

World
Watch
Research

Brunei: Full Country Dossier

December 2021



OpenDoors

Serving persecuted **Christians** worldwide

Open Doors International / World Watch Research

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research@od.org

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Boy from Brunei (c) Alamy

Introduction

World Watch List 2022

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021	Total Score WWL 2020	Total Score WWL 2019	Total Score WWL 2018
1	Afghanistan	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	15.0	98	94	93	94	93
2	North Korea	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	13.1	96	94	94	94	94
3	Somalia	16.5	16.7	16.6	16.6	16.6	8.5	91	92	92	91	91
4	Libya	15.6	15.5	15.9	16.2	16.3	11.5	91	92	90	87	86
5	Yemen	16.7	16.6	16.5	16.7	16.7	5.2	88	87	85	86	85
6	Eritrea	14.6	14.9	15.5	15.9	15.6	11.1	88	88	87	86	86
7	Nigeria	13.8	13.8	14.3	14.5	14.4	16.7	87	85	80	80	77
8	Pakistan	13.6	14.0	15.1	14.9	13.1	16.7	87	88	88	87	86
9	Iran	14.5	14.6	13.6	15.8	16.5	10.4	85	86	85	85	85
10	India	12.7	12.7	12.9	14.7	13.3	15.6	82	83	83	83	81
11	Saudi Arabia	15.1	15.1	15.0	15.9	16.7	3.1	81	78	79	77	79
12	Myanmar	12.4	11.5	13.8	13.4	13.1	14.8	79	74	73	71	65
13	Sudan	13.4	13.4	14.3	13.6	15.7	8.5	79	79	85	87	87
14	Iraq	14.0	14.6	14.0	14.8	13.9	6.9	78	82	76	79	86
15	Syria	12.9	13.8	13.5	14.3	13.9	9.3	78	81	82	82	76
16	Maldives	15.4	15.3	13.7	15.8	16.5	0.4	77	77	78	78	78
17	China	12.6	9.8	12.2	14.4	15.5	11.1	76	74	70	65	57
18	Qatar	14.2	14.1	11.1	13.0	14.3	7.2	74	67	66	62	63
19	Vietnam	11.3	9.7	12.7	14.1	14.5	8.7	71	72	72	70	69
20	Egypt	12.7	13.2	11.5	12.7	10.8	10.0	71	75	76	76	70
21	Uzbekistan	14.9	12.7	14.1	11.8	15.6	1.7	71	71	73	74	73
22	Algeria	14.0	14.0	11.1	13.4	14.1	4.1	71	70	73	70	58
23	Mauritania	14.3	13.9	13.1	14.0	14.1	0.9	70	71	68	67	57
24	Mali	9.4	8.2	13.9	10.3	12.8	15.0	70	67	66	68	59
25	Turkmenistan	14.5	11.3	13.6	13.3	15.7	0.6	69	70	70	69	68
26	Laos	12.0	10.3	13.2	13.3	14.1	5.9	69	71	72	71	67
27	Morocco	13.1	13.8	10.8	12.8	14.2	3.9	69	67	66	63	51
28	Indonesia	11.3	11.5	11.5	11.0	9.6	13.5	68	63	60	65	59
29	Bangladesh	11.8	10.7	12.9	11.3	10.2	11.3	68	67	63	58	58
30	Colombia	11.5	8.8	13.1	11.0	9.9	13.3	68	67	62	58	56
31	CAR	9.0	8.6	13.6	9.6	11.4	15.6	68	66	68	70	61
32	Burkina Faso	9.4	9.7	12.0	9.6	12.1	14.8	68	67	66	48	-
33	Niger	9.4	9.5	13.9	7.2	12.8	14.8	68	62	60	52	45
34	Bhutan	13.4	12.4	11.7	13.7	13.8	1.7	67	64	61	64	62
35	Tunisia	11.9	12.7	10.6	11.3	13.4	6.5	66	67	64	63	62
36	Oman	13.8	14.0	10.3	13.2	13.4	1.5	66	63	62	59	57
37	Cuba	12.3	8.1	12.6	13.2	14.0	5.9	66	62	52	49	49
38	Ethiopia	9.9	10.3	13.1	10.3	12.3	9.8	66	65	63	65	62
39	Jordan	12.9	14.0	11.0	12.3	12.5	3.0	66	64	64	65	66
40	DRC	8.0	7.9	12.6	9.7	12.0	15.6	66	64	56	55	33
41	Mozambique	9.3	8.5	11.3	7.9	12.5	15.6	65	63	43	43	-
42	Turkey	12.6	11.5	11.4	13.2	11.6	4.6	65	69	63	66	62
43	Mexico	10.3	8.3	12.5	10.8	10.3	12.6	65	64	60	61	59
44	Cameroon	8.8	7.6	12.6	7.2	13.1	15.4	65	64	60	54	38
45	Tajikistan	13.8	12.3	12.0	12.6	13.2	0.7	65	66	65	65	65
46	Brunei	14.8	14.5	10.3	11.0	13.2	0.6	64	64	63	63	64
47	Kazakhstan	13.4	11.6	11.1	12.6	13.5	1.7	64	64	64	63	63
48	Nepal	12.4	9.8	9.9	13.6	12.7	5.2	64	66	64	64	64
49	Kuwait	13.5	13.7	9.8	12.3	13.1	1.1	64	63	62	60	61
50	Malaysia	12.5	14.3	11.5	11.6	10.2	3.3	63	63	62	60	65

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021	Total Score WWL 2020	Total Score WWL 2019	Total Score WWL 2018
51	Kenya	11.7	9.2	11.4	8.0	11.5	11.1	63	62	61	61	62
52	Sri Lanka	12.9	9.9	11.4	11.3	9.4	7.8	63	62	65	58	57
53	Comoros	12.7	11.1	11.2	12.4	14.2	0.9	63	62	57	56	56
54	UAE	13.4	13.6	10.1	11.8	12.2	1.3	62	62	60	58	58
55	Tanzania	9.3	10.8	10.3	8.6	8.7	13.7	61	58	55	52	53
56	Azerbaijan	13.1	9.9	9.3	11.0	13.4	3.3	60	56	57	57	57
57	Palestinian Territories	13.0	13.4	9.8	10.2	12.0	0.9	59	58	60	57	60
58	Djibouti	12.3	12.3	11.1	10.0	12.2	0.7	59	56	56	56	56
59	Kyrgyzstan	12.9	10.1	11.1	10.4	12.0	1.5	58	58	57	56	54
60	Bahrain	12.5	13.2	9.1	11.1	10.2	0.9	57	56	55	55	57
61	Nicaragua	9.1	5.6	11.1	11.8	11.3	7.6	56	51	41	41	-
62	Russian Federation	12.3	8.0	10.2	10.6	12.3	2.2	56	57	60	60	51
63	Chad	11.5	8.2	10.2	9.6	10.3	5.6	55	53	56	48	40
64	Burundi	7.6	7.8	9.7	9.2	9.6	8.1	52	48	48	43	-
65	Venezuela	5.6	4.5	11.2	9.4	11.1	9.6	51	39	42	41	34
66	Angola	6.8	6.7	8.1	10.1	11.4	7.8	51	46	43	42	-
67	Rwanda	8.1	5.5	6.7	10.3	10.1	9.3	50	42	42	41	-
68	Honduras	7.2	5.1	10.5	7.7	9.2	8.7	48	46	39	38	-
69	Uganda	8.1	4.6	7.4	6.7	9.1	11.7	48	47	48	47	46
70	El Salvador	7.7	4.6	10.7	5.7	9.1	7.2	45	42	38	30	-
71	Togo	9.2	6.7	9.3	7.1	9.8	2.4	44	43	41	42	-
72	Gambia	8.3	8.2	8.7	8.3	8.8	1.7	44	43	43	43	-
73	Guinea	10.3	7.5	8.3	7.0	8.1	2.0	43	47	45	46	-
74	South Sudan	5.7	0.9	7.0	6.3	7.8	15.0	43	43	44	44	-
75	Ivory Coast	9.8	8.6	8.2	5.5	7.9	2.0	42	42	42	43	-
76	Israel	9.8	8.4	5.6	6.6	6.6	4.3	41	40	38	39	40

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Sources and definitions

- This country report is a collation of data and analysis based around Open Doors World Watch List (WWL) and includes statistical information on world religions, Christian denominations and people groups prepared by the World Christian Database (WCD).
- Highlighted links in the text can be found written out in full at the conclusion of each main section under the heading “External links”. In order to reduce the length of these reference sections, a table containing links to regularly used sources can be found at the beginning of the “Keys to Understanding” chapter under the heading “Links for general background information”. Where one of these sources has been quoted in the dossier text, a quote reference is supplied as indicated in the second column of the table.
- The WWL 2022 reporting period was 01 October 2020 - 30 September 2021.
- The definition of persecution used in WWL analysis is: “Any hostility experienced as a result of one’s identification with Christ. This can include hostile attitudes, words and actions towards Christians”. This broad definition includes (but is not limited to) restrictions, pressure, discrimination, opposition, disinformation, injustice, intimidation, mistreatment, marginalization, oppression, intolerance, infringement, violation, ostracism, hostilities, harassment, abuse, violence, ethnic cleansing and genocide.
- The latest update of WWL Methodology including appendices can be found on the [World Watch List Documentation](#) page of the Open Doors Analytical website (password: freedom).

Effect on data-gathering during COVID-19 pandemic

In the WWL 2022 reporting period, travel restrictions and other measures introduced by the governments of various countries to combat the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic did cause delays and create the need for restructuring grass-roots research in some cases. Through the agile cooperation of In-country networks, Open Doors country researchers, External experts, WWR analysts and an increased use of technological options, Open Doors is confident that – as in the previous reporting period – WWL 2022 scoring, analysis and documentation has maintained required levels of quality and reliability.

