Creating Networks and Sharing Communications through Digital Media: A Survival Strategy of Tibetans in Japan

Takako YAMADA†

Abstract

Backed by a long history of relations with Japan, children of Tibetan refugees were able to receive support to gain higher education or professional training in Japan. Today, an estimated 220 Tibetans live in Japan: 100 from Tibet and the rest from others areas of exile. They are dispersed in various different areas of Japan, although many live in the vicinity of Tokyo. With the recent increase of Tibetans in Japan, a variety of new web sites regarding Tibet and Tibetan issues have emerged. The official web site of the Tibetan community in Japan followed in 2010, while its twitter pages were started in December 2012. Thus the digital media has become an indispensable means for Tibetans in Japan to communicate not only with Tibetans but also with non-Tibetans. This paper aims to explore the creation of networks and sharing of communications through digital media among Tibetans in Japan, and to suggest their survival strategy, re-establishing connectedness both in their community and with others living in Japan. It is also shown that the sharing of *tradition* and/or *culture* is indispensable in the process of making communal connectedness.

Kevwords

digital media, sharing communication, Tibetans in Japan

デジタル・メディア活用によるネットワークの構築とコミュニケーションの共有性 一在日チベット人の生存戦略—

山田 孝子†

キーワード

デジタル・メディア, コミュニケーションの共有性, 在日チベット人

[†] ytakako@seiryo-u.ac.jp (Kanazawa Seiryo University, Faculty of Humanities)

1. Introduction

Backed by a long history of relations with Japan, Tibetan refugees have been received as settlers in Japan since the exodus of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959. Children of Tibetan refugees were able to receive support to gain higher education or professional training in Japan. Today, an estimated 220 Tibetans live in Japan: 100 from Tibet and the rest from others areas of exile. They are dispersed in various different areas of Japan, although many live in the vicinity of Tokyo.

During the process of rehabilitation for Tibetans in Japan, two institutions were established to promote better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture: the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia, founded in 1976, and the Tibetan Culture Center, founded in 1977. The former is an official institution of the Central Tibetan Government in Dharamsala, while the latter was established by one of the first Tibetan refugee children to begin study in Japan.

With the recent increase of Tibetans in Japan, a variety of new web sites regarding Tibet and Tibetan issues have emerged, for example Students for a Free Tibet Network in Japan, whose web site was set up in 2008 while its twitter pages were launched in May 2010. The official web site of the Tibetan community in Japan followed in 2010, while its twitter pages were started in December 2012. Thus the digital media has become an indispensable means for Tibetans in Japan to communicate not only with Tibetans but also with non-Tibetans. This paper⁽¹⁾ aims to explore the creation of networks and sharing of communications through digital media among Tibetans in Japan, and to suggest their survival strategy, re-establishing connectedness both in their community and with others living in Japan. It is also shown that the sharing of tradition and/or culture is indispensable in the process of making communal connectedness.

2. The history of Tibetan resettlement in Japan

2.1. The development of the Japan-Tibet relationship in early days

The relationship between Tibet and Japan can be traced back to the Meiji Period when the Meiji government was geopolitically aligned with Tibet. The Honganji branch (Nishi Honganji) of Jodo Shinshu (Shin Buddhism) also took an interest in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism as part of their efforts to disseminate Shin Buddhist teachings in China. Moreover, the search for new Buddhist sutras was also one of their major motives during the Meiji period.

In 1899, during the late Meiji period, two monks of Nishi Honganji: Yutaka Noumi and Enga Teramoto, were dispatched to China in order to enter Tibet, although they were compelled to return to Japan because of a change for the worse in Tibet (Komoto 2010: 226). In 1901, when Tibet was closed off to outsiders, Ekai Kawaguchi, a monk of the Obaku branch of Zen Buddhism, infiltrated Lhasa by crossing over the Himalayas. After studying at Sera Monastery, he returned back to Japan with the complete corpus of Buddhist scriptures (sutras) (Kawaguchi 1978).

