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The Course Development from Household Management to Home Economics and Sara Lee Tuck's Mission as a Transnational Instructor in Girls' Education in Turkey

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Research Article
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ABSTRACT
This article examines the transformation of home management course from the late Ottoman Empire to the early Turkish Republic through the case of American home economics instructor Sara Lee Tuck, who taught at Erenköy Girls' High School from 1925 to 1929. Drawing on archival documents, institutional reports, periodicals, and contemporary publications, the study uses the concepts of transfer, translation, and transformation to analyze how foreign educational expertise was incorporated into a national education system. It argues that Tuck's appointment represented neither a straightforward transfer of an American model nor a process of Americanization. Rather, her expertise was selectively adapted and supervised by Turkish educational authorities, particularly through curriculum development and in-service teacher training. While home management education introduced modern knowledge of hygiene, nutrition, efficiency, and productivity, it continued to associate women's citizenship with domestic responsibilities. The case therefore reveals both the possibilities and the gendered limits of transnational educational modernization in early Republican Turkey.
***Keywords*:** Sara Lee Tuck, Home Management, Home Economics, Erenköy Girls' High School, Girls' Education.

Ev İdaresi'nden Ev Ekonomisi'ne Dönüşen Ders Geliştirme Süreci ve Sara Lee Tuck'ın Türkiye'de Kızların Eğitimi Alanında Ulusötesi Bir Eğitmen Olarak Misyonu

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ÖZ
Bu makale, 1925'ten 1929'a kadar Erenköy Kız Lisesi'nde ders veren Amerikalı ev ekonomisi öğretmeni Sara Lee Tuck'ın örneği üzerinden, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerinden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yıllarına kadar ev yönetimi dersinin geçirdiği dönüşümü incelemektedir. Arşiv belgeleri, kurumsal raporlar, süreli yayınlar ve döneme ait yayınlardan yararlanılan bu çalışma, aktarım, çeviri ve dönüşüm kavramlarını kullanarak yabancı eğitim uzmanlığının ulusal eğitim sistemine nasıl entegre edildiğini analiz etmektedir. Çalışma, Tuck'ın atanmasının ne bir Amerikan modelinin doğrudan aktarımı ne de bir Amerikanlaşma süreci olduğunu savunmaktadır. Aksine, Tuck'ın uzmanlığı, özellikle müfredat geliştirme ve hizmet içi öğretmen eğitimi yoluyla Türk eğitim yetkilileri tarafından seçici bir şekilde uyarlanmış ve denetlenmiştir. Ev ekonomisi eğitimi, hijyen, beslenme, verimlilik ve üretkenlik konularında modern bilgileri getirmiş olsa da kadınların vatandaşlığını ev içi sorumluluklarla ilişkilendirmeye devam etmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu örnek, Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında Türkiye'de yaşanan ulusötesi eğitim modernizasyonunun hem olanaklarını hem de toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı sınırlarını ortaya koymaktadır.
***Anahtar Kelimeler*:** Sara Lee Tuck, Ev İdaresi, Ev Ekonomisi, Erenköy Kız Lisesi, Kızların Eğitimi.

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Introduction

In the history of education, women's education has been particularly emphasized during periods of change in traditional societies. In Western and Eastern countries, women were considered primarily responsible for running the household, and discussions of child-rearing were a greater preoccupation than the question of women's education. Among the newly established states after the First World War, Turkey stands out for its understanding of national sovereignty and equal citizenship, especially equal opportunities in education for girls and boys. The education system was reconsidered, and the curriculum and courses were reorganized to reflect the desired role of women in family and society[1]. Among these courses, home management was carried over from the late Ottoman period to the Republic of Turkey. Despite the increasing number of girls' schools and female students due to the educational arrangements of the Reform period (1839–1876), this was not enough to become a modern society. The first data after the abolition of the Empire shows this. In the 1923–1924 period, there were 5,133 schools, 12,266 teachers, and 361,514 students across all levels of the education system, while the total population was about 13 million. Although the literacy rate by gender, which was 19,25 [over age 6] in Turkey [29,34% of male and 9,81% of female population] in 1935[2], demonstrates progress, gender equality in education could not be achieved as desired.

Home management [idâre-i beytiye] was one such course in the Ottoman education system for girls. It was included in the weekly schedule of the secondary teacher training school for girls [Dârülmuallimât] and, during the Reform period, was offered in girls' secondary schools [inas rüşdiye] as home economics. In the early years of the Republic of Turkey, the authors of home management textbooks emphasized the aim of educating girls, as in Europe[3]. However, critics argued that this education aimed to preserve women's existing status under the patriarchal system, as defined by traditional codes, as in European countries such as England[4]. The language and style of the textbooks show that traditional discourse on women persisted in many ways. These developments are criticized as scientific housewifery[5].

As in the late Ottoman period, the appointment of transnational experts in many fields, such as medicine, agriculture, and education, continued during the establishment period of the Republic of Turkey. There was still some skepticism toward these experts due to experiences from the Ottoman period. The provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) were intended to prevent initiatives that would lead to foreign interference in Turkey's education system. However, the view that Western education should assist public education[6], during a period when the Western understanding of democracy was taken as an example, proved effective in reducing this skepticism.

Shortly before the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, at the suggestion of Admiral Bristol, contacts with the USA on agriculture and medicine were on the agenda[7]. After the

[1] Susanna Ferguson, *Labors of Love: Gender. Capitalism, and Democracy in Modern Arab Thought*. (California: Stanford University Press, 2024).

[2] "Geçmişten Günümüze Sayılarla Eğitim (1923–2023)," 158, 160, 163, 278, accessed March 20, 2026, https://sgb.meb.gov.tr/www/baskanligimizca-hazirlanan-gecmisten-gunumuze-sayilarla-egitim-1923-2023-raporu-yayimlandi/icerik/604

[3] Mine Demir, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarına Türkiye'de Ev Kadınlarının Eğitimi: İdâre-i Beytiye," *Çeşm-i Cihan: Tarih, Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları E-Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (2017): 115.

[4] Katie Carpenter, "Educating the Scientific Housewife: the Conceptualization of Housework in English Girls' day schools, 1870–1914," *Pedagogica Historica* 59, (2023): 622.

[5] Betül Açıkgöz, "The Advent of Scientific Housewifery in the Ottoman Empire," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no. 6 (2018): 783–789.

[6] David M. Ment, "The American Role in Education in the Middle East: Ideology and Experiment, 1920–1940," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1–2 (February-April 2011): 175.

[7] Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey, Republican Archives (BCA.), 180–9–0–0/26–140–22, (March 27, 1923).

proclamation of the Republic, many transnational experts, including John Dewey, Alfred Kühne, Omer Buyse, Albert Malche, Beryl Parker[8], and Kate V. Wofford, were invited to Turkey to prepare reports on education. Among them, Kühne's report, criticizing the lack of a plan for teaching home management[9], argued that women's education should be treated as a separate subject and that home management should be taught by special teachers[10].

