

DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE
PROGRAM
MASTER’S THESIS

**RECLAIMING POWER AND CHALLENGING
HEGEMONY THROUGH GLOCALIZATION: SMART
POWER IN NEAL STEPHENSON’S *THE DIAMOND
AGE; OR A YOUNG LADY’S ILLUSTRATED PRIMER***

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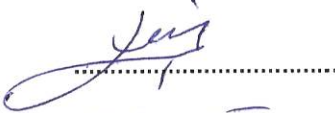
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "Reclaiming Power and Challenging Hegemony through Glocalization: Smart Power in Neal Stephenson's *The Diamond Age; or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer*" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

Date

.../.../.....

Abdullah DERİN

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Küyerelleşme Sayesinde Gücün Geri Kazanımı ve Ekonomik Egemenliğe
Meydan Okuma: Neal Stephenson'un *Elmas Çağı; ya da Genç Bir Kadının
Resimli Okuma Kitabı* Romanında Akıllı Güç
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Neal Stephenson tarafından, 1995 yılında yazılan *Elmas Çağı ya da Bir Genç Kızın Resimli Okuma Kitabı* (Elmas Çağı) güçlü ulus-devletler tarafından kontrol edilen ve nanoteknolojinin hayatın tüm yönlerine nüfuz ettiği bir dünyayı betimleyen, siber punk tarzında bir romandır. Çin'deki Hristiyan karşıtı bir grup tarafından, yirminci yüzyılın başında düzenlenen bir hareket olan tarihi Boxer İsyanı'na dayanan roman; küreselleşmenin getirdiği kültürel homojenleşme, yoksulluk ve kıtlık sonrası ekonomi gibi zorluklar ile ilgilenmektedir. Bu zorluklara bir cevap olarak, bu tez, *Elmas Çağı* romanının küyerel alanların ve kimliklerin inşasını ileri sürmesinin yanı sıra “akıllı gücün” kabul görülüp yayılmasından doğan küyerel politikaların geliştirilmesini öne sürmektedir.

Bu açıdan, bu tez, “akıllı gücü” küyerelleşme sürecinin vazgeçilmez bir bileşeni olarak savunur. *Elmas Çağı*'nda, güç aktörlerinin yumuşak ve sert güç türlerinden -kültürel cazibe, askeri güç, baskıcı finansal yaptırımlar, diplomatik karizma gibi- uyarlanan çeşitli güç stratejilerini birleştirerek, sahip oldukları konumlarını nasıl güçlendirmeye çalıştıklarını gösterir. Gerçekte de ulus-devletlerin, dünya arenasında kültürel olarak benzersiz ve güçlü olmak için kendi özgün kültürleri etrafında dönen politikalarını ve ürünlerini oluşturmaya ihtiyaç duymalarından dolayı bu, anlaşılır bir şeydir. Tabii ki, bu kendini güçlendirme, kültürel ve tarihi farkındalık ve ulusal bütünlük ile mümkün

olabilir. Aksi takdirde, pusulasız bir “küyerelleşme süreci”, çoğu zaman iç içe geçebildiklerinden dolayı yalnızca “küreselleşmenin” ihtiyaçlarına hizmet eder.

Bu anlamda, bu çalışma, Boxer İsyanı’nın tarihi ve kurgusal versiyonlarını güç çalışmaları yardımıyla analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tarihsel Boxer İsyanı ile kurgusal versiyonu arasında bir paralellik çizerek, Elmas Çağı’ndaki güç politikalarını analiz etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Boxer İsyanı’nın kurgusal olarak mizansenini, akıllı güç ve küyerelleşme’nin zaferi olarak okur. Bu bağlamda, sert ve yumuşak güç türleri, edinilen bu zaferi açıklamak ve detaylandırmak için küyerelleşme ve yerellik hakkındaki argümanlarla birlikte tanımlanmaktadır. Elmas Çağı kitabından yapılacak çıkarımlarla, güçlü ve özgür bir ulus olabilmek için birbirlerini tamamlayan “küyerelleşme” ve “akıllı gücün” bir arada kullanılmaları gerektiği iddia edilecektir. Bu nedenle, hegemonik ve sürekli kontrol altında tutan küresel güçlerin egemen olduğu bir dünyada Çin’in yükselişinin isyankâr bir eyleme bağlı olduğu söylenebilir. Bu isyan eylemi ise hızını yerel tarih, kültürel değerler ile yumuşak ve sert güç türlerinin zekice birleşiminden alan bir “akıllı güç” eylemidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Küyerelleşme, Boxer Ayaklanması, Yumuşak Güç, Sert Güç, Akıllı Güç, Güç Politikaları, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Kendini Güçlendirme, Nanoteknoloji, Çatışma, Uzlaşma, Post Siberpunk, Nanopunk, Bilim Kurgu

ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

Reclaiming Power and Challenging Hegemony through Glocalization: Smart Power in Neal Stephenson's *The Diamond Age; or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer*

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Written by Neal Stephenson in 1995, *The Diamond Age or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer (The Diamond Age)* is a post-cyberpunk novel depicting a world controlled by powerful nation-states in which nanotechnology penetrates itself to all aspects of life. The novel based on the historical Boxer Rebellion, a movement that was organized by a Chinese anti-Christian group in *China* in the turn of the twentieth century, deals with the challenges of globalization (such as cultural homogenization, poverty, post-scarcity economics). As a response to these challenges, this dissertation argues that *The Diamond Age* posits the construction of glocal spaces and identities as well as the development of glocal policies through the enactment and dissemination of “smart power.”

In this respect this dissertation advocates “smart power” as an indispensable component of the glocalization process. It will demonstrate how in *Diamond Age*, power actors try to strengthen their claimed positions by combining various power strategies adapted from soft and hard power types (such as cultural attraction, military power, oppressive financial enforcements, diplomatic charisma). This is understandable since in reality, nation-states so as to become culturally unique and powerful in the world arena, need to form their policies and products revolving around their own authentic culture. Of course, this can be unlocked through self-empowerment, cultural and historical awareness, and integrity. Otherwise, a “glocalization process” without a

compass serves only for the needs of “globalization” since they are intertwined most of the time.

By acknowledging various power theories, this study will analyze and compare the historical and fictional versions of the Boxer Rebellion. It intends to scrutinize the power politics inherent in the *The Diamond Age* by drawing a parallelism between the historical Boxer Rebellion and its fictional version. It reads the fictional victory of China in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion as the victory of smart power and glocalization. In this respect, hard and soft power types are defined along with globalism and locality so as to explain and to elaborate on the altered official ending of the Boxer Rebellion. Deducing from the novel *The Diamond Age*, it will be argued that in order to be a powerful and free nation, “glocalization” and “smart power” have to be wielded together as a combination since they complete each other. For this reason, it can be said that in a world which is dominated by hegemonic and ever-controlling global powers, the rise of China depends on a rebellious act: an act that takes its momentum from local historical, cultural values and a clever fusion of soft and hard power types: Smart Power.

Keywords: Globalization, Glocalization, The Boxer Rebellion, Soft Power, Hard Power, Smart Power, Power Politics, International Relations, The People’s Republic of China, The United States of America, Self-empowerment, Nanotechnology, Conflict, Consensus, Post Cyberpunk, Nanopunk, Science Fiction

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GLOCALIZATION: SMART POWER IN NEAL STEPHENSON’S *THE
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ABBREVIATIONS

CEP	Common Economic Protocol
China	The People's Republic of China
GB	Great Britain
Hackworth	John Percival Hackworth
LT	Leased Territories
MC	Matter Compilers
Nell	Nellodee
The Diamond Age	The Diamond Age; or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer
The Fists	The Fists of Righteous Harmony
The PRC	The People's Republic of China
The United States	The United States of America
The USA	The United States of America

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INTRODUCTION

Written by Neal Stephenson in 1995, *The Diamond Age or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer (The Diamond Age)* is a post-cyberpunk novel depicting a world controlled by powerful nation-states in which nanotechnology¹ penetrates into all aspects of life. This gripping novel revolves around more than one focal character and tries to rewrite the historical Boxer Rebellion in the People's Republic of China that occurred in 1900; however, this time with different outcomes than the original one. The novel also deals with the problems that *globalization* brings along such as assimilation, poverty, post-scarcity economics and gives hints so as to circumvent those problems with the help of *glocalization* and *smart power*.

This thesis deals with the Boxer Rebellion, which was a suppressed and failed rebellion that took place in China, and its rewritten fictional version in the novel. By comparing the two versions of this infamous rebellion, one historical and one fictional, this dissertation aims to study the dynamics of power and its actors in both events. It will scrutinize the power relations between the nation-states in the novel and their ways to gain power while throwing a deeper look to its focal characters such as Nellodee (Nell), John Percival Hackworth (Hackworth), Dr. X and Miranda.

Historically, the Boxer Rebellion was suppressed by the coalition forces formed by Great Britain (GB), Japan, Russia, Germany, France and the United States of America. At the end of the rebellion, China who supported the Boxer rebels was forced to pay reparations. Since it was the usage of sheer coercive power by Chinese rebels that initiated the defeat of China, the actual Boxer Rebellion can be seen as an example of failed *hard power*. Moreover, the United States, which used soft power against China, came out victorious. However, in Neal Stephenson's novel *The Diamond Age*, the Boxer rebellion takes place in the future and ends with the victory of China. Interestingly, it is neither hard nor soft power but the use of smart power that changes the course of the rebellion. The use of smart power (which stands for

¹ Nanotechnology is the study and manipulation of extremely small particles and in that world, nanotech and cybernetic tools is widely accessible for everyone, thus creating the "punk" part of the story; for technology is now relatively cheap and easy to find. When we look at these angles, we can classify *The Diamond Age* also as nanopunk alongside post-cyberpunk; combination of "high tech" and "low life" (Huereca, 2010: 142).

the combination of conflict and consensus) by China leads her to gain the upper hand and triumph over its western opponents.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to apply this new emerging type of power - smart power- in international relations studies to literature by analyzing the fictional Boxer Rebellion in Stephenson's book *The Diamond Age*. The fictional version of the boxer Rebellion in contrast to its real version ends with the victory of China. Consequently, it will analyze the Boxer Rebellion as the victory of smart power that is based on the combination of soft and hard power types; a combination that uses conflict as well as consensus. Moreover, this thesis will also demonstrate how smart power can help to construct glocal spaces and identities that have the potential to resist global hegemonies. Seeing smart power as an important component of glocalization, this thesis will defend glocalization against globalization. By means of glocalization nation-states may adapt their cultures, traditions, and technologies without losing their core to the global cultural currents. By analyzing this novel in terms of glocalization and smart power, this thesis will argue that in Stephenson's novel, the China of the future, unlike the defeated China of the 19th century, was able to recover and win victory over its western enemies. Such a victory posits that nation-states instead of relying merely on the incentives of globalization should also consider glocalization as a tangible solution to a global uniformed world.

So as to become culturally unique and powerful in the world arena, nations need to form their policies and products revolving around their own authentic culture. Of course, this can be unlocked through self-empowerment, cultural and historical awareness, and integrity; otherwise, a glocalization process without a *compass* serves only for the needs of globalization since they are intertwined most of the time. At this point, this study positions smart power as a compass for glocalization process since nations may achieve it by combining power instruments adapted from soft and hard power types (such as cultural attraction, military power, oppressive financial enforcements, diplomatic charisma and many more).

In the first chapter, three power types –hard, soft, and smart— will be analyzed alongside the terms globalization and glocalization. Definitions of power made by the famous sociologists like Robert Dahl, Steven Lukes, Talcott Parsons, Michel Foucault and Joseph Nye will be given so as to build a foundation for further

analysis of the novel, *The Diamond Age*. Their approaches and terms such as *Panopticon*, *three-dimensional power view* and *legitimized authority* will be briefly covered to open a door into understanding smart power and its associates. After defining what power is and its various definitions, the first chapter will also try to explain power types in international relations studies such as hard, soft, and smart. By explaining them, it will be argued that smart power is the ideal combination of hard and soft powers and that this kind of power should be the ultimate goal of all nation-states. Then, the liaison between globalization and glocalization will be analyzed with definitions and counter assertions. Again, just like smart power, even though they are intermingled most of the time, glocalization will be defended against globalization since it offers more stability.

The second chapter will deal with the Boxer rebellion which took place in China between 1899 and 1901. The reasons behind the fall of China in the 19th century will be analyzed (such as the opium wars and its outcomes, the endless privileges given to the foreigners, military inefficacy, declining economy and the exploitation of the Confucian belief system in the creation of an illusionary meritocracy). This chapter will also lend insight to the government policies implemented by the aristocratic Manchu elitists. Then, the boxer rebellion and the Open Door policy will be analyzed by giving historical information and examples from the policies conducted by the USA so as to circumvent the outcomes of the rebellion. It is evident that the Boxer Rebellion failed merely because it put hard power to use. Therefore, this study by associating the failed rebellion with the usage of hard power will assert the crucial role of smart power in the fight against international, capitalistic and global hegemonies.

Lastly, in the third chapter of this dissertation, information about the terms and characters in the novel will be given alongside a brief summary of the novel's plot. The fictional version of the Boxer Rebellion as a victory of China will be studied through the lens of smart power and glocal self-empowerment policies. In this chapter, terms like *feed* and *seed* will also be covered. These contradictory terms, which were coined by the writer Neal Stephenson, strikes us as analogies for getting fed by someone else, of being dependent or just the opposite, of sowing one's own seed without being dependent to others. When read carefully, it becomes obvious

that the novel makes a sharp criticism of big-shot capitalist nations who utilize globalization instruments. Instead, creating authentic and local ways of production is defended. For example, China achieves sovereignty via embracing its historical values and wielding technology so as to educate and self-empower its young generation. Through cultural, spatial, and discursive empowerment as well as with the wielding of smart power, China is able to free herself from global hegemonies.

To sum up, this dissertation analyzes the historical and fictional versions of the Boxer Rebellion with the help of power studies. It argues that in order to be a powerful and free nation, glocalization and smart power have to be wielded together as a combination since they complete each other. For this reason, it can be said that in a world which is dominated by assimilating and ever-controlling global powers, the rise of the individuals or nations, or in this case the freedom of China, depends on a rebellious act. An act that takes its momentum from local historical, cultural values and a clever fusion of soft and hard power types: smart power.

CHAPTER I

POWER: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Power is like the weather. Everyone depends on it and talks about it, but few understand it. Just as farmers and meteorologists try to fore-cast the weather, political leaders and analysts try to describe and predict changes in power relationships” (Nye, 2004: 1).

1.1. DEFINITIONS OF POWER

If we look at the meaning of the word ‘power,’ we find that it means ‘to control’ others. It is a capability to make others do the desired things whether they want or not. According to Steven Lukes, “the absolutely basic common core to, or primitive lying behind, all talk of power is the notion that *A* in some way affects *B*” (Lukes, 2009: 30). In international relations, it can manifest itself with the help of elements such as territorial and military influence, stability, economy. Although power has been associated with military strength, manpower or natural resources in the past, in modern times it has been defined by much more unofficial institutions or intangible concepts like economy, technology and education. (Nye, 1990a: 154).

Sociologist Robert Dahl, explains power as A’s controlling capacity over B, to the extent that A can make B to do a desired thing that B otherwise would not do (Lukes, 2009: 16). Influence, force, coercion, compulsion, persuasion and authority can be counted as its elements (Haugaard, 2012: 10). To explain more, firstly, some terms should be studied:

At the most general level, power terms in modern social science refer to subsets of relations among social units such that the behaviors of one or more units (the responsive units, R) depend in some circumstances on the behavior of other units (the controlling units, C) (Haugaard, 2012: 10-1).

Moving on after explaining these abbreviations, according to Dahl, power has some descriptive features such as *magnitude*, *distribution*, *scope* and *domain*. Magnitude stands for the massiveness of the power of the C’s (the controlling units) when compared to R’s (the responsive units) power; it is the amount of power that is in

use. Distribution means the motion and dissociation of power in the system; it may demonstrate itself as regime style of applied political views. Scope and Domain refers to the space in which power has effects on actors (Haugaard, 2012: 11-12).

Another sociologist Steven Lukes, categorizes Dahl's theories as *dimensions of power* and then adds his own view as *The Third Dimension of Power*. According to him, there are three views regarding power: the view of pluralists (one-dimensional view), the view of their critics (two-dimensional view), third view of power (three-dimensional view) (Lukes, 2009: 15).

Table 1: Dimensions of Power

One-Dimensional View of Power Focus on (a) behavior (b) decision-making (c) (key) issues (d) observable (overt) conflict (e) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation
Two-Dimensional View of Power (Qualified) critique of behavioural focus Focus on (a) decision-making and nondecision-making (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) conflict (d) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances
Three-Dimensional View of Power Critique of behavioural focus Focus on (a) decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions) (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict (d) subjective and real interests

Source: Haugaard, 2012: 44.

Sociologist Talcott Parsons also theorizes on power alongside Dahl and Lukes. "Parsons sought to explain the production of power in terms of analogy between the polity and economy. Within structural-functionalism society was

considered in terms similar to that of biological organisms. In order for an organism to survive it needs to be able to adapt to the environment and achieve desired goals” (Haugaard, 2012: 67). He sees power as an operating mechanism that can change the outcomes of the other systems which are connected to it through social interaction. According to him, power is the usage of dictator resolutions that target collective aims. His understanding of power includes authority and the consensus created by the help of legitimately designed rights. Therefore, Parsons’ view of power is concerned with individual interests. It can be said that this kind of power is closely related with soft power, a power type that advocates consensus and participation (Lukes, 2009: 31). His “complex system presupposes actors with authoritative power which can be based upon violence only in the last resort. Over time, as the system gains in effectiveness, its members become increasingly willing to render compliance to those in authority” (Haugaard, 2012: 67).

