

The Trailers of Idaho

Case Study: Moscow, Idaho

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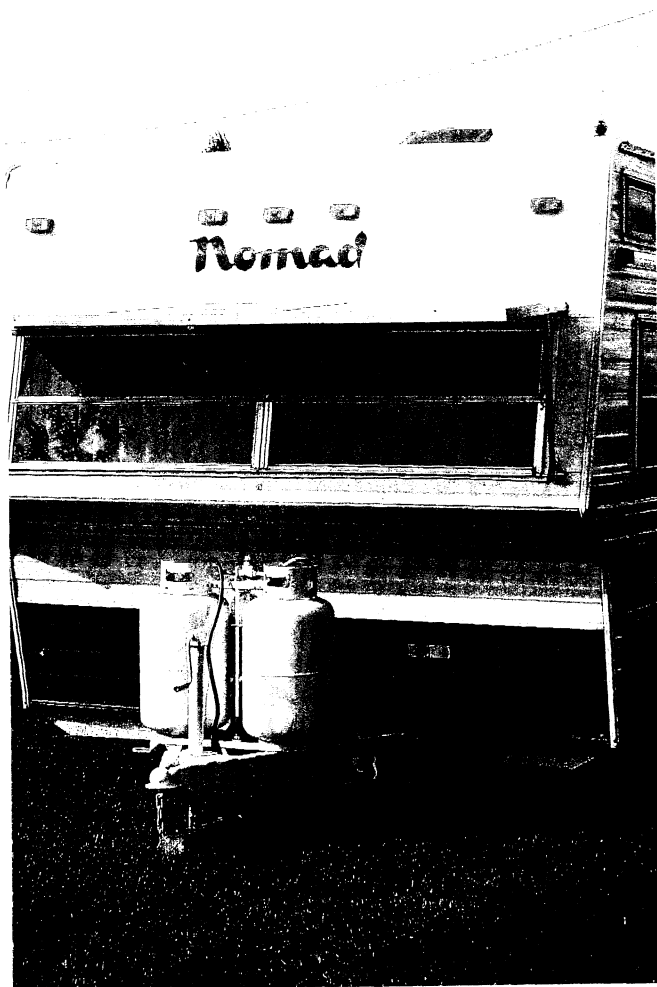


Figure 1: Trailer

Mobile Homes.....an unrecognized revolution has occurred.¹

Trailers currently represent a significant portion of the new single family home market in the United States.² In addition

to their use as housing units, trailers serve other functions as well, from recreational vehicles to home offices. Regardless of function, the actions of the manufacturers, agents, and buyers of trailers have altered the landscape of towns and cities around the country, with little input from architects and planners. This paper will examine trailers as a type, studying their different uses and examining the relationship of architects and the idea of architecture to the development of this uniquely American phenomenon.

Although both influence the built environment, the motivations of the trailer industry directly contrast with the values of the architectural profession. The trailer, in all of its forms, is a product of socio-economic forces. This capitalist motivation contrasts sharply with the core values of architecture, which are socially, culturally, and artistically based. Further, the trailer is a commodity associated with impermanence, particularly when contrasted to the permanence of buildings. Though all trailers have wheels at one time or another, this is not necessarily the characteristic that makes them seem impermanent. The physical and sociological attachment to the land that architects strive for in their profession is missing in American trailer parks. Due to this perception and the fact that the trailer industry continues its steady growth, it is appropriate to consider how the use of trailers, particularly as housing, reflects not only upon the nature of dwelling but also upon on the trend of our cultural values.

BACKGROUND

...the automobile trailer didn't begin life as housing for the poor. It began as a camping vehicle, a playtoy for the rich and the near-rich.³

The advent of the trailer is inexorably tied to the invention of the automobile. "Autocampers" embraced the convenience of the automobile, relishing this new technology and embellishing it with living quarters that allowed them to enjoy nature with the comforts of home in tow. The increasing numbers of autocampers in their homemade trailers seeking highway adventure in the 1920s caused

municipalities to develop parks to cater to these travelers. A typical park included amenities such as potable water, toilets, electricity, showers, laundry, and even kitchen facilities. Offering free service, these parks were a source of civic pride, as citizens enjoyed the perception of their town as a popular destination spot. In the 1930s, manufacturers sold trailers not only as vacation vehicles, but also as mobile housing for itinerant workers and salesmen and as an alternative form of permanent housing.⁴ Even as early as 1939, the trailer began to be thought of as an affordable housing option:

The trailer may offer inspiration to builders and architects in meeting the demands of the low-cost housing market, a market which has been almost completely ignored in the past. It seems but a step, no doubt a long one, from the mass production of trailer homes to the mass production of stationary homes.⁵

