

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Balboa, J. D. (2020). Duterte's Foreign Policy Pivot and Its Impact on Philippine Trade and Investments: An International Political Economy Perspective. *BRILL*. Dipetik 2026
- Banlaoi, R. C. (2016). *Duterte Presidency: Shift In Philippine-China Relations? – Analysis*. Dipetik 03 13, 2026, dari <https://www.eurasiareview.com/21052016-duterte-presidency-shift-in-philippine-china-relations-analysis/>
- Banlaoi, R. C. (2021). The Philippines and the South China Sea Dispute: Duterte's Hedging Approach with China and the United States. *OXFORD ACADEMIC*. Dipetik 2026
- BBC. (2011, 11 21). *Sengketa kepemilikan Laut Cina Selatan*. Dipetik 10 12, 2025, dari [BBC NEWS INDONESIA: https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/07/110719_spratlyc_onflict](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/07/110719_spratlyc_onflict)
- BBC. (2016, 10 20). *Duterte ke Cina, sinyal Filipina 'jauhi Amerika Serikat'*. Dipetik 10 12, 2025, dari [BBC NEWS INDONESIA: https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/10/161020_dunia_cina_filipina](https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/10/161020_dunia_cina_filipina)
- BBC NEWS. (2023, July 7). Diambil kembali dari <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13748349>
- BBC NEWS. (2023, July 7). *What is the South China Sea dispute?* Dipetik 11 10, 2024, dari <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13748349>
- BEATRICE, J. (2020). KEBIJAKAN POLITIK LUAR NEGERI FILIPINA TENTANG LAUT CINA SELATAN PADA MASA PEMERINTAHAN RODRIGO DUTERTE. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional, Volume 5, No. 2*. Dipetik 10 2, 2025
- Bordey, H. (2021). *Opposition senators criticize China over latest West Philippine Sea statement*. GMA NEWS. Dipetik 04 2026
- Bungin, B. (2008). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jakarta: Pt. Raja Grafindo Persada. Dipetik 10 17, 2025
- Castillo, G. d. (2017). *Duterte's In(depend)ent Foreign Policy*. Focus on the Global South. Dipetik 2026
- Castro, R. C. (2019). From Appeasement to Soft Balancing: The Duterte Administration's Shifting Policy on the South China Sea Imbroglio. *Research Division Asia*. Dipetik 03 13, 2026

- Castro, R. C. (2021). The Philippines' Hedging between the United States and China: Can the Biden Administration Tip the Balance? *Asia Policy*. Dipetik 03 2026
- Cervantes, F. M. (2018). *Duterte's WPS approach pragmatic, prudent: Cayetano*. Philippine News Agency. Dipetik 2 2, 2026, dari <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1036945>
- CFR. (2025). *China's Maritime Disputes*. Dipetik 10 10, 2025, dari Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/chinas-maritime-disputes>
- Chang, F. K. (2023, June 14). *US-Philippines Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement Revived*. Dipetik 11 21, 2025, dari Foreign Policy Research Institute: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2023/06/us-philippines-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement-revived/>
- Damping, G. (2020). Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Filipina Terhadap China di Bawah Kepemimpinan Presiden Rodrigo Duterte Terhadap China dalam Konflik Laut China Selatan. *Journal of International Relations*. Dipetik 03 2026
- Department of Foreign Affairs. (2018). *2018 ACCOMPLISHMENT REPORT of the DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS*. Department of Foreign Affairs. Dipetik 02 24, 2025, dari https://dfa.gov.ph/images/2023/Accomplishment/DFA_2018_Accomplishment_Report.pdf
- DFA Gov. (2018). *Joint Press Release: Second Meeting of the Philippines-China Bilateral Consultation Mechanism on the South China Sea*. Dipetik 03 17, 2026
- Diahalwani, M., & Hanggarini, P. (2025). Perubahan Sikap Luar Negeri Filipina terhadap Tiongkok di Laut Cina Selatan Pada Masa Rodrigo Duterte. *Journal of Innovative and Creativity*. Dipetik 10 2, 2025
- Dietrich, J. W. (1999). Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and the China MFN Debates. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2. Dipetik 10 1, 2025, dari <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27551988>
- Eidenfalk, J. (2006). Towards a new model of foreign policy change. *ed. B. Goldsmith*. Australasian Political Studies Association Annual Conference. Dipetik 10 1, 2025, dari https://ro.uow.edu.au/articles/conference_contribution/Towards_a_new_model_of_foreign_policy_change/27801798?file=50574315
- Eidenfalk, J. (2009). A Window of Opportunity? Australian foreign policy change towards East Timor 1998-99 and Solomon Islands 2003. *University of Wollongong*. Dipetik Nov 11, 2025
- Elemia, C. (2020). *America's oldest military ally in Asia turns toward China*. Dipetik 03 31, 2026, dari AXIOS.

