

## *Downtown Culver City: A Critical Conservation Strategy*

John Moody  
DES 3332: Critical Conservation  
May, 2015

### *The Scene*

Downtown Culver City is a curious place: halfway between downtown Los Angeles and the Ocean, it is the collision between several divergent street grids and a departure point for several different Los Angeles neighborhoods. Despite its charming buildings and an eclectic mix of restaurants, a certain sterility pervades the space, causing one to wonder to whom it really belongs. Culver City's rich multicultural history should be embodied in a rich multicultural environment, but why does it not feel like this?

Like many times throughout its history, obsessions with romantic notions of ideal cultural heritage prevent downtown Culver from becoming a truly progressive place. To finally make steps in this direction, Culver City must fuse "the historically old with the creatively new"<sup>1</sup> by increasing residential access, providing a diversity of retail, giving the pedestrian priority over the car, and incubating collaborative social art. With these tools, Culver City has the power to invent a new, intensely local form of Southern California urbanism.

### *Historical Conflicts and Current Conundrums*

Power dynamics in Culver City pushed downtown's culture from heterogeneity into homogeneity on three separate occasions throughout its history. In the late 1800s, abstract systems forced the diverse rancho communities to make way for a colony of New England and Iowa. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century, high modernism and mass consumerism forced Culver City's progressive beginnings to give way to the all-American family. And now in the early 2000s, gentrification is supplanting downtown's ethnic melting pot with a hipster haven of boutique restaurants. Digging into the past, it becomes clear that today's shifting cultural geographies are merely the next evolution of age-old conflicts.

#### *The Wild West becomes a Yankee colony*

Radical transformation of the area that would become downtown Culver City began in 1848 when the United States seized California from Mexico. Before American rule, Rancho la Ballona and Rancho Rincón de los Bueyes were home to a "monoculture"<sup>2</sup> run by *ranchero* cowboys—descendants of soldiers of the Spanish empire whom had been granted large tracts of land for grazing and farming—and populated by their large, part-Indian, part-Mexican families. For decades life on the

---

<sup>1</sup> Zukin, *Naked City*. p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*. p. 31.

ranchos was tough, but relatively slow and unchanging.<sup>3</sup> When the abstract system of American finance crept into California, many of the rancheros, starting with Tomás Talamantes in 1954,<sup>4</sup> became entangled in confusing law practices to preserve their lifestyles and prove title to their land holdings and were forced to sell their land in order to pay off exorbitant interest payments.<sup>5</sup> Starting in the 1860s, their land was subdivided and sold to Yankee farmers.<sup>6</sup> This first generation of Yanks adopted the rancho lifestyle, but thanks to a national market for wool during the Civil War, they did so as shepherds rather than cowboys.<sup>7</sup>

With the arrival of the intercontinental railroad in 1876 and subsequent advances in refrigeration technology that allowed fresh fruit and vegetables to be shipped across the country, the next generation of Yankee settlers could farm with less land and live closer together.<sup>8</sup> In The Palms, an 1886 subdivision of Talamantes' former land just north of downtown Culver City, settlers reconstructed the tight-knit social structures of their native New England and Iowa. They built houses, churches, a school—Southern Pacific Railroad even built them a small train depot called the Grasshopper stop—designed entirely in Victorian style, providing a blunt contrast to the simple elegance of rancheros' adobe *haciendas*.<sup>9</sup> These Yankees had established an outpost of puritan culture in the Wild West of Ballona Valley.<sup>10</sup>

By 1913, the year Harry Culver obtained the barely fields south of The Palms to build his new balanced commercial-residential suburb, he and other Yankee boosters of all things Southern California had adopted a *reflexive* cultural ethos. Perhaps to assuage guilt for taking land from the rancheros, or perhaps to allay Yankee discomfort in a climate it had never historically experienced, the boosters of Southern California development sold it as America's Mediterranean coast, painting with the palate of Spanish colonial and Italianate architecture.<sup>11</sup> Many of downtown Culver's first buildings embodied this trend by suggesting ancient culture in the new suburb: Pacific Electric's Spanish colonial Ivy Substation in 1907, Thomas Ince's Corinthian colonnade at Triangle Studios in 1915 (now occupied by Sony Studios), and Ince's Mount Vernon-esque administrative building at Ince Studios in 1918 (now known as Culver Studios). Several variations on the theme followed, including Harry Culver's iconic, American Renaissance-style Hotel Hunt in 1926 (now Culver Hotel).

