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ABSTRACT

This comprehensive project focuses on the redevelopment of the Central State Mental Hospital in Indianapolis, Indiana into a sports campus. The campus will serve professional and amateur athletes as well as community members and recreational sports enthusiasts throughout the city. Topics of adaptive reuse; the branding of Indianapolis; campus and sports facility planning; and site opportunities and constraints are covered in the review of literature. The end result is a mixed use sports development on the former hospital grounds that respects the unique cultural heritage of the site and connects with recreational and cultural uses in the city of Indianapolis. Inclusive design principals will be employed to create facilities and programs will also benefit and stimulate the adjacent neighborhoods.

Health and wellness through sports, recreation, and community involvement becomes the new model for improved mental health on a site with a history of dedication to this cause.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Cindy McHone, everyone in the Landscape Architecture department who has helped me to get this far, and my parents, Mark and Susan French.

AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

of such a facility in Indianapolis would cement the city's reputation for dedication to amateur athletics and add further incentive for residents to be active, engaged, and healthy citizens.

The literature review completed prior to this project investigated topics including:

- Stigma and Adaptive Reuse
- Sports in Indianapolis: Economic and Lifestyle Benefits
- Sports Facilities Design
- Educational Campus Design
- Site Potential

The findings from this research shaped the program and direction of the project and led me into the inventory and analysis portion of the project.

Inventory and analysis further shaped the location and size of different program elements. Previous documentation of building and site conditions performed by private planning firms and the city, GIS (geographic information systems technology) data and site visits were the main forms of investigation. Brad Beaubien of the College of Architecture and Planning's Indianapolis Center was also a helpful source of information.

From here, the design evolved through drawings and workings and re-workings of design ideas, as is the typical design process. Detailed elements were added based on importance to the overall design.

PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION....2

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Problem Statement....3
Stigma and Adaptive Reuse....7
Sports in Indianapolis: Economic and Lifestyle Benefits....9
Sports Facilities Design....12
Educational Campus Design....14
Site Potential....17

SIGNIFICANCE....19

PROJECT REQUIREMENTS

Mission Statement Goals and Objectives....24
Site issues and limitations....25

PROGRAM

Five Aspects of mental well being....27
Accomodating existing uses....28
Regional program....29
Community/neighborhood program....30
Supporting uses....30

DESIGN PROCESS

INVENTORY AND ANALYSIS

Location and vicinity map....33
Regional context....34
Existing conditions....35
Site analysis....39

CASE STUDIES

Disabled School....40
Berlin Olympic Park and Horst Korber sports hall....41

DESIGN ITERATIONS

Iteration 1....42
Iteration 2....43

Table of Contents

Final Design

Sports campus master plan.....44

Sections Perspectives and sketches

Topography and cross country course.....47

Tennis center and community gardens.....49

Washington Street Development.....51

Focus Area Images

Focus area plan enlargement.....53

Core area overview drawings.....55

Seven Gables Ruins.....57

Core are sections.....59

Construction Documentation

Grading plan.....61

Planting plan and program.....68

30 foot path details.....70

Conclusion/ Appendices

Conclusion.....44

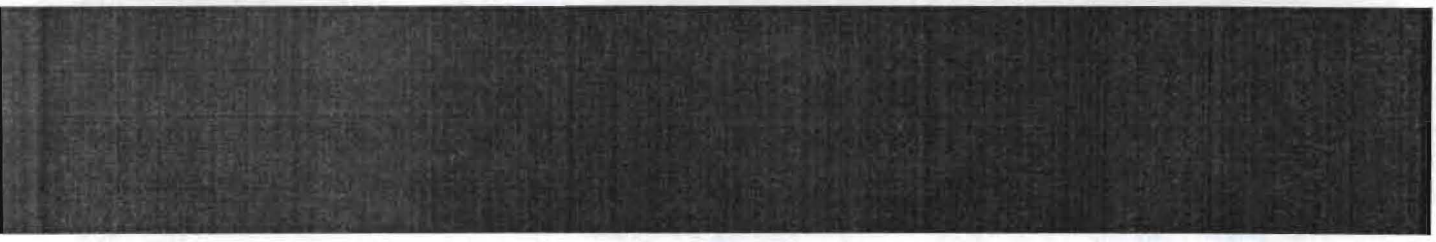
A. Existing Structures.....69

B. Marion County Demographics.....69

C. Recreational facilities design criteria.....71

D. List of figures.....72

Bibliography.....74



"...a definite relationship exists between exercise and improved mental health. This is particularly evident in the case of a reduction of anxiety and depression."

