

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- China Taiwan Network. (2023, Maret 5). 邹振球：两岸和平统一后，台湾缺水  
缺电问题可以依靠大陆得到解决 (Zou Zhenqiu: After the peaceful  
reunification of the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, Taiwan's water and  
electricity shortage problems can be solved with the help of the mainland).  
Retrieved from China Taiwan Network:  
[http://www.taiwan.cn/xwzx/la/202303/t20230305\\_12515378.htm](http://www.taiwan.cn/xwzx/la/202303/t20230305_12515378.htm)
- AFP Hong Kong. (2023, Desember 12). *Posts falsely claim Taiwan election  
candidate ineligible to run as 'she holds US citizenship'*. Retrieved from  
AFP Fact Check: <https://factcheck.afp.com/doc.afp.com.34749EQ>
- Ali, I., & Brunnstrom, D. (2021, Januari 10). *Pompeo lifts restrictions on U.S.-  
Taiwan relationship as clock runs out on Trump administration*. Retrieved  
from Reuters: [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-taiwan-  
diplomacy/pompeo-lifts-self-imposed-restrictions-on-u-s-taiwan-  
relationship-idUSKBN29E0Q6/](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-taiwan-diplomacy/pompeo-lifts-self-imposed-restrictions-on-u-s-taiwan-relationship-idUSKBN29E0Q6/)
- An, A. (2024, Februari 13). *Cyberattack on Democracy: Escalating Cyber Threats  
Immediately Ahead of Taiwan's 2024 Presidential Election*. Retrieved from  
Trellix: [https://www.trellix.com/blogs/research/cyberattack-on-democracy-  
escalating-cyber-threats-immediately-ahead-of-taiwan-2024-presidential-  
election/](https://www.trellix.com/blogs/research/cyberattack-on-democracy-escalating-cyber-threats-immediately-ahead-of-taiwan-2024-presidential-election/)
- APF Canada. (n.d.). *Taiwan Elections 2024: Presidential Candidate Policies*.  
Retrieved from APF Canada :  
[https://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/inline-  
files/Taiwan\\_Election\\_2024\\_Candidates.pdf](https://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Taiwan_Election_2024_Candidates.pdf)
- Ashley, K. R. (1990). Speaking the Language of Exile. *Dissidence in International  
Studies Quarterly*(3), 32.
- Azzara, H. N., & Sholeh, B. (2022). A conflict between China and Taiwan: An  
analysis from a Realism Perspective. *Journal of Social Studies (JSS)*,  
*XVII*(2), 229-236. doi:10.21831/jss.v18i2.49721.229-236
- Bowen, G. (2009, August). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method.  
*Qualitative Research Journal*, *9*(2), 27-40. doi:10.3316/QRJ0902027
- Britannica. (n.d.). *Propaganda* . Retrieved from Britannica:  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/propaganda>

- Bush, R., & Hass, R. (n.d.). Democracy and Disorder: Taiwan's democracy and the China. *Foreign Policy at Brookings*.
- Cole, J. M. (2024). China's attempt to interfere with Taiwan's January 2024. *a Macdonald Laurier Institute Publications. True North in Canadian Public Policy*.
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. (2023). *PARLIAMENTARY HANDBOOK ON DISINFORMATION, AI, AND SYNTHETIC MEDIA*. London: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA).
- Copeland, B. (n.d.). *Artificial Intelligence*. Retrieved from Britannica : <https://www.britannica.com/technology/artificial-intelligence>
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (Vol. 3rd). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Curtis, J. (2023, Agustus 14). Taiwan: Relations with The United States. *House of Commons Library*. Retrieved from <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9265/CBP-9265.pdf>
- Dotson, J. (2023, Agustus). *Chinese Information Operations against Taiwan: The "Abandoned Chess Piece" and "America Skepticism"*. Retrieved from Global Taiwan Institute: [https://globaltaiwan.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/OR\\_ASTAW0807FINAL.pdf](https://globaltaiwan.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/OR_ASTAW0807FINAL.pdf)
- Doublethink Lab. (2024, February 28). *2024 Taiwan Elections: Foreign Influence Observation — Preliminary Statement*. Retrieved from Medium: <https://medium.com/doublethinklab/2024-taiwan-elections-foreign-influence-observation-preliminary-statement-caeccc5b88e>
- Eckholm, E. (2000, Maret 22). *Why a Victory in Taiwan Wasn't Enough for Some*. Retrieved November 18, 2021, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/03/22/world/why-a-victory-in-taiwan-wasn-t-enough-for-some.html>
- Election Study Center. National Chengchi University. (2025, Januari 13). *Taiwan Independence vs. Unification with the Mainland(1994/12~2024/12)*. Retrieved from <https://esc.nccu.edu.tw/PageDoc/Detail?fid=7801&id=6963>
- Frayser, J. M., Ganglani, J., & Kong, A. (2024, Januari 9). *Taiwan election: Voters head to the polls*. Retrieved from NBC News:

