

ARTICLE

Metamorphosis in the Struggles of China's Reneging: Hong Kong Christians' Voices in the Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill Movement

Metamorfosis en las luchas por el incumplimiento de China: Voces de los cristianos de Hong Kong en el Movimiento contra la Enmienda de Extradición

Grace Gaffet <sup>1</sup>

**How to cite:**

Gaffet, G. (2026). Metamorphosis in the Struggles of China's Reneging: Hong Kong Christians' Voices in the Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill Movement. *Derecho en Sociedad*, 20(1), PP. 261-284. DOI 10.63058/des.v20i1.336

**Submission received:** 10 July 2025. **Accepted:** 17 November 2025.

**Abstract**

This paper examines the evolution of Hong Kong (HK) Christians' voices in the Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill (Anti-ELAB) movement in 2019. Since the "one country, two systems" (OCTS) policy has been the subject of prior protests and the Anti-ELAB movement, it requires further attention. Through the lens of history, this research investigates the development of HK Christians' participation in the Anti-ELAB movement through their participation in preceding major movements, under China's changing attitude and actions towards the OCTS policy promised to HK citizens. This author argues that HK Christians, notably those who did not engage in socio-political affairs previously, participated in this movement in 2019. They commonly expressed their concerns about China's promise and the HK core values, which implied HK's identity. These concerns and values were already defended, and HK identity was understood in preceding movements against the political institutions, especially in 2003 and 2014. HK Christians' initial involvement in political affairs, specifically defen

---

1 Grace Gaffet is a Master's student in Theology and Religious Studies at Evangelische Theologische Faculteit Leuven; she is a Marketing and Communications Manager at an NGO; she was a Violent Incident Database Researcher at International Institute for Religious Freedom (IIRF). ORCID: 0009-0009-4432-8159. Email: grace.gaffet@proton.me.

ding the OCTS policy, was caused by anxiety over the transfer of sovereignty to China, and eventually China's mounting violation of the OCTS policy, by reinterpreting the city's political system and its judicial system in 2019.

**Keywords:**

Hong Kong Christians, protest movements, anti-extradition

**Resumen**

Este artículo examina la evolución de las voces de los cristianos de Hong Kong (HK) en el movimiento contra la Enmienda a la Ley de Extradición (Anti-ELAB) en 2019. Dado que la política de “un país, dos sistemas” (OCTS) ha sido objeto de protestas anteriores y del movimiento Anti-ELAB, requiere una mayor atención. A través del lente de la historia, esta investigación analiza el desarrollo de la participación de los cristianos de HK en el movimiento Anti-ELAB, mediante su implicación en movimientos importantes precedentes, bajo la cambiante actitud y acciones de China hacia la política OCTS prometida a los ciudadanos de HK. Este autor sostiene que los cristianos de HK, especialmente aquellos que anteriormente no participaban en asuntos sociopolíticos, se involucraron en este movimiento en 2019. Expresaron comúnmente su preocupación por la promesa de China y los valores fundamentales de HK, lo cual implicaba la identidad de HK. Estas preocupaciones y valores ya se habían defendido, y la identidad de HK se había comprendido, en movimientos anteriores contra las instituciones políticas, especialmente en 2003 y 2014. La participación inicial de los cristianos de HK en asuntos políticos, específicamente en defensa de la política OCTS, fue causada por la ansiedad ante la transferencia de soberanía a China y, eventualmente, por las crecientes violaciones de China a dicha política, al reinterpretar el sistema político y el sistema judicial de la ciudad en 2019.

**Palabras clave:**

Cristianos de Hong Kong, movimientos de protesta, anti-extradición

## Introduction

As Hong Kong (HK) passes the halfway point of the “one country, two systems” (OCTS) policy enacted at the handover and set to expire in 2047, it has experienced the most robust confrontations between protestors and the HKSAR government. The Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill (Anti-ELAB) movement in 2019 and 2020 seemingly became more “mature” after the lessons learnt in the Occupy Movement in 2014. Seeing that the judicial autonomy, as the bottom line of defending democracy and freedom, was about to be removed, HK Christians proactively participated in protests, explicitly voicing one of their concerns about China's delivery of the OCTS policy. This concern has been the subject of protests in previous movements and was first highlighted by HK Christians in the 1980s.

Scholars have discussed Christians' participation in the Anti-ELAB movement. For example, Fuk-tsang Ying (2021) explains the role of Christianity in the movement through the discourse of public religion. Yan-ho Lai (2020) focuses on the relationship between spirituality and Christians' participation in social activism. Other scholars examine this movement through the lens of political theology (Kwok & Yip, 2021) or contextual theology (T. Lai, 2021). Joseph Lee (2021) examines Christians' participation beyond the Anti-ELAB movement. In his contextual analysis, he scrutinises the resilience of Christian activism from the Occupy Movement in 2014 to the Anti-ELAB movement in 2019. However, the extensive use of online communication, which mobilised HK Christians' protest actions, was not highlighted in the current literature. Moreover, local Christians' concern about China's promise-keeping of the OCTS policy reflects a root issue, and it has been repeatedly revealed through their socio-political activism since 1984. This concern deserves deeper investigation. Hence, this research aims to go beyond the two mentioned movements and contribute to the broader theoretical framework of social mobilisation, with particular emphasis on the mobilising capacity of Christian individuals and groups, as well as the political power such individuals and groups can wield in protests and movements. In terms of methodology, this paper will employ a thematic analysis to examine how the Chinese government's violation of its promise on the OCTS policy contributes to the development of Christians' voices from past protests to the Anti-ELAB movement against the local government. Therefore, the research question of this paper is: How were Hong Kong Christian protesters' voices in the extradition amendment bill in 2019 developed under the Chinese government's promise-breaking of the “one country, two systems” policy?

