



WHEN NEW ZEALAND WAS ATTACKED: THE FAILURE OF THE UN'S GLOBAL COUNTER- TERRORISM STRATEGY?

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Abstrack

The spectrum of security threats continues to grow. This occurs due to broadening the meaning of security from traditional to non-traditional. The consequence of this phenomenon is that no country is truly safe because threats come that are difficult to predict. For example, the threat of terrorism, an attack that is not always institutionalized and often takes the form of individual actions, makes it challenging to overcome without a unique strategy. The purpose of this study is to describe how terrorist attacks in a country are caused by multidimensional factors, not only in terms of regulations but also in how a country articulates these regulations. As a country that is known to be safe, New Zealand is not immune from the threat of terrorism. Even though the UN already has a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, it has little impact, especially when talking about the Christchurch tragedy, which has attracted world attention. Qualitative research methods with descriptive type were used in this research. From a national security theoretical framework, the research describes how the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (UNGCTS) should be operationalized and why countries like New Zealand could miss out. At the end of this research, it was concluded that many factors must be considered when discussing countering terrorism, not just relying on general norms or rules and forgetting about micro-managing efforts.

Keywords: Energy, BRICS, Diplomacy, Interdependence, Indonesia-Russia

Introduction

The world is moving so quickly in responding to the security threat of terrorism. It is as if this threat has become a unifying element and a common enemy, which makes it impossible to debate the perception of the threat even between the world's

great powers. The changing nature of terrorism is driven by the growing capacity of terrorist networks to spread propaganda and execute attacks with global impact at relatively low costs (Goldman, 2011). In 2005, UN member states concluded discussions to develop a comprehensive strategy aimed at strengthening efforts to address the threat of terrorism, as a clear expression of their strong condemnation of terrorist acts committed by anyone, at any time, in any place, and for any reason. This shows that seriousness and progress have been very measurable from year to year until now.

One year after concluding these discussions, by Resolution No. 60/288, United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) endorsing a framework known as the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (UNGCTS) to strengthen international and domestic efforts in warring terrorism. This represents a strategic achievement and serves as a crucial foundation for advancing efforts to combat this kind of threat in the 21st century.

The adoption of Resolution No. 60/288 by UN member states marked a shared responsibility to apply both strategic and operational efforts in contrast to terrorism, while firmly stressing that terrorism should never be allied with any faith, culture, citizenship, or tribal group. Internet of things also has systemic influence. As a social force, the media no longer merely reflects reality but operates according to its own bias, intentions, and subjective preferences that it deems significant (Santosa, 2017). In practice, the implementation of the UNGCTS is delegated to each UN member state and is guided by four pillars: addressing the underlying conditions that foster terrorism, preventing and combating terrorist acts, enhancing the ability to combat terrorism, supporting the UN system's signification, and importantly, upholding the values of human rights and also the rule of law as fundamental principles in the fight against terrorism.

It will be interesting to see how countries respond to this shared commitment. The responses given were very varied indeed. Some countries seem very enthusiastic, considering they have had quite a lot of contact with the threat of terrorism. However, some countries only provide normative responses as a discharge of their obligations because they are members of the UN. This sharp difference can be seen in the gap between the responses given by New Zealand and Australia. For New Zealand, the threat of terrorism after 2000 has not experienced the same evolution as that of its neighboring country, Australia. It is not surprising that New Zealand's kickback to terrorism has been weaker than Australia's. The country's small population makes it less susceptible to outwardly influenced or influenced extremism. With only two New Zealand people killed in the 9/11 tragedy and one fatality in Bali bombing, it has experienced fewer major incidents of this nature compared to Australia (Battersby, 2017).

After the 9/11 tragedy, New Zealand's feedback was to enact the 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act. However, because New Zealand is known for its domestic security, this regulation has not been used for almost three years. This law was not put to the test until the New Zealand police carried out a surveillance operation on a small group of activists camping in the Urewera Forest, located in the Central North Island, during which they successfully seized 30 illegally acquired firearms from the group. This incident is one of the very few potential occurrences of terrorism in New Zealand. Surveillance efforts conducted since 2005 have uncovered plans to assassinate several political leaders and to launch attacks on both society and state infrastructure (Battersby, 2017).

