

Buddhist and Confucian Relations in Indonesia: Conflict over the Ownership, Name and Function of Chinese Temples (Kelenteng)

M. Ikhsan Tanggok

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia

Keywords: Buddhism, Confucianism, ownership, kelenteng.

Abstract: This paper examines the conflict between Confucians and Buddhists over the ownership, name, and function of Chinese temples (Kelenteng) in some areas of Indonesia. The media have never covered the issue as both of the two religious groups prefer to keep a low profile. At this point, there is no real solution to solve the conflict. Although there have been numerous discussions about it, none of it has produced any significant results. Both religious groups claim the Chinese temples to be their places of worshipping, in fact, neither of them has ownership of the temples. During the New Order period (1966-1998), they were under the administration of Buddhists, and Buddhist priests administered the Confucian teachings. Today, the temples were renamed vihara (monastery) to designate them as Buddhist temples. When the state recognized the rights of Confucians in the subsequent Reformation period (1998-present), the Supreme Council for the Confucian Religion in Indonesia (MATAKIN) requested that the Chinese temples needed to be returned to them, but Buddhists continues to call them vihara because of the previous New Order decree. However, it became mandatory in the Reformation period for the Chinese temples to teach the Confucian teachings. Buddhists have not supported MATAKIN's efforts.

1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a multinational, multilingual, multicultural, multi-political party and multi-religious nation. Based on data of Badan Pusat Statistik (The Central Bureau of Statistics), the total population of Indonesia on June 30, 2016 was 257.912.349 inhabitants. The official religions in Indonesia are: Islam, Catholic, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. In addition, Indonesia also has traditional or local religions scattered throughout Indonesia. Thus, conflicts often break out within the country between different social, ethnic, religious, and other groups, and it can threaten the nation's present and future security. Several disputes have arisen in Indonesia Since the fall of Suharto in 1998 including in Poso (and surrounding areas in Central Sulawesi), Ambon, Maluku, East Java, and other areas, as well as Arsons and bombings of places of worship, shootings, and killings, have occurred. On the Christian Christmas Eve in 2000, several churches in

Jakarta were bombed, including the Cathedral Church, Church of Canesius, Church of Saint Joseph, Church of Koinonia and Communion Church of Oikumene (Liputan6.com, December 25, 2000). On November 13, 2016, a bomb exploded in front of Oikumene Church in Samarinda, East Kalimantan (Kompas.com, November 20, 2016). On July 17, 2015, when Muslims were to perform Eid al-Fitr prayers, a mosque was burnt by a group of Christians in Tolikara Papua (Republika, July 17, 2015). On July 29, 2016, four kelenteng and one vihara were burnt by hundreds of people in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra (Tribunnews.com, July 30, 2016). On Sunday, May 13, 2018, a family in Surabaya carried out a bombing that made 18 people dead and 43 injured (Detik.com News.com, May 14, 2018). Every Christmas, Christians used churches for Christmas ceremonies in Jakarta, and policies guarded some other areas of Indonesia to prevent non-Islamic religions, including traditional Chinese ones, from the threat of a bomb.

Several bombing also has occurred in some regions in Indonesia, burning holy places like shrines and temples. On a Friday night, July 29, 2016, a riot broke out at Tanjung Balai in Medan after a 41-year old woman of Chinese ethnicity named Meliana protested against the call of prayer (Azan sound) at a mosque near to her house. The complained provoked the anger of a Muslim group and led to the arson of four Chinese temples (*Tribun Medan.com*, July 30, 2016). The riot threatened the Chinese community in Medan. However, it can be solved adequately. It means that the Chinese temple has become part of the community identity in Indonesia, thus, if there is a conflict between Chinese people and other groups of ethnicity, the temple becomes a target.

