

**THE WHITE WOMAN'S BURDEN AND THE  
DUTCH TULIP ON THE TABLE:**

**The representation of  
Tanja Nijmeijer in Dutch media (2007-2016)**

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## List of Acronyms

ELN:	Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army), the oldest guerrilla, it was inspired by the Cuban revolution and the Theology of Liberation.
EPL:	Ejército Popular de Liberación (Popular Liberation Army). Maoists, it was inspired by the Chinese Revolution.
FARC:	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia) A rural guerrilla, with links with the Communist Party.
FUDRA	Fuerza de Despliegue Rápido (Fast Deployment Force). A special unit of the Colombian army.
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
M-19	Movimiento 19 de abril (Movement 19 April). A left Nationalist guerrilla, with an urban structure, and some supporters in the middle classes.
UP	Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union). A political party created by the FARC in 1984, with the participation of left-wing activists. The paramilitary killed more than 3.000 members and eventually the UP was declared nonexistent by the electoral authorities.

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## Abstract

In September 2007, the Colombian army released to the press some parts of the diary written by a Dutch woman who was a member of the FARC, a left-wing guerrilla fighting against the Government. Since then, and during the next decade, Tanja Nijmeijer had a recurrent mediatic presence, particularly in Dutch media, and as a result, the Colombian conflict was also a part of the mediatic coverage of the Dutch press. During the period between September 2007 and November 2016, Tanja Nijmeijer received hundreds of mentions in the media with three attention peaks, in 2007, when the diaries were found and her existence became public, in 2010, when an interview was published and there was uncertainty about whether she had died in a bombardment against the second FARC commander, and in 2012, when the FARC announced that she was part of the negotiating team in Havana, on the occasion of the peace talks with the government.

To fulfill the analysis, a revision was made of Dutch media material in the above-mentioned lapse. The basis of the research was the online material of newspaper 'De Volkskrant', but in support of the analysis, there was also a revision of material from 'De Telegraaf', 'NOS', 'Joop' and two books published on the topic. The methodology used in the research corresponds to framing and focalization, and the pretension of the study is to depict the way in which Tanja Nijmeijer was represented by Dutch Media.



The paper has the objective to determine how Tanja Nijmeijer was represented in terms of otherness and gender. The research showed that Tanja Nijmeijer representation was used by Dutch media as a prism to present the Colombian conflict, so that in various occasions the analysis of the Colombian situation was ignored to deliver information about the personal life of Tanja Nijmeijer. Indeed, it was concluded that the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer and the Colombian conflict, portrayed an image of what is acceptable or not in a person to be a Dutch, particularly in terms of the moral authority to help restore social justice in countries from the global south. Thus, the conception of Dutchness and otherness was central in the representation, in terms of the power relations derived from this opposition. Finally, the study showed how gender relations of power affected the framing of Tanja Nijmeijer, first as a Dutch female fighter in an illegal group in the third world, and later as a Dutch member of the negotiation team of the FARC in Havana.

### **Relevance to Development Studies**

This study shows how ‘otherness’ has been framed through the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer. This concept is of relevance as it depicts the way in which it is framed the legitimacy of the intervention in social injustices in the global south. It also provides information about the self-representation of Dutchness and the role this category plays in the pretension to help to improve the living conditions of people subject to economic or social oppression.

Equally, it shows how gender power relations affect the representation of a Dutch female fighter, member of an illegal group in a violent conflict, how she is framed in a gendered way, and how discrimination by gender can be still found in the representation of a Dutch woman playing a role in a social or military conflict.

### **Keywords**

Tanja Nijmeijer, otherness, Dutchness, FARC, Colombian conflict, media representation, framing, Dutch female fighter, gender power relations, white man’s burden.

*“Take up the White Man's burden —  
The savage wars of peace —  
Fill full the mouth of Famine  
And bid the sickness cease;”*

‘The White Man's Burden’ by Rudyard Kipling

## 1. Introduction

On 18 June of 2007, during the civil confrontation between the Colombian State and the FARC rebel guerrilla, the special forces of the army (FUDRA) attacked and took a guerrilla camp, in which they found a personal diary written in Dutch language (Semana 2007).

The diary had been written by a Dutch female fighter of the guerrilla, and it expressed her impressions, her doubts and her disappointments as a member of the FARC. The Army translated the diary into Spanish and made public some parts in middle August 2007. By September, the existence of a Dutch female Guerrilla and her diary provoked a media turmoil both in Colombia and in the Netherlands.

Since 2007, hundreds of articles, reports and interviews on Tanja Nijmeijer have been produced by news media, in Colombia, but particularly in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, besides press coverage, a book, a documentary and a TV series were released. In many ways, the face of Tanja Nijmeijer became recognisable for the grand public, and sometimes she was treated as a celebrity, as it happened in the Cinema Festival of Cartagena in 2017, when she was photographed in the exhibition of the documentary “El silencio de los fusiles” (The silence of the guns). (EFE 2017)

At first sight, Tanja Nijmeijer seems to have been represented in multiple ways by the Media: as a naïve girl (De Graaf 2012: 234), as a freedom fighter

(L'Ami 2012), as a kidnapped (De Volkskrant 2007a), as a coldblooded murderer (Valencia and Zumpolle 2010:182), as a bored superfluous girl affected by some kind of bovarysme (De Graaf 2012: 246; Valencia and Zumpolle 2010: 102, 167; Karskens 2010, etc), as a mascot of the FARC (Holtwijk 2007b), as a leader of the FARC (De Telegraaf 2016), and at the extreme of the nonsense, in September of 2007, she was compared with Anna Frank by an opinion columnist of 'El Tiempo' (Botero 2007).

In their Chronicle on Tanja Nijmeijer, Valencia and Zumpolle affirm that, in the case of Dutch press, first Media considered Tanja as a naive young dreamer involved in some kind of anachronic revolution, but after some time, she was called a terrorist, member of an organisation declared as such by the European Union (2010a: 209).

Notwithstanding, her representation had suffered a lot of changes, and has been far more complex than that, as the first mention of Tanja Nijmeijer in Dutch Media took place in 2007 when the Colombian civil confrontation was at its most intense, and the last report appeared twelve years later in 2019 (NPORADIO 2019), after she was part of the reincorporation plan derived from the peace agreement.

Being a female fighter member of an illegal group in a heteronormative society, her representation is problematic, as far as she is a transgressor in a double way, on the one hand she is exercising a violence not considered legitimate, and on the other hand this violence is not considered usual for a woman. Therefore, this transgressions are remarked in the representation, as in the case of a reportage in a Spanish newspaper, in which Tanja Nijmeijer was depicted as a whimsical or infantilized girl, and she was presented by her sister as a person who suffered "a short-circuit in her brain" and "did not know nothing about Colombia"? (Hernández-Mora 2010).

This depiction of Tanja Nijmeijer, in 'El Mundo' from Spain, points out the two axes of representation about which this document will deal with: the representation in terms of gender as Tanja Nijmeijer is a female fighter, and the representation in terms of 'otherness' as she is fighting in an overseas country, as part of an illegal group in a violent conflict in which the Netherlands is not involved in any way.

In response to the interrogation about why Tanja Nijmeijer became such a mediatic phenomenon, the short answer would be that she was a person of interest for the press, as her behavior was an exception, and this rareness derives precisely from the fact of being a Dutch female fighter in a foreign country. So, the way in which she is represented can tell us a lot about the significance of being a Dutch female, and how this character is related to the 'otherness' represented by the Colombian actors of the conflict. In other words, she comes from a Western European Developed country and decides to get engaged in a conflict of a peripheral country, and second, she is a female fighter involved with a violent terrorist group, which sets considerations related both to otherness and to Gender issues in the representation portrayed by Media.

So, the pretension of this paper is to outline how the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer is framed in terms of otherness and gender, under the assumption that power relations have influenced such representation. This task is important as it may identify the significances that these power relations have attributed to the concept of white Dutch female in relation to the entitlement to confront social injustice in a country from the global south.

Finally, as the representation of female fighters has been studied in the context of contemporaneous jihadism, it is important to determine if the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer differs from that one, and in such a case, explore the possible reasons for such a difference, whether it is related to gender relations of power or to the concept of otherness as opposed to what is considered as Dutch or not.

## 1.1 Assumptions and Hypothesis

First, I have assumed that as the Netherlands is a country from western Europe with a history of colonialism and is part of the group of hegemonic countries, and Colombia is a country from the global south with marginal influence in the international arena, the way in which the participation of Tanja Nijmeijer in the Colombian conflict is represented by Dutch media is influenced by the prism of otherness and/or exoticism. In such scenario, I expect the idea of Dutchness to be a primordial element in the representation of a Dutch female fighter involved in a violent conflict overseas, in how Dutch media conceives and represents the otherness in relation to the Colombian Conflict, and in how it is conceived by Dutch media the international engagement to alleviate social injustice and conflict in Colombia.

Second, I have also the assumption that male and female fighters are represented in different ways by Media. So, as it is stated in the Theoretical Framework, while male fighters are supposed to be described in terms of political commitment, rationality and ideology, a female fighter is supposed to be represented in terms that bypass her political motivations, and focuses in other topics like physical appearance or family relations. So, I expect this research will indicate how the involvement of Tanja Nijmeijer in ‘non-legitimate violence’, and if it is represented in a gendered way. Indeed, Tanja Nijmeijer seems to be clearly aware of this type of representation, as in her self-representation framed in interviews, Tanja Nijmeijer has emphasized her own rational will as the main factor in the decision to join the FARC (Emanuelsson 2012).

Finally, the research implies the hypothesis that there is a difference in the way Tanja Nijmeijer is represented by the Dutch media on the one hand, and the way Dutch female jihadists are represented on the other hand (Bakker and de Leede 2015: 2) (Bakker and de Bont 2016:3). According to this approach, it

was expected to find that, even when she is represented like an outcast, Tanja Nijmeijer is still considered by Dutch Media as “one of us”, whereas Dutch female jihadists are represented in the field of “otherness”.

## **1.2 Research problem**

In the case of Tanja Nijmeijer, the purposes of this paper is to establish how stereotyped has been her representation as an actor in a violent conflict in a Third World country, especially considering that the representation of actors in a conflict creates “intensified stereotypes of victims, villains and heroes” (Klaus and Kassel as cited in Brown 2011: 706). From this perspective, it is important to determine if she is represented as an empowered women or as a childish girl, if she is represented as a free adult or at the mercy of a male role, and if the representation of her role in the guerrilla is determined or not by her being a white woman.

The main research objective is to establish how determining are the relations of power in the framing of the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer by the Dutch media, particularly in terms of otherness and gender, during the period corresponding to 2007 to 2016. In order to attain this aim, it is the purpose of this paper to make a comprehensive analysis of the Dutch media of national reach, specially ‘De Volkskrant’, based on a set of frames identified as crucial in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer.

Thus, the research pretends to respond the following research question:

How is Tanja Nijmeijer represented by the Dutch media during the period 2007-2016, and how is this representation framed in terms of otherness and gender?

### **Sub questions**

- How is it framed the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer and the Colombian conflict in terms of power relations, particularly otherness?
- How is it framed the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer as a Dutch white woman engaged in the Colombian conflict, in terms of otherness?
- How is it framed the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer as a white Dutch female in terms of power relations, particularly gender?
- How is it framed the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer as a white Dutch female fighter in an illegal group, in terms of gender?

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1 Framing and focalization

The methodology to be used is framing and focalization and its aim is to determine the different ways in which Tanja Nijmeijer is portrayed by the media, and especially in the newspaper 'De Volkskrant'. Framing analysis will be useful to identify the elements of the narrative portrayed by the different texts regarding to the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer.

The presentation of a story or the representation of a person by Media implies always the selection of certain facts, features, aspects or language, and the omission of others. As reality cannot be grasped in its totality, the depiction of any fact is mediated by this kind of choices. But these choices are not neutral, as they pretend to explain or make sense to facts and stories.

The pretension to make sense to a story, entails the presentation of facts within a certain set of values, thus the news are not presented in an isolated way, but articulated into a broader structure of understanding. Thus, the way in which stories are depicted implies the adjustment of the elements of such story "into contextual frameworks of reference" (Nacos 2005: 436).

As the public cannot know the facts first-hand, its perception of events is mediated by mass media. Perforce, this representation of the facts must be partial, as the selection of the events presented to the public is determined by what the media considers relevant and morally acceptable or reproachable. Therefore, the way in which an event is represented by the media is not neutral, it involves an ethical framework in which the media and the spectator share (or do not) some identification, in other words, the depiction of an event implies a moral intention in the message directed to the public (Chouliaraki 2004: 186).



Indeed, this mediation highlights some events and ignores the rest, so that their existence for the public depends entirely on the way they are framed by the Media. Additionally, this mediation creates a safe distance between spectator and actors or victims of the events, and creates an articulation among them, that can assert “certain moral stances as universal, and thus link them to hegemonic political projects” (Chouliaraki 2004: 186). Therefore, in the case of events represented in western media, which take place in the global south, this representation reinforces an ethnocentric dichotomy between spectators and actors of the events, in which the former have a certain moral superiority over the distant “others” who are represented as a barbarian immoral or as victims lacking of agency to overcome the injustice of which they suffer.

According to this, the aim of the analysis of the framing used in the depiction of Tanja Nijmeijer by the Dutch media is to establish the set of values in the narrative used for her representation.

In order to undertake the revision of the chosen media in the most comprehensive way, a set of frames was chosen according to the following criteria:

- a. First, I have used the frames of representation described by Nacos, for the framing of female fighters, specifically the following: *(i)* the Physical Appearance Frame, *(ii)* the Family Connection Frame, *(iii)* the Terrorist for the Sake of Love Frame, *(iv)* the Women’s Lib/Equality Frame, *(v)* the Tough-as-Males/Tougher-than-Men Frame, and *(vi)* the Bored, Naïve, Out-of-touch-with-reality Frame (2005: 438 and so on).
- b. Second, it was found that the above-mentioned frames are too general to describe the kind of framing used by Dutch media in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer. Therefore, Nacos’ frames were subdivided in sub-frames as follows:

- The Physical Appearance Frame, was divided in two sub-frames: *-Reduced to a body* and *-A pretty girl*.
  - The Family Connection Frame was divided in two sub-frames: *-Mommy and daddy's girl* and *-The girl next door*.
  - The Terrorist for the Sake of Love Frame and the Women's Lib/Equality Frame were not subdivided.
  - The Tough-as-Males/Tougher-than-Men Frame was divided in six sub-frames: *-The sexual promiscuous*, *-The guerrillera*, *-The terrorist*, *-The wanted for abduction and terrorism*, *-The bug terrorist* and *-The cold blooded/cynical terrorist/war criminal*.
  - The Bored, Naïve, Out-of-touch-with-reality Frame was divided in six sub-frames: *-Hippie*, *-The bovarysme boredom*, *-The naughty girl*, *-Naïve*, *-The kidnapped/against her will* and *-Irrational/out of touch with reality/idealist*
- c. Third, it was found, that the frames in which Tanja Nijmeijer has been represented exceed the characterization developed by Nacos, particularly, as there are representations referred to free will and agency of Tanja Nijmeijer and the way in which Dutch media have turned her into a Media celebrity. Therefore, two sets of framing were included.
- (i) The first one has been called 'the empowered woman frame', in which four subframes have been depicted: *-The freedom fighter*, *-The willing decision*, *-The rational decision* and *- The main role in the guerrilla*, which, according to the analysis resulted crucial.

- (ii) The second frame is referred to the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer 'As a framed character in the media'. It corresponds to the articles or expressions in which it is explicit, that Dutch media has developed a media phenomenon around Tanja Nijmeijer.
- d. Fourth, the framing criteria of Nacos are also inadequate to analyse the concept of otherness in the representation, and to establish if there is any kind of stereotyping in the representation of the Colombian conflict and its actors. With this goal in mind, a set of frames has been developed which corresponds to the following:
- (i) the 'Otherness' frame, which includes four subframes, - *The identity of Dutch community*, -*Coloniality*, -*Exoticism* and -*Racism*.
  - (ii) The 'Tanja Nijmeijer as a tool of propaganda frame'.
  - (iii) The 'Colombian barbarism frame', which is outlined using three sub-frames -*Victims*, -*Perpetrators* and -*Saviours*
  - (iv) The Colombian inequality frame.
  - (v) The Colombian macho culture frame, and
  - (vi) The Colombian corruption frame, which is divided in two: - *Military and Government corruption* and -*Corruption in the guerilla*.
- e. Finally, a frame is included referring to the way in which Media portrays the self-representation of Tanja Nijmeijer.

## 2.2 Documents subject to analysis.

The basis of the analysis is a group of 185 articles produced by the Dutch newspaper 'De Volkskrant' between 3rd September 2007 and 14th October 2016, including press agencies reports, interviews, analysis and opinion articles.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, as a tool of context and interpretation, there will be mentions and comparisons to other media material, specially articles of the newspaper ‘De Telegraaf’, from which 95 articles have been analysed, the web site of the public broadcaster ‘NOS’, with 17 entries, and the independent webpage ‘JOOP.nl’ with 18 articles analysed.

Likewise, the book ‘Tanja een Nederlandse bij de FARC’ (Valencia and Zumpolle 2010) and the chapter ‘Tanja Nijmeijer, ‘stout buurmeisje’ from the book ‘Gevaarlijke vrouwen. Tien militante vrouwen in het vizier’ (De Graaf 2012) will be used in the analysis of the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer by the newspaper ‘De Volkskrant’

The selection of the material has been made according to the following criteria:

- a. ‘De Volkskrant’ has been chosen as the basis of the analysis, as this newspaper has the largest amount of articles on Tanja Nijmeijer, the longest period in which Tanja Nijmeijer has been mentioned in the web, and the widest range of frames in which she has been represented.
- b. The analysis has been limited only to online articles. This is based on the accessibility of the material and its capability to reach readers in any place without the need to get printed copies. Indeed, articles online are immediately available for the people who want to access information about Tanja Nijmeijer, no matter the place or the time in which the reader is located.
- c. The search criterion used in the web site of ‘De Volkskrant’ was Tanja Nijmeijer. Therefore, the analysis includes all the articles in which Tanja Nijmeijer is mentioned, regardless of whether she is the

central theme of the article or not. This same criterion was used in the case of ‘De Telegraaf’, ‘NOS’ and ‘Joop’.

As the purpose is to establish the way in which Tanja Nijmeijer has been represented, the methodology is addressed to analyse the text and discourse present in the material, so the analysis of visual aspects of the representation will be disregarded.

The starting point of the analysis is the quantitative determination of the number of occasions a frame or sub-frame is used in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer, along the whole period covered by the research. Based on the quantitative results, the analytic work will take place in order to interpret the information and establish how Dutch media has represented Tanja Nijmeijer as a Dutch female fighter in Colombia, in terms of otherness and gender, and how this representation has been used to portrait the Colombian conflict.

In the paper, the complete name of Tanja Nijmeijer will be used when referring to her. The use of just ‘Tanja’ is avoided, in order to prevent the possibility of infantilizing the representation, that is why the expression ‘girl’ is never used neither, as in my approach I start from the assumption that she is an adult woman who has made a rational and free decision when she joined the FARC Guerrilla.

### **2.3 Characterisation of the Media chosen for the Research Paper.**

‘De Volkskrant’ is a daily newspaper nationally distributed, and it is one of the three more read newspapers in the Netherlands (Press Reference 2019). Founded 100 years ago, originally, it was a Roman Catholic newspaper, which became “a left-wing newspaper in the 1960s, but began softening its stance in 1980” (Wikipedia 2019a). Its readers target is “a readership comprised of the

well-educated, middle-of the-road, young "Amsterdammers." (Press Reference 2019). In resume, its readers correspond to a progressist public, and the newspaper can be characterised as a media with tendencies of the center-left. The chosen articles correspond to reports and opinion articles, written by a big number of different press agencies, reporters and opinion columnists. From the media revised for this research, 'De Volkskrant' presents the widest set of positions and frames in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer, that is why this media has been chosen as the basis for the analysis.

Another Media which is going to be used to establish a contrast is 'De Telegraaf', a Daily newspaper founded in 1890 with the biggest national circulation (Press Reference 2019). The editorial line is more sensational, and its target are "conservative and populist" audiences and it participates in political campaigns (Wikipedia 2019b). The editorial line of 'De Telegraaf' is the counterpart of 'De Volkskrant', and this newspaper can be characterised as a media with tendencies of the right-wing. In the range of articles subject to analysis, it is possible to find press agencies, reporters and opinion columnists.

'NOS' is part of the public broadcasting service and produces news programs for the public television. (Wikipedia 2019c). As a public media, it is expected that it has a neutral political position.

'Joop' is a website with a left-wing tendency, and with some connections to public broadcast, and it has been subjected to some controversies, including copyrights reclamations (Wikipedia 2019d). It can be characterised as a progressist media with political tendencies of the left-wing.

The book 'Tanja. Een Nederlandse bij de FARC' (Valencia and Zumpolle 2010b) was produced as a chronicle with omniscient narrator, and has two versions with minor differences, one for the Colombian public (2010a) and other for the Dutch public (2010b). Valencia is a Colombian researcher and a

journalist who is also an ex combatant of the ELN, and he has direct knowledge of the warfare in the Colombian conflict. Zumpolle, the co-author, is a Dutch activist who worked for Pax Christi Netherlands in Latin America, and, at the moment of the publication of the book she was representative of the organization 'Manos por la Paz Internacional' which worked with demobilized guerrilla members (2010a). According to what is portrayed in the documentary 'Dichter bij Tanja' (Closing in on Tanja), Zumpolle worked in direct contact with the military in Colombia (2010). Along the time, in different interviews and panels, she has expressed her deep disagreement with the FARC and she has manifested an open criticism of Tanja Nijmeijer.

Finally, the chapter "Tanja Nijmeijer, 'stout buurmeisje'" from the book 'Gevaarlijke Vrouwen. Tien militante vrouwen in het vizier' was written by Beatrijce De Graaf (2012), and although the author is an academic of the University of Utrecht, the book was written for divulgation to the broader public, and she has a known presence as terrorism expert in the media (2012)

## **2.4 Possible bias and positionality.**

The topic and approach of this paper concern me personally in two ways. First, as a Colombian lawyer and trainer of entrepreneurs in remote areas of Colombia, I have had direct contact with victims of the conflict, including, victims of the Farc, so it is possible that my experience affects how I consider the way in which the Dutch media has portrayed the diverse actors of the Colombian conflict. Also, I must acknowledge that, before the undertaking of this research I had a personal concept about the figure of Tanja Nijmeijer derived from her representation in Colombian media.

Second, as a Colombian citizen and student, I am aware of the way in which, 'otherness' is perceived from the point of view of the 'other', in a Eurocentric vision, and I am aware of the need of recognition experienced by many

Colombians and by Colombian institutions in European scenarios. In this sense, it is of my interest to understand the way in which being a Colombian is represented by the Dutch media, through the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer.

Finally it is to be noted that the analysed texts were produced in the Dutch language, in which I am not fluent, and the present research paper has been prepared in the English language, so the quotes and analysis are based on the translation of the original texts.



### 3. Theoretical Frame

As Brown asserts, the representation in media is operated through “media linguistic practices’ (2011: 706) which shape the construction of the issues involved in the representation. These practices imply the selection and presentation of some facts and features that are represented as real. As real life is essentially inapprehensible, it is the representation of Media what portrays the ‘reality’ of events to the spectators, so that the public does not react to the facts as they really happened, but to the facts as they have been presented by media (Page and Shapiro as cited in Brown 2011: 709)

Nevertheless, this representation is not innocent, on the contrary it is shaped by specific relations of power. Therefore, one of the forms in which power is exercised is the attribution of significance to the facts, through their representation. So, the attribution of truth to the events is determined by the power position from which it is formulated. In other words, what becomes true in the representation depends on the power position of the one who portrays the representation. (Chouliaraki 2004: 188)

But how does this attribution of significance and truth take place? According to the discursive approach derived from the works of Michel Foucault, language is the main tool in the creation and attribution of meaning (Hall 1997a: 17). That implies that every representation is related to a set of concepts which serve as a framework to give significance to the fact that is intended to be described. But in turn, the only way to share these concepts is through language, so the interaction between concepts and signs shape the “meaning-systems” (Hall 1997a: 18) which are the base of representation.