Lastly, French theorist Michel Foucault associates power with knowledge. Knowledge is power which has the ability to distort truth thus brings control and designates the agenda. To him, there is no escape from knowledge. “Once the person becomes a source of knowledge then particular ways of being are no longer a source of indifference. The discovery of man becomes inextricably tied to a model of judgemental normality” (Haugaard, 2012: 185). In his book, *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault theorizes his ideas regarding power through an analogy of a prison named *Panopticon*. It is a prison model designed by social theorist Jeremy Bentham. This building is designed as a ring shape with a tower in the middle. Around the tower, there is prison cells. There are watchers located in the tower so they can see what is going on in every cell and with this way; this building enables watcher to perform twenty four-seven surveillance hence uses supervision at its peak level. Of course, it serves as an analogy for control. Owing to the fact that, it induces in the prisoners a sense of everlasting visibility, an auto control mechanism starts to develop. Thus, even if there is no one watching, the prisoners continue to act according to the rules with the help of the power created by this induced mechanism. This creates a power association between the institution and its inhabitants. What is more, this induced auto control positions inmates both as a target and a wielder of power, at the same time. To Foucault, knowledge and auto control mechanism coming from the

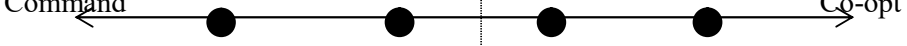
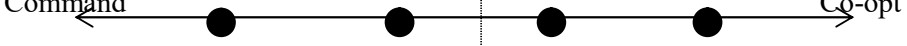
surveillance and visibility instruments, transforms itself into controlling authoritative power (Foucault, 1995: 200-201).

Moving on, the power terms will be studied in this dissertation will be Soft, Hard, and Smart power. They are fairly new arguments being studied in international relations studies and they were coined by sociologist Joseph Nye. It can be asserted that, these terms are closely related with liberal democracies and totalitarian regimes since democratic nations mostly resorts to soft power in their relations whereas hard power tends to be used by autocracies.

1.2. SOFT POWER, HARD POWER, AND SMART POWER

Nations interact with each other in many ways by using power politics. Power can be manifested as creating an alluring influence and consensus, or via coercion, and establishing authority on others. All these lead us to the concepts of soft and hard power. They represent the two different points of the scale that are far away from each other as possible as can be. “At one extreme was hard or command power - the ability to change what others do through coercion (followed next on the continuum by inducement). At the other extreme was soft or co-optive power - the ability to shape what others want through attraction (preceded by agenda-setting)” (Smith-Windsor, 2000: 52).

Table 2: Power

	HARD		SOFT	
Spectrum of Behaviors	coercion inducement		agenda setting attraction	
				
Most Likely Resources	force sanctions payments bribes		institutions values culture policies	

Source: Nye, 2004: 8

According to this table above, in the simplest term, we can say that there are two defining edges of power: *command* and *co-opt*. While the action of command

comes with coercion and inducement; co-opt includes designed agendas and attraction to the chosen medium. Nevertheless, “the effectiveness of any power resource depends on the context” (Nye, 2004: 12). As Marshall McLuhan asserts that “the medium is the message”. The very things that the message holds or what it means are less important than the medium itself. Medium creates its own contents and the created ones are new mediums on their own, as well. They give shape and conduct the forms of human relations and actions (McLuhan, 2011: 19-20). Thereby we cannot separate medium and its content from each other. The action of commanding takes its stems from resources such as bribery, usage of force while, on the other hand, co-optation exists with creating cultural and economic interest. They all are reasonable in their own contexts, meaning that if the context is right outcomes may take shape. For instance, buying American jeans does not always mean adapting their culture or sending out threats does not guarantee an immediate outcome. They might end up with failure yet when a wielder uses power instruments in accordance with the context they start to work and bear fruit.

Hard and soft powers are important and inseparable from international relations politics because of the fact that they are both used for manipulating the will of a target person, institution or nation. Yet, when we have a closer look we see differences in usage and instruments. Hard Power achieves goals by coercion and soft power does that with creating an attraction on a cultural level and manipulating agendas via using that as leverage (Nye, 2004: 7).

According to former politician Suzanne Nossel, liberal democracies avoid war since they use liberal internationalism as a compass. In contrast with totalitarian and conservative governments who wield military power, democracies use soft power agents as diplomacy, culture and active trade as their policies to define their way in global world (Nossel, 2004, 131-132). On the other hand, autocratic regimes ground their mass on hard power. That type of systems’ main idea is to turn the inhabitants into believers to the system, by cutting external inputs such as cultural influence and designing the knowledge as they wish to create false distribution of knowledge (Gerschewski, 2013:19).

1.2.1. Soft Power

Joseph Samuel Nye, who is an American political scientist that coined the term soft power, asserts that it is much more difficult to wield if it is compared to the other power types, since it takes some of its momentum from the sources that is outside governments' reach. Effects of soft power are much more indirect rather than direct and straightforward. It is an alternative to hard power since wars or coercive economic interventions do not always guarantee the desired effects. For instance, Vietnam War can be studied to show that coercive power does not work for the interests all the time. Even if it was a lengthy and expensive campaign, it resulted in ultimate failure for the USA (Nye, 2004: 99). Thus, when hard power fails, nations have to wield soft power to get the desired outcomes. It is a kind of power that "is in the eye of the beholder; it emerges from how outsiders perceive a country's values and systems from rather than being promoted from the inside" (Breslin, 2011: 9).

"Simply put, in behavioral terms soft power is attractive power. In terms of resources, soft-power resources are the assets that produce such attraction" (Nye, 2004: 6). Despite the fact that outcomes are hard to achieve in a short term with soft power; it is much more stable than coercive power because it revolves around collective acceptance and consensus. "Soft Power is conceived as the idea that others will align themselves to you and your policy preferences because they are attracted to your political and social system, values and policies" (Breslin, 2011: 8). Therefore, "the soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority.)" (Nye, 2004: 11).

Sociologist Talcott Parsons relates power directly with authority and the unification of the society on the same aims. According to him, power is 'the institutionalization of authority', thus power is a competency to maintain the effectiveness of the bodies in society by creating a common agenda to achieve. It is nothing without legitimatization or justification. Instead of coercion or harsh interferences; groups can be influenced to unite under the same goal. For this reason, according to Parsons's theorem power of group *A* over group *B*, if legitimized via

taken measures, becomes 'the justifiable right' of group *A*, and rights become concrete, undeniable social structures over time. Group *B* becomes integrated with society more and more and does its part to fulfill the greater good (Lukes, 2009: 30-31).

We know that military and economic might often get others to change their position. Hard Power can rest on inducements (carrots) or threats (sticks). But sometimes you can get the outcomes you want without tangible threats or payoffs. The indirect way to get what you want has sometimes been called the second face of power (Nye, 2004: 5).

Therefore, it can be said that soft power is an authority created by influence and co-optation on others. It is required that different instruments to be used at the same time while wielding this kind of power; thus it is preferred by power actors who choose to get rewarded in the long term since its outcomes take time to bear fruit. It also needs to be tending on carefully and vigorously at the same time rather than to wait for it to happen via the dynamics of the society by itself. Soft Power has to be encouraged and planned by the state instead of being created only by individuals. Of course, individuals and institutions will play a crucial role in its installment yet it can truly take shape if it is funded and studied by the state itself directly (Breslin, 2011: 7).

We can approach soft power in two ways: in narrower and broader sense. At first sight, it can be said that it is similar to cultural influence. Despite the fact that it is not wrong, if we look at the broader meaning it defines itself with cultural and economic strength (Vuving, 2009: 3). It might be wrong if we say it only means influencing others because of the fact that hard power also includes influence with the instruments such as money and threats. Even though it is an important part of it, we cannot say soft power is all about talking our way out of situations by diplomatic persuasions and winning arguments either. It is about creating an attraction and legitimizing that attraction to create cultural oppression on targets (Nye, 2004: 6).

It can be done via movies, clothes, television programs or bold political decisions that will encourage others. The countries like the USA, Canada, and China have been using the variations of soft power for a while. The USA wields this kind of power by selling its culture to the world. It includes jeans, Hollywood movies, comic books, lifestyles. When we look at Canada, we see that they are also doing the same

thing with their charismatic, revolutionary Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, since soft power is all about creating an attraction and pointing out a desired way to the target to get outcomes in long run. It is also about creating a common sense of duty, belonging and shared values in society.

1.2.2. Hard Power

“More than four centuries ago Niccolo Machiavelli advised princes in Italy that it was more important to be feared than to be loved. But in today’s world, it is best to be both. Winning hearts and minds has always been important, but it is even more so in a global information age” (Nye, 2004: 1). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the “allies of hard power are much more numerous, visible, and powerful than their soft power counterparts” (Wilson, 2008: 119).

It is clear to reckon that in the international relations *balance of power* has shifted to the *balance of threat*. This threat takes its force from geography, offensive abilities and intentions of a nation. At this point, hard power is a kind of power that is being used in politics more and more every day because of the fact that it has fast and visible outcomes. Its instruments are basically *guns* and *money* so as to create the most coercive desired effects (Bilgin and Berivan, 2008: 7).

Despite the fact that soft power takes its momentum from co-optation and influence, hard power takes its strength from coercion and force; with this way it can be said that it stands for military dominance in international relations studies. Coercion means imposing desired aims on someone or an institution, or a nation even though they resist. When we talk about hard power, power means strength, whether military or monetary, and to control means everything. If we compare it to soft power we will see that military and monetary oppressions are to be conducted till the desired amount and duration is achieved in hard power; whereas soft power agents and instruments are much more scattered and out of control than the instruments that hard power needs. With hard power, one can clearly decide on the outcomes since the lines and desires are much more clear and precise. The discourse is easy to be bent by the usage of hard power in short periods of time (Gray, 2011: 30).

What is more, hard power either means war or economical pressure. It comes with violence and coercion. To define the difference between soft and hard power, Joseph Nye explains:

One way to think about the difference between hard and soft power is to consider the variety of ways you can obtain the outcomes you want. You can command me to change my preferences and do what you want by threatening me with force or economic sanctions. You can induce me to do what you want by using your economic power to pay me. You can restrict my preferences by setting the agenda in such a way that my more extravagant wishes seem too unrealistic to pursue. Or you can appeal to a sense of attraction, love, or duty in our relationship and appeal to our shared values about the justness of contributing to those shared values and purposes (Nye, 2004: 6-7).

As can be seen from the passage that hard power instruments are bribery, economic pressure, giving commands, wars, and threats. That means if a country loses its military and economic strength it also loses its ability to conduct hard power so as to change international agendas by influencing dominance. At this point, hard power can still be created by creating myths such as indestructibility and immortality as a nation. Its examples observed in World War II as Adolf Hitler kept the country in one piece and together with harsh propagandas even if the defeat was close and inevitable (Nye, 2004: 9).

Instead of defining that action of propaganda as soft power, we can say it is an example of hard power since it includes coercive propagandas and force-feed myths to the masses. It can be regarded as a good example of the soft and hard side of power on the basis of influence. Hard Power contrasts with soft power since soft usage of power means shaping the preferences of the target; on the other hand hard side of power changes the circumstances. To elaborate more, hard power plays with the setting and goals yet soft power deals with interests. (Vuving, 2009: 6).

1.2.3. Smart Power

In today's world, power is being distributed between new international actors because of the fact that the Cold War Era has been concluded and a world view with

only two superpowers have collapsed. In the modern-day world, everything is becoming literally and metaphorically *smart* if we take a closer look. For instance, in a warzone, bombs are getting smarter; or in economic and cultural warfare, phones and other electronics are becoming smarter every day. Numbers of educated people are rising and as a result, they are starting to demand things such as to be treated fairly, they want new agendas in politics, and new cultural experiences. As a result of global culture, they are becoming more and more self-assertive thereby it is becoming challenging to control masses with only using soft or hard power types (Wilson, 2008: 111-112). Joseph Nye takes the topic further by explaining the changing paradigms of power over centuries:

In earlier periods, international power resources may have been easier to assess. A traditional test of a Great Power in international politics was "strength for war." But over the centuries, as technologies evolved, the sources of strength for war often changed. For example, in eighteenth-century Europe, the population was a critical power resource because it provided a base for taxes and the recruitment of infantry (Nye, 2004: 3-4).

Table 3: Leading States and Major Power Resources, 1500s-1900s

Period	Leading State	Major Resources
Sixteenth-century	Spain	Gold bullion, colonial trade, mercenary armies, dynastic ties
Seventeenth-century	Netherlands	Trade, capital markets, navy
Eighteenth-century	France	Population, rural industry, public administration, army
Nineteenth-century	Britain	Industry, political cohesion, finance and credit, navy, liberal norms, island location (easy to defend)
Twentieth-century	The United States of America	Economic scale, scientific and technical leadership, universalistic culture, military forces and alliances, liberal international regimes, the hub of transnational communication

Source: Nye, 1990b: 183

As it can be read from the table, instruments of power have changed remarkably over the centuries. If we take a closer look it is easy to see that in the earlier centuries such as 16th or 17th century; power defined mostly by trade and

power of the bloodline. Then, it started to evolve into manpower and industry with the invention of new technologies such as steam power. With the industry, power found itself new playgrounds. Industry, as a medium, created its own contents; the need for raw materials started to rise. As a result, nations started to become imperialistic. One of them was Great Britain and as it can be seen above it used its isolation as a geopolitical power. Therefore, it means that the need for precious materials created the need for new and faster ways for transportation and strategical deployment. For this reason, geopolitical positions have become more and more important since then. Lastly, if we look at the 20th century, it is not hard to reckon that power transformed from concrete things like armies, land, materials into much more abstract concepts like the economy, culture, alliances, and communication.

Nowadays, countries have been becoming aware of new and complicated ways of using power instruments. If we take today's the PRC as an example since Neal Stephenson's *The Diamond Age* is about a failed rebellion that took place in those lands in the 19th century; one can see that they have been using these instruments of power cleverly starting from the second half of the 20th century. Their government has been making on the spot analysis about their power resources and merging their political aims with their national interests. It is clear to see that all these changes are necessary for China to achieve its 'Peaceful Rise' doctrine. On the other hand, politicians and sociologists have been observing that in the last decades the USA has been using hard power increasingly. The government has been focusing on inter-continental military campaigns and maintaining that powerful deterrent superiority (Wilson, 2008: 111-112).

To satisfy these shifting dynamics; as an answer, we come across with smart power. It refers to "the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently" (Wilson, 2008: 115). Because of the fact that hard power and soft power instruments are not interchangeable or replace one another in any given situation, power wielders need a combination. A combination that combines all the instruments these two sides of power offers with a new and smarter strategy (Nye, 2009: 160).

Joseph Nye says: “before you judge who is holding the high cards, you need to understand what game you are playing and how the value of the cards may be changing” (Nye, 2004: 4). For this reason, in order to be more successful, smart power wielders have to know how to combine the advantages of both soft and hard power instruments so as to create convincing policies. (Wilson, 2008: 120).

To perform smart power at its full potential, it should be established besides some concepts such as; *the target, self-knowledge, regional and global context, and tools*. Target means a person or an institute to execute power upon. It cannot be separated from regional and global context because of the fact that a power wielder needs to be aware of the pros and cons of the targeted region and its population. Self-knowledge stands for the capacity of awareness about surrounding dynamics. Again, it cannot be detached from the others since a successful actor of power has to know the goals, needs and the capacity of his or her community to designate clear and realistic future plans. Lastly, the usage of tools is vital for the power to be deployed upon desired targets. It is important to know when, where and how to use them as well as using them whether separately or together as a combination. It requires a wielder to know every aspect of each tool to apply this kind of power. Armies, television, economy and other mediums need to be controlled all together in harmony for one designated purpose. Depending on the conjunctures, coercive and co-optation techniques are required to be chosen cleverly to create persuasion whether via force or dissuasion (Wilson, 2008: 115-116).

In today's world, we live in an age of information. Outcomes of power applications do not purely rely on who has the biggest stick; they also depend on whose story is the best. Soft Power is needed to touch to the hearts of the masses and to synchronize them culturally to the wielders plans, however; at the same time, hard power is necessary to deter radicals, hostile groups; or to protect the belongings (Nye, 2009: 162-163). When we merge both, smart power takes shape and it will have the best of both sides.

1.3. GLOBALIZATION AND GLOCALIZATION

Since it is a fairly new concept, if we start with glocalization; as a word it derives from combining the words *global* and *local*. It is the mixture of these both, an abbreviation of *global localization*, and comes from marketing sector as origin. It refers to the customization of global goods so as to meet the local, cultural expectations, and it was inspired by a Japanese word *dochakuka*, which means to adjust agrarian techniques to the local needs and necessities, as Haque Khondker asserts (Khondker, 2004: 14-15). Glocalization as a term was first introduced to sociology by an American sociologist Roland Robertson. According to Robertson, in today's world, neither global nor local but only the glocal exists. It is the result of a long-lasting fight between local and global. One can say that, according to him, it is a new argument which destroyed its parents. To Roland Robertson, despite the fact that globalization was created as a goal to make the world uniform, it fails to do so; instead, in our times world is a place consist of multiple scattered glocal actors. Therefore, it is not wrong to say that glocalization was born from the ashes of the ideas of globalism, thus it is the consequence of the downfall of globalization, according to Robertson (Gobo, 2016: 1-2).

