

## Reflection on Study Abroad Trip, Japan 2024

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I am a visiting student at Metropolitan State University, and my home institution is Normandale Community College. I am majoring in Communications and plan to finish with an associate's degree in the Spring 2025 semester. Studying abroad was not something I had considered in my higher education journey, but I had Aimee Dubois (Communications Faculty and Normandale's Global Studies Coordinator), who really saw my potential and encouraged me to go outside my comfort zone by pursuing study abroad. When I came across this opportunity to study popular culture and history in Japan, I thought it would be great for me. I am passionate about popular entertainment, and I believed it could help me gain a new perspective on popular entertainment while simultaneously developing my intercultural communication skills further. My experience in Japan was stellar, to say the least. All the people I met were very kind, the food was amazing, and I got to see some breathtaking views. I even got to see Mt. Fuji during sunset, and it was one of the greatest things I have ever seen! We did so many other things including visiting various shrines and temples, rice transplanting, calligraphy, and more. It became an experience I will never forget and none of it would have been possible without the incredible support I got from Normandale and Metropolitan State.

I am in my mid-twenties, and this was my first ever travel experience. I am in TRIO at Normandale as I am a first-generation college student, who comes from a low-income background, and has a disability. TRIO has provided me amazing support, and it is a huge reason why I have thrived in higher education. Until this study abroad experience, I had never traveled outside of Minnesota, and it always made me feel like I was missing out on what the rest of the world has to offer. It is more than remarkable for me to say that Japan was my first travel experience, and one of my biggest pieces of advice to anyone is that when opportunities come knocking at your door, always take advantage of them as they will always propel you to new heights. You will never know if you will ever get another opportunity.

One requirement of the study abroad program was to write a research paper on a topic connecting history and popular culture in Japan. I chose *Dragon Ball* because its creator, Akira Toriyama, passed away recently. I thought it would be a good chance to talk about his legacy and *Dragon Ball's* impact on society. After presenting my idea to Professor Sumiko Otsubo, she explained how it was too generic as most people already know of *Dragon Ball's* success. A visit to Metropolitan State's library helped me discover that *Dragon Ball* was so impactful that it was used in various aspects throughout global history. I presented my research findings to Professor Otsubo's during office hours, and she was more than impressed. I even went to Metropolitan State's writing center for help to make my paper the best it could possibly be. When I had completed the research, all the writing came naturally to me, and the final result was a paper worthy of being published! I had three other summer classes at Normandale when I was writing this research paper, and I wrote the entire paper just two weeks before the deadline. I did not think I would do as well as I did, and the feedback I received from Professor Otsubo showed me I underestimated myself. Professor Otsubo was even inspired by the energy I brought to class and my assignments and how driven I am to be successful. This meant a lot to me as my ultimate goal is to leave an impact on anyone who comes my way.

To get an idea of what can be learned from this study abroad course, one of the activities we did was visit Tateyama Castle. At the castle, we visited the museum inside of it where we learned about Takizawa Bakin's didactic and supernatural work, *The Eight Dog Chronicles* (1814-42). According to Professor Otsubo's lecture and the short reading assignment,<sup>1</sup> *The Eight Dog Chronicles* is a long-running historical novel, or *yomihon* series, also known by its Japanese name, *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden*. It is loosely based on the Satomi clan, which occupied Tateyama Castle from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden* follows the adventures of eight warriors who are the spiritual children of a Satomi princess. During a siege of her father's castle, the princess desperately promised to marry a dog if it would protect the castle

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<sup>1</sup> Chris Drake, trans., "Like Yomihon: History and the Supernatural Revisited," in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600-1900, Abridged*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 483-506.