Increased housing demand in the 1940s propelled the trailer industry into the permanent housing market, as both government and private investors purchased house trailers for war workers and returning war veterans.⁶ At this point, trailers were redefined as “mobile homes,” as they began to be associated more with housing than as vacation vehicles towed by cars. Over the years, this type of housing developed a “ticky-tacky” image and was associated with migratory populations, often resulting in defensive community actions such as restrictive zoning, permit requirements, and taxes.⁷ The refinement of mobile homes through the 1950s and 1960s resulted in wider and more commodious living environments, developments that simultaneously decreased their mobility. Responding to concerns of safety and quality in trailer construction, 1970s legislation placed the industry under the jurisdiction of the Office of Housing and Urban Development. The term “manufactured home” became the preferred designation of this housing type, particularly with the genesis of the “double-wide” home and its increasing resemblance to site built housing. The designation of the trailer/mobile home/manufactured home has changed over time, but these designations have not changed their inherent

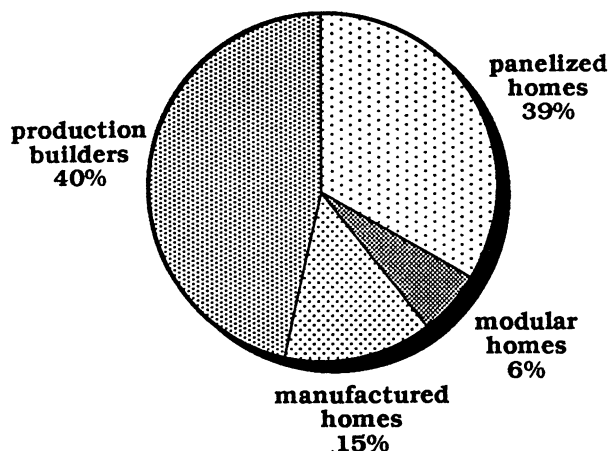


Figure 2: 1992 Housing Industry Shares (Automated Builder 1/93)

structural characteristics: each sits on a structural chassis and is mobile.⁸

Figure 2 illustrates the market percentage of the house trailer industry in relation to the rest of the housing market at the close of 1992. This chart reveals that trailer housing, modular housing, and panelized housing combine to capture 60% of the housing market. Production built homes constitute the remaining 40%, with a mere fraction of this category represented by architect-designed custom or speculative homes.

To a lesser degree, trailers are employed for uses other than housing, such as construction site offices, home offices, recreation, classrooms, mother-in-law units, temporary retail sites, public service institutions, and so on. Unlike the design evolution of house trailers, little attention has been given to the design of trailers in these other use categories.

CASE STUDY: MOSCOW, IDAHO

To examine typical trailer use, the small northwestern town of Moscow, Idaho will be used as a case study. The choice of Moscow for this case study is appropriate as it provides insight into trailer use in a typical American rural community. With its 20,000 residents, Moscow is host to the University of Idaho, resulting in a high student population. The fertile land in and around Moscow supports agriculture as another primary industry. In this study, trailers will be categorized and examined by use.

TRAILER AS.... RECREATIONAL VEHICLE

We all have a little Gypsy blood.⁹

Reminiscent of its original purpose, many trailers visible around the Moscow area are used as recreational vehicles. In the context of this study, what is interesting about this use is not where people take these trailers, nor how often, but how they affect the built environment when they are *not* in use. It is not uncommon for city residents to park their trailers in front of their private homes, on the public street, in their driveways, or on their lawns. These vehicles spend more time parked in these locations than they do on the road. Almost certainly, the inclusion of these sizable vehicles was not part of the vision of the architect or developer planned for these particular buildings or properties. The massive size of these vehicles has an unintentional yet undeniable affect on a given neighborhood, not only affecting neighborhood aesthetics but also serving as a symbolic monument to a national affinity for mobility.

TRAILER AS.....HOUSING

...escape from mortgages and the ownership of useless impedimenta - escape from conventionality with so many of its senseless requirements and prohibitions - escape from “keeping up with the Joneses.”¹⁰

By a significant margin, trailers are most widely used as



Figure 3: Recreational Vehicle

housing in Moscow, Idaho. Because trailer homes provide a source of affordable housing, a large percentage of working families, university students, and retirees choose this form of housing. Interviews with Moscow residents and park managers revealed that trailer housing generally represents a temporary step for residents, on their path towards the purchase of a site built, single family home.¹¹

Trailer homes have a number of advantageous characteristics, particularly when compared to other available affordable housing options such as apartments. First, reasonable costs enable many residents to purchase their units, an option often not available to them in the site built housing market. Nationwide, the average price for a new trailer home is approximately \$21,800, compared to the average \$100,000 for a site built home.¹² In Moscow, "single wide" trailer homes range from \$12,000 to \$30,000, while "double wide" homes range from \$70,000 to \$90,000.¹³ Second, unlike many affordable housing alternatives such as apartments, trailer housing offers residents a direct connection to the outdoors. Residents thus have the opportunity to appreciate an amenity associated with site built housing: the proverbial yard. Third, living in a trailer home gives residents autonomy and relative privacy, particularly when compared to apartment living. Similar to sentiments of some Moscow park residents, one resident's experience is described below:

One of the things that Helen likes most about her mobile home, is that, despite its size, it has privacy. She can walk around the outside of this home, and the walls are all hers. There is privacy from neighbors, yet they are close enough that if she hasn't come out by midmorning to retrieve her paper, someone will be concerned enough to call on her.¹⁴

Fourth, many residents value the spirit of community found in many trailer parks, a quality often missing in traditional neighborhoods. The development of community can often be attributed to the fact that residents share a common bond: they live in trailers. Due to city zoning codes, residents share the common treatment of banishment from traditional site built neighborhoods. In some parks, a sense of commonality is nurtured by an adversarial relationship between the park owner and park residents.

Clearly, there are also detriments to trailer housing. The most prominent of these is the stigma associated with this housing type. Echoing the sentiments of many Moscow trailer dwellers, the following account illustrates the persistent misconceptions of the trailer lifestyle:

Some of them still think that mobile homes are like travel trailers. Someone who has never experienced being inside of one, or who has only seen one behind some farmer's place where his field hands live, have no idea that this is a modern normal facilitySome people have just not realized yet that you can build the same type of facilities here as in a conventional home. Often the mobile home communities that you see from the highway are not the best looking ones, and this is what people most often see.¹⁵

In Moscow, a myriad of clues reveal the stigma of trailer living. Realtors rarely wish to be involved with the showing or selling of trailer homes. Zoning separates these homes from other residential districts. When asked in a survey what type of home they would prefer, many trailer residents indicated the single family, site built house.¹⁶

Many Moscow residents perceive the phenomena of trailers and their associated parks as a threat to convention-

ality. The image of the single family house and yard continues to be an implicit goal for many American families. Many view trailers as tawdry second cousins to this American ideal. One researcher notes: "Concerns over appearance, safety, and mobility often are surrogates for concern about conventionality. In this sense, the mobile home is not a threat because it is ugly, but because it is identifiably different."¹⁷

The most visible perceived threat manifests itself in the general belief that the siting of trailers in proximity to site built homes adversely affects the property values of the latter. Nationwide, there have been numerous court cases concerning the nature of trailer homes and their affect on traditional single family neighborhoods. In *Comeau v. Brookside Village*, a 1982 decision handed down by the Texas Supreme Court stated that "...the inherent structural difference in such manufactured housing can make them vulnerable to windstorms and fire damage; and their mobile nature may lead to transience and detrimentally impact property values if scattered through the municipality."¹⁸ Similar attitudes persist in Moscow. Because the purchase of a home can represent the single largest investment made during a citizen's lifetime, site built housing residents are very sensitive to any action that threatens the value of their homes.¹⁹

Associated to trailer housing is also the perception of social status. Trailer housing has traditionally been linked to the lower and working classes, providing further ammunition for those who wish to exclude this type of housing from middle class neighborhoods.²⁰ In a sense, zoning ordinances such as those in force in Moscow establish a pseudo-ghetto of trailer dwellers, establishing a distinct zone that confines and separates these residents from middle class neighborhoods.

The City of Moscow Zoning Ordinance clearly identifies the city's views regarding trailer homes in its written intent for the MH-Manufactured Housing Overlay District:

The purpose of this classification is to provide for the placement of manufactured homes in quiet, low density, single family detached dwelling areas with similar housing and on adjacent vacant areas where the property owners seek to utilize this type of housing. It is not the intent of this Section to permit the establishment of an MH district in areas of the City where manufactured housing would be inconsistent with the established neighborhood.²¹

Thus, though permitted within the city, trailer housing is generally not permitted in traditional site built neighbor-