Therefore, representation gives meaning to facts and things, and at the same time, and subsequently, every attempt to grasp the reality through a communicative process implies a representation. In other words, facts cannot be apprehended by the communication process, but they only can be represented. In fact, representation is not just referred to significance, but it is about the discourse that frames this significance, so discourse is not just descriptive but configurative (Hall 1997a: 44).

Thus, the discourse in its configurative process establishes the way in which representation is depicted, and in the case of conflicts, one of the process of signification is the stereotyping of the actors in the conflict, as “victims, villains and heroes” (Klaus and Kassel as cited in Brown 2011: 706).

### **3.1 Otherness and the representation of Western intervention in Third World countries**

In 2011, the official website of VPRO, presented a podcast with an interview with Hanro Smitsman, Director of the TV show “Eileen”, based on the story of Tanja Nijmeijer. According to him, his main interest in the struggle of Nijmeijer derived from a very specific idea expressed in the TV show: make a difference. Indeed, the Dutch Director says: “ik vind mensen die iets doen interessanter dan mensen die niets doen.” (I found people who engage more interesting than people who do not”) (VPRO 2011).

This notion of engaging arises a main issue: the legitimacy of Western actors to intervene and make the difference in the Third World. This is equally relevant in the case of Human Rights activism, and in the case of interventions making use of force, including the existence of western “freedom fighters” in the struggles of third world countries. In such a case, it is relevant to establish how are represented the ‘others’ who are supposed to need help, the ‘others’

who are considered perpetrators and how is represented the one who claims to be entitled to help.

Pupavac has showed how the representation of refugees, as ‘the others’ arrived in the country, can be variable depending on the framing with which they are described by the advocates of welcoming refugees. This framing can be either heroic, as in the case of the political refugees from the Cold War or from the Latin American dictatorships, or traumatised, as in the case of refugees from violent conflicts, or it can be feminized and depoliticized. In general, the framing and the representation of the ‘other’ determines the actions or the attitudes that can be taken with respect to this other. (Pupavac 2008)

In his approach to the human rights narrative, Mutua portrays a triad of “savages-victims-saviors” (2001: 201). In this conception otherness is represented either as an innocent state of nature and helplessness or as a state of barbarian savagery, in which victims, lacking the agency to face their oppressors need to be saved by the intervention of a western saviour. This tension between the good savage and the uncivilized barbarian shapes the traditional vision of the western civilization about the “other”, and justifies the civilizing task of the white man or the white woman, as his intervention is necessary either to save the oppressed or to prevent the action of the barbarian.

This media representation of the other as a savage has been central in the justification of western intervention in the third world as Carruthers has shown in her study on the way media has represented the ‘African Savagery’ (2004).

This dual conception of the civilised self-opposed to the savage other is relevant as self-representation of being Dutch implies the idea of “a small but just ethical guiding nation, internationally” (Wekker 2016:13). The idea of ethical prominence legitimises the duty to engage in the correction of problems of the

savage other, and also it could be related to Wekker idea of a “Manichean logic” implicit in the self-representation of white Dutch, in which otherness implies the “impossibility of being both European, constructed to mean being white and Christian and being, black-Muslim-migrant-refugee” (2016: 21). This duality raises the question if the representation of white Dutch Women differs from the representation of other non-white Dutch women involved in conflicts as jihadists.

Indeed, when the idea of otherness is mediated by a simplified binary opposition “There is always a relation of power between the poles” (Derrida as cited by Hall 1997b: 235). Thus, the concept of otherness underlines always a relation in which ‘us’ and ‘the other’ have an asymmetric position in the representation, where ‘the other’ (represented) is always in the inferior extreme. To remark this asymmetry, one of the characteristics of representation is the racialization of the “other”, so this ‘other’ is represented as racially different, with features that remarks his/her moral, cultural and historical inferiority (Hall 1997b: 239)

Consequently, stereotyping is inherent to the representation of the ‘other’ in a racialized way. The process of stereotyping in the representation take place through the framing of the events presented in the media. According to Entman, “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text” (as cited in Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008: 53).

By framing, media approach events and reality in a partial way, but, as reality is impossible to be apprehended in its entire character, framing is a way in which facts and people can be depicted in a meaningful way. Of course, framing is a expression of power, the one who is framing chooses certain features of the events or people, and discard others, creating a particular representation of these events or people, and communicating this representation, so that for the recipient of the information, the represented is reduced to the features

that the media decided to point out. By framing, media influence the perception of society about the represented facts or people (Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008: 54)

The consequence of stereotyping through framing is that the ‘other’ is deprived from the agency to evolve or change and is represented according to a set of distinctive and unchangeable characteristics. This character of framing explains why framing is fundamental in the understanding of media representation of female fighters, and it clarifies why the method used in this research paper corresponds to framing and focalization.

### **3.2 The representation of female fighters**

The present paper starts from the assumption that male and female fighters are represented in different ways. According to literature one of the features in the representation of female fighters is that female violence is portrayed as unnatural, even though “more than 30 percent of international terrorists are women, and females are central to membership rosters and operational roles in nearly all insurgencies” (Harmon as cited in Nacos 2005: 436),

Nacos has found that Media representation of female combatants and female politicians are both determined by cultural patterns about female roles, so “gender stereotypes are found in the news about nonviolent and violent political actors” (2005: 436). This gender bias implies that, no matter the evidence of their role in violent groups, one of the most important concerns in Media representation is setting the reasons why women exert violence, against her supposedly pacific nature.

Female fighters are not only represented as unnatural, but as subordinated, proposing that their motivations and decisions were determined by their

relationships with male counterparts, exceptions to this heteronormative assumption are framed as exceptional, so in the depiction in media of female combatants there is “a dominant, even hegemonic, construction of femininity, one which subordinates women’s actions and motives to men.” (Sjoberg and Gentry as cited in Brown 2011: 708)

But in terms of legitimacy, a female fighter in a rebel group is twice an anomaly; first, because women are represented as naturally peaceful, and second, because legal “‘civilised’/ legitimate norms of warfare” (De Mel 2004: 85), with its set of rules for the exercise of violence by recognised states, is normalised in Media representation, in opposition to terrorism, which constitutes a perversion of the hegemonic idea of legal warfare and legitimate violence. Hence, female fighters are “a deviance (violent female actors) within an already deviant framework (terrorism).” (Melzer 2009: 36)

In general, female fighters are represented as subordinated, irrational, lacking agency and political motivation, unnatural, and therefore, deviant or non-human.

Nacos has established a set of general frames of representation of female fighters, composed by six frames: (i) ‘The physical appearance frame’, (ii) ‘The family Connection Frame’, (iii) ‘Terrorist for the sake of love’, (iv) ‘The women’s lib/equality frame’, (v) ‘The ‘Tough-as-Males/Tougher-than-Men Frame’, (vi) ‘The Bored, Naïve, Out-of-touch-with-reality Frame’ (2005: 438 and so on).

All six have in common, that they provide a subordinate depiction, in which women are not involved in political action by their own right, but in relation to heteronormative values, either their beauty or good looking, or their familiar relationships. This is applicable to some female jihadists whose familiar influence or the way in which they have been raised in the Islam is alleged to determine their terrorist activities. But it is also predicable of western terrorists,

when the press attributes their behaviour to “distant fathers they desperately hate and want to hurt through their rebellion, or mothers who neglected their duties” (Melzer 2009: 50)

Also, the behaviour of a female combatants can be framed as the consequence of concerns in her private life and not derived from her political convictions, depriving women from participating in the public sphere, as their actions would be determined by the will of their husband or lover (Brunner as cited by Brown 2011: 710).

In the case of ‘The women’s lib/equality frame’, women are deprived of political transcendence as participation in a terrorist group are depicted as a mean to get over heteronormativity oppression (Nacos 2005: 442).

Female fighters can be framed as a deviation from the natural role of women. According to Brown, that was the case of Muriel Degauque an European suicide bomber whose act of violence was depicted as a “pathology and deviance triggered by some trauma” or the victim of “an incomprehensible aberration” (2011: 712)

It is also possible that the female fighter is presented contrary to female nature, in at least two ways, “either as an irrational woman or a terrorist who is more man than woman” (Jacques and Taylor 2009: 505), so that, in any case the female fighter is stripped of her femininity.

Finally, in the case of ‘The Bored, Naïve, Out-of-touch-with-reality Frame’ (Nacos: 445), women are victims of bovarysme, and become terrorists out of boredom, or they are infantilized as stupid innocent girls. In the case of German female terrorists of the 1970s, they were infantilized by the Media, using “the diminutive term ‘girls’. This emphasizes a general tendency to frame women as (political) minors” (Melzer 2009: 46).

The presence of this type of framing in the representation has as effect that there is a constant in the depiction of female fighters, who are stereotyped “as victims, passive and largely marginal actors in ‘serious’ news stories” (Brown 2011: 707). Equally, their violence is depicted as “irrational or emotional ... whilst men’s violence was more likely to be presented as ‘normal’ or rational” (Nailor as cited in Brown 2011: 707). Indeed, what this kind of depoliticized representation emphasizes is the conception that women are not capable to have political convictions by themselves. (Melzer 2009: 49).

In general, the explanations given to women’s decision of exercising violence, are full of clichés about what is considered femininity (Jacques and Taylor 2009: 505). Consequently, female terrorists not only infringe what is considered civilised warfare, but with their acts, they incur in a “gender transgression involved in its perpetration” (Sjoberg and Gentry 2007): they are women doing a dirty man’s job.

One of the main characteristics in the representation of female fighters or female terrorists is the main role played by their bodies and their sexuality, in a way in which, female body is pretended to be subordinated. This idea implies that, the sexualization of female combatants not only delegitimizes their fight, but it has the pretension to take control of a female body which is in rebellion. (Brown 2011: 707)

From this point of view, Media representation entails a relation between the deviant behavior of the female terrorist in terms of violence and warfare and her deviant behavior in terms of sexuality. Such is the case of a female suicide bomber in Iraq, whose “sexual past was assumed to be important in her decision to convert, radicalize and commit an act of ‘martyrdom’” (Brown 2012: 713). In this case “she is presented as outside of the dominant middle-class ideal of the ‘European women’” (2011: 713)



These sexualization of female terrorists in the representation is in open contrast with the lack of mentions to the sexuality in the case of male terrorists, as female violence undermines gender roles and stereotypes (Nacos 2005: 437).

## **4. Context of the problem**

### **4.1 The conflict in Colombia**

The conflict in Colombia has multiple causes, it has occurred with the participation of multiple actors and, for some scholars, it can be traced back at least until 1948 (Molano 2014; Díaz 2018).

Díaz has distinguished at least three main periods, *(i)* Between 1948 and 1964, a period which includes ‘La Violencia’, an irregular and non-declared civil war between liberals and conservatives, in which at least 2% of the population was killed and three main actors intervened: The Government forces, the conservative paramilitaries and the liberal guerrillas (2018: 18); *(ii)* Between 1964 and 1991, in which a lot of left-wing guerrillas were constituted, including the ELN (1964), the FARC (1964), the EPL (1965) and M-19 (1974), and finished with the peace agreement with the M-19, the EPL and two minor groups, and the promulgation of a new constitution (2018: 18); and *(iii)* Between 1991 and 2010, in which there were multiple peace negotiations, and it took place a big offensive of the right-wing paramilitary and the Government forces against the guerrilla groups, mainly the FARC (2018: 16).

### **4.2 The FARC**

The FARC has its origins in a movement of agrarian self-defence, in which some victims and/or guerrilleros of ‘La Violencia’ had organized armed communitarian structures around communal lands. In 1964, the Government attacked and bombed those communities, which, in consequence, radicalized and created the FARC with some support from the communist party (Molano 2014). In the lapse between 1964 and 1998, the FARC experienced a slow but constant expansion in military terms. In 1984 the Government and the FARC

signed La Uribe Agreement, which established a truce, a negotiation process and the possibility to create a political party: the UP. Eventually, the truce was broken, the negotiations failed, and the right-wing paramilitary killed more than 3000 members of the UP, until the electoral authorities declared the party as non-existent for lack of representation (Díaz 2018: 21).

In the 1990s, the conflict escalated as the paramilitary and the FARC strengthened, producing hundreds of thousands of dead and disappeared, and millions of forced displaced. Between 1999 and 2002, the Government and the FARC undertook a negotiation process in a demilitarised area denominated 'El Caguan', with the size of Switzerland, and which was occupied by the guerrilla (Díaz 2018: 25). Eventually, the negotiation process of 'El Caguan' also failed.

Between 2002 and 2010, President Alvaro Uribe led a strong military offensive against the FARC which conducted to the strategic defeat of the guerrilla, whose members and activities were significantly reduced (2018: 27). As it has been mentioned repetitively by 'De Volkskrant', the FARC were involved in actions of drug trafficking, kidnapping, and children recruitment, and the group was included in a terrorist list by the European Union (Annex 12). Finally, between 2012 and 2016 the FARC and the Colombian government developed a peace negotiation process which ended with the celebration of a peace agreement, by which the FARC demobilized as a guerrilla and was transformed into a political party.

### **4.3 Tanja Nijmeijer**

According to Valencia and Zumpolle, the first contact of Tanja Nijmeijer with the FARC took place in 2001, while she was a teacher of English language in a private school of Pereira. Being there, she decided to do a trip to the demilitarized zone of 'El Caguan', where she assisted to the creation by the FARC of

a political movement denominated ‘Marcha patriótica’ (Patriotic march) (2010b: 164).

In 2002, she joined the urban militias of the FARC, and participated in a series of bombings against the public transport system in Bogotá and in an attempt to kill a right-wing representative of the cattle breeders’ federation (Valencia and Zumpolle 2010b: 33). Eventually, she was transferred to the battlefield, and she was assistant of commanders Carlos Lozada and Mono Jojoy, the number 2 in the ranks of the FARC (De Volkskrant 2010c). After surviving several attacks and bombardments, she was appointed as a member of the negotiation team in Havana, during the peace talks between the Colombian Government and the FARC which ended with the signature of the Peace Agreement.

As a Dutch female fighter in a South American country, Tanja Nijmeijer became world news in 2007, when her diaries were found in an attack of the FUDRA against a FARC camp, in which she was an assistant to commander Carlos Lozada (Genovesi 2010).

## **5. The representation of Tanja Nijmeijer by ‘De Volkskrant’ and other Dutch media**

As noted above, it is impossible to grasp entirely the occurrence of an event, so when media undertake the task to show the actions of Tanja Nijmeijer, they have no option but to make a representation.

The participation of Tanja Nijmeijer in the Colombian conflict has taken place within the framework of specific power relationships, therefore one of the key elements in the analysis of representation is how power has articulated the knowledge of the topic, and how the ‘truth’ is produced by the power. But in the Foucauldian approach power is not structured in a pyramidal way, but it is “exercised through a net-like organization” (Hall 1997a: 50).

So, in the case of Tanja Nijmeijer, the truth of the knowledge about her and her transgressions is created in the frame of this web in which power is exercised. Two power relationships highlight in such web. First, the geopolitical power which enables the Dutch media to frame otherness from the self-identification inherent to the concept of Dutchness, and which allows the Dutch media to depict a certain image of the Colombian conflict and its actors, and it is the context in which concepts as terrorist or war criminal can be signified. Second, the gender power which frames the image of Tanja Nijmeijer as an illegal female fighter who can be infantilized, romanticized or empowered according to the way the discourse creates the meaningful image of a ‘normal woman’. Therefore, our central discussion is related to both, otherness and gender and how they are framed within the power relations that cover them.

In the case of the framing of Tanja Nijmeijer by printed media, there is an antecedent of a research paper comprehending a wide set of publications during the year 2012. The research of Mols is focused mainly in aspects referred to communication and media concerns. Therefore, gender issues are a marginal

subject, and otherness considerations are not mentioned at all. In her research, Mols identified at least seven frames in which Tanja Nijmeijer was represented (2013: 103-106):

- Jungle puss
- The guerrillera from Twente
- Member of the FARC
- Freedom fighter
- Terrorist
- Tanjmania
- Propaganda

On the other side, the present research paper comprehends the entire production of material about Tanja Nijmeijer in the newspaper ‘De Volkskrant’ in the decade between 2007 and 2016, and it is focused in how she was represented in terms of otherness and in terms of Gender relations of power. So, the remarks in this research paper differs from those ones in Mols’ work. In any case, some of her conclusions will be examined in our analysis corresponding to the representation framed in terms of Gender.

## 5.1 Findings

As it was stated in the methodology section, five groups of framing were used in the analysis of the data: *(i)* the frames of representation described by Nacos, referred to Gendered representation (2005: 438 and so on), *(ii)* the empowered woman frames, *(iii)* As a framed character in the media, *(iv)* the otherness frames and frames related to the representation of Colombian topics and *(v)* the self-representation frame.

Based on this analysis a complete matrix was produced, in which it is possible to appreciate the different frames used not only by ‘De Volkskrant’, but

also by 'De Telegraaf', 'NOS', 'JOOP', by De Graaf (2012) and by Valencia and Zumpolle (2010). Indeed, 36 frames and subframes were used in the analysis of the material produced about Tanja Nijmeijer by the above-mentioned Media.

From this matrix, a set of tables and annexes was created, which are the basis of the analysis portrayed in this paper. According to the analysis, it is possible to portray some main findings which are going to be central in the further analysis.

- a. In the case of the frames described by Nacos, referred to Gendered representation, two of them were not applicable: 'the Terrorist for the Sake of Love Frame' and 'the Women's Lib/Equality Frame', so they were not used, and their absence is addressed in the analytical section.
- b. According to Table 1, it was found that the most repeated frame in the case of 'De Volkskrant' is by far the 'Main role in the guerrilla', which is used 69 times. This one corresponds to the group of frames we have called the 'Empowered woman frames'. This finding is consistent with the case of 'De Telegraaf', in which this frame is used 74 times out of 95 articles, almost in the 80% of the articles.
- c. According to table 8, mentions to Tanja Nijmeijer have their peaks in 2007, 2010 and by the end of 2012 and the beginning of 2013. The top reiteration of mentions took place in 2012, with 192 mentions, which is particularly remarkable, as almost everyone corresponds to the last trimester. These three peaks are related to three main events that generated mediatic interest: 1) In September 2007, the diary of Tanja Nijmeijer was found by the Colombian military; 2) In 2010, an interview of Tanja Nijmeijer was broadcasted, and little after, there was a bombing to the camp in which she served as assistant, so there were uncertainty about her surviving; and 3) In October 2012, it was announced the beginning of peace talks between the Colombian Government and the FARC and she was appointed as a member of the FARC delegation.

- d. The criterion to choose an article for the sample was the mention of Tanja Nijmeijer, so it is important to note that, as can be seen in Annex 1, out of 185 articles of 'De Volkskrant' only 120 correspond to stories directly related to Tanja Nijmeijer. Indeed, in 65 cases, more than the third part, the mention of Tanja Nijmeijer is incidental and/or does not have any relation to the main story. In the case of 'De Telegraaf', the proportion is bigger than the 50%, as in 49 of 95 articles, the mention of Tanja Nijmeijer is marginal or is not related directly to the story.

## **5.2 Representation in terms of otherness**

### **Tanja Nijmeijer as a lens for the representation of the Colombian conflict**

Indeed, as Tanja Nijmeijer is an exceptional case in the Netherlands, the way in which she is represented by media pretends to give meaning to such a situation. As it is symbolised by the fictional mother of Eileen in the TV Series (Eileen 2011), one of the purposes of the mediatic representation is to make sense to an event that seems, at first sight, incomprehensible. But, giving meaning to the actions of Tanja Nijmeijer involves representing what is understood as Dutchness, and how this representation is related to the actions occurred in Colombia, thousands of kilometres away. It is in this scenario where signifying is related to the process of representation of both Dutch identity and otherness, as it frames the way in which the actions of a Dutch Female fighter are pretended to be understood by the public.

In her Master's degree thesis, Mols demonstrated to what extent Tanja Nijmeijer became a mediatic phenomenon and "has become a media personality apart from the FARC" (Mols 2013: 85). Only in 2012, hundreds of reports were



produced by Dutch Press on this issue (2013: 94-99), and in the case of 'De Volkskrant', Tanja Nijmeijer was mentioned 192 times in this same year (Table 8). This profusion of references implies that Tanja Nijmeijer has been chosen by Dutch media and by 'De Volkskrant' as an explanatory feature in the case of the Colombian conflict.

In fact, a very important proportion of the allusions to Tanja Nijmeijer in 'De Volkskrant' (35%) and in 'De Telegraaf' (52%) are not directly related to the main story of the article, on the contrary, the main issue is completely unrelated to her, but in all these cases there is a paragraph in which she is mentioned as a member or a negotiator of the FARC. Indeed, what this data suggests is that Tanja Nijmeijer in the decade comprised between 2007 and 2016 became for 'De Volkskrant' the prism through which Colombian conflict and Colombian reality were represented and understood. As Geelen asserted explicitly in his article for 'De Volkskrant' on 19<sup>th</sup> May 2010, "who would have watched a documentary about Colombia without the personal story about Tanja Nijmeijer?" (2010).

Therefore, Colombia became relevant insofar as Tanja Nijmeijer existed: "In recent years, Colombia has been in the news in the Netherlands mainly because of Tanja Nijmeijer" (De Volkskrant 2013b). When the diaries of Tanja Nijmeijer became world news in 2007 (Genovesi 2010), her mediatic relevance conditioned the way in which 'De Volkskrant' showed the news about Colombia, particularly in the case of the peace talks between 2012 and 2016.

In the Annex 1, it is possible to see how from January 2013 to October 2016, the representation of the peace talks was always referred to Tanja Nijmeijer in ways that were completely irrelevant to the corresponding news so that from 44 articles in which she is mentioned, only in 9 (20%), she is the actual subject of the article. In the remaining 80%, Tanja Nijmeijer is mentioned in a completely gratuitous way, as if for example, the aid of Jimmy Carter in the peace talks depended on the fact that she is a member of the Negotiation team of the

FARC (De Volkskrant 2013a). The inopportune and indiscriminate use of her name, went so far as to include her mention in the coverage of the royal visit to Colombia, as if the membership to the FARC of Tanja Nijmeijer were related in any way to the arrival of King Willem-Alexander to Colombia (De Volkskrant 2013b)

The evidence that every news about Colombian peace talks had to be framed around the role of Tanja Nijmeijer, implies not only an ethnocentric vision of the country, but, mainly a banalization of the Colombian conflict. Thus, when the Colombian football legend Carlos Valderrama proposed a football match for peace between former professional players and members of the FARC, and the leaders of the FARC accepted the proposal, 'De Volkskrant' titled: "Peace match between Tanja Nijmeijer and 'blond Gullit'" (2013c), even though neither Ruud Gullit nor Tanja Nijmeijer had any relation to the news. So, for 'De Volkskrant', it was not possible to represent Carlos Valderrama as himself, but as a blond version of Gullit, and a note about Colombian peace process was framed in a very superficial and local Dutch way, without any insight about the situation of Colombia.

Therefore, a lot of news about Tanja were displayed, not in the international politics section, but in culture or media or entertainment sections. As the public peace talks began in October 2012, much of the coverage was directed by Dutch media to Tanja Nijmeijer, sometimes in a way typical of a pop star. Thus, 'De Volkskrant' dedicated 16 articles to the possible trip of Tanja Nijmeijer first to Oslo, and after to Cuba, 5 articles to the possible meeting or phone conference between Tanja Nijmeijer and her family, and 2 articles to her city tour in Havana (Annex 1), and 'De Telegraaf' did similar.

Thus, in some cases, Social Injustice in Colombia and the victims of the conflict are depicted as an explanatory factor for the decision of Tanja Nijmeijer (Geelen 2011; Holtwijck 2007a) or as a contextual note to illustrate her situation.

But even when, the description of Colombian conflict is portrayed as an autonomous story, the mention to Tanja Nijmeijer is present to remind us, that a Dutch woman has a role to play in the conflict (Van de Water 2013). In fact, Mols had remarked in her research how little background information about the Colombian conflict was provided in the articles related to Tanja Nijmeijer (2013: 84)

When the Colombian reality is depicted through the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer, this circumstance takes place within specific relations of power. Indeed, it implies a relationship of moral or economic subordination between the Netherlands, a rich and civilized country, and Colombia, a Third World country involved in a war for more than 50 years, and in which, barbaric crimes occur. In Table 8 it is possible to see how 22 mentions are done to the corruption in the guerrilla, 21 mentions are done to the suffering of victims, and 19 to the barbarism of perpetrators. Those mentions establish a distinction and a distance between the barbaric Colombia and the civilized Netherlands. When Grunberg says that “in South America the methods of the state are often inferior to the terrorist methods of the enemies of that state” (2012), he is asserting that the state in South America does not have the same virtuous standards of the Dutch state. So, in this single phrase the author uses the topic of Tanja Nijmeijer as a mean to depict the representation of both Dutch identity and otherness. Namely, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer is a tool to give meaning to the participation of a Dutch citizen in a conflict that takes place in a foreign country, where the rules of a civilized society are not respected even by the state. With this depiction intersected by a set of implied values, ‘De Volkskrant’ can communicate meaningfully how Tanja Nijmeijer resulted involved in the Colombian conflict.