In 1908, Kozui Otani, the 22nd head priest of Nishi Honganji, sent his brother on his behalf to Wutai Shan in China to meet the 13th Dalai Lama. His brother exchanged Buddhist sutras with the Dalai Lama and they discussed the possibility of an exchange of Buddhist students between Japan and Tibet (Shakabpa 1992: 271; Komoto 2010: 30). Afterwards, Bunkyo Aoki and Tokan Tada were sent to Lhasa for Buddhist study, while a Tibetan monk was sent to study for one year at Nishi Honganji (Yajima 1983: 89; Aoki 1995: 14-16).

Later, Masanori Fukushima, a resident military officer in Beijing, had an opportunity to explain the military training system of Japan to the 13th Dalai Lama. This led to Yasujiro Yajima becoming a military instructor of the Tibetan army in 1923 (Shakabpa 1992: 272-273; Kimura 1983). Yajima visited Tibet twice, from November 1910 to April 1911 and from July 1912 to November 1918. In 1913, he began providing Japanese military training to a company of the Tibetan army and in March 1916 he married the only daughter of a wealthy merchant in Lhasa (Yajima 1983: 80-83).

In the 1940s, two intelligence personnel, Hisao Kimura and Kazumi Nishikawa, who trained at an intelligence office in Koagijuku, went underground in Tibet as Mongolian lamas. The former stayed underground for 10 years under the name of Dawa Sampo and the latter for eight years under the name of Lobsan Sambo (Nishikawa 2001a: 17-19; 2001b, 2001c; 2001d; Kimura 1994: 49; Pema Gyalpo 2016b: 9). In January 1946, after learning of the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, Nishikawa escaped from Tibet to India and met Kimura at Kalimpong, West Bengal after three years' separation (Nishikawa 2001d: 219-222). Both were sent back to Japan in 1950.

The long history of friendly relations between Japan and Tibet has facilitated support for Tibetans since the drastic regime changes in Tibet in the 1950s. In 1952, Taktser Rinpoche, the eldest brother of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, visited Japan to attend the 2nd General Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) in Tokyo. He stayed in Tokyo for around three years under Kimura's care until he sought asylum in the USA (Kimura 1994: 328-329) (2).

In April 1959, the exodus of the Dalai Lama from Tibet became officially known all over the world. Japanese Buddhist communities quickly went into action to support Tibetans, responding to an appeal from the Tibetan Government-in-Exile to Japan for help. They started the support movement for Tibetans by setting up a preparatory committee for supporting Tibetans (3), while the Council of Buddhism Politics (4) released a statement on the rescue of the 14th Dalai Lama (5). The Japan Buddhist Federation, (6) released an urgent appeal to the Japanese public, calling to end the use of armed force by the People's Liberation Army (PLA). They sent letters to World Fellowship of Buddhist centers all over the world, strongly appealing for the respect of religious freedom and the suspension of the armed intervention (7).

It was not only Japanese Buddhists communities. but also a nationally united council that took initiative on behalf of the support movement for Tibet. Twenty-nine distinguished people from various fields organized the "National Council for Tibetan Issues" to facilitate the support movement for Tibet. They held a large meeting in Tokyo on May 14, 1959, which featured invited speaker, Taktser Rinpoche⁽⁸⁾. Following the meeting, an executive director of the National Council for Tibetan Issues, Kazuki Hidaka, went to India to meet the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie and gave him an invitation letter to Japan. After the meeting, Hidaka even made public in Delhi the idea of the Dalai Lama seeking asylum in Japan as one possible option⁽⁹⁾. In reality, as is noted by Kimura (Kimura 1994: 330), being dissatisfied with Nehru's policies toward China, the Dalai Lama sent an envoy to Tokyo in order to explore the possibility of his seeking asylum in Japan.

Gradually, Tibetan refugees have been allowed to settle in Japan since the exodus of the 14th Dalai Lama from Tibet to India in 1959. In the 1960s, the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees was the most urgent and serious problem and the Tibetan Government-in-Exile started a project that

sent Tibetan youths to western countries, such as England and Switzerland.

