

'Oh motherland I pledge to thee...':**A Study into Nationalism, Gender and the Representation of an Imagined Family Within National Anthems.**

Nations, Walzer (1967, quoted after Cerulo 1995: 3) notes, have to be 'imagined before they can be conceived and symbolised before they can be loved'. Even within academic debates, symbolic representations are sometimes at the core of understandings of nationhood: Anderson's (1983) use of the emblematic Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to illustrate the 'imagined community' is a prominent example. Arguably, representations like this are part and parcel of engaging with nations both theoretically as well as empirically. Most theories within nationalism studies employ some kind of metaphor, analogy or other symbolic representation to buttress their claims or make them more easily comprehensible. To provide some examples, Smith's (1991) notion of belonging is strongly linked to understanding nationhood as akin to clans or tribes; Breuilly's (1993) emphasis on statehood and sovereignty is reminiscent of bureaucratic imagery; and when Gellner (2006) stresses the importance of a common culture, a state-sponsored educational programme comes to mind. Given that inventing national symbols and traditions is an inherent part of nation-building (Hobsbawm 1990), finding them mirrored in academic debates is hardly surprising.

While analysing the analogies drawn on by scholars in the field of nationalism studies would be a fascinating project in its own right, the aim of this paper is somewhat different. Firstly, in revisiting some of the major feminist critiques levelled against prominent theories on nationhood, we aim to illustrate how some imaginations of nationhood will lead us to – deliberately or not – omit crucial differences and inequalities within the nation. Secondly, we want to suggest the 'filial community' or 'imagined family' as an alternative representation, hoping it will avoid some of these omissions and provide a useful framework for future studies of nations and nationhood. Lastly, we will illustrate and substantiate our claim through combining a qualitative and quantitative analysis of national anthems.

Our first point is best exemplified by returning to our opening example, Anderson's (1983) Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. At first glance, it does indeed provide a captivating image to illustrate Anderson's (1983) main point. To him, this particular monument succinctly captures the nation's promise that each and every citizen's sacrifice, be they pauper or prosperous, would be equally immortalized and

commemorated as part of the national whole. On closer inspection, however, Anderson's (1983) understanding of nations as horizontal communities, particularly when illustrated in this manner, contains some fascinating omissions. Following Connell (2005), military services and national politics are predominately the preserve of men; while the details of the debate (e.g. Nagel 1998) are beyond the scope of this paper, it is safe to claim that the Unknown Soldier is not a gender-neutral entity, but male.

As a representation of nationhood, it overemphasises the importance that masculinity and its integral ideals - bravery, prowess and strength on one hand, and self-discipline and rationality on the other - have played in the shaping of modern nations (see Mosse 1985; Enloe 1989; Nagel 1998). Moreover, it does not question the reality of the masculinised way in which national conflict is often commemorated (McDowell, 2008), even though women have repeatedly been part of political and militant struggles for national independence or liberation, for example in South Africa (McClintock 1993), Ireland (Ashe 2007), Algeria and Indonesia (Sunindyo 1998), and Finland (Jallinoja 1988). Yet, if women are commemorated at all, it is in the form of weeping mothers and woeful wives, bemoaning the losses and hardships of sons and husbands (McClintock 1993: 73).

Anderson (1983) is hardly unique in his lack of recognition that military, and by implication national, responsibilities are structured in the public consciousness along gendered, if not patriarchal, lines. Whether it is Breuilly (1993), Gellner (1991) or Smith (1991), their respective understandings present nations and nationals as a monolithic whole bound together through a common ethnic heritage, economic status or aspirations to statehood – and, more pertinently, focus on the more masculine politics of nationalism, e.g. struggles for independence, national elites and heroes etc. (Enloe 1989; Nagel 1998). Thus, nationalism studies echoes a narrative of nation-building on the grounds of 'masculinised memories, humiliation and masculine hopes' (Enloe, 1989: 44). The feminist critique of these approaches - notably of the lack of attention to gendered roles and inequalities - is far from new, as evidenced by several academic contributions, including an entire special issue of 'Nations and Nationalism' (issue (6(4), October 2000).

One added perspective which includes the more abstract function of women in nationalist discourse is the *national feminine*. Innes (1994) provides the examples of African and Irish women as

embodiments of their respective 'homelands', and of nations represented as women, such as Britannia, the Finnish Maiden or Germania. These female personifications convey gendered, even sexualised, narratives of nationhood and conflict (Nagel 2001): within the context of Anglo-Irish struggles, Ireland has been portrayed as weak 'Hibernia' in dire need of protection from John Bull (Innes 1994: 5). In addition, Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989; see also Yuval-Davis, 1997) have argued that women are symbolic signifiers of national difference; it is women who are held responsible for the cultural and ethnic reproduction of nationhood through giving birth to children and raising them as proper nationals.

Yuval-Davis' (1997) analysis connects gender and nation, exploring the realities of women's lives within the nation-state. While she does not attach an explicit family metaphor to the nation, its underlying presence is clear; as within many feminist contributions, there is an embedded or assumed implicit understanding that the most important perceived female responsibilities are toward the family, as a caring housewife, and most particularly, a mother. Hill Collins (2000) and Leinarte (2006) are the first to make the metaphor explicit and to draw attention to the intertwined discourses of gender, modern nations and nuclear families.