The significance of her involvement in the Colombian conflict was not fixed in a definitive way and evolved according to the construction of meaning in the communicative processes, which is consistent with the constructional approach as it was delineated by Hall (1997a: 25). Therefore, the evolution in the

representation of Tanja Nijmeijer was tied together to the historical events of the Colombian Conflict in the same years. So, in 2007, when the found diaries were presented as a proof of the inhuman methods of the FARC and the disagreement of Tanja Nijmeijer with the movement, she was represented in a very infantilized way, as a Mommy and Daddy's girl (6 times), as naive (5) as lacking touch with reality (5), as a girl next door (4), as a naughty girl (4), as an instrument of propaganda (4) and even as a kidnapped (3) (Table 8).

But in 2010, when the conflict intensified, and it was clear that Tanja Nijmeijer was in the FARC by her own will, the three more frequent frames used by 'De Volkskrant' were as a guerrillera, normally specifying that she was a 'Dutch' member (18 times) as a tool of propaganda (9) and as a cold blooded terrorist (7). So, in 2010, she is presented as a more empowered woman, and therefore she was depicted as member of a terrorist group, responsible for her acts (Table 12).

Finally, in 2012, after the beginning of the peace talks of the Colombian Government and the FARC, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer was portrayed using the 'Main role in the guerrilla' frame, with 32 mentions, compared to just 11 mentions as a terrorist (Table 14). Indeed, the characterization of Tanja Nijmeijer is framed in new ways, as in two articles, reporters did not call her a member of the guerrilla, nor a fighter, nor a terrorist, but an 'activist' (Heijmans and Lindhout 2012; Bockting 2012). In fact, in the years 2013, 2015 and 2016, the most used representation of Tanja Nijmeijer is the 'Main role in the guerrilla' frame (Table 15, Table 17 and Table 18).

As it was anticipated in Table 1, the 'Main role in the guerrilla' frame is the most mentioned by 'De Volkskrant' in the whole decade, so it is important to delineate the significance of this specific framing, particularly taking into account that she is a white Dutch female immersed in a conflict in a third world country.

## **The White man's burden and the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer**

In an interview to 'De Volkskrant' on 7<sup>th</sup> November 2012, Zumpolle expresses about Tanja Nijmeijer that "Before her diaries came to the publicity, she was a nobody," (...) "They now see her publicity value. Otherwise she probably would have died as a ground soldier" (Smit 2012). This assertion of Zumpolle dehumanizes Tanja Nijmeijer and attributes value to her, only to the extent that she has a mediatic presence. Indeed, the mediatic construction of Tanja Nijmeijer is one of the main topics in her representation. In the Table 1 it is possible to note that the frames 'As a framed character in the media' and 'As a tool of propaganda' have 35 and 30 mentions in the whole period.

This 'celebrity status' determines the way in which she is depicted by 'De Volkskrant' in a series of articles, and explains why the newspaper finds it so essential to make a mention of Tanja Nijmeijer even in stories that are not related at all with her, as it has been explained in the previous section. From the very beginning, Tanja Nijmeijer became a media presence, and with that, the above-mentioned banalization of the Colombian conflict was evident, that is why t-shirts with her photo were designed with the idea of marketing "our own Dutch rebel" (Wanders 2007).

Except for a few articles, that will be commented below, Tanja Nijmeijer is represented as a member of the Dutch community. Thus, when she is framed as a guerrillera of the FARC by 'De Volkskrant' (Table 1), we have found that out of 60 times, in 35 she is characterised as a 'Dutch' member, or a 'Dutch' fighter or even a 'Dutch' activist. This is even more relevant in the case of 'De Telegraaf', as out of 22 times in which she is depicted as a guerrillera, in 100% of the cases, she is named as a 'Dutch' member, and in the case of 'NOS', the proportion is 6 out of 8. So, Tanja Nijmeijer has kept her Dutchness in the representation portrayed by this media.

Now, as the Foucauldian approach implies that the discourse “constructs the topic” (Hall 1997a: 44), the relationship of Tanja Nijmeijer with the FARC and the Colombian conflict has been constructed from her representation as a Dutch white woman. This discourse has created the personage, framing the knowledge about her, so, in the media, the meaning of the personage does not exist outside the mentioned discourse. Although, Tanja Nijmeijer exists outside the discourse, her significance cannot be explained outside the discourse. It is the discourse which has created her as a topic, and in this sense, the statement of Zumpolle is right, as her mediatic celebrity is directly related to the importance of Tanja Nijmeijer in the representation of the FARC.

Accordingly, ‘De Volkskrant’ has framed the concepts of Dutchness and otherness around the figure of Tanja Nijmeijer. So, one of the first articles of Volkskrant established the relationship of subordination between the western developed and the third world, as it is declared that Tanja Nijmeijer “was shocked by poverty, inequality and repression” in Colombia (Holtwijk 2007a). Consequently, in the representation is present the idea of a moral and material superiority attributed to Tanja Nijmeijer, compelling her to help and to save the people of Colombia.

This idea is present even in articles that are sarcastic, as when Grunberg says that “She also puts her idealism into practice in the periphery and not in the Netherlands, completely in line with western strategy of fighting wars in the periphery” (2012) or in articles that are openly critical, as when Van Nistelrooij complains about the media turmoil around Tanja Nijmeijer instead of reporting “on the consequences for the Colombian population” and how this attention on her “shows the disdain for the people who suffer from terror every day” (2012).

Namely, according to media representation, Dutch people have the moral duty to aid or assist or engage in the problems of the global south, so Tanja Nijmeijer was criticized not for her engagement, but for the way in which

she has assumed this engagement, as Blaauw said: “She could easily have chosen a different path to try to improve her beloved Colombia.” (2010)

Thus, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer is imbued with the Eurocentric idea that third world countries are needed of the providential intervention of a citizen of a developed country to solve their social injustices, and it is mainly in this identification that Tanja Nijmeijer is still considered as ‘one of us’, incorporated in an in-group category, as opposed to other actors in the Colombian conflict which are delineated as an out-group (Staszac 2008). This explains why, Tanja Nijmeijer is called (either in a serious or a sarcastic way) ‘our own Dutch rebel’ (Wanders 2007), ‘our Tanja’ (Holtwijk 2007b; Geelen 2011), ‘our girl’ (De Volkskrant 2010a) or ‘our hug terrorist’ (Schreijnders 2012)

This binary opposition is made evident by Van der Horst in his opinion article in ‘Joop’, when he asserts that:

“Colombia is the Kunduz of Tanja Nijmeijer” (...) “It is exactly the same as the madness of politicians from The Hague who sent Dutch soldiers to Kunduz, because “we” cannot abandon the Afghan people” (...) “she has remained very Dutch. She has a word for the world. She has the recipe that will solve all problems. Listen how she talks about moral authority” (...) “the devout believer, world improver from Denekamp” (2012)

With this depiction in mind, it becomes evident, that in the case of Tanja Nijmeijer there is an asymmetric position in the representation, where ‘the other’ (the non-Dutch) is in the inferior extreme (Hall 1997b: 239). Even Tanja Nijmeijer in her self-representation assumes this opposition in front of her fellow members of the FARC, so, when interviewed she says. ““The reporting is very focused on me. That makes sense, because as a Dutch I naturally awaken curiosity and sensation” (Volkskrant 2012a). She has naturalised that as a Dutch

woman, she deserves some pre-eminence in the treatment of news media. In fact, she is not aware of the racialisation inherent to some discussions referring to Dutch identity, and answering a question about the controversies on Zwarte Piet, she does not conceive how racialized is the quid of the discussion, so she wonders if “Dutch people have nothing else to worry about?” (De Telegraaf 2015)

Of course, in opposition to this white ascendancy, there is an ‘other’ who is racialized and represented with features that remarks his/her moral, cultural and historical inferiority (Hall 1997b: 239). Paradoxically, it is Tanja Nijmeijer which, in two candid interviews, make explicit the deep epistemic difference between being Dutch and being a member of the FARC, especially in the interview conceded to ‘De Volkskrant’ in Havana, in November 2012 (Friele 2012).

In this interview, she justifies the execution of traitors and opponents, the displacement of people, the abduction of ‘taxpayers’ and the terrorist actions committed in Bogotá, and she feels comfortable with the internal regulations typical of “military Marxism” in a guerrilla with Stalinist practices (Friele 2012). Tanja Nijmeijer had naturalised this kind of mentality in such a way that she did not understand how shocking her words could be for people imbued with the western mentality of human rights, so she expressed to the reporter: “Sometimes you look at me as if I'm from another planet. It's all so logical to me that I get desperate when I see you do not understand.” (Friele 2012)

Although, there were some reactions critiquing her positions (Polderman 2012), in general there was not a meaningful change in the use of ‘The cold blooded/cynical terrorist/war criminal’ frame, which in terms of mentions kept being used in a marginal way during the whole period (Table 9 to Table 18).

In any case, she continued to be represented as a member of the Dutch community, although her Dutchness was questioned in some articles. Thus, on



20 and 21 December 2011, two articles informed that the Government Party, the CDA explored the possibility to remove the Dutch passport from Tanja Nijmeijer on the basis of her involvement in terrorist activities (De Volkskrant 2011b and Dekker 2011), additionally her uncle expressed that “She no longer belongs in the Netherlands” (Heijmans and Lindhout 2012), and in ‘Joop’, Van der Horst asked to remove her passport arguing that “Fighting goes a bridge too far. It is above all an act whereby a person places himself outside the community of the Dutch” (2013). These particular articles explicitly express how the concept of Dutchness is in the center of the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer.

So, having clearly established that Tanja Nijmeijer is ‘one of us’, and therefore, is characterised as a member of Dutchness, it is evident that because of her ‘natural pre-eminence’ she is expected to assume a main role in the FARC. As a white woman in a third world country plunged in the barbarism of war and social injustice, Tanja Nijmeijer not only had the burden to try to fight for social justice (better if she does it in a peaceful manner), but she was entitled to have a leading role in the fight. Consequently, as mentioned above, in the Table 1 it is possible to verify that the most recurrent frame used in ‘De Volkskrant’ is ‘Main role in the Guerrilla’, which appears 69 times, and in ‘De Telegraaf’ the proportion is overwhelming as it takes place 74 times out of 95 articles.

What this shows is that for Dutch media it was very important that Tanja Nijmeijer had a prominent position in the FARC, and that Dutch media constructed the representation and significance of Tanja Nijmeijer based on the idea that she was called to play a main role in the organization. That assumption was present even before she was appointed as a member of the negotiation team in 2012. Thus, in 2010, it is indicated several times that she was the Personal Assistant to Mono Jojoy, the number two of the organization. Accordingly, it was stated that “She has reached the top of the FARC, which no other foreigner has ever succeeded” (Genovesi 2010). Even, in 2011, after the death of Mono Jojoy it was discussed if she would be promoted to the leadership of the organization (De Volkskrant 2011a).

The case of 'De Telegraaf' is even more remarkable, as it attributed to her, positions that she did not hold in the Guerrilla, thus in 2012, she is mentioned as PR Chief of the organization (Stols 2012), and in 2016 she is framed as a leader of the FARC (De Telegraaf 2016)

In resume, from the point of view of Dutch identity and 'otherness' it seems that in the case of the analysed media, it is very important to portray the image of a Dutch fighter in the FARC as a prominent figure inside the organization. Indeed, it is outstanding, that after the signing of the final Peace agreement between the Government and the FARC, Tanja Nijmeijer was never mentioned again by 'De Volkskrant' and neither by 'De Telegraaf'. As she became again a normal member of the FARC located in a camp with hundreds of other members, in the process of reinsertion, the media lost interest in her. Ultimately, the media representation of Tanja Nijmeijer in terms of 'otherness' was not about her, nor about the Colombian conflict, but it was about Dutch identity and pre-eminence in a situation of Social Injustice intervention.

### **5.3 Representation in terms of Gender Power Relations**

As it was stated in the Methodology section, part of the analysis corresponds to the frames described by Nacos, which are referred to Gendered representation. As, previously indicated, out of six frames identified by Nacos (2005: 438 and so on), two were completely absent of the media representation of Tanja Nijmeijer in 'De Volkskrant', and in the other media analysed.

The omitted frames are the "Terrorist for the Sake of Love" (Nacos 2005: 440), and "The Women's Lib/Equality Frame" (2005: 442). The first one deprives the woman of agency and political motivation, and the second one pretends to explain the enrolment of women in terrorist groups as a way to obtain

equality or liberation from social structures in which women do not enjoy of equality or autonomy or are subject to a heteronormative domination.

The complete silence on these two frames can be derived from the assumption that a Dutch woman cannot be immersed in a situation in which her will depends either on the relationship with a man, or on the necessity to get free of a structural situation of male domination. So, the occurrence of this frames is inconceivable for a Dutch woman, indeed, Valencia and Zumpolle (2010: 23) and De Graff (2012: 229) remark that Tanja Nijmeijer cannot be attached to one man.

So, behind this silence, it is the implicit idea that, as a Dutch woman, Tanja Nijmeijer does not have the need to be emancipated from a society where there is a male domination over women, as being Dutch, she is yet emancipated. Thus, the representation of what is Dutchness is going to be relevant in the framing of Tanja Nijmeijer in a Gendered manner.

### **The girl next door and the representation of Dutchness**

According to Nacos, one of the frames relevant in the representation of female fighters in a gendered manner is the “The Family Connection Frame” (Nacos 2005: 440), which, relates the behaviour of female fighters with their familiar relationships.

To address the analysis of this frame, two sub-frames have been used, the ‘Mommy and daddy’s girl’ frame and ‘The girl next door’ frame. According to Table 1, the first one was used 25 times by ‘De Volkskrant’, and the second one 16 times, and together they are the fourth most important frame in the coverage made by ‘De Volkskrant’. Indeed, this same concept was used by Mols for her analysis, with the name of ‘Twentse guerrillera-frame’ (2013: 57)

In the first article about Tanja Nijmeijer, on 3 September 2007, 'De Volkskrant' quoted a scandalous statement from Liduine Zumpolle: "FARC is actively recruiting in the Netherlands" (De Volkskrant 2007a). This first approach expresses one of the concerns in the media, after the discovery of Tanja Nijmeijer's Diary: how could this happen to a Dutch girl? Can this happen to any other of our children?

Both the 'The girl next door' frame and the 'Mommy and daddy's girl' frame have two main implications: the first one is about what is being a Dutch, and the second one is the infantilization of Tanja Nijmeijer who is framed either as a kid in danger or as a naughty girl, provoking in both cases an unnecessary suffering to her family.

The concept of Dutchness is questioned when "a normal girl from a prosperous and peaceful country" (Valencia and Zumpolle 2010: 49) is involved with a violent group. That is why the book of Valencia and Zumpolle is presented as an exemplary story so that "society, protected itself, would ensure that other young people would not go the same way" (2010: 228). In the same sense, De Graaf expresses that her portrait of Tanja Nijmeijer pretends "To prevent more such students from joining a terrorist organization" (2010: 240)

Accordingly, when Tanja Nijmeijer is subject to 'The girl next door' frame, her representation is gendered and racialized at the same time, so her behaviour does not correspond to what is expected from a Dutch girl. That is why comedian Katinka Polderman says that this naughty girl does not receive a gift from Sinterklaas many years ago (2012).

This explains why Tanja Nijmeijer is an anomaly, because being a member of a terrorist group is normal for girls born in violent countries like Colombia, but not here, this is not the kind of things a Dutch girl is supposed to do. This idea is expressed several times: "part of the Netherlands still seems unable

to cope with the image of an intelligent young woman who deliberately chose armed struggle in another country” (Blaauw 2010). But it is Jansen in ‘De Telegraaf’ who makes explicit the racial issue behind it:

“I can imagine that you rebel in countries where there is a chronic civil war, or where security services are terribly raging, such as in Chechnya. But for a girl from Denekamp, Breda or Frankfurt ... no. (Jansen 2012)

In this representation, terrorist violence is normal for ‘the savage other’, but in the case of ‘one of our girls’, this behaviour is irrational and unexplainable. Indeed, the decision of Tanja Nijmeijer is not only contrary to the conception of Dutchness, but it is dangerous as it can be contagious, so ‘De Volkskrant’ registers that she “tried to persuade her sister Ellen, a social-pedagogical worker, or a bosom friend to join the FARC as a war nurse” (Holtwijk 2007c).

In the case of this frame, ‘De Volkskrant’ refers to Tanja Nijmeijer using terms like ‘student’, ‘young Dutch female’, ‘meisje’ (girl), ‘giggling woman’, ‘guerilla girl from Denekamp’ or ‘former student’. When represented thus, Tanja Nijmeijer loses her agency as an adult, and became the daughter of someone next door, of some ‘simple people from Denekamp’ (Lindhout and Sahadat 2012a). That infantilization of Tanja Nijmeijer explains her transgression, and why “the teachers aren't that proud of that” (2012a). She becomes then, represented in the ‘Naïve’ frame: “That's not Tanja. Such a child with good sense may have become very naively involved in the civil war” (De Volkskrant 2012d), said her parents. Or she is depicted in ‘The naughty girl’ frame: “Hannie Nijmeijer then failed to separate her daughter from the guerrilla movement” (Remmerswaal 2009).

This incapability of the mother to recover her girl can be recomforting for other parents, as maybe the parents of Tanja Nijmeijer are to blame. Indeed, in November 2010, when renowned writer Ronald Giphart told an anecdote

about his father, 'De Volkskrant' wondered: "What would have happened if Tanja had been Ronald's sister?" (2010). This disturbing question had the sense of 'what if Tanja had had the right parents?' Thus, the integrity of the concept of Dutchness is safe, the deviant behaviour of Tanja Nijmeijer is an anomaly outside the borders of what being Dutch means.

In other words, the decision of Tanja Nijmeijer ceased to be a political action and becomes a family business. With this, the representation of 'De Volkskrant' denies to Tanja her role as a public and political being and confines her to private sphere.

Thus, she is deprived of real agency in her decision and the explanation of her enrolment in the FARC "depart from individual, psychological and sometimes sociological categories, but hardly ever put the political dimension in the first place." (Brunner 2005: 39)

That is now, when the representation takes place in a way completely gendered and 'the Mommy and daddy's girl' frame becomes central.

In September 2007, when the diaries of Tanja Nijmeijer became public, she was an adult woman aged 29 years old. Notwithstanding, according to Table 9 the more mentioned frame in 'De Volkskrant' was 'the Mommy and daddy's girl', with 6 mentions out of 21 articles in 2007. The articles in 'De Volkskrant' in this very year abound in expressions like: 'the parents', 'the girl' (meisje), 'the missing daughter'. In a report about the Colombian army, the newspaper registers the expression from an army officer: "we want to give this confused girl back to her parents" (Der Volkskrant 2007b). At first sight, it seems the report about a missing little girl, but in fact, it is about a female adult close to her thirties.

To observe how gendered is the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer in 2007, just imagine what the report would have been like, if the person had been

a 29-year-old male Dutch. It is hard to imagine the press referring to him as a kid, or as a missing or confused kid. This first reports infantilized Tanja Nijmeijer and emphasized the report more on her suffering parents than in the rational decision made by her, so she exists in the representation not by herself but as a daughter of someone. She is no more than a confused lost girl.

Between 2008 and 2010, the mentions related to this frame, are focused in the need expressed by the family to get a proof of life. Finally, in 2012, ten mentions were referred to this frame.

One of the most remarkable detail in 2012 is the commencement of the peace negotiations between the FARC and the Colombian Government to put an end to a conflict of 50 years. Probably, this was the most important news about Colombia in the previous two decades. However, 5 articles were dedicated exclusively to the possible meeting of Tanja Nijmeijer with her parents and sisters, or to a phone call with her family. Additionally, during the period of installation of the negotiation, 'De Volkskrant' included 11 mentions to the possible meeting between the family and Tanja Nijmeijer, even in articles with another story as principal, and even a whole article was dedicated to the phone conversation with her family (De Volkskrant 2012b). Again, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer is framed according to a Gendered bias, in which the family meeting was a central topic. Indeed, the political issues corresponding to the public definitions of the negotiation defined between the leaders of the negotiation teams, and the role of Tanja Nijmeijer as a member of the FARC team, were eclipsed by the private episodes of her family reunion.

In summary, in these sub-frames ('Mommy and daddy's girl' and 'The girl next door') two relations of power intersect: the relation of moral and material subordination between Dutchness and 'otherness' on the one hand, and the relations of power in terms of gender on the other hand. In this intersection of power relations, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer frames the concept that although it is true that as white Dutch, she is entitled a moral and material pre-

eminence over her Colombian counterparts, however, as a female she is represented in a subordinate position. No otherwise, it is understood that being a 29 years old adult in 2007, she was infantilized in the representation by Dutch media, and she was deprived of agency with respect to her decision to join the guerrilla of the Farc. What is implied is that the white woman's burden is subordinated to the white man's burden.

### **The gendered representation as a female fighter**

Although the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer in the Dutch media has been gendered, however, her representation as a white Dutch female involved in a violent group without religious motivations differs from the representation of Dutch or European female jihadists in previous literature.

The representation of female jihadists from European Origin is problematic as it implies a contradiction in the way Eurocentric conceptions pretend to depict their identity. Thus, Wekker, when describing the construction of Dutch identity, talks about the "impossibility of being both European, constructed to mean being white and Christian and being, black-Muslim-migrant-refugee" (Wekker 2016: 21). This opposition raises the question if the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer, being a white Dutch Woman from Christian origin differs from the representation of non-white Dutch Muslim women involved in conflicts as jihadists.

This exclusion of the European identity is particularly clear in the case of Muslim fighters, even if they are white Europeans, as the female jihadist Muriel Degauque, who is represented as the 'Other'. In some ways the representation of jihadists seems the revival of the atavistic fear of the Moors, as if the traditional rival of the Christian Europe were represented by them. The Muslims and Islam are represented thus, as "barbaric, inferior and the violent 'Other' of Europe" (Brown 2011: 706).



For instance, in the case of Muriel Degauque, although, she was a white European, the emphasis in the representation of the news media was related mainly to her gender and “her Muslim identity” (Brown 2012: 716), so she was deprived from her western character and her motivation was depicted on the ground of her religious beliefs rather than on her political convictions. In the case of white female jihadists, their violent behaviour is explained by being seduced by one of the ‘others’. Thus, under “the undue influence of ‘Other’ foreign and religious husbands; these women become ‘race traitors’” (Brown 2022: 711).

By contrast, as it was remarked in the previous sections, Tanja Nijmeijer is still considered ‘one of us’ in the representation of the Dutch Media. So, ‘De Volkskrant’ and ‘De Telegraaf’ remarked constantly the Dutchness of Tanja Nijmeijer, to the extreme that every time ‘De Telegraaf’ depicted her as a member of the FARC, mentioned that she was Dutch. The occasions in which the possibility of removing her passport was mentioned corresponded to an isolated proposal from a member of the parliament (De Volkskrant 2011b and Dekker 2011), and an opinion article in ‘Joop’ (Van der Horst 2013), and they are an exception. On the contrary, in the whole decade, Tanja Nijmeijer was considered as a full member of the Dutch community. That explains the constant concern about the impossibility for Tanja Nijmeijer of coming home: thus in ‘De Volkskrant’ the fact that she is required in extradition by the U.S. is mentioned 19 times, and in ‘De Telegraaf’, 21 times.

While gender and religious stereotypes are combined to depict female jihadists as completely lacking autonomy (Brown 2011: 707), in the case of Tanja Nijmeijer, the frames in which this lack of autonomy is depicted (‘the Terrorist for the Sake of Love Frame’ and ‘the Women’s Lib/Equality Frame’), are completely absent. As it was stated previously, the omission in the use of these frames implies the assumption by Dutch media that a Dutch white woman is

not submitted to heteronormative oppression. So, as Tanja Nijmeijer is portrayed as an emancipated Dutch woman, it is not conceivable for her to get involved in a violent group because of a romantic relationship, and, it is understood that she does not need to be involved in a rebel group to be liberated from heteronormative oppression. In this sense, Tanja Nijmeijer is framed as paradigmatically Dutch, and consequently she is 'one of us' in the representation.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Dutchness of Tanja Nijmeijer does not prevent that some of the frames used by the Dutch media in the representation are depicted in a gendered way.

