

From CSR commitment to conditional integration: Rethinking migrant inclusion through contextualized ethics in Morocco

De l'engagement RSE à l'intégration conditionnelle : Repenser l'inclusion des migrants à travers l'éthique contextualisée au Maroc

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Abstract :

In a context marked by Morocco's transformation into a country of migrant settlement, the integration of sub-Saharan migrants has become a major socio-economic and organizational issue. Although Corporate Social Responsibility is often presented as a driver of inclusion, a gap persists between formal commitments and actual practices. This article offers a renewed understanding of migrant integration by articulating migration studies, CSR, contextualized ethics, and the theory of regimes of engagement. Based on an exploratory qualitative approach drawing on a contextualization study of ethics in Morocco, the analysis shows that integration does not depend solely on formal mechanisms, but also on actors' logics of action, underlying interests, and situated ethical frameworks. The article highlights the conditional, situated, and sometimes selective nature of migrant integration. From a managerial perspective, it calls for organizations to move beyond declarative inclusion policies by integrating the social, cultural, and ethical specificities of the Moroccan context.

Key words : Corporate Social Responsibility, Contextualized Ethics, Migrant Integration, Regimes of engagement, Morocco.

Résumé :

Dans un contexte marqué par la transformation du Maroc en pays d'installation migratoire, l'intégration des migrants subsahariens constitue un enjeu socio-économique et organisationnel majeur. Si la responsabilité sociétale des entreprises est souvent présentée comme un levier d'inclusion, un écart persiste entre les engagements affichés et les pratiques effectives. Cet article propose une lecture renouvelée de cette intégration à partir d'une articulation entre littérature migratoire, RSE, éthique contextualisée et théorie des régimes d'engagement. À partir d'une démarche qualitative exploratoire fondée sur une étude de contextualisation de l'éthique au Maroc, l'analyse montre que l'intégration ne dépend pas uniquement des dispositifs formels, mais des logiques d'action, des intérêts en jeu et des référentiels éthiques mobilisés par les acteurs. L'article met ainsi en évidence le caractère conditionnel, situé et parfois sélectif de l'intégration des migrants. Sur le plan managérial, il invite les entreprises à dépasser une approche déclarative de l'inclusion en intégrant les spécificités sociales, culturelles et éthiques du contexte marocain.

Mots clés : Responsabilité sociétale des entreprises, Éthique contextualisée, Intégration des migrants, Régimes d'engagement, Maroc

Introduction

In a context marked by the intensification of human mobility and the gradual transformation of certain transit countries into spaces of settlement, the issue of migrant integration has gained increasing prominence in academic debates. While access to employment constitutes a first lever of insertion, the literature shows that such integration often remains incomplete, particularly due to processes of occupational downgrading and labor market segmentation (Dustmann et al., 2013; Castles & Miller, 2009; ILO, 2019). At the same time, management studies emphasize that the presence of diverse profiles does not guarantee effective inclusion, which often remains partial or merely formal (Shore et al., 2011; Mor Barak, 2015). These observations are particularly salient in the Moroccan context, where the integration of sub-Saharan migrants, although real, remains uneven and highly dependent on available socio-economic opportunities ((El Kammouni, 2024; Er-Rays et al., 2025).

In this context, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is frequently mobilized as a lever for inclusion. However, a persistent gap remains between formal commitments and actual practices, highlighting the limits of a strictly formal approach to inclusion (Igalens & Sahraoui, 2022; El Bousserghini, 2018). While the literature documents the challenges of integration and the limitations of inclusion mechanisms, it still insufficiently addresses the way in which these practices are mediated by locally situated ethical frameworks. This gap is particularly significant in the Moroccan context, where ethics appears as a relational and conditional construct, shaped by situations and underlying interests (Benmira, 2025). From this perspective, the research question of this article can be formulated as follows: **How do contextualized ethical frameworks and engagement logics specific to the Moroccan context help explain the often conditional forms of integration of sub-Saharan migrants?**

This article seeks to offer a renewed perspective on migrant integration by articulating migration studies, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), contextualized ethics, and the theory of regimes of engagement (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991). It adopts a conceptual approach with an exploratory empirical grounding. Rather than directly testing migrant integration practices through a new field study, the article develops an analytical framework based on existing literature and on the findings of a previous qualitative contextualization study of ethics conducted in Morocco (Benmira, 2025). This study relied on semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis in order to examine how ethics is understood and mobilized by actors in the Moroccan organizational context. This positioning makes it possible to examine how locally situated ethical frameworks and differentiated regimes of

engagement may help explain the conditional, selective, and situated forms of migrant integration in the Moroccan context.

