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Associate Professor of Political Science
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Education

Ph.D. (1999) Government Department, Harvard University.
M.A. (1988) Political Science Department, Keio University (Japan).
B.A. (1986) Political Science Department, Keio University (Japan).

Languages

Japanese, English, Spanish, and some Italian.

Academic Positions

(January 2009-Current) Associate Professor of Political Science, Maxwell School,
Syracuse University (Tenured appointment).

(June 2012- December 2014) Chair of Public Policy and Deputy Director at Collegio
Carlo Alberto (a research institute in Turin, Italy)

(July 2005-December 2008) Paul Sack Associate Professor of Political Economy,
Department of Government, Harvard University.

(January-June 2005) Associate Professor, Department of Government, Harvard
University.

(2001-2004) Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard
University.

(2000) Assistant professor, Department of Political Science, the
University of Minnesota.

(1998-1999) Instructor, Department of Political Science, the University of Minnesota.

(1994-1997) Research Associate at Department of Policy Management, Keio University.

Academic Services

(2016 – Present) Co-Director of Center for European Studies, Syracuse University.

(January 2015 – Present) Editor, *Social Politics* (Oxford University Press).

(2010-2011) Director of East Asian Program, Syracuse University.

(2008-2009) Program chair for Division on Comparative Politics, the American Political Science Association.

(2008-2009) Chair, Burdette Award Committee, the American Political Science Association.

(2004-2005) Division chair for the section on Comparative Politics of Advanced Industrial Societies for the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting 2005.

Other Professional Experience

(2004-2016) Contributor to a high circulation Japanese weekly magazine, *Ekonomisuto*.

(1996) Assistant for Diet Member Yoshiro Hayashi (LDP Tax Committee Chairman at the time).

(1995-1997) Member of an Advisory Committee for Creating a Gender Neutral Society at the Yokohama City Government (Japan).

(1990-1991) Radio Correspondent for the *Japan Broadcasting Company (Nippon Hoso Kyokai, NHK)*.

Visiting Professorships

2017 Visiting Senior Research Fellow, Harvard University

2010 Visiting Professor, University of Tokyo

2010 Guest Professor, University of Duisburg-Essen

2007 Guest Professor, University of Konstanz

On-going and Recent Projects

In the past several years, I've put together and successfully published two research projects: one on *Outsourcing of Domestic Work and Care* (published as a special issue

from *Social Politics* in 2015) and another project on *Beyond Familialism: Comparing East Asian and Southern European Welfare States* (published as a special issue in *Journal of European Social Policy* in 2016).

Currently, I am also writing a single-authored book on the basis of my work on East Asia and Southern European comparisons: *The New Demographic Trap: Politics, Markets and Family in Italy, Japan, South Korea and Spain*. It draws on the findings based on two projects that were funded by the Abe Fellowship (2009-2011), the Suntory Foundation during (2012-2014). This new manuscript has been developed as an off-shoot of another solo-authored book manuscript, *Gender and the Varieties of Capitalism: Political Economy of Female Work in Advanced Industrial Societies*. (single-authored book manuscript under revision)

I was also a principal investigator of another project: *The Transformation of the Family in East Asia*—a project funded by Toyota Foundation (2013-2015). We particularly pay attention to cross-border marriages in East Asia, which demonstrate a very different pattern when compared to Europe and North America. We have begun writing up our results, and making presentations. We plan to start submitting papers to refereed journals this year. This group of research explores the intersection of welfare states and migration regimes.

I have also a number of co-authored article-length papers at various stages.

Publications

Refereed Books:

Welfare Capitalism in Postwar Japan (Cambridge University Press, Comparative Politics Series 2008), Winner of 2009 Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize.

Articles in Refereed Journals:

2016. “Beyond Familialism” *Journal of European Social Policy*. With Jae-jin Yang and Young Jun Choi. *Journal of European Social Policy* 26(4): 301-313.

2016. “Politics of Defamilialization: A Comparative Study of Italy, Japan, Korea and Spain.” With Manuela Naldini. *Journal of European Social Policy* 26(4): 327-343.

