

Final Version
European Studies – Bachelor of Science

By Frederike Kipper
Supervisor: Liudvika Leisyte
Second Supervisor: Don Westerheijden



How has the European Students' Union developed into a professional interest group representation organization since 1991?

Abstract:

This thesis focuses on the historical development process of the European Students' Union with regard to its institutionalization since 1991. It investigates the changes in the set-up of the organization systematically since its foundation in 1982, but putting a strong emphasis on the Bologna Process beginning in 1998. The development is analyzed with a model depicting the influence from both the institutional environment and the organizational field in higher education. The results show that the ESU was subject to transformative powers within its environment which offered opportunities to institutionalize. While the ESU was formalized only to a limited extent with few political powers at its beginning, it has developed into a highly institutionalized actor having significant influence on higher education policy-making.

Frederike Kipper
Hengelosestraat 250
7521 AL Enschede

E-mail: frederikekipper@gmail.com
Student number: s1065831
European Studies BSc – 3rd year student

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List of Abbreviations

AEGEE - Association des États Généraux des Étudiants de l'Europe
 AIESEC - Association internationale des étudiants en sciences économiques et commerciales
 BFUG – Bologna Follow-up Group
 BM – Board Meeting
 BP – Bologna Process
 BPC – Bologna Process Committee
 CIA – (ESU Committee) Commission for Internal Audit
 CIA – (US Agency) – Central Intelligence Agency
 EC – European Community
 ECJ – European Court of Justice
 EHEA – European higher education area
 EQAR – European Quality Assurance Register
 ESC – European Student Convention
 ESIB – European Student Information Bureau (until 1992)
 ESIB – National Unions of Students in Europe (from 1992 – 2007)
 ESN – Erasmus Student Network
 ESU – European Students' Union
 EU – European Union
 EUA – European University Association
 EURASHE - European Association of Higher Education Institution
 EYF – European Youth Forum
 HE – Higher Education
 HEI – Higher Education Institution
 ISC – International Student Conference
 IUS – International Union of Students
 NUS – National Union of Students
 SU – Soviet Union
 WESIB - Western European Students Information Bureau
 WG – Working Group

1. Introduction

This Bachelor thesis seeks to explore how the European Students' Union (hereafter ESU) has developed into a professional interest representation since it was initially established as an information bureau named Western European Students Information Bureau (WESIB).

The fact that the ESU, even though an important actor within the higher education policy-making, has not been subject to much in-depth academic research yet presents the main reason for this thesis.

The key research question is thus:

“How has the European Students' Union developed into a professional interest representation organization since 1991?”

As the ESU (2013a) is claiming on its website, it is “a professional advocacy and capacity building organization” and this thesis is analyzing their development into this professional interest group. Former research has so far not been able to identify how the ESU has become such a group, only that it can be considered professional and formalized (Klemenčič, 2012c). Adding to the small body of literature on higher education interest groups and in particular, student unionism (Corbett, 2003; Eising, 2008; Klemenčič, 2012c) this study seeks to analyze the ESU as a case. In order to answer the above named research question in this exploratory thesis a qualitative case study is carried out. Particular importance is put upon the theory of institutionalization of which a model is presented seeking to study several expectations about the institutionalization process of the ESU and the factors which might have influenced it. For this study both primary and secondary sources have been used to triangulate data and make valid statements about the posed question. The remainder of this chapter is going to first introduce the research question and its sub-questions as well as the relevance of this study. Lastly, it will outline the structure of the thesis in more detail.

1.1 Research Question

1.1.1 Main question

How has the ESU developed into a professional interest representation organization since 1991?

1.1.2 Sub-questions

1) What has been the status of the ESU before 1991 in terms of its institutionalization?

2) Which changes between 1991 and 2010 have affected the ESU's development into an institutionalized interest representation organization?

3) What is the status of the ESU in 2010 in terms of its institutionalization?

After having assessed the case of the ESU in more detail it became evident that only little research has been conducted on it as an organization despite the fact that it is an important player within the higher education in Europe (ESU, 2012; Klemenčič, 2012a, 2012c). In terms of development the ESU is particularly interesting as it changed its organizational structure entirely during its 30 years of existence. The main question seeks to find out the mechanisms that led the ESU to develop into a professional interest representation organization. The year 1991 has been chosen as a point of reference to assess the status of the ESU and establish a status-quo. Building on this, the changes that occurred in the following two decades are contrasted against the status of 1991 and help to assess whether the organization institutionalized or not over time. Overall, the sub-questions allow investigating the factors that have led the ESU to develop into a professional interest representation organization.

The ESU has been changing especially during the 90s and most importantly, during the Bologna Process (BP) and adapted to the changes in its environment (Adelman, 2009; Bergan, 2003; Charlier & Croche, 2004; ESU, 2012; Foa, 2003; Klemenčič, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c; Ness, 2011; Øye, 2011; Sundström, 2012; Walter, 2004; Westerheijden et al., 2010; Witte, Huisman, & Purser, 2009). The institutional theory is used to study the process of the ESU's institutionalization applying process-tracing as the main method of investigation. Institutionalization has been chosen because we want to examine the effects that the institutional environment has had on an organization like ESU. Particularly interesting will be the effects the environment of the ESU had on the organization.

1.2 Relevance

In this section it is outlined why the ESU presents a relevant case study showing what the ESU is all about and which gap in academic research with regard to Higher Education (HE) policy is to be filled. The ESU is the representation of European students which has been formally established already in 1982 and has been developed into the biggest student representation at European level representing the educational, economic and social interest of 11 million students in the higher education field (ESU, 2012). Gradually, the ESU developed into a highly important player at the European HE policy-making level. The question remains

why the ESU has not been taken by students as a study object considering there is only a limited account of research by e.g. Klemenčič (e.g. Klemenčič, 2012a). To study the ESU as an interest group - which might even be considered an example for other interest groups in HE. This thesis will thus depict the development process of the ESU and seeks to identify its institutionalization process in the light of increased European policy-making in HE since the introduction of the BP.

Institutionalization has mostly been applied on electoral democracies rather than organizations and only barely on interest groups. Thus it is very interesting to look in more detail how institutionalization is shaped for Interest Groups (IG) and their environment. Furthermore, with the increasing relevance of IG's at the European level it is about time that academia gains a more coherent understanding of the IG's. The development process of the former is considered a first step towards understanding the complex political process they are part of. As HE is gaining importance in Europe, the study of an IG within this environment is considered a highly relevant study object. This thesis will add both to the existing but limited body of literature on development of civil society organizations at European level (Coen & Richardson, 2009; Fraussen, 2011; Staggenborg, 1988) but mostly towards the study of institutionalization of civil society organizations within the European Unions (EU) institutional framework (Klüver & Saurugger, 2011; Mahoney, 2004; Saurugger, 2008) even though those publications are also limited in numbers (Wessels, 2004, p. 195) as the focus of institutionalization literature is mostly on electoral democracies rather than organizations. Particular attention will be paid to the study of student unions which is underrepresented at the moment (Klemenčič, 2012a, pp. 3-4). This study seeks to provide a clearer picture of the development process that ESU underwent within its environment to add to a full exploration of the development of student unions in Europe – with ESU as the most prominent example due to its size and impact on European politics in HE.

1.3 Thesis outline

This thesis is seeking to answer the question how the ESU has developed into a professional interest representation organization since 1991. The literature review is going to depict the academic resources that are of use for the analysis for the research carried out here.

Chapter 3 is going to provide the theoretical background of the thesis including the main concept for investigation – institutionalization of the ESU and the expectations about the results of the study.

The chapter on methodology is going to feature process tracing as the main method for this study. In chapter 5 the findings are presented according to the three sub-research questions including the expectations established in chapter 3.3. Before an answer to the research question is given and alternative explanations as well as limits of this research are presented including recommendations for future research, a short discussion of the findings in relation to the literature is given.

2. Literature Review

In the following section the existing body of research on three major areas of this study will be reviewed – the literature on higher education policy-making at the European level, the research on institutionalization of interest groups at the European level and on institutional isomorphism at the European level.

The issue of higher education policy involvement of the EU has been studied in a vast amount of publications. Here several academics have identified the European Commission as the main actor when it comes to higher education decision-making (Corbett, 2003; Gornitzka, 2009; Hackl, 2001; Keeling, 2006; Mahoney, 2004). Apart from the long history of the European Commission as a policy entrepreneur (Corbett, 2003; Hackl, 2001) and its capacities to get involved even in such intergovernmental processes as the BP it has presented the academic community with an astonishing increase in scope and reach of its policies going sometimes beyond what is formally granted in the European treaties (Keeling, 2006). Many authors see the Commission as the main driving force behind increased community involvement in HE and agree that policy-making has substantially increased since the introduction of the Maastricht treaty in 1991 (Corbett, 2003; Hackl, 2001) and even more during the BP (Fredriksson, 2003; Gornitzka, 2009; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004). Ruth Keeling (2006), who says that Commission documents shape the HE policy-making significantly, agrees here with Åse Gornitzka (Gornitzka, 2009; Keeling, 2006). At the same time, the Commission itself is attractive for the HE sector as it provides a valuable basis of funding (Mahoney, 2004; Mahoney & Beckstrand, 2011). Criticizing this stance, Anne Corbett (2003) shows that the Community has been active in the field of education already from the start when analyzing the pre-decision-making of the policy formation process (Corbett, 2003). However, she does acknowledge that these early days of higher education policy-making have been influential on the later periods like the BP. Still, it is suggested that the Commission did not act on its own as some suggests it formed alliances with stakeholders – predominantly with the European University Association (EUA) (Adelman, 2009; Haskel, 2008; Huisman &

Van Der Wende, 2004). Beyond the EU, actors such as the Rectors' Conference and of course, universities have been shaping the process through their representation in the EUA (formerly CRE) (Adelman, 2009; Haskel, 2008; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004; Reichert, Tauch, Geddie, & Crosier, 2005). It is argued that universities will be in an important position in the future (Kohler, Purser, & Wilson, 2006) while their role in the past, especially the one of the EUA is not to be underestimated (Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004, p. 352). Thus, not only the EU and in particular the Commission are important players but universities and their representation in the EUA are not to be missed in a full discourse about the ESU's development into an institutionalized IG. A closer look must thus be paid to the different stakeholders in HE and which impact they have had on the ESU's development.

Despite the fact that authors like Anne Corbett (2003) see community activities already long before the last decade of the 20th century, the major events that have shaped the policy-making process have begun after the introduction of the Maastricht Treaty – such as the BP. The main period was the BP that reshaped HE entirely even though such an assessment is rather difficult (Hackl, 2001; Walter, 2004; Westerheijden, et al., 2010; Witte, et al., 2009).

While Elsa Hackl (2001) sees the period between the Sorbonne Declaration 1998 and the Prague Communiqué 2001 as crucial for her conclusion that the EU has substantially increased its involvement suspected of even going beyond the competencies granted in the treaties (Hackl, 2001). Ruth Keeling (2006) sees the whole period circumscribed by the BP and the Lisbon Agenda (roughly 1999 to 2010) as important while the Maastricht treaty bears the basis necessary to facilitate both (Keeling, 2006). Here it is not only noteworthy that the period before the treaty is not being seen as a time without any HE policy-making. Since the 1950s political Europe has been involved in the process of shaping higher education, predominantly on national basis though (Keeling, 2006; Nilsson, 2004b). A prominent supranational example is however the Erasmus scheme and increased efforts in granting mobility to students and workers (Keeling, 2006). Taking into consideration the different time frames that authors adopt it is evident that the period between the 1950s and 1990s is part of the development in higher education; however, the most recent events have significantly reshaped HE in Europe. With regard to this research the chosen time frame for this study is looking at the time after 1991 and especially at the BP which has been reshaping the higher education landscape in Europe since 1998 with ESU being part of this (Esatoglu, 2013; Hackl, 2001; Neave, 2003; van der Wende, 2000; Wit, 2001; Witte, et al., 2009).

Looking at the research on interest group, many studies are dealing with the access of IGs to the EU and its officials (Bouwen, 2004a, 2004b; Coen & Richardson, 2009; Wonka, 2008)

and in particular, how IG's have developed democracies in a theoretical way (Berman, 1997; Burstein, 2003) or with regard to the European Union (Greenwood, 1997). A major problem that remains with studies regarding the EU is the general population of IGs to be measured (Wonka, Baumgartner, Mahoney, & Berkhout, 2010) while there exist few case studies, however, linked to national IG's more than to a truly pan-European group as the ESU (Grant, 1999; Rieger, 1994). A first step into this direction was taken by Manja Klemenčič, whose studies relate to this one as she deals with student participation and student unionism in HE governance in Europe (Klemenčič, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). She found out that the ESU has institutionalized during the period of Bologna and Lisbon – which she sees as a hybrid developmental process (Klemenčič, 2012c, pp. 3, 9). First and foremost Klemenčič assesses national student unions and representative bodies but she relates her findings also to the ESU. She assumes that the ESU was subject to a transformative process that was shaped by the BP (Klemenčič, 2011a). In addition to this part of valuable literature Sjur Bergan (2003, 2004) from the Council of Europe has published “The university as res publica” which features not only an assessment of the state of student participation in European HE but also includes an analysis of a survey among ESU members on the level of student participation (Bergan, 2004). Additionally, Bergan analyzed the influence of students in democracy and assesses that the ESU has been a professional and competent player in negotiations within the BFUG (Bologna Follow-up Group) (Bergan, 2003).