The article is structured as follows. The first section reviews the literature on migrant integration and highlights the limits of economic and organizational approaches to inclusion. The second section develops an analytical model of conditional integration based on CSR, contextualized ethics, and regimes of engagement. Finally, the third section discusses the theoretical contributions and managerial implications of the proposed framework, before presenting its limitations and future research perspectives.

1. Migrant integration and the limits of inclusive approaches: toward a contextualized reading

1.1. Economic integration shaped by segmentation and downgrading

The migration literature highlights a relatively consistent finding: the integration of migrants into labor markets does not necessarily lead to equitable inclusion. On the contrary, it often operates through segmentation mechanisms that assign migrants to specific positions, typically located in the most precarious segments of the economy.

The work of Dustmann, Frattini, and Preston (2013) shows that migrants frequently experience occupational downgrading upon arrival, resulting in their insertion into jobs below their initial qualifications. This situation is not neutral; it contributes to a restructuring of the labor market in which migrants predominantly occupy the least valued positions, with differentiated effects on native workers depending on their skill levels. In a similar vein, Castles and Miller (2009) emphasize that contemporary migration dynamics are embedded in economic structures that produce differentiated forms of integration, often characterized by instability and vulnerability.

These findings are confirmed at the global level by reports from the International Labour Organization, which highlight the concentration of migrant workers in sectors characterized by weak social protection, precarious working conditions, and limited institutional recognition (ILO, 2019). Economic integration thus appears as a functional adjustment to labor market needs.

In the Moroccan context, these dynamics take on a specific form, studies on the integration of sub-Saharan migrants show that their insertion largely relies on limited economic opportunities, often located in informal or weakly regulated sectors (REMSES, 2023; Revue FREG, 2022). Although real, this integration remains fragile and dependent on factors such as

social networks, education level, and administrative status. In other words, integration exists, but it remains uneven.

Thus, the literature converges toward a central idea: access to employment does not guarantee full integration. It often constitutes a first step, but one that remains insufficient to ensure genuine social and organizational inclusion. While essential, these approaches tend to conceptualize migrant integration primarily through an economic lens, overlooking the social, organizational, and ethical dimensions that concretely shape integration dynamics.

It therefore becomes necessary to move beyond this perspective and propose a more contextualized approach, attentive to actors' logics of action and the ethical frameworks within which they operate.

1.2. Organizational inclusion: between normative discourses and selective practices

In response to these observations, management research has progressively incorporated the issue of migrants through the broader lens of diversity and inclusion. However, these studies emphasize a fundamental distinction: diversity, understood as the presence of varied profiles, is not sufficient to ensure inclusion.

According to Shore et al. (2011), inclusion requires a dual condition: being accepted within the collective while also being recognized in one's uniqueness. From this perspective, the challenge is not only to integrate individuals into the organization, but also to enable their full participation in organizational dynamics. Yet, this condition is far from being systematically fulfilled.

The work of Mor Barak (2015) shows that inclusion policies may coexist with organizational practices that implicitly maintain forms of exclusion. Migrants, like other minority groups, may be present within organizations without benefiting from equitable access to resources, opportunities, or decision-making spaces. Inclusion thus becomes partial, or even symbolic.

This tension between discourse and practice echoes observations in the field of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Many companies display commitments to diversity, equity, or social responsibility, yet these commitments often remain at a declarative level and struggle to translate into actual practices (Jamali, 2014; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). In emerging contexts, these gaps may be even more pronounced due to economic, institutional, or cultural constraints.

In the Moroccan context, these limitations appear particularly pronounced. Research on CSR shows that, despite progress in extra-financial reporting and the adoption of formal

mechanisms, practices often remain characterized by a gap between stated commitments and their effective implementation (Igalens & Sahraoui, 2022; Cherkaoui, 2019). This situation reflects a form of CSR formalization that is not always accompanied by a deep transformation of organizational practices.

Consequently, the inclusion of migrants within Moroccan companies cannot be understood solely through policies or formal mechanisms. It also depends on how these mechanisms are appropriated, interpreted, and implemented by organizational actors.

1.3. The moroccan context: toward an ethical and contextualized understanding of integration

While the literature highlights the limitations of economic and organizational approaches to integration, it leaves a central question unresolved: why can integration practices vary so significantly within the same context?

It is precisely at this level that a contextualized ethical perspective becomes essential. In this article, contextualized ethics refers to a situated system of moral references through which actors define what is considered acceptable, legitimate, or fair in a given social and organizational context. Unlike a universalist conception of ethics based on stable and abstract principles, contextualized ethics emphasizes the role of relationships, social expectations, collective norms, and interests in shaping ethical judgments and practices. In the Moroccan context, this means that ethical behavior may be guided by principles such as morality, integrity, and compliance, while remaining strongly influenced by the situation, the actors involved, and the interests at stake.

