

Teacher Dilemmas in Integrated Islamic Schools: A Case Study on the Gap Between Islamic Work Environment and the Reality of Professional Welfare

Apandi^{1*}, Issy Yuliasri², Puji Astuti³

Abstract

Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) are growing rapidly in Indonesia, yet teacher welfare within these institutions remains underexplored. This study aims to uncover the professional dilemmas experienced by SIT teachers, specifically the gap between the Islamic work environment and the realities of workload and compensation. Using a qualitative approach with a case study design involving one teacher at an SIT in Cirebon, data were collected through open-ended questionnaires and analyzed thematically. The main findings reveal three themes: (1) positive values of the Islamic work environment, such as the 3S culture (Smile, Greet, Salaam), shared religious practices, and professional development; (2) sources of dilemma, including disproportionate workload, dual expectations, value conflicts, and structural injustice in the PPPK policy; and (3) coping strategies through spiritual reframing (ibadah, amal jariyah, tawakkal) and the social capital of the teacher community. This study reveals that spirituality functions as an active coping mechanism, not merely a passive identity. The implications call for improvements to workload distribution systems, work-life balance policies, and equitable welfare access for private school teachers.

Keywords: *teacher dilemma; Integrated Islamic School; Islamic work environment; professional welfare; case study*

Introduction

The development of Integrated Islamic Schools (Sekolah Islam Terpadu, SIT) in Indonesia cannot be separated from the dynamics of the Tarbiyah movement, which has been deeply rooted since the 1980s. According to Suyatno (2013), the emergence of SITs was pioneered by campus da'wah activists affiliated with Campus Da'wah Institutions (LDK) at major universities such as ITB and UI, who harbored deep concern over the state of Islamic education in Indonesia. This movement then transformed massively

during the reform era of 1998, as political and educational freedoms expanded. Hasan (2009) notes that the growth of JSIT was closely tied to the Tarbiyah movement's orientation toward nurturing a generation of Muslims who are intellectually excellent and strong in faith. This growth is evident: by 2013 alone, schools affiliated with JSIT had reached 1,926 schools across Indonesia, and this number continued to rise, surpassing 2,300 schools spread across 33 provinces (JSIT Indonesia, 2020).

The high level of public trust in SITs has been the primary driver of their rapid

growth. Yusup (2017) affirms that SITs are welcomed positively by the community, as evidenced by the high interest of parents in enrolling their children and the many Muslims who take the initiative to establish similar schools. Azyumardi Azra (2000) describes this phenomenon as the 'santrization of the Muslim middle class,' wherein educated and economically established Muslims make prestigious Islamic schools their first choice for their children's education. The appeal of SITs is further strengthened by their academic-religious achievements; Republika (2014) reports that the average SDIT graduate is able to memorize one juz of the Qur'an, while SMPIT and SMAIT graduates can memorize more than two juz. However, behind this prestigious image, Abdussyukur (2018) warns that the operation of SITs is laden with Tarbiyah ideology that instills a work-as-worship orientation in teachers—a condition that potentially creates a professional dilemma between the spirit of dedication and the fulfillment of teachers' welfare rights.

The uniqueness of Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) as a form of reform in Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia lies in its comprehensive concept of integration. According to Syarifuddin (as cited in Sukhoiri, 2022, p. 3), the essence of SIT is an educational institution with a new concept that integrates curriculum, learning, teaching staff, facilities, management, and evaluation. Furthermore, Usman (2008, as cited in Sukhoiri, 2022, p. 4) proposes three concepts of integration in SIT: integration between school educators and students' parents, integration between the national

curriculum and the special integrated Islamic curriculum, and integration of all stakeholders. Another distinctive feature of SIT is the implementation of a full day school system, with school hours from 07:00 to 16:00, along with featured programs including Qur'anic memorization, Al-Hadith, and daily prayers as added value for parents. Most fundamentally, religious values are internalized into every general subject, where SIT is administratively under the Ministry of Education and Culture, yet its curriculum is dominated by religious subjects (Sukhoiri, 2022, p. 1). More specifically, the JSIT Indonesia Team (2015, as cited in Sukhoiri, 2022, pp. 6–7) formulates ten Muslim personality characteristics called *muwasafat*, which include: sound creed (*aqidah*), correct worship (*ibadah*), noble character (*akhlak*), independence, broad-mindedness, physical health, self-discipline, skilled in managing affairs, time discipline, and being beneficial to others. These ten characteristics are the main foundation for shaping students with Islamic personalities in the SIT environment.

