

HOME SWEET MOBILE HOME PARK:
DEVELOPING A HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR A MODERN RESOURCE

by

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(Under the Direction of Cari Goetcheus)

ABSTRACT

Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, the historic preservation field has begun to include modern resources from the 1950s and 1960s under its purview. Though fitting the definition of a modern resource, mobile home parks as a cultural resource have not yet been considered. This thesis provides a developmental history of mobile home parks to present the resource's historic context. Case studies are then used to determine the possibility of a successful nomination of a mobile home park to the National Register of Historic Places.

INDEX WORDS: Cultural Resource, Historic Preservation, Mobile Home, Mobile Home Park, Modern Resource, National Register

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DEDICATION

To my parents, David and Martha Lawrence; my grandparents, Clif and Beverly Lawrence; and Chyron and Lynda Wood, all of whom have always exemplified Christian values and a strong work ethic. My maternal grandfather, Chyron Wood has always worked in and around mobile home parks, especially those in Auburn and Opelika, Alabama. Turning 80 years old this year, he has witnessed the birth, growth, development, viability, worth, and historical significance of mobile home parks.

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“EVOLUTION”

The limbs of a tree, and a few dried hides,
 And the Indian had a home.
Some blocks of ice, and some snow cement,
 Made the igloo up near Nome.
The pioneer used the big tree trunks,
 That he piled with mud between.
He built it well, his cabin home,
 A shelter and a screen.
Then came his home of brick and stone,
 A mansion high and wide.
The show place of the village,
 Pride of the countryside.
And each house stood on a plot of ground,
 A door yard or an acre.
And each man proud of the land he owned,
 A private “empire maker.”
And houses grew and land grew dear,
 Men bought and fought to gain it.
They staked their claims and staked their lives,
 Their souls, just to obtain it.
A man who roamed, without a home,
 Without a hearth or haven,
 A gypsy or a hobo
 Alike, – a man depraven.
Then taxes hit the homestead.

The mortgage reared its head.
Apartment houses grew apace,
 With kitchenette and bed.
 A penthouse or a duplex,
Man still was anchored fast.
Each night the same path homeward,
 The scene the same at last.
And then he found the gypsy,
 Asleep through all the years,
Awakened in his own staid self,
 The nomad call he hears.
The trailer is the answer,
 A home behind his car.
In every man the longing
 To travel fast and far.
No longer pride of empire,
No wish for house and land.
There’s every living comfort
When he joins the trailer band.
He comes and goes at pleasure,
Without roots to hold him fast.
After twenty restless centuries,
Man’s freedom comes at last.

– By Edith C. Gregware

Published in Trailer Caravan 1937. (Wallis 1991)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Mobile homes and mobile home parks have been a feasible housing option for Americans with limited financial means for the better part of eighty years. During this time, few housing types have been so polarizing and yet promising; mobile home parks generally have the reputation of being “cheap and dirty” neighborhoods located in undesirable sections of town. Because of this, they are often avoided, ignored, and demolished, rarely preserved, as they would be if they were in the National Register of Historic Places.

Mobile homes and mobile home parks are an aspect of our national history that should be acknowledged, understood, documented, and preserved. In recent decades, preservationists have placed great emphasis on providing the entire history of a location, not just that which is popular or the most aesthetic. Mobile homes have been historically ignored, just as the controversial ranch house and its accompanying suburban sprawl was ignored until recently. Since preservationists are now including ranch house communities in the National Register of Historic Places, mobile home parks are also a logical candidate for inclusion.

The subject of mobile homes and mobile home parks is complex and multifaceted; it is not only a potential cultural resource but can also be considered through the lenses of affordable housing, socioeconomics, and even race and class discrimination.

One of the most prominent aspects of a mobile home is that it plays an integral role in providing an affordable housing option for millions of Americans.¹ The main appeal of a mobile home is not the fact that they are “mobile” but, instead, it enables people to attain the desired goal of middle-class suburban living that they could otherwise not afford.² The affordability of early mobile homes led to a sharp increase in their popularity in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 1965, mobile homes comprised seventy-six percent of the market for homes valued at less than \$12,500.³ With mobile homes being a viable alternative for lower-income families, you would think that mobile homes would be a driving factor in public housing discussions. However, this has not always been the case. A majority of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) affordable housing programs place emphasis on site-built housing that is either subsidized or rented to qualified low-income occupants. Mobile homes/manufactured housing, while being around for over sixty years, are just now being seriously considered by HUD for use in public housing projects because of their affordability and efficiency. New consideration has been shown because owner-occupied mobile homes are more affordable and considered higher quality than site-built rental units.⁴ Manufactured housing has even played an important role in new housing stock with fourteen to twenty percent of the new home starts representing manufactured housing in 2004.⁵ Mobile homes continue to have an

¹ Affordable housing is housing which costs no more than 30 percent of the occupant’s household income or is available below the median price in a given housing market. (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development)

² French, Robert M, and Jeffery K Hadden. "Mobile Homes: Instant Suburbia or Transportable Slums?." *Social Problems*, 1968: 219-226.

³ French and Hadden 1968, 220

⁴ Boehm, Thomas P, and Alan Schlottmann. *Is Manufactured Housing a Good Alternative for Low-Income Families? Evidence from the American Housing Survey*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2004.

⁵ United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. “Affordable Housing: Designing an American Asset.” *Research Works*, September 2004. The term “manufactured housing” is an umbrella term that includes mobile homes. A discussion of terminology may be found in chapter two.

impact on the housing market as they are a tool that lower-income families can use to better their economic standing by owning a home rather than renting.

The socioeconomic standing of mobile home park residents factors into the perception that has developed of mobile home parks as a whole. Unlike site-built housing that is occupied by a range of people from various economic backgrounds, mobile home occupants generally have lower-incomes or they are retirees living on a fixed income. Over 60% of mobile home dwellers are engaged in some manual or “blue collar” occupation, with the remainder classified as retired or unemployed.⁶ Studies have shown that there is an inverse relationship between income and odds of owning a mobile home. The lower the income the odds are greater that a low income household will own a mobile home over a single-family detached house.⁷ The higher the education level of a lower income household, the greater the odds that they will choose a mobile home over a single-family detached house.⁸ In a study of mobile homes and mobile home parks in Georgia over forty percent of mobile home park residents had at least a high school education and over fifty percent of the residents were married. Despite these facts, the surrounding community residents still did not view mobile homes in a positive light, stating the mobile home park had a fairly bad appearance and housed low-income people with bad social behavior.⁹ There seems to be a disconnect between how mobile home residents view mobile home parks and how the surrounding community residents view mobile home parks. Mobile home park residents generally view the parks in a positive light in terms of how they economically benefit from living there, while the residents of the surrounding community tend to have a negative view of the

⁶ French and Hadden 1968, 222

⁷ Marshall, Maria. *Who Chooses to Own a Manufactured Home?* Working Paper # 06-12, West Lafayette: Purdue University Department of Agricultural Economics, 2006.

⁸ Owens, W.J. “Who’s Buying Manufactured Homes?” *Urban Land* 55, no. 1 (1996): 21-23.

⁹ Beamish, Julia, Rosemary Goss, Jorge Atilas, and Youngjoo Kim. “Not a Trailer Anymore: Perceptions of Manufactured Housing.” *Housing Policy Debate*, 2001: 373-392.

parks based on stereotypes and the perceived negative externalities that the parks impose on the community.¹⁰ Negative perceptions for decades have fed into a class discrimination attitude against mobile home park residents.

As far as class discrimination is concerned, historically, houses on wheels were thought of as abodes for a small minority of the population that were not integrated into the larger society.¹¹ Gypsies, displaced persons, and migrant workers are examples of people who lived in houses on wheels and were not really integrated into the societies within which they moved. The same was true of those that owned early American travel trailers, which will be discussed later. Even the United States Census in 1940 included travel trailers not with housing, but with railroad cars, tents, and shacks.¹² When the mobile home became a separate entity from travel trailers, there remained a stigma that mobile homes were a subpar housing option for underprivileged people. The class discrimination that developed appears to be purely based on socioeconomics and the perceptions that surrounding community members developed, not race. However, mobile home park residents seem to be comprised of more white and Hispanic populations than African-American. This can be traced to the white flight from major city centers that took place as a result of large-scale suburbanization after World War II. Large pockets of African-American populations remained in the cities, while a majority of the white populations moved to the suburbs. As most mobile home parks are located in the suburbs and rural areas surrounding cities, many of the residents were white as a result.¹³ A fair number of mobile home parks with moderate Hispanic populations are also prevalent in suburban to rural areas because of the proximity to jobs in agriculture.

¹⁰ Beamish, et al. 2001

¹¹ French and Hadden 1968, 220

¹² French and Hadden 1968, 220

¹³ In 1960, only 1.4 percent of all mobile housing was occupied by nonwhites. (French and Hadden 1968, 222)

While this thesis will not explore affordable housing, socioeconomics, and class discrimination in depth, these are underlying themes that influenced mobile homes, mobile home parks and how they are viewed and used in the United States. Even with these underlying themes prevalent, mobile home parks have played an integral role in the low-income housing movement in the United States since the Great Depression. Although all of these topics contribute to make mobile home parks historically significant, this thesis will focus on mobile home parks as cultural resources to be evaluated and studied for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

Research Question

While a few preservation professionals are beginning to look at mobile homes and mobile home parks as cultural resources, none have been nominated or listed to the National Register. Hence, the intent of this thesis is to look at that possibility. The questions that are to be answered include: Can mobile homes and mobile home parks be considered cultural resources? If mobile home parks are considered a cultural resource, what challenges would they have regarding eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places? How might an Athens-Clarke County, Georgia, mobile home park case study fare in the National Register nomination process?

Methodology

To answer the research questions, the methodology will include defining mobile home parks as cultural resources, defining mobile home park typologies, identifying key characteristics within a 'typical' mobile home park, and using those characteristics/typologies to attempt to craft a National Register nomination for several case study sites. As a result of attempting to complete

a nomination form, discussion of the challenges of nominating mobile home parks to the National Register will take place.

To define mobile home parks as cultural resources, the research will involve looking at the history of the mobile home and the circumstances that led to its creation. Information will be gathered from books and journal articles describing the mobile home's history. Various resources, such as *Wheel Estate* and *The Unknown World of the Mobile Home*, will be referenced regarding the mobile home as a contemporary cultural resource and how it could play into historic preservation. Federal and State legislation will be reviewed to determine how the mobile home is perceived as a housing unit. The legislation will be crucial for understanding the mobile home park and its development. Research will further include the societal context of the mobile home and mobile home parks over time and how their reputation influenced the design and location of this housing stock within a community.

Once the background history has been gathered, a broad classification system for mobile home parks will be developed using both aerial photography and windshield surveys. The intent is to categorize changes in layout of the mobile homes and circulation patterns that make up the communities over time. By doing this, a developmental history of the progression of mobile home park design through time becomes apparent.

Finally, mobile home parks representing each of the defined types were selected based on their respective backgrounds and landscape characteristics. The parks will be researched and crafted into National Register nominations. Based on the process of attempting to nominate the representative mobile home park case studies, the successes and pitfalls will be discussed.

Structure

This thesis is organized to provide background knowledge on mobile homes and mobile home parks, then from there explore the National Register nomination process to determine if mobile home parks might be eligible and could be nominated.

After the Chapter 1 introduction, Chapter 2 discusses the development and definition of the mobile home. That chapter includes a comprehensive contextual history of the mobile home from its beginnings to present day, as well as its transition from temporary housing to permanent dwelling; materials, styles, and manufacturers will also be discussed. The remainder of Chapter 2 focuses on mobile home parks describing the typologies, key characteristics, design and locations of these resources. Chapter 3 delves into the legal code and regulatory oversight that is placed on the mobile home industry and how it has influenced them as a possible cultural resources. This information will provide insight that complements the mobile home's development and perceptions of it. Zoning practices have played a large part in why mobile home parks have gained the stigma associated with them today. Chapter 4 will take a step in a complimentary direction and look at the concept of cultural resources. This chapter touches on how cultural resources are defined, their relevance in historic preservation, documentation methods used to record them and the National Register nomination process, specifically as it relates to resources that may be a little different than usual.

Chapter 5 will identify mobile home park case studies and attempt to complete National Register nomination forms for them. In Chapter 6, the result of those attempts will allow for discussion of the possible strengths and weaknesses that this resource type has if being nominated to the National Register. It then will be possible to discuss if there are certain sets of the aforementioned mobile home typologies that would prove to be more successful than others

at being nominated to the National Register. Finally, Chapter 6 will also summarize the key points of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF THE MOBILE HOME & MOBILE HOME PARK

Origins

Mobile homes¹⁴ are a unique housing type as their creation is the result of the evolution of America's transportation system. During the country's beginning, cities and towns were situated on or near the ocean and dependent on European goods delivered by ship. This persisted until railroads became the backbone of the nation's transportation infrastructure stretching from coast to coast and ushering in a new age and the American Industrial Revolution around 1869.¹⁵ With the building of rail lines traversing the continent, new cities were created along the rail lines or at intersecting rail lines to take advantage of the newly formed trade routes. The railroad served as both a means for transporting raw and finished goods across the country and also served as the primary means of transporting people. This persisted until Henry Ford's development of the assembly line in 1913 made automobiles an attainable reality for many Americans and thus America's transportation changed yet again.¹⁶ The automobile provided a

¹⁴ The terminology of the mobile home industry developed through time to suit the needs of industry manufacturers. The name changes coincided with major changes in the industry. In the 1920s and 1930s the term was 'travel trailer.' With an increased use of the structures as war worker housing in the 1940s, the term shifted to 'house trailer.' After the war, the term 'mobile home' began to be used to further convey the idea of 'home.' Finally, from the 1970s to the present, the term "manufactured housing" has been used to include other similar housing industry segments that include prefabricated housing components assembled in a factory setting. For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'mobile home' will be used because the focus will be on a prefabricated structure that is built in a factory and delivered to a site which is then affixed to a foundation for the rest of its usable life. The term 'trailer' suggests that the structure is ever-mobile and "manufactured housing" is too generic and all-encompassing. Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate: The Rise and Decline of Mobile Homes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991: 31.

¹⁵ Thomas, William G. *The Iron Way: Railroads, the Civil War, and the Making of Modern America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

¹⁶ McCollum, Sean. "America on Wheels." *Scholastic Update* 129, no. 9 (1997): 18-20.

view of America that was previously not available from the seat of a train along defined rail routes. While train stations were, at times, surrounded by warehouses and the unappealing outskirts of town, there were always roads that ran right through the downtown business sector showing the best face possible. In 1916, Theodore Dreiser said that “car travel exposed travelers to the timeless, pastoral calm, the human scale of the village and farm order.”¹⁷

Automobiles allowed Americans to cultivate national values of individualism and connections to the landscape.¹⁸ Though the first automobiles with their open carriage and exposure to the elements could be construed as a step backward when compared to the relatively plush environment of a train car, the early automobiles were seen as allowing participants a virtuous experience. The 1915 Lincoln Highway Guide stated that “to those who love the wide spaces, who enjoy exertion in the clear ozone of the great out-of-doors, the trip is delightful.”¹⁹ The guide failed to mention the poor condition of the roads and the likely possibility of motorists having to pull each other out of the mud or dislodge stumps from cars’ undercarriage. Nevertheless, motorists were indeed more immersed in nature.

The number of automobiles on American roads increased 340% in ten years, from 6,771,000 in 1919 to 23,121,000 in 1929.²⁰ As a result of the popularization of ‘motoring’ in an automobile for travel and vacation, hotels proliferated around 1910 and provided motorists a place to stop and refresh on the journey. For some these hotels were a welcome sight, while

¹⁷ Belasco, Warren J. *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1979.29.

¹⁸ Wallis, Allan D. "House Trailers: Innovation and Accommodation in Vernacular Housing." Edited by Thomas Carter and Bernard Herman. *Perspectives in Architecture, III* (University of Missouri Press), 1989: 28.

¹⁹ Belasco 1979, 30

²⁰ United States Department of Transportation Statistical Update via McCollum 1997

others determined that the formality of hotel etiquette, with its dress code and tipping practices, was not welcoming and in sharp contrast to the rest of the motoring journey.²¹

In an attempt to further the automobile's connection with nature and escape the societal entrapments of hotels, motorists found camping to be a refreshing escape. During his presidency, Theodore Roosevelt hosted many camping trips to show his longing for a return to a "strenuous life" and therefore remove oneself from the decadent urban life that Americans had become accustomed.²² Though Roosevelt's camping excursions were too early to employ cars, at least during his presidency, the idea of escaping the contemporary trappings of life persisted. With many prominent industrial figures, such as Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, and Harvey Firestone participating in camping excursions, camping and 'autocamping' became an extremely popular way for Americans with enough means to vacation and escape the 'entrapments' of day-to-day life. John Burroughs, a naturalist, when speaking of an autocamping trip that he attended with the aforementioned industry magnates noted:

Discomfort is, after all, what the camper-out is unconsciously seeking. We grow weary of our luxuries and conveniences. We react against our complex civilization, and long to get back for a time to first principles. We cheerfully endure wet, cold, smoke, mosquitos, black flies, and sleepless nights just to touch naked reality once more.²³

This viewpoint seems over-romanticized when the reality of camping out of an automobile before the 1920s is considered. The quantity of necessary supplies required constant packing and unpacking, coupled with the poor condition of the roads in the oftentimes remote locations, meant that a great deal of effort was involved. Theodore Roosevelt was correct in his word-choice when he chose the word 'strenuous.' The romantic perception of rural landscapes and fresh air somehow being more virtuous than the urban environment still seems to persist today.

²¹ Belasco 1979

²² Wallis 1991, 31

²³ Belasco 1979, 31

Early autocampers prepared by packing everything needed for the trip in the automobile, wherever they were to find room. Some automakers even produced models that incorporated camping accessories, like pop-out awnings that came from trunks of an automobile. The problem and frustration arose when the family had to unpack and repack every item with every overnight stop. Henry Ford and his acquaintances began to try and alleviate some of this work by having different automobiles serve different autocamping purposes around 1921. For instance, a flat-bed truck with an adapted kitchen erected on the back prepared meals for Ford and his constituents to dine under a white dining fly attached to the truck's side.²⁴ While this was sufficient for the large camping parties thrown by the wealthy of the time, it was impractical and unrealistic for the average American family; they would need something more compact and versatile.

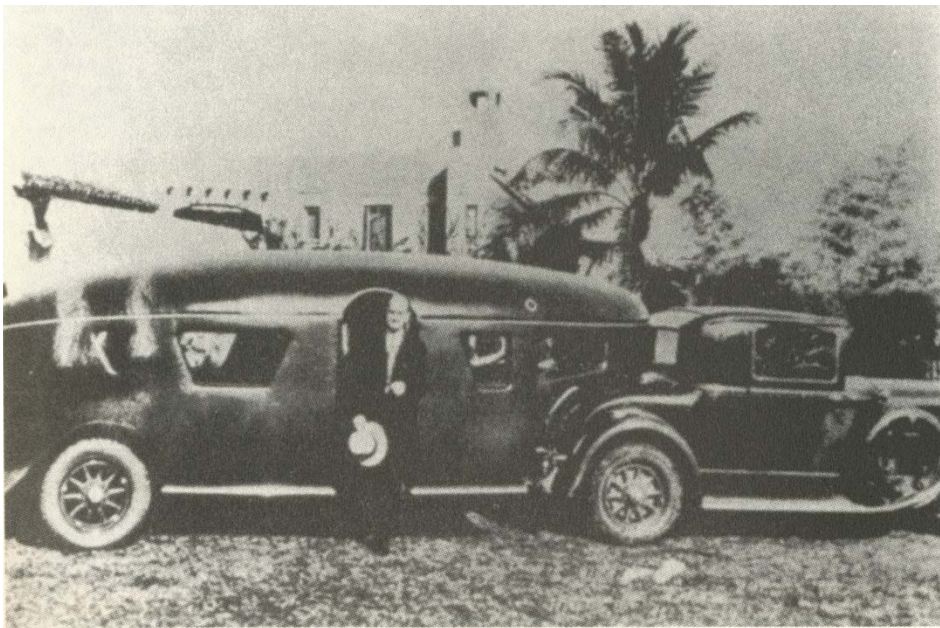


Figure 1: Glenn Curtiss and his Aerocar, 1922 (Wallis 1991, 33).

²⁴ McCollum 1997

In 1919, Glenn Curtiss, an aviation pioneer, designed and built a custom trailer to be pulled behind his automobile when he went autocamping. The trailer's lines were clearly influenced by Curtiss's affinity for airplanes, as they were rounded and aerodynamic. He even named the trailer an Aerocar. Included in the interior were four sleeping berths, wardrobes, glass roof, running water and a telephone to the car ahead. Curtiss licensed the Aerocar for commercial production in the late 1920s, yet only achieved modest sales before the line was removed from production in the late 1930s.²⁵

Arthur G. Sherman of Detroit, Michigan is credited with creating the first manufacturer that produced travel trailers on an industrial scale. Sherman is responsible for aiding the growth and popularity of the travel trailer by providing an affordable alternative to Curtiss' technology-filled model.²⁶ In 1929, Sherman, the president of a pharmaceutical-manufacturing company, decided to take his family on a vacation to the upper peninsula of Michigan. Not wanting to assemble and disassemble a tent and campsite at every stop, he had the idea to make a box attached to a trailer chassis to serve the same purpose without much hassle. Sherman hired a local carpenter to construct a wooden box nine feet long and six feet wide that contained an upper and lower bunk as well as a coal-burning stove. This sparked a great deal of interest at the various campsites the family visited during the trip and Sherman, realizing the potential, decided to risk \$10,000 to enter the trailer business. The first units sold in 1929 for \$300 and business increased so much that he moved his manufacturing operation from a small garage in Detroit to an abandoned candy factory in Mount Clemons, Michigan in 1933. After three months of being in Mount Clemons, the factory single-handedly eliminated the town's unemployment problem,

²⁵ Mitchell, Charles R, and Kirk W House. *Glenn H. Curtiss: Aviation Pioneer*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2001.

²⁶ Curtiss' company produced several models of the Aerocar until the company was disbanded in 1938. Mitchell and House 2001

due to the increased product demand. This was an even more impressive feat in that this was during the Great Depression. In 1936 alone, Sherman's company sold 6,000 travel trailers and grossed \$3 million in sales.²⁷

Pre-cursor to the mobile home, the travel trailer seems to have been created and evolved around Michigan, home to the automobile industry during a time when automobiles were changing the nation. According to Wallis, during the 1920s and 30s the people of Detroit would spend summer weekends and vacations on the small lakes of southern Michigan.²⁸ Around the mid-1930s, most vacationers would either rent a cottage or hotel room, yet some found a way to circumvent the system and save money. Instead they would rent a vacant lot and set up what became known as a travel trailer. A small travel trailer would generally be comprised of a wood or aluminum shell containing a bed and small kitchenette.

Early travel trailers were designed with mobility, not livability, in mind. The floor plans were basically one 'room' that served several functions and included transformable furniture. This mobility influenced the design of trailers by accentuating its relationship with the car during the 1930s.²⁹ The exteriors were designed to be rounded and streamlined to evoke the lines of the vehicle pulling it. This aesthetic effectively decreased the useable space in the interior of the structure, which at that time was not the focus of the design process.

Not everyone was enthralled by the growing popularity of travel trailers.³⁰ There were many Americans that felt trailers were not a benefit but a detriment to society. P.H. Elwood, a

²⁷ Hart, John, Michelle Rhodes, and John Morgan. *The Unknown World of the Mobile Home*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002: 6-7.

²⁸ Wallis 1989, 28

²⁹ *Automobile and Trailer Travel*. February 1936: 20.

³⁰ This distaste for groups that lived a mobile lifestyle may have been new to the United States; however, this sort of discrimination is nothing new in Europe where it has been present for several centuries. In England, in particular, there are two main nomadic populations the English Romany Gypsies and the Irish Travellers. Both populations lived a nomadic lifestyle out of wagons and sleds historically and travel trailers (caravans) presently. The oppression of these groups was first recorded in 1530 with anti-nomadic laws going into effect. Today, the main disputes that

landscape architecture professor at Iowa State University, clearly voiced this opinion in a 1936 journal article entitled, “The Trailer – Liberator or Menace?” The opening line sets the tone for the rest of the article:

The Trailer is either the coming liberator of a vast number of the American people or the most devastating, unsocial and uglifying element since the scourge of billboards, hot dog stands and the gasoline stations swept like a devastating prairie fire across the fair American Landscape.³¹

While the vacationer does receive some of his scorn, it is the semi-permanent trailer residents that take the greatest hit. Elwood’s greatest issues regarding Americans deciding to live a ‘gypsy’ lifestyle in a travel trailer are economics, hygiene, and social welfare, which translate into taxation, waste sanitation, and schooling children. Elwood’s suggestion to remedy the effects of the ‘uglifying element’ was to create trailer villages that provide the amenities of a suburban housing development. These villages were to have trees, shrubs, water, electricity, and sanitation lines to every trailer, which were to be parked on clearly defined lots complete with concrete paths and driveways. At the end of his article, Elwood provides a list of eight suggestions that need to be addressed for ‘trailerites’³² to be functioning members of American society:

1. Recognition of the problem and an honest attempt to solve, not dodge it.
2. Properly planned, supervised and maintained trailer roadside camps and suburban villages, with water and sanitary conveniences.
3. Adequate laws for police protection, education of children and just taxation.

take place over the United Kingdom’s nomadic populations is focused on land use and where to permit this sort of activity. While this discrimination has been purely based on race and ethnicity, the American discrimination is based much more on in socioeconomics than race. (Greenfields 2008) and (Kabachnik and Ryder 2013)

³¹ Elwood, P.H. "The Trailer - Liberator or Menace?." *The American City*, 1936: 65-66.

³² The term ‘trailerites’ was used to refer to travel trailer owners, though it can include those that occasionally used them, the term is more closely associated with the owners that lived in their travel trailer for extended periods of time.

4. Proper state and interstate rules and laws governing migrants.
5. Rational regulation of trailer traffic on streets and highways.
6. Industrial planning to provide continuous employment for trailerites.
7. More homelike and less streamlined trailer design.
8. Permanent, attractive settings in permanent villages and roadside groups.³³

Just two short years later, in 1938, an article was published in *Trailer Travel*³⁴ that described a new form of trailer, the Durham Portable House. (Figure 2) This new housing type, designed by architecture professors M.R. Dobberman and John W. Davis of the University of Illinois, was essentially a mobile home in the sense of the definition that is used today.³⁵ The house could be built in a factory, assembly-line fashion, delivered in two sections to the site by a flat-bed truck and then attached together. The occupants could live in the structure for as long as necessary and then disassemble and relocate if needed. The Durham House opened the possibility for the affordability of a semi-permanent to permanent house that was designed for occupancy rather than mobility. Although the Durham House was never constructed or sold, its design did serve as a prototype for the mobile home industry that would arise a few years later.

Once the United States entered World War II, the nation's industries increased production to support the effort. There were population increases in cities in which the war industries were established and housing became a scarce commodity. Trailers were purchased by many families during the war, and private and public trailer parks were created to accommodate them. As the war progressed, the trailer industry began to produce semi-permanent housing,

³³ Elwood 1936, 66

³⁴ There were enough travel trailers in use by the 1930s to warrant several content-related publications: *Trailer Travel* was the first and debuted in 1936. After that, *Trailer Caravan*, and *Trailer Topics* all began publication in the late-1930s, while another magazine, *Mobile Life* began publication in the mid-1950s (Wallis 1991).

³⁵ Stohr, Kate. "100 Years of Humanitarian Design." In *Design Like You Give a Damn: Architectural Responses to Humanitarian Crisis*, edited by Architecture for Humanity, 32-53. New York: Metropolis Books, 2006.

similar in function to the Durham House design of 1938. Because of this new semi-permanent housing, the federal government commissioned a folding house designed by William Stout (Figure 3) which included the amenities of a site-built home.³⁶



Figure 2: The Durham Portable House Prototype, 1938 (taylorburns.com)

Stout's house was constructed in a factory, delivered to a site, and then unfolded from an initial eight feet wide to twenty-two feet wide. Six thousand of these houses were ordered during the war. The result of these war-time trailers and trailer parks for war workers seemed to be a clear shift from 'travel trailer' to the idea of a 'house trailer.'³⁷

By the end of World War II, house trailers proved to be a viable option as long term residences. The industry continued to grow, placing emphasis on designs that made the trailer more like a home and therefore, less mobile. These designs included telescoping side panels and

³⁶ William Bushnell Stout was a mechanical inventor that became the chief engineer of the Packard Motor Car Company Aircraft Division in 1908. He pioneered many aeronautical ideas, including cladding airplanes in thin metal sheets to reduce air resistance and increase efficiency. Stout also dabbled in inventions benefiting automobiles and railroad locomotives. (Greenburg 1943)

³⁷ Thornburg, David A. *Galloping Bungalows: The Rise and Demise of the American House Trailer*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1991.

even telescoping second stories. The rounded styling of the twenties, thirties, and forties disappeared in lieu of rectangular windows complemented with shutters and gabled roofs, providing similarities to a typical suburban house. The external styling did help provide a “sense of home” on the outside, yet the interior functioned fairly similarly to the travel trailers of the previous two decades. There was often a living room in the front, followed by a kitchen, walk-through bathroom and bedroom doubling as a hallway to another bedroom in the rear. This setup was similar across all makes and models because the accepted highway legislation allowed for travel trailers to reach a maximum of eight feet in width. It was not until the 1950s that this legislation and the industry would change forever.

