40 Years After Unigov: Indianapolis and Marion County's Experience with Consolidated Government

The second in a three-part series examining local government mergers

Jeff Wachter | May 2014, reissued February 2019

The idea of government reform through city/county consolidation has long captured the imaginations of business leaders and civic elites, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, leading to one of the most vibrant periods of merger activity in the nation's history. During this time, three of the 75 largest cities in the country: Nashville, Tennessee; Jacksonville, Florida; and Indianapolis, Indiana, merged with their surrounding county. The goals of city/county consolidations often focused on economic development, government reform, sustaining the tax base, and the implementation of a unified vision for the metropolitan region. In the late 1960s, the political and business establishment of Indianapolis and Marion County used the economic development argument, among others, to consolidate their governments into a single jurisdiction known as Unigov. Established by legislative action in 1970, this city/county consolidation stands out as the only major post-war consolidation to be accomplished without a voter referendum. This report considers Indianapolis' experience under 40 years of consolidated government to better understand both the benefits and potential drawbacks of unified government in general and the Unigov model in particular.

Background on Indianapolis and Marion County

The Republican leadership of Indianapolis and Marion County, led by Mayor Richard Lugar and Marion County Party Chairman Keith Bulen, and supported by the political and business establishment, devised and implemented city/county consolidation through local committee discussions and legislative action. The elected leadership designed Unigov to enhance the city's economic development prospects, reform a convoluted system of overlapping jurisdictions and independent agencies, secure their own political power, increase the city's borrowing limits, and elevate the city's national profile above the derogatory nickname "Indiana-no-place."[1] Through state-level political wrangling and a nominal public relations effort targeted toward the citizens of Indianapolis and Marion County, the Indiana legislature approved the Unigov bill in 1969, setting up the consolidation of Indianapolis and Marion County in January, 1970.

Since consolidation, many of the stated and intended goals for Unigov have come to fruition: the economy grew according to multiple metrics, the population has increased compared to many other comparable cities, the city and county governments have been partially streamlined, the city's reputation has been bolstered thanks in part to extensive downtown redevelopment, and a single political party dominated local government for the next 30 years. A consolidated Indianapolis captured the tremendous residential and business growth occurring within its borders enabling the city to maintain a growing tax base to support local government and services. Overall, the benefits to the city afforded by Unigov suggest that the consolidation of certain government functions has been a positive development for the City of Indianapolis, and the entire region, which has had more economic and population growth than the majority of its peer cities. The city's growth, however, accrued primarily in the 1970s and 1980s, and burgeoning regional growth has resulted in the recent resurfacing of some of the same regional issues that the city of Indianapolis faced in the 1960s. Additionally, the goals of Unigov were not realized equally for all: residents of the former city limits lost substantial influence in the city and region, African American neighborhoods and voters most of all; Democratic leaning voters were overwhelmed by conservative suburbanites, which nearly eliminated their incentive to participate in municipal elections through the late 1990s; and the suburban-dominated government sometimes minimized the interests of inner city neighborhoods.

Indianapolis and Marion County in the 1960s

In 1960, Indianapolis was the 26th largest city in the country with 476,258 people and Marion County was the 33rd largest county, and largest in Indiana, with a population of 697,567. The county comprised 63 percent of the Indianapolis metropolitan area. Suburbanization in the Indianapolis region was best characterized by residents of the city moving into the suburban portions of Marion County. Of the 165,407 people added to the Indianapolis metro area over the 1960s, Marion County saw 94,732 new residents. Manufacturing was the major industry in both 1960 and 1970, employing more than 30 percent of workers in Marion County. From a political perspective, the city of Indianapolis was most often run by Democrats while the suburban county was generally controlled by Republicans. Beyond the elected officials the region was known to be very conservative, and sometimes radically so: the city was the founding place of the John Birch Society and had pockets of Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party activity at least into the 1970s.[2]

