

Refugee Policy in Romania

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Abstract

The research explores Romanian refugee policy in the context of global displacement, European asylum governance and changing demographics; the study examines the balance of Romanian policies between humanitarian commitments with institutional capability, financial limits and long-term integration issues amid 2015–2016 European refugee crisis and contemporary arrival of Ukrainian migrants. Romania possessed a distinctive position within the broader European context as historically Romania is open to migration; balancing humanitarian responsibilities with institutional and capacity limits while aligning refugee administration with international and Europe Union (EU) standards.

Keywords

Refugee Policy; Romania; Public Perception; Asylum Governance; Integration

1. Introduction and Methodology

Globalisation, military wars, economic inequality and geopolitical instability have increased migration in recent decades but these factors also forced the governments across the globe to reconsider their refugee and asylum policies; especially after the 2015-2016 European refugee crises which put unprecedented demand on asylum systems and border controls (Kelemen and McNamara, 2021). Romania possessed a distinctive position within the broader European context as O'Brien et al. (2023) cited that historically Romania is open to migration; balancing humanitarian responsibilities with institutional and capacity limits while aligning refugee administration with international and Europe Union (EU) standards. Romania's demographic profile is changing due to a steady growth of third-country nationals (TCNs) and intra-EU migration which consequently increases the need for comprehensive integration policies for refugees; Romania accepted 1,785 asylum seekers during the European refugee crisis, reflecting its willingness to share responsibility and its capabilities (Lilla, 2019). However, Radu (2022) found that the recent arrival of nearly 140,000

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Ukrainian refugees has challenged the asylum framework due to unprecedented demand for emergency protection and humanitarian aid hence; the contemporary development highlighted modifying role of Romania's in international refugee support because immediate aid needs conflict with the challenge of long-term social integration.

The existing literature discourse highlighted that integration hurdles exist for refugees despite the institutional engagement as Romanian government works with NGOs and public institutions to give legal, administrative and social support to refugees but Mareci et al. (2023) found that refugees still lack access to healthcare, education and housing. Campo et al. (2025) further added that the cultural and language hurdles majorly undermine the social and economic integration of the refugees while collectively the challenges demonstrated a misalignment between the policy framework of national agencies and practical experiences of the refugees. The national and international agencies played a vital role in developing the frameworks for Romanian refugee governance and institutions as Romanian National Council for Refugees (CNRR) was founded in 1998 to support refugees with legal aid, counselling and training (Nicolescu, 2019). The National Agency for Refugees (NAR) also monitors asylum proceedings and refugee rights under Romanian legislation, the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol (Andreea et al., 2024) but Balsam (2023) found that budgetary limitations and capacity pressures undermine comprehensive integration support delivery by NAR. However, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as in international body supported over 20 million refugees and working with NAR and CNRR since 1951 for implementing the EU specific policies like Common European Asylum System (CEAS), Dublin Regulation and Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) policies (Moldovan, 2022); the framework placed Romania as a developing but challenged European refugee protection player struggling for the balance of humanitarian commitments with institutional and financial limitations.

The methodology of the research is based on examining Romanian refugee policy through public perception and social meaning under the interpretivist philosophy because according to Burdine et al. (2021) and Sanchez et al. (2023) interpretivism emphasised on subjective experiences and interpretations; which are necessary to understand the Romanian perspectives on refugee arrivals and policy frameworks. The interpretation of refugee policy allows a comprehensive understanding of historical, cultural and social circumstances determining public opinion and policy approval while accounting diverse public sentiments supports policymakers in developing context-sensitive decisions (Emery and Anderman, 2020). Following the interpretivist design, the research process adopted deductive

approach by using migration, social cohesion and public policy theories and literature; deduction allowed the examination of social and individual effects of refugee arrivals in Romania (Gilgun, 2019). The research process employed quantitative design to ensure objectivity and statistical dependability because Mosko and Delach (2021) affirmed that quantitative approaches are viable for measuring attitudes and perceptions across a larger population sample to compare demographic groupings and identify trends. A convenience-random sample of 100 Romanians completed an online, closed-ended questionnaire to collect primary data while this strategy collected refugee policy data efficiently and from multiple perspectives (Kaliyadan and Kulkarni, 2019). The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse survey results using descriptive statistics like frequency analysis (Rahman and Muktadir, 2021) as primary yet context-specific data was relevant and aligned with the objectives of the study to overcome secondary data limitations.

