

Foreign residents' actual usage conditions of common areas in public housing complexes -Focusing on the residents from the largest ethnic minority-

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Common areas play an important role in housing complexes. In order to clarify foreigners' residence inside public housing complexes, it is necessary to understand foreigners' usage conditions of common areas. This research focuses on the UR housing complex in Tokyo, where foreigners gather and do interviews to foreign residents. As the results, foreigners' usage conditions of common areas are confirmed as strongly related to foreigners' personal relationship with neighbors, minimized 4 types of social places are important to foreigners who have close relationships with ethnic communities. Also, the issues that related to foreigners' usage of common areas are clarified and are divided into issues related to structure of common area, management of common area, residents' association and foreigners' mentalities.

Key Word: *foreigners, ethnic community, bullying, cross-cultural adaptation, interview, SCAT*

1. INTRODUCTION

(1) Background and Research Objective

In June 2020, foreign residents in Japan received a record number, which is 2.89 million¹⁾. Moreover, the newly established visa system 'Specified Skilled Worker' (i) and (ii) will lead to another 345,000 foreigners coming to Japan until 2024²⁾. With the background that foreigners have the higher proportion that choosing to live in the public housings (including UR housing) comparing with Japanese, because at the most of time, key money and guarantors are not necessary for public housings, which makes the move-in procedure much easier for foreigners³⁾, more foreigners will be the residents of public housing.

Usually, there are large scale common areas inside the public housing complexes. It is said that the common areas are important to residences⁴⁾, including foreign residents' residences. In order to understand foreigners' life inside the public housing complexes, it is important to clarify foreigners' actual usage conditions of the common areas. Also, it turned out that more foreign residents, more apparent to find out the problems related to foreigners' residence³⁾, so that this research focuses on the largest ethnic minority among all foreign residents in housing complexes, helps to clarify the issues related to foreigners.

There are researches focusing on foreigners' residence in the field of urban planning or putting emphasis on foreigners' mentalities in host society in the field of psychology and intercultural education.

This research is done from the perspective of urban planning but also by borrowing knowledge about foreigners' mentalities to clarify the characteristics and issues when foreign residents' using common areas in public housing complexes. As more and more foreigners will come to Japan and to live in public housing complexes, this research is expected to be the reference when public housing complexes will be regenerated for improving foreigners' quality of life, thereby to realize multicultural symbiosis in public housing complexes.

(2) Preceding Studies and Characterization of Thesis

Preceding studies that related to foreigners' residence inside public housing complexes could be divided into researches that from the perspective of the locals (Japanese residents), and researches that from the perspective of foreigners.

The typical researches from the perspective of the locals (Japanese) are Inaba et.al⁵⁾, Inaba³⁾ and Wang & Fujii⁶⁾. These researches by doing interviews or questionnaires to the manage offices of housing complexes and residents' association, from the perspective of the locals to understand the foreigners' actual living conditions. In this kind of researches, because the targets of interviews and questionnaires are the locals (Japanese), the results of these researches have the tendency that the researchers are trying to find the way that could minimize the influence from the foreigners' residence to the locals, but not the way that can realize the multicultural symbiosis among the locals and foreigners.

The typical researches from the perspective of

foreigners are Kakino & Hatsumi⁷⁾, Kitahara & Otsuki⁸⁾. These researches by doing interviews to foreign residents to find out the actual usage conditions inside the rooms and the places near the housing complexes. These researches do partially clarify the foreigners' living conditions inside the public housing complexes but neglect the existence of common areas, which is also important to the foreigners' residence.

This research focuses on the foreigners who belong to the largest ethnic minority inside UR housing complex, by doing interviews to them to understand foreigners' actual usage conditions of common area from the perspective of foreign residents.

(3) Research Methods and Process

This research uses the qualitative research method, which is doing interviews to foreign residents, residents' association and UR to obtain data.

The process of this research could be divided into 3 procedures. Firstly, 19 public housing complexes where foreigners gather were found by using the data of census (国勢調査小地区集計)⁹⁾, and the target area was chosen by doing field surveys and short interviews to the manage offices and residents' association. Secondly, interviews were done to the foreigners belonging to the largest ethnic minority in the target area, at the same time, extra interviews were done to residents' association and UR; Thirdly, data of interviews was analyzed to realize the objective of this research.

2. OVERVIEW OF TARGET AREA

(1) Selection of Target Area

According to the field surveys and short interviews to the manage offices and residents' associations, the target area is finally selected as UR Ojima 6 chome danchi(UR 大島 6 丁目団地) because it is the housing complex where many people with multiple activities, such as sitting, chatting and playing could be observed in the open space. Furthermore, there are 5 foreign residents working as the staff of residents' association (as of Jan. 2021), 3 of them become the interviewees of this research.

(2) Location and Internal Structure

Ojima 6 chome danchi is located in Ojima 6 chome, Koto-ku, Tokyo, about 6 km from the center of Tokyo (Fig 2.1).

The internal structure of the target area is shown as Fig 2.2, the management rules are summarized as Table 2.1. Each part of the common areas has different management rules.

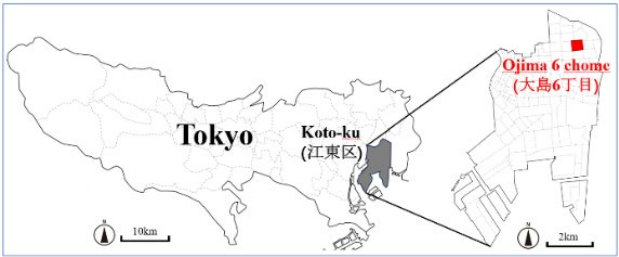


Fig 2.1 Location of the target area

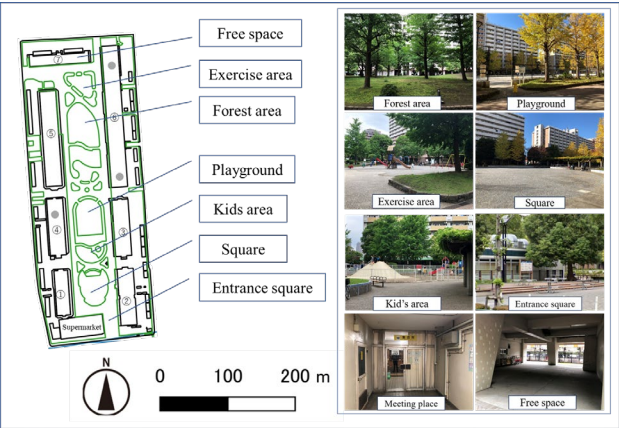





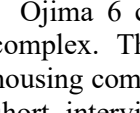





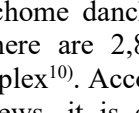


Fig 2.2 Internal structure of the target area

Table 2.1 Management rules of each part of common area

Notice boards	No. of notice board	Translations of management rules
     	1	No gathering・No drinking No parking bicycle or motorbike No pets allowed to walk or bring in No garbage disposal No running・No playing No fire (cigarette/firework) No solicitation or sales No nuisance to users and residents
		No balls jumping over fence
		No noise at night Bicycle parking in parking lot
		No pets
		No noise
		No parking bicycles
     	4	No noise・No kicking balls Time time zone should keep quietly when using: P.M. 9:00 ~ A.M. 8:00 (Apr.~Sept.) P.M. 7:00 ~ A.M. 8:00 (Oct.~Mar.)
		Keep quiet at night when using
	6	No gathering