Research on Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) has so far been dominated by studies on the advantages of integrated curricula, the full day school concept, and Islamic character formation in students (Sukhoiri, 2022; JSIT Indonesia Team, 2015). However, there remains a significant research gap—the scarcity of research that reveals the dilemmas experienced by teachers as the primary implementers of policy in the field. On one hand, SIT teachers experience positive aspects such as time discipline, the creation of an Islamic

collegial environment, and access to teacher professional development programs. On the other hand, they face negative realities in the form of extremely high work demands, very strict working hours (often including Saturdays and Sundays), and the bitter reality that the salary received falls below the regional minimum wage (UMR). This phenomenon remains under-researched and neglected in the Islamic education literature in Indonesia. In other words, it remains unexplored how SIT teachers persevere, find meaning in their profession, and navigate the disparity between extremely heavy workloads and inadequate financial compensation.

This study aims to examine the dilemmas experienced by teachers at Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT), focusing on the contradictions between professional advantages and the structural burdens they face. On one hand, teachers enjoy a disciplined work environment, an Islamic collegial culture, and access to professional development programs. On the other hand, they are confronted with excessive work demands, rigid and extended working hours encompassing weekends, and a remuneration system below the regional minimum wage standard. Specifically, this study has two main objectives: first, to identify and analyze the forms of positive and negative experiences felt by SIT teachers that create professional dilemmas; and second, to explore how teachers persevere and sustain their commitment in the face of these challenging conditions, as well as the meaning-making process they engage in to maintain professional commitment amid the gap between

professional idealism and economic-institutional pressures. By achieving these objectives, this study is expected to provide a nuanced empirical understanding of teacher welfare and professional identity in the context of the rapid growth of Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia.

Literature Review

In the world of education, teachers and educators frequently face complex professional dilemmas, both in teaching practice and career development. Pandita, Kumar, & Bhardwaj (2025) reveal how teachers in India grapple with dilemmas in meeting foundational literacy and numeracy targets, which often feel like a 'mirage' of professional duty. Similar dilemmas are experienced by science teachers, who according to McCausland et al. (2023) must negotiate their professional vision amid various teaching challenges. Meanwhile, Louws et al. (2020) highlight the dilemmas faced by school leaders in responding to tensions related to teacher professional agency, which is further reinforced by Tay et al.'s (2021) finding that empowerment through distributed leadership can help reconcile tensions and dilemmas in teacher professional development. At a broader level, Mooney Simmie et al. (2024) view continuing professional development (CPD) as a journey across borders laden with contradictions and ethical dilemmas, yet also opening transformative possibilities. Dilemmas do not only arise in the classroom or school, but also in higher education settings, as shown by Alexander, Cain, & Plastow (2026) regarding dilemmas in

professional code-switching faced by teacher educators. Consequently, professional dilemmas are cross-level and cross-context phenomena that require ongoing negotiation and systemic support to be transformed into developmental opportunities.

In the study of teacher emotions, the concept of emotional labor has become a central focus, demonstrating how teachers manage their feelings in accordance with professional demands. Waldbuesser, Rubinsky, & Titsworth (2021) begin by examining the feeling rules that college classroom teachers must adhere to, where they are required to display certain emotions even when they do not align with their genuine feelings. Kang (2022) deepens this inquiry by showing how an elementary school EFL teacher's emotional intelligence interacts with their daily emotional labor practices. Furthermore, Kocabaş-Gedik & Ortaçtepe Hart (2021) use a poststructuralist approach to reveal that emotional labor is not only psychological in nature but is also closely tied to language teacher identity, which is often caught between expectations and reality. Meanwhile, Taheri et al. (2024) find that the emotional labor of teachers in Iranian primary schools influences their commitment, with psychological capital as a mediating factor. Huang & Zhou (2024) complement these findings by showing that emotional labor strategies can have positive or negative effects on the work engagement of preschool teachers in China, mediated by teacher efficacy and grit. Lastly, Petiot, Visioli, & Kermarrec (2025) examine the emotional labor of physical education teachers in difficult contexts and find that

the most significant moments of their careers are precisely the most intense arenas for emotional negotiation. Overall, these six studies consistently show that teacher emotional labor is cross-level and cross-context, with a profound impact on identity, welfare, commitment, and work engagement.

