

# How Europe Is Putting the Minimum Wage Directive into Practice



SWEDISH NATIONAL  
MEDIATION OFFICE

# How Europe Is Putting the Minimum Wage Directive into Practice

**In 2025, it was announced that the EU Minimum Wage Directive is here to stay. For Sweden, the Directive will not have much practical significance. However, for countries with statutory minimum wages and a collective bargaining coverage rate below 80 per cent, the Directive affects how statutory minimum wages are set and how countries work to increase collective bargaining coverage. In Sweden, the collective bargaining coverage rate is 88 per cent (2024).**

In this overview, we report on how the Minimum Wage Directive has affected countries with statutory minimum wages.<sup>1</sup> We also describe the content of the action plans that countries with collective bargaining coverage below 80 per cent have developed.

## 2025 was an eventful year for the Minimum Wage Directive

The EU Minimum Wage Directive<sup>2</sup> was implemented in Sweden at the end of 2024. In Sweden, the National Mediation Office is responsible for compiling and reporting the requested data and information every two years. The first round of reporting took place in autumn 2025. From the beginning of 2024, the agency worked closely with a group of experts representing the social partners to prepare the report.<sup>3</sup> The report was based on both the National Mediation Office's wage structure statistics and information on minimum wages in collective agreements. At the time of writing, we have not yet received any feedback on our reporting from the European Commission.

From a Swedish perspective, it is interesting to follow how the Directive affects other countries in the EU. In the autumn and winter of 2025, the following happened:

- EU Member States submitted the data and information required under the Directive's reporting requirements to the European Commission.
- The European Court of Justice issued its ruling on the validity of the Directive after Denmark, with the support of Sweden, demanded that the Directive be declared invalid.

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<sup>1</sup> This text is a translation of a chapter from the [Swedish National Mediation Office's 2025 annual report](#). Only minor updates have been made compared with the original text.

<sup>2</sup> Directive (EU) 2022/2041 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on adequate minimum wages in the European Union.

<sup>3</sup> Reporting for Sweden pursuant to Article 10 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, available at [www.mi.se](http://www.mi.se).

- At the turn of the year 2025/2026, the deadline expired for Member States with a collective bargaining coverage rate of less than 80 per cent to submit to the European Commission action plans with concrete measures to increase the coverage rate.

### Some countries have not implemented the Minimum Wage Directive

The deadline for implementing the Directive expired in November 2024, but a year later, eight countries had still not done so. Nine countries have chosen to make major changes, while the remaining ten countries, including Sweden, have done no more than necessary when transposing the Directive into national law. Among others, the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) has therefore described these countries as ‘minimalists’.<sup>4</sup>

#### How the Minimum Wage Directive has been implemented:

**Delayed:** Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain

**Major changes:** Belgium, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary

**No or minor changes:** Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Croatia, Slovenia, Sweden, Germany, Austria

There are various reasons why some countries have not yet fully implemented the Directive. Estonia and the Netherlands chose to wait for the ruling from the European Court of Justice. In January 2026, the Netherlands completed its implementation. In the case of Bulgaria and Portugal, it is mainly due to the political situation, which is not related to the Minimum Wage Directive. Poland has adopted a new law on collective bargaining and collective agreements but seems to have had difficulty agreeing on the content of the new minimum wage law, which is also part of the country’s plan to implement the Directive. In Luxembourg, the government has been unable to reach agreement with the trade unions because, according to the unions, several of the government’s proposals would counteract the purpose of the Directive. In Spain, the delay is more a matter of the country having already taken measures in this area and therefore deeming that no further reforms are necessary. Cyprus has drafted a bill but has not yet finalised its preparation. In January 2026, Cyprus’s Minister of Labour and Social Insurance announced that the aim is to present a bill to parliament before the elections in May.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Müller T. (2025) *Here comes the sun: the formal transposition and political impact of the European Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU*, Report 2025.04, ETUI., Uni Europa’s newsletter, November 2024., WageIndicator Collective Bargaining News, 31 October 2024.

<sup>5</sup> Eurofound (2025) *Minimum wages in 2025: Annual review*, pp. 33–34., Müller T. (2025) *Here comes the sun: the formal transposition and political impact of the European Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU*, Report 2025.04, ETUI., News media from Cyprus and Luxembourg.

## **Adequate statutory minimum wages should be achieved in most EU countries**

The Directive does not oblige Member States to introduce a statutory minimum wage or to declare a collective agreement to be universally applicable. However, most EU countries already have both statutory minimum wages and a system for universal application of collective agreements.

