

Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan (MAIK) and Modernisation of Malay Education, 1917-1957

Siti Fathihah Abd Latif* & Mahani Musa**

Abstract

This article examines the Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan (MAIK) administration of Malay schools in the state of Kelantan from 1917 until the end of British colonial rule in 1957. This involvement is examined through two of its schools, the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) for boys and Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) for girls. The establishment of MAIK Malay schools is a testament to its professed aims of looking after local welfare, which was not given any attention under British colonial rule. MAIK had faced a myriad of challenges in its administration of Malay schools, whether from within its administration or from outside, especially from Malay schools that were under British control. Based on the qualitative method that involved the perusal of primary documents such as MAIK files, MAIK annual reports, journal *Pengasuh* and British annual reports on Kelantan from the National Archives of Malaysia and other institutions, this study has found that the British neglect of Malay education has made MAIK indispensable as the organisation responsible for religious affairs and defending local customs in the formal education sector of the state. With this heavy responsibility, MAIK, specifically through its Malay schools, has provided both secular and religious education in schools under its jurisdiction. MAIK's strategy and improvisations have ensured its schools' continuity despite competition from the Malay education provided by the colonial government. Through its organisational dynamism, MAIK has enabled itself to be involved in the planning and transformation of primary education in Kelantan from 1917 until 1957.

Keywords: MAIK, Kelantan, education, Malay school and modernisation

Introduction

When discussing Malay education, the contributions of colonial officials like R. J. Wilkinson and R.O. Winstedt would come into mind. The fact that Winstedt was accorded the accolade of Malay education architect was meant to legitimise the contributions of British officials in the development of Malay education. However, others like D.D. Cheliah, Francis H. K. Wong & Ee Tiang Hong Ee, Philip Loh Fook Seng, Rex Stevenson, Awang Had Salleh, Ibrahim Saad, Hussien Haji Ahmad dan Lee Hock Guan have argued differently.¹ After examining colonial aims and Malaya's educational system, they have argued that education was used by the British as a form of social control to ensure economic profitability and the continuity of colonialism.

The views of these scholars were actually confirmed by the records written by British officials themselves. In the case of Kelantan, for instance, this view was found in the annual report of the state, which is quoted below.

At the same time the central fact to be borne in mind as regards educational policy is that Kelantan is an agricultural State and that the future economic prosperity and happiness of its people will turn largely on the maintenance of the State as an agricultural unit and of its people as an agricultural people (...) Rather is it to be desired that the peasant be equipped mentally to carry out the work of his forefathers move efficiently and with better

* Siti Fathihah Abd Latif, Lecturer, Department of General Studies, Faculty of Language Studies and Human Development, Universiti Malaysia Kelantan, Kelantan, Malaysia and PhD candidate, History Programme, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Email: fathihah.al@umk.edu.my

** Mahani Musa (corresponding author) (PhD), Professor, School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Email: mahani@usm.my

¹ D. D. Cheliah (1940), "A History of the Educational Policy of the Straits Settlement with Recommendations for a New System Based on Vernacular," PhD Dissertation, University of London; Philip Loh Fook Seng (1975), *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874-1940*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press; Awang Had Salleh (1980), *Pelajaran dan Perguruan Melayu di Malaya Zaman British*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka; Ibrahim Saad (1981), *Pendidikan dan Politik di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka; Hussien Hj. Ahmad (1993), *Pendidikan dan Masyarakat: Antara Dasar, Reformasi dan Wawasan*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka; Lee Hock Guan (2010), "The Limits of Malay Education and Language Hegemony," in Daljit Singh (ed), *Southeast Asian Affairs 2010*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 180-200.

results (...) and the removal of illiteracy and the teaching of elementary agricultural must be the aim and object of all vernacular schools.²

Based on the above excerpt, it is clear that the British aimed to provide education for local children to ensure they remained in the vocation of their family, notably in the agricultural sphere, while English education was exclusive to the Malay upper class.

It is not intended to give great extension to education in English in this State, as the opportunities for further employment are strictly limited, but it is intended that the limited number of boys so educated shall be selected with great care.³

Even at a higher level of education, for example, in the technical field outside of the state, such as the Serdang School of Agriculture, Technical School of the Survey and Post and Telegraph Department, Forest Department and Federated Malay State (F.M.S.) Customs Department, only 'promising youth of good parentage' were selected.⁴

Due to this approach toward Malay education, the commitment to develop education, notably the Malay schools, was never fully implemented. The British had accepted their failure to take action on the many local requests to set up Malay schools in the state.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to take adequate steps to satisfy the increasing demand for better vernacular education.⁵

Interestingly, the British reaffirmed the involvement of the local society to set up more Malay schools in Kelantan through their own finances, the provision of *waqaf* land, and the supply of building materials. In this regard, the British had merely provided teachers upon the completion of these schools.⁶

Apart from debates on British objectives in their educational blueprint for Malaya, there is also the question of to what extent the British were the only player responsible for the planning and development of Malay education during the colonial period? Scholars like Lenore Manderson had argued that before and throughout British colonial rule, there was already an awareness of the importance of formal education for local children.⁷ In Kedah, for instance, schools for boys and girls were established through local initiatives before the 20th century.⁸ In Johor, education for girls started through royal initiatives with the establishment of the first Malay Girls School in 1884 at Telok Belanga in Singapore.⁹

As education is never confined to its formal form, the contributions of religious scholars in the introduction and strengthening of religious education and informal education should be highlighted. Religious scholars, especially those who were educated in Patani, have popularised the *pondok* system in Malaya. It began with the establishment of the first *pondok* in 1820, the Pondok Tok Ku Pulau Condong in Kelantan.¹⁰ Further improvements in education for the Malays came following the introduction of the *madrasah* system, which was more formal and systematic. It had also provided competition to the existing vernacular system and *pondok*. The earliest *madrasahs* include Madrasah Masriyah of Penang (1906), Madrasah al-Iqbal of Singapore (1908), Madrasah al-Hamidah of Kedah (1908) (later changed to Madrasah Al-Maahad Mahmud), Madrasah al-Hadi of Melaka (1916), and Madrasah al-Quran of Penang (1916) (later known as Madrasah al-Mashoor).

Like other Malay states, education in Kelantan started with its religious variety, which later developed into the *pondok* system. The Siamese presence in 1902 brought about the introduction of formal

² *Kelantan Annual Report*, 1930, pp. 30-31.

³ *Kelantan Annual Report*, 1937, p. 51.

⁴ *Kelantan Annual Report*, 1934, p. 43.

⁵ *Kelantan Annual Report*, 1926, p. 10.

⁶ *Kelantan Annual Report*, 1936, p. 42.

