CHAPTER I

Beginning the Modern Investigation of the Role of Schooling across the Globe

Schooling is ubiquitous across the globe. Virtually all of the almost 200 countries in the world have schooling as one of their central responsibilities. It is expected to prepare students to be responsible, informed citizens who will also contribute to the nation's economy. In that respect, schooling represents an investment in human resources that serves as a source of economic development as well as supporting the stability of society. Consequently, societies expect schooling to address both excellence and equality for their citizens. It is probably for this reason that around one-half of the world's countries have participated in one or more of the seventeen international assessments that have focused on mathematics, science, or both. Countries want some objective criteria on which to determine how well they have done on these two dimensions. This has led to the use of student achievement in these academic subjects, which have become ever more strongly related to productive and successful economies and that increasingly influence citizens' daily lives.

The metaphorical black box defining the key elements of schooling includes the student home and family background, which is brought to school; the content (including skills and reasoning) deemed by the society to be taught and learned; and the teacher who, with knowledge of the content and pedagogical skills, engages with the student over the content that is to be learned. To study schooling is to study these three key features.

A small group of university professors recognized that in order for comparisons to be made based on international assessment results, measures in addition to these assessments would be essential, since without them country comparisons would be meaningless. Using the black box metaphor, this led to the development and implementation of international measures of the home and family background of the student as well as measures that characterize what opportunities a student has had to learn appropriate academic content. These two factors – student socioeconomic background (SES) and opportunities to learn (OTL) appropriate content – have been present in various instantiations in the international studies in a fairly consistent manner.

The issue of teacher quality, how well prepared a teacher is to understand the academic content and to prepare cogent and coherent lessons around this content as well as managing and maintaining a classroom environment conducive to student learning, is vitally important for student learning. Unfortunately, this is what has not been consistently measured in international studies and is often left out. International Association for the Evaluation of Education (IEA) studies have collected many different teacher background and instructional measures, yet perhaps due in part to the limits of the amount and kind of data that can be collected in cross-sectional studies, the types of measure included such as degrees earned, years of experience, and number of professional development activities attended are weak proxies for teacher quality.

As important as teachers are in schooling, few international assessment studies have developed meaningful measures of teacher quality that have demonstrated a relationship to student learning. One international study addressed this issue through an examination of teacher preparation that gathered an assessment of future teachers' knowledge of mathematics and related pedagogy at the end of their teacher preparation program. In this book we consider this groundbreaking international study of tertiary education as well as an additional study of the training, instructional practices, and beliefs of practicing teachers.

The focus, however, is on examining K-12 schooling across the globe by using seventeen assessment studies in mathematics and science that focus on OTL, SES, and student achievement as measured by curriculum-based tests and literacy tests.

This chapter provides the historical development of international assessments in mathematics and science in relation to the IEA from the formation of the organization and the first international education assessments through the Second International Mathematics Study (SIMS). This will allow the reader to position the IEA assessments in a historical context before moving to a greater understanding of the evolution of the international assessment stages that include the addition of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).

Setting the Stage for the IEA

The origins of "comparative education" are mostly unknown, although the tradition can be traced as far back as the days of the Roman and Greek empires (Hans, 1949; Noah & Eckstein, 1969). Comparative education as a field has evolved since the Roman and Greek era, as have the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the field. Arguably, the field has followed a similar developmental pattern expressed in the history of all comparative studies wherein "they all started by comparing the existing institutions. Gradually, however, these comparisons led the pioneers of these studies to look for common origins and the differentiation through historical development. It unavoidably resulted in an attempt to formulate some general principles underlying all variations" (Hans, 1949, p. 6). For the purposes of this chapter, we break down the development of the field of comparative education into five stages and provide a brief overview of what each stage entailed until reaching the point at which the IEA was formed. This will provide a clear lens with which to understand how assessment came to be viewed as an important tool in comparative education.

