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# Decoding Text, Shaping Data: A Digital Study of the Keywords *Walandi* and *Pakêmpalan* in *Kadjawen* magazine 1927–1931

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## Abstract

This study presents a linguistic analysis and an examination of political discourse in the Javanese-language magazine *Kadjawen*, published during the Dutch colonial period from 1927 to 1931. This study is exploratory in nature and has been elaborated using a Digital Humanities approach, with an emphasis on a conceptual orientation towards discourse analysis related to the relationship between language, power, and colonialism. This study also applies digital text analysis methods, such as frequency and concordance analysis, with a primary focus on investigating the occurrence and contextual proximity of two keywords: *Walandi* “Dutch” and *pakêmpalan* “association” or “organisation”, which are scattered throughout the text corpus. The data was taken from the freely accessible digital edition of *Kadjawen* on the website *sastra.org*. There were a total of 201 texts as raw data, which were then converted to plain text format and analysed using *Python* and *Voyant Tools*. The results of the analysis show that despite being subject to colonial restrictions and rules, *Kadjawen* displayed linguistic strategies that reflected the negotiation between Javanese cultural identity and Dutch colonial power, as well as its involvement in the national discourse that developed in the late 1920s.

**Keywords:** *Kadjawen*, Digital Humanities, Javanese Press, Colonial Discourse, Keyword Analysis, *Walandi*, *Pakêmpalan*

## Abstrak

Penelitian ini memaparkan kajian wacana linguistik dan diskursus politik di dalam majalah berbahasa Jawa *Kadjawen* yang terbit pada masa kolonial Belanda, dari periode 1927 hingga 1931. Penelitian bersifat eksploratif dan telah dielaborasi dengan pendekatan humaniora digital, menekankan orientasi konseptual terhadap kajian wacana terkait relasi antara Bahasa, kekuasaan, dan kolonialitas. Selanjutnya, penelitian menerapkan metode analisis teks digital, khususnya analisis frekuensi dan konkordansi, dengan fokus utama melakukan penelusuran atas kemunculan serta kedekatan kontekstual dua kata kunci, yaitu *Walandi* “Belanda” dan *Pakêmpalan* “perkumpulan” atau “organisasi”, yang tersebar di dalam korpus teks. Data diambil dari edisi digital *Kadjawen* yang bebas akses di situs *sastra.org*. Terdapat total 201 teks sebagai data mentah yang kemudian dikonversi ke format plain teks, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan *Python* serta *Voyant Tools*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meski berada di dalam batasan serta aturan kolonial, *Kadjawen* menampilkan strategi kebahasaan yang merefleksikan adanya negosiasi antara identitas kultural Jawa dengan kekuasaan kolonial Belanda serta keterlibatannya terhadap wacana kebangsaan yang berkembang pada akhir 1920-an.

**Kata Kunci:** *Kadjawen*, *Humaniora Digital*, Penerbitan Jawa, Wacana Kolonial, *Walandi*, *Pakêmpalan*

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## INTRODUCTION

When Gutenberg introduced the printing press in Germany in 1440 (Lehmann-Haupt, 2024). At that time, what existed in Indonesia were kingdoms that had not yet developed a strong foundation in written traditions. The arrival of the VOC in 1596 and the subsequent practice of

colonialism were among the initial factors that led to the emergence of a writing tradition in Indonesia, particularly in media publishing.

In 1615, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established a regular publication to satisfy the information demands of its military personnel, known as *Memorie de Nouvelles* (Adam, 2018). Approximately a century later, under the authority of Governor-General Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2024), a printed sheet titled *Bataviase Nouvelles* was published in 1744, consisting of only two folio-sized pages. During the VOC era, *Vendu Nieuws* subsequently became the second and final newspaper to be issued (Adam, 2018).

1809 is of particular significance within the context of publishing in Indonesia, as it marked the establishment of the State Printing Office (*Landsdrukkerij*). Prior to this development, publishing and printing had been distinct activities under the colonial government and some missionaries. In 1809, these two practices were consolidated into a single entity, the *Landsdrukkerij* (Kuitert, 2021). Nevertheless, the Dutch colonial government was compelled to relinquish Java, including the *Landsdrukkerij*, to the British before the *Landsdrukkerij*'s full establishment.

