



ORIGINAL PAPER

Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality

Mariana-Eleonora Anghel¹⁾

Abstract:

This paper examines the relationship between digitalisation and social inequality, highlighting how access to technological resources and the possession of digital capital influence social, educational, and economic inclusion. The first objective is to identify the disparities generated by the digital divide across European states, while the second seeks to explore the mechanisms through which these disparities shape a new dimension of social stratification. The study employs a secondary analysis of European statistical data, integrated with relevant academic literature, focusing on two main indicators: median income and digital skills levels. The findings reveal a statistically significant correlation between the degree of digitalisation and population income, with marked differences between Eastern and Western European countries. The conclusions suggest that digitalisation has become an emerging factor in social stratification, generating new forms of inequality. At the same time, public policies promoting digital inclusion, combined with the active participation of social actors, can help mitigate these disparities and foster inclusive economic and social development.

Keywords: *digitalisation, digital capital, social stratification, social inequality, public policies.*

¹⁾ Lecturer, Ph.D., Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Sociology specialization, Phone: 0040761637585 University of Petrosani, 20 th Street Universitatii, Petrosani, Romania, Email: MarianaAnghel@upet.ro, ORCID ID <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9140-2093>

1. Introduction

Over the past decades, digitalisation has emerged as one of the most significant drivers of social and economic transformation worldwide. This process is redefining how people communicate and interact across various domains of everyday life, family, education, work, as well as civic and political participation. Technologically mediated interactions are increasingly replacing physical proximity. Education has become more accessible through digital resources and online platforms, while participation in public life is now closely linked to individuals' technological competencies. At the same time, employment and access to public services have become increasingly dependent on the ability to use digital tools. Public institutions are gradually shifting from traditional bureaucratic procedures - based on physical documents and face-to-face interactions - to automated electronic services available online. These transformations aim to enhance efficiency, reduce bureaucracy, and provide faster, more transparent, and more accessible services for citizens and businesses alike.

Across Europe, the pace of digitalisation varies considerably, with some countries and regions being far more advanced than others. Western European states have succeeded in integrating technology more effectively across all spheres of activity - economy, education, and public administration - while Eastern European states continue to face challenges related to digital infrastructure, the quality of online services, and the development of digital competences. This difference reflects a new form of socio-economic division within Europe. Consequently, the disparities between East and West shape citizens' opportunities to access essential resources and services such as education, stable employment, and efficient public administration. Individuals with a high level of digital skills and constant access to technology display a greater capacity to adapt to new social and economic requirements, whereas those with lower levels of digital competence face difficulties in navigating online services and risk being unable to benefit from the opportunities offered by digital technologies. This gap in digital access and use constitutes a new criterion of social stratification and differentiation, reinforcing processes of repositioning among individuals and groups within pre-existing social hierarchies, both nationally and at the European level.

At the national level, Zamfir (2019) highlights that social vulnerabilities in Romania have been exacerbated by historical legacies and the structural transformations associated with the post-communist transition. The decline of industry led to the loss of numerous jobs, especially in mono-industrial regions, resulting in increased unemployment and declining living standards. In parallel, external migration - particularly among young people - has deepened demographic imbalances, especially in rural areas where the remaining population is largely elderly and vulnerable to social isolation (*as cited in* Niță & Pârvu, 2020:107). The effects of this transition remain evident today, reflecting the difficulties of Romanian society in adapting to the new economic and social realities shaped by modernisation and digitalisation. Economic inequalities inherited from the transition period have persisted - and in some cases intensified - as a result of ongoing digital transformations, which disproportionately affect vulnerable social groups. Today, access to digital infrastructure, skills, and services largely depends on income levels, perpetuating the cycle of social inequality.

2. Digitalisation as a Social Phenomenon

Beyond its technical dimension - the conversion of information into a digital format - digitalisation should be understood as a complex social phenomenon that

Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality

reconfigures social reality through new patterns of interaction and relationships between individuals and institutions. From a structural perspective, digitalisation reflects the ways in which technology shapes the behaviours, structures, and values of contemporary society.