⁷ Lenore Manderson (1978), "The Development and Direction of Female Education in Peninsular Malaysia," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (234), pp. 100-122.

⁸ Mahani Musa (2010), "Wanita Melayu, Kesedaran Pendidikan dan Pembentukan Masyarakat Malaysia Moden," *Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah*, Vol. 38, pp. 1-24.

⁹ Muhammad Ridzuan Idris (2016), "Perkembangan Pendidikan Wanita Melayu di Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu, 1896-1941," PhD Dissertation, University of Malaya.

¹⁰ Faisal @ Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid and Noorzahidah Mohd Zain (2013), "Ustaz Mohd Mahayuddin bin Haji Abdullah: Sumbangannya Terhadap Pendidikan Islam di Kelantan," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 103.

education that witnessed the establishment of the first Malay school in 1904. The trend was subsequently continued by the British. Since 1909, the Malay school system became the main mode of colonial education that saw the establishment of many more schools in the state. The early 20th century also saw the emergence of a new player in the education sector. This new player, MAIK, which was formed in 1915, was not only responsible for Islamic matters and customs of the Kelantan Malays but was also tasked with charting the future course of education for local children. The freedom accorded to MAIK in matters of religion was fully utilised to bolster Malay schools under its supervision. MAIK schools also provide religious education, which was never a priority for colonial officials. Roff admits religious education became the most significant contribution by MAIK throughout colonial rule in Kelantan and in Malaya.¹¹

Currently, there are a number of writings on MAIK in Kelantan education, notably by Zainul Abidin Abdullah, Arba'iyah Mohd Noor, Abdul Razak Mahmud and Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Hassan.¹² They have highlighted MAIK's involvement in the field of education with the discussion covering various aspects. Nevertheless, issues relating to MAIK Malay schools were not on their list of primary focuses. Zainul Abidin (1983), for instance, argues that the British attitude to accord more importance to Malays from outside Kelantan to serve in the state administration had led MAIK to be involved in the field of education. MAIK aimed to produce more local Malays to work in the state service through its Malay and English schools. However, the discussion was confined only to the 1920s, rendering an incomplete picture of the development and strategy of MAIK Malay schools in its competition with British-sponsored education. The study by Nik Abdul Aziz (1983) reiterates the authority given by the Sultan to MAIK in matters relating to Islam, authorising the organisation to supervise and control the running of religious education through mosques, *surau* and the appointment of visiting teachers. The study, however, only discusses MAIK's involvement in establishing Malay schools until 1930.

MAIK's contribution to bringing change to the Islamic education landscape in Kelantan was also reaffirmed by Arba'iyah (2008). According to Arba'iyah, this religious organisation has provided not only schools for academic education but also religious education, besides competing with Malay schools offered by the British. She argues that the slow pace of the British in providing education and their disinterest in the development of Malay education had led local Malays to construct their school buildings. This had actually happened to MAIK when they opened up Malay schools and other MAIK schools. However, Arba'iyah's discussion, which also covers *pondok*, peoples' religious schools, and the Centre of Higher Education in Kelantan until after Independence, touches little on the development, change and modernisation of MAIK Malay schools. On the other hand, Abdul Razak (2010) accepts MAIK as the successful evidence of Malays looking after local welfare in Kelantan. Although he connects the changes and strategy of MAIK in developing its schools due to the intellectuals within the Kelantan leadership, the discussion on the strategy of MAIK Malay schools was relatively brief. The same instance is also applicable in the study by Nik Aziz (2012). As the attention was on MAIK's involvement in various aspects of education, other aspects like its strategy in the preparation of academic and religious subjects, curriculum changes and development of MAIK Malay schools were not included in the discussion.

In order to fill this void, the essay examines the background establishment, development and achievement, challenges and strategy used by MAIK in expanding Malay schools under its supervision during the colonial period. The sources utilised are MAIK annual reports, the collection of MAIK administrative files from the National Archives, files from *Pejabat Menteri Kelantan*, journal *Pengasuh* and the *Kelantan Annual Report*. The strategy used by MAIK and the achievements of local children who were educated in MAIK schools have attested the organisation as an important player in the development of Malay schools in the state despite competition from schools provided by the British.

¹¹ William R. Roff (1974), "The Origin and Early Years of Majlis Uqama," in William R. Roff (ed.), *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, p. 142.

¹² Zainul Abidin bin Abdullah (1983), "Peranan Majlis Agama dalam Pelajaran," in Khoo Kay Kim (ed.), *Beberapa Aspek Warisan Kelantan II*, Monograf Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan III, Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, pp. 99-109; Nik Abdul Aziz Haji Nik Hassan (1983), "Peranan Majlis Terhadap Kemajuan Pelajaran di Negeri Kelantan 1915-1930," in Nik Abdul Aziz Haji Nik Hassan (ed.), *Islam di Kelantan*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, pp. 83-90; Arba'iyah Mohd Noor, "Perkembangan Pendidikan Islam di Negeri Kelantan," *Jurnal Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah*, Vol. 36, 2008, pp. 68-82; Abdul Razak Mahmud (2010), *MAIK: Peranannya dalam Bidang Keagamaan, Persekolahan dan Penerbitan di Kelantan sehingga 1990*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka; Nik Aziz bin Nik Hassan (2012), "Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu dan Sejarah Pendidikannya di Kelantan: Suatu Analisis daripada Perspektif Islam," in Mahmood Zuhdi Hj Abd Majid, Abdul Razak Mahmud and Nik Safiah Karim (eds.), *Puri Kencana: Kecemerlangan Satu Abad Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan*, Kota Bharu: Penerbit MAIK, pp. 425-474.

The establishment of MAIK schools has widened the educational choice for locals as these schools combined religious and secular education. Through the establishment of these schools and their subsequent modernisation, MAIK has succeeded in transforming the Kelantan educational landscape.

Establishment of MAIK Malay Schools

Numerous factors have acted as the catalysts for MAIK's involvement in Malay schools in Kelantan. These include fulfilling the rationale of its existence as a religious body that supervises religious matters and the welfare of the Kelantanese Malays. It was also a form of reaction to colonial management of Malay schools in the state, in particular the inability to accede to local requests for more schools and the absence of religious education in these schools.

