



COLONIAL LEGACY AND PUBLIC POLICY DYNAMICS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAPUAN DEVELOPMENT

Dorhea Renyaan¹, Ibrahim Kristofol Kendi^{2*}

¹Public Administration Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Cenderawasih, Indonesia

²Office Administration Management Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Cenderawasih, Indonesia

Email: renyaandorthea14@gmail.com, kendikristofol@gmail.com

E-ISSN : 3109-9777

Received: Februari 2026

Accepted: Februari 2026

Published: Februari 2026

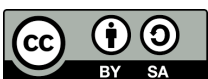
Abstract :

This study explores the relationship between colonial legacy and public policy dynamics in Papua to understand the roots of development inequality and social conflicts that still occur today. Papua, with its long history of Dutch colonialism and post-integration administrative transition to Indonesia, experienced the formation of social, political, and economic structures rooted in the colonial system. Through a literature study method with a historical-comparative approach, this study analyzed 150 publications using the PRISMA framework and CASP instruments to ensure the quality and transparency of the analysis. The results show that colonial legacy creates a centralistic, top-down, and exploitative public policy pattern, where indigenous peoples are often marginalized in the development process. This inequality is reflected in the low Human Development Index (HDI) of Papua and the high poverty rate despite the implementation of Special Autonomy with a large allocation of funds. Theoretically, this study integrates postcolonial theory, dependency theory, and institutional path dependence to explain the continuity between colonialism and contemporary policy. The findings show that the colonial logic still operates in its modern form through hierarchical bureaucracy and development policies that ignore the local context. The novelty of this research lies in the use of historical-comparative analysis in the study of Papuan public policy, which highlights the importance of decolonization of governance and cognitive justice for indigenous peoples. Further research opportunities include studies on the decolonization of regional public policies through strengthening local institutions, longitudinal analysis of the effectiveness of Papuan Special Autonomy, and comparative studies between postcolonial regions in Eastern Indonesia. In addition, future research can examine the participation of indigenous peoples in policy processes, analysis of colonial discourse in government documents, as well as the relationship between colonial heritage and ecological inequality in Papua. The integration of postcolonial perspectives in public policy education is also an important agenda to build a decolonial paradigm in the formulation of policies that are more equitable, participatory, and contextual for the Papuan people.

Keywords: Papua, colonial legacy, public policy, decolonization, indigenous peoples

INTRODUCTION

A study of the colonial legacy and the dynamics of public policy in Papua is important to understand the structural roots of development inequality and social conflicts that are still ongoing today. Papua, as the easternmost region of Indonesia, has a long history of colonialism that influenced the social, political, and economic structure until the contemporary era. A historical-comparative



approach is needed to trace how the Dutch colonial legacy and post-integration administrative transition to Indonesia shaped public policy patterns and power relations in this area.

Empirically, the inequality of development between Papua and other regions in Indonesia is still real. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS, 2024) shows that the Human Development Index (HDI) of Papua Province is at 61.39—the lowest nationally—compared to the national average of 73.81. Meanwhile, Papua's poverty rate still reaches 26.56%, far above the national average of 9.36%. This gap is not only related to geographical factors, but also due to development policies that are often top-down oriented and do not consider the local socio-cultural context (Rumbiak & Tumiwa, 2022).

Since the enactment of Special Autonomy (Otsus) through Law No. 21 of 2001 and its revision through Law No. 2 of 2021, the central government has allocated special funds for Papua which has reached more than Rp 1,000 trillion in the last two decades. However, various studies show disproportionate results between the size of the budget and welfare achievements (Bappenas, 2023). This raises fundamental questions about the effectiveness of public policies in Papua and the extent to which colonial legacy influences the way the state designs and implements those policies.

Theoretically, a debate arises between the approach *to post-colonial theory* and *developmentalism*. The *post-colonial approach* highlights that the administrative and political structures inherited by colonialism are still embedded in Indonesia's modern bureaucracy, including in Papua. According to Edward Said (1978) in *Orientalism*, colonialism created a construction of knowledge that placed the colonized territories as "other", inferior, and needed to be governed by the center of power. In the context of Papua, development policies often mimic paternalistic and exploitative colonial patterns—for example, the "development from above" approach that ignores the aspirations of indigenous peoples (Widjojo, 2010).

