


Contemporary Southeast Asia is an internationally refereed journal that specializes in the politics, international relations and security-related issues of Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic environment. Apart from serving as a reliable and up-to-date source of information on various events and trends in regional politics, international relations and security questions that affect Southeast Asia, *CSEA* also publishes the results of original research on these subjects by both scholars and other interested persons.

© 2021 ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute **ISEAS Publishing** is a member of  and participates in
ISSN 0129-797X (print) /
ISSN 1793-284X (electronic)



The responsibility for facts and opinions presented in the contents of CSEA rests exclusively with the individual authors. Their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views or the policy of the Editorial Committee, the International Advisory Committee, or the sponsors of CSEA, or ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

Annual Subscription Rates for 2021

	Individuals (Print & electronic)	Institutions
Asia/Japan/Aust/N.Z.	US\$59	US\$92
Europe/North America/Africa/Mid. East	US\$71	US\$113
Singapore/Malaysia/Brunei	S\$87	S\$137

These annual rates include electronic delivery as well as the printed copy by air. *CSEA* is published three times a year, in April, August and December. Subscription orders and enquiries should be addressed to:

The Managing Editor
ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Singapore 119614
Tel: 68702483, 68702447 Fax: 67756259
E-mail: pubsunit@iseas.edu.sg

Electronic Access

The contents page and abstracts of articles are available on-line at the ISEAS Publishing website. Access is by user ID and password for individual subscribers. Institutional subscribers are bound by terms and conditions. Electronic Document Delivery service is also available to non-subscribers at S\$10.90/US\$6.40 per article. For more information, access <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>

Back Issues

Electronic version:

All back issues starting from volume 1 (1979) are now available in electronic form and may be purchased on-line at <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>.

Print version:

Complete sets of back issues may also be purchased from ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute. For more information, e-mail: pubsunit@iseas.edu.sg.

Contemporary Southeast Asia (CSEA) is indexed in the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI); SCOPUS; International Bibliography of Periodical Literature on the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBZ); International Bibliography of Book Reviews of Scholarly Literature on the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBR); Sage Public Administration Abstracts; PAIS International; Contents Pages on Asia (INSEAD); World Affairs Online; International Political Science Abstracts; Ingenta; EBSCO Publishing; Sociological Abstracts; ProQuest Information and Learning; Gale Group; and ISI Emerging Markets.

CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

Volume 43, Number 3

December 2021

Articles

- | | | |
|---|--|-----|
| Towards “Emergent Federalism” in Post-coup Myanmar | ASHLEY SOUTH | 439 |
| Did Urbanization or Ethnicity Matter More in Malaysia’s 14th General Election? | JASON WEI JIAN NG
GARY JOHN RANGEL AND
ELSA PHUNG YET CHIN | 461 |
| Understanding the Evolution of “Khaki Capital” in Thailand: A Historical Institutional Perspective | PAUL CHAMBERS | 496 |
| The Inchoate Legislative Scrutiny of the Myanmar Police Forces: A Study of the USDP Legislature (2011-16) | RENAUD EGRETEAU | 531 |
| Countering the Communist Imaginary: The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia’s 2014 and 2019 Presidential Elections | RENDY WADIPALAPA | 557 |

Book Reviews

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-----|
| <i>The US-Thai Alliance and Asian International Relations: History, Memory and Current Developments</i>
By Gregory Raymond and John Blaxland | MURRAY HIEBERT | 585 |
| <i>Children Affected by Conflict in the Borderlands of Thailand</i>
By Kai Chen | ORNANONG HUSNA
BENBOURENANE | 589 |
| <i>Where Great Powers Meet: America & China in Southeast Asia</i>
By David Shambaugh | WILLIAM TOW | 592 |
| <i>The Filipino Migration Experience: Global Agents of Change</i>
By Mina Roces | JEAN PAUL L. ZIALCITA | 595 |

CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dewi Fortuna Anwar
Indonesian Institute of Sciences

Alice Ba
University of Delaware

Nick Bisley
La Trobe University

David Capie
Victoria University of Wellington

Sophal Ear
Arizona State University

Jürgen Haacke
London School of Economics
and Political Science

Kuik Cheng-Chwee
National University of Malaysia

Joseph Chinyong Liow
Nanyang Technological
University

Maung Aung Myoe
International University of
Japan

Duncan McCargo
University of Leeds

Marcus Mietzner
Australian National University

Shaun Narine
St. Thomas University

Pham Quang Minh
Vietnam National
University-Hanoi

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairperson
Choi Shing Kwok

Editors
Ian Storey and Le Hong Hiep

Assistant Editor
Khairulanwar Zaini

Editorial Committee
**Hoang Thi Ha, Le Hong Hiep, Daljit Singh,
Ian Storey, Leo Suryadinata**

Copy Editor
Sheryl Sin

The Editors invite submission of manuscripts in the politics, security, political economy and international relations of Southeast Asia (defined as the 10 ASEAN member states and Timor-Leste). Manuscripts should be double-spaced and between 6,000–8,000 words, exclusive of endnotes. Manuscripts should be in Word-format and should be sent electronically to the e-mail address below. *CSEA* uses endnotes and follows the rules set out in Chapter 15 of the Chicago Manual Style, 12th edition. Authors should use British English. *CSEA* does not accept manuscripts that have already been published or are simultaneously being considered for publication elsewhere. Manuscripts accepted for consideration will be refereed by external readers.

The Editor,
Contemporary Southeast Asia,
ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute,
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace,
Singapore 119614.

Enquiries and correspondence about editorial matters can be sent to the Editor at:

csea@iseas.edu.sg

EDITORS' NOTE

The editors of *Contemporary Southeast Asia* would like to thank the following people for reviewing articles submitted to the journal during 2021. Their time and expertise is gratefully acknowledged.

Walid Jumblatt bin Abdullah

Marcus Mietzner

Magnus Andersson

Michael Montesano

Najib Burhani

Dominic Nardi

Simon Butt

Elvin Ong

Pongphisoot Busbarat

Aung Oo

Termsak Chalermphanupap

Kai Ostwald

Vannarith Chheang

Geoffrey Pakiam

Sebastian Dettman

Ukrist Pathmanand

Sophal Ear

Thomas Pepinsky

Renaud Egreteau

Thitinan Pongsudhirak

Hoang Thi Ha

Greg Raymond

Wendy He

Jacob Ricks

Jangai Jap

Yoichiro Sato

Patrick Jory

Paul Schuler

Kei Koga

Andrew Selth

Prajak Kongkirati

Hendrianto Stafanus

Evan Laksmana

Leo Suryadinata

Satu Limaye

Moe Thuzar

Aung Myo Maung

Helena Varkkey

Maung Myi Maung

Tuong Vu