(3) Population and Associations

Ojima 6 chome danchi is a large-scale housing complex. There are 2,892 households inside the housing complex¹⁰⁾. According to the interviews and short interviews, it is confirmed that about 30% residents are foreigners and Indians are the most, with about 200~300 households and 700~900 population, which means Indians are the largest ethnic minority in the target area. Also, among 1,500 foreign households, only about 50 of them are foreign households. However, there are 5 foreign staff working in the residents' association. (Fig 2.3).

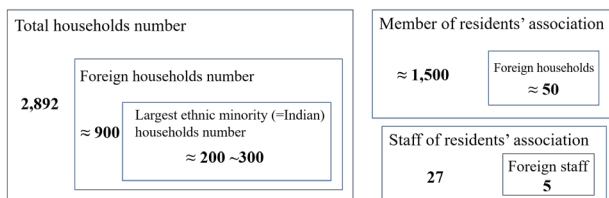


Fig 2.3 Residents' information of population and associations

3. INTERVIEW AND ANALYSIS METHODS

(1) Interview Methods

Field surveys and short interviews were firstly done in the target area (Table 3.1). According to short interviews to residents' association, foreign interviewees were determined as these Indian staff and their family members. Interview request form to these Indian staff, response came from Mr. A and the first interview was done to Mr. A and Mrs. A. After that, Mr. B was introduced by Mr. A, Mr. C was introduced by Mr. B and interviews were done to B's and C's family. After 3 interviews, in order to confirm some extra items, interviews were done to Mr. A, Mr. B and Mr. C separately again. Interviews were done as semi-structured interviews. Interviews to Mr. A, Mr. B and Mr. C were done in Japanese, to the rest of interviewees, interviews were done in English. The information of interviewees and interview items are shown (Table 3.2). Extra interviews were done to residents' association and UR (Table 3.3).

Table 3.1 Information of field surveys and short interviews

	Date	Time zone	Objectives
Field surveys	14th, Nov. 2020 (Sat.)	0 p.m. ~ 2 p.m.	Observing activities and usage conditions of common area
	29th, Nov. 2020 (Sun.)	3 p.m. ~ 7 p.m.	
	30th, Nov. 2020 (Mon.)	2:40 p.m. ~ 5 p.m.	
Short interviews to residents' association	14th, Nov. 2020 (Sat.)	/	Clarifying population, foreign population, member and foreign member of residents' association, whether joining to residents' association is necessary to all residents
Short interviews to UR manage office	14th, Nov. 2020 (Sat.)	/	Clarifying population, foreign population, nationality of foreign residents, what kinds of complaints came before, whether playing is allowed on passages.

Table 3.2 Information of interviews to foreigners

Table 5-2: Information of Interviews to Foreigners						
Nationality	Family		Interviewees	Method	Length of interview	Data
India	A	Mr. A & Mrs. A=40'	Mr. A & Mrs.A	Face to face interview	1 hour	28th. Feb. 2021
		A's daughter=13, A's son=6	Mr. A		0.5 hour	22nd. May. 2021
	B	Mr. B & Mrs. B=30'	Mr. B & Mrs.B		1 hour	7th. Mar. 2021
		B's 2 children=13	Mr. B		0.5 hour	22nd. May. 2021
	C	Mr. C=30', Mrs. C=40'	Mr. C & C's son	1 hour	21st. Mar. 2021	
		C's son=16, C's daughter=8	Mr. C	Online interview	0.5 hour	23rd. May. 2021
Interview Items						
Basic information:						
Age; Japanese level; Years of living in Japan; Reason of living in Ojima; Reason of living in UR housing, etc.						
About personal relationship:						
Relationship with next-door neighbor, Japanese residents, other foreign residents; other Indians; Opinions of neighbor relationship, etc.						
About residents' association:						
Reason of being member and staff, years of being staff, works as staff, relationship with pther residents as staff, opinions of why other foreigners don't join residents' association etc.						
Usage condition of common area:						
The way of using; Satisfaction; Dissatisfaction; Requests; Situation of holding Indian festivals; Attitude to management rules; Attitude to complaints; etc.						
Difference of residence between India and Japan						
etc.						

Table 3.3 Information of extra interviews

	Date	Method	Length of interview	Interview items
Extra interview to residents' association	22nd, Jun. 2021 (Tue)	Face to face interview	1 hour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Background of baseball team which usually training at playground; Process of adjusting bicycle parking lot; Process of removing benches; process of adjusting usable time of playground; Requests and complaints heard from residents; Process of handling requests and complaints from residents; relationship with UR manage office; Background of open-air market; Background of Japanese festival(団地まつり) etc.
Extra interview to UR east Tokyo living center	22nd, Jun. 2021 (Tue)	Telephone interview	10 mins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Standard of borrowing common area; Standard of holding festivals on common area; Whether Indian festival could be held on common area; Whether firework could be used on common area;

(2) Analysis methods

This research uses the method called SCAT (Steps for coding and theorization) to analyze the data obtained from interviews. SCAT is a method by doing decontextualization to the text with 4 steps, then by compounding story lines to find out the theories¹¹⁾. During SCAT processes, comparing the concepts with the knowledge from previous research could help to keep the objectivity of the research. These knowledge from previous researches are called analytical frameworks, including conceptual framework and theoretical framework¹²⁾. In this research, two theoretical frameworks were used.

a) The First Theoretical Framework

In the background that difference between bullying and fight is that bullying has durability¹³⁾; status of being bullied could be determined as repeatedly being exposed to alienation¹⁴⁾; bullying is the abuse of social power¹⁵⁾; the consequences of having social power is performing linguistic or physical aggression when feeling angry¹⁴⁾. The first theoretical framework is determined as the social factors that caused the abuse of social power in Japanese society considered by Hitokoto¹⁵⁾, in the field of intercultural education:

(Factors related to Japanese society)

- Latent alienation in daily life (日常に潜在する疎外)
- Common understanding of the importance of being normal (普通の重要性): the importance of being normal is commonly understood by Japanese, so that Japanese have the tendency to alien the people who belong to the same social status with them but not behaving normally, also force them to behave normally.

(Factors related to bully victims' mentality)

- Sensitivity to rejection (拒絶に対する敏感性): In Japanese society, being rejected or alienated from current human relations will cause the coming human relations being hard to build, so that Japanese are afraid of being rejected. Because of the sensitivity to rejection, bullying victims have the tendency to deny being bullied and consider the bullying comes from their own mistakes.