As agreed upon by researchers, the BP has been decisive in the history of HE reform which is why it will be reviewed in detail in the analysis of the ESU's development process (Bergan, 2003, 2004; Keeling, 2006; Klemenčič, 2012a; van der Wende, 2000; Voegtler, Knill, & Dobbins, 2011). The BP is seen as a quick and far-reaching development while it did not only transform HE but also the organizations related to HE policy-making (Adelman, 2009). However, it has to be noted that the BP is an entirely separated process from e.g. the EU's Research Agenda in the context of the Lisbon strategy. While Bologna is an entirely intergovernmental process which involves many more actors than only EU's ones, the EU's strategy is part of a reform process that began in 2000 in an attempt to increase growth of the EU economy. Some see the BP and the Lisbon Strategy as a hybrid development but they are in their institutional set-up entirely different political projects (Haskel, 2008; Klemenčič, 2012a; Witte, 2006).

All in all, this literature review shows that a substantive body of literature on aspects relevant to this study already exists. However, it lacks a study on student unionism for which ESU presents a sufficient case. This gap is to be filled by this research focusing on the ESU as a

case study. It will be important to analyze the influences above named actors have had on ESU's development as well as how its environment shaped its organizational features and turned it into an acknowledged and legitimate institution.

3. Theoretical Background

3.1 Concepts

This chapter is going to elaborate on the predominant concepts for investigating the research question “How has the ESU developed into a professional interest representation organization since 1991?” and its sub-questions. The goal is to gain an understanding development process the ESU was part of and this is why the popular concept of institutionalization is investigated. First of all the term “institutions” is being defined by Barley and Tolbert (1997) as a set of ‘shared rules and typifications that identify categories of social actors and their appropriate activities or relationships’ (Barley & Tolbert, 1997, p. 6) and a simpler definition by Simmons and Martin (2002) constitutes institutions only as ‘a set of rules meant to govern behavior’ (Simmons & Martin, 2002, p. 194) while Zucker (1987) shows that the term ‘institutional’ includes “(a) a rule-like, social fact quality of an organized pattern of action (exterior), and (b) an embedding in formal structures, such as formal aspects of organizations that are not tied to particular actors or situations(non-personal objective)” meaning that not only rules to govern the external but also structures for the internal actions are necessary, all of them are not tied to individuals but to the institutional set-up instead (Zucker, 1987, p. 444).

All the definitions share the perception of a common set of rules and a certain constraint of actors who are bound by these rules as crucial to the definition. We make use of the following definition of an institution in this study:

- *Institutions are a set of common rules which determine the behavior of actors in a non-personal manner.*
 - It has to be recognized though that this is a type of sociological institutionalization which is studied in this research while there exist various types of definitions in other areas e.g. historical or political theory (Amenta & Ramsey, 2010, pp. 2-3).

Organizations are different from institutions. Bittner (1965) notes that organizations can be characterized as ‘stable associations of people’ who engage in ‘activities directed to the attainment of specific objectives’ (Bittner, 1965, p. 239). We therefore see the concept of organizations as the following:

- *Organizations are depending on people and follow a collective goal within their environment.*
 - This is done in relatively formalized structures according to Scott (Scott, 1981, p. 23) while the individual is playing a key role in comparison to institutions where the set of rules governing the entity is the crucial factor.

This is also what separates both concepts. For organizations it can be stated that they are a social entity which was constructed by individuals to pursue a goal and is thus dependent on its members while an institution is a set of rules which constrains individuals within it and is technically independent from its members in the sense that it is a societal construct which was constructed for certain purpose (Sweet, Sandholtz, & Fligstein, 2001, p. 6).

- *Individuals are the lowest level of the overall social construct and are acting on their own for individual goals only*
 - They can become part of both the upper levels and are seen in a status of “chaos” as long as they are not organized or even institutionalized.

After defining the concepts used for the remainder of this study, we now turn to the introduction of the institutionalization process as the key theoretical background to explain the ESU’s development.

3.2 The Institutionalization Process

In order to answer the main research question we turn to the neo-institutional theory. This theory is pertinent to W.R. Scott (1987) who presents aspects of a study by Philip Selznick in his study ‘The Adolescence of Institutional Theory’. Scott (1987) presents the distinct model of institutional theory that has been formulated by Selznick in 1957 who defines institutionalization as a process that does ‘infuse [an organization] with value beyond technical requirements.’ (Scott, 1987, p. 494) . Not only does this imply that the organization as such gains a new layer moving beyond for example the pure meaning of sharing information but actively shaping policy outcomes. Scott (1987) implies that organizations turn into social constructs that seek for self-survival. This arguments is supported by such as John W. Meyer et al. (1977, p. 252) and Lynne Zucker (1987, p. 443).

However, he also claims that historical processes and changes remain important and consequently “institutionalization as a process” (Scott, 1987, p. 495) has been shaped actively by an environment in which organizations find themselves in. However, the environment is an area of uncertainty for organizations in which they have to conform to the environmental

pressures exerted in the most sufficient manner possible to secure their survival (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, pp. 3-4).

Zucker (1987) acknowledges two distinct influences that determine the institutionalization of an organization. Either the environment or the other organizations are the source of institutionalization (Zucker, 1987, p. 445). Environmental influences, characterized as pressures by outside actors, are detectable (Zucker, 1987, p. 449) while the goal is to conform with the superior institutions, like for instance states (Zucker, 1987, p. 450) to increase the likelihood of survival (Zucker, 1987, p. 445). Additionally, organizations tend to copy the superior organization which results in a rather constrained and systematic institutional organization (Zucker, 1987, p. 444).

The organization itself exerts pressures via transforming the internal processes which in turn present opportunities for spill-over effects within the organization (Zucker, 1987, p. 446). The organization as such transforms itself instead of reacting towards external pressures. The state is one among many determinants from the environment and thus the process of institutionalization is not systematically controlled (Zucker, 1987, pp. 446-447, 450).

Given the above theories it is difficult to determine which of the two scenarios is more appropriate to consider for our research. Zucker (1987) herself criticizes the second one as theoretically unclear and especially the problem of clearly distinguishing her concept of institutionalization from the resource dependency theory (Zucker, 1987, p. 454).

Taking the first scenario where the environment of an organization determines its institutionalization leaves room to investigate what exactly accounts as the environment – the institutional environment and as part of it, the organizational field, where maybe isomorphism pressures might be executed as well (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983 for more on Institutional Isomorphism see Appendix I). Institutional Isomorphism is defined as a “constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same environment” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 149). Thus the survival of the fittest becomes crucial to organizations which need to compete with others of the same organizational field within one environment (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150). Many studies (e.g. Altbach & Knight, 2007; Vaira, 2004) imply that isomorphism creates a possibility to explain organizational change, also in HE, while acknowledging that it is quite difficult to clearly detect the reason for the process. The analysis bears potential of revealing whether isomorphism can be taken as an alternative explanation for the ESU’s development. After introducing the institutional theory the matrix for investigation of institutionalization is introduced and then explained with references to both the above named and additional studies.

Table 1: Model of Institutionalization

Concept	Characteristic	Indicators
Institutionalization	Common Beliefs	Norms
		Priorities
	Interest Profile	Goals
		Features
	Procedural Capacities	Organizational routines
		Available resources

(Model is based on Scott, 1987; Seippel, 2001; Selznick, 1984; Zucker, 1987)

Table 1 is based upon the research of four influential researchers who have all dealt with institutionalization and have identified dimensions and indicators in their work (Scott, 1987; Seippel, 2001; Selznick, 1984; Zucker, 1987). This table presents a merger of these works tailored to fit the needs to investigate institutionalization of interest groups. Seippel’s (2001) work in which he has taken environmental groups as his unit, very much resembles the ESU in its features and thus the paper presents valuable information for further investigation. With Seippel (2001) citing Rucht, Blattert and Rink (1997), who see institutionalization as a combination of both differentiation in terms of organization and formalization in terms of structures and rules, and then he provides three dimensions (routines, norms and cognitive factors). These are relevant for the analysis of the institutionalization of an organization and are considered well-fit for the ESU as a study subject as well (Seippel, 2001, p. 125). These are compared and contrasted with the aforementioned research.

Firstly, he considers ‘routines’ such as regular processes and simple agendas which are pursued regularly (Seippel, 2001, p. 125). This is supported by Zucker (1987, p. 444). Additionally, the theory of professionalization also suggests that survival can only be assured if certain prerequisites are apparent such as funds and staff are available (Saurugger, 2006, p. 16; Staggenborg, 1988, p. 594). Professionalization relates to routines in such a way that indicators and dimensions of both concepts resemble each other and thus offer a reason to merge them for the purpose of this paper (See Appendix II on professionalization). In our model the above named aspects are found in the characteristic “Procedural Capacities”. This characteristic of a model on institutionalization deals with the aspect of how capable the organization is in pursuing its interest in a professional way, by for instance, employing staff and creating expert networks.

Secondly, norms are a very relevant dimension in Seippel’s analysis meaning basic goals and features that generate an ‘integrated culture’ within the unit (Seippel, 2001, p. 125). Again this

is supported by Staggenborg (1988), who accounts the membership base and overlapping aims between leaders and members as crucial to achieve survival (Staggenborg, 1988, p. 587). With regard to interest groups it becomes particularly clear to include this characteristic since such groups have to have a political interest to be considered an interest group (Eising, 2008, p. 5). The characteristic is named “Interest Profile” in this table dealing with the focus that the organization puts in order to pursue its predominant interest – be it sharing of information or achieving policy change for example.

Seippels’ third dimension is called “cognitive factors” which give the movement a distinct identity (Seippel, 2001, p. 125). He sees this as crucial for the long-term survival of a group and is supported by others in this thought (Kimberly, 1979; Scott, 1987). Those cognitive factors have to be in line with what the factors important to members of organizations and also relate to the history of a group (Scott, 1987). Additionally, representativeness plays an important role here. Brown (2006) suggests five features which have to exist for an organization to be representative: Authorization (p. 208), Accountability (pp. 210-211), Participation (p. 212), Expertise (pp. 213-214) and Resemblance (p.217) (the theory by Brown is outlined in Appendix III). These link to cognitive factors, or as described here to ‘common beliefs’ in such a way that they determine what the organization is standing in for. Of particular importance are of course resemblance and authorization which are depicting the links between organization and members. In order for a set of common beliefs to be persistent and the organization to be indeed infused with value beyond technical requirements (which are represented in the other two dimensions) this dimension, despite its fuzziness, is necessary for the analysis.

After explaining the characteristics of the concept institutionalization, based on already existing theoretical work of others, it is left to say that this model is rather broad which offers the chance to apply it to European interest groups such as the ESU. As Sweet et al. (2001) note, Europe has been institutionalizing and still does in the light of ever changing policy preferences, crisis and appearance of new actors at the decision-making stage. It is unlikely that institutionalization, which the authors see as a continuous process, is going to reverse. Moreover, the process is to continuously reshaped and reformed in the future. In the following chapter the expectations about the ESU’s developmental process are going to be named and if possible, verified in the successive chapter. Particular attention will be paid towards the influences stemming from the institutional environment, and therein from the organizational field of the ESU. Afterwards, the methods section will shed a light on indicators and their operationalization in more detail.

3.3 Expectations

In this section we will present the expectations based on the theory and literature review.

The following expectations are formulated in the current study:

- 1) *The institutional environment contributed to the development process of the ESU.*
- 2) *The organizational field contributed to the development process of the ESU.*
- 3) *The ESU has been the subject of an institutionalization process since 1991.*

The first two expectations are based on the assumption that the environment is shaping the institutionalization process of an organization (Scott & Meyer, 1994, p. 217; Zucker, 1987, pp. 444-445). The institutional environment is constituted as the one that binds the organization by for example established sets of rules and regulations (Scott & Meyer, 1994, p. 217). Overall, the environment is made up of various structures which can largely affect an organization (Scott & Meyer, 1994, p. 218). In this institutional environment one can thus find organizations which are part of an organizational field. Such an organizational field is defined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as a set of organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life; key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, pp. 148-149). Hence, the ESU finds itself in the organizational field of other higher education organizations together with actors such as the EUA. All of them are part of the wider institutional field of European politics within the higher education sector.

