

The oppression of Uighur people by the Chinese government and the impact of social media campaigns on multinationals such as Zara and Nike

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**ULIEGE
FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES
DÉPARTEMENT MÉDIAS, CULTURE ET
COMMUNICATION**

**"The oppression of Uighur people by the Chinese government
and the impact of social media campaigns on multinationals
such as Zara and Nike."**

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Mémoire présenté par ANGUTAYEVA
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I. Introduction

1.1. Background of the dissertation

Regardless of the fact that the Uighur people have been facing growing persecution since 2016,¹ the international press has started to deal with this information only recently. This can be explained by the impact of the resonance of social media, which pushed the international press to comment on persecutions happening in China. In fact, Uighurs have been persecuted by the Chinese state for decades and recently it has been revealed by the international press that they are subjected to “political and religious indoctrination, compulsory language education, and industrial training”² in an effort to suppress the threat posed by the Uighur people because of their culture, their ethnicity and their religion. Thus, China is being criticized by 39³ western countries for creating “camps” in the 21st century and locking up women and men under the pretext of fighting terrorism. In its turn, China claims that its aim is to reeducate Uighur people, through the Global War on Terror, i.e., “GWOT”, politics, by creating reeducation centers, which allegedly provide training and jobs for Uighurs. It is being said that a lot of countries, especially Muslim states, openly support China in their repression of Uighurs.⁴

Simultaneously, social media has played a major part in revealing China’s way of detaining Uighurs in camps and its way of violating human rights. Recently, it has had an important impact among people, especially on Instagram and Twitter, as users have started an Internet ‘war’ on several multinationals by boycotting them and shaming them through social media. In

¹ Byler, Darren. “The Art of Life in Chinese Central Asia: Uyghur Dispossession, Culture Work and Terror Capitalism in the Global City.” University of Washington, 2018. https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/bitstream/handle/1773/42946/Byler_washington_0250E_19242.pdf. Accessed 4 January 2021.

² Liu, A. “We Need to Think About Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms.” *The Nation*, 28 Oct. 2020, <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/xinjiang-uygher-camps/>. Accessed 22 April 2021.

³ Putz, Catherine. “2020 Edition: Which Countries Are for or Against China’s Xinjiang Policies?” *The Diplomat*, 9 Oct. 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/2020-edition-which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/>. Accessed 19 Mar. 2021.

⁴ Ibidem.

fact, according to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) over 80⁵ major brands are involved in forced labour and some of them recently agreed to stop using Uighurs forced labour. For instance, companies such as Zara, a company specialized in fast fashion, have become one of the prominent targets. Even though Zara publicly denied allegations of forced labour, no conclusive evidence has been provided.

This being said, under the pressure of increasingly critical consumers, some multinationals have been trying to save their image from the forced labour accusation by claiming that they do not support forced labour. Since 82 major multinationals⁶ are involved in the forced labour allegations, a lot of consumers are outraged that powerful brands resort to forced labour. Thus, users accuse them of profiting from forced labour and find it unacceptable that companies are unable to guarantee that their products are not a work of forced labour. In response, some multinationals have denied and even ignored these allegations, yet some others refuse to stop sourcing from their suppliers who use Uighurs for their work.

1.2. Dissertation objectives

The main objective of this dissertation is to demonstrate how social media, through certain European deputies, influencers and mass public reactions, have resonance in society and affect different multinationals' reputations, especially in the fashion industries. This aims to demonstrate that transnational mobilisations through social media networks can lead multinationals to adopt considerable measures in order to prevent the deterioration of their brand's image but also their economic profits.

The first goal is to provide the reader with a global analysis of the situation of Uighurs and a brief historical contextualization of the Xinjiang region until the present day. This contextualization will provide an understanding of how the Uighurs relationship with the PRC has deteriorated since then.

⁵ Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 January 2021.

⁶ Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale>. Accessed 4 January 2021.

The second goal of this research is to demonstrate that Xinjiang is a strategic region for China in terms of economy and geopolitics. The outcome should contribute to understanding why the Chinese “Global War on Terror” is a way of justifying Uighur persecution and clamp down on Uighur resistance and their call to autonomy, which does not benefit China at all.

The third goal is to illustrate previous anti-sweatshop campaigns in South Asia and provide a brief analysis of the effectiveness of these campaigns because of different factors. These factors illustrate the importance of transnational mobilisations which can explain the current campaigns’ necessity and the effectiveness of these.

The last goal of this research is to provide empirical data on how many people decided to boycott Zara involved in forced labour as a result of social media campaigns. This study will also determine which social media platform has been the most effective and has influenced users’ decision the most.

The overall aim of this dissertation is to demonstrate how China’s violation of human rights, allegedly based on so-called terroristic traits, is actually done for strategic and economic benefits. How China’s exploitation of Uighur labour in factories is actually linked to the China’s will of capitalizing Xinjiang region and how social media networks play an important role in raising this topic to the political level.

1.3. Research Methodology

This thesis is a result of extensive research that includes various materials and supports. The dissertation focuses on a deep examination of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s way of using the GWOT to justify the creations of so-called "re-education camps."⁷ It will also illustrate how social media became an instrument to pressure the PRC to release Uighur people from these camps, since European states failed to do so. This research draws attention to multinationals involved in forced labour and how social media is used as a battlefield in order to force multinationals to cease sourcing their merchandise with products made by Uighurs.

In order to achieve the main objectives of this dissertation, a variety of research was conducted, through various investigations of scientific literature, academic papers, books, press articles, publications on social networks such as Instagram and Twitter, press release statements, online conferences and debates, personal exchanges with various organizations and brands. Empirical research is also integrated in this study, as a way of providing some data analysis and demonstrating the impact of social media on a specific multinational, i.e., Zara. It is important to note this empirical research is not based on extensive data due to the amount of time and difficulties to obtain such specific information.

Initially, the author of this dissertation attempts to outline a historical background in order to explore the origin of the problem. In-depth research was required in order to establish the timeline of the issue and the historical link between the Xinjiang region and the PRC. Through the study of various articles and books, the author attempted to illustrate the importance of the Xinjiang region to the PRC's plans.

In order to explore the concept of genocide, the author based her analysis on the definition of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The author also applied Lemkin's definition from his *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. More importantly, Maureen S. Hiebert's three socio-political dimensions were applied to Uighurs in order to outline the concept of genocide in Uighur context.

⁷ Cockerell, Isobel. "China's oppression of Xinjiang's Uyghurs: a visual history." *Codastory*, 11 March 2020, <https://www.codastory.com/authoritarian-tech/china-oppression-uyghurs-history/> Accessed 3 January 2021.

In order to explain the phenomenon of GWOT, the author of this thesis based this analysis on Roberts Sean's book *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*, which was of great help to understand on what basis Uyghurs are persecuted. In addition, Darren Byler's dissertation on *Uyghur Dispossession, Culture Work and Terror Capitalism in a Chinese Global City* was used in order to understand the basis of Uyghur community and to understand what kind of discrimination Uyghurs have been suffering for decades. For this research, a brief analysis of the "terror capitalism" phenomenon from Byler's perspective was conducted. Furthermore, A. Lui's article "We need to Think About Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms" was of great help in order to provide a link between globalization and camps. Before addressing anti-sweatshop campaigns movements, the author defined important concepts such as "forced labour, "indentured labour" and "slave labour" in order to provide a clear understanding of these terms and apply the right term to the Uyghur exploitation in factories. Subsequently, previous anti-sweatshop campaigns in South Asia have been discussed, including the effectiveness of these campaigns. The author also mentioned the use of media and social media in these campaigns as an important factor to the effective execution of these campaigns.

Additionally, in order to explain international brands' involvement in the forced labour, the author analysed the ASPI's research. This extensive work provides information about multinational brands and their suppliers that are allegedly involved in forced labour. This document represents the main support to investigate forced labour allegations and is the main source that instigated social media's mobilisation against multinationals. The initial goal was to illustrate the attention that the ASPI investigation has attracted and the awareness that this report has created among users. Furthermore, the theoretical information allows the uninformed reader to discover how International brands are involved in forced labour.

For this part, the author of this dissertation attempted to explain each campaign that has been active on social media. For this purpose, numerous organizations were contacted that have taken part in these campaigns. The author collected data to analyse how many people felt concerned by the ongoing persecution in the PRC and participated in the campaign called '*Sorry, China, I am not buying it again*'. At this stage, the author attempted to gain direct contact with a specific multinational, i.e., Zara, involved in the forced labour allegations and analysed their responses.

Chapter 4 provides an extensive analysis of different mobilisations occurring on social networks and organized by European deputy Raphael Glucksmann. This analysis was based on a specific social media platform, i.e., Instagram. Since, Instagram is used today by more than 1 billion users, it was considered by the author as the prominent social network for this work.

Theoretical exploration, combined with additional comments, allows the reader to understand how this phenomenon has impacted Instagram users and massively mobilized them to stand up for the Uighur cause. Since these mobilisations were actively occurring during the writing of this dissertation, the progress of these campaigns has been diligently followed by the author and the effect these campaigns have on brand image was analysed. Furthermore, since some campaigns are still ongoing, results provided in this dissertation are not conclusive and may be subject to change.

The last part of this research provides an analysis of the survey conducted by the author. In order to understand the impact these campaigns have on multinationals' profits; a survey was conducted to analyse how many customers have really decided to boycott these brands and how these campaigns affected public purchasing behaviours. This survey analysed a specific company, Zara, Inditex's parent company. Even though its profits were cut by 70% in 2020, generally because of the pandemic, it is interesting to analyse if these campaigns, which occurred during the same period, have impacted consumer behaviour.

For this research, the author contacted multiple social media accounts. The decision to use Instagram and Facebook platforms in order to launch this survey was because multiple groups, dedicated to bringing awareness on the Uighurs' cause, were created all over the world on these platforms. This way, the author was certain to collect enough data. The author contacted 75 groups from different countries; only 25 of them agreed to share this survey. The majority of these groups were from France, but also from the USA, Canada, Algeria, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Spain. This survey received a total number of 150 participants.

This survey was shared in two languages, French and English, depending on the Instagram and Facebook page's followers. The methods applied in this research were both quantitative and qualitative. An open-ended questionnaire mixed with some Yes/No questions seemed to be an

appropriate tool for this survey in order to analyse and understand people's reaction to this forced labour revelation. It took respondents approximately 10 minutes to take the survey.

1.4. Summary of the dissertation

First of all, the author provided a general explanation about the Xinjiang region. This information provides the reader with evidence that the issue between Uighurs and the PRC is deep and goes back centuries. Furthermore, the author defined the concept of 'genocide' and applied three dimensions to Uighur cause. This research also provided a brief historical analysis from 1759 onwards. The author tried to illustrate some important events that occurred during the last two centuries that led to the massive repression of the Uighur community. The historical background is considered as being an important aspect in order to understand the ongoing issues.

Further, the author attempted to analyse the GWOT phenomenon in order to understand on what basis the PRC succeeded in allegedly persecuting Uighurs. A brief description of the historical background was provided in order to contextualize the beginning of the GWOT in the United States with the 9/11 terrorist attack, which contributed to the enhancement and extension of this phenomenon in the PRC. Further, Robert Sean's approach on the GWOT was analysed in order to provide an understanding of the PRC's actions towards the GWOT. The author attempted to identify the causes that allow the PRC to perpetuate these crimes without being penalized by international institutions.

Moreover, the author provided the reader with the PRC's plan for the Belt and Road Initiative and the importance of the Xinjiang region for its plan. This research exposed geostrategic regions that encompass Xinjiang and that made this region the epicenter for BRI project. This work also provided information about the Xinjiang region's resources, and pointed out how economic and geostrategic reasons made Xinjiang a prominent region for the PRC.

Subsequently, aiming to explore the main issue of this research, the author identified different concepts such as forced labour, indentured labour and slave labour in order to provide a clear definition of these terms and avoid misusing them. Furthermore, this research exposed international brands involved in forced labour. For this part, an in-depth analysis of the ASPI

research has been conducted. Moreover, an advertisement to promote Uighur labour was analysed in order to make the reader aware of the seriousness of this problem. The author also participated in a conference where Darren Byler introduced China's system defined by terror capitalism. The introduction of this notion was intended to help the reader gain an understanding of the PRC's justification of human exploitation. The author also described how, through globalization, multinationals have acquired the ability to lobby against regulations that can play a major role in ceasing forced labour in the Xinjiang region. This work also provided the reader with statistics pertaining to the Cotton produced by region in 2019 in order to illustrate the importance of Xinjiang's cotton to the China's market. Since Xinjiang cotton represents 20% of the global cotton, the author developed further the idea that Xinjiang resources represent a predominant region for China's economy.

The author also introduced two examples of anti-sweatshop campaign that occurred in South Asia and explained that the effectiveness of these campaigns is due to the transatlantic unity between activists which gave the visibility to these campaigns and force multinationals to provide necessary conditions to its workers. This chapter also focused on the importance of the Internet and more thoroughly on the importance of the social media that allowed sharing information around the globe.

Following the theoretical part of this issue, the fourth part of this dissertation was dedicated to analysing the campaigns conducted on social media and the immediate effects these mobilisations have brought to the Uighur cause. Therefore, this research is based on what was and is still happening on social media networks. Initially, the author analysed the campaign which led some brands to sign the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor (CEUFL) brand's Commitment. For this campaign, different organizations provided data in order to analyse how many people have participated in this campaign. The author also took part in this campaign, and provided the reader with Zara's response to the forced labour accusations.

Furthermore, the author selected several major brands and analysed the campaigns organized on social networks and how people's massive mobilisations have affected international brands' image and how it pressured some of these brands to cease their involvement in forced labour. This analysis also provided some datasets in order to prove people's massive mobilisation in these campaigns. Additionally, during the writing of this thesis, the author witnessed multiple examples of decisions taken by different public figures and states such as the adoption of the

legislation on the due diligence resolution by the European Union. Thus, the author considered the introduction of this legislation as a prominent outcome of the massive mobilisation on social networks.

To end this research, the author conducted empirical research in order to understand if the awareness of Uighurs' persecution and forced labour had impacted people's way of seeing these brands and how it affected their purchase decisions. The data provided by the author was collected through Instagram pages dedicated to bringing awareness and fighting for the Uighur cause.

II. Historical Background

Xinjiang is an autonomous region in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Often referred to by Uighurs as Eastern Turkestan (Sharqi Turkestan)⁸ and known as Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR). Xinjiang was annexed to China in the 18th century and named Xinjiang which means 'New Frontier'⁹ in the 19th century by the Qing Empire. Since then, Xinjiang has known some short periods out of China, to be finally incorporated into China in the 20th century.

It is the largest region in China, a territory that encompasses one-sixth¹⁰ of the land of the PRC. Xinjiang is mostly inhabited by Turkish-speaking Uighurs, and the majority of them are Muslims. In fact, Islam arrived in this region in the 10th century¹¹ and has become dominant since then. Moreover, Xinjiang's population corresponds approximately to 20 million people.¹²

Indeed, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region is inhabited by 13 different ethnic groups such as Uighurs, which represent the major part of the population (45%), by Han Chinese, who represent 40% of the population, and other minority groups including Kazakhs, Huis, Kirgiz, Mongolians, Manchus, Xibes, Tajiks, Daurs, Ozbeks, Tatars and Russians.¹³ However, the Muslim Uighurs represent the majority of the XUAR people and corresponds approximately to 12 million people.¹⁴

⁸Dillon, Michael. "A Uighurs' History of China." *History Day*, vol.70, 1 Jan. 2020, <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/behind-times/uighurs'-history-china>. Accessed 3 December 2020.

⁹ Barfield, Thomas. *China Review International*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008, pp. 286–290. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23733145. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

¹⁰ Bhattacharji, Preeti. "Uighurs and China's Xinjiang Region." *Council on Foreign Relations*, 29 May 2012, <https://www.cfr.org/background/uighurs-and-chinas-xinjiang-region>. Accessed 29 January 2021.

¹¹ Barfield, Thomas. *China Review International*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008, pp. 286–290. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23733145. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ History and Development of Xinjiang, *Chinese Journal of International Law*, vol. 3, Issue 2, Jan. 2004, pp. 629–59, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.cjilaw.a000538>. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

¹⁴WUC. "East Turkistan." *World Uyghur Congress*, <https://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/east-turkestan-2/>. Accessed 19 March. 2021.

Since Uighurs represent the majority of Xinjiang's population and are not related ethnically or culturally to Han people, there are constant ethnic tensions between the two groups. There is a will from a part of the Uighur community to become an independent country, predominantly in relation to the feeling of discrimination on the basis of preferential treatment based on ethnicity of Hans. Due to its religious, ethnic and linguistic differences, the Xinjiang region has been problematic for several decades and lately has been undergoing some major political indoctrination. Even the divergence in naming their region as Xinjiang by the PRC and as Eastern Turkestan by Uighurs asserts their differences and their refusal to form one entity.

Therefore, China's annexation of XUAR is considered by some scholars as a form of imperialism. In fact, China's will to assimilate Uighurs to Han people is an attempt to colonise natives and make them more alike to themselves. Another attempt to colonise these natives is carried out by creating 're-education camps,' which according to China should "civilize"¹⁵ them. Thus, the Uighurs will to establish an independent country has intensified even more, especially with the massive migration of the Han community to Xinjiang; and their differences have resulted in massive protests and outbreaks of violence.¹⁶ This is one of the reasons which explain the difficulty to share the same values and principles and to coexist as one nation.

2.1. Key concepts and definition

2.1.1. Genocide

Concepts such as genocide have long been disputed in a political and academical sphere because of the lack of consensus on their meaning. The general lack of a consensus across studies fails not only to provide a definite meaning of the term genocide but also to provide protection to the groups suffering from mass destruction. On the contrary, the term's lack of consensual meaning allows some countries to perpetuate atrocities without being accountable for their actions. Thus, it is important to mention that multiple 'genocides' in the history of

¹⁵ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.24.

¹⁶ Idem. pp. 44-49.

humankind have never been officially recognised as such because of the lack of convergences in its definition.

In general, the term genocide has been mostly defined as an “killing members of a group.”¹⁷ According to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which entered into force in 1951, genocide “means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:”¹⁸

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.¹⁹

The International Convention mostly focuses on the direct idea of killing groups. Even though the Convention is extremely imprecise, it points out some argument to include the non-physical destruction into the genocide definition by referring to an intent “to destroy, [...] a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” by “causing [...] mental harm to members of the group.”²⁰ This can be applied to a systematic attempt to exterminate an ethnic culture. However, cultural genocide is not applied by this Convention. Thus, the UN’s definition is quite narrow and vague, and this vagueness allows countries not to appeal to the Convention in order to prevent ‘genocide’ and it has become a tool for those who want to avoid their actions to be classified as a genocide. Furthermore, the UN Convention also requires proof that the government in question intends to perpetuate a genocide, which becomes increasingly difficult to prove. Therefore, it also becomes difficult to label the actions as genocide. Thus, the UN Convention

¹⁷ United Nations, ‘Convention On the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’, 9 December 1948, https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocities-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf Accessed 10 April 2021.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Ibidem.

description makes it difficult to apply to the Uighur case and accuse China of perpetuating a genocide.

However, one of the criteria adopted by the UN Convention can definitely be applied to the Uighur case. It has been revealed that Uighur women are subjected to forced surgical sterilisation, forcible insertion of intrauterine devices (IUDs) which leads, in case of resistance, to massive internments.²¹ It has also been said in Adrian Zenz report that between a period of 2015 and 2018 in the two largest Uyghur prefectures, “growth rates fell by 84 percent”²² and have been declining since then. Thus, politics applied by the Chinese government have considerable effects on Uighurs’ birth rates which can lead to a ‘slow disappearance’ of Uighur ethnicity and thus can be applied to the definition provided above, since “imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group”²³ is one of the criteria imposed by the UN Convention.

By contrast, Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish jurist who was the first to introduce the world to the term ‘genocide’ and define it, offers a broader definition of this term. He defined genocide as the destruction of a nation but added that “it is almost always implemented gradually through the systematic eradication of the group’s cultural distinctiveness and way of life, the essential foundations of the life of national groups.”²⁴ With Lemkin’s definition, genocide takes on a different meaning. Not only does it mean killing people, as it is generally understood by the general public, but it also involves different actions aiming “at the destruction of essential foundations” of a group. He wrote that genocide is the “disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even

²¹ Zenz, Adrian. “Sterilizations, IUD’s, and Mandatory Birth Control: The CCP’s Campaign to Suppress Uyghur Birthrates in Xinjiang.” Washington: the Jamestown Foundation, July 2020.

²² Ibidem.

²³ United Nations, ‘Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide’, 9 December 1948, https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocity-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf Accessed 10 April 2021.

²⁴ Lemkin, Rafaël. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Washington, 1944. p.79, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9443228> Accessed 6 April 2021.

the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups.”²⁵ His definition of genocide refutes the general view and goes further than just describing it as the physical destruction of a nation. He allows a broader scope for its definition by including assaults on “political and social institutions,” on “culture,” on group’s beliefs, and the “economic existence of national groups” and even included the destruction of personal security and liberty. He included all aspects of the living conditions as constituent parts in defining genocide. Thus, genocide not only refers to the mass killing but also to the extinction of cultural aspects of a nation, which is absent in the UN Convention, and more generally, to the way of living of certain groups.

Thus, the PRC’s first attempt to persecute the Uighur community was expressed by the forced ethnic assimilation of the Uighurs to the Han population in order to make them adherents of the Chinese ideology.²⁶ Eventually, when the attempt to assimilate the Uighurs was not achieved, because of the multiple differences of the groups, the Uighurs started revolting against the “paternalistic government” of the PRC, who then saw a threat in the Uighurs and called them the “enemies within”²⁷ that had to be eliminated in order to secure the nation.

Therefore, in accordance with the definition offered by Lemkin and Adrian Zenz’ report on “Sterilizations, IUDs, and mandatory birth control: the CCP’s campaign to suppress Uyghur birthrates in Xinjiang,” the mistreatment of the Uighurs by the PRC government has some characteristics that can be applied to this definition. Since 2017, Uighurs have been persecuted by the PRC government on the basis of their identity, their culture and their religion. Furthermore, the massive sterilizations of Uighur women as well as China’s assaults on social institutions which results in destruction of the mosques constitutes an assault on group beliefs with intent to force Uighur to give up their cultural and religious aspects of their life. It is reported that any religious behaviour is deemed extremist to the Chinese government and costs

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Zang, Xiaowei. “Uyghur—Han earnings differentials in Ürümqi.” *The China Journal*, no. 65, 2011, pp. 141–155. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25790561. Accessed 20 Apr. 2021.

²⁷ Mahir, Ali. “China's Battle with 'Enemy within'.” *The Statesman*, 21 Sept. 2018, www.thestatesman.com/opinion/chinas-battle-with-enemy-within-1502687231.html. Accessed 29 Apr. 2021.

Uighurs their freedom.²⁸ Thus, their personal security and liberty are compromised by high-tech surveillance and massive detention in “re-education” camps.

Another way to apply the term genocide to China’s persecution of the Uighurs is by considering Carola Lingaas’ review on Maureen S. Hiebert’ book *Constructing Genocide and Mass Violence: Society, Crisis, Identity*. In her article, Carole Lingaas underlines the important dimension of genocide put forward by Hiebert.

Hiebert puts forward three socio-political dimensions in order to outline two cases of genocide.²⁹ The author of this work will try to apply these three dimensions to the persecution of the PRC’s in order to illustrate that this persecution can possibly be negotiated as a ‘genocide’.

The first dimension postulated by Hiebert “concerns exclusionary and unequal patterns of group interaction.”³⁰ Even though China’s message is that Hans and Uighurs both share the same destiny in order to “consolidate socialist ethnic relations in order to develop the public policy, economy and culture of Xinjiang,”³¹ the PRC’s unequal treatment of the Uighurs is demonstrated by the following actions.

First, it can be illustrated by the fact that the Han population, who migrated to Xinjiang after the 1990s, were largely sent to the most favourable northern region of Xinjiang and encouraged to migrate with a promise of economic profit.³² On the contrary, the Uighurs are excluded from the developed areas of the Xinjiang region and thus live in less favourable areas and are more

²⁸ HRW. “Eradicating Ideological Viruses.” *Human Rights Watch*, 3 Aug. 2020, www.hrw.org/report/2018/09/09/eradicating-ideological-viruses/chinas-campaign-repression-against-xinjiangs. Accessed 29 Apr. 2021.

²⁹ Lingaas, Carola (2018) "Book Review: *Constructing Genocide and Mass Violence: Society, Crisis, Identity*," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 12: Iss. 1: 109-112. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.12.1.1541> Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Caprioni, Elena. “Daily Encounters Between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, Integration or Segregation?” *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 2, 2011, pp. 267–287. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23056763. Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

³² Joniak-Lüthi, Agnieszka. “Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants’ Strategies.” *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*, vol. 138, no. 2, 2013, pp. 155–174. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24364952. Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

likely to have limited job opportunities. Thus, socio-economic inequality between the Hans and the Uighurs makes the latter more likely to have fewer job opportunities and reduced access to higher education.³³ In their article “The Hanification of Xinjiang, China: The Economic Effects of the Great Leap West,” Amy H. Lui, and Kevin Peters suggest that in “cities like Urumqi, most of the modern sector appears to be dominated by Hans.”³⁴ Thus, Han employers have preferences for Han employees and this way do not usually hire Uighur workers.³⁵

Another significant factor is that Uighurs and Hans were used to inhabit separate districts of the different Xinjiang regions in order to avoid “violent conflicts.”³⁶ For example, the majority of Uighurs tend to live in “the older part of the town situated in the southeast, called *Erdaoqiao*, inside the *Tianshan* district”³⁷ while Hans reside in “the modern area of Urumqi, situated in the northern *Xinshi* district.”³⁸ However, this case is not absolute, it nevertheless created a barrier that emphasized and reduced the contact between these ethnic groups.³⁹ Furthermore, their distinctive cultural, religious and linguistic differences demarcate even more the visible partition of two groups.⁴⁰ Thus, this distinctiveness seems to have created a barrier of interaction between these groups, which leads to discrimination from both sides.

At one point, China tried to promote economic reforms in Xinjiang and develop the local economy by launching the Great Leap West,⁴¹ an economic project developed in order to address the ongoing tensions between ethnic groups. The main intentions of the Great Leap Project were to close the economic gap between the conflicting groups, and establish a peaceful

³³ Zang, Xiaowei. “Uyghur—Han Earnings Differentials in Ürümchi.” *The China Journal*, no. 65, 2011, pp. 141–155. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25790561. Accessed 20 Apr. 2021.

³⁴ Liu, Amy H., and Kevin Peters. “The Hanification of Xinjiang, China: The Economic Effects of the Great Leap West.” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2017, pp. 265–80. *Wiley Online Library*, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12233>. Accessed 21 April 2021.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ Caprioni, Elena. “Daily Encounters Between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, Integration or Segregation?” *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 2, 2011, pp. 267–287. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23056763. Accessed 13 May. 2021.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

relationship between them. However, it did not succeed in reducing the inequality between Hans and Uighurs. The latter considered that Hans are the main beneficiaries of the Great Leap West.⁴²

Thus, this discussion suggests that China's unequal policies benefitted the Han migrants because of the preferential treatment based on the prevalent Han ethnicity. Thus, it emphasizes the exclusive characteristic of the Party's way of dealing with the Uighur community by oppressing the minority for the benefit of the majority. Even more, discrimination seems to be one of the important reasons in this process which emphasizes economic inequality. Therefore, this socio-economic inequality and the lack of interaction between the Han and the Uighur, could explain the confrontation and the increased radicalization of the Uighurs.

The second dimension revolves around the "exclusionary conceptions of the community, characterized by a lack of solidarity, trust, and tolerance towards the 'others.'" ⁴³ The aforementioned ethnic inequalities experienced by the Uighurs leads to "ethnic tensions and the rise of religious extremism and Uyghurs separatism."⁴⁴ Thus, different forms of ethnic unrest has become persistent in China between Hans and Uighurs and has resulted in increased protests and riots around 2000. For example, incidents such as a fight in 2009 at a toy factory in Shaoguan between Uighur and Han workers manifested the lack of trust in each other and the rising tension between these two communities, which often ended in bloody clashes.⁴⁵ It is argued that the lack of trust and solidarity between these groups is "the result of Chinese politics which apply unequal treatment towards the majority and the minority."⁴⁶ On the contrary, China

⁴² Liu, Amy H., and Kevin Peters. "The Hanification of Xinjiang, China: The Economic Effects of the Great Leap West." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2017, pp. 265–80. *Wiley Online Library*, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12233>. Accessed 21 May 2021.

⁴³ Lingaas, Carola (2018) "Book Review: *Constructing Genocide and Mass Violence: Society, Crisis, Identity*," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 12: Iss. 1: 109-112. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.12.1.1541> Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

⁴⁴ Zang, Xiaowei. "Uyghur—Han Earnings Differentials in Ürümchi." *The China Journal*, no. 65, 2011, pp. 141–155. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25790561. Accessed 20 Apr. 2021.

⁴⁵ "Xinjiang Profile - Full Overview." *BBC News*, 17 Novembre 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-16913494>. Accessed 26 April 2021.

⁴⁶ Caproni, Elena. "Daily Encounters Between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, Integration or Segregation?" *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 2, 2011, pp. 267–287. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23056763. Accessed 19 April 2021.

linked violence in the Xinjiang region to the rising revolts from the Uighurs' side and justified it with an attempt to eradicate terrorism by imposing counterterrorism policies.

The third dimension which is by far the most significant dimension in this process of defining genocide considers the importance of the states' responses to these conflicts. Hiebert describes the role of a state as follows: instead of "mediating, [it] plays an active, direct, and hostile role in suppressing challenges."⁴⁷ Indeed, the PRC took significant measures after multiple revolts occurred in the Xinjiang region. The Party's response to Uighur revolts was characterized by intensive surveillance, incarceration of some dissidents and the creation of "reeducation camps", which was all justified by counterterrorism. However, even if China, as it argues, was fighting against their own 'GWOT', the policies it is adopting towards the Uighurs was quite harsh and brutal. China's way of fighting terrorism manifests itself by fighting against the whole community, as if the whole community posed a national terrorist threat. Therefore, China's action against the Uighurs can be considered as significantly unreasonable and unjustifiable in a context of counterterrorism.

To conclude this part, the author has applied the theoretical approach of Maureen S. Hiebert in her *Constructing Genocide and Mass Violence: Society, Crisis, Identity* to historical and current events happening in China in order to demonstrate the relevance of the term genocide to the Uighur case. This discussion suggests that indeed the Uighurs' persecution occurring in China can be related to all three-dimensions explored in this section. Even though the economic inequality persisting between these two groups is difficult to demonstrate with empirical data, it should not be considered out of scope. More importantly, Lemkin identified assaults on all aspects of the living conditions of a group as a constituent part in defining the term genocide.

Furthermore, the author of this work finds it important to note that the term "genocide" will not be applied in this dissertation to refer to the Uighurs' oppression in China, because of the lack of consensus between academics. However, the author does not exclude the genocide characteristics of the events that have been occurring in China. Thus, the explanation above opened a possible way of categorizing China's persecution as a 'genocide' or at least as a "slow ethnic cleansing."

⁴⁷ Lingaas, Carola (2018) "Book Review: *Constructing Genocide and Mass Violence: Society, Crisis, Identity*," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 12: Iss. 1: 109-112. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.12.1.1541>. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

2.2. Historical Timeline

The independent Uighur Kingdom in Eastern Turkestan, known later as Xinjiang, has known a variety of rulers and people who occupied it for centuries. Due to its difficult historical background, it is hard to determine the exact moment this region became a constituent part of China before the Qinq Dynasty. Its long interactions with empires and different populations make it hard to determine which term has been used to name this region, and to know which population are natives and own this region. Therefore, historically, a unified Uighur nation, as it is known today, does not exist.

It is known that in 1759, the Qinq Dynasty reconquered this region after 70 years of war with Mongolia.⁴⁸ In 1862, the Qinq Dynasty was defeated by the Muslim Rebellion who established their own Yetteshahar State.⁴⁹ During this period of time the region enjoyed independence. Following the year 1876, the Qinq dynasty invaded this region again and abolished the Muslim *Bäg* administrative system.⁵⁰ By the year 1884, a Chinese bureaucratic system was implemented in the Western region and named ‘Xinjiang’ due to the new frontier it represents to the Qinq dynasty.⁵¹ During this period, several attempts to assimilate Uighur people into Han culture were made. After the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1912,⁵² Xinjiang achieved different degrees of autonomy.

⁴⁸ Deng, L., Sonia Valle de Frutos. “Historical-Sociological Background of the Relationship between China and Xinjiang Region.” *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 7 (2019): n. pag.66.
DOI: [10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846](https://doi.org/10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846). Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁴⁹ WUC. “East Turkistan. ”*World Uyghur Congress*, <https://www.uyghurcongress.org/en/east-turkestan-2/>. Accessed 19 March. 2021.