2015. “The Outsourcing of House Cleaning and Low Skill Immigrant Workers.” *Social Politics* 22(2): 147-169.

2015. “Outsourcing Domestic (Care) Work: The Politics, Policies and Political Economy.” *Social Politics* 22(2): 133-146. With Barbara Hobson.

2014. "Presidents, Prime Ministers and Politics of Care – Why Korea Expanded Childcare Much More than Japan." *Journal of Social Policy and Administration* 48(6): 666-685. With Yeong-Soon Kim
2013. "An International Comparison of Gender Equality: Why is the Japanese Gender Gap So Persistent?," *Japan Labor Review* 10 (38): 82-100.
2009. "Gender, Inequality and Capitalism: 'The Varieties of Capitalism' and Women," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 16(2):182-191.
2006. "Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: A Study of Occupational Segregation by Sex in Advanced Industrial Societies," *World Politics* (October, 2006): 142-175. Winner of the Sage Award for the Best Comparative Politics Paper, presented at 2005 APSA.
2006. "Japan's Shift Toward A Westminster System: A Structural Analysis of the 2005 Lower House Election," *Asian Survey* vol. 46, no.4 (2006).
2005. "Gender Bias in Skills and Social Policies: The Varieties of Capitalism Perspective on Sex Segregation," *Social Politics* vol.12, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 180-215.
1998. "Political Women in Japan: A Case Study of the *Seikatsusha* Network Movement," co-authored with Joyce Gelb, *Social Science Japan Journal* (Oxford University Press), vol.1, No.2 (1998).

Refereed Book Chapters:

2017. The old and new welfare politics in Japan: Persisting obstacles to reform" in David Chiavacci and Carola Hommerich eds. *Social Inequality in Post-Growth Japan* (London, Routledge, 2017), pp.134-145.
2014. "Skills strategies for an inclusive society: what can we learn from European experiences?" A chapter in Johnny Sung and Catherine Ramos eds. *Skills Strategies for An Inclusive Society: the Role of the State, the Enterprise and the Worker*. Singapore: Institute of Adult Learning, Ministry of Education.
2013. "Women's Work, Family Income and Public Policy," a chapter in Janet Gornick and Markus Jantti eds., *Inequality and the Status of the Middle Class*, Stanford University Press (2013), 261-282.
2011. "Gendered Consequences of Vocational Training," a chapter in Marius Busmeyer and Christina Tampesch eds., *The Political Economy of Skill Formation*. Oxford University Press.
2006. "Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: Gender Bias in Skills and Social Policy," in Frances Rosenbluth ed. *The Political Economy of Japan's Low Fertility*. Stanford University Press: 63-86.

2003. "State-Society Partnership in the Japanese Welfare State," in Frank Schwartz and Susan Pharr eds. *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. Cambridge University Press.

2001. "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State," co-authored with Torben Iversen and David Soskice in Peter Hall and David Soskice eds. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. London: Oxford University Press.

1998. "Seijigaku kara mita Kanryosei (Politics of the Japanese Bureaucracy)," in Shiroshima and Hosono eds., *Chuo Kancho no Seisaku Keisei Katei* (Inside the Japanese Bureaucracy) Tokyo: Chuo University Press.

1998. "Seimei Hokengyo to Biggu Ban (Life Insurance Industry and the Big Bang)," in Haruo Sasaki ed., *Kisei Kanwa to Nihon no Sangyo* (Japanese Industries and Deregulation). Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1998.

1996. *NTT Vs Yuseisho (Ministry of Post and Telecommunications)*. Tokyo: PHP. Co-authored with Hiroshi Kato et.al. Contributed a chapter comparing the telecommunications regulatory regimes in the UK, US and Japan.

Non-Refereed Book Chapters:

2009. "Japan's New Executive Leadership: How Electoral Rules Make Japanese Security Policy" in Frances Rosenbluth ed. *Japan and the World*. Sheridan Press and Yale Council on East Asian Studies. With Takako Hikotani and Toshio Nagahisa, 251-288.