Table 4.1 Interviewees' opinions of neighbor relationship

	Next-door neighbors	Next-door neighbor relationship	Relationship with Japanese residents	Relationship with other foreign residents	Relationship with other Indians	Unpleasant experience	Interviewees' opinions of difficulties when developing relationship with Japanese residents	Interviewees' opinions of expecting neighbor relationship
Mr. A	Japanese	Cannot meet often; Greeting only; No troubles	Only with Japanese staff of residents' association	No	1. Almost everyone is acquaintance because Indian children go to the same school; 2. Helping other Indian residents when they need help; 3. Joining in the SNS group of Indian residents	1. When greeting to Japanese, sometimes Japanese don't reply. When waiting elevators with Japanese, sometimes they don't ride the same elevator with us. Mr. A and Mrs. A feel unpleasant with these experience and have shared to other Indians, but not to residents' association or UR manage office. Because there is no acquaintance from other country, Mr. A and Mrs. A could not determine whether these are national discrimination. 2. Children were shouted and complained by Japanese several times a year after 6 p.m. when children are playing because of the sound. Sometimes Japanese shout from balcony above, sometimes Japanese come down to complain. Japanese usually say that Indians are noisy and complaints usually concentrate only on Indian children even there were Japanese children and other foreign children. Mr. A and Mrs. A feel unpleasant but deny the national discrimination with the reason that Japanese children sometimes were also shouted and complained.	1. Language problem; 2. Age difference; 3. Japanese national character 'shyness'; 4. Unpleasant experience of being shouted and complained by Japanese	1. Expecting to get along with Japanese. 2. Expected neighbor relationship: only greeting is enough
Mrs. A			No					
Mr. B		Greeting only; No troubles	Japanese staff of residents' association; Japanese residents who use open space together		1. Almost everyone is acquaintance, not everyone is friend; 2. Joining in the SNS group of Indian residents; 3. Joining in the SNS group of Indian friends among Indian residents. 4. Activities through SNS group: jogging; sharing notice; helping each other; sharing notice	1. Children were shouted and complained by Japanese after 8 p.m. when children are playing near the entrance square because of the sound. Mr. B and Mrs. B feel unpleasant with the complaints concentrated on Indian children and admit the national discrimination. Mr. B and Mrs. B know the specific persons who usually shout and complain. (Mr. B and Mrs. B have never meet the experience such as Japanese don't reply to their greeting or don't ride the same elevator with them.)	1. Dietary problem(Mr. B and Mrs. B are vegetarians); 2. Language problems	1. Neighbor relationship nowadays is good enough. 2. Greeting only relationship is enough.
Mrs. B			No					
Mr. C	Japanese, Vietnamese		Only with Japanese staff of residents' association		1. Almost everyone is acquaintance: Joining in the SNS group of Indian residents; 2. Activities through SNS group: doing yoga every Sunday, go hiking 8 times last year	1. Children were complained by the same Japanese 3 times last year. (Living in the same floor with the Japanese who don't ride the same elevator with foreigners, because of knowing that specific person, not caring about that person.)	1. Hard to meet Japanese in daily life	Greeting only relationship is enough.

Table 4.2 Interviewees' current usage conditions of common area

Area	User	Companion	Activity	Time zone	Frequency
Entrance square	Mr. A & Mrs. A	Indian friends	After walking inside housing complex, sitting, talking, drinking beverage or ice cream bought from supermarket	Evening (6p.m.~8p.m.)	Everyday in summer
	Mr. A & Mrs. A & 2 children	Sometimes with Indian friends	Sitting, talking, drinking coffee	Weekends daytime	Once a week, except summer
	Mr. B (sometime with Mrs. B & 2 children)	Indian friends	After walking inside housing complex, sitting, talking, drinking coffee	Fri. or Sat. Evening (around 8 p.m.)	Once a week in summer
	Mr. B	Indian friends	Meeting friends	When needed	/
	Mr. C & Mrs. C	Indian friends	After walking inside housing complex, sitting, talking, drinking tea or coffee bought from supermarket, eating food/ice cream.	Evening (6p.m.~8p.m.)	Everyday in summer; sometimes except summer
Playground	Mr. C	Persons need to meet	Waiting for the person need to meet	When needed	/
	Mr. A & Mrs. A & 2 children	Sometimes with Indian friends (adults & children)	Soccer, cricket, bicycle, skateboard	Weekends (evening in summer, daytime except summer)	Once a week
	A's 2 children	Indian friends (children)	Soccer, cricket, bicycle, skateboard	Weekends daytime	Once a week
	A's 2 children	Indian friends (children)	Soccer, cricket, bicycle, skateboard	Weekdays (5p.m.~7p.m.)	Everyday except winter
	Mr. B	Indian friends	Cricket	Weekends daytime	Twice a week (except winter)
	B's 2 children	Indian friends (children)	Cricket	Weekends daytime	Once a week (except winter)
	Mr. B & 2 children	Indian friends	Cricket, badminton	Weekends daytime	Once a week (except winter)
	Mr. B & 2 children	Indian friends	Fireworks (With permission from UR, Preparing fire extinguishing equipment in advance)	During Indian festival	Once a year
Square	C's son	Indian friends	Soccer, other sports	Weekdays (5:30 p.m.~7:30 p.m.) Weekends (evening)	Everyday
	B's 2 children	Indian friends	Rope-skiping	Not determined	Twice or three times a month
	Mr. A & 2 children	Sometimes with Indian friends (adults & children)	Playing	Weekends daytime	Once or twice a week
Kids area	A's 2 children	Indian friends	Playing	Weekdays (around 5p.m.~7p.m.)	Everyday except winter
	C's daughter	Indian friends	Playing	Weekdays (around 5p.m.~7p.m.)	Everyday except winter
	Mr. A	/	Doing exercise before jogging	Morning (6 a.m.~7 a.m.)	Three times a week
Exercise area	Mr. B & 2 children	/	Doing exercise after jogging	Morning (around 7:30 a.m.)	Everyday
	Mrs. B	/	Doing exercise	Not determined	Three or four times a week
	Mr. C & daughter	Indian friends (about 30 person)	Doing yoga, playing game, praying	Sunday morning (9 a.m.~10 a.m.)	Once a week
Other open Spaces (Passages)	Mr. A & Mrs. A & children	/	Walking after dinner	Evening (6p.m.~8p.m.)	Everyday in summer
	Mr. A & 2 children	/	Bicycle, skateboard	Weekend daytime	Once a week
	Mr. A	/	Jogging after doing exercise	Morning (6 a.m.~7 a.m.)	Three times a week
	Mr. B & 2 children	/	Jogging before doing exercise	Morning (6 a.m.~7 a.m.)	Everyday
	Mr. B (sometime with Mrs. B & 2 children)	/	Walking after dinner	Evening (6 p.m.~8 p.m.)	Everyday in summer
	Mr. C & Mrs. C & daughter	/	Walking after dinner	Weekends evening (6 p.m.~8 p.m.)	Once to twice a week
	Mrs. C & daughter	Female Indian friends	Walking after dinner	Evening (6 p.m.~8 p.m.)	Everyday
	Mr. C	/	Walking	Evening (5 p.m.~6 p.m.)	Everyday
Free space under the buildings	C's son	Indian teenage friends	Walking, jogging, talking	Weekdays (5:30 p.m.~7:30 p.m.) Weekends (evening)	Everyday
	A's children	/	Playing	Daytime	During rainy day
	Mr. C & daughter	Indian friends	Doing yoga, playing game, praying	Sunday morning (9 a.m.~10 a.m.)	During rainy day
Meeting places	Mr. A & Mrs. A & 2 children	Indian friends (30~60 person)	Indian festivals, birthday parties, drinking parties	/	Three or four times a year
	Mr. B & Mrs. B & 2 children				Once or twice a month
	Mr. C & Mrs. C & 2 children				Three or four times a year
	A's son	/	Free Japanese language classes held by UR	/	Once two weeks
	C's daughter	/			