As it was outlined above, the 'As a tool of propaganda' frame was the fifth most used in the representation portrayed by 'De Volkskrant', with 30 mentions in the decade. Although it is narrowly related to the Dutchness of Tanja Nijmeijer, it implies also the idea that she was used by the FARC. Indeed, Mols identified how this frame affected the agency of Tanja Nijmeijer and how she was presented as reified by the Farc (2013: 60).

From the very beginning, Tanja Nijmeijer was represented as 'used' by the FARC, even she was depicted as a mascot of the FARC (Holtwijk 2007b). In a paradoxical depiction, her Dutchness, which emancipates her as a female and gives her pre-eminence in the FARC, both, deprives her from agency and transforms her into a tool for the use of the Guerrilla. Thus, the most important frame in the depiction of 'De Volkskrant' and 'De Telegraaf', which is the 'Main role in the guerrilla' is counteracted by the idea that her role is derived from a propagandistic instrumentalization.

In this sense, the way in which the words of the FARC leaders are reproduced in the media, exposed at the same time the differences between the Dutchness character and the typical machismo of the foreign 'other'. Thus 'De Volkskrant' reproduces when Jesús Santrich called Tanja Nijmeijer as "flower of

the mountains” (Heijmans 2012), ‘NOS’ reproduces when Iván Márquez said that “We want that Dutch Tulip to be on the table” (NOS 2012) and ‘De Telegraaf’ quotes Márquez when he said that “Holanda, as we affectionately call her in our ranks, has been chosen for her beautiful face to breathe new life into the international work of the FARC and to cover our villainous face with her beautiful smile” (De Telegraaf 2012).

These last quotes exemplify the two relations of power that frame the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer: otherness and gender. On the one hand, Dutchness is the main character that gives her the pre-eminence and moral superiority over her fellow members of the FARC, on the other hand, being Dutch is framed as her main virtue to be a member of the negotiating team, so she is reduced to a Dutch pretty face: a Dutch tulip on the table.

## 6. Conclusions

### 6.1 The representation of Tanja Nijmeijer by the Dutch media

The analysis has shown that the media representation of Tanja Nijmeijer in the Netherlands is in general more complex than expected in terms of framing. Accordingly, it was found that Tanja Nijmeijer was represented by the Dutch media during the period 2007-2016, being framed mainly in terms of otherness and gender.

In the case of 'De Volkskrant', which has been the basis of the research, it comprehends a wide set of frames, in which Tanja Nijmeijer has been represented. Consequently, the analysis has covered frames in which representation is gendered, frames in which Tanja Nijmeijer is represented as an empowered woman, frames in which she is depicted as a mediatic phenomenon, frames related to Dutchness and otherness, and finally, a frame in which it is depicted the self-representation portrayed by Tanja Nijmeijer herself.

Consequently, it was found that the frames described by Nacos, referred to gendered representation, result insufficient to analyse comprehensively the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer by the Dutch media. Additionally, it was found that two of the frames, 'the Terrorist for the Sake of Love Frame' and 'the Women's Lib/Equality Frame', were not applicable, as corresponded to categories not representative of the depiction of what is considered a Dutch woman.

Once, the information was collected, it was found that the frame used the most by 'De Volkskrant' and 'De Telegraaf' was by far the 'Main role in the guerrilla'. So, contrary to what was found in literature with respect to other

female fighters, the most important frame in the case of Tanja Nijmeijer corresponds to a representation in which she is depicted as an empowered woman

## **6.2 Otherness. Tanja Nijmeijer and the representation of the Colombian conflict**

It was found that a very important portion of the mentions to Tanja Nijmeijer in 'De Volkskrant' and in 'De Telegraaf' were not related to the topic or the story of the article. Indeed, in these cases, she is mentioned as an additional or contextual comment to the news, even when this mention was not relevant. What it suggests is that in the decade of the study, Tanja Nijmeijer was the lens through which the Colombian conflict was depicted, and the news about the peace negotiation were framed based on Tanja Nijmeijer.

This superficial depiction of the news implied the banalization of the Colombian conflict, which was depicted in a very superficial way, and on the other hand, implied that the Colombian conflict was of interest, to the extent that a Dutch woman has a role in the conflict.

The representation of Colombian reality through the mediatic depiction of Tanja Nijmeijer, exposes a relationship of moral and material subordination between the barbaric Colombia and the civilized Netherlands. Hence, Tanja Nijmeijer is a pretext for the representation of both Dutch identity and otherness. It is in this context, that it is understandable that the 'Main role in the guerrilla' frame is the most mentioned by 'De Volkskrant', as it implies a position of pre-eminence for Tanja Nijmeijer derived from her condition as a Dutch citizen. In other words, power relations in terms of otherness are present in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer

### **6.3 Otherness. The White man's burden and the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer**

Except for three articles out of 305 articles revised, Tanja Nijmeijer is always represented as a member of the Dutch community. Indeed, in the case of the Colombian conflict and the FARC, the concepts of Dutchness and otherness are constructed around the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer as a Dutch white woman, so in the representation is implicit the notion of a moral and material superiority of her as a white woman engaged to help the people from a less developed country. The notion of her mission as a Dutch woman is not questioned, what is criticized in the representation is the way in which she carried it out.

Accordingly, it was expected that as a Dutch woman she did not only have the burden to fight against social injustice, but she was entitled to assume some pre-eminence or some ascendancy in the rebel group. This expectation explains why the 'Main role in the Guerrilla' frame, is the most used by 'De Volkskrant' and by 'De Telegraaf'. Therefore, for the Dutch media it was essential, but at the same time natural that Tanja Nijmeijer had a prominent position in the FARC.

From the point of view of otherness, the media representation of Tanja Nijmeijer was related deeply with Dutch identity and the pre-eminence of a Dutch citizen in a situation of Social Injustice intervention.

### **6.4 Gender. The girl next door and the representation of Dutchness**

It was found that two frames identified by Nacos (2005: 440, 442), the "Terrorist for the Sake of Love" and "The Women's Lib/Equality Frame" were

absent from the representation. It is assumed that these two frames, typical of a highly heteronormative society, are omitted, as for a Dutch woman it is unthinkable to be immersed in a structural situation of male domination.

It was found also, that although in terms of otherness, the Dutchness of Tanja Nijmeijer implied a representation as an empowered woman, in the case of gender, the 'Family connection frame', drove to her infantilization, as when 'a normal Dutch girl' got involved in an illegal violent group, she questioned the fundamentals of what it means to be a Dutch woman. Therefore, in 2007, when her membership in the FARC was made public, Tanja Nijmeijer was framed either as a kid in danger or as a naughty girl, and losses her agency as an adult. With this framing her decision is not political, but a private and familiar matter, that is why, there are so many news concerning the relationship of Tanja Nijmeijer with her family.

In this sense, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer is racialized, as it is made explicit that getting enrolled in a violent rebel group is normal for 'the savage other', namely for girls born in violent countries like Colombia but it is not natural for a white intelligent Dutch girl who lives in Denekamp. Thus, the deviant behaviour of Tanja Nijmeijer is a private anomaly not related with her Dutch character, and as such, it does not affect the integrity of the concept of Dutchness.

So, even though, as a Dutch woman in contrast with 'the other' her representation was empowered, in terms of gender, she is infantilized and deprived of a rational will. Therefore, even though in terms of otherness she is empowered and has a pre-eminence as a white woman in front of the 'savage other', in terms of gender she is represented in a subordinate position. In summary, the relations of power in terms of gender are manifest in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer.

## 6.5 Gender. Representation as a female fighter

Even though in terms of gender, the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer deprived her from rationality in the decision of joining the FARC, nevertheless, the Dutch media has framed her as a Dutch fighter. In other words, contrary to Dutch or European female jihadists in previous literature, Tanja Nijmeijer has kept her Dutchness. Indeed, Tanja Nijmeijer is represented as an emancipated Dutch woman, not subject to heteronormative oppression.

However, some of the frames used by the Dutch media in the representation of Tanja Nijmeijer are presented in a gendered way. Such is the case of the ‘As a tool of propaganda’, which is the fifth most used in the representation portrayed by ‘De Volkskrant’.

This frame implies the assumption that Tanja Nijmeijer was ‘used’ by the FARC, because of being Dutch. This assumption also devalues the ‘Main role in the guerrilla’ frame, as it implies that she has been instrumentalized and her achievements in the organization do not derive from her personal merits, but from her passport.

In this case otherness and gender get intersected in the representation, as Dutchness is the feature that gives Tanja Nijmeijer her ascendancy over the ‘savage other’ in the FARC, but at the same time, being a beauty Dutch woman who is instrumentalized for propaganda, Dutchness deprives her of merit and reduces her to a pretty face used by the rebel group.

Indeed, what happens in this intersection is that the two relations of power, otherness and gender, produce a type of representation that constructs significance from the point of view of otherness over the FARC and the Colombian conflict as the ‘savage others’, on the one hand, and on the other hand, they



construct significance from the point of view of gender over a transgressor woman, reducing her to a Dutch pretty face in the representation.

## Tables

Table 1 – De Volkskrant – Number of mentions per frame.

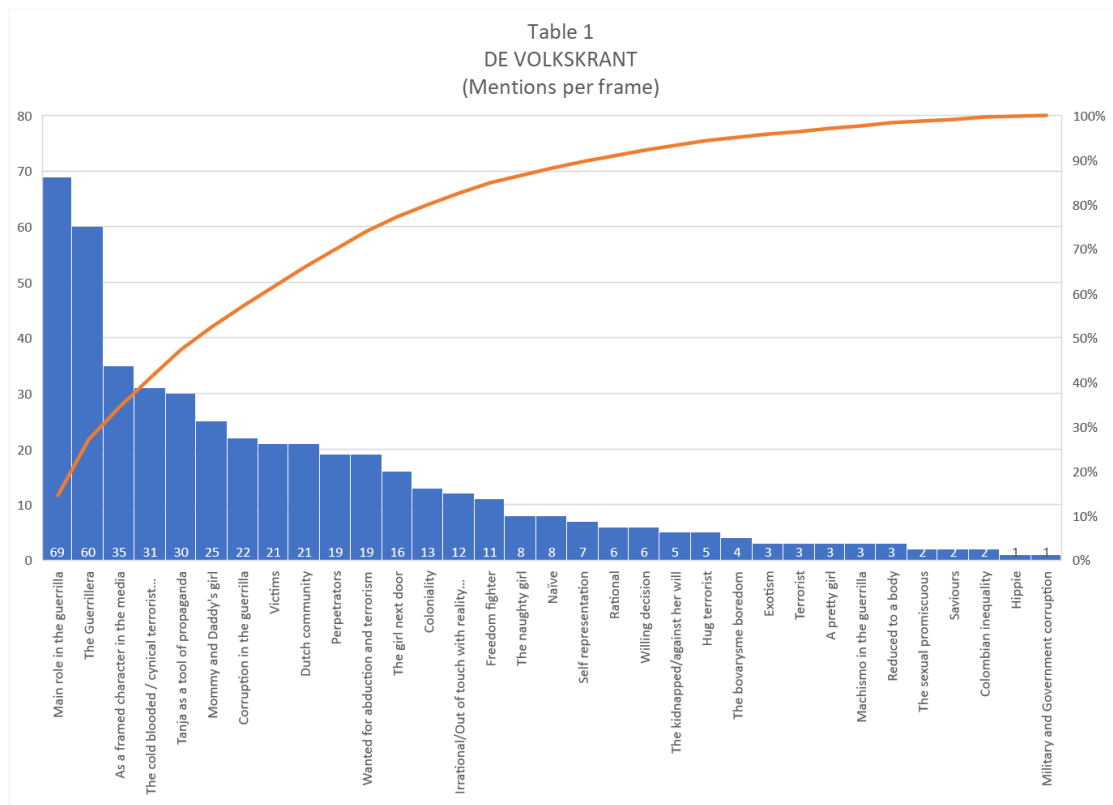


Table 2 – De Telegraaf – Number of mentions per frame

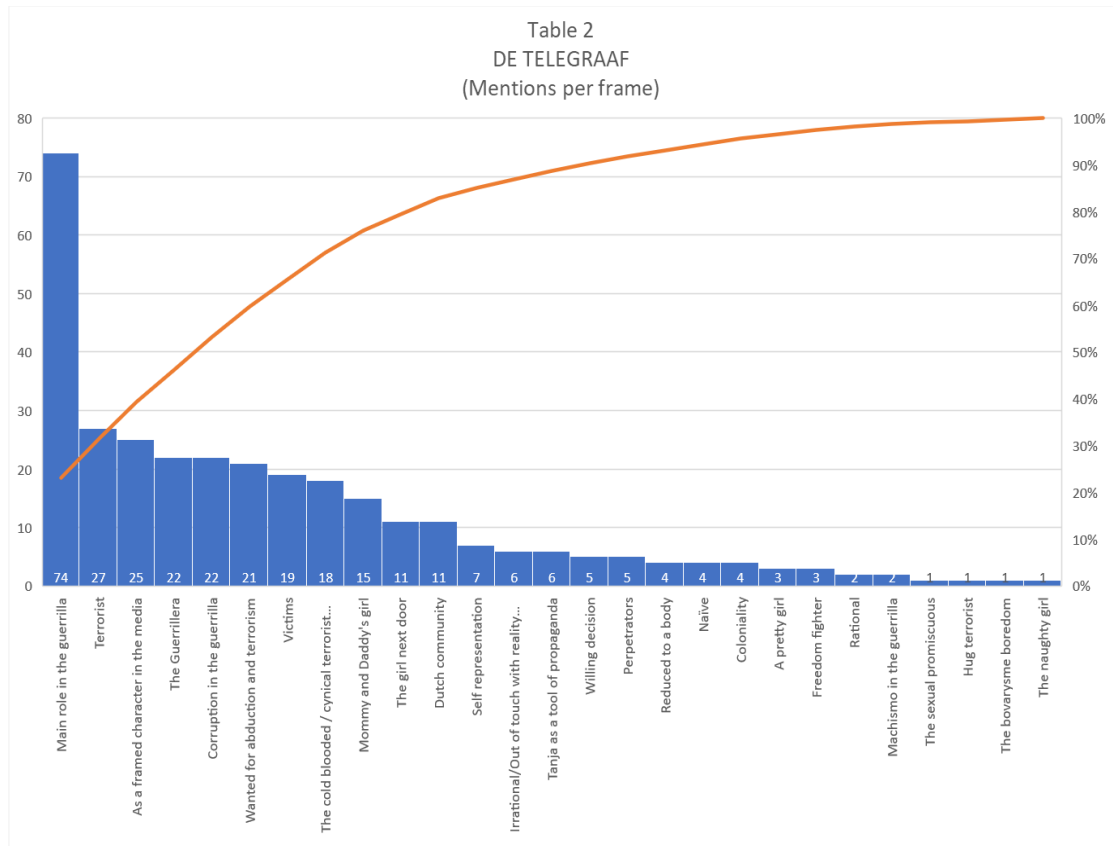


Table 3 – NOS – Number of mentions per frame

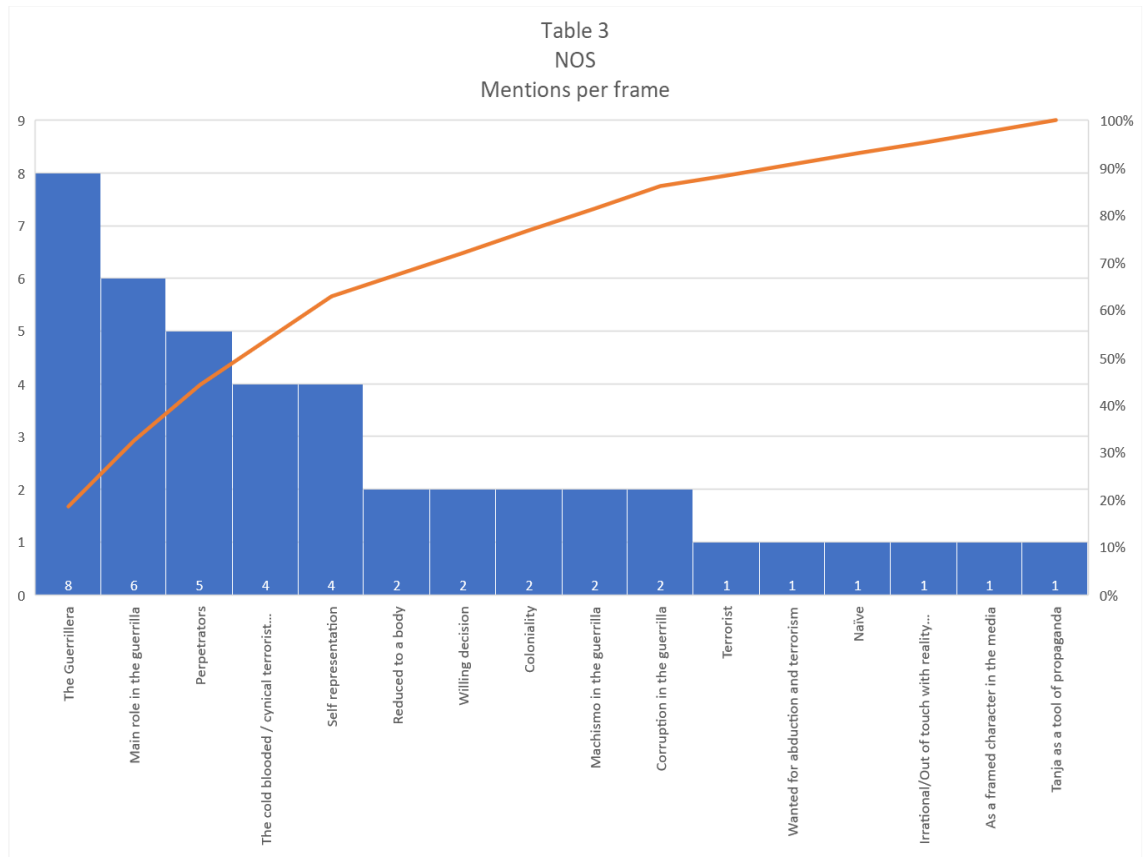


Table 4 – Joop - Number of mentions per frame

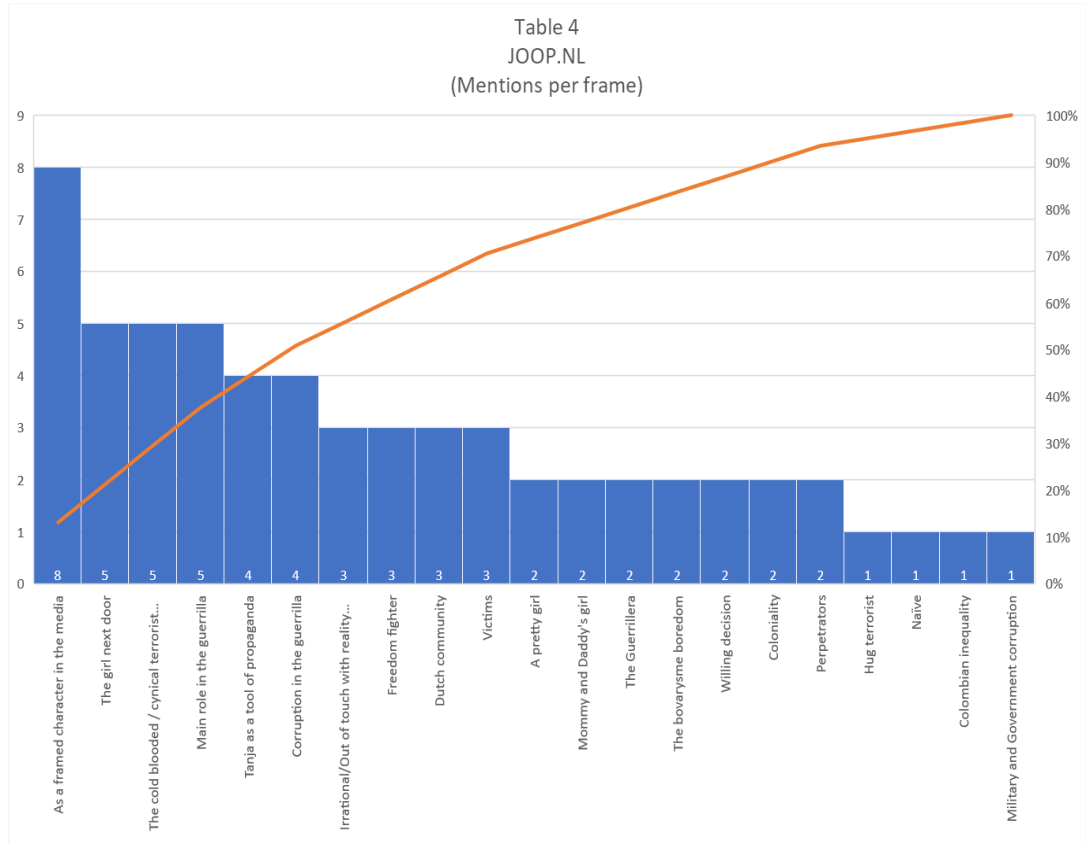


Table 5 – Valencia and Zumpolle – Number of mentions per frame

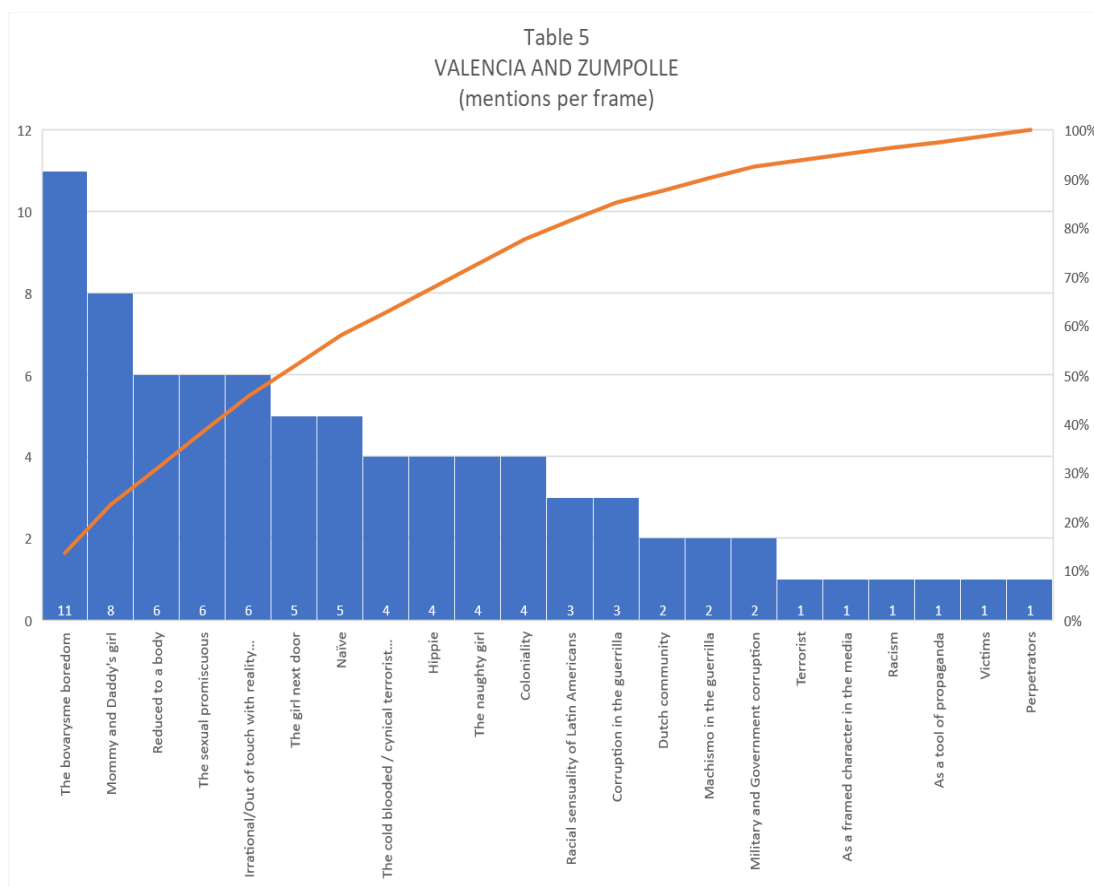


Table 6 – De Graaf – Number of mentions per frame.

