



MACQUARIE
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The politics of professional liberalization in Greece, 2010-2018

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OECD WORKSHOP ON REGULATORY BARRIERS TO COMPETITION IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICES
November 18-19, 2021



The question

How differences in **power** across **four professions** and **divisions** within them affected how liberalization was **implemented** in Greece (2010-2018)

Power and intra-professional divisions



POWER

Power as ability to access policy-makers

- Insiders v. outsiders
- Financial and organizational resources
- Electoral clout
- Voice strategies



DIVISIONS

Division between potential winners and losers from liberalization

- Who controls the representation of the profession?

Implementation



Scope

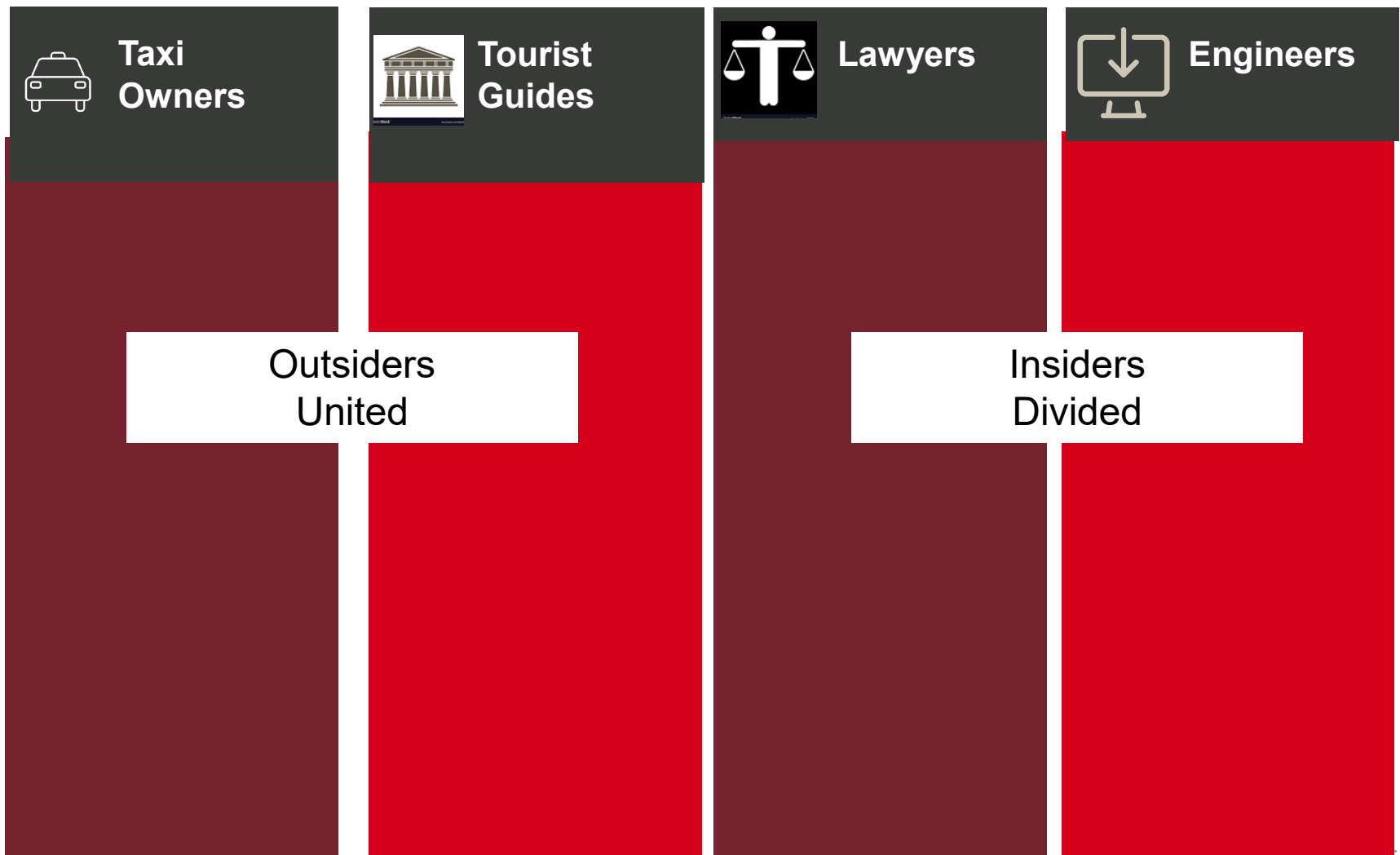
Extent of *actual* implementation of liberalization measures considered important by professional actors



Speed

Time elapsed from the liberalization deadline (2009)

The professions





Liberalization and conflict

MEASURES OPPOSED BY PROFESSIONS OR OVER WHICH THERE WAS CONFLICT WITHIN THE PROFESSIONS



Taxi Owners

- Liberalization of taxi licences



Tourist Guides

- Elimination of site-specific authorizations
- Closing of vocational schools



Lawyers

- Elimination of geographical restrictions (supported by big-city practices)
- Elimination of minimum fees (supported by larger practices)
- Introduction of multidisciplinary practices (opposed by all)



Engineers

- Opening the scope of activities for new specializations (opposed by established specializations)
- Opening the scope of activities for graduates of 4-yr institutions (opposed by 5-yr institutions)



Examples: tourist guides and engineers



TOURIST GUIDES

Limited organizational resources
Unaware of proposed liberalization measures
Unable to access government until SYRIZA's victory in 2015

- Elimination of geographical requirements (2010)
- Closing of vocational schools (2012)
- Reopening of vocational schools in 2017, but no longer a requirement to enter the profession



ENGINEERS

Technical Chamber of Greece (TCG).
Integral to State functions
Controlled by established specializations (e.g. civil engineering) and 5-yr institutions.

- Newer specializations tried to use conditionality to open up the jurisdictions of older specializations (2011)
- TCG and the Greek government allied to opposed conditionality (2011-2013)
- Independent report implemented so as to keep control of liberalization in the hands of the established professions (2014)
- Implementation rolled back starting in 2016

The findings

Table 2. Speed (time elapsed from the 2009 deadline) and scope of implementation

Tourist guides		Scope
2010	Elimination of geographical and other barriers	Full
2012	Closing of vocational schools	Full
Taxi owners		
2012 (2014)	Liberalisation of taxi licences	Minimal
Lawyers		
2013	New Code of Lawyers	Partial
Engineers		
	2014 (partially reversed 2016) Opening to four-year engineers	Minimal
	NEVER Opening to new specialisations	None

In other words...

Power matters: Weaker professions are liberalized more fully and more quickly

Divisions slow down the implementation of liberalization, regardless of who controls the representation of the profession



Thank you for your attention

References

Stolfi, Francesco and Natalia Papamakariou (2021) “Border clashes: the distributive politics of professional liberalisation in Greece, 2010–2018” *Journal of Public Policy* 41 (1): 90-110