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Planning Children's Day Care Centers in Israel in a Changing Reality



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Introduction



The State of Israel has the highest birthrate of countries in the OECD.¹ This holds true as well for the percentage of women in the workforce; consequently, there is a particularly high need for educational settings for children under the age of 3. There are 600,000 children aged 3 and younger in Israel.² About 50% of Israeli children aged 3 months to 3 years are enrolled in paid group settings. Half of them (24.2% of all children) attend facilities supervised by the Division for Day Care Centers of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services.³ This is in addition to a large number of children in private settings and various family or private arrangements (no formal statistics exist on the number of such children).

Over the years, as the population has grown and the rate of working mothers has risen, the number of day care facilities for children from infancy through 3 years of age has been lagging behind the need. In 2012, Government Decision No. 4088 came into force. It called for publically financed construction of enough new child care centers, between 2012 and 2017, to absorb an additional 30,000 children. The program is being implemented only partially and very slowly.

The present document considers supervised day care centers, focusing on physical environmental planning of the center as a means of coping with the needs of young children and their families in public space.

¹ http://data.oecd.org/pop/fertility-rates.htm.

² Rabinowitz, Maria, Knesset Research and Information Center. The Public Response for Preschoolers in Israel.

³ Fichtelberg-Barmatz (2017). I Kept my Kindergarten, Preschool and Pre-nursery Children in Ultra-Orthodox Frameworks, Ministry of Economics.

Aim of this paper:

- To assist national and local policy makers as they consider current issues in planning day care centers by providing research-based information.
- To organize information collected in the networking program known as Urban95 in Israel, under the joint aegis of the Bernard van Leer Foundation and the Urban Clinic of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and to make it available to planning professionals: urban planners, engineers and architects, as well as experts in education and development.
- To engage in discussion with policy makers, educators, developmental specialists, and parents on the importance of physical environmental planning of day care settings to meet the challenges of the 21st century to promote a nurturing physical milieu, optimally responsive to the developmental needs of infants and young children aged 3 months to 3 years.

Against the background of increasing awareness of the positive influence of a beneficial environment and the negative impact of overcrowding and stress on young children, national interest has grown in translating scientific knowledge to practical policy toward providing a response to pedagogical, social and planning questions surrounding educational facilities for young children. Emphasizing changing environmental conditions and reducing socio-economic gaps will contribute to continued economic growth in the short run and nurturing human capital in the long run.

In the professional literature on child development, most of the emphasis is on physical, cognitive, emotional and social development. The concern with the influence of physical surroundings on all these aspects, which is comprehensive, and the impact on the course of a child's development, is very new. Research on the impact of physical surroundings includes a definition of the existential (health and safety) and developmental needs of children in the relevant ages, including issues of raising children in urban environments and identifying environmental responses to such needs, is still scientifically insufficient. At the same time, an analysis of research carried out during the last decade indicates that the surroundings in which a child lives significantly influence his physical, cognitive and emotional growth. The physical setting of a day care center is thus an integral part of the overall combination of prominent factors influencing child development.

Structure of this paper:

The present paper is divided into three chapters:

1. Location of the day care center in the urban and local neighborhood context, integration of functions, vertical construction

2. Allocation of land and space: area of the plot of land, area of the building, indoor play space within the structure and outdoor playground in the yard

3. Planning the plot of land, the building and the yard: considering the requisite functions of building and outdoor playgroundCHAPTER 1

Location of the child care facility in urban and neighborhood space



This chapter considers the following issues:

- Location of day care centers in the urban landscape
- Integrated functionality
- High-rise building

Location: There are two main approaches on where to locate child-minding facilities today, each with its own planning and societal advantages and disadvantages.

Day care center in a residential area: This approach encourages spreading child care and childminding centers in residential areas as close as possible to the homes of families so that proximity encourages pedestrian accessibility or short bicycle rides or automobile drives to the day care center. The day care center becomes an integral part of the residential milieu and permits a local community to be built around the neighborhood center, affording continuity of educational settings.

