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## THE TRANSFORMATION OF *JENGKI* STYLE PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN SURABAYA

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### ABSTRACT

Architecture in Indonesia began to experience a vibrant growth in the years following independence and the post-independence war, which became the emergence of *jengki* architecture. *Jengki* is an architectural style that characterized by eccentric shapes; gavel walls, gables, roosters, sloping columns, and a concrete creation with unusual shapes. Emerging in the late 1950s, *jengki* style has expanded all over Indonesia, including Surabaya. *Jengki* style buildings in Surabaya are not only residential, but also public buildings that are rarely known. Public buildings are places for the communities to do activities and interact socially, forming a collective memory that is part of urban life. The existence of *jengki* style public buildings is slowly fading and disappearing from the city's face and replaced by modern buildings. This article discusses the transformation of three *jengki* style public buildings in Surabaya, which is Khadijah School Hall, Wonokromo Market, and Gelora Pancasila. All three of them underwent different transformation and treatment. Using a qualitative study with a historical paradigm, it employed archival tracking tactics and building documentation in three timelines. Furthermore, the analysis shows that economic factors and the need for modernization are the reasons for the *jengki* disappearance. Different treatment of buildings also has an impact on the survival of *jengki* buildings. For this reason, it requires particular approaches to maintain the *jengki* style as well as the preservation process of Gelora Pancasila conducted by the Surabaya City Government.

**KEYWORDS:** disappearance, independence, Indonesia, *jengki*, transformation

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*Arsitektur di Indonesia mulai mengalami gejolak dinamika selepas peristiwa kemerdekaan dan perang pasca-kemerdekaan yang menjadi cikal bakal munculnya Arsitektur Jengki. Arsitektur Jengki merupakan sebuah gaya arsitektur yang identik dengan bentuknya yang nyentrik; dinding gewel segilima, atap pelana, rooster, kolom miring, dan permainan beton dengan bentuk yang tidak biasa. Gaya ini lahir di akhir tahun 1950 dan berkembang ke seluruh Indonesia, tak terkecuali Kota Surabaya. Bangunan Jengki yang ada di Surabaya tidak hanya rumah tinggal, tetapi juga berupa bangunan publik yang jarang diketahui masyarakat. Bangunan publik merupakan sarana masyarakat kota untuk beraktivitas dan berinteraksi secara sosial, membentuk sebuah memori kolektif yang menjadi bagian dari kehidupan urban. Eksistensi bangunan publik bergaya Jengki perlahan redup dan menghilang dari wajah kota, tergantikan oleh bangunan-bangunan modern. Artikel ini membahas transformasi bangunan publik bergaya Jengki yang ada di Surabaya yakni Aula Sekolah Khadijah, Pasar Wonokromo, dan Gelora Pancasila. Ketiga bangunan ini mengalami proses transformasi dan penanganan yang berbeda. Menggunakan studi kualitatif dengan paradigma sejarah, penelitian ini menerapkan taktik penelusuran arsip dan dokumentasi bangunan dalam tiga linimasa. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa faktor ekonomi dan kebutuhan modernisasi menjadi alasan hilangnya bangunan bergaya Jengki. Perbedaan penanganan bangunan juga berdampak pada kelestarian gaya jengki. Untuk itu, diperlukan langkah-langkah khusus untuk melestarikan gaya jengki seperti halnya proses preservasi Gelora Pancasila yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Kota Surabaya.*

**KATA KUNCI:** penghilangan, kemerdekaan, Indonesia, *jengki*, transformasi

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### INTRODUCTION

Architecture in Indonesia experienced a dynamic upheaval after Independence in 1945. Following the Indonesian independence, the country experienced the departure of Dutch experts who had filled important positions (Riawanti, 2020), including experts in the field of architecture and planning. Given such conditions, there were opportunities and

freedoms for Indonesians to explore their creativity in architecture. At the end of the 1950s, an architectural style emerged that was claimed to be indigenous to Indonesian architecture, called *Jengki* Architecture. This style contained the spirit of freedom and independence from Dutch colonialism (Sukada in Widayat, 2006). The spirit was embodied by STM graduates (equivalent to high school) or *aanemer* who

do not have a professional architectural background into a unique form of architecture.