In analysing the transformative processes of the modern era, Castells (2010:21) describes the transition from the industrial to the informational society, emphasising the emergence of new forms of social and economic organisation generated by the digital revolution. He outlines a coherent and sociologically relevant theory of the information society, in which communication networks, the Internet, and the knowledge-based economy constitute the central pillars of social and economic functioning.

Mosco (2017:5) proposes a complementary approach focused on the cultural-symbolic dimension of digitalisation. From this perspective, technology is not confined to infrastructure and organisational functions; rather, it constitutes a space for the production of meaning, where individuals and communities invest values, meanings, and collective experiences. Consequently, digitalisation emerges as a complex social process that links the economic dimension of power with the cultural construction of meaning, defining a new form of social consciousness characteristic of the contemporary era.

From a systemic and action-oriented perspective, Prodanciuc (2012a, 2012b) highlights the complementary roles of institutions and social organisations within the social order, emphasising the role of leadership in integrating and adapting the system to its social environment. Institutions accentuate the normative dimension and the legitimacy of actions, providing order, predictability, and social identity - elements transmitted through socialisation from one generation to the next. By contrast, organisations perform practical and operational functions, focused on planning, coordination, and the attainment of specific objectives. In the current context, marked by the expansion of digitalisation across all spheres of social life, this equilibrium is being reconfigured as information technologies transform institutional structures and generate new forms of organisational digital capital, grounded in competences, virtual collaboration, and social innovation. These institutional and organisational transformations are accompanied by profound value shifts that reflect individuals' adaptation to new social and cultural realities. Within this framework, Motoi (2017:227-228) emphasises that social and cultural values - particularly those related to family, education, and professional life - have undergone significant changes in recent decades. These shifts can be interpreted as expressions of a broader process of redefining social identity. They acquire a new dimension in the digital era, where technology has become a central driver of social and cultural change.

Addressing the issue of digital transformations in labour and the impact of parental occupational status on their children, Nicholas and Lehdonvirta (2023:1945-1946) highlight significant changes in the relationship between employment structures and professional relations in contemporary society. Operational processes such as algorithmic recruitment, online testing and selection, and client-based rating systems are reshaping traditional criteria for access and professional advancement. Communication and interaction mediated by the digital environment between employers and employees contribute to the erosion of classical mechanisms of social mobility. An important aspect to consider is how digitalisation influences social inequalities, depending on individuals' access to resources.

The concept of the "third-level digital divide", introduced by van Deursen and Helsper, explains that beyond differences in access to technological infrastructure (first level) and those related to skills and patterns of use (second level), there are also disparities

in the outcomes and benefits derived from technology use. In this regard, the authors (2015:31-32) emphasise that the third-level digital divide tends to reproduce existing inequalities, as individuals from advantaged backgrounds are more capable of converting access to technology into tangible benefits.

In the same vein, Scheerder et al. (2017) highlight the unequal distribution of digital skills and access to technology, reflecting the economic and cultural differences among individuals. People from privileged socio-economic backgrounds are therefore better positioned to capitalise on the opportunities offered by the digital economy, while disadvantaged groups risk marginalisation in the absence of the necessary skills and resources. At the same time, the digital environment may contribute to reducing dependence on traditional forms of cultural capital - such as educational credentials, family background, or networks of social influence - by fostering contexts in which individual performance, innovation, and adaptability become the main criteria for professional evaluation and recognition (*as cited in* Nicholas & Lehdonvirta, 2023). Consequently, digital capital can be regarded as an extension of the classical forms of cultural and social capital, adapted to the logic of interaction and the social and organisational hierarchies that characterise the digital environment.