Research on teacher identity has undergone significant conceptual shifts, from a static view toward an understanding that identity is dynamic, fluid, and continuously negotiated. Hong, Cross Francis, & Schutz (2024) begin by offering a re-conceptualization of teacher identity development as a complex and multidimensional process—no longer viewed as linear stages but as a journey filled with interactions between personal, social, and emotional factors. In alignment, O'Keeffe & Skeritt (2021) use poststructural tools to dissect teacher identity, emphasizing that identity is not a fixed entity but a discursive construction always in the process of becoming. Juutilainen et al. (2024) reinforce this view by showing how beginning student teachers' agency plays an important role in identity negotiations from the earliest stages of education. Meanwhile, Chua, Liu, & Chia (2018) connect teacher identity to professional practice and inquiry in teacher education, where the processes of questioning and reflecting on practice become central to identity formation. Giralt-Romeu, Liesa, & Castelló (2024) extend this inquiry to the level of teacher educators, finding that identity as an inquirer (teacher identity as inquirer) becomes a distinctive characteristic that differentiates

teacher educators from other practitioners. Dimitrieska (2024) adds a specific perspective from the language teaching context, where language teacher identity construction occurs through reflective conversation that enables teachers to negotiate their self-understanding amid diverse professional demands. Lastly, Asadi & Azimi (2026) use a narrative approach to explore the identity of university professors, showing that their personal stories and professional experiences form unique and contextual identities. Collectively, these seven studies consistently affirm that teacher identity—whether at the level of pre-service teachers, in-service teachers, teacher educators, language teachers, or university professors—is a relational, narrative, reflective construction that continually develops through negotiation between individual agency, social context, and the professional discourses that surround it.

Research Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive case study design to examine in depth the various professional dilemmas faced by teachers in Integrated Islamic Schools. A qualitative approach was chosen because it is able to comprehensively explore teachers' experiences, thoughts, and ways of making sense of the dilemmas they face—such as the gap between national curriculum demands, Islamic values, parental expectations, and resource limitations—which cannot be adequately captured by quantitative methods. The descriptive case study design (Yin, 2003) enables the researcher to present a complete,

holistic, and contextually meaningful picture of teachers' professional dilemmas in the real setting of an Integrated Islamic School, without aiming to explain causal relationships. This method is highly appropriate for observing the dynamics, negotiations, and strategies employed by teachers when confronting various dilemmatic situations arising from the interaction of personal, institutional, and cultural factors in the school environment. This study was conducted with a narrow focus on a teacher in an Integrated Islamic School, given the way such teachers navigate dilemmas between religious values, school policies, and professional expectations. The inherent limitations of case study design actually sharpen the analytical focus and enable in-depth exploration of the forms of dilemmas, their contributing factors, and the strategies for coping with dilemmas in daily work practice (Yin, 2003). Thus, this design is ideal for richly and contextually capturing the unique dilemmas that emerge in Integrated Islamic Schools, where teachers must continuously balance multiple, often conflicting demands. The research was conducted at one Integrated Islamic School (SIT) in Cirebon. The case study participant was one SIT teacher. The instrument used was an in-depth semi-structured interview questionnaire with thematic analysis. Data validity was ensured through member checking and observation.

Results and Discussion

Data analysis was conducted using Miles and Huberman's (1994) interactive model through three stages: data reduction,

data display, and conclusion drawing. From 29 open-ended questionnaire questions answered by one participant—a teacher at an Integrated Islamic School (SIT) in Cirebon with eight years of experience—three main themes and their supporting sub-themes were identified, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of Main Themes from Thematic Analysis

No	Main Theme	Sub-themes
1	Positive Values of the Islamic Work Environment	3S Culture; Share development; Dis
2	Sources of Dilemma and Professional Gaps	Workload vs. cor Islamic + professi inconsistency; PP
3	Coping Strategies and Meaning-Making	Ibadah/calling fra motivation; Tawa informal commun

Source: Primary data analysis results

Theme 1: Positive Values of the Islamic Work Environment

The first theme reflects the conducive dimensions of the work environment at SIT as genuinely experienced by the participant. Islamic values are not merely present as institutional symbols; rather, they are internalized in daily practice and form what Bourdieu (1990) refers to as a distinctive professional habitus.

