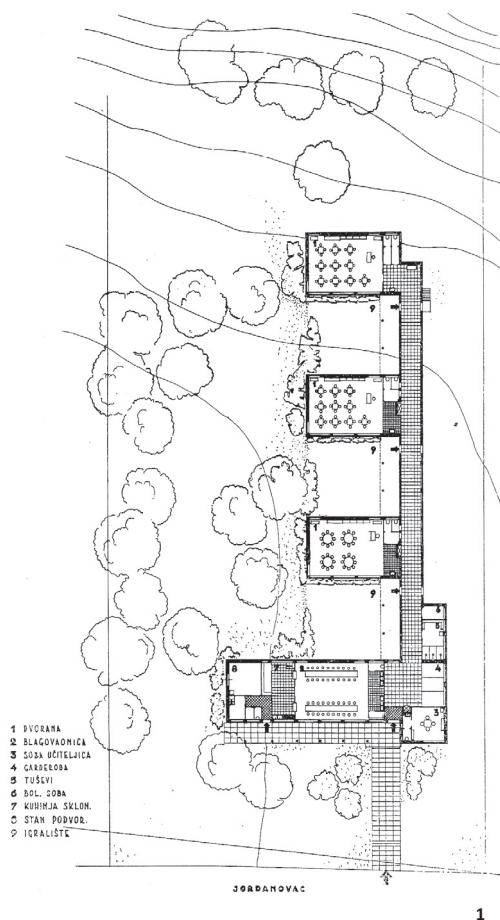


Tri razvojne stopnje arhitekture otroških vrtcev na Hrvaškem

Three Developmental Stages of Kindergarten Architecture in Croatia

Mia Roth Čerina

prevod: Kristina Dešman



Sl. 1: Zavetišče ob šoli Jordanovac, Zagreb, Ivan Zemljak, 1938 (Zemljak, I: *Nova dječja skloništa u Zagrebu*, "Voda i plin" 5, 1939).

Sl. 2: Tipski vrtec za 100 otrok, Boris Magaš, 1962 (Magaš, B: *Tip dječjeg vrtića*, "Arhitektura" 3-4, 1962).

Sl. 3: Tip HV1, Krunoslav Vitanović, 1967 (City of Zagreb Building Department Archives).

Sl. 4: Tip Megas, Mladen Anđel, Radovan Tajder, 1976 (Arhitekturna zbirka Muzej umetnosti in obrti, Zagreb).

Prostorski okvir vrtcev lahko beremo kot odsev kulturnih in socialnih ambicij določene družbe. Torej za medvojno obdobje postavljanja temeljev in utelešnje konvergence pedagoških, higienskih in arhitekturnih paradigem v nov didaktični jezik; za povojni optimizem določanja novih ciljev vzgoje, prostorskih standardov in organizacijskih tipov, s katerimi lahko zajamemo vse večje število otrok proletariata. Ustvarjanje prostorov za vzgojo v zgodnjem otroštvu na Hrvaškem zadnjih 25 let zaznamuje aritmija – na eni strani med produkcijo, ki bi zadostila naraščajočim potrebam, in zastarelimi prostorskimi programi ter na drugi med izstopajočimi arhitekturnimi eksperimenti, ki kažejo na nove vzgojne scenarije z redefinicijo tradicionalne prostorske sintakse. Vse to moramo presojati v kontekstu njihovih predhodnikov, zato lahko zadnjih 100 let arhitekture vrtcev na Hrvaškem razdelimo na tri značilna obdobja.

Pionirji arhitekture modernega vrtca

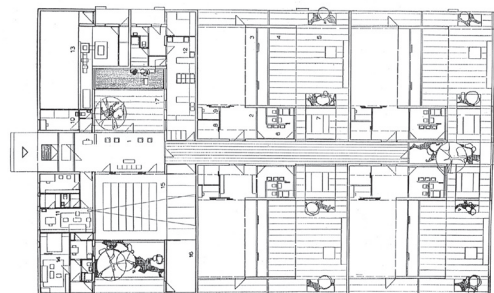
Arhitektura vrtcev, ki se je kot nova funkcionalna tipologija pojavila pred stoletjem in pol, je vse od svojega nastanka polje intenzivnega arhitekturnega raziskovanja, v kateri se odsevajo nove teorije pedagogike in otroške psihologije. Svpadnanje pedagoških, higienskih in arhitekturnih ambicij, pa tudi zgodnje izkušnje šol na odprtem (open-air school) in preboja metod Marie Montessori, Rudolpha Steinerja, Johna Deweya, Ovidea Decrolyja, Helen Parkhurst, Alexandra S. Neilla in drugih so spodbudili razvoj novih izobraževalnih okolij. Po drugi strani je potreba po skrbi za otroke zaposlenih mater spodbudila razvoj zavetišč za otroke¹.

Ta tip varstva otrok je postavil temelje za moderno arhitekturo vrtcev kot napredno interpretacijo sodobnih prostorov zgodnjega otroštva. Na Hrvaškem so bili pogoji, ki so oblikovali to novo okolje, vezani na enega samega avtorja – Ivana Zemljaka. Zaradi svojega zanimanja za moderne teorije izobraževanja in s pomočjo svoje vloge pri zagrebškem mestnem oddelku za gradnjo je Zemljak postavil temelje za nov jezik, ki je v sledečih letih zaznamoval vokalno izobraževalnih stavb². Njegove projekte vrtcev, ki so se po navadi držali šol (katerih avtor je bil pogosto tudi sam), lahko povežemo z vplivi *open-air* šol in pojavom paviljonske šole³.

