

PUBLIC POLICIES AND MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION IN ROMANIA: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EFFECTS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION CONTEXT

Emilia HERMAN*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the evolution of minimum wage legislation in Romania and its economic and social effects within the European Union framework. Particular attention is given to the implementation of Directive (EU) 2022/2041 and recent reforms aimed at developing a more transparent and evidence-based minimum wage-setting system. Using Eurostat and OECD indicators, the study analyzes minimum wage adequacy, wage convergence, labour productivity, and in-work poverty. The findings reveal significant progress in minimum wage adequacy and convergence toward European standards. The minimum wage has improved its position relative to average and median earnings, strengthening income protection for low-paid workers and reducing wage inequality. At the same time, strong labour productivity growth suggests that wage increases have been supported by improvements in economic performance. The analysis also highlights positive social effects, reflected in lower in-work poverty among employees than the EU average. However, persistent poverty among self-employed and other vulnerable workers indicates continuing structural labour market challenges. The study concludes that minimum wage policy has become an important instrument for promoting social inclusion, improving living standards, and supporting economic convergence, while emphasizing the need to align future wage growth with productivity developments and broader labour market policies.*

KEYWORDS: *minimum wage; wage adequacy; labour productivity; in-work poverty; wage convergence; Romania; European Union.*

JEL CODE: *E24; J31; J38*

DOI: 10.62838/cjjc-2024-0086

1. INTRODUCTION

The minimum wage has become one of the most important instruments of social and labor market policy in contemporary economies. Traditionally designed to protect workers from excessively low pay, minimum wage policies are increasingly associated with broader socio-economic objectives, including poverty reduction, income redistribution, social cohesion, and inclusive economic growth (Eurofound, 2025; European Union, 2025; International Labour Organization, 2024). In the European Union (EU), the debate on

* Professor, PhD, Faculty of Economics and Law, George Emil Palade University of Medicine, Pharmacy, Science, and Technology of Targu-Mures; ROMANIA.

minimum wage adequacy has intensified in recent years, culminating in the adoption of Directive (EU) 2022/241 on adequate minimum wages, which seeks to improve workers' living standards and promote upward social convergence across Member States.

Romania represents a particularly interesting case in this context. Since its accession to the European Union in 2007, the country has experienced rapid economic growth and significant improvements in labor productivity (EU, 2026). Nevertheless, Romania continues to record some of the highest levels of in-work poverty, income inequality, and social exclusion in the EU (Georgescu and Herman, 2019; Herman, 2025). As a result, successive governments have increasingly relied on minimum wage policy as a mechanism for improving living standards and supporting income convergence with European economies.

Against this background, the article examines the evolution of minimum wage legislation in Romania, its alignment with European regulations, and its implications for workers, employers, and the overall economy. Particular attention is given to recent legislative reforms, the adequacy of the Romanian minimum wage relative to European benchmarks, and the challenges of balancing social protection with economic competitiveness.

2. A SHORT LITERATURE REVIEW

The socio-economic consequences of minimum wage increases remain among the most debated subjects in labor economics. Traditional competitive labor market models suggest that higher minimum wages may reduce employment by increasing labor costs. However, a growing body of empirical evidence indicates that minimum wage increases can raise earnings, reduce wage inequality, and improve the income position of low-paid workers with limited adverse employment effects.

Lopresti and Mumford (2016) provide important evidence on the distributional impact of minimum wage increases. Their findings show that substantial minimum wage increases benefit not only workers directly affected by the new wage floor but also employees earning slightly above it through spillover effects. Similarly, Oliveira (2023) demonstrates that minimum wage growth in Portugal contributed significantly to wage compression and inequality reduction, while Garcia-Louzao and Tarasonis (2023) find substantial income gains following minimum wage increases in Lithuania. Recent studies also show that the effects of minimum wage policies vary across sectors and labor market structures. Strawiński and Majchrowska (2025) find stronger wage effects in low-wage sectors than in high-wage sectors, suggesting that the impact of minimum wages depends on the concentration of low-paid workers. Regarding employment, evidence remains mixed. While Garcia-Louzao and Tarasonis (2023) report limited employment losses in Lithuania, Hijzen et al. (2026) identify negative hiring effects following Spain's substantial minimum wage increase in 2019.