This paper contends that HK Christians' voices in the anti-bill protests were shaped in light of Christians' growing socio-political participation amid China's failure to deliver the policy. "Christians' voices" refers to Christians' involvement in a variety of actions. The term "Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR)" will be used to specify the status of the city after the handover in 1997, or the context will be self-explanatory. This research, especially on the Anti-ELAB movement, will be supplemented by government documents and reporting online. This paper will be structured as follows. First, the HK Christians' voices and the HK core values through diverse ways of participation in the Anti-ELAB movement will be explained. Their participation, as illustrated in this paper, was before October 2019. Second, their significant socio-political involvement prior to 2019 will be specifically identified to provide traces of their voices and values in the Anti-ELAB movement. Third, China's introduction of the OCTS policy and its intensifying violation of the policy after the handover will be discussed to offer the historical background on how the safeguard of the city's core values and the OCTS policy in HK Christians' voices began. In the conclusion, the continuities and discontinuities of HK Christians' voices in the Anti-ELAB movement will be analysed.

## **Hong Kong Christians' Voices in the Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill Movement**

Notwithstanding being religious minorities, Christians demonstrated pluralistic voices and played a significant role in the Anti-ELAB movement.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the supportive voice to the movement, some opposed this movement because they supported the HK government (Ng, 2019) or rebuked the protesters' violence (Shum & Law, 2019). In this section, the background of the Anti-ELAB movement supported by HK Christians will first be explained. Then, various ways in which HK Christians expressed their supportive view of the protests will be elucidated, followed by certain values reflected in their voices.

---

2 In February 2018, a Hongkonger Chan Tong-kai murdered his girlfriend Poon Hiu-wing in Taiwan and fled back to HK. Since no extradition treaty existed between HK and Taiwan, the HKSAR government proposed the Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill or the Extradition Law Amendment Bill in February 2019. HK citizens alleged to have committed an offence in China, Taiwan and Macau may be extradited there for legal action.

### *The Context of Hong Kong Christian Protesters' Voices*

Compared with the Occupy Movement in 2014,<sup>3</sup> the Anti-ELAB movement was characterised by its largest scale and leaderless feature, with more Christian protesters. The Anti-ELAB movement was the largest in the history of HK (F. L. F. Lee et al., 2019, pp. 4, 10) after the Occupy Movement. A Christian pastor and a Catholic priest commonly observe that more church leaders and attendees demonstrated against the government in the Anti-ELAB movement than in the Occupy Movement (Zhao & Lai, 2019). Protestors had no recognised leader or leading organisation, unlike previous protests in the city (Ying, 2021, 120-21, 127; J. T. Lee, 2021, 12, 14-16). At the hearing before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, Denise Ho testified that the anonymous participation in this movement was to avoid the HKSAR government's prosecution against the protesters for riots and unlawful assembly in the aftermath of the movement ("Hong Kong's Summer of Discontent, 2019," 30), as in the 2014 movement.

However, the direction of this movement evolved rapidly from anti-bill<sup>4</sup> to anti-government and against its political system, continuing the object of protests in former movements. Ying (2021, pp. 114-16), Lee et al (2019, p. 23), Kwok, and Yip (2021, p. 9) agree that this movement was developed into a wider movement against the totalitarian regime. Ying (2021, p. 132) suggests that "Christians' judgment of whether the city is under a totalitarian regime" determined their attitudes and positions in the movement. The "five demands," particularly genuine universal suffrage for the Legislative Council and the Chief Executive, were officially presented in June 2019 at the early stage of the movement (Ying, 2021, 116; Lee et al., 2019, 10, 31; Chung, 2020, 58). This demand was not new to the HK protesters. It was the subject of protest in the Occupy Movement in 2014.

---

3 Articles 45 and 68 of the HKSAR Basic Law state that HK could elect its chief executive and the Legislative Council through universal suffrage. In 2007, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress endorsed the implementation of universal suffrage for these elections after 2017. HK citizens doubted that the Chinese government would abide by the Basic Law and keep its promise. Therefore, one of the Occupy Movement organisers suggested exerting pressure on the Chinese regime to implement these elections by occupying the area called Central.

4 In September, the HKSAR Chief Executive Carrie Lam announced the official withdrawal of the extradition bill in October 2019.

### *Hong Kong Christians' Voices Expressed in Different Manners*

HK Christian protesters were mainly concerned that the protection of fundamental human rights guaranteed in the HKSAR Basic Law would be lost. According to Benny Tai (2021, p. 162), the bill's legislation was China's strategic measure aiming to integrate the legal systems of the Mainland and HK. Hence, in addition to joining the demonstrations as in previous movements, HK Christians in this movement organised and participated collectively and individually in the decentralised protest activities, communicated through online platforms. Silvia Frosina (2021) contends that the widespread use of digital-based communication compensated for the leaderless structure and attracted more spontaneous participation. These protest activities are explained as follows.

#### Joint Statements and Petitions

HK Christians played a prophetic role in publishing joint statements and petitions. A Christian digital platform collected and highlighted the main content of 41 joint statements and petitions launched by different HK Christian individuals, churches and organisations, and seminaries (*Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill Joint Statement*, 2019). These were signed spontaneously by Christian individuals online. In these documents, HK Christians rebuked the local government. They mainly criticised the government's violation of (1) procedural justice by passing the bill without following the legislative procedure and (2) judicial fairness and independence by extraditing HK citizens to the Mainland for unjust trials. They also prayed for a just government. Besides, Christians defended the rule of law, human rights, freedom, and the city's high degree of autonomy promised under the OCTS policy. They justified themselves with varied biblical principles, Christian teachings, and human rights treaties. Their statements reflect their final understanding of the impossible realisation of the OCTS policy as China sought to gain control over the territory after 1997. Ying (2021, p. 130) specifies that Christian participation "may rather reflect a political awakening" experienced by Christians and Hongkongers in 2019.

Unlike former protests,<sup>5</sup> the profiles of HK Christian protesters were varied. They were from various theological backgrounds and traditions, including those that rarely spoke out on political issues. They also upheld different political stances, including those that support the

---

5 The anti-Article 23 protest in 2003 and the Occupy Movement in 2014.

government. For example, evangelical churches and even a pro-establishment church leader voiced their concerns about the further threat of the bill to HK's high degree of autonomy (Ying, 2021, 116–20). Another pro-establishment church leader appealed to the government to suspend the bill (Mak & Wu, 2019). The Baptist Convention supported the movement, and the Anglican Church rebuked the government (Kwong, 2023, p. 70; Lee, 2021, pp. 117, 122; Ying, 2021, p. 120). Evangelical Lutheran churches and believers, who rarely spoke out publicly on social affairs in the past, rebuked the bill's legislation for violating religious freedom and advocated for civil rights and justice (Wu, 2019).