Standardizacija okolja predšolske vzgoje

Po 2. svetovni vojni sledi hiter razvoj institucionaliziranega socialnega varstva predšolskih otrok. Prioritete dostopnega, vladno zagotovljenega dnevnega varstva otrok, ki naj bi postalo sestavni del izobraževalnega sistema, implicirajo razvoj zakonodaje, ciljev izobraževanja in izobraževalnih programov. S tem je zagotovljen okvir za razvoj mreže vrtcev. Čeprav je v povojnem obdobju prednost dana otrokom zaposlenih mater, je vlada želela zagotoviti institucionalizirano varstvo za vse otroke, saj je bil prvi korak v izobraževanju prepoznan kot bistven za ustvarjanje temeljev nove družbe. Potreba po dnevnem varstvu otrok je sicer nastopila že takoj po vojni, a bolj množična gradnja vrtcev se je začela šele v poznih 60-ih ter doživela vrh v poznih 70-ih in zgodnjih 80-ih. V tem obdobju opazimo več pristopov k načrtovanju vrtcev: moderne objekte, zgrajene znotraj delavskih četrti, dnevna varstva kot sestavni del novih družbenih središč, vstavljanje vrtcev v utrjeno urbano matrico in izvedba tipskih projektov znotraj sodobnih stanovanjskih zadrug. Še posebej slednji so zanimivi in poučen del korpusa vrtcev, zgrajenih na Hrvaškem v obdobju Jugoslavije. Zaznamuje jih ekstenzivno raziskovanje idealne prostorske organizacije, ki je sledila izobraževalnim ciljem in standardizaciji elementov.

- 1 V hrvaščini *skloništa*. Konec 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja je imela Hrvaška dve glavni obliki varstva otrok: zabavišča (osnovana na Fröblovi didaktiki in sodobnih izobraževalnih metodah, predhodniki današnje mreže vrtcev) in *skloništa* (za otroke, stare 3–12 let, ki so potrebovali zatočišče, medtem ko so starši delali; zgrajena so bila na novo, pod vplivom teorije zdravega izobraževalnega okolja). [V Sloveniji so prav tako obstajala zavetišča in zaklonišča. – op. prev.]
- 2 Njegovi izobraževalni objekti so bili napredni in relevantni tudi v zahodnem kontekstu razvoja modernih izobraževalnih pokrajin, kar prikazuje posebna številka revije *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* iz leta 1933, posvečena šolam (Ecoles nouvelles en Yougoslavie – Ivan Zemljak, architecte, „L'Architecture D'Aujourd'hui“ 2, Paris).
- 3 Na primer, zaklonišče blizu njegove šole Jordanovac v Zagrebu je artikulirano kot zaporedje sob, ki se izmenjujejo z razredi na odprtem. Povezujejo jih hodniki, poslikani s stenskimi slikarjami Vilka in Otona Glihe. Podobno shemo ponovi pri več projektih v 30-ih in 40-ih. Najbolj radikalna interpretacija paviljonske sheme je v vrtcu Laščina – vsaka posamezna enota je organizirana kot samostojna hiša, ki je s hodniki in stebrišči povezana z bogato urejenim zunanjim prostorom.

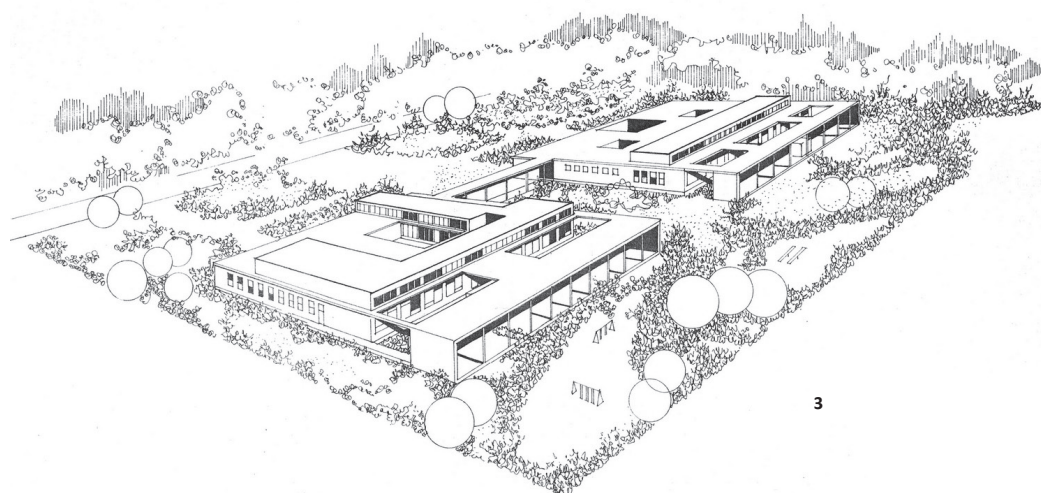


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The spatial frame of kindergartens can be read as a reflection of cultural and social ambitions of a society – be it the foundation-laying inter-war era of embodying the convergent pedagogical, hygienic and architectural paradigms into a new didactic language, or the post-war optimism of defining new educational goals, spatial standards and organizational types for accommodating the increasing number of proletariat's children. The creation of space for early childhood education in Croatia during the last quarter of a century has been affected by a certain arrhythmia in needed production for increasing accommodation needs, outdated spatial programs and outstanding architectural experiments which imply new educational scenarios through redefining the traditional spatial syntax. They should be observed within the context of their predecessors; the last hundred years of kindergarten architecture in Croatia can thus be accordingly divided into three specific stages.