⁵⁰ Deng, L. and Sonia Valle de Frutos. “Historical-Sociological Background of the Relationship between China and Xinjiang Region.” *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 7 (2019): n. pag.67.
DOI: [10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846](https://doi.org/10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846). Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵²Bhattacharji, Preeti. “Uighurs and China’s Xinjiang Region.” *Council on Foreign Relations*, 29 May 2012, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/uighurs-and-chinas-xinjiang-region> Accessed 29 January 2021.

From the period of 1912 until 1949, Xinjiang was in and out of independence.⁵³ In 1933, with the Japanese invasion of China,⁵⁴ Xinjiang achieved a new independence and the Islamic Republic of East Turkistan, also known as the First East Turkestan Republic, was created.⁵⁵ During this time, Xinjiang was divided in two parts, the southern region governed by Muslims and the northern by a Han administration.⁵⁶ However, year after its independence, it was reannexed by China. In 1944, Xinjiang, known at the time as the Second East Turkestan,⁵⁷ was again occupied by Muslim rebels with the help of the Soviets and became once again an independent region for a brief period of time. During this period, a Pact of Peace was signed by both sides and a “Coalition Government of Xinjiang” was founded.⁵⁸ During this period, Uighurs, with the establishment of their “own currency, [their] own uniformed army, [their] own school system, and, of course, [their] own flag and national anthem”⁵⁹ saw the possibility of becoming an independent state freed from the PRC’s occupation.

A few years later, in 1949, the CCP, with the establishment of the PRC, regained control of Xinjiang,⁶⁰ and once again, Xinjiang was declared as a region under Chinese control. In 1954, Uighurs became one of the officially recognized minorities.⁶¹ One year later, that is in 1955, the People’s Republic of China decided to designate the region as the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous

⁵³ Ibidem.

⁵⁴ Deng, L. and Sonia Valle de Frutos. “Historical-Sociological Background of the Relationship between China and Xinjiang Region.” *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 7 (2019): n. pag.67. DOI: [10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846](https://doi.org/10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846). Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁵⁵ Ibidem.

⁵⁶ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.36.

⁵⁷ Bhattacharji, Preeti. “Uighurs and China’s Xinjiang Region.” *Council on Foreign Relations*, 29 May 2012, <https://www.cfr.org/background/uyghurs-and-chinas-xinjiang-region> Accessed 29 January 2021.

⁵⁸ Deng, L. and Sonia Valle de Frutos. “Historical-Sociological Background of the Relationship between China and Xinjiang Region.” *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 7 (2019): n. pag.67. DOI: [10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846](https://doi.org/10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846). Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁵⁹ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.40.

⁶⁰ Deng, L. and Sonia Valle de Frutos. “Historical-Sociological Background of the Relationship between China and Xinjiang Region.” *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 7 (2019): n. pag.67. DOI: [10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846](https://doi.org/10.24203/ajhss.v7i3.5846). Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁶¹ Cockerell, Isobel. “China’s oppression of Xinjiang’s Uyghurs: a visual history.” *Codastory*, 11 March 2020, <https://www.codastory.com/authoritarian-tech/china-oppression-uyghurs-history/> Accessed 3 January 2021.

Region of China.⁶² Even though the region was called ‘autonomous’, it was a region without political power but merely with a focus on ethnic identity. During this period the PRC started to encourage the Hans’ settling in the Xinjiang region. It was a way of sustaining China’s power over the Uighur region.

During the period of 1960s, known as the Cultural Revolution in Xinjiang, Uighurs endured a lot of hardships.⁶³ During this period, three ‘olds’ (old ideas, old customs, and old habits)⁶⁴ were attacked in order to impose assimilation policies in the Xinjiang region. Mosques were destroyed and transformed into Communist Party’s buildings,⁶⁵ religious texts were burned and Uighur language books were confiscated.⁶⁶ It was a period of time when the Uighurs’ culture underwent a lot of restrictions. Even though the CCP called this period “re-education,”⁶⁷ it can be noted that during this period of time, the Xinjiang region underwent a cultural cleansing. The Party took some measures in order to assimilate Uighurs to Han culture by sending millions of Hans to this region in order to do hard labour on the land but also to ensure that this region would not stand up against China. Thus, from 1950, Han Chinese people were encouraged to move to the Xinjiang region, they were given a higher position than the natives and were guaranteed with jobs.⁶⁸ These measures were taken in order to fully occupy Uighur land. In fact, the strategy behind this was to exclude and marginalize Uighurs from their own region and to appropriate the Uighurs’ region and resources. This form of colonization allows China more control over Xinjiang and its resources.

⁶² Xinjiang Documentation Project. ‘*Historical Overview of Events Shaping the Politics of Xinjiang*’. *The University of British Columbia*. <https://xinjiangdocumentation.sites.olt.ubc.ca/timelines/historical-overview/> . Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁶³ Dillon, Michael. “Muslim Communities in Contemporary China: The Resurgence of Islam After the Cultural Revolution.” *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1994, pp. 85. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/26196674. Accessed 19 April 2021.

⁶⁴ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.48.

⁶⁵ Cockerell, Isobel. “China’s oppression of Xinjiang’s Uyghurs: a visual history.” *Codastory*, 11 March 2020, <https://www.codastory.com/authoritarian-tech/china-oppression-uyghurs-history/> Accessed 3 January 2021.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

The Cultural Revolution not only impacted Uighurs' lives but also changed the demographics in this region.⁶⁹ During this time there was Han migration to the Xinjiang region, so massively that the Han population was almost equal to the Uighurs' population.⁷⁰ It is important to note that Hans were sent specifically into the north, because of the region's oil and fields but also because of its industrialised capacity.⁷¹ However, the southern region, mostly rural and less developed, was occupied by the Uighur population.⁷² This massive migration to the Xinjiang region emphasised the growing hostility between these ethnic groups.⁷³

In 1976, Deng Xiaoping, a Chinese leader of the PRC, promulgated a policy of reform and opening, and gave Uighurs greater leeway to explore and revive their culture and religion.⁷⁴ It was the period of time when the PRC decided to open up economically to the west. In this context, the PRC government initiated different projects in order to integrate the Uighur region into Chinese society and was therefore involved in the Uighur region more than before.⁷⁵ Thus, by 1990, thousands of new mosques had been rebuilt in Xinjiang, Uighur schools had been reopened and the Uighur language had been reinstated as one of the main languages of the region.⁷⁶ However, during this period, Xinjiang also witnessed a surge of Islamic ideology and political activism such as protests, and ethno-nationalist rebellions were emerging.⁷⁷ This lead

⁶⁹ Joniak-Lüthi, Agnieszka. "Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants' Strategies." *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*, vol. 138, no. 2, 2013, pp. 155–174. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24364952. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ Becquelin, Nicolas. "Xinjiang in the Nineties." *The China Journal*, no. 44, 2000, pp. 65–90. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2667477. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

⁷² Joniak-Lüthi, Agnieszka. "Han Migration to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Between State Schemes and Migrants' Strategies." *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*, vol. 138, no. 2, 2013, pp. 155–174. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24364952. Accessed 19 Apr. 2021.

⁷³ Barfield, Thomas. *China Review International*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008, pp. 286–290. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/23733145. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

⁷⁴ Dillon, Michael. "Muslim Communities in Contemporary China: The Resurgence of Islam After the Cultural Revolution." *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1994, pp. 70–101. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/26196674. Accessed 19 April 2021.

⁷⁵ Roberts, Sean R. "Imaginary Terrorism? The Global War on Terror And The Narrative Of The Uyghur Terrorist Threat." *The George Washington University*, March 2020.

⁷⁶ Cockerell, Isobel. "China's oppression of Xinjiang's Uyghurs: a visual history." *Codastory*, 11 March 2020, <https://www.codastory.com/authoritarian-tech/china-oppression-uyghurs-history/>. Accessed 3 January 2021.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*.

to protests in the name of Uighur independence, which ended in severe restrictions in terms of religious expression and led to more control over this region. This rising ethnic unrest can be explained by the socio-economic inequality Uighurs have been facing since China sponsored Han migration into the Xinjiang region.⁷⁸ During this period the massive migration of Han into the northwest region of Xinjiang “jumped from 3.6 million in 1990 to 5.12 million in 1997, a net increase of more than 1.5 million residents in seven years.”⁷⁹ Han Chinese massive migration to the Xinjiang region contributed to ethnic resentments because of the following factors. The first factor is characterized by discrimination toward the local ethnicity. Thus, Uighurs encountered prejudice in the job sectors and it is believed that Han Chinese were given the priority over Uighurs.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the education system in the Xinjiang region was developed in favor of Han Chinese, thus reducing the quality of education of the local ethnicity and minimizing their job perspectives.⁸¹ The aforementioned factors contribute to social-economic inequalities and to anti-Han and separatist sentiments within the Uighur community.

Thus, the 1990’s was a period characterized by violent riots between Uighurs and Chinese authorities. In 1997, the protest in the city of Gulja was started as a peaceful protest in order to contest the PRC’s decision to limit religious freedom but it quickly escalated into a massacre.⁸² It intensified the PRC’s fears that Uighurs wanted to achieve independence. In 2001, China took advantage of 9/11 terrorist attacks to warn the world about a new threat supposedly represented by Uighur people and described them as “separatis[ts] and religious extremis[ts].”⁸³

⁷⁸ Becquelin, Nicolas. “Xinjiang in the Nineties.” *The China Journal*, no. 44, 2000, pp. 65–90. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2667477. Accessed 21 Apr. 2021.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

⁸² Cockerell, Isobel. “China’s oppression of Xinjiang’s Uyghurs: a visual history.” *Codastory*, 11 March 2020, <https://www.codastory.com/authoritarian-tech/china-oppression-uyghurs-history/>. Accessed 3 January 2021.

⁸³ Roberts, Sean R. “Imaginary Terrorism? The Global War on Terror and The Narrative of The Uyghur Terrorist Threat.” *The George Washington University*, March 2020, pp.55.

In 2009, riots in Urumqi, the capital of the Xinjiang region, broke out. It started with a fight between Uighur and Han workers at a toy factory in Shaoguan (Guangdong province)⁸⁴ because Uighurs were believed to have sexually assaulted two Han women. Two Uighurs were killed and hundreds of people were injured in this fight.⁸⁵ Thus, the authority's inaction toward this case provoked massive discontent from Uighur students. They started a protest in Urumqi on 5 July 2009,⁸⁶ which turned into a bloody conflict where approximately 200 people were killed. According to the authorities, mostly Han people were killed during this protest, which had been considered as the most violent conflict in this region for decades. The following days resulted in revenge; the authorities cut off the Internet in Urumqi and did so for the entire year. The aftermath of this protest resulted in "at least 26 instances of death sentences [...]"⁸⁷ and according to the *Financial Times* "at least 4,000 had [...] been arrested."⁸⁸

In 2012, with the ascension of Xi Jinping, several terrorist attacks were attributed to Uighur militants. In 2014, Xi Jinping visited Xinjiang: on his visit Uighur militants' attacks happened in Urumqi.⁸⁹ Three people were killed in suicide attacks and dozens were injured. In 2014, Xi Jinping launched the politics of GWOT, i.e., 'Global War on Terror.'⁹⁰ In 2015, in the name of counter-terrorism, a massive surveillance program started in this region, with restrictions on freedom of expression and religion. Thus, Xinjiang became a testing ground for technological developments with a view to imposing a system of surveillance and social control. From 2017 onwards, massive arrests began in Xinjiang, and Uighurs were imprisoned for any behaviors deemed extremist. China's police started to confiscate passports, and thus made it impossible

⁸⁴ Human Rights Watch, China: "We Are Afraid to Even Look for Them": Enforced Disappearances in the Wake of Xinjiang's Protests, 20 October 2009, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/86103/section/1>. Accessed 2 April 2021.

⁸⁵ Ibidem.

⁸⁶ Ibidem.

⁸⁷ Roberts, Sean R. Imaginary Terrorism? The Global War on Terror And The Narrative Of The Uyghur Terrorist Threat. *The George Washington University*, March 2020

⁸⁸ Kathrin Hille, "Xinjiang Widens Crackdown on Uighurs," *Financial Times*, 19 July 2009. <https://www.ft.com/content/5aa932ee-747c-11de-8ad5-00144feabdc0>. Accessed 3 January 2021.

⁸⁹ Cockerell, Isobel. "China's oppression of Xinjiang's Uyghurs: a visual history." *Codastory*, 11 March 2020, <https://www.codastory.com/authoritarian-tech/china-oppression-uyghurs-history/>. Accessed 3 January 2021.

⁹⁰Ibidem.

to flee the country. During this period, so-called ‘re-education’ camps were built and thousands of Uighurs started to disappear.

Initially, China denied these facts, but afterwards some evidence was revealed that made it difficult for China to refute them. Thus, China decided to refer to these camps as ‘re-education camps’ intended to re-educate Muslim Uighurs who seemed to be extremist terrorists. It is believed that over 1 million Uighurs⁹¹ have been locked up in these camps since 2017. They have been forced to learn the Chinese language, chant the Chinese hymn and praise Xi Jinping. Women and children have been separated, women have been used as objects of scientific experiments, and subjected to forced birth-control, sterilisation and rape. Furthermore, the GWOT has justifies the use of Uighurs in forced labour; they have been forced to work in factories to manufacture clothes for International brands. In 2020, a list of 82 brands⁹² such as Nike, Apple and ZARA, was released by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI). These brands have been accused of being part of forced labour.

2.3. GWOT: Global War on Terror

GWOT is a political response of the United States, initiated by President George Bush, following the events of 9/11. While President Bush deployed an international military campaign, which aimed to fight against terrorism, the PRC also suggested that it has been fighting against terrorism within its own country. The PRC linked the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) to Al-Qaida and Taliban⁹³ to justify their narrative of Global War on Terror. Later, another Uighur group, “The Turkestan Islamic Party”⁹⁴ (TIP), was identified as being a terrorist movement. There was no evidence-based conclusion that ETIM or TIP had been able to assert themselves as powerful terrorist groups and “establish sophisticated operations within

⁹¹ Lui, A. “We need to think about Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms” *The Nation*, 28 October 2020. <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/xinjiang-uygher-camps/> Accessed 5 April 2021.

⁹² Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. “Uyghurs for sale.” *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 January 2021.

⁹³ Roberts, Sean R. Imaginary Terrorism? The Global War on Terror and the Narrative of the Uyghur Terrorist Threat. *The George Washington University*, March 2020, pp 63-94.

⁹⁴ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020. 63-94.

the XUAR.”⁹⁵ Moreover, these accusations from the PRC did not directly attract international attention because of scant evidence. Sean R Roberts, in his book *The War on the Uyghurs: China’s Campaign against Xinjiang Muslims*, states that “it did not seem that these alleged Uyghur militants had substantial enough connections to Al-Qaeda to qualify them as a serious concern in the context of GWOT.”⁹⁶ In order to gain an international recognition, China pressured the USA to recognize a terrorist threat from the Uyghurs and their link to Al-Qaeda.⁹⁷ Even at this time, during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, President Bush stated that China should not take advantage of the GWOT “to persecute minorities.”⁹⁸ Even though later, in 2002, the USA recognized ETIM as being linked to terrorist threat and to Al-Qaeda without providing any information and because of its classified nature.⁹⁹ Therefore, under the cover of GWOT, China succeeded in leading a systematic suppression of Uyghurs by persecuting them, forcing them into labour, raping and sterilizing women and locking Uyghurs in camps which are called by China “vocational training centers.”¹⁰⁰

According to Sean R. Roberts’ previously mentioned book, the GWOT justifies China’s action and allows the International community to support China’s way of fighting terrorism. China took advantage of the 9/11 attacks to “portray all Uyghur dissent as ‘terrorism’.”¹⁰¹ As he noted, GWOT “is not a war at all, but a narrative that can serve as a political tool in the hands of states to advance a variety of different agendas.”¹⁰² Thus, China uses this narrative to frame the Uyghur community as terrorists and impose its political agenda on the Xinjiang region, which with China’s opening to the west became one of the strategic regions. Roberts also states that “as members of a community that is accused of harboring an existential ‘terrorist threat’ the Uyghurs’ human rights have been largely suspended in the eyes of much of the global community.”¹⁰³ Indeed, the lack of attention and support Uyghur people received from

⁹⁵ Ibidem.

⁹⁶ Ibidem.

⁹⁷ Ibidem.

⁹⁸ Ibidem.

⁹⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁰ “Xinjiang: China Defends 'Education' Camps.” *BBC News*, BBC, 17 Sept. 2020, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-54195325. Accessed 19 May 2021.

¹⁰¹ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.66.

¹⁰² Idem, pp.64.

¹⁰³ Idem, pp.200.

international institutions, such as the United Nations (UN), is undeniable. Therefore, more than 45 countries support China's way of eradicating terrorism and most of them are Muslim countries.¹⁰⁴

This support from many countries can be explained by several strategic reasons. First of all, China is a permanent member of the security council and a veto member. Moreover, China's support to the UN has drastically increased these last years and China became the second contributor to the UN's budget.¹⁰⁵ Thus, it enables China to make decisions globally and prevent the UN from making decisions against China.

Secondly, China's economic reform and its opening to the west made it the second largest trader in the world.¹⁰⁶ As its economic influence grew, many countries developed international trade relationships with China. Thus, these countries benefited from the Chinese economy and their way of supporting China's Global War on Terror is an indicator of China's increasing power. Economic interest seems to be of utmost importance, even though it means violating human rights.

However, Human RightWatch reported that 39 countries at the UN denounce China's human rights violations¹⁰⁷ and the German Ambassador Christoph Heusgen stated it was necessary to "call on China to allow immediate, meaningful and unfettered access to Xinjiang for independent observers including the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and her Office."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Putz, Catherine. "2020 Edition: Which Countries Are for or Against China's Xinjiang Policies?" *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/2020-edition-which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/>. Accessed 19 March 2021.

¹⁰⁵ Liu, Yinmeng. "China makes full payment to UN budget." *China Daily*, 14 April 2021. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202104/14/WS60764519a31024ad0bab55f7.html>, Accessed 19 May 2021.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁷ Charbonneau, Louis. "39 countries at UN express 'Grave Concerns' about China's Abuses." *Human Rights Watch*, 6 Oct. 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/06/39-countries-un-express-grave-concerns-about-chinas-abuses> Accessed 12 December 2020.

¹⁰⁸ Heusgen, Christoph. "Statement by Ambassador Christoph Heusgen on Behalf of 39 Countries in the Third Committee General Debate, October 6, 2020." Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, <https://new-york-un.diplo.de/un-en/news-corner/201006-heusgen-china/2402648>

Additionally, Roberts points out that the “dehumanisation of Uighurs as alleged ‘terrorists’ has allowed most countries in the world to accept the [...] genocide as an appropriate response to an existential security threat.”¹⁰⁹ Indeed, more than 45 countries supported Chinese ‘camps’ and signed the letter in defense of Chinese actions.

Furthermore, in a recent discussion, the Human Rights Lawyer, Emma Reilly, revealed that the UN is handling the names of Uighur activists, Tibetan and Hong Kong opponents to the Chinese government.¹¹⁰ Astonishingly, this practice is not new at the UN, it has been happening since 2013. According to Reilly, China has been using this information to harass human rights activists and their families, thus making the UN an accomplice in China’s human rights violation, even though the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights denies these allegations and states that “the controversial practice has ceased since 2015.”¹¹¹ However, Reilly insists that this practice keeps going on and that she has tried to report it to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the UE, but that the UN lied to them and “said they have the right to lie.”¹¹² Thus, the UN is reported to be “complicit in international crimes”¹¹³ and have broken the rules to help China in human rights violation.

Thus, it can be concluded that the Global War on Terror justifies the ‘dehumanisation’ of the whole nation on the basis of some alleged ‘terrorist’ attacks. It is also important to note that these current atrocities existing in the PRC are supported by some states and some international organizations which are ready to help China in their self-proclaimed GWOT.

¹⁰⁹ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.201.

¹¹⁰ Altug, Bayram. Cetin, Serife. “Leaked emails confirm UN passed info to China in name-sharing scandal” *Anadalou Agency*, 18 January 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/leaked-emails-confirm-un-passed-info-to-china-in-name-sharing-scandal/2114163#>. Accessed 2 February 2021.

¹¹¹ Altug, Bayram. Cetin, Serife. “Leaked emails confirm UN passed info to China in name-sharing scandal” *Anadalou Agency*, 18 January 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/leaked-emails-confirm-un-passed-info-to-china-in-name-sharing-scandal/2114163#>. Accessed 2 February 2021.

¹¹² ‘LBC on Twitter’. Twitter, <https://twitter.com/LBC/status/1322928964273348610> . Accessed 19 March. 2021.

¹¹³ Altug, Bayram. Cetin, Serife. “Leaked emails confirm UN passed info to China in name-sharing scandal” *Anadalou Agency*, 18 January 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/leaked-emails-confirm-un-passed-info-to-china-in-name-sharing-scandal/2114163#> Accessed 2 February 2021

2.4. Xinjiang : a strategic region

Xinjiang's natural resources and its location make the Xinjiang region a significant geostrategic region for China's political and economic aims. Thus, this region is important for several reasons. First of all, Xinjiang borders with eight important countries and has a large territory, the largest administrative unit in China. It is also a significant region for its natural resources. In fact, the resource abundance and the location of Xinjiang has a negative impact on the region's democracy, especially when the region in question is annexed to a powerful state. So, the resource abundance has an influence on Xinjiang's will to achieve autonomy. That is why Xinjiang is suffering from a "resource curse,"¹¹⁴ which brings this region social and political consequences imposed by China.

First of all, Xinjiang is a significant region in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) project. The Belt and Road Initiative, also known as the New Silk Road, is a program developed by China, whose aim is to connect three continents, namely East Asia to Europe and Africa, and expand China's influence on politics and the economy. The BRI was launched by Xi Jinping in 2013 and over 140 countries have signed to be part of this project.¹¹⁵ The Xinjiang region was, and is, important because it was part of the ancient Silk Road, and it is now exploited as the foundations for the BRI. As a matter of fact, the ancient silk road still partially exists and connects "Pakistan and the Uighur Autonomous region of Xinjiang."¹¹⁶

Xinjiang's position is strategic because of its borders. The BRI has six economic corridors, three of which are connected to Xinjiang. Xinjiang is located near eight important Asian and European countries, it borders on Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Mongolia, India and Afghanistan.¹¹⁷ Moreover, three of them are nuclear powers.

¹¹⁴ Weiwen, Yin. "The Natural Resource Curse in Xinjiang." Graduate School of Public Policy, MPP/IP <http://www.pp.u-tokyo.ac.jp/graspp-old/courses/2014/documents/graspp2014-5140143-2b.pdf> Accessed 2 February 2021.

¹¹⁵ Wang, Christoph Nedopil. Countries of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) – Green Belt and Road Initiative Center. <https://green-bri.org/countries-of-the-belt-and-road-initiative-bri/>. Accessed 20 March. 2021.

¹¹⁶ "Silk Road, Facts, History, & Map." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Silk-Road-trade-route>. Accessed 19 Mar. 2021.

¹¹⁷ Roberts, Sean R. *The War on the Uyghurs: China's Campaign against Xinjiang's Muslims*. Manchester University Press, 2020, pp.viii.

Xinjiang is connected to western Russia and Europe through The New Eurasian Land Bridge (NELB).¹¹⁸ Several transcontinental rail routes, such as described in Belt&Road News, emerged: The Chongqing-Xinjiang-Europe Railway (reaching Germany's Duisburg via Poland), the Chengdu-Xinjiang-Europe Railway (reaching Poland), and the Yiwu-Xinjiang-Europe Railway (reaching Madrid, Spain).¹¹⁹ This corridor through Xinjiang has the possibility to reach Europe.

Another corridor that passes through Xinjiang is connected to the Arabian Peninsula via The China-Central Asia-The West Asia Economic Corridor (CAWEC).¹²⁰ The region covered by this corridor is identical to the ancient Silk Road. This corridor has a considerable importance because it crosses five Asian countries, i.e., Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and seventeen countries in West Asia.¹²¹

The last corridor connected to China's Xinjiang is the China-Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC), which connects the province to the Arabian sea via Pakistan. The starting point of this corridor is in Xinjiang's city Kashgar, extending to Pakistan's Gwadar.¹²² Thus, the Xinjiang region's location is a strategic place to the Belt and Road Initiative and failing to maintain dominance over this region may mean losing the Belt and Road Initiative project for the PRC.

Importantly, China has the 2nd largest economy in the world after the United States. Xinjiang is also important for its abundance in coal, minerals, crude oil and gas.¹²³ Xinjiang's resources

¹¹⁸ Business Reporting Desk. "Six Major Economic Corridors under Belt & Road Initiative." *Belt & Road News*, 16 Apr. 2020, <https://www.beltandroad.news/2020/04/16/six-major-economic-corridors-under-belt-road-initiative/> Accessed 20 January 2021.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem.

¹²⁰ Ibidem.

¹²¹ Business Reporting Desk. "Six Major Economic Corridors under Belt & Road Initiative." *Belt & Road News*, 16 Apr. 2020, <https://www.beltandroad.news/2020/04/16/six-major-economic-corridors-under-belt-road-initiative/> Accessed 20 January 2021.

¹²² Ibidem.

¹²³ Kriebitz, A., Max, R. The Xinjiang Case and Its Implications from a Business Ethics Perspective. *Human Rights Review* 21, 243–265 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-020-00591-0> Accessed 20 January 2021.

make China dominant in several domains. According to “The Xinjiang Case and Its Implications from a Business Ethics Perspective,” Xinjiang possesses 40% of coal, 22% of petroleum and 28% of gas reserve in the country,¹²⁴ making it the richest region in China. In addition, the recent discovery of oil in Xinjiang, which appears to be one of the largest oil reserves in the world, makes it a prominent region for PRC.

Xinjiang also has 122 types of minerals, some of which have a significant impact on China’s economy. Among them, Xinjiang’s berylliums are the largest in the world and are used in multiple industries. Since the amount of this metal is estimated “to exceed 4,000 tons,”¹²⁵ the Beryllium is used for different purposes such as for “the missile, aviation, metallurgical industries and as material for satellites.”¹²⁶ Thus, it is reported that “China controls the world’s largest deposits of the minerals, potentially putting American technology companies at risk of Chinese sanctions.”¹²⁷ Another important mineral found in Xinjiang is potassium nitrate. This mineral is also found in abundant quantities, which makes China the second largest exporter of potassium.

Thus, the Xinjiang region is central to China’s Belt and Road Initiative agenda but also the focal point for their resources, which helps China to be one of the largest economies in the world. Xinjiang, by its position and by its resources, is a predominant region for China. That is why instabilities, such as riots or movements for independence in this region, can damage China’s economic plan. Therefore, China’s colonial approach to the Xinjiang region allows it to reinforce control and stability over Xinjiang, especially during the period of its transition.

¹²⁴Ibidem.

¹²⁵ Gill, Chris. “Massive Beryllium Find in China Raises Stakes in Rare Earth Tensions.” *Asia Times Financial*, 13 Oct. 2020, <https://www.asiatimesfinancial.com/massive-beryllium-find-in-china-raises-stakes-in-rare-earth-tensions> Accessed 12 January 2021.

¹²⁶ Ibidem.

¹²⁷ Ibidem.

III. Forced Labour

3.1. Definition of Forced Labour

Forced Labour is a key concept to this research - the understanding of this concept will help to understand China's abusive practices and the international company's involvement in forced labour for decades. However, there is huge confusion in the public debate concerning concepts linked to forced labour. Concepts such as slave labour and forced labour but also indentured labour are often misused and it is important to identify the differences in the meaning of these concepts.

Thus, these concepts will be discussed in this chapter to provide a clear understanding and further provide an explanation of how Uighurs' so-called 'vocational program training' can be linked to forced labour and indentured labour. Thus, these definitions will be applied to the Uighurs' case since it has been reported that the Uighurs have been subjected to exploitation in factories.

Forced Labour is defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the Forced Labour Convention (No. 29 of 1930) as "all work or service that is exacted from any person under the menace of penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntary."¹²⁸ It is also specified in Article 25 that "the illegal exaction of forced or compulsory labour shall be punishable as a penal offence, and it shall be an obligation on any Member ratifying this Convention to ensure that the penalties imposed by law are really adequate and are strictly enforced."¹²⁹ Thus, in a way, companies are obliged to follow the Convention's directives in order to avoid punishment. However, since multinationals provide their products mostly from foreign suppliers, it becomes easy to deny the allegations of forced labour and blame their suppliers for exploiting workers.

Eventually, it can also be difficult for these companies to monitor how their merchandise is manufactured and specifically to take part in recruitment practices. Thus, companies that export from foreign countries are not ready to take responsibility until there is a law that should oblige

¹²⁸ *ILO Convention (No. 29) Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour*, opened for signature 28 June 1930, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::NO::P55_TYPE,P55_LANG,P55_DOCUMENT,P55_NODE:CON,en,C029,%2FDocument Accessed 5 April 2021.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*.

these companies to monitor their supply chain's production. Since its definition is not absolute, China and global brands can find a justification for forced labour in this Convention.

However, it is important to note that the Forced Labour Convention does not apply in certain cases, including in "the use of prison labour."¹³⁰ This section on the forced labour Convention allows using prisoners' labour, even though some restrictions exist, as legal labour. Therefore, China's use of Uighurs in factories, detained in 're-education camps' which according to China are "undergoing the vocational training" in order to eradicate terrorism and assimilate the Han Chinese culture, can be considered from this point of view as being legal.¹³¹

However, the existing evidence points out that China is involved in Uighur persecution but also in forced labour and it actively demonstrates that the Chinese Government violates human rights. A. Lui suggested in his article "We need to think about Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms," that "the re-education camps are inseparable from corporate and government-led drive to capitalize on Xinjiang's resources and people."¹³² Indeed, China's way of eradicating terrorism manifests by detaining ethnic minorities for their beliefs. Furthermore, it is reported that the "number of ethnic minorities in prisons in the XUAR due to risks of extremism [...] increased five-fold from 2016 to 2017 [and] the XPCC reportedly maintains 36 prison farms."¹³³ Thus, the PRC'S way of dealing with terrorism by detaining the Uighur minority in camps can be seen as a way of capitalizing wealth on their account.

In consequence, by referring to the definition provided by the Convention, Uighurs' labour can be referred to as forced labour. It is reported that China relies on threats and violence in order to coerce Uighurs into factories.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Uighurs are said to be under high-tech

¹³⁰ A. Jordan, "Slavery, forced labor, debt bondage, and human trafficking: from conceptual confusion to targeted solutions", *American University Washington College of Law*, 2011, p. 4.

¹³¹ Lehr, Amy. *Addressing Forced Labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a Shared Agenda*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25656. Accessed 25 Apr. 2021.

¹³² Lui, A. "We need to think about Xnjiang in Internationalist Terms" *The Nation*, 28 October 2020. <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/xinjiang-uygher-camps/> Accessed 5 April 2021.

¹³³ Lehr, Amy. *Addressing Forced Labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a Shared Agenda*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25656. Accessed 25 April 2021.

¹³⁴ Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 January 2021. Accessed 25 April 2021.

surveillance and each of their moves is being monitored. Thus, Uighurs are subjected to violence and freedom restriction by the government. Consequently, the occurring infringement on Uighurs corresponds to the definition provided by ILO and can thus be defined as forced labour.

3.2. Indentured labour

Indentured labour is a system defined by a process of borrowing money from a ‘creditor’ and in return agreeing to work in order to refund the debt.¹³⁵ By doing so, one finds oneself in a circle of servitude where one should endlessly work in order to pay debts. Thus, it is reported that rural residents from Xinjiang “depend on loans from local authorities.”¹³⁶ However, every time they return their loans they use “their income from cotton harvesting to pay off the loan but then must apply for a new loan to make ends meet.”¹³⁷ Thus, these practices lead them into indentured labour which makes them trapped in a system where they are obliged to work in order to pay the debt. Even though one puts oneself in this position, the labour one provides can be considered as being coercive and thus can also be equated with to forced labour.

3.3. Slave Labour

Slave Labour is defined by the UN Slavery Convention as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.”¹³⁸ Thus, the difference between forced labour and slave labour, is that forced labour can be a temporary condition. Indeed, people are not born in this condition, while slavery is a permanent condition. However, people trapped in forced labour conditions can find themselves losing their absolute power and become slaves. The UN Slavery Convention in its Article 5 recognized:

¹³⁵ ‘Indentured Labour’. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/indentured-labour>. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021

¹³⁶ Lehr, Amy. *Addressing Forced Labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a Shared Agenda*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25656. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

¹³⁷ Lehr, Amy. *Addressing Forced Labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a Shared Agenda*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25656. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*.

that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.¹³⁹

Forced Labour and slavery have been an issue for a long period. Thus, it represents not only a violation of human rights but also a restriction of human freedom. Even though, as aforementioned, forced labour is prohibited by international conventional treaties, it does not help to prevent modern forms of slavery, which are still prevalent in different forms. Furthermore, forced labour is becoming a considerable threat to the companies involved in these scandals. Previous forced labour allegations in China received little attention although they were exposed to the international community. Instead, they were shut down very quickly. This can be explained by the fact that international brands have their suppliers in China, and these claims can be fatal to their image.

Even though many companies try to promote human and labour rights and declare they have a “zero-tolerance approach to slave labour,”¹⁴⁰ they cannot monitor all the operations in their supply chains processes. Most of the companies that deny their involvement in forced labour practices do so because they believe that they do not supply from companies in Xinjiang.