External Links - Introduction

- Sources and definitions: World Watch List Documentation - <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/world-watch-list-documentation/>

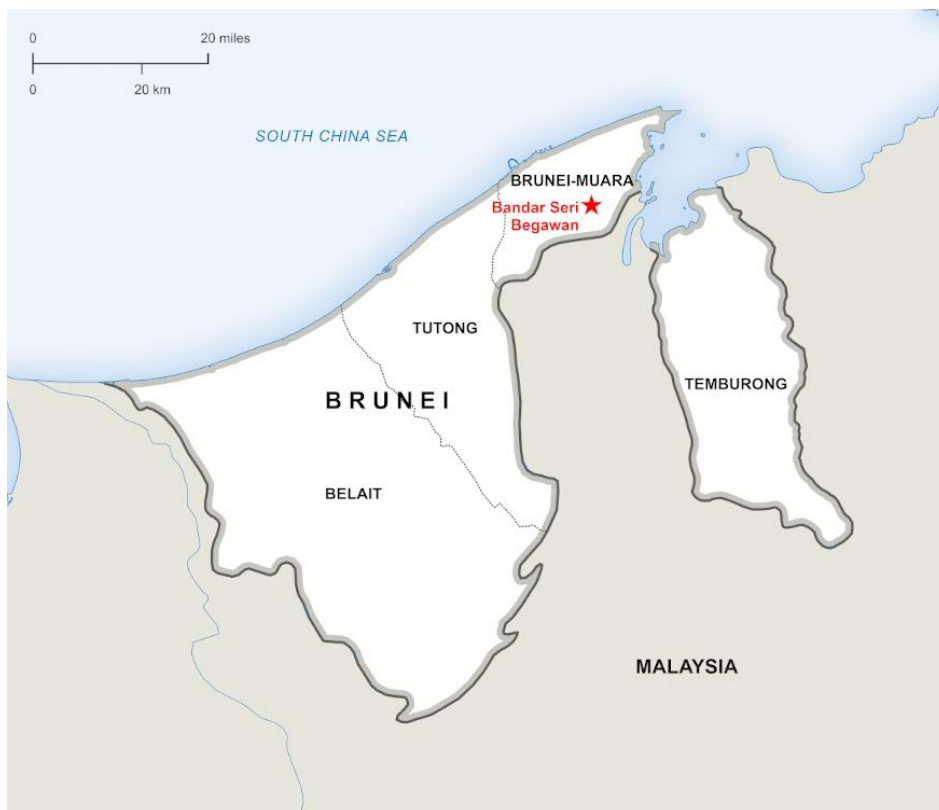
WWL 2022 Situation in brief / Brunei

Brief country details

In the table below, the number of Christians shown is an Open Doors (OD) estimate.

Brunei: Population (UN estimate for 2021)	Christians	Chr%
450,000	42,600	OD estimate

Map of country



Brunei: World Watch List	Points	WWL Rank
WWL 2022	64	46
WWL 2021	64	39
WWL 2020	63	37
WWL 2019	63	36
WWL 2018	64	26

Ranks are shown above whenever the country scored 41 points or more in the WWL 2018-2022 reporting periods

Dominant persecution engines and drivers

Brunei: Main Persecution engines	Main drivers
Islamic oppression	One's own (extended) family, Government officials, Non-Christian religious leaders, Ethnic group leaders
Dictatorial paranoia	Government officials, Non-Christian religious leaders, Ethnic group leaders

Engines and Drivers are listed in order of strength. Only Very strong / Strong / Medium are shown here.

Brief description of the persecution situation

Converts from Islam face considerable levels of pressure as conversion is punishable according to penal law and everything will be done to bring converts back to their original faith. Non-traditional Christian communities cannot be registered as churches, but have to be registered as companies, societies or family centers. As such, they are treated as secular organizations and are required to submit their financial and operational reports to the government every year. The whole of society (Christians included) is affected by the continuing introduction of Sharia laws as well as by the tightening economic situation, also due to the COVID-19 crisis, which limits the authorities from being so generous with payouts to quell dissatisfaction. On the other hand, the government appears to have managed the pandemic much better than most of its southeast Asian peers.

Summary of international obligations and rights violations

Brunei has committed to respect and protect fundamental rights in the following international treaties:

1. [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women](#) (CEDAW)
2. [Convention on the Rights of the Child](#) (CRC)

Brunei is not fulfilling its international obligations by regularly violating or failing to protect the following rights of Christians:

- Brunei citizens are barred from leaving Islam by law and therefore deprived of their right to have or adopt a religion or belief of their choice (ICCPR Art. 18)

- Christian parents cannot raise their children according to their religious values (CRC Art. 14);
- Christian female converts run the risk of being forcibly married to Muslim men or losing custody of their children (CEDAW Art. 16)

Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period

- By decree, the importing of Bibles and any public celebration of Christmas continue to be banned.
- Christian pastors and workers are facing a multitude of restrictions. Both native and foreign Christians have been targets of aggressive Islamization.

External Links - Situation in brief

- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Rights of the Child - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>

WWL 2022: Keys to understanding / Brunei

Links for general background information

Name	Quote Reference	Link	Last accessed on
Amnesty International country report	AI 2021	https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/brunei-darussalam/	29 July 2021
BBC News country profile	BBC country profile	https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12990058	29 July 2021
Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2020 (Brunei is not included)	BTI 2020	https://bti-project.org/en/home.html?cb=00000	
CIA World Factbook	CIA Factbook	https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/brunei/	29 July 2021
Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index 2020	EIU 2020	https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/democracy-index-2020.pdf	29 July 2021
FFP's Fragile States Index 2021	FSI 2021	https://fragilestatesindex.org/country-data/	29 July 2021
Freedom House's 2021 Democracy index (Brunei is not included)	Freedom House/Democracy 2021	https://freedomhouse.org/countries/nations-transit/scores	29 July 2021
Freedom House's 2021 Global Freedom index	Freedom House/Global Freedom 2021	https://freedomhouse.org/country/brunei/freedom-world/2021	29 July 2021
Freedom House's Freedom on the Net 2020 report (Brunei is not included)	Freedom House/Internet Freedom 2020	https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-net/scores	
Garda World country report	Garda World	https://www.garda.com/crisis24/country-reports/brunei-darussalam	29 July 2021
Human Rights Watch World Report 2021 (Brunei is not included)	HRW 2021	https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021	
Internet World Stats 2021	IWS 2021	https://www.internetworldstats.com/asia.htm#bn	29 July 2021
RSF's 2020 World Press Freedom Index	World Press Freedom 2020	https://rsf.org/en/brunei	29 July 2021
Transparency International's 2020 Corruption Perceptions Index	CPI 2020	https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/brn	29 July 2021
UNDP's Global Human Development Indicators	HDI	http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/BRN	29 July 2021
US State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom country reports	IRFR 2020	https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/brunei/	29 July 2021
USCIRF 2021 country reports (Brunei is not included)	USCIRF 2021	https://www.uscifr.gov/countries	
World Bank country report	World Bank	https://data.worldbank.org/country/brunei-darussalam	30 July 2021

Recent history

Brunei was a British protectorate from 1888 to 1984 and is now the only politically independent sultanate in the world. The ruling sultan is the 29th, the royal line reaching back as far as 1363. On 1 January 1984, the day of independence, the ruling sultan officially proclaimed Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB) as Brunei's national philosophy. MIB is a blend of Malay and Islamic cultural values guarded by the monarchy. This system opposes the concept of secularism. May 2014 saw the introduction of Sharia Penal Code (SPC); however, implementation was not announced until

2018 with the [introduction](#) of its Criminal Procedures Code (CPC) (Borneo Bulletin, 31 March 2019). While Brunei normally does not come into the international spotlight, the fact that it assumed the annually rotating ASEAN presidency pushed it into the limelight, as did the escalating crisis in Myanmar (see below: *Political and legal landscape*).

Political and legal landscape

The sultan rules as [absolute monarch](#), being chief of state, but also concurrently prime minister, finance minister, minister of the interior as well as of defense and head of religion (East Asia Forum, 23 October 2019). Hence, all power is concentrated in his hands. The general public deeply respect the sultan and there is no demand for more political participation.

The sultan introduced obligatory Islamic religious studies for all schools. But more importantly, he announced the successive introduction of Sharia in criminal law, the so-called “Hudud” law, in October 2013. In 2014, Brunei enacted the new Sharia Penal Code (SPC), which is to apply also to non-Muslims, and which includes offences carrying the death penalty. The 2nd phase was supposed to be implemented in 2015 but was delayed. In March 2018, the implementation of the second phase was finally announced.

In a surprising move only made public on 25 March 2019, Brunei’s Minister of Religion declared 3 April 2019 as the commencement date for the [implementation of Sharia Penal Code](#). The Government Gazette was dated 29 December 2018, but the announcement was only made public ten days before implementation. After a five year period of leaving this law pending, the sudden publication of an imminent date for implementation seemed to have been an attempt by the sultan and his government to avoid as much international outcry and pressure as possible. Judging by the public outcry afterwards, these efforts did not succeed. International media was quick to highlight the immediate [serious consequences](#) for the LGBTI community in the country, but it would have consequences for converts from Islam to Christianity as well (Reuters, 25 March 2019). In a rare move, the sultan did react publicly to criticism by announcing that his country did not intend to [implement the death penalty](#) as foreseen in Brunei’s SPC (Reuters, 5 May 2019). So far, no cases against religious minorities (or LGBTI groups) have been reported.

Brunei took over the rotating presidency of the ASEAN group of southeast Asian states for 2021. When the crisis in Myanmar emerged with the military coup on 1 February 2021, Brunei thus found itself in an unwanted spotlight it is not used to. In a highly exceptional move, ASEAN organized an emergency meeting in Jakarta in April and came up with a five-point-plan (for more detail, see the Full Country Dossier on Myanmar). Then in June 2021, Bruneian officials representing ASEAN went on what one observer called a [‘disastrous mission’](#) (Jakarta Post, 10 June 2021). The ASEAN envoys publicly used the titles General Min Aung Hlaing had given himself, thus apparently endorsing his leadership and the coup. A press release along these lines has since been taken off the ASEAN website. While this might be viewed as just a “diplomatic accident”, it is an illustration of how politics is understood in Brunei and seems to reveal a thinking pattern which can be identified with the “Dictatorial paranoia” to be found in Brunei. Meanwhile, ASEAN agreed to name a high-ranking [Bruneian diplomat](#) as special envoy for the situation in Myanmar (Straits Times, 7 August 2021).

