

BABES-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

**(A)POLITICAL HONG KONG? SELECTIVE DEPOLITICIZATION AND
OVER-POLITICIZATION IN POST-NATIONAL SECURITY LAW HONG KONG**

Summary

Scientific Coordination
Prof. Dr. Sergiu Mişcoiu

Ph.D. Student
Carmen Ştefania Duţă

Cluj-Napoca

2026

Table of Contents

Preface	p. 3
List of Figures	p. 4
List of Abbreviations	p. 5
Introduction	p. 7
 Chapter I. Theorizing an Axis of Depoliticization, Politicization, Over-politicization	
I. A. The Four Dimensions of the Political: Politicization, Over-politicization, Depoliticization, and the Apolitical	p. 13
I. B. Historical Depoliticization and Over-politicization in Mainland China and its Consequences for Hong Kong	p. 25
I. C. Research Scope, Methodology, and Limitations	p. 35
 Chapter II. Is Colonial Hong Kong a political project?	
II. A. The Formation of Colonial Hong Kong	p. 41
II. B. (A)Political Colonial Hong Kong	p. 47
II. C. Colonial Heritage in Perceiving Politicization	p. 58
 Chapter III. Transitional Space and Attempted Democratization	
III. A. The Handover: Attempts at Mainlandization, Attempts at Democratization	p. 62
III. B. The Consolidation of the Civil Society and the Umbrella Movement	p. 70
III. C. Localism and Erosion of Democracy Post-Umbrella Movement	p. 78
 Chapter IV. The Securitization Project	
IV. A. The 2019-2020 Protests	p. 89
IV. B. The National Security Law and the Copenhagen School	p. 106
IV. C. State of Emergency and the Disqualification of the Democrats	p. 120
 Chapter V. Dismantling Dissent: Activists, Parties, and Civil Society under the NSL	
V. A. The Case of the 47	p. 128
V. B. Post-NSL Local and Diasporic Dissent Targeting	p. 133

V. C. Erasing Institutionalized Opposition - Political Parties	p. 144
V. D. Erasing Institutionalized Opposition - Civil Society Organizations	p. 151

Chapter VI. Creating a Patriotic Electoral System

VI. A. The 2021 Electoral Reforms.....	p. 162
VI. B. Perceptions of Effectiveness of Electoral Reforms, the 2021 LegCo Election and the New CE	p. 172
VI. C. The 2023 Electoral Reforms and the DC Election	p. 180

Chapter VII. Reinforcing Securitization through Local Legislation

VII. A. Reinforcement of Securitization and Art. 23	p. 190
VII. B. Public Reactions to the SNSO	p. 195

Chapter VIII. Selectively Depoliticized, Selectively Over-politicized Hong Kong

VIII. A. Securitization and Over-politicization of Speech in Education	p. 206
VIII. B. Securitization and Depoliticization of Speech in the Press	p. 220
VIII. C. The Apolitical Politician and the Over-political Mundane	p. 234

Conclusion	p. 242
-------------------------	--------

Bibliography	p. 248
---------------------------	--------

Appendix List

- I. List of Interviewees on Political Topics
- II. List of Interviewees on Social Topics
- III. List of Respondents to the Survey on Art. 23
- IV. Set of Interview Questions on Political Topics
- V. Set of Interview Questions on Social Topics
- VI. Set of Interview Questions for the Survey on Art. 23
- VII. Sentencing of the 45 Pro-Democrats in the Case of the 47
- VIII. CSOs Closed in Hong Kong June 2020 - December 2025
- IX. SNSO Criminal Offences and Subsequent Punishments

Summary

This thesis aims to analyze the political development of Hong Kong after the passing of the NSL through the filter of the depoliticization and over-politicization processes. It follows the political (under)development of Hong Kong chronologically, from the constraints of political development in the colonial period, the two decades after the Handover marked by strenuous efforts for democratization and pluralism, and the period following the introduction of the NSL, where the local and central authorities limit political development and pluralism through institutional, legal, and discursive securitization processes. The process of restructuring the political sphere in post-2020 Hong Kong is all-encompassing, from the forced disbandment of the pro-democratic camp and its political institutions, the repression of civil society, the introduction of two national security laws, to the electoral reforms. As a result, the role of ideology and of the political factor shifted from public contestation, dialogue, and pluralism to one ideological thread in line with the mainland model, which does not allow contestation, criminalizes dissent, and promises political representation through the lens of patriotism.

The theoretical chapter proposes five research questions on the processes of depoliticization and hyper-politicization as seen in the existing literature, with an emphasis on Hong Kong's particular case, where they develop in the context of autocratization and securitization. The first research question dealt with exploring depoliticization and hyper-politicization in case studies outside of democratic regimes. Before the National Security Law (NSL), Hong Kong had been classified as a regime between democracies and full authoritarianism, called a semi-democracy, a hybrid regime, or semi-authoritarianism. However, after the passing of the NSL, and more so the Safeguarding National Security Ordinance (SNSO), scholars increasingly assess Hong Kong's regime as being authoritarian, a context in which depoliticization and over-politicization appear significantly different from those in democratic scenarios. Given the restructuring of the political and civic societies post-2020, depoliticization and, respectively, over-politicization take various forms electorally, institutionally, discursively, and socio-culturally through the creation of public apathy due to repression. Therefore, this research offers several forms of empirical evidence to support the thesis that depoliticization and over-politicization are the two main logics of authoritarian governance in post-2020 Hong Kong, as seen in the chapters below.

The second chapter of the thesis addresses the formation of colonial Hong Kong, together with the process of creating a distinctive Hongkongese identity. Given colonial institutional, educational, discursive, and electoral constraints and underdevelopments, the Hongkongese identity has often been seen as apolitical. Depoliticization in the colonial period is the intentional creation of the colonial administration, which aimed to discourage the local population, already marginalized and discriminated against, from pursuing political agency. This is particularly relevant due to the fear of ideological contamination from the mainland, and can be seen in the brutal repression of riots in the beginning to the mid-20th century, and the legislation which targeted resistance against the empire – some of these archaic laws will be reused by the local authorities in the 21st century to suppress dissent. Instead, the empire, similarly to the mainland later on, based its claim to legitimacy on economic performance. In addition, towards the end of the colonial period, the administration granted local Hongkongers strong civil liberties and began the process of democratization through limited electoral reforms. The legal framework left by the British Empire through the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law serves as one of the principal sources of paradoxes and dilemmas that will later stunt the development of democratization.

The One Country, Two Systems (OCTS) principle introduces several hurdles in Hong Kong's political development process after 1997, which are discussed in the third chapter. The Special Administrative Region's (SAR) promised "high degree of autonomy" was in reality restricted by the mainland authorities through judicial interpretations of local legislation by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (SCNPC), unsuccessful attempts at passing a national security law in 2003, and the introduction of patriotic education in the early 2010s, as well as restrictions on attempted electoral reforms aiming to increase political representation. As such, the SAR faced autonomy, but without democratization. The public dissatisfaction with these constraints resulted in growing animosity towards China as a polity on the one hand, and towards mainlanders on the other, as local identity grew and led to local expression of identification. Mass-mobilization efforts such as 2014 Occupy Central illustrate the growing political consciousness of the Hongkongese people, enjoying public support for their aim for universal suffrage. The slow pace of democratization, in part due to the underdevelopment of the political society in Hong Kong, resulted in transition fatigue and manifested as apathy, helplessness, or desperation regarding the political future of the region, all of which played a crucial role in the last mass-scale effort for democratization.

By this point, the assumption that Hongkongers are apolitical, “economic animals” has clearly been proven false. The increased public pressure for democratization culminated in a mass movement in 2019 and 2020, as discussed in chapter four, when discontent with an extradition law catalyzed millions of Hongkongers. Their discontent shifted towards previous governance ills, and popular efforts concentrated around the five demands, at the forefront of which lay the desire for universal suffrage. The unprecedented mobilization was vilified by authorities, offering the central authorities the opportunity to impose a draconian national security law, which marked the beginning of the securitization project. The provisions of the NSL, including the new offences and their criminalization, were analyzed through the framework of securitization as conceptualized by the Copenhagen School, and the emergency state it imposed was used as a reason to essentially disqualify all democratic legislators. The NSL creates additional repression institutions, such as the Committee for Safeguarding National Security, National Security Department, and Office for Safeguarding National Security, and confers additional powers to the police force. The shock wave that followed the NSL marked the first major wave of depoliticization, characterized by the disqualification of several non-establishment politicians, the resignations of the rest, the end of protests as an expression of public interest, and the establishment of the regime of fear in several areas, from the press, social media, education, and in everyday environments. If the NSL is a tool for forced depoliticization, the immediate results are apathy, fear of expression, disengagement from the political arena, and increased immigration.

The dismantling of the opposition is further addressed in chapter five through two perspectives: that of individual politicians and activists on the one hand, and that of institutionalized oppositions through political parties and civil society organizations (CSOs). On the first note, the thesis explores the repression of individual politicians in Hong Kong, as well as those who fled abroad, and highlights tactics such as naming and shaming, intimidation, arrests, administrative detention, as well as transnational repression through revoking passports, placing bounties on diasporic dissidents, and arresting members of their families, which some scholars call examples of collective punishment. Moreover, the chapter analyzes the collective case of targeting the 47 pan-democrats who were arrested for allegedly conducting an illegal primary election. In both instances, the judicial process for national security cases goes against the common law tradition of the SAR and incorporates mainland judicial elements to suppress opposition, such as introducing harsh sentences, removing jury trial, executive appointment of national security judges, and denying bail. On the second note, the chapter

highlights how the aforementioned attacks on the pan-democrats led to the dismantling of institutional opposition in the forms of political parties and CSOs. Hong Kong has already suffered from political institutional underdevelopment, which was only exacerbated post-2020, as the arrests and harassment from the authorities led to the closing of all pro-democratic parties, many unions, and other politically engaged organizations. Overall, this chapter argued that, in the case of post-2020 Hong Kong, depoliticization is achieved through various mechanisms of state repression, from individual arrests, group targeting, and institutional dismantling of opposition, which results in political underrepresentation, a form of political poverty. The swift moves and the overarching legal mechanisms employed in this process led to a shock wave and instilled fear against possible future dissent.

The forced removal of pan-democratic politicians and candidates through disqualifications and arrests was the first step in restructuring the political system post-NSL. The second step that allowed uncontested power for the pro-establishment camp was achieved through the electoral reforms discussed in chapter six. The 2021 and 2023 reforms fundamentally change the electoral processes in Hong Kong in various ways: firstly, they revamp the structure of the governing bodies both for the Legislative Council (LegCo) and the District Councils (DCs) which limit political representation, as well as modify the selection mechanisms for the Chief Executive (CE) through the Electoral Committee (EC); secondly, they introduce filtering mechanisms for “patriotic candidates” without a clearly defined set of qualification criteria, thus eliminating any non-pro-establishment candidate. The result of the reforms is reflected in the abysmal electoral turnout post-2021, as well as increased public disengagement in the electoral process, as interviewees noted that the 2021 reform was imposed locally without consultation, and that the lack of ideological variety makes electoral participation futile, a stark marker of depoliticization.

Chapter seven focuses on the reinforcement of national security legislation through the enactment of art. 23 of the Basic Law. While some of the provisions of the NSL overlap with those of art. 23, the latter proposes a more comprehensive framework for criminalizing dissent or the intent for dissent. The need for SNSO was repeatedly stressed by central officials as a measure against “color revolution”, and the legislation was passed locally in an unprecedentedly short period. The chapter analyzes the offences of the SNSO, some newly introduced, others overlapping previous offences, but with harsher punishments – most notably, the law criminalizes acts that were previously not crimes, or were archaic crimes of the colonial period, updated with increased penalties, which acts as a politicization mechanism of

the mundane. Here lies the paradox of dual, concomitant de-/over-politicization: while ideological pluralism is suppressed in the political sphere, acts outside of the political arena become politicized through the frameworks of the NSL and, later, of the SNSO. Moreover, SNSO offers authorities, particularly the police, extended powers of prosecution and has an extraterritorial effect, aiming to intimidate and repress diasporic dissent. The results of the survey conducted on the effect of art. 23 clearly indicates that the law resulted in a strong deterrence against free speech, limits Hong Kong's autonomy from the mainland, negatively affects the SAR's status as a global financial hub, and creates a regime of fear for citizens when interacting with authorities.

Lastly, chapter eight provides additional empirical evidence for the duality of the depoliticization and over-politicization processes by bringing examples from the press, the education reforms to implement patriotic curricula, and other examples of governance crises where criticism of the authorities is over-politicized and labelled as threats to national security. The press has been one of the first targets of the securitization campaign, which led to several pro-democratic outlets being closed down, their members arrested and sentenced, and the press materials banned as seditious materials. On this note, the high-profile case of Jimmy Lai received the longest sentence in cases of national security, 20 years, overriding even prosecution cases from the mainland. The erosion of press freedom is intrinsically tied to freedom of speech and of academia, where expressions of civic engagement have been criminalized and over-politicized, while concomitantly, acts of adherence to the mainland cultural and political identity have become a staple of the patriotic curricula. In this context, where ideology is selectively shunned from the political sphere by repressing ideological pluralism, it is transferred to other areas such as education, entertainment, and non-ideological policies.

Overall, the thesis concludes that post-2020 Hong Kong has been forcefully depoliticized. The findings indicate that, under the guise of securitization, Hong Kong's governance has taken on an authoritarian nature through legislative changes, institutional restructuring, and discursive control. In this context, depoliticization should not be seen as the complete disappearance of ideology in Hong Kong. Instead, it reflects a form of arena-shifting, where over-politicization of dissent leads to depoliticization through intentional repression, which can be argued to have fundamentally eroded Hong Kong's autonomous political system. On a global scale, Hong Kong is a peculiar case – its depoliticization does not come from political apathy or disinterest, but from forced external intervention by its autocratic master.

One of the challenges of writing on current political development is that changes happen at this very moment, and, given the high speed of restructuring of the political society in Hong Kong, future research should focus on the long-term effects of the securitization project. Another topic of interest left for future research resides in the methods of resistance against repression. While resistance still exists, its forms had to find less obvious expression: from soft resistance, supporting the yellow economy, continuing the Hongkongese political identity from diasporic spaces, or through remembering. A third possible research direction relies on the role of the diaspora in fostering a particular Hongkongese political identity and in continuing the legacy of the democratization movement. This thesis focused on the internal political changes within the SAR, leaving future research to investigate the role of the internalization of the development, particularly following the role that actors such as the US or the UK have on the political development of the region. Given the SAR's slow economic development post-2020, an issue faced by the mainland as well, one cannot help but question to what end the selectively "apolitical" governance based on performance provides popular legitimacy in the future. And, if that fails, will what replaces it aid in the democratization process of the SAR?

Bibliography

Literature and Historical Sources

1. Abbas, Ackbar. *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*. NED-New edition, vol. 2, University of Minnesota Press, 1997. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttshbm>. Accessed 30 June 2025.
2. Alagappa, Mathiah, ed. *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
3. Allen, John, and Allan Cochrane. "Assemblages of State Power: Topological Shifts in the Organization of Government and Politics." *Antipode*, vol. 42, no. 5, 2010, pp. 1071–1089.
4. Altbach, Philip, and Gerard Postiglione. "Hong Kong's Academic Advantage", *International Higher Education*, no. 66, 2012, pp. 22-27.
5. Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1958.
6. Aristotle. *Politics*. tr. C. D. C. Reeve, 1998, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company.
7. Au, Chi Yan Ryan, and Lai Hang Hui. "Spatial Governance and the Rise of Post-Politics in Hong Kong." *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2016, pp. 227–242.
8. Badiou, Alain. *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings*, London: Verso, 2012.
9. Baehr, Peter. "Hong Kong Universities in the Shadow of the National Security Law", *Society*, vol. 59, no. 3, pp. 225-239, 2022, DOI: 10.1007/s12115-022-00709-9.
10. Baker, Andrew, et al. "Performing central bank independence: The Bank of England's communicative financial stability strategy", *Regulation & Governance*, vol. 18, 2024, pp. 1000–1017.
11. Barbi, Guido Niccolò. "The Depoliticization of the Political: An Arendtian Account of Expertise in Politics", *Raisons politiques*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 70, 2018, pp. 75-96.
12. Bard, Solomon. "Tea and Opium." *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 40, 2000, pp. 1–19. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23895257>. Accessed 21 May 2025.
13. Bates, Stephen, et al. "(De)politicisation and the Father's Clause parliamentary debates." *Policy & Politics*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2014, pp. 243–258.