Yet, the claim of *jengki* architecture as the original Indonesian style is still debatable. Abidin Kusno (2020) states that the *jengki* style in Indonesia is referring to *yankee* phenomenon which actually an American influence. The narrative of the *jengki*'s stance as an indigenous Indonesian architecture developed due to its proximity to the independence event, but this claim of resistance needs to be further scrutinized. Within the context of architectural dynamics in Indonesia, Johan Silas (1992) saw the *jengki* and its uniqueness as a symbol of Indonesia's ability to build after the independence's war that continued to rage for years.

Regardless of its debated stance in architectural theory, *jengki*'s distinctive features are described by Josef Prijotomo in Kurniawan (1999) as follows: (1) uses a gable roof; (2) sloping front walls and *gewels*, often forming a pentagon; (3) uses many roosters; (4) sloping columns and veranda; (5) concrete frames and ornaments. These forms are always unique and different from its surroundings. The implementation of the *jengki* features in some case studies is limited to visuals without a specific function (Setyabudi, et. al., 2012), such as the use of zig zag concrete canopies or the use of Y- or V-shaped terrace columns. In the modern architecture, the use of those elements is considered an unnecessary waste (Ahani & Etessam, 2016). The emergence of *jengki* architecture is perceived by Tariq Khalil (2018) as an era in Indonesia where the community building activities are considered to carry a 'dangerous' spirit. People in this era are simultaneously constructing unique buildings without proper thought to its function and without adequate educational background. Thus, *jengki* became a prestige and a new social status among the community (Purwoaji, 2018), as only the rich could afford to build *jengki* and its extra ornaments.

Originally developed in Jakarta, this style began to emerge in Surabaya in the early 1960s. Surabaya in the post-independence period experienced a lot of struggles caused by the war, so the *jengki* style just thrived in those periods. As the second largest city in Indonesia, Surabaya began to expand southward after the independence (Nurcahyanti & Artono, 2014). This development led to the establishment of new residential areas. As the *jengki* style was popular during this period of time, *jengki* architecture could be found in many residential buildings. Apart from residential houses, Surabaya also has public buildings that employ a *jengki* style that often seems unnoticed. For instance, Wonokromo Market is one of the large-scale *jengki* style public buildings. The market was publicly opened by President Soekarno in 1955 (Mait & Purwaningsih, 2017), but has undergone a complete transformation this day.

Nowadays, the *jengki* style buildings began to disappear the city's faces. Following the New Order regime, people began to pragmatically renew their building's architecture by changing the architectural facade that was considered old-fashioned (Kurniawan, 2017). Therefore, many *jengki* buildings are poorly maintained, unoccupied, and even demolished due to the amount of ornamentation or non-functional features attached. The use of unusual shapes often requires extra maintenance especially at the confluence of gutters and waterspouts caused by the number of roosters (see Figure 1). However, the glory of *jengki* was not able to dispel the economic needs, modernization, and other personal concerns of the building owners. For this reason, many *jengki* style buildings have undergone transformations or changes, whether major or minor.



Figure 1. Abandoned *jengki* house and its feature damage  
(Source: Author's Document, 2020)

Previous research on the *jengki* architecture has focused on the typology (Wibowo, 2011; Setyabudi, et al., 2012; Putra, 2015) and aesthetics (Mutaqin, et al., 2022; Andriani & Roosandriantini, 2023) of residential houses. There are not many previous studies that have explored *jengki* style public buildings and their transformation. Public buildings are typically a venue for people to engage in social activities and interactions. This interaction allows the construction of a collective memory that is important in the narrative of urban development (Loughran, et. al., 2015). Such needs are not well supported, as seen from the lack of archives and architectural documentation that makes the existence of the *jengki* style buildings in Indonesia, especially in Surabaya, is not widely known.