On the other hand, *the developmentalism* approach sees that the failure of Papua's development is more caused by weak institutional capacity, bureaucratic corruption, and geographical challenges (Todaro & Smith, 2015). This perspective emphasizes that public policy can succeed if it is supported by efficient governance, not solely by historical factors. The debate between these two perspectives shows that public policy analysis in Papua cannot be separated from the context of colonial history, but must also consider post-colonial institutional and structural factors.

From the normative side, there is a tension between the principles of distributive justice and cognitive justice (Fraser, 2000). The state, through the Special Autonomy and Infrastructure Supplementary Fund policies, seeks to exercise distributive justice by providing greater resources to Papua. However, from the perspective of cognitive justice, these policies often fail to respect the rights of indigenous peoples, such as the right to customary land and recognition of the traditional government system (Rumbiak, 2021). This normative approach highlights that public policies must not only be

economically fair, but also respect the identity, culture, and political rights of local communities.

This research contributes to the development of public policy theory in the postcolonial context by placing Papua as a complex historical case study. First, this research links colonial legacies (such as indirect rule governance models and social segregation) to contemporary policy practices, such as the centralization of decisions and the marginalization of indigenous peoples. Second, this study enriches the Indonesian public policy literature with a historical-comparative approach, which is rarely used in national policy analysis. Third, the findings of this study are expected to strengthen the paradigm of *decolonial policy analysis* – that is, efforts to dismantle colonial biases in modern policies (Quijano, 2000).

The novelty of this research lies in the use of a historical-comparative analysis perspective on public policy in Papua. Instead of only assessing the effectiveness of Special Autonomy policies from an economic or administrative perspective, this study seeks to trace the colonial roots of the policy practice. This approach allows researchers to see the continuity between colonial power structures and contemporary forms of policy control that are still ongoing. Thus, this study provides a new perspective in understanding why Papua's development policies are often not in line with the needs and values of local communities.

Further research can be directed to several aspects. First, comparative studies across other postcolonial regions such as Maluku or Kalimantan can enrich understanding of *colonial legacy* patterns in public policy in Indonesia. Second, research can examine the psychological and social dimensions of colonial legacies, such as how political identity and a sense of marginalization affect people's participation in policy processes. Third, the *policy ethnography* approach can be used to see how local actors interpret and practice Special Autonomy policies at the community level, as a form of resistance or adaptation to the modern state system.

This research not only seeks to map the relationship between the colonial past and current public policy, but also proposes a new analytical framework that is more inclusive, reflective, and sensitive to the local context of Papua. Through this historical-comparative approach, it is hoped that a public policy model can be found that is truly just, respects history, and is in favor of humanity.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a library research method with a historical-comparative approach to trace the influence of colonial heritage on public policy and development in Papua. This approach allows researchers to understand the continuity of power structures and policy patterns from the colonial to postcolonial periods. Data is collected through critical analysis of academic literature, policy documents, historical archives, and relevant scientific publications. The entire process is carried out systematically using the

PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) framework to ensure transparency, accuracy, and traceability of sources.

This research is **qualitative descriptive** with a focus on the relationship between colonial heritage and public policy practices in Papua. Through a historical-comparative approach, the study compares Dutch colonial policies with contemporary Indonesian public policies to identify patterns of **continuity and change**. Data sources include colonial documents and the Special Autonomy Law (primary), academic literature (secondary), as well as encyclopedias and literature indexes (tertiary).