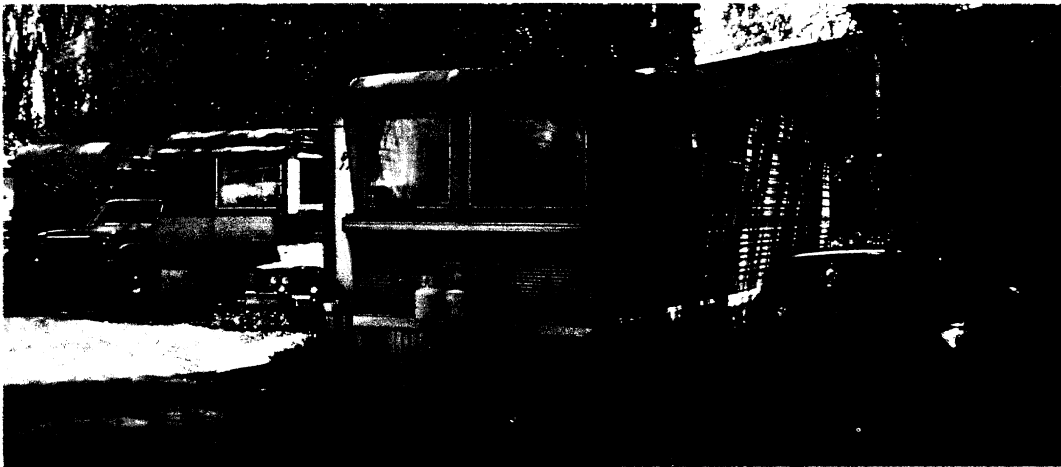


Figure 4: Mobile Home, circa 1970



Figure 5: Manufactured Home, circa 1990

hoods. In addition, the regulations state that the City Council “may deny a request to rezone to MH if they find that manufactured housing would not be compatible or harmonious with existing housing or would adversely affect property values.”²² The city zoning ordinance addresses issues of trailer aesthetics as well. For example, minimum roof rise and run requirements are established, as well as requirements for “visible foundations or skirting.....less than 25 inches in height.”²³ Comparing examples of a typical 1970s model with a contemporary trailer home illustrates that manufacturers are responding to complaints concerning trailer aesthetics (see Figure 4 and Figure 5).

New legislation passed by the Idaho State Legislature dictates some significant changes, particularly in the siting of trailer homes. To be enforced by July 1, 1996, the law states that “....each governing board shall amend its comprehensive plan and land use regulations for all land zoned for single-family residential uses to allow for siting of manufactured homes....”²⁴ Although trailers will now be allowed in single family zones, certain aesthetic principles are outlined as well: the homes shall be multi-sectional and not less than 1000 square feet, in addition to a garage or carport; the perimeter foundation or skirting of the home must be less than or equal to 12 inches; and “the manufactured home shall have exterior siding and roofing which in color, material and appearance is similar to the exterior siding and roofing material commonly used on residential dwellings within the community...”²⁵ Some believe that the legislation will have little affect, as protective covenants can be adopted to restrict the types of dwellings that may be sited in a particular area.

Apart from negative perceptions of trailer housing from outside the parks, residents within the parks have their own challenges. Many park owners enforce lengthy lists of rules and regulations regarding the use of their land. For instance, at one mobile home court in Moscow, residents must comply with the following rules, among many:

....Garbage and grass clippings must not be set out until the morning of pick-up day....Any guests staying longer than one week, please notify office....No unnecessary noise or watering of lawns after 10 P.M....NO PETS....Children must be under adult supervision at all times, regarding[sic] the rules of the park and for their personal safety. Children must not play or loiter in or around vehicles, or other homes or yards unless invited...²⁶

Accounts from parks in other states report that residents have reacted against the degree of regulation inflicted by park owners on tenants.²⁷ For the most part, the mobile home courts in Moscow are clean and quiet, with general resident complacency regarding the imposed rules and regulations.

One of the most substantial criticisms of the current trailer park system concerns the ownership of land. In addition to the frequently strict regulations attached to park living, the potential for exploitation is high due to the fact that residents do not own the property under their housing units. One report

describes this scenario as “...the worst of two worlds: the insecurity of renting and the enormous financial risk of homeownership.”²⁸ The dependency that results from this system undermines the assertion that trailer housing is a viable form of affordable housing. In this modern form of serfdom, the individual units may be affordable, but this ignores the permanent costs of land rental. Further, there is little long-term security for residents beholden to a park owner for land use. For example, in discussing the potential sale of a Moscow mobile home park to a buyer who might close the park, one of the owners acknowledged that his many residents would suffer unfortunate consequences. Further, residents are responsible for lot rents, which are established by the land owner. If lot rents exceed a resident’s capability to pay, once again the resident is out of luck.

Figure 6 shows a view of a mobile home court in Moscow, Idaho. The park currently holds nearly 300 trailer homes, with room for growth. Clearly, developments of this type and size have a tremendous affect on the man-made landscape, and the owner of this particular park affirms that no architects were or will be directly involved in this development. With Moscow’s continued growth, trailer homes may become increasingly attractive to buyers excluded from the inflated site built housing market.²⁹ This growing trend reveals the current nature of contemporary American housing, with market forces directly challenging traditional values of dwelling.