MAIK's involvement in the formal education sector began on 15 August 1917 with the establishment of the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) in Kota Bharu. Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) was also known as the MAIK Malay school in the organisation's annual reports as it offers Malay education similar to that of British-sponsored Malay schools. However, there was a difference between these schools with MAIK Malay schools also provide religious education to their students. Since its inception and until the early 1930s, the school only accepted male students. The school started with 139 male students. MAIK's involvement in the formal education sector was a continuation of its efforts to improve local education. This was in line with MAIK's letter to the Kelantan ruler regarding Maahad Muhammadi (Malay):

The subjects taught in this school are related to religious education to enable its students to become qadhi, imam and so forth. Other subjects which the majlis finds important are English, legal studies and so forth, which enable students to earn a living and to become government servants. It is our belief that within five to six years, the state will find it much easier to recruit its staff. The Majlis also decided that those from this school could become teachers for other schools (...) And those who had studied here would have become more intelligent. This is the only way for the state to develop (...).¹³

The above letter encapsulates MAIK's intention to ensure a better future for local children and supports the views of Abdul Razak Mahmud, Noraini Md. Zain, Haryati Hasan and Abu Hanifah Haris that MAIK's establishment was part of local initiatives to defend religion and welfare, both of which were viewed poorly by the British administrators.¹⁴ In this regard, both Shahril Talib and Abdul Rashid Hj Ahmad contend that British colonial aims had shaped the direction of education in Kelantan. They claim that British administrators intended to turn Kelantan into an important producer of agricultural products while the provision of education for the local population was never part of the colonial agenda.¹⁵ In this situation, the establishment of Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) in 1917 could be viewed as the precursor of more aggressive efforts by MAIK to provide and develop formal education in the state, including the establishment of English and Arabic schools. Although the development of these schools is not the focus of this article, it is undeniable that MAIK Malay schools became the basis for their establishment.

The initiative to establish Malay schools by MAIK is closely related to the colonial inability to provide schools despite many local requests. In 1917 there were only 14 Malay schools under colonial supervision. Overwhelming local interests in formal education had led to the establishment of the people's schools after requests for secular schools were turned down. The request from Keteril village was rejected due to financial distress. At the end of 1915, villagers decided to build a school for their children.¹⁶ Despite local initiatives, many more requests remained unfulfilled at a time when popular awareness for education had increased significantly by the 1920s. In fact, the 1937 Kelantan Annual

¹³ 68/17 Pejabat Menteri Kelantan 1331-1340 (1913-1921) Berkenaan dengan permohonan sebuah rumah tempat pelajaran di dalam Bandar Kota Bharu diharapkan tidak kurang daripada \$15, 000.

¹⁴ Noraini Md. Zain (1988), "Sejarah Penubuhan MAIK," in Nik Mohamed Nik Salleh (ed.), *Warisan Kelantan VIII*, Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, pp. 60-69; Abdul Razak Mahmud (1992), "Tujuh Puluh Lima Tahun Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan," in Nik Mohamed Nik Salleh (ed.), *Warisan Kelantan XI*, Kota Bharu: Perbadanan Muzium Negeri Kelantan, pp. 1- 44; Haryati Hasan and Abu Hanifah Haris (2016), "Sekilas Pandang Penubuhan MAIK," *Persidangan Nasional Sejarah Melayu Kepulauan Melayu*, Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, 11-12 October.

¹⁵ Shahril Talib (1995), *History of Kelantan, 1890-1940*, Monograph No. 21, MBRAS. See also Abdul Rashid bin Hj. Ahmad (1969), "Bureaucracy Negeri Kelantan: Satu Kajian Perubahan dan Perkembangannya," Master Thesis, Universiti of Malaya. For further information on Kelantan Malay society, see Haziyah Hussin (2004), "Orang Melayu Kelantan dari Sudut Budaya dan Perspektif Sejarah Lampau," *JEBAT*, Vol. 31, pp. 15-38.

¹⁶ Kelantan. M. 72/1912 Asks that a school may be established in Keteril.

Report took note of the inability to implement compulsory school attendance as the colonial administration was unable to provide adequate schools.¹⁷ In this regard, MAIK Malay schools provide an important avenue for local children to secure a better education.

Other than the colonial administration's slow pace in providing adequate schools, the issue of the secularisation of education was also a concern for MAIK. The secularisation idea was first mooted by A. M. Skinner in 1872 when he was the Inspector of School in Penang. He claimed that progress would not occur in Malay schools until religious education was separated from other academic subjects. The secularisation moves in Malay schools started with religious education and Quran study being excluded from the official timetable, with both being taught separately in the afternoon.¹⁸ However, many issues still have to be debated concerning the secularisation idea. One is the slow provision of Malay schools which was often related to the unwillingness of Malay parents to send their children to school despite the availability of religious classes in such schools.¹⁹ In actuality, there was no serious attempt by the British administration to provide such classes, and they were left to Malay officers who MAIK assisted. Only after Tengku Mahmood Mahyidden became the Inspector of Malay Schools religious education was provided in the British-sponsored Malay schools. Through his efforts, five Malay schools were provided with such classes in 1935.²⁰

The above discussion indicates that the Malay society was at the forefront in the provision of education for local children without marginalising religious education. The establishment of the MAIK Malay school in 1917 was the reflection of popular aspiration with regard to the lack of religious education or its absence in schools under colonial supervision. The MAIK letter to the sultan noted earlier put equal emphasis on both religious and non-religious education. MAIK's commitment to this matter is manifested in regular curriculum changes throughout the period of the study. It regularly scrutinised the progress of its schools based on various strategies to face myriad challenges. This is to ensure the relevancy of its schools in the face of competition with the Malay schools under the supervision of the colonial administration until 1957.

Development of MAIK Malay Schools 1917-1945: Challenges and Strategy

The Maahad Muhammadi (Malay), which is located in Kota Bharu was the first school operated by MAIK. With its establishment in 1917, the primary curriculum encompassed Malay language, writing, arithmetic and religious subjects.²¹ MAIK schools received public attention, notably within the Kota Bharu area. In its first year, 30 pupils from colonial Malay schools were moved to the MAIK school. In 1919 the Pasir Mas Malay school was closed after many of its pupils moved to MAIK schools.

The level of societal acceptance of MAIK Malay schools could be seen in the number of pupils who had joined in the later years. The table below shows the pupils who joined MAIK schools between 1917 and 1957.

Table 1: Total enrolment in MAIK Malay schools, 1917-1943

Year	Total enrolment
1917	310
1919	400
1921	465
1923	458
1925	243
1927	250
1929	341
1931	541

¹⁷ K. A. R. 1937, p. 49.

¹⁸ Mohd Nizam Sahad and Che Zarrina Sa'ari (2011), "Sejarah Sistem Pendidikan Islam di Kuala Lumpur," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-27.

¹⁹ J. M. Gullick (1987), *Malay Society in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Beginnings of Change*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, p. 266; William R. Roff (1974), *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya Publisher.

²⁰ E. O. K. 5/1936 Annual Report on Education in Kelantan for 1935.

²¹ 68/17 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Pejabat Menteri Kelantan 1331-1340 (1913-1921) Berkenaan dengan permohonan sebuah rumah tempat pelajaran di dalam Bandar Kota Bharu diharapkan tidak kurang daripada \$15,000.