Recent studies have also examined firm-level responses. Using German data, Arabzadeh et al. (2024) show that higher minimum wages reduce wage dispersion within firms, particularly among financially constrained companies. At the same time, some firms respond by becoming more selective in their hiring practices. Furthermore, Hou et al. (2025) provide evidence that moderate minimum wage increases can stimulate

productivity and support employment growth when accompanied by improvements in labor productivity.

For Romania, these international findings are particularly relevant. Popescu et al. (2025) emphasize the need for a transparent minimum wage-setting mechanism based on productivity, purchasing power, wage distribution, and social indicators, in line with Directive (EU) 2022/2041.

Overall, the literature suggests that minimum wage policies can improve wage adequacy and reduce inequality, but their effectiveness depends on institutional arrangements, labor market conditions, productivity developments, and the magnitude of wage increases.

3. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK OF THE MINIMUM WAGE IN ROMANIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

The statutory minimum wage has become an increasingly important instrument of social and labor market policy within the European Union. Beyond protecting workers from excessively low remuneration, it is now regarded as a key mechanism for combating in-work poverty, reducing income inequality, and promoting social cohesion. In Romania, the minimum wage is established by the Government following consultations with trade unions and employers' organizations, reflecting the principles of social dialogue and tripartite cooperation.

A major development in the European regulatory framework was the adoption of Directive (EU) 2022/2041 on adequate minimum wages in the European Union. Rather than imposing a single European minimum wage, the Directive establishes common principles intended to ensure that statutory minimum wages in Member States are adequate and contribute to a decent standard of living. The Directive recommends that national authorities evaluate wage adequacy using a combination of economic and social criteria, including the general level of wages, wage growth, labor productivity, purchasing power, and living costs. As reference values, the Directive highlights thresholds such as 50% of the gross average wage and 60% of the gross median wage, which are widely used internationally to assess minimum wage adequacy.

In Romania, concerns regarding the adequacy of minimum incomes emerged before the adoption of the European Directive. An important step in this direction was the enactment of Law No. 174/2020 on the Minimum consumption basket for a decent standard of living, which established the principle that social and wage policies should take into account the resources required to secure a decent living standard. The law recognizes the minimum consumption basket as a reference point for assessing income adequacy and social welfare. Nevertheless, empirical evidence (Robayo-Abril et al., 2024; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2025) suggests that the statutory minimum wage has frequently remained below the income level required to cover the estimated costs of a decent standard of living, particularly for households with children.

The process of aligning Romanian legislation with European standards accelerated following the adoption of Directive (EU) 2022/2041. A significant milestone was the adoption of Law No. 283/2024, which amended and supplemented several labor-related regulations and formally transposed the European Directive into national legislation. The

law introduced a more structured and transparent mechanism for setting the minimum wage, replacing previous practices that relied primarily on annual political negotiations.

The new legislative framework requires that minimum wage adjustments be based on a set of objective socio-economic indicators. These include purchasing power, the evolution of consumer prices, the overall wage level in the economy, the rate of wage growth, labor productivity developments, and indicators reflecting income distribution and social disparities. By incorporating these criteria, the legislation seeks to ensure a closer connection between minimum wage policy and actual economic conditions.

This reform was further operationalized through Government Decision No. 35/2025, which established the institutional mechanism for setting and updating the minimum wage. The Ministry of Labour, Family, Youth and Social Solidarity is responsible for monitoring wage adequacy and preparing annual assessments, while social partners participate in the process through the National Tripartite Council for Social Dialogue. As a result, minimum wage determination has become more predictable, transparent, and evidence-based.

A notable innovation introduced by the reform is the use of an indicative adequacy benchmark linked to national earnings. The new methodology evaluates the minimum wage against a reference interval representing approximately 47% to 52% of the national median wage. This benchmark provides policymakers with a measurable framework for assessing whether the statutory minimum wage is sufficient to support an adequate standard of living while remaining compatible with labor market and business conditions.

The legislative reform also broadens the scope of minimum wage assessment by requiring regular evaluation of its socio-economic effects. Among the indicators considered are in-work poverty, poverty among minimum wage earners, income inequality, employment performance, labor costs, productivity dynamics, and business competitiveness. This approach reflects a shift toward evidence-based policymaking, recognizing that minimum wage adjustments have implications not only for workers' incomes but also for firms, labor market outcomes, and overall economic performance.

The reform also strengthens collective bargaining and social dialogue, in line with the objectives of Directive (EU) 2022/2041. Greater involvement of employers' associations and trade unions is expected to improve wage coordination and support a fairer distribution of economic growth.

