European Research Studies Journal
Volume XXVIII, Issue 4, 2025

pp. 873-885

Minimum Wage Policy in Poland and the EU: A Comparative Legal and Socio-Economic Analysis

Submitted 19/09/25, 1st revision 16/10/25, 2nd revision 26/10/25, accepted 20/11/25

Bogusław Balza[1], Krzysztof Sala[2]

Abstract:

Purpose: *The subject of minimum wage has gained renewed attention within the European Union, particularly following the adoption of Directive (EU) 2022/2041 on adequate minimum wages in the European Union. This paper examines the legal, economic, and social implications of minimum wage policies in Poland and selected EU countries. It explores the role of minimum wages as an essential instrument of socio-economic policy, focusing on their impact on labor markets, income distribution, and economic stability.*
Design/Methodology/Approach: *The research combines comparative legal and economic analysis with empirical description using Eurostat data on national minimum wages. It includes a textual analysis of Directive (EU) 2022/2041, assessing its provisions and normative framework, and complements it with descriptive statistics on wage levels, purchasing power standards (PPS), median-wage ratios, and shares of minimum wage earners to evaluate socio-economic implications across countries.*
Findings: *The analysis shows substantial differences in statutory minimum wages across EU countries. When adjusted for purchasing power, disparities narrow but remain notable. Minimum wages represent 43% to 66% of median gross earnings, highlighting uneven wage adequacy. Between 2015 and 2025, the highest average annual growth rates were recorded in Romania (+13.0%), Lithuania (+12.3%), Bulgaria (+11.0%), and Poland (+10.2%). The Directive emphasizes adequacy, transparency, and collective bargaining as legal principles supporting upward wage convergence while preserving national autonomy.*
Practical Implications: *The findings assist policymakers in designing wage frameworks that promote social cohesion, reduce income inequality, and support sustainable economic growth.*
Originality/Value: *By combining a legal reading of Directive (EU) 2022/2041 with Eurostat-based descriptive evidence, this paper provides a multidimensional assessment of minimum wage policy in EU, highlighting its relevance for socio-economic policy and labor market regulation.*

Keywords: *Minimum wage, income inequality, labor policy.*

JEL codes: *E24, J3, J08.*
Paper type: *Research article.*

[1]*Ph.D.,University of National Education Commission, Cracow, Poland,*
ORCID: 0009-0006-9106-5126, e-mail: boguslaw.balza@uken.krakow.com;
[2]*Ph.D., the same as in 1, ORCID: 0000-0002-7614-9309,*
e-mail: krzysztof.sala@uken.krakow.com;

1. Introduction

The adoption of Directive (EU) 2022/2041 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on adequate minimum wages in the European Union represents a significant development in the European social and labor policy framework. The Directive entered into force on 14 November 2022, granting Member States two years to transpose its provisions into national law. By establishing clear legal standards, the Directive aims to provide all EU employees with access to adequate remuneration, improve working conditions, and strengthen social cohesion (Müller, 2024).

The Directive applies to all employees in the EU who are bound by an employment contract or by statutory employment relationships, as defined by national legislation, collective agreements, or established practices. Its legal basis lies in Article 153(1)(b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, which allows the Union to support and complement Member States' actions to improve working conditions (Mądrzycki and Pisarczyk, 2024).

Beyond its legal foundation, the Directive is grounded in long-standing social policy instruments. The European Social Charter of 1961 (ESC) recognized the right of all workers to fair conditions of employment, adequate remuneration, and collective bargaining mechanisms, while the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) enshrines principles of dignity, health protection, consultation rights, collective bargaining, and gender equality in employment and remuneration (Articles 23, 27, 28, 31).

Subsequent initiatives, such as the European Pillar of Social Rights and the 2020 EU Employment Guidelines: Council Decision 2020/1512, reinforced these principles, emphasizing the need for fair wages, social dialogue, and attention to low- and middle-income groups (Owen, 2025). The Directive explicitly addresses these goals by establishing a framework for the adequacy of statutory minimum wages, promoting collective bargaining mechanisms, and ensuring that workers have effective access to their rights to minimum wage protection under national law or collective agreements.