- Relational concerns (関係懸念の強さ): When being bullied, because of the concern that the relationship may go worse when asking help, bullying victims prefer not telling the bullying to others or asking others for help.

b) The Second Theoretical Framework

In the background that culture is the combination of implicit norms and values that granted by the majority of society¹⁶⁾, foreigners' cross-cultural adaptation could be understood as the foreigners' adaptation to the implicit norms and values of the host society. The second theoretical framework is determined as 4 kinds of foreigners' cross-cultural adaptation process considered by Shaules¹⁷⁾ in the field of intercultural education.

- Resistance (resisting the cross-cultural adaptation)
- Acceptance (accepting other culture but without adaptation)
- Spontaneous adaptation
- Forced adaptation

4. ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

(1) Personal Relationship

a) Interview Data

Interviewees' opinions of neighbor relationships that summarized by SCAT are shown in Table 4.1.

b) Summary of Foreigners' Personal Relationship

After analyzing interview data in Table 4.1 with applying theoretical frameworks, the characteristics of interviewees' personal relationship could be summarized as follow:

- Shallow neighbor relationship but close relationship with ethnic community: Foreign residents almost have no relationship with other residents, but have close relationships with their ethnic community due to the existence of SNS group and children's schoolmate relationship.
- Foreigners as bullying victims: According to the definition of bullying that explained in 3.2.a, bullying is confirmed between foreign and Japanese residents. And the negative influence of bullying is exaggerated by national discrimination.
- Application of theoretical frameworks: 'Sensitivity to rejection' is confirmed from foreigners due to foreigners are sensitive to be aliened and rejected by Japanese residents. However, 'Relational concerns' cannot be confirmed from foreigners because foreigners may share their unpleasant experience to their compatriots through ethnic community.

(2) Usage Conditions of Common Area

a) Interview Data

Foreigners' current usage conditions of common areas that obtained during interviews are shown in

Table 4.2. Interviewees' opinions when using common areas that summarized by SCAT are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Interviewees' opinions when using common area

Interviewees' opinions	
Mr. A Mrs. A	Satisfaction
	1. Satisfied with the large size of the common area. 2. Satisfied with the common area that is available to people of all ages. 3. The entrance square is the favorite part among common area.
	Dissatisfaction
	4. Feeling unpleasant with being shouted and complained after 6 p.m. when children were playing, also unpleasant with the national discrimination that shouting and complaints concentrating on Indian children even there are Japanese children at the same time. Hoping their children could play until late night especially during summer, but if being shouted or complained, just go home without objecting. Worrying their children's growth without enough time for playing. 5. Feeling unfair that the Japanese festival which also makes sound can be held in the open space but Indian festival which only takes 2 hours cannot be held in open space inside the housing complex as the reason of noise. 6. Feeling unpleasant with the Indian festivals held in meeting places because sounds cannot be made. 7. Feeling unpleasant with that complaints only concentrate on Indian children who are residents of this housing complex but neglect users outside of this housing complex, because many users of common area are not residents of this housing complex and those users sometimes break management rules and make noise.
	Activities
	8. Teaching their children don't make sounds when playing in the evening and at night. 9. Allowing their children playing bicycles and skateboards in the open space because Japanese children also do that.
Mr. B Mrs. B	Management rules
	10. Trying to follow the management rules. Children play during the time zone when it's not necessary to keep quiet but still be shouted and complained. Considering that the management rules is not being known by all residents.
	Other opinions
	11. Considering the sensitivity to sounds is a part of Japanese culture, playing silently is the implicit norm of Japanese culture. Also considering the shouting and complaints come from the difference of lifestyle habits between Japanese and foreigners.
	Satisfaction
	1. Satisfied with the large size of the common area that can be used for talking a walk and exercise. 2. Satisfied with that it is possible to meet friends when talking a walk in the common area during sunny day.
Mr. B Mrs. B	Dissatisfaction
	3. Feeling unpleasant with being shouted and complained after 8 p.m. when children were playing near entrance square, also unpleasant with the national discrimination that shouting and complaints concentrating on Indian children. Sometimes, when children were complained during 6 p.m.~7 p.m., Mr. B objected to the complaints with the reason that it's still early. 4. Feeling unpleasant with the baseball team which coming to the playground for training every Sunday morning, because baseball team occupies the playground. Also feeling unpleasant with no enough place for children to play as there are too many children. 5. Feeling unpleasant with basketball cannot be played as there is no basketball goals, also no place for playing skateboard. 6. Feeling unpleasant with no place for staying in open space during windy or rainy day. 7. Cannot enjoying Indian festivals that held in meeting places enough. Although fireworks are allowed to play during Indian festivals with permission from UR management office, it's necessary to keep quiet, so cannot enjoy the fireworks and festivals enough.
	Activities
	8. Abandoning holding Indian festivals (with dancing etc.) in open space inside housing complex as Japanese don't join Indian festivals, holding Indian festival in open space may bother Japanese. 9. Considering that it is better to not make sounds after 8 p.m. in the playground as Japanese implicit norms. Teaching their children play silently in the evening and at night.
	Management rules
	10. Considering the management rules that different area has different usable time zone make residents hard to remember. Considering that because some Japanese cannot remember the management rule, they shout and complain to children. Considering that it is better to unify the usable time zone of the whole common
Mr. C	Other opinions
	11. Haven't been told by UR about using meeting places quietly, so using speakers in meeting places
	Satisfaction
	1. Satisfied with the common area that is available to people of all ages. 2. Satisfied with the yoga and other activities that doing with other Indian residents in the common area, considering those activities could help eliminating homesickness. 3. Feeling convenient to hold Indian festivals and birthday parties with other Indians in meet places. 4. Satisfied with the free Japanese language classes that held in the meeting place where daughter usually going to.
	Dissatisfaction
	5. Feeling unpleasant with the complaints from Japanese residents about the noise when children are playing. Cannot accept the reason of complaints that children are noisy.
C's son	Activities
	6. Teaching children playing silently in the evening and at night.
	Management rules
	7. Considering the complaints come from management rules that are not remembered by all residents. Expecting the management rules could be followed by all residents. Expecting that no more complaints about noise when children are playing during time zone when it's not necessary to keep quiet.
	Other opinions
	8. Considering that making sounds is possible during Japanese festival because everyone make sounds. 9. Haven't been told by UR about using meeting places quietly, thinking it's not good to make big sounds.
C's son	Satisfaction
	1. Satisfied with the common area that is convenient for exercise and meeting with Indian friends. 2. Trying to use playground when there is no Japanese because feeling stress when using playground with Japanese together with the reason that cannot speak Japanese and having no contact with Japanese in daily life.
	Activities
	3. Haven't been shouted or complained, but trying don't make sounds when using open spaces. Trying not to use open space after 9 p.m. with the reason that don't want be complained and too dark.
	Management rules
	4. Considering the management rules could eliminate noise problems. 5. Considering that making no sounds when using open spaces is the implicit norm of Japan. 6. If possible, it will be better to have a swimming pool, badminton courts and running track inside housing complex.