### **Statutory minimum wages in 22 out of 27 countries**

22 out of 27 EU countries have statutory minimum wages. Only Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Austria and Italy do not have such wages. Cyprus introduced statutory minimum wages at the beginning of 2023. Italy also had far-reaching plans to introduce such wages in the past. However, following the change of government in 2022, the political direction changed, and this is not currently a matter on the agenda in Italy. Nevertheless, Italy has a model where collectively bargained minimum wages are used in a similar way to statutory minimum wages, in that they apply in practice to almost all employers.

In Estonia, as in the private sector in Belgium, statutory minimum wages are set through agreements between the social partners. The governments of these countries set the minimum wage but have no influence over the levels. The Directive's definition of statutory minimum wage excludes this type of minimum wage. The Estonian government therefore argues that the rules on statutory minimum wages should not apply to Estonia. The Belgian government has taken the same view and argues that the rules should not apply to the Belgian private sector.

### **Universal application of collective agreements in 22 out of 27 countries**

22 out of 27 EU countries have some form of system for extending the reach of collective agreements or declaring them to be universally applicable. Universal application of collective agreements means that the terms of a collective agreement, for example on wages, are extended by a decision of the state to apply to all employees and employers in the industry covered by the agreement, i.e. not only to employers who are themselves bound by the agreement. Some countries have systems with a similar function, but without an active decision by the state. For the sake of simplicity, we have chosen to use 'universal application' in relation to these countries as well. Cyprus, Denmark, Malta, Poland and Sweden are the five countries that do not have a system for the universal application of collective agreements.<sup>6</sup> This means that Sweden and Denmark are the only countries in the EU that have neither statutory minimum wages nor universal application of collective agreements. However, there are also differences between the other EU countries in terms of the importance of universal application of collective agreements.

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<sup>6</sup> OECD/AIAS ICTWSS (2019). As the data is from 2019, the situation in individual countries may have changed.

## Type of universal application

**No universal application** Cyprus, Denmark, Malta, Poland, Sweden

**Universal application is possible but uncommon:** Bulgaria, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Czech Republic

**Universal application occurs in certain industries but not everywhere:** Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Slovenia

**Universal application is used more or less automatically and across the entire labour market:** Belgium, Finland, France, Italy\*, Portugal, Spain, Austria

\*Italy is a special case, where the minimum wages in industry-specific agreements are used as reference values by labour courts when assessing whether companies comply with constitutional requirements on (minimum) wage levels.

Source: OECD/AIAS ICTWSS (2019).

## The requirements of the Directive affect statutory minimum wages

As Sweden does not have statutory minimum wages, the part of the Minimum Wage Directive that deals with this has not been given much attention here. Several EU countries have assessed that they already had rules in place that were largely in line with the requirements of the Directive, such as the three large countries Germany, France and Spain. Neither Germany nor Slovenia has changed any laws in connection with the implementation of the Directive. However, several other countries have made major changes to how statutory minimum wages are set. The European Court of Justice has ruled that the EU exceeded its authority in relation to some of the rules.

### The Directive has influenced how statutory minimum wages are set

We can see that several countries have incorporated the criteria required by the Directive for how statutory minimum wages should be set and updated into national law. The European Court of Justice has subsequently invalidated these criteria. We do not yet know how the countries that have already introduced them will deal with this.

### Invalidated rules on setting and updating minimum wages

In November 2025, the European Court of Justice invalidated those parts of the Minimum Wage Directive that it considered to constitute direct interference in and harmonisation of how wages are set within the EU; see Chapter 5. The invalidated rules are essentially four criteria for how minimum wages should be set and updated. The criteria were to be established at the national level, but the Directive required that they include at least the following elements:

1. the purchasing power of statutory minimum wages, taking into account the cost of living
2. the general level of wages and their distribution
3. the growth rate of wages

#### 4. long-term national productivity levels and developments.

These rules had already been implemented in most EU Member States before the European Court of Justice issued its ruling declaring them invalid. It remains to be seen whether any countries will repeal or amend their national criteria or whether they will retain them.

