

Flags on Trucks. A Vexillological Taxonomy of Flag Use in European Road Transport

Davied van Berlo, Netherlands Vexillological Association (NVvV)

1. Introduction

Flags appear in the most varied of contexts. They fly from government buildings and sports stadiums, are carried in political demonstrations and funeral processions, and adorn the masts of ships and the facades of buildings. Yet they also appear in everyday public spaces that have rarely attracted the attention of vexillologists: on trucks.



Illustration 1. From Belgium to Switzerland. Source: transportvanasperen.be

Anyone driving on a European motorway will encounter them inevitably. A truck displaying the flags of Belgium and Switzerland as the haulier's route. A Portuguese truck with crossed national flags on its rear doors. A Polish truck with an American-style design. A Dutch company whose logo consists of a flag-shaped graphic element in the national colours. All these flags appear on the same type of vehicle yet communicate something fundamentally different.



Illustration 2. Crossed flags of Portugal and the Netherlands. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers



Illustration 3. Design featuring an American flag. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers

These are not incidental decorations. Flags on trucks constitute a systematic, European phenomenon that has been visible in international road transport for decades, yet has not been investigated in vexillological literature. That is the gap this paper aims to fill.

Drawing on a visual corpus of nearly 10,000 truck photographs — collected via Flickr (BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers) and Transportfotos.nl between 2010 and 2026 — a taxonomy of seven forms of flag use on European trucks is presented. This taxonomy forms the empirical foundation for a theoretical analysis mapping two opposing dynamics: on one side, a nationalist use of flags as identity markers; on the other, a transnational use in which flags describe the flow of trade and cross national borders. Between these — and simultaneously as an overarching condition — a third dynamic operates: post-national use, in which flag shapes and national colours have been detached from their national meaning and become commercial graphic vocabulary.



Illustration 4. Dutch national colours incorporated into a company logo. Source: getru.nl

The central question is: what functions do flags serve on European trucks, and how do those functions relate to existing theories of flag use in the vexillological and sociological literature?

2. Material and Method

This study is based on visual analysis of a corpus of truck photography. The primary material consists of two sources. The first is the Flickr collection of German photographer Jürgen Kellers, who publishes under the name BonsaiTruck. His collection comprises nearly 10,000 truck photographs, built up since August 2010, and covers vehicles from a large number of European countries. The second source is the Dutch online forum Transportfotos.nl, which documents more than 15,000 haulage companies in a database of over 150,000 posts and 16,000 topics, contributed by a community of over 6,500 members. Both sources are publicly accessible and offer a geographically broad documentation of European road transport.

The research area is primarily Western and Northern Europe, with examples from Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. This area is representative of international European road transport, where trucks regularly cross national borders and where the logistics sector is strongly internationally oriented.

The taxonomy presented in this paper was developed inductively: the categories were not predetermined theoretically but emerged from repeated observation of the photographic material. This is consistent with the method that Platoff and Knowlton describe as characteristic of context-sensitive vexillological research: the meaning of a flag cannot be established without systematic analysis of the context in which it appears.¹

The taxonomy comprises seven categories, which are presented and analysed in the following chapter. Deliberately excluded are borderline cases in which the central question is

whether a logo on a truck consciously refers to a flag or is merely a graphic element. This boundary question is an independent vexillological issue that lies beyond the scope of this paper but merits further study.

A methodological caveat is in order. The corpus is not statistically representative in the strict sense: both photographic sources were compiled by enthusiastic amateur photographers with a preference for striking or unusual vehicles. It is likely that trucks with conspicuous flag use are over-represented relative to the total fleet. This study therefore makes no claims about the frequency of particular forms of flag use but focuses on their nature and diversity. The taxonomy is a qualitative analytical model, not a quantitative inventory.

The truck as a flag-bearer has two properties that distinguish it from other carriers studied in the vexillological literature. First, it is mobile — a flag on a truck moves through multiple countries and acquires a different contextual meaning depending on where the vehicle is located. Second, the flag is commercially embedded — it is not separate from an economic activity but is functionally connected to it.

