



Three Fountains Garden Apartment Complex. Houston, Texas.

MAGNIFICENT FOUNTAINS, BEAUTIFUL COURTYARDS: GARDEN APARTMENT HOUSING IN HOUSTON

Peter C. Papademetriou

I think the society is beginning to break up, the patterns are breaking up. . . . And so the society is breaking down and renting because more and more of, less of a fixed type situation. . . . We've noticed in the rental patterns here in Houston, for example, almost 100 percent turnover in rental projects on an annual basis. . . . And transient type people always create unrest amongst people who tend to be more stable. So I think there's a social thing. You know, that the other guy's got to be somebody to watch a little bit because he is going to pick up in the middle of the night and steal away.¹

URBAN form may be viewed as a symbol for social values. In traditional cities of homogenous cultures, these symbols are exhibited with nearly diagrammatic clarity in the structure of the urban form. The later cities of Ancient Greece express the concept of *polis*, with suppression of a background grid and development of the civic space in the *agora*. Medieval cities articulate the domination of religious life. Certain ideal cities of the Renaissance also demonstrate a concern for military fortification that developed from new technologies, and the Imperial City of Peking illustrates both a central authority and an emperor who is hierarchically accessible.

Housing form has also reinforced an understanding of social values contained in urban form. In the court houses of Ancient Greece, the spatial concept, a suite of open rooms, was analogous to the spatial organization of the city. Uniformity of general dimension was a statement of equality among citizens. In the row houses of Philadelphia and Baltimore one finds a corresponding fit between two sides. In the contemporary context, it has been suggested by cultural anthropologist Constance Perin that "American land-use classifications, definitions and standards . . . name cultural and social categories and define what are believed to be the correct relationships among them."² Spatial relationships may be seen still as being ". . . value-laden, that is, moral."³ Forms of housing, and their relationship to one another, tell us about social values in the built environment.

Among the new evolving cities in the American Southwest, Houston, Texas, is unique because of its size, rate of growth, and relative newness in comparison to other urban areas. In 1950, it could be observed that "now some 500 square miles can be reasonably considered as Houston's urban area;"⁴ while twenty-five years later this prediction was actually true in terms of the city's incorporated limits.

As a diagram, the plan of Houston exhibits the classic "wagon wheel" pattern, a radially concentric form whose development was facilitated through early and rather wholesale commitment to the private automobile. Such a nonfixed mode of transportation implicitly generated a system for uniform distribution. Added to this is the fact that Houston remains—while fifth in size nationally—the only city without land-use zoning. Consequently, the potential for a dispersed structure reinforces the concept behind such a diagram.

Taking census tract data as abstractions of this socio-cultural milieu permits a comparative and simultaneous examination of the urban form diagram and the actual circumstances it has presented (Fig. 2). Certain basic factors, such as the major transportation system and density, tend

to reinforce the notion of uniform distribution. Others, such as percentages of owner-occupied housing and households with children under eighteen, produce a picture of the typical American city with an inner area surrounded by suburbs. However, the addition of further factors illustrates that there begins to be a lack of correspondence between the basic diagram and the actual cultural milieu it supports. Factors such as air pollution concentration or ethnic distribution indicate that this urban form can be as differentiated as traditional cities and that it is good for some, not so good for others.

In the last two decades, the most intensely developed section of the city has been an area known as Southwest Houston. This section clearly shows in the unveiling of census data as the area of greatest income, best education, and highest values, both in owner-occupied and rental housing. The center of gravity for the uniform diagram is, therefore, significantly displaced. It is in this area of the city that the abstracted "typical Houstonian" resides.

Southwest Houston has generally developed since 1960, and with its development has evolved a form of housing at once responsive to this new "typical Houstonian" and new to the city as a whole. This housing form became known as the "garden apartment" and is generally a phenomenon of the last several decades, one which has kept pace with population increases during this period (Fig. 3). A final overlay on the census map of the locations of these garden apartments specifically selected for inclusion in this study substantiates this as the new form in suburban housing, and it dominates the Southwest quadrant of Houston.

As Amos Rapoport has suggested, "Within the middle-class culture itself, dwelling forms change to accommodate people outside the 'standard family' through new types of popular housing. . . . the vernacular today may be one of *type* rather than form."⁵ In Houston, nearly one-third of the multifamily housing is of the garden apartment variety, and nearly 80 percent of this has been built in the last fifteen years. Houston contains nearly 85 percent of the Harris County total of garden apartments, and over one-half of these are in the Southwest quadrant.⁶ In terms of housing production, this has amounted to over 20,000 units of housing a year, with some 25,000 scheduled for 1978. A current rule of thumb has some 1000 people per week immigrating to Houston, a substantial share of the 2.5 million people who left the industrial North for the South and West between 1970 and 1975.⁷ Garden apartments play ". . . a very important role in one of the most significant social movements of our time: the great relocation of America . . . a here-today-gone-tomorrow-land where people mingle more than meld and permanent friendships tend to last at least a week . . . one of the first stops on the new interstate highway to the old American dream."⁸

Sociologically, the renter has traditionally been a second-class citizen in America. Perin observes, "Renters are described as transient, unstable, not thrifty, without pride, immature, lower class, not full-fledged citizens, indifferent to property maintenance . . . ,"⁹ people who should be in the process of adopting the American Dream: single-family home ownership. In a speech delivered before the American Bar Association in August 1975, Carla Hills stated, "Home-

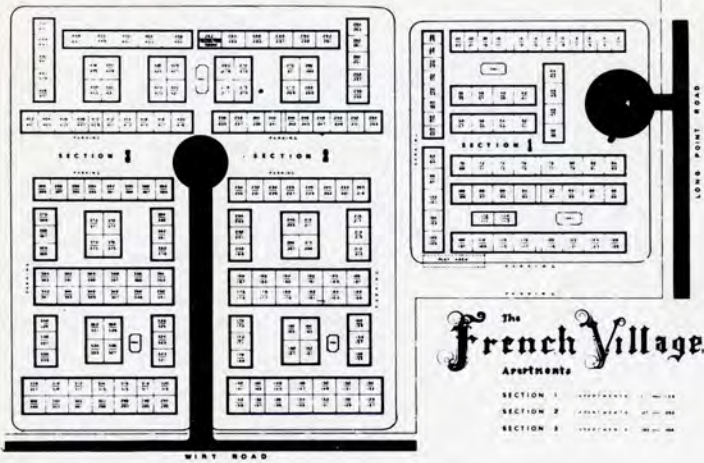


Fig. 1a. French Village. Site Plan.