14. Bialer, Seweryn. *Stalin's Successors: Leadership, Stability and Change in the Soviet Union*. Cambridge University Press, 1982.
15. Blanchette, Jude. *Ideological Security as National Security*. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2020, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep27056>. Accessed 26 October 2025.
16. Bluhdorn, Ingolfur. "The third transformation of democracy: On the efficient management of late-modern complexity", in Bludhorn Ingolfur & Jun Uwe (eds) *Economic Efficiency – democratic empowerment: Contested Modernization in Britain and Germany*. Lexington Books, 2007.
17. Brearey, Oliver James. "Hong Kong Identity and History - a Review Article." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 49, 2009, pp. 295–319, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23891849>. Accessed 7 February 2026.
18. Breslin, Shaun. "Democratizing One-Party Rule in China." In: Burnell, P. and Youngs, R. *New Challenges to Democratization*, 2009, pp. 136–154. London: Routledge.
19. Brown, Wendy. *Nihilistic Times: Thinking with Max Weber*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2023.
20. Bryce, James. *Modern Democracies*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921.
21. Burkhardt, Kate. "HKSAR v. Ma Wai Kwan David & Ors: A Step in the Right Direction", in *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1998, pp. 609-632, <https://journals.tulane.edu/jicl/issue/view/412>.
22. Burnay, Matthieu, and Eva Pils. "Authoritarianism and Marketisation in Higher Education: Implications of China's Rise for Cosmopolitan Academic Citizenship." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 26, no. 10, 2022, pp. 1761–81. doi:10.1080/13642987.2022.2041602.
23. Burnham, Peter. "New Labour and the politics of depoliticisation", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2001, pp. 127–149.
24. Buzan, Barry, and Ole Waever. *Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
25. Caiden, Gerald. "In Search of a Apolitical Science of American Public Administration", in *Politics and administration: Woodrow Wilson and American public administration*. Ed. Jack Rabin and James Bowman, 1984, New York: Marcel Dekker.

26. Calvo, Kerman, and Martín Portos. "Securitization, Repression, and the Criminalization of Young People's Dissent. An Introduction", in *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, vol. 77, no. 4, 2019, pp. 1-6.
27. Carroll, John M. *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonialists in Hong Kong*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005a.
28. Carroll, John M., and 高馬可. "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Bourgeois Identity in Colonial Hong Kong / 殖民地時期香港的殖民地政策、民族主義和華商所扮演的角色." *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2005b, pp. 146-164. www.jstor.org/stable/23500574. Accessed 3 September 2022.
29. Chan, Johannes, and Douglas Kerr. "Academic Freedom, Political Interference, and Public Accountability: The Hong Kong Experience", *Journal of Academic Freedom*, 2016, vol. 7, <https://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/ChanKerr.pdf>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
30. Chan, Johannes. "A storm of unprecedented ferocity: The shrinking space of the right to political participation, peaceful demonstration, and judicial independence in Hong Kong", *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2018, pp. 373-388.
31. Chan, Ming K. "Hong Kong: Colonial Legacy, Transformation, and Challenge." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 547, 1996, pp. 12. www.jstor.org/stable/1048360. Accessed 19 July 2025.
32. Chan, Phil C. W. "Hong Kong's Political Autonomy and Its Continuing Struggle for Universal Suffrage." *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies*, 2006, pp. 285-311. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24869081>. Accessed 7 July 2025.
33. Chan, Selina Ching. "Politicizing Tradition: The Identity of Indigenous Inhabitants in Hong Kong." *Ethnology*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1998, pp. 39-54. www.jstor.org/stable/3773847. Accessed 7 July 2025.
34. Chen, Albert H. Y. "The Hong Kong Basic Law and the Limits of Democratization Under 'One Country Two Systems.'" *The International Lawyer*, vol. 50, no. 1, 2017, pp. 69-86, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26415630>. Accessed 14 July 2025.
35. Chen, Ta. "Shipping Strike in Hong Kong" *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 14, no. 5, 1922, pp. 9-15. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41828226>. Accessed 26 April 2025.
36. Cheng, Joseph Yu-shek. "The Hong Kong Policy of the Communist Party of China - Reflections on its Nature, Priorities and Strategies", in *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2021, pp. 971- 1026.

37. Cheung, Anthony B. "Can Hong Kong exceptionalism last? Dilemmas of governance and public administration over five decades 1970s-2020". *Public Administration and Policy*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2022, pp. 6–12, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1108/PAP-12-2021-0064>.
38. Cheung, Peter T. Y. "The Changing Relations between Hong Kong and the Mainland since 2003" in Wai-man Lam et al. (eds.), *Contemporary Hong Kong Government and Politics*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012, pp. 324-47.
39. Cheung, Peter TY. "Toward Collaborative Governance between Hong Kong and Mainland China." *Urban Studies*, vol. 52, no. 10, 2015, pp. 1915–33, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26146103>. Accessed 8 July 2025.
40. Chopra, Surabhi, and Eva Pils. "The Hong Kong National Security Law and the Struggle over Rule of Law and Democracy in Hong Kong". *Federal Law Review*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2022, pp. 292-313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0067205X221107410>.
41. Chow, Olivia, et al. "Anatomy of a Crackdown: The Hong Kong National Security Law and Restrictions on Civil Society", *Center for Asian Law, Georgetown Law*, 2024, <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/law-asia/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2024/03/24-ASIAN-LAW-NGO-REPORT-FINAL.pdf>. Accessed 10 December 2025.
42. Chow, Rey. "Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem." *Boundary 2*, vol. 25, no. 3, 1998, pp. 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.2307/303586>. Accessed 2 February 2026.
43. Christopher, A. J. "Decolonisation without Independence" *GeoJournal*, vol. 56, no. 3, 2002, pp. 213–24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41147687>. Accessed 2 July 2025.
44. Creswell, John W. *A concise introduction to mixed methods research*. SAGE Publications, 2014.
45. Crook, Tim. *Comparative media law and ethics*, New York: Routledge, 2010, <https://books-library.website/files/books-library.online-02052029Pc0V5.pdf>.
46. Crouch, Colin. *Post-Democracy*. Polity Press, 2004.
47. Cullen, Richard. "Media Freedom in Chinese Hong Kong", *The Transnational Lawyer*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1998, pp. 391-95.
48. Dalton, Russell, David Farrell, and Ian McAllister. *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
49. Dapiran, Antony. *City on Fire. The Fight for Hong Kong*, Minnesota: Scribe, 2020.
50. Dapiran, Antony. "Hong Kong's National Security Law." *Crisis*, ed. by Jane Golley et al., ANU Press, 2021, pp. 59–66, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1m9x316.11>. Accessed 1 September 2025.

51. Davis, Michael. "Hong Kong: How Beijing Perfected Repression". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2022, pp. 100–115.
52. Davis, Michael C. "Beijing's Crackdown on Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Hong Kong." *Asia Policy*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2021, pp. 57–80, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27023971>. Accessed 11 November 2025.
53. Davis, Michael C. "Constitutionalism and the Politics of Democracy in Hong Kong" *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2006, pp. 165–77, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45289653>. Accessed 11 July 2025.
54. Degolyer, Michael E., and Janet Lee Scott. "The Myth of Political Apathy in Hong Kong", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 547, 1996, pp. 68–78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1048364>. Accessed 9 August 2025.
55. de Nardis, Fabio. "The Concept of De-Politicization and its Consequences", *The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies*, 2017, pp. 341 - 356, DOI: 10.1285/i20356609v10i2p340.
56. Deng, Xiaoping. *Selected works of Deng Xiaoping (Vol. 3)*, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1993.
57. Derks, Hans. "Opium Production and Consumption in China" *History of the Opium Problem: The Assault on the East, ca. 1600-1950*, vol. 105, Brill, 2012, pp. 643–708. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv4cbhdf.37>. Accessed 11 April 2025.
58. Diamond, Larry. *Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, pp. 239-244.
59. Dicks, Anthony. "Treaty, Grant, Usage or Sufferance? Some Legal Aspects of the Status of Hong Kong" *The China Quarterly*, no. 95, 1983, pp. 427–55. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/654028>. Accessed 23 June 2025.
60. Diken, Bülent. "Radical Critique as the Paradox of Post-Political Society". *Third Text*, vol. 23, no. 5, 2009, pp. 579-586, DOI: 10.1080/09528820903184815.
61. Dikotter, Frank. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. Stanford, 1992.
62. Ding, Iza, and Dan Slater. 2021. "Democratic Decoupling." *Democratization*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 63–80. doi:10.1080/13510347.2020.1842361.
63. Dobbs, Darrell. "The Justice of Socrates' Philosopher Kings." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1985, pp. 809–26, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111182>. Accessed 3 January 2026.

64. Doowon, Suh. "Civil Society in Political Democratization: Social Movement Impacts and Institutional Politics." *Development and Society*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2006, pp. 173-95, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/deveandsoci.35.2.173>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
65. Doyle, Laura. *Inter-imperiality. Vying Empires, Gendered Labor, and the Literary Arts of Alliance*. London: Duke University Press, 2020.
66. Duta, Carmen. "Cantopop Renewed: Identity Politics in Post-2019 Hong Kong and the Rise of Mirror", in *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai - Studia Europaea*, vol. 70, no. 1, 2025, pp. 177-191, <https://studia.reviste.ubbcluj.ro/index.php/subbeuropaea/issue/view/744/2149/>.
67. Duta, Carmen. "Carrie Lam's 2019-2020 Communication Strategy: a Failure of Democratic Governing", in *Communication Dynamics in Global Affairs: Navigating Conflict and Diplomacy*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023, pp. 99-112, <http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro/bd/ebooks/pdf/4029.pdf>.
68. Duta, Carmen. "Monopolizing Violence: Hong Kong Police's use of force during the 2019-2020 protests", in *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai - Studia Europaea*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2024, pp. 7-25, <https://studia.reviste.ubbcluj.ro/index.php/subbeuropaea/issue/view/699/2096>.
69. Duta, Carmen. "One Country, One System: John Lee's Departure from Ideological Discourse to Selective Depoliticization", in *Strategic Narratives in Turbulent Times: Communication, Legitimacy, and Global Stakes*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2025, pp. 87-99.
70. Economy, Elizabeth C. *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
71. Ellul, Jacques. "Politicization and political solutions", in *The Politicization of Society*, ed. Kenneth S. Templeton Jr., Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1979, pp. 211-247.
72. Eves, Lewis. "Security through Protest: Critiquing Anti-Protest Policies using Securitization", in *People, Place and Policy*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2025, pp. 80-90. <https://doi.org/10.3351/ppp.2025.6528629339>.
73. Fawcett, Paul, et al. "Anti-Politics, Depoliticization, and Governance", in *Anti-Politics, Depoliticization, and Governance*, ed. by Paul Fawcett et al., New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

74. Fedirko, Taras. "Self-censorships in Ukraine: Distinguishing between the silences of television journalism." *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2020, pp. 12-28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323119897424>.
75. Flinders, Matthew, and Jim Buller. "Depoliticisation: Principles, Tactics and Tools", in *British Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, vol. 1, pp. 293–318.
76. Fong, Ware. "Depoliticization, Politicization, and Criminalization: How China Has Been Handling Political Prisoners since 1980s", *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-018-9569-0>.
77. Frohock, Fred. "The Structure of 'Politics'", *American Political Science Review*, vol. 72, 1978, pp. 859 - 70.
78. "Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill 2019", *The Law Society of Hong Kong*, 2019, https://www.hklawsoc.org.hk/-/media/hkls/pub_e/news/submissions/20190605.pdf?rev=50367aecfa8a47be9d5ada3662e27906. Accessed 2 August 2025.
79. Fu, Hualing. "China's imperative for national security legislation", Chan C. and De Londras F. (eds) *China's National Security: Endangering Hong Kong's Rule of Law?*, Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2020, pp. 41–60.
80. Fu, Hualing. "Managed Freedom in Precarious Times: Maintaining Academic Freedom in Transitional Hong Kong" *Global Constitutionalism*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2025, pp. 182–205, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045381724000157>.
81. Fu, Hualing. "Politicized Challenges, Depoliticized Responses: Political Monitoring In China's Transitions". In *Surveillance, Counter-Terrorism and Comparative Constitutionalism*, ed. Davis Fergal, Nicola McGarrity, and George Williams, 2013, pp. 296–312. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
82. Fu, Hualing. "The July 9th (709) Crackdown on human rights lawyers: legal advocacy in an authoritarian state", *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 27, no. 112, 2018, pp. 554–568.
83. Fukuoka, Kazuya. "Memory, Politics, and International Relations" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2011, pp. 142–48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43133874>. Accessed 2 July 2025.
84. Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and The Last Man*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.
85. Gao, Wanglai. *Sino-British Negotiations on the Handover of Hong Kong (1979–1997)*, Palgrave Macmillan: Singapore, 2024, <https://content.e-bookshelf.de/media/reading/L-25039169-9aed554842.pdf>.

86. Gerschewski, Johannes. *The two logics of autocratic rule*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.
87. Giddens, Anthony. *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Polity Press, 1998.
88. Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and tr. by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971.
89. Greven, Michael. "Max Weber's Missing Definition of 'Political Action' in His 'Basic Sociological Concepts': Simultaneously a Commentary on Some Aspects of Kari Palonen's Writings on Max Weber." *Max Weber Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2004, pp. 179–200, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24579687>. Accessed 27 January 2026.
90. Ha, Yong-Chool. "Civil Society and Democratization." *Late Industrialization, Tradition, and Social Change in South Korea*, University of Washington Press, 2024, pp. 127–59, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.31550124.9>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
91. Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation." *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, no. 36, 1989, pp. 68–81, www.jstor.org/stable/44111666. Accessed 5 August 2025.
92. Hambro, Edvard. "Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong." *The Phylon Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1957, p. 70, www.jstor.org/stable/273076. Accessed 18 July 2025.
93. Hay, Colin. *Why We Hate Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.
94. Hibbert, Christopher. *The Dragon Wakes: China and the West, 1793-1911*, Longmans, 1970.
95. Himmelstrand, Ulf. "A Theoretical and Empirical Approach to Depoliticization and Political Involvement." *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 6, no. 1/2, 1962, pp. 83–110, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4193553>. Accessed 29 January 2026.
96. Hjermann, Anni Roth. "Depoliticising democracy through discourse: Reading Russia's descent into autocracy and war with Jacques Rancière's political theory." *New Perspectives*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2023, pp. 49–76.
97. Ho, Benjamin Tze Ern. *China's Political Worldview and Chinese Exceptionalism International Order and Global Leadership*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021.
98. Ho, Ming-Sho. *Be Water Collective Improvisation in Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Protests*, Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2025, pp. 10-27.
99. Ho, Wai-Chung. "The Influence of Politics in Hong Kong's Education System 23 Years after Its Handover from the United Kingdom to China", *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, vol. 19, no 2, 2020, pp. 36-53.

100. Ho, Wing Chung. "The Settling Experience of Hongkongers in London: Another Case of Reluctant Migration in Fear of Beijing's Takeover." *China Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2023, pp. 245–72, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48740213>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
101. Holbig, Heike. "Ideology after the end of ideology. China and the quest for autocratic legitimization", *Democratization*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2013.738862>.
102. Hou, Zhide, and Qianni Peng. "The national security law for Hong Kong: a corpus driven comparative study of media representations between China's and Anglo-American English language press", *Humanities And Social Sciences Communications*, vol. 10, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01699-7>.
103. Huang, Zheping and Huang Echo. "A brief history: Beijing's interpretations of Hong Kong's basic law, from 1999 to the present day", *Quartz*, 2022, <https://qz.com/828713/a-brief-history-beijings-interpretations-of-hong-kongs-basic-law-from-1999-to-the-present-day>. Accessed 15 September 2024.
104. Huntington, Samuel. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. London: Yale University Press, 1968.
105. "Individual Visit Scheme for Mainland Residents", *Immigration Department*, https://www.immd.gov.hk/publications/a_report_2015/en/ch1.html. Accessed 8 July 2025.
106. Jones, Carol. "Politics postponed: law as a substitute for politics in Hong Kong and China", in Jayasuriya K (ed.) *Law, Capitalism and Power in Asia: the Rule of Law and Legal Institutions*. New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 45–68.
107. Karlekar, Karin, and Lee Becker. "By the Numbers: Tracing the Statistical Correlation Between Press Freedom and Democracy", *Center for International Media Assistance*, 2014, <https://www.cima.ned.org/resource/by-the-numbers-tracing-the-statistical-correlation-between-press-freedom-and-democracy/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
108. Kerr, Peter, and Steven Kettell. "Exploring the political character of decision-making: The BJPIR and the politics of (de)politicisation", *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol 27, no. 2, 2024, pp. 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13691481241269267>.
109. King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 107, no. 2, 2013, pp. 326–43.