From the employers' perspective, the new legislative framework brings both opportunities and challenges. The use of objective criteria reduces uncertainty and facilitates workforce and budget planning by providing greater predictability regarding future wage adjustments. At the same time, the gradual alignment of minimum wages with adequacy benchmarks may increase labor costs, particularly in labor-intensive sectors such as construction, manufacturing, retail trade, agriculture, and hospitality. Consequently, firms are encouraged to improve productivity through investments in workforce skills, digitalization, technological modernization, and organizational innovation.

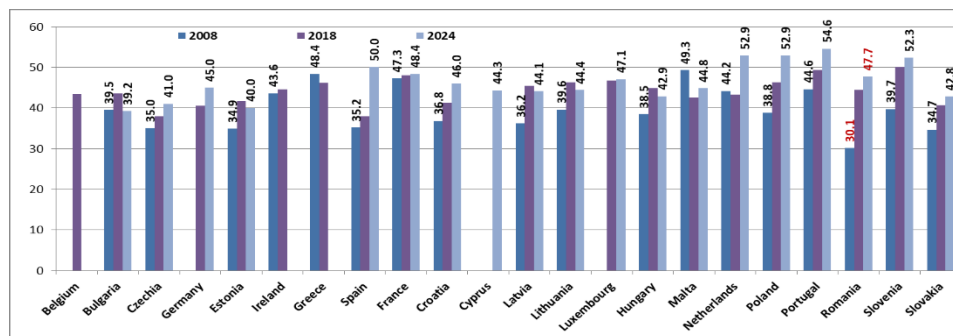
Thus, the recent reforms represent a significant modernization of Romania's minimum wage system. By combining objective wage-setting criteria, regular impact assessments, and stronger social dialogue mechanisms, the new framework aims to balance two fundamental objectives: improving living standards and reducing social inequalities while preserving business competitiveness and supporting sustainable economic growth. Through these reforms, Romania moves closer to the European model of wage governance

and strengthens its process of social and economic convergence within the European Union.

4. MINIMUM WAGE ADEQUACY AND WAGE CONVERGENCE IN ROMANIA: EVIDENCE FROM EUROSTAT AND OECD INDICATORS

The indicator “Monthly Minimum Wage as a Percentage of Average Monthly Earnings” provided by Eurostat measures the relationship between the statutory minimum wage and average earnings in industry, construction, and market services. Higher values indicate that the earnings of minimum wage workers are closer to the average wage level, reflecting a lower degree of wage inequality at the bottom of the income distribution.

Romania recorded one of the most notable increases among EU Member States during the period 2008-2024. The ratio increased from 30.1% in 2008 to 44.4% in 2018 and 47.7% in 2024 (Figure 1), representing a rise of 17.6 percentage points. This evolution suggests that minimum wages grew faster than average earnings, strengthening the position of low-paid workers and contributing to a reduction in wage disparities.



Source: Based on Eurostat Database (2026)

Figure 1. Monthly minimum wage as a percentage of average monthly earnings in EU countries, 2008-2024.

From a comparative perspective, Romania's performance improved substantially. In 2008, the country ranked among the lowest in the European Union, with a ratio well below that of France (47.3%), Portugal (44.6%), Malta (49.3%), and Belgium (43.5%). By 2024, Romania's value of 47.7% exceeded those recorded in Hungary (42.9%), Slovakia (42.8%), Czechia (41.0%), and Estonia (40.0%), while approaching the levels observed in France (48.4%) and Luxembourg (47.1%). Nevertheless, it remained below countries such as Portugal (54.6%), the Netherlands (52.9%), Poland (52.9%), and Slovenia (52.3%).