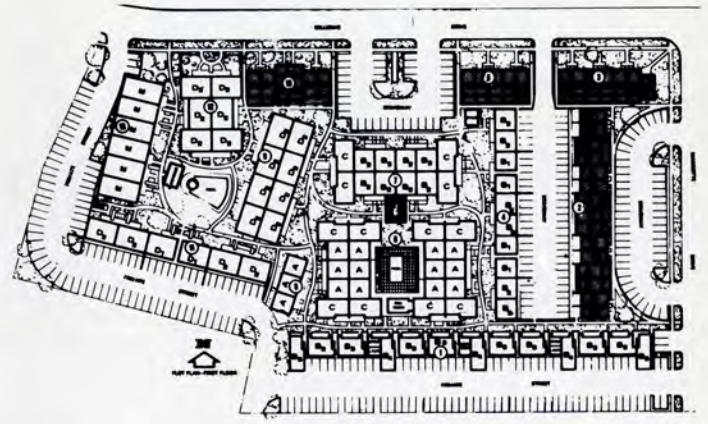


Fig. 1b. Natchez House. Site Plan.

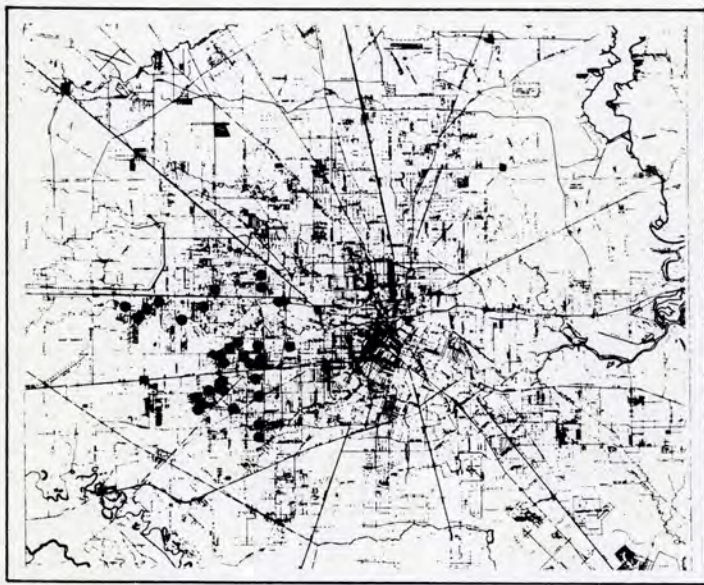


Fig. 2. Houston 1978: The Wagon Wheel Pattern. Dots indicate location of garden apartments in this survey.

ownership provides a sense of identity, of roots and of security, which is the stuff from which neighborhoods are made of and which protects against social alienation."¹⁰ In 1968, the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders stated this ideal in its recommendation, "The ambition to own one's house is shared by virtually all Americans, and we believe it is in the interests of the nation to permit all who share such a goal to realize it."¹¹ Renters are socially marginal, in these terms, because "... they might never cease being renters."¹²

Yet, alternative lifestyles have emerged since the 1960s, and these have challenged the dream of the single-family house. Among these alternatives is the emerging respectability of single living. A nationwide survey conducted by the Census in 1976 found that the number of persons between ages 25 and 34 who had never married had risen about 50 percent since 1970.¹³ Among these are apartment renters whose lifestyle is emerging with priorities of a different nature. Occupancy rates in Houston's garden apartments have been in the range of 97 percent, while the average rate of turnover has been 80 percent.¹⁴ Clearly, a range from pure transients to an evolving "hard-core" population is emerging, the dynamics of which involve change within apartment living as well as beyond. There is no singular form of garden apartment, and complex combinations of location, amenities, unit design, unit type mix, restrictions, and benefits create a diverse housing form, perhaps harder to describe generically than single-family, detached housing.¹⁵

Fluidity and change clearly mark any demographic analysis of apartment renters. Market articulation and servicing are geared to a "plug-in" system, in which one can select from a catalog offered by organizations such as Landmark Management, which maintains a stable of nearly forty complexes. Landmark has consolidated consistent management of a product with marketing and thereby cut through an additional service industry, the apartment locator, the renter's equivalent of a real estate agent. Houston's market is so large that Landmark has opened The Apartment Store, literally a shopping center for housing.

Culturally, even this form of merchandising housing maintains a careful distance from the renter. As Perin has observed, "The secondary status of tenants is perpetuated in various anachronisms of real property law, especially in terms of landlords' minimal obligations and tenants' maximum liabilities."¹⁶ Rental housing is a complex industry, one in which the tenant is both catered to and carefully watched. Collecting rents, cutting off utilities, evictions, maintaining strict rules: these are the continuing concerns of members of the Houston Apartment Association, an

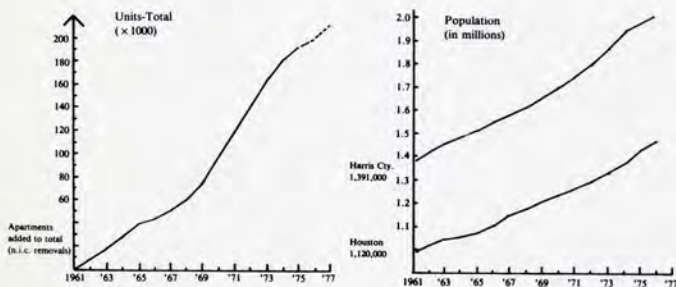


Fig. 3. Housing and population growth in Houston, 1961-1977; comparative charts.

