

收稿时间 / Received Date | 中图分类号 / TU982.3/7
2014-05-10 | 文献标识码 / B

社会架构与空间序列

——曼谷班库瓦社区

Social Fabric and Spatial Permutation

— Ban Krua, Bangkok

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摘要 ……

曼谷的班库瓦社区位于邻近国家体育场的塞桑运河沿岸。该社区因成功抵制政府计划修建横穿其中的高速公路，而在国际上引起反响。一系列学术研究将他们之前的成功或归功于社区凝聚力推动下的非暴力不合作策略，或追溯至社区与泰国军方和当局高级官员之间的渊源。但我们感兴趣的是维系这一非凡凝聚力的存在于社会架构之间的动态关系，以及由社区所催生并存在于其中的空间。建筑可以是自生自长的，并且通常会随时间发生变化。在城市尺度上，社区中狭窄的巷道网络是家庭空间的直接延伸——社区层面上的连通性以及由其所触发的城市层面上的隔离性二者间的动态变化，共同塑造着这一连续的空间序列。

关键词 ……

社会与空间结构；城市与本地关联性；非正规都市主义；共享空间；边缘化社区

Abstract …

The community of Ban Krua has come to global attention through their successful resistance against a government proposal for a motorway that would have cut through their community on the banks of the Saen Saeb canal near Bangkok's National Stadium. While academic studies attribute their erstwhile success either to the tactics of non-violent resistance sustained by community cohesion or to the communities' longstanding ties with senior officials in the Thai military and bureaucracy, we were interested in the dynamic interrelationships between the social fabric that sustains this remarkable level of cohesion, and the spaces produced and inhabited by the community. Buildings are sometimes self-constructed and usually transformed over time; at the urban scale of the community the network of narrow alleyways is a direct extension of domestic space, subject to continuous permutation through dynamic processes of local connections triggering disconnection at urban level and vice versa.

Key words …

Social and Spatial Structure; Urban and Local Connectivity; Informal Urbanism; Shared Space; Marginal Communities



班库瓦充满了对比。徜徉于塞桑运河的游客经常会将其误认为是边缘人群居住的贫民窟，是一处在快速现代化和全球化进程中被遗忘的角落。对于参观由丝绸实业家吉姆·汤普森迁往运河对岸并重新整合的泰国房屋的游客来说，班库瓦是一个由柬埔寨占族穆斯林移民组成的丝绸纺织社区，他们曾在20世纪五六十年代参与手工丝绸布料的生产。那段经济繁荣的岁月已是过眼云烟，大部分丝绸纺织厂已经倒闭或迁离城市，如今只有两家仍在运作。

政治学者将班库瓦社区看作是一个成功对抗基础设施项目的民间草根组织的实例。1988年政府决定修建一个能将班库瓦一分为二的高速路出口坡道，社区组织了非暴力抗议和象征性的公共行动，并不断巡视他们的领地，以防止政府实行先前用于打击民间抵抗的纵火袭击。一系列抵制运动最终在1993年取得成功，以当局取消这一计划告终。一些政治学者称，这一胜利的背后不仅是草根运动，也存在社区与泰国军方和当局高级官员之间的渊源。

作为建筑师和城市规划者，我们感兴趣的是一个表现出如此惊人凝聚力的社区的社会结构，以及其所产生并不断重塑的公共、共享和私人空间。我们在班库瓦

社区的实地调研，是一个关注由非同步发展、在绿化与集中化相互作用下形成的城市空间的系列研究的一环。此前，这一项目对贾巴尔奥利雅——一个位于约旦阿曼的巴勒斯坦难民营进行过研究。目前，对孟买和智利圣地亚哥的研究正在计划当中。2014年2月，我和亚历山德鲁·马来斯库受泰国国立朱拉隆功大学建筑设计国际项目之邀，与11名在读学生及两名毕业生（格蕾丝·莎菲塔·茱安娜特拉德、托普·特西迫·特纳博柴）组成团队，对班库瓦进行研究。