From imagined community to imagined family: Introducing the family metaphor

Continuing from their work, we will detail how an understanding of nationhood as a 'national family' or 'filial community' can add to nationalism studies and provide a promising framework for future studies. According to Jensen (1977), metaphors "[...] clarify, vivify, simplify, make the abstract concrete, give strength to a point, heighten emotions, and make a subject more interesting". He particularly highlights the use of family metaphors within nationalist discourse. Family, following Bordieu (1996), is simultaneously a 'subjective category' and an 'objective category', serving both as an ideological construct (i.e. the abstract ideal of family) and as a unit of social organisation (i.e. actual families). The illustration of the abstract concept 'nationhood' through drawing on family metaphors has not gone unnoticed within nationalism studies: both 'modernists' like Anderson (1983) and 'ethno-symbolists' such as Smith (1996) discuss the presence of 'father-' or 'motherlands', and the 'fraternal' nature of nationhood as a demonstration of its deeply affective nature. According to Slezkine (2004: 44), modernity itself is based on the '[...] twin pillars of the nuclear family which posed as an individual and

the nation which posed as a nuclear family'. Why, however, would the family be such a compelling category?

We argue that the 'national family' goes beyond concepts like the 'imagined community' because it ties together various relevant descriptive and normative aspects of social organisation. Firstly, as Bordieu (1996) has pointed out, families provide a *structure* for social relations. Secondly, families come with *social roles and responsibilities*, which are clearly ordered along gendered lines of production and reproduction. Thirdly, a family - unlike a sovereign state or a national, cultural education - is much more likely to come with *positive emotional connotations*. Lastly, family ties are predominantly understood as biological ties of blood relatedness; therefore, drawing on the family as a metaphor *reifies social relations as biologically determined*.

Our main focus will not be the 'objective category' (Bordieu, 1996) of concrete, empirical family relations, but rather the abstract ideal of the nuclear family. Hence, we will only refer to 'family policies' (e.g. child benefits) if and when it adds to our argument and otherwise concentrate on establishing a theoretical outline of the 'imagined family' as a framework towards future analyses.

How are 'imagined family' and 'imagined community' *structurally* different, and why is the "imagined family" a better framework for considering nations? In contrast to the assumed equality within the 'imagined community', the family includes and "[...] reconciles the contradictory relationship between equality and hierarchies" (Hill Collins 2000: 64); members of a family are subject to clear hierarchies of age and gender: "[...] mothers comply with fathers, sisters defer to brothers, all with the understanding that boys submit to maternal authority until they become men" (Hill Collins, 2000: 65). Moreover, the generational structure of 'parents and children' extends to 'grandparents', who are (ideally) to be obeyed and respected, and into the past along the ancestral line. Hence, the family does not need an Unknown Soldier to offer a sense of symbolic immortality: as long as the family line continues, one will have been part of it and will live on as one's children become the next generation. This model of the 'nuclear family', structured by gender and generation, has been empirically found as an ideal across many cultures (Romney & Moore 1998, Widmer, Romney & Boyd 1999), regardless of the fact that actual families often differ largely from this model (Widmer 2006) and that this particular arrangement

of families is a fairly modern development (Burguiere, Klapisch-Zuber & Segalen 2005; Foucault 2001).

Families also provide a clear geographic situatedness. According to Johnson (1986), one reason why the family as a category has such a strong appeal is its sense of 'home and hearth'. Even though the actual family might move or spread across the globe, there is a sense of a place of origin, belonging and safety. In a nutshell, an 'imagined family' - just like Anderson's (1983) 'imagined community' - creates a sense of community stretching across time and space. However, the family does so more easily and elegantly, while also allowing for hierarchies and dependencies.

A family metaphor is not only descriptive in terms of structure, but also normative or prescriptive in terms of *roles and responsibilities*. As the aforementioned feminist contributions have highlighted, previous studies have predominantly focused on masculine roles and responsibilities, for instance political agents or heroic soldiers (Enloe, 1989; Nagel, 1998). What, however, would female responsibilities look like?

In her detailed analysis of gender and nationalism, Yuval-Davis (1997) shows that women are treated as the keepers and reproducers of ethnic, cultural and biological boundaries of a nation. They in particular are punished and ostracised if they engage with ethnic - or worse, enemy - 'others'. Women are seen as 'responsible' for conceiving and giving birth to the next generation of nationals and securing their upbringing (Yuval-Davis 1996). A strong nation rests in a strong family, including a strong and dedicated national wife and mother (Leinarte 2006). Women not adhering to the ideal of a caring mother are letting down more than their own family; they neglect the biological and cultural continuity of the nation as a whole. Mosse (1985), who noted this reduction of women to national housewives and mothers providing care and homeliness, also described the national housewife as the passive, emotional counterpart to the protecting and providing roles of men as idealised 'heads of the household' (Enloe, 1989).

In times of conflict, this divide into 'emotional mothers' responsible for caring for their (national) family and 'strong, active fathers' protecting it is even more visible. Men are mobilised to defend not only their own home, but the merger-entity of 'womenandchildren' (Enloe, 1993: 166). Women's roles are either

– from the viewpoint of their own side – as nurses tending to the wounded (Yuval-Davis, 1997), or – from the viewpoint of an enemy side – as targets for direct assault, often sexual, in order to defile their enemy (Enloe 1989; Nagel 2001; Yuval-Davis 1997). This war-time ideology conflates actual families with their symbolic counterpart. If the stereotypical embodiment of the female gender role is to become a mother, by applying this ideology on a national level, the nation itself can be understood as a mother to its citizens.

