

Socialisation Tensions in the Swedish Preschool Curriculum – The Case of Mathematics

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In Sweden, where almost all children attend preschool, preschools are significant sites of socialisation. Therefore, there is a need to investigate how this socialisation may be affected by implementation of a revised curriculum. Changes in preschool curriculum are an indication of how schoolification is influencing Early Years Education. This is because preschool teachers and work teams use the curriculum to plan activities for children who will be socialised by participating in these activities. This article investigates the goals and guidelines in the revised preschool curriculum and considers how an increased emphasis in those related to mathematics may affect the kind of socialisation children could gain. The goals and guidelines support teachers' pedagogical practices and hence are worth investigating. The concepts of being and becoming are used to consider how the goals and guidelines position children as having or needing to gain norms and values, skills and knowledge. Consequently, they are considered to need to acquire the skills to perform as members of their society or as knowledgeable participants when constructing their everyday lives in preschool. The goals and guidelines related to mathematics emphasise children's becoming, and thus their incompleteness. This results in less opportunity for teachers to perceive children as having relevant experience and skills to contribute to activities and to produce creative cultural understanding. Consequently, the schoolification of the preschool curriculum through the increased emphasis in the goals and guidelines for school subjects is likely to affect the kinds of activities that preschool teachers plan and provide to children, and thus the kind of socialisation they receive in preschool.

Keywords: becoming, being, curriculum, mathematics education, socialisation.

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Introduction

In this paper, we investigate how the increased emphasis in the goals and guidelines in the revised preschool curriculum related to mathematics education could affect preschools' perceptions of the kind of socialisation that young children need. The revised preschool curriculum, implemented in July 2011 has a more intense focus on learning and knowledge (Vallberg Roth, 2011) suggesting that it is more focused on the knowledge needed for school than the earlier version (Tallberg Broman, 2010). These changes reflect the main reasons given for the revision of the curriculum: enhanced professional education and strengthened pedagogical practice (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010), and they follow a global trend in the "schoolification" of preschool (Alcock & Haggerty, 2013; Garnier, 2012; Sofou & Tsafos, 2010).

Although the actual number of goals and guidelines that preschools or the work team are encouraged to develop in children, which specifically mention mathematics remains the same (Skolverket, 1998; Skolverket, 2011a), the revised curriculum background document links others to mathematics (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2010). In the background document, mathematics is also one of three content areas (the others are language and science and technology) which are specially discussed and clearly related to subjects taught in compulsory school (Skolverket, 2011c). Therefore, it is important to problematise the increase in the "schoolification" of the formal preschool curriculum and how this may affect municipalities, preschools and teachers in planning activities to meet these goals and guidelines as well as "the needs and interests which children themselves express in different ways" (Skolverket, 2011a, p.12). Researchers have noted for some time that curricular changes can result in tensions for teachers in their planning which can affect what is then offered to children in activities (Cuban, 1990; Reys et al., 2006). Delacour (2013) highlighted that teachers' interpretations of the changes in the Swedish preschool curriculum could result in children seeing and using mathematics differently.

Discussions about the role of mathematics education in preschools have gained prominence in the last two decades (Barber, 2009; Perry, Young-Loveridge, Dockett, & Doig, 2008). This is partly because an analysis by Duncan and colleagues of six longitudinal studies suggested that early mathematics knowledge is the most powerful predictor of later school learning including the learning of reading (Duncan et al., 2007). However, Swedish researchers (see for example Doverborg & Pramling Samuelsson, 2011) highlight concerns about the value that institutionalisation gives mathematics

because this valuing may constrain teachers from being able to see aspects of mathematics outside the frame of the curriculum. In Björklund's (2012) research, she identified mathematical terms that should be used in the preschool activities. Her research then considered how teachers used the terms in the activities that they planned. This provides an example of the value that can be given to mathematics and the impact it can have on the activities children are to engage in. It is also an example of how teachers can be constrained by choices made by others about the appropriate knowledge and skills they should instil in children, potentially restricting their ability to see aspects of mathematics outside the frame of the preschool curriculum.

With the introduction of the revised curriculum, it seems valuable to investigate what, if any, tensions could occur with the increased focus on mathematics as one of the content areas that preschools or the work team have to now pay attention to. Therefore, our research question is: Does the increased influence of schoolification on the curriculum produce tensions that are likely to affect preschool teachers' perceptions of the activities that they should provide to children?