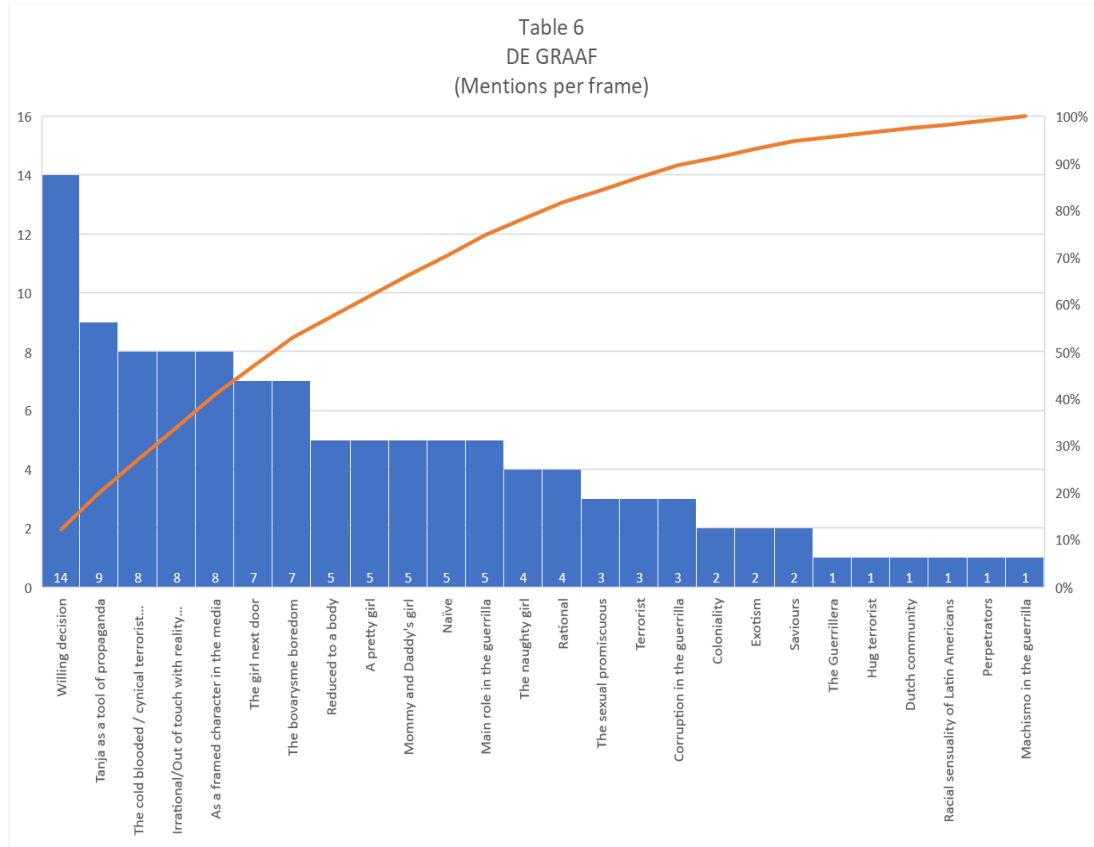


Table 7 – De Volkskrant – Frames along the years

FRAMES/NACOS	SUBFRAMES	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
The Physical Appearance Frame	Reduced to a body	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	A pretty girl	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
The Family Connection Frame	Mommy and Daddy's girl	6	1	1	5	0	10	2	0	0	0
	The girl next door	4	0	0	3	1	5	1	0	1	1
The Tough-as-Males/Tougher-than-Men Frame/ Antinatural	The sexual promiscuous	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	The Guerrillera	4	1	2	18	0	28	2	1	1	3
	Terrorist	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Wanted for abduction and terrorism	0	0	0	3	0	11	1	2	1	1
	Hug terrorist	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0
	The cold blooded / cynical terrorist / war criminal	3	0	1	7	4	9	3	2	0	2
The Bored, Naïve, Out-of-touch-with-reality Frame	Dirty hippie	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	The bovarysme boredom	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	The naughty girl	4	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	Naïve	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	The kidnapped/against her will	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Irrational/Out of touch with reality/Idealist	5	0	0	1	1	4	1	0	0	0
Empowered Woman	Freedom fighter	1	0	0	2	0	6	2	0	0	0
	Willing decision	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
	Rational	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Main role in the guerrilla	0	0	0	3	2	32	19	3	5	5
As a framed character in the media	As a framed character in the media	4	0	1	5	2	10	9	3	0	1
Otherness	Dutch community	5	0	0	5	2	5	1	0	0	3
	Coloniality	1	0	0	1	0	10	0	0	0	1
	Exotism	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tanja Nijmeijer as a tool of propaganda	Tanja Nijmeijer as a tool of propaganda	4	0	0	9	1	16	0	0	0	0
Colombian barbarism	Victims	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	3	4	4
	Perpetrators	5	1	0	1	1	8	1	2	0	0
	Saviours	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Colombian inequality	Colombian inequality	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Colombian macho culture	Machismo in the guerrilla	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Colombian corruption	Military and Government corrupti	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Corruption in the guerrilla	0	0	0	3	2	8	6	0	2	1
Self representation	Self representation	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	0
	Total per year	61	3	6	77	21	192	60	18	14	24