b) Analysis of Interviewees' Current Usage Condition

Characterizations of foreigners' usage conditions of common area could be summarized from Table 4.2 as follow:

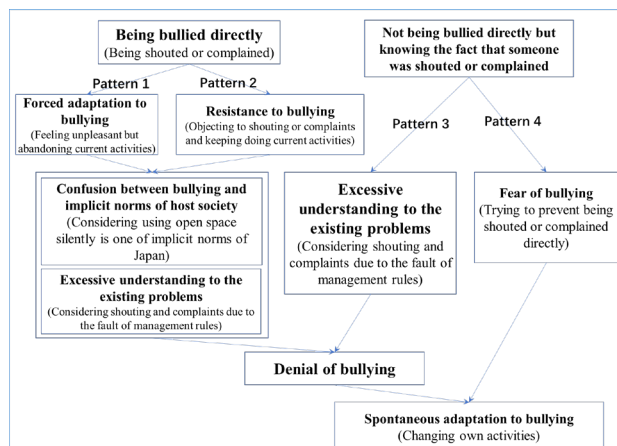
Table 4.4 Analysis to interviewees' opinions of common area

	Interviewees' mentality	Interviewees' requests	Characteristics being highly valued	Issues related to common area
Mr. A Mrs. A	4. Unsatisfied with bullying. Admitting of national discrimination. 4. Forced adaptation to bullying (abandoning using common area). 5. Unsatisfied with not being treated fairly the same as Japanese residents. 8. Spontaneous adaptation to bullying. 9. Understanding of the importance of being normal. 10. Trying to follow the management rules. Denial of bullying due to excessive understanding to the existing problem with management rules. 11. Denial of bullying due to the confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture; Spontaneous adaptation to bullying	4. Hoping children could play in common area until late night without being complained by other residents. 5. Hoping the Indian festival could be treated fairly and trying to hold Indian festival in open space inside housing complex. 6. Hoping to make sounds during Indian festivals.	1. The large size. 2. Available to people of all ages to use. 3. Entrance square plays the role of social place, which is important for foreign residents.	4. Japanese residents' complaints about noise are expressed as bullying. Complaints could not be solved peacefully. 4. Negative influence of bullying is exaggerated by national discrimination and concentrates on Indian children. 4. Foreign children don't have enough time to play in common area because they abandon to use common area when bullied. Negative influence to children's growth. 4. Foreign residents are complained during time zone when it's unnecessary to keep quiet. Foreigners' legitimate rights of using common area are not guaranteed. 5. Indian festivals are not treated fairly as Japanese festivals. Indian festivals cannot be held in open space but Japanese festivals could. 7. Common area of housing complex take on the roles of public spaces of the whole region. Users who living outside of housing complex may break management rules. 10. Management rules is not being followed by all residents.
Mr. B Mrs. B	3. Unsatisfied with bullying. Resistance to bullying (objecting to complaints). 8. Abandoning holding Indian festivals in open space inside housing complex due to understanding of the importance of being normal. 9. Spontaneous adaptation to bullying due to confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture. 10. Denial of bullying due to excessive understanding to the existing problem with management rules. 11. No worry of noise problem when using meeting places.	4. Hoping there are enough space for children to play 5. Hoping the place for playing basketball and skateboard. 6. Hoping there are place for staying during windy and rainy day in open space. 7. Hoping to hold Indian festivals in open space inside housing complex.	1. The large size that is suitable for talking a walk and exercise. 2. Suitable for talking a walk with friends.	3. Japanese residents' complaints about noise are expressed as bullying. Complaints could not be solved peacefully. 3. Negative influence of bullying is exaggerated by national discrimination and concentrates on Indian children. 4. Not enough space for children to play due to the baseball team and too many children. 5. Facilities inside housing complex cannot meet foreigners' needs such as playing basketball and skateboards. 6. No place could be used as social place during windy or rainy days. 7. The Indian festivals held in meeting place could not satisfy Indians. 10. Different area have different management rules. Management rules are hard to be remembered and not being followed by all residents.
Mr. C	2. Eliminating homesickness by doing activities with other Indian residents. 5. Unsatisfied with bullying. 6. Spontaneous adaptation to bullying 7. Excessive understanding to the existing problem with management rules; Denial of bullying. 8. Understanding of the importance of being normal	7. Hoping children could play in common area without being complained during time zone when it's not necessary to keep quiet.	1. Available to people of all ages to use. 2. Enough space for doing yoga and other activities with other Indian residents. 3. Meeting places are available for holding Indian festivals. 4. Free Japanese language classes held in meeting places.	7. Management rules are not being followed by all residents. 7. Foreign residents are complained during time zone when it's unnecessary to keep quiet. Foreigners' legitimate rights of using common area are not guaranteed.
C's son	2. Feeling stress when using the same area with Japanese together and try to use the common area when there is no other Japanese, because of the fact that cannot speak Japanese language and having no contact with Japanese residents. 3. Fear of bullying (trying not to be bullied). Spontaneous adaptation to bullying. 4. Admitting the reasonableness of management rules. 5. Confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture	5. Hoping there are pool, badminton courts and running track inside housing complex.	1. Available for exercise and meeting Indian friends.	2. Foreign residents who cannot speak Japanese language and have no contact with Japanese residents are afraid of using the same area with Japanese. 6. Facilities inside housing complex cannot meet foreigners' needs.

