**Supplementary Materials (Online Publication Only)**

**Online Appendix**

**The interviews**

The interviews were carried out in person, by telephone or by email, based on prepared set of questions that were adapted to role of the respondent; during the interviews we changed, pursued or skipped questions based on the development of the interview, a semi-structured format that allows interviewers to follow the causal process (Martin 2013) and to learn about new issues relevant to their research (Aberbach and Rockman 2002; Leech et al. 2013). In some cases, follow-up interviews were also conducted. In most cases, at least the first interview was carried out by both authors. Notes of the interview were taken separately by the authors and then compared in order to maximize reliability (Aberbach and Rockman 2002).

The respondents were selected from the key actors involved in or knowledgeable of the liberalisation process based on our preliminary research on that process (Tansey 2007). We collected information from the perspective of the actors tasked with helping with the implementation of the liberalisation measures contained in the SD (both at the EU and the domestic level), the professions (including pro- and anti-liberalisation actors), and knowledgeable observers. Specifically, our respondents were: high-ranking officials of the Hellenic Competition Commission, the organisation tasked with assessing the compliance of the professions with the liberalisation measures and with advising the government on liberalisation; officials from the Finance ministry tasked with ensuring compliance with the economic reform measures of the MoUs; current and past officials of the European Commission’s Structural Reform Support Service; senior members of the Technical Chamber of Greece (the mandatory association of all engineers), from two specializations; a senior member of the of the Athens Bar Association and several lawyers, including lawyers that have authored a report for the European Commission on the compliance with the SD; senior members of the tourist guide association (the Panhellenic Tourist Guides' Federation); think-tank researchers; journalists; and a Member of Parliament.

**The institutional structure of the professions**

Lawyers are members of the Bar Association of the Court of First Instance with which they are registered, and elect the President and Board of each Bar Association. The Presidents have explicit links to parties. Thus, for instance, the Presidents of the Athens Bar Association between 2002 and 2014 were close to ND. The President between 2014 and 2017, whilst formally an independent, was the son of a previous PASOK Minister of Justice, while the current President was associated with PASOK but has been moving closer to SYRIZA, the left-wing party that has led the government since 2015.

The coordinating body of the Bar Associations is the ‘Plenary of the Presidents of the Bar Associations of Greece.’ The Plenary is headed by a three-member Bureau, which consists of the Presidents of the Bar Associations of Athens, Thessaloniki and Piraeus. Its President is the President of the Athens Bar Association. However, in view of the central role of lawyers in upholding the rule of law, the Plenary’s decisions are only guidelines and cannot bind the Bar Associations.

The TCG, established in 1923, is the body representing engineers. It is a public entity regulated by administrative law and is formally supervized by the Ministry of Infrastructure. The TCG is responsible, among other things, for the exams admitting to the profession, and for the organisation and development of the profession. Membership is mandatory and membership fee contribute to its funding. The TCG is based in Athens, and has seventeen regional chapters. The Assembly is composed of 200 members, most elected at large (a minority is elected in representation of each subdiscipline), thus ensuring that established sub-disciplines, such as civil engineering, control the majority of seats. In turn, the Assembly elects the President and the executive. Most power in reality is concentrated in the President, even with regard to areas that by law should be the prerogative of the Assembly (which only meets four times a year).

Like the Bar Associations, the TCG is strongly politicized. The representatives to the Assembly run based on their explicit party allegiance. However, with regard to matters affecting their own specialisations (civil, chemical, environmental engineering etc.), the interests of the specialisation trump partisan allegiance (TCG official, January 24 2018). The TCG also maintains strong links with the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport. Thus, for instance, the current SYRIZA Minister, Christos Spirtzis, is a former TCG President.

**The liberalisation of the four professions in the context of the broader professional liberalisation drive in Greece**

The liberalisation pattern for tourist guides and taxi owners seems to fit with the experiences of other outsider professions. Thus the ministerial decree that liberalized tourist guides in 2010 also liberalized some forestry professions (Milieu 2011), outsider professions that, like the tourist guides, control few access goods. Road haulage was also quickly liberalized (also in 2010); however, the fate of hauliers (outsiders who, like taxi owners, can call disruptive strikes) mirrors that of taxi owners. Just as in the case of taxi licences, the practical impact on the opening of the profession has been minimal, as only a handful of new licences were issued in the following years (Paschalidou 2018).

The liberalisation of lawyers and engineers followed the dedicated legal process set aside for these and other high-skill professions (architects, financial auditors, notaries and pharmacists). Architects were assimilated to engineers and thus the profession was not significantly liberalized. Financial auditors managed to prevent an increase in licenses. Notaries, a much smaller profession in terms of numbers than lawyers and engineers, did not resist the reform of the access exam (2013), which significantly increased the number of professionals, although they deflected attempts to deregulate their fees. Pharmacists, finally, enjoy both high access to policy-makers thanks to established party links and mobilisation power (through strikes). The liberalisation of the sector, in particular with regard to the opening of ownership to non-pharmacists, proceeded very slowly, with the relevant Presidential Decree only being issued in 2018.