Therefore, special attention will be paid to the analysis of the ESU in its environment – the institutional environment which includes the organizational field. Figure 1 depicts the situation the ESU finds itself in:

For the case of the ESU it is assumed that it institutionalized intensively between 1991 and

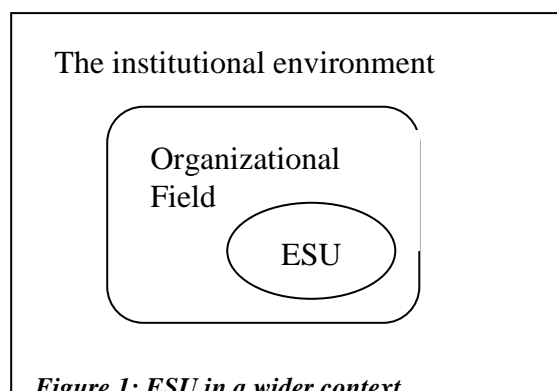


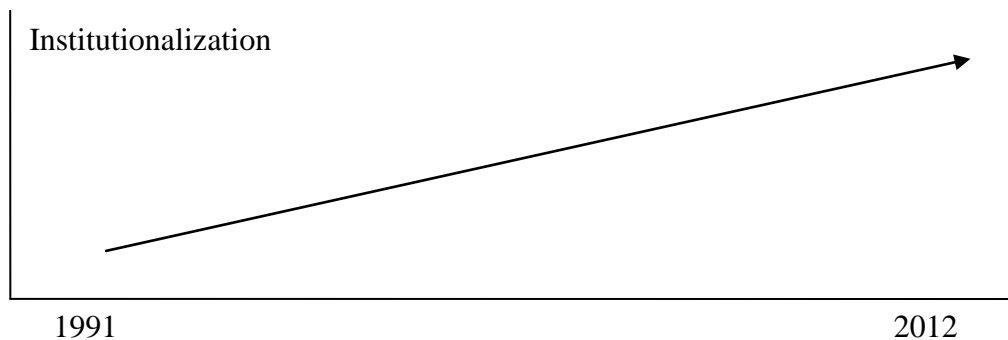
Figure 1: ESU in a wider context

2012. Not only is there evidence from the literature on the ESU (Klemenčič, 2012a, 2012c) but also the fact that the environment the ESU finds itself in has fundamentally changed especially in the later 90s with the initiation of the BP (Hackl, 2001; Neave, 2003; van der

Wende, 2000). That is supposed to be studied using the third expectation. As Zucker (1987) describes the environment an organization is part of can be determining the process of institutionalization (Zucker, 1987, pp. 444-445) supported in this by Scott (Scott & Meyer, 1994, p. 217). Part of the institutional environment is for instance the EU while the

organizational field is comprised of for example the EUA (See Appendix V for a figure depicting all actors in the environment). It is expected to be the case for the ESU as well, however as a continuous process which appears over time (Fraussen, 2011; Klemenčič, 2012c; Simmons & Martin, 2002; Sweet, et al., 2001). Apart from that is the organization itself claiming to be a professional representation of the students of Europe on its website (ESU, 2013a). Taking all these factors into account one can expect that the ESU has been subject to an institutionalization process that continues until today.

Figure 2: ESU's continuous institutionalization process



This process is being systematically explored in the next chapters which follow a chronological analysis of the ESU. After such a long time, the ESU is expected to be more institutionalized today than it was roughly 20 years ago; however, we seek to explore not only this fact but the underlying reasons for such a development. Summing up, the expectations will be taken as a guideline to explore the nature of the institutionalization process that ESU most likely was subject to in the past.

4. Methodology

In this chapter the methodology of this study will be presented. First of all, the research design is illustrated. Further, the operationalization of key variables is explained. The following subsections are meant to shed light on the methodology of this paper and will conclude with a model of process tracing which constitutes the method of investigation for this paper. Process tracing will be applied in combination with the institutionalization theory to detect the changes the ESU underwent in terms of its institutional set-up.

4.1 Research Design

Wilbur Schramm notes that case studies seek “to illuminate a decision/a set of decision and why they were taken, how they were implemented and with what result.”(Yin, 2003, p. 12). And this is exactly the key reason why case studies are useful, despite the long-lasting critical voices, to explore how and in particular why a phenomenon appeared as it did (Yin, 2003, p.

7). Additionally, a single-case study can also account for the full variety of evidence to explain such phenomenon (Yin, 2003, p. 8). One particular occurrence is the institutionalization process of the ESU – the unit of analysis of this paper. Not only does the ESU present a critical case for which an alternative explanation for its development is present (isomorphism) but it can be seen as a typical case for the population of higher education interest groups in Europe (Yin, 2003, pp. 40-41). In order to thus gain substantial insight into the development process of the ESU a longitudinal design is chosen to reveal insights in more depth as the development certainly occurred over a longer period of time. The time span is roughly 1982 to 2010 with particular focus upon the end of the 90s. A historical analysis will be carried out to study the ESU's development (George & Bennett, 2005).

The main method for investigation is process tracing as defined by George & Bennett (2005) as seeking to identify causal mechanisms between variables in question (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 206). They quote Peter Hall, who sees process tracing as important to make sense of a more complex environment that social scientists find themselves in today (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 206). Thus, this “indispensable tool for theory testing” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 207) will be used to gain evidence about the institutionalization of the ESU. Theory testing of institutionalization is the strategy of this paper and thus process testing can be accounted as well-suited for the analysis (Yin, 2003, p. 115). For the case of the ESU a chronological analysis will be carried out that traces the changes that the organization underwent in its development into an institution.

The analysis will be carried out according to the well-established plan that Yin (2003) summarizes in his account on case studies. First, the research question will be introduced, in this case, the sub-questions, and then briefly explained what kind of data is necessary and needs to be collected and of what nature the analysis will be to gain sufficient insight into the case study.

In order to answer the first sub-question ‘*What has been the status of the ESU before 1991 in terms institutionalization?*’ the ESU is analyzed according to its level of institutionalization in depth. First, it will be looked into what led to founding WESIB, followed by an in-depth analysis of how institutionalized the ESU was in 1991. The answer to this question is of vital importance for the following sections and shall be seen as a part of the process-tracing in this thesis. Here, unobtrusive methods are applied to make sense of available information.

The second sub-question ‘*What changes between 1991 and 2010 have affected the ESU's development into an institutionalized interest representation?*’ relates to what transformed the

ESU's institutional structure and seeks to extract the observable implications in terms of institutionalization that have been outlined earlier in the theories. Changes are defined here as organizational changes which are "a gradual, incremental and cumulative process" (Fraussen, 2011, p. 6) and occur over a period of time. They are not pinned down to one specific date, rather they occur following an evolutionary path (Fraussen, 2011, p. 6).

For the analysis of this chapter the ESU is analyzed within its context – the institutional environment and the organizational field. Hence, the scope of the analysis will incorporate changes in both of them and how they affected in turn the ESU's development process. Particular importance will be paid to the BP, a very relevant time in the realm of higher education (Commission, 2013a; Keeling, 2006; Neave, 2003; van der Wende, 2000; Wit, 2001; Witte, et al., 2009).

The last sub-question '*What is the status of the ESU in 2010 in terms of institutionalization?*' relates to the expectation that the period from 1991 to 2010 has been crucial to the organizations set-up and level of institutionalization which is why here a stocktaking is carried out. The aim is to find out the status quo of the ESU in terms of institutionalization but this section will also reveal aspects that can be compared to the situation of 1991. Thus a comparison will be concluding that chapter and allow to understand the implications which are assumed to answer the research question.

A comparison between 1991 and 2010 will help to track if a change in institutionalization has taken place while second sub-question is meant to shed a light upon the reasons that can affect such a developmental process. This is in line with the aforementioned expectations about the ESU's development. As mentioned, a focus will be put upon the environment of the ESU and we expect that it was the environment that led to institutionalization of the ESU in the end.

Yin (2003) sees two major problems with the kind of research design that this paper seeks to follow. First, the data collection is subject to major problems such as biased selectivity, reporting bias and lack of access to relevant information (Yin, 2003, p. 86). The study makes use of primary sources like reports and communiqués and of secondary sources such as academic research on the BP. Hence, a strategy to minimize such flaws is to be adopted. Data triangulation holds manifold benefits to prevent almost all of the flaws as different sources that offer the same facts on an issue increase the validity of the study (Yin, 2003, p. 99). Thus, the ESU case will be studied in rich academic detail incorporating not only credible sources from academia but also information retrieved from media and of course, the organization itself. This will all be depicted in a data matrix in Appendix IV as to account for the second

and third strategy to overcome data scarcity – a chain of evidence for the institutionalization process will be maintained and easily accessible through the data matrix as well as it will serve as the case study database thus increasing the reliability of the study (Yin, 2003, pp. 101, 105). All three promise to maximize the benefits that the sources of evidence offer: high reliability, availability of exact and unobtrusive data and the possibility to cover a long time period (Yin, 2003, p. 86).

After all, a case study such as the ESU seems well fit for an exploratory design applying process tracing of changes within one particular case with regard to the posed research question seeking to answer how the ESU turned into a professional interest representation organization since 1991 (Yin, 2003, p. 9).

In order to analyze the available resources sufficiently, the operationalization of indicators of Table 1 (p. 12) is crucial. The following list briefly repeats the chosen characteristics and indicators and depicts which operators are chosen. The operators predominantly focus on the existence or absence of certain features or phrases. They are meant to shed a light on the extent to which indicators and in turn the dimensions are present and we can draw conclusions about the ESU's institutionalization.

- Common Belief
 - Norms (behavioral rules)
 - Operator: presence of democratic working behavior, transparency
 - Priorities (field of activity for the organization)
 - Operator: presence of phrases such as priorities, ESU actions
- Interest Profile
 - Goals (what does the organization want to achieve)
 - Operator: presence of phrases such as goals, mission, aim
 - Features (formal characteristics of an organization)
 - Operator: Organization is informal, Organization is active in policy making
- Procedural Capacities
 - Organizational routines (constant features of the organization)
 - Operator: existence of e.g. a hierarchical system
 - Available resources (assets of the organization)
 - Operator: Presence of e.g. a permanent office, availability of funds

All these operators are controlled for in various secondary and primary sources regarding the ESU. A full account of the data used for the analysis of institutionalization can be found in Appendix IV.

In order to assess the stage of the development process an index is to be assigned. Therefore, we can not only draw conclusions about the institutionalization but also to the extent of the former in relation to earlier points in time. The index looks like the following:

Index Score	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High
<i>Presence of operators</i>	<i>Less than a quarter of operators is present</i>	<i>Less than half of operators is present</i>	<i>More than half of operators is present</i>	<i>More than three-quarters of operators are present</i>

Table 2: Index for locating the institutional level of ESU

As explained above, the indicators are operationalized with various operators because the medium level has been divided to account for the complex development that is expected for the ESU (The index is further elaborated in Appendix VI). A high level of institutionalization is achieved once more than three quarters of the operators are present and thus the indicator is sufficiently backed by evidence. As mentioned elsewhere, the Model of Institutionalization (Table 1, p. 12) is a first, limited account of what constituted institutional development of an IG. As process tracing is applied this index will help to assess the process that the ESU was part at intermediate stages before the final stocktaking in the last chapter of the analysis compares past and present status of the organization in terms of institutionalization.

4.2 Reliability and Validity

This case study as such is certainly limited with respect to both reliability and validity but also holds certain positive aspects that still show its value. The following section is going to outline in more detail which aspects face limits in terms of reliability and validity. When using only official documents, much raw data can be considered reliable and valid, however, a certain bias of the author can never be excluded entirely as constituted by Yin (2003, p. 86). Despite the fact that data triangulation has been applied the research still had to face lacks of data as access to articles is restricted in some cases as well as the documents by the organization itself are assumed to be rather biased in favor of the organization. Looking at face validity it is evident that analysis is limited to study the institutionalization of the ESU but will reveal insights which could be extended by successive studies. The concept of institutionalization as modeled in this study is building upon well-known authors who have

dealt with institutionalization extensively. Thus the model seems well fit to analyze the ESU's development process.

Construct validity measuring whether the test reflects the theory (Yin, 2003, p. 36). The operators chosen relate to the overall theory of institutionalization and are measuring what is intended to be found out, despite the fact that there is reason to believe that more operators would enhance the results, thus, construct validity is rather limited. In terms of content validity it is to admit that probably not all aspects of the construct 'institutionalization' are included. As this concept is still a work in progress and is being rephrased regularly, no clear-cut theoretical concept is available at this point in time (Scott, 2005, pp. 30-31). Therefore, it can not be stated that all facets of it are being included while the three that are certainly represent crucial aspects to the study of institutionalization. Overall, the strategies to increase validity as explained by Yin (2003) have been applied in order to keep threats to validity as limited as possible (Yin, 2003, pp. 99-105).

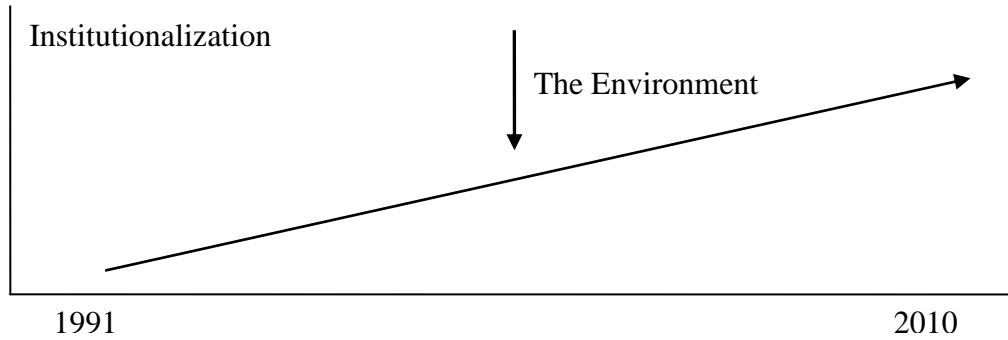
When it comes to reliability, one can constitute a relatively high reliability as this study can be reproduced at any given point in time since it involves only unobtrusive data which has been generated from documents available to everyone anytime and a data matrix provides a full account about the sources used to generate answers to expectations and research questions. A replication is possible and as the study also builds on reliable data, fairly easy. Additionally personal bias or perceptions of study objects is excluded as no interviews or survey data have been processed. Despite the fact that qualitative studies are usually facing problems in reliability, this single-case study is meant to reveal in-depth insights into the ESU as a critical yet typical case in its organizational field and institutional environment (Yin, 2003, pp. 40-41). Overall, reliability is high for this study type.