Both properties have a historical precedent in shipping. Shipping companies have for centuries flown their own house flags to identify their vessels in busy harbours — many years before the concept of corporate branding existed. Prichard shows that these house flags functioned as corporate identity markers in the public, commercial space, independent of national symbolism.² The truck on the European motorway fulfils a comparable function in the twenty-first century. The essential difference is that the truck, unlike a ship in harbour, is continually visible in the public space of multiple countries simultaneously — and thus reaches a broader and more diverse audience than its maritime predecessor ever did.

3. A Taxonomy of Flag Use on Trucks

This chapter forms the empirical and analytical core of the paper. First, the theoretical framework used to analyse the categories is presented, followed by the seven categories themselves, and finally the step from those categories to an overarching trichotomy of nationalist, transnational and post-national flag use.

3.1 Theoretical Framework: What Flags Do

Vexillological research has traditionally focused on flags as national and political symbols. Guenter observed in 2017 that vexillology as a discipline stands at a turning point: "Vexillology, like any other system of knowledge, is socially constructed. What its boundaries are, what is acceptable or unacceptable, what is considered trite and jejune on one hand, or cutting edge and visionary on the other, is always appraised within cultural and historical contexts."³ The study of flags in commercial and functional contexts is one of the areas that remains largely unexplored within those expanding boundaries.

Heimerl has argued in this connection that vexillology is not merely an auxiliary to other disciplines but an independent social science with its own methods and object of study.⁴ The systematic application of semiotic and sociological frameworks to flag use — as in this paper — is consistent with that position.

To analyse flags on trucks systematically, this paper draws on the semiotic typology of Thomas Sebeok, as elaborated and applied to flags by Knowlton (2012).⁵ Sebeok distinguishes six basic functions of signs: the signal — which draws attention and calls for a response; the symptom — an involuntary sign that reveals something about the bearer without being consciously communicated; the icon — which resembles what it represents; the index — which stands in a direct spatial or causal relation to what it indicates; the name — which identifies an entity without describing it; and the symbol — which carries a conventional, culturally determined meaning built up through use and tradition.

Knowlton applied four of these six functions to flags: signal, icon, index and symbol, observing that flags in political and national contexts rarely function as symptom or name, since national flags are by definition consciously communicated symbols.⁶ Platoff and Knowlton argue that the meaning of a flag is never inherent in its design but is always determined by the context in which it appears: "A flag may be seen by its designer as representing one group or set of values, but it may be understood very differently as other groups continue to use the flag."⁷ Dane argues that vexillological research requires a connection between aesthetic theory and sound social science.⁸ Vernot shows that emblems have a *dimension performatrice* (performative dimension): flags and related signs do something in the public space, regardless of whether the observer knows their national or historical meaning.⁹

In this paper, an extension of Knowlton's framework is adopted: all six Sebeok functions are applied to flags on trucks. This choice is prompted by the nature of the carrier. A political flag is typically raised deliberately as a national symbol — the functions of symptom and name play a subordinate role in that context. A flag on a truck, however, operates in a commercial context where different rules apply. Companies place flags not as political statements but as communication strategies. In that context, the full Sebeok spectrum proves active: flags identify a company as a name, involuntarily reveal its origin as a symptom, and deliberately evoke associations as a symbol. Moreover, the dominant function shifts between categories — and sometimes multiple functions are simultaneously active on the same vehicle.

The seven categories presented in the following section are each linked to the dominant Sebeok function or combination of functions that the flag fulfils there. This gives the taxonomy a theoretical consistency that goes beyond description alone and allows comparison with flag use in other commercial contexts.

3.2 The Seven Categories

The following seven categories emerged inductively from repeated analysis of the corpus. They are ordered from the most concretely functional to the most abstractly commercial and each is linked to the dominant Sebeok function or combination of functions that the flag fulfils there.

3.2.1 The Flag as Destination: as Route (Index and Name)

The most direct and informative form of flag use on trucks is the route flag: two or more national flags placed alongside each other, together describing the company's trading route. A Polish haulier displays the Polish and Irish flags with an arrow between them and the text 'Poland ↔ Ireland'; a Dutch company combines the flags of the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden on the side of its trailer. The flags are arranged as equals — none dominates.

