



The Benefits of Collective Bargaining for Women

A Case Study of Morocco

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International Center for Research on Women, Solidarity Center and the Confédération Démocratique du Travail

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Acronyms

CBA	Collective Bargaining Agreement
CDT	Confédération Démocratique du Travail
CGEM	Confédération Générale des Entreprises du Maroc
CNSS	Caisse National de Sécurité Sociale
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HCP	Haut Commissariat au Plan
ILO	International Labor Organization
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IDI	In Depth Interview
KII	Key Informant Interview
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PFGDs	Participatory Focus Group Discussions
SMAG	Salaire Minimum Agricole Garanti
SME	Subject Matter Experts
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing

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Executive Summary

Objectives

In Morocco, as in many countries, the lowest-paid workers labor in informal economy jobs such as agriculture, where the reach of national labor laws and regulations is poor at best, resulting in frequent and ongoing violations of worker rights. Workers often are forced to work long hours, are paid less than the minimum wage and rarely receive retirement or other benefits they are guaranteed under national law. This is especially true for women who are typically the most precarious and lowest-paid agricultural workers in many value chains and who are especially subject to sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence at work.

Through individual interviews, group discussions with women workers and their union, and quantitative research, **The Benefits of Collective Bargaining for Women: A Case Study of Morocco** explores a landmark collective bargaining agreement (CBA) in the agricultural sector in Morocco the Confédération Démocratique du Travail (CDT) negotiated with Domaines Brahim Zniber Diana Holding Group in 2015. With this case study, this report examines the benefits of CBAs for rural workers, especially women, and explores how women's participation in collective bargaining influences these outcomes. Few analyses of labor organizing and the benefits of collective bargaining have considered the influence of women's participation.

Key Findings

- **Women made key workplace gains in reducing gender discrimination.** Men and women workers for the first time are paid equally for equal work because of the CBA. Women workers report they now receive training to improve job skills, enabling them to qualify for higher-skilled jobs with better wages previously available only to male workers. With the CBA, women say they are no longer discriminated against during pregnancy; they receive three months off after childbirth, in addition to receiving a delivery allowance of 1,000 dirhams (\$105). Men also receive three days of paternal leave. Nursing mothers are allowed a one-hour break to breastfeed for up to two years after giving birth.
- **The CBA significantly improved overall wages and working conditions.** Men and women report that wages are more stable, predictable and transparent. They are now paid for the full day, regardless of hours worked. Prior to the CBA, workers were paid only a portion of the daily wage if bad weather or other unforeseeable events impacted their workplace participation. In addition to regular weekends off and (select) national and religious holidays, there now are provisions for taking time off for illnesses, deaths in the family and other emergencies.

- **The CBA standardized processes and increased workplace transparency.** The processes by which supervisors interact with workers and the ways in which conflicts and work-related concerns are addressed significantly improved. Clearer delineation of roles and responsibilities and of the extent or limit of the tasks involved create a more peaceful and stress-free work environment for both supervisors and workers. Women workers say hours and bonuses are more transparent as a result of the CBA and, in particular, how overtime hours and pay are observed more closely. Work hours are more regular and predictable and weekends off work are binding.
- **Key stakeholders and government officials support the CBA.** The employer has repeatedly expressed support for this agreement and for expanding the reach CBAs across Morocco's agricultural sector. The Morocco Ministry for Labor praised the agreement, citing its exemplary negotiations process and farsighted vision of cooperation.
- **The CBA process facilitated broader social dialogue among workers and their unions, employers and the government.** By engaging in discussions, workers, their unions and the government opened the door to further social dialogue. An important tool for the formalization of the informal economy, social dialogue also is critical for building democracy, reducing poverty and ameliorating inequality. Supporting collective bargaining and social dialogue throughout the sector and building on the lessons from this CBA can expand its reach in Morocco.
- **If labor laws were consistently followed across the supply chain, workers would receive an additional 3% of the value added.** The value chain analysis applied simulations of the cost to formalize work across the entire value chain in Morocco using the example of the Zniber CBA. The estimates suggest that fully complying with existing labor law would require an additional 3 percent of the value added to be redistributed in wages and benefits to informal workers.

Looking Ahead

This report demonstrates how deeply and widely agricultural workers benefit from collective bargaining. Women workers in particular reported winning considerable gains under the CBA. Labor organizing and collective bargaining have proven to be among the key strategies to enforce the existing labor code and ensure adherence to workers' rights in Morocco.

Workers overwhelmingly say they want the collective bargaining agreement to be renewed when it is renegotiated in 2019. When asked what they would like to see in the next agreement, both men and women workers say that renewal alone would be a

victory. Frequently noted suggestions for a second agreement include higher daily wages, more training opportunities, increased investment in the farm and facilities, and better health care and child care provisions.

As the first collective bargaining agreement in Morocco's agricultural sector, the pact addressed an enormous number of workplace issues. The CDT union recognizes that subsequent agreements would benefit workers by actively engaging seasonal workers in the bargaining process to ensure it addresses their specific concerns, and should enhance women's participation in negotiations and in women's leadership development at the worksite and in the union.

Beyond the CBA's tangible benefits, the workers are experiencing less quantifiable gains that also are fundamental to worker rights on the job. As one woman, a seasonal worker at a Zniber farm puts it: "We benefited from a freedom and independence we didn't have before the union. The union freed us a lot and increased our dignity."

Introduction

In contexts with high levels of informality, weak regulatory institutions and vastly unequal power relations between employers and workers, unions and collective bargaining offer potential mechanisms for workers to engage with employers and negotiate improvements in the terms and conditions of employment.

This study offers an analysis of the benefits of collective bargaining, in particular for women, in two agricultural value chains for olive oil and wine in Morocco. The goal of this research is to highlight the particular benefits that collective bargaining agreements can secure for women workers, who are typically the most precarious and lowest paid agricultural workers in many value chains. This study focuses on the agricultural sector because across the world the poorest and least well-organized workers frequently work in agriculture as laborers, with limited workers' rights, where the reach of national regulations is poor at best. The study examines the benefits of collective bargaining agreements for women and explores how women participating in collective bargaining in this sector influences these outcomes. Few analyses of labor organizing and its benefits have considered the influence of women's participation, which is why this study is so valuable.

This study combines quantitative and qualitative data to explore and extrapolate the benefits of collective bargaining, particularly for women and their families, in the wine and olive oil value chains in Morocco. It also draws on previous research that emphasizes the need for and benefits of collective bargaining in similar value chains in other

contexts.¹

Women's labor force participation remains largely stable in Morocco. World Bank data from the World Development Indicators database reveal that women's labor force participation as a percent of the population over 15 years of age has fluctuated at around 25 percent since the early 1990s. Yet women make up almost half of the rural labor force. In agriculture, women tend to cluster in lower paid, more precarious and informal employment, often as seasonal laborers picking, packing and processing fruit, vegetables, nuts and olives on larger farms.² Although Morocco has a national labor law that regulates the agricultural sector, setting the minimum wage and maximum hours of work, many rural agricultural workers labor without the protections and benefits of this law because of a lack of enforcement. Labor organizing in Morocco is effective in addressing this gap by bargaining for improved terms and conditions of employment, although less than 10 percent of the total workforce is organized.³

This report explores a landmark collective bargaining agreement in the agricultural sector in Morocco that the CDT negotiated with Domaines Brahim Zniber Diana Holding Group in 2015. The Ministry for Labor expressed support for this agreement because of its exemplary negotiations process and farsighted vision of cooperation.⁴ The agreement established new wage rates and salaries, established seniority and merit-based payments, added bereavement leave, specified training opportunities and requirements, improved production facilities, enhanced health and safety compliance, and enabled women to take on production and processing roles that they had previously not held, with greater opportunities for advancement and higher wage rates.

Addressing gender inequalities in the agriculture sector is of pressing concern given the importance of the sector for employment and for women's employment. Research by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) draws attention to the fact that on average, men received a daily wage that is 17 percent higher than

1. Oxfam International, "Ripe for Change, Ending Human Suffering in Supermarket Supply Chains," Oxford: Oxfam International, 2019; Visser, M. and S. Ferrer, "Farm Workers' Living and Working Conditions in South Africa: key trends, emergent issues, and underlying and structural problems," based on a research project commissioned by The Pretoria Office of The International Labor Organization, 2015; Kline, J. and E. Soule, "Alta Gracia, Four Years and Counting," Georgetown University Reflective Engagement Initiative, August 2014; Meknassi, R.F. and C. Rioux, "Labor relations and collective bargaining in Morocco," Working Paper 14., Industrial and Employment Relations Department (DIALOGUE), Geneva, 2010; Potjer, B., E. Bergman, M. Scholte and M. Bani, "Creating shared value in the rose supply chain, Exploring the business case for a living wage rose," HIVOS, den Haag, 2018.

2. Antonucci, M., "Shedding Light on Women's Wages and Working Conditions in the Agricultural Sector in Morocco," CGIAR, 2016, <http://drylandsystems.cgiar.org/content/shedding-light-womens-wages-and-working-conditions-agricultural-sector-morocco> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.); Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, "Gender Profile, Morocco," 2015,

<http://iwsaw.lau.edu.lb/publications/documents/Country%20Gender%20Profile%20Morocco%20-%20Online.pdf>

3. Meknassi and Rioux. Labor relations.

4. Based on interviews with the Ministry of Labor, leadership of CDT and Solidarity Center participants at the signing ceremony.

that of women⁵. Antonucci makes it clear that this could be attributed to women's lesser bargaining power and their greater willingness to perform lower paid tasks. It is interesting to note, however, that in smaller farms laborers were generally paid more than in commercial farms, but that the gender wage gap was larger. For the same task, women in smaller farms were paid 20 dirhams (\$2.04) less than men, while in commercial farms the gap was 10 dirhams (\$1.02).⁶

Another feature of gender discrimination in the labor market in Morocco plays out in the job categories, tasks and wage rates applied. On average, the skill-intensive tasks performed by men were paid 25 percent more than the skill-intensive tasks covered mainly by women. However, even when women and men performed the same tasks or when the intensity of the work was the same, women were typically paid less. For instance, the authors report that for harvesting olives or for transporting onions from the nursery, men received 70 dirhams (\$7.15) whereas women received 50 dirhams (\$5.11).⁷

One of the goals of the collective bargaining agreement negotiated by the CDT and Domaines Zniber in 2015 was to overcome the sex-segmented nature of work on the farms and establish that women could undertake a broader range of tasks and be paid the same wage rate as men. Reaching this goal is particularly important for achieving greater gender equality in the workplace.

Women and Organizing

Documenting the impact of collective bargaining on women workers in agriculture is a central objective of this report. Demonstrating how collective bargaining can be used as a strategy to improve the terms and conditions of employment and promote compliance with existing labor law can also provide evidence of the benefits of social dialogue and tripartism.

Unions and collective bargaining have the potential to greatly increase gender equity within firms and economies.⁸ Blau and Kahn confirm this in their analysis of microdata for 22 countries from 1985 to 1994 and conclude that collective bargaining is associated with more compressed wage structures and lower gender pay gaps in those economies with more extensive collective bargaining mechanisms.⁹ They also conclude that collective bargaining exerts a greater impact on wage compression than the minimum wage – that is, collective bargaining achieves greater reductions in inequality than the imposition of a minimum wage. A similar study by Kim for Korea also finds that the gender pay gap is

5. Antonucci, M. Shedding Light.

6. Ibid.

7. Antonucci, 2016. Op cit.

8. Hayter, S. and B. Weinberg, "Mind the Gap: Collective Bargaining and Wage Inequality," in *The Role of Collective Bargaining in the Global Economy*, ed. Susan Hayter (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010), 136-187.

9. Blau, F. and L. Kahn, "Understanding International Differences in the Gender Pay Gap," *Journal of Labor Economics*, 2003, 21(1): 106-144.

lower in the union sector than the non-union sector.¹⁰ Furthermore, Kim provides evidence that an increase in union density or an expansion of the number and types of contracts covered by collective bargaining may also raise the wages of nonunion workers and those not covered by collective bargaining. Manning uses data from 110 U.S. cities from 1990 to 2000 to explore the impact of union density on non-union private sector wages.¹¹ He finds that there are significant positive effects for union density on nonunion wages and that this effect is much larger for low education groups. These types of spillovers have the potential to benefit men and women in other jobs not necessarily covered by collective bargaining mechanisms—because wages in the union sector become a reference wage for workers in other sectors.

Data from the global south show that union membership is often lower for women and women are less frequently covered by collective bargaining mechanisms, reflecting their unequal participation in sectors that have been a traditional focus for unionization.¹² Despite this uneven representation across sectors, women's participation in unions is rapidly rising, with women trade unionists comprising the majority in one-third and more than 40 percent of membership in another third of countries analyzed by labor historian Dorothy Sue Cobble (2012). Further, Cobble finds women are now over-represented in unions (compared with their numbers in the workforce) in a majority of the countries studied, and are approaching parity in a half dozen others.¹³

Women's membership in trade unions increases dramatically in the public sector. Efforts to recruit women as union members and shop stewards have borne fruit in sectors where women's participation is more visible, and some unions are prominently led and populated by women members—most notably the International Trade Union Confederation; the food farm and hotel workers global union, IUF; Public Services International;¹⁴ the International Domestic Workers Federation;¹⁵ and UNI Global union.