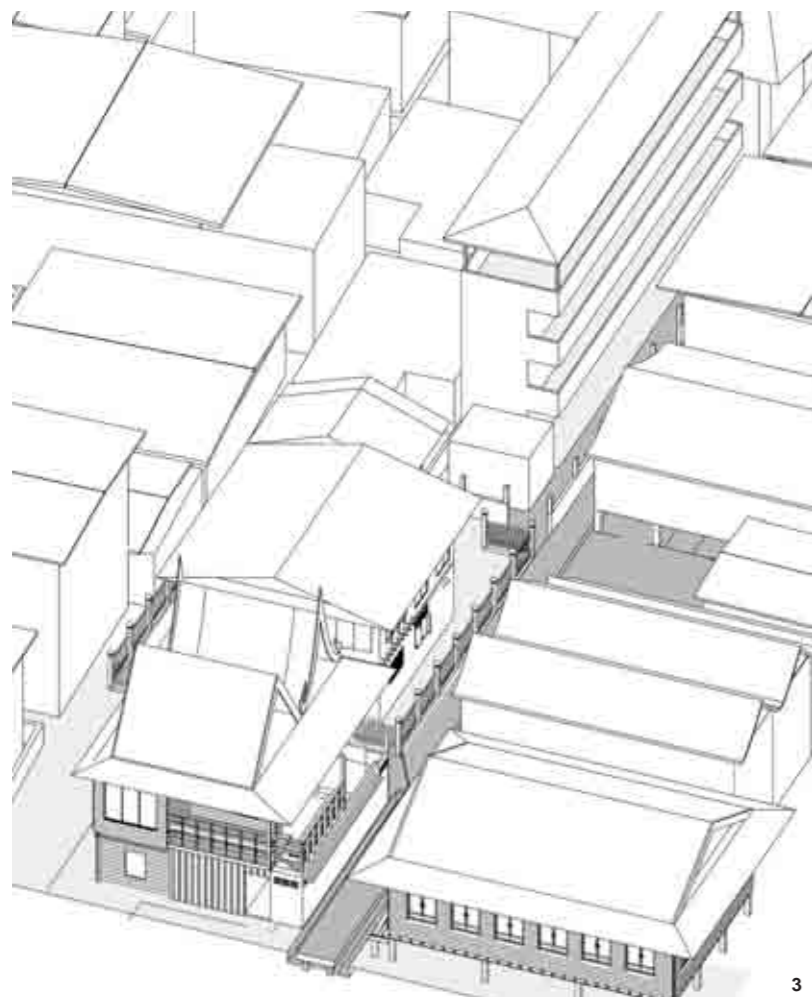
班库瓦社区展现了社会与空间结构之间的多层面的类比和多尺度的相互影响。建筑理论学家罗宾·埃文斯对涵盖了西方建筑史的一系列类比做出了描述。埃文斯曾将安东尼奥·达·桑加罗与拉斐尔·桑西对玛达玛庄园的规划（1518）与拉斐尔的画作《圣家族》（1514）进行了类比。规划中勾勒出相互连通的房间矩阵，访客和住客会穿过阵列般的房间。最大化的连通性和私密性的缺失在《圣家族》中亦有所体现，画中人物饱含深情的相视并有着肢体接触。埃文斯的另一组类比，是威廉·莫里斯位于贝克斯利希斯的红房子（1859）和画作《美丽的伊索尔德》

（1858），规划中一系列房间通过走廊连接，而绘画中一个男人和一个女人相互远离。画作中描绘了对于私密性的渴望，而在规划中则通过走廊实现。埃文斯认为，建筑设计是对“人性关系的本质”进行描述。班库瓦社区并非经由规划师之手而形成，人们看到的居住画面亦未被精心编排。如果说，罗宾·埃文斯所评述的艺术家和建筑师们是他们那个时代和社会表达自我的媒介，那么班库瓦社区则与此形成鲜明对比——它是一个大型的自我规划与自我组建的建筑群体，是一个由邻里间点滴协商而催生的城市法则。

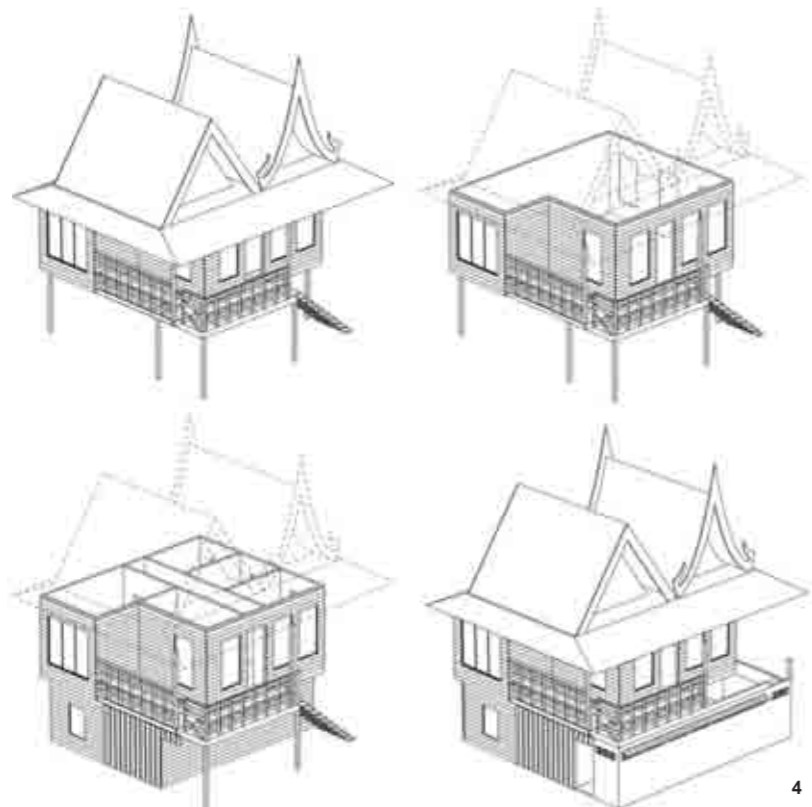
这里展示了班库瓦社区中位于塞桑运河和达鲁法拉清真寺之间的一段空间序列的平面布局。在50m长的空间内，包括沿着小巷布置的三个建筑单体。首先是一处随着时间被不断改造的传统泰式房屋；其后方是一处用围栏围合的富有丝绸纺织者的住宅；住宅后方是一栋新建的高层公寓建筑。建造之初，这栋泰式房屋的底层是向四周开敞的，建筑的二层由通透的表皮所围合，其内部均设有用于分隔空间的隔板。当政府沿河道安装了水闸后，这一区域周期性的地表洪涝消失了。泰式房屋的主人因而将曾经用于烹饪、就餐的底层