In the 20th century, education was a means of cultural expansion for the USA, and American women educators were assigned to missionary activities, including educational work in many parts of the world[11]. Before the First World War, the number of American schools and the number of students enrolled in these schools in the Ottoman territories was higher than in many other countries[12]. This continued into the Republican period. While the Republic of Turkey was trying to establish the concept of citizenship in accordance with gender equality, studies on the contributions of home economics to citizenship education continued in the USA[13]. By the end of the 19th cc, the professional field of home economics channeled the energies of many educated women in the USA[14], where the first duty of a woman, as a citizen, was accepted to be a good housekeeper. The family unit, as society's smallest building block, must be strong for a strong society. Family lifestyle and issues related to the upbringing of children were seen as directly concerning how citizens were raised[15].

The study of home management education in Turkey offers a valuable lens for examining how gendered forms of knowledge were transmitted and localized through transnational instructors. Receiving transnational pedagogical support was framed within a national agenda of independence and modernization. Yet home management courses for girls, conducted during the first years of the Republic of Turkey and staffed by transnational experts, have not been sufficiently investigated in either Turkish or international historiography.

Sara Lee Tuck's appointment as the American home management instructor at Erenköy Girls' High School [hereafter referred to as EGHS] in İstanbul should be considered in light of the developments mentioned above. This exemplifies receiving assistance from a transnational instructor in girls' education through a home management course, grounded in the concept of equal citizenship in a newly established nation-state and not conflicting with national independence.

This article examines how home management lessons changed in girls' education in Turkey over a long period and what role Tuck's home management teaching played during the establishment years of the Republic of Turkey, the state that was based on the concept of the nation-state, laic ideals, and the principle of gender equality.

[8] *New York Times*, "To Help Modernize Schools in Turkey", (August 21, 1932), 14.
[9] Alfred Kühne, *Meslekî Terbiyenin İnkişafına Dair Rapor*. (İstanbul: Maarif Vekilliği Devlet Basımevi, 1939), 3.
[10] Ülker Akkutay, *Millî Eğitimde Yabancı Uzman Raporları.* (Ankara: Avni Akyol Kültür ve Eğitim Ümit Vakfı, 1996), 39.
[11] Barbara Reeves–Ellington, "Constantinople Woman's College: Constructing Gendered, Religious, and Political Identities in an American Institution in the Late Ottoman Empire," *Women's History Review* 24, no. 1 (2014): 54.
[12] Roderick H. Davison, "Westernized Education in Ottoman Empire," *Middle East Journal* 15, no. 3 (1961): 291.
[13] Emeline S. Whitcomb, "Contribution of Home Economics to Citizenship Training," *Department of Interior Bureau of Education Bulletin* 3, (1925): 1–43.
[14] Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighbourhood, and Cities.* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982), 150–154.
[15] Hellen Sayr Gray, "Domestic Science in the Schools and Colleges," *The North American* Review 190, no. 645 (August 1909): 200–211.

Theoretical Framework: Transnational Educational Transfer and Gendered Modernization

This article approaches Tuck's appointment through the concept of transnational educational transfer rather than a diffusion model that assumes the unilateral spread of Western ideas. Research on educational policy borrowing divides the process into four stages: cross-national attraction, decision, implementation, and internalization/indigenization. Receiving actors are therefore not passive: they identify domestic problems, select foreign practices for political purposes, and modify them during implementation[16]. In this perspective, the presence of an American expert does not, in itself, demonstrate the transfer of an American system. What must be examined is which elements were requested, which institutional conditions were imposed, and which practices were retained, modified, or rejected.

Cowen's distinction among transfer, translation, and transformation offers a more precise vocabulary for this process. Transfer refers to the movement of an educational idea or practice across supranational, transnational, or international space; translation denotes the shapeshifting of educational institutions or the reinterpretation of educational ideas during their movement across space; and transformation refers to the metamorphoses imposed on the initial translation by social and economic forces in the new context[17]. In the case examined here, Tuck's recruitment represents transfer; the conditions attached to her appointment and the Ministry's control over her duties represent translation; and the attempt to embed her expertise in curricula and in-service teacher training represents a possible transformation. This sequence allows evaluation of American influence without assuming either direct cultural domination or complete Turkish autonomy.

The second theoretical axis is gendered modernization. The expansion of girls' schooling and women's access to professional knowledge did not necessarily dissolve the gender hierarchy. As Kandiyoti argues in the Turkish case, state-sponsored emancipation could extend formal rights and educational opportunities while leaving the organization of domestic and social power substantially intact[18]. Home management and home economics embodied this ambivalence. They introduced knowledge of hygiene, nutrition, efficiency, consumption, and citizenship, but they could also recast domestic labor and maternal responsibility as scientifically defined female duties. The concept of scientific housewifery is therefore used here not merely as a description of a curriculum but as an analytical category for examining how modernization could expand women's education while reproducing the gendered division between public citizenship and domestic responsibility.

The article consequently argues that Tuck's mission constituted a state-mediated, gendered form of educational transfer. The early Republican administration did not simply import an American home economics model; it selected foreign expertise, separated it from missionary affiliations, subordinated it to national educational authority, and sought to institutionalize useful elements through a state girls' school and in-service teacher training. At the same time, knowledge transferred through home management broadened educational opportunities for

[16] David Phillips and Kimberly Ochs, "Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices," *Comparative Education* 39, no. 4 (2003): 451–452, https://doi.org/10.1080/0305006032000162020

[17] Robert Cowen, "The Transfer, Translation and Transformation of Educational Processes: And Their Shape-Shifting?," *Comparative Education* 45, no. 3 (2009): 323, https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060903184916

[18] Deniz A. Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case," *Feminist Studies* 13, no. 2 (Summer, 1987): 322-324.

girls while continuing to define women's citizenship through household efficiency, care, and family responsibility. The contribution of this case therefore lies not in identifying American influence for the first time, but in explaining how that influence was filtered by sovereignty, translated by educational institutions, and constrained by the gendered boundaries of early Republican-era modernization before the right to equal education for girls and boys became the dominant institutional framework.

Methods and Materials

This study examines this initiative not merely as a local adaptation of the American home management course model but within a broader context that encompasses the mission of American home management expert Tuck, her transnational educational expertise, a national education system committed to expanding gender-equality, modernization, and cultural interaction. This research was prepared using qualitative methods and document analysis of archival documents obtained from the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey in Ankara and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., as well as books, articles, newspapers, institutional reports, and magazines published in a timely manner regarding the research topic. It was expected that the most important archival documents would be at EGHS. However, due to the fire that broke out in 1945, the school's archival documents were destroyed[19].

Existing research on the history of education in Turkey has primarily focused on state reforms, technical and higher education, university education, education for village people, and girls' schooling. Studies on American involvement in Ottoman girls' education have largely concentrated on missionary institutions and women educators[20]. However, the transition from missionary-based educational activity in the late Ottoman period to state-supervised transnational expertise in the early Republican period has received considerably less attention, particularly in relation to home management education. Studying home management education in Turkey therefore offers a valuable lens for examining how gendered forms of knowledge were transmitted and localized through transnational instructors. Many studies examine transnational instructors in girls' schools in Turkey and the details of home management courses, such as curriculum, content, hours, textbooks, and teachers. Similarly, studies in the history of education and on transnational educators have often analyzed missionary schools or international educational aid programs without adequately considering the interplay among gender, domesticity, and expertise. This study addresses this gap by positioning home management not only as a domestic subject but also as a crucial field where national modernizing discourses were negotiated.