But in general, women are less well-represented among the union leadership, which may explain why negotiations may feature issues of greater relevance to women less frequently.¹⁶ Britwum, Douglas and Ledwith observe in their analysis of gender and unions

10. Kim, H. "The Korean Union Movement in Transition," in *Organized Labor in the Asia-Pacific Region*, S. Frenkel, ed. (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 1993), 133-161.

11. Manning, A., *Monopsony in Motion, Imperfect Competition in Labor Markets*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003).

12. Britwum, A., K. Douglas and S. Ledwith, "Women, Gender and Power in Trade Unions," in *Labour in the Global South: Challenges and Alternatives for Workers*, eds. Sarah Mosoetsa and Michelle Williams, (Geneva: International Labor Office Press, 2012).

13. Cobble, D.S. "Gender Equality and Labor Movements: Toward a Global Perspective," February 20, 2012, https://smlr.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/documents/faculty_staff_docs/DorothySueCobble_gender%20equality%20report%20revised%2020%20February%202012.pdf (Accessed on January 30, 2019).

14. Two-thirds of PSI members are women. See <http://www.world-psi.org/en/about> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.)

15. The majority of workers organized through IDWF are women. See <http://www.idwfed.org/en>.

16. Dawson, T. "Collective Bargaining and the Gender Pay Gap in the Printing Industry," *Gender, Work and Organization*, Volume 21, Issue 5, (2014), 381–394; Velluti, S., "Promotion of Gender Equality at the Workplace: Gender Mainstreaming and Collective Bargaining in Italy," *Feminist Legal Studies*, 16(2), (2008). 195-214; Dickens, L., "Collective Bargaining and the Promotion of Gender Equality at Work: Opportunities and Challenges for Trade Unions," *TRANSFER: European Review*

that where negotiations explicitly include gender equality concerns, such as paid parental leave, breast-feeding support, child care concerns and work-life balance issues, these issues are frequently considered to be subordinate to other concerns about pay and benefits that reflect the disproportionate role that men, and male negotiators, play in collective bargaining fora.¹⁷ These authors noted in an earlier report that: “There is much evidence that collective bargaining has been slow to respond to women’s issues, and indeed in some countries the legislative framework has been ahead of trade unions – especially in the EU, which has a strong framework of equal rights.”¹⁸ In their analysis of the Philippines, these authors also found that women’s priorities were among the top six items that were most likely to be traded away for other bargaining proposals. Moreover, employers were highly likely to resist agreeing to provisions that they saw as additional costs, beyond those that were already stipulated by law. As a result, it was frequently in management’s interest to resist, or at least not to encourage women to serve on bargaining teams—thereby compounding their exclusion from bargaining mechanisms and further relegating gender equality concerns in bargaining proposals.

In the United States, a survey of working women by the AFL-CIO found that women union members are almost twice as likely to receive overtime or comp time than nonunion working women, and are more likely to have access to paid family leave, paid sick leave and other benefits.¹⁹ In the United Kingdom, Heery explores the impact of collective bargaining agreements on equal pay.²⁰ He also examines the role of the place of negotiation on equal pay within the system of collective bargaining, and the characteristics of the union officers engaged in equality bargaining and the reasons for getting involved in equality bargaining. The author draws a number of conclusions from the findings. The paper suggests that equality bargaining depends on women’s voice within unions, the characteristics and preferences of bargainers at the negotiating table, and the public policy environment within which the bargaining takes place. One of the most prominent conclusions of his research is that bargaining on equal pay is more likely to take place in centralized bargaining systems where the negotiations cover multiple employers.

It is important to note that relatively few reports and articles have examined the significance of collective bargaining for women workers in agriculture globally. There are some examples of efforts to organize the agricultural sector where women workers’ needs have been featured prominently in the negotiations. The FAO (2017) documents

of Labor Research, Volume 6, Issue 2, (2000), 193-208.

17. Britwum, Douglas and Ledwith, “Women, Gender and Power”

18. Britwum, A., K. Douglas and S. Ledwith. “Gender and Trade Unions,” a research report by the Global Labor University alumni, Ruskin College, Oxford, 2011.

19 “Our Voices: A Snapshot of Working Women, Results from a National Survey of Nearly 25,000 Working Women,” March 2016, AFL-CIO, https://aflcio.org/sites/default/files/2017-03/1662_WWSurveyReport2_webready.pdf (Accessed on January 30, 2019).

20. Heery, E. “Equality Bargaining: Where, Who and Why?” *Gender, Work and Organization*, Volume 13, Number 6 (2006), 522-542.

collective bargaining in the banana sector in Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Ghana, where women make up more than 40 percent of the workforce, to distill a set of good practices.²¹ This report summarizes the lessons from a deeper analysis of the collective agreements achieved in all five countries and highlights the importance of ensuring decent work for women workers, which was explicitly embedded in these negotiations and agreements. The authors draw attention to the need for technical training for women workers to increase their efficiency and productivity—a strategy that also increases the likelihood women can take on a broader range of jobs and not concentrate in highly feminized tasks and job categories. Commitments to empower women to take on leadership roles in both trade unions and companies have also been effective in advancing women's negotiating power and rights within the collective bargaining process. Finally, the FAO emphasizes the importance of proactively addressing gender-specific needs in bargaining.

An International Labor Organization (ILO) training manual from 2012 also addresses women workers' rights in agriculture and is designed to lead unions and collectives through the process of reaching out to and organizing women workers. The report concludes with several examples of organizing informal workers in agriculture and construction, including the experience of the Self Employed Women's Association in India, the South Asian Wing of the Building and Woodworkers International in partnership with Orissa Workers Kendu Patra Karmachari Sangh (OKKS) and Orissa Forest and Minor Forest Workers' Union (OFMFWU) and the General Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU), which is a trade union representing workers in the banana, cocoa, rubber, oil palm, mango and pineapple plantations/industries in Ghana (ILO 2012).²²

A recent analysis of five case studies by Debbie Budlender at the nonprofit Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) explores how informal economy workers have utilized collective bargaining to protect their rights at work and ensure dignified working conditions for waste-pickers, domestic workers, street traders and bidi workers (cigarette rollers).²³ The study underscores how organizing and collective bargaining remain fundamental to improving the lives and livelihoods of workers and afford workers tremendous opportunities to achieve greater gender equality in the workplace.

21. FAO, "Collective Bargaining in the Banana Industry," World Banana Forum, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2017.

22. ILO, "Freedom of Association for Women Rural Workers, A Manual," Bureau for Gender Equality, International Labor Organization, Geneva, 2012.

23. Budlender, D. "Informal Workers and Collective Bargaining: Five Case Studies," Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing." WIEGO Organizing Brief No. 9, October 2013.

The Status of Women in the Labor Market in Morocco

Women's employment rates are generally low in Morocco and hover at about 25 percent of the working age population. World Bank data reveal that women's labor force participation peaked in 2005 at a little under 27 percent of the female working age population, but that they have recently declined to a little under 25 percent.²⁴ A plethora of legal restrictions bar women from certain sectors and types of work in construction and mechanical jobs, which are usually reserved for men. These restrictions govern the types of jobs and the sectors in which women can work as well as the hours they are able to work.²⁵

Moreover, given the high rates of informality, the majority of the female workers are excluded from social security systems. Willman Bordat and Kouzzi observe in their gender analysis of Morocco that, "Nearly nine out of ten women in rural areas (87.5 percent) and more than half of women in urban areas (54.2 percent) who work do not have written contracts."²⁶ The same report goes on to document that 78.9 percent of textile workers reported not benefitting from paid maternity leave provisions. They provide a number of examples from other studies that demonstrate the extent of Labor Code violations in small workplaces, including long workdays, salaries under minimum wage, non-declaration at the CNSS, no payment of overtime, and unlawful termination. As these authors point out, "there is no gender disaggregated information on Labor Code violations."²⁷

The high and prevailing levels of informality in work structures affect both men and women workers, but it is important to note that gender inequality in the labor market is compounded by informality. Social norms that underpin gender inequality in wages, hours, and the right to work tend to be magnified in informal employment. As Nida Latif notes in her country gender profile of Morocco, "A combination of patriarchal norms, illiteracy and discrimination in the workplace prevent women from fully participating in the economic sector."²⁸ The same author also underscores that social norms and a widespread lack of child care facilities also influence women's employment rates, leading to low participation and a high concentration of women in informal employment.

The limited data that do exist demonstrate that women's participation in agricultural employment is among the highest in any sector in Morocco, with approximately 57.2 percent of the total female labor force engaged in agricultural activities in 2016.²⁹

24. World Development Indicators; Willman Bordat and Kouzzi, *Gender Analysis*.

25. World Bank, "Women, Business and the Law," World Bank, Washington D.C., 2018.

26. Willman Bordat and Kouzzi, *Gender Analysis*, 55.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Latif, N., "Morocco, Country Gender Profile," Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, 2015.

29. World Development Indicators.

However, the ILO estimates that only 34.9 percent of the female labor force comprises waged or salaried workers, indicating that many women who work in agriculture are contributing family workers whose labor generates surplus but who do not receive wages.³⁰ The terms and conditions of employment in agriculture for women mean that they are disproportionately likely to work for lower pay, receive lower incomes and undertake more menial and less-skilled work. A recent article by Najjar et al., on work in the agricultural sector finds that where women work in agriculture as paid laborers, they consistently work in tasks that receive lower pay.³¹ These authors report in their analysis of data on wages and salaries for 415 agricultural laborers that higher-paid equipment-intensive tasks were predominantly assigned to men, while women performed lower-paid and more time-intensive tasks. They also report that women were systematically paid less than men even when they perform the same tasks. It is not surprising that these authors conclude that enforcing existing laws in Morocco, particularly the national law requiring equal pay for equal work, will be an essential first step toward enabling women to benefit equitably with men from their agricultural labor. Certainly, this research with the CDT and the Solidarity Center also finds that a commitment to improving the terms and conditions of employment in agriculture is clearly required to improve both men's and women's outcomes in the labor market. This includes enforcing national labor law and ensuring that workers understand their rights to unionize and to bargain with employers.

Collective Bargaining in Morocco

Morocco adopted its Labor Code in 2004, after a long and protracted series of negotiations and consultations with many stakeholders.³² The code covers the main principles and fundamental rights and freedoms at work and establishes mechanisms for social dialogue at the national and enterprise level. The right to form and join a union and bargain is explicitly established in the labor code. Moreover, the Moroccan constitution also grants workers the right to form and join unions, strike, and bargain collectively.³³ Yet despite this, as Meknassi and Rioux observe in their report on collective bargaining in Morocco, the number of signed collective agreements remains limited.³⁴ Furthermore, the ongoing challenge is that collective bargaining takes place primarily in larger companies and more visible sectors³⁵ and it exerts little influence over those who

30. Ibid.

31. Najjar, D., Baruah, B., Aw-Hassan, A., Bentaibi, and G., Kassie. (in press). Women, Work and Wage Equity in Agricultural Labor in Saiss, Morocco. *Development in Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2018.1449813> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.)

32. ILO, "Good Practices on the Promotion of Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining Rights in Morocco," International Labor Organization, Morocco, 2015.

33. With some exceptions, most notably the members of the armed forces, police, and some members of the judiciary.

34. Meknassi and Rioux, *Labor Relations*.

35. This is not always the case and a prominent attempt to organize Royal Domaines shed light on high levels of informality and insecurity for women workers in food and cosmetic exports Via Campesina. "Morocco: women agricultural workers are organizing to resist slavery," <https://viacampesina.org/en/morocco-women-agricultural-workers-organising-resist-slavery/2018>.

work in medium-sized and small enterprises or the informal economy.^{36 37}

As Charmes underscores in his analysis of informal employment, “it is clear that the agricultural sector in the region is the most difficult to cover and will remain the last obstacle to generalization of social security.”³⁸ The seasonality of agricultural work also increases the difficulty of organizing workers because workers may only work during certain seasons and for a limited number of days or weeks and they may work for several different employers over the year.

Morocco has approximately 20 collective bargaining agreements currently in operation, spanning telecommunications, automotive industry, refining industry, road transport, fish canning industry, aircraft cable factory, collection of domestic waste, ceramics, naval construction and repair, paper industry, communication and information, land transport, and banks).³⁹ This represents a decline in the number of collective agreements recorded by Meknassi and Rioux in 2009.