The new Penal Code was also greeted by concerns about gender equality. Under this law sexual intercourse outside of marriage is punishable by stoning. While the sentence applies to both women and men, women are reportedly disproportionately affected by punishment for crimes involving sexual relations and are thereby more vulnerable to discriminatory investigations ([CEDAW, 2014](#)). On a broader level, Brunei's political and legal landscape lacks gender equality in relation to marriage, divorce, child guardianship and inheritance laws ([OECD, 2019, p.2-4](#)). Whilst Brunei ratified the CEDAW convention, it made a general reservation to any aspects of the Convention which might be deemed contrary to the beliefs and principles of Islam ([CEDAW, 2014](#)). Notable issues of concern include child marriage and domestic violence. Although official data on child marriage is lacking, it has been highlighted as an ongoing issue in various reports ([CEDAW, 2014](#) [UNCRC, 2016](#)). Insufficient laws addressing domestic violence make it difficult for victims to escape abusive marriages ([OECD, 2019](#)).

Religious landscape

Brunei: Religious context	Number of adherents	%
Christians	42,600	9.5
Muslim	269,700	59.9
Hindu	4,204	0.9
Buddhist	44,300	9.8
Ethno-religionist	46,351	10.3
Jewish	0	0.0
Bahai	246	0.1
Atheist	123	0.0
Agnostic	5,435	1.2
Other	36,230	8.1
<i>OTHER includes Chinese folk, New religionist, Sikh, Spiritist, Taoist, Confucianist, Jain, Shintoist, Zoroastrian.</i>		

Data source: Johnson T M and Zurlo G A, eds, *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed April 2021) (Adapted according to OD-estimate)

Muslims (mostly Sunni) make up an estimated 59.9% of the population. The ruling sultan is head of religion: What he wants, becomes law - and if he decides that Islam will continue on a more conservative path, everyone (including the churches) have to accept that. Christians are free to worship, but they have been warned not to do so "excessively and openly". The Sharia Penal Code includes several provisions which limit the freedom of religion, not just for converts, but for the Christian minority as well. Time will tell how the provisions are implemented. Some of them are mentioned in more detail in the section below entitled *Pressure in the 5 Spheres of life*.

The US State Department's report (IRFR 2020, pp.1-2) explains the ethno-religious affiliations as follows:

"There is significant variation in religious identification among ethnic groups. According to 2019 official statistics (the most recent), ethnic Malay citizens comprise 66 percent of the population and are defined by law as Muslims from birth. The ethnic Chinese population, which is approximately 10 percent of the total population and includes both citizens and stateless permanent residents, is 65 percent Buddhist and 20 percent Christian. Indigenous tribes, such as Dusun, Bisaya, Murut, and Iban, make up approximately four percent of the population and are estimated to be 50 percent Muslim, 15 percent Christian, and the remainder followers of other religious groups, including adherents of traditional practices. The remaining 20 percent of the population includes foreign-born workers, primarily from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and other South Asian countries. According to official statistics, approximately half of these temporary and permanent residents are Muslim, more than one-quarter Christian, and 15 percent Buddhist."

Economic landscape

According to [UNDP's full 2020 report](#) (page 343 onwards):

- **Gross National Income (2017 USD PPP):** 63.965
- **Rate of multidimensional poverty:** data is not available
- **Remittances:** data is not available

According to the World Bank:

- Brunei is classified as being a high income economy.
- **GDP per capita (PPP constant 2017 international USD):** 62.244
- **GDP per capita growth rate:** 0.2%
- **Poverty gap at 5.50 USD a day (2011 PPP):** no data available

The COVID-19 crisis left a tangible impact on Brunei's life and economy, but it has weathered the storm [better than other](#) countries (The Diplomat, 22 June 2020). The growth rate did contract, although a stronger demand for oil saved Brunei from suffering such a severe affect on the GDP as experienced by almost all of its Asian peers. The strong dependency on oil could be seen in the numbers, with the rise in petrochemical products reaching [almost 600%](#) in the first half of 2020 (The Scoop, 3 January 2021). Without this boost, the economy would have contracted. The fact that the decommissioning of ageing oil wells is predicted to become a lucrative business over the next years (when [around 1000 wells](#) over 30 years need to be closed) shows that the dependency on oil may come to an end (The Scoop, 28 June 2021). Christians are not excluded from these general trends. In August 2021, Brunei saw a spike in COVID infections, after having enjoyed a 15 months hiatus

The dependency on oil is one reason why Brunei is trying to diversify its economy in order to give more of its citizens a good future perspective, especially the younger generation. Although the development plan "Vision Brunei 2035" aiming to expand various economic sectors was already published in 2007, there is little to show for it so far. Rather than focus on efforts to strengthen sectors outside the oil and gas industry, Brunei has chosen to produce even more oil,

although oil and gas production peaked and seems to have seen a [decline](#) in recent years (World Data Atlas, accessed 24 August 2020). With an estimated [70-80% of the country's citizens](#) employed by the government or government-linked institutions (The Diplomat, 17 February 2016), there is limited hope for an internally-driven economic expansion. This is the main reason why the younger generation is increasingly looking for employment opportunities abroad.

The government of Brunei needs to make some difficult choices. The comfortable days, when the ruling sultan was able to care for all his subjects' needs, will soon be over, even as oil prices seem to be recovering. Until now, his government provides free medical services and subsidizes goods such as rice and housing. There are no school fees for state schools, and citizens of Brunei do not have to pay income tax. But since the oil and gas reserves may only last for just one more generation or less, the government needs to start thinking about alternatives. Until now, it has [not been particularly successful](#) as it seems that the world does not need an "Islamic Singapore" (or already has one in United Arab Emirates' Dubai or Qatar's Doha) (Asia Times, 26 April 2017).

In general, women are more economically vulnerable than men due to patrilineal inheritance practices ([OECD, 2019](#)) and a lower female labor force participation rate; 57.8% of women are in the workforce, compared to 71% of men (UNDP HDI 2020). This economic dependence could be exploited to put pressure on female converts.

Social and cultural landscape

According to the [UNDP's full 2020 report](#) (page 343 onwards) and the CIA Factbook:

- **Main ethnic groups:** Malay 65.7%, Chinese 10.3%, other 24% (2016 est.)
- **Main languages:** Malay (Bahasa Melayu) (official), English, Chinese dialects
- **Urbanization rate:** 78.3%
- **Literacy rate:** 97.2% (15 years and above)
- **Mean years of schooling:** 9.1 years
- **Health and education indicators:** Per 10,000 people, Brunei has 16.1 physicians and 29 hospital beds. The pupil teacher ratio in elementary school is 10:1

According to the World Bank:

- **Population/Age distribution:** 22.3% of the population are below the age of 14, 5.6% are above the age of 65.
- **Education:** The primary school enrolment rate is 100.1%, just as the primary school completion rate.
- **Unemployment:** 8.4%; the rate of vulnerable employment is 6.3% (modeled ILO estimate).
- **IDPs/Refugees:** There is no international data on migration to Brunei available, in any case, migration is only on a very small scale.

According to the UN Global Human Development Indicators (HDI 2020):

- **HDI score and ranking:** With a score of 0.838, Brunei ranks 47th on the list of 189 countries. Brunei's HDI has levelled off at a very high level
- **Life expectancy:** 75.9 years
- **Median age:** 32.3

- **Gini coefficient:** data is not available
- **Gender inequality:** With a score of 0.255, Brunei ranks 60th of 162 countries in the Gender Inequality Index.
- **Unemployment:** The unemployment rate is 9.1% and 6% of the population are in vulnerable employment. The rate of unemployed youth is 30%, the rate of youth neither in school nor employment is 21% (between 15 and 24 years of age)

The population of Brunei is ethnically homogenous but, like neighboring Malaysia, it also has a sizeable Chinese and a smaller Indian community. Restrictions are gradually being imposed on the whole population. For instance, during Ramadan all restaurants (including non-Muslim establishments) must close. Also, all restaurants (including inside hotels) must close every Friday from 12 noon to 2pm during Friday prayers. Public Christmas celebrations are [banned](#) (UCA News, 23 December 2019).

Citizens of Brunei are used to a high level of social benefits provided by the government, meaning the sultan. It may prove difficult to remove many of these benefits. At the same time, the government is trying to reduce the unhealthily large number of citizens employed in government departments. The overall unemployment rate is just over 9%, which sounds manageable, but youth unemployment is at least more than double this figure, explaining at least partly why many of the younger generation are planning to leave the country or have already left. This is also an incentive for Christian youth to leave, in addition to the pressure experienced by belonging to a religious minority. Due to the difficult situation and uncertain future, [mental health issues](#) are a frequent problem; according to official numbers, 1.5% of the population are in treatment for mental health disorders (The Diplomat, 29 June 2021). This is true even when Brunei has [managed the COVID-19 pandemic](#) and vaccination program better than most of its neighbors (UCA News, 28 May 2021). Another [outbreak](#) of COVID-19, although on a low level when compared to international standards, happened in August 2021, showing that the authorities need to stay vigilant (Channel News Asia, 9 August 2021).

Within Brunei, gender stereotypes remain deeply entrenched and men and women are expected to assume traditional gender roles ([UNCRC, 2016](#)). The CEDAW committee observed that patriarchal attitudes "are reflected in women's academic and professional choices, their limited participation in political and public life and their unequal position in the labor market and in marriage and family relations' and serve to 'perpetuate women's subordination within the family and society" ([CEDAW, 2014](#)). Domestic violence victims rarely report cases due to stigma, shame, economic dependence, fear of reprisals and fear of losing access to their children. On a societal level, it is considered a private matter that should be dealt with by the family or local community ([OECD, 2019](#)).