The five stages, adopted from Noah and Eckstein's book *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* (1969), as illustrated in Figure 1.1, move from general observations of foreign schools to borrowing aspects of schooling methods, finally developing into a field characterized by the



Figure 1.1 The field of "comparative education:" a brief history from approximately eighth century BC to 1969¹

¹ The Stage titles in this model are directly quoted from Noah & Eckstein, 1969, pp. 4–7.

scientific method and its identification of variables and causal relationships between inputs (both within and outside the school system) and outputs of the school system. The first formal definition of the field has been credited to Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris who, in 1817, saw comparative education as a way to analytically study education in other countries in order to modify and perfect national systems (Hans, 1949). Initially, the field (from a North American and European perspective) relied on descriptive comparisons that were used to help shape national education or to assess the values behind schooling while seeking best practices and eventually incorporating other educational philosophies (Cowen, 1996; Hans, 1949).

The first four stages increasingly incorporated the social sciences, building a foundation for the fifth stage of comparative education in the 1950s when the field sought deeper statistical understandings of various education systems. Following the mainstream argument that Sputnik and the Cold War altered the trajectory of the purpose of education, and therefore shifted the goal of comparative education, the move for comparative education to include more scientific comparative data through testing and statistics is not surprising (Cowen, 1996; Lundgren, 2011; Mitter, 1997). However, if we take a step back from the Sputnik theory and look at the history of the field we can see a gradual evolution into this stage, a trajectory that was already in place – Sputnik merely intensified the focus and movement in this direction.

Interest in the international comparison of education systems was already increasing around World War II when education began to be viewed as an investment in human resources and a source of economic development (Husén, 1967a). Political agendas increasingly focused on the need to identify scientific methods of comparison that served to highlight progress or areas of weakness as political competition between nations increased. The field of comparative education was a way to view the world guided by a lens of what is important in a specific context and at a specific time (Cowen, 1996). In 1949, eight years prior to Sputnik, comparative educationalists were calling for common statistics as a foundation for future comparison, including administration, organization, and tests of intelligence and achievement, at a time when "each country has its own terminology, based on national history, its own classification and its own method of collecting and compiling statistical tables" (Hans, 1949, p. 7). Such a situation made meaningful comparisons all but impossible.

While this is an incomplete picture of the state of the field at the time, it sets the stage for the 1958 research memorandum authored by Arthur Foshay of Teachers College, Columbia University, and sent to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which ultimately launched the initial phase of the development of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Husén, 1967a; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996). The comparative education field is now replete with international assessments such as those found in the IEA studies, which adapt in purpose and structure to reflect a field that has become increasingly policy-oriented, increasingly competitive, and increasingly market-oriented (Broadfoot, 2010; Grek, 2009).

The Creation of the IEA

This fifth stage of "social science explanation" for comparative education sets the stage for the formation of the IEA and the launch of international comparative assessments in education that respond to the need for empirical evidence about student achievement and internationally comparative data. The consensus on which the IEA founding fathers based "the need to introduce into comparative educational studies established procedures of research and quantitative assessment" (Husén, 1967a, p. 13) was that previous research in comparative education provided only qualitative and descriptive information of education and culture, such as the descriptions from UNESCO, the International Bureau of Education (IBE), and the OECD, which were unable to provide insight into causal relationships among the educational inputs and outputs (Husén, 1967a). Before exploring the formation of the IEA, it would be pertinent to identify the founding fathers, together with their institutional affiliations, in order to better comprehend the context behind the conceptual framework of the IEA.

The IEA Founding Fathers

While there are many influential researchers who have been part of the IEA since the early days, there are a few who stand out as having taken an active and direct role in the actual formation of the organization. Often dubbed "the paternity," these founding fathers of the organization (listed here) are worthy of more space than this section allows:²

- C. Arnold Anderson, Professor, University of Chicago
- Benjamin Bloom, Professor, University of Chicago

² Founding fathers are listed with their academic position and affiliation held during the early days of the IEA and the First International Mathematics Study.