In the early 1960s in Japan, due to the negotiation efforts of Kimura Hisao with the Fulbright Foundation, three Tibetans were sent to Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library) as invited Tibetan scholars: two lamas and Tsering Dolma, a daughter from a noble family (Kimura 1994: 331; Pema 2016b: 9). It is also known from an article by the Yomiuri that the Tibetan Government-in-Exile sent a message to the Council of Buddhism Politics in Japan to ask about the possibility of accepting Tibetan refugee youths (10). At the request of the Dalai Lama, Kimura Hisao devoted himself, in collaboration with Tsering Dolma, to launching a project that accepts Tibetan boys and girls into Japan as students (Kimura 1994: 331-332).

2.2. Tibetans' resettlement in Japan: the beginning of the Tibetan community

At Kimura's request, Dr. Maruki, Director of Moroyama Hospital (11) in Saitama Prefecture, finally agreed to provide support to Tibetan refugee girls studying at a nursery school in the early 1960s. In 1965, five Tibetan refugee boys were sent to study in Japan for the first time. This marked the very start of the resettlement of Tibetans in Japan.

Tibetan refugee boys and girls were accepted on three occasions as students by Dr. Maruki of Moroyama Hospital: five refugee boys in 1965, five girls in 1967, and six girls in 1968. Seizing the opportunity when five Tibetan girls arrived on January 19, 1967, a newspaper article reported on their studies in Japan as follows (12):

In the evening of the 19th, five Tibetan girls disembarked from an airplane at Haneda Airport. They shook hands with Dr. Maruki, Director of Moroyama Hospital, shyly but smiling. They are 12 years old. The year before last, five boys

were the first to arrive in Japan from Tibet. Dr. Maruki allowed them to live in a residence in a corner of the hospital and taught them Japanese with the cooperation of hospital staff. The boys have shown rapid progress in learning Japanese and have started to study at primary school and junior high school since last spring. Now having confidence in accommodating Tibetan youths studying in Japan, Dr. Maruki requested girls who wished to study at a nursery school. Thus, Tibetan girls who wish to become nurses came to Japan. They say, "We will study hard to become nurses".

In September 1969, five Tibetan girls attended a capping ceremony at Moroyama Nursery School after a one year stay in Japan. It concludes by noting that "they need to study further for one and half year more, but they are full of hope. They all say they wish to serve for Tibet." (13)

One of the Tibetan boys, Tsewan Yugel, succeeded on his third trial in the National Examination for Medical Practitioners, a first for a Tibetan, in the spring of 1981 (14). A short time later, another Tibetan boy, Tamdin Gyurme, also succeeded on his third trial in the National Examination for Medical Practitioners in the spring of 1983. An article states, "He is going to marry one of the five Tibetan girls, who is working as a nurse, and return to India." (15)

Thus, all the Tibetan girls became nurses, while two boys successfully studied at Ajia University, one at Sport Science University in Tokyo, and two at Saitama Medical University (Kimura 1994: 332). One of the boys, Pema Gyalpo, continued further to graduate university and served for a long period as the representative of the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Tibet House) for Japan and East Asia. Pema Gyalpo provided an update

on the remaining four boys in 1987: two work as medical doctors in Japan, one opened a judo dojo in Kathmandu, and one works at the Japanese embassy in New Delhi⁽¹⁶⁾.

Japan's success in receiving Tibetan boys and girls has facilitated the further acceptance of Tibetans in Japan. For example, dozens of young Tibetans were accepted into the capacity building program by the Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement-International (OISCA). OISCA's mission is to contribute to humanity's development environmentally sustainable through a holistic approach emphasizing the interconnectedness of agriculture, ecological integrity, and human spirit. They advocate for and implement hands-on experiential programs for world citizens of all ages, transmitting knowledge and skills, and have promoted values such as dedication, self-reliance, and universal brother-sisterhood since its formation in 1961 (17). In its early days, the OISCA invited a dozen or so Tibetan youths to Japan for training in agriculture, farming, medical care, and sewing by machine. Even today, they continue to invite a few Tibetans for training annually (Pema Gyalpo 2015: 13, 15).