The Pioneer of Modern Kindergarten Architecture

Emerging as a new functional typology a century and a half ago, kindergarten architecture has since been a field of intense architectural exploration mirroring new theories in pedagogy and child psychology. The coincidence of pedagogical, hygienic and architectural ambitions, as well as the early experiences of open-air schools and the breakthrough methods of Montessori, Steiner, Dewey, Decroly, Parkhurst, Neill and others, brought about the birth of a new educational environment. On the other hand, the need of caring for children of working mothers has given rise to the development of day-shelters¹ – and it was this particular type of day-care through which a progressive interpretation of modern spaces for early childhood laid the base of modern kindergarten architecture. In Croatia, the conditions that shape this new environment were entirely embodied in a single authorial figure – Ivan Zemljak – who, due to his position at the City of Zagreb Building Department and his in-depth interest in modern educational theory, lay the foundation of a new language which will significantly influence the educational building vocabulary in years to come.² His projects of day-shelters, usually placed next to schools some of which he also authored, can be related to the influence of the open-

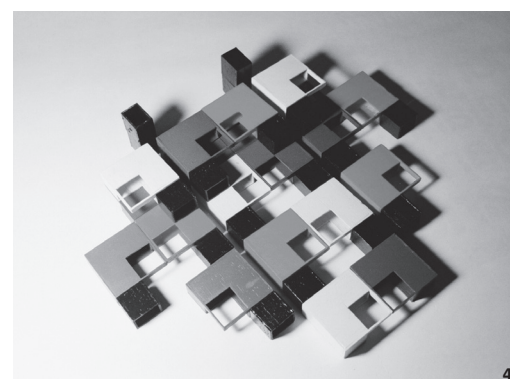


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air education movement and the emergence of the pavilion school.³

Standardizing the Environment of Preschool Education

After World War II the institutional social care for preschool children develops rapidly. The priority of a widely accessible government provision of day-care as an integral part of the educational system implies the definition of legislation, educational goals and programs which ensure a framework for kindergarten network development. Although the priority in the post war years is given to children of working mothers, the government strives to provide institutional care to all, seeing the first educational step as a vital step in creating the foundation of the new society. Although the need for day-care rises immediately following the war, a widespread construction of new kindergartens commenced from the late 1960's, culminating during the late 1970's and early 1980's. Several approaches in planning kindergartens can be observed during this period: modern facilities built within worker's commu-



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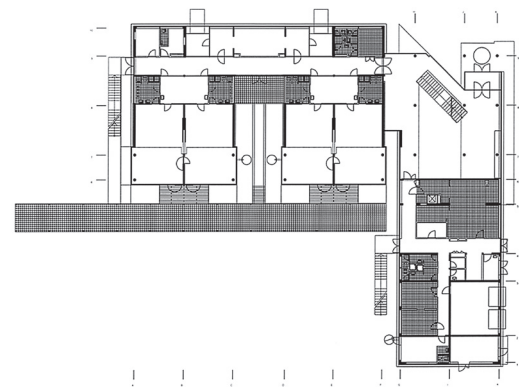
- 1 Croatian: 'skloništa'. There were two predominant types of facilities for young children in Croatia at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century – 'zabavišta' (the forerunners of today's kindergarten network, based on Fröbel's didactics and other contemporary educational methods) and 'skloništa' (aimed at young children aged 3 to 12 primarily in need of shelter as their parents were both working, newly built and influenced by modern theories related to healthy educational environments).
- 2 His educational buildings were progressive and relevant in the international Western context and the development of modern educational landscapes, as shown in the 'L' Architecture D' Aujourd'hui magazine devoted to schools in 1933. (Ecoles nouvelles Yougoslavie – Ivan Zemljak, architecte, „L' Architecture D' Aujourd'hui" 2, Paris).
- 3 For instance, the shelter next to his Jordanovac School in Zagreb is articulated as a sequence of rooms alternating with an open classroom, connected by a corridor painted with murals by Vilko and Oton Gliha, depicting didactic scenes of everyday labour. This is a scheme he repeats in several projects between the 1930's and 1940's. The most radical interpretation of the pavilion scheme can be found in the Laščina kindergarten, where each unit is articulated as an independent house, connected via walkways and porticos, with a richly articulated outdoor space.

Figure 1: Shelter next to the Jordanovac School, Zagreb, Ivan Zemljak, 1938 (Zemljak, I.: Nova dječja skloništa u Zagrebu, "Voda i plin" 5, 1939).

Figure 2: Type-project of a kindergarten for 100 children, Boris Magaš, 1962 (Magaš, B.: Tip dječjeg vrtića, "Arhitektura" 3-4, 1962).

Figure 3: Type HV1, Krunoslav Vitanović, 1967 (City of Zagreb Building Department Archives).

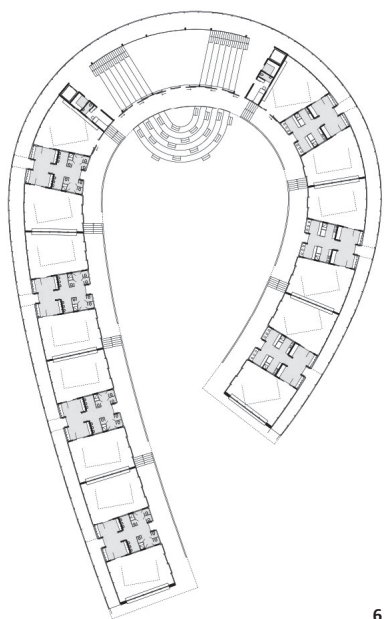
Figure 4: Type Megas, Mladen Anđel, Radovan Tajder, 1976 (Architecture Collection of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb).



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Sl. 5: Vrtec Malešnica, Zagreb, Hildegard Auf-Franič, Tonči Žarnić, 1994–96 (načrt iz Auf-Franič, H., Bertina, M., Oluić, V., Roth-Čerina, M.: *Arhitektura dječjih vrtića u Zagrebu 1990-2008*, Društvo arhitekata Zagreba, AF Zagreb, 2008; fotografija: Marija Braut).

Sl. 6: Vrtec Sesvete, Goran Rako, Nenad Ravnić, Josip Sabolić, 2004–07 (načrt iz Ivanišin, K.: *Poetičan i precizan mikrosvijet, „Čovjek i prostor“* 644-645, 2008, fotografija: Boris Cvjetanović).

Sl. 7: Vrtec v mestnem kareju, Zagreb, Miroslav Geng, 1997–2000 (načrt iz Bešlić, T.: *Ljepota jednostavnosti, „Oris“* 8, fotografija: Damir Fabijanić).