The contextualization study conducted as part of this research shows that ethics in the Moroccan context cannot be understood as a set of universal principles applied uniformly. Rather, it refers to a situated system of values, characterized by a strong relational dimension and a high degree of dependence on specific situations (Benmira, 2025).

As this study emphasizes, ethics is defined through “conformity, morality, and integrity,” yet its application varies depending on contexts and underlying interests (Benmira, 2025). More importantly, the findings reveal that individuals tend to align with collective norms «... *as long as personal interests are not at stake* » (Benmira, 2025). This conditional dimension of ethics constitutes a key element for understanding the dynamics of migrant integration.

Indeed, the acceptance of migrants may be facilitated in situations where their presence responds to specific economic needs, particularly in segments of the labor market

characterized by low attractiveness for the local workforce. In such cases, integration becomes functional, justified by logics of utility. Conversely, when their presence is perceived as competitive or threatening, it may give rise to forms of rejection or social distancing.

This perspective resonates with the theory of regimes of engagement developed by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991), which provides a framework for understanding how actors mobilize different logics of justification depending on the situations they encounter.

In the Moroccan context, the empirical study highlights the articulation of several engagement regimes civic, domestic, market, and opinion which structure practices and discourses related to CSR and ethics (Benmira, 2025). These regimes are not mobilized uniformly, but rather vary according to contexts, interests, and the stakes involved.

Thus, migrant integration appears as a deeply situated process, shaped by multiple and sometimes contradictory logics. It cannot be reduced either to the effects of public policies or to a mere translation of CSR commitments. Rather, it depends on how actors interpret situations, arbitrate between competing logics, and mobilize ethical frameworks that are themselves conditioned by the context.

2. Toward an analytical model of migrant integration based on regimes of engagement

2.1. The limits of conventional approaches to integration

Existing analyses of migrant integration highlight a major limitation: integration is generally approached either through economic logics or through normative frameworks related to inclusion or corporate social responsibility. Economic approaches, in particular, show that migrants often occupy specific positions within the wage distribution, which may generate both substitution and complementarity effects in the labor market (Dustmann, Frattini & Preston, 2013). At the same time, sociological perspectives emphasize the structuring role of institutions, public policies, and inclusion mechanisms in shaping migration trajectories (Castles & Miller, 2009).

However, while essential, these perspectives struggle to account for the variability of integration practices observed within the same context. In the Moroccan case, several studies underline that the socio-economic integration of Sub-Saharan migrants remains partial, differentiated, and often characterized by informal or precarious forms of insertion, particularly within certain segments of the labor market (Tati, 2011; REMSES, 2023). This

situation suggests that integration does not depend solely on institutional arrangements or economic dynamics, but is also constructed at the level of social and organizational interactions.

From this perspective, it becomes necessary to move beyond a strictly structural reading and to propose a more nuanced approach centered on actor's logics of action. The theory of regimes of engagement (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991) provides a relevant analytical framework to examine how individuals and organizations adjust their behaviors by mobilizing different principles of justification, depending on the situations and interests at stake.

2.2. Contextualized ethics as a key lens for understanding integration practices

Building on our contextualization study, ethics in the Moroccan context cannot be understood as a set of universal norms applied uniformly. Rather, it reflects a situated construction, both relational and contextual that adjusts to interests and social configurations (Benmira, 2025).

As one of the key findings of this study highlights, ethics is defined in terms of “compliance, morality, and integrity,” yet its application remains conditional, as individuals tend to adhere to it “...provided that their personal interest is not at stake” (Benmira, 2025).

This characteristic provides a central lens for understanding migrant integration dynamics. It suggests that organizational behaviors are not solely guided by normative principles of inclusion, but are strongly shaped by the interests and contexts in which actors operate. Ethics thus appears as a flexible reference framework, mobilized differently depending on the situation.

This logic helps explain why migrant integration is neither uniform nor systematic. It may be facilitated in contexts where migrants meet specific economic needs, particularly in sectors characterized by demand for flexible or low-skilled labor. Conversely, in the absence of direct interest, forms of distance or even rejection may emerge.

This variability in practices reflects a form of situated ethical adjustment, directly linked to interests and social configurations. Ethics does not therefore constitute a stable framework uniformly guiding behavior, but rather a repertoire that is mobilized in differentiated ways, producing selective forms of integration. As illustrated by one interview excerpt:

« Officially, there is not a single company that does not strongly promote respect for norms and values. However, unofficially [...] it is impossible to truly understand without having experienced it » (Interviewee 4, Benmira, 2025).