1.1 Islamic Culture as a Daily Social Norm

The practice of the 3S culture—Senyum, Sapa, Salam (Smile, Greet, Salaam)—has become a social norm deeply embedded in interactions among teachers as well as

between teachers and students. The participant affirmed that this value does not only apply within the school but organically extends into life outside the work environment—an indication of authentic value internalization, not merely procedural compliance.

"With the 3S culture that is applied, this carries over into daily life both in the school environment and at home. I have become accustomed to being friendly and offering greetings first when meeting others. (Participant)"

1.2 Shared Religious Practices as Work Routines

The rituals of congregational Dhuha prayer, the five daily prayers, brief religious lectures (kultum), and Qur'anic recitation (tadarus) have been fully integrated into the structure of the working day. The participant welcomed these practices positively, viewing them as effective character-building mechanisms and a source of inner peace amid work pressures. This finding aligns with Fealy and White's (2008) concept of 'living Islam,' where Islam is practiced in the totality of life, not merely believed doctrinally.

"I am very happy with these activities because from the morning, students are accustomed to beginning their day with good activities, which builds disciplinary character, increases piety, and creates peace of mind for the entire school community. (Participant)"

1.3 Structured Professional Development

The school regularly organizes curriculum-related training, including workshops on the Merdeka Curriculum and training on the creation of technology-based teaching modules. The participant stated that this program visibly enhanced their capacity as an educator, particularly in terms of active learning strategies and the use of digital applications. The obligation to participate in MGMP (Subject Teachers' Working Groups) also expanded their professional network beyond the institution.

1.4 Discipline as a Personally Held Value

Although the participant acknowledged that the school's application of discipline is far from ideal (discussed in Theme 2), they personally regard discipline as a value held steadfastly, not merely a rule to be followed. This reflects the differentiation between individual commitment and institutional implementation—a gap that actually strengthens their professional identity.

"For me, discipline is very important because it is a form of my responsibility as a teacher. I always try not to be influenced when other members of the school community fail to follow the rules, because the quality of a person is seen in how they carry out every regulation. (Participant)"

Theme 2: Sources of Dilemma and Professional Gaps

The second theme reveals the problematic dimensions of the participant's experience—various sources of tension that

create real professional dilemmas. Following Shapira-Lishchinsky's (2011) framework on ethical dilemmas in teaching, these tensions are multi-layered and cannot be resolved with a single solution.

2.1 Disproportionate Workload and Unfair Distribution

The participant perceives a workload that is disproportionate to the compensation received. Furthermore, the distribution of tasks among teachers is seen as unfair—some teachers bear far heavier burdens than others for equivalent compensation.

"Too many tasks are assigned to only a few teachers while others are not. We feel there is no fairness in the distribution of work burdens, while what is received can be said to be the same. (Participant)"

This condition reinforces the argument of structural precarity among private school teachers in Indonesia. This distributive injustice not only disturbs material welfare but also affects team cohesion and work motivation.

2.2 Impact on Personal Life and the Absence of WLB Policy

Work demands that extend beyond official hours—including the preparation of reports outside one's main duties—have a direct impact on the quality of family time and physical health. Ironically, the institution has yet to develop a formal mechanism for managing teacher work-life balance.

"These demands do not affect my worship, but they greatly

*affect my time with my family.
Because of frequent overtime
and lack of rest, my health has
been somewhat disrupted.
(Participant)"*

The absence of such a policy is compounded by weak communication between the foundation (yayasan) and the school community, so that structural problems continue to recur without systemic resolution.

2.3 Dilemma Between Curriculum Targets and Character Formation

One of the deepest tensions experienced by the participant is the clash between academic pressure and moral-spiritual commitment. This dilemma evokes what Standing (2011) describes as the condition of a worker trapped between two systems of demand that each carry their own legitimacy.

*"I want to continue teaching so
that the curriculum content is
completed quickly, but my
conscience says: what is the
point of students being clever if
their manners are not good? But
if I stop explaining to give
advice, the time for delivering
the material also decreases.
(Participant)"*

The participant also faces conflicts of assessment integrity when the policy of 'no grades below the minimum passing standard (KKM)' from the education department clashes with the principles of honest evaluation they hold. This is a form of moral disengagement (Bandura, 1999) imposed structurally, not of personal free will.