1. 班库瓦社区鸟瞰图
2. 班库瓦社区在曼谷市的位置
1. Bird's eye view of Ban Krua
2. Ground map of Ban Krua in the context of Bangkok.



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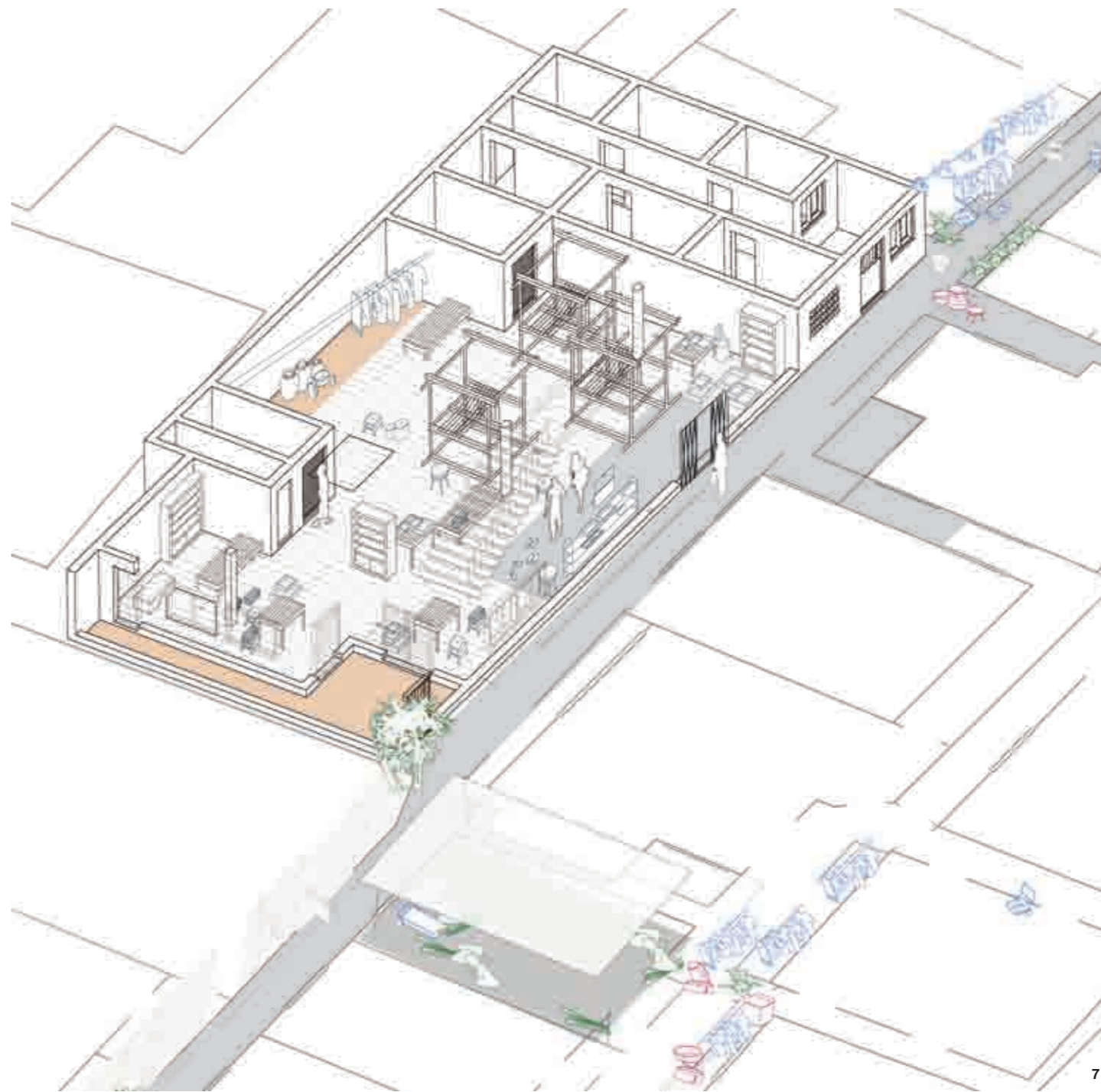


