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Abstract

“Amba gaha yata” gem market in Rathnapura could be described as a local gem market unique to Rathnapura district. The gem market plays an important role in defining the gem city character, local culture, and community wrapped around the gem trade. In the new development ideas, it is questionable whether proper attention is given to the uniqueness of this gem market.

This research paper examines the contribution of this gem market as a ‘place’ defining the unique connection between the ‘local gem trade’ and the ‘city life’. A historical and theoretical study was carried out to understand the importance of this small-scale gem market within the local culture and the community of Rathnapura City. Several factors were identified as contributory, in defining the role of this gem market in Rathnapura city character. A questionnaire is carried out to accumulate information on factors that make this place unique and to understand the community’s attitude towards this local trade market as a place in the city. It was identified that important components like economic significance, accessibility, and physical as well as social connectivity with the local community and the culture have played a major role in the uniqueness of this market.

It is concluded that the future developments related to the ‘gem city image’ of Rathnapura city need to comprehend the importance and uniqueness of this place and its close connection with the community.

Keywords: gem industry, Rathnapura, gem city, small-scale gem market, local gem culture

Introduction

The “Amba gaha yata” (under the Mango tree) gem market has been started in 1977. According to Chandra (2020), it was initiated to facilitate small-scale gem trade. With time the gem market successfully acquired an important place in the gem city image of Rathnapura city.
The gem trade in Sri Lanka dates back to 2500 years when royalty used gems to be given as gifts to other nations. Gem trade has gone through many changes and has developed into what is prevailing today. Rathnapura is considered the center of today’s gem trade and there are two types of gem traders large-scale gem traders and small-scale gem traders.

The ‘Amba gaha yata’ gem market is the home to this small-scale gem trader who actively contributes to both economic development and cultural significance within the city. However, in the new development initiatives, the significance of this unique gem market is less prioritized. Therefore, a study is necessary on the evolution of the ‘Amba gaha yata’ gem market, its connectivity with the surrounding environment and the cultural setting, and factors that make this place unique as a local gem market. This research aims to study and understand the uniqueness of this gem market and its contribution to the city's character.

Accordingly, the below-mentioned research questions were identified and answered in the study.

1. What are the implications of this gem market as a place for small-scale gem trading?
2. What is the connectivity between the local community and the local gem market?
3. What are the important historical, physical, socio-economic, and cultural aspects that contribute to the uniqueness of this place?
4. How do those values of this place with the city character contribute to the gem industry and related future developments?

This study investigates the backgrounds and relevant reasons to answer the above questions with the following objectives.

- To identify the significance of the role of this gem market as a place and its contribution to the gem city character of Rathnapura city.
- To analyze the connectivity the local community has with the gem market and the unique aspects of this gem market in the city character.
- To appraise the contribution of the historical, economic, and architectural value of the market as a unique place in the city's character.

2.0 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Concept of Place

According to Feng et al. (2022), human–land relationships have become an increasingly important focus in society, especially in terms of the deep-rooted emotional ties between people and places. As Dovey (2020) mentions, the concept of ‘place’ is deeply ambiguous and embodies tensions between vastly different approaches in research and practice. Yet it is also a concept with a deep potency in everyday experience. Therefore, Place capitalizes on a local community’s assets, inspiration, and potential, to create public spaces that improve urban vitality and promote people’s health, happiness, and well-being. Sepe and Pitt (2014) reiterate that it concerns the connections between people and places, movement and urban form, nature, and the built fabric.

As Fortuzzi (2017) states, placemaking is an approach to designing and planning public spaces, including their management. The idea of placemaking is revolutionary because of its approach to urban issues which opens up new possibilities for participatory design. The focus of the practice is on the place and, consequently on the community that uses and lives in it because public space symbolizes the “connective tissue” of communities. As Dayaratne(2016) presents, says, architecture involves creating places for people. Thus the reciprocal relationships between people
and places are fundamental to design. This phenomenon is rudimentary for long-term acceptance and the existence of public places.

2.2 Open Markets as Places
Morales (2009) reiterates that public markets were once essential parts of the cityscape. Markets can help achieve a variety of goals including place-making, employment, and entrepreneurship. Ekomadyo (2019) states that the public market is a phenomenon that shows how socio-cultural relationships are constructed through economic activities.

Accordingly, a theoretical framework was developed to analyze the role of this place in Rathnapura city's character, its connectivity to the community, and its potential to uplift the small-scale gem trade (Fig 1).