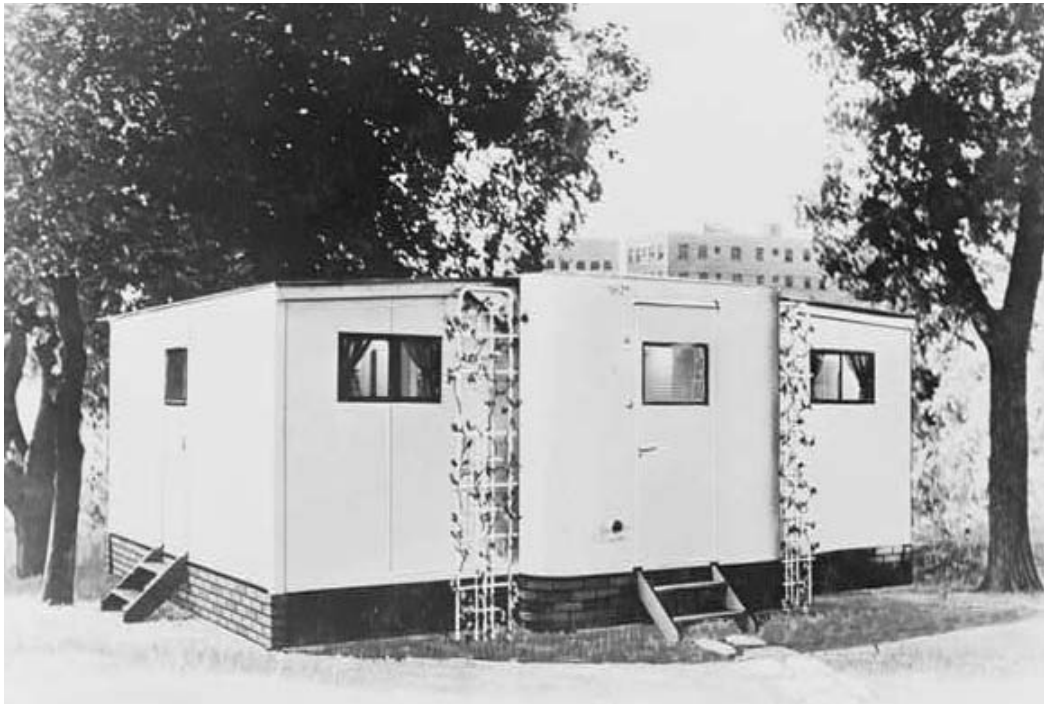


Figure 3: Folding house design by William Stout (Library of Congress).

In 1952, trailer manufacturer Marshfield Homes of Marshfield, Wisconsin produced construction site shacks to be used as temporary offices. When one customer requested that his ten by fifty foot shack be outfitted with a chassis and wheels, the company president, Elmer Frey tried to explain that permits allowing such a wide trailer on the roads would be impossible to obtain. The customer stated that permitting would not be a problem as he would apply for a permit for a 'construction shack' instead of a trailer.³⁸ This thought struck a chord with Frey who realized with the trailer market's focus was shifting from mobility to semi-permanent occupancy. It was no longer necessary to make trailers that had to be highway-ready at any time; building affordable house-like structures that could be moved on site using a construction over-width permit was more important. From this revelation, Frey developed the idea for the Tenwide, a model for the new house type that he coined—the mobile home. The Tenwide allowed space for a corridor that ran from the kitchen at the front to the rear bedroom along one side so interior walls provided the second bedroom and bathroom privacy that had not been possible in the eight foot wide model.³⁹ The floor plan shift allowed for a more efficient use of space which made the structure feel more like a site-built home than ever before. By 1960, the Tenwide dominated the mobile home industry and was dominant size being produced. By 1969, a fourteen-foot-wide and double-wide (28' wide) models were produced.⁴⁰

With the popularity of the new mobile homes skyrocketing and the fact that they were now a completely different product than the original travel trailers, there needed to be a division between the two industries. In 1963, the two industries officially split with the establishment of

³⁸ Wallis 1991, 131

³⁹ Wallis 1991, 131

⁴⁰ French and Hadden 1968

the Recreation Vehicle Association (RVA) and the Mobile Home Manufacturers Association (MHMA).⁴¹

It is the mobile homes that were developed after this split that the public most associates with the mobile home and the mobile home parks of today. From that point onward the style, shape, and function of mobile homes changed relatively little. The reason for this lack of change is that it is an affordable product which generally provides working families the opportunity to buy and own a new place to call home. The general public also associates this housing type with the mobile home parks that are located in nearly every town in the United States. The development of these parks directly coincided with the development of the housing type that has been described thus far.

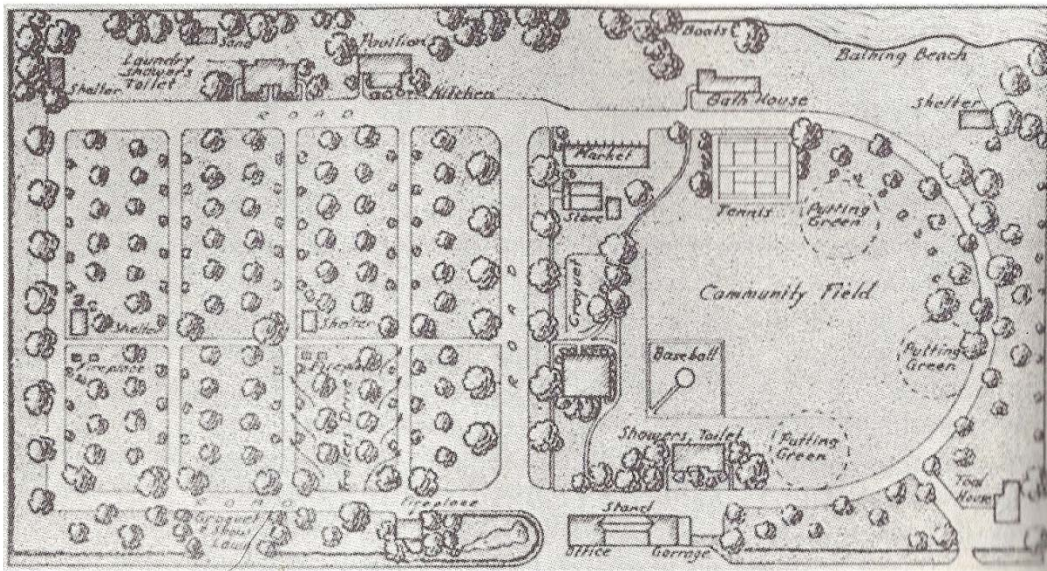


Figure 4: Proposed plan for a municipal campground from the mid to late-1920s (Wallis 1991, 42).

⁴¹ Walker, Melissa, and James Cobb. *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Volume 11. Agriculture and Industry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Trailer Campgrounds and Parks

While traveling, trailer owners needed a place to park overnight. Before 1924, people parked any place that they deemed a good location, whether it was a privately-owned field, public schoolyard, or even cemeteries.⁴² Locals complained that these trailerites left the sites trampled and covered in trash but also saw the potential for revenue. Municipal campgrounds were constructed by some cities along major highways to provide a free place to park a trailer or construct a tent, in the hopes that the owners would make their way to the downtown business district and make purchases.⁴³ With this in mind, municipal campgrounds were constructed near the center of town occupying ten to fifteen acres with potable water, toilets, electric lights, showers, laundry, and even a communal kitchen (Figure 4).⁴⁴ Six thousand of these sites were established between 1920 and 1924. The 1936 plan, shown in Figure 5, is a proposed trailer camp plan drawn by Claire Mueller, a landscape architecture student at Iowa State University, indicating that the municipal campgrounds were designed. Trailer camps were particularly concentrated in California, Florida, and the Midwest (Figure 6).

Because of the number of campgrounds, towns took a great deal of pride in their municipal campground and subtle rivalries developed between towns to see who could garner the title, “best place to stay.” By 1924, these municipal campgrounds began to charge a fee in order to keep people from becoming permanent residents without paying property taxes.⁴⁵

⁴² Hart, Rhodes and Morgan 2002, 8

⁴³ The first of these designed municipal campgrounds began around 1924. It is likely there were vernacular campgrounds that developed before this time.

⁴⁴ Thornburg 1991

⁴⁵ Hart, Rhodes and Morgan 2002

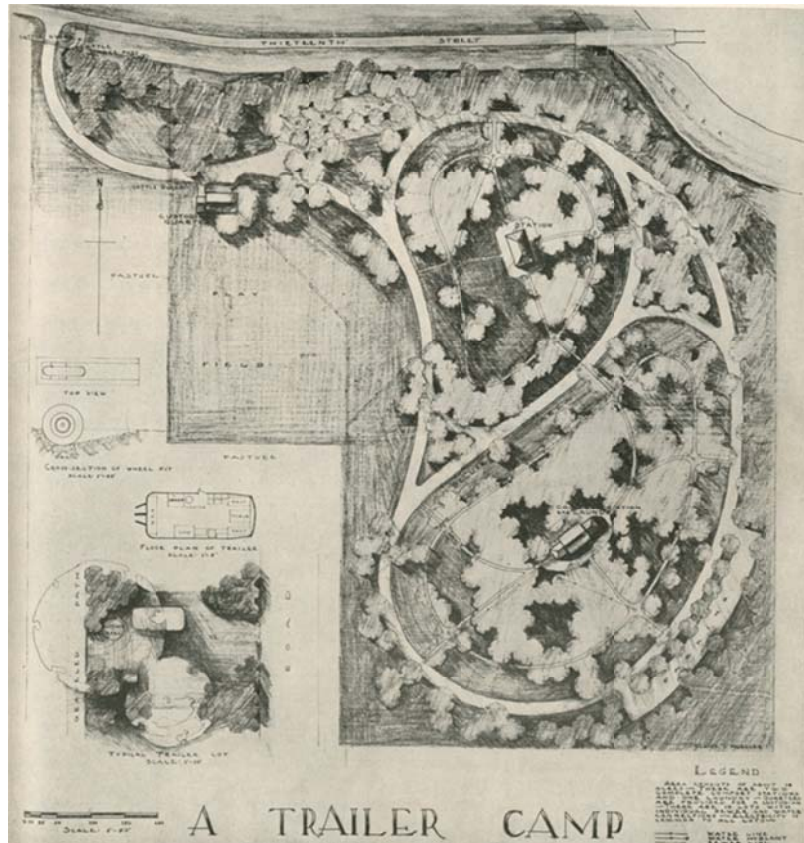


Figure 5: Proposed Trailer Camp plan drawn by Claire Mueller, a landscape architecture student of Elwood's at Iowa State College (Elwood 1936, 65).

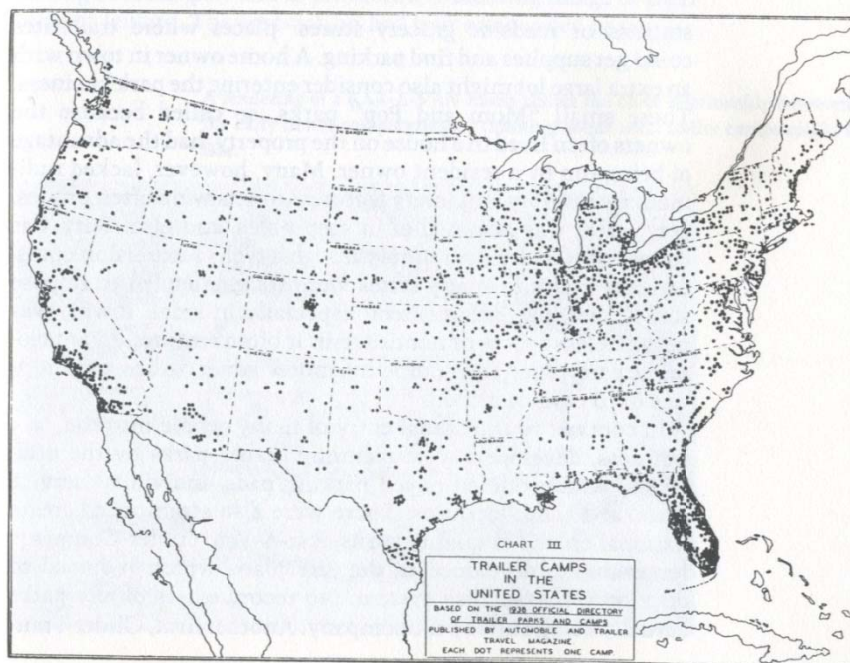


Figure 6: Trailer Camps in the United States, 1938 (Wallis 1991, 41).

In the early 1930s, there were enough trailers in use for many municipal and private campgrounds to operate exclusively for trailers and exclude patrons using tents. Coupled with a name change from ‘trailer camp’ or ‘campground’ to ‘trailer park,’ landowners hoped to present patrons with the idea that the site was better equipped for a trailer-owner’s needs.

Up until the 1940s, a majority of the people that owned travel trailers used them only as a recreational vehicle. However, there were a few segments of the population, including itinerant workers in agriculture and construction, as well as salesmen, who used travel trailers as permanent residences that could easily move with the work to be done.⁴⁶ This would remain true until the United States entered World War II. War presented an increased demand for the travel trailer and the industry experienced growth.

When the United States entered World War II, there was an influx of people into manufacturing cities who temporarily relocated to work for businesses that supported the war effort.⁴⁷ This large population increase meant housing shortages in these cities were inevitable. One particular example of population explosion occurred in Ypsilanti, Michigan, with the opening of the Willow Run Bomber Plant.⁴⁸ Between 1941 and 1942 the population of Ypsilanti doubled, causing a housing shortage. Families that owned travel trailers brought them to use as permanent housing and paid local property owners to park and provide utilities. Private trailer parks were developed for new full-time residents, most of whom had never lived in their trailers for any more than a week or two at a time. These private parks were generally cramped from the large number of residents crammed in a fairly small space, overtaxing utility rooms and showers. Residents looked at the discomfort of the parks as a sacrifice for the war effort in which to be

⁴⁶ Stanford University Research Institute. 1961. “You, Your Family and Trailer Life.” Los Angeles, California: Trailer Coach Association.

⁴⁷ French and Hadden 1968, 219

⁴⁸ Carr, Lowell J, and James E Stermer. *Willow Run: A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy*. New York: Harper, 1952.

proud. Trailer parks built and maintained by the government (Figure 7), afforded residents relatively large lots with wooden raised walkways providing clean pedestrian circulation during the muddy rains. The government-run parks were cleaner and more sanitary; they also featured laundry and shower facilities for every twenty-five trailers. One thing that these war-time parks provided affirmation that trailers and trailer parks could be suitable residences for permanent living. In the two decades following World War II, mobile home sales increased ten-fold.⁴⁹



Figure 7: Wartime government camp in San Diego, 1941 (Library of Congress).

An owner of a travel trailer would arrive at a campground or trailer park and pay to park the trailer for a specified amount of time, generally with a two-week limit. This temporary arrangement would not suffice with the mobile home because the home is meant to remain in one

⁴⁹ French and Hadden 1968, 219

place for a time much greater than two weeks. Because of this shift from mobility to permanence, a new type of community needed to be established—the mobile home park.⁵⁰

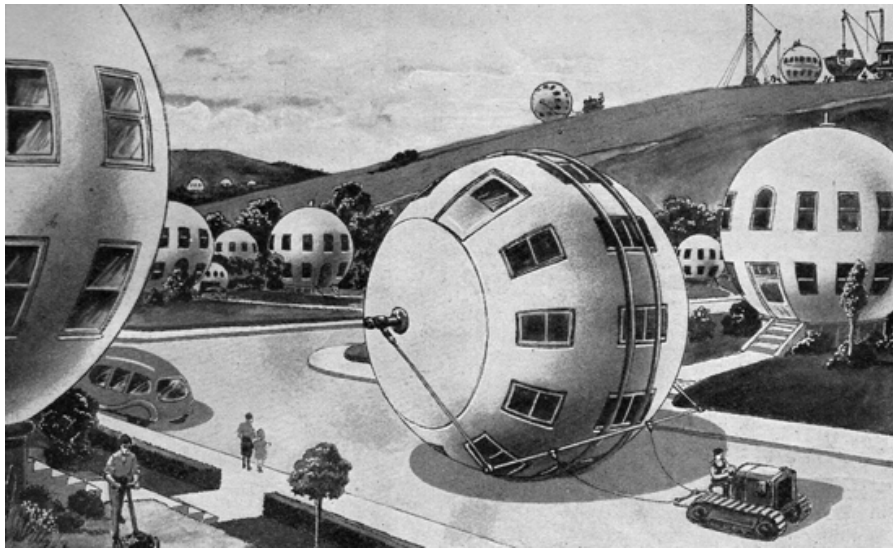


Figure 8: The rolling home of the future from the September, 1934 issue of *Everyday Science and Mechanics*.

Mobile Home Parks

Theoretical mobile housing units (Figure 8) were to be manufactured offsite and towed to a final, permanent, location. While the idea seemed to be first thought of in the thirties, it took over twenty years for a community using these principles to be developed. According to Wallis, the first mobile home park in America was named Trailer Estates, established in 1955 in Bradenton, Florida. The community encompassed 160 acres in which people, mainly retirees, bought individual lots for their mobile homes and paid a monthly fee for amenities. These

⁵⁰ The increasing permanence of the mobile home was a small piece of a larger cultural theme, the redefinition of what is “Home” after World War II.

amenities included social activities, shuffle board courts, a grocery store and a marina. The community had covenants that governed the exterior additions to the mobile homes as well as the lot and its maintenance. These covenants also included zoning of residential uses with pet owners and families with children each having their own section of the park. Though originally built as a subdivision, the property's developers planned on maintaining the roads and utilities in-house rather than turn them over to the city of Bradenton. The developer accomplished this at first by levying a monthly fee on residents, yet with inflation and the cost of maintenance increasing through the years residents objected to any fee increase. Realizing that the original monthly fee would not be sustainable in the long-term, the developers sold the development to the property owners with the condition that they create a recreational district.⁵¹ So not only was Trailer Estates the first mobile home park, but it also became the first recreational district that was solely made up of mobile homes in 1971.⁵²

The layout of Trailer Estates is characterized by a gridded streetscape with centralized community buildings and functions. The mobile homes are situated at an angle in a "herringbone pattern" to maximize density and to allow for ease of delivery. It appears that every mobile home in the park has been modified by additions, including single and double-shed additions.⁵³ The feeling of the park is uniform with little variation of landscaping materials and decoration.

⁵¹ The purpose of a recreational district is "to provide leisure time activities and facilities and recreational facilities, of a nonprofit nature as a public service to the residents of the geographical areas included within their boundaries" (Florida Rev. Code Ann. §071-171 (1971)). In this case The Trailer Estates property Owner-Resident Association is the governing nonprofit. This legislation allows for the Owner-Resident Association to levy taxes on the residents to provide adequate infrastructure within the area's boundaries.

⁵² Smith 2008

⁵³ A single-shed addition is an awning spanning the length of the mobile home that is erected to cover both the mobile home and an area adjacent that can be used as a carport or enclosed to create an extension of the home's living space. A double-shed is similar to the single-shed except that the mobile home is positioned in the center of the awning providing a covered area on side of the home that can be screened or enclosed (Hart, Rhodes and Morgan 2002).



Figure 9: An overview of Trailer Estates in Bradenton, Florida, 2013 (Google Earth).

Trailer Estates, credited as the first mobile home park in the United States, is a defining moment in the mobile home's evolution from the travel trailer. The mobile home park reflects the uniquely American way of city development. American cities developed based on the transportation that was prevalent at the time. The automobile changed the way Americans interacted with the landscape. Automobiles led to the creation of the travel trailer which allowed for people to escape from their daily lives and reconnect with the pioneer spirit that shaped the country in its earlier years. While living year-round in a travel trailer appealed to a few, World War II brought a major shift in the industry by placing a need for permanence over mobility. The shift eventually led to the creation of a completely separate industry, the mobile home industry, whose purpose was to produce affordable housing that provided a feeling of stability usually found in conventional site-built housing. This feeling of stability led to the way mobile homes

were arranged in suburban developments or parks. During this time of constant change, legislators and institutionalized powers that governed automobiles and housing were trying to determine how to regulate this newly developed housing type.⁵⁴

Mobile Home Park Typologies

Trailer Estate's developer, Syd Adler, established three other similar mobile home parks located in Sarasota, Florida; Palm Springs, California; and Tucson, Arizona. He stated in 1991 that these particular mobile home parks are more popular with retirees rather than other demographics for the following reasons, they:

- owned their own homes without having to own “real property,” which they felt could complicate their estates.
- liked their mobility, even though their home does not move, if they decided that they no longer like the community, they could relocate.
- appreciated relatively small lots because of the minimal landscape maintenance required.⁵⁵

Mobile home parks, however, are not always as nicely designed and community-oriented as Trailer Estates proved to be. Many parks containing mobile homes are made up of people taking advantage of the affordable housing option that is provided with a manufactured home. Many early mobile home parks adopted the same layout as the trailer camps and parks that came before. Similar to the majority of site-built homes, mobile homes were positioned perpendicular

⁵⁴ Regulatory and institutional forces “consist of codes, rules and ideologies, unwritten and written, and essential symbolic organizational and material implementations. They evidence themselves socially in standardized and uniform practices and observances, and individually in attitudes and habitual behavior of persons. They are sustained and enforced by public opinion, acting both informally and formally, through specially devised agencies” (Hertzler 1946, 4).

⁵⁵ Wallis 1991

to the street with the living areas toward the street and the bedrooms further way. With site-built home, this arrangement works well and allows for the maximum amount of privacy for the occupants (Figure 10).

However, with mobile homes arranged in this manner, it creates a lack of privacy. Placing all the mobile homes facing the same direction, (Figure 11), places every living area near the neighbors' living area and the master bedroom near the neighbors' master bedroom with the only major sight lines being the neighbors' wall or worse, window. This, combined with the relatively light materials used in the construction of the walls, allowed the residents to both see and hear the happenings of their neighbors. The spatial arrangement worked fairly well for a temporary camping trip, but did not leave much elbow room or privacy for permanent residents. Positioning the mobile homes on a 30 degree diagonal, (Figure 12), provides adequate spatial separation between other functional areas as well as an open area for views out the front and the rear without seeing your neighbors. Residents have access to the street while maintaining more privacy from neighbors.

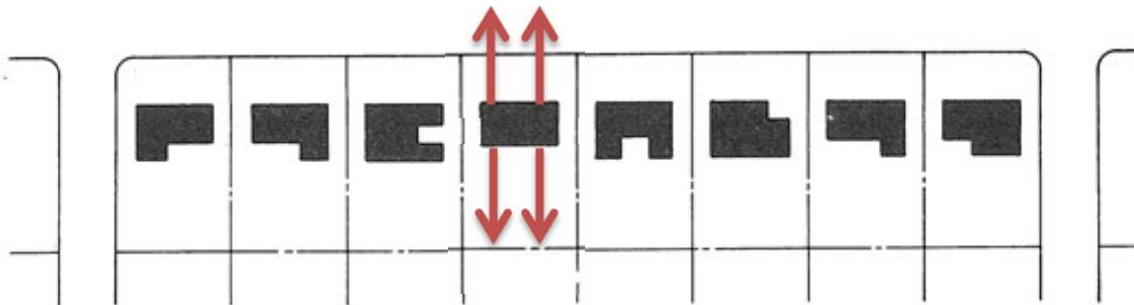


Figure 10: Site-Built Housing Lot Placement with Main Vistas (Bair, Regulation of Mobile Home Subdivisions 1961).

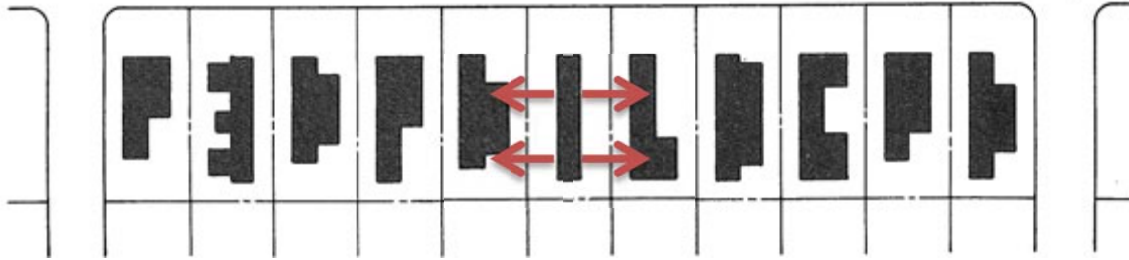


Figure 11: Mobile home perpendicular lot siting with main vistas. This in siting is not ideal because the neighbors' windows look at each other and all the bedrooms are on the same side creating a lack of privacy. (Bair, Regulation of Mobile Home Subdivisions 1961)

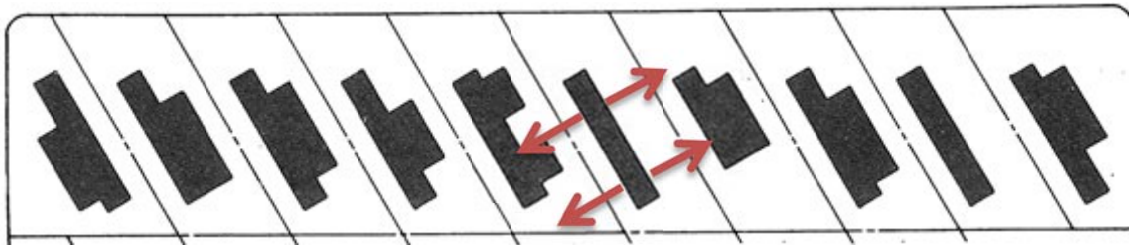


Figure 12: Mobile home angled lot siting with main vistas offset. This is a better option because it provides an unobstructed view from the living room to the street while also offsetting the bedrooms, providing privacy. (Bair, Regulation of Mobile Home Subdivisions 1961)

The Federal Housing Administration⁵⁶ (FHA) issued a land planning bulletin in 1952 which recommended that 90 percent of mobile home lots in any given park should be at least 1,350 square feet and 5 percent of the lots be at least 1,500 square feet (United States Housing and Finance Agency 1960). Also included in the report were tables and diagrams showing the acceptable lot sizes and distance between mobile homes within a park, (Appendix B).

⁵⁶ “The FHA was established in 1934 to demonstrate the feasibility of home lending with long-term fully amortized loans through insurance protection for lenders participating in the program. The FHA program created the single most important financial instrument in modern house finance, the level-payment fully amortizing loan. Though the Administration did not create loans, only insure, it does have the ability to approve or deny them. Because of this, the FHA heavily influenced housing and subdivision design standards throughout the United States during the middle of the 20th century” (Archer and Ling 2010, 255).

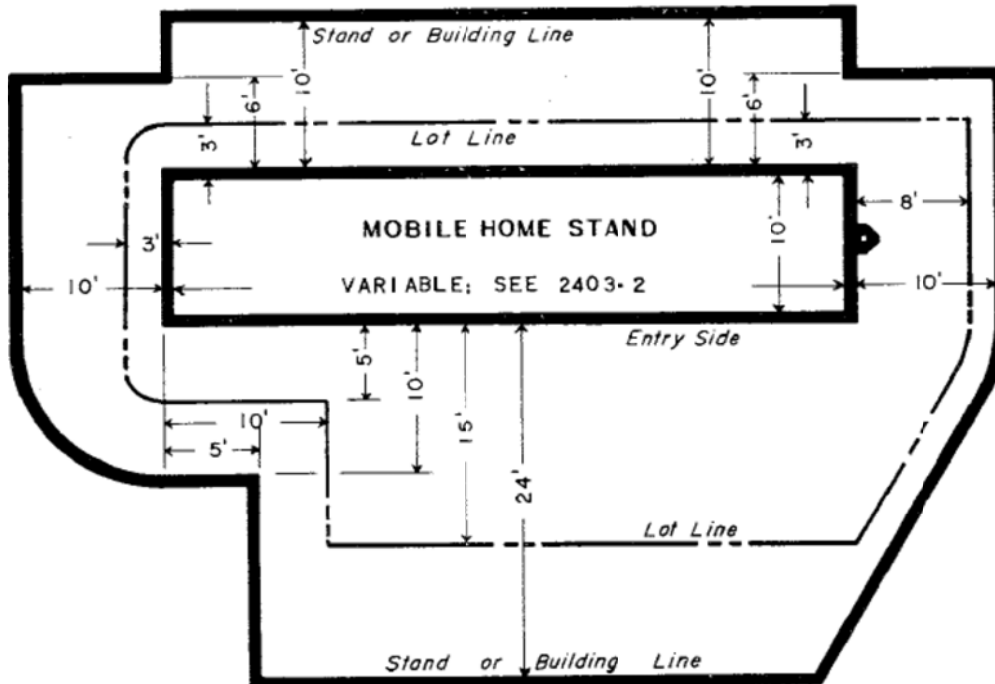


Figure 13: Required Minimum Distances from a Mobile Home to Other Buildings or Structures (United States Housing and Finance Agency 1960).