According to the Global Peace Index (GPI) from 2017-2021, New Zealand continues to be ranked 2nd as the safest country in the world, a rise of two places from the previous year, 2016. However, it's crucial to understand that terrorism is not

confined to national borders. It's a global issue with a unique character, different from traditional security threats. Transnationalism, a key feature of this threat, is not material, such as human resources as perpetrators or weapons as tools. Ideas about radicalism can easily cross-national boundaries, especially in the Internet of Things era, making everything easier. Terrorist disliked the West and the United States specially, viewing them as a group of non-believers who consistently opposed and fought against Islam (Damhuri, 2021).

This is proven by the increase in ranking experienced by New Zealand based on the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) in 2020, which rated 42, whereas in the previous year, New Zealand was ranked 122. This cannot be separated from the impact of the tragedy of the attack and mass shooting carried out by an Australian gunman against two mosques in the Christchurch area in 2020. The tragedy of the attack and mass shooting that occurred in Christchurch became known as the Christchurch Tragedy. The shooting claimed 40 lives, with 30 victims at the mosque near Hagley Park in central Christchurch and 10 more at the mosque in the suburbs. All those killed were Islam (Ningrum, 2020).

Of course, this tragedy can more or less disrupt the peace and security of New Zealand due to the spread. Broadcasts of the perpetrator's actions and ideas were massively disseminated via social media platforms, causing a global uproar. The incident in New Zealand quickly drew global attention and sparked significant questions about the effectiveness of international efforts in combating terrorism.

The Christchurch tragedy was New Zealand's first experience with terrorism cases, even though New Zealand is not entirely unfamiliar with cases of political violence and similar extremism. In contrast to its neighbors, the rise of right-wing terrorism has visible impact on Australia. At the same time, New Zealand does not seem to be too focused on the

development of the terrorism issue despite being part of several international movements to counter it. However, with no incidents of jihadist terrorism occurring domestically, New Zealand has faced challenges in enacting effective terrorism legislation, with persistent gaps in its laws. Incidents that could be classified as terrorism tend to be homegrown and domestically driven, lacking external influence, and are still often handled as regular criminal cases (Battersby, 2017).

Analytical Framework

The approach that can be used to examine New Zealand's failure to protect the country from the threat of terrorism and how the international regime works should be seen from a security studies perspective. Berkowitz defines national security as a capacity of a country's to safeguard its vital values warring outside threats (Amartisari, 2015). Initially, it only focused on military capabilities and developed more in the United States after World War II, but then circulated to various non-traditional security matters. Through the National Security Act of 1947 issued by the United States, it can be understood that the change in the concept of national security is that there is no specific definition of national security. In line with the opinion of Laswell and Kaplan, the concept of national security continues to evolve due to changes in context. Several aspects of national security have and continue to change, including the desired value outcomes, the international environment, domestic conditions, the nature of threats, and strategies for facing threats.

A broad concept of security indicates that the spectrum of security threats is also expanding, so national security policies must provide protection focused on not only military threats but also non-military threats, as well as optimizing all forms of efforts by national strength (Amartisari, 2015). As a UN member country, New Zealand should use UNGCTS as a guideline in

tackling terrorism. Efforts to tackle terrorism through the four pillars of UNGCTS discussed in this research do not only see terrorism as a traditional or military threat but also see it as a non-traditional threat to human security. With a national security approach, this research seeks to find out where New Zealand's weaknesses, which cannot withstand the threat of terrorism but is relatively capable of protecting the country from other domestic security threats.

While terrorism was a dominant issue during and after the Cold War, it reached its peak with the tragic incursion on the World Trade Center twin towers and the U.S. Pentagon building on September 11, 2001 (Subagyo, 2015). Terrorism, being a crime with international implications that frequently happens in multiple countries, has drawn significant attention and discussion in various forums of the UNGA and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to finalize several conventions, resolutions, and legal standing to counter terrorism. Through resolution no. 60/288 On 8 September 2006, the UNGA adopted the UNGCTS with the agreement of all states in the UN to take a critical and viable approach to fighting it, consist of four strategic pillars. This research discusses how New Zealand implements these four pillars as a counter-terrorism effort, primarily as New Zealand is known as the safest country. However, in 2019, the Christchurch tragedy occurred in New Zealand.

Method

The method of qualitative is used in this research, which is defined by Creswell as an approach delve into and appherend a central manifestation (Raco, 2010). The aim is to understand and interpret a behavior or social interaction, and the researcher acts as a data collection instrument and participant observer to discover the meaning, process, context and then develop it as an explanation of the research topic (Bakry, 2016).