Technological landscape

According to Internet World Stats (IWS 2021):

- **Internet usage:** 104.5% penetration - survey date: June 2021
- **Facebook usage:** 104.5% penetration – survey date: June 2021
According to [NapoleonCat \(2019\)](#), 55% of Facebook users are male compared to 45% of women, reflecting a gender gap in relation to social media usage.

According to World Bank:

- **Mobile phone subscriptions:** 132.7 per 100 people

Brunei's Internet penetration rate is high, reflecting a modern and highly developed country. Accordingly, the mobile phone subscription rate is also high. Apart from a high rate of Facebook users, Brunei is the country with the second highest rate of [Instagram users](#) relative to its population (Borneo Bulletin, 30 January 2021). Media is limited and it is unthinkable to openly criticize the government or the sultan. Nonetheless, the younger generation in particular is very active on social media sites like Reddit, which has been one of the first places where Bruneians have started to ask questions about the deliberately low-key introduction of the SPC. For example: A discussion started in [July 2020](#) on Reddit about whether citizens can read religious books and have religious discussions in public. For Christians, these online forums are an opportunity to participate in debates and to cautiously share views. To what extent these discussions feed back into the 'real world' is an entirely different question, of course.

Security situation

There are currently no Islamic militant groups active in Brunei and - in contrast to neighboring Southeast Asian states - no Bruneian Muslims appear to have joined the Islamic State group to fight in countries like Syria and Iraq. However, Islam is becoming increasingly conservative, limiting the space for non-Muslim Bruneian citizens. Therefore, the lack of militant groups does not mean Christians are not under pressure.

Social cohesion is high and the potential for unrest is very limited. In Southeast Asia, Brunei may be one of the safest countries to live in. Christians (whether expatriates or citizens) are able to live unaffected by violence as long as they abide by the written and unwritten rules.

Trends analysis

1) Churches are facing continued restrictions

Out of fear that Muslims could be led astray, Christmas celebrations were banned from 2015 onwards in the whole of Brunei, with the exception of church buildings. The ban includes the use of religious symbols such as crosses, lighting candles, putting up Christmas trees, singing religious songs in public and sending Christmas greetings. Punishment for violation is potentially a five-year prison sentence. The limitations make it clear to churches that especially the young generation needs to grow up with a strong Christian faith. A particular challenge for churches is that young people are increasingly leaving the country to seek better opportunities abroad (see also Trend 3 below). The fact that Pope Francis made - for the first time ever - a Bruneian bishop [cardinal](#) early in the WWL 2022 reporting period came as a surprise to many (UCA News, 4 November 2020) and it is quite tragic that he [passed away](#) in a hospital in Taiwan at the age of 70 less than a year later (UCA News, 29 May 2021).

2) Providing leadership

Brunei displays a penchant for "Dictatorial paranoia" which became visible to the outside world in its dealing with the Myanmar crisis, when it interpreted the ASEAN non-interference rule in a very strict way, even recognizing the military takeover (in the role of ASEAN presidency, as

explained above in *Political and legal landscape*). However, it seems to be increasingly the question where the leadership draws inspiration from. Apart from a certain reliance on China, both the sultan and the government are also trying to push the people towards a deeper connection with the origins of Islam. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the state TV station announced the airing of its first drama series in the [Arab language](#), co-produced by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Borneo Bulletin, 1 May 2021).

3) Young Christians are leaving the country in large numbers

In the future, Christians will be facing a changing church situation, since young Christians are leaving the country in large numbers. Uncertainty about the SPC affects the whole country, but religious minorities in particular, although so far no SPC cases have been reported. An encouraging sign is that young people use online forums to discuss even delicate questions more freely; however, so long as this does not translate into more freedom to do so 'offline' as well, young people have little incentive to stay.

External Links - Keys to understanding

- Recent history: introduction - <https://borneobulletin.com.bn/2019/03/syariah-penal-code-order-2013-to-be-enforced-on-april-3/>
- Political and legal landscape: absolute monarch - <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2019/10/23/the-state-of-islam-in-brunei/>
- Political and legal landscape: implementation of Sharia Penal Code - http://www.agc.gov.bn/AGC%20Images/LAWS/Gazette_PDF/2018/S068.pdf
- Political and legal landscape: serious consequences - <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brunei-lgbt-laws/brunei-urged-to-halt-introduction-of-strict-new-anti-lgbt-laws-idUSKCN1R61M9>
- Political and legal landscape: implement the death penalty - <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brunei-lgbt-sultan/brunei-says-it-wont-enforce-gay-death-penalty-after-backlash-idUSKCN1SB0FS>
- Political and legal landscape: disastrous mission - <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2021/06/09/bruneis-disastrous-mission.html>
- Political and legal landscape: Bruneian diplomat - <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/new-asean-envoy-to-myanmar-erywan-yusof-wants-full-access-when-he-visits>
- Political and legal landscape: CEDAW, 2014 - https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW/C/BRN/CO/1-2&Lang=En
- Political and legal landscape: OECD, 2019, p.2-4 - <https://www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/BN.pdf>
- Political and legal landscape: CEDAW, 2014). - https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW/C/BRN/CO/1-2&Lang=En
- Political and legal landscape: CEDAW, 2014 - https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW/C/BRN/CO/1-2&Lang=En
- Political and legal landscape: UNCRC, 2016 - <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G16/035/31/PDF/G1603531.pdf?OpenElement>
- Political and legal landscape: OECD, 2019 - <https://www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/BN.pdf>
- Economic landscape: UNDP's full 2020 report - <http://www.hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2020.pdf>
- Economic landscape: better than other - <https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/how-brunei-beat-covid-19/>
- Economic landscape: almost 600% - <https://thescoop.co/2021/01/03/ambd-petrochemical-activities-biggest-driver-of-economic-growth-in-first-half-of-2020/>

- Economic landscape: around 1000 wells - <https://thescoop.co/2021/06/28/over-1000-ageing-oil-wells-to-close-in-next-30-years/>
- Economic landscape: decline - <https://knoema.com/atlas/Brunei-Darussalam/topics/Energy/Oil/Crude-oil-reserves>
- Economic landscape: 70-80% of the country's citizens - <https://thediplomat.com/2016/02/bruneis-economy-running-on-empty/>
- Economic landscape: not been particularly successful - <https://asiatimes.com/2017/04/wells-run-dry-brunei/>
- Economic landscape: OECD, 2019 - <https://www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/BN.pdf>
- Social and cultural landscape: UNDP's full 2020 report - <http://www.hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2020.pdf>
- Social and cultural landscape: banned - <https://www.ucanews.com/news/foreigners-vacate-brunei-where-christmas-is-banned/86872>
- Social and cultural landscape: mental health issues - <https://thediplomat.com/2021/06/bruneis-hidden-economic-crisis/>
- Social and cultural landscape: managed the COVID-19 pandemic - <https://www.ucanews.com/news/brunei-has-covid-under-control-as-much-of-se-asia-falters/92643>
- Social and cultural landscape: outbreak - <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/asia/brunei-sees-record-covid-19-cases-after-first-local-infections-15-months-2102051>
- Social and cultural landscape: UNCRC, 2016 - <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G16/035/31/PDF/G1603531.pdf?OpenElement>
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- Social and cultural landscape: OECD, 2019 - <https://www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/BN.pdf>
- Technological landscape: NapoleonCat (2019), - https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-brunei_darussalam/2019/09
- Technological landscape: Instagram users - <https://borneobulletin.com.bn/brunei-world-number-two-in-instagram-usage/>
- Technological landscape: July 2020 - https://www.reddit.com/r/Brunei/comments/hmyguf/legally_can_you_read_religious_books_and_have/
- Trends analysis: cardinal - <https://www.ucanews.com/news/church-lives-in-smaller-countries-says-cardinal-elect-of-brunei/90156>
- Trends analysis: passed away - http://www.fides.org/en/news/70217-ASIA_BRUNEI_First_cardinal_passes_away_in_Brunei_Darussalam
- Trends analysis: Arab language - <https://borneobulletin.com.bn/new-drama-series-inculcate-love-arabic-language/>

WWL 2022: Church information / Brunei

Christian origins

Random missionary activities by Portuguese traders in the 16th century largely failed and it was as late as 1846 that the "Borneo Church Mission" was founded and an Anglican church congregation established. The Roman Catholic Church has been present in the country for more than a century; independent Protestant churches came later, when migrant workers entered the country. Most of these churches are linked to organizations and churches in their countries of origin.

Church spectrum today

Brunei: Church networks	Christians	%
Orthodox		0.0
Catholic		38.0
Protestant		25.2
Independent		34.2
Unaffiliated		2.7
Doubly-affiliated Christians		0.0
Total		100.0
<i>(Any deviation from the total number of Christians stated above is due to the rounding of decimals)</i>		
Evangelical movement		19.9
Renewalist movement		31.1

Data source: Johnson T M and Zurlo G A, eds, *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed April 2021)

Orthodox: Eastern (Chalcedonian), Oriental (Pre-Chalcedonian, Non-Chalcedonian, Monophysite), Nestorian (Assyrian), and non-historical Orthodox. **Roman Catholics:** All Christians in communion with the Church of Rome. **Protestants:** Christians in churches originating in or in communion with the Western world's 16th-century Protestant Reformation. Includes Anglicans, Lutherans and Baptists (any of whom may be Charismatic) and denominational Pentecostals, but not Independent traditions such as Independent Baptists nor independent Charismatics. **Independents:** Christians who do not identify with the major Christian traditions (Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant). **Unaffiliated Christians:** Persons professing publicly to be Christians but who are not affiliated to churches. **Doubly-affiliated Christians:** Persons affiliated to or claimed by 2 denominations at once. **Evangelical movement:** Churches, denominations, and individuals who identify themselves as evangelicals by membership in denominations linked to evangelical alliances (e.g., World Evangelical Alliance) or by self-identification in polls. **Renewalist movement:** Church members involved in Pentecostal/Charismatic renewal.

Apart from the Catholic and the Anglican church, there are a few Protestant churches in Brunei, which also serve expatriate communities (for instance, South Koreans and Indians). Brunei also has small Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist congregations, as well as those from the Borneo Evangelical Church.