- Encabo, L. (2020). *Are the Makabayan Bloc power-hungry? Their track record proves otherwise*. The DEFIANT.NET. Dipetik 2026
- Flores, H. (2017, January 28). *8 in 10 Pinoys want rights asserted in West Phl Sea*. Dipetik March 6, 2026, dari Philstar Global: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/01/28/1666255/8-10-pinoys-want-rights-asserted-west-phl-sea>
- Frialde, M. (2015). *PDP-Laban names Duterte as 2016 bet*. Dipetik 03 12, 2026, dari Philstar Global: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2015/11/30/1527741/pdp-laban-names-duterte-2016-bet>
- Gita-Carlos, R. A. (2021). *WPS disputes can be settled thru 'diplomacy, not by force': PRRD*. Philipiine News Agency. Dipetik 2026, dari <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1148352>
- Gomez, J. (2016, December 17). *Duterte says he'll set aside sea feud ruling againts China*. Dipetik 10 23, 2024, dari AP NEWS: <https://apnews.com/general-news-f40ac6df7ed948348e49bd27dd13a419>
- GOVPH. (2018). *Philippines-China Bilateral Consultation Mechanism Focuses on Cooperation and Collaboration while Having Frank and Candid Discussions on Issues where the Philippines and China Disagree*. Dipetik 2026, dari GOVPH: <https://beijingpe.dfa.gov.ph/embassy-news/529-philippines-china-bilateral-consultation-mechanism-focuses-on-cooperation-and-collaboration-while-having-frank-and-candid-discussions-on-issues-where-the-philippines-and-china-disagree>
- Green, R. (2016, 07 13). *Pengadilan PBB Batalkan Klaim China atas Laut China Selatan*. Dipetik 09 15, 2024, dari VOA Indonesia: <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/pengadilan-pbb-batalkan-klaim-china-atas-laut-china-selatan/3414729.html>
- Gulo, W. (2002). *METODOLOGI PENELITIAN*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia. Dipetik 10 25, 2024
- Hermann, C. F. (1990). *Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy*. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1. Dipetik 10 6, 2025
- Hermann, M. G. (1980). *Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders*. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1 . Dipetik 10 1, 2025, dari <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2600126>
- Heydarian, R. J. (2017). *Duterte and ASEAN*. Dipetik 03 31, 2026, dari Council on Foreign Relation.
- Heydarian, R. J. (2017). *Duterte's Dance With China*. Dipetik 2026

- Holsti, K. (1992). *International politics : a framework for analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. Dipetik 10 6, 2025
- Lee, J. (2020). Duterte's 'Pivot to China' and the Influence of the Public. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*. Dipetik 03 06, 2026, dari <https://animorepository.dlsu.edu.ph/apssr/vol20/iss1/6/>
- Malek, A., & Wiegand, K. E. (1997). *News media and foreign relations: a multifaceted perspective*. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex Pub. Dipetik 10 6, 2025
- Marzali, A. (2017). Menulis Kajian Sastra. *ETNOSIA: Jurnal Etnografi Indonesia*. Dipetik Sept 25, 2025
- Medillo, R. J. (2020). Seeking Accountability, Legitimacy, and Transparency: Congressional Intervention in the Philippines' South China Sea Policy. *Philippine Political Science Journal*. Dipetik 04 2026
- Mendoza, R. U., Banaag, M. S., Cruz, J. P., & Uy, I. K. (2018). The Philippines' China Pivot: Yield and Risks. *ATENEO SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION*. Dipetik 03 2026
- Morales, N. J. (2016, Oct 22). *Philippines' Duterte says didn't really mean 'separation' from U.S.* Dipetik Nov 24, 2025, dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/philippines-duterte-says-didnt-really-mean-separation-from-us-idUSKCN12L28R/>
- Musico, J. (2018). *Duterte to Navy: I won't go to war over West Philippine Sea*. Philippine News Agency. Dipetik 2026, dari <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1036108>
- Musico, J. (2018). *Duterte to prioritize biz groups' solutions to PH woes*. Dipetik 03 2026, dari Philippine News Agency: <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1051521>
- OGP. (2017). *Public and Private Sector Dialogue (PH0040)*. Dipetik 2026, dari Open Government Partnership.
- Palicte, C. (2024). *Duterte denies 'gentleman's agreement' between PH, China on WPS*. Philippine News Agency. Dipetik 2026, dari <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1222494>
- Panda, A. (2016, July 12). *International Court Issues Unanimous Award in Philippines v. China Case On South China Sea*. Dipetik 09 12, 2024, dari THE DIPLOMAT: <https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/international-court-issues-unanimous-award-in-philippines-v-china-case-on-south-china-sea/>
- Parameswaran, P. (2016). *The Risks of Duterte's China and South China Sea Policy*. The Diplomat. Dipetik 04 2026, dari <https://share.google/HYIDMF2ggqiJ2OGte>
- Pazzibugan, D. Z. (2017). *PDP-Laban out to learn ideology from Communist Party of China*. Dipetik 04 2026, dari

