

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Artikel Jurnal

- Angotti, T. (1981). The political implications of dependency theory. *Latin American Perspectives*, 8(3/4), 124–137.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2633475>
- Anthony, I., Zhou, J., & Su, F. (2020). EU security perspectives in an era of connectivity: Implications for relations with China. *SIPRI Insights No. 2020/3*. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).
<http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep24476>.
- Borghard, E. D., & Lonergan, S. W. (2018). Confidence building measures for the cyber domain. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 12(3), 10–34.
<https://www.airuniversity.af.edu>
- Chinn, M. D., & Fairlie, R. W. (2007). The determinants of the global digital divide: A cross-country analysis of computer and internet penetration. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 59(1), 16–44. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpl024>
- Creemers, R. (2017). Cyber China: Upgrading propaganda, public opinion work and social management for the twenty-first century. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26(103), 85–100.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2016.1206281>
- Cox, R. W. (1983). Gramsci, hegemony and International Relations: An essay in method. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 12(2), 162–175.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298830120020701>
- Dos Santos, T. (1970). The Structure of dependence. *American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231–236.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1815811.pdf?refreqid=fastly->

default%3A7e0f96867f1ff2ce5191e919d2aff451&ab_segments=&initiator=&acceptTC=1

Guo, C. (2022). China's *Digital Silk Road* in the age of the digital economy: A political analysis. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 27(2), 203–221. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-021-09789-0>

He, Y. (2024). Chinese digital platform companies' expansion in the Belt and Road countries. *The Information Society*, 40(2), 96–119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01972243.2024.2317058>

Hemmings, J. (2020). Reconstructing Order: The geopolitical risks in China's *Digital Silk Road*. *Asia Policy*, 15(1), 5–22. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26891385>

Hu, H. (2024). Digitalization and dependence: Evaluating the impact of the Belt and Road Initiative on achieving Sustainable Development Goals 8 and 9 and shaping digital autonomy. *Journal of Economic Integration*, 39(4), 991–1017. <https://doi.org/10.11130/jei.2024024>

Hudson, W. M. (2022). Review of the book The Digital Silk Road: Tiongkok's quest to wire the world and win the future, by J. E. Hillman. *PRISM*, 10(1), 145–148. Institute for National Strategic Security, National Defense University. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48697213>

LY, B. (2020). Challenge and perspective for Digital Silk Road. *Cogent Business & Management*, 7(1), 1804180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311975.2020.1804180>

Nop, S., & Thornton, A. (2019). Urban resilience building in modern development: a case of Phnom Penh City, Cambodia. *Ecology and Society*, 24(2). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26796949>

Mazarr, M. J. (2020). The essence of the strategic competition with China. *PRISM*, 9(1), 3–22. National Defense University Press. <https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Publications/Article/Article/2216796/the-essence-of-the-strategic-competition-with-china/>

Morgan, G., & Smircich, L. (1980). The case for qualitative research. *Academy of Management Review*, 5(4), 491–500. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/257453>

Szeman, A. (2023). Coalitions in Strategic Cyber Competition: Responses to China's Digital Silk Road. *Cyber Policy Review*, 12(1), 78–95.

Wilmsen, D. (2002). Globalization and the postcolonial world: The new political economy of development by Ankie Hoogvelt (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. 325 pages.). *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 19(3), 132–135. <https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v19i3.1931>

- Yu, H. (2017). Motivation behind China's 'One Belt, One Road' initiatives and establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26(105), 353–368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2016.1245894>
- Yu, H. (2017). Tiongkok's Belt and Road Initiative and its implications for Southeast Asia. *Asia Policy*, 24, 117–122. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26403210>