and her father. The dog succeeded, and the princess now had to live with it. When the princess is accidentally shot to death, eight soul beads from her Buddhist prayer beads fly away. Each warrior, whose last name included “dog,” is born to a different woman and has one of the special beads with a Chinese character representing a Confucian ideal. The warriors unite to help the Satomi clan reestablish itself. Akira Toriyama’s work on *Dragon Ball* was clearly inspired by *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden* because just like with each warrior having different beads and uniting, the main plot surrounds the dragon balls which are magical can summon the magical dragon Shenron to help grant wishes when collected together. The museum successfully points out the connection between *The Eight Dog Chronicles* and *Dragon Ball* as well as other contemporary TV puppet shows, anime, manga, films, and advertisements. This is just one example of how popular culture and entertainment can coexist with history and how entertainment extends beyond just giving people a temporary escape from reality. I, for one, am a firm believer that entertainment is very important in people’s lives as it can open our imaginations and inspire us to be the best versions of ourselves. I encourage everyone to do things like studying abroad as not only can it create memories, but it can even make us think in new ways; that is the biggest takeaway from my study abroad experience and my research on *Dragon Ball*’s impact on global history.

## Politics, Protests, and Popular Culture: The Global Legacy of Akira Toriyama and His Dragon Ball

By Alex Elbaz

Study Abroad Trip, Japan 2024

*“Power comes in response to a need, not a desire. You have to create that need.” - Goku*

On March 1, 2024, Japanese anime and manga creator Akira Toriyama passed away. Based on an obituary from the *International New York Times* titled “Akira Toriyama, Creator of ‘Dragon Ball,’ Dies at 68,” authors John Yoon and Kiuko Notoya concluded that “His death was confirmed on Friday (March 1st) in a statement by his manga and design production company, Bird Studio, and Capsule Corporation Tokyo. The statement said the cause was acute subdural hematoma, a condition in which blood collects between the skull and brain. It did not say where he died.”<sup>1</sup> Akira Toriyama was known for creating highly influential anime and manga such as *Dr. Slump*, *Sand Land*, and most notably, the *Dragon Ball* franchise. *Dragon Ball* became his most appreciated work worldwide for his take on action sequences, unique portrayal of characters, and having diverse settings. The series developed many animated iterations including *Dragon Ball* (1986-89), *Dragon Ball Z* (1989-96), *Dragon Ball GT* (1996-97), *Dragon Ball Z Kai* (2009-15), and *Dragon Ball Super* (2015-18). Akira Toriyama’s work laid the foundation for many future anime and manga artists to develop their own vision. *Dragon Ball* follows the adventures of a man named Son Goku who comes from a race of extraterrestrials known as Saiyans. He found himself on Earth after his parents sent him there to prevent being taken out with the rest of his home planet. Goku and his goal is to find all seven Dragon Balls which are orbs that when all are collected, can summon the magic dragon known as Shenron to grant three wishes. Goku is constantly training to get stronger in order to defend Earth along with other planets from the foes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> John Yoon and Kiuko Notoya, “Akira Toriyama, Creator of ‘Dragon Ball,’ Dies at 68,” *International New York Times*, March 13, 2024, *Gale Academic OneFile* (accessed June 26, 2024).

he encounters in the series. Akira Toriyama's legacy with *Dragon Ball* not only gave a new perspective on how to view entertainment, but one of the unknowns about it is that it was meaningfully used in various contexts throughout global history.

One of the things to consider with all of the effects that *Dragon Ball* has had throughout global history was that the series almost got canceled at one point. It may not be thought something as influential as *Dragon Ball* would not ever get canceled, but the book known as *Dragon Ball Culture*, Volume 3, *Battle* says otherwise. Author Derek Padula discovered that when *Dragon Ball* was still developing as a manga, it was not popular enough due to not having enough action. This prompted the former president of Hakusensha (publishing company), Kazuhiko Torishima to make Akira Toriyama change *Dragon Ball* to have more action to appeal to a wider audience. "The manga is on the verge of being canceled. As a result, after the first *hen* is complete, Torishima-san forces Toriyama to change the format. He transforms it from an 'adventure *manga*' into a 'battle *manga*'."<sup>2</sup> The biggest difference between *Dragon Ball* and its other iterations is that *Dragon Ball* focuses on comedy and adventure, whereas *Dragon Ball Z* and beyond focuses more on action. Akira Toriyama's inspiration for infusing action into *Dragon Ball* was based on the Jackie Chan and Bruce Lee films as also explored in the *Dragon Ball Culture* book. It can really bring into perspective that the very thing that made *Dragon Ball* known, which is its action, was also the reason that almost led to its demise. Had *Dragon Ball* been canceled, it would be more difficult to imagine where society would be today with the influence of popular culture and entertainment.<sup>3</sup>