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3. 沿巷道布置的被改造的泰式房屋、由围栏围合的富有的丝绸纺织者住宅、一栋新建公寓
4. 传统泰式房屋的阶段性转变
5. 项目团队在班库瓦社区调研
6. 社区一座留存的丝绸纺织作坊的楼梯
7. 丝绸纺织作坊的首层布局（图中楼梯部分实景图见图6）
3. A soi (alleyway) with a transformed Thai house, the fenced in home of a wealthy silk-weaver and a new apartment building
4. The phased transformation of a traditional Thai house
5. Ban Krua field research
6. Staircase in the house of a remaining silk workshop
7. The ground level of the silk workshop building (the picture of the stairs in this drawing shown as Figure 6)

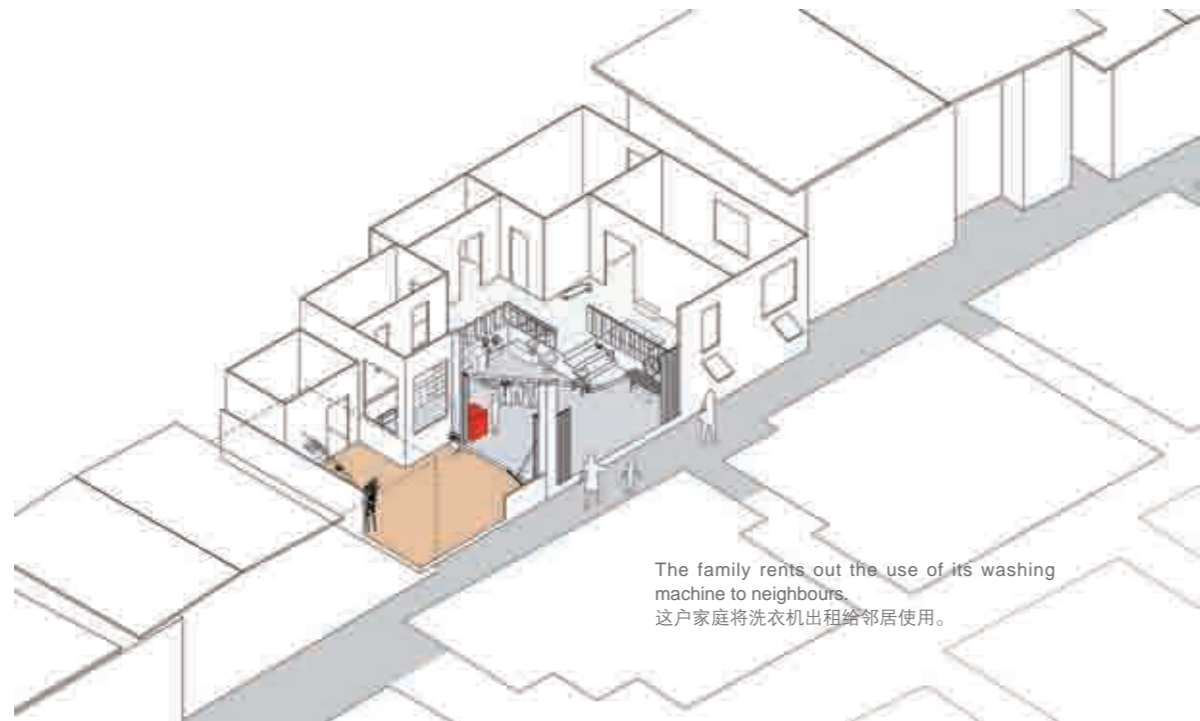


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开放空间围合起来：起初是木板墙，之后又增加了由混凝土砖修建的卫生间。而二层空间也随后用板墙划分，以出租给不同家庭。泰式建筑所显现的逐渐增加的围合度，也在丝绸纺织者宅邸的围栅建造上得以体现——他们逐渐将原本开敞的传统泰式“巷道”转变成“廊道”。而位于这一

空间序列末端的公寓建筑则与廊道之间形成有序的连接——廊道为处在三个不同楼层的一系列独立公寓提供了出入口。在这些住宅依然清晰可见的长年演变的痕迹中，我们可以看到“巷道”作为记录着曼谷空间与社会间相互关系的不同案例的目录，这些案例发生在不同层面且具有不同

的表现方式。
值得注意的是，这些存在着强烈对比的建筑空间的演变，仍保持着高度的城市连贯性。由于所有的变化都是基于对共同主题的强调——巷道与房屋间的各层边界——所以当人们走在巷道中时感知到的是整体空间而非割裂的空间碎片：传统泰