Marion County was governed by a large, complicated system of overlapping authorities, with "sixty governments within Marion County: the county, twenty-three cities and towns [including Indianapolis], nine townships, eleven school districts, and sixteen special-purpose governments."[3] Voters in the county elected three county commissioners, as well as additional county-wide officials: a trustee, assessor, and advisory board for whichever of the townships they lived in, as well as local city officials, if applicable. The City of Indianapolis had a strong-mayor system of government with the mayor serving four-year terms and a city council consisting of nine members. The councilmembers were elected in a unique manner; each party would name a candidate for each of the six council districts and the candidates with the nine highest vote totals would serve on the council.[4] This system assured each party at least three of the nine council seats. Additionally, the trend in the 1960s had been for "each party…[to] include blacks among its nominees," ensuring some minority representation on the city council.[5] However, because these candidates were chosen by the predominately white leadership of the parties many African Americans argued these elected officials represented the party more than their communities.

In addition to the city, township, and county governments, many public services were provided by special-purpose corporations. Partly due to a state law restricting governmental borrowing to 2 percent of assessed property value and partly due to the desire to extend services beyond the many city and town boundaries in the county, 16 special purpose taxing districts were established “in the 20 years prior to 1968” which provided services to the residents of both Indianapolis and Marion County.[6] State law allowed these municipal corporations to function in areas overlapping already established jurisdictions or encompassing portions of multiple jurisdictions. These districts were able to borrow funding to provide the infrastructure and services demanded by the citizens, and were run by boards of directors appointed by different elected officials in either Indianapolis or Marion County. Because the corporations’ boards were appointed, their operations were largely bereft of voter accountability.

Early Attempts at Government Reform

In the decades before consolidation, the many layers of government became points of contention and the impetus for proposed reform efforts. Advocates of reform included the League of Women Voters and the Chamber of Commerce, both of whom viewed the status quo as inefficient and confusing to voters. These concerns led to multiple government study committees throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The Indianapolis daily newspapers provided substantial coverage of government reform ideas, highlighted the problems local government faced, and offered editorials favoring city/county consolidation.

The Democratic Party, having dominated elections in 1963 and 1964 and controlling the entire state government, the Marion County legislative delegation, and the Indianapolis city government, took on the mantle of reform. Frustrated by the challenge of governing a city while not having control over many vital agencies, Marion County Democratic chair James Beatty proposed a series of reforms for the state’s 1965 legislative session, which were actively supported by Indianapolis Mayor John Barton. These reforms proposed to give the mayor more authority over the appointment and removal of board members of the otherwise independent agencies. Marion County Republicans and the city’s two major newspapers immediately denounced the “power grab.”[7] The mayor withdrew his support for most of the reforms out of a fear of public backlash, leaving Beatty’s proposals politically weakened. The state legislature did pass a few of the reforms from the original package, expanding the authority of the Indianapolis mayor over some of the county agencies. Although the major reforms James Beatty and Mayor Barton proposed failed to be fully enacted, they raised the idea of government reform and taught future advocates to tread more lightly and build wider coalitions. The Democrats’ failed, and sometimes sloppy, reform efforts divided the party, badly bruising the incumbent mayor, and setting the stage for a Republican electoral sweep of the elections from 1966-1968, led locally by a young businessman, Richard Lugar.

Republicans Take Control of Indianapolis

In the late 1960s the Republican Action Committee, a group of young professionals led by Beurt SerVaas and Richard Lugar, took control of the local Republican Party and “swept all county offices on the ballot” in 1966.[8] The following year, Richard Lugar was elected mayor of Indianapolis by only 9,000 votes, taking advantage of a divided Democratic Party. One element of Lugar’s campaign foreshadowed consolidated government: the mayoral candidate solicited campaign contributions from the suburban communities even though those communities could not actually vote for the city office. This suggests an acute awareness of the interconnectivity between the mayor and county services, particularly with regard to the mayor's role in appointing board members to special purpose governments in the county. Knowing that any consolidation would need legislative action, Mayor Lugar spent the fall of 1968 traveling the state campaigning for Republican politicians, collecting favors. His efforts, along with a generally favorable election year for Republicans, contributed to statewide electoral success. By the end of 1968, Republicans controlled every level of government – the mayoralty, city council, Marion County, both houses of the state legislature (including the powerful block of Marion County legislators), and the governorship. This single-party dominance would prove vital to Indianapolis-Marion County consolidation efforts to come.