Conflicts between Muslims and Christians or Muslims and other religious groups are not the only ones in Indonesia. Some have also occurred between Confucians and Buddhists during the New Order period (1966-1998). The adherents of the two religious groups as well Taoists even worshipped together in some Chinese and Tridharma temples (temples designed explicitly for the followers of these three religions or in Chinese language is San Jiao or more popular in Indonesia is called Tri Dharma or three teachings). However, the Indonesian government recognized the civil rights of Confucians, in the Reformation period (1998-present) that followed the Reformation Order (*Orde Reformasi*), and the recognition rose a conflict over the ownership, function, and proper name of Chinese temples. During the Old Order (*Orde Lama*) or Soekarno's Era period (1945-1966), Chinese temples were still called as *kelenteng*, but in the New Order (*Orde Baru*) or Soeharto's Era (1966-1998), the Indonesian government changed the name into *vihara*, thenceforth they became Buddhist place of worship. Chinese temple did not get permission to be repaired if it did not change the name to be *vihara*. Chinese people, especially Confucian ones, wanted the Chinese temple called *Kelenteng*.

Nevertheless, Buddhists challenged this aspiration because, during the 32 years of the New Order period, these Chinese temples known as *vihara* and their administrators were generally Chinese who have converted from Confucianism (*Agama Khonghucu*) to Buddhism (*Agama Buddha*). People generally assumed that the temples were Confucian and Taoist places of worship because it was used by Chinese people who followed traditional Chinese religions named Confucianism and Taoism (Tanggok, 2007; Yang, 1970). The Indonesian government has recognized

Confucianism as one of the six official religions in Indonesia since the year 2000 (since Abdurrahman Wahid became a president of Indonesia), while Taoism (*agama Tao*) as a religion did not get the recognition from the Indonesian government (in China, Taoism as a religion get the recognition from government). The follower of the latter religion is those who prohibited from living under and being protected by the Indonesian government.

The aim of this study is to examine the ownership claim of each religious group over the Chinese temples, the change of their name, and possible solutions to the conflict.

2 CONFLICT

The definition of "conflict" according to the Indonesian Dictionary is a dispute or disagreement. The definition of a social conflict designates one between members of society that is comprehensive in scope (Big Indonesian Dictionary, 2005: 587). One source suggests that conflict can be interpreted as the process of achieving one's goals by weakening one's opponent, regardless of prevailing social norms and values (Soekanto, 1993). In another sense, conflict is a social process that involves challenging people or groups with threats of violence (Narwoko and Suyanto, 2007). Conflicts do not only occur between individuals, but also between different ethnic groups, and social ones within a community.

According to Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology, conflict has a broad term, including phenomena which may be classified under a number of different headings. The anthropologists is very interested in studying the problems of social conflict of many society. Social sciences, like Anthropology of Law, the Anthropology of war, Political anthropology and study of social and cultural change all have as a central concern the phenomenon of conflict between individuals, groups or social classes. In the dictionary it is also said that approaches to conflict in anthropology and in the social sciences in general vary considerably according to the theoretical significance attached to the disputative relationships. The tradition of studies of deviance and social control established by Durkheim and also developed by functionalist and structural functionalist anthropology and sociology has frequently been criticized for failing to take into account fundamental conflicts of interest between different groups or sector in society, conflict not accounted for by a model of functional equilibrium

and systems maintenance. Also said in Marxist Anthropology, conflict is regarded as built into the social system, and is seen as productive and positive, inasmuch as it is the expression of underlying contradictions which will culminate in the transformations of society itself. Not only in Marxist Anthropology, in the Anthropology of Law also has a number of approaches to the study of conflict and dispute settlement, which depend on whether the anthropologist and legal institutions view mechanisms for resolving disputes as necessary element in the maintenance of social cohesion and a common moral order (Smith, 1990). In this contexts conflict social and religious conflict become interesting study for social sciences.

