

**Nationalist Sentiments in Chinese Consumer Behavior:
A Discourse Analysis of the Xinjiang Cotton Controversy**

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Abstract

This study examines how nationalist sentiments are discursively constructed and manifested in Chinese consumer behavior through an in-depth qualitative analysis of the Xinjiang cotton controversy. As rising nationalism reshapes China's consumption landscape, the intersection of political consumerism and digital activism has become increasingly evident, particularly within online platforms such as Xiaohongshu. Drawing on the concept of Political Consumerism, Framing theory and Social Identity Theory, this research explores how online users frame nationalist narratives, express cultural confidence, and align consumption choices with patriotic identity.

Using qualitative discourse and content analysis, this study examines 110 online commentaries across ten posts related to the Xinjiang cotton incident to identify recurring linguistic framings and messages that link economic behavior with national pride and resistance to foreign influence. The findings provide insights into diverse consumer perspectives on the incident, revealing a growing sense of economic nationalism expressed through support for domestic products, while also reflecting rational consumer awareness. Moreover, the study uncovers several issues and side effects within the community, such as the over-commercialization of nationalism and the emergence of opposing voices as public attention toward the incident began to decline.

By integrating sociolinguistic and socio-political perspectives, this research contributes to understanding the mechanisms through which digital nationalism influences consumer behavior in China's contemporary market environment. It highlights how nationalism functions as both a cultural and economic force, shaping perceptions of foreign brands amid ongoing geopolitical tensions.

Key words: Xinjiang Cotton Controversy, Consumer Nationalism, Economic Nationalism, Political Consumerism, Consumer Pragmatism

摘要

本研究透過對「新疆棉事件」的深入質性分析，探討民族主義情緒如何在中國消費者行為中被論述建構並具體展現。隨著民族主義逐漸重塑中國的消費版圖，政治性消費與數位行動主義之間的交會日益明顯，特別是在小紅書等線上平台上更為突出。本文以「政治性消費」概念、框架理論 (Framing Theory) 與社會認同理論 (Social Identity Theory) 為理論基礎，分析網路使用者如何建構民族主義敘事、表達文化自信，並將消費選擇與愛國身分加以連結。

研究方法採用質性論述分析與內容分析，針對與新疆棉事件相關的十則貼文中共 110 則線上評論進行分析，以辨識反覆出現的語言框架與訊息，這些論述將經濟行為與國族自豪感及對外來勢力的抗拒相互連結。研究結果呈現出消費者對該事件的多元觀點，顯示支持國產產品所展現的經濟民族主義意識逐漸增強，同時亦反映出消費者在民族情緒之外仍保有一定程度的理性消費意識。此外，研究亦發現社群中出現若干問題與副作用，例如民族主義的過度商業化，以及隨著公眾關注度下降而逐漸浮現的反對聲音。

透過整合社會語言學與社會政治視角，本研究有助於深化對數位民族主義如何影響中國當代市場環境中消費者行為之機制的理解，並凸顯民族主義作為一種文化與經濟力量，在持續的地緣政治緊張局勢下，如何形塑消費者對外國品牌的認知。

關鍵詞：新疆棉事件、消費民族主義、經濟民族主義、政治性消費、消費者務實主義

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INTRODUCTION

The Initial Incident

As trade and geopolitical tensions escalated during the Trump administration, the United States intensified its pressure on Beijing by imposing visa restrictions on Chinese officials allegedly responsible for the "brutal suppression" of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities. This move was part of a broader suite of policy measures and sanctions targeting Chinese authorities and entities accused of involvement in genocide or the use of forced labor in the Xinjiang region. Following several targeted legislative acts passed by Congress, the U.S. initially blocked imports of cotton and goods from the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), a ban that eventually expanded to cover all products originating from the region.

This momentum soon went global as the United Kingdom, Canada, and the European Union followed suit, imposing similar sanctions on officials and companies linked to forced labor. The U.K., as one of the first to act, moved to decouple its supply chains from Xinjiang to ensure British businesses remained untainted by human rights violations. This culminated in a coordinated "sanctions blitz," a multilateral effort by the U.S., U.K., EU, and Canada to penalize Chinese authorities after collectively declaring that China's actions in Xinjiang constituted "crimes against humanity." In response, China denied all allegations—specifically dismissing reports from the U.S. and the BBC regarding the detention of one million Uyghurs—and accused Western nations of spreading misinformation. To counter these measures, Beijing launched a series of retaliatory acts, blacklisting and sanctioning Western officials and organizations in return.¹

¹ Andrew Mullen, "Explainer | Xinjiang Timeline: Key Dates, Events as China Denies Western Forced Labour Allegations," South China Morning Post (South China Morning Post, October 9, 2021), https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/3145489/xinjiang-timeline-key-dates-events-china-denies-western?module=perpetual_scroll_0&pgtype=article.

Facing sanctions and restrictions from multiple countries at once, China's retaliatory sanctions against officials and entities from them appeared to have limited effectiveness. To make an impact, the Chinese Communist Party subsequently initiated a nationwide boycott movement, with its "mouthpiece People's Daily" naming Nike, Adidas, H&M, "along with Burberry, New Balance, and other members of the Better Cotton Initiative (BCI) that have expressed concerns about cotton produced in Xinjiang," criticized them of spreading misinformation and wrong accusation that later supported by the Chinese consumers and sparked a wave of nationalist consumption across different social platforms, with Weibo posts containing the hashtag "I support Xinjiang cotton" racked up more than 4 billion views." This strategic move from Beijing has indeed become influential through the networks of social platforms with plenty of posts showing support from Chinese users on the internet, where " a viral social media post about H&M said:, 'Spreading rumors to boycott Xinjiang cotton, while trying to make a profit in China? Wishful thinking!'"

The incident gained further momentum when numerous Chinese celebrities announced the termination of their contracts and collaborations with various Western brands. Against the backdrop of what was perceived as hostility from a coalition of foreign powers, Chinese citizens responded with unity, aligning their purchasing decisions with the country's needs and shifting from foreign brands to domestic alternatives. This led to a surge in demand for locally produced goods and the opposite for foreign brands. Subsequently, data highlighted the significant influence of this nationalist trend on Chinese social media platforms, as reflected in global markets with "Nike shares tumbled more than 3% Thursday on Wall Street, while Adidas sank

more than 6%. In London, Burberry lost more than 4%. H&M stock also slid nearly 2% in Sweden.”²

Digital Nationalism to Political Consumerism

In recent years, a series of “Guochao” (國潮) movements have gone viral across the Chinese mainland, a trend that promotes supporting domestic brands and goods infused with Chinese cultural elements or concepts. With the earliest rising trend on the promotion of traditional cultures, including both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, like Hanfu, and many other special techniques developed in ancient China. Many brands, such as Florasis and Maogeping, have strategically incorporated Chinese cultural elements and concepts, appealing to consumer nationalism by reinforcing psychological attachments to cultural belonging and confidence in national identity.³

Despite the significance of cultural confidence and national identity fostered by the Guochao movement, Chinese consumers are also becoming increasingly conscious of global diplomatic and economic pressures. The U.S.– China trade war, characterized by tariff escalations and restrictions on Chinese technology firms, has deepened this awareness by highlighting the vulnerabilities of relying on foreign markets and technologies. As a result, supporting domestic brands has increasingly been viewed not merely as a lifestyle choice but as a symbolic act of patriotism and resistance to foreign economic pressure. In an age of digitalization, online platforms have become key channels through which the idea of economic nationalism is disseminated and embraced, particularly as Chinese youths and young adults

² Ben Westcott and Laura He, “H&M and Nike Are Facing a Boycott in China over Xinjiang Cotton Statements,” CNN Business (CNN Business, March 26, 2021), <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/03/25/business/hm-nike-xinjiang-cotton-boycott-intl-hnk>.

³ GMA, “Top Leading Cosmetics Brands in China and Full Strategy Analysis,” *Cosmetics China*, June 5, 2020, <https://cosmeticschinaagency.com/top-leading-cosmetics-brands-in-china-and-full-strategy-analysis/>.

actively comment and share their perspectives on social media and e-commerce platforms. These spaces now serve as essential pathways both for brands to market their products and for consumers to exchange user experiences. More importantly, the notion of *Guochao*—or ‘supporting domestic brands’—has inspired a process of diffusion and amplification across digital networks, especially among the age groups most active online. Building on this momentum, the growing emphasis on supporting domestic brands has stimulated the expansion of prominent local firms such as Anta and Li-Ning.⁴

Chinese consumers have made purchasing decisions increasingly entangled with questions of national pride, sovereignty, and identity. This phenomenon reflects a broader trend in which consumption is no longer driven solely by quality, price, or brand prestige, but also by symbolic associations tied to national loyalty and cultural heritage, and the prominence of political consumerism. These phenomena are often associated with and reflected through collective actions, such as engaging in boycotts and disseminating awareness through the posting and sharing of relevant content on digital platforms.

Rising nationalism has created a more restrictive environment for foreign multinational corporations (MNCs) and brands, shaped by heightened consumer sensitivity to issues of national dignity and cultural identity. Foreign firms in sectors such as fashion, food, and automobiles have faced significant backlash when their actions or statements were perceived as undermining China’s sovereignty or disrespecting its culture. A notable example is the Xinjiang cotton controversy, where fast fashion brands such as Nike and H&M encountered widespread boycotts and reputational damage. These boycotts reflect not only growing online activism and

⁴ Daniel Zipser, Jeongmin Seong, and Lola Woetzel, “Five Consumer Trends Shaping the next Decade of Growth in China,” ed. Janet Bush and Glenn Leibowitz, McKinsey & Company Greater China (McKinsey & Company, November 11, 2021), <https://www.mckinsey.com/cn/our-insights/our-insights/five-consumer-trends-shaping-the-next-decade-of-growth-in-china>.

nationalist sentiment among Chinese consumers but also the pressures multinational companies face when navigating politically sensitive issues in the Chinese market.⁵

China’s Strategic Economic Reorientation and Market Size

Amid the global trend of deglobalization and protectionism, economic nationalism has emerged as a critical strategy for many countries seeking to shift from an “outward-oriented, dependent development” model to a more internally driven, independent, or regionally focused approach. For China, which continues to face restrictions and sanctions imposed by the United States, economic nationalism plays an increasingly vital role in shaping its geopolitical influence and economic standing in the world.⁶ The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has increasingly emphasized patriotism within the education system and online platforms, and has also acknowledged the limitations of its long-standing export-oriented development model. Facing mounting pressures from the United States—ranging from sanctions restricting access to advanced semiconductors intended to slow China’s progress in artificial intelligence and technological innovation, to the imposition of extensive tariffs on Chinese goods during the Trump administration—the Chinese government has been compelled to reconsider its economic strategy. These external challenges have further reinforced Beijing’s decision to shift its focus away from heavy reliance on exports toward stimulating domestic consumption and promoting internal economic resilience.⁷

⁵ Viking Bohman and Hillevi Pårup, “Chinese Consumer Boycotts of Foreign Companies, 2008–2021,” Kinacentrum (Swedish National China Centre, July 11, 2022), <https://kinacentrum.se/en/publications/chinese-consumer-boycotts-of-foreign-companies/>.

⁶ Jianyong Yue, “China Needs Economic Nationalism, Not Deeper Globalisation,” ThinkChina - Big reads, Opinion & Columns on China (ThinkChina, March 7, 2024), <https://www.thinkchina.sg/economy/china-needs-economic-nationalism-not-deeper-globalisation>.

⁷ Ryan Hass, “China Projects Confidence in the Face of Trump’s Tariff Storm,” China Leadership (China Leadership Monitor, August 31, 2025), <https://www.prcleader.org/post/china-projects-confidence-in-the-face-of-trump-s-tariff-storm>.

China is currently the world's second-largest economy, with its GDP valued at USD 18.7 trillion in 2024 and projected to reach USD 19.23 trillion in 2025.⁸ It also constitutes the world's second-largest consumer market, supported by a population of approximately 1.41 billion in 2024, second only to India.⁹ Although the United States has retained its position as the largest global economy, China is rapidly narrowing the gap and is "estimated to be the largest consumer economy today as measured in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms."¹⁰ Furthermore, China has achieved remarkable progress across various sectors. Its electric vehicle (EV) industry is becoming globally competitive, while e-commerce platforms such as TEMU and SHEIN demonstrate the country's growing influence in digital retail, both in terms of GDP contribution and global market share.¹¹

"China is the largest market in terms of volume and value for almost any consumer product — ranging from vehicles and smartphones to luxury goods and cinema," says Rory Green, chief China economist at TS Lombard.¹²

Being the second largest market in the world, this provide fundamental congenital conditions for China to pursue internal development by stimulating domestic consumption through promoting economic nationalism from both officials and the citizens, marking a shift of economic structure in the near future economic growth and goals of the country.

⁸ "Top 15 Countries by GDP in 2025 | Cerity Global," Cerity Global (Cerity Global, June 27, 2025), <https://www.cerityglobal.com/blogs/top-15-countries-by-gdp-in-2025/>.

⁹ Data Commons, "People's Republic of China - Place Explorer - Data Commons," datacommons.org (Data Commons, 2024), https://datacommons.org/place/country/CHN?utm_medium=explore&mprop=count&popt=Person&hl=en.

¹⁰ Daniel Zipser, Jeongmin Seong, and Lola Woetzel, "Five Consumer Trends Shaping the next Decade of Growth in China," ed. Janet Bush and Glenn Leibowitz, McKinsey & Company Greater China (McKinsey & Company, November 11, 2021), <https://www.mckinsey.com/cn/our-insights/our-insights/five-consumer-trends-shaping-the-next-decade-of-growth-in-china>.

¹¹ No.4 & 6 footnote.

¹² Tej Parikh, "Don't Underestimate the Chinese Consumer," Financial Times (Financial Times, May 25, 2025), https://www.ft.com/content/0e7018ef-ea66-4243-b71f-68cf5519234a?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

From Boycotts to Investment Hub: Contradictions in China's Market Environment

While officials play an auxiliary effect and minor role that push the main trend, the unity of Chinese consumers is still the major force at the front lines of forming the nationalism trends, with several worth-noted incidents that hit the foreign brands (Nike, H&M, D&G, Romand, Lotte, SK-II, Shiseido, etc.) in various different categories (sports wears, fast fashion, luxuries, cosmetics, etc.). Although China's market has become increasingly challenging for foreign MNCs under the trend of economic nationalism, it remains a major destination for global investors and entrepreneurs. Following the tariffs imposed by the Trump administration on countries heavily dependent on exports to the U.S., China's position as the world's second-largest economy—and the largest consumer market in purchasing power parity terms—has further reinforced its attractiveness as an investment hub. Despite rising challenges, China's market remains attractive to many brands, given its size and global share of consumption.

Research Motivation

China has long been recognized for integrating nationalist education into its school curricula; however, recent scholarship has increasingly highlighted the emergence of "digital nationalism." This phenomenon, propelled by rapid digital information exchange, has heightened public sensitivity toward foreign influence while fostering a collective drive to support domestic industries. In this context, the consumer boycotts against brands involved in the Xinjiang cotton controversy can be viewed as a strategic success for the Chinese Communist Party. These boycotts demonstrate the state's ability to align public sentiment with its geopolitical objectives. By recognizing how political ideologies and Beijing's official stance shape consumption

patterns, this study seeks to examine the extent to which Chinese purchasing behaviors are driven by political allegiances and the perceived need for unity against external pressures.