Hence, 'Mother Ireland' and 'Mother India': feminine nations turned mothers. Even Germania and the French Marianne have been portrayed as motherly figures, despite their otherwise martial depictions (Brandt 2010; Mosse 1985). Representations of motherhood have been particularly illustrative of national conflict: Ireland's image of "Mother Ireland" raped by the British Empire countered Great Britain's portrayal of a young, vulnerable girl as the feeble "Hibernia" (Ashe 2007; Magennis 2010); with the reinstatement of Home Rule, the latter was transformed into a more robust mother figure caring for her 'unruly lads' (Innes 1994: 9). In the case of Northern Ireland, however, this image then turned into a 'grotesque mother' devouring her 'sons' by sending them to battle (Magennis 2010). One could summarise it as 'father state', the symbolic 'head of the household', calling upon fathers and sons - turned brothers in arms - to protect their 'womenandchildren' and the household that is their 'mother country', constituting an abstract overarching family. The *filial community*, '[...] firmly rooted in cultural imagery: mother as nation, brothers as fellow citizens, sons as soldiers, fathers as founders of the country and so on' (Lenke 2009: 103), is established.

'Home and hearth' would not be worth defending if it did not have special significance: the *emotional connotation* of the family as a core social unit. Following Johnson (1986) or Duden (1977), the family serves as more than a place for biological and cultural reproduction; it is also a place of belonging, safety and recreation. Women, as mothers, are responsible for the family domain and its atmosphere of care and affection, while men are responsible for the protection of this domain from the outside world so that they have a recreational haven to return to (Duden 1977). Transposed to the national level, these emotional connotations are best captured in the German word 'Heimat' (Confino 1997); understood as a national home, one's national belonging is a bond of care, affection and rootedness.

The (heterosexual) national family evokes more than a sense of belonging; it links to *reified notions of blood ties or biological kinship* (Lenke 2009: 100). McClintock (1993: 64) similarly argues that the family trope simplifies and reifies the complexity of nations and gender into a symbolic narrative offering:

[...] an indispensable figure for sanctioning social hierarchy within a putative organic unity of interests. Since the subordination of woman to man, and child to adult, was deemed a natural fact, other forms of social hierarchy could be depicted in familial terms to guarantee social difference as a category of nature.

This narrative further legitimises and obfuscates inequalities such as class or racial differences, imagining the family as 'naturally' mono-racial. Racial 'others' are often treated as child-like within the national family framework, McClintock (1993) notes. Objectively, modern nations are indeed 'categories of nature', given that place of birth (*ius solis*) and nationality of one's parents (*ius sanguis*) are central to contemporary legal definitions of nationality: the situation of one's biological family determines one's entitlement to a national citizenship. On an abstract level, the family metaphor extends this logic into the past by implying a national genealogy: that if one traced back one's family tree, one would eventually find it rooted in supposed pre-modern (ethnic) communities or tribal family origins. It is this assumption a large share of the 'ethno-symbolist' tradition of nationalism studies rests on.

Unsurprisingly, the only empirical studies linking family metaphors and nationhood the authors are aware of has been conducted by an adherent to 'ethno-symbolist' if not 'socio-biologist' concepts of nationhood (Johnson 1986; 1987; 2001). Arguing that presenting the nation or nationals as parents or siblings (e.g. using 'motherland') will be a learned cue for genetic relatedness, Johnson (1986; 1987; 2001) links family metaphors to evolutionary 'kin recognition' mechanisms. Without going into the details of such evolutionary explanations, it is worth noting that Johnson (1986, pp. 136-137) highlights the positive affect and sense of belonging evoked by metaphoric family language. However, the few experimental studies testing the effects of presenting nations as family produced inconclusive results or small effects on patriotic sentiment (Johnson, Ratwik & Sawyer 1989; Salmon 1997).

Following Geertz (1973), the significant question is not whether there is an actual biological, filial root, but whether national relations are commonly culturally or politically understood or presented as such. Johnson (1987), while not elaborating on the cultural and ideological contexts, provides various accounts of family language within patriotic speeches and poetry. His evolutionary perspective also demonstrates how easy it is to present the link between nationhood and family as.

Is there, however, further evidence that the family **in** the nation serves as a model for the nation **as** a family? The only explicit discussions of nation-as-family metaphor we could find is either the presentation of nations as 'creating/sustaining a (filial) community' and 'training/protecting its children' (Jensen 1977) or the 'strict father' politics contrasted against a 'nurturing family' ideal employed by Republicans and Democrats in US political debates (Lakoff 1996).

The evidence provided thus far is limited in two ways. Firstly, most theoretical accounts are based primarily on case studies from a small number of countries (Ireland, South Africa, Indonesia etc.). Secondly, the materials analysed are predominantly literary texts, patriotic songs or political speeches. While they provide some compelling examples, supporting our argument, they are insufficient to analyse how prevalent family metaphors are across a range of cultures. Therefore, to substantiate our claim that the 'imagined family' is a widely-used framing of nationhood, we must do so on the basis of a broader data set.