The family rents out the use of its washing machine to neighbours.
这户家庭将洗衣机出租给邻居使用。

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式建筑通过在地面层建立的经处理的砖墙而清晰地划分出界限；丝绸纺织者宅邸则通过铁质围栏得到区分；而较新的公寓房屋则是通过各种墙体、围栅和滑动板进行区分。班库瓦社区的其他住户采用木墙、波纹金属板、矮木栏，有时甚至仅用晾衣绳或放在巷道边上的容器进行着空间划分。这些不同划分方式强调的共同主题是遮挡——它在非常紧凑的空间中实现了私密性，同时为穿行于狭窄的巷道之中提供连贯的体验。在班库瓦社区没有特别大型的房屋，这增强了社区空间的整体性。富有的大家族常常居住在由几栋建筑形成的建筑组团中，而非独栋的大型建筑里。社区留存的一座丝绸纺织作坊是班库瓦最大的几栋房屋之一。其通过强调建筑表皮，从而与巷道系统的韵律相呼应：内进“玄关”在大部分时间都是面向巷道敞开的，因而通风良好并可从巷道对其窥视；但亦可以通过关上铁门而形成封闭空间。大量的开敞空间能够避免巷道成为夹在空白墙壁之间的走廊。在相邻的一条巷道中，一户人家甚至在他们的起居室中开放了一台面向社区的收费洗衣机——这一改造将房

间变成了巷道的延伸，同时又通过升高平台的方式使一些区域获得更多的私密性。从社区的首层平面图来看，班库瓦是由一系列排列紧凑的独立空间组成的房屋矩阵。房屋之间的空隙会变成公共巷道、死胡同或是不对公共开放的封闭空隙。而诺利式平面（用黑白灰标记空间属性的平面）则显示了班库瓦社区中的私人住宅（黑色色块）、共享通道空间（空白）以及模糊空间（灰色色块）的空间位置。其中过渡空间（灰色）包括那些在公共通道中用门隔开的空间，或是房屋间的非通道间隙空间。社区交通空间的动态适应性变化，促使我们绘制了班库瓦独特的可达性与动线图。局部联通性的变化触发了城市动线的分割或连接，反之亦然：铁门或一系列更模糊的软性边界的加建与转变，使巷道经历着公共化与私密化的交互过程，从而形成社区中不断变化的动线。本应笔直的巷道蜿蜒伸展，从中便可窥见这种集体协商的痕迹。所有的巷道都非常狭窄，即使是那些用作主要道路的巷道也被周边住户所占用并被用于储藏日常用品。因此，连接与割裂永远不是黑白分明的，

而会随着时间相互转换——这一动态特性在那些空间边界被更严格划定的居住形态中很难或者根本无法实现。

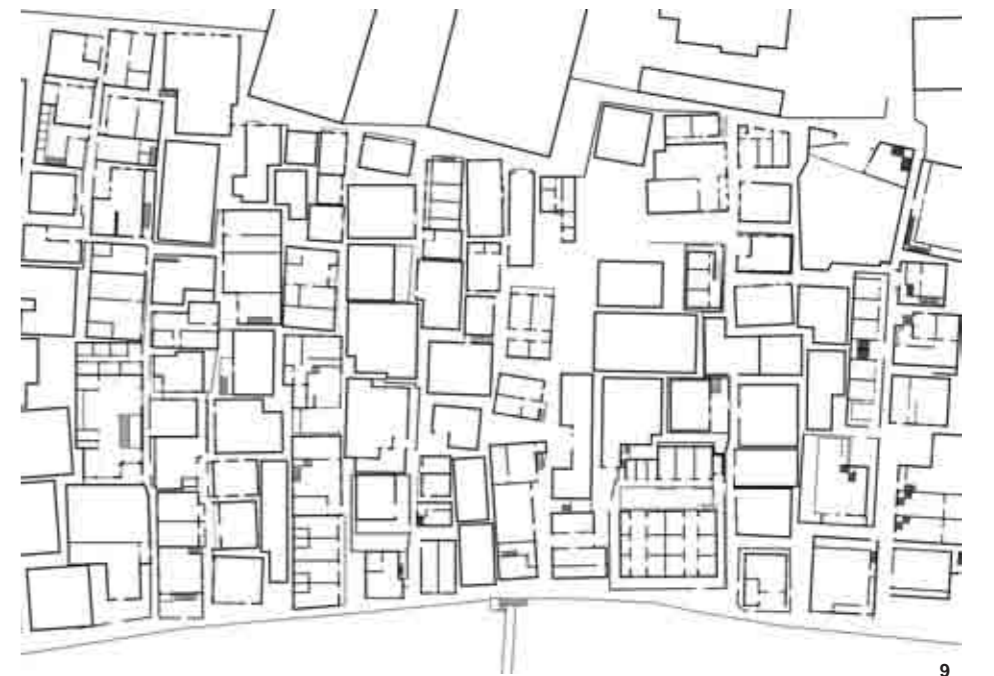
对居民的走访显示出当地人对班库瓦空间的高度满意和欣赏；即使是那些能够在别的地方住得起更大房子的人也对这里的集体性和社区凝聚力情有独钟。班库瓦是否能进一步提供一种“发展”的替代性模式呢？其空间反映了一个“边缘社区”独特的结构和文化：它们通过宗教信仰与共同的历史与“主流社会”相分离；他们抵制线性的改变，甚至是向其他社会文化背景和发展机制的转变。通过这一研究项目，我们从复杂和丰富的社会—空间相互作用中有所感悟，亦认识到班库瓦在适应过程中保持其凝聚力的能力。LAF