The concept of minimum wage policy is a principle of fair pay, which encompasses not only socio-economic guarantees but also legal and ethical dimensions of labor remuneration. International instruments, such as the European Social Charter (European Parliament, 2021), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), establish that minimum wage should secure a socially acceptable standard of living for employees and their families.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) recognizes minimum wages as instruments to reduce poverty, mitigate inequality, and stabilize economic demand,

as reflected in Convention No. 131 (1970) and reinforced by the 2009 Global Employment Pact and the 2019 ILO Centenary Declaration on the Future of Work (Katsaroumpas, 2021).

While minimum wages prioritize ensuring subsistence and social adequacy, they may not fully reflect the economic value of work performed. In practice, setting minimum wages requires balancing the goal of guaranteeing an adequate standard of living with the financial capacities of employers and the overall economic situation of the state.

The Directive's adoption reflects both a normative and practical commitment to enhancing living and working standards across the EU, reducing income inequality, and fostering positive convergence between Member States with diverse wage levels and social systems. It provides a legally binding benchmark for national policies while respecting the autonomy of Member States and the role of social partners in wage determination.

The Directive's adoption, therefore, is not only a legal mechanism for upward wage convergence across the EU but also a reaffirmation of the broader social and ethical objectives underlying minimum wage policies: securing a fair standard of living, protecting low-income workers, promoting social cohesion, and harmonizing labor standards while respecting national autonomy.

This paper situates the Directive within this comprehensive socio-legal and economic context, analyzing its provisions and examining the statistical landscape of minimum wages across the EU to evaluate the potential implications for labor markets, income distribution, and socio-economic stability.

2. The Legal Framework and Core Principles of Minimum Wage Regulation under Directive (EU) 2022/2041

The concept of the minimum wage under Directive (EU) 2022/2041 refers to the statutory or collectively agreed minimum level of pay that an employer, including those in the public sector, is legally required to provide to workers for work performed during a given period.

A collective agreement, within the meaning of the Directive, is defined as a written agreement on working and employment conditions concluded between social partners authorized to negotiate on behalf of employees and employers, in accordance with national law and practices, including collective agreements that have been declared universally applicable (Wysocka, 2024).

The Directive fully respects the autonomy of social partners and their right to negotiate and conclude collective agreements. It does not impose an obligation on Member States where wage-setting is determined exclusively through collective

bargaining to introduce statutory minimum wages, nor does it require the recognition of collective agreements as universally binding.

However, the Directive does affect the competences of Member States in establishing and maintaining statutory minimum wages, their levels, and ensuring effective access of workers to protection in the form of minimum pay, while allowing for more favorable provisions to be introduced for employees.

To enhance workers' access to minimum wage protection, Member States are required to adopt adequate enforcement measures, including effective, proportionate, and non-discriminatory inspections carried out by labor inspectorates or enforcement authorities.

Furthermore, Member States must strengthen enforcement capacities through training and guidelines enabling proactive action against employers who fail to comply with wage regulations. National laws should also ensure that workers have the right to seek redress in cases of violations concerning minimum wage rights, and that sanctions for breaches are effective, proportionate, and dissuasive.

The Directive introduces the notion of an adequate minimum wage. According to Recital 28, minimum wages are considered adequate when they are fair in relation to the wage distribution in a Member State and ensure a decent standard of living for full-time workers.

The assessment of adequacy should take into account national socio-economic conditions, including employment growth, competitiveness, and the situation in specific regions and sectors. In determining adequacy, a nationally defined basket of goods and services reflecting actual living costs may be used, covering not only basic material needs such as food, housing, and clothing, but also social and cultural participation.

