CHALLENGING THE ENACTMENT OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS: THE SUSTAINABILITY OF STREET VENDOR RELOCATION IN YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA

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Abstract
In enacting its "Philosophical Axis", the Government of Yogyakarta forged a significant policy that transformed its relations with community members especially street vendors. Under this policy, street vendors were relocated from their previous locations to sites known as Teras 1 and Teras 2 Malioboro. Although the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention mandate the practice of sustainable development, street vendors—the economic backbone of the Special Region of Yogyakarta—indicate that they have experienced a drastic loss of income due to accessibility issues. This research explores the impact of relocation on street vendors' income as well as short, medium, and long term plans for the new sites. Data were collected through questionnaires that were distributed to ninety respondents from Teras 1 and Teras 2, in-depth interviews, and a review of the literature.

Keywords: Philosophical Axis of Yogyakarta, Street Vendors, Sustainability, UNESCO World Heritage

Introduction
Yogyakarta is unique in Indonesia not only due to the continued power of its sultanate but also its continued maintenance of Javanese values. Established by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono I in 1755, it was built upon values that have become part of the Yogyakartan way of life. Amongst its many names, such as the city of culture and city of students, Yogyakarta is known as a city of philosophy with values made manifest through an imaginary line that bisects the city, connecting Mount
Merapi, the Sultan's Palace (Kraton), and the Southern Sea. Also along this axis are structures belonging to the sultanate, including Panggung Krapyak and Tugu Golong Gilig (now known as Tugu Pal Putih). Running parallel to this imaginary line are six rivers, all of which flow southward. As implied by its name, this axis represents the philosophies common in Yogyakarta—Manunggaling Kawula Gusti, Hamemayu Hayuning bawana, and Sangkan Paraning Dumadi—as well as the concept of Papat Kalima Pancer (Dinas Kebudayaan Yogyakarta, 2015).

Due to the unique and extraordinary value of this axis, the Yogyakarta government proposed it as a World Heritage Site to UNESCO in 2014. To gain recognition, at least one of ten criteria had to be met; the government argued that the Philosophical Axis already met Criterion I ("to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius"), Criterion II ("exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design"), and Criterion VI ("be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.") (UNESCO, 2018). The government submission also showed a commitment to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 11 ("to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable"). This goal is intended to reinforce efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage (United Nations, 2023).

On 18 September 2023, during the 45th meeting of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, the Philosophical Axis was recognised as a world heritage site. According to the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, states must contribute to and comply with sustainable development objectives, including gender equality, throughout all World Heritage processes and in their heritage conservation and management systems. Decision 43 COM 11A states, "Parties to the Convention are encouraged to adopt a human-rights based approach and ensure gender-balanced participation of a wide variety of stakeholders and rights-holders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, indigenous peoples, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination, management and protection processes of World Heritage properties" (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2021). It may thus be concluded that identification of the Philosophical Axis as a World Heritage Site must benefit all parties, including local communities.

Along Malioboro, a major street that follows Yogyakarta's Philosophical Axis, it has been common to find street vendors selling food, clothes, souvenirs, batik, etc. These street vendors, who sell relatively cheap goods to tourists, transformed Malioboro into one of the city's premier tourist attractions. Despite these vendors being the economic backbone of the downtown core, as well as central to Malioboro's cultural presence, after the Philosophical Axis was granted World Heritage status they were relocated to two Teras, located at the former Indra Cinema and former Yogyakarta Tourism Office, respectively. This relocation was intended to provide the vendors with legal status, as they had previously occupied sidewalks and pedestrian areas that belonged to shop owners. It was also hoped that, by moving vendors, pedestrians would become more comfortable and safer for pedestrians (Rosa, 2022).

The relocation was received ambiguously by street vendors. One clothing seller at Teras 2 admitted that he had difficulty finding customers due to changes in the street vendors' mercantile
system. This suggests that the relocation did not fully benefit the local community, particularly the relocated street vendors. This might hinder the government's commitment to sustainable development, especially Goal No. 1: "To end poverty in all its forms everywhere." It may not align with Target 1.2, which seeks to "reduce at least half the proportion of men, women, children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions" by 2030. This situation also challenges the government's commitment to Target 1.b., i.e., to "create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional and international levels, based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions" (SDG Compass, 2015).