Soon after taking office, Mayor Lugar, along with other elected officials connected with the Republican Action Committee, began to quietly consider government reorganization opportunities "along the lines of the city-county consolidations in Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, and in Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida."[9] A committee of top elected officials in the city and county was quietly convened, and met regularly to discuss how to deal with their frustrations surrounding governing Indianapolis and Marion County. This committee would establish "the overall concept of Unigov."[10] A couple of broad ideas they determined included converting Indianapolis into a single, countywide government led by a strong mayor, and, for political purposes, omitting the school districts and the cities of Beech Grove, Lawrence, Southport and Speedway from any consolidation efforts.[11]

Establishment of Mayor's Task Force

Just three days after the 1968 election that swept Republicans into power at the state level, Mayor Lugar established The Mayor's Task Force on Improved Governmental Structure for Indianapolis and Marion County comprised of 29 members, bringing the previous clandestine discussions into the light. The Task Force included three African American members, and early in the process they encouraged the mayor to ensure adequate minority representation in the new government. The Mayor's Task Force endeavored to submit a broad outline to lawyers who would craft the legislation in time for the legislative session of 1969. A referendum was discussed, but was overwhelmingly opposed. State Senator Borst, who sponsored the Unigov legislation in the General Assembly, believed that the legislation would have a stronger chance of passage if the proposal came from a citizens' group who could help garner support beyond elected officials. To this end, the task force served as the primary backers of the pro-consolidation public campaign. The task force members were an impressive cross section of community leaders, and their support added credibility to the entire idea.[12]

Opposition arose quickly after the task force was established, although the loudest opponents were not necessarily resistant to consolidation in general but instead hoped to guide the eventual consolidated government toward their preferences. An opposing task force comprised of county leaders was concerned with their potential loss of power. The two major daily newspapers in Marion County also opposed the initial plans for Unigov, citing concerns that the mayor would be too powerful. Mayor Lugar quickly met with representatives of the newspapers and agreed to limit the powers of the new mayor in some respects, and the papers agreed to support Unigov during the coming legislative session. Some engaged citizen groups also raised some of the "traditional antimerger [sic] arguments," including fears of higher taxes, individual voices being lost in a larger government, and a general discomfort with changes in the community.[13] In an attempt to stem additional opposition, Mayor Lugar established a "speakers' bureau" aimed at explaining Unigov to the public. In contrast to other cities' consolidation efforts which needed large-scale public relations offensives to convince a skeptical electorate to support a referendum, Mayor Lugar and his task force focused their efforts behind the scenes, ameliorating the concerns of the political and community elite, rather than the average citizen.

Consideration of Schools

One of the key elements of the Unigov proposal that arose from the Mayor's Task Force was the exclusion of the school districts from consolidation. Mayor Lugar tried to pre-emptively eliminate discussion concerning the school districts, a strategy that the leadership of Indianapolis' school board accepted, even though they would have preferred a single unified school district. The president of the school board, the Reverend Landrum Shields, noted that "to have included schools in Unigov would have raised the spectre [sic] of racial integration…and would have meant instant death for the plan. We cooperated with the Mayor by not killing Unigov."[14] At the same time, the supporters of Unigov reassured those suburban residents fearful of school consolidation that Unigov would not impact their local school districts.