1933 ²²	196
1935	439
1937	393
1939	342
1941	374
1943	421

(Source: MAIK Annual Reports for 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943)

The ups and downs of enrolment, as in the above table, are related to the challenges faced by MAIK and the strategy undertaken to face these challenges. Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) was able to provide new exposure to the local society regarding a school system that combines religious and non-religious subjects. Consequently, MAIK received many requests to open its schools in other districts. To accommodate them, MAIK opened a number of Malay schools in 1918, one in Pasir Putih and the other in Pasir Mas. In 1919 another school was opened in Kampung Kutan in Wakaf Bharu.²³ All three schools used the same curriculum and regulations as found in Maahad Muhammadi (Malay).²⁴

Based on table 1, MAIK's strategy was a success when the total enrolment of its four schools had increased to 465 students in 1921. Such an increase was due to the attractiveness of its education, which covers both academic and religious subjects. This was different from the British-sponsored Malay schools, which did not provide religious education. It was only in 1935 that religious education was provided with classes held in the late afternoon between 2-5 pm. The shortage of religious classes in British-sponsored Malay schools had placed MAIK schools in a better position to attract parents who wanted both academic and religious education for their children. It was also inundated with requests from locals to increase the number of its schools so that many more pupils could enrol.²⁵ These schools' achievements have also attracted parents outside of Kelantan to send their children to MAIK Malay schools.²⁶

However, by 1925 the total enrolment stood at 243 as compared to 458 in 1923. The reduction was due to the financial constraints faced by MAIK following the construction of the Muhammadi mosque in Kota Bharu, which cost \$200,000. Consequently, MAIK was forced in 1924 to close the three schools located in Pasir Putih, Pasir Mas and Kampung Kutan.²⁷ The closure of these schools was due to financial constraints as the brunt of the MAIK fund was directed towards the construction of the mosque. In his discussion of the issue, Willer relates it to the challenges and benefits accruable to MAIK after it was placed under the sultan.²⁸ In another aspect, the support of the sultan in MAIK's efforts to eradicate social ills like gambling and bullfighting, which were also enjoyed by the ruler previously, was beneficial to MAIK. In 1917 the mosque construction requested by the ruler was postponed due to MAIK financial instability.²⁹ However, by 1925 MAIK had to commence construction in order to maintain an amicable relationship with the palace. The mosque was completed in 1931.

Following its completion, MAIK's finances had improved considerably by the early 1930s. However, a new challenge emerged caused by a steep increase in enrolment at the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) following the entry of girls into the school. Maahad Muhammadi (Malay), which was previously for

²² Total enrolment of MAIK Malay schools after 1933 includes girls from the girls' section of the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) which opened in 1932.

²³ 45/19 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Berkenaan dengan mengadakan estimates belanja kerana sekolah majelis, 129/19 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Berkenaan dengan minta majelis mengadakan satu maderasah tempat pelajaran di kg. di bawah jagaan majelis.

²⁴ 21/20 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Berkenaan dengan minta report di atas pelajaran madrasah dan segala cadangan peraturan yang diadakan guru; 432/20 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Menghantar satu surat permintaan daripada haji zakaria guru maderasah Pasir Mas mengadakan guru quran dan juga tambahan seorang guru lagi bagi maderasah itu kerana pada masa ini tidak chukup dengan 2 guru tiada itu.

²⁵ 30/20 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Minta majlis mengadakan maderasah tempat pelajaran bagi kanak2 di dalam kg. pekan di bawah jagaan majelis.

²⁶ 312/24 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1922-1929 Cadangan hendak menghantar 2 orang anaknya belajar di dalam maderasah daerah Kota Bharu adakah maderasah itu memelihara kanak2 dan berapakah bayarannya pada sebulan. This is an application from a parent in Selangor who wanted to send their children to MAIK Malay schools.

²⁷ Penyata Tahunan MAIK, 1924, p. 8.

²⁸ Frank Willer (1975), "Religious Administration Development in Colonial Malay States, 1876-1941," PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, p. 207.

²⁹ 434/17 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Pohon ampuni mengadakan masjid batu di dalam bandar Kota Bharu iaitu ganti masjid yang ada sekarang maka belanja dianggarkan tidak kurang daripada \$200, 000.

boys, opened its door to girls in the early 1930s as parents still insisted on sending their girls for formal school education. Based on table 1, the total number of pupils in 1931 stood at 541, comprising 424 boys and 117 girls. In order to overcome this challenge, a separate girl section of the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) was established on 16 February 1932. The strategy adopted by MAIK was far in advance compared to the British administration, with the girls being accommodated in boys' schools. Although a total of 243 female students were enrolled with boys at British-sponsored Malay schools in 1932, it was only in 1936 that a separate girls' school was established by the British in Padang Garong, Kota Bharu.³⁰ This clearly indicates that MAIK was a step earlier in fulfilling the parents' demand for the education of Kelantan girls when the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) women's section was built by the religious organisation.

Since its inception in 1932, the girls' section of Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) has played an important role in providing primary education for girls in the state. Besides allaying parental fear with regard to boy-girl in the same institution, it also provides a possible career path for girls in the educational field.³¹ In fact, MAIK's strategy was a positive response to increasing local awareness in regards to the importance of education for girls during the Second World War and the rise of Malay nationalism.

However, by the early 1930s, the economic depression brought new challenges to MAIK. The depression severely affected its finances, with its income going on a nosedive. For instance, in 1930, the total MAIK income was \$45,798.70, but in 1933 its income was the lowest compared to the other years in the 1930s. The 1933 income totalled \$28,328.09. This decrease was caused by the fall of export commodity prices that subsequently impacted tithe collections and public donations.

As tithe forms the main component of income, its low collection has affected MAIK's expenditure. In this regard, free education became increasingly burdensome. In 1933 MAIK resorted to a 15 per cent reduction in the salary of its staff. It was meant to solve the issue of overdue salary, but the move was met with staff disapproval.³² Despite the move, MAIK was still unable to solve its financial woes. Consequently, it took the unpopular step of imposing school fees. In 1933, all students were charged a monthly fee of 20 cents.³³ The move caused considerable uneasiness among the MAIK leadership, who promised to do away with it once its finances had improved.³⁴ The implementation of school fees had an immediate effect on students' intake. In 1932, the enrolment stood at 680 but plummeted to 196 the following year.³⁵ In July 1934, MAIK ceased imposing fees, and by 1935, enrolment had risen again to 439. Besides the abolishment of fees, another strategy that contributed to student increase in 1935 was the increment of teachers to 10 and the creation of four trainee teachers. The trainee teachers were mostly former students. The increment of the teaching staff ensured the acceptance of more students into MAIK schools. Besides the adequate teaching staff, the presence of former students as teachers was an added attraction for village children to follow the steps of their peers to study in MAIK Malay schools.

