MAPPING FLAG USAGE IN MUNICH, GERMANY

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INTRODUCTION

München (Munich) is the capital of Bavaria, a city with 1.5 million inhabitants on an area of 311 km² in the south-eastern part of Germany. Generally, flag usage is somewhat low, but quantitative data are not available. Due to the size of the city, mapping of flag usage on the whole area is not feasible. So I decided to document the flags along several transects through the city, thus including areas with different population density, different sociocultural background and different usage.

The transects are formed by the 79 km of tram lines that are part of the public transport system. All flags visible from the street are registered in forms as well as photographed. Mapping has been done since October 2014. Main types of flags are commercial, national/subnational, sports club, political and religious. Beside the "normal" horizontal shape of flags, vertical flag types occur frequently; several types of "beach" flags have become popular recently. The flags are flown from or in front of buildings used for housing, administration, education or commerce. The raw data will be presented on a website as a map with the photographs popping up. The congress presentation includes statistical data inferred from this mapping effort. Several typical and some particularly surprising flags are shown.

My results will be, at least in part, be compared to Google Street View images taken in 2008. It is planned to repeat the mapping in regular intervals for documenting changes in flag usage over time.

1. A FLAG ECOSYSTEM

As vexillologists, we are focusing very much on the description of single flags, their history and meaning. In doing this, we usually follow long-established procedures and ideas, especially also regarding the questions "what is a flag?" and "which flags are worthy of consideration at all?" This leads to detailed information about a few aspects of flags and total ignorance of others, i.e. a distinct bias. For instance, we focus on flags of an official nature, i.e. national flags, state flags, municipal flags and the like, while (largely) ignoring commercial flags or sport-related flags.

Moreover, this does not provide us with anything like quantitative data on flags. This is particularly true regarding actual flag usage. We simply do not know how many flags of which type are out there.

As a biologist by training, and more so as an ecologist, I am fully aware of the methodological problems and pitfalls of researching an ecosystem by mapping its content. However, I am still going to try a qualitative and semi-quantitative mapping of the "ecosystem" of flags at a specific, restricted place, my hometown Munich.

2. THE GOAL

The first goal is to get a qualitative real-life experience of the flags publicly displayed in Munich. This might be compared (at least in regard to variations of official flags) with the legal regulations. Of course, this will also show, which kinds of flags are flown by private citizens as well as in a commercial context. It will also show what shapes of flags are used and how they are displayed.

As the size of the city precludes mapping all of it, I decided to map only along certain transects across the city. The transects are formed by the 79 km of tram lines that are part of the public transport system (**Figure 1**). These transects include areas with different population density, different sociocultural background and different usage.

Figure 1: Tram lines in Munich, used as transects for the flag mapping; to the same scale as adjacent map

Figure 2 Map of Munich (from Google Maps).

Parts of the mapping have been done on the following days: 11 October 2014, 28 March 2015, 11 April 2015, 13 April 2015, 15 April 2015, 10 June 2015, 11 June 2015, 7 July 2015; the mapping is still going on (as of July 2015). Data from the forms are transferred to a database for further analysis.

The photographs and the locations of the flag will be displayed on a website: http://flag-map-munich .smev.de/

Google StreetView has taken photographs along the main streets of Munich in summer 2008. I am comparing (at least part of) my documentation with Google Street View imagery to research what has changed over the last 6-7 years.

The second part will use the generated data as a basis for quantitative analysis. This, of course, makes particular sense if compared to other places in the world. Also, a comparison in time will be possible, by repeating the mapping in regular intervals in the future. For the time being, Google Street View images from 2008 are partly available for comparison.

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The object of research is the city of Munich (München) in Germany, my hometown. Munich is the capital of Bavaria, a city with 1.5 million inhabitants [1] with an area of 311 km² in the south-eastern part of Germany. As a state capital, it has of course a large proportion of office buildings, particular on state level.

The documentation encompasses the flags that are openly visible from the street, i.e. flags hoisted on or in front of buildings, displayed from windows or balconies. This does not only include official flags, but also all kinds of private and commercial flags. The flags are photographed and the main information registered on forms: date, time, location, type/usage of building, institution/company (if applicable), shape of flag, short description of the flag (Figure 3).

4. RESULTS

4.1. Official flags

Figure 3: Example of the data in the form, in this case mapped on 11 April 2015, along the tram line 19.

As official flags, I define all flags that are displayed by public institutions of municipal (city), state or federal level. Furthermore, all flags displayed by foreign institutions, mainly consulates. Traditionally, the display of flags was limited to a number of flagging days that can be differentiated between federal and state flagging days [2], with several quite limited additional city flagging days. However, the state of Bavaria changed the rules in 2011, so that ministries, district governments and upper courts are now displaying flags [3] continuously.