Lewis A. Coser (1973) in one of the leading sociologists who focuses on conflict. He sees the conflict in society from a functional point of view. He stated that conflicts might have not only a negative impact on society but also a positive one. They are one manner of interaction in society, and their presence needs to be questioned. Coser explains that disputes or conflicts can occur between individuals, groups, or individuals and groups. Conflicts between groups always exist because they live together and interact with each other. Coser also insists that we should not assume that conflict is always wrong and necessarily divides or damages a community. Instead, it could serve to preserve a group by strengthening relationships between its members. Just as facing a common enemy can stimulate solidarity and engagement amongst people and make them forget their internal disputes (Coser 1973). A conflict that occurs in the context of social change also has various functions, in order to understand these functions, one can begin by looking at the context of the social system in which it is found, especially about its strengths and institutional conflicts. Thus, the consequences of conflict do not lead to a decline, but rather an increase, in adaptation and adjustment to both social relations and the whole social group.

3 KELENTENG (CHINESE TEMPLE) AND VIHARA (MONASTERY)

3.1 Kelenteng

The original names for Chinese temples are numerous and well-known in Chinese society, such as Bio, Kiong, Tong, Ting, Si, and others. However,

the name that is most popular amongst the community is kelenteng. Some people suspect that this name was derived from the Chinese term "Kwan Iem Teng," which means a small building used to worship the goddess Kwan Iem. Indonesian people knew kelenteng before the term "Kwan Iem Teng" was (Moerthiko, 1980). It means that the word "kelenteng" is originally from Indonesia and not from China. According to Haksu Ong, it comes from the term "Kaw Lao Teng" belongs to the Hokkien language; kaw is a religion, Lao is a person and Teng is a place. Kelenteng is not believed to refer to the sound of the bells (*lonceng*) that are hung inside of the *kelenteng* (temples) (interview, 07 June 2018). Furthermore, In the New Order, the name of Chinese temples was changed to the Buddhist term for the monastery, *vihara*. Despite this, Buddhists, Confucians, and Taoists all continued to pray in them.

Today many people cannot distinguish between *kelenteng* (Chinese temple) and *Vihara* (Buddhist temple). There are some Indonesians who mention *kelenteng* with *vihara* (monastery) name, because on the nameplate of the kelenteng is written the name of *vihara*. During the 32 years of the New Order in power, the name of the *kelenteng* was changed to a *vihara*. However, those who pray in the *kelenteng* are still Chinese. Temple is a place for worshipping gods, souls, and god done by Indonesian Chinese, especially those who embrace Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. Outside the temple (usually on the front of the *kelenteng*), there is an altar for praying God. In front of the entrance of the *kelenteng* there are two lion statues. There is also a statue of a dragon on top of a *kelenteng* roof. At the door of the kelenteng there were two pictures of the door god (*hun shen*). Inside the temple there are several rooms, a prayer room and a multipurpose room. Some *kelenteng* in Indonesia are also have a kitchen room. Inside the *kelenteng* there are various types of god statues. Each statue symbolizes one gods, among them: sky gods, earth gods, fortune gods, and so on. The gods in the *kelenteng* consist of Taoist gods, Confucius, and Buddhist. Each statue has a table or altar used to put statues and various pray equipments, such as paper money, places for *hio* (*hiolo*), *hio*, candles red, oil, food, drinks, bamboo *chiamsi* (for fortune telling) and two syncages or *sin kaw* (for fortune telling), and others. There are two types of kelenteng in Indonesia, namely the *Tridharma kelenteng* and non-*Tridharma kelenteng*.

Tridharama kelenteng is a kelenteng for worshipping *Tridharma* adherents. In it there are main statues such as a statue of Buddha Gautama (Founder of Buddhism), Lao tse (Founder of

Taoism) and a Confucius (Founder of Confucian Religion). Whereas *kelentengs* that do not belong to *Tridharma*, there are no statue of Sidharta Gautama (Buddha), Lao Tze and Confucius putted in it. Architects of many *kelenteng* buildings in Indonesia come from China and from the past until now the color of the *kelentengs* have not changed and them is always painted with red color. In Chinese culture, red color symbolizes courage and fortune. Every *kelentengs* have a statue of the main gods that is the center of Chinese worship. For example *Kelenteng* Kwan Im (goddess of love), especially for women. For this *kelenteng*, The main center of worship in the temple is a Kwan Im goddess. The altar as a place for putting her statue and pray equipment putted at main room of the *kelenteng*. The place of worship and the room for worshipping the Kwan Im Goddess is also greater than the other one and the space of other gods. While the statues of other gods are only as a complement in the *kelenteng* and every it of the complementary gods are also different. The main gods in the *kelenteng* has a date of birth and every year the main Gods in the temple is commemorated on his birthday with various rituals.