Among the key unions engaged in collective bargaining is the CDT. The CDT was established in 1978 and has organized workers across a number of public and private sectors. In 2015, the CDT signed a landmark collective bargaining agreement with the Domaines Brahim Zniber. The agreement was signed in 2015 after a long period of labor conflict and work stoppages. The resolution built on shared aspirations for labor peace and the economic well-being of workers, and the continued and productive operation of the Domaines Brahim Zniber. The agreement was in strict accordance with Moroccan labor law. For example, section No. 65/99 ensures that the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement apply to all female and male workers on the farms, “whatever the nature and place of their work, without any reservation and the periodicity of their wages in accordance with the Labor Code.”⁴⁰ In this way, the agreement expressly applies to informal workers, the majority of whom are women and whom, as a group, are generally left out of enforcement of national labor laws providing for minimum wage and maximum hours protections.

36. Informal employment includes all jobs that are not declared to social security systems, or all persons who do not benefit from any social protection. Two categories of workers can be informally employed: self-employed and wage-earners.

37. In Morocco, according to social security statistics, informal employment decreased from 80 percent in 1990 to 75.8 percent in 2000, remaining stagnant thereafter (Charmes 2010). Informal employment is particularly prevalent in the agricultural sector. Meknassi and Rioux, *Labor Relations*; Charmes, J., “Informal Economy and Labor Market Policies and Institutions in Selected Mediterranean Countries: Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Algeria and Morocco,” International Labor Organization, informal background document for the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Union for the Mediterranean, 2010; Othmane, B. and H. Mama, “An Estimation of the Informal Economy in Morocco,” *International Journal of Economics and Finance*, Vol. 8, No. 9, (2016) 140-147.

38 Charmes, J. *Informal Economy* 8

39. United States Department of Commerce. “Morocco Labor Policies and Practices,” 2017, <https://www.export.gov/article?id=Morocco-Labor>; L’Economist, “Conventions collectives, Un outil de paix sociale encore peu utilisé,” 2015, <https://www.leconomiste.com/article/974200-conventions-collectives-un-outil-de-paix-sociale-encore-peu-utilise> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.)

40. Diana Holdings/CDT/Les Domaines Brahim Zniber, “Collective Bargaining Agreement Between Les Domaines Brahim, Zniber and the Confédération Démocratique du Travail,” Meknes, Morocco, 2015.

Domaines Brahim Zniber engages in multiple businesses including wine and olive oil production, horticulture, poultry and animal feed, seafood, packaging, and fertilizer production. In addition, the company has a bottling franchise for Coca Cola. They conduct these different activities under the larger company of Diana Holdings.⁴¹ Many of these value chains are highly vertically integrated and secure significant value added both in the domestic and external markets. Moreover, Diana Holdings is well placed to increase their penetration of international markets, a feature of their business strategy which potentially affords the option to increase export earnings and value added.

The CDT focused on the Domaines Brahim Zniber company because they saw the potential for negotiation in a context where significant value added was generated for the workers and the employer.⁴² In recognition of the numbers of women workers and their precarious status in employment in the agricultural sector in Morocco, the CDT actively recruited women members and shop stewards as part of their organizing strategy. Women are among the leadership of the CDT and occupy a number of key roles within the CDT. There is an active women's committee, called the Parity and Equity Secretariat, and a keen interest in reflecting women's concerns in the union and in the collective bargaining agreements. Yet, as this report reveals, the extent to which women's voices feature in future collective bargaining agreements will depend on their proactive participation in future negotiations.

Methodology

This research project aims to measure the key benefits women workers identify from their engagement with the CDT and through their collective bargaining agreement (CBA) with their employer, Les Domaines Brahim Zniber. The primary objective is to identify and measure these benefits, and through this process, develop participatory instruments that can be used by the CDT and Solidarity Center in the future to capture and track these benefits in terms of such issues as wages, work hours, promotion, retention, social protection, income, nutrition, time use, and access to services. The secondary objective is to map and analyze segments of the value chains of olive oil and wine in Morocco, focusing on the participation of Les Domaines Brahim Zniber in these value chains.

41. See <http://www.dianaholding.com/le-groupe/presentation> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.)

42. The share of GDP contributed by agriculture has fluctuated between 13 percent and 24 percent over the past two decades and is largely driven by the quantity and distribution of rainfall on yields (World Bank. Morocco Economic Outlook. Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2016). Production of high valued crops on irrigated land is practiced on approximately 17 percent of the nation's arable land base, with rain-fed production of cereals, olive, forage shrubs, cactus and saffron characterizing the bulk of agricultural production. (Biermayr-Jenzano, P., Kassam, S., and A. Aw-Hassan, "Understanding Gender and Poverty Dimensions of High Value Agricultural Commodity Chains in the Souss-Masaa-Draa Region of Southwestern Morocco," ICARDA, Science for Better Livelihoods in Dry Areas, 2014.)

This report is based on data collected during a series of field visits undertaken between September 2017 and July 2018. During the first phase of data collection, staff from the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and the Solidarity Center traveled to Meknes and conducted in-depth interviews with the leadership of the CDT and the Parity and Equity Secretariat and with other stakeholders, including representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the Labor Inspectorate, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Governor of Meknes, the ILO, and NGOs that work with and deliver services to rural women. During this trip ICRW also conducted focus group discussions with women workers at Les Domaines Brahim Zniber. This pilot phase was used to identify some of the key benefits of engagement with the CDT and the collective bargaining agreement for women workers, to gain buy-in from local stakeholders, collect contextual information on the olive oil and wine value chains, and, most importantly, to identify existing participatory research tools that would be most applicable for the second phase of data collection. All interviews and focus group discussions in Phase One were coordinated by the Solidarity Center and the CDT and facilitated by ICRW staff. The Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) followed a semi-structured interview guide and used an interpreter as needed.

Table 1: Study Design

Research Objective	Method(s)
Identify and qualitatively document the benefits of engagement with the CDT and in particular, the benefits of the current Zniber-CDT CBA for farm workers, particularly its influence on the lives of women farm workers	Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) FGDs with shop stewards at farms covered by the CBA In Depth Interviews (IDIs) with female farm workers covered by the CBA Participatory Focus Group Discussions (PFGDs) with male and female farm workers covered by the CBA Participatory Focus Group Discussions with female farm workers not covered by the CBA
Develop participatory instruments that can be used by the CDT and Solidarity Center in future projects to measure benefits of engagement with the CDT and CBA for workers, particularly women workers	Implementation of IDIs with female farm workers covered by the CBA Mapping of the value chains (with a gender lens) Implementation of PFGDs with male and female farm workers covered by the CBA and female workers not covered by the CBA

A second round of qualitative data collection occurred in December 2017, when participatory focus groups were convened with women workers covered by the CBA, women workers represented by the CDT, but not covered by the CBA, and with men and women shop stewards. The final round of primary data collection took place in March 2018, which involved in-depth interviews with women seasonal workers covered by the CBA, as well as focus group discussions with men workers, both permanent and seasonal, covered by the CBA. All participants were recruited for these activities using purposive

sampling by the CDT according to the inclusion/exclusion criteria detailed in Table 2. All focus group discussions took place at a private tented area on the farm where the participants work, through the use of an interpreter and facilitated by either ICRW staff or local consultants.

Table 2: Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria for Phase 2 Data Collection

Data Collection Method	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
FGDs with Zniber shop stewards and shop steward deputies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CDT shop stewards and shop steward deputies who represent Zniber farm workers • Those over the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms for at least 4 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farm workers who are not shop stewards or not members of the CDT • Those under the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms < 4 years • Those with a cognitive disability
IDIs with Zniber female farm workers covered by the CBA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female farm workers for Zniber farms who are covered by the CBA • Those who are CDT members • Those over the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms for at least 4 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female farm workers who are not CDT members • Those under the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms < 4 years • Those with a cognitive disability • Those who were recruited to take part in PFGDs • Male farm workers for Zniber farms
PFGDs with Zniber farm workers covered by the CBA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male and female farm workers for Zniber farms who are covered by the CBA • Those who are CDT members • Those over the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms for at least 4 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male and female farm workers who are not CDT members • Those under the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms < 4 years • Those with a cognitive disability • Those female farm workers who were recruited to take part in IDIs
PFGS with female farm workers not covered by a CBA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female farm workers who work for a farm not owned by Les Domaines Brahim Zniber in the Meknes region • Those who are not covered by a CBA • Those who are CDT members • Those over the age of 18 • Those who have worked at the current farm for at least 1 year (or 2 seasons for seasonal workers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female farm workers who work for a farm owned by Les Domaines Brahim Zniber in the Meknes region • Those who are covered by a CBA • Those who are not CDT members • Those under the age of 18 • Those who have worked at Zniber farms < 1 year (or 2 seasons for seasonal workers) • Those with a cognitive disability • Male farm workers

Phase Two of the research served to add depth to the information ICRW collected in Phase One, as well as to implement the participatory focus group discussion tool to be used by Solidarity Center for future projects. Additionally, the participatory qualitative research with farm workers who are not covered by a CBA allowed ICRW to compare the working and living conditions of farm workers who are covered by the CBA with those who are not.

Table 3: Key Outcomes

Key Outcome	Measurement	Origin
Benefits derived from the CBA and each benefit's relative importance to the workers	PFGD Guide for Zniber Farm workers: Activity 1: Identifying and weighing the benefits of the CBA	Tool designed by ICRW, informed by Ellsberg and Heise, 2005; Sontheimer et al., 1999; Appel et al., 2012
Seasonal trends in the farm workers' lives, including periods of particular vulnerability or stress	PFGD Guide for Zniber Farm workers: Activity 2: Seasonal calendar PFGD Guide for Farm workers Not Covered by a CBA: Activity 1: Seasonal calendar	Tools designed by ICRW, adapted from Rietbergen-McCracken and Narayan, 1996; ActionAid, 2014; Sontheimer et al., 1999; Appel et al., 2012
Gendered patterns of household decision making and expenditures	PFGD Guide for Zniber Farm workers: Activity 3: Decision making and expenditures	Tools designed by ICRW, informed by IFAD, 2002; Murthy, 2015
Priority issues farm workers want addressed in the forthcoming CBA	PFGD Guide for Zniber Farm workers: Priorities for the new CBA	Tool designed by ICRW, informed by KIIs and FGDs with SMEs during Phase 1
Model of the quantifiable social and financial benefits of the CBA for workers, companies, and the broader economy	Statistics on labor force participation rates, poverty rates, school enrollment rates, and a range of other metrics	Various secondary data sources, including data from the World Bank (World Development Indicators), ILO (ILOSTAT and NORMLEX), and from the Moroccan High Commission for Planning

The qualitative data were complemented with quantitative data that allow us to place the gains to workers in the context of the employment and value added in the broader value chains. In order to do this, publicly available data were collected and curated on the key value chains (olive oil and wine), employment in Morocco and in agriculture, minimum wages, poverty rates and household demographics.⁴³ The data are scarce in Morocco and no line item exists in the national accounts that allow us to verify the Freight On Board (f.o.b.)⁴⁴ value added generated in wine and olive oil production. Moreover, accurate data on employment, wages and hours are not readily available. As a result, we used internet sources, private sector platforms and other production parameters from similar value chains in the Mediterranean and North Africa to estimate the production,

43. These included data from the Haute Comision du Plan, the World Bank, the ILO and the KILM datasets.

44 Freight on Board (FOB), is an international commercial law term published by the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC). It indicates the point at which the costs and risks of shipped goods shift from the seller to the buyer. In modern domestic shipping, the term is used to describe the time when the seller is no longer responsible for the shipped goods and when the buyer is responsible for paying the transport costs. Ideally, the seller pays the freight charges to a major port or other shipping destination and the buyer pays the transport costs from the warehouse to the store or vendors. See <https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/knowledge/other/freight-on-board-fob/> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.)

employment and value added generated in wine production (see Annex 1). It is clear from the primary and secondary research undertaken for this project that where national labor law is to be obeyed and where there is full compliance with minimum wages, labor would receive a greater proportion of the value added generated in these chains. Our estimate, with the limited data that we have curated, is that the returns to labor in the wine value chains range between 15 percent and 18 percent of the sum of freight-on-board export earnings and domestic sales for wine.⁴⁵ This suggests that full compliance with labor law would require an additional redistribution of approximately 3 percent of the value added in the chain. Currently, minimum wages are not adhered to in the sector, and the terms and conditions for many workers fall far short of those established in the Labor Code (Via Campesina 2017; Charmes 2010).⁴⁶

Finally, in July 2018, the findings were shared with workers and members of the CDT and carefully critiqued and augmented in a series of interviews and presentations that enabled the workers and the CDT to provide feedback and contribute to this final report.

Stakeholder Analysis

As part of this research, a number of stakeholders in the public and private sector in Morocco were interviewed to explore how the collective bargaining agreement covering workers on the Zniber farms was perceived and what it had achieved. We spoke to public officials in the Moroccan Labor Ministry, the Labor Inspectorate, the Ministry of Justice, as well as the Governor of Meknes, representatives of management on the Zniber farms, representatives of the National Enterprise Association, the ILO and NGOs that work on gender issues in Morocco.