Daniel M. Landers Arizona State University

INTRODUCTION

The former Central State Mental Hospital campus in Indianapolis, Indiana provides a unique opportunity for redevelopment. Creating a professional, amateur, and community center for sports and recreation here will be a 21st century approach to mental health and overall wellness. This 160 acre piece of property is an empty vestige to the past ways of treating mental illness. If it were redeveloped, it would serve surrounding communities and further the image of Indianapolis as the Amateur Sports Capital of the World.

It is not hard to picture this beautiful historic landscape at the center of many exciting sports and recreational opportunities. The above photos show the site populated with cross country spectators in 2007 contrasted with the site vacant and disused today. The property is unchanged- the only difference being the presence of people.

This mixed use design will draw people to the site through sports, community and educational facilities, using historic buildings and landscape as a backdrop for a forward thinking development focused on enjoyment of sport and promotion of well being.

I. The Problem and its Setting

Problem Statement

This research will examine the possibilities for redevelopment of the Central State Mental Hospital grounds in Indianapolis into a sports campus that works for the economic and cultural benefit of the city as well as the surrounding neighborhoods. It will examine the possibilities for incorporating an educational facility onto the site and explore the reuse of similar buildings with a stigma. Findings will lead to the development a master plan for the area.

Sub Problems

1. What buildings with a stigma have successfully been redeveloped and what strategies were used to achieve this?

2. How does the city of Indianapolis impact the site program and how will the city benefit economically from such a development?

3. What are the characteristics of successful sports centers that should be integrated into the design of this new sports complex?

4. How can campus design principles be employed to create an educational experience?

5. What are the opportunities and constraints of the Central State site?

DELIMITATIONS

Major investigation into building construction and architectural drawings for major buildings will not be included

Sources of funding will be discussed but not determined

ASSUMPTIONS

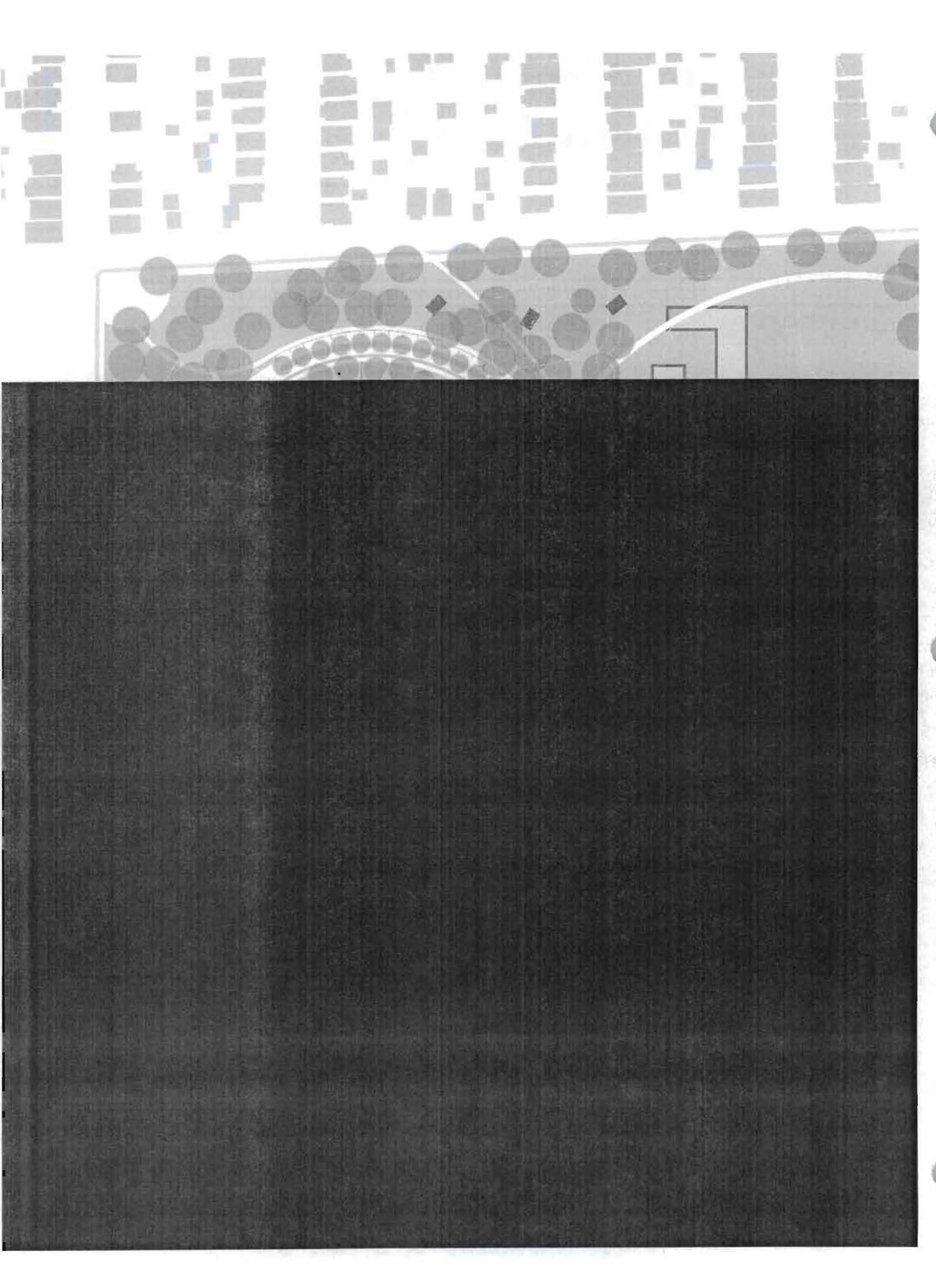
The city of Indianapolis wishes to develop the Central State site for public and private use