This gap between discourse and practice highlights a central tension: that between an “*espoused*” ethics, often aligned with CSR principles, and a situated ethics, adjusted to actors’ constraints and interests.

2.3. Conditional integration: toward a model based on regimes of engagement

From this perspective, it becomes possible to propose an analytical model of migrant integration based on the articulation between corporate social responsibility, contextualized ethics, and regimes of engagement.

First, migrant integration does not rely solely on formal mechanisms or organizational policies. It depends on the engagement logics mobilized by actors, which guide their decisions according to various principles of justification (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991). These logics help explain why, within the same organization, practices may differ depending on situations and the actors involved.

Second, these logics are embedded in different orders of worth, identified through our empirical study: the civic, domestic, market, and opinion orders (Benmira, 2025). Each of these orders structures a specific way of perceiving and justifying integration.

Within a market logic, integration may be approached through the lens of economic utility, particularly when migrants occupy specific positions in the labor market. Within a domestic logic, it may depend on relationships of proximity, trust, or belonging. The opinion order may lead to inclusion practices oriented toward image and reputation, while the civic order refers to principles of equality and justice.

The proposed analytical model can be summarized through four regimes of engagement that shape different forms of conditional migrant integration.

Table 1 : Regimes of engagement and forms of conditional migrant integration

Regime of engagement	Dominant logic	Basis of justification	Form of migrant integration
Market order	Economic utility	Migrants are integrated when their presence responds to labor market needs	Functional integration
Domestic order	Proximity and trust	Migrants are accepted when relational ties, familiarity, or trust are established	Relational integration
Opinion order	Image and reputation	Inclusion is mobilized to enhance organizational legitimacy or public image	Symbolic integration
Civic order	Equality and justice	Integration is justified by principles of rights, equity, and the common good	Normative integration

Source : Authors

This model highlights that migrant integration is not a homogeneous process, but takes different forms depending on the regimes of engagement mobilized by actors and the interests at stake.

Third and this constitutes the central contribution of this article, migrant integration emerges as a conditional process, shaped by the articulation of these different orders of worth and the interests at stake. It cannot be understood as a stable state, but rather as a situated, evolving, and sometimes contradictory dynamic.

In the Moroccan context, this dynamic appears particularly pronounced, as Sub-Saharan migrants often occupy specific positions within the labor market, reinforcing the differentiated and contextual nature of their integration.

From this perspective, CSR plays an ambivalent role. On the one hand, it constitutes a normative framework that can promote inclusion by advancing values of equity and social responsibility. On the other hand, it may be mobilized instrumentally, particularly in a logic of image or compliance, without leading to a genuine transformation of practices. As one interviewee noted:

«[...] It is not enough to say it, action is required... » (Interviewee 1, Benmira, 2025)

This observation echoes existing analyses highlighting the gap between formal commitments and actual practices in Moroccan companies (Igalens & Sahraoui, 2022).

Thus, the proposed model makes it possible to move beyond a linear understanding of migrant integration and instead offers a more nuanced reading, grounded in the interactions between ethics, interests, and logics of commitment. It shows that integration is neither automatic nor homogeneous, but depends on the social, economic, and organizational configurations within which it unfolds.

3. Discussion and implications

The findings of this study provide a renewed perspective on the integration of Sub-Saharan migrants in the Moroccan context. Contrary to conventional approaches, which tend to conceptualize integration as a predominantly institutional or organizational process, our analysis highlights its situated, conditional, and commitment-dependent nature.

This result aligns with our broader analysis of CSR dynamics, which shows that commitment cannot be reduced to formal adherence to norms, but rather refers to situated practices shaped by individuals' values, interests, and contexts of action (Benmira, 2025). From this perspective, migrant integration cannot be understood as a stable process, but rather as an evolving dynamic, characterized by ongoing adjustments between espoused principles and actual practices. By mobilizing the theory of regimes of engagement (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991), this article demonstrates that integration cannot be understood as a homogeneous or linear process. Instead, it unfolds through a plurality of logics of justification, which vary depending on contexts, interests, and situations. This perspective allows us to move beyond the traditional opposition between inclusion and exclusion, by highlighting intermediate forms of integration characterized by their partial, selective, and evolving nature.

This analysis shows that migrant integration practices are directly structured by the orders of worth mobilized by actors, each grounded in specific principles of justification. Integration therefore does not result from a single framework, but from the activation of differentiated logics depending on the context.