Another major complication regarding the Marion County school districts was a series of pending law suits that would not be fully resolved until the late 1970s. A 1968 court case alleged racial discrimination in the assigning of both faculty and students to Indianapolis Public Schools. A 1971 ruling stated that the school district was guilty of de jure discrimination and ordered a plan to resolve this problem.[15] A later ruling also found that Unigov compounded segregation by not extending the school district boundaries along with the city limits, as had been state custom. The judge did not require that the Unigov law be invalidated; however, he did note that Unigov was one of a series of "state actions that furthered segregation."[16] After more than a decade of legal wrangling, a busing plan for the area was implemented in 1981; however, this plan fell short of the initial rulings that encouraged district consolidations and inter-district busing even beyond the Marion County boundaries.

School district consolidation is a serious stumbling block in many consolidation efforts. The same suburban residents the central city is hoping to reintegrate into the city's population often cite the public schools as a one of the catalysts for moving to the suburbs in the first place; being brought back into the school districts they were hoping to escape can spark vehement opposition. It is worth noting that of the three other large consolidations – Nashville, Jacksonville, and Louisville – Indianapolis is the only one to have multiple school districts in their consolidated cities. However, Louisville did not directly face this concern in its 2003 merger because the city's schools had previously merged with Jefferson County schools by court order in the 1970s.

The Legislative Process

In the state house, except for one member who preferred a referendum, the Marion County legislative delegation was almost entirely in support of the Unigov proposal. This was a crucial step, as the legislature usually deferred to the local delegation on issues specific to Indianapolis. The initial legislative proposal included the following primary components:

- "Consolidation of the executive and legislative functions of the city and county.
- Election of a single, strong chief executive.
- Election of a single strong council.
- A substantial degree of administrative integration, with related functions grouped into major departments.
- Provision of different taxing and service districts for particular functions or groups of functions.
- Exemption of the school districts.
- Preservation of the suburban municipalities."[17]

After some political wrangling, the state legislature acquiesced to the will of the majority of the Marion County delegation and approved the Unigov bill in the winter of 1969. The legislation applied to ANY city in Indiana that had a population of 250,000 or more. The population threshold has been subsequently raised to 600,000 to prevent other cities from consolidating.[18] After this consolidation was approved, opponents of consolidation for other Indiana cities became more vigilant about legislative consolidations lacking a full public process and have been quick to demand a referendum.[19] Indianapolis and Marion County were officially consolidated on January 1st, 1970.

Creation of Unigov

The state legislation established the Consolidated City of Indianapolis, colloquially known as Unigov. The city has a mayor-council system of government, where all voters within the county, including those in the excluded cities and town, elect the mayor. Unigov consolidated 31 city departments and 11 agencies within six new departments in the executive branch: administration, metropolitan development, public works, parks and recreation, public safety, and transportation.[20] While overall cost savings were not explicitly discussed by consolidation supporters, streamlining government was an intended goal that became reality, however modestly. After some reorganization over the years, five departments remain under the mayor's office, with administration and transportation being absorbed into other parts of the government and the department of code enforcement having been established.[21] The Unigov law also prevented the annexation of territory in neighboring counties, a necessary restriction in order to achieve broader legislative support.[22]

In addition to the mayor, a 29-member City-County Council is elected every four years: 25 members represent single-member districts while four others are elected at-large. The council is responsible for adopting budgets, levying taxes, appropriating city funds, and appointing some members of boards and commissions in the county.[23] The Marion County government was not eliminated in the consolidation and remains in existence today, albeit with very limited powers. Nine county officials are elected to meet Indiana statute; three of these officials, the assessor, auditor, and treasurer, concurrently serve as county commissioners.[24] County responsibilities include tax assessment, collection, and disbursement; conducting elections; and law enforcement through the office of the prosecutor.[25] The county's nine previously drawn townships remained unchanged, both geographically and functionally, with each responsible for local relief including emergency aid consisting of "food, clothing, heating fuel, medical help, utilities, and transportation for employment" (Figure 1).[26]