On the pray altar, there are *hio* (incense stick) *hiolo* (place of *hio*), two pairs of red candles which always turned on, *chiamsi* (tool of fortune telling) bamboo and two *sincau* (for tool for fortune telling), a statue of the goddess Kwan Im, Lao-tze, Confucius, Buddhists, Kwankong (gods war), earth gods, gods of sustenance and others they worshiped, small drum to summon gods and at the same time notice used people who will perform prayers or worship. At the *kelenteng* yard there is a place for burning paper money (duplicate money) or *sintin* or *siukim* and an altar or a place for worshipping God, often just in the form of some *hios* and *hiolo* (*hio* place).

The non-*Tridharma kelenteng* is not much different from the *Tridharma kelenteng*. In the non-*Tridharma kelenteng* there were no statues of Lao-tze, Confucius, and Buddha to be worshiped, while statues of other gods were provided in the *kelenteng* to be worshiped by those who came to pray. People who come to *kelenteng* consist of various religions, for example Taoists (in their identity cards written outside the Tao religion or Taoism), Confucians and Buddhists and sometime there are also Christians who have belief to *kelenteng* gods. If the *kelenteng* has relationship with Islamic history or Cheng Ho's (Chinese Muslims who came to Indonesia in the 15th century) arrival, then some Muslims also came to visit the temple and conducted ritual according to their belief. There are several temples in Indonesia that have relationship with Islamic history: (1) the Sam Po Kong *kelenteng* in Semarang, Central Java, and the Ancol *kelenteng* in North Jakarta (Tanggok,

2015). Ancol temple not only had relationship with Cheng Ho arrival, but also with the Cheng Ho's helmsman (Tanggok, 2015). At the Ancol *kelenteng*, he also be respected by some Muslim and non Muslim Chinese. The Ancol *kelenteng* also be considered as *Tridharma kelenteng*, because it has Gautama Buddha, Lao Tze and Confucius statues. In this *kelenteng*, there is no conflict between Buddhists and Confucians.

There are *kelentengs* in Indonesia that are jointly owned, because they are built by Chinese people together, some belong to one clan and some are privately owned. In the city of Singkawang, West Kalimantan, temples belong to clan members and family members are generally called *pekong*, because its shape is smaller than the joint-owned temple. *Pekong* belong to family member can be divided into two groups, namely *pekong* which is placed in the house as a protector of family members from the influence of evil spirits and *pekong* placed in the ancestor grave, as a place of protector gods for the dead spirits who are in the grave from the disturbance of evil spirits. The gods guarding this grave is called *Tuapekong*. *Tuapekong's* main task is to keep the spirits in the grave from disturbing evil spirits. Based on the Chinese belief, if the spirits of the dead in the grave are disturbed by evil spirits, then their lives in the other world become uneasy, and consequently the lives of family members in the world also suffer. For examples of the suffering of family members in the world, family members often get sick and their business ventures do not work well. In return for the kindness given by *Tuapekong*, every family members who will perform a prayer or ancestor worship ceremony in the grave, for example, perform prayers during *Ceng Beng* (pray at the ancestral grave), first they have to offering food, drinks, fruits, and worshipping the *Tuapekong* gods as a sign of asking permission to him (*Tuapekong*) to pray to their ancestors. Based on the Chinese belief, if worship of *Tuapekong* is not carried out, then he will be angry and he does not want to carry out his duties as a grave guard (Tanggok, 2005:).