Research Purpose

This study employs discourse analysis of first-hand online comments across various timeframes to investigate the nuanced perspectives and underlying motivations of Chinese consumers. Specifically, it aims to uncover the mechanisms by which boycotting foreign brands and championing Xinjiang cotton, or domestic alternatives, evolved into a viral phenomenon. A central inquiry is whether socio-political pressures compel individuals to adopt specific ideological stances, and most crucially, how Chinese influencers and consumers utilize specific framing and linguistic strategies to promote nationalism and domestic consumption. By highlighting how online users linguistically align brands with national identity, this research examines the discursive construction of nationalist narratives and the resulting positioning of domestic versus foreign entities.

Research Question

Question 1: How are nationalist sentiments discursively articulated in online discussions surrounding the Xinjiang cotton incident?

Question 2: What discursive strategies do online users employ to construct nationalist narratives during these discussions?

Question 3: What diverse perspectives are reflected in these discussions, and how do they differ in the discursive positioning of domestic versus foreign brands?

Theoretical Framework

This study explores how nationalist or patriotic sentiments shape Chinese consumer behavior in the context of the Xinjiang cotton controversy. Nationalism serves as the overarching phenomenon, providing the overall context for understanding why and how consumers express loyalty to domestic brands or boycott foreign ones. To analyze these dynamics, the study draws on a few complementary theoretical perspectives to provide an explanation to the emerging nationalist sentiments among the mainstream media.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a sociolinguistic study for discourse analysis, represents a more interdisciplinary structure to analyze the behind meanings, ideologies, or contexts of how nationalist sentiment discourses are reproduced, manipulated, or influenced under certain power-relations networks such as the mainstream social influencers on popular platforms. Whereas the nationalism and patriotism trends are seen as the dominant perspectives among the public opinions, whether the Chinese consumers have constructed their nationalism or patriotism through passive influences by the powerful mainstream media or proactive action to protect domestic or local interests is to be seen through the further detailed analysis of keyword selections and framing theories.¹³

Framing theory is another key concept applied in this research for qualitative analysis. When examining consumers' perceptions and behaviors, various factors influence the final outcomes, and a single incident or issue can often be interpreted from multiple perspectives. By framing certain events, narratives are constructed that guide audiences or readers toward viewing them in the direction intended by those who hold influence behind the scenes. In this study, we

¹³ Teun A. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2nd ed., ed. Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 466–85.

will explore how social influencers frame their posts and how Chinese consumers frame their comments, using keywords that reflect patriotic consumption and other values, which in turn stimulate expressions of patriotism, nationalism, aversion, or even hostility toward foreign countries.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) helps interpret how consumers' sense of national identity influences their in-group loyalty and out-group perceptions of foreign brands, while the lens of political consumerism frames purchasing decisions as a form of socio-political action, showing how consumption can act as a medium for expressing collective values and political stances. This analysis is further supported by framing theory, which highlights how the use of specific keywords can both directly and indirectly signal the dynamics of social identity and political consumerism.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides the overarching framework for guiding the qualitative inquiry, offering tools to uncover the underlying power relations and ideologies embedded in consumer narratives. Within this framework, framing theory is employed as the primary analytical lens to examine how particular events and issues are constructed in online commentaries. To enrich the analysis, social identity theory and the concept of political consumerism serve as complementary perspectives, helping to explain how collective identities and nationalist sentiments shape consumer perceptions and purchasing behaviors. Together, these frameworks allow for a comprehensive analysis of both the discursive mechanisms and the psychological and political motivations behind expressions of consumer nationalism. In addition to the theoretical analysis of the online discourse, the Social Identity Theory can be a more specific category under the Framing theory.

Literature Gap

Despite the growing visibility of consumer movements influenced by nationalism in China, existing research on the nexus between nationalist sentiment and consumption remains fragmented. Much of the current literature emphasizes e-commerce dynamics, digital marketing strategies, or broad consumer trends, yet it often overlooks how nationalist discourse actively shapes consumer attitudes and brand choices. This gap leaves unanswered questions about the extent to which nationalism is articulated in public discourse and how such expressions of national pride or cultural confidence translate into consumer preferences.

This study addresses this gap by employing a qualitative approach that integrates discourse analysis and event-based analysis. Drawing on data from social media platforms (Xiaohongshu), online news articles, and brand responses, the research identifies recurring themes, narratives, and symbolic framings that reveal how nationalism is mobilized in consumer contexts. By situating these discourses within the timeline of key cultural and commercial events—such as the controversies involving foreign brands—the study captures both the immediate reactions and the broader patterns that emerge. This methodological framework allows for a nuanced understanding of how nationalism operates not only as an abstract sentiment but also as a tangible force shaping consumption behavior in China.

Contribution

This study contributes to a deeper understanding of how economic nationalism manifests in consumer behavior by analyzing the online discourses surrounding the Xinjiang cotton controversy. While existing literature provides a broad overview of the topic, much of the current research remains either strictly descriptive or focused on quantitative data. Consequently, there is

a lack of qualitative depth regarding the linguistic mechanisms that drive these movements. By employing discourse analysis, this study moves beyond mere statistical trends to examine the socio-linguistic nuances of consumer sentiment, thereby filling a critical gap in the study of state-aligned consumer activism. This research highlights the discursive mechanisms through which nationalist narratives are articulated, circulated, and contested in digital spaces. By integrating Critical Discourse Analysis, Social Identity Theory, and Political Consumerism, the study provides a multi-layered framework that links language, identity, and political action in consumption practices. In doing so, it not only enriches theoretical discussions on consumer nationalism but also offers empirical insights into how online discourse influences brand perception and market dynamics in China.

Limitations

Despite these contributions, the study faces several limitations. First, the analysis is based on a single case study (the Xinjiang cotton controversy) and a specific social platform (Xiaohongshu), which may limit the generalizability of findings to other nationalist consumer movements or cultural contexts and the fact that the Xiaohongshu has a higher female base in terms of its users. Second, the reliance on online discourse data privileges the voices of digitally active users, potentially overlooking offline perspectives or silent consumers whose behaviors are not captured online. Third, the interpretive nature of Critical Discourse Analysis means that researcher subjectivity may influence the coding and interpretation of discursive strategies, despite efforts to maintain rigor and transparency. Also, the algorithms of social media platforms impose certain restrictions on this study; the most active commenters and highest levels of engagement typically come from users already passionate about the issue, while those who dislike or are indifferent to such content are less likely to see it or respond. This creates a

potential echo chamber that may marginalize dissenting voices. Furthermore, a key limitation involves whether the Communist Party has intervened in platform operations by artificially amplifying related hashtags and posts or granting them more visibility. Such systemic interventions make it difficult to distinguish spontaneous public sentiment from state-boosted narratives.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Yu, Yu, and Liu analyzed Chinese consumers' perceptions of goods through the lens of country-of-origin (COO) effects, examining how they evaluate the label 'Made in China.' The study was designed with five experimental conditions: two related to the product (with or without a 'Made in China' label) and three related to the consumer groups (nationalism-primed, patriotism-primed, and non-primed). The findings reveal that both nationalism-primed and patriotism-primed displayed a positive COO effect, in contrast to prior research suggesting that products from developing countries typically carry negative COO associations. This indicates domestically made goods or 'made in China' label has a more valuable perceived social value to individuals with stronger national identity and loyalty. This study provides empirical evidence demonstrating that national pride significantly shapes the perception of domestic products, transcending traditional considerations of a country's developmental status. These findings reveal the profound extent to which nationalism and patriotism drive consumption patterns, fostering a transformative trend in consumer behavior. Consequently, both domestic firms and multinational corporations (MNCs) must recalibrate their strategic frameworks to navigate this shifting landscape. To remain competitive, enterprises should consider deeper integration into the local ecosystem, such as establishing strategic partnerships with domestic suppliers and aligning corporate narratives with local cultural values. My study extends existing research by investigating HOW nationalism shapes consumer perceptions and support for domestic brands, through the form of online discourses with a deeper insight to how exactly this nationalism is expressed.

The study by Goldin provides an insightful analysis of Chinese online popular nationalism through the lens of the Dolce & Gabbana boycott incident on Weibo. By conducting

a qualitative discourse analysis of posts and comments, Goldin demonstrates how digital platforms amplify public outrage and transform national pride into consumer behavior. Drawing on the narrative of the “Century of National Humiliation,” she argues that online expressions of nationalism are deeply intertwined with collective memory and a moralized form of consumption, where boycotting foreign brands becomes a symbolic act of patriotism. The paper emphasizes that this digital consumer nationalism operates at the intersection of state-led patriotic discourse and grassroots emotional mobilization, blurring the line between official and popular nationalism. In the context of this research, Goldin’s findings highlight the discursive and emotional foundations of nationalist consumer actions in China, showing how online narratives shape public sentiment and drive collective economic responses to perceived foreign disrespect. Building on this analytical framework, the current study adopts a similar qualitative and online discourse analysis methodology to examine how nationalism is constructed and framed through linguistic choices in user-generated comments on a specific social media platform. However, while Goldin focuses on the D&G incident as a case of consumer outrage triggered by stereotypical and humiliating Western representations of Chinese identity that reflected the rising cultural confidence and national pride, the present study shifts attention to a politically charged event rooted in geopolitical tensions between Western countries and China, tracing how debates over Xinjiang cotton and human rights evolved into a nationwide boycott of Western brands.¹⁴

Complementing Goldin’s cultural analysis, Wu offers a broader ideological and historical perspective on how nationalism has driven China’s economic modernization. Building on Max Weber’s concept of the “Protestant Ethic” and Liah Greenfeld’s theory of nationalism as a moral

¹⁴ Lucrezia Giulia Goldin, Chinese Popular Nationalism and Consumer Boycott: A Weibo Discourse Analysis of the 2018 Dolce&Gabbana Controversy (MA diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2020).

engine for capitalism, Wu argues that post-1978 reforms under Deng Xiaoping redefined material success as a patriotic contribution to national rejuvenation. Nationalism, in this view, did not merely accompany modernization but actively motivated it by linking personal prosperity with the nation's rise. Employing a discursive-ideational methodology, Wu analyzes political speeches, media texts, and public discourse to trace the evolution from Maoist anti-capitalist ideology to the embrace of market-oriented nationalism. This work is particularly relevant to the current study because it situates economic and consumer nationalism within a broader cultural transformation—explaining how national identity and pride became embedded in everyday economic behavior. Wu's analysis provides the theoretical backbone for understanding why Chinese consumers often equate consumption choices with loyalty to the nation, rather than purely with market rationality.¹⁵

From a behavioral and empirical standpoint, Wu, Abdul Latif, and Li examine how nationalism influences consumer loyalty toward multinational retail corporations in China, using Walmart and Carrefour as case studies. Through quantitative surveys collected from consumers, the authors find that nationalism significantly affects brand loyalty, leading many Chinese consumers to favor domestic brands over foreign ones. They also reveal that demographic factors, such as education level, age, and gender, moderate this relationship, while consumer satisfaction mediates the impact of nationalism on loyalty. Importantly, the study recommends that foreign corporations seeking sustainable development in China must “de-nationalize” their brand image and localize their social responsibility strategies to align with national sentiment. This research contributes strong empirical evidence to the broader discussion of consumer nationalism, illustrating how macro-level national identity narratives translate into micro-level

¹⁵ Zeying Wu, “Nationalism and Economic Modernization of China: The Chinese Masses’ Reorientation to the Spirit of Capitalism,” *Nationalities Papers* 53, no. 4 (2025): 897–916, <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2024.67>.

purchasing patterns. For the current research, this article links emotional and ideological nationalism to tangible market behavior, reinforcing the idea that nationalism functions not only as a political sentiment but also as an economic force shaping consumption in modern China.¹⁶

¹⁶ Bo Wu, Hamrila Abdul Latif, and Xiaoran Li, “The Influence of Nationalism on Consumers’ Loyalty: Taking Multinational Corporations’ Sustainable Development in China as an Example,” *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies* 21, no. 2 (2023): 175–196, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14765284.2022.2134567>.

METHODOLOGY

A Qualitative Research Approach

This study adopts a qualitative research design to explore how nationalism shapes consumer behavior in China by observing and analyzing nationalist sentiments within online discourses. Rather than focusing solely on statistical correlations or purchasing data, qualitative analysis enables a deeper investigation into the discursive construction of nationalism in everyday consumption practices. It also allows the researcher to examine the factors Chinese consumers consider when making purchase decisions and the extent to which nationalism influences these choices. Specifically, this research employs discourse analysis and case study of Xinjiang cotton controversy as complementary methods to investigate how national pride, cultural confidence, and political sensitivities are expressed and circulated in online spaces, as well as how these expressions are triggered and shaped by the incident.

The choice of qualitative design is informed by two considerations: (1) the difficulty of conducting large-scale surveys or interviews without direct fieldwork in China, and (2) the recognition that nationalist sentiment often manifests in symbolic language, narratives, and online mobilization, which can best be captured through discourse-oriented methods.

Data Sources and Data Collection Strategy

The primary sources of data include 110 commentaries under 10 posts from one of the most popular and most used social media platforms - Xiaohongshu comment sections, which served as a key venue for public discussion, nationalist mobilization, and brand-related debates.

Platforms and materials are selected based on their visibility, accessibility, and relevance to nationalism-related consumer debates. Social media posts and comments provide immediate, grassroots expressions of nationalist discourse, providing direct insight into Chinese consumers' perceptions of the Xinjiang cotton incident, particularly in relation to how nationalist sentiments are framed and expressed and how it might influence their potential purchasing decisions. Several considerations were taken into account when selecting the ten posts in the data collection process. The chosen ten posts typically contain a larger number of likes or comments, which indicate public agreement or positive attitudes toward the content or topics being discussed, rather than toward the posts or commentators themselves. This approach ensures that the data more accurately reflects the collective opinions of a broader group of Chinese consumers. In addition, the selected posts vary in both content and timeline, allowing for a more comprehensive perspective. This diversity enhances the accuracy and reliability of the qualitative analysis, enabling it to better capture the major trends and differing viewpoints expressed by the public online. While the primary selection of posts and commentaries was based on the number of likes, a few specific posts were also included due to their direct relevance to the Xinjiang cotton incident or their ability to provide particular insights into the issue. In some cases, posts with relatively fewer likes but a significantly higher number of comments were selected, as the extensive discussions they generated offered valuable perspectives for analysis. Moreover, the variety of timelines represented in the selected posts helps illustrate the evolution of consumers' attitudes over time, transitioning from strong nationalism to moral fatigue.

The ten posts were initially selected through a keyword-filtering process searching terms such as “抵制” (boycott), “支持国货” (support domestic products), “新疆棉花” (Xinjiang cotton), and “新疆棉事件” (Xinjiang cotton incident). These keywords prompted the platform's

recommendation system to generate a range of relevant content, including short videos and graphic-text posts produced by both influencers and ordinary users (personal accounts). This filtering strategy ensured that the selected posts were directly related to the Xinjiang cotton incident. Given that multiple events can trigger similar expressions of nationalist sentiment and consumer action, the Xinjiang cotton case was chosen because it originated in geopolitical tensions and disputes between China and Western actors, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and the European Union. As such, the resulting boycott movement provides a particularly salient context for examining Chinese consumers' perspectives on national loyalty and their opposition to Western sanctions related to Xinjiang cotton.