The Mobile Home Manufacturers Association (MHMA) also set forth a set of suggested guidelines for lot sizes and the positioning of the homes on those lots, though they were not as stringent as those established by the FHA. The purpose of the MHMA guidelines was to provide an example for local planning and zoning commissions to use as a template for their own zoning code.⁵⁷ The MHMA guidelines were developed by Fredrick Bair for local governments and planning commission to use as an advisory tool when drafting their own zoning ordinances concerning mobile homes and mobile home parks or subdivisions as he refers to them. The MHMA guidelines differed from the FHA standards in that the FHA standards were a set of

⁵⁷ Wallis 1991

prerequisites that a park had to conform to, along with the local zoning ordinances, health and building codes, in order to qualify for an FHA-insured mortgage. However, what influenced mobile home park design more so than the MHMA model code was the MHMA's Park Division. This division, created in the late 1950s, prepared free planning kits that included suggested site plans and offered an architectural consulting service for a fee that was refundable upon construction of the park.⁵⁸ Headed by chief consultant George Muramoto, the plans produced exceeded the standards that the FHA had set. The parks were innovative in that they shifted from the perpendicular orientation to a subdivision-like park with curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs similar to the suburban housing developments that were becoming popular during this time.

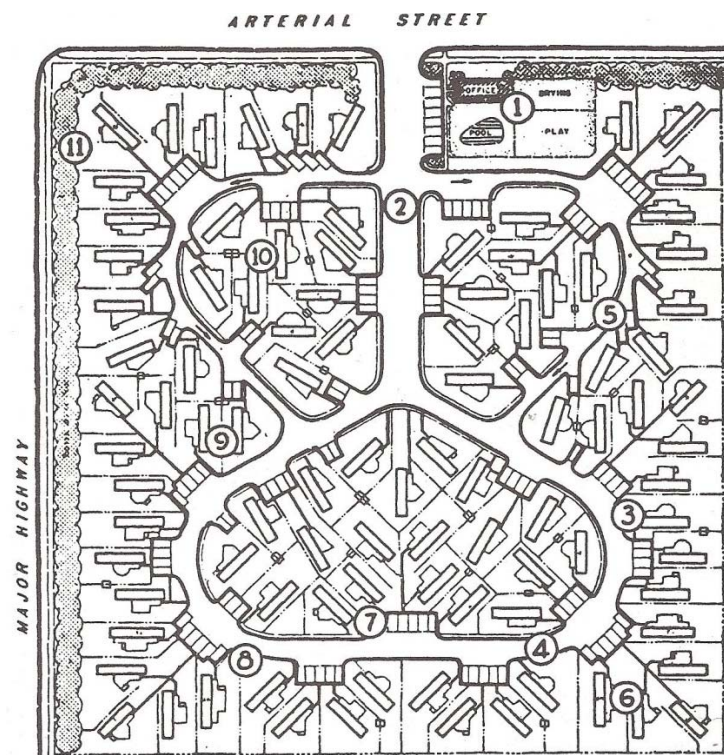


Figure 14: Park plan developed by George Muramoto (Bair, Regulation of Mobile Home Subdivisions 1961).

⁵⁸ *Mobile Home Park Planning Kit*. Chicago: Mobile Home Manufacturers Association, issued periodically.

Muramoto's plans were designed to provide an appealing appearance for both the residents of the parks as well as the other citizens of the host town. The landscaped buffer (

Figure 14) runs along a major highway and arterial street providing screening for the residents and those passing by. Also included in the plans were off-street parking spaces for every residence and recreational areas for the entire community. The curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs allowed for more useable lot area and slowed traffic to help create the residential atmosphere.

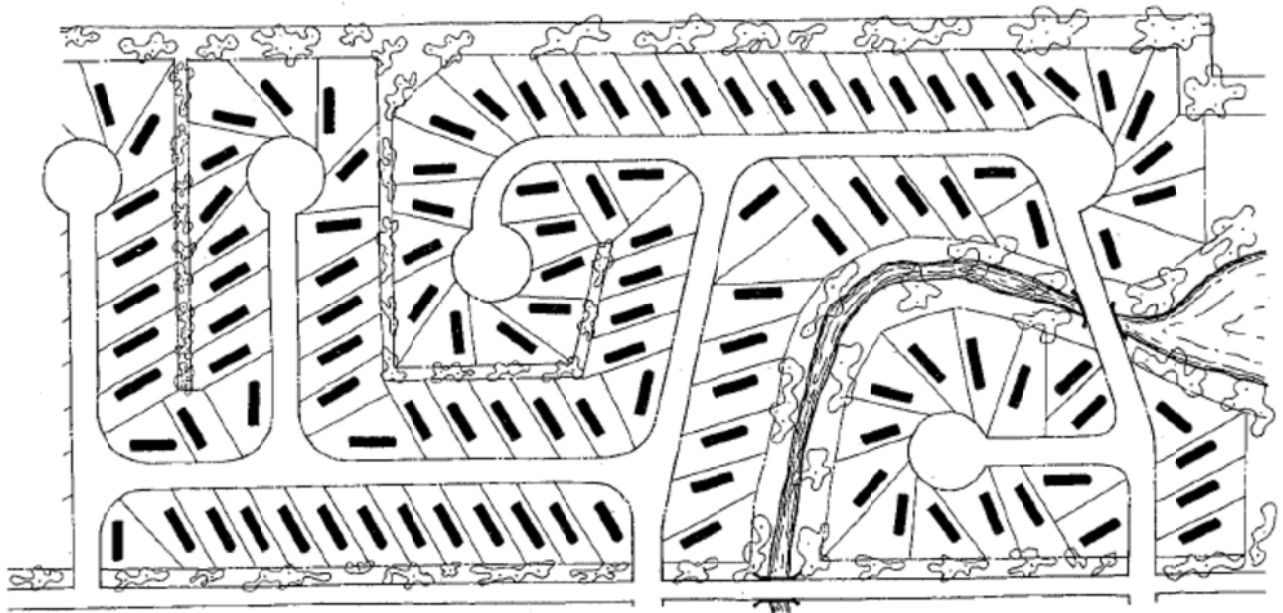


Figure 15: Mobile home park plan with cul-de-sacs (Bair, Regulation of Mobile Home Subdivisions 1961).

The MHMA Parks Division was phased out in 1972 but not before it had produced more plans for home sites than any other developer, site-built or mobile, in the United States. The chief engineer of the division, Herbert Behrends, estimated that “10 percent of all park developers utilized the planning service, and approximately half of the plans produced were constructed.”⁵⁹ Though disbanded, the ideas that stemmed from the MHMA Parks Division greatly influenced mobile home park layout and design. From the 1970s to the present day it appears that most of the designed mobile home parks were intended as retirement communities in warm areas like, Arizona, California, and Florida attracting aging northern climate populations. These mobile home parks, similar to the original Trailer Estates, are generally constructed around some sort of service feature such as a golf course, like the Moorings of Manatee in Ruskin, Florida (

Figure 16).



⁵⁹ Wallis 1991, 183

Figure 16: The Moorings of Manatee is a park in which the units are arranged around a golf course, the central feature. (Google Earth)

Though the first official mobile home park was a design that incorporated a host of amenities, there were numerous parks developed during the same period that did not follow a design drafted by a landscape architect, engineer, or planner. Nearly every town in the United States has a small cluster of mobile homes tucked away on their outskirts. These clusters, instead of being designed, would be considered vernacular. This type of park outnumbers those that are professionally designed and therefore a large part of the mobile home park negative reputation has stemmed from vernacular parks.

These parks are considered vernacular because focus is placed on function and utility rather than form and aesthetics. While the designed parks take design cues from conventional site-built suburban development, vernacular parks are considerably scaled-down in comparison. Normally, vernacular parks are situated on vacant land where mobile home units are permissible by zoning. Generally, the parcel has a naturally low-sloping grade to provide water runoff without required manual grading of the site. A variety of different layouts are possible ranging from the most simple, single arterial road with units sited perpendicularly on either side, to more complex radial patterns or combinations of multiple different patterns. Located just north of Athens, Georgia on US 441, one finds an example of the simplest vernacular mobile home park, a single dead-end road with units on either side (Figure 17). In contrast, another grouping of mobile homes in Athens (Figure 18) uses perpendicularly sited units along one side of the main artery and radially sited units along the curvilinear secondary artery. The roads themselves could either be paved or unpaved and most of the time there are no demarcated sidewalks. Electricity

and water are normally provided but oftentimes these parks use septic systems because of the distance from the main community population center and hook ups to municipal systems. This also could be because the parks predate sewer and water being unified in the county. Amenities, including laundry and recreational facilities, vary from park to park and are often provided solely at the property owner's discretion.

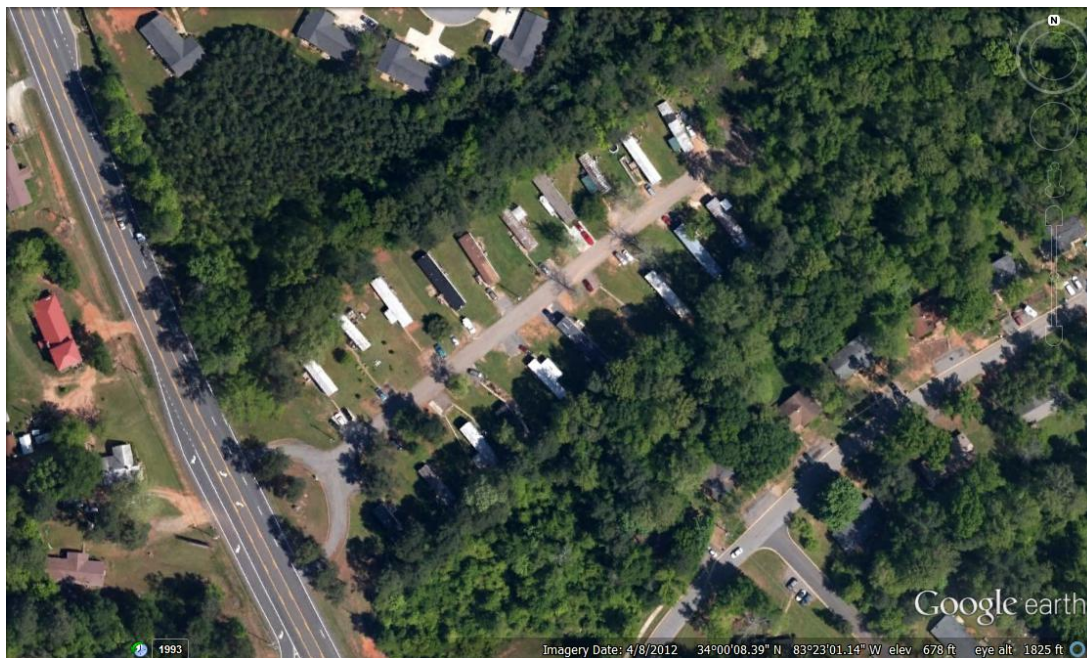


Figure 17: Sleepy Hollow, a vernacular park in Athens-Clarke County with 20 units sited perpendicular to the arterial street.

As seen in figures 17 and 18, the property lines of the parcels greatly influence the extent to which the park is developed. At times, there are vacant parcels where the owner rents subdivided lots to mobile home owners, however this is prohibited under some zoning codes and subdivision regulations. This layout is more utilitarian and vernacular, with the main purpose

being affordable housing. Lots are normally small to allow for as many mobile homes to be located on a property as the local zoning code permits which causes less privacy and far more social interaction than occurs in typical suburban neighborhoods but less than multi-family apartments and condos. This close proximity to each other oftentimes fosters a sense of community that is insulated from those outside it.⁶⁰



Figure 18: Vernacular Park in Athens-Clarke County with units both angular and perpendicular siting.

The two different park types provide for different demographic segments of the population. Designed parks with amenities located in the southern United States cater toward middle-class people of retirement age. They see mobile homes as a way to own a vacation home in a desirable location without having to own or worry about owning the land on which it sits.

⁶⁰ Hart, Rhodes and Morgan 2002

The communal facilities lend themselves to activities in which retired people have an interest and the social events are scheduled and planned so that the residents can meet and maintain relationships with one another. On the other hand, simple utilitarian mobile home parks cater to people of lower income who desire affordable housing. Residents in these parks choose to live in mobile homes because it offers them the opportunity to be a homeowner

The mobile home park is the outcome of a long changing industry that began with the creation of the travel trailer to facilitate early automobile camping trips. With the progression of time and impact of a war the travel trailer industry gave birth to the mobile home industry which provided a noticeably different product for a changing market. The new product of the mobile home began to take design cues from conventional site-built housing and the prevalent styles of the day to help perpetuate the idea of permanency. Another method used to continue this thought was to place the housing units on lots in spatial patterns similar to the suburban developments that were being created in the 1960s and 1970s. From these developments two major types of mobile home parks developed essentially using the same resource for two distinctly different purposes— affordable housing and affordable secondary housing. While created for contrasting purposes, the two major park typologies share many similarities between them. Some typical elements that can be found in both types include: a minimally graded site, a consistent and organized pattern of units, little to no vegetation between the street and units, and at times amenities.⁶¹ Many of these similarities have been influenced by years of regulation and oversight from local, state, and federal government programs.

⁶¹ Laundry, indoor and outdoor multipurpose community spaces, pools, and even playgrounds are all amenities that are possible but not always common.

CHAPTER 3

LEGAL CODE & REGULATORY OVERSIGHT

Hand in hand with the physical design and evolution of the mobile home and mobile home park layout, legal regulations pertaining to these resources had to adapt and provide a new standards for regulation. At times, it was unclear how to regulate a mobile home. Is it a trailer and therefore should be taxed as an automobile? Is it a house, hence should be subjected to local building codes that are in place for conventional site-built housing? Where should mobile home parks be located in a community and are they compatible with any land use that is currently in the community land-use plan?

The regulatory and institutional forces⁶² that govern conventional housing are generally conservative in their actions.⁶³ For instance, often times the design of conventional housing units and subdivisions generally avoid excessive risk in an attempt to appeal to as many future buyers of the units as possible.⁶⁴ This method of conservatism is not only limited to the design but also:

*financing, labor relations, zoning, building codes, legislation, taxation, and legal regulations concerning housing... Whatever else the mobile home unit might be, to the housing institutions, it definitely was not a house.*⁶⁵

⁶²Regulatory and institutional forces “consist of codes, rules and ideologies, unwritten and written, and essential symbolic organizational and material implementations. They evidence themselves socially in standardized and uniform practices and observances, and individually in attitudes and habitual behavior of persons. They are sustained and enforced by public opinion, acting both informally and formally, through specially devised agencies” (Hertzler 1946, 4).

⁶³Drury, Margaret J. *Mobile Homes: The Unrecognized Revolution in American Housing*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.

⁶⁴The stakeholders in many new suburban developments liked to play it safe when it came to designing and funding a new subdivision. By building a typical and common development, the community would appeal to a broader range of potential buyers and therefore would mean a greater guarantee of return on the stakeholders’ investments.

⁶⁵Drury 1972, 121

Since the established institutions during the 1940s and 1950s did not recognize the mobile home as a housing unit, for a large portion of the mobile home's existence it was not treated as such. Instead, it was treated like a travel trailer.

Regulation of Dimensions

Early legal code varies drastically when referring to mobile homes versus site-built housing. Mobile homes, in many instances, are treated more as automobiles than housing stock. This treatment stems from the mobile home's precursor, the travel trailer. Because the travel trailer's main purpose was mobility it had to adhere to the highway regulations set forth by the states, including their size and taxation. Since every state had the ability to set their own highway regulations, there were some slight differences in the dimensions that were allowed. Generally the width was restricted to 6½-8 feet and the length around 17-21 feet for travel trailers.⁶⁶ As mentioned previously, after World War II, the need for a more permanent manufactured housing became apparent and the mobile home was developed.

The mobile home placed more emphasis on making the structure feel like a house and having a sense of permanence than the need for mobility. This new need was hindered by the transportation-based regulation that was set in place for travel trailers. The mobile home needed to be larger in order to satisfy the new purpose. In 1952, Frey and Marshfield Homes answered this need with the development of the Tenwide mobile home model that was two feet larger than most states' eight feet highway restriction on trailers. Frey was able to circumvent the regulations by applying for permits for "construction shacks" which allowed for the moving of

⁶⁶ Hart, Rhodes and Morgan 2002, 8

oversize objects with the proper preparations, generally highly visible signage warning other motorists along with escort vehicles providing another set of eyes for the main driver.⁶⁷

Three years later, in 1955, vehicular laws of most states would still not allow anything over ten feet in width to be transported on the road without a permit which limited the mobile home in terms of size potential.⁶⁸ Many manufacturers kept their mobile home models beneath this threshold so that permits would not have to be obtained to transport in normal traffic conditions. These laws did not just affect the width, but also the height.

The mobile home is considered a vehicle before it is permanently sited on a designated parcel of land; because of this, it also has to conform to height restrictions for overhead obstructions. These vehicular dimension restrictions have been a hindrance to the mobile home industry not only in terms of restricting the size of mobile homes themselves, but they also “imposed market restrictions that argue strongly against national or large regional mobile home distribution.”⁶⁹ This seems to be the impetus for the numerous local mobile home manufacturers that provide housing stock for a limited geographic area, with very few distributing their product long distances. Once the mobile home is sited on its fixed location, this murky distinction between vehicle and house continues with the way that it is taxed.

Taxation

Taxation of a mobile home has been a topic of much debate. As states take charge of levying taxes, the method used to determine tax rates and assessments varies from state to state. Much of the discussion concerning mobile home taxation is whether it should be an *ad valorem*

⁶⁷ Wallis 1991

⁶⁸ Drury 1972

⁶⁹ Drury 1972, 131

tax on the mobile home unit or a tax on the mobile home resident with an “in lieu of” tax.⁷⁰ An *ad valorem* tax is a tax that is based on the value of the unit and can be used for either real or personal property.⁷¹ Many states, including Georgia, use this as a taxation method for mobile homes and treat them like personal property, similar to a car, even requiring that a decal be placed prominently on the exterior of the home annually just as if on a license plate.⁷²

The alternative, in lieu of tax, is a tax created to compensate a municipal government for the loss of tax revenue because of the nature of ownership of a particular piece of property. Because the land is owned by the land lord and leased to the mobile home resident, the government places a tax on the mobile home unit to pay for their share of municipal services that the local government provides.⁷³ Today the in lieu of tax is very rare as most municipalities have instituted the *ad valorem*.

Because the mobile home depreciates similar to an automobile, the tax rate diminishes over time and often causes other community members to believe that mobile home residents are not paying their fair share of the tax burden. Yet often times community members do not take into account that the property owner renting the land to the residents most assuredly passes the cost of property taxes onto the residents via a monthly rental fee.⁷⁴ This fact points out that mobile home residents actually may, proportionally, pay more in taxes on their mobile home than a community member with a site-built home.⁷⁵ Despite the fact that residents may

⁷⁰ Drury 1972

⁷¹ Real property is considered to be the land with all affixed improvements upon it, while personal property is anything that is owned by the person but is not permanently attached to the land. (Merriam Webster)

⁷² O.C.G.A. 48-5-490. - 48-5-495

⁷³ Corn 2014

⁷⁴ Drury 1972

⁷⁵ A 1956 study indicated that the owner of a \$14,000 house paid \$17 per month in taxes, while a mobile home owner in the same community paid \$5 per month on his \$4,800 unit. Proportionally that is more than double. (American Society of Planning Officials 1956)

proportionally pay more taxes, mobile home residents are most often relegated to locations on the outskirts of town because of lower taxes and more lenient county zoning regulations.

Regulation through Zoning

Zoning dictates districting of land uses in a community with the intent to increase the standard of living and the safety and wellbeing of the citizens. Historically, mobile homes have not been a valued housing type by many community members and zoning has often been used as a tool to discriminate against them. This conflict, like most others concerning mobile homes, can be traced back to the travel trailer; and perhaps the “class” of traveler it accommodated.

In 1936, one particular instance showing this tension between property owners and travel trailer owners could be found on Hildred Lake in Pontiac, Michigan. The November issue of *News-Week* reported that residents of the city were angered that the so called trailerites proceeded to “enjoy all the privileges of the lake without paying taxes...and they aren’t discrete in getting into bathing suits either.”⁷⁶ As mentioned in Chapter 2, when travel trailers first became popular many owners would park wherever they were allowed, whether it was on a schoolyard, cemetery or churchyard.⁷⁷ Once issues and complaints from community residents arose, communities began to develop local travel trailer parks for trailerites. Communities regulated the locations where people were able to park their trailers in districts that suited their wants and needs for the permanent community. These designated travel trailer parks were unlike later mobile home parks in that they were located close to the town center. This, however, would not last. With the increase of permanent residents living in travel trailers leading up to World

⁷⁶ News-Week 1936

Newsweek was originally named News-Week from the publication’s inception in 1933 until Malcom Muir became editor-in-chief in 1937 and dropped the hyphen.

⁷⁷ Hart, Rhodes and Morgan 2002, 8

War II, the desire to have this type of residential housing near the center of the community diminished. Once the mobile home established itself as a permanent housing option, not everyone thought this new choice was something they wanted in their own community, much less in the town center.

Because of this, zoning became a useful tool of regulation.⁷⁸ Zoning is generally based on land-uses that are agreed upon by community members. Land-use zones are based on the community comprehensive plan that is required for some local municipalities by some state laws. The comprehensive plan regulates areas in accordance with a “general scheme giving full consideration to like and unlike characteristics pertaining to different areas.”⁷⁹ However, mobile home zoning seems to be frequently guided by emotional considerations, rather than established land-use planning.⁸⁰

Mobile home parks have garnered the reputation of being unattractive. Coupled with the fact that they tend to attract lower-income residents, many communities view them as having a possible negative impact on property values. Because of this possibility, mobile home parks are often relegated to an out-of-sight area of town that is usually farther away from community facilities. This is an attempt to manage what the community would consider to be the negative externalities, or spillovers, of the mobile home park, chief among them being decreased property values of adjacent properties.⁸¹ A 1971 study of the zoning practices identified six popular land

⁷⁸ “Zoning as defined in law is the regulation by districts—under the police power—of the height, bulk, and utilization of structures; the uses to which land and water may be put; and the density of population. Thus zoning is one, and only one, of the tools available for implementing the community’s comprehensive plan. Zoning is an instrument for carrying out declared public policy” (Bartley and Bair 1960).

⁷⁹ Boyd, Ralph Hollis. “Regulation of Mobile Homes, Mobile Home Parks and Mobile Home Subdivisions.” Master’s thesis, The University of Oklahoma, 1965. 47.

⁸⁰ De Chiara, Joseph, and John Callender. 1990. *Time Saver Standards for Building Types*. 3rd. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc..

⁸¹ Archer, Wanye R, and David C Ling. 2010. *Real Estate Principles: A Value Approach*. 3rd. New York: McGraw-Hill/Irwin.

use regulatory techniques that had a particular impact on housing opportunities for low- and moderate-income persons: one of which was the “prohibition of mobile homes.”⁸²

In the early years of mobile homes, many communities included mobile home parks in areas zoned for commercial and industrial use, which contributed to the negative connotation that mobile home parks are undesirable places to live. This was institutionalized when, in the 1953 case of *Connor v. West Bloomfield Township*, the United States Supreme Court upheld a township ordinance that prohibited mobile homes from being sited in residential subdivisions.⁸³ This case allowed municipalities to lawfully prohibit mobile homes in certain areas by zoning or building ordinances which bear a “real and substantial relationship to public health, safety, morals or the general welfare.”⁸⁴ Many municipalities tried to take this one step further and avoid the mobile home all together by prohibiting the housing type from the area controlled by the lawmaking body.⁸⁵ However, in the 1955 *Gust v. Township of Canton* case the Michigan Supreme Court held that the argument that complete prohibition of mobile home parks promoted the public welfare “would be tantamount to declaring trailer camps detrimental to the public health, safety, morals or general welfare under every condition and circumstance,” which “would hardly square with the statute.”⁸⁶ This decision was reaffirmed in 1956 by the Michigan Supreme Court in the *Smith v. Plymouth Township Building Inspector* case that mobile home parks are not nuisances per se and to prohibit them altogether there must be evidence presented that clearly indicates their prohibition is necessary for the public welfare.⁸⁷ Another method used to keep

⁸² Williams, Norman, and Thomas Norman. “Exclusionary Land Use Controls: The Case of North-Eastern New Jersey.” *Syracuse Law Review*, 1971: 475-508.

⁸³ *Connor v. West Bloomfield Tp.*, 207 F.2d 482 (6th Cir. 1953).

⁸⁴ Boyd 1965, 118

⁸⁵ Drury 1972, 135

⁸⁶ *Gust v. Township of Canton*, 342 Mich. 436 (1955).

⁸⁷ *Smith v. Plymouth Township Building Inspector*, 346 Mich. 57 (1956).

mobile homes out of residential districts was enacting a minimum square footage requirement in which early mobile homes could not qualify until the creation of the doublewide.

It was not until 1961 that the thought of exclusion from residential districts began to shift. The American Society of Planning Officials published a progressive report for its members that tried to advocate for the inclusion of mobile home parks in certain residential zones.⁸⁸ The report promoted the creation of designating “floating” zones “anchored” within residential areas for mobile home parks as if they were another subdivision. This appears to be the first case in which the organization “promoted the introduction of zoning to provide for the mobile home unit, rather than against it.”⁸⁹ Even after this, communities attempted to use aesthetics as a way to keep mobile home units out of certain areas. This was upheld by a 1962 ruling in Massachusetts, in which the court stated:

A town may reasonably consider that this type of dwelling unit, frequently but not always found on wheels (a) is detrimental to the value of adjacent conventional single family houses, even if the body of a once mobile unit is permanently affixed to the land; and (b) tends to depreciate, contrary to the public interest, the amenities and appearance of a residence district.⁹⁰

In *Robinson Township v. Knoll*, a case from 1981, the Michigan Supreme Court stated that mobile homes do not just have to be confined to mobile home parks and zones exclusively for mobile homes. This decision shows the courts’ changing view on mobile homes as a housing type. The court held that:

the per se exclusion of mobile homes from all areas not designated as mobile home parks has no reasonable basis under the police power and is therefore unconstitutional as a violation of substantive due process. The court was unable to identify any inherent characteristics of mobile homes that justified a per se prohibition against them. Concerns based on aesthetics, health and safety are illusory. Hence the ordinance is unconstitutional.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Bair 1961

⁸⁹ Drury 1972, 137

⁹⁰ *Manchester v. Phillips*, 343 Mass. 591 (1962).

⁹¹ *Robinson Township v. Knoll*, 410 Mich. 293 (1981).

Noting that some local municipalities were using zoning as a discrimination tool against mobile home parks, by 1989 twenty-two states had either passed mobile home antidiscrimination legislation or their high courts made a ruling to the same effect.⁹² While community zoning ordinances now largely permit mobile homes in certain instances, they still have the ability to regulate mobile homes through building codes.

Regulation through Building Codes

Federal and State courts have upheld the view that a mobile home is considered a dwelling and a building.⁹³ As such, they should be subjected to the municipal building codes on the local level, just as any other residence. First, as mentioned before, mobile homes in many states are considered personal property and not real property meaning that they are purchased, financed and taxed like automobiles which means they are not subject to building codes. Second, mobile homes are constructed in a factory setting and delivered to the location where they will be sited. This goes against conventional building code enforcement practices, in which the local building inspector is usually required to inspect certain aspects of a conventionally built house throughout the many steps of the construction process.

Before 1974, regulation of building codes and standards were left to the state and local governments to form and enforce. This essentially meant that transport of mobile homes across state lines was not common as there was a good chance that the two states had differing regulations. In order to ensure the safety and well-being of mobile home residents, a code was needed to provide a standard for mobile home manufacturers.