From the explanation above, we understand that the relocation of street vendors might have positive and negative impacts on the street vendors of Malioboro, Yogyakarta, even though World Heritage status was intended to positively impact all parties. This research thus asks, "What impact does the Philosophical Axis have on local communities in Yogyakarta, particularly the relocated street vendors around the Philosophical Axis area?"

**Literature Review**

As defined by Lawinsider.com, a local community is "any community of people living or having rights or interests in a distinct geographical area" (Lawinsider, 2017). To narrow its discussion, this paper will use the term "interest" to define the local community in the discussion below. This term describes the shared goals of street vendors who once traded on Malioboro, along the Philosophical Axis. The actors involved and impacted varied from cart pushers to permanent merchants in and around the buffer zone (LBH Yogya, 2022). This paper will focus on the street vendors relocated to Teras 1 and Teras 2 Malioboro effective 1 February 2022. In short, their interest was earning an income equivalent to what they had earned on Malioboro.

Francesca Giliberto and Sophia Labadi (2020) researched the role of cultural heritage as an enabler of sustainable development in three internationally funded projects. It takes place in three Middle Eastern and North African countries: Egypt, Morocco, and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). Gilberto and Labadi found that three scopes of sustainability impacted cultural heritage, namely the economic sector, gender equality, and environmental protection. Despite the opportunities and achievements created by the studied projects, implementation has come with many pitfalls. This research thoroughly elaborated on the topic, but it did not touch on the subject of this paper (Giliberton & Labadi, 2020).

Discussion of the communities impacted by Yogyakarta's Philosophical Axis remains necessary. Hanbyeol Jang and Jeremy Mennis (2021) researched local communities' well-being (defined expansively to include the physical, mental, economic, and social aspects of health) in heritage conservation and site management. It started with a keyword analysis of official UNESCO documents—the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention published between 1994 and 2019—and investigating how local communities' issues have shifted in the past two decades. This research found that the inclusion of local communities in site management began with the usage of the term "local people" in the 1994 guidelines. The phrase "local people" gradually shifted to "local communities", which was used by 2014. The World Heritage Committee focused on local communities and indigenous peoples, as they are part of
"the eight key dimensions of sustainable development." This research acknowledged local communities' emergence in heritage management; this also differs from the aims of this paper (Jang & Mennis, 2021).

Unlike the above-mentioned studies, P. Agathis et al. (2021) investigated communities' participation in the management of the Philosophical Axis as well as the impact of said management on environmental sustainability and its presentation of alternative strategies. The research concludes that communities' involvement and private participation in the management of the Philosophical Axis remains lacking. This could be attributed to minimal campaigning on social media and public spaces by the government of Yogyakarta. Likewise, environmental issues were managed sub-optimally. This research found that Yogyakarta, especially the city's Green Open Public Space policy, remains far from its goals: 18%, far less than the commitment of 30%. Using a SWOT analysis to deliver alternative strategies, this research used a different methodology and results than those used here (Agathis, Syahbudin, & Purwanto, 2021).

A study by O. Albizzia et al. (2023) voiced the mindsets of street vendors, becak and andong drivers, and tourists who have visited Malioboro since the relocation. They found pessimistic views amongst street vendors who had operated on Malioboro for 15–20 years, as well as tourists. Although the question of mobility was recognised, noting the enjoyment of visitors who walked Malioboro and stopped to street vendors' goods—something impossible in the current situation—no elaboration was provided. Albizzia et al. did not discuss the layout of Teras 1 and Teras 2 or the similarity of drops compared to those that occurred during the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Unlike those previous articles, this paper will focus its discussion on the impact of street vendors' relocation from Malioboro—one of the main streets along the Philosophical Axis—on the local community's sustainability. This paper attempts to identify the connection between the sustainability agenda and the livelihoods of local communities, particularly street vendors, around the Philosophical Axis.