Research employs descriptive methods to explain and offer a theoretical perspective on various aspects, such as current conditions or relationships, the formation of opinions, ongoing processes, resulting impacts or effects, and prevailing trends (Ikbar, 2014). This research describes the policies and efforts made by New Zealand in tackling terrorism to find out whether there is anything wrong with the implementation of UNGCTS in that country. Descriptive research is carried out to answer questions and explain them according to the status of the research object when the research is carried out in conditions that correspond to reality (Barlian, 2016). The descriptive research type is suitable for this research because it is based on the research characteristics to present information and aims to find answers regarding policies based on research time limitations.

Discussion

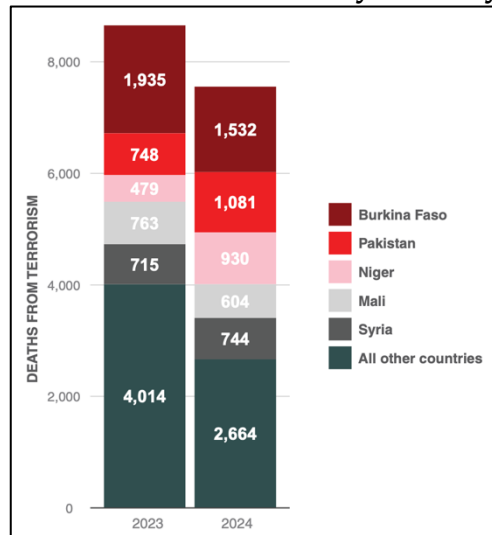
Governing Counter-Terrorism

Terrorism, as a worldwide issue, presents a significant jeopardy to international peace, security, economic and national social development. The emergence of internet of things such as electronic money transfers, Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp, Telegram and Bitcoin has further increased the flow of terrorism funding, necessitating international cooperation to combat this threat (Carroll & Windle, 2018). The impact of terrorism on a country like New Zealand is a clear indication that no country can afford to ignore this threat. It's not just about mass shootings, but also about perspective. Acts like these are terrorism, and some countries, like New Zealand, often perceive them as ordinary criminal acts.

Terrorism must be addressed with the utmost seriousness due to several critical factors. Firstly, the rapid advancement of technology and communication has provided terrorist organizations across the globe with new means to pursue their

objectives. Consequently, the potential for destruction and loss of life has increased significantly compared to previous incidents. Secondly, acts of terrorism frequently target innocent civilians who have no direct affiliation with the political agendas being pursued. Moreover, the burgeoning ties amid transnational organized crime and terrorism highlight the complexity and seriousness of the threat, calling for ongoing and coordinated counterterrorism strategies (Vermonte, 2005).

Figure 1. Total Terrorism Death by Country 2023-2024



Source: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2025

Based on the graph above, it is shown that total terrorism deaths by country 2023-2024, although decreasing, cannot be said to be completely in a positive trend. There are still many potential threats that occur and threaten public safety, especially in certain areas that three decades ago were untouched by terrorism like New Zealand, both right-wing and left-wing terrorism. This needs to be a concern for policymakers, never to underestimate this issue with all its potential for spread. The issue of counter-terrorism itself has been a solicitude of the United Nations (UN) for a long time, as seen in discussions in

the UNGA forum and the UNSC. This is evident in distinction to the numerous conventions and legal frameworks against terrorism that have been created by the UNGA. The UNGA has concluded various conventions and legal instruments appertaining to combat terrorism, including the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism which was ratified through Resolution 54/109 on December 9, 1999, International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism which was ratified through Resolution 59/290 on April 13, 2005, the UNGCTS which was ratified by Resolution 60/288 on September 8, 2006 (Simanjuntak, 2007).

Not only the UNGA but the UNSC has also passed several resolutions related to terrorism, in particular, Resolution No. 1267 (1999) regarding the establishment of a sanctions committee for individuals and entities involved with Al-Qaeda, the Taliban and ISIS, Resolution No. 1373 (2001) regarding the financing of terrorism, and Resolution 2560 (2020) which significantly enhances the transparency of the sanctions committee, making it more effective and credible in carrying out its mandate (Simanjuntak, 2007).

The Relevance of United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Global collaboration in counterterrorism is becoming an increasingly significant topic in international security studies. (Wibisono & Kusumasomantri, 2020). As mentioned earlier, the UN listen to the threat of terrorism through various resolutions issued by the UNGA and the UNSC. One of them is regarding the UNGCTS which was ratified by the UNGA in 2006 through Resolution No. 60/288.