#### **Several countries have incorporated the criteria of the Minimum Wage Directive into national law**

Before the Minimum Wage Directive was implemented, inflation was the most common criterion for updating statutory minimum wages. Otherwise, there was a rich variety of country-specific criteria and models for determining minimum wage levels. In about one-third of the countries, the minimum wage was set at a certain percentage of the wage level in the country (reference values). However, it was unusual to link minimum wages directly to wage growth or productivity developments.<sup>7</sup>

By the beginning of 2024, several countries had already made changes to how statutory minimum wages are revised in order to comply with the Minimum Wage Directive (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia and Malta). In Germany, the Minimum Wage Directive had an impact on the level of the statutory minimum wage as early as 2021. The negotiations on the Directive then inspired the federal government to depart from the German Minimum Wage Commission's recommendation on raising the level. The government raised the minimum wage significantly more, from €9.60 to €12 at the end of 2022.<sup>8</sup>

Greece has made the most significant changes to how minimum wages are set in connection with the country's implementation of the Minimum Wage Directive. From 2028 onwards, Greece will transition to a new model inspired by the French model. In short, it is based on automatic indexation combined with the influence of a committee composed of experts and social partners.<sup>9</sup> The fact box below provides an overview of how EU countries with statutory minimum wages have incorporated the criteria into their legislation.

#### **Use of the criteria in statutory minimum wage models**

**The criteria have been incorporated into law:** Slovakia, Romania

**The criteria have been incorporated into law together with additional national criteria:** Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal

**Existing national criteria have been expanded to include the criteria of the Minimum Wage Directive:** Croatia, Ireland

<sup>7</sup> Eurofound (2025) *Minimum wages in 2025: Annual review*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Eurofound (2024) *Minimum wages in 2024: Annual review*, p. 48f.

<sup>9</sup> Eurofound (2025) *Minimum wages in 2025: Annual review*, p. 35.

**The criteria are partly included in the minimum wage calculation formula and partly delegated to a scientific committee:** Greece

**The use of the criteria has been delegated to a minimum wage or low wage commission:** Germany, Malta

Source: Eurofound (2025) *Minimum wages in 2025: Annual review*, p. 44f.

### Reference values are used in more countries than before

The Minimum Wage Directive also contains rules stipulating that Member States with statutory minimum wages must use so-called indicative reference values to determine whether minimum wages are sufficient. They can then use either internationally accepted measures or their own national reference values. The internationally accepted measures mentioned in the Directive are 60 per cent of the median wage and 50 per cent of the average wage. According to OECD data for 2023, only France and Slovenia had statutory minimum wages above both of these levels. Seven countries had a minimum wage below 40 per cent of the average wage and nine countries had a minimum wage below 50 per cent of the median wage.

A majority of countries will use reference values to assess the adequacy of minimum wages. Most countries have also chosen to use reference values in the criteria for setting and updating minimum wages, even though this is not actually required by the Directive (**Table 1**). Eighteen out of 22 countries with statutory minimum wages now have either concrete numerical reference values in legislation or in the form of policy guidelines or agreements.

Spain has had a target of 60 per cent of the average wage after tax since 2020. Moreover, Spain and France are the only countries that use net wages (wages after tax) as a reference value. They justify this by saying that the European Social Charter recommends using net wages as the reference value rather than gross wages. In 2021, Slovenia introduced a reference value whereby the statutory minimum wage must be 20 per cent above the minimum cost of living. Ireland has had 60 per cent of the median wage as a target for the minimum wage level since 2022. When the Directive was implemented, they added the target as an additional criterion for their Low Pay Commission to take into account. Germany's Minimum Wage Commission was tasked with taking 60 per cent of the median wage into account in its review of the minimum wage in 2025. In Lithuania, the social partners and the government have had a tripartite agreement since 2017 that the minimum wage should be between 45 and 50 per cent of the average wage.

**Table 1 Use of indicative reference values for statutory minimum wages**

	Setting and updating minimum wages	Assessing the adequacy of minimum wages	Value
<b>Reference values in law</b>			
Belgium	No**	Yes	50% of average
Bulgaria*	Yes	No	50% of average
France	No	Yes	60% of median full-time income and 50% of average full-time income
Greece	No, possibly indirectly	No	60% of median
Latvia	Yes	No	46 % of average
Poland*	Yes	Yes	55% of average (in draft)
Romania	No	Yes	47–52% of average
Slovakia	Yes	Yes	60 % of average
Slovenia	Yes	Yes	120–140% of the minimum cost of living level
Czech Republic	Indirectly	Yes	42.2% of average 2025, target 47% 2029
<b>Reference values are set out in policy guidelines or agreements<sup>2</sup></b>			
Estonia*	Not applicable	Not applicable	2025: 45% of average, 2026: 47.5%, 2028: 50% (bilateral agreement)
Ireland	Yes	Yes	60% of median
Croatia	No information available	No information available	50% of average, 60% of median
Lithuania	Yes	Yes	45–50% of average (tripartite agreement)
Netherlands	No	Yes	128% of average cost of living, 50% of median wages (in draft)
Spain*	Yes	No information available	60% of average after tax
Germany	Yes	Yes	60% of median
Hungary	No	Yes	Target: 50% of average excluding bonuses, etc. 2027