### Liturgical Activities

Christian organisations and churches also organised and announced prayer meetings online ('Pray for HK', 2019; 'Religious Groups Launched Strike', 2019), sang hymns (Y. Lai, 2020, p. 139; P. Chan, 2019a), and fasted in public. For example, the fasting and prayer campaign aimed to pray for injustice to be kept away from HK citizens (Y. Cheng, 2019). In a prayer relay, a pastor voiced concern that the bill's passing would destroy the city's freedom and rule of law, and another pastor prayed for courage to resist the bill because its amendment would severely damage the OCTS policy (P. Chan, 2019a).

The visibility of these Christian activities gave Hongkongers legitimacy to support the movement and shaped their identity. Sociologist Shun-hing Chan asserts that churches' participation in the Anti-ELAB movement offered an image of nonviolence and morality, and gained protesters' trust to align with Christian positions (Hernández, 2019). Guo argues that religions, including Christianity, influenced the identity of HK and civil society in 2019 more explicitly than in the 2014 movement. She indicates that "Sing Hallelujah to the Lord" and the song "Glory to Hong Kong" were regarded as the unofficial Anti-ELAB movement anthems (Guo, 2024, p. 328). The non-Christian song creator admits that "Glory to Hong Kong" consists of the Christian term "glory." He explains that the lyrics express the deep yearning for inherent human rights, justice, democracy, and freedom (Ya Guo, 2019).

### Other Actions

HK Christians expressed their support through education. They highlighted the concerns of religious freedom of HK Christians and the judicial system in the Mainland, helping Chris-

tians to decide their participation. A church organised a symposium, inviting a politician and a legal scholar who held opposing views to discuss the pros and cons of the bill amendment (P. Chan, 2019b). Christian organisations organised a symposium to analyse the bill's effect. Christian historian Fuk-tsang Ying and Catholic barrister and former legislator Alan Leong stressed their concerns about the rule of law in China with illustrations. Ying argues that the amendment was related to China's complete change in its policy towards HK since 2003, aiming to integrate the two lands and dilute the two systems, including the jurisdiction reform (Ho, 2019). Ying and Shun-hing Chan suggest that the bill's passing would bring significant risks to HK churches in association with unregistered house churches in China, as the Chinese government could perceive their mission activities as illegal, and leaders would face legal consequences (Ho, 2019; Zhao and Lai, 2019) A Catholic Priest lamented that religious freedom would be completely removed if HK becomes Communist China (Zhao & Lai, 2019).

HK Christians also expressed their support in practical ways. Christians and churches from varied denominations in different districts, including evangelical groups and those instructed by their church leaders not to participate, opened their sacred spaces and welcomed protesters to take refuge (J. T. Lee, 2021, 117-18) and pray (Zhao & Lai, 2019). A Christian leader and politician established the 612 Humanitarian Relief Fund to assist protesters with legal services and medical treatments (*Hong Kong Watch*, 2022). Some provided first aid supplies to injured protesters (Tsing, 2023, pp. 41-44). According to the surveys conducted by HK universities, in addition to continually signing online petitions and singing "Glory" publicly, Christians acted individually to express pro-movement opinions, share information online, and boycott pro-government businesses (Chung, 2020, 61).

### *Hong Kong Christians' Voices Reflect Hong Kong Core Values*

As mentioned above, HK Christians' voices reflect diverse theologies and different political stances. Tobias Brandner (2023, p. 173) and Ying (2021, p. 130) agree that no specific local theology motivated the Anti-ELAB movement. Tsz-him Lai's (2022) concept of decoloniality may also not be sufficient to explain Christians' involvement. Apart from faith and political stances, what inspired certain HK Christians is the common values shared by HK citizens, representing HK's distinctive identity, contrasting with the Mainland. The HK core values - (1) justice, including the rule of law, (2) human rights, including freedom, and (3) democracy - were defended in earlier movements and even affirmed after 1984. In answering her question about the legitimacy of diverging worldviews on the path of searching for con-

sensus on human rights for all, Catherine McCauliff (2023, p. 358) illustrated the opinion of Justice Anthony Kennedy in the court case in the U.S., *Town of Greece v. Galloway*, on the compatibility of religious and civic themes in prayer. Kennedy explains that the religious themes – peace, justice and freedom – “provide particular means to universal ends,” and acknowledges that the values in prayer are universal, embodied not merely in religious traditions, but also in constitutional documents (*Town of Greece v. Galloway*, 2014). Thus, HK Christian protesters' religious expression of these values was compatible with civic expression. According to two surveys, one targeted Christian youth (K. Lee, 2019) and the other overall youngsters (*Youth Anti-Ordinance Study*, 2019), the top common reasons for their participation<sup>6</sup> were to defend justice, human rights, and the OCTS policy.

These HK core values were cultivated in a church environment from different denominations and influenced by Western culture. According to Ying (2021, 127), Christian faith motivated Christians to participate in protests and uphold universal values such as democracy, freedom, and justice as they fought for the city's future. T. Lai (2021, p. 241) also points out that Christians from varied denominations collectively countered injustice and asserted human dignity. In his empirical study, S. Chan (2021b, p. 250) suggests that Protestant clergies' discussions of human rights and political reform strongly influenced their church members' political opinions and participation in the Anti-ELAB movement. He (2021b, 228) depicts that mainline churches manifest ethical responsibility in the public sphere. Leung (2014) argues that the Catholic social teaching supported HK Catholic churches to defend religious freedom and political justice. Kwong (2023, pp. 73-74) offers a deeper insight that Christianity has strong roots in Western culture, and its doctrines highlight universal principles such as democracy, social justice, and human rights. One particular observation is that Ying and Kwong use the term “universal.” It may refer to the values shared by the West, such as the European Union (Polak, 2023, pp. 45-46). Nevertheless, the focal point here is that the mentioned core values characterise HK's distinctive identity, because HK citizens inherited a mixed culture of the British and the Chinese. These values differentiate the city from the Mainland.