The Bavarian parliament (*Landtag*) has two kinds of flag display: on top of the building there are the state flag (*lozengy* variant) and the federal flag, both in horizontal version (**Figs. 4, 5**). On the west side of the building, there are three flag staffs flying vertical flags (*Knatterflaggen*), in order of local precedence (from right to left, as seen from the building): the simpler version of the Bavarian flag, the German flag and the European flag (**Fig. 5**).

State Ministries show similar displays of the three flags (Bavarian, German, European), usually adapted to the space available. The Ministry of Economy, for instance, has sloping flag staffs with vertical flags (**Fig. 42**). *The Regierung von Oberbayern* (Government of *Upper* Bavaria), an office subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior and should not be confused with the Bezirk Oberbayern (District of Bavaria), has three *Knatterflaggen*, in this case the Bavarian flag is of the striped variant (**Fig. 6**).

Above, L-R: Flags on top of the Bavarian *Landtag* (state parliament) building, Max-Planck-Straße 1.

Figure 4: The Bavarian flag (*lozengy* variant) is hoisted on the north wing.

Figure 5: The German federal flag on the south wing of the building.

Figure 6: Flags in front of the *Regierung von Oberbayern* (Government of Upper Bavaria), from left, European, German and Bavarian.

There seems to be no clear-cut rule which of the two variants of the Bavarian flag, the *lozengy* or the striped one, is used. This seems to depend on the local preferences of the respective office. There is also some variation regarding the shade of the blue in the Bavarian flag; this is, however, always lighter than the blue in the European flag. Although the stars in the European flag should always point upwards,[4] also in vertical versions of the flag, many of the officially used European flags documented by me in Munich are erroneous in this respect (see for instance **Figures. 6, 39, 42**).

In recent times, several of the Ministries have adopted logos that are, at least in some cases, also used on specific flags. One example is the logo flag of the Ministry for Environment and Consumer Protection (*Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Umwelt und Verbraucherschutz*), that shows (from top) the Greater State Arms, the Ministry name, the Ministry logo and some allusion to the Bavarian lozenges, all on a Bavarian blue field (**Fig. 7**); another example is the flag of the Ministry for Health (**Fig. 41**). As with all logo flags, these have no legal basis and might be changed from time to time.

Figure 7: Logo flags displayed on the north-west side of the Ministry for the Environment.

Figure 8: Flags at half-staff, in front of the *Technisches Rathaus.* 28 March 2015

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In contrast to state offices, federal and city offices do not continuously display their flags. The Technical Town-Hall (*Technisches Rathaus*) was displaying its flags on this particular day (28 March 2015), only because of the Germanwings airplane crash [5] four days earlier: the flags were the German, the European, the Bavarian and the Munich city flags, all at half-staff (**Fig. 8**). All the flags were very long vertical versions used as *Auslegerflaggen* (outrigger flags). In this case, the European flag was correct, but the order of the stripes in the German as well as the Munich flags were wrong. To show a few examples: the Croatian Consulate flies the national flag and the European flag on sloping flag-staffs from the balcony (**Fig. 9**); also, in this case, the European flag has a wrong orientation of the stars. Another example is the Brazilian Consulate (**Fig. 10**).

Figure 9: Croatian and European flags on the Croatian consulate in Munich.

Figure 10: Brazilian national flag at the Brazilian consulate in Sonnenstraße. As the largest city in southern Germany, Munich houses an impressive number of Consulates, most of them displaying their flag in one way or the other.

4.2. Private and commercial use of official flags

The most popular official flag used in a private or commercial context is, of course, the Bavarian flag.

Two typical private kinds of display are shown in **Figures 11 and 12**: a flag hanging from a window or balcony, and a flag flying from a flagstaff in an allotment garden. In many cases, this is an unofficial and (in a strict sense) even illegal [6] flag, namely a *lozengy* flag with the Greater State Arms.[7] Another, less frequent version shows an effigy of Bavarian King Ludwig II. (1845–1886) on the lozengy field (**Fig. 13**); this particular flag was displayed several days before the CSD parade, adjacent to several LGBT rainbow flags; Ludwig II., widely assumed to be homosexual, can be thus viewed as a kind of Bavarian gay poster boy.

Figure 11: Private display of Bavarian and German flag, from a window.

Figure 12: Private display of Bavarian flag, in an allotment garden.

Figure 13: Bavarian lozengy flag with the effigy of king Ludwig II (r.1864-86) on Stachus, with a number of rainbow flags, 7 July 2015.