*A progressive utopia becomes the all-American family*

The element that defined Culver City's early success was not its reverence toward an imagined past, however, but its embrace of innovation. Harry Culver's marketing

---

<sup>3</sup> Starr, *Inventing the Dream*. p. 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Cerra, *Culver City*. p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Starr, *Inventing the Dream*. p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cerra, *Culver City*. p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Starr, *Inventing the Dream*. p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 133-134.

<sup>9</sup> Garrigues, *Los Angeles's the Palms Neighborhood*. Chapter 7.

<sup>10</sup> "At The Palms."

<sup>11</sup> Starr, *Inventing the Dream*. p. 55.

campaign was like nothing Southern California had ever seen. The location he chose to develop was not necessarily a hard sell, as it was situated at the branching of three Pacific Electric trolley lines, halfway between Los Angeles and the beachside resort town of Venice. But he struck upon a formula of selling a ready-made, modern identity to his “Midwestern immigrants.” To attract attention he employed modern gadgetry, including the second-largest searchlight in the West mounted on top of his sales office and polo games using Model T Fords instead of horses. But more importantly he gave his middle-income homebuyers the chance to reinvent themselves.<sup>12</sup> The first ingredient to this was diverse and livable wages in the motion picture industry. Culver recruited Thomas Ince, a pioneer of assembly-line film production, to build two of the world’s first studios in downtown Culver: Triangle Studios, which became famous as the home of MGM in 1924; and Ince Studios, famous as DeMille Studios and RKO-Pathé in subsequent decades. To film multiple movies per day, Ince constructed huge lots and clustered every trade from carpenter to makeup artist to work in close coordination.<sup>13</sup>

For only “\$500 down and \$80 a month on a 7 percent loan compounded semi-annually,” many migrants to Culver City found their modest homes fully furnished, sometimes even with in a Ford in the garage.<sup>14</sup> They also had a ready-made community infrastructure within downtown, including a school, restaurants, grocery shops, cafes, drugstores, hardware, barbers, even shoe shops.<sup>15</sup> By 1924, the year Culver’s sales team had grown to 250,<sup>16</sup> Culver City’s “Great White Way” of Washington Boulevard sported bootleg speak-easies, gambling houses, and jazz venues such as Sebastian’s Cotton Club where Culverites could mix with the new celebrity class and spend their disposable income. Just a short drive from downtown, they could also watch motor races at the Culver City Speedway, see exotic animals at Al Barnes’ zoo, watch airplane demonstrations at the Culver Airport, or ride roller-coasters at Venice Beach. “What really seems to attract people,” Culver recognized, “is something moving. If an object stands still, people will not pay much attention to it.”

Increases in assembly-line production efficiency in the Postwar Era, however, would push Culverites to embrace a homogenous, inward-facing family lifestyle and simultaneously empty downtown of its public life.<sup>17</sup> While General Motor’s *Futurama* exhibit at the 1939 New York World’s Fair prophesied America’s switch to car-based consumer culture, Louis B. Mayer, studio boss of Culver City’s MGM Studios between the 1920s and 1950s, sold materialism and idealized family values to Americans through his star-studded films.<sup>18</sup> Trends in Culver City fulfilled the prophecy. As early as the 1940s, they adopted a commuting lifestyle, now more frequently to jobs at aviation plants outside of town, such as Hughes Airfield in the Ballona Wetlands.<sup>19 20</sup> Instead of

---

<sup>12</sup> Starr, *Material Dreams*. p. 73.

<sup>13</sup> Taves, *Thomas Ince*. p. 114-115.

<sup>14</sup> Starr, *Material Dreams*. p. 74.

<sup>15</sup> Sanborn Maps, “Culver City Jan. 1929.”

<sup>16</sup> Starr, *Material Dreams*. p. 73.

<sup>17</sup> Vincent, “Culver City Evolves from Sleepy Community to Urban Center.”

<sup>18</sup> Eyman, *Lion of Hollywood*. p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Freeman, “Abandoned & Little-Known Airfields: California - West Los Angeles Area.”

