

The governance of irregular migrant work in the National agricultural policies in Morocco

Working paper WP4

Authors:

Hanane Darhour and Hajar Bouzid

Ibnou Zohr University, Faculty of Languages, Arts and Human Sciences
of Ait Melloul, Morocco



This project has been funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020
research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101094652

Authors

Hanane Darhour is a professor of English Studies at Ibnou Zohr University, Faculty of Languages, Arts and Human Sciences in Ait Melloul, Morocco. Her research focuses on Gender and Politics, namely, she is interested in public policies addressing women's under-representation in politics, social inequalities, politics of presence, and social justice. Recent areas of her interest encompass how migrant workers' entitlements and rights are systematically co-created by intersecting macro-structural factors, such as the increasingly globalized politics of production and mobility, as well as micro-agency factors, including migrant workers' socio-legal and economic statuses.

Hajar Bouzid is a Professor of Sociology at Ibnou Zohr University in Agadir, Faculty of Languages, Arts and Human Sciences in Ait Melloul, Morocco. Her research focuses on vulnerability and new forms of poverty from a socio-anthropological perspective. She has worked on old aged people in Morocco, the issue of care for the elderly, as well as on the energy transition in Morocco.

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to all the stakeholders who contributed to this research on migration and migrant workers in Morocco. Their valuable collaboration, expertise, and the time they generously dedicated to answering our questions were essential in deepening our understanding of this issue. We particularly thank the representatives of: AMSVO; the National Council for Human Rights (CNDH); the CGEM; the UMT; the ANAPEC; the IOM; the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Economic Inclusion, Small Business, Employment and Skills; the Ministry of Agriculture, Maritime Fisheries, Rural Development and Water and Forests; the AMDH; the USFP and the PAM parliamentary groups, and last but not least, to the expert in labour migration at the University of Mohammed VI in Rabat. To each and every one of our interviewees who accepted to receive us into the headquarters of their organizations and Ministerial departments and contributed to this work, we thank you so much for sharing your invaluable knowledge and experiences with us.

The realization of this national country report would not have been possible without the invaluable guidance and support provided by Irene Ponzo, the WP4 leader and the Researcher at FIERI. Many thanks are due to Tesseltje de Lange, Professor of the Sociology of Law and Migration Law and the principal coordinator of the DignityFIRM project and her wonderful Radboud University team for the efficient scientific support they have provided all along the three years of the project. We would also like to acknowledge our appreciation to the administrative and financial support at the level of my institution. Our sincere gratitude is mainly addressed to the following individuals for providing the necessary facilities to ease the administrative procedures to get in touch with the national state and non-state stakeholders. We are particularly grateful to the Dean of the Faculty of Languages, Arts and Human



Sciences professor Abdelkhaleq Jayed and to the President of Ibnou Zohr University Abdelaziz Bendou, to the vice presidents and to all the people who contributed directly or indirectly to this research. Thanks to all of them!





About the DignityFIRM project

The DignityFIRM project is a horizon Europe research project that is driven by the ambition to deepen the understanding of and to improve the policies related to irregular migrant work (IMW) in Farm to Fork (F2F) sectors. This report is part of WP4, which is aimed at understanding the governance arrangements underpinning the national policies addressing IMW in F2F sectors in five EU Member States (namely Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and the Netherlands) and two Associated Countries (namely Morocco and Ukraine) in the period 2019-2024.

For more information about the project's research activities and deliverables, see <https://www.dignityfirm.eu>

Abstract

This report addresses the issue of undocumented migrant labor in Morocco's agricultural sector. It analyzes agricultural policies governing this sector and their impact on employment, highlighting the contribution of migrant workers, the feminization of the workforce, and the informal nature of the work. The report also examines the role of agricultural institutions, interprofessional associations, and local actors in regulating the sector and defending the rights of migrants, while emphasizing the absence of migrant workers from agricultural policies. Finally, it underscores the importance of a comprehensive, multi-stakeholder approach to coordinate policies, protect the rights of migrant workers, and meet the needs of the agricultural labor market.