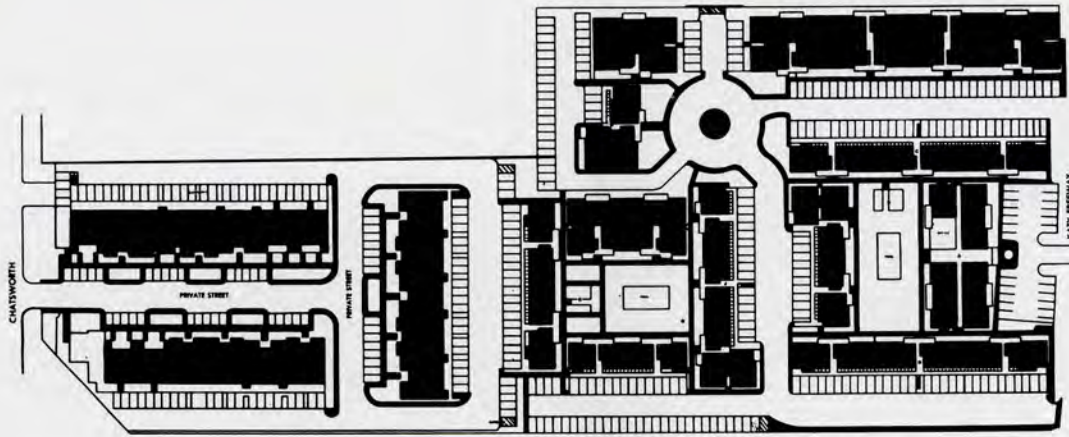


Fig. 1c. Bayou Woods. Site Plan.

organization founded in 1960 on the theory of self-policing then to avoid government intervention at a later date.¹⁷

The output of this process is a product which, while it has a diverse range of components, nonetheless has a fairly narrow range of real variation. The only real variable is rent, the profit margin which can distinguish and elaborate one set of factors from others. In order to clarify the apparent differences and thereby clearly capture the proper market, the resultant formal feature of garden apartments has been that of the "enclave." At the lowest end of the market, the cutting edge for tenants may simply be the rent, such that some complexes have a yearly turnover rate of 164 percent.¹⁸ The upper end of the market develops amenities and provides a nearly self-contained community form, commanding longer tenure. The oddest amenity is "a radiation shelter with a capacity of 100 persons" contained in a brochure for Pyne Hall.

In Houston, this urban pattern, while based essentially upon a marketing strategy, has altered the urban structure by producing the cluster-enclave. Even when adjacent to one another, the garden apartments are discontinuous; it is not uncommon to encounter two parking areas back to back and completely inaccessible to each other.

Often the initial image is that of a group-form, further underscored by a "theme" element placed at the entrance to articulate the entire complex. Sometimes this takes the form of the "large house," in which individual units are subordinated to the statement of totality, characterized by Peter Smithson as "little Versailles."¹⁹

While undoubtedly primarily an image to facilitate marketing and identity, the enclave idea may also be viewed as an alternative to the overall and seemingly undifferentiated scale of the surrounding context. With the enclave, a progressive scale is broken down into more easily perceptible pieces. Within the enclave, this scale is further articulated, in some cases reading down to individual units or some variant, such as a "quadplex."

One of the dominant features in this progression of scales is, of course, the garden courtyard, which lends its name to the building type. These courts stand in contrast to the general severity of the surrounding urban context and provide a setting which is ordered and well-landscaped, with "magnificent fountains, beautiful courtyards." These courts are in essence an attempt to disguise the size of the complex, which is often several thousand units organized into blocks with all one unit type and into sections that house all one user group. The public spaces are the most heavily developed; actual private spaces are nearly symbolic by comparison.

An organization of site plans illustrates the three basic variants on the enclave. The Transitional Complex recognizes both the street and a garden court (see site plans of Natchez House, Wilcrest, Fig. 1). The Courtyard Apartment Complex has its form turned inward, with no street gesture and parking around the perimeter, using strong stylistic gestures to establish image (see site plans of French Village, Bayou Woods, Pin Oak, Fig. 1). The Subdivision Apartment Complex has a basic unit of 4 to 8 apartments, repeated in subdivided areas, with parking and drives inside, between clusters. The garden court is nearly phased out except in a definite community area which one can drive up to (see site plan of Ravenwood, Fig. 1). Due to a variety of circumstances, there may be combinations or transformations of these basic prototypes (see Memorial Orleans, Fig. 1, which combines the Transitional with Subdivision, partly because of an irregular lot configuration and a dominant street frontage).

Within the character of space there is often that of traditional, solid city form. That is, buildings actually define spaces, while the enclave itself is often perceived as being an object in space. Densities range from 15 to 40 units per acre, which would be greater if parking could be excluded. In many cases, the spaces between buildings are tighter than one would find even in traditional urban form.

Organizationally, these site plans clearly have a greater affinity with the doctrines of CIAM than the traditional antecedents to which they allude. Abstracted from their surface images and considered as site plans, the garden apartments exhibit the rational layouts of what we might consider "modern" mass housing. In three dimensions the stylistic overlay often confuses this perception, although the apartments may often be "an unremarkable combination of brick facades, iron balconies, wood fenced patios, imitation mansard roofs and nonfunctional white chimneys euphemistically advertised as 'New Orleans French.'"²⁰

The rationality of layout is often best seen in the handling of service areas, such as parking areas. Generally covered by a canopy and rarely incorporated into the cross-section of the units, parking areas often represent the longest and dreariest expanses and vistas, giving a true reading of complex size.

Within the unit designs, it becomes clear that garden apartments are aiming for a fairly regular market sector, with one-bedroom and two-bedroom units generally defining 80 percent of the composition of a complex. The lower end of the market usually contains a larger mix on one-bedroom, while the upper end contains two-bedroom in greater percentages.



Fig. 1d. Pin Oak. Site Plan.

Rents are within a narrow spectrum, fairly closely matched, such that the effective differentiation between complexes centers around minor adjustments within plan types, the ability to provide a selection within a narrow range, or an appropriate mix of types to alter the "character" of a complex.

As Rapoport has observed, "Forces and pressures are also much more complex, and the links among form, culture and behavior are more tenuous, or possibly just more difficult to trace and establish."²¹ In fact, the garden apartment is not unlike many other consumer objects, which are designed for popular taste, not *by* it. An analogy might reasonably be made to the automobile industry, where, in a fairly narrow range of choice, enough seeming options are created to establish the impression of variety—a rose by any other name, as it were.