Buku

- Ball, K., Haggerty, K. D., & Lyon, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. Routledge. <https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Handbook-of-Surveillance-Studies/Ball-Haggerty-Lyon/p/book/9781138026025>
- Callahan, W. A. (2016). *China dreams: China's new leadership and future impacts*. Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Dekker, B., Okano-Heijmans, M., & Zhang, E. S. (2020). Digital on Chinese terms? In *Unpacking China's Digital Silk Road* (pp. 17–17). Clingendael Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25693.10>
- Economy, E. C. (2018). *The third revolution: Xi Jinping and the new Chinese state*. Oxford University Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the prison notebooks (Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith, Eds. & Trans.). International Publishers.
- Hillman, J. E. (2020). *The Emperor's New Road: Tiongkok and the project of the century*. Yale University Press.
- Hillman, J. E. (2021). *The Digital Silk Road: Tiongkok's quest to wire the world and win the future*. Harper Business.
- Hirawan, F. B., Atje, R., Saraswati, V., & Teguh, R. (2023). *Digital Silk Road and inclusive development in Indonesia*. Centre for Strategic and International Studies. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep49619.5>
- Inkster, N. (2016). *Tiongkok's cyber power*. Routledge.
- Kalathil, S., & Boas, T. C. (2010). *Open networks, closed regimes: The impact of the internet on authoritarian rule*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

- Kliman, D. (2019). *Addressing China's Influence in Southeast Asia: America's Approach and the Role of Congress*. Center for a New American Security. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep28735>
- Lampton, D. M. (2016). Xi Jinping and the National Security Commission: Policy coordination and political power. In S. Zhao (Ed.), *The making of China's foreign policy in the 21st century: Historical sources, institutions/players, and perceptions of power relations* (pp. 86–104). Routledge.
- Lustarini, M. (2022). Kepastian hukum pelindungan data pribadi pasca pengesahan UU Nomor 27 Tahun 2022. Jakarta: Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika.
- Lyon, D. (2018). *The Culture of Surveillance: Watching as a Way of Life*. Polity Press.
<https://www.politybooks.com/bookdetail/?isbn=9780745671727>
- Rakhmat, Z. (2022). *Tiongkok's Digital Silk Road in Indonesia: Progress and implications*. LSE IDEAS. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep45243>
- Rolland, N. (2017). *China's Eurasian century? Political and strategic implications of the Belt and Road Initiative*. National Bureau of Asian Research.
- Shambaugh, D. (2020). *Where great powers meet: America and China in Southeast Asia*. Oxford University Press.
- Singer, P. W., & Friedman, A. (2014). *Cybersecurity and cyberwar: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press.
- Strangio, S. (2020). *In the Dragon's Shadow: Southeast Asia in the Chinese Century*. Yale University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv14rmq92>
- The Australian. (2024, April 10). *NSW clubs breach lays bare Australia's overreliance on multinational technology*. <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/technology/nsw-clubs-breach-lays-bare-australias-overreliance-on-multinational-technology/news-story/1ad2f389dfba3d65431a1147847a2fbe>
- Triolo, P., & Hsu, K. L. (Eds.). (2020). *Tiongkok's evolving approach to cybersecurity*. Hoover Institution Press.
- Umbach, F. (2019). *China's Belt and Road Initiative and its energy-security dimensions* (RSIS Working Paper No. 320). S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/WP320.pdf>

- Yan, X. (2016). Ancient Chinese thought, modern Chinese power. In S. Zhao (Ed.), *The making of China's foreign policy in the 21st century: Historical sources, institutions/players, and perceptions of power relations* (pp. 14–15). Routledge.
- Yang, Y. (n.d.). Digital economy and the sustainable development of ASEAN and Tiongkok (Series on Asian Regional Cooperation Studies: Volume 9). *China Foreign Affairs University*. <https://doi.org/10.1142/12783>.
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Zhao, S. (2016). Introduction: The historical roots of China's foreign policy. In S. Zhao (Ed.), *The making of China's foreign policy in the 21st century: Historical sources, institutions/players, and perceptions of power relations* (pp. 1–22). Routledge.
- Zuboff, S. (2019). *The age of surveillance capitalism: The fight for a human future at the new frontier of power*. PublicAffairs.