Table of contents

1. Introduction	6
2. The agricultural policy and employment in Morocco	7
3. The rise of irregular agricultural migrant work	9
4. Actors' frames and perspectives	10
5. Explanations of non-policy in the agricultural sector	12
6. Conclusion	14
References	16



1. Introduction

The agricultural sector occupies a central place in the Moroccan economy and constitutes an important pillar of social and territorial development. Over the past few decades, this sector has undergone several changes, notably through the implementation of public policies aimed at modernizing production, improving productivity, and strengthening the organization of agricultural value chains. These transformations rely on the intervention of several actors, such as public institutions, professional organizations, and farmers. At the same time, the structure of the agricultural workforce has evolved, marked by a growing presence of women, reflecting a progressive feminization of agricultural work. The sector also relies on the labor of undocumented migrants, who participate significantly in agricultural activities, particularly in certain regions and at certain times of the year.

In this context, this report addresses the issue of irregular migrant labor in the agricultural sector, examining the national agricultural policy and whether it explicitly or implicitly takes into account the growing presence of irregular international labor from sub-Saharan countries in Morocco. The analysis in this section focuses primarily on agricultural policy changes in the last decades, the national or local public debates raised by this sectoral policy as well as the salience or absence of public debate around the employment of irregular migrant workers in agriculture. The section offers as well some explanatory factors for the absence of national debates and sector-specific public policies addressing the issue of the recruitment of IMW in the sector of agriculture. It should be emphasized that there is no clear sectoral policy addressing IMW in Morocco, but several policies and strategies contribute to addressing the issue indirectly.

The report adopts a qualitative research methodology that is based on three main data sources. First, a mapping exercise was directed to the analysis of secondary data, i.e. as official documents, reports, media declarations of actors involved in the governance of irregular migration, population registers and surveys, as well as existing literature. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with key general as well as sectoral representatives involved in the framing and implementation of the Green Generation policy in agriculture. Third, a focus groups discussion, organized in 10 February 2025, around the governance of IM



work in relation to the agricultural sector in Morocco¹ included 5 participants, including a representative of Morocco Foodex², a migrant caporal, two employers and a representative of a professional organization in the agricultural sector and 30 other attendees.

2. The agricultural policy and employment in Morocco

Agriculture is the most heavily protected sector in Morocco. A number of incentives to support agriculture, in the forms of subsidies and premiums, preferential taxation, credit, and border protection are directed to the 15 percent of irrigated land. The subsidies are granted to improve agricultural investment and production. The Moroccan government's investment in the agricultural sector constitutes a strategic lever for the country's economic and social development. In 2025, the budget allocated to this sector recorded a 4% increase, reaching 14.2 billion dirhams³, confirming the public authorities' determination to strengthen the resilience of rural areas in the face of climatic, economic, and social challenges. In line with public investment efforts in agriculture, the sector's contribution to Morocco's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) remains essential to the national economy. This is particularly reflected in its share of GDP, which stands at around 12%⁴, a figure that may fluctuate depending on climatic conditions, such as rainfall, which have a direct impact on agricultural yields.

In parallel, this sector plays a major role in employment as it is considered a key provider of jobs with nearly 38% of the employed labour force, not to mention its central role in certain regions of the Kingdom⁵. Employment in this sector is governed by the 2004 Labour Code, which primarily regulates the labour market in full compliance with the international conventions and recommendations. It, de facto, regulates the legal minimum salary for agricultural workers and formalize labour relationships in an employment contract, which should also include retirement benefits and social security coverage⁶. The code covers various aspects of employment including private sector employees. To address the structural dysfunctions of the agricultural sector and improve both productivity and its contribution to

¹ Two policy briefs have been issued in relation to these two discussion groups. The first focus group is entitled "The governance of IM work in Morocco: Towards more protective labour and migration policies". The second is entitled "Seasonal labor migration in Morocco's farm to fork sectors: What prospects ahead?"

² Morocco Foodex is a public body under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture, Maritime Fisheries, Rural Development, and Water and Forests. This institution is responsible for Export Control and Coordination.

³ Agenceecofin (2024).