---

6 Throughout the Anti-ELAB movement, there were more protesters below 30 years old, especially front-line protesters, than those from other age groups.

## **Hong Kong Christians' Voices Prior to 2019**

The preceding section indicates the HK Christian protesters' wide-ranging theological background and their advocacy for the HK core values in the Anti-ELAB movement. These require further explanation. In this section, the explanation of HK Christians' voices in previous movements before 2019 justifies the uniqueness and continuity found in the Anti-ELAB movement. First, the varying degrees of social and political engagement by varied Christian groups will be explained. Then, specific events in which Christians preserved the HK core values and shaped the Anti-ELAB movement will be mentioned.

### *Hong Kong Christians' Pluralistic Voices towards Socio-Political Engagement*

Certain Christians who supported democracy and human rights were more likely to resist the government before 2019. Brandner (2023, pp. 49-50, 117-129) identifies that the evangelical and charismatic groups, such as the Baptists and Evangelical Lutheran Church, engage with evangelism and leave politics to the politicians. On the contrary, the mainline or ecumenical groups, such as the Catholic Church and the Methodist Church, actively engage in social issues. Kwong (2023, p. 75) identifies that the Anglican Church leaders are pro-regime, whereas its congregants are pro-democracy. The Hong Kong Baptist University Database showed that certain progressive Protestant groups were more active in events related to civil rights and democracy before 1997 (*History of HK Protestant Christians*, n.d.). Not only were they actively involved in socio-political affairs, but the mainline churches also resisted the Chinese government (Brandner, 2023, pp. 43-44; Kwong, 2023, pp. 60-81; J. T. Lee, 2021, p. 107; Leung & Chan, 2003, pp. 47-144). J.T. Lee (2021, p. 107) indicates that they specifically resisted the "Beijing-handpicked local government" on controversial constitutional issues after 1997. Brandner (2023, p. 153) further indicates that evangelical groups criticised fellow pro-democratic Christians.

### *Hong Kong Christians' Voices in Two Events*

According to Michael Davis (2019, p. 592), the driving force behind the protests was the submission of the HKSAR government to the Chinese government on issues concerning the city's autonomy, human rights, rule of law, and democratic institutions. Two recent events demonstrated the city's core values that Christians sought to safeguard, yet led the Chinese

government to tighten its control over the territory. In 2003, HK Christians opposed the legislation of Article 23 of the HKSAR Basic Law regarding national security,<sup>7</sup> and the local government withdrew it. A Christian social activist formed the Civil Human Rights Front and organised the march on 1 July, the anniversary of the HKSAR Establishment Day.<sup>8</sup> Brandner (2023, p. 152) specifies that this organisation consisted of progressive political and social groups, in which many were Christians. Leung explains that Cardinal Zen and Catholic legal professionals led the opposition, and Catholics gathered to pray and joined the protest. Cardinal Zen was concerned about the deprivation of human rights and, subsequently, religious freedom (Leung, 2023, 101-02). Kwong (2023, p. 69) explains that this concern for Christian churches came from the connection between HK churches and underground churches in China, which were possibly regarded as illegal. Nonetheless, this event reflected a deeper issue: the protesters' opposition to the HKSAR government signified that China failed in its plan to build a legitimate HKSAR Administration, and China's authority was challenged. Tai (2018, p. 10) rightly points out that the march on 1 July marked the first territory-scale movement against the governance of the HKSAR Chief Executive. From the protesters' perspective, the HKSAR government was not considered democratic, as it failed to preserve the human rights guaranteed by the HKSAR Basic Law. Davis (Davis, 2021, p. 62) justified protesters' opposition that the Article 23 legislation, under China's direction, did not abide by the Basic Law human rights requirements. Hualing Fu and Michael Jackson (2021, p. 15) conclude that the protest endangered the authoritarian regime's order and stability, which are indicators of the local state's core performance legitimacy. At the end, the protest triggered the Chinese regime to intervene in HK's affairs.

In 2014, HK Christians protested for China's fulfilment of the OCTS policy, the universal suffrage for the Legislative Council and the Chief Executive, and church-state tensions reached their first peak. S. Chan (2017, pp. 122-23) and E. W. Cheng (2016, p. 383) indicate that the Occupy Movement in 2013-14 was one of the largest collective actions in HK's history. S. Chan (2017, pp. 123, 145) observes correctly that this movement, initiated, organised, and supported by Christians, differed from other prior HK social movements. Fu and Jackson (2021, 11, 12, 30) expound that as the Occupy Movement was motivated by the success of the 2003 protests, it desired to push further its goal: to challenge China's authoritarian political system and consolidate the high degree of HK's autonomy. S. Chan and Guo (2024,

---

7 In 2003, the HK government, urged by Beijing, proposed the legislation under Article 23 of the HKSAR Basic Law concerning treason, secession, sedition, subversion and state secrets. However, this proposal failed to comply with international human rights requirements, notably the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

8 After 1 July 2003, the Civil Human Rights Front organised the annual march on 1 July.

p. 328) suggest some continuities between this movement and the Anti-ELAB movement. S. Chan (2021a, pp. 224–226) specifies that these continuities lie in the institutional reform aimed at safeguarding the democracy and freedom of HK citizens. Additionally, the Chinese government criticised Christian protesters through the pro-Beijing media, and Christian organisers were sentenced in the aftermath of this movement (J. T. Lee, 2021, 110; Lee et al., 2019, 6). Kin-man Chan (2018, 33–34) also indicates a sharp increase in arrests and prosecutions against protesters with more severe offences since 2014.

### **Hong Kong Church-State Tensions in the Context of the OCTS Policy**

The previous sections presented HK Christians' defence of the OCTS policy, their dissatisfaction with the local and Chinese governments, and China's intrusion as a driver for their socio-political involvement. This section provides a historical background of China's introduction of the OCTS policy and reasons for Christians' political engagement after 1984, followed by China's gradual breaking of the policy, which led to a decline in church-state relations in HK.