Before the ascension of the British to authority in Java, a final publication by the Dutch was issued, the *Bataviasche Koloniale Courant*, which was first published in 1810 in Batavia (Adam, 2018). In 1812, when the British were in their second year of ruling Java, a newspaper called the Java Government Gazette was published on a weekly basis. This publication contained not only news from Europe but also articles on the life and culture of the local people.

In addition to using Dutch and English, the colonial government also used regional languages (Chaniago & Umairah, 2018). They preferred to use local languages that have a large number of speakers, one of which was Javanese. The Bromartani newspaper, published on Thursday, March 25, 1855, was the first local language newspaper in Indonesia and received full support from Adipati Arya Mangkunegara IV. The publication of Bromartani was the result of the efforts of two Dutch intellectuals, C.F. Winter and his son Gustaaf Winter, who had mastered the Javanese language and literature, and a friend of Ranggawarsita (Ricklefs, 2018).

In 1917, *Landsdrukkerij* was replaced by *Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur* (Office for Public Reading Matter), but was later renamed *Balai Pustaka*. The establishment of Balai Pustaka was intended to function as a commercial media publishing institution managed independently by the colonial government to counterbalance the pre-existing commercial publishing media (Kuitert, 2021). *Balai Pustaka* was also used by the colonial government as a means of socialising literature through its publications and as a tool for linguistic and political interests. The publication of *Kadjawen*, initially on a weekly basis from 1926, became twice-weekly in 1938 (Aji *et al.*, 2020).

As Lisa Kuitert observes, there is no denying that they were also to a greater or lesser extent connected to colonial political interests. A similar observation can be made in the context of *Kadjawen*. Despite being lauded as a pivotal media entity in the evolution of Javanese literature, as asserted by (Mardianto, 2005), the *Kadjawen* magazine did not refrain from reflecting the political upheaval of the era. Research by Thomas Nugroho Aji *et al.* provides some indication of the magazine's response to the political situation, observing that advertisements in *Kadjawen* magazine included content related to the implications of colonial political policies.

However, it is evident that the seeds of political awareness among the populace of the Dutch East Indies, in conjunction with media publishing activities, can be attributed to the Dutch colonial policy of Ethical Politics (*Ethische Politiek*). The genesis of Ethical Politics can be traced back to the adoption of a concept that gained prominence in Europe at the dawn of the 20th

century. In response, European colonial powers initiated policies aimed at fostering a sense of familiarity and mutual understanding between the colonists and the colonised, as articulated by H. C. van der Heijde (Wesseling & Dane, 2018).

The British initiated their engagement with the colonised through the concept of the ‘white man’s burden’. This concept posited that European countries were responsible for the uplifting and guidance of non-white nations towards a higher civilisation (Baldwin, 2024). France embarked on a *mission civilisatrice*, a colonial campaign to introduce French political and cultural values in its colonies. Concurrently, the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies implemented the Ethical Policy (*Ethische Politiek*) as a form of compensation for indigenous peoples for their exploitation through forced cultivation (*cultuurstelsel*), which commenced in 1830 and was abolished in 1870. However, in 1901, the Ethical Policy was initiated based on van Deventer’s proposal (Aji *et al.*, 2020).

The three objectives of the Ethical Policy were as follows: *firstly*, to improve the material standard of living of the natives; *secondly*, to educate the natives; and *thirdly*, to facilitate political participation. These objectives were predicated on van Deventer’s three concepts of Ethical Policy, i.e. ‘education’, ‘immigration’ and ‘emigration’ (Aji *et al.*, 2020). It was anticipated that the Ethical Policy would serve as a preparatory measure for the Dutch East Indies to achieve independence through the establishment of a Dutch federal association.

Indeed, the Dutch colonial government implemented policies to expand access to education for the *priyayi* class and the indigenous population as a whole. The primary objective of this initiative was not necessarily to educate indigenous students, but rather to cultivate a skilled workforce that could be remunerated low salaries for the benefit of colonial interests. Furthermore, the colonials sought to cultivate a new generation of *priyayi* or educated individuals, who would be placed in government positions and demonstrate unwavering allegiance to the colonial regime. However, the implementation of the Ethical Policy was exclusive, accessible only to the aristocracy and not extending to all levels of the indigenous community (Abdullah, 2017).

The Ethical Policy gave rise to a surge in profound Western secularism among the first-generation students. These intellectuals then proceeded to establish organisational groups with specific objectives, exemplified by the establishment of the inaugural organisation in the Dutch East Indies, *Budi Utomo* in 1908, which aspired to educate the Indonesian nation. The establishment of *Budi Utomo* was followed by the formation of other intellectual organisations, including *Sarekat Islam* (SI) in 1911, which focused on the social economy of Muslims, and *Indische Partij* in 1912, which focused on the struggle for indigenous political rights (Sitanggang *et al.*, 2024).