The German national flag is much less popular. Many of the flags visible on private premises are very faded, and it is probable that they hung there since the last football World Cup, the main occasion for displaying the German flag. Like the Bavarian flag, they are often hanging from windows or balconies (**Figs. 11 and 14**). In a commercial context, the German flag is often flown by used-car dealers (**Fig. 15**), and close to other national flags (**Fig. 17**).

Figure 14: German national flag hanging from a private balcony.

Figure 15: German flags flown by used-car dealer.

Private use of foreign national flags is rather limited, changing a bit during football World-Cups. Commercially, national flags are most frequently flown from restaurants to illustrate their specific cuisine; mostly the case for Italian restaurants (**Fig. 16 left**).

On rare occasions, one comes across more special national flags, like the Iranian flags hoisted by a used-car dealer **(Fig. 17 left).**

A very special display of small table flags in a private window combined the US flag and several state flags (Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma) (**Fig. 18 right**); in the adjacent window this was continued with another US flag, the flag of Texas and a slightly larger flag of the San Antonio Spurs (basketball team).

4.3. Commercial flags

Commercial flags of all kinds make up a very considerable part of the flags seen in Munich. Most of them work as advertising for a local company or point-of-sale. Small stores often display hanging flags from slanting flag-staffs like the Hofpfisterei in fig. 19. Commercial flag use recently has undergone a significant boost due to the introduction of the beach flag (or teardrop flag). This is frequently positioned on the pavement in front of the store; examples for this are shown on fig. 20, fig. 21 and fig. 22.

Figure 19: Hanging flag advertising a pretzel, outside a local bakery *Hofpfisterei*.

Figure 20: Beach flag advertising a specialized cheese store.

Figure 21: Beach flag advertising a hairdresser.

Figure 22: Beach flag advertising Giant bicycles, in front of a bicycle store.

Figure 23: Four Löwenbräu flags on the restaurant *Zum Franziskaner*

Breweries are renowned in Munich, and their flags are prominently flown from a number of restaurants. One example is the display of four Löwenbräu flags on the traditional restaurant **Zum Franziskaner** (**Fig. 23 right**). As with most other Munich brewery flags, the "Löwenbräu" flag combines the Bavarian lozenges and the company symbols, in this case their Golden Lion on a blue field.

Not all commercial flags are of local enterprises or small shops. Prominent large companies also fly their company flag from the local dependencies. This is particularly so for carmakers like Opel, banks like the Commerzbank, hotel chains like Marriott or gas stations like Jet. As with most company flags, these are usually logo-on bedsheet flags, often with a high content of text.

Figure 24: Company flag of Opel with slogan ("Wir lieben Autos", i.e. We love cars).

Figure 25: Company flag of Commerzbank on Promenadeplatz.

Figure 26: One of two different Marriott hotel flags displayed close to Ostbahnhof station.

Figure 27: Company flag of *Jet* gas station, Landsberger Straße.

Although small, a couple of generic advertising flags are common, advertising Lotto tickets or ice-cream. Such flags are usually displayed in vertical and from a slanting flag-staff.

Figure 28: Advertising Lotto.

Figure 29: Ice-cream.

4.4. Other flags
(religious, political, sport, cultural)

Religious flags are usually flown only for special occasions. As about 33% of the Münchners/Münchnerin are Roman Catholics, the Papal colours are often displayed, usually in the form of a flag or banner hung from a crossbar (**Fig. 30**). Other Christian denominations are less visible, but occasionally there are even flags of rather small communities (see **Fig. 50**). Interestingly, display of Buddhist prayer flags [8] from balconies is not infrequent (**Fig. 31**) - the only religious flag privately flown that I observed.
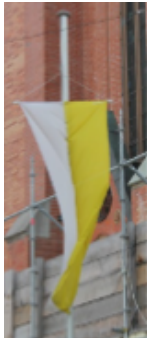
Figure 30: Catholic church flag in front of St. Johannes Kirche.

Figure 31: Buddhist prayer flags on a balcony.

Political flags are usually shown only for particular occasions; for instance, from 2002 onwards the Italian PACE rainbow flag [9] was rather popular, although not as popular as in Italy itself. Of course, the offices of political parties and of trade unions do fly their respective flags, but there are not so many of these offices. An instance of a private flag display is shown in **Fig. 32**, interestingly combining the flag of the Schwusos with the flag of football club FC Bayern and the German flag. (The Schwusos are the Lesbians and Gays in the SPD, the Social Democratic Party: the flag is the standard SPD flag with the colours of the rainbow flag at the hoist. The flags of the LGBT community, particularly the Rainbow flag, are particularly visible during the CSD parade (see below, Section 4.7).

Among Sports flags, those of football clubs are the most popular in Munich, especially the very successful FC Bayern München, its flag in different versions privately flown from balconies (**Fig. 33 far left**) or windows (**Fig. 32 above**). The major opponent in Munich is TSV 1860 München, less successful in recent decades, but still very popular. Its flag combines the lion symbol (*Die Löwen,* and Club colour blue (**Fig. 34 left**).