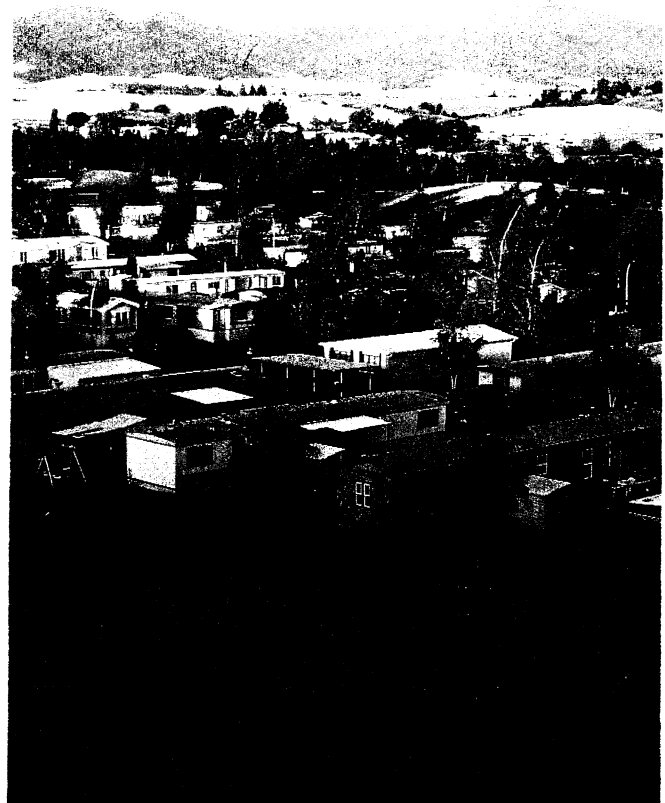


Figure 6: Mobile Home Court, Moscow, Idaho

TRAILER AS.....OFFICE.

Telephone, fax, computer networks, E-mail, interactive television....these are the components out of which the hive is being built.³⁰

With computer technology providing new opportunities for autonomy in the business world, the home office may become a more commonplace fixture in the man-made landscape. Due to its mobility and self containment, a trailer adapted as an office may be an appropriate response to this trend. Similar to house trailers, the primary criticism of office trailers may be their siting and their potential impact on property values. The siting of office trailers to address safety and bulk issues (blocking views and/or solar access) is a legitimate concern for city officials and residents. Due to the fact that many of Moscow's lots are small, the City's setback requirements make it difficult to site an accessory office trailer on a typical lot.³¹ Currently in Moscow, conditional use permits are required for this use, and codes further require that "the location and character of the use....will be in harmony with the area in which it is located..."³²

One particular example in Moscow illustrates the use of a trailer as a home office. In this case, a Moscow resident has his office "parked" next to his single family home (see Figure 7). This example demonstrates how the aesthetics of a typical assembly line trailer can be adapted to suit personal taste or a neighborhood context. Sensitively executed and without changing the inherent structure of the original unit, the owner redesigned this trailer to achieve a board-and-batten aesthetic. Adapted to suit the needs of the owner, this office trailer supports a small architectural office (see Figure 8). Clearly, trailers could be adapted to suit any number of small office types.

In this example, the office trailer provides a private work environment close to home, precisely adapted to suit the

user's particular needs. The owner paid \$3000 for the original trailer, and added another \$4000 in remodeling costs. Having owned and used his office trailer for a number of years, the initial investment has proven worthwhile, as it relieves the burden of monthly office rent. As an additional benefit, the convenient siting of this office trailer eliminates the need for commuting, thus reducing local traffic and air pollution. In some cases, a home office such as this might eliminate the need for childcare, thus avoiding the "latch-key" child scenario.

Another example of an office trailer is the familiar construction site trailer (see Figure 9). Due to its location at construction sites, this type of office differs significantly from the last example. The most important characteristic of this type of office trailer is its mobility, as the trailer moves from site to site depending on need. Typically, these utilitarian trailers are not adapted to the same degree as the last example, if at all. For better or worse, aesthetics are generally not a primary issue for construction site office trailers due to the temporary nature of their use.

The inherent nature of trailers makes them valuable for particular uses. The mobile office scenario may be one such use. Clearly, this use functions well for businesses such as construction companies. Zoning issues notwithstanding and depending on contextual sensitivity and siting, the home office trailer merits further consideration by architects as an appropriate use of trailers.

TRAILER AS.....SCHOOLROOM

A good school is never "finished." It evolves and adapts as people and programs evolve....Too few schools are designed with future expansion in mind.³³

To meet the needs of population expansion and contraction, the use of trailers as "temporary" schoolrooms is not a new



Figure 7: Office Trailer



Figure 8: Office Trailer, interior

phenomenon. It is not unusual for these structures to be used for years, thus making it more appropriate to consider them permanent rather than temporary. In this use, classroom trailers with their unique aesthetic can affect the overall sense of unity and permanence of their site, qualities typically associated with major public buildings such as schools. Though architects may be involved in the siting of these "relocatables," incorporating these classroom trailers into an overall vision for a school is typically not included in this task.

The Moscow Public School District utilizes trailers for overflow at two of the city's elementary schools, with more planned (see Figure 10). The primary benefit of classroom trailers is their portability, allowing districts to respond to fluctuating student population with less expense. A common criticism of these temporary buildings is that they are disconnected from the rest of the school. While this is often true, this autonomy can be appreciated, as is the case at Russell Elementary School in Moscow. The classroom trailers at Russell not only have their own bathrooms, they also have air conditioning, an amenity not included in the main school building. Thus, these classrooms become enviable environments in the warmer months.