Careful categorization of the taxonomy of unit plan types (Fig. 4) reveals both this truth and fallacy. What separates the best from the not-so-good may be a dominance of units with greater amenity, but these amenities are derived from a narrow range. Within all the variations of plan type, nearly 80 percent of the kitchens (which are the heaviest concentration of investment in appliances and cabinet work) are exactly the same. Consequently, while both the combinations of unit plan types and percentage of composition may characterize, to a large extent, the qualities of a complex, the entire system is one of narrowly differentiated choice (Fig. 4). In effect, the housing provision embraces a modest variation. Other factors that are not architectural features enter into the ultimate differentiation, such as security patrol services, all-electric kitchens, and a variety of pools, clubs, and so forth. It is the combination, reflected in the ultimate rental rate as well, which sets one complex apart from another. Architectural expression appears to have little to do with the development of the complex as housing. Generally, the more radical instances of stylistic expression may share both overall site plan organization and unit plan types with instances of a more routine order. Style, in fact, is a separate issue from the functional considerations, somewhat at variance with the modern dictum that the external form should reflect the interior arrangement. Style is another consideration having to do with marketing strategy—the creation of an "image."

In attempting to categorize the apartment complexes stylistically, the distinction was made between "hot" images like *Olde English* or *Spanishesque* and other "hot" images like *Creole Palladian* or *Southern Colonel Colonial*, which were really variations on "cooler" images, such as *Chateau*

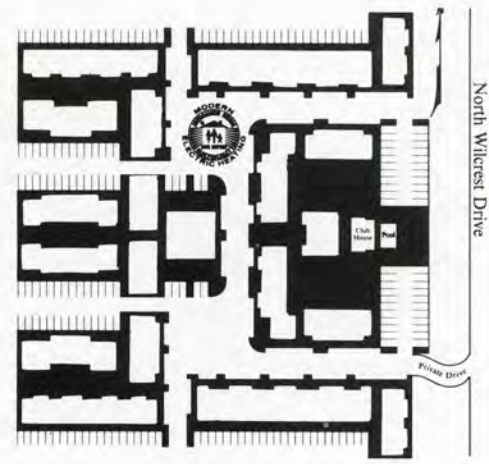


Fig. 1e. Wilcrest. Site Plan.

Motel or Systems Georgian. The blandest of all was a modern variant Contempo. Generally speaking, the dominant stylistic images are in the "cold" range, not overtly referential and hence more adaptable to "readings" by potential users. This allows for the conversion of a complex into a "new" image, usually with a mere change of name, since the visual associations cut across a range of traditional references. In this way, response to changing markets can be facilitated without the necessity of drastic architectural modification.

Of further interest in attempting to articulate distinctions of style is the number of elements, and particularly materials, which freely cross over between the styles of garden apartments. Brick is by far the dominant material, and it can function at virtually any level. Shutters are popular as well. In establishing a unique image, the overtures must be decidedly heavy-handed in order to make the point in a sea of sameness.

As with architectural elements, key words in advertising are rather cavalierly assigned a variety of meanings. Most words are chosen either to mediate the second-class status of renters or to appeal directly to the basic user groups—"swingles," all-adult, family, or mixed (usually in two phases, separated as all-family or all-adult). Some of these key words are *group socializing*, *no maintenance*, *security*, *schools in the area*, *child care*, *playgrounds*, and *convenient location*. When a unique market is sought, again a certain degree of heavy-handedness is needed in advertising. Correspondence with any architectural styling image is generally coincidental; some of the most blatantly "hot" styling may be both for swingles and families, or it may be incidental to other considerations such as location or child care facilities. Advertising might also center on stylistic identity at the same time, to implant the specific "differences" offered by the complex or to instill a sharp image for the potential renter.

A recent trend in multihousing indicates that the garden apartment has in fact become culturally accepted, even to the extent of being a new model in the housing market. Within the last five years, condominium conversions have entered the scene, many of them garden apartments which have simply been renovated.²² The previous Pine Hollow, for example, is now being marketed as *The Pines*, and the same is true of other garden apartments. One 275-unit development was even recently bought out from the developer for a direct conversion. Within the lexicon of housing choices, a generation of users has emerged whose lifestyle preferences have been so directly associated with this form of housing

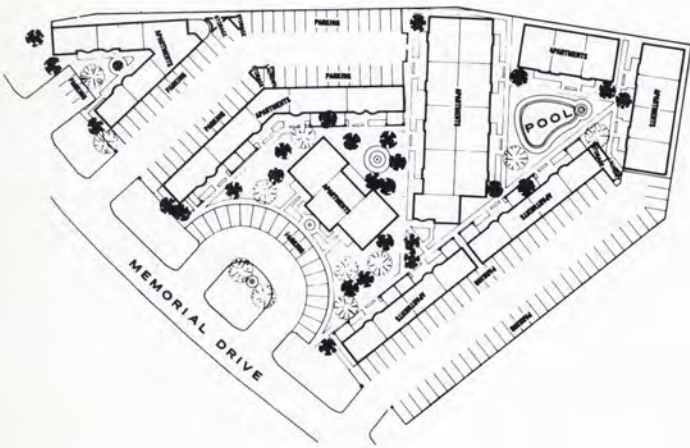


Fig. 1f. Memorial Orleans. Site Plan.

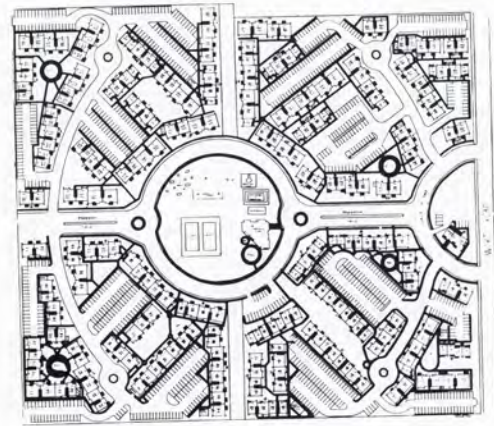


Fig. 1g. Ravenwood. Site Plan.

that the garden apartment is becoming the measure for new forms of permanent home ownership. The American Dream, in other words, is undergoing a transformation and redefinition in a new form of housing.

Consequently, any assessment of the garden apartment as a housing form or its user groups' position within society will have to undergo reexamination. As this form becomes institutionalized as a new model, its formal and social aspects will need greater attention. Insofar as urban form derives inevitably from the interrelationships between building types and not merely from sociocultural abstractions, the emergence of the enclave-cluster and its transformations and interactions in urban structure will condition our perceptions of the symbolic statement of new social values. Within our own culture, this is a product of only two decades of evolution, and the position of the garden apartment enclave within the taxonomy of urban housing types remains yet to be fully explored.