Various regional youth organisations were established during this period as an outcome of the Ethical Policy, including *Jong Java*, established in 1915; *Jong Sumatranen Bond*, established in 1917, among others. The flourishing organisational political climate of the time subsequently led to the establishment of the Great Density of Indonesian Youth, also called the First Youth Congress in Jakarta from 30 April to 2 May 1926. The First Youth Congress produced four significant results: encouraging the consolidation of Indonesian youth in a special youth forum, the realisation of Indonesian unity, the elimination of conservative traditional views, and the preparation for the Second Youth Congress. The decision on the second point, namely the unification of Indonesian youth, was not unanimous, due to differences of opinion regarding the choice of a unifying language for the Indonesian people. The resolution of this issue was

postponed until the Second Youth Congress in 1928. The Second Youth Congress saw the birth of the Youth Pledge, a document drafted by Yamin (Foulcher, 2000).

It seems that the Ethical Policy had an impact on the development of educational institutions outside the formal education system. In the same year that *Budi Utomo* was founded in 1908, the colonial government established the *Commissie voor de Inlandsche School en Volkslectuur* (Committee for Reading Materials for the Indigenous People), consisting of one person, G.A.J. Hazeu (*Hazeu Papers (KITLV) | Digital Collections, 2024*). In 1910, G.A.J. Hazeu was replaced by D.A. Rinkes (Fitzpatrick, 2000), and in 1917, Rinkes dissolved the committee and replaced it with a new institution called *Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur en aanverwante aangelegenheden* (the Office for Public Reading Matter and Related Matters) with himself as its chairman.

Rinkes supported the establishment of a partnership with *Balai Pustaka*, who was further served as the head of *Balai Pustaka* and assimilated his institution into *Balai Pustaka's* organisational structure (Kuitert, 2021). Rinkes demonstrated a greater degree of dynamism in terms of involving native administrators by appointing editors for publications in local languages who are native speakers, including editors for publications in Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese. Serving as the head of *Balai Pustaka* until 1926, Rinkes oversaw the establishment of the *Kadjawen* magazine at the conclusion of his tenure (Aji *et al.*, 2020).

A close observation of *Kadjawen* magazine reveals an intriguing aspect. Although it used the Javanese language and script and was managed by a predominantly Javanese editorial team, it is important to recognise that *Kadjawen* is a print media publication under the Dutch colonial authority, which implies a certain degree of control over the presentation of content (Yamamoto, 2011). The columns and rubrics in *Kadjawen* appear eclectic; however, there is one column or rubric that is consistently present throughout the publication: namely, the dialogue column that presents the *Punakawan* characters Gareng and Petruk.

It is of great interest to note that *Kadjawen* magazine was published in the same year as the First Youth Congress, in 1926. Consequently, it is imperative to observe the manner in which *Kadjawen* magazine responded to the organisational movement in Indonesia, including the Youth Congress event. In this article, a discourse analysis will be carried out by mapping the use of certain terms in *Kadjawen* magazine that represent its attitude as a colonial media when responding to the Youth Congress event. Two key terms have been selected for analysis: *Walandi*, representing the Dutch language as spoken in Java, and *pakêmpalan*, signifying both association and, in this context, organisation.

Previous studies on *Kadjawen* magazine have analysed the publication from various perspectives, but generally in isolation. Research by Murdianto (2005) and Risti (2008) positions *Kadjawen* as an important medium in the development of modern Javanese literature, emphasising its literary contributions while acknowledging that it operated within colonial spaces. Other studies, such as those conducted by Banindro (2011) and Aji *et al.* (2020), focus on visual culture and advertising, highlighting *Kadjawen's* role in introducing modernity and new social imaginations into Javanese society. Meanwhile, the works of Fitzpatrick (2000), Kuitert (2021), and Yamamoto (2011) place *Kadjawen* within the institutional framework of *Balai Pustaka* and its connection to colonial publishing policies, while also highlighting its relationship with colonial political interests. However, existing research has not systematically analysed *Kadjawen's* political position through corpus analysis of linguistic patterns, particularly in relation to organisational discourse during the critical period around the nationalist movement

of the late 1920s. Therefore, this study was designed to address this gap by analysing the frequency and contextual use of the terms *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan* to investigate how linguistic choices in Javanese-language colonial publications reflect the negotiations between colonial authorities and the emerging nationalist discourse.