Marga's (clan) *kelenteng* are usually built by people who have the same clan and people of different clans are not allowed to pray in it. For example *keleteng* for Lim, Bong, Fui, Li, Kim, Tan clans and others. They assume that people with one clan still have the same ancestor and are still considered one family. Based on Chinese culture, people who are originated from same clan cannot marry, and if they do it, they life and their family members are not good. Whereas public's *kelenteng* are *kelenteng* built are not based on same clans but all clans.

3.2 The Function of Kelenteng

Based on the author's observations, there are four functions of the temple: First, as a place for Chinese people meeting, praying for worshipping *kelenteng* gods and etc. They conduct praying Every day, every 1th, 15th and every Chinese New Year according to Chinese Calendar and the great days of Chinese people. Secondly, as a place for Chinese people from various ethnic groups to meet and conduct social activities. Third, as a place of refuge or residence for the gods *kelenteng* of the rain, cold and heat. According to Chinese beliefs, the gods are like humans, they can feel hungry, thirsty, hot, and cold and they also need place to refuge. Fourth, as a protector for community members around *kelenteng* from the influence of evil spirits or other influences. Because, in the *kelenteng* there are gods who can protect society and resist the influence of evil spirits who have the intention to disturb humans.

3.3 Monastery (Vihara)

One of the religions in Indonesia is Buddhism. The Buddhist tradition comes from the teachings of Siddharta Gautama, later became known as the Buddha ("the enlightened one") who was born around 560 B.C.E. (Calkowski in Scupin, 2000). Buddhism as a religion also has a place of worship named Vihara and like other religions in Indonesia. Buddhist pray places are monasteries (*vihara*). Usually monasteries are not only places of worship but also as a place for monks and nuns to live and meditation. There are two types of monasteries, there are monasteries with small buildings and large ones. Monasteries with small buildings are called *cetiya*, while monasteries with large buildings are called *vihara*. Based on the Ministry of Religious Affairs Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia, number H III / BA.01.1/ 03/1/1992, Chapter II, it is said that the monastery is a public place for Buddhists to carry out all kinds of religious ceremonies or services according to Buddhist beliefs. Besides *vihara* and *cetiya*, there are also Buddhist *Biaras*. Buddhist's *Biara* are houses of Buddhist monks and nuns who want to keep their lives away from worldly influences. In *Bhiara* they only meditate, read Buddhist scriptures and pray. The location of Buddhist *Bhiaras* are usually far from the city crowd, so they can calmly concentrate. The shape of the *Biara* building is not the same from one area to another and it has a local pattern. In it there is only one statue, which is the Gautama Buddha's statue.

The form of worship in the *vihara* can be done individually and together. Generally prayers at the monastery (*vihara*) are carried out together and led

by Buddhist priests (Monks or Nuns). After performing the ritual, there are lectures from Monks or Nuns (Buddhist priest) to them performed ritual. If the prayer at *vihara* done individually, and not together, and there are no lectures from the Buddhists priest. The function of the monastery (*vihara*) is not just a place for prayer, but also as a place for teaching Buddhism by Buddhist priests. Generally the Chinese *kelenteng* (Chinese temple) is painted with red color and the *vihara* is painted with yellow color. If the *kelenteng* there is an altar for putting pray equipments, then in *vihara* also has an altar for putting pray equipments and the Sakyamuni Buddha's statue. Sakyamuni Buddha is a Buddha Gautama (566-486 B.C.E.). In the inside of *vihara*, there is no a Bodhisattvas' statue (the Bodhisattva is a candidate of Buddha or someone who has gained complete enlightenment). Worshipping in the *kelenteng* by using *hio* (incense sticks) and otherwise worship at the temple does not use *hio*. Each monastery has a Buddhist priest (monk or nun) assigned by the Representative of the Indonesian Buddhists (WALUBI), as a priest at the *vihara*. His job for teaching Buddha teachings to pray ceremony participants. He or She can also provide religious consultations for Buddhists in need. If the *kelenteng* can be owned by an individual, but the *vihara* cannot be owned by an individual, and it is owned by the Buddhist community together.