Many of the interviewees embedded their remarks in an analysis of the reforms and the new constitution of 2011, which emerged from a process of popular reform set in motion in February 2011, when thousands of Moroccans participated in demonstrations demanding democratic reforms. A commission was to draft proposals by June 2011 and a new constitution came into being that required the monarchy to appoint a prime minister from the largest party in Parliament. The new constitution and the government that it upheld set in motion a series of legislative reforms that had the potential to secure greater economic and social rights for workers and for women. The new phase of organizing, particularly as a

45. This range applies ILO and Ministry of Employment data on wages and Zniber/Diana Holdings estimates of the wage bill to all Domaines that produce wine. The lower bound assumes that all full-time equivalent workers make at least the established minimum wage. These estimates of earnings may be higher than for workers in other agricultural value chains because of the higher rents that potentially exist in the wine value chain.

46. Via Campesina, *Organizing to Resist Slavery*; Charmes, J., *Informal Economy*.

strategy to formalize work and enforce existing labor law, was frequently referred to in light of these constitutional and democratic reforms.

But organizing was clearly seen as a key strategy to secure and ballast the reforms by some public sector officials:

“Democracy can pave the way, but we need support from the different sectors.” Key informant, Ministry of Justice.

When asked about the conditions of women and women workers in rural areas one key informant from the Ministry of Justice emphasized that:

“To speak frankly, the situation in the rural areas is not good, neither for men nor for women. We are making it compulsory to send girls to school, and we have indicators for development. We need to have the basic infrastructure (water, electricity) and to modernize agriculture—and we have the Morocco Green Plan. This is the good news. But we still have more to do—social obligations, within the social framework.” Key informant, Ministry of Justice.

The stakeholders also shared a general feeling that social dialogue, facilitated by the CDT, had a positive impact on labor conflict, particularly in Meknes. Private sector stakeholders clearly valued the opportunity for dialogue with the CDT and saw it as strategic to engage:

“We work with the CDT, particularly when there is a labor conflict and problem within our companies. The goal is to try to find a solution and be objective.” Member of the Confédération Générale des Entreprises du Maroc (CGEM), Meknes.

The CGEM wanted to represent Meknes as competitive to future investors, based not only on a vision of costs and efficiency but also on one of carefully brokered and meaningful labor peace. The collective agreement with the CDT and the Zniber family through Diana Holdings was seen as increasing security for greater investment.

“The CDT is a partner to the social peace. The [goal is] to preserve employment in the region. When plants close this can damage the reputation of the region. With social peace we can attract investment.” Member of the CGEM, Meknes.

The Zniber representative that we spoke with also represented the key gains from the CBA in terms of labor peace and conflict resolution:

“In the past: ongoing conflict. This is not good for the company, it's bad for business. We are the first agricultural company to have a CBA. We were targeting a win-win philosophy with contribution and rewards principles that shared financial and economic gains with

workers. It was a transparent process."

The same representative emphasized the importance of the company's relationship with the CDT for conflict resolution and improved social dialogue – not just in terms of labor peace but also for its adherence to social responsibility, which positions them in an external market:

"We want to export and accept international auditing. We realized [that] we need to be socially responsible – it is important for us to have this CBA. We want to be pioneers in social marketing."

Similarly, representatives in the governor's office emphasized that maintaining labor peace is a critical part of their strategy to attract investors and maintain employment. Engaging with the CDT in this process and fostering tripartism and social dialogue was referred to as a central role of the governor's office and an obligation that the office upholds:

"The Governor presides over the regional commission for conflict resolution. This is tripartite. He can make efforts to settle regional conflicts. Labor law emphasizes that there can be no massive dismissal, that no shutdown can take place without the Governor holding a meeting or the regional commission [being] present. It would be unacceptable that a plant shuts down without the authorization of the Governor."

Other public sector representatives underscored that the collective bargaining agreement had contributed to expanding the reach of the law and ensuring greater compliance with existing labor law. One representative from the Ministry of Social Security referenced the extent to which the collective bargaining agreement had increased women's enrollment in Social Security and the payment of family allowances. The office clearly viewed the failure to pay statutory benefits as a significant and ongoing challenge and recognized the role of the CDT as an ally in the process of expanding workers' knowledge of their labor rights and, as a result, adherence to labor law.

"We have seen an increase in membership since they started doing family allowances in 2008—a huge increase in membership. This is especially true since the passage of Law 65.00, which made medical insurance mandatory for many sectors, including agriculture. And don't forget, we did a lot of awareness-raising campaigns to join the CNSS in agricultural areas. Also, when we go to farms, we use vans to raise awareness, but we also conduct awareness-raising campaigns, especially during the big fairs and by talking to employers to raise their awareness. The most important thing is to think about the workers, especially in the agricultural sector, because they are so vulnerable and, more than in other sector, they do not understand their rights. In Ramadan, we do an awareness-raising event with the CDT every year." Key Informant, Ministry of Social Security.

Similarly, representatives of the Labor Inspectorate saw negotiating collective bargaining agreements as part of a strategy to enforce existing labor law:

“Our objective or mission right now is to conclude more CBAs, because of the low numbers, and to convince partners of their benefits.” Key Informant, Labor Inspectorate.

The ILO also applauded the CDT and other unions for their roles in advancing labor law in Morocco. The ILO representative described a complex and concerted effort to support tripartism and social dialogue, investing in training and capacity building to support negotiations:⁴⁷

“We worked with the Ministry [of Labor] to analyze and do an assessment of the Labor Code. We looked at all the articles of the Labor Code in a participatory approach, working with the government and unions. We've done all these things to be able to [have the basis to] start acting. We are working on how to promote collective bargaining in the agricultural sector. We tried to look for employers and trade unions we have already met in trainings to launch a process to reach a CBA.” Key Informant, ILO.

Despite a general recognition of the challenges of organizing, most of the key informants expressed hope that a process of organizing would contribute to enforcing existing labor law and strengthening democratic processes. Some even advanced the possibility that this could expand worker rights beyond those guaranteed in existing law:

“Yes, we need to promote the “real” CBAs of value to both workers and employers. We always say: The CBA is not a copy of the Labor Law, it should go beyond it.” Key Informant, Labor Inspectorate.

Yet the absence of data frustrated the ability of many allies and advocates to demonstrate the benefits of collective bargaining to workers and employers alike. Filling these data gaps, and in particular, representing the importance of collective bargaining for women workers, provides evidence to support the long process of claiming and expanding women workers' rights in Morocco.

Benefits of Collective Bargaining for Women Workers

This research sets out to explore the benefits of collective bargaining for women workers in an agricultural supply chain in Morocco. It used a series of qualitative techniques to elicit findings and engage women workers in describing the costs and benefits of organizing and their aspirations for future collective negotiations.

47. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12fow7KqOGY&t=17s> (Accessed on January 24, 2019).

The qualitative data generated in focus groups and in-depth interviews echoes the opinions of the stakeholders and underscores that women workers clearly valued the collective bargaining agreement. Throughout the individual interviews and focus group discussions, women workers emphasized that the CBA guaranteed better benefits and more job security and clarified their benefits and rights at work. They also said that it had improved safety and conditions of work by providing uniforms, boots, protective gear and more regulated work activities, particularly in the winter when they were more prone to injury and exposure.

School allowances, greater respect from supervisors, annual bonuses and uniforms were mentioned in FGDs most often. Men and women, however, focused on different benefits. Access to Social Security and pensions through CNSS, provision of electricity and water, and maternity benefits were mentioned by women but not by men. Benefits that were mentioned by men, such as uniforms, school allowances, better wages, and seniority were also mentioned by women (see Figure 2).

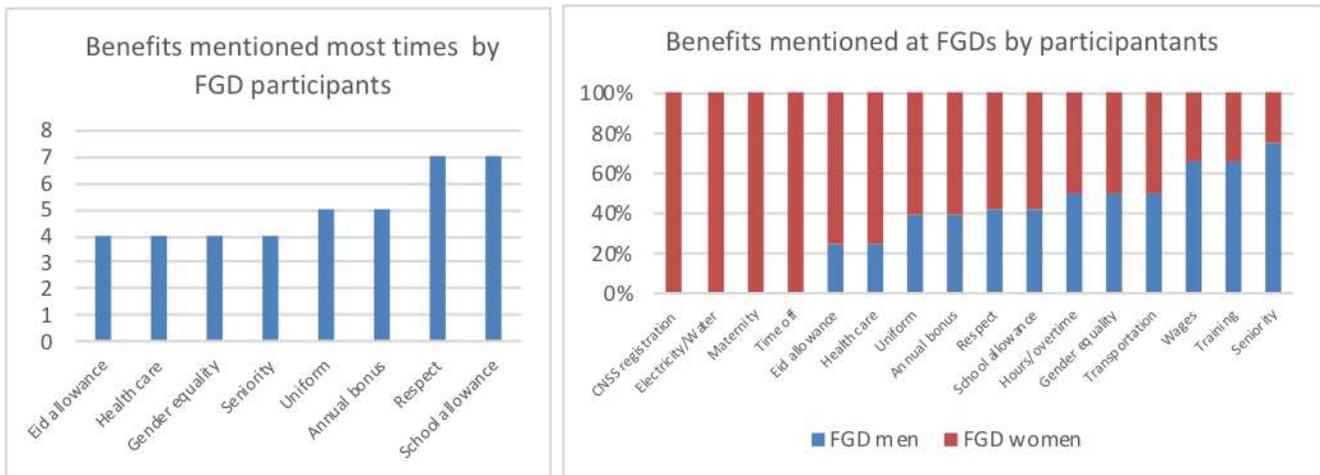


Figure1: CBA benefits mentioned most times at the FGDs Figure2: Women and men workers mention of CBA benefits

A deeper look at the qualitative responses revealed participants' attitudes toward gender equality. The following themes came up most often: access to trainings and jobs in pruning, the ability to drive tractors, and the opportunity to take on security roles and perform guard duty. Women workers also felt that since the CBA, they were more likely to be paid equal wages and bonuses for equal work, and there was less discrimination at work based on gender.

Figure 3: Words from FGDs around gender equality steps taken since the CBA

Notes: The numbers on the “y” axis refer to a participatory ranking of when peak and low work hours occur over the year. They do not correspond to actual hours but perceptions of when there is higher and lower labor demand for women's work.

Wages

Workers reported that their wages were more stable and predictable and that they knew how compensation changed with different tasks and job categories. Women workers also felt that men and women workers are paid equally for equal work because of the CBA. In FGDs, both men and women pointed out stable wages as a major benefit attributable to the CBA. Before the CBA, workers were paid only part of the daily wage if there wasn't enough work for a full day, but after the CBA they were paid for the full day, irrespective of the length of work. Daily wages are also protected against bad weather and other unforeseeable events impacting productivity.⁴⁸

“Sometimes we showed up, but there was no work assigned to women, or we were told to go home if it rained halfway through the day.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

“Before, if you worked half day, you got paid half. Now you get paid full day.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Both men and women workers felt that, under the CBA, there was less discrimination or partiality in how employment and work tasks were allocated by managers. All workers, including seasonal workers, recognized that prior to being covered by the collective bargaining agreement, their wages were below the agricultural minimum set by the Salaire Minimum Agricole Garanti (SMAG), which has now been corrected.

“It used to be 60 dirhams (\$6.30) now it's 70 dirhams (\$7.35)/day.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

While wages have stabilized, daily wages are still quite low, and expenses surpass the income for most families. In recognition of this, the discussion of wages and incomes was dominated by which expenses occur during the year and what part of it their incomes can support (Figure 1). Most women reported having little, or more often, no savings, and having to borrow from local grocery stores, family and friends in times of scarcity.

48. KII with Zniber HR personnel.

Overtime, Bonuses and Merit Pay

Women workers described how hours and bonuses became more transparent after the CBA and, in particular, how the provisions regarding overtime and overtime pay was observed more closely.

“Before the CBA, we worked extra hours but were not paid for them. Now we are paid for them.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

The various annual bonuses increased because of the CBA, helping both men and women farm workers. Women identified increased Eid bonus, New Year bonus, back to school bonus for workers with kids, and a harvest bonus as products of the CBA. Women workers mentioned that these bonuses are also one of the key benefits of the CBA, as the additional pay at key moments has helped them cope with seasonal expenses such as Eids, children's school expenses and home repairs in the winter.

“We also used to get 200 dirhams (\$21) at the start of school, which does not go far. And now we get 1,000 dirhams (\$105).” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.⁵¹

“In the past if we were not registered, we did not get big bonuses. Bonuses used to be 100–200 dirhams (\$10.5–\$21). Now we get 700 dirhams (\$73.46); that is one of the things people asked for.” Man, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

In addition to overtime and bonuses, there have been moves toward gender equality in merit payments through the CBA. Previously, only men participated in pruning, carrying baskets and scissoring, all tasks which pay an additional 10 percent over the base wage. After the CBA, some women received trainings for pruning and had the opportunity to undertake these tasks and earn additional pay.

Nonetheless, pruning and scissoring were still done predominantly by male workers. Many women reported either not having had the training or assignment yet or finding pruning too difficult.