Hence, this study explored the transformation of 3 *jengki* style public buildings in Surabaya since they were built until their current condition. The three objects chosen are Khadijah School Hall, Wonokromo Market, and Gelora Pancasila. Each object was chosen because of its different transformation process, so that it is expected to be able to represent the general condition of *jengki* style public buildings in Surabaya through archival tracing presented in a descriptive

narrative. Different transformations experienced by each object are expected to be a precedent for the treatment of other *jengki* buildings in the future.

## METHODS

A qualitative study using a historical research approach was conducted in this study. Historical research is a method of research that refers to archives and artifacts of the past (Groat & Wang, 2013). It employs a historical paradigm that uses various sources as references and requires detailed re-examination (Tosh, 2010).

During the research, the primary tactics used were field observation, interviews and literature studies through documents and building archives. Documents and archives were obtained through old newspapers, tabloids, and personal documentation owned by relevant institutions. The archival documentation was used to analyze the changes that each object has experienced. All the data obtained were analyzed through the stages of identification, organization, and evaluation (Groat & Wang, 2013). Once the data was analyzed, it was presented in a descriptive narrative analysis.

The present study explores the transformation of three *jengki* style public buildings that were purposively selected with consideration of the availability of archives for each building. Besides, selected research objects are *jengki* style public buildings that represent the different transformations that have been experienced. All three objects are Khadijah School Hall, Wonokromo Market, and Gelora Pancasila. Together, they are public buildings but represent different functions. They also represent different transformations and ways of treatment. The transformation of each object obtained from archive and documentation will be seen through 3 timelines; the condition when the object was originally built, the condition when the object experienced a major event, and the current condition of the object.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research's findings will be discussed through sub-chapters that explain the history and condition of each object in details. The discussion then detailed in a comparison table of 3 timelines of each object.

### Khadijah School Hall

Yayasan Taman Pendidikan dan Sosial Nahdatul Ulama Khadijah or commonly abbreviated as Khadijah Foundation is an educational and social institution established in Surabaya in 1954. The foundation provides educational institutions ranging from daycare to high schools, including an Islamic boarding school, dormitory, and orphanage.

Founded by famous *kyai* named KH Wahab Turcham, Khadijah Foundation grew so rapidly that the original building complex located on Jalan Kawatan was no longer sufficient to accommodate the academic activities. The foundation then received a land grant located on Jalan Wonokromo (currently Jalan Jenderal Ahmad Yani) from the Muslimat Organization and moved completely in 1960.

Building design and construction was assigned to H. Abu Ali, a businessman from Banjar who also owns a hotel in Surabaya. The foundation built an office, 23 classrooms, a hall, bathrooms, a school guard room, and a bicycle parking lot (Thohir, 2018). From the first phase of construction, the appearance of Khadijah School Hall was highlighted because it looked different from the other buildings (Figure 2). Located in the center of the building complex, the hall becomes a multipurpose arena for students' extracurricular activities.



**Figure 2.** Khadijah School Hall in 1982  
(Source: Khadijah High School's Archive, 1982)

The hall was designed using the *jengki* style that was popular in Surabaya during the 1960s. *Jengki* features can be seen on its visual such the use of pentagonal walls that became the building facade. Besides, the numerous roosters on the *gewel* add a strong *jengki* characteristic. The hall is painted in a green color that is identical to Nahdatul Ulama. Hence, the condition of Khadijah Scholl Hall has changed over the years. In 2019, the hall was still used as a place for congregational prayers and other communal events for students and teachers of Khadijah Foundation. All students, from kindergarten to high school use this hall.



However, the hall's condition has been poorly maintained around this period (see Figure 3). Its facade is covered by a canopy used to shade the basketball court. Even the rooster that means to circulate the wind inside the hall is also concealed to prevent the rain waterspout. While the lower walls are painted in turquoise, the *gewel* still painted in white. Furthermore, the hall's size has been narrowed, with the stage area replaced by the RSI Hospital expansion project.