110. Kit, Chan Chi. "China as 'Other': Resistance to and Ambivalence toward National Identity in Hong Kong." *China Perspectives*, vol 97, no. 1, 2014, pp. 25–34, www.jstor.org/stable/24055595. Accessed 17 April 2025.
111. Konrad, George. *Antipolitics: An Essay*. London: Quartet Books, 1984.
112. Kovács, Kriszta, and Janika Spannagel, "Academic freedom: Global variations in norm conceptualization, diffusion and contestation – an introduction," *Global Constitutionalism*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2025, pp. 13–25. doi:10.1017/S2045381724000133.
113. Krishnaswami, Shreeram. "Colonial Foundations of Western Capitalism." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 27, no. 30, 1992, pp. 81–89, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4398689>. Accessed 13 April 2025.
114. Ku, Agnes S. "Immigration Policies, Discourses, and the Politics of Local Belonging in Hong Kong (1950-1980)." *Modern China*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2004, pp. 328, www.jstor.org/stable/3181313. Accessed 9 August 2025.
115. Kuan, Hsin-chi, Lau Siu-kai. "Between Liberal Autocracy and Democracy: Democratic Legitimacy in Hong Kong," *Democratization*, 2002, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 58-76.
116. Kuan, Hsin-chi. "Power Dependence and Democratic Transition: The Case of Hong Kong," in *The China Quarterly*, vol. 128, 1991, pp. 774–793, doi:10.1017/S0305741000004343.
117. Kwok, Yu Hang. "Conceptualising Reform, Governance and Knowledge: The Case of Hong Kong Senior Secondary Liberal Studies Curriculum Reform." *Education Inquiry*, 2025, pp. 1–26. doi:10.1080/20004508.2025.2479313.
118. Kwong, Ying-Ho. "Electoral Overhaul Under the Principle of 'Patriots Governing Hong Kong': Implications for Pro-China Governing Coalition Re-Building." *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 72, no. 6, 2025, pp. 583–96. doi:10.1080/10758216.2025.2483326.
119. Kwong, Ying-ho. "The Growth of "Localism" in Hong Kong. A New Path for the Democracy Movement?", *China Perspectives*, vol. 3, 2016, pp. 63-68, <https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.7057>.
120. Lai, Yan Ho. "Securitization or Autocratization? Hong Kong's Rule of Law under the Shadow of China's Authoritarian Governance," in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol 58, no. 1, 2023, pp. 8-25, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096221124978>.
121. Lam, Kit Chun, and Pak Wai Liu. *Immigration and the Economy of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: City Univ. of Hong Kong Press, 1998, p. 13.

122. Lam, Wai-Man. "Depoliticization, Citizenship, and the Politics of Community in Hong Kong." *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2005, pp. 309–22. doi:10.1080/13621020500147467.
123. Lam, Willy. "The politicisation of China's law-enforcement and judicial apparatus.", *China Perspectives*, vol. 2, 2009, pp. 42–51.
124. Lau, Siu-kai. *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1984.
125. Lau, Siu-kai. "Local Administrative Reform in Hong Kong: Promises and Limitations." *Asian Survey*, vol. 22, no. 9, 1982, pp. 858–73, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643801>. Accessed 21 April 2025.
126. Lau, Siu-kai. "The National Security Law: political and social effects on the governance of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", in *Public Administration and Policy Journal*, vol. 24, nr. 3, 2021, pp. 234-241, DOI 10.1108/PAP-08-2021-0050, <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/pap-08-2021-0050/full/pdf>.
127. Lau, Tracy. "State Formation and Education in Hong Kong: Pro-Beijing Schools and National Education." *Asian Survey*, vol. 53, no. 4, 2013, pp. 728–53, <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2013.53.4.728>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
128. Lau, Tracy Chui Shan. "Hegemony and the Politics of Education in Hong Kong: From the Post-War Era to the Post-Handover Era." *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2018, pp. 241–55. doi:10.1080/00220620.2018.1448764.
129. Law, Wing Yip. "Changes in Hong Kong's education policies and conditions in recent years under the atmosphere of Chinese-style political correctness", *Power and Education*, 2025, pp. 1-17, DOI:10.1177/17577438251407202.
130. Lee, Ching Kwan. *Forever Hong Kong: A Global City's Decolonization Struggle*. Harvard University Press, 2025, pp. 58-118.
131. Lee, Francis, and Chan Chi-kit. "Legalization of press control under democratic backsliding: The case of post-national security law Hong Kong." *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 45, no. 5, 2023, pp. 916-931. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437221140525>.
132. Lee, Francis. "Changing Political Economy of the Hong Kong Media", *China Perspectives*, vol. 3, 2018, pp. 9-18, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.8009>.
133. Lee, Francis L. F, and Chan, Joseph. *Media and Protest Logics in the Digital Era*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, ch. 3.

134. Lee, Francis L. F., *et al.* "Five Demands and (Not Quite) Beyond: Claim Making and Ideology in Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Bill Movement." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 53, no. 4, 2020, pp. 22–40, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48610599>. Accessed 24 August 2025.
135. Lee, Francis L. F., *et al.* "Hong Kong's Summer of Uprising: From Anti-Extradition to Anti-Authoritarian Protests." *China Review*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2019, pp. 1– 32. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26838911>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
136. Lee, Francis L. F. "Civil society organizations under rapid democratic backsliding: The case of Hong Kong", *Journal of Civil Society*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2025, pp. 103–120, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2024.2448156>.
137. Li, F. L. N., *et al.* "Discourse on Migration and Ethnic Identity: Interviews with Professionals in Hong Kong" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1995, pp. 342–356. www.jstor.org/stable/622655. Accessed 21 July 2025.
138. Li, Pang-kwong. *Political Order and Power Transition in Hong Kong*. Chinese University Press, 1997.
139. Li, Xing. "The Chinese Cultural Revolution Revisited." *China Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2001, pp. 137–65, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23461931>. Accessed 1 February 2026.
140. Li, Yu-wai Vic. "The Irreplaceable Outpost? Whither Hong Kong in China's Financial Future." *China Review*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2020, pp. 261–278, www.jstor.org/stable/26928119. Accessed 11 June 2025.
141. Li, Zilin, *et al.* "COVID-19 in Hong Kong: Policies and Community Actions Mitigate the Effects of Age Structure and Population Density." *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research*, vol. 20, 2022, pp. 415–35, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27222586>. Accessed 28 August 2025.
142. Liao, Yang, and Meng, Li. "'Patriots Governing Hong Kong' and the Innovation of Practice Path to Cultivate the Chinese National Community Consciousness." In: *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, vol. 4, no. 4, 2021, pp. 161-168.
143. Lin, Man-Houng. "Late Qing Perceptions of Native Opium." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 64, no. 1, 2004, pp. 117–44, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25066727>. Accessed 11 April 2025.
144. Linz, Juan, and Stepan, Alfred. *Problems of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, 1996, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

145. Lipset, Seymour M. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and the Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 53, no. 1, 1959, pp. 69–105.
146. Lo, Pui-yin. "Reactivated and Re-Energized: The Sedition Offences in 'New Era' Hong Kong", *Hong Kong Law Journal*, vol. 52, no. 3, 2022, pp. 913–36.
147. Lo, William Yat Wai, and Euan Auld. "Unpacking the antinomy of student politics: representation, activism, and (Dis)empowerment amid political turmoil." *Higher Education*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-025-01583-0>.
148. Ma, Ngok. *Political Development in Hong Kong: State, Political Society, and Civil Society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007.
149. Ma, Ngok. "Civil Society and Democratization in Hong Kong Paradox and Duality", in *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2008, pp. 155–175, doi:10.29654/TJD.200812.0007.
150. Ma, Ngok. "Local councils as movement resource: Post-anti-extradition movement district councils in Hong Kong", *Journal of Civil Society*, vol. 20, no. 4, 2024, pp. 325–340. doi: 10.1080/17448689.2024.2397465.
151. Ma, Ngok. "Party Underdevelopment in Hong Kong: Hybrid Constraints and Value Changes" *Asian Survey*, vol. 58, no. 3, 2018, pp. 416–38, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26494057>. Accessed 15 November 2025.
152. Ma, Ngok. "SARS and the Limits of the Hong Kong SAR Administrative State." *Asian Perspective*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2004, pp. 99–120, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42704445>. Accessed 7 July 2025.
153. Ma, Ngok. "The Rise of 'Anti-China' Sentiments in Hong Kong and the 2012 Legislative Council Elections." *China Review*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2015, pp. 39–66, www.jstor.org/stable/24291928 Accessed 7 February 2026.
154. Maravall, Jose Maria. "The Myth of the Authoritarian Advantage." In Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.) *Economic Reform and Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp. 13–27.
155. Maxwell, Neville. "Hong Kong 1999: Judicial Provocation and Rule of Law." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 35, no. 21/22, 2000, pp. 1807–1814, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4409319>. Accessed 15 September 2024.
156. Miller, Eugene. "What Does 'Political' Mean?" *The Review of Politics*, vol. 42, no. 1, 1980, pp. 56–72, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1407148>. Accessed 24 January 2026.

157. Montembeault, Francoise. "Learning to Be "Better Democrats"? The Role of Informal Practices in Brazilian Participatory Budgeting Experiences", in Cameron, M.A., Hershberg, E., Sharpe, K.E. (eds) *New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012, pp. 99–122, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137270580_5.
158. Morris, Jan. *Epilogue to an Empire*, London: Penguin Books, 1993.
159. Morris, Paul, and Edward Vickers. "Schooling, Politics and the Construction of Identity in Hong Kong: The 2012 'Moral and National Education' Crisis in Historical Context." *Comparative Education*, vol. 51, no. 3, 2015, pp. 305–26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43927333>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
160. Mouffe, Chantal. *On the Political*. Routledge, 2005.
161. Munn, Christopher. *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841-1880*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009.
162. Ng, Michael, Zhang S, and Wong MWL. "Who but the Governor in Executive Council is the judge: historical use of Emergency Regulations Ordinance", in *Hong Kong Law Journal*, vol. 50, no. 2, 2020, pp. 425–461.
163. Ng, Michael. "Rule of law in Hong Kong history demythologised: student umbrella movement of 1919" *Hong Kong Law Journal*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2016, pp. 829–848.
164. Ng, Michael. "When silence speaks: press censorship and rule of law in British Hong Kong (1850s–1940s)", *Law and Literature*, vol 29, no. 3, 2017, pp. 425–456.
165. Ng, Vitrierat, and Kin-man Chan. "Emotion Politics: Joyous Resistance in Hong Kong." *China Review*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2017, pp. 83–115, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44160410>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
166. Nisbett, Richard. *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... and Why*. New York: The Free Press, 2003.
167. Oakeshott, Michael. *On Human Conduct*, 1975, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
168. O'Brien, Kevin. "Neither Withdrawal nor Resistance: Adapting to Increased Repression in China", *Modern China*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2023, pp. 3-25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00977004221119082>.
169. O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Reflections on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1978, pp. 3–38.

170. Palma, Mauricio. "The Securitization of Protests as a Challenge to Democracy", in *World, Society, Law*, eds. Marco Antonio Loschiavo Leme de Barros et al., 2020, pp. 510-539, DOI: 10.22350/9786587340784.
171. Pan, Qianqian, *et al.* "Measuring digital literacy across ages and over time: Development and validation of a performance-based assessment", *Education and Information Technologies*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-025-13592-8>.
172. Panda, Snehlata. "Representative Governance: Exploring Deficiencies." *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 65, no. 4, 2004, pp. 622–35. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41856080>. Accessed 10 November 2025.
173. Peck, Jamie, *et al.* "Hong Kong's new normal: Remaking authorized discourses of "special administration," 2017–2022", in *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, vol. 42, no. 6, 2024, pp. 1082-1102.
174. Pei, Minxin. "China: Totalitarianism's Long Shadow", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2021, pp. 5–21.
175. Pepper, Suzanne. "Hong Kong in 1995: Institution-Building and Citizenship between Two Sovereigns." *Asian Survey*, vol. 36, no. 1, 1996, pp. 25–32, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645552>. Accessed 30 June 2025.
176. Peters, B. Guy, and Jon Pierre, 'Politicization of the civil service: concepts, causes, consequences', in B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre, eds, *Politicization of the civil service in comparative perspective: the quest for control*, New York: Routledge, 2004.
177. Petersen, Carole. "Prohibiting the Hong Kong National Party: Has Hong Kong Violated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights?", *Hong Kong Law Journal*, 2018, vol. 48, part 3, pp. 789-805, <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/0b8d7778-7ee6-439b-8bdf-425893ff98c5/content>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
178. Ping, Yew Chiew, and Kwong Kin-ming. "Hong Kong Identity on the Rise." *Asian Survey*, vol. 54, no. 6, 2014, pp. 1088–1112, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2014.54.6.1088. Accessed 20 June 2025.
179. "Prospects for Democracy in Hong Kong: Results of the 2012 Elections", *Congressional Research Service*, 2012, https://www.congress.gov/crs_external_products/R/PDF/R42746/R42746.4.pdf. Accessed 15 July 2025.

180. Przeworski, Adam. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
181. Pye, Lucian. "The International Position of Hong Kong." *The China Quarterly*, no. 95, 1983, pp. 456–68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/654029>. Accessed 8 February 2026.
182. Raco, Mike, and Wen I Lin. "Urban Sustainability, Conflict Management, and the Geographies of Postpoliticism: A Case Study of Taipei." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2012, pp. 191–208.
183. Rancière, Jacques. *On the Shores of Politics*. London: Verso Books, 2007.
184. "Review Of Maritime Transport", *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, 1997, https://unctad.org/System/Files/Official-Document/Rmt1997ch5_en.Pdf. Accessed 6 April 2025.
185. Robinson, Darrel, et al. "Self-censorship of regime support in authoritarian states: Evidence from list experiments in China", *Research & Politics*, vol. 6, no. 3, 2019, pp. 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168019856449>.
186. Romeo, Graziella. "What's wrong with depoliticisation?", *European Law Open*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 168–177, 2022. doi:10.1017/el0.2022.11.
187. Roxborough, Ian. "Modernization Theory Revisited. A Review Article." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 30, no. 4, 1988, pp. 753–61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/178933>. Accessed 2 June 2025.
188. Sadowski, Mirosław Michał. "Hong Kong, the Virus and Illiberalism: Between Flattening the Curve and an Authoritarian Slide?", *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, vol. 35, 2022, pp. 961–976, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-022-09898-2>.
189. Sartori, Giovanni. "What Is 'Politics.'?" *Political Theory*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1973, pp. 5–26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/191073>. Accessed 24 January 2026.
190. Sassen, Saskia. "Global Financial Centers." *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 1, 1999, pp. 75–87, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20020240>. Accessed 29 June 2025.
191. Sautman, Barry. "Politicization, Hyperpoliticization, and Depoliticization of Chinese Education." *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 35, no. 4, 1991, pp. 669–89, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1188111>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
192. Schauer, Frederick. "Free Speech and the Argument from Democracy." *Nomos*, vol. 25, 1983, pp. 241–56, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24219368>. Accessed 13 January 2026.

193. Schroeder, Ralph. "Media Systems, Digital Media and Politics." *Social Theory after the Internet: Media, Technology, and Globalization*, UCL Press, 2018, pp. 28–59. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20krxdr.5>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
194. Scott, Ian. "An Overview of the Hong Kong Legislative Council Elections of 1991", *Asian Journal of Public Administration*. vol. 13, no. 2, 1991, pp. 11–37, <https://hkjo.lib.hku.hk/archive/files/9a143dfa460b1378f2b447a98a057d8e.pdf>.
195. Shen, Jianfa, et al. "The Spatial Dynamics of Foreign Investment in the Pearl River Delta, South China." *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 166, no. 4, 2000, pp. 312–22, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/823033>. Accessed 4 July 2025.
196. Shen, Jianfa. "Cross-Border Connection between Hong Kong and Mainland China under 'Two Systems' before and beyond 1997." *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 85, no. 1, 2003, pp. 1–17, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3554377>. Accessed 30 June 2025.
197. Sheng, Hu. *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981.
198. Shils, Edward. "Letter From Milan: The End of Ideology?" *Encounter*, no. 26, 1955, pp. 52–58.
199. Shue, Vivienne. "Legitimacy Crisis in China?" In: Gries, P. and Rosen, S. *State and Society in 21st Century China*. New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004, pp. 24–49.
200. Sing, Ming. *Hong Kong's Tortuous Democratization: A Comparative Analysis*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
201. Sing, Ming. "Democratization and Economic Development: The Anomalous Case of Hong Kong." *Democratization* vol. 3, no. 3, 1996, pp. 343–359.
202. Sing, Ming. "Governing Elites, External Events and Pro-Democratic Opposition in Hong Kong (1986-2002)" in *Government and Opposition*, vol. 38, no. 4, 2003, pp. 456–478.
203. Siu, Helen F. "Cultural Identity and the Politics of Difference in South China." *Daedalus*, vol. 122, no. 2, 1993, pp. 19–43, www.jstor.org/stable/20027166. Accessed 27 July 2025.
204. Smith, Alexander T. "Political Man, Economic Man, and the Problem of Time Preference." *Social Science*, vol. 54, no. 1, 1979, pp. 16–27, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41886346>. Accessed 23 April 2025.
205. So, Alvin, and Ludmilla Kwitko. "The New Middle Class and the Democratic Movement in Hong Kong." *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1990, pp. 384–98. doi:10.1080/00472339080000391.