- All companions are Indians.
- Entrance square is used daily by Indians for gathering and chatting with compatriots.
- Playground is used daily by Indians for doing sports and activities with compatriots.
- Free space is used by Indians for doing activities during bad weather with compatriots.
- Meeting places are used frequently by Indians several times a year for holding ethnic festivals and parties with compatriots.

c) Analysis of Foreigners' Opinions of Common Area

After analyzing interview data in Table 4.3 with applying theoretical frameworks, foreigners' opinions could be furtherly divided into foreigners' mentalities, requests, highly valued characteristics and issues related to common area (Table 4.4).

**Fig 4.1** Interviewees' adaptation processes to bullying

From interviewees' mentalities, only 'Spontaneous adaptation to bullying' could be confirmed finally from foreigners (Fig 4.1). 'Understanding of the importance of being normal' could also be confirmed from foreigners when they use common area.

From interviewees' requests, it is confirmed that foreigners hope that children could play freely until late at night without being shouted at and complained, Indian festivals could be treated fairly, Indian festivals could be held Indian festivals in open space inside housing complexes with making sounds are allowed. Foreigners also hope more space for children to play inside the housing complex and the space for staying in open space during windy and rainy days, more facilities for playing and doing sports inside the housing complex.

From characteristics being highly valued, it is confirmed that foreigners are satisfied with the large size of the common area that suitable for different kinds of activities with compatriots, also satisfied with the meeting places could be used for holding Indian festivals and the entrance square which provides the space for foreign residents to meet their compatriots.

From issues that related to common area, following issues are confirmed:

- Complaints about noise that come from Japanese residents are expressed as bullying but not the peaceful way. Due to the national discrimination, negative influence of bullying focuses on the largest ethnic minority.

- Foreign children don't have enough time to play in the common area due to bullying. Growth of foreign children is negatively influenced by bullying.
- The common area is not the real common area belonging to residents, but takes on the roles of public spaces of the whole region. The users of the common area could be the people who live outside of the housing complex, and they may break the management rules.
- Although Japanese festivals could be held in the open space, Indian festivals cannot be held in open space inside housing complexes. Indian festivals are not treated fairly as Japanese festivals.
- Open space inside the housing complex is not enough for all children to play. The playground that is occupied by baseball teams every Sunday could cause foreigners' dissatisfaction.
- Facilities inside housing complexes cannot meet foreigners' needs such as playing basketball, badminton, skateboards, swimming and jogging.
- Management rules are hard to remember and not followed by all residents. Although foreigners follow the management rules, they bullied by the Japanese residents who don't follow the management rules, foreigners' legitimate rights of using common area are not guaranteed.

d) Summary of Foreigners' usage conditions of common area

Combining the analysis results of foreigners' usage conditions of common area with foreigners' personal relationship, foreigners' usage conditions of common areas could be confirmed as closely related to their personal relationships. Social places are important for foreigners who have close relationships with ethnic communities. In the target area, entrance square, playground, meeting places all play the role of social places for foreigners with the following characteristics (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Three categories of social places

	Characteristics	Usage conditions	Frequency of use condition	Function
Entrance square	• Suitable for chatting (tables and chairs with centripetal design) • Free to use	Sitting, talking, relaxing with compatriots	Daily, weekly	Social place for daily static social activities
Playground	• Suitable for doing sports (surrounded by fence) • Free to use	Doing sports, playing with compatriots	Daily, weekly	Social place for daily dynamic social activities
Free space	• Irrelevant with weather (located in the first floor of building) • Free to use	Doing sports, playing with compatriots	During rainy day	
Meeting places	• Indoor (inside the building) • Need appointment from UR manage office before use	Holding ethnic festivals and parties with compatriots	Several times a year	Social places for extraordinary dynamic social activities

Factors that caused foreigners' dissatisfactions when using common area are confirmed as follow:
Using common area while observing management rules but still being bullied:

(Factors about management of common area)

- Meaningless management rules: The management rules are not followed by all residents but they are supposed to be due to management rules that are not unified in each part of the common area.
- Absence of peaceful ways to solve neighbor problems: Bullying comes from the Japanese residents' dissatisfactions to the noise. If there is a peaceful way to solve the problems, bullying may be avoided.

(Factors about foreigners themselves)

- Spontaneous adaptation to bullying and normalization of bullying: Due to foreigners' 'confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture' or 'excessive understanding to the existing problem with management rules' or 'fear of bullying', and finally caused the normalization of bullying.

No enough space and suitable facilities in common area:

(Factors about management of common area)

- Many users of the common area are not residents: The common area is supposed to be residents' exclusive space but actually it plays the role of public space of the whole region.
- Insufficient social places: The space where could be used as the social place for foreigners to do daily static social activities irrelevant to weather is absent.
- Insufficient facilities: The facilities of the common area cannot feed foreigners' needs due to the different cultural background.

Ethnic festivals cannot be held in open space of common area:

(Factors about foreigners themselves)

- Abandoning holding ethnic festivals in open space by foreigners themselves: Due to foreigners' 'Understanding of the importance of being normal', foreigners trying to behave the same as Japanese and causing foreigners to spontaneously abandon holding ethnic festivals in open space.

(3) Organizational Relationship

a) Interview Data

Opinions about relationship with residents' association from interviewees who are staff of residents' association that summarized by SCAT are shown in Table 4.6. Opinions from Japanese staff of residents' association about the relationship with foreign staff, management and relationship with UR that summarized by SCAT are shown in Table 4.7. Opinions from UR about management are shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.6 Opinions from residents' associations' foreign staff

Foreign interviewees	Reason of being the member of residents' association	Time of being staff of residents' association	Reason of being the staff of residents' association	Relationship with other residents as staff	Interviewees' opinions of why other Indians don't be the members of residents' association
Mr. A	1. Helping Indians who cannot speak Japanese language. 2. Teaching the rules to Indians who cannot understand Japanese. 3. Transmitting information from residents' association to Indians.	3-4 months after joining residents' association.	Realizing that only joining the residents' association could not realize the goals.	1. Transmitting other Indians' requests to residents' associations, such as whether can hold Indian festival inside housing complex, whether can install security cameras. 2. Interpreting for Indians at UR manage office. 3. Spreading the notice from residents' association about keeping quiet when using common area at night in SNS group.	1. Language problem (Cannot speak Japanese language). No interests. 2. Taking up a lot of time.
Mr. B	To become one of the staff of residents' association.	1 month after joining residents' association.	1. Satisfied with events held be residents' association before, trying to help elderly Japanese staff and realize the duty as a resident of this housing complex. 2. Invited by other Indian staff of residents' association.	1. Being told the dissatisfaction from other Indian residents about being complained by Japanese when children were playing. Considering the complaints is cause by the difference of culture. 2. Being told the trouble from other Indian residents about being complained by next-door neighbor because of the smell of Indian food.	Language problem (Considering that Japanese ability is necessary)
Mr. C	Trying to help elderly Japanese staff of residents' association as realize the duty as a resident of this housing complex.	2 years after joining residents' association.	1. Realizing that only joining the residents' association could not realize the goals. 2. Invited by Japanese staff of residents' association.	No relationship.	Considering joining residents' association is irrelevant to themselves.