Member States should consider the purchasing power of minimum wages, cost of living, overall wage levels and distribution, the rate of wage growth, and long-term national productivity trends. Social partners play a crucial role in setting and updating statutory minimum wages, particularly in selecting and applying criteria for wage determination, using reference indicators (such as 60% of the median wage or 50% of the average wage), and determining the mechanisms for automatic indexation (Mincewicz, 2025).

The Directive requires Member States to regularly assess the adequacy of minimum wages, applying one or more indicative reference values. Automatic indexation mechanisms may be used, provided they do not result in a reduction of statutory minimum wages. Where such mechanisms are not applied, Member States must review and update minimum wages at least every two years; where indexation exists, at least every four years.

A significant feature of the Directive is the reporting obligation. Every two years, Member States must submit to the European Commission data on the coverage rate of collective bargaining, the level of statutory minimum wages, the share of workers covered by minimum wage protection, and information on differentiated rates or deductions where applicable. These data should, where possible, be disaggregated by gender, age, disability, enterprise size, and sector.

The Directive also emphasizes the promotion of collective bargaining. Member States with collective bargaining coverage below 80% must establish an action plan to increase its reach. This plan should include a clear timeline and specific measures to strengthen social dialogue, while fully respecting the autonomy of social partners.

Importantly, the Directive does not establish a uniform minimum wage across the European Union. Instead, it sets a framework to ensure that national minimum wages provide workers with a decent standard of living while balancing social protection with economic competitiveness. Achieving this balance requires transparent procedures, solid criteria, and effective mechanisms for the establishment and regular adjustment of minimum wages across the EU.

3. The Importance and Objectives of the Minimum Wage

The minimum wage is most often considered in the literature in relation to employees. We can consider the importance and goals of the minimum wage for employees in two dimensions: socio-economic and formal and legal. The socioeconomic importance is to:

- Protecting workers from exploitation and excessively low rates that do not allow basic life needs to be met.
- Securing a decent existence for workers and their families through financial stability and the creation of decent living conditions.
- Increasing attachment to the firm and motivation to work, employment stability and prevention of burnout.
- Poverty reductions through an increase in the minimum wage and thus an improvement in the economic situation of the least earners.
- Equalisation of bargaining power and bargaining disparity between worker and employer.
- Beneficial effect on other employee benefits.

In turn, formal and legal consists of:

- Creating a reference point as a basis for determining the amount of other benefits and obligations, such as night allowances, overtime, days off, severance pay, company downtime wages and social security and health insurance contributions.

- Creating grounds to equalize wages to the minimum level if the employee's salary is lower (Kabaj, 2013).

In addition to workers, the minimum wage affects employers and the economy. In the case of employers, it influences the labor market by influencing labor costs for entrepreneurs and changing the situation on the labor market, e.g. by reducing conflicts. However, it should be added that the increase in the minimum wage also increases the costs of employing employees.

This, in turn, causes a decline in the competitiveness of companies through the need to increase the prices of goods and services. The worse situation of the company may require employee layoffs. The minimum wage also affects the economy. It contributes to stimulating consumption and reducing social inequalities.

In addition, it generates costs for the budget through its impact on state revenues and expenses. It also influences the stiffening of the labor market and limiting adjustment processes, as well as economic growth and productivity (Kalinowska-Sufinowicz and Knapińska, 2024).

The importance of the minimum wage in EU countries is influenced by the fact that of the 27 EU countries, only 5 do not have a specific national minimum wage. These are Denmark, Italy, Austria, Finland and Sweden. In turn, the monthly amount of minimum wages in the EU varies greatly: from EUR 551 in Bulgaria to EUR 2,704 in Luxembourg.

Taking into account the minimum wage expressed in purchasing power standards, the significance of differences in amounts in individual countries is reduced. Following this criterion, the highest minimum wage in euro (in Luxembourg) was 4.9 times higher than the lowest (in Bulgaria). In terms of PPS, the highest minimum wage (in Luxembourg) was 2.3 times higher than the lowest (in Estonia), (Eurostat, 2025).