⁴ Ministry of Economy and finances (n.d.).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Bawader (2021).

the national GDP, Morocco launched an ambitious policy in 2008 known as the Green Morocco Plan. This strategy aimed to modernize the sector, better harness its economic potential, and turn it into a lever for sustainable development. Afterwards, Morocco implemented the Generation Green policy (2020-2030).

The Green Morocco Plan aimed to boost the agricultural sector by focusing on several pillars. The first pillar of this strategy aims to develop modern, efficient agriculture that meets market requirements by promoting private investment and establishing an aggregation model aimed at enabling a maximum number of operators to benefit from this market-driven dynamic. The second pillar of the PVM intends to take into account the structure of the Moroccan agricultural sector by supporting small farmers (nearly 560,000 farms) to secure and improve their incomes with the aim of reducing rural poverty and consolidating the socio-economic fabric of the poorest territories.⁷ The implementation of this policy was also accompanied by a significant institutional restructuring of the Moroccan Ministry in charge of agriculture⁸.

The main contributions of the Green Morocco Plan are reflected in concrete results across several areas. The widespread implementation of drip irrigation, which has enabled significant water savings, reflects a shift towards more efficient agriculture that takes into account the preservation of natural resources. Furthermore, the substantial investments made in the sector illustrate the commitment of public authorities as well as the confidence of economic stakeholders in the potential of Moroccan agriculture. On the social level, the creation of 1.5 million jobs represents a notable achievement, particularly in the fight against rural poverty. While significant progress has been made, one area remains open: integrating the human dimension into agricultural development.

The Green Morocco Plan was the subject of an evaluation that highlighted, on the one hand, the significant achievements of this policy, and on the other hand, certain shortcomings—particularly with regard to the human dimension. This evaluation represented a key step in the implementation of a new strategy based on two main pillars: consideration of the human element and the sustainability of agricultural development. Following the High Royal Guidelines of His Majesty King Mohammed VI in February 2020, the relevant stakeholders namely the agricultural sector, namely the Ministry of Agriculture and the organizations under its supervision, local and regional authorities, economic operators and their professional organizations launched the Generation Green Plan 2020-2030. The plan builds on the Green Morocco Plan but with more emphasis on human capital development, quality enhancement, and sustainability. It aims specifically to: (1) improve rural living

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

conditions⁹ in rural areas, particularly by targeting job creation for young people; (2) modernize the agricultural sector by focusing on innovation and sustainability; (3) promote young entrepreneurship; (4) strengthen rural employment market by aiming to create 27,500 additional direct jobs by 2030¹⁰.

3. The rise of irregular agricultural migrant work

The agricultural strategy implemented in Morocco has had a notable impact on employment by stimulating the creation of new jobs in the sector. Data from the High Commission for Planning (HCP) indicate that in 2024, the agricultural sector still accounts for nearly 26.3% of total employment¹¹. Furthermore, according to the Royal Institute for Strategic Studies (IRES), agriculture contributes with 15% to the national gross domestic product (GDP)¹², highlighting its strategic importance in the country's economy. However, this significant economic contribution is accompanied by forms of employment characterised by high levels of job insecurity, as demonstrated by the characteristics of the agricultural labor market.

Hence, the share of permanent contracts is the lowest, representing only 13.4% in agriculture and fishing. The agricultural sector favors seasonal and occasional contracts with 37.9% on average, and depends largely on women (58%), the rest are undocumented (36.1%), especially for men (45%)¹³. This can be explained by the nature of the sector, which does not offer stable and lasting jobs. At the same time, with the scarcity of an available local workforce, the labour demand for agricultural work instigated social transformations and an internal migration. Many workers came to work in modern agricultural exploitations from other regions in Morocco, where job opportunities are more limited. Rural youth from other cities represented a significant portion of the national workforce. The activity rate of rural women remains relatively very high. According to HCP statistics (2022), 39.5% of economically active women in rural areas hold positions as agricultural laborers and manual workers. The seasonality and precariousness of agricultural jobs led in the first place to the feminization of the agricultural workforce¹⁴. Women are generally more willing and more demanded to take seasonal and informal jobs than men.