The selection criteria for post popularity were primarily based on the number of likes, with the threshold generally set at several thousand. Posts receiving more than 10,000 likes were automatically included in the dataset. As shown in Table 1, highly liked posts were predominantly produced by influencers, who typically possess large follower bases which are often numbering in the millions of people and who published their content during the peak period of online discussion surrounding the Xinjiang cotton issue. These influencers were therefore able to disseminate their content to wider audiences and play a significant role in amplifying and mobilizing the national boycott movement.

Nevertheless, several posts from personal accounts were also included for specific analytical reasons. These posts offer direct grassroots perspectives and reflections on the incident and help capture nationalist discourse beyond elite or influencer-driven narratives, particularly in the later stages of the incident when overall posting activity declined. Among the selected

personal-account posts, two received several thousand likes, while the remaining two were chosen for their discursive value: one articulated sustained boycott attitudes over time, and the other, despite having fewer posts, generated over a thousand comments. The final post listed in the table takes the form of a question asking why Uniqlo has begun to regain popularity in the Chinese market and online. This rhetorical inquiry elicited extensive engagement, prompting numerous comments that debated Uniqlo's product quality and the perceived lack of viable domestic alternatives. The data collection utilized a longitudinal sampling framework to track the evolution of consumer sentiment over a timeline of five-year period (2021–2025). This temporal stratification is essential for determining the discursive durability of the boycott—specifically, whether nationalist mobilization represents a fleeting emotional response or a fundamental, long-term shift in consumer logic. Lastly, table 1 also show a state-media account, which can observed the public opinions to government regarding to the Xinjiang cotton controversy.

Summary of Analyzed Xiaohongshu Posts (referred to Appendix 3)							
	Post ID	Author Characteristics	Account Followers	Timeline (phase)	Total Likes	Total Comments	Content Form
1	腦洞少女T	Influencer	1.668 M	2021 (peak)	40k	939	Short video
2	是你們的康康	Influencer	2.03M	2021 (peak)	44k	984	Short video
3	許八叉	Influencer	543k	2021 (peak)	46k	2095	Short video
4	布萊爾的日記	Influencer	159k	2022 (after one year)	10k	2060	Short video
5	容子醬	Personal account	147	2023 (after two year)	737	89	Graphic-text post
6	人民網/ People's Daily Online	State-media account	8.643M	2024 (after few years)	16k	803	Short video
7	貪妞兒	Personal account	466	2024 (after few years)	9,791	945	Graphic-text post
8	夜宵重度依賴	Personal account	164	2025 (after few	2,746	599	Graphic-text

				years)			post
9	娛小七	Content Aggregator	752k	2025 (after few years)	38k	215	Short video
10	lupxu	Personal account	268	2025 (few years after)	190	1246	Graphic-text post

Table 1.

DATA ANALYSIS

Time Frame of Xinjiang Cotton Controversy

Although China had already faced international criticism in 2017 for allegedly using forced labor involving Muslim minorities in Xinjiang, the Xinjiang cotton controversy formally escalated in 2019, when the United States imposed visa restrictions on several Chinese officials, claiming their involvement in human rights abuses against Uyghurs and other Muslim ethnic groups in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. Subsequently, the U.S. government expanded its measures by introducing additional sanctions against government officials, blacklisting companies suspected of sourcing materials linked to forced labor, and banning imports of cotton originating from Xinjiang.

Following Washington's lead, several of its allies — including Canada, the United Kingdom, and members of the European Union — imposed similar sanctions on Chinese officials and enacted import restrictions targeting cotton and other goods tied to Xinjiang supply chains over concerns of genocide, forced labor, and extrajudicial detentions.

In response, China firmly denied the accusations from Western governments and media outlets such as the BBC, framing them as politically motivated and based on misinformation. The Chinese government also imposed counter-sanctions on Western officials and entities. This escalating confrontation between China and several Western countries eventually drew widespread domestic attention after Chinese state-owned media began actively posting Xinjiang-related content on social media platforms. These posts not only accused Western brands — including H&M, Nike, and Zara — of selling substandard or potentially hazardous products

but, more importantly, called on the public to boycott these companies for refusing to use cotton sourced from Xinjiang.

Soon after the official media initiated the movement and ignited the public nationalist sentiments on supporting the Xinjiang cottons, a wave of nationalist boycotts went viral among the Chinese consumers to refuse purchases of those Western brands that formally mentioned refusals to use Xinjiang cottons in their products. Alternatively, many people switched to local brands like Li-Ning and Anta, which led to another wave of rising domestic brands with increasing sales and capital to fund further investment in marketing and designs of the products.

During the **Crisis Phase (March 2021)**, three high-traffic posts were selected to capture the climax of public outrage. These posts, authored by **Key Opinion Leaders (KOLs)** with significant follower bases, functioned as 'discursive catalysts.' They leveraged the platform's algorithm during this peak period to disseminate narratives of **affective nationalism**, characterized by intense moral indignation and urgent calls for a collective boycott. By analyzing these influencers, the study identifies how high-level political conflict is translated into a 'moral duty' for the everyday consumer.

The later phase of data collection focuses on Normalization and Moral Fatigue, utilizing three posts in 2025. During this stage, the selection logic prioritized 'High-Friction' posts—those with a high comment-to-like ratio—where users began questioning the practicality of a permanent boycott. A key sample includes a rhetorical inquiry regarding the resurgence of Uniqlo's popularity. This phase was coded for 'Pragmatic Consumerism' and 'Discursive Erosion,' revealing how the initial intensity of the Xinjiang cotton incident gradually gave way to everyday considerations like product quality, price, and the lack of comparable domestic substitutes. This

phase is critical for validating the study's findings on the 'life cycle' of online nationalist movements. Furthermore, the public exposure of a sanitation scandal in late 2024 went viral on Chinese social platforms, as reports of poor quality and failures to meet health standards unraveled and sparked widespread outrage.

The Network Effect of Digital Nationalism

With the state leading the nationalism trend of boycotting foreign brands, multiple social influencers across different fields have reacted quickly with relevant posts calling upon the people to boycott brands involved in the Xinjiang event. On the contrary, voices that support domestic brands start to rise for alternative purchasing choices when they boycott the consumption of foreign brands' products. Brands that have formally announced to support Xinjiang cottons and social influencers who have released content about the incident or calling for actions against foreign brands and support domestic brands will also receive a wave of traffic to help them become more exposed to the online users, thus giving those people more incentives to increase their visibility to the general public on the platform. With active engagement and positive feedback from many netizens, the controversy became not only a trigger that lit nationalism in Chinese people's minds but also a hot topic for parties seeking more traffic and online visibility. First three posts are all launched by social influencers with likes up to 68k and lowest - 44k, collects up to 40k, and with posting dates release around at the end of the March in 2021, showing a significant number of Chinese consumers who have aligned agreements to the contents of these posts, which mostly include a strong willingness to support the domestic brands or products, hostility against foreign brands, and rational economic nationalism overtime due to accumulated disappointments to local brand and products.

Emotional Nationalism and the Discursive Delegitimation of Foreign Brands

The second post analyzed is a short video produced by a highly influential beauty-category Key Opinion Leader (KOL) on Xiaohongshu, with approximately 2.04 million followers at the time of posting. Owing to the influencer's symbolic authority within the platform's consumption-oriented environment, the video functioned not merely as a product recommendation but as a discursive site where nationalism, morality, and consumption converged.

The influencer employed emotionally confrontational language—such as “你有病吧” (“Are you sick?”) and “不要臉的牌子” (“shameless brands”)—to delegitimize foreign companies as morally deviant actors. Accusatory expressions including “炮製謊言” (“fabricating lies”) and “惡意詆毀中國” (“maliciously slandering China”) constructed a polarized moral order in which Western brands and media were framed as hostile aggressors, while China was positioned as a righteous victim. From a critical discourse perspective, this framing constrained interpretive space by rendering alternative or neutral positions morally suspect and encouraging alignment with the dominant nationalist stance.

The repeated invocation of collective ownership, most notably “我們新疆的棉花” (“our Xinjiang cotton”), operated as a mechanism of in-group construction consistent with Social Identity Theory. However, the phrase “背後是全體14億中國人” (“behind Xinjiang cotton are all 1.4 billion Chinese people”) performed an additional function beyond identity formation. This formulation discursively aggregated the population into a singular moral subject, implying national unanimity and collective will. Through this aggregation, consumer boycotts were framed not as individual choices but as expressions of national consensus.

From a power-relational perspective, this discursive move symbolically endowed the boycott narrative with authority and legitimacy. By presenting consumer resistance as the stance of “1.4 billion people,” the discourse aligned popular sentiment with national legitimacy and implicitly reinforced state authority without direct reference to governmental institutions. This representation naturalized political alignment as voluntary collective action, while obscuring asymmetries of power and marginalizing dissenting or ambivalent positions.

The influencer’s rhetorical progression—from moral outrage (“我真的氣死”), to contempt toward foreign product quality (“質量這麼差的衣服”), and finally to an exhortation to support domestic brands (“支持起來”)—illustrated how emotional affect was mobilized and redirected into normative expectations of patriotic consumption. This progression constructed a moral pathway through which appropriate national sentiment culminated in consumer alignment. Nevertheless, this discursive pattern signals attitudes and moral positioning rather than verified purchasing behavior.

The same logic was reproduced in the comment section. One of the most-liked comments, stating “*I love my motherland*” and invoking “*1.4 billion Chinese people*,” reiterated the construction of collective authorization and national unity. Such expressions functioned as discursive performances of loyalty, reinforcing dominant nationalist frames while signaling ideological alignment within the online space. These statements do not provide empirical evidence of sustained consumer behavior but instead demonstrate how nationalist legitimacy is symbolically produced and circulated.

Other comments expressing anger or disparaging the quality of foreign brands further reinforced this nationalist framing. Direct emotional reactions such as “I’m really angry 😡”

about this kind of slander against . Get out!” functioned as affective boundary-making, marking foreign brands as illegitimate outsiders. At the same time, critiques of affordability and comfort—such as “Maybe Uniqlo can’t afford Xinjiang cotton — their clothes are too cheap!”, “Nike’s quality really is bad… and they don’t even fit properly,” and “During today’s exercise, I even felt that Nike shoes were rubbing my feet 😂😂”—allowed participants to align nationalist sentiment with consumer rationality. By combining moral condemnation with everyday consumption complaints, these comments reframed exclusion of foreign brands as both ethically necessary and practically sensible. Such statements operated rhetorically to normalize nationalist consumption norms. The invocation of quality, price, and comfort did not provide empirical evidence of sustained market behavior; rather, it functioned discursively to legitimize nationalist positions by presenting them as grounded in common-sense consumer experience rather than purely ideological commitment.

A similar discursive logic was evident in the third video, where the creator narrated a shift from prior loyalty to Western brands toward rejection in the name of national dignity. By emphasizing his former identity as “a loyal fan of Adidas and Nike” and “a passionate sneaker enthusiast,” and contrasting it with feelings of “disappointment” and “disgust” after the Xinjiang controversy, the creator constructed a moral transformation narrative. This public renunciation served as a symbolic repositioning of the self within nationalist discourse, signaling political and moral alignment. Importantly, this narrative functioned as an affirmation of national allegiance rather than as demonstrable evidence of consistent or long-term changes in actual purchasing behavior.

These posts and comments demonstrate how online nationalist discourse operates simultaneously at the levels of identity construction, moral evaluation, and symbolic power.

While the discourse strongly signals collective attitudes and normative expectations, it does not establish causal links to actual consumer behavior. Instead, it reveals how consumption is framed as a site where popular sentiment, national legitimacy, and moral authority are discursively constructed and reinforced.

Collective Mobilization

Calls for Boycott and the Moralization of Consumer Action

The surge of nationalist sentiment in online discourse was frequently articulated through explicit calls for boycotting foreign brands. Rather than directly evidencing uniform consumer behavior, these calls functioned discursively to frame resistance against foreign companies as a moral obligation tied to national dignity. The second and third posts exemplify this logic by presenting boycott advocacy as a normative response to perceived foreign insult, thereby constructing consumption as a site of political and moral positioning.

In the second post, the creator employed emotionally charged and confrontational language to delegitimize foreign brands and mobilize audience alignment. Statements such as “insult China, never buying again” framed brand rejection as an immediate moral imperative rather than a discretionary consumer choice. This framing transformed anger into a call for collective resistance, positioning non-consumption as a visible expression of patriotism. Importantly, the discourse emphasized symbolic alignment and public stance, rather than documenting actual purchasing outcomes.

The third video expanded this discursive strategy by addressing different audience segments. When discussing how to handle products from brands implicated in the Xinjiang

cotton controversy, the creator spoke directly to viewers already inclined toward nationalist action. In contrast, when explaining *why* boycotts were necessary, his tone shifted toward persuasion, targeting those who prioritized individual convenience or personal interest. This dual-address strategy revealed an effort to consolidate in-group commitment while simultaneously recruiting less-aligned consumers into the nationalist frame.

To strengthen his argument, the creator cited survey data and market indicators, including a poll suggesting that 45% of respondents would still purchase discounted high-end sneakers and sales figures showing Adidas pre-sales exceeding 340,000 units within minutes. These references were not presented as neutral economic observations but as evidence of insufficient national resolve. By expressing concern over these figures, the creator framed continued consumption as a moral failure rather than a market choice. His assertion that “it’s your right to spend your money however you want” was immediately qualified by the claim that sustained purchasing would allow brands like Nike, with a 17.86% market share in China, to remain “arrogant” and “disrespectful,” thereby morally delegitimizing consumer neutrality.

The creator further reinforced this framing through personal narrative. By describing himself as a former “*loyal fan of Adidas and Nike*” and “*a passionate sneaker enthusiast*,” and contrasting this identity with his current decision to “step on them hard,” he constructed a moral transformation narrative. This public renunciation elevated national loyalty above personal passion, presenting sacrifice as evidence of authentic patriotism. The repeated invocation of phrases such as “*my country*” reinforced collective belonging and framed boycott participation as an act of national defense. Analytically, this narrative signaled ideological realignment rather than demonstrable evidence of sustained behavioral change.

The comment section further reproduced and intensified boycott discourse. Many users explicitly expressed approval and claimed personal compliance, stating, for example, “*Ever since the Xinjiang cotton incident, I’ve never stepped into a Nike or Adidas store again,*” “*I’ve already been boycotting for two years,*” and “*Boycott! I’ve never gone shopping there again (doge emoji).*” These statements functioned as performative declarations of loyalty, reinforcing social norms of nationalist consumption within the online space. At the same time, comments such as “*Can we boycott Uniqlo next?*” expressed frustration toward perceived collective inaction, signaling pressure for broader mobilization.

The most-liked comment (approximately 5,000 likes) asserted that “*even if the brand comes out with a statement or apology, I will never buy it,*” rejecting reconciliation and reinforcing the irreversibility of moral judgment. Such responses illustrate how nationalist discourse constructed foreign brands as permanently illegitimate once they were perceived to have crossed a symbolic boundary. This rigidity further narrowed acceptable consumer positions and discouraged compromise.