4 CONFLICT OVER KELENTENG

Some areas in Indonesia have experienced conflicts regarding Chinese temples that have not been resolved by the government. Each region is seeking a way of solving their problem without waiting for the implementation of government regulations. Many of these conflicts occurred between Confucians and Buddhists during the 32-year of Suharto's rule when the two religious groups, as well as Taoists, could worship in the same place, known as the *Tridharma* Temple (*Kelenteng Tridharma*). However, Confucians have wanted to change the New Order appellation *vihara* for Chinese temples back to *kelenteng* and transfer the supervision of the temple from the authority of MTI to that of MAKIN. Since Confucianism has gained state recognition as an official religion during the Reformation period and the Confucian Community Guidance and Confucian Religious Service Center at the federal Ministry of Religion as well as its place of worship called Li Thang were established. Confucians

believe that Chinese temples were initially places of worship for Chinese people adhering to traditional Chinese religion. Therefore, the name *kelenteng* for Chinese temples must be restored. For the Chinese temples dominated by Buddhist monks, the process of restoring the name *kelenteng* has been difficult; on the contrary, for those dominated by Confucians, it has been smooth.

Even though the name of Chinese temples has been written on the outside of them as *vihara*, most Indonesians still refer to them as *kelenteng* as if they are not concerned about the official name change that occurred during the New Order. It means that the name *kelenteng* has become a part of Indonesian culture and is difficult to erase from the minds of Indonesian people.

Confucian established MAKIN in every province and district throughout Indonesia after earning state recognition as an official religion in the Reformation period. All Chinese temples that changed their name to *vihara* from *kelenteng* took up membership in the Tri Dharma Indonesia (TDI) and Walubi (Buddhist Religion Organization) associations during the New Order. Nevertheless, after the establishment of MAKIN in every region of Indonesia, one by one Chinese temple withdrew its membership with TDI and registered with MAKIN. This move has troubled TDI and caused a weak relationship between the association and MAKIN. While MAKIN has been bolstered by the high number of Chinese temples joining it, TDI is disappointed because these temples have abandoned their organization.

This shift in membership is what occurred in Pemangkat sub-district, Sambas district, West Kalimantan in 2013. Along with the formation of MAKIN in the area, each of *vihara* that was previously a *kelenteng* withdrew from GTI membership. By 2014, ninety-seven Chinese temples, both large and small ones, joined with MAKIN Pemangkat. A total of ninety-seven Chinese temples were formerly (during the 32 years of the New Order) under GTI stewardship. This situation has made GTI uncomfortable and triggered conflict between GTI and MAKIN. In order to prevent this transfer of membership from continuing, GTI filed a report about it to the Chinese Cultural Traditions Council (MABT), accusing MAKIN of forcibly transferring the membership of the Tri Dharma temples to that of their organization (Muchtart, 2014). Learning of GTI's formal complaint, MAKIN asked the district government of Pemangkat to solve the problem. MAKIN also feels offended by the statement of one of the Tri Dharma members who

said that he does not consider Confucianism to be a religion (Muchtart, 2014).

Another dispute occurred between Tri Dharma and Confucians in Cong Pak Kung Temple. This temple was erected dozens of years ago, and the deed incorporation was issued to it by Singkawang Notary in 2003. In 2005, the temple registered with MAKIN, and a year later, a conflict arose with Tri Dharma who considered the temple to belong to their association. Pemangkat district officials could settle the dispute due to clear documented evidence held by the old committee and its stewardship under MAKIN (Muchtart, 2014). Although the issue was thus legally resolved, the hostility between the members of the two groups remains to this day. MAKIN demands nothing but to change the name of the temple from *vihara* to *kelenteng* and to have had its membership transferred from GTI to MAKIN. What MAKIN wants is in line with Dahrendorf's (1967) theory that any conflict is seeking a change.

Another conflict is between Tridharma Po An Thian Temple Foundation and MAKIN Pekalongan. *Tridharma* holds that Po An Thian Temple belongs to their foundation, while MAKIN insists that it is their property since Confucian has used it as a place of worship since 1968. *Tridharma* wanted to take over the temple that has been there since 1968, controlled by MAKIN. Because the deliberations could not be resolved, *Tridharma* attempted to sue MAKIN at the Supreme Court, but it lost the case. Since the Supreme Court decree on August 29, 2014, Po An Thian Temple belongs to the Confucian people or MAKIN organization in Pekalongan, central Java-Indonesia.