According to the District business manager, the portable structures in use at the District's elementary schools are considered truly temporary, as the District hopes to build a new school within five years. However, constructing a new school as a solution to the growth in the student body denies the reality of a constantly fluctuating population. Many education professionals are predicting that flexibility will be the key to future school design.³⁴ In response, many may turn to "temporary" types of buildings such as trailers as a permanent solution for fluctuating student population. As qualified professionals, architects should help Districts re-

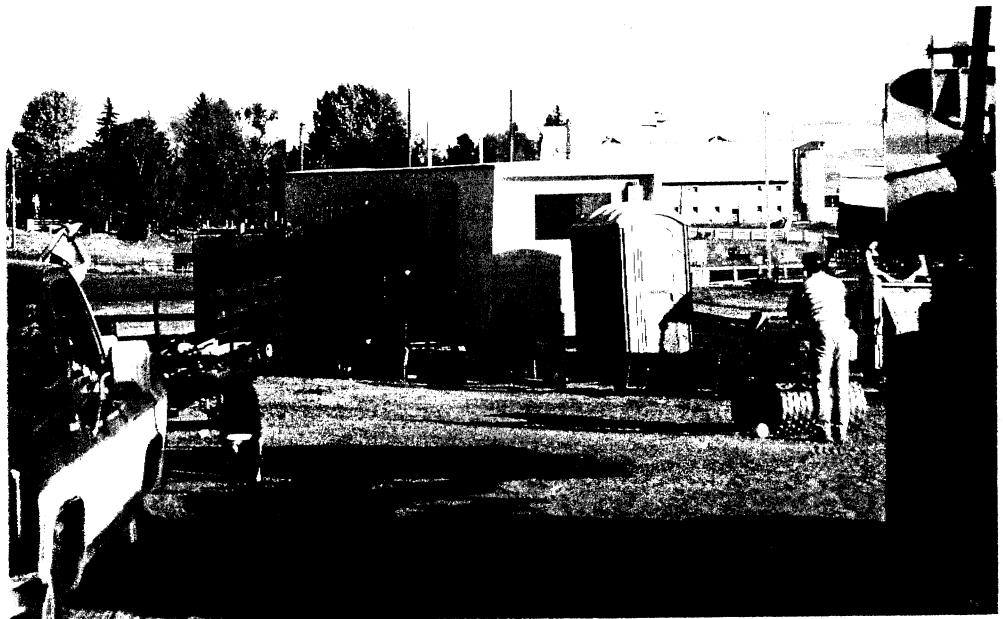


Figure 9: Construction Site Office Trailer

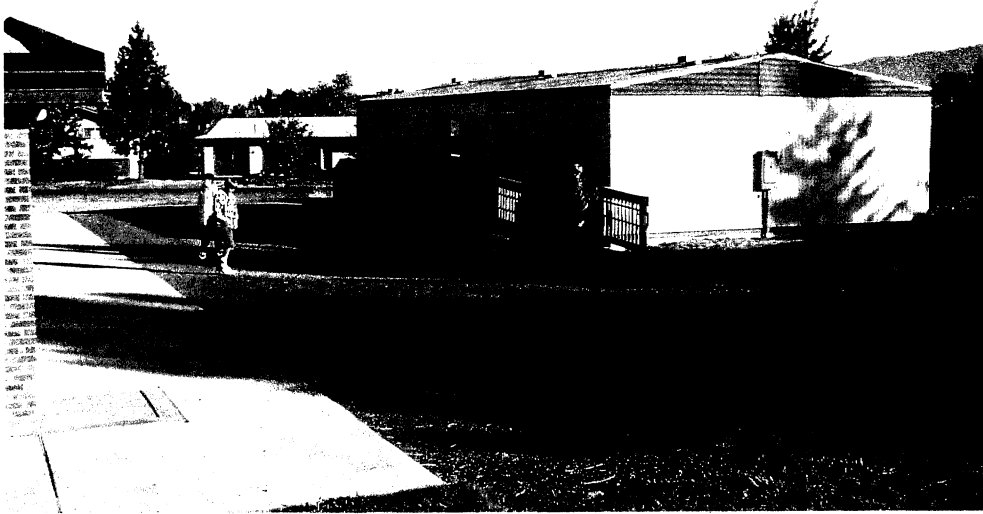


Figure 10: MacDonal School Classroom Trailer

view options for flexibility in school design. Simultaneously, the significance of unity and permanence should also be emphasized, as these characteristics help to nurture important socio-cultural values. Trailers may or may not be a part of an appropriate solution.

CONCLUSIONS

To a house-hungry nation, this idea of buying our dwellings as we buy our clothes is not merely appealing....it is exciting! Why build a house when you can buy one just as good ready-made? Why not buy a house as you buy a car, and replace it with a new one whenever fancy dictates?³⁵

The essence of consumerism and disposability are persistently associated with the trailer industry. Nonetheless, in all of its numerous uses, trailers are a popular consumer item. As critical observers of this market activity, architects' sanctimonious judgements concerning the validity of trailers are inconsequential. The trailer industry is firmly entrenched in this country, and thus, architects are obligated not to judge but understand and react.