Table 4.7 Opinions from residents' association's Japanese staff

Interviewee	Opinions of management
Japanese staff of residents' association	<p>Relationship between residents' association and foreign staff</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Residents' association hasn't heard the requests about holding Indian festivals in the open space inside housing complex from foreign staff. Residents' association hasn't heard any opinions or complaints about the baseball team which always training in the playground every Sunday. Residents' association did let Mr. A to translate the questionnaires which were written in English to Japanese. Residents' association has heard the complaints about noise from residents and putting signboards at the playground and exercise area as the only measure. Residents' association hasn't let the foreign staff to spread contents of signboards to other foreign residents. Everything is shared in the meeting. No special contents or requests only tell to foreign staff.
	<p>About the management of housing complex</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Residents' association heard the complaints from residents about noise. After discussing with UR, the time zone that it is necessary to keep quiet when using the common area was determined and the signboards were put at the playground and exercise area. The signboards only determined the time zone that should keep quiet, but not determined the time zone that using is prohibited. Residents' association heard the complaints from residents about people who were drunk usually gather under the wisteria shelf (藤棚), which is near the square. Residents' association submitted that complaint to UR. UR removed the benches under the wisteria shelf as the measure without discussing with residents' association. There are two ways to know residents opinions: Waiting residents come to residents' association; Questionnaires that distribute once a year to all residents. 88 answers of questionnaire were collected this year. Residents' association don't crack down those who break the management rules because cracking down is very frightening. Even there are people break the management rules, if no residents feel dissatisfaction, residents' association will not take measures. If there are complaints from residents, measures are limited to put signboards or removing benches. When breaking management rules become severe, residents' association will just call police.
	<p>Relationship between residents' association and UR</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Opinions, including complaints heard from residents will firstly be deliberated in the residents' associations by all staff. According to the results of deliberation, residents' association have four kinds of measures: 1) Submitting to UR; 2) Putting up posters; 3) Writing on newspapers which is edited by residents' association; 4) Taking no measures. Residents' association has meeting with UR manage office and UR east Tokyo living center once a year. The opinions from residents that passed the deliberation by residents' association and the opinions from residents' association will be submitted during the meeting. Those opinions will be deliberated by only UR, and the measures sometimes may discussed with residents' association, sometimes just determined by UR only. The open-air market in the square every Sunday is held by residents' association. UR didn't admit the open-air market to occupy the space of common because UR didn't consider the open-air market as event which is nonprofit. Now the open-air market are held without permission of occupying the space of common area. In the past, there were troubles between UR and residents' associations about the open-air market, but now UR connives the existence of open-air market. The Japanese festival (団地まつり) is held by residents' associations once a year. Residents' association can always get the permission from UR to let food stalls to occupy space of common area because UR considers the Japanese festival as events.

Table 4.8 UR's opinions of common area management

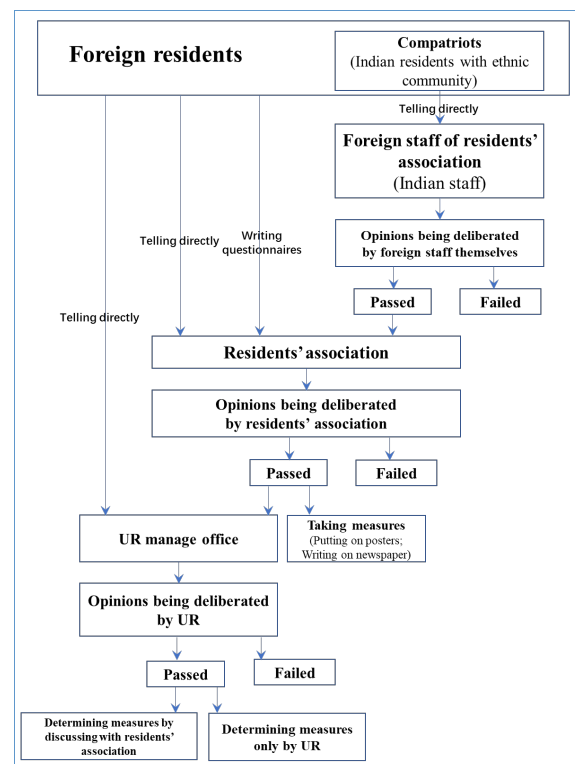
Interviewee	Opinions of management
UR east Tokyo living center	<p>About permission of occupying space of common area</p> <p>The activities should feed the conditions that: nonprofit, the activities should have history (have been held from many years ago) and all residents could participate that activities. Only when the activities could feed those three conditions and passed the deliberation inside UR, permissions of occupying space of common area are possible to be given.</p>
	<p>About Indian festival</p> <p>Probably cannot get permission of occupying space of common area from UR, because other residents may not participate Indian festivals, the Indian festivals may disturb other residents.</p>
	<p>About fireworks</p> <p>Basically fireworks are not allowed in the common area, but with permission from UR, fireworks could be allowed.</p>

b) Summary of Organizational Relationship

After analyzing interview data in Table 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8, following foreigners' relationship with residents' association and UR, additionally, issues related to management of common area could be summarized.

Foreign residents' approaches to express opinions could be summarized as Fig 4.2. Foreigners have four ways to express their opinions. However, due to foreigners' language problem, telling directly to residents' association and UR are difficult for foreigners. Foreign staff also may not transmit foreigners' opinions to residents' association, questionnaires that were distributed by residents' association have a low recovery rate. Foreigners' opinions are actually difficult to be known by residents' association.

Also, it is confirmed that although residents' association would take measures when received opinions from residents, residents' association would not provide the opportunity for residents to solve their neighbor troubles.

**Fig 4.2** Foreigners' approaches of express opinions

Although 'Ethnic festivals cannot be held in open space of common area' is one of foreigners' dissatisfactions when using common area, it is confirmed that foreigners actually could hold ethnic festivals in common area, such as at playground or square because the permission from UR is only necessary when the festivals need to occupy the common area where there are not supposed to be activities such as passages.

The further factor of 'Meaningless management rules', which is one of the factors that caused foreigners' dissatisfactions when using common area, is confirmed as the 'Absence of supervision to common area' as both residents' association and UR don't supervise the usage conditions of common areas, even if there are people who don't follow the management rules. Measures will only be taken when dissatisfaction from residents are submitted to UR. Supervision of the common area is absent.