<sup>20</sup> Parker, *Building Victory*. p. 49-58.

shopping in little grocers in downtown, Culverites visited the Studio Village Shopping Center (now Culver Center), one of the first of Southern California's car-oriented shopping centers to open in the area between 1950 and 1975. Instead of seeing ragtime shows at the obsolete Cotton Club near Helms Bakery, thrill-seekers would cruise over to drive-in movie theaters, like Studio Drive-In, built on vacant land at the edge of town. In the early 1950s, Red Car trolleys were taken off the tracks. Starting in 1964 the Santa Monica Freeway allowed quick car access between downtown and anywhere in the region. Due to its central location the neighborhood of the Palms was converted into courtyard-style condominiums,<sup>21</sup> while downtown Culver became a wasteland—a place people would pass through on their way to somewhere else. Washington Boulevard, once the “Great White Way” of the Los Angeles Basin, became known as “Wheel Alley.”<sup>22</sup>

*A multicultural nowhere becomes a gentrified anywhere*

Downtown Culver's most recent cultural disruption began in the late 1990s, when City Hall took steps to revive its downtown. Concurrent with streetscape improvements and renovation of both the Culver Theater and the Ivy Substation into live theater spaces, the city incubated the opening of several restaurants, starting in 2004. Within a few years, dozens of restaurateurs jumped at the opportunity for such a low rent compared to popular culinary spots like Santa Monica. By 2007, downtown had become a walkable, vibrant scene for foodies.<sup>23</sup> However, the revival also brought with it consequences for what Doreen Massey would call the “power geometry” of the area<sup>24</sup>: rising rent, lack of retail, and traffic congestion. Diversity in Culver City had risen to more than 40% minorities by 1988,<sup>25</sup> but the burgeoning gallery scene in the arts district, office conversions in the Hayden Tract, and the revival of downtown are again sending Culver City on a collision course toward cultural homogenization.

*Rental Rates Rising*

The rent issue is making downtown Culver into a playground for the rich. Of course, the “scorching pace” of growth in land value good news for homeowners,<sup>26</sup> but it is bad news for the 45% of Culver residents who are renters.<sup>27</sup> In 2013, several longtime renters of a 12-unit complex across from the police station in downtown experienced a rent hike from \$975 to \$1,900. Because the city's strong landlord coalition refuses to protect renters with rent control legislation, unlike Los Angeles and Santa Monica, none of the renters who challenged the landlord could afford to stay in their homes.<sup>28</sup> Rent hikes of 100% like this or 60-day “pay up or move out” demands are not atypical, and now twenty seven percent of Culver residents spend more than half their income on

---

<sup>21</sup> Cerra, *Culver City*. p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> BROWN, “Art and Food Turn a Nowhere Into a Somewhere.”

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*. p. 149.

<sup>25</sup> Ito, “Culver City's Rising Ethnic Groups Seek Share of Clout.”

<sup>26</sup> Karnes, “Culver City Home Values Growing at Scorching Pace.”

<sup>27</sup> Alagot, “Culver City's Gentrification Sparks Rent Control Fight.”

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

rent.<sup>29</sup> Rising land value also edges up rental prices for restaurants,<sup>30</sup> ensuring that the only crowd able to enjoy downtown in the near future is that which can afford \$15 cocktails. Much like the Yankee buyout of Spanish-Mexican land in the late 1800s, those who can better understand the nuances of owning property are again colonizing this area.

### *Lack of Retail*

The upscale restaurant movement is drowning out chances for authentic, local retail. Currently, the Downtown Business Association's website lists 32 places to eat and drink while the number of places to shop numbers only nine, including its only grocery store (Trader Joe's), two major car dealerships and a once-weekly farmer's market.<sup>31</sup> LA's newest "restaurant mecca"<sup>32</sup> has forced Wheel Alley to make way for "Hipster Alley." Culver City may believe that the hipsters who frequent its restaurants lend a *counter-culture* authenticity to its restaurant scene, but hipsters are really just a pop culture class of economically advantaged young people defending their superiority with bohemian style.<sup>33</sup> This causes many of downtown's restaurants to become similarly "lost in the superficiality of [their] past and unable to create any new meaning."<sup>34</sup>

While the area is pedestrian-friendly, with three theaters and some wellness and professional services, it is most certainly not mixed-use. This type of environment does nothing to accommodate people whom could otherwise do routine shopping without a car. The proposal to replace an underutilized parking lot on Parcel B (adjacent to the Culver Hotel) with a development of mixed retail, restaurant and open spaces<sup>35</sup> will likely further increase congestion in the area. Other mixed-use projects near the elevated rail Expo Line station at the edge of downtown will also contribute.<sup>36</sup> Without appropriate local retail, such as a bike shop, a pharmacy or a furniture store, downtown will remain a place for commuters seeking to be the earliest adopters of new trends,<sup>37</sup> not residents.