⁹²Sanders, Welford. *Regulating Manufactured Housing*. Planning Advisory Service Report Number 398, Chicago. American Planning Association, 1986.

⁹³ *Evans v. Hughes*, 135 F. Supp. 555 (1955).

In 1963, the MHMA contracted the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) to develop a set of construction standards for mobile home manufacturers. The standards were optional for manufacturers; yet those that were built to standard could affix a shield to the exterior of their products stating that the ANSI standards have been met or exceeded. A team of fourteen inspectors, employed by the MHMA, made routine inspections of participating plants to provide a sampling of the units being produced to ensure that the quality standard was being met. By 1973, forty-three states had adopted the ANSI standard to be used as their standard code for mobile homes. The FHA also adopted the ANSI standards to provide a baseline for the mobile home units that they would consider for mortgages.⁹⁴

In 1974, the United States Congress passed the Mobile Home Construction and Safety Standards Act which authorized the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to establish and enforce a federal code for mobile home construction. HUD produced the Manufactured Housing Program as a result. The purpose of the program was to “reduce personal injuries, deaths, property damage, insurance costs, and to improve the quality and durability of manufactured homes.” Being a federal code, every state had to adhere to the standards presented, meaning that no state could regulate mobile home units to the point of discrimination. Local governments were allowed to determine the standards regarding the foundations of the units in their district. “The act made mobile homes the first private-sector building type to be regulated by a mandatory federal code.”⁹⁵ The HUD code is a performance code, meaning that the manufacturers are able to select approved materials and construction techniques to achieve a set level of performance standards.⁹⁶ The fact that the code is

⁹⁴United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. *Manufactured Home Construction and Safety Standards*. n.d. <http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/hudprograms/mhcss> (accessed July 11, 2014).

⁹⁵ Wallis 1991, 214

⁹⁶ Sanders 1986

performance-based encourages innovation in the design and construction process, contrary to the common building inspection practice of dictating how a structure is to be constructed, leaving little room for new designs to be introduced. Once manufacturers met a standard they were assured that it would be in compliance with every other state, allowing their homes to be able to easily be shipped across state lines. These levels of performance are monitored by a collection of inspection agencies that are certified through HUD. The Act also requires HUD to prepare a report every two years to note issues in the industry and propose recommendations on how the code may be improved.⁹⁷

In the mid-1980s, HUD officials suggested eliminating the HUD code entirely, which would have effectively returned the regulation power to the states and sacrificed the national uniformity that had been created. After this statement was made, the Office Technology Assessment, a Congressional agency, published a special report stating that instead of relegating the regulation power to the states, HUD should include other forms of industrialized housing.⁹⁸ Though the federal government was now referring to mobile homes under an umbrella term to include other forms of industrialized housing, there had not been any discussion over what, if any, federal agency should oversee these other housing types.⁹⁹

Subsequent acts further improved the safety of mobile homes for their residents, including the Manufactured Housing Improvement Act of 2000.¹⁰⁰ This act attempted to modernize the 1974 standards as well as require additional safety measures in the mobile home

⁹⁷ Mobile Home Construction and Safety Standards Act, 42 U.S.C. 5401-5426 (1974).

⁹⁸ United States Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. *Technology, Trade, and the U.S. Residential Construction Industry-Special Report*. OTA-TET-315, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

⁹⁹ This change in definition included any structure, transportable in one or more sections, which in the traveling mode is 8 body feet or more in width or 40 body feet or more in length or which when erected on-site is 320 or more square feet, and which is built on a permanent chassis and designed to be used as a dwelling with or without a permanent foundation when connected to the required utilities, and includes the plumbing, heating, air-conditioning, and electrical systems contained in the structure. (Mobile Home Construction and Safety Standards Act of 1974)

¹⁰⁰ Manufactured Housing Improvement Act of 2000, S. 1452, 106th Cong. (2000).

units, like hard-wired smoke detectors. The purpose of these acts was to ensure the safety of the occupants.

Other Regulatory Barriers

In addition to zoning and building codes, there are other regulatory barriers that mobile homes have faced over time. A barrier that mobile home parks must oftentimes overcome is subdivision regulations that many municipalities set in place. Subdivision regulations come into play when land is divided into smaller lots, blocks, or sites. The local governing bodies may delegate to the municipal planning board the authority to review and approve the subdivision. As a part of the review process, the planning board has the power to require the developer of a mobile home park to include specified design features like signage, street lighting, curbs, parks, sidewalks, water mains, and other amenities that they feel are necessary to a “quality development and way of life.”¹⁰¹ Many times, the subdivision regulations that stem from the review process dissuade the developer to follow through with the project because the additional requirements make the project economically infeasible. Though subdivision regulation and required design features has at times proven to discourage the development of mobile home parks, it has been upheld by the courts.

“Subdivision control is aimed at protecting the community from an uneconomical development of land, and assuring persons living in an area where the subdivision is sought that there will be adequate streets, sewers, water supply, and other essential services...”¹⁰²

Another method of discouraging the development of mobile home parks is the selective creation of a town master plan. A master plan is essentially a comprehensive long-term strategy

¹⁰¹ Perales, Cesar A. *Municipal Regulation of Manufactured Homes*. Albany: New York State Department of State, 2010.

¹⁰² Marx v. Zoning Board of Appeals of Village of Mill Neck, 137 A.D. 2d 333 (1988).

developed by the municipality showing an outline of desired future land use that reflects the goals of the community. The master plan can be used in conjunction with zoning and subdivision regulations to place restrictions on where and how a mobile home park may be placed within the community. The subdivision review process may be utilized by municipalities with or without local zoning regulation. Because of this it is oftentimes used to complement the zoning ordinances. Even when a zone allows for mobile home parks, the municipality can impose the subdivision regulations in an attempt to prevent any development of new mobile home parks and use the master plan as an excuse for the increased protocols, because it was approved by the local planning commission. Though subdivision regulations may hamper mobile home park development to occur, zoning ordinances more commonly impede their development.¹⁰³

Recommendations through Land Development Standards

In 1977, once the HUD Manufactured Housing Program was in full effect, the program coordinators began to realize that the construction and material standards that had been drafted were improving the safety of the units, while the parks where they were sited were still rather unpleasant. The reason for this shift from the earlier nicely designed and maintained parks to later developments leaving much to be desired aesthetically relates to the development standards that were set in place by the FHA; originally development standards were only required to be implemented if applying for an insured mortgage to purchase a mobile home. Because the FHA was a federal institution it could not impede on the right of local governments to create their own regulations. Hence, there were no required standards for mobile home parks unless they were self-implemented by either the park itself, a form of homeowner's association, or by the local

¹⁰³ Dawkins, Casey J. *Regulatory Barriers to Manufactured Housing Placement in Urban Communities*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2011.

government. In an attempt to improve the livability of mobile homes, HUD was directed to use design to improve the environment in which mobile homes were located. The resulting report was entitled *Guidelines for Improving the Mobile Home Living Environment*.¹⁰⁴

As this report was from a federal entity it had no regulatory teeth, hence could not make local law; instead the report offered recommendations on several planning and design elements to improve the overall residential experience. The guidelines included what HUD considered to be proper locations for mobile homes in terms of zoning and larger land uses. (Figure 19)

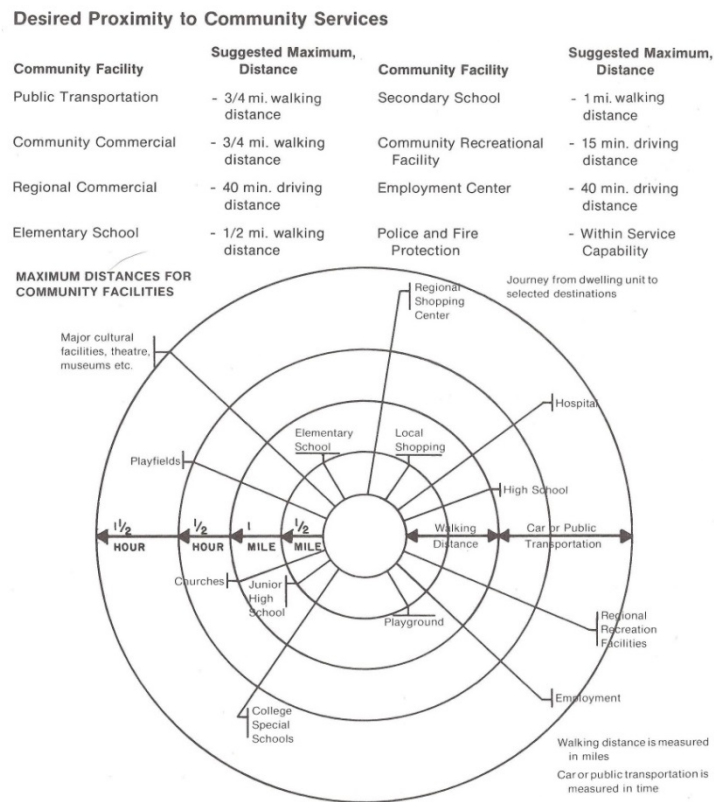


Figure 19: Zoning Placement of Mobile Home Subdivisions in Larger Community Context
(Urban Research & Development Corporation 1977).

¹⁰⁴ Urban Research & Development Corporation. *Guidelines for Improving the Mobile Home Living Environment: Individual Sites, Mobile Home Parks & Subdivisions*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Housing and Urban Development: Office of Policy Development and Research, 1977.

Also, the Guidelines provide examples of mobile home park design that would reap the greatest benefits for occupants and surrounding community members. This included the siting of the units to create the best flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic in the subdivision, as well as the best positions for the units to capture or avoid the prevailing winds in various climate types. (Figure 20) Because this document was a set of guidelines, mobile home park owners could choose to use or disregard, unless they wanted to use federal money in any way, It is not clear how influential these guidelines were on the industry and subdivisions after its release.

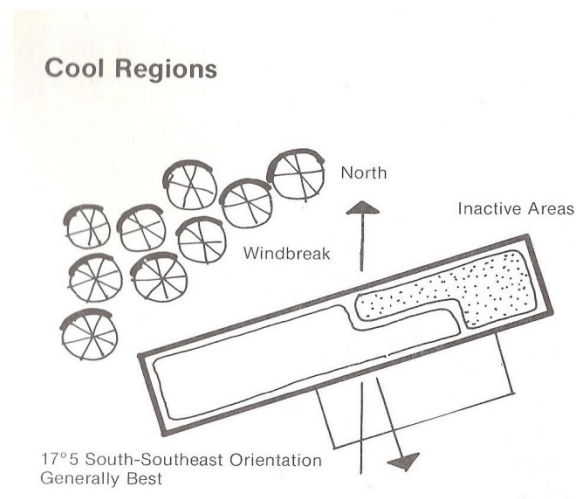


Figure 20: Unit Siting Graphic for Colder Regions (Urban Research & Development Corporation 1977).

The design parameters that can be found in many designed mobile home parks are those stated in the FHA land planning bulletin from the late 1950s to 1960s. These guidelines were extremely influential because they had to be adhered to in order to qualify for a FHA insured mortgage. Under these guidelines, the parameters varied from park to park based on the size of

the parcel and the numbers of units thereon. A few broad generalizations may be made, but they are by no means representative of every park. Typically, local zoning regulation allows for denser communities of mobile homes than compared to conventional housing. Even still, a small amount of open space is allocated for each unit to be used as outdoor/yard space; while a larger, centrally located, open area is used for community recreation. Most parks provide two off-street parking spaces per unit as well as a few more in the community for visitors. Further, consistent landscape buffers along the outside boundary of the property are commonly used to shield the view of the park from outside streets and neighboring properties. Even with these similar characteristics, mobile home parks vary widely because a great deal of the regulation specifics are left up to the local municipality to determine and enforce.

While the mobile home industry arose rather organically, the legal regulation of them, along with design guidelines developed fairly quickly to control the effects that they would have on the municipalities within which they resided. The legal regulation developed as a response to the changes that the mobile home and mobile home industry experienced.

CHAPTER 4

MOBILE HOME PARKS IN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE'S NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAMS

An aspect of a cultural system that is valued by or significantly representative of a culture or that contains significant information about a culture. A cultural resource may be a tangible entity or a cultural practice. Tangible cultural resources are categorized as districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects for the National Register of Historic Places and as archeological resources, cultural landscapes, structures, museum objects, and ethnographic resources for NPS management purposes.¹⁰⁵

The quote above is the National Park Service's definition of what is considered a cultural resource. While this definition covers a wide breadth of objects, this was not always the case. It is the result of an evolution of preservation theory.

America's preservation movement was non-existent until the early 1800's.¹⁰⁶ The reasoning behind what some would consider a late development is that many Americans at the time felt that their new nation had no real physical history to preserve or save. Completely disregarding the Native Americans, early Americans did not have the large, extravagant, buildings that the preservation movements of Europe were seeking to maintain for posterity. Drawing much of their culture from Europe, it may have been difficult for Americans to see that their developing culture was distinctly their own. This persisted until right before the Civil War.

¹⁰⁵ *Director's Order #28: Cultural Resource Management*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Murtagh, William J. *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2006.

In 1853, George Washington's Mount Vernon was saved from demolition by a group of dedicated women who formed the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.¹⁰⁷ It is this event that is considered to be start of the American preservation movement, which attempts to protect resources that are considered culturally significant to the nation. The original object of the movement's attention was on high-style architecture and buildings associated with important historical figures. After the Civil War, the battlefields where most of the bloodshed occurred were used to mourn those that had fallen in the conflict. Because of this, many battlefields were acquired and maintained by the United States War Department for commemoration, as well as classrooms for cadets to learn military strategy. Though the sites were not exclusively preserved as-is, the thought that these parcels should not change to any other use because of the historic event that occurred in the landscape was a fairly new concept.

The Antiquities Act, enacted by Congress in 1906, was the first federal legislation that dealt with the preservation of the nation's historic resources. It stated that any historic or prehistoric ruin, monument or any object of antiquity was not to be removed from any land controlled or owned by the government unless explicit permission was granted from the Secretary of the Department of the Government. Section two of the act granted the President of the United States the authority to declare resources as national monuments at his discretion. If located on unclaimed or private lands, the parcels could be relinquished by the United States government if it was necessary for the proper care and management of the object. Section three of the act granted the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture and War the ability to regulate procedures for the examination and excavation of archaeological sites on lands that were under their purview. This was one of the first times that archaeology is grouped with the preservation

¹⁰⁷Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999.

movement. The addition of archaeology to the preservation field increased its credibility by providing additional sources of ‘scientific’ information on which to create the historic documentation for resources.¹⁰⁸ Historic sites, objects, and lands translated into the preservation of buildings, structures, archaeological sites and landscapes.

The next major piece of legislation pertaining to preservation is the National Park System Organic Act of 1916. This act established the National Park Service whose stated purpose is to:

conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.¹⁰⁹

This is important because though it includes historic objects, the majority of the Service’s resources dealt with natural and historic areas helping further the association between landscapes and the preservation movement. Around the same time, the idea of a cultural landscape was being developed and coined in the 1920’s by Carl Ortwin Sauer, a cultural geographer. He considered a site to be a cultural landscape as it was “fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result.”¹¹⁰ The thought and study of cultural landscapes continued to be closely associated with the field of geography through the first half of the twentieth century. Fred Kniffen, a protégé of Sauer’s, decided that instead of mapping a combination of natural and cultural forms like Sauer, he believed that cultural regions could be mapped and display cultural relationships through cultural forms alone.¹¹¹ This showed a shift from thinking about resources as isolated instances

¹⁰⁸Murtagh 2006

¹⁰⁹ National Park System Organic Act of 1916, 16 U.S.C. 1, 2, 3, & 4 (1916).

¹¹⁰ Sauer, Carl O. “The Morphology of Landscape.” In *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, by John Leighley, 315-350. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.

¹¹¹ Riesenweber, Julie. “Landscape Preservation and Cultural Geography.” In *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, by Richard Londstreth, 23-34. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

to thinking about resources in a spatial context; how they relate to each other and to the landscapes in which they developed.

In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted. This act created systems in which federal and state entities were required to operate when dealing with historic resources, especially when using federal funding. It also established the aforementioned program, the National Register of Historic Places. The specified purpose of this program was to maintain a register of “districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture.”¹¹²

By the 1990s the preservation field in the United States had broadened its scope of the idea of cultural heritage. This term includes both tangible and intangible cultural resources.¹¹³ A part of cultural heritage are ethnographic resources and landscapes, which are defined as a landscape “containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources, and/or a landscape used or valued in traditional ways by contemporary ethnic groups.”¹¹⁴ Intangible cultural resources—like dance, learned skills like basket weaving, verbal songs and unwritten narrative—have been slower to be accepted by the preservation field, but can provide information about culture. A multilateral partnership between the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution and National Park Service has been made to develop methods of documenting and storing these intangible assets at a federal level.

As defined by the National Register of Historic Places, a resource is considered historic is if it is fifty years old or older. This rather subjective rule provides a moving target that places large groups of resources in the ‘historic’ category every year. Because of this shifting timeline,

¹¹² National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, 16 U.S.C. 470 (1966).

¹¹³ National Park Service, Heritage Initiative

¹¹⁴ Page, Robert R. *Cultural Landscape Inventory Professional Procedures Guide*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998. 15.

in the 1990s and 2000s large quantities of post-World War II housing and development became eligible to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places. As a result, preservationist had to determine how to handle these more contemporary resources that were very different from the resources that had previously been nominated. Also during this time, the preservation field was wrestling with how to handle contemporary resources and resources from the recent past, or modern resources. The National Trust for Historic Preservation defines modernism as “a design language with an emphasis on form rather than ornament, structure and materials rather than picturesque constructions, and the rational and efficient use of space.”¹¹⁵ Modern resources are considered to have begun in the late 1930s and continued up through the 1950s. Examples of modern resources include the Le Corbusier inspired buildings characterized by their “boxy forms stripped of ornamentation and precariously perched atop thin pilotis.”¹¹⁶ Post-modern resources include buildings such as the ranch house that became prevalent after World War II, and suburban neighborhood landscapes in which many post-modern residential houses are located. The National Park Service and State Historic Preservation Offices have developed various documents to provide a context for modern and post-modern resources defining their historic value. For instance, the State of Georgia published *Guidelines for Evaluation: The Ranch House in Georgia* to be used when evaluating ranch houses, and the National Park Service has developed a National Register Bulletin doing the same for historic residential

¹¹⁵ National Trust for Historic Preservation. *Modernism and the Recent Past*. 2014. http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/saving-a-place/modernism-recent-past/defined.html#U1Q80_IdWS0

¹¹⁶ Gelernter, Mark. *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999.

suburban development.¹¹⁷ The new bulletins and guidelines do not address the mobile home or mobile home park specifically as examples of cultural resources.

For a National Register nomination to be successful, the application has to prove that a resource has both historic significance and integrity. “The key to determine whether the characteristics or associations of a particular property are significant is to consider the property within its historic context.”¹¹⁸ In order to do this, four criteria for historic significance evaluation were developed, as noted below:

- Criterion A: Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- Criterion B: Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- Criterion C: Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.
- Criterion D: Yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

A resource has to represent at least one of these four criteria and have to be substantiated by providing relevant information such as, significant dates and people that assist in providing context for the site. Once historic significance is determined and either a single period or multiple periods of significance are defined, the evaluation process may then address the

¹¹⁷ Ames, David L, and Linda F McClland. *Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*. National Register Bulletin, Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2002.

Sullivan, Patrick, Mary Beth Reed, and Tracey Fedor. *Guidelines for Evaluation: The Ranch House in Georgia*. Tucker: Georgia Transmission Corporation, 2010.

¹¹⁸ National Park Service. *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. National Register Bulletin, Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1997. 11.

integrity of that resource. Integrity is defined as “the ability of a property to convey its significance.”¹¹⁹ There are seven aspects of integrity:

1. Location: The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
2. Design: the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
3. Setting: The physical environment of a historic property, referring to the character of the location.
4. Materials: The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
5. Workmanship: The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
6. Feeling: A property’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
7. Association: The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

A resource may have only two aspects of integrity or maybe have all seven, as there is no required number of aspects a resource must have to meet the integrity test. Integrity is based on significance. The integrity section of a National Register application is where the description of physical features and defining elements of the historic resource are listed and described. These are used for both documentation of historic and current conditions, as well as comparisons with

¹¹⁹ National Park Service 1997, 44

other sites. The aspects of integrity are what will be used throughout this thesis' case studies to compare the selected sites.¹²⁰

Mobile Homes and Mobile Home Parks as Cultural Resources

The McAlesters, authors of *A Field Guide to American Housing*, refer to mobile homes as 'contemporary folk housing.'¹²¹ The fact that they are rather commonplace and considered by some a lower-socioeconomic housing development presents a potential problem that they may be overlooked by preservation documentation efforts like the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS), and the National Register of Historic Places. Currently, there have been no mobile homes or mobile home parks documented by these programs. Though mobile home parks are not necessarily examples of high-style architecture and landscape design, they still deserve to be documented so that future generations can understand the complete developmental story of this resource and its role in the American housing narrative.

Peirce F. Lewis is a geographer that places great emphasis on observing and understanding landscapes, particularly American landscapes. Lewis believes that all items in human landscapes reflect culture in some form and no items are more important than any other – in terms of their role as clues to culture. Though they are equal in importance, common items and common landscapes, such as mobile home parks, garbage dumps, and carports, are by their nature harder to study by traditional academic means. Because of either carelessness or pretentiousness, there simply is not as much scholarly work devoted to common items, as compared to Jefferson's Monticello for instance. Common landscapes, including mobile home

¹²⁰ National Park Service. *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. National Register Bulletin, Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1997.

¹²¹ McAlester, Virginia, and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.

parks, are much more present in an average American's daily life than items like Monticello.¹²²

Lewis states:

Yet such things are found nearly everywhere Americans have set foot, and they obviously reflect the way ordinary Americans think and behave most of the time. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that we have perversely overlooked a huge body of evidence which—if approached carefully and studied without aesthetic or moral prejudice—can tell us a great deal about what kinds of people Americans are, were, and may become.¹²³

This thought from Lewis is supported by that of his predecessor, John Brinckerhoff Jackson. Known for his keen observation skills, Jackson placed great emphasis on the American vernacular landscape and how it reflected our culture. Jackson evaluated landscapes in terms of *life*. He insisted that there was a social dimension in landscape in addition to the aesthetic dimension, which could:

Save us from nostalgia and sentimentality. In more practical terms it points toward an emphasis upon the search for a truly humane conservation rather than rigid preservation of patches of history and beauty.¹²⁴

Upon observing domestic architecture, Jackson states that in American there are two kinds of houses that are contrasted by material, but more so a class distinction. The first is the house built to last which is built as a permanent part of the environment. Wealthy families construct large mansions of stone and brick as a monument to the history of the family and its power and wealth. This legacy is then passed down to future generations to honor and preserve. The second house is that made of wood, whose temporary quality contrasts the permanence of stone. This house has the life expectancy of a generation or two and serves a limited purpose in

¹²² Lewis, Peirce F. "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by D.W. Meinig, 11-32. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

¹²³ Lewis 1979, 19

¹²⁴ Meinig, D.W. "Reading the Landscape: An Appreciation of W.G. Hoskins and J.B. Jackson." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by D.W. Meinig, 195-244. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

the lives of the occupants.¹²⁵ This idea of the temporary house applies also to that of the mobile home. The mobile home serves a limited purpose for its owner or occupant which oftentimes is to provide affordable housing rather than a *house* that can be passed down like a dynasty. Though mobile homes and mobile home parks are not Greek-revival plantation houses they do represent a large swath of the population. If overlooked by “rigid preservation of history and beauty,” there will be failed acknowledgement of the entirety of American culture.

Aside from mobile homes parks as a collection of resources, mobile homes may also be considered eligible for listing in the National Register on their own standing. Mobile objects have been successfully nominated to the Register, including historic ships and the cable cars of San Francisco; these precedents make it viable to nominate travel trailers.¹²⁶ Mobile homes on the other hand may not even need this consideration. While the term “mobile” is in their title, mobile homes are increasingly permanent structures that only move from the factory floor to the place where they are sited. Once placed, mobile homes essentially become a fixture of the land due to the high cost of removal from the site. Removal and transportation costs vary from state to state but range anywhere from five thousand to twelve thousand dollars. Because of this, mobile homes should essentially follow the same nomination format as a historic site-built house.

That being said, mobile home parks can and should be considered cultural resources through the lens of cultural landscapes. They fit into the definition of a cultural landscape, which can be defined as:

¹²⁵ Jackson, John B. “The Movable Dwelling and How it Came to America.” In *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, 89-101. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

¹²⁶ Dillon, James. “San Francisco Cable Cars.” National Register of Historic Places Inventory –Nomination Form, San Francisco, 1978.

National Park Service. *Nominating Historic Vessels and Shipwrecks to the National Register of Historic Places*. National Register Bulletin No. 20, Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1992.

A landscape which has been associated with an event or series of events of historical note. A historic landscape may also be the visual perception of a particular period of civilization, a way of life or patterns of living.¹²⁷

The National Park Service categorizes cultural landscapes into four types to aid in categorization, but the categories are not mutually exclusive.

- Historic sites are made significant because of associations with an important event or person.
- Designed landscapes display designer’s artistic creation or “patterns of expression.”¹²⁸
- Vernacular landscapes reveal how people used the land overtime and reflect “patterns of settlement, use and development.”¹²⁹
- Ethnographic landscapes are ones in which the land is used or valued in some traditional way by an established ethnic group.

Based on these four historic landscape types, mobile home parks could very easily fall into all of these categories. Although it is known that ethnic enclaves occupy mobile home parks currently, hence they could be considered ethnographic landscapes, and if an historic event occurred in a mobile home park, it might also be considered an historic site, for the purposes of this discussion, the focus will be on the two broad categories of designed and vernacular landscapes. . As noted previously, there are two predominant types of mobile home parks—designed parks and informal or vernacular parks. Designed parks, like Trailer Estates in Bradenton, Florida, are generally large, planned communities similar to suburban subdivisions

¹²⁷ Murtagh, William J. *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2006. 107.

¹²⁸ Designer can either be a professional (architect, landscape architect, etc.) or an amateur who has studied design on his own.

¹²⁹ Boyle, Susan C. “Natural and Cultural Resources: The Protection of Vernacular Landscapes.” In *Cultural Landscape: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, by Richard Longstreth, 150-163. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. 152.

that were also developing around the same time in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The mobile home park designers had a clear plan and pattern for the residential community that was typically centered on one main feature, whether it was a water body or recreational space, like a golf course. Alternatively, informal or vernacular parks seem to have developed more organically and the layout of the community was more of a response to economics and available land instead of an artistic ideal.

While mobile home parks may theoretically conform to these two cultural landscape definitions, individual evaluation of case studies will determine how any park meets the definition. One of the most methodical ways to approach this is by identifying any landscape characteristics that a typical mobile home park may possess. The National Register Program defines criteria that should be met for nomination consideration to the National Register of Historic Places. For landscapes, the National Park Service published Landscape Lines No. 3 which provides a set of suggested landscape characteristics that can be used to identify the key features present on a site; these can be used to deconstruct the landscape in order to understand its component parts.¹³⁰ (Table 1)

¹³⁰ National Park Service. *Landscape Lines No. 3: Landscape Characteristics*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 2005.
Landscape Lines No. 3 is a publication that provides guidance for those creating Cultural Landscape Reports.

Table 1	
Landscape Characteristics ¹³¹	
Natural Systems and Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geology: the surficial characteristics of the earth • Hydrology: the system of surface and subsurface water • Ecology: the interrelationships among living organisms and their environment • Climate: temperature, wind velocity, and precipitation • Native Vegetation: indigenous plant communities and indigenous aggregate and individual plant features
Spatial Organization	Three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in a landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces.
Land Use	The principal activities in a landscape that form, shape, and organize the landscape as a result of human interaction.
Cultural Traditions	The practices that influence the development of a landscape in terms of land use, patterns of land division, building forms, stylistic preferences, and the use of materials.
Cluster Arrangement	The location and pattern of buildings and structures in a landscape and associated outdoor spaces.
Circulation	The spaces, features, and applied material finishes that constitute the systems of movement in a landscape.
Topography	The three-dimensional configuration of a landscape surface characterized by features and orientation.
Vegetation	The deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers and herbaceous plants, and plant communities, whether indigenous or introduced in a landscape.
Buildings and Structures	Buildings are elements constructed primarily for sheltering any form of human activity in a landscape. Structures are elements constructed for functional purposes other than sheltering human activity in a landscape.