#### *Hong Kong Christians' Voices under China's Implicit Interference*

HK Christians' initial engagement in HK political affairs in the 1980s was caused by the Chinese regime's promise of the OCTS policy. When the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed in 1984, China promised a high degree of autonomy under the OCTS policy. HK citizens could enjoy democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Although the OCTS policy was stated in the HKSAR Basic Law, HK Christians had doubts. Because they were aware of the restricted religious freedom of Christian churches in China, particularly those who fled from China to HK in 1950 due to the Chinese Communist Party's revolution. Shortly after the Joint Declaration was signed, Christian churches and organisations released statements, advocating for human rights, particularly religious freedom, and affirming the value of democracy and the rule of law (Leung & Chan, 2003, pp. 157–171; Hong Kong Christian Council Annual Report, 1985, p. 21). From the 1980s onward, the ecumenical groups started to play a prophetic role in political affairs. According to Davis (2019, 588), the HK core values include fundamental human rights and institutions, especially an independent judiciary and impartial law enforcement. These values distinguish the city from China. The city was deeply concerned that these values would be lost under Chinese rule, and thus drove HK to

defend these values through political opposition. However, HK Christians' specific pursuit of a democratic representative government in the transition period led to Beijing's negative reaction (Leung & Chan, 2003, pp. 47-114; Leung, 1998; M. K. Chan, 1994). The Chinese government sought to restrict their religious freedom. China introduced the concept of the separation of church and state<sup>9</sup> between 1986 and 1987. The Chinese regime advocated for the HKSAR Basic Law to limit religious organisations' political participation and not protect religious activities that hinder China from exercising its sovereignty over HK (Leung and Chan, 2003, 50-51; Ying, 2018, 81-82).

### *Hong Kong Christians' Voices under China's Explicit Interference*

A causal relationship can be found between the deteriorating church-state relations in HK and growing HK Christian political activism. S. Chan (2021b, p. 233) and Leung (2001, pp. 207-217) agree that the ecumenical groups' engagement in human rights and political reform harms church-state relations. This situation eroded further after 2012, and their tensions reached a climax in 2019. In her recent article, Leung (2023, 104-10, 115-16) affirms that the confrontation of Catholics against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) caused Xi Jinping to gradually restrict religious freedom, and church-state relations were at their worst in 2019. Ying (2021, pp. 132-33) contends that Christians' involvement in the Anti-ELAB movement brought unprecedented church-state tensions.

Apart from HK Christians' increasing political activism, these escalating tensions also lie in the mounting oversight of the Chinese government over the HKSAR government, which has gradually violated its promise of the city's high degree of autonomy. E. W. Cheng (2016, p. 387) describes the hybrid regime in the post-colonial city as "characterised by liberal-democratic and corporatist-oligarchic elements." S. Chan (2021b, p. 233) rightly indicates that the HKSAR political system after 1997 came under the authoritarian state of China. As mentioned in section 3.2, not only did 2003 and 2014 mark two significant movements, but also the junctures of the advancement of China's authoritarianism in HK. Since 2003, China's OCTS policy towards HK has changed, and its goal of governing HK has become more unambiguous. The Chinese government reiterated the interpretation and priority of the OCTS po-

---

9 According to the principle of the separation of church and state, churches are responsible for spiritual matters, while the government focuses on political affairs. However, the state has the authority over the church and religion, whereas the church cannot intervene in government affairs. See further explanation in the work of Y. Wang (2022, p. 194).

licity and its comprehensive jurisdiction over the territory in 2003 (K. Chan, 2018, 31; Poon and Leung, 2018, 76). In 2014, the Chinese government further exercised its control over HK for fear of its perceived threat to the CCP's supreme leadership led by Xi. Tai (2018, p. 6), Fu, and Jackson (Fu and Jackson, 2021, 30) rightly highlight China's concern that the victory of the 2014 movement would mean China's loss of its control over HK. Consequently, the city would serve as a base to overthrow the leadership of the CCP. According to Tai (2021, p. 157), the CCP expanded the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in the governance of HK by augmenting the authority of the legislative body of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, in its interpretation of the HKSAR Basic Law. On the other hand, in its white paper published in 2014, the Chinese government redefined the OCTS policy and emphasised that HK's high degree of autonomy was not inherent, but only originated from its authorisation (*White Paper on OCTS*, 2014). Poon and Leung (2018, p. 76) correctly analyse that the Chinese regime "changed her role from passive toleration to active domination and intervention in ... political matters," and its interference in HK's affairs particularly increased after Xi took power. The change in HK's political system has affected the religious sector for the past two decades. According to Ying (2018, pp. 85–86), since the HKSAR government does not have a religious bureaucracy as China does, China used the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the city to establish the Chinese model of church-state relations, "state-lead, church-follow" from 2000 onwards. Meixiu Wang (2013, p. 21) agrees that this model has been favoured by the authorities in China. Thus, China's change of policy and its office in HK show that China's ultimate goal of control over HK overrode the OCTS policy. Notwithstanding China's mounting intrusion, HK was able to maintain certain autonomy until 2019. Fu and Jackson (2021, p. 13) fairly remark that HK was ruled under a hybrid constitutional system before 2019: "quasi authoritarian politically," but HK enjoyed the rule of law, judicial independence, and constitutional protection of rights and freedom.

## Conclusion

In considering the historical account, the case of HK shows some continuities and uniqueness of HK Christians' voices in the Anti-ELAB movement when compared with their previous activism. The continuities lie in the subjects of the HK Christian protesters' defence in the Anti-ELAB movement. First, they underlined their concern about China's delivery of the OCTS policy. Second, they advocated for the HK core values: justice, human rights, and democracy, expressed unequivocally in words or speech. Third, they were dissatisfied with

the HKSAR and Chinese governments. These subjects imply that HK Christians strived for their uniqueness in HK identity and political and judicial systems, distinguishing them from Mainland China. Since the Joint Declaration was signed in the 1980s, HK Christians have been concerned about the city's high degree of autonomy. Thus, they have strived for a truly democratic political system and defended human rights. Their voices in recent movements after the handover specifically confronted these ongoing issues, and consequently led China to prioritise its control of the territory over the promise. The church-state tensions thus escalated. In 2003 and 2014, HK Christians protested the rule of law in the former, and advocated for democratic political reform in the latter. Both events reflected their resistance against the hybrid regime and their desire to safeguard the OCTS policy, human rights, and freedom. The Anti-ELAB movement inherited the territory-scale protests of the Occupy Movement. HK Christians' persistent advocacy of the city's core values in 2019 indicated that China still failed to deliver its promise in two areas: political and legal autonomy.