"... In the ancient city the organization of space was a symbolic re-creation of a supposed cosmic order. It had an ideological purpose. Created space in the modern city has an equivalent ideological purpose. In part it reflects the prevailing ideology of the ruling groups and institutions in society. In part it is fashioned by the dynamics of market forces. . . . Neither the activity of space created nor the final product of created space appear to be within our individual or collective control but are fashioned by forces alien to us. We scarcely know how to grapple, either in reality or in the mind, with the implications of created space."²³

NOTES

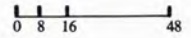
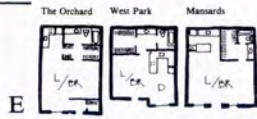
1. "Goss Group" in Constance Perin *Everything in its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press) 1977 pp. 42-43.
2. Perin, op. cit., p. 3.
3. Perin, op. cit., p. 3.
4. *Land-Population-Growth*, report of Houston City Planning Commission, 1951, p. 29.
5. Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), 1969, p. 131.
6. *Population, Households and Dwelling Units in Harris County Census Tracts*, report of Research Division, Houston Chamber of Commerce, 1976.

7. "Sunbelt," *Time* magazine, March 15, 1976.
8. Harry Hurt III, "Brave New Vacancies," *Texas Monthly*, July 1978, p. 102.
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12. Perin, op. cit., p. 61.
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17. See continuing articles in *Abode*, official publication of HAA, or "Overlooking Houston" column in the Sunday *Total Living* section of the *Houston Post*: see particularly "The Creeping Cancer of Rent Control," *Abode*, September 1977.
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22. Shirley Pfister, "You Must Vacate By . . .," *Houston Chronicle*, December 5, 1976; Susan Bischoff, "Time Ripe for Condominium Conversion?" *Houston Chronicle*, April 3, 1977; Ellen Middlebrook, "Changing Lifestyles Push Home-Buyers Toward Condominiums," *Houston Post*, November 27, 1977; Barbara Stokes, "Condominium Conversions Making Successful Headway in Houston Housing Market," *Houston* magazine, March 1978.
23. David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press), 1973, quoted in Perin, op. cit., p. 216.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Deborah Poodry for conducting an initial survey of fifty apartment complexes and William Lukes for followup photography. Particular thanks to Alex Engart, who helped make some sense of the data, laboriously delineated the unit plan types, and printed the photographs for this article.

Efficiency



Basic One Bedroom



Luxury One Bedroom



1BR/Studio

Basic Two Bedroom



Fig. 4. Taxonomy of Unit Plan Types, Analysis Charts.

**Luxury
Two Bedroom**

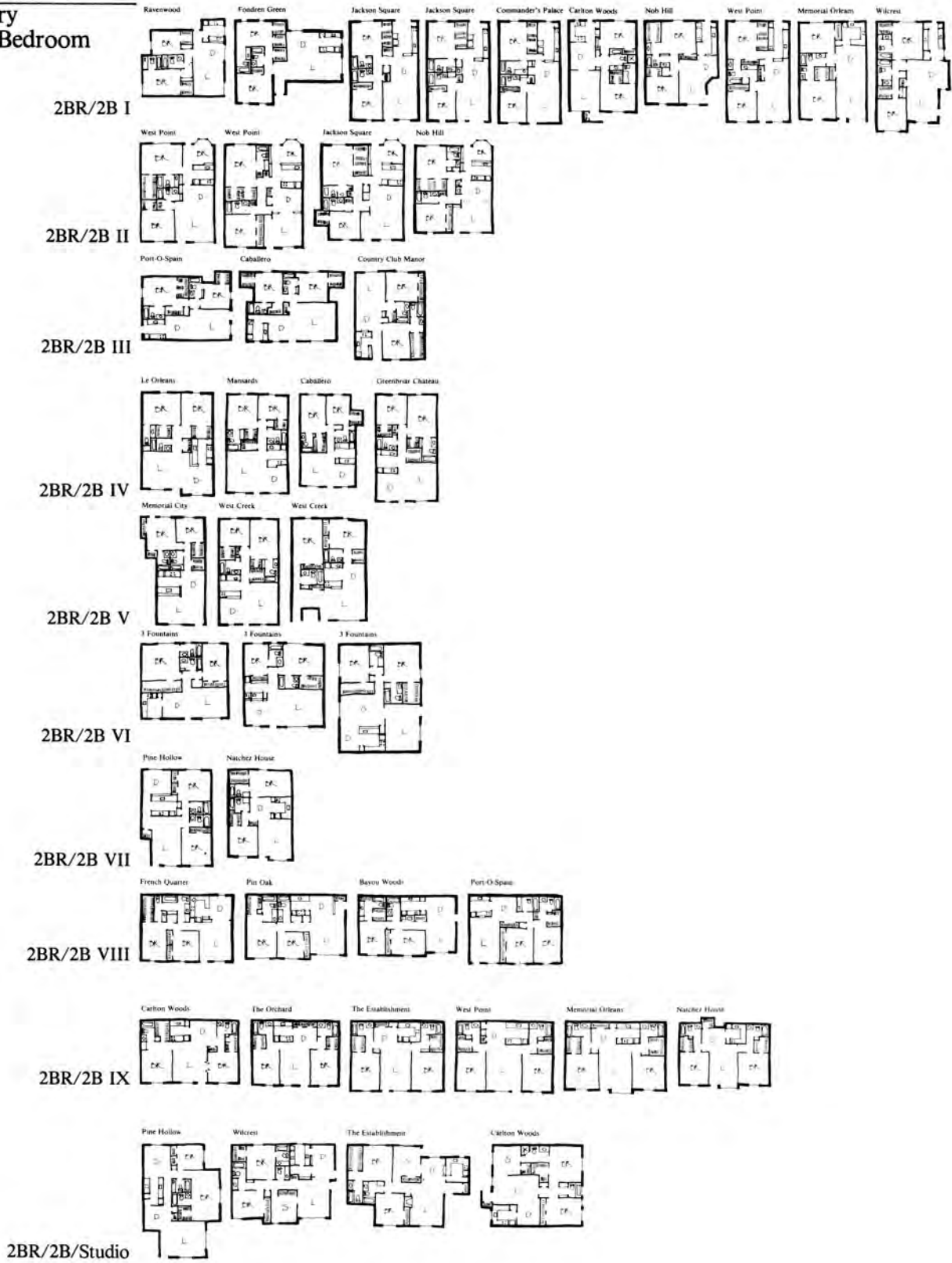


Fig. 4. Taxonomy of Unit Plan Types continued.