Looking back at the Tibetans who came to Japan in the 1970s, two Tibetan lamas were invited in 1974 by a Japanese volunteer who studied Tibetan Buddhism. One is Tsultim Kesan (*Tshul khrims skal bzan*) who had been professor of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan language at Otani University until his retirement in 2013. The other is Nichan (*Nityan*) Rinpoche, high lama of the Ningma-pa, who taught Tibetan Buddhism at different universities, including Koyasan University, for several years and then moved to Tokyo to teach Tibetan Buddhism⁽¹⁸⁾ to a wider Japanese audience. Both have contributed much to the dissemination of Tibetan Buddhism and language among the Japanese. Moreover, Toyo

Bunko continued inviting Tibetan scholars until the mid-1990s (Pema Gyalpo 2015:13-14).

In the 1980s, not only did Narita-san Shinshoji begin to receive Tibetan students, but one of the Shinto denominations also invited a few Tibetans to study. Narita-san Shinshoii continued to receive Tibetans for several years and, to date, 23 students have had the chance to study in Japan. The friendship between Narita-san and Tibet was established around the anniversary celebration of Kobo Daishi in April 1984. Narita-san Shinshoji held significant ceremonial events, celebrating the construction of a large monument commemorating the 1150th anniversary of the death of Kobo Daishi, the founder of Shingon Buddhism. One of the major events during this period was the Dalai Lama's visit to Narita-san Shinshoji to perform the Buddhist ritual of burning small sticks(19). On this occasion, the Dalai Lama presented the original text of the Wisdom Sutra, Prajina-paramita, compiled by the Narthang Monastery, for digitalization in the future. In return for this precious gift, Narita-san Shinshoji decided to offer Tibetans the opportunity to study in Japan (Pema Gyalpo 2015:15).

In 2016, as stated in the inaugural message from Mr. Luntok, the representative of the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia, he is a Tibetan who was accepted by the Narita-san Shinshoji to study in Japan. He describes how he came to Japan in 1980 and studied not only Buddhism but also the traditional Japanese sports of judo and karate, and graduated from Takushoku University.⁽²⁰⁾

Since the 1990s, the number of Tibetans living in Japan has been increasing. Some students were sent to Japan by the Chinese government while others received scholarships from an NPO in Japan. In 2015, an estimated 220 Tibetans lived in Japan: 100 from Tibet and the rest relocating from other areas (Pema

Gyalpo 2015:14-15). As compared with the number of Tibetans in 1989 when only around 30 lived in Japan⁽²¹⁾, the number today has increased more than sevenfold, and they are dispersed in different areas of Japan, such as Sapporo, Hiroshima, and many near Tokyo.

3. The Tibetan community in Japan and the use of digital media

3.1. Organizing the Tibetan community

More than 50 years have passed since the first Tibetan boys and girls were accepted for study in Japan. As mentioned in the introduction, during the rehabilitation process for Tibetans in Japan, two institutions were established to promote better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture. One, founded in 1976, is the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia (Tibet House Japan), which is an official institution of the Central Tibetan Government (CTA) in Dharamsala. The other is "Nihon Tibet Bunka Koryu Kyokai" (Japan-Tibet Cultural Exchange Association), which was founded in 1973 by Pema Gyalpo, one of the first Tibetan refugee children to study in Japan. This association changed its name to the Tibetan Culture Center (TCC) in 1977.

The website of the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia provides a variety of news and information about Tibet in Japanese. This includes not only updates on the Dalai Lama, the CTA, and the worldwide movement for Tibet, but also the past records of the Dalai Lama's visits to Japan, information on Tibetan history and culture, the office, events, and support activities for Tibetan refugees. They also release a quarterly magazine "Tibet Tsushin" (Tibet Report) in Japanese for the members of Tibet House. The website has provided Japanese readers with comprehensive updated information on political as

well as cultural issues.