To further build off of this, Akira Toriyama's take on action in *Dragon Ball* was unique because of training as mentioned in the beginning. Throughout the series, because the characters

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[https://link-gale-com.ndcproxy.mnpals.net/apps/doc/A786199383/AONE?u=mnanorman&sid=b\\_ookmark-AONE&xid=a81bbea3](https://link-gale-com.ndcproxy.mnpals.net/apps/doc/A786199383/AONE?u=mnanorman&sid=b_ookmark-AONE&xid=a81bbea3).

<sup>3</sup> Derek Padula, *Dragon Ball Culture*, vol. 3, *Battle*. United States: Derek Padula, 2015. <https://search-ebshost-com.mtrproxy.mnpals.net/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,cookie,url,uid&db=e000xna&AN=968011&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

are constantly training to fight in any battle, not only do they get stronger, but they develop supernatural abilities that are used to help aid them in combat. In relation to the character of Goku, since he is of Saiyan descent, he can achieve different types of powerful forms the more he trains such as becoming a Super Saiyan, Super Saiyan 2, Super Saiyan 3, and so on. Training in *Dragon Ball* is integral to the series and combined with the fast-paced nature of the action sequences in the series, it creates more stakes and build-up. An article from *Washington Post* titled “Akira Toriyama laid the bedrock of modern action Storytelling” even backs this up. According to author Gene Park, “Athletes often cite ‘Dragon Ball ’as an inspiration because of Toriyama’s focus on telling stories about determination and grit. The stories...created entire story arcs and multipart sagas specifically about training and self-improvement. What would be a throwaway training montage in other stories, Toriyama would use as an opportunity to build up characters and tension.”<sup>3</sup> Akira Toriyama’s approach to action speaks volumes as his work on *Dragon Ball* gave a whole new dimension on viewing entertainment. *Dragon Ball*, since its inception with manga, has expanded to other forms of entertainment like anime, movies, and even video games, and is still relevant to the modern day. The reception that *Dragon Ball* receives has not only helped define pop culture and entertainment in Japan but has garnered universal praise. As Goku always stays intrinsically motivated to train and stand up against his enemies, many global historical events adopted *Dragon Ball* as with Goku’s characteristics. which are shown in the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the student-led Chilean protests, and the extradition bill protests in Hong Kong.<sup>4</sup>

Akira Toriyama’s legacy through the *Dragon Ball* series includes analysis since the 9/11 terrorist attacks. What happened during 9/11 was that two planes were hijacked by radical Islamic fundamentalists and crashed them into the World Trade Center’s Twin Towers located in New

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<sup>4</sup> Gene Park, “Akira Toriyama Laid the Bedrock of Modern Action Storytelling,” *Washington Post*, March 8, 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/2024/03/08/akira-toriyama-dragon-ball appreciation/>.

York City. This resulted in the Twin Towers collapsing, creating roughly 3,000 American deaths, and this was done out of Islamic extremism and anti-Americanism. Following the tragic event, there have been recurring themes in many cartoons and anime about world domination, and how the message is conveyed that world domination creates more problems than solves them. In a peer-reviewed article titled “Dealing with World Domination: Lessons from The Powerpuff Girls and Friends,” author Steve Stockwell analyzes that the theme of world domination is regularly enforced with anime like *Dragon Ball Z* and that the repeated failure by villains to take over the world conveys the message that world domination is not the answer. Stockwell argues that “The failure — on Cartoon Network at least — of all plans for world domination invites us to consider means of resistance to aspirational politics on a global scale.”