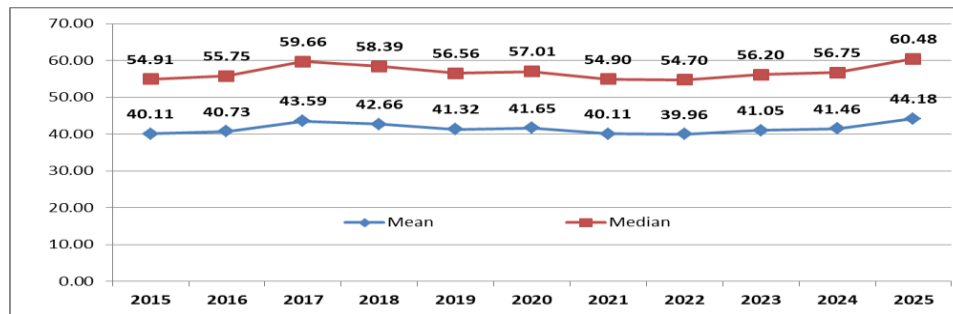
The Romanian value is particularly relevant in the context of Directive (EU) 2022/2041, which refers to reference thresholds of 50% of the average wage and 60% of the median wage when evaluating minimum wage adequacy. Although Romania has not yet reached the 50% benchmark relative to average earnings, the gap has narrowed considerably over time, indicating substantial progress toward European standards.

The upward trend also reflects policy efforts aimed at improving living standards and reducing in-work poverty. However, the growing proximity between minimum and

average wages may increase labor costs for firms, particularly in labor-intensive sectors such as construction, manufacturing, retail trade, hospitality, and agriculture. Consequently, maintaining competitiveness will increasingly depend on productivity growth, technological upgrading, and workforce development.

Overall, Romania's increase from 30.1% to 47.7% between 2008 and 2024 represents one of the strongest improvements in minimum wage adequacy within the European Union, highlighting the country's gradual convergence toward European wage and social protection standards.

OECD data provide additional evidence regarding the adequacy of Romania's minimum wage by expressing it as a percentage of both the average wage and the median wage of full-time employees (Figure 2). These indicators are particularly useful because they correspond to the benchmarks commonly used by international organizations and European institutions.



Source: Based on OECD Statistics Database (2026)

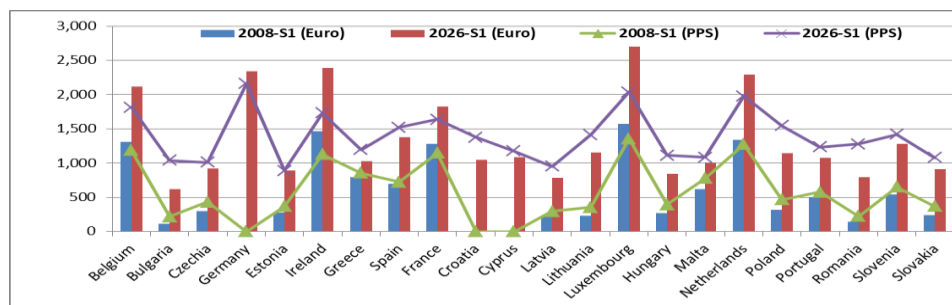
Figure 2. Minimum relative to average wages of full-time workers, Romania, 2015-2025.

The ratio of the minimum wage to the average wage increased from 40.1% in 2015 to 44.2% in 2025, despite some fluctuations during the period. This trend indicates a gradual improvement in the earnings position of low-wage workers. Nevertheless, Romania remains below the indicative benchmark of 50% of the average wage, suggesting that there is still room for further progress in terms of wage adequacy.

A more favorable picture emerges when the minimum wage is compared with the median wage. The ratio increased from 54.9% in 2015 to 60.5% in 2025, surpassing the 60% threshold recommended by the European Commission and the OECD. This development suggests that recent minimum wage policies have significantly improved the relative position of workers at the lower end of the wage distribution and contributed to reducing wage inequality.

Taken together, the OECD indicators point to substantial progress in minimum wage adequacy over the last decade. While the minimum wage remains below the recommended level relative to average earnings, it has reached the benchmark relative to median earnings. These developments indicate improved income protection for low-paid workers and continued convergence with European wage standards, while highlighting the need to balance further wage increases with productivity growth and business competitiveness.

Additional evidence from Eurostat shows that Romania has experienced one of the fastest increases in minimum wages in the European Union over the last two decades. The statutory minimum wage rose from €139 in 2008 to €795 in 2026, representing almost a sixfold increase (Figure 3). Despite this progress, Romania remains among the countries with the lowest nominal minimum wages in the EU, ranking above only Bulgaria (€620) and Latvia (€780), while remaining far behind countries such as Germany (€2,343), Ireland (€2,391), and Luxembourg (€2,704).