Sl. 8: Vrtec Dubrava, Zagreb, Hrvoje Njirić, Davor Bušnja, 2005–07 (načrt iz Auf-Franič, H., Bertina, M., Oluić, V., Roth-Čerina, M.: *Arhitektura dječjih vrtića u Zagrebu 1990-2008*, DAZ, AF Zagreb, 2008, fotografija: Domagoj Blažević).

Primer je natečaj za tipski vrtec za 50–100 otrok, na katerem je leta 1962 zmagal Boris Magaš. Tipске projekte tega obdobja lahko razdelimo na dve ločeni fazi. Prva obsega projekte poznih 60-ih, ki so bili zgrajeni kot del socialne infrastrukture novih sosesk (glavni primeri so tipski projekt Yugomont Vinka Uhljaka ter tipa HV1 n HV2 Krunoslava Vitanovića). Druga obsega kompleksne projekte⁴, ki so nastajali v birojih Yugodidacta, Žerjavić in A, ter pri arhitektih Radovanu Tajderju, Mladenu Anđelu, Ivanu Antoliću in drugih (tipski projekti Megas, 414, V76). Poleg poskusov s tipskimi projekt so številni antologijski primeri arhitekture hrvaških vrtcev nastali kot posamezne unikatne stavbe, ki so izhajale iz konteksta. Omenimo nekaj primerov: Magašev vrtec na Mihajljevci v Zagrebu, vrtec v Samoborju Ivana Crnkovića in vrtci na Reki Zvonka Žigmana.

Zakone, predpise in normative, ki se tičejo predšolske vzgoje, so začeli razvijati takoj po vojni, jih hitro implementirali, potem pa dopolnjevali vse do nastanka *Odloka o normativih in navodilih za planiranje, programiranje, načrtovanje, gradnjo in opremo otroških jaslji in vrtcev*⁵. Predhodniki tega Odloka so interdisciplinarne raziskave in konferenca, na kateri so se srečali planerji, arhitekti, pedagogi in učitelji⁶. Vse do danes ostaja Odlok najbolj širok okvir, osnovan na sodelovanju vseh vpletenih disciplin, in vse od svojega nastanka se ga uporablja za načrtovanje programov in oblikovanja objektov, namenjenih varstvu otrok.

Sodobna hrvaška arhitektura otroških vrtcev: raziskovanje in javni natečaji

Tretje obdobje razvoja vrtcev na Hrvaškem obsega zadnje četrto stoletje – od razpada Jugoslavije do danes. Zaznamujejo ga razhajanja med sodobnimi praksami izobraževanja in njihovo prostorsko konfiguracijo. Ta so v prvi vrsti posledica počasnosti prilagajanja zastarelih standardov in nezadostnega sodelovanja med različnimi disciplinami, vpletenimi v odločanje o tem, kakšno predšolsko okolje je zaželeno. Vse to je vodilo v posamično raziskovanje možnih dobrih praks v vsaki od disciplin posebej. Omenjeni vrhunec planiranja in programiranja vrtcev leta 1977 (ki sovpada tudi z najbolj plodnim obdobjem načrtovanja bolj univerzalno uporabnih tipskih vrtcev) je močno vplival na prostorske programe vrtcev, zgrajenih še

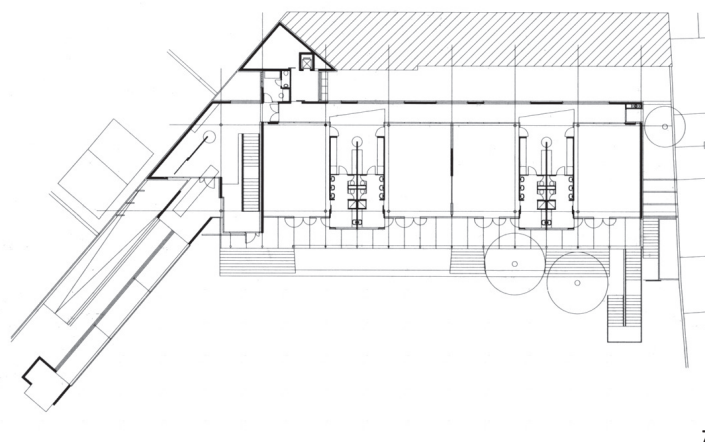
po letu 1991. Seveda pa se je izobraževalna paradigma dotlej spremenila. Njeni temelji so zapisani v *Predlogu zasnove predšolskega izobraževanja (1991)*⁷, a pripadajoča zakonodaja z normativi in s predpisi je sledila precej kasneje ali pa sploh ne. Torej je bilo treba tudi sodobne izobraževalne prakse izvajati znotraj prostorskega okvira, katerega program je temeljil na paradigmi iz preteklosti. To je arhitekta, ki so načrtovali otroške vrtce, vodilo k raziskovanju možnih načinov, na katere bi nove izobraževalne scenarije vključili v dane programe. Rezultat tega je, da se je celotno arhitekturno prizorišče, dejavno v arhitekturnih natečajih za vrtce, spremenilo v arhitekturi laboratorij. Arhitekti, loveč ravnotežje med upoštevanjem predpostavk in lastnimi interpretacijami sodobnih praks, so skušali predvideti bodoče rabe, s čimer so nakazali bolj sodobno interpretacijo okolja za zgodnje izobraževanje.