With this resolution, it is marked that all UN member states agree to jointly take a strategic and operational approach to combating terrorism. All UN member states strongly condemn terrorism in every mode and manifestation, regardless

of who commits it, where it occurs, or the reasons behind it, as it poses a serious threat to global peace and security (United Nations, 2005). This resolution was issued as a follow-up to the 2005 World Summit, where global leaders finalized a draft on combating terrorism and endorsed the development of a strategy aimed at enhancing a thorough, all-encompassing, and consistent approach to addressing the terrorism phenomenon.

If referring to the initial process of the formation of UNGCTS, of course this is a productive framework to overcome the threat of terrorism. Moreover, UNGCTS was born from the existence of a common perception among UN member countries. This strategy should be able to be a solution, especially those related to global regulations in order to standardize national efforts made by each country with a data-based and visibility approach.

From the perspective of liberalism, the role of international organizations and international code is indispensable. Therefore, the development of global anti-terrorism norms is inseparable from the involvement of the UN and various international legal instruments designed to regulate and encourage global participation in the fight against terrorism (Kusuma et al., 2019). UN member states through resolution No.60/288 affirmed their determination to persistently, firmly, and vigorously condemn terrorism in all its manifestations committed by anyone, anywhere, and for any purpose because it is one of the most deliberate threats to global peace and security. Furthermore, UN member states are committed to promptly preventing and combating terrorism in all its forms. Specifically, they pledge to become parties dedicated to fully implementing existing conventions and protocols warring terrorism, enforce all UNGA resolutions on efforts to combat global terrorism and those concerning the protection of human rights values in combat terrorism efforts, comply with all UNSC

resolutions related to global terrorism, and collaborate fully with relevant organizations in combat terrorism initiatives.

The three destructive forces terrorism, separatism, and extremism have spread globally, causing chaos and widespread fear. While terrorists seem to cooperate and support one another, such collaboration is noticeably lacking among national governments (Saadat, 2020). Acknowledging international cooperation and all actions to prevent and combat terrorism meaning that a domestic law must align with states burden under international law including the UN Charter and relevant conventions or protocols, particularly those concerning human rights, refugees, and humanitarian law. It also emphasizes the importance of updating the strategy in response to evolving threats, while remaining guided by the four key pillars to be adopted by each UN member state, response conditions conducive to the transmission of terrorism, preventing and combating terrorism, building capacity to fight terrorism, and upholding human rights and the rule of law as the foundation of counter-terrorism efforts.

In terms of regulation, it must be acknowledged that the UNGCTS provides comprehensive coverage in responding to various new threats of terrorism. But as with other centralization efforts, the existence of general rules like this sometimes cannot reach the details in terms of a country's capability in combating terrorism. On the other hand, rules that are too general are also sometimes ignored by countries that consider themselves more than sufficient in meeting the requirements.

How To Understand The UNGCTS?

Each pillar has different goals, targets, and actions UN member states take. Here is a brief explanation of the differences in each pillar of the UNGCTS. The focus of the first pillar of the UNGCTS is to response conditions that have the potential to support the advancement of terrorism, such as unresolved

protracted conflicts, socio-economic disparities, discrimination, and human rights encroachment. This pillar also emphasizes the importance of inter-religious, inter-cultural, and inter-civilizational dialogue. It strengthens the appearance of civil society, youth, women, and other groups in combatting terrorism. Conceptually, multi-track diplomacy emerged, with one of the tracks related to faith being the 7th track, namely peace-making through faith in action (Rakhmawati, 2010).

Some examples of steps contained in the first pillar include promoting dialogue, tolerance, and reconciliation between various religious, ethnic, cultural, and political groups involving civil society, the private sector, the media, academics, youth, women, and other groups, encouraging pertinent socialization and peoples consciousness programs involving all background of society, preventing radicalization and extremism by prioritizing a human rights-based and participatory approach, promoting solidarity movements to support victims and encouraging civil society involvement in the global crusade opposed to terrorism, implementing a national assistance system that will support the needs of victims of terrorism.

The implementation of the first pillar, manifested by New Zealand through several efforts such as increasing involvement in the Asean Regional Forum (ARF) which is used as a platform to increase dialogue and exchange information. New Zealand also established an anti-extremism research center called He Whenua Taurikura. After the Christchurch tragedy, New Zealand also campaigned for a national Scarf Day movement to continue building public awareness, while not forgetting to assist the victims and their families.