However, the problem is that as part of the pairing programs,¹⁴¹ many Uighurs are transferred to different regions in China. Thus, it is difficult to localise factories that recruit Uighurs and there is an increased risk that products made in China are related to forced labour.

Recently, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) has revealed that Uighurs are forced to work in factories that supply 82 international brands such as:

Abercrombie & Fitch, Acer, Adidas, Alstom, Amazon, Apple, ASUS, BAIC Motor, Bestway, BMW, Bombardier, Bosch, BYD, Calvin Klein, Candy, Carter’s, Cerruti 1881, Changan Automobile, Cisco, CRRC, Dell, Electrolux, Fila, Founder Group, GAC Group (automobiles), Gap, Geely Auto, General Motors, Google, Goertek, H&M, Haier, Hart Schaffner Marx, Hisense, Hitachi, HP, HTC, Huawei, iFlyTek, Jack &

¹³⁹ UN Slavery Convention (1927) <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/slaveryconvention.aspx>
Accessed 15 April 2021

¹⁴⁰ Inditex. “Zero-Tolerance Approach towards Forced Labour.” *Inditex.Com*. <https://www.inditex.com/zero-tolerance-towards-forced-labour>. Accessed 20 Mar. 2021.

¹⁴¹ Lehr, Amy. *Addressing Forced Labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a Shared Agenda*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25656. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

Jones, Jaguar, Japan Display Inc., L.L.Bean, Lacoste, Land Rover, Lenovo, LG, Li-Ning, Mayor, Meizu, Mercedes-Benz, MG, Microsoft, Mitsubishi, Mitsumi, Nike, Nintendo, Nokia, Oculus, Oppo, Panasonic, Polo Ralph Lauren, Puma, SAIC Motor, Samsung, SGMW, Sharp, Siemens, Skechers, Sony, TDK, Tommy Hilfiger, Toshiba, Tsinghua Tongfang, Uniqlo, Victoria's Secret, Vivo, Volkswagen, Xiaomi, Zara, Zegna, ZTE.¹⁴²

In fact, since 2017, as a part of the Chinese political agenda the 'Industrial Xinjiang Aid,'¹⁴³ Chinese authorities encouraged corporations to employ Uighurs. ASPI estimates that at least 80,000 Uighurs have been working in factories across China since 2017.¹⁴⁴ In the context of the ongoing pandemic, Uighurs have been intensively used to manufacture PPE masks for the rest of the world. According to *The New York Times*, face masks sent to the USA by China have been produced in "Hubei Province, where more than 100 Uighur workers had been sent."¹⁴⁵ Thus, amid the pandemic and a worldwide shortage, the international community faced growing demands for protective masks, and China has been there to deliver them to the rest of the world. With these growing demands for some products, China started to create more factories and force Uighurs into these factories in order to avoid damage in the supply chain worldwide.

It is also said that some factories also advertise Uighur workers for transfers to a different region.¹⁴⁶ ASPI provided the translation of an advertisement published by Qingdao Decai Decoration Co. The following advertisement promoted Uighurs as some kind of objects that are being sold: "The advantages of Xinjiang workers are: semi-military style management, can withstand hardship, no loss of personnel...Minimum order 100 workers!"¹⁴⁷

This actively demonstrates that Chinese companies promote Uighur workers as objects that can be ordered in a minimum batch and refer them as personal belongings of the state. Another statement of this advertisement declares that "workers could be delivered (along with a Uighur

¹⁴²Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 January 2021.

¹⁴³ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁴Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 January 2021.

¹⁴⁵Ramzy, Austin. "China is using Uighur labor to produce face masks" *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/19/world/asia/china-mask-forced-labor.html>

¹⁴⁶Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 7 March 2021.

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem.

cook) within 15 days of the signing of a one-year contract,”¹⁴⁸ which indicates that Uighur workers are not considered as individuals but as some ‘online orders’ than can be delivered anytime and anywhere. In accordance with this advertisement, China’s way of promoting Uighur workers is an indication that they are being used in forced labour programs, without human consideration to their freedom.

Consequently, Chinese factories are making profit from “state-sponsored” forced labour by implicating international brands in their crimes. For Darron Byler, a postdoctoral researcher and anthropologist at the University of Colorado, “the re-education camps are inseparable from a corporate and government-led drive to capitalize on Xinjiang’s resources and people.”¹⁴⁹ It is also important to note that even though Uighurs are released from ‘camps’ for the period of their work contract, they are not freed from the Chinese system which monitors their moves. Indeed, the systematic oppression does not end, since “their bosses are expected to [...] reform [...] their ‘backward qualities’ and Sinicize them.”¹⁵⁰ Darren Byler also draws attention to a global phenomenon called “terror capitalism.”

In a conference for Uighur people, organized by French students from the University of Savoy Mont Blanc-Chambery, Byler explained how Uighurs are entrapped in this system defined by terror capitalism. Darren explains that terror capitalism justifies human exploitation by defining Uighurs as extremists, terrorists and separatists. He also explained, in *The Guardian*’s article “Tech-enabled 'Terror Capitalism' is Spreading Worldwide. The Surveillance Regimes Must Be Stopped,” that terror capitalism works in three interconnected ways.¹⁵¹ Private companies use data to develop technologies that surveil target groups through a massive collection “of biometrics and social media data.”¹⁵² These improved versions of technologies are sold to

¹⁴⁸Ibidem.

¹⁴⁹Liu, A. “We Need to Think About Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms.” *The Nation*, 28 Oct. 2020, <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/xinjiang-uigher-camps/> Accessed 30 December 2020

¹⁵⁰Ibidem.

¹⁵¹Boe, Darren Byler and Carolina Sanchez. ‘Tech-Enabled “Terror Capitalism” is Spreading Worldwide. The Surveillance Regimes Must Be Stopped’. *The Guardian*, 24 July 2020, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jul/24/surveillance-tech-facial-recognition-terror-capitalism>. Accessed 30 April 2021.

¹⁵² Ibidem.

different states, which brings a considerable income to the Chinese companies including the PRC. Furthermore, the constant surveillance through these policing technologies targets groups that are then threatened and forced into non-voluntary labour.¹⁵³

In his article “Ghost World” for *Logic* magazine, Byler explains that terror capitalism in the PRC requires Uighurs to be marginalized and made “politically docile”¹⁵⁴ and at the same time “economically productive.”¹⁵⁵ Therefore, the Uighurs’ dispossession of their region made them vulnerable and an easy target for the PRC. Since the PRC cannot exterminate the whole Uighur nation, it takes advantage of them and exploits them for human labour. Therefore, Uighur Muslims are used in order to improve China’s economy but also offer to these companies, inexpensive employees. Moreover, Byler states that “the government frames these low-wage jobs as ‘internships,’”¹⁵⁶ as the PRC refuses to admit that Uighurs are forced to work. Instead, they declared that China has improved the Uighurs’ quality of life since they started their “re-education” policy in the Xinjiang region.

More recently, according to *The New York Times*, companies such as Nike, Apple and Coca-Cola are among the companies who are lobbying against the legislation called “the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act.”¹⁵⁷ Indeed, the United States are in the process of deliberating a new law which is going to ban the products from the Xinjiang region, where Uighurs are subjected to oppression and forced labour. Apple is one of the companies who benefits from the Xinjiang region’s forced labour. Thus, the legislation coming into force may damage their business.

Consequently, the power of multinationals on political decision-making makes the case impossible to solve. Instead of imposing laws which prohibit the import of goods made by forced labour and putting the companies under pressure, the companies have the power to put pressure on the state. *The New York Times* reported that “Lobbyists [...] argue [...] that while

¹⁵³ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁴ Byler, Darren. “Ghost World” *Logic*, 1 May 2019. <https://logicmag.io/china/ghost-world/> Accessed 18 March 2021.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁶ Byler, Darren. “Ghost World” *Logic*, 1 May 2019. <https://logicmag.io/china/ghost-world/> Accessed 18 March 2021.

¹⁵⁷ Swanson, Ana. “Nike and Coca-Cola Lobby Against Xinjiang Forced Labor Bill.” *The New York Times*, 29 Nov.2020,<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/29/business/economy/nike-coca-cola-xinjiang-forced-labor-bill.html> Accessed 5 January 2021.

they strongly condemn forced labour and current atrocities in Xinjiang, the act's ambitious requirements could wreak havoc on supply chains that are deeply embedded in China."¹⁵⁸ The global problem is that industries are familiar with providing themselves with cheap materials and making huge profits on this system. Therefore, they are not ready to pay more for an ethical labour and if they breach the contract with their Chinese suppliers, these brands will risk being short of supplies. International companies such as Apple, Nike, Zara and many others are aware of this human mistreatment but still prefer supplying from Chinese retailers.

This situation demonstrates that globalisation allowed for powerful corporations to participate in political decision making. In an article "We Need to Think about Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms," A. Lui points out that camps are the result of global capitalism. He states that "they were made possible by processes dating back to the 1980s, when the Chinese government pivoted to market driven growth and advertised its natural and human resources to foreign investors at cheap rates."¹⁵⁹ Indeed, China's resources are the cheapest in the world and what is happening now in the world is the result of the cheap labour. Considering the fact that almost everything is made in China and that much of the world has become dependent on China's products, it becomes difficult to put the blame on China only. The world's dependence on China is so strong that if China decides to stop the export of their goods, the world's economy could collapse. Even the case of face masks, in the context of a pandemic, demonstrates to what extent the world is dependent on China's imports.

In light of the fact that a number of textile brands make profit from forced labour, the moment the International companies agree to Chinese policy and sign contracts with their suppliers, they become complicit in the forced labour and human rights violations. Thus, a lot of countries all around the world through multinationals find themselves involved in forced labour allegations.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁹ Liu, A. "We Need to Think About Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms." *The Nation*, 28 Oct. 2020, <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/xinjiang-uigher-camps/> Accessed 30 December 2020

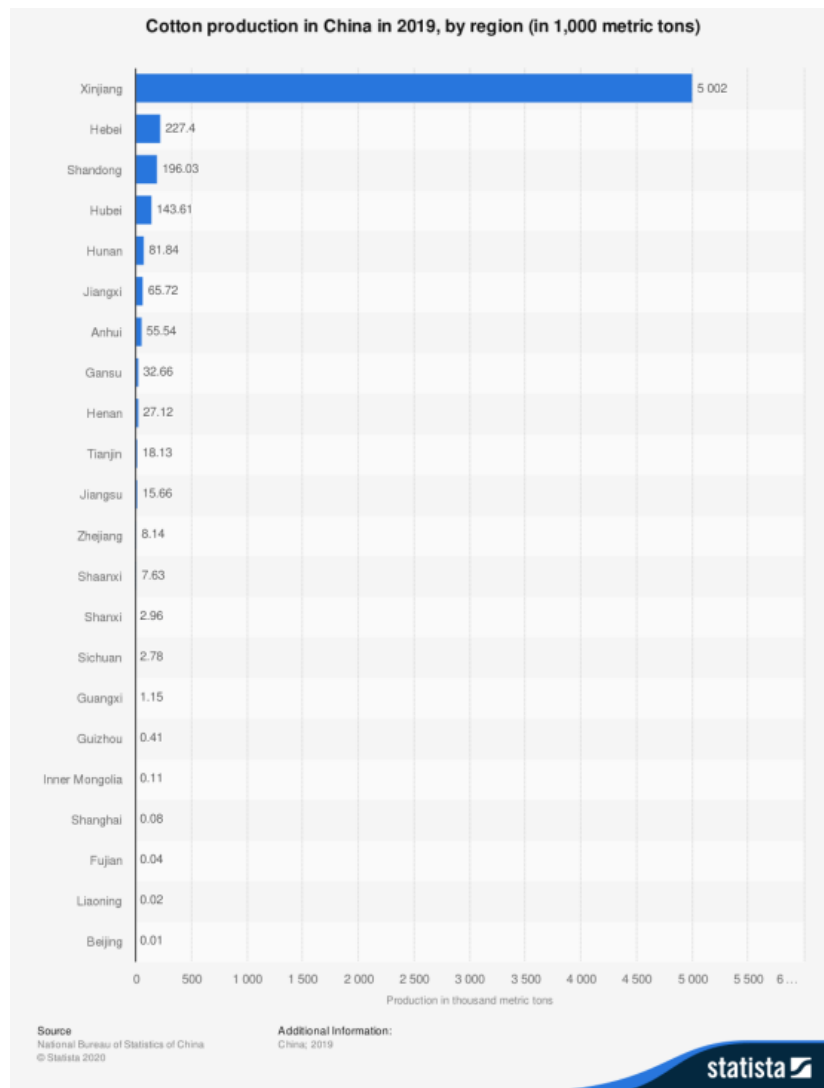
3.4. China's tainted cotton

China is one of the world's largest producers of cotton, along with the United States, but also the largest cotton consumer in the world. Moreover, cotton is one of the most important materials and plays an important role in China's industrial economy. Today, China dominates the cotton market. China has 35% of the world's total mill, which makes this country the world's largest importer of cotton.¹⁶⁰ However, there is a specific region where the majority of the cotton is harvested. The Xinjiang region is the richest cotton supply, which accounts for a fifth of the world's cotton supply. In a report from Statista, entitled "Cotton Production in China in 2019, by region,"¹⁶¹ Xinjiang produced 5002 metric tons of cotton, which is 85% of China's cotton (see Figure 1). Thus, the Xinjiang region is the target of multinationals' textile suppliers.

¹⁶⁰Sudworth, John. "China's 'Tainted' Cotton." *BBC News*, December 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/nz0g306v8c/china-tainted-cotton> Accessed 8 January 2021

¹⁶¹ C, Textor. "China: Cotton Production by Region." *Statista*, 7 December 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/242354/cotton-production-in-china-by-province/> Accessed 21 January 2021.

Figure 1: China: Cotton Production by Region



Source: C, Textor. "China: Cotton Production by Region." Statista, 7 Dec. 2020

According to new research by the BBC, "China is forcing hundreds of thousands of Uighurs and other minorities into hard, manual labour in the vast cotton fields of its western region of Xinjiang." China is forcing Uighurs not only to work in textile factories but also to pick cotton, which is used by most brands in the fashion industry. Dr Adrian Zenz, who uncovered the document to the BBC, states the following: "For the first time we not only have evidence of Uighur forced labour in manufacturing, in garment making, it's directly about the picking of cotton, and I think that is such a game-changer."¹⁶² He also mentions that "anyone who cares

¹⁶²Sudworth, John. "China's 'Tainted' Cotton." *BBC News*, December 2020,

about ethical sourcing has to look at Xinjiang, which is 85% of China’s cotton and 20% of the world’s cotton, and say, ‘We can’t do this anymore.’”¹⁶³ The BBC report states that in 2018, the prefecture of Aksu and Hotan (Xinjiang regions) sent 210,000 workers to pick cotton for a Chinese paramilitary organization.¹⁶⁴ It also reported that in 2019, Aksu needed more workers (142,700) that were transferred to this factory.¹⁶⁵

Thus, China’s way of eradicating terrorism can be examined through detaining Uighurs in ‘camps’ and forcing them into forced labour. Furthermore, China states that Uighurs are detained in “re-education camps” and are “undergoing vocation trainings” in order to eradicate extremist behaviour. Thus, China believes that through factory work, Uighurs will adopt “the mindset and attributes of mainstream Han Chinese culture”¹⁶⁶ and thus assimilate to Hans. However, China is benefiting economically by imprisoning Uighur Muslims and forcing them into work. It is also documented that in 2018, a factory was built near the “re-education camps.” Through satellite pictures (see Figure 2), it can be observed that a significant amount of people in uniforms are walking from the “re-education” camps to the factories.

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/nz0g306v8c/china-tainted-cotton> Accessed 8 January 2021

¹⁶³Ibidem.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁵Ibidem.

¹⁶⁶ Lehr, Amy. *Addressing Forced Labor in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region: Toward a Shared Agenda*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25656. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

Figure 2: China's tainted cotton



Source: BBC

According to the BBC, there is a “propaganda report found by Dr Zenz” which “suggests that the cotton fields present an opportunity to transform the ‘deep-rooted, lazy thinking’ of poor, rural villagers by showing them that ‘labour is glorious.’”¹⁶⁷ China’s Foreign Ministry spokesman Wang Wenbin denied these allegations and said that “helping people of all ethnic groups secure stable employment is entirely different from ‘forced labour.’”¹⁶⁸ Moreover, people detained in camps are not the only ones targeted by forced labour, people from Xinjiang, who are not detained in camps, are also involved in forced labour. Thus, people outside the camp are forced to pick cotton and work for factories, for fear of being imprisoned in their turn.

It is said that over thirty major international textile brands have been involved in forced labour. Some of them have already responded to these accusations. The British multinational retailers “Marks & Spencer”, “Next” & “Tesco”, have already assured that they do not use cotton from

¹⁶⁷Sudworth, John. “China's 'Tainted' Cotton.” *BBC News*, December 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/nz0g306v8c/china-tainted-cotton> Accessed 8 January 2021.

¹⁶⁸ Hughes, Huw. “China Accused of Forcing over Half a Million People to Pick Cotton in Xinjiang.” *FashionUnited*, 16 Dec. 2020, <https://fashionunited.uk/news/fashion/china-accused-of-forcing-over-half-a-million-people-to-pick-cotton-in-xinjiang/2020121652579> Accessed 4 January.

Xinjiang.¹⁶⁹ “Burberry” stated that they do not use cotton from China at all.¹⁷⁰ However, other brands such as “Inditex”, “GAP Inc” and “Patagonia Inc” could not assure that their suppliers do not collaborate with Xinjiang cotton suppliers.¹⁷¹

IV. Anti-sweatshop campaigns and channels of communication

The anti-sweatshop movement became increasingly present around the globe after the 1990’s, having emerged in response to globalization.¹⁷² This is due to the fact that sweatshops are predominantly a result of the global economy and the government’s “inability and unwillingness to regulate corporations.”¹⁷³ These campaigns aim to improve worker’s conditions and wages by spreading awareness about poor working conditions, especially in developing countries. These campaigns tend to present “a form of resistance appropriate to the transnational, globally interdependent economy.”¹⁷⁴ They also allow the increased speed of awareness by linking “the factory workers and consumers across geographical boundaries through the production-to-consumer continuum”¹⁷⁵ through different tactics such as “boycotts, networking publicity, sit-in, walk-outs, lobbying, litigation, socially responsible investment people's development plans, public hearings, exposure, blockades, barricade seizures and closures, etc.”¹⁷⁶ The internet and the rise of social media networks has been prominent in uniting activists worldwide.

¹⁶⁹ Sudworth, John. “China's 'Tainted' Cotton.” *BBC News*, December 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/nz0g306v8c/china-tainted-cotton> Accessed 8 January 2021.

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem.

¹⁷¹ Sudworth, John. “China's 'Tainted' Cotton.” *BBC News*, December 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/nz0g306v8c/china-tainted-cotton> Accessed 8 January 2021.

¹⁷² Bose, Purnima. “From Agitation to Institutionalization: The Student Anti-Sweatshop Movement in the New Millennium.” *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2008, pp. 213–240. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/gls.2008.15.1.213. Accessed 16 May 2021.

¹⁷³ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁴ B.J.Bullert (2000) “Progressive Public Relations, Sweatshops, and the Net.” *Political Communication*, 17:4, 403-407, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600050179022> Accessed 16 May 2021.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁶ Mac Sheoin, Tomás. “Transnational Anti-Corporate Campaigns: Fail Often, Fail Better.” *Social Justice*, vol. 41, no. 1/2 (135-136), 2014, pp. 198–226. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24361598. Accessed 18 May 2021.

4.1. Transnational communication

Anti-sweatshop campaigns have been established in different continents in response to different allegations towards forced labour practices. Thus, transnational communications emerged in response to these campaigns and have been playing a major role in spreading the information around the globe. In this chapter, several cases of anti-sweatshop movements will be introduced, this theoretical framework allows to understand how anti-sweatshop campaigns emerged and how local activism turned into a transnational activism through the internet revolution. Since China is not the only country to resort to forced labour, different cases of workers' exploitation and the responses of different NGOs and campaigns will be analysed in the following chapter. Furthermore, this paper will also provide with an explanation of how the media and anti-sweatshop campaigns united in order to assist workers.

To understand the power of social media in campaigns, it is important to analyse what channels were used before the digitalisation and how social media allowed citizens to participate directly in political activities. The advocacy groups have long perceived social media networks as a tool to reach a massive audience at an increased speed and mobilise them for a cause. New information and communication technologies (ICTs) “provide effective means to [...] mobilize supporters”¹⁷⁷ and allows the individual citizens to participate in public debates but also decided what matters in the political sphere. Thanks to these digital technologies, advocacy groups have been “monitor[ing] powerful corporations”¹⁷⁸ and using social media networks “with measurable and significant effects.”¹⁷⁹ The difference between the traditional media is that social media networks have the ability to make the information rapidly reach an international audience and impose it as an international matter. Thus, social media networks can have a significant impact, especially in non-democratic countries where employees are afraid to speak out publicly. Therefore, it allows “citizens [to] seek to influence political-economic actors and institutions within and beyond national borders [and] enable individuals to more easily form and participate within transnational activist networks and/or, engage with geographically diffuse national population.”¹⁸⁰ Indeed, ONGs and students' groups use social media networks

¹⁷⁷ B.J.Bullert (2000) “Progressive Public Relations, Sweatshops, and the Net.” *Political Communication*, 17:4, 403-407, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600050179022>. Accessed 16 May 2021.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁰ Whelan, Glen, et al. “Corporations and Citizenship Arenas in the Age of Social Media.” *Journal of Business Ethics*,

in order to send the message abroad and united a considerable number of people around the matter in order to reach politicians. As a matter of fact, the ICTs allows the individual citizens to have a broader scope of where they can stand up for the cause they want to protect. Thus, social media provide them with an increased possibility “to express their voice”¹⁸¹ by allowing citizens to communicate in ways that were not possible before the digital revolution.¹⁸²

Furthermore, in comparison with the traditional media, social media networks have no limits in what information they can share and can diffuse much more information than the traditional media. The difference is that the traditional media is oriented and does not have the same freedom in sharing information as social media networks. It is also believed that “the multimodal and transnational nature of social media foster the autonomy of civil society (Castells 2007); and qualitatively alter, if not diminish, state control of communications and media (Drezner 2010; Goldsmith and Wu 2006).”¹⁸³ Indeed, the social media networks allow individuals to speak up about local issues, to the global and political sphere, without being monitored by the state. Even more, the massive mobilisations on social media usually allow this matter to become political and impose it on the political agenda. The difference also lies in the multi-directional character of social media.¹⁸⁴ The traditional media is “relatively hierarchical and unidirectional in that messages are sent from a sender (e.g., a broadcaster; a newspaper; and a radio station) to a receiver (e.g., a viewer; a reader; and a listener), social media enable politically motivated individuals and organisations to create and respond to messages in new ways.”¹⁸⁵ For example, in 2018, the clothing retailer H&M was criticized on social media networks for a picture posted on its online store. The picture depicts a “black child model wearing a hooded sweatshirt that said “coolest monkey in the jungle.”¹⁸⁶ This

vol. 118, no. 4, 2013, pp. 777–790. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/42921265.

¹⁸¹ Whelan, Glen, et al. “Corporations and Citizenship Arenas in the Age of Social Media.” *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 118, no. 4, 2013, pp. 777–790. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/42921265. Accessed 17 May 2021.

¹⁸² Whelan, Glen, et al. “Corporations and Citizenship Arenas in the Age of Social Media.” *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 118, no. 4, 2013, pp. 777–790. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/42921265. Accessed 17 May 2021.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁶ Stack, Liam. “H&M Apologizes for ‘Monkey’ Image Featuring Black Child” *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/08/business/hm-monkey.html>. Accessed 17 May 2021

controversial picture has a direct effect on brand image for H&M, who directly apologized for the ‘mistake’ committed. Thus, the social media networks pose a threat to companies when they make mistakes and usually affects brand’s image. Especially, since ‘their responses cannot be hidden away because the online environment forms a digital panopticon in which the past is forever present.’¹⁸⁷ Even though the companies try sometimes to conceal their mistake, in digitalized words nothing can be hidden and citizens mobilisations against the issue become global in a short period of time.

Furthermore, the “low costs associated with social media enable increasing levels of networked and peer-to-peer communications.”¹⁸⁸ Thus, the result brought by these social media mobilisations enable people to actively share the information and create different platforms to target specific companies.¹⁸⁹

4.2. Anti-sweatshop movement in South Asia

In China, after its economic reform in the 1970s into the global economy,¹⁹⁰ labour practices turned “from socialist to capitalist”¹⁹¹ resulting into the rise of sweatshops and thus a large number of poor working conditions and cheap labour. It is said that “factories in China that supply raw materials and manufacture branded products for transnational corporations (TNCs) are at the bottom of global chains and provide only poor working conditions and low wages to workers.”¹⁹² Thus, China’s economic reform created millions of migrant workers from rural areas to urban, especially in the Pearl River Delta region.¹⁹³ Its location, near Hong Kong, made of it an “immense overseas industrial capital, as well as the most migrant workers since the 1980s.”¹⁹⁴ This region’s successful location allows massive migration, about 80 millions of

¹⁸⁷ Whelan, Glen, et al. “Corporations and Citizenship Arenas in the Age of Social Media.” *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 118, no. 4, 2013, pp. 777–790. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/42921265. Accessed 17 May 2021.

¹⁸⁸ Whelan, Glen, et al. “Corporations and Citizenship Arenas in the Age of Social Media.” *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 118, no. 4, 2013, pp. 777–790. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/42921265. Accessed 17 May 2021.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁰ Yi Xu & Chris King-Chi Chan (2018) Conductive Activism: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns across Hong Kong and Mainland China, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48:1, 88-112, DOI: [10.1080/00472336.2017.1359651](https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2017.1359651)

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*.

¹⁹³ Chan, Chris King-chi. “Community-Based Organizations for Migrant Workers’ Rights: the Emergence of Labour NGOs in China.” *Community Development Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2013, pp. 6–22. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/26166066. Accessed 18 May 2021.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

migrant workers,¹⁹⁵ which resulted in “major problems [such as] overtime work, no labour contract, low wages, wage arrears and high injury rates.”¹⁹⁶ It is also reported that in 2005, over 20 % of labour disputes came from this region.¹⁹⁷ During the 90’s, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) failed to provide assistance to workers.¹⁹⁸ In this context, different labour NGOs emerged with the support of transnational activists. The Chinese Working Women Network (CWWN), Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee (HKCIC) and Students and Scholars Against Corporate Misbehaviour (SACOM) emerged in order to respond to the transition introduced by the global economy.¹⁹⁹ However, the emergence of these NGOs does not facilitate worker’s rights since “campaigns groups and labour NGO’s are still highly restricted by the state.”²⁰⁰ Therefore, it does not appear to stop anti-sweatshop campaigns from being effective. This effectiveness can be explained by different factors such as the global union of activists, the emergence of the Internet and thus by the fact that local issues become international. Therefore, information sharing technologies allowed activists to link up with transnational NGOs and protests against abusive working practices.

Yi Xu and Chris King-Chi Chan article “Conductive Activism: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns across Hong Kong and Mainland China” identified Armbruster-Sandoval’s three explanatory factors that can make the campaign effective: “the degree of union strength (similar to local organizing), transnational advocacy network (TAN) unity and corporate vulnerability.”²⁰¹ These factors can be applied to anti-sweatshop campaigns in order to provide an effective result.

Thus, SACOM group emerged in response to the labour violations in China after its economic reform. Students and Scholars Against Corporate Misbehaviour (SACOM) is a labour campaign organization established in June 2005.²⁰² SACOM unites students, consumers,

¹⁹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁹ Chan, Chris King-chi. “Community-Based Organizations for Migrant Workers’ Rights: the Emergence of Labour NGOs in China.” *Community Development Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2013, pp. 6–22. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/26166066. Accessed 18 May 2021.

²⁰⁰ Yi Xu & Chris King-Chi Chan (2018) Conductive Activism: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns across Hong Kong and Mainland China, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48:1, 88-112, DOI: [10.1080/00472336.2017.1359651](https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2017.1359651)

²⁰¹ Ibidem.

²⁰² Ngai Pun, Tommy Tse & Kenneth Ng (2019) Challenging digital capitalism: SACOM's campaigns against Apple and Foxconn as monopoly capital, *Information, Communication & Society*, 22:9, 1253-1268, DOI: [10.1080/1369118X.2017.1414290](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1414290)

scholars and labour activists to “advocate for workers’ rights”²⁰³ and combines an “online and offline activism”²⁰⁴ in order to “reach a worldwide audience.”²⁰⁵ Its main aim is to provide “support [to] Chinese workers in campaigning against corporate power and generating trans-border networks through media exposure, international activism and localized organizing.”²⁰⁶ Therefore, SACOM provides a strategy that puts pressure on the international brands directly through global mobilisation.

An important case defended by SACOM was the suicide of Foxconn workers.²⁰⁷ SACOM launched campaigns through the Internet and then “extended through blogs and microblogs to the public audience in Mainland China.”²⁰⁸ It also organized a protest in front of “Apple store to hold Apple and Foxconn accountable to workers’ rights.”²⁰⁹ For the effectiveness of this campaign, SACOM sent a letter to Apple CEO Steve Jobs and condemned Apple for its unconcern in workers conditions who produce its products. This letter was massively shared through social media networks and attracted the attention of different international NGOs who were ready to provide assistance to the Foxconn’s workers.²¹⁰ Thus, their use of social media networks allows them the extension of this issue worldwide and consequently attract the attention of transnational NGOs. Even though SACOM was a small organization at this time, its union with different international NGOs reinforces its “degree of union strength” and “the transnational advocacy network unity” that allows them to attract the attention of citizens and the involved brands. Even though Chinese authorities banned any negative news about Foxconn, SACOM decided to lead a private investigation, joined by 60 researches.²¹¹ This decision to lead a private investigation amplified the degree of union strength and illustrate the importance of union of workers and NGOs groups which is crucial for the effectiveness of this campaign. This report was published on a blog and “read by over 350,00 people in a single night”²¹² and was shared widely by the international media. Following this report, Apple, under

²⁰³ Ibidem.

²⁰⁴ Ibidem.

²⁰⁵ Ibidem.

²⁰⁶ Ibidem.

²⁰⁷ Ngai Pun, Tommy Tse & Kenneth Ng (2019) “Challenging digital capitalism: SACOM's campaigns against Apple and Foxconn as monopoly capital.” *Information, Communication & Society*, 22:9, 1253-1268, DOI: [10.1080/1369118X.2017.1414290](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1414290)

²⁰⁸ Ibidem.

²⁰⁹ Ibidem.

²¹⁰ Ibidem.

²¹¹ Ibidem.

²¹² Ibidem.

pressure, released its “Supplier Responsibility Progress Report” in order to provide the international public the measures its supplier have taken.²¹³

Even though this report does not provide a proper measure to improve workers’ conditions, it is nonetheless illustrated that international mobilisation pressured these companies into providing a justification and thus put “the corporate vulnerability” into question. Since, multinationals are dependent on its suppliers, the lack of transparency between the companies and their supply chain can harm both of them. Furthermore, the most considerable aspect of the effectiveness is that social media networks allow this transnational communication to reach a considerable number of NGOs and activists. Thus, social media allows “localized campaign [to] gradually developed into a global campaign”²¹⁴ and unite consumers around the globe to pressure on multinationals.

Another case of transnational activism that included traditional media’s participation happened in Indonesia during the period of 1988 and 1989.²¹⁵ Multinational brand, Nike, has been targeted and accused of low wages by the anti-sweatshop movement. Thus, Nike was at the epicenter of labour discontent.²¹⁶ It is said that the minimum wage in Indonesia in 1992 was between 0,50 cent to \$1,50 a day which is less than the minimum wage.²¹⁷ Even though strikes were prominent in Indonesia, it took till 1996 for the anti-sweatshop campaigns to play a prominent role in favour of these workers. This happened mainly because anti-sweatshop campaigns joined media relations and it helped them to be heard because “these media professionals helped select targets, honed the messages, arranged media events, coordinated publicity and created the highly visual and dramatic media events that the anti-sweatshop campaigns lacked earlier.”²¹⁸ The impact of this campaign was significant since the Nike Chairman announced it would change the politics of its company. Thus, during this period, Nike created “CSR department to

²¹³ Ibidem.

²¹⁴ Ngai Pun, Tommy Tse & Kenneth Ng (2019) “Challenging digital capitalism: SACOM's campaigns against Apple and Foxconn as monopoly capital.” *Information, Communication & Society*, 22:9, 1253-1268, DOI: [10.1080/1369118X.2017.1414290](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1414290)

²¹⁵ B.J.Bullert (2000) “Progressive Public Relations, Sweatshops, and the Net.” *Political Communication*, 17:4, 403-407, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600050179022> Accessed 16 May 2021.

²¹⁶ Ibidem.

²¹⁷ Ibidem.