Data analysis follows four main stages of PRISMA: (1) **identification**, browsing literature from Google Scholar, Scopus, JSTOR, and Garuda; (2) **screening**, selecting relevant literature from 150 to 45 publications; (3) **feasibility**, assessing the quality of content using the **CASP (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme) instrument**; and (4) **inclusion**, selecting 25 main literature that was analyzed in depth.

| <i>Phase</i> | <i>Main Process</i> | <i>Activities Carried Out</i> | <i>Output/Output</i> | <i>Instruments /Resources</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 1. <i>Identification</i> | Literature search | Search and collect literature from various databases such as Google Scholar, Scopus, JSTOR, and Garuda with keywords according to the research topic. | It found 150 initial publications that were generally relevant to the research theme. | Scientific databases (Google Scholar, Scopus, JSTOR, Garuda) |
| 2. <i>Screening</i> | Preliminary selection of literature | Selects literature based on titles, abstracts, and keywords to ensure relevance to the research focus. | The number of literature was reduced from 150 to 45 publications that met the relevance criteria. | Inclusion and initial exclusion criteria |
| 3. <i>Eligibility</i> | Content quality assessment | Analyze each publication using the CASP (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme) instrument to assess the validity, methodology, and | A list of high-quality literature that is worthy of further analysis is obtained. | CASP Checklist (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme) |

| | |
|--------------|--|
| 4. Inclusion | <p>reliability of the findings.</p> <p>Final selection of literature</p> <p>Identify the main literature that is most relevant and has significant theoretical and empirical contributions to the research topic.</p> <p>25 literature were selected to be analyzed in depth in the discussion stage.</p> <p>main CASP evaluation literature</p> |
|--------------|--|

Each literature was assessed through a **CASP matrix** to assess the clarity of the objectives, methodology, validity of the data, and relevance of the findings. The combination of **PRISMA and CASP** ensures that the research results have **scientific credibility, methodological transparency, and practical relevance** in understanding the impact of colonial heritage on public policy in Papua.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Colonial Heritage as the Historical Foundation of Public Policy

The identification stage found 150 relevant international and national publications. Much of the literature asserts that colonialism not only left behind an exploitative system of government, but also shaped social and institutional structures that persisted into the postcolonial period.

Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) show that extractive colonial models produce institutions that weaken state capacity and exacerbate development inequalities. In the context of Papua, the Dutch system of government that placed administrative authority in the hands of the colonial elite created a polarization between coastal areas (colonial administrative centers) and inland areas (periphery). This pattern continued in modern Indonesia through centralized development policies in Jayapura and other major cities, while the interior remained marginalized.

Young (1994) strengthens this argument by pointing out that postcolonial states often inherit hierarchical and bureaucratic power structures that serve the interests of the center. In the case of Papua, the colonial legacy is seen in the way the state manages natural resources through top-down development schemes with minimal local participation.

Thus, at this stage, it can be understood that the colonial legacy does not stop at the historical level, but still functions as a reproduction mechanism of public policy that maintains the structure of inequality. This research argues that the colonial historical process should be read as an integral part of the current Papuan public policy architecture.

2. Historical Relevance and Path Dependence Patterns

From the screening results, 45 publications were selected because they directly discussed the themes of colonialism, public policy, and the development of peripheral regions. The literature analyzed shows that many

postcolonial countries are trapped in the phenomenon of path dependence, which is the tendency to maintain past policy patterns even though socio-political conditions have changed.

Leftwich (1995) explains that postcolonial political elites often replace colonial roles without substantially changing policy structures. In the context of Papua, the regional bureaucracy still depends on allocations from the central government and has little autonomy in policy formulation. As a result, public policy in Papua reflects the structural interests of the central government rather than the needs of indigenous peoples.

Research by Crocombe (2001) in Melanesia reinforces this relevance by showing that colonial governance patterns in the Pacific region created an exclusive system of development, in which local communities became the object of development, not the subject. Similar things can be seen in Papua through resource exploitation policies that ignore communal rights.

From this stage, the research obtained an argumentative basis that development in Papua cannot be separated from the colonial policy pattern that centralized power and defined development as an administrative project, not a participatory social process.