- Arthur W. Foshay, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University
- Torsten Husén, Professor, University of Stockholm, Past Chairman and Technical Director of the IEA
- Douglas A. Pidgeon, National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales
- T. Neville Postlethwaite, Lecturer, St. Albany College of Further Education; Research Officer (Test Services), National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, London
- Robert L. Thorndike, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University
- W. D. Wall, National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales
- Richard Wolf, Graduate Student in Measurement, Evaluation and Statistical Analysis, University of Chicago – Studying under Professor Benjamin Bloom

The Formation of the IEA

To understand the full arc of the IEA and its impact on international assessments over time and in the present, it is important to know the goals and scope of the studies that began with the Pilot. Husén and Postlethwaite (1996) break the history of the IEA into five stages, whereas Gustafsson (2008) analyzes the organization in two stages. In this section, we will address the development of the first and early stages of the evolution and then in Chapter 2 we will provide clarity on the transition into the more mature stages and goals. As we will see in Chapter 2, the organization shifted into an administrative undertaking; however, in the early stages the IEA operated with a strong research orientation, where studies were built from research questions and hypotheses (Lundgren, 2011). The educational and social science researchers (the founding fathers) at this time in the late 1950s were interested in researching educational achievement and its determinants with the underlying assumption that factors influencing achievement are complex (Gustafsson & Rosen, 2014).

The unofficial start to the IEA was in 1958 when C. Arnold Anderson first addressed an interest in a comparative education research project that would help establish unified metrics for testing educational hypotheses. Following this came the memo by Foshay calling a variety of educational researchers to action. This action was a UNESCO Institute of Education (UIE) meeting in Hamburg followed by subsequent meetings in Eltham

8

and other locales. The IEA was officially organized in 1959 with the aim "to look at achievement against a wide background of school, home, student and societal factors in order to use the world as an educational laboratory so as to instruct policy makers at all levels about alternatives in educational organization and practice" (Travers & Westbury, 1989, p. v).

Thus, as these founding fathers sought to fill a research gap with empirical evidence in a way that could easily be understood by specialists and nonspecialists alike, they focused on constructing instruments to evaluate problem areas related to school failure. The original purpose/mission of the IEA was to research education achievement and its determinants, to test hypotheses relating to educational outcomes based on social and cultural contexts, and to establish a "science of empirical comparative education" (Gustafsson & Rosen, 2014; Husén, 1967a, 1979, p. 371).

The initial IEA meetings were moved from UNESCO's UIE in Paris to their offices in Eltham and Hamburg as their Paris offices were too constraining for the organization. The IEA coordinating center moved to Stockholm in 1969 in order to accommodate a growing staff at the same time as the UIE's interest in the IEA waned. Furthermore, the Swedish University Chancellor was able to offer free computer time on the Ministry of Defense mainframe computer to the IEA while the data cleaning, weighting, and analyses were housed at the University of Chicago. Eventually, part of the data processing needed to move to the United States as part of a US Office of Education (USOE) grant requirement, at which time Thorndike established a data processing unit at Teacher's College, Columbia University. In this arrangement, data were cleaned and weighted with initial descriptive statistics at Teacher's College then sent to Stockholm for data analysis (Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996).

The Pilot Twelve-Country Study

As the IEA began to gain momentum following the initial meetings in Hamburg and Eltham, the first major (and logical) step was to test whether or not an international assessment of the type proposed would be feasible. This included identifying logistical issues that would need to be addressed prior to launching the first official assessment, and creating an assessment that is contextually appropriate and yields reliable data. The IEA's first international assessment was the Pilot Twelve-Country Study (Pilot). The stated goal of the study was to test various factors related to achievement, specifically "to be able to test the degree of universality of certain relationships which have been ascertained in one or two countries – for example, sex, home background, or urban-rural differences as related to achievement" (Husén, 1967a, p. 28). The group that had met in Hamburg to discuss the idea of the international assessment and form the IEA met three times between 1959 and 1961 in order to create the assessment, define the target student population, and plan the logistics of data collection and analysis (Foshay, Thorndike, Hotyat, Pidgeon, & Walker, 1962).