Day care center in a single-space service are: A pre-school children's center (a campus). A campus is usually planned as the center for services in which one space houses various services for young children: Healthy Baby Station ("Tipat Halav"), family health center, day care center, pre-nursery and/ or nursery school, kindergartens, after-school enrichment center, etc. This is usually not located within a residential neighborhood but at the outskirts, near a shopping center or concentrated workplace center. Most day care centers in Israel are in residential neighborhoods, but there are a few recently completed or planned child care facilities on the model of campus-style integrated services for young children. For instance, Kiryat Motzkiin (under construction), Kiryat Shmoneh, Marom Hagalil Regional Center, and more.

Public transportation: Judicious proximity to public transportation is another goal of urban centers to reduce dependence on private automobiles, reinforce mobility for weaker population groups, and enhance accessibility to workplaces and other services. Thus it would be appropriate to situate a children's care facility within reasonable and comfortable walking distance from public transportation stations, but not too close in order not to expose it to noise and air pollution.⁴ In cities in which service provision centers for pre-school children have been built without regular or efficient public transportation accessibility, populations without private cars are severely hampered and cannot come to the campus to enjoy the services offered.

⁴ Moore G. The Children's Physical Environments Rating Scale (CPERS5), 2012.

Walking distance from a park, playground or other natural spaces: The proximity of a childminding center to nature, or a park or playground is conducive to better air quality around the center. This also facilitates the possibility of playing in the park and being exposed to nature both as part of day care activities and with the accompanying adult after the day care center is closed. In a number of countries (England, Singapore, Ireland), mainly in dense urban areas, if an appropriately sized playground of proper quality cannot be provided, accessibility to a park or playground is an apt substitute, on condition that the walk between child care facility and park is secure, and on condition that appropriate safety measures are enforced in the park – in accordance with risk management.⁵ In Israel, in light of strict security guidelines, the opposite solution can be offered: fencing off an adjacent open public space for public use during afternoons, thereby creating two-fold functionality.

Integrated functionality

Reserves of public space in the urban Israeli landscape are limited. This fact dictates a conceptual change regarding the location of the child-minding and kindergarten buildings in combination with other services and functions. In planning a children's day care center, what must be considered first and foremost is the possibility of additional functions, in which case the land allocation must be increased by 20%.

Multiple functions within one space is a means of conserving land area. Integration of children's day care centers within residential buildings, if the necessary measures are taken, can serve as a partial solution in dense areas undergoing urban renewal and within existing space with a paucity of land area. The judicious integration of a children's day care center with other functions should provide extra benefit to both the day care center and the other functions, ultimately enhancing the advantage to public users. However, in order to ensure optimal success of integrated functions, intelligent planning



5 Singapore (2017) Appendix C: Physical Requirement of a Child Care Centre, Guide to Setting Up a Child Care Centre, Early Childhood Development Agency, pp.19-23; UK (2003) Full Day Care, National Standards for Under 8s Day Care and Childminding, p. 14; Ireland (2013) Childminding and Day Care for Children Under Age 12. Minimum Standards Implementation Guidance, Health and Social Care Board, p. 21.

and design is needed, making use of technological and design advances. Integrated functionality may also provoke mutual risks, quarrels, and different and even vying interests among the various service providers. In cities in which religious and ultra-orthodox populations are concentrated, examples of combined synagogues constructed over children's day care and kindergartens abound. This arrangements enables all users to take advantage of the area and to enjoy activities that do not clash with each other. Usually synagogues and children's facilities are not in use during the same hours and days; each function has a separate entry to eliminate the interference of one population with the activities of the other.



Integrated day care center and synagogue in Jerusalem neighborhood



From left to right: Jerusalem child care facility integrated in the ground floor of a large residential complex. Access to the center is from the parking area or by means of a path, at the rear of the building, and circling most of it. The result: A long fenced-in walkway leading to the child care center. This is a vital savings in precious land area especially in crowded cities like Bnei Brak and the ultraorthodox neighborhoods of Jerusalem. Another very common combination is a building for a Healthy Baby Station ("Tipat Halav") or health clinic housed over a kindergarten or child-minding center, a combination that makes it easier for parents to use the two services, neither of which materially impinges on the functionality of the other.