3. Digital Capital: Between Opportunity and Social Inequality

In recent years, digitalisation has become established as a complex social process capable of reconfiguring economic, cultural, and institutional structures. It is therefore essential to examine how this transformation is reflected in individual and collective resources and opportunities. The concept of digital capital refers to the accumulation and use of technological skills, knowledge, and resources by individuals within new forms of social interaction mediated by virtual environments. It is thus relevant to interpret digital capital as a derivative form grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's theories of social and cultural capital. In the online environment, the accumulation of technological, informational, and relational resources functions as a new type of capital that influences individuals' positions within social hierarchies. Consequently, digital capital reflects the tension between the opportunities offered by the virtual space and the inequalities generated by the uneven distribution of access and the varying levels of digital competence across the population.

The specialised literature highlights the dual nature of digitalisation, reflecting its capacity both to stimulate social participation and to amplify existing inequalities. This reality raises important questions about opportunities for social mobility, as new forms of inequality emerge concerning access to digital infrastructure, as well as the use and benefits of digital technologies. Consequently, there is a growing emphasis on the empirical analysis of digital competences, which serve as a key indicator of active participation within new social arrangements. In this context, digital organisations, whether fully virtual or the result of the transformation of traditional structures, create new forms of social participation and recognition, where access and visibility are closely tied to individuals' digital capital and level of technological literacy. Accordingly, digital capital can be understood as the set of digital resources available to an individual: competences, access to technology, membership in online networks, and the ability to leverage these elements for social, economic, or cultural purposes. From this perspective, digitalisation can be interpreted as a new and evolving mechanism of social stratification, in which digital resources function as forms of social, economic, and cultural capital essential for integration into the information society (Bourdieu, 1986; van Deursen & van

Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality

Dijk, 2014:509; Feng & Tan, 2024:2-3).

Delibeys, Vergidis, and Delimpei (2024:140-141) explore the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's theory for understanding how cultural capital influences the development of digital competences among young people enrolled in educational programmes. The authors emphasise that individuals with higher levels of cultural capital (expressed through formal qualifications, access to cultural goods, or familiarity with educational norms) tend to perform better in terms of fundamental digital skills. For instance, individuals with higher education and frequent access to cultural materials (such as books) exhibit greater confidence in using digital environments, demonstrate higher efficiency in solving technical problems, and show more creativity in producing digital content. The study's findings confirm the theory of the reproduction of social inequalities, underscoring that the level of cultural capital plays a crucial role in shaping the competences required for active participation in today's digitalised society. Access to and the effective use of digital competences are strongly influenced by an individual's cultural position. Consequently, young people from backgrounds with limited cultural resources face significant obstacles in developing digital skills, which contributes to the widening of the digital divide and the perpetuation of social inequalities (Scheerder, van Deursen, & van Dijk, 2017; Feng & Tan, 2024).

In a different line of inquiry, Gómez (2020) examines how economic, cultural, and social capital can be transformed into digital capital, as well as the reverse processes through which digital capital contributes to the regeneration of the three original forms of capital. The findings indicate that digital inequalities are rooted in economic capital, which constitutes a direct material barrier to accessing digital resources. Cultural capital is internalised in the form of digital competences through processes of technological socialisation, while social capital finds its digital expression through activities on online platforms. Moreover, digital capital itself becomes a transferable resource that can reinforce or generate other types of capital-economic, social, and cultural-through the effective management of networked interests.

The analysis conducted by Cortoni and Perovic (2020:171-172) highlights the interdependence between the digital capital of educational institutions and the social and cultural capital they possess. A school's ability to integrate digital technology into its educational activities is directly influenced by the effectiveness of its leadership mechanisms and its capacity to attract external resources, including funding and partnerships with institutional actors.

The findings indicate that these forms of institutional social capital contribute to expanding access to digital infrastructure and to creating an environment conducive to pedagogical innovation. At the same time, the involvement of teaching staff in continuous professional development programmes and in educational initiatives with a digital component reflects the institution's strategic commitment to modernisation, inclusion, and the improvement of educational quality.

Within this framework, in which educational institutions play a crucial role in developing digital competences and reducing disparities in access to resources, adopting a systemic perspective on education also becomes relevant. Motoi (2018) emphasises that the efficiency of an educational system is not confined to academic performance but lies in its capacity to integrate social and technological change, thereby contributing to the formation of the human capital required by the knowledge-based society.