Finally, a conflict between Buddhists and Confucians also occurred in Thian Gie Kiong Samarinda in East Kalimantan and Kong Co Bio Tabanan in 2011. While during the New Order period Confucians could pray together with Buddhists in both temples, however, since Confucianism was granted state recognition as an official religion in 2011, Confucians are no longer allowed by Buddhists to pray in the temple because they have their temples known as *Li Thang*. According to Haksu Ong (interview, June 7, 2018), *Li Thang* was established during the New Order period because the Indonesian government had forbidden the reparation and erection of new temples as places of worship for Confucians. To repair the old Confucian temples and preserve them as Confucian places of worship, the Buddhist Chinese were forced to call them *vihara*.

Ung Sendana, general chairman of MATAKIN (Majelis Tinggi Agama Konghucu Indonesia

/Supreme Council for the Confucian Religion in Indonesia), has explained that: 1) MATAKIN does not want to control the assets of the temples; 2) The temples must be given their original name (*kelenteng*) and have all their previous functions as *kelenteng* restored; 3) The construction of Confucian temples might be done by MATAKIN and not by Buddhist monks and nuns; 4) Confucians can exercise or receive their civil rights services in accordance with their religion, including education, marriage registration, and others; 5) There is no confusion over religions in the temples (Interview with Uung, 05 June 2018). Buddhists did not approve these five points since the number of Buddhist *vihara* throughout Indonesia would be reduced, and the number of their worshippers would decrease. Haksu Ong (interview, June 7, 2018) believes that the conflict between Buddhists and Confucians over the Chinese temples cannot be resolved without government interference. According to him, the government has thus far not done much to settle it. Ong explains that if Buddhists run the administration of a *vihara* that used to be called a *kelenteng*, the temple remains as *vihara* and it is difficult to change it into a *kelenteng*. Conversely, if Confucians manage a *vihara* that was once a *kelenteng*, then there is a possibility that the temple's name will revert to *kelenteng*.

After the policy of the New Order changed the name of the *kelenteng* (Chinese temples) to *vihara*, the policy of the Reformation era government must restore the name of *vihara* for Buddhist worship places to be *kelenteng* for the Chinese temples. It is difficult to foresee and to end to the conflict between these two religious groups without the government policy intervention.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The findings that have been presented conclude that: First, The change of name of Chinese temples from *kelenteng* to *vihara* was firmly related to New Order politics that sought to mix Indonesians of Chinese descent with indigenous Indonesians. Second, Buddhist and Confucian conflicts over Chinese temples were triggered by the recognition in the Reformation era of the existence and validity of Confucianism in Indonesia. Third, The prohibition of the New Order on the establishment of new *kelenteng*, the requirement to rename *kelenteng* as *vihara*, and the establishment of new *kelenteng* with the name *vihara* have all benefited Buddhism by increasing the number of their places of worship and

the number of their followers. Fourth, Confucians are aware that Chinese temples (*kelenteng*) are places of worship for Confucians and not for Buddhists, thus, demand that the name of Chinese temples be changed to *kelenteng*. Fifth, Confucians do not propose that the Chinese temples (*kelenteng*) belong to them, but only hope that they are still allowed to do praying in *kelenteng*. Because there are several Chinese temples (*kelenteng*) in Indonesia, some Confucians are not allowed to worship in them anymore but rather only in *Li Thang* (special places of worship for Confucians). Finally, until now the Indonesian government has not found a way how to resolve the conflict between the Confucians and Buddhists about the *kelenteng*. The efforts made by the Indonesian government, especially the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in resolving conflicts between Buddhists and Confucians about the Chinese temples, namely by inviting these two religious groups to Focus Group Discussion to dialogue about this temple conflict was also unsuccessful. In this Focus Group Discussion each of the two religious groups maintained their opinions and there was no settlement.