2. Literature Review

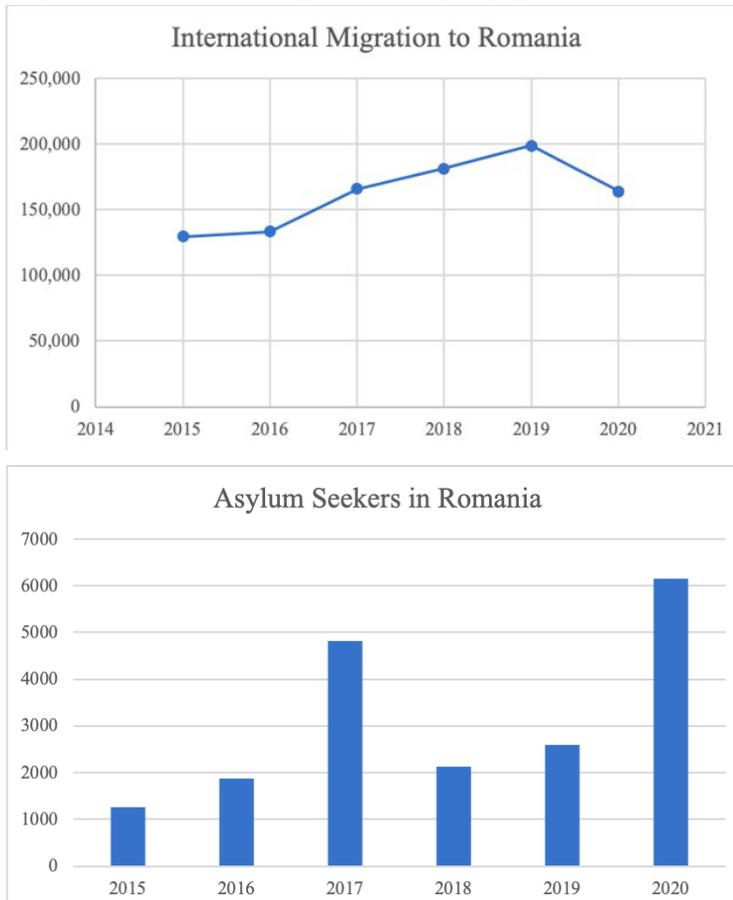
2.1. Refugee Policy Frameworks in Romania

The growth of Romanian refugee policy in Romania analysed in the context of globalisation, geopolitical instability and humanitarian crisis across the existing literature discourse as Goga (2020) and Mocanu et al. (2020) found that the 2015-2016 European refugee crisis forced European states to reassess their border management, asylum laws and humanitarian commitments but Popovici et al. (2021) stated that cautious yet cooperative reaction of Romania including the admission of 1,785 asylum seekers, met EU objectives while admitting domestic institutional limits. The transition of Romania from communism (post-1989) changed the mobility patterns and regulatory institutions, affecting migration governance under which Niemann and Zaun (2023) illustrated that Romania adopted international asylum standards like the 1951 Refugee Convention, EU asylum directives and UNHCR mandates after EU accession. However, Cebrián et al. (2010) argued that that national migration policy of Romania initially lacked the institutional capacity to comprehensively operationalise international asylum requirements which consequently reflected the need for stronger EU legislative instruments. Mareci et al. (2023) established that Romania has steadily established policy instruments to control asylum, residency permits and migrant integration despite not publically recognising refugees as a highly politicised issue. Following the modifications in policy instruments, the migration profile of Romania is associated with liberal entrance procedures, flexible investment legislation and regional mobility arrangements, especially with Moldova and Ukraine (Rîșteiu et al., 2022) hence; the flexible measures improved mobility but created governance issues linked to monitoring, social services and long-term integration.

2.2. Demographic Changes and Migration Trends in Romania

Third-Country Nationals (TCNs) and intra-EU mobility have modified the demographics of Romania over the past decade because Marchand et al. (2019) and Petrișor (2020) reported that Romania's foreign-born population witnessed a gradual increase (2013-2020) demonstrating its expanding importance as a destination rather than a transit country while Moldovan et al. (2023) added that TCNs without Romanian or EU citizenship migrates to Romania for work, family reunification, education and international protection (Figure 1). Moraru and Nica (2020) reported that inward migration surged by 278% across 2009 to 2019 yet foreign-born inhabitants still make up a minor official portion of the population while Eurostat reported that labour migrants are the largest category of foreign-born inhabitants, followed by family members, international students and short-term workers (Besoiu, 2022) thus; the inward trend reflected that demographics of Romania is impacted by the confounding factors of employment markets, public services and social cohesion.