WWL 2022: Persecution Dynamics / Brunei

Reporting period

01 October 2020 - 30 September 2021

Position on the World Watch List

Brunei: World Watch List	Points	WWL Rank
WWL 2022	64	46
WWL 2021	64	39
WWL 2020	63	37

WWL 2019	63	36
WWL 2018	64	26

Ranks are shown above whenever the country scored 41 points or more in the WWL 2018-2022 reporting periods

The score in WWL 2022 remained unchanged, reflecting a stable, but difficult situation for Christians in the country. The implementation of Sharia Penal Law has not affected the score yet and it remains to be seen what it will mean for Christians, apart from increased insecurity and fear. The average pressure is very high and the scores basically remained the same across all *spheres of life*, while the score for violence remaining unchanged as well at a very low level. Controlling, watching and spying upon Christians remains more important for the authorities than exerting force.

Persecution engines

Brunei: Persecution engines	Abbreviation	Level of influence
Islamic oppression	IO	Very strong
Religious nationalism	RN	Not at all
Ethno-religious hostility	ERH	Not at all
Clan oppression	CO	Not at all
Christian denominational protectionism	CDP	Not at all
Communist and post - Communist oppression	CPCO	Not at all
Secular intolerance	SI	Not at all
Dictatorial paranoia	DPA	Very strong
Organized corruption and crime	OCC	Not at all

The scale for the level of influence of Persecution engines in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. For more information see WWL Methodology.

Islamic oppression (Very strong), blended with Dictatorial paranoia (Very strong)

Brunei is an Islamic nation, based on an ideology called “Malay Islamic Monarchy” or MIB (Melayu Islam Beraja). This form of government is claimed to be the fairest for all people in the country, whether they are Muslims or not. The sultan has favored Brunei government democratization (although Brunei is still far from becoming a real democracy) and declared himself prime minister and president.

Brunei wants to be a center of Islamic excellence: Sharia law was fully implemented in civil and religious affairs for all Muslims even before the country’s independence in 1984 and the government follows a plan of Islamization among the partly Christian, partly animist tribal people in supporting the so-called *dawah* movement (Islamic evangelism). As US State Department IRFR 2020 (p.11) states: "The government continued to offer incentives to prospective converts to Islam and the Shafi'i school, especially those from indigenous commu-

nities in rural areas, including help with housing and welfare assistance. The government allocated travel funding so that those who could not participate in the Hajj due to COVID-19 travel restrictions during the year could do so in the future. The government gave presentations on the benefits of converting to Islam that received extensive press coverage in state-influenced media. According to government statistics, 293 individuals converted to Islam during the year, approximately the same as the previous year. Converts included citizens and permanent residents, as well as foreigners."

The sultans have held absolute power in the country for over 600 years. All important governmental positions are held by the ruling sultan; since citizens value him so highly, he is not blamed for the current tough economic situation, especially now that the COVID-19 crisis has become a strong contributing factor. The sultan can declare a State of Emergency, should he feel threatened by any party or religious group. His rule has not implied any danger to Christians so far, but his Islamic conservatism was shown in 2016 when he criticized the authorities for their failure to implement the second phase of Sharia law (i.e. the criminal rules - CPC) which was delayed until 2019. Therefore, conservative Islam serves both as state ideology backed by the ruler and as a means to control the population, leaving Christians as second-class citizens at best and insecure about their future.

Drivers of persecution

Brunei:									
Drivers of Persecution	IO	RN	ERH	CO	CDP	CPCO	SI	DPA	OCC
	VERY STRONG							VERY STRONG	
Government officials	Very strong							Very strong	
Ethnic group leaders	Medium							Medium	
Non-Christian religious leaders	Very strong							Strong	
One's own (extended) family	Very strong							-	

The scale for the level of influence of Drivers of persecution in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. Please note that "-" denotes "not at all". For more information see WWL Methodology.

Drivers of Islamic oppression

- **Extended family (Very strong):** Conversion is dishonoring to the family. As the family is usually the first to discover a convert, there will be great pressure on him or her to return to the family faith, also to avoid punishment from the government. Family members and neighbors can easily create trouble for converts to Christianity and churches by simply reporting them to the security department KDN, which is frequently happening.
- **Government officials (Very strong):** Since all MIB policies (which favor Muslims over other religions) are legally enforced by the government authorities in all sectors of the country, government officials are major drivers of persecution. MIB is a compulsory subject for students in both public and private schools, and at university level.

- **Non-Christian religious leaders (Strong):** Islamic religious leaders have been sources of indirect pressure for Christians through the process of Islamization. There is much *dawah* (Islamic mission) being carried out by these leaders and their efforts have been partly successful, which causes rifts in Christian families. For carrying out *dawah*, Islamic authorities organize a range of proselytizing activities and offer financial incentives to propagate Islam. These efforts have reportedly increased in recent months. Both non-Muslims and Muslims alike face social pressure to conform to Islamic guidelines regarding behavior.
- **Ethnic group leaders (Medium):** The "M" in MIB stands for "Malay", so ethnic group leaders continue to emphasize the privileged position Malays hold in Brunei. Islamic missionary work targets ethnic minority groups living in Brunei.

Drivers of Dictatorial paranoia

- **Government officials and non-Christian religious leaders (Very strong/Strong):** The government describes its official national philosophy as Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB), or Malay Islamic Monarchy, which the government defines as "a system that encompasses strong Malay cultural influences, stressing the importance of Islam in daily life and governance, and respect for the monarchy as represented by His Majesty the Sultan." A government body, the MIB Supreme Council, seeks to spread and strengthen the MIB philosophy and ensure MIB is enshrined in the nation's laws and policies. Religious (i.e. Islamic) and Malay leaders exercise great influence on the sultan (who is considered the protector and defender of the Malay race and Islam) and thereby put pressure on the Christian minority too.
- **Ethnic group leaders (Medium):** As ethnic group leaders have a high interest to keep the government in power and secure the dominant position of the Malay people, they will go to great lengths to support the ruler and put pressure on minorities, including Christians, if necessary.

Areas where Christians face most difficulties

The country is geographically small and has no particular hotspots of persecution.

Christian communities and how they are affected

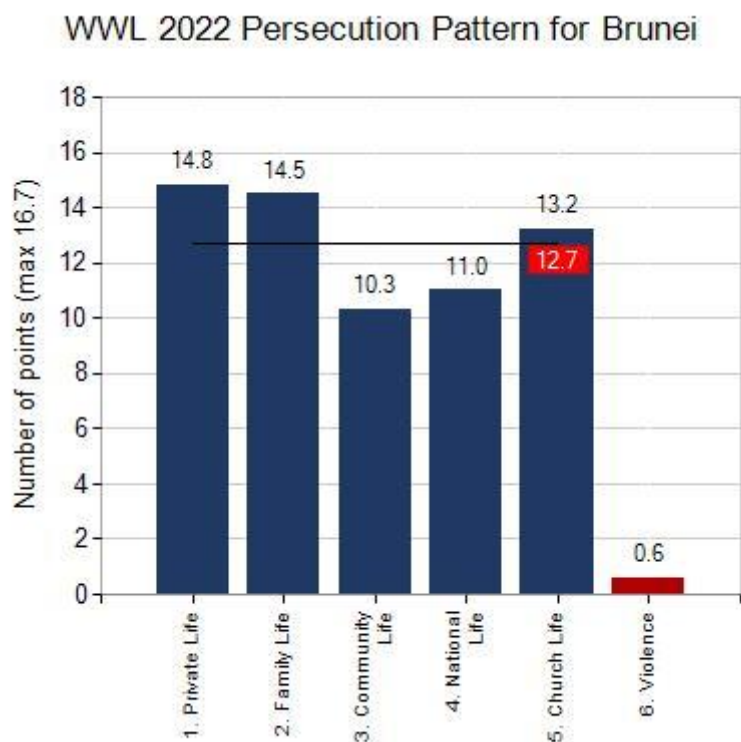
Communities of expatriate Christians: Expatriate Christians are not forced into isolation. This category is therefore not scored in WWL analysis.

Historical Christian communities: These communities, such as the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church, are increasingly facing hostility and have to exercise more and more caution as they are strictly monitored, though they are still less affected by persecution than the newer Protestant groups and convert communities.

Converts to Christianity: Converts from a Muslim background face strong pressure from family and friends as conversion is considered illegal. Should their conversion become known, authorities would also step in to bring them back to their original faith.

Non-traditional Christian communities: Evangelical and Pentecostal churches know that they and their meetings (both in their private and church life) are being closely watched by the authorities and surrounding community and are forced to live their Christian life accordingly. They may also meet under the roof of an historical Christian community such as an Anglican church.

The Persecution pattern



The WWL 2022 Persecution pattern for Brunei shows:

- The average pressure on Christians in Brunei remained at a very high level, reaching 12.7 points.
- Pressure is strongest in the *Family and Private spheres of life* (where pressure is extremely high), followed by the *Church sphere of life* (where pressure is very high). Pressure on converts is especially acute in the *Private and Family spheres*, while all Christians experience pressure in the *National and Church spheres*. This pressure is fueled by the implementation of Sharia law; the legal prerequisites for full implementation are now given, although there have been no cases reported of Sharia law being implemented against Christians.
- The score for violence against Christians remained at a very low level. The persecution of Christians has never been very violent in Brunei.

Pressure in the 5 spheres of life

In each of the five spheres of life discussed below, four questions have been selected from the WWL 2021 questionnaire for brief commentary and explanation. The selection usually (but not always) reflects the highest scoring elements. In some cases, an additional paragraph per sphere is included to give further information deemed important. (To see how individual questions are scored on a scale of 0-4 points, please see the “WWL Scoring example” in the WWL Methodology, available at: <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/world-watch-list-documentation/>, password: freedom).

Pressure in Block 1 / Private sphere

Block 1.4: It has been risky for Christians to reveal their faith in written forms of personal expression (including expressions in blogs and Facebook etc.). (4.00 points)

All media in Brunei is monitored and censored, when the authorities see the need. It is therefore very risky for Christians to actively talk about their faith in social media under their real name, although some pastors continue to do so. Even under a pseudonym, most would still be very cautious, as they could easily be accused of "propagating a religion other than Islam" (Section 209 SPC), "Persuading Muslim to change religion" (Section 210 SPC) or "Persuading a person who has no religion to become a believer of non-Islamic faith" (Section 211 SPC). For converts, writing about Christian faith is out of the question and would bring serious danger.