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/taiwan-presidential-election-us-china-relations-rcna132798>

- Gerrits, A. W. (2018). Disinformation in International Relations: How Important Is It? *Security and Human Rights*, 29, 3-23. doi:10.1163/18750230-02901007
- Gildart, S. G. (2016, Maret). China-Taiwan Relations: A New Paradigm Between East Asian Countries in the 21st Century. *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters, Ferris University*, 29-56.
- Hakmeh, J., Naylor, E., & Wallace, J. (2022, Oktober 12). *What is Cyberattack?* Retrieved from Chatham House: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/02/what-cyber-attack>
- Hale, E. (2024, Januari 11). *Taiwan's Gen Z voters want something new in Saturday's election.* Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/11/taiwans-gen-z-voters-want-something-new-in-saturdays-election>
- Hawang, S.-d. (2016). The Influence of the Sunflower Movement on the Civic Movement in Taiwan. *Studia z Polityki Publicznej*, 3(4), 103-133. Retrieved from <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/6637/663771563005.pdf>
- Hioe, B. (2022, Agustus 16). *Following China's Military Drills, Taiwan Settles Into New Normal.* Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2022/08/following-chinas-military-drills-taiwan-settles-into-new-normal/>
- Huang, T.-t. (2023, November 18). *Taiwan exposes deepfake videos featuring leaders endorsing crypto.* Retrieved from Taiwan News: <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/news/5042380>
- Huckin, T. (2016). Propaganda Defined. In G. L. Henderson, & M. J. Braun (Eds.), *Propaganda and Rhetoric in Democracy: Theory, Analysis* (pp. 118-136). Southern Illinois University Press.
- Jackson, D. (2018, Mei 29). Issue Brief: How Disinformation Impacts Politics and Publics. *National Endowment for Democracy*.
- Jones, L., & Krulikowski, S. (2024, Februari). *Executive Briefing on Trade: Taiwan—The Silicon Island.* Retrieved from U.S. International Trade Commission: [https://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/executive\\_briefings/ebot\\_silicon\\_island\\_taiwan\\_semiconductor.pdf](https://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/executive_briefings/ebot_silicon_island_taiwan_semiconductor.pdf)