In contrast, as indicated by its name, the Tibetan Culture Center has provided information mostly on cultural aspects. They not only offer a variety of classes in Tibetan language, Tibetan Buddhism, and Tibetan culture, but also facilitate study tours to areas in Tibet, personal exchange programs, and provide information on NPO support programs for Tibetan refugees. They have also published 40 issues of a quarterly magazine, "Tibetan Culture Center," for the members of the TCC. Both have thus contributed greatly to better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture among the Japanese.

As revealed by existing case studies on immigrants' communities, it is generally important for immigrants to organize and have a communitylike space in order to unite and solidify their sense of belonging. A case study of the Tibetan community in Toronto shows that they worked to set up an association for themselves in order to communicate and keep their Tibetan identity (Yamada 2015, 2016b). The first group of 240 Tibetan immigrants in Canada settled there in the early 1970s under the resettlement project. They established the Canadian Tibetan Association of Ontario (CTAO) in 1978. In 2007, the Tibetan Canadian Cultural Center (TCCC) was founded with a building where Tibetans can gather for cultural programs in order to unite the community in Toronto. It is not only Tibetans in Toronto but also Tibetans in Europe that have organized a community-like space in the process of their resettlement in host societies in order to unite and solidify their sense of belonging.

Since the beginning of Tibetan resettlement in Japan, Tibet House Japan and the TCC have served as key resources for Tibetans to access support and a variety of information on Tibet. They have also demonstrated Japanese support for Tibetans by providing messages from the Dalai Lama and information on Tibetan issues, Tibetan Buddhism, and culture. In the late 2000s, Tibetans in Japan began identifying themselves to other Japanese as a distinct entity of the group: "Tibetan Community in Japan (TCJ)."

3.2. The use of digital media: strengthening their togetherness?

The establishment of the TCJ appears to be an important moment for Tibetans in Japan in the sense that any political movement for Tibetan issues cannot be an individual movement, but must be a collectively organized movement. They are moving forward to connect with each other by arranging meetings and events, re-establishing communality among them.

It was also a defining moment when they launched the TCJ website in March 2010, (22) through which they could communicate, independently, information on their activities and movements in Japan to the world. The TCJ also started an official Twitter account in December 2012. (23) Digital media technology enables them to easily communicate, not only among themselves but also with an extremely large number of Japanese and widen participation in the Tibetan movement in Japan.

Setting up a website generally brings the owner significantly greater power to disseminate messages compared to other conventional means of communication. First, it enables sending necessary information simultaneously to mass numbers of unspecified receivers. Second, it enables sending messages all over the world, irrespective of distance and at the lowest cost. Third, it creates a virtual space for a gathering that is indispensable for keeping communal connectedness. Finally, it easily enables the growth of the information network by using the linking function to the site.

How is the website utilized by the TCJ? The website consists of six subpages in Japanese: 1)

Home, 2) Present circumstances of Tibet, 3) Future events, 4) Past events, 5) Link, and 6) Contact. The oldest article on the subpage of past events is "2010 Tibet Peace March in Japan" from March 13, 2010, which indicates that the website was launched on this occasion. After the opening of the official Twitter account in December 2012, information on upcoming events was announced on this platform, although the same information is updated on the subpage of future events.

There are 76 published tweets, beginning on December 4, 2012 through June 29 2016 (Fig.1). Seventy-three out of 76 tweets on the official Twitter account announce upcoming events or are communication among members. This Twitter account has 233 followers, while following only six Twitter accounts including Lungta Project, SFT Japan, Payul Monastery, and Tibet House. Sixtynine out of 73 tweets were retweeted a total of 555 times. Although the number of retweets is not large, it suggests that nearly 2.5 times the number of followers had a chance to receive these messages. Many followers seem to be Japanese and news on Tibetan events are disseminated among these followers as well as Tibetans.

Reviewing the past 60 events from March 2010 to September 2016, with this information still available on the website, the number varies from year to year (Fig. 1). Looking at the years between 2011 to 2015, 2013 was the year in which events were most frequently held, while they were least frequently held in 2015. Although data was collected for only a few years, from 2012-2014 the number of tweets and retweets are rather high and amount to more than the number of events. Retweets were especially frequent in 2013. However, as Figure 1 shows, activity has become stagnant since 2015.