Three Bedroom



Two-Story (Proto-House)



	The Orchard	Mansards	Bayou Woods	French Quarter	Pin Oak	Memorial Orleans	Natchez House	The Establishment	Nottingham Oaks	Carlton Woods	Westpark	Port-O-Spain	3 Fountains	Caballero	Westcreek	Memorial City	Commander's Palace	Greenbriar Chateau	West Point	Nob Hill	Country Club Manor	French Village	Le Orleans	Ravenwood	Fondren Green	Pine Hollow	Carlton Woods	Jackson Square	Wilcrest		
Composition																															
% 3 BR+	5%	10%	25%	35%	10%	10%	20%	5%	15%	30%	10%										15%	5%	5%	20%	30%						
% 2 BR	30%	40%	40%	66%	25%	40%	45%	45%	20%	40%	30%	20%	40%	40%	50%	40%	50%	34%	50%	70%	60%	80%	75%	65%	25%	50%	70%	100%	40%		
% 1 BR	50%	45%	50%	34%	40%	25%	45%	45%	60%	60%	60%	65%	30%	50%	50%	60%	50%	66%	50%	30%	25%	15%	20%	75%	20%	30%			60%		
% Efficiency	15%	15%			10%						5%																				
Imagery	Olde English																														
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	Southern Colonel Colonial																														
	Systems Georgian																														
	Chateau Motel																														
Contempo																															

Chart by Peter Papademetriou

Fig. 4. Taxonomy of Unit Plan Types continued.

MAGNIFICENT FOUNTAINS, BEAUTIFUL COURTYARDS:

A Photographic Essay
Peter C. Papademetriou





Ravenwood



Natchez House

BILLBOARDS

It should be of little surprise that the developers of Garden Apartments are often the same as those who develop motels, the closest analogous form of housing. One might even argue that without the cultural acceptance of the motel, Garden Apartments might never have come into being.



Natchez House



Nottingham Oaks

THE 'BIG HOUSE'

Housing choice is somewhat affected by a strong, clear identity or "image." Often, the formal image is a statement of group-form, underscoring the essential enclave concept of Garden Apartments. This image of "home," because it is the image of a collective, frequently finds expression as the 'Big House,' where the individual unit is subsumed within the ideal of a total environment.



Le Orleans



Natchez House

ARTICULATION OF INDIVIDUAL UNITS I

Garden Apartments are true megastructures. Economics of construction and rigorous zoning of market groups tend to cluster units of like design within the same block, and similar blocks into the same section of the complex. Consequently, surface modulation is introduced in order to articulate individual units. This is often done at a scale in relation to the entire block; since articulation of single small units would be out of scale, the basic unit of articulation is either the two-story "townhouse" unit or the duplex or quad. Occasionally this consists of a facade variation (in front of the same plan), but more typically it occurs in combination with an articulated roof profile.



Nottingham Oaks



Natchez House



Bayou Woods

ARTICULATION OF INDIVIDUAL UNITS II

Articulation of individual units is often concentrated at entrances to the unit. The normal pattern is a repetition of similar units within the block form, and an arrangement of mirror-image or stacked plans to concentrate utility areas. Also, site planning, to create a variety of garden courts or to mix units while maintaining them within discreet blocks, often clusters similar unit types in multiples of two or four. Ironically, this results in a representation of a traditional apartment form from the 1920's, the duplex or quadplex.



French Village



Three Fountains



The Mansards

POOLS

A pervasive amenity is the swimming pool; it is impossible to conceive of a Garden Apartment without at least one. These pools are a variation on maintenance-free landscaping, as well as providing at least a symbolic setting for communal activities. As "meeting places," pools are among the most active stage sets.



Port-O-Spain



The Establishment

ENTRANCES

The "front door" for most users of the Garden Apartment consists of an articulation of some sort in the parking area. Rarely a spatial event, even less so a gratifying aesthetic experience, the entry is generally a modulation of the exterior surface to be read across the expanse of parked cars. Such entries are systematic and repetitive, in order to be predictable. Architectural treatment of such entry conditions is often at best gratuitous.



West Park



Westcreek

GARDEN COURTS

Interior courtyards contrast sharply with the exterior approaches; it is due to this environmental feature that the housing form derives its name. Such interiors form a kind of “oasis” in comparison to the urban context in which most apartments are located. Such landscaping is, of course, maintenance-free and a principal attraction of this form of housing.



Three Fountains



Three Fountains



Country Club Manor

ORNAMENTATION

In most aspects, Garden Apartments exhibit a great affinity with modern notions of housing design. The presence of articulated ornamentation both on buildings and in the design of open space illuminate several dilemmas of contemporary design—the inability to develop a language of form which introduces variety and modification within standard types, and the failure of the modern movement to handle exterior space.