WEB

- Access Now. (2023, April 5). *Cyber accountability in East Asia*. <https://www.accessnow.org/cyber-accountability-in-east-asia/>
- AidData. (2023, July 12). *Navigating Philippine-China relations: Insights from Beijing's role as a top lender*. <https://www.aiddata.org/blog/navigating-philippine-china-relations-insights-from-beijings-role-as-a-top-lender>
- AidData. (2024). *Beijing's Big Bet on the Philippines*. <https://docs.aiddata.org/reports/beijings-big-bet-on-the-philippines/full-report.html>
- Antara News. (2025, April 25). *Huawei terus perkuat pengembangan talenta digital di Indonesia*. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4794521/huawei-terus-perkuat-pengembangan-talenta-digital-di-indonesia>
- Bappeda Makassar. (2023, November 7). *Bappeda Makassar jejaki penerapan AI dalam upaya mendorong transformasi digital*. <https://bappeda.makassarkota.go.id/bappeda-makassar-jejaki-penerapan-ai-dalam-upaya-mendorong-transformasi-digital/>
- AP News. (2024, April 30). *Microsoft says \$1.7B investment in Indonesia includes AI training for 840,000 people*. <https://apnews.com/article/a2e53b4a3872ac80b9c56c53187c4890>

- ARTICLE 19. (2024). *China: The rise of digital repression in the Indo-Pacific.* <https://www.article19.org/resources/china-the-rise-of-digital-repression-in-the-indo-pacific/>
- ASEAN Coordinating Committee on Electronic Commerce (ACCEC). (2021). *ASEAN Digital Integration Index (ADII) Report 2021.* Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). <https://asean.org/>
- ASEAN. (2021). *ASEAN Digital Masterplan 2025.* ASEAN Secretariat. <https://asean.org/book/asean-digital-masterplan-2025/>
- Associated Press. (2024a, May 2). *Microsoft will invest \$2.2 billion in cloud and AI services in Malaysia.* <https://apnews.com/article/25e92ce637a36ea8f88c2725dfa3d1f0>
- Associated Press. (2024b, May 30). *Google to invest \$2 billion in Malaysian data center and cloud hub.* <https://apnews.com/article/94764341b721e1c1f3fb2d607604f011>
- Atkinson, R. D. (2024). *China is catching up in R&D—It may have already pulled ahead.* Information Technology and Innovation Foundation. <https://itif.org/publications/2025/04/09/china-catching-up-rd-may-have-already-pulled-ahead>
- Business Indonesia. (2024). *Indonesia's Digital Economy Still on Growth Track.* <https://business-indonesia.org/news/indonesia-s-digital-economy-still-on-growth-track>
- Carlos, R. A. G. (2024, Juli 18). *PH, US, Japan vow cooperation to enhance cyber, digital resilience.* Philippine News Agency. <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1235913>
- Carnicelli, L., Valentina, M., & Zoromski, C. (2025, April 30). *Malaysia taps Huawei and ZTE for second 5G network amid Western security concerns.* US-ASEAN Business Council. <https://www.usasean.org/article/malaysia-taps-huawei-and-zte-second-5g-network-amid-western-security-concerns>
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (2018, June 28). *China's National Intelligence Law: A primer.* <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/06/28/china-s-national-intelligence-law-primer-pub-76824>
- Carrozza, I. (2025, April 29). *Discourse and Norms along China's Digital Silk Road.* The National Bureau of Asian Research. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/discourse-and-norms-along-chinas-digital-silk-road/>

- CEIC Data. (2024). *China Software Sales Revenue YTD: Information Technology Service.* <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/china/software-industry-financial-data/cn-software-sales-revenue-ytd-information-technology-service>
- CFR.org. (n.d.). *China and global governance.* Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/china-global-governance>
- Comcom Group. (2023, December 12). *Malaysia-China Economic Council, PIKOM to attract RM100 billion investments.* <https://comcom.global/2023/12/12/malaysia-china-economic-council-pikom-to-attract-rm100-billion-investments/>
- Congressional Research Service. (2025, February 13). *Telecommunications and U.S. national security* (R46943). <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46943>
- Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). (2021). *Assesing China's Digital Silk Road Initiative.* <https://www.cfr.org/china-digital-silk-road/>
- CSIS. (2023, September 15). *China's Digital Silk Road and Southeast Asia.* Center for Strategic and International Studies. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/chinas-digital-silk-road-and-southeast-asia>
- Cyber Security Agency of Singapore. (2021). *The Singapore Cybersecurity Strategy 2021.* <https://www.csa.gov.sg/docs/default-source/docs---publications/singapore-cybersecurity-strategy-2021.pdf>
- Majlis Keselamatan Negara. (2020). *Malaysia Cyber Security Strategy 2020–2024.* <https://asset.mkn.gov.my/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/MalaysiaCyberSecurityStrategy2020-2024.pdf>
- Datareportal. (2024). *Digital 2024: Indonesia.* <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-indonesia>
- Datareportal. (2024). *Digital 2024: Philippines.* <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-philippines>
- DataReportal. (2025). *Digital 2025: Cambodia.* <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-cambodia>
- DataReportal. (2025). *Digital 2025: Indonesia.* <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-indonesia>
- DataReportal. (2025). *Digital 2025: Malaysia.* <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-malaysia>
- DataReportal. (2025). *Digital 2025: The Philippines.* <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-philippines>.