**Figure 3.** Khadijah School Hall in 2019  
(Source: Author's Document, 2019)

At the end of 2022, Khadijah Foundation decided to completely renovate the Hall building. A long authorization process was undertaken to begin the renovation project. Purnomo (2023), one of the Khadijah Foundation officials, explained that there was a long discussion among the foundation member about the renovation plan. Some addressed a consideration about building's status as a grant in Islamic view, while other considering the longing since it was the only surviving original building of the first Khadijah's complex. With a careful approach, Khadijah Foundation proceeded to demolish the old hall and rebuild it in a different architectural style (Figure 4).



**Figure 4.** The demolition process of Khadijah School Hall  
(Source: Khadijah Elementary School's Archive, 2022)



**Figure 5.** The new building of Khadijah Shcool Hall  
(Source: Khadijah High School's Archive, 2023)

Khadijah School Hall's longevity had to come to an end after 62 years of existence. A 3- floor multi-purpose building was built in its place. Designed in a modern minimalist style, the new building was designed with consideration of capacity and design novelty (Figure 5). Built in the cube shape and beige color, the building left the characteristic of Khadijah Hall that had been attached to it for years.

### Pasar Wonokromo

Subsequent to Independence Day, the city of Surabaya expanded southward (Nurchayanti & Artono, 2014). The expansion led to the area around Wonokromo becoming a residential area. Indeed, this area became increasingly crowded as it became the final stop of the tram. In 1955, the local government of Surabaya Government (known as Pemda KMS at that time) initiated the construction of Wonokromo Market.



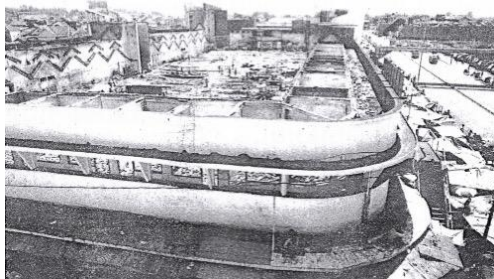
**Figure 6.** The building process of Wonokromo Market  
(Source: Dispersip Jatim, 1955)

During the construction of the market (Figure 6), the local government appointed one of its employees as the designer. Despite the fact that he had no formal architectural education, Subiono, who graduated from STM, was able to design the market which occupied an area of 9000 m<sup>2</sup>. The market was officially opened in 1955 by President Soekarno (Mait & Purwaningsih, 2017). As it seen in Figure 7, Wonokromo Market was designed using the *jengki* style which can be seen from the 3 fin towers that characterize the market vocal point. Its rooster on the tower also adds the *jengki*-ness value of Wonokromo Market. According to its size, Wonokromo Market is considered to be the largest *jengki* object in Surabaya, even in Indonesia.



**Figure 7.** Wonokromo Market around 1980s  
(Source: Dispersip Jatim, 1980)

The magnificence of Wonokromo Market has in fact suffered many misfortunes. It suffered consecutive fires in 1959, 1970, 1985, 1989 and 1992. Indeed, the 1992 fire was the most devastating, with nearly 80% of the market buildings burnt down (see Figure 8). Suffering severe damage, Wonokromo Market was declared as an emergency market. At the same time, the Surabaya City Government and urban experts were arguing in the press.



**Figure 8.** The 1992 fire aftermath in Wonokromo Market  
(Source: Surabaya Post, 1992)

The government, based on the 2000 Surabaya City Masterplan, argued that Wonokromo Market was not among the buildings to be protected, so there was no reason for them to preserve the market after the fire (Surabaya Post, 1992). On the contrary, Johan Silas (1992) strongly opposed the government attempt to completely demolish Wonokromo Market. He argues that the Wonokromo Market building is an original work of Indonesian architecture that embodies the dynamics of the city in the struggle towards independence and it should be preserved.



**Figure 9.** Wonokromo Market condition before its complete demolition after 2002 fire  
(Source: Ismuntoro, 2003)

According to Surabaya Post, the remains of the Wonokromo Market fire were left unattended. The sellers then moved to the emergency market located in front of the main Wonokromo Market building. They built temporary stalls with zinc roofs as seen in Figure 9. It remained this way until the fire hit Wonokromo Market again in 2002.