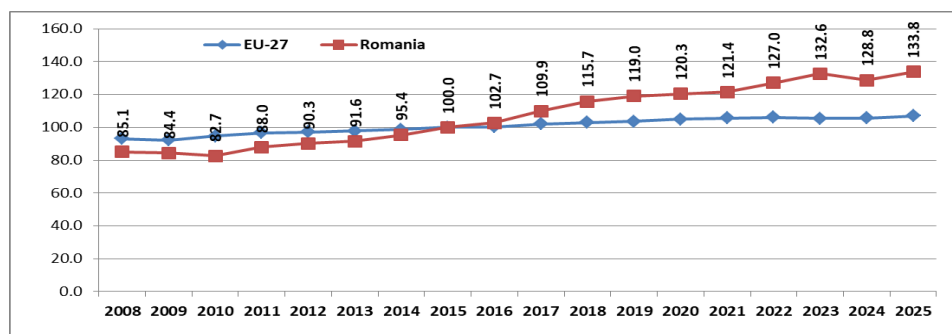
Source: Based on Eurostat Database (2026)

Figure 3. Monthly minimum wages, in euro and Purchasing Power Standard (PPS), in 2008 and 2026

A more favorable picture emerges when wages are adjusted for differences in price levels using Purchasing Power Standards (PPS). Romania's minimum wage increased from 224 PPS in 2008 to 1,279 PPS in 2026, reflecting a substantial improvement in real purchasing power. In PPS terms, Romania performs better than several EU countries, including Bulgaria (1,039 PPS), Slovakia (1,080 PPS), Hungary (1,111 PPS), Portugal (1,234 PPS), and Cyprus (1,173 PPS). Moreover, Romania is approaching the levels recorded in Croatia (1,377 PPS), Lithuania (1,413 PPS), and Slovenia (1,417 PPS).

Taken together, the data indicate significant progress in Romania's wage convergence process. Although the country continues to lag behind Western European economies in nominal wage terms, the gap is considerably smaller when living costs are taken into account. The 2026 figures suggest that Romania has made substantial advances in improving the purchasing power of minimum wage earners and moving closer to European standards of wage adequacy and social protection.

The evolution of real labour productivity per hour worked provides important evidence regarding the sustainability of minimum wage growth in Romania during the period 2008-2025. Measured as an index where 2015=100, Romania's labour productivity increased from 85.1 in 2008 to 133.8 in 2025, representing a growth of approximately 57.2% (Figure 4). By comparison, the EU-27 average increased from 93.2 to 107.0 over the same period, equivalent to a growth of only 14.8%. Although Romania started from a lower productivity level than the EU average, the country recorded a much faster pace of productivity growth, indicating a gradual process of real economic convergence.



Source: Based on Eurostat Database (2026)

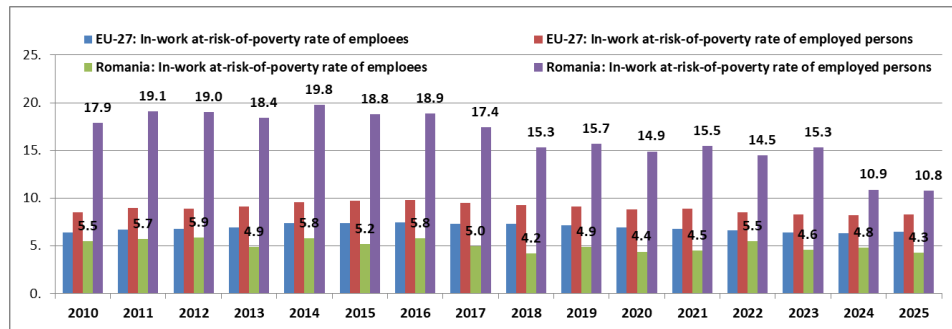
Figure 4. Real labour productivity per hour worked (Index, 2015=100) in EU-27 and Romania, 2008-2025

The data reveal three distinct phases. First, between 2008 and 2010, productivity declined as a consequence of the global financial crisis, reaching a low of 82.7 in 2010. Second, during the period 2011-2019, productivity grew steadily from 88.0 to 119.0, reflecting economic recovery, investment, technological modernization, and improved labour efficiency. Third, productivity continued to increase after the COVID-19 crisis, reaching 133.8 in 2025 despite a temporary slowdown in 2024.