REFERENCES

- Calkowski, Marcia in Scupin, Reymmond, Ed. 2000. *Religion and Culture: An Anthropological Focus*. (R. Scupin, Ed.) Lindenwood University: New Jersey.
- Coser, L. A. 1973. Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences. In A. E. Haley, *Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change* (pp. 114-122). Basic Books Inc: New York.
- Dahrendorf, R. 1973. Toward a Theory of Social Conflict. In A. E. Haley, *Social Change: Sources, Patterns, and Consequences* (pp. 100-113). Basic Books Inc: New York.
- Gennap, A. v. 1909. *The Rites of Passage*. (M. B. Vizedom, & G. L. Coffe, Trans.) Routlutge and Kengan Paul: London.
- McCreery, J. L. 2000. *Religion and Culture: An Anthropological Focus*. (R. Scupin, Ed.) Lindenwood University: New Jersey.
- Moerthico. 1980. *Riwayat Klenteng, Vihara, Lithang, Tempat Ibadat Tridharma Se-Jawa (History of Kelenteng, Vihara and Lithang)*. Semarang: Sekretariat Empeh Wong Kam Fu.
- Muchtar, I. H. 2004. *Dinamika Hubungan Antar Umat Beragama: Studi Kasus Penanganan Konflik Umat Buddha Tridharma dengan Khonghucu (MAKIN) Kecamatan Pemangkat Kabupaten Sambas Kalimantan Barat (The Dynamics of Religions*

- Relation: A Case Study of Conflict Between Tridharma Buddhism Followers and Confucians (MAKIN) Pemangkat Subdistrict, Sambas District, West Kalimantan. *Harmoni: Jakarta*, 3 (1).
- Narwoko, J. D., & Suyanto, B. 2007. *Sosiologi Teks Pengantar Suatu Pengantar (Sociology An Introduction)*. Kencana: Jakarta
- Poerwanto, H. 2005. *Orang Khek dari Singkawang (Khek People From Singkawang)*. Komunitas Bambu: Jakarta.
- Salmon, C., & Lombard, D. 1985. *Klenteng-Klenteng Masyarakat Tionghoa di Jakarta (Chinese Temples in Jakarta)*. Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka: Jakarta.
- Smith, Charlotte Seymour. 1990. *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology*. The Macmillan Press LTD: Hongkong.
- Soekanto, S., & Budi, S. 1993. *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar (Sosiology an Introduction)*. Citra Aditya Bakti: Bandung.
- Sugiastuti, N. Y. 2003. *Tradisi Hukum Cina: Negara dan Masyarakat (Chinese Law Tradition: State and Society)*. Universitas Indonesia: Jakarta.
- Tanggok, M.I. 2005. *Pemujaan Leluhur Orang Hakka di Singkawang (Ancestor Worship of Hakka People in Singkawang)*. Pukkat: Jakarta.
- Tanggok, M. I. 2005. Agama Khonghucu di Indonesia dan Berbagai Persoalan Yang Dihadapi Oleh Penganutnya (Confucianism in Indonesia and Some its Problems). *Harmoni*, IV(15).
- Tanggok, M. I. 2015. *Praktik Islam Nusantara Dalam Beberapa Klenteng di Indonesia (Nusantara Islam Practices in Some Chinese Temples in Indonesia)*. Ushul Press: Jakarta.
- Tanggok, M. I. 2017. *Agama dan Kebudayaan Orang Hakka di Singkawang (Religion and Hakka Culture in Singkawang)*. Kompas-Gramedia: Jakarta.
- Turner, V. 1967. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action In Human Society*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London.
- Yang, C. 1970. *Religion and Chinese Society*. University of California Press: London.
- Yoest. 2008. *Riwayat Kelenteng, Vihara, Lithang di Jakarta & Banten (History of Kelenteng, Vihara, Lithang in Jakarta & Banten)*. BIP Kelompok Gramedia: Jakarta.