2.4 Pressure of Dual Expectations: Islamic and Professional

SIT teachers face layered expectations from the institution: not only academically competent, but also able to integrate the values of tawheed into every subject while simultaneously serving as a role model of character (akhlak) for students. These expectations generate a heavy identity burden.

*"The institution expects me not
only to teach the material, but
also to be able to connect the
material with tawheed values. I
am also required to be a role
model—the way I speak and
dress must be polite. And I am
obligated to attend study
sessions organized by the
school. (Participant)"*

This condition aligns with Kocabaş-Gedik & Ortaçtepe Hart's (2021) finding that teacher emotional labor is not merely psychological but is closely tied to an identity that is continuously negotiated between institutional expectations and classroom reality.

2.5 Career Uncertainty and the PPPK Policy Disparity

The participant identifies a broader structural injustice: the PPPK (Government Employees with Work Agreements) policy that is exclusive to public school teachers closes off equal access for private school teachers. This unclear career path creates long-term uncertainty that erodes motivation.

*"Government regulations only
take teachers working in public*

schools for PPPK, so we as private school teachers cannot participate. I hope that in the future there will be new policies that provide welfare equality. (Participant)"

Theme 3: Coping Strategies and Meaning-Making

The third theme is the central theme that explains why and how the participant is able to persevere amid the multi-layered pressures described in Theme 2. Two main mechanisms were identified: spiritual reframing and community social capital.

3.1 Teaching as Ibadah and Calling

The participant makes meaning of their profession far beyond the transactional dimension. The concept of teaching as ibadah (worship) and a calling (panggilan jiwa) becomes the foundation of motivation that provides psychological resilience when material incentives are inadequate. This orientation aligns with the 'calling' category in Wrzesniewski et al.'s (1997) typology of work orientations, characterized by strong intrinsic commitment to the work itself.

"Being a teacher is not just an ordinary job; it is a field of amal jariyah (ongoing charity) whose rewards will continue to flow even after we have passed away, because the knowledge we impart can be of benefit to students. If not us who become teachers, then who else? (Participant)"

3.2 Religious Texts as Psychological Resources

The participant actively and consciously uses religious texts—specifically the hadith on amal jariyah—as a reference for meaning in difficult situations. These texts are not merely memorized but are functioned as religion-based coping mechanisms, which Pargament (1997) categorizes as collaborative religious coping: the individual views themselves as a partner of God in facing problems.

"In Islam there is the concept of amal jariyah—beneficial knowledge. This hadith always strengthens me when I am under pressure or in an uncomfortable situation at school. (Participant)"

3.3 Tawakkal as a Psychological Strategy for Facing Uncertainty

When there is a gap between high expectations and unsatisfying results, the participant develops a strategy of tawakkal—surrendering the final outcome to God after making maximum effort. This strategy allows the participant to release the psychological burden of things beyond their control, while still giving their best within their capacity.

"I always remember that I can only work to the best of my ability; as for the results, I entrust them to God. God knows far better what is best for His servants. (Participant)"

This strategy is also reflected in how the participant redefines the meaning of 'welfare'—not based on material amounts, but on the conviction that sustenance obtained through the path of dedication

contains blessings that transcend financial calculation.

3.4 Teacher Community as Social Capital

Beyond the spiritual dimension, the community of fellow teachers—both internal (staff room, WhatsApp groups) and external (MGMP)—functions as a genuine psychological buffer and professional resource. Following Putnam's (2000) concept of social capital, this community generates two forms of capital: bonding capital (a sense of emotional security among fellow teachers at school) and bridging capital (access to professional resources across institutions through MGMP).

"When I was about to give up because of the difficulty in finding examples of new curriculum administration, it turned out that many teachers from other schools were experiencing the same thing. We ended up sharing in the MGMP forum. The heavy burden became lighter. (Participant)"

The role of MGMP, which has evolved beyond its formal function as a curriculum forum to become a crisis network, illustrates how educational actors develop bottom-up adaptive strategies when formal institutions have yet to provide the necessary support. This aligns with the concept of teacher resilience as a socio-cultural phenomenon, not merely an individual capacity (Gu & Day, 2007).