Together, they demonstrate how boycott advocacy functioned as a discursive mechanism of economic nationalism. Rather than simply reflecting consumer behavior, the discourse framed consumption as a test of loyalty, transformed individual purchasing decisions into moral statements, and positioned national dignity above personal interest. While these expressions strongly signal attitudes of commitment and resistance, they do not establish causal links to actual market outcomes. Instead, they reveal how online nationalist discourse moralizes consumption and mobilizes symbolic participation in defense of the nation.

Supporting Domestic Brands and a Discursive Form of National Alignment

As boycott discourse against foreign brands intensified, support for domestic alternatives emerged as a substitute form of consumption within online nationalist discourse. When some users began seeking recommendations for local brands, other participants actively shared their preferred domestic products, many of which were not newly introduced but had previously remained marginal or relatively unknown within mainstream online consumption communities. Their sudden visibility therefore reflected a discursive revaluation rather than a product-driven market shift.

The two analyzed posts functioned as recommendation videos centered on domestic brands and products. In the first video, the influencer explicitly introduced goods made from Xinjiang cotton. In both videos, the most-liked comments (4.3k likes and 2.5k likes) were those that summarized all brands and products mentioned. These comments operated as consolidating discursive nodes, reinforcing collective attention and signaling broad approval. Through liking and repetition, consumption was framed as a symbolic means of expressing nationalism and contributing to the controversy.

Many users expressed support by praising and purchasing Xinjiang cotton products as a form of nationalist contribution intended to alleviate perceived harm to local cotton farms in Xinjiang. Online engagement was visibly reflected in comments such as “*Go Anta! Go Li-Ning! Go UR! Domestic brands are amazing!*” 

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in-group signaling, through which users publicly affirmed national belonging and aligned themselves with a morally valued collective.

Framing processes were also evident in comments that emphasized practicality and substitution, such as “*It’s hard to find replacements, but they do exist. For shoes, FILA is very comfortable and stylish; for clothes, there’s Pelliot and FILA — I’m also looking for more domestic brands, especially when buying sports products for my parents or partner.*” By presenting domestic alternatives as viable and sufficient, such statements reframed boycott participation as manageable and reasonable rather than sacrificial, thereby lowering symbolic barriers to alignment.

From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, domestic brands were discursively repositioned as embodiments of national resilience and moral legitimacy. Expressions such as “*Support domestic brands!!!!*” normalized nationalist consumption by embedding it within everyday moral reasoning, including care for family members. Consumption thus appeared as a voluntary, ethical practice rather than a coerced political act.

Importantly, these expressions signal attitudes, identity performance, and moral positioning rather than verified purchasing behavior. While users articulated praise and intent, the discourse does not provide empirical evidence of sustained or uniform market outcomes. Instead, it demonstrates how nationalist discourse reframes consumption as a site of identity affirmation and symbolic participation.

These findings illustrate how support for domestic brands operated discursively as an extension of boycott logic. Through the combined mechanisms of in-group identification (Social Identity Theory), narrative redirection toward substitution and resilience (Framing Theory), and

moral legitimization (Critical Discourse Analysis), online discourse constructed domestic consumption as a socially desirable and nationally sanctioned practice.

Is Nationalism a National Duty? — Consumer Pragmatism vs. Consumer Nationalism

After the Xinjiang cotton controversy passed its peak of public attention, the intensity of nationalist enthusiasm gradually declined, giving rise to more reflective and contested discussions. During this stage, online discourse increasingly shifted from collective mobilization toward moral evaluation, particularly around whether economic nationalism should be understood as a national duty or a matter of individual choice. While nationalist sentiment remained dominant during the height of the controversy, subsequent discussions revealed growing tension between consumer nationalism and consumer pragmatism.

As patriotism and nationalism became mainstream discursive positions on social media, comments, posts, and actions perceived as deviating from nationalist norms were frequently subjected to moral condemnation. Users who continued purchasing products from brands implicated in the controversy were framed as lacking dignity and national loyalty. This moral boundary-making is evident in a highly liked comment (approximately 5,000 likes), which stated:

“Maybe those people only care about personal dignity, not national dignity or the dignity of being Chinese... people who remember the good but forget the bad, showing no backbone or courage, it really makes me angry 😡😡😡.”

This comment acknowledged individual dignity only to subordinate it to national dignity, thereby establishing a moral hierarchy in which loyalty to the nation superseded personal choice.

Phrases such as “remember the good but forget the bad” and “no backbone or courage” constructed consumers who continued buying foreign brands as morally deficient and cowardly. From a Social Identity Theory perspective, such language reinforced in-group virtue by defining out-group members through moral failure.

This logic was further intensified in conversational threads targeting individuals interested in purchasing Air Jordan (AJ) shoes, a Nike sub-brand. Comments such as:

“昨天出门吃饭还听见隔壁桌两个男生还在讲买aj能便宜了，一直沾沾自喜，就真的很想
吐”

““*Maybe they couldn't afford AJs before, so now they can only buy when the price drops*
吐.”

used disgust (“really makes me want to throw up”) and ridicule (吐) to demean consumers as opportunistic and undignified. Other comments escalated this moral policing by invoking gendered and social sanctions:

“姑娘们遇见这种男友，赶紧把他给甩了吧...”

“为什么要鞋呢，反正是跪着走路的”

These statements framed continued consumption as a personal moral flaw with social consequences, extending nationalist judgment into intimate and everyday domains. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, such rhetoric functioned as symbolic violence, using humiliation and mockery to discipline deviation from nationalist norms.

At the same time, dissenting voices articulated an alternative frame centered on individual autonomy. One comment stated:

“I’ll buy what I want and skip what I don’t — nobody has the right to guilt-trip me.”

This position emphasized personal choice and rejected moral coercion, explicitly naming “guilt-tripping” as a discursive tactic. However, such claims were frequently met with sarcastic rebuttals that masked condemnation as agreement:

“Exactly, morality is for individuals to decide. If you want to be someone without national principles, nobody can stop you.”

Although superficially affirming individual autonomy, this response reframed autonomy as moral deficiency, illustrating how apparent neutrality was discursively recoded as disloyalty. This strategy preserved the dominance of nationalist framing while marginalizing dissent without overt confrontation.

Further exchanges continued to expose conflict between legal rationality and moral nationalism.

Comments such as:

“If the law doesn’t forbid it, it’s allowed!”

“I don’t get it — since when did ‘not breaking the law’ become people’s moral bottom line? 😊😊😊😊”

revealed competing moral frameworks. While one side grounded legitimacy in legality, the other insisted that moral responsibility—implicitly tied to national dignity—exceeded legal obligation. This tension demonstrates how nationalist discourse elevated moral expectations beyond formal regulation.

More aggressive rhetorical strategies appeared in comments employing exaggerated analogies:

“If someone sleeps with your wife and you still call him brother, no one’s forcing you — as long as you’re happy.”

This provocative simile equated continued consumption with personal humiliation, mobilizing shame to enforce nationalist conformity. Rather than persuading through rational argument, such comments functioned to stigmatize and silence alternative positions.

Finally, direct exchanges further highlighted ideological division:

“What does buying or not buying have to do with patriotism?”

“They make money off you while calling you an idiot — it’s that simple!”

Here, consumption was either decoupled from patriotism or reframed as evidence of exploitation and insult. The latter position reasserted nationalist framing by portraying continued consumption as complicity in national humiliation.

These interactions demonstrate how economic nationalism operated as a moralized discursive regime during and after the Xinjiang cotton controversy. Rather than producing consensus, nationalist discourse generated sustained moral contestation, in which consumption choices became symbolic indicators of loyalty, dignity, and belonging. While these exchanges reveal strong attitudinal polarization and discursive pressure, they do not confirm uniform consumer behavior. Instead, they illustrate how online nationalism disciplines individual choice through moral framing, social sanction, and symbolic exclusion.

Individual Choice vs. Cynicism

Despite the dominance of nationalist sentiment in online discussions surrounding the Xinjiang cotton controversy, some participants articulated more neutral or pessimistic positions that diverged from moralized calls for collective action. Rather than rejecting nationalism outright, these commenters reframed national responsibility as a matter of individual judgment and personal ethics, emphasizing autonomy over collective obligation. In this context, “national duty” was understood not as a compulsory mandate but as a moral orientation that individuals could choose to enact privately.

One identifiable group consisted of value-driven yet non-interventionist consumers. These individuals expressed national or moral responsibility through their own consumption choices—often avoiding foreign brands themselves—while explicitly rejecting the imposition of such standards on others. This position aligns with a liberal moral framework that prioritizes individual rights and self-determination, even within a broadly nationalist environment.

A representative comment stated:

“When it comes to buying sports products for my parents or partner, I definitely won’t buy from Nike or similar brands anymore. My kid is at the age where they’re obsessed with sneakers — I can’t really control that, but I keep explaining the reasoning, and ultimately the choice is hers.”

This comment illustrates a form of negotiated moral practice within the family sphere. The commenter clearly articulated her own refusal to purchase foreign brands, thereby affirming her moral stance, while simultaneously respecting her child’s autonomy. Through explanation rather than coercion, she enacted moral guidance without enforcing compliance. From a Social Identity Theory perspective, this stance reflects partial alignment with nationalist values while

resisting rigid in-group enforcement, thereby softening the boundaries between moral insiders and outsiders.

Similar attitudes appeared in comments such as “*as long as I don’t buy it, that’s enough—we can’t control others, nor do we force them*” and “*I won’t buy it, but others can do as they please.*” These statements reframed nationalism as a personal ethic rather than a collective discipline, challenging the dominant discourse that equated national loyalty with moral obligation imposed on others.

A second group of commenters expressed a more pessimistic and cynical view toward consumer behavior in general. Rather than debating moral obligation, these users questioned the sincerity and durability of online nationalist expressions. One comment stated:

“*Saying this on Xiaohongshu doesn’t do much — most people here have their hearts set overseas. There are so few of us who truly love our country! You can see it in the comments 😞😞.*”

By contrasting “*the few of us who truly love our country*” with those who “*have their hearts set overseas,*” the commenter reproduced nationalist moral distinctions while simultaneously expressing disillusionment with collective action. This position reflects what can be described as cynical nationalism, in which ideological commitment persists alongside skepticism toward its practical realization.

This skepticism was further reinforced by remarks such as “*...behind the screen, lots of people say one thing and do another,*” “*it’s always been like this; people just don’t have much memory [laugh-cry emoji],*” and “*Don’t worry, plenty of people will still buy it.*” These

comments challenged the authenticity of online performances of patriotism, suggesting that nationalist discourse operates largely at a symbolic level and lacks behavioral consistency. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, such statements expose cracks within hegemonic nationalist narratives by questioning the alignment between public discourse and private action.

These perspectives reveal that nationalist discourse surrounding consumption was neither monolithic nor uncontested. While dominant frames emphasized moral obligation and collective discipline, alternative positions articulated autonomy, restraint, or skepticism. Theoretically, this suggests that economic nationalism in online spaces operates as a contested moral field rather than a uniform ideology. National identity functions less as a fixed determinant of behavior and more as a flexible resource that individuals negotiate, accept, reinterpret, or distance themselves from, depending on personal values and situational contexts.

Importantly, these discursive positions underscore the limits of using online expressions to infer concrete consumer behavior. While nationalist discourse shapes norms, expectations, and moral hierarchies, it does not uniformly translate into sustained market action. Instead, it reveals how individuals navigate the tension between collective identity and personal autonomy within politicized consumer environments.

Turning Points From Nationalism to Pragmatism: Balance of Two Ideologies - Rise of Pragmatic Nationalism

As time passed, more voices emerged that diverged from the dominant nationalist sentiment. Several incidents and differing viewpoints began to disrupt the original wave of nationalism, leading online discussions to gradually shift toward a more rational decision making

and logical understanding of the issue itself and the market, rather than one driven by emotional or nationalistic impulses.

Rationalized Critiques and the Limits of Nationalist Consumption

Alongside expressions of nationalist support for domestic brands, a parallel discourse of criticism emerged, focusing on product quality, pricing strategies, and the perceived overuse of nationalist rhetoric in marketing. These critiques signaled a gradual shift away from emotionally driven nationalism toward performance-based and cost-benefit evaluations. While nationalist sentiment initially framed domestic consumption as a moral obligation, many commenters ultimately reasserted conventional consumer criteria, emphasizing price effectiveness and product quality.

A recurring target of criticism was Li-Ning, with numerous comments accusing the brand of declining quality amid rising prices. One comment stated, *“Honestly, Li-Ning’s gotten expensive—same price, half the quality. If they actually cared more about quality, who would still buy Adidas or Nike?”* This remark highlights a perceived imbalance between pricing and performance, suggesting that nationalist loyalty alone cannot compensate for deteriorating product standards. Similarly, emotionally charged criticisms such as *“domestic brands have been price-hiking and backstabbing consumers this year. People aren’t stupid”* expressed resentment toward what was perceived as opportunistic behavior by domestic companies.

Other comments explicitly framed domestic brands as exploiting nationalist sentiment for commercial gain. For instance, one user argued that *“Li-Ning has gone too far too, taking advantage of last year’s incident to jack up prices.”* From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, such statements delegitimize nationalist marketing by exposing the gap between

moral claims and corporate practice. Rather than rejecting nationalism itself, these critiques redefined authenticity as consistency between nationalist rhetoric and material quality.

Beyond individual brands, some commenters broadened their critique to the domestic apparel industry as a whole. Statements such as “*domestic companies don’t make clothes seriously*” and “*even an ordinary brand like Uniqlo can dominate the market—embarrassing, but we can’t kick them out*” acknowledged the continued dominance of foreign brands due to domestic producers’ failure to offer competitive alternatives. These remarks reframed foreign brand success not as ideological betrayal but as a structural outcome of market performance.

From a framing perspective, these criticisms marked a discursive transition from moralized consumption to rationalized evaluation. Whereas earlier discourse positioned “*supporting domestic brands*” as a patriotic duty, later comments emphasized reliability, quality, and value for money as legitimate criteria. Social Identity Theory further suggests that national identity, while salient, did not override consumer self-interest indefinitely. Instead, individuals renegotiated the balance between collective identity and personal utility.

Overall, these comments indicate a significant ideological shift within the discourse: from emotionally charged nationalism toward pragmatic consumerism grounded in lived experience and rational judgment. The declining persuasive power of nationalist appeals demonstrates the limits of moralized consumption. Nationalism, while effective in mobilizing symbolic support, proved insufficient as a long-term substitute for product value. This shift reveals that consumer nationalism is inherently conditional and contingent, sustained only when moral narratives align with material performance.

The Sanitary Incident

The seventh post featured an image captioned, “*In 2021, everyone was still full of anger, but now many people seem to have calmed down. Looks like the sanitary pad incident really hurt women deeply.*” This framing signales a discursive turning point in public sentiment, foregrounding how the controversy surrounding substandard sanitary pads—allegedly failing to use qualified Xinjiang cotton—profoundly eroded female consumers’ trust in domestic brands. Unlike symbolic boycotts that primarily operate at the level of national identity, this incident directly implicated women’s bodily health, personal dignity, and everyday consumption, thereby transforming abstract nationalist discourse into a matter of lived experience. The perceived failure of domestic brands to uphold product integrity revealed a contradiction between nationalist slogans celebrating Xinjiang cotton and the material realities of women’s consumption, producing a sense of moral and symbolic betrayal.