In this study, the relationship between the level of digital competences and individual income is analysed as a relevant example for understanding how digital capital

contributes to either reinforcing or mitigating social inequalities. However, this relationship does not capture the full complexity of the phenomenon, as a comprehensive approach should also integrate other factors-such as education, place of residence, age, and gender-that may influence the distribution and utilisation of digital resources in contemporary society. These aspects represent potential directions for future research.

4. Methodology

For the present study, a secondary analysis of statistical data available from Eurostat was conducted to highlight the relationship between *Median Equivalised Net Income* (annual, expressed in thousand euros) and *Individuals' Level of Digital Skills* across the European Union member states. The analysis compares the 2023 values of the selected indicators between Romania and the European Union average. The *Median Equivalised Net Income* indicator reflects the average standard of living of the population, calculated by adjusting household income according to household size and composition, thus allowing for comparisons between countries and families of different sizes.

In analysing digital competences, the European Commission and Eurostat employ a common reference framework through the *Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI)*, which monitors the progress of digitalisation across EU member states. According to the European framework, digital competences encompass five main dimensions-information and data literacy, communication and collaboration, content creation, safety, and problem-solving.

Individuals considered to possess basic or above-basic digital competences are those who demonstrate at least a minimum level of proficiency across all these domains, including activities such as searching for and evaluating online information, using digital communication tools, managing personal data, and applying technologies for practical or professional purposes. This definition, adopted within the European Digital Decade 2030 indicators, enables the comparison of digital literacy levels among EU member states.

The descriptive analysis of the data made it possible to identify trends and differences across EU member states. To explore the association between income and digital competences, the Pearson correlation coefficient (r) was employed to assess the strength and direction of the relationship and to test its statistical significance.

The selection of these indicators was exploratory in nature, aiming to illustrate, in a comparative manner, potential associations between the economic resources and digital capital of the member states. However, the analysis presents certain limitations, as it relies on aggregate data and does not account for individual-level variables such as age, gender, educational attainment, or place of residence, factors that could provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between population income and digital competences. In this context, the study of digital stratification and social inequalities calls for broader, longitudinal research capable of capturing in greater depth the dynamics of the transformations generated by the process of digitalisation.

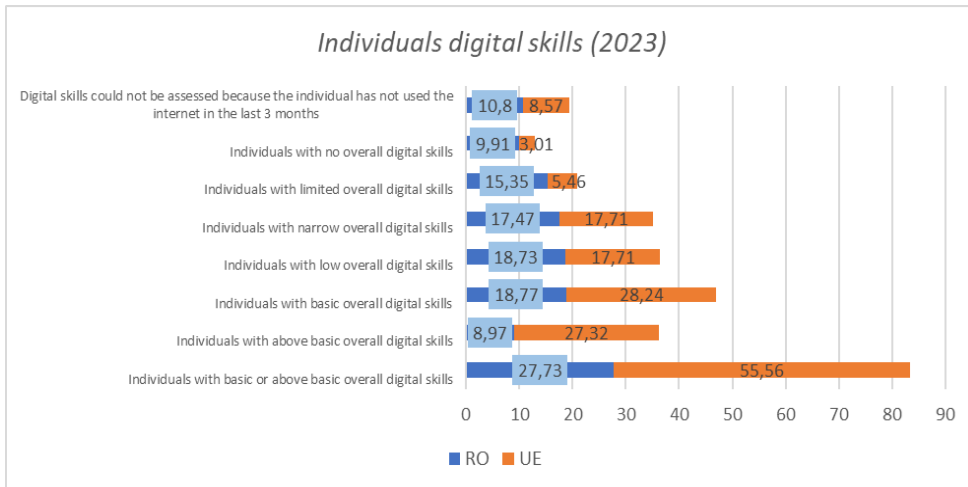
5. Digital and Economic Inequalities in the European Area

In the context of the rapid transformations generated by digitalisation at the global level, the European Union continues to exhibit significant disparities among its member states, particularly between Western and Eastern countries. Romania serves as a representative case of these digital and economic gaps, consistently ranking among the lowest positions, together with Bulgaria, in indicators related to digital competences, infrastructure, and the integration of digital technologies.

Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality

Drawing on the common framework for assessing digital competences established at the European Union level, the comparative analysis of Eurostat statistical data for 2023 highlights substantial differences between Romania and the EU average in terms of digital competence levels.

The data presented in Figure 1 reveal a significant gap between Romania and the EU average regarding digital competences. Individuals possessing basic or above-basic digital competences represent only 27.7% of Romania's population, approximately half of the EU average of 55.6%.



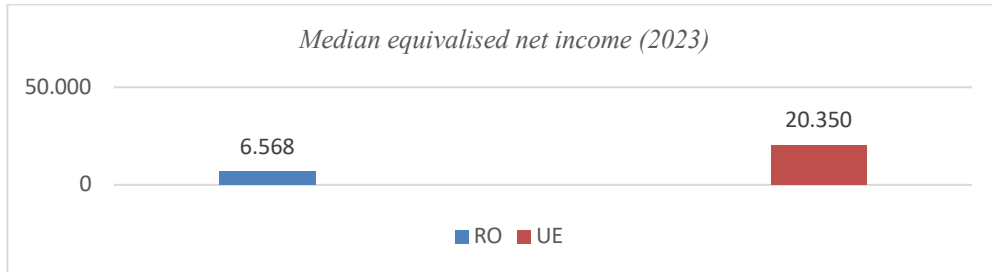
Source: Author's own compilation based on data retrieved in March 2025 from Eurostat. *Individuals' level of digital skills (from 2021 onwards)* [isoc_sk_dskl_i21\$defaultview] available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/main/data/database>

Figure 1. (%) Individuals' Digital Skills in 2023

With regard to above-basic digital competences, Romania records only 8.9%, compared with 27.3% at the European level. Romania also remains below the EU average in terms of basic digital competences.

The category of individuals with low digital competences (classified as “low” and “narrow”) is relatively similar between the two groups, at around 17–18%, indicating a fairly balanced distribution of minimal skills. However, major differences become evident at the extremes. Romania has a higher proportion of citizens with no digital competences (9.9% compared with 3% in the EU), as well as a larger share of individuals who could not be assessed because they had not used the internet during the previous three months.

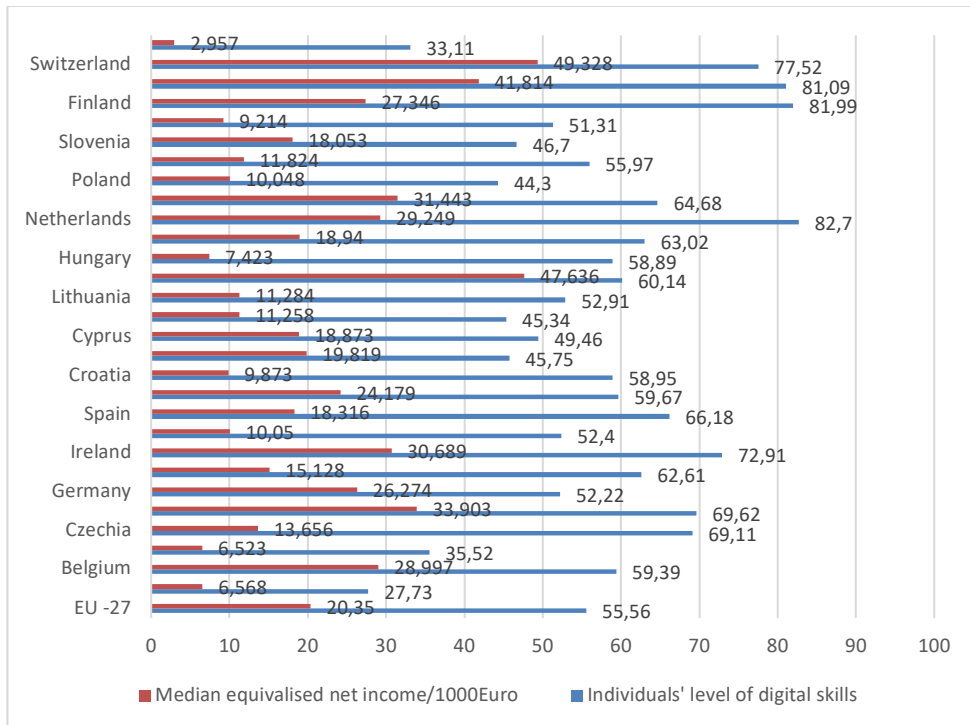
Following the analysis of digital competences, the next section presents data on Median Equivalised Net Income, to capture the relationship between economic resources and the level of digital literacy across the member states of the European Union.