What sets the Pilot apart from the subsequent assessments is that it tested multiple areas (mathematics, reading comprehension, geography, science, and nonverbal ability), whereas the following assessments focused on single subjects until merging mathematics and science in 1995 (in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study).³ The Pilot chose to focus on students aged thirteen years old, since that age group represented the final year that students would still be in school in all the participating countries, and ideally the samples were to be constructed based on students who were close to the national mean and standard deviation of achievement as understood in each country (Husén, 1967a).

The data were collected in 1960 and analyzed between 1961 and 1962, and from these analyses researchers presented the data in the form of national profiles. The main finding was that an international assessment of student achievement was feasible (Husén, 1967a). However, significant issues were recognized throughout the process, from the developmental stage to the analytical stages. The main issues related to data and expertise: Countries were not equally equipped with the skill set necessary to administer the test or to identify and conduct the appropriate sampling of schools and students, and the test items themselves had some translation issues. The key finding remains, however, that "what was most significant was that it proved that the project could be completed as planned" (Husén, 1967a, p. 29), so that the researchers at the IEA were encouraged to develop and launch the first formal international assessment of student achievement, the First International Mathematics Study.

First International Mathematics and Science Studies (FIMS and FISS)

As the Pilot demonstrated feasibility of such a large-scale international assessments of educational achievement, the IEA researchers were able to

³ Even the Six Subject Survey, discussed on the following pages, broke the research into single-subject assessments rather than testing multiple subjects all during the same assessment time-frame.

turn their attention to a full scale, more complete study. The underlying sampling issues that were exposed during the Pilot were addressed as the IEA specifically contracted sampling experts in order to ensure the validity of their data. The First International Mathematics Study (FIMS) was developed in 1962 not to provide causal data related to academic achievement but instead to provide insight into how input factors (such as home environment, school procedures) relate to output measures (achievement); there was an underlying understanding among the IEA researchers that education was a social and political function, and FIMS sought to research how education responds to specific societal differences. In the development stages of FIMS, the researchers recognized and actively worked to address the limitations of the Pilot, which not only included the sampling errors and inconsistency with data collection but also included the need for a wider range of international actors to develop a mathematics assessment (Husén, 1967b, 1979; Schwille, 2011).

During this time, IEA remained a loose collaboration of researchers rather than a formal organization and it relied on the participating researchers and countries to raise the necessary funds for the studies, to identify hypotheses to study, to agree on and narrow these hypotheses into a manageable set of goals, and to collect and disseminate the data within their respective countries (Gustafsson & Rosen, 2014; Husén, 1979; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996). In the era of FIMS, the purpose and studies of the IEA continued along a similar trajectory that revealed an emerging pattern of interest: While attempting to take account of how teaching and learning are influenced by developments in society, there was an interest in conducting longitudinal studies that were not feasible due to constraints of both time and resources.

The study was developed to be a scientific research project, rather than a simple statement of data; thus, even with limitations that prevented the IEA from developing a longitudinal study, the founding fathers improvised ways to maintain the integrity of the scientific study in order to produce data that would be an acceptable alternative. Thus, the researchers made the decision to test two different groups of students in four populations at a single point in time rather than developing a longitudinal study – an implicit cohort-longitudinal design.

The decision was made to focus on two terminal points in each educational system: the point at which nearly 100 percent of students of a particular age were still present in schools and the point immediately prior to university. The first terminal point group was associated with thirteenyear-olds, yet differences across the countries committed to participating in the study surfaced in identifying a single grade in which all of these students were enrolled. Consequently, the study defined two thirteenyear-old populations: population 1a was defined as all thirteen-year-olds in whatever grade they were enrolled, and population 1b was defined as the grade in which the majority of thirteen-year-olds were enrolled. The preuniversity population consisted of two subpopulations: population 3a, defined as those students taking mathematics, and population 3b, those who were not.