These developments are particularly significant when analysed alongside the strong growth of Romania's statutory minimum wage. The substantial improvement in labour productivity suggests that a considerable part of wage growth was supported by increases in workers' productive capacity and economic performance. As a result, Romania's progress in minimum wage adequacy was not driven solely by administrative wage adjustments but was accompanied by real productivity gains. Nevertheless, the rapid increase in the minimum wage relative to average earnings indicates that wage growth outpaced productivity in certain years, contributing to higher labour costs for employers. Therefore, future minimum wage increases should continue to be linked to productivity developments in order to maintain competitiveness while supporting income convergence and social inclusion.

In summary, the evidence indicates that between 2008 and 2025 Romania achieved both strong productivity growth and substantial improvements in minimum wage adequacy, supporting a process of economic and social convergence with the European Union.

Further support for the effectiveness of minimum wage increases is provided by Eurostat's in-work at-risk-of-poverty rate indicator (Figure 5).



Source: Based on Eurostat Database (2026)

Figure 5. In-work at-risk-of-poverty rate in Romania and EU-27 countries, 2010-2025: employees vs employed persons

Between 2010 and 2025, the share of employees at risk of poverty in Romania remained relatively low, fluctuating between 4.2% and 5.9% and declining to 4.3% in 2025, consistently below the EU average of 6.5%. This pattern suggests that increases in the statutory minimum wage, together with broader wage growth, contributed to protecting employees from poverty and improving income adequacy among wage earners. At the same time, the in-work poverty rate for all employed persons remained substantially higher, although it declined from around 18-19% in the early 2010s to 10.8% in 2025. The large gap between employees and all employed persons reflects the significant role of self-employment, subsistence agriculture, and other forms of vulnerable employment in Romania, groups that are less directly affected by minimum wage legislation. Therefore, while the evidence indicates that minimum wage growth has contributed to reducing poverty among employees, addressing overall in-work poverty requires complementary measures targeting self-employed and low-productivity workers. These findings reinforce the conclusion that Romania's progress in minimum wage adequacy has translated into tangible social benefits, while also highlighting the remaining structural challenges in the labour market.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The analysis shows that Romania has made significant progress in minimum wage adequacy and wage convergence with European standards. Between 2008 and 2024, the minimum wage increased substantially relative to average earnings, while in 2025 it exceeded the 60% benchmark relative to median earnings. These developments improved the position of low-paid workers and contributed to reducing wage inequality.

The findings also indicate that minimum wage increases were associated with positive social outcomes. The in-work at-risk-of-poverty rate among employees remained below the EU average and declined to 4.3% in 2025, suggesting that minimum wage growth contributed to improving income adequacy and protecting employees from poverty. However, the much higher poverty rates among all employed persons highlight persistent vulnerabilities among self-employed workers and those engaged in low-productivity agricultural activities.

The recent transposition of Directive (EU) 2022/2041 through Law No. 283/2024 and Government Decision No. 35/2025 represents an important step toward a more transparent and evidence-based minimum wage-setting system. The use of objective criteria such as purchasing power, productivity, wage growth, and income distribution strengthens the predictability and credibility of wage policy.

Several policy implications emerge from the analysis. First, future minimum wage adjustments should continue to be linked to productivity, inflation, and living standards in order to balance social protection with economic competitiveness. Second, progress toward the benchmark of 50% of average earnings should be gradual and supported by productivity growth. Third, reducing overall in-work poverty requires complementary policies targeting self-employed workers, vulnerable rural populations, and informal employment. Finally, investments in education, skills development, innovation, and digitalization are essential to support sustainable wage growth and maintain business competitiveness.

Romania's experience demonstrates that minimum wage policy can be an effective instrument for improving living standards, reducing wage inequality, and supporting social convergence within the European Union, provided that wage growth remains consistent with long-term productivity and economic development.

REFERENCES

- Arabzadeh, H., Balleer, A., Gehrke, B., Lechthaler, W., & Taskin, A. A. (2024). Minimum wages, wage dispersion and financial constraints in firms. *European Economic Review*, 163. 104678. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0014292124000072>
- Eurofound (2025), *Minimum wages in 2025: Annual review*. Minimum wages in the EU series, Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.
- European Union-EU (2025). Employment and Social Developments in Europe (ESDE) 2025. Brussels: European Commission. Available at: https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/f159d66d-91da-11f0-97c8-01aa75ed71a1#_publicationDetails_PublicationDetailsPortlet_pa [Accessed on 5 July 2026].
- EU (2026). Convergence Report 2026. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: https://economy-finance.ec.europa.eu/document/download/a7e5a4e3-d606-4fcb-b40c-b9c53e84b8b8_en?filename=ip343_en.pdf [Accessed on 4 July 2026].
- European Parliament & Council. (2022). Directive (EU) 2022/2041 on adequate minimum wages in the European Union. Official Journal of the European Union.
- Eurostat Database (2026). “In-work poverty”; “Minimum wages”; “Labour productivity and unit labour costs”. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database> [Accessed on 4 July 2026].
- Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2025). Comunicat de presă: Actualizarea coșului minim de consum pentru un trai decent 2025 <https://romania.fes.de/ro/e/comunicat-de-presa-actualizarea-cosului-minim-de-consum-pentru-un-trai-decent-2025.html#> [Accessed on 4 July 2026].