2009. "Beikoku ni okeru Kakusa Mondai (Inequality in the US)," in Motoshige Ito ed. *Kakusa to Kangaeru*. Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha: 140-144.

2007. "Japan's New Extrovert Leaders: How Institutions Change Incentives and Capabilities" in Yasunori Sone ed. *Japanese Democracy: Changing Politics, Changing Political Science* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2007), 263-280.

2006. "Japan's Shift Toward A Westminster System: A Structural Analysis of the 2005 Lower House Election," in Christopher Hood ed., *Politics of Modern Japan: Critical Concepts in the Modern Politics of Asia Volume IV: Elections and Changes in Japanese Society* (Routledge, 2008), a reprint of a journal article published in 2006.

2005. "Feminism as Industrial Policy in Japan," Amy Thernstrom ed. *Japanese Women: Lineage and Legacies*. D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center.

2002. "Negotiating Welfare Reforms: Actors and Institutions in the Japanese Welfare State," in Sven Steinmo and Bo Rothstein eds. *Restructuring the Welfare State: Political Institutions and Policy Change*. New York: Palgrave 2002.

2001. "The Forgotten Link: The Financial Regulation of Japanese Pension Funds in Comparative Perspective " in Philip Manow and Bernhard Ebbinghaus eds. *The Varieties of Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy and Political Economy in Europe, Japan and the USA*. London: Routledge.

Working Papers and Commissioned Papers:

2014. "Political Economy of Outsourcing of Domestic Work." Carlo Alberto Working Papers, no. 344.

2013. "Beyond the Familialist State? Outsourcing Care in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan." Carlo Alberto Working Papers no. 343.

2011. "The Varieties of Capitalism Perspective on Sex Segregation," *Rebaisan* (a Japanese language political science journal) Vol.48.

2011 "Why Gender Gaps Persist in Japan: A Comparative Examination of Institutional Prerequisites for Gender Equality," (October 2011) *Nihon Rodo Kenkyu Zasshi* (a Japanese language labor economics/sociology journal).

2009. "Voters Finally in Control: The Changing Japanese Welfare State," *Global Asia*, 4(1): 45-48.

2008. Institutions and Wives' Contribution to Household Income," Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper 505. With Tanja Hethy.

2008. "Japan's New Extrovert Leaders: How Institutions Change Incentives and Capabilities," Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Working Paper #3557. With Takako Hikotani.

2005. "How Should the Role of Citizen be Designed and Performed? Social Justice and the Varieties of Capitalism: Individuality, Flexibility and Social Well-Being," *The International Studies Review*, vol.7. no.3 (October 2005).

2000. "Multiple Logics of the Welfare State," working paper, The US-Japan Program, Harvard University.

Book Reviews:

2012. "Seikan Sukuramu-gata Riidashippu no Hokai by Michio Muramatsu," *Social Science Japan Journal* (15(2): 300-304.

2003. "Review of *The Real Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* by Robert Goodin et al.," *British Journal of Industrial Relation*, 41.

2001. "Review of *Kigyôka no Ronri to Taisei no Kôzu* by Jun Watanabe," *Social Science Japan Journal*, 4(2):287-330.

2000. "Review of *Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife* by Robin M. LeBlanc," *Women and Politics* 22(3): 103-104.

Political Commentaries in English and in Japanese:

--I have published numerous pieces in Japanese weekly magazine with a high circulation numbers, *Ekonomisuto*. It is like a Japanese version of *Newsweek*.

"Politicization of White Anger," *Azteion* (2017, no.086), pp.205-209. A Japanese periodical (in Japanese).

"Trumpism as the off-spring of social media and the Republican mobilization of bias," *Seikatsu Keizai Seisaku*, March issue, 2017 (no.242), pp.5-8. (in Japanese)

"Trump's Takeover of the Republican Party," *Ekonomisuto* (a high circulation weekly magazine in Japan), June 7, 2016 (in Japanese).

"Feeling Triumphant in Tokyo: The Real Reasons Nationalism Is Back in Japan," *Foreign Affairs* May/June 2014, 165-171.