4.3 The Research Model and Data Analysis

The predominant method for investigation of the research question is "Process tracing" which is widely used in political science for qualitative studies (Collier, 2011; George & Bennett, 2005). Here, the study looks into the developmental process of the ESU and factors which have been influential in its process to institutionalize. The question that is dealt with is mainly about how the institutional environment and organizational field have been shaping the ESU's development process.

Not only is process tracing valuable to test a theory such as institutionalization but it is also applicable for a single case study (George & Bennett, 2005).

Figure 3: Model for Investigation of the ESU's development process



The above depicted model includes the time analyzed to trace the development process of the WESIB into the ESU. Additionally, the environment is expected of having influenced the ESU's development process. Namely "The Organizational Field" and "The Institutional Environment" constitute the environment while the organizational field is a part of the institutional environment as depicted in Appendix V. It shall be found out to what extent the environment exerted its influence on the ESU and whether the expectations of chapter 3 indeed hold true. The model that is used for the analysis is consistent with what the study seeks to find out: The development process of an organization. For such, research has identified 'institutionalization' as a valuable concept and thus the analysis of data will be done according to the model depicted earlier (Kimberly, 1979; Seippel, 2001; Zucker, 1987).

After introducing both the theoretical basis and the methodological approach in detail, both are now being applied onto the case of the ESU. In the following chapter the findings on the process-tracing of the institutionalization process of the ESU are presented and analyzed chronologically.

5. Presentation and Analysis of Findings

The goal of this paper is to investigate the question how the ESU developed into a professional interest representation organization since 1991. In order to answer this question the following chapter is going to first briefly outline the history of the ESU, followed by a historical analysis. Thus, the institutionalization of the ESU will be analyzed first for the period before 1991 and then afterwards with a focus on the BP following a chronological order. This is meant to trace the process of development of the ESU until 2010 before the last section is going to take stock of the institutionalization. This will define the status of institutionalization as of that point.

5.1.1 The way from WESIB to ESU

The following section is going to briefly outline the development of the WESIB to the ESU since 1982 with a focus on the involvement in the BP. The West European Student Information Bureau was formally established by some West European National Student Unions in Stockholm in 1982 after discontent of those organizations with the former student-only representation – the International Student Conference (Altbach, 1970, pp. 162-164; Ness, 2011, p. 26; Sundström, 2012, pp. 6-7). Their goal was to create a more democratic representation for students (Sundström, 2012, p. 7). The WESIB was strongly supported by the Swedish government and set up its headquarters in Stockholm (Øye, 2011, p. 15; Sundström, 2012, p. 7). After the end of the Cold War and the rapid societal, economic and political changes this event brought about the WESIB changed its profile profoundly. Not only did many new student unions from the former Soviet Republics join the WESIB but it was also decided that the WESIB should be renamed into ESIB (Grogan, 2012, pp. 14-15; Walter, 2004, pp. 138-139). With this, the goal has also been to shift the focus from being an internal cooperation organ to an organization which seeks for external actions, for example higher involvement in the European Community policy-making (Esatoglu, 2013; Grogan, 2012, p. 16; LSS, 2013; Ness, 2011, pp. 26-27). Additionally, the whole organization has been reformed in its decision-making strategies to account for both the increased membership and the new profile (Grogan, 2012, p. 16).

The most important achievement in the history of the ESU was the involvement in the reform process of HE at the European level called the Bologna Process. The fact that the students as a crucial party to the agreed upon “European Space for Higher Education” were completely left out of negotiations sparked the urge to be included in the negotiations. When included, the ESU could gain the possibility of access to policy makers and in turn, this provided for enough ground for the ESU to seek active participation in the BP (Grogan, 2012, p. 18). After having issued the Goteborg Student Declaration including the goals of the students for the European higher education area (EHEA) in March 2001 it was clear to all authorities that the students seek access to the process (Bergan, 2003; Göteborg S. G. Declaration, 2001).

Important points in the history of the ESIBs history in the BP include not only the participation in the BP as a consultative member next to others like EUA and European Association of Higher Education Institutions (EURASHE) since 2001 but also the mandate to establish guidelines for quality assurance at the European level (Jungblut, 2012; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 25). The renaming from ESIB into ESU in 2007 presents one of the most important landmarks as this was meant to account for the changing nature of the organization in the

years before (Jungblut, 2012). Afterwards, the organization kept playing an important part in for instance the BP and emerged further into a key player in HE.

For this paper, the history of student unionism and the early days of the ESU, back then still WESIB, are included to gain an understanding of the beginnings of student activism. The analysis of the ESU before 1991 will in turn serve as a reference point for a later comparison with the situation in 2010 to depict the changes between sufficiently.

5.1.2 Setting the Scene for the ESU – The Environment of ESU

The following section is going to set the scene for the ESU, namely in which continuously changing environment the ESU developed itself in. Here, Political Europe and its major changes in 1989 have been decisive for the organization. Here the major changes in the political landscape that the end of the Cold War brought about are seen as important factors in the development process of interest groups such as ESU (Barblan, 2002; EUA, 2013a; Grogan, 2012, pp. 13-14).

At the same time the EU, still growing in terms of competences and actions (and funding opportunities), was another actor within the institutional environment of the ESU (Berman, 1997; Buth, 2011; Keeling, 2006; Klemenčič, 2011b; Mahoney & Beckstrand, 2011). The EU gained significant influence in HE before Bologna which has reshaped the institutional environment which the ESU found itself in (Corbett, 2003). Programs such as the first of its kind, the Erasmus program, have shown European involvement in HE despite a formal lack of treaty provisions (Corbett, 2003; Hackl, 2001; Keeling, 2006).

After explaining the history and the environment of the ESU in brief, we now turn to the analysis of the organization. As stated before the time before 1991 is considered as a first reference point and thus is analyzed in depth in the next chapter.

5.2 The ESU until 1991 – formation and expansion of the organization

This first chapter of the analysis is going to deal with the first sub-question “*What has been the status of the ESU before 1991 in terms of institutionalization?*” and will, first of all, take stock of the institutionalization of the ESU (then still ESIB) until 1991. Special attention will be paid to the determinants of the institutionalization when tracing the process up until 1991. This is necessary to gain an insight on where the beginnings of the organization lie to judge the developments that are of particular interest for this study.

5.2.1 Student representation in Europe before 1982

Despite the fact that many authors treat student representation and policy involvement as a new phenomenon emerging during the period of the BP it certainly is not. In Europe students have always had an important role in democratic movements such as in democratic revolution in soon-to-be Germany in 1848/49 or as part of resistance movements during the Nazi regime (Nilsson, 2004a). The WESIB was not the first association of international student unions because students already began organizing in the aftermath of WWII in the realm of the IUS (International Union of Students) (Ness, 2011, p. 21). It was founded in 1946 and soon after subject to disputes between East and West NUS (National Union of Students) since the former wanted an explicitly political role for the new association while the latter disliked that approach immensely (Ness, 2011, p. 23; Nilsson, 2004b; Philox.eu, 2013b). After increasing influence of Communist powers within the IUS many Western NUS left IUS and established a counter-movement – the ISC (International Student Conference) in 1950 in Stockholm (IISH, 2013; Ness, 2011; Nilsson, 2004a; Philox.eu, 2013b). By 1956 all Western NUS had left the IUS and had become part of the ISC which was strictly non-political at first but in 1960 changed its profile after discussions (IISH, 2013; Ness, 2011; Philox.eu, 2013b). The ISC was relatively formalized as was the IUS owing their major funding to the two major powers of the Cold War were trying to exercise their political influence through these organizations (Ness, 2011, pp. 21-22). The ISC was dissolved in 1969 due to a lack of funding and a two-year earlier affair about infiltration of the ISC through the American CIA. This left the IUS again as the only international student body (Ness, 2011, pp. 24-25; Nilsson, 2004b; Philox.eu, 2013b). Despite the end of the ISC and the still communist IUS, many international NUS organized themselves in regional bodies where the European WESIB presents the latest new regional body (Ness, 2011, p. 26). Not only was it founded by early leavers of the IUS who have been dissatisfied with IUS long before the 1980s but also by those Unions which did specifically not favor a political actor (Ness, 2011, p. 26). Thus, the WESIB was established as an information-sharing instance for its member-NUS without assignment of any formal political role (Ness, 2011, p. 26; Øye, 2011, p. 15). As Øye (2011) points out in his account on the history of ESU the WESIB founders wanted to keep out political issues because they sought to prevent a situation of internal deadlock and potential dissolution (Øye, 2011, p. 15). The formation of WESIB thus was a result of continuous discontent with IUS while an earlier alternative, the ISC, failed. Additionally, the non-political role of WESIB as an information bureau was a result of negative past experience in the IUS as well as the ISC with dominant political ideologies. Despite the common belief that WESIB was the first

association of its kind one has to assess that it is a result of older developments in student representation beginning already long before 1982.

5.2.2 The Institutionalization of the WESIB prior to 1991

“Students need good, decent and honest representation and education is a right, not a privilege” states the first Director of WESIB in the 30th anniversary report of the ESU (Sundström, 2012, p. 12) and this has been the predominant belief of the organization during the period of his office and prevailed partly up until today. Not only does he mention the norms of the ESU as democratic and representative (Sundström, 2012, pp. 6, 11) but also clearly shows the priorities that the WESIB has been following in its first years of existence. The WESIB was meant to be a “news bank” to share information on both the higher education policies of external actors such as the European Community (EC) but predominantly sharing information between the NUS (Esatoglu, 2013; Ness, 2011, p. 26; Norsk, 2008; Sundström, 2012, p. 6; USI). The WESIB was initially established as an “academic ethos-based organization” that meant to unite students wishing to share information and practices – however, it was not until after 1991 that the ESIB could go beyond this (Esatoglu, 2013; Grogan, 2012, p. 13; LSS, 2013; Ness, 2011, p. 26). Thus, common beliefs were present from the start of the organization although it was seen as rather limited (Grogan, 2012, pp. 16-18). Especially the fact that the WESIB is focusing more on “its own internal procedures and functioning” prevailed until the fall of the Iron Curtain (Grogan, 2012, p. 14) when the WESIB changed not only its name to ESIB but also adjusted its internal structures to match the increased membership base (Grogan, 2012, pp. 14-15; Ness, 2011, p. 26). These major changes show that the focus was not on establishing some ideology but rather on establishing the organization as a formal body, capable of long-term functioning and thus survival. Still, what was intended – the creation of a forum for exchange for NUS (Øye, 2011, p. 15; Sundström, 2012, p. 11) – remained the predominant norm until the early nineties (Grogan, 2012, p. 15; LSS, 2013; Ness, 2011, p. 15).

Despite the fact that the ESU was the only organization that represented students at an institutional level, as in for example the BFUG today, there were initially some competitors in its organizational field.

First of all, the EUA (European University Association) was formally established as recently as in 2001 and plays a dominant role in higher education. It was a merger of the CRE and Confederation of European Union Rectors’ Conferences, two formerly independent agencies. Their foundations date back to 1950s with the establishment of the CRE in 1959 and institutionalized in the successive time making it a highly institutionalized actor by the time

the BP began (EUA, 2001). The EUA sees itself as a platform for cooperation among European rectors and officials of European universities and is associated with the BFUG in the realm of higher education (EUA, 2013a) and works closely together with the Commission (Barblan, 2002, p. 15; Haskel, 2008, p. 0; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004, p. 352). Next to this organization, which only indirectly represented students, AEGEE (Association des États Généraux des Étudiants de l'Europe) and AIESEC (Association internationale des étudiants en sciences économiques et commerciales) were two representatives which were on the European (and international) level claiming to represent students. AEGEE, founded in 1985, presented a forum for discussion about Europe and was strongly associated with the EC in, for instance, the Erasmus Programme (AEGEE, 2013a). It was the first student organization among young Europeans to enhance exchange of ideas and initiate cooperation between different European nationalities through the youth (AEGEE, 2013a, 2013b). AEGEE was not claiming to represent students as such but can certainly be seen as a forum for young Europeans to mobilize and to promote the European identity (AEGEE, 2013b). In comparison to AIESEC, AEGEE did not threaten the survival of ESU. AIESEC was established in 1948 as a post-war project among young Europeans. It was meant to further the exchange of Europeans through work-placements (AIESEC, 2013; Tan & Wong, 2008). Presenting a threat to the survival of the ESIB as the predominant student representation AIESEC has been small in comparison but had achieved what the ESIB had still had to obtain, namely funding from the EU and involvement in for instance the Commission in the 1990s and being highly institutionalized at the time already (AIESEC, 2013; Grogan, 2012, p. 15; Tan & Wong, 2008). Taking into account the statements in the 30th Anniversary report of ESU one can assume that AIESEC presented a possible trigger that has affected the ESU's decision to further institutionalize – necessary for gaining access to both political and financial assets that the EU Commission provides for NGOs such as AIESEC or possibly also the ESU (ESU, 2012; Klemenčič, 2012a, p. 16; Mahoney & Beckstrand, 2011, p. 30). As another striking point was the EU initiative of 1989 setting up a consultative student intermediation structure in the form of a “Student Forum” comprised of NUS, EYF (European Youth Forum), ESIB, AEGEE and ESN (Erasmus Student Network) formed by the EU Commission (Klemenčič, 2012b). This proved to be an even bigger threat to survival of the ESIB, as it downsized the actual position the ESIB wanted to have as the biggest student representation. It was set at the same level as all others while ESIB considered itself more representative than the other organizations (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). In addition, the EYF was an actor which ESIB disapproved of in particular as it was playing the most important role in the Student Forum (Klemenčič, 2012b,

pp. 19-20). Overall the situation within the Student Forum remained very ‘dissatisfactory’ for ESIB (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). In terms of institutionalization the organization was subject to some threats stemming from its environment as seen above.