“We have received pruning training but haven't pruned yet.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

“Pruning is more money, but women found it hard to do it. They have to do 25 trees a day and that is hard.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

While base wages were the same, other benefits and overtime pay allowed men to earn a higher income than women. Some women expressed a desire to get involved in the following tasks precisely because they offer higher pay:

51. This figure most likely includes child allowances.

Table 5. Tasks and Pay Increments

Tasks	Earnings in addition to base wage (approx. as reported by women PFGD participants)
Pruning	10 dirhams (\$1.05)/day
Driving the tractor	10 dirhams/day
Cutting trees	15 dirhams (\$1.57)/day
Night shift work	35 dirhams (\$3.67)/day
Guard duty	*not known

Seniority and Seasonal Work

Seniority recognizes years of continual employment and assigns workers with longer tenure more skilled tasks with higher wages. In many agricultural contexts, seniority is respected but men disproportionately gain this status. Discussions with farm workers not covered by the CBA underscored that women did not get permanent jobs despite their seniority and tenure at the farm.

“Seniority comes after 15 years or more. Workers with 15 years should get 1,800 dirhams (\$190)/month, some are paid 65 dirhams/day (\$6.82), others 70 dirhams (\$7.35)/day. Salary is based on seniority, but women don't get seniority so no extra pay. Even women who have been working 20 years don't get that benefit.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

Despite this concern, there was a general affirmation among workers at Zniber that women workers were more likely to be permanent staff after the CBA. In fact, many respondents confirmed that being able to get seniority was one of the central benefits of the CBA for women. After the CBA, men's and women's lists were unified, and seniority and benefits were offered based on workers' length of tenure, not gender.

“In the past, [they] did not want women to get seniority. Only men had seniority advantages and were [made full time]. Now, depending on seniority, men and women are registered [as permanent employees with the Social Security Department].” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

“Unifying the list of seniority brought equality. Otherwise they would be chosen last and have to stay home.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

While senior women workers expressed satisfaction with their increased employment throughout the year, they expressed concern that there are still many women and men who lack recognition for their seniority and are able to work only seasonally.

"We asked ... that 430 workers will keep their jobs throughout the year. It has not really changed. When work goes down, number of workers goes down." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Not surprisingly, seasonal workers, both men and women, expressed concerns about continual access to work over the entire agricultural year. The lack of continual work, and particularly over the rainy season, was a significant source of stress and worry. It affected their families' well-being and their ability to keep children in school.

"In the new CBA, we will ask for job stability and a wage increase." Man, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"Worry and fear is always present. During work, you want to do as good and clean a job as possible... And of course, we worry at home, too, because we're never in a secure position. We always hold these worries in our heart." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Some seasonal women workers reported having fewer hours of work than men in the past few years. The majority of seasonal workers mentioned that in the last few years they have not had enough work throughout the year to sustain themselves and their families. It wasn't clear whether they attributed this to the CBA or to bad weather in the recent past.

"It's now after the CBA, which we all agreed to, but the farm hasn't followed through. Sometimes we don't have enough money to do groceries. They want to remove the apple orchard, which is our work." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"Nothing else. Now at this time of year, we would be working. There are people with higher seniority than me who are not working." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Training

As part of the more gender-equal task assignments available because of the CBA, women received trainings on treating trees for pests and fungus, the skilled use of scissors, and bug identification. Some women received training on pruning. Participants of the FGDs expressed appreciation for the trainings and opportunities to get better paying jobs in the future. However, there was a general disappointment with the ability to use these skills, as women mentioned that despite trainings, they have yet to receive assignments to do some of these tasks.

"[Regarding] shearing and driving training, we are not doing these tasks yet. Very few women are doing pruning—only young workers who went to training. Older workers did not get training." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Women have received pruning training but they haven't pruned yet." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

The company representative mentioned that the trainings were suspended for the time being for lack of a trainer, but they were considering implementing peer training programs that can increase the skill levels of men and women workers and promote equality between the genders.

"...With the renewal of the CBA, we will review the training again. We are especially interested in technical operation simulation courses, where those who can do it can teach others. It can also help reach equal level among workers." Zniber representative.

Women also reported that the training provided by the Solidarity Center on negotiations skills was very useful. They felt that the training made them more confident in front of both their own supervisors and higher management.

"The union has helped a lot. Training has helped us to be less afraid." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Social Security Benefits

The social security system, which provides pensions, known as the CNSS, is intended to serve all workers, including agricultural workers, and it is mandatory for all employers to participate. However, some farms only declare some of their workers to the labor inspectorate, to keep their costs down.⁵²

The process of registering workers for Social Security became more streamlined at Zniber after the CBA was implemented. After the signing of the CBA, in the first year, an additional seven percent of workers at the farm were registered. The second year, another eight percent of workers at the farm were registered. Now, every year, 10 percent more workers are registered, with the objective of ensuring that everyone is eventually registered. This is a significant improvement over other farms that don't have a collective bargaining agreement. As workers working on farms without a CBA pointed out, many don't have access to social benefits and pensions because they were not registered by their employers.

"Women retiring often don't have pension because they were not registered with the CNSS system and did not get enough days of work to get pension." Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

"We have to fill in the form and send to CNSS and see if we've worked enough days for reimbursement for the doctors visit or medicine." Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

The CNSS registration enables workers to claim various benefits that are not available otherwise. These benefits include paid time off for death of a family member, a funeral allowance, maternal leave and a delivery allowance, health insurance, and sick leave,

52. Klls with Zniber and external subject matter experts.

among others.⁵³ While many of these benefits are supposed to be available to workers under the law, many women workers under the CBA felt that these were benefits that they were able to enjoy only since signing the agreement.

"[I] used to be paid weekly, without social security or health insurance." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"There was no child allowance, no bonuses for holidays, no social coverage." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Maternity Benefits

Even though many of the women in the focus groups were neither recent mothers nor planning on having children in the near future, they were very appreciative of the maternity rights that came with the CBA. Most importantly, women felt that they were no longer punished for their pregnancies. They did not feel compelled to conceal their pregnancies because of the attitudes of supervisors, who had previously discriminated against them or dropped them from the roster.

"Before the CBA we didn't have the right to work if we were pregnant. So we used to hide our bellies. After the CBA we can go to work proud of our pregnancy." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Some women described being humiliated or mistreated when they were pregnant before the CBA.

"The [manager] would make pregnant women work harder. This was to dissuade them from working, climbing the ladder, or working without masks near the trees that had been recently sprayed [with pesticides]." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"We now get three months leave and food for the babies. We even get bottles for the babies." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

After the CBA, women were able to work during their pregnancies and get three months off after childbirth, as well as a delivery allowance of 1,000 dirhams (\$105).⁵⁴ Men also got three days of paternal leave. While these are CNSS benefits, women reported that these benefits were only fully in effect after the CBA started. In addition to CNSS benefits, the company allowed nursing women to take a one-hour break to breastfeed, for one to two years after giving birth.

Hours and Time Off

Work hours were more regular and weekends without work were binding under the CBA. In addition to regular weekends off and (select) national and religious holidays, women

53. See <http://www.cnss.mq/> (Accessed on January 24, 2019.)

54. The delivery allowance was reported by some women – but was not referenced in the collective agreement.

mentioned that the provision for taking time off for illnesses, deaths in the family and other emergencies was reassuring and helpful. These paid holidays only started after the CBA, particularly for work related injuries and illnesses.

"...when you must stay home, it is guaranteed that you will be paid. You will not starve."
Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"...for labor incidents and accidents, you get paid leave for recovery. Before [the CBA], a woman had surgery, she got reimbursed, but no paid sick days. Now we get sick leave."
Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Women FGD participants covered by the CBA also talked about the difficulty of working hours of field work during Ramadan, especially when Ramadan occurs during the summer. Many respondents pointed out that after the CBA, shortened hours during Ramadan made their lives much easier.

Time Use

The women interviewed who were working on the farm were mostly single or widowed and had to support themselves. Male participants at FGDs reported either that they were single or were married to women who are housewives, not farm workers. Thus, it was difficult to directly compare any change in the distribution of household chores within the family as a result of the CBA. However, responses to other questions indicated that women and men have very different work burdens outside of their farm work and that the CBA has directly and indirectly helped women cope with some of their household responsibilities.

Women farm workers were especially appreciative of shorter Ramadan hours because they predominantly carry the burden of preparing the elaborate evening meals during Ramadan. Shorter hours allowed them to go home, clean up and prepare Iftar for the rest of the family.

"We work until 12 or 1 p.m. Then we go home, change, take a shower, and start preparing food." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Women use the time to do household chores, laundry." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

It appears that more consistent access to uniforms may have contributed to lessening time burdens. Interestingly, men participating in PFGDs rated uniforms as one of the least important features of the CBA, whereas women rated them among the top benefits. This may be because uniforms protect clothes and reduce the burdens of washing laundry in contexts where all clothes are hand-washed.

"It protects clothes, protects from dust. In winter the clothes stay dry because the uniform is waterproof." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"... it's dirty, so clothes stay clean. A uniform protects clothes." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Women are the ones primarily responsible for household work, including cleaning clothes. It seems that providing uniforms helped women ease their time burdens. Since men don't have these responsibilities, access to uniforms did not feature as a special benefit for men. As multiple women workers pointed out, women perform both farm and household duties, generally without any help from the men.

"Rural women, in general, do a double job. They wake up early, cook, clean, take care of the family, and then go to work on the farm." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Men don't help out at home because they're so tired from work (that we also do). They come home and sleep until dinner. Women rely on children for help." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

When asked about work outside the farm, most men mentioned that they don't have other work (income generating activities) outside farm work, whereas all women pointed out that outside the farm they still have to work at home.

"Everyday work for us: Bread, dishes, dinner, change laundry, make lunch. Days during winter are short so it's hard to fit everything in the day." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Women work in the house, [tend] cattle, prepare food and bread, fetch water with donkeys." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Health and Safety

Many women described working with prolonged exposure to the cold and under abusive conditions before the CBA, and on other farms without a CBA.

"In winter time we would light a fire for warmth. The caporal would come and put it out with his feet. We didn't have any uniform, whether it was raining or snowing we didn't have the right shoes, sometimes it was so cold that our shoe sole would stick to the ground." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Workers not covered by a CBA frequently brought up their lack of adequate health and safety measures. Many referenced working without gloves and uniforms, working inside large cooled packing areas or open refrigerators, packing and stacking fruit or cleaning without adequate protective clothing.

"We bring items [from the chilling room] and we don't have any gloves and protective gear." Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

“For those working in chilling, [we need] appropriate gear—boots and gloves—because our clothes and shoes get wet when we clean up.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

Women covered by the CBA reported better health and safety provisions than women who are not covered by the CBA. Along with uniforms and protective gear, women under the CBA also had better access to health benefits.

“We used to pay from our own pocket at the hospital. Now if we get injured, the doctor comes to us and we don't pay.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

However, some workers covered by the CBA pointed out the shortcomings of the current system on some of the farms:

“The doctor no longer comes, and we don't know why. We want access to the doctor on the farm. Even if we are not sick, he should come. There are people with diabetes, the clinics are fairly far away.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

The farms also lacked proper sanitation facilities before, but the women in the focus groups reported that the administration is currently planning on building new toilets. The Health, Safety and Security Committee has been taking care of this and other issues.

Relationship with Employers

The CBA standardized many processes. Importantly, it significantly improved the processes governing how supervisors interact with workers and how conflicts over work-related concerns are addressed. In particular the sections on Discipline and Termination of Employment, Promotion and Permanent Tenure, Prevention and Social Protection Measures, the Right to Unionize and to Collective Bargaining, and Training and Continuous Training codified expectations, rights and responsibilities and set parameters for how supervisors should treat workers with “dignity.” Both men and women respondents in FGDs highlighted that because of the CBA, there was a clear understanding of what needs to be done, and there isn't a constant struggle among supervisors and workers about what work needs to be finished and who is assigned which task. The clearer delineation of roles and responsibilities, and the extent or limit of the tasks involved, made this possible and created a more peaceful and stress-free work environment for both supervisors and workers. The CBA also appears to have codified interactions and ensured a more “respectful” work environment.

“In the past we did not know what the professional standards were. The tasks you were given were too much.” Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

“There is respect, no insults, aggressive words. Now we give them, they give us. We do our work even if bosses are not here.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"We reached this agreement through peace and dignity... The supervisor now speaks to us respectfully. Discrimination that we used to suffer from in the past no longer exists." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Men and women also felt that the CBA created a fair conflict resolution system.

"In the case of complaint, a worker goes to the worker delegate and the delegate goes to the administration. Then there is a meeting to resolve the issue." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

The company management also shared this sentiment. The CBA has afforded the employer greater labor peace and stability. The company management also articulated that they felt that better working conditions can give them a better reputation in the international market, which is good for business. When asked explicitly about the benefits of the CBA they responded:

"Peace and stability. There is no need for strikes and conflicts. Because of the CBA you know what is expected." Management, Zniber.

"We want to export and accept international auditing. We realized we need to be socially responsible—it is important for us to have this CBA. We want to be pioneers in social marketing. We are the first while others are so reluctant to follow lead." Management, Zniber.