In 1937, there was a drop in enrolment due to MAIK's inability to provide facilities and adequate teaching staff to meet the enrollment requirement. Consequently, MAIK had to reject many applicants for Maahad Muhammadi (Malay). In order to solve the problem, MAIK increased the number of its teaching staff and took measures to improve their quality. This was in line with the suggestion by the Education Supervisor in 1936 that MAIK teachers seek professional training through the *Normal Class*, which was meant for Malay school teachers.³⁶ This *Normal Class* was a form of teacher training

³⁰ K. A. R. 1936, p. 43.

³¹ Wazir Jahan Karim (1992), *Women & Culture: Between Malay Adat and Islam*, Colorado: Westview Press, p. 93-94; Adnan Nawang (2005), *Memoir Za'ba*, Tanjung Malim: Penerbit Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, pp. 9-10; Mahani (2010), "Wanita Melayu," p. 2.

³² 24/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Majelis ada terhutang gaji pegawai2 bagi bulan september 1931 berjumlah 1289 kerana tidak chukup; 433/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Memohon tentang gajinya \$15 sebulan itu tidak menchukupi kerana dipotong 15 itu dan minta pertimbangan seberapa yang patut timbangan majelis; 439/31 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Rayu hal tentang potongan 15 di atas gaji2 mereka itu diminta mengikut kerajaan ialah sikit gaji lebih kurang 20 sebulan; 458/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Rayu hal pada tentang potongan 15 percent di atas gajinya diminta majelis timbangkan supaya tidak dijalankan potongan itu.

³³ 24/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Majelis ada terhutang gaji pegawai2 bagi bulan September 1931 berjumlah 1289 kerana tidak chukup.

³⁴ 400/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Chadangan memungut wang daripada semua kanak2 Maderasah Mohamdiah kerana belanja.

³⁵ Penyata Tahunan MAIK, 1933, p. 9.

³⁶ *Normal Class* for Malay teachers was started in 1934 and it was held on Saturday. See 369/36 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 4; 1936-1939 Mengeshurkan kepada majelis supaya perintah kepada guru2 maderasah mohamdiah pergi belajar latihan di sekolah padang garong bersama2 guru2 kerajaan tiap2 hari... itu; E. O. K. 5/1936 Annual Report on Education in Kelantan for 1935.

provided to teachers from British-sponsored schools. Regarding the quality improvement of its Malay schools, MAIK's original suggestion was to seek the consent of Tengku Mahmood Mahyidden to allow MAIK teachers to be trained in the *Normal Class*. This request was accepted; however, the suggestion was rejected by MAIK teachers who were uneasy about gender mixing in the *Normal Class*. As an alternative, a teacher training class was organised by Syekh Abu Bakar, who was also Maahad Muhammadi's (Arabic) headmaster. The class was run every Thursday, with compulsory attendance for all MAIK school teachers. This shows MAIK's seriousness in improving the quality of its teaching staff as they play an important role in student learning. In his letter dated 22 September 1936 to the MAIK president, MAIK Education Supervisor stressed that "the secret in the progress of any education system is related to the development of its teachers besides their teaching methodology that follows correct rules."³⁷

Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, MAIK also faced new challenges caused by political instability. This is evident when enrolment plummeted to 374 in 1941. There is a possibility that public anxiety and political instability were the main cause of the student decrease in MAIK Malay schools. The defeat of the British and the subsequent Japanese presence saw the reopening of these schools, albeit under stricter official scrutiny. Interestingly, during the Japanese (and Thai) occupation of Kelantan, students' enrolment had increased to 421 in 1943 and 454 in 1944. The MAIK annual reports did not mention any negative effects of Japanese occupation other than the increased enrolment noted earlier.

In reality, the positive development of MAIK Malay schools was related to the way MAIK managed its relationship with the Japanese. This was meant to ensure educational progress was not affected by excessive Japanese interference. This includes closing the MAIK English school in line with the closure of Ismail English School, which was established by the British. Towing the official line, MAIK was cautious not to be seen as opposing the Japanese. To uphold the MAIK Malay school image, its teaching staff and students took part in myriad activities organised by the Japanese like marching, flag-waving and official Japanese festivities.³⁸ MAIK also took the initiative to revise the curriculum of its Malay schools by adding the Japanese language. At the same time, MAIK continued to provide better religious education to students by introducing practical classes on ablution and prayer. Elsewhere we have Chin Kee Onn's description of the three-pronged aims of Japanese education, namely to make the Japanese language as lingua franca in Asia, to instil the Japanese spirit (*Nippon-seishin*) and to raise a new generation of youth who would be useful to the emperor notably with regards to military service.³⁹ MAIK schools were not entirely free from these aims. Following its willingness to toe the Japanese line, MAIK was able to administer its education program smoothly with marked improvements in school attendance and student performance. With this strategy, MAIK could put in an application to open up and organise *madrrasah* and religious classes. During the war, MAIK was also entrusted by the Japanese to handle religious classes in all Malay schools in the state.⁴⁰ During the Japanese occupation, MAIK Malay schools enjoyed good progress, notably in the increment of students and examination performance. The MAIK annual report placed MAIK Malay schools for both boys and girls under the category "good school" in terms of attendance, examination performance, cleanliness and control.⁴¹

Modernisation of MAIK Malay Schools 1945-1957

Following the British return to Kelantan in September 1945, the management of MAIK schools resumed as in the prewar period. The progress of these schools is shown in the following figure.

³⁷ 369/36 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 4, 1936-1939 Mengesherkan kepada majelis supaya perintah kepada guru2 maderasah mohamadiah pergi belajar latihan di sekolah padang garong bersama2 guru2 kerajaan tiap2 hari... itu.