<https://globalnation.inquirer.net/158865/pdp-laban-learn-ideology-communist-party-china>

PCG. (2017, 02 February). *INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE JOINT COAST GUARD COMMITTEE: PHILIPPINE AND CHINA COAST GUARD AGREE TO FURTHER ADVANCE COOPERATION*. Dipetik 10 12, 2025, dari PHILIPPINE COAST GUARD: <https://www.coastguard.gov.ph/index.php/11-news/1484-inaugural-meeting-of-the-joint-coast-guard-committee-philippine-and-china-coast-guard-agree-to-further-advance-cooperation>

Philstar Global. (2016, 10 26). *MBC welcomes stronger China ties, but urges caution on US*. Dipetik 03 12, 2026, dari Philstar Global: <https://www.philstar.com/business/2016/10/26/1636888/mbc-welcomes-stronger-china-ties-urges-caution-us>

Philstar Global. (2016). *Tribunal ruling: Blunting China's realpolitik approach in the South China Sea dispute*. Dipetik 03 15, 2026, dari Philstar Global: https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/07/14/1602811/tribunal-ruling-blunting-chinas-realpolitik-approach-south-china-sea-dispute#google_vignette

Philstar Global. (2021, 05 23). *Philippines, China agree on importance of dialogue in sea disputes*. Dipetik 02 25, 2026, dari Philstar Global: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2021/05/23/2100230/philippines-china-agree-importance-dialogue-sea-disputes>

Philstar Global. (2021). *Philippines, China agree on importance of dialogue in sea disputes*. Dipetik 2026, dari Philstar Global: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2021/05/23/2100230/philippines-china-agree-importance-dialogue-sea-disputes>

Poushter, J., & Bishop, C. (2017). *People in the Philippines Still Favor U.S. Over China, but Gap Is Narrowing*. Pew Research Center. Dipetik 03 06, 2026, dari <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/09/21/people-in-the-philippines-still-favor-u-s-over-china-but-gap-is-narrowing/>

Ramadani, S., & Trisni, S. (2019). ANALISIS KEBIJAKAN LUAR NEGERI FILIPINA TERKAIT SENGKETA LAUT CHINA SELATAN PADA MASA DUTERTE. *Journal of International Studies, Volume 4, No. 1*. Dipetik 10 2, 2025

Ramdhan, M. (2021). *Metode Penelitian*. (A. A. Effendy, Penyunt.) Cipta Media Nusantara (CMN). Dipetik 09 29, 2025, dari https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Ntw_EAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR1&dq=tipe+penelitian+deskriptif+arikunto+2010&ots=f3qM4IVtaB&sig=0Y6jrCc4S0x2FPjx1QTqT3apWOY&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