²¹⁸ Ibidem.

over 90 staff members”²¹⁹ and “the minimum wage [in Indonesia] was raised by 20%-30%.”²²⁰ This case demonstrates that campaigns are effective when they bind to the international media. However, the media does not have enough power to express freely since some corporations control mass-media.²²¹ It was the case of Nike, where the CEO met with the editorial board of *The New York Times* and expressed his discontent over several anti-sweatshop articles and since then the author of these articles ceased expressing himself on this issue.²²² Thus, it clearly demonstrates that traditional media does not have the possibility to always deal with issues that affects powerful corporations as Nike.

To conclude this part, these cases illustrate that the effectiveness of a campaign is linked to having a transnational visibility, especially when it involves multinationals. Usually in authoritarian regimes, mobilizing workers to protests against poor working conditions is not effective. Thus, having a strong unity with transnational activists through a supportive media network is an effective way of raising visibility of an issue and addressing the corporation in question. Since social media networks are open areas to advocate for favorable working conditions, it can be concluded that social medias are a communication channel that open a transnational union between activists and advocacy groups. On the contrary, the mass media is not always an open area in order to achieve visibility, since some traditional media can be under pressure of highly influential corporations. Furthermore, campaigns appear to be more successful when local activists allied with international pressure target international companies. Thus, external pressure through social media networks plays an important part in helping local movements.

Social media’s use for campaigns can be seen as an attempt to bring awareness and fight against poor working conditions by uniting activists around the globe. It is wrong to assert that anti-sweatshop campaigns are counter-productive. Even though these campaigns are short termed, their efficacy is undoubtable during the period of the campaign. The problem with these

²¹⁹ Ballinger, Jeff. “No Sweat? Corporate Social Responsibility and the Dilemma of Anti-Sweatshop Activism.” *New Labor Forum*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2008, pp. 91–98. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40343002. Accessed 19 May 2021.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²²¹ Reading: Media Globalization. *Lumen*. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/atd-fscj-introsociology/chapter/reading-global-implications-of-media-and-technology/> Accessed 19 May 2021.

²²² Ballinger, Jeff. “No Sweat? Corporate Social Responsibility and the Dilemma of Anti-Sweatshop Activism.” *New Labor Forum*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2008, pp. 91–98. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40343002. Accessed 19 March 2021.

campaigns is that they move fast from one issue to another. However, it is quite difficult to determine if campaigns are a long-termed alternative to end forced labour.

The following chapter will introduce different campaigns that have emerged in a context of Uighurs oppression. These campaigns have targeted multinational corporations through massive social media mobilisations and have affected brand image.

V. Campaign against International Brands

5.1. #BoycottZARA

ZARA is a fast-fashion clothes retailer founded in 1974 in Spain by Amancio Ortega. It is the most valuable and best-known clothing brand in the world. They have approximately 3,000 shops worldwide and were ranked as the 41st most valuable brand in the world according to Forbes in 2020.²²³ The parent company of ZARA is Inditex, one of the world's largest fashion retailers and distributors. Inditex has eight brands companies, including ZARA itself, Bershka, Pull&Bear, Oysho, Massimo Dutti, Stradivarius, ZARA HOME and Uterque.

In 2020, the Australian Strategic Policy Institute released a report according to which 82 brands were involved in a forced labour practices. More than 80,000 Uighurs have been forced to work in Chinese factories to supply international brands. After this announcement, on November 4, 2020, The Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) started a campaign that targeted Inditex, which has been working with Chinese manufacturers Huafu Fashion Co. Ltd and Luthai Textile Co., Ltd.²²⁴ Both suppliers contribute to Uighur forced labour. The Issue Brief from WRC “show[ed] that Inditex sources material from Huafu Fashion and Luthai Textile.”²²⁵ The Chinese Institute of Public and Environmental Affairs (IPE) works with apparel corporations on sustainability issues, and maintains a Green Supply Chain Brand Map. The map contains real-time online data regarding the environmental performance of suppliers producing for brands, like Inditex,

²²³ Swant, Marty. “The World’s most valuable brands.” *Forbes*, <https://www.forbes.com/the-worlds-most-valuable-brands/#7b2e0150119c> . Accessed 5 January 2021.

²²⁴ “WRC Issue Brief: Inditex Linked to Companies Complicit in Uyghur Forced Labor.” *Worker Rights Consortium*, 4 November 2020, https://www.workersrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/WRC-Issue-Brief-on-Inditex_Nov.-4.pdf Accessed 5 January 2021.

²²⁵ Ibidem.

that participate in IPE’s initiatives, and it shows the relationships between these brands and specific Chinese suppliers.²²⁶ The map identifies Huaifu Melange Yarn Co., Ltd., a subsidiary of Huaifu Fashion, and Luthai Textile Co., Ltd. as Inditex suppliers.²²⁷

This provoked a massive public reaction on social media platforms such as Instagram and Twitter. Afterwards, in December 2020, the CSW started a campaign to end forced labour, called “#ForcedLabourFashion.”²²⁸ Since there is a persisting inadequacy of estimating if all products, produced in the Uyghur region and overall, in China, are the result of forced labour, people need to urge brands to extricate their supply from Chinese companies using Uyghurs. This campaign consists of sending an email, through CWS’s organization and many other humanitarian organizations, called ‘Sorry, China, I am not buying it again’. This campaign targets different brands such as Nike, Inditex and Uniqlo with a view to encouraging them to sign the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor (CEUFL) brand’s Commitment ‘Brand Commitment to Exit the Uyghur Region.’²²⁹ Over 340 organizations endorsed the Call-to-Action Campaign, three of which, are the main organizations contributing to this campaign.

The author of this research contacted different members of the coalitions to know how many people participated in this campaign. Three of these organizations provided information about this campaign: CSW, Freedom United and No Business with Genocide. The Executive Director from Freedom United, Joanna Ewart-James, told that around 9,839²³⁰ people have completed the form on their website to write to Inditex, Nike and Uniqlo. However, she cannot tell if these email forms were aimed at all three brands or the one of their choice. Emily Winkley, from CSW, has 1,326 emails that have been sent to Inditex’s Sustainability Department via CSW’s campaign. Simon Billenness, from No Business with Genocide, confirms that through The Action Network, 10,050²³¹ signatures were collected. This campaign was highly promoted on Instagram by different accounts and is still ongoing.

²²⁶ Ibidem.

²²⁷ Ibidem.

²²⁸ “Sorry, China, I’m not buying it.” CWS. https://csw.e-activist.com/page/71715/action/1?ea.tracking.id=cam-hub&_ga=2.100726785.1857812791.1613753438-891754006.1613753438 Accessed 5 January 2021.

²²⁹ “Call to Action” *End Uyghur Forced Labour*, October 2020, <https://enduyghurforcedlabour.org/call-to-action/>

²³⁰ “Free Uyghurs from forced labour in China” *Freedom United*, <https://www.freedomunited.org/advocate/forced-labour-fashion/>. Accessed 5 January 2021.

²³¹ Billenness, Simon. “Tell ZARA: Stop Profiting From Uyghur Forced Labour.” *The Action Network*, <https://actionnetwork.org/petitions/tell-zara-stop-profiting-from-uyghur-forced->

As the author took part in this campaign, an e-mail (see Appendix 1) was sent to Inditex Sustainability Department. Surprisingly, the author received an answer from Inditex quite quickly (see Appendix 2). In this email, Inditex assured that they do “not have commercial relations with any factory in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) or with the factories that the ASPI March 2020 report alleged to be in Zara’s supply chain” (see Appendix 1). However, even if at first sight, the author tends to believe that they do not take part in forced labour, at no point did they respond about the contract they have to sign in order to eradicate these allegations. Thus, as part of the campaign, the author decided to send another email in order to ask them again to sign the ‘call to action’ contract (see Appendix 3).

As in the first e-mail, Inditex stressed that they ‘take a zero-tolerance approach towards forced-labour in [their] supply chain’ (see Appendix 4). They also explained that they have no relations with the ‘referred facilities’ reported by WRC. Thus, they deny all these allegations without giving authentic proof and refusing to sign the CEUFL brand’s Commitment, which will assert their non-involvement in Uighur forced labour. Nonetheless, they answered the second request in this e-mail. However, they assured that they “have had direct conversations with different members of the Coalition explaining the actions taken by the company and the different lines of work [they] are developing with tripartite organizations, partnering with the most respected organizations in the defense of Human and Labour Rights.” (Appendix 4). Nonetheless, they did not specify the names of these organizations, so that their partnership with these organizations could not be proved.

Another part of the campaign was to write to Zara on social media and by email in order to ensure Zara is not involved in forced labour. This campaign was launched by @freeuyghurnow, an Instagram account with 32,700 followers. This page is used by a student coalition advocating for the freedom and rights of Uighurs and Turkic people in forced labour and internment camps. This campaign has had a massive resonance, as people started massively tagging Zara under @freeuyghurnow’s post and accusing them of being involved in forced labour. Thousands of people tagged Zara and denounced Uighur forced labour. Even though Zara has been diligently

[labor/?link_id=0&can_id=3a583513a95c9bf8535bb7a32d9ab872&source=email-bad-companies-2&email_referrer=email_1050903_subject_1425317&email_subject=bad-companies](https://www.labor/?link_id=0&can_id=3a583513a95c9bf8535bb7a32d9ab872&source=email-bad-companies-2&email_referrer=email_1050903_subject_1425317&email_subject=bad-companies) Accessed 5 January 2021.

deleting comments linked to the Uighurs’ case, on Zara’s official Instagram account hundreds of comments can be found on each of the latest posts, such as #freeuyghurs, #stopuyghurforcedlabour, #boycottzara, #uyghurlivesmatter (see Figure 3). This campaign affects Zara’s brand image, which they tried hard to conceal by deleting those comments. It can be explained by the fact that random people who are unaware of atrocities going on in China can see those comments and change their consumer behavior towards Zara’s enterprise.

Figure 3: Example of comments on an Instagram’s post²³²



Source: Instagram: ZARA

Despite the fact that Zara is being accused of forced labour, Inditex, its parent company, refute these allegations. On their official website, Zara promotes human rights and ensures that their customers are aware of their suppliers and their factories. In the category of their suppliers, they state that “[Inditex] work[s] with [its] suppliers, workers, trade unions and international bodies with the aim of developing a supply chain that respects and promotes human rights, contributing to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.”²³³

²³² ZARA Official on Instagram: Discover the New Man Collection #zaraman @zaraman Lennon Gallagher by David Bailey. Thank You @bailey_studio. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CKmQ5PwhENL/>. Accessed 21 Mar. 2021.

²³³ Join Life. “Our Suppliers”. ZARA Belgium. <https://www.zara.com/be/en/sustainability-suppliers-mkt1456.html?v1=1468717>. Accessed 19 Mar. 2021.

They are also calling themselves ethical and they have an ethical trading initiative: “Since 2005, we have been working with the Ethical Trading Initiative, an alliance between companies, trade unions and voluntary organizations that are committed to improving the working conditions of workers. Our Code of Conduct for Manufacturers and Suppliers and the methodology for developing it are based on their Base Code.”²³⁴ Inditex has a code of conduct for manufacturers and suppliers of Inditex Group. On the first pages of this code of conduct, the first point is ‘no forced labour’:

Inditex shall not allow any form of forced or involuntary labour in their manufacturers and suppliers. They may not require their employees to make any kind of “deposits”, nor are they entitled to retain employees’ identity documents.²³⁵

However, being the prominent target of the forced labour allegations does not seem to worry them at all. The issue with Zara is that by not signing the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor brand’s Commitment, Zara is considered as being complicit with Uighur forced labour. The fact that they promote human rights and are against forced labour is precisely discredited by the fact that they refuse to sign and participate in this campaign. At any point, Inditex expresses their will to join and sign the Campaign.

Zara’s enterprise works on a tricky system which allows it to deny all these allegations. Zara and many other companies do not produce their own clothes; they just send the model of their product to the factory and China produces it. Therefore, having Chinese providers gives them the possibility to deny these accusations. According to their policy, they cannot be found guilty for something they did not produce. Thus, all the blame for using Uighurs in hard labour conditions is placed on their suppliers and Zara can claim that they do not use any forced labour. During a conference on Forced Labour Fashion, Raphael Glucksmann, a European MP, stated that the only solution to this problem is to hold companies responsible for their products, even though the products are made by their suppliers. If the companies deny these allegations, they might have to face justice. Currently, he is working on implementing laws on a European level, which will forbid any import from countries that are involved in forced labour.

²³⁴Inditex. “Code of Conduct for Manufacturers and Suppliers Inditex Group.” <https://www.inditex.com/documents/10279/241035/Inditex+Code+of+Conduct+for+Manufacturers+and+Suppliers/e23dde6a-4b0e-4e16-a2aa-68911d3032e7>

²³⁵Ibidem.

5.2.Raphael Glucksmann's campaign on Instagram and Twitter

Raphael Glucksmann, a member of the European Parliament and vice-chair of the Subcommittee on Human Rights of the European Parliament, is one of the prominent figures in the battle for Uighur people. His Instagram and Twitter accounts are his main 'battlegrounds', where he raises awareness on Uighur forced labour and denounces China's oppressive system. On Instagram, he is followed by more than 601,000 followers. He is an active figure in this battle, participates in many conferences, Instagram's live debates, and promotes the importance to assemble for Uighur people. Moreover, he insists on the significant part international brands play in human right violations. He calls to boycott these brands in order to have an impact not only on these multinationals, but also on a European level. Besides, he asserts that European legislations upon these brands connected to forced labour are essential to stop human forced labour in the fashion industry. Raphael Glucksmann believes that mass public involvement in this case can have a positive influence on the decision-making relating to European legislation.

Raphael Glucksmann's social media campaign on Instagram started on 25 September 2019. He started a campaign directed to 82 brands revealed by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, which Glucksmann calls the list of 'shame' of the 21st century. He not only denounces China's crimes against humanity but also puts pressures on international brands through Instagram's mobilisations. He calls these brands to cut ties with Chinese factories connected to forced labour. His campaign received massive support and became the most resonant scandal discussed on social media. More than 75,000 people liked his post and more than 1,000 commented on it. Thus, Raphael Glucksmann calls these brands to action and calls the younger generation to boycott these brands.

In fact, his targets are young people, who are massively present on social media platforms and are also the main customers of these brands. Thus, by putting a European campaign in place, he challenges these multinationals to cease immediately being part of this crime against humanity. His post on Instagram, on March 2020, where he denounced these brands for being complicit with these crimes received more than 33,000 likes and over 1,000 comments. He requested his followers to interpellate these brands by sharing the post and tagging these brands under his posts.

The first target of this campaign was the German multinational company ADIDAS. The ASPI revealed that ADIDAS has been a customer of the Huafu Top Dyed Melange Yarn Co. Ltd. in Anhui which has been involved in Uighur forced labour.²³⁶ ASPI also revealed that between April 2017 and June 2018, Uighur workers were transferred to their factories.²³⁷ The Haoyuanpeng Clothing Manufacturing Co. Ltd, another factory to be actively involved in “Industrial Xinjiang Aid” policy,²³⁸ have been known to be linked with ADIDAS. It is known that they have partnerships with numerous brands, ADIDAS included. However, ADIDAS states the contrary to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, that ‘the company does not have an active relationship with HYP [i.e., The Haoyuanpeng Clothing Manufacturing Co. Ltd] and that they will further investigate the use of ADIDAS.’²³⁹ The company in question, located in Kashgar, Xinjiang region, has an “Adidas billboard on its facade”²⁴⁰ (see Figure 4), which clearly suggests ADIDAS’ involvement in Uighur forced labour and its partnership with the latter company. Moreover, Zeng Yifa, the president of the Hao Yuanpeng Clothing Manufacturing Co. Ltd, confirmed that that his company has been using Uighurs for labor and stated that “although the quality of North Korean workers is good, I’m reluctant to spend money on foreign workers. In the end, I chose Xinjiang.”²⁴¹ His statement, alongside the billboards displayed in front of their company, clearly illustrate that Uighur forced labour and ADIDAS company have interdependent relationships.

²³⁶ Liu, A. “We Need to Think About Xinjiang in Internationalist Terms.” *The Nation*, 28 Oct. 2020, <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/xinjiang-uygher-camps/> Accessed 25 February 2020

²³⁷ Ibidem.

²³⁸ Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. “Uyghurs for sale.” *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 March 2021.

²³⁹ Ibidem.

²⁴⁰ Ibidem.

²⁴¹ Ibidem.

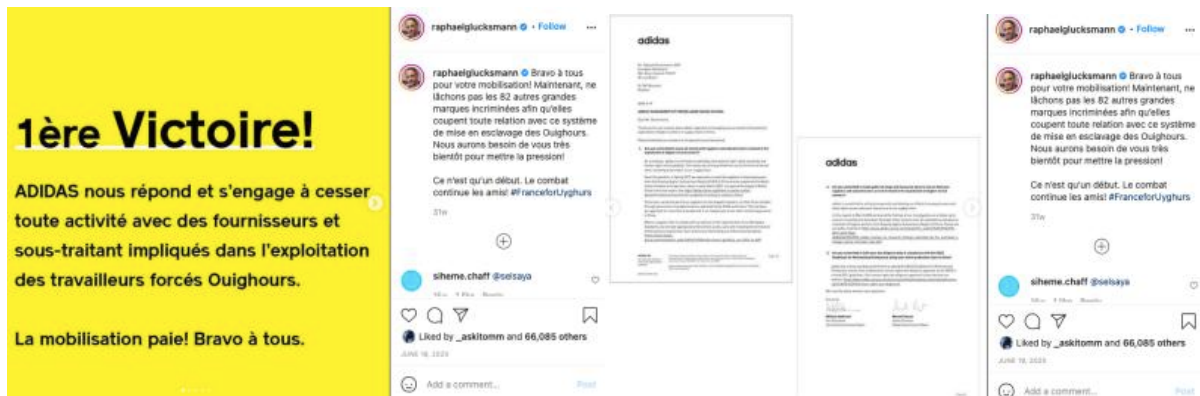
Figure 4: The Haoyuanpeng factory's billboards in Kashgar



Source: Australian Strategic Policy Institute: Uyghurs for sale

Therefore, as part of this campaign, Glucksmann sent a letter to the general manager of ADIDAS France, Guillaume de Montplanet. The European deputy received massive support on Instagram for this first mobilisation, so that on July 15, 2020, thanks to this campaign and Instagram users, he succeeded in getting in touch with ADIDAS, who agreed to meet him. Afterwards, people relentlessly tagged ADIDAS under his post, with a hope that their tags would help this campaign to move forward. It resulted in a first victory (see Figure 5), as Adidas agreed to sign the document of 'Adidas management of forced labour issues in China', which agrees with the term Gluckmann imposed on them for his campaign. More than 66,000 likes were under this first successful campaign. It clearly demonstrated the power of social networks and proves how people's mobilisation on social media can affect the image of such powerful brands and force them to come to an agreement imposed by its customers.

Figure 5: First successful campaign on Instagram



Source: Instagram raphaelglucksmann

The second brand to be challenged was a French company, Lacoste. Lacoste has been accused by ASPI to supply from Youngor Textile Holdings, which also provided its factory with Uighur workers. Glucksmann sent a letter to Thierry Guibert, the general manager of Lacoste. In order to impact Lacoste's decision, numerous people again started to tag this brand under Raphael Glucksmann's post. In less than 10 days, Lacoste agreed to cease all activities with suppliers involved in the exploitation of Uighurs. It received an amount of 77,000 likes and thousands of comments. The number of likes and comments under each post demonstrates the importance of this campaign. Instagram users were actively involved in this mobilisation and demonstrated it by commenting, liking and sharing Glucksmann's posts.

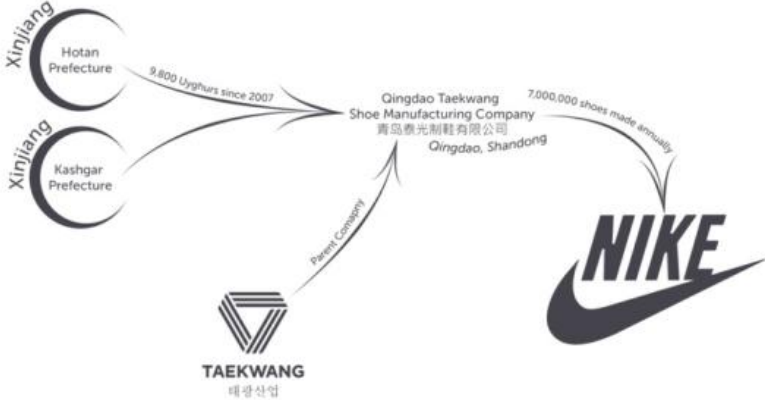
Another brand which has been challenged to stop being part of the crimes against humanity was Nike, an American multinational corporation. According to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, in January 2020, 600 workers, mostly Uighur women, from Xinjiang have been employed by Qingdao Taekwang Shoes Co. Ltd.²⁴² Qingdao Taekwang Shoes Co. Ltd is known for being Nike's main suppliers. In fact, "Taekwang's Laixi factory [...], produc[e] more than seven million pairs for the American brand annually."²⁴³ ASPI also provided from China Ethnic Religion Net that "A Laixi government committee press release stated that 9,800 Uyghur workers were transferred to Qingdao Taekwang Shoes (see Figure 6) in 'more than 60 batches'

²⁴²Xiuzhong Xu, Vicky. "Uyghurs for sale." *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, 1 March 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale> Accessed 4 January 2021.

²⁴³ Ibidem.

since 2007.”²⁴⁴ These massive transfers to Qingdao Taekwang Shoes Co. Ltd pointed to the significant importance of these allegations. Moreover, ASPI provides official statistics that from the period of 2017 to 2018, 4,710 Uyghurs were sent to Shandong’s factories.²⁴⁵ The number of Uyghurs transferred in these factories is outstanding, not to mention the number of products manufactured by forced labour. Furthermore, *The Washington Post* reported that according to the locals, Uyghurs are clearly forced to work in these factories.²⁴⁶ These allegations from ASPI clearly demonstrated that Nike is massively involved in forced labour.

Figure 6: 9,800 Uyghur workers transferred to Qingdao Taekwang Shoes Co. Ltd



Source: Australian Strategic Policy Institute: Uyghurs for sale

On June 29, 2020, Raphael Glucksmann targeted Nike in a post. This post received the most popular attention and had much more resonance than the other posts. More than 74,000 likes and over 27,000 comments were written under his post, which is much more than the previous posts. Thus, Nike was tagged greatly and the post was massively shared on different social networks.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem.

²⁴⁵ Ibidem.

²⁴⁶ Fifield, Anna. “Nike to Reevaluate Use of Uyghurs in China Factories.” *The Washington Post*, 11 March 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/nike-to-review-supply-chains-in-china-after-reports-uyghurs-forced-to-make-shoes/2020/03/11/6137df9e-6380-11ea-912d-d98032ec8e25_story.html. Accessed 21 March, 2021.

This massive resonance can be explained by the fact that Nike is the largest, and the most powerful and famous brand of sportswear and shoes. Moreover, Nike has always differentiated itself by its slogans, its activism in Black Lives Matter, by its political decisions and by its way of supporting multiculturalism. Their campaign with Colin Kaepernick “Believe in something. Even if it means sacrificing everything” reference to his refusal to stand up during the national anthem with intent to draw attention to the police brutality in the USA and the killings of African Americans.²⁴⁷ This campaign has received massive support and people started to become proud of wearing Nike. Nike was the first brand to put Muslim ‘hijabi’ women in commercials and to recognise them as proud rather than oppressed Muslims, thus countering the way in which they are usually portrayed in the media. However, Nike has been quiet regarding the concerns supporting the Uighurs’ matter. Its silence made people angry and outraged that Nike was actually hiding its crimes behind beautiful promises of equal opportunities.

It is important to note that it is stated that Nike, along with Apple and Coca-Cola have been lobbying against the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act. Thus, knowing that Uighur Muslim women are actually behind Nike’s clothes made people realise that Nike’s way to support activism and multiculturalism was a marketing strategy in order to attract the younger generation.²⁴⁸ As a result, knowing that Nike is part of a ‘scandal’ made people get involved in this campaign and made them realize that all this is a beautiful strategy behind crimes against humanity.

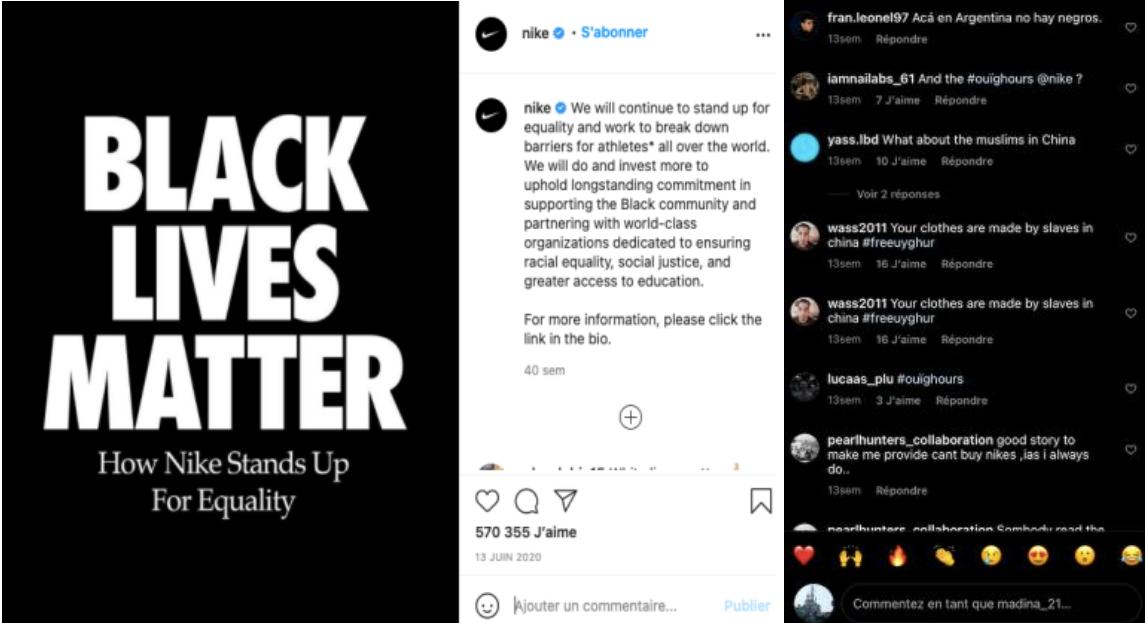
Thus, the EU deputy sent a letter to Christophe Merkel, general manager of Nike France. Even though the discussion between the European deputy and Nike was intense, as stated by Glucksmann, people believe that Nike could provide its customers with a positive decision. Unfortunately, Nike has refused to stop their relationships with Chinese factory Taekwang or even provide any proof that Taekwang does not use Uighurs to manufacture their shoes and

²⁴⁷ Kelner, Martha. “Nike’s controversial Colin Kaepernick ad campaign its most divisive yet” *The Guardian*, 4 September 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/sep/04/nike-controversial-colin-kaepernick-campaign-divisive> Accessed 22 May 2021.

²⁴⁸ ““Stand for Something: Brand Activism at Nike’ –Christian Sarkar and Philip Kotler.” *The Marketing Journal*, 8 Sept. 2018, www.marketingjournal.org/stand-for-something-brand-activism-at-nike-christian-sarkar-and-philip-kotler/. Accessed 22 April 2021.

clothes. The post, which states Nike’s refusal on Glucksmann’s Instagram, received a massive number of likes, i.e., more than 121,000 likes and almost 10,000 comments are present under his post. People, who felt betrayed by this brand, denounced its hypocrisy and called to boycott Nike. Under Nike’s post “Black Lives Matter: How Nike Stands for Equality”, comments such as #UighursLivesMatter, #freeuyghur, #slavelabor, in response to this campaign. A lot of people assert that they will never buy Nike shoes again.

Figure 7: Comments under Nike’s posts



Source: Instagram Nike

However, on their official website, Nike released a statement on March 2020. It states that:

Nike is committed to ethical and responsible manufacturing and we uphold international labor standards. We are concerned about reports of forced labor in, and connected to, the *Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)*. Nike does not source products from the XUAR and we have confirmed with our contract suppliers that they are not using textiles or spun yarn from the region.

[...] Our ongoing diligence has not found evidence of employment of Uyghurs, or other ethnic minorities from XUAR, elsewhere in our supply chain.

Nike does not have relationships with the Haoyuanpeng Clothing Manufacturing, Qingdao Jifa Group, Changji Esquel Textile or any of Esquel’s other facilities in the XUAR, as was inaccurately reported by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. Related to the Taekwang Group, when reports of the situation in XUAR began to surface in 2019 Taekwang stopped hiring new employees from the XUAR to its Qingdao facility and an independent third-party audit confirmed there are no longer any

employees from XUAR at the facility. Our ongoing diligence has not found evidence of employment of Uyghurs, or other ethnic minorities from the XUAR, elsewhere in our supply chain in China.²⁴⁹

However, their statement cannot be taken seriously because when they are asked to sign the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labor brand's Commitment or when Glucksmann tried to have an agreement with them, they refused to collaborate and to come to an agreement with Glucksmann. Moreover, ASPI states to *Glossy* that Nike's involvement is serious and that "[they] found that many Uighur workers in these factories outside Xinjiang are facing conditions akin to the detention centers: constant surveillance, minders, restricted freedom of movement and political indoctrination classes."²⁵⁰ It is difficult for these brands to monitor if the merchandise is a product of forced labour since all their products are manufactured by their suppliers. Therefore, these brands prefer to claim that they are against forced labour and are not involved in this case since they do not produce their own products. ASPI also declared that "brands manufacturing in China that think they are free of forced labour risk because they're not involved in Xinjiang need to think again."²⁵¹ Indeed, as mentioned in a previous comment on the advertisement of Uighur workers in the PRC, Uighurs are sent into different regions sometimes out of the Xinjiang region. Thus, forced labour is not connected to a specific region.

Another target of Glucksmann's campaign was Zara. Indeed, he actually decided to interpellate each brand personally in order to have a personal response from each of these brands. On July 30, 2020, as part of this campaign, Raphael Glucksmann sent an e-mail to general manager of ZARA France, Jean-Jacques SALUN. In his post, he accuses ZARA of benefiting from forced labour and being complicit with crimes against humanity. His post received almost 30,000 comments and more than 85,000 likes. Glucksmann succeeded in reaching them and obtained an appointment with their global manager in Spain. He asked for written evidence between ZARA and their supplier companies, Huafu Top Dyed Melange Yarn Co. Ltd and Jiangsu Guotai International Group, that these companies do not exploit Uighurs. These companies are

²⁴⁹ Nike Statement on Xinjiang." *Nike Purpose*, purpose.nike.com/statement-on-xinjiang Accessed 19 March. 2021.

²⁵⁰ Flora, Liz. "Lacoste and Adidas Pledge to Cut Forced Uighur Labor from Supply Chain." *Glossy*, 7 July 2020. <https://www.glossy.co/fashion/lacoste-and-adidas-pledge-to-cut-forced-ughur-labor-from-supply-chain/>. Accessed 19 March. 2021.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

accused of being involved in Uighur exploitation. If these suppliers cannot prove that they are not involved in forced labor, Zara has to publicly declare that they are ending all collaborations with latter companies. Furthermore, Zara has to accept to send an NGO delegation to these factories in order to prove that all these accusations are unfounded.

Zara not only denied its involvement in forced labour but also told Glucksmann that the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) recognized that Inditex, the parent company of Zara, was misplaced on this list where 82 brands were accused of forced labour. Thus, Glucksmann decided to contact ASPI in order to prove that Zara has been under false accusations all this time. On August 4, 2020, ASPI told him that at no point Zara had contacted them and that their list of 82 brands had not been changed since. Moreover, Worker Rights Consortium, an independent organisation fighting for the rights of workers, released a private investigation, according to which Inditex is lying about its partnership with these Chinese companies and is actually sourcing material from Huafu Fashion and Luthai Textile.”²⁵²

Since these accusations are not based on one source and that many other organizations conduct their own investigations, it becomes difficult to believe Zara’s non-involvement in forced labor. Therefore, Raphael Glucksmann accused Zara of lying on his Instagram account, which has deteriorated even more Zara’s brand image.

Another brand accused by ASPI for its involvement in forced labour is H&M, a Swedish multinational brand specialising in fast-fashion. It was one of the companies which directly contacted Raphael Glucksmann and made an appointment to have a discussion about the forced-labor scandal. It is known that H&M’s supplier, the Huafu Top Dyed Melange Yarn Co. Ltd., has its factories near Xinjiang’s ‘re-education’ camps and are sourcing their factories with Uighur labour to manufacture its clothes.

Raphael Glucksmann’s post, on September 3, 2020, in which H&M were tagged, received an amount of 50,000 likes. After his meeting with H&M, on 4 September, 2020, H&M declared that they would make a decision within 15 days. On 15 September, H&M declared that they were ceasing their partnership with their indirect suppliers Huafu within 12 months and would

²⁵² ‘WRC Issue Brief: Inditex Linked to Companies Complicit in Uyghur Forced Labor’. *Worker Rights Consortium*, 4 Nov. 2020, <https://www.workersrights.org/post/wrc-issue-brief-inditex-linked-to-companies-implicit-in-uyghur-forced-labor/>

carry out an inquiry to ensure that other Chinese suppliers were not implicated in Uighurs' forced labour.²⁵³ They also agreed to make an announcement publicly.