This study is based on a theoretical framework oriented towards discourse that examines the relationship between language, power, and coloniality. Rather than applying a single theory, this research utilises insights from discourse analysis and colonial studies to understand how language functions as a space for negotiation in a colonial context. In line with the exploratory approach in Digital Humanities, the framework serves as a conceptual lens to guide the interpretation of patterns identified through corpus-based analysis, without aiming to test or validate specific theoretical models.

This study aims to analyse the frequency and contextual use of the terms *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan*, both separately and in relation to each other, in the Javanese-language magazine *Kadjawen* during the period 1927–1931. More specifically, this study aims to investigate how the use of these terms reflects the magazine's linguistic strategies in interacting with the colonial authorities as well as the emerging discourse of Indonesian nationalism in the late 1920s. Using a corpus-based approach within the framework of Digital Humanities, this study also aims to evaluate the role of Javanese-language colonial publications in shaping political awareness and modern discourse among Javanese readers during the Dutch colonial period.

The data were taken from website <https://www.sastra.org/> provided by Yayasan Sastra Lestari in the form of transcripts of the original texts made available to the public. The data collected concerns the period from 1927 to 1931, during which time the *Kadjawen* magazine was published. The focus of this study is to observe the position of the magazine in the context of the Indonesian national movement. This will be achieved by examining the use of the words *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan* in the discourse that emerged in the year before the Second Youth Congress, the year of the Second Youth Congress itself, and the period following the Second Youth Congress. The selection of this magazine was predicated on its capacity to reflect the prevailing social, political and cultural dynamics within the Dutch East Indies during the aforementioned period. The intensity of the occurrence of these two words will be mapped in this article, to provide a preliminary insight into the political position of *Kadjawen* magazine during the period in which Indonesian national organisations were active. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the analysis of word usage alone, without the support of a comprehensive contextual reading, is insufficient to draw definitive conclusions about the political stance of the magazine. Nevertheless, this study provides a foundation for future research in this area.

*Kadjawen* magazine was the earliest Javanese-language periodical to be published by Balai Pustaka, with the first issue appearing in 1926, since 1938, it has been published on a double-weekly basis. The magazine's content is characterised by the presence of numerous indigenous individuals, particularly those versed in Javanese language and culture. It is important to note that the Dutch colonial government retained the primary authority and control over the magazine. Initially published in Javanese and utilising the Javanese script, beginning in 1937, *Kadjawen* magazine began to employ the Latin script for rubrics or columns that reviewed foreign events. However, with the onset of the Second World War and the subsequent occupation of Indonesia by Japan in 1942, many publications under the Dutch colonial government, including *Kadjawen* magazine, were banned from circulation. This development marks the official end of the magazine's publication after sixteen years of operation.

During the sixteen years of publication of the *Kadjawen* magazine, the magazine became an integral part of the discourse of the movement, as well as the dynamics of relations between the Dutch colonial government and the people of the Dutch East Indies. The present study focuses on the years of publication of *Kadjawen* magazine from 1927 to 1931, a period which saw the magazine actively reporting on events related to organisations, both those owned by local communities and those owned by the Dutch colonial government. The years 1927–1931 are also an important moment to ascertain the political position of *Kadjawen* magazine, considering that these years were filled with the emergence of various national movements in the Dutch East Indies as a result of the implementation of the Second Youth Congress, which gave birth to the Youth Pledge.

The data used in this study consists of texts taken from *Kadjawen* magazine for the period 1927 to 1931. A notable challenge in accessing the data were the utilisation of non-sequential URL naming systems. The data collection process was conducted manually, entailing the manual copying of the URL address for each edition of the magazine. The total number of URLs collected for the research period was 201, with the following distribution: 13 URLs for 1927, 56 URLs for 1928, 45 URLs for 1929, 54 URLs for 1930, and 33 URLs for 1931. Each URL contains a complete issue of the magazine in digital format, including articles, opinions, advertisements and other news relevant to people's lives at the time. Following the completion of the download, the text from these magazines was extracted for further analysis. The resulting text data encompasses a broad spectrum of subjects, including colonial dynamics, the activities of local organisations, and social interactions between community groups. It is critical to acknowledge the underlying data set, which is contingent on the availability of existing data. This availability introduces the possibility of data bias. This is indicated by the number of URLs available per year, which varies.