The IEA researchers selected a single academic subject to test, mathematics, for three key reasons: First, while science and technology were identified as a pressing policy issue, mathematics was viewed as the foundation on which science and technology would be understood; second, there was a rise in recent efforts to reexamine mathematics curricula in schools in multiple countries, which suggested a need to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the curricula; and finally, mathematics was framed as a universal language that would minimize translation issues that were identified in the Pilot (Husén, 1967a, 1967b; Medrich & Griffith, 1992).

As a research organization, the IEA had multiple meetings during the test construction phase in order to identify hypotheses for independent variables worth testing as well as to define how to measure those variables. David Walker, Director of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, had proposed in the Pilot Study the "opportunity to learn" (OTL) measure as a method to understand the impact of teaching on learning in mathematics, based on the idea that what is taught by teachers is not always the same as what teachers claim to teach. The initial measure of the variable used in FIMS was crude, but it was the first time that this concept had been formally quantified and used as a variable to understand the relationship between inputs and outputs in educational achievement (Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996; McDonnell, 1995).

The assessment comprised multiple-choice items, a student opinion booklet, and background questionnaires given to students, teachers, and school experts in each country. The analysis conducted by the IEA produced a number of findings related to the impact of student attitude, gender, and socioeconomic status on achievement. The data were collected in 1964 and official reports published in 1967 (Husén, 1967a, 1967b; Postlethwaite, 1967). However, these official reports were followed by many case studies, technical reports, overviews, and other publications of national analyses of data that were published by the IEA researchers and other researchers in the participating countries (Husén, 1979; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996; "IEA: Home," n.d.). As with the Pilot and many other research projects, the completion of FIMS and the analysis of data produced not only results but also brought to light issues with the test and questions for future research. Translation, data collection, and the protracted timing of official reports were issues identified as problematic in the Pilot that persisted in FIMS, and some researchers questioned the generalizability of the study. Perhaps predictably, given the initial desire for longitudinal data, one of the critiques that arose after the publications were released was that the data only looked at one point in time and, therefore, was not able to provide insight into growth or changes within a system of education. However, similar to the response to the Pilot by the IEA, in which the researchers not only acknowledged the issues but worked to address them in the creation of the next study, these involved as topics to be addressed when future studies were considered.

In 1965, the researchers began to wonder whether or not the achievement predictors found in FIMS would be pertinent to other subject areas, which led to the Six Subject Survey that included the First International Science Study (FISS). Although working on six different assessments began to wear on the IEA and the international community at large, the Spencer Foundation Fellows were invited to Stockholm for secondary analyses of the FIMS and FISS data when the interest in international studies waned. This renewed interest encouraged the IEA to consider a second mathematics study (Gustafsson, 2008; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996).

Second International Mathematics and Science Studies (SIMS and SISS)

Just as the IEA researchers did after the Pilot Twelve-Country Study, they recognized and made efforts to address the limitations of the previous study as they developed the next assessment. In particular, the IEA recognized the limitations of single-time studies and, short of transforming the studies into longitudinal studies, the IEA began to seek ways in which to address the issue of single-timepoint assessments. Following FIMS and the subsequent Six Subject Survey (which introduced FISS), the research climate began to shift slightly, which added another layer to the issues the IEA researchers needed to address.

The 1970s saw an increased interest in international large-scale assessments with a keen interest on quick results, while at the same time the "Cambridge Manifesto" (see Elliott & Kushner, 2007) highlighted the

growing critiques of purely quantitative methods in educational research. The critique was that too little research was being directed to the actual teaching process, while too much attention was paid to student behavior due to the research climate focusing on precision in measurement (Lundgren, 2011).

Thus, mindful of the FIMS limitations and critiques of the field, the IEA developed the SIMS. The goals of SIMS were to contribute to a deeper understanding of education and the specific nature of teaching and learning. SIMS' intense focus on the context in which mathematics learning takes place was expressed through the emphasis on what happens inside the classroom, a new approach to studying teaching and learning, with a concern not only for what students learned but what the curriculum intended to teach and what was actually taught (Burstein, 1993; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996; Travers & Westbury, 1989).