8. 开放了面向社区的收费洗衣机的一户人家
9. 班库瓦社区首层平面图
10. 班库瓦社区诺利式平面图
8. Home of a family that rents out use of its washing machine to neighbors
9. Ground floor plan of Ban Krua
10. Nolli plan of Ban Krua

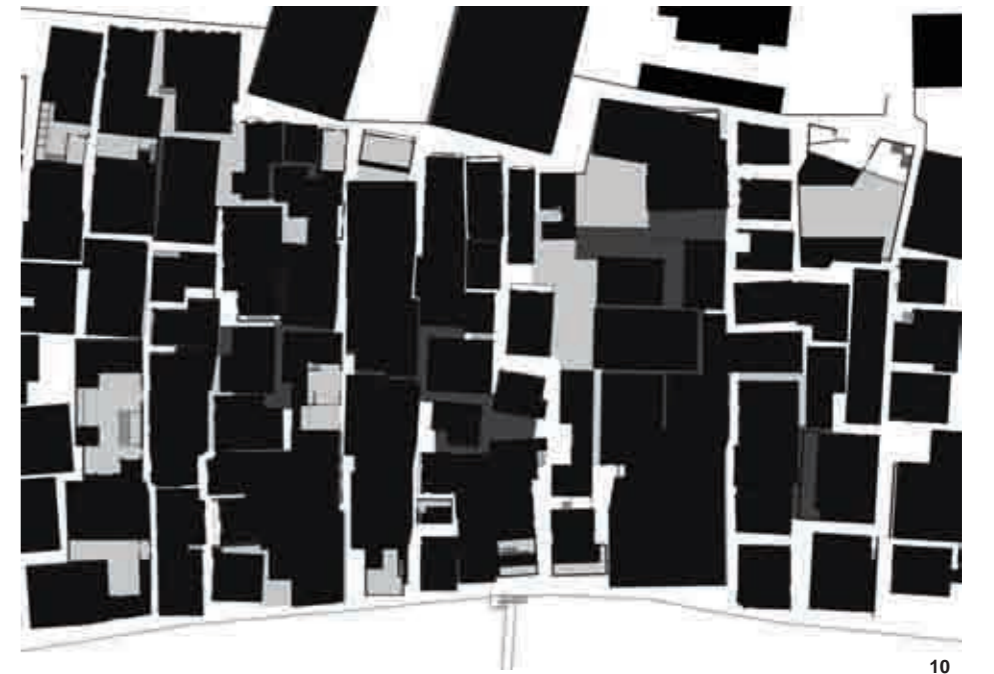
Ban Krua is defined by contrasts. Tourists traveling on the San Saeb canal often mistake it for a slum, inhabited by a marginal community passed over by rapid modernization and globalization. To the visitors of the traditional Thai houses moved across the canal and re-assembled by the silk entrepreneur Jim Thompson, Ban Krua is introduced as a community of Cambodian Cham Muslim silk weavers who supplied hand woven silk cloth in the 1950s and 60s. The economic boom that Ban Krua experienced during this time has passed, most silk weavers have closed or relocated their operations to factories far from the city, and only two workshops remain active today.

Political scientists recognize in Ban Krua an exemplar of successful grass-roots opposition against an infrastructure project. When the government in 1988 decided to build a highway exit ramp bisecting Ban Krua, the community organized nonviolent protests, symbolic public actions, and patrolled their spaces to guard against arson attacks, which had previously been used to break resistance. Erstwhile success came in 1993 as the authorities abandoned their plans. Some political scientists argue that this triumph not solely is one of the grass-roots campaign, but also of the communities' longstanding ties with senior members of the Thai military and bureaucracy.