'Calling cards of identity': National symbols and the banality of the national family

Even though most national symbols, including flags, currencies, mottos and national holidays, have been discussed at length (Cerulo 1995), one symbol has hitherto largely been neglected in gender and national identity related research: national anthems¹. Apart from a couple of collections including translated lyrics, sheet music and bits of historical information, the number of academic explorations of national anthems is small.

This is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, unlike other symbols, anthems have widespread, cross-cultural presence: as any viewing of modern Olympics or many other international sporting events will attest, no nation is without an anthem. Secondly, anthems have been described as mirroring cultures or 'collective voice' (Eyck 1995: xiv; xx), as 'communicators' or 'calling cards' of

identity (Cerulo 1989, 1993: 266;) and even as 'fetish objects' (McClintock 1993: 71); they are embodiments of a nation's culture and identity. Thirdly, they are accessible: unlike the meaning embedded in a nation's flag, holidays or currencies, which might not be easily discernible, an anthem's meaning is contained in its lyrics and can comfortably be read, sung and even remembered. Finally, they are mundane symbols, played at a variety of national events, ranging from international sporting competitions to national holidays; we have all probably heard our own anthems on several occasions even if we missed learning or singing them in school. They are a prime example of the banality with which nationalism permeates our everyday life (Billig 1995), and yet they have not been analysed in detail prior to this study.

For these reasons, national anthems are particularly relevant for our purpose. First and foremost, the entirety of anthems currently used can be easily accessed, analysed and compared. Moreover, if Goatly (2009: 29) and Billig (1995) are correct in stating that the more a particular ideology is embedded in our everyday understanding the more likely we are to find banal or metaphorical reference to it, the extent to which family metaphors are employed would allow some assessment of the 'national family' as a commonly shared ideological framework of nationhood.

Some interesting research preceding ours buttresses the use of national anthems as data. In her extensive studies, Cerulo (1989, 1993, 1995) analysed the musical key and tune of 180 anthems, showing that specific musical qualities are linked to socio-political contexts. For example, she pointed out that countries with a strict regime often adopt more musically embellished anthems. Surprisingly, she reports no significant relationship between political context and lyrics. Comparably, Eyck (1995), in his historical account of 15 European national anthems, notes the evocative nature of anthems and the importance of their musical qualities, but also emphasises their poetic origins. He describes a variety of different themes, ranging from 'resistance anthem' (e.g. Poland) to 'anthem of contentment' (Sweden). In conjunction, these studies offer two crucial insights: first, anthems are political texts, if not written as such then at least adopted for their evocative features; and second, their text can be seen as a 'mnemonic of national identity'. That is, national anthems are texts used to describe and activate a particular conception of nationhood.

Understanding anthems as 'mobilising texts', we suggest that the metaphoric family language of their lyrics can reveal certain insights into the degree of nationalistic discourse in today's world. Testing *whether family terms are present in national anthems, and if so how common they are, and in what forms they appear* will allow us to explore social structures, responsibilities and differences embedded in nationalist discourses. In light of the literature introduced earlier, we would expect that if family metaphors are present in national anthems, they should provide the following patterns of gendered division between different national duties or modes of mobilisation: male terms should be more frequent and linked to active mobilisation, for example male bravery and sacrifice in defence of one's nation ('sons as soldiers', 'fathers as founders', see Lenke 2009); in contrast, female terms should be less frequent and linked to more motherly or domestic qualities of the nation, namely birth ('nation as mother', see Lenke 2009).

Before discussing the results of our analysis, three points are worth noting: first, out of all anthem lyrics analysed, only three have been written by female composers (Austria, The Gambia and Grenada). The rest were written by sole male composers, citizen committees or the governments/sovereigns themselves, comporting with Nagel's (2001) critique that national anthems too can be seen as a masculinised representation of nationhood. Furthermore, national anthems - as we have noted above - are more likely to be played and sung at military and sporting events, which commonly attract a male audience. Thus, they are themselves a symbol used in a gendered context. Second, nations - and consequently their anthems - have emerged within a wide array of contexts: some out of militant struggles, others more peacefully; and some anthems predate the founding of the nation, often written as poems or songs long before independence (Eyck 1995). Without wanting to foreclose conclusions, we conducted a statistical analysis of different socio-historical factors (e.g. year anthem was written and adopted, year the country was established in its current form, population rank, geological region, colonial past, dominant religion etc.). Surprisingly, none of these factors were linked to significant differences in the presence or absence of family metaphors in general or particular metaphors (e.g. motherland) specifically. This supports Cerulo's (1995) findings and suggests that regardless of the political and historical background of a particular nation, the content of anthems is based on more abstract understandings of how nations should be presented. Lastly, and related to the previous points, it is worth noting that national anthems have predominantly been decided upon by political elites within the last 60 years: they represent how citizens are supposed to relate to their nation and its

symbols, which is no guarantee that the suggested national culture is in fact widely accepted. Some ethnic or social groups might openly refuse to accept their supposed national anthem or lack access to its lyrics. When, how and by whom anthems are sung and admired would require an article in its own right.