Nevertheless, globalization and glocalization can be also regarded as mutualist structures; instead of one is the downfall of the other. What is more, they rhyme with the terms *macro-localization* and *micro-globalization*, meaning that making the local global and reducing the global to the local standards. For example, wide acceptance of Eastern Beliefs and Religions in Western Countries can be named as a successful macro-localization process. By making the same rationalization process, adapting new products or ideologies to the targeted area for local acceptance stands for micro-globalization. When it is approached like this, globalization means reaching out or getting through to the targets. For this reason, one can clearly say that globalization and glocalization are inter-mingled with each other and they tend to become each other in time. Globalization can be regarded as the extended version of glocalization. To elaborate, what is local, whether it is on cultural or material basis, can be global in time if it is distributed worldwide; and on

the other hand what is global can be adapted to local necessities to allure attention (Khondker, 2004: 15).

There are also other terms, comes with globalization and glocalization process such as: *lobolisation* and *isomorphism*. Lobolisation can be explained as the vengeance of local. For instance, just like China is doing today, creating fake brands that resemble global, big-shot, prestigious goods is called lobolisation. In a long term it is a process that can give damage to the original brand since the copy is cheap and more reachable; thus boosts the power of localization over global monopoly (Gobo, 2016: 2-3). It is debatable whether it is wrong or not, nevertheless, if it is ticking that means it is working. What is more, isomorphism can be mistaken with westernization. Before explaining isomorphism, the association between globalization and westernization should be studied. Khondker, moves on to distinguish globalization from westernization and says that:

Some writers view globalization as the worldwide spread of “westernization”. This view is either erroneous or contains only partial truth. From a superficial point of view, various processes outwardly seem that the world is, indeed, becoming westernized. One could see the popularity of the western music, movies, and “McDonalds” as examples of westernization. (Khondker, 2004: 16).

Yet, these two terms are not interchangeable between them. It can be asserted that every westernization process also means globalization; however, not every globalization operation can be considered as westernization. At this point we come across with a term called isomorphism. It is a term, which was picked from botanical sciences, means copying the exact original form even if there is a separation from the origin. Because of the fact that globalization might show aspects of isomorphism, it can be easily misunderstood as westernization (Khondker, 2004: 17). For instance, “like the Hindu conception of deities: there is one essence and multiple realities” (Gobo, 2016: 2). Just like that globalization may manifest itself as orientalization as well, instead of the very first thing it is mistakenly being associated with: westernization. To sum up, one can assert that while lobolisation is related with glocalization, the term isomorphism is related with globalization. Arguments regarding glocalization and globalization are also pretty much the same. In both, authentic histories and cultural roots are essential for nations or societies because of

the fact that they give them a sense of wholeness and at the same time authenticity. Varieties in social groups are also important for both processes owing to the fact that they do not want to wipe out dissimilarities (Khondker, 2004: 16).

Table 4: Consensus and Controversy in Relation to Globalization

Consensus • Globalization is being shaped by technological change. • Involves the reconfiguration of states. • Goes together with regionalization. • Is uneven.
Controversy • Is globalization essentially economic or multidimensional? • What is “globalization”? • Is globalization a recent or long-term historical process? • Does globalization exist or is it rhetoric, “globaloney”? • Is globalization neoliberal capitalism? • Is globalization manageable?

Source: (Pieterse, 2009: 8)

In the table above, some controversies and the topics agreed upon can be seen regarding globalization studies. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, explains globalization as this:

Globalization is like a prism in which major disputes over the collective human condition are now refracted: questions of capitalism, inequality, power, development, ecology, culture, gender, identity, population, all come back in a landscape where “globalization did it.” Like a flag word globalization sparks conflict. Globalization crosses boundaries of government and business, media and social movements, general and academic interest (Pieterse, 2009: 7).

Apart from glocalization, globalization might be regarded as an instrument to mold a world in one form; as it is explained before a uniform, isomorphic society. It has the power to make borders vogue, and mix cultures into one pot to create new one from that ooze. It rewires sociological structures of the states; erodes the borders away to pave the way to a world with no frontiers. It sometimes acts like a sand storm that erases all the traces left by civilizations. It defies boundaries; in fact it means to demolish those barriers. Nevertheless, becoming one with the unified world is a hard

process; in that sand storm a traveler has to deal with sand particles all the time inevitably. Those sand particles, of course, refer to wars and conflicts. As a counter move, although the fact that it never promises a worldview which is free from wars, glocalization acts as a buffer against the fear of globalization. It offers a world with societies in which everyone kept their histories and cultures intact while moving in global current (Khondker, 2004: 16; Pieterse, 2009: 10).

On the other hand, glocalization represents itself via locality; meaning that in glocalized societies the local stays intact without absorption or annihilation. Even if it works side by side with global culture sometimes, as it is explained, it craves for *heterogeneity* instead of isomorphism. It is not wrong to assert that glocal is like tasting global aromas with local seasoning, looking at the world with local googles. In today's culture we experience *glocalities*. Finding the purest local values are meaningless in the century we live in, since there are no more isolated cultures; instead of it cultures need to learn to create hybrid versions of their local values. That is to say, in order to create glocal, one must reshape or rethink the local first (Gobo, 2016: 2). If we continue with globalization, some other views can be mentioned. The first view depicts us a homogenized world which runs by a unitary culture, a monopoly. This view can be best explained with a word *McDonaldization* since it is one of the biggest global marketing chains in the world, right now. In this view of globalization, one cultural notion or a monopoly deletes all the other indigenous cultures and dynamics (Khondker, 2004: 14). Jan Nederveen Pieterse, also describes globalization according to this view:

Globalization or the trend of growing worldwide interconnectedness has been accompanied by several clashing notions of cultural difference. The awareness of the world "becoming smaller" and cultural difference receding coincides with a growing sensitivity to cultural difference. The increasing salience of cultural difference forms part of a general cultural turn, which involves a wider self-reflexivity of modernity. Modernization has been advancing like a steamroller, erasing cultural and biological diversity in its way, and now not only the gains (rationalization, standardization, control) but also the losses (alienation, disenchantment, displacement) are becoming apparent. Stamping out cultural diversity has been a form of disenchantment of the world (Pieterse, 2009: 43).

On the contrary, it can also be asserted as a counter argument that McDonalds is a glocal agent which has been globalized in time. For instance, “McDonalds is probably the most quoted case: in different countries, this company customized its original menu by taking into account local preferences, tastes, or other particularities, in order to meet customers’ desires and needs” (Gobo, 2016: 2). Therefore, as it is presented in this example, a global monopoly like McDonalds uses locality to maintain its global hegemony. So, the co-dependency between global and local can be seen here as well. Creating a parallel argument with the one mentioned above, another view advocates that globalization also means synthesis. It is born from diffused and clashed cultures as a hybrid, just like it is mentioned above. This view backs the idea which says that globalization and glocalization are intermingled even if they seem detached. Glocal becomes global within enough periods of time and processes. Global derives from borrowing and hybridization (Khondker, 2004: 14).

CHAPTER II

CHINA AND THE HISTORY OF THE BOXER REBELLION

This chapter aims to analyze the historical and diplomatic events that China experienced in the 19th Century, for a better understanding of the motivations behind the Boxer Rebellion that took place between 1899 and 1901; and its failure. With this way, this chapter will highlight the fact that hard power politics are doomed to fail if not combined with diplomatic solutions that soft power offers. By giving historical background information, this chapter's goal is to create a strong duality between the historical rebellion and the rewritten version of it in *The Diamond Age* for us to see their differences clearly. Asserting that, not trying to gain countrywide consensus and trusting on sheer hard power were the mistakes of this more than a hundred-year-old rebellion; this chapter will demonstrate the devastating and humiliating results of this event, which only fed by conflict, against foreigners. Boxers –as the foreigners called- thought that they could end years of mistreatment and economic captivity done by the foreigners by simply driving them away with force, killing their representors and demolishing their buildings. Knowing the fact that this rebellion only spread terror to the inhabitants of China, rather than giving them hope for unity and cultural integrity; thus this chapter intends to show the details that triggered the fall of China at the turn of the century.

2.1. CHINA OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ITS DOWNFALL

Firstly, being the most populous country in the world, China controlled and ruled vast territories of Asia via their diplomacy and their powerful, organized army. “China’s true grandeur, however, is not vested in its size or distance, but in its age – five thousand years of continuous civilization and intact practices and traditions. The Chinese state is considered by many historians to be the oldest functioning organization on earth” (Chang, 2003: 1). China has been always perceived by missionaries, travelers, and writers as an exotic, Far East nation with beautiful gardens, lotus flowers, and unique architecture. On the other hand, that was all front cover of course; “the idealized world conjured by these images complimented

Western visions of a peaceful, platonic, oriental state and, like those visions, depended on complete ignorance of Chinese government, culture, and society” (Fiske, 2011: 216). The ones who can understand the language and the culture that surrounds them during their visit to this beautiful land saw the real, more complicated China whose culture was built around "respect". A word that has a deeper meaning; and a word that governs family, social life, economy, and diplomacy. In addition to these, it was the country that introduced gunpowder, printing press, compass, rocketry, exquisite foods, money, and much more technological advancements to the world (Chang, 2003: 2). All these combined make the place of China clearly irreplaceable in the history of the world.

Continuing on, “in the mid-nineteenth century China was still an imperial state, ruled by the surviving members of the Qing dynasty. The Qing, originally from Manchuria, a region north of China, had held power for two hundred years, but that power was waning” (Chang, 2003: 2). As can be seen from the mercantile and touristic activities that are mentioned above, “the Chinese had not always been isolated from the rest of mankind. Before the Manchu conquest in the 17th Century there had been quite and extensive though spasmodic commercial intercourse with the west and a slight acquaintance with western culture” (Clements, 1915: 16). Manchus, originally, were barbarians from the Northern lands. They were more conventional than The Han people, also known as the Ming Dynasty. In 1644, they managed to pass the Great Wall of China and overthrow the Ming Dynasty that had been ruling the Chinese people for three hundred years. They acted fast and effectively captured the capital, Beijing. Then they conquered the Forbidden City, a city in which the Dynasts and their courtesans live; and a city that had been isolated from common people. Invaders called their Dynasty as Qing Dynasty; therefore that was the end of the three centuries-old Ming rule. The Qings got adapted to the old rules of the aristocratic class quickly and in time they started to change it according to their customs; however, in this way, they started to exploit the bureaucracy. For instance, to protect their bloodline clean, they forbade the marriage between the Manchus and the Han (Chang, 2003: 7).

In other words, it was the policy of the Manchu monarchs to keep the ideas of the country as they found them, in status quo, and to prevent any

expansion of these ideas either from without or from within. Thus the innate conservatism of the Chinese was immeasurably increased, thus antiquity was lauded as the only period of Chinese history worthwhile, thus the sages were exalted as the teachers of wisdom such as had never been heard since and never would be heard again by mortal man. Thus a careful watch was kept on all the frontiers; intercourse with Europe was practically prohibited, and humiliating concessions were demanded of the few embassies and traders who braved the discouraging conditions of entry. Thus by degrees the inherent prejudices of the Chinese were encouraged, generation after generation, through a monotonous repetition of this deadening policy, all the more successful as it emanated from the "Son of Heaven", until was reached that stage of overweening national conceit and that dense, impenetrable ignorance of the outside world, unmoved by reason or fact or experience, which may be described as the antithesis of western progress and enlightenment. (Clements, 1915: 17-18)

They controlled the country for two hundred years till the Boxer Rebellion and its aftermath; because of the fact that the rebellion speeded up the process as a catalyst, their reign ended when China became a republic in 1912.

2.1.1. Exploiting the Confucian Belief System

Several reasons can be counted for the fall of China. For example, "what reduced the old China to dust was, of course, the superior firepower of foreign cannon. But if we are to understand the Chinese reaction at a deeper level, we must ask the question: Why were they so slow to respond? The answer can be found in the Chinese perceptions of themselves of the West, particularly on the matter of physical force" (Stoessinger, 1990: 20). The reason behind the pacifism of the Chinese can be seen as the ideals of Confucianism. This belief advises spreading virtue by example. The nice deeds made by good heart would make the others follow and bow to you out of respect. According to it, the ruler must be loyal, majestic and good at finding clever, pacifist solutions before deciding on war. Thus, there can be mutual trust between the ruler and the ruled revolving around virtue. Even when they were not powerful, China used this idea in all foreign relations. With this way, China was seeing themselves still on the top of civilizations; however, in reality, its majesty and exotic grandeur were long gone and the country was already divided among imperialistic powers (Stoessinger, 1990: 20).

In addition to that pacifism coming from Confucian belief system; Manchu rulers were using Confucianism to create the illusion of meritocracy, which is a system in which power can be achieved through education not through lineage and blood, in government systems. In theory, it seemed fair and democratic, yet the aim was different. It was their most powerful weapon to suppress the civilians and the talented, young generation. The Imperial Examination system forces all aspiring officials to write academic essays on Chinese philosophy and literature. These exams were the way to work and getting promoted in Chinese civil service bureaucracy, and they function to put emphasis on education which is an important thing in the Confucian belief system and uphold the traditions. People were taught that they need to work hard to rise in ranks, yet it was far from democratic at all because of the fact that women were outside of these examinations and it was available for certain groups no matter how they described it differently. Wealthy families had the resources to hire the best teachers in the realm for themselves. That was an unequal education system. Moreover, this system dictated by the Manchus had created an atmosphere of competition in which everyone had become rivals with each other, creating a hostile environment in the realm (Chang, 2003: 8). However, the trick was in details: they had become hostile to each other, not against the government, thus making it a perfect usage of power on people to oppress their rebel souls:

More significantly, the system suppressed rebellion until the nineteenth century. The memorization and mastery of Chinese classics served as a safe outlet for the nation's most ambitious, talented young men, encouraging them to direct their youthful energies into a scholastic competition rather than openly questioning and challenging the system. The imperial exams soon became more potent than any military force, as the people themselves embraced this instrument of their own oppression. (Chang, 2003: 8)

2.1.2. Military Inefficacy and Declining Economy

What is more, The Chinese were late and incompetent to upgrade their weaponry and technology to prevent possible events. "The government was bloated, increasingly inefficient and ineffective at controlling a growing and restless

population” (Chang, 2003: 13). Even though they started to do some changes; it was opposed by conservatives, for these reasons the country started to shatter:

The Chinese army was decades behind its Western counterparts. It was simply a rabble provided with bags of rice and an assortment of antiquated weapons, including umbrellas, fans, gaily colored flags, and heavy swords. There was no medical staff, and the wounded either died or recovered in the nearest ditch. The pay was unpredictable and the soldiers usually survived by living off the countryside. When they were not on the march, soldiers spent their time smoking, gambling, or prowling after women. Discipline was erratic, though officers thought nothing of beheading conscripts who incurred their displeasure. Men of good family would not join the army since it was known everywhere that Confucius had held that "good iron is not used for nails and good men are not used for soldiery". (Stoessinger, 1990: 20)

On the modernization subject, Emperor Kuang Hsu was having trouble with opposing voices in the country. In 1898, he accepted to attempt new reforms. Those were not successful; plus, the resistance against modernization was so strong that Confucian conservatives deposed the Emperor and put the old Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi to the throne. She was against the foreigners as well. Thus, Reformation acts were seized immediately and the new government started to hate all the foreigners in the country blaming them for their poor standards (Stoessinger, 1990: 21).

Local rulers were cruel as well, in China. They were also the victims of this educational system mentioned before. When they pass the first exam they could be local authorities, which was the lowest governing rank in the Chinese system by that time. They would have security, the lifelong money source, and many other privileges by becoming one. The more they go up in ranks, the more they got separated from their local people. The bureaucracy had become a goal to live an easy life with privileges, instead of a tool to govern the country fairly. Local governors were acting badly to their people. Because of the fact that they are the law, no law was effective against them. If they want a woman, they could force the father to send his daughter to the governor's house to be one of the concubines. A local authority could accuse anyone of any crime and put them in jail, without consequences. Confiscate their things, house and even could get them executed with a word (Chang, 2003: 8-9). There was no justice in the vast territories of this exotic country. Rulers were doing whatever they desire. Another problem related to the rulers was in the

economy. Manchu ruling class created their own rich and elite societies in China. Their expenses were extravagant. Treasury was getting empty due to the fact that the Qing Dynasty declaring unnecessary edicts such as granting military budget for every Manchu boy that was born in the realm. According to this edict, a family takes money from the government and uses this to grow the boys as good, well-fed, educated soldiers. However, people started to abuse it, plus the government changed this edict to take all the men in the realm into its scope, in time. Thus, irresponsible expenses emptied the vault (Chang, 2003: 13).

While all these corruptions and decadence rising in the so-called Celestial Kingdom, in which rulers are Sons of Heaven and claimed to be merciful, just and brave; countries such as France, GB, Germany, Japan, Russia and the USA had begun to dismember the country by implementing their control zones and their culture. Since they lack modernized firepower, they lost those wars and in return "foreign devils" gained the right to establish their trade zones in China. The sovereignty of the Dynasty had diminished dramatically in time because of the privileges given to foreign countries. Most of the coastal cities had been leased by other countries and converted into trade zones under foreign control. "These leases and concessions marked the definite amount of territory actually placed under foreign administration, always with the saving clause that 'China's rights were to be respected', which rights were not respected at all" (Clements, 1915: 36).

2.1.3. The Opium Wars and Privileges Given to the Foreigners

Although Manchu reign did not want foreign influence in the country, they had no choice to give privileges in trade to those countries after the wars and conflicts they had in the 19th century. This was not the first time for Europeans to make an attempt so as to reach the riches of China, such as silk and spice; they had failed many times before in their goal to open China market. "Thus, primarily the fault of Europe, all efforts to establish commercial relations with China proved futile until the country was partially opened by England in 1840, through the agency of the Opium war" (Clements, 1915: 19).