Model of Dilemmas and Active Coping in SIT Teachers

Based on the overall findings, this study identifies a recurring pattern: SIT teachers operate within inherently structural gaps between the idealism of the Islamic work environment (Theme 1) and the reality of burdens and injustices (Theme 2), and maintain their professional function through two complementary mechanisms (Theme 3).

The first mechanism is vertical-transcendent in nature: spiritual reframing through the concepts of ibadah, amal jariyah, and tawakkal, which enables teachers to find meaning beyond material limitations. The second mechanism is horizontal-social: a network of peer teacher support that functions as a psychological buffer and a source of collective knowledge. Together, these form what may be termed an adaptive functional coping under non-ideal conditions—yet it remains fragile because it rests on individual internal capacity and informal networks rather than on systemic change.

These findings also raise a critical question: is the ibadah framing a form of authentic empowerment, or is it a legitimization mechanism that unconsciously perpetuates unjust working conditions? This question is important for further investigation in subsequent research, particularly by increasing the number of participants and incorporating institutional perspectives for a more balanced picture.

The closing statement offered by the participant at the end of the questionnaire serves as a holistic verification that confirms the overall pattern of findings:

"School is not just a place of work; it is a place that teaches

patience, adaptability, and the true meaning of sincere dedication. (Participant)"

Conclusion

This study examines the professional dilemmas of teachers at Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) through a qualitative case study with one participant. Using thematic analysis following Miles and Huberman's (1994) model, three main themes were identified: (1) positive values of the Islamic work environment that shape a unique professional habitus; (2) various sources of dilemma and tension encompassing disproportionate workloads, time pressures, dual expectations, value conflicts, and structural policy injustice; and (3) coping strategies grounded in spiritual reframing (ibadah, amal jariyah, tawakkal) and the social capital of the teacher community.

These findings contribute to the literature by revealing that spirituality functions as an active coping mechanism—not merely a passive identity—in the context of the Muslim teacher profession. Practically, this study recommends: (a) improvements to workload distribution and compensation systems in SIT schools; (b) the development of structured work-life balance policies; (c) a review of PPPK policy to provide equal access for private school teachers; and (d) formal strengthening of the role of MGMP as a professional support ecosystem.

The main limitation of this study lies in the very limited number of participants (N=1). Future research is recommended to expand the number of participants from

diverse backgrounds, complement the study with field observations and in-depth interviews, and compare teacher perspectives with institutional management perspectives to produce a more comprehensive and generalizable understanding.

References

- Abdussyukur, A. (2018). Konsep dan praktik sekolah Islam terpadu dan implikasinya dalam pengembangan pendidikan Islam di Indonesia [Doctoral Dissertation, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya].
- Alexander, C., Cain, M., & Plastow, K. (2026). Dilemmas in professional code-switching for teacher educators in higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 51(3), 699–713. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2025.2486577>
- Asadi, S., & Azimi, R. (2026). Exploring teacher identity of university professors: a narrative-based perspective. *Learning: Research and Practice*, 12(1), 154–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23735082.2025.2533846>
- Azra, A. (2000). Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan modernisasi menuju milenium baru. Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Bandura, A. (1999). Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3(3), 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0303_3

- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford University Press.
- Chua, B. L., Liu, W. C., & Chia, S. S. Y. (2018). Teacher identity, Professional Practice, and Inquiry (PPI) in teacher education. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 38(4), 550–564. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2018.1536602>
- Dimitrieska, V. (2024). Language Teacher Identity Construction: Reflective Conversation. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 23(5), 771–786. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2022.2054418>
- Fealy, G., & White, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Expressing Islam: Religious life and politics in Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Giralt-Romeu, M., Liesa, E., & Castelló, M. (2024). Teacher identity as inquirer: voices of teacher educators. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 47(1), 140–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2021.2015319>
- Gu, Q., & Day, C. (2007). Teachers resilience: A necessary condition for effectiveness. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 23(8), 1302–1316. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2006.06.006>
- Hasan, N. (2009). Islamizing formal education: Integrated Islamic school and a new trend in formal education institution in Indonesia. *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*.
- Hong, J., Cross Francis, D., & Schutz, P. A. (2024). Reconceptualizing teacher identity development. *Educational Psychologist*, 59(3), 159–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2023.2292713>
- Huang, P., & Zhou, M. (2024). Are Emotional Labor Strategies Good or Bad for Work Engagement Among Chinese Preschool Teachers? The Mediating Role of Teacher Efficacy and Grit. *Early Education and Development*, 35(8), 1920–1935. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2024.2360879>
- JSIT Indonesia. (2020). Portal resmi Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu. <https://jsitindonesia.com/>
- Juutilainen, M., Metsäpelto, R. L., Mäensivu, M., & Poikkeus, A. M. (2024). Beginning student teachers' agency in teacher identity negotiations. *Teacher Development*, 28(2), 178–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530.2023.2299683>
- Kang, D. M. (2022). An Elementary School EFL Teacher's Emotional Intelligence and Emotional Labor. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 21(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2020.1777867>
- Kocabaş-Gedik, P., & Ortaçtepe Hart, D. (2021). "It's Not Like That at All": A Poststructuralist Case Study on Language Teacher Identity and Emotional Labor. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 20(2), 103–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2020.1726756>