Prior to the presentation of the findings of the data analysis, the linguistic context of the terms *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* will be delineated, as these terms are the focal point of the present discussion. The term *pakêmpalan* is Javanese for 'association'. The basic word is *kêmpal*, meaning gathering, and it has been modified with the prefix *pa-* and the affix *-an*. The word *Walandi* is a variant of *Walanda*, meaning Dutch. The former refers to the Netherlands as a country, while the later refers to the 'Dutch nation', 'Dutch people', or other objects owned by the Dutch.

## METHODS

This study examines the use of the term *Walandi* as well as its correlation with *pakêmpalan* in the *Kadjawen* magazine (1927–1931). The methodology is clear: data is collected, processed, and analyzed through a series of systematic steps. These include data collection, concordance analysis, and visualisation. The text data was obtained from the transcribed *Kadjawen* magazine provided by *sastra.org*, with a focus on occurrences of the term *Walandi*. The source materials were parsed from the HTML files into a plain text (TXT) format using *Python* scripts. The *BeautifulSoup* library was employed to extract content, ensuring that all textual elements were preserved for analysis. The extraction process was carried out in *Google Colab*. Plain-text files were grouped by year.

The present study employs concordance analysis as a methodological framework to investigate the contextual prevalence of specific keywords within a corpus of Javanese texts. The analytical process is facilitated by *Python* to generate an overview of the *Walandi* word graph and its aggregate sum. The analysis employs built-in libraries such as *re* for text processing and

*pandas* for the compilation and storage of analysis results. The approach is designed to retrieve up to 30 words before and after each occurrence of a keyword in the text. This aims to extract the context of the keyword *Walandi*. First, the uploaded text files are read into *Python*, and each document is processed into a complete string. Then, regular expressions (regex) are used to match keywords with several words around them. The regex that is used ensures that the context that is retrieved covers the whole of the phrase without removing any common words or punctuation marks. Finally, the results of the matching of each text file are compiled into a table. The file name, number of occurrences, and sentence context are listed for further analysis.

The analysis output has been saved as a CSV file using the *Pandas* library. This makes the concordance data easy to access and visualise, or to analyse them thematically. This approach provides a solid basis for qualitative interpretation of keywords' patterns and themes, as well as their distribution and context across documents. Next, the concordance data for *Walandi* was compiled, and the relationship between *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan* is now clear. This step aimed to ascertain the context in which the two keywords appeared together in the text. This process was conducted using *Python*, a programming language that facilitates the filtering of data based on the search for additional keywords in the context column.

Identifying the relationship between the two keywords starts with reading the *Walandi* concordance data stored in a CSV file. This data contains the context of each occurrence of the word *Walandi*, with a window of 30 words before and after. The CSV file was then loaded into *Python* using the *pandas* library to enable processing of the data in tabular form. Following the availability of the data, the subsequent step was to filter the context to identify the word *pakêmpalan*. The 'str.contains()' function from *pandas* was used to ascertain the presence of the word *pakêmpalan* in the context column. This function facilitates an efficient search, inclusive of the option to disregard upper and lower case differences. As a result, this step produces a subset of data that only includes rows where the word "pakêmpalan" appears in the context of *Walandi*.

To provide a more robust foundation for the subsequent analysis of the thematic relationship between *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan*: data that has been analysed before, is visualised to provide a clearer understanding of the patterns of appearance of these two keywords based on year. To do this, visualisation using bar charts was employed, as these are a useful tool for displaying the frequency of occurrence of each word in each year.

Initially, the concordance data that had been previously collated was processed. The concordance data for *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan* has been stored in separate files in CSV format. The data was then loaded into *Python* using the *pandas* library, which facilitates the manipulation of the data in tabular form. Each file was then analysed to extract the relevant year information from the file name, which was then used to group the number of occurrences of the word by year.

Following this, the frequency data generated for *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan* was collected and also compiled into a consolidated table, which shows the total number of occurrences of each word in each year. The data was then visualised using the *matplotlib* library. A bar graph was used to compare the number of occurrences of the two keywords side by side in each year. The x-axis of the graph indicates the year, whilst the y-axis represents the frequency of word occurrence. All scripts, datasets, and visual outputs used in this study, including plaintext extraction scripts, concordance outputs, CSV datasets, and frequency visualisations, are publicly available in the author's GitHub repository (Suryani, 2024). Additional corpus exploration and term distribution analysis were conducted using *Voyant Tools* (Sinclair, Stephen; Rockwell, Geoffrey, 2016).