European imperialist appetite worsened the misery. For years, the West had tried unsuccessfully to break into the enormous Chinese market. Merchants scoured the world for goods such as fur pelts to sell to China, but the Qing scorned most of their products, and treated the foreign merchants with contempt, dictating where they could live and do business. By the early nineteenth century, however, British smugglers had opened the market-wide, though not with legitimate trade goods like food or cloth, but by introducing a dangerous and highly addictive drug. Opium, harvested from the British colony of India, cut a wide swath through every class: from socialites seeking release from boredom to coolies who wished to ease the pain of heady loads. Whether they smoked opium through a pipe or sucked it in tablet form, heavy addicts fell into a near-comatose stupor, gradually decaying into living skeletons. (Chang, 2003: 14).

In this way, Opium had become one of the biggest trade branches in China. The demand was astronomical and day by day it was affecting productivity as well as daily life. No matter how the government tried to stop this trade, they were unsuccessful. China had become addicted to Opium. In 1839, appointed by the emperor himself, narcotic commissioners confiscated 20.000 opium crates and ordered to get rid of them in order to end the drug black market. When they did this, the British government conducted a series of actions to defend their right to sell opium in the Kingdom. This was the last drop, of course, long waited for an excuse to capture trade zones. British soldiers captured Nanjing, Shanghai, Ningpo, Amoy, and Canton. The Manchu government forced to sign a treaty that opens the ports of the nation to international trade, and a treaty forces China to buy opium. The British government established a city on a desolate island and called there Hong Kong. Other countries followed Great Britain; therefore France earned privileges as well. These series of wars revolving around Opium trade was named Opium Wars and the treaties China signed afterward set the stage for their decline. European nations started to set their own rules in their concession zone. Therefore, in time the Chinese were deemed to be second class citizens in their country (Chang, 2003: 14-15). This continued till the Boxer Rebellion and even after that till the middle of the twentieth century and the USA as well got its share from China with their brilliant Open Door policy, which is an example of soft power that was coming from well-planned diplomacy. John Stoessinger says that:

By 1900, the British, the French and the Japanese had all defeated China and exacted territories and spheres of influence. Russians and Germans had followed suit and carved out extraterritorial rights with the result that, in most of China's coastal cities, as well as in the capital Peking, foreign laws reigned supreme, and the Chinese were treated as inferiors in their country. I still recall how, upon arrival to Shanghai in 1941, I was shocked to see a sign affixed to a foreign club in the international settlement: "Chinese and dogs not permitted." The United States fought no colonial wars in China but benefited from all the concessions exacted by the other Western powers. She, too, enjoyed extraterritorial rights and all the special privileges accorded foreigners under the unequal treaties of the nineteenth century. (Stoessinger, 1990: 19)

Opium Wars opened a new era regarding the relations of China and the other powers wielders. The hostility of China grew more and more in time to those foreigners and the Europeans moved forward with their oppression unceasingly, by treating the Chinese as low-class citizens in Chinese soil for they had earned concessions and privileges. Foreign powers were free to rule those areas and this created abuse inevitably (Clements, 1915: 19). To get the main picture, it is important to understand the "spheres of influence" at that time. The British were controlling Shanghai, Kowloon, Hong Kong thus taking the biggest portion from the cake by controlling the most important ports; French were controlling the Southern parts of the realm; Germans were controlling Kiaochow and lastly Russians were in control of North China and mainly Manchuria, a place where Manchu rulers once came two hundred years ago and took the government:

The surrounding province or provinces were invariably designated by each Power as constituting a "sphere of influence ", wherein that individual Power considered itself entitled to dominate all others. Thus Germany, leasing Kiaochau, declared the entire province of Shantung as the German "sphere ". Russia, by virtue of the cession of Port Arthur and Dalny, claimed the Three Chinese Eastern Provinces (Manchuria). Japan, through a settlement at Amoy and a promise of non-alienation, claimed the province of Fukien. France claimed the territory bordering on Tongking; and England, through the "shadowy claim" over the Yangtze Valley, was supposed to have the first call upon the rich lands watered by that important tributary. (Clements, 1915: 36)

To conclude, corruption conducted by the government, willingly created the illusion of never-ending majesty, rejecting the modernization of the army and the government bodies, and abusing the Confucian beliefs intentionally to give false

dreams to people had set the stage for the fall of China. Manchu reign chooses to close themselves to the world, rejecting the trade of many products, and not arranging a modern and liberal trade system for Europeans to be satisfied; they had become a self-contained country. They could have acted smartly and pursued liberal trade arrangements; instead, they acted out of violence, relying on their military. What they did not know is because of their conservatism; the army was decades away from its foreign counterparts. The government was using its hard power actively on the people in the country, yet failing to do the same thing against the foreigners. The bureaucracy had failed, diplomacy was pathetic.

When they started to fall, the Western countries were there to divide the country according to their financial interests. Western powers used smart power actively against China by oppressing them culturally, economically, and by military force. As it is explained, economic and cultural expansion is identified with soft power in international jargon. It aims to achieve the desired goal without firing guns. When foreign countries deemed that soft power is not enough, they went on using hard power, the coercive force of their military in Opium Wars. Thus, the Chinese government with no modern weapons had no other choice than to bow to those powers with the help of the rebellions and other small wars following the Opium Wars. Thereby, China forced to give control of its trade ports and important cities by leasing them to foreign nations such as Germany, Russia, Japan, England, and France. Those concession zones are also named "sphere of influences" and every country had its legal system in those, creating more than one legal system in China.

Moreover, the foreigners who started living in these leased zones after concessions to trade and get the riches of China were acting poorly to the Chinese people. Missionaries were converting the Chinese into Christianity day by day. Foreigners were building higher buildings and covering the realm with telegraph lines to communicate. Those things may seem simple yet the Chinese were not accustomed to those, and being a self-contained culture with strict rules they failed in adapting those technological advancements. Cultural assimilation was at its peak point. These historical events and wrong decisions pushed the Chinese people to the edge and they acted instinctively without thinking. In a declaration that the Empress sent out in November 1899, "she complained that 'the various powers cast upon

China looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be the first to seize upon her innermost territories'. Yet she refused to meet the challenge realistically, and when the old China finally did respond with violence, the result was failure" (Stoessinger, 1990: 21). The Empress, acted out of the anger had been rooting in the hearts of every Chinese in the country. "The resumption of the regency by the Empress Dowager was most unfortunate for China and the world, and its disastrous consequences were exceeded only by the territorial aggressions of the Powers. Together with the land-greed of Europe, it was the determining cause of the Boxer Rebellion, at least it greatly accelerated the conflict" (Clements, 1915: 69). The response was the exact thing that the foreigners wanted. It was to attack every foreigner in the country, with a rebellion backed up by the palace; razing Christian towns, sieging cities and taking hostages in 1900.

2.2. THE BOXER REBELLION AND THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

After the Opium Wars, China had lost another war to Japan in 1895. The war was over Korea and the Japanese continued their march into Chinese soil after winning the war. Other foreign powers such as Russia and some European countries got worried about this advancement. At that time, the USA was dealing with the Spanish –American War and the annexation of the Philippines (Carnes and Garraty, 2003: 618). "By 1900, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan were beginning to carve up China among themselves. They pressured the Chinese government for 'concessions' which gave them effective control over various regions of China. In some cases, they simply seized Chinese territory and claimed it as their own" (Brinkley, 2003: 570).

These spheres of influences that were created by foreign forces were threatening for the plans of the United States of America. The USA was not in favor of a divided China. For trade and monetary interests, its integrity was important because every country could create their legal system in their spheres. This would mean someday; if they would want, they could banish the USA from trade in that particular zone. It was a risky business, at least more risky than dealing with conventional China. For the fact that the USA had been investing in China market

approximately since the 1840's; they did not want to waste this investment. In this way, in order to preserve this equation; John Hay, Secretary of State at that time, sent notes to those power-wielding countries. According to these notes; the rights of each nation in China would be respected and the trade will go on as usual without cheating on each other. These notes are called “Open Door Notes” for they approach China as a place in which the countries have equal claims with an open door, not excluding anyone (Green, 1986: 425). These circular notes strengthened the American interests in Asia and the USA opened itself actively to international politics with a smart agenda. They acted fast in fear that China would slip from their hands. To achieve the desired goals, John Hay, transformed the “Open Door” analogy created by President William McKinley into an international doctrine:

Eager for a way to protect American interests in China without risking war, McKinley issued a statement on September 1898 saying the United States wanted access to China, but no special advantages there. “Asking only the open door for ourselves, we are ready to accord the open door to others.” The next year, Secretary of State John Hay translated those words into policy when he addressed identical messages – Which became known as the ‘Open Door notes’ – to England, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy. He asked them to approve three principles: Each nation with a sphere of influence in China was to respect the rights and privileges of other nations in its sphere; Chinese officials were to continue to collect tariff duties in all spheres (the existing tariff favored the United States); and nations were not to discriminate against other nations levying port dues and railroad rates within their own spheres. (Brinkley, 2003: 570-571)

The United States did not interfere with the territorial integrity of China directly as other countries did. They were following an anti-imperialistic policy; for this reason, a clever solution needed to solve the problem instead of being among the ones dividing China (Carnes and Garraty, 2003: 618). These principles “would also retain the illusion of Chinese sovereignty and thus prevent formal colonial dismemberment of China, which might also create obstacles to American trade” (Brinkley, 2003: 571).

Be that as it may, the Open Door Notes reminds us the former Secretary of State John Hay, because of the fact that he was accepted as the presider of this diplomatic tactic; in fact, there were other figures that helped in the process of this project to make it real. In late 1898, nearly a year before those mentioned notes; John

Hay was in need of an adviser on Far Eastern Politics. He only had superficial knowledge about the territorial integrity of China, foreign nations' interests in the region, and its history. For this reason, he started to work with his friend William W. Rockhill. He was a person who worked in China in the past; however, he was unaware, as well, about the changes in the recent history of China since he was away from China for some time. As a result, he invited a friend too; A.E. Hoppisley, who is an Englishman in Chinese Imperial Customs Service. Hoppisley was conscient about the interests of GB and the interests of the other countries in China. Because of the fact that Britain was controlling a great deal of territory and had the ability to affect the trade of Western countries radically; Hoppisley advised Rockhill to convince John Hay for adapting his policies according to Britain. Thus, John Hay started influencing the European Countries to agree on protecting the mutual benefits in China (Stoessinger, 1990: 24). In this way, the USA had prevented GB to be the strongest power medium in Far East Politics.

The countries were cautious about these circular notes and some of them half-heartedly approached to the proposals. In March 1900, John Hay announced that all the countries had accepted the notes; ignoring one small fact: the fact was that no country had accepted these notes in reality. Although the notes had no enforcing power over other countries, the United States acted as if all the other countries stopped quarreling over China because of their Open Door notes and policy. In fact, they were not in fear of these notes; they were in fear of creating a war between themselves in the territories that were far away from their homeland. That was not practical and logical if not seriously necessary. Although, these doctrines achieved nothing physically; this move showed that the USA was shifting away from their isolationist policy to a new and bold area which requires the usage of different power relations and international involvement (Carnes and Garraty, 2003: 618). In contrast with the reactions of the foreign countries, American people embraced the Open Door Notes and its "designed" outcomes gladly. It was seen by them as the victory of diplomacy. As it was explained, the USA was not dedicating themselves to anything with these notes, yet the government was aware of the fact that this idealistic and brave move would be seen at homeland as a popular event (Stoessinger, 1990: 25-26). It was just another clever diplomatic tactic from the government of the USA.

John Hay was not saying something new; he was just highlighting what was in clear sight by slightly changing the discourse in favor of the USA expectations in China. With this bold move which is a great example of soft power, they had put themselves in a leading position and showed the world that they were controlling the Far Eastern Politics merely with their declarations; even though they had no significant military power in China in comparison with the others:

But Europe and Japan received the Open Door proposals coolly. Russia openly rejected them; the other powers claimed to accept them in principle but to be unable to act unless all the other powers agreed. Hay refused to consider this a rebuff. He boldly announced that all the powers had accepted the principles of the Open Door in "final and definitive" form and that the United States expected them to observe those principles. But unless the United States was willing to go to war, it could not prevent any nation that wanted to violate the Open Door from doing so. (Brinkley, 2003: 571)

When these events are happening and while Asian and Western powers were playing on the territorial integrity of China; against *the foreign devils*, a movement started to take shape fueled by sheer hatred in China, in May 1900. They called themselves *The Fists of Righteous Harmony* (The Fists of the Boxers) and started to recruit villagers in the Northern parts of China. They thought they are invincible and impervious to bullets. Day by day people were joining them to serve in this right cause and they believe that through the teachings of this movement they will become invincible as well; thus the organization was growing in numbers. As can be seen, they were highly superstitious and they also were practicing martial arts, mostly Kung-Fu, which is a traditional martial art of China. Plus, a technique called shadowboxing. For that reason, they were known as Boxers by the foreign countries since they refuse to use firearms in combat, believing they are immortal against the foul, unholy weapons of the west, and choose to fight with their forged weaponry like swords, spears, fists, and kicks against foreign invaders. The Boxers attacked mainly the foreigners and Chinese Christians in the country; and killed hundreds of people, sieged embassy buildings (Green, 1986: 425). They started to form small cells called "bands":

Each band was conducted by a "demonized" leader, who, by the selection of an epileptic patient or by the aid of hypnotism, caused a

“medium” to display wild and unnatural symptoms or to utter strange and peculiar speech, this serving as a basis for the claim of this society to spiritual power. Every follower was assured of immunity from death or physical injury – their bodies being spiritually protected from sword cuts and bullets. (Beals, 1901: 11)

The Boxer Organization had become a cultist, terrorist group really fast. They started razing villages to recruit more souls to their ranks; beheaded the ones who refuse to do so. They were becoming out of control and by displaying a very fanatic version of the hard power by attacking religious buildings especially Catholic Churches and even killing the Chinese Christians. This way, they were getting the attention of the Western Countries. “What seemed at first anti-Catholic, then anti-Christian, now proves to go deeper – it is anti-foreign. The Peking Government spoke of the Boxers as ‘patriots,’ formed as a sort of militia to prevent the encroachments of the Germans in Shantung and to support the Government” (Beals, 1901: 13).

After the declaration of the circular Open Door Notes, in 1900, the Boxers rebelled. They were irritated Chinese radicals by foreign influences in the country. They attacked Peking, killed people and razed buildings. The Boxers took the diplomats as hostages for a long period of time until the foreign forces arrive to suppress the rebellion (Carnes and Garraty, 2003: 618). This was the placards being distributed by the Boxer Organization during the rebellion:

"THE UNIVERSAL BOXER SOCIETY

"You are personally invited to meet on the seventh day of the ninth moon,

"Elevate the Manchus,

"Kill the foreigners,

"Unless this summons is obeyed you will lose your heads."

(Beals, 1901: 12)

As it was described, rebels were acting out of sheer hatred and were naming the Westerners as foreign devils. They believed that telegraph lines and railroads that were built by foreigners, were killing the sacred souls of fertility thus affecting the harvest. They believed that the holy spirits stumbling on those wires and for this reason got impaled by the electric or telegraph posts. Those kind of old wirings had a tendency to rust and when the weather was rainy, red drips were dropping from those wires; however, the Boxers assumed that that red fluid was the blood of that killed spirits. They also thought that those holy souls were crashing into the big buildings

that foreigners built when they came to China. Therefore, with 800.000 so called invulnerable soldiers filled with faith, the Boxers sieged Peking in June. The siege lasted for fifty five days (Stoessinger, 1990: 21-22).

The rebellion seemed like it started against the oppressions suddenly turned into a movement against everything foreign in the country. Boxers, razed and burned buildings, killed countless people. They even targeted Christian Chinese. In the wake of this rebellion, the US government started to worry because the foreign powers would try to attempt invading more territories in China, showing this uprising as a reason to control the country with much more effective military power. In order to avert these possible, unwanted outcomes John Hay sent another note to these countries so as to make them to further understand the goal of the American Government further. This note highlighted the importance of territorial integrity in China and the importance of ensuring equal and impartial trade (Green, 1986: 425-426).

Additionally, in 1899 and 1900, the United States became increasingly involved in Asia by issuing the Open Door notes and, during the Boxer Rebellion, dispatching troops to China to protect the USA citizens and property. To hedge against the possibility of future attacks directed against foreigners, the United States stationed a detachment from the Army's 9th Infantry Regiment at the U.S. legation in Peking (Pettyjohn, 2012: 29). McKinley wanted to send American troops to China to have a voice in the diplomatic outcomes of the rebellion (Brinkley, 2003: 571).

"After the Boxer fiasco, China could not but agree to the harsh terms imposed upon her by the Western powers. The Boxer Protocol of 1901 included several items that were bitterly resented by the Imperial Court, but there was no alternative but to accept them" (Stoessinger, 1990: 23). In the end, structure of China stayed the same in theory, even if the government was fined to pay the compensations of the destructed buildings and killings, the people that were responsible for this rebellion were killed, selling or buying firearms were banned in China for years. Yet, the USA had gained access to the richness of China, with less amount of effort (Brinkley, 2003: 571; Stoessinger, 1990: 23).

To sum up this chapter, "Europe seemed under the impression that China was an immense golden harvest to be reaped by the first comer, and in the pursuit of this

agreeable task little thought was given to international law and still less to international comity and ethics” (Clements, 1915: 39). For this reason, they wanted to suckle the honey that China offers with its vast lands, strategical positions and natural resources. Chinese government was inefficient in maintaining the integrity of the country. Qing Dynasty was drowning in the corruption that they had created in time. The systems created by Manchu ruling class had brought extravagance and elitism to the nation. In no time they had emptied their treasury for unnecessary expenditures and excessive consumptions (Chang, 2003: 13). For China spoiled the Confucian belief system, which is an authentic local belief system that was being used in every aspects of their society, and rejecting new developments; they had prepared their doom. Plus, they experienced the Opium Wars from which China come out as the defeated side. Therefore, European oppression had risen since they saw a weak China in front of them, waiting to be used and manipulated.