The motivations of the trailer industry are in direct contrast to the values commonly held by architects. Similar to the production home industry, the bottomline interest of the trailer industry is profitability. The industry focuses primarily on the production and sale of individual pieces, with little or no concern for the resulting environment created by these pieces. In contrast, the primary concerns of architects are typically social, cultural, and artistic and include concern for such vital issues as community, quality, and the relationship between structure, people, and place.

From issues of property ownership, to the essence of "place," to patterns of development, a fundamental philosophical conflict that architects have with the use of trailers, particularly as housing, concerns the relationship of trailers

to the land and to people. Respect for the relationship between a piece of architecture and the land is a near-sacred tenet held by the architectural profession:

The existing structure of the land is a resultant of unseen natural process[es] operating over a long period of time. We must respect this structure and work to have our constructions be a continuation of that process, letting the present landscape play an evident role in the determination of suitable form for each place, respecting the impact that any structures have on the land. Similarly, the existing structure of a community is a result of many, often conflicting, processes, and is analogous to organic growth....Whatever we build significantly affects neighboring structures and the overall sense of place.³⁶

The current use and siting of trailer homes is antithetical to this philosophy. Though housing in general has become a commodity in this country, this fact is overwhelmingly apparent in the trailer industry. A buyer can pick a trailer out of a catalog, and his trailer is wheeled to him in one, two, or three pieces. Unlike site built homes, trailers do not qualify for mortgage loans, as they are considered personal property rather than "real property." As is the case in Moscow, financing can be difficult to arrange, and trailer loans are typically of shorter duration at higher interest rates than mortgages.

Another criticism concerns the siting of trailers and their mimicry of suburban development patterns, a topic that merits reconsideration in relation to lifestyle and sustainability issues. Voicing the concern of many architects, Dolores Hayden notes that "...the manufactured box exploits the assembly line to prolong the problems of inadequate architectural programming and inadequate neighborhood planning that the housing crisis should force us to solve."³⁷ The individual nature of trailers and their siting that permits yard

access makes it appear as though the American dream has been achieved. In reality, the lack of control over the land, the absence of long-term security, and the potential for exploitative park owners makes this scenario anything but a dream.

Trailers and their siting do not encourage permanence, a quality upheld by architects and one that supports the development of vital socio-cultural values. The perceived lack of permanence of trailers may result from a number of sources, such as their mobility, the lack of individual land ownership, and the halfway nature of this housing for residents striving for the ownership of site built housing. Permanence, especially in housing, is associated with security:

There is a reason that human beings long for a sense of permanence.... We know not where we come from, still less where we are going, and to keep from going crazy while we are here, we want to feel that we truly belong to a specific part of the world.³⁸

In a zone somewhere between nomadism and landownership, trailer park residents lack any sense of relationship to or control over the land immediately around them. Thus, the current trailer park system essentially prohibits rootedness. In contrast, traditional development patterns such as those advocated by architects support a more rooted set of values. The qualities that characterize these dwelling patterns support attachment to, accountability for, and control over the land, with the resulting creation of the sense of "place."

Clearly, the trailer industry is firmly established in the United States and will proceed with or without the intervention of architects. Due to their unique characteristics, trailers do have advantageous uses, some of which have been identified in this case study. A myriad of additional innovative uses could be discovered, and these merit consideration in appropriate locations.³⁹ However, it is particularly in the area of affordable housing that architects must intervene to address the trailer industry's primary weaknesses. Inaction on the part of architects will result in the continuation of the status quo. Unless architects or some other industry provide a viable alternative, the deceptive affordability of trailer homes will seduce new buyers in ever greater numbers, without regard for the resulting environments and lifestyles that are created.

Trailers teach us that manufactured housing can be affordable. As a historical reference contrasting trailer and site built housing, Operation Breakthrough was instigated in this country in the 1960s, with architects and planners involved in the process of producing much needed affordable housing:

Between 1969 and 1973, Operation Breakthrough produced approximately 25,000 housing units at a total federal cost of \$72 million. During that same period, the mobile home industry produced almost 2.5 million housing units at no direct cost to the federal government. Inglorious and technologically primitive as it might appear to many, the mobile home again was

vindicated as the only affordable unsubsidized form of industrialized housing in the United States.⁴⁰

Given their affordability, the current challenge to architects is to become involved to improve trailer housing. Architectural intervention in trailer housing is particularly vital due to the fact that fundamental values are associated with the nature of dwelling. The market-driven nature of the trailer industry has little understanding or patience for the nurturing of essential socio-cultural values. Unintentionally, the trailer industry affects these values, particularly in how trailers are used in the mobile home parks. In a triumph of capitalism, the lack of permanence and control associated with typical park developments reflect our priorities as a culture. In contrast, the values associated with architecture are primarily opposed to the throw-away, transient nature of trailers as they are currently used, especially in the area of housing. However, this trend is not irreversible. Capitalizing on the trailer's strengths of affordability and mobility, architects can take advantage of this already established industry and improve upon it not only by becoming involved in trailer design and technology, but also by ensuring the sensitive siting of trailers to establish permanence and to create a sense of "place."