Block 1.5: It has been risky for Christians to display Christian images or symbols. (4.00 points)

Any private statement about Christianity can be construed as proselytizing for the Christian faith, so even the wearing of a cross is done with much more caution than in previous years. It is also usual not to show any Christian affiliation through stickers, crucifixes etc. in a car. As a country expert explained: "In general, the Christian community will avoid displaying Christian images or symbols to keep the peace within the community." Anything related to Christmas (whether Christian or not) is also banned in public places in Brunei.

Block 1.8: It has been risky for Christians to speak about their faith with those other than immediate family (extended family, others). (4.00 points)

It is dangerous for Christian converts to discuss their faith with immediate and extended family or anyone else. As Bruneian laws do not allow Malay Muslims to leave Islam and strict punishments are imposed on those who do so, every conversation about Christian faith can be construed as proselytizing and, thus being against Sharia law. Section 112(1) of the Sharia Penal Code of Brunei stipulates that a Muslim who turns away from Islam is to be punished with death, or with imprisonment for a term not exceeding thirty years and receive corporal punishment, depending on the type of evidence. If a Sharia court is satisfied that the accused has repented, the court must order an acquittal. So far, the punishments do not seem to have been implemented. Nevertheless, Christians need to be very cautious about whom they talk with and what about. Spreading Christian "propaganda" to followers of other faiths or to members of the tribal groups, who are often adherents of ethnic religions, is prohibited and carries a penalty of up to five years in prison, a fine of up to 20,000 Brunei dollars, or both. Christians, especially church leaders, are under permanent surveillance by the authorities.

Block 1.3: It has been dangerous to privately own or keep Christian materials. (3.75 points)

It is very risky for a convert from Islam to own any Christian materials as it could expose their Christian identity. The SPC includes a list of words and expressions, including the word "Allah," reserved for use by Muslims only or in relation to Islam. One exception to this is the Bahasa Indonesia translation of the Bible, which is very common in the region and used by many Christians. However, the Bible version preferred by native/Bahasa Melayu speaking Christians is the Bahasa Malay Bible. This is not easily obtained and is risky for a convert to own one. Non-

convert Christians are free to read their Bibles and conduct prayers privately unhindered.

Block 1 - further information:

Meeting with other Christians is particularly difficult for Christians with a Muslim background, since it is dangerous for the converts themselves and could endanger all those attending the meeting. It is also important to note that there is a law in Brunei that prohibits the unauthorized gathering of more than 5 people (although this is hardly ever used for targeting religious meetings).

Pressure in Block 2 / Family sphere

Block 2.6: Christian couples have been hindered in adopting children or serving as foster parents because of their faith. (4.00 points)

The law bans any Muslim from surrendering custody of a minor or dependent in his or her guardianship to a non-Muslim. Therefore non-Muslims cannot adopt Muslim children, though they can adopt non-Muslim children. They also cannot become foster parents or adopt children whose parents are unknown.

Block 2.8: Christian children have been pressured into attending anti-Christian or majority religion teaching at any level of education. (4.00 points)

No school, whether private or public, is allowed to teach Christian subjects and all students in primary and secondary schools are required by law to study the national MIB philosophy. One pastor commented that some Christian students can recite the MIB principles better than the 10 commandments. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs manage most of the government and private schools in the country. A country expert adds: "The government has made Islamic religious knowledge (IRK) compulsory in all schools in Brunei, which includes private schools too. Per week, there will be one day allocated for reciting the yassin/surah and all students including non-Muslims have to join in this." Apart from MIB subjects and other religious subjects, the sultan stated in a [speech in July 2018](#), that Islamic History should be made a compulsory subject in schools and learning centers. He further stated that "the education system must not leave out religion and religion must be its axis. Understand our religion well so as to grow love towards it. The way to understand it is of course by studying, especially studying its history" (Brunei Darussalam newsletter, July 2018). In schools and vocational institutions, all girls are supposed to wear a headscarf.

Block 2.9: Children of Christians have been harassed or discriminated against because of their parents' faith. (4.00 points)

Pressure is especially high for children of converts, once it is discovered that their parents are 'apostates'. Christian girls have to wear a hijab at work and in schools, together with all non-Muslim women and girls. Teachers also put pressure on children to convert and become Muslims, a pressure that can also come from peers. The pressure on Christians can even be felt in private schools. With the strengthening of the *dawah* movement, this is likely to intensify.

Block 2.4: Christian baptisms have been hindered. (3.25 points)

Converts cannot be baptized openly and so baptisms rarely take place or have to be done abroad. Baptisms are possibly the strongest sign that a church is alive and growing, and for converts the strongest sign for cutting ties with their former religion. In order to avoid raising too much attention, baptismal services are low profile celebrations (even among the other categories of Christianity).

Block 2 - further information:

Converts who are parents find themselves in a dilemma as they do not dare to raise their children according to their Christian faith as their children could accidentally expose their conversion. If Christians with a Muslim background are discovered, they will be isolated and put under pressure to recant their faith. If married, a convert will be separated from his or her spouse, who in turn will be forced to divorce. Unmarried converts will have difficulties in finding a spouse and even if they do, legal marriage is almost impossible, even marrying abroad and then having the marriage registered in Brunei is not possible.

Pressure in Block 3 / Community sphere

Block 3.5: Christians have been put under pressure to take part in non-Christian religious ceremonies or community events. (4.00 points)

With the MIB national philosophy, Islam has permeated into every aspect of society. MIB is a system that encompasses strong Malay cultural influences, stressing the importance of Islam in daily life and governance, and respect for the sultan's monarchy. Thus, Christians are under pressure to take part in Islamic rites and ceremonies. A refusal is seen as a rejection of the culture, the values of society and - maybe the worst - the position of the sultan, who is the very embodiment of all societal values. There are also strict regulations and penalties during Ramadan concerning the observance of Muslim prayer-times both for Muslims and non-Muslims.

Block 3.7: Christians have been pressured by their community to renounce their faith. (4.00 points)

Christians with a Muslim background are always under strong pressure from their family, friends and neighbors to give up their Christian faith. But the pressure is equally strongly felt by non-convert Christians due to the government's program of Islamization. Churches are experiencing a gradual reduction in membership; one by one members succumb to Islam, primarily to avoid putting up with the great social pressure but also for monetary benefits like receiving 1,000 BN\$ per year for 10 years. As many churches in Brunei are very small and even if it is "only" 2 or 3 people in the church who leave, it can have a serious effect on the remaining congregation. Missionary (or "dawah") successes are widely publicized and celebrated in national newspapers, where converts are announced with their new names (for more details, see below: *Block 3 - further information*).

Block 3.2: Christians have been monitored by their local communities or by private groups (this includes reporting to police, being shadowed, telephone lines listened to, emails read/censored, etc.). (3.75 points)

Especially the Malay-speaking churches are under serious threat and are always monitored, resulting in a high level of caution and fear among church members and leaders. Everyone is aware of the monitoring and surveillance that is being done. Reportedly, in many churches there are informers (sometimes other Christians) sent by the authorities. There is also a strong suspicion that telecommunication channels are monitored, but this is hard to prove. The authorities also extract information from local citizens about church activities.

Block 3.9: Christians have faced disadvantages in their education at any level for faith-related reasons (e.g. restrictions of access to education). (3.75 points)

Courses on Islam and MIB are mandatory in all schools and while non-Muslims were exempted from some religious requirements, the government reported that many non-Muslim children chose to take courses on Islam. Reportedly, those applying for government-funded scholarships believed that attendance at such courses could be advantageous (according to US State Department IRFR 2020 IRF, p.10). Due to economic restraints, the number of university scholarships has gone down. With numbers decreasing, many Christians feel they have even less chance of getting a place at university in Brunei. This trend may accelerate due to the challenges posed by the COVID-19 crisis. As summed up by a country expert: "Christian students and employees working for the government are often overlooked when there are opportunities for higher education or training. Malay Muslims are always favored for scholarships and training."

Block 3 - further information:

Christians are discriminated against in their business lives. With Sharia law in place, the government is gradually implementing more rules and restrictions. Non-Muslims and Muslims face social pressure to conform to Islamic guidelines regarding behavior, for example in dressing in an Islamic way. Women are singled out and expected to wear a hijab at work and in schools. During Ramadan, raids are conducted against non-halal restaurants, disrupting the businesses and everyday life of non-Muslims as well as creating fear. Around 50% of conversions to Islam occur among expatriates and are celebrated in newspapers nationwide; whereas often the reason for conversion is to obtain material benefits, in many cases pressure is exerted as well, e.g. Catholic Filipinos convert to Islam in exchange for work permits; Indian blue collar workers are asked to embrace Islam in exchange for work permits and other fringe benefits. Due to the difficult economic situation, there are now more restrictions for non-Bruneian company owners. A country expert also shared: "Christians are usually welcome to participate in communal institutions and local forums in the hope that they will convert to Islam."

Pressure in Block 4 / National sphere

Block 4.1: The Constitution (or comparable national or state law) limits freedom of religion as formulated in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (4.00 points)

As mentioned above, the Sharia Penal Code (SPC) was introduced in May 2014. This legal code not only regulates crimes like murder and theft but also affects the public display of Christian symbols, the questions of proselytism, apostasy and many other matters. The implementation of the SPC (procedural code) was almost clandestinely announced in April 2019, leading to an international outcry and to a very rare public reaction by the sultan (for details, see above: *Political and Religious landscape*). No matter how Sharia will be implemented in the end - so far, it seems to be implemented [leniently](#) (The Diplomat, 1 April 2020) - freedom of religion is severely limited in Brunei.