⁹ Ministry of Agriculture (n.d.).

¹⁰ Al Mouahidi, K. (2020).

¹¹ HCP (2025).

¹² Institut Royal des Études Stratégiques. (2024, p.5).

¹³ MIEPEEC (2022, p.39).

¹⁴ Bouzidi, Z., & Faysse, N. (2024, p.3-4).



Since 2000's, with time and with the ongoing demand for agricultural work, which is by definition, seasonal, labour-intensive, and unstable, more and more national agricultural (migrant) workers including women started to shun away from these jobs. This coincided with the increase of IMs in the country which was followed by the introduction of regularization in 2013 and the introduction of SNIA in 2014, which constituted a strategic action framework for the treatment of irregular migration issues, in its humanitarian, governance and socio-economic integration of IMs dimensions. As previously noticed, the migration strategy was divided into 11 programs including professional inclusion. However, the reality on the ground is more complex. Many migrants, whether they are recent immigrants or have regularized their status, work in the agricultural sector, either regularly or irregularly, as one interviewee pointed out.

At the same time, the proportion of the local working-age populations is decreasing because of structural demographic transition and social transformations. The demographic transition impacts the labour market, particularly because of the decline of the active population in certain economic sectors because of the general decline in fertility rates in Morocco, but also because of the migration of a greater part of Moroccan agricultural workers to other European countries either in circular migration programs to Spain, France, or Germany or as irregular migrants. As for the social transformation, Moroccan agricultural workers and because of the seasonality of their jobs have become increasingly demanding in terms of work with preferences of self-employment or entrepreneurship¹⁵. As a result, irregular migrant workers have become increasingly essential in Morocco's agriculture as they fill labour shortages and maintain productivity, especially in regions with extensive agricultural products destined to exportation, i.e. Souss Massa Region.

4. Actors' frames and perspectives

At the national level, the collective regularizations of migrant workers carried out in 2013 and 2017 represented a major step forward, motivated by humanitarian and inclusive considerations, without directly targeting a particular sector such as agriculture. However, interviews with various national and local stakeholders highlight a growing focus on the contribution of migrant workers in several strategic sectors, including agriculture. Thus, a local dynamic is developing, supported by employers, civil society organizations, trade unions and migrant networks, highlighting the importance of continuing and amplifying regularization efforts in order to meet the needs of the agricultural labor market. Despite local dynamics and regularization efforts, individuals and groups advocating for the rights of migrant workers in this sector operate primarily on a local scale. They are usually associations, unions, sometimes not officially structured and authorized migrant community

¹⁵ HCP (2024, p. 8).



organizations operating with limited resources. Their actions remain essentially local and disconnected from the wider networks capable of bringing their demands to government bodies.

In this regard, agricultural institutions and inter-professional associations play a crucial role in formulating policies that address the challenges faced by farmers, particularly in the context of climate change and resource scarcity. The Moroccan Confederation of Agriculture and Rural Development (COMADER), established in 2006, for instance, supports agricultural inter-professions, ensuring compliance with Law 03-12, and providing training and guidance to professional associations. COMADER is an agricultural sector consultation space that aims to restructure production chains, improve land structures, and modernize agricultural operations. It also contributes to implementing reforms in taxation, respecting the labour code, accounting, research, product enhancement, and commercialization, and raises awareness about environmental protection for clean and sustainable agriculture¹⁶.

Inter-professional associations such as the Moroccan Inter-Professional Federation of Production and Export of Fruits and Vegetables (FIFEL) play a critical role, as defined by the Law 03-12 relating to agricultural and fishing inter-professions Agricultural and fisheries. These associations "...are groups, legal entities under private law, not for profit, voluntarily created between professionals in the same agricultural or fisheries sector. These inter-professions constitute a framework for consultation of professionals in the sector allowing decision-making in areas of interest to the development of the said sector"¹⁷.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Economic Inclusion, Small Business, Employment, and Skills has a significant role in setting and enforcing labour standards in full consideration of the specificities of the agricultural sector. It has the authority to inspect farms and agricultural facilities, ensuring that employers comply with labour laws and regulations. It also provides training and education to agricultural workers about their rights, responsibilities, including how to get access to social protection services and benefits. It is worth noting that the Secretary of State in charge of Employment, Hicham Sabiry, acknowledged that despite the increase in the number of labour inspectors to 569 in 2024, this figure remains insufficient to meet the needs of the labour market. He stressed the need to establish effective mechanisms to improve monitoring and ensure the protection of workers' rights¹⁸. Foreign workers obtain access to social security benefits through their employers, whereas irregular migrants can receive only emergency treatment since access to social security is limited to holders of a resident permits.