Indianapolis still aims to be the "amateur sports capital of the world"

Private investors will fund a major portion of the development and public private partnerships may also be used.

The historical buildings on the site are suitable for adaptive reuse including spaces for living.

The site will be cleaned of contaminants and scrub vegetation prior to construction.



Review of Literature

Stigma and Adaptive Reuse

Stigma is not a major detractor when considering abandoned hospital sites for redevelopment and adaptive reuse. In fact, reuse of hospital sites is a fairly common practice in the recent past. In the state of Massachusetts alone, eight out of ten hospital sites sold by the state government between 2001 and 2006 have become the focus of redevelopment projects (Heikin and Bernier, 126). According to Heiken, hospitals offer many positive aspects for reuse including: previously landscaped grounds, the presence of important natural recourses within an urban context, a sense of history, and a sense of ownership by the surrounding community based on past associations with the hospital (127). On top of these potential benefits, hospital sites offer the unique campus layout that allows new mixed use developments to take on an "urban village" feel (Heikin and Bernier, 129).

The number of reused hospitals is quite large in part due to their suitability and in part due to the large number of vacant hospitals in the United States. The 1980s and 1990s saw the closure of many psychiatric and state hospitals nationwide due to deinstitutionalization and a movement towards outpatient care which allowed state governments to cut costs and patients to remain close to family support. From 1970 to 2002 the number of psychiatric beds dwindled from 525,000 to 212,000 and the state and county share in beds provided dropped from 80 percent to 27 percent respectively (Sharfstein, and. Dickerson, 685). The amount of defunct hospitals already being reused as housing and office space speaks to the potential for more developments of this sort. Roadblocks in transferring development rights of state owned property and lack of funding are the obstacles to redevelopment mentioned most often, not stigma . Other reasons for not developing include not wanting added traffic congestion from new residents and shoppers (Heikin and Bernier, 129).

In broader terms, adaptive reuse of a building with a stigma can be thought of as a way to forget a medical stigma. In his introduction to the book Materializing Culture: the Art of Forgetting, Forty discusses the opposing forces of forgetting and remembering that are at odds with each other (8). Determining which option is better (remembering or forgetting) is a difficult problem that does not need a definite answer. Acknowledging the previous use, and therefore the stigma associated with it may be just as valid an option as completely disassociating with the past use. In the face of 9/11 and Hurricane Katrina, competitions that sought to reimagine these areas favored design responses that were avant-garde and visionary as opposed to those that were New Urbanist or more traditional (McKee 93).

In summation, one way to allow forgetting of the past is to remember it with something out of the ordinary. Reed Kroloft, the Dean of the Tulane School of Architecture, said he wanted to see "bright visions" and "glimpses into a promising future" and showed his dislike for "quaint, predictable and market friendly" responses for development in post Katrina New Orleans (McKee, 92-93). In this sense, a break with the past is symbolic and memorable in itself. Whether or not attention is called to the site's past use, it will be impossible to escape. A more indirect recalling of past use would make a more effective commemoration than something entirely direct and obvious (Forty, 8). Therefore, simply restoring old hospital buildings as period pieces, museums, or shrines to the past may be one of the least effective ways to redevelop the Central State site.