A much more significant challenge is to integrate of a day care center within a residential or commercial structure. A number of such examples can be found in Israel, albeit as of 2019, they remain very few. A day care center within a residential building exists in the Bayit VeGan neighborhood in Jerusalem. Additional examples of day care centers integrated within residential buildings have been constructed in the Ganei Sharona complex, in Ashdod and in Beersheva. Additional projects being planned or already executed elsewhere in Israel. The Gindi Mall in Tel Aviv houses a kindergarten within a commercial complex. During its brief period of operation, the major difficulties arising from such functional integration have been exposed. Day care centers within workplace environments have long been in existence, e.g.: the child care facility in Jerusalem's Har Hotzvim light industrial area, in hospitals, such as Hadassah Ein Karem, at the Hebrew University, a kindergarten in the building of the Levinsky College, and more. Most parents using the child-minding services of these centers are local employees and their satisfaction with the proximity between child minding and workplace is high.

But building a day care center in a space accommodating additional functions requires that the children's safety and welfare be guaranteed and that they not be exposed to environmental hazards. At the same time, it is important that their presence does not interfere with the other functions on site.

It is important to note that the official "Program for Planning Day Care Facilities," updated in 2006, is not sufficiently responsive to the unique needs of the child care center, nor does it provide answers as to how best to reduce to a minimum the center's imposition on the other function. The Program for Planning Day Care Facilities stresses the need to keep the day care center as far away as possible from potential environmental risks, such as industrial areas, noise, radiation, air pollution, dust, gases, water and sewage purification plants, water lines and electrical and telecommunications installations.

Away from main roads: A number of planning guides stress the importance of not situating a day care center near major traffic arteries, for transportation and safety reasons, since they constitute a source of noise and air pollution.⁶ Recent research has increasingly revealed the extent of injury to health (hearing loss, sleep disorders) and of cognitive impairment (difficulties in acquiring reading skills) that extended exposure to the noise of vehicular traffic can incur.⁷ This is a challenge that needs to be seriously considered in milieus in which most of Israeli children today live and are educated.

⁶ Malta, Planning Authority, (2017). Supplementary Planning Policy Guidelines, Child Day Care Facilities Australia, NSW Government, Planning and Environment, (2016), Draft Child Care Planning Guideline, Planning and Designing Quality Child Care Facilities in NSW

⁷ Makles A. & Schneider K. (2016) Quiet Please! Adverse Effects of Noise on Child Development, Center for Economic Studies & Ifo Institute, Working Paper No. 6281, Category 5: Economics of Education.

Improving children's and residents' conditions in integrated projects

- Separate entries for each function
- Separate installations and systems for each function, placed so as not to intrude upon the child care facility: elevators, stairwells, garbage rooms, building entries, etc.
- Infrastructures of the floors above the child care center bypassing the area of the center
- Installation of a roof or other appropriate measure to protect the area of the children's playground against objects falling from the upper floors
- Reduction of adjacent traffic
- Separate parking areas, including drop-off and pick-up areas⁸
- Ensuring minimal intrusion into the privacy of the residents⁹

⁸ New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Starting a Centre-Based ECE Service, newsealand.govt.nz.

⁹ In multi-storey schools (5 or more) another 25% is added to the school's area. In multi-storey kindergarten locations, guidelines are now being crystalized and apparently the construction area will be increased by 25-50%, depending on the number of floors. The additional area is needed for hallways, elevator shafts, waiting rooms, and entries. It is recommended that a parallel assessment be carried out for day care centers.

The child care facility in a high-rise building

Because of limited land resources for public use, we are witness in recent years to the construction of child care centers and kindergartens in high-rise buildings – e.g., in Holon, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Bnei Brak, and elsewhere. However, the Program for Planning Day Care Facilities relates to single-story structures. To date no provisions have been made in the Program for Planning Day Care Facilities for changing reality, despite the fact that it is patently obvious that planning children's facilities in high-rise buildings is entirely different from planning for single-storey facilities. In the case of schools and kindergartens, the Guidelines for the Allocation of Land for Public Use¹⁰ stipulates increased areas for high-rise construction to create additional space. It would be beneficial to draft similar guidelines for the construction of multi-storey child care facilities.¹¹

Challenges in constructing children's day care centers in multi-storey buildings:

- Expeditious accessibility to higher floors for arrival and pick-up
- No immediate access to ground-level playground and a concomitant need to plan a roof or balcony play yard to respond to children's pedagogical needs, enable them to encounter nature, and encourage motor activities
- Rapid evacuation of infants and children during emergencies
- Noise pollution because of number of children
- Ensuring sufficient light and air
- Clear passageway between floors and connections between various functions in the building
- Use of common open spaces on different floors and the challenge of moving young children between floors
- Leaving sufficient space adapted to the needs of infants and toddlers for a ground-floor courtyards well as in a balcony or on a roof
- Since play yards on upper floors are usually surrounded by walls, solutions must be found to enable children to see outside and facilitate the entry of sensory stimuli

¹⁰ Planning Authority, August 2018.