Cultural institutions are rather ambiguous regarding flag display. Several museums might either fly a generic museum flag or a flag advertising the most recent exhibition like the *Kykladen* (Cyclades) exhibition in the Archäologische Staatssammlung (**Fig. 35**). Also, theatres fly flags, mainly for particular occasions; a set of rather colourful flags were flown on the southern face of the Nationaltheater opera house, when Wagner's "Ring des Nibelungen" cycle of operas was performed (**Figs. 36, 37, 38**).

Figure 35 (left): Flag advertising the Kykladen exhibition at the Archäologische Staatssammlung (Archaeological State Collection).

Figures 36-38 (right): The three flags on the Nationaltheater Opera house, during staging of the *Ring des Nibelungen.*

4.5. Flag shapes

In most countries of the world the horizontal flag known from maritime use is not only the most used, but also the "normal" flag shape. However, in Germany and neighbouring countries there is a long tradition of using vertical flags. In fact, the horizontal flag is not the norm. These vertical flags are frequently unknown to vexillologists from other countries: the terminology does not help - there are many conflicting terms, most not easily translatable into English.[10]

The horizontal flag (*Hissflagge*) hoisted from real flag-staffs is usually restricted to very official contexts (**Fig. 39**); due to space restrictions and wind conditions, it is more often flown from the top of buildings, like the Bavarian Landtag in **Figs. 4 and 5**. In private contexts it is almost exclusively flown from flag-staffs in gardens (**Fig. 12**). Very often the horizontal flag is displayed from windows or balconies (**Fig. 14**), these sometimes also rotated (**Fig. 11**) to vertical.

The most traditional variant of the vertical flag is the Banner, a vertical flag hanging from a crossbar, traditionally frequently used by breweries (**Fig. 23**) and churches (**Fig. 30**), and by rural ı

Figure 39: German and European flag at half-staff (Ernst-Reuter-Grundschule)

A newcomer is the *Knatterflagge* or *Hissflagge im Hochformat* (a flapping flag). This is a vertical flag hoisted on a flag-staff along its longer side. This can be used by the state authorities **(Figs. 6, 40),** but also as a commercial flag **(Figs. 24, 25, 27).** A version is the *Auslegerflagge* (outrigger flag), stabilizing the cloth with an outrigger at the top, so that the flag is always fully displayed. As an official flag variant this is less popular (**Figs. 7, 8, 41**) than as commercial flag (**Figs. 26, 35**).


As space in a city is always cramped and often no room for a flag-staff in front of the building, hoisting a flag from a slanting staff on the façade of the building is an alternative. This is usually a *Schrägfahne*, i.e. a hanging flag with a slanting upper edge; frequently flown by offices (**Fig. 42**) as well as in commercial context (Cfr **Figs. 19, 28, 29, 38**).

Figure 40: Flags in front of the *Landtag* (state parliament): Bavarian, German, European, all as *Knatterflaggen*.

Figure 41: Logo flag of the Ministry for Health, as example for the *Auslegerflagge*.

Figure 42: Ministry of Economy: Bavarian, German, European flags, all as *Schrägfahnen*.

A very recent innovation, introduced only over the last couple of years, is the beach, or teardrop flag. The exact shape of these (and the terminology) might differ. This flag shape is until now confined to commercial flags, usually for local, smaller companies or shops (**Figs. 20, 21, 22**).

In different circumstances, there are also lines with little flags or pennants. These are either commercial flags or a set of pennants. These are either commercial flags or a series of national flags; surprisingly popular are also the prayer flags from a Buddhist tradition (see **Fig. 31**).

4.6. Quantitative aspects

As these results are preliminary, any quantitative evaluation can be only preliminary. I want to address three different questions: **Who is displaying the flags? What flags are displayed? What shapes of flags are displayed?** In regard to trends, the indications are not surprising, but the actual numbers are (**Fig. 43, right**): More than two thirds of the flag displayers are commercial; this includes smaller and larger shops, gas stations, restaurants, hotels. About 15% of the flags are displayed privately. Only around