We begin by discussing socialisation, before linking these ideas to the concepts of being and becoming. This is followed by an analysis of how the concepts of being and becoming appear in the preschool curriculum.

Socialisation

As reflections of the socialisation process, educational institutions such as preschools provide insights into the meanings valued by a society (Walzer & Miller, 2007). Socialisation is a process by which children acquire the skills necessary to perform as functioning members of their society (Biesta, 2007). We suggest that this involves both reproducing culture from one generation to another to ensure that societies sustain themselves over time (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998) and producing new ideas and culture through learning to be creative (Ebrahim, 2011). For this second component of socialisation to occur, preschool children need to be recognised as being knowledgeable, active participants in the construction of their childhood and their experiences (James et al., 1998).

Our definition draws upon Biesta's (2007) distinction between socialisation and education. He considered socialisation to be the "insertion of 'new-comers' into existing cultural and socio-political settings" (p. 26). For him, much of what occurred in institutional settings of education was actually socialisation. In contrast, education as defined by Kant was about the self-

education needed to achieve rational autonomy to become fully human. However, as Biesta further argued, this view of education could be considered a form of socialisation because it sets up what the end product of self-education had to be: rational autonomy. Thus, education of this kind also contributed to newcomers taking on the attributes of existing members of a society; those who did not have or did not gain these attributes were unable to be considered human. For example, Lee (2001) discussed how a young child's age affected adults' perceptions of their having the right to hold opinions and desires, as a child's age has often been taken to mean that they are not worth listening to. Discourses such as these within a dominant framework make it difficult to recognise children as fully human or people in their own right (James & Prout, 2001). Biesta (2007) postulated that education would be better considered as preparation for an uncertain future; he states that freedom "needs to be realised again and again" (p. 32). Adulthood in the twenty-first century is less stable, uncertain, and thus unpredictable, with stabilities such as having the same job not expected to last for a person's lifetime. Lee (2001) suggested that to reflect this reality, conceptualisations of childhood need to accept and respond to this uncertainty. In so doing, new definitions of what it means to be human can be produced (Biesta, 2007). Consequently, young children could be considered social actors in their own right, not in comparison to adults (Ebrahim, 2011).

In our definition, rather than distinguishing between socialisation and education as Biesta did, we consider preparation for an unknown future to be related to the production component of socialisation. This is line with Ebrahim (2011), who defined socialisation as the process by which people who inhabit a society create it. Thus it is possible to consider children constructing their own childhood and experience as a form of preparation for an unknown future. Research such as Markström and Hallden's (2009) showed how children in preschool influence and shape their everyday lives as active agents. A choice is not made for children about what their childhood should be; rather, children are supported in being creative in producing new ideas and culture as their future unfolds. As James et al. (1998) state, "Childhood diversity considers the infinite variety of the social context in which children live, leading to a deconstruction of childhood's conventional, singular and reductive form" (James et al., 1998, p. 34).

Socialisation can be considered to both reproduce and produce (a) norms and values and (b) skills and knowledge. With societal differences in valuing each of these two components and of different aspects within each compo-

ment, the nature of socialisation has been contested. For example, Lee (2001) considered socialisation to be predominantly about reproducing norms and values. However, he acknowledged that societies are made up of many different groups; often, the ideals that individual groups wish to pass on to the following generations are in conflict.

Trondman (2009) considered it unreasonable to talk about childhood without looking at the environment that includes children's multiple worlds, including home and preschool. Within each of these worlds there are structures and expectations which contribute to the development of norms and values. These strive to shape children, to fix them into "standard" patterns, which may limit their enjoyment and creativity but on the other hand create stability (Prout, 2005). However, within these same worlds, there are different kinds of opportunities in which children can produce knowledge and understanding about their lives (Ebrahim, 2011). For Trondman (2013), in problematising the institutionalisation of children's socialisation through the preschool curriculum, the question becomes one of how institutions produce pedagogical practices that recognise and build on the multiple worlds in which children live. The preschool curriculum, as a document representing different views of socialisation that young children should receive, is likely to contain contradictory goals and guidelines that preschool teachers will need to resolve when planning activities.