Block 4.8: Christians have been hindered in expressing their views or opinions in public. (4.00 points)

With a sedition law in place and MIB and SPC always at the back of their minds, Christians face limits on how much they can express their views and faith in public. Bruneian Christians are very careful and law-abiding and self-censor to avoid trouble, especially as it is not totally clear what faith-induced statements could be considered seditious. Additionally, even any mild form of criticism would be perceived as ultimately being aimed against the sultan, which is unthinkable.

Block 4.6: Christians have been barred from public office, or has promotion been hindered for faith-related reasons. (3.75 points)

Christians are not completely barred from public office and even a rare promotion may be granted, but there is a ceiling as to how far they can go. Benefits and promotion are limited to the Malays and converts to Islam, if they are citizens. This adds pressure on Christians to convert because if they do, they can be rewarded with benefits and career advancement.

Block 4.9: Christian civil society organizations or political parties have been hindered in their functioning or forbidden because of their Christian convictions. (3.75 points)

Although there are a number of political parties active in Brunei, they all abide by the sultan's will, as he holds all power. There are neither Christian political parties nor Christian civil societies as they are not allowed in the country. Where civil societies are owned by Christians, they do not operate as Christian societies or NGOs but as businesses and fulfil all the statutory requirements set out for standard business practice, e.g. concerning reporting and taxes.

Block 4 - further information:

Registering a conversion to Christianity is out of the question. Christians are often subjected to discriminatory treatment when dealing with the authorities. In many cases, when permanent residents with a Chinese, Christian or Buddhist background apply for citizenship, they face rejection or delay, but no official reason is given by the officials. Every Thursday from 8:00-9:30am, all government offices have time reserved for Islamic prayer and reading the Quran and

everyone is required to participate. Christmas decorations are not allowed in public areas e.g. supermarkets, parks and streets. However, decorations are allowed in churches and Christian homes.

Pressure in Block 5 / Church sphere

Block 5.2: It has been difficult to get registration or legal status for churches at any level of government. (4.00 points)

Churches which have a registration permit, obtained it in the colonial era and still enjoy its legal status today. Six churches have this status countrywide. However, the government does not allow any further churches to be registered. Even registered churches face problems: In the capital city, Bandar Seri Begawan, the government implements zoning restrictions on Sundays and all roads leading to the Catholic and Anglican churches are closed for "recreational" purposes from 6am to 1pm. Only those with valid permits are allowed to enter the area near the two main churches. All registered churches must provide information on leadership, election of officers, members, assets, activities, and any other information requested by the registrar.

Block 5.13: Churches have been hindered in importing Christian materials from abroad. (4.00 points)

There is a permanent ban on importing printed religious material. However, electronic copies of the Bible and other religious material are available, but converts need to be very cautious when accessing these online. A country expert added: "There is no Christian bookstore in the country and while Christians can purchase Christian literature from abroad, it is subject to screening and may take a long time to reach them."

Block 5.18: Churches have been hindered in establishing, managing, maintaining and conducting schools, or charitable, humanitarian, medical, social or cultural organizations, institutions and associations. (4.00 points)

Christian schools in Brunei are subject to the rules of the Bruneian authorities and thus have to hire Muslim teachers and also provide Islamic studies for Muslim pupils. Other Christian organizations cannot be run by churches and have to function as independent entities, operating as professional or business groups. All groups including schools and charity organizations are required to register with the government. Registration can be refused for any reason, and registered groups can be suspended at any time without prior warning or reason.

Block 5.11: Pastors or other Christian leaders (or their family members) have been special targets of harassment for faith-related reasons. (3.75 points)

Pastors and Christian leaders are constantly being monitored and placed under pressure by the authorities, which have many ways of making their presence felt. Particular effort is put into harassing pastors, since it is believed that discouraging and intimidating them will have a knock-on effect on a whole congregation.

Block 5 - further information:

There is a fatwa that bans non-Muslim worship buildings from being renovated or built, tacitly endorsed by the sultan. Consequently, church buildings deteriorate further and further, but some churches have renovated their buildings without permission. Despite these challenges, church communities stand firm in their Christian faith, although one challenge is that many young Christians are leaving the country, thus causing worry about how future church leadership roles will be filled.

The distribution of Bibles and other Christian materials is punishable under Sharia law; anyone sending or delivering publications relating to religion other than Islam to Muslims (or persons having no religion) that was not requested by the person is liable to be sentenced to up to 6 months imprisonment and/or receive a fine of up to \$2,000 BND. Churches are allowed to sell Christian materials to members of their congregations privately. No Christian activities are allowed in public. Using mass media to present one's faith is forbidden in Brunei as this is an offence under "Propagating a religion other than Islam" and is punishable by imprisonment of maximum five years and a fine up to \$20,000 BND.

All church activities - especially the content of preaching - are monitored, with registered churches being particularly affected by government informers. These informers are sometimes Christians themselves, who are offered bribes. Because Sunday services are monitored closely, pastors (especially those preaching in Bahasa Malay) are very careful not to say anything in their preaching that could be interpreted as criticizing or offending the government or the royal family. Published materials are also subject to scrutiny.

Violence

Violence is defined in WWL Methodology as the deprivation of physical freedom or as bodily harm to Christians or damage to their property. It includes severe threats (mental abuse). The table is based on reported cases as much as possible, but since many incidents go unreported, the numbers must be understood as being minimum figures. The following 5 points should be considered when using the data provided in the Block 6 table:

1. Some incidents go unreported because the Christians involved choose not to speak about the hostility being faced. Possible reasons for this may be:

- *Doing so would expose them to more attacks. For example, if a family member is killed because of his/her faith, the survivors might decide to keep silent about the circumstances of the killing to avoid provoking any further attacks.*
- *In some circumstances, the reticence to pass on information may be due to the danger of exposure caused by converts returning to their previous faith.*
- *If persecution is related to sexual violence - due to stigma, survivors often do not tell even their closest relatives.*
- *In some cultural settings, if your loved one is killed, you might be under the obligation to take revenge. Christians not wishing to do that, may decide to keep quiet about it.*

2. Other incidents go unreported for the following possible reasons:

- *Some incidents never reach the public consciousness, because no one really knows about it; or the incident is simply not considered worth reporting; or media coverage is deliberately blocked or distorted; or media coverage is not deliberately blocked, but the information somehow gets lost; or the incidents are deliberately not reported widely for security reasons (e.g. for the protection of local church leaders).*

- In situations where Christians have been discriminated against for many years, armed conflict can make them additionally vulnerable. Christians killed in areas where fighting regularly takes place are unlikely to be reported separately. Examples in recent years have been Sudan, Syria and Myanmar.
- Christians who die through the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care (due to long-term discrimination) are unlikely to be reported separately. Christians are not always killed directly; they can be so squeezed by regulations and other oppressive factors that they die – not at once, but in the course of years. This often includes the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care, or exclusion from government assisted socio-economic development projects. These numbers could be immense.

3. For further discussion (with a focus on the complexity of assessing the numbers of Christians killed for their faith) please see World Watch Monitor’s article dated 13 November 2013 available at: <https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2013/11/number-of-christian-martyrs-continues-to-cause-debate/>.

4. The use of symbolic numbers: In cases where it has been impossible to count exactly, a symbolic round figure (10*, 100* etc.) is given and indicated with an asterisk. A symbolic number of 10* could in reality even be 100 or more but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 100* could go well over 1000 but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 1,000* could go well over 10,000 but, again, the real number is uncertain. The same applies for symbolic numbers 10,000*, 100,000* and 1,000,000*: Each could indicate much higher numbers, but WWR chooses to be cautious because the real number is uncertain.

5. The symbol “x” in the table: This denotes a known number which cannot be published due to security concerns.

Brunei: Violence Block question	WWL 2022	WWL 2021
6.1 How many Christians have been killed for faith-related reasons (including state sanctioned executions)?	0	0
6.2 How many churches or Christian buildings (schools, hospitals, cemeteries, etc.) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.3 How many Christians have been detained for faith-related reasons?	0	1
6.4 How many Christians have been sentenced to jail, labor camp, sent to psychiatric hospital as punishment, or similar things for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.5 How many Christians have been abducted for faith-related reasons (including Christians missing in a persecution context)?	0	0
6.6 How many Christians have been raped or otherwise sexually harassed for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.7 How many cases have there been of forced marriages of Christians to non-Christians?	0	0
6.8 How many Christians have been otherwise physically or mentally abused for faith-related reasons (including beatings and death threats)?	0	0
6.9 How many houses of Christians or other property (excluding shops) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	0	0

6.10 How many shops or businesses of Christians have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.11 How many Christians have been forced to leave their homes or go into hiding in-country for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.12 How many Christians have been forced to leave the country for faith-related reasons?	10 *	10

Persecution has never been very violent in Brunei and no Christians or churches have been attacked in the WWL 2022 reporting period. However, the level of persecution is enough to cause converts to go into hiding and to cause some Christians to leave the country, even though this became more difficult due to COVID-19 restrictions.

5 Year trends

The following three charts show the levels of pressure and violence faced by Christians in the country over the last five WWL reporting periods.