**Research Methods**

This research uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods (mixed methods) to collect primary data. As per Oakley (1998), qualitative interviews enable standards and practices to not only be recorded but also challenged, reinforced, and achieved. Here, qualitative interviews were used in conjunction with questionnaires to obtain insight and experience from the involved parties. Interviews were conducted with participants who gave consent to be interviewed. During interviews, the researchers took notes and made recordings. After collection, the data were transcribed and analysed. Interpretation of the data is presented in the discussion below (Oakley, 1998).

Sampling took place at the new location of street vendors. According to Harian Jogja, in 2023 there were 888 street vendors in Teras 1 and 1,041 street vendors in Teras 2 (Leon, 2023). However, there is no official data on the current population of the Teras, and some vendors indicated that the lack of customers had disincentivised their colleagues. For our study, we collected data from 90 vendors, 45 from Teras 1 and 45 from Teras 2. Vendors sell various goods, which we divided into three categories: food, souvenirs/crafts, and fashion. We collected data on vendors' daily sales performance, the condition of the new locations, and vendors' perceptions of
their future prospects (sustainability). We also dealt with their performance before and after the relocation, their opinion regarding the Teras, programmes used to support vendors, and vendors' satisfaction levels.

Results and Discussion

A. Daily Sales Performance

Between 5 April and 17 May 2023, we collected data from 90 vendors at Teras 1 and Teras 2. At each location, our sample consisted of fifteen vendors in each category: Fashion, Culinary, and Souvenirs. The vendors were fewer in number than expected, especially at Teras 1. One informant indicated that some of her colleagues were no longer selling near Malioboro. As such, there is no exact data on how many vendors were active in Malioboro when we collected data.

From the ninety informants, we found that most vendors have experienced a decline in their daily incomes (Chart 1):

As seen in Chart 1, 71.1% of vendors at the Teras had experienced a loss of income; 18.9% experienced no change, and 10% experienced an increase. Decreased incomes were more prevalent amongst the vendors from Teras 1, as seen in Chart 2 and Chart 3 below:
As seen in Chart 2, 86.7% of vendors at Teras 1 have experienced a decline in their daily incomes. Of the remainder, half (6.7%) experienced no change and half (6.7%) saw an increase. Meanwhile, as seen in Chart 3, vendors at Teras 2 have performed better on average: 55.6% experienced a decline, 31.1% experienced no change, and 13.3% earned more money.

The decreases experienced by vendors are noted in absolute numbers and percentages in Charts 4 and 5 below. Chart 4 presents the average reported incomes of vendors before and after the relocation, with data disaggregated by sector: Fashion, Culinary, and Souvenir. In Chart 5, we calculated the percentage of lost income expressed in Chart 4. These two charts express the situation in Teras 1 and Teras 2 together; charts for the individual Teras are presented in Charts 6 and 7 and Charts 8 and 9, respectively.
Based on Charts 4 and 5, vendors' average daily income decreased by 44% after the relocation (from Rp 1,355,000 to Rp 757,778). Souvenir vendors experienced the most severe decline, around 58.1% (from Rp 1,401,667 to Rp 586,667). This was followed by fashion vendors, whose average income decreased 54.1%, from Rp 1,366,667 to Rp 626,667. Finally, culinary vendors experienced the least severe decline, around 18.2%, from Rp 1,296,667 to Rp 1,060,000. Data specific to Teras 1 are presented in Charts 6 and 7 below:
Based on Charts 6 and 7, the average daily income of vendors in Teras 1 declined by 53%, from Rp 1,698,889 to Rp 783,333. Fashion and souvenir vendors both experienced severe income declines, approximately 66% and 70% respectively. Fashion vendors’ daily income decreased from Rp 1,720,000 to Rp 580,000 per day, while souvenir vendors’ daily income decreased from Rp 2,043,333 to Rp 596,667. Culinary vendors, meanwhile, only experienced a 12% decline in their daily incomes, from Rp 1,333,333 to Rp 1,173,333. From the chart above, it can be seen that the culinary sector experienced a less drastic decline than the other sectors.