In the case of *Dragon Ball*, world domination is an integral theme throughout the series as it's about Goku and his quest to find all the Dragon Balls which can summon the dragon Shenron to help grant at least three wishes. All the villains that appear have one thing in common, and that is to collect the Dragon Balls themselves to achieve world domination, which Goku aims to prevent it from happening. Steve Stockwell even went further in his argument with world domination in anime and cartoons as he saw that “Japanese anime, and before that manga, have a long history of confronting issues of world domination and, while anime like Pokémon may have initially been purchased by Cartoon Network as cheap fillers, many have built their own audiences and had a major impact on other Cartoon Network products. Since World War II ended with the atomic attacks on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, these cultural forms have played a central role in how the Japanese understand what happens to them.”<sup>4</sup> *Dragon Ball* was released before the 9/11 attacks, but if the significance of the event has enabled others to analyze properties like *Dragon Ball* for themes of world domination, it is another prime example of how anime affected global history, and more specifically, American History. This can even reference William Tsutsui's book *Japanese Popular Culture and Globalization* as his work also explores Hiroshima and Nagasaki's impact on Japanese popular culture. Tsutsui finds

one of the main themes of Japanese popular culture to be known as “an apocalyptic imagination” which can coincide with the idea of villainous world domination that Stockwell presents in his research. *Dragon Ball* is one of the most recognizable animes in America, and if anything, the <sup>1</sup> message behind the show is to stand up and fight back even when things are difficult.<sup>5</sup>

Dragon Ball played a pivotal role in Chile’s movement for quality education in July of 2011. The movement originated from a group of student activists from many colleges and universities in Santiago, Chile. Having access to education and quality education at best has been an issue throughout global history, and that is what a group of students in Chile were trying to fight for. According to a peer-reviewed article “Weaponizing collective energy: Dragon Ball Z in the anti-neoliberal Chilean protest movement,” author Camilo Diez Pino discussed how disgruntled college and university students in Chile were with their government’s neoliberal economic model and not having access to the education they need to thrive in the real world.<sup>6</sup> Some of the frustrations the students had were that their universities were poorly regulated and student loans were high as a result of Chile’s neoliberal government. The students took *Dragon Ball* as their primary source of inspiration in protesting as it was very popular in Latin America. In the series, *Dragon Ball*’s main protagonist Goku uses a supernatural ability called a Spirit Bomb, which unleashes a devastating blow on his enemies. He does this by gathering all the spiritual energy (*genki* in Japanese) around the world and into his hands to create a deadly sphere, hence the name Spirit Bomb or *Genki-dama*. In Dragon Ball lore, the *Genki-dama* is similarly described as small amounts of energy are gathered around the world and into the user to create a huge ball of energy. Goku has used this power to attack three of his extremely powerful foes, killing one but injuring two. The student protestors in Chile created their own version of a spirit bomb in order to bring people together to fight for better educational rights.

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<sup>5</sup> Steve Stockwell, “Dealing with World Domination: Lessons from The Powerpuff Girls and Friends,” *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture & Policy* 113, no. 1 (2004): 23– 29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X0411300105>.

<sup>6</sup> William Tsutsui, *Japanese Popular Culture and Globalization* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), 3, 11, 21, 23, 27, 28, 31, 33, 40-41, 43, and 44.

One of the messages from the protestors that clearly demonstrated *Dragon Ball*'s influence is “Listen to me everyone—it’s me, Goku. A strange force is putting the educational life of Chile’s inhabitants in danger. I’d like to request a bit of each of your energy so that every young person in this country can be guaranteed access to free quality education. All you have to do is lift your hands.”<sup>5</sup> What’s significant about this is that *Dragon Ball* not only has given a new perspective on how to view entertainment within Japanese pop culture, but its impact had a way of inspiring a social or political movement on a global scale. The usage of anime in activism is not heard of, and the Chilean student protests was the biggest example of this. Other events such as the 2019 Hong Kong protests which occurred due to a controversial bill to import fugitives to mainland China, for instance, had artist imagery that used *Dragon Ball*, but not to the extent of creating a large-scale Spirit Bomb like in the Chile protests. What these protests also showed is that Akira Toriyama’s *Dragon Ball*, especially relating to the character Goku, was a major influence with Chilean history in resembling his qualities like strength, resilience, and determination in retaliation against their government’s educational practices.<sup>7</sup>