### *The Automobile Reigns Supreme*

The centrality of downtown and the popularity of its restaurants will also continue to worsen congestion. Culver City has done a good job at donating much of the wide 1913 boulevards to medians, sidewalks, crosswalks, tree planters and benches, and creating a small plaza out of a section of Washington Boulevard. However, the four to six lanes of Washington and Culver Boulevards continue to encourage people to use them as major thoroughfares. And by ticketing for jaywalking, the police department reinforces the automobile's superiority in the supposedly "walkable" downtown. The proposal for

---

<sup>29</sup> "Culver City's Rising Rents Lead to Tough Conversations."

<sup>30</sup> Vincent, "Culver City Evolves from Sleepy Community to Urban Center."

<sup>31</sup> Downtown Business Association, "Directory."

<sup>32</sup> Brown, "Art and Food Turn a Nowhere Into a Somewhere."

<sup>33</sup> Greif, "The Sociology of the Hipster - Essay."

<sup>34</sup> Haddow, "Hipster: The Dead End of Western Civilization."

<sup>35</sup> Scupine, "Parcel B Update."

<sup>36</sup> Broverman, "Mapping Culver City's Development Boom."

<sup>37</sup> Greif, "What Was the Hipster?"

regional shops and restaurants at Parcel B, which includes plans for two levels of underground parking,<sup>38</sup> will simply worsen congestion and bifurcate the pedestrian experience.

### **Critical Conservation Strategy**

To realign downtown on a trajectory toward social, economic, and environmental sustainability, Culver City must adopt a process centered on affordable housing, economic diversity, walkability, and social art.

#### *Anyone can enjoy downtown*

For anyone to access and enjoy downtown, Culver City must either pass rent control legislation or increase its supply of affordable housing. Rent control, although supported by city councilwoman and former mayor Meghan Sahli-Wells, remains unpopular and distracts landlords from discussing affordable housing.<sup>39</sup> But the ubiquity of one-story commercial buildings in downtown, in addition to a large number of single-family homes in neighborhoods zoned for multifamily housing, could be much better utilized.<sup>40</sup> This is not to suggest that Culver City drastically increase its density—even one- and two-story additions to houses and commercial buildings could drastically increase housing availability. Neither would it suggest interfering with any of the architecturally significant buildings,<sup>41</sup> like the Washington Building, an Italianate Flatiron-like building opposite the Culver Hotel, or the Hull Building which houses Akasha Restaurant. These make obvious sense to preserve as they hold significant historical value and at least have a modicum of density with a second story. However, no one would miss losing several one-story buildings that also share sidewalk space in the heart of downtown, such as the featureless red brick US Bank building across from the Culver Hotel. In the post-redevelopment agency era, the city should incentivize developers to rethink these spaces and other underutilized parking lots as buildings of mixed use, with a mix of market rate and affordable residential above, and retail on the ground floor. Many people fear the quality of the replacement,<sup>42</sup> but Culver City can require active street design guidelines to complement historic buildings.

The wrecking ball is not the only solution. To increase density but protect the historic character of the one-story commercial buildings on Main Street, Culver City can encourage developers to construct new buildings on top—so-called “collision buildings” because they reflect two architectural eras, one on top of the other—using avant-garde yet proven techniques similar to the deconstructivist office buildings designed by architect Eric Owen Moss (much of his work is credited with reviving the city’s industrial Hayden

---

<sup>38</sup> Elrich Architects, Hudson Pacific, and Combined Properties, “Presentation to the City Council.”

<sup>39</sup> Walton, “Culver City to Take on Affordable Housing, Rent Control.”

<sup>40</sup> Information Technology Department, “Culver City Zoning Map.”

<sup>41</sup> Glaeser, *Triumph of the City*. p. 136.

<sup>42</sup> Banham, “An Architecture Expert Speaks: ‘Preserve Us From the Paranoid Preservers.’”