Similar to Teras 1, the vendors at Teras 2 also experienced a decline in their daily incomes, as shown by Charts 8 and 9 below:

Based on Charts 8 and 9, vendors at Teras 2 experienced a less drastic decline in their daily incomes than those at Teras 1. On average, vendors at Teras 2 earned Rp 732,000 per day—a decrease of 27% from the average before the relocation (Rp 1,011,111). Fashion vendors experienced the largest decline, around 33.5%, from Rp 1,013,333 to Rp 673,333 per day. Meanwhile, vendors in the culinary and souvenir sectors experienced a decline of 24%. Culinary vendors earned an average of Rp 946,667 per day (down from Rp 1,260,000) and souvenir vendors earned an average of Rp 567,667 per day (down from Rp 760,000). Comparing Chart 6 and Chart 8, vendors’ earnings are roughly similar, approximately Rp 700,000 per day since the relocation.
However, vendors’ earnings varied by sector. For instance, fashion vendors earn slightly more on average at Teras 2 than at Teras 1, while culinary vendors at Teras 1 earn slightly more than their peers at Teras 2. At both Teras 1 and Teras 2, souvenir vendors earn an average of Rp 500,000 per day. It may thus be concluded that Teras 1 is more strategic for culinary vendors and Teras 2 is more fortuitous for fashion vendors.

According to some vendors, the relocation sites—known collectively as Teras Malioboro—still lack spatial planning. These Teras have a different layout than Malioboro Street. On the street, visitors were able to effortlessly see every vendor as they walked (i.e., there was a greater degree of mobility). Meanwhile, at Teras 1, some vendors are located on the 2nd and 3rd floors. As such, some vendors are less reachable and accessible. This condition is worse when vendors occupy corner sites.

Likewise, vendor stalls are not grouped according to the type of goods sold. Clothes stalls can be found on both the first and second floors. As such, customers are reluctant to go up to the second floor, as they believe that their desired goods could be found on the first floor (Prayogo and Trimasuti, 2023). They would only climb to the third floor in search of food or beverages.

As for vendors’ placement, it is determined not through careful consideration but by luck of the draw (Rahadi, 2022). Vendors thus have no opportunity to determine the best place for them to sell their goods. Meanwhile, Teras 2 only consists of one floor, with souvenir and fashion vendors at the front and all food vendors located at the back. Compared to Teras 1, Teras 2 is more accessible, as it only has one floor. As customers can see all of the vendors with little effort, the decrease in income is less drastic than at Teras 1.

B. The Condition of the new Location

Aside from their daily incomes, we also asked vendors for their opinions regarding the Teras Malioboro. Although answers varied, they generally fell into similar categories. Much of the feedback was positive, as seen in Chart 10 below:

As per Chart 10, the most common opinion regarding Teras Malioboro was that vendors were provided good facilities (60%). This was followed by remarks regarding a lack of customers
(35.5%), comfort (28%), and cleanliness (8.8%). In general, from Chart 10 we can conclude that most vendors are satisfied with the facilities and comfort provided. On the other hand, they are dissatisfied with the lack of customers, which can be attributed to limited access. This can be attributed to the layout and spatial planning of Teras 1 and Teras 2, neither of which accommodates vendors' needs.

C. Vendor Preferences

As vendors' incomes have declined since their relocation, most vendors preferred their original locations—even though the available facilities at the Teras were better. This is seen in Charts 11, 12, and 13 below:

Chart 11: Do You Prefer the First Place or Teras Malioboro?

![Chart 11](image)

Chart 12: Do You Prefer the First Place or Teras 1?

![Chart 12](image)

Chart 11 shows that 53.3% of informants preferred their original location, while only 46.7% preferred their new place. At Teras 1, a high proportion of vendors preferred Teras 1 over their original locations (Chart 12): approximately 57.8% of vendors preferred their original place, while 42.2% preferred Teras 1. At Teras 2, vendors were slightly more satisfied with the conditions in
their new location than their original sites. According to Chart 13, slightly more vendors preferred Teras 2 over their original locations (51.1% to 48.9%).

![Chart 13: Do You Prefer the First Place or Teras 2?](image)

Several factors led vendors to prefer their original sites. However, the single greatest factor was vendors’ declining incomes. As we discussed before, vendors at Teras 1 experienced a greater decline in their incomes than those at Teras 2. As a result, only 42.2% of informants preferred Teras 1 over the first place where they sold their goods. Meanwhile, at Teras 2, vendors had better returns on their incomes. As such, 51.1% of informants preferred Teras 2 over their first place of business.

