stand for it, so everyone can know that*.'

The interviewees mentioned that basically everyone knows IKEA and that people outside the company react to the brand and company name. Oliver, for example, the employee of the security company, who was wearing an IKEA shirt at work, stated:

> *I am proud of it* [working at IKEA and wearing the T-shirt], *because it is an extreme name. Everyone knows IKEA, worldwide. When you mention IKEA to a Hottentot he will know it, I don't know why. It's the same as with Coca-Cola, everyone knows it. You feel … IKEA is a brand and that makes the difference. When you say that you work at IKEA – aaah, yes – everyone knows it. That makes an impression*.

These statements demonstrate the employees' knowledge of the high levels of brand awareness of the external audience based on fan-communities, social media sites and TV spots, and their own familiarity with the brand even before they had become employees. A team leader thus expressed genuine amazement when mentioning that a few individuals were not familiar with the brand: '*It can really happen, you know, even when you can't believe it. When it happens I also don't believe it, but there are some people who don't know IKEA! It is true, really. Yeah, I can't imagine, but …*' (Lisa).

Employees are evaluated as brand representatives. As representatives of the brand, the employees had experienced that friends, but also strangers, connected them to the brand and evaluated them in terms of the brand. Lisa (team leader) said:

> *Well, when you say that you work at IKEA, then people say: 'Really? Wow, that's cool!' And this is usually the start of a good encounter with someone. … It is actually always positive, when I tell this, you know, everyone has a positive connotation, like: 'Ah yes, I bought this or that' and then they tell me their shopping experiences. Sometimes they might say: 'Yeah, but this or that did not work', I mean that can happen too, but usually it's something positive*.

Teresa (sales) reported similar experiences of others reacting to her: '*Sometimes I tell my friends how we do things here at IKEA, … And then they say "Oh, IKEA is really cool"*.' Martin (sales) said: '*When a TV spot is really good, that it feels great, of course, because your friends will talk to you about the spot … .*' And Peter (sales) added that being an IKEA employee leads to a certain standing among his friends: '*I realised that when you talk to friends … that you have a certain standing, and they say "Wow, you did it, you really work there!"*.'

Sometimes however people also blamed the employees personally when something was wrong with products or assembly instructions. Martin (sales) said: '*It can be annoying if a friend tells you that a screw is missing again and … when he kind of accuses you personally. But you can keep your distance*.' However, Tom (team leader) admitted that '*at some point IKEA starts to control your private life … It is important to keep your private life and the company in balance*'. Their attempts to manage and limit the influence of IKEA in their leisure time illustrates that this influence was very powerful.

The employees thus felt that the external audience connects IKEA to them personally and evaluates them, as Martin (sales) explains: '*Your friends usually talk a lot about IKEA to you, so that … you know, they project everything that IKEA does onto you, if you understand what I mean*.' The

interviews also revealed that the employees thought or even worried about being evaluated based on the brand:

> *I always wear my work clothes when I drive to work. But if you are taking the bus, for example, you should not wear your working clothes. This is because of the image you present when you are smoking a cigarette or chewing bubblegum; then customers would think 'Ah, employees', and then they think, 'Aha, the employee is smoking, but IKEA is non-smoker'. You always have to be careful*. (Vanessa, team leader)

And Christian (ex-employee) added another example: '*I know one guy, who certainly had the one or other beer in his working clothes. This is certainly negative and they [IKEA] would not identify with such behaviour*.'

Moreover, the employees also turned into an 'external audience' for employees of other IKEA stores (and vice versa), as they told me that it would be common to visit IKEA stores in other countries during their holidays. So, when I had asked Sonja (team leader), for example, if she would go to another IKEA store in her holidays, she said:

> *Yes!* Really, in your holidays? *We all do that, yes... We have a look, we want to know... and it is really interesting. We even ha a data base for private pictures from other IKEA stores... I usually tell them that I'm also an employee, but you don't have to.* [interviewer's speech in non-italic]

Similarly, Martin (sales) said:

> *Yes, last year I went to [another country] and I had a look at the IKEA store there, just curiosity: what do they sell in their bistro? Are their hot dogs better? And what about their product range? I would have never thought that I would do this ... but then I just got curious. And yes, it looks exactly like in our store, yes. And you usually talk to the employees there, if you 'come out'.*

These incidents mentioned here illustrate how the external audience turns into an additional source of normative control: the employees represent the brand; they know about the brand image of the external audience; they are aware that the external audience connects them to the brand; and they feel evaluated on the basis of the brand. This evaluation, however, might also work as self-evaluation, as employees are always also members of the external audience: '*When I see a TV spot from IKEA I think "Oh, IKEA, maybe they have something new that I don't know of" and then I watch it and think again: "Wow! This is actually where I work, at IKEA!"*.'(Teresa, sales).