- Department of Information and Communications Technology (DICT). (2023). *National Cybersecurity Strategy Plan 2023–2028*. <https://cms-cdn.e.gov.ph/DICT/pdf/NCSP-2023-2028-FINAL-DICT.pdf>
- Developing Telecoms. (2024, Oktober 15). *Dito launches home broadband Wi-Fi powered by 5G RedCap*. <https://developingtelecoms.com/telecom-technology/wireless-networks/17459-dito-launches-home-broadband-wi-fi-powered-by-5g-redcap.html>
- Feldstein, S. (2019). *The global expansion of AI surveillance*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/09/17/global-expansion-of-ai-surveillance-pub-79847>
- Frank, A. G. (1967). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. Monthly Review Press. https://monthlyreview.org/product/capitalism_and_underdevelopment_in_latin_america/
- Federal Communications Commission. (2020a, July 17). Protecting against national security threats to the communications supply chain through FCC programs (FCC 20-99). <https://www.fcc.gov/document/fcc-designates-huawei-national-security-threat>
- Federal Communications Commission. (2020b, June 30). Order designating Huawei as a national security threat (DA 20-690). <https://docs.fcc.gov/public/attachments/DA-20-690A1.pdf>
- Freedom House. (2022). *Freedom on the Net 2022: Cambodia*. <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-net/2022>
- GDS. (2023, October 18). *GDS Formalizes Joint Venture with INA, Propelling Digital Infrastructure Development in Indonesia*. https://www.gds-services.com/en/newsshow_85.html
- Gewirtz, J. (2020). The Chinese Communist Party's Grand Tech Ambition. *Foreign Affairs*. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-08-03/chinese-communist-partys-grand-tech-ambition>
- GlobeNewswire. (2024, August 12). *Cambodia data center colocation market to surpass valuation of USD 415.56 million by 2032*. <https://www.globenewswire.com/news-release/2024/08/12/2928396/0/en/Cambodia-Data-Center-Colocation-Market.html>
- GlobeNewswire. (2025, January 28). *Malaysia data center market analysis 2025–2030: New entrants include STACK Infrastructure, Epoch, Digital*

- EdgeConneX, and Edgenex Data Centres by DAMAC.*
<https://www.globenewswire.com/news-release/2025/01/28/3016199/28124/en/Malaysia-Data-Center-Market-Analysis.html>
- Gov.cn. (2024, November 5). *Cambodia, China eye stronger digital economy cooperation.*
https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202411/05/content_WS67296f12c6d0868f4e8ec996.html
- Grand View Research. (2024). *China artificial intelligence market size, Share & trends analysis report.*
<https://www.grandviewresearch.com/horizon/outlook/artificial-intelligence-market/china>
- Heath, T. R. (2019, March 15). *Public evidence of Huawei as a cyber threat may be elusive, but restrictions could still be warranted.* RAND Corporation.
<https://www.rand.org/pubs/commentary/2019/03/public-evidence-of-huawei-as-a-cyber-threat-may-be.html>
- Heydarian, R. (2023, March 2). *The Philippines on the Digital Silk Road.* The Interpreter – Lowy Institute. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/philippines-digital-silk-road>
- Hern, A. (2018, June 29). *The great firewall of China: Xi Jinping's internet shutdown.* The Guardian.
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jun/29/the-great-firewall-of-china-xi-jinpings-internet-shutdown>
- Hoffman, S. (2019). *Engineering global consent: The Chinese Communist Party's data-driven power.* Australian Strategic Policy Institute.
<https://www.aspi.org.au/report/engineering-global-consent>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021, February 18). *Cambodia: Internet censorship, control expanded.* <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/18/cambodia-internet-censorship-control-expanded>
- Indo-Pacific Defense Forum. (2025, January). *Philippines fortifies cyber defense, partnering with Japan, U.S. and others.*
<https://ipdefenseforum.com/2025/01/philippines-fortifies-cyber-defense-partnering-with-japan-u-s-and-others/>
- IMARC Group. (2024). *Philippines ICT Market Size, Share, Trend & Forecast 2033.* <https://www.imarcgroup.com/philippines-ict-market>
- International Telecommunication Union. (2023). *Facts and figures 2023 – Internet use.* <https://www.itu.int/itu-d/reports/statistics/2023/10/10/ff23-internet-use/>