![Conceptual framework for the analysis in the study](source: Author)

Theoretical studies explore the origination and evolution of the small-scale gem market in Rathnapura as a place for small-scale gem merchants and how it became a landmark in the city's character. Economic and historical significance, community concerns, and contribution to the local gem trade are considered as main aspects.

3.0 Literature Review
3.1 Historical Background of Small–Scale Gem Market in Rathnapura
According to Herath (1984), the Sri Lankan gem trading history dates back to 2500 years. Gem trading has been deeply tied to the economy since ancient times. Many foreign writers and travelers like Plini, Hyuthsan, and Iban Battuta wrote about Sri Lankan gems. Larif (2008) points out that Ibn Batuta in 1344 described Sri Lankan gems as very beautiful and valuable. In history, gem trading was mainly performed in the form of gifting to other nations to strengthen international relationships.

After colonization, gem trading was under Middle Eastern traders. They were living by the southern coast and traveled to Rathnapura to buy gems from locals and then sold them to Arabian ships. As Chandra (2020) stated, in 1977 with the start of open economy strategies, foreigners from China and Thailand came to Sri Lanka to buy gems. This new wave created an interest in gem trading and paved the path for emerging large-scale gem traders in Sri Lanka. While these large-scale gem sellers built their buildings along the streets in the area now named a new town to start gem trading, a set of small-scale gem traders emerged within the local community. These small-scale gem traders were the traders who were not interested or did not have enough economic strength to own a building. As Prim (2019) reveals these small-scale gem traders together started
the local open gem market at the city centers of Rathnapura. Since this market was started under the shade of a mango tree it was named “Amba gaha yata.”

3.2 Proposed development plans for Ratnapura city

According to the Ratnapura Development Plan 2021-2030 (UDA, 2021), Ratnapura City is to be developed as a ‘dual city’ based on a previously proposed plan from 1980-2015 to create disaster-free settlements. Two city nodes, an old town, and a new town have been proposed. These two nodes are located 5 km apart and two nodes have their distinct roles.

The existing town center (old city) focuses on the gem industry and economy whilst the new city node (new town) is to be developed as the administrative center. As mentioned in the Ratnapura Development Plan 2021-2030 (UDA,2021.pp 70-92) many development projects have been proposed to develop residential facilities, education, transportation, and health services while mitigating floods and traffic conditions. It further states (UDA, 2021. pp 116-121) that the economic development of the city is mainly based on the gem industry and related businesses. Many proposals including luxury boutiques, demonstration spaces, rating areas, and tool shops extended market spaces have been proposed to uplift the gem industry.

Redevelopment projects focusing on streets like Main Street, Shaviya Road, and Demuwawatha Street have been included in the development plan as proposals to develop the gem industry. Not much attention is given to the development of the “Amba gaha yata” gem market in the development plan.

There are many relevant examples from Southeast Asian countries that have similar characteristics to the “Amba gaha yata” gem market. Among them, the Chanthaburi gem market in Thailand stands out as it shares many similarities with the local gem market in Ratnapura. These examples could be used as precedence studies when proposing projects to develop the local gem market.

3.3 Chanthaburi gem market – Thailand.

The ‘Chanthaburi gem market’ (Talad Ploy) in Thailand is one of the biggest gem markets in the world (Fig.2). The reason for choosing this gem market as a precedence study is that the scale is very similar to the local gem market. Shor (2013) describes that this market spreads over the area named Gems Road. The Gems Road refers to the ‘Si Chan Road and side streets of ‘Soi Krachang’ and ‘Soi Kra Chang’. Sellers set up makeshift stalls along the pavement to display their gems.
There’s a large building where about 100 gem buyers from different countries can reserve a place for themselves while others position themselves along pavements. Unninayar (2019) reveals that behind the main gem market area dozens of burners can be found. They are the people who heat and apply different treatments to gems to improve quality. This market is functioning relatively less on weekdays and springs to life on weekends. The market opens at 10.00 am and operates till about 3.00 pm. According to Zheng (2019), there are festivals organized by the Gem and Jewelry Institute of Thailand to reinforce the city’s reputation as a gem city and for the city to be further recognized on the international stage. As Unninayar (2019) reveals there are street food vendors to supply food for traders, and sellers that sell small Buddha statues and other ornaments within the gem market for tourists. Hence, this local gem market in Ratnapura seems to have a special place in the urban setting, to strengthen the city’s attraction and economy.