Tract).<sup>43</sup> With buildings such as these Culver City could also tackle its shortage of artist studios and live-work spaces. Considering downtown has such great potential as a pedestrian environment, there is no doubt that vast numbers of renters would compete for market-rate apartments to offset affordable units.

### *Authentic Charm in Downtown Culver*

To preserve Culver City's local character and create a diverse employment base, the city must encourage the availability of mom and pop retail. Expo Line developments and Parcel B promise to add much-needed retail to the area, but the visualizations produced by Combined Properties and Hudson Pacific for Parcel B suggest adding *more restaurants* and the sort of high-end retail that would encourage mall-like shopping; not routine, everyday shopping.<sup>44</sup> Mom and pop shops would of course need to be subsidized by larger retailers, giving them a fighting chance as land values rise. Grand Central Market in Downtown LA and Philadelphia's Reading Terminal Market both work in this way: big-profit sellers, such as fast food places, subsidize the low-profit sellers, such as produce shops. This maintains a diversity of options for shoppers and a distinctive, local character that customers give people a reason to shop there over places like Target, where they could get all the same stuff. Mom and pop shops would also provide service jobs for the residents of affordable units. Culver City could even require shop owners to live in residential units above the shops, which would not only cut down on car dependence but it would give customers a "homespun" narrative, as Gina Bellafante observed in Williamsburg, Brooklyn,<sup>45</sup> and lend credence to claims that downtown offers a small-town experience.

### *A walkable oasis in the congested Southland*

To create space for the mixing of cultures and ideas, and to fortify Culver City's unique charm within the Los Angeles Basin, the city must fully pedestrianize downtown. To do this it must prevent thru traffic on Culver Boulevard and make its free parking garages into the end terminal for all vehicular traffic. Thru traffic could then be diverted via Overland Avenue around Sony Studios, or the Parcel B project could redirect funds for its two underground parking levels into depressing Culver Boulevard from Duquesne Street to Venice Boulevard. The city could negotiate this with the Parcel B developers as a public benefit to mitigate the impact the project would have on increasing congestion. With thru traffic underground, a six-lane corridor of city-owned land would be freed up for parkland, hardscape pedestrian surfaces, or even small, quirky retail and mixed-use buildings. Downtown would then become an outdoor walking experience unlike any other, accessible to both residents and visitors within a short walk from their cars or houses. The up-close experience of iconic buildings such as Culver Hotel or the Mount Vernon mansion at Culver Studios would only be visible by foot, making them into more of a discovery than something that could easily be seen from a moving car while cruising through town.

---

<sup>43</sup> Goldberger, "Neighborhood Watch."

<sup>44</sup> Elrich Architects, Hudson Pacific, and Combined Properties, "Presentation to the City Council."

<sup>45</sup> Bellafante, "The Agony of Gift-Giving in a City That Has Seen Everything."

Additionally, Culver City must also construct a protected corridor between downtown and the Expo Line station. It could be activated with ground-floor retail and other pedestrian amenities. This would alleviate competition for parking at the park-n-ride station, as well as encourage people use both the Expo train and downtown as pedestrians rather than drivers. Without the comfort of anonymity in their cars, Culverites and visitors would have no choice but to interact with each other. At the very least, downtown Culver would feel like much more than the intersection between street grids, but the intersection between cultures, past and present.

### *Social Art at the Intersection*

Achieving cultural balance in downtown will take time, whereas gentrification is rapid and unforgiving. Culver City must also take immediate action if it hopes to curb homogenization. On a section of city-owned land, sandwiched between Parcel B, Culver Studios, the town plaza and Culver Hotel, stands four defunct lanes of Washington Boulevard sometimes used for random vehicle staging. This land shares space with the historic division between the Rancho Ballona and Rancho Rincon de Los Bueyes, and represents a historic crossing of Ballona Road. Building a mixed-use retail and office development on Parcel B may activate the space in the future, but for very little money this land could immediately transform into a symbolic intersection between cultures, encouraging people of all walks of life to peacefully linger and participate in the space.