Marion County Townships

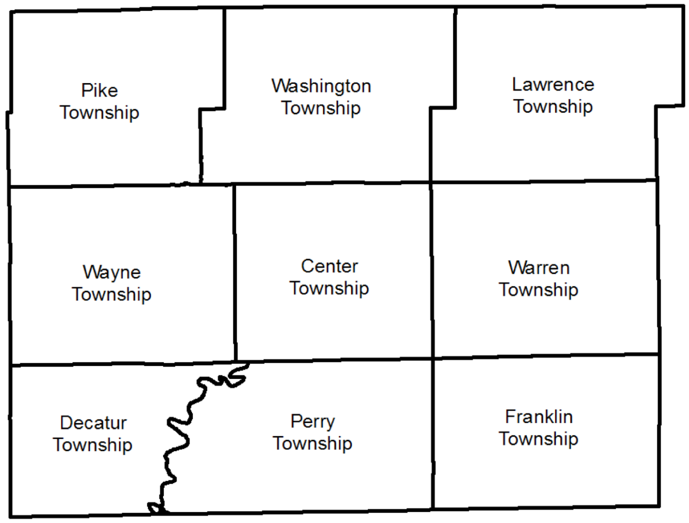

Figure 1

Marion County has 11 independent school districts with their own elected school boards wholly separate from the mayor or city-county council. As has been noted, the consolidation of the school districts was never up for serious consideration. Mayor Lugar, his Chamber of Commerce allies, and political leaders were very aware that bringing the school system into the discussions "would have fully roused fears of suburban parents of 'forced integration,' dooming Unigov's chances in the state legislature."[27]

While Unigov technically consolidated the city and county governments, it was far from a complete unification and was considered by some to be only "a first step."[28] Fifty separate and overlapping governmental units remain within Marion County with more than 61 taxing districts.[29] The Unigov legislation excluded all incorporated cities in Marion County and any town with at least 5,000 people. In practice, this left Beech Grove, Lawrence, Southport, and Speedway independent. Other services continued to be provided at localized levels through the municipal corporations or other special taxing districts.

After Unigov was established, many supporters of increased consolidation remained. Their most substantial win to date came more than 40 years after Unigov was established, with the 2005 ordinance that authorized the consolidation of the Indianapolis Police Department and the law enforcement division of the Marion County Sheriff's Department, creating the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department.[30] Additionally, the Indianapolis Fire Department began consolidating township fire departments in 2007, and has consolidated all but three into a division within the Department of Safety.[31] The mayor also began taking on some responsibility for education, when his office was given authority to establish charter schools outside the purview of the existing school districts in 2001.

IMPACT CONSOLIDATION

Population

As of the 2010 census, Indianapolis has 820,445 residents and is the 12th largest city in the country. The population of the newly combined Indianapolis and Marion County was 744,624 in 1970 and since consolidation, Indianapolis has grown by more than 75,000 people, or just over 10 percent.[32] At the same time, Marion County, including the cities and towns excluded from consolidation, has grown by 14 percent (from 792,229 in 1970 to 903,393 in 2010) and the entire Indianapolis Metropolitan Statistical Area has grown by nearly 47 percent (from 1,109,882 to 1,887,877).[33] All of Indianapolis' growth occurred after 1980, averaging approximately 5.4 percent growth each decade from 1980 to 2010. While the city saw a population decline of more than 5.5 percent in the 1970s, the figure looks better when considered in the context of its peer cities, which experienced an average population decline of 10.1 percent during the same period. Comparing Indianapolis to all Midwestern cities of at least 50,000 people, Indianapolis lost a smaller share of population in the 1970s and increased population in each decade through the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, while peer cities on average lost population.

Average Growth of Large Cities by Decade[34]

Region	1970–1980	1980–1990	1990–2000	2000–2010
Northeast	–7.63%	–0.34%	–0.43%	–1.03%
Midwest	–4.65%	–1.27%	2.76%	0.27%
South	11.98%	8.49%	9.61%	7.06%
West	18.03%	20.88%	15.30%	6.69%
Indianapolis	–5.884%	4.355%	6.911%	4.934%
Average Peer City	–10.10%	–3.44%	–0.69%	–2.22%
Average Midwestern Peer City	–11.25%	–5.06%	–1.06%	–4.78%
Baltimore	–13.14%	–6.45%	–11.53%	–4.64%

Large cities defined as those with 50,000 people or more in 1970.