5 Year trends: Average pressure

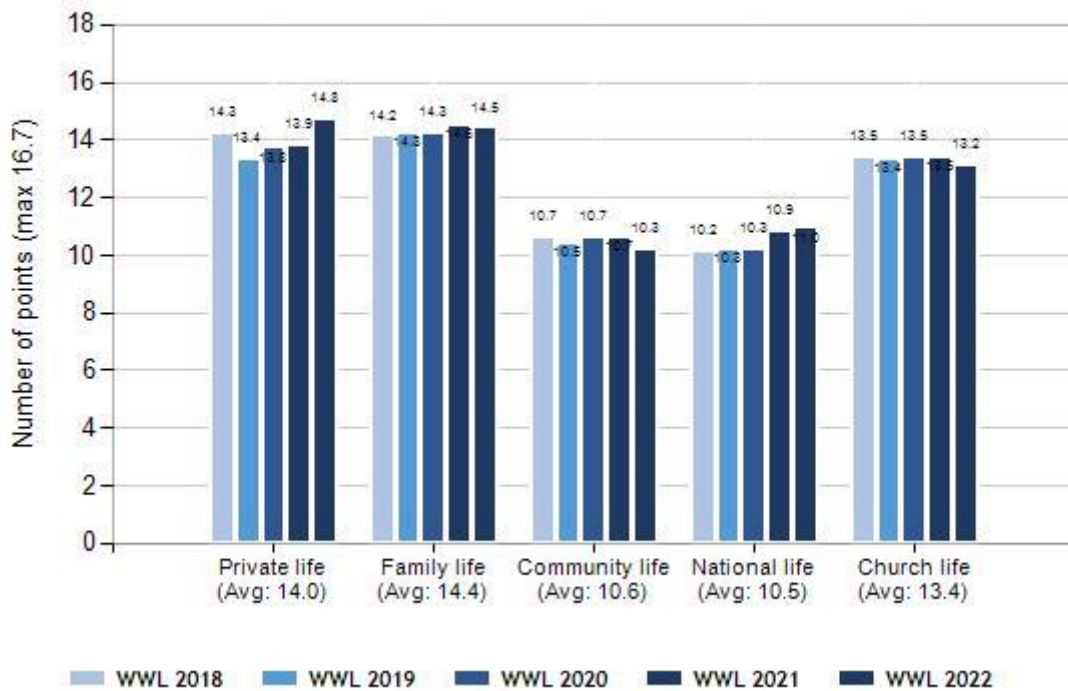
Brunei: WWL 2018 - WWL 2022 Persecution Pattern history	Average pressure over 5 Spheres of life
2022	12.7
2021	12.7
2020	12.5
2019	12.4
2018	12.6

The score for average pressure has continually been at a very high level and is stable at the 12.4 - 12.7 point mark. So far, the implementation of Sharia Penal Law has not affected the level of pressure on Christians.

5 Year trends: Pressure in each sphere of life

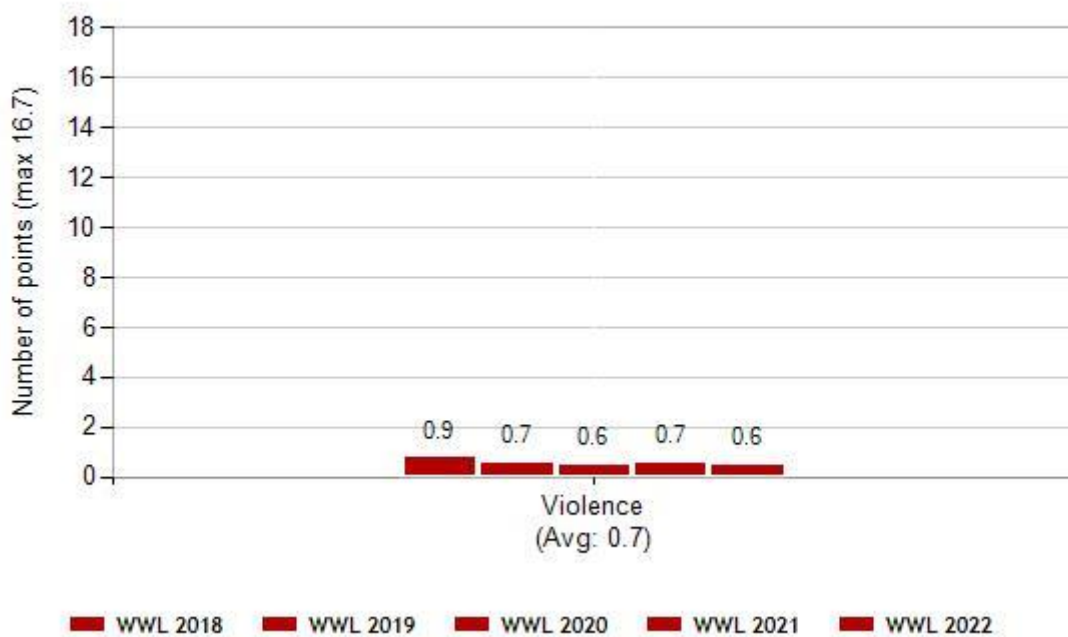
The chart below shows that the levels of pressure in the *Private and Family spheres of life* have nearly always been extremely high. The scores in *Church life* have also been repeatedly at the top end of very high. All spheres indicate that scores for pressure are plateauing, to a greater or lesser degree.

WWL 2018 - WWL 2022 Persecution Pattern for Brunei (Spheres of life)



5 Year trends: Violence against Christians

WWL 2018 - WWL 2022 Persecution Pattern for Brunei (Violence)



The chart above shows that the violence score has been stable within the very low range 0.6 - 0.9 points. This can partly be explained by the difficulty researchers have in obtaining reports (especially concerning the treatment of converts), but in general it reflects the fact that persecution has never been particularly violent in Brunei.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Female

Group	Female Pressure Points
Economic	-
Political and Legal	Denied custody of children; Forced marriage
Security	Incarceration by family (house arrest)
Social and Cultural	Enforced religious dress code; Violence – psychological
Technological	-

Although Brunei is a CEDAW signatory, Human Rights Watch reported in May 2019 about the [threat](#) the new Syariah Penal Code poses to minority groups such as women and religious minorities (HRW, 22 May 2019). Despite international condemnation, rights and freedom continue to be restricted, and Brunei's human rights record has come under harsh [criticism](#) (The Diplomat, 29 October, 2021).

Male and female converts to Christianity face the most pressure for their faith. Due to the ever-stricter implementation of Islamic laws, women are forced to wear a hijab and are punished by the religious authorities when they refuse to wear one. Within schools, universities and workplaces they would face discrimination if they did not conform in this manner. This generally does not apply to known Christian families, but to converts (although all women need to wear a veil if in government positions).

Similar to the experience of male converts, women and girls are usually disowned by the family when their conversion becomes known. The family often isolates them, and Imams are called to make them recant. They may also be forced to attend Islamic spiritual rehabilitation programs. For unmarried women, sometimes their families also threaten them with forced marriage to Muslim men they know. Married converts to Christianity are likely to have their children taken away from them in order to ensure they are raised as Muslims. As a country expert commented, the decision for custody of children comes down to one factor: “[Being] Muslim trumps all.”

Gender-specific religious persecution / Male

Group	Male Pressure Points
Economic	-
Political and Legal	-
Security	Forced out of home – expulsion; Violence – physical
Social and Cultural	Violence – psychological; Violence – Verbal
Technological	-

As stated above, male and female converts to Christianity face the strongest levels of pressure for their faith. Some men and boys are disowned by the family when they convert and are forced to leave the family home. Students may also experience discrimination and verbal abuse within educational settings.

Male converts may further face beatings, humiliation and harsher treatment when persecuted by religious authorities. If men and boys are identified by the security department, they are put under pressure to recant their Christian faith. This affects their wider family and brings shame to the community.

Persecution of other religious minorities

According to the US State Department (IRFR 2020, pp.8-9):

- "Non-Muslims continued to note that the SPC imposed restrictions on the ability of non-Muslims to proselytize to other non-Muslims. The government continued to prohibit non-Muslims from proselytizing among Muslims or persons with no religious affiliation. Some non-Muslims described the existence of the SPC itself as a 'scare tactic' that, alongside other government policies, would pressure non-Muslims to convert to Islam. They noted the SPC's blasphemy provisions could be used to constrain non-Muslim groups' activities but expressed greater concern about subtle pressure by the government than about the possibility of harsh sharia punishments."
- "As in past years, the government limited traditional Lunar New Year lion dance performances to a three-day period and restricted them to the country's sole Chinese Buddhist temple, Chinese school halls, and private residencies of Chinese Association members. Members of the royal family publicly attended Lunar New Year celebrations and lion dance performances during the allowed period, with front-page coverage in state-influenced media."

Non-Sunni Muslim groups seen as deviant - such as Shiite and Ahmadis - are banned and persecuted. Atheism is also not allowed. The activities of Hindus have been restricted. The only Hindu temple in the country is located in the British military barracks of the Gurkha regiment. Sikh and Buddhist communities also visit the temple to pray. Chinese residents have been banned from celebrating their new year with the dragon dance. The indigenous Iban community, many of whom are animist, are particularly targeted for *dawah* (Islamic mission).

In what was said to be a first, on 15 October 2019, a non-Muslim was [charged under Sharia law](#) for theft (Borneo Bulletin, 15 October 2019). Posts on social media in Brunei expressed shock that Sharia law was evidently now applicable to non-Muslims, too.

Future outlook

The outlook for Christians as viewed through the lens of:

Islamic oppression, blended with Dictatorial paranoia

Although Brunei seems to have weathered the COVID-19 pandemic and the related economic challenges reasonably well so far, the increased insecurity may lead to a stronger emphasis on ideology. By pushing for the introduction of Sharia law well before the pandemic arrived (and by issuing a ban on public Christian celebrations), the sultan is evidently relying on a conservative brand of Islam - certainly out of conviction - but also as a means of keeping his people in check. The influence of *Islamic oppression* and *Dictatorial paranoia* thus looks set to increase in the future.

External Links - Persecution Dynamics

- Block 2.8: Christian children have been pressured into attending anti-Christian or majority religion teaching at any level of education. (4.00 points): speech in July 2018 - <http://www.information.gov.bn/English%20Publication%20PDF/BDN%20July%202018.pdf>
- Block 4.1: The Constitution (or comparable national or state law) limits freedom of religion as formulated in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (4.00 points): leniently - <https://thediplomat.com/2020/03/sharia-in-brunei-much-ado-about-nothing/>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: threat - <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/05/22/bruneis-pernicious-new-penal-code>
- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: criticism - <https://thediplomat.com/2021/10/asean-summit-should-draw-attention-to-bruneis-appalling-human-rights-record/>
- Persecution of other religious minorities: charged under Sharia law - <https://borneobulletin.com.bn/man-stole-mothers-gas-cylinder-behind-bars/%20>

Further useful reports

A selection of in-depth reports and smaller articles are available on World Watch Research's Open Doors Analytical website (password: freedom) and on the World Watch Monitor website:

- <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/reports/>
- <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/?s=Brunei>
- <https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/countries/Brunei>