Le Orleans



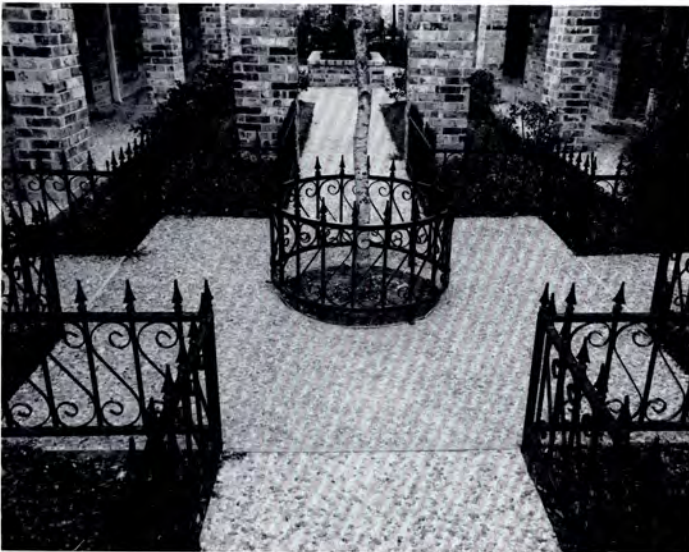
Nob Hill



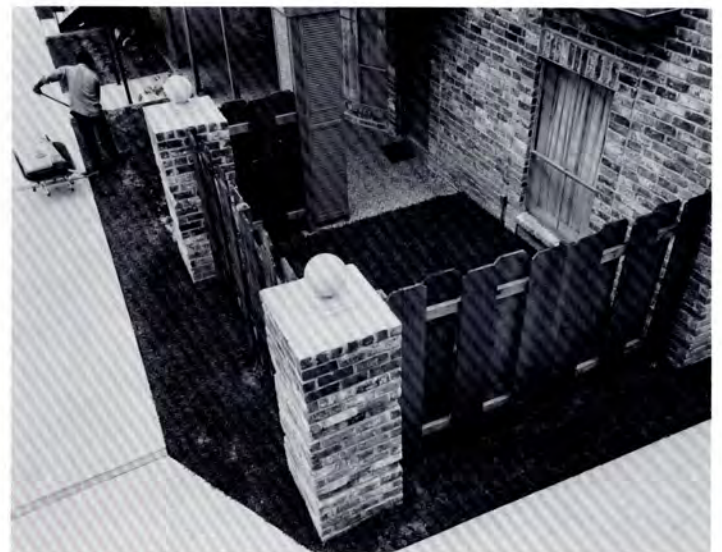
Le Orleans

ALLEYS AND PASSAGES

Garden Apartments, although generally two stories in height, are quite dense. In the areas between buildings, the spatial character is that of the solid city, the alleys and passages of traditional urban form. This is not, however, to suggest that there is street life; even where they are "treated," these spaces are residual in nature.



Nob Hill



Memorial Orleans

PUBLIC SPACES/PRIVATE SPACES

Garden Apartments offer an extreme contrast between the dominance of communal space and a token gesture toward "a place of one's own," either a "balcony" or an enclosed "patio." These private spaces, reduced to the probable minimum, are often the only transition between realms, and serve more as a layer than as a truly usable space. Generally, one is reduced to being either a private (inside) or public (outside) person.



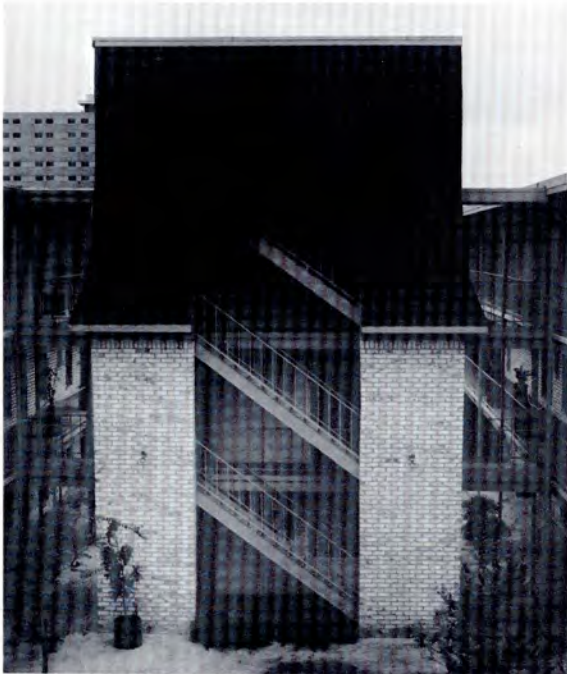
Pin Oak



Ravenwood

PARKING

It is in the relationship between individual units and parking provision that the analogy between the Garden Apartment and the motel becomes most evident. There is generally no accommodation of parking within the architecture, and no correspondence between vehicles and their location with respect to individual units.



The Mansards



Jackson Square

SERVICE ELEMENTS

Fragmentary consistency—one has to applaud the dead-pan irony through which associative styling is applied to elements such as staircases (fire escapes) and laundry or mail rooms. By being given quasi-architectural status, these mini-buildings create a locus within the repetitive layouts of the housing blocks.



Country Club Manor



Greenbriar Chateau

EDGE CONDITIONS—CONTEXT

The available land for large tracts of housing in the renter market occupies a context containing a patchwork of uses primarily commercial but also industrial. The enclave appears as another object in the environment at a scale large enough to effectively compete visually. The sum effect is generally something less than “residential.”



Country Club Manor

EDGE CONDITIONS—TRANSITIONS

Front and back—an exterior veneer of architectural ornament in a domestic vocabulary. Behind, in the parking approaches (the point through which most owners come “home”), the buildings become more functional and repetitive.

Single Dweller No. 2



the tennis court walking wounded.

After careful deliberation, she misuses her ball into his court. Then, taking a twisted ankle, she crumples to the ground. He, knowing a good thing when he sees it, races to her aid. Part of life is 40-love at the Orchard. Singles or 1, 2, & 3 bedrooms. From \$129.50. Tennis courts included.

Gulfon & Reinick, 666-7481

the orchard apartments

Developed by John W. Williams & Varrin R. Young Jr.



award of electrical excellence
GOLD MEDALLION APARTMENT

- Matchless comfort electric heating
- Clean, carefree all-electric kitchen
- Dependable electric air conditioning

Newspaper Ad for The Orchards

THE ORCHARD IS LOVE



Where something special is



509 Glenmont

Newspaper Ad for The Orchards

"Hello, there. I don't believe we've met. I'm Mr. Right."



Meeting fellow residents at Westcreek and becoming friends is easy... and fun at Westcreek. There are so many rendezvous places... the club, the many beautiful courtyards, the eight pools, the buses to games, etc. Of course, you can also have immaculate seclusion, if you prefer, in a totally luxurious apartment with all amenities. See Westcreek now... One bedrooms start at \$135.

WESTCREEK
Apartment Village
SAN FELIPE AT WEST LOOP • NA 1-1373

"If national security were at stake, would you have a drink with a man whose name you didn't even know?"



Meeting fellow residents at Westcreek and becoming friends is easy... and fun at Westcreek. There are so many rendezvous places... the club, the many beautiful courtyards, the eight pools, the buses to games, etc. Of course, you can also have immaculate seclusion, if you prefer, in a totally luxurious apartment with all amenities. See Westcreek now... One bedrooms start at \$142.

WESTCREEK
Apartment Village
SAN FELIPE AT WEST LOOP • NA 1-1373

"Excuse me, but are you free for dinner tomorrow in Paris?"