- Kan, S. A. (2014, Oktober 10). China/Taiwan: Evolution of "One China" Policy-Key Statements from Washington, Beijing, and Taipei. *Congressional Research Service*.
- Kuehn, D. (2024, January 10). *Taiwan's 2024 Election: Between Chinese Interference and Democratic Resilience*. Retrieved from BTI Transformation Index: <https://blog.bti-project.org/2024/01/10/taiwans-2024-election-between-chinese-interference-and-democratic-resilience/>
- Lamont, C. K. (2015). *Research Methods in International Relations*. Sage Publication Ltd.
- Lamperti, L. (2024, Januari 11). *Taiwan's National and Political Identities Put To the Test by the Vote*. Retrieved from Italian Institute for International Political Studies: <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/taiwans-national-and-political-identities-put-to-the-test-by-the-vote-159393>
- Landler, M., & Sanger, D. E. (2016, Desember 2). *Trumps Speaks with Taiwan's Leader, an Affront to China*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/02/us/politics/trump-speaks-with-taiwans-leader-a-possible-affront-to-china.html>
- Lau, S. (2024, Januari 10). *China Bombards Taiwan with Fake News Ahead of Election*. Retrieved from POLITICO: <https://www.politico.eu/article/china-bombards-taiwan-with-fake-news-ahead-of-election/>
- Leonova, O. (2019). Sharp Power – the New Technology of Influence in a Global World. *Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya*, 63(2), 21-28. doi:10.20542/0131-2227-2019-63-2-21-28
- Li, L. (2023, Maret 30). *Taiwan braced for further water shortages in its chipmaking hubs*. Retrieved from Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/397868d0-6051-4b22-ae9f-60fd67317861>
- Li, W.-P. (2024). *Dissecting the false claims of electoral fraud in the 2024 Taiwanese presidential election*. Taiwan FactCheck Center.
- Lin, F.-K. (2024, Januari 11). *Imported products counterfeiting local public opinion: Analysis of Facebook's overseas fans' methods of intervening in Taiwan's elections*. Retrieved from Medium: <https://medium.com/doublethinklab-tw/%E5%81%87%E5%86%92%E5%9C%A8%E5%9C%B0%E6%B0%91%E6%84%8F%E7%9A%84%E8%88%B6%E4%BE%86%E5%93%81-%E8%87%89%E6%9B%B8%E5%A2%83%E5%A4%96%E7%B2%89%>

E5%B0%88%E4%BB%8B%E5%85%A5%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E9%81%B8%E8%88%89%E6%89%8B%E6%B3%95%

Lin, H.-h., Huang, L.-c., & Chung, J. (2023, Oktober 25). *DPP Lawmaker Chao Apologizes for Affair*. Retrieved from Taipei Times: <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2023/10/25/2003808197>

Lin, W.-c. (2016, Januari). Taiwan Enters The Tsai Ing-Wen Era and The Impact on Cross-Strait Relations. *Analysis No. 293*, 1-12.

Mainland Affairs Council. (2023). *"Public Opinions on Current Cross-Strait Relations" Opinion Survey (2023-10-19~2023-10-23)*. Retrieved from Mainland Affairs Council: <https://www.mac.gov.tw/cp.aspx?n=8EDDA02301435720&s=922DDA992BB43816>

Melin, E. (2020). China's sharp power through TikTok: A case study of how China can use sharp power through TikTok. *Linnaeus University Sweden*.

MERICCS. (2020, January 16). *Praised by the West, rejected by China: Tsai Ing-wen re-elected in Taiwan*. Retrieved from MERICS: Mercator Institute for China Studies: <https://merics.org/en/praised-west-rejected-china-tsai-ing-wen-re-elected-taiwan>

Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China . (2023). *Announcement of the Ministry of Commerce No. 11 of 2023 Announcement of the Ministry of Commerce on the Trade Barrier Investigation into Taiwan's Trade Restrictive Measures against the Mainland*.

Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China. (2023). *Announcement of the Ministry of Commerce No. 54 of 2023 Announcement of the Ministry of Commerce on the Final Conclusion of the Trade Barrier Investigation on Taiwan's Trade Restrictive Measures against the Mainland*.

Mistreanu, S., & Lai, J. (2024, Januari 12). *A non-traditional candidate resonates with Taiwan's youth ahead of Saturday's presidential election*. Retrieved from AP News: <https://apnews.com/article/taiwan-youth-ko-lai-hou-de6685d9addf7815703250e7245ec9e5>

Moleong, L. J. (2013). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.

Nazir, M. (1988). *Metode Penelitian*. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.