Examples of hospital redevelopments include a variety of outcomes. The concept of the urban village and modern hospital reuse are combined in the Adidas Village project in Portland, Oregon. Here, the site provides a good location close to downtown, high ceilings for a loft like feel and five separate buildings for a campus atmosphere (Gragg 2010) . The article *Seeking Asylum* describes the redevelopment of three Victorian style asylums in Massachusetts, New York and Michigan. These projects resulted in developments with between 50 and 207 housing units, along with a mix of shops, office space, golf courses, trails, farms, churches, and light industrial development (Boursaw,22-25). These old Victorian style hospitals offer a lot of charm while at the same time recalling darker days of mental health treatment. The precedents are many and the uses varied for hospital redevelopment.

In general, adaptive reuse is seen as a positive, no matter what the previous use of a site may have been. It takes under-used or vacant properties and gives them new life while creating unique new properties (Artibsie 2009). Reuse is also a sustainable infill practice that doesn't contribute to sprawl (Boursaw, 23). The feasibility of a project depends not on being able to overcome stigma but rather the condition and character of existing structures as well as site location. The same care of construction and finishing must be taken as with any other project. An apartment should feel like an apartment, not a hospital room. As long as the new space serves its function appropriately, it seems to matter very little what the previous use was.

Sports in Indianapolis: Economic and Lifestyle Benefits

This research seeks to prove that Indianapolis is a good fit for a new sports campus complex. There are needs that could be filled with this new complex and it would be of economic and lifestyle benefit to the city as well as the central Indiana region.

Indianapolis has a strong background in supporting sports. It has long marketed itself as the "amateur sports capital of the world" (Indianapolis, 1991). In the plan for the regional center, cultural and athletic facilities are listed second on a list of six key components for the cities regional center development (Indianapolis, 1991). The city has had a clear consistent vision for sports in the past and has not broken with that vision. As evidence, the city's Lucas Oil Stadium opened in 2008 at a cost $675 million and secured the 2012 bid to host the super Bowl for the city (Schoettle, stadium). Despite a more recent focus on investment in professional sports, the city also hosts the NCAA basketball tournament, state high school championships, and has played host to Olympic trials in swimming, showing support for amateur athletes. The sporting experience in Indianapolis is diverse to say the least.

It may seem like Indianapolis has reached its goal of being a sports capital; however, need for sports facilities and venues continues as gaps in facilities occur. The Indianapolis Tennis Center on IUPUI's campus was demolished in August of 2010 (replaced by a parking garage) and the Indiana World Skating Academy faces eviction from Pan Am Plaza as it closes for redevelopment (Schoettle, sports) The Indianapolis Ice have long been talking about building new facilities as well. They announced plans in January 2010 to build a new $12 million facility, location still yet to be announced and possibly determined (Olsen, IBJ). These two gaps alone hurt the image of the city as a sports capital and threaten already well established programs in ice skating and tennis in the area. Indianapolis is a major center for ice sports and Olympic hopefuls train at Pan Am Plaza (Olsen, IBJ). The RCA Tennis Championships, an Indianapolis staple beginning in 1979 can no longer be held in the city. Focusing on these two gaps as part of the design of a new sports complex gives a clear direction to development and fills an existing need in the city. Fears of over spending on sports complexes are merited as facilities quickly become out of date and fall into disrepair. Examples in Indianapolis include the RCA dome which came and went before it was paid for and the Major Taylor Velodrome constructed in 1982 and now in disrepair. This is why focusing the development towards the surrounding under-served community as well as elite athletes is a must according to sources looking