Thus, the company released an official statement on Xinjiang, which said that “H&M Group is deeply concerned by reports from civil society organizations and media that include accusations of forced labour and discrimination of ethnoreligious minorities in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)”²⁵⁴ and in case of forced labour, the company “will take immediate action and, as an ultimate consequence, look to terminate the business relationship.”²⁵⁵ Furthermore, H&M is also the only company to have confessed that it has been supplying Xinjiang's cotton and because of the difficulty “to conduct credible due diligence in the region, BCI has decided to suspend licensing of BCI cotton in XUAR.”²⁵⁶ As a result, H&M reported that they were cutting all ties with their suppliers. The European deputy announced this success on his Instagram page and thanked his followers, “without whom these actions would not be possible.” This post received more than 88,000 likes and thousands of comments.

Glucksmann pointed out that sharing a post and tagging brands had never been so useful and that people should not let anybody tell them otherwise. This campaign and people's mobilisation show the power of social media platforms and the pressure they put on brands because they are afraid of losing their brand image and their customers. Furthermore, this mobilisation affected the political agenda and many states had to adopt legislations and sanctions against the PRC.

Thus, on March 10, 2021, Raphael Glucksmann announced on his Instagram page that the European Parliament has finally adopted a legislation on the due diligence resolution, which aims at sanctioning multinationals that violate human rights and use forced labour. The European Commission will have to make a decision in order to implement this legislation since the majority voted in favor, i.e., 504 votes for, 79 against and 112 abstained from voting.²⁵⁷ The European Parliament announced that “additional measures, including a ban on importing

²⁵³ “H&M statement on Xinjiang” *HMGROUP*. <https://hmgroupp.com/content/dam/hmgroupp/groupsite/documents/masterlanguage/CSR/Policies/2020/Xinjiang%20Statement.pdf>. Accessed 21 May 2021.

²⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁵⁷ “MEPs: Companies Must No Longer Cause Harm to People and Planet with Impunity.” *News European Parliament*, 10 Mar. 2021, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20210304IPR99216/meps-companies-must-no-longer-cause-harm-to-people-and-planet-with-impunity>. Accessed 15 March 2021.

products linked to severe human rights violations such as forced or child labour”²⁵⁸ will be implemented in this legislation. Further, members of European Parliament insist on the importance to conduct a diligent investigation in order to know “whether companies based in Xinjiang exporting to the EU are involved in human rights breaches, especially those related to repression of Uyghurs.”²⁵⁹ Thus, if this legislation is implemented, “companies that want to access the EU internal market, [...] would have to prove that they comply with environmental and human rights due diligence obligations,”²⁶⁰ which will force brands to be more transparent and provide evidence that these multinationals are not involved in forced labour. It can be said that the implementation of this legislation is imposed on the political agenda by the ordinary citizens massive reaction on social networks.

On March 22, 2021, Glucksmann announced that the EU had adopted its first sanctions against China. The first concrete step taken by the EU is imposing sanctions on “Chinese high officials for the repression against Uyghurs as well as a Chinese para-military enterprise exploiting Uyghur forced labourers (XPCC).”²⁶¹ These sanctions may not have a direct impact and free Uyghurs from detention camps and forced labour, but still, it is a first major step against the PRC. The same day, The United States, Britain and Canada have also decided to adopt sanctions against China over genocide claims.²⁶²

Thus, it can be concluded that Glucksmann’s campaign and people’s massive mobilisations on social media have brought awareness to many people and reached numerous influential figures. Social networks played a major part in relaying this information globally. Since then, numerous people around the globe have started sharing information about Uyghur oppression and China’s “re-education” camps. Furthermore, since these allegations of Uyghurs’ persecution have been massively shared, a lot of people have started to stand up for the Uyghurs’ cause and boycott international brands. It is the first time that international brands have been accused together in the same scandal. Consequently, it is obvious that a lot of brands have seen their brand image

²⁵⁸ Ibidem.

²⁵⁹ Ibidem.

²⁶⁰ Ibidem.

²⁶¹ Raphaël Glucksmann MEP. Instagram: Finally ! Uyghurs: The European Union Is Just Coming to Adopt Its First Sanctions against China. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CMuWA-YsRfG/>. Accessed 22 March. 2021.

²⁶² Rauhala, Emily. ‘U.S., E.U., Canada and Britain Announce Sanctions on China over the Abuse of Uyghurs’. *Washington Post*, 22 March 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/xinjiang-sanctions-european-union/2021/03/22/1b0d69aa-8b0a-11eb-a33e-da28941cb9ac_story.html. Accessed 25 March. 2021.

deteriorated by this scandal. It is also important to note that mass media have been lacking in reporting about this humanitarian crisis in China. However, they have started to deal with this information more actively since ordinary citizens have shown interest in this scandal through social media. Therefore, thanks to social networks, the Uighur issue became not only important for mainstream news but also an important topic for the political agenda. Besides, it has impacted the European and International leaders' agenda and affected their political decision-making.

VI. Empirical research

In 2020, Zara, Inditex's parent company, saw its profits fall by 70% after a year in lockdown.²⁶³ This fall in profits can predominantly be explained by the fact that shops were closed due to the pandemic and because of the global crisis. However, this period is specifically associated with massive boycotts through social media, which may have had a less important but still significant impact on the brand's profits.

Thus, the author decided to conduct a survey in order to provide data concerning how many people changed their consumer behaviour after these revelations and, more importantly, after campaigns and mobilisations on social media networks. This survey was conducted in order to illustrate the impact these mobilisations had against multinationals and how it affected public purchasing behaviours. The overall aim of this survey was to collect data in order to understand if the awareness of Uighurs' persecution and forced labour, shared extensively through Instagram and Facebook, affected public purchase decisions and has subsequently had an economic impact on these brands.

For this survey, multiple social media accounts were contacted. The author of this research decided to use Instagram and Facebook platforms in order to launch this survey. The decision to use these platforms was because multiple groups, dedicated to bringing awareness on the Uighurs' cause, were created all over the world on these platforms. The data collected from

²⁶³ 'Inditex's 2020 Net Profit Falls 70% as Pandemic Keeps Many Shops Closed'. *CNBC*, 10 Mar. 2021, <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/03/10/inditexs-2020-net-profit-falls-70percent-as-pandemic-keeps-many-shops-closed.html>. Accessed 23 March. 2021.

different countries helped to demonstrate the international mobilisation social media networks have succeeded in implementing. The aim of this analysis was to demonstrate the global influence social media campaigns have on people and the way their influence has impacted a specific multinational. The methods applied in this research were both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data provided by this survey allows the reader to weigh the number of people who decided to boycott this brand while the qualitative data helps to understand the real reason behind this decision and analyse the comments of the participants.

The study specifically targeted people who are already aware of atrocities happening in China and are social media network users. More than 75 groups were contacted as part of this research and 25 of them agreed to share the survey and to participate in this research. The majority of these groups were from France, but also from the USA, Canada, Algeria, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Spain. Thus, since people from different region participated in this survey, it gives a broader perspective on how social media influences users' decisions.

Some of the groups directly shared the link in their Instagram story, but others decided to share the QR code which allows the users to redirect to the original website. A total number of 150 people has participated in this survey and completed questionnaires. However, the analysis of this survey is not based on 150 responses for each question, since some respondents left certain questions unanswered and thus data provided will not always correspond to an exact number of 150 participants mentioned above.

This survey was shared in two languages, French and English, depending on the Instagram page's followers. An open-ended questionnaire mixed with some Yes/No questions seemed to be an appropriate tool for this survey in order to analyse and understand people's reaction to the forced labour accusation. It took respondents approximately 10 minutes to take the survey.

To achieve the purpose of this study, the following questions needed to be addressed and analysed.

The most emphasis was placed on two main objectives. The first one was to understand if social media's mobilisations have changed consumers' vision on brand's image and later affected their purchase behaviour. The second will help to demonstrate the overall aim of this research,

which is how social media's mobilisation influenced people to boycott this brand and impacted this brand's profits and at the same time had a detrimental impact on its brand's image.

Research questions :

1. Are you or have you been a regular customer of clothing brands related to Inditex, a parent company to Zara? on what frequency have you purchased from Zara?
2. Have you heard about Uighurs' "concentration" camps and multinationals' involvement in forced labour? If so, through which platforms?
3. Has social media changed your vision on brands who are complicit with forced labour?
Explain
4. How would you describe Zara's brand image, as you saw it before the scandal?
5. How has Zara's brand image changed for you since you are aware of these scandals?
6. What was your reaction when you learnt about this scandal and that so many brands are involved in forced labour?
7. Have you reduced or stopped buying from Inditex's brands company, and from Zara in particular, since 2020? (a period of multiple campaigns and massive mobilisations)

Possible answers:

- a) I have reduced my purchases
 - b) I have completely stopped buying from Zara
 - c) I have kept buying from Zara
8. Do you think that the recent scandals have impacted your purchase behaviour? Or is there another reason why you changed your purchase behavior? Yes /No explain
 9. Do you think that you will continue boycotting these brands until they provide proof that they are not complicit with Uighurs' exploitation? A) Yes B) No

Or do you think that your purchase behavior is temporary and as soon as people forget about these scandals, you will continue buying from these brands? Explain.

10. How do you think Instagram campaigns have impacted your decisions? Explain

Research questions 1 to 5 dealt with the global image of the brand before and after the scandal and the platforms through which the scandal about forced labour has been revealed. These questions will help to understand what frequency people bought from Zara and how the scandal impacted Zara's image. Furthermore, it will also help to understand what was the main network which informed about the Uighurs' persecution.

Question 6 is a more general question which will help the transition from the first section to the second part and help to understand people's reaction when their 'favorite' shop was part of the scandal.

The second section of the survey involves the real impact social media's mobilisations have had upon this brand. Thus, Questions 7 to 10 deal with people's decision to stop buying from Zara and the reason they decided to boycott this brand.

Question 1: Are you or have you been a regular customer of clothing brands, related to Inditex, a parent company to Zara? What frequency have you purchased from Zara?

Before discussing the impact of social media on multinationals' profits, it is important to collect data in order to analyse how many of Zara's customers decided to boycott this brand after forced labour allegations. Thus, Question 1 allows the author to understand how many people are existing customers of Zara and what frequency they have purchased from this brand. This question will further help to compare how many people retracted this brand from their favorite shopping store. Most importantly, it will provide a result of 'before' and 'after' the forced labour allegations.

Table 1: Data on regular customers of Zara

Never bought anything from Zara	Regular customer of Zara	Average frequency of purchases
30	100	Once a month

The data collection illustrates that the majority of the respondents, that is 100 participants, have been regular customers of Zara. Most respondents have purchased from Zara at least once a month. Furthermore, a small number of people have claimed that they purchased from Zara every two or three times a month. A small number of people (30 participants) claimed that they never bought from Zara for different reasons such as not having the store in their city, or finding Zara too expensive but also for ecological reasons. Some of them had at least one-time experience with Zara and did not like its clothes. Thus, this report provides the reader with important data, which is the fact that 100 participants of this survey are regular customers of Zara. These figures will help to understand how many of these 100 participants decided to boycott the brand.

Question 2: Have you heard about Uighurs’ “concentration” camps and multinationals’ involvement in forced labour? If so, through which platforms?

Question 2 allows the reader to understand if the respondents have been aware of Uighurs’ persecution in China and about multinationals involvement in Uighurs’ forced labour. The importance of addressing this question is that it allows the reader to know if the respondents are aware of the issue addressed in this survey. This way it will help to understand what cause affected their purchase behaviour and thus provide this research with significant data.

More importantly, this case study will provide information about the social media platform that has played a major part in bringing awareness about Uighurs’ persecution. The importance of addressing the question about the platforms is that social media networks are believed to have played a key part in providing a general understanding of what is going on in China. Thus, it is important to determine which platform has specifically played a key role in circulating the news about Uighurs. Ultimately, it will allow an understanding of the power of this network.

Regarding the results, this case study indicates that Instagram has played a key role in circulating the news, more than any traditional news media. More than 120 respondents have been informed about China’s persecution via Instagram, and some specified that European Deputy Raphael Glucksmann, through his Instagram pages, played a prominent role in discussing this matter.

The findings clearly indicate that Instagram dominates in terms of news circulation compared to other platforms. However, other networks, less popular in this survey, are also cited by some users such as Twitter, the traditional news media, Facebook, Snapchat, TV and Radios. The importance of these networks in sharing information seems to be less considerable than Instagram, but this can be explained as follows: First of all, by the fact that this survey has been shared more on Instagram than on any other platforms; secondly, Instagram is one of the most popular networks among the youth. This being said, it only furthers emphasises the fact that Instagram has been one of the most important platforms in sharing and proving information and news about Uighurs.

Table 2: Different platforms explored in the survey

Platforms	Number of respondents
Instagram	120
Twitter	12
Facebook	2
News Media	5
TV	2
Radio	2
Snapchat	2

Question 3: Has social media changed your vision on brands who are complicit with forced labour? Explain

Regarding the results provided by this research, social media platforms have indeed played a key role in changing the respondents’ vision on brands who use forced labour. Approximately 116 participants have responded that social media has impacted their purchase decision and that their opinions of these brands have changed. Social media’s intensive campaigns keep reminding people that brands are involved in forced labour. Respondents claimed that even

though they love the brand in question, they cannot ignore atrocities committed behind these clothes and the feeling of being “an accomplice” when they wear clothes from this brand, which results in them disliking the brand. Some expressed their disappointment in the brand image which was totally different from the reality. They expressed that these brands claimed that “they are against racism” and were used to promote multiculturalism but actually are complicit in crimes against humanity. One of the respondents claimed that now seeing Zara makes him/her think immediately about Uighurs. Furthermore, 15 respondents expressed that they were already aware of forced labour and do not purchase from fast-fashion brands.

Question 4: How would you describe Zara’s brand image, as you saw it before the scandal?

Question 5: How has Zara’s brand image changed for you since you are aware of these scandals?

The author decided to gather answers from Questions 4 and 5 in order to compare the results before and after the scandal. The table chart below provides the reader with positive and negative answers. Furthermore, most commonly repeated answers were marked off this list and instead were numbered in the identical case.

Table 2: Question 5 & 6

Before the scandal		After the scandal	
+	-	+	-
Good quality brand in terms of Fast Fashion (12)	Bad quality (9)		Already know that fast fashion brands such as Zara are not ethical due to the enormous waste they generate but with this forced labour allegation, disgusted even more by this brand. (2)
Chic and Luxurious (15)			Accomplice of crimes against humanity (1)

Affordable clothes (16)	Expensive (18)	Nothing changed, I still love their clothes and this brand but just disappointed by their actions. (1)	Manipulative (1)
Clean (1)	Extremely wasteful (1)	Nothing changed, I never bought from Zara. (1)	I am disappointed and angry, I am never going again to Zara (15)
Internationally popular brand (12)			Since they refuse ending the Uighurs forced labour, their brand image has been destroyed. (3)
Good image, trustworthy (5)	Bad image because I always knew they had bad working conditions (4)		A brand that only wants to make money (1)
Very fashionable (10)			Unethical (1)
A brand that qualifies as being ethical (4)	Not ethical (6)		Disgusted (19)
Provide beautiful clothes (4)			I think about Uighurs whenever I think about Zara (2)
High quality advertisement (2)			Immoral brand (2)
A brand that respects human rights and the environment (2)	Polluting fast fashion brand, harmful for the environment (8)		Lost its value and its positive image (11)
A big brand with a lot of costumers (2)			Disgusted that these beautiful clothes are actually made in atrocious conditions (1)
	Bad image because of human exploitation (6)		Guilty of crimes (3)
			Hypocrite (2)
			Fake advertisement (1)
			Do not want to be an accomplice (1)
			Now I have a worse image of Zara for sure, because between being not ethic and being involved in forced labor there's a big difference (1)
			Untrustworthy (1)

The table above illustrates how Zara's image changed after the scandal. Comments before the scandal are predominantly positive and described the brand as providing "high quality" and "trendy clothes", and being "trustworthy". Nevertheless, the brand's image before the forced labour allegations was not totally positive; negative comments are also prevalent but less common than positive ones. Some respondents were already aware of the human exploitation by fast fashion brands and the polluting factor that harms the environment made these participants reconsider their purchase decisions.

However, it is noticeable that there is an enormous switch in public opinion about Zara's brand image after the forced labour allegations. Zara's brand image switched from being a trustworthy to a manipulative, criminal, immoral brand. Some also emphasized that Zara has lost its value, which is a crucial factor for a brand's image.

Thus, both Questions 4 & 5 clearly demonstrate how Zara's brand image has deteriorated after the scandal. Even though some participants were already aware of the human exploitation and the existential harm fast fashion brands inflict on the environment, Uighur forced labour allegations have strengthened their position about this brand. Therefore, the positive image illustrated by brand's advertisement and its policy has been challenged after social media's disclosure about forced labour accusations.

Question 6: What was your reaction when you learnt about this scandal and that so many brands are involved in forced labor?

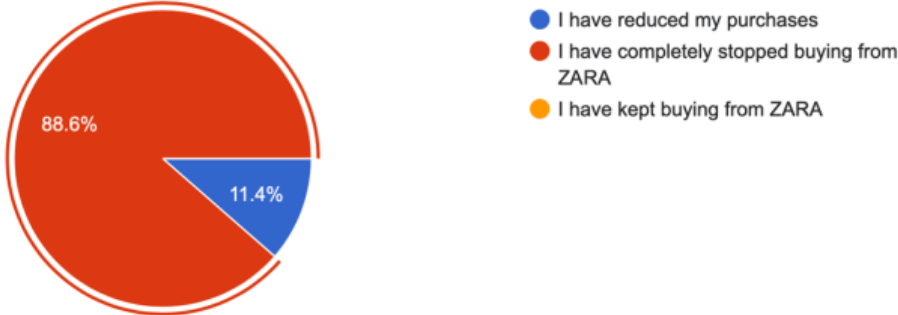
The majority of respondents expressed their disgust and disappointment because they felt betrayed by the companies who promote "inclusiveness" but are actually behind forced labour crimes. They also felt contributing to these crimes because fast fashion clothes are more affordable. Thus, the participants of this survey realised that they have a role to play and that they should rethink the way they consume and turn to ethic alternatives. Some expressed the difficulty to find ethic alternatives to these brands because they are used to buy clothes from them.

Question 7: Have you reduced or stopped buying from Inditex’s brands company, and from Zara in particular, since 2020 (a period of multiple campaigns and massive mobilisations)?

This question collected data from 148 participants,²⁶⁴ 35 participants answered the English version of this survey (Table 3) and 113 the French version (Table 4). Both versions lead to almost the same result. Thus, this research reveals that more 87% participants have completely stopped buying from Zara since the period of massive campaigns, i.e., 88.6% of people from the English version and 87.6% from the French version. However, only 1.8% have kept buying from this brand. Therefore, the majority of participants, that is 134 subjects, have completely stopped buying from Zara.

Table 3: Responses from the English version survey

Have you reduced or stopped buying from Inditex’s brands company, and from Zara in particular, since 2020? (a period of multiple campaigns and massive mobilizations)
35 responses



²⁶⁴ The reason behind the differences in numbers is because some participants skipped questions. Thus, the number of participants varies from one question to another.

Table 4: Responses from the French version survey

Avez-vous réduit ou arrêté vos achats auprès de la société de marques d'Inditex, et de Zara en particulier, depuis 2020? (une période de campagnes et de mobilisations massives)
 113 responses



Question 8: Do you think that the recent scandals have impacted your purchase behavior? Or is there another reason why you changed your purchase behavior? Explain

The purpose of this question was to further understand if the change in purchase behaviour was due to the recent scandals occurring from 2020 onward. Since the initial aim is to demonstrate that social media networks have influenced people’s purchase behavior and have impacted brand’s image and its benefits, it is crucial to collect data on the real factor that pushed people to boycott Zara.

Table 5: Data from the English version²⁶⁵

Do you think that the recent scandals have impacted your purchase behavior? Or is there another reason why you changed your purchase behavior? Explain
 34 responses



²⁶⁵ See Appendices 5.

Table 6: Data from the French version²⁶⁶

Pensez-vous que les récents scandales ont eu un impact sur votre comportement d'achat? Ou y a-t-il une autre raison pour laquelle vous avez réduit votre consommation chez ZARA?

115 responses



This survey reveals that 76.5% from the English version survey (Table 5) and 68.7% from the French version (Table 6) think that recent forced labour allegations have impacted their purchase behavior. However, the remaining part have different reasons for their change in purchase behavior. Different reasons, such as a will to reduce overconsumption, ecological reasons, bad quality of the products, Covid-19 crisis, climate change and a will to consume more sustainably, are put forward. Thus, the overwhelming majority of this research's respondents have indeed been affected by the recent allegations on forced labour and have changed their consumer behaviour.

Question 9: Do you think that you will continue boycotting these brands until they provide proof that they are not complicit with Uighurs' exploitation? Or do you think that your purchase behavior is temporary and as soon as people forget about these scandals, you will continue buying from these brands?

Question 9 collected data in order to know if the current boycott will be steady or will be forgotten as other scandals of forced labour. This question reveals the relatively significant

²⁶⁶ See Appendices 5.

influence that the forced labour allegations have brought on consumers' behaviour. This research illustrates that 97.1% and 98.2%, that is 146 of the 149²⁶⁷ respondents are going to boycott brands involved in forced labour until they provide proof that they no longer exploit human labour. Only 1.8 % of the participants have expressed their will to stop boycotting these brands even though they do not stop forced labour. This minority represents only 3 participants out of 144.

Table 6: Data from the English version

Do you think that you will continue boycotting these brands until they provide proofs that they are not complicit with Uighurs' exploitation?
35 responses

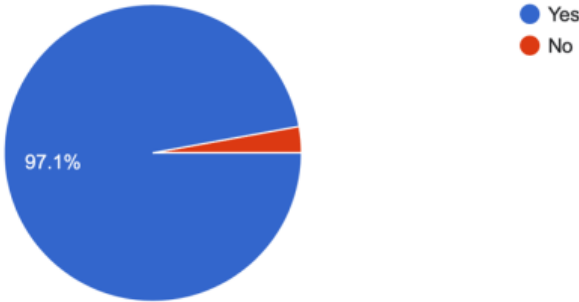
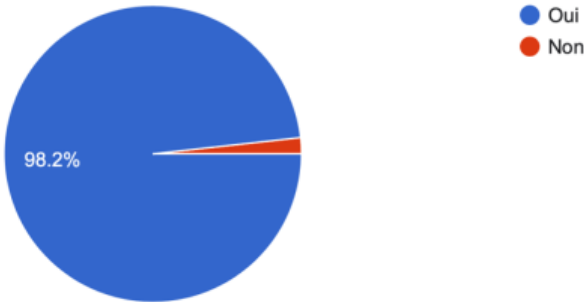


Table 7: Data from the French version

Pensez-vous que vous continuerez à boycotter ces marques jusqu'à ce qu'elles apportent la preuve qu'elles ne sont plus complices de l'exploitation des Ouïghours?
114 responses



²⁶⁷ The reason behind the differences in numbers is because some participants skipped questions. Thus, the number of participants may slightly vary from one question to another.

Or do you think that your purchase behaviour is temporary and as soon as people forget about these scandals, you will continue buying from these brands?

From 150 participants, only 100 answered that question. The majority (90) expressed their will to boycott this brand until they prove otherwise. However, some expressed their will to boycott them forever because this scandal made them realise the importance of ethical products and some insist that ending Uighurs' exploitation does not mean ending other human exploitation occurring in the world. Thus, their will to cease buying from fast fashion brands such as Zara is not temporary because Uighurs' exploitation made them realize that fast fashion business is problematic for several reasons. Furthermore, some of the participants have already found an ethical alternative and developed their own new standards for shopping and consumering.

However, the minority of the respondents, that is approximately 10 participants, expressed the difficulty to boycott Zara and other brands involved in the forced labour allegations, but they expressed their will to diminish their purchases from these brands.

Question 10: How do you think the Instagram campaigns have impacted your decisions?

Participants in this survey expressed that Instagram raised initial awareness and because of its huge audience, campaigns worked. It was the first network to inform on a large scale about the Uighurs while the media news and TV were silent about this topic. Some expressed that without Instagram they would not be aware of these crimes and would still be purchasing clothes from these brands. Thus, it impacted their consumer behaviour. Some also stated that revealing the names of these brands helped to know which brand to avoid. Everyday reminders on Instagram helped them to keep boycotting these brands and seeing that a lot of people are engaged in this battle encouraged them to do the same.

To conclude the report findings, it is evident that social media has raised awareness about Uighurs' persecution in China and their exploitation by international companies. The majority of the participants in the survey claimed that Instagram was the first informant of the Uighur persecution in China. So, it can be confirmed that Instagram has actually been the dominant news reporter for this case.

Ultimately, the report highlights that social media platforms, such as Instagram, have damaged Zara's brand image with their continuous reminders about forced labour. This report also demonstrated that an overwhelming majority of people stopped buying from Zara and have the intention to continue to do so in the future. Since 100 participants have been regular customers of Zara before the forced labour allegations and 86 % of the participants have stopped buying from Zara after the revelation about Zara's involvement in human exploitation, it can thus be concluded that Instagram has indeed affected people's purchase behaviour. Furthermore, some participants have expressed that without Instagram, they would probably have kept on buying products from Zara. Therefore, it can be said that Zara's decrease in profits by 70% in 2020 was not caused exclusively by the pandemic crisis, although this was reported to be by the mass media the prominent reason.

VII. Conclusion

To conclude this research, the author would like to review the important elements approached in this study and highlight the key findings of this work. Since the aim of this research was to demonstrate: the oppression of Uighur people by the Chinese government and the impact of social media campaigns on multinationals, the author divided the work in two parts. The first part provided the context of the Uighurs history while the second part revolved around the anti-sweatshop campaigns and social media mobilisation.

To begin with, the first part of this work deals with a brief history of Uighur people. In order to illustrate the oppression of Uighur people, the author analysed different historical factors that prevent coexistence between the Uighurs and the Hans but also the importance of the Xinjiang region for China's strategic and economical plans such as the BRI. Thus, it can be noted that in order to enforce control of the Xinjiang region, China promotes Hans massive migration to the most favorable parts of the Xinjiang regions, with promises of employment.

Hans massive migration resulted in different problems between these two groups. More importantly, the socio-economic inequality and the lack of interaction between the Han and the Uighur, could explain the confrontation and the increased radicalization of the Uighurs. Furthermore, their distinctive cultural, religious and linguistic differences demarcate the

partition of two groups. Thus, this distinctiveness has created a barrier of interaction between these groups and reduced the contact between them which leads to discrimination from both sides, ethnic tensions and the rise of religious extremism.

These ethnic tensions between the groups resulted in China taking significant measures against the Uighur population by declaring the GWOT with an attempt to eradicate terrorism by imposing counterterrorism policies. However, the GWOT declared by China was not evidence-based. The two terrorist movements, ETIM and TIP, used by China in order to assert that it is fighting terrorism, were actually too weak to be recognized as such. Thus, it can be said that China used this narrative to frame the Uighur community as terrorists and impose its political agenda on the Xinjiang region, in order to gain full control of the region.

It can also be pointed out that Xinjiang is a prominent region to China's BRI agenda but is also a focal point for their resources that helps China to be one of the largest economies in the world. Therefore, China's colonial approach to the Xinjiang region allows it to reinforce control and stability over Xinjiang, especially during the period of its transition. Thus, the key finding of this part is that China promotes Hans migration to the Xinjiang region in order to control it because of its important resources and its strategic location.

The second part of this work focused on the exploitative forms of labour and the importance of social media networks' campaigns to denounce human exploitation and multinationals involvement in this crime. In order to address this issue, definitions of different forms of human exploitation (forced labour, indentured labour and slave labour) were put forward. These definitions allowed the readers to understand that the existing evidence points out that China is involved in forced labour and that the Chinese Government's violation of human rights is actively demonstrated by the Forced Labour Convention. Thus, the result provided by this definition is that the Uighurs labour can be defined as a forced labour.

The author then analysed different anti-sweatshop campaigns that occurred in South Asia, in order to illustrate that anti-sweatshop campaigns can be effective when they ally with transnational activists and involve an international audience through ICTs. These cases of anti-sweatshop campaigns allowed an understanding why an international audience is a key factor for the effectiveness of these campaigns.

Different campaigns on social media against multinationals have been also explored. These online mobilisations proved that social media networks played a major part in relaying this information globally. Since these allegations of Uighurs' exploitation have been massively shared, a lot of people have started to stand up for the Uighurs' cause and boycott international brands. The outcome that should be measured from these campaigns is that citizens' massive mobilisations contribute to spreading information globally and to the effectiveness of these campaigns. Thus, the key finding of this study is that these campaigns on social media have brought awareness to many people and reached numerous influential figures. More importantly, international mobilisation seems to be of the utmost importance in order to draw attention of multinationals and pressure them into decision making processes.

Subsequently, it is obvious that a lot of brands have seen their brand image deteriorated by massive resonance online. Therefore, as a result of social networks, the Uighur issue became not only important for mainstream news but also an important topic for the political agenda. Besides, it has impacted the European and International leaders' agenda and affected their political decision-making by suspending important agreements.

In order to analyse the aftermath these campaigns had on a specific brand, i.e., Zara, the author decided to conduct a survey. This survey allowed the presentation of real-time data to weigh the impact of these campaigns. The majority of the participants declared that Instagram was the first informant of the Uighur persecution in China. Thus, it can be confirmed that Instagram has actually been the dominant platform in reporting the news about the Uighur case. The survey highlighted that social media platforms, such as Instagram, have damaged Zara's brand image because of its involvement in human rights exploitation. This survey also demonstrated that from 100 participants who have been regular customers of Zara before the forced labour allegations, 86 % of them have stopped buying from Zara after the revelation about its involvement in human exploitation. These numbers allow the conclusion that Zara's decrease in profits by 70% in 2020 was in part due to the extensive mobilisation on Instagram.

As a consequence, China's way of eradicating terrorism manifested by detaining the Uighur minority in 're-education' camps can be seen as a way of capitalising wealth by exploiting human labour and thus involving multinational brands in these exploitations. Furthermore, social media networks have played an important role in revealing the Uighurs persecution and exploitation in China. Similarly, social media's mobilisation pressured some multinationals into

providing a response to these allegations or taking considerable decisions to prove their non-involvement in forced labour. However, the long-standing effects of these campaigns on people's mobilisation cannot be demonstrated, since these mobilisations are still ongoing. Nonetheless, it is evident that transnational mobilisation allowed these campaigns to be effective.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 : Chapter 4

Call to action Campaign

E-mail to INDITEX:

Dear Javier Losada Montero,

I am writing as a supporter of CSW, a human rights organisation specialising in Freedom of Religion or Belief. We would like Inditex to demonstrate its 'zero-tolerance approach to forced labour' by committing to the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labour's Call to Action.

Since around 2017, between one and three million Uyghurs, Kazakhs and members of other predominantly Muslim ethnic groups have been placed in 're-education camps' in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. They are incarcerated for 'crimes' such as 'unusual beards', possessing a religious book, or meeting with others to pray. Many of those released are sent to clothing factories that supply Chinese and Western brands.

The entire clothing industry is potentially tainted by forced Uyghur labour, and credible reports have implicated dozens of companies – including Inditex. The onus is on each corporation, including Inditex, to make a clear statement and ensure that it is not part of the problem.

I am aware that Inditex has conducted an internal investigation which claims to 'confir[m] that Inditex does not have commercial relations with any factory in Xinjiang'. If this is the case, I can see no reason why Inditex would not then sign the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labour's 'Brand Commitment to Exit the Uyghur Region'

(<https://clicktime.symantec.com/3SXEfXJHW11taiukNXk9zKN6H2?u=https%3A%2F%2Fenduyghurforcedlabour.org%2Fcall-to-action>). As a company that does not tolerate forced labour, I urge you to do so and thereby commit to:

- Stop sourcing cotton, yarn, textiles and finished products from the Uyghur Region,

directing all factories that supply you with textiles and finished goods not to use cotton or yarn from the Uyghur Region.

- Cut ties with companies implicated in forced labour – those that have operations in the Uyghur Region and have accepted government subsidies and/or government-supplied labour at these operations.
- Prohibit any supplier factories located outside of the Uyghur Region from using Uyghurs or Turkic or Muslim workers supplied through the Chinese government's forced labour transfer scheme.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Madina Angutayeva,

Appendix 2 :Chapter 4

Answer of the Inditex Sustainability Department:

Thank you for getting in touch.

Firstly, we want to emphasise that at Inditex we take reports of improper social and labour practices in any part of the garment and textile supply chain extremely seriously. Please be assured that we remain extremely vigilant with regards to this issue.

As you are aware, Inditex has conducted thorough due diligence in this regard and we can confirm that Inditex does not have commercial relations with any factory in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) or with the factories that the ASPI March 2020 report alleged to be in Zara's supply chain.

We continue to uphold our commitment to a zero-tolerance approach towards forced labour of any kind and we have stringent policies and actions in place to ensure that it does not take place anywhere in our supply chain. We believe that working with suppliers to consistently improve delivers the best outcome for workers, but we have zero-tolerance towards suppliers that do not make changes when necessary.