- Neo, C. C. (2024, Januari 12). *Taiwan Votes 2024: Why older voters are chill to be under the radar for this election*. Retrieved from Channel News Asia: <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/asia/taiwan-election-older-voters-pension-retirement-care-china-4040266>
- Nye, J. S. (2018). How Sharp Power Threatens Soft Power: The Right and Wrong Ways to Respond to Authoritarian Influence. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Paris, B., & Donovan, J. (2019). *DEEPAKES AND CHEAP FAKES. THE MANIPULATION OF AUDIO AND VISUAL EVIDENCE*. Data & Society.
- Sacks, D. (2021, Januari 28). *Biden Administration Sends Important Signals for the Future of U.S.-Taiwan Ties*. Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/biden-administration-sends-important-signals-future-us-taiwan-ties>
- Sacks, D. (2022, Agustus 4). *As China Punishes Taiwan for Pelosi's Visit, What Comes Next?* Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/china-punishes-taiwan-pelosis-visit-what-comes-next>
- Secretary of State, M. R. (2020, May 19). *Press Statement: Taiwan's Inauguration of President Tsai Ing-wen*. Retrieved from US Department of States: <https://2017-2021.state.gov/taiwans-inauguration-of-president-tsai-ing-wen/>
- Slotta, D. (2024, Agustus 2). *Annual energy consumption Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC) from 2016 to 2023*. Retrieved from Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1312965/tsmc-energy-consumption-by-source/#:~:text=In%202023%2C%20the%20Taiwanese%20semiconductor,increase%20in%20green%20energy%20consumption.>
- Slotta, D. (2024, Agustus 2). *Annual water consumption of Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC) from 2016 to 2023, by user*. Retrieved from Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1313040/tsmc-water-consumption-by-user/#:~:text=Published%20by,barred%20from%20planting%20their%20crops.>
- Smith, K. (2024, Oktober 17). *Understanding State-sponsored Cyber Attacks*. Retrieved from Phoenix: <https://www.phoenixs.co.uk/resources/blog/understanding-state-sponsored-cyber-attacks/>

- State Council Tariff Commission. (2023). *Announcement of the State Council Tariff Commission on Suspension of Tariff Concessions for Some Products under the Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement. Tax Commission Announcement No. 9 of 2023.*
- Taiwan FactCheck Center. (2023, Oktober 17). *2024 Election Verification Notes Episode 1: Taiwan's first pre-election AI fake audio file teaches you tips on identifying fake audio and video.* Retrieved from Taiwan FactCheck Center: <https://tfc-taiwan.org.tw/articles/9781>
- Taiwan FactCheck Center. (2024). *[Clarification of the facts] Video posted online "This is Taiwan's election. Calling number one and drawing number two...manual verification of votes will cause big problems"?* Taiwan FactCheck Center.
- Taiwan FactCheck Center. (2024). *A video of the vote counting was posted on the Internet, "The presidential ballots were taken out from the big black bag. Is this a vote-making"?* Taiwan FactCheck Center.
- Taiwan Information Environment Research Center (IORG). (2024, Januari 2). *Discussion of Taiwan-US relations on the eve of the election: troublemakers and pawns.* Retrieved from IORG: <https://iorg.tw/da/54>
- Taiwan Information Environment Research Center IORG. (2024, Januari 12). *IORG Weekly Report No. 66 2024.1.1-10. Really fake! 2024 pre-election LINE rumor rankings.* Retrieved from IORG: <https://iorg.tw/da/66>
- Taiwan Information Environment Research Center IORG. (2024). *IORG Weekly Report No. 67 2024.1.10-16. The "vote-making" rumor video spread more on TikTok than on YouTube within 7 days before and after the vote.* IORG.
- Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation. (2023, Agustus 22). *August 2023 Public Opinion Poll – English Excerpt.* Retrieved from Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation: <https://www.tpof.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/20230822-TPOF-August-2023-Public-Opinion-Poll-%E2%80%93-English-Excerpt.pdf>
- Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation. (2023, December 29). *December 2023 Public Opinion Poll – English Excerpt.* Retrieved from Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation: <https://www.tpof.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/20231229-TPOF-December-2023-Public-Opinion-Poll-%E2%80%93-English-Excerpt.pdf>
- Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation. (2023, September 26). *September 2023 Public Opinion Poll – English Excerpt.* Retrieved from Taiwan Public Opinion

Foundation: <https://www.tpof.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/20230926-TPOF-September-2023-Public-Opinion-Poll-%E2%80%93-English-Excerpt.pdf>

*The Republic of China yearbook : Taiwan 2001*. (2001). Taiwan : Government Information Office, 2001.