Discussion

The main findings of the study of internal branding revolve around brand-centred control as a new form of normative control, which involves an external audience – in contrast to prior literature that treated normative control as an intra-organizational phenomenon. In this section, I first theorise general mechanisms of brand-centred control and then I discuss one of the key implications that affects the blurring of boundaries between work and private life. I then discuss the complex ways in which employees can actually participate in and resist brand-centred control.

Mechanisms of brand-centred control

The general mechanisms of brand-centred control are based on an organization's alignment of internal and external brand management through using the same brand messages in their external communication and internal culture training. The model in Figure 2, which is based on the

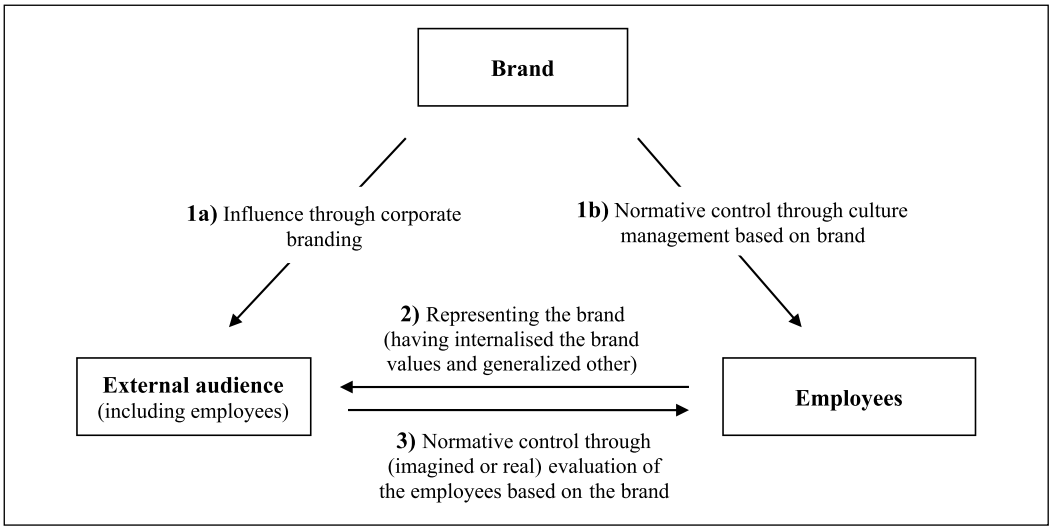

Figure 2. Brand-centred control and its mechanisms.

findings, shows the mechanisms or processes of brand-centred control (the numbers refer to those mentioned in the data structure).

This model highlights the following mechanisms: **(1a)** The company uses key brand messages to address the external audience via corporate branding. **(1b)** The company uses the brand as centrepiece of culture management and shows employees how they can communicate the brand to the external audience through their behaviour, attitude, visible connection to the brand, etc. This first process (1a and b) can produce a 'faceless mass' not just inside the organization, as Kunda (1992) mentions, but in the form of the external audience that recognises the brand messages and is able to evaluate the employees' levels of 'brandedness'. **(2)** The employees internalise the brand messages but also the brand images of the external audience. The findings show that this audience is reminiscent of Mead's (1974) 'generalized other' that 'enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking' (p. 155). The employees thus carry the image of being branded with them and start to act as brand representatives even outside the organization. **(3)** The employees know about the brand recognition of the external audience and, as they have internalised the 'generalized other', start to judge their actions and selves in light of the normative brand values – even in the absence of face-to-face interactions with these others. The employees get feedback as brand representatives and feel evaluated in various (imagined or real) situations, as the idealised images of customers' perceptions are generalized through the brand and rendered omnipresent.

Mechanisms 1a and b (using the brand externally in corporate branding and internally in culture management) are strategic company choices. In the case study, for example, the themes of Swedishness, informality, and family were central in both external and internal brand management. Mechanisms 2 and 3 (employees represent the brand, and the external audience turns into a source of normative control) emerge subsequently; employees co-create these processes by internalizing the brand image of the external audience, which, in turn, shapes and controls them; 2 is still influenced partly by the company (work clothes, employee pictures), but also based on the employees' active involvement to represent the brand; 3 is not directly influenced by the company, but depends on employees internalizing brand images of the generalized other. Once in place, these mechanisms reinforce each other and turn into brand-centred control.

Recent studies (Brannan et al., 2011a; 2015; Kärreman & Rylander, 2008) show that corporate branding also reaches employees as an additional audience (1a in Figure 2): the (prestigious) brand can influence employees' identity work (e.g., their positive self-esteem and organizational identification) or image (e.g., using the brand for an impressive CV). The present study builds on these insights but adds a focus on internal branding; i.e., attempts of 'branding employees' and selling the brand by means of employees as branded entity. The mechanisms arising from this dynamic (1b, 2, and 3) facilitate brand-centred control: the employees' internalization of the generalized other turns the external audience into a more or less informed evaluator of their levels of 'brandedness' (even in absence of face-to-face interactions) and into an additional source of normative control.