The key to such an interactive space can be found near another historic branching of three Pacific Electric lines, equidistant from downtown Los Angeles in the neighborhood of Watts. When Watts was still its own suburb with its own mayor, an Italian tile-setter named Simon Rodia began a construction project using entirely found materials—seashells, broken plates, trash, discarded car parts—and concrete. Between 1921 and 1954 he constructed a gazebo, fireplace, garden hedges, fountains, and towers up to 99 feet high—all by himself—together known as one of the greatest achievements of American folk art and greatest looking glasses to the modern development of Los Angeles.<sup>46</sup> Watts Towers still stands proudly and over the past couple decades it has spawned an art and music movement in the surrounding community, allowing the traditionally disenfranchised and constantly shifting cultures of Watts to have a central, creative place to interact and empower their diverse experiences.<sup>47</sup>

Within a much shorter timeline, Culver City should pilot a similar multicultural project with collaborative art. For example, Culver and Palms residents and businesses could deposit old or unwanted items into collection bins. The city could then employ a consortium of its talented artists for a year to organize the items into a seamless structural mosaic with places to sit, places for people to interact with each other, and places to discover the city's diverse cultural heritage. If successful, the sculpture could be constantly reimaged and re-constructed to respond to changing social relations.

---

<sup>46</sup> Ray, *The City of Watts, California, 1907 to 1926*. p. 63-64.

<sup>47</sup> Hooks, "Watts Towers Arts Center."



Imagine the effect this could have on a visitor: Rather than simply admire downtown's architectural purity, I examine carefully restored scraps of a tail finned hotrod, instrument panels of airplanes built at Hughes, and found artifacts of generations of Ballona and Culver families, elegantly blended together. Rather than walk between protected planter boxes on concrete tiles, I meander into a flexible space surrounded by informal patches of ground that reflect the area's natural ecology and rancho landscape, perhaps suggesting an adobe hacienda or Indian huts. Rather than muse on the famous films that were shot behind the stately mansion of Culver Studios, I wander into a weather-resistant movie set spilling out of the studio, where I act in front of the camera and see my image projected onto a large screen that also doubles for movie nights and music performances. Rather than a uniform, wide-open space dominated by the stoic Culver Hotel and normative retail buildings, a monument with the collective memories of multiple traditions of Culver residents reaches out from the center of downtown and encourages all people to feel welcome, able to see or imagine their story in the space.

Instead of encasing hipsterism, Starbucks urbanism and car-based culture between Culver City Historical Society's architectural monuments, Culver City should envision its downtown as the constantly shifting intersection between all those to whom this city should belong.

### **The Future**

To cultivate a long-term, sustainable downtown, Culver City must give each of its residents and visitors what Harry Culver gave to his dream-seeking homebuyer: the chance to reinvent himself. This requires that Culver City construct a social contract, with accessible housing, diverse places to eat and shop, a walkable environment, and places that invite people to craft their own environment. In the words of Sharon Zukin, "people must have a right to put down roots and remain in place. This would strike a balance between a city's origins and its new beginnings; this would restore a city's soul."<sup>48</sup>

### **Bibliography**

- Alagot, Calvin. "Culver City's Gentrification Sparks Rent Control Fight." *L.A. Weekly*, February 5, 2014. <http://www.laweekly.com/news/culver-citys-gentrification-sparks-rent-control-fight-4416291>.
- "At The Palms: Musical and Literary Entertainment--Christmas Tree." *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922)*. December 26, 1890. <http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/163475740/citation/F9F757290B75419CPQ/17?accountid=11311>.
- Banham, Reyner. "An Architecture Expert Speaks: 'Preserve Us From the Paranoid Preservers.'" *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 1973.
- Bellafante, Ginia. "The Agony of Gift-Giving in a City That Has Seen Everything." *The New York Times*, November 25, 2011.

---

<sup>48</sup> Zukin, *Naked City*. p. 246.