This article contributes to the historiography of educational modernization by drawing on an example from the history of transnational education specialists. It demonstrates that home management is not merely a technical curriculum, reveals how American home economics expertise and the Turkish state attempted to integrate gender equality into the education system, and assesses the extent to which they succeeded or failed. This approach challenges the dominant narrative of one-sided Western influence and instead emphasizes the reciprocal, negotiated, and locally reinterpreted nature of educational transfer.

[19] *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, "Erenköy Kız Lisesi Dün Gece Tamamen Yandı", (February 22, 1945), 1.

[20] Füsun Çoban Döşkaya, "Mary Lyon: Mount Holyoke Kız İlahiyat Okulu ve Mezunlarının Osmanlı Devleti'nde Eğitim Misyonerliği Faaliyetleri," *History Studies* 12, no.4 (August 2020): 1665-1701.

1. Home Management Course in Schools and Textbooks in Turkey

The transformation of the concept of home management illustrates how politicians or intellectuals have treated it as an educational or ideological tool. In classical works on ethics and politics, society was explained in terms of three spheres of governance: self-discipline, household management, and civic governance. In the classical period of the Ottoman Empire, household management [tedbîr-i menzil], which concerned the science of how a person should act toward her family and related household matters, was based on the ideas of Aristotle and Farabi. It was transformed into home management under the influence of pedagogical movements in the West, for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's treatise on the nature of education, Emile, or on Education. However, intellectuals such as Mehmed Rıfat and Mehmed İzzet continued to use the concept of household management[21]. In the journal *Mecmua-i Fünun*, articles on the principles of the house pioneered studies adopting a modern approach[22]. In official records, though, the term home management was used. For example, in the Regulations of Dârüşşafaka dated November 21, 1871, one of the courses to be taught to female students was home management[23]. Similarly, home management was used in publishing, as seen in one of the first modern Turkish textbooks, Xenophon Zikoras's *İdâre-i Beytiye* (1875)[24].

In the 1890s, the Ottoman press published articles on home management. Mehmed Süleyman shared jam recipes under the title "Nesayih ve İdare-i Beytiye" in the newspaper *Maarif*[25]. The *Resimli Gazete* featured a "Nesayih-i Beytiye ve Sıhhiye" page that offered practical information on methods to be applied at home for health, such as precautions against insect bites[26]. Hüseyin Daniş's series of articles, "Vezâif-i Beytiye-i Nisvan" was very influential, giving examples from Britain and the USA and emphasizing the duties of women living in villages[27]. Azize Haydar, a history and geography teacher at EGHS in later years and one of the writers at *Kadınlar Dünyası* magazine, included the home management course, which girls began to take after the age of 11–12, among the most useful courses in girls' education[28]. Similarly, toward the end of the First World War, Sevim Türkan published a long series of articles in the magazine *Türk Kadını* on home management[29].

Although home management was included among the subjects to be taught in girls' secondary schools in the 1869 General Education Regulations, in practice its scope remained limited to choosing a house, cleaning clothes, sewing, baking bread, and preparing jam[30]. The syllabuses and textbooks reveal the perspective on this course.

Year	School	Grade	Hour
1893,	the six-year-long girls' high schools	4, 5, 6	2[31]

[21] Fatma Tunç Yaşar, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı Kız Mekteplerinde Fennî Ev İdaresi Eğitimi: Müfredat ve Ders Kitapları," *Türkiyat* Mecmuası 29, no. 2 (2019): 600.

[22] Kostaki Antopulos, "Fezail-i beytiye," *Mecmua-i Fünun* 5, no. 44–45 (1867): 51–57.

[23] Muzaffer Albayrak and Kevser Şeker, *Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı Eğitiminde Modernleşme.* (İstanbul: Bion Matbaacılık, 2014), 138.

[24] Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey, Ottoman Archives (BOA.) Ministry of Education. Correspondence Office (BOA. MF. MKT), 31/186, (H. 25.08.1292 [September 26 1875]).

[25] Mehmed Süleyman, "Nesayih ve İdare-i Beytiye: Sütlaç, Şeftali Reçeli," Maarif 2, no. 38 (April 6, 1892): 191.

[26] "Nesayih-i Beytiye ve Sıhhiye," *Resimli Gazete* 2, no. 61 (May 7, 1892): 140.

[27] Hüseyin Daniş, "Vezâif-i Beytiye-i Nisvan," *Malumat*, no. 19 (June 16, 1894): 148.

[28] Savaş Karagöz and Mustafa Şanal. "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Kadın Gözüyle Kadın Eğitimi," *The Journal of International Social Research* 8, no. 39 (2015): 682.

[29] Sevim Türkan, "İdare-i Beytiyye 1: İşden mi, Dişden mi?," *Türk* Kadını 1, no. 3 (June 20, 1918): 59–60.

[30] Serpil Pir, "Bursa Kız Rüşdiye Mektebi (1882–1909)," *History Studies* 14, no. 3 (August 2022): 625.

[31] Ayşegül Altınova, "Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde Rüşdiye Mektepleri" (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2010), 259.

1898–1899			
1895	the teacher training school for girls	1 2, 3	1 2[32]
1898–1909	the girls' section of the Dârü'l-irfan Mektebi	4, 5	4[33]
1913	the six-year primary schools	only for girls	?[34]
1916–1917	Teacher Training Schools for Girls	1, 2, 3, 4 5, 6	2 1[35]
1917–1918	High Teacher Training School for Girls	1, 2	2[36]
1922	Kız Yeni Medrese	1, 2	1[37]
1924	the girls' and boys' high schools	2, only for girls	1[38]
1924	Primary Teacher Training School for Girls	3	2[39]
1926	primary schools	4, 5 only for girls	1[40]

Table 1: Home management course in the syllabuses

Hüseyin Remzi. *Mir'atu'lbeyt*. İstanbul: Alem Matbaası, 1891.
Ali Rıza. *Kızlara Mahsus İdâre-i* Beytiye (Birinci Kitap). İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1899[41].
Behram Münir. *Muhtasar İdâre-i Beytiye.* İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1910[42].
İçsel, Nâzım. *Kıraat-ı Beytiye*. İstanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1914.
Ahmed Edip. *İktisâd-ı beytî.* İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1915.
İçsel, Nâzım. *Kız Mekteplerine Mahsus Ev İdaresi*. İstanbul: Marifet Matbaası, 1927.
İçsel, Pakize and Nâzım İçsel. *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi (Sınıf 4)*. İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1936–37.
İçsel, Nâzım. *Aile Bilgisi: Ev Tutumu Üzerine Pratik Dersler, Ev İdaresi.* İstanbul: Gör Kitabevi, 1965.