This gendered contradiction was articulated forcefully in the comment section. One user remarked sarcastically, “*Are sanitary pads not worthy of using Xinjiang cotton? 🤦‍♀️*,” a rhetorical critique that exposes the selective application of nationalist marketing narratives. The comment implicitly challenges the hierarchy of value embedded in nationalist discourse, suggesting that women’s health-related products occupy a marginal position within the political economy of patriotic consumption. Another commenter elaborated on this sense of betrayal: “*There was a period when I refused to buy any imported products, but honestly, our own brands just don’t live up to expectations... Even the sanitary pad brands have been ‘backstabbing’ me. I defended them, yet they seem eager to suck me dry.*” Here, the metaphor of “backstabbing” anthropomorphizes domestic brands as moral agents who violated an implicit social contract. The speaker positions herself as a loyal nationalist consumer whose emotional and moral

investment was met with exploitation, illustrating how affective nationalism can convert into resentment when expectations of reciprocity are unmet.

This disillusionment was further reinforced through irony and cynicism. One comment stated, “#XinjiangCottonNow# has become a joke — such good cotton, and yet women’s pads are still made with trash cotton.” By labeling the slogan “a joke,” the commenter delegitimizes nationalist framing itself, reframing it as performative rather than substantive. The juxtaposition between “such good cotton” and “trash cotton” highlights the dissonance between discursive glorification and material outcomes, undermining the credibility of nationalist claims. Another user adopted a tone of pragmatic detachment: “Good cotton is good cotton, sure — but let’s be real, no matter how much we pay, #goodstuff# never makes its way to us ordinary folks anyway. Whatever, just use what you like; supporting yourself matters most.” This statement reflects a withdrawal from collective nationalist identification toward individualized, self-protective consumption, signaling a shift from moralized patriotism to consumer pragmatism.

Taken as a whole, these comments reveal a distinctly gendered transformation in nationalist consumption discourse. From the perspective of Social Identity Theory, the weakening of in-group loyalty occurs when group affiliation no longer delivers tangible benefits or symbolic protection. From a framing and Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, the sanitary pad controversy destabilized the dominant nationalist frame by exposing whose interests were prioritized and whose were marginalized. When nationalist rhetoric failed to address women’s embodied needs and everyday vulnerabilities, it lost its persuasive authority. Consequently, patriotic consumption was rearticulated not as a moral obligation but as a conditional and reversible stance, giving way to skepticism, self-prioritization, and a reassertion of individual consumer agency.

Overall Disillusionment of Nationalism Consumption

Consumers who were initially motivated by patriotic sentiment during the Xinjiang cotton controversy increasingly express disappointment and cynicism toward domestic brands and the broader commercial system. Commentaries indicate a shift from moral idealism toward pragmatic self-interest, as users reassess the tangible outcomes of their earlier sacrifices and boycotts and question their effectiveness in serving national interests.

Where earlier discourse foregrounded national dignity and collective resistance, these later reflections emphasize how domestic companies' rising prices, declining product quality, and perceived hypocrisy have progressively undermined public trust. Emotional fatigue is evident across many comments, with irony and humor functioning as discursive strategies to articulate frustration while distancing the speaker from overt emotional investment in nationalist rhetoric.

This shift reflects a broader transformation in consumer subjectivity: from "moral patriots," whose consumption choices were guided by affective nationalism, to rational individualists who prioritize personal value, transparency, and material integrity over symbolic expressions of nationalism. In this post-controversy phase, nationalist consumption no longer operates as a stable moral framework but becomes conditional, instrumental, and increasingly contested.

Theoretical Implication

The second post uses multiple discursive strategies to strengthen the messages and influences to the Chinese consumers. First it applies emotional outrage that lift up the hostility

emotion against foreign brand H&M through his languages with “我真的氣死.” Applied terms like “shameless” and “maliciously slandering,” framing the foreign brand as the one who did wrong to China.

Despite giving sharp criticism, in the sentence “*finding alternatives to H&M is really difficult — it's hard to find clothes elsewhere that are this poorly made; some of them fall apart after just a few steps in the wind,*” the influencer adopts paralipsis (or bait-and-switch) and hyperbole as a powerful linguistic tool because it uses humor to delegitimize the brand, where the “hard to find alternatives,” serve as the bait which usually implies a product is unique or high-quality, and soon followed “this poorly made,” served as the “switch” that means to mock the brand sharply by making a “false praise”. Here, the influencer establishes a positive expectation only to subvert it with a negative punchline. Hyperbole is further applied in “fall apart after just a few steps in the wind,” to ironically describe the “fragility” and “bad quality” of H&M products, and transforming the professional fashion brand from being a "status symbol" to a “laughable joke,” devaluing the brand image among his audiences. Also, by framing the foreign brand as "trash," the speaker justifies the boycott not just on political grounds, but on rational consumer grounds suggesting: “*We aren't just boycotting them because we are angry; we are boycotting them because they were never good to begin with.*” Through the harsh criticism of the foreign brand in the beginning of his video, it helps to create a narrative where the domestic alternatives that are promoted in the video are naturally superior.

The patrimonial metaphor “eating from the bowl only to curse the mother” is a Chinese idiom that illustrates a complete lack of gratitude. It describes someone who accepts help or support, only to turn back and act against their benefactor. Rather than returning kindness with thanks, they respond with hostility, effectively ‘biting the hand that feeds them.’ It originally

referred to offspring who enjoyed their mother's cooking, but scolded her despite the labor she put into the meal. This metaphor is used to imply the foreign brand's lack of gratitude for earning revenues in Chinese markets and from Chinese consumers, but return with "malicious slandering," illustrating a negative image to the consumers through a sense and psychological meaning of "betrayal and ungrateful." It positions China as the "provider" (the mother) and the foreign company as the "ungrateful child," suggesting the idea that market access is not a mutual business contract but a gift from the nation that requires total political submission.

The phrase "National dignity is the bottom line" establishes that political loyalty is the prerequisite for market entry. The word "get out" assumes the power to "expel" the foreign entity, empowers the audience, making them feel like they are the ones in control of the global corporations' fate as a Chinese consumer.

Under critical discourse analysis, the content of the pose creates a power-relation by serving as a coordinator between the government and grassroot citizens, reproduces content regarding Xinjiang, and transforming serious geopolitics disputes and state (CCP) ideologies or opinions into daily a more casual, aggressive, and relatable street-style language to reach younger audiences.

In social identity theory (SIT), the influencer reinforces the "Imagined Community" by using collective pronouns - "we," "our," generating empathy emphasizing the in-group solidarity and unity against external forces.

The whole language structure constructed by the influencer is a humorous satire that maintained a sharp tone combined with inalienable national dignity, successfully and effectively transferred the state ideologies and messages to the Chinese consumers by influencing,

manipulating and guiding their thoughts and opinions of the incident to the direction of nationalism supremacy through multiple discursive strategies, framing the words to create a hostility against foreign brands. Thus, affecting their purchasing choices and sales of foreign entities.

CONCLUSION

This study examined how nationalist sentiment was articulated, constructed, and contested in Chinese online discussions surrounding the Xinjiang cotton incident. By analyzing influencer posts and comment sections over time, it demonstrates that online nationalism was not a homogeneous or static phenomenon, but a discursive process shaped by emotional framing, power relations, and consumer experience.

RQ1: How are nationalist sentiments discursively articulated in online discussions surrounding the Xinjiang cotton incident?

The findings show that nationalist sentiments were initially articulated through moralized and emotionally intensified discourse that framed the Xinjiang cotton controversy as an issue of national dignity rather than trade or labor standards. Online users frequently employed affective expressions such as anger, humiliation, pride, and loyalty to position China as a collective victim and foreign brands as moral offenders. Phrases emphasizing national unity—such as invoking “*the motherland*” or “*1.4 billion Chinese people*”—constructed nationalism as an emotionally shared identity rather than an abstract ideology.

This articulation transformed consumption into a symbolic arena for expressing patriotism. Boycotts and support for domestic brands were framed as visible affirmations of national belonging, while continued consumption of foreign brands was morally problematized. Importantly, these discursive expressions signal attitudes and identity performances, rather than verifiable purchasing behavior. Nationalist sentiment thus functioned primarily as a discursive stance, allowing users to publicly align themselves with dominant moral narratives during the peak of the controversy.

RQ2: What discursive strategies do online users employ to construct nationalist narratives during these discussions?

The analysis identifies several recurring discursive strategies through which nationalist narratives were constructed and circulated. First, emotional amplification was widely used, particularly by influencers, to mobilize anger and moral outrage against foreign brands. Insults, ridicule, and accusatory language intensified in-group solidarity while delegitimizing the out-group.

Second, users relied on collectivization strategies, frequently invoking an imagined national community to legitimize individual positions. Expressions such as “*behind Xinjiang cotton are 1.4 billion people*” endowed nationalist claims with moral authority by implying popular unanimity. From a critical discourse perspective, this framing also reflects a power dynamic in which popular support symbolically reinforces state legitimacy, positioning boycott behavior as alignment with national governance rather than personal choice.

Third, moral framing and performativity played a central role. Online declarations of boycotts and support for domestic brands functioned as public moral performances, reinforced through likes and supportive comments. These performances normalized nationalist consumption as the ethical default, even though discourse alone cannot confirm sustained behavioral change. Together, these strategies illustrate how nationalism was discursively produced not only as belief, but as socially rewarded practice within the platform environment.

RQ3: What diverse perspectives are reflected in these discussions, and how do they differ in the discursive positioning of domestic versus foreign brands?

While nationalist discourse dominated during the peak of the controversy, the discussions also reveal significant discursive diversity and internal tension. Alongside strong consumer nationalists who framed domestic brands as moral symbols of resistance and foreign brands as ethically tainted, other users articulated more pragmatic or critical positions.

Over time, domestic brands became increasingly subject to scrutiny. Complaints about rising prices, declining quality, and opportunistic use of nationalist rhetoric repositioned some domestic brands from “national champions” to profit-driven actors exploiting public sentiment. In contrast, foreign brands were no longer criticized solely for political reasons but were sometimes reassessed in terms of product reliability and performance. This shift indicates a gradual re-centering of consumer discourse around practical experience rather than symbolic loyalty.

Gendered perspectives further complicated this landscape. The sanitary pad controversy marked a turning point for many female consumers, whose lived experiences exposed a contradiction between nationalist slogans and product integrity. In these discussions, domestic brands were discursively reframed as betraying consumer trust, while nationalist rhetoric itself was criticized as hollow and performative. This highlights how different social positions shape the credibility and reception of nationalist narratives.

Overall, the discussions reflect a movement from polarized nationalist consensus toward a fragmented discursive field, where consumer nationalism, pragmatic individualism, and cynicism coexist and contest one another.

Contribution and Implications

This study contributes to existing literature by showing that economic nationalism in digital contexts operates less as a stable consumer ideology and more as a discursive cycle—intensifying through emotional and moral framing, but gradually constrained by material experience and credibility gaps. Rather than assuming that nationalist discourse directly translates into market behavior, this research demonstrates the importance of distinguishing between discursive alignment, moral performance, and actual consumption practices.

By foregrounding discourse, power, and consumer subjectivity, the study reveals how online nationalism in China is simultaneously enabled by platform dynamics and limited by everyday consumer realities. It thus advances understanding of how nationalism is negotiated, contested, and redefined within contemporary digital consumer culture, rather than simply accepted or rejected.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Post 2 Video Script

H&M 你有病吧, 最近的新聞相信大家都看到了, 我真的氣死, 有一些不要臉的牌子抵制我們新疆的棉花, 還在外網炮製謠言, 惡意詆毀中國, 我只想說你算什麼東西, 抵制新疆棉你也配。不過話說回來H&M的替代品確實很難找, 畢竟其他地方也找不到質量這麼差的衣服, 都不用風吹走兩步就破了。那我們今天消消氣, 我就來給大家推薦一波我們國貨, 我們中國的寶藏品牌, 還有一些良心的國潮店舖, 還有一些優質的國潮網店, 好穿好看價格良心, 沒有廣告速速收藏, 支持起來!

..... (promotion of domestic brands)

我們當然歡迎各國的企業來和中國一起良性發展, 但是民族尊嚴是底線不可以隨意侵犯。祖國利益大於一切, 對於這種端起碗吃飯, 放下碗罵娘的行為, 我只想說一句話: 不要狡辯了, 滾吧。

H&M, are you out of your mind? I'm sure everyone has seen the recent news. I'm really furious — some shameless brands are boycotting our Xinjiang cotton, while spreading lies and maliciously slandering China online. I just want to say, who do you think you are? You don't even deserve to boycott Xinjiang cotton.

That said, finding alternatives to H&M is really difficult — it's hard to find clothes elsewhere that are this poorly made; some of them fall apart after just a few steps in the wind.

So, to cool off today, I'm going to recommend a batch of our domestic brands — China's hidden treasures — along with some conscientious "Guochao" stores and high-quality domestic online shops. The products are stylish, comfortable, reasonably priced, and ad-free. Bookmark them quickly and support them!

We certainly welcome companies from all countries to pursue healthy development alongside China, but national dignity is a bottom line that cannot be violated. The interests of the motherland come before all else. Regarding those who 'eat from our bowl only to curse us' once they're done, I have only one thing to say: Stop making excuses, and get out.

Appendix 2 - Post 3 Video Script

哈嘍大家好, 我是八叉, 我作為一個從初中到大學, 一直是耐克阿迪的忠實擁躉者, 同時也是對球鞋文化飽含熱忱的人, 但是鑑於前幾天其對我國的侮辱事件真的感到非常失望, 也覺得非常噁心。同時對於這堆曾經在我心中萬般珍貴的球鞋。唉咿西—— 哇呀。那我們該如何處理呢? 畢竟對我來說這也是我的青春, 包含了很多日夜的排隊買鞋, 很多省吃儉用買鞋的金錢, 很多穿時的心滿意足。

所以 OK, 今天就來告訴大家, 我們該如何正確的處理、面對這些我們曾經購買過的但如今涉及辱華的品 品牌 產 品。

首先對於這些衣服、鞋子、包包，真沒必要扔了燒了，不僅可能對我國的生態環境造成些許的影響，同時他們曾經的銷量也不會變，錢都賺進口袋了，你現在糟踐掉，這不浪費錢嗎，都是自己真金白銀買的，所以你就該穿穿，但是之後不論其做出多大的折扣，多大的活動，嚴厲抵制就行。

同時對於我來說，這些曾經萬般珍貴的捨不得穿去打球怕磨損，捨不得去健身怕留褶子，平時路人對我鞋踩下的每一腳都是對我心靈痛擊的鞋。至少現在我可以大方的拋開一切，把它當成單純的腳底保護物，狠狠的踩在腳下。(再也不買了😊)

然後昨天我看到兩篇文章，第一個是虎撲投票：“如果高檔鞋大額降價，你還會購買嗎？百分之45的人選擇會。第二個是耐克新鞋預售超34萬，分秒搶光。就看完真的百感交集。雖然你花自己的錢買東西怎麼處理都是你的權力，但如果這次你不抵制他或者等互聯網記憶過了之後依然大肆購買，這就意味著耐克在中國17.86%的市場份額完全不會受到影響，那就意味著之後品牌可以任意的對我國發起傲慢和侮辱，國家可以輕易的對我國的文化發動挑釁和霸權。

(well, the CIA would want to destabilize China.)