‘Glory to thee, Motherland’: A Study on Family Language in National Anthems

Sample

For an exhaustive comparison, we collected the English translation of as many available national anthem lyrics as we could find used in early 2014², covering all UN member (see United Nations 2014), observer (i.e. Palestine, Vatican City) and specialized agency (Cook Islands, Kosovo, Niue, Taiwan) states as well as Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Somaliland, South Ossetia and Transnistria. We included sources reporting the official translations in agreement with the respective governments (Bristow 2006; Hang 2003) supplemented by other publications (Eyck 1995) as well as various internet sources and lexica (www.countryreports.org; www.nationalanthems.info; www.nationalanthems.us; www.wikipedia.org). Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, San Marino and Spain use instrumental anthems so have no text with which to be included in our lyric database. Canada, New Zealand and Taiwan each have two substantially different sets of lyrics in use, so both versions were included in our analysis. This assemblage comprised a set of 204 states and 203 lyrics respectively.

Method

The analysis consisted of two consecutive steps, combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches: 1) a *simple coding of family terms* without concern for the actual content of the anthem, aiming to establish the overall frequency with which family language was used and 2) following this initial coding a more *in-depth analysis* of the discursive purpose family metaphors served within anthems. In both cases, there was no intentional ordering, although for ease of processing the anthems were largely read and coded in alphabetical order.

Prevalence of family terms

To address the first question, ‘*Are metaphoric family terms present in national anthems*’, we coded any occurrences of family terminology in the data set. Second, we cross-checked translations a) across different sources and b) across different anthems with a common language (e.g. French or

Portuguese): if a term was translated inconsistently, it was excluded³. We also consulted native speakers of the most widely-spoken languages (English, French, German and Spanish) and others available, covering an estimated 45% of anthems. We excluded kin terms if they did not refer to the country or its citizens at least in a broader sense, for example when 'father' referred to God. Following an initial coding, the terms were grouped according to the larger family concepts, e.g. if they related to 'brother(s)', 'brethren', 'brotherhood' or 'brotherly', they were summarised as 'sibling terms' (for all categories see Table 1 below). It is important to note that we coded the general occurrence of a term within any given anthem: for example, even if 'mother' was mentioned several times, it was only coded as **one** occurrence. This was to prevent over-weighting of terms in highly repetitive lyrics.

Textual content

To allow for a contextually and statistically valid analysis, we adopted the 'thematic analysis' as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). This particular method can be seen as a basic qualitative approach towards the data set, reading the data to untangle common aspects (i.e. themes) within the data set. This approach is based on (1) *familiarising* oneself with the data set. In this step, we read the anthems like one would read a poem, to get the basic gist of it. Next, we (2) devised *initial codes*, and then (3) went through several iterations of *(re-)reading and (re-)coding* in order to (4) develop a *framework of themes* that satisfactorily describes commonalities and differences. As far as possible, we tried to read the data in an inductive way; that is, we read them without assuming the presence of *a priori* categories. The first stage of our analysis aimed at developing a framework that maps to our understanding of national anthems as texts, which by definition aim at ideologically describing the country and at particular ways of mobilising/uniting its citizenry. At this stage, we did not code the anthems with regard to gender presentations, to avoid missing any other functions family language might be linked to. Our initial question for coding the anthems was:

- 1.) *How are nations and nationhood described within national anthems?*

We then used this coding of national anthems in general to investigate if and how family metaphors are linked to descriptive, structural vs prescriptive, normative framings of nationhood, calls for social action, a combination of both and – lastly – gender, our main questions being:

- 2.) *Are family metaphors used to describe either general or particular aspects of nationhood?*
- 3.) *Are there demands for certain social roles or actions (e.g. mobilisations), and if so how are they justified?*

4.) *Do they contribute to the understanding of nationhood, family and gender?*

The coding framework⁴ was developed by the first author analysing a subset of 50 anthems and then discussed with the three co-authors and three further colleagues until a consensus about coding themes was reached. The first author then continued to analyse the final set of anthems.

Results

a) Overall frequency of metaphoric family language

Over half of the anthems use family language metaphors. The frequency of different terms ranged from as little as 2.5% (neutral terms) to around 12% (children and maternal terms) and upwards to nearly 20% (sons) of all family terms used (see table 1). Male terms constitute 60% of total family terms used, three times more frequent than female terms (21%) or neutral terms (18%). It is worth pointing out that 'sister' only occurred once and 'sons' always accompanied 'daughters'. The only feminine metaphor occurring independently is the 'motherland', supporting the suggestion that nations and nationalism are broadly depicted through terms associated with masculinity (Mosse 1985; Nagel 1998).

Table 1. Family categories, terms included, and frequency of these terms in the data set (%)

Category	Terms included	Frequency (% , <i>N</i> = 203) ¹
Family language	All family terms	53.2% (<i>n</i> = 108)
Sons	Grandsons, Son(s)	18.2% (<i>n</i> = 36)
Paternal	Fatherland, Father(s), Grandfather(s), Forefathers	15.7% (<i>n</i> = 31)
Siblings	Brother(s), Brethren, Brotherly, Brotherhood, Sister ²	14.1% (<i>n</i> = 29)
Maternal	Motherland, Mother, Motherly, Motherhood	12.1% (<i>n</i> = 24)
Children	Child, Children, Childlike, Progeny	11.6% (<i>n</i> = 23)
Daughters	Daughter(s) ³	4.5% (<i>n</i> = 9)
Neutral terms	Family, kin	2.5% (<i>n</i> = 5)
No Family Language	---	46.8% (<i>n</i> = 95)
	Male Sons, paternal, brother(s)	60% (<i>n</i> = 97)
	Female Maternal, daughter(s), sister	21% (<i>n</i> = 34)