Table 2: Home management textbooks

These books covered topics such as family life, home management, cleanliness and food

[32] Tunç Yaşar, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı Kız Mekteplerinde", 611.
[33] Nuri Güçtekin, "Müslim Özel Mektepleri," (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2013), 198.
[34] Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi.* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 135.
[35] Tunç Yaşar, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı Kız Mekteplerinde", 609.
[36] Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar.* (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 2005), 223.
[37] Hasan Âli Yücel, *Türkiye'de Ortaöğretim.* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1994),161.
[38] Yücel, *Türkiye'de Ortaöğretim,* 166.
[39] Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (M.Ö. 1000–M.S. 2010).* (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2010), 273; Yücel, *Türkiye'de Ortaöğretim,* 221.
[40] Cavit Binbaşıoğlu, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi Tarihi*. (Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık, 2005), 422.
[41] BOA. MF. MKT, 948/28, (H. 27.06.1324 [August 18, 1906]).
[42] BOA. MF. MKT, 766/20, (H. 15.12.1321 [March 3, 1904]).

issues, preparing the dinner table in the European style, and illness and the protection of health. Based on their content, the expectation was that girls' education would make them good wives and mothers. This was accepted as a step forward compared to the previous period in terms of women's position in social life in Turkey. These works also included French girls' schools and French literature; however, these lessons were not sufficiently established in girls' high schools in Turkey[43]. Along with these, there were some positive initiatives. For example, in 1912, a school called Ev Kadını Mektebi was established in İstanbul[44]. In 1914, the journal *Tedrisat Mecmuası* reported that a home management school would be established by the state in İstanbul and that an expert would be sent by the Brussels Municipality to manage and teach at the school[45]. This attempt should not be considered independently of developments in Europe, such as in Denmark, where many schools in the field of home economics were opened between 1890 and 1940[46]. Although no such school was established in Turkey, another example of the importance attached to the course dates to 1916. On January 24, 1916, a teacher was appointed as the branch instructor of the course of goods and home management at a girls' school[47], which shows that these courses began to be treated as a branch course for the first time.

In Turkey, educational thinkers accepted that home management courses were necessary, but the reason was important. According to Perihan Saide, in terms of courses, American girls' colleges were not much different from schools in Germany, France, and Turkey, and there were courses for girls to learn useful knowledge they would need in life, such as cookery, tailoring, home management, childcare, and nursing[48]. Ali Nazîmâ, director of İnas Darülfünun, the first Ottoman university for women, argued in an article in *Talebe Defteri* that it is good for women to study science and knowledge, but girls' education and training should never prejudice their duties as a wife or mother, which occupy the first place among all their duties[49].

This understanding did not change significantly with the change of regime in Turkey. Ali Haydar Taner (1883–1956) described how John Dewey introduced vocational courses, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, weaving, tailoring, and home management, alongside courses in language, history, and geography[50]. Taner argued that this idea, born in the USA, was quickly echoed in Europe, especially in Germany[51]. Doktor Sabri legitimized such practices in Turkey by citing practices abroad. He stated that the curriculum in British schools for boys and girls was the same, except that boys were taught carpentry and blacksmithing, while girls were taught manual labor, cookery, home management, and needlework[52].

2. The American Home Management Teachers Assigned to Turkey

The appointment of American teachers is examined here as a process of selective

[43] Hanife Dilek Batislam, "Meşrutiyet Döneminde Kadınları Eğitmek İçin Yazılmış Bir Eser: Mir'atü'lbeyt," *Kadın/Woman2000 Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (2002): 168–172.

[44] Şefika Kurnaz, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadınların Eğitimi," *Milli Eğitim Dergisi* 143, (1999): 99–111.

[45] Savaş Karagöz, "İkinci Meşrutiyetten Harf İnkılâbına Kadar Süreli Yayınlarda Yer Alan Eğitim Görüşleri ve Cumhuriyet Eğitimine Yansımaları (1908–1928)" (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2014), 92.

[46] Karen E. Andreasen and Annette Rasmussen. "The Development of Home Economics as a Field of Knowledge and its Contribution to the Education and Social Status of Women," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 9, no. 2 (2022): 64.

[47] BOA. MF. MKT, 1213/81, (H. 18.03.1334 [January 24, 1916)].

[48] Perihan Saide, "Terbiye ve Talim Sahifeleri: Amerika'da Genç Kız Hayatı," *Talebe Defteri* 2, no. 51–52 (March 14, 1918): 825.

[49] Ali Nazîmâ, "Kadınlar İçin Tâlim ve Terbiye," *Talebe Defteri* 2, no.51–52 (March 14, 1918): 831.

[50] John Dewey, *Türkiye Maarifi Hakkında Rapor*. (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1939), 5, 26.

[51] Karagöz, "İkinci Meşrutiyetten Harf İnkılâbına Kadar", 117.

[52] Doktor Sabri, "İngiliz Mekteplerinde Terbiye Kız Mektepleri," *Muallimler Mecmuası*, (April 1925): 1330.

borrowing. The decisive issue is not merely why American expertise was available, but how Turkish authorities defined acceptable expertise, separated official appointments from missionary affiliation, and reconciled foreign assistance with national sovereignty.

Before Tuck's appointment, American teachers were assigned to schools such as the American Girls' College and the Constantinople Girls' College in İstanbul. In 1920, the American Home Economics Association voted to raise $6,000 to send a home economics professor to the Constantinople Girls' College[53]. It was claimed that the American Girls' College in Üsküdar, where Dr. Mary Mills Patrick (1850–1940) served as principal (1890–1924) [54], would support the development of understanding of sustainability in families in Turkey, especially through home economics practices. As exemplified by Mary Sweeny, one of the pioneers in the field of home economics in the USA, who initiated efforts to establish a home economics department at Constantinople Girls' College, encouraging the participation of home economics specialists in global initiatives was a significant issue in the USA during those years[55]. At the American Girls' College in Üsküdar, there were four departments: university, commercial, home economics, and agriculture[56]. Similar developments took place far from the capital. Irene Teagarden is reported to have tried to develop home economics for Syrian girls in Beirut[57]. The Sidon Girls' School of Lebanon is another example where home economics was provided to train girls[58]. Another American school providing education during Tuck's time in İstanbul was the Üsküdar American High School for Girls. There were three departments: collegiate, commercial, and home economics. These and similar experiences set the context for Tuck's work in İstanbul.

A July 9, 1925, telegram from Bristol to the Young Men's Christian Association [hereafter referred to as YMCA] personnel office in the USA reports that the Turkish government requested six Americans, specifically three male teachers to teach English and physical education[59]. It was stated that these teachers would need to sever their official ties with missionary agencies because such ties conflict with the Turkish government's understanding of national sovereignty and laicity. In addition to moral character, candidates were required to demonstrate adaptability, personality, broad-mindedness, and freedom from prejudice. According to another July 9, 1925, telegram, Bristol requested that Farah Lyon, a local representative of the Young Women's Christian Association [hereafter referred to as YWCA], select two women to teach physical education and English, and one woman for home economics. A September 17, 1925, telegram from U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Sheldon Leavitt Crosby (1880–1936) to Bristol states that the Ministry of Education would employ a home economics teacher in accordance with the terms of the State Department's memorandum of June 30[60].

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[53] Emeline S. Whitcomb, *Progress in Home Economics Education*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), 15.