Despite this positive review of a more stress-free and conflict-free work environment, it is important to note that concerns about sexual harassment or sex-based harassment went largely unarticulated throughout the research. Harassment issues were largely avoided by women participants in the discussions, and men mentioned that harassment is unlikely or even that sometimes women can falsely accuse supervisors. The general appraisal by male workers was that harassment did not happen, or that if it did, it was sanctioned appropriately. Yet the assiduous avoidance of any mention of harassment by women suggests that more specific instruments that probe these issues in a safe and ethical context would need to be used to determine the extent and experience of any sex-based harassment.

"Women's harassment issues: if it is by supervisor, there will be massive sanctions, if not fired. But this never happens." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Sometimes women can accuse wrongly because they do not want to work, then the worker is at fault." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Ongoing Concerns

The agreement certainly made great strides toward ensuring equitable pay structures and benefits, but not all workers benefitted from it equally. While the CBA created more

equality among senior men and women workers, seasonal workers reported facing the same issues as before, and were less enthusiastic about the future of the agreement.

Seasonal workers, both men and women who are also covered by the CBA, expressed concerns about their low levels of employment, lack of future prospects, and difficulty in providing for their families on low wages. Women seasonal workers discussed how they cope with seasonal employment on Zniber farms. As Zniber farm workers have low priority in getting side jobs on other farms, most seasonal workers have had to rely on juggling multiple small jobs, small businesses and occasional informal work, and, often, on seeking help from family and friends.

“Our union is here—we can’t go to other farms easily. The treatment of workers at other farms is not as good.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

“We try to work at other olive or onion farms. But the local farmers don’t give us our 70 dirhams (\$7.35) until they take it out of us. You can barely move at the end of the day.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

“In an emergency, we try to get help from people in the [village], a couple dirhams each. When my nephew got electrocuted, people collected money for him.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

The seasonal workers also raised concerns about underinvestment in the farms. Some seasonal workers felt that seasonal work has been scarcer since the CBA. They were keen to see greater investment and the creation of more permanent jobs to enable more continual employment year-round.

“We used to be employed more regularly. But this year has been especially tough, no work at all.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

“We want the farm to move forward, we want to work, and the CBA says they will plant more—but nothing.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

“The surprise has been the lack of work. They’re going to remove more trees! We want the farm to progress not to move backwards.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Some workers also mentioned that bonuses and benefits might go down after the end of the CBA.

“They want to take away the new bonuses. They give us a 1,000 dirham (\$105) bonus once a year. We end up using it to pay our debts. The second we get it, we spend it. And they want to take that away?” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Overall, seasonal workers have not felt the benefits of the CBA as significantly as permanent workers, nor in some cases at all. Some men and women seasonal workers felt that the CBA did not represent their interests and their lives remained unchanged after the CBA. Their feelings about the CBA ranged from indifference to disappointment and worry.

"...this agreement, I can't tell you much about it. It was fine. And it's still fine now. The biggest struggle is that we are seasonal workers." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"The CNSS helped us a lot but the CBA made no difference for this. They stopped us from work." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"It's still a struggle. And we work hard. If anything, we work harder. They fooled us with this CBA. It's as if they bribed a child with candy. We are really motivated to work when they promised us more work. But there's no follow through." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Despite their ongoing concerns, however, seasonal workers had much appreciation for the union and its efforts to further worker rights.

"We benefited from a freedom and independence we didn't have before the union. The union freed us a lot and increased our dignity." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"If there's no union and CBA, nobody is going to advocate for us." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"The union fights for us to get work and they don't like to see the workers like this." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Participation in the Union

Through the focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and key informant interviews with subject-matter experts, several issues were identified that may have hindered women's full participation in the CDT and CBA negotiations. Both men and women workers participated in focus group discussions and had much to say about the role of gender in union participation and in the negotiations process of the CBA.

Prior to the Solidarity Center's involvement, there were no women shop stewards on the farm. In total, 74 women had participated in the Solidarity Center training at the time of the interviews in December 2017. These trainings taught women about membership in the CDT, how to participate in its processes, and how to raise issues of concern that mattered to them.

"This is an achievement because we hardly found any women in union offices." Labor Inspectorate representative.

"Men can't adequately advocate for these issues that women need to have addressed. They won't know, for instance, how many hours a woman might need for breastfeeding the first three months." ILO Representative.

A focus group of women farm workers commented on how these trainings have helped convince women of the value of union membership.

"Women generally don't want to participate. Often, they are obliged to participate. However, there is a training that has helped women come forward and speak up more."
Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

When asked what men's reactions were to women's participation, the women workers reported that men were generally supportive.

"There has been no backlash, men are normal with women's participation. Men are encouraging them to be part of the union, to be more active, take part in training."
Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

However, when men workers were asked if they wanted their wives to participate in union activities, they appeared to be less than supportive.

"No. As Muslims we cannot accept this. Women work the whole day and then they have to take care of the family... It's not about security, it's about family duties." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

One of the most important ways farm workers are involved in union activities is as shop stewards.

"It's a part of you. If you reach something for workers, it cheers you up and you want to keep doing it." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

To run for a shop steward position, workers must have worked for one year on the farm and be a permanent employee. Some male shop stewards also listed literacy as a requirement, but others disputed this. Literacy requirements and the requirement to be a permanent worker may have negative effects on recruiting women as shop stewards. A man farm worker pointed out this challenge:

"There are not many women who fulfill the criteria of being literate and have knowledge of the labor code. Literacy is a self-imposed criterion, because during corporate committee meetings many technical issues are brought up, so you have to read it to sign. Unfortunately, there are no literate women on the farm, not even the younger ones." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

The focus group of women farm workers also pointed out that the challenges of getting women to participate include social norms that limit women's engagement. In particular, they felt that a "lack of courage" and "shyness" about talking to men workers authoritatively limited women's involvement. This underscores the importance of communications training and leadership training skills for women, to help overcome highly gendered and restrictive social norms that circumscribe women's behaviors.

Yet the countervailing challenge of lack of time and family responsibilities remains a constant concern for women. Both men and women shop stewards commented on the value of representing the workers, but both groups also commented that it can be a

burden. Without attempts to redistribute or reduce women's household tasks, the additional demands of organizing may be prohibitively high for women – particularly married women with families.

"Some men have the skills, but do not want to participate. It's hard work and time consuming." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Specific to the previous round of CBA negotiations, women workers reported that they were not fully included in CBA negotiations:

"Women only participated in meetings that were for women-specific issues. Some women's issues were: pregnancy time work (non-heavy loads), and break for lactating women to go breastfeed or leave at noon." Women, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

This could be noted as an area for improvement in future negotiations because all issues are relevant for women workers, and thus should involve women workers in negotiations. Women workers' concerns should not automatically be limited to ones related to their reproductive roles. Additionally, men noted that most of the negotiations were "midnight negotiations," taking place from 6 p.m. to midnight, making it very difficult for women to join because of the expectation that they perform housework after working on the farm during the day.

Seasonal workers had a particularly difficult time finding ways to participate in the CBA negotiations. To begin, they were not properly represented among union leadership because of the requirement that shop stewards be permanent workers. None of the seasonal women workers reported that they had been involved in the CBA negotiations. The deepest involvement of these seasonal workers was at large meetings to discuss issues in groups.

"We were working, and the union told us there would a gathering about the CBA. We had the chance to talk there and vote on issues in a circle. There's always good attendance at these meetings." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

"I don't know what it's like [the CBA]. I hear of it, but I don't know it. We now have more order [since the CBA went into effect], but the situation of the workers is still the same. Our seasonal work is the same. We have no connection to the CBA." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

The vast majority of women seasonal workers interviewed reported that their opinions on the terms of the CBA were never taken, but that they stand behind the union leadership in the hope that their working conditions will improve.

Key Recommendations for the Next CBA

Overwhelmingly, workers wanted the collective bargaining agreement to be renewed when it is renegotiated in 2019. When asked what they would like to see in the next agreement, both men and women workers simply said that a renewal alone would be a

victory. Every focus group conducted revealed that workers wanted the CBA to be renewed, or, for those not covered under the current CBA, instituted.

"We want a renewed CBA. We want the CBA to continue." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"For the time being, we don't even know if the CBA will be renewed. Our first demand is to renew CBA, then the management will surely bring their own demands. Everyone has their own strategy. The present CBA was a first-time experiment to see what each party got out of it. It was not without problems, there were some mistakes, there is room for improvement. Management will always be more ready than us [the workers]. They will give us their demands and we have to examine them." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

In the FGDs, permanent women workers listed many more outstanding or unresolved issues than men. Women mentioned that trainings had not been widely implemented, nor resulted in access to higher paying jobs; that allowances and wages were not enough to cover household expenses; that on-site health services were not adequate or sometime absent; that some workers still did not have electricity or water in their houses; and that men and women still didn't have access to the same jobs. Conversely, men workers only mentioned the long hours, heavy workload, and seasonality as outstanding issues after the CBA (Figure 6).

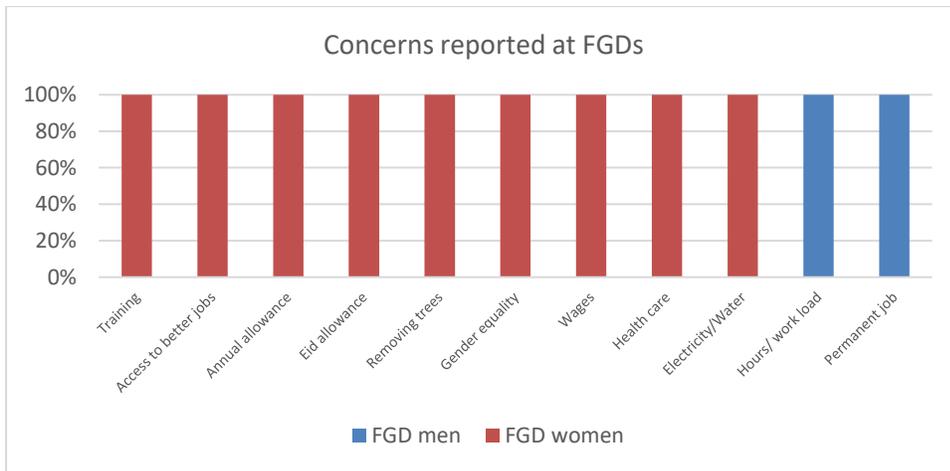


Figure 6: Outstanding issues after the CBA as reported by men and women at the FGDs



Figure 7: Words from FGDs describing steps toward gender equality that have yet to be taken.

While many women were happy that first steps were taken around providing training on gender-equal tasks, they also pointed out that trainings and access to men's jobs had not been implemented all the way through. Sometimes, trainings had only been provided to some women. In other cases, women had received training but were still not assigned the same tasks as men.

Beyond renewing the collective bargaining agreement, permanent workers offered various suggestions for what they would like to see in the next iteration of the CBA. Among the most frequently noted suggestions were higher daily wages, more training opportunities, increased investment in the farm and facilities, and better healthcare and child care provisions.

Wage increases were among the top demands noted by both men and women workers on the farm.

"We do hard work. We need higher wages." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"We would like the daily wage to increase, especially for women who don't have a man earning an income. Seventy dirhams (\$7.35) is just not enough." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Among permanent workers, women argued for an increase in the daily wage for both men and women, and for increased bonuses around the holidays. Seasonal women workers interviewed also wanted an increased wage. One commented on keeping the 'prime' rate throughout the year:

"Now we have 'prime rates,' so during tough periods of work they add 10 dirhams (\$1.05) per day. The harvest period is really hard, and we work really hard during it. But this should be the pay rate always." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Both seasonal and permanent men farm workers also wanted an increase in wages in the next CBA, to keep up with rising living expenses. Men workers who did not discuss increasing wages talked about creating more higher-skilled jobs that come with higher salaries.

"Moroccan people need homes and full bellies, not money in their pockets." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Both men and women workers expressed concern over the seasonality of their work and hoped that this would be addressed in the next CBA.

"We would prefer to have a job year-round. We asked the CEO to pledge that 430 workers will keep their jobs throughout the year. It has not really changed. When work goes down, the number of workers goes down. In September, more than half the people are not working or getting paid, so they have to look for jobs elsewhere." Man, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Women in focus group discussions also pointed out the ways in which the seasonality of work is gendered. One woman remarked that women typically do not work when it is raining, and thus they may go without work for long periods of time during months with heavy rainfall.

"When there is no rain, women do some work, but during rain men have more work." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Men do guard work throughout the year. Even during the rain, they work." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

When seasonal workers were asked what they wanted in the next round of CBA negotiations, nearly every worker interviewed expressed concern over their irregular workload and wanted more permanent positions to be opened up on the farm.

"Employ us! We want to work just like the others. That's all." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Job segmentation was brought up by several focus group participants, and many suggested increasing training opportunities to address this in the next round of negotiations. Some women highlighted the job training they had already received with the current CBA, such as identifying pests, pruning and treating trees, but emphasized they would like to see more of these opportunities and have them be transformed into work opportunities after training.