Brand-centred control is typically based on traditional normative control, as it uses the techniques of culture management (e.g., around informality or family atmosphere) and ties them to the brand. Nonetheless, brand-centred control can also co-exist with neo-normative control. According to Fleming and Sturdy (2009), neo-normative control 'emerges out of normative control' (p. 570), but conveys a more individualistic message and encourages authenticity (or corporate-approved versions of it), fun, diversity, and even dissent (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009, 2011). As brand messages frequently include notions of authenticity, individualism, and fun (e.g., in the present case study), brand-centred control might often occur together with neo-normative control. However, while both normative and neo-normative control typically work within the boundaries of the workplace (Casey, 1995; Kunda, 1992; Willmott, 1993), brand-centred control engages not only colleagues and managers inside the company, but also the external audience as an additional key factor of normative control. It is thus a new form of control that appears in connection with normative and/or neo-normative control.

Brand-centred control differs notably from service work and associated interest- and power-alliances between front-line employees, customers, and management, (e.g., Korczynski, 2004; Lopez, 2010), where customers can turn into potential disciplinary agents for front-line employees. While this effect typically occurs during service interactions within the company, brand-centred control targets all employees regardless of customer contacts and is not limited to service interactions with customers. As it engages an audience outside the organization as an additional source of normative control, brand-centred control is also part of employees' private lives outside the company.

Blurring boundaries between work and private lives

One of the most important implications of brand-centred control is its impact on employees' private lives, as it does not simply disappear when employees leave their workplace; they take the brand and internalised general other into their private lives feeling that the external audience can potentially evaluate them at any time. This additional external source of normative control aggravates the blurring of boundaries between work and private lives that Fleming and Sturdy (2009, 2011) or Land and Taylor (2010) describe.

While neo-normative control (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009, 2011) encourages employees to bring private life aspects to the workplace, it is still an intra-organizational phenomenon. Brand-centred control, in contrast, urges employees to express their 'branded' selves in their private lives. This extension into the private sphere enables companies to increase their influence on employees and external audiences. In extreme cases, employees' private life activities can turn into a form of labour contributing 'to the production of value by establishing brand authenticity' (Land & Taylor, 2010, p. 409). In their case study, Land and Taylor describe how employees get some days off, but are expected to engage in brand-related outdoor sports (surfing) and post pictures of it on the company homepage. Especially when neo-normative and brand-centred control co-exist, and when the brand is widely known, employees might feel 'branded' all around the clock.

The literature on employee responses to normative control points to 'divided selves' of employees: one part of the self is dominated by the corporation, while the other part is based on alternative narratives of the 'real' self (Costas & Fleming, 2009; Fleming & Spicer, 2003; Gabriel, 1999; Willmott, 1993). Willmott (1993), referring to Goffman (1959), writes that employees can play their role at a psychological distance from the corporate values to protect their real selves; however, he cautions, the 'real self' is inescapably tied to this process of playing the role. As normative and neo-normative control are intra-organizational phenomena, employees can still focus on their perceived 'real' selves outside the company as a safe haven. Brand-centred control, in contrast, moves the dividing line between perceived 'corporate' and 'real' selves into employees' private lives: they might only feel 'real' once they do not have an audience that potentially knows the brand and can evaluate them on this basis.

In this way, brand-centred control invites employees to play their roles as brand representatives whenever a potential audience is around. However, through internalizing the generalized other, the self can take itself as an object (Mead, 1974, p. 171) which means that employees might even relate to themselves as 'branded' employees without an audience. Depending on whether employees participate in or resist brand-centred control, they might choose different ways to relate to themselves: while enthusiastic employees represent the brand in their private lives and do not need the division into 'corporate' or more 'real' selves, other employees could attempt to resist this internalization and reject any 'branded' perspectives of themselves.

Resisting brand-centred control

Employees, as mentioned earlier, are not passive objects of brand-centred control, but can actively take part in shaping it (Kunda, 1992). The findings show that brand-centred control is far from being a uniform or simple process, but that employees can find various ways and levels of engagement with, and resistance to, brand-centred control.

Some engaged employees embrace the brand values enthusiastically (they mention 'pride' and being 'fascinated') and construct themselves as proud brand representatives. The external audience, especially excited customers and fan-communities, can then support this enthusiasm and employees feel confirmed precisely because they are aware of being judged on the basis of the brand. Other employees, nevertheless, engage in more or less subtle forms of resistance.