**D. Future Prospect of the New Location (Sustainability)**

When this research was conducted on 18 September 2023, relocation had already occurred. Street vendors, however, were still experiencing uncertainties, which we explored through in-depth interviews with street vendors at Teras 1 and Teras 2. One informant was Ms Indah (not a real name), a culinary vendor from Teras 1. She said, “I am more optimistic if Teras 1 and Teras 2 joined in one place, or together at Teras 1, because Teras 1 is spacious and will attract more visitors and [allow us to] incrementally return to our normal income.” Ms Indah previously sold her wares in front of the governor’s office (Kepatihan), earning approximately Rp 200,000 per day; since moving to Teras 1, her income has decreased to Rp 100,000 per day.

Likewise, Ms Putri (not a real name), who sells food at Teras 1, also indicated that her income had decreased greatly, from Rp 500,000 per day to Rp 200,000, since she moved to Teras 1. However, she acknowledges that the facilities and government assistance available to her were much better at the new site, especially the issuance of "Halal Certificates". She said, “For Teras 1, I only scored my optimism a 7. My income is so much lower in Teras 1. My cart is located inside, so I am not that visible to visitors. If I were put in front, it would make much better.” Ms Ayu (not a real name), the owner of the Lesehan Istimewa (Special Canteen) at Teras 2, said, "My income was different when I still sold my goods along Malioboro Street. However, all I can do is only be grateful for the new income and location the government has provided me."
As shown from the data above, street vendors' incomes have declined since moving to Teras 1 and Teras 2. In interviews, respondents said their income was lower than at their previous location. This was universal; the culinary, fashion, and souvenir sectors were impacted hard by the relocation. As per the above chart, we can identify why the culinary vendors have been less impacted by the relocation; their wares are sold not only to customers but also to other vendors.

As Ms Indah said, "We also sell our foods to other vendors here, so our income won't drop due to our relocation to Teras Malioboro 1. However, I sympathise with the other vendors who are struggling to keep up their sales, especially those not visible enough to the visitors." Supporting this argument, the trade representatives of the street vendors mentioned that the flow of visitors could be better managed to be fair to the vendors located in the back or on the corners of the new site (Sunartono, 2022). The Government of Yogyakarta needs to solve this issue to meet the needs of all vendors.

Notwithstanding this issue, the Government of Yogyakarta has done much to guarantee the sustainability of the street vendors in the new location. This programme has still seen short- and medium-term success. However, we have yet to see any long-term programmes designed to significantly recover and sustain the incomes of the street vendors relocated to Teras 1 and Teras 2. One short-term programme has been the issuance of "Halal Certificates" by the Office of Cooperatives and MSMEs in 2022 (Sulistyanto, 2022). Another short-term programme by the Government of Yogyakarta has also helped street vendors promote their goods online by providing an application, "Sibakul", as well as services, such as free delivery (S. R., 2023).

As for medium-term programmes, one can be seen from the relocation of street vendors from Teras 2 to a new location north of Teras 1 before the completion of the new Jogja Planning Gallery (JPG) to demonstrate the history of Yogyakartan culture and the Philosophical Axis area (Kumparan, 2023). However, we have yet to see any effort from the Government of Yogyakarta to return street vendors to the incomes they enjoyed when operating on Malioboro Street.

Based on the questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and charts, the street vendors being relocated have continued to struggle to earn a decent income in their new location. The current and next Teras 1 building must be managed and designed to ensure that customers visit every Teras 1 and Teras 2 vendor. Street vendors should be visible to all the visitors, just as when they operated on Malioboro Street.

E. Understanding the Context: MSMEs, Structure, and Mobility

Throughout Indonesia, relocation events impact Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs), which form the backbone of the nation's domestic economy—especially in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. According to the ASEAN Investment Report 2022, Indonesia was home to approximately 65.46 million MSMEs—the largest in ASEAN. In 2021, Indonesian MSMEs were recorded as absorbing 97% of the workforce, contributing 60.3% of the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 14.4% of its national exports. For comparison, MSMEs in neighbouring countries only have labour absorption rates of between 35% and 85%. However, in terms of economic performance, Indonesia still lags behind Myanmar, whose MSMEs contribute up to 69.3% of the domestic GDP (Ahdiat, 2022; ASEAN Investment Report, 2022).
Indonesia's MSMEs have been highly resilient, weathering economic crises in both 1998 and 2008. These MSMEs were better equipped to survive, as unlike large companies they were not dependent on large capital or external loans in foreign currency—especially the American dollar. Export-oriented MSMEs that relied on locally supplied resources actually "benefited" from the collapse of the 1998 crisis. During the 2008 crisis, MSMEs showed their resilience due to their disconnectedness from the global market.