4.0 Research Methodology

This research focused on a comprehensive study of the 'Amba gaha yata' market and its contribution to the uniqueness of the city's character. The aim was to understand the human perception of the gem market and its connection with the immediate environment. The study was carried out in two main research steps.

Firstly, the market and its surroundings were observed based on various factors such as their location, accessibility, connectivity, movement, and contribution to the city's character. This analysis was done using secondary sources such as journal articles, library catalogs, professional websites, and discussions along with personal observations.

Secondly, as the research was related to traders and the local community, data was collected through human perception, observations, and questionnaires. A simple questionnaire was used to collect data from a sample of 25 traders and random people from the surrounding area. The questionnaire had structured questions related to traders, buyers, price ranges, infrastructure, and transport facilities.

5.0 Findings and Discussion.

5.1 Findings from the questionnaire

The questionnaire was mainly based on traders’ experience, traders’ preferences, buyers’ preferences, types of gems and their prices, and the local community’s opinion on the gem market. (Table 1).

According to the data collected from the traders, about 68% of them are well-experienced traders who have traded here for about 5 years to more than 10 years. 60% of the traders are males of age around 40 – 55 years and there is a minority of 8% of the younger generation of traders of age about 24 years and below who just started their career as gem traders.

30.7% of the gem traders are residents living in the closer proximity of 6km to 10 km from the city center. A minority of 4% represents traders who travel to Rathnapura to participate in gem trading from areas more than 20 km away.

When considering data collected from the buyers 40% are from a closer proximity of 6km to 10km away from the city center and 24% travel about 20 km and more than 20 km to reach the “Amba gaha yata” gem market. 92% of the buyers are local buyers while 8% represent foreign buyers who visit Sri Lanka in search of Rubies and Blue sapphires. Since the survey was done during the COVID-19 pandemic (2020, March) spreading in China, Thailand, and Japan, the presence of foreign buyers was at a low level compared to other years.

32% of the gems sold here in the small-scale gem market price from Rs.1100 to Rs.25000. According to sellers at ‘Amba gaha data’ gem market, gemstones with higher price values tend to go to the larger scale gem market rather than circulating within the small scale gem market.
The identity of the gem market is affected by the social and economic groups involved. The price levels of gems circulating within the gem market are a good indication of the social and economic groups involved as well as the quality of the gem market.

Data collected through the table gives a clear insight into the people who engage mostly with the gem market. Their age levels, economic level, and choice of techniques used are quite different from what is prevailing in the large-scale gem market existing in Rathnapura city. According to data collected mostly the older generation and low-income traders trade here while the younger generation moves away from this traditional gem market due to the lack of facilities and unavailability of modern technology. The crowd attracted to this market also plays a significant role in defining the uniqueness of this gem market.

The “Amba gaha yata” gem market is a significant feature in the gem city character of Rathnapura city. Key findings of this research show that this gem market has a unique identity as

Table 1: Information gathered through the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>characteristics</th>
<th>frequency of people distributed over categories</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>characteristics</th>
<th>frequency of people distributed over categories</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>About traders (25 traders)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>About buyers (2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age distribution less than 25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>Distance travelled to arrive at market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1km – 5km</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 – 55</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>6km – 10km</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10km – 20km</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1km – 5km</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6km – 10km</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>Type of buyers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10km – 20km</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Price range (Rs. 5000 - 10000)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 4 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>Rs. 11000 - 25000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 10 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>Rs. 26000 - 50000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>Rs. 56000 - 10000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best trading hours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preferred market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6.00 am – 8.00 am</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>More than 50000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.00 am – 10.00 am</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>Preferred market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.00 am – 12.00 pm</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>Small scale gem market</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 12.00 pm</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>Larger scale gem market</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>characteristics</th>
<th>frequency of people distributed over categories</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>characteristics</th>
<th>frequency of people distributed over categories</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location Easy to access</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can be improved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enough facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preferred quality of the gem market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>Exterior</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
it closely connects with the city culture and the local community. This gem market plays a significant role in both the economy of the city as well as its identity. This place has to be developed with facilities necessitated. Prevailing facilities are not sufficient to cater to the problems the traders and buyers presently face. Hence this place should be developed in a way the youth get attracted.