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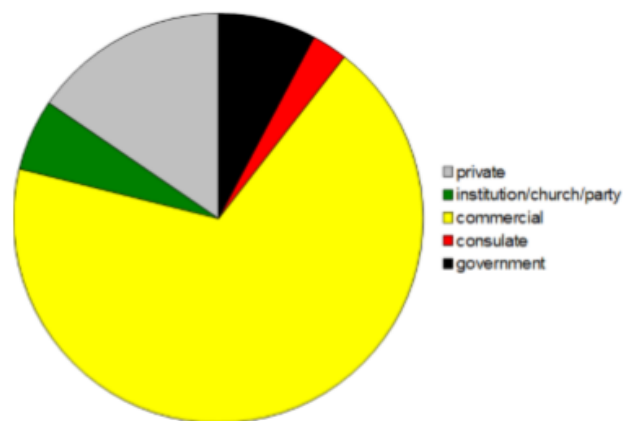
8% of the flags are flown by state institutions; foreign state institutions (consulates) account for another 3%. The rather mixed category "institution/church/party" contribute about 6% of the flags.
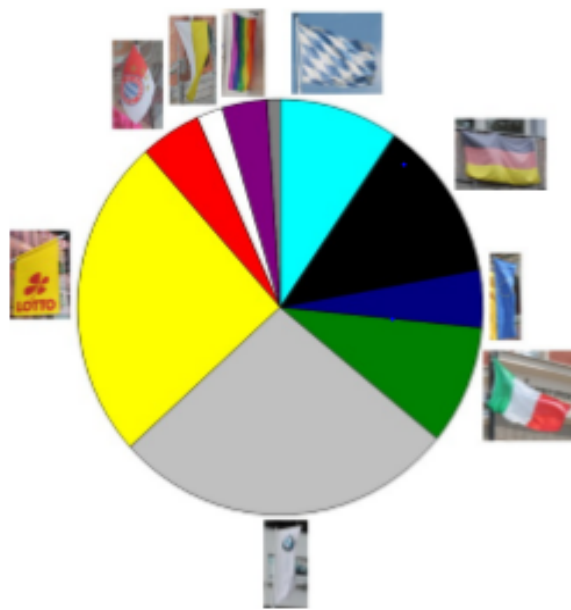

What flags are displayed (Fig. 44 left)?

Here the share of the commercial flags of all kinds is somewhat lower: a quarter are flags with their own logo, another quarter foreign or generic commercial logos. This is due to many hotels and shops displaying national or sub-national flags, in addition to their own logo flags. Among the national and subnational flags, the German and Bavarian flags make up about 10% each of the share, the European less than 5%, other national/subnational another 10% (this includes foreign national/subnational flags as well as Munich city flags). Sport-related, religious, political and other flags together are less than 7% of the flags flown.

Figure 45: Categories of flag shapes and display variants.

- Horizontal flags on fixed staffs (*Stockflaggen*);
- Horizontal flags hoisted on staffs (*Hissflaggen*);
- Flags displayed from windows or balconies;
- Vertical flags hoisted on staffs (*Knatterflaggen*);
- Outrigger flags (*Auslegerflaggen*);
- Flags hanging from a crossbar (*Banner*);
- Other hanging flags;
- Flags on a sloped staff;
- Beach (teardrop) flags;
- Lines with flaglets or pennants.
-
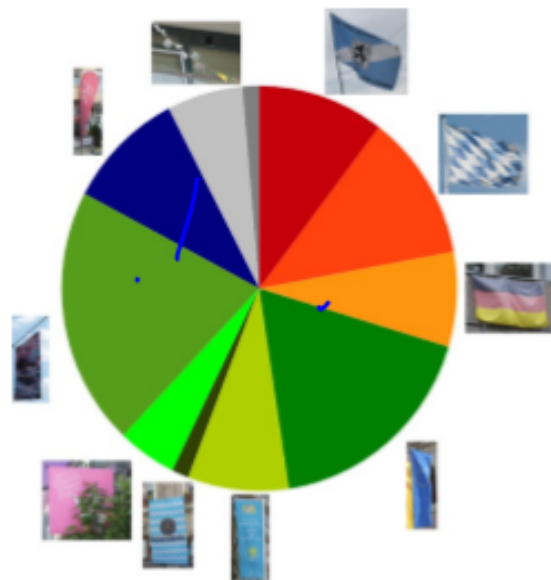
The share of different flag shapes (as described above) is shown in **Fig. 45 (above):** the different versions of vertical hoisting make up more than 50% of the flags, whereas horizontal flag types are only about 30%. The rather recently introduced beach and teardrop flags have an ever-growing share of currently 10%.

4.7. Contemporary scene

As the mapping was done on several days over a couple of months, flag display on a given place might have changed. One obvious example are the half-staffed flags on 28 March 2015, due to the Germanwings airplane crash four days earlier: several official buildings, including a school (**Fig. 39**) and the Technical Town-Hall (**Fig. 8**) were displaying their flags only over the designated period of mourning.

Figure 46 (far left): Residential building, corner of Thalkirchner Str./Fliegenstr., on 7 July 2015.

Figure 47 (left): Same building, on 11 July 2015, with additional five LGBT rainbow flags.