"Obama Seiken Nikime: Seisaku Jitsugen wa Ibara no michi (Political Obstacles for Obama's Second Term)," *Ekonomisuto*, Special Issue, June 17, 2013 (in Japanese).

"Obama versus Romney: Issues in the Presidential Elections" in *Ekonomisuto*, Special Issue, May 21, 2012 (in Japanese).

"Amerika ni okeru Fubyoudou no Kakudai (Expansion of Inequality in the US) ," *Asuteion*, October 2011 (in Japanese).

"2012 Daitouryo-Sen: Obama Hihan no Takamari to Ideorogi-ka suru Kyowato," *Ekonomisuto*, special issue May 23, 2011, 28-32 (in Japanese).

"Ookina Seifu de Kirawareta Obama Seiken no tsugi no Itte ," in *Ekonomisuto*, May 24, 2010, 28-32 (in Japanese).

"Shakai Undo no haikei ni aru Beikoku Shakai no Mittsu no Kanjo," in *Ekonomisuto*, September 14, 2010, 50-53 (in Japanese).

"Bush Seiken no Fu wo Obama Seiken wa Norikireruka" *Obama no Keizai-gaku Nyumon*. Tokyo:Mainichi Shinbunsha (2009), 53-68 (in Japanese).

"Liberal na Daikaku wo Neraru Obama Seiken no Shosan," *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, May 4, 2009, 28-32 (in Japanese).

“Obama Daitoryo wa 21-seiki no Roosvelt ni Nareruka,” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, February 9, 2009, 18-21 (in Japanese).

“America to iu Shukyo no Saisei Sengen,” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, February 3, 2009, 12-13 (in Japanese).

“Obama wo Eranda Beikoku no Rekishite Tenkan,” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, November 25, 2008, 26-27 (in Japanese).

“Shijo Kanshi Seifu ga Torimodose (Why Government Needs to Regulate Financial Markets),” *Asahi Shimbun***, October 9, 2008, op-ed. (**Asahi Shimbun* is one of the two most highly circulated national newspapers in Japan.)

“Gyakuten wo Nerau Kyowato no Han-Elite Kyanpe-n,” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, September 30, 2008, 70-72 (in Japanese).

“Yume Yabureta 1960 nendai no Yakusoku no chi (Obama and the Baby Bombers’ Second Shot at the Promised Land),” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, March 25, 2008, 89-90 (in Japanese).

“Busshu Seiken no Shissaku Musaku ga Nokoshite iku Mondai (The Legacy of Bush Administration and America’s Problems),” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, May 26, 2008, 24-28 (in Japanese).

“Gyakuten wo Nerau Kyowato no Han-Erito Kyanpen (The Republican’s Anti-Elite Campaign),” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, September 30, 2008, 36-38 (in Japanese).

“Obama wo Eranda Beikoku no Rekishiteki na Tenkan (The Historical Meaning of Obama’s Victory),” *Shukan Ekonomisuto*, November 25, 2008, 26-27 (in Japanese).

“Shijoka no mae ni Kojin Shugi wo Kakageyo,” *Asahi Newspaper*, January 10, 2008, op-ed. (in Japanese).

“Britainizing Japan: Koizumi’s New Party,” *International Herald Tribune*, September 29, 2005, op-ed.

“Beikoku Keizai ni omoi kouishou wo nokosu Bush seiken no ‘fu no isan’” *Ekonomisuto*, June 5, 2007 (in Japanese).

“Hanbei seiryoku wo kakudaisaseta Bush seiken,” *Ekonomisuto*, special issue, May 21, 2007 (in Japanese).

“Habado no jitsuzo,” *Ekonomisuto*, March 27, 2007 (in Japanese)..

“Tai Chugoku wa Mukashi yori kibishiku, Nihon no ‘nashonarizumu’ wa osaeni kakaru,” *Ekonomisuto*, January 16, 2007 (in Japanese)..

“Chukan senkyo to Kyowato (The mid-term elections and the Republican Party):” *Ekonomisuto*, Special issue, May 10, 2006 (in Japanese).