5.2 ‘Amba Gaha Yata’ Gem Market Today
‘Amba gaha yata’ gem market is a significant phenomenon that happens every weekday in the city center of Rathnapura city. Because of the gem market, there is a constant flow of visitors in and out of the city daily.

5.2.1 Location
The local gem market is a dynamic marketplace that spreads across several streets of Rathnapura city. The market begins near the clock tower the central point of the city, and stretches along the main street and Frank Hettiarchachi road and concludes at ‘Amba gaha yata’, a triangular piece of land at the city center of the old Rathnapura city (Fig 3).

![Fig 3: Macro context of the ‘Amba Gaha Yata’ Gem Market](source: Author)

5.2.2 Accessibility and Connectivity:
The ‘Amba gaha yata’ gem market premise could be easily accessed due to its location. The market is situated at the center of the street network of Rathnapura city. It is open to the main street from the northern side, Zavia Road from the western side, and the Colombo – Batticoloa highway from the eastern side of the site. Furthermore, it is located closer to the town hall bus stop where anybody traveling by bus can take the 99/314 Meegahakiula bus from the main bus stand and reach the market without any confusion (Fig.4).
5.2.3 Movement of the Market During the Day:

As Rathnapura's small-scale gem market is dynamic. It starts from the clock tower and gradually shifts towards the Ambagaha yata’ with time. Traders and buyers change their marketing spots along the main street and Frank Hettiarachchi road and gradually move to ‘Amba Gaha data ’ by the afternoon and proceed with their business around this area till the closing time. (Fig.5).

5.2.4 Safety and Security

According to Dhanushka (2021), the safety and security inside the gem market are at a considerably better level. Robberies happen as very rare cases within the gem market. As Dhanushka(2021) reveals there could be scammers with synthetic gems aiming at novice gem buyers and foreigners. Gem traders with less experience get scammed by these scammers.
5.2.5 Situation During the Rainy Season

As mentioned in the Rathnapura development plan (2018 – 2030, pp.86, 223), Rathnapura city receives an average rainfall of 312 mm per annum and has a high risk of flooding. The months of May, June, and October record the highest rainfall, and flood levels may reach up to 80 ft.MSL (Fig.6).

Fig 6: monthly rainfall of Rathnapura
Source: Urban Development Plan Rathnapura 2018 – 2030

The market fails to function properly with available facilities on rainy days (Fig.7).

Fig 7: ‘Amba gaha yata’ gem market on a rainy day
Source: Wijesundara

5.2.6 Traders/ Dealers of the Place

As Abeyrathna (2020) reveals Small-scale traders do not own a shop to carry out their business due to various reasons. Some prefer this open market because of the higher flow of gem buyers and some simply because they do not have enough income to maintain a shop. The monthly payment traders owe to pay to reserve a spot in the open market is more convenient for them.
According to the Urban Development Plan for Rathnapura (2018-2030, p.69), among small-scale gem traders, 25% of the traders are from the Rathnapura area. Other 75% of the traders are from close by towns like Eheliyagoda, Elapatha, Palawela, and Kuruwita. (Fig. 8).

![Gem trade diagram](image)

Fig. 8: Percentage of gem traders according to their residence  
Source: Rathnapura Urban Development Plan 2018 – 2030

5.3 Connectivity between the Local Community and the Gem Market

Since the gem market is in the middle of the city, the majority of people who travel to Rathnapura come in contact with the market at least once on a journey. For residents, it is a common day-to-day happening. The gem market affects the local community in different ways.

As Aberathna (2020) reveals gem market is a place where many job opportunities emerge. But the younger generation shows less interest in them due to lack of facilities and lack of modern technology. Other than gem selling there are many job opportunities related to this gem market like selling the tools needed for gem sellers, repairing them, and maintaining the market space.

According to Chandra (2020) negative side of how the gem market interferes with the immediate surroundings is the major issue recognized in both vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Since the gem traders are trading along the pavements of Main Street and Zuviya Road people tend to walk on the road causing trouble for drivers. Due to blocked streets by passengers, the vehicles are forced to drive slowly building up traffic.

As Dhanushka (2021) mentions, the safety of both traders and buyers is a major concern. Since the gem market is always at a higher risk of security the insecure environment makes it prone to robbery and scamming. These personnel who are engaged in robberies and scamming decrease the security level of the entire Rathnapura city causing people to be on high alert every time. And this may limit the freedom of one’s life.