Turning back to WESIB’s situation in terms of its institutionalization, the statements on the mission of the early WESIB it is clear that on the one hand the goals of the organization remained rather fuzzy and on the other hand quite introversive. Initially, the WESIB was aiming at furthering the cooperation between NUS for common benefits – such as access to information on policy development (Ness, 2011; Øye, 2011; Sundström, 2012, p. 7). Additionally the President of the ESIB from 1994 to 1996, Stephen Grogan, claims that it was specifically not the goal of the founders of WESIB “to be a representative body or one which would adopt policy positions”; thus, WESIB was an organization which does not engage in a political way (Grogan, 2012, p. 13; Ness, 2011, p. 26; Øye, 2011, p. 15). This does underline one feature directly: Since its beginnings the ESU has been clearly informal meaning that it has never sought any public office. However, the organization still became representative to some extent, though only internally for the limited member organizations (Sundström, 2012, pp. 7-8). As its members are not represented beyond this, representativeness is seen as rather limited during period. To sum it up, from the beginning the WESIB wanted to achieve internal coherence and information-sharing.

The WESIB set out as a relatively well-organized entity with an Acting Director, appointed with a defined term of office, working according to statutes and an executive board recruited among NUS member (Sundström, 2012, p. 9). A Secretariat was established and the meetings were chaired by a member NUS on a rotating basis (Esatoglu, 2013). Also, regular meetings were meant to take place which were incorporating a seminar and the board meeting where all NUS were invited to participate actively (Moisander, 2012; Sundström, 2012, pp. 9-10). The office was established from the beginning onwards but after funding for it ran out it moved from Stockholm to London and later to Vienna (Esatoglu, 2013; Sundström, 2012, p. 11). The high importance of NUS can be seen here since the NUS play a highly active role within WESIB. First of all, WESIB began to form and establish itself as an active act by the founding NUS in response to frustration with the IUS (Ness, 2011, p. 26; Sundström, 2012, pp. 6-7). Additionally, due to the dependencies on national constituency in terms of resources and staff the organization was bound to the NUS instead of for example being above the national organizations (Sundström, 2012, p. 9). The NUS thus did not only initiate the formation but also took the most decisive role in determining the profile of the WESIB in the beginning, despite the fact that different views on the focus and goals did exist but were

subject to conflict at the time (Grogan, 2012, pp. 13-14; Øye, 2011, p. 15). However, until 1991 the ESIB remained an information bureau as this was the predominant view of the NUS until the end of 1980s (Ness, 2011, pp. 26-27; Øye, 2011, p. 15).

After having explored the nature of ESU we can assign the rank “medium-low” to the level of institutionalization of WESIB/ESIB for the period before 1991.

Reasons for that are for instance the relatively high dependence of the organization on only a few NUS and the resulting constraints WESIB has to accept as to for example, the sole focus on information sharing, even though the interest in developing a policy position were at hand. However, in the 1990s, the WESIB’s institutionalization process took up speed and the organization evolved further. Therefore, the process tracing of the ESU’s institutionalization process is further developed in the next chapter with a focus on the changes the ESU underwent from 1991 to 2010. Institutionalization forces have been part of the WESIB already before 1991; however, the next chapter will show that significant changes towards more institutionalization took place in the 1990s.

5.3 From WESIB to ESU – 20 years of change

The second chapter of this analysis deals with the developmental process the ESU underwent between 1991 and 2010. It will look at changes within the institutional environment and the organizational field which have changed the ESU respectively. Thus, the second sub-question is being answered at the end of this chapter: *What changes between 1991 and 2010 have affected the ESU’s development into an institutionalized interest representation?* Referring to the expectations we are looking at the particular changes and seek to name them in order to clearly detect the nature of the institutionalization process in this section.

5.3.1 The beginning of Community actions in higher education

In 1991 a part of the institutional field, the European Union, experienced major changes with the initiation of the Maastricht Treaty. Even though technically the EU had no formal competences in the realm of higher education it had been active in this area with a reference to the support of ‘vocational training’ as a Community matter and thus HE remained on the agenda over time (Corbett, 2003, p. 315; Hackl, 2001, p. 100; Keeling, 2006, p. 204). After the European Court of Justice (ECJ) had established legal grounds for further involvement in the already ongoing Erasmus scheme the EU increased its political involvement in mobilizing students from across Europe and therefore engaged in higher education (Title XII, Art. 165. Council, 2008; Hackl, 2001, p. 101; Neave, 2003, pp. 149, 159). Although it has to be noted that all changes to the HE policy-making of the EU only enable it to be active according to the

subsidiarity principle, it was still a major achievement for the Union (Toth, 1992, pp. 1086-1089; van der Wende, 2000; Wit, 2001). The two major changes that Maastricht brought about for interest groups in general was the newly established community method – opening ground for more actors to be included in the decision-making process and thus opening an opportunity for civil society lobbying activities (Heidbreder, 2012, p. 5). And the official inclusion of higher education into the competences of the newly established European Union can be accounted as the second change (Commission, 2013b, 2013c; Keeling, 2006, p. 204). Entering a “new phase” (Commission, 2013b) as an institution the EU made an immense step forward to include the social dimension of policies and additionally, the Commission sought to increase its legitimacy by offering funding to civil society groups within its priorities (Heidbreder, 2012, p. 27; Mahoney & Beckstrand, 2011, p. 30). In addition, the end of the Cold War and respective political reform in East Europe brought about major changes in Political Europe. Being confronted with recently established democracies and the EU’s pledge to support the former members of the Soviet Union (SU) a major political development and respective strive of, for example, NUS to become part of the Western representative of students instead of IUS was apparent (ESIB; Grogan, 2012, pp. 13-14; Mearsheimer, 1990, pp. 7-8; Ness, 2011, p. 27)

All these changes had an immense effect on the ESU. Not only was the changed institutional environment an opportunity structure for the organization to develop further. As Grogan points out, the European level had been in the heads of ESIB members for a long time already but was just pursued when he entered the office in 1992 (Grogan, 2012, pp. 11, 13). In addition to an increased membership the level of institutionalization changes significantly. First of all, the procedural capacities were increased significantly as more staff was employed and a more professional office was set up in Vienna (Esatoglu, 2013; ESIB; Grogan, 2012, p. 15). Not only did the director gain more representative powers and the position of a Chairman was established but the policy-making powers of ESU were formerly instituted in 1992 despite the fact that they were in place all along according to Øye (Esatoglu, 2013; LSS, 2013; Øye, 2011, p. 15). The ESIB acknowledged the growing importance of the EU and its response to it was to “build up the capacity (...) to influence higher education, youth and social policies being assembled by the European Union” (Grogan, 2012, p. 16). The EU has therefore played a significant role in the ESU’s process to institutionalize as it was seen as a major venue for activities centered around the priorities and mission of ESU presenting a new opportunity structure (Eising, 2008, p. 9).

These transformations were reflected in the change of the name to National Union of Students in Europe in 1993 at the Board Meeting (BM) 24 (Esatoglu, 2013). While the acronym ESIB was kept the change was meant to reflect not only the increased membership base of more than 30 NUS including East European ones but also the fact that working groups dealing with more specific areas of HE policy were established and the general turn of the Board towards a more external focus (Esatoglu, 2013; LSS, 2013; Walter, 2004, pp. 138-139). To sum it up, important changes happened at the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century which have certainly increased the institutionalization of the ESIB and the EU can be seen as one of the main actors within this development. In addition an event such as the fall of the Iron Curtain has had an impact here as well. Therefore, we can assess an index score of “medium low”. This is obviously the same rank as assigned earlier; however, there are certainly more operators fulfilled but not enough yet to account for a higher rank. Reasons are for instance the fact that the development process was just envisaged and took place little after 1991 while this time is more an opportunity structure for future change than an already processed transformation of ESIB.

5.3.2 The ESU at the beginning of the Bologna Process

It was, without a doubt, the Bologna Process that has entirely reshaped the structure of higher education policy across Europe “from an almost exclusively national affair with some international influences” to one where national policy is systematically considered within a Europe-wide framework (Hackl, 2001; Keeling, 2006; Neave, 2003; Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 38; Witte, et al., 2009). Many scholars see the BP as the most important one in higher education since decades (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 107). The first steps towards the Bologna Declaration were adopted in Sorbonne in June 1998 (Witte, et al., 2009, p. 207). In the preparatory phase to Bologna the Sorbonne Declaration was presenting the starting point after both the European universities and Member States were facing problems stemming from for instance globalization (Hackl, 2001, p. 104). Support for reforms in higher education was strong among the four signatories who all faced difficulties in their own higher education systems (Hackl, 2001, p. 104; Witte, 2006, pp. 124-126). With their signatures Italy, France, Germany and the UK agreed to commit to some harmonization in the former strictly national sphere of higher education (Hackl, 2001, pp. 101, 106-107; Bologna Secretariat, 2009). This can be considered a revolutionary shift in the institutional environment of the ESU despite the fact that the Sorbonne Declaration was not in any way a binding treaty but an agreement in which its signatories agreed to closer cooperation in HE (Witte, et al., 2009, pp. 207-209).

Before the beginning of the whole reform process of HE, the ESIB was seen as rather small and only present informally (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 103) even though the organization had substantially formalized its structures and goals in the years prior to the Sorbonne Declaration (Esatoglu, 2013). Changes such as the establishment of working groups on HE policies reflected the shift away from an information bureau towards an actor interested in influencing public policy (Esatoglu, 2013; LSS, 2013). Thus far, there was not much room for the ESIB to engage in policy-making because for example, the EU had only limited powers here and most of the issues in HE needed to be tackled at the national level (Esatoglu, 2013; Keeling, 2006, p. 203). The beginning reform process as foreshadowed by the Sorbonne Declaration then provided an opportunity for the ESIB to engage as the goals of the ministers prescribed in the Declaration were very similar with what was envisaged by the ESIB Board Meeting 35 in Vienna (Esatoglu, 2013; Klemenčič, 2012a, p. 9; 2012b, p. 17). Since the ESIB was not recognized in any way as a party to the Sorbonne Summit, the organization had to invite itself to gain access to what would be the beginning of the Bologna Process (Foa, 2003; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 17; Walter, 2004, pp. 138-139). Upon major involvement of one of its new members, UDU Italy, ESIB received the official invitation one month before the summit (Foa, 2003; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 17). All in all, the ESIB has made use of this new window of opportunity and this paved the way to engage fully in the upcoming Bologna Summit in which the ESIB wanted to play a major role as the voice of the students (Klemenčič, 2012b, pp. 17-18). Overall, the Sorbonne Summit can be seen as a stepping stone to the most decisive event in the development process of the ESU: The Bologna Summit.

5.3.3 The ESU at the Bologna Summit

The Bologna Declaration, signed by 29 European ministers of higher education in Bologna (Italy) in June 1999, demarcated a milestone in higher education reform (Corbett, 2003; Hackl, 2001; Keeling, 2006; Neave, 2003; Westerheijden, et al., 2010). It was more administrative than the previous Sorbonne Declaration and included more members (Hackl, 2001, pp. 109-110; Keeling, 2006, p. 207). While the process of reforming higher education as envisaged by the signatories was national, the support and coordination was meant to be carried out at the European level administered through biannual meetings of the ministers of the signatories of the Bologna Declaration (Keeling, 2006, p. 207). This was going to become the BP. The signatories committed to coordinate their policies with the goal to increase overall mobility of students and staff, employability of graduates and an enriched European citizenship (B. Declaration, 1999; Hackl, 2001, pp. 109-110; Witte, et al., 2009, p. 207). Hence, the purely intergovernmental document was a binding political statement even

though it was not a legal document like a treaty (Hackl, 2001, p. 111; Witte, et al., 2009, p. 209). The institutional field that the ESU was part of had changed again and an increase in signatories to the declaration meant first of all an increase in scope but also an increase in support to the reform process of HE which did not leave the organizational field untouched either.

Here, a particular role was played by the EUA. Not only did it engage in HE development far earlier in 1988 with issuing its 'Magna Charta Universitatum' and further on being active in publishing reports on for instance the future of higher education but these ideas have found their way into the Sorbonne Declaration earlier and were kept for Bologna as well (EUA, 2013b; Haskel, 2008, pp. 3-4; Soeiro, 2012). The EUA had also achieved what the ESIB was still striving for – inclusion in the preparations and in the actual Bologna Summit via the Sorbonne follow-up group (EUA, 2013b; Hackl, 2001, p. 108; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). The EU Commission was also striving for inclusion in the process as it was not actually considered a party of the summit (Hackl, 2001, p. 105). Nevertheless, it found its way into the process already early on via the Confederation of EU Rectors and then its inclusion in the Sorbonne follow-up group (Hackl, 2001, p. 108; Keeling, 2006, p. 208; Witte, et al., 2009, p. 209). While the EUA was able to provide policy advice and direct access to a wide range of institutions, which were seen as valuable partners from the beginning, the Commission provided funding for the actions surrounding the preparation and actual summit activities of Bologna (Haskel, 2008, pp. 13-14; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004, p. 352; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19; Witte, et al., 2009, p. 209). The fact that both EUA and Commission already were highly institutionalized at this moment and shared the same goal of gaining official consultative membership makes Haskel (2008) to assume that they formed an alliance to serve their interest but also to supply policy advice as demanded by the BP (Haskel, 2008, pp. 5-6). Thus both played an important role already before and during the Bologna Process (Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004, p. 352; Keeling, 2006, p. 210). While this was an explicit alliance the Commission only had implicit ties to students via its Student Forum and thus ESIB was not the sole representative of students in 1999 but had to share this position with the EYF, ESN and AEGEE (Haskel, 2008, pp. 12-13; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). This provided ground for conflict with the Commission about the position of the ESIB in HE in Europe which could only be resolved in 2001 when ESIB was finally recognized as the only representative of students in Europe and the Commission, EUA, EURASHE and ESIB formed an alliance to

present the organizational field in a united manner at the BP summit in Prague (Klemenčič, 2012b, pp. 19-21).