**Figure 10.** DTC as the replacement of Wonokromo Market  
(Source: Sandalmelangkah, 2012)

However, the market's fight for survival came to an end in 2003. Its body was completely demolished, only to be left as the base of Darmo Trade Center, a modern market that now stands firmly on top of it (Figure 10). Nowadays, Darmo Trade Center is jointly managed under the ownership of PD Pasar Surya Kota Surabaya and invested by PT Arwinto Intan Wijaya through a Public Private Partnership agreement (Masitoh, 2014). DTC is now divided into 2 parts. The lower section, which is believed to be a legacy of the old Wonokromo Market, is a wet market that sells food ingredients in a traditional way. While the upper part is a dry market that sells fabric and clothes with a modern market concept. The appearance of Wonokromo Market this day has completely changed, with a cubical shape and modern minimalist style.

### Gelora Pancasila

Gelora Pancasila is a sports center located on Jalan Patmosusastro, Wonokromo, Surabaya. This venue was initiated by Mochammad Wiyono, the Governor of East Java during 1963-1967. Constructed in 1964 and completed two years later, Gelora Pancasila was prepared as the venue for the PON VII which took place in August 1969 (Amajida, 2019). It hosted badminton and athletics competition.



**Figure 11.** Atmosphere inside Gelora Pancasila in 1980s  
(Source: Khadijah High School's Archive, 1982)





**Figure 12.** Tournament atmosphere in Gelora Pancasila  
(Source: Khadijah High School's Archive, 1980)

After the PON was over, Gelora Pancasila remained in use as a venue for various sports tournaments such as *pencak silat*, volleyball, and so on (see Figure 11, 12). Managed by the Gelora Pancasila Foundation, this sports arena was publicly rented.

However, the golden era of Gelora Pancasila came to a sudden halt when its ownership became a conflict between the Surabaya City Government and PT Setiakawan Abadi in 1995 (Wirawan & Sujadi, 2020). Following this conflict, Gelora Pancasila was no longer in use and neglected. Lots of glass in the *gewel* was broken, and the zinc cover looked rusty. As shown in Figure 13, semi-permanent stalls covering part of Gelora Pancasila building complex.



**Figure 13.** Gelora Pancasila in the 2000s  
(Source: Bastomi, 2009)

Despite its crisis, *jengki*'s signature still strongly reflected in Gelora Pancasila's building. At the main entrance, the Y-shaped column and zigzag roof become a unique vocal point and attract visitors' attention (see Figure 14). Other details such as "fins" on the outer wall of the building are still visible. Ornamentation made of concrete is also one of the strong characteristics of the *jengki* style.



**Figure 14.** Gelora Pancasila during land dispute  
(Source: Kami Arsitek Jengki, 2018)

Land and property disputes over the ownership of Gelora Pancasila lasted for 23 years, until the Surabaya City Government requested the assistance of the East Java Attorney General's Office to resolve the conflict. Gelora Pancasila officially returned to the authority of Surabaya City Government in 2018 based on the Supreme Court decision No. 1567 K/Pdt/2018 which won the Surabaya Mayor's lawsuit against the Surabaya High Court decision No. 757/PDT/2016/PT SBY dated November 24, 2016, which upheld the Surabaya District Court decision No. 886/Pdt.G/2014/PN Sby dated 25 November 2015.



**Figure 15.** Gelora Pancasila under Surabaya City Government management  
(Source: Author's Document, 2023)

Since its return to the Surabaya Government's authority, Gelora Pancasila has made various improvements. In terms of façade, Gelora Pancasila which was previously colored red is now painted in yellow (see Figure 15). The semi-permanent buildings surrounding it were cleared away, making the building stand out even more. Preservation process is done appropriately without changing the appearance and structure of the Gelora Pancasila building which considered as cultural heritage building. Thus, the sports center is once again functioning as a sports facility for the citizens of Surabaya. Several sport events have been held at Gelora Pancasila after the preservation, such as the Mayor's Cup and Asian Men's U-20 Volleyball Championship in 2024. Currently, Gelora Pancasila has become a sports complex together with THOR Running Field and Surabaya Sports Museum.