Poverty and income inequality are examples of the extremely negative effects of the functioning of a market economy. Most often, the term poverty (poverty) should be understood as a permanent lack of sufficient material resources to meet the needs of an individual, in particular in terms of food, shelter, clothes, transport and basic cultural and social needs.

Poverty is a significant threat to the achievement of life's goals or tasks. In turn, according to Kalinowski (2022), poverty is a social phenomenon consisting in the lack of appropriate material resources necessary to cover a specific level of expenditure on goods and services. As a result, it very often leads to social exclusion, preventing society from using goods and services to an extent that meets needs at a specific level. It therefore refers to people who limit expenses below the minimum accepted by the inhabitants of a given country, and in a narrower sense

also to specific territories of a given country (e.g. peripheral areas far from large urban agglomerations).

The importance of the issue of poverty in modern times is made aware of the fact that in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), poverty eradication was mentioned first as part of the tasks of the 20302 Agenda. A resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly assumes that the extreme form of poverty will be eliminated worldwide by 2030 (Agenda, 2022).

According to Poverty Watch 2025 data prepared by EAPN Polska, the Polish Committee of the European Anti-Poverty Network, the minimum subsistence level in Poland in 2024 was: 949.89 for a single-person employee household, PLN 902.39 for a single-person pension household and PLN 848.81 per person for a family of five, consisting of two parents and a child aged 4-6 and two children aged 13-145 (Słowik, 2025).

Analyzing the situation of poverty in EU countries in 2024 measured by the SMSD (serious material and social poverty) index, it should be stated that the worst situation in this respect prevailed in Romania (17.2), Bulgaria (16.6) and Greece (14.0). In turn, the most favorable situation in this respect prevailed in Slovenia (1.8), Croatia (2.0) and Poland (2.4).

A term related to the issue of poverty is an issue of income inequality. By income inequality we can understand the uneven distribution of income in a given population. They describe how much income varies between households or people, and their level often reflects broader wealth and social inequalities (Ratajczak, 2012).

The key indicator used in the report to measure wealth inequality is the so-called Gini index (or coefficient). It assumes a value between 0 and 100, where 0 means perfect equality (everyone has exactly the same wealth) and 100 means extreme inequality (all wealth is concentrated in the hands of one person). The higher the index value, the greater the inequalities in a given society. In 2025, Slovakia and the Czech Republic had the lowest Gini index in Europe, and the highest were in Bulgaria and Lithuania (Eurostat, 2025).

One of the most important functions of the minimum wage is the fight against poverty and income inequality. Income inequality leads to negative social, economic and health consequences, such as higher crime, poorer public health, lower levels of social mobility, lower social trust and greater political instability.

Raising the minimum wage has a serious impact on consumption growth, internal demand, as well as household living standards. First of all, attention should be paid to the fact that an increase in the level of the minimum wage causes an increase in disposable income and purchasing power.

Lower income workers in particular are more likely to spend extra money, particularly for consumption purposes. Expenditure is therefore increasing, particularly on basic necessities. The increase in the minimum wage is proportional to consumption.

The impact of the minimum wage on domestic demand is complex. It should be noted that an increase in the minimum wage increases the income of people with the lowest earnings, which stimulates consumer demand. However, an increase in the minimum wage may also lead to higher prices, increased labor costs for companies (which may reduce employment), and in extreme cases, the least skilled workers lose their jobs. Another negative phenomenon is the possibility of enterprises moving to the gray zone and employing employees illegally.

An increase in the minimum wage also has an impact on the standard of living of households. As in the case of internal demand, it causes an increase in income and purchasing power in the first place. However, it should be realized that it may affect the level of prices (inflation) and unemployment and limit the profitability of enterprises. Additionally, increases may affect the growth of the gray zone, especially in companies with low profitability, where employers may avoid official labor costs (Wyżnikiewicz *et al.,* 2018).

4. Economic and Social Effects of Changes in the Minimum Wage

The amount of the minimum wage has a clear impact on the labor market, especially in the case of young and low-skilled people (Golnau, 2007). It is important to be aware here that these are both positive and negative effects. The prospect of higher earnings, especially for people entering the labor market, will constitute a significant incentive to take up employment and show special commitment.