¹³¹ National Park Service 2005, 7-11

Views and Vistas	Views are the expansive or panoramic prospect of a broad range of vision, which may be naturally occurring or deliberately contrived. Vistas are the controlled prospect of a discrete, linear range of vision, which is deliberately.
Constructed Water Features	The built features and elements that use water for aesthetic or utilitarian functions in a landscape.
Small-Scale Features	The elements providing detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in a landscape.
Archeological Sites	The ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in a landscape, evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features.

As a part of my mobile home park National Register nomination process, I will be using landscape characteristics for integrity analysis of the property. Currently, there is no National Park Service document that recommends this technique, but there has been a tradition since the 1990s of using landscape characteristics to analyze significance and integrity in landscape-focused nominations. In assessing which landscape characteristics may be applicable for analyzing the cultural landscape of a mobile home park, review resulted in the assessment that nearly every landscape characteristic can be used to aid integrity analysis. As such, Table 2 articulates how the landscape characteristics could apply while assessing mobile home parks as cultural landscapes.

Table 2	
Mobile Home Park Landscape Characteristics	
Natural Systems and Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The natural systems and features of a park would include the geology, and soils on which it is sited. • The ways that water moves through the site. • The climate in which the park is located. • As well as any natural vegetation that was not intentionally planted.
Spatial Organization	This would be the layout of the park, the roads, how the units are situated in relation to each other, how vegetation is arranged, and the locations of other buildings and structures.
Land Use	Land use might be divided into residential areas and possibly commercial areas if the mobile home park had a desire to separate uses; there may be businesses located within the property's boundaries.
Cultural Traditions	These could vary widely from park to park depending on location and residents. For example, Trailer Estates, following professional recommendation, had a full social calendar developed exclusively for its residents to foster a sense of community. ¹³² Another example could be a park in which a majority of the residents are of one ethnicity and certain cultural patterns become prevalent.
Cluster Arrangement	This could refer to the layout of mobile home units into patterns to provide a desired relationship between units as well as units and their surrounding landscape.
Circulation	The vehicular and pedestrian routes used to move throughout the park.
Topography	The elevation differentials that are present on the property and provide the property with its own distinctive character.
Vegetation	Any plant material used for aesthetic or functional purposes.
Buildings and Structures	Mobile homes would be considered buildings along with any other community buildings. Structures could include playgrounds, additions onto mobile homes, as well as any other built object that is not meant for human habitation.

¹³² A full schedule of social activities was developed as a result of advice from a gerontologist (someone that studies aging and its effects) at the University of Michigan (Wallis 1991, 169).

Views and Vistas	Mobile home parks could have views if they are situated on a hill overlooking some feature; such as a lake or golf course. Vistas could refer to the angling of the mobile homes to provide sightlines that do not include your neighbor's windows.
Constructed Water Features	Could be community pools used for recreation or some other water feature, like a pond or fountain used to enhance the property's aesthetics.
Small-Scale Features	Could be any number of items, including fences, signs, and mailboxes, etc.
Archaeological Sites	While not always noted, archaeological sites may exist in a mobile home park.

With the preservation field expanding to include additional types of resources, such as cultural, intangible and contemporary resources, mobile home parks also need to be viewed through a preservation lens. Mobile homes and mobile home parks provide necessary affordable housing for millions of Americans; as such they represent a cultural pattern for a large sector of the population. Hence mobile home parks need to be documented, understood and preserved. One of the ways to begin to study and breakdown the respective components of mobile home parks is to view them as a cultural landscape. For this thesis, landscape characteristics will be used in the next chapter to evaluate select designed and vernacular mobile home park case studies.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDIES

Based on the cursory literature review of mobile home parks and the typologies that developed as result, five case studies were selected. Two of these (1 and 2) are subdivisions containing ranch-style properties, and three (3-5) are mobile home parks:

1. Fairway Oaks-Greenview Historic District in Savannah, Georgia
2. Ladue Estates in Creve Coeur, Missouri
3. Trailer Estates in Bradenton, Florida
4. Lake Terrace Estates in Three Lakes, Wisconsin
5. Sleepy Hollow in Athens, Georgia

The mobile home parks (3-5) were chosen to:

- represent different mobile home park designs;
- determine eligibility of each of these for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places with respect to integrity and significance; and
- determine the strengths and weaknesses of each potential nomination .

The two site-built subdivisions, Fairway Oaks-Greenview and Ladue Estates, are examples of contemporary ranch developments that have successfully been included in the National Register of Historic Places. The third case study: Trailer Estates was chosen because it was the first official community in the nation that was designated exclusively as a mobile home park; therefore, it potentially has national significance. Lake Terrace Estates in Three Lakes,

Wisconsin, the fourth case study, was selected for its relationship with the Mobile Home Manufacturers' Association (MHMA). This park's design is the result of the MHMA Parks Division who designed mobile home parks for specific communities from 1962 to 1972. This park potentially has national significance because it was a part of a larger national trend. Finally, Sleepy Hollow is a vernacular park that is typical of mobile home parks found tucked on the outskirts of towns across the nation. It is included because it represents the majority of vernacular mobile home parks that are used more for affordable housing than anything else.

The reason for including these two site-built communities in this thesis is to provide a loose framework for the mobile home park case studies to use in their National Register form. This type of resource was selected because they were built during the same time period as the mobile home park case studies and they are a similar resource type. Considering that Fairway Oaks-Greenview and Ladue Estates are planned suburban communities, there should be many similarities between them and mobile home parks as both mobile home parks and ranch communities were designed with the same basic purposes in mind. Both the mobile home parks and the ranch communities are intended to provide housing away from the city because the automobile provides freedom from the "moral trappings" of the city.

This trend began when the automobile was becoming an affordable transportation option for American in the late 1920s. One of the first of these suburban developments was Radburn, a historic suburb in Fair Lawn, New Jersey. Developed in 1929, Radburn was designed to be "a town for the motor age." It is a community planned with residential blocks lined with houses surrounded by garden lots. These blocks are connected with both vehicular and pedestrian

designated pathways and are one of the first planned communities to incorporate cul-de-sacs into the design.¹³³

In 2002, the National Park Service published a National Register Bulletin on historic residential suburbs to help provide a context for communities, such as Radburn, that could be referred to when drafting a National Register nomination form where community planning and design were significant.¹³⁴ The bulletin places great emphasis on the design and planning of these communities as this was a new development form that had previously not been attempted or considered feasible. These new developments utilized different design techniques with the landscape and the buildings to provide a garden or picturesque aesthetic. This included blocked and curvilinear streets with the houses setback from the road to provide a lawn and the option for landscaped beds. As time passed, so did the styles and design aesthetics of these suburban developments.

From the mid to late 1950s until the early 1970s the ranch house and its accompanying landscape design was extremely popular. This particular design style is notable because it is the same period that saw the most prolific period of mobile home park developments. The Georgia state historic preservation office published guidelines that can be used when evaluating the ranch house.¹³⁵ Though this particular publication focuses on the architectural style, layout, and features of the ranch house, this information is important when considering the planned community in which it is located because the architecture and landscape are of the same complementing design. Many of the ranch style design elements are also found in many mobile home parks as they were heavily influenced by the residential suburbs.

¹³³ Reed, Paula S. *Radburn*. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Hagerstown: Paula S. Reed and Associates, 1975.

¹³⁴ Ames and McClelland 2002

¹³⁵ Sullivan, Reed and Fedor 2010

The following case studies contain the same format, which is the key information from the National Register nomination form. This template will be used for all five case studies to ease of comparison later in Chapter 6.

Fairway Oaks-Greenview

Nomination prepared by: Robert Ciucevich

Location: Savannah, Georgia

Bounded approximately by DeRenne Drive (north), Water Avenue (west), Truman Parkway and Casey Canal (east), and the Live Oaks Golf Course at Bacon Park (south)

Date Developed: 1950-1957

Acreage: 105 acres (acreage estimator)

Date Approved for National Register: February 23, 2009

Level(s) of Significance: State and Local

Classification

Ownership of Property: Private
Category of Property: District

Number of Resources: Buildings: 204 Contributing and 11 Noncontributing
Sites: 1 Contributing
Structures: 1 Contributing
Objects: 1 Contributing

Function or Use

Historic Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Current Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Description:

Architectural Classification: Late 19th and Early 20th Century Revivals: Colonial Revival
Modern Movement: International Style
Modern Movement: California Style or Ranch Style
Other: Contemporary Style
Other: Monterey Style
Other: Modern Style (a.k.a. "International Style")
Other: American Small House
Other: Ranch House
Other: Split-Level House

Materials: Foundation: brick, concrete
Walls: brick, wood weather board, stucco
Roof: asphalt (singles)

Narrative Description
Summary Paragraph:

The Fairway Oaks-Greenview Historic District consists of two contiguous and historically related suburban residential developments that capitalized on the prospects of suburban living and a country-club lifestyle due to their location beyond the city limits and adjacent to a county park and golf course. The earlier and larger subdivision is Fairway Oaks. It was developed between 1950 and 1957 by Max Hostetter and James Richmond. It features curvilinear streets, three cul-de-sacs, and two perimeter roadways, which isolate it from adjacent thoroughfares, and it opens onto an adjacent public park and golf course (not included in the district). The main entrance, off Waters Avenue, is a short divided parkway with landscaped median and subdivision signage. Development took place from the south, nearest the park and golf course, with the oldest and largest houses, to the north, with the later and smaller houses. The subdivision contains 176 houses; 60% are ranch houses, 20% are American Small Houses, and the remainder are Split-Level houses and two-story houses. The Colonial Revival style predominates, although other architectural styles including the Contemporary and Modern are present. Most of the houses are wood-framed with brick veneer; a district feature is the use of salvaged "Savannah Grey" brick. Development of the adjacent and interconnected Greenview subdivision was begun by Max Hostetter in 1956 as his Fairway Oaks development was nearing completion and continued into the early 1960s. Access to the newer subdivision, which also borders the park and golf course, was through Fairway Oaks. Greenway features an H-shaped street layout containing 39 original building lots. House types and styles are similar to those in Fairway Oaks, but the houses are larger and more architecturally elaborate. Several houses were designed by noted Savannah architects including Juan Bertoto, Carl Helfrich, Jr., and John LeBay, and at least one house was designed by Florida architect, Mark Garrison Hampton, associated with the "Sarasota School" of contemporary design. Landscaping is informal throughout the district with open lawns and large pine and oak trees. With a few exceptions, streets in the Fairway Oaks subdivision have no curbs; streets in Greenview are curbed. There are no sidewalks. Most of the houses have integral carports or garages. There are very few noncontributing properties in the district; all are houses built after the period of significance.

Statement of Significance

Applicable National

Register Criteria:

- A. Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- C. Embodies distinctive construction, work of a master, or high artistic values.

Areas of Significance:

Architecture
Community Planning and Development

Period of Significance:

1950-1965

Significant Dates:

1950: Fairway Oaks subdivision started
1951: Fairway Oaks Association founded
1956: Greenview subdivision started

Architect/Builder:

Hampton, Mark Garrison (architect)
Helfrich, Carl Edward (architect)
Bertoto, Juan (architect)
Armstrong, Hugh (builder)
Berry, Geraldine (builder)

Statement of Significance

Summary Paragraph:

The Fairway Oaks-Greenview Historic District is significant as a precedent-setting mid-20th century suburban residential development in Savannah.

In the area of community planning and development, it is significant at the local level as the first mid-20th century suburban residential development intended for middle- to upper-middle-class white homeowners outside the Savannah city limits featuring the new-to-Savannah curvilinear street layout with cul-de-sacs and irregularly shaped wooded lots. In doing so, it broke with Savannah's 200-year tradition of gridiron-plan development and also is significant as the first "upscale" suburban development in the Savannah area to successfully capitalize on new ideas about "country" living in the suburbs and a "country-club" lifestyle fostered by proximity to a county park and golf course. The development's high visibility and success set precedents for subsequent suburban developments in Savannah including, in relatively quick succession, Groveland (1950), Kensington Park (1951), and Magnolia Park (1953), all in the same vicinity south of Savannah.

In the area of architecture, the district is significant at the local level for containing what is believed to be one of the best

collections of mid-20th century houses in Savannah, including American Small Houses, Ranch houses, Split-Level houses, and two-story traditional, ranging in size from large to small and architecturally from plain to elaborate. The most prevalent architectural style is Colonial Revival, followed closely by the Contemporary; a few Modern-style houses also are present. Following national trends, ranch houses predominate, comprising nearly two-thirds of the housing stock. The district also contains important house designs by noted local and regional architects significant at the state as well as the local level.

National Register
Criteria:

The Fairway Oaks-Greenview Historic District meets National Register Criterion A in terms of community planning and development at the local level for its precedent-setting role in establishing a new modern way of planning and developing residential suburbs in mid-20th century Savannah. The use of curvilinear streets, cul-de-sacs, and irregularly shaped wooded lots was a first in Savannah for a middle- and upper middle-class suburban development. The district also meets National Register Criterion A for its Fairway Oaks Association, one of the first mid-century homeowners' associations in Georgia and apparently the first in Savannah. This association enhanced the quality of life in the new suburb by making privately funded capital improvements including a sewerage system, street paving, and a neighborhood park. The district meets National Register Criterion C at the local level for its many excellent exceptional and representative examples of mid-20th century residential architectural styles and house types now recognized as important in Georgia through the statewide historic context "Georgia's Living Places: Historic Houses in their Landscaped Setting." Among the important mid-century architectural styles are Colonial Revival, Contemporary, and International. Among the important mid-century house types are the American Small House (extended version), the Ranch house, the Split-Level house, and the two-story house in both traditional and modern forms. Select individual houses designed by noted architects, such as the Weis House at 5614 Sweetbriar Circle designed by Mark Hampton and the Brooks House at 1234 Lawndale Road designed by Juan Bertoto are considered significant at the state level. The district also meets National Register Criterion C for its new-to-Savannah curvilinear street plan with cul-de-sacs and irregularly shaped lots. This form of subdivision plan was new to Savannah and relatively new to the state of Georgia when first laid out in 1950.

Geographical Data

UTM References:

A) Zone 17	Easting 491040	Northing 3542910
B) Zone 17	Easting 491560	Northing 3542760
C) Zone 17	Easting 491730	Northing 3542060
D) Zone 17	Easting 490750	Northing 3542025

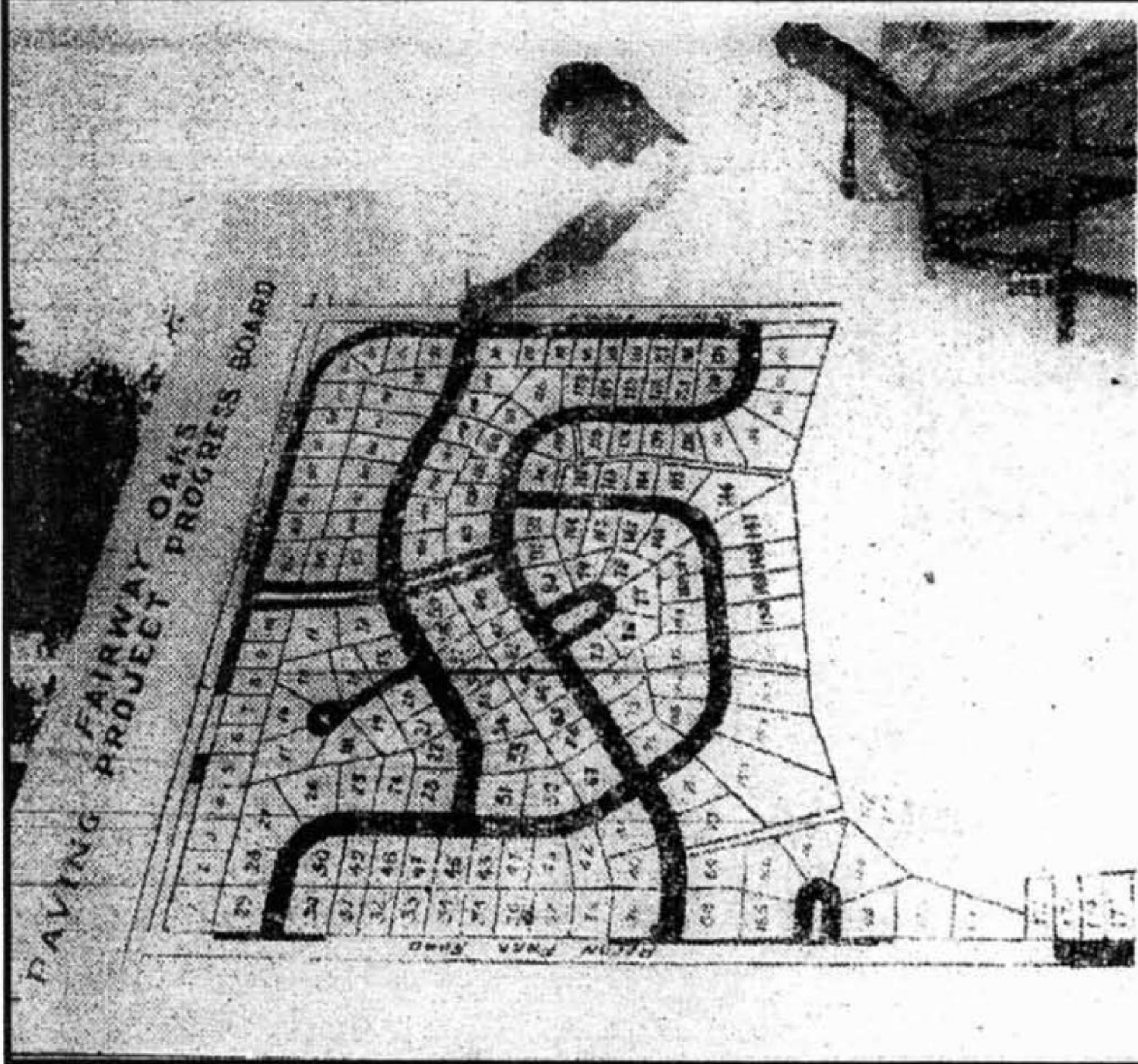
Verbal Boundary

Description:

The boundary of the nominated district is shown by a heavy black line drawn to scale on the attached “Historic District Map.” It includes Waters Drive and the Median between Waters Drive and Waters Avenue, the planting strip between DeRenne Drive and DeRenne Avenue from Waters Road to the Casey Canal, and the wooded area formerly a community park along the western edge of the Casey Canal.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary justification includes all the historic residential properties, perimeter drives with medians and planting strips, and wooded former parkland along the Casey Canal historically associated with the Fairway Oaks-Greenview subdivisions.



FAIRWAY OAKS PAVING CHARTED—Edmund R. Hopper, president of the Fairway Oaks Assn., is shown pointing in the progress of the \$26,000 paving project in the progressive subdivision in the southeastern section. The progress board stands at the entrance to the subdivision. Fairway Oak residents are sharing in the cost of the paving work which began last week. (Morning News Photo by Jim Brisson)

Subscribe \$26,000 For Work

Fairway Oaks Residents Get Street Paving Program Going

Figure 21: Fairway Oaks Development Savannah Daily News, July 10, 1955, reporting on the Fairway Oaks Association's progress on paving the streets in the subdivision.



Figure 22: Bacon Park Drive, Photographer facing northwest
Photo by Robert Ciucevich



Figure 23: Club Circle, Nos. 2 and 3; photographer facing northwest
Photo by Robert Ciucevich



Figure 24: Lawndale Road, Nos. 1234; photographer facing west.
Photo by Robert Ciucevich



Figure 25: Club Circle, Nos. 2 and 3; photographer facing northwest
Photo by Robert Ciucevich



Figure 26: Chipper Circle, Nos. 5 (right) and 6 (left); photographer facing east.
Photo by Robert Ciucevich



Figure 27: Margatha Drive, No. 102; photographer facing northeast.
Photo by Robert Ciucevich

Ladue Estates

Nomination Prepared by: Lea Ann Baker, Suzanne Walch, Samantha Kuphal, and Esley Hamilton

Location: Creve Coeur, St. Louis County, Missouri

Date Developed: 1956-1965

Acreage: 84.75 acres

Date Approved for National Register: April 22, 2010

Level(s) of Significance: Local

Classification

Ownership of Property: Private

Category of Property: District

Number of Resources: Buildings: 75 Contributing
Objects: 6 Contributing

Function or Use

Historic Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Current Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Description:

Architectural Classification: Modern Movement
Other: Ranch Style

Materials: Foundation: concrete
Walls: brick and wood
Roof: asphalt

Narrative Description

Summary Paragraph: Built by Goldberg & Company, Ladue Estates is an approximately 85-acre post-World War II subdivision located in Creve Coeur, St. Louis County, Missouri. The subdivision's boundaries are Ladue Road on the north, Mosley Road on the west, the Westwood Country Club's golf course to the south, and the Westwood Place Subdivision to the east. Since its construction between 1956 through 1965, this historic district has been in contiguous use as a domestic site. Seventy-five

buildings and six objects are all contributing resources for this district. Minimal ornamentation, predominately low-pitched roofs, and broad rambling facades characterize its seventy-five one-story ranch houses. Throughout the subdivision, front elevations include large bands of windows achieving the integration of interior and exterior spaces. Sliding glass doors access small patios. Some homes feature stone windowsills and intricate brickwork, while others have larger than average fascia adding aesthetic appeal. All have full basements with the topography generally dictating whether they are walkouts. While many homes retain their original footprint, several houses have alterations. The most common are living space additions to the rear of the property and garage stalls attached to the side of the structure enlarging the builder's standard two stalls. These are minor changes that do not detract from the integrity of the subdivision.

Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria:

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, ore represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

Criteria Consideration:

G. Less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance:

Community Planning and Development
Ethnic Heritage: European
Architecture

Period of Significance:

1956-1965

Architect/Builder:

Weinel, Cay
Goldberg, Ben

Statement of Significance
Summary Paragraph:

Located in the city of Creve Coeur in the western area of St. Louis County, Ladue Estates is locally significant for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C, ARCHITECTURE. With its large lots, lack of sidewalks, and one-story ranch houses catering to the automobile owner, Laude Estates is an excellent example of an early ranch house district.

In addition, the nominated district is eligible under Criterion A, in the areas of COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, and ETHNIC HERITAGE: EUROPEAN. The subdivision represents a short period in Western St. Louis County history when available land was plentiful, cheap, and procured by the best builders. After World War II, cramped citted fell out of fashion as middle to upper income families yearned for spacious, detached housing. In the City of St. Louis, there was little to no room for growth, thus development of St. Louis County became not only desirous but necessary. The period of significance for this nomination is 1956-1965, which was the time of construction of Ladue Estates. Although this period traverses the typical 50-year cutoff date (Criterion Consideration G), the nominated district provides not only an exceptional representation of post-war flight to the suburbs, but specifically that of the Jewish community. During this period discrimination against the Jewish community restricted where affluent Jewish-Americans could relocate. Constructed by Goldberg & Company, a Jewish builder, Ladue Estates proved a welcome enclave of modern suburban ranch homes. The 75 individual dwellings and six entrances markers have remained intact with no significant alterations or demolition to detract from the ambiance that Goldberg & Company intended.

Geographical Data

UTM References:

- 1) Zone 15 Easting 724085 Northing 4281662
- 2) Zone 15 Easting 724081 Northing 4280970
- 3) Zone 15 Easting 723728 Northing 4280970
- 4) Zone 15 Easting 723740 Northing 4281661

Verbal Boundary

Description:

Ladue Estates Plat 1 and Ladue Estates Plats 2 & 3, recorded by the St. Louis County (Missouri) Recorder of Deeds in Plat Book 71, page 5 and Plat Book 75, page 49.

Boundary Justification:

This is the entire subdivision as platted in 1955 and 1956.

Photographs:

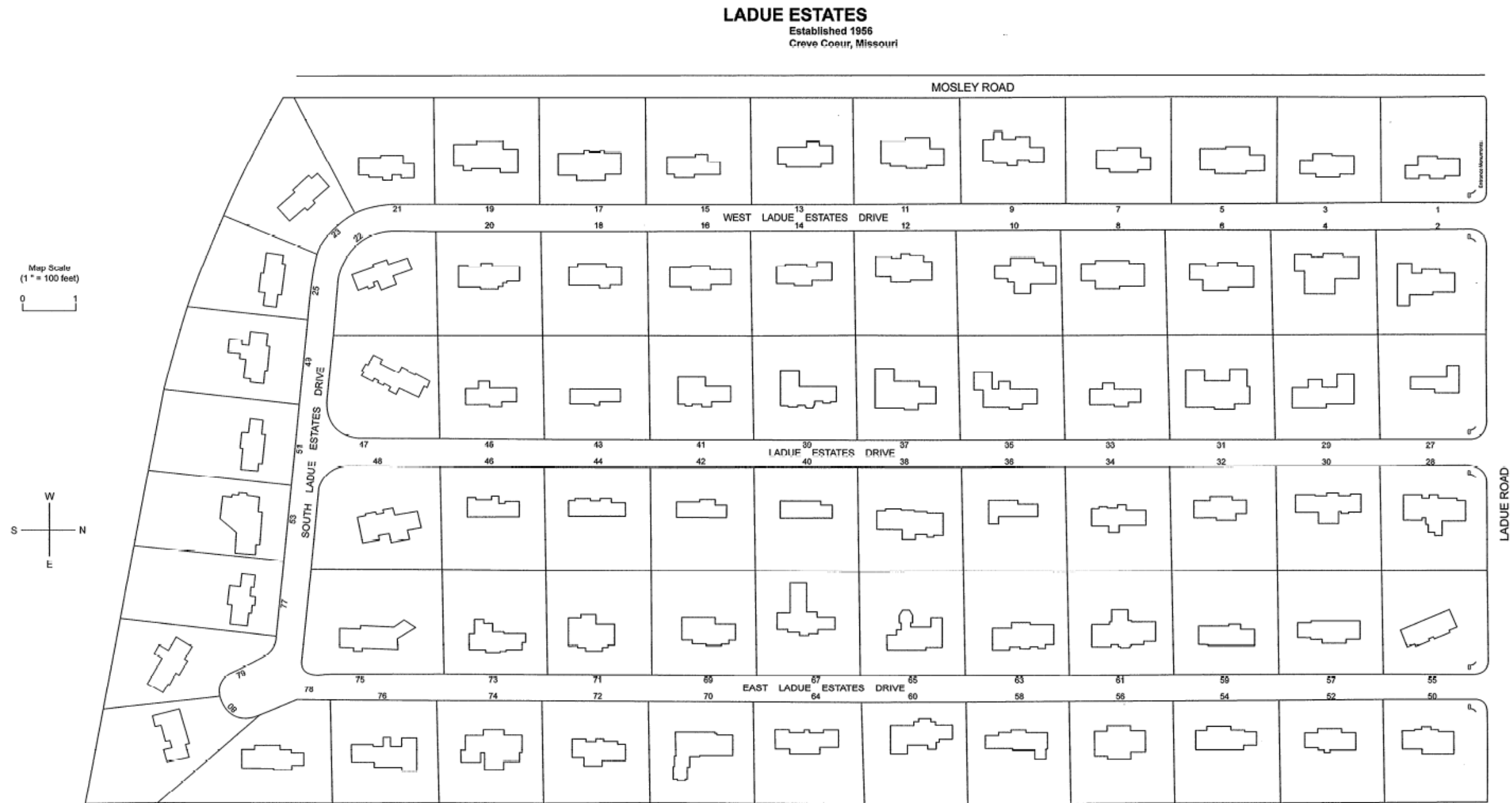


Figure 28: Ladue Estates July 2008
Created by Lea Ann Baker



Figure 29: Pylon for West Ladue Estates Drive, Ladue Estates
Photo by Suzanne Walch, July 2008



Figure 30: #77 South Ladue Estates Drive, Ladue Estates
Photo by Suzanne Walch, July 2008



Figure 31: #18 and #16 West Ladue Estates Drive, Ladue Estates
Photo by Suzanne Walch, July 2008



Figure 32: #37 Ladue Estates Drive, Ladue Estates
Photo by Suzanne Walch, May 2008



Figure 33: #11 West Ladue Estates Drive, Ladue Estates
Photo by Suzanne Walch, July 15, 2008



Figure 34: #7 West Ladue Estates Drive, Ladue Estates
Photo by Suzanne Walch, July 15, 2008

The mobile home park case studies to follow were able to use these two ranch subdivision cases to provide a better argument for nomination. For one, the two suburban residential nominations used “Modern Movement: Ranch Style” for their architectural classifications as it is an available option listed in the handbook detailing how to fill out the nomination form. Although nonexistent currently, having an option of “Manufactured Housing,” or something of that nature would give the resource a sense of legitimacy. The fact that ranch nominations place emphasis on the architecture of the houses is important as the houses are the main focus of the landscape. Such an integral part of a composition deserves mention and documentation. Mobile home park nominations should take this into consideration as the homes are the main focus, therefore, the architectural style of the individual mobile homes should be considered and noted.