從高科技芯片到現在的傳統出口棉花，到之後各個與我們息息相關的產業，那總有一天無形的戰爭硝煙會瀰漫到你的眼前。所以，這已經不再是單純的因為所謂的人權來抵制新疆棉花了，大哥，2021年了就全器械化了。據說全是這個John Sudworth, BBC的記者，一手捏造的謊言了。

這是對我國國民底線的挑釁，如果這一次沒有品質腰板嚴厲，那很可能已經輸在了這場文化霸權戰的第一步，從此以後將人員的不再被出口，很可能導致生活質量大步。明花價格被資本不斷打壓，再由起來超底重新制定價格，因為我們對此事件的座位，之後樓市金融表示等價格均會遭到挑釁和侵略。

所以我希望就算個力量再渺小，也不要覺得這事件和你好關係，不能讓他們覺得我們他媽好欺負，不能讓他們在侮辱我的祖國後依然在我國大肆的賺錢，忘了這次是怎麼說的嗎？犯我得幫者雖遠弟，那麼現在犯我中罰者雖然必須。

所以建議我的綿博之力，抵制他們的產品，抵制國家打家的步伐，不是沒有奈克阿迪就走不了路，出不了門了，而且說實話，我穿了十多年的奈克阿迪，質量早不如錢了，脫交列底爆電，真的不如我們國產的迴力已經很安，更不用說HM垃圾的做工了。

所以你團結我團結，明天奈克賣不了鞋，你不買我不買，明天HM只賺100，你加油我加油，總有一天中國會是最棒的。

Hello everyone, I'm Ba Cha. From junior high all the way to university, I've always been a loyal fan of Nike and Adidas, and a passionate sneaker enthusiast. But after the recent incident in which they insulted our country, I honestly feel extremely disappointed—and disgusted.

At the same time, when I look at this pile of sneakers that once meant so much to me... (swear words in Korean) what's that? (嫌棄) What should we do with them now? After all, they

represent my youth — the countless nights I spent lining up for new releases, the money I saved by cutting back on food just to buy them, and the satisfaction I felt every time I wore them.

So, okay — today I'm going to tell you how we should properly handle and deal with these products from brands that have insulted China, even though we once bought and loved them.

First of all, there's really no need to throw them away or burn them. That could cause some environmental harm, and besides, their sales figures won't change — the money's already in their pockets. Throwing them out now would just be wasting your own money since you bought them with your hard-earned cash. So just wear them. **But from now on, no matter how big their discounts or promotions get — boycott them firmly.**

As for me, these sneakers that I once cherished so much — the ones I couldn't bear to wear to play basketball for fear of scuffing, couldn't wear to the gym for fear of creases, and every time someone accidentally stepped on them it felt like a stab to my heart — at least now, I can finally let go. I'll treat them simply as things to protect my feet, and step on them hard. (Never buying again 😢)

Then yesterday I read two articles. The first one was a poll on Hupu: "If high-end sneakers dropped drastically in price, would you still buy them?" 45% of people said yes. The second one reported that Nike's new shoe pre-sale hit over 340,000 units — sold out in seconds. Honestly, I felt so conflicted after seeing that. Sure, it's your right to spend your money however you want, but if you don't boycott them this time, or if you go back to buying them in bulk once the internet forgets about this issue, it means Nike's 17.86% market share in China won't be affected at all. And that means brands can continue to act arrogantly and insult our country at will; nations can easily challenge or belittle our culture and exert their dominance.

(Well, the CIA would want to destabilize China.)

From high-tech chips to our traditional cotton exports, and eventually to every industry connected to us — one day, the invisible smoke of war will spread right before your eyes. So this is no longer about so-called "human rights" and boycotting Xinjiang cotton. Come on, it's 2021 — everything's fully mechanized now. Apparently, it was all fabricated by this BBC reporter, John Sudworth.

Appendix 3 - Posts and Comments Collection

Post	No.	Comment (original)	Likes	English Translation	Function / Purpose
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Account Name: 腦洞少女T Text: 請你們試一下新疆棉的日用品！全是寶藏好嗎 Tag: #良心國貨大安利 (translated: high recommendation for quality domestic products!) Translation: Please try daily products made from Xinjiang cotton! They're all hidden gems, okay? Likes: 68k Collects: 40k Comments: 939 Date: 2021/03/25	1	1.三利 :浴衣2. #洁丽雅 [搜索高亮]# :毛巾、洗脸巾(不掉絮, 婴儿级别, 抑菌)3.斯德福:床品(酒店专供)	4218	Sanli: Yukata Grace (#Jieliya#): Towels, face towels (lint-free, baby-grade, antibacterial) Stedford: Bedding (hotel-exclusive)	Supporting domestic brands Praise of Xinjiang cotton quality Personal testimony of Xinjiang experience
	2	新疆日照充足, 昼夜温差大, 棉花品质超级好[偷笑R][偷笑R]久违的地理知识[笑哭R][笑哭R]	1546	Xinjiang gets plenty of sunlight, has large day-night temperature differences, and the cotton quality is excellent 😊😊. Long-lost geography knowledge 😂😂.	Supporting domestic brands Praise of Xinjiang cotton quality
	3	水果照樣通用[偷笑R]	550	The same applies to fruits 😊.	praise of domestic specialties and goods
	4	支持高性价比的国货！	248	Support high cost-performance domestic products!	Supporting domestic brands Praise of Xinjiang cotton quality
	5	紧跟时事[赞R]	1956	Keep up with current events 👍.	praise of creator's content support for Xinjiang cottons
	6	哈哈哈哈家里棉制品基本都是新疆棉(因为性价比高[偷笑R]	919	Hahaha, almost all the cotton products at home are made of Xinjiang cottons (because the cost-performance is so good 😊).	praise of Xinjiang cottons support for Xinjiang cottons
	7	我爱我的祖国, 我抵制一切抹黑中国的无良企业, 新疆棉花的背后是全体14亿中国人！！！国货当自强, 国货也一定会越来越好！	1656	I love my motherland, and I boycott all unscrupulous companies that smear China. Behind Xinjiang cotton are all 1.4 billion Chinese people! Domestic brands should strengthen themselves, and they will only get better!	Assertion of China's collective influence
	8	安踏冲！李宁冲！UR冲！国货多好[派对R]	450	Go Anta! Go Li-Ning! Go UR! Domestic brands are amazing! 🎉	Supporting domestic brands

斯凯奇(本次事件唯一声援的外国品牌) 飞跃 bosie #warmtrees[搜索高亮]# wassup中国 tyakasha fyp randomevent tgns旗舰店 F426 frlmk brand	9	康康太赞啦！！支持国货！！！！	11	Kangkang is awesome!! Support domestic brands!!!!	Supporting domestic brands
Translation: Support Chinese Brands !! Affordable Guochao Store Collection 🍑 My Hidden Picks — Unique and Stylish Please support Chinese brands! Domestic products are no worse than Western brands! I love my motherland, and I love Xinjiang cotton!	10	UR 中国李宁 FILA中国 斯凯奇(本次事件唯一声援的外国品牌) 飞跃 bosie #warmtrees[搜索高亮]# wassup中国 tyakasha fyp randomevent tgns旗舰店 F426 frlmk brand	2581	UR China Li-Ning FILA China Skechers (the only foreign brand supporting this time) Feiyue Bosie #warmtrees# Wassup China Tyakasha fyp randomevent tgns flagship store F426 frlmk brand	Supporting domestic brands
【6 Treasure Domestic Brands】 UR Li-Ning China FILA China Skechers (the only foreign brand supporting this time) Feiyue Bosie #warmtrees# Wassup China Tyakasha fyp randomevent tgns flagship store F426 frlmk brand	11	HM像个贵的菜市场，衣服不好看，我还买不起[微笑R]	493	H&M is like an expensive market; the clothes aren't nice-looking, and I can't even afford them 😊.	criticism on quality of foreign brands
12	以后它凉了！！庆祝！	197	It's over for them! Celebrate!	successful boycott to foreign brands	
13	国货要继续努力，优秀的国货一定会被越来越多人看见！！！不比洋牌子差，我真的非常生气😡这种诋毁🇨🇳的行为😡get out	150	Domestic brands must keep striving — excellent domestic brands will be recognized by more and more people! They're not inferior to foreign brands. I'm really angry 😡 about this kind of slander against 🇨🇳. Get out!	Supporting domestic brands	
Likes: 44k Collects: 29k Comments: 984 Date: 2021/03/29	14	非常生气+1	72	Very angry +1	emotional expression of anger

Account Name: 許八叉(備婚版) Text: 盡綿薄之力支持國貨！ Tag: #新疆棉花 #Xinjiang cotton Translation: Doing what little I can to support domestic brands! Firmly ✕ against brands that insult China! Likes: 46k Collects: 3946 Comments: 2127 Date: 2021/03/29	15	小伙子三观很正！我的态度是哪怕品牌出来声明道歉 我也永远都不会买了 也许那些人只在乎个人尊严 而不在乎国家尊严和身为中国人尊严 管不了那些人 最起码做好我自己吧 每次看到那些人记吃不记打 没骨气 没血性 还是很上火[生气R][生气R][生气R]	5674	<p>This young guy has really solid values! My stance is that even if the brand comes out with a statement or apology, I will never buy it. Maybe those people only care about personal dignity, not national dignity or the dignity of being Chinese. I can't control them, but at least I can do my best for myself. Every time I see those people remembering the good and forgetting the punishment, spineless and lacking courage, I still get really angry 😡😡😡.</p>	<p>Consumption as moral responsibility and national duty individual choice no national dignity - criticism over consumer pragmatism</p>
	16	谁知道呢 万一有什么骚操作就是以备不时之需的 主要是偏偏有些人就吃人家这一套 气死人 (reply to comment: 而且这次事件基本上没有可能会道歉, 谁退不了一步...)	52	<p>"Who knows? If there's some sneaky move, it's just for precaution. The problem is some people fall for it — it's infuriating."</p>	distrust in foreign brands
	17	道歉也没有用 我就是这么有血性 看不起中国的市场 还要来赚钱 凭你们也配？	205	<p>An apology is useless. That's just how fiery I am. Look down on the Chinese market and still want to make money — do you even deserve it?</p>	firmly boycott
	18	我国损失的棉花经济是回不来的, 道歉没啥用。	69	<p>The economic loss from our cotton can't be recovered, so an apology doesn't do much.</p>	firmly boycott
	19	我也这么想的 道歉也不会再买了！	53	<p>I feel the same way — even if they apologize, I won't buy it again!</p>	firmly boycott
	20	全篇都很对 除了H&M 100都不许赚[doge]	1776	<p>The whole post is spot on, except H&M — they shouldn't make a single cent 🤦.</p>	firmly boycott
	21	哈哈哈哈哈哈不行	305	<p>Hahahaha, no way.</p>	firmly boycott

22	哈哈哈哈, 人权, 去年美国也用过同样的手段抵制泰国椰子产品, 原因是: 泰国椰子是用猴子摘的, 他们觉得虐待动物, 可笑死我了...美国人是没钱出门了吗...	232	Haha, human rights... last year the U.S. used the exact same excuse to boycott Thai coconut products, claiming that monkeys were used to pick the coconuts and that it was animal abuse. I literally laughed so hard... are Americans too broke to go out?	America's excuse to boycott things - human right as a weapon for sanctions
23	今天运动竟然觉得nike磨脚[笑哭R][笑哭R]	671	Today during exercise, I even felt that Nike shoes were rubbing my feet 😂😂.	criticism over quality of foreign brand
24	耐克质量是真的差。。。然后还不合脚	392	Nike's quality really is bad... and they don't even fit properly.	criticism over quality of foreign brand
25	八叉还有这个好气啊[哭惹R]当初因为侵犯中国主权和领土完整, COACH—刘雯解约; CK—林允解约; 范思哲—杨幂解约; 纪梵希—易烊千玺解约; 施华洛世奇—江疏影解约; 亚瑟士—宋威龙、韩东君解约..... 可是不久呢...这些牌子又都有了新代言人。。怎么大家都忘了[哭惹R][哭惹R]	141	<p>"Bacha, this is so infuriating 😠! Back then, because of violations of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity,</p> <p>COACH — Liu Wen terminated contract</p> <p>CK — Lin Yun terminated contract</p> <p>Versace — Yang Mi terminated contract</p> <p>Givenchy — Yi Yang Qianxi terminated contract</p> <p>Swarovski — Jiang Shuying terminated contract</p> <p>Asics — Song Weilong, Han Dongjun terminated contracts...</p> <p>but not long after, all these brands got new endorsers... how did everyone forget that 😠😠?"</p>	distrust and negative impression toward pragmatic public figures criticism over foreign brands endorsements
26	昨天出门吃饭还听见隔壁桌两个男生还在讲买aj能便宜了, 一直沾沾自喜, 就真的很想吐	4407	Yesterday, I went out to eat and overheard two guys at the next table talking about buying AJ shoes because they got cheaper. They were so smug, it made me want to throw up.	Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act Consumption as moral responsibility

				Consumption choices as National Duty
27	可能以前买不起aj 所以只能等跌价的时候才能买 	1575	Maybe they couldn't afford AJs before, so now they can only buy when the price drops  .	Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act Consumption as moral responsibility Consumption choices as National Duty
28	姑娘们遇见这种男友, 赶紧把他给甩了吧, 说不定有一天他可以为了一双aj把你给甩了! 姑娘们, 在辱华品牌专卖店看见这种男的, 给他投去一个鄙视的眼神, 外加一声蔑视的“切!”, 让他感受来自美女们深深的鄙视吧!	466	Ladies, if you encounter a boyfriend like this, dump him — one day he might leave you just for a pair of AJs! And if you see guys like this in a store selling anti-China brands, give them a look of contempt and a dismissive “tch!” — let them feel the deep disdain from the ladies.	Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act Consumption as moral responsibility Consumption choices as National Duty
29	哈哈哈哈哈哈我临走的时候甩了句跪着走路要什么鞋啊然后疯狂逃跑(也怕被打哈哈哈哈)	266	Hahaha, when I left, I jokingly said, “Why even care about shoes if you’re gonna crawl on your knees?” and ran away like crazy (also afraid of getting hit hahaha).	Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act Consumption as moral responsibility Consumption choices as National Duty
30	我的天, 换我这暴脾气真的会直接过去怼死他。。。	46	Oh my god, with my hot temper, I would have just gone over and ripped into him...	Exasperation toward inaction

	31		325	<p>在我附近穿nike的有很多是因为牌子效应,还有款式好看的原因,更多的原因是牌子,在年轻人里很多人都穿nike阿迪新百伦,个人觉得如果想改变这种现状,要靠个平台大v的发声,第一,大v也是年轻人,第二,大v也具有粉丝效应,第三经过大v的种草和推荐,使得中国的牌子,款式让更多人知道,引起大家的注意加追捧。</p> <p>Now, ever since the Xinjiang cotton incident, I've never stepped into stores like Nike or Adidas again. It's hard to find replacements, but they do exist. For shoes, FILA is very comfortable and stylish; for clothes, there's Pelliott and FILA — I'm also looking for more domestic brands. When it comes to buying sports products for my parents or partner, I definitely won't buy from Nike or similar brands anymore. My kid is at the age where they're obsessed with sneakers — I can't really control that, but I keep explaining the reasoning, and ultimately the choice is hers.</p>
<p>Account Name: 布萊爾的日記/ Bulaier's Diary</p> <p>Text: 新疆棉過去一年多,你開始復購阿迪耐克了嗎?</p> <p>Translation: "It's been over a year since the Xinjiang cotton incident — have you started buying Adidas or Nike again?"</p>	32		421	<p>Individual consumption choice</p> <p>boycott foreign brands</p> <p>Individual consumption choice</p>