On the other hand, the discontinuities lie in the Anti-ELAB movement's distinctive features of decentralised protest activities through the extensive use of online communication, and the HK Christian protesters' diverse profile in terms of theological backgrounds and traditions, and political stances. These differ from the former movements. Before 2019, HK Christians had varying degrees of engagement in socio-political affairs. The mainline groups started engaging in political reforms in the transition period, organised the march in 2003, and led the Occupy movement. Nevertheless, in the Anti-ELAB movement, the city's core values that were reflected in the HK Christian protesters' voices likely transcended differences in theological backgrounds and political standpoints. Additionally, the evangelical voices could be motivated by their mission work in the Mainland and their associations with unregistered churches there.

Therefore, through the Chinese government's progressive dilution of the two systems in the OCTS policy and HK Christians' ongoing advocacy for the HK core values and HK's high degree of autonomy, HK Christians in the Anti-ELAB movement were mobilised spontaneously to stand for these values and the OCTS policy, expressed in decentralised activities and their widespread internet communication. These values also motivated some socio-politically inactive Christians to protest with the active Christians in unity.

The case of HK can be expected to exhibit similarities in other parts of the world, where religious actors similarly face the infringement of their rights by authoritarian regimes. This case can serve as a reference point for analysing similar protests and movements in such con-

texts, particularly in examining the mobilising capacity of actors from diverse religious and belief communities. For example, various religious groups opposed the authoritarian rule of the military coup in Myanmar through street protests in 2021.

The protests swiftly escalated to violent clashes between protesters and police, and the movement was ultimately halted by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020. In June 2020, the HKSAR government enforced the National Security Law in accordance with Beijing's decision to restore the city's peace and stability. Subsequently, Christian activists were arrested in succession, churches engaged in self-censorship, and multiple waves of emigration ensued. The silenced voices and protests in HK shifted overseas, such as in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Taiwan. The future research can focus on the ongoing dynamics of Christians' protests in these countries, including their challenges and opportunities, their impacts on local societies, and possible relations or tensions with local governments.

## References

- 52個社福及宗教團體發起罷工 [52 Social Welfare and Religious Groups Launched a Strike]. (2019, June 12). *Sing Pao Daily News*. <https://www.singpao.com.hk/index.php?fi=hot&id=103478>
- An Oral and Documentary History of Hong Kong Protestant Christians: Religious Discourse, Social Participation, and Identity Construction from 1970 to 1997. (n.d.). Hong Kong Baptist University. Retrieved December 4, 2024, from <https://digital.lib.hkbu.edu.hk/christianhistory/history.php?lang=EN>
- Brandner, T. (2023). *Christians in the City of Hong Kong: Chinese Christianity in Asia's World City*. Bloomsbury.

- Chan, K. (2018). Contraction of Civil Society under China's Sharp Power. In B. Y. Tai (Ed.), *China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong* (pp. 29-36). Hong Kong Civil Hub. [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG\\_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDI-ve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA\\_aem\\_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDI-ve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA_aem_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1)
- Chan, M. K. (1994). Decolonization without Democracy: The Birth of Pluralistic Politics in Hong Kong. In E. Friedman (Ed.), *The Politics of Democratization: Generalizing East Asian Experiences*. Westview Press.
- Chan, P. (2019a, June 2). 中聯辦外廿四小時接力祈禱 籲六月九日上街反送中 [24-hour Prayer Relay outside the Liaison Office, Urges people to Go on the Streets on June 9 to Oppose the Extradition Bill]. *Christian Times*. [https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158155&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158155&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- Chan, P. (2019b, June 8). 教會研討會對論《逃犯條例》修訂 梁美芬張達明同台交鋒 [Church Seminar on the Amendment of the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance: Priscilla Leung and Cheung Tat-ming Confront Each Other on the Stage]. *Christian Times*. [https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158248&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158248&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- Chan, S. (2017). Christian Activism and Political Participation in Hong Kong's Occupy Movement. *Asian Journal of Religion and Society*, 5(2), 121-150.
- Chan, S. (2021a). Christians and Building Civil Society in Hong Kong: The Case of the Occupy Movement. In S. Chan & J. W. Johnson (Eds.), *Citizens of Two Kingdoms: Civil Society and Christian Religion in Greater China* (pp. 200-229). Brill.
- Chan, S. (2021b). The Political Influence of Mainline Protestant Churches in Hong Kong. *The China Review*, 21(4), 225-258.

- Cheng, E. W. (2016). Street Politics in a Hybrid Regime: The Diffusion of Political Activism in Post-colonial Hong Kong. *The China Quarterly*, 226, 383-406. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741016000394>
- Cheng, Y. (2019, June 23). 【逃犯條例】宗教團體發起一連七日禁食禱告行動 籲教友自發參與 [Extradition Law: Religious Groups Launch Seven-Day Fasting and Prayer Campaign, Calling on Believers to Participate Voluntarily]. *HK01*. <https://www.hk01.com/逃犯條例-宗教團體發起一連七日禁食禱告行動-籲教友自發參與>
- Chung, H. (2020). Changing Repertoires of Contention in Hong Kong: A Case Study on the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement. *The China Perspectives*, 2020(3), 57-63. <https://doi.org/10.4000/chinaperspectives.10476>
- Congressional Executive Commission on China. (2019). *Hong Kong's summer of discontent and U.S. policy responses: Hearing before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, 116th Cong. <https://www.cecc.gov/events/hearings/hong-kongs-summer-of-discontent-and-us-policy-responses>
- Davis, M. C. (2019). Human Rights and Political Opposition in Hong Kong. In S. Biddulph & J. Rosenzweig (Eds.), *Handbook on Human Rights in China* (pp. 588-604). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Davis, M. C. (2021). Beijing's Crackdown on Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Hong Kong. *Asia Policy*, 16(2), 57-79.
- Frosina, S. (2021, June 8). Digital Revolution: How Social Media Shaped the 2019 Hong Kong Protests. *Italian Institute for International Political Studies*. <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/digital-revolution-how-social-media-shaped-2019-hong-kong-protests-30756>
- Fu, H., & Jackson, M. (2021). Protest, Law and Regime Type. In B. C. Jones (Ed.), *Democracy and Rule of Law in China's Shadow* (pp. 11-32). Bloomsbury Publishing.