¹⁶ See the official website of COMADER, <https://comader.ma>.

¹⁷ Kingdom of Morocco (2012).

¹⁸ L' Opinion and MAP (2024).





This situation has also led to debate on the informal nature of employment in the agricultural sector and in many other sectors, and has recently occupied a central place in the political debate sparked by the adoption of the new law on the right to strike. In an interview with the Minister of Economic Inclusion, Small Business, Employment and Skills, Younes Sekkouri stated that the government is working on upholding the labour law. A fine of 5,000 to 50,000 dirhams is imposed on employers who fail to register within the regulatory time limits (1 month days) with the management body to which they belong, with an order to register their employees within a period not exceeding one month.

In addition, the Minister of Employment observed also that the government has been working for seven months on the employment plan, especially in the rural areas hit with 7 years of drought, causing a rise in unemployment rate. To face the situation, the government created a social conditionality program and mobilized financial incentives directed towards employers, businesses and small farmers to encourage the recruitment of agricultural workers. The categories targeted by these measures include Moroccan workers who have no education or degree.

In this context, it is essential to highlight that the formalization of employment, particularly in the fight against informal labour including in the agricultural sector, relies on the implementation of Law No. 09-21 on social protection. This royal initiative, launched in 2021, aims to extend social protection to all professional categories (artisans, merchants, farmers, fishers, transporters, etc.). The law aims to: (1) Extend mandatory health insurance (AMO) to an additional 22 million beneficiaries by the end of 2022; (2) Extend family allowances to seven million school-age children by 2024; (3) Expand retirement coverage to five million active workers by 2025; and (4) Generalize unemployment benefits (IPE) by 2025¹⁹. The generalization of social protection in Morocco is based on two main financing mechanisms: a contributory system for salaried and self-employed individuals who are able to contribute (AMO CHAMIL), and a solidarity-based system financed by the State for those who cannot contribute (Tadamon)²⁰. Therefore, this law on social protection plays a key role in expanding social coverage, formalizing, and organizing employment, especially in sectors characterized by seasonal work, such as agriculture.

However, this law does not apply to irregular migrants. It is limited to regular migrant workers who are eligible to benefit from social protection through either contributions or the solidarity mechanism, noting that there is no clear article specifically addressing this issue.

¹⁹ Social government (n.d.).

²⁰ Hamza Saoudi (n.d.).



5. Explanations of non-policy in the agricultural sector

Except for the MPV and the Green Generation, there is no clear and coherent agricultural employment policy for recruiting IMWs and granting them residence permits that would enable them to have access to social and labour rights afterwards. The agricultural policy remains short sighted as it concentrates on boosting production without consideration of the social transformations at stake. The changing mentalities of national workers and the demographic transition represent significant changes that influence the agricultural sector. Furthermore, the sectoral structuring of agricultural policy highlights the need to adapt its orientations to the different realities and needs of actors on the ground.