Out of Indianapolis' 24 Midwestern peer cities listed in Appendix A, only two increased their population during the 1970s, and Indianapolis fared better than all but five. Among these same 24 cities, Indianapolis ranked 3rd in population growth in the 1980s, 5th in the 1990s, and 4th in the 2000s. When expanded to include the all peer cities, Indianapolis ranked 13th in population change in the 1970s, 7th in the 1980s, 9th in the 1990s, and 7th in the 2000s. Nashville, Tennessee and Columbus, Georgia, the other two cities among Indianapolis' peers that completed city/county consolidation post-WWII, ranked highly among these cities for population growth, as well. Nashville ranked in the top six in each decennial census from 1970 through 2010, while Columbus, Georgia ranked 1st in the 1970s and 5th in the 1980s, before sliding in rank to the late teens in the 1990s and 2000s. These rankings suggest that not only did Indianapolis perform well compared to other similar cities, but those cities that consolidated in the same era outperformed these same peer cities. These numbers alone do not imply that consolidated government necessarily enhances population growth, but they do suggest that cities that go through the consolidation process improve their ability to attract and retain population.

Consolidation initially increased the proportion of the Indianapolis metropolitan area population living in the city from 43 percent in 1960 to nearly 58 percent in 1970. However, since consolidation, the proportion of the metropolitan area population living under Unigov had declined to 43 percent by 2010; although nearly 48 percent of the metro area resided within Marion County. Consolidation placed Indianapolis firmly at the top of the list among peer cities with regard to a city's proportion of their respective metro area. Only ten peer cities comprised more than 50 percent of their metro areas in 1970, and by 2010 only ten held more than 40 percent of their metro area populations; Indianapolis ranked 5th and 8th, respectively. Baltimore City, Maryland does not make either list; it has seen population spread throughout the region more each decade, declining from 43 percent of the metro area's population in 1970 to just 23 percent in 2010.[35] By maintaining a large proportion of the metropolitan area's population, Indianapolis retained substantial sway in the state capital and the Indianapolis Mayor carried more weight in regional planning and economic development discussions. However, Indianapolis' decline in proportion of the metro area to 1960s levels has recently raised similar concerns as those faced by the city in 1968, particularly with regard to speaking with a unified, regional voice.[36] This reality