NOTES

- ¹ Title of an article by Margaret J. Drury, in *Housing: Symbol, Structure, Site*, Lisa Taylor, ed.
- ² Drury, Margaret J., "Mobile Homes," *Housing: Symbol, Structure, Site*, Lisa Taylor, ed., p. 130.
- ³ Thornburg, David A. *Gallopings Bungalows*, p. 8.
- ⁴ Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate*, p. 50.
- ⁵ Tomfohrde, Karl M. *Special Report on Trailers and Trailer Camps*, as quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- ⁶ Jackson, Kenneth, *Crabgrass Frontier*, p. 262.
- ⁷ Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate*, p. 71.
- ⁸ As trailers herein will be examined in a variety of uses and not just in the area of housing, the term "trailer" will be used throughout this paper, despite the industry preferred term of "manufactured housing."
- ⁹ ad slogan for a 1920s motorhome, as quoted in Thornburg, David A. *Gallopings Bungalows*, p. 73.
- ¹⁰ Nash, Charles Edgar, *Trailer Ahoy!*, (1937), as quoted in Thornburg, David A. *Gallopings Bungalows*, p. 73.
- ¹¹ Soaring single family home prices in Moscow are affecting this trend. A Moscow park owner remarked that increasing numbers of trailer home owners cannot afford to purchase site built homes in the current market. Instead, these residents move from smaller to larger trailer homes, often within the same park. Resident interviews revealed the same phenomenon.
- ¹² Drury, Margaret J., "Mobile Homes," *Housing: Symbol, Structure, Site*, Lisa Taylor, ed., p. 132.
- ¹³ From a 9/22/94 interview with a mobile home court owner in Moscow, Idaho. In the current market, trailer homes are appreciating in value.
- ¹⁴ Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate*, p. 10.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ¹⁶ Stannard, Sandy, Editor, *Survey of Student Dwelling Types, Moscow, Idaho*, Spring 1994.
- ¹⁷ Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate*, p. 21.

- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ¹⁹ Even the owner of one of the largest mobile home courts in Moscow sympathizes with the concerns of site built housing residents when unsightly trailer homes appear in their neighborhoods. Although he sets high standards for his own park, this owner understands that other trailer home developers may not follow this example. Although this owner lived in his own park at one time, he now lives in a conventional site built house.
- ²⁰ Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate*, p. 22.
- ²¹ City of Moscow Zoning Ordinance, April 1990, p. 4-2.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 4-3.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ State of Idaho Government and State Affairs: Local Planning, Section 67-6509A.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, Section 67-6509A (4) (a)-(e).
- ²⁶ Robinson Mobile Home Court Inc. "Rules and Regulations," p. 6-7.
- ²⁷ Knox, Margaret L., "Home Sweet Mobile Home," *Mother Jones* (Jan/Feb. 1993)
- ²⁸ Knox, Margaret L., "Home Sweet Mobile Home," *Mother Jones* (Jan/Feb. 1993): 64.
- ²⁹ The increasing number of trailer homes and their related parks is a growing regional trend, touted by officials from the neighboring university town of Pullman, Washington (eight east of miles Moscow) as an effective solution for the affordable housing demand. Dorroh, Robert, "WSU May Grow by 50 Percent if Pullman Can Keep Up," *Moscow/Pullman Daily News* (8/25/94): A1.
- ³⁰ Birkerts, Sven, "The Electronic Hive: Two Views," *Harper's* (May 1994): 19.
- ³¹ The current development pattern upheld by the City Zoning Ordinance is low in density, an issue that merits re-examination in relation to the convenience potential afforded by a home office in a trailer.
- ³² City of Moscow Zoning Ordinance, April 1990, p. 4-8-4.B.4.
- ³³ Graves, Ben E., *School Ways*, p. 7.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ Graff, Raymond, et. al., *The Prefabricated House*, p. 1.
- ³⁶ Lyndon, Donlyn, et. al., "Toward Making Places," *Landscape* (Autumn 1962): 36.
- ³⁷ Hayden, Dolores, *Redesigning the American Dream*, p. 108.
- ³⁸ Kunstler, James Howard, *The Geography of Nowhere*, p. 275.

³⁹ Further development may be possible in utilizing trailers as accessory housing units and homeless shelters, where appropriate. The list is potentially endless. Naturally, zoning issues in some municipalities may require adjustment to allow for some of these proposals.

⁴⁰ Wallis, Allan D. *Wheel Estate*, p. 211.

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