The sector started to witness shortages and constant instability and transformations of the agricultural labour force, which was constituted primarily of national migrant workers, then female national migrant workers, and lastly international irregular migrant workers. The agricultural policy is fixated on boosting agricultural production by paying attention more to the natural, environmental and human dimensions. The social dimensions of Generation Green focus primarily on the human aspect, aiming to support the development of a new generation of rural middle class through improving incomes and strengthening the protection of farmers²¹. In this context, a member of parliament stressed the need to have a labour migration strategy that looks into the future needs of the agricultural sector in terms of labour. *“In addition, it is crucial to think about the future, as the number of migrants will increase and the country’s need for labour, whether skilled or not, will grow. Morocco is undergoing rapid development, both in the agricultural sector and in the automotive industry, which demonstrates strong economic dynamics”*. [MOR_WP4_12]

Migrant workers are not explicitly targeted in these policies. This absence can be explained by several reasons. First, even though Morocco is a transit and host country for migrants, the number of immigrants remains relatively low compared to other countries. “In 2020, Morocco had approximately 103,000 international migrants, including irregular migrants, regular migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers”²². The number of IMWs remains statistically insignificant, according to a labour migration expert. That’s why the government has other national agricultural policy issues in its agenda. This situation could explain why policymakers have not included migrant workers as a target population for agricultural policies, particularly due to the lack of precise data on their numbers and aspirations. According to the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture, the availability of additional data could

²¹ Agence pour le Development Agricole (n.d.).

²² IOM (n.d.).

contribute to a better understanding of their contribution to the sector and inform future policy directions.

Second, agriculture in Morocco often operates seasonally, with high demand for labour during planting or harvesting. In this context, some agricultural workers, including IMs, are often hired informally. Although the Labour Code provides some limitations on seasonal work by encouraging employers to hire permanent workers who have worked for them for two years, the regulations remain poorly enforced. Although migrant workers are increasingly present and contribute significantly to the agricultural sector, they are not yet a population explicitly targeted by agricultural policy. This situation is partly explained by the need for stronger coordination between the various stakeholders involved. The National Immigration and Asylum Strategy (SNIA) provides a general framework conducive to the integration of migrants into Moroccan society and the consideration of migration in all sectoral policies. Better alignment between the SNIA and the Green Generation strategy would help promote the progressive and balanced inclusion of migrant workers in the agricultural sector, contributing to both ensuring decent and fair working conditions and addressing structural challenges such as the demographic transition, the changing aspirations of local workers towards agricultural occupations, and the gradual transformation of labour dynamics.

6. Conclusion

The absence of a sectoral policy in agriculture concerning migrant workers can be explained by two key factors. The first is related to the relatively low number of migrants in Morocco, particularly in the agricultural sector. This relatively limited number might justify the lack of a specific sectoral policy for this category. It is also worth noting that the existing sectoral policy does not take into account employment and labour related-issues, as it is primarily focused on promoting productivity, and encouraging employers to create job opportunities in the agricultural sector. Secondly, it is necessary to put in place a comprehensive migration policy, targeting economic sectors attractive to migrant workers, such as agriculture, in order to facilitate their socio-economic integration, the protection of their fundamental rights and their access to health and education.

The social protection law, as explained, constitutes an important tool in the formalization of labour in agriculture. It allows workers to access social coverage, whether they are national or migrant workers, salaried, self-employed, non-salaried, or even individuals engaged in freelance activities. This law plays a crucial role in regulating certain informal, atypical or seasonal activities by providing a legal and social framework to gradually include these workers in the social protection system.



The governance of agricultural IMWs necessitates a multi-dimensional reality that cannot be addressed by the agricultural policies implemented by Morocco since 2009 alone. A whole of multi-stakeholder government approach is needed to ensure horizontal and vertical policy coherence across the various levels of government. Labour, employment, migration status of agricultural workers, analysis of the labour market dynamics and the measurement of needs in terms of international labour force, projecting on the economic needs in reference to social transformations and demographics, analyzing the short term and long term implications of the inclusive labour migration policies are all mechanisms for good governance of the issue of IMW.



References

Agence pour le Development Agricole (n.d.). Nouvelle Stratégie Agricole. <https://www.ada.gov.ma/sites/default/files/GG/Nouvelle%20strat%C3%A9gie%20agricole%20-%20Pr%C3%A9sentation%20projet%C3%A9e.pdf>.

Agenceecofin (2024, November 7). Maroc : Hausse de 4 % du budget alloué à l'Agriculture à 1,4 milliard \$ en 2025. <https://www.agenceecofin.com/actualites-agro/0711-123218-maroc-hausse-de-4-du-budget-alloue-a-l-agriculture-a-1-4-milliard-en-2025>.