Population Change by Census Tract, 1970–2010

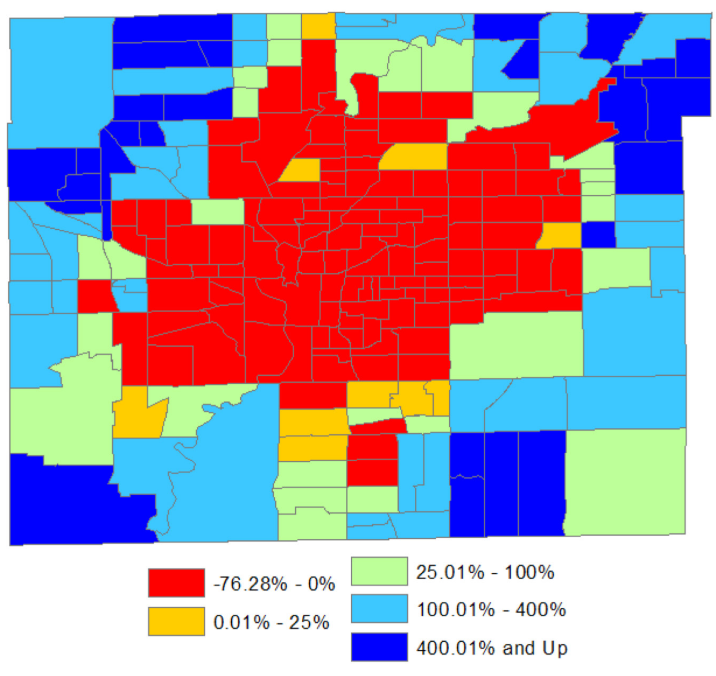

Figure 2

speaks to a common theme throughout this discussion – consolidation afforded Indianapolis significant advantages over the several decades, but those advantages have declined over time, as population growth increased beyond Unigov borders.

While overall population in Indianapolis grew at a positive rate, a different picture emerges if you dig deeper into the census tract data. The vast majority of the city's growth accrued exclusively to the suburban communities on the edges of the county (Figure 2). Nearly every single census tract within the former Indianapolis city limits declined in population since consolidation. By 2010, the Indianapolis School District, a close approximation for the old city limits, had a population of 297,203, a decline of 179,055 (or 37.6 percent) since 1960. Eleven other peer cities saw a population decline of more than 37%, including St. Louis, Detroit, Gary, Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Dayton and Cincinnati. Because of the fractured taxing structure of Indianapolis, this decline resulted in substantial funding problems for some services paid for with targeted taxes, including Indianapolis Public Schools and Center Township welfare programs. Indianapolis' 10 percent growth since consolidation is even more impressive when considered in comparison to the dramatic population loss within the former city limits. Communities in the northeast and northwest portions of the county accounted for much of the growth, as they saw their populations more than double, with some increasing by more than 400 percent.

Consolidation immediately decreased the proportion of African Americans in Indianapolis rather significantly, from 27 percent of the old city to only 17 percent of the consolidated city.[37] The share of African American residents would not recover to pre-Unigov proportions until the 2010 census. This would have tangible consequences for the African American community's political strength and ability to influence the direction of the city. While the African American share of Indianapolis' total population declined, the city maintained over 88 percent of the metro area's African American population through 2000, before declining slightly, to 82 percent in 2010. Indianapolis' African American population grew at significantly higher rates each decade than the city's population at-large, and surpassed the entire metro area's growth rate in the 1970s and 1990s. Indianapolis was recognized by *Ebony* magazine in 1978 as one of the top ten places in America for African Americans to live, citing adequate schools, low housing costs and a diverse jobs picture. However, *Ebony* noted the African American displeasure with Unigov, pointing out that "Black political power has been substantially diluted by a new regional government."[38] While the African American population has continued to grow throughout the northern two-thirds of the county, it is evident by examining the maps on the next page that the largest concentration of African American residents has remained tightly centered within the old Indianapolis city limits.