5.4 Contribution of the ‘Amba Gaha Yata‘ Gem Market to the City Character

Buildings in Rathnapura city are densely placed and compact towards the city center and gradually become less crowded towards the city borders. Old buildings in the area follow their architectural features which showcase the era they belong to. Newer buildings in the city center are mostly commercial buildings with a maximum of four to five floors. Residential buildings in the suburbs are either two-story or single-story buildings. Older buildings within the city center and in suburbs have tiled roofs while recently built buildings have asbestos sheet roofs or flat roofs. The city character is very monotonous with commercial buildings that follow similar architectural characteristics (Fig 9).
“Amba gaha yata’ gem market plays a major role in breaking down this repetitious city character which is observed in many cities of Sri Lanka. Makeshift stalls and movement of the market along the streets of the city throughout the day create a lively environment in the city center. ‘Amba gaha yata’ gem market adds a lively character to the tedious city life creating a city with dynamic city character. (Fig.10).

5.5 Impact on City Character and the Community

This market plays a major role in maintaining many aspects contributing to the significance of the city character. There is positive as well as negative impacts of this gem market.

Positive impacts

- Maintaining the income – The income of Rathnapura city majorly derives from the gem industry. Out of that the income of small scale gem traders entirely depends on this ‘Amba Gaha Yata’ gem market.
- Emergence of new job opportunities - ‘Amba Gaha Yata’ gem market is a place where new job opportunities arise every day. Anyone with the intention of starting their career as a gem trader can freely access this gem market as the starting point of their career. It is capable enough to provide the beginner skills and experiences needed.
- Creating a gateway to the international gem market – This gem market attracts experienced international gem traders as well as tourists looking for local gems. This is a great opportunity for local small-scale gem traders to develop connections with the international gem market.
Negative impacts

- Lack of facilities – This small-scale gem market lacks even the basic facilities like places for the traders to place their items, and shades to protect them from harsh weather. Most of the traders deal along the pavements and seek shade along the entrances of shops. This creates a clash between traders, pedestrians, and shop owners.
- Lack of sanitary facilities – During the operation hours of the gem market, there’s a constant flow of people into the city. There are no sufficient sanitary facilities provided for their use.
- Poor storm water management – Rathnapura is a city which is affected by floods very often. Yet there is no proper mitigation plan implemented to manage these floods. Gem market premises are also among the areas that get flooded easily. This makes both traders and buyers face difficulties during rainy seasons.
- Generation of traffic – As gem traders and buyers spread all over the roads including Zaviya Road, Frank Hettiarachchi Road, Main Street, and Demuwawatha Road most of the time vehicles have to slow down generating traffic. This traffic gets worse during school hours like 7.00 am – 7.30 am and 1.30 pm – 2.00 pm.

There are a handful of instances where this gem market positively impacts on the income and the community of Rathnapura city. Those features should be enhanced in a way that the community is getting the maximum benefit out of it. Local authorities planning development programs for Rathnapura city should pay more attention to further improve factors that lead to positive impacts.

There are several instances where this gem market disturbs the community. Those issues are mainly due to underdeveloped facilities. These drawbacks hinder many opportunities including international recognition. Responsible authorities should pay more attention to rectifying negative ones in new development proposals.

6.0 Conclusion

This study on the development trends of the small-scale gem trade in Rathnapura was carried out with the primary objective of identifying the significance of this gem market as a ‘place’ as well as a place for a community of small-scale gem businesses in Rathnapura’. The analysis and reoffered literature, show that this gem market plays an important role in the gem city image of Rathnapura. Factors such as economic importance, accessibility, and connectivity with the local community and the culture have played a major role in the significance of this market in its urban context.

It was found that the gem market operates daily before noon and this place plays a major role in the income of small-scale gem traders. The study shows that this gem market plays an important role in maintaining the city’s image and also this place affects both positively and negatively on Rathnapura residents’ lives. Also, as this market is a significant place in Rathnapura, preserving the unique character of this place should be a major concern. It has a considerable impact, a market effect of influence on the city character.

This is a place that has the potential to be developed as a place popular for both local and foreign tourists to visit and see as a special place in the city. Developing the gem market to a more visitor-friendly site will attract more visitors while promoting the small-scale gem trade at the international level. These types of places are used for tourism around the world. Several examples in the Asian context can be used as precedence studies when planning development plans.
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