Goku is portrayed as a character who never gives up, and when he faces adversity, he overcomes it and comes back better and stronger than before. The forces used by the students in Chile were quite strong as is Goku, but even with all of their efforts, their demands for education were not met. In another peer-reviewed article titled “Spatial Practices and Narratives: The GenkiDama for Education by Chilean Students,” authors Óscar García Agustín and Félix J. Aguirre Díaz discovered that the usage of the fan-made spirit bomb and students dressed as characters from *Dragon Ball* came across as violent which resulted in their failure. Still, the student protestors celebrated, as their inclusion of *Dragon Ball* garnered widespread attention through mass media which became a consolation prize for them. These movements became a turning point in Chilean political history regarding educational reform and how entertainment can

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<sup>7</sup> Camilo Diaz Pino, “Weaponizing Collective Energy: Dragon Ball Z in the Anti-Neoliberal Chilean Protest Movement,” *Popular Communication* 17, no. 3 (2019): 202–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2018.1554807>.

be a powerful motivator for it because the symbolism behind the Spirit Bomb is what made the student protestors successful in challenging the Chilean government to begin with. According to Aguirre Díaz and García Agustín, “By deploying references to a generational framework, the students create a subjectivity that is not political in itself but becomes political by the appropriation of Manga.”<sup>6</sup> *Dragon Ball* has never been a property to have political undertones, but its impact on this movement had the Chilean student protests share aspects with that of the Occupy and Arab Spring movements as also mentioned in the article. Akira Toriyama left behind a legacy if one of his creations enabled students, who are passionate about their education, and felt they deserved better, to stand up and fight for what they believe.

*Dragon Ball* is clearly integrated in popular culture and Chilean history, and Taylor Atkins in his book, *A History of Popular Culture in Japan: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, supports this perspective. The significance of Atkins is that through his research, he showed that Japan was one of the first sites for the economic, political, and cultural development which helped Japan define what they believe is popular culture. Japan's popular culture, supported by increasingly wealthy urban commoners and characterized by haiku, puppet theater, its music, and Kabuki, began flourishing as early as the seventeenth century. According to Atkins, “Popular culture is a primary mechanism for social control and ideological indoctrination, but does not always have the desired effect, since consumers, fans, or audiences are capable of actively manipulating meaning for their own purposes. That is, as ‘the arena of consent and resistance, ‘popular culture is a primary realm for observing the Gramscian model of hegemony: the struggle between corporate or governing elites and nongoverning or subaltern classes for autonomy, control, and meaning, within the parameters of broad ideological consensus’.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Oscar Garcia Agustin and Felix J. Aguirre Diaz, “Spatial Practices and Narratives: The GenkiDama for Education by Chilean Students,” *Journal of Language and Politics* 13, no. 4 (2014): 732–54. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.13.4.07agu>; E. Taylor Atkins, *History of Popular Culture in Japan : From the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 29.

Atkins's take on popular culture with “the arena of resistance” reflects the link between the Chilean protests and their usage of *Dragon Ball* as their motivation was to rebel against the government’s neoliberalism in Chile for better education. In the series, Goku uses the Spirit Bomb to take out his enemies, but the student protesters manipulated the meaning to promote something that creates a sense of unity among the people in Chile. While the outcome of the protests did not give the students what they wanted with educational reform, they celebrated victory nonetheless given their efforts and developed strength and courage in the sense that Goku does when trying to keep his planet as well as other planets at peace. Furthermore, the *Weaponizing Collective Energy* article by Diaz Pino supports Atkins when it says that “The Chilean student protest movement’s use of *Dragon Ball Z* as a tool of political communication exposed an underlying dimension of collectivist discourse that, given its popular support, was clearly present but previously unarticulated in Chile’s formal political rhetoric. It likewise brought to light the depth and breadth of this show’s affective impact on the Chilean population.” What this shows more than anything is popular culture and more specifically *Dragon Ball Z* has not only impacted Japanese popular culture but on an even more global scale with that of Chilean history.

It was mentioned before that the 2019-2020 Hong Kong protests were influenced by *Dragon Ball* but was not used to the extent of the Chilean protests. Rather than having a full-scale Spirit Bomb recreation, and mimicking characters from *Dragon Ball*, more imagery was articulated in response to the protests. The Hong Kong protests were prompted by a Chinese bill that was proposed that if passed, would allow extradition or transportation of fugitives to mainland China. This of course understandably upset the people in Hong Kong as they believed that if the bill was passed, it would threaten their safety as well as Hong Kong’s national security.