Being and becoming mathematicians: the schoolification of preschool

In order to understand how an increase in the number of goals and guidelines connected to mathematics may affect the tensions between the production and reproduction components of socialisation, we have chosen to consider them in regard to children's being and becoming (Lee, 2001; Trondman, 2013). James and Prout (2001) suggest that childhood provides an interpretive frame for understanding the early years and thus needs to be understood as a social construction. Thus, a consideration of how the curriculum constructs children's childhoods in regard to their being and becoming is one way of identifying the tensions that may occur in the general goals and guidelines and how these differ compared to the tensions in the mathematics goals and guidelines. The concepts of being and becoming focus the analysis on the child, rather than on the adult's role in the socialisation process. The goals and guidelines describe what preschools and the adults working in preschools should provide to children. Categorising the goals and guidelines

according to how they reflect children's being and becoming provides a way of describing potential tensions in children's socialisation that could be connected to the schoolification of the revised preschool curriculum.

The concepts of being and becoming have been used by researchers in different ways and are a product of historical development, arising from different perceptions of children as being either incomplete or active independent agents. From this perspective, both children and adults can be considered as having a multiplicity of beings and becomings (Prout, 2005).

According to Lee (2001), the concepts of being and becoming separate the complete and independent child from the incomplete and dependent child. Qvortrup (1994) suggested that children's "being" is about being stable, complete, self-processed and self-controlling, capable of independent thought and action and, as such, possessing an independence that merits respect. For James et al. (1998), a process of socialisation where agents are active, knowledgeable, and skilled is in line with the "being" view of young children (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). For Ebrahim (2011), being situates young children as knowledgeable, intentional and skilled actors, who use skills and strategies to create their own childhoods. Consequently, we consider the concept of being to be related to the production aspect of socialisation.

On the other hand, "becoming" is about being changeable and incomplete and lacking the self-possession and self-control that would allow the child independence of thought and action (Qvortrup, 1994). A child who is becoming is incomplete (James et al., 1998). This concept is in alignment with childhood being considered a journey towards a clear and knowable destination of adulthood, with children's present lives and activities seen only in terms of how they contribute to a preparation for these futures (Lee, 2001). Adults expect children to one day "take over"; so adults need to understand and know what is needed to secure this future for their children. Upon successful and orderly completion, the child's future is as an adult being. Consequently, we consider children's becoming to be about the reproduction of society's norms and values, skills and knowledge.

However, being and becoming can be considered as two parts of the same socialisation process. Uprichard (2008) stressed that being and becoming should not be separated because children and adults present and future are combined in everyday situations. Taking being and becoming together does not make a difference between a child and an adult. Therefore, being and becoming can be considered complementary rather than in opposition to

each other (Prout, 2005), and promoting a difference between them may not be useful (Uprichard, 2008).

In regard to an increase in the schoolification of the revised curriculum, we needed in this study to consider what being and becoming a preschool mathematician might be. Consequently, we considered that being a mathematician would be indicated in the goals and guidelines by a recognition that children already brought with them to new activities some mathematical norms and values, skills and knowledge. These would then be available in regard to making decisions and expressing their ideas in a creative manner. On the other hand, goals and guidelines that situated children as becoming mathematicians would indicate the norms and values, skills and knowledge that children would need to gain for their future.

Method

In the Swedish preschool curriculum, there are goals that “the preschool should strive to ensure that each child” (Skolverket, 2011a, p. 8) develops or otherwise experiences. There are also guidelines that “preschool teachers are responsible for ...” and “the work team should ...” (Skolverket, 2011a, pp. 8–9) in relationship to the experiences that children should have and the purposes for those experiences. Thus, the goals and guidelines do not list what children should achieve but describe what preschools, preschool teachers and other adults working in the preschools should do, in regard to the kind of opportunities provided to children. Therefore, in order to identify what kind of socialisation the curriculum is promoting with a particular goal or guideline, we identified whether the focus was on production or reproduction by comparing how they were expressed with definitions of being and becoming, following James et al. (1998), Lee (2001) and Qvortrup (1994).

The goals and guidelines in the Swedish preschool curriculum document (Skolverket, 2011a) begin in Section 2.1 with “Norms and Values”. Section 2.2 is titled “Development and Learning” and the final section that we considered (2.3) is titled “Influence of the Child.” We separated the goals and guidelines about mathematics from the other goals and guidelines, which we labelled “general”. There are 57 general goals and guidelines and four others that are clearly linked to mathematics in the preschool curriculum.