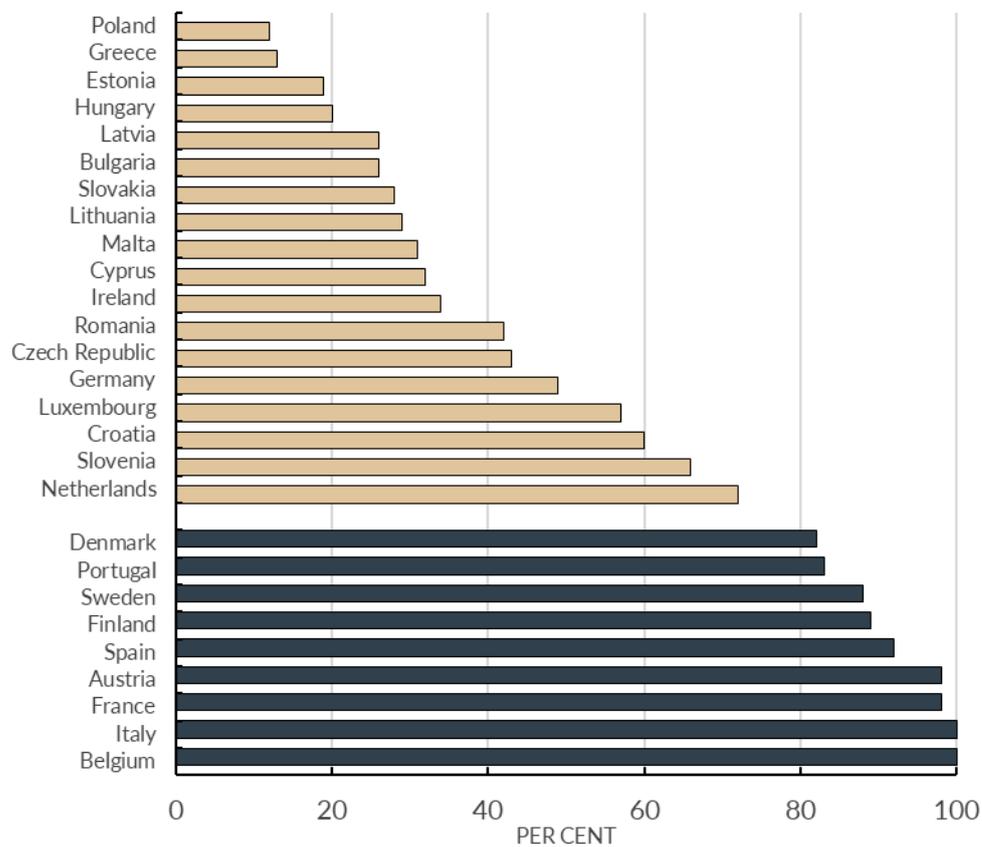
\*= Countries that have not yet completed implementation, \*\*= At the regional level, 50 per cent of the average wage is used as the reference value.

Sources: Eurofound (2025), *Minimum wages in 2025: Annual review*, pp. 49–52; Müller T. and Zwysen W. (2025), *Wages and collective bargaining: the Adequate Minimum Wages Directive as a game changer*, in Piasna A., Theodoropoulou S. and Vanhercke B. (ed.) (2025), *Benchmarking Working Europe 2025, ETUI and ETUC*, p. 93; Müller T. (2025) *Here comes the sun: the formal transposition and political impact of the European Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU*, Report 2025.04, ETUI.

## Measures to promote collective bargaining coverage are planned in 18 out of 27 countries

If one pillar of the Minimum Wage Directive is adequate minimum wages, the other is promoting collective bargaining. The proportion of workers covered by collective agreements is referred to as collective bargaining coverage. Collective bargaining coverage in the 27 EU Member States varies between 12 per cent (Poland) and 100 per cent (Italy and Belgium); see **Diagram 1**. Generally speaking, there is a downward trend in collective bargaining coverage in other countries. In recent decades, the decline has been greatest in Central and Eastern Europe. In Germany, Greece and the Netherlands, the proportion of workers covered by collective agreements has also declined, while in most other EU countries the proportion has remained relatively stable.<sup>10</sup>

**Diagram 1** Collective bargaining coverage in the EU in 2024 or the latest available year



Source: OECD/AIAS ICTWSS (2025). For Slovenia: Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office 2025.