¹¹ For additional reading: Nussbaum, G., Gordon R. & Raviv A. (2007). Vertical Schools. Ministry of Education: Authority for Development of Educational Systems.

CHAPTER 2 Allocating land and area



General outline

Under the instructions of the Planning Authority, the area of a lot intended for a children's day facility comprising 3 classes divided among 60-75 children is 1 dunam. The shape of the lot must provide for an adjoining playground with a separate yard for each class. The facility and the yard must be on one level, with the exit from each classroom to its yard also being on that same level. The entrance into the facility should be from the longest side of the area perimeter, and hence it is recommended that the longest side be parallel with the entrance. A minimum of useable area has been established for every courtyard by age group: infants – 4 square meters per individual; toddlers and pre-school children – 5 sq. meters per individual. Moore¹² (2003) contends that 40-60 is the maximum number of children in any given facility because of developmental needs and for their welfare, with 25-40 children being the optimal size. If a solution must be found for a larger number of children, there is nothing stopping that same building or site from containing several wings, but they need to be separate wings, with separate entry and egress for each.

Play area within the facility

Infants: The play area is devoted exclusively to just that, excluding shelves or storage cabinets or crib space. As opposed to toddlers and pre-school children, who sleep at fixed times during the day on mattresses which can be spread out during rest time and stored during activities, in infant classrooms each infant sleeps according to his or her own individual schedule. For this reason an infant classroom needs a separately allocated sleeping area, which will ensure better sleep, undisturbed by noise or light, as well as an appropriate separate play space for babies who are not sleeping. The larger the area allotted per individual, the greater the variety of activities that can be offered. Toddlers: the optimal play area for 18-40-month-old toddlers is 5 square meters.

The common world standard for classroom space per child is 3.3 square meters per child (SF35), but in fact research carried out from 1970 and later point to the need for a larger space for younger children, 4.2-5 square meters per child. This assumption is based on many studies that showed found changes in the level of cortisole (a hormone secreted in large amounts in reaction to stress or panic), especially in 18-40-month-old toddlers in overcrowded conditions. The research results point clearly to the need for 5 square meters per child in an indoor play spaces.

¹² Malta, Planning Authority, (2017) Supplementary Planning Policy Guidelines, Child Day Care Facilities.



Example of standard child care center classroom

Table A presents the space allocated to a child under the Israeli Program for Planning Day Care Facilities in comparison to other countries and in comparison to the area recommended by the CPERS. The Israeli Program for Planning Day Care Facilities allocates 3.3 square meters per child in an infants' facility, 2.6 square meters for toddlers, and 2.3 square meters per child aged 2 and older. These are gross dimensions and also include infants' cribs, shelves and storage cabinets, unlike the other guidelines whose recommendations are net space. In addition, a Temporary Order (2017) reduces the gross area (2.8 square meters per infant, 2.3 square meters per toddler, and 2.1 square meters per pre-school child). This makes for extremely crowded conditions, over twice the recommendations in studies and according to Western standards.

Table A – Area per child: Allocations of space units per child according to the Program for Planning Day Care Facilities, the Temporary Order (2017), other countries, and CPERS

	Age	Program for Planning Day Care Facilities	Temporary Order	Other Countries	Index
Infants	Up to 15 months	3.3 m2 per child including sleeping area, storage cabinets, shelves	2.5 m2 per child including sleeping area and equipment	Australia: 3.25 m2 per child for all ages (not including sleeping area or equipment New Zealand: 2.5 m2 per child, not including sleeping area or equipment	No less than 3.5 m2 per child of any age (not including sleeping area, equipment, storage), and preferably more than 4.0 m2
	Up to 18 months			Singapore: 5.0	
Toddlers	Up to 2 years			Ireland: 4.2 England: 2.5	
	16-24 months	3.0 m2 per child	2.6 m2 per child		
	18 months & older			Singapore: 3.0	
Children	24-36 months	2.2 m2 per child		Ireland: 2.8 England: 2.5	

The Israeli situation under the Program for Planning Day Care Facilities – and now even more crucially under the Temporary Order of 2017 – results from overcrowding (the space allocated per child), extended exposure (a full day), and large groups – sometimes twice and even triple what is recommended and accepted in Western nations. These are physical environmental conditions which current studies indicate may put the normal course of a child's development at risk.