"Champions keep playing until they get it right." Billy Jean King

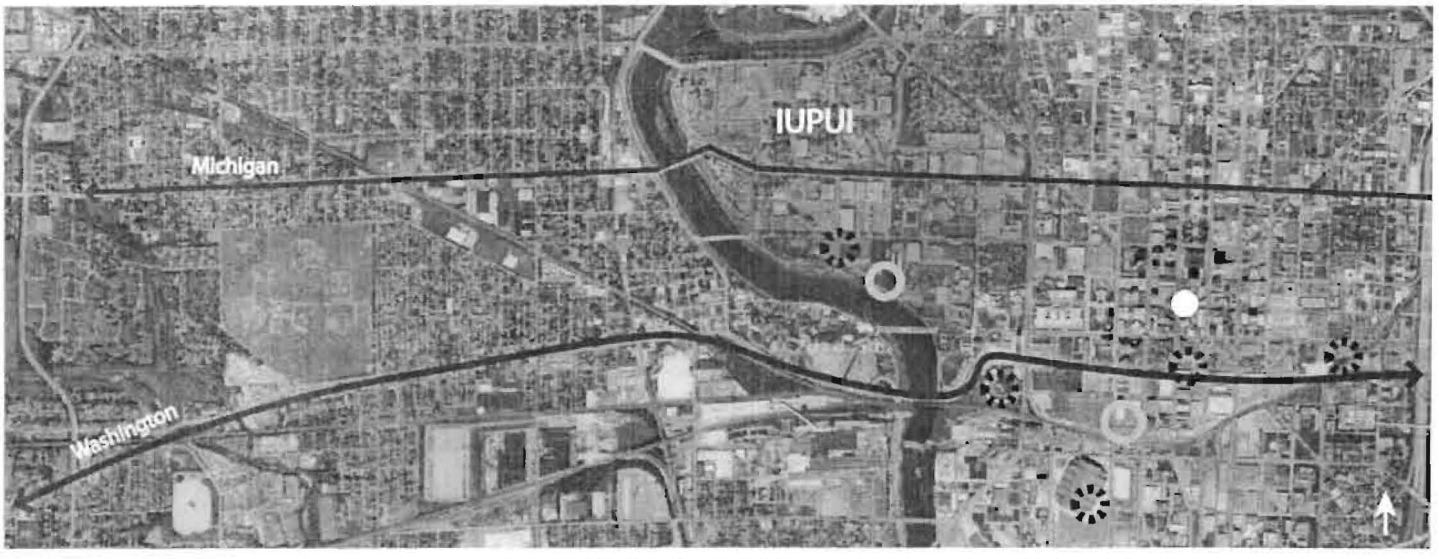


figure 1: Missing pieces of Indianapolis sports culture. Yellow circles represent previous location of Indianapolis Tennis Center and the and Pan Am Plaza Ice rinks which may soon close. The site is shown in green.

at redeveloping the Central State site (Schoettle, Complex). Private public partnership is also practical to make sure tax payers are not bearing the entire cost of sports related projects (Schoettle, Complex).

Much of the belief that sports stadia have economic benefit is an exaggeration by stakeholders in the sports industry (Delaney, 6). Sports stadia do have the limited benefit of publicity and media exposure for the associated city; however, the new jobs, enhanced local tax revenues, and secondary development of retail and restaurants, often promised economic benefits of such projects, have in most cases been shown not to exist (Delaney, 23, 194). A sports complex will generate opportunity for renewal, but does not guarantee it (Chapin). A trend towards stadia that serve multiple functions and host a variety of events provides more potential for stadiums to generate revenue and be viable economically (Sawyer, 393). Tennis and hockey do not require as elaborate or large stadia as football, baseball or even basketball require (Sawyer). This means less up-front cost and associated risk if public funds are used. While sports stadia may not be the cure-all many cities are hoping for in terms of economic development, they do bring a city a certain reputation and have the potential to do good especially when well planned and integrated into their surroundings (Chapin).

The economic benefit of sports facilities reaches its fullest potential when such facilities are linked into a broader framework of development usually involving mixed use projects. Chapin offers a three point system for

determining if a sports complex has acted as an urban renewal catalyst or not. They are: does the project 1) generate spillover spending benefits for the surrounding district, 2) generate new construction in the district and 3) rejuvenate a blighted area? Knowing these points, it is clear the design for any sports facility must face outward to the community and be paired with other development, instead of merely being plopped down as a single stand-alone piece of infrastructure. Evidence shows that stadiums do not produce the "vibrant neighborhoods" that retail, business and residential development do (Delaney, 198). If this is the case, it is logical to position sports facilities in the broader scope of a retail, residential and business development. Linking with other types of development is also a way to gain more funding from private investors (Noles, 81). More scrutiny is placed on large scale sports developments that use public dollars as a sole source of funding and this practice forces those who may not be able to afford ticket prices to pay for arenas and stadiums (Delaney, 6).

The Indianapolis Regional Center Plan 2010 asserts that recreational facilities should bring people together and the public should be made aware of all recreational opportunities available to them (Indianapolis, 1991). Sports facilities offer opportunity for entertainment and recreation and keep a city competitive in today's urban market, and are extremely valuable as a health and wellness tool.

Development of large sports stadia alone is not the answer for bringing economic and cultural benefit to Indianapolis. Scale of such facilities should be carefully considered and alternate programming of the facilities for cultural events should be planned from the beginning. Tennis and hockey facilities that may qualify as stadiums should be paired with open public courts and rinks that have a direct benefit on the surrounding community. A diversified plan with many user groups in mind and a community focus offers protection against the whims of the world of professional sports franchises. Ultimately, the main focus of the site should be on recreation and enjoyment of sport, not merely consumption of professional sports.

The reuse of buildings on site would have to serve secondary functions as they could not easily be converted into large sports facilities due to small structure and room layout (C.S. Reuse). They could be support offices, housing for athletes using the facility, sports medicine training facilities, workout rooms, and visitor and guest services.