Table 8 – De Volkskrant – Mentions per year

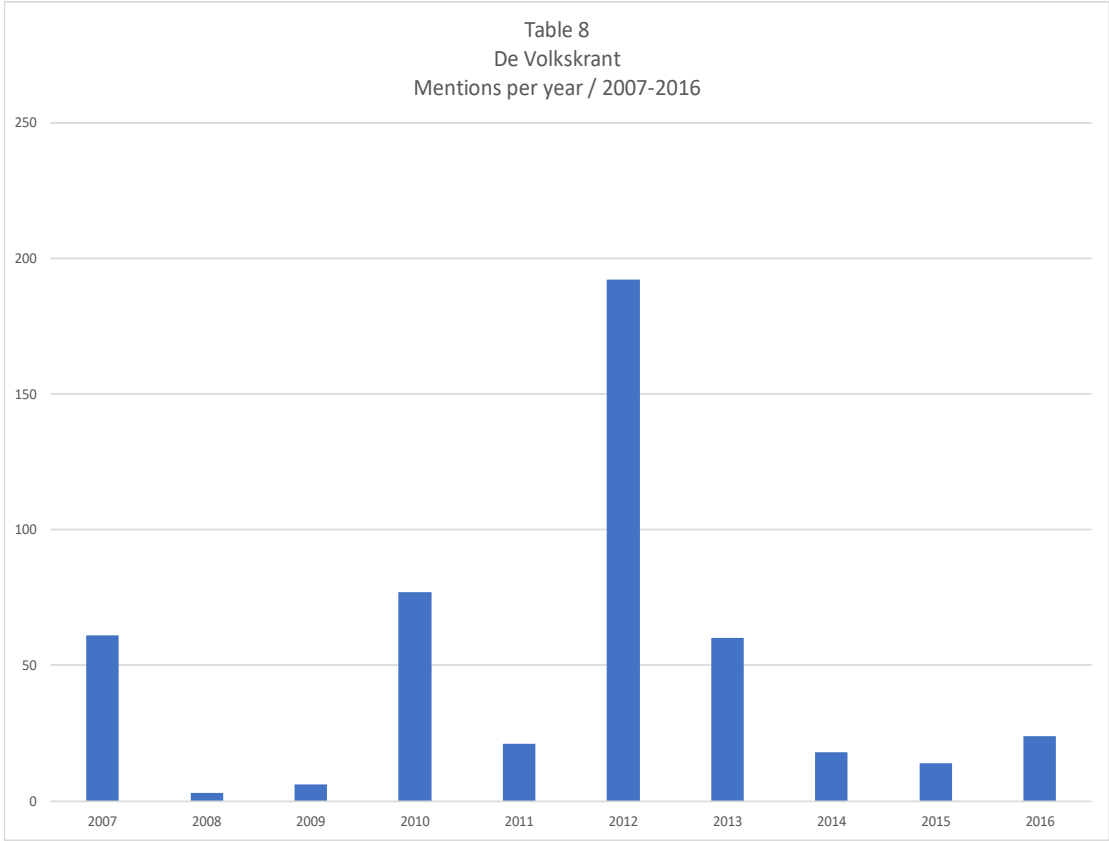


Table 9 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2007

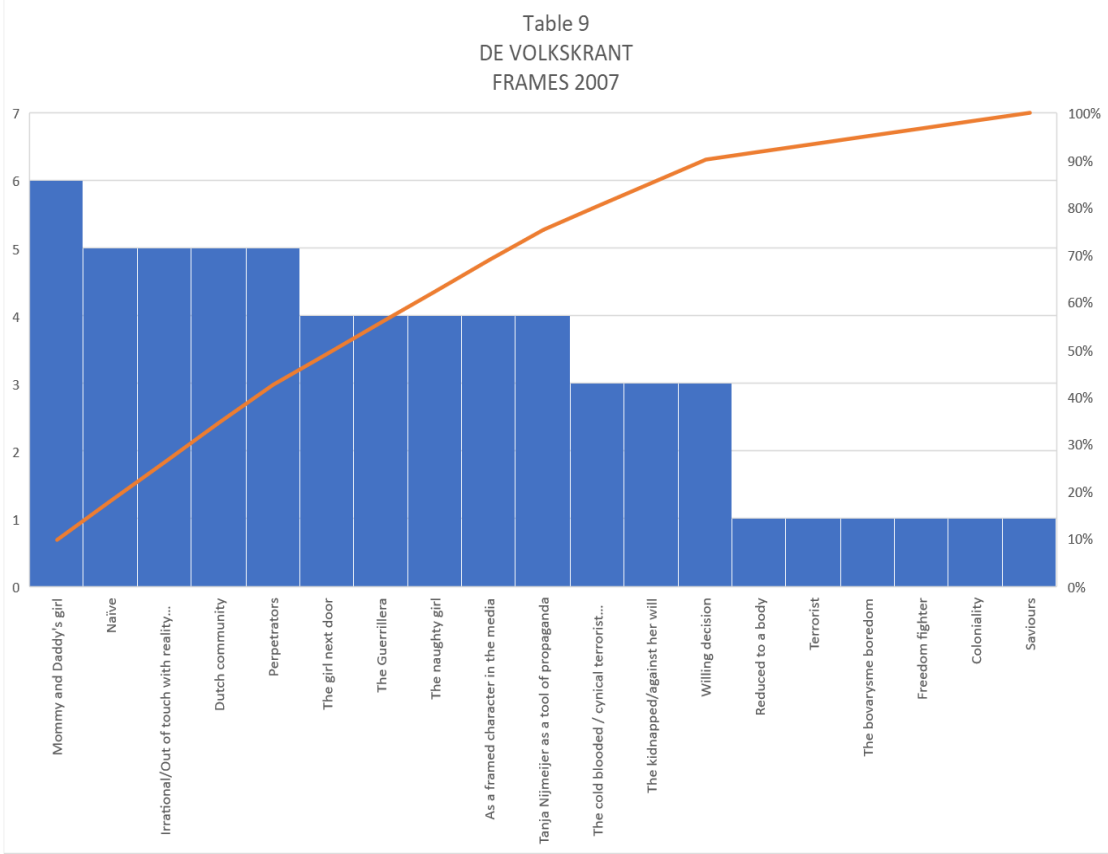


Table 10 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2008

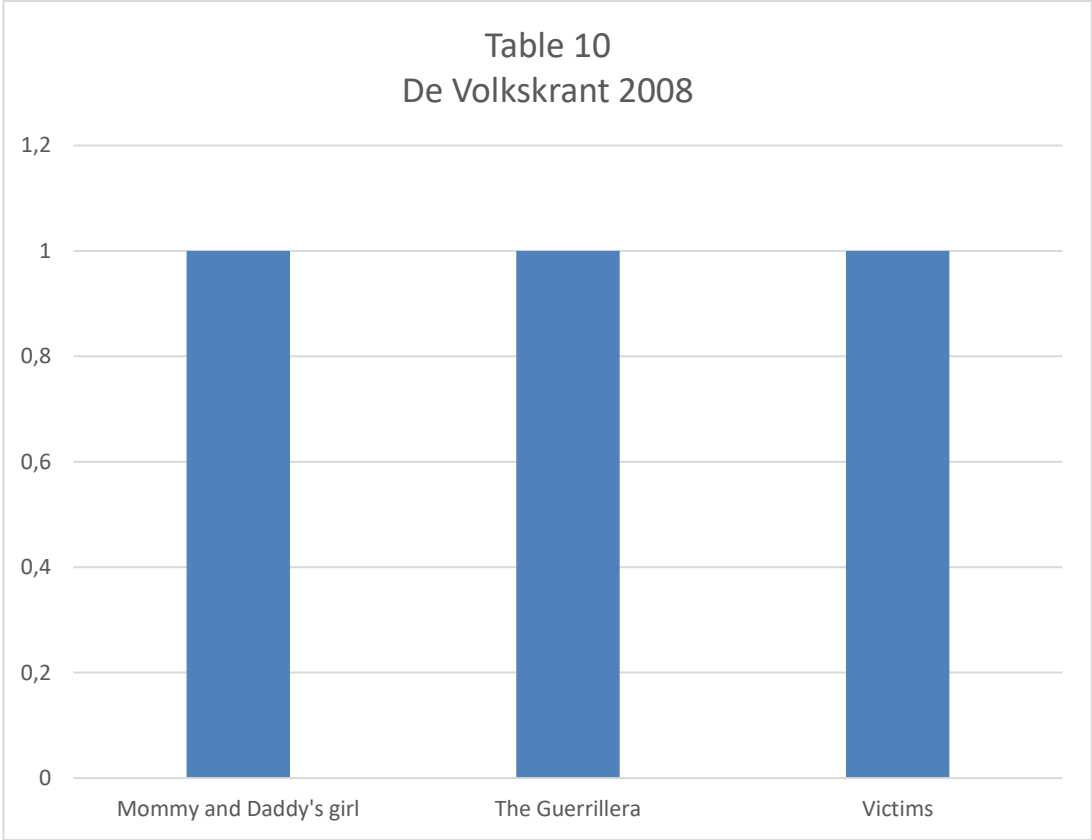


Table 11 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2009

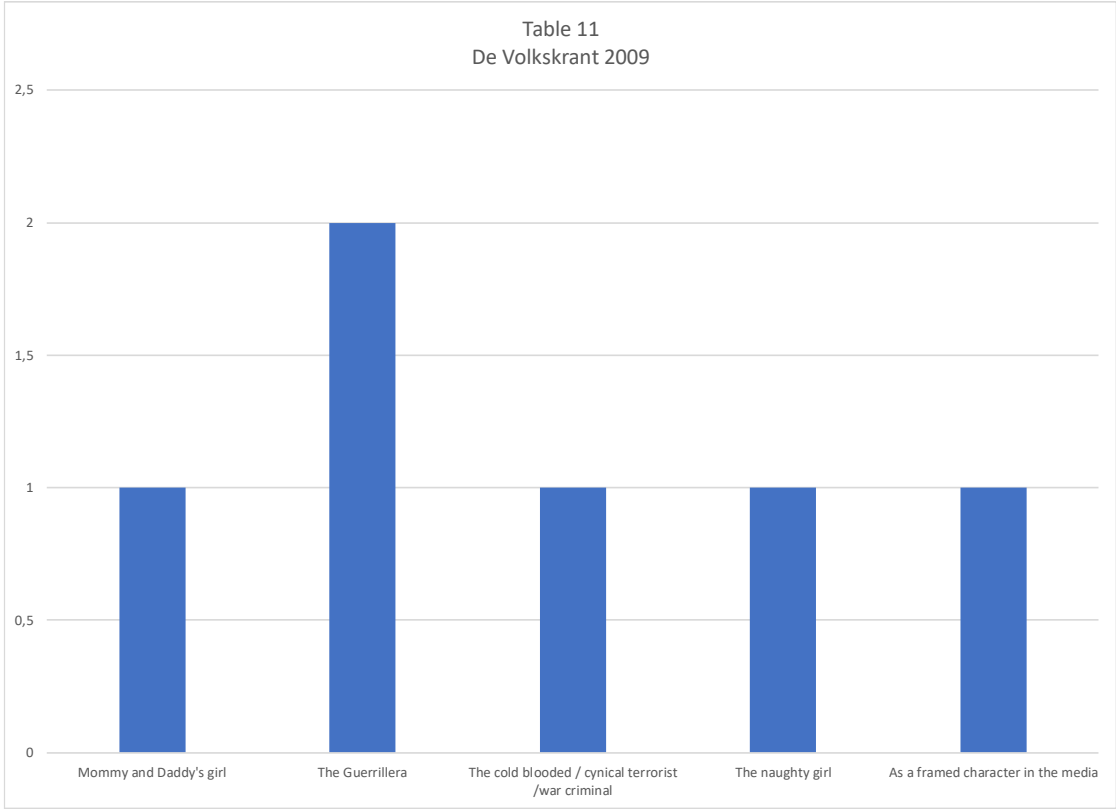


Table 12 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2010

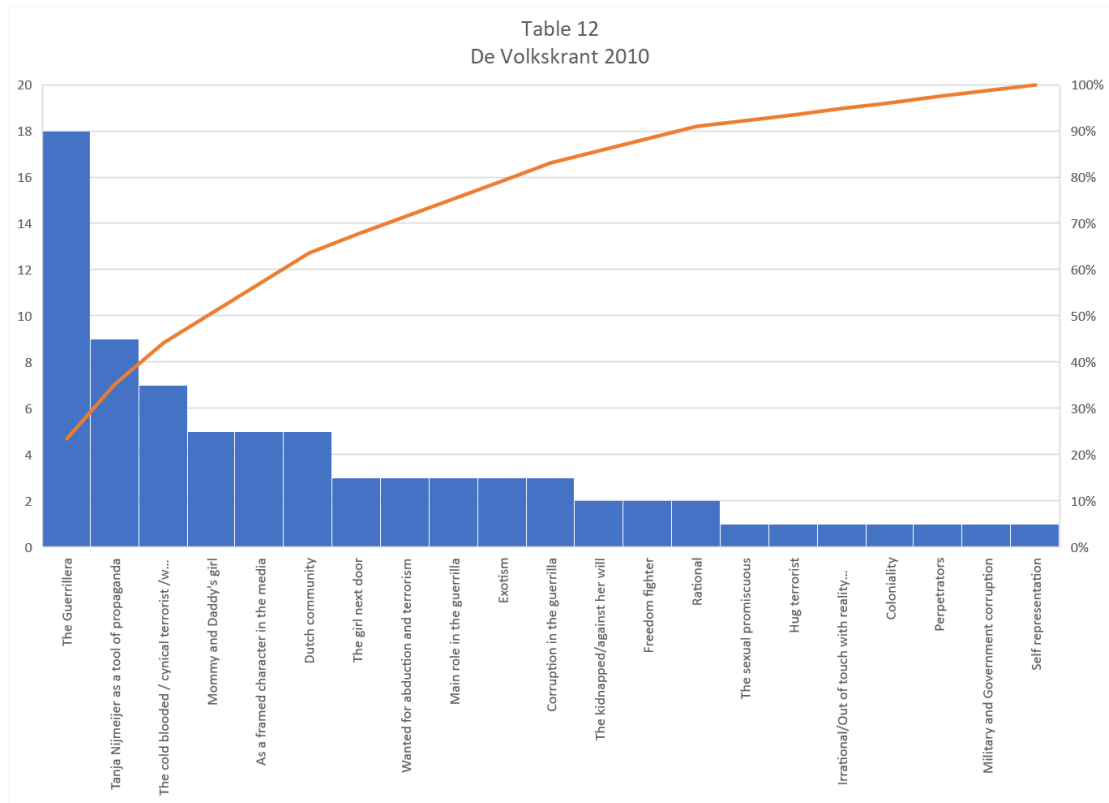


Table 13 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2011

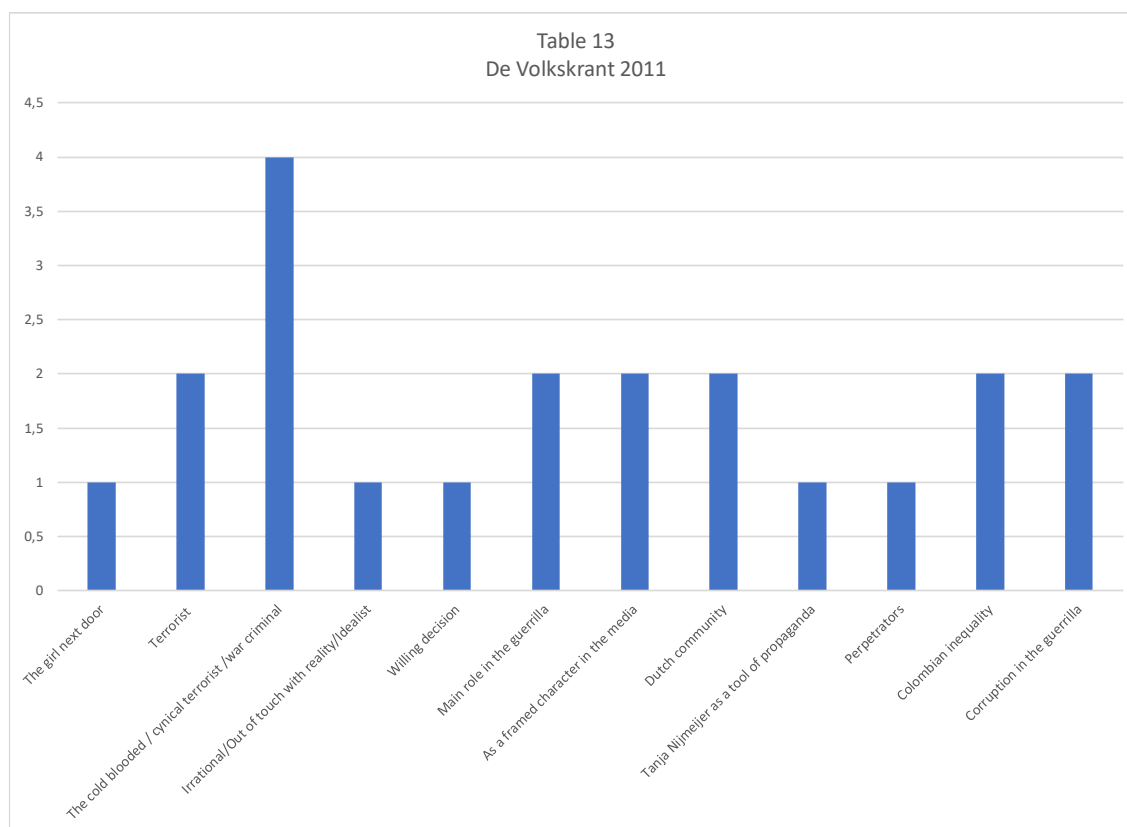


Table 14 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2012

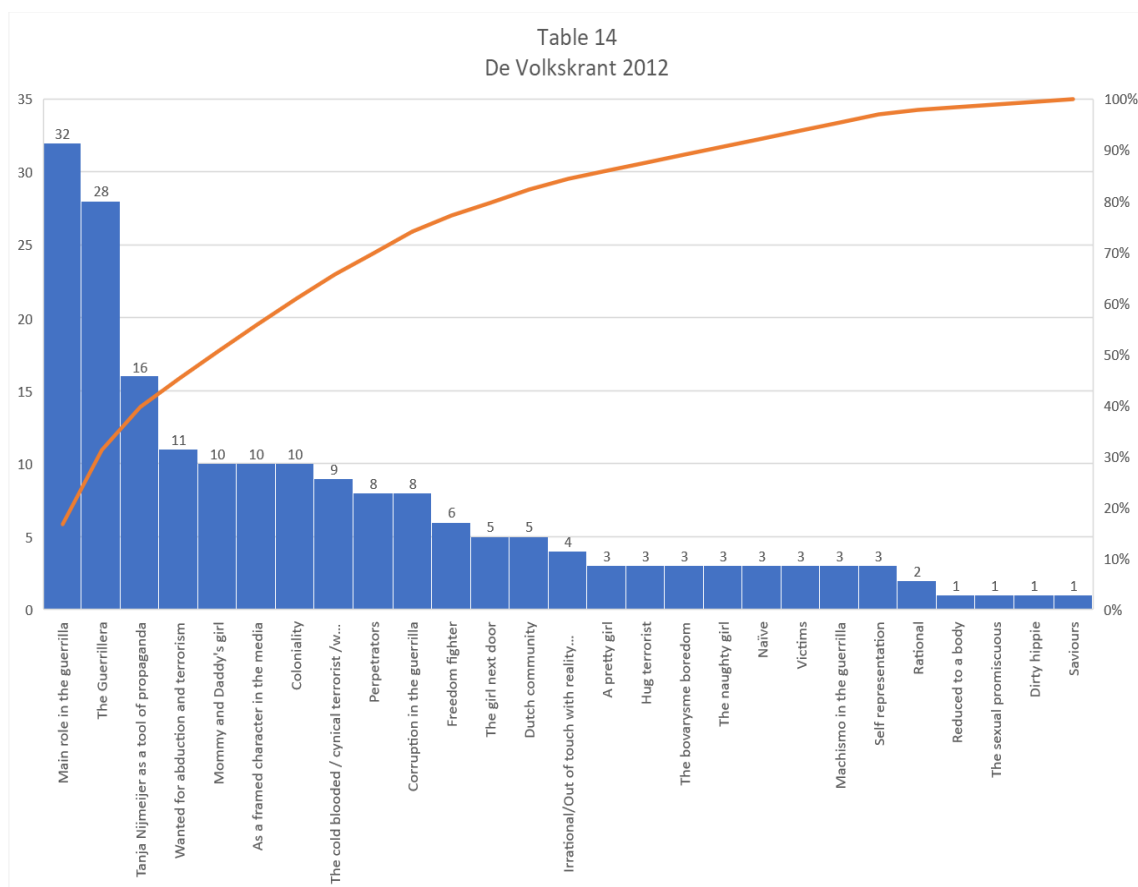


Table 15 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2013

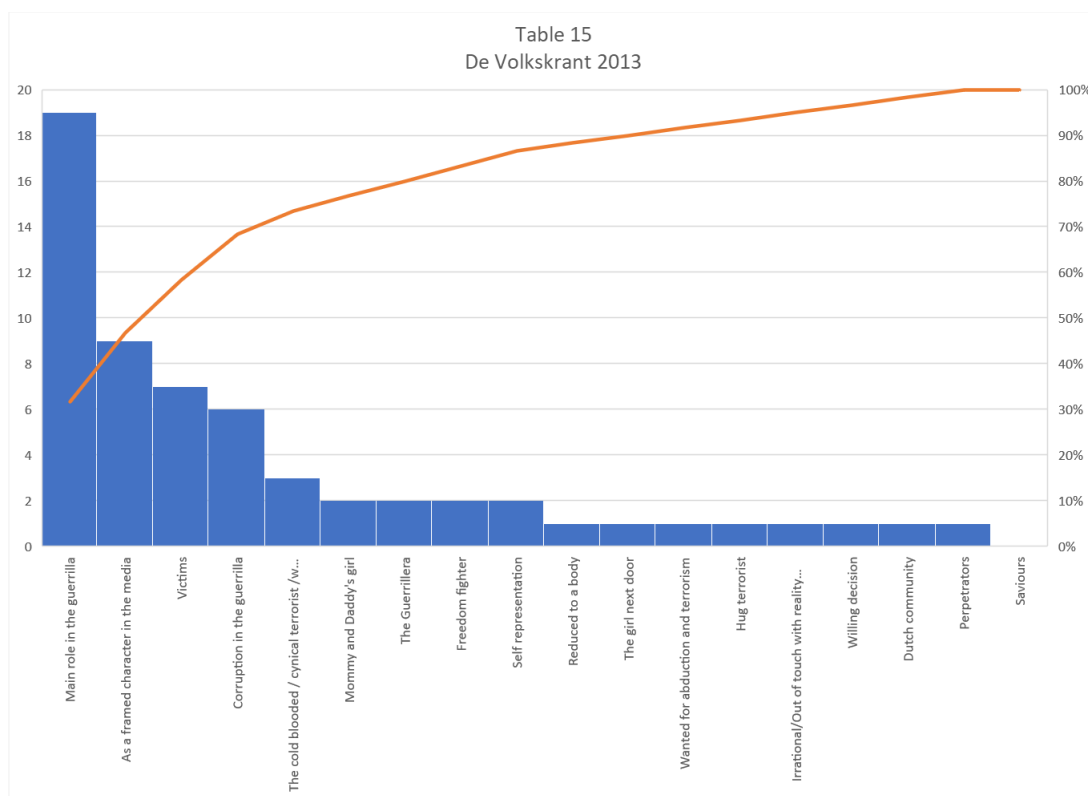




Table 16 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2014

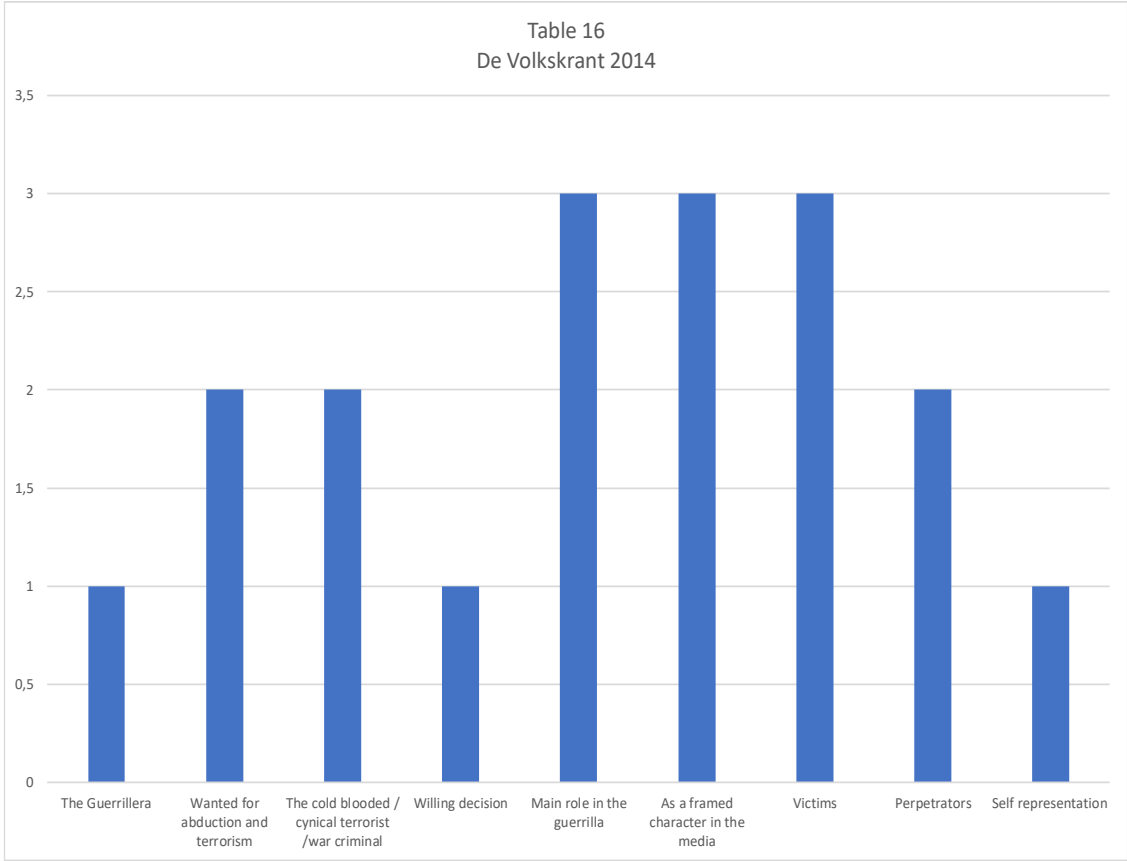


Table 17 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2015

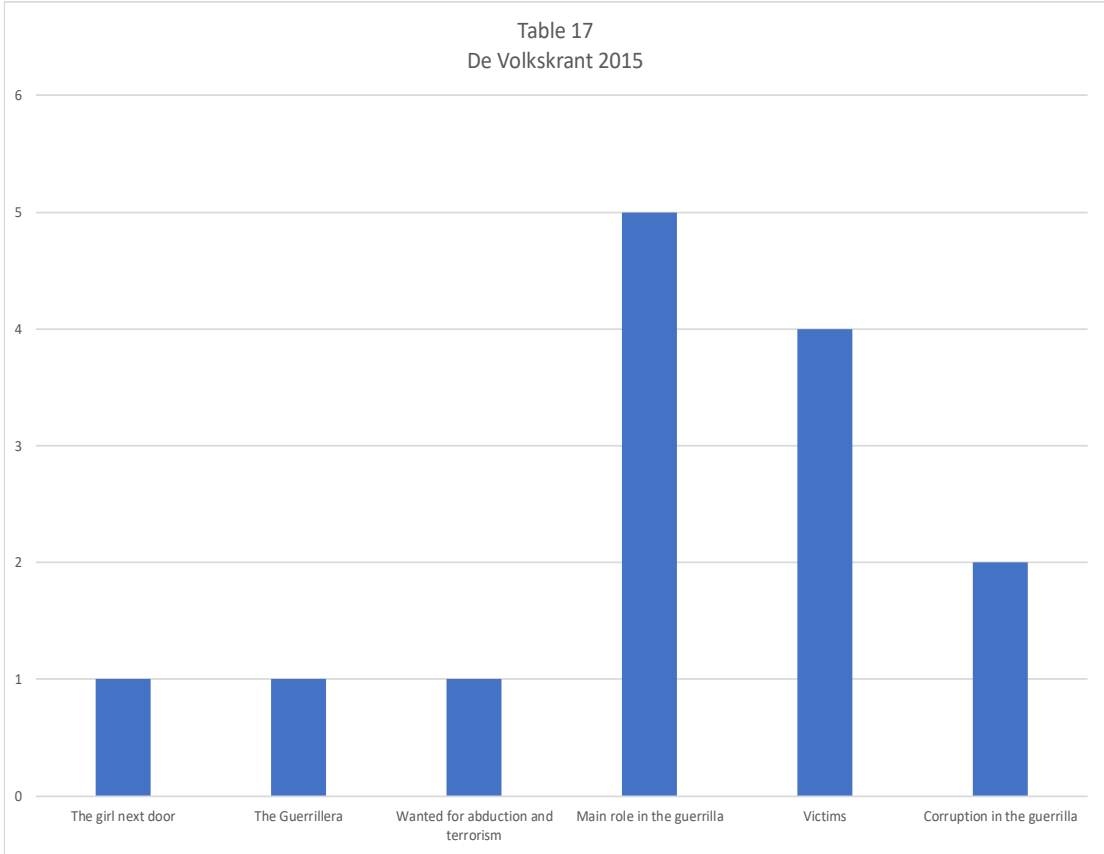
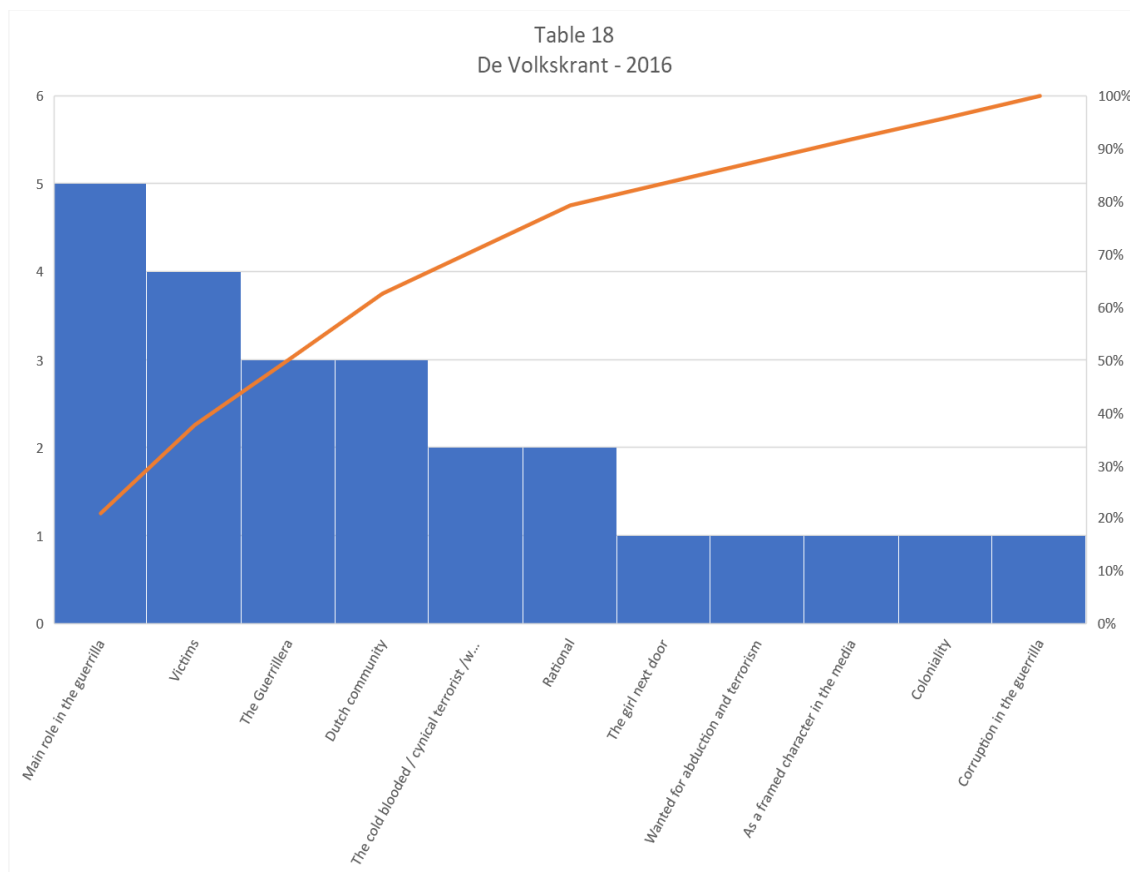


Table 18 – De Volkskrant – Frames 2016



# Appendices

## Annex 1 – List of Analyzed articles

### DE VOLKSKRANT

(articles *in italics and blue color* correspond to the ones in which the mention of Tanja Nijmeijer is not related directly with the main story)

1. 'Eillen' kennelijk Groningse ex-studente (03-09-2007)
2. Armoede Colombia schokte Tanja (04-09-2007)
3. Wie binnen FARC kritiek heeft, krijgt zware straf (04-09-2007)
4. Tanja (05-09-2007)
5. Ambassade wist wel van 'guerrillera' Nijmeijer (05-09-2007)
6. Familie Nijmeijer wilde geen officiële zoektocht (05-09-2007)
7. Nederlandse Rode Kruis zocht mee naar Tanja (05-09-2007)
8. Mogelijk meer Nederlanders in FARC (05-09-2007)
9. Nederlands contact met Colombia over Nijmeijer (05-09-2007)
10. Ouders van Tanja zwegen over FARC (06-09-2007)
11. Colombiaanse minister: Tanja Nijmeijer in gevaar (06-09-2007)
12. Ouders probeerden Tanja om te praten (07-09-2007)
13. *FARC vraagt om verwijdering van terreurlijsten (07-09-2007)*
14. Idealisme dreef Tanja in handen van FARC (07-09-2007)
15. Colombiaanse tv toont video Tanja Nijmeijer (08-09-2007)
16. Dagboek Tanja: geen andere Nederlanders in kamp (09-09-2007)
17. Nog 22 buitenlandse studenten bij FARC (10-09-2007)
18. Tanja, onze eigen Nederlandse rebel (11-09-2007)
19. FARC-strijdster 'kan geen kant meer uit' (11-09-2007)
20. Colombia vreest komst avonturiers in nasleep Tanja-zaak (13-09-2007)
21. Roem van Tanja kan nog waardevol zijn voor FARC (15-09-2007)
22. 'Tanja Nijmeijer in documentaire over FARC' (20-02-2008)
23. 'Nederlands meisje bij FARC is nog in leven' (17-06-2008)
24. Betancourt: 'Nederland moet Tanja Nijmeijer redden' (11-12-2007)
25. FARC-gijzelaars spraken met Tanja Nijmeijer (03-03-2009)
26. VPRO zet stevig in op realistische fictie (19-04-2009)
27. Wereldomroep heeft beelden Tanja Nijmeijer gevonden (28-05-2009)
28. Ouders vragen om levensteken FARC-strijdster Tanja Nijmeijer (23-12-2009)
29. 'Nederlandse Tanja Nijmeijer nog steeds bij rebellen FARC' (11-05-2010)

30. 'Tanja al eind 2008 in jungle van Colombia omgekomen' (15-05-2010)
31. 'Tanja's dood zou moeilijk te verbergen zijn' (19-05-2010)
32. *Boobytrap (19-05-2010) (Geelen)*
33. 'Tanja Nijmeijer na zware gevechten overgeplaatst' (02-08-2010)
34. FARC-strijdster Tanja Nijmeijer mogelijk gedood (23-09-2010)
35. *Tweede man FARC gedood bij aanval (24-09-2010)*
36. *Computers in kamp FARC-rebellen gevonden (24-09-2010)*
37. Commandant Tanja was in aangevallen FARC-kamp (24-09-2010)
38. Nijmeijer bijna zeker niet gedode FARC-vrouw (25-09-2010)
39. Colombia vraagt Nederland om vingerafdrukken Tanja Nijmeijer (27-09-2010)
40. Dood Nijmeijer 'vrijwel zeker' (28-09-2010)
41. Gedode FARC-strijdster niet Tanja Nijmeijer (30-09-2010)
42. Tanja Nijmeijer niet onder gevonden doden (01-10-2010)
43. 'FARC: Tanja Nijmeijer en la selva' (01-10-2010)
44. 'Tanja Nijmeijer als reclame voor FARC' (09-10-2010)
45. Nieuwe foto's Tanja Nijmeijer (09-10-2010)
46. FARC wil Tanja Nijmeijer als boegbeeld gebruiken (11-10-2010)
47. 'Colombia zal Nijmeijer niet vervolgen bij overgave' (11-10-2010)
48. Colombia vraagt hulp Van Baalen in zaak Tanja (13-10-2010)
49. *'Veel is in de jungle gebleven' (14-10-2010)*
50. Nijmeijer blijft bij FARC 'tot de dood of de overwinning' (03-11-2010)
51. Tanja Nijmeijer zingt lied voor haar ouders (04-11-2010)
52. *Meisjes (05-11-2010)*
53. Laat Tanja's keuze haar keuze zijn (05-11-2010)
54. Wereldomroep betaalde 5000 euro voor beelden Tanja (05-11-2010)
55. *Geachte redactie (06-11-2010)*
56. Weer beelden van Tanja Nijmeijer (11-11-2010)
57. *Doden door aanval op basis FARC-rebellen (16-11-2010)*
58. FARC-strijdster Tanja: Ik legde zelf ook bommen (16-11-2010)
59. Voormalig FARC-gijzelaar boos om 'propaganda' over Tanja Nijmeijer (19-11-2010)
60. Zus op zoek naar Tanja Nijmeijer in jungle Colombia (27-11-2010)
61. VS klagen Tanja Nijmeijer aan voor gijzeling (14-12-2010)
62. Tanja Nijmeijer in VS aangeklaagd (15-12-2010)
63. Internationaal arrestatiebevel tegen Nijmeijer (15-12-2010)
64. 'Tanja Nijmeijer maakt promotie bij FARC' (04-07-2011)
65. Tanja Nijmeijer betrokken bij 'herbevolking' FARC (05-07-2011)

66. 'Nog een Nederlander bij de FARC' (28-07-2011)
67. Tanja als basis (29-09-2011)
68. Levensteken FARC-strijdster Tanja Nijmeijer (07-12-2011)
69. Guerrillera Tanja Nijmeijer geeft interview (08-12-2011)
70. 'Tanja is ónze Tanja. Ze is blij, en ze blijft. Daar kunnen we nog jaren mee vooruit' (08-12-2011)
71. *Colombiaans leger: FARC-beweging is gehalveerd (18-12-2011)*
72. Tanja Nijmeijer behoudt Nederlands paspoort (20-12-2011)
73. 'Afpakken Tanja Nijmeijers paspoort is symboolpolitiek' (21-12-2011)
74. Tanja Nijmeijer doet boekje open over FARC-collega (27-12-2011)
75. *FARC stopt met ontvoeringen en laat 10 gijzelaars gaan (26-02-2012)*
76. 'Tanja Nijmeijer kan er goed vanaf komen' (29-09-2012)
77. Klimt Tanja Nijmeijer op podium in Oslo? (15-10-2012)
78. *Vredesoverleg FARC uitgesteld door Nijmeijer en zware regenval (15-10-2012)*
79. 'Nijmeijer kan ook hier worden berecht' (15-10-2012)
80. Hoogste baas FARC bevestigt komst Nijmeijer (15-10-2012)
81. Waarom is Tanja Nijmeijer erbij in Oslo? (15-10-2012)
82. Komst Nijmeijer ergert Colombiaanse regering (16-10-2012)
83. Naïef maar lief, vond Tanja zichzelf (16-10-2012) Lindhout
84. 'Tanja Nijmeijer is nog altijd Colombia niet uit' (16-10-2012)
85. 'Nijmeijer vanaf zondag bij vredesonderhandelingen' (16-10-2012)
86. 'Nijmeijer kan niet naar Oslo' (16-10-2012)
87. Nijmeijer mogelijk toch niet naar Oslo (16-10-2012)
88. Nijmeijer werd boegbeeld van FARC vanwege 'haar bekende opofferingsgezindheid' (16-10-2012)
89. 'Tanja Nijmeijer gaat niet naar Oslo' (17-10-2012)
90. *'Wij leven in een bezeten wereld' (17-10-2012) (Max Pam)*
91. *'Stilte betaalt zich uit bij onderhandelingen in Noorwegen' (17-10-2012)*
92. *Colombiaanse vredesgesprekken begonnen (17-10-2012)*
93. *'Ik heb hoop dat het nu goed gaat' (18-10-2012)*
94. *Gesprekken over vrede Colombia 'goed begonnen' (18-10-2012)*
95. Tanja Nijmeijer mag van Colombia meeonderhandelen (18-10-2012)
96. *Flamboyant, vaag optreden FARC (19-10-2012)*
97. Familie Tanja Nijmeijer overweegt reis naar Cuba (19-10-2012)
98. *NS Publieksprijs (20-10-2012)*
99. 'Colombia wil opheffing arrestatiebevel Tanja Nijmeijer' (22-10-2012)
100. Arrestatiebevelen Tanja Nijmeijer tijdelijk ingetrokken (22-10-2012)

101. Arrestatiebevel Tanja Nijmeijer ingetrokken (23-10-2012)
102. 'Rode Kruis kan helpen bij reis Tanja Nijmeijer' (24-10-2012)
103. Tanja Nijmeijer onderweg naar Cuba' (30-10-2012)
104. Tanja Nijmeijer zou op weg zijn naar Havana (31-10-2012)
105. 'Tanja Nijmeijer al een jaar niet meer in Colombia' (31-10-2012)
106. FARC verontwaardigd over beeldvorming Tanja Nijmeijer (02-11-2012)
107. 'Nijmeijer schoot vliegtuig met Amerikanen neer' (03-11-2012)
108. Tanja Nijmeijer op Cuba aangekomen (06-11-2012)
109. Tanja Nijmeijer zingend in propagandavideo FARC (06-11-2012)
110. Nijmeijer streng bewaakt in Havana (06-11-2012)
111. FARC zet Tanja in voor propaganda (07-11-2012)
112. Ouders hadden contact met Tanja Nijmeijer (07-11-2012)
113. Tanja Nijmeijer: 'Wij willen vrede met sociale rechtvaardigheid' (08-11-2012)
114. 'Nijmeijer moet politica namens FARC kunnen worden' (08-11-2012)
- 115. Knetterende liefde (09-11-2012)*
116. Familie sprak weer met Tanja (10-11-2012)
117. Tanja Nijmeijer: er waren nooit burgerslachtoffers bij aanslagen (12-11-2012)
118. 'Nijmeijer wil naar Nederland komen om uitleg te geven' (12-11-2012)
- 119. Tot elkaar veroordeeld (13-11-2012)*
- 120. Lief Dagboek: 'Yvon Jaspers belde zelfs persoonlijk; of ik iets zie in het format Piet zoekt vrouw' (13-11-2012)*
121. Aandacht voor Tanja Nijmeijer stoort familie (13-11-2012)
- 122. Start vredesonderhandelingen Colombia later (13-11-2012)*
123. 'Wat een lieve meid' (14-11-2012)
124. Stop met het romantiseren van Tanja (15-11-2012)
125. Tanja Nijmeijer aan de wandel door Havana (16-11-2012)
126. Tanja Nijmeijer in Havana (16-11-2012)
127. Morgen in de Volkskrant: voor het eerst lang interview met Tanja Nijmeijer (16-11-2012)
128. 'Ik ben er moe van mezelf steeds te moeten verdedigen' (17-11-2012)
- 129. Colombia en FARC beginnen vandaag met onderhandelingen (19-11-2012)*
130. Lief Dagboek: 'Sintlijstje gemaakt, wil graag drop en een nieuwe bermbom' (20-11-2012)
131. Nijmeijer: 'Als ik niet bij FARC zat, dan was ik gescheiden' (22-11-2012)
- 132. FARC laat vier gijzelaars vrij (22-11-2012)*
133. Voetnoot Tanja (24-11-2012) (Grunberg)
134. Nijmeijer: FARC is solidair met de Palestijnen (29-11-2012)