“Kakudai suru hinpu no sa (The widening income gap in the US),” *Ekonomisuto*, February 14, 2006 (in Japanese).

“Bush seiken wo oikomu CIA jouhou rouei jiken (The CIA operative identity leak incident and the Bush Administration),” *Ekonomisuto*, November 29, 2005 (in Japanese).

“Yes man ni kakomareta Bush daitōryō (President Bush and his “*Yes Men*”),” *Ekonomisuto*, October 25, 2005 (in Japanese).

“Daitōryō no shin no nerai wa hoshuteki na kainyu-shugi ka (President’s real intention lies in creating an interventionist conservative Supreme Court)” *Ekonomisuto*, May 23, 2005 (in Japanese).

“Daitōryōsen ga shimesu shūkyō-ha vs riberaru-ha (A conflict between the religious and the liberals in the Presidential election),” *Ekonomisuto*, March 30, 2004, (in Japanese).

“Daitōryōsen: Senji no daitōryō ni motomerareteiru shishitsu (The leadership style required of a wartime President),” *Ekonomisuto*, October 19, 2004, (in Japanese).

“Daitōryōsen bunseki: beikoku wo nibun shita dōseiaikon to ninshin chūzoku (An analysis of the Presidential election: gay marriage and abortion issues,” *Ekonomisuto*, December 7, 2004, (in Japanese).

Recent Conference Papers/Presentations:

“Revisiting the Gender Partisan Gap in Advanced Industrial Societies: Why Are Women are More Moderate Than Men?” at Annual Meeting of American Political Science in San Francisco, September 2, 2017.

“Why is Female Political Representation So Low in Japan?” May 7, 2015. A presentation at Harvard University.

“Revisiting the Gender Voting Gap in Advanced Industrial Societies: Placing Values and Interests in an Institutional Context.” A paper with Colleen Burton presented at European Consortium of Political Research, Montreal, August 2015.

“Brides or Badanti?: Immigration Regimes and Family Care Work in East Asia and Southern Europe.” A paper with Tiziana Caponio presented for the Annual Conference of the Council of European Studies, Paris. July 2015.

“Migrant Care Workers versus Brides: Different Responses to Care Crisis in Southern European and East Asian Countries,” Presentation at the conference on Globalization, Democratization and the Institutional Transition of East-Asian Welfare Capitalism at National Chung-Cheng University, Taiwan, December 12, 2014.

“The politics of occupational pension reform in Germany and Japan – Privatization of welfare or social policy through other means?” a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association at Washington D.C. August 29, 2014.

“The New Political Economy of Domestic Services: Varieties of Capitalism under Challenge,” a presentation at Revisioning Gender Conference at Stockholm, June 13-14, 2014.

“Political Economy of Domestic Work,” a presentation at European University Institute, March 24, 2014.

“Brides or Badanti?: Immigration Regimes and Elderly Care in Familialist Welfare States” (with Tiziana Caponio), a workshop on Comparing Familialist Welfare States in East Asia and Southern Europe at Collegio Carlo Alberto, Italy, June 12, 2014.

“Beyond the *Familialist* State? : Outsourcing Care in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan: Divergent Paths for *Familialist* Welfare States,” presented at a conference on Comparing Care-Migration Regimes Across Familialist Welfare States in Europe and Asia, Turin, December 12, 2013.

“The Structure and Agency in the Japanese Welfare State: Obstacles for Reform,” a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the German Association for Social Science Research in Japan in Berlin, November 22-24, 2013.

“Why Does Gender Inequality Persist in Japan?” A presentation at the Gender Workshop in Berlin, Nov 21-22, 2013.

“Beyond the *Familialist* State? : Outsourcing Care in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan: Divergent Paths for *Familialist* Welfare States” a presented at a Conference on Risk, Life Course and Social Exclusion in Asia – A Social Policy Perspective, Hong Kong, June 13-15.

“The Employment-Pension Nexus in Coordinated Market Economies:^[1]_[SEP]A Comparative Study of Germany and Japan since 2001,” a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics in Milan, June 2013.