This review takes into account a survey of the criteria of 5 different design competitions for sports facilities to help determine what is important in the design of a successful sports and recreation facility. The awards and sponsors are listed in Appendix C along with a criteria matrix. The matrix confirms important areas of agreement which will be discussed further. The findings work to support that sports facilities are reliant on ancillary spaces, require some degree of flexibility, should be aesthetically pleasing and should relate to adjacent outdoor environments.

Sports and recreation facilities depend heavily on their ancillary spaces to function properly. Locker rooms, storage and office space, laundry rooms, training and treatment rooms are just a few areas that need to be considered. The locker room alone must then be broken down further into lockers, showers, toilets, grooming areas and circulation areas. Planning should begin with these areas in mind as the success of a sport facility depends on these secondary uses (Sawyer, 73). Facilities should not be oversimplified in this regard. Three surveyed design competitions mention ancillary spaces and user friendliness as important concerns

Sports often require large spaces so maximizing the use of these spaces through morphing and multi-use spaces is an important consideration. In the Horst Korber recreation hall in Germany, one large room that can hold 3450 spectators is transformed through hydraulic bleachers and curtains into three rooms that seat 1050, 650, and 475 separately (Sturzbecher, 145) This gives the room the flexibility to house different activities at the same time and to accommodate a wide range in scale of activities. Creating morphing spaces and designing with multiple uses in mind is a definite design trend in sports facilities it is beneficial from not only a use standpoint but a budget standpoint as well (Sawyer, 393)

A sports facility is aesthetically pleasing. While aesthetics can be subjective, sports facilities should do more than merely fulfill their function. The ideals of sports are lofty and can be embodied in building and site architecture. Sports venues are highly visible to the public and a good venue to showcase advancements in architecture. Four out or five design competitions surveyed listed aesthetics or overall impression as a design

criterion. Unique features are also commonly a judging criterion. Even awards that introduced budget and maintenance criterion, aesthetics still were listed as a priority.

Relationship to the outdoors and the surrounding site is another important consideration. If a facility is going to feature both indoor and outdoor use, this aspect is very important for a smooth transition from one to another. One not so surprising trend in recreation facilities is a tending towards indoor facilities as opposed to outdoor settings (Worpole 2004). If facilities must be indoors, views to a natural setting and many connections to programmed outdoor spaces might be incentives to come outside. A great example of this is the sports facility at the School for the Physically Disabled in Ingolstadt Germany (see page 41 figures 35 and 36). A below ground swimming pool opens up like a walkout basement with a continuous wall of windows onto the outdoor sports facilities (Sturzebecher, 154). Students who may only be able to use the swimming facility still feel a connection to the outdoor space and can see what other students are doing. They are not excluded from participation and the space is a merger of indoor and outdoor qualities. Giving the public what they want: indoor facilities, while encouraging and incentivizing them to use outdoor facilities is one way to balance the indoor and outdoor uses on the Central State site. Fitting with the site context or the overall master plan was the concern raised most often in the design award survey, so this aspect should not be overlooked and is covered more in the next section.

One important area that was not common to the design awards is a green or sustainable component. Facilities for recreation and sports have in recent years lagged behind in the green building and sustainability trend (Sawyer, 28) Only one design award factored in sustainability, but this trend may be changing. Cities going for Olympic bids now show plans for state-of-the-art sustainable buildings, as evidenced by Chicago and Vancouver's bids (Sawyer, 29). The Beijing Olympic committee used three ideals for building design and construction which were "the Green Olympics," "the High-tech Olympics," and "the People's Olympics" (Beijing, xvii). If sports are to be viewed as the ultimate display of human health, the buildings that house them should also be healthy and contribute to the health of the environment.

Campus Design and Education

A campus must combine many uses and user groups into a cohesive whole. They are more than just places for learning, they are social institutions (Davis 1990). Campus Plans that provide for chance meetings between students, faculty, and unfamiliar activities create informal educational opportunities and embody the spirit of learning (Keast, 175). Plans must balance circulation, study, relaxation, and beauty if they are to be the best backdrop to structured activities that occur inside buildings (Goltsman, 175). Much like the design of any large scale building or facility, a campus connects primary uses with a secondary support system, serves differently scaled groups and programs, and must focus on transitions between indoor and outdoor space. A traditional campus must go beyond this and provide a home away from home for users (Marcus, 177)

To illustrate this point, Marcus draws the analogy of Individual buildings being like homes. Users identify the building they spend the most time in or around as their home base. This "home base" building should have a "front porch" or main entrance that includes seating and other amenities (180). The "front yard" is green space associated with a building or particular area of a campus and some buildings may even have backyards that offer a semi public sort of courtyard. This analogy works well and takes into account the typical day to day patterns of the user. A place where a regular user does not feel comfortable or at home would not be successful. For the Central State campus plan, this means considering all sides of the buildings as important and focusing on the human scale at all times to ensure spaces are comfortable.