SIMS was specifically designed to include pieces of the FIMS assessment, creating the first possibility to compare/contrast with historical results among eleven repeat participating education systems. This allowed researchers to explore ways in which mathematics teaching and learning may have changed since FIMS (Travers & Westbury, 1989), and the researchers honed the Opportunity to Learn (OTL) measure that was piloted in FIMS. As SIMS had grown in scope as well as in the number of countries participating, the assessment was building legitimacy in its ability to contribute to a deeper understanding of education as well as to the overall nature of teaching and learning. Mathematics was again the chosen assessment subject, important due to the perception that mathematics was uniquely poised to broaden and hone intellectual capabilities, and would be used widely in life after school. As Travers and Westbury noted, mathematics "provides an exemplar of precise, abstract and elegant thought" (1989, p. 1).

SIMS introduced an optional longitudinal component to the assessment (in the lower secondary population), but IEA researchers also used items from FIMS in order to create some continuity and comparability across the two tests for those systems that chose not to participate in the longitudinal component. The IEA found itself in the midst of an interesting contradiction in education at this time, in the early 1980s. On the one hand, the late 1970s had shown a diminishing interest at the research level in large-scale international assessments, which was addressed by the Spencer Foundation's call for secondary analysis of the FIMS and the Six Subject Survey databases. On the other hand, national governments were increasingly interested in international comparisons and periodic studies with immediate results (Burstein, 1993; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996).

Interest in periodic studies led to the Second International Science Study (SISS), yet the call for immediacy was not realized: The SIMS study was developed in 1976 and the test was administered in 1980–1981 but the three official publications were not released until 1987, 1989, and 1993. Similarly, the SISS study was administered in 1983–1984 but the official publications were released only in 1991–1992. At the same time, while SIMS and SISS took a while, the IEA researchers began to propose a multitude of other studies of interest both related and unrelated to the interest in periodic studies (Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996).

As the momentum of the IEA built, excitement was visible in the development of the SIMS assessment specifically related to the strong focus on teaching and learning. The OTL measure was refined, the optional longitudinal study was novel in international assessment, and the mathematics assessment broke down "mathematics" into smaller topic areas in order to understand achievement differences within mathematics at a deeper level. As the IEA looked beyond mathematics, the excitement was redirected to the larger concepts of teaching and learning:

Yet [Jack] Schwille helped retain concern for the broader context that comparative and policy perspectives from IEA studies have so ably provided. It was always easy within SIMS to get caught up in the enthusiasm for the study of teaching and learning of mathematics *per se* and lose sight of the dual benefits of the worldwide "laboratory" of ideas and concerns available in an IEA conducted cross-national study (Burstein, 1993, p. xxviii).

Setting the Stage for the 1995 Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS-95)

The main issues that were brought to light through SIMS were twofold: the validity of comparisons and the rise of the "cognitive Olympics." Comparison was called into question in the absence of curriculum commonality among the participating countries, although the OTL measures sought to act as an adjustment that would enable achievement to be comparable in the absence of a common curriculum. While the OTL measure was significantly refined in order to serve that purpose, the concern is an important reminder that large-scale international assessments face a variety of hurdles related to test validity by the nature of the multitude of contexts in which the school systems are situated. The question of validity and comparability, while addressed through the OTL in relation to curricular differences, continues to be an issue that researchers always need to address in such assessments (Bradburn, Haertel, Schwille, & Torney-Purta, 1991; Burstein, 1993; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996).