“China had not yet shown any determined resistance to European aggression, and also because the European demands had been comparatively easy of realization” (Clements, 1915: 39). Yet, government was supporting radical groups to rebel against the foreigners as a last resort. For this reason, the Fists of Righteous Harmony organization got stronger in time and rebelled against foreigners. They were religious peasant who refused to use firearms and thought that they were invulnerable. Basically, and of course tragically, they tried to punch their way out of the oppression of western hegemonies. “The climax of the Boxer Rebellion was a siege of the entire foreign diplomatic corps, which took refuge in the British embassy in Peking” (Brinkley, 2003: 571) and ended with the intervention of allied armies.

Failure of the Boxer Rebellion can be analyzed as the failure of hard power. The rebels (the Boxers of the Fists) failed to integrate technology into their insurgency. This rebellion feels like that they submitted to everything that had been done to them both economically and culturally, and then as a last resort they found the solution in burning, razing and killing everything on their way. The rebellion that is based on this idea is doomed to fail right from the start. One can think that things could have been different if they had put other power instruments such as diplomacy and had tried to empower themselves. Although the fact that hard power may seem to achieve desired outcomes in a short period of time with a burst of sheer coercion, it

does not offer stability on its own. Power actors need to combine it with soft power so as to become victorious. Economical self-dependency, cultural, spatial, and discursive self-empowerment needs to be achieved alongside the revival of local values so as to make the execution of power smarter.



CHAPTER III

THE BOXER REBELLION REVISITED: WIELDING THE SMART POWER

In this chapter, the information about the terms and characters in the novel will be given alongside the brief summarization of *The Diamond Age* novel. According to the explanations and analyzes in the first chapter, the power dynamics between nations and individuals will be studied in this last chapter. While defining and advocating the fictional version of the Boxer Rebellion in the novel as a victory of smart power, which takes its momentum from glocal instruments; the depiction of self-empowerment of China will be studied.

Terms like *feed* and *seed* will also be covered to show the necessity of locality so as to overcome the crippling effects of globalization. These contradictory terms, which were created by the writer Neal Stephenson, strikes us as analogies for getting fed by someone else, being dependent to the outside in this sense; or sowing one's own seed without being dependent on others. The interactions between them will be presented to underline the importance of the implementation of soft power in the fictional version of the Boxer Rebellion.

Despite the fact that the fictional version of this rebellion also exercises the hard power, this time with the seed system, soft power enters the stage, thereby the combination of these two takes us to the victory of smart power and glocal values. It will be analyzed that, being dependent on other big-shot capitalist, nations who utilize globalization instruments, is a thing to be shunned. Instead, creating authentic and local ways of production is defended.

3.1. THE DIAMOND AGE AND ITS DYNAMICS

3.1.1. *The Diamond Age* as a Post-Cyberpunk Novel

The novel portrays us a world in which nanotechnology is highly advanced and cybernetics² is widely used. It can be stated that cyberpunk is an uprising of an

² Cybernetics is a field of study in which scientists study communications and control mechanisms in machines and living creatures. Originated from this scientific term; cyberpunk can be described as

individual or societies, which merged their bodies with technology somehow, against corporate hegemony. These technological parts or computer interfaces can be bought and integrated via the black market; a market inevitably founded by people in that strict dystopian world to give out high tech products to the poor. The same corporate hegemony can be the very reason for that individual's integration with computer interfaces or bio-mechanic parts. It is a criticism of transcending humanity while losing many more things such as empathy and emotions; and deals with human, machine dualism mainly.

Rafael Miranda Huereca explains postcyberpunk and differentiates it from cyberpunk genre:

Postcyberpunk, on the other hand, never garnered an enthusiastic attention and, to date, it has been neglected as a genre, although its relevance demands a profound definition, especially because of its pivotal contributions to the topoi that cyberpunk overlooked such as reproduction, feminism, social progress, biopolitics, familial structures, education, ecology, psychology and health. While cyberpunk was stuck with classic Manichean structuralist dualisms (the oxymoron itself denotes it: cyber vs. punk, high-tech vs. low life), postcyberpunk suggests relativism, multisignificance, an unbiased assessment of the power of technology and a postructuralist-oriented discourse that refuses to explore the cybernetic phenomena with a binary simplicity. In postcyberpunk biotech, technocracies and transhumanism usually mingle with cyberterrorism, dystopian scenarios, disembodiment or enhanced cyborgs, thus including, if not departing from, cyberpunk premises, then evolving into complex settings. (Huereca, 2010: 142)

As we can see from the passage, postcyberpunk deals with much deeper subjects like family, education, psychology, and politics, unlike cyberpunk. What is more, as if it is stated, we can find cyberterrorism, dystopian corporate world and technocracies in *The Diamond Age* as well, making Stephenson's novel a good example of the postcyberpunk genre. Huereca continues:

In this regard, by 1995, Neal Stephenson's novel The Diamond Age, or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer became the clearest example in which cyberspace reveals an evolution from a dystopian atmosphere to a more humane ground, serving as the basis for the development of useful technologies and the amelioration of the self, yet also including

"the 1980's paranoid and baleful surmise on the future of humankind among computers, technology and corporations" (Huereca, 2010: 142).

cyberpunk's approaches such as draconian control and corporate dominance, and by this, the book turned into a generic paragon of what postcyberpunk should be like: a confrontation of old mistrustful views with refreshing ideologies and unprejudiced analysis. (Huereca, 2010: 143)

As it is stated above, this study approaches to *The Diamond Age* as a postcyberpunk novel. Wielding soft power and local instruments in a cyberpunk universe, always challenges hegemonies and monopolies; thus it is regarded as a source of terror, something to be eliminated. Taking this as a pivot point, China's struggle for freedom will have a firmly grounded, broader meaning.

3.1.2. Nations and Organization in the Novel

The story takes place in the fictional Shanghai in the future, which is a nation-state in the book. Nanotechnological particles fill and protect its atmosphere and saturate into the bodies of its inhabitants like antibodies in a human body. Every state-nation has its own protector nanoparticles roaming freely in their borders, thus creating an inorganic, microscopic shield against spies or attackers from other states. Particles can differentiate its inhabitants from others; thereby it acts as a unique immune system. This merges the residents of the states with an organic unity through inorganic particles as if they are artificial giant cells. With this way, writer Neal Stephenson transfigures the idea of nation-states into something more organic and biological. It can be seen that nations in the novel are like organic materials.

The states are called *phyles*. There are three major phyles in this fictional world, the Han (The Chinese Dynasty), the Neo-Victorian (Anglo Sphere, Commonwealth Countries, some part of Africans) and the Nippon (Japanese Geography), in which they impose different politics to their inhabitants, showing that technology can be advantageous and discomforting at the same time (Huereca, 2010: 144). Other than those phyles, there are many more tiny tribes in the novel as well.

The novel depicts us a divided China, on a territorial basis, after devastating nano wars that happened years ago. We see that China consists of two nations, the Celestial Kingdom and the Coastal Republic:

The Chinese Civil War began in earnest three years later, when the Northerns, who didn't have access to nanotech, started lobbing nukes. Not long afterward, the Muslim nations had finally gotten their act together and overrun much of Xinjiang Province, killing some of the Han Chinese population and driving the rest eastward into the maw of the civil war. Colonel Moore suffered an extremely dire infestation of primitive nanosites and was removed from the action and put on extended convalescent leave. By that time, the truce line between the Celestial Kingdom and the Coastal Republic had been established.

Since then, as Nell knew from her studies at the Academy, Lau Ge had succeeded Zhang as the northern leader—the leader of the Celestial Kingdom. After a decent interval had passed, he had thoroughly purged all remaining traces of Communist ideology, denouncing it as a Western imperialist plot, and proclaimed himself Chamberlain to the Throneless King. The Throneless King was Confucius, and Lau Ge was now the highest-ranking of all the mandarins. (Stephenson, 1995: 35)

In consequence of long-lasting wars, Common Economic Protocol (CEP) was founded to control nanotechnology and its trade. This organization's judgments are binding for all tribes and phyles. It regulates the diplomacy between phyles at macro and micro level. One can compare it with the United Nations or at a more specific level The European Union. This organization can be seen as a capitalistic global hegemony owing to the fact that it sees everything as a source for the economy and performs drastic practices on phyles and tribes. For instance, CEP even counts children as assets of one's household; because they are the money source and workforce of the future. In one scene in which we see the judicial system of that universe; at court the prosecutor accuses the suspect of shooting and maiming someone:

"We think you mugged this guy and blew a hole in his arm," Judge Fang said, "which is frowned upon. Capiche?"

"Yes, sir."

Judge Fang nodded at the Sikh, who took the cue.

"The CEP code," said the Sikh, "governs all kinds of economic interactions between people and organizations. Theft is one such interaction. Maiming is another, insofar as it affects the victim's ability to fend for himself economically. As Protocol does not aspire to sovereign status, we work in cooperation with the indigenous justice system of CEP signatories in order to pursue such cases. (Stephenson, 1995: 35)

As can be seen, maiming or stealing are among the biggest crimes since it affects the economy. That is why; we are talking about a social system that gives utmost importance to the economy and capital gain in this novel.

Moving on, Neo-Victorian phyle mostly consists of Anglo-Saxon, Indian and some African societies. Most of the novel sets in Leased Territories in Shanghai, which is an artificial island that was built on the ocean. Leased Territories is a place where the poor people live in rental soil and it does not have its own authentic nano-immune system.

It was always foggy in the Leased Territories, because all of the immunocules in the air sen'ed as nuclei for the condensation of water vapor. If you stared carefully into the fog and focused on a point inches in front of your nose, you could see it sparkling, like so many microscopic searchlights, as the immunocules swept space with lidar beams. Lidar was like radar except that it used the smaller wavelengths that happened to be visible to the human eye. The sparkling of tiny lights was the evidence of microscopic dreadnoughts hunting each other implacably through the fog, like U-boats and destroyers in the black water of the North Atlantic. (Stephenson, 1995: 35)

It is a place, where the weather is always misty and there is smog because, in the micro-universe, nanoparticles are in an endless war with each other all the time since the nano-immune system wants to expel immigrants or illegal citizens. Despite the fact that living conditions are dramatic in there, people have no chance to leave or create better conditions.

There are also criminal organizations and groups in the novel such as CryptNet, the Drummers. CryptNet is led by Dr. X and works on nanotechnological applications in black market. The Drummers is a group that shares a hive mind by using wet-ware technologies. Wet-ware is a technology depicted in the book in which organic and non-organic technology is merged together: like a brain connected to a computer with nanotechnology. They share same thoughts since they are hive-minded and write codes all together.

3.1.3.A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer

All the events in the novel start with a request from Lord Alexander Finkle McGraw, a respectable member of the Neo-Victorian phyle. McGraw calls in one of the greatest nano-engineers, John Percival Hackworth, to design an interactive book to train his granddaughter Elizabeth pedagogically; for her to be successful in the future as one strong and responsible woman. Lord is aware of the fact that all the successful people in society are in fact divergent yet at the same time, wise and self-reliant enough to know how to channelize this rebellious surge in a correct way. To where he stands, he managed to climb with his own endurance and abilities in time, on his own as well.

Hackworth, as ordered, writes the best codes he will ever do and creates an electronic book with interactive and changing papers called *mediatron*. These papers work with the same principle tablets do today. They are thin and as elastic as regular paper. The book, called *the Primer* eponymously as in the title of the novel, has the ability to integrate itself with the reader after reading it a couple of times, and it can shape the stories it has inside according to the reader's experience, psychology, emotional reactions:

*He kept flipping through the book, waiting for something to happen.
"It is unlikely to do anything interesting just now," Hackworth said. "It won't really activate itself until it bonds."
"Bonds?"
"As we discussed, it sees and hears everything in its vicinity," Hackworth said. "At the moment, it's looking for a small female. As soon as a little girl picks it up and opens the front cover for the first time, it will imprint that child's face and voice into its memory—"
"Bonding with her. Yes, I see."
"And thenceforth it will see all events and persons in relation to that girl, using her as a datum from which to chart a psychological terrain, as it were. Maintenance of that terrain is one of the book's primary processes. Whenever the child uses the book, then, it will perform a sort of dynamic mapping from the database onto her particular terrain." (Stephenson, 1995: 95)*

The Primer can listen to and observe its surroundings to create the best pedagogical approach to the reader. The purpose of the book is to educate a young girl starting at the age of four or five until she is a grown young woman. It uses indigenous

archetypes to teach simple binary oppositions at a young age and uses feed³ databases to set the best educational way for the host.

This way, primer can be counted as the peak usage of the feed technology. Since it was created by drawing data from it to upgrade itself; as an extension or a compressed version of all the data in the feed, it is easy to understand that the book is unique and has great potentials. The conversation continues between Hackworth and Lord Alexander Finkle McGraw as follows:

“You mean the database of folklore.”

Hackworth hesitated. “Pardon me, but not precisely, sir. Folklore consists of certain universal ideas that have been mapped onto local cultures. For example, many cultures have a Trickster figure, so the Trickster may be deemed a universal; but he appears in different guises, each appropriate to a particular culture’s environment. The Indians of the American Southwest called him Coyote, those of the Pacific Coast called him Raven. Europeans called him Reynard the Fox. African-Americans called him Br’er Rabbit. In twentieth-century literature he appears first as Bugs Bunny and then as the Hacker.” (Stephenson, 1995: 95)

Nevertheless, none of them is possible with artificial reality. The book just creates the codes, the script to find a suitable way to educate the reader yet the reading and voice-over process must be done by another human. When a reader opens the book, on the other side; at someplace else, another person starts to voiceover the text created by the book to the young reader. These voiceover actors in the novel called *ractors* and his/her voice changes according to the needs of the reader by the Primer. It can be a soothing voice or sounds more authoritative.

Hackworth wants his daughter Fiona to have the book as well, for he loves her so much and wants her to be a strong woman. However, he needs to do it in secret because Lord Alexander Finkle McGraw was the sponsor for the original book and the technology is really unique and expensive. Thus, he finds Dr. X, who is the leader of a radical organization called CryptNet, and with the help of him he copies the book by drawing pirate data from the feed:

³ A technology that is depicted in the novel enables users to get what they want in a short period of time such as food, clothing and many more. There are feed lines carrying atoms and nano-particles to the matter compilers. With this system, people can synthesize anything they wish by using matter compilers, which are devices that work like printers.

If you counterfeited directly from a Feed, it would be noticed sooner or later, because all matter compilers fed information back to the Source. You needed your very own private Source, disconnected from the Feed network, and this was a difficult thing to make. But a motivated counterfeiter could, with some ingenuity and patience, put together a Source capable of providing an assortment of simple building blocks in the range of ten to a hundred daltons. There were a lot of people like that in Shanghai, some more patient and ingenious than others. (Stephenson, 1995: 63)

Before long, Dr. X sees the potential of the book and he also wants it to educate young Chinese girls who are under his protection. For this reason, without Hackworth knowing, he steals the codes. This mistake of Hackworth starts the chain of events that will set the stage for revolutionary changes. While he was going home from the slums of Shanghai, he gets robbed and loses the pirate copy of the book he created for his daughter. Later, it is revealed that Dr. X ordered some young boys to usurp the book from Hackworth seeing that he cannot decipher the codes of the book; needing the material itself. One of the thugs, whose name is named Harv, fights with his friends for the book because he wants to present it to his beloved sister named Nellodee, the protagonist of the book. Thus, with a twist of fate, Nell obtains the book.

In a short period of time, the Primer bonds itself with Nell and it teaches her how to defend herself for it observes that she is getting molested by a lover of her mother. The primer also teaches her how to read:

“What’s a raven?” Nell said.

The illustration was a colorful painting of the island seen from up in the sky. The island rotated downward and out of the picture, becoming a view toward the ocean horizon. In the middle was a black dot. The picture zoomed in on the black dot, and it turned out to be a bird. Big letters appeared beneath. “R A V E N,” the book said. “Raven. Now, say it with me.”

“Raven.”

“Very good! Nell, you are a clever girl, and you have much talent with words. Can you spell raven?”

Nell hesitated. She was still blushing from the praise. After a few seconds, the first of the letters began to blink. Nell prodded it.

The letter grew until it had pushed all the other letters and pictures off the edges of the page. The loop on top shrank and became a head, while the lines sticking out the bottom developed into legs and began to scissor.

“R is for Run,” the book said. The picture kept on changing until it was a

picture of Nell. Then something fuzzy and red appeared beneath her feet. "Nell Runs on the Red Rug," the book said, and as it spoke, new words appeared. (Stephenson, 1995: 85-6)

As can be seen, the primer creates exercises for the reader; never giving up, if needed starting from scratch. To teach the word "RAVEN", the Primer uses the letter "R" in a sentence with illustrations so as to make it more appealing to a child. Its aim is to be the ultimate companion of a child. Because of the fact that it never leaves the house, it cannot be found by nano-security particles and assumed lost, and destroyed. However, Nell keeps on learning unaware of what is happening outside.