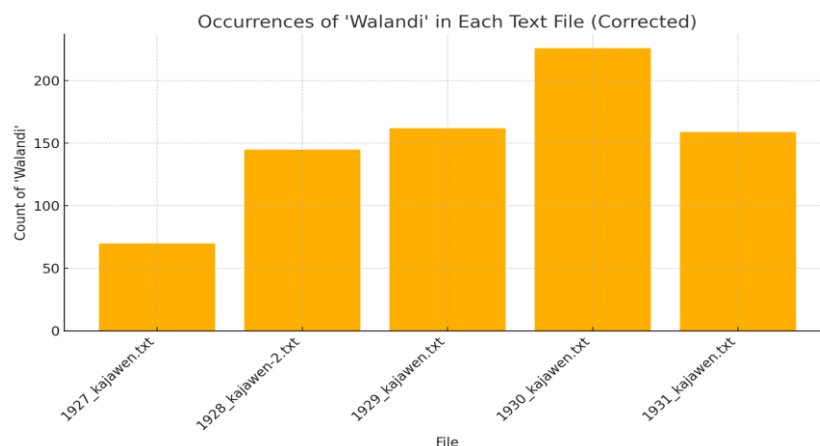
## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A comprehensive keyword analysis of 201 magazines yielded 762 occurrences of the keyword *Walandi*. This analysis was conducted using *Python* and subsequently validated through the utilisation of *Voyant tools*. Of the 762 *Walandi* words that were collected, it was found that there are only 30 instances in which the word *Walandi* is adjacent to *pakêmpalan* within 30 words before and after the word *Walandi* as a keyword.



**Figure 1.** A visualisation of term frequency analysis for *Walandi* using *Voyant Tools*, showing a total count of 762 occurrences and a trendline representing the term's usage over time.

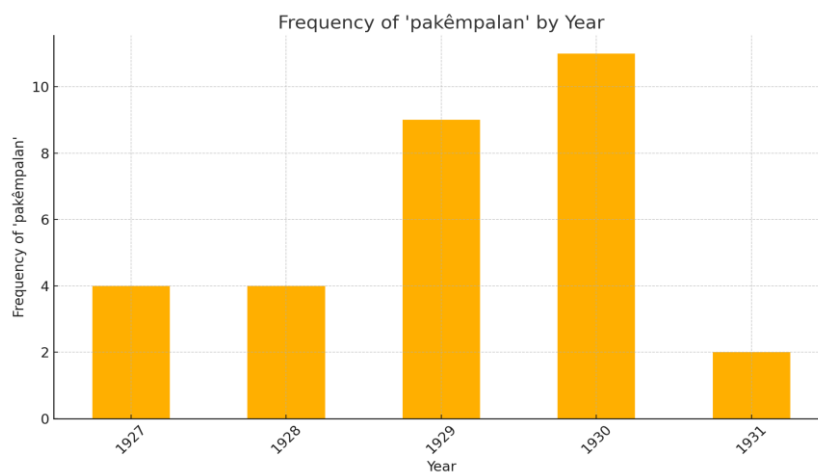
The 30 sampled issues, which contained the co-occurrence of *Walandi-pakêmpalan*, showed variations based on the year. A decline in the number of issues was observed from 1927 to 1928, with a decrease from 4 to 3 issues. However, this was followed by a resurgence in the subsequent years, with an increase to 9 issues in 1929 and 11 issues in 1930. The year 1931 marked a decline in the publication's frequency, with only 2 issues being released. This data indicates that the total number of issues of the *Kadjawen* magazine during the observed period amounted to 30. The analysis of the data reveals that the terms *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* each occurred 30 times, when counted as a single word without regard for their specific functions.



**Figure 2.** A bar chart depicting the corrected count of occurrences of *Walandi* across individual text files (1927\_kajawen.txt to 1931\_kajawen.txt), with the highest frequency found in the file 1930\_kajawen.txt.

Three main variants of *pakêmpalan* are evident. Firstly, *pakêmpalan-pakêmpalan* changes the word *pakêmpalan* from singular to plural on 11 occasions. Secondly, the word *pakêmpalanipun* provides the affix *-ipun* in the base word *pakêmpalan*, where the suffix *-ipun* functions as a deictic or possessive marker. Thirdly, the word *pakêmpalaning* is composed of the word *pakêmpalan*, which gets the affix *-ing*, which means a pointing word. Meanwhile, no significant variant has been identified in the word *Walandi*. The data indicates that the words *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* coalesced on one occasion to form the phrase *pakêmpalanipun Walandi*, which translates as the gathering of the Dutch people.