Despite the conflicts in the organizational field and the increasing importance to gain a consultative membership within the BFUG, the ESIB still managed to further formalize its organization. First of all, it was exactly the perceived threat of marginalization by the Commission in European HE that enhanced the ESIB's internal capacity building and institutionalization as Klemenčič argues (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). Major changes to the institutional set-up of the organization were made already before 1999 but it was certainly the BM37 in Cyprus where major changes were agreed upon (Esatoglu, 2013; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). Firstly, the decision was made to further develop towards a recognized stakeholder who deserves involvement in the BP. Secondly, the Board set up expert committees which were meant to deal with sub-areas of HE. Thirdly, the office of ESIB was moved to Brussels to be closer to the decision-making bodies of the EU, which also had important roles in the BP, and thus capacities to lobby were evolving as well (Esatoglu, 2013; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 22; Ness, 2011, pp. 26-27). In institutional terms, the priorities have thus slightly shifted again to pursue further involvement. This change in the interest profile brought along new features such as direct policy involvement and lobbying of actors in HE. In turn, the procedural capacities were adapted via moving the office, instituting expert committees with staff capable to assess policy changes and possible areas to interact for ESIB. An increase of institutionalization can thus be assessed that transformed the ESIB to keep up with all the changes in the institutional field (Esatoglu, 2013; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 23; LSS, 2013; Ness, 2011, pp. 26-27). Thus, an index rank of "medium-high" can be assessed for this period. After the transformation process has already begun in the early 1990s, the ESIB has been able to make significant changes to its institutional set-up since the beginning of the BP. Important to mention are here the formation of expert committees to deal with policy change originating from the BP or the move of the office to a permanent address in Brussels. All in all, the environment of ESIB has played a significant role in this process and provided not only reason to develop but also opportunity structures for ESIB to grasp. At this point we can assess that the expected outcomes as formulated earlier are in line with the findings. Indeed has the environment significantly shaped the organizations' development and seems to exert an increasing influence on it.

5.3.4 The ESU and Prague – A milestone in history of higher education policy

5.3.4a The ESU before Prague

The phase until the Prague Summit – when the ESIB was finally included in the BFUG – has had major impacts on the ESIB once more. It was a very busy time for the ESIB as it was active in many areas, connected but still individual challenges for the organization to stand its ground. First of all, it still had to deal with the European Commission initiative of the ‘Student Forum’ where it was rivaling with the EYF, AEGEE and ESN about who represents students and thus should have the legitimate access to policy-making bodies (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). Technically, the Student Forum was inactive by 1999; the EYF, however, was still keeping the upper hand against the ESIB (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). This was to change when ESIB was engaging in discussions with the Commission. But at the time, the ESIB was apparently not strong enough to make its case yet. The ‘European Liaison Group of Higher Education Student Organizations’ was established by the Commission and included AEGEE, ESN and the ESIB (Klemenčič, 2012b, pp. 19-20). The ESIB had thus partly achieved what it wanted in the first place – not to have EYF at the same level as a student organization since it was organized more broadly and not considered as representative – but failed to become the only student platform in direct correspondence with the Commission (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 20). The nature of the group was not what ESIB wanted – it was only consultative and informal (Haskel, 2008, pp. 12-13; Klemenčič, 2012a, p. 8) and the student representatives were meant to become allies of the Commission while this type of alliance was clearly not what ESIB envisioned (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 20). Meanwhile, ESIB kept professionalizing despite the obstacles that the Commission presented with its position to put forward the Student Platform (Klemenčič, 2012b, pp. 19-20; LSS, 2013). Successes of all efforts that have been made by ESU were fruitful in December 2000 when ESIB received the invitation to join the BFUG at the Prague Summit in 2001. It shows that ESIB had indeed managed to further formalize, to make its amends to the political changes heard via e.g. the Student Manifesto written at the First Student Convention. Furthermore, moving the office to Brussels and hiring more staff previously led to the inclusion of ESIB as the only student representation in the BP (Esatoglu, 2013; Klemenčič, 2012a, p. 9; 2012b, p. 23; Ness, 2011, pp. 26-27).

The organizational field – and the rivalries in it – have thus had a transformative power to the organization and affected ESU’s strive for inclusion in the BP despite the fact that this goal was already present much earlier in 1998. The EYF had a particular role in here as it was seen as the main rival for the European Commission’s attention (Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19).

However, ESIB secured the position for itself after gradual, internal capacity building and further expansion in membership base and policy scope – certainly facilitated by the reforms that have been made earlier at e.g. the Board Meeting (BM) 37 (Esatoglu, 2013; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19; LSS, 2013). Again it can be noted that the incentives that originated from the institutional field with the deepening of the BP had a transformative power on the organizational field as ESIB further adapted to the changes and manifested its goals to join the BP as did others like Eurashe (Charlier & Croche, 2004, p. 11; Westerheijden, et al., 2010; Witte, 2006; Witte, et al., 2009). Yet again, the role of the EUA in the process cannot be underestimated as it was the steering wheel to the BP since the beginning as it was capable of, for instance, delivering the reports the BP built upon (Charlier & Croche, 2004, p. 10; Haskel, 2008; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004, p. 352). Whether ESIB mirrored the EUA and has thus been part of an isomorphic process cannot be excluded but research has not been dealing with this thus far. Summing up this section, it can be said that in the phase prior to Prague the organizational field had a significant influence on ESIB while internal forces to formalize have been present as well. Everything has been influenced by the increasingly institutionalized Bologna Process that gained in significance as well. ESIB kept institutionalizing as many note, but its effects can only be assessed when taking into account the behavior of the organization during and after the Prague Summit. This will be further elaborated in the next section.

5.3.4b The ESU at the Prague Summit

For the Prague Summit, the ESIB was able to secure an official invitation and presented a key note speaker during the conference (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 10; Walter, 2004, pp. 138-139) which shows that the ESIB indeed had developed the capacities to deal with a ministerial meeting at the Prague Summit. Not only was the ESIB represented but its policies as published in the Goteborg Student Declaration were uploaded to the Prague Communiqué presenting the BP also as a bottom-up process with students as active participants (Prague Communiqué, 2001; Göteborg S. G. Declaration, 2001; Haskel, 2008, p. 4; Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 19; Walter, 2004, p. 143). Students were able to secure the same level of representation as for instance the EUA and were perceived by others as very active (Klemenčič, 2011a; Walter, 2004, p. 160), expertly (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 10; Westerheijden, et al., 2010, pp. 97-98) and as the legitimate representative body of European students (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 17). Overall the impact of the ESIB increased as Sjur Bergan, a representative of the Council of Europe, notes (2003).

Thus, the Prague Summit can be seen as a milestone for student participation and the ESU (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 9; 2012a, p. 8) setting a first endpoint after the decisive period from Sorbonne to Prague (Hackl, 2001; Klemenčič, 2012a; LSS, 2013; Neave, 2003). Not only was the Prague Summit groundbreaking as such, but in particular for stakeholders and in turn, students (Hackl, 2001, p. 114). The gradual process of adaptation towards institutional norms was a response to the new opportunities that the BP now held for the ESIB (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 19; 2012a, p. 16), even though they were after Prague only recognized as “observers” and just gained the consultative status officially later (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 11). Such an opportunity was for example the new alliance among the members of the organizational field in the E4 group, a stakeholder group of EUA, ENQUA, EURASHE and ESIB (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 16). Not only has the organizational field as well formally been recognized since Prague but the new period of cooperation in comparison to past rivalries presented new opportunities to achieve the goals set up in e.g. the ESIBs’ Student Goteborg Declaration and for the Salamanca Declaration of the EUA (European Universities Association, 2001; S. G. Declaration, 2001). They have witnessed direct uploading of their policies to documents of the Summit and the final declaration which manifests their impact in the BP.

In 2001, the Lisbon Process was already underway but had rarely a direct impact on the ESU. It was rather perceived as a bureaucratic and slow process with focus on Research and Development predominantly while the BP was more relevant to students (Haskel, 2008, p. 9; Keeling, 2006, p. 205; Klemenčič, 2011a). The BP was taking even more signatories and stakeholders in, while it rather was a fast and wide reaching policy development. Despite being very fuzzy it has caught far more attention from organizations such as the ESU (Adelman, 2009, p. 8; Klemenčič, 2011a, 2012a, 2012b). However, Klemenčič (2011a) assesses that through the BP, the ESU gained further access to the EU as well and worked together with institutions here, too (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 16). In sum, the institutional field was still in a phase of massive changes which have had significant impact on the organization while the ESIB at the same time was able to become part of for example the BFUG which secured its access both to financial and to decision-making capacities (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 15)

In terms of institutionalization an increase in professionalization can be noted for the ESIB (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 14; 2012a, p. 9). It had more members in its committees, that were established earlier, its board and thus the presidents of the NUSs met regularly at the BM and

European Student Conventions (ESC) from 2001 onwards which secured further internal strengthening of relations between the NUS and the ESIB (Klemenčič, 2011a, pp. 18-19). Furthermore, the organization was able to access more and new funding opportunities which provided it with increased resources to for instance publicize or lobby for its cause (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 15; 2012a, p. 9). After the Prague Summit, the Liaison Group and thus the sharing of student representation was dropped and the ESIB held a monopoly on representation. Additionally, the organization was able to focus on large projects related to the BP and thus increased its policy scope significantly. It certainly had lobbying capacities such as staff, expertise and funding to make its interest heard without regard to single actors – rather it was the ESU as an institution that was recognized by external actors such as the Council of Europe or the BFUG (Bergan, 2003; Klemenčič, 2011a; LSS, 2013; Westerheijden, et al., 2010; Wit, 2001).

5.3.4c After the Prague Summit – The ESU becomes a political animal

After the Prague Summit it was the Berlin Summit in 2003 that finally institutionalized the “consultative membership” of the ESIB in the Berlin Communiqué (Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 11; 2012b, p. 26). The Berlin Communiqué represented another opportunity for the ESIB to engage in discussions when finally, the social dimension was recognized as a policy domain in the BP and thus uploading of policies to the official Communiqué took place again (Charlier & Croche, 2004, pp. 6-7; ESU, 2012, p. 26; Klemenčič, 2012b, p. 19). In addition, it was the first time the ESIB was able to support the BFUG with the survey “Bologna through Students’ Eyes” which became the channel for issuing the students concerns regarding the BP (BPC, 2007; euractiv.com, 2005). Thus the ESIB was able to continue its successful work during the ongoing BP. During the BP, the ESIB was able to further upload its preferences such as the call for more data supply (Adelman, 2009) and the concern for quality measurements in the Higher Education Institutions (HEI) (Adelman, 2009) while it kept working on publications and attended various summits regarding the BP (BFUG, 2005, 2007, 2009; BPC, 2007). The BFUG also led to yet another formation of an alliance when the E4 was set up and for example, founded the European Quality Assurance Register (EQAR) (BFUG, 2007, pp. 28-29; Eurydice, 2010, p. 151). It was these responsibilities, the past changes in the institutional set-up of the ESIB and the strive for recognition that led to the final renaming of ESIB into ESU – the European Students’ Union (Esatoglu, 2013; ESIB; Klemenčič, 2011a). The new name was a landmark in the organization’s history which has institutionalized in various areas in the period from 1998 to 2007 and was not only able to represent students but also to lobby in their name and make their voices heard and

acknowledged in the BP. In Westerheijden et. al.'s 10-year-assessment report the ESU is considered as a driver in the BFUG discussions and a very active, well prepared and expertly behaving stakeholder (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, pp. 97, 99). The ESU is thus seen as an adequate representative for students after 10 years of BP, before it had been rather small and informal with little access to policy-making (Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 103). In sum, it can be noted that the BP has profoundly changed the organization and led to institutionalization in many areas – the ESU's achievements are recognized by many even though a detailed study such as Klemenčičs' is rarely to be found (Adelman, 2009; Bergan, 2003; Esatoglu, 2013; ESIB; ESU, 2012; Klemenčič, 2011a, 2012a, 2012b; LSS, 2013; Øye, 2011; Philox.eu, 2013a; Walter, 2004; Westerheijden, et al., 2010).

In order to answer the second sub-question regarding the changes of the ESU it can be thus noted that it was the Maastricht Treaty that laid ground for the institutionalization, although the major mechanisms were set in motion by the BP. Not only was it the time before the Sorbonne Declaration that was very important but also all changes that happened prior to, during and after the Prague Summit in 2001, were decisive for the shape of the ESU today. Not only the ESU achieved to be recognized by, but also to be formally included in the BFUG – which entailed more policy activities regarding the BP, the need for regular meetings, expert staff and clear goals which were agreed upon at BMs and ESCs. After the analysis, a rank of “high” can be assigned to the institutionalization level of ESIB. Therefore, the expectations are in line with the findings of this section after applying the process tracing method. The institutionalization, as the process focused upon, has revealed that the ESU has been reshaped almost entirely, mostly during the BP. All in all, the ESU has witnessed 30 years of constant, gradual change which increased its institutionalization, affected by the institutional environment and therein included organizational field it found itself in.