In addition, persons with employment contracts up to the age of 26 can benefit from relief, which allows them to receive a higher net salary compared to older workers. In the case of civil law contracts, there is an increase in hourly rates, which is also beneficial for employees. However, based on numerous studies, many scientists believe that the adverse impact of an increase in the minimum wage on the employment of the youngest employees is correct (Neumark and Washer, 2004).

Raising the minimum wage may lead to a situation where people with higher professional calibrations and longer work experience receive similar remuneration to newly employed employees with lower qualifications. This situation will give rise to a sense of injustice and a decline in motivation to work.

Youth and labour market entrants are often a group of workers with no experience whose marginal labour product, as a result of low labour productivity, slightly exceeds the marginal labour cost. The increase in the minimum wage for these people may shape a new level of marginal labor cost above marginal labor income,

leading to layoffs of these employees (Stolarczyk, 2014). High minimum wages may limit the demand for university graduates and young people. These people have no experience, which means that they have lower work efficiency.

In addition, it should be taken into account that with an increase in the minimum wage, costs for the employer increase, which may result in reluctance or even inability to employ new people, especially young people with modest qualifications. The increase in the costs of employing employees may also contribute to attempts to circumvent new regulations and even operate in a gray zone (Bednarski, 2013).

Raising the minimum wage is often strongly criticized by many economists. It contributes to a significant increase in the costs of employing employees. Labor costs are one of the most important costs incurred by a given company. The increase in labor costs causes a decline in the profitability and competitiveness of the company on the market. This may cause serious financial problems, loss of financial liquidity and, in extreme cases, bankruptcy of the company in the long run (Prussian, 2011).

The minimum wage also has a significant correlation with inflation. According to many economists, one of the biggest benefits of inflation is the pressure to increase wages. Wage increases are intended to compensate for the negative effects of inflation and increases in the prices of a basket of goods (Kulisa and Sierpińska, 2016).

There is no doubt that the increase in the minimum wage is particularly felt by the demand side, contributing to improved living conditions, increased commitment and productivity at work, as well as loyalty to the employer (Rutkowski, 2013).

In Poland, the minimum wage is modified annually, and its relationship to median wages and GDP per person is the subject of discussion and analysis. According to EU law, the minimum wage should be linked to 60% of the median wage or 50% of the average wage, although current Polish regulations do not specify this in the same way.

5. National Frameworks of Minimum Wage Regulation in Selected EU Member States

The following section examines the mechanisms for establishing and adjusting statutory minimum wages in France, Poland, and Germany—three Member States representing distinct legal and institutional models within the European Union.

In France, the statutory minimum wage, known as the *salaire minimum interprofessionnel de croissance* (SMIC), is established by the *Labour Code* (*Code du travail*, Articles L3231-1 to L3231-12) and implemented through governmental decrees. The SMIC aims to guarantee the purchasing power of low-paid employees

and ensure their participation in national economic development. Its adjustment follows a dual mechanism combining automatic and discretionary elements.

First, it is automatically indexed to the consumer price index for low-income households, with an increase triggered whenever inflation exceeds 2%. Second, it is re-evaluated annually by government decree, taking into account changes in purchasing power, average wages, and general economic conditions (Vincent, 2025).

The process involves consultation with the National Commission for Collective Bargaining, Employment and Vocational Training (CNNCEFP) and the Group of Experts on the SMIC, established by Law No. 2008-1258 and Decree No. 2009-552, though the government ultimately retains decision-making power (Dimitrijevic, 2025). The most recent adjustment was enacted by Decree No. 2024-951 of 23 October 2024.

Following the transposition of Directive (EU) 2022/2041, Decree No. 2024-1065 introduced reference benchmarks requiring periodic assessment of the SMIC's adequacy relative to 60% of the median and 50% of the average wage. France's minimum wage system thus combines strong statutory regulation, inflation protection, and alignment with the EU's framework for adequate minimum wages (Carcillo *et al.,* 2024).