As architects and urbanists, we are interested in the relationship between the social structure of a community which has demonstrated such remarkable cohesion, and the public, shared, and private spaces that it produces and continuously remakes. Our field work contributes to a research project on urban spaces resulting from asynchronous development, from interaction between marginalization and concentration. The project previously studied Jabal Al Natheef, a Palestinian refugee camp in Amman, Jordan;



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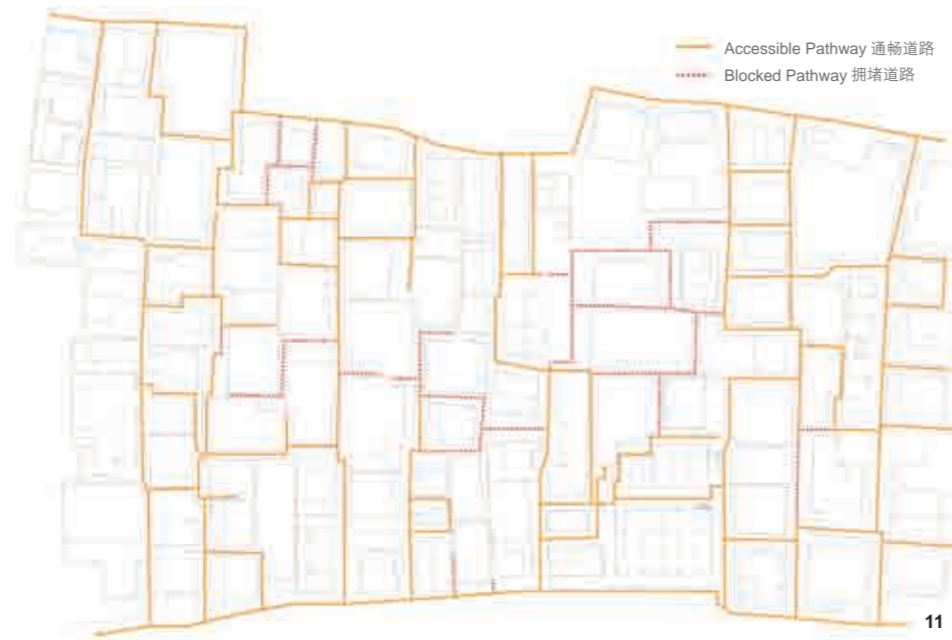


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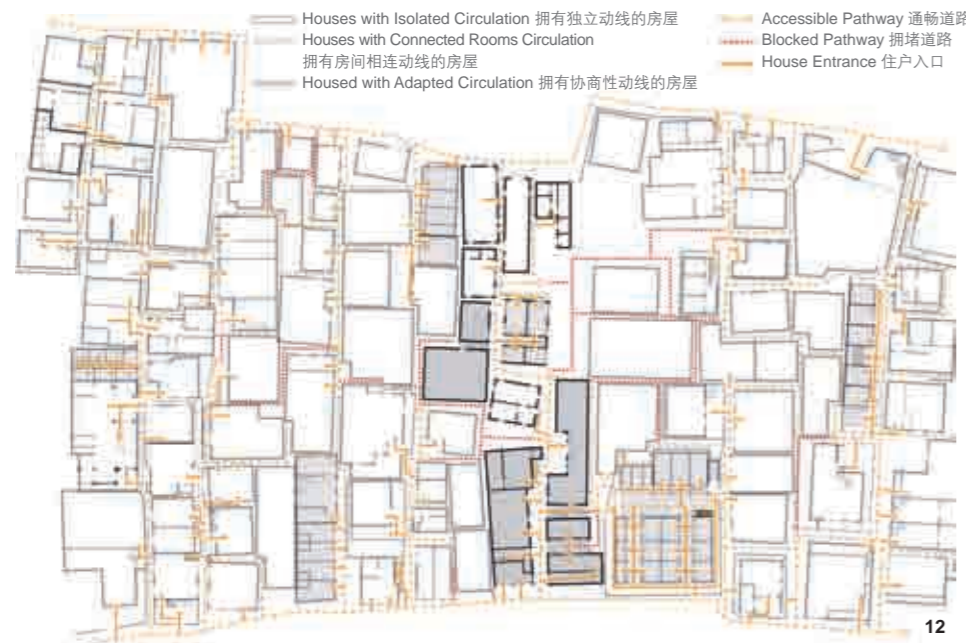
further exploration in Mumbai and Santiago de Chile is planned. Alexandru Malaescu and I were invited by the INDA program at Chulalongkorn University in February 2014 to conduct research on Ban Krua in collaboration with a group of 11 students and two of its recent graduates, Grace Suthata Jiranuntarat and Top Tachapol Tanaboonthai.