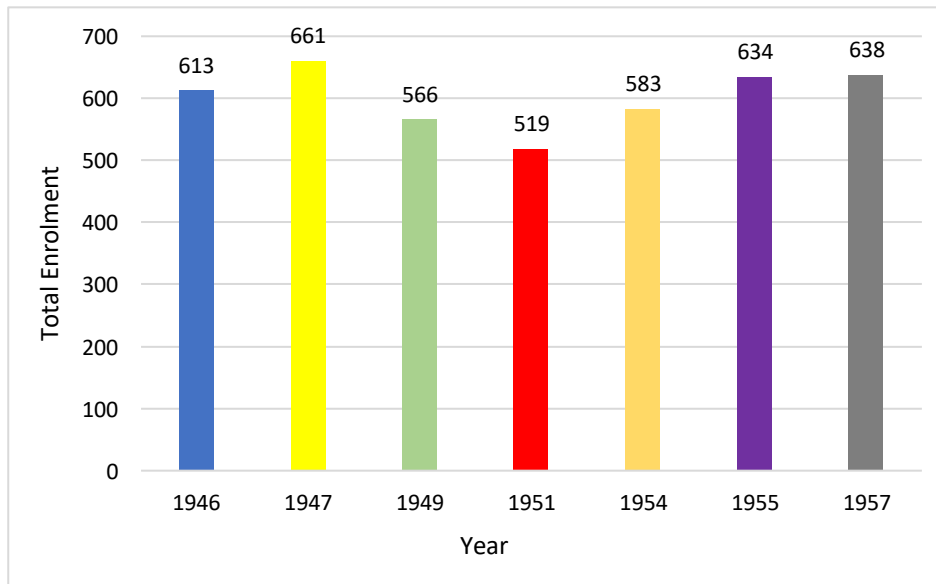
³⁸ 84/1361 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Minta supaya majelis mengadakan 300 bendera matahari bagi penggunaan murid2 maderasah di dalam masa keramaian kerajaan nipon dan 47 daripadanya akan diganti bendera kerajaan yang telah hilang, Penyata Tahunan MAIK, 1942, p. 9.

³⁹ Chin Kee Onn (1976), *Malaya Upside Down*, Singapore: Federal Publications.

⁴⁰ 26/2488 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Minta majelis menghantar seorang guru agama kepada murid2 sekolah padang garong mulai drpd 2.1.88. Some of the files that contain requests to MAIK to open schools, its decision on the matter and other educational activities during the Japanese occupation in Kelantan are 115/1361 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Hj Maktar Qadi Bachok Mohon buka maderasah ugama dan Arab di Bachok; 298/2487 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Memohon majelis mengadakan guru Quran yang tetap kerana mengajar di Masjid Langgar; 137/88 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Pohon majelis mengadakan sebuah maderasah bagi tempat pelajaran ugama bahasa Arab di Kg Mujur.

⁴¹ Penyata Tahunan MAIK 1945, p. 11.

Figure 1: Total enrolment of MAIK Malay Schools, 1946-1957⁴²



(Source: MAIK Annual Reports 1946, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1954, 1955 and 1957)

Unfortunately, MAIK Malay schools' development stagnated in 1949 and continued in the early 1950s following decreases in enrolment. In 1951 its enrolment stood at 519. The decrease was brought about by reduced enrolment in the boys' section of the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay), while there was an increase in the girls' section. The number of male students decreased from 324 in 1949 to 254 in 1951, while the number of female students increased from 242 to 265 in 1951. The reduction of male students was due to MAIK's policy of restricting male classes at the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) to standard three only. This caused parents to send their children to British-sponsored schools which offer higher classes. Subsequently, MAIK formed a special committee to investigate the matter and suggest possible solutions. Attention was focused on the curriculum for the boys' section of Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) by reoffering the standard four and standard five programs for its students.⁴³ Following the recommendations of the committee to update its curriculum, it was also decided to make Malay and English permanent subjects in MAIK schools. By having Bahasa Melayu and English proficiency, student are able to apply for *Special Malay Class* in government English schools and secondary government school to further their studies. Financial assistance to excellent students from low-income families was also offered in line with the committee's suggestion. These strategies and improvements reaped remarkable results when student enrolment increased towards the end of the 1950s. For instance, in 1955, the total number of student enrolment was 634 or 115 more compared to the 1951 figure.

To cope with educational changes that had taken place prior to Independence, MAIK began to undertake a number of strategies which is akin to modernisation. Modernisation was important following the introduction of the 1957 Education Ordinance that was based on the Razak Report of 1956. Even though the Razak Report, according to Haris Jadi, became the basis for post-independence education, national schools would be in competition with MAIK Malay schools.⁴⁴ The 1957 Education Ordinance made it compulsory for any school that has more than 15 Muslim students to offer religious education (Islam) for two hours a week.⁴⁵ The attraction of religious education, which was previously connected to MAIK schools, was in jeopardy following the introduction of this ordinance. Consequently, as a strategy to popularise MAIK Malay schools, MAIK classes were upgraded to standard six as in national schools. The move was meant to show parents that MAIK Malay schools never lag behind in terms of educational improvement. As a result, there was no drastic decrease in student enrolment in 1957, which

⁴² Total number of students in figure 1 includes those from boys' and girls' sections of Maahad Muhammadi (Malay).

⁴³ Total enrolment of girls in 1949 was 242 but increased to 265 in 1951. See *Penyata Tahunan MAIK 1949*, p. 8; *Penyata Tahunan MAIK 1951*, p. 6; 340/51 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 7, 1951-1954 Pohon supaya majelis melantik jawatankuasa kerana siasat ...sekolah2 majelis tidak ada kemajuan pada masa ini; 61/1951 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 7, 1951-1954 Pohon supaya majlis mengadakan bangku2 yang munasabah dengan murid2 pada masa ini.

⁴⁴ Haris Md. Jadi (1991/92), "Reformasi Kurikulum di Malaysia: Satu Pandangan ke atas Proses Perancangan, Pembinaan dan Perlaksaaannya," *Pendidik dan Pendidikan*, Jil. 11, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia (1972), *Laporan Mengenai Pelaksanaan Dasar Pelajaran Terhadap Pelajaran Ugama Islam Mengikut Shor2 Penyata Razak 1965 dan Jawatankuasa Menyemak Pelajaran 1960*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. 5.

stood at 638. In fact, after Independence, many more improvements and strategies were undertaken until MAIK decided to discontinue its schools in 1970.

Achievement and Contributions of MAIK Malay Schools

Any discussion on the achievements and contributions of MAIK Malay schools will highlight the effectiveness of MAIK strategies indirectly since 1917 in facing uncountable challenges. It also manifests the role played by MAIK in the development of primary education in Kelantan, with the biggest one perhaps to provide exposure to formal education (other than colonial sponsored schools or private schools)⁴⁶ to the Kelantan laity. Since 1917 MAIK Malay schools have provided an alternative choice to parents other than the Malay vernacular schools with its gender mixing, which was anathema to many parents. The free MAIK schools enabled local children to secure education much cheaper than the more costly private schools located in urban areas. MAIK schools attracted parents who wanted both religious and academic education conducted on the same premises at a time when *pondok* education was on the decline in the state and in Malaya generally. This is very much related to societal perceptions of its narrow educational objectives, which are confined to religious aspects instead of providing the means for its graduates to serve in the colonial administration or European companies.⁴⁷ MAIK's efforts to establish the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) were made at the right moment as it provided formal education in tune with economic needs without neglecting religious education.