Outdoor play area

The outdoor play area complements indoor play space. The playground allows for learning, experiencing, and mastering rules of play that all differ from what happens inside. The outside, as opposed to the inside of the facility, is meant to provide a direct encounter with nature and promote more gross motor activity. The usual recommendation is that the outdoor play area be no less than 7 square meters per child. The Program for Planning Day Care Facilities calls for a separate play area for every class but does not provide any instructions about the desirable size of the playground.



Standard courtyard in Jerusalem day care center

The Guidelines for the Allocation of Land for Public Use and the Guidelines for Public Buildings recommend similar areas for outside playgrounds: 60 square meters for infants, 110 square meters for toddlers, and 135 square meters for a pre-school class. In other words, in accordance with the size of the group, the recommendation in the official Program for Planning Day Care Facilities is some 4 square meters per infant and 5 square meters per child. According to the Guidelines for the Allocation of Land for Public Use of 2018, in an integrated children's facility within a single building, the area of the playground can be reduced in coordination with current planning directives.



Standard courtyard in Jerusalem day care center

When there is no playground or when it is the wrong size: Solutions from other countries

As in Israel, the general recommendation world-wide is for a playground to be situated alongside the structure housing the day care center. However, in dense urban areas, where there is no other choice, recourse to a public park or playground is possible, contingent on safe and easy access from the building itself. As noted, in light of Israel's strict security directives, the facility should be adjacent to a public playground – in addition to the facility's own yard – or the area should be fenced in and then opened for public use in the afternoon.



Public park adjacent to child care center – Kensington, London

CHAPTER 3

Planning the lot, the building and the yard – Spatial needs and principles of design



Since a constructed environment tends to be static and unchangeable, the planning and design challenge is to encourage stimuli by variation in the architectural elements, such as floor height, ceiling height, lighting, textures and inventories of elements such as rugs, sofas, pillows, warm and cozy spots, cool and sterile ones, darkness, light, noise, quiet. Diverse areas prevent boredom and enable children to anticipate stimuli at specific times of the day.

The need for space that permits movement

- A space that allows for movement is important for physical and intellectual development, especially in pre-school children.
- Movement enables the children to easily position themselves spatially, to investigate and discover their abilities.
- An environment that permits movement encourages a variety of gross motor activities both on the playground and inside the facility, allowing room for running, climbing, riding the see-saw, sliding, and crawling – with appropriate equipment of course.
- Overly restricted movement creates frustration and agitation, which in extreme cases can result in behavioral problems.
- A mobile setting responds to the need to experience competence, capability and control over one's body and actions.

Children need to experience success in negotiating with the world around them. The inexperience and immaturity of children as well as their small size expose them to situations that generate frustration (the light switch is too high to reach, the clay is too stiff, the water spigot is too high and hard to turn). A setting adapted to children which enables them to carry out tasks easily is one that enables them to develop competencies and control of their bodies.



Example of spatial planning of integrated child care facility in residential area, Amsterdam, Netherlands Hestia Day Care Center, Amsterdam, the Netherlands: NEXR architects and Claudia Linders. Photography: Jeroen Musch

Principles of planning to encourage children's spatial action and investigation

- A variety of spaces and corners where children can act, small and intimate play areas (2-3 children) among larger play areas for groups of children
- Flexibility: Interior design for "adjustable" areas to adapt to children's changing needs
- Adapting size and height of equipment for the children's use: sinks, toilets, tables and chairs, etc.
- Tidy places and objects, adapted to the child's age, create a setting that attracts the child to make use of them and allows him to orient himself and control the space, focusing attention and enhancing concentration.
- Maximum physical accessibility in space without recourse to constant help from adults.
- The need for privacy: Tension exists between the adult's need to supervise the children and the children's need for occasional privacy during the long day in the children's day care center. Window seats, alcoves and niches, and small closed spaces offer ideal points for seclusion and relaxation.