Ban Krua suggests multi-layered analogies and multi-scalar interplay between

social and spatial structure. The architectural theorist Robin Evans has described a sequence of analogies spanning the history of Western architecture. Evans paired Antonio da Sangallo's and Raphael Sanzio's plan for the Villa Madama (1518) with Raphael's *Madonna dell'Impannata* (1514). The plan delineates a matrix of interconnected chambers; visitors and inhabitants pass through an enfilade of chambers. The



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maximum of connectivity and absence of privacy is reflected in the depiction of *Madonna dell'Impannata* within a group of people in affectionate eye contact and physically in touch. A second pair, William Morris's Red House at Bexley Heath (1859) along side *La belle Iseult* (1858), delineates in plan a series of rooms connected via a corridor, and in painting a man and a woman turning away from each other. The desire for privacy is depicted in painting and afforded

in plan by the corridor. Evans concludes that the architectural plan describes "the nature of human relationships". Ban Krua's urban plan is not designed, and the scenes of inhabitation one encounters are not choreographed. In contrast to Robin Evans' artists and architects that act as mediums through which the spirit of their era and society expresses itself, Ban Krua is an assemblage of largely self-planned and self-constructed buildings, and an urban disposition produced by incremental

negotiations between neighbors.

The scope of floor plan configurations in Ban Krua is encapsulated in a sequence of three buildings that line the Soi (Thai, alleyway), which links the Saen Saeb canal to Darulfalah Mosque. Within a space of 50 m, a traditional Thai house, converted over time, is followed by the fenced-in residence of a wealthy silk weaver, and then a recently built tall apartment building. The lower floor plan of the Thai house had originally been open to all sides, and the upper floor plan enclosed by a porous envelope, without internal partition on either level. After the authorities had installed floodgates, and periodical flooding of the ground level had ceased, the owners of the Thai house enclosed the ground floor area, previously used for open air cooking and eating, first with timber walls, and then added lavatories built with concrete blocks. The upper level became subdivided to allow spaces to be rented by more than one family. This narrative of increasing enclosure echoes in the fence of the silk weaver's residence, gradually transforming the Soi into a corridor; finally the apartment building provides a logical conclusion, with corridors on three levels providing access to a series of independent studio apartments. As an urban ensemble and through the traces of a historical narrative remaining legible in the Thai house, the Soi embodies a catalogue of differentiated levels and varied articulations of spatial and social interconnection.

Remarkably, these quence of contrasting buildings maintains a high degree of urban coherence. As one walks along the Soi, the experience is that of an ensemble, and not one of fragmentation, as all variations are based on a shared theme, the articulation of layered boundaries between Soi and house. The Thai house articulates boundaries through the rendered block walls that were added at ground level, the house of the silk weaver

through a metal fence, and the apartment house through a combination of wall, fence, and sliding panels. Other homes in Ban Krua are shielded by walls of timber, corrugated metal, low timber rails, sometimes just by clotheslines, or utensils placed alongside the Soi. For all its differentiation in articulation, this shared theme of screens affording privacy within very tight spaces lends coherence to the experience of traveling through the narrow Sois. This is aided by the fact that none of the houses are very large, as wealthy, large families inhabit groups of houses rather than a single, large building. A remaining silk weaving workshop, one of the largest houses, responds to the rhythm of the Soi through the articulation of its facade, with an open bay that can be closed by a metal gate, but otherwise is open to ventilation and to views in from the alley. The generous opening saves the Soi from becoming a corridor lined by a blank wall. In the neighbouring Soi, a family makes available for a fee a laundry machine in its living room. This trans forms the room into an extension of the Soi, with some areas being afforded more privacy on a raised platform.

Drawn as a continuous ground floor plan, Ban Krua reveals itself as a matrix of freestanding, tightly spaced houses. Each gap between houses might become a public Soi, a

blind alley, or an interstitial space that is gated off from public access. The Nolli plan notates the location of private houses (solids), shared access (voids), and renders in gray shades the ambiguous spaces, such as passages cut off from public circulation by gates, or interstitial space left between houses. This dynamic adaptability of circulation patterns led us to propose distinct diagrams of connectivity, and circulation. Local connections trigger urban disconnection and vice versa, as metal gates or more subtle soft boundaries privatize former Sois and alternate public routes are established. The traces of such collective negotiation remain visible in the offsets of the otherwise linear Soi. All Sois are uniformly narrow, and even those that serve as principal means of access are inhabited by residents and used for storage of household items. Therefore connection and disconnection never is binary, allowing for permutations over time, which would be difficult or impossible to achieve within more rigidly defined boundaries of inhabitation.

Interviews with various residents revealed high levels of satisfaction and appreciation of Ban Krua's spaces; even those who could afford larger homes elsewhere chose to stay for Ban Krua's communality and community cohesion. Could Ban Krua even provide an alternative model for development? As



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- 11. 可达性分析
- 12. 动线分析
- 13. 巷道旁通往二层的楼梯
- 14, 15. 共享空间的使用
- 11. Accessibility analysis
- 12. Circulation analysis
- 13. Staircase to upper level alongside Soi
- 14, 15. Inhabitation of shared spaces

its spaces reflect the very specific structure and culture of a marginal community, set apart from mainstream society by religion and shared history, they resist linear transfer or even translation to other socio-cultural contexts and developmental dynamics. The lessons we learned are from the complex and rich interplay between society and space, and from Ban Krua's ability to adapt while maintaining coherence. LAF



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