According to the Minimum Wage Directive, all Member States must promote collective bargaining. The Directive also imposes specific requirements on countries with collective bargaining coverage below 80 per cent. These countries must provide a framework of conditions that enable collective bargaining and also establish an action plan to promote

<sup>10</sup> OECD (2025), "Membership of unions and employers' organisations, and bargaining coverage: Standing, but losing ground", OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/fe47107c-en>.

collective bargaining. Both the framework and the action plan must be developed with the help of the social partners. At the end of 2025, 18 countries were due to submit their very first action plans. These countries are shown with yellow bars in Diagram 6.1.

Nine EU countries have collective bargaining coverage above 80 per cent and therefore do not need to draw up a framework and action plan. Among these countries, only Sweden and Denmark do not use universal application of collective agreements extensively in the labour market; see section 6.2.2.

### **Action plans to promote collective bargaining coverage were submitted at the end of 2025**

At the time of writing in January 2026, nine action plans were available. There was also a draft action plan available for Bulgaria.

Germany has started working on its action plan, and a consultation procedure was carried out in the summer of 2025. However, a political deadlock arose in the autumn, and Germany did not submit an action plan by the deadline. This may also be related to the fact that the German employers' side in the consultation procedure argued that it was necessary to await the European Court of Justice's ruling on the Minimum Wage Directive.

In autumn 2024, the Luxembourg government presented a number of proposals for measures to be taken by the social partners. Among the proposals were measures that, according to the trade unions, would undermine their fundamental right to collective bargaining. This led to a breakdown in the tripartite negotiations. Malta's work on the action plan was halted because an election promise on compulsory trade union membership found its way into the negotiations on the action plan. In this case, it is the employers who oppose the proposal.

The Netherlands is one of the countries that was late in implementing the Directive, and the action plan was not ready in January 2026 either, although the work appears to have progressed relatively far. Croatia, Slovenia and Hungary have begun work on their action plans, but we have not been able to find any information about their content or how the work has progressed. Cyprus intends to submit its action plan in October 2026. We also note that Estonia and Poland have drawn up action plans on time, even though they have not yet completed the implementation of the Directive.<sup>11</sup>

### **The content of the action plans varies greatly**

The action plans differ in terms of their scope and how concrete they are (**Table 2**). Some action plans cover only a few points, while others address around twenty different measures. In some cases, the plan states that the measure is contingent on financial conditions or that the country intends to investigate whether the measure should be taken.

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<sup>11</sup> News media in the various countries and Müller T. (2025) Here comes the sun: the formal transposition and political impact of the European Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages in the EU, Report 2025.04, ETUI.

**Table 2 Summary of the content of action plans**

	Legislation	Tripartite group/ committee	Information on parties/ agreements	Financial support	Training/ information	Mediation
<b>Action plans</b>						
Poland	X			X	X	X
Greece	X	X	X		X	
Estonia	X		X		X	
Latvia	X					
Slovakia	X	X			X	
Lithuania	X			X	X	
Ireland	X			X	X	X
Romania		X	X		X	
Czech Republic	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Draft</b>						
Bulgaria	X		X		X	X
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>

Source: Own analysis of the countries' action plans

### Plans for legislative changes in nine out of ten action plans

The action plans of the majority of the countries raise the prospect of legislative changes. Often, countries plan to analyse the possibilities for changing the law, but in some cases the plans for legislative changes appear to be relatively advanced. In several cases, the measures involve introducing or revising existing laws on collective bargaining. One example of this is improving the ability of public sector employees to negotiate or developing the ability of trade unions and employers to agree on rules other than those laid down by law (e.g. Latvia). Reviewing the need to change the rules for declaring collective agreements universally applicable (or equivalent) is included in several action plans (Estonia, Ireland, Latvia and Lithuania). The action plans of Estonia and Latvia include the possibility for central organisations to sign generally binding industry-specific agreements as a measure where the unionisation rate is low. Two action plans contain measures to extend protection for trade union activities (Ireland and the Czech Republic). Analysing the possibility of taking collective agreements into account in public procurement is also included in a couple of the action plans (Ireland and Lithuania).

### Many measures are planned – but will they be implemented?

Four countries' plans include measures to establish new tripartite groups (Greece, Romania and Slovakia) or to make the tripartite group involved in implementing the Directive permanent (Czech Republic).