V 90-ih projektov za vrtce ni bilo prav veliko, vendar pa dva med njimi izstopata. Prvi – vrtec Malešnica v Zagrebu arhitektov Hildegard Auf-Franič in Tončija Žarnića – ustreza urbanistični zasnovi iz poznih 80-ih. Precizno modulira odnos med cesto, dvoriščem in prehajanjem med njima, prek stavbnega ovoja pa sporoča določene elemente notranjosti. Drugi – vrtec v mestnem kareju v Zagrebu arhitekta Miroslava Genga – napoveduje začetek intenzivnega obdobja načrtovanja vrtcev. Zaključen je bil leta 2000, nastal pa je na podlagi prvega od mnogih natečajev za vrtce, objavljenih v letu 1997. Na ta natečaj je prispelo 46 rešitev, med katerimi jih je bilo nekaj zelo inovativnih, npr. projekt Igorja Franića. Miroslav Geng je zmagal z reši-

4 Sestavljivi sistem Yugodidactinega vrtca Megas predstavlja vrhunec raziskovanja tipskih projektov v poznih 70-ih. Tudi najmanjše njegove enote so bile organizirane tako, da so omogočale različne konfiguracije in organizacijske oblike. In nastal je neke vrste oksimoron – unikatni tipski projekti.

5 Odloka o normativima i uputstvima za planiranje, programiranje, projektiranje, izgradnjo i opremanje dječjih jaslja i vrtića [op. prev.]

6 "Savjetovanje 'Racionalno planiranje, projektiranje i izvedba dječjih jaslja i vrtića' – prikaz razvoja koncepcija racionaliziranja u projektiranju dječjih jaslja i vrtića na osnovu normativa 1960.–1977. na primjerima izvedenih objekata", Savez zajednička društvene brige o djeci predškolskog uzrasta SRH, USIZ društvene brige o djeci predškolskog uzrasta grada Zagreba, Savez arhitekata Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1977.



nities, day-care as integral parts of new social centres, interpolating kindergartens into the consolidated urban matrix, and executing type projects in new modern housing cooperatives. The latter is an interesting and instructive segment of the large body of new kindergartens built in Croatia during the Yugoslav period because of the extensive exploration of ideal spatial organizations underlining the educational goals and standardization of elements, beginning with the competition for a type kindergarten for 50 and 100 children, won by Boris Magaš in 1962. Type projects of this era can be divided into two distinct phases – one being the projects of the late 1960's, erected as part of the social infrastructure of new neighbourhoods (prominent examples are type Yugomont by Vinko Uhlik, or type HV1 and type HV2 by Krunoslav Vitanović), and the second phase being the complex projects⁴ stemming from the offices of Yugodidacta, Žerjavić or AS and architects Radovan Tajder, Mladen Anđel, Ivan Antolić and others (type Megas, type 414, type V76). Beside the type project experiments, many anthological examples of Croatian kindergarten architecture built during this time are singular, unique buildings derived from their context, such as Magaš's kindergarten on Mihaljevac in Zagreb, Ivan Crnković's kindergarten in Samobor or Zvonko Žigman's kindergarten in Rijeka, to mention a few.

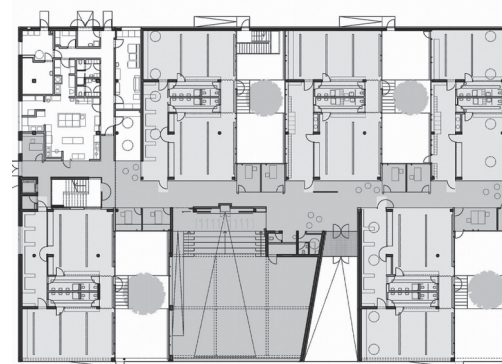
Immediately following the end of the war, new laws, regulations and norms regarding preschool education have been developed, implemented and constantly re-evaluated, peaking in the Guidelines for planning, programming, designing, building and furnishing nurseries and kindergartens from 1977, preceded by interdisciplinary research and a conference bringing together planners, architects, pedagogues, teachers.⁵ To date, these guidelines present the most comprehensive framework based on collaboration of involved disciplines and have since served as a basis of programming and designing child-care facilities.

Contemporary Croatian Kindergarten Architecture: Explorations in Open Competitions

The third stage spanning a quarter of a century – from the dissemination of Yugoslavia until today – is marked by certain discrepancies of various parameters representing contemporary educational practi-

ces and related spatial configurations. This was primarily due to the slow revision of outdated standards and insufficient collaborations between various disciplines engaged in defining a desired preschool environment, leading to individual explorations of possible good practices within separate fields. The mentioned peak of planning and programming that occurred in 1977 (and coincided with the most fruitful era of designing broadly applicable type-projects) heavily influenced the spatial programmes for kindergartens built since 1991. However, the education paradigm shifted and its foundation laid in the Conception of Preschool Education published in 1991⁶, but the accompanying legislation of standards and guidelines followed much later or not at all. Thus, contemporary education practices were to be carried out in a spatial frame whose programme was based on a different paradigm. This led architects designing kindergartens to explore possible ways of implying new educational scenarios within the given programme, turning an entire scene actively engaged in architectural competitions for kindergartens into an architectural laboratory. Balancing between the necessity of respecting the propositions and their own interpretations of contemporary practices, architects have strived to anticipate new uses thus offering an updated interpretation of the early education environment.

The number of projects built during the 1990's is not large, but two stand out during this period. The first is the kindergarten in Malešnica in Zagreb by Hildegard Auf-Franić and Tonči Žarnić, corresponding to the late 1980's urban plan. It modulates the relation-



4 The composable systems of Yugodidacta's Megas presents the peak of type project research of the late 1970's because its smallest units were organized in such a way that they enabled very different configurations and organizational forms, disproving an oxymoron – a unique type-project.

5 "Savjetovanje 'Racionalno planiranje, projektiranje i izvedba dječjih jaslica i vrtića' – prikaz razvoja koncepcija racionaliziranja u projektiranju dječjih jaslica i vrtića na osnovu normativa 1960.–1977. na primjerima izvedenih objekata", Savez zajednica društvene brige o djeci predškolskog uzrasta SRH, USIZ-društvene brige o djeci predškolskog uzrasta grada Zagreba, Savez arhitekata Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1977.