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A brief burst of Rainbow flags occurred on 11 July 2015 in the Glockenbachviertel (**Fig. 47**), traditionally a local hotspot of LGBT life in Munich. This was the day of the Munich CSD (Christopher Street Day) parade. On other days, the number of LGBT-related flags in this neighbourhood is much lower (**Fig. 46**). The colours of the Rainbow flags or other LGBT-related flags are not only displayed as flags proper, but also in various other forms, for instance the colours of the Leather Pride flag shown as appropriately coloured balloons (**Fig. 48**).

But also, other, less obvious, events might influence short-time display of flags. For instance, there had been a large demonstration against the G7 summit on 4 June 2015, and a week later one of the massively evident anti-TTIP flags was displayed from a window (**Fig. 49**).

Figure 48: Leather Pride flag and balloons in its colours, on *Ochsengarten* pub, 11 July 2015, during CSD parade.

Along the tram-lines there are also several places where demonstrations or other events regularly occur, for instance the Karlsplatz (Stachus). Some flags appeared just for a day or less - for example, the different flags shown by the Evangelical CBG (*Christliche Brasilianische* or Christian Brazilian Congregation) on 10 June 2015 (**Fig. 50**). A day later, a campaign for legalizing *Gemeinde* cannabis products displayed several Cannabis March flags (**Fig. 51**).

Figure 49: Anti-TTIP flag from Campact displayed from window, 11 June 2015

Figure 50: Several flags of the CBG (*Christliche Brasilianische Gemeinde*) shown on Karlsplatz (Stachus) on 10 June 2015

Figure 51: Cannabis March flags on Karlsplatz (Stachus), 11 June 2015.

More long-term changes can be discussed by comparing my photos with Google StreetView photos in summer 2008.

Some of the flags were totally absent in 2008, others were somewhat different and some have remained the same. The flag display on top of the state parliament building (*Landtag*) virtually remains the same as in 2008 (**Fig. 52**) [11.] However, the Bavarian and German flags have switched places since then: the Bavarian originally was on the south wing, now it is on the north wing (**Fig. 4**). The *Regierung von Oberbayern* has also changed its flag display; in 2008 there were only two flagstaffs, with two horizontal flags (German and Bavarian), rarely fully extended (fig. 53) [12;] in 2015, there are three flagstaffs with the European, German and Bavarian flags, all as flapping flags (**Fig. 6**). The logo flags for state ministries had not been introduced in 2008, it seems: not even the flag staffs in front of the Ministry for Environment (**Fig. 7**) existed then [13]; the building now housing the Ministry for Health was still displaying mainly the flag of the real estate firm JLL (**Fig. 54**) [14.]

Figure 52: State parliament (*Landtag*) in 2008, seen the west (Bavarian flag above the south wing).

Figure 53: Bavarian and German flags in front of the from *Regierung von Oberbayern,* summer 2008.

Figure 54: Building now housing the State Ministry for Health, flying the JLL real estate firm flag in 2008.

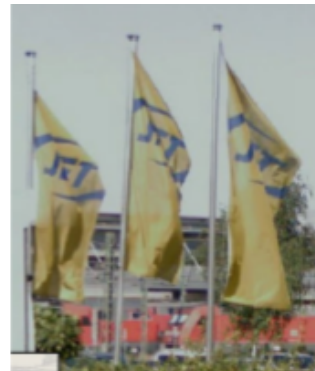**Figure 55**: Commerzbank branch bank was still Dresdner Bank in 2008.

Figure 56: JET gas station in Landsberger Straße already displayed the Company's yellow flags in 2008.

Figure 57: Nationaltheater advertising for the Munich Opera Festival in summer 2008.

The Commerzbank Bank branch on Promenadeplatz (**Fig. 25**) was in 2008 still part of Dresdner Bank (**Fig. 55**) [15] evident in the name on this flag on 2008. However the Dresdner and Commerzbank merged in 2009 under a revamped logo **(above left)**. On the other hand, the JET gas station on Landsberger Straße (**Fig. 27**) already flew the same flags in 2008 (**Fig. 56**) [16] However, none of the several beach flags displayed along Kreillerstraße (e.g. **Figs 20, 21, 22**) were there in 2008. [17, 18]

Not surprisingly, the Nationaltheater Opera House regularly changes flags: advertising in March 2015 for the *Ring des Nibelungen* (**Fig. 38**), became *Münchner Festspiele* for the annual Munich Opera Festival (**Fig. 57**) [19].