A thorough examination of the data reveals that in 1927, the term *pakêmpalan* was documented on three occasions, while *pakêmpalan-pakêmpalan* was recorded on one occasion and *Walandi* was mentioned on one occasion. In 1928, the words *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* both appeared on four occasions, with the variant word *pakêmpalaning* appearing on once. In 1929, the words *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* appeared nine times, six times the appearance of the word *pakêmpalan-pakêmpalan*, and two times for the word *pakêmpalaning*. In 1930, the words *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* appeared 11 times each, with the variant word *pakêmpalaning* appearing on only one occasion. In 1930, the words *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi* each appeared 11 times, *pakêmpalan-pakêmpalan* appeared 3 times, *pakêmpalaning* appeared once, and *pakêmpalanipun Walandi* appeared only once. Finally, in 1931, the word *pakêmpalan* appeared on four occasions, with three instances of *pakêmpalan-pakêmpalan* and one instance of *Walandi*.



**Figure 3.** A bar chart representing the yearly frequency of the term *pakêmpalan* from 1927 to 1931, showing peak occurrences in 1930 with a total frequency of 10.

In addition to the presentation of data on the distribution of the use of the words *pakêmpalan* and *Walandi*, another important discussion to approach the context of the use of the word in question is to map what *pakêmpalan* (organisations) appeared in the *Kadjawen* magazine in the period 1927 to 1931. The analysis of 30 samples of *Kadjawen* magazines showed 20 examples of the word *pakêmpalan* added to names, thus indicating the *pakêmpalan* (organisation) name in question. However, by selecting the repetition of the appearance of certain *pakêmpalan* names, it was found that the *pakêmpalan* names that appear in *Kadjawen* magazine are 19 *pakêmpalan* names. Those are:

1. *Pakêmpalan P.E.B.*
2. *Pakêmpalan Komunis*
3. *Pakêmpalan ONS huis*
4. *Pakêmpalan Kindervacantie Kolonie*
5. *Pakêmpalan Pribumi*
6. *Pakêmpalan Guru Walandi (N.I.O.G.)*
7. *Pakêmpalan B.O.*
8. *Pakêmpalan Anti-Woeker ing Bandhung*
9. *Pakêmpalan Ajung Lanbao*
10. *Pakêmpalan P.N.I. ing Bandhung*

11. *Pakêmpalan Indhonesiah*
12. *Pakêmpalan Pulitik*
13. *Pakêmpalan Jawi*
14. *Pakêmpalan Pribumi*
15. *Pakêmpalan Punggawa Sepur*
16. *Pakêmpalan Sepak Raga S.V.B.B.*
17. *Pakêmpalan Wanita*
18. *Pakêmpalan Istri*
19. *Pakêmpalan Pak*

Of the nineteen *pakêmpalan* names recorded, six of them are *pakêmpalan* that have terms from the Dutch language, including: *Pakêmpalan P.E.B*, *Pakêmpalan Ons huis*, *Pakêmpalan kindervacantie kolonie*, *Pakêmpalan Guru Walandi* (N.I.O.G), *Pakêmpalan anti-woeker ing Bandhung*; and *Pakêmpalan Sepak Raga S.V.B.B.* The remaining 15 are *pakêmpalan* with names that use Javanese terms or terms from the Indonesian language at that time. Following the identification of the various *pakêmpalan* names that appear in the data from the 1927 to 1931 editions of *Kadjawen* magazine, the subsequent step is to review the identity of each *pakêmpalan* to ascertain the political orientation of each *pakêmpalan*. This is due to the possibility that the utilisation of *pakêmpalan* names containing Dutch elements does not inherently signify a political alignment with the colonial government, and vice versa.

#### ***Pakêmpalan that uses Dutch terms***

P.E.B refers to an organisation called P.E.B (*Politiek Economische Bond*). Established by A.J.N. Engelenberg on 25 January 1919 as a response to various policies of the Dutch East Indies government that were perceived to be excessively progressive and 'ethical' towards the indigenous population. In an effort to consolidate its influence, the P.E.B. forged ties with other prominent organisations, including *Boedi Oetomo* and the *Ethische Partij*.