These ranch development nominations also do a great job of describing how the architecture is related to the designed landscape in which they are located. Though the ranch house is the main focus of a ranch development, the landscape design that is found in and around this suburban form is unique to the ranch style. Generally characterized by the low, long, horizontal lines, which provide a clean contemporary feeling, the ranch landscape style is uniquely different from that of the 1930s bungalows and subsequent residential developments. Considering this fact, mobile home nominations should emphasize the landscape features that are unique to this development style as there are certainly both similarities and differences to that of the ranch communities.

Finally, the two ranch nominations and the Radburn example all consider the aspect of community planning and development to be of the utmost importance. These nominations describe their community plan and design as one of their main evidences of historic significance.

As these communities were a new American ideal that significantly changed the landscape, planning and spatial organization of the communities is the primary focus with architectural style and landscape features playing a secondary supporting role. Mobile home parks would fall right in line with this train of thought. The planning and design of the communities should be the main concentration of the mobile home park nomination because in itself there is a new interpretation of 'community.' This interpretation changed what 'community means, and what it should look like.

Trailer Estates

Nomination prepared by: Parker Lawrence

Location: 6814 Canada Blvd, Bradenton, Manatee County, Florida

Mobile Home Park Type: Designed with recreational emphasis

Date Developed: 1955

Acreage: 160 acres

Level(s) of Significance: National, State and Local

Classification

Ownership of Property: Private

Category of Property: Site

Number of Resources: 1,260 Buildings (Including both site-built and mobile homes)
32 Shuffle Board Courts
4 Primary Streets
10 Secondary Streets
3 Adjoining Canals
1 Swimming Pool
1 Marina
1 Entrance Sign
1 Landscaped Median

Function or Use

Historic Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling
Social/Clubhouse
Recreation and Culture/Outdoor Recreation

Current Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling
Social/Clubhouse
Recreation and Culture/Outdoor Recreation

Description:

Architectural Classification: Modern Movement
Other: Manufactured Housing

Materials: Mobile Homes: Metal with wood carport additions common
Community Buildings: Cement block exterior walls, asphalt roof

Narrative Description
Summary Paragraph:

Trailer Estates is a mobile home park and recreation area located in Bradenton, Florida. The park was developed in 1955 by Sydney Adler to provide a mobile home park with amenities that would enrich the residential experience. The entrance is located at the intersection of 69th Street West and Canada Boulevard, which serve as the south boundary and central axis respectively. Being so close to sea level, the land is relatively flat with little change in grade. Simple signage and raised planting beds serve as the entry to the neighborhood. The streets are laid out in a rectilinear grid pattern which is modeled after the suburban streets adjacent to the property. Units and driveways are set at a 30° angle to the road to provide the best vistas of the street for the occupants, while maintaining density. Nearly every unit has an addition off of one side that serves as a carport showing the importance of the automobile to the community. The community resembles an early suburban development, though it is denser due to the slender dimensions of the mobile home units. The mobile homes' exteriors are made of aluminum with skirting to cover the chassis, per homeowners' association regulation. The community has canal access to Sarasota Bay with three canals, one making up the western boundary and two more defining the southern boundary. Mobile homes situated along the canals usually include a deck or dock on the water. A marina can be found in the southwest of the development, making one of the constructed water features of the site; the other being the swimming pool located by the community buildings. Along with the water features, some small-scale feature, such as the shuffleboard courts, are present that aid in developing a sense of community for the residents. There are no sidewalks in the community reaffirming the fact that vehicular circulation is dominant. Landscaping along the major east-west axes include mowed grass and small clusters of palm trees and shrubs to provide visual interest, not to obstruct the views to or from the community. Landscaping of individual parcels vary but include similar materials, like grass, generally small trees and shrubs, decorative rocks and small concrete statuary.

Statement of Significance

Applicable National
Register Criteria:

- A.** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B.** Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

Areas of Significance: Community Planning and Development

Period of Significance: 1955

Significant Person: Sydney Adler

Statement of Significance
Summary Paragraph:

Trailer Estates is significant as a precedent-setting Mobile Home Park in Bradenton, Florida.

In the area of community planning and development, it is significant at the national, state and local levels as the first mobile home park in the nation. The success of the development directly led Sydney Adler to build three similar mobile home parks in Florida, Arizona and California. Designed aspects, such as having recreational activities/amenities incorporated, influenced subsequent developments. The idea that the landscape elements are essentially the important permanent elements in which the residences are relatively interchangeable elements was a new concept for residential developments.

National Register Criteria:

Trailer Estates would meet National Register Criterion A in terms of community planning and development at the national, state and local level for its precedent-setting part in creating a new form of community for a new architectural type, the mobile home. The idea that a landscape is a permanent community feature in which residences, the mobile homes, are able to be inserted and removed at the discretion of the renters or property owners was a new concept. The community also meets Criterion B at the national level for its connection to Sydney Adler. Adler was the gentleman who first developed the idea for a community solely comprised of mobile homes. Upon the success of Trailer Estates, Adler built three comparable mobile home parks located in Florida, California, and Arizona effectively creating templates for others to use in their own states. Because of this Adler had influence on the mobile home park concept on the national scale.

Geographical Data

Latitude/Longitude:	27°42'55.73"N	82°58'49.42"W
	27°42'44.38"N	82°58'43.51"W
	27°42'28.90"N	82°58'48.18"W
	27°42'00.28"N	82°58'47.80"W
	27°41'99.90"N	82°58'37.88"W
	27°41'93.28"N	82°58'38.04"W

27°41'93.43"N	82°58'47.16"W
27°41'98.38"N	82°58'47.32"W
27°41'92.90"N	82°58'63.84"W
27°41'84.47"N	82°58'65.35"W
27°41'83.09"N	82°58'19.86"W
27°41'68.24"N	82°58'19.64"W
27°41'68.19"N	82°58'12.83"W
27°41'82.71"N	82°58'12.72"W
27°41'82.66"N	82°58'11.00"W
27°41'65.90"N	82°58'11.27"W
27°41'65.90"N	82°57'96.90"W
27°41'83.28"N	82°57'96.74"W
27°41'83.85"N	82°57'74.63"W
27°42'26.19"N	82°57'75.22"W
27°42'27.78"N	82°57'87.08"W
27°42'52.54"N	82°57'86.97"W
27°42'52.64"N	82°57'74.20"W
27°42'56.68"N	82°57'74.90"W

Verbal Boundary
Description:

The boundary begins at the corner of Arizona Street and Tennessee Avenue and runs south along the canal to the northwest corner of the marina at the corner of Marina Drive and Michigan Avenue. It then follows the edge of the marina that is enclosed by Michigan Avenue, American Way and Pennsylvania Ave to the southern point of the marina entrance. From here the boundary once again follows the curve of the canal to the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 69th Avenue West. The boundary line follows the northern edge of 69th Avenue west to Park Lane. It then follows Park Lane to West Beach Drive to the lesser canal, which it follows around to East Beach Drive. The boundary then continues to Tarpon Lane and turns north to again follow 69th Avenue West until it meets with New York Avenue. From this intersection, the boundary continues north to Florida Blvd where it turns west until it reaches New Jersey Street. From this intersection, the boundary continues north to Tennessee Avenue which it follows back to the original starting point at the intersection of Arizona Street and Tennessee Avenue.

Boundary Justification:

The reasoning for this boundary is to include all properties which are able to be taxed under the Trailer Estates recreational area.

Table 3

Trailer Estates' Landscape Characteristics	
Natural Systems and Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trailer Estates is located in an area with sandy soil that has a potential for sinkholes. • Water that falls on the site is directed from impervious surfaces to ditches that divert it to the canals adjacent to the property. • Trailer Estates is located in a humid subtropical climate. • It is unclear if there is any natural vegetation as the site has been highly manipulated.
Spatial Organization	<p>Trailer Estates' streets are laid out on a rectangular grid pattern that provides optimal density and vehicular circulation. The units are situated close together on a 30° angle to increase the density of the park and facilitate easier delivery and removal of mobile homes. Community buildings are located toward the southwest section of the development anchored along 69th Street West.</p>
Land Use	<p>The land use of the development is overwhelmingly residential. Along with the community buildings and recreational amenities, there are a few public buildings that serve the community, including a fire department and post office.</p>
Cultural Traditions	<p>Since its inception, Trailer Estates followed professional recommendation and had a full social calendar developed exclusively for its residents to foster a sense of community.¹³⁶ These events include but are not limited to: square dances, shuffle board tournaments and themed dinners.</p>
Cluster Arrangement	<p>The mobile home units are tightly arranged in a herringbone pattern along the east-west streets. This tight arrangement allows for small yard space for minimal upkeep and ease of delivery or removal of a mobile home unit. Community buildings are clustered in the southwest quadrant of the development, bounded by the canal and marina to the west and 69th Street West to the south. Though not seen physically, the park is organized by use, with residents with pets located in one quadrant, and residents with children in another.</p>

¹³⁶ A full schedule of social activities was developed as a result of advice from a gerontologist (someone that studies aging and its effects) at the University of Michigan (Wallis 1991, 169).

Circulation	<p>Vehicular circulation is predominant in the community as there are no sidewalks designated for pedestrian traffic. The main thoroughfares are 69th Street West and Florida Avenue which run east-west and provides outside access to the community. Canada Boulevard which serves as the official entrance is the only major north-south axis. Parking is provided at all community and recreation centers in the development.</p>
Topography	<p>The land on which Trailer Estates sits is relatively flat due to its proximity to the Sarasota Bay and the Gulf of Mexico. Ditches used for storm water management account for the main elevation changes in the landscape.</p>
Vegetation	<p>Grass is the most prominent type of vegetation being used on medians, community open spaces and in private yards. Various species of palm trees are also a key feature as the park is located in a humid subtropical climate; palms are used along street rights of way as well as in yards. Various ornamental plants are used throughout private yards. Landscaping is kept rather minimal for both aesthetic and utilitarian purposes. Aesthetically, the minimalist landscaping compliments the more subdued, modern lines of the new architectural type. Considering utility, the landscape and layout is designed to accommodate the interchangeable nature of the mobile home and excessive landscaping hinders the units mobility if/when it needs to be relocated.</p>
Buildings and Structures	<p>Trailer Estates has numerous buildings and structures which add to the feeling of the site. Mobile homes, at around 1,250, account for the greatest number of buildings. Many of the mobile homes appear to be original to the development and there are few empty lots. There are three buildings used for offices and various community functions, as well as a fire station and post office, which are original to the 1955 design and are considered contributing. Additions found within the community are some of the carports as they cover the mobile home and portions of the driveway, though are not considered habitable, they are considered contributing structures.</p>

Views and Vistas	Trailer Estates has multiple designed vistas and a few views. Since vehicular circulation is very important the alignment of the mobile home units is designed to provide a continual rhythm when viewed from the street. For the individual units themselves, the angling enables the occupants vistas of the street from the living-room windows located on the long units' broad side, instead of in that of the neighbors'. Views are prevalent from those units that are situated on the canals.
Constructed Water Features	Trailer Estates has four main constructed water features: the swimming pool, the marina and the two canals that make up the southern boundary of the property. These water features are the main amenity or recreational appeal that the community was built to capitalize on. These features have the added benefit of providing distinctive vistas for residents of the community.
Small-Scale Features	Trailer Estates has a number of contributing small-scale features including but not limited to, the main entrance sign, shuffle board courts, personal landscape statuary and boat docks/slips.
Archaeological Sites	There is no indication of any archaeological sites present on the property, but there is always a possibility.

Photographs:



Figure 35: Aerial view of the property with the canal forming the western boundary. Notice the long rectangular grid pattern and angling of the units provide increased density as compared to the surrounding residential developments. The contrast in color is because of the contrast of materials; Aluminum for Trailer Estates and mostly asphalt for the surrounding neighborhoods. Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 36: Community center and office located on the northwest corner of Canada Avenue and 69th Avenue West. This is the main entry to the park off of 69th Avenue. The one-story buildings with low-pitched roofs are characteristic of the development. The sign and planting beds are original to the property and provide a clean and manicured aesthetic to the property. Vehicular circulation is paved throughout the community and maintained with funds from the recreational area funds instead of the county coffers. Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 37: View facing northeast along Michigan Avenue. A concrete paved driveway (sometimes painted/stained) and carport addition are found at every unit. Landscaping varies from lot to lot, using combinations of grass, ornamental plants, and loose river rocks. The angles of the units on either side of the same street produce a herringbone pattern that may influence vehicular circulation and encourage residents to approach from certain directions. Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 38: View of community marina from Pennsylvania Avenue facing northwest. This marina is the largest constructed water feature that is used by the residents providing easy access to personal watercraft. Photograph courtesy of Google Earth

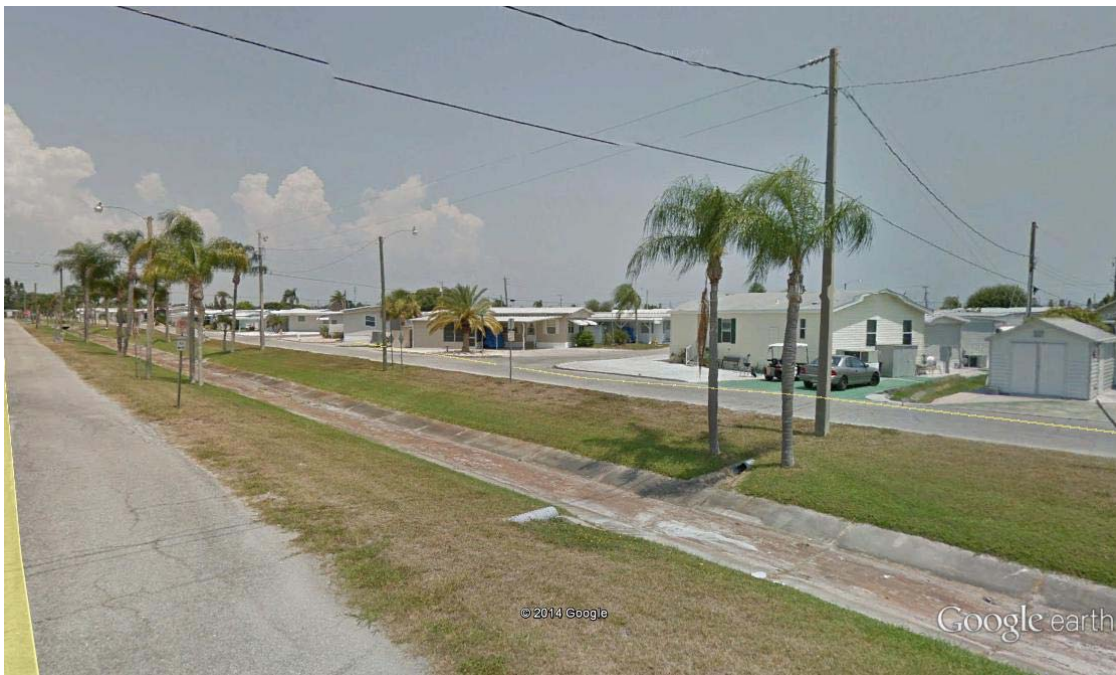


Figure 39: View of landscaped median looking southeast that runs the length of Canal Way Drive. With the rectangular grid, the east-west streets become the prominent axes and the wide-median and landscaping supports this distinction. Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 40: Shuffleboard courts as viewed from Canada Blvd looking southwest. The largest small-scale feature, the shuffleboard courts are centrally located for residents and surrounded by an abundance of parking, showing the importance of vehicular circulation in the community.
Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 41: Indiana Avenue facing southeast showing typical siting of unit and landscaping. The dominance of vehicular circulation is apparent as there are no sidewalks, apart from those around community areas, to provide pedestrian circulation.
Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 42: View of a canal and canal-front units as seen from 69th Avenue West facing southwest. A few of the properties have canal frontage which allows for personal docks and patios overlooking the constructed waterway. These waterfront properties still maintain the angled herringbone pattern of the rest of development. Photograph courtesy of Google Earth

Lake Terrace Estates

Nomination prepared by: Parker Lawrence

Location: 1361 Lake Terrace Drive, Three Lakes, WI 54562

Mobile Home Park Type: Designed with a purely residential focus

Date Developed: 1968

Acreage: 23 acres

Level(s) of Significance: National, State and Local

Classification

Ownership of Property: Private

Category of Property: Site

Number of Resources: 37 Buildings
1 Swimming Pool
1 Primary Road
2 Secondary Roads
1 Allée

Function or Use

Historic Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Current Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Description:

Architectural Classification: Modern Movement
Other: Manufactured Housing (category currently not offered)

Materials: Mobile Homes: Metal exterior with wood additions suspected
Community Buildings: The roofs are asphalt; however, the exterior materials are unknown.

Narrative Description

Summary Paragraph: Lake Terrace Estates is located on the southern shore of Little Moccasin Lake in Three Lakes, Wisconsin. The mobile home park is characterized by a single artery that stems from Lake Terrace Drive, slowly curves east and terminates on itself, creating a loop. A secondary street branches off of the main artery as well. The community is situated on a lake shore providing selected views and vistas for the residents. There are

35 mobile home units along with two community buildings and a swimming pool. The units are sited in a radial pattern on the outside of the two loops with the remaining units positioned in the center of the loops. Landscaping is strategically situated between the community and the main road, Lake Terrace Drive, to provide a physical and visual barrier for both residents and passersby. The park's design is notable because it was a product of the Mobile Home Manufacturers' Association Parks Division, which aided municipalities and private property owners with the design and regulation of mobile home communities free of charge. The purpose of this service was to spur mobile home sales by making model mobile home parks that were superior through design and layout, therefor making them an attractive housing option for American consumers. Though Lake Terrace Estates deviated from the Park Division plan slightly, the property is still distinctive and recognizable, so it maintains integrity in terms of layout and design.

Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

Areas of Significance:

Community Planning and Development

Period of Significance:

1957-1972

Architect/Builder:

Mobile Home Manufacturers Association, Parks Division

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph:

In the area of community planning and development, Lake Terrace Estates is significant at the national level as a product of the MHMA Parks Division, which greatly influenced the design of mobile home parks and the regulation that provided oversight at a national level. The amount of influence of the Parks Division is currently unknown, as there is no compiled record listing the names and locations of the parks that were designed and built under the Division. The number of parks is potentially in the hundreds. The period of significance would be from 1955-1972, which is the timeframe in which the Parks Division was operational.

Geographical Data

Latitude/Longitude: 45°78'37.17"N 89°13'30.23"W
 45°78'37.40"N 89°13'22.45"W
 45°78'48.59"N 89°13'22.99"W
 45°78'67.59"N 89°13'50.47"W
 45°78'66.14"N 89°13'77.71"W
 45°78'35.22"N 89°13'74.68"W

Verbal Boundary

Description: The boundary begins where Lake Terrace Drive makes a 90° turn. From that point, the boundary continues 200ft east where it turns due north until it reaches the shore of Little Moccasin Lake. The boundary follows the lake shore for 1,200ft and then goes 625 feet due west. It then goes directly south where it reaches Lake Terrace Drive and follows the road to the original point.

Boundary Justification: The boundary uses Lake Terrace Drive as its southern edge to form the bottom a rectangle whose northwest corner is distorted by the lakeshore.

Table 4	
Lake Terrace Estates' Landscape Characteristics	
Natural Systems and Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water drains from the road and development toward the Little Lake Moccasin. • The park is located in a humid continental climate. • There are several trees and shrubs on the property, yet it is unclear the species or whether or not they are natural to the site.
Spatial Organization	Lake Terrace Estates is organized in relation to the lake. The main arterial road turns to run parallel to the lakeshore.
Land Use	Land use on the site is purely residential as there is no commercial activity on the present site.
Cultural Traditions	There are no known cultural traditions in this community.

Cluster Arrangement	The mobile homes outside of the loops are situated radially to provide opportunity for greater density. Mobile homes within the loops are positioned perpendicular to one another in two lines with a small strip of yard space running between the two lines.
Circulation	Vehicular circulation is predominant as there are no sidewalks present. The main artery of the development is curvilinear with two loops sprouting from it. Unpaved parking spaces are provided for residents to allow them to park off of the street.
Topography	The property has a gradual slope from the road to the lakeshore.
Vegetation	An allée of trees line Lake Terrace Estates, the main road from Lake Terrace Drive. There are a combination of trees and shrubs that seems to have been planted as a buffer between Lake Terrace Drive and the park. Several trees have been planted in and around the mobile home, presumably for a combination of shade and privacy from neighbors. There is a riparian buffer that runs along the Little Moccasin Lake shore, nearest the park. Ornamental planting beds are located at the community building as well as by several of the mobile homes. Mowed grass is prevalent across the park as well as in the surrounding landscape.
Buildings and Structures	There are 37 mobile homes located in the park as well as 2 community buildings. A few structures located on the property serve as out-buildings and storage sheds, which were constructed by individual residents.
Views and Vistas	Lake Terrace Estates contains a few views, including the views of the lake from the mobile homes and the views from the park out over the mowed grass landscape that surrounds the park. There are also vistas from the mobile homes to their neighbors.
Constructed Water Features	The only apparent constructed water feature is the swimming pool located at the community building.
Small-Scale Features	Include the mailboxes and fence surrounding the pool deck. There are lawn ornaments in a few of the personal yards.
Archaeological Sites	There is no indication of any archaeological sites present on the property, but there is always a possibility.

Photographs:

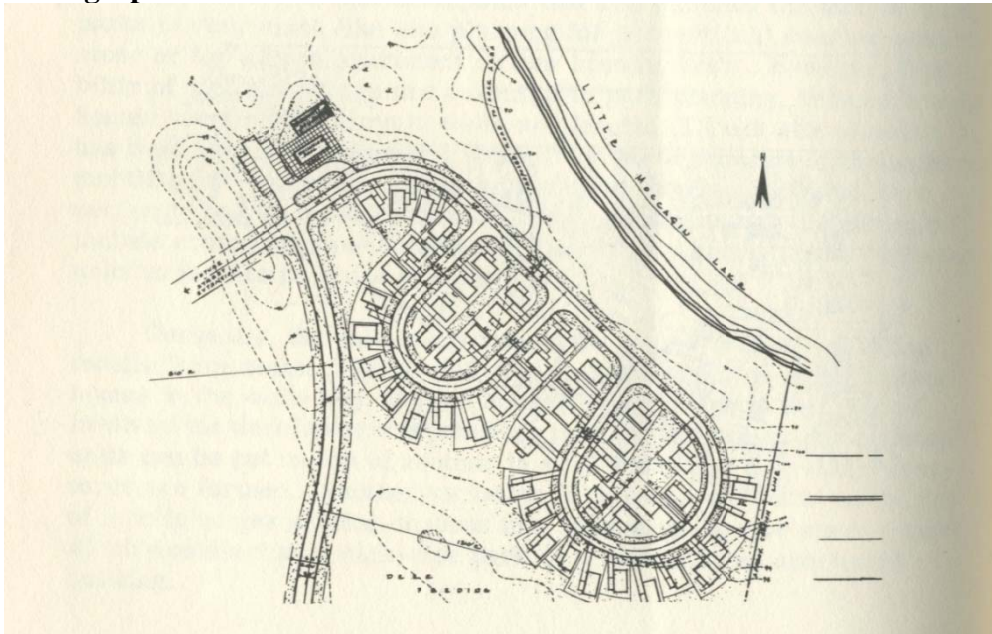


Figure 43: Plan view of original design as prepared by the MHMA Parks Division, date unknown. The park is compact as there is tight vehicular circulation and high density of units which is juxtaposed with the wide open areas of the surrounding landscape.

Map courtesy of MHMA Parks Division



Figure 44: Natural features' locations in relation to Lake Terrace Estates (1970)

Map courtesy of USGS



Figure 45: Aerial view of the park as of 2013. The park that was developed has many similarities to the original design. The roads are slightly more curvilinear and there is a kink on the main artery. Though some of the building units are sited similarly to the original plan, the actual park is less dense with a sporadic rhythm. The community buildings are also sited differently from the plan and do not appear to have the designated parking spaces for vehicles.

Photograph courtesy of Google Earth

Sleepy Hollow

Nomination prepared by: Parker Lawrence

Location: 2040 Commerce Highway
Athens, GA 30601

Mobile Home Park Type: Vernacular

Date Developed: 1972

Acreage: 6.9 acres

Level(s) of Significance: Local

Classification
Ownership of Property: Private
Category of Property: Site

Number of Resources: 20 Buildings
1 Primary Road
1 Entrance Sign
1 Set of Mailboxes

Function or Use
Historic Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling
Current Functions: Domestic/Single Dwelling

Description:
Architectural Classification: Modern Movement
Other: Manufactured Housing (category currently not offered)

Materials: Mobile Homes: Metal exteriors with wooden additions added later

Narrative Description

Summary Paragraph: Located just north of Athens, Georgia on U.S. Highway 441. The property consists of a single arterial street that acts as a spine down the middle of the property. Ten mobile home units are sited perpendicularly on either side of the central axis mirroring each other. Landscaping is minimal and there are no shared community buildings on the property.

Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria: A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

Areas of Significance: Community Planning and Development
Landscape Architecture

Period of Significance: 1967-1973

Significant Dates: 1967-1973: Date of development

Architect/Builder: Faye Page

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph: This property is locally significant as it is a local example of vernacular mobile park design in a rural setting. The design of the property is focused on utility rather than aesthetics as the purpose of the development is to provide affordable housing. It is applicable under Criterion A as it is a typical example of mobile home park development that was taking place in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Geographical Data

Latitude/Longitude: 34°00'14"N 83°22'56"W
34°00'11"N 83°22'54"W
34°00'03"N 83°23'03"W
34°00'03"N 83°23'04"W
34°00'06"N 83°23'05"W

Verbal Boundary Description:

Boundary Justification: The boundary used is the boundary of the parcel as filed in the Athens-Clarke County public records.

Table 5

Sleepy Hollow’s Landscape Characteristics	
Natural Systems and Features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water moves from the entrance of the park toward the back of the park to a lake beyond the property boundary. • Sleepy Hollow is located in a humid subtropical climate.
Spatial Organization	The park layout is characterized by a single, straight road that serves as a central axis. Twenty mobile homes, ten on either side, are situated perpendicularly to the axis. Vegetation varies from mobile home to mobile home as some have clusters of ornamental plants and others just have mowed grass.
Land Use	Land use is residential.
Cultural Traditions	There are no cultural traditions that are prevalent on the site.
Cluster Arrangement	The mobile homes are clustered into two rows of ten each. Clusters of plants are also found around the base of a few of the mobile homes to camouflage the unit’s skirting and provide desired aesthetics of residents.
Circulation	The vehicular circulation of Sleepy Hollow is characterized by the paved, central drive that runs from the park’s entrance to the round-a-bout and dumpster area at the rear. Semi-paved parking spaces are provided for each mobile home along the main drive. There is no defined pedestrian circulation as sidewalks and footpaths are not apparent. Pedestrians must use the road for this purpose.
Topography	The park has a rather large slope whose highest point is found at the entrance and then continues downward to its lost point past the rear or northwest boundary of the park.
Vegetation	Sleepy Hollow’s perimeter is surrounded by natural woodlands on three sides. This serves as a buffer between the site-built residential development which is due south of the park. The entrance to the park has four mature pine trees, which seem to pre-date the park. Around the individual mobile homes the residents have planted ornamental vegetation that lends a vernacular aesthetic to the property.

Buildings and Structures	There are twenty mobile homes on the property and no other structures or buildings. Three to four of the mobile homes appear to be original to the property's development in 1972. This is determined by the prevalent designs by the mobile home manufacturers of this time period. The remaining sixteen to seventeen mobile homes have been subsequently replaced as they appear to be homes manufactured sometime from the 1980s and late nineties present. Each of the mobile homes has a least a wooden stoop to allow for entry and exit from the home. Three of the homes also have a small deck/patio area to provide additional usable outdoor space.
Views and Vistas	The main views that Sleepy Hollow possesses are the views from the street looking down the axis in the center of the park. The prevalent vistas are those from one window of a unit to another as they are arranged perpendicularly to the main axis.
Constructed Water Features	There are currently no constructed water features on the site and there is no evidence of any being removed.
Small-Scale Features	The two main small scale features found at Sleepy Hollow are the mailboxes at the entrance and the dumpsters found at the dead-end at the rear of the park.
Archaeological Sites	There is no indication of any archaeological sites present on the property, but there is always a possibility.

Photographs:



Figure 46: Aerial photograph from 1973 showing the main arterial street lined with 10 mobile home units on either side. There seems to be no vegetation other than the forest that surrounds the parcel. No other buildings, other than the 20 mobile homes are apparent.

Photograph courtesy of U.S. Department of Agriculture.