Neutral Family, kin

18% ($n = 29$)

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- 1 Some anthems used more than one family term, hence the percentages do not add up to 100%.
 - 2 Only the Marshall Islands' anthem refers to 'sister' (islands).
 - 3 The use of 'daughters' always occurred together with 'sons'.

b) Content analysis

At a very broad level, *general narratives* can be found. For example, while some anthems focus on 'fighting for independence' like the French or Irish anthems, others 'praise the country's virtues and beauty' such as Sweden or Bangladesh, and yet others present 'hopes for a future to be built'. Thus the general narrative of the anthem can vary from 'rallying to the battlefield' over 'pledges of loyalty' to 'striving for a better tomorrow'. These narratives can often be described as a combination of particular 'social realities' (e.g. describing the country's virtue, history or citizenry) and 'calls for social action', demanding loyalty, devotion or sacrifices. We only need to return to the Marseillaise above to illustrate our point. The general narrative of 'fighting for liberty' calls for 'sacrifice on the battlefield', which is in turn buttressed by the reality of 'being under threat'. The interesting question for this study is whether the '*enfants de la patrie*' point to a pattern of using family metaphors.

The analysis of the *use of family metaphors* within national anthems reveals a central commonality: namely, they naturalise the social relations or realities of a country. This means embedding family imagery when other descriptions could have been possible: for example, using 'sons' or 'daughters' instead of 'people' or 'citizens'. This supports the argument that family metaphors serve to reify the nation (McClintock 1993) and to present it as a 'filial community'. We can also distinguish three larger themes, depending on the specific aspect naturalised. There was also a residual theme, used when family metaphors did not directly relate to the country itself. Calculating χ^2 -tests we found three significant ($p < 0.5$) sub-themes within the larger themes where a particular combination of social realities and mobilisation was presented in family terms.

1) 'Motherland': *The beautiful parental nation, devotion and loyalty*

<i>Glory to thee, Motherland,</i>	<i>Oh mother mine, words from your lips</i>
<i>O motherland of mine.</i>	<i>Are like nectar to my ears!</i>

Sweet is thy beauty,

Ah, what a thrill!

Sweet is thy fragrance,

(Mauritius, 415)

(Bangladesh, 46)

In line with our expectations regarding nationalism and gender, the nation was almost exclusively portrayed in familial terms as *mother* (n= 16, 8%). Although it was not the most common theme, the *mother*-image was used to feminise the nation. If *mother* terms were used, they almost exclusively described a 'precious motherland'. Of the 15 cases that did so, 14 also included a *call for devotion*. Of the 131 anthems without a *motherland* figure, only 77% (n = 83) call for devotion. Thus, compared to the link between *virtue* and *devotion* almost always being present with a *mother*, there is only a 3:1 ratio without it. Additionally, there was a combination of *merits* and *loyalty*, which was not present in non-*mother* anthems, but could be found in 75% (12 of 16) of *motherland* anthems. The nation when presented as a *mother* demands *loyalty* and *devotion* from its citizenry, which is particularly interesting given the following theme.

2) '*Children of the country*': *Naturalising the citizens, commitment and sacrifice*

Come ye forward, sons and daughters

Of this gem beyond compare.

Strive for honour, sons and daughters,

Do the right, be firm, be fair.

(Dominica, 188)

The most common use of family metaphors -- 41%, or 43 in total -- is to describe the countries' citizens as family members. The most frequent is as *sons* (n=28, 26%), followed by the *nation's children* (n=18, 17%) and a *national brotherhood* (n= 16, 14%). In only seven cases *daughters* accompanied *sons*, but *daughters* never appeared alone. In two cases neutral terms were used to describe a national *kin* or *family*. While the greater prevalence of male terms would support the hypothesis that citizenship is predominantly associated with being male, more detailed analysis demonstrates that heroic sacrifice, worthy of Unknown Soldiers, is presented in male family terms as well. In national anthems introducing a scenario of *threat* in order to justify a *call to arms*, one finds

language describing nations' *children* in general and *sons* in particular, as can be seen in the Mexican anthem:

*But should a foreign enemy
Dare to profane your land with his sole,
Think, beloved fatherland, that heaven
Gave you a soldier in each son.*
(Mexico, 418)

Likewise the first verse of the Marseillaise calls upon '*les enfants de la patrie*' to rise in France's defence. This combination occurred in ten out of eleven cases (91%), whereas *threat* and *sacrifice* were present together in 59% (n = 13) of the 31 cases without any *child*-terms.