Changes over time in private flag display are harder to follow, as many of the private flags can't be properly seen on Google StreetView images, mainly because they are displayed from windows or balconies in upper stories. Two examples, however: the window with the Schwusos flag (**Fig. 32**) was as empty in 2008 (**Fig. 58**) [20]; whereas the window with several US state flags (**Fig. 18**) had at least the teddy bear already displayed there, perhaps also some flags, but this is not clearly visible (**Fig. 59**).[21]

Figure 58: Window with *Schwusos* flag in Berg-am-LaimStraße was empty in 2008.

Figure 59: Window with several US state flags possibly showing them already in 2008

5. DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGY

5.1. Practical aspects

Any method for mapping is time-consuming. The basic fieldwork has amounted until now (July 2015) to about 12 hours, spread over eight different days (for several reasons, the fieldwork has not been finished yet: only 19 km have been covered so far). There is also lot of additional work in for charting and interpreting the data, processing the photos, etc. In several cases, it was difficult to relocate the exact place of a certain flag (and its photograph) on the maps and satellite photos of Google Maps. A recently acquired GPS datalogger might help with matching the photos of flags with the exact location.

One practical problem is the weather: it is necessary to have good lighting conditions and not overly strong or gusty wind. This excluded winter and evenings from suitable mapping. Vegetation, especially larger trees, impeded visibility - in the end a couple of weekend days in spring or autumn with hopefully good weather remain for the fieldwork.

Even then it was not always possible to take a decent photograph of each and every flag, especially if the flag was not fully extended. Sometimes this even precluded identification of the flag; **Fig. 60** is one example – the white flag could only be identified on a later date, when it was fully extended (**Fig. 61**).

Figure 60: Unidentified flag, Oberföhringer Str. 4, photographed 13 April 2015.
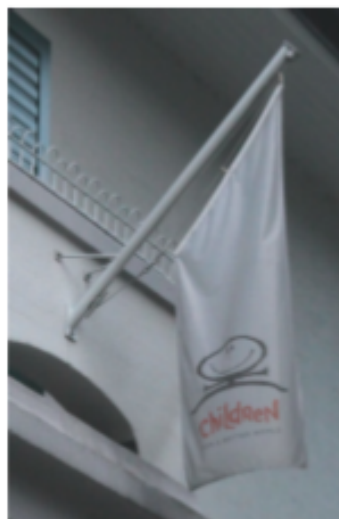
Figure 61: Another view of the same flag, photographed on 9 July 2015, fully extended and identifiable.

Although it was planned to chart and photograph all the flags visible along the transects, it is quite probable that I overlooked several of them. Large flags on street level were probably all included, but small flags privately displayed on a balcony or in the window in upper floors are much less visible, and the visibility is very much dependent on the angle of approach.

5.2. Walking or not?

The fieldwork was done by walking all the way, which can be somewhat exhausting on a sunny day in a stony and shade-less street. However, any alternative was deemed unsuitable. Going by car or bicycle would result not only in several practical problems, but also in a higher number of overlooked flags.

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Having chosen the tram-lines as transects, it seemed obvious to use the tram to cover the distance. I tested this on two days (10 and 11 June 2015). The results were rather mixed. On the one hand, I could cover a larger distance in less time. On the other hand, the alternating speed of the tram produced a distinct bias: flags close to the tram stops could be easily photographed, whereas high velocities along the longer routes led to a lot of photos with motion blur, and even flags outside the image in the moment of photography.

However, the tram can be used for checking earlier results. It is possible to spot flags recently added (**Fig. 62**) or changed as well as taking better photographs of flags missed earlier (**Fig. 63**).

Figure 62: Flag of TZ newspaper on Bayerstr., corner of PaulHeyse Str. (10 June 2015), not seen on date of earlier mapping (11 April 2015).

Figure 63: Flags of Gienger Group, that were not fully extended on 11 April 2015, now photographed from tram on 10 June 2015.

5.3. Alternatives to the chosen transects

The tram lines were chosen as transects because of convenience and because they cover a large part of the city. However, they are certainly not a random sample of the city of Munich. For a large part, the tram lines run along the big radial roads, like Berg-am-Laim-Straße/Kreillerstraße or Bayerstraße/Landsberger Straße: quiet residential areas are underrepresented, commercial areas especially with car dealers, gas stations and hardware stores are overrepresented. So, for a truly quantitative approach, there is too much of a bias.

What other alternatives are there? Random transects, i.e. straight lines cutting through the city, randomly chosen. These would be more representative, but would pose practical problems, as one would have to walk around obstacles like large buildings or inaccessible areas. There would probably less flags visible: flagging along the radial roads gives more visibility and is thus preferred to displaying flags elsewhere.

Another alternative could be randomly selected square plots. Twenty such plots, 1 km square, would cover 6.4% of Munich and might be representative. It is not clear, however, how much effort it would be to do the fieldwork. As with the random transects, there would be less flags and it would perhaps be necessary to increase the number of plots.