- Guo, T. (2024). Diffusion, Polyphony, and Diversity: An Introduction to Religion, Politics, and Identity in Hong Kong since 2014. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 83(2), 327-333. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00219118-11043649>
- Hernández, J. C. (2019, June 19). With Hymns and Prayers, Christians Help Drive Hong Kong's Protests. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/19/world/asia/hong-kong-extradition-protests-christians.html>
- Ho, K. (2019, May 31). 引渡條例修訂研討會 邢福增：內地教會事工及短宣風險甚大 [Extradition Law Amendment Symposium, Fuk-tsang Ying: Mainland Church Ministry and Short-Term Missions are Very Risky]. *Christian Times*. [https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158111&Pid=103&Version=0&Cid=2017&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158111&Pid=103&Version=0&Cid=2017&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- Hong Kong Christian Council. (1985). *Hong Kong Christian Council annual report 1984-1985*. <https://www.hkcc.org.hk/acms/content.asp?site=hkccnew&op=showbyid&id=53691>
- Hong Kong Watch. (2022, November 25). *Hong Kong Watch condemns the trial and conviction of the 612 Humanitarian Relief Fund trustees and secretary*. <https://www.hongkongwatch.org/all-posts/2022/11/25/hong-kong-watch-condemns-the-trial-and-conviction-of-the-612-humanitarian-relief-fund-trustees-and-secretary>
- Kwok, P., & Yip, C. (2021). *The Hong Kong Protests and Political Theology*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kwong, Y. (2023). Political Positioning of Religious Institutions in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Hong Kong. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 56(1), 60-81. <https://doi.org/10.1525/j.postcomstud.2022.1705646>

- Lai, T. (2021). A Liberation Narrative of Religious Presence Amid the Protests: Hong Kong Theology. In K. Day & E. M. Edwards (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Cities* (pp. 235-249). Routledge.
- Lai, T. (2022). Awakening Christianity as a Decolonial Ally: Church Resistance in the 2019 Anti-extradition Bill Protests. In W. Liu, J. Chien, C. Chung, & E. Tse (Eds.), *Reorienting Hong Kong's Resistance: Leftism, Decoloniality, and Internationalism* (pp. 153-162). Palgrave Macmillan. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-4659-1\\_11](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-4659-1_11)
- Lai, Y. (2020). Discernment of Spirits and Pastoral Circle in Social Movement: A Theological Reflection on Hong Kong's Anti-extradition Protests. *Hong Kong Journal of Catholic Studies*, 11, 138-191.
- Lee, F. L. F., Yuen, S., Tang, G., & Cheng, E. W. (2019). Hong Kong's Summer of Uprising: From Anti-Extradition to Anti-Authoritarian Protests. *The China Review*, 19(4), 1-32.
- Lee, J. T. (2021). Christian Witness and Resistance in Hong Kong: Faith-based Activism from the Umbrella Movement to the Anti-Extradition Struggle. *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*, 24(3), 95-139. [https://doi.org/10.6185/TJIA.V.20210124\(3\).0003](https://doi.org/10.6185/TJIA.V.20210124(3).0003)
- Lee, K. (2019, August). 香港教會青年/青少年基督徒對「反送中」事件的看法 [Hong Kong Christian Youth/Teenagers' Views on the "Anti-Extradition Bill" Survey]. *Hong Kong Evangel Theological Seminary*. [https://docs.google.com/forms/d/16K\\_jisPi0Ku-9JUcmCzIMlgQTn43XrllZD7pUJMa3evc/viewanalytics?fbclid=IwAR0iRe3oMluyNoo-FmSXn0LsRPIlrUDWzgIxfLRVs-60M3iDUDUoIN7akDQ4](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/16K_jisPi0Ku-9JUcmCzIMlgQTn43XrllZD7pUJMa3evc/viewanalytics?fbclid=IwAR0iRe3oMluyNoo-FmSXn0LsRPIlrUDWzgIxfLRVs-60M3iDUDUoIN7akDQ4)
- Leung, B. (1998). Church-state relations in the decolonisation period: Hong Kong and Macau. *Religion, State and Society*, 26(1), 17-30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637499808431802>
- Leung, B. (2001). Church-state relations in Hong Kong and Macau: From colonial rule to Chinese rule. *Citizenship Studies*, 5(2), 203-219. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020120053608>

- Leung, B. (2014). Political Participation of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong SAR. In J. Y. S. Cheng (Ed.), *New trends of political participation in Hong Kong* (pp. 285-310). City University of Hong Kong Press.
- Leung, B. (2023). Paradigm Shift: Church-State Relations of Hong Kong Catholic Church (1949~2023). *Mainland China Studies*, 66(4), 95-125. [https://doi.org/10.30389/MCS.202312\\_66\(4\).0003](https://doi.org/10.30389/MCS.202312_66(4).0003)
- Leung, B., & Chan, S. (2003). *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 1950-2000*. Hong Kong University Press.
- Mak, K., & Wu, M. (2019, June 12). 蘇穎智發家書籲暫停逃犯條例修訂 指正在積極與特首和建制派議員聯絡 [Ying-chi So Writes a Letter Calling for a Suspension of the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance Amendment, Saying He is Actively Contacting the Chief Executive and Pro-Establishment Legislators]. *Christian Times*. [https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158310&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158310&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- McCauliff, C. (2023). Moral Pluralism, Political Disagreement, and Human Rights. In T. Angier, I. T. Benson, & M. D. Retter (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Natural Law and Human Rights* (pp. 355-370). Cambridge University Press.
- Ng, C. (2019, June 11). 吳宗文牧師代禱的籲求 [An Appeal for Intercession from Rev. Daniel Ng Chung-man]. *Kinliu.Hk*. <https://n.kinliu.hk/kinliunviews/吳宗文牧師代禱的籲求文:吳宗文牧師/>
- “One Country, Two Systems” and The Basic Law. (n.d.). Hong Kong Legal Hub. Retrieved June 20, 2025, from <https://www.legalhub.gov.hk/details.php?a=10&v=one-country-two-systems-and-the-basic-law#>