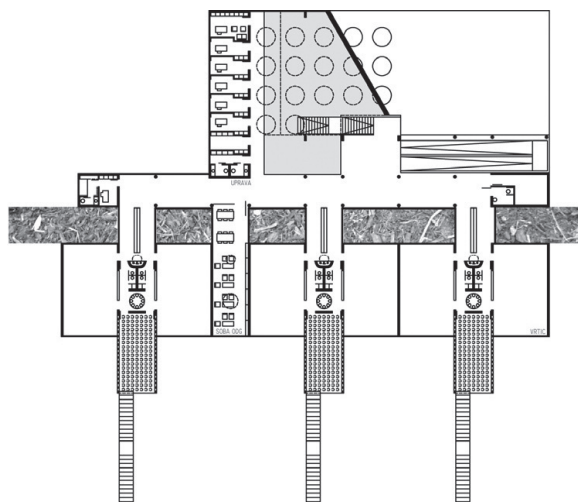
6 "Prijedlog koncepcije razvoja predškolskog odgoja", Glasnik Ministarstva prosvjete i kulture Republike Hrvatske 7/8, 1991.

Figure 5: Kindergarten in Malešnica, Zagreb, Hildegard Auf-Franić, Tonči Žarnić, 1994–1996 (plan from Auf-Franić, H., Bertina, M., Oluić, V., Roth-Čerina, M., Arhitektura dječjih vrtića u Zagrebu 1990–2008, Društvo arhitekata Zagreba, AF Zagreb, 2008; photo by Marija Braut).

Figure 6: Kindergarten in a city block, Zagreb, Miroslav Geng, 1997–2000 (plan from Bešlić, T.: Ljepota jednostavnosti, „Oris“ 8, photo by Damir Fabijanić).

Figure 7: Kindergarten in Sesvete, Goran Rako, Nenad Ravnić, Josip Sabolić, 2004–2007 (plan from Ivanišin, K.: Poetičan i precizan mikrosvijet, „Čovjek i prostor“ 644–645, 2008, photo by Boris Cvjetanović).

Figure 8: Kindergarten in Dubrava, Zagreb, Hrvoje Njirić, Davor Bušnja, 2005–2007 (plan from Auf-Franić, H., Bertina, M., Oluić, V., Roth-Čerina, M., Arhitektura dječjih vrtića u Zagrebu 1990–2008, DAZ, AF Zagreb, 2008, photo by Domagoj Blažević).



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Sl. 9: Vrtec Lanište, Zagreb, Mia Roth-Čerina, Tonči Čerina, 2005–08 (načrt iz Loher, R: *In Search for the Centre*, "Oris" 59, 2009, fotografija: Domagoj Blažević).

Sl. 10: Nerealiziran zmagovalni projekt za Vrtec Voltino, Zagreb, Hrvoje Njirić, Vedran Škopac, Davor Bušnja, Igor Ekštajn, 2006 (arhiv Društva arhitektov Zagreb).

Sl. 11: Vrtec Krk, Saša Randić, Idis Turato, 2009 (načrt iz Rupnik, I: *A Peripheral Moment*, Actar, 2011, fotografija: idisturato.com).

Sl. 12: Vrtec Dubrava, Zagreb, Hrvoje Njirić, Davor Bušnja, 2005–07, notranja ulica (Bates, S: *A Brave Statement*, "Čovjek i prostor" 644–645, 2008).

tvji, ki stavbo stisne v severni kot trikotnega kareja in zmanjša njeno tlorisno površino tako, da predvidi tudi podzemno etažo. Transparenten vrtec in jasli lebdijo nad tlemi, v zelenje pa gledajo skozi plitvo galerijo.

Pred valom javnih natečajev v sredini 2000-ih je bilo zgrajenih nekaj pomembnejših projektov, izbranih na vabljenih natečajih ali neposredno naročenih. Med njimi sta vrtec Jarun Vinka Penezića in Krešimirja Rogine s pikslasto ovojnicjo in vrtec v Markuševcu Hidegard Auf-Franić in Tina Franića z osrednjim gledališčem, ki dopolnjuje nezadostno socialno infrastrukturo predmestja, v katerem stoji.

Vse večje število otrok v dnevnem varstvu je pomenilo vedno večji pritisk na obstoječe kapacitete, obenem pa je zakonodaja podpirala institucijo javnega natečaja za javne investicije. Potreba po gradnji novih objektov v poznih 90-ih in prvi polovici 2000-ih ter posledični javni natečaji so spodbudili nastanek kolektivnega arhitekturnega *think-tank*a na področju projektiranja vrtcev. Zgrajenih je bilo sicer manj kot pol teh natečajnih projektov, številne pomembne rešitve so ostale le na papirju, a vseeno najbolj zanimivi realizirani projekti tistega obdobja izhajajo prav iz njih. Vrtec Sesvete blizu Zagreba je nastal kot rezultat prvega sklopa odprtih javnih natečajev iz obdobja 2004–08. Nanj je prispelo 45 rešitev. Goran Rako, Nenad Ravnić in Josip Sabolić so zmagali s preprosto gesto kontinuirnega zakrivljenega trakta z zahtevnim prerezom, ki je hkrati reševal potrebe po zaščitenem dvorišču, intimnih igralnicah, ki komunicirajo med seboj, in večnamenski vhodni avli, v kateri se lahko odvijajo različni dogodki, povezani s četrtjo⁷.

Vrtec v zagrebškem predmestju Dubrava Hrvoja Njirića in Davora Bušnja je na natečaju zmagal l. 2005, zgrajen pa je bil l. 2007. Postavljen je na zemljišču, ki ga senči stolpnica. Avtorja sta zasnovala 3-nadstropno zalomljeno stavbo, ki se umakne iz sence in obenem ustvari javni prostor za otroke vzdolž glavne avenije. Najpomembnejši prispevek k sodobnim prostorom zgodnjega izobraževanja sta atomizacija servisnih in administrativnih prostorov v vmesni prostor – notranjo ulico, posejana s fragmenti resničnega življenja, kar spominja na Decrolyjevo *école par la vie pour la vie*, ter oživitve muralov Vilka in Otona Glihe iz Zemljakovih vrtcev.