5. 4 2012 – Stocktaking of the ESU's institutionalization

In the following chapter the institutionalization of ESU will be revisited and analyzed to answer the third sub-question and to see whether the last expectation holds true for the ESU's developmental process. It was expected that the ESU has been the subject of an institutionalization process since 1991.

Indeed, we can assess that gradually the institutionalization of the ESU increased as could be seen by the increasing index rank the ESU obtained in the course of time. In order to depict the wide range of changes in a comparative manner, Table 3 contrasts 1991 and 2010 in time with regard to aforementioned dimensions and indicators of institutionalization.

Table 3: Stocktaking of ESU's institutional development

Dimension	Indicator	ESU before 1991	ESU in 2010
Common Beliefs	Norms	Democratic, representative, forum of exchange (Sundström, 2012)	Democratic, representative, NUS as backbone of ESU, organization with policy-making powers (Bartolo, 2009; Klemenčič, 2011a)
	Priorities	News bank meant for information sharing(Sundström, 2012)	A voice of students in e.g. media, decision-making bodies etc. Influencing policies according to students' needs Internal capacity building for NUS Information Sharing online (public) (Bartolo, 2009; Klemenčič, 2011a; Ufert, 2011)
Interest Profile	Goals	ESIB as an 'Academic, ethos-based organization' Furthering of cooperation of NUS Get access to high amount of relevant information (Esatoglu, 2013; Grogan, 2012; Ness, 2011; Øye, 2011; Sundström, 2012)	ESU as a 'political animal' in the BP and beyond Represent and promote students needs Support NUS(ESU, 2011b; Klemenčič, 2011a; Moisander, 2012; Ufert, 2011)
	Features	Informal (not seeking public office) Internal coherence predominant (Esatoglu, 2013; Øye, 2011; Sundström, 2012)	Informal (not seeking public office) Agenda Setter in social dimension Working Group (WG) Direct policy involvement in decision-making bodies New

			name reflecting the changes (Esatoglu, 2013; Ufert, 2011; Walter, 2004)
Procedural Capacities	Organizational Routines	Employed Director Executive Committee (consisting of member NUS representatives) Secretariat - Chair by a member NUS on rotating basis BM+Seminar biannual (2 regular meetings per year) (Esatoglu, 2013; Moisander, 2012; Sundström, 2012)	Executive Committee (10 elected representative+3coordinators) Secretariat (5 full time, employed members, appointed) Board (2 members per NUS) with 7 sub-bodies incl. e.g. WG Presidency: 1 elected President + 2 elected Vice-Presidents Various WG and expert pools 7 employed staff members in Brussels BM+Seminar biannual, ESC biannual (4 regular meetings in total per year) (Bartolo, 2009; ESU, 2011a, 2013b; Klemenčič, 2011a; Ufert, 2011)
	Available Ressources	Office (non-permanent) Finances highly dependent on nation states of NUS (Grogan, 2012; Ness, 2011; Sundström, 2012)	Brussels Office (permanent) Funding by EU bodies (according to obtained grants, Commission support)+membership fees (ESU, 2011a; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004; Westerheijden, et al., 2010)

As expected the institutionalization, especially in the third dimension, increased and receives the rank “high” at the respective point of reference of 2010. Not only was the ESU featuring a much bigger board (due to the increased membership base) and more staff that meets

regularly at BMs and ESC but its Presidency was also situated permanently in the Brussels office. ESU was able to go beyond its past mission – an information sharing bureau – towards a “political animal” as former Secretary-General Karina Ufert (2011) put it. Despite the fact that ESU was already envisaged as a political representative in its founding agreement it was not until the 1990s that the ESIB transformed. Nevertheless, it did not lose connection to the NUS, which still present the backbone of the organization as the staff is recruited among the NUS representatives and thus NUS and the ESU are highly interlinked. Although the ESU was able to extend its features substantively, it is still dependent on funding from external bodies such as the European Union. However, few strings are attached to the grants (Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004, p. 352) while the ESU has sought to diversify its accounts which also include membership fees. Still, the vast amount originates from the EU. In addition to these findings many confirm that the ESU has substantially formalized in the past (Bergan, 2003; Foa, 2003; Klemenčič, 2011a, p. 19; 2012a, p. 9; LSS, 2013; Ness, 2011, pp. 26-27; Walter, 2004; Westerheijden, et al., 2010, p. 104). All in all, it can be stated that the ESU has institutionalized in many regards but also started out as a moderately low institutionalized entity from the beginning onwards, so some indicators have been present already in the beginning. During its development it was subject to a changing environment which had a major impact on its transformation. The concluding remarks will give an answer to the research question and elaborate on a possible alternative explanation for the development as well as depicting limits of this paper.

6. Discussion of Findings

The following chapter is going to briefly shed a light on the extent to which the findings of our research relate to the findings of other studies that dealt with for instance the ESU or the Bologna reform process.

This thesis fits into the existing but limited body of literature dealing with student unionism, in particular student unionism in Europe. The ESU has so far only been dealt with in some detail by Klemenčič. In relation to her findings from various publications it should be highlighted that we were able to shed a clearer light on the process during which the ESU has formalized. This was lacking in her study (Klemenčič, 2012a). In addition, we could confirm that the NUS played and still play a major role in the ESU and present the backbone of the ESU’s institutional set-up. However, this study was unable to confirm that there was a growing distance between the membership base and the leaders of the organization which is suspected by Klemenčič (2011b) in “The public role of higher education and student

participation in Higher Education Governance” (Klemenčič, 2011b). The most significant difference of this study to the work of Klemenčič (2011a) is the fact that she focused on Europeanization while this study has taken institutionalization as a guiding theoretical framework (Klemenčič, 2011a). Even though we identified a different mechanism, the findings of the studies still remain rather similar. For example, Klemenčič (2011a) also finds that especially the period around the Prague Summit has had a profound impact on the ESU. Additionally, the effect such as a strengthening of the “European Student Movement” is one of her main assessments. This has not been subject to this thesis but looking at the development process and the successes that ESU could achieve during the BP, a more in depth study of this issue bears potential to confirm this finding of Klemenčič (2011a).

Taking into account other studies it has been confirmed here again that especially the Prague Summit has had a major impact on the development of stakeholders, among them the ESU (Haskel, 2008; Huisman & Van Der Wende, 2004; Keeling, 2006; Neave, 2003; Westerheijden, et al., 2010). This study has shown that alliance formation has been witnessed for the period after the Prague Summit which is in line with findings from authors such as Haskel (2008). However, her suspicion of EU Commission involvement in the creation of ESIB could not be confirmed by this study, rather, it was the impact by the environment as a whole where the Commission certainly played a role but the initial formation was rather due to past, negative experiences with for example, IUS (Haskel, 2008; Ness, 2011).

The model of institutionalization as provided in chapter 3 has shed a light onto the institutionalization process to a limited extent. The indicators chosen have been assessed with only a limited account of operators which were available in unobtrusive research while a combination of for instance stakeholder interviews and the already used method could have provided more in-depth insights. Additionally, the method has been adjusted to the limits of this paper and thus needs rephrasing for future research projects. While the dimensions have been elaborated in earlier parts, it has been said that the dimension of “Common Beliefs” remains rather fuzzy which led to problems during its investigation. When discussing the outcomes, the institutionalization of the organization is apparent, but this is mainly due to valid findings in the second and third dimension while the first one has remained rather similar over time and certainly needs more research. Nevertheless, all three dimensions have been necessary for a full account of the development process.

In relation to the expectations that have been formulated in chapter 3 we can assess that they have been subject to constant assessment in this paper. In particular, the environmental influences and resulting changes have been explored in depth and revealed strong influences

on the organizational changes. The expectations have been addressed in each chapter respectively and the last one has been subject to detailed analysis in the comparison in chapter 5.4. Overall, the institutionalization could be traced back to triggers such as the organizations' wish to influence political decision-making and to become the voice of students. In addition, the method of process-tracing has been very helpful to analyze the development process chronologically. However, the limits of this paper prevented to go in even richer detail but certainly provide reason to believe that this study has made a moderate contribution to the existing field of studies on the Bologna Process and its involved stakeholders while also adding to the small body of literature on European student unionism.

7. Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents the answer to the research question and how an answer to it was derived when summarizing the most important findings about the developmental process of ESU. The organization was founded in 1982 by a few European NUS and extended to 47 members over time. During the past 30 years the organization gradually turned into a fully fledged interest representation organization in the higher education realm. This process was expected to be due to the institutionalization pressures originating from the environment of the ESU.

The Research Question

The question this research means to answer is

How has the ESU developed into a professional interest representation organization since 1991?

The findings were obtained after substantial literature review and triangulation of data has been applied. In addition, the question has been answered following the model set up before according to the expectation that ESU is more institutionalized in 2010 than in 1991 due to transformative powers originating from its environment. Institutionalization was taken as the explanation for the ESU's development. However, most literature on institutionalization in the past focused on electoral democracies and not on organizations like the ESU. Nevertheless, the model proves to be of value when analyzing the organization as valuable findings that helped answering the research question.

Theory and Methods

The historical analysis tracing the process of institutionalization that ESU underwent has shed a light on the ESU's development. It has been shown that the indicators chosen in the model

of institutionalization (Table 1) prove to shed a light on this process. They have been chosen after careful consideration of various, credible theoretical accounts on institutionalization; however, they bear potential for critique. As the model is certainly limited in scope due to the limitations of this paper an extension certainly has potential to either validate the existing findings or to rephrase some of them. Thus, an extension of characteristics and indicators is recommended to gain a more complete picture of the ESU's institutionalization.

The Answer to the Research Question

The research question can be answered as to the extent that the ESU developed into a professional interest representation organization because of institutionalization process of the organization in an environment which transformed the ESU. The changes in the institutional environment, predominantly in political Europe with the BP, have largely affected the institutional adaptation of the ESU. The goal to represent its large membership base was the reason it sought inclusion and then active membership in the BP and BFUG. In addition, their continuous strive for survival in the organizational field has raised incentives to formalize structures and grow into a political animal comprised of European NUS which founded the organization in 1982. Particularly the rivalries within the Commissions' formations of student representations in the 1990s furthered the organizations wish to become the only group representing students at high levels such as the BP. This interim goal led to the fact that the ESIB became the only student representation in the BP and the BFUG which entailed a vast amount of work and necessary policy development which the student representatives were capable of. Expertise and professionalism have marked their work to achieve that the voice of students is being heard at the ministerial summits. The organizational field also included the EUA which was ahead of the ESU's institutionalization and is suspected of being mirrored in parts by the ESU – however, the findings in the literature have not dealt with this issue thus far. In general, ESU's relations with its organizational field have witnessed two phases which were highly influenced by the EU Commission. The first phase was the period of rivalry among student representations for inclusion in negotiations about changes in HE. The second one was the phase of cooperation which only began when ESU reached official stakeholder status in the BP. After this time, the ESU has worked together with the Commission and the EUA on many issues and formed an alliance on issues which the groups had the same interest in. This alliance has been decisive in the BP and led to for example, uploading of ESU policies in the Prague Communiqué or the inclusion of the social dimension as a field of action. The ESU witnessed growth in institutionalization before the BP; however it developed

mostly in the times of the BP since 1998 because of the influences of its environment. All in all, the organization has institutionalized in the past and continues to develop internally and externally in the still changing environment that higher education policy offers.

Alternative explanations for ESU's development process

A possible alternative explanation for the ESU's development can be Isomorphism, which is describing a mirroring process of a further developed group by a non-developed group. Relevant in our study was particularly to the presence of the EUA and its explicit alliance with the Commission as described by Haskel (2008). However, clear evidence was not to be found while there are certainly indications that for example the structures and goals of the ESU and the EUA resemble each other now. Nevertheless, it cannot be clearly distinguished whether this is due to the fact that they have both been part of the same transformative environment as described in the institutionalization theory or whether the EUA has been to some extent copied by the ESU. It is a fact that the EUA was more matured in terms of institutionalization prior to the BP and included in the BP early on. However, it is suspected that such inclusion was mostly due to the knowledge of political Europe of the EUA as a stakeholder while students have been neglected and only gradually made their way into the BP. Thus isomorphism is, with the data base at hand, not seen as the explanation for the development of the ESU into a professional interest representation organization due to lack of evidence and unclear relations in the organizational field. Future research could elaborate on this issue in another, less limited research project.

Limits of this study

This study certainly faces some limits to the extent to which its conclusions are reflecting the entire amount of information. Due to limits in accessibility of data and the fact that the study only relies on published, unobtrusive information limits its scope further, especially when seeing that a vast amount of information originates, mostly indirectly, from the ESU itself through for instance former members of the organization such as Klemenčič. This study was not able to generate a more coherent picture regarding an alternative explanation on the developmental process of ESU where isomorphism is suspected to be an alternative. This was due to data scarcity and lack of evidence in existing data which has not enabled to go beyond pure speculations on this matter. Nevertheless, some things indicate that isomorphic processes might be a reason for the institutional set-up the ESU is obtaining today, but this needs further research in a future study.