Through its Malay schools, MAIK managed to come up with a curriculum that combined various religious and non-religious subjects within the same syllabus. In its first year of operation, the subjects were reading, basic arithmetic, basic religious education and composition using the Jawi script. Since then, the many changes and revisions to its school syllabus were reflective of MAIK's commitment to providing an education that transcends both religious and non-religious aspects. The following table shows the subjects that were revised and taught in MAIK schools in 1946.⁴⁸

Table 2: List of subjects offered at Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) in 1946

Subject	
1. Tauhid	9. Reading and writing (Roman Malay)
2. Fikh	10. Arithmetic
3. Hikmah kejadian syara'	11. Geography
4. Faraid	12. Health knowledge
5. Quran and tajwid	13. Composition
6. Tafsir and hadith	14. Malay history
7. Moral	15. Art and calligraphy
8. History of the Prophet and the caliphs	

(Source: MAIK Annual Report, 1946, p. 6)

Malay schools were also seen as devoid of economic value as their students could not compete in the job market or progress higher in their studies. They simply continued the parents' vocation as peasants. The reality is that students from Malay schools were left behind as these schools were marginalised by colonial administrators.⁴⁹ By having religious subjects at MAIK school, former students were also involved in the *dakwah* movement among the laity. It was MAIK's responsibility to provide credentials to all religious teachers in the state; it was much easier for MAIK students to secure such credentials following their religious training in MAIK schools. To alleviate the problems of employment, MAIK

⁴⁶ Private schools in Kelantan was opened by individuals, the local community and private companies. The first English private school was opened in 1919 in Kota Bharu by Mrs. Pereira. Its students were the children of officials who served under the British administration. The school was also attended by boys. Private schools were also opened by the Chinese and estates management. In 1928 there were three Chinese schools, one English school and 14 schools for children in the estates. See *K. A. R.* 1919, h. 11 & *K. A. R.* 1928, p. 20.

⁴⁷ Information on the pondok institution can be gleaned from Awang Had Salleh (1977), "Institusi Pondok di Malaysia," in Zainal Kling (ed.), *Masyarakat Melayu Antara Tradisi dan Perubahan*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Penerbitan Universiti Malaya; Ramli Saadon, Khairi Ariffin and Ishak Saat (2016), "Perkembangan Pendidikan Orang Melayu di Malaya Sebelum Kemunculan Western-Type-Education," *Jurnal Perspektif*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 87-89; Mior Khairul Azrin bin Mior Jamaluddin (2011), "Sistem Pendidikan di Malaysia: Dasar, Cabaran, dan Pelaksanaan ke Arah Perpaduan Nasional," *Sosiohumanika*, Vol. 4, No.1, p. 35.

⁴⁸ Only history and art were not offered at the girls' section of the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay).

⁴⁹ Khairi Ariffin, Ramli Saadon and Ismail Ali (2016), "Kurikulum Pelajaran Vernakular Melayu di Tanah Melayu Pada Zaman Kolonial British Sehingga Perang Dunia Kedua," *MANU*, Vol. 18, pp. 1-31; Parameswari Krishnan, J. Hinduja Jayer Raman, Said Darkasi and Rohini Krishnan (2020), "Dasar British dan Jepun Terhadap Sekolah Melayu dan Tamil sebelum Tahun 1957," *Jurnal Kinabalu*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 253-276.

adopted the strategy of giving priority to its graduates to find employment within the organisation, including in the field of education. The following table shows the total number of teachers in MAIK schools.

Table 3: Number of teachers in MAIK Malay schools, 1917-1955

Year	Total teachers
1917	7
1921	12
1925	7
1930	6
1935 ⁵⁰	5
1940	7
1946	27
1951	20
1955	30

(Source: MAIK Annual Reports for 1917, 1921, 1925, 1930, 1935, 1940, 1946, 1951, 1955)

Nevertheless, MAIK continued to improvise its curriculum to eradicate the negative public image of its school. In 1953 Arabic and English were incorporated into the school syllabus as both were seen as useful for the job market or for further studies. Following MAIK's curriculum revision on Malay dan English subject, five of its students were accepted into the *Special Malay Class* in government English schools in 1959, while a few were accepted into government secondary schools.⁵¹ This was a proud achievement as MAIK has provided better education for its students through its Malay schools. A higher level of education has opened many more employment opportunities for the Kelantanese Malays and enabled them to get out of the family-based agriculture or fishing activity. In short, mobility brought by education that was started in MAIK Malay schools was one of the major contributions of this religious organisation to the Kelantan society.

Looking over the long term, the establishment of MAIK schools managed to change societal perceptions towards an educational system in Kelantan that combines both religious and non-religious aspects. MAIK's move was later adopted by other religious schools which provide both religious and non-religious teaching to their students. It was this mixing of subjects, according to Arba'iyah Mohd Noor, that brought changes to the Kelantan educational landscape.⁵² The Kelantan society was no longer solely dependent on British-sponsored Malay schools. In fact, the modernisation of MAIK in its schools provides an indicator that those who came into its school system were able to secure a similar level of education as offered in British-sponsored Malay schools.

Apart from introducing Kelantan society to the idea of formal education, improving religious education and providing employment opportunities for Kelantanese Malays, MAIK's achievement can also be seen in changing the Malay mindset, producing intellectuals and supporting the idea of social emancipation. Names like Abdul Kadir Adabi and As'ad Shukri Haji Muda, who were former MAIK students, were prominent as leading Kelantan intellectuals who had a considerable impact on the state in terms of literary development education, politics and social associations. Abdul Kadir Adabi served as editor of *Pengasuh*, which was MAIK's official magazine, editor of other magazines like *Al Hikmah*, *Kencana*, *Putera*, wrote short stories and founded the *Putera Club* in 1929. These intellectuals became prime movers for the spread of modernist ideas in Kelantan when as early as the 1920s, Abdul Kadir Adabi had suggested the establishment of a college and a university.

Interestingly, upon scrutinising MAIK's contribution in empowering Kelantanese Malay women, the establishment of the girls' section of the Maahad Muhammadi (Malay) in 1932 was an important milestone in women's history of the state. Until 1957, the total of girls in MAIK Malay school stood at 287. Three former girl students became the first batch of women to be sent to Cairo.⁵³ Upon returning

⁵⁰ Beginning from 1935 total for teachers and students include those from the girls' section of Maahad Muhammadi (Malay).

⁵¹ Penyata Tahunan MAIK, 1959, p. 8.

⁵² Arba'iyah Mohd Noor (2008), "Perkembangan Pendidikan Islam di Negeri Kelantan," *Jurnal Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah*, Vol. 36, p. 78.