In Poland, the statutory minimum wage is regulated by the Act of 10 October 2002 on the Minimum Wage and implemented through annual governmental regulation. The level is determined by the Council of Ministers, following consultations with the Social Dialogue Council, comprising representatives of trade unions, employers, and the government (Rosiński, 2021).

The decision must be made by 15 September for the following calendar year. Pursuant to Article 3 of the Act, if the forecasted consumer price index for the coming year equals or exceeds 105%, two adjustments are made—on 1 January and 1 July. If the forecast is lower, only one adjustment occurs on 1 January.

Although the law primarily refers to inflation, in practice, policymakers also consider the ratio of the minimum wage to the average wage (targeted around 50%) and overall economic conditions (Majchrowska and Strawiński, 2024). In line with Directive (EU) 2022/2041, Poland must ensure adequacy and transparency in minimum wage determination. The latest regulation of 11 September 2024 set the rate at PLN 4,626 as of 1 January 2025.

In Germany, the statutory minimum wage (*gesetzlicher Mindestlohn*) is governed by the Minimum Wage Act (*Mindestlohngesetz*, MiLoG), adopted in 2014 and effective since 1 January 2015. The Act introduced a uniform national minimum wage applicable to almost all employees, with limited exceptions for trainees and apprentices (Bonin *et al.,* 2019).

The level is set by the Minimum Wage Commission (*Mindestlohnkommission*), an independent tripartite body composed of representatives of employers, employees, and academia. The Commission reviews and recommends adjustments every two years, based on the development of collectively agreed wages, labor market dynamics, and macroeconomic conditions.

The Federal Government enacts the recommendation through a statutory ordinance, ensuring democratic legitimacy and expert participation. In 2022, Parliament temporarily assumed adjustment power, raising the wage to €12 per hour; subsequent adjustments reverted to the Commission's procedure.

The Third Regulation on Adjusting the Statutory Minimum Wage (MiLoV3) set the rate at €12.41 per hour from 1 January 2025. Germany's model represents a corporatist and evidence-based approach, balancing competitiveness with social protection in line with Directive (EU) 2022/2041 (Schulten and Lübker, 2025).

6. Conclusions

In Poland, the minimum wage and its amount are regulated by law and in each subsequent year it was increased, and in some years even twice. The approach to the issue of minimum wages in Poland and EU countries shows significant differences. Most EU countries have a set minimum wage, but its amount shows significant deviations.

When analyzing individual EU countries, after taking into account purchasing power, the existing disproportions are reduced, but not eliminated. The minimum wage represents between 43% and 66% of the median gross earnings, indicating uneven wage adequacy. In 2015–2025, the highest average annual growth rates were recorded in Romania (+13.0%), Lithuania (+12.3%), Bulgaria (+11.0%) and Poland (+10.2%). The directive emphasizes adequacy, transparency and collective bargaining as legal principles supporting upward wage convergence while maintaining national autonomy.

The research results may be useful for the world of science and economic practice. In the case of decision-makers, the results of analyzes support the definition of the wage framework and make us aware of the importance of the minimum wage. Despite their shortcomings, the minimum wage will contribute to reducing income and social inequalities and accelerate economic development.

References:

Agenda for sustainable development – implementation in Poland. https://www.un.org.pl/files/170/Agenda2030PL_pl-5.pdf.

Bednarski, M., 2013. Szara strefa. Rynek pracy. Integracja społeczna. Optimum. Studia ekonomiczne nr 6 (66), 48.

Bonin, H., Ingo, E., Isphording, A., Krause-Pilatus, A., Lichter, N., Pestel, U. 2019. The German Statutory Minimum Wage and Its Effects on Regional Employment and Unemployment. IZA Institute of Labor Economics.

Carcillo, S., Gautier, E., Guadalupe, M., Malherbet, F., Galbis, E. 2024. Salaire minimum interprofessionnel de croissance. SMIC.