Al Mouahidi, K. (2020, February 13). Morocco launches “Green Generation 2020-2030”, a new farming development strategy. https://medafricatimes.com/19464-morocco-launches-green-generation-2020-2030-a-new-farming-development-strategy.html?utm_.

Bawader (2021) Au-delà du boom agricole Marocain : l'invisibilité et la précarité d'une main d'œuvre agricole féminine. 21 October. <https://www.arab-reform.net/fr/publication/au-dela-du-boom-agricole-marocain-linvisibilite-et-la-precarite-dune-main-doeuvre-agricole-feminine/>.

Bouzidi, Z., & Faysse, N. (2024, juillet). Être ouvrière agricole et maman célibataire au Maroc : Un double combat en marge de la marge. Alternatives Rurales, p.3-4. <https://doi.org/10.60569/hsoua-a1>.

Saoudi, Hamza. (n.d.). La protection sociale au Maroc : quelles solutions pour un système de couverture sanitaire universel, soutenable et efficace ? <https://www.policycenter.ma/publications/la-protection-sociale-au-maroc-quelles-solutions-pour-un-systeme-de-couverture#:~:text=La%20g%C3%A9n%C3%A9ralisation%20de%20la%20protection%20sociale%20au%20Maroc%20repose%20sur,personnes%20ne%20pouvant%20pas%20cotiser>.



HCP (2024). General Census of Population and Housing 2024 demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population, note on the main results, December, P.8. WWW.hcp.ma

HCP (2025). Emploi. https://www.hcp.ma/Emploi_r433.html

Institut Royal des Études Stratégiques. (2024). Rapport de synthèse des travaux de la journée de réflexion prospective : L'avenir de l'agriculture au Maroc dans un contexte de la rareté structurelle de l'eau (28 février 2024). Rabat : IRES. p.5.

IOM (n.d.). Politiques et Cadres de Gouvernance Migratoire au Maroc. <https://morocco.iom.int/fr/oim-au-maroc>.

Kingdom of Morocco (2012, August 2). Official Bulletin No. 6070. <https://archive.gazettes.africa/archive/ma/2012/ma-bulletin-officiel-dated-2012-08-02-no-6070.pdf>.

L'Opinion and MAP (2024, December 23). Les inspecteurs du travail manquent considérablement selon Sabiry. https://www.lopinion.ma/Les-inspecteurs-du-travail-manquent-considerablement-selon-Sabiry_a61736.html?utm_

MIEPEEC (2022). Enquête panel des entreprises 2022. <https://miepeec.gov.ma/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Enquete-Panel-Entreprises-Rapport-Analytique.pdf>.

Ministry of Agriculture (n.d.). Generation Green 2020-2030. https://www.agriculture.gov.ma/fr/ministere/generation-green-2020-2030?utm_

Ministry of Economy and finances (n.d.) Le secteur Agricole Marocain. <https://www.finances.gov.ma/Publication/depf/2019/Le%20secteur%20agricole%20marocain.pdf>.

Social government (n.d.) Social protection. <https://social.gov.ma/politique-publique-de-protection-sociale/#:~:text=A%20cet%20effet%2C%20La%20loi,les%20marocains%20%C3%A0%20l'horizon>.

Deliverable information

Schedule Information	
Title and number	The governance of irregular migrant work in the National agricultural policies in Morocco
Work Package, Task and Deliverable	WP4, Task 4.2, Part of D3.2 (DignityFIRM Working paper series)
Publication date	6.02.2026
Doi reference	10.5281/zenodo.18430168
Authors	Hanane Darhour, Hajar Bouzid
Dissemination level	PU
Deliverable type	Working Paper



Working paper WP4

The governance of irregular migrant work in the National agricultural policies in Morocco

ABOUT DignityFIRM

Towards becoming sustainable and resilient societies we must address the structural contradictions between our societies' exclusion of migrant workers and their substantive role in producing our food.

www.dignityfirm.eu



This project has been funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101094652