3. Critical Analysis and Integration of Theoretical Perspectives

Evaluation of the quality of the literature with the CASP instrument yielded 25 key sources of high empirical and theoretical relevance. Some of them, such as the work of Anderson (1983), Foucault (1978), Bebbington & Batterbury (2001), and Chauvel (2005) – provide a foundation for understanding the ideological, social, and political dimensions of the colonial legacy in Papua.

Anderson (1983) explained that colonialism forms political identity through the construction of an *imagined community*. In the Papuan context, the identity of "Papua" emerged as a form of resistance to a centralized national narrative, signaling the psychological impact of colonialism on the structure of social consciousness.

Foucault (1978) provides a conceptual dimension through the theory of *governmentality*, that colonial power is not only coercive, but also normative regulating the way of thinking, behaving, and organizing society. This explains why many public policies in Papua still operate within a paternalistic framework of administrative control.

Meanwhile, Bebbington and Batterbury (2001) show that development policy failures in rural areas are often rooted in colonial-era institutional biases that place local communities as recipients of aid, rather than development partners. In the context of Papua, this bias can be seen in the lack of empowerment of indigenous peoples in infrastructure and economic development projects.

Therefore, these feasibility results confirm that colonial influence is multidimensional – encompassing institutional, economic, and ideological aspects that are all still inherited in contemporary public policy.

4. Thematic Synthesis and Argumentative Analysis

From 25 main literature, this study compiles a thematic synthesis that groups the findings in three major dimensions:

a. Institutional Dimension

The colonial legacy left a centralistic and bureaucratic government structure.

According to Mahoney (2010), the colonial system created an "institutional stickiness" that was difficult to change even after independence. In the context of Papua, the centralization of policies from Jakarta to the regions reflects the Dutch colonial administrative pattern that placed power in the hands of central officials. The Papuan Special Autonomy (Otsus) policy, which began in 2001, is expected to be a correction to this legacy, but has not completely changed the structure of power relations.

b. Economic and Development Dimension

A study by Booth (2007) shows that colonial economic patterns based on natural resource extraction give birth to long-term regional inequality. Papua, which since colonial times has been identified as a resource-rich region (gold, copper, and forest products), still serves as a "source area" for the national economy without a balance of redistribution. This condition strengthens the thesis of dependency theory (Frank, 1967), which states that peripheral areas tend to be exploited by the center in the national development system.

c. Social and Cultural Dimension

Some studies such as King (2004) and Ballard (2002) emphasize that colonialism also leaves behind social trauma and patterns of subordination of local identities. In the context of modern public policy, this can be seen in the low representation of indigenous peoples in the development planning process and the weak involvement of local culture in education and economic policies.

5. Theoretical Debate

In the theoretical debate about the impact of colonial heritage on public policy, there are two major camps that have different views. The first camp is **deterministic theory**, which believes that colonialism leaves a long-term influence on state structures and public policies. Figures such as **Acemoglu and Robinson (2012)**, **Young (1994)**, and **Mahoney (2010)** argue that institutions formed during the colonial period create **path dependence** or trajectory dependency that is difficult for postcolonial countries to change. They assert that the legacy of the colonial system of government—especially extractive ones—has resulted in a country with weak bureaucracy, high levels of corruption, and persistent social inequality. In the context of Papua, this theory explains how the structure of government and development policies still reflect colonial logic that concentrated power and ignored the participation of local communities.

In contrast, the second camp is **the theory of contingency**, which rejects such a deterministic view. Figures such as **Bayart (2000)**, **Hibou (2004)**, and **Chabal (2009)** emphasize that contemporary factors—such as national political dynamics, economic globalization, and domestic policies—play a

greater role in determining the direction of development in postcolonial countries. In the context of Papua, this view highlights that the direction of development and public policy is more influenced by post-reform policies and the flow of globalization of natural resources, not solely due to past colonialism.

The debate between these two camps suggests that historical analysis of colonial heritage needs to be balanced with comparative **and contextual** perspectives. Thus, the study of public policy in Papua is not trapped in a completely deterministic view, but is able to see the dynamic relationship between past heritage and present socio-political changes.