Planning the children's center to accommodate adult needs

- A setting that helps the staff carry out appropriate therapeutic functions
- For safety and supervision: clear line of sight to children from inside the facility to the playground, and from the playground into the building, and throughout the classroom.
- Quick physical accessibility to the children
- Challenging play areas that also protect the children so that child minders do not need to restrict the children's movements. This means that well-defined and delineated areas need to be balanced by protective measures (soft floors, cushions, mattresses, etc.).



Example of interior design connecting interior and exterior in child care facility in Amsterdam, Netherlands Hestia Day Care Center, Amsterdam, the Netherlands: NEXR architects and Claudia Linders. Photography: Jeroen Musch

Functions in planning the construction of a child care center

According to the Program for Planning Day Care Facilities, the day care center structure is divided into classrooms (usually 3 according to the 3 age groups) that include a play area, a care and clean-up area (diaper changing, toilets, showers, kitchenette, pantry), service rooms (kitchen, laundry, shelter), and annexes (entry, manager's room, staff toilets, rooms for individual activities). But staff members spend many hours in the facility as well, and there are also parents dropping off and picking up their children, and at times joining in the activities. Thus in planning the on-site facility, not only the children's needs must be taken into account but also those of adults. The day care center is a workplace setting for the educational and child-minding staff and as such influences the quality of the staffer's work and, indirectly, the children as well. The Israeli standards for operating early childhood care facilities¹³ call for a staff room to be allocated for meal breaks and relaxation, at a distance from the area used by the children. In actuality, however, most of the pre-school facilities today have not implemented this recommendation, and this definitely impairs the quality of the staff work milieu.

Kitchen: According to the Israeli Program for Planning Day Care Facilities, food preparation is carried out within the facility. Day care centers in a residential structure or a complex of public buildings are required to operate a kitchen in the facility itself. In the case of a day care setting located in the vicinity of an additional service supplying hot meals (kindergartens, old age centers), operation of a joint kitchen for the different services in the complex can be considered.

Functions in planning the playground

- Fence: Fencing in the day care area responds to the need to protect against undesirable factors from outside the facility, also serving to prevent the children from exiting the playground for the street. In addition, it is important for the center to be an inseparable part of its surroundings and to ensure clear views of the children between court yard and street.
- Observing the courtyard from inside the facility: This can enhance and ease supervision of the children (one staff member in the yard, and another one near the door for children who need to come in to go to the bathroom, etc.).
- Diverse experiences: A variety of different surfaces for stepping on and for touching, a combination of loose-parts materials (flat plain, small hills, climbing and physically challenging areas, e.g., balancing, going on the see-saw, finding hiding places, etc.).

¹³ Standards for Operating Educational Frameworks for Pre-School Children, Report of the Advisory Council headed by Prof. Rosenthal (2009), https//doclib/publications/publications/il.gov.molsa.employment//

- The playground enables experiences in all areas of development: Separate corners for motor activities, for socio-dramatic games, experience of a variety of materials and textures, possibility of changing space, "junkyard" objects, etc.
- Exposure to nature and to sunlight, a combination of different plants that are safe to the touch (non-allergenic, non-poisonous, prickly or capable of causing choking).

Recommendations

- 1. Establishment of a committee to examine the Program for Planning Day Care Centers published in 2006 and adapt it to the coming decade. It is recommended that the committee be established by the Day Care Center Division of the Ministry of Welfare jointly with the Ministry of Finance.
- 2. Publishing guidelines for planning day care centers in high-rise buildings and taking account of the existence of integrated function complexes
- 3. Publishing guidelines for planning a playground and adapting it to up-to-date information. See the document on directives for planning playgrounds in day care centers and kindergartens.¹⁴
- 4. Guidelines for planning playgrounds in balconies and on roofs

¹⁴ Yifat Gal Shpeizman, Julie Levy Peled, "Document of Guidelines for Planning the Optimal Playground for Kindergartens and Children's Day Care Centers: The Natural Playground for the Urban95 Knowledge Net Plan in Israel," November 2018.



• Example of spatial planning in child care facility adjacent to residential buildings with protrusions for nature and air

Hestia Day Care Center, Amsterdam, the Netherlands: NEXR architects and Claudia Linders. Photography: Jeroen Musch

For additional information on **Urban95's strategy** and its Knowledge Network Program: https://urbanclinic.huji.ac.il

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