Within a market order, integration is conditioned by the economic utility of migrants, particularly in sectors where they occupy specific positions in the labor market. Within a domestic order, it depends on relationships of proximity, trust, and belonging. The opinion order may foster more symbolic forms of inclusion, oriented toward image and reputation without necessarily leading to substantive changes in practices, while the civic order refers to a more normative logic grounded in equity and the common good (Benmira, 2025).

The central theoretical contribution of this research lies in highlighting the conditional nature of integration, conceptualized as the outcome of the articulation between contextualized ethics and regimes of engagement. In this sense, this study contributes to the migration literature by showing that integration cannot be reduced to structural or institutional mechanisms, but also depends on actors' situated logics of action. It also contributes to CSR research by emphasizing that inclusion practices cannot be understood independently of locally constructed ethical frameworks.

Thus, this research offers a renewed interpretation of migrant integration by conceptualizing it as a conditional process, dependent on logics of commitment and situated ethical frameworks, thereby contributing to both migration studies and CSR literature in emerging contexts.

In the Moroccan context, ethics appears as a relational and contextual construction, whose application depends on situations and the interests at stake (Benmira, 2025). As shown in this study, it is defined through principles of compliance, morality, and integrity, yet its application remains conditional, as individuals tend to adhere to these principles when their personal interests are not directly involved. This specificity helps explain why practices of acceptance may coexist with forms of rejection or distancing, thereby revealing tensions between espoused norms and actual practices.

Furthermore, this research highlights the ambivalent role of CSR in integration dynamics. While it provides a normative framework that can foster inclusion, it may also be mobilized instrumentally, particularly within a logic of compliance or image (Igalens & Sahraoui, 2022; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). This finding extends previous analyses of the Moroccan context, which reveal a recurring gap between formal CSR commitments and their effective implementation within organizations.

Managerial implications

From a managerial perspective, this research invites organizations to move beyond a strictly formal approach to migrant inclusion. The adoption of diversity charters or policies, while necessary, remains insufficient if it is not accompanied by genuine appropriation by organizational actors.

In line with our findings, CSR commitment can only produce lasting effects if it is embedded in everyday practices and actively carried by individuals. In this regard, the role of middle managers is central, as they ensure the concrete translation of organizational commitments into situated actions. Organizations are therefore encouraged to:

- Strengthen mechanisms that foster the appropriation of CSR values within organizations, by promoting their internalization by actors;
- Integrate cultural and contextual specificities into the design of inclusion policies, taking into account the social logics specific to the Moroccan context;
- Develop concrete mechanisms to translate ethical commitments into effective practices, particularly through monitoring, evaluation, and regulatory processes.

More broadly, organizations must recognize that migrant integration does not rely solely on a logic of compliance or social responsibility, but is embedded in complex dynamics where economic interests, individual values, and collective logics of action interact.

Limitations and future research

This research has several limitations. First, the proposed model remains exploratory and has not been empirically tested through a field study specifically focused on sub-Saharan migrants in Moroccan companies. The empirical grounding relies on a previous contextualization study of ethics in Morocco, which provides relevant insights but does not directly capture migrants' lived experiences. Second, the analysis is mainly based on an interpretive and conceptual approach. While this allows for a deeper understanding of the role of contextualized ethics and regimes of engagement, it limits the possibility of generalizing the findings. Finally, the study focuses on the Moroccan context, which is characterized by specific cultural, institutional, and socio-economic dynamics. Future research could therefore test the proposed model through empirical studies involving migrant workers, HR managers, CSR managers, and institutional or associative actors.

Conclusion

This article aimed to offer a renewed interpretation of the integration of Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco by articulating migration literature, CSR research, and a contextualized approach to ethics.

The findings show that integration cannot be reduced to the mere existence of institutional or organizational mechanisms. Rather, it depends on how these mechanisms are interpreted and implemented by actors, according to differentiated logics of commitment and situated ethical frameworks.

By mobilizing the theory of regimes of engagement (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991), this research demonstrates that migrant integration unfolds as a conditional dynamic, shaped by the articulation of several orders of worth civic, domestic, market, and opinion which orient

actors' practices and justifications (Benmira, 2025). This perspective makes it possible to move beyond normative approaches to inclusion and to propose a more nuanced and realistic understanding of integration dynamics.

From a theoretical standpoint, this research contributes to the literature by proposing an original articulation between CSR, contextualized ethics, and migration studies within a still underexplored context. It highlights the importance of accounting for cultural and societal specificities in the analysis of organizational practices.

Finally, this study opens avenues for future research. In particular, it would be relevant to empirically investigate migrant integration practices within Moroccan organizations in order to confront the proposed model with organizational realities. Similarly, comparative studies could examine the extent to which these dynamics are observed in other African or emerging contexts.

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