[54] Ahmet Koçak, "Amerika'dan Boğaziçi'ne Uzanan Bir Eğitimci Mary Mills Patrick'in 'Amerika'da Kadınlara Mahsus Yüksek Tahsil' Risalesi," *Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları* 16 (Fall 2017): 69.

[55] Ann Vail, "Constantinople College for Women: Home Economics Program Builds Sustainable Families and Communities in the Evolving Ottoman Empire" [Conference presentation abstract]. T*he International Federation for Home Economics 24th World Congress,* Atlanta, Georgia, United States, September 6–10, 2022.

[56] Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador to the Near East the Story of Mary Mills Patrick and an American College in the Orient*. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1925), 217–218, 272.

[57] Whitcomb, *Progress in Home Economics Education*, 15.

[58] Ellen L. Fleischmann, "Lost in Translation: Home-economics and the Sidon Girls' School of Lebanon, c.1924–1932," *Social Sciences and Missions* 23, (2010): 35.

[59] Bahri Ata, "Amerikalı İşadamı, Hayırsever ve Diplomat Charles R. Crane'in Türkiye'deki Kültür ve Eğitim Faaliyetleri", in *Kuruluşundan 90. Yılına Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Uluslararası Sempozyum*, ed. Arzu Güven Saygın. (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2016), 879.

[60] Mark L. Bristol Papers, Library of Congress [hereafter referred to as MLBP]

The home management course aligned with the education and economic policies of the newly established state in Turkey. Frugality was emphasized as much as production, productivity, and sustainability, a point reflected in Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha's speech to Turkish restaurateurs in Bursa on October 3, 1925[61]. In this atmosphere, Bristol identified Tuck, a home economics expert. News reports portrayed Tuck as a sought-after expert in home economics, which could explain Bristol's choice. She addressed the domestic economy class at the high school and conferred with the home economics department at the State College in Seattle. She is a very capable, interesting, and well-qualified young woman[62].

3. Sara Lee Tuck (1892–1975) and Her Appointment in Turkey

Sara Lee Tuck was born on February 18, 1892, in Polk County, Missouri. She was the fourth of seven children of George Leander Lee Tuck (1842–1920) and Sarah Minerva Dine Mitchel (1850–1926)[63]. Simmons Technology School in Boston, the Southwest Missouri State Teachers' College in Springfield, and Cottey College in Nevada were among the schools Tuck attended during her education[64]. For two years, Tuck taught home economics in the state schools of Illinois and Michigan. She then established her headquarters in Seattle and lectured in women's clubs in six northwestern states. In 1921, she became interested in the California Industrialists' Association, carried an educational program for the Association into the schools and to women's organizations, and gave a speech on the food value of rice[65]. She worked at the information bureau for a six-day exhibition of Northern California industrial products[66]. Tuck, a graduate of the Boston YWCA School of Domestic Science, was the first woman from Missouri to receive an appointment to teach domestic science in Turkey[67].

Throughout her life, Tuck's work in home economics spanned a wide range of roles. She served as a home economics representative for food producers from the six northwestern states; as a home economics teacher in Turkey; as the secretary-treasurer of the Hospital Servants Association in Cincinnati[68]; and as a housing administrator in New York City, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and at Indiana University. Tuck died on January 16, 1975[69].

Tuck's appointment offers a micro historical test of the transfer–translation–transformation framework. Her professional background made her expertise mobile across borders; the negotiations surrounding her selection translated that expertise into Turkish administrative priorities; and her later work at EGHS reveals the limits of its institutional transformation.

In the 1920s, efforts began to assign teachers and instructors from the USA to teach English, physical education, and home management in schools in Turkey[70]. The appointment of Tuck to EGHS is first mentioned in a Turkish archival document dated October 3, 1925[71]. The document, written by Crosby to Nusret Bey, the Turkish Foreign Ministry's delegate in İstanbul, states that Bristol had selected a candidate for the position of home management instructor, based on a communication dated September 19, 1925. Tuck resigned from her

[61] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, "Bursa'da İstanbul Türk lokantacılarına Nutuk (3 Ekim 1925)", in *Atatürk'ün Bütün Eserleri* vol. 18, ed. Nejat Kaymaz. (Ankara: Kaynak Yayınları, 2006), 32–33.
[62] *Pullman Herald 30, no.* 21 (March 15, 1918): 6.
[63] "Sara Lee Tuck," *Find a Grave,* accessed March 20, 2026, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7997864/sara-lee-tuck.
[64] The *Sunday Star*. "Turkey to Learn American Foods" (November 28, 1926), 15.
[65] "Rice Day Luncheon," *Northwestern Miller 15*, no. 5 (February 2, 1921): 542.
[66] *San Francisco Chronicle*. "Six-day Show at Emporium Holds Interest" (May 25, 1921), 7.
[67] *The Christian Science Monitor*, "Missouri Girl Named for Turkish Schools", (October 9, 1925), 6.
[68] "Cincinnati organizes," *Hospital Management 33, no.* 5 (May 15, 1932): 61.
[69] "Sara Lee Tuck," *Find a Grave,* accessed March 20, 2026, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7997864/sara-lee-tuck.
[70] BOA. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. İstanbul Agency (HR. İM), 145/82, (June 6, 1925).
[71] BOA. HR. İM) 5/7, (October 3, 1925).

teaching position at McLean Hospital in Belmont in October 1925 to take up the position in Turkey. Tuck departed on October 10, 1925, aboard a Fabre Line Company ship bound for İstanbul, with her travel expenses covered by the Turkish government[72].

Tuck arrived in İstanbul on October 31, 1925. After a one-week delay, she was informed by Yusuf Behçet [Güçer] Bey (1889–1952), the head of education in İstanbul, that she had been appointed as a boarding teacher at EGHS[73]. Tuck's years in Turkey (October 1925–January 1929) coincide with the tenure of Mustafa Necati Bey (1894–1929) as Minister of Education (December 20, 1925–January 1, 1929). During his tenure, home economics was among the subjects emphasized by the Ministry of Education. The decisions of the Board of Education and Training make it clear that special importance was placed on the training of teachers in physical education and fine arts, as well as on the course in home management[74].

When Tuck started working at the school on November 1, 1925, she was initially assigned to teach English to five girls for five hours a week. After November 23, she began supervising study sessions two nights a week for 2.5 hours. She began teaching home economics to eleventh-grade classes on December 29. On February 7, 1926, she started weekly lessons for the eighth, ninth, and tenth grades. She taught five hours of English, four hours of home economics, and five hours of study classes per week. In addition, she helped students with their homework in the school dormitory and observed their behavior during mealtimes[75].

A few months after her arrival, Tuck wrote a two-page report to Mustafa Necati Bey detailing what she had done since her arrival. Her contract allowed her to sleep on the school premises. According to Tuck, the furnishings in her room were inadequate at first, but these deficiencies were ameliorated over time. However, in her report, she stated that some unsanitary conditions continued to affect both her room and the school and needed to be corrected. After eating dinner in the school dining hall for about six weeks, she decided to prepare her own meals in her room. For Tuck, Turkish food was a change she was not prepared for, and she believed that the food prepared for the school students and other residents also required attention. This was a direct concern of home economics[76].