Key to this process is our Human Rights Strategy, which has been developed within the framework of the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, approved in 2011 by the United Nations Human Rights Council. This Strategy comprises three elements: Policy on Human Rights, Due Diligence and Grievance Mechanisms.

Our Policy on Human Rights outlines our commitment to respect Human Rights and lists the values and principles guiding our activities. Rejection of forced labour is one of the rights singled out in this Policy. The enforcement of the Policy involves implementing and executing due diligence processes which allow Inditex to assess and, where appropriate, regularly identify current and/or potential impacts in the field of Human Rights.

Consequently, and as a second pillar of its Human Rights Strategy, Inditex performs preliminary and ongoing human rights due diligence processes in order to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for human rights in any part of our value chain. Human rights due diligence at Inditex entails identifying and prioritising potential impacts on Human Rights and integrating the findings into the Group's various management processes.

We have partnered with Shift, the leading centre of expertise on the UN Guiding Principles of Business and Human Rights, chaired by John Ruggie, author of the Principles, to conduct this impact assessment. We draw on the experience of key stakeholders such as the International Labour Organization as well the experience of local teams as part of this process. In addition, by understanding the perspective of potentially affected stakeholder groups or their representatives helps improve the quality of analysis that we are conducting.

Our due diligence work is complemented and enriched by our supply chain traceability and monitoring programme to ensure compliance with our Code of Conduct, which explicitly prohibits slavery, forced labour and human trafficking and is complemented by applicable

laws and standards. Our stringent traceability methodology requires suppliers to disclose each factory that they intend to use for each stage of production in order that we can ensure all processes and facilities comply with our high ethical standards in the making of our products.

Please be assured that we remain committed to a zero-tolerance approach towards forced labour of any kind and we thank you again for getting in touch.

Kind regards,

Inditex Sustainability Department

Appendix 3 : Chapter 4

E-mail to Inditex Sustainability Department :

Dear Inditex Sustainability Department,

Thank you for taking the time to respond to my email in such detail. I'm pleased to hear that Inditex takes reports of improper social and labour practices in any part of the garment and textile supply chain extremely seriously.

The fact that Inditex has a supply chain traceability and monitoring programme makes recent reports of its commercial ties to Chinese manufacturers that are complicit in Uyghur forced labour even more concerning. For example, the Worker Rights Consortium has shared concerning reports of Inditex sourcing materials from Huaifu Melange Yarn Co. Ltd., a subsidiary of Huaifu Fashion Co. Ltd., and Luthai Textile Co. Ltd., which are believed to be implicated in the forced labour of Uyghurs, Kazakhs, and other predominantly Muslim ethnic groups.

In my original email I encouraged Inditex to sign the Coalition to End Uyghur Forced Labour's 'Brand Commitment to Exit the Uyghur Region', and yet there was no mention of this in your reply.

If Inditex is not complicit in Uyghur forced labour, then why has it not yet signed the commitment? This would demonstrate beyond question your 'zero-tolerance approach towards forced labour' through action rather than words.

I look forward to receiving your response.

Yours sincerely,

Madina Angutayeva

Appendix 4 : Chapter 4

Answer of Inditex Sustainability Department :

Thanks for contacting us and let us know your concerns. First of all, let us stress again that at Inditex we take a zero-tolerance approach towards forced labour in our supply chain.

On the first request you refer, about WRC's reports, we can confirm that Inditex have no relation with the referred facilities.

Regarding your second request, we have had direct conversations with different members of the Coalition explaining the actions taken by the company and the different lines of work we are developing with tripartite organizations, partnering with the most respected organizations in the defense of Human and Labour Rights.

At Inditex we are committed to the highest international labour standards and we work with expert stakeholders at both local and international levels to uphold and safeguard labour rights throughout our supply chain.

Kind Regards,

Inditex Sustainability Department

Appendices 5: Chapter 6

Answers from the Survey:

The English version

The impact of social media's mobilization against multinationals

Timestamp	Are you or have you been a regular customer of clothing brands, related to Inditex, a parent company to Zara? On what frequency have you purchased from Zara?
2021/04/04 12:26:19 pm EET	Every month
2021/04/04 1:17:21 pm EET	Yes, I am a regular customer. Once a year.
2021/04/04 5:29:13 pm EET	yes, 4-5 times/year
2021/04/04 9:24:22 pm EET	I stopped since december 2020.
2021/04/04 9:32:35 pm EET	No, their quality is the worst. I am only wearing secondhand clothing.
2021/04/04 10:21:44 pm EET	Yes i'm a customer. Frequency: a few times per year.
2021/04/04 11:17:38 pm EET	I used to purchase from Zara a few years ago
2021/04/04 11:51:28 pm EET	5 months ago
2021/04/05 12:16:50 am EET	I used to buy clothes from inditex once a month
2021/04/05 1:06:03 am EET	I've only ever bought things once as it's quite expensive in my opinion
2021/04/05 1:23:50 am EET	I was a very frequent buyer. I used to buy something from Zara every week.
2021/04/05 8:05:00 am EET	No
2021/04/05 12:00:59 pm EET	Zara 1-2 a year. Very rarely
2021/04/05 12:04:17 pm EET	1-2/year
2021/04/05 12:54:24 pm EET	I have been a really regular customer. Everytime I used to buy clothes it was in these kind of brands (Zara, Nike, Uniqlo, H&m)
2021/04/05 2:55:28 pm EET	None/I don't know, 0, I have never been to a Zara store.
2021/04/05 4:05:33 pm EET	2-3 a year
2021/04/05 5:04:54 pm EET	Yes every month!
2021/04/05 5:32:03 pm EET	Not a regular customer. I have never purchased from zara specifically .
2021/04/05 10:22:32 pm EET	Yes, I used to visit the store regularly and would buy about 2-4 pieces a year from Zara.
2021/04/06 12:48:50 am EET	Yes, 2-4 times per year from Zara
2021/04/06 12:49:37 am EET	I used to shop from them pretty frequently
2021/04/06 3:53:07 am EET	Yes
2021/04/06 4:38:25 am EET	Yes, once a year
2021/04/08 1:22:14 pm EET	Yes but not a lot

2021/04/08 2:54:27 pm EET	I do not buy clothes regularly, but when I do, Zara used to be a brand I would go to
2021/04/09 3:06:41 am EET	1/month
2021/04/09 10:18:38 am EET	No
2021/04/09 2:50:09 pm EET	I used to buy from Zara every month
2021/04/09 3:15:42 pm EET	I wasn't a regular customer of Zara, I have maybe 2 items from this brand in my wardrobe.
2021/04/13 12:45:51 pm EET	I have bought a cloth one time
2021/04/16 1:19:04 pm EET	Yes
2021/04/16 1:21:45 pm EET	Yes
2021/04/16 1:22:13 pm EET	Yes
2021/04/16 1:22:45 pm EET	Yes

Have you heard about Uighurs' concentration camps and multinationals' involvement in forced labour? If so, through which platforms?
Yes, mainly on Instagram and YouTube
Yes, through social media
yes, through instagram
Yes, from Instagram
Yes I heard of them.
Yes. Through social medias especially instagram.
Yes, Instagram and Twitter
Through YouTube and Instagram
Yes, youtube, Instagram, twitter...
Yes I have through ig and youtube
Through Instagram
Yes.From instagram
Yes, through socialmedia (madina, instagram and youtube)
Yes. News, Social Media (Instagram, Youtube).
Yes ! I've heard of it through instagram mostly. And now i'm writing a study on it so I have different sources.
I have, everywhere. YouTube, The news, TV, Instagram , school, etc.
I am Uyghur
Yes through Raphael Gucksmann's IG
Yes, through a friend who is Uighurs and through a foundation, Darman
Yes, I first heard about it through Instagram.
Yes, mostly through Instagram, also Twitter and slowly also TV news (Turkish, German, English)
Yes, on Instagram
Yes, Instagram
Yes, I'm uyghur too
Yes, through Instagram and Twitter
I have, on multiple platforms, Instagram, Twitter and other official news sites
Yes
Yes, Instagram (Raphaël Glucksmann)
Yes, on Instagram
I've heard about camps on Facebook and for forced labor I've heard on Instagram.
Yes, thanks to my brother who has chinese friends
Instagram
Instagram
Yes Instagram
Instagram twitter

Has social media changed your vision on brands who are complicit with forced labour? Explain
Yes. I don't like being part of such atrocities. I don't appreciate influencers going on buying and showing Inditex products like nothing is happening. Even though I really appreciate Zara's style.
Yes, I am more aware of what happens there.
yes, social media proved that these brands try to have a good image by claiming that they are against racism (ex: nike's posts on instagram about "black lives matter"/racism against African American people) but at the same
Yes it definitely did. Especially thanks to Raphael Glucksmann
Yes there is many brands that would never suspect of doing something bad like that.
Yes. It gives a bad image of the brand and makes you want to buy less from them.
Yes, I'm trying to avoid using and wearing the clothes of the companies involved with the slave labor.
Yes, because before I didn't even know uighurs exist.
Yes, it made me more conscious
Yes it has as I've learnt how complicit major companies are
They really did! It has created more awareness.
Yes.
Yes. I don't feel like purchasing anything from them. I always check the tags for where they were manufactured.
Yes. The awareness changed my personal purchase behaviour.
Yes.. I stopped buying products from all of these brands because I don't want to pay for a genocide.. it's a contribution that we, as customers, are making in favor of these atrocities.
No because clothing brans (In my view) have never been very cool to begin with
Yes, social media keeps reminding me how brands are complicit of slave labor
Yes! I don't shop at Inditex anymore!
Yes. I was given more insight of what was really going on as I only had a rough idea
Yes, through social media I have become more aware of the use of forced labour in the fast fashion industry and have been trying to reduce my patronage of these brands (ex; H&M, Zara, Nike, etc)
Yes. I learned through social media (accounts dedicated to social issues and raising awareness about human rights abuses etc) how much the capitalist fashion industry is complicit in human rights abuses as well as its toll o
Yes. I stopped buying from them and I am pushing my friends and family to boycott them too. I comment on their posts #stopslavelabor
Yes
Yes, I learned many clothing companies sell clothes made in slave labour market in China.
A lot. I used not to know the condition in which clothes are made.
Social media has made me realize how I was part of the enabling of the slave labor, and especially how many brands profite off it. Knowing which brand use slave labor make me completely avoid them / their partners
Yes i boycott
Yes, I follow activists who explain in a simple and concise way about this topic (among others) so I can take 10-20 minutes a day to learn more
Yes, I don't want to give my money to people who enslaves other people
I knew that brands such zara were not ethic before seeing on social media about forced labor.
Yes! We can see how they are treated (photography, video,...) and it is hard to be insensitive
Yes
Yes totally

How would you describe ZARA's brand image, as you saw it before the scandal?

For me, Zara is the fashion brand that looks like a group of high fashion brand with lower prices. Wearing Zara, is likely to be trendy.

Modern and original

a good, affordable and well-known brand, producing nice and stylish clothes

A very cool, up to date brand

Bad quality big prices and copy cat of high fashion.

Good image, trustworthy, didn't see any special bad side to Zara.

I thought it was cool and stylish before I saw these scandals. However even before this I thought it was a fishy brand.

It was not that good, because people knew, that ZARA doesn't pay much for the workers at the factory

Ordinary, more like substandard

I always saw it as something for slightly more upper class/richer people.

Fast-fashion, I didn't really think about the brand image.

I hated it, their clothes quality have never kept up with their prices.

Mainstream, no particular opinion. Setting trends and supplying the youth.

It's fast fashion so it's clear that in one way or another it's going to be unethical. But honestly it has some good outfits.

I only ever thought about Zara after the scandal :/

Stylish

High Fashion, Classy,

Zara is worldwide famous brand, though I have never purchased anything from there, it is very famous in the middle east

I perceived as very fashion forward but also extremely wasteful as it is the biggest fast fashion retailer in the world

I did not know much about their (alleged) efforts for human and labour rights, probably also because I myself was not that familiar with the 'dark' sides of the fashion industry and brands' efforts to keep a positive image etc. I

Fine. Not the best. Fast fashion and rude employees. And now added to all that the genocide complicity...

No human rights abuses

Zara has been a popular clothing brand among the middle class.

It was kinda famous and people talked abt it on tiktok for example

Sometimes expensive, a few interesting items, the quality didn't usually make the price worth it

A good image

Classy and cheap

It was kinda ok?

As a not ethic brand.

I always knew (since I was a child) that fast fashion was a big problem for the environment so I always saw Zara really bad but social issue made me stop to even go in the shop (even if I've never bought anything)

Very positive

Positive image I loved zara before these scandals

How has ZARA's brand image changed for you since you are aware of these scandals?

Now, wearing Zara makes me feel shameful. Even though I know that most brands of fast fashion are not companies that take care of human condition of their workers around the world.

I am disappointed

shameful, scandalous, complicit with forced labour of Uighurs

Clowns being part of a big crime and still not stopping supporting them.

No, but now I know that the founders not only rob the Poor people but also kill them.

Untrustworthy. Manipulative. Fake advertisement.

I'm not very surprised but I still condemn for their involvement.

I don't like ZARA anymore, I think, they're criminal

It seems cruel, brutal and reckless. Zero quality, one hundred percent of inhumanity.

I feel it's very much like the ugliness inside the beautiful. Feels like someone's dirty little secret

It has changed a lot, especially because I know that they are aware of what they're doing.

I hate it even more. Never go there whatsoever.

Complicit.

To me Zara is just as responsible of what happens to Uyghurs than the people who torture them in camps

It went from "ah yes, cheap clothing" to "EWWW, CHEAP CLOTHING"

Complicit of the Uyghur genocide

Exploitation, Money before Humans

I really dont have respect for such brands anymore.

My perception has since become even more negative towards it. While I have always felt uneasy about buying from there due to the enormous waste they generate, after this scandal I completely avoid buying from Zara

It has definitely become negative. Personally, this is not onyl limited to Zara but I have learned a lot about the fashion industry and human/labour rights abuses through the scandal concerning Uighurs.

It became worse in my eyes. I don't buy from there anymore

I no longer shop there

I decided to not shop from this brand because it is a contribution of uyghur slave labour market in China.

I never do shopping on their website or shops anymore

I completely avoid the bran

I Nevers come back in a Zara store

I see them as slavers, behind our times, monstres only here for money

I'm disgusted by them

Now I have a worse image of zara for sure, because between being not ethic and being involved in forced labor there's a big difference.

I hate it

What was your reaction when you learnt about this scandal and that so many brands are involved in forced labor?

At first I felt a bit resigned.
I was shocked
i was outraged to hear that this kind of exploitation still exists in 2021
I was so shocked. My vision of the world changed drastically. It's sad, but I have hope.
I tried to inform everyone around me so more people is aware.
Really disgusted about how multinationals don't care about human rights, only about their money.
I've decided I will boycott them from now on and encourage my family to do the same.
I wasn't really surprised that this is happening, but I was surprised that so many brands are involved
I could never think that people could be that much reckless and cruel. I was totally shocked.
I was actually really taken a back and felt betrayed in a way as it included brands that I like and regularly use/buy.
I stopped buying at Zara, even though it has always been my favorite store.
It makes one feel so bad for others, and feel guilty for purchasing from them. Although for some brands Like iphones I still do.
Surprising and unsurprising at the same time. Producing at a low cost (Zara, H&M) has its implications. However, I was not aware of the extent.
I wasn't even surprised because we all know that the only preoccupation of these brands is money. But I felt ashamed that no law, no government, almost no one, had a power to stop them.
Disappointed, but not surprised.
I began to make more and more research to know where I should purchase or not purchase
I was angry against myself for giving them money!
Its honesty disgusting. The brand portrays one thing but does the exact opposite.
I was just very disappointed, though I wasn't surprised. I had already been trying to reduce the amount of clothes I buy before the scandal broke out and this further motivated me to do so.
I was quite shocked, I thought that the Chinese government is responsible for the atrocities (and of course the world that stays silent), yet I did not know that forced labour directly tied to famous brands was a thing too
I was shocked and I realized my power as a consumer to vote with my dollars
I have boycotted all products from China completely
I felt so disappointed and hated chinese government for percecution of my people.
I was really shocked
Truthfully I wasn't Very surprised, but I didn't know the extent of the scandal. I am disappointed at the lack of humanity and restrictions/laws
I was shocked
I was shocked and surprised by some brands
I stopped supporting them by boycotting them
Disgusted. I'm kind of trying to not buy "made in China" although this is not so easy.
I can't understand how humans can do this to others human.. And i even less understand how people can still buy clothes from these brand when they know this... It is hypocrisy
I am disgusted
I felt being accomplice

Do you think that the recent scandals have impacted your purchase behaviour? Or is there another reason why you changed your purchase behaviour? Explain

Yes
Yes
Yes
No
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
Simply being more aware of all the hard labor conditions
Yes
Yes
In never really bought from Zara in the the first place, so..
Yes
Of course the Genocide is the main reason but it also for climate change since fast fashion is so polluting!
Yes
Yes
Yes, but also I am trying to change my consumer behaviour in general because I do not want to support huge brands as they are all inevitably part of an unjust global system.
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes
The scandal, the environmental impact of fast fashion and overall the materialistic aspect of it made me pretty much stop buying first hand clothes
Yes
I changed my behavior because of that and also to have consume more sustainably
Yes
Yes
Yes, it makes me more comfortable about my though
Yes
Yes
Yes
Yes

Or do you think that your purchase behaviour is temporary and as soon as people forget about these scandals, you will continue buying from these brands?

I don't guarantee I will never buy Zara clothes anymore. However I am doing my best to change the way I spend my money.
No
I will not buy from these brands until they prove that they are no longer complicit in Uyghur exploitation
No, i totally stopped buying fast fashion. So if they stop, good for them but I will never return supporting them.
I don't think i'll be able to completely stop purchasing from Zara but i'll definitely try to buy less.
I don't think it's about either people forget or not but more about will i forget about it as time passes by.
No I will continue to stop purchasing from these brands.
No, I want to keep that behavior. Engagement for human rights isn't temporary
No.
To be honest- I'm not sure. But I'll try to limit it as much as possible until it's resolved and addressed
I would hope not
Maybe
No. I will try my best not to.
No
I don't think so
I never really bought from these brands In the first place (except on accident) and now I probably never will.
I don't think it's temporary!
No
I think it wouldn't be as hard for me to refrain from buying from such brands
I hope it is not temporary. I will continue to try my best to reduce and stop buying from these brands.
As of now I am trying to keep it up.
No. I will not stop boycotting these brands. I developed a new standard for shopping and consumerism and I already found local ethical alternatives.
No
no, I won't support this type of company
I don't think I will buy from these brands as it's cheaper to butcher second hand and has a better impact on the environment
No never
Whatever happens I will never buy from these brands again, et or as less as possible
No, I'm waiting for a change in their behaviors
It isn't about the fame around the problem but more making efforts on trying to change habits and finding alternatives.
There is one scandal, but much more than one problem.. So no, won't buy from them

How do you think the Instagram campaigns have impacted your decisions?

Everyday on Instagram I see that million of people take this subject very seriously. I believe that with a large group like this, something can change.

Significantly. I publish more about this scandal

Instagram campaigns have impacted my decisions because I saw that a lot of people are concerned by the exploitation of Uighurs, I am convinced that people on social media can put pressure on these brands so they will h

Very powerful.

I was really happy to see all of those campagnes, the feeling that there is people who care made me angrier against those brands so I think I did my fighting for ouïgours too on the internet, thanks to those campagnes. They

It opened my eyes about things i didn't even know about and thanks to that i try as much as i can to boycott these brands and to share the informations i know with other people.

They've thoroughly informed about me about the scandals that are occuring with a lot of fashion brands today.

They impacted me a lot, because I got more informations and explained a lot to me

Yes

Yes as they have made me much more well informed

They have created more awareness and they provide evidence of the allegations.

Yes

A lot. It shouldn't stop because if it does people will forget about all this. It should go on until they make a change.

IG raised initial awareness and this has led to researching the topic.

It brings awareness and more people are now interested in it and want to make things change

It has. To an extent.

I don't understand the question!

Concerning purchasing, immensely

Through Instagram, information about the scandal was widely available and presented in an easy to follow manner, which helped make it more accessible to more people.

They were definitely successful in raising my awareness for the issue and have impacted my consumer behaviour because knowing that other ppl participate in boycotts etc too makes me keep up this behaviour. Otherwise I

Definitely.

Majorly

It is so beneficial for saving uyghurs from slave labour market. So I will join the campaigns and make more people be aware of the current situation of uyghurs .

Truly

I think it's really helped. You still need to do your own research and have your own opinion, but having these "reminders" is very beneficial

Instagram reinforced my convictions

Yes

I'm really active on Instagram so it was really impactful

Since 2015 I was aware of China's dictatorship and how the situation in East Turkestan is getting worse so I was already thinking that buying "made in China" wasn't a good idea. Now, with proofs and campaigns on IG, it's m

Not a lot, but I think it helps to think that we can have an impact even if our actions are little (raise awareness around us, stop buying or at least less)

It has opened our eyes to these atrocities and allowed us to take measures

I realized that social media s mobilization can really have a positive outcome

The French Version

L'impact de la mobilisation des reseaux sociaux contre les multinationales

Timestamp	Êtes-vous ou avez-vous été un client régulier de marques de vêtements liées à Inditex, maison-mère de Zara? À quelle fréquence avez-vous fais vos achats chez Zara?
2021/04/04 2:12:11 pm EET	Oui, très souvent , c'était un de mes magasins préféré
2021/04/04 4:34:21 pm EET	J'ai presque jamais acheté chez eux
2021/04/04 4:38:04 pm EET	Pas vraiment je m'y rendais très rarement
2021/04/04 4:39:56 pm EET	J'ai été une cliente régulière et j'y allais à chaque période de soldes.
2021/04/04 4:42:01 pm EET	Non
2021/04/04 4:45:29 pm EET	1 fois par mois
2021/04/04 4:52:28 pm EET	Oui, environ 1-2 fois par mois
2021/04/04 4:56:45 pm EET	non pas spécialement
2021/04/04 4:56:55 pm EET	1 fois aux 3 mois environ
2021/04/04 5:13:42 pm EET	Oui, je magasinais à chaque moi chez Zara.
2021/04/04 5:24:44 pm EET	J'ai beaucoup acheté chez Zara, j'essaye de réduire le plus possible même si cela reste compliqué pour cette marque la
2021/04/04 5:27:14 pm EET	1-2 fois / mois
2021/04/04 5:31:50 pm EET	J'ai été une cliente de inditex. Une fois par mois
2021/04/04 5:33:28 pm EET	Jamais acheter la bas trop cher
2021/04/04 5:35:54 pm EET	Non
2021/04/04 5:39:22 pm EET	Je n'y vais que très peu
2021/04/04 5:40:20 pm EET	J'ai été cliente jusqu'à l'été dernier quand j'ai appris pour la cause du peuple Ouïgours
2021/04/04 5:42:19 pm EET	Oui, j'ai réduis massivement depuis la situation des ouighours
2021/04/04 5:55:00 pm EET	Jamais
2021/04/04 6:03:15 pm EET	Oui. Quelques fois dans l'année.
2021/04/04 6:07:55 pm EET	J'ai été et depuis noel je fais tout pour ne plus du tout acheter chez eux ! Avant c'était assez régulièrement presque tout les mois !
2021/04/04 6:17:11 pm EET	Jamais depuis plus d'un an.
2021/04/04 6:23:02 pm EET	Jamais acheté chez Zara mais mango h&m nike oui
2021/04/04 6:25:28 pm EET	oui, 2-3 fois par année
2021/04/04 6:35:45 pm EET	je ne suis pas un acheteur compulsive de marques de vêtements liées au groupe Inditex mais il met arriver d'acheter quelques articles. Je dirais une fois chaque année et encore je ne pense pas que se soit vrai car je n'ai qu
2021/04/04 6:43:09 pm EET	Normalement non mais cette année j'ai acheté 3 articles
2021/04/04 6:45:29 pm EET	1 fois par mois
2021/04/04 7:06:24 pm EET	Tous les 2 mois
2021/04/04 8:01:42 pm EET	Depuis le scandale j'ai acheté un article chez Zara
2021/04/04	Non

8:06:26 pm EET	
2021/04/04 8:06:36 pm EET	Non
2021/04/04 8:23:11 pm EET	Oui, j'étais un client relativement régulier. Une fois tous les 3 mois.
2021/04/04 9:49:10 pm EET	Oui
2021/04/04 11:15:15 pm EET	
2021/04/04 11:57:16 pm EET	Je n'achetai que chez eux, 100€/mois
2021/04/05 12:17:54 am EET	1 fois par semaine
2021/04/05 5:56:40 am EET	Non
2021/04/05 7:22:42 am EET	Non
2021/04/05 11:56:08 am EET	J'ai été avant mais plus maintenant. Fréquence 1 fois pour 2 ou 3 mois
2021/04/05 1:17:40 pm EET	Oui, assez fréquemment
2021/04/05 3:52:17 pm EET	Je n'étais pas un client régulier de Zara, mais je n'achèterai plus de Zara "made in China"
2021/04/05 5:41:05 pm EET	Je n'ai pas été cliente régulière chez ces marques mais il m'est déjà arrivé d'acheter une fois chez Zara sans savoir bien évidemment qu'il exploitait des travailleurs forcés
2021/04/08 10:06:40 am EET	J'allais avant souvent à Zara, peut être une fois tous les 3 mois
2021/04/08 12:11:25 pm EET	Oui, une fois par mois
2021/04/08 12:20:46 pm EET	De temps en temps chez Zara mais ça c'était avant
2021/04/08 1:03:46 pm EET	J'ai été une cliente de Zara pendant un long moment. Aujourd'hui ce n'est plus du tout le cas sauf à deux exceptions près depuis maintenant un peu plus d'un an
2021/04/08 1:04:49 pm EET	Jamais
2021/04/08 1:26:51 pm EET	Je n'ai jamais acheté de produits chez Zara
2021/04/08 1:37:47 pm EET	Je n'ai jamais été cliente régulière. Jusqu'à 1 fois par an grand maximum.
2021/04/08 1:55:47 pm EET	Très rarement
2021/04/08 2:36:28 pm EET	
2021/04/08 2:39:43 pm EET	Je suis pas une meuf j'achète mes vêtements 2x par ans
2021/04/08 2:44:50 pm EET	Oui, tous les 2-3 mois
2021/04/08 3:09:16 pm EET	Une fois par mois
2021/04/08 5:20:04 pm EET	Jamais
2021/04/08 6:03:44 pm EET	Il y a 2ans j'aurais dit 1 fois tous les 6 mois
2021/04/08 10:54:38 pm EET	Non, je n'ai quasiment rien acheté chez Zara
2021/04/08 11:23:06 pm EET	Je n'étais pas un client régulier de Zara. Mais depuis le scandale Ouïghours, je n'achète plus aucun textile venant de Zara et autres marques concernés.
2021/04/09 9:21:58 am EET	Non
2021/04/09 9:45:38 am EET	Rarement
2021/04/09 9:54:51 am EET	J'en achetais 2x par an avant
2021/04/09 10:23:56 am EET	Non et 1 fois par an
2021/04/10 7:25:37 pm EET	J'achète presque jamais chez Zara
2021/04/11	Je ne fait jamais mon shopping chez Zara

3:52:51 pm EET	
2021/04/11 8:53:49 pm EET	Non, presque jamais.
2021/04/11 9:24:21 pm EET	Jamais, et je n'ai jamais acheté chez Zara
2021/04/11 9:49:39 pm EET	Non je n'achète plus aucun produit de cette marque.
2021/04/11 10:21:10 pm EET	non, pas du tout
2021/04/12 10:26:38 am EET	Oui plusieurs fois par semaines
2021/04/12 1:06:25 pm EET	Oui avant mais je boycott à présent
2021/04/13 11:13:25 am EET	Je l'étais, et achetais un vêtement environ tous les trois mois.

2021/04/13 11:27:53 am EET	Oui mais avant
2021/04/13 8:21:58 pm EET	Non
2021/04/16 2:58:04 pm EET	Oui, je m'habillais que chez Zara
2021/04/16 3:06:39 pm EET	oui, au moins une fois par an
2021/04/16 3:12:33 pm EET	Pas souvent (soldes uniquement et que lorsque j'étais en métropole, il n'y a pas de Zara chez moi)
2021/04/16 3:26:01 pm EET	1 mois
2021/04/16 3:29:13 pm EET	1 mois
2021/04/16 5:55:01 pm EET	Oui 3 -4 commandes par mois
2021/04/16 6:38:58 pm EET	Non
2021/04/16 8:52:06 pm EET	Non, je n'ai jamais acheté quoi que ce soit chez eux car pour commencer c'est super chère et avec ce qui se passe maintenant avec les Ouïghours c'est clairs que je n'achèterais jamais rien la bas
2021/04/16 10:40:32 pm EET	Jamais
2021/04/17 12:57:56 am EET	Jamais, c'était occasionnel, et encore...
2021/04/17 9:39:32 am EET	Je n'ai pas acheté de produits liés à inditex depuis 3 ans au moins
2021/04/17 4:03:11 pm EET	Jamais, c'était occasionnel, et encore...
2021/04/17 6:11:00 pm EET	Je suis allée très rarement à Zara.
2021/04/17 6:54:46 pm EET	J'ai été, en achetant régulièrement tous les 6 mois
2021/04/17 8:17:24 pm EET	1 fois par an
2021/04/17 8:46:05 pm EET	Non jamais
2021/04/17 10:11:57 pm EET	Oui j'ai été cliente régulière (surtout Massimo Dutti et Zara)
2021/04/18 1:13:48 am EET	Oui je l'ai été, j'effectuais mes achats là bas à chaque solde
2021/04/18 1:36:09 am EET	Je ne suis pas une cliente régulière
2021/04/18 2:17:07 am EET	J'achetais souvent chez Zara
2021/04/18 12:24:36 pm EET	J'ai été une cliente très régulière avant de connaître la cause Ouïghours
2021/04/18 3:05:22 pm EET	De temps à autre mais ce n'est pas ma marque principale
2021/04/18 4:33:35 pm EET	1-2x/mois
2021/04/19 10:04:41 am EET	Souvent
2021/04/19 1:47:25 pm EET	Je travaillais chez Zara j'achetais donc très souvent chez inditex
2021/04/20 8:52:46 am EET	J'ai été 2 fois chez Zara
2021/04/20 10:58:00 am EET	Très peu voir jamais
2021/04/20 10:58:51 am EET	Jamais
2021/04/20 11:01:30 am EET	Jamais
2021/04/20 11:02:19 am EET	Non je ne suis pas cliente de ces marques. Je n'ai acheté qu'un article de cette marque il y a 2/3 ans
2021/04/20 11:15:03 am EET	Je ne suis pas une cliente régulière chez Zara et maintenant que je sais que Inditex est lié à l'exploitation des Ouïghours, je le serais encore moins, plus du tout même.
2021/04/20 1:11:15 pm EET	Oui une fois par an
2021/04/20 3:03:51 pm EET	oui je l'ai été, de temps en temps ce n'était pas forcément régulier environ 1 fois par mois
2021/04/20 8:50:20 pm EET	1 ou 2 achats en tout

2021/04/20 8:54:59 pm EET	Non, achat occasionnel
2021/04/22 2:35:05 pm EET	2 a 3 fois par an
2021/04/23 12:46:41 am EET	Non
2021/04/24 1:28:20 pm EET	Non, jamais
2021/04/24 4:01:12 pm EET	Oui, 1 à 2 fois par mois.
2021/04/24 4:38:35 pm EET	Non
2021/04/24 6:14:36 pm EET	Cliente occasionnelle à régulière : environ 5 fois par an
2021/04/25 1:46:54 pm EET	Avant 202fin une fois tous les mois

Avez-vous entendu parler des camps de concentration des Ouïghours et de l'implication des multinationales dans le travail des esclaves? Si oui, via quelles plateformes?