The forms of resistance we know from normative and neo-normative control are also important for brand-centred control and can undermine its mechanisms (1b, 2, and 3 in Figure 2). For example, when employees distance themselves from culture and brand, this distance would influence their brand representation to customers as well as their internalization of the brand image of the external audience as the 'generalized other'. In addition, however, brand-centred control and the employees' roles of 'being the message' also offers them possibilities to resist through re-defining the brand in various ways.

Fleming and Sewell (2002), for example, mention Svejkism or 'active disengagement' (p. 864) when employees are rather appearing to conform than actually conforming; this form of resistance relates to the employee who always agreed to wear the logoed work clothes, but never actually did it. Fleming and Spicer (2003) also describe 'cynical distancing' as resistance to normative control (here, nevertheless, employees still conform). In the case study employees were engaged in cynical distancing when they mentioned 'brainwashing', 'Jehovah's witnesses', or 'the wave'. These employees, but also more enthusiastic ones, pointed to tensions around culture and brand, for example, regarding the family theme as one of its key elements. According to Gabriel (1999), the family is often portrayed in an entirely benign way of caring, but co-exists with a discourse of discipline, hard work, profits, and potential dismissal. The interviewees felt sometimes squeezed to perform in line with tough economic goals (understaffing, overtime, exhaustion, etc.). The security company

employee – he was wearing an IKEA T-shirt but did not, for instance, receive a Christmas present from IKEA like others – also points to twisted matters of inclusion and exclusion around the family theme, especially as his duties included checking employees' bags for stolen items.

The findings also show what I call pragmatic distancing, as some employees mentioned that they did not care too much about culture and brand ('It went in one ear and out the other'). This pragmatic way of distancing – conforming but not paying attention to culture and brand – is similar to what Fleming and Sturdy (2009) describe as 'using the relatively dull sphere of organisational life' (p. 579) to escape the 'authenticity'-calls of neo-normative control – or, in this case, brand-centred control. Moreover, the case study includes (attempts of) refusal to comply with some aspects of culture or brand, such as the logoed clothes or informal address for customers.

In addition, resistance to brand-centred control can occur through re-defining the brand. As employees (should) enact the brand messages, they can influence these messages through their behaviour, attitudes, outward appearance, etc. The findings indicate incidences of this behaviour in the form of the shirt-less bodybuilder employee or 'adventurous' colour combinations of logoed work clothes and private clothes. However, these re-definitions of the brand could potentially also take on more explicit or even violent forms, such as engaging in deliberate 'off-brand' behaviour or damaging the brand by seeking media attention through strikes. Brannan et al. (2011b) remind us that the brand exists on a shared terrain of meaning in the minds of employees, customers, and managers, so that employees, to some degree, are 'responsible for their own enchantment and thus entrapment' (p. 194) and hold the key for the transformation of the brand.

Conclusion

In this article I introduce brand-centred control as a form of normative control (based on internal branding) that engages an external audience as additional source of normative control for employees. I theorise general mechanism of brand-centred control, its impact on blurring boundaries between employees' work and private lives, and its possibilities for resistance. The involvement of an external audience leads to a new dynamic, as employees might feel controlled through the brand image whenever faced with a potential external audience of the brand.

As brands and branding have become essential factors in and around organizations, we need further studies on how brand-centred control affects employees' selves and the shifting boundaries between work and private lives. The findings of the article suggest broader applicability (despite the typical limitations that are related to the local context, well-known brand, retail sector, etc.), but there is clearly a need to further investigate brand-centred control in various organizational settings. Moreover, especially companies where the brand is perceived negatively – either by employees or the wider public – could promise important results. If employees feel stigmatised through the brand image of the external audience, this might have significant effects on employees' selves at work as well as in their private lives. Brand-centred control might even 'spill over' from a certain brand to companies in the same business or to members of a certain profession (e.g., in the oil or banking sectors), which might then lead to different forms of resistance. This article is only a first step in investigating brand-centred control which will become increasingly important in the future.

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Notes

1. Authors use internal branding and employee branding synonymously (e.g., Harquail, 2006; Boyd & Sutherland, 2006) or state that are they the same (e.g., Edwards, 2005).
2. The exact location of the store has been anonymised.
3. http://interbrand.com/best-brands/best-global-brands/previous-years/ [accessed 21 September 2015]
4. http://www.ikea.com/ms/en_US/pdf/yearly_summary/ikea-group-yearly-summary-fy14.pdf [accessed 21 September 2015]
5. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IKEA#Corporate_structure [accessed 21 September 2015]
6. http://www.IKEA.com/ms/de_DE/IKEA-family/ [accessed 10 February 2013]
7. Both novel and movie (1981) revolve around a teaching experiment conducted to teach students how the Third Reich could have become so powerful (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Wave_%281981_film%29) [accessed 8 February 2015].
8. (e.g., http://www.IKEA-fans.de/, or http://www.hej.de) [accessed 27 May 2015]

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