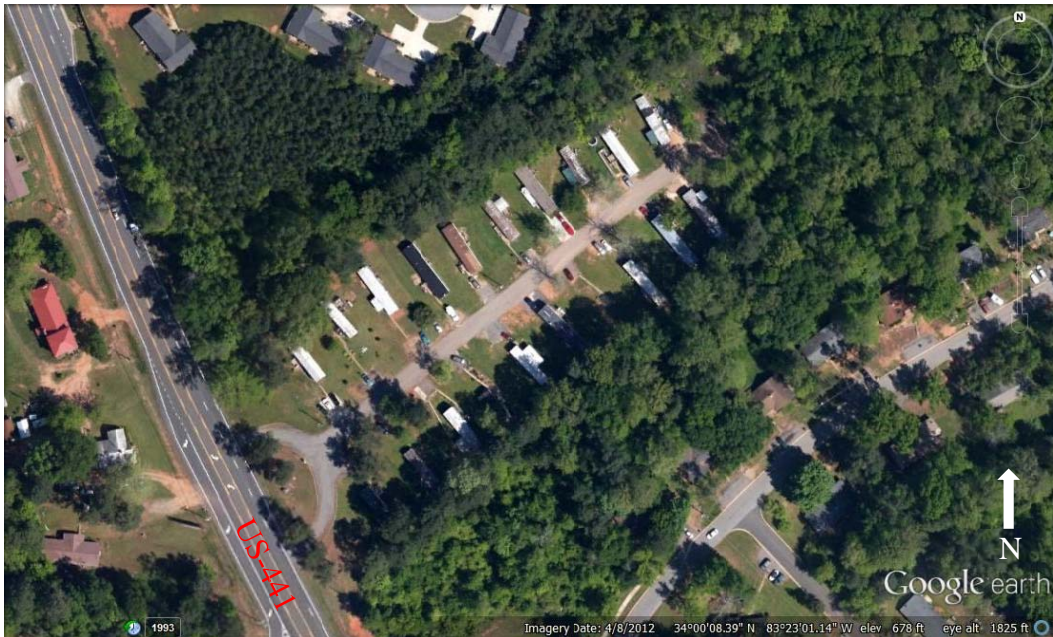


Figure 47: Aerial view of the property with US-441 running northwest-southeast on the left portion of the image. The original layout and rhythm of the buildings are still intact. No additional buildings, other than the mobile homes, have been added.

Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 48: View of the park from US-441 facing east toward the semi-circular entrance. Note that the topography slopes from the park entrance toward the dead-end at the back. There is minimal landscaping at the entry with just a few pines and mowed grass.

Photograph courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 49: Typical mobile home unit with typical skirting and close landscaping used to hide the chassis foundation. This particular unit is newer than others found in Sleepy Hollow.

Photograph by Parker Lawrence



Figure 50: Unit setback with landscaping and impervious parking foreground. These two particular units are older, as evidenced by the rounded roof line instead of the newer gable form, and are potentially original to the property. Photograph by Parker Lawrence



Figure 51: View up main arterial street toward the entrance showing the elevation differential. There is no officially designated pedestrian circulation, just vehicular. The newer mobile homes, like the one in the foreground, appear to be sited closer to the street than the older homes in the background. Photograph by Parker Lawrence



Figure 52: Cul-de-sac at the end on the arterial street. This area is purely utilitarian and has little to no designed features. The rounded space allows for vehicles to turn around and reorient toward the main entrance. Photograph by Parker Lawrence



Figure 53: View of the north side of the park with parking spaces using a combination of gravel and brick. Photograph by Parker Lawrence



Figure 54: View of the mailboxes located at the entrance of the park. These are two of the few small-scale features found on the site. They are sited at the entrance to provide easy access for both residents and the postal service. Photograph by Parker Lawrence

CHAPTER 6

APPLICATION TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER

Analysis of the three mobile home parks, Trailer Estates, Lake Terrace Estates, and Sleepy Hollow, will now be given to determine the strengths and weaknesses of each nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The following tables will feature these parks in regard to the determination of integrity by using the prevalent landscape characteristics.

Table 6		
Trailer Estates’ Aspects of Integrity		
Location	<p>The landscape and layout of the property have remained the same with no community buildings or landscape features being relocated. Therefore, Trailer Estates retains integrity of location.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Water flows the same direction since the park’s establishment. Maintains the same climate and soil. • Spatial organization—Mobile home lots maintain herringbone layout. Community buildings are still in original locations. • Land Use—Use of the land is still residential and recreational. • Cultural Traditions—Community buildings still serve as the epicenter of community social events. • Cluster Arrangements—Community buildings are still clustered near the southern border of the park. Mobile homes are arranged together at an angle to provide greater density and ease of removal. • Circulation—Park still maintains

		<p>rectilinear grid street pattern allowing for efficient vehicular circulation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topography—Remains flat with no major changes in elevation. • Vegetation—Vegetation along community buildings and right-of-ways appear to have remained in their same location with little variation. • Buildings & Structures—Community buildings have remained in their same location as have the mobile home parcels. • Constructed Water Features—Marina, swimming pool, and constructed canals have remained in the same locations. • Small-Scale Features—Contributing features, such as the entrance sign and shuffleboard courts have remained in their original locations.
<p>Design</p>	<p>The property maintains integrity of design. Layout has remained the same since establishment.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial organization—Rectilinear grid structure of the streets has remained the same. • Land Use—Community was retained the same use for which it was designed, residential and recreational. • Cultural Traditions—Design elements used to implement social activities for the residents are still present. • Cluster Arrangements—Arrangement of mobile home parcels at 30° angles is still prevalent as are the grouping of community buildings near the southern boundary. • Circulation—Vehicular circulation has remained the same and established pedestrian circulation is still non-existent. • Topography—The designed gradual

		<p>slopes and ditched allowing for storm-water runoff to be diverted to canals are still prevalent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vegetation—Designed vegetation in community areas are still positioned in the same locations. Personal, residential vegetation varies from parcel to parcel. • Buildings & Structures—Design of community buildings and structures, like the dock at the marina, have been maintained. • Views & Vistas—Designed views from the constructed canals are still visible. • Constructed Water Features—Design of the canals and marina has remained largely unchanged. • Small-Scale Features—Design and location of the mailboxes and the entrance sign are still intact.
<p>Setting</p>	<p>The character of the property has remained unchanged since it was first developed. An active homeowners’ association has helped the development maintain its unique sense of place. Therefore, Trailer Estates has retained integrity of setting.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Land still is relatively flat with little elevation change. Water is still diverted toward canals for removal from the site. • Spatial organization—Original layout of the streets and their relation to the parcels have been maintained. • Land Use—Use of the land is still residential and recreational providing the same character as when it was originally developed. • Cluster Arrangements—Parcels are still arranged in a herringbone pattern allowing for ease of mobile home placement and removal. This provides a distinctive rhythm to the streetscape. • Circulation—Vehicular circulation has been maintained providing the same character that could be found when developed.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topography—Remains flat with no major changes in elevation. • Vegetation—Residents’ personal yard vegetation and that found along the right-of-way enhances the character of the streetscape and is similar to that found when the park was developed. • Buildings & Structures—Low-gabled community buildings with little ornamentation complements the contemporary styling found on the mobile homes that they were to serve • Constructed Water Features—Canals and marina provide the same sense of character that was evident at the time of the park’s development. • Small-Scale Features—Features such as the shuffleboard courts perpetuate the character of the land use for which the property was developed.
<p>Materials</p>	<p>Main contributing features of the site have maintained the original material were possible. Therefore, Trailer Estates retains integrity of materials.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vegetation—Not certain if the plant materials present along the right-of-way are original, but does appear to be replaced in-kind. Landscaping found in residents yards is catered to personal preference, just as the lots were in • Buildings & Structures—Community and service buildings appear to be original and have not been replaced. Many of the mobile homes are original to the site and have not been relocated. • Constructed Water Features—Marina and canals were created as a part of the property’s development. • Small-Scale Features—Features present today appear to be original to the property.

<p>Workmanship</p>	<p>Trailer Estates retains integrity of workmanship as it has maintained a great deal of physical evidence of community design prevalent in the mid-1950s.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circulation—Rectangular street pattern has been maintained in its original siting. • Topography—Drainage ditches constructed allowing for storm-water runoff are still apparent. • Vegetation—Vegetation appears to reflect the simple contemporary design of the community and service buildings as well as the mobile homes. • Buildings & Structures—The community and service buildings all maintain their original form and function that was prevalent during the mid-1950s. • Small-Scale Features—Shuffleboard courts were popular at Florida vacation destinations during this time period.
<p>Feeling</p>	<p>The park retains integrity of feeling. There are few empty lots, and the park is fastidiously maintained which preserves the feeling and atmosphere that the park originally had.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Climate, hydrology, and soil have all remained constant, providing the same sense of place for the development. • Spatial organization—High density of the development is still very much apparent with the parcels set on a 30° angle along the rectangular street pattern. • Land Use—Use of the land is still residential and recreational, thus providing the same feeling as when the park was first built. • Cultural Traditions—Social calendar event are still arranged, providing the same sense of community as when the park was established. • Cluster Arrangements—Only a few mobile home parcels are vacant which allows the clusters of homes to have the same feeling that they originally had.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circulation—Vehicular circulation has been maintained as a rectangular grid system and there is still no designated pedestrian circulation. • Topography—The low-lying topography of the development remains unchanged, providing the same feeling. • Vegetation—Vegetation along the right-of-way appears to have remained constant, as have the type and degree of individual mobile home parcel vegetation. • Buildings & Structures—Community and service buildings by all accounts appear to provide the same feeling that they did when the community was developed. • Views and Vistas—Views from the parcel abutted to the canal appear to maintain the same view that would have been present when the property was developed. • Constructed Water Features—The marina, swimming pool, and canals all maintain their original aesthetic from when they were constructed, which lends themselves to the sense of recreation that the community portrays.
<p style="text-align: center;">Association</p>	<p>Retains integrity of association as the development is associated with the first community designed exclusively for mobile homes. It was also the first recreational district comprised exclusively of mobile homes.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial organization—Original designed layout of the streets and the mobile home parcels are still very much apparent and still in use. • Land Use—Use of the land is still residential and recreational as it was first intended. • Cultural Traditions—Social events that take place in the community areas are directly associated with the original purpose for the community.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Cluster Arrangements—Arrangement of parcels and community buildings are still important to the community’s aesthetics and function.• Circulation—Streetscape has remained constant since the park’s development.• Buildings & Structures—The buildings and structures present, including many of the mobile homes, are original and reflect the designed intent of the development.• Constructed Water Features—The constructed water features are some of the most important features of the site as they provide the large part of the recreational aspect of the community.• Small-Scale Features—Items like the shuffleboard courts also aid the community by providing recreational activities for which the park was developed.
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Table 7

Lake Terrace Estates' Aspects of Integrity		
Location	<p>Lake Terrace Estates retains integrity of location as most of its original features are still present today.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Climate, soil, and hydrology all have not changed from original development. • Spatial organization—Mobile homes are placed differently than the proposed layout. • Land Use—Original land use has remained the same. • Cluster Arrangements—Main clusters of mobile homes and community buildings remain, but located in a different area from the proposed layout. • Circulation—It appears that the vehicular circulation has not been moved since the park was first developed. • Topography—Grade of the property has remained the same at least since the 1970 United States Geological Service map was made. • Vegetation—Current vegetation on the site is congruent with previous aerial photographic evidence. • Buildings & Structures—It appears the positioning of the mobile home parcels have changed over time, at least from the original plan. • Constructed Water Features—Swimming pool is still present. • Small-Scale Features—Contributing features, such as the entrance sign and shuffleboard courts have remained in their original locations and appear to be original.

<p>Design</p>	<p>The property maintains several original design features, yet it does not retain integrity of design as too many characteristics of the proposed plan have been deviated from.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Natural features remain the same since the time the site was developed. • Spatial organization—Buildings/structures, vehicular circulation, and density of the park are different from the plan, but enough of the property is intact to easily relate the present day park to the intended plan. • Land Use—Use of the property has remained the same as the original design intent. • Cluster Arrangements—Current cluster arrangement has deviated from the proposed plan. • Circulation—Maintains the original vehicular circulation, as there is no indication of any old roadbeds. • Topography—Seems to be the same as original design. • Vegetation—The vegetation is congruent with that of the intended design, though some of the original trees have been lost to time. • Buildings & Structures—Mobile homes and community buildings are present, yet not in the proposed locations. • Constructed Water Features—Swimming pool adheres to the original design.
<p>Setting</p>	<p>Though a number of features are similar and not exactly the same as the proposed plan, the character of the park should not be too negatively affected and therefore, it retains</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Have remained the same since the park’s development creating the same setting. • Spatial organization—Retains similar spatial design components to the proposed design. • Land Use—Use of the land is still residential, providing the same feel.

	<p>integrity of setting.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster Arrangements—Is altered from the proposed plan but still retains the intended setting. • Circulation—Vehicular circulation is similar to the proposed plan, but not exact. Setting should not be negatively affected. • Topography—Elevation differentials have remained the same providing a gradual slope down to the lake. • Vegetation— Current vegetation on the site is congruent with previous aerial photographic evidence. The main difference is that several trees in the allée are being to deteriorate or have been lost, which may start to effect the setting. • Buildings & Structures—Mobile homes that are present on the site seem to be different dimensions than the homes that the parcels were designed for, which alter the setting of the park. • Small-Scale Features—Unclear if the small scale features present are original or if they contribute to the setting of the park.
<p>Materials</p>	<p>The park does not retain integrity of materials, because too many of the original mobile homes have been removed.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vegetation—Trees in the allée are beginning to die out has not been replaced in kind. Residential landscaping has changed over the years with the changing tastes in plants over time. • Buildings & Structures—The community buildings are all original to the site. Some of the mobile homes are original to the site, yet a number of them are new replacements were families have chosen to in upgrade over time.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constructed Water Features—The swimming pool is original. The liner though has been replaced due to the degradation of the original.
Workmanship	<p>Lake Terrace Estates retains integrity of workmanship because it showcases the design of the MHMA Parks Division.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial Organization—The layout of the park is reflective of the community design of mobile home parks by the MHMA Parks Division during this time. • Cluster Arrangement—Arrangement of the parcels shows the relevant theory of mobile home park design of the MHMA Parks Division during this time. • Vegetation—It is unclear if the landscape design was completed by a landscape architect. • Buildings & Structures—The mobile homes retain the workmanship of their respective manufacturers.
Feeling	<p>Lake Terrace Estates retains integrity of feeling.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Have not changed since the park’s development. • Spatial organization—Overall organization of space seems to be maintained though siting of individual homes has changed. • Land Use—Use of the land has remained unchanged. • Circulation—Has retained the same vehicular circulation through the property. Pedestrian circulation is still not defined and therefore, is retained in its original state. • Topography—Has remained the same since the park’s development according to the USGS map from 1970. • Vegetation— Current vegetation on the site is congruent with previous aerial

		<p>photographic evidence. The main difference is that several trees in the allée are being to deteriorate or have been lost, which may start to affect the feeling.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buildings & Structures—Community buildings and mobile homes maintain the same feeling that was evident at the parks development. • Views and Vistas—The major of the lake and the pasture have remained unchanged. The vistas in and among the mobile homes may have changed when they were replaced.
<p>Association</p>	<p>Lake Terrace Estates, though it varies from its original MHMA drawn plan, enough of the designed features are present to associate the community to the MHMA Parks Division and their work. Therefore, it does retain integrity of association.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land Use—MHMA plan dictates that the park will be exclusively residential, which it is. • Cluster Arrangements— While different from the proposed plan, the clusters of mobile homes, community buildings, and circulation routes are comparative. • Circulation—Vehicular circulation is similar in structure to MHMA plan. • Buildings & Structures—Positioned in locations relative to the proposed plan drafted by the MHMA Parks Division. • Constructed Water Features—Swimming pool was included in MHMA design plan.

Table 8

Sleepy Hollow's Aspects of Integrity		
Location	Sleepy Hollow retains integrity of location by the major landscape characteristics found in the original design are still in their original position.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Water flows the same direction since the park's establishment. Maintains the same soil and climate. • Spatial organization—Mobile homes remain in original locations. • Cluster Arrangements—The groupings of mobile homes remain the same, in terms of number and location. • Circulation—The defined vehicular pathways have remained unchanged. • Buildings & Structures—The mobile home parking spaces have remained unchanged and are in the original locations. • Small-Scale Features—Both the mailboxes and the dumpsters have remained where sited originally.
Design	This property retains integrity of design because the original intent is still prevalent on the landscape.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial organization—Park still holds its original design with mobile homes positioned on either side of a central axis. • Land Use—Property still has the original land use that was intended. • Cluster Arrangement—Original clusters of mobile homes are still apparent. • Circulation—Vehicular circulation has remained unchanged. • Views & Vistas—The vistas from one home to another remains the same as the siting is unchanged.
Setting	The spatial organization and natural systems and features have remained the same allowing the park to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—The original hydrology, topography, and climate are all still present. • Spatial organization—The same

	<p>retain the aspect of setting.</p>	<p>pattern of mobile homes and vegetation is seen from the early aerial photography.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land Use—Use of the land has not changed. • Cluster Arrangements—Original arrangement of buildings is apparent. • Circulation—Original vehicular circulation has remained the same and there is still no defined pedestrian circulation. • Topography—Topography is still characterized by the hill sloping from the front of the community to the back. • Vegetation—While a few trees seem to be original, it is unclear of the smaller plants and planting beds that were implemented upon initial development.
<p>Materials</p>	<p>Sleepy Hollow does not retain integrity of materials. Too many of the mobile homes have been replaced over time and since they are the dominate features of the site integrity of materials is not retained.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circulation—Unsure when the pavement used for the road and parking was installed. • Vegetation—Several trees on the property could also be original based on their size. Many other plants have been added in the past few years around the individual mobile home lots. • Buildings & Structures—It appears that 16 or 17 of the mobile homes have been replaced based on material and design. • Small-Scale Features—The sign and dumpsters are not original and have been recently replaced.

Workmanship	Because there is a lack of evidence of a particular craft that is specific for a period of significance or culture, it does not retain the aspect of workmanship.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sleepy Hollow does not seem to possess any particular landscape characteristic that showcases the definition of workmanship other than the workmanship of the respective mobile home manufacturers.
Feeling	The park retains the aspect of feeling as the only things to have changed are the mobile homes which have been replaced in kind in a similar spatial pattern.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural Systems & Features—Have remained the same since park was established. • Spatial organization—Maintains original organization that provides the same visual rhythm of the mobile homes. • Land Use—Use remains residential. • Cluster Arrangements—Remained the same since the park’s establishment with ten mobile homes on either side of the main artery. • Circulation—Remained the same since the park’s establishment. • Topography—Remained the same since the park’s establishment based on the USGS map comparison. • Vegetation—The large trees are original to the site, while the landscaping around the individual residences have been changed to reflect personal taste.
Association	There is no particular important event or person to associate the park with; therefore, it does not retain integrity of association.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are not any landscape characteristics that are associated with any important event or person.

Based on the information found in the case studies, a few things are learned that could be used when nominating a mobile home park to the National Register of Historic Places. These begin with the first two case studies, the ranch subdivisions.

Because Fairway Oaks-Greenview and Ladue Estates were successfully nominated to the National Register as contemporary resources, there are lessons gathered from these nominations that mobile home parks could use to encourage their listing. If the National Park Service established either a mobile home or manufactured housing architectural designation option in the National Register of Historic Places application form, then the form would appear more inclusive. This has been done for the ranch house through inclusion for ranch style properties under the modern movement in the architectural classification descriptions. There is currently no specific category that neatly includes mobile homes. Having mobile homes or manufactured housing listed as a style subcategory of the modern movement or contemporary would help lend some legitimacy to the mobile home park as a cultural resource. Just because the term “mobile home” implies that mobility is something that is a major aspect of the housing type, mobile homes, once set in place, rarely ever move. Depending on the state and municipal codes, it is often times more cost effective to demolish a mobile home on site than to relocate it. Because of this, mobile homes should be considered as site-built housing. The architecture or style of mobile homes will play a major role in the nomination of a mobile home park. Just as a ranch subdivision relies on the community development and planning of the landscape and how that relates to the architecture of the individual buildings of the subdivision, mobile home parks nominations will also need to show this relation of contributing mobile homes to the mobile home park design that was implemented. Ultimately, the element of community development

and planning should be the superior focus of a mobile home park nomination as it was a new community development type that developed after World War II.

Upon review of the three mobile home park case studies, the biggest challenge that mobile home parks face during the National Register process is establishing integrity. Significance may be established by describing the park's role in affordable housing in its community as well as describing the park in the context of community development and planning that was taking place in post-World War II suburbia. Integrity, on the other hand, seems more difficult to convey. Concerning the three mobile home park case studies, the major hindrance when determining if a mobile home park has integrity is the lack of information on the early periods of the parks, Lake Terrace Estates and Sleepy Hollow especially.

This lack of information may correlate with the extent to which a mobile home park is master planned. In the case of cultural landscapes, generally, the more highly designed a landscape is the more information that is available. This information could be proposed site plans, maps, photographs, and even plant list. It appears that mobile home parks also follow this trend, as information was more readily available for Trailer Estates than the other two.

Of the three mobile home park case studies, Trailer Estates would be a great candidate for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. It could easily establish significance through Criterion A. As the first mobile home park in the nation, there is no denying that it had influence on the successive parks. Trailer Estates was developed before the creation of the guidelines and regulations that were implemented in the 1960s, which shows an unregulated, designed park. Its significance could be substantiated through all seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These aspects are present largely because of the established design guidelines and covenants that the community

set in place, which are actively enforced by the homeowners' association. With these factors combined, Trailer Estates is a great potential candidate to be the first mobile home park listed in the National Register. However, the fact that Trailer Estates, the most designed park, appears to be the best candidate for nomination poses a problem. The significance of mobile home parks is that they provide affordable housing to millions of Americans and most of these Americans do not live in a park like Trailer Estates. A majority of this population lives in parks more reminiscent of Lake Terrace Estates and Sleepy Hollow.

Though the purpose of the National Register is to provide an "official list of the nation's historic places worthy of preservation," it appears that the National Register application form has an implicit bias toward designed cultural resources.¹³⁷ This appearance of bias is present because when a person tries to nominate a vernacular landscape, they have to complete most of the contextual/classification sections of the form with little help from 'how to' bulletins that the National Park Service provides to assist people with the process.¹³⁸

A vernacular landscape nomination cannot rely on the selection options provided, but instead has to build a case for nomination through the addition of continuation sheets added to the end of the document. In these additions, the nomination usually has to build a case to prove that the landscape has both significance and integrity. The common way that this case for vernacular landscapes has been created is by discussing the landscapes characteristics that the site possesses and uses those characteristics to substantiate the claims trying to be made. Vernacular resources are not barred from nomination or listing in the Register, however the nomination of these resources seems to be more of a hurdle than designed resources because a pre-developed context is not always readily available to rely on.

¹³⁷ National Park Service. *National Register of Historic Places*. n.d. <http://www.nps.gov/nr/> (accessed July 10, 2014).

¹³⁸ National Park Service 1997

Benefits of Nominating a Mobile Home Park

There are some potential benefits to nominating a mobile home park to the National Register. One prospective benefit of nominating mobile home parks to the National Register is that a nomination could be used as an anti-displacement tool for residents. Due to the negative stigma that mobile home parks have developed over decades, many communities are still trying to remove parks from their current location in favor of a new development that is seen as having “more benefit for the community.” As a great number of mobile home park residents own their homes and rent the lots upon which they are sited, the decision to sell the property where their homes sits is, many times, made by the park’s owner. There is a growing movement among mobile home parks across the country to become owner-occupied parks, essentially having the mobile home residents buy and manage the park to have some autonomy and prevent displacement. The most successful method of accomplishing this goal has been creating cooperatives that in turn purchase the property from the landlord.¹³⁹ New Hampshire is the state with the greatest number of resident-owned mobile home communities. Studies of a sampling in New Hampshire have shown that a mobile home community forming a resident cooperative provides residents with greater access to mortgage financing. In many cases the monthly lot fees decrease over time instead of increase in an investor-owned community. Also, mobile homes located in resident-owned communities were valued ten percent higher than those located in investor-owned communities, which allows the residents to build more equity in their home.¹⁴⁰ So in nearly all the instances studied in New Hampshire, mobile home park residents forming cooperatives increased the social and economic well-being of the residents.

¹³⁹ Halburn, Sue. “The Trailer Park Revolution.” *Mother Jones*. May 2001. <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2001/05/trailer-park-revolution> (accessed on July 8, 2014).

¹⁴⁰ French, Charlie, Kelly Giraud, and Sally Ward. “Building Wealth Through Ownership: Resident-Owned Manufactured House Communities in New Hampshire.” *Extension Journal*, 2008.

Many residents of mobile home communities are low-income citizens or senior citizens and are, therefore, most in need of reasonable security in the siting of these mobile homes because of the adverse impacts on the health, safety, and welfare of tenants forced to move.¹⁴¹ While residents becoming owners by forming a cooperative has proven to be productive, there are cases where this may be more difficult or more of a lengthy process, whether due to state law or financial reasons. If a park is fifty years old or older, residents could possibly use the National Register and Section 106 review processes as another anti-displacement tool in certain circumstances.¹⁴² For instance, if the displacement threat is a development that involves any amount of federal funding, Section 106 review would have to be performed to determine if the threatened properties are listed or eligible for listing on the National Register. While this review does not offer any guaranteed protection for the threatened property, it has the potential to allow residents more time to develop alternative options.

This use of Section 106 as a stall tactic has been considered and was nearly implemented in Ocala, Florida. Robert Jones, a Historic Site Specialist for the Florida Department of State Division of Historic Resources, stated that the Municipal Trailer Park in Ocala, Florida sought to be placed in the National Register around 2007.¹⁴³ The Municipal Trailer Park was built for the

¹⁴¹ O’Sullivan, Rory, and Gabe Medrash. “Creating Workable Protections for Manufactured Home Owners: Evictions, Foreclosures, and the Homestead.” *Gonzaga Law Review*, 2013.

¹⁴² Section 106 refers to the corresponding section of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 that states: “The head of any Federal agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in any State and the head of any Federal department or independent agency having authority to license any undertaking shall, prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds on the undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register. The head of any such Federal agency shall afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under Title II of this Act a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking.” National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, 16 U.S.C. 470 (1966).

¹⁴³ Curry, Christopher. “City Trailer Park to Be a Historic Landmark?” *Ocala Star Banner*, May 31, 2007.

city in 1937 during the New Deal by the Works Progress Administration.¹⁴⁴ The residents of this particular park, many of which were retired military veterans, were attempting to save it from demolition because the owners, the City of Ocala, were attempting to redevelop the site for an adjacent park. It was determined by Robert Jones that the trailer park was eligible for listing as a cultural landscape as it had acquired local significance over fifty-years and a majority of the original landscape characteristics and many original trailers were still present. The city has since voted to close the park and move the ninety residents in 2013.¹⁴⁵ In addition to the park being closed, the nomination for the National Register was never actually pursued. However, the thought that the National Register could serve as an anti-displacement tool is still plausible.

Another benefit of nominating a mobile home park to the National Register is that it provides the notion that affordable housing, even if it is not high style and associated with a notable person, is worthy of mention in telling the story of American culture. Though a mobile home park does not always possess what most of society would consider being desirable traits, mobile homes and their parks provide housing for millions of Americans which represents a large enough portion of the population to be considered noteworthy.¹⁴⁶ With the historic preservation field expanding to incorporate resources that have previously not been considered, mobile home parks would be a logical choice to include a social dimension, as J.B. Jackson tried to champion.

This insistence upon a social as well as an aesthetic dimension may well alter our appreciation, but can save us from nostalgia and sentimentality. In more practical

¹⁴⁴ Curry, Christopher. "Tough Choice: Raze the Ocala Municipal Trailer Park or Preserve a Community Within the Community." *Ocala Star Banner*, August 14, 2006.

¹⁴⁵ Carr, Susan L. "Tuscawilla Park on the Rise." *Ocala Star Banner*, January 19, 2014.

¹⁴⁶ In 2013, an estimated twenty million Americans lived in the nation's eight and a half million mobile homes. Geoghegan, Tom. "Why do so many Americans live in mobile homes?" *BBC News Magazine*. September 23, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-24135022> (accessed July 10, 2014).

terms it points toward an emphasis upon the search for a truly humane conservation rather than rigid preservation of patches of history and beauty.¹⁴⁷

Finally, the third benefit that can come from nominating a mobile home park to the National Register is that it could have the potential to spark discussion on mobile home parks and affordable housing in America and how they are important to the communities in which they serve. While the stigmas that surround mobile home parks are not always correct in their assumptions, having mobile home parks listed in the National Register could provide the opportunity to remove some of the negative perceptions by showing the opportunities that they provide low-income families and how they fit into the story of their community.