Another model for campus design is Dober's Paradigm College. Here, thirty elements of varying importance are listed and evaluated in a matrix. This model is a comprehensive list used to evaluate existing campus landscapes. The elements include:

Surrounds	Terminus	Horticulture gardens	Play fields/ recreation
Perimeter	Parking	Arboreta	Interior spaces
Boundary markers	Heritage	Natural preserves	Signs
Gateways	Secondary	Nature walks/ trails	Lighting
Campus roads	Tertiary	Gardens for art	Site furniture
Walks	Wetscapes	Amphitheatres	Seating
Bikeways	Dryscapes	Special theme gardens	
Threshold	Botanical gardens	Site history	(Doboer, xxii)

Beyond this listing, the five main points of The Paradigm College model are: human scaled elements; response to seasons and micro climate; landscaped zones; minimized parking and traffic flows; coordinating materials and furniture to create a sense of place; and including greenbelts at the perimeter of the campus (Dober, 62).

Both Marcus and Dober stress the importance of greenery and landscaped spaces on a campus. In a survey of Berkeley students, asking for favorite spots on the campus, most answers showed an affinity for green or natural areas with trees (Murray, 189) Trees are also effective as green belts, screens, and noise reducers, and can make any walk more enjoyable (Dober, 10). Trees and Lawns are standard fair for campus landscapes but many universities go as far as to market themselves as arboretums or a "garden with buildings" to attract more students and faculty (Dober 5, 9, 10). Central State has the benefit of many large trees and lawns which should both be improved upon and seen as an asset worth protecting. That being said, shrubs and vegetation are also a major contributor to safety and security issues.

Safety and perceived safety is a major concern on campuses. Women most often fear being isolated in a dark environment with low visibility and places for strangers to hide (Day, 1999). Strategies to reduce fear include increased lighting, trimmed plantings, and fewer hiding places (such as behind dumpsters, crevices or articulations in building facades or spaces with one exit) as these address the issues head on (Day). Commonly feared spaces where extra care might need to be taken are alleys, parking lots, isolated stairways, natural areas, and long narrow entrances (Day, Marcus, 196) Lighting is one of the most important considerations needed to create a safe outdoor environment and can be integrated in several interesting ways. Illuminating building facades creates more lights and acts as a way-finding device which builds confidence and reduces fear (Marcus, 195). Lighting should be designed with the pedestrian in mind and be at a human scale; tall spot light type fixtures should be avoided (Marcus, 195). The sense of familiarity and ownership comes into play again as most fear is merely perception of unfamiliar areas and people as dangerous (Day). In most women's minds the "safest places" are located in the heart of campus and populated by students, not community members (Day). To deal with this issue, Day recommends integration and investment in surrounding areas rather than a "fortressing" approach which would only legitimate fear. In the

case of Central State, located in an area of perceived and perhaps actual high crime, where visiting athletes would share facilities with community members, connections and improvements off of campus grounds are essential to building a level of trust and safety. Boundaries and marking of boundaries is still important from a symbolic and place-making standpoint but will not be thought of as a way to keep people out (Dober, 93) .

The idea of shared use facilities is to draw people in to get the most use out of facilities. This is a practice best explained by this quote from a 1973 sports booklet, "Schools are not separate entities divorced from other services provided by civic governments. Sharing educational and recreational services is the simplest and most common example (EFL, 28)." Yet a shared facilities program, combining recreation and education, that would save money and serve more people is not the norm. Sharing facilities between schools and communities can justify greater spending and allow more people to access recreational and other resources (Dept. of Ed, 30).

One successful integration of facilities including an elementary school, community center, library and park is the New Edison School and Pacific Park revitalization in Glendale, California. The project occupies 9.5 acres and the school and community rooms are layed out as a campus. In terms of recreation and sport at New Edison, facilities are located mainly outdoors including a ball field, multi purpose field, a play yard, a splash pad and a playground (Goltsman, 176). The school principal reports that the increased number of on-site programs brings more parents to the school and keeps more kids after school. She adds, "This facility feels like a park, not just a typical school. It's a joy to see kids running around and playing tag... just being kids" (Goltsman, 191). The integration of uses like a public library and public park gives parents and the community at large more reason to use the property and to feel a sense of ownership. The facility looks sharp, carefully planned and well funded. The Edison School shows an alternative that if applied at Central State would take up only a slight portion of the 160 acre site while providing the community with resources and inviting them onto the site. It too could be a "focal point for identity and activity" as the new Edison school has become for an under served, diverse community (Goltsman, 190)

Site Potential

Existing buildings, underground conditions and natural features will play a major role in the determining the design of the site. Surrounding neighborhoods and possible points of connectivity will also be influential factors.