Tuck reported that adequate provision had not been made for the special home economics course at this school. She maintained that the subject was not regarded as part of the regular program, so it was scheduled before and after regular school hours. The necessary tools and equipment were lacking, and overcrowding prevented the department from allocating adequate space. Tuck reported that the teaching of home economics at EGHS was inadequate and not fully satisfactory as envisaged. She was, however, impressed by the general need for home economics in Turkish girls' schools, felt that there was a real opportunity for it here, and hoped that her services would further develop this field. She recognized the importance of her responsibility as the American home management branch instructor in Turkish schools[77] and expressed appreciation for the privilege of cooperating with the government on educational problems in Turkey[78].

3.1. In-service Training for Teachers in Home Management and Sara Lee Tuck

In-service teacher training is a key mechanism for institutional continuity. Tuck's role in

[72] *Boston Daily Globe*, "Boston Woman Can Eliminate Quaintly-named Turkish Food", (November 28, 1926), 4.
[73] MLBP
[74] Niyazi Altunya, *Milli Eğitimde Mustafa Necati Dönemi.* (İstanbul: Başarı Yayımcılık, 2009), 126–127.
[75] MLBP
[76] MLBP
[77] "Miss Sara Lee Tuck," *Santa Ana Register 20,* no. 281, (October 24, 1925): 12.
[78] MLBP

this training program illustrates the place of an individual foreign appointment within this institutionalization process. Consequently, the organization, funding, curriculum, certification rules, and distribution of authority within this program demonstrate which aspects of Tuck's expertise have been adopted and how they have been made subject to the Ministry's administrative structure.

On February 3, 1927, Mustafa Necati Bey was quoted in İstanbul newspapers discussing his studies in Europe and stating that it was beneficial for various courses to be taught by transnational experts[79]. Despite the importance given to Tuck, American experts in general were not a priority. Mustafa Necati Bey referred to the Dewey report in his speeches and proclaimed that Swedish teachers in physical education, German teachers in handicraft courses, and Belgian teachers were useful in training the desired teachers. Necati's speech is evidence of the central bureaucracy's eclectic policy of employing transnational experts. In such an environment, Tuck's work was even more important for increasing the influence of American teachers among the others.

To disseminate the expected benefits of home economics to a wider audience more quickly, it was decided to organize in-service training for teachers in home management, which was included in the secondary school curriculum. The general framework for in-service training was set out in the letter sent by Mehmet Emin [Erişirgil], the head of the Education and Training Administration [hereafter referred to as ETA], to Yusuf Behçet Bey[80]. The ETA adapted a ten-article framework for training home management teachers[81]. Article 1 stated that the in-service training was to be held at the School for Girls in İstanbul. Article 2 specified that the in-service training was to be carried out by Tuck, and its administration was to be the responsibility of the school principals. The in-service training was to be attended in 1927 by ten female graduates of the School for Girls (Article 3). If these graduates passed the training, their selection according to their qualifications was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Article 4 set out that the training was to be held two afternoons a week during the academic year and for one month during the holiday period. The women attending the training who were teaching in primary schools in İstanbul were to be given leave for two afternoons a week, according to Article 5. The most suitable two days would be determined by the İstanbul Education Minister in consultation with Tuck. Article 6 stated that those who qualified were to be given a license for teaching home management and would be eligible to teach home management in secondary schools. The training would open on November 22 (Article 7), and the Directorate of Girls Teachers' School would supply the necessary equipment from the 15,000 Turkish lira allocation given for the physical training class (Article 8). The chemistry course was to be taught by Naki Bey, the chemistry instructor at the School for Girls (Article 9), and the curriculum of the in-service training in the attached program was to be prepared by Tuck and sent to the ETA (Article 10). The theoretical lectures given by Tuck were to be written in advance, translated by a translator assigned to her, and given to the women attending the training.

Tuck was not the only transnational expert assigned to this training; Miss Gold, also an American instructor at Üsküdar American High School for Girls, was assigned as well[82]. However, these articles make it clear that Tuck's area of responsibility was significant. She was responsible for determining the curriculum, preparing the course syllabus, notifying the ETA,

[79] Tülay Alim Baran, *Mustafa Necati'nin Söyledikleri.* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2008), 344–345.
[80] Altunya, *Milli Eğitimde Mustafa Necati Dönemi,* 227.
[81] *Maarif Vekâleti Tebliğler Mecmuası* 11, (December 15, 1926): 36–37.
[82] BCA. 180–9–0–0/28–154–2, (July 7, 1927).

deciding on the course days, preparing the content of the theoretical lectures in advance, and distributing them to the trainees.

The ETA planned the course in every detail. The course began with thirteen participants and covered topics such as hygiene, nutrition principles, cookery, home economics, and applied chemistry[83]. As noted, home management still meant tasks traditionally assigned to women in household work.

Apart from in-service training, the director of EGHS requested her critical assessment, including evaluations of students' dress and the general organization of the school and home life. She claimed that a laboratory for the home management course at EGHS was promised for the near future. She never wished to turn back despite the many obstacles or the slow development of the work[84]. In addition to these positive contributions, there were also expectations that she could not fulfill. She was expected to prepare her own book using the posters and brochures of the United States Department of Agriculture, but this was not done[85].

Three years after Tuck's arrival in Turkey, the Executive Board of Deputies, pursuant to the decree dated November 25, 1928, approved the appointment of another transnational teacher to work at EGHS, effective September 1, 1928[86]. Tuck appears to have left İstanbul on January 18, 1929[87].

3.2. News about Tuck's Mission in Turkey

Press coverage is treated as a field of projection rather than as a neutral record of impact. American newspapers portrayed Tuck as a carrier of American domestic modernity, whereas Turkish administrative sources defined a narrower educational role. The distance between these representations helps distinguish the international projection of American influence from its reception and institutional use in Turkey.

In the 1920s, the USA had become inward-looking, and news about developments around the world came through missionaries[88]. Tuck was not a missionary, but her views on Turkey can be evaluated in this context. A look at the American press of the period reveals that Tuck sent news about Turkey during her stay in İstanbul and gave lectures on Turkey when she returned. As reported in the press, it was hoped that Tuck would spread American-style housekeeping, cookery, and frugality to Anatolia through home management courses. She introduced the American public to some of the changes that occurred in Turkish culture after the regime change. She described the most popular dishes in Turkey as imambayıldı, yalancı dolma, and kadınbudu[89]. She claimed that after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the names of some dishes, such as hünkârbeğendi, and of desserts, such as vezirparmağı, which dated back to the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, were changed to cumhuriyetbeğendi and cumhuriyetparmağı[90].