"Women have received pruning training, but they haven't pruned yet." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Women workers also wanted opportunities to do other work and be trained in additional skills.

“There are two tasks we don’t yet do: drive tractors and serve as guards. Some men do this, and we hope to do this in the future too. We feel equal to men.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

An overwhelming majority of workers suggested adding investments in infrastructure and trees as a demand in the next round of negotiations with the company. Making the connection between planting more crops and an increased demand for labor, both men and women workers suggested that the company invest in newer trees as a way to help regulate the workload throughout the year. They clearly associated a more stable work environment with a greater opportunity for the Zniber company and Diana Holdings to invest in more fruit trees and more production, bringing with it more work and greater predictability in the work schedule. A focus group discussion with women shop stewards revealed that the workers want to negotiate the replanting of trees. The women pointed out that new trees are more productive than older ones, thus new trees could lengthen the growing season and ensure that more people have regular hours of work.

“The most important investment is in the farm. Investing in planting new trees. We are declared (to CNSS), but many are not working. We cannot forget about them. Investment [in the farm] will help more people and provide job stability for all farm workers.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

No group emphasized the replanting of trees more than seasonal workers. Women and men seasonal workers interviewed expressed deep concern about promises to plant new trees, and alarm at various orchards being uprooted. Several noted that the current CBA contains a promise to plant new trees, but that this had not been fulfilled at the time of the interviews.

“In the CBA, there is the promise of more planting so that we can all become more permanent workers. But this is not happening.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

“They told us they’ll plant more trees, but they removed the peach trees and pears, and now the apple trees are also going to be removed. We have nowhere else to go.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

“We want them to plant more trees so that we can work and the farm can move forward. We do all the work they demand of us, so they should also follow through on their promise.” Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Beyond investing in new trees, women workers also discussed investments in worker housing and facilities. A focus group of women farm workers covered under the current CBA revealed that some workers live in improvised and precarious housing. Several women wanted investment in improved housing for workers. Water and electricity are not mentioned in the current CBA, although many workers live on company land and in

company housing and do not have hookups to water or electricity, or their water and electricity supply is inconsistent. The housing situation seemed to be particularly problematic for seasonal workers. Several seasonal interviewees commented on the unreliable electricity and shabby housing.

"There is no waste management or sanitation program in our area. We've been fighting for an extension to the electricity grid to our area for a long time." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

A few even mentioned the possibility that their communities would be torn down and replaced by rental housing.

"They told us they would build homes for us. We don't pay rent because we live in a slum. We'll have to pay rent, but now we have at least a place to live. I don't know how anyone is going to afford to build a home." Woman, seasonal worker, Zniber farm.

Thus, workers are keen to include improved company housing in the next CBA but are concerned that they could not afford rent for the new housing. Resolving these twin concerns will be important. Finally, a few women workers noted that the number of toilet facilities was inadequate, and the facilities were too far away.

Women in particular noted the need to address their care burdens in the next round of CBA negotiations. Between child care, elder care and sick care, women farm workers are overburdened. In the focus group discussions, they highlighted these issues and offered suggestions for how a new CBA could address care deficits. Some women shop stewards pointed out that care burdens could be hindering more women from participating in union activities.

"The problem is availability. Women have to go home and do housework." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Child care was clearly on the minds of women in several focus groups. Provisions to support working mothers were suggested for the next round of CBA negotiations.

"When women work, grandmothers take care of children. In the next CBA, we want to ask for kindergarten or a nursery in the workplace." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Men laugh about the daycare benefit, but it is still in the agenda." Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

"Some [mothers] live far away and they can't go home to nurse within the time given. Day care would be helpful, or a transport to take the mother back and forth. Some farms let the nursing mother leave early or have a transport to take mother back and forth to nurse."

Otherwise one lady had to take her 13-year-old daughter out of school to take care of the baby. Another woman brought her mother to take care of the baby.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Several women also discussed inadequate medical care and how this affected their ability to care for their families. Women workers expressed the need for on-site medical care, or a resident doctor, especially for the older women.

“Medical care is not sufficient. There are no sophisticated systems. For serious things you have to go to Meknes. Medication has to be bought by workers.” Woman, permanent worker, Zniber farm.

Comparing organized workers covered by a collective agreement with those who are not covered also revealed important differences. Women not covered by CBAs referred to their lower status as workers and the fact that they were much more likely to be seasonal workers.

“We want to work the whole year. We want to work and be well paid for the work we do.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

The biggest issue brought up by women not currently covered by a CBA was that they were not properly registered with Morocco's CNSS or that their employers were not logging the total number of hours they worked. Several noted that their employer had only declared the women workers with CNSS starting in 2009 or 2010, despite the fact that many of these women had been employed there for more than 15 years. The focus group felt particularly vulnerable to this phenomenon, and many women shared similar stories.

“One woman worked for the company for 30 years, but when she went to the CNSS to collect a pension, they would not even give her one dirham (10 cents) because she didn't work enough days because the company only started contributing to CNSS for her three years ago.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

That women would not be declared to CNSS appeared to be a gendered phenomenon, because women work fewer days in general and thus can be more easily neglected.

“Men work more hours, more days, so they are more likely to get CNSS. One needs to work 3,240 days to be eligible for pension.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

Women also commented that without the CBA they were more likely to experience discriminatory policies and benefits.

“Women face discrimination compared to men because they don't have any rights: no paid vacation, no allowance when they aren't working. Men get 700 dirhams (\$73.50) for Eid al-Adha, but not women. Women get no bonuses for holidays, back-to-school, nothing.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

“There’s no work [on rainy days] or you are just paid for hours worked. Men permanent workers still get paid. Only women don’t get paid.” Woman, seasonal worker, non-Zniber farm.

Where women covered under the current CBA noted the equal pay for men and women doing the same job, organized women without a CBA felt that they were subjected to a multitude of unequal policies. Additionally, women workers not covered by the current CBA noted that they would want suitable equipment for their jobs (especially for cooling workers), more consistent work throughout the year, higher wages, paid holidays, an on-site doctor and training.

Figures 8 and 9 attempt to summarize the qualitative findings that describe gender differences in the concerns about the terms and conditions of employment to be included in the next CBA, as well as the differences in concerns articulated by temporary and permanent workers.

Figure 8 demonstrates that while there was some overlap of concerns by sex, men exclusively raised the concern about transportation being important for the next CBA. We believe that this is not because transport is of no importance to women; indeed, it was raised in the focus groups as an issue, but they did not prioritize transport for inclusion in the next CBA. Women stressed the importance of including access to health care, improved housing, greater gender equality in tasks and job categories, more training, and improved bonuses. Both men and women in the FGDs raised concerns about better jobs with higher pay associated with higher skill levels, and with higher wages generally. Both articulated concerns about the need for more investment in trees to expand production and the demand for labor.

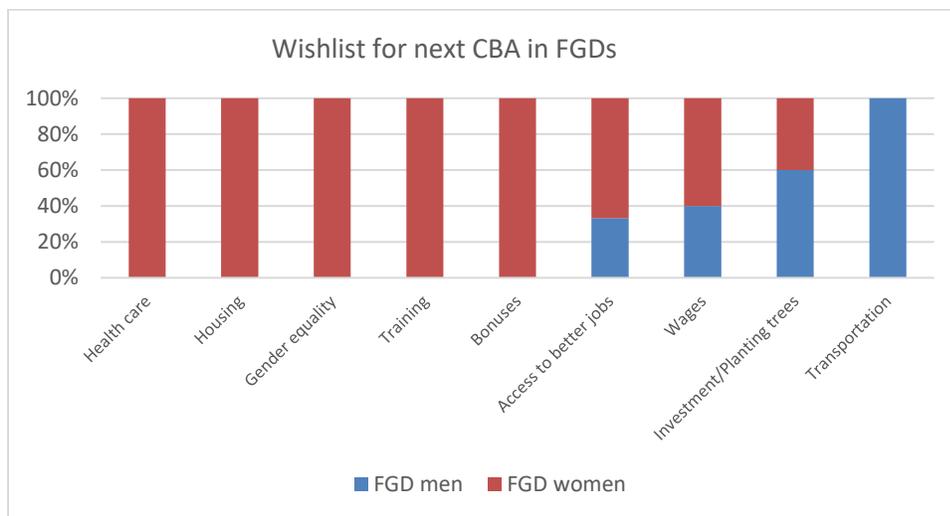


Figure 8: Benefits that could be addressed by the next CBA

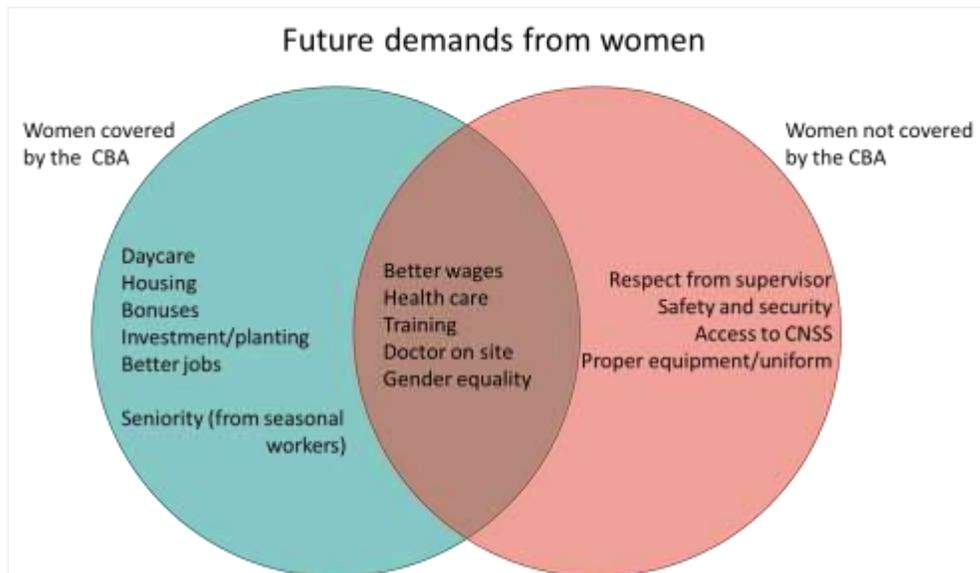


Figure 9: Comparison of grievances from women covered by the CBA and not covered by the CBA

Conclusions and Recommendations

This report demonstrates that workers clearly articulate that they experience many benefits from collective bargaining. Women workers in particular reported benefitting considerably from the CBA, starting with gaining more permanent year-long employment and accessing better paying jobs and maternity benefits. However, a gap remains between men and women regarding participation in the negotiations and leadership processes. As both men and women shop stewards pointed out, most women workers are illiterate and have very limited knowledge of the labor code. This was evident in FGDs, where many women workers did not differentiate between the benefits they received as a right under the labor code and the benefits they received as a part of the CBA. Training women on provisions of the law can make them better negotiators and more confident participants in negotiations.

The participatory inquiry also highlights that instituting some workload regularity mechanism or guarantee in the next CBA could reduce the irregularity of working on the farms for both men and women, but may have added benefits for women, whose work is not only seasonal, but also more weather-dependent. Adding more skills training

opportunities for women in the next CBA could also be effective in reducing job segmentation and ensuring women can progress to better paying jobs on the farm.

Actively engaging seasonal workers in the bargaining process will also be important to ensure more generalizable benefits from the CBA and to represent the perspective of the most vulnerable workers in the bargaining process. Meeting regularly with seasonal workers and ensuring that their concerns and perspectives are negotiated over will be critical to achieving this goal. Similarly, developing pathways for seasonal workers to become permanent workers will be essential to improving the terms and conditions of their employment. This will most likely involve training, capacity building and continual seasonal employment as a route to permanent tenure.

Additionally, investments in small infrastructure (water, electricity, transport) and in resolving or reducing women's care burdens in workers' communities could also be included in the CBA. The extent to which the negotiating company provides the infrastructure or leverages state funds for their investment may be critical here as a mechanism for recognizing, reducing and redistributing care burdens in agricultural communities.

It is also clear that there is a tremendous need to support and expand women workers' literacy, enabling them to better understand their rights and contribute to negotiations and bargaining, but also as a strategy to compensate for their relative disadvantage in literate and numerate society more generally. Popular education techniques to address women's literacy, delivered in their homes and after work, may be particularly valuable and effective. Training should be designed with women workers to ensure that they are able to attend and to balance their work and household responsibilities.

Several methodological lessons from this analysis bear discussion. The participatory tools to elicit the workers' concerns and aspirations were easily applied and could be replicated in other settings. It is most important that workers feel that they can freely and constructively offer judgement on the CBA and the functioning of the bargaining process and their engagement with the union. One suggestion would be to have a neutral third party facilitate the participatory analysis, if this model is to be replicated in other contexts to inform future CBAs.