### The Transformation of 3 Objects

The timeline of the three *jengki*-style public buildings in Surabaya shows physical transformation in different ways. According to (Habraken, 1983), physical transformation is a process of changing physical or nominal elements that aims to obtain a new identity. All of the three research objects indeed experienced changes in function and adjustments in architectural materials without territorial or cultural changes as shown in Table 1.

Building transformation is a form of building adaptation in following the times. The dynamics of urban space and economic-oriented modernization often push for this transformation process (Rangkuty & Widyastuti, 2019). Other factors such as lifestyle changes and social values shifting can also justify the physical remodeling of buildings (Haristianti, et. al., 2022). As public buildings that accommodate the activities of many people, these three *jengki* objects have cultural significance in the past that can enrich architectural studies in Indonesia. Yet, two of the three study objects are currently undergoing a total physical transformation that eliminates the *jengki* identity from its form.

*Jengki*'s architectural triumph at Wonokromo Market did not last more than 40 years. It was demolished to make room for a modern market with a box-shaped form that is typical to modernism. The demolition was tinged with heated debate between the local government of KMS Surabaya and urban planning experts at the time. On the other hand, Khadijah School Hall and its *jengki*-ness lasted more than 60 years, but again ended with a total transformation into a minimalist multi-purpose building. A slight internal discussion also occurred

among the foundation regarding the demolition of the hall, where the building considered as the last building left by the founder of the Khadijah Foundation.

As pointed out by Rossi (in Prakoso, et al., 2021), economic factors and modernization are undeniably the main reasons for the physical transformation of *jengki* buildings. The demolition of these two objects further prolongs the gone list of *Jengki* architecture from Surabaya, both physically and within public memory due to the lack of *jengki*'s architectural documentation.

Different circumstances were experienced by Gelora Pancasila. The assets acquisition by Surabaya City Government led to a better outcome. The government renovated the building without changing the shape and structure of the building. Gelora Pancasila underwent rejuvenation, both from repainting and repairing damaged architectural features. The sports arena has gained its vitality back as a sports championships venue and frequently visited by the Surabaya people to exercise or visit the Surabaya Sports Museum.

The restoration and rejuvenation of Gelora Pancasila by the Surabaya City Government is a physical transformation using preservation techniques. Referring to the Burra Charter (2013), preservation is a technique used to maintain and preserve the authenticity of a place, considering the status of Gelora Pancasila as cultural heritage building. Preservation technique is considered suitable because in addition to maintaining the form and style of *Jengki*, the local community also has access to recognize and do activities in one of the few remaining *jengki*-style public buildings in Surabaya. The transformation timeline of three buildings can be seen in Figure 16.

**Table 1.** Transformation Comparison among Three Objects

	<b>Khadijah School Hall</b>	<b>Wonokromo Market</b>	<b>Gelora Pancasila</b>
<b>Year of Construction</b>	1960	1955	1966
<b>Initial Function</b>	School hall	Traditional market	Sports venue
<b>Initial Owner</b>	Khadijah Foundation	Pemda KMS Surabaya (city government)	Gelora Pancasila Foundation
<b><i>Jengki</i>'s features</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pentagon-shaped wall</li> <li>• Numerous rooster on <i>gewel</i></li> <li>• Slanted front column</li> <li>• Green colored walls, identical to Nahdatul Ulama</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Three fin towers as vocal point</li> <li>• Rhombuses-shaped rooster</li> <li>• Concrete material creation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Y-shaped front column</li> <li>• Zigzag-shaped canopy</li> <li>• Concrete ornaments</li> <li>• Textured walls</li> <li>• Window shape combination</li> </ul>
<b>Crisis Points</b>	Building cut (2019); Demolition (2023)	Fire (1959, 1970, 1985, 1989, 1992, 2002); Emergency market (1992); Demolition (2003)	Land dispute (1995-2018); Preservation (2019)
<b>Current Function</b>	Multipurpose building	Modern market	Sports venue
<b>Current Owner</b>	Khadijah Foundation	Joint partnership between PD Pasar Surya Surabaya and private sector	Surabaya City Government
<b>Architectural Transformation</b>	Rebuilt into a 3-floors square-shaped building in a modern minimalist style	Rebuilt into a 6-floors square-shaped building in a modern minimalist style	Building repairment to its original condition, integrated with running field and sports museum