Another character in the book Judge Fang, which is the judge assigned to solve the stolen bookcase, senses that Hackworth is hiding something from them. He is also cautious about Dr. X as well. Fang discovers that Nell has the book and secretly lets her keep it for Nell is poor and she is in need of education. Later, Judge Fang joins Dr. X and starts to serve the Han phyle in an attempt to revive the old glory of China. Fang learns that the only aim of Dr. X is the development and self-empowerment of China. To do this, he collects abandoned orphan girls and looks after them on board of privately sponsored ships in international waters. Dr. X needs the book to educate those orphan girls, which in return raise an educated powerful generation. Thereby, Hackworth finds himself got caught between varied political agendas, and becomes a double agent. CEP and Victorians want him to get close to Dr. X; on the other hand, Dr. X and Fang want him to establish the seed system for them. When the time is right they want to abolish the foreign devils just like it has been tried in the original Boxer Rebellion. Therefore, it can be asserted that even though times and possibilities may change; the name and the spirit of the insurgency still remain to be revived.

3.2. CHINA, SELF-EMPOWERMENT AND *THE DIAMOND AGE*

3.2.1. Becoming Glocal: Installing the Seed System

Stephenson gives us a world in which every need can be created via *matter compilers*; the machines that can synthesize atoms in particular order to create selected material or copy the existing ones. For instance, they can copy a table

exactly with nanoparticles and the copy can be less heavy yet more durable than the original. This process works just as if the processes of downloading from the internet just like we have today:

The matter compiler was a machine that sat at the terminus of a Feed and, following a program, plucked molecules from the conveyors one at a time and assembled them into more complicated structures. Hackworth was the programmer. Runcible was the program. It was made up of a number of subprograms, each of which had resided on a separate piece of paper until a few minutes ago, when the immensely powerful computer in Hackworth's office had compiled them into a single finished program written in a language that the matter compiler could understand. (Stephenson, 1995: 58)

As can be seen, these compilers are connected to the feed lines and by taking atoms and particles from it, and if someone has the required quota, that person can synthesize whatever he/she wants with compilers at their home. Compilers work the same way the 3D printers do. The bigger a compiler gets, the bigger its products will be.

To acquire these results there are lines to supply the required atoms to every home, just like veins in our body. As it was described, it is called the feed. In the book, we see characters and power-wielding authorities in a struggle with each other over these nanotechnological supply lines. These particle-carrying feed lines converge at the Sources, which is big cauldron-like buildings. In there, people disintegrate organic and inorganic matters to have elements for the feed lines:

There were also wheels for grabbing handy trace elements like carbon, sulfur, and phosphorus; these were passed along smaller, parallel cascades until they were also perfectly pure. The immaculate molecules wound up in reservoirs. Some of them got combined with others to make simple but handy molecular widgets. In the end, all of them were funneled into a bundle of molecular conveyor belts known as the Feed, of which Source Victoria, and the other half-dozen Sources of Atlantis/Shanghai, were the fountainheads. (Stephenson, 1995: 5)

One can see the Sources as the heart to these nanoparticle suppliers. The Heart pumps so the veins feed the homes and supply food, clothing, luxury and many more. There is more than one Source in the novel and the biggest one is called *Source Victoria*, which is under the control of the Neo-Victorians, a powerful nation-state,

and a corporate society. Secret organizations or terrorist societies frequently attack the feed lines controlled by the Neo-Victorians to weaken their economy. One of those groups is called CryptNet, which is a group that wants to establish *the seed system* instead of the feed lines, led by a visionary leader Dr. X.

The seed is a system which promises to use nanotechnology to re-establish farming in China and to enable the free flow of information in the world. With the seed, people would sow the soil again just like in old times and harvest their top quality crops quickly with the help of targeted nanoparticles thus re-shape their economy and life according to their customs with the help of the seed system.

Then it is not wrong to assert that the seed is an instrument of change, a source of power. It offers an active, productive life with freedom from hegemonies, instead of sitting at home and relying on other societies and feed lines for food, shelter, and clothes. With the Seed, information and object creation via matter compilers will be free, since the nanoparticles in the seed system aimed to cover the face of the Earth, communicating with each other, upgrading, ready to be bent with our will into foods, clothes and other needs. For Donna Haraway:

Contemporary technoscience has decisively promoted the breakdown of categories previously thought to be natural and inviolable – such as those between the genders, between animals and humans and between humans and machines. As identities are broken down and dispersed, the network of connections, created originally as a tool for the extension of capitalist domination, has ironically created a new form of social being, the cyborg. (James and Mendlesohn, 2003: 122)

Thereby, oppressive regimes create their amalgamated, hybrid beings in reaction to its very existence. As the Hegelian dialect dictates, every force needs its counterpart to clash and create the synthesis. CEP, which is a foundation created by the major phyles, sets the economic standards in the novel and does not want the seed to be used because it would shatter all the balance in the economy since Feed is much more profitable for corporate nations and they would not want others to become self-sufficient. In this way, cyborg enters the scene. Being a hybrid, and a radicalized master of dualities; cyborg challenges the authority. This creates the backbone of the postcyberpunk genre. "The cyborg in Haraway's usage is obliquely modeled on the proletariat and on women under patriarchy; it is an exploited class of

beings that is capable of a form of class-consciousness, and hence subversive of and eventually capable of wresting control over the technoscientific network" (James and Mendlesohn, 2003: 122-123).

According to this idea, the seed can be seen as a cyborg agent that offers a change in society, thus, even by asserting the installation of seed makes the monopolies afraid and puts itself in an abject position. It becomes something to be shunned, a terrorist force of change. For instance, in the book, Hackworth induces to his daughter Fiona that seed is a monstrous technology since its applications cannot be controlled truly. Since they are Neo-Victorians, to them, CEP is necessary to control all the economic and technological activity in the world. It can be understood that, for westerners, world without order means chaos. Despite the fact that the seed can be used to synthesize weaponry, this does not mean that people would do that. It is vital for undeveloped nations. Fiona says to his father, for she is under the impression that the seed is an abomination:

"Are you talking about the Seed, Father?"

He was silent for a few moments. When he spoke again, his voice was high and tight. "The Seed. How did you know about the Seed?"

"You told me about it, Father. You told me it was a dangerous thing, and that Protocol Enforcement mustn't allow it to be created. And besides . . .

"Besides what?"

She was on the verge of reminding him that her dreams had been filled with seeds for the last several years, and that every story she had seen in her Primer had been replete with them: seeds that grew up into castles; dragon's teeth that grew up into soldiers; seeds that sprouted into giant beanstalks leading to alternate universes in the clouds; and seeds, given to hospitable, barren couples by itinerant crones, that grew up into plants with bulging pods that contained happy, kicking babies. (Stephenson, 1995: 377)

In this book, individuals who are capable of controlling nanotechnology, make attempts to change the system by trying to establish the seed system to expel the corporate powers away from their soil. With the seed, it is aimed to be able to synthesize anything wished instantly from the soil, without depending on matter compilers and the feed lines. Thus, they want to regain their power through agriculture, which is the most important thing in Chinese culture since it is their old way to survive and express themselves as a nation authentically. They want to

designate their own fate and do not want to rely on feed lines anymore because of the fact that getting fed by someone else means modern slavery, for those corporate nations, can make you do whatever they want when the day comes. In that sense, in the novel, the seed system serves as an agent of soft power and promotes locality against global exploitations.

Chinese criminal organization leader Dr. X wants to establish the seed immediately by tricking Hackworth and the Drummers into creating its codes with the help of a hive-mind tribe called the Drummers. As the seed is an open-source nano-ware system, which means a structure can be designed freely by anyone. So, its potential can only be limited with imagination. He knows that potential applications can be used to make China powerful and free, thus he also knows that it threatens pretty much every political and economic structure in the world. Open source means that everyone can access and benefit without charge. There is to say, "free of charge" is the key here. For this reason, global monopolies and CEP do not want the seed technology. A conversation between Hackworth, the designer of seed, and Dr. X show us how the Neo-Victorian phyle approaches to the subject clearly:

"We need you to help us finish building the Seed," Dr. X said doggedly.

Only decades of training in emotional repression kept Hackworth from laughing out loud. "Sir. You are a worldly man and a scholar. Certainly you are aware of the position of Her Majesty's government, and indeed of the Common Economic Protocol itself, on the subject of Seed technologies."

Dr. X raised one hand a few inches from the tabletop, palm down, and pawed once at the air. Hackworth recognized it as the gesture that well-to-do Chinese used to dismiss beggars, or even to call bullshit on people during meetings. "They are wrong," he said. "They do not understand. They think of the Seed from a Western perspective. Your cultures—and that of the Coastal Republic—are poorly organized. There is no respect for order, no reverence for authority. Order must be enforced from above lest anarchy break out. You are afraid to give the Seed to your people because they can use it to make weapons, viruses, drugs of their own design, and destroy order. You enforce order through control of the Feed. But in the Celestial Kingdom, we are disciplined, we revere authority, we have order within our own minds, and hence the family is orderly, the village is orderly, the state is orderly. In our hands the Seed would be harmless."

"Why do you need it?" Hackworth said.

"We must have technology to live," Dr. X said, "but we must have it with our own." (Stephenson, 1995: 422)

In a world where matter production is so easy and everything can be achieved in seconds, it is not fair that the people other than the rich and privileged ones still go to their destinations by bike or by foot, instead of driving cars or airplanes. Even transportation becomes luxury and it is subject to these quotas, let alone food. The seed is needed to be created so as to provide all these resources free of charge. The technology, which is another instrument of power, serves only for the ones who hold the hegemony.

For these reasons, Dr. X wants to reverse this situation and replace the feed with the seed. Dependency can only be changed with the installation of the seed. Since soft power resides primarily on cultural resources and foreign policies as it was described in the first chapter, the seed system can be regarded as a gateway to the revival of the authentic power of China just like in its old, prime times. Productivity, in return, brings the ability to have a voice in international politics. It is better to produce than to buy the things that have been already produced. Production and the capability of selling goods define the international mass of a nation in the world arena.

All these things considered, the seed system strikes us as a powerful example of implementing soft power, and in time it aims to re-animate local agricultural production techniques. By doing so, the seed system means to shift the dynamics of China from being a victim of globalized, assimilated set of values into a realm of authenticity and glocalization. As described by Dr. X, they want technology yet the want it in their own way; which is a democratic right for every society.

In the novel, Dr. X explains the seed according to his cultural terms. To him, there is *yong* and *ti* which creates the matter. While *yong* is representing the outer look of a matter, *ti* stands for its core. He continues to explain the seed to Hackworth by elaborating on these terms:

Hackworth thought for a moment that Dr. X was referring to the beverage. But the Doctor began to trace characters on the tabletop, his hand moving deftly and gracefully, the brocade sleeve rasping across the plastic surface. "Yong is the outer manifestation of something. Ti is the underlying essence. Technology is a yong associated with a particular ti that is"—the Doctor stumbled here and, through a noticeable effort, refrained from using pejorative terms like barbarian or gwailo—"that is

Western, and completely alien to us. For centuries, since the time of the Opium Wars, we have struggled to absorb the yong of technology without importing the Western ti. But it has been impossible. Just as our ancestors could not open our ports to the West without accepting the poison of opium, we could not open our lives to Western technology without taking in the Western ideas, which have been as a plague on our society. The result has been centuries of chaos. We ask you to end that by giving as the Seed.”

“I do not understand why the Seed will help you.” (Stephenson, 1995: 422)

Therefore, it is asserted that technology without a context or medium is meaningless since it needs interpretation. So, this interpretation has to be a local one to wield the power smartly.

The seed system can also be regarded as a rebellious act against isomorphism owing to the fact that the Neo-Victorian phyle wants to impose the feed system to the world. They want to do so because of the fact that they hold the biggest Source in the world in which the atoms are synthesized and flow into the feed lines. This makes Neo-Victorians the monopoly, the biggest supplier; thus they have the loudest voice. Since soft power means to attract and with this way its resources enables desired attraction as it was described by sociologist Joseph Nye in the first chapter; the power of the Neo-Victorian phyle also comes from soft power as well. So as to compete against that, a nation has to set the same resources into motion as well with a smarter manner, or else it means that destruction and assimilation are imminent. At this point, seed shows itself as a counterpart, an arch-nemesis of the feed system. It challenges everything that the feed imposes. This takes us to the conclusion that the global imposes; on the other hand, the glocal offers. As we argued in the previous chapters, glocal manifests itself at the very edge of globalization. To elaborate, glocal is a result and at the same time the reason for the death of global.

Therefore, the Neo-Victorian phyle and the CEP have every right to fear the seed system. Even though the fact that Hackworth helped its creation unwillingly since he gets tricked by Dr. X into writing its codes, he still fears the seed and its possible outcomes. Hackworth believes that the CEP brought order, peace and prosperity to the society. He defends the feed against the seed and says that:

His voice was slow and distant and almost trancelike, the memories percolating outward from deep storage with little participation from his

conscious mind. *“CryptNet’s true desire is the Seed—a technology that, in their diabolical scheme, will one day supplant the Feed, upon which our society and many others are founded. Protocol, to us, has brought prosperity and peace—to CryptNet, however, it is a contemptible system of oppression. They believe that information has an almost mystical power of free flow and selfreplication, as water seeks its own level or sparks fly upward— and lacking any moral code, they confuse inevitability with Right. It is their view that one day, instead of Feeds terminating in matter compilers, we will have Seeds that, sown on the earth, will sprout up into houses, hamburgers, spaceships, and books—that the Seed will develop inevitably from the Feed, and that upon it will be founded a more highly evolved society.”*

He stopped for a moment, took a deep breath, and seemed to stir awake; when he spoke again, it was in a clearer and stronger voice. “Of course, it can’t be allowed—the Feed is not a system of control and oppression, as CryptNet would maintain. It is the only way order can be maintained in modern society—if everyone possessed a Seed, anyone could produce weapons whose destructive power rivalled that of Elizabethan nuclear weapons. This is why Protocol Enforcement takes such a dim view of CryptNet’s activities. (Stephenson, 1995: 353)

Thanks to seed, people will be able to produce and no longer depend on feed lines, more precisely to Neo-Victorians. With nanotechnology, instead of sticking to a certain quota and waiting for food to come down at home, the products can now be obtained from the soil very quickly and new business lines can be opened, thus the trade will be stronger. It can be asserted that seed is what it is supposed to be in an autonomous nation, and it clearly shows the needlessness of the feed philosophy, thereby the unnecessary of global values. While the addiction of using feed addiction representing that being constantly nurtured by someone else, the seed is more likely to break the economic ties which bring dependency to the outside.

“The Seed is technology rooted in the Chinese ti. We have lived by the Seed for five thousand years,” Dr. X said. He waved his hand toward the window. “These were rice paddies before they were parking lots. Rice was the basis for our society. Peasants planted the seeds and had highest status in the Confucian hierarchy. As the Master said, ‘Let the producers be many and the consumers few.’ When the Feed came in from Atlantis, From Nippon, we no longer had to plant, because the rice now came From the matter compiler. It was the destruction of our society. When our society was based upon planting, it could truly be said, as the Master did, ‘Virtue is the root; wealth is the result.’ But under the Western ti, wealth comes not from virtue but from cleverness. So the filial relationships became deranged. Chaos,” Dr. X said regretfully, then

looked up From his tea and nodded out the window. "Parking lots and chaos." (Stephenson, 1995: 423)

As it can be seen, Dr. X sees the feed as chaos, in contrast with Hackworth. He makes statement with an analogy by saying "parking lots and chaos" instead of saying globalization, directly.

When we examine the novel, we come across to an interesting thing is that the Neo-Victorians do not use feed as much as the rest of the world. They are strictly bound to their tradition, thus, they often refuse to use feed products as an indicator to show their superiority.

Since this entire building, except for the fresco, had been grown straight from the Feed, it would have been easier to build a mediatron into the ceiling and set it to display a soft fresco, which could have been changed from time to time. But Neo-Victorians almost never used mediatrons. Hard art demanded commitment from the artist. It could only be done once, and if you screwed it up, you had to live with the consequences. (Stephenson, 1995: 42)

Therefore, it shows that they also give value to their local culture yet they do not want others to do it because of the fact that locality threatens global monopolies. Just like it happened in the original Victorian Era, despite the fact that their society has begun to decay and their world view serves nothing but to diffuse other localities, they still regard themselves as nobles who are bursting with prosperity. One can see that from the types of furniture to the clothing, everything is handmade and real in their phyle. The Neo-Victorians, who procured their products from a clan, which is called Dovetail, see this as an indicator of wealth. It is important for them to use organic matter instead of its nanotech, synthesized counterpart. It can be said that it is a hypocrisy at its best because of the fact that they are the main supplier of the feed system.

"We make things," the woman said, as if this provided a nearly perfect and sufficient explanation of the phyle called Dovetail. "Brad makes horseshoes. But Brad's the exception because mostly he provides services relating to horses. Doesn't he, Eggshell?" the woman added for the mare's benefit. "That's why he had to live down in the L.T. for a while, because there was disagreement as to whether grooms, butlers, and other service providers fit in with Dovetail's charter. But we had a

vote and decided to let them in. This is boring you, isn't it? My name's Rita, and I make paper."

"You mean, in the M.C.?"

This seemed like an obvious question to Nell, but Rita was surprised to hear it and eventually laughed it off. "I'll show you later. But what I was getting at is that, unlike where you've been living, everything here at Dovetail was made by hand. We have a few matter compilers here. But if we want a chair, say, one of our craftsmen will put it together out of wood, just like in ancient times."

"Why don't you just compile it?" Harv said. "The M.C. can make wood."

"It can make fake wood," Rita said, "but some people don't like fake things."

"Why don't you like fake things?" Nell asked.

Rita smiled at her. "It's not just us. It's them," she said, pointing up the mountain toward the belt of high trees that separated Dovetail from New Atlantis territory. (Stephenson, 1995: 221)

While the whole world is in hunger and misery, the Neo-Victorian phyle deliberately fails to fully utilize the knowledge of nano-technology even though they could have unlimited applications such as ending famine and feed everyone. They do not want to help others because the feed lines hold large economic power. They deliberately refuse to share their power. It can be asserted that in this example we see another aspect of globalization and the harsh capitalism it brings. Even though they are productive, poor nations are not able to benefit from the things that they produce. Therefore, it can be deduced that creating goods are not enough to become independent. A nation has to sell its culture as well. So as to do it, firstly, soft power instruments such as cultural attraction, creating local brands and designating a unified agenda need to be implemented alongside the revival of cultural and historical values with the help of the glocality process.