- Louws, M., Zwart, R., Zuiker, I., Meijer, P., Oolbekkink-Marchand, H., Schaap, H., & van der Want, A. (2020). Exploring school leaders' dilemmas in response to tensions related to teacher professional agency. *Professional Development in Education*, 46(4), 691–710. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19415257.2020.1787203>
- McCausland, J., Jackson, J., McDonald, S., Bateman, K., Pallant, A., & Lee, H. S. (2023). Science Teachers' Negotiation of Professional Vision around Dilemmas of Science Teaching in a Professional Development Context. *Journal of Science Teacher Education*, 34(7), 689–706. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1046560X.2022.2136052>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Mooney Simmie, G., O'Meara, N., Forster, A., Ryan, V., & Ryan, T. (2024). Towards a model of Teachers' Continuing Professional Development (CPD): a border crossing journey with embedded contradictions, ethical dilemmas and transformative possibilities. *Professional Development in Education*, 50(1), 46–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19415257.2023.2283420>
- O'Keeffe, S., & Skerritt, C. (2021). Exploring teacher identity using poststructural tools. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 44(2), 179–192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2020.1753691>
- Pandita, P., Kumar, S., & Bhardwaj, A. (2025). 'Mirage of professional duties': the dilemma every teacher encounters in meeting the goal of foundational literacy and numeracy in India. *Education 3-13*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004279.2025.2456012>
- Pargament, K. I. (1997). *The psychology of religion and coping: Theory, research, practice*. Guilford Press.
- Petiot, O., Visioli, J., & Kermarrec, G. (2025). The emotional labor of physical education teachers in 'difficult contexts': an inductive analysis of the most significant moments of their career. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 30(3), 266–281. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17408989.2023.2219269>
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.
- Republika. (2014, January 31). 10 tahun JSIT Indonesia bangun pendidikan lewat SIT. <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/n08dcm/>
- Shapira-Lishchinsky, O. (2011). Teachers' critical incidents: Ethical dilemmas in teaching practice. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27(3), 648–656. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2010.11.003>
- Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Sukhoiri. (2022). Sekolah Islam Terpadu: Reformasi Baru Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Indonesia: Teori, Penelitian dan Inovasi*, 2(5), 269–275.

Suyatno, S. (2013). Sekolah Islam terpadu: Filsafat, ideologi, dan tren baru pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 2(2), 355–372.

Taheri, E., Shirzad, K., Afsahi, F., & Kouhsari, M. (2024). The Effect of Teacher Emotional Labor on Commitment: The Mediating Role of Teacher Psychological Capital in Iranian Primary Schools. *Educational Studies*, 60(2), 199–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2023.2280652>

Tay, L. Y., Ramachandran, K., Ong, W. L. M., & Towndrow, P. A. (2021). Empowerment through distributed leadership in reconciling tensions and dilemmas in teacher professional development. *Teacher Development*, 25(5), 647–668. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530.2021.1939133>

Waldbuesser, C., Rubinsky, V., & Titsworth, S. (2021). Teacher emotional labor: examining teacher feeling rules in the college classroom. *Communication Education*, 70(4), 384–401. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03634523.2021.1936097>

Wrzesniewski, A., McCauley, C., Rozin, P., & Schwartz, B. (1997). Jobs, careers, and callings: People's relations to their work. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 31(1), 21–33. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jrpe.1997.2162>

Yin, R. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Yusup, M. (2017). Eksklusivisme beragama Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu (JSIT) Yogyakarta. *Religi: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 13(1), 75–96.