The dominant function is that of the index: the flag stands in a direct spatial relation to the country it denotes and points to logistical activity. At the same time, the flag functions as a name: it identifies the destination country without describing it — the Dutch flag stands for the Netherlands in this context, not for an evocation or cultural association of it. It is notable that companies for this purpose frequently prefer national flags over other geographical indicators such as country names or maps — the flag apparently combines the directness of the index with the compactness of the name in a uniquely effective way.



Illustration 5. Route from the Netherlands to Scandinavia. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers

3.2.2 The Flag as Destination: in a Map (Icon and Index)

A variant on the route flag is the combination of a national flag with the geographical shape of a country. A Dutch haulier displays the outlines of the Netherlands and Italy, each coloured in the national flag colours; another company operates in Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland. The map makes the geography concrete; the flag adds immediate recognisability.

This is the most iconic category: the country shape resembles the country itself, whilst the flag colours reinforce that visual similarity. The index function is also strongly present — the combination points to a geographical destination. Together, icon and index achieve maximum geographical clarity: the viewer does not need to know the country's name to understand the message. The symbolic national charge of the flag is pushed into the background; the flag is integrated into a cartographic information system and thereby loses its autonomy as an independent national symbol.



Illustration 6. Destination countries represented in map form. Source: borcherssuedwest.de

3.2.3 The Flag as Origin: in a Logo (Symbol and Name)

In this category, the national flag is constitutive of the company's identity: it is incorporated into the logo itself. A Dutch company uses the red, white and blue tricolour as the graphic foundation of its house style; a Scottish haulier has worked the Saltire into its company name. The flag here is not an addition to the logo — it is the logo, or an indispensable part of it.

The dual function is particularly clear here. As a symbol, the flag carries a culturally determined meaning — national identity, origin, craftsmanship — built up through use and tradition. As a name, the flag identifies the commercial entity: the flag has become so fused with the brand name that the two are no longer separable. The Scottish haulier that works the Saltire into its name uses the flag not as decoration but as an identifying label — the flag is the company.



Illustration 7. A Scottish flag incorporated into a logo. Source: scotlee.co.uk

3.2.4 The Flag as Origin: Beside a Logo (Symbol and Symptom)

A step further removed from corporate identity stands the flag placed beside the logo without being part of it. A Czech company places the Czech flag beside its company name and the text 'Czech Republic'; a Swedish haulier displays its name in large letters with a small Swedish flag alongside. The national flag functions here as an origin badge.

As a symbol, the flag affirms national identity and origin in the familiar, culturally charged way. But the addition also has something involuntary about it: the flag is added almost automatically, as a reflex of national self-evidence. This is the function of the symptom in Sebeok's framework — a sign that reveals something about the bearer without being fully consciously communicated. This use closely mirrors what Billig describes as *banal nationalism*: "The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building."¹⁰ The flag as symptom is the semiotic counterpart of Billig's *banal* — the national symbol that has become so self-evident that it places itself.



Illustration 8. A Swedish flag beside a logo. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers

3.2.5 The Flag as Advertising (Symbol and Symptom)

In this category the flag has no relation to the company's origin or destination. A Polish haulier decorates its cab with the American flag and a Mustang; a Dutch supplier of ice cream specialities places a small Italian flag beside its logo to suggest the Italian origin of its products. The flag is deployed as cultural shorthand.