206. Stokes, Susan. "Political Parties and Democracy", *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 2, 1999, pp. 243-267.
207. Sun, Gong et al. "Traditional culture, political ideologies, materialism and luxury consumption in China." *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, vol. 38, no. 6, 2014, pp. 578– 585.
208. Sung, Yun-Wing. "The Economic Integration of Hong Kong with China in the 1990s: The Impact on Hong Kong", *Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies*, Toronto, 1992.
209. Svobik, Milan. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
210. Szilágyi-Gál, Mihály. "Apoliticism", in *Philosophy and Global Affairs*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-19, 2023, doi: 10.5840/pga202362146.
211. Thorne, Gabriel. "Hong Kong and Scalable Cultural Security." *Cultural Security in Contemporary China and Mongolia*, ed. Jarmila Ptáčková and Ondřej Klimeš, Amsterdam University Press, 2025, pp. 251–70, <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.25323323.13>. Accessed 29 October 2025.
212. Ting, Chun Chun. "The Star and the Queen: Heritage Conservation and the Emergence of a New Hong Kong Subject." *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2013, pp. 80–129, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43492534>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
213. Toepler, Stefan, et al. "The Changing Space for NGOs: Civil Society in Authoritarian and Hybrid Regimes", *Voluntas*, vol. 31, 2020, pp. 649–662, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-020-00240-7>.
214. Tong, Yanqi. "Morality, Benevolence, and Responsibility: Regime Legitimacy in China from the Past to the Present". *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2011, pp. 141–159.
215. Trevaskes, Susan. "Socialist law", in Sorace C, Franceschini I and Loubere N (eds) *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi*. Canberra; Verso Books, 2019, pp. 251–255.
216. Tsai, Jung-fang. "History and Identity in Hong Kong: Resisting China's Political Control; Embracing China as the Motherland." *China Review International*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2008, pp. 78–93. www.jstor.org/stable/23733272.
217. Tsang, Steve. *A Modern History of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004, p. 45; Lee Ching Kwan, and Sing Ming (eds). *Take Back Our Future: An Eventful Sociology of the Hong Kong Umbrella Movement*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2019, p. 11.

218. Tunbridge, J. E., and Ashworth, G.J. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: Wiley, 1996.
219. Ure, Gavin. *Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office: Public Policy in Hong Kong, 1918-58*. Hong Kong University Press, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1xw9j1>. Accessed 9 April 2025.
220. Vagg, Jon. "Sometimes a Crime: Illegal Immigration and Hong Kong" in *Crime and Delinquency*. Vol. 39. No. 3, 1993, pp. 355-372.
221. van der Kamp, Jake, and Carine Lai. "Non-Positive Interventionism: How Functional Constituencies Distort the Free Market." *Functional Constituencies: A Unique Feature of the Hong Kong Legislative Council*, ed. by Christine Loh and Civic Exchange, Hong Kong University Press, 2006, pp. 283-310, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1xw947.14>. Accessed 29 June 2025.
222. Veg, Sebastian. "The Rise of 'Localism' and Civic Identity in Post-Handover Hong Kong: Questioning the Chinese Nation-State", *The China Quarterly*, no. 230, 2017, pp. 323-347.
223. Vickers, Edward, and Paul Morris. "Accelerating Hong Kong's Reeducation: 'Mainlandisation', Securitisation and the 2020 National Security Law." *Comparative Education*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2022, pp. 187-205. doi:10.1080/03050068.2022.2046878.
224. Vuori, Juha. "Religion bites: Falungong, securitization/ desecuritization in the People's Republic of China", in Balzacq, Thierry (ed.) *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve*, PRIO New Security Studies, London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 186-211.
225. Wæver, Ole. "Politics, Security, Theory." *Security Dialogue*, vol. 42, no. 4/5, 2011, pp. 465-80, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26301802>. Accessed 26 October 2025.
226. Wæver, Ole. "Securitization and Desecuritization", in (ed.) Ronnie D. Lipschutz, *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, pp. 46-86.
227. Wamsley, Dillon. "Crisis management, new constitutionalism, and depoliticisation: Recasting the politics of austerity in the US and UK, 2010-16." *New Political Economy* vol. 28, no. 4, 2023, pp. 646-661.
228. Wang, Yidong. "Local Identity in a Global City: Hong Kong Localist Movement on Social Media." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol. 36, no. 5, 2019, pp. 419-33. doi:10.1080/15295036.2019.1652837.

229. Wei, William. "The Politicization and Nationalization of Hong Kong during the Asian Financial Crisis." *International Journal*, vol. 55, no. 1, 1999, pp. 45–56, <https://doi.org/10.2307/40203454>. Accessed 3 July 2025.
230. White, Gordon. "Civil Society, Democratization and Development: Clearing the Analytical Ground," *Civil Society in Democratization*, ed. Peter Burnell and Peter Calvert, London: Frank Cass, 2004.
231. Wiesner, Claudia. "Introduction: Rethinking Politicisation in Politics, Sociology and International Relations", in *Rethinking Politicisation in Politics, Sociology and International Relations*, ed. Claudia Wiesner, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, pp. 1-9, DOI, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-54545-1>.
232. Wiesner, Claudia. "Politicisation and Democracy: The Consequences of Contingency", in *Debating Democracy: Concepts, Histories, and Controversies*, vol. 13, 2025, pp. 1-17. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.9723>.
233. Wilkinson, Claire. "The Copenhagen School on Tour in Kyrgyzstan: Is Securitization Theory Useable Outside Europe?" *Security Dialogue*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2007, pp. 5–25, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26299738>. Accessed 4 September 2025.
234. Wong, Benson Wai-Kwok. "How 'Soft Resistance' Can Be a Good Thing for Hong Kong under the National Security Law: A Case Study of Edu Lancet." *Hong Kong Politics after the National Security Law: Autocratization and Its Consequences*, ed. Stephan Ortmann, Raymond Kwun-Sun Lau, and Kenneth Ka-Lok Chan, Routledge, 2025, pp. 196-211, DOI:[10.4324/9781003564898-16](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003564898-16).
235. Wong, Max. *Re-ordering Hong Kong: Decolonisation and the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance*. London: Wildy, Simmonds and Hill Publishing, 2017.
236. Wong, Sam. "Historical and Cultural Contexts of Mainland Chinese Migrants in Hong Kong." *Exploring "Unseen" Social Capital in Community Participation: Everyday Lives of Poor Mainland Chinese Migrants in Hong Kong*, Amsterdam University Press, 2007, pp. 73–96, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt45kfdv.7>. Accessed 8 July 2025.
237. Wong, Siu-lun, Markéta Moore, and James Chin. "Hong Kong: Demographic Change and International Labor Mobility", Seoul, 2008, <https://pecc.org/resources/labor/679-hong-kong-demographic-change-and-international-labor-mobility/file>.
238. Wong, Siu-lun. "Emigration and Stability in Hong Kong." *Asian Survey*, vol. 32, no. 10, 1992, pp. 918–33, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645049>. Accessed 22 December 2025.

239. Wong, Wai Lun Max. "Social control and political order: decolonisation and the use of Emergency Regulation in Hong Kong", *Hong Kong Law Journal* vol 42, no. 2, 2011, pp. 449–480.
240. Xie, Hongren. "The Opium Wars and Capital Accumulation: Comments on Karl Marx's Perspectives on the Qing and England Recorded in *The New York Herald Tribune*." *World Review of Political Economy*, vol. 14, no. 4, 2023, pp. 535–554, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48755824>. Accessed 23 June 2025.
241. Yam, Shui-yin Sharon. "Affective Economies and Alienizing Discourse: Citizenship and Maternity Tourism in Hong Kong." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 5, 2016, pp. 410–33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26110661>. Accessed 14 July 2025.
242. Yan, Kin Cheung Adrian, and Paul Morris. "The Life and Death of Liberal Studies: Explaining Curriculum Change in Post-Handover Hong Kong." *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 57, no. 4, 2025, pp. 480–94. doi:10.1080/00220272.2024.2425638.
243. Yang, Hongxing, and Dingxin Zhao. "Performance Legitimacy, State Autonomy and China's Economic Miracle", *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 24, no. 91, 2014, pp. 64–82.
244. Yap, Po Jen. "Interpreting the Basic Law and the Adjudication of Politically Sensitive Questions", in *Chinese Journal of International Law*, Oxford University Press, vol. 6, 2007, pp. 543–564.
245. Young, Simon. "Introductory Note to the Decision of the National People's Congress on Improving the Election System of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region." *International Legal Materials*, vol. 60, no. 6, 2021, pp. 1163–67. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27125123>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
246. Young, Simon. "'Knock, Knock. Who's There?' —: Entry and Search Powers for Article 23 Offences." *National Security and Fundamental Freedoms: Hong Kong's Article 23 Under Scrutiny*, ed. Simon N.M. Young et al., Hong Kong University Press, 2005, pp. 363–98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2jbzsg.20>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
247. Young, Simon N. M., and Anthony Law. "Privileged to Vote: Inequalities and Anomalies of the FC System." *Functional Constituencies: A Unique Feature of the Hong Kong Legislative Council*, ed. Christine Loh and Civic Exchange, Hong Kong University Press, 2006, pp. 59–110, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1xw947.8>. Accessed 29 June 2025.
248. Yuen, Samson, and Sanho Chung. "Explaining Localism in Post-handover Hong Kong: An Eventful Approach", *China Perspectives*, vol. 3, 2018, pp. 19–29, <https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.8044>.

249. Zeng, Jinghan. *The Chinese Communist Party's Capacity to Rule: Ideology, Legitimacy and Party Cohesion*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, DOI <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-53368-5>.
250. Zhan, Yixue et al. "Indexing China's Regime Politicization: A Content Analysis of the *People's Daily*, 1949–2023", *The China Quarterly*, 2025, Cambridge University Press.
251. Zhang, Baohui. "Democratizing Hong Kong: Functional Representation and Politics of Institutional Change." *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 4, 2011, pp. 643–64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23056126>. Accessed 14 July 2025.
252. Zhao, Dingxin. "The Mandate of Heaven and Performance Legitimation in Historical and Contemporary China". *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2009, pp. 416–433.
253. Zhu, Han and Chen, Albert H. Y. "The Oath-Taking Cases and the NPCSC Interpretation of 2016: Interface of Common Law and Chinese Law", *Hong Kong Law Journal*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2019, pp. 381- 415.
254. Žižek, Slavoj. *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*, London: Verso, 1999

Online Journals, Blogs, NGO Reports, and Think Tanks

1. "Beijing's 'Red line' in Hong Kong: restrictions on rights to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression and association", *Amnesty International*, 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa17/0944/2019/en/>. Accessed 26 December 2025.
2. "Brain Drain, Brain Gain, and The Future of Hong Kong: Evidence from LinkedIn Profiles", in Hong Kong Economic Policy Green Paper, *HKU Business School*, 2024, pp. 69-82, https://www.hkubs.hku.hk/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/green_papers_2024_eng_s.pdf. Accessed 9 January 2026.
3. Chan, Ka-Ming. "Restructuring the Political Society during Autocratisation: The Case of Hong Kong", *MadeinChina Journal*, 2022, <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2022/03/08/restructuring-the-political-society-during-autocratisation-the-case-of-hong-kong/>. Accessed 4 September 2025.
4. "China: 10 Years Since '709 Crackdown,' Lawyers Still Under Fire", *Human Rights Watch*, 2025,

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/07/06/china-10-years-since-709-crackdown-lawyers-still-under-fire>. Accessed 4 November 2025.

5. "Crackdown on Hong Kong's Pro-Democracy Activists Accelerates with New Charges and Sentencing", *Human Rights Foundation*, 2020, <https://hrf.org/latest/crackdown-on-hong-kongs-pro-democracy-activists-accelerates-with-new-charges-and-sentencing/>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
6. "Digital News Report", *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, 2025, pp. 138-139, DOI: 10.60625/risj-8qqf-jt36.
7. Dominguez, Diana. "Hong Kong navigates educational resilience amidst 'brain drain'", *Hong Kong Business*, 2024, <https://hongkongbusiness.hk/hr-education/exclusive/hong-kong-navigates-educational-resilience-amidst-brain-drain>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
8. "Hong Kong: Article 23 law used to 'normalise' repression one year since enactment", *Amnesty International*, 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org.au/hong-kong-article-23-law-used-to-normalise-repression-one-year-since-enactment/>. Accessed 9 January 2026.
9. "Hong Kong: At least 900 journalism jobs lost, media in exile after four years of draconian National Security Law", *Reporters without Borders*, 2024, <https://rsf.org/en/hong-kong-least-900-journalism-jobs-lost-media-exile-after-four-years-draconian-national-security>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
10. "Hong Kong: Deadly Fire Demands Transparency, Accountability", *Human Rights Watch*, 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/12/01/hong-kong-deadly-fire-demands-transparency-accountability>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
11. "Hong Kong: New leader John Lee must change course to halt collapse of city's freedoms", *Amnesty International*, 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/06/hong-kong-new-leader-john-lee-must-change-course-to-halt-collapse-of-citys-freedoms/>. Accessed 4 January 2026.
12. Hu, Taige, and Changhao Wei. "NPCSC Extends Term of Incumbent Hong Kong Legislature, Authorizes Hong Kong & Macao Lawyers to Practice in Mainland & Approves Two Tax Laws", *NPC Observer*, 2020, <https://npcobserver.com/2020/08/11/npcsc-extends-term-of-incumbent-hong-kong-le>

[gislature-authorizes-hong-kong-macau-lawyers-to-practice-in-mainland-approves-two-tax-laws/](#). Accessed 7 November 2025.

13. Jäger, Anton. "How the World Went from Post-Politics to Hyper-Politics". *Tribune*, 2022, <https://tribunemag.co.uk/2022/01/from-post-politics-to-hyper-politics>. Accessed 28 January 2026.
14. Lai, Eric, et al. "Ask the Experts: Has Democracy in Hong Kong come to an end?", 2021, *LSE*, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/cff/2021/05/26/ask-the-experts-has-democracy-in-hong-kong-come-to-an-end/>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
15. Lai, Eric Y. H. "Implications of Article 23 Legislation on the Future of Hong Kong", *Jamestown*, 2024, <https://jamestown.org/implications-of-article-23-legislation-on-the-future-of-hong-kong/>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
16. "Legislation: NPC Standing Committee's Legislative Interpretations", *NPC Observer*, 2025, <https://npcobserver.com/legislation/legislative-interpretations/>. Accessed 8 February 2026.
17. Lo, Sonny. "Hyperpolitisation in Hong Kong hurts everyone", *Voice of Hong Kong*, 2016, <https://www.vohk.hk/2016/08/22/hyperpolitisation-in-hong-kong-hurts-everyone/>. Accessed 28 January 2026.
18. Loong-Yu, Au. "The Annihilation of Hong Kong's Civil Society", *MadeinChina Journal*, 2022, <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2022/03/08/the-annihilation-of-hong-kongs-civil-society/>. Accessed 26 December 2025.
19. Mosley, Cade. "A Legal Analysis of Hong Kong's New Safeguarding National Security Ordinance and What it Means for Lawyers", *Lawyers for Lawyers*, 2024, pp. 1- 22, <https://www.lawyersforlawyers.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/ALN-Report-on-NSO-and-Lawyers-in-Hong-Kong.pdf>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
20. Rolfe, Heather, and Doriane Lau. "Working it out: Hong Kongers, employment and the cost of living", *Welcoming Committee for Hong Kongers and British Future*, <https://www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/WC4HK-Employment-report.Final.29.10.24.pdf>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
21. "Sentencing of 45 Hong Kong Pro-Democracy Leaders", *Hong Kong Democracy Council*, 2024,

https://x.com/hkdc_us/status/1858706031993331933?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1858706031993331933%7Ctwgr%5E5ecd15c4ca09cbf0a3980c36a0d8f3a056ae5bd3%7Ctwcon%5Es1&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.aljazeera.com%2Fnews%2F2024%2F11%2F19%2Fhong-kong-democracy-activists-jailed-who-are-they-whats-the-case-about. Accessed 15 November 2025.

22. "Silenced voices: Why freedom of expression is receding worldwide", *UNESCO*, 2025, <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/silenced-voices-why-freedom-expression-receding-worldwide>. Accessed 12 January 2026.
23. Smith, Blake. "The Narcissism of Hyper-Politicization", *City Journal*, 2022, <https://www.city-journal.org/article/the-narcissism-of-hyper-politicization>. Accessed 28 January 2026.
24. Sorman, Guy. "The dividing line between what makes West and East is blurry", *Taipei Times*, 2008, <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2008/05/01/2003410680>. Accessed 27 January 2026.
25. "The State Can Lock Up People, But Not Their Thinking. How Hong Kong's National Security Law Undermined Human Rights in Five Years", *Amnesty International*, 2025, pp. 1-20, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa17/9556/2025/en/>. Accessed 8 December 2025.
26. Wei, Changhao, and Taige Hu. "2021 NPC Session: NPC's Hong Kong Electoral Overhaul Decision Explained", *NPC Observer*, 2021, <https://npcobserver.com/2021/03/11/2021-npc-session-npcs-hong-kong-electoral-overhaul-decision-explained/>. Accessed 2 January 2026.
27. Wei, Changhao, and Taige Hu. "Explainer: NPCSC's Interpretation of Hong Kong National Security Law over Jimmy Lai's Foreign Defense Counsel", *NPC Observer*, 2022, <https://npcobserver.com/2022/12/30/explainer-npcscs-interpretation-of-hong-kong-national-security-law-over-jimmy-lais-foreign-defense-counsel/>. Accessed 19 December 2025.
28. Wei, Changhao. "NPCSC Clarifies "Allegiance" Requirements for Hong Kong Legislators, Disqualifies Pro-Democracy Legislators", *NPC Observer*, 2020, <https://npcobserver.com/2020/11/11/npcsc-clarifies-allegiance-requirements-for-hong-kong-legislators-disqualifies-pro-democracy-legislators/>. Accessed 10 November 2025.