⁵³ This former student was Salamah Hassan. With Nik Zaharah Nik Yahya and Tuan Aminah Tuan Salleh, she went on for further studies at the Ma'had al-Mua'llimat (Women Teachers College) located in Syubra Cairo. The school was under the management of Cairo University.

to Kelantan, they became teachers and society leaders. All this began with MAIK education. In 1945 opportunities to become teachers had opened up considerably when MAIK decided that girls' schools should be handled by lady teachers only. Former MAIK lady graduates had also opened up their own schools or *madrrasah* specifically for girls. One such individual was Sharifah Alawiyah who opened a *madrrasah* for women/girls in Kampung Sirih, Pasir Putih. In 1942, this *madrrasah* became the first school to come under MAIK's umbrella.⁵⁴ The slogan "Long live women's *madrrasah* in Tumpat imbued with education!!!" which appeared in letters written by Sharifah Alawiyah to MAIK, shows the confidence of former MAIK female students to embrace emancipation ideas. A similar skill was also exhibited by a female writer who was a former student of the MAIK Malay school when she wrote in *Pengasuh*.

Parents, make haste to send your children boys and girls to get an education in both secular and religious matters so as to improve the behaviour of your ancestors and for them to have a happy life (...) in fact, we also secure a good name when others said, "so and so is really capable of bringing up his/her children through education."⁵⁵

In short, former MAIK students were so affected by the kind of education they secured from MAIK Malay schools. Other than organising school activities with the laity Maahad Muhammadiyah (Malay), lady teachers also contributed to *Pengasuh*. Such skill was manifested by former female students and lady teachers, enabling them to become 'ambassadors' of social change within Kelantan society. The many strategies undertaken by MAIK have provided an indicator that women also have the right to get an education that later brought about societal progress in the Kelantan society.

Conclusion

MAIK's involvement in Malay schools was influenced by a number of factors, including its desire to provide a better future for local children through education. It also allows the MAIK leadership to chart the course of education in Kelantan. With their own schools, MAIK was not tied to the new educational system put in place by British administrators. This was with regards to the combination of religious and non-religious subjects, which was non-existent in the colonial system. Despite its positive beginning, MAIK still faced numerous challenges that originated from within the organisation, such as insufficient funds and the inability to provide teaching staff and a sufficiently-attractive curriculum to parents. At the same time, MAIK had to come to terms with external challenges in the form of the economic depression, the political instability at the international level that impacted Kelantan and competition from the education provided by the colonial administration. However, in most cases, MAIK responded to these challenges with various new strategies such as curriculum revision, improvement of its teaching staff, and continuing its amicable relationship with the sultan and the colonial power of British and Japan. These strategies are a testament to its dynamism as an organisation that handled primary education, rendering MAIK to become an essential player in charting and transforming education in Kelantan.

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434/17 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Pohon ampuni mengadakan masjid batu di dalam Bandar Kota Bharu iaitu ganti masjid yang ada sekarang maka belanja dianggarkan tidak kurang daripada \$200,000.

45/19 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Berkenaan dengan mengadakan estimates belanja kerana sekolah majelis; 129/19 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Berkenaan dengan minta majelis mengadakan satu maderrasah tempat pelajaran di kampung di bawah jagaan majelis.

21/20 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Berkenaan dengan minta report di atas pelajaran madrasah dan segala cadangan peraturan yang diadakan guru.

⁵⁴ MAIK sponsored schools were in the form of peoples' religious schools which came under its supervision. Its curriculum was determined by MAIK but the school managed its own finances.

⁵⁵ *Pengasuh*, Vol. 491, 1935, pp. 12-13.

30/20 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Minta majlis mengadakan maderasah tempat pelajaran bagi kanak2 di dalam kampung pekan di bawah jagaan majelis.

432/20 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1916-1921 Menghantar satu surat permintaan daripada haji zakarian guru maderasah pasir mas mengadakan guru quran dan juga tambahan seorang guru lagi bagi maderasah itu kerana pada masa ini tidak chukup dengan 2 guru tiada itu.

312/24 Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan 1922-1929 Cadangan hendak menghantar 2 orang anaknya belajar di dalam maderasah daerah kota baru adakah maderasah itu memelihara kanak2 dan berapakah bayarannya pada sebulan.

439/31 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Rayu hal tentang potongan 15 di atas gaji2 mereka itu diminta mengikut kerajaan ialah sikit gaji lebih kurang 20 sebulan.

24/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Majelis ada terhutang gaji pegawai2 bagi bulan september 1931 berjumlah 1289 kerana tidak chukup.

400/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Chadangan memungut wang daripada semua kanak2 maderasah mohamdiah kerana belanja.

433/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Memohon tentang gajinya \$15 sebulan itu tidak menchukupi kerana dipotong 15 itu dan minta pertimbangan seberapa yang patut timbangan majelis.

130/33 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Pohonkan surat akuan bagi kelulusan pelajaran maderasah mohamdiah darjah iv itu.

458/32 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Rayu hal pada tentang potongan 15 percent di atas gajinya diminta majelis timbangkan supaya tidak dijalankan potongan itu.

9/34 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 3, 1930-1935 Wan Abdullah wan sup penimbang murid majelis ugama memohonkan akuan pelajarannya kepada setiausaha kerajaan kerana ia meminta kerja peon di pejabat mufti kerajaan kelantan.

369/36 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 4, 1936-1939 Mengeshurkan kepada Majelis Supaya Perintah kepada Guru2 maderasah mohamadiyah pergi belajar latihan di sekolah padang garong bersama2 guru2 kerajaan tiap2 hari... itu.

137/88 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Pohon majelis mengadakan sebuah maderasah bagi tempat pelajaran ugama bahasa arab di kg mujur.

84/1361 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Minta supaya majelis mengadakan 300 bendera matahari bagi penggunaan murid2 maderasah di dalam masa keramaian kerajaan nipoh dan 47 daripadanya akan diganti bendera kerajaan yang telah hilang.

115/1361 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Hj maktar qadi bachok mohon buka maderasah ugama dan Arab di Bachok.

298/2487 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Memohon majelis mengadakan guru quran yang tetap kerana mengajar di masjid Langgar.

26/2488 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 5, 1940-1941 1361, 2603, 2487, 2488 Minta majelis menghantar seorang guru agama kepada murid2 Sekolah Padang Garong mulai drpd 2.1.88.

61/1951 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 7, 1951-1954 Pohon supaya majelis mengadakan bangku2 yang munasabah dengan murid2 pada masa ini.

340/51 Pejabat Majlis Ugama Islam Kelantan, Jilid 7, 1951-1954 Pohon supaya majelis melantik jawatankuasa kerana siasat ...sekolah2 majelis tidak ada kemajuan pada masa ini.

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