The second issue was the rise of the cognitive Olympics, in which the data were being used to create rankings of the participating countries for political purposes (Burstein, 1993; Husén, 1979). This issue will not be as easily overcome as finding a method to control or adjust for unknown variables such as the OTL did for comparisons. Consequently, it will continue to be an issue pertinent to future assessments and should not go unnoticed. Despite the potential for the misuse of data, SIMS itself continued in the IEA tradition of building on past themes through identifying issues presented by FIMS and addressing them in the creation of SIMS. However, since the SIMS results and publications took such a long time, political shifts and international interests changed between reports and set the stage for the next phase in international comparative education: a shift away from research into evaluation that may be used in policy-relevant (or agenda-relevant) decisions (Burstein, 1993; Gustafsson, 2008; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996). As the purpose in assessment shifted, the impact of SIMS remains strong:

the early leaders were not so naïve as to think that wishing for equity made it so. Rather they were prescient enough to introduce what may be IEA's most powerful contribution of all to the literature on educational achievement surveys; namely, the measurement of opportunity to learn (OTL) (Burstein, 1993, p. xxxiii).

Paving the Way for the Next Phase

Research focusing on the historical development of international assessments of student achievement developed theories based on breaking the history of assessment into different stages; some research points to three macro-stages of international assessment, while other research suggests there are only two stages or as many as five stages. Of course, as time is continuous and international assessments continue to be conducted in the current era of international comparisons, it is to be expected that the number of stages in the evolution of international education assessment will increase.

This chapter and Chapter 2 have chosen to characterize the development of international assessment studies through five stages that merge the five stages proposed by Husén and Postlethwaite (1996) with the three stages of evolving assessment frameworks proposed by Gustafsson (2008) to create a new understanding of five phases/stages. The evolution of assessment frameworks and the tests themselves combine in a flow that is illustrated in Figure 1.2 as anchored by the mathematics studies (Gustafsson, 2008; Husén, 1979; Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996).

This chapter has sought to provide a historical overview and also to provide a context for the first stages in this model, which include the initiation of international achievement studies, the development of a framework for this type of research, and the work of the IEA researchers to learn from and build on past assessments rather than reinvent the wheel. Before moving into phase four, with the IEA introduction of the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS-95) and finally into phase five, which brings another actor, the OECD, with another assessment, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), it would behoove us to take a moment to answer the questions "what was learned by the start of the IEA?" and "under what context was the IEA pushed into TIMSS-95?"

The start of the IEA was instrumental in teaching educational researchers and social scientists that large-scale assessments of student achievement are feasible, albeit with many challenges that need to be addressed. As the IEA sought to learn from past assessments, not only in terms of the researchers' hypotheses but also in terms of technical and theoretical issues presented by the test itself, the IEA also serves as a lesson to researchers in general: research is not static; rather it is an action verb – something that is done, improved on, and changing. As SIMS showed, the trend to build on past experiences can provide researchers with unique and important measures such as OTL that can be refined in order to help address concerns about comparability.

At the same time, an ongoing struggle regarding the use of research and data is a reminder to researchers that even research projects that are planned, piloted, and reworked can be misused or misinterpreted. This is also an important lesson for policy makers, educators, and general consumers of research: to be critical of how data are presented and used. The political shifts and international interests briefly mentioned in the section about SIMS also provide a piece to this puzzle; phase four moves into the 1990s, an era of increased interest in knowledge societies, reemergence of human capital theories, and the end of the Cold War. This also marks the rise of the "Information Age," when data are expected instantly. As we will see, this will lead to increased pressure away from



Five historical phases of the IEA focusing on mathematics, revealing international assessment organizational shifts over time Figure 1.2 a research-oriented approach to such studies into a bureaucratic "indicator" process (Husén & Postlethwaite, 1996; Lundgren, 2011; Pereyra, Kotthoff, & Cowen, 2011).

As Torsten Husén and Neville Postlethwaite (1996) conclude in their historical look at the IEA, future studies must continue to answer relevant questions as expressed in the original mission of the IEA, and the future of the IEA (and, we would argue, international assessments more broadly) will depend on the quality of answers the assessments can provide. It is fitting to move into the next phase of international assessment with that observation firmly in mind.