- Polak, R. (2023). Values: A Contested Concept. Problem Outline and Interdisciplinary Approaches. In R. Polak & P. Rohs (Eds.), *Values–Politics–Religion: The European Values Study: In-Depth Analysis–Interdisciplinary Perspectives–Future Prospects* (Vol. 26, pp. 33-94). Springer Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-31364-6>
- Poon, Y., & Leung, Y. (2018). Making of Patriotic: Experimenting with China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong Education. In B. Y. Tai (Ed.), *China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong* (pp. 63-78). Hong Kong Civil Hub. [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG\\_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDlve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA\\_aem\\_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDlve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA_aem_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1)
- Shum, Y., & Law, M. (2019, August 10). 卅一牧者信徒聯署聲明，籲對任何包裝暴力說不 [31 Pastors and Church Members Signed a Joint Statement Calling for No Violence Whatsoever]. *Christian Times*. [https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=159153&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=159153&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- Tai, B. Y. (Ed.). (2018). *China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong Civil Hub. [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG\\_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDlve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA\\_aem\\_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDlve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA_aem_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1)
- Tai, B. Y. (2021). Authoritarian Rule of Law in Hong Kong. In B. C. Jones (Ed.), *Democracy and Rule of Law in China's Shadow* (pp. 149-177). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Town of Greece v. Galloway*, 572 U.S. 565 (2014). <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/572/565/>
- Tsing, N. (2023). *Hongkongers' Fight for Freedom: Voices from the 2019 Anti-extradition Movement*. Brill.

- Wang, M. (2013). Church-State Relations and their Impact on Christian Charity in China—Retrospect and Preview. *Religions & Christianity in Today's China*, 3(4), 19-34.
- Wang, Y. (2022). An Opportunity for Churches to Walk the Way of the Cross. In H. Nation & J. D. Tseng (Eds.), *Faithful Disobedience: Writings on Church and State from a Chinese House Church Movement* (pp. 190-198). IVP Academic.
- Wu, M. (2019, May 28). 路德宗信徒發起聯署要求政府立即撤回修訂逃犯條例 [Lutheran believers launch a petition to demand the government to immediately withdraw the amendment to the Fugitive Offenders Ordinance]. *Christian Times*. [https://christian-times.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158091&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christian-times.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158091&Pid=102&Version=0&Cid=2141&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- Ya Guo. (2019, September 11). 【專訪】「香港之歌」誕生？ 《願榮光歸香港》創作人：音樂是凝聚人心最強武器 [Exclusive Interview: The Birth of 'Hong Kong Song'? The Creator of 'Glory to Hong Kong': Music is the Most Powerful Weapon to Unite People]. *The Stand News*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20190912053347/https://www.thestandnews.com/politics/專訪-香港之歌-誕生-願榮光歸香港-創作人-音樂是凝聚人心最強武器/>
- Ying, F. (2018). Hong Kong Religious Sectors under the Shadow of China's Sharp Power. In B. Y. Tai (Ed.), *China's Sharp Power in Hong Kong* (pp. 80-89). Hong Kong Civil Hub. [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG\\_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDlve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA\\_aem\\_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G2kb4jBC9q81qODUyvFTAwjI-EMSVLRw/view?fbclid=IwY2xjawIytNlleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHeZjTIUQDJmqQ0SidwdsJ2gG_6nFjknCmP5GiLNdDlve2Q9PY3iZhHQxWA_aem_91pRcmT5CvAljLtdWJ6-Bg&pli=1)
- Ying, F. (2021). The Entanglement between Religion and Politics: Hong Kong Christianity in the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement. *Review of Religion and Chinese Society*, 8, 111-142. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22143955-20200004>

- Zhao, Y., & Lai, C. (2019, June 30). 'Sing Hallelujah to the Lord': Religion on the Forefront of Hong Kong's Protests. *Hong Kong Free Press*. <https://hongkongfp.com/2019/06/30/sing-hallelujah-lord-religion-forefront-hong-kongs-protests/>
- 《“一国两制”在香港特别行政区的实践》白皮书 [White Paper on the Implementation of 'One Country, Two Systems' in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region]. (2014, June 10). State Council Information Office. [https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2014-06/10/content\\_2697833.htm](https://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2014-06/10/content_2697833.htm)
- 反逃犯條例修訂聯署結集 [Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill Joint Statement]. (2019, June 6). *Christian Times*. [https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158221&Pid=2&Version=1658&Cid=2238&Charset=big5\\_hkscs](https://christiantimes.org.hk/Common/Reader/News/ShowNews.jsp?Nid=158221&Pid=2&Version=1658&Cid=2238&Charset=big5_hkscs)
- 【為香港禱告】反送中條例二讀爭議 香港最大教會牧師盼特首議員勿漠視百萬市民訴求 [Pray for Hong Kong: Controversy over the Second Reading of the Anti-Extradition Bill: Pastor of Hong Kong's Largest Church Hopes the Chief Executive and Legislators Will Not Ignore the Demands of Millions of Citizens]. (2019, June 12). *Christian Tribune*. <https://ct.org.tw/html/news/3-3.php?cat=10&article=1343710&fontsize=>
- 「青少年反《逃犯條例》行動」研究 [A Study on Youth Actions on the Anti-Fugitive Offenders Ordinance]. (2019, June). Breakthrough Limited. [https://ir.breakthrough.org.hk/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Extradition\\_Figure\\_Final.pdf](https://ir.breakthrough.org.hk/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Extradition_Figure_Final.pdf)