Evaluation of the Research Question

- Can mobile homes and mobile home parks be considered cultural resources?

Yes, mobile home parks are culturally significant because of the role they have played in affordable housing and class discrimination in the United States. It is because mobile home parks have been a great option for low-income Americans for the better part of eighty years, that clearly makes them a cultural resource that tells a piece of the American story. The preservation, or at a minimum documentation, of mobile home parks should be performed to record the design and functionality of this integral housing development type. Because mobile home parks can be examples of both designed and vernacular landscapes, the best way to begin to evaluate and analyze mobile home parks as a cultural resource is by using the landscape characteristics as defined by the National Park Service.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Meinig, D.W. "Reading the Landscape: An Appreciation of W.G. Hoskins and J.B. Jackson." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by D.W. Meinig, 195-244. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

¹⁴⁸ Boyle 2008, 152

- If mobile home parks are considered cultural resources, what challenges would they have regarding eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places?

The greatest challenge that mobile home parks face, in terms of nomination to the National Register, is the stigma that they have developed. It is fair to say that a majority of Americans would not see the benefit of a mobile home park listed on the Register. In doing research for this thesis, most people could not understand why a mobile home park would be something worth saving. Many might claim that listing a mobile home park in the Register will somehow degrade the other resources represented. However, listing a mobile home park may do the exact opposite. As Americans we buy into the idea of the American dream. While this dream could be signified by a large high-style mansion in the city, showing the end result of hard work, it can also be signified by a small vernacular mobile home park on the outskirts of town, showing the humble setting where the dream must begin.

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APPENDIX A

DISTINCTION BETWEEN MOBILE HOMES AND TRAVEL TRAILERS¹⁴⁹

This excerpt was provided a document commissioned by the MHMA to provide a clear distinction between what had become two different resources with different purposes. When this thesis used the terms ‘mobile home’ and ‘travel trailer’ the definitions below were used as reference.

Mobile Home: A detached single-family dwelling unit with all of the following characteristics:

- a. Designed for long-term occupancy, and containing sleeping accommodations, a flush toilet, a tub or shower bath, and kitchen facilities, with plumbing and electrical connections provided for attachment to outside systems
- b. Designed to be transported after fabrication on its own wheels, or on flatbed or other trailers or detachable wheels.
- c. Arriving at the site where it is to be occupied as a dwelling complete, including major appliances and furniture, and ready for occupancy except for minor and incidental unpacking and assembly operation location on foundation supports, connection to utilities, and the like.

Two things are of primary importance about that definition. The mobile home is designed for long-term occupancy, which distinguishes it from the travel trailer. It arrives at the site complete with major appliances and furniture and requiring only minor work to before occupancy, distinguishing it from the prefabricated house (which may also arrive on a trailer), and from other forms of conventional housing.

¹⁴⁹ Bair, Frederick H. *Local Regulation of Mobile Home Parks, Travel Trailers and Related Facilities*. 1st. Chicago: Mobile Homes Research Foundation, 1965.

Travel Trailer: A vehicular portable structure designed as a temporary dwelling for travel, recreational and vacation uses, which:

- a. Is identified on the unit by the manufacturer as a travel trailer; and
- b. Is not more than eight feet in body width; and
- c. Is of any weight provided its body length does not exceed 29 feet, or
- d. Is of any length provided its gross weight, factory equipped for the road, does not exceed 4,500 pounds.

APPENDIX B

FHA STANDARDS FOR LOT DIMENSIONS

These tables show a portion of the regulations that mobile home park owners had to abide by in order to be eligible for a FHA insured loan. The setbacks found below vary based on size of the mobile home units and the size of the lot on which they are sited. The purpose was to maximize density while maintaining enough outdoor space for residents' safety and wellbeing.

The tables are based on 30° parallelogram lots with yards as shown on page 14.

Table 1

LOT WIDTHS INTERIOR LOTS	
Lot Widths (feet)	
Effective	Conventional
32	36.95
33	38.11
34	39.26
35	40.41
36	41.57
37	42.72
38	43.88
39	45.03
40	46.19
41	47.34
42	48.50
43	49.65
44	50.81
45	51.96
46	53.12
47	54.27
48	55.43
49	56.58
50	57.74

Table 2

STREET FRONTAGE - CORNER LOTS			
Maximum Length of 12' wide Mobile Home	Corner Lot Frontage (feet)		
	Type I	Type III	Total
30	20.01	67.34	87.35
32	20.01	68.34	88.35
34	20.01	69.34	89.35
35	20.01	69.84	89.85
36	20.01	70.34	90.35
38	20.01	71.34	91.35
40	20.01	72.34	92.35
42	20.01	73.34	93.35
44	20.01	74.34	94.35
45	20.01	74.84	94.85
46	20.01	75.34	95.35
48	20.01	76.34	96.35
50	20.01	77.34	97.35
52	20.01	78.34	98.35
54	20.01	79.34	99.35
55	20.01	79.84	99.85
56	20.01	80.34	100.35
58	20.01	81.34	101.35
60	20.01	82.34	102.35
65	20.01	84.84	104.85

Table 3

LOT DEPTH AND BLOCK DIMENSIONS*

Maximum Length of 12'-Wide Mobile Home	Lot Depth		Block Depth		Block Length	
	Effective	Conventional	Conventional	+60' Street	Conventional	+60' Street
30	77.35	66.99	133.98	193.98	1,062.80	1,122.80
32	79.35	68.72	137.44	197.44	1,043.12	1,103.12
34	81.35	70.45	140.90	200.90	1,024.12	1,084.12
35	82.35	71.32	142.64	202.64	1,014.81	1,074.81
36	83.35	72.18	144.36	204.36	1,005.77	1,065.77
38	85.35	73.92	147.84	207.84	987.92	1,047.92
40	87.35	75.65	151.30	211.30	970.76	1,030.76
42	89.35	77.38	154.76	214.76	954.16	1,014.16
44	91.35	79.11	158.22	218.22	938.08	998.08
45	92.35	79.98	159.96	219.96	930.18	990.18
46	93.35	80.84	161.68	221.68	922.50	982.50
48	95.35	82.58	165.16	225.16	907.31	967.31
50	97.35	84.31	168.62	228.62	892.67	952.67
52	99.35	86.04	172.08	232.08	878.47	938.47
54	101.35	87.77	175.54	235.54	864.68	924.68
55	102.35	88.64	177.28	237.28	857.90	917.90
56	103.35	89.50	179.00	239.00	851.30	911.30
58	105.35	91.24	182.48	242.48	838.22	898.22
60	107.35	92.97	185.94	244.94	829.20	889.20
65	112.35	97.30	194.60	254.60	795.46	855.46

*5-Acre Block

Table 3 summarizes details on the layout of a 5-acre block. Here it is assumed that required yard sizes will be as indicated previously, and that the block depth and length can be varied at will, so long as depth times length (including streets) comes out at 217,800 square feet (5 acres).

Table 4 indicates total number of lots per block and per gross acre (including streets) which could be derived from blocks with dimensions as indicated above, subject to the yard requirements stated. In deriving the figures on number of lots per block, portions remaining were added to whole lots only if the portion amounted to .90 of a lot or more. Existence of remaining fractions less than .90 are indicated by +, shortages less than .10 by -.

(Bair, Regulation of Mobile Home Subdivisions 1961)

APPENDIX C

FHA MOBILE HOME PARK GUIDELINES (1952) WITH MHMA COMMENTARY

The following excerpt was included to provide some insight into the FHA standards. The MHMA provides commentary on a few of the requirements and this commentary is *italicized*.

“Mobile Home Parks: In any district in which mobile home parks are permitted, or are permissible as special exceptions by the board of adjustment, the following regulations and minimum standards shall apply:

1. **Minimum area of tract**, 8 acres; **minimum width of tract**, for portions used for general vehicular entrances and exits only (other than alleys and service entrances), 50 ft.; for portions containing mobile home stands and buildings open generally to occupants, 100ft. The tract shall comprise a single plot except where the site is divided by public streets or alleys, or where the total property includes separate parcels for necessary utility plants with permanent rights-of-way and easements for connection and access or for other structures necessary to the park, but not open generally to the occupants, provided that all lands involved shall be so dimensioned and related as to facilitate efficient design and management.
2. **Minimum number of spaces** completed and ready for occupancy before first occupancy is permitted, 50.”

In items 1 and 2 above, requirements concerning width and area of land used for the park, and number of spaces available at first opening, are intended to assure that new parks will be large enough to comprise small “neighborhoods,” supporting needed facilities and management. The provision concerning width of portions used only for general vehicular entrances and exits facilitates use of interiors of parcels where street frontage might better be used for other than mobile home park purposes.

3. **“Length of residential occupancy:** No space shall be rented for residential use of a mobile home in any such park except for periods of 30 days for more, and no mobile home shall be admitted to any park unless it can demonstrate that it meets the requirements of *(insert identification of code or codes)*.”

The requirement for 30-day commitments on space is intended to assure that the park will be used for long-term residential occupancy. The requirement as to compliance with code standards is for the purpose of protecting both occupants of units and their neighbors from hazards due to substandard plumbing, heating or electrical installations in mobile homes brought into the park. If the governing body has adopted a housing code with a section specifically designed to cover mobile homes, reference might also be included to such section to provide protection against overcrowding in mobile homes and other matters not covered by the construction requirements.

The matter of demonstrating compliance with plumbing, heating and electrical codes is not as difficult as it might appear. For some years, the Mobile Home Manufacturers Association and the Trailer Coach Association required their members to construct to industry-developed standards. Early in 1963, the American Standards Association formally approved code provision A-119.1, “ American Standard for Installation in Mobile Homes of Electrical, Heating and Plumbing Systems,” since adopted by the Building Officials Conference of America and the Southern Building Codes Congress. MHMA and TCA then went under the ASA standards, which were very much in line with previous industry requirements. Hence any mobile home bearing the MHMA-TCA seal conforms to electrical, plumbing and heating requirements which are sound. In California, the state administers construction codes on mobile homes built within its borders, giving occupants and neighbors of California-built units protection roughly equivalent to that provided by ASA standards.

Thus the vast majority of mobile homes constructed to meet acceptable plumbing, heating and electrical standards will bear some form of certification of compliance to an acceptable code. If no such certification can be produced for a particular unit, it very probably fails to meet reasonable standards as established by such codes.

The blank at the end of item 3 might therefore be filled in with the following words: “ ‘American Standards Association Code Provision A-119.1—1963, American Standard for Installation in Mobile Homes of Electrical, Heating and Plumbing Systems,’ or Mobile Homes

Manufacturers Association 'Mobile Home Standards for Plumbing, Heating and Electrical Systems' or any state-administered code insuring equal or better plumbing, heating or electrical installations.'” To this language, if a housing code with sections covering mobile homes has been adopted, specific reference to the housing code might be added.

4. **“Convenience establishments** of a commercial nature, including stores, coin-operated laundry and dry cleaning establishments and laundry and dry cleaning agencies, and beauty shops and barber shops, may be permitted in mobile home parks subject to the following restrictions. Such establishments and the parking areas primarily related to their operations shall not occupy more than 10% of the area of the park, shall be subordinate to the residential use and character of the park, shall be located, designed and intended to serve frequent trade or service needs of persons residing in the park, and shall present no visible evidence of their commercial character from any portion of any residential district outside the park.”

This language permits mobile home parks in residential districts to have the same kind of accessory convenience facilities which are often allowed in connection with multiple-family dwellings on the same scale, and protects neighboring uses in the residential district from potential adverse effects.

5. **“In addition** to meeting the above requirements and conforming to other laws of the city, county, or state, mobile home parks shall also conform to the requirements set forth in sections or chapters of “Minimum Property Standards for Mobile Home Courts,” FHA, August 1962 as follows: _____ (provided throughout that where these provisions require FHA approval or acceptance by FHA is required, mobile home parks not insured by FHA shall obtain written approval or acceptance from appropriate local authorities). Where provisions of such regulations conflict, the most restrictive, or those imposing the higher standards, shall govern.

IT IS STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THAT THE LANGUAGE ABOVE IS MERELY ILLUSTRATIVE. It is brief, but as will be seen in the detailed discussion in the appendix, it covers a tremendous amount of territory. *It should not be adopted blindly. In most cases, not all of the sections or chapter discussed in the appendix need be included.* Frequently “other laws of the city, county, or state” should be cited specifically and directly, either by their general titles or by reference to particular sections which are to be substituted for corresponding sections of the

FHA regulations. The interlocking nature of the FHA material, and the frequent cross-references, make it important to maintain the numbering system of that document in order to avoid loose ends and conflicts. The technique is simple. If FHA prescribes, in section 3333.3, that ASA code X-46 shall apply, and it is desirable to substitute a reference to Ordinance 56, paragraph 16b of local law, the phrasing (in the context of language adopting FHA requirements by reference) might be as follows: "...section 3333.3, provided however that Ordinance 56, paragraph 16b shall govern rather than ASA code X-46; ..."

Excerpt from (Bair, Local Regulation of Mobile Home Parks, Travel Trailer Parks and Related Facilities 1965).

APPENDIX D

A SUGGESTED MOBILE HOME PARK ORDINANCE, C. 1965

The following are excerpts of a suggested mobile home park ordinance that was included in graduate student's thesis in 1965. He created this sample ordinance to provide a framework that municipalities could adapt for their own purposes. The ordinance places a great deal of emphasis on ensuring that mobile home parks are attractive alternatives to conventional site-built housing. Though fifty years old, this ordinance is comparable to those that I have reviewed during the course of the literature review. If anything, this suggested ordinance is more stringent than many current ones. If ordinances would have historically resembled this example, mobile home parks might have not received the reputation that they did.

Part I

General Provisions

Article 1. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE (INTENT)

- 1.1 The purpose of this ordinance is to provide areas within the (State, City, County, etc.) of _____ for development of, and continued development of establishes mobile home parks. These parks shall be developed and so located to provide safe and sanitary living conditions for the occupants; to be convenient to employment, shopping centers, schools and other community facilities. The regulations set forth in this ordinance are designed to provide for planned mobile home park development and to make the park a wholesome and attractive place to live and an asset to the community.
- 1.2 It shall hereafter be considered as separate and apart from any ordinance previously used in connection with motels, tourist courts, and facilities of like nature. This ordinance shall be used exclusively as the regulations governing the mobile home parks and prospective mobile home park develops of this (Jurisdiction of ordinance).

Article 2. DEFINITION OF TERMS USED IN THIS ORDINANCE

LICENSEE—Means any person licensed to operate and maintain a mobile home park under the provisions of this ordinance.

MOBILE HOME—Means any vehicle or similar portable structure having been constructed with wheels (whether or not such wheels have been removed) and having no foundation other than wheels, jacks, or skirtings and so designed or constructed as to permit occupancy for dwelling or sleeping purposes.

MOBILE HOME PARK—Means any plot of ground upon which one or more mobile homes, occupied for dwelling or sleeping purposes, are located, regardless of whether or not a charge is made for such accommodation.

MOBILE HOME SPACE—Means a plot of ground within a mobile home park designed for the accommodation of one mobile home.

MULTIPLE DWELLING—Means any structure designed and intended to accommodate more than one family and includes but is not limited to duplex buildings, group houses and apartment buildings.

PARK—Means mobile home park.

PERMITTEE—Means any person to whom a temporary permit is issued to maintain or operate a mobile home park under the provisions of this ordinance.

PERSON—Means any natural individual, firm, trust, partnership, association or corporation as recognized by the laws of this State.

PLAT (OR PLAN)—Means a plan prepared by a registered Engineer, Architect, or Landscape Architect who are licensed surveyors; such plat or plan showing all existing conditions and the proposed site development of a mobile home park.

TEMPORARY PERMIT—Means a permit issued to a developer having been issued a “special permit” and desiring to maintain and operate a segment of the mobile home park before final, construction of such a mobile home park is completed.

TRAVEL TRAILER—Means any vehicle or similar portable structure mounted on wheel, designed and intended primarily for short-term occupancy, for dwelling or sleeping or other purposes, and not exceeding thirty (30) feet in length.

TRAVEL TRAILER PARK (OR TRAILER PARK)—Means a commercial park serving the same function as a mobile home park with the qualifying exception that wheels shall not be removed from the units and the park is designed to accommodate trailers or mobile homes for only short durations of stay.

Part II

PARK DEVELOPMENTAL REGULATIONS AND CRITERIA

Article 1. LOCATION OF MOBILE HOME PARKS

1.1 General Requirements:

- a. PARKS FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE—Mobile home parks may be located in any district in which multiple-dwellings are permitted.
- b. PARKS FOR TEMPORARY RESIDENCE—Trailer Parks or Temporary Mobile Home Parks may be located in any district which permits motels, highway commercial uses, mobile home sales, and mobile home repair or fabrication.
- c. PARKS FOR MIXED PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY RESIDENTIAL USES—Any park providing spaces for both permanent and temporary occupation of either mobile homes or travel trailers or a combination of both, shall, for the purpose of this Ordinance be considered in the same category as trailer parks and shall be permitted only in districts which permit motels, highway commercial uses, mobile home sales, and mobile home repair or fabrication.

- 1.2 Separation of Mobile Home Parks From Abutting Uses: Where any boundary of a mobile home or trailer park directly abuts property which is improved with a permanent residential building located within (25 feet) of such boundary, or directly abuts unimproved property which may under existing laws and regulations be used for permanent residential construction, a fence, wall, or hedge shall be provided along such boundary, provided the (Building Inspector's Dept.) is authorized by this Ordinance to work out proper and equitable fencing material and/or design with each mobile home, or trailer park operator; provided further a buffer strip of planted, maintained local grasses and foliage, or a minimum of (20 foot maximum), may (or shall) be required between the boundary of any park mobile home space and the fence or hedge demarking the park perimeter, in any area of the park which abuts a residential district or use.

Article 2. MOBILE HOME PARK DEVELOPMENTAL STANDARDS

2.1 Site Requirements:

- a. TOPGRAPHICAL REQUIREMENTS—The park shall be located on a well-drained site properly graded to insure rapid drainage and free from stagnant pools of water.
- b. MINIMUM PARK AREA REQUIREMENTS—Each park shall have not less than (8) acres nor less than (FHA will require at least 50) spaces. Duly licensed and lawfully operated parks in existence on the effective date of this ordinance shall be exempted from this minimum area requirement for a period of three years commencing after December 31 of the year of the passage of this Ordinance; provided further the minimum space requirements of this Article shall be construed to apply to only contiguous acreages, undivided by any public thoroughfare(s), or by transit, canal or drainage easements, or natural barriers to development.
- c. MAXIMUM DENSITY—No mobile home park shall be licensed for operation which contains or is designed to contain more than an overall average of (12) mobile home spaces per gross acre of said park space.
- d. MINIMUM AREA OF MOBILE HOME SPACES:
 - (1) Residential Parks—Spaces within a mobile home park designed for permanent occupancy shall average not less than 3,600 square feet; provided that no space within said permanent residential park shall be less than 2,400 square feet.
 - (2) Trailer Parks and Parks for Mixed-Use—All spaces within transient parks or parks for temporary occupancy shall be large enough to provide the minimum requirements of this Ordinance pertaining to design, buffering, yard space, set-back and open areas for the size and type of unit the space is designed to accommodate.
- e. YARD REQUIREMENT—There shall be at least (20 feet) side yard clearance between mobile home units; provided further there shall be at least (30- - 40 is better) feet of clearance between the rear end of a mobile home and a park structure.
- f. CLEARANCE AND SETBACK REQUIREMENTS:
 - (1) Park Structures—No mobile home shall be located closer than (20) feet to any building within the Park with the exception of rear yards of individual mobile homes as prescribed in Article 2, Section 1d above, and

with the exception of utility or tool houses used in connection with the individual mobile home.

- (2) Park Boundaries—No mobile home shall be parked closer than (10) feet to any boundary line of the park; provided that in sections of a mobile or trailer park abutting a district zoned for first and second class single family residences (R-1 and R-2 zones), no mobile home shall be parked closer than (30) feet to said boundary line of the park.
- (3) Public Streets of Highways—No mobile home shall be parked in permanent residential parking closer than (25) feet to any public street or highway; provided that such other distances as may be established by ordinance or regulation as a front yard or setback requirement with respect to conventional buildings in the district in which the mobile home park is located, shall be observed.
- (4) Designated “Front” Yard—Each mobile home shall be parked and secured to its pad in the manner prescribed by this ordinance with the mobile home hitch fronting on, or directly accessible, to any conforming interior driveway.

Article 3. CIRCULATION AND PARKING

3.1 Streets:

- a. EXTERNAL CIRCULATION—All mobile home parks and trailer parks shall abut, on at least one side of 100 feet or more in width, upon a major thoroughfare, as designated by the zoning map and/or major thoroughfare plan of (jurisdiction) provided further frontage roads servicing expressways shall be considered for the purposes of this Ordinance as major thoroughfares.
- b. INTERNAL CIRCULATION—All interior streets shall be shown by name, width of easement and surfacing, and type of surfacing on the development plan or plat of each mobile home park; and shall conform to the provisions of the subdivision regulations of this (jurisdiction) pertaining to the function and standards for neighborhood streets.
- c. DRIVEWAYS:
 - (1) External Public Driveways—The driveways of all mobile home and trailer parks connecting with and servicing as ingress and egress systems to adjoining thoroughfares, shall be shown by width of easement and surfacing, and type of surfacing on the development plan or plat of each such park; and such driveways

shall conform to the section of the Major Thoroughfare Plan and Street Ordinance of this (jurisdiction) provided that the minimum requirements of external driveway systems in any mobile home or trailer park shall call for an unobstructed width of not less than (20) feet and an all-weather surfacing material on all such driveways; provided further that there shall be at least two (2) such driveways connecting any park with adjoining public thoroughfares.

(2) Interior Drives—All mobile home spaces shall abut upon in interior driveway; they shall be shown by width of easement and surfacing, and type of surfacing on the development plan or plat of each park; and each driveway shall be a minimum of (20) feet in width, except in mobile home parks designed to allow parking on interior drives, and such drives shall be in excess of (20) feet, sufficient to allow for parking cars.

d. OFF-STREET PARKING—Automobile parking within any mobile home park or trailer park shall be only within areas designated on the development plan or plat; provided that at least one off-street parking space of 300 square feet in area shall be provided in or within 100 feet of every space; and off-street parking areas for visitors, at a ratio of one 300 square foot parking space for every four (4) mobile home spaces will be provided by the park plan in convenient locations.

Article 4. PLUMBING, HEATING AND ELECTRICAL STANDARDS

4.1 Eligibility of Park for Occupancy:

a. No space shall be rented for residential use of a mobile home in any such park except for period of (30—120 days is better) or more, and no mobile home shall be admitted to any park unless it can be demonstrated that it meets the requirements of American Standards Association Code Provisions A-119.1, 1963; or any state administered code insuring equal or better plumbing, heating or electrical installations.

b. In addition to meeting the above requirements and conforming to other laws of the city, county or state, mobile home parks shall also conform to the requirements set forth in sections or chapters of “Minimum Property Standards for Mobile Home Courts,” (Federal Housing Administration, Government Printing Office, Washington 25 D.C.) as follows: Sections 2205, 2206, 2208-1 and 2210, 2211, and Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7; provided throughout that where approval or acceptance by FHA is required, mobile home parks not having mortgages insured by FHA shall obtain written approval or acceptance from appropriate authorities; (planning

commission and building inspector) provided where provisions of such regulations conflict, the most restrictive, or those imposing the higher standards, shall govern.

Part III

PARK HEALTH, SANITATION AND SAFETY REGULATIONS

Article 1. WATER SUPPLY

- 1.1 An adequate supply of pure, potable water for drinking and domestic purposes shall be supplied by pipes to all building and mobile homes spaces within the park. Each mobile home space shall be provided with an approved cold water connection and a tap (hydrant), constructed in accordance with the plumbing standards adopted by (jurisdiction) in enforcing this Ordinance.

Article 2. SANITATION

2.1 Environmental Control:

The area around and underneath the mobile home shall be kept clean and free from collections of refuse, rubbish, glass bottles, or other unsightly material.

2.2 Garbage Receptacles and Collection:

Each mobile home space shall be provided with a metal garbage container with a tight fitting lid, sufficient in number and size to hold all garbage and waste from mobile homes. Waste shall be removed from the premises and disposed of often enough to prevent creating a nuisance or health hazard. The container shall be kept in sanitary condition and shall be at least three inches off the ground, preferably on a metal rack or hanger for such purposes.

2.3 Sewage Disposal:

- a. Each mobile home space shall be provided with a sanitary sewer of at least four inches (4") in diameter, which shall be connected to receive the waste from the shower, bath tub, flush toilet, lavatory, and kitchen sink of the mobile home, harbored in such space to have and, or all of such facilities. The sewer in each space shall be connected to discharge the waste into a sewer system in compliance with applicable ordinances as will present no health hazard.
- b. Mobile home drain connections shall be of approved semi-ridged and non-collapsible hose, having smooth interior surfaces and not less than three inches outside diameter, nor less in size than the mobile home outlet.

Drain connections shall be equipped with a standard screw or clamp type fitting. While space is unoccupied or not in use, sewer openings shall be closed with an approved closure or cap.

2.4 Privy or Cesspit:

No privy or cesspit shall ever be allowed in any mobile home park or mobile home lot within the limits of __ (jurisdiction) __, Department of Health Standards and Regulations for the State of _____ to the contrary notwithstanding.

Article 3. Fire Protection

- 3.1 Every park shall be equipped at all times with fire extinguishing equipment in good working order, of such type, size and number and so located as to satisfy applicable reasonable regulations of the fire department and National Board of Fire Underwriters Codes currently in force; provided further no open fires shall be permitted at any place which may endanger life or property; provided further no fires shall be left unattended at any time.

Part IV

MISCELLANEOUS ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

Article 1. SUPERVISION

1.1 Enforcement Officer:

- a. With the exceptions of health codes this Ordinance shall be enforced by the (Building Inspector) and said officers shall be authorized and have the right in the performance of their duties to enter any premises during normal business hours and in emergencies whenever necessary to protect the public interest; provided, however, such entrance shall not be made if the purpose is to collect evidence to be used in a tort or criminal action at law against the occupant or operator of a mobile home or mobile home court, until and unless a proper search warrant shall have been issued for such purpose.
- b. The licensee or permittee, or a duly authorized attendant or caretaker shall be in charge at all times to keep the mobile home park, its facilities and equipment in a clean, orderly and sanitary condition.

Article 2. RESPONSIBILITIES OF PERMITTEE TO THE PUBLIC

2.1 Nuisances and Violations:

a. The mobile home park operator or his authorized agent is responsible for infractions to this Ordinance or any other local or state code or ordinance, or any common law nuisance occurring within the limits of a mobile home or mobile home lot or any park structure or open area within the said park.

b. Plot Plan:

The operator of every mobile home park containing park structures, mobile homes and accessory structures shall maintain in a conspicuous location a copy of an approved plot plan (plat) of the mobile home park. The plot plan shall show in detail the site layout, the location and street or park location number of each mobile home and park structure, the position of cabanas, accessory buildings and mobile home units on each space.

c. Registration of Occupants:

It shall be the duty of each licensee and/or permittee to keep a register containing a record of all mobile home owners and occupants located within the park; provided that the mobile home park register shall contain: (a) the name and legal address of all occupants; (b) the name and address of the owner of each mobile home, including the name and address of all mortgage and/or lien holders if any; (c) the make, type, model, year, and license number of each mobile home and motor vehicle owned by the registered occupant, as well as the registration number of each mobile home and the state and the year in which it was registered; (d) the number of occupants of each mobile home by name, age, sex; and (e) the forwarding address (if available) of each occupant; provided further that the register shall be kept available for inspection by authorized officers of the State of _____ and __ (local jurisdiction)_____; provided further that the register record for each occupant registered shall not be destroyed for a period of three (3) years following the date of departure of the registrant from the park.

Article 3. STRUCTURAL ADDITIONS

3.1 All structural additions estimated at more than \$100 in cost when completed to mobile homes, other than those which are built into the unit, shall be erected only after a building permit shall be obtained. Such additions shall conform to the building code, applicable to mobile homes, or shall meet the standards of special regulations adopted with respect to such additions; provided the building permit shall specify whether such structural addition may remain permanently, must be removed when the mobile home is removed, or must be removed when the

specified length of time after the mobile home is removed; provided further structural alterations existing at the time of passage of this ordinance shall be removed within thirty days after the mobile home which they serve is removed, unless they comply with applicable regulations.

Boyd, Ralph Hollis. "Regulation of Mobile Homes, Mobile Home Parks and Mobile Home Subdivisions." Master's thesis, The University of Oklahoma, 1965.