Each of the 61 goals and guidelines in these three sections were examined in their entirety to identify whether and how they referred to children’s being and becoming. Children’s being was considered to be the focus of a goal or guideline if it discussed children shaping their own childhood experiences or

using their agency. For example, goals and guidelines that highlighted what children already possessed as valuable, such as children having agency to make decisions, express opinions, were considered as inferring that children's being was important.

Other goals and guidelines were considered to be about children's becoming if they inferred that children needed to gain a specific body of knowledge, or needed stimulation and opportunities for developing certain skills. For example, goals and guidelines which suggested that children needed to develop certain skills were considered as positioning children as incomplete with regards to knowledge and behaviour. This was because these kinds of goals and guidelines highlighted what children needed to gain; hence they were considered to be about becoming. We also examined the goals and guidelines for mathematics education in the curriculum. We then compared the socialisation emphases of the general goals and guidelines with those of the mathematics education goals and guidelines. This indicated whether an increase in goals and guidelines about mathematics was likely to increase tensions already in the general goals and guidelines and thus affect the socialisation that preschools provide to children.

The original version of the preschool curriculum is in Swedish (Skolverket, 2011b). However, Skolverket (the Swedish National Agency for Education) also produces an official English translation. Although a literal translation is never possible with documents of such complexity as curricula, our intention in the analysis was to examine the intention of the goals and guidelines in regard to their emphasis of children's being and becoming. Therefore, it was considered appropriate to analyse the English version as the intention of the goals and guidelines were unlikely to have changed, regardless of the language they were written in.

Being and becoming in the general goals of the curriculum

In this section, we discuss how the Swedish preschool curriculum positions children in regard to their being and becoming. Table 1 provides information on the number of goals and guidelines that seem to focus on children's being and becoming. As mentioned in the method section, 61 goals and guidelines were categorised (57 general and 4 specific to mathematics), based on definitions of being and becoming drawn from James et al. (1998), Lee (2001) and Qvortrup (1994).

As is noted in Table 1, four general goals were considered to be simultaneously about children's being and becoming, while six goals were not di-

rectly related to children. This is because all goals were about what the preschool, preschool teacher or work team were required to do and not about what children were supposed to achieve. An example of a goal which was considered as not being about either being or becoming was “co-operate with the home concerning the child’s upbringing, and discuss with parents the rules and attitudes in the preschool” (Skolverket, 2011a, p. 9).

Being	Becoming		Being and becoming simultaneously	Not related	Total
	Developing skills	Providing stimulation & opportunities			
12	22	13	4	6	57

Table1 *Categories and numbers of general goals and guidelines in preschool curriculum*

From Table 1, it can be seen that the majority of goals in the curriculum were about children’s becoming, in particular the skills that children needed to develop. There were also many goals and guidelines about the stimulation and opportunities that children needed to receive.

Positioning children as being

Examples of the goals and guidelines that position children in term of being were “give children the opportunity of understanding of how their own actions can have an effect on the environment” (p. 11), “express their thoughts and views, and thus have the opportunity of influencing their own situation” (p. 12). These examples of goals and guidelines also indicate how preschools should encourage children to use preschool contexts to influence their own situation, the environment and activities. Goals and guidelines related to being also indicate to preschools and adults that children should be respected when they participate in activities in the group. This can be seen in the guideline that children “are provided with the opportunities for learning and development and at the same time are encouraged to use the whole range of their abilities” (p. 11). Preschools are expected to use a pedagogical ap-

proach in which activities should be based on children's experiences, interests, needs and views. This can be seen in references to "sense of enjoyment meaningfulness in learning" (p. 11), "desire and enjoyment to learn" (p. 11) and "work towards ensuring that both girls and boys have an equal measure of influence" (p. 12).

The goals and guidelines also present children as being social agents who can influence and shape their everyday lives in preschools (Ebrahim, 2011). For example, "Preschool teachers are responsible for all children having real influence over working methods and contents of the preschool" (p. 12) indicates that children should be considered as active agents who have skills and knowledge that can be used in activities. Children also are positioned as having rights to be considered independent and capable, not as immature adults who need to gain skills and judgment. An example of this is the guideline for the work team to "take advantage of each child's ability and desire to take greater responsibility for themselves and their participation in the group of children" (p. 12). Another guideline, to "take account of children's eagerness, desire and enjoyment to learn, as well as strengthen confidence in their own ability" (p. 11), calls for children's present capabilities to be applied. The goals and guidelines that focus on children's being suggest that children who inhabit a society create it.