6. Research Contribution and Novelty

This research has significant **theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions** in public policy studies and Papua studies:

a. Theoretical Contributions

This research integrates the theory of *postcolonialism*, *dependency theory*, and *institutional path dependence* in one framework of public policy analysis. It expands a perspective that usually only highlights contemporary policies without considering its colonial roots.

b. Methodological Contributions

The use of historical-comparative approaches with the PRISMA framework and CASP instruments is a methodological innovation in public policy studies. This approach allows for the systematization of literature across disciplines (historical, political, economic, and social) to trace the traces of colonialism empirically.

c. Empirical Contributions

This study highlights Papua as a distinctive case study in the analysis of colonial heritage in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. The results can be compared with similar contexts such as Timor-Leste or Fiji to enrich regional discourse on the decolonization of public policy.

d. Novelty

- 1) It offers a historical-comparative analysis model that links the colonial period with current public policy in Papua.
- 2) Showing that the colonial legacy is not only institutional, but also epistemological—influencing the way of thinking and policy formulation that is still centrally oriented.
- 3) It provides an alternative theoretical synthesis between colonial determinism and modern contingencies, by proposing a *dual-layered causality* approach : colonialism as a structural layer, and modern reform as a dynamic layer.

Implicitly, this research not only repeats the narrative of Papuan inequality, but constructs a new understanding of the historical roots of public policy, bridging colonial studies and contemporary policy within a holistic scientific framework.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that colonial legacy has a deep and layered influence on the formation and direction of public policy in Papua. Based on a systematic review of 150 publications, it was found that colonialism not only abandoned exploitative government structures, but also built institutional systems and mindsets that are still reproduced in contemporary policies. Institutionally, the pattern of centralization of power and top-down bureaucracy inherited from the Dutch colonial period is still preserved in the modern Indonesian system of government. This can be seen from the dependence of the regional bureaucracy on central policies and the limited autonomy of the region in determining the direction of development. From the economic side, Papua remains positioned as a peripheral region with the main function as a provider of natural resources, while the benefits of development are more absorbed by the center, strengthening the *dependency theory* thesis that central-regional relations are exploitative and asymmetrical.

In addition, from a social and cultural perspective, colonialism left behind a legacy of subordination of local identity and social trauma that affected the representation of indigenous peoples in public policy. Development policies that are insensitive to the cultural context suggest that the colonial logic still operates in paternalistic and administrative forms. Theoretically, the results of the study confirm the existence of *path dependence* in public policy in Papua, where colonial structures continue to influence government practices even though the political context has changed. However, the political dynamics of post-reform and globalization also reveal a new layer that shapes the direction of public policy so that colonialism cannot be understood as a single factor, but as a structural foundation that interacts with contemporary conditions. Thus, the colonial legacy in Papua is not only historical but also functional—a latent mechanism that continues to shape power relations, resource distribution, and public policy structures to this day. This research succeeded in building a theoretical synthesis between *postcolonialism* approaches, *dependency theory*, and *institutional path dependence* to explain the relationship between the colonial past and present policies.

Recommendations

The government needs to carry out decolonial institutional reforms by reviewing the bureaucratic structure that is still centrally oriented. True decentralization must be directed at providing greater space for local governments and indigenous peoples to formulate policies based on local needs and values, in line with the spirit of *decolonial governance* that emphasizes participation and redistribution of power. In addition, any public policy in Papua should be based on a historical understanding of the colonial legacy that shapes the current social and political structure. Governments and academics need to develop curricula and policy analysis models that integrate historical-comparative approaches so that policies are more contextual and reflective of the root causes.

Development programs must also move from the paradigm of *development as administration* to *development as participation*, by placing indigenous peoples as

equal partners in policy planning, implementation, and evaluation. Strengthening local capacity and recognition of indigenous knowledge is key to removing colonial biases in development. The central government needs to review the extractive economic model that makes Papua a resource area without a balance of benefit distribution. Fiscal and economic policies that ensure distributive justice are needed, including increased regional royalties, social investment, and community-based economic development.