- Reuters. (2016, 10 20). *Duterte: Philippines is separating from US and realigning with China*. Dipetik 03 13, 2026, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/20/china-philippines-resume-dialogue-south-china-sea-dispute>
- Reuters. (2016). *Philippines businessmen to accompany Duterte to China - sources*. Dipetik 03 12, 2026, dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/philippines-businessmen-to-accompany-duterte-to-china-sources-idUSKCN11Z24G/>
- Rodillas, I. L. (2025). Policy Coherence and Consistency: An Analysis of the Philippine Foreign Policy towards the West Philippine Sea. *Policy & Governance Review*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr.v9i1.1221>
- Romero, A. (2016, May 23). *Duterte to talk with China on sea dispute if...* Dipetik March 30, 2025, dari Philstar: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/05/23/1586122/duterte-talk-china-sea-dispute-if>
- Roza, R., Muhamad, S. V., & Nainggolan, P. P. (2013). *Konflik Laut China Selatan dan implikasinya terhadap kawasan*. Jakarta: P3DI Setjen DPR RI. Dipetik 09 01, 2024
- SBS News. (2016). *Duterte announces major shift in US-Philippine alliance*. Dipetik 03 14, 2026, dari SBS News: <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/duterte-announces-major-shift-in-us-philippine-alliance/g09xf999t>
- Senate of the Philippine. (2016). *Koko expresses support for President Duterte's foreign policy*. Dipetik 03 11, 2026, dari Senate of the Philippine: https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2016/1020_pimentel2.asp
- Senate of the Philippine. (2018). *PDP Laban at 36: Fulfilling the promise of Change*. Dipetik 03 12, 2026, dari Senate of the Philippine: https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2018/0228_pimentel1.asp
- Senate of the Philippines. (2016). *Statement of 4 Senators on President Duterte's Newest Pronouncements on Foreign Policy (Senators Aquino, De Lima, Drilon, Pangilinan)*. Dipetik 2026, dari Senate of the Philippines.
- Siytango, A. (2018, Apr 09). *Duterte may raise South China Sea issue with Xi*. Dipetik 03 2026, dari Manila Bulletin: <https://mb.com.ph/2018/4/9/duterte-may-raise-south-china-sea-issue-with-xi>
- Storey, I. (2016). Assessing Responses to the Arbitral Tribunal's Ruling on the South China Sea. *ISEAS*. Dipetik 2026
- Storey, I. (2017). Assessing the ASEAN-China Framework for the Code of Conduct for the South China Sea. *ISEAS*. Dipetik 04 22, 2026

- SunStar. (2018, May 09). *Senators urge Duterte to act on China missiles in Spratlys*. Dipetik 04 21, 2026, dari SunStar: <https://www.sunstar.com.ph/manila/local-news/senators-urge-duterte-to-act-on-china-missiles-in-spratlys>
- Takumi, R. (2018). *73% of Pinoys want Duterte to assert PHL claims in West PHL Sea —Pulse Asia*. gpt NEES. Dipetik 03 6, 2026, dari <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/topstories/nation/660177/most-pinoys-want-duterte-to-assert-phl-claims-to-protest-china-presence-in-west-phl-sea/story/>
- Tan, & Brenda. (2016). Friend or Foe: Explaining the Duterte Administration's China Policy in the South China Sea. *The Cornell International Affairs Review*. Dipetik 02 19, 2026
- The Guardian. (2016, Dec 17). *Philippines to 'set aside' South China Sea tribunal ruling to avoid imposing on Beijing*. Dipetik March 2026, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/17/philippines-to-set-aside-south-china-sea-tribunal-ruling-to-avoid-imposing-on-beijing>
- U.S DEPARTMENT of STATE. (2025, 01 20). *U.S Security Cooperation with the Philippines*. Dipetik 11 11, 2025, dari U.S DEPARTMENT of STATE: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-the-philippines>
- Villacorta, W. V. (1989). THE CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY. *Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia*, 4-5. Dipetik 10 12, 2024
- Viray, P. L. (2017, Sept 14). *Makabayan bloc leaves House supermajority, ends Duterte alliance*. Dipetik April 3, 2026, dari Philstar Global: https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/09/14/1739108/makabayan-bloc-leaves-house-supermajority-ends-duterte-alliance#google_vignette
- Williams, R. D. (2016). *Tribunal Issues Landmark Ruling in South China Sea Arbitration*. LAWFARE. Dipetik 03 2026, dari <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/tribunal-issues-landmark-ruling-south-china-sea-arbitration>
- Xinhua. (2017). *China, Philippines confirm twice-yearly bilateral consultation mechanism on South China Sea*. Dipetik 03 17, 2026
- Zha, W. (2022). Leader security and hedging in the era of great power rivalry: responses of the Philippines and Singapore. *Springer Nature*. Dipetik 2026