29. "'We Can't Write the Truth Anymore". Academic Freedom in Hong Kong under the National Security Law", *Human Rights Watch*, 2024. https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/media_2025/01/china_hk0924%20web.pdf. Accessed 11 January 2026.
30. Yu, Cindy. "Censoring negativity", *Index on Censorship*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2025, pp. 33-35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03064220251406162>.
31. Yu, Yiran. "Brain Drain and Brain Gain in Hong Kong's Population Shuffle", *Migration Policy Institute*, 2024, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/hong-kong-migration-shuffle>. Accessed 9 January 2026.

Legislation & Government and LegCo Papers

1. "Annex I – Method for the Selection of the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", *The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, 2021, <https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclaw/annex1.html>. Accessed 2 January 2026.
2. "Annex II – Method for the Formation of the Legislative Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Its Voting Procedures", *The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, 2021, <https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclaw/annex2.html>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
3. "Banishment and Conditional Pardons Ordinance", *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, 1882, <https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/600>, Accessed 18 July 2025.
4. "Cap. 383 Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance", *Hong Kong E-Legislation*, 1991, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/cap383@1997-06-30T00:00:00>. Accessed 10 April 2025.
5. "Constitution of the People's Republic of China", *The State Council. The People's Republic of China*, https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/lawsregulations/201911/20/content_WS5ed8856ec6d0b3f0e9499913.html. Accessed 2 January 2026.
6. "Decision of the National People's Congress On Improving the Electoral System of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Instrument 31)", 2021,

https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/filemanager/content/en/files/basiclawtext/basiclawtext_doc31.pdf.

7. "District Councils (Amendment) Ordinance 2023", *Hong Kong Government*, 2023, <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr2023/english/ord/2023ord019-e.pdf>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
8. "Explanations on the Draft Decision of the National People's Congress On Improving the Electoral System of The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", LC Paper No. CB(4)679/20-21(01), 2021, https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr20-21/english/hc/sub_com/hs102/papers/hs10220210326cb4-679-1-e.pdf. Accessed 2 January 2026.
9. "Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill 2019", <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr18-19/english/bills/b201903291.pdf>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
10. "Green Paper: The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong", *University of Toronto Libraries*, 1984, <https://ia802904.us.archive.org/14/items/greenpaperfurthe00hong/greenpaperfurthe00hong.pdf>. Accessed 10 April 2025.
11. "Hong Kong: Democratic Progress Under the Framework of One Country, Two Systems", *The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China*, 2021, http://english.scio.gov.cn/node_8027477.html. Accessed 3 January 2026.
12. "Immigrants Control Ordinance", *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, 1949, <https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/2092>, Accessed 18 July 2025.
13. "Implementation Rules for Article 43 of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", *The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, 2020, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202007/06/P2020070600784.htm>. Accessed 4 September 2025.
14. "Improving Electoral System (Consolidated Amendments) Bill 2021", 2021, <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr20-21/english/bills/b202104131.pdf>. Accessed 3 January 2026.

15. "Improving Electoral System (Consolidated Amendments) Ordinance 2021", 2021, <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr20-21/english/ord/2021ord014-e.pdf>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
16. "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights", 1976, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>.
17. "Interpretation by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of Article 14 and Article 47 of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", *Hong Kong E-Legislation*, 2022, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/A304>. Accessed 19 December 2025.
18. "Interpretation by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Regarding Annex I (7) and Annex II (III) to the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China", Instrument A107, *Hong Kong E-Legislation*, 2004, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/A107!en.assist.pdf>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
19. "Interpretation by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Regarding the Second Paragraph in Article 53 of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China", Instrument A108, *Hong Kong E-Legislation*, 2005, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/A108%21en.assist.pdf>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
20. "Interpretation of Article 104 of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress", *Hong Kong E-Legislation*, 2016, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/A115>. Accessed 24 July 2025.
21. "National Security (Legislative Provisions) Bill", C007-e01, <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr02-03/english/bills/c007-e.pdf>. Accessed 7 July 2025.
22. "Public Order Ordinance", *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, 1967, <https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/2969>, Accessed 20 July 2025.
23. "Registration of Inhabitants Ordinance", *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, 1844, <https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/20>, Accessed 18 July 2025.
24. "Safeguarding National Security Ordinance", *Hong Kong E-Legislation*, 2024, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/A305>. Accessed 7 January 2026.
25. "Seditious Ordinance", *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, 1938, <https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/2043>, Accessed 18 July 2025.

26. "Seditious Publications Ordinance", *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, 1914, <https://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/1282>, Accessed 18 July 2025.
27. "The Basic Law of The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of The People's Republic of China", https://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/filemanager/content/en/files/basiclawtext/basiclaw_full_text.pdf, Accessed 3 June 2025.
28. "The Fifth Report of the Constitutional Development Task Force, Package of Proposals for the Methods for Selecting the Chief Executive in 2007 and for Forming the Legislative Council in 2008", <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr05-06/english/panels/ca/papers/ca1021cb2-rpt-e.pdf>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
29. "The Law of the People's Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", 2020, *Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China*, <http://eng.mod.gov.cn/xb/Publications/LR/4888377.html>. Accessed 1 July 2024.
30. "The Practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region", *The State Council of the People's Republic of China*, 2014, https://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2014/08/23/content_281474982986578.htm. Accessed 15 July 2025.
31. "The Sino-British Joint Declaration", in *Treaty Series. Treaties and international agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations*, 1984, vol. 1399, United Nations, New York, 1994, pp. 61- 73, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201399/v1399.pdf>. Accessed 5 April 2025.
32. "Trade Union (Amendment) Bill, Cap. 332", *Legislative Council Brief*, 2025, https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr2025/english/brief/ldrtu12259c_20250416-e.pdf. Accessed 29 December 2025.
33. "United States - Hong Kong Policy Act of 1992", <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-106/pdf/STATUTE-106-Pg1448.pdf>. Accessed 4 August 2025.

Governmental Press Releases & Policy Documents

1. "A Thematic Study by the IPCC on the Public Order Events arising from the Fugitive Offenders Bill since June 2019 and the Police Actions in Response", *Independent Police Complaints Council*, ch. 1-4, 2020, [https://www.ipcc.gov.hk/doc/en/report/thematic_report/Volume%201%20\(CH1-CH4\).pdf](https://www.ipcc.gov.hk/doc/en/report/thematic_report/Volume%201%20(CH1-CH4).pdf). Accessed 24 August 2025.
2. "Citizenship and Social Development Curriculum and Assessment Guide (Secondary 4 - 6)", *Curriculum Development Council and the Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority*, Hong Kong Education Bureau, 2021, https://cs.edb.edcity.hk/file/C_and_A_guide/202106/CS_CAG_S4-6_Eng_2021.pdf. Accessed 11 January 2026.
3. "Curriculum Framework of National Security Education in Hong Kong", *Hong Kong Education Bureau*, 2021, https://www.edb.gov.hk/en/curriculum-development/4-key-tasks/moral-civic/nse/nse_curriculum_framework2021.html. Accessed 11 January 2026.
4. "Government announces proposals on improving governance at district level", *Hong Kong Government*, 2023, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202305/02/P2023050200414.htm>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
5. "Guidelines on Teachers' Professional Conduct", *Hong Kong Educational Bureau*, 2022, https://www.edb.gov.hk/attachment/en/teacher/guidelines_tpc/guidelines_en.pdf. Accessed 11 January 2026.
6. "HKSAR Government supports Returning Officers' decisions to invalidate certain nominations for Legislative Council General Election", *Hong Kong Government*, 2020, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202007/30/P2020073000481.htm?fontSize=1>. Accessed 5 November 2025.
7. "HKSAR Government to bring Chow Ting to justice in accordance with the law", *Hong Kong Government*, 2023, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202312/04/P2023120400599.htm>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
8. "Hong Kong schools organise National Security Education Day activities", 2021, *Hong Kong Government*, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202104/15/P2021041500231.htm>. Accessed 11 January 2026.

9. "Implementation of Municipal Solid Waste Charging", *Legislative Council Panel on Environmental Affairs*, LC Paper No. CB(1)775/2023(03), 2023, <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr2023/english/panels/ea/papers/ea20230714cb1-775-3-e.pdf>.
10. "LCQ2: Ensuring proper performance of functions by new-term District Councils", *Hong Kong Government*, 2023, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202401/10/P2024011000190.htm>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
11. "LegCo General Election postponed for a year", *Hong Kong Government*, 2020, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202007/31/P2020073100898p.htm>. Accessed 5 November 2025.
12. "Police remind public not to download or provide funding to mobile application endangering national security", *Hong Kong Government*, 2025, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202506/10/P2025061000697.htm?fontSize=1>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
13. "Report on the 2016 Legislative Council General Election", *Electoral Affairs Commission*, 2016, https://www.eac.hk/pdf/legco/2016LCE_Report/en/2016lce_full_report.pdf. Accessed 23 July 2025.
14. "Second National Security Education Study Tour returns to Hong Kong after visiting Beijing and Shanghai", *Hong Kong Government*, 2024, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202412/24/P2024122400544.htm>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
15. "The Chief Executive's 2023 Policy Address", 2023, <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2023/en/p27.html>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
16. "The relationship among the executive authorities, the legislature and the judiciary", *Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau*, 2010, https://www.cmab.gov.hk/en/press/press_2323.htm. Accessed 15 July 2025.
17. "2004 LegCo Elections", *Electoral Affairs Commission*, 2004, <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/english/panels/ca/papers/ca1220-eprt-e-scan.pdf>. Accessed 8 July 2025.

News Articles

1. "Article 23: Hong Kong legislature passes tough new national security law", *Al Jazeera*, 2024,
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/19/hong-kong-legislature-passes-tough-new-national-security-law>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
2. Barron, Laignee. "Hong Kong's Democracy Movement Suffers a Blow as Pro-Beijing Rivals Gain Ground in Election", *Time*, 2018,
<https://time.com/5195151/hong-kong-2018-by-election/>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
3. Bayron, Heda. "Hong Kong's Pro-Democracy Lawmakers Make Historic China Trip", *Voice of America*, 2009,
<https://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2005-09-26-voa9/295760.html>. Accessed 10 April 2025.
4. Beattie, Elizabeth. "HK Bar Association raises concerns with chief executive over controversial extradition bill", *Asian Legal Business*, 2019,
<https://www.legalbusinessonline.com/news/hk-bar-association-raises-concerns-chief-executive-over-controversial-extradition-bill/77866>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
5. Bradsher, Keith, Austin Ramzy, and Tiffany May. "Hong Kong Election Results Give Democracy Backers Big Win", *The New York Times*, 2019,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/24/world/asia/hong-kong-election-results.html>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
6. Bradsher, Keith. "Five Years Ago Saturday, a Turning Point for Hong Kong and China", *The New York Times*, 2019,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/30/world/asia/hong-kong-protests.html>. Accessed 15 July 2025.
7. Branigan, Tania. "Democrats lose seats but retain veto power in Hong Kong elections", *The Guardian*, 2008,
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/sep/08/hongkong.china>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
8. "Causeway Bay Books", *Taiwan Ministry of Culture*, 2023,
https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/News_Content2.aspx?n=504&s=163575. Accessed 12 August 2025.
9. Chan, Ho-him. "Hong Kong publishers make changes to Liberal Studies textbooks after voluntary review", *South China Morning Post*, 2020,

<https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education/article/3097873/hong-kong-publishers-make-changes-liberal-studies>. Accessed 11 January 2026.

10. Chan, Ho-Him. "More than 90 per cent of 500 Hong Kong teachers polled say liberal studies reform politically motivated", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education/article/3113255/more-90-cent-500-hong-kong-teachers-polled-say-liberal>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
11. Chan, Holmes. "In full: The 700-page Hong Kong police dossier detailing the words and movements of independence party chief", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2018, <https://hongkongfp.com/2018/07/21/full-700-page-hong-kong-police-dossier-detailing-g-words-movements-independence-party-chief/>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
12. Chan, Holmes. "The writing on the wall: Understanding the messages left by protesters during the storming of the Hong Kong legislature", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2019, <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/07/04/writing-wall-understanding-messages-left-protesters-storming-hong-kong-legislature/>. Accessed 24 August 2025.
13. Chan, Irene. "Hong Kong gov't gives elderly centres HK\$3.4 million to help seniors cast their votes in 'patriots' District Council race", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2023/12/04/hong-kong-govt-gives-elderly-centres-hk3-4-million-to-help-seniors-cast-their-votes-in-patriots-district-council-race/>. Accessed 6 January 2026.
14. Chan, Irene. "Hong Kong's High Court rules nomination system of District Council race did not violate city's mini-constitution", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2023/12/01/hong-kongs-high-court-rules-nomination-system-of-district-council-race-did-not-violate-citys-mini-constitution/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
15. Chau, Candice. "Chinese University Hong Kong student union leaders quit after withdrawing election manifesto, citing death threats", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/03/02/chinese-university-hong-kong-student-union-leaders-quit-after-withdrawing-election-manifesto-citing-death-threats/>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
16. Chau, Candice. "Explainer: A history of Hong Kong's pro-democracy Civic Party", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2023/05/28/explainer-a-history-of-hong-kongs-pro-democracy-civic-party/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.

17. Chau, Candice. "HKU Student Union leaders quit and apologise after gov't says mourning man who stabbed police officer akin to terrorism", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/07/09/student-union-mourning-for-man-who-stabbed-policeman-is-akin-to-supporting-terrorism-says-hong-kong-govt/>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
18. Chau, Candice. "Hong Kong court rejects journalist association's legal challenge against police 'ill-treatment' of press at protests", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/12/21/hong-kong-court-rejects-journalist-associations-legal-challenge-against-police-ill-treatment-of-press-at-protests/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
19. Chau, Candice. "Hong Kong media and education sectors should also be 'governed by patriots,' top Beijing official says", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/03/02/hong-kong-media-and-education-sectors-should-also-be-governed-by-patriots-top-beijing-official-says/>. Accessed 14 January 2026.
20. Chau, Candice. "Hong Kong media tycoon Jimmy Lai again refused bail over alleged national security law violations", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/02/19/hong-kong-media-tycoon-jimmy-lai-again-refused-bail-over-alleged-national-security-law-violations/>. Accessed 18 December 2025.
21. Chau, Candice. "Hong Kong's largest teachers' union to disband following pressure from gov't and Chinese state media", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/08/10/breaking-hong-kongs-largest-teachers-union-to-disband-following-pressure-from-govt-and-chinese-state-media/>. Accessed 27 December 2025.
22. Chau, Candice. "John Lee tells 'patriotic' journalists to deliver the 'right Hong Kong message' at media event for China's National Day", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/09/22/john-lee-tells-patriotic-journalists-to-deliver-the-right-hong-kong-message-at-media-event-for-chinas-national-day/>. Accessed 14 January 2026.
23. Chau, Candice. "Police reject 26 out of 27 complaints submitted by Hong Kong press group as 'not pursuable'", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/10/20/police-reject-26-out-of-27-complaints-submitted-by-hong-kong-press-group-as-not-pursuable/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.

24. Chau, Candice. "Thursday to be final edition of Apple Daily, as board forced to halt all Hong Kong operations", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/06/23/breaking-last-edition-of-apple-daily-to-print-no-later-than-sat-as-board-forced-to-halt-all-hong-kong-operations/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
25. Chau, Candice. "Two more Hong Kong universities tear down Tiananmen Massacre monuments in early hours of Fri", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/12/24/breaking-two-more-hong-kong-universities-tear-down-tiananmen-massacre-monuments-in-early-hours-of-fri/>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
26. Chau, Candice. "'Cut ties with these criminals': Hong Kong security chief warns reporters to shun Apple Daily detainees after raid", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/06/17/cut-ties-with-these-criminals-hong-kong-security-chief-warns-reporters-to-shun-apple-daily-detainees-after-raid/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
27. Chau, Candice. "Hong Kong regulator rules that public broadcaster RTHK insulted police in satirical show", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/01/29/hong-kong-regulator-rules-that-public-broadcaster-rthk-insulted-police-in-satirical-show/>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
28. Cheng, Kris. "Hongkongers identifying as 'Chinese' at record low; under 10% of youth 'proud' to be citizens – poll", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2019, <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/06/28/hongkongers-identifying-chinese-record-low-10-youth-proud-citizens-poll/>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
29. Cheng, Kris. "Lawyers hit back at justice secretary's claim that Edward Leung's disqualification was 'legal'", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2016, <https://hongkongfp.com/2016/08/04/lawyers-hit-back-justice-secretarys-claim-edward-leungs-disqualification-legal/>. Accessed 23 July 2025.
30. Cheng, Kris. "New extradition law would enable China to capture journalists in Hong Kong, warns media watchdog", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2019, <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/04/03/new-extradition-law-enable-china-capture-journalists-hong-kong-warns-media-watchdog/>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
31. Cheng, Kris. "One out of three Hongkongers would emigrate if they could- Chinese University of Hong Kong survey", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2019,

<https://hongkongfp.com/2019/01/03/one-three-hongkongers-emigrate-chinese-university-hong-kong-survey/>. Accessed 2 August 2025.