With above knowledges, following further factors of foreigners' dissatisfactions could be summarized: Further factors of 'Meaningless management rules':

- Absence of supervision to common area

Further Factors of 'No enough space and suitable facilities in common area':

(Factors about management of common area)

- Absence of efficient way for foreign residents to express opinions

Further factors of 'Absence of peaceful way to solve neighbor problems':

- Insufficient measures to residents' opinions that taken by residents' association

5. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

(1) Issues of Common Area

The factors and further factors that caused foreigners' dissatisfactions which explained in 4.2.d and 4.3.b are now combined together as Table 5.1. The factors in Table 5.1 can be divided into another 4 new categories about the issues of common area in Table 5.2. Improvement plans for realizing multicultural symbiosis in public housing complexes are considered based on those 4 categories.

Table 5.1 Factors of foreigners' dissatisfactions

Foreigners' dissatisfactions	Factors	Further factors
Using common area while observing management rules but still being bullied:	Factors about management of common area	Meaningless management rules
		• Absence of supervision to common area • Ununified management rules in each part of common area
	Factors about foreigners themselves	• Insufficient measures to residents' opinions taken by residents' association that ignoring the importance of letting residents who are involving with neighbor problems to negotiate with each other
		• Foreigners' confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture • Foreigners' excessive understanding to the existing problem with management rules • Foreigners' fear of bullying
No enough space and suitable facilities in common area	Factors about management of common area	Many users of common area are not residents
		• Common area plays the role of public space for the whole neighborhood
		Insufficient social places
		• Absence of social places for daily static social activities that can be used irrelevant to weather
Ethnic festivals cannot be held in open space of common area	Factors about foreigners themselves	Insufficient facilities
		• Absence of facilities for sports that fit foreigners' cultural background
		• Foreign staff of residents' association may not transmit foreigners' opinions to residents' association due to their own judgements.
		• Telling opinions directly to residents' association is difficult for foreigners due to language problem. • Questionnaires that distributed once a year is not enough to know foreigners' opinions
		• Foreigners' understanding of the importance of being normal

Table 5.2 Issues and factors related to usage of common area

Issues	Factors
About structure of common area	Common area plays the role of public space for the whole neighborhood
	Absence of social places for daily static social activities that can be used irrelevant to weather
	Absence of facilities for sports that fit foreigners' cultural background
About management of common area	Absence of supervision to common area
	Ununified management rules in each part of common area
About residents' association	Insufficient measures to residents' opinions taken by residents' association that ignoring the importance of letting residents who are involving with neighbor problems to negotiate with each other
	Foreign staff of residents' association may not transmit foreigners' opinions to residents' association due to their own judgements.
	Telling opinions directly to residents' association is difficult for foreigners due to language problem.
	Questionnaires that distributed once a year is not enough to know foreigners' opinions
About foreigners' mentalities	Foreigners' confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture
	Foreigners' excessive understanding to the existing problem with management rules
	Foreigners' fear of bullying
	Foreigners' understanding of the importance of being normal

a) Multicultural Symbiotic Design of Common Area:

As foreigners' usage conditions of common area are closely related to foreigners' personal relationship, social places are important to foreigners who have close relationships with their ethnic communities. 3 categories with 6 types of social places are clarified as important to foreigners (Table 5.3). Additionally, 6 types of social places could be minimized as 4 types, which could be easier to realize (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3 Three categories and six types of social places

Categories	Social places		
	Types	Usage	Required features
1. Social places for daily static social activities	1. that can be used during good weather	Daily static social activities (chatting with compatriots)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suitable for gathering and chatting (centripetal design) • Making sounds is allowed • Free to use
	2. that can be used irrelevant to weather		
2. Social places for daily dynamic social activities	3. that can be used during good weather	Daily dynamic social activities (doing sports, playing with compatriots)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enough space for sports and playing • Suitable facilities for sports • Making sounds is allowed • Free to use
	4. that can be used irrelevant to weather		
3. Social places for extraordinary dynamic social activities	5. that located in open-air	Extraordinary dynamic social activities (holding ethnic festivals, parties with compatriots)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making sounds is allowed • Holding festivals or parties is allowed • Capacity of holding several people
	6. that located indoor		

Table 5.4 Minimized four types of social places

Minimized types of social places		Location conditions	Suggested location
①	Social places for daily static social activities (good weather)	Open space of common area	• Near the type② social place
②	Social places for daily dynamic social activities (good weather) and for extraordinary dynamic social activities (open-air)	Open space of common area	• Playground/square of common area
③	Social places for daily static social activities and daily dynamic social activities (irrelevant to weather)	Covered space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first floor of dwelling building • Being a part of type② that covered with rain shelter
④	Social places for extraordinary dynamic social activities (Indoor)	Indoor space	• Meeting places

b) Multicultural Symbiotic Management of Common Area:

Unified and clear management rules for each part of the common area should be enacted. Also, supervision of the common area is necessary. Since

the common area is used as public space, it is not strange to ask the local government to provide required funds for hiring security guards to supervise the common area.

c) Multicultural Symbiotic Residents' Association:

Residents' association with all residents joined in could ensure the money for running residents' association. Clear explanations about the mechanism of residents' association to foreigners are necessary for inviting foreigners to join in. Foreign staff of residents' association are important because they could help to deal with the issues related to foreign residents and help transmitting notice from residents' association to foreign residents.

Efficient ways for residents to express opinions to residents' association are also crucial. Setting foreign staff as on-site staff in the office could make it easier for foreigners to express their opinions directly to residents' association. Distributing questionnaires several times a year could make it easier for foreigners to express their current opinions. Properly determining that transmitting residents' opinions directly to residents' association without personal judgement is the duty of residents' association staff may have the effect on transmitting foreigners' opinions to residents' association efficiently. Providing the chance for residents to solve neighbor problems is also important.

(2) Application of Theoretical Frameworks

a) Application of 'Social factors that caused the abuse of social power in Japanese society'

Foreign residents' 'Understanding of the importance of being normal' and 'Sensitivity to rejection' are clarified but 'Relational concerns' were not confirmed due to foreigners' close relationship with ethnic community. Four social factors that caused the abuse of social power in public housing complexes could be summarized as:

(Factors related to Japanese society)

- Latent alienation in daily life
- Common understanding of the importance of being normal

(Factors related to foreigners)

- Foreigners' understanding of the importance of being normal
- Sensitivity to rejection

b) Application of 'Foreigners' cross-cultural adaptation process'

It is clarified that no matter what kinds of reactions that foreigners did initially, only 'Spontaneous adaptation to bullying' could be clarified. Three factors could be summarized as:

- Foreigners' confusion between bullying and implicit norms of host culture
- Foreigners' excessive understanding to the

existing problem with management rules

- Foreigners' fear of bullying

(3) Future Tasks

This research is done from the perspective of foreigners who belong to the largest ethnic minority and have close relationship with ethnic communities. Further research is necessary to clarify whether the results of this research could be applied to the foreigners who don't have many compatriots and have no relationship with ethnic communities inside housing complexes. Also, because the management form of UR housing is different from public housing that managed by government directly, the suggestions about management may need to be adjusted in the case of other public housing complexes.

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