The second pillar of the UNGCTS underscores the repressive aspect of preventing and combating terrorism, particularly by adverse terrorists connection to the power to conduct attacks on targets and the impacts desired by the perpetrators of terrorism. This pillar, crucially, places a

significant emphasis on fostering cooperation between countries and institutions. Preceding studies have confirmed that global counter-terrorism acts is not just beneficial, but essential in effectively combating terrorism and maintaining regional stability and development, with the UNGCTS playing a pivotal role in this context (Zhao et al., 2024).

Some examples of steps contained in the second pillar include not ease, participating in, financing, reassuring, and tolerating terrorist movement, ensuring the arrest and prosecution of butcher of terrorist acts by relevant national and international laws, strengthening coordination and cooperation in exchanging information on crimes that may be related to terrorism, including drug trafficking, illicit arms trafficking, money laundering and smuggling of prohibited weapons and other potentially lethal materials. Enhancing national attempts and appropriate bilateral, subregional, regional, and international assistance to counter terrorism in all its mode and manifestations on the internet and also use the internet as a tool to countering it. The New Zealand government took several productive actions by forming the Christchurch Call and the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Terrorist Attack on Christchurch Masjidian as a comprehensive handling effort. Not only inward-looking efforts but outward-looking New Zealand also began to initiate several international cooperation bilaterally including with Indonesia.

The third pillar of the UNGCTS recognizes that capacity building in all states is an essential detail of the global counter-terrorism effort. It urges member states to enhance coordination and coherence by strengthening the role of the UN system and providing technical and capacity assistance to countries in need. The impact of your involvement in this process is significant, as it directly contributes to global security. Some examples of measures included in the third pillar are encouraging UN member states to make voluntary contributions and assistance

to UN-sponsored cooperation projects and providing technical and capacity assistance to countries in need in areas such as law enforcement, intelligence, finance, borders, transport, critical infrastructure protection and emergency response; utilizing the frameworks provided by relevant international, regional and subregional organizations to facilitate their contributions to counter-terrorism efforts; and encouraging the participation and contribution of UN member states in UN initiatives that support the implementation of the UNGCTS.

New Zealand supports the UN Secretary-General's initiative to establish a special facility through the peacebuilding fund. It also provides financial assistance to the Asia-Pacific Group on Money Laundering to limit financing transactions that lead to the support of terrorism. New Zealand is also active in providing technical assistance related to increasing the state's capacity to counter-terrorism.

The fourth pillar of the UNGCTS affirms that promoting and protecting human rights is essential to all strategy components and recognizes that effective counter-terrorism measures and protecting human rights are not mutually exclusive objectives but complementary and mutually reinforcing. It also emphasizes the crucial importance of providing adequate access to redress for victims of terrorism. This emphasis is intended to evoke a sense of empathy and support for the victims among the audience. Some examples of measures contained in the fourth pillar are encouraging the participation and contribution of UN member states in UN initiatives aimed at protecting and supporting victims of terrorism, making efforts to develop appropriate national legal frameworks that balance national security and human rights, supporting the Human Rights Council and contributing to the promotion and protection of human rights and enhancing national and international mechanisms for monitoring and reviewing the implementation of human rights. About the

implementation of the fourth pillar, New Zealand is active in developing an international legal framework and is also active in submitting periodic reports on the human rights situation in its country in the Universal Periodic Review.

Conclusion

Before the Christchurch tragedy, New Zealand was never considered a country threatened by the existence of right-wing terrorism. Unlike its neighboring countries, such as Australia and Indonesia, which are struggling hard to overcome the threat of terrorism. However, the Christchurch tragedy certainly became a turning point that illustrates that no country in the world can examine terrorism not a real threat. Globalization and information and communication technology development have made space and time lose relevance. This means transnationalism from a security threat can also occur faster than predicted. As a country famous for national security, the Christchurch tragedy became a dark note in New Zealand's national security. As a significant member state of the UN, which is also part of the UNGCTS, New Zealand's experience with the Christchurch tragedy reverberated globally, highlighting the universal threat of terrorism. However, this study shows that multidimensional factors caused the Christchurch tragedy. The failure of the state to maintain national security cannot be entirely blamed on the failure of the international regime. More than that, a country can do one essential thing, how capable it is in articulating the UNGCTS to increase its domestic relevance.

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