32. Cheng, Lilian, et al. "Hong Kong's Article 23 domestic security bill advances to next stage with scope to add new offences", *South China Morning Post*, 2024, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/law-and-crime/article/3255285/hong-kong-s-article-23-bill-amendments-toughen-legislation-give-chief-executive-more-power>. Accessed 7 January 2026.
33. Cheng, Selina. "Apple Daily: Next Digital board quits citing 'climate of fear,' calls for company's liquidation", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/09/06/apple-daily-next-digital-board-quits-citing-climate-of-fear-calls-for-companys-liquidation/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
34. Cheng, Selina. "Bail hearing for 47 Hong Kong democrats facing security law charges drags on, with four hospitalised due to exhaustion", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/03/02/bail-hearing-for-47-hong-kong-democrats-facing-security-law-charges-drags-on-with-four-hospitalised-due-to-exhaustion/>. Accessed 11 November 2025.
35. Cheng, Selina. "Beijing hails mass arrest of democrats in Hong Kong, says they sought to 'undermine China's stability and security'", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/01/07/beijings-hails-hong-kongs-mass-arrests-of-democrats-says-they-sought-to-undermine-chinas-stability-and-security/>. Accessed 11 November 2025.
36. Cheng, Selina. "Hong Kong national security police bar reporter who filmed police stabbing from leaving city, home searched", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/07/27/hong-kong-national-security-police-bar-reporter-who-filmed-police-stabbing-from-leaving-city-home-searched/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
37. Cheng, Selina. "Hong Kong police drop sexual assault probe into riot officer who 'touched breast' of journalist", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/07/20/hong-kong-police-drop-sexual-assault-probe-into-riot-officer-who-touched-breast-of-journalist/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
38. Cheng, Selina. "Hong Kong to require district councillors to swear allegiance to gov't – violators face election ban", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021,

<https://hongkongfp.com/2021/02/23/breaking-hong-kong-to-require-district-councillors-to-swear-allegiance-to-govt-or-face-election-ban/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.

39. Cheng, Selina. "Hong Kong 'patriots' poll results: Lowest election turnout yet, as pro-govt candidates sweep into legislature", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/12/20/hong-kong-patriots-poll-results-lowest-election-turnout-yet-as-pro-govt-candidates-sweep-into-legislature/>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
40. Cheng, Selina. "Some 3,200 individual voters involved in selecting Hong Kong's powerful new election committee compared to 239,000 before", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/04/15/some-3200-individual-voters-involved-in-selecting-hong-kongs-powerful-new-election-committee-compared-to-239000-before/>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
41. Cheng, Selina. "Hong Kong police drop sexual assault probe into riot officer who 'touched breast' of journalist", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/07/20/hong-kong-police-drop-sexual-assault-probe-into-riot-officer-who-touched-breast-of-journalist/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
42. Cherry, Jennifer. "Hong Kong press body 'extremely concerned' after police fine journalists covering protest", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/07/24/hong-kong-press-body-extremely-concerned-after-police-fine-journalists-covering-protest/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
43. Cheung, Eric. "Hong Kong court grants bail to 15 of 47 pro-democracy activists in landmark national security hearing", *CNN*, 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/03/04/asia/hong-kong-lawmakers-bail-intl-hnk>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
44. Cheung, Gary, and Jeffie Lam. "Rise of localists in Hong Kong polls set to bring headaches for Beijing, analysts say", *South China Morning Post*, 2016, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/2015349/rise-localists-hong-kong-polls-set-bring-headaches-beijing>. Accessed 23 July 2025.
45. Cheung, Tony. "Hong Kong government accuses localist lawmakers of hurting feelings of Chinese with 'offensive' oath-taking", *South China Morning Post*, 2016, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/2027814/hong-kong-government-accuses-localist-lawmakers-hurting>. Accessed 24 July 2025.

46. "China: Hong Kong Party Banned. Ominous Sign for Freedoms of Association, Expression, Assembly", *Human Rights Watch*, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/09/25/china-hong-kong-party-banned>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
47. "China more than doubles PLA troop numbers in Hong Kong, envoys estimate", *ABC News*, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-10-01/china-has-doubled-troop-levels-in-hk-envoy-s-say/11562222>. Accessed 3 September 2025.
48. "China warns Hong Kong protesters not to 'play with fire'", *Al Jazeera*, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/8/6/china-warns-hong-kong-protesters-not-to-play-with-fire>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
49. "China's Rebel City: The Hong Kong Protests", *YouTube, South China Morning Post*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YgYuRGre6AA&ab_channel=SouthChinaMorningPost. Accessed 26 August 2025.
50. Chui, Almen. "Controversy over HK's liberal studies textbooks", *Asia Times*, 2019, <https://asiatimes.com/2019/09/controversy-over-hks-liberal-studies-textbooks/>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
51. Davidson, Helen. "A 'patriotic education': Hong Kong schools begin rollout of Xi Jinping Thought", *The Guardian*, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/sep/03/hong-kong-schools-begin-teaching-xi-jinping-thought>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
52. Davidson, Helen. "China calls Hong Kong protesters a 'political virus'", *The Guardian*, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/06/china-calls-hong-kong-protesters-a-political-virus>. Accessed 31 August 2025.
53. Davidson, Helen. "Exiled Hong Kong dissidents fear UK plan to restart extraditions will put them in danger", *The Guardian*, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2025/oct/15/exiled-hong-hong-dissidents-uk-restart-extraditions-danger>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
54. Davidson, Helen. "Hong Kong: with coronavirus curbed, protests may return", *The Guardian*, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/15/hong-kong-with-coronavirus-curbed-protests-may-return>. Accessed 28 August 2025.

55. Davidson, Helen. "Hong Kong media tycoon Jimmy Lai arrested on charges of illegal assembly", *The Guardian*, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/28/hong-kong-media-tycoon-jimmy-lai-arrested-on-charges-of-illegal-assembly>. Accessed 28 August 2025.
56. Davidson, Helen. "Hong Kong primaries: China declares pro-democracy polls 'illegal'", *The Guardian*, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jul/14/hong-kong-primaries-china-declares-pro-democracy-polls-illegal>. Accessed 4 November 2025.
57. "Democracy books disappear from Hong Kong libraries, including title by activist Joshua Wong", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/07/04/democracy-books-disappear-from-hong-kong-libraries-including-title-by-activist-joshua-wong/>, Accessed 1 September 2025.
58. Dixon, Robyn, and Ryan Ho Kilpatrick. "'I thought I was about to die': Eyewitnesses describe brutal beatings by Hong Kong police", *Los Angeles Times*, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2019-09-02/hong-kong-police-violence-protesters-eyewitnesses>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
59. Doi, Kenichi. "Is China overproducing highly qualified talent?", *The Japan Times*, 2025, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/commentary/2025/04/11/world/china-universities-graduates-youth-unemployment/>. Accessed 2 February 2026.
60. Ewe, Koh, and Phoebe Kong. "Hong Kong jails 45 pro-democracy campaigners for subversion", *BBC*, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cx2l4eynl4zo>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
61. "Explainer: Hong Kong's national security crackdown – month 63", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/10/07/explainer-hong-kongs-national-security-crackdown-month-63/>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
62. "Four Hong Kong students arrested for 'advocating terrorism'", *The Guardian*, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/aug/18/four-hong-kong-students-arrested-for-advocating-terrorism>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
63. Gao, Charlotte. "Xi: China Must Never Adopt Constitutionalism, Separation of Powers, or Judicial Independence", *The Diplomat*, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/xi-china-must-never-adopt-constitutionalism-separation-of-powers-or-judicial-independence/>. Accessed 18 July 2025.

64. "GDP seen to decline by 1.5% with exports under strain", *Hong Kong Business*, 2025, <https://hongkongbusiness.hk/economy/news/gdp-seen-decline-15-exports-under-strain#:~:text=Hong%20Kong's%20economy%20is%20on,fluctuations%20in%20global%20trade%20conditions..> Accessed 3 February 2026.
65. "Govt to revoke registration of speech therapists' union", *The Standard*, 2021, <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/breaking-news/article/179110/>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
66. Graham-Harrison, Emma. "Hong Kong leader to ban face masks as she activates colonial-era powers", *The Guardian*, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/03/hong-kong-leader-to-ban-face-masks-as-she-activates-colonial-era-powers>. Accessed 26 August 2025.
67. Graham-Harrison, Emma. "Hong Kong voters deliver landslide victory for pro-democracy campaigners", *The Guardian*, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/24/hong-kong-residents-turn-up-for-local-elections-in-record-numbers>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
68. Griffiths, James, Eric Cheung, and Maisy Mok. "Landslide victory for Hong Kong pro-democracy parties in de facto protest referendum", *CNN*, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/11/24/asia/hong-kong-district-council-elections-intl>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
69. Griffiths, James, Helen Regan, and Eric Cheung. "Hong Kong extradition bill: Hundreds of thousands join third huge protest in a week", *CNN*, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/06/16/asia/hong-kong-protest-carrie-lam-china-extradition-intl-hnk/index.html>. Accessed 15 August 2025.
70. Griffiths, James. "Hong Kong's democracy movement was about hope. These protests are driven by desperation", *CNN*, 2019, [Hong Kong's democracy movement was about hope. These protests are driven by desperation | CNN](https://www.cnn.com/2019/06/16/asia/hong-kong-protest-carrie-lam-china-extradition-intl-hnk/index.html). Accessed 15 August 2025.
71. Grundy, Tom. "Hong Kong Tiananmen Massacre vigil group disbands following pressure from authorities", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/09/25/breaking-hong-kong-tiananmen-massacre-vigil-group-disbands-following-pressure-from-authorities/>. Accessed 27 December 2025.
72. Grundy, Tom. "Over 100 police officers raid office of Hong Kong pro-democracy newspaper Apple Daily", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020,

<https://hongkongfp.com/2020/08/10/scores-of-police-raid-office-of-hong-kong-pro-democracy-newspaper-apple-daily/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.

73. Grundy, Tom. "Staff at Hong Kong public broadcaster RTHK ordered not to refer to Taiwan as a country, or its leader as president", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/07/20/staff-at-hong-kong-public-broadcaster-rthk-ordered-not-to-refer-to-taiwan-as-a-country-or-tsai-as-president/>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
74. Hale, Erin. "In Hong Kong, decades of wealth gains evaporate on China's watch", *Al Jazeera*, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2024/1/26/in-hong-kong-decades-of-wealth-gains-evaporate-on-beijings-watch>. Accessed 9 January 2026.
75. Hawkins, Amy, et al. "Sexually explicit letters about exiled Hong Kong activists sent to UK and Australian addresses", *The Guardian*, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/dec/11/sexually-explicit-letters-deepfake-hong-kong-activists-uk-australia>. Accessed 17 December 2025.
76. Hawkins, Amy. "Lionel Messi: fans refunded in Hong Kong after anger over Tokyo appearance", *The Guardian*, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2024/feb/09/lionel-messi-inter-miami-fans-hong-kong-refunds-political>. Accessed 6 February 2026.
77. Heung, Sammy. "US human rights professor denied visa by Hong Kong immigration authorities for university teaching position", *South China Morning Post*, 2022, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education/article/3165584/us-human-rights-professor-denied-visa-hong-kong>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
78. "HKFP Monitor Nov 29, 2025: Deadly fire a test of governance, as netizens rally against foreign media bamboo blame", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/11/29/hkfp-monitor-nov-29-2025-deadly-fire-a-test-of-governance-as-netizens-rally-against-foreign-media-bamboo-blame/>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
79. "HKSAR Government will not tolerate any offence of subversion", *Hong Kong Government*, 2021, <https://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/202101/06/P2021010600675.htm>. Accessed 11 November 2025.
80. Ho, Kelly. "All 399 Hong Kong District Council election candidates pass patriotism requirement", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023,

<https://hongkongfp.com/2023/11/10/all-399-hong-kong-district-council-candidates-pass-patriotism-requirement/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.

81. Ho, Kelly. "All gov't workers to pledge loyalty to Hong Kong in one go", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/11/27/all-govt-workers-to-pledge-loyalty-to-hong-kong-in-one-go/>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
82. Ho, Kelly. "Beijing official signals China-led electoral reforms for Hong Kong to ensure only 'patriots' hold power", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/02/22/beijing-official-signals-china-led-electoral-reforms-for-hong-kong-to-ensure-only-patriots-hold-power/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
83. Ho, Kelly. "Beijing unanimously approves Hong Kong election overhaul, reducing democratic representation", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/03/30/breaking-beijing-unanimously-approves-hong-kong-election-overhaul-reducing-democratic-representation/>. Accessed 2 January 2026.
84. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong court refuses to lift reporting restrictions on bail hearing for democrats facing security law charges, despite online leaks", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/03/04/hong-kong-court-refuses-to-lift-reporting-restrictions-on-bail-hearing-for-democrats-facing-security-law-charges-despite-online-leaks/>. Accessed 11 November 2025.
85. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong democrats reject Beijing's warning over legislative stalling tactics as 'interference'", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/04/14/hong-kong-democrats-reject-beijings-warning-over-legislative-stalling-tactics-as-interference/>. Accessed 31 August 2025.
86. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong democrats to stay in legislature during interim year as public opinion split", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/09/29/hong-kong-democrats-to-stay-in-legislature-during-interim-year-as-public-opinion-split/>. Accessed 10 November 2025.
87. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong journalists face health issues after 94% exposed to crowd control weapons at protests – study", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/08/27/hong-kong-journalists-face-health-issues-after-94-exposed-to-crowd-control-weapons-at-protests-study/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
88. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong Neo Democrats party disbands citing security law and 'much worse' political environment", *Hong Kong Free Press*,

<https://hongkongfp.com/2021/06/28/hong-kong-neo-democrats-party-disbands-citing-security-law-and-much-worse-political-environment/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.

89. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong police raid Apple Daily office, editor-in-chief among 5 arrested under national security law over articles", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/06/17/breaking-hong-kong-police-raid-apple-daily-office-editor-in-chief-among-5-arrested-under-national-security-law/>. Accessed 13 January 2026
90. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong's Civic Passion disbands citing 'no way forward' after chairman ousted from legislature", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/09/03/breaking-hong-kongs-civic-passion-disbands-citing-no-way-forward-after-chairman-ousted-from-legislature/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
91. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong's 'broad' homegrown security law may curtail free speech and press freedom, foreign gov'ts and groups say", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/02/29/hong-kongs-broad-homegrown-security-law-may-curtail-free-speech-and-press-freedom-foreign-govts-and-groups-say/>. Accessed 9 January 2026.
92. Ho, Kelly. "Hong Kong's 'king of judicial reviews' arrested over alleged welfare fraud", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/06/06/hong-kongs-king-of-judicial-reviews-arrested-over-alleged-welfare-fraud/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
93. Ho, Kelly. "Interview: Election changes mark 'major regression' of democracy in Hong Kong, says analyst Ma Ngok", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/04/18/interview-election-changes-mark-major-regression-of-democracy-in-hong-kong-says-analyst-ma-ngok/>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
94. Ho, Kelly. "Jailed Hong Kong activist Joshua Wong charged with conspiring to collude with foreign forces", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/06/06/breaking-jailed-hong-kong-activist-joshua-wong-charged-with-conspiring-to-collude-with-foreign-forces/>. Accessed 8 December 2025.
95. Hoang-Wilkes, Josh. "Hong Kong Keeping Joshua Wong in Jail 'as Long as They Can'", *Domino Theories*, 2025, <https://dominotheory.com/hong-kong-keeping-joshua-wong-in-jail-as-long-as-they-can/>. Accessed 18 December 2025.

96. "Hong Kong: Ex-Ming Pao editor Kevin Lau attacked", *BBC News*, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-26349266>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
97. "Hong Kong: Impotent and biased IPCC report into protests fails to bring justice any closer", *Amnesty International*, 2020, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/05/hong-kong-impotent-and-biased-ipcc-report-into-protests-fails-to-bring-justice-any-closer/>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
98. "Hong Kong: Interpretation of Basic Law Serious Setback for Electoral Reform", *Human Rights Watch*, 2004, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2004/04/08/hong-kong-interpretation-basic-law-serious-setback-electoral-reform>. Accessed 10 July 2025.
99. "Hong Kong: New trade union law delivers fresh blow to civil liberties", *International Federation of Journalists*, 2025, <https://www.ifj.org/media-centre/news/detail/article/hong-kong-new-trade-union-law-delivers-fresh-blow-to-civil-liberties>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
100. "Hong Kong: Nine umbrella movement leaders convicted", *Amnesty International*, 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa17/0191/2019/en/>. Accessed 28 July 2025.
101. "Hong Kong: Protesters clash with police over delayed elections", *BBC*, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-54048907>. Accessed 10 November 2025.
102. "Hong Kong bars 12 opposition candidates from election", *BBC*, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-53593187>. Accessed 5 November 2025.
103. "Hong Kong court denies bail to 32 pro-democracy activists", *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/4/bail-hearing-hong-kong-democracy-activists>. Accessed 11 November 2025.
104. "Hong Kong elections: Chinese media attempt to downplay results", *BBC*, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-50554912>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
105. "Hong Kong extradition bill 'is dead' says Carrie Lam", *BBC*, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48917796>. Accessed 24 August 2025.
106. "Hong Kong financial workers stage flash protest", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2019, <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/08/01/hong-kong-financial-workers-stage-flash-protest/>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
107. "Hong Kong invokes new law to cancel passports of 6 overseas activists", *NBC News*, 2024,

- <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/hong-kong-invokes-new-law-cancel-passports-6-overseas-activists-rcna156692>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
108. "Hong Kong leader defends elections after largest pro-democracy party shut out", *The Guardian*, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/31/hong-kong-leader-defends-elections-after-largest-pro-democracy-party-shut-out>. Accessed 6 January 2026.
 109. "Hong Kong man arrested for alleged sedition in relation to fatal Tai Po blaze", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/11/30/hong-kong-man-arrested-for-alleged-sedition-in-relation-to-fatal-tai-po-blaze/>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
 110. "Hong Kong says 99% back new security law in public consultation, though participation 15% of 2002 exercise", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/02/29/hong-kong-says-99-back-new-security-law-in-public-consultation-though-participation-15-of-2002-exercise/>. Accessed 9 January 2026.
 111. "Hong Kong student union suspended over calls for justice for fire victims", *Al Jazeera*, 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/12/5/hong-kong-student-union-suspended-over-calls-for-justice-for-fire-victims>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
 112. "Hong Kong's biggest pro-democracy party votes to disband after more than 30 years of activism", *Politico*, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/12/14/hong-kongs-biggest-pro-democracy-party-votes-to-disband-after-more-than-30-years-of-activism-00689994>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
 113. "Hong Kong's John Lee pledges to enact local security law", *Associated Press*, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/covid-health-asia-pacific-elections-hong-kong-50f934aadca5e73c3001ef147b9102e1>. Accessed 6 January 2026.
 114. "Hong Kong's RTHK suspends BBC World News after ban in China over Xinjiang reporting", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/02/12/hong-kongs-rthk-suspends-bbc-world-news-after-ban-in-china-over-xinjiang-reporting/>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
 115. Huang, Claire. "Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam hits back at criticisms over Stand News arrests", *The Straits Times*,

<https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/hong-kong-leader-carrie-lam-says-stand-news-arrests-not-aimed-at-media-industry>. Accessed 12 January 2026.