Desetletje 2000-ih je zaznamovala iniciativa za subvencionirano stanovanjsko gradnjo, večinoma posameznih objektov in par stanovanjskih sosek. V okviru urbanih standardov tega programa so zgradili tudi nekaj vrtcev in šol, npr. vrtec Špansko v Zagrebu Damirja Novoselca in Damirja Vitkovića.

Zadnji projekt, izbran v valu natečajev iz sredine 2000-ih in dejansko zgrajen, je vrtec v Laništu Mie Roth in Tončija Čerine. Stoji blizu zagrebške vpadnice in območje razdeli od glasnega proti tihemu in intimnemu. Vrtec je zavarovan pred okolico, hkrati pa postane vozlišče javne infrastrukture, ki je v času njegove gradnje sploh ni bilo.

Po letu 2008 je bilo organiziranih nekaj okroglih miz in diskusij, na katerih so uporabniki, mestne oblasti in arhitekti razpravljali o svojih izkušnjah vrtcev, zgrajenih na podlagi javnih natečajev. Uporabniki so izrazili nezadovoljstvo zaradi neuskladenosti med prostorskimi programi, ki so izhajali iz predpisov, sprejetih pred 30 leti, ter sodobnih potreb in izobraževalnih procesov, ki se odvijajo v današnjih vrtcih.

Tradicionalna prostorska organizacija je bila shematska, zato so se za najbolj napredne projekte izkazali tisti, ki so vmesne prostore razumeli kot nedoločen prostor, odprt za nove scenarije.

Po letu 2008 se je zaustavilo izvedbo večine natečajno izbranih projektov in širšo skupnost arhitektov bolj ali manj izključilo iz procesov planiranja in oblikovanja vrtcev – čeprav se jih je še vedno gradilo. V zadnjih letih izstopa le par primerov, recimo vrtec za zidom na Krku Saša Randića in Idisa Turata. Zgrajen je med razraščeni družinski hišami, v vse prej kot didaktičnem okolju. Avtorja sta zato otroke zaščitila s ponovitvijo vsem dobro znanega kamnitega zidu, ki zamejuje vrtec kot bolj ambiciozno okolje, z urbanim pridihom, ki v pravi okolici umanjka.

Poleg projektov, nastalih iz javnih sredstev, je velik del novo ustanovljenih kapacitet vzniknil v stanovanjskih ali poslovno-komercialnih prostorih, kar še bolj poudarja manko strategije za vključevanje velikega števila otrok v dnevno varstvo. Zakonodajni okvir se kaže kot povsem inerten tako pri razvijanju novih modelov integracije predšolske vzgoje v gosto urbano tkivo kot pri razvoju strategij, ki bi odgovarjale sodobnim potrebam. Idealu se je, gledano na splošno, najbolj približala produkcija predšolskih ustanov v poznih 70-ih in zgodnjih 80-ih. Tako se nam razjasni tudi lekcija, ki se je lahko naučimo iz opisanih treh Obdobjih: Če je najboljša takrat, ko neposredno fizično artikulira cilje vzgojnih procesov in k njim prispeva kot "tretji učitelj", bi morali arhitekturo vrtcev načrtovati v tesnem sodelovanju med vsemi vpletenimi disciplinami, pred tem pa posodobiti normative in zagotoviti fleksibilne strategije načrtovanja. V nasprotnem primeru ne moremo pričakovati dobro zasnovanega omrežja oz. stavb, proste shematske rigidnosti. Na srečo imamo nekaj primerov vrtcev, nastalih na podlagi javnih natečajev, ki so uspeli prelisičiti idealne procese in ustvariti trden okvir za nastanek novih izobraževalnih praks, ki jih je spodbudilo prav oblikovanje prostora.

7 "Prijedlog koncepcije razvoja predškolskog odgoja", Glasnik Ministarstva prosvjete i kulture Republike Hrvatske 7/8, 1991.

ship to street, courtyard and transitions with precision and communicates certain elements of the interior with the outside through the envelope. The second marked the beginning of an intense era of designing kindergartens – Miroslav Geng's kindergarten within a city block in Zagreb. It was finished in 2000, based on the first of many architectural competitions for kindergartens published in 1997. It attracted 46 entries, some of which present innovative contributions to this laboratory, such as Igor Franić's entry. Miroslav Geng won the competition, comprising the kindergarten into the northern angle of a triangular inner-city block and minimizing its footprint by introducing a *sous-terrain* level. The transparent kindergarten and nursery, hovering above ground, look out to the foliage through a shallow threshold of galleries. Before the simultaneous wave of public competitions of the mid 2000's, a few significant projects were built as commissions or invited competitions, such as Vinko Penezić-Krešimir Rogina's kindergarten in Jarun with its pixelated envelope or Hildegard Auf-Franić and Tin Franić's kindergarten in Markuševac with its central theatre meant to complement the suburb's lacking social infrastructure. An ever-increasing number of children in day-care induced great pressure onto the existing capacities, and legislation asked for the institution of the public architectural competition for public investments. This brought about a collective architectural 'think-tank' gathered around the numerous competitions motivated by the need for new facilities, carried out between the late 1990's and first half of 2000's. Less than a half of these competitions have actually been built, leaving some of the winning propositions in the paper pool with other, awarded or non-awarded, significant contributions; still, the most significant built projects of this period stem from these competitions.