It is clearly the strategy of the CDT to use the collective bargaining agreement as a means to apply the existing labor code and indeed expand the scope of the labor law. Without a doubt, social dialogue is an important tool for the formalization of the informal economy. It is also an important tool for building democracy, reducing poverty and ameliorating inequality. As Charmes highlights in his analysis of informality in the region, the institutional framework of social dialogue at local, regional and national levels should be mobilized, and institutions such as the Economic and Social Councils, the Tripartite Advisory Boards and the Provincial Employment Boards should be drawn into this

endeavor. Supporting collective bargaining and social dialogue throughout the sector and building on the lessons from this CBA will be key to ensuring that labor law is adhered to and its reach and depth is expanded in Morocco.

Finally, our quantitative analysis of the economic impact of the CBA in the sector underscores that adhering to labor law and replicating the Zniber CBA would require a redistribution of about 3 percent of the value added in the chain. Given the benefits demonstrated in this report, this appears achievable and should be considered. This analysis was frustrated, however, by the scarcity of valid, representative quantitative data on employment and wages. We were unable to collect either micro or macro data on employment and wages that would allow us to represent the benefits of collective bargaining within a more complete value chain analysis. The f.o.b. value of wine or olive oil production is not broken down in the national accounts. By judiciously combining internet reports, EU data on imports and data from private sector platforms on production, we were able to estimate the total production, employment and f.o.b earnings in wine production (see Annex). These data need to be further analyzed by local experts to see whether the estimates are robust. Currently, the sales from domestic consumption of wine exceed exports. But the Moroccan producers appear to be well-positioned to increase sales abroad if more restrictive laws on domestic consumption are put in place. The sales taxes on wine, however, are also an important source of tax revenue. Their reinvestment in the sector and in expanding worker rights would be ideal. Making these data more accessible to employers, workers, and the public sector would make policy decisions about improving the terms and conditions of employment in the sector much more transparent.

Annex

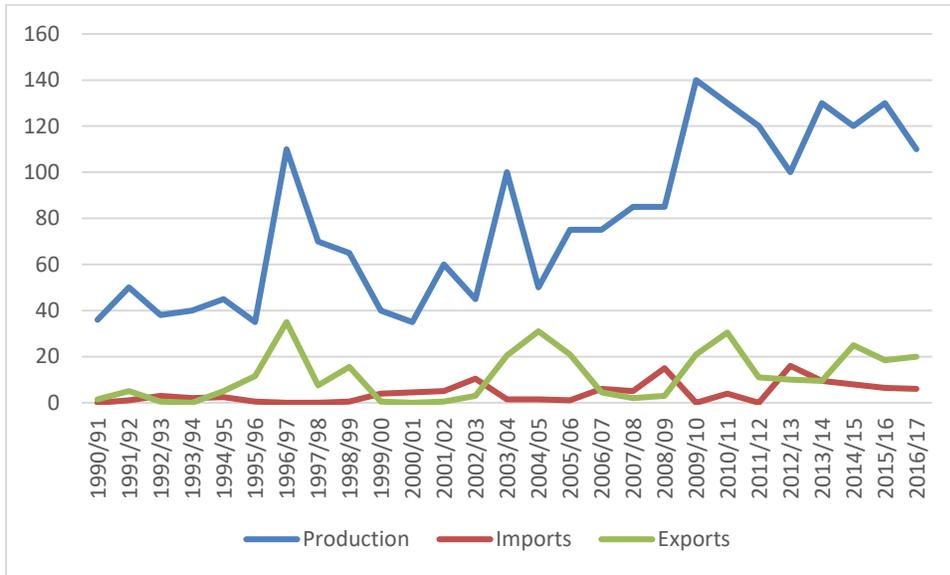
Table 1. Poverty Rates in Morocco

	2001			2014		
	Poverty Rate	Vulnerability Index	Gini	Poverty Rate	Vulnerability Index	Gini
Tangier-Tetouan	11.5	31.5	0.367	2.2	9.0	0.370
Oriental	18.2	45.6	0.365	5.3	10.4	0.390
Fez-Meknes	16.6	42.4	0.385	5.2	13.7	0.389
Rabat-Salé-Kénitra	15.5	35.9	0.399	3.8	12.9	0.442
Beni Mellal-Khénifra	14.4	39.1	0.353	9.3	17.3	0.344
Casablanca metro area	6.9	23.5	0.432	2.0	8.9	0.396
Marrakesh-Safi	20.2	50.0	0.362	5.4	13.5	0.346
Draa-Tafilalet	40.3	65.4	0.382	14.6	16.2	0.391
Souss-Massa	16.7	39.4	0.409	5.1	17.6	0.373
Southern Regions	6.0	16.7	0.350	3.3	10.4	0.402
Total	15.3	38.1	0.406	4.8	12.5	0.395

Source: Haut Comisarsariat au Plan

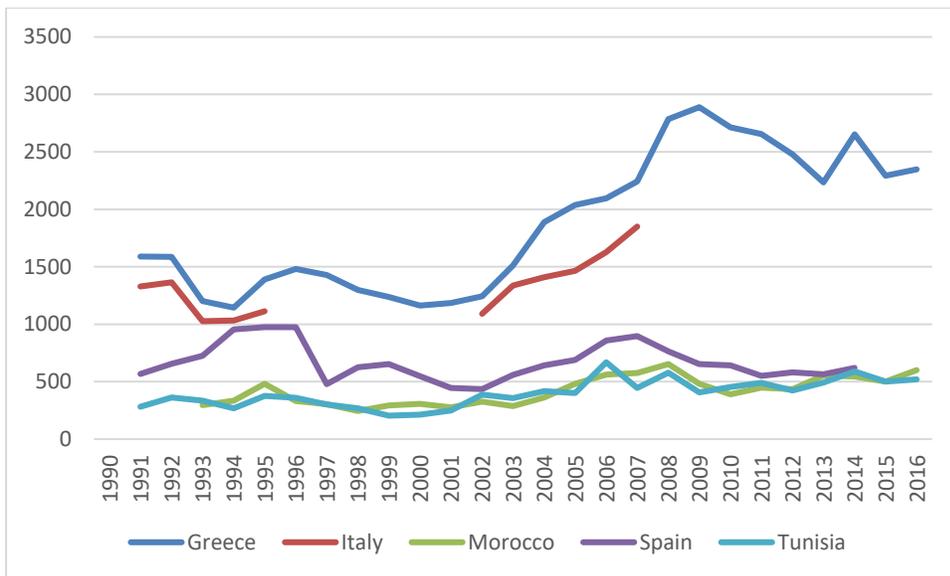
http://www.hcp.ma/Indices-de-pauvrete-vulnerabilite-et-inegalite-selon-la-region-2001-2014_a661.html (Accessed on January 24, 2019)

Figure 1. Olive Oil Production in Morocco, Metric Tons



Source: <http://www.internationaloliveoil.org/> (Accessed on January 24, 2019)

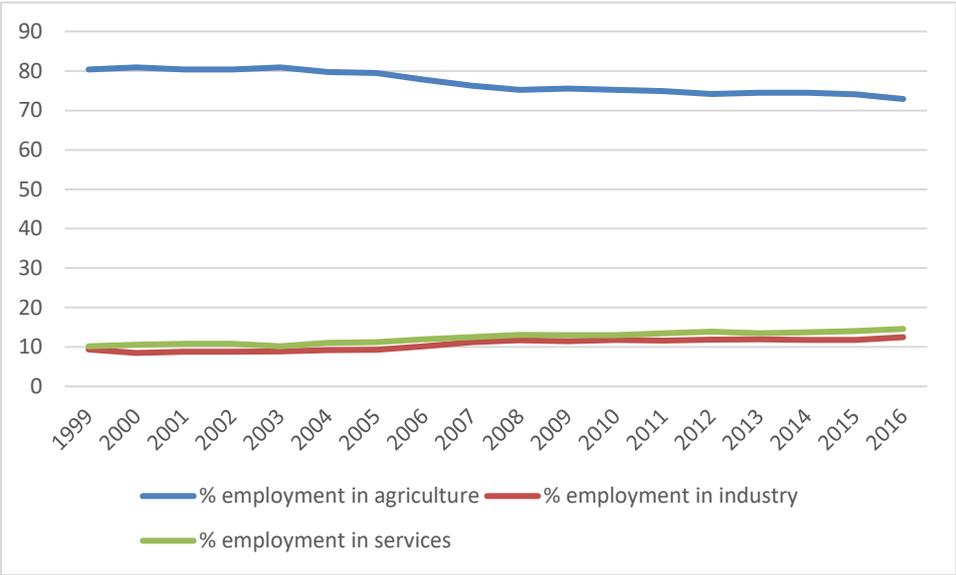
Figure 2. Olive Oil Producer Prices



Source: FAOSTAT

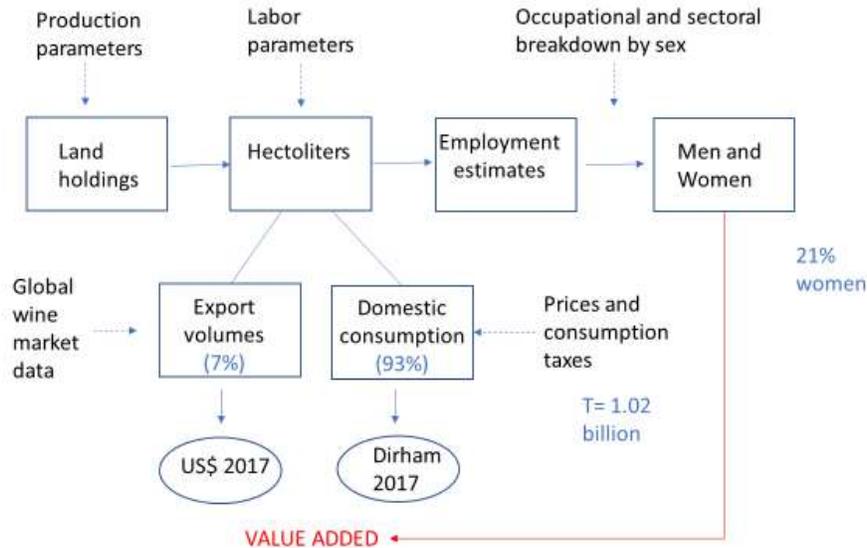
<http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/PP> (Accessed on January 24, 2019)

Figure 3. Employment in Agriculture



Source: Haut Commissariat au Plan
http://www.hcp.ma/Emploi-par-branche-d-activite-de-la-population-active-occupee-au-milieu-rural_a154.html (Accessed on January 24, 2019)

Figure 4. Value Added in Wine Production, Behind the Border



Since the value added for wine production is not reported in the national accounts, we had to estimate the value added deductively. The value added in wine production was calculated applying some simple production parameters to the size of landholdings and area under vines, based on a number of similar production environments in the Mediterranean, notably in Greece and Italy, and in South Africa and California.⁵⁵ This produced an estimate of the hectoliters of production in 2017 that was then validated by iterative internet searches on wine production in Morocco. Parameters from the same studies of wine production were used to develop employment estimates for Full Time Equivalent employees. We recognize that this approach may lead us to underestimate employment in absolute numbers because seasonal worker labor effort is combined into a fulltime equivalent estimate. The hectoliters of production were valued, differentiating between domestic and export markets and applying prices from national price indexes and EU estimates of the value of Moroccan wine per hectoliter. The estimates for domestic value added were then compared to estimates of the tax revenues generated through wine consumption. The

⁵⁵ Vlachos, V. 2017. "A Macroeconomic Estimation of Wine Production in Greece," *Wine Economics and Policy* 6: (2017), 3–13.; Marone, E., M. Bertocchin, F. Boncinelli, and N. Marinelli, "The Cost of Making Wine: A Tuscan Case Study Based on a Full Cost Approach," *Wine Economics and Policy* 6: (2017) 88–97.; Seifert, S. and M. Valente, "An Offer That You Can't Refuse? Agrimafias and Migrant Labor on Vineyards in Southern Italy," Working Paper, German Institute for Economic Research, (2017); Visser, M. and S. Ferrer. 2015. "Farm Workers' Living and Working Conditions in South Africa: Key Trends, Emergent Issues, and Underlying and Structural Problems," Report to the Pretoria Office of the ILO, (2015); Shabazian D., G. Ballard-Rosa, A. Holmqvist, L. Ormiston, "Food System Multipliers for Specialty Crops: Executive Summary, Sacramento Region, "A Project of the Rural-Urban Connections Strategy, (2016).

sex breakdown of employment was arrived at applying ILO LABORSTAT parameters for skill level to the different occupational categories. Based on this analysis, we estimate that the wine sector generated about 2.1 Billion Dirham in 2017 (\$211.5 million), of which 7.5 percent accrues to exports and the remainder is generated through domestic sales. Applying remuneration parameters from the Diana Holdings/Zniber group about 18.4 percent of all the value added secured behind the border accrues to workers; 14.0 percent to men and 4.4 percent to women. This generates a higher bound estimate. A lower bound estimate where not all Domaines pay the same wages and benefits concludes that 15.7 percent of all the value added goes to workers; 11.8 percent to men and 3.9 percent to women.

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