The community typically holds four events annually: *Losar* (Tibetan New Year Celebration),

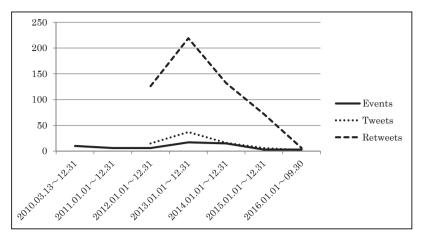


Figure 1. Number of events, tweets, and retweets from 2010 to 2016

Peace March on March 10th in commemoration of Tibet's revolt, the birthday celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and the celebration of His Holiness's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Then in 2009, the self-immolations began breaking out in Tibet. The frequency of these occurrences increased, peaking in 2012 and then decreasing to a few cases in 2014 (Yamada 2016a). Responding to the worsening situation in Tibet, the community organized a gathering for prayers, "Lhakar" (white Wednesday), on every fourth Wednesday from November 2012 to December 2014. The announcement of "Lhakar" gatherings resulted in the number of tweets increasing from 2012 to 2014. While the celebration for His Holiness the Dalai Lama is important for Tibetans, Tibetan Buddhist tradition is also important in connecting with their Tibetan identity. The sharing of tradition and culture is thus indispensable in the process of keeping communal connectedness.

The home page of the TCJ is linked to three websites: His Holiness The 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet⁽²⁴⁾, Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia,⁽²⁵⁾ and Tibet Support Network Japan (TSNJ).⁽²⁶⁾ The TSNJ website, which is a communication network of

support groups for free Tibet founded in 2001, posts especially important information about the 22 support groups in Japan and their actions/events. The TSNJ network includes, for example, Amnesty International Japan's Tibet Team, (27) Tibet Support Group KIKU, (28) Tibetan Culture Center, Do Ngak Sung Juk, Tokyo Center of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FMPT), (29) and Students for a Free Tibet (SFT Japan). (30)

Thus, access to the TCJ website enables one to easily receive any updated information on what is going on in Tibet and on Tibetan movements all over the world. The use of digital media via the internet provides a wealth of information not only on Tibet and Tibetan movements but also on Tibet support groups worldwide. Knowing that one is supported by others provides assurance that they can live in safety. In this sense, the existence of a variety of Japanese support groups for Tibet has contributed to a feeling of security for Tibetans living in Japan. Although I did not participate in all events held by the Tibetan community in Japan, I learned that almost half of the participants were Japanese. Tibetans in Japan have thus promoted their religious and political movements and strengthened their solidarity and identity in collaboration with the

Japanese.

4. Conclusion

From the very beginning when the Tibetan Government-in-Exile was first established, the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR), as an independent agency, has played a strikingly important role, taking charge of the information strategy against Communist China. They have disseminated the details of Tibetan issues under Communist China all over the world through the internet and by publishing books, such as "Tibet under Communist China: 50 years" (DIIR 2001).

It has been indispensable for Tibetans, irrespective of whether they live in exile or in Tibet, to always have news disseminated about them in order to gain support for their movements for Free Tibet. Therefore, backed by the development of digital media technology, almost all Tibetan refugee communities now have their own homepage on the web to let others know of their existence and culture.

There they can seek support for their movements from the host society and maintain connectedness among the community. As the goal for every Tibetan community is the same, the websites are composed similarly. For example, comparing TCJ's home page with that of the TCCC in Toronto⁽³¹⁾ reveals a nearly identical composition, although some subpages have been added since the update of the website in 2016.

As described above, the use of digital media facilitates not only shared communication among members but also widens shared communication to the members of the host society in Japan. This also allows Tibetans in Japan to easily collaborate with the Japanese in their movements for free Tibet. Thus, new digital media technology functions as a survival strategy for Tibetans.

Acknowledgements: This paper is based on research conducted with the support of the JSPS KAKENHI (C) (Grant Number 15K01874).