Figure 1: Trends and Segmentation of Refugees to Romania



(Source: White Paper on the Integration of Refugees in Romania: Bejan, 2021)

Moreover, Nakase (2022) cited that demographic diversity of Romania is expected to rise due to EU and non-EU migrants but this expected shift associated with opportunities and problems as Rowe et al. (2019) highlighted that migrants provide skills, labour and innovation that enhance economic growth and competitiveness however; Stoica et al. (2020) argued that growing cultural, linguistic and social variety requires public institutions to create inclusive and adaptable policies. The demographic change also raised integration capability and policy preparation concerns as legal admittance methods and comprehensive education, healthcare, housing and social participation plans are needed therefore; Radulescu et al. (2020) recommends that understanding TCN migration drivers and effects is important for establishing strategies that balance economic advantages and social stability.

2.3. Refugee Governance, Integration Processes and Policy Challenges

The refugee policies and asylum system of Romania protects and processes asylum applicants under EU and UNHCR guidelines (Mareci et al., 2023) but Molinero-Gerbeau et al. (2021) and Cimpoeru (2023) found that asylum numbers of Romania are moderate in comparison to other states of the EU but the applications rise majorly Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq and Bangladesh during 2016 and 2020; the rise of application reflected the global regional insecurity along with the expanding host status of Romania. The integration outcomes are uneven in Romania despite the formal compliance of the governance procedures with European asylum criteria but Porumbescu (2019) cited that refugees faced persistent challenges to healthcare, housing, education and job markets compared to skilled migrants while Gherghina and Miscoiu (2025) found that integration plans categorise refugees with other migrants; reducing the humanitarian focus needed to manage forced displacement challenges. According to Cimpoeru et al. (202) the integration of refugees is considered a multifaceted process including social, economic, political and psychological aspects but Romania's integration structure appears to favour administrative compliance over long-term social inclusion (Gherghina, 2021) while Jianu (2019) further added legal uncertainty during status determination, limited permanent residency and insufficient institutional support make asylum seekers vulnerable.

Furthermore the resettlement and relocation policies further highlighted the structural flaws as Mészáros (2019) cited that resettlement quota averages 40 people each year with low EU relocation participation however, relocation programs try to spread responsibilities among EU member states as Poli (2021) argued that insufficient consultation with

refugees and host communities undermine policy effectiveness. The existing discourse of literature highlighted major gaps in Romanian refugee policy, lived experiences and long-term implication because cultural behaviours, intersectional identities and demographic changes are neglected across the discourse while legal frameworks and short-term reactions dominates the analytical discourse (Taha, 2019; Fratsea and Papadopoulos, 2020) hence; the existing gaps must be addressed to create inclusive yet evidence-based refugee policies aligning with humanitarian commitments and national capabilities.

3. Data Analysis

3.1. Public Support for Refugee Reception and Welfare Provision in Romania

The statistical analysis of survey data revealed that 96% of the respondents agreed on the reception of refugees in Romania because Romanians historically support humanitarianism, solidarity and empathy. The exceptionally high level of public support for refugee reception in Romania contrasted to European public opinion trends; Walentek et al. (2025) found varying refugee reception opinion due to the factors of economic conditions, political debate and media framing yet the Romanian perception challenges prevalent stereotypes that link Eastern European states to refugee exclusion. The refugee's protection is a policy responsibility because instead of symbolic framework it directly associated with housing, education and healthcare supports for the refugees; the human rights-based asylum governance emphasised on access to essential services for dignity and social integration (Cerna, 2019). However, De Graauw and Bloemraad (2017) established that positive public reception is an important success factor of successful refugee integration because acceptance of welfare services legitimises state investment and mitigate political resistance to inclusive policies.