To begin, there are two distinct types of buildings on the site- historical and non-historical. The historical buildings include the old pathology, laundry, dining hall/ kitchen and administration buildings (C. Green 2007). These buildings are worth saving (C. Green). The Pathology building is already listed on the national register of historic places and serves as the Indiana Medical History Museum and therefore must be kept. Most of these buildings have unique interest and are aesthetically pleasing. They are clustered in the lower west side of the park. The old power plant is located in the same cluster and though not historical, blends with the other buildings while having its own unique character.

The other category of buildings are not historical and are dorm style residences for men and woman built in the late 1950s. They are institutional and bland (Rootsweb). They also contain asbestos and it was determined to be cost prohibitive to rehabilitate them (Beaubian 2010). These buildings have little in the way of character and are placed rather sporadically on the site. While not completely dismissing the reuse potential of these buildings, their removal would not be a great loss in terms of history and aesthetics of the site. (More imformation on buildings can be found in appendix A and on pages 35-38).

Other concerns with structure on the site include what is happening below ground. The largest hospital buildings were demolished in the 1950s and buried underground on site (C.S. Reuse). A large portion of the site is therefore unable to support footings for new buildings (Beaubian) Surface treatment, small shelter type structure and plantings is still admissible (Beaubian). The northwest portion of the site is covered by unmarked graves and cannot be disturbed (C.S. Reuse). The property is also lacking connections to the Indianapolis's water, sewer and power grid, as it was once a self contained campus (Beaubian 2010). Any new connections to city services will be an added cost and should be considered when laying out new development.

The surrounding neighborhood will influence final program and the character of future development. Hispanic storefronts run along

Washington Street to the south of the site giving the impression the surrounding neighborhoods have a large Hispanic population; however, this abundance of Hispanic businesses is misleading as to demographics of the neighborhood. Based on 2000 census data, Marion County had a 4% population of people claiming Hispanic of Latino Origin, and the previously determined "central state vicinity" area (all census block groups with 50% or more of their area inside a one mile radius of the central state property) had a 9 percent population of people claiming Hispanic or Latino Origin (C. S. Reuse 2007). Using a one mile radius from the site may be too large to get an accurate idea of Latino Population, but in these figures Latinos are still a small minority near the site. While the design should remain inclusive, focusing on Hispanic needs is not entirely justified by these numbers.

Income level and housing vacancy are other factors affecting future development. Within the Central State vicinity, median family and household incomes remain significantly lower (approximately $10,000 to $20,000 below the Marion County average). The Central State vicinity area also shows a 14% housing vacancy rating compared with an overall 9% Marion County rating (Reuse 2007). These figures demonstrate the current depressed nature of the area. Much stands to be gained from revitalization and new development, however; previous economic development plans done by private firms that have called for new housing on the Central State site do not address the vacancy issue, or the fact that no infrastructure currently exists where new housing is being proposed (Beaubian 2010). In a 2003 vacant homes assessment for Marion County, Wayne and Center Townships ranked highest out of the nine townships in amount of vacant homes with 4,649 and 1,190 vacancies respectively and the area around the site is plagued with vacant homes (City, 7,8). Building large tracts of new homes would not address this issue. Large amounts of single family housing is not the best use for this property.

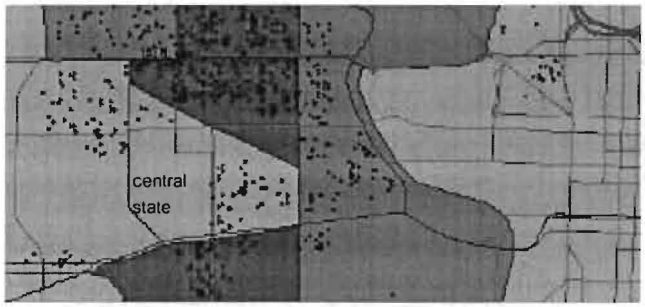


figure 2: vacant homes from the 2003 vacant homes assessment of Marion County showing an abundance of vacant homes around the site.

Washington Street is a major thoroughfare running along the south edge of the site. It connects the site to the airport, zoo, White River State