

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.

© 2025 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 2025

	Individuals (Print & electronic)	Institutions US\$92
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

CSEA book reviews and selected articles are available for free viewing online at ISEAS Publishing's website at <http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>. Back issues and individual articles are also available for purchase.

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 47, Number 2

August 2025

Roundtable: Backlash, Bailiwicks and Beacons: Unpacking the 2025 Philippine Midterm Elections

Exit, Voice and Loyalty: The 2025 Philippine Midterm Elections	ARIES A. ARUGAY	163
Entrenched Dynastic Power with Progressive Political Momentum: The 2025 House of Representatives Elections in the Philippines	RUTH R. LUSTERIO-RICO	169
Not Everything Is About Her: The Impeachment of Vice-President Sara Duterte and the 2025 Midterm Elections	MARIA ELA L. ATIENZA	175
The Rise of Uncontested Races: Understanding the Dynamics of the 2025 Midterm Local Elections	JAN ROBERT R. GO	182
Elite Capture of the Party-List: Analysing the 2025 Philippine Midterm Elections	EMMANUEL L. ALBA	188
Do Political Dynasties Make Space for Women? Evidence from the Philippines' 2025 Midterm Elections	ROGELIO ALICOR L. PANAO	194
Betrayal, Loyalty and Affective Polarization in the 2025 Philippine Midterm Elections	AARON ABEL MALLARI	203
“UniTeam” No More: Changing Social Media Narratives in the Philippines’ 2025 Midterm Elections	MARIA ELIZE H. MENDOZA	211
Violence and Changing Drug War Rhetoric in the Philippines’ 2025 Midterm Elections	DANILO A. REYES	218

Articles

Politics Over Prejudice? Explaining the Surprising Decline of Anti-Chinese Sentiment in Indonesia During the COVID-19 Pandemic	DIRK TOMSA, BURHANUDDIN MUHTADI AND CHARLOTTE SETIJADI	224
Local Actions, Global Impact: Women’s Agency in Timor-Leste and Pragmatic Indonesia-Timor-Leste Relations Through a Decolonial Lens	IRINE HIRASWARI GAYATRI, MARIO SURYA RAMADHAN AND DEWI FORTUNA ANWAR	250

Clientelism Rewired: Interim Leadership and Electoral Manipulation in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Elections	RIZQI BACHTIAR	282
From <i>Nom Banh Chok</i> to the Funan Techo Canal: Action Logic and Strategic Evolution of the Cambodian People's Party's Nationalist Mobilization	DENG XIAOYUN	310
Book Reviews		
<i>Children Affected by Armed Conflict in the Borderlands of Myanmar 2021 and Beyond</i> By Kai Chen	SU MON THAZIN AUNG	340
<i>Ocean Governance and Conflict in the East and South China Sea: Negotiating Natural Resources, Institutions and Power</i> By Christian Schultheiss	BICH TRAN	342
<i>Contesting Indonesia: Islamist, Separatist, and Communal Violence since 1945</i> By Kirsten Schulze	ALEXANDER ARIFIANTO	345
<i>Chasing Archipelagic Dreams: The Expansion of Foreign Influence in Sabah amid the End of Empire, 1945-1965</i> By David R. Saunders	FARISH A. NOOR	348
<i>Understanding Maritime Security</i> By Christian Bueger and Timothy Edmunds	COLLIN KOH	350

CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dewi Fortuna Anwar
Indonesian Institute of
Sciences

Alice Ba
University of Delaware

David Capie
Victoria University of
Wellington

Jürgen Haacke
London School of Economics
and Political Science

Joseph Chinyong Liow
Nanyang Technological
University

Duncan McCargo
Nanyang Technological
University

Shaun Narine
St. Thomas University

Aries Arugay
University of the Philippines
Diliman

Nick Bisley
La Trobe University

Sophal Ear
Arizona State University

Kuik Cheng-Chwee
National University of Malaysia

Maung Aung Myoe
International University of Japan

Marcus Mietzner
Australian National University

Pham Quang Minh
Vietnam National University-
Hanoi

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairperson

Choi Shing Kwok

Editors

Ian Storey and Le Hong Hiep

Associate Editor

David Hutt

Roundtable Guest Editor

Aries A. Arugay

Editorial Committee

**Hoang Thi Ha, Le Hong Hiep, David Hutt,
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