Here too, symbol and symptom are both active, but in a different proportion than in category 4. As a symbol, the cultural connotations of another flag are deliberately deployed: the Italian flag does not stand for Italy but for Italian quality; the American flag does not stand for the United States but for freedom and power. But at the same time, this choice reveals as a symptom something about the company's commercial aspirations — the flag shows the image the company is seeking to project. Guenter described this as the struggle for *semiotic control*: the appropriation of the symbolic meaning of a flag for one's own purposes.¹¹ Purcell pointed to the emotional dimension of flags as identity symbols — precisely that emotional charge is here deliberately deployed as a marketing instrument.¹²



Illustration 9. American-style branding. Source: Geertjedelen Truckpictures

3.2.6 The Flag as Logo (Signal and Name)

In this category the flag is no longer an existing national symbol but a flag-shaped graphic element functioning as a corporate logo. Hamburg Süd uses a red-and-white graphic element in the form of a pennant; the Irish haulier Eucon uses a logo consisting of a flag shape with a shamrock. Both designs have been detached from their original function as national or nautical identification marks. Prichard shows that shipping companies have for centuries expressed their corporate identity through house flags, long before the concept of corporate branding existed: the truck bearing the flag-shaped logo is the contemporary land-

based variant of this phenomenon. The boundary between this category and the previous one is fluid.

The dominant functions are signal and name. As a signal, the flag shape attracts attention and calls for recognition — the shape is immediately recognisable as a flag without the national content being relevant any longer. As a name, the flag-shaped logo identifies the commercial entity: it is the company's trademark, not the representation of a nation.



Illustration 10. A flag as corporate logo: P&O. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers

3.2.7 The Flag as Language Selector (Signal and Icon)

The most contemporary category is the flag as language indicator. A Dutch company active in both the Netherlands and Germany places a Dutch flag beside its Dutch website address and a German flag beside its German website address — not to indicate origin or destination but to distinguish between language versions. The flag here stands not for a country but for a language or language market, precisely as flag icons are used on websites to select languages.

The dominant functions are signal and icon. As a signal, the flag calls for an action: choose this language, visit this website. As an icon, the flag models the language variant — the Dutch flag in this context stands for Dutch, in the conventional pairing that has arisen through digital use. The symbolic national charge has here virtually disappeared. Cerulo showed how national symbols in a globalised context take on new functions as markers of international communication styles and market identities.¹³ The flag as language icon is the most pronounced example of that transformation in this corpus.



Illustration 11. A Dutch and a German website. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers

The seven categories together show that the full Sebeok spectrum is active in flag use on trucks. Almost every category activates a combination of functions and the dominant function differs between categories. Table 1 provides an overview.

Table 1. Semiotic functions per category of flag use on trucks.

#	Category	Semiotic function(s)	Perspective
1	Flag as route	Index · Name	Transnational
2	Flag in map	Icon · Index	Transnational
3	Origin in logo	Symbol · Name	Nationalist
4	Origin beside logo	Symbol · Symptom	Nationalist
5	Flag as advertising	Symbol · Symptom	Nationalist
6	Flag as logo	Signal · Name	Post-national
7	Flag as language	Signal · Icon	Post-national

3.3 From Categories to Trichotomy: Nationalist, Transnational and Post-national

Examined more closely, the seven categories and their semiotic functions reveal a deeper pattern. The Sebeok functions that dominate in each category do not cluster arbitrarily: they arrange themselves along three analytically distinct perspectives that together form a triangle. On one side stand the categories that primarily revolve around national identity — origin in a logo, origin beside a logo and flag as advertising — in which the functions symbol and symptom dominate. On another side stand the categories that primarily communicate geographical and logistical information — flag as route and flag in map — in which index and icon are central. And on a third side stand the categories in which the national charge has largely disappeared and the flag operates in a purely commercial or functional manner — flag as logo and flag as language selector — characterised by signal and name.

These three clusters correspond to three theoretical perspectives: the nationalist, the transnational and the post-national. Each perspective has its own semiotic signature, its own relationship to the nation as a framework of meaning, and its own theoretical grounding in the literature. At the same time, an overarching condition pervades the entire triangle: all flags on trucks are deployed for commercial reasons, which means the post-national dynamic is not

confined to one corner of the triangle but is present as a background condition throughout the entire spectrum. The three perspectives are elaborated below.