A less prominent example binds together a sense of *unity* and *commitment* through *brotherhood*. In 13 of 14 cases (93%), the act of *advancing* or *building* the nation is achieved through *working together* as *brotherly* men, once again seeing activity as a masculine duty. Interestingly, *Fatherland* was the least frequent theme, occurring in only four cases, although in two of those cases *Fatherland* also supported the notion of *brotherhood*. A famous example for this theme is the German national anthem:

*Unity and Right and Freedom
For the German Fatherland!
Let us all pursue this purpose
Brotherly with heart and hand!*
(Germany, 253)

Finally, in about 5% of all cases (n=5), the *future* of the nation was described as *children*, i.e. the potential next generation (of 'womenandchildren') for whom the nation is to be kept. Often, this theme occurred in anthems that generally described a country that has yet to be *built and advanced*, such as Kyrgyzstan:

*Dreams of the people came true,
 And the flag of liberty is over us.
 The heritage of our fathers we will
 Pass to our sons for the benefit of people.
 (Kyrgyzstan, 350)*

3) *'Land of our forefathers': History as patrilineal heritage*

*Norway, thine is our devotion
 Land of home and hearth
 Rising storm-scar'd from the ocean
 Where the breakers foam
 As our fathers' vict'ry gave it
 Peace for one and all
 We shall rally, too, to save it
 When we hear the call.
 (Norway, 475)*

The *father* metaphor was largely used to frame the *origins* of nations (n=26, 25%), i.e. presenting their history as a filial one. The past of a nation is portrayed as a generational heritage, linking us to the times of our *fathers*, *forefathers* and *grandfathers*. Due to its meaning as 'land of the fathers', the four occurrences of *fatherland* (three from a German-speaking background) were also included in this category. In some cases this historicization was fulfilled by drawing upon *past sons* (n=6, 6%) or *brothers* (n=2, 2%) mostly as the ones making heroic sacrifices for the nation's independence.

4) *'Brotherhood of Men' & 'Mother Africa': residual uses of family language*

*Let justice guide our actions
 Towards the common good,
 And join our diverse peoples*

To prove man's brotherhood.

(The Gambia, 246)

In three cases, family language did not relate to the nation itself: the first one is a naturalisation of *humanity as a whole*, taking the form of the well-known 'brotherhood of men' - as for example lauded in the European anthem 'Ode to Joy' (not included in our analysis) - present in six anthems and additionally the 'family of men' in 'God Save the Queen'. This finding of humanity-as-male goes hand in glove with the feminist critique that the norm for 'human being' is a man (preferably white and heterosexual) from which women – amongst others – are excluded. Secondly, in three African anthems we found the presentation of *Mother Africa* describing the continent as a whole as a mother-figure, similarly promoting a notion of a feminised place of origin. Finally, there are some cases in which family language was used in other ways: for example, a 'motherly sun' in the Portuguese anthem, 'mother Queen' in the British, and the 'brother of William of Nassau' in the Dutch anthem. In total these cases amount to 17% (n = 20) of all family metaphors used.

At this level of coding, these four themes cover 83% of all occurrences of family metaphors we had investigated, substantiating our claim that overall family language is used to present particular aspects of nationhood in terms of specific family relations.

General Discussion and Outlook

Answering our question of whether family metaphors can be found in national symbols, their presence in more than half of all national anthems confirms that family terms are indeed a relevant aspect of nationalistic discourse. Furthermore, in some cases where family language was absent within anthems themselves, other examples of patriotic songs or poems using family expressions exist: for example, the line 'Land for which my fathers died' found in 'My country 'tis of thee' (the U.S. reworking of the British 'God Save the Queen'), or depictions of Ireland and Albania as 'motherly Erin' and 'Mother Albania' respectively. Bearing in mind that most anthems originated from patriotic poems or songs, these examples further support our argument. In the end, our aim was not to show that metaphoric family language is omnipresent, but rather that it is common enough among a variety of nations to justify a detailed analysis and to support our proposal that nations are (re)presented as a

'filial community'. Given the frequent use of metaphoric family terms in national anthems, we have certainly fulfilled this goal.

In a more detailed analysis of anthems, we found that family language was used to naturalise aspects of the nation as a heteronormative family: citizenry as children or brothers, the country as mother, and history via forefathers in line with Lenke (2009). What is more, these different roles and the more frequent presence of male metaphors (sons, brothers, fathers) over female ones (mother, daughter) substantiate gendered (re)presentations of nationhood (Mosse 1985; Yuval-Davis 1997). In some cases, however, family metaphors did more than that; they also linked together realities of the nation with forms of mobilisation, promoting family roles and structures (e.g. the nation as a mother).

The most prominent result is the strong link between a *beautiful, virtuous motherland* demanding *devotion* and *loyalty*. This combination resembles the idea of a 'national feminine' noted by feminist scholars. The country itself is described as a female beauty, similar to the presentation of women as sexualised embodiments of the nation as observed by Innes (1994). Moreover, our findings emphasise that metaphoric family language goes some way in revealing imagery of 'sacrifice' stressed by Johnson (1989). This point becomes more evident if we look at the triad of *threatened country*, *calls to make sacrifices* and *the nation's children* as recipients thereof. Similarly, we were able to find a link between *unity*, *commitment* and *brotherhood* in terms of investing one's self in and building the nation. These themes call upon male citizens: either the '*sons*' are *called to arms* or '*brothers*' are *called to be builders of tomorrow*. It is noteworthy that investment or sacrifice for the national 'family' are not generally presented as positive as Johnson (1989) suggests, but rather follow a masculinised narrative of 'men as active promoters of the nation' in line with McClintock (1993). Having said this, the naturalisation of nation-as-family does more than just providing us with clichéd images of nuclear family roles: it also provides a temporalisation of the nation through genealogies of forefathers, mothers and children yet to be born (McClintock 1993). This function of family language is interesting for two reasons. First, it goes beyond the possibilities that could be achieved by using gender metaphors alone: 'Lady Liberty' or 'John Bull' have neither a 'biological' past nor future. Second, the importance of creating (national) communities that stretch across space *and* time has been stressed as a crucial requirement for the success of any nationalist endeavour (Anderson 1983). Put differently, family metaphors organise structure (parent-child hierarchies, genealogies, etc.) as well as content

(family/gender roles, positive connotations of belonging or safety) for the national community, while simultaneously presenting them as a biological given (Hilli Collins 2000; Lenke 2009). It is hard to think of any other metaphoric image that could convey the same ideas as easily.