Moreover, the high extent of reception is also associated with certain complex aspects as high public support potentially reflects the Romania's weak exposure to refugee settlement experience compared to Western European states. Ragnarsdóttir et al. (2023) found that countries with minimal direct competition for housing, jobs and welfare resources have more positive public sentiments thus; the supportive sentiments of Romanian are not challenged by long-term integration issues since Romania has a comparatively lower refugee inflow than other EU states. The social desirability bias also affects the survey responses on the moral issues like refugee protection as Alcaraz et al. (2019) found that public respondents often express socially acceptable humanitarian perspectives even with fundamental concerns; demonstrating that refugee admission is morally

supported by the fundamental concerns can arise by shifting economic or political situations hence the insights highlighted a positive social environment for refugee policy implementation while providing policymakers a strong foundation to increase integration and public involvement programs.

3.2. Perceived Impact of Refugees on Personal Freedom and Social Values

The datasets highlighted that 91% of respondents trust Romania's policy framework and governance capacity and perceived refugees harmless for their personal liberties or societal values; the securitisation narratives in migration literature often categorises refugees as risks to cultural identity, social cohesiveness or individual liberty (Bivand Erdal et al., 2022) but majority of the Romanians disagree that refugees threaten their personal autonomy or national values. The perceived positive impact among the Romanians associated with the policy legitimacy as Gherghina (2021) found that local citizens concerned less about the loss of control or social disruption with organised and regulated refugee governance aligned with national objectives. The compliance of Romani with EU asylum criteria and international law also provide institutional reassurance while Papadopoulos and Fratsea (2022) illustrated that public views often modify from perceived cultural threat to pragmatic governance due to trust in policy procedures.

The high level of positive perception associated with certain risks as some of the respondents still concerned about getting better jobs or public services which reflected "welfare chauvinism," associated with the coexistence of support for humanitarian protection and fears for unfair resource distribution; 9% respondents claimed an impact on personal freedom but these concerns reflect possible fault lines that could worsen during economic stress or increased unemployment. Stoica et al. (2020) cited that unfair advantage instead of cultural diversity promotes the public hostility to refugee integration however; Romania's historical migration patterns explained the low threat perception but Vasile et al. (2019) added that Romanian society is more empathetic towards displaced populations due to its vast diaspora and outward migration. Following the variability in perception (mostly positive), the shared migratory mentality increases refugee tolerance which implied that Romanian public perception is generally positive and non-threatening yet; proactive policy strategies are needed to address fairness, access and long-term integration sustainability issues.

3.3. Equality, Fairness and Institutional Trust in Refugee Governance

The survey datasets found that 90% of respondents perceived that current national policies treat refugees and Romanian citizens equally,

indicating positive public trust in institutional justice and legal parity; perceived equality before the law in refugee administration is important to social cohesion and public acceptability of migration policy (Cerna, 2019). Romania believes that within the current policy framework, refugees are treated effectively because the policy implication aligned with international human rights norms along with the 1951 Refugee Convention and EU asylum directives that promote non-discrimination and equitable access to basic services. The datasets further highlighted that 95% of respondents do not recognise refugees as a criminal or security threat, contradicting with European public discourse on forced migration (Erdal et al., 2022) and further reflected that Romanian society primarily resists recognising immigrants via a lens of criminality; driven by political rhetoric and media sensationalism in other European contexts (Triandafyllidou et al., 2019).

Furthermore, 10% of the respondents concerned that social services, EU financing and financial aid would favour Ukrainian refugees; demonstrating a misalignment between equality in theory and perceived inequality in practice. The difficulties of perceived inequality in practice are common across the migration studies as Stoica et al. (2020) found that emergency humanitarian responses generate visible resource allocation that can be misunderstood as preferential treatment rather than crisis-driven action hence; the EU and UNHCR based funds for Ukrainian migrants can unintentionally promote inequity over the policy implications. The primary UNHCR engagement in Romania mitigates the public reservations on policy supports as legal, emergency and relocation support from UNHCR and Romanian authorities ensure public confidence in refugee administration with transparent communication (Mareci et al., 2023). The current asylum policies of Romania are supported by crisis management and rights protection expertise of UNHCR from over 120 countries however; the concerns of respondents related to rising economic pressures emphasised over the necessity for balanced refugee support policies that avoid unfairness to maintain public trust via transparent funding sources and policy goals.