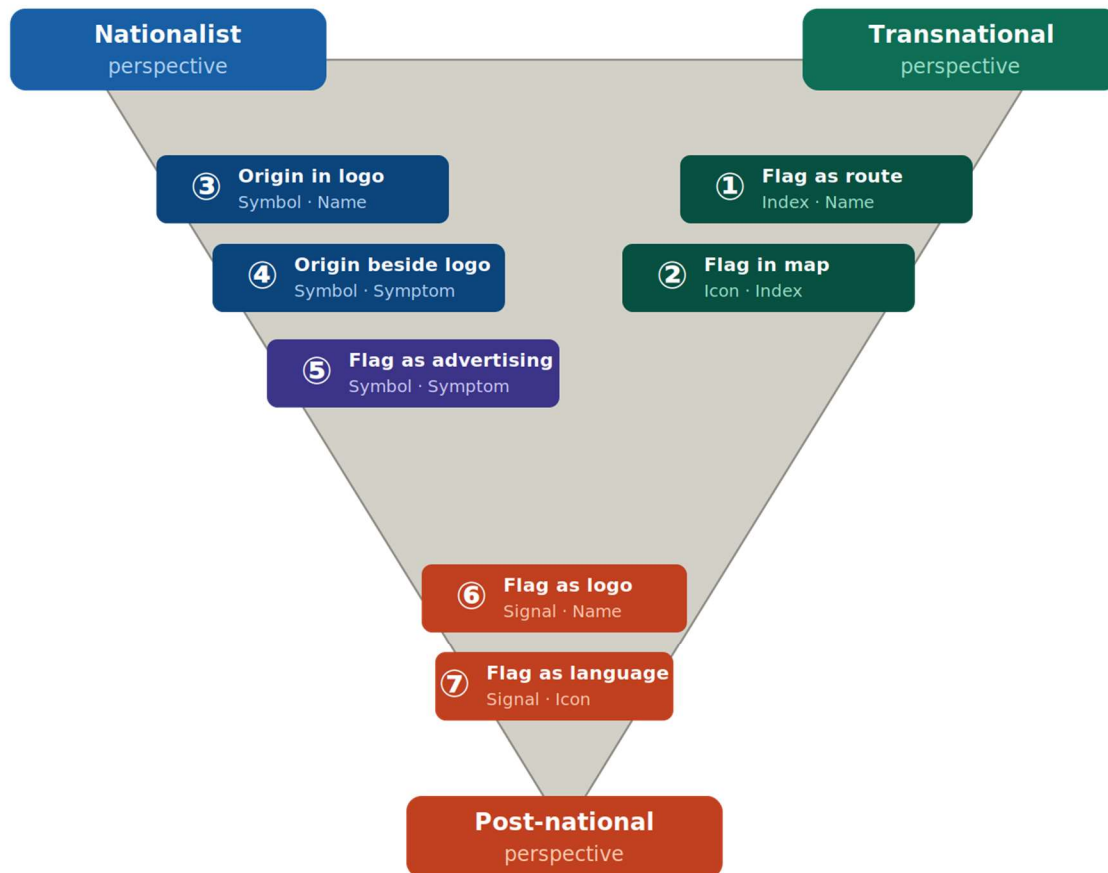


Figure 1. The vexillological triangle: the field of forces governing flag use on trucks.

The Nationalist Perspective

The categories flag as origin in a logo, flag as origin beside a logo and flag as advertising reflect what Billig describes as *banal nationalism*. The truck bearing its own national flag drives through Europe as a piece of the homeland on wheels — not as a nationalist statement but as a quiet, self-evident identity marker. It is precisely the inconspicuousness of this national symbolism that makes it effective: the flag does not need to be waved to be noticed.

Semiotically, the functions symbol and symptom dominate in this perspective: the flag consciously carries cultural meaning and unconsciously reveals the national identity of the company. In the case of the flag as advertising the nationalist logic operates more subtly: it is not one's own identity that is affirmed but the cultural connotations of another flag that are commercially exploited. Guenter described this as the struggle for *semiotic control* — the appropriation of the meaning of a flag for one's own purposes.