“The Institutional Change and the Welfare Politics in Japan: Did Anything Change?” a presentation at the University of Zurich, May 16, 2013.

“The Future of the Japanese Welfare State: The Problems of Delayed Political Reforms” a presentation at the University of Duisburg, April 2013.

“Gender Equality and Outsourcing of Unpaid Domestic Work,” presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics in Madrid, June 2011.

“The Future of the Japanese Welfare State” at the Symposium on Governance in Japan, Tokyo University, December 1, 2010.

"Women's Paid Employment and Outsourcing of Unpaid Domestic Work," presented at Real Collegio Carlo Alberto in Italy, November 2010.

“Women’s Work, Family Income and Public Policy” at the Conference on Inequality and the Status of the Middle Class, Luxembourg Income Study, Luxembourg, June 29-30, 2010, with Tanja Hethey.

“Political Economy of Outsourcing and Female Employment” at SOFI, Stockholm University, May 26, 2010.

Invited Lectures (recent years):

(2017)

Harvard University
London School of Economics
Yonsei University, Seoul.

(2016)

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris
Showa University, Tokyo.

(2015)

Keynote speaker, ESPANET (European Social Policy) Annual Conference at Odense, Denmark.
Harvard University

(2014)

European University Institute
National Chung-Cheng University, Taiwan.

(2013)

The German Association of Social Science Research on Japan (Berlin, Germany)
University of Zurich (Switzerland)
University of Duisburg (Germany)

(2012)

Chinese University of Hong Kong, November 2012
Institute of Adult Learning, Singapore, November 2012.

(2010)

Sociology Department, University of Stockholm.

The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of Duisburg-Essen (Germany)

The Institute of Work and Qualification, University of Duisburg-Essen (Germany).

The Social Science Research Institute, Tokyo University (Japan), twice in December.

Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin (Italy).

(2009)

Weatherhead Institute of East Asian Studies, Columbia University.

Sociology Workshop on Employment Protection, Harvard University.

The East Asian Institute, University of Zurich.

East Asia Social Policy (EASP) Association Meeting at Sheffield (plenary speaker).

The Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE) Annual Meeting
(Presidential panel speaker), declined.

University of Texas at Austin, Department of Government.

University of Southern California, International Studies Center.

University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Political and Terasaki Center for
Japanese Studies.

Tokyo University, Global Center of Excellence.

Financial Club, Tokyo, Japan.

Reviewer for:

Acta Sociologica, British Journal of Industrial Relations, Journal of Institutional Economics, European Societies, Journal of European Social Policy, European Societies, European Sociological Review, American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, International Organization, Governance, Governance and Opposition, Social Science Japan Journal, Social Politics, Women and Politics, Journal of East Asian Studies, Socio-Economic Review and World Politics.

Awards, Grants and Fellowships:

Toyota Foundation Grant, 2013-2015.

Suntory Foundation Grant, 2013-2014.

Korean Science Foundation Grant, 2010-2012.

The Ohira Masayoshi Memorial Book Award, 2009.

Suntory Foundation Grant 2009-2010.

Social Science Research Council, Abe Fellowship, 2009-2011.

Real Collegio Carlo Alberto Fellowship, Summer 2009.

Suntory Foundation research grant, 2008-2009.

The Sage Award for the Best Comparative Politics Paper, APSA 2006.

Hanse Institute for Advanced Study Fellowship, June-August 2006.

Radcliffe Institute of Advanced Study Fellowship, September 2005-May 2006.

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Initiative Grant 2004.

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Faculty Leave Grant, 2003

Social Science Research Council/JSPS Grant, 2003.

The US-Japan Program Advanced Research Fellowship, 1998.

Kanagawa Academic Research Grant, 1997-1998.

The Ministry of Education Research Grant (Japanese equivalent of NSF grant) 1996-1997.

Suntory Foundation Grant, 1996.

Koizumi Shinzo Travel Grant, 1996.

Keio University Research Grant, 1996, 1995.

Ishizaka Taizo Fellowship 1988-1990.