<p>Hash Tag: #阿迪達斯 #耐克 (translated: #Adidas #Nike)</p> <p>Likes: 10k</p> <p>Collects: 135</p> <p>Comments: 2060</p> <p>Date: 2022/05/13</p>	<p>33 我也换成斐乐和李宁了，我家没啥好做工作的党员家庭就贴我家门口，一家子自觉，但是好像评论区有很多五十万的亚子，不以为耻反以为荣(白眼)</p>	<p>139</p>	<p>I've switched to FILA and Li-Ning too. My family doesn't have any fancy jobs — we're a party-member household, so we act consciously. But in the comment section, there seem to be a lot of "half-a-million types" (meaning: people indifferent to national pride), who actually take pride in being shameless 😞.</p>	<p>support for domestic brands</p> <p>Consumption as moral responsibility</p>
	<p>34 我爱买就买，不喜欢就不买，谁也别来绑架</p>	<p>265</p>	<p>I'll buy what I want and skip what I don't — nobody has the right to guilt-trip me.</p>	<p>Consumer pragmatism / realism</p> <p>Resistance to social/political coercion</p>
	<p>35 是的一个人的道德是有自己决定的，你愿意当那么没有民族底线的人谁也管不了你</p>	<p>731</p>	<p>Exactly, morality is for individuals to decide. If you want to be someone without national principles, nobody can stop you.</p>	<p>Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act</p> <p>Consumption as moral responsibility</p> <p>Consumption choices as National Duty</p>
	<p>36 法不禁即可为！</p>	<p>25</p>	<p>If the law doesn't forbid it, it's allowed!</p>	<p>Consumer pragmatism / realism</p> <p>Resistance to social/political coercion</p>
	<p>37 对啊，对于说别人道德绑架的人也太能偷换概念了吧</p>	<p>72</p>	<p>Right — those who accuse others of moral coercion are just twisting the argument.</p>	<p>Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act</p> <p>Consumption as moral responsibility</p> <p>Consumption choices as National Duty</p>
	<p>38 我不理解 现在人都把不犯法当底线了？[黑薯问号R][黑薯问号R][黑薯问号R][黑薯问号R]</p>	<p>151</p>	<p>I don't get it — since when did "not breaking the law" become people's moral bottom line? 😕😕😕😕</p>	<p>Consumption as moral responsibility</p> <p>Consumption choices as National Duty</p>

	39	你开心就好 就比如有人睡了你老婆 你在喊他哥都行的 谁要会绑架你 你开心就好	64	If it makes you happy, fine — like if someone sleeps with your wife and you still call him brother, no one's forcing you — as long as you're happy.	irony simile Consumption as moral responsibility Consumption choices as National Duty
	40	国潮李宁崛起, 反正我买李宁, 无条件支持国货	96	Guochao Li-Ning is rising anyway; I'll just keep buying Li-Ning and unconditionally support domestic brands.	support for domestic brands
	41	李宁实在是, 一样的价格, 一半的品质, 说真的, 但凡用点心, 谁去买阿迪耐克	57	Honestly, Li-Ning's gotten expensive — same price, half the quality. If they actually cared more about quality, who would still buy Adidas or Nike?	disillusionment and distrust to domestic brands
	42	李宁也挺过分的, 乘着去年那事儿狠狠涨了一波价	5	Li-Ning has gone too far too, taking advantage of last year's incident to jack up prices.	disillusionment and distrust to domestic brands
	43	买不买和爱国有什么关系, 真的是无语	9	What does buying or not buying have to do with patriotism? Seriously speechless.	Consumer pragmatism / realism Resistance to social/political coercion
	44	赚你钱还骂你傻逼[抠鼻R]就这么简单 !	19	They insult you and still make money off you 🤦 — it's that simple!	distrust of foreign brands
	45	在小红书说这个没多大用, 小红书上比较多的都是心在国外的中国人, 像我们这种全心有爱国情怀的人好少 ! 评论区就可以看出来[叹气R][叹气R]	581	Saying this on Xiaohongshu doesn't do much — most people here have their hearts set overseas. There are so few of us who truly love our country! You can see it in the comments 😞😞.	Cynicism Consumption as moral responsibility Consumption choices as National Duty
	46	小红书上那么多推荐耐克鞋的, 看了真的生气, 一个个的为啥就没有脊梁骨呢, 唉	18	So many posts here recommending Nike shoes — it's infuriating. Why do none of them have a spine? Sigh.	Cynicism Consumption as moral responsibility

				Consumption choices as National Duty	
47	[哭惹R][哭惹R][哭惹R]受很多原因影响新疆棉的价格下跌了很多 严重到可能有一部分流转别人的土地种的人今年挣不上钱 一年的投入和努力都要白费 我虽然是个学生但是我家里也是种棉花的 想到一些外国牌子抵制新疆棉就很难过[哭惹R]	19	😭😭😭😭 Because of many factors, the price of Xinjiang cotton has dropped sharply — so much that some people who rent others' land to grow it might not earn anything this year. A year's effort and investment wasted. I'm just a student, but my family grows cotton too. It hurts to see foreign brands boycotting Xinjiang cotton. 😭	rational analysis of challenges faced from cottons farmers	
48	说句难听的, 别光提阿迪耐克, 什么韩国乐天的食品, 日本的化妆品药品美容仪, 美国的各种商品, 如果爱国那就该一概不买。关键谁能做得到? 所以感觉说这没多大意思, 隔着一层网络, 多少人不是说一套做一套?	10	To be blunt — it's not just about Nike or Adidas. What about Korea's Lotte foods, Japan's cosmetics, medicine, and beauty devices, or all kinds of American products? If you're truly patriotic, shouldn't you stop buying them all? But who can actually do that? So honestly, talking about this online doesn't mean much — behind the screen, lots of people say one thing and do another.	Cynicism Consumption as moral responsibility Consumption choices as National Duty	
49	必须挂钩的呀, 家被人欺负了, 这个家的人会好过吗?	11	Of course it's connected — if your family is being bullied, can anyone in that family truly feel at peace?	Consumption choices as National Duty	
Account: 容子醬 Title: 尋華抵制新疆棉的外國品牌 Foreign brands accused of "insulting China" and boycotting Xinjiang cotton Text: 有耳熟能詳的外国品牌 : H&M、优衣库、Muji、GAP、宜家、Nike、匡威、Puma、VF集团、Burberry、Adidas、New Balance等等。尋华抵制新疆棉的外国品牌 Some well-known international brands include H&M, UNIQLO, Muji, GAP,	50	找到了, 溜单去, 溜完满减就退款	350	"Found something to add to my cart for the discount — gonna refund after reaching the minimum spend."	Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act
	51	嘿, 就是为了溜单进来的	68	"Yeah, I just came in to hit the discount threshold."	Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act
	52	现在还抵制吗	45	"Are people still boycotting?"	questions to boycott or not
	53	必须抵制, 哪个主播感播我就一直举报[微笑R]	29	"Of course! I report every livestreamer who dares to promote those brands. 😊"	firmly boycott boycott foreign brands

<p>IKEA, Nike, Converse, Puma, VF Group, Burberry, Adidas, New Balance, and others.</p> <p>Foreign brands accused of "insulting China" and boycotting Xinjiang cotton.</p> <p>Likes: 734</p> <p>Comments: 97</p> <p>Date: 2023/04/26</p>	<p>54</p>	<p>我不买, 因为抵制新疆棉花就是抵制中国经济, 中国要是垮了我就没家了 [飞吻R]</p>	<p>323</p>	<p>"I don't buy them. Boycotting Xinjiang cotton is boycotting China's economy — if China collapses, I'll have no home. 😘"</p>	<p>consumer pragmatism boycott foreign brands</p>
	<p>55</p>	<p>还有人抵制吗, 新疆棉事件那会儿我上高中, 现在大学了也一直没买过阿迪耐克 等品牌, 但我看我一个室友还是会买, 我说了这事, 她还暗戳戳说我买不起阴阳她[捂脸R]</p>	<p>9</p>	<p>"Are people still boycotting though? When the Xinjiang cotton thing happened, I was in high school. Now I'm in college and still haven't bought Adidas, Nike, or any of those brands. But one of my roommates still does — when I mentioned it, she subtly mocked me, like, 'Oh, you just can't afford it,' all passive-aggressive. 🤦‍♀️"</p>	<p>consumer pragmatism boycott foreign brands</p>
<p>Account Name: 人民網/ People's Daily Online</p>	<p>56</p>	<p>能不能抵制優衣庫</p>	<p>830</p>	<p>Can we boycott Uniqlo?</p>	<p>Call for boycotts Collective mobilization economic consumerism</p>
<p>Text: 我支持新疆棉花 ! 轉 !</p> <p>Translation: I support Xinjiang cotton! Forward!</p> <p>Hash Tag: #新疆棉花 #當然要記錄啊 (translated: #Xinjiang cotton #Of course have to record it.)</p> <p>Likes: 160k Collects: 274 Comments: 842 Date: 2024/11/29</p>	<p>57</p>	<p>以前就是这德行, 只是国人不长记性[笑哭R]</p>	<p>286</p>	<p>"It's always been like this; people just don't have much memory [laugh-cry emoji]."</p>	<p>Recognition of collective inconsistency Cynical realism ("people will still buy") Short-lived nationalism</p>
	<p>58</p>	<p>自己不买就行, 别人咱们管不了, 也不强求。</p>	<p>100</p>	<p>"As long as I don't buy it, that's enough—we can't control others, nor do we force them."</p>	<p>Selective participation Individual consumption choice</p>
	<p>59</p>	<p>我已经抵制两年了。我已经不需要优衣库的衣服了</p>	<p>66</p>	<p>"I've already been boycotting for two years. I don't need Uniqlo's clothes anymore."</p>	<p>Individual consumption choice individual participation for boycott</p>
	<p>60</p>	<p>上次抵制還沒到一年時, 一打開app還是不斷推优衣库穿搭[狗頭], 大家忘性大吧[狗頭]</p>	<p>1</p>	<p>"During the boycott, before even a year had passed, once I opened the app it was still constantly pushing Uniqlo outfits [dog-head emoji]. People just have short memories [dog-head emoji]."</p>	<p>Recognition of collective inconsistency Cynical realism ("people will still buy")</p>

				Short-lived nationalism
61	抵制, 自从它最初表态不用新疆棉之后, 我就再也没有去逛过了[偷笑R]	3	"Boycott—ever since they first declared they wouldn't use Xinjiang cotton, I've never gone shopping there again [sneaky-smile emoji]."	individual participation for boycott Boycott foreign brands or support domestic brands as patriotic act
62	中国人都不买它的服饰, 和它们不用新疆棉花, 谁的损失更大呢[狗头]	558	If Chinese people all stop buying their clothes, and they stop using Xinjiang cotton, who will lose more? [doge emoji]	Economic retaliation logic Nationalist pride in collective power Assertion of China's collective influence Confidence in domestic unity
63	你放心有很多人还会买	114	Don't worry, plenty of people will still buy it.	- Cynical realism - Recognition of collective inconsistency - Economic self-interest over ideology
64	我不买其他人随便啊[失望R]	59	I won't buy, but others can do as they please.	Individual autonomy in nationalist action
65	在库尔勒待了一年, 新疆的棉花真的特别好, 不知道外国人在抵制什么	72	I stayed in Korla for a year; Xinjiang's cotton is truly great. I don't understand what foreigners are boycotting.	Praise of Xinjiang cotton quality Personal testimony of Xinjiang experience Rejection of Western accusations
66	政治抵制	55	Political boycott.	
67	政治抹黑! 把它们正在做的坏事甩锅对手, 是它们管用的伎俩。别国乱了,	23	Political smear! They shift blame for their own wrongdoings onto others — it's their usual trick. When other	Strong anti-West sentiment

	它们好从中分一杯羹, 坏得要死。		countries are in chaos, they benefit from it. They're terrible.	Conspiratorial framing of international politics Moral denunciation of "foreign others"
68	说难听点, 就因为国内企业不认真做衣服, 才导致国内客户很依赖外企, 连优衣库这种普通到不能再普通的常服家居服店铺都能占国内这么大市场, 跳脸但又不能赶出去。国内没有更好的稳定的可替代的品牌才会受这窝囊气。	223	Frankly, it's because domestic companies don't make clothes seriously, which makes Chinese consumers depend on foreign brands. Even an ordinary brand like Uniqlo can dominate the market — embarrassing, but we can't kick them out. There's no better domestic alternative.	Economic introspection Frustration toward domestic industry weakness Rational critique within nationalist framework
69	有没有一种可能, 是优衣库用不起新疆棉花, 因为他们衣服太便宜了[笑哭R]	43	Maybe Uniqlo can't afford Xinjiang cotton — their clothes are too cheap!	rationalization
70	谁便宜我支持谁, 新疆棉太贵了让有钱人去支持吧	87	I'll support whoever's cheaper; Xinjiang cotton is too expensive — let the rich support it.	Economic Rationalization selective participation
71	支持新疆棉花也不必要抵制优衣库, 人家用什么棉花那是人家的自由!	20	Supporting Xinjiang cotton doesn't mean we must boycott Uniqlo. It's their freedom to choose what cotton they use!	Consumer realism
72	是谁给了优衣库吃着中国人的饭, 砸中国人碗的底气?	33	Who gave Uniqlo the confidence to eat from Chinese consumers while smashing China's bowl?	Pride in National Strength
73	支持新疆棉。不止是家国情怀, 新疆棉质量是真的好, 我买衣服毛巾都优先看是新疆棉的[点赞R]	45	Supporting Xinjiang cotton isn't only about patriotism — Xinjiang cotton is genuinely high quality. I always look for Xinjiang cotton when buying clothes or towels. 	support for Xinjiang cottons Praise of Xinjiang cotton quality
74	优衣库太高看自己了。我们完全可以不买它, 但是我们一定支持自己国家的新疆棉花	18	Uniqlo is overestimating itself. We can totally choose not to buy from them — but we will definitely support our own country's Xinjiang cotton.	collective economic power economic nationalism support for Xinjiang cotton