- Garcia-Louzao, J., & Tarasonis, L. (2023). Wage and employment impact of minimum wage: Evidence from Lithuania. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 51(2), pp.592-609.
- Georgescu, M. A., & Herman, E. (2019). Productive employment for inclusive and sustainable development in European Union countries: A multivariate analysis. *Sustainability*, 11(6), 1771.
- Government of Romania. (2025). Government Decision No. 35/2025 regarding the procedure for establishing and updating the national minimum gross wage guaranteed in payment, Official Gazette of Romania, No. 111/6.02.2025.
- Herman, E. (2025). Changes and challenges in EU agricultural holdings and their impact on rural development. *Land*, 14(5), 1080.
- Hijzen, A., Montenegro, M., & Pessoa, A. S. (2026). Minimum wages in a dual labor market: Evidence from the 2019 minimum-wage hike in Spain. *Labour Economics*, 98, 102826. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2025.102826>
- Hou, B., Pang, W. M., & Li, W. J. (2025). Minimum wage, labor productivity, and employment promotion. *Finance Research Letters*, 84, 107764, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.frl.2025.107764>
- Lopresti, J. W., & Mumford, K. J. (2016). Who benefits from a minimum wage increase? *ILR Review*, 69(5), pp.1171-1190.
- International Labour Organization (2024) Global Wage Report 2024-25. Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/2025-01/GWR-2024-25.pdf> [Accessed on 4 July 2026].
- OECD Statistics Database (2026). Minimum Relative to Average Wages of Full-Time Workers. Available at: [https://data-explorer.oecd.org/vis?lc=en&df\[ds\]=DisseminateFinalDMZ&df\[id\]=DSD_EARNINGS%40MIN2AVE&df\[ag\]=OECD.ELS.SAE&df\[vs\]=1.0&dq=.....&pd=2015,&to\[TIME_PERIOD\]=false](https://data-explorer.oecd.org/vis?lc=en&df[ds]=DisseminateFinalDMZ&df[id]=DSD_EARNINGS%40MIN2AVE&df[ag]=OECD.ELS.SAE&df[vs]=1.0&dq=.....&pd=2015,&to[TIME_PERIOD]=false) [Accessed on 4 July 2026].
- Oliveira, C. (2023). The minimum wage and the wage distribution in Portugal. *Labour Economics*, 85, 102459, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2023.102459>
- Parliament of Romania. (2020). LAW no. 174 /2020 to amend and supplement Government Ordinance no. 217/2000 on the approval of the minimum monthly consumption basket, Official Gazette of Romania, No. 741/14.08.2020
- Parliament of Romania. (2024). Law No. 283/2024 on the amendment and completion of certain normative acts, for the establishment of adequate minimum wages. Official Gazette of Romania, No. 1139/14.11.2024.
- Popescu, M. E., Militaru, E., Stănculescu, G., et al. (2025). Stepping up into a future minimum wage setting mechanism in Romania: General framework, set of indicators and impact evaluation. *Economic Computation and Economic Cybernetics Studies and Research*, 59(2), pp.7-23.
- Robayo-Abril, M., Zamfir, M., & Wroński M. (2024) Simulating Aggregate and Distributional Effects of Minimum Wage Increases in Romania Evidence from Survey and Administrative Tax Data. *Policy Research Working Paper* 10934 <https://mfinante.gov.ro/static/10/Mfp/SimulatingaggregateanddistributionaleffectsofminimumwageincreasesinRomania.pdf> [Accessed on 4 July 2026].

Strawiński, P., & Majchrowska, A. (2025). Effects of minimum wage changes on the wage distribution in low-wage and high-wage sectors. *Argumenta Oeconomica*, 54(1), pp.170-183.