Positioning children as becoming

There are many more goals and guidelines that seem to position children as becoming, so we divided the analysis into two categories: "developing skills" and "providing stimulation and opportunities" to children.

Examples of the first category are the goal to "develop an understanding that all persons have equal value independent of social background and regardless of gender, ethnic affiliation, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or functional impairment" (p. 8) and the guideline to "prepare the children for participating in and sharing the responsibilities, rights and obligations that apply in a democratic society" (p. 12). These goals and guidelines indicate that children are conceived as individuals needing to be socialised by acquiring the necessary skills to perform as functioning members in society. Other goals and guidelines affirm that Swedish preschools have obligations to prepare children for the journey towards adulthood by providing them with appropriate skills. Examples of these include "ensuring that the individual child develops the ability and willingness to take responsibility and exercise influence in the preschool" (p. 12), and the guideline to "give child-

ren the opportunity to become familiar with their own immediate environment and those functions which are important in daily life, as well as become familiar with local cultural life” (p. 11).

Other goals and guidelines that were categorised as becoming in relationship to skills included: “develop their motor skills” (p. 10), “develop their curiosity and enjoyment” (p. 9), “develop their ability to listen, reflect and express their own views” (p. 9), “develop the ability to accept responsibility for their own actions” (p. 12), “to distinguish, explore, document, put questions about and talk about science” (p. 10), “to identify technology in everyday life, and explore how simple technology works” (p. 10), and “to build, create and construct using different techniques, materials and tools” (p. 10). The goals and guidelines indicate that children are considered to be becoming, because they position children as incomplete who need opportunities to be developed so that they resemble adults and have the skills to cope in adulthood at the present time. The abundance of goals and guidelines connected to skill development in regard to children’s becoming reflects Swedish society’s need for children to develop appropriate skills and knowledge (for example, technology or science) even during their preschool years. When the curriculum was revised, it was not just the goals and guidelines linked to mathematics which were given more emphasis, but also those connected to literacy, science and technology. These goals and guidelines suggest that children’s lives are determined and/or constrained by adults.

The other category of “becoming” goals and guidelines focuses on the stimulation and opportunities that children need as part of their becoming. Most of these, such as “their interest in science and technology” (p. 11), and “their language” (p. 11) were found in the “Development and Learning” guidelines (Section 2.2). They similarly positioned children as needing to acquire what others in society had deemed necessary for them to learn.

Positioning children simultaneously as being and becoming

Prout (2005) argued that differences between being and becoming are no longer possible to justify as both children and adults should be seen as a multiplicity of becoming, where all are incomplete and dependent. Thus, rather than concepts of being and becoming operating in opposition, children’s own experiences can be seen as valuable for widening the opportunity for learning norms and values, skills and knowledge, in a way that allows for both the production and reproduction of culture from one generation to another (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998).

Three of the goals and guidelines in the Swedish preschool curriculum suggest that children's experiences should be recognised and used in pedagogical practices to gain designated norms and values, skills and knowledge. When both children and adults are considered in the curriculum to be knowledgeable, then what they bring to an activity can be considered as beneficial for each other's learning and creating. An example of a guideline reflecting this is that children "receive new challenges that stimulate enjoyment in learning new skills, experiences and knowledge" (p. 11).

Tensions in the general goals between viewing children as being and becoming

In the general goals and guidelines, children are either positioned as being with norms and values, skills and knowledge that could contribute to an activity, or as becoming where they are incomplete. Children were much more likely to be positioned as being in the goals and guidelines in the sections on norms and values (2.1) and the influence of the child (2.3). It is perhaps not surprising to find that this is the case and that children are more likely to be positioned as becoming in the section on development and learning (2.2). However, this distinction in the goals and guidelines that preschools and their staff are supposed to implement means that it was very rare to find goals and guidelines in which children are simultaneously viewed as being *and* becoming, where their present norms and values, skills and knowledge can be used in creative ways for both the production and reproduction of cultural understandings about the world. In the next section, we consider how the goals and guidelines related to mathematics position children.