Notes

- (1) This paper was originally presented at Eat Asian Anthropological Association 2016 Meeting on October 15, 2016 at Hokkaido University, Sapporo.
- (2) The Yomiuri, Evening, 1952.10.13, "Elder brother of *Tulku* seeks asylum in Japan".
- (3) The Yomiuri, Morning, 1959.04.12, "Setting up of the preparatory union of the support for Tibet".
- (4) Bukkyo Seiji Kyougikai (仏教政治協議会)
- (5) The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning, 1959.04.14, "Rescue the Dalai Lama a statement of the Council of Buddhism Politics".
- (6) Zen Nihon Bukkyokai (全日本仏教会)
- (7) The Mainichi, Tokyo, Morning 1959.04.20, "Riot in Tibet 'Bring to a stop the use of armed force".
- (8) The Mainichi, Tokyo, Morning, 1959.04.21, "National Council for Tibetan issue, Supporters including Mr. Shimonaka"; The Yomiuri, Evening, 1959.04.14, "Elder brother of the Dalai Lama coming to Japan, Holding a large meeting of the National Council for Tibetan Issue"; The Asahi, Tokyo, Evening, 1959.05.14, "Elder brother of the Dalai Lama coming to Japan".
- (9) The Mainich, Tokyo, Morning, 1959.07.04, "Seeking asylum in Japan? The Dalai Lama"; The Yomiuri, Morning, 1959.07.04, "Seeking asylum in Japan? The Dalai Lama"; The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning, 1959.07.05, "Change the place of refuge? Japan is one of the options".
- (10) The Yomiuri, Morning, 1961.08.20, "Tibetan issue is placed on an agenda by the United Nations Congress".
- (11) Later, the hospital changed its name to Saitama Medical University Hospital.
- (12) The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning 1967.01.20, "Inviting five Tibetan girl orphans to study at a nursery school".
- (13) The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning, 1969.09.25, "Cheerfully attend a capping ceremony, Tibetan refugee girls".
- (14) The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning, 1981.05.16, "Becoming a doctor, Mr. Tsewang, a Tibetan refugee, passed the National Examination for Medical Practitioners".

- (15) The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning, 1983.05.14, "A Tibetan refugee passed the National Examination for Medical Practitioners on his third try".
- (16) The Asahi, Tokyo, Evening 1987.01.31, "Pema Gyalpo, a Tibetan refugee, wishes to work for cultural exchange".
- (17) "Mission" (http://www.oisca-international.org/about/mission/, accessed on 2016.10.09).
- (18) 「ダライ・ラマ法王日本代表部ニチャン・リンンポチェ師来山(2009年1月12日)(Nichan Rinpoche from the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia visited Onjuin Temple on January 12, 2009)」 http://www.onjuin.com/jinai/pg82.html, accessed on 2016.10.09;「ツルティム・ケサン (Tshul khrims skal bzan)」 『ウィキペディア (Wikipedia)』 (https://ja.wikipedia.org/, accessed on 2016.10.09)
- (19) The Yomiuri, Evening 1984.04.28, "The celebration of the construction of the tallest pagoda in Japan is held".
- (20) 「ご挨拶の自己紹介(Self-Introduction on His Appointment)」, ダライ・ラマ法王日本代表部事務所(Tibet House Japan) (http://www.tibethouse.jp/japan office/representative/, accessed on 2015.10.30)
- (21) The Asahi, Tokyo, Morning 1989.10.06, "Appealing peace, a Tibetan temple is to be constructed in Chiba".
- (22) 「在日チベット人コミュニティー(Tibetan Community in Japan)」(http://www.tibetancommunity.jp/, accessed on 2016.09.30) ©2016 Tibetan Community Japan
- (23) 「在日チベット人コミュニティー公式アカウント(Official Account for Tibetan community inJapan) @tcj_info」 (https://twitter.com/tcj_info?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw, accessed on 2016.09.30)
- (24) http://www.dalailama.com/
- (25) http://www.tibethouse.jp/
- (26) http://www.geocities.jp/t s n j/
- (27) http://www.amnesty.or.jp/
- (28) http://www.tsg-kiku.com/
- (29) http://www.fpmt-japan.org/
- (30) https://twitter.com/SFTJapan/
- (31) Tibetan Canadian Cultural Center (https://www.tcccgc.org/, accessed 2016.10.07)