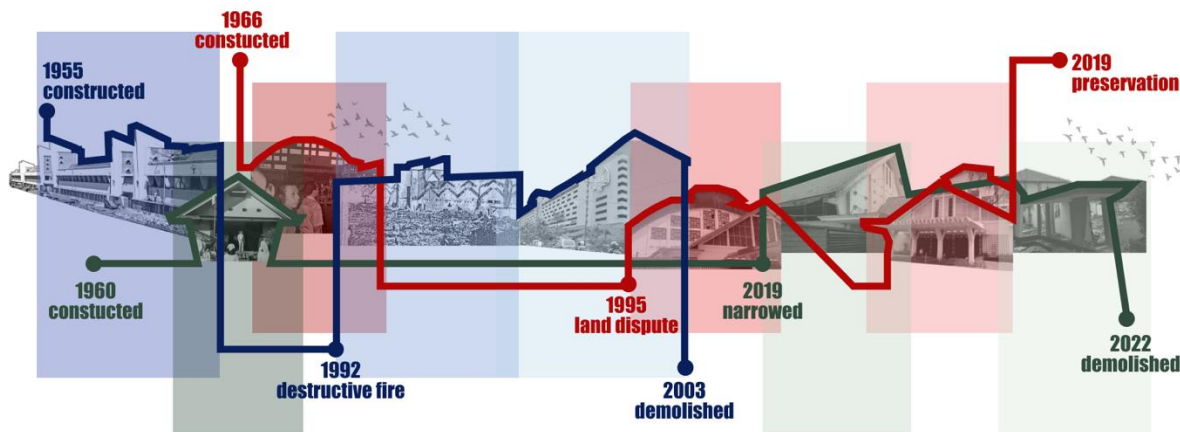


Figure 16. Transformation timeline of Wonokromo Market, Khadijah School Hall and Gelora Pancasila

(Source: Author's Document, 2025)

## CONCLUSION

*Jengki* is an architectural style that developed in Indonesia after independence and pose as a symbol of freedom in design and built. In Surabaya, *jengki* architecture is not only applied in residential buildings, but also in public buildings. As a venue for community social activities, *jengki* style public buildings play a role in shaping the city's memory. Over time, *jengki* style buildings slowly disappear from the city's face.

Khadijah School Hall, Wonokromo Market, and Gelora Pancasila are three representative objects of *jengki* style public buildings that experienced different transformations. Khadijah School Hall and Wonokromo Market underwent total transformation, where they were demolished and rebuilt in a modern style that eliminated the characteristics of *jengki*. Meanwhile, Gelora Pancasila under the Surabaya City Government underwent preservation that allowed the building to be reused without changing its *jengki*-ness. All three buildings have undergone different levels of physical transformation due to economic needs, lifestyle changes, and shifting social values. However, the preservation approach applied at Gelora Pancasila is a good precedent. This approach allows the community to reuse Gelora Pancasila according to its function while the *jengki* characteristics of the building are also well preserved. The presence of *jengki* buildings in the midst of the hustle and bustle of urban life is expected to maintain the existence of *jengki* architecture physically and in urban memory.

This research has limitations related to the availability of archives and documentation related to *jengki* buildings, so the references used are quite distant in time. It is expected that this research will be further developed in more studies of *jengki* architecture and its contribution to the dynamics of architecture in Indonesia.

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