To sum up, it can be asserted that the seed system is the strongest agent of glocalization in the book. Without this, it is not possible to elevate what is local, therefore Dr. X and the Boxers that he leads sees the implementation of seed as the ultimate aim with utmost importance to get rid of "the foreign devils". He thinks that the westerners do not understand its importance since The Hans (Chinese) and the Neo-Victorian phyle are different from each other culturally. They see the world differently, thus Dr. X believes that with their corrupted, dishonorable life the only system that suits them is feed.

With the seed, it can be deduced that soft power exercises are aimed, because of the fact that growing their own products and reviving the old ways establishes an authentic culture. This unique local culture enables them to be diplomatically recognized by other nations. Thereby, the seed system is a good analogy for glocalization through soft power since it is about knowledge, culture, and technology. When we combine this process of glocalization and the seed system, power transforms itself into smart power.

3.2.2. Wielding Smart Power: A Successful Insurgency

As it was explained in the previous chapters, smart power can be achieved by combining soft and hard power instruments. It is the amalgamated mixture of coercion and co-optation. It is clear to see that, neither soft power nor hard power can guarantee stability when exercised separately. In the novel, China breaks free from global hegemonies with the Boxer Rebellion and establishes unified Celestial Kingdom, as they were called in history, with the help of smart power and the glocal ideas that has been embodied as the seed system. Just like in the historical version The Boxers, again, uses coercive techniques, however they also achieve glory by implementing soft power agents such as the usage of technology, careful planning, and reviving the traditional values. With this way, they gain their cultural, spatial, and discursive freedom back.

Firstly, it is clear that both in the historical and in the fictional versions of the Boxer Rebellion, hard power used is by the rebels. In the novel they start to burn the feed lines to cut the supply of nano-particles, thus they maim the economy of the Neo-Victorians. This time, apart from the historical version, they seem to know what to do to make their voice heard by global hegemonies.

Like much that was done with nanotechnology, Feed lines were assembled primarily from a few species of small and uncomplicated atoms in the upper right-hand corner of Mendeleev's grid: carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, silicon, phosphorus, sulfur, and chlorine. The Fists of Righteous Harmony had discovered, to their enduring delight, that objects made of these atoms burned rather nicely once you got them going. The flat, low Yangtze Delta country east of Shanghai was a silk district well stocked with mulberry trees, which when felled, stacked, and

burned beneath the Feed lines would eventually ignite them like road flares.

The Nipponese Feed was heavy on the phosphorus and burned with a furious white flame that lit up the night sky in several places as seen from the tall buildings in Pudong. One major line led toward Nanjing, one toward Suzhou, one toward Hangzhou: these distant flares inevitably led to rumors, among the hordes of refugees in Shanghai, that those cities were themselves burning.

The New Atlantan Feed had a higher sulfur content that, when burned, produced a plutonic reek that permeated everything for dozens of miles downwind, making the fires seem much closer than they really were. Shanghai was smelling pretty sulfurous as Nell walked into it across one of the bridges linking downtown Pudong with the much lower and older Bund. The Huang Pu had been too wide to bridge easily until nano had come along, so the four downtown bridges were made of the new materials and seemed impossibly fragile compared with the reinforced-concrete behemoths built to the north and south during the previous century. (Stephenson, 1995: 360-361)

As it can be understood from the passage, this time The Boxers are prepared. They know the material structure and the weakness of each feed lines. They know how to target and destroy each one, thus it can be said that there is a carefully planned and targeted usage of coercive power implemented to achieve victory. They use technology, explosives, and counter-intelligence this time in contrast with the historical version:

The center span of the Causeway had become a ball of white light hurling its marbled shroud of cold dark matter into the night. The sphere expanded until it seemed to occupy most of the interval between New Chusan and the Pudong shoreline, though by this time the color had deepened from white into reddish-orange, and the explosion had punched a sizable crater into the water, which developed into a circular wave of steam and spray that ran effortlessly across the ocean's surface like the arc of light cast by a pocket torch.

Fragments of the giant Feed line that had once constituted most of the Causeway's mass had been pitched into the sky by the explosion and now tumbled end over end through the night sky, the slowness of their motion bespeaking their size, casting yellow sulfurous light over the city as they burned furiously in the windblast created by their own movement. The light limned a pair of tremendous pillars of water vapor rising from the ocean north and south of the Causeway; Nell realized that the Fists must have blown the Nipponese and Hindustani Feeds at the same moment. So the Fists of Righteous Harmony had nanotechnological explosives now; they'd come a long way since they'd tried to torch the

bridge over the Huang Pu with a few cylinders of hydrogen. (Stephenson, 1995: 431-432)

As it was explained in the second chapter, in the past, the Boxers refused to use firearms, instead of those they only used their fists and they believed that they are impervious against bullets as a superstition. This was a bad exercise of hard power. On the other hand, it can be claimed that with the correct guidance and merging coercive power with knowledge, they achieve smart power this time.

In addition to burning down the feed lines, the Boxers start to raze cities, wreak havoc, and kill every foreigner they see on their path, shouting “Kill! Kill!” in their language while doing so. They attack primarily on strategic targets such as the places they could find high-ranked officers and other important people:

But before she could extract more information about the Alchemist, the building was jolted by a tremendous force that sent thin cracks racing through the old concrete. In the silence that followed, Nell could hear women screaming all over the building, and a crackling, hissing sound as dust and sand sifted out of a fissure in the ceiling. Then her ears began to resolve another sound: men shouting, “Sha! Sha!”

“I suggest that someone has just breached the wall of your building with an explosive charge,” Colonel Napier said, perfectly calm. “If you would be so good as to terminate the scenario now and release me, I shall try to make myself useful in whatever is to follow.”

Whatever is to follow. The shouting meant simply, “Kill! Kill!” and was the battle cry of the Fists of Righteous Harmony. (Stephenson, 1995: 367)

They also attack the monuments of global values such as a chain food store, McDonalds, in the book. Destruction of this global cornerstone, strikes the reader when Hackworth goes to see Dr. X at his military base during the rebellion.

A McDonald’s sign lay toppled across the highway like a giant turnpike; something had burned through the single pillar that thrust it into the air...

...Dr. X was seated in the corner booth, his face radiant in the cool, UVfiltered sunlight. He was wearing a Mandarin cap with dragons embroidered in gold thread and a magnificent brocade robe. The robe was loose at the neck and had short sleeves so that Hackworth could see the inner garment of a hoplite suit underneath. Dr. X was at war, and had emerged from the safe perimeter of Suzhou, and needed to be prepared for an attack. He was sipping green tea from a jumbo

McDonald's cup, made in the local style, great clouds of big green leaves swirling around in a tumbler of hot water. (Stephenson, 1995: 418-419)

As it can be seen, Dr. X as if it is a token from his victory, drinks his traditional green tea from McDonald's cup. It shows us the destruction of global values in the face of glocal. Global, in this sense becomes a plaything, a mockery for glocal. The Fists destroy the monument of westernization with a show of strength. Again, wielding the hard power, they gain another victory. As it has been argued, it is possible to reach to the desired outcomes in a short period of time when a power actor uses hard power.

Yet it can also be asserted that the Boxers take their time on the road to victory. Meaning that Dr. X and the Boxers could have attacked the monopolies years ago, however they waited for the right time. They put their coercive, destructive power potential under control because of the fact that without combining coercion with soft power agents, victories do not last long. This can be understood from this passage in which Hackworth speaks to Dr. X:

The Celestial Kingdom was far behind Nippon and Atlantis in nanotech. The Fists could always have burned the barbarians' Feed lines, but this would only have plunged the peasants into poverty and made the people long for foreign goods. The decision was made to leapfrog the barbarian tribes by developing Seed technology. At first you pursued the project in cooperation with second-tier phyles like Israel, Armenia, and Greater Serbia, but they proved unreliable. Again and again your carefully cultivated networks were scattered by Protocol Enforcement. (Stephenson, 1995: 420)

Therefore, it is clear that the Boxers wanted to win this insurgency with one swift stroke, without making mistakes. One can understand that it is a carefully planned process. Moving on from the fact that the historical Boxer Rebellion is an insurgency led by deluded fanatics who razed and burned the villages of their own countrymen, we can say that this time rebels care for the citizens. This time they are aware of the fact that burning and pillaging move the people away from the cause. Only a terrorist organization lets his people suffer on the way of the ultimate cause.

Owing to the fact that a movement, which is not taking its core power from the inhabitants of the nation is doomed to fail, by adapting co-optation and aiming unity, the Boxers advocates soft power this time. Dr. X did not want his people to

suffer in war and he did not want to see them crave for foreign goods out of poverty when the feed lines got destroyed. For these reasons, it can be submitted that by putting diplomacy in play, again, they use smart power as a combination in their fight against “foreign devils”.

3.2.2.1. Cultural Self-Empowerment

It can be deduced from the novel that China frees itself from foreign cultural influence and re-establishes its cultural values with the help of the Boxer Rebellion. It has been analyzed that they intend to reach cultural empowerment by the installation of the seed system as well, which is a system that glorifies glocality. In addition to that, the rebellion itself creates a way into gaining back cultural identity with hard power. Thus, hard power prepares a suitable atmosphere for the instruments of soft power. The Chinese starts to express their culture again without oppression of the protocols executed by the CEP, since they expel these practices from the nation with the help of insurgency.

To give an example to the practices of the CEP, one can talk about the Judiciary System in China, depicted in the book. It can be observed that in China, there is no unified justice system. While some parts of the nation are executing western style justice system controlled by the CEP, other parts use Confucian Judiciary System:

"The CEP code," said the Sikh, "governs all kinds of economic interactions between people and organizations. Theft is one such interaction. Maiming is another, insofar as it affects the victim's ability to fend for himself economically. As Protocol does not aspire to sovereign status, we work in cooperation with the indigenous justice system of CEP signatories in order to pursue such cases."

"You familiar with the Confucian system of justice, Bud?" said Judge Fang. Bud's head was beginning to get dizzy from snapping back and forth like a spectator at a tennis match. "I'm guessing no. Okay, even though the Chinese Coastal Republic is no longer strictly or even vaguely Confucian, we still run our judicial system that way—we've had it for a few thousand years, and we think it's not half bad. The general idea is that as judge, I actually perform several roles at once: detective, judge, jury, and if need be, executioner." (Stephenson, 1995: 35)

According to this system, the judge is also the executioner, the detective and the jury. In this system, moral values are as important as concrete evidence. A judge also needs to listen to his/her heart as well. Instead of staying away, the judge carefully recognizes and analyzes the characters, evaluates their potential, and after considering these, decides accordingly. Therefore, it can be asserted that Confucian Justice System is unique to China, however with the interference of global powers it cannot be used at its full potential. In this case we see that the local is being oppressed by the global, so as to create an isomorphic world. By getting rid of the foreigners, the Boxer Rebellion opens a way for these values to be revived and to be established nation-wide since no nation can truly be culturally independent without a unified and authentic justice system.

Moving on, the Boxers wear traditional clothes and studies martial arts on purpose. Even though the fact that, the global cultures has been roaming free in their soil for years, by holding on to these values, the rebels wield soft power alongside the destructive nature of insurgency.

Most of the Fists were shirtless, wearing indigo trousers, scarlet girdles knotted at the waist, sometimes scarlet ribbons tied round necks, foreheads, or upper arms. The ones who weren't sleeping or smoking were practicing martial arts. Hackworth rode slowly through their midst, and they pretended not to notice him, except for one man who came running out of a house with a knife, shouting "Sha! Sha!" and had to be tackled by three comrades. (Stephenson, 1995: 417)

Dr. X also dresses according to his social codes, as the leader of the Rebellion:

Dr. X was seated in the corner booth, his face radiant in the cool, UVfiltered sunlight. He was wearing a Mandarin cap with dragons embroidered in gold thread and a magnificent brocade robe. The robe was loose at the neck and had short sleeves so that Hackworth could see the inner garment of a hoplite suit underneath. (Stephenson, 1995: 418)

What is more, it is observed that the society becomes more conservative, since the Boxer Rebellion has started. By this way, it can be said that the Rebellion is embraced by the society, thus it is legitimized whether via force or sweet talk. Legitimized rights, as it has been argued in the theory chapter of this dissertation, take us to the idea asserted by Talcott Parsons. He posits that, power of A over B has to be legitimized so as to make B more integrated with society. Legitimization,

brings normalization and what is normal, has a tendency to be accepted by everyone. Again, it fits well with the definition of soft power.

The ride down Nanjing Road took him through the heart of Shanghai's shopping district, now an endless gauntlet of tanned beggars squatting on their heels gripping the brightly colored plastic bags that served as their suitcases, carefully passing the butts of cigarettes back and forth. In the shop windows above their heads, animated mannikins strutted and posed in the latest Coastal Republic styles. Hackworth noticed that these were much more conservative than they had been ten years ago, during his last trip down Nanjing Road. The female mannikins weren't wearing slit skirts anymore. Many weren't wearing skirts at all, but silk pants instead, or long robes that were even less revealing. One display was centered upon a patriarchal figure who reclined on a dais, wearing a round cap with a blue button on the top: a Mandarin. A young scholar was bowing to him. Around the dais, four groups of mannikins were demonstrating the other four filial relationships.

So it was chic to be Confucian now, or at least it was politic. This was one of the few shop windows that didn't have red Fist posters pasted all over it. (Stephenson, 1995: 418)

By analyzing the passage, Confucianism becomes important again and people start to give value again since it is described as “it is chic to be Confucian”. Even though the fact that Confucian ideals had been exploited before the historical Boxer Rebellion, Confucianism and the Chinese are inseparable. It is their glocality, unique way to define the world. Owing to the fact that, the seed only offers economic freedom by proposing to dial China back to its agrarian roots and serving for glocal ideas, it cannot be enough on its own for cultural uprising. Glocal needs to take its momentum from power types as well. In that sense, the power type that is required is smart power, since soft side of it comes from the revival of cultural values and the hard side comes from the destructiveness of the Boxer Rebellion.

3.2.2.2. Spatial Self-Empowerment

As the consequence of the Boxer Rebellion, China gains its territorial freedom as well. The Chinese people lives in poverty with harsh conditions, without having a land to sow, while other privileged phyles are controlling the coastal places in China for trade. Thus, on a territorial basis we see a divided China in the book.

The Chinese Civil War began in earnest three years later, when the Northerns, who didn't have access to nanotech, started lobbing nukes. Not long afterward, the Muslim nations had finally gotten their act together and overrun much of Xinjiang Province, killing some of the Han Chinese population and driving the rest eastward into the maw of the civil war. (Stephenson, 1995: 35)

On the other hand, Neo-Victorians live in prosperity in their safe vast amount of soil. Thereby, it can be analyzed as the peak point of global exploitation politics, which is executed by monopolies onto the weak. There is an artificial island called Leased Territories, which is located really close to China harboring the poor and homeless, thus raising the crime rates. As if there is no natural place on earth to found a settlement, constructing an artificial island beside another nation shows the intentions of globalism and the capitalism it brings. Leased Territories is an island completely created by nanoparticles because of its geo-political location:

The Causeway joining New Chusan and the Pudong Economic Zone was Atlantis/Shanghai's whole reason for existence, being in fact a titanic Feed restrained by mountainous thrust bearings at each end. From the standpoint of mass & cash flow, the physical territory of New Chusan itself, a lung of smart coral respiring in the ocean, was nothing more or less than the fountainhead of China's consumer economy, its only function to spew megatons of nanostuff into the Middle Kingdom's everramifying Feed network, reaching millions of new peasants every month. (Stephenson, 1995: 62)

This way, Neo-Victorians can use their strategical advantage to oppress hegemony over other phyles in the novel and to commerce more effectively. They create their own spatial hegemony thus, at the same time, it means that they use geo-positioning as a source of power. Location becomes an instrument to perform power upon designated targets, thus creating an application of soft power.

They rode across the territory of New Atlantis for some time without seeing anything other than trees, wildflowers, brooks, the occasional squirrel, or deer.

"Why do the Vickys have such a big clave?" Nell asked.

"Don't ever call them Vickys," Rita said.

"Why?"

"It's a word that people who don't like them use to describe them in kind of a bad, unfriendly way," Rita said.

"Like a pejorative term?" Nell said.

Rita laughed, more nervous than amused. "Exactly."

"Why do the Atlantans have such a big clave?"

"Well, each phyle has a different way, and some ways are better suited to making money than others, so some have a lot of territory and others don't."

"What do you mean, a different way?"

"To make money you have to work hard—to live your life in a certain way. The Atlantans all live that way, it's part of their culture. The Nipponese too. So the Nipponese and the Atlantans have as much money as all the other phyles put together." (Stephenson, 1995: 238)

In this passage Nell, question a girl named Rita who lives in Dovetail, about Neo-Victorians. Rita says that "they are better suited to making money than others". This gives us a hint about the scale of power that Neo-Victorians have since they can make Rita say that sentence easily. As a global monopoly, their power is legitimized and in consequence it is institutionalized. So as to stop their progress or even to challenge them, a challenger needs more than soft and hard power, since the rival uses smart power, partially.