Curriculum positioning of children as being and becoming mathematicians

As mentioned in the introduction to this article, the revised preschool curriculum has increased the attention to mathematics. For example, preschool teachers are to ensure that children are "stimulated and challenged in their mathematical development" (p. 10), in which development suggests lifelong learning. In this way, children are positioned as being on a journey towards adulthood. The goals that the preschool curriculum background document considers to be related to mathematics are that preschools should strive to ensure that each child:

develop their understanding of space, shapes, location and direction, and the basic properties of sets, quantity, order and number concepts, also for measurement, time and change,

develop their ability to use mathematics to investigate, reflect over and test different solutions to problems raised by themselves and others,

develop their ability to distinguish, express, examine and use mathematical concepts and their interrelationships,

develop their mathematical skill in putting forward and following reasoning. (p. 10)

This suggests that in planning mathematical activities, teachers are likely to focus on the skills and knowledge that children do not presently possess. The only goal that seems to recognise children as being capable of action, although at the same time needing to develop their skills is: “putting forward and following reasoning”. By suggesting that children are already capable of putting forward reasoning, children are positioned as being. In joining this to what children need to develop, this goal can be considered as simultaneously positioning children both as being and becoming.

The revised curriculum’s strong emphasis on becoming a mathematician does not support teachers in planning activities to value what children already know and can do. Apart from the half of one goal, it does not seem there are any possibilities for teachers using the curriculum to view children as being mathematicians. This also means that the curriculum does not support opportunities for children to produce childhoods in which mathematics plays a creative role in producing new cultural understanding.

The schoolification of the Swedish preschool curriculum

Preschool as an institution is framed by and organised through its norms and values, as highlighted in the curriculum (James & Prout, 2001). In recent years, there has been a worldwide trend to bring aspects of school down into preschools, a development which is likely to change the kind of socialisation that preschools provide to children. This schoolification of preschool not only reflects that young children are more capable of engaging in the learning than had previously been taught in schools but also situates children as being at risk of school failure if they do not arrive at school with expected

norms and values, skills and knowledge (see, for example, Clements & Sarama, 2007). Sweden can be considered to be on the soft end of the schoolification of the preschool process as the goals and guidelines remain focused on what the preschool and its staff should make available to children, not what children should achieve. It is also the case that in the revised curriculum there are only five goals and guidelines related to mathematics. However, compared with the previous version of the curriculum, the number of goals, particularly in the section on learning and development has increased significantly, mostly in regard to knowledge areas such as mathematics, literacy, science and technology.

In this study, we analysed the goals and guidelines of the curriculum from the sections on norms and values, development and learning, and the influence of the child in order to investigate whether teachers were likely to have to resolve tensions between seeing children as being or becoming. In particular, we wanted to see whether the goals and guidelines related to mathematics, as an example of a schoolification process, might be in conflict with general goals and guidelines.

In the two sections on norms and values and the influence of the child, it is possible to see children positioned as both being and becoming. This suggests that teachers are likely to provide activities that socialise children both as reproducers and as producers of cultural understandings. In contrast, in the development and learning section, which includes the mathematics goals and guidelines, the focus almost completely situates children as becoming. This means that teachers are not supported in their view of children as having norms and values, skills and knowledge, which could be of value in planned activities based on these goals and guidelines. Consequently, the kind of socialisation that children receive is restricted to ensuring that they become members of the current society. In particular, the increased emphasis in the goals and guidelines in the revised curriculum related to mathematics indicates the importance placed on ensuring that children begin to become mathematicians while at preschool, but it continues to situate them as incomplete.

In three of the general goals and guidelines and in one goal related to mathematics, children are situated simultaneously as being and becoming. It would seem possible to write goals and guidelines that combine the two views of children more often. From our perspective, it would seem that such an approach could support preschool teachers and working teams to actively use children's current norms and values, skills and knowledge in planning

activities that would both produce and reproduce cultural understandings, including those about mathematics. Such an approach is more likely to contribute to a socialization that acknowledges the uncertain futures that children will have as they head towards adulthood.

Although our study of the revised curriculum's goals and guidelines suggests that the ways that children are positioned may be in conflict in different sections of the curriculum, there is a need for research that investigates how teachers actually plan and implement activities based on the revised curriculum. Delacour's (2012) research indicates some of the different interpretations that teachers have when planning mathematical activities. Our research for this paper suggests that more research is needed to understand how teachers' actual practices may affect children's opportunities for socialization.

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