*Pakêmpalan Ons Huis* organisation was established by the colonial authorities to promote Dutch culture in the Netherlands. This organisation functioned as a communal gathering space for Dutch individuals, facilitating interaction and social engagement. *Pakêmpalan Guru Walandi* is the Javanese name for the Dutch East Indies Teachers Association (*Nederlandsch-Indisch Onderwijzers Genootschap* (N.I.O.G)). This organisation functioned as a forum for teachers in the Dutch East Indies.

N.I.O.G. then developed into one of the fundamental pillars. for the establishment of numerous other teacher organisations in Indonesia, including the Dutch East Indies Teachers' Association in 1912. N.I.O.G then evolved into a forum for a wider range of indigenous teachers to concentrate on fighting for their rights. *Pakêmpalan Anti-Woeker ing Bandhung*, is a constituent of the *Anti-Woeker Vereeniging* (Anti-usury Association) organisation that is active in Bandung (currently the capital of West Java, Indonesia). This mission aims to eradicate loan sharking and also money lending practices. Meanwhile, *Pakêmpalan Sepak Raga S.V.B.B* (*Soerabajasche Voetbal Bond*) was a football federation founded in Surabaya in the early 20th century. The S.V.B.B played a crucial role in the development of football in the Dutch East Indies. Despite utilising Dutch terminology, the organisation placed a significant emphasis on advocating for the rights of indigenous football clubs.

## CONCLUSION

The overall findings of this study demonstrate that the Javanese-language magazine *Kadjawen*, published by *Balai Pustaka* during the Dutch colonial period, used specific linguistic patterns that reflected the negotiation between colonial power and the nationalist discourse that developed in the late 1920s. Through corpus-based analysis of the terms *Walandi* and *pakêmpalan*, the findings suggest that *Kadjawen* was not merely a passive colonial medium, but also played a role in constructing political awareness by selectively packaging the activities of colonial organisations and actors in its linguistic discourse. By combining computational analysis and contextual interpretation, this study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the role of vernacular media in the formation of modern political consciousness in colonial Java.

The *Kadjawen* periodical is an exemplary case study, offering a unique insight into the social, political and cultural dynamics of the Dutch East Indies during the interwar period (1927–1931). As a Javanese-language and script publication disseminated by *Balai Pustaka*, the magazine amalgamated elements of local tradition with robust colonial control. Despite its design as a medium for educational and entertainment needs of the Javanese people, the magazine's content also mirrored the political and cultural inclinations of the Dutch colonial government.

The term *Walandi* (Dutch) and *pakêmpalan* (association/organisation) are notable in this regard, as they reveal the magazine's political stance amid the rise of national and local organisations at that time. These terms are used to describe various organisations, ranging from indigenous organisations to associations influenced by colonialism, such as *Pakêmpalan P.E.B.*, *Ons Huis*, and *Anti-Woeker Vereeniging*. Simultaneously, indigenous organisations such as *Pakêmpalan P.N.I. ing Bandhung* exemplified local communities' efforts to fight for their socio-political interests.

During the period 1927–1931, *Kadjawen* not only documented, but also became part of the rapidly growing discourse of modernisation. The period coincided with significant events in the history of the national movement, including the Second Youth Congress in 1928, which resulted in the adoption of the Youth Pledge. The magazine serves as a platform for expressing various perspectives and events, contributing to the emerging political awareness and national identity.

The research methodology, which employs text analysis and concordance, reveals that the magazine features various variants of words and also contexts that reflect the complexity of the relationship between the colonial government and the people of the Dutch East Indies. The application of data visualisation techniques has facilitated the identification of recurring patterns in the use of these terms to describe organisational development and social dynamics.

However, this study has several limitations. The analysis in this study still relies on digitised texts available through *sastra.org*, which may miss gaps or inconsistencies in data availability throughout the year. Furthermore, this study concentrates on a limited number of keywords, which, although effective for identifying initial patterns, cannot immediately extract the full complexity of the political discourse intertwined in *Kadjawen* magazine. As an exploratory study, the findings are more indicative than comprehensive. Future related research could expand the corpus to cover a broader range of terms, for example, by extending the time frame beyond the period 1927–1931, or by integrating more in-depth qualitative readings to better understand the context of the linguistic patterns identified. Such an approach would deepen researchers' understanding of how regional language media operate and perhaps transcend the constraints of colonial power structures.

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