Even during the COVID-19 pandemic, though some sectors wavered, increases were noted in other sectors. The food processing sector experienced a drastic slowdown, dropping by 35.6%; similarly impacted were the crafts (13.8%) and fashion sectors (16%). Restaurants, services, manufacturers, coffee shops, pastries, and trade operations likewise stagnated. However, there were increases in the staple food, pharmaceutical, and health sectors, as well as the bicycle and information and communication technology industries (Widyaningrum, 2020; Mardanugraha & Junaidi, 2022). Interestingly, the sectors that were most affected by the pandemic were those that were impacted due to the relocation of street vendors from Malioboro (i.e., souvenir, fashion, and food stalls/restaurants).

In Yogyakarta, MSMEs form the backbone of the local economy together with the tourism sector. According to the Regional Development Planning Agency of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, some 347,310 MSMEs are spread throughout Yogyakarta; approximately one MSME for every ten people in the province (Bappeda, 2023; BPS, 2021). According to a report from the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, MSMEs have an important role in driving the provincial economy, contributing 79.6% of its regional GDP. In the region, MSMEs have a labour absorption rate of 23–25% (DJPb Yogyakarta, 2022).

Consumer mobility has been key to this research. According to data from the Google COVID-19 Community Mobility Report, which records the mobility of people in public places, in 2020, the Special Region of Yogyakarta saw decreases of 27% in the retail and recreation sectors, 41% in the parks sector, and 56% in the transit sector (Mobility Change, 2020). There were similar trends at Teras 1 and Teras 2, where street vendors who sold their goods on the second and third floors (or at corners) experienced a drastic drop in the number of customers. This, in turn, decreased the performance of their business.

Those two major phenomena hindered customers’ ability to conduct transactions with merchants. Even though digitalisation has been ongoing, not every merchant has the capacity to independently adopt new technology. Vendors' sustainability after the relocation has been exacerbated by the landscape and accessibility of Teras 1 and Teras 2. Also, the nature of street vendors, who operate sporadically and rely heavily on mobility, limits their opportunities for economic growth. We conclude that the relocation process was conducted without a proper architectural landscape or innovative policy. The government must prioritise efforts to address the situation and ensure the sustainability of the community, as per Decision 43 COM 11A of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

**Conclusion**
The idea of making the Philosophical Axis into a world heritage site may be positive, as it could make Yogyakarta more popular and strengthen its cultural values. Therefore, it can be expected
that the number of visitors will increase, bringing with them economic growth and more opportunities for local residents, including street vendors. However, the experiences of street vendors have differed since their relocation. Although Teras 1 and Teras 2 are cleaner and better arranged, the incomes of vendors have declined by more than 50%. The managers of these sites have already implemented some programmes, such as online promotions, free rent for one year, and halal certificate assistance for food vendors. However, these programmes do not seem to have effectively improved the daily incomes of the relocated vendors. In this research, we found some elements that could be improved.

First, multi-storey buildings such as Teras 1 are less than effective as visitors can find all of their desired wares on the first floor, unless they are looking for food (which is located on the third floor). Secondly, managers should arrange vendors strategically, rather than rely on the luck of the draw, to mitigate the effects on vendors. So far, we have been unable to identify any new programmes or policies to improve vendors' income over the long term. This is important because MSMEs are fundamental for the economy of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, where the inflation rate is 6.49% (BPS, 2023). It is undeniable that, if this condition continues, the poverty rate in Yogyakarta could increase—especially among street vendors. This does not align with Sustainable Development Goal No. 1 and its slogan of "No one left behind." Ultimately, it is important to remember that one of the goals of the world heritage proposal was to strengthen the sustainability value of Yogyakarta's Philosophical Axis.
References


The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.