Oui, Instagram
Oui, Twitter et Instagram
Oui , via les réseaux sociaux
Oui, via Instagram et Snapchat.
Oui, instagram
Oui, Instagram
Oui, via Instagram
oui grâce à instagram et notamment grâce à Raphaël Glucksmann
Oui, instagram
Oui, via Instagram et via Radio-Canada.
Oui grâce à Raphaël Glucksmann
Oui, instagram
Oui via Raphaël glucksmann
Oui , Instagram et internet
Oui via Instagram
Oui via Instagram
Oui via Raphaël Glucksmann
Oui, instagram
Oui, Instagram, fb, youtube, whatsapp
Oui via Instagram
Oui j'en ai entendu parler il y a un an à peu près sur Instagram
Oui, via Instagram qui me propulsé vers des recherches plus profondes et une sensibilité accrue.
Instagram mr Glucksmann
instagram, youtube
oui j'en ai énormément entendu des camps de concentration des Ouïghours et c'est ce qui m'a poussé à ouvrir un compte Instagram de soutien et de partage à la cause avec 2 de mes meilleures amies. J'ai pu en être inform
Oui via Instagram
oui via instagram et les médias
Oui, via instagram et twitter
Oui j'en ai entendu parler. Sur instagram et twitter
Oui, via YouTube et Instagram
Oui, via YouTube et Instagram
Oui, via le compte instagram de Raphaël Glucksmann
Oui, dans des discussions inter-scolaires
Je n'étais pas une cliente de Zara particulièrement mais je consommait par exemple beaucoup chez Uniqlo (quasiment tous mes vêtements venaient de cette marque)
Oui, sur Instagram
Instagram et Twitter
Oui bien sûr
Oui, via instagram et facebook
Oui, via Instagram
Oui, reseaux sociaux.
Premièrement, par Courrier international, en 2018, puis par des médias dits plus "traditionnels" et enfin récemment je m'informe sur le Xinjiang sur les réseaux sociaux, en restant prudent.
Via la plateforme d'Instagram
Oui sur Instagram
Oui, sur instagram (compte de Raphaël Glucksmann)
Oui grâce à instagram
Oui et j'ai pris connaissance de tout cela via les réseaux sociaux et en particulier Instagram et Twitter
Oui medias et reseaux sociaux
Via les réseaux sociaux
Oui, Instagram, Le Monde
Oui, via Twitter
Oui via Instagram
Oui, google
Oui via Instagram
Instagram
Par Instagram
Via instagram
Oui. Je me suis aussi abonné à des comptes pour lutter et j'ai aussi été surpris lorsque je les ai vus se faire tabasser, j'ai été aussi choqué sur le sujet des marques.

Oui. Via Facebook et instagram.
Oui via Instagram, Twitter
Oui sur Instagram en premier lieu puis à la télé
Oui, surtout sur Instagram
Oui, Instagram
Oui via Instagram mais aussi car je suis fondateur d'un de ces groupes locaux belges
Oui, instagram
Oui, par Instagram (c'est là où j'ai réellement compris la situation)
Oui, principalement sur youtube et instragram
Oui via Instagram
oui ! principalement twitter puis instagram
Oui Instagram
Oui, Instagram et Twitter
J'en ai entendu parler grâce aux réseaux sociaux (Raphaël Glucksmann) et m'engage contre ce genocide grâce à un groupe local que j'ai créé dans ma ville (Ligné 44850).

Oui, via les réseaux sociaux Instagram notamment
Oui avec Instagram
Oui, via insta et twitter
oui, via instagram
Oui : le monde, réseaux sociaux (insta, fb...)
Oui via Instagram
Oui via Instagram
Instagram / @raphaelglucksman
Oui, instagram, raphael glucksman
Oui, Twitter
Instagram principalement, la radio et les informations depuis peu.
Oui ! Via les médias, et beaucoup Instagram
Oui en cours
Oui ! Via les médias, et beaucoup Instagram
Oui, sur les réseaux sociaux.
Oui, via les réseaux sociaux (Instagram)
Instagram
Oui réseaux sociaux
Oui, Instagram principalement (Raphaël Glucksmann)
Oui via Instagram
Twitter
Oui via Twitter et Instagram
Oui, grâce aux réseaux sociaux comme Twitter et Instagram et aussi grâce à Raphaël Glucksmann.
Oui surtout twitter et Instagram
Instagram
Oui instagram
Via instagram
Réseaux sociaux, IG principalement, et un peu via la télévision
Instagram
Oui via Instagram
Via Instagram et YouTube
Oui via Instagram
Via Instagram
Oui par instagram et snapchat
oui, via instagram
Pas vraiment avant ce groupe et un peu sur des chaînes d information
Oui, par une amie
Oui le compte de ouïgour news et de raphael glucksmann
Oui
Oui (sur Instagram)
Oui, via une amie Ouïghour directement concernée.
Oui, via Instagram
Oui ! Principalement via Instagram et Twitter également
Oui

Les réseaux sociaux ont-ils changé votre vision des marques complices du travail forcé? Expliquez
Oui, car je trouve ça scandaleux de la part des marques assez connus de pouvoir exploiter des
Oui, car j'ai pu voir ce que certaines marques faisaient, (exploiter les Ouïghours via les usines où elles s'approvisionnent) et depuis j'essaie de boycotter ces marques la
Oui beaucoup
Oui j'ai eu l'impression d'avoir été complice de ces horreurs.
Oui, je fais des choix plus conscients lorsque je magasine pour éviter les marques qui sont complices
Oui, ça m'a ouvert les yeux sur le problème
Oui ! Bien que j'avais déjà entendu parler de cette catastrophe, les réseaux m'ont donné plus d'informations.
oui je trouve ça abominable d'agir de cette manière en connaissance de causes et en plus de le nier
Un peu. Je n'ai pas pu lire assez sur le sujet pour que mon opinion aie changé à 100%
Énormément, étant donné que j'ai accès à toutes ces informations je me sens en devoir de ne pas contribuer à ce que ces marques complices acceptent d'encourager. Malgré le fait que j'adorais Zara, je suis dorénavant fier
Oui car je me rendais pas forcément compte de l'ampleur et de la gravité des choses pour les Ouïghours.
Oui. Ce qui est horrible c'est que les marques ont tout à fait conscience des atrocités qu'ils commettent, mais tant que les gens continuent à magasiner chez eux, ils en ont absolument rien à faire. On peut voir dans la sectio
Oui beaucoup car avant j'achetai généralement mes vêtements chez les marques concernées. De plus, ça a également changé ma vision car les marques qui ont été contactées comme Zara et qui continuent l'exploitation de
Oui, quand j'ai vu les marques qui faisaient du travail forcé j'ai arrêté d'en acheter
Oui totalement car j'ai appris pleins d'informations avec les réseaux sociaux et maintenant les marques complices me dégoûtent
Oui je fais plus attention à la marque. J'essaie de privilégier celles qui ne sont pas complice
Oui totalement. Nous avons accès à de nombreuses informations, des vidéos, des articles et grâce à tout cela nous pouvons ouvrir les yeux sur les choses terribles qui se passent sous nos yeux.
Oui, je ne veux plus acheter d'affaires de marques qui exploitent les ouïghours
Oui
Oui grâce à des comptes Instagram comme celui de Raphaël Glucksmann qui relaie au quotidien des informations sur le sort des ouïghours
Oui ils ont révélé ce qui s'y passe et montrer que c'était possible de lutter contre ça
Oui, les réseaux sociaux sont un endroit parfait pour l'émergence d'une sensibilité qui mène à des recherches supplémentaires et une plus grande sensibilisation.
Oui, je me dirigerai plus vers du Nike
totalement
oui complètement parce que j'en ai pris de plus en plus tous les jours sur par exemple : Comment sont fabriqués les vêtements que j'achète des marques complices du travail forcé ? Mais également sur la mode de secon
Oui absolument. Sans tous les posts de sensibilisation je n'aurais jamais su que de nombreuses marques étaient impliquées
oui, en particulier certains comptes qui exposent les marques, et ça me mène à couper mes achats chez ces marques
Oui mais difficile de boycotter
Oui car on se dit que derrière un vêtement il y'a un humain séquestré violé etc
Non, car j'avais déjà connaissance du travail forcé, c'est un sujet que l'on enseigne dans les programmes scolaires, et dont nombreux reportages font l'objet. Les réseaux sociaux ont juste parmi l'exposition à la grande mas
Non, car j'avais déjà connaissance du travail forcé, c'est un sujet que l'on enseigne dans les programmes scolaires, et dont nombreux reportages font l'objet. Les réseaux sociaux ont juste parmi l'exposition à la grande mas
C'est en suivant les comptes instagram de Raphaël Glucksmann, de Dilnur Reyhan puis de l'Institut Ouïghour d'Europe puis en lisant et en regardant les enquêtes vidéo de la BBC et du journal Le Monde, que j'ai véritablement
Non, on était déjà au courant des dérives des marques avant (il y'a quinze ans déjà que l'on parle des enfants esclaves en Chine, et des minorités forcées au travail, ou encore de leurs politiques de naissance mortifères)
Oui, j'ai découvert tout ce qui se tramait petit à petit via twitter et instagram donc les réseaux ont réellement été l'élément déclencheur de ma prise de conscience.
Oui, car ils participent au travail forcé des ouïghours, et même plus que les ouïghours + pas écologique etc
Oui
Oui, jamais je n'aurais su les atrocités que certaines marques utilisent à leurs avantages sans les réseaux sociaux. Depuis, lorsque j'apprends qu'une marque est liée à une problématique, je l'évite le plus possible en espér
Oui, elles m'ont permis de me rendre compte que certaines marques portent plus d'importance aux profits qu'à l'humanité.
Oui, ils accusent notre responsabilité
Oui, on se rend compte que même à l'autre bout du monde, on peut avoir un impact indirectement sur la mise en esclavage d'une population...
Non, mais ils m'ont montré qu'il était possible de faire pression sur ces marques
Bien évidemment mais je ne pourrai pas l'expliquer
Oui
Oui ils ont permis de les dénoncer
Oui, ça m'a ouvert les yeux
Bien sûr ! Les réseaux sociaux permettent de diffuser le plus rapidement possible à un maximum de personnes mais aussi de libérer la parole et les prises de position, ce qui a un impact sur notre vision des marques puisqu'
Intéressant mais aussi beaucoup de bêtises, travaux et études souvent à reprendre avec des sources fiables
Non car j'étais déjà conscient que des marques comme Nike ont déjà dans leurs usines délocalisées exploité des enfants
Je ne consommait déjà plus ce type de marques pour des raisons d'exploitation des travailleurs et des raisons écologiques donc l'implication dans l'exploitation des Ouïghours n'a fait que confirmer mon choix.

Oui car ils permettent de recevoir les informations sans le filtre et le retrait d'info que peut donner les medias traditionnels . Mais il faut toujours bien vérifier les sources !
Oui
Absolument pas
Bien sûr, depuis que j'ai appris ce qui se passait en Chine, cela m'a écoeuré même dégoûté, je ne suis plus rentré dans une boutique Zara ni achetée quoi que ce soit. Je suis plus attentive à la provenance de mes achats. Je
Oui
Oui, ça m'a permis d'arrêter d'acheter en magasin je ne prends que de la seconde main pour ne pas participer à cet esclavage moderne
Oui et non je ny allais déjà plus pour la pollution mtn je ny vais plus nn plus pour la fast fashion et son impact sur les travailleurs
Oui, je ne savais pas que les meilleurs marques étaient synonymes derrière les coulisses de crime contre l'humanité
Ce ne sont pas les reseaux sociaux qui m'ont fait changé ma vision contre ces marques. C'est la maniere dont les marques utilisées les Ouïghours pour la fabrication de leurs textiles.
Complètement
Pas vraiment
Oui, j'étais au courant avant que la Chine sous payait ses ouvriers mais je ne savais pas tout ce qu'il se passait au Xinjang
Oui, cela a fait naître un sentiment de mécontentement envers les quelques marques complices dans le travail forcé des ouïgours, de plus, un sentiment de culpabilité me vient lorsque je pense que j'ai porté les produits de c
Oui, énormément même car je trouve ça scandaleux de payer un article super cher en sachant que ces fabriquant de travail forcé sont presque pas payé voir pas payer du tout!
Oui, j'essaiede pas acheté des vêtements de marque
Oui, j'étais abonné à Raphaël Glucksmann et il m'a fait comprendre toi ça grâce à ses publications.
Oui, je fais beaucoup plus attention à ce que j'achète et où je l'achète, j'ai pris conscience de mon impact sur le travail forcé des Ouïghours lorsque j'achète chez certaines marques
Oui du fait des nombreuses vidéos postées montrant le travail forcé de détenus.
bien sur. je ne suis déjà pas très consommatrice mais je me suis rendue compte des dégats sociaux de la fast-fashion et j'essaie d'acheter le moins possible en magasin, favorisant donc la seconde main :)
Non
Complètement, je n'étais pas du tout consciente de ce sujet
Les réseaux sociaux m'ont permis de prendre connaissance des marques complices et d'alors mettre en place une sorte de boycott (je limite mes achats de ces marques au maximum).

Oui car ils m'ont éclairé sur les marques à éviter
Oui vu que c'est explicite et argumenté sur les réseaux alors que l'on n'en parle pas aux infos
Oui totalement
ils m'ont permis de savoir que celles-ci étaient complices
Non, j'étais déjà au courant du travail forcé cependant je suis heureuse de voir que les mobilisations contre sont de plus en plus visibles !
Oui je fais beaucoup plus attention à ce que j'achète et où
Oui je fais beaucoup plus attention à ce que j'achète et où
Oui
Oui, j'ai pris conscience de certaines choses
Oui beaucoup, quand on voit ces vidéo horrible ça brise le cœur forcément surtout celle du satellite où on les voit
Oui. J'achetais des vêtements dans des magasins qui exploitaient les Ouïghours. Quand j'ai vu les photos, les vidéos et les textes de Raphaël Glucksmann j'ai arrêté d'acheter là bas.
Tout à fait, on a des explications et des solutions, on peut faire des choses à notre échelle et se mobiliser
Ils ont confirmé se que j avais déjà pu entendre en cours ou sur d'autre média
Tout à fait, on a des explications et des solutions, on peut faire des choses à notre échelle et se mobiliser
Oui, car sans ça je n'aurais pas su
Oui
Oui grâce à la campagne de communication de R. Glucksmann et D. Reyan
Oui, dans la mesure où les réseaux sociaux m'on sensibilisé à consommer autrement
J'ai toujours su pour le travail forcé en Chine ou même dans les autres pays c'est pas nouveau pour moi
Oui, je suis écœurée par ses marques à présent
Oui, j'étais une adepte des achats compulsifs notamment chez Zara Bershka etc au début je réduisais mes achats puis j'ai décidé d'arrêter d'acheter.
Oui tout à fait. J'essaye de me renseigner sur les marques complices et évite d'acheter au maximum leurs produits
Je trouve ça inhumain de faire passer le profit avant les valeurs humaniste et universelles que sont la solidarité et la justice
Oui évidemment, avant il ne me venait même pas à l'esprit de me questionner sur l'origine des produits que je consomme.
Oui, cela montre et prouve à quel point les marques pensent à leurs chiffres d'affaires et non à comment sont t'il fabriqué
Oui. Je suis moins enclin à acheter chez eux.
Non, je le savais déjà
Oui
Oui, car maintenant je cherche à sensibiliser les gens autour de moi pour éviter au maximum d'acheter du neuf chez eux
Oui je trouve cela grave que ces marques refusent d'arrêter le travail forcé après il est compliqué de changer radicalement ses habitudes de consommation
Oui tout a fait, surtout quand il s'agit de marques qui sont accusées mais qui ne change pas pour autant leur production et qui nient. C'est le genre de marque que je souhaite boycotté.
Oui car il m ont mise au courant de ce qu il se passe
oui, je ne consomme plus chez ces marques complices.
Pas changé parce que je les appréciais déjà peu mais plutôt sensibilisé
Oui, avec les comptes contre l'exploitation des Ouïghours
Oui, je boycotte l'achat dans toute les marques concernées
Oui
Oui, pour des marques comme nike ou Huawei que je ne savais pas complices
Oui, je les perçois comme hypocrites.
Oui, car je n'imaginai pas qu'elles collaboraient avec les camps du Xinjang.
Évidemment : apprendre les atrocités exercées et encouragées par ces marques sur les réseaux sociaux m'a fait prendre conscience de 2 choses. D'abord, les médias traditionnels (TV..) peinent à évoquer ce genre de sujets
Oui
Acheter ces des marques qui vendent des vêtements fabriqués par des ouïghours c'est être complice de ce crime

Comment décririez-vous l'image de la marque ZARA, telle que vous la voyiez avant le scandale?
Une marque de vêtement qui propose de vêtements classe et stylé
Je ne sais pas, je ne me suis jamais intéressé à cette marque la puisque je n'aimais pas leur produit de base
Lâche de ne pas agir
Une marque plutôt responsable avec un bon rapport qualité prix.
Je ne l'ai jamais aimé
Normale
Une marque assez classe, pas totalement respectueuse de ses employés, mais elle n'avait pas l'air d'opter pour l'esclavagisme d'une minorité.
pas très bien déjà avant le scandale des habits de mauvaises qualités pour des prix beaucoup trop élevés au vu de la qualité
Marque chique, mais pas trop cher.
Relativement pas chère, copié collée de marques haute-mode mais cheap.
Une marque espagnole qui propose de beaux vêtements sans vraiment savoir où et par qui ils sont fait
Jamais eu une bonne image de Zara, ils ont toujours eu de très mauvaises conditions de travail, et bien que plusieurs marques utilisent le travail forcé, Zara a toujours eu une très mauvaise réputation à ce sujet. Je n'ai donc
Un magasin avec des beaux vêtements cependant je savais qu'ils exploitées des enfants
De la merde qui coûte cher
Une marque avec de beaux vêtements
D'une marque intéressante qui avait des habits que j'appréciais
Fast fashion donc très polluante mais tendance et économique
Marque à la mode
Une marque bon prix
J'avais tout de même une vision assez critique des marques de fast fashion et Zara en fait partie.
Une bonne image même si on sait qu'il y a même sans les ouïgour des enfants et des hommes et des femmes sous payes qui fabriquent nos vêtements
Un "fast fashion" comme les autres, à éviter.
Responsable
Marque abordable de "fast-fashion"
je trouvais que l'image de Zara avant le scandale était une marque chers, de pas forcément de et pas de bonne qualité.
Je n'y prêtai pas attention plus que ça
je trouve que zara c'était vraiment une marque bien, une marque chic pour les gens qui s'habillent un peu chic et que c'était une marque assez populaire
Bonne
Belle marque avec de beaux vêtements
Chic et luxueuse. Mais aucune opinion sur le plan éthique.
Chic et luxueuse. Mais aucune opinion sur le plan éthique.
Jeune, Frais, Moderne
Populaire
Elle était plutôt bonne: les produits plaisaient beaucoup ce qui en faisait une marque tres populaire dans ma tranche d'âge.
Une marque classe
Ma marque de vêtements préféré
Une marque quelconque tel h&m et forever21.
Les vêtements de Zara sont d'un bon style quoique certains sont un peu chers.
Pour Femmes actives, modernes et stylées
Pas très responsable, mais etant donne que c'est pas chere on achetait.
'Une marque appartenant à une multinationale, qui exploite des personnes dans les pays du sud économique"
Une marque qui en fait un peu des caisses niveau prix
Une bonne marque avec un bon rapport qualité-prix
Je savais que comme beaucoup de marques elle utilisait des travailleurs sous payés
Des vêtements accessibles niveau prix, pas forcément de très bonne qualite
Je savais déjà que ce n'était pas une marque fiable car ces marques de fastfashion ne sont jamais éthiques et écologiques. Mais je vivais avec moins de revenus qu'aujourd'hui et je n'avais que ça pour m'habiller déceimmen
Problèmes environnementaux et exploitation des enfants
Une marque sans réelle personnalité se contentant de reproduire les succès des créateurs de mode
Mauvaise
Une très mauvaise marque de prêt à porter
Une grande marque comme une autre
J'ai toujours méprisé les grandes marques. Mais en tant qu'étudiant c'est trop cher d'acheter un produit français.
Une marque accessible à tous, proposant de bon produits. Bon rapport/qualité prix. Rarement déçu d'un vêtement. Une marque qui se dirige vers du "haut standing" au niveau des présentoirs et de l'aménagement des mag
Bonne qualité, marque clean
Sans plus
Classe
Sachant que c'est une marque de fast-fashion, c'est une marque dont je me méfie mais si elle est connue, c'est par sa qualité.

Une très grosse enseigne, des vêtements plutôt chers.
Horrible avant et après scandale, j'ai jamais adhéré
Stylé
Une marque assez classe, avec des vêtements de qualité mais assez cher
Je n'étais de base pas client régulier mais je dirais plutôt qu'il avait une bonne image puisqu'il vendait de beaux produits.
Une marque saine qui respecte les droits humain ... qui respecte surtout l'environnement...
J aime pas Zara d avant
Bonne, une marque assez connue et populaire.
Je dirais qu'avant le scandale, Zara était une marque banale comme Berschka ou Jennifer
C'est une marque très réputé qui se disait éthique.
une marque vendant des produits très basiques pour un prix assez... élevé on va dire.
Bien
Une marque originale mais un peu cher pour la qualité offerte
Je n'avais pas spécialement d'avis. J'appréciais les vêtements disponibles. Cependant, sachant les dégâts environnementaux qu'une telle marque produit, j'essayais déjà de réduire ma consommation.

Une bonne marque avec des produits de qualité
Je connaissais pas
J'aimais bcp, c'était simple et neutre
de beaux vêtements mais un peu chers
Marque fast fashion a la mode
Grande enseigne de qualité
Grande enseigne de qualité
Un honte , marque complice de crime contre l'humanité
Vêtements de mauvaise qualité
Habits de bonne qualité mais trop chère
Un grand magasin où il y a beaucoup de queue. Je m'y connais pas trop en magasin.
Une marque pas terrible, mais une bonne marque en termes de fast fashion, de la qualité pour ce type d'habillement. J'essayais déjà de l'éviter au maximum pour limiter mon impact écologique et sociologique (je savais pertine
Pas mon style
Une marque pas terrible, mais une bonne marque en termes de fast fashion, de la qualité pour ce type d'habillement. J'essayais déjà de l'éviter au maximum pour limiter mon impact écologique et sociologique (je savais pertine
C'était pas du tout la marque que je portais, je ne peut donc pas juger.
J'en avais une image plus ou moins bonnes (les produits sont fait à l'étranger, dans des pays où les droits humains ne sont pas toujours respectés), et ce n'est pas d'une bonne qualité. Mais c'est peu cher et avec des desig
Je savais déjà que zara n'était pas une bonne marque au niveau éthique
Moyenne
Fast fashion pas forcément très éthique (produits de qualité moyenne)
Plutôt bonne je dirais du moins pas plus mauvaise qu'une autre marque
Une bonne marque avec une bonne qualité
Sans mentir je savais que les conditions de fabrications n'étaient pas très sérieuses. Je ne suis pas allée vérifier, mais j'entendais que les salariés étaient payés une misère avec de nombreuses heures de travail + des conditi
C'était une bonne marques avec de très beaux habits mais les prix sont un peu chère
Bonne marque avec des habits de bonne qualité
C'était abordable, pour un look sportif/chic
Marque acheter de tous disponible pour tous adapté à tout les budgets, s'achète des inspirations de grandes marques à prix accessibles, image à la pointe de la mode pour moi, toujours au courant des nouvelles tendance
Marque d'hyperconso, de fast-fashion, vêtements de mauvaise qualité
Image très lisse, voulait plaire, « faux » luxe
Une image propre malgré le fait que se soit une entreprise de fats fashion
Marque de vêtements basiques un peu chers
J'y allais extrêmement rarement donc je n'ai pas vraiment un opinion, la seule chose que je pensais c'est que je trouvais ça trop chère.
Une simple marque comme tant d'autres
je n'avais pas une très bonne image de zara car je n'aimais pas forcément ce qu'ils faisaient
J'avais pas vraiment d'avis
Moyen, comme les produits sont pas cher s'est que forcément c'est négatif sur un domaine (environnementale ou humain)
Des produits de qualité et qui suit toujours la mode
Avant le scandale c'était branché
Je connaissais d'autres scandales autour de cette marque et la boycottais déjà
Une image plutôt hautaine mais de qualité cependant.
Marque pas chère
Avant le scandale, ZARA était une marque aussi respectable qu'abordable même si elle faisait partie du haut de gamme de la grande distribution textile
Sanguinolente criminelle

Comment l'image de marque de Zara a-t-elle changé pour vous depuis que vous êtes au courant de ces scandales?
Oui
J'aime encore moins cette marque
Je déteste cette marque, je n'achète plus là bas
La marque m'a beaucoup déçue.
Je la trouve encore plus répugnante
Hypocrite et complice de crimes horribles
Une marque très irresponsable et avec un code d'éthique médiocre. Une compagnie qui souhaite simplement se remplir les poches sans se soucier de l'impact qu'elle a autour d'elle.
Je trouve ça honteux
Je comprends maintenant mieux pourquoi les vêtements ne sont pas chers.
Je suis dégoûtée qu'une compagnie aussi renommée avec autant de profits encourage l'esclavage. Je perçoit Zara comme une compagnie avec un gros manque d'éthique et inhumaine.
A chaque fois que je lis cette marque, les Ouïghours me viennent automatiquement en tête. Ce qui essaye de freiner mes achats
Je n'ais jamais eu une bonne image de la marque, mais le scandale m'a enfin incité à prendre des actions concrètes, puisqu'il est devenu absolument impossible d'ignorer les atrocités commises
Elle a complètement changée car je n'ai plus du tout achetée chez Zara et cette marque me dégoûte un peu car ils connaissent très bien la place qu'ils occupent au seins du travail forcés des ouïghours
Déçu
Zara me dégoûte et je n'achète plus la bas
Quand je vois mtn cette marque, je pense aux ouïghours et ça rend bcp plus difficile pour moi d'apprécier un article
Du dégoût, de l'incompréhension face à ce manque de considération de l'Homme, de planète.
L'image que j'ai d'elle s'est dégradée
Je regarde même plus vers ce magasin
Je la considère ni plus ni moins comme ce qu'elle est : une marque complice d'un massacre de masse.
Depuis qu'ils refusent de changer alors que le scandale a éclaté leurs image a totalement chute je ne veux plus y aller meme juste parce qu'ils refusent de faire bouger les choses
En toute honnêteté, il est rendu difficile de d'être surpris par les problèmes profonds du fast fashion, leur vrai visage est à la vue de tous depuis longtemps, certains préfèrent se fermer les yeux.
En mal
Géant profitant de la génocide de la nation
L'image de la marque Zara n'a toujours pas changé pour moi sauf sur leur implication dans le travail forcé des Ouïghours.
Elle s'est détériorée
honnêtement ça change pas la qualité des habits ni l'image que j'ai des vêtements qui vendent, je veux dire j'aime quand même la marque mais pour moi rester aveugle et indifférent devant un très gros problème ça me fait v
Choquée mais pas tellement surprise
Complice d'un genocide
Je n'ai aucune opinion personnel au sujet de Zara. Le fast-fashion est une pratique qui n'est pas compatible avec l'ordre de la société et de l'environnement toute marque qui la pratique ne devrait pas êtres encouragé à exis
Je n'ai aucune opinion personnel au sujet de Zara. Le fast-fashion est une pratique qui n'est pas compatible avec l'ordre de la société et de l'environnement toute marque qui la pratique ne devrait pas êtres encouragé à exis
Je n'ai plus aucune envie de donner de l'argent à cette marque
Pas tellement, Zara n'est ps une entreprise connue historiquement pour ses préoccupations éthiques et écologiques
J'ai un profond dégoût pour cette marque et pour tout ceux qui ont un quelconque lien avec. Je trouve ça scandaleux de nier la chose.
C'est devenu une marque qui me dégoute et me repousse
Étant au courant de ce qui se passe, j'essaie d'éviter au max d'acheter la bzs
Comme je n'étais pas une cliente de Zara , je n'étais pas au courant des nouvelles liées à la marque . Maintenant que je suis au courant , Zara entre tout simplement dans la liste des marque à éviter .
Zara ne mérite pas que l'on achète ses produits puisqu'elle ne respecte pas l'humanité en contrôlant sa chaîne de production.
Marque de consommation
Très mauvaise, je n'achetes p'us chez zara
Depuis, elle s'est dégradé car cette marque est complice d'une exploitation étatique et l'assume plus ou moins.
À chaque fois que je vois une boutique Zara cela me dégoûte
Marque détestable, à boycotter
Elle s'est empirée
Je la boycott. Ce sont ces multinationales qui ont le plus de moyens qui devraient lutter contre ces pratiques
Elle n'était déjà pas rose mais depuis ces scandales je pense pas avoir un jour un avis positif pour cette marque qui aujourd'hui me dégoûte.
Ouïghours el plus
Elle s'est dégradée d'avantage
Elle est passée de mauvaise à très mauvaise.
L'image me dégoûte encore plus maintenant, surtout vu leurs choix de collaboration avec le gouvernement chinois qui est de manière totalement assumée.
Une marque complice qui se plie devant les menaces de la Chine sur son activité
Elle n'a pas changé

Clairement je suis outrée par ce scandale encore trop cachée.. Malheureusement!
Je suis écoeurée et dégoûtée de voir que des marques telles que Zara, Nike ou encore Lacoste et pleins d'autres utilisent le travail forcé, acceptent de telles conditions pour se remplir les poches mais surtout qu'ils soient c

En mal

Autant avant y aller ne m'aurait pas plus déranger même si je n'y allais pas, mais depuis impossible d'y mettre les pieds

Sale

Elle se détériore et bien fait pour elle, je ne veux plus en parler tellement cette marque doit être dissoute.

Je trouve scandaleux d'exploiter des etres humains pour la fabrication de leurs textiles et les revendres ensuite à des prix exorbitants.

Tjs aussi horrible

En vrai, ça n'a rien changé chez moi. J y allait rarement mtn j'en irai plus

Je ne veux pas avoir à faire à une marque qui utilise du travail forcé

Déçu et dégoûté.

Ils sont coupables de ces crimes, de la torture etc qui subissent ce peuple.

Horrible

Je la vois comme une marque immorale et qui importe peu que des gens meurent pour avoir des vêtements à bas prix.

L'image de Zara s'est dégradée, maintenant j'évite de me rendre dans leurs magasins et je sensibilise les gens autour de moi

Je n'achète plus aucun produit provenant d'en cette marque et met au courant me semble proche de sur leur méthodes scandaleuses.

je n'avais déjà pas beaucoup d'estime pour la marque donc en apprenant les choses sur les camps, ça n'a fait que jouer en défaveur de la marque

Je m'y attendais donc pas bcp

Une marque traite et sale qui se nourrit du malheur des autres pour faire un grand CA

De nombreuses mobilisations pour accuser Zara de complicité pour crimes contre l'humanité ont lieu actuellement, et je suis satisfaite que ces actions permettent de faire prendre conscience à certains de la cause que nous

Je n'achète plus du tout la bas et je suis écœurée quand je vois la file de queue devant.
Je les connaissais pas , donc je les vois juste comme une marque qui fait profit sur le dos de personnes traités comme des esclaves
Je boycott ...
elle a été détériorée
Marque fast fashion a la mode, esclavagiste et faux cul
Enseigne complice avec aucune valeurs humaines
Enseigne complice avec aucune valeurs humaines
Je n'irais plus jamais chez Zara
Je trouve ça choquant et je ne comprends pas qu'il y ai autant de gens qui continuent à y aller.
Ça ne s'est que plus dégradé, je savais déjà que c'était vraiment mauvais mais bon, j'essayais de consommer un minimum, au total dans ma vie j'ai dû acheter moins d'une dizaine de vêtements. Là c'est over. Ils sont ouvert
Je n'ai jamais vraiment apprécié cette marque mais aujourd'hui je la banni de mes achats
Ça ne s'est que plus dégradé, je savais déjà que c'était vraiment mauvais mais bon, j'essayais de consommer un minimum, au total dans ma vie j'ai dû acheter moins d'une dizaine de vêtements. Là c'est over. Ils sont ouvert
Elle est devenue très négative.
J'en ai une très mauvaise image, j'avais déjà arrêter d'y consommer mais cela confirme mon choix.
C'est hors de question que j'achète là bas
Oui détériorer
Je réfléchis à deux fois avant d'acheter leurs produits. Ils ont l'étiquette du travail forcé des Ouïghour.e.s et de la fast fashion non éthique sur leur nom.
Elle a changé en très mauvaise, affirmer ne plus faire quelque chose mais le faire quand même avec preuve à l'appuie du gros foutage de gueule
Marque inhumaine et indigne
Je n'y mets plus un pied. C'est plus facile avec les confinements mais je ne vais pas non plus sur le site internet. Quand je vois l'enseigne je suis énervée de voir qu'ils n'ont aucune sanction et que les gens s'y ruent malgré t
Malgré leur beaux habits, je suis extrêmement déçu de leurs indifférence à tout ça. Contrairement à d'autres marques qui ont arrêtées de traiter avec la région chinoise
Sa participation et son implication dans le genocide me dégoûte au plus haut point
Ça me dégoûte de savoir que ces beaux vêtements soient fabriqués dans des conditions si laides
Elle a perdue pour ma part en valeur, être accusé d'un tel crime et ne rien faire pour une aussi grande marque
Pareil avec en plus la complicité vis à vis du travail forcé
C'est devenu une marque qui ne montre pas la réalité de ce qu'elle produit et de ce qu'elle vend à ses consommateurs
Hypocrisie du marketing
Elle est devenue mauvaise
Marque complice de crimes envers les ouïgours
La marque Zara est pour moi une marque complice qui approuve ce qu'il se passe en Chine, c'est scandaleux.
Je n ai plus envie d y acheter des habits
depuis, je n'achète plus du tout chez cette marque et incite les gens autour de moi à ne plus acheter là bas non plus.
Elle est devenue plus bas que terre
Sont images s'est très dégradé
Je trouve ça honteux de leur part, je n'ai pas envie d'être associé à ce génocide
Je demande à tout le monde de ne plus acheter chez Zara et Nike
Je continue de les boycotter mais he demande aussi à mes amis de ne plus acheter chez eux quand on fait du shopping
La marque a pour moi perdue de sa crédibilité.
Collaborateur d'un génocide
Je n'ai pas consommé chez ZARA depuis (hormis l'usage d'un chèque cadeau qui trainait) et je trouve lamentable qu'une marque s'enrichisse encore plus au profit d'êtres humains en toute impunité et au dépend de la mino
Négativement. Je les boycotte

Quelle a été votre réaction lorsque vous avez appris qu'un grand nombre de marques sont impliquées dans le travail forcé?