Illustration 12. German national colours incorporated into a company logo. Source: BonsaiTruck/Jürgen Kellers

The Transnational Perspective

The categories flag as route and flag in map constitute the transnational perspective. Here, national flags are deployed not as identity markers but as functional geographical signs. Semiotically, index and icon dominate: the flag points to a geographical reality and resembles it, without carrying cultural or national charge.

This use corresponds to what Ulrich Beck describes as the cosmopolitan condition: a world in which identity is no longer tied to a single national framework but encompasses multiple national spaces simultaneously.¹⁴ The route flag is a telling illustration of this: two or more flags stand side by side as an equal-weighted description of a European trading flow — none dominates. It expresses no national identity but describes a logistical reality that transcends the borders of individual nations.



Illustration 13. Dutch national colours and Scandinavian destinations. Source: scania.com

The Post-national Perspective

Alongside the nationalist and the transnational perspective, a third category emerges that has not yet been named in the existing vexillological literature: the post-national flag. This is

not a separate category in the taxonomy but an overarching dynamic that permeates all seven categories to a greater or lesser degree.

The essential point is this: all flags on trucks are deployed for commercial reasons. Haulage companies place flags on their vehicles not out of patriotism or political conviction but because they wish to communicate something to customers, partners and competitors along the European motorways. The flag in this context is always a commercial instrument — even when it expresses national identity.

Semiotically, the post-national condition manifests itself most clearly in the dominance of signal and name in the categories flag as logo and flag as language selector: the flag there has the form of a flag but functions as a trademark or an information sign. But the post-national dynamic is more broadly present: even the most nationalist flag on a truck is there because origin is marketable. Vernot described how emblems can, over time, become detached from their original meaning and take on new performative functions. The truck accelerates that process spatially: what in the Netherlands is an origin symbol is in Poland an orientation marker and in Portugal possibly a signal of North European quality. The same flag, the same truck, three different meanings — depending on where the vehicle is travelling and who is looking at it.

Whether such use of national symbols still falls entirely within the classical definition of vexillology is a question this research opens but does not close. FIAV defines vexillology as "the creation and development of a body of knowledge about flags of all types, their forms and functions, and of scientific theories and principles based on that knowledge."¹⁵ The post-national flag on the truck challenges that definition: it has retained the form but the function has shifted from symbolic to commercial. That is precisely the kind of borderland about which, in Guenter's words, vexillology as a discipline must enter into dialogue.



Illustration 14. A flag as corporate logo: Hamburg Süd. Source: alexmiedema.nl

4. Conclusion

This paper set out from an apparently everyday observation: flags appear on European trucks in a variety of ways. The central question was whether that diversity can be systematically ordered and what that ordering tells us about how flags function outside the classical vexillological contexts of government, ceremony and politics. The answer to both questions is affirmative.

The Empirical Contribution: a Taxonomy of Seven Categories

On the basis of a corpus of nearly 10,000 truck photographs, seven categories of flag use have been identified: the flag as route, the flag in map, the flag as origin in a logo, the flag as origin beside a logo, the flag as advertising, the flag as logo and the flag as language selector. These categories emerged inductively from the material and together form a taxonomy that shows that flag use on trucks is not an arbitrary phenomenon but follows a recognisable pattern. The truck is a serious flag-bearer — one that, as Prichard demonstrated for shipping, has developed its own commercial flag tradition that is worthy of study.

The Theoretical Contribution: Semiotics and a Double Opposition

On closer examination, the taxonomy yields a triangle of nationalist, transnational and post-national flag use — and within that triangle lie two oppositions that reinforce each other but are analytically distinguishable. Extending Knowlton's four functions to the full Sebeok spectrum makes that triangle theoretically sharper: each perspective has its own semiotic signature.

The first opposition is between the nationalist and the transnational perspective. Both forms of flag use recognise the nation as the fundamental framework of meaning: the nationalist user affirms their own nation through symbol and symptom; the transnational user describes the relationship between nations through index and icon. Billig described how national symbols in everyday life routinely affirm national identity; Beck described how those same symbols are deployed in a cosmopolitan context to express transnational connections. On the European motorway, both operate simultaneously — sometimes on the same vehicle.