3.4. Security Narratives and Need for Policy Transparency

The datasets illustrated the negative assumptions related illegal immigration and political instability in home countries of refugees can lead to crime and security issues in the regions of Romania as migration literature of Papadopoulos and Fratsea (2022) found that disinformation and generalisation promoted anti-refugee sentiment hence; the datasets affirmed that only a minority holds such concerns but it reflects that negative assumptions associated with policy-level ignorance rather than rivalry. According to Fratsea and Papadopoulos (2020) the confusing refugees with irregular migrants interchangeably impaired public discourse as refugees

are granted international protection because they are exposed to conflict or instability while irregular migration is based on legal admission rather than security however; majority of the respondents do not associate refugees with crime highlighting the efficacy of legal and institutional systems.

Cimpoeru et al. (2023) found that EU and UNHCR aligned integration policies of Romania including healthcare, housing, education and integration centres reduced fear-based narratives; the strong policy framework support the integration of refugees and promoted their identity as rights-holders rather than security threats however, some of the respondents still stressed over the necessity for asylum procedure transparency. The transparency about asylum procedures, funding and eligibility minimises public concern and disinformation to address the public myths via public awareness efforts because as per Gherghina (2021) single incidences or political narratives can disproportionately affect public opinion even in supportive societies. The dataset collectively highlighted that asylum system of Romania is institutionally solid but communication-poor as policies are mostly effective but civic education, media partnership and community participation would improve understanding and eliminate security myths (Gabriel, 2023) hence; generally inclusive refugee policy climate and long-term community acceptance in Romania is depended on transparency and education to eliminate public negative assumptions.

4. Contributions and Recommendations

The research associated with key contributions to refugee governance research and policy in Romania as primarily it provides empirical survey-based data on Romanian public perception on equality, security and institutional confidence for refugees; the legal frameworks and refugee lived experiences dominated Romanian refugee policy literature but this research addresses a vital gap by highlighting public opinion while illustrating that refugee policy framework of Romani is supported by a sympathetic yet non-securitised population. The study highlights that policy legitimacy is not only determined by legal compliance with EU and UNHCR frameworks but also majorly associated with public perception in refugee policy; demonstrating that perceived fairness, transparency and social trust supported the policy legitimacy of Romania. The inclusive sentiments of Romanian people (contrasting with other EU regions) reflected the efficiency of regulated and legally compliant refugee governing mechanisms; conflicting with the principle that Eastern European states are universally opposed to refugee support.

The contributions lead to following important recommendations:

- Romania should improve asylum and financial transparency as clear communication about eligibility requirements, decision-making timescales and national welfare budgets against EU or UNHCR-funded aid will decrease preferential treatment myths and strengthen institutional confidence
- The refugee policy should institutionalise public awareness and civic education because government agencies should communicate refugee rights, obligations and integration paths with UNHCR, civil society and media; these efforts would eliminate disinformation and maintain public support
- Romania should prioritise community-based inclusion above administrative integration as the language training, labour market access and local integration centres should be extended and funded to address cultural and social hurdles found in literature and public perceptions; strengthening integration outcomes will benefit refugees and reduce host-society concerns about fairness and competition for strengthening social cohesion

5. Conclusion

The research examined Romanian refugee policy via public perception and empirical data in European, institutional and humanitarian contexts because Romania is in a unique situation as a new host state due to the growing number of refugees, the 2015–2016 refugee crisis and the recent entry of Ukrainian refugees thus; Romania must balance humanitarian duties with institutional and financial constraints. The datasets of the survey highlighted that majority of the Romanians support housing, assisting and legal equality for migrants as minimal numbers of citizen associated crimes or equality threat with the refugee; the positive perception and optimism conflicted with securitised narratives of certain European regions. The positive perception of Romanian and reception for the refugees also highlighted that institutional trust, EU alignment and UNHCR influenced the public perception on the national policies; study also found that Romania's compliance with international and EU asylum requirements enhanced refugee governance trust and strengthened humanitarian protection.

The survey insights also highlighted certain concerns including resource utilisation, process transparency and long-term integration but these concerns only associated with minority segment of the participant yet established the risk of elevated negative public perception on economy concerns or more refugees arrival; reflecting that refugee policy system of Romania has strong structures but poor communication under which the

false information or media stories can exploit public knowledge gaps. The refugee integration policies of Romania are effective in legal, economic and social aspects as the strong governance and support in healthcare, employment and anti-discrimination reflected the strategic focus towards contributing to the society. However, the modifying legal and policy climate improves opportunities for Romania but effective refugee policies require legal clarity with political and social inclusion hence; the proactive strategy of Romania must combine morality and national interests while supporting refugee rights, integration and community measures via global collaboration.

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