J'étais choqué , OMGGGG hahaha
J'étais très choqué, surtout pour les marques se disant inclusive ou celles qui essaient d'avoir une bonne image sur les réseaux etc
J'ai étais très déçus,et surprise
J'ai arrêté d'acheter des produits de ces marques la.
Désespoir, tristesse, détermination de faire changer les choses
Scandalisé, mais pas non plus si étonné
J'étais très étonnée et déçue.
Pareil, c'est une honte
J'étais choqué, mais pas surpris
J'étais malheureusement pas surprise. Mais le fait qu'elles continuent tout de même malgré la révélation, c'est extrêmement décevant.
J'étais vraiment choqué du nombre de marques du « quotidien » qui sont impliqué dedans. J'essaye de ne pas acheter ces marques là le plus possible
Pas étonnée, je savais déjà que la plupart de ces marques étaient impliquées dans le travail forcé, il y en a probablement beaucoup d'autres
J'ai été un peu choquée et déçu surtout. En vrai, cela ne m'a pas vraiment choquée parce que leur but est de gagner le plus d'argent possible même si c'est de la pire des manières
Fâché et déçu car comment ces gens peuvent faire comme si de rien n'était alors que ils savent très bien la situation des ouïgours
J'ai été surprise de voir autant de grandes marques impliquées la dedans
Je n'ai pas été surpris
Choquée mais c'est important de le savoir pour boycotter ses marques et petit à petit les entreprises réagiront peut être...
J'étais surprise et déçue
J'ai commencé à les boycotter
Du dégoût et de la révolte
On l'a toujours plus ou moins su malheureusement c'est difficile même pour des gens de la classe moyenne de contrôler tout ce qu'on achète on a aussi besoin de ces marques abordables mais de voir que pour des gens d
Déception, sans vraie surprise.
Pas étonné car ils sont prêts à tout pour l'argent
N'acheter rien car ces marques ne devraient pas exister
Cela ne m'avait pas forcément choqué car j'étais déjà au courant que certaines marques exploitait des enfants ou encore des adultes afin de produire leurs produits.
J'étais choquée et déçue
Honnêtement j'étais pas surprise, avec tout ce qui se passe en chine et beaucoup qui ne veulent pas se prononcer et aider les ouïgours, je pense que la moindre des choses c'est que les compagnies arrêtent de se lier au tra
Choquée mais pas tellement surprise
Choqué
Je n'étais pas surprise car il y'a déjà bon nombre d'année nous avons déjà connaissance du travail forcé et de l'avantage que produit la délocalisation des entreprises vers des pays où la main d'œuvre est à bas coûts. Nous
Je n'étais pas surprise car il y'a déjà bon nombre d'année nous avons déjà connaissance du travail forcé et de l'avantage que produit la délocalisation des entreprises vers des pays où la main d'œuvre est à bas coûts. Nous
Du dégoût profond
Pas une grande surprise malheureusement
J'ai été écœurée mais malheureusement pas surprise. J'ai d'abord su pour Nike et Zara puis la liste s'allongeait petit à petit. C'est là que j'ai vraiment été choquée puis les marques qui s'ajoutaient au scandale ne faisaient qu
Le choc
Déçu 🙄 🤢 🤔
C'est triste mais ce n'est pas étonnant, le monde est prêt à tout oublier pour l'argent , même le droit humain. J'avais déjà entendu parler des conditions de travail atroce des employés de certaines compagnies mais la c'est d
J'ai été étonné que plusieurs marques se sont données à bras ouverts dans l'implication du travail forcé des ouïgours. Le génocide était pourtant évident.
Dégoût
Triste.
Cela a renforcé ma détermination à lutter contre le travail forcé.
J'ai été outré du nombre de marques qui ont été impliqué dans ses travaux forcés et le nombre de marques connues surtout. Me dire que j'achète depuis tout ce temps des habits ou des biens de ses marques sans même le
J'ai cessé d'en consommer + boycott sur les réseaux
Dégout
L horreur, la honte
Tout d'abord, j'étais estomaqué par la quantité de noms et par certaines marques que je pensais « clean » . Puis j'ai eu un sentiment de honte d'avoir consommé depuis des années chez ces marques. Enfin, j'avais l'impressi
Pas étonnant
Sans surprise
Une réaction de dégoût.
Au final ce n'est pas forcément étonnant. La concurrence du modèle capitaliste fait perdre toutes notions d'éthique.
Peu étonnée

Déçu mais pas du tout surpris faut être complètement débile pour penser que c'est un travail bien rémunéré
J'étais comme ça : 1) 😞 2) 🤢 3) 🤢🤢
Voilà les différentes étapes par lesquelles je suis passée..
Choqué et decu
Très grosse remise en question
Dégoutée
J'ai été choqué et dégouté
j'ai été très surpris. Depuis lors Je n'achète plus aucun vêtements des marques concernées dans le génocide des Ouïghours.
Pas étonnée mais il faut les arrêter
Pas du tout étonné
J'étais vraiment choquée, qu'ils participent à tout ça
Déçu et dégouté.
Je trouve ça scandaleux et même honteux!! Moi qui s'habillé toujours de nike etc je me sent donc un peu responsable de ce crime et personnellement je le regrette à l'heure actuelle je fais très attention à ce que je porte voir
J etait choqué car j ai possédé beaucoup habile de marque
Plus ou moins surpris.
J'ai été choquée du nombre de marques qui y sont impliquées, je n'avais pas conscience qu'elles étaient aussi nombreuses
J'ai été dépité, déçut et très en colère.
très choquée du nombre, pas très surprise des noms de marques
J'ai eu honte pour eux
Surprise et déçue
Choquée par la nature humaine qui favorise le profit à la vie d'autres humains. Également perturbée car de plus en plus de marques sont à boycotter (pour les Ouïghours mais aussi environnementalement parlant) et il n'est p

Tristesse
Il faut arrêter ça !
D'un côté je n'étais pas choquée, de l'autre côté ça me révoltait
ca m'étonne pas
Outrée de voir que de tels actes soient encore possibles de nos jours et de voir que les états et les firmes n'agissent pas
Choqué et triste car cela a été fait dans le plus grand des silences
Choqué et triste car cela a été fait dans le plus grand des silences
Pas surpris malheureusement
Ça m'as dégoûté car ils font passer l'argent avant des vies, nous voyons à quel point ils sont avides d'argent
J'ai été choqué. Il y en a vraiment beaucoup !
Repenser ma consommation. Je n'étais pas plus « choquée » que ça. Je n'ai jamais eu une grande foi en l'humanité donc pas déçue.
Mais j'ai pris conscience que j'avais aussi un rôle à jouer là dedans et que ne pas agir me
Pas étonné mais profondément déçu de voir jusqu'où des entreprises pouvaient aller pour le profit
Repenser ma consommation. Je n'étais pas plus « choquée » que ça. Je n'ai jamais eu une grande foi en l'humanité donc pas déçue.
Mais j'ai pris conscience que j'avais aussi un rôle à jouer là dedans et que ne pas agir me
Étonnée mais pas trop, il fallait s'y attendre.
Très déçu, voir choqué.
Ca m'a décidé à acheter des vêtements qui traitent bien leurs travailleurs et de la seconde main
Énervé
Très déçue mais finalement pas étonnée malheureusement...
Choquée et vraiment déçu pas seulement contre les marques en soit mais contre moi même aussi de ne pas suffisamment faire attention là où j'achète
J'ai été dégoûté puisque j'achète ces marque je me sent complice et c'est horrible surtout que certaines de ces marque sont vraiment pas cher
Écœurée face à ces personnes qui ont perdu toute humanité
Un sentiment de tristesse et de désespoir. Aujourd'hui ces marques ont beaucoup de pouvoir donc je pense que le combat va être difficile mais bon il faut persévérer!!
Ça m'a évidemment surpris et je me suis dit qu'il fallait relayer l'information pour pouvoir les boycotter à grandes échelles
Le dégoût
Je me suis sentie trahie. Ces marques c'est tout ce que j'ai toujours acheté et ce que tout le monde achète d'ailleurs. Donc je pouvais pas tout jeter ou tout donner par ce que sinon je vis à poil et coupée du monde mais petit
J'ai été tellement choquée de voir le nombre d'entreprise impliquée sur cette affaire,
Ne pas être au courant je veux bien mais je savais et tenter de masquer le crime est un délit encore plus grave à mes yeux
Déçu mais pas vraiment surpris
Je m'y attendais un peu
Remise en question de mes achats, passer par de l'occasion plutôt que d'acheter du neuf chez eux
Peut être du dégoût
Assez étonnée et choquée
J'ai été très surprise, très déçue.
j'étais plutôt choquée en voyant les marques concernées
Choqué
Mauvaise, c'est pas normal qu'il y a encore de l'exploitation humaine à notre époque.
je ne pensais pas qu'autant de marques serait impliquée et je me rend compte que l'argent domine tout le reste, c'est tout simplement honteux
Je fais tout mon possible pour boycotter ces marques
Je savais que les conditions de production étaient proches de l'esclavage, mais je ne comprends pas que les marques continuent une fois que l'information a été révélée au grand public
Je savais que de base les conditions de travail au sein de leurs usines restaient à désirer, mais apprendre qu'en plus elles bénéficiaient de la mise en esclavage d'un peuple entier m'a choquée et attristée.
Dégoût
J'ai ressenti de l'indignation et du mépris à l'égard de toutes ces marques profitant du système capitaliste et de la politique spéciale de répression chinoise (l'interfère économique est encore passé avant l'intérêt humain)
Pas surprise au final

J'ai complètement arrêté d'acheter chez Zara
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J'ai complètement arrêté d'acheter chez Zara
J'ai complètement arrêté d'acheter chez Zara
J'ai continué à acheter chez Zara
J'ai complètement arrêté d'acheter chez Zara
J'ai réduit mes achats chez Zara

Pensez-vous que les récents scandales ont eu un impact sur votre comportement d'achat? Ou y a-t-il une autre raison pour laquelle vous avez réduit votre consommation chez ZARA?

L'environnement, gaspillage et un coût très bas payé pour la main d'œuvre
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
mauvaise qualité, mieux vaut privilégier la seconde main
Je veux acheter plus éthiquement donc oui j'arrete Zara mais j'arrete aussi plein d'autres magasins.
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
No
Oui
Oui
Le fast fashion est problématique depuis très longtemps, mais c'était, bien sûr, une déception supplémentaire.
No
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
oui mais difficile de boycotter
Oui
Le Coran est la raison pour laquelle j'ai arrêté la surconsommation. On comprennent l'ordre dans la création le fonctionnement et en pratiquant les principes qu'inculque Le Créateur à travers le Coran pour l'être humain, je s
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Oui
Basse qualité des produits et publicité trop massive
J'ai complètement arrêté d'acheter chez toutes les marques liées au scandale jusqu'à ce qu'elles s'expriment sur le sujet et cessent leur lien avec l'exploitation ouïgours
Mon comportement d'achat à changé dès la sortie de la liste de la honte à Raphaël
Oui
Les scandales m'ont appris à faire des recherches lorsque les prix d'une marque sont très bas .
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Ecologie
Zara est une marque qui m'a jamais intéressé
Comme dit précédemment je ne consommait que très peu les marques type Zara mais la ce n'est plus du tout.
Oui
Je fais peu de shopping
No
Oui
Oui
Oui
Du coup jy allais deja plus mais la cest sur et certain que ca ne sera plus jamais le cas
Oui
Oui

Oui
No
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
No
Oui
Oui

Oui
Les grandes marques ne m'intéressent pas
Oui
covid
J'ai pris conscience de l'impact écologique de la fast fashion sur la planète donc j'avais déjà décidé de n'acheter que de seconde main
Oui
Oui
Scandales et la pollution liée à la fast fashion
Oui
Je n'ai jamais rien acheté ni porté de chez eux
J'ai arrêté d'acheter de la marque également pour l'écologie
Au delà des révélations sur le travail de Zara, j'ai de plus envie de devenir actrice des futures années de la planète, j'ai donc aussi privilégié la seconde main depuis peu. Si des articles de Zara me plaisent, j'essaie de les trouver
Oui
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Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
No
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
J'ai jamais acheté régulièrement chez Zara et pas depuis un certain temps. Ce scandale est une raison de plus de ne pas y retourner
No
Oui
Je n'ai jamais acheté chez Zara même avant d'apprendre que la marque était impliquée dans le travail forcé des ouïghours
Oui
Aussi une conscience écologique de consommer moins de fast fashion
Oui
Oui
J'y allais déjà pas
Oui
Oui
Oui
Je boycottais déjà
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui

Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Oui
Non
Oui
Oui

Où pensez-vous que votre comportement d'achat est temporaire et dès que les gens oublieront ces scandales, vous continuerez à acheter auprès de ces marques? Expliquez.

Non, parce que j'ai suivi pas les tendances et j'aurai toujours cette image de Zara qui exploite les ouïgours
Personnellement à Paris peut être pour Apple, mais je ne compte pas acheter chez une de ces marques tant qu'elles n'auront pas arrêté de travailler avec les usines exploitant les Ouïgours
Non je continuerais pas à acheter chez ces marques de la honte
Non je resterai sur ma position, je refuse de contribuer à ce massacre.
Non
Je ne sais pas
Non. Même si une personne qui cesse d'acheter a peu d'impact sur une aussi grande compagnie, les réseaux sociaux et la nouvelle génération qui les utilisent vont être de plus en plus transparents au sujet de ces scandales
Non, la cause est trop noble des vies sont en jeu, vu les conditions inhumaines dans lesquelles se retrouvent ces gens
Je compte me tourner vers les friperies.
Non pour moi le scandale ne sera pas aussitôt oublié, et même s'il l'est, dans ma tête il sera toujours présent
Comportement permanent, en tant que consommateurs nous sommes également en partie responsable du travail forcé
Non je ne pense pas parce que si j'ai arrêté d'acheter c'est pour moi et non pur m'en regard que les gens portent sur moi. En plus je trouve que ça serait hypocrite
Non jamais de ma vie tant qu'ils arrêtent pas je n'achèterai plus jamais la bas
Non mon image de la marque est assez détériorée pour que mon comportement ne change pas tant qu'il n'y est pas des preuves qu'ils ont arrêté l'esclavage
Je n'arrêterais pas à boycotter ces marques. Les droits de chaque homme doivent être respectés!
Non je ne boycott pas pour la sympathie des autres mais car je ne veux pas être complice d'un génocide.
Non sans principes on est plus rien on a de la chance d'être dans un pays de droit on profite de certains pays qui n'ont pas cette chance mais là on parle d'un grand crime contre l'humanité il est temps que les mentalités changent
Non, j'avais déjà arrêté de consommer le fast-fashion, j'encourage mon entourage à faire de même.
Tant qu'il n'y a pas de preuves je les boycotterais
non, c'est pas un scandale ordinaire, c'est la complicité dans un crime, le soutien financier du régime sanglant
non tant que des mesures ne seront toujours pas prises je ne m'arrêterai pas car on devrait pas accepter ce genre de production, de travail forcé ect
Bien sûr que non, ce qui se passe en Chine ce n'est pas une tendance, c'est bien réel et ça le sera encore pour longtemps. personnellement je me renseigne toujours pour être sûr de ce qui se passe, je n'obtiens pas mes sources
J'essaie de faire de mon mieux
Qu'est-ce que la foi m'enseigne me conduit à être contre la culture de la sur-consommation. Je comprend que je dois vivre par besoin et j'ai donc revu ma vie dans ce sens.
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Non jamais
Il est temporaire, c'est bien souvent par désir de faire bonne impression, ou de s'intégrer que par conviction éthique. Les vrais activistes sincères se font en réalité rares. Sinon les gens seraient également déjà devenus végétaux
Ce serait hypocrite de recommencer à consommer une fois que le scandale se sera tassé, les marques n'attendent que ça mais je pense qu'il est primordial de rappeler le plus souvent possible que la situation persiste
Bien-sûr que non, si c'est que par "mode" c'est inutile, il faut continuer jusqu'au changement ; Zara en a été une preuve avec sa baisse de revenus, et Adidas et d'autres marques aussi pour leur retrait des exploitations
Une fois qu'une marque est embarquée dans ses problèmes, je ne m'informe plus à son sujet. A mon avis, une compagnie qui utilise le travail forcé une fois n'hésitera pas à le refaire même après avoir prouvé leur innocence
Non.
non jamais.
Non
Je sais que je ne continuerai pas à acheter mais je pense que certaines personnes feront semblant d'« oublier » pour leur plaisir personnel
Non j'arrêterai toujours
Non, ces scandales ont été la goutte de trop.
Non
Le nombre des marques impliquées est tellement haut qu'il serait impossible de toutes les boycotter d'une façon ou d'une autre toutes les marques sont impliquées donc pour être engagé à 100% contre ces pratiques atroces
Non, leur modèle de production n'est durable en aucun point.
Les gens continuent toujours en majorité car ils ne se préoccupent pas des autres. Après est-ce un mal de penser à ses propres problèmes avant celui des autres ? C'est un autre débat

Clairement, c'est pas un carré bleu qui va changer l'esprit des gens, les gens sont trop cons.

Non j'espère et j'attends à ce que les marques changent. En tout cas ce n'est pas dans mes valeurs d'être consciente de ce qui se passe et de continuer à contribuer auprès de tel gourous.. Il faut que ça cesse.

Je continuerai puisque de toutes manières ces marques ne respectent pas les droits humains, que ce soit vis à vis des Ouïghours ou autres

Mon mode d'achat a radicalement changé depuis 1 an 1/2 en faisant attention à la provenance et à la marque

J'espère que non mais c'est possible.

Non absolument pas, lorsque les marques cesseront de participer à ce genre d'activité et s'excuseront auprès de leur publics et de la population ouïgour, à ce moment, peut-être je recommencerai à acheter ces marques.

Mon comportement envers cette marque sera définitivement le temps qu'on ne reçoit pas les preuves qu'il arrête l'esclavagisme de ce peuple voir même d'autres peuple

Nn pas di tout

Non, je fais ça par religion (je suis musulman) et j'espère continuer tant qu'il le faut in cha Allah.

Honnêtement, je pense que les gens passent un peu ça sous silence. Beaucoup savent et peu agissent. Pour ma part, comme je l'ai dit précédemment, je n'achetais déjà pas chez Zara aha. Mais ça a très surement changé

Je pense que ce sont des marques grandes et puissantes et que après le scandale elles auront à nouveau la quasi totalité des clients qu'elles ont perdu aujourd'hui

J'espère pouvoir boycotter le plus possible, ce qui est sûr c'est que j'ai arrêté la surconsommation de ces produits

Non j'attends des preuves
Non, les marques ne m'intéressent pas
Non
Non, je suis entrée dans une démarche écologique et éthique
Me concernant non car il y a d'autre enseigne
Me concernant non car il y a d'autre enseigne
Non je n'achete plus rien de neuf
Non
Je pense que les gens oublieront, mais je n'achèterai pas de nouveau chez eux.
Non je pense vraiment continuer à boycotter ces marques car leur comportement est impardonnable
Je pense que les gens oublieront, mais je n'achèterai pas de nouveau chez eux.
Cela dépend de la marque, par exemple Zara je peux totalement m'en passer il y a d'autres marques qui font de la même vente.
Je ne pense pas puisque je suis particulièrement sensible à cette cause.
Je résiste à acheter et je réfléchis désormais avant d'acheter un vêtement/produit, et ça me convient car je souhaite changer mes habitudes de consommation
En ce qui me concerne je n'achèterais plus mais je pense qu'effectivement certaine personne oublieront et achèteront quand même par la suite
Non
Bien évidemment mon comportement d'achat ne changera pas en fonction des scandales ou non. C'est un véritable crime contre l'humanité et cela ne doit pas être pris pour une mode
Je pense que là où certaine marque sont complice d'autres sauront récupérer les acheteurs souhaitant être en paix avec leur conscience. Les alternatives existent.
Non je ne pense pas. Car ce serait malhonnête de ma part.
Je n'achèterai plus chez toutes les marques impliquées il y a d'autre alternative, chaque personnes contribue au changement si chacun pense que ce n'est pas sa personne qui changera les choses c'est faux l'union fait la fo
Si le travail forcé est plus mis sur le devant de la table, il est pratiquement certain que beaucoup retourneront acheter chez au moins une partie
Non, je vais totalement arrêté d'aller chez Zara
Mise à part les marques de téléphone qui sont toutes impliquées (à part les fairphone) je compte continuer à ne pas consommer chez eux.
Tant qu'elles n'auront pas arrêté de faire travailler les Ouïghours, je n'achèterai pas chez eux. Et même après, je souhaite réduire ma consommation de fast fashion donc je ne pens pas tant acheter que ça dans ce genre de
J espere ne pas oublier
j'essayerais de ne pas acheter chez ces marques, si je n'arrête pas d'acheter je réduirais fortement ma consommation chez eux
Je ne change pas mes habitudes et pour le moment j'avais pas l'habitude d'y aller
Je pense que je ferais toujours attention mais peut être moins que actuellement. De plus on s'est pas toujours qu'elle marque sont impliqués.
Non je ne continuerais pas tant que j'ai pas la preuve qu'ils ne sont plus impliqués dans ce genocide
C'est définitivement terminé pour moi et zara
Je pense continuer à boycotter même si elles changent leurs méthodes de production. Le fait qu'elles aient exploité des Ouïghours un jour les raye définitivement de ma liste de marques
Il faut boycotter au plus vite
Non, il s'agit d'une conviction et d'un combat personnel (ma propre conscience et non pas un effet de mode)
Je ne sais pas. Je crois que leur image est entachée à jamais pour moi

Comment pensez-vous que les campagnes menées sur Instagram ont influencé vos décisions? Expliquez

Quel décision??

Oui beaucoup

Elles m'ont beaucoup influencée et m'ont fait ouvrir les yeux

C'est encourageant de voir que plusieurs personnes à travers le monde se mobilisent et ça donne espoir qu'on peut changer les choses. Tous ensemble nous pouvons informer plus de personnes et montrer que la situation

Beaucoup !

Elles m'ont encourager a m'informer davantage et à signer des pétitions et ainsi faire ma part pour changer les choses !

Le fait que Raphaël Glucksmann explique et s'informe sur tout ce qu'il se passe pour les Ouïghours et que nous, citoyens occidentaux en soyons les majeurs bénéficiaires m'a réellement percuté et c'est par nous que cela do

Elles influencent juste un peu, parce que je peux très bien décider de ne pas lire les informations ou de les nier.

Elle ont fait en sorte que je savais que mes décisions étaient supportées par des centaines d'autres personnes et le fait que plusieurs utilisent leur plateforme pour faire de l'activisme et dénoncer ces comportements, ça me

Le fait d'en voir de plus en plus, et de voir que pas mal de célébrités en ont parlé également

Phénomène de masse

Les influences mes décisions parce qu'elles me tiennent au courant de la situation car c'est seulement sur les réseaux sociaux que le sujet est bien abordé

Ils ont jamais rien influencé tous ça est de ma conscience

Fortement car c'est surtout grâce à elle que je suis au courant de tous ça

C'est honteux de continuer à enrichir des marques qui exploitent, détruisent des vies

Elles m'ont permises de me rendre compte de la situation et que si nous consommateurs n'arrêtons pas nos achats rien ne changerez

Elles m'ont informé de nouvelles marques

Elles m'ont rappelées par mon utilisation quasi quotidienne des réseaux sociaux le sort de ce peuple opprimé. Grâce à ces informations j'ai pu m'engager et boycotter de nombreuses marques

Car pour une fois on nous en parle on voit vraiment de quoi il s'agit

Ils m'ont encouragés à faire des recherches supplémentaires.

Grace à mr Glucksmann

les campagnes sur Instagram aident à ne pas oublier ces crimes

Je pense que les campagnes menées sur le réseau social Instagram a impacte beaucoup ma vision sur les différents aspects de pleins de choses tels que la production de vêtements ou encore les inégalités présentes encor

Elles m'ont poussée à ne pas consommer chez les marques complices

Personnellement je me renseigne partout, mais je sais que beaucoup de gens se basent sur les réseaux sociaux pour leur information. c'est pour ça que j'essaye de partager le plus d'informations pour les autres parce que m

Avec des mots forts et marquants

On voit des ouïgours, des témoignages, des photos de camp via satellites etc cela nous choque, nous influence à arrêter notre consommation chez certains magasins ..

Elles ont participé à m'informer car les médias, la télé n'en parle pas beaucoup. Ça a permit aussi de connaître la culture des Ouïgours ainsi que leurs histoires en temps que peuple. Ça a augmenter à mon avis leur visibilité

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J'ai rejoint la vague de mobilisations et d'interpellations, nécessairement. Quand on voit l'horreur, quand on prend véritablement conscience de l'horreur que commet la chine, boycotter une marque semble derisoire. Cest de

Pas vraiment, j'espère être encore capable de réfléchir par les réseaux sociaux, qui s'ils ont des bienfaits, présentent tout autant de dangers (diffusion de masse de contenu extrêmes, d'idéologies politiques démagogiques, f

Les campagnes sur Instagram m'ont mené à m'informer énormément sur le sujet, j'ai ensuite informer un maximum autour de moi. En résumé les campagnes ont été ce qui m'a réellement plongé dans cette affaire que je con

Et bien comme j'ai répondu précédemment 😊

Comme dit dans les autres réponses , sans les réseaux sociaux comme Instagram, je magasinerais encore chez les compagnies sans me soucier de leurs valeurs . Instagram m'a surtout appris le pourquoi du comment . De s

Parce qu'elles m'ont permis d'ouvrir les yeux sur la réalité industrielle de certaines entreprises

Ils ont permis une prise de conscience et obligée de faire face à ses responsabilités

Je ne consomme plus des marques irresponsable.

Nommer ces entreprises aide à les éviter.

Je n'ai pas acheté beaucoup de vêtements ces derniers mois, mais par exemple j'ai choisi un téléphone Motorola, une marque américaine, plutôt qu'un téléphone Huawei, d'une marque qui participe activement à la répressi

En montrant des preuves

Oui

En me mettant au courant

Elles m'ont tout simplement ouvert les yeux en me montrant réellement les pratiques des marques que je consommais, m'ont orienté vers des marques plus durables et m'ont donné les outils pour savoir où consommer et v

Tres peu

Elles ont pas influencé mes décisions mais aujourd'hui quand j'achète un produit je me questionne sur sa provenance et dans quelles conditions il a été fabriqué

J'ai pu me tenir au courant des avancées des campagnes mais celles-ci n'ont pas véritablement changé mon avis sur ces marques mais l'ont plutôt confirmé.
Elles ont été à l'origine du scandale car c'est elles qui ont eu la plus grosse audience. Elles ne peuvent influencer qu'en bien, mais il faut tout de même toujours vérifier ses sources, même si le post a des millions de likes !
Elles n'ont servi strictement à rien
Je m'y suis intéressé et j'ai même moi-même participé à faire diffuser les informations à mon échelle. Je suis des comptes ou quasiment quotidiennement on a des infos, des preuves, des témoignages qui rendent les faits réels. C'
La sensibilisation m'a permis de remettre en question mes choix : est-ce que je préfère me faire 'plaisir' en faisant du shopping en magasin où est-ce que je préfère privilégier l'éthique. Évidemment la deuxième réponse
Depuis la disparition quasi totale des journaux, les réseaux sociaux sont plus renseignés.
En publiant des témoignages de rescapés des camps, en publiant des vidéos à l'intérieur de ces camps,...
Oui mais nous devons être plus nombreux à boycotter et changer notre mode de consommation
Je pense que ce n'est pas assez. D'ailleurs le travail forcé est exercé par beaucoup de marques. Là on parle de Zara qui exploite les ouïghours mais et toutes les marques qui exploitent des enfants, des femmes et des hommes
Le fait qu'il y a une masse de dénonciation, sensibilise le maximum de personnes
Je pense qu'aujourd'hui, beaucoup de gens se mobilisent et luttent contre ce scandale, appellent au boycott de ces marques notamment avec énormément de publications sur Insta montrant également certaines vidéos de
Car à l'heure actuelle on peut plus reproduire ce qu'il s'était passé il y a plus de 100 ans à Maastricht ou ailleurs. Ensemble on doit mettre fin à ce crime silencieux
Bien-sûr, c'est elles qui m'ont fait prendre conscience de la situation.
Ces campagnes m'ont principalement aidées dans ma prise de conscience sur le scandale qui se passe, et elles m'ont instruite sur ce qu'il se passe
Cela m'a vraiment permis de me rendre compte de la gravité de la situation et de m'engager réellement pour une cause (en faisant partie d'un des nombreux groupes locaux créé suite au mouvement lancé par le député E
En nous apportant des informations et en nous expliquant ce qu'est réellement les ouïghours parce que c'est quelque chose que tout le monde ne connaît pas encore aujourd'hui et grâce au compte insta... on sait ce que c'est
Sensibilisation de clients n'ayant pas réalisés les conséquences des actions de Zara (et autres marques d'ailleurs
Les campagnes menées par Raphaël Glucksmann, Dilnur Reyhan et l'institut Ouïghours d'Europe ont très certainement influencé mes choix de boycott, mais en essayant d'y réfléchir avec un regard détaché je trouve cela no

Elles m'ont ouvert les yeux et m'ont poussé à réagir
Car les preuves sont là
pour ma part elles ont pas servi a grand chose
Non mais elles n'ont fait que les renforcer !!!
Complètement cela m'a poussé à ne plus consommer et surtout à avoir conscience de ce qui se passe dans le monde
Complètement cela m'a poussé à ne plus consommer et surtout à avoir conscience de ce qui se passe dans le monde
Cela m'a beaucoup aidé car j'ai d'abord arrêté tout ce qui été fabriqué en Chine puis j'essaye complètement d'arrêter la fast fashion
Prise de conscience, merci à vous
Elles m'ont fait prendre conscience de l'esclavage des Ouïghours. J'ai fait une action étiquette avec YFC Lyon. Après ça j'en ai parlé autour de moi.
Les bases : informations, communication, dialogues.
Elles ne m'ont pas particulièrement influencé mais je les trouve essentielles car elles permettent d'informer de la situation à de nombreuses personnes qui n'ont pas eu la chance d'étudier cela en cours
Les bases : informations, communication, dialogues.
Elles m'ont permis de découvrir ce qu'il se passait et j'ai donc décidé d'avoir une consommation responsable.
Les informations sont rapides et claires
Ça a beaucoup aidé à me faire prendre conscience de toute la machine capitaliste derrière les grandes marques occidentales et à favoriser les marques éthiques qui tracent leurs produits et sont transparentes avec leur cons
Elles les ont influencé en bonne avec les médias de nos jours qui trie systématiquement les informations qu'il font passer je suis contente que des plateformes comme insta ou même Twitter soit là pour que des choses com
Tout d'abord elles m'ont bcp informé sur les marques complice, les différentes pages insta ont dénoncé les marques de la honte et un appel au boycott
Je pense que quand on voit le nombre de personne mobilisée cela motive et prouve que nous ne sommes pas seuls dans ce combat.
Elles ont mis la lumière sur le génocide tandis que les media traditionnels l'ont tu
Tout simplement en m'informant, et me tenant informé jusqu'à maintenant.
D'y voir que la mobilisation ne faiblit pas et chaque jours est un nouveau pas
Ca a été la première source d'information sur ce sujet pour moi donc oui ca m'a influencé
Par une bonne et simple explication de la situation des ouïghours et sur ce que c'est vraiment
Grâce à des témoignages et des images choquantes
Elles m'ont permis de réellement comprendre ce qui se passait et de me rendre compte de l'importance de faire connaître ça au monde entier afin que cela cesse
Les campagnes sur Instagram ont été une source d'information qui m'a permis de prendre mes propres décisions.
Oui car elles m'ont fait prendre conscience du réel impact de mes achats
elles m'ont incités à arrêter d'acheter et à me mobiliser et inciter les gens autour de moi
Influencé non mais plutôt confirmer certains faits
Les campagnes m'ont fait moins acheter chez les marques qui exploitent les Ouïghours.
C'est grâce à dilnur et Raphaël
Elles permettent une prise de conscience et le fait qu'on ne soit pas seul à être scandalisé aide à agir en se disant qu'on peut avoir un impact
Seule, mes actions pour diffuser l'information n'auraient eu aucun impact et j'aurai vite perdu toute ma détermination. Maintenant que je sais que nous sommes plusieurs milliers à soutenir cette cause, je suis sûre que notre
Énormément car je ne savais pas que ceci arrivait, les médias n'en parlaient pas
Les campagnes menées sur Instagram ont eu pour principale rôle de m'informer sur ce sujet relevant presque du secret il y a quelques temps, elles m'ont aussi permises de me faire ma propre opinion et de me dire participe
Évidemment