All in all, the chosen method has not only practical advantages, but is also suitable for a general overview of the flags publicly displayed in Munich, i.e. for a qualitative and semi-quantitative approach. A more thoroughly quantitative approach would probably need a combination with random plots.

END NOTES

1   http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtinfos/Statistik/Bev-lkerung.html (31 May 2015)

2   https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beflaggung_öffentlicher_Gebäude_in_Deutschland

3   Verwaltungsanordnung über die bayerischen Staatsflaggen und die Dienstflaggen an Kraftfahrzeugen, § 2 Abs. 6, see http://www.gesetze-bayern.de/jportal/portal/page/bsbayprod.psml?doc.id=jlrFlaggAn OBY2001V2P2&st=lr&showdoccase=1&paramfromHL=true#focuspoint

4   http://publications.europa.eu/code/en/en-5000100.htm

5   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germanwings_Flight_9525

6   Gesetz über das Wappen des Freistaates Bayern, see http://www.gesetzebayern.de/jportal/portal/page/bsbayprod.psml?showdoccase=1&st=lr&doc.id=jlrWpGBYpArt 1&doc.part=X&doc.origin=bs 7 http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/de-by_v.html#hla

7   https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/de-by_v.html#hla

8   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prayer_flag 9 http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/it%7Dpace.html

9   http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/it%7Dpace.html

10   http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/de_hoist.html

Google Maps location files:

11   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.136595,11.593036,3a,75y,113.98h,98.29t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5! 1s7vuy7IHV9MjK-aGX_b7aDw!2e0!6s%2F%2Fgeo0.ggpht.com%2Fcbk%3Fpanoid%3D7vuy7IHV9MjKaGX_

b7aDw%26output%3Dthumbnail%26cb_client%3Dsearch.TACTILE.gps%26thumb%3D2%26w %3D203%26h %3D100%26yaw%3D93.456482%26pitch%3D0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1

12   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.138295,11.586044,3a,75y,210.28h,109.67t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sNCbeqzz_ brPbaYNpLURZw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

13   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.153323,11.617816,3a,75y,85.41h,83.01t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4! 1sx_zz9mMoQ0A8lR4sZqv8sg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

14   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.133214,11.610391,3a,75y,121.24h,100.47t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4! 1s5vIdPwK2v3n7t2eZ7jxNMQ!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

15   https://www.google.de/maps/place/48%C2%B008%2723.8%22N+11%C2%B034%2723.1%22E/ @48.139906,11.57   322,3a,37.5y,260.53h,109t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1sB46PiCiD3Dtah0VRQERk Cw!2e0!6s%2F%2Fgeo0.ggpht.com %2Fcbk%3Fpanoid%3DB46PiCiD3Dtah0VRQERkCw%26output%3Dthu mbnail%26cb_client %3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26thumb%3D2%26w%3D100%26h%3D80%26yaw%3D134.29 321%26pitch%3D0! 7i13312!8i6656!4m2!3m1!1s0x0:0x0

16   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.14096,11.522408,3a,37.5y,28.47h,86.57t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4! 1sWvkcgINxf74q264ovWjKHw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

17   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.126535,11.641645,3a,37.5y,17.89h,81.83t/data =!3m6!1e1!3m4!1shu4I6P6n7Yw6wXMEND1nw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

18   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.12807,11.631724,3a,75y,33.16h,90.57t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4! 1sCd6JiJY5xu2_IS7XnMwvYg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

19   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.139068,11.578712,3a,37.5y,32.62h,104.38t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4! 1sOk3XDzNvvfEopDv1O6_Z-g!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

20   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.130949,11.616215,3a,75y,18.5h,87.79t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4! 1senTzcWe6s_ikrsE7BN7Lpw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

21   https://www.google.de/maps/@48.136607,11.610905,3a,37.5y,9.02h,88.67t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1srG01N-jLeMoqR3bHK4IvA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656

Biographical

Manuela Schmöger (née Marcus Schmöger) was born in München (Munich), Germany, in 1968. After high school and military service studying biology at the TU München (degree Dipl.-Biol.); dissertation about a plant physiological topic (degree Dr. rer. nat.). Currently working as legal assistant. Interested in flags since childhood, revived in 1996 by FOTW. Active member of FOTW since 1996 (and former editor for Austria.) Member of Deutsche Gesellschaft für Flaggenkunde (DGF) and of other vexillological organizations (SGFF, CISV, NAVA, HGZD). Attended and contributed papers to ICVs at York (2001), Stockholm (2003), Berlin (2007), Washington (2011), and Rotterdam (2013). Main flag interests: German and Austrian municipal flags, Roman flags and standards, political flags (German, Italian and others), methods in vexillology.

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