Meeting fellow residents at Westcreek and becoming friends is easy... and fun at Westcreek. There are so many rendezvous places... the club, the many beautiful courtyards, the eight pools, the buses to games, etc. Of course, you can also have immaculate seclusion, if you prefer, in a totally luxurious apartment with all amenities. See Westcreek now... One bedrooms start at \$135.

WESTCREEK
Apartment Village
SAN FELIPE AT WEST LOOP • NA 1-1373

Newspaper Ads for Westcreek

"PLUG-IN" LIFESTYLE

Housing choice is facilitated by an entire industry. The relative security of choice is assured through competent management, although the options might be correspondingly narrowed through the very efficiency of the delivery system. Whether it be the specialized apartment locators whose fees are paid by owners, the management firm maintaining a stable of similar packages, or the successful developer with his own complexes, all offer the "no-fuss, no-bother" approach to housing, which narrows the ultimate spectrum of diversity.

in the Spanish Style

1 Bedroom 1 Bath	\$145.00 up
2 Bedroom 1 Bath	\$179.50 up
2 Bedroom 2 Bath	\$189.50 up
1 & 2 Bedroom Studios	\$185 up

- Separate Adult and Family Areas • Small Pets Accepted • All Electric Color Co-ordinated Kitchens • Security Patrol • Piped in Music
- Individual Climate Control • Security Patrol
- Large Pools • Near Schools and Churches
- Spacious Living Areas • Walk-in Closets • Marble Top /anities

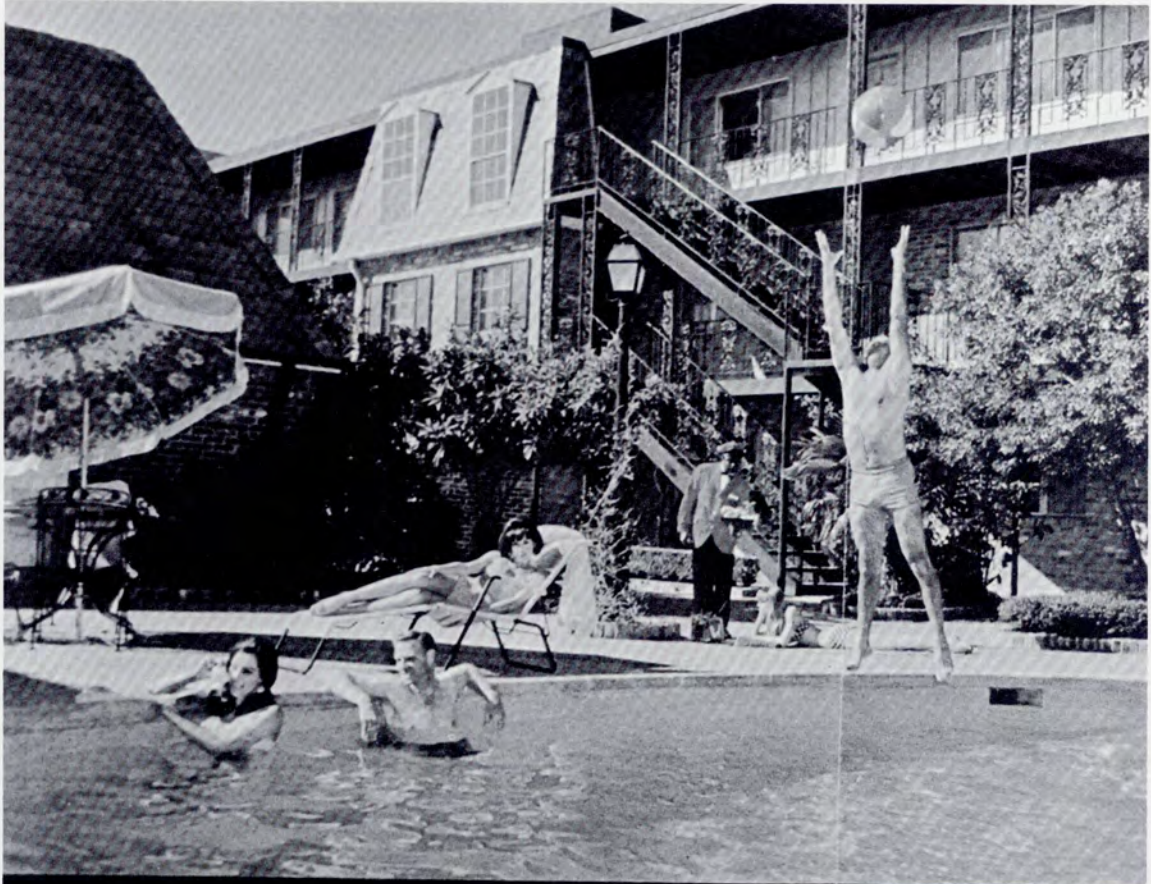
CABALLERO
7222 SOUTH GESSNER
771-6323

APARTMENTS
EXIT SOUTHWEST FREEWAY AT GESSNER
TURN RIGHT TO CABALLERO
7222 SOUTH GESSNER

Newspaper Ad for Caballero Apartments

HOUSING, AS ADVERTISED

As with any consumer produce having comparable qualities within a restricted, competitive market, the "differences" between complexes are touted in advertising. It is essential that these differences be carefully bound within a predictable package; not *too* different from what is expected, only different enough. Appeals are made to a general range of expected services and amenities, within an anticipated rental range. Other ads offer the unexpected—clubs, saunas, group activities, day care, etc. There are ads geared to no-fuss/no-bother living (maintenance-free, security) as well as the concerns of special groups, such as families. Hard sell and the possibility of at least superficial romantic encounters runs through ads marked for the swinging-single, or "swingle." Occasional atmosphere generated through architectural treatment plays out the formal—living in New Orleans is gracious, this looks like New Orleans, living here is gracious. Conversion into condominiums intensifies the apparent desirability and exclusiveness of a complex, where the message becomes considerably lower key and conservative in order to create the illusion of a greater degree of tenure in what may have once been merely a stopping-off place.



**At Westcreek the gang likes
to gather at the old swimming hole**

(Read inside about the amazing apartment village whose owners make the astonishing offer that they *guarantee* you'll love living here — OR: YOUR MONEY BACK)

Promotional Brochure for West Creek