116. Hui, Mary. "China's national security law for Hong Kong covers everyone on Earth", *Quartz*, 2022, <https://qz.com/1875863/hong-kong-national-security-law-covers-everyone-on-earth>. Accessed 1 September 2025.
117. "Independent Hong Kong news outlet Citizen News to shut down citing staff safety, days after Stand News raid", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/01/02/breaking-independent-hong-kong-news-outlet-citizen-news-to-shut-down-on-tue-days-after-stand-news-raid/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
118. Iyengar, Rishi. "Hong Kong Is Banning Pro-Independence Candidates From Running in Elections", *Time*, 2016, <https://time.com/4436253/hong-kong-election-briefing-protests-edward-leung-china-independence/>. Accessed 22 July 2025.
119. Jett, Jennifer. "Art world descends on Hong Kong as security laws spur censorship fears", *NBC News*, 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/hong-kong-art-world-article-23-censorship-rcna145415>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
120. "Jimmy Lai could die in prison, Hong Kong tycoon's son tells BBC", *BBC*, 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/videos/cger51y928ro>. Accessed 19 December 2025.
121. "Joshua Wong's pro-democracy group Demosisto disbands hours after Hong Kong security law passed", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/06/30/breaking-joshua-wongs-pro-democracy-group-demosisto-disbands-hours-after-hong-kong-security-law-passed/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
122. Kaiman, Jonathan. "Hong Kong's unofficial pro-democracy referendum irks Beijing", *The Guardian*, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/25/hong-kong-unofficial-pro-democracy-referendum-beijing>. Accessed 15 July 2025.
123. Kihara, Takeshi. "230 elected pro-democrats quit Hong Kong local councils", *Nikkei Asia*, 2021,

- <https://asia.nikkei.com/politics/230-elected-pro-democrats-quit-hong-kong-local-councils>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
124. Kong, Tsung-Gan. "Censorship in Hong Kong since the 2014 Umbrella Movement: an overview and tally", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2018, <https://hongkongfp.com/2018/11/17/censorship-hong-kong-since-2014-umbrella-movement-overview-tally/>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
125. Kuo, Lily. "'Society is suffering': Hong Kong protests spark mental health crisis", *The Guardian*, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/oct/22/society-is-suffering-hong-kong-protests-spark-mental-health-crisis>. Accessed 15 August 2025.
126. Kwan, Rhoda. "University of Hong Kong removes all posters from 'Democracy Wall' and student union premises", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/07/12/university-of-hong-kong-removes-all-posters-from-democracy-wall-and-student-union-premises/>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
127. Lai, Eric. "Jimmy Lai's Criminal Conviction Epitomizes China's Cognitive Warfare", *The Diplomat*, 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/12/jimmy-lais-criminal-conviction-epitomizes-chinas-cognitive-warfare/>. Accessed 19 December 2025.
128. Lai, Eric Yan-ho. "Hong Kong Convicts a Political Exile's Father, a First for the City", *The New York Times*, 2026, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/02/10/world/asia/hong-kong-anna-kwok-father.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share>. Accessed 11 February 2026.
129. Lam, Jeffie. "Extradition agreement with mainland China would damage Hong Kong's 'safe reputation' for business, AmCham says", *South China Morning Post*, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/2188915/extradition-agreement-mainland-china-would-damage-hong-kongs>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
130. Lam, Jeffie. "Hong Kong Bar Association questions Beijing's legal power to enact national security law, identifies 'problematic' features", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3085991/hong-kong-bar-association-questions-beijings-legal-power>. Accessed 4 September 2025.
131. "Lam lays down article 23 line", *The Standard*, 2021, <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/hong-kong-news/article/37548/>. Accessed 6 January 2026.

132. Lam, Oiwan. "Remembering Marco Leung, the first to die in Hong Kong's anti-China extradition protests", *Global Voices*, 2020, <https://globalvoices.org/2020/06/16/remembering-marco-leung-the-first-to-die-in-hong-kongs-anti-china-extradition-protests/>. Accessed 15 August 2025.
133. "Land resumption of Choi Yuen Village for XRL high-speed rail, Hong Kong, China", *EjAtlas*, 2022, <https://ejatlas.org/print/protest-against-the-demolition-of-choi-yuen-village-for-xrl-high-speed-rail-hong-kong>. Accessed 4 July 2025.
134. Lau, Chris, et al. "Discussions on Hong Kong independence off limits in schools and universities, education chief warns teachers", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education/article/3104411/case-hong-kong-teacher-struck-promoting-independence-will>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
135. Lau, Stuart. "Five pan-democrats throw in the towel ahead of Hong Kong's Legislative Council elections", *South China Morning Post*, 2016, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/2013093/five-pan-democrats-throw-towel-ahead-hong-kongs-legislative>. Accessed 23 July 2025.
136. Lau, Stuart. "Hong Kong elections: candidate disqualification faces international criticism", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/3095413/hong-kong-elections-candidate-disqualification-faces-international>. Accessed 5 November 2025.
137. Lee, James. "6 Hong Kong pro-democracy activists fined for unauthorised fundraising, as 4 plead not guilty", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/10/31/6-hong-kong-pro-democracy-activists-fined-for-unauthorised-fundraising-as-4-plead-not-guilty/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
138. Lee, James. "Beijing's nat. security office backs Hong Kong gov't's actions against 'anti-China disruptors' after fatal Tai Po fire", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/11/29/beijings-nat-security-office-backs-hong-kong-govts-actions-against-anti-china-disruptors-after-fatal-tai-po-fire/>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
139. Lee, James. "Charge against student accused of conspiring to wound Hong Kong police and anti-epidemic workers dropped", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/01/15/charge-against-student-accused-of-conspiring-to>

-wound-hong-kong-police-and-anti-epidemic-workers-dropped/. Accessed 5 February 2026.

140. Lee, James. "Gov't strips Hong Kong's 'Father of Democracy' Martin Lee of Justice of the Peace title", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/12/27/breaking-govt-strips-hong-kongs-father-of-democracy-martin-lee-of-justice-of-the-peace-title/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
141. Lee, James. "Hong Kong man jailed for 10 months under new security law over 'seditious' graffiti left on back of bus seats", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/09/19/hong-kong-man-pleads-guilty-to-sedition-under-new-security-law-over-graffiti-left-on-back-of-bus-seats/>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
142. Lee, James. "Third college student union at Chinese University of Hong Kong suspends operations in a week", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/12/29/third-college-student-union-at-chinese-university-of-hong-kong-suspends-operations-in-a-week/>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
143. Lee, Klaudia. "Official secrets move a catch-all: Regina Ip", *South China Morning Post*, 2003, <https://www.scmp.com/article/415794/official-secrets-move-catch-all-regina-ip>. Accessed 7 July 2025.
144. Lee, Peter. "Explainer: How Hong Kong's District Council electoral overhaul gives new power to 3 gov't-appointed committees", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2023/05/13/explainer-how-hong-kongs-district-council-electoral-overhaul-gives-new-power-to-3-govt-appointed-committees/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
145. Leung, Christy, and Ting, Victor. "Hong Kong police chief defends officers arriving 35 minutes after first reports of Yuen Long mob violence against protesters and MTR passengers", *South China Morning Post*, https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/law-and-crime/article/3019657/hong-kong-police-chief-defends-officers-arriving-35?utm_source=TodayOnline&utm_medium=partner&utm_campaign=contentexchange. Accessed 24 August 2025.
146. Leung, Christy. "New chief, new tactics: Hong Kong police act more swiftly to round up masked radicals when protests turn ugly", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/law-and-crime/article/3046718/new-chief-new-tactics-hong-kong-police-act-more>. Accessed 28 August 2025.

147. Leung, Hillary. "4 Hong Kong men jailed up to 2 years and 10 months over attack on lawyer at security law protest", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/11/04/4-hong-kong-men-jailed-up-to-2-years-and-10-months-over-attack-on-lawyer-at-security-law-protest/>. Accessed 31 August 2025.
148. Leung, Hillary. "Hong Kong investigative news platform Factwire disbands – 4th outlet to shutter in under a year", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/06/10/breaking-hong-kong-investigative-news-platform-factwire-disbands/>. Accessed 14 January 2026.
149. Leung, Kanis, and Simone McCarthy. "More than 22,000 march in teachers' rally supporting Hong Kong's young protesters, organisers say", *South China Morning Post*, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3023231/thousands-teachers-black-brave-heavy-rain-launch-rally>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
150. Leung, Kanis. "Hong Kong young people struggle to rebuild their lives after being jailed under Beijing's crackdown", *Associated Press*, 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/hong-kong-protesters-2019-jailed-reintegration-d556bc567b01ddd4cdeda15611d5e850>. Accessed 19 December 2025.
151. Leung, Kanis. "The last Hong Kong pro-democracy party that held street protests disbands", *The Associated Press*, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/league-social-democrats-disbands-prodemocracy-party-hong-7618d8dba691a2342625fed25572fc57>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
152. Li, Almond. "Hong Kong Policy Address: John Lee urged to set timetable for further Covid relaxations, and local security law", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/10/20/hong-kong-policy-address-john-lee-urged-to-set-timetable-for-further-covid-relaxations-and-local-security-law/>. Accessed 7 January 2026.
153. Li, Linda. "High-speed rail sparks co-location controversy in Hong Kong", *East Asia Forum*, 2018, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2018/04/07/high-speed-rail-sparks-co-location-controversy-in-hong-kong/>. Accessed 4 July 2025.
154. Liu, Juliana. "The 'unprecedented' case of the missing Hong Kong bookseller", *BBC News*, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-china-blog-35219260>. Accessed 22 July 2025.

155. Lo, Clifford, Ng Kang-chung, Zoe Low, Rachel Cheung, and Phila Siu. "Hong Kong protesters injured in drive-by firework attack from private vehicle after clashes outside police stations", *South China Morning Post*, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/law-and-crime/article/3020677/44-out-49-arrested-sundays-clashes-between-extradition>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
156. Lo, Kinling, and Tony Cheung. "Western-style democracy 'would doom Hong Kong to chaos', Chinese officials say", *South China Morning Post*, 2022, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/politics/article/3162986/western-style-democracy-would-doom-hong-kong-chaos-chinese>. Accessed 2 February 2026.
157. "Lu renews warning over 'political city'", *South China Morning Post*, 1993, <https://www.scmp.com/article/48529/lu-renews-warning-over-political-city>. Accessed 5 June 2025.
158. Marlow, Iain, and Natalie Lung. "Hong Kong Leader Says She Still Hasn't Seen Draft Text of Security Law", *Time*, 2020, <https://time.com/5857735/hong-kong-draft-security-law-text/>. Accessed 31 August 2025.
159. May, Tiffany. "Hong Kong's Civil Servants Protest Against Their Own Government", *The New York Times*, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/02/world/asia/hong-kong-civil-servants-protest.html>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
160. Mok, Danny, and Connor Mycroft. "Hong Kong 47: first 4 subversion offenders released from prison", *South China Morning Post*, 2025, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3308280/hong-kong-47-first-4-subversion-offenders-walk-out-prison>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
161. Mok, Lea. "PolyU becomes fifth Hong Kong university to fully cut ties with students' union", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/04/19/polyu-becomes-third-hong-kong-university-to-fully-cut-ties-with-students-union/>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
162. Mycroft, Connor. "1 in 3 Hongkongers want to move abroad despite city's improved liveability: poll", *South China Morning Post*, 2024, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/society/article/3286079/1-3-hongkongers-want-move-abroad-despite-citys-improved-liveability-poll>. Accessed 9 January 2026.

163. "National security law: tough new reality for Hong Kong as offenders face maximum sentence of life in jail", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3091241/national-security-law-chinese-president-xi-jinping-signs>. Accessed 1 September 2025.
164. "New Amnesty International Hong Kong office opens overseas", *Amnesty International*, 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/04/new-amnesty-international-hong-kong-office-opens-overseas/>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
165. Ng, Kelly, and Tessa Wong. "Singapore denies entry to exiled HK pro-democracy activist", *BBC*, 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c8rv1r11y30o>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
166. Ng, Kelly. "School children sang anthem too softly - Hong Kong", *BBC*, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cl5y3d0dzk4o>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
167. "Non-jury trial ordered for Hong Kong's 47 democrats national security case", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/08/16/non-jury-trial-ordered-for-hong-kongs-47-democrats-national-security-case/>.
168. "One candidate, one system? China leaves nothing to chance by installing next Hong Kong leader", *CBC*, 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/hong-kong-chief-executive-election-1.6443779>. Accessed 4 January 2026.
169. Ortmann, Stephan. "Democratic Party's dissolution marks Hong Kong's political decline", *East Asia Forum*, 2025, <https://eastasiaforum.org/2025/04/15/democratic-partys-dissolution-marks-hong-kongs-political-decline/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
170. Pao, Jeff. "Liaison Office slams 'burn with us' strategy", *Asia Times*, 2020, <https://asiatimes.com/2020/05/liaison-office-slams-burn-with-us-strategy/#>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
171. Parry, Jane. "Hong Kong doctors decry 'excessive and abusive' use of tear gas by police during protests", *BMJ*, vol. 366, 2019, doi:10.1136/bmj.l5136. <https://www.bmj.com/content/366/bmj.l5136.full>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
172. Phillips, Tom. "Rebel Hong Kong politicians defy China at chaotic swearing-in ceremony", *The Guardian*, 2016,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/12/hong-kong-pro-democracy-oath-s-nub-china>. Accessed 24 July 2025.

173. Pierson, David, and Tiffany May. "In Hong Kong, China's Grip Can Feel Like 'Death by a Thousand Cuts'", *The New York Times*, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/19/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-china.html>. Accessed 9 January 2026.
174. Pierson, David. "Hong Kong Holds Vote as Officials Move Against 'Anti-China' Elements", *The New York Times*, 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/12/07/world/asia/hong-kong-fire-election-campaign.html>. Accessed 8 February 2026.
175. Pinkstone, Mark. "Democracy prevails in HK as voters prepare for polls", *China Daily*, 2021, <https://www.chinadailyhk.com/hk/article/251443?showpdf=true>. Accessed 2 January 2026.
176. "Police asked to probe 'defamatory, slanderous' claims against garbage bags", *The Standard*, 2024, <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/hong-kong-news/article/59714/>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
177. "Police serve pro-democracy newsrooms with search warrants over 2020 pro-democracy primaries amid mass arrests", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/01/06/police-serve-pro-democracy-newsrooms-with-search-warrants-over-2020-pro-democracy-primaries-amid-mass-arrests/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
178. "(Policy Address 2025) John Lee pledges to promote patriotic education and Chinese culture", *The Standard*, 2025, <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/hong-kong-news/article/311750/>. Accessed 8 February 2026.
179. Pomfret, James, et al. "China has told Hong Kong's last major opposition party to disband, members say", *Reuters*, 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/china-warns-hong-kongs-last-major-opposition-party-disband-members-say-2025-04-11/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
180. Pomfret, James, et al. "New Hong Kong security law comes into force amid fears for freedoms", *Reuters*, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/new-hong-kong-national-security-law-comes-into-force-amid-international-2024-03-22/>. Accessed 9 January 2026.