135. *Vredesbespreking met FARC even stopgezet (30-11-2012)*
136. *U (01-12-2012) (Vriend)*
137. *Verdachten (01-12-2012) (Vrinden)*
138. Tanja Nijmeijer: Dialoog is de enige oplossing (05-12-2012)
139. *Gevaarlijke vrouwen (08-12-2012)*
140. *FARC en regering Colombia praten in januari verder (24-12-2012)*
141. *Leger doodt FARC-rebellen bij luchtaanval (01-01-2013)*
142. Tanja Nijmeijer: 'Ik wilde vroeger non worden' (03-01-2013)
143. Nijmeijer ziet zichzelf als bestrijder grootkapitaal (05-01-2013)
144. *Jimmy Carter helpt bij vredesproces FARC (11-01-2013)*
145. *FARC en regering Colombia weer om tafel (14-01-2013)*
146. *FARC beëindigt bestand (20-01-2013)*
147. 'Familie steunt Nijmeijer maar niet de FARC' (26-01-2013)
148. *FARC laat weer van zich horen (31-01-2013)*
149. *Gespot: Syrische vrouwen aan het front (04-02-2013)*
150. *'FARC-leiders zijn inhalig, de rest komt tekort' (20-02-2013)*
151. Volkskrant-interview met Tanja Nijmeijer genomineerd voor de Tegel (25-02-2013)
152. *'FARC volgend jaar in de politiek' (06-03-2013)*
153. *FARC-leider aangeschoven bij vredesoverleg (07-04-2013)*
154. *Colombia wil tempo vredesgesprekken verhogen (03-05-2013)*
155. *FARC-rebellen gedood aan vooravond vredesoverleg (15-05-2013)*
156. *Vredesakkoord Colombia stap dichterbij (26-05-2013)*
157. *FARC scoort veel punten met landkwestie (28-05-2013)*
158. Tanja Nijmeijer wil voor altijd bij FARC blijven (09-06-2013)
159. *FARC-partij mag weer meedoen in Colombia (10-07-2013)*
160. *Colombiaanse militairen gedood door FARC (21-07-2013)*
161. *553 minuten thuisvermaak (10-08-2013)*
162. *Vredesoverleg Colombia en FARC hervat (18-08-2013)*
163. *De Vrouwenhand in de beeldende kunst (15-10-2013) (Zwagerman)*
164. *Koningspaar naar Colombia en onrustig Venezuela (17-11-2013)*
165. *Vredeswedstrijd tussen Tanja Nijmeijer en 'blonde Gullit' (02-12-2013)*
166. FARC-lid Tanja Nijmeijer: 'Ik ben zelf ook heel erg Tanja-moe' (04-01-2014)
167. *'Colombia is geen democratie' (26-02-2014)*
168. Tanja Nijmeijer: 'Ik zal doodgaan in de jungle' (02-05-2014)
169. *Rebellenbeweging FARC kondigt nieuwe wapenstiland af (08-06-2014)*
170. *Strijdmakker Tanja Nijmeijer in VS veroordeeld (24-10-2014)*



- 171. President Colombia: akkoord met FARC in 2015 (16-11-2014)
- 172. FARC roept eenzijdig staakt-het-vuren uit (18-12-2014)
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## Annex 2 – The physical appearance frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
The Physical Appearance Frame		use the attractive Tanja for propaganda (05-09-2007)
		I understand that the national media has an eye for her beautiful niece (in opposition to an imaginary fat and ugly Dutch fighter in Shining Path in Peru) (20-10-2012)
	Reduced to a body	A photogenic terrorist and freedom fighter (15-10-2013) (Zwagerman)
	A pretty girl	<p>Tanja was beautiful, the boys thought. But she also had something distant. (16-10-2012) (Lindhout)</p> <p>Jesus Santrich called her "flower of the mountains" (19-10-2012)</p> <p>chosen because of her beautiful face to breathe new life into the international work of the FARC and to cover our villainous face with her beautiful smile, "the FARC scorns on the website. (02-11-2012)</p>

### Annex 3 – The Family connection frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
The family connection frame	Mommy and Daddy's girl	<p>"The family did not want an official search (05-09-2007)</p> <p>""practical and emotional support to the family"" ... ""the parents"" ... ""the girl"" (meisje)... ""the daughter was no longer missing"" (05-09-2007)</p> <p>""we want to give this confused girl back to her parents"" (05-09-2007)</p> <p>""The parents are afraid that the media attention endangers their daughter"" (06-09-2007)</p> <p>""despite her parents' disagreement with her choice"" (07-09-2007)</p> <p>""I know this has been a very difficult time for my mother and father,"" Tanja says on the video. "" (08-09-2007)</p> <p>""Dutch girl (meisje) at FARC is still alive (17-06-2008)</p> <p>""Parents ask for vital sign FARC fighter Tanja Nijmeijer"" ... ""as parents you have the right to know whether your child is alive or not"" (23-12-2009)</p> <p>""She dedicated the song Don't cry for me Argentina from the musical Evita to her father and mother. (04-11-2010) (05-11-2010)</p> <p>""The family craves a sign of life for their daughter. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>""What would have happened if Tanja had been Ronald's sister? (06-11-2010) What if Tanja had had other parents? How to avoid that this happens to my kids?</p> <p>""Marloes said she was angry with her sister because of her decision to join the FARC and called on her to desert in early November."" (27-11-2010)</p> <p>""The rumor that Tanja is coming to Oslo gives the family a glimmer of hope"" (17-10-2012)</p> <p>Tanja Nijmeijer family is considering a trip to Cuba ... Her family hopes for a reunification. (19-10-2012)</p> <p>Hannie and Gerrit Nijmeijer would like to travel to Cuba, together with her two sisters. (07-11-2012) (08-11-2012)</p> <p>Parents had contact with Tanja Nijmeijer (07-11-2012) (08-11-2012) Tanja Nijmeijer spoke again with her parents on Thursday. (10-11-2012)</p> <p>Attention to Tanja Nijmeijer disturbs family (13-11-2012) she can call her family in Havana for the first time in years (17-11-2012)</p> <p>she can call her family in Havana for the first time in years (Interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>What she also says she has difficulty with is the separation from her family (03-01-2013)</p> <p>""Family supports Nijmeijer but not the FARC"" (26-01-2013)"</p>



	The girl next door	<p>"Zumpolle: The FARC are recruiting in the Netherlands (03-09-2007)</p> <p>""Dutch Student (03-09-2007)</p> <p>Young Dutch female (07-09-2007)</p> <p>tried to persuade her sister Ellen, a social-pedagogical worker, or a bosom friend to join the FARC as a war nurse (11-09-2007)</p> <p>""Overijssels meisje (girl) (18-05-2010)</p> <p>the guerrilla girl from Denekamp in Twente (05-11-2010)</p> <p>Tanja from Twente joined the FARC (Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia) around 2003 (14-12-2010)</p> <p>The Dutch guerrilla from Denekamp (08-12-2011)</p> <p>The talk of the day in Denekamp ...""Maybe the teachers aren't that proud of that ... ""...""her parents, They are simple people from Denekamp"" ... ""Tanja will never return to Denekamp, the elderly agree on that. (16-10-2012) (Lindhout)</p> <p>Tanja Nijmeijer from Denekamp in Overijssel (16-10-2012)</p> <p>""Or take Tanja Nijmeijer, a former student at Carmel College in Oldenzaal."" (17-10-2012) (Max Pam)</p> <p>""she is a giggling woman, who is called 'Holanda' by her Colombian friends (16-11-2012)</p> <p>""the best friend of a roommate"" (interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>""I used to want to become a nun"" (03-01-2013)</p> <p>""born in the village of Denekamp in Twente (04-06-2015)</p> <p>""I would like to go to the Netherlands, to hear Dutch around me again, to see the landscape, and I am really looking forward to seeing my family."" (24-09-2016)"</p>
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#### Annex 4 – The tough as males/Tougher than men frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
The Tough-as-Males/Tougher-than-Men Frame/Antinatural	The sexual promiscuous	<p>Zumpolle: with Mono Jojoy. She was in his neighborhood day and night. She was very close with him, because she apparently had a relationship with his cousin. (28-09-2010)</p> <p>She dismisses the rumors that she is the sweetheart of FARC commander Iván Márquez. (17-11-2012)</p>
	The Guerrillera	<p>Guerrillera (05-09-2007)</p> <p>Dutch fighter (05-09-2007) (09-09-2007) (11-09-2007) (14-11-2008) (11-05-2010) (15-05-2010) (02-08-2010) (24-09-2010) (24-09-2010) (25-09-2010) (27-09-2010) (16-11-2010) (15-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (16-10-2012)(16-10-2010) (17-10-2012) (17-10-2012) (22-10-2012) (23-10-2012) (30-10-2012) (31-10-2012) (31-12-2012) (02-11-2012) (03-11-2012) (06-11-2012) (06-11-2012) (12-11-2012) (16-11-2012) (24-06-2016) (24-09-2016) (14-10-2016)</p> <p>Farc guerrilla fighter/ member (28-05-2009) (23-12-2009) (23-09-2010) (30-09-2010) (01-10-2010) (01-10-2010) (09-10-2010) (04-11-2010) (16-11-2010) (15-10-2012) (18-10-2012) (19-10-2012) (22-10-2012) (08-11-2012) (12-11-2012) (16-11-2012) (26-01-2013) (09-06-2013) (04-01-2014) (24-01-2015)</p> <p>Member of the rebel group (11-11-2010) (16-11-2010) (16-10-2012) (22-11-2012)</p> <p>Dutch FARC activist (17-10-2012) (09-11-2012)</p>
	Terrorist	<p>A terrorist group (05-09-2007)</p> <p>Terrorist (20-12-2011) (21-12-2011)</p>
	Wanted for abduction and terrorism	<p>Indicted in the US for abduction and terrorism" (14-12-2010) (15-12-2010) (15-12-2010) (29-09-2012) (15-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (17-10-2012) (17-10-2012) (19-10-2012) (22-10-2012) (03-11-2012) (07-11-2012) (08-11-2012) (17-11-2012- Interview) (28-05-2013 - Van de Water) (02-05-2014) (24-10-2014) (04-06-2015) (24-09-2016)</p>
	Hug terrorist	<p>hug terrorist' (13-11-2012) (14-11-2012- Schreijnders) (16-11-2012) (10-08-2013)</p> <p>"Gangster girl" (05-11-2010)</p>
	The cold blooded / cynical terrorist /war criminal	<p>Do you have to feel sorry? You could almost tell from the newspaper reports that she has fallen victim to a gang of criminals - but she volunteered and would have shot a helicopter off the air if it had come close enough (05-09-2007)</p> <p>Tanja has been radicalized and has drawn the ultimate consequence (11-09-2007)</p> <p>She does not express her surprise about executions, draconian punishments, forced recruitment or intimidation of the local population. (15-09-2007)</p> <p>They describe Nijmeijer as someone who says "all FARC bullshit" and who can barely breathe without expressing anything anti-American (03-03-2009)</p> <p>Tanja is said to have placed explosives at police stations, supermarkets and city buses in Bogotá. (19-05-2010) ... involved in an attack on a bus line in the capital Bogota in Colombia (12-11-2012)</p> <p>"If the army and government of Colombia are still thinking and</p>

		<p>saying that I have been abducted, have them come here to free me." We will receive them with machine guns, mines, mortars, and everything, " (03-11-2010) (04-11-2010)</p> <p>typifications such as his patronize Tanja Nijmeijer unnecessarily. They turn a mature and well-educated woman into a malleable victim rather than the perpetrator she clearly wanted to be." (05-11-2010)</p> <p>"The Dutch FARC fighter Tanja Nijmeijer has laid bombs in Colombia." (16-11-2010) (15-12-2010)</p> <p>The Dutch Tanja Nijmeijer would be promoted by the Colombian terror movement FARC. (04-07-2011)</p> <p>The Dutch Tanja Nijmeijer is said to have been deployed by the Colombian terror movement FARC for the 'repopulation' of an area in the Guaviare ... "People are being chased away by the FARC and guerrilla sympathizers are being put down," (05-07-2010)</p> <p>The Dutch who joined the Colombian terror movement FARC ... We will continue (07-12-2011) (08-12-2011)</p> <p>Nijmeijer is a member of "one of the toughest terrorist organizations ... The CDA is fed up with the romanticization of the 'terrorist' (20-12-2011)</p> <p>You would think it would be more obvious to send her straight to Scheveningen, where she could occupy a room next to that of Mladic, Karadzic or Charles Taylor. (17-10-2012) (Max Pam) For the first time she is treated like a war criminal ... war crimes (16-11-2012) (02-05-2014)</p> <p>She then helped with the construction of barbed wire prisons in which hostages were being held. (03-11-2012)</p> <p>"In the clip, she is presented as a kind of peace queen," says Zumpolle. "But FARC members still recruit children, expel farmers from their land and have many deaths to their name. Nijmeijer is no exception. ' (07-11-2012)</p> <p>Tanja Nijmeijer that the FARC never abducts, but only imprisons people who refuse to pay 'revolutionary tax' - a normal sanction for tax evaders (13-11-2012)</p> <p>On the other hand, she is the cold guerrilla warrior for whom executions are just as normal as drinking morning coffee in the jungle 'she feels at home with the tough doctrine of military Marxism. ... (executions) "But someone who deserts is a traitor. ... "They must disappear from the area. " ... " "But if someone is an enemy of ours, execution almost always follows. What else should you do with your enemy? Teach him?" ... Nijmeijer admits that the FARC earns money from the cocaine trade through taxes, has kidnapped people for ransom for a long time and is laying landmines on a large scale. For all questions about the harmful consequences thereof, Nijmeijer points to the FARC guidelines ... (Nijmeijer has blood on her hands) I don't have to justify myself. The fight is justified. We are at war. ... 'Sometimes you look at me as if I'm from another planet. It's all so logical to me that I get desperate when I see you don't understand. "(Interview) (17-11-2012) She lives in other episteme, she has a complete different set of values. )</p>
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		<p>"We are both fighting injustice and not avoiding violence," (Hero Brinckman) ... (20-11-2012) (Polderman)</p> <p>Supposedly she did not know about the Farc crimes, because she is in the laptop or cutting bananas (01-12-2012) (Vriend)</p> <p>"I am part of an armed movement and weapons kill people. Nobody denies that. The most difficult thing about living with the guerrilla movement is the death of my comrades." (03-01-2013)</p> <p>'Nijmeijer defended the kidnapping practices of the FARC on Wednesday in an interview with the BBC. It is a source of income for the guerrilla movement. "We never talk about kidnapping; we don't do that. You talk about kidnapping if it's for personal gain. We speak of financial and economic retention. (31-01-2013)</p> <p>'De Graaf "one of the world's most dangerous female terrorists." (10-08-2013)</p> <p>"The Dutch FARC guerrilla Tanja Nijmeijer would rather die in the Colombian jungle than be locked up in an American prison (02-05-2014)</p> <p>'Like Jitse Akse, Also Tanja Nijmeijer will have to respond when she comes to our country, Pechtold thinks. "An investigation by the Public Prosecution Service is the least." (16-01-2016)</p> <p>'If the doors close for us, we will go to the jungle and fight again," (14-10-2016)</p>
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## Annex 5 – The bored, naïve, out-of-touch-with-reality frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
The Bored, Naïve, Out-of-touch-with-reality Frame	Hippie	Nijmeijer had a fixed group of friends. "They looked a bit hippie-like. (16-10-2012)
	The bovarysme boredom	<p>The Colombian authorities fear that young people with a desire for adventure have a wrong view of the FARC guerrilla movement, just as Tanja Nijmeijer (13-09-2007)</p> <p>Tanja Nijmeijer on vacation, shopping terrorist fashion ... delaying negotiations because of hungover ... (20-11-2012) (Polderman)</p> <p>"If I were not at FARC, I would have been divorced" (This answer makes her look more bovarysme than the article of Polderman) ... she does not want to go back to her old life in the Netherlands (22-11-2012)</p> <p>"is described more as exciting and adventurous than as a dangerous militant (08-12-2012)</p>
	The naughty girl	<p>her mother tried to change her mind during a self-arranged visit. In vain: "She couldn't be relented." (07-09-2007) (16-10-2012)</p> <p>despite her parents' disagreement with her choice (07-09-2007)</p> <p>Tanja is in love and had a relationship with FARC commander Carlos Antonio Lozada (11-09-2007)</p> <p>is a monument for anyone going in the wrong direction (11-09-2007)</p> <p>Hannie Nijmeijer then failed to separate her daughter from the guerrilla movement. (23-12-2009)</p> <p>"When you hear that she is active at the FARC, you think: typical." ... "Tanja? That used to be a strange one, "says a man in a mobility scooter." (16-10-2012) (Lindhout)</p> <p>She does not receive a gift from Sinterklaas many years ago (13-11-2012)</p>
	Naïve	<p>was shocked by poverty, inequality and repression (04-09-2007)</p> <p>young naive foreigners who still had a romantic image of the struggle (04-09-2007)</p> <p>Because of her idealism, she was of course also very sensitive to external influence (07-09-2007)</p> <p>"seriously influenced by certain contacts." (07-09-2007)</p> <p>"I find her stupid, naive and dangerous" (11-09-2007)</p> <p>"Under her photo in the final exam bundle, Tanja writes: "Naive, but sweet." (16-10-2012) (Lindhout) )</p> <p>"The video shows how she joins the FARC leaders with a smile." (07-11-2012)</p> <p>That's not Tanja." Such a child with good sense may have become very naively involved in the civil war. (13-11-2012)</p>
	The kidnapped/against her will	<p>is against her will in the communist guerrilla movement FARC in Colombia (03-09-2007)</p> <p>"these terrorists kill and execute the deserters trying to escape. That is why Tanja is in great danger." (06-09-2007)</p>

		<p>"Her cooperation with the documentary would be a way to avoid a serious punishment" (20-02-2007)</p> <p>Zumpolle: "but deserves just as much help as the thousands of young Colombians, very often children, who have been lured and brainwashed and are actually held captive by the FARC as guerilla fighters." (19-05-2010)</p> <p>Member of the European Parliament Hans van Baalen (VVD) has been asked to help with the release of Tanja Nijmeijer from the FARC Colombian rebel movement. (13-10-2010)</p>
	Irrational/Out of touch with reality/Idealist	<p>Of course she knew in her heart that she could not change that. But "it doesn't mean that you don't have to do anything," (04-09-2007)</p> <p>confused girl (05-09-2007)</p> <p>she has gone extremely far in her idealism (07-09-2007) (07-09-2007)</p> <p>Radical student (09-09-2007)</p> <p>Tanja remains faithful to the revolution, until death or victory. Revolutionary rhetoric in the best South American tradition of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>There is too much poverty and inequality to say that idealism leads nowhere. (29-09-2011)</p> <p>"I felt that she wanted to do things for other people, not for herself. She was rather quiet in class." (16-10-2012)</p> <p>"FARC fighters have now become old fools, so there is a chance that peace will soon come about (17-10-2012) (Max Pam)</p> <p>"Che Guevara, she believes she has many similarities with the Argentinian revolutionary. (12-11-2012)</p> <p>"We consider ourselves an armed political party. Our teaching is based on Marxism-Leninism. Those are the ideas we are fighting for." ...</p> <p>"There is a saying: the people know who their executioners are. What the government is trying to do is make us perpetrators instead of victims. "(Interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>"Some people are motivated by my membership and will realize the importance of internationalism and the fight against big capital (06-01-2013)</p>

## Annex 6 – Empowered woman frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
Empowered Woman	Freedom fighter	<p>youthful idealism and the relative of the term "terrorist". Was Nelson Mandela also not a terrorist when he was in jail (15-09-2007)</p> <p>resistance movement FARC (04-11-2010) (04-11-2010) (29-12-2012)</p> <p>he spokesperson criticized capitalism and neo-liberalism, which he called "abstract killers." (18-10-2012) (19-10-2012)</p> <p>The romantic version of this story appeals to the imagination in such a way that it dominates the coverage of the peace talks between the FARC and the Colombian government in Oslo and Havana. It is the story of a student from Groningen who gives up her comfortable life to enter the armed struggle with large capital and is willing to give her life for her ideals. (15-11-2012) (Van Nistelrooij)</p> <p>AFP photographed Nijmeijer in Havana for, among other things, a commemorative sign of the legendary freedom fighter Che Guevara (16-11-2012)</p> <p>"She also puts her idealism into practice in the periphery and not in the Netherlands, completely in line with Western strategy of fighting wars in the periphery" (24-11-2012) (Grunberg)</p> <p>"Nijmeijer sees himself as a fighter against big capital (06-01-2013)</p> <p>"A photogenic terrorist and freedom fighter (15-10-2013) (Zwagerman)</p>
	Willing decision	<p>"she voluntarily joined a terror organization" (05-09-2007) (06-09-2007)</p> <p>"Tanja Nijmeijer himself has chosen to join the FARC" (06-09-2007)</p> <p>"she herself really chose for her existence in the jungle" (08-12-2011)</p> <p>"This is my passion and I will continue to work on this. Whether it is an armed struggle or a political struggle (09-06-2013)</p> <p>"Tanja is politically motivated" (26-02-2014)</p>
	Rational	<p>her effectiveness in the guerrilla struggle and full loyalty (19-05-2010)</p> <p>"typifications such as his patronize Tanja Nijmeijer unnecessarily. They turn a mature and well-educated woman into a malleable victim rather than the perpetrator she clearly wanted to be." ...</p> <p>"She knows what may be waiting for her. Death may sooner or later be the price it will have to pay for these choices. That is indeed not nothing, but it remains a mature woman who has made all these choices." (Jan Blaauw)(05-11-2010)</p> <p>"Nijmeijer studied Romance languages and cultures at the University of Groningen. ... She is currently a member of the international committee of the rebel group. Someone who can deliberately and well explain why she chose the armed struggle in another country is very important for a guerrilla movement."(Redaction) (15-10-2012)</p>

		<p>However, it is determined on behalf of the FARC, and in Colombia, to continue to fight for social justice.... She declares she is not naive, and knows every action committed by the Farc (Interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>"This is a definitive break with the war," said Dutch guerrilla fighter Tanja Nijmeijer (24-06-2016)</p> <p>"Nijmeijer has always defended the armed struggle, but has also learned that a peace agreement was ultimately the best solution (24-09-2016)</p>
	Main role in the guerrilla	<p>Personal assistant to Mono Jojoy (11-05-2010) (23-09-2010) (20-02-2013)</p> <p>'to have reached the top of the FARC' ... "She has reached the top of the FARC, which no other foreigner has ever succeeded" (19-05-2010)</p> <p>"The Dutch Tanja Nijmeijer would be promoted by the Colombian terror movement FARC. (04-07-2011) (28-07-2011)</p> <p>'peace negociator (15-10-2012) (15-10-2012) (15-10-2012) (15-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (17-10-2012) (18-10-2012) (18-10-2012) (22-10-2012) (24-10-2012) (30-10-2012) (31-10-2012) (03-11-2012) (06-11-2012) (06-11-2012) (06-11-2012) (07-11-2012) (07-11-2012) (08-11-2012) (10-11-2012) (12-11-2012) (13-11-2012) (16-11-2012) (19-11-2012) (22-11-2012) (22-11-2012) (29-11-2012) (30-11-2012) (05-12-2012) (24-12-2012) (01-01-2013) (03-01-2013) (06-01-2013) (11-01-2013) (14-01-2013) (20-01-2013) (26-01-2013) (31-01-2013) (20-02-2013) (06-03-2013) (07-04-2013) (03-05-2013) (15-05-2013) (26-05-2013) (09-06-2013) (10-07-2013) (21-07-2013) (18-08-2013) (08-06-2014) (16-11-2014) (18-12-2014) (22-05-2015) (24-05-2015) (04-06-2015) (12-07-2015) (19-07-2015) (22-06-2016) (23-06-2016) (24-06-2016) (24-09-2016) (26-09-2016)</p> <p>"he believes that she should then be nationalized as a Colombian citizen" to be a member of the new party (08-11-2012)</p>