The kindergarten in Sesvete near Zagreb was the result of the first in a row of open competitions published between 2004 and 2008, attracting 45 teams. Goran Rako, Nenad Ravnić and Josip Sabolić won the competition with a simple gesture of a continuous curved tract, complex in its section, which simultaneously solved the need for a protected courtyard, intimate rooms communicating with each other, and a multipurpose entry hall which can accommodate performative events of the neighbourhood.⁷

The kindergarten in Zagreb's suburb of Dubrava by Hrvoje Njirić and Davor Bušnja, won in 2005 and finished in 2007, is located on a plot shaded by a high-rise. The authors propose a three-level bent 'mat' which retracts from the shade, simultaneously establishing a public space for children along the main avenue. However, the most significant contribution to the contemporary spaces of early education is the atomization of service and administration into the interstitial space – an interior street dotted with didactic fragments of real life, evoking Decroly's 'école-par la vie pour la vie' and bringing Vilko Gecan's and Oton Gliha's murals from Zemljak's shelter to life. A significant initiative marked the 2000's as well – government subsidized housing, mostly with singular buildings and a few new housing quarters. Within the urban standards of this program, kindergartens and schools were erected, such as Damir Novoselec's and Damir Vitković's day-care in Špansko in Zagreb.

The last awarded project from the mid 2000's competition wave that was actually built is the kindergarten in Lanište by Mia Roth and Tonči Čerina. Near the freeway entering Zagreb, it stratifies zones from loud and public to quiet and intimate, protecting itself from its surroundings and also providing a nexus of public infrastructure where, at the time of construction, there was none.

After 2008, a few public discussions and round tables were organized with contributions by users, city officials and architects about the experiences after completing kindergartens chosen in architectural competitions. These discussions showed a certain dissatisfaction by users, which was the result of an incongruity between spatial programmes based on the guidelines established thirty years earlier with contemporary needs and educational processes practiced in kindergartens today. Interestingly, because of the schematic proposition of the traditional spatial scheme, the most progressive projects in this period are the ones which articulated the in-between as the indeterminate space of new scenarios.

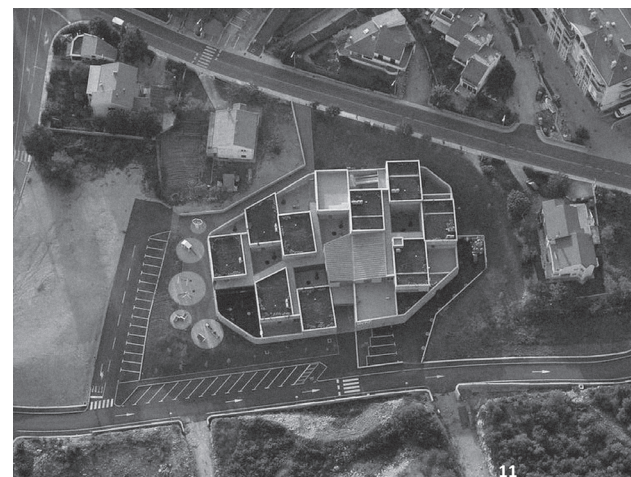
After 2008, a halt was put on the execution of most awarded projects, and the broader architectural community was largely left out of the processes of planning and designing kindergartens – although their production continued. Only a few examples from the last five years emerged as outstanding – such as the walled kindergarten in Krk by Saša Randić and Idis Turato. Placed in a context of overgrown family houses, a surrounding which is many things except didactic, the authors chose to shield the children from it, recreating a familiar motif of the stone wall. Children inside are exposed to a more ambitious environment with an urbanity that the surrounding lacks.

Beside the projects built through public procurement, a high number of newly established facilities today are arranged in borrowed spaces meant for dwelling or commerce, proving a lack of strategy for accommodating the high number of children in day-care. The underlying legislative framework is displaying an inertia in devising new models of integrating the preschool into the dense urban fabric or quick strategies of answering current accommodation needs. The broad production of preschool facilities in Croatia came closest to this ideal of immediate reaction, adequate guidelines and conceptual explorations in the late seventies and early eighties. The incidental lessons of the three periods state the obvious – if kindergarten architecture at its best is a direct physical articulation of the goals of educational processes, and contributes to these processes as a 'third teacher', it should be planned and designed in close cooperation of involved disciplines, preceded by up-to-date standards and flexible planning strategies. If not, we may not witness a well-established network, or buildings free of schematic rigidity. Still, intermittent examples attained through open competitions managed to reverse the ideal process by creating a potent frame for the emergence of new educational practices suggested by design.

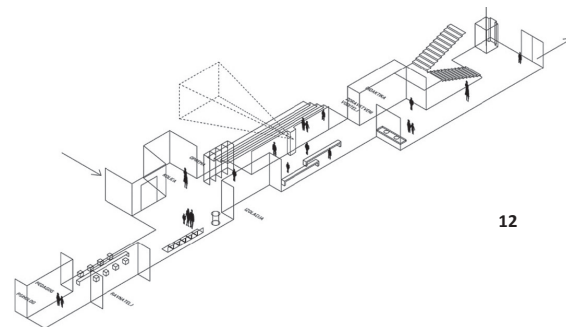
7 The transparent stratification can be related to Neutra's Ring Plan School, with its open courtyard as a protected child forum.



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Figure 9: Kindergarten in Lanište, Zagreb, Mia Roth-Čerina, Tonči Čerina, 2005–2008 (plan from Loher, R.: In Search for the Centre, "Oris" 59, 2009, photo by Domagoj Blažević).

Figure 10: Unbuilt winning competition project for a kindergarten in Voltino, Zagreb, Hrvoje Njirić, Vedran Škopac, Davor Bušnja, Igor Ekštajn, 2006 (Zagreb Architects' Association Archives).

Figure 11: Kindergarten in Krk, Saša Randić, Idis Turato, 2009 (plan from Rupnik, I.: A Peripheral Moment, Actar, 2011, photo from idis-turato.com).

Figure 12: Kindergarten in Dubrava, Zagreb, Hrvoje Njirić, Davor Bušnja, 2005–2007, the internal street (Bates, S.: A Brave Statement, "Čovjek i prostor" 644–645, 2008).