- Internet Society. (2023). *Cambodia's national internet gateway*. <https://www.internetsociety.org/resources/internet-fragmentation/cambodias-national-internet-gateway/>
- Jakarta Daily. (2025, Mei 30). *Indonesia's national cyber and crypto agency meets with US cyber envoy Steve Lang to deepen bilateral cybersecurity Cooperation*. <https://www.jakartadaily.id/tech-media/16215252547/indonesias-national-cyber-and-crypto-agency-meets-with-us-cyber-envoy-steve-lang-to-deepen-bilateral-cybersecurity-cooperation>
- Japan International Cooperation Agency. (2024, March 4). JICA reaffirms commitment to enhance cybersecurity in the Philippines. https://www.jica.go.jp/english/overseas/philippine/information/press/2024/1553271_53492.html
- Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika Republik Indonesia (Kominfo). (2022). *Undang-Undang No. 27 Tahun 2022 tentang Perlindungan Data Pribadi*. <https://www.kominfo.go.id>
- Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika. (2021, November 2). *Mencetak lagi ribuan talenta digital*. <https://www.komdigi.go.id/berita/masyarakat-digital/detail/mencetak-lagi-ribuan-talenta-digital>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Cambodia. (2022). *Clean CB alternate final read through by HE Vial, HE Sophorn, DG [PDF]*. [https://www.mfaic.gov.kh/files/uploads/NFVUYNE4Y3HP/Clean_CB_Alternate_Final_read_through_by_HE_Vial_HE_Sophorn_DG_%E2%98%85ROK%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.mfaic.gov.kh/files/uploads/NFVUYNE4Y3HP/Clean_CB_Alternate_Final_read_through_by_HE_Vial_HE_Sophorn_DG_%E2%98%85ROK%20(1).pdf)
- Kurlantzick, J. (2020, December 18). *Assessing China's Digital Silk Road: A transformative approach to technology financing or a danger to freedoms?* Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/assessing-chinas-digital-silk-road-transformative-approach-technology-financing-or-danger>
- Kontan. (2017, November 3). *Alibaba mendorong era Digital Free Trade Zone*. <https://internasional.kontan.co.id/news/alibaba-mendorong-era-digital-free-trade-zone>
- Malaysia Digital Economy Corporation. (2025, Februari 27). *Malaysia's digital investments hit record RM163.6 billion in 2024*. <https://mdec.my/media-release/news-press-release/375/malaysia%E2%80%99s-digital-investments-hit-record--rm163.6-billion-in-2024>
- Malaysia Investment Development Authority. (2024). *Malaysia's tech sector powered up with unprecedented investments in 2024*.