Ensuring that easily accessible digital information is available on the organisations operating in the labour market is included in Bulgaria's action plan. Three countries plan to set up or modernise a digital register of collective agreements (Estonia, Greece and Romania).

The action plans of Ireland, Lithuania, Poland and the Czech Republic include financial support to promote collective bargaining as a measure. This support takes the form of tax subsidies for membership in trade unions (Ireland and Lithuania) or employer organisations (Ireland and Poland), or direct subsidies to organisations to strengthen their collective bargaining capacity (Czech Republic and Poland). The measures in Poland's action plan also include state contributions to occupational pension schemes and access to expert support such as mediators with expertise in labour law and collective bargaining.

All action plans include measures to provide information and/or training on collective bargaining and other related issues. In addition to general information campaigns, Romania plans to provide information on the right to organise and bargain collectively in industries with high levels of precarious employment. Several countries have included measures to improve and develop statistics on collective bargaining coverage (Bulgaria, Estonia, Greece, Latvia and Lithuania).

The Minimum Wage Directive highlights that industry-level bargaining is particularly successful, and several countries have included this in their action plans. Some examples include measures to organise meetings between employee and employer organisations and measures to provide information to the social partners on the value of industry-level bargaining and collective agreements in workshops or conferences (Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia). Several countries also have plans for general information initiatives and social media campaigns to spread the value of collective bargaining. Poland plans to analyse the possibilities for a model with cyclical collective bargaining and for a tripartite council to try to develop central industry-specific agreements, primarily in the form of a pilot study in a selected industry.

Other measures include drafting a collective bargaining manual (Poland) or code of conduct (Ireland). Romania plans to strengthen institutional capacity by increasing resources and developing the skills of employees in both the responsible government department and the inspection service. Three countries mention inspections and compliance in their plans (Bulgaria, Romania and Slovakia).

Bulgaria, Ireland and the Czech Republic plan to develop their dispute resolution mechanisms, including mediation functions. According to the draft, Bulgaria also plans to organise training for mediators, draft a collective bargaining manual and develop a calculator to measure the cost of collective labour disputes. Ireland intends to look into the possibility of introducing mandatory mediation between the time a notice is given and a conflict breaks out. As mentioned above, Poland has included in its action plan a possible measure whereby the state would offer expert support from mediators to negotiating parties. The Czech Republic's plan includes the measure of removing the possibility of appealing decisions on appointed mediators to the administrative court in order to achieve more effective mediation processes. Lithuania raises the possibility of taking sympathy measures as a way of strengthening the collective bargaining system in its action plan.

Several countries intend to initiate studies and research in this area (Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania and the Czech Republic). One of the measures in Bulgaria's draft action

plan is to ratify ILO Conventions 151 and 154, which deal with the right of public employees to organise and the promotion of collective bargaining, respectively. Ireland plans to introduce best practice awards to encourage and disseminate good examples. Romania proposes to develop consultation and information on the EU for social partners.

#### **The Netherlands and Germany are discussing measures similar to those in other countries**

In October 2025, the Dutch government presented written communication to the country's parliament outlining various measures intended to be included in the upcoming action plan. According to the communication, the Netherlands plans to analyse the need for measures to strengthen the legitimacy and position of trade unions and employer organisations, drawing inspiration from the Scandinavian countries, among others. Other proposed measures include providing information on the value of trade union membership and collective agreements, rules on the independence of the parties to collective agreements, a review of the possibilities for exemptions from the law in collective agreements, and better statistics on collective bargaining coverage and unionisation rate. An analysis of the possibilities for including social requirements in public procurement is also included as a measure in the communication.

In Germany, three measures were included in the coalition government agreement: a federal law on compliance with collective agreements, a regulation on digital opportunities for trade unions to reach out to potential members, and an extended tax deduction for trade union membership. In the consultation process that took place during the summer, the trade unions also raised issues such as expanded opportunities for the universal application of collective agreements and removing the possibility for companies to be members of an employers' organisation without entering into collective agreements. The unions also highlighted changes in procurement rules to promote collective agreements. The employers' organisations raised issues such as the scope for manoeuvring when entering into collective agreements (e.g. the possibility to waive or override parts of the legislation through provisions in the collective agreements), clearer rules on the right to strike (a ban on political strikes and the introduction of compulsory mediation), and reducing the bureaucratic burden on companies that enter into collective agreements. It remains to be seen what measures will be included in the German action plan.



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