- <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/27/nyregion/the-agony-of-gift-giving-in-a-city-that-has-seen-everything.html>.
- Broverman, Neal. "Mapping Culver City's Development Boom: The Good, The Moving, and The Stalled." News Blog. *Curbed LA*, October 21, 2013. [http://la.curbed.com/archives/2013/10/mapping\\_culver\\_citys\\_development\\_boom\\_the\\_good\\_the\\_moving\\_and\\_the\\_stalled.php](http://la.curbed.com/archives/2013/10/mapping_culver_citys_development_boom_the_good_the_moving_and_the_stalled.php).
- Brown, Janelle. "Art and Food Turn a Nowhere Into a Somewhere." *The New York Times*, January 28, 2007, sec. Travel Desk; SECT5. <http://global.factiva.com/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&an=NYTF000020070128e31s00c5&cat=a&ep=ASE>.
- Cerra, Julie Lugo. *Culver City: The Heart of Screenland*. Chatsworth, Calif.: Windsor Pubns, 1992.
- "Culver City's Rising Rents Lead to Tough Conversations." *Southern California Public Radio*. Accessed April 30, 2015. <http://www.scpr.org/news/2015/02/23/49916/in-culver-city-rising-rents-lead-to-tough-conversa/>.
- Downtown Business Association. "Directory." *Culver City Downtown Business Association*. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://www.downtownculvercity.com/>.
- Elrich Architects, Hudson Pacific, and Combined Properties. "Presentation to the City Council." Culver City Council, October 4, 2011. <http://www.culvercity.org/en/Business/AboutEconDev/CurrentProjects/ParcelB.aspx>.
- Eyman, Scott. *Lion of Hollywood: The Life and Legend of Louis B. Mayer*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012.
- Freeman, Paul. "Abandoned & Little-Known Airfields: California - West Los Angeles Area." Accessed March 25, 2015. [http://members.tripod.com/airfields\\_freeman/CA/Airfields\\_CA\\_LA\\_W.htm](http://members.tripod.com/airfields_freeman/CA/Airfields_CA_LA_W.htm).
- Garrigues, George. *Los Angeles's the Palms Neighborhood*. Arcadia Publishing, 2009.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Glaeser, Edward. *Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier*. Reprint edition. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2012.
- Goldberger, Paul. "Neighborhood Watch." *New Yorker*, December 20, 2010, sec. CRITICS.
- Greif, Mark. "The Sociology of the Hipster - Essay." *The New York Times*, November 12, 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/books/review/Greif-t.html>.
- . "What Was the Hipster?" *New York Magazine*, October 24, 2010. <http://nymag.com/news/features/69129/>.
- Haddow, Douglas. "Hipster: The Dead End of Western Civilization." *Adbusters*, July 29, 2008. <https://www.adbusters.org/magazine/79/hipster.html>.
- Hooks, Rosie Lee. "Watts Towers Arts Center." *The Official Watts Towers Arts Center Campus*, 2015. <http://www.wattstowers.org/>.
- Information Technology Department. "Culver City Zoning Map." Culver City, California: City of Culver City, August 28, 2007. <http://www.culvercity.org/Government/IT/GIS/mapcatalog.aspx>.

- Ito, Sheldon. "Culver City's Rising Ethnic Groups Seek Share of Clout." *Los Angeles Times*. July 10, 1988, sec. AP.
- Karnes, Bea. "Culver City Home Values Growing at Scorching Pace." *Culver City, California Patch*, February 26, 2015.  
<http://patch.com/california/culvercity/culver-city-home-values-growing-scorching-pace>.
- Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Parker, Dana. *Building Victory: Aircraft Manufacturing in the Los Angeles Area in World War II*, n.d.
- Ray, MaryEllen Bell. *The City of Watts, California, 1907 to 1926*. Los Angeles, Calif: Rising Pub, 1985.
- Sanborn Maps. "Culver City Jan. 1929," January 1929. <http://sanborn.umi.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/ca/494/dateid-000003.htm?CCSI=1926n>.
- Scupine. "Parcel B Update: 'Limbo.'" News Blog. *Culver City Times*, April 18, 2014.  
<http://culvercitytimes.com/profiles/blogs/parcel-b-update>.
- Starr, Kevin. *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era*. Oxford University Press, USA, 1985.
- . *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s*. Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Taves, Brian. *Thomas Ince : Hollywood's Independent Pioneer*. Screen Classics (Lexington, Ky.). Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 2012.
- Vincent, Roger. "Culver City Evolves from Sleepy Community to Urban Center." *Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 2012. <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jul/22/business/la-fi-0722-commre-culver-city-20120722>.
- Walton, Alice. "Culver City to Take on Affordable Housing, Rent Control." *Southern California Public Radio*, December 9, 2014.  
<http://www.scpr.org/news/2014/12/09/48551/culver-city-s-affordable-housing-discussion-sidetr/>.
- Zukin, Sharon. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. Reprint edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.