- <https://www.mida.gov.my/mida-news/malaysias-tech-sector-powered-up-with-unprecedented-investments-in-2024/>
- Malaysian Investment Development Authority. (2023, Maret 2). *Amazon Web Services (AWS) announces RM25.5 billion investment to launch an AWS cloud computing infrastructure in Malaysia.* <https://www.mida.gov.my/media-release/amazon-web-services-aws-announces-rm25-5-billion-investment-to-launch-an-aws-cloud-computing-infrastructure-in-malaysia/>
- Market Research Future. (2023). *Cambodia ICT market size, share, industry Demand 2035.* <https://www.marketresearchfuture.com/reports/cambodia-ict-market-42982>
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1848). *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (S. Moore, Trans.). Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/>
- McBride, J., Berman, N., & Chatzky, A. (2023, Februari 2). *China's massive Belt and Road Initiative.* Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>
- MERICS. (2019). *Evolving Made in China 2025: The Making of a High-Tech Superpower and Consequences for Industrial Countries.* <https://merics.org/en/report/evolving-made-china-2025>
- Microsoft. (2021, February 25). *Microsoft to establish first datacenter region in Indonesia as part of Berdayakan Digital Economy Indonesia initiative.* Microsoft Stories Asia. <https://news.microsoft.com/apac/2021/02/25/microsoft-to-establish-first-datacenter-region-in-indonesia-as-part-of-berdayakan-digital-economy-indonesia-initiative/>
- Microsoft. (2021, April 19). *Microsoft announces plans to establish its first datacenter region in Malaysia as part of "Bersama Malaysia" initiative to support inclusive economic growth.* Microsoft Malaysia News Center. <https://news.microsoft.com/en-my/2021/04/19/microsoft-announces-plans-to-establish-its-first-datacenter-region-in-malaysia-as-part-of-bersama-malaysia-initiative-to-support-inclusive-economic-growth/>
- Mochinaga, D. (2021). *The Digital Silk Road and China's technology influence in Southeast Asia.* Keio Research Institute at SFC.
- National Bureau of Statistics of China. (2023, December 26). *Statistical Communiqué of the People's Republic of China on the 2023 National Economic and Social Development.* https://www.stats.gov.cn/english/PressRelease/202412/t20241226_1957893.html

- National Cyber Security Agency (NACSA). (2020). *Malaysia Cyber Security Strategy 2020–2024*. <https://www.nacsa.gov.my>
- Open Development Cambodia. (2023). *Public Investment Programme 3-Year-Rolling 2023-2025*. <https://data.opendevcambodia.net/en/dataset/aaa079df-57b6-474d-8309-cb425e449c70/resource/9d3bc70e-793c-474e-82d5-49887cf40249/download/public-investment-programme-3-year-rolling-2023-2025.pdf>
- OpenGov Asia. (2025, March 10). *Digital Philippines: Transforming infrastructure and empowering citizens*. <https://opengovasia.com/2025/03/10/digital-philippines-transforming-infrastructure-and-empowering-citizens/>
- Pacis, J.** (2023). *Big brother's grand plan: A look at the digital security playbook in the Philippines*. Civic Futures. https://civic-futures.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/4189_FICS_Reports_DigitalSecurity_AW_Web.pdf
- Philippine Statistics Authority. (2025, April 29). *Digital economy contributes 8.5 percent to the Philippine economy in 2024*. <https://psa.gov.ph/content/digital-economy-contributes-85-percent-philippine-economy-2024>
- Phnom Penh Post. (2024, March 25). *Cambodia hits one-third mark of digital transformation*. <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/cambodia-hits-one-third-mark-of-digital-transformation>
- PT Telkom Indonesia (Persero) Tbk. (2022, November 15). *Telkom Indonesia dan Google Cloud jalin kolaborasi strategis untuk memajukan agenda transformasi digital Indonesia*. https://www.telkom.co.id/sites/berita/id_ID/news/telkom-indonesia-dan-google-cloud-jalin-kolaborasi-strategis-untuk-memajukan-agenda-transformasi-digital-indonesia-1827
- Rana, V., & Azeez, G. K. (2025, March 7). *Southeast Asia's quest for digital sovereignty*. The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2025/03/southeast-asias-quest-for-digital-sovereignty/>
- Reuters. (2025, April 15). *Malaysia telco U Mobile to partner with China's Huawei and ZTE for 5G network*. <https://www.reuters.com/business/media-telecom/malaysia-telco-u-mobile-partner-with-chinas-huawei-zte-5g-network-2025-04-15/>
- Reuters. (2025, May 8). *BYD aims to sell half its cars outside China by 2030, sources say*. <https://www.reuters.com/business/autos-transportation/byd-aims-sell-half-its-cars-outside-china-by-2030-sources-say-2025-05-08/>