Future research avenues

In the future, research should focus on a comparative case study of the ESU and the EUA and how they have developed in the light of the Bologna Process. This bears potential to extract information on whether an isomorphic process has been taking place, which could not be detected in this study. Another angle for academics can be the extension of this study by enhancing it with stakeholder interviews of both ESU members and otherwise related experts in HE. This would certainly give the research more depth and could go hand in hand with an extension of the model for institutionalization which for the scope of this limited thesis remains rather small. This is particularly interesting to extend the studyfield of student unionism which is still rather limited, even though student unions in Europe have gained significant political influence in the recent past.

Lastly, a future research project can focus on alliance formation during the BP. As shown in this thesis, there were two different phases of cooperation with other actors in the organizational field that the ESU was part of – one of rivalry and one of cooperation. The phase of cooperation bears potential for future study since we can then detect the extent to which an alliance has influenced the final outcome of BP summits. This is particularly important to extend the studies on transparency of the decision-making process in the BP and of course, to see if the influence of stakeholder alliances was beneficial for certain populations like students or universities. All in all, there are various research avenues possible that can extend the findings of this study and are thus considered beneficial for the academic community.

8. References

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9. Appendix

I Institutional Isomorphism

In this section the theoretical concept of ‘Institutional Isomorphism’ by Di Maggio and Powell (1983) will be further elaborated and its three types briefly outlined. The authors have observed that past research rather accounts for variation of organizations while it is apparent to them that organizations are increasingly homogeneous (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148) For the authors it is thus best to study such processes applying the institutional isomorphism which they define as a ‘*constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same environment*’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 149).

Thus the survival of the fittest becomes crucial to organizations which need to compete with others since these other organizations present the main threat to ones own survival (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150).

Three types are identified as part of the isomorphism – coercive isomorphism, mimetic processes and normative pressures. I am going to briefly outline each of the forms as they are the main source for further examination of the ESU later on. *Coercive isomorphism* basically originates out of the need to comply with political influences and legitimacy problems (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150). This can be rather ceremonial and does not necessarily increase the organizations output. Formal and informal pressures by either another organization oneself is dependent upon or the expectations of society force the organization to adapt. The effect of homogenization results out of e.g. the same legal environment, the need to attract a donor or can be a process of top-down homogenization with the parent organization asking for homogenized subsidiaries (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, pp. 150-151).

Mimetic processes include the modeling of other organizations due to uncertainty (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 151). Here the organizations seeks for a model which is doing ‘better’ in terms of organizational structure, compliance with political/legal requirements and attraction of wide consumer base. Due to the fact that there is a small amount of models available in specific fields, homogenization is likely to happen (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 151).

The last one is *normative pressures* which are related to professionalization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 152). The authors argue that professions and its members are just as much affected by isomorphism as organizations are. This results in a competition for being the best in the respective field of professionalized occupation including competitive hiring procedures

and filtering of personal in mostly similar patterns or the same educational background of members of an occupation. Here the goal is to provide the same benefits as competitors if not better ones (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 153). Thus organizations face constant pressures for best possible staff which is a very scarce resource and thus networks of same people can be found in the same field for long period of time.

II Professionalization

Professionalization of an organization is defined in this paper as *‘the process of establishing an organizational structure incorporating staff with expert knowledge and possible movement entrepreneurs supports the political agenda of the organization and the ultimate goal of self-survival.* The process is part of an historical developmental process and builds upon already existing, basic, structures’ and builds upon the research shortly outlined below (Klüver & Saurugger, 2011; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Saurugger, 2006; Staggenborg, 1988).

Taking academic literature into account one can find a strong relationship between available funds for professional groups with a clear organizational structure and the urge of activists to seek a career within groups (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 77). Thus, seeing additional financial resources that allow for a career in the organization are seen as a trigger to remodel the groups’ structures and strategies in order to become more professional. Recent research adapts this towards the particular EU situation. The EU Commission, in its search for legitimacy, offers funds in return for input of civil society groups to overcome the gap between institutional policy-making and wider popular participation (Klüver & Saurugger, 2011, pp. 1-2). However, it needs more than just funds and a ‘customer’ for professional interest groups. It seems also necessary that some structures already exist before professionalization, even informal ones (Staggenborg, 1988, p. 603). Yet another crucial factor is the role of a movement entrepreneur. This can be a leader within the group, or an outsider that identifies with e.g. the cause of the group but he needs to be capable of taking the organization to the next level – from a grass root movement to a representative, recognized interest group (Staggenborg, 1988, p. 593). Additional aspects of such a group, which are essential for its ultimate survival and effective capacity to influence policy-making are professional staff members and expert contacts (Saurugger, 2006, p. 18; Staggenborg, 1988, p. 594), the persistent link towards membership base (Staggenborg, 1988, p. 587) and the pursuant political-strategic planning of activities to enhance the impact of the group (Staggenborg, 1988, p. 600). Looking back upon the information just presented one can find certain causes

that lead to professionalization and respective features that must be fulfilled to say something is 'professional'. Concerning the causes the authors named above have found that in the European context of interest representation a demand for professional structures persists which if present leads to access to funds which is another prerequisite. Apart from that, members that pursue a career within the group can cause professionalization which would make these movement entrepreneurs.

III Brown's model of representation

Representation is defined for the purpose of this paper as '*an entity that is authorized to embody its membership base – which participates actively in the entity and resembles the representative body – with the necessary expertise to achieve the goals of its member units.*'

In order to be able to evaluate whether an entity is indeed representative Brown (2006) has identified five elements that contribute to representativeness of e.g. a citizens panel – Browns unit of analysis. Even though Brown focuses not on interest groups as such the elements he identifies are still very relevant since they are part of a definition of representation and thus important to this thesis. Prior to the representativeness of a group the formal feature of authorization needs to be present. This can include indirect authorization e.g. by appointment but usually is established by direct voting in for example constitutional elections (Brown, 2006, p. 208).

After this has been established another formal feature – accountability – is of high relevance. Brown (2006, pp. 210-211) suggests that this is not so much linked to sanctioning non-compliance with goals but rather that behavior that is favorable to the constituency is expected. Additionally, there should be access to documents of the authorized representatives freely available – thus the representatives give an account of their decision-making (Brown, 2006, p. 211).

Democratic theory often sees the third element Brown identifies as an opposite to representation: Participation. However, participation is deeply necessary as on that can ensure representativeness of the represented (Brown, 2006, p. 212). Also, representation usually appears after citizens have taken the initiative to develop a representative body (Brown, 2006, p. 213). Thus participating constituencies are vital to keep an authorized body representative. The fourth element is expertise. In order to allow for best possible representation the representing authority must act in the best interest of the represented which includes expert knowledge in e.g. law (Brown, 2006, pp. 213-214).

The last element is resemblance. Simply speaking the represented group needs to be similar in terms of demographic features of the representing as this increases the probability to act in accordance with the constituency (Brown, 2006, p. 217).

IV Observation Matrix on ESU's Institutionalization

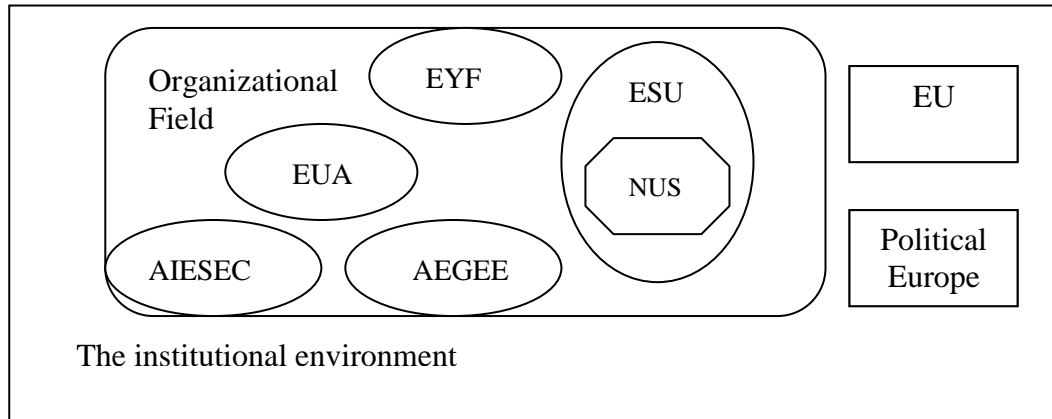
Dimension	Indicator	Resources
Common Beliefs	Priorities& Norms	<p><i>Bartolo, D. (2009). Student participation in national and international higher education forums in Europe. Brussels: European Students' Union.</i></p> <p><i>Declaration, S.G. (2001). Student Göteborg Declaration. ESIB. URL: http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Student-documents_ESIB.pdf (Zugriff am: 07.01.2004)</i></p> <p><i>Grogan, S. (2012). ESIB. Limassol: European Students' Union.</i></p> <p><i>Klemenčič, M. (2011a). Europeanisation of the "European Student Movement". EUSA 2011: Papers archive from the Network of European Union Centres of Excellence.</i></p> <p><i>Klemenčič, M. (2012b). How ESIB got into the Bologna Process. Brussels: ESU.</i></p> <p><i>LSS. (2013). European Students' Union. Retrieved 25.06.2013, from http://lss.lt/en/european-students-union/#</i></p> <p><i>Sundström, B. (2012). How it all began. Limassol: European Students' Union.</i></p> <p><i>Ufert, K. (2011) Why 'organise'? Brussels: ESU.</i></p>
Interest Profile	Goals&Features	<p><i>Declaration, S. G. (2001). Student Göteborg Declaration. ESIB. URL: http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Student_documents_ESIB.pdf (Zugriff am: 07.01. 2004).</i></p> <p><i>Esatoglu, P. D. A. E. (2013). The Social dimension of the Bologna Process and Student Participation in Higher Education Governance. Retrieved 25.06.2013, from http://bologna.en.ankara.edu.tr/?page_id=82</i></p> <p><i>ESU Statutes(2011b).</i></p> <p><i>ESU. (2013b). Structures. ESU.</i></p> <p><i>Grogan, S. (2012). ESIB. Limassol: European Students' Union.</i></p> <p><i>Klemenčič, M. (2011a). Europeanisation of the "European Student Movement". EUSA 2011: Papers archive from the Network of European Union Centres of Excellence.</i></p>

		<p><i>Klemenčič, M. (2012b). How ESIB got into the Bologna Process. Brussels: ESU.</i></p> <p><i>Moisander, T. (2012). Finnish Perspectives from the European Level. Journal of Finnish Universities of Applied Sciences, No 2 (2012) Retrieved 26.06.2013, from http://www.uasjournal.fi/index.php/uasj/article/view/1385/1311</i></p> <p><i>Ness, J. (2011). Geo-Politics and Student Unionism. A History of International Student</i></p> <p><i>Øye, O. (2011). ESU - From Information Bureau to Political Animal. Brussels: ESU</i></p> <p><i>Ufert, K. (2011) Why 'organise'? Brussels: ESU.</i></p> <p><i>Sundström, B. (2012). How it all began. Limassol: European Students' Union.</i></p>
Procedural Capacities	Organizational Routines & Available Resources	<p><i>Bartolo, D. (2009). Student participation in national and international higher education forums in Europe. Brussels: European Students' Union.</i></p> <p><i>Esatoglu, P. D. A. E. (2013). The Social dimension of the Bologna Process and Student Participation in Higher Education Governance. Retrieved 25.06.2013, from http://bologna.en.ankara.edu.tr/?page_id=82</i></p> <p><i>ESU Statutes(2011b).</i></p> <p><i>ESU. (2013b). Structures. ESU.</i></p> <p><i>Grogan, S. (2012). ESIB. Limassol: European Students' Union.</i></p> <p><i>Huisman, J., & Van Der Wende, M. (2004). The EU and Bologna: are supra - and international initiatives threatening domestic agendas?*. European Journal of Education, 39(3), 349-357.</i></p> <p><i>Klemenčič, M. (2011a). Europeanisation of the "European Student Movement". EUSA 2011: Papers archive from the Network of European Union Centres of Excellence.</i></p> <p><i>Klemenčič, M. (2012b). How ESIB got into the Bologna Process. Brussels: ESU.</i></p> <p><i>Ness, J. (2011). Geo-Politics and Student Unionism. A History of International Student</i></p> <p><i>Ufert, K. (2011) Why 'organise'? Brussels: ESU.</i></p> <p><i>Sundström, B. (2012). How it all began. Limassol: European Students' Union.</i></p>

V The environment of the ESU

This thesis continuously makes reference to the environment – the institutional environment and therein included organizational field – of the European Students’ Union. This figure depicts the situation clearly, building on previous figures found in chapter 3.3.

Figure 4: ESU’s environment



The figure above shows first the organizational field where other HE organizations that are affiliated with the representation of students (and youth) in Europe are part of next to ESU. ESU is comprised of its NUS which is illustrated, too.

This organizational field is part of the ever-changing institutional environment comprised of the EU and Political Europe, the later relates to the countries that are connected to the BP. It has to be noted that the environment has not just appeared together with the ESU, rather the ESU evolved within it.

VI The Index Table

The Index table is based on the information retrieved from “The Practice of Social Research” by E.R. Babbie. In order to accustom both the fact that an index sheds a light on the level of institutionalization but also on the limitations this thesis deals with all operators are assumed to have equal weight. Thus, the presence of one operator presents an index value of 1. Adding the presence of operators then relates to the level of institutionalization achieved for a specific period of time. A more elaborate classification of levels among the operators bears potential to enhance the depth of the findings and offers opportunities to gain more insights into the institutionalization process, however, the limitations of this paper do not allow for an in-depth analysis and elaboration. A future study should therefore take a look into the operationalization and thus increase the value of the findings.