Although we could show some compelling family metaphors within most anthems, 48% of national anthems 'work' (i.e. establish a national community) without them. Our analysis would be incomplete if we did not take into account instances where family language is absent. These cases help us refine our question of whether nations are thought of as 'filial communities' beyond the prevalent metaphoric family language. There are several, potentially more forthright, ways a nation could be presented. For instance, a considerable share of anthems ($n = 39$, 30%) framed nationhood as a matter of *history*, a shared past or future, origin, lineage and destiny. Also, 26 anthems (13%) talked of *national heroes*, soldiers, warriors or fighters. In 14 anthems (7%) a focus on *tribes*, clans, 'races' or cultures was present. Another possibility was the presentation of nations as a *legal body*, referring to a civil state qua citizens, law, government, constitution or democracy that could be found in twelve (6%) anthems. In all of these cases, however, the respective themes were more often than not accompanied by a family metaphor, for example talking of history as forefathers or of soldiering sons. The same argument also applies to mentions of other *unifying symbols* such as flags or banners. Not a single anthem described the nation as a community, society or civilisation.

We did find some aspects that map on to depictions of a *national feminine*. Often, if the country was not described as a mother, the (possessive) pronoun equivalents of 'her', 'she' or other gendered indicators such as 'lady' were used to portray the nation. However, most of these cases occurred together with *sibling* or *children* terms or implied a 'mother figure', assuming that a nation's 'breast' or 'bosom' would most likely belong to a mother. Another example of implicit metaphoric family language is *secondary family language* advanced by Johnson (2001). Coming from an evolutionary perspective on 'local relatedness', he suggests that words related to family work like 'real' family terms. While this is rather problematic given the modern nature of nuclear families and the fact that not every 'concrete' family is as safe and warm as the 'abstract' understanding of it would make us believe (Bourdieu 1996), modern families do put a strong emphasis on home being where family is. Hence, even if we do not follow Johnson's (2001) reasoning, the general concept clearly adds a useful additional

perspective. This concept would allow the inclusion of terms such as 'hearth' or 'home(land)'. These themes cover 10% (n = 19) of the anthems without family language.

The only exception to this predominance of filial imagery we could find was describing a *sovereign*, say a monarch or a religious ethic. If this theme was present, a strong link between a *godsent* country and calls for *obedience* was also evident. There was no overlap with 'mother' or 'father' themes, but sometimes a (religious) *brotherhood* was referenced (e.g. the Muslim brotherhood). We found this particularly interesting as, similarly to other family metaphors, *social reality* and *mobilisation* are bound together. Yet the national community is established via a different commonality. While the community still has to be imagined, this either takes a religious form (e.g. of an Islamic umma) or establishes the hierarchical structure of monarchical rule. The focus shifts from the nation and its citizenry to a particular sovereign or religion. This mirrors Gellner's (2006) treatment of nationalism based on 'pre-modern' community, where pre-national sovereignties are transformed into national ones. Even these cases – with the exception of Queen Elisabeth II, which is more circumstantial accident than lyrical intent – refer to a masculine god/religion or male sovereign, and thus contain a strong notion of a gendered, masculine community. In 20 cases (10% of all anthems), the *sovereign* theme had no co-occurrence with any family metaphor. Thus, out of 197 anthems, only 28% contain neither family metaphor nor sovereign figure.

In conclusion, our study supports a conjuncture between nations and families. No other framing of the national community (e.g. legal, cultural or historical) was remotely as prevalent as family metaphors, which we coded strictly and could supplement by non-anthem use of family metaphors (e.g. in popular songs) and sub-family terms like 'home', 'hearth' or 'ancestor'. Moreover, we found no link between presentations of the nation as a 'filial community' or an 'imagined family' and specific nations or historical periods; instead, family metaphors are ubiquitously present within modern national symbols.

While the 'imagined family' as discussed in this paper provides a feasible framework for further studies, it is necessary to establish a more detailed theoretical grounding of the social, historical and political emergence of nations and families and how they came to be so deeply intertwined.

¹ A review of the musicological or sociological contributions on music, gender and nationalism would go beyond the scope of this paper; existing work addressing the intersections of these three topics includes Grotjahn (2009) or Eichner (2006).

² A full list of the anthems analysed is available from the first author.

³ This largely excluded cases of French, Spanish and Portuguese lyrics, when *patria/e* was used. Albeit these words technically mean 'fatherland', being derived from the Latin 'pater' (=father, head of the household), their translation was inconsistent across anthems. *Patria* for example was translated either as home, native, father- or motherland. Similarly, cases in which words like 'aïeux' or 'ancestros' had been translated as 'forefathers' rather than 'ancestors'.

⁴ A detailed version of the coding framework can be requested from the first author.

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