- Rhodium Group. (2024). *Was Made in China 2025 successful?* <https://rhg.com/research/was-made-in-china-2025-successful/>
- Rolland, N. (2017). *China's Eurasian Century? Political and Strategic Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative*. The National Bureau of Asian Research.
- South China Morning Post. (2025, Mei 16). *Southeast Asia's tech reliance on China poses economic promise – and cybersecurity risks*. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3310525/southeast-asias-tech-reliance-china-poses-economic-promise-and-cybersecurity-risks>
- Telkomsel. (2022). *Annual report 2022*. <https://www.telkomsel.com/about-us/investor/annual-report>
- Tempo. (2023, Juni 20). *Huawei tegaskan berkomitmen sukseskan transformasi digital Indonesia*. <https://www.tempo.co/sains/huawei-tegaskan-berkomitmen-sukseskan-transformasi-digital-indonesia-110182>
- The Better Cambodia. (2024). *Cambodia's plan for nationwide internet and digital transformation by 2027*. <https://thebettercambodia.com/cambodias-plan-for-nationwide-internet>
- The Guardian. (2022, February 14). *Fears Cambodia is rolling out China-style 'Great Firewall' to curb online freedom*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/14/fears-cambodia-is-rolling-out-china-style-great-firewall-to-curb-online-freedom>
- Transindonesia.co. (2025, 1 Februari). *Teori Ketergantungan dan Relevansinya*. <https://transindonesia.co/2025/02/01/teori-ketergantungan-dan-relevansinya/>
- Verified Market Research. (2024). *China ICT Market Size And Forecast*. <https://www.verifiedmarketresearch.com/product/china-ict-market/>
- Wang, Y. (2023, December 25). *Speech at the Symposium on the International Situation and China's Foreign Relations*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/xw/zyxw/202405/t20240530_11332626.html
- Wang, Z. (2024). *China's Digital Silk Road (DSR) in Southeast Asia: Progress and Challenges*. Fulcrum. <https://fulcrum.sg/chinas-digital-silk-road-dsr-in-southeast-asia-progress-and-challenges/>
- World Bank. (2023). *Digital Progress and Challenges in Southeast Asia*. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/digitaldevelopment>
- World Bank. (2023). *Digital progress and trends report 2023*. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/digital-progress-and-trends-report>

- World Economic Forum. (2023). *The Global Digital Skills Gap Report*.
<https://www.weforum.org>
- World Economic Forum. (2025, May 2). *Why ASEAN's new Digital Economy Framework Agreement is a gamechanger*.
<https://www.weforum.org/stories/2025/05/asean-digital-economy-framework-agreement-a-gamechanger/>
- Times of India. (2025, May 13). *'Bullying and tyranny will only isolate oneself': Xi Jinping after US-China reach trade deal*.
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/china/bullying-and-tyranny-will-only-isolate-oneself-xi-jinping-after-us-china-reach-trade-deal/articleshow/121126042.cms>
- Wang, Y. (2021, Desember 18). *Remarks by State Councilor Wang Yi at the Meeting of the Advisory Council of The Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.
https://in.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/zgxw/202112/t20211218_10471345.htm
- Wang, Y. (2023, Oktober 19). *Wang Yi talks about Belt and Road cooperation ushering into a new stage of high-quality development*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.
https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjbzhd/202310/t20231019_11164052.html
- Xi, J. (2017, May 14). Speech at the *Digital Silk Road* Cooperation Forum. Silk Road Portal.
<https://www.silkroadinfo.org.cn/en/2023/0725/c6782a152850/page.htm>
- Xi, J. (2023, March 6). Speech at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.
https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx_662805/202303/t20230307_11037083.html
- Yayboke, E. (2020). Promote and Build: A Strategic Approach to Digital Authoritarianism. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).
<https://www.csis.org/analysis/promote-and-build-strategic-approach-digital-authoritarianism>
- Zheng, W. (2024). *China's Digital Silk Road (DSR) in Southeast Asia: Progress and Challenges*. ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
<https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/2024-1-chinas-digital-silk-road-dsr-in-southeast-asia-progress-and-challenges-by-wang-zheng/>