Source: Author's own compilation based on data retrieved in March 2025 from Eurostat. *Mean and median income by total age class and sex [ilc_di03\$defaultview]* available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/main/data/database>

Figure 2. (Euro) Median Equivalised Net Income in 2023

The data presented in Figure 2 reveal a major income gap between Romania and the European Union average. In the year analysed, the median equivalised net income was €6.568 in Romania, compared to €20.350 at the European Union level. This means that the median income of Romanians represents approximately one-third of the European average, indicating a significantly lower purchasing power and a reduced capacity for investment in technological and educational resources.



Source: Author's own compilation based on data retrieved in March 2025 from Eurostat. *[ilc_di03\$defaultview] & [isoc_sk_dskl_i21\$defaultview]*

Note: Income values are expressed in thousand euros and have been rounded for graphical representation, while preserving the actual proportional relationships between the countries analysed.

Figure 3. Relationship between Income and Digital Skills (2023)

Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality

Income differences are reflected in disparities in digital competences, as access to devices, high-quality internet connections, and training programmes depends on the economic resources available. Consequently, economic inequalities exacerbate the digital divide, influencing individuals' ability to adapt to and participate in the transformations driven by digitalisation. This issue became particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic, when a significant share of the low-income population faced difficulties in accessing online education, digital public services, and remote work opportunities. The pandemic underscored that digital transformation depends not only on the existence of technological infrastructure but also on the economic resources and competences required to use it effectively.

To provide a broader comparative perspective, the analysis was extended to include all European Union member states, as well as several associated countries. Figure 3 illustrates the relationship between Median Equivalised Net Income and the overall level of digital competences in 2023.

A positive correlation can be observed between economic resources and the degree of digitalisation: countries with higher median incomes, such as the Netherlands, Finland, Norway, and Switzerland, also register the highest levels of digital competences (over 75%). Conversely, Central and Eastern European states, including Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, fall below the European average in terms of both income and digital competences.

This distribution reflects the trend that economic capital remains a key determinant of digital capital, influencing the population's ability to access, use, and leverage new technologies.

As Reis et al. (2020) point out, digitalisation is redefining the way institutions and companies operate, optimising both internal and external processes, facilitating the circulation of information, and supporting data-driven decision-making. At the same time, this phenomenon extends its impact to everyday life, influencing the ways in which individuals interact and relate to different spheres of society. Thus, in education, digitalisation transforms teaching and learning processes through the introduction of digital tools; in public administration, it contributes to increased transparency and efficiency of services; and in the business environment, it stimulates innovation, competitiveness, and adaptability to market dynamics. Therefore, digitalisation emerges as a process that transforms and enhances organisational performance while redefining social, economic, and cultural interactions on a global scale (*as cited in Rădăcină, 2023:210*).