Tuck's appointment as a home management instructor at a Turkish school may be regarded as the official expression of the Turkish government's acceptance of home economics as a

[83] Cemil Öztürk, *Atatürk Devri Öğretmen Yetiştirme Politikası*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 225.
[84] Alice P. Norton, "International Committee Notes," *Journal of Home Economics* 18, no. 4 (1926): 209.
[85] *The Evening Tribune*, "Teach Young Turkey U.S. Domestic Science", (June 1, 1927), 3.
[86] BCA. 30–18–1–2/1–5–8, (November 25, 1928).
[87] "All New York, U.S., arriving passenger and crew lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis islend) 1820–1957," *Ancestry*, accessed March 20, 2026, https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7488/?name=SARA+LEE_TUCK&birth=1892&arrival=1929..
[88] Nuray Şirin, "Söyleşi: Fay Kirby, Türkiye'de 40 Yıl," *Nokta* (July 26, 1987): 61–62.
[89] *Boston Daily Globe*, "Boston Woman Can Eliminate Quaintly-named Turkish Food", (November 28, 1926), 4.
[90] *Springfield News-Leader*, "Springfield Woman Is Commissioned to Introduce Reforms in Turkey", (November 26, 1926), 1.

required subject in the curriculum of girls' schools[91]. When female students at the girls' teachers' school in İstanbul, trained by Tuck, began their careers teaching the science of housekeeping[92], it was hoped that Turkish households would adopt a somewhat American style[93].

Tuck was readily accepted in the USA as a pioneer educator appointed to spread the American lifestyle among Turkish women through her home management courses[94]. Despite the expansion of women's roles in society in the USA, during the mid-1960s girls were channeled into occupational choices limited to four categories, such as secretarial, nursing, teaching, or motherhood[95]. The gender equality targeted by girls' education in Turkey in the 1920s was not yet achieved in the USA in the 1960s. This feature of American education is considered to fail in fairness[96]. During these years, more government funds for home economics training for women were lobbied, but the gender role stereotyping involved in the USA was ignored[97].

3.3. A Brief History of the Home Management Course in Turkey after Tuck's Mission

The later history of the course provides the final test of transformation. Enduring institutional change would require more than the temporary presence of an expert: it would appear in terminology, curricula, teacher qualifications, and the subject's position within the national school system.

In the late 1920s, the Turkish bureaucracy did not limit itself to the USA in the field of home management but also followed practices in other countries, such as Belgium, sought the services of European experts, and sent students to European countries, including Austria and Germany[98].

In 1936, the home management course in the primary school curriculum was replaced by the family science course, which both girls and boys took[99]. In 1943, the curriculum of the Köy Enstitüleri [Village Institutes] included home management among the culture courses[100]. The term home economics began to replace home management in secondary school curricula in the late 1950s, as it did in high school curricula. In 1953, the home economics course was included in the list of programs requiring low-cost facilities, tools, and equipment, while the home management course was listed among programs requiring expensive facilities and workshops[101]. In the 1968 primary school program, the subjects of the family science course were transferred to the science course.

The home economics course was referred to as ilköğretim iş eğitimi [primary school vocational education] in the ETA decision dated April 11, 1994. After 1997, this course was offered for two hours per week in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades of primary

[91] "Home Economics in the Near East," 700.
[92] *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, "Teach Young Turkey U.S. Domestic Science", (April 25, 1927), 16.
[93] "Teaches Turkey girls to cook," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch 79, no.* 266 (May 31, 1927): 37.
[94] *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*, "Miss S. Lee Tuck of Home Economics and Efficiency Department", (April 24, 1930), 4.
[95] Jennifer C. Madigan, "The Education of Women and Girls in the United States: A Historical Perspective," *Advances in Gender and Education* 1, (2009): 12.
[96] Myra Sadker and David Sadker, *Failing at Fairness: How Our Schools Cheat Girls.* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010).
[97] Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, 287.
[98] Karagöz, "İkinci Meşrutiyetten Harf İnkılâbına Kadar", 360.
[99] Binbaşıoğlu, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi Tarihi*, 422.
[100] Cavit Binbaşıoğlu, *Başlangıçtan Günümüze Türk Eğitim Tarihi*. (Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık, 2014), 554.
[101] Sevgi Eriş, "1961–1987 Yılları Arasında Gerçekleştirilen Millî Eğitim Şûraları ve Alınan Kararların Uygulamaları" (master's diss., Selçuk University, 2006), 101.

school[102]. With the ETA decision dated May 12, 2006, the field of primary school vocational education was abolished and replaced by the technology and design course[103].

Discussion and Conclusion

In traditional societies, girls' education was often designed to prepare women primarily for domestic roles. Similarly, although the modernization reforms of the 19th-century Ottoman Empire expanded girls' access to education, they did not fundamentally challenge traditional gender roles; instead, education frequently reinforced women's responsibilities within the household. Home management was considered the most appropriate subject for this purpose. During the establishment of the Republic of Turkey under a modern nation-state framework, great emphasis was placed on gender equality and equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls. Despite remarkable progress - such as women gaining greater access to education and professional life and achieving the right to vote and be elected in the 1930s, ahead of many nations - traditional gender roles inherited from codes within family and social life persisted. The feminist movement, although it began to be faintly felt at the beginning of the 20th century in Turkey, had limited influence on girls' education. One area where its modest impact could be seen was the inclusion of the home management course, which nonetheless remained far from achieving true gender equality.

The revolutionary change of regime affected both the content and the nomenclature of this course. During this period, the course was offered under various names - home management, home administration, method of home management, and home economics - reflecting a shift in philosophy from simple household management to ideas of sustainability and productivity, paralleling broader economic modernization.

In the early republican period, home management was added to the curricula of primary, secondary, and high schools to support the ideology of the new regime, but exclusively for girls. This approach did not help close the gender gap in literacy rates or create a modern nation grounded in gender equality. This gender-based separation reinforced the notion that domestic responsibilities such as cleaning, food preparation, sewing, childcare, and health maintenance were inherently feminine duties. Thus, rather than transforming gender perceptions, these educational practices recast existing gender roles as a scientific form of housewifery, ultimately limiting the revolutionary goals of gender equality in education. The revolutionary movement aiming for gender equality could not fully succeed within the home management curriculum. In this process, Tuck's role was limited to continuing the existing situation of the home management course and girls' education, merely following in the footsteps of her predecessor transnational instructors within the confines of the Turkish national education system.

By the end of the 19th century, one characteristic of the history of Turkish education was the appointment of transnational instructors from countries such as France, Germany, England, and Belgium. Due to historical relations, Turks' approach to Americans was relatively more moderate, and Americans were indirectly involved in the Turkish education structure, especially through missionary activities. Those working in educational institutions should not have been involved in missionary activities. In this regard, Tuck's assignment by the Turkish government to a Turkish school, especially for the home management course, was important.

[102] Binbaşıoğlu, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesi Tarihi*, 435.

[103] Abdülkadir Yılmaz, *Başlangıçtan Günümüze Talim ve Terbiye Kurul Kararlarında Öğretmen(lik) Atamaları: Kimleri Öğretmen Yaptık/yap(a)madık? (1926–2019)*. (Ankara: Sonçağ Akademi, 2019), 495.

Read through the three analytical categories, the evidence supports neither a simple narrative of Americanization nor one of complete national insulation. Tuck's expertise was selected and supervised by the Turkish state, translated into a specific school and teacher-training program, and granted only a limited institutional duration. Its gendered effects were similarly ambivalent: the program enlarged the domain of organized knowledge available to girls and women teachers, yet it continued to associate their civic value with scientifically managed domestic labor.