181. Pomfret, James. "Hong Kong offers bounties for six more democrats in security squeeze", *Reuters*, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/hong-kong-offers-bounties-six-more-democrats-security-squeeze-2024-12-24/>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
182. "Public evaluation of Hong Kong press freedom drops to new low", *Hong Kong Journalists Association*, 2018, <https://hkja.org.hk/en/press-release/public-evaluation-of-hong-kong-press-freedom-drops-to-new-low/>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
183. Regan, Helen, and Joshua Berlinger. "Protests break out in Hong Kong as first arrest made under new security law", *CNN*, 2020, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/07/01/china/hong-kong-national-security-law-july-1-intl-hnk/index.html>. Accessed 4 September 2025.
184. Ruggeri, Laura. "Agents of Chaos: How the U.S. Seeded a Color Revolution in Hong Kong", *Qiao Collective*, 2020, <https://www.qiaocollective.com/articles/hong-kong-color-revolution>. Accessed 12 February 2026.
185. Sharma, Shweta. "Leading Hong Kong pro-democracy party disbands: 'We will not be the last to fall'", *The Independent*, 2025, <https://www.independent.co.uk/asia/china/hong-kong-league-of-social-democrats-disbands-b2779338.html>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
186. Soo, Zen. "Hong Kong's delayed legislative elections set for December", *Associated Press*, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/legislature-beijing-boycotts-health-hong-kong-df0a5c835e627192b06ffb6052ba4a24>. Accessed 3 January 2026.
187. "Speech by Xia Baolong at symposium on implementing principle of 'patriots administering Hong Kong'", *China Daily*, 2021, http://en.cppcc.gov.cn/2021-04/06/c_608784.htm. Accessed 2 January 2026.
188. "Stand News closes, content deleted following arrests and police raid; Chief Sec. slams 'evil elements'", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/12/29/breaking-stand-news-closes-website-inaccessible-following-arrests-and-police-raid-chief-sec-slams-evil-elements/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.

189. Sui, Cindy. "The murder behind the Hong Kong protests: A case where no-one wants the killer", *BBC News*, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-50148577>. Accessed 28 July 2025.
190. Siu, Phila. "Hong Kong barristers have 'serious doubts' over legality of postponing Legislative Council elections", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3095734/hong-kong-barristers-have-serious-doubts-over-legality>. Accessed 10 November 2025.
191. Tai, Benny. "Ten Steps to Actualize Mutual Destruction (Laam Chau) – The Fate of Hong Kong", *Apple Daily*, 2020, <https://www.agilex.ca/documents/voccc/1220.pdf>. Accessed 26 August 2025.
192. Tiezzi, Shannon. "Hong Kong's Elections Were Already Rigged. Now They Won't Happen", *The Diplomat*, 2020, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/08/hong-kongs-elections-were-already-rigged-now-the-y-wont-happen/>. Accessed 7 November 2025.
193. "Timeline: Over 60 Hong Kong civil society groups disband following the onset of the security law", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2022, <https://hongkongfp.com/2022/06/30/explainer-over-50-groups-gone-in-11-months-how-hong-kongs-pro-democracy-forces-crumbled/>. Accessed 26 December 2025.
194. "Timeline of arrests, prosecution and sentencing", *Hong Kong Watch*, 2019, <https://www.hongkongwatch.org/timeline-of-arrests-prosecution-and-sentencing-2019>. Accessed 28 August 2025.
195. Tong, Elson. "Explainer: After months of protests, is Hong Kong selectively enforcing covid-19 laws?", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/04/17/explainer-after-months-of-protests-is-hong-kong-selectively-enforcing-covid-19-laws/>. Accessed 31 August 2025.
196. Torode, Greg, and James Pomfret. "Hong Kong judges see risks in proposed extradition changes", *Reuters*, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hongkong-politics-extradition-judges/exclusive-hong-kong-judges-see-risks-in-proposed-extradition-changes-idUSKCN1SZ09U/>. Accessed 2 August 2025.
197. Tse, Hans. "1 in 3 Hongkongers intend to move abroad, survey finds", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024,

<https://hongkongfp.com/2024/11/12/1-in-3-hongkongers-intend-to-move-abroad-survey-finds/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.

198. Tse, Hans. "Article 23: 'Reasonable defence' needed for keeping 'seditious publications' like Apple Daily at home, Hong Kong security chief says", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/03/11/article-23-hong-kong-security-chief-says-reasonable-defence-needed-for-keeping-seditious-publications-like-apple-daily-at-home/>. Accessed 8 January 2026.
199. Tse, Hans. "Exclusive: 75% of direct-election candidates in Hong Kong District Council race sit on committees that decide who runs", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2023, <https://hongkongfp.com/2023/10/30/exclusive-70-of-direct-election-candidates-in-hong-kong-district-council-race-sit-on-committees-that-decide-who-runs/>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
200. Tse, Hans. "Hong Kong activist Andrew Chiu first to be granted early release from prison in landmark subversion case", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/10/30/hong-kong-activist-andrew-chiu-first-to-be-granted-early-release-from-prison-in-landmark-subversion-case/>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
201. Tse, Hans. "Hong Kong begins public consultation for new, homegrown security law Article 23", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/01/30/breaking-hong-kong-begins-public-consultation-for-new-homegrown-security-law-article-23/>. Accessed 7 January 2026.
202. Tse, Hans. "Hong Kong court rejects media mogul Jimmy Lai's challenge against decision to bar British lawyer from trial", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/04/16/hong-kong-court-rejects-media-mogul-jimmy-lai-s-challenge-against-decision-to-bar-british-lawyer-from-trial/>. Accessed 18 December 2025.
203. Tse, Hans. "Hong Kong gov't to axe 6 defunct pro-democracy groups from societies registry", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2025, <https://hongkongfp.com/2025/08/22/hong-kong-govt-to-axe-6-defunct-pro-democracy-groups-from-societies-registry/>. Accessed 22 December 2025.
204. Tse, Hans. "Jimmy Lai jailed for 20 years in Hong Kong after nat. security conviction", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2026,

- <https://hongkongfp.com/2026/02/09/breaking-jimmy-lai-jailed-for-20-years-in-hong-kong-after-nat-security-conviction/>. Accessed 11 February 2026.
205. Tu, Haiming. "Reform of district councils must remain a top priority", *China Daily*, 2023, <https://www.chinadailyhk.com/hk/article/316546>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
206. Tu, Haiming. "What qualifies candidates for upcoming DC elections?", *China Daily*, 2023, <https://www.chinadailyhk.com/hk/article/354256>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
207. "(Two sessions) Beijing says HK electoral overhaul necessary for stability and to block anti-China forces", *The Standard*, 2021, <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/china-news/article/166778/>. Accessed 2 January 2026.
208. "Visas 'weaponised': Gov't denies Hong Kong Free Press editor a work visa, without explanation, after 6-month wait", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/08/27/visas-weaponised-govt-denies-hong-kong-free-press-editor-a-work-visa-without-explanation-after-6-month-wait/>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
209. Wang, Kai, and Wanyuan Song. "Peng Shuai: How China censored a tennis star", *BCC*, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/59338205>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
210. Wang, Selina, and Rebecca Wright. "Hong Kong's new rules have created confusion in the classroom. Some parents are pulling their children out", *CNN*, 2020, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/11/17/asia/hong-kong-education-security-law-intl-dst-hnk>. Accessed 11 January 2026.
211. Wertheimer, Tiffany, et al. "What we know about the Hong Kong apartment fires", *BBC*, 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cdxe9r7wjgro>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
212. "Who's in and out on new-look committee picking HK leader", *The Standard*, 2021, <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/breaking-news/article/28890/>. Accessed 2 January 2026.
213. Wong, Lydia, et al. "Tracking the Impact of Hong Kong's National Security Law", *ChinaFile*, 2024, <https://www.chinafile.com/tracking-impact-of-hong-kongs-national-security-law>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
214. Wong, Natalie, and Tony Cheung. "Most of Hong Kong's opposition lawmakers to serve out extended term in Legislative Council, after supporters narrowly back move in

- poll", *South China Morning Post*, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3103434/hong-kong-opposition-poll-shows-supporters-narrowly-back>. Accessed 10 November 2025.
215. Wong, Natalie, et al. "Hong Kong's district councils to be chaired by government officials, hopefuls seeking fewer directly elected seats to undergo vetting", *South China Morning Post*, 2023, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3219133/hong-kongs-district-councils-be-chaired-government-officials-hopefuls-eyeing-fewer-directly-elected>. Accessed 5 January 2026.
216. Wong, Natalie, et al. "'It's time to go home,' Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam says as she reveals current term will be her last", *South China Morning Post*, 2022, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3172963/hong-kong-leader-carrie-lam-announce-she-not-seeking-second>. Accessed 4 January 2026.
217. Wong, Rachel. "4 ex-members of pro-independence student group arrested on suspicion of 'inciting secession' under Hong Kong's security law", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/07/29/breaking-pro-independence-student-group-leader-arrested-on-suspicion-of-inciting-secession-under-hong-kongs-security-law/>. Accessed 1 September 2025.
218. Wong, Rachel. "All Hong Kong democrats to quit after gov't ousts 4 lawmakers, leaving legislature with no effective opposition", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/11/11/breaking-all-hong-kong-democrats-quit-after-govt-ousts-4-lawmakers-leaving-legislature-with-no-effective-opposition/>. Accessed 10 November 2025.
219. Wong, Rachel. "Appeal court rules Hong Kong's mask ban is constitutional at unauthorised protests", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/04/09/breaking-appeal-court-rules-hong-kongs-mask-ban-is-constitutional-at-unauthorised-protests/>. Accessed 26 August 2025.
220. Wong, Rachel. "'Hong Kong people made history again': Over 600,000 vote in democrats' primaries as co-organiser hails 'miracle' turnout", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/07/12/hong-kong-people-made-history-again-over-600000-vote-in-democrats-primaries-as-co-organiser-hails-miracle-turnout/>. Accessed 4 November 2025.

221. "Xi stresses 'patriots governing Hong Kong' when hearing Carrie Lam's work report", *Xinhua*, 2021, https://english.www.gov.cn/news/topnews/202101/28/content_WS6012100ec6d0f72576944a53.html. Accessed 2 January 2026.
222. Yamamoto, Satoshi. "'Be water': Hong Kong protesters learn from Bruce Lee", *NHK World Japan*, <https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/news/backstories/745/>, Accessed 25 August 2025.
223. "Yam Kevin - Wanted Person. Collusion with a foreign country or with external elements to endanger national security", *Hong Kong Police Force*, 2025, https://www.police.gov.hk/ppp_en/06_appeals_public/nsc/detail.html?id=20230001. Accessed 7 December 2025.
224. Yam, Kevin. "When good Samaritans have money", *Mekong Review*, 2023, <https://mekongreview.com/when-good-samaritans-have-money/>. Accessed 3 June 2025.
225. Yam, Shui-yin Sharon. "Weaponising Covid-19: How state suppression breeds distrust and disinformation in Hong Kong", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/08/09/weaponising-covid-19-how-state-suppression-breeds-distrust-and-disinformation-in-hong-kong/>. Accessed 5 February 2026.
226. Yuen, Chantal. "Department of Justice seeks immediate jail terms for Occupy activists", *Hong Kong Free Press*, <https://hongkongfp.com/2016/09/15/departement-justice-seeks-immediate-jail-terms-occupy-activists/>. Accessed 25 July 2025.
227. "Yuen Long attack: Hong Kong police accused of 're-writing history'", *BBC*, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-53915500>. Accessed 24 August 2025.
228. Yuen, Vera. "Mainland influx tests Hong Kong's global education ambitions", *Think China*, 2025, <https://www.thinkchina.sg/society/mainland-influx-tests-hong-kongs-global-education-ambitions>. Accessed 12 January 2026.
229. Zifei, Chen, et al. "Hong Kong to focus on security laws over economic revival", *Radio Free Asia*, 2024, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/hk-security-economy-01252024234543.html>. Accessed 9 January 2026.

230. "12 jailed for up to 7 years over 2019 storming of Hong Kong's legislature", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2024, <https://hongkongfp.com/2024/03/16/12-jailed-for-up-to-7-years-over-2019-storming-of-hong-kongs-legislature/>. Accessed 24 August 2025.
231. "53 Hong Kong democrats, activists arrested under security law over 2020 legislative primaries", *Hong Kong Free Press*, 2021, <https://hongkongfp.com/2021/01/06/breaking-over-50-hong-kong-democrats-arrested-under-security-law-over-2020-legislative-primaries/>. Accessed 11 November 2025.

Surveys and Statistics

1. "Appraisal of Degree of Democracy", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/social-indicators-en/f002.html?lang=en>. Accessed 1 September 2025.
2. "Appraisal of Degree of Fairness of the Judicial System", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/g003>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
3. "Appraisal of Degree of Impartiality of the Courts", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/g004>. Accessed 7 December 2025.
4. "Appraisal of Freedom of Association", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/e005>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
5. "Appraisal of Freedom of Procession and Demonstration", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/e004>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
6. "Appraisal of Freedom of Publication", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/e003>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
7. "Appraisal of Freedom of Speech", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/e001>, Accessed 19 January 2026.
8. "Appraisal of Freedom to Strike", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/e006>. Accessed 29 December 2025.
9. "Categorical Ethnic Identity – "Hongkonger" (by age group)", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/ethnic-identity-en/q001-hongkonger.html?lang=en>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
10. "Comparison between Ratings of Chris Patten, Tung Chee-hwa, Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, Leung Chun-ying, Carrie Lam and John Lee", *HKPORI*, 2022,

<https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/chief-executive-en/a-rating-combined.html?lang=en>.
Accessed 4 January 2026.

11. "Ethnic Identity of being 'Hongkongers'", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/ethnic-identity-en/q002i.html?lang=en>. Accessed 27 August 2025.
12. "Ethnic Identity of being 'Hongkongers'", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/q002>. Accessed 1 February 2025.
13. "Hong Kong's GDP as a percentage of China's GDP", *Reuters*, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/HONGKONG-ANNIVERSARY/klpykrbebpq/#:~:text=Hong%20Kong's%20share%20of%20China's,it%20reverted%20to%20Chinese%20rule>. Accessed 22 July 2025.
14. "Hong Kong's Press Freedom Ranking", *Reporters without Borders*, 2026, <https://rsf.org/en/country/hong-kong>. Accessed 13 January 2026.
15. "People's Satisfaction with HKSARG's Performance in Improving People's Livelihood", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/government-en/h003.html?lang=en>. Accessed 3 February 2026.
16. "People's Satisfaction with HKSARG's Performance in Maintaining Economic Prosperity", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/government-en/h002.html?lang=en>. Accessed 3 February 2026.
17. "People's Trust in the HKSAR Government", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/government-en/k001.html?lang=en>. Accessed 25 August 2025.
18. "Practicing Self-Censorship of News Media in Hong Kong", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/j013>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
19. "Rating of CE Carrie Lam", *HKPORI*, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/chief-executive-en/past-chief-executive-en/a003-rating-perpoll.html?lang=en>. Accessed 15 August 2025.
20. "Rating of Credibility of News Media in Hong Kong", *HKPORI*, 2024, <https://www.pori.hk/research-result/j016>. Accessed 19 January 2026.
21. "Trust Barometer Report", *Edelman*, 2020, <https://www.edelman.com/sites/g/files/aatuss191/files/2020-01/2020%20Edelman%20Trust%20Barometer%20Global%20Report.pdf>. Accessed 8 February 2026.

22. "Trust in the Hong Kong Police Force", HKPORI, 2022, <https://a2022.pori.hk/pop-poll/disciplinary-force-en/x001.html?lang=en>. Accessed 25 August 2025.

Court Cases

1. *Chief Executive of the HKSAR and Secretary for Justice v Nathan Law Kwun-Chung, Leung Kwok-Hung, Lau Siu-Lai and Yiu Chung-Yim*, HCAL 223/2016, https://legalref.judiciary.hk/lrs/common/search/search_result_detail_frame.jsp?DIS=110350&QS=%2B%7C%28HCAL223%2F2016%29&TP=IU. Accessed 24 July 2025.
2. *Chief Executive of the HKSAR and Secretary for Justice v Sixtus Leung Chung Hang and Yau Wai Ching*, CACV 224/2016, https://www.bcmagazine.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CACV000224_2016.pdf. Accessed 24 July 2025.
3. *Chief Executive of The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Another v The President of the Legislative Council*, HCAL185/2016, <https://vlex.hk/vid/chief-executive-of-the-862565795>. Accessed 24 July 2025.
4. *HKSAR v. Ma Wai Kwan David & Ors*, 1997-2 HKC 315, <https://vlex.hk/vid/hksar-v-ma-wai-862776452>. Accessed 15 September 2025.
5. *Kwok Cheuk Kin v. Chief Executive in Council and Secretary for Justice*, HCAL 1978/2023, https://legalref.judiciary.hk/lrs/common/ju/ju_frame.jsp?DIS=156630&currpage=T. Accessed 5 January 2026.
6. *Ng Ka Ling, Ng Tan Tan v. The Director of Immigration*, FACV No. 14 of 1998, https://legalref.judiciary.hk/lrs/common/ju/ju_frame.jsp?DIS=34052&currpage=T. Accessed 15 September 2025.
7. *Ng Ka Ling and Another v The Director of Immigration*, FACV No. 14-16 of 1998, https://legalref.judiciary.hk/lrs/common/ju/ju_frame.jsp?DIS=34248&currpage=T. Accessed 15 September 2025.

Maps

1. "Hong Kong District Council Map", HongKongMap360, <https://hongkongmap360.com/hong-kong-neighborhood-map>. Accessed 21 April 2025.