However, it remains to be analysed to what extent these transformations stimulate social mobility and offer real opportunities for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds to attain more advantageous positions within the social structure, or whether, on the contrary, they contribute to the perpetuation of traditional inequalities within the new digital arrangements. In this regard, Shafik emphasises that technological and economic progress is not always accompanied by an equitable distribution of opportunities. Modern societies are grounded in the belief that individual effort can lead to an improvement in one's personal condition; however, reality reveals major differences between countries in terms of the "architecture of opportunity." In some states, social advancement is achievable within one or two generations, whereas in others, several generations may be required to overcome disadvantaged social positions. From this perspective, the impact of digitalisation on society raises an important question: will

digitalisation become a tool for social mobility and equity, or will it reinforce existing social hierarchies under a new, digital form? (2021:24–25)

In this context, analysing the relationship between income and digital competences becomes relevant for understanding how economic resources shape participation in the digital economy. Figure 3 illustrates this association across the member states of the European Union.

To statistically evaluate this relationship, the Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated. The results of the Pearson correlation analysis indicate a significant positive relationship between median equivalised net income and the level of digital competences ($r = 0.687$, $p < 0.01$). This means that member states with higher median incomes also tend to record higher levels of digital competences.

Table 1. Correlation between Income and Digital Skills

		Digital skills
Income	Pearson Correlation	.687**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	30

**, Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation is statistically significant at the 0.01 level, confirming the existence of a consistent relationship between the two variables across the European Union. This result supports the hypothesis that economic resources influence the population's ability to access and capitalise on digital technologies, thereby reinforcing the connection between economic capital and digital capital.

6. Conclusions

The results obtained confirm the existence of a digital stratification model within the European space, determined by economic resources and public policies aimed at supporting digital competences. The analysis presented highlights that digitalisation constitutes a complex social process situated at the intersection of economic, cultural, and institutional transformations. Beyond its technological dimension, digitalisation functions as a mechanism for reconfiguring social relations and redistributing resources within contemporary society.

Romania continues to rank below the European Union average in terms of both income and digital competences, reflecting a dual structural vulnerability—economic and educational. This discrepancy between resources and skills indicates an urgent need for integrated public policies focused on reducing the digital divide through investment in infrastructure, digital training, and social inclusion.

From a theoretical perspective, the study supports the interpretation of digital capital as an extension of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), adapted to the information age. Digital competences are not merely a technical indicator of technology use but also a form of social power and symbolic capital that determines access to education, the labour market, and civic participation. Therefore, digital capital can function both as a vector of inclusion and as a factor of social exclusion.

For Romania, the major challenge lies in transforming digitalisation into an instrument of equitable economic and social development through sustained investment in digital education, infrastructure, and skills training - particularly among vulnerable groups.

Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality

In this regard, the objectives outlined in the Digital Decade 2030 provide an essential strategic framework for promoting an inclusive digital society capable of harnessing technological potential for human development and social cohesion - supporting education, civic participation, and the development of digital competences. The European vision seeks to maintain a balance between innovation and equity, ensuring that digital transformation supports education, the economy, and public services while upholding the values of freedom, security, and solidarity.

In the same vein, Olimid, Georgescu, and Gherghe (2023:134–135) emphasise the need for a solid framework of democratic governance and institutional reform, one capable of integrating emerging technologies into public decision-making processes, thereby promoting more efficient, transparent, and adaptable public governance aligned with contemporary social dynamics.

Following the logic advanced by Shafik (2021), who analyses the *architecture of opportunity* and *social mobility*, it becomes legitimate to ask how many generations will be required for Romania to close the gap with the European Union average, exploring digitalisation as a genuine mechanism of progress and social change.

References:

- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, pp. 241–258.
- Castells, M. (2010). *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cortoni, I., and Perovic, J., (2020). Sociological analysis of Montenegrin teachers' digital capital, *Comunicação e sociedade* [Online], (37), 169–184. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/cs/2761>
- Delibeys, G., Vergidis, D. and Delimpei, E. (2024). Cultural Capital and Digital Skills of Adult Learners in Greece, *European Journal of Education Studies*, 11(12), 140–157. DOI: 10.46827/ejes.v11i12.5697
- European Commission. (2025). Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI). Publications Office of the European Union. Retrieved from <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/policies/desi>
- Eurostat. (2025, March). Database. Retrieved from <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser>
- Feng, S., Tan, C.Y. (2024). Toward conceptual clarity for digital cultural and social capital in student learning: Insights from a systematic literature review. *Humanit Soc Sci Commun* 11, 68. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-02519-8>
- Gómez, D., C., (2020). The third digital divide and Bourdieu: Bidirectional conversion of economic, cultural, and social capital to (and from) digital capital among young people in Madrid, *New Media & Society*, (9), 2534–2553. DOI:10.1177/1461444820933252
- Nežinský, E., and Luptáček, M., Impact of digitalization on productivity (October 31, 2024). <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5006184>
- Motoi, G. (2017). Values as an object of study for the American and the French sociology. A review of F. Znaniecki's and R. Boudon's perspectives, *Social Sciences and Education Research Review*, 222–231. www.sserr.ro.
- Motoi, G. (2018). Using Performance Indicators to Design the Outlook on Quality and Efficiency of Education Systems. A Comparative Analysis (Romania-France) of Students' Results at International Assessments, *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, no. 60, pp. 68 – 75.

- Mosco, V. (2017). *Becoming Digital: Toward a Post-Internet Society*. Emerald Publishing. Available at: https://www.dawsoncollege.qc.ca/ai/wp-content/uploads/sites/180/05-Vincent-Mosco_Becoming-Digital.pdf
- Nicholas, M. Lehdonvirta, V., (2023). Labour market digitalization and social class: evidence of mobility and reproduction from a European survey of online platform workers, *Socio-Economic Review*. (21) 4, 1945–1965, <https://academic.oup.com/ser/article/21/4/1945/7260915>.<https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwad049>.
- Niță, A.-M. Pârvu, M.C. (2020). Vulnerability and resilience in marginalized rural communities. Case study: projects for reduction of risk exclusion in Dolj County, *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, no. 67, pp. 103 – 117.
- Olimid, A.P. Georgescu, C.M. Gherghe, C.L. (2023). Integrated Analysis of Sixty Democracy Governance and Policy Reform Topics using Ngram Tool for Google Platform (1990-2019). *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, no. 78, pp. 126 – 138.
- Prodanciuc, R. (2012a). Social Institutions. *Annals of the University of Petroșani, Economics*, 12(2), 2012, 236-243.
- Prodanciuc, R. (2012b). Social Organizations. *Annals of the University of Petroșani, Economics*, 12(3), 2012, 205-214.
- Rădăcină, O.,E. (2023). Digitalizare în asistență socială: provocări, limite și direcții de dezvoltare, *Revista Calitatea vieții*, 34(4), 209–225, <https://doi.org/10.46841/RCV.2023.04.01>.
- Shafik, M. (2021). *Ce ne datoram unii altora Un nou contract social pentru o lume mai bună*, Bucuresti: Editura Litera.
- Scheerder A, van Deursen A. & van Dijk, J. (2017). Determinants of Internet skills, uses and outcomes. A systematic review of the second-and third-level digital divide. *Telematics and informatics* 34(8):1607–1624, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2017.07.007>.
- van Deursen, A. JAM and van Dijk, and J. AGM (2014). The digital divide shifts to differences in usage. *New Media & Society*, 16(3), 507–526. DOI: 10.1177/1461444813487959
- van Deursen, A., and Helsper, E. J. (2015). The Third Level Digital Divide: Who Benefits the Most from Being Online? *Communication and Information Technologies Annual*, 10: 29–52.
- Vuorikari, R., Kluzer, S., & Punie, Y. (2022). DigComp 2.2, The Digital Competence framework for citizens – With new examples of knowledge, skills and attitudes, Publications Office of the European Union. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2760/115376>.
- Zamfir, C. (2019). De ce România nu are un proiect de Țară? România socială. Dezbatări, opinii, comentarii. Retrieved from: https://www.romanasociala.ro/de-ce-romanianu-are-un-proiect-de-tara/#_ftn1.

Article Info

Received: October 29 2025

Accepted: November 17 2025

How to cite this article:

Anghel, M. E. (2025). Digitalisation in Europe: Between Inclusion and Social Inequality. *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, no. 88, pp. 199-211.