Hong Kong and China have a rich history as Hong Kong was once a British Colony that was returned to China in 1997 following the events of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. The purpose of the declaration was that Hong Kong was supposed to operate under a “one country,

two systems” approach in the sense that even with mainland China’s Communist system, Hong Kong could still operate with their own autonomy or self-government. This is explored in Louisa Brooke-Holland’s research briefing titled “Hong Kong: The Joint Declaration” and as mainland China still tried to control Hong Kong despite the Sino-British Joint Declaration and with the controversy surrounding the extradition bill, Hong Kong had this to say: “We reject the Chinese Government’s assertion that the joint declaration is a “historic document”, by which they mean that it is no longer valid, and that our rights and obligations under that treaty have ended. Our clear view is that the Sino-British joint declaration of 1984 obliges the Chinese Government to uphold Hong Kong’s high degree of autonomy, and its rights and freedoms, and we call on the Chinese Government to do so.”

As a result of the proposed extradition bill, riots occurred with clashes between the protestors and the police which led to police brutality. In an article titled “A Hong Kong artist’s ‘surreal’ depiction of the anti-extradition protests” author Oiwan Lam reported that an artist named Tommy Fung depicted popular culture in support of the protest. Fung used various properties such as Marvel, *Godzilla*, and *Dragon Ball* as a way to send the message that everyone should come together in their fight against injustice. Fung and his mindset according to Lam’s research was that “The protests have been very surreal, and it inspired me to represent and magnify the messages. I know that protesters are very depressed and hope my work can inject more positive energy into the movement. For example, when I see the lights on the protesters’ mobile-phones, the small dots can be aggregated into a powerful force like the dragon ball.”<sup>9</sup> The impact of *Dragon Ball* on global history is evident here with this event in Hong Kong, because if artists are depicting *Dragon Ball* to send the message that people are stronger together, then Akira Toriyama’s work goes beyond entertainment and can enter the realm of life lessons. Likewise, Atkins encapsulates this event with his definition of popular culture as the protestors in

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<sup>9</sup> Oiwan Lam, “A Hong Kong Artist’s ‘Surreal’ Depiction of the Anti-extradition Protests,” *Global Voices*, August 6, 2019, <https://globalvoices.org/2019/08/06/a-hong-kong-artists-surreal-depiction-of-the-anti-extradition-protests/>.

Hong Kong were resisting the government's potential action in passing a bill that was deemed unethical. The extradition bill was not passed by the end of the protests in 2020, and while *Dragon Ball* did not play a pivotal role, it was at least used as another source of inspiration and hope in unprecedented times.<sup>10</sup>

To come full circle, the *Dragon Ball* franchise has had quite a remarkable impact on global society, and Japanese anime and manga creator Akira Toriyama has undoubtedly left a legacy for himself. *Dragon Ball* was used to evoke meaningful change in various contexts throughout global history such as with the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks which encouraged discussion on world domination, *Dragon Ball* became analyzed for world domination themes to convey the message that violence is never the answer. Furthermore, in Chile where students peacefully protected for educational reform by creating a large-scale Spirit Bomb, they gained international notoriety from their usage of *Dragon Ball*'s Spirit Bomb or Genki-dama. Finally, with the nature of the violent protests surrounding the extradition bill in Hong Kong, it enabled artists to use imagery inspired by *Dragon Ball* in the sense that people are stronger through unity. At the time of Akira Toriyama's passing, he was still at work on *Dragon Ball Super* and had other *Dragon Ball* projects planned. Even though *Dragon Ball* has existed since 1986, he still had so much more to tell with this story. Toriyama's *Dragon Ball* story may not ever be complete, but if he's effectively told in the series for everyone to stand up and fight back whenever people face adversity, then it is another example of how the value that entertainment provides is something that will always stand the test of time no matter what. With all the stories that Akira Toriyama told to the world, especially with the *Dragon Ball* franchise, he will not ever be forgotten, and he may finally, rest in peace.

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<sup>10</sup> Brooke-Holland, Louisa. "Hong Kong: the Joint Declaration." *UK Parliament*. July 6, 2019. <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8616/>

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