References

- Aoki, Bunkyo (青木文教), 1995. Himitsukoku Chibetto (秘密国チベット; Tibet, A Secret Country). Tokyo: Fuyo Shobo
- Kawaguchi, Ekai (河口慧海), 1978. *Chibetto Ryokoki* (チベット旅行記; Travels in Tibet), ed. by Kazutoshi Nagasawa, Tokyo: Hakusuisha.
- Kimura, Hisao (木村肥佐生), 1983. Jobun Boken Yaro no Senkusha Yajima Yasujiro (序文 冒険野郎の 先駆者矢島保治郎氏; Introduction the Pioneer of Adventurers, Mr. Yasujiro Yajima). In: Yajima, Yasujiro (矢島保治郎), Nyuzo Nisshi (入蔵日誌; A record of journey through Tibet), Tokyo: Tibetan Culture Center.
- 表の十年; 10 years' travel in disguise in Tibet), ed. by Scott berry, translated by Junko Miura, Tokyo: Chuo-koron Sha.
- Komoto, Yasuko (高本康子), 2010. Kindai Nihon niokeru Chibetto-zo no Keisei to Tenkai (近代日本におけるチベット像の形成と展開; The formation and development of the image of Tibet in modern Japan), Tokyo: Fuyo-Shobo Shuppan.
- Nishikawa, Kazumi (西川一三), 2001a. *Hikyo Seiiki 8-nen no Senko*, 1 (秘境西域八年の潜行1; Travel in disguise in hidden Tibet, vol.1), Tokyo: Chuokoron Sha.

- Pema Gyalpo (ペマ・ギャルポ), 2015. Nihon tono Kakehashi tonatta Chibetto-jin (日本との架け橋となったチベット人; Tibetans who become a bridge between Japan and Tibet), *Tibetan Culture Center Bulletin* 39(2):12-15.
- _____, 2016a. Nihon to Chibetto no Kakawari (日本とチベットのかかわり; Relationships between Japan and Tibet), *Tibetan Culture Center Bulletin* 40(1): 10-13.
- Shakabpa, W. D. (シャカッパ, W. D.), 1992. Chibetto Seijishi (チベット政治史; Tibet A Political History), supervised by Ayako Sadakane, translated by Junko Miura, Tokyo: Institute of Asian Studies, Asia University.
- Yajima, Yasujiro (矢島保治郎), 1983. *Nyuzo Nisshi* (入 蔵日誌; A record of journey through Tibet), Tokyo: Tibetan Culture Center.
- Yamada, Takako (山田孝子), 2015. Hosuto Shakai niokeru Nanmin no Jiko Saiteichi to Kyodosei

Saikochiku-iji: Toronto Chibetto-jin Shakai no jirei kara (ホスト社会における難民の自己再定置と共同性再構築・維持ートロント・チベット人社会の事例から; Self-Reorienting and the Remaking of Communal Connectedness among Refugees in a Host Society: A Case Study of Tibetans in Toronto, Canada), *Kanazawa Seiryo University Human Sciences* 9(1): 83-90.

disseminating information on Tibetan issues and culture. 14th Seminar of the IATS (International Association for Tibetan Studies), 19-24 June 2016, University of Bergen, Norway.

_____, 2016b. Leadership and Empathy in the Remaking of Communal Connectedness among

Tibetans in Toronto. In: Yamada, Takako and Toko Fujimoto (eds.), *Migartion and the Remaking of Ethnic/ Micro-Regional Connectedness*, Senri Ethnological Studies, no. 93, Senri, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, pp. 241-273.

Newspapers Database:

Kikuzo II Visual for Library, ©The Asahi Shimbun Company in the possession of Kyoto University Library.

Maisaku, ©The Mainichi Newspaers in the possession of Kyoto University Library.

Yomidasu Rekishikan, ©Yomiuri Shimbun in the possession of Kyoto University Library.