## Annex 7 – As framed character in the media frame

FRAME	VOLKSKRANT
As a framed character in the media	<p>our own Dutch rebel (11-09-2007)</p> <p>(t-shirts) is a monument for anyone going in the wrong direction (11-09-2007)</p> <p>She is foreign, attractive, comes out well and is assured of broadcasting time on many channels (15-09-2007)</p> <p>"Fame of Tanja can still be valuable for FARC" ... "Tanja evokes Orange feeling in the Netherlands instead of revolt against the FARC. On the street there is a communis opinio that "our" Tanja should come home safely" (15-09-2007)</p> <p>"the idea of making a series about the life of Tanja Nijmeijer" (19-04-2009)</p> <p>"She was world news in 2007" ... "Tanja's death would be difficult to hide" (19-05-2010)</p> <p>"News requires a face, especially on TV. Last night the IKON Closer to Tanja showed. About the Dutch girl who ended up at the FARC. Very nice documentary. But who would have looked at a documentary about Colombia without the personal story about Tanja Nijmeijer? (19-05-2010)</p> <p>"World famous" (24-09-2010) (interview- 17-11-2012)</p> <p>"Colombia and the FARC is not always the subject of all Tanja messages. We have our girl on television, and we won't let that take us away, even though she enjoys the forests of Colombia. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>"I do not depict her negatively. Eileen is a special woman. I love the character" (29-09-2010)</p> <p>"Girl is doing an internship in Colombia, gets caught up in social injustice and joins revolutionaries - a fact that speaks to the imagination of many a screenwriter)" (08-12-2011)</p> <p>"we have Tanja. Our Tanja, which we can use for years to come, if it does not perish in the battlefield" ... "Tanja is happy and she stays. Dutch news media will have to learn to live with it, and leave their dream stories to the dramaturges of TV series." (08-12-2011) She is not brainwashed and that raises a lot of disturbing questions. It seems that the interview implies the change in the perception and the representation of Tanja (hypothesis)</p> <p>"The village is used to the media wave that every life sign of Tanja brings about" (16-10-2012) (Lindhout)</p> <p>Zumpolle: "Before her diaries came to the publicity, she was a nobody," (07-11-2012)</p> <p>the number of Dutch media present in Havana is steadily increasing. (10-11-2012)</p> <p>"The reporting is very focused on me. That makes sense, because as a Dutch I naturally awaken curiosity and sensation. " She knows the poor image of the FARC. "A media campaign against the FARC has been going on for years; we have never had room to tell our story, to say what we are fighting for." (12-11-2012)</p> <p>She has a beautiful head and she has the gift of the word. She is handsome and intelligent, of course that plays a role. (13-11-2012)</p> <p>'Cuddly terrorist' compared to Willem Holleeder ... "she is ready for a College Tour, a feature film plus a musical. Tanja Nijmeijer. Our own hug terrorist." (14-11-2012) (Schreijnders)</p> <p>'Stop romanticizing Tanja ... The attention of the Dutch media for fellow countryman Tanja Nijmeijer leaves the atrocities of the guerrilla movement FARC underexposed....The romantic version of this story appeals to the imagination in such a way that it dominates the coverage of the peace talks between the FARC and the Colombian government in Oslo and Havana. It is the story of a student from Groningen who gives up her comfortable life to enter the armed struggle with large capital and is willing to give her life for her ideals ... Instead, we are concerned whether Nijmeijer has already been in contact with her family in Europe since her arrival in Cuba ... The reluctance to report on the consequences for the Colombian population shows the disdain for the people who suffer from terror every day. ... enough</p>

	<p>material for news reports and analyzes. The ins and outs of a single guerrilla from the Netherlands can easily be left out of consideration. ...Instead of forsaking their duties, the Dutch media should honor themselves as the main source of information for the Dutch people (15-11-2012) (Van Nistelrooij) She understands that the case of Tanja Nijmeijer implies the banalization of the Colombian Conflict. This could be the most important frame of my analysis)</p> <p>FARC a terrorist organization ?! Ridiculous! Okay, we have guns, but just because it's tough? All right, we are placing bombs, but only in remote areas where no one ever comes? Okay, we carry out attacks, but it is never intended that victims fall. In itself we are just a kind of scout association and political party, I think. Ridiculous, the distorted image that the media portrays of our club! (20-11-2012) (Polderman)</p> <p>Tanja Nijmeijer as a distractor of internal problems in the Netherlands as Pedophilia. (01-12-2012) (Grunberg)</p> <p>"I'm not a star," (03-01-2013)</p> <p>"believes that most (media) attention for her person is limited to sensationalism and backbiting" (06-01-2013)</p> <p>"a Russian 'Tanja Nijmeijer' appeared in Syria at the end of last month. (04-02-2013)</p> <p>"Volkskrant interview with Tanja Nijmeijer nominated for the Tegel Prize(25-02-2013) (15-03-2013)</p> <p>"Nijmeijer is often portrayed as a naive hug terrorist" (10-08-2013)</p> <p>"What kind of woman is this? A martyr? A killed killing machine? Does she give her life for a lover with whom she has a love-hate relationship? Or do we see her in her moment of death, encased in virgin marble white? (15-10-2013) (Zwagerman)</p> <p>"In recent years, Colombia has been in the news in the Netherlands mainly because of Tanja Nijmeijer, who has joined the FARC rebel movement there. (17-11-2013)</p> <p>"Peace match between Tanja Nijmeijer and 'blond Gullit' (02-12-2013) Valderrama never mentioned Tanja Nijmeijer, but the journal includes her, why?</p> <p>"I am a member of an organization that causes polemics, then you can expect people to have question marks" ... "Images have all been created of me: of a terrorist, a lady with blood on her hands. Sometimes I felt very attacked. It's hard to justify yourself, " ... "She now has little trouble with the press. The news is gone, the people seem a bit Tanja tired. And that's nice for me. I am also very tired of Tanja. " (04-01-2014)</p> <p>If Tanja Nijmeijer and her colleagues go into politics, it remains to be seen whether that is within the UP. (26-02-2014)</p> <p>"Fighting mate Tanja Nijmeijer convicted in the US" (24-10-2014) Although the convicted is not related to Tanja Nijmeijer, the news are presented and framed around her. )</p> <p>"The Dutch FARC fighter Tanja Nijmeijer does not rule out a career in Colombian politics. (24-09-2016)</p>
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## Annex 8 – Otherness frame

FRAME	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
Otherness	Dutch community	<p>was shocked by poverty, inequality and repression (04-09-2007)</p> <p>"Tanja evokes Orange feeling in the Netherlands instead of revolt against the FARC. On the street there is a communis opinion that "our" Tanja should come home safely" (15-09-2007)</p> <p>tried to persuade her sister Ellen, a social-pedagogical worker, or a bosom friend to join the FARC as a war nurse (11-09-2007)</p> <p>our own Dutch rebel (11-09-2007)</p> <p>(Zumpolle: The FARC are recruiting in the Netherlands (03-09-2007)</p> <p>But who would have watched a documentary about Colombia without the personal story about Tanja Nijmeijer? (19-05-2010)</p> <p>In the meantime, part of the Netherlands still seems unable to cope with the image of an intelligent young woman who deliberately chose armed struggle in another country (05-11-2010)</p> <p>Many people still find it astonishing about such a nice fresh girl from the province. Blame her for the violence to which she is solemn, or condemn her for her choice of an ideology that seems to have long since played out. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>We have our girl on television, and we won't let that take us away, even though she enjoys the forests of Colombia. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>"We regret that a Dutch person has taken this absurd decision to join a guerrilla that is increasingly working with drug traffickers and criminals" (11-10-2010)</p> <p>"Girl is doing an internship in Colombia, gets caught up in social injustice and joins revolutionaries - a fact that speaks to the imagination of many a screenwriter" (08-12-2011)</p> <p>"we have Tanja. Our Tanja, which we can use for years to come, if it does not perish in the battlefield" ... "Tanja is happy and she stays. Dutch news media will have to learn to live with it, and leave their dream stories to the dramaturges of TV series." (08-12-2011)</p> <p>The talk of the day in Denekamp ..."Maybe the teachers aren't that proud of that ... "...her parents, They are simple people from Denekamp" ... "Tanja will never return to Denekamp, the elderly agree on that. (16-10-2012) (Lindhout)</p> <p>"If peace comes and Tanja gets an amnesty, then it is better to stay in Colombia, they think. She no longer belongs in the Netherlands" (17-10-2012)</p> <p>"She also puts her idealism into practice in the periphery and not in the Netherlands, completely in line with Western strategy of fighting wars in the periphery" (24-11-2012) (Grunberg)</p> <p>"The reporting is very focused on me. That makes sense, because as a Dutch I naturally awaken curiosity and sensation. " She knows the poor image of the FARC. "A media campaign against the FARC has been going on for years; we have never had room</p>

		<p>to tell our story, to say what we are fighting for." (12-11-2012)</p> <p>'Stop romanticizing Tanja ... The attention of the Dutch media for fellow countryman Tanja Nijmeijer leaves the atrocities of the guerrilla movement FARC underexposed....The romantic version of this story appeals to the imagination in such a way that it dominates the coverage of the peace talks between the FARC and the Colombian government in Oslo and Havana. It is the story of a student from Groningen who gives up her comfortable life to enter the armed struggle with large capital and is willing to give her life for her ideals ... Instead, we are concerned whether Nijmeijer has already been in contact with her family in Europe since her arrival in Cuba ... The reluctance to report on the consequences for the Colombian population shows the disdain for the people who suffer from terror every day. ... enough material for news reports and analyzes. The ins and outs of a single guerrilla from the Netherlands can easily be left out of consideration. ...Instead of forsaking their duties, the Dutch media should honor themselves as the main source of information for the Dutch people (15-11-2012) (Van Nistelrooij)</p> <p>"In recent years, Colombia has been in the news in the Netherlands mainly because of Tanja Nijmeijer, who has joined the FARC rebel movement there. (17-11-2013)"Peace match between Tanja Nijmeijer and 'blond Gullit' (02-12-2013) Valderrama never mentioned Tanja Nijmeijer, but the journal includes her, why?</p> <p>"I hope that the international community will continue to actively monitor the human rights situation in Colombia even after the arms have stopped," says Nijmeijer. (22-06-2016) (23-06-2016)</p> <p>"The Dutch FARC fighter Tanja Nijmeijer does not rule out a career in Colombian politics. (24-09-2016)</p>
	Coloniality	<p>The FARC deals with foreigners in a different way (04-09-2007)</p> <p>'Very nice documentary. But who would have looked at a documentary about Colombia without the personal story about Tanja Nijmeijer? (19-05-2010) One indicator of coloniality is the idea - backed by reality- that Colombia only became to exist in media after Tanja.</p> <p>'Legitimacy: A Dutch person who has joined the movement out of indignation about the social abuses in Colombia comes in very handy. (15-10-2012)</p> <p>"The government would also find it annoying that a foreign guerrilla warrior is negotiating what they consider to be strictly Colombian (16-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (18-10-2012)</p> <p>"Zumpolle: they begin to see her propaganda value as foreign." (16-10-2012)</p> <p>'Other congressmen complained to Caracol that Nijmeijer will show young people in Europe that the FARC is a young and revolutionary movement. Their fear is that Europeans think the guerrilla struggle is a solution for emerging countries such as Colombia. (16-10-2012)</p> <p>"The enormous pain of Colombia," says Jan Egeland, "is not only horrible for the country itself, but it affects the entire world. Cocaine and heroin would never be so cheap in Amsterdam if there was no war in Colombia and in Afghanistan. ... Norway as an arbiter ... "The only use of Nijmeijer seems to me, that the attention for her also draws attention to the problems that Colombia has to</p>

		<p>live with" (18-10-2012) It seems like the journal wants to demonstrate how important a Dutch person is in the negotiations</p> <p>Marquez: 'she "is Dutch and has come to support the fight from abroad" ... she represents "international solidarity." (18-10-2012)</p> <p>"I told them: she is international, she is from Holland, it is an honor to come and help the Colombian people." (19-10-2012)</p> <p>"Camila and Shirley address her with Holanda. (Interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>"Our country played a facilitating role during the negotiations" ...</p> <p>"THE LATIN AMERICAN GUERRILLAS MAKE PLACES FOR CARTELS" ... (26-09-2016)</p>
	Exoticism	<p>succumbed to the effects of malaria and an infectious disease in the jungle (15-05-2010)</p> <p>Tanja remains faithful to the revolution, until death or victory. Revolutionary rhetoric in the best South American tradition of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>Nijmeijer's Dutch is still excellent, but when it comes to FARC, she prefers to speak Spanish, because she feels more secure there.</p>

## Annex 9 – Tanja Nijmeijer as a tool of propaganda frame

FRAME	VOLKSKRANT
Tanja Nijmeijer as a tool of propaganda	<p>the diary is propaganda for the guerrilla (04-09-2007)</p> <p>use the attractive Tanja for propaganda (05-09-2007)</p> <p>Tanja has become part of a propaganda war (15-09-2007)</p> <p>A mascot of the FARC (15-09-2007)</p> <p>Transferred to other unit to be protected from heavy attacks (02-08-2010)</p> <p>The Dutch Tanja Nijmeijer must be deployed to put the FARC rebel movement on the international map (09-10-2010) (11-10-2010) (13-10-2010) (05-11-2010) (06-11-2010)</p> <p>FARC wants to use Tanja Nijmeijer as the figurehead/propaganda (11-10-2010) (29-09-2012) (16-10-2012) (17-10-2012) (18-10-2012) (22-10-2012) (07-11-2012)</p> <p>it is logical that the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) use a 'star' for their own propaganda. (05-11-2010)</p> <p>As a former FARC hostage, I want to call on the Dutch press to stop spreading the propaganda of this terrorist organization." ... "the film is indeed propaganda for the FARC" (19-11-2010)</p> <p>Nijmeijer is mainly used as a propaganda tool by the FARC. (28-07-2011)</p> <p>Legitimacy: A Dutch person who has joined the movement out of indignation about the social abuses in Colombia comes in very handy. (15-10-2012) (16-10-2012) (16-10-12)</p> <p>Leo de Boer. "But I wonder if that girl still exists. If you hear her talking now, she looks like a brainwashed propaganda machine." ... Zumpolle: they begin to see her propaganda value as foreign." (16-10-2012) (Lindhout)</p> <p>According to Egeland, the involvement of Tanja Nijmeijer is not detrimental. "That is why there is now much more attention for the conflict in Colombia." (17-10-2012) "The only use of Nijmeijer seems to me, that the attention for her also draws attention to the problems that Colombia has to live with" (18-10-2012) As a tool of propaganda not just by the FARC, but by the Government to visibilize the conflict?</p> <p>Zumpolle "The video clip is old-fashioned propaganda" ... "Zumpolle. "They now see her advertising value. Otherwise she probably would have died as a ground soldier." ... (07-11-2012)</p> <p>She has a beautiful head and she has the gift of the word. She is handsome and intelligent, of course that plays a role. It is an ideal PR instrument for the FARC. (13-11-2012) (16-11-2012)</p> <p>the political party Hamas, if I want to become their sympathetic figurehead (20-11-2012) (Polderman)</p>

## Annex 10 – Colombian barbarism frame

FRAME	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
Colombian barbarism	Victims	<p>Farmers (Interview) (17-11-2012) (05-12-2012) (26-05-2013) (28-05-2013) (18-08-2013) (24-01-2015)</p> <p>"to defend a group of people who have always been mistreated and abused". (24-11-2012) (Grunberg)</p> <p>"the conflict and misery in which the Colombian people live," (06-01-'2013)</p> <p>"the unequal distribution of land and the miserable conditions of Colombian farmers (28-05-2013) (Van de Water)</p> <p>"Around 3000 party members have been murdered over the years, including some presidential candidates. (10-07-2013) paramilitaries and other extreme right-wing groups started a witch hunt for party members. They killed around five thousand ... "Members of other left-wing parties and organizations are also threatened with death or murdered because of their views." (26-02-2014)</p> <p>Valderrama committed with victims: some 220,000 lives and caused millions of domestic refugees. (02-12-2013) ... An estimated 220,000 people died in the conflict. Around 3/7 million people fled. (08-06-2014) (18-12-2014) (22-05-2015) (04-06-2015) (12-07-2015) (24-06-2016) (26-09-2016)</p> <p>The country is also characterized by extreme inequality and has around seven million internal refugees who often live in miserable conditions. (22-06-2016) (23-06-2016)</p>
	Perpetrators	<p>criticizing the FARC and making her identity known is not without its risk. (03-09-2007)</p> <p>Misery and barbarism in rural Colombia (04-09-2007)</p> <p>Terror Marxist Group (08-09-2007) (09-09-2007)</p> <p>The world needs to know what death and destruction the FARC is spreading (10-09-2007)</p> <p>She called the FARC a diabolical organization that punishes its own members. (11-12-2008)</p> <p>Tropical Concentration Camp (14-10-2010)</p> <p>extreme left-wing guerrilla group and now terrorizing parts of the country. (27-12-2011)</p> <p>almost half a century of war violence in the South American country (17-10-2012)</p> <p>This is the country with the most war deaths, with the largest refugee problem, and with the largest drug problem in the Western Hemisphere. (18-10-2012)</p> <p>"a country that has been under the spell of civil war for almost fifty years and is struggling with paramilitary gangs terrorizing entire villages" (19-10-2012)</p> <p>"According to her, the armed struggle is not outdated. "It has been found that there is still no place for political participation in a peaceful manner in Colombia," (12-11-2012)</p>

		<p>"A war that since the 1980s - when the huge income from the cocaine trade began to function as a catalyst - has brought out the worst in both parties. (17-11-2012)</p> <p>"Social cleaning," that's what it's called in Colombia." ...)</p> <p>"After that first, modest success, the members of the party were systematically massacred by the paramilitaries, in collaboration with the Colombian government. The UP drama is one of the arguments in favor of the armed struggle for Nijmeijer. "It made clear that the FARC had no legal options." ...</p> <p>"FARC has systematically started using violence over the years. And all the painful losses and barbarities on the part of the government have made the guerrillas relentless. (Interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>"in South America the methods of the state are often inferior to the terrorist methods of the enemies of that state (24-11-2012) (Grunberg)</p> <p>Farc are not innocent of crimes, although Tanja seems not knowing because she is in the laptop or cutting bananas (Vriend) (01-12-2012)</p> <p>Land owned by drug gangs and paramilitaries (28-05-2013) (Van de Water)</p> <p>The police and army allowed the killings to turn a blind eye and were directly involved in a number of cases (UP) ... The violence comes from extreme right-wing groups that have emerged from former paramilitary movements. (26-02-2014)</p> <p>Sokoloff: "Many fighters are prisoners of the FARC organization just as well as the people they kidnap." (24-01-2014)</p>
	Saviours	<p>was shocked by poverty, inequality and repression (04-09-2007)</p> <p>Nijmeijer also wants to kill other burglars, but that is charity. ...</p> <p>"She also puts her idealism into practice in the periphery and not in the Netherlands, completely in line with Western strategy of fighting wars in the periphery" (24-11-2012) (Grunberg)</p>



## Annex 11 – Colombian inequality frame and Colombian macho culture frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
Colombian inequality		<p>There is too much poverty and inequality to say that idealism leads nowhere. (29-09-2011)</p> <p>"I felt so much empathy for those people on the street with Sophie van Winden, who plays Eileen. Go to those slums and I assure you that you will feel it too. That you get angry (29-09-2011)</p>
Colombian macho culture	Machismo in the guerrilla	<p>is "a necessary representation of women" in the negotiations" (18-10-2012)</p> <p>Jesus Santrich called her "flower of the mountains" ... Nijmeijer "represents the women of Colombia" in the delegation, which furthermore consists almost entirely of men.(19-10-2012)</p> <p>Nijmeijer is still a guerrillera, a foot soldier. (Interview) (17-11-2012)</p>

## Annex 12 – Colombian corruption frame

FRAMES	SUBFRAMES	VOLKSKRANT
	Military and Government corruption	Horrific excesses and sweeping unprecedented human rights violations by soldiers and paramilitaries; against the guerrilla and the Colombian population. (19-05-2010)
		<p>Zumpolle: "Now they are bandits, drug traffickers and big earners in the kidnap industry, with a fake Robin Hood image" (19-05-2010)</p> <p>'Since the 1980s, the movement has focused primarily on drug smuggling, abductions and terror. (16-11-2010)</p> <p>drug trafficking, abductions, terrorism and recruiting children (14-12-2010) (26-02-2012)(29-09-2012) (17-10-2012) (17-10-2012) (22-10-2012) (13-11-2012)(19-11-2012) (20-01-2013) (26-01-2013) (06-03-2013) (03-05-2013) (15-05-2013) (24-01-2015)</p> <p>Nijmeijer manages large plots of land for the FARC. That allegedly belonged to Nijmeijer's former boss, Mono Jojoy (04-07-2011)</p> <p>Now it is mainly a criminal and terrorist band (18-12-2011) )</p> <p>Colombian 'narcoguerrilla' FARC (15-10-2012)</p> <p>FARC leaders are greedy, the rest are lacking (20-02-2013)</p> <p>FARC is one of the oldest, most violent and richest terror organizations in the world (24-01-2015)</p> <p>They also promise to take their hands off drug trafficking and other illegal activities (24-06-2016)</p>
Colombian corruption	Corruption in the guerrilla	

## Annex 13 – Self-representation

FRAME	VOLKSKRANT
Self-representation	<p>"I am a fighter of the Colombian Revolutionary Forces and I will continue to do so until victory or death." (03-11-2010)</p> <p>"Nijmeijer wants to come to the Netherlands to explain" ... "Che Guevara, she believes she has many similarities with the Argentinian revolutionary." (12-11-2012)</p> <p>"I'm tired of having to keep defending myself" ...</p> <p>"It is important that you understand why we have taken up the weapons and that there is a war going on in Colombia in which people die. And yes, sometimes we make mistakes. ...</p> <p>'She also says that she understands the world better since the Marxism course that gives the organization all the guerrillas" ...</p> <p>'She reproaches me several times for not having any idea of media manipulation ...</p> <p>"I find it hard to hear people say I would be part of the FARC's" media strategy. " We want to tell our story. (...)</p> <p>"We consider ourselves an armed political party. Our teaching is based on Marxism-Leninism. Those are the ideas we are fighting for."</p> <p>fighting is no longer my job ...</p> <p>"There are no doubts about the FARC in my diaries. You have to make a difference between motivation and morality. Sometimes I have a bad day" ...</p> <p>(executions) But someone who deserts is a traitor. ...</p> <p>"We guerrillas are hard on the outside, but soft on the inside. ...</p> <p>'Within the organization everyone understands how it works, what we do, what we don't do, what things are wrong. There is never a need to defend ourselves."...</p> <p>"Sometimes you look at me as if I'm from another planet. It's all so logical to me that I get desperate when I see you don't understand."</p> <p>(Interview) (17-11-2012)</p> <p>"If I were not at FARC, I would have been divorced" (This answer makes her look more bovaryste than the article of Polderman) ... she does not want to go back to her old life in the Netherlands (22-11-2012)</p> <p>"I used to want to become a nun" (03-01-2013) This framing is very important because it is related with the concept of sacrifice, she sees herself as a missionary)</p> <p>"Tanja Nijmeijer believes that through her membership in the FARC, people understand the importance of the fight against big capital. (06-01-2013)</p> <p>"It's hard to justify yourself, " ... "She now has little trouble with the press. "The news is gone, the people seem a bit Tanja tired. And that's nice for me. I am also very tired of Tanja. " (04-01-2014)</p>

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