They were all Chinese and could become subjects of the Celestial Kingdom simply by donning the conservative garb of that tribe and showing due deference to any Mandarins who happened by. No doubt this was exactly what they would do as soon as the Fists came to Pudong. Some of them might suffer deprivation, imprisonment, or rape, but within a year they would all be integrated into the C.K., as if the Coastal Republic had never existed. (Stephenson, 1995: 432)

Hard power takes its force from geography as well. It can manifest itself both as territorial or cultural geography. Coming from the inlands, in the book, the Boxers occupy coastline cities in the Coastal Republic and destroy the feed lines. They gain their spatial and territorial rights through fighting and organizing terrorist attacks. Moving on to the cultural geography, they enable it by starting to live like, dress like, in the old days.

It is a world in which China has no products, and without feed they are nothing. Unlike the historical version of this insurgency, this fictional version offers seed, which is an alternative, and game-changer system that irritates the status quo at the same time challenging the corporate nation-states. Therefore, China gets new hope to drive away foreigners to reclaim their cultural and territorial geography. Thus, they achieve spatial empowerment. Rather than using only military power,

they use diplomacy, clever planning, cultural and educational preparedness. Thus, they combine hard and soft power, creating a smart version of power with their seed project, inevitably making the local geography stronger.

3.2.2.3. Discursive Self-Empowerment

In the book, it can be analyzed that language and technology can be used as power instruments to pave the way to national freedom. When Nell, the focal character of the novel, reads the Primer for the first time, she becomes confused. She notices that the language of the book is the language she speaks, but some words and intonations are so different that Nell finds it funny. The book, of course, speaks with the Neo-Victorian dialect with Nell because, as explained, its main purpose is to educate the reader as an elegant and successful Victorian lady.

The book spoke in a lovely contralto, with an accent like the very finest Vickys. The voice was like a real person's—though not like anyone Nell had ever met. It rose and fell like siow surf on a warm beach, and when Nell closed her eyes, it swept her out into an ocean of feelings. (Stephenson, 1995: 85)

In time, Nell learns to read and write with this book, and the accent that the book speaks begins to shape her accent accordingly. Nell's accent begins to draw attention even in her own environment since she is talking in Neo-Victorian dialect. From this it can be asserted that, with the right education individuals can be culturally assimilated by since education, in here, serves as an instrument of soft power. Later in the novel, they send her to a nice Victorian school to study. Nell doesn't seem to be stranger in there. It can be deduced that Nell has been assimilated by the language that she has learned, but this change is not a bad thing because Nell is smart enough not to be caught in the wind of this assimilation. Although she is given the right to swear to be a Neo-Victorian, she does not do so and leaves the school to seek her future elsewhere. She gets what she can take from Victorian culture and education system so, she goes on her way to improve herself.

At this point, that is to say, Nell reaches discursive self-empowerment through the adaptation of a new accent. She becomes acceptable by Neo-Victorian

society even though she is coming from the Leased Territories. This positions language as an agent of soft power since one can get adapted to another culture and, inescapably to the values of that culture through language.

When the children were still young, Lord McGraw makes an interesting determination when he watches his granddaughter Elizabeth, Hackworth's daughter Fiona and Nell playing in the garden. These three girls have the same Primer, yet there are many observable differences between them. For instance, Fiona has grown emotionally timid because of her father was not around too much, and since the book is her only and the best friend, she is bound to it and become increasingly asocial. Elizabeth, on the other hand, has become a disobedient, vicious girl. Unlike them, Nell is the most different. She is the one who makes the best use of her abilities and diplomacy skills.

While the Lord watches them, the girls play a game on a shallow water channel, walking high on the stones. According to the game, the winner will be the one who reaches to the wall which they started the race. From the start, Fiona acts cowardly and she is slow. Elizabeth launches herself to the front and moves quickly. Again, unlike them, Nell is brave and cautious. Elizabeth first reaches the wall and celebrates it. Fiona then accelerates and becomes the second, while Nell is still cautious.

When she reaches the wall, she does not stop and continues to walk along the wall, with stones on the edge. There she finds a small passage through which the canal water flows into another garden. Elizabeth and others, who discovered it for the first time, although the fact that she had been in the mansion many times, thus they set out to discover it under the leadership of Nell.

“Elizabeth is a Duke’s granddaughter, accustomed to having her way, and has no natural reticence; she surges to the fore and claims the goal as her birthright,” Finkle-McGraw explained. “But she has not really thought about what she is doing.” Elizabeth and Fiona both had their hands on the wall now, as if it were Home in a game of tag. But Nell had stopped and was turning her head from side to side, surveying the length of the wall as it clambered and tumbled over the increasingly rough shape of the land. After some time she held out one hand, pointing at a section of the wall a short distance away, and began to move toward it. The book spoke in a lovely contralto, with an accent like the very finest Vickys. The voice was like a real person’s—though not like anyone Nell

had ever met. It rose and fell like siow surf on a warm beach, and when Nell closed her eyes, it swept her out into an ocean of feelings. (Stephenson, 1995: 264)

The Lord is very impressed by this. According to him, since Elizabeth was already born in a wealthy family, she is accustomed to take the lead, to be the first, for this reason she stops there the beyond does not attract her. According to him, being the first and reaching to the goal is a right that she already sees in herself. Fiona is an introvert, imprisoned in the world of imagination, always watching others. Nell, on the other hand, is both a seasoned Victorian and an individual who was able to combine her differences, greed and practical intelligence in the same pot. The Lord attributes this to the fact that the book readers are different. For Elizabeth, the best readers were hired and worked in shifts. As a result, over time, Elizabeth has become influenced by the changes in stresses and emotions in the language of the ractors⁴ thus becoming a vicious and complex person. Fiona's father is her reader, and Fiona is increasingly attached to the book and isolating herself from the world since she, not knowingly, becomes best friends with her father. Owing to the fact that Nell's reader is fixed her training is based on more realistic and stable solid foundations.

“Nell stands above the fray and thinks,” Finkle-McGraw said. “To the other girls, the wall is a decorative feature, no? A pretty thing to run to and explore. But not to Nell. Nell knows what a wall is. It is a knowledge that went into her early, knowledge she doesn’t have to think about. Nell is more interested in gates than in walls. Secret hidden gates are particularly interesting.” Fiona and Elizabeth moved uncertainly, trailing their tiny pink hands across the damp stone, unable to see where Nell was leading them. Nell strode across the grass until she had reached a small declivity. She almost disappeared into it as she clambered down toward the foundation of the wall. (Stephenson, 1995: 264)

Lord McGraw, who is the patron of Hackworth, wants the Primer is to be created by the usage of the feed so as to be used in the educational process of his granddaughter. Yet, with a counter-attack and espionage, Dr. X captures this technology and uses it to educate abandoned Chinese girls according to the authentic

⁴ A person, which is on the other side of the connection when the reader interacts with the Primer. Their duty is to voiceover the texts created by the book for the reader. Thus, it shows the importance of human interaction in education even if there is a usage of artificial intelligence.

Chinese culture and customs. Although Dr. X is a criminal lord, nevertheless his actions revolve around his nationalist ideas, and his main aim is to restore and strengthen the Han clan (China). For this reason, he takes the girls who were abandoned by their families in China under his protection. Since these orphans are not citizens of any country; they couldn't go ashore, so they assigned ships converted to orphanages off the coast of New Chusan.

Within a few minutes, Dr. X and Judge Fang had been conveyed aboard the giant vessel through a hatch set into the hull near the waterline. Judge Fang noted that this was not an oldfashioned steel vessel; it was made of nanotechnological substances, infinitely lighter and stronger. No matter compiler in the world was large enough to compile a ship, so the shipyards in Hong Kong had compiled the pieces one by one, bonded them together, and slid them down the ways into the sea, much as their pre—Diamond Age predecessors had done. (Stephenson, 1995: 151)

Thousands of children receive education in these orphanages, according to the Chinese traditions and culture, on the floors separated by their age. Dr. X knows very well that the children, especially girls, will shape the future. Thereby, it is not wrong to say that this is also the main idea lying behind the logic of seed, since it promotes locality with the help of education. Thus in return, with promoting education they aim to raise brilliant individuals who will be loyal to their cultures and traditions, with this way enabling discursive self-empowerment of China.

“It has always been done with us. The great rebellions of the 1800’s were fueled by throngs of angry young men who could not find wives. In the darkest days of the Mao Dynasty’s birth control policy, two hundred thousand little ones were exposed in this fashion”—he gestured toward the frozen image on the mediatron—“each year. Recently, with the coming of civil war and the draining of the Celestial Kingdom’s aquifers, it has once again become common. The difference is that now the babies are collected. We have been doing it for three years.”

“How many?” Judge Fang said.

“A quarter of a million to date,” Dr. X said. “Fifty thousand on this ship alone.” Judge Fang had to set his teacup down for a few moments while he grappled with this notion. Fifty thousand lives on this ship alone. (Stephenson, 1995: 153-154)

With the help of a system implemented by Dr. X, these girls get their education from the Illustrated Primer. As it is explained in the previous chapters, it is an interactive

book which resembles the tablets we have today. The Primer, by bonding itself with its owner, calibrates its programming according to the necessities of the user. However the fact that Dr. X used the data that he stole from the original Primer designed by Hackworth, the book lacks a crucial component: a ractor, which is a real person who educates the user through the book from far away. Thus, instead of human interaction, these girls are raised by an artificial intelligence resulting that they become a communal, task-oriented society, later will be called as “the mouse army”. They find Nell via book in the network and adapt her as their leader.

From these it can be asserted that, technology and language, when it is channelized wisely, it can be used to execute soft power on targets. The discursive self-empowerment can be achieved through them so as to create a better future. The future in which there are well –educated individuals who are loyal to their culture and values. Moving on from here, protecting the national language also means protecting the national identity. Without, well-designed and unified language, society starts the break down just like it happened in the case of the girls that have been covered in this section. Even though the characters use the same Primer, interaction is the factor that makes all the difference. So, asserting from that, education needs to be wisely planned according to the needs of the targeted individuals in order to get healthy results. It can be deduced from the novel that language and education, plays a great role in becoming glocal and unique. For this reason, Dr. X steals particles from the feed lines, which are the embodiment of globalization, to educate little Chinese girls. Thus, he uses a glocal instrument and transforms it into something local, something interpreted according to the authentic cultural values to raise culturally independent people.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to study the importance of wielding smart power and glocalization so as to break free from global hegemonies in the novel written by Neal Stephenson in 1995, *The Diamond Age or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer*. This thesis advocates that smart power is an indispensable ingredient of the glocalization process. In addition to that, the importance of the glocal values is defended in the face of global, capitalistic ideas by asserting that nations need to form their policies and adapt their products revolving around their own authentic culture so as to have a unique voice in the international arena.

For this to happen, I asserted that various power strategies need to be combined alongside self-empowerment, national integrity, cultural and historical awareness. These power instruments need to be adapted from the instruments of soft and hard power types so as to unlock smart power. Otherwise, a glocalization process without a compass serves only for the needs and the requirements of globalization and in this juncture, this compass is smart power.

Moving on from this point, in my thesis I analyze the similarities and differences between both versions of the Boxer Rebellion, which are historical and fictional. In this study, I defend that the fictional depiction of the Boxer Rebellion is a victory of the amalgamated mixture of both smart power and glocalization. What is more, hard and soft power types were also explored revolving around the ideas such as global and glocal in order to elaborate on the victory of this rebellion. Considering these, I deduce that, in order to be a powerful and free nation, glocalization and smart power have to be wielded together as a combination since they complete each other.

For these aims, this thesis was organized into three main chapters. In the chapters of this dissertation, power types such as hard, soft, and smart are studied as well as the terms like globalization and glocalization. After that, by breaking down the Boxer Rebellion and studying the historical reasons and outcomes; the novel version of this rebellion is analyzed revolving around the theoretical framework which was created in the first chapter.

In Chapter One, theoretical framework is introduced to explain the power terms to form my thesis. In the first section, I try to define what power is in general,

by presenting different explanations and ideas from famous sociologists like Robert Dahl, Steven Lukes, Talcott Parsons, and Michel Foucault. Explaining the power as A's controlling capacity over B, to the extent that A can make B to do a desired thing that B otherwise would not do (Lukes, 2009: 16) I move on to define power types such as soft, hard, and smart in the second section of my first chapter since they are intended to be used in explaining the power dynamics in the book.

According to my studies, I define soft power as the power of attraction enabled by agenda setting, culture, national policies, institutions and authentic values. I assert that soft power can be conducted via movies, clothes, television programs or bold political decisions that will encourage others. I also point out that with soft power; it might take a rather long time to get the desired outcomes since this kind of attraction includes mediums such as governments and various institutions. Then I define hard power, as coercive and military type of power. I put forward that hard power instruments are bribery, economic pressure, giving commands, wars, and threats. In addition, I add that even if the results can be achieved faster with hard power. Nevertheless, maintaining it with stability is a question to be raised since it might fail to retain its momentum with time. After defining hard and soft power types, I go on defining smart power as the combination of both smart and hard power agents. I offer it as an ultimate goal for nations to reach since it is far more durable and stable. It consists of using coercive and co-optive instruments to create a successful mixture of power. While explaining smart power, it is aimed to draw attention to the necessity of its usage by pointing out that in our modern world diplomacy wars and economy are getting smarter every day. For this reason I assert that the power relations need new approaches to meet the expectations of these ever-changing dynamics. Lastly, in the first chapter, the concepts like globalization and glocalization are compared and contrasted so as to pave the way into better understanding the novel. While glocalization means embracing cultural and historical values, globalization means to be diffused and become unified with others in the global current. I also assert that they are intermingled most of the time; meaning that something global may be adapted according to the necessities of locality and something glocal may become global in time if it is accepted by the masses. They are the extension of each other; however, at the same time they are

rivals. After explaining their relations I advocate glocalization because of the fact that unification and disintegration that comes with globalization process mean the death of local and authenticity. Nations have to embrace their local values to express themselves in the world arena with originality. It is asserted that, this can be achieved by using smart power.

In Chapter Two, the analysis of the original Boxer Rebellion is made as well as historical information thus it is aimed to give an insight into understanding the importance of utilization of smart power and local values. I move on classifying the reasons that were responsible for the downfall of China. Their declining economy and military power, exploitation of authentic values, the wars that happened, and the privileges that were given to the foreigners can be counted as the reasons that is asserted in this section. Then, after giving historical information, I analyze this historical rebellion according to the terms that are studied in the first chapter. I assert that the historical version of the Boxer Rebellion is a failed execution of hard power since it fails to implement soft power instruments, like technology, diplomacy, and agenda setting. It is submitted that power actors need to combine hard power with soft power so as to become victorious. Economical self-dependency, cultural, spatial, and discursive self-empowerment needs to be achieved alongside the revival of local values so as to make the execution of power smarter.

In Chapter Three, I analyze *The Diamond Age or A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer* according to the terms I discussed in the first chapter. Firstly, the novel is studied by defining its genre as post-cyberpunk. Then, the brief information about the book is given alongside its summary. I explain the power actors, nations, and the geography that are depicted in the book to elaborate on them in the next sections. Moving on from that, the terms like *feed* and *seed* are explained to study the importance of glocalization. According to the book, the feed is a technology enables users to get what they want in a short period of time such as food, clothing and many more. There are feed lines carrying atoms and nano-particles to the matter compilers. With this system, people can synthesize anything they wish by using matter compilers, which are devices that work like printers. In contrast with the feed, the seed system is a system by which people can synthesize desired things without printers and downloading from the particles from the feed lines. It is an open source

system, thus it is free and its applications are limitless. Moreover, while the seed offers free data flow, food, and clothing as well as many things for free; the feed is a tool for global capitalists to exploit poor nations since it requires a fee to be paid. For this reason, I defend the seed system because of the fact that with the implementation of it a nation can achieve freedom and glocal values can strive again. After considering its potential, I assert that it is the only way to break free from the chains of global hegemonies owing to the fact that they are the main supplier of the feed lines. The nations and organizations are afraid of the seed system in the novel because it is against the every ideal that globalism stands for and it promotes authenticity since a nation can design its own path without being dependent to others with it. The seed is defined as an agent of change. From this point, I correlate the seed with glocalization, for the fact that it offers authentic applications and cultural sovereignty.

In the next section, I analyze the use of smart power in the novel and assert that it can only be created by achieving cultural, spatial and discursive self-empowerment as well as with the coercive power that is enabled by a rebellion. I explain my point by giving detailed and to the point quotations from the book. It is shown in this thesis that discursive empowerment can be achieved by adopting new technologies and using them according to local, cultural needs. Plus, it also can be achieved by promoting local language since it represents the common and authentic culture of a nation. Moving on, in the novel, China achieves special empowerment with the Boxer Rebellion by reuniting the divided country back together again.

To conclude, in my thesis, I assert that smart power is the best power type for a nation to wield so as to be powerful and stable since it combines hard and soft power types; by taking the historical and fictional versions of the Boxer Rebellion as a case study. What is more, I put forth that smart power is much more powerful when combined with glocalization process. This combination is the only way to become free and unique instead of being diffused and disintegrated in the global current. Becoming authentic is important because monopoly always comes with capitalism, for the countries with developed economies would want to impose their culture and products to the others. Since China, as depicted in the book, achieved such glory by

doing so, I analyzed the victory of the Boxer Rebellion as the victory of smart power and glocal ideas against global hegemonies.

The purpose of choosing this novel and the ideas used mostly in international relations studies (such as hard power, soft power, smart power and glocalization and globalization) was to analyze this book so as to present it as a gateway in adapting the power types and glocalization dynamics to humanities and cultural studies. Through my researches I found that this novel has not been studied from these angles. The studies about this book were mostly about cyberculture, feminism and the analysis of the actions that happen, and the characters in the novel. By implementing power relations I want to approach to this novel from a new angle. I strongly believe that my thesis adds a new point of view in analyzing this novel, and from that point, it can be studied further.

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