The second opposition is between the nation-oriented perspectives and the post-national perspective. Both the nationalist and the transnational perspective recognise the nation as a framework of meaning. The post-national perspective has left that framework behind: it is no longer an expression of national identity or of relations between nations but a commercial instrument that happens to have assumed the form or colours of a flag — characterised by the functions signal and name. Cerulo described how national symbols in commercial and global contexts are detached from their political meaning and deployed as branding instruments. On the truck, the company has largely taken over semiotic control of the flag from the state.

All flags on trucks are deployed for commercial reasons — even the flag that expresses national origin does so because origin is marketable. In that sense, the post-national dynamic is not one perspective of the triangle but an overarching condition that permeates the entire spectrum. Knowlton's observation that the functions of a flag are rarely singular is particularly apt here: the commercial flag is simultaneously symbol, index and signal — and its meaning shifts with every national border the truck crosses.

Implications for Vexillology

This paper opens a field of research that has barely been explored in the vexillological literature. Commercial vehicles as flag-bearers have, to the best of this author's knowledge, not yet been systematically studied. The combination of Sebeok's full semiotic spectrum with the sociological frameworks of Billig and Beck offers a methodological model that can be applied to other commercial contexts as well — from advertising and packaging to digital interfaces and social media.

At the same time, the post-national flag on the truck challenges the classical definition of vexillology. The post-national flag has retained the form but the function has shifted. That is no reason to place it outside vexillology. On the contrary: it is a reason to question anew the boundaries of the discipline — an endeavour that Heimer has described as one of the core

tasks of vexillology as a social science. In Guenter's words, those boundaries are always determined within cultural and historical contexts.

Recommendations for Further Research

This paper is a first exploration and raises as many questions as it answers. Quantitative follow-up research could map the frequency of the various categories by country or sector. Comparative research outside Europe could examine whether the taxonomy found here is applicable elsewhere. The question of definition surrounding the post-national flag merits its own vexillological study. And the borderline cases deliberately excluded here — when does a logo consciously refer to a flag? — constitute a separate research theme that puts the definitional boundaries of vexillology itself to the test.

The truck drives on. And on its sides wave — figuratively, for they are printed — flags that tell us more about identity, trade and globalisation than is visible at first glance.



Illustration 15. Dutch flags as an indicator of national origin. Source: destinasyon-nord.com

Notes

- [1] A.M. Platoff & S.A. Knowlton, "Old Flags, New Meanings", *26th ICV*, FIAV, 2015, p. 351.
- [2] S. Prichard, *Flag Waves: House Flags from the National Maritime Museum*, London, Four Corners Books, 2021.
- [3] S.M. Guenter, "Historical Shifts and Emergent Paradigms", *27th ICV*, FIAV, 2017, p. 1.
- [4] Ž. Heimer, *Vexillology as a Social Science*, Danvers MA, Flag Heritage Foundation, 2017.
- [5] S.A. Knowlton, "Applying Sebeok's Typology of Signs to the Study of Flags", *Raven*, 19, 2012, p. 57-97.
- [6] Knowlton, *art. cit.*, p. 60.
- [7] Platoff & Knowlton, *art. cit.*, p. 351.
- [8] P. Dane, "Flags in Context: A Discussion of Design, Genre, and Aesthetics", *Raven*, 15, 2008, p. 76-77.
- [9] N. Vernot, quoted in V. Barrière, "Focus sur Nicolas Vernot", *Héritages* (blog UMR 9022), 31 March 2025, <https://umrheritages.hypotheses.org/4024> [accessed 20 May 2026].
- [10] M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, London, Sage, 1995, p. 8.
- [11] S.M. Guenter, "The Hippies and the Hardhats: The Struggle for Semiotic Control of the Flag of the United States in the 1960s", *Flag Bulletin*, 28, 1989, p. 131-141.
- [12] J.M. Purcell, "Emotion and Flags", *Raven*, 19, 2012, p. 1-3.
- [13] K.A. Cerulo, "Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags", *Semiotica*, 95-3/4, 1993, p. 243-271.
- [14] U. Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2006.

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