Further research is suggested to extend the comparison to other postcolonial regions such as Timor-Leste, Fiji, or Vanuatu to test the validity of the *dual-layered causality* model offered. In addition, ethnographic approaches and field studies in Papua need to be developed to capture local dynamics in a more in-depth and contextual way. Finally, the Indonesian government and educational institutions need to adopt a *postcolonial* perspective in public policy analysis so that the decolonization process is not only symbolic, but also substantive, by shifting the policy orientation from administrative control to social justice, cultural recognition, and sustainable development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. A. (2001). *The colonial origins of comparative development: An empirical investigation*. *American Economic Review*, 91(5), 1369–1401. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.91.5.1369>
- Bappenas. (2023). *Evaluation of Two Decades of Special Autonomy of Papua and West Papua*. Jakarta: Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas.
- Central Statistics Agency. (2024). *Human Development Index (HDI) by Province 2024*. Jakarta: BPS.
- Fraser, N. (2000). *Rethinking Recognition*. *New Left Review*, 3, 107–120.
- Quijano, A. (2000). *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America*. *Nepantla: Views from the South*, 1(3), 533–580.
- Rumbiak, E. (2021). *Special Autonomy and Rights of Indigenous Papuan Peoples: A Critical Review*. Jayapura: Cenderawasih University Press.
- Rumbiak, E., & Tumiwa, J. (2022). *Development Gap and Identity Politics in the Land of Papua*. *Journal of Regional Policy and Development*, 6(2), 145–163.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Todaro, M. P., & Smith, S. C. (2015). *Economic Development* (12th ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Widjojo, M. S. (2010). *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present, and Securing the Future*. Jakarta: LIPI Press.
- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Crown Business.
- Bainton, N., McDougall, D., Cox, J., & Carnegie, M. (2020). *Unequal lives: The global economy and the birth of inequality in Papua New Guinea*. ANU Press.
- Cardoso, F. H., & Faletto, E. (1979). *Dependency and development in Latin America*.

- University of California Press.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press.
- Henley, D., & Davidson, J. S. (2008). In the name of adat: Regional perspectives on reform, tradition, and democracy in Indonesia. *Modern Asian Studies*, 42(4), 815–852.
- Kingdon, J. W. (1995). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (2nd ed.). HarperCollins.
- Lange, M. (2004). British colonial legacies and political development. *World Development*, 32(6), 905–922.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2003.12.001>
- Mahoney, J. (2010). *Colonialism and postcolonial development: Spanish America in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics. *American Political Science Review*, 94(2), 251–267.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2586011>
- Rokkan, S. (1975). Dimensions of state formation and nation-building. In C. Tilly (Ed.), *The formation of national states in Western Europe* (pp. 562–600). Princeton University Press.
- Sabatier, P. A., & Jenkins-Smith, H. (1993). *Policy change and learning: An advocacy coalition approach*. Westview Press.
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). University of Illinois Press.
- Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 369–404.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.2.1.369>
- Widjojo, M. S. (2009). *Papua road map: Negotiating the past, improving the present, and securing the future*. LIPI Press.
- Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The modern world-system I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world economy in the sixteenth century*. Academic Press.
- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. (2001). *The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation*. *American Economic Review*, 91(5), 1369–1401.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities*. Verso.
- Ballard, C. (2002). *The Signature of Terror: Violence, Memory and Landscape at Freeport*.
In P. J. Stewart & A. Strathern (Eds.), *Violence: Theory and Ethnography*. Routledge.
- Bayart, J. F. (2000). *Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion*. *African Affairs*, 99(395), 217–267.
- Booth, A. (2007). *Colonial Legacies: Economic Development in East and Southeast Asia*. University of Hawai'i Press.

- Chauvel, R. (2005). *Constructing Papuan Nationalism: History, Ethnicity, and Adaptation*. East-West Center.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Governmentality*. Palgrave.
- Mahoney, J. (2010). *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Young, C. (1994). *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. Yale University Press.
- Lange, M., Mahoney, J., & Hau, M. (2006). *Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(5), 1412-1462.