Dimitrijevic, U. 2025. The minimum wage and average salary in France in 2025. Available at: https://www.expatica.com/fr/working/employment-law/france-minimum-wage-982310/.

European Parliament. 2021. Fair minimum wages for workers in the European Union. European Parliament.

Eurostat 2025. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tessi190/default/table?lang=en

Golnau, W. 2007. Znaczenie płacy minimalnej dla funkcjonowania rynku pracy. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk.

Kabaj, M. 2013. Makroekonomiczne determinanty wynagrodzenia minimalnego. Polityka Społeczna, 8, 9-15.

Kalinowska-Sufinowicz, B., Knapińska, M. 2024. Płaca minimalna jako instytucja rynku pracy. In: Szarzec, K., Woźniak-Jęchorek, B. (red.), Instytucjonalne i historyczne wymiary dyskusji o ekonomii i gospodarce (s. 171-180). Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Poznaniu.

Katsaroumpas, I. 2021. A Right Against Extreme Wage Inequality: A Social Justice Modernisation of International Labour Law? King's Law Journal 32, 260-286.

Majchrowska, A., Strawiński, P. 2024. The evolution of the minimum wage in Poland and its consequences on labour market. Bank & Credit 55(1), 55-74.

Mądrzycki, B., Pisarczyk, Ł. 2024. The directive on adequate minimum wages in the European Union and its potential impact on national law. Acta Universitatis Lodziensis Folia Iuridica 107, 202, 67-81.

Mincewicz, P. 2025. A legal reappraisal of the concept of minimum wage under Directive (EU) 2022/2041 of 19 October 2022 on adequate minimum wages in the European Union. Studies on Labour Law and Social Policy, 219-237.

Müller, T. 2024. Dawn of a new era? The impact of the European Directive on adequate minimum wages in 2024. European Economic, Employment and Social Policy, 02(03), 1-11.

Neumark, D., Washer, W. 2004. Minimum Wages, Labor Market Institutions, and Youth Employment: A Cross – National Analysis. Industrial and Labor Relation Review, vol. 57, nr 2.

Owen, G. 2025. The EU minimum wage directive and the battle for social Europe: why Denmark's case at the ECJ matters for the future of Ireland and the EU. TASC.

Prusak, B. 2011. Ekonomiczna analiza upadłości przedsiębiorstw – ujęcie międzynarodowe. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo CeDeWu.

Ratajczak, M. 2012. Współczesne teorie ekonomiczne. Poznań. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Poznaniu.

Rosiński, R. 2021. The minimum wage in the national economy: reasons and changes in Poland. Economics and Law, 20(2), 425-437.

Rutkowski, W. 2013. Płaca minimalna – duży problem, Polityka Społeczna nr 8, 8-9.

Schulten, T., Lübker, M. 2025. Germany's Minimum Wage Hike in Accordance with the European Minimum Wage Directive. Available at:

https://www.socialeurope.eu/germanys-minimum-wage-hike-in-accordance-with-the-european-minimum-wage-directive.

Słowik, P. 2025. Ubóstwo w górę, skrajna bieda w dół. Miliony Polaków wyrzuconych poza nawias społeczny, https://wiadomosci.wp.pl/ubostwo-w-gore-skrajna-bieda-w-dol-milion-polakow-wyrzuconych-poza-nawias-spoleczenstwa-7211396607450048a.

Stolarczyk, P. 2014. Wpływ płacy minimalnej na funkcjonowanie rynku pracy. Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna, 2(45), 93-116.

Vincent, C. 2025. Collective bargaining and minimum wage regime in France. Etui.

Wysocka, M. 2024. Kompetencje Unii Europejskiej a działania ustawodawcze w sferze ustalania wynagrodzenia za pracę. Wolters Kluwer Polska.

Wyżnikiewicz, B., Fundowicz, J., Łapiński, K. 2018. Szara strefa. IPAG, Warszawa, 5-6. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Minimum_wage_statistics.