75	再见优衣库!	146	Goodbye, Uniqlo!	boycott
76	卫生巾不配用新疆棉吗 [狗頭]	117	Are sanitary pads not worthy of using Xinjiang cotton? 🤦	Sanitary pad incident distrust to domestic production disillusionment to nationalism consumption
77	反正我不买他们的衣服。他不用, 只是用不起。想用价格低廉的低等棉花, 降低成本, 追求利益最大化。他们现在的质量, 也是肉眼可见的越来越差劲了, 越来越没性价比。而且纯棉也是越来越少, 一堆塑料衣服。	19	Anyway, I won't buy their clothes. They're not 'refusing' to use Xinjiang cotton — they simply can't afford it. They want to use cheap, low-grade cotton to cut costs and maximize profit. Their quality is visibly getting worse with less and less cotton — just a bunch of plastic clothes with no value for money.	criticism on quality of foreign brand low cost performance
78	好棉是好棉, 但概率是无论花钱多钱少, #好东西 [搜索高亮]# 也轮不到咱们用呢, 无所谓了, 爱用啥就用啥, 支持自己最重要。	5453	"Good cotton is good cotton, sure — but let's be real, no matter how much we pay, #goodstuff# never makes its way to us ordinary folks anyway. Whatever, just use what you like; supporting yourself matters most."	Consumer realism / Disillusionment self-interest over nationalism.
79	是, 咱家都把好东西给外人用, 不知道说啥好了	2424	"Yeah, our country always gives the good stuff to outsiders. Don't even know what to say anymore."	Discontent / Distrust of System Criticism of better treatment to the outsiders rather than the insiders (local citizens)
21年还是 群情激愤, 现在看很多人 冷静了, 看来 卫生巾真的把 女性伤到了呀	最无语的是柠檬茶, 那次我喜欢的明星直接公开解约, 我也呼吁身边人抵制, 结果转头电视宣传它是民族品牌企业[再见R]	2649	"The most speechless one was that lemon tea brand. Back then my favorite celebrity immediately terminated their contract, and I even urged people around me to boycott it — then later the TV started promoting it as a national brand. 🤦"	Betrayed idealism / Celebrity-driven Boycott

	<p>81 广东人尤其伤，那个牌子真的从小喝到大，出了这事我都刻意不买，现在？呵呵[微笑R]我一天干他两盒朱古力豆奶，该买就买</p>	284	<p>"That one hit especially hard for us Cantonese. I literally grew up drinking that brand. I purposely stopped buying it after the incident, but now? Haha 😂 I drink two boxes of its chocolate soy milk a day — buy what I want, whatever."</p>	<p>Disillusionment Pragmatism Cynicism</p>
	<p>82 主要今年国货又是涨价又是背刺的，消费者又不是傻子。#现在看新疆棉[搜索高亮]# 就是个笑话，这么好的棉花女性卫生巾只配用黑心棉[失望R]</p>	1336	<p>"The main thing is: domestic brands have been price-hiking and backstabbing consumers this year. People aren't stupid. #XinjiangCottonNow# has become a joke — such good cotton, and yet women's pads are still made with trash cotton. 😞"</p>	<p>Consumer skepticism / Moral fatigue Disappointments of Domestic Brands Cynicism</p>
<p>Account: 贪妞兒 Title: 看了好多評論，發現很多人真的傷了。 After reading so many comments, I realized that a lot of people were truly hurt.</p>	<p>83 我其实有段时间啥舶来品都不买了，但是他们自己不争气啊，水乳让我长丘疹，面膜过敏，涨价。衣服质量不好还涨价，加上卫生巾还在背刺我，我在维护他们，他们一个个却想将我碎骨吸髓。🤣</p>	2600	<p>There was a period when I refused to buy any imported products, but honestly, our own brands just don't live up to expectations. Their skincare products gave me pimples, their facial masks caused allergies, and they keep raising prices. The clothing quality is poor but still getting more expensive. Even the sanitary pad brands have been "backstabbing" me. I defended them, yet they seem eager to suck me dry. 🤣</p>	<p>Consumer cynicism national brand distrust brand betrayal emotional fatigue Sanitary pad incident distrust to domestic production</p>
<p>Text: 不買可以，買也無所謂，過好自己日子比什麼都強。[嘆氣R][嘆氣R][嘆氣R] It's fine if you don't buy it, and it's fine if you do — living your own life well matters more than anything else. sigh 😞 😞 😞 Hash Tag: #新疆棉 #衛生巾 Likes: 9791 Comments: 954 Date: 2024/11/30</p>	<p>84 太感人了大家终于反应过来了[哭惹R]六月份抵制迪士尼那波我就被无语到了，觉得迪士尼受众是小女生好欺负好骗是吧，咋不抵制其他犹太资本呢，还有什么苹果华为，那咋了要地址先让上面禁苹果手机啊，那我肯定不买，在网上道德绑架别人干什么[鄙视R]</p>	1354	<p>It's so touching that people are finally waking up [crying emoji]. That wave of boycotting Disney back in June already left me speechless. Do they think Disney's audience—mostly young women—are easy targets to guilt-trip? Why not boycott other Jewish-owned capital groups too? And what about Apple or Huawei? If the authorities ban Apple first, then sure, I'll stop buying. But stop trying to morally blackmail people online [disdain emoji].</p>	<p>selective moral campaigns skepticism of national sentiments disillusionment</p>

	85 李宁安踏波司登进去看看 价格比优衣库贵上一大截 质量也没好到哪里去, 老 百姓又不是冤大头谁爱买 谁买吧	590	When you go into Li-Ning, Anta, or Bosideng stores, the prices are much higher than Uniqlo, but the quality isn't much better. Ordinary people aren't fools — whoever wants to buy can go ahead.	Consumer realism pragmatic consumerism domestic brand critique
	86 感觉。。。不均。。。不公已 经比内外。。。问题更严重 了所以大众的态度才。。 (仅从网络舆论来看)	1641	It feels like... inequality and unfairness within the country have become bigger problems than the external ones. That's why public sentiment is the way it is (judging from online opinion alone).	Internal inequality awareness critical nationalism
	87 当年那些明星都纷纷解约了, 转头那些品牌就宣了 国家运动员成为新代言人 [鄙视R]	1954	Back then, all those celebrities quickly terminated their contracts, only for the brands to turn around and announce national athletes as their new endorsers [disdain emoji].	Brand hypocrisy celebrity betraya patriotic performativity national department
Account: 夜宵重度依赖 Text: 每次看到代言阿迪的 明星, 都会默默心疼在新疆 棉中受伤的臣 Every time I see a celebrity repping Adidas, I can't help but feel bad for all the people who got hurt over the Xinjiang cotton issue. Likes: 2714 Comments: 626 Date: 2025/01/11	88 所以啊 做人三观太正也 不好 主打一个我干我的 你们说你们的 听不见不 内耗 坏人活得久 这样的 人才能适应这个社会吧	1532	So yeah, being too morally upright isn't always good. Just focus on doing your own thing and ignore the noise — the bad guys survive, and those are the people who can really adapt to society.	Skeptical realism about social morality reflective, ironic

90	当年最爱维他奶的时候,一天三瓶,被爆以后强迫自己不喝,转头他评上民间良心企业了[睡觉R]	721	I used to love Vitasoy — I'd drink three bottles a day. After the scandal broke, I forced myself to stop buying it. And then, not long after, it somehow got honored as a 'model conscientious enterprise' in one of those so-called public rankings. [sleep emoji]	brand hypocrisy marketing betrayal
91	所以我们有最好的棉花和不合格的卫生巾	298	So we have the best cotton and substandard sanitary pads.	National brand distrust systemic backstabbing consumer cynicism
92	被官方背刺好多啊,爱国居然会被背刺,想想都好笑	113	We've been backstabbed by official channels so many times — it's almost absurd that being patriotic actually makes you a target. Thinking about it is almost funny.	backstabbing by the officials
93	第一个解约的可是杨幂的范思哲 现在水灵灵又被人捡走了	137	The first contract termination was Versace with Yang Mi. Now the brand has been quietly picked up again by someone else	Public pressure on celebrities nationalism on public figures pressure among public discourse celebrities betrayal
94	我忘了好像是范思哲吧杨幂还是刘雯前脚刚解约后脚就被杨紫悄悄捡漏代言还神隐...	108	I think it was Versace — Yang Mi or Liu Wen terminated first, and shortly after, Yang Zi quietly became the new endorser, almost disappearing from public view...	Public pressure on celebrities nationalism on public figures pressure among public discourse celebrities betrayal

<p>Account Name: 娱小七</p> <p>Text: 迪麗熱巴: 先做中國人, 再做女明星 !</p> <p>Translation: "Dilraba: Be a Chinese first, then a celebrity!"</p> <p>Hash Tag: #捕娛達人計畫 #娛樂</p> <p>Likes: 38k</p> <p>Collects: 1603</p> <p>Comments: 225</p> <p>Date: 2025/07/29</p>	<p>95</p> <p>希望所有饭圈的朋友们集体放下成见， 你可以不喜欢甚至讨厌迪丽热巴， 但不能拒绝学习防拐骗的知识。 一次观看利剑玫瑰就能让自己免于陷入危险 一次安利利剑玫瑰就可能拯救一个家庭 ! 讨厌迪丽热巴的也来看因为她第一集被绑了</p>	<p>2685</p>	<p>"I hope all fans can put aside their biases. You may dislike or even hate Dilraba Dilmurat, but you shouldn't reject learning about anti-abduction awareness. Watching Sharp Sword and Rose once could save you from danger; recommending it once might even save a family! Even those who dislike Dilraba should watch it — she gets kidnapped in the first episode."</p>	<p>celebrities patriotism positivity and praises on patriotic public figure</p>
<p>96</p> <p>根正苗红青年演员迪丽热巴•迪力木拉提[点赞R]</p>	<p>1659</p>	<p>Dilraba Dilmurat — a young actress with firm roots and a righteous upbringing. </p>	<p>When Reba forgot to bring slippers on Divas Hit the Road, she didn't forget to bring the national flag — the country is always first in her heart!</p>	<p>supports from the publics on patriotic action</p>
<p>97</p> <p>热巴花少忘记带拖鞋, 但没有忘记带国旗, 心中国家永远放在首位 ! 这样的小巴巴怎么不让人宠爱呢 [害羞R]</p>	<p>136</p>	<p>How could anyone not adore such a girl? </p>	<p>Why am I so righteous? Because the person I stan is righteous too.</p>	<p>unity of the minorities and ethnicity among the Nation</p>
<p>98</p> <p>我为什么这么正, 因为我粉的人很正</p>	<p>332</p>	<p> Who understands? I grew up learning that 'the Han can't do without the ethnic minorities, the minorities can't do without the Han, and the various minorities can't do without one another.'</p>	<p>We were even tested on it in exams!</p>	<p>Minorities and Han Nationalism</p>

<p>Account: lupxu</p> <p>Title: 优衣库为何如此火爆,大家都忘了吗?</p> <p>(Why is UNIQLO so popular? Has everyone forgotten?)</p> <p>Text: 优衣库 UNIQLO</p> <p>作为一个日本●品牌,为何在国内如此火爆,前有新疆棉事件导致口碑下滑,为何现在一点影响都没了? [石化R][石化R][石化R]</p> <p>(UNIQLO, a Japanese ● brand, remains hugely popular in China. Despite the backlash it faced earlier due to the Xinjiang cotton controversy, its reputation now seems completely unaffected — why is that?)</p> <p>Hash tag: #纯粹个人想法吐槽 #国货品牌 #仅个人见解及分享 #品牌认知度 #来来来我们一起来讨论 #我们只逛不买 #当代年轻人逛商场的日常 #商场如战场 #一起云逛街 #购物新选择</p> <p>(#JustPersonalThoughts #DomesticBrands #PurelyMyOwnOpinion #BrandAwareness #ComeJoinTheDiscussion #WeBrowseButDon'tBuy #DailyLifeOfYoungShoppers #ShoppingMallBattlefield #VirtualWindowShopping #NewShoppingChoices)</p> <p>Likes: 181 Comments: 1299 Date: 2025/08/10</p>	100	国内没有一家衣服品牌能替代优衣库,男女群体优衣库通吃	1566	There really isn't a single domestic clothing brand that can replace Uniqlo — it appeals to both men and women	consumers pragmatism consumption realism radical nationalism economic rationalism show cost or production logics show market reasoning, or cost-benefit considerations ties with local logistic supply chain high cost performance good shopping experience consumers pragmatism consumption realism radical nationalism false information (or misinformation) U.S. propaganda
	101	还有童装	262	including children's clothing.	
	102	真得。。。许多年前寄希望于凡客,后来寄希望于网易严选,时间一长发现都错付了。。。	40	Honestly... years ago, I pinned my hopes on VANCL, later on Lifease, but over time, I realized I was wrong about both.	
	103	优衣库全是国内生产的,国内供应链,品牌不咋地,但是衣服倒是没啥毛病,其实也算是半个国货,只是说设计可能在日本,如果抵制其实最后遭殃的还是国内那些厂商,优衣库可是大客户。	70	Uniqlo's products are all manufactured in China, using domestic supply chains. The brand itself isn't anything special, but the clothes are fine — in a way, it could even count as half a local brand. The designs may come from Japan, but if people boycott it, the ones who suffer most are actually the Chinese factories. Uniqlo is a major client for them.	
	104	就凭我进去没店员跟在后面介绍这个怎么样那个怎么样,然后我觉得性价比还行	176	What I like is that when I walk into a store, no sales follow me around, trying to push products on me — and the price-to-quality ratio is decent.	
	105	优衣库只是说不用新疆棉被国内无良自媒体改变说抵制新疆棉合着全世界都得用新疆棉吗	54	Uniqlo never actually said they were boycotting Xinjiang cotton — that's something irresponsible domestic media twisted. What, does the whole world have to use Xinjiang cotton?	

106	都不是说不用, 原话是目前未使用, BBC炮制一番就变成抵制了, 还煽动了一大群不明真相的人在网上四处声讨[捂脸R]	27	It's not even that they said they wouldn't use it — their original words were just "not currently using it." Then the BBC spun the story, turning it into "boycotting," and stirred up a huge crowd of misinformed people to attack them online. 	false information (or misinformation) U.S. propaganda
107	原视频好像说的是因为成本高没用新疆棉, 用的国内其他地方产的	56	Apparently, the original video said Uniqlo doesn't use Xinjiang cotton because the cost is too high, and instead they use cotton from other parts of China.	economic realism radication consumption
108	t恤几十块可以穿很久而且不容易变形, 如果有国产平替我愿意买国产啊, 可是没有啊	30	Their T-shirts only cost a few dozen yuan but last a long time and don't lose shape easily. If there were a domestic alternative brand, I'd gladly buy local — but there just isn't one.	consumers pragmatism consumption realism radical nationalism
109	便宜而且服务态度真的挺好的[哭惹R]前天我们去逛一下优衣库发现一件西服打折99, 试穿挺好的然后就去结账了, 结账时候发现服务员挂错地方了, 这件西服不是99, 好像是199, 但是全部挂在了99区, 然后服务员就给我们改价格了99买走了[石化R]	42	It's cheap, and their customer service is honestly really good  . The other day, we went shopping at Uniqlo and found a suit jacket marked down to 99 yuan. It fit nicely, so we took it to the checkout. Turns out, the staff had hung it in the wrong area — it was actually 199 yuan. But since all the jackets were in the 99 section, the cashier just changed the price for us and sold it for 99  .	Positive Brand Perception Emotional Loyalty Customer Experience Satisfaction
110	优衣库: 我母鸡啊, 谁能想到其他牌子一个能打的都没有.....[暗中观察R]。 你去逛优衣库随便试随便看, 去逛其他品牌的店铺他妈的跟防贼似的你走一步店员跟一步[笑哭R]有的店员他妈的还没有顾客懂得多, 就在旁边瞎逼逼[笑哭R]	29	Uniqlo be like: 'How would I even know? Who could've guessed that none of the other brands could compete...'  When you shop at Uniqlo, you can browse and try things freely. But in other stores, it's like they're guarding against thieves — every step you take, a clerk follows right behind  .	Positive Brand Perception Emotional Loyalty Customer Experience Satisfaction

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