The fact that Tuck did not begin teaching home management at EGHS upon her arrival in İstanbul can be interpreted as the school administration's inability to plan the course schedule, since the semester had already begun. However, assigning her to other roles according to her abilities was also a success for the school administration. Tuck served at EGHS between October 1925 and January 1929, a period that overlapped with the influential but brief term of Mustafa Necati Bey as Minister of Education. In her reports to the minister, Tuck provided detailed evaluations of school conditions at EGHS, the status of the home management course, and her vision for improving women's education in Turkey. In-service training for teachers in home management was one of the methods implemented by the Ministry of National Education to extend the impact of the home management course, which holds an important place in girls' education, to a wider audience more quickly. Tuck's work at EGHS was deemed successful, as she was entrusted with significant authority and responsibilities in this in-service training. Her offer to cooperate with the Turkish government in solving the problems of the Turkish education system shows that she also considered herself competent in this regard. Apart from some minor duties, there were two principal areas in which Tuck's work was effective during her tenure in İstanbul. Her work influenced curriculum development at EGHS and contributed to in-service training for teachers in home management in İstanbul. However, contrary to the exaggerated claims of some American newspapers, her role did not amount to imposing an American lifestyle upon Turkish women.

Tuck also served as a cultural intermediary, offering insights into Turkish culture through articles in American newspapers about her experiences in İstanbul, while introducing aspects of American women's lifestyles to the Turkish public. Her contribution remained largely educational rather than ideological. She was not a cultural pioneer but a facilitator of mutual understanding.

Her experience further illustrates that home management courses in both the American and Turkish contexts shared the goal of raising hygienic, health-conscious, disciplined, and productive citizens who managed households efficiently. Nevertheless, Turkey's revolutionary reforms, which had already advanced women's rights beyond the American experience in some respects, ensured that home management education evolved within locally defined cultural and national frameworks rather than following purely foreign models.

Tuck's teaching role was carried out in close collaboration with the Turkish authorities. She was appreciated for her adaptability and diligence, which led to additional assignments during her tenure. Yet a significant obstacle to her long-term influence was the language barrier. After three years, another teacher replaced her at EGHS, suggesting that her impact on Turkish girls' education and home management was limited and short-term. This was her only experience abroad as a home management instructor.

Overall, Tuck's mission reflected both the promise and the constraints of transnational educational exchange in the newly established state that values national sovereignty and laicity. Her role underscores that the Republic of Turkey, while seeking modern educational

methods, maintained control over its pedagogical and ideological orientation to preserve sovereignty and national identity through girls' education.

This study traces the home management course's evolution from the Ottoman to the Republican era, examines its form in the latter, and assesses Tuck's role in this process. While Tuck's efforts improved teaching practices at EGHS and expanded in-service training opportunities for teachers, her overall influence remained constrained by language barriers, cultural differences, and the short duration of her tenure. This study demonstrates that Tuck, as an American expert in home management, played a meaningful yet temporary role in the course's evolution. The envisioned transformation in women's roles through home management education was only partially realized during the early Republican period, when Tuck was assigned. Her assignment reflects the broader pattern of inviting transnational experts into the Turkish education system, not as agents of cultural dominance but as contributors to the modernization process shaped by national principles of independence, gender equality, and modern citizenship. Ultimately, it underscores that educational modernization is not a linear or unilateral process but one dynamically shaped by the interplay of global influences and local conditions.

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Summary

The modernization of girls' education during the transition from the late Ottoman Empire to the early Republic of Turkey reveals a complex intersection of national sovereignty, gendered citizenship, and transnational educational transfer. This study investigates the pedagogical and ideological transformation of the home management (*idâre-i beytiye*) curriculum through the micro-historical case of Sara Lee Tuck, an American home economics instructor assigned to Erenköy Girls' High School in Istanbul between 1925 and 1929. The primary objective of this research is to analyze how foreign educational expertise was negotiated, adapted, and institutionalized within a newly established nation-state that simultaneously pursued Western-oriented modernization and fiercely guarded its educational sovereignty against foreign, particularly missionary, interference. By focusing on Tuck's official mission, the article challenges the diffusionist paradigm that assumes a unilateral Americanization of Turkish education, proposing instead that the republican administration selectively filtered and utilized foreign pedagogy to serve its own state-building and societal agendas.

Methodologically, this research employs a qualitative document analysis grounded in rigorous primary archival research. The core archival evidence is drawn from the Directorate of State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, encompassing both the Republican (BCA) and Ottoman (BOA) collections in Ankara and Istanbul, as well as the Mark L. Bristol Papers at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. These institutional records are corroborated and contextualized with contemporary Turkish and American press reports, Ministry of Education regulations, early twentieth-century syllabus documents, textbooks, and pedagogical journals. To conceptualize this diverse data, the study utilizes Robert Cowen's theoretical framework of educational transfer, translation, and transformation, alongside Deniz Kandiyoti's concept of gendered modernization. This theoretical matrix allows for a nuanced reading of Tuck's appointment not merely as an international exchange, but as a state-mediated translation where transnational expertise was deliberately subordinated to national bureaucratic structures. The findings reveal that the integration of American home economics into the Turkish educational system was a highly controlled process of selective borrowing. The Turkish Ministry of Education, particularly under the tenure of Minister Mustafa Necati, explicitly stripped Tuck's appointment of any missionary connotations—a fundamental requirement dictated by the Treaty of Lausanne and the Republic's laic ideals. Tuck was deeply embedded within a state institution where her most enduring contribution emerged not from direct student instruction, which was often hindered by scheduling conflicts and language barriers, but from her leadership in in-service training programs. By training Turkish female teachers, the state aimed to rapidly disseminate modern, scientific approaches to hygiene, nutrition, domestic economy, and child-rearing across the nation without relying permanently on foreign personnel. However, the study demonstrates that the pedagogical transformation initiated by Tuck and the Ministry contained inherent contradictions regarding gender equality. While the Republic championed equal citizenship and expanded professional opportunities for women, the home management curriculum fundamentally reinforced the concept of "scientific housewifery." The discipline broadened women's access to structured, scientific knowledge but simultaneously constrained them by reiterating that their primary civic duty to the new republic was the efficient, hygienic, and rational management of the domestic sphere.

The curriculum effectively recast patriarchal domestic roles as modern civic responsibilities. Tuck's American expertise, which shared a broadly similar ideological framework of domestic citizenship during that era, perfectly aligned with the Turkish state's gendered modernization goals, making her an ideal, if temporary, instrument for state policy. Ultimately, the research concludes that Sara Lee Tuck's mission was a localized, state-directed adaptation of transnational knowledge rather than an imposition of an American lifestyle. Her influence was institutionally bounded; after three years, she departed, indicating the state's clear intent to utilize foreign experts temporarily to build indigenous capacity rather than establish permanent foreign educational dependencies. The evolution from *idâre-i beytiye* to modern home economics illustrates that educational modernization in early Republican Turkey was a dynamic, negotiated process. It highlights both the state's success in leveraging transnational expertise for national development and the distinct limitations of its modernizing vision, which expanded educational access for girls while leaving the gendered division of domestic and social power substantially intact.