Tiberghien, Y., & Tsai, C.-m. (2024, Januari 7). *Taiwan Elections 2024 Brief*. Retrieved from Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada: <https://www.asiapacific.ca/publication/taiwan-elections-2024-brief-network-experts>

Tsai, Y.-y., & Chin, J. (2024, januari 11). *China is posting fake videos of president*. Retrieved from Taipei Times: <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2024/01/11/2003811930>

TVBS Poll Center. (2024, Agustus). Retrieved from [https://cc.tvbs.com.tw/portal/file/poll\\_center/2023/20230825/06edcbe4ccb8940c56d5e8388f18ff50.pdf](https://cc.tvbs.com.tw/portal/file/poll_center/2023/20230825/06edcbe4ccb8940c56d5e8388f18ff50.pdf)

Walker, C. (2018). What is Sharp Power? *Journal of Democracy*, 29(3), 9-23.

Walker, C., & Ludwig, J. (2017). From 'Soft Power' to 'Sharp Power': Rising Authoritarian Influence in the Democratic World. *National Endowment for Democracy*, 6-25.

Wong, T. (2024, Januari 12). *Taiwan election: It's not war young voters worry about - it's jobs*. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-67945643>

Wu, J.-m., & Liao, M. (2021). China's Influence on Taiwan's Election: The impact of the "1992 Consensus" on presidential elections. *China's influence in the Centre-periphery Tug of War in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Indo-Pacific*, 137-190.

Wu, S. (2023, November 8). *Taiwan's land squeeze pits advanced chips against ancestral temples*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/taiwans-land-squeeze-pits-advanced-chips-against-ancestral-temples-2023-11-08/#:~:text=The%20chip%20industry%20has%20long,energy%2C%20labour%2C%20and%20talent.>

Yang, K.-s. (2018, Juni 28). *守護台灣，就是美國的國家利益* (*Protecting Taiwan is the national interest of the United States*). Retrieved from Medium: <https://medium.com/@kuangshnyng/%E5%AE%88%E8%AD%B7%E5%>



8F%B0%E7%81%A3-  
%E5%B0%B1%E6%98%AF%E7%BE%8E%E5%9C%8B%E7%9A%84  
%E5%9C%8B%E5%AE%B6%E5%88%A9%E7%9B%8A-2cfef7494d

Yang, K.-s. (2024, Januari 9). *'Troublemaker' and 'Pawn': US-related Narratives Amid Taiwan's Presidential Election*. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/troublemaker-and-pawn-us-related-narratives-amid-taiwans-presidential-election/>

Yang, W. (2024, Januari 12). *Millions of Voters Head to Polls as Taiwan Election Gets Under Way*. Retrieved from VOA: Millions of Voters Head to Polls as Taiwan Election Gets Under Way

Yang, Y.-m. (2023, Maret 15). *不做強國棋子 穩定兩岸關係 (Don't be a pawn of a powerful country to stabilize cross-strait relations)*. Retrieved from China Times: <https://www.chinatimes.com/opinion/20230315004595-262103?chdtv>

Yoachimik, O., & Pacheco, J. (2024, Januari 9). *DDoS threat report for 2023 Q4*. Retrieved from CLOUDFLARE: <https://blog.cloudflare.com/ddos-threat-report-2023-q4/>

Yu, C.-h. (2023, Agustus 8). *US Skepticism Narratives and Where They Come From*. Retrieved from IORG: [https://iorg.tw/\\_ua/a/us-skepticism-238#h2-1](https://iorg.tw/_ua/a/us-skepticism-238#h2-1)

Zhang, S. (2023, September 22). *Cross-strait Family Kinship*. Retrieved from People's Daily China: [http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2023-09/22/nw.D110000renmrb\\_20230922\\_2-14.htm](http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2023-09/22/nw.D110000renmrb_20230922_2-14.htm)

Zhuang, J., & Dong, Z. (2023, Desember 29). *Where did Taiwan's fake presidential election poll come from?* Retrieved from Radio Free Asia: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/afcl/taiwan-fake-poll-12292023000620.html>