Percentage of African American Population, by Census Tract

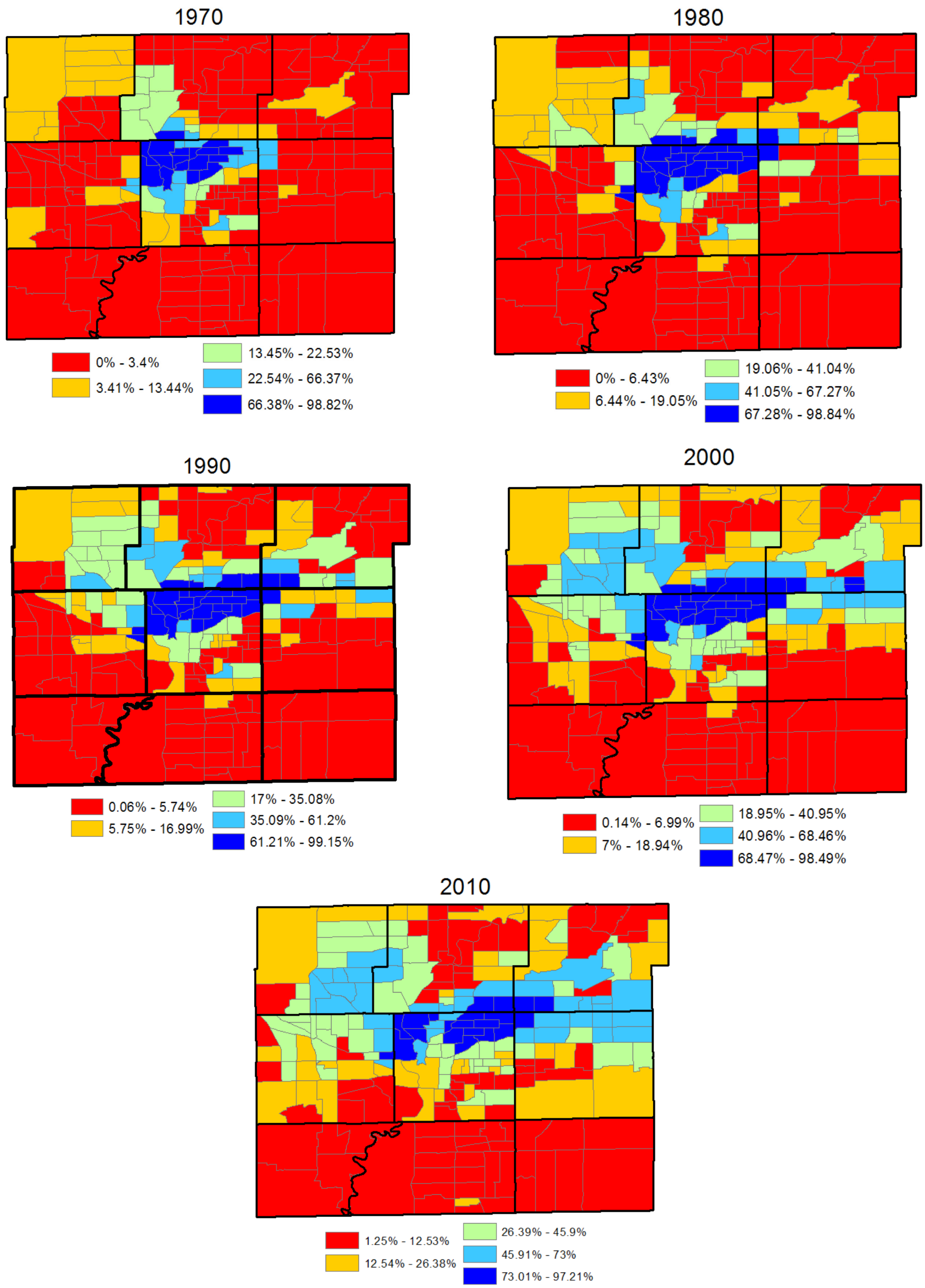

Figure 3

Economic Development[39]

The mayor's increased authority within the city, and his ability to minimize the dense bureaucracy of pre-Unigov Indianapolis, has proven valuable for the city's economic development successes. Enhancing the economy was one of the important goals of consolidation advocates and the creation of Unigov, especially in its first two decades, can be seen as particularly satisfying for this vision.

Employment

From consolidation through 2011, employment in Marion County grew an average of 1.13 percent per year. The 1970s saw the fastest average annual jobs growth rate of 2.13 percent, while the 1980s and 1990s each experienced average annual employment growth of approximately 1.8 percent. This annual growth resulted in a 54.63 percent increase in employment over that period, the 11th largest increase among the 47 peer cities. On an annual basis, the peer cities grew at approximately 0.53 percent, less than half the growth rate seen by Indianapolis. In raw job numbers, Indianapolis added 174,100 jobs in the 42 years after consolidation, an average of 4,145 per year. Remarkably, Indianapolis added more than twice as many jobs as people over the same period. However, by the late 1990s and 2000s, average annual employment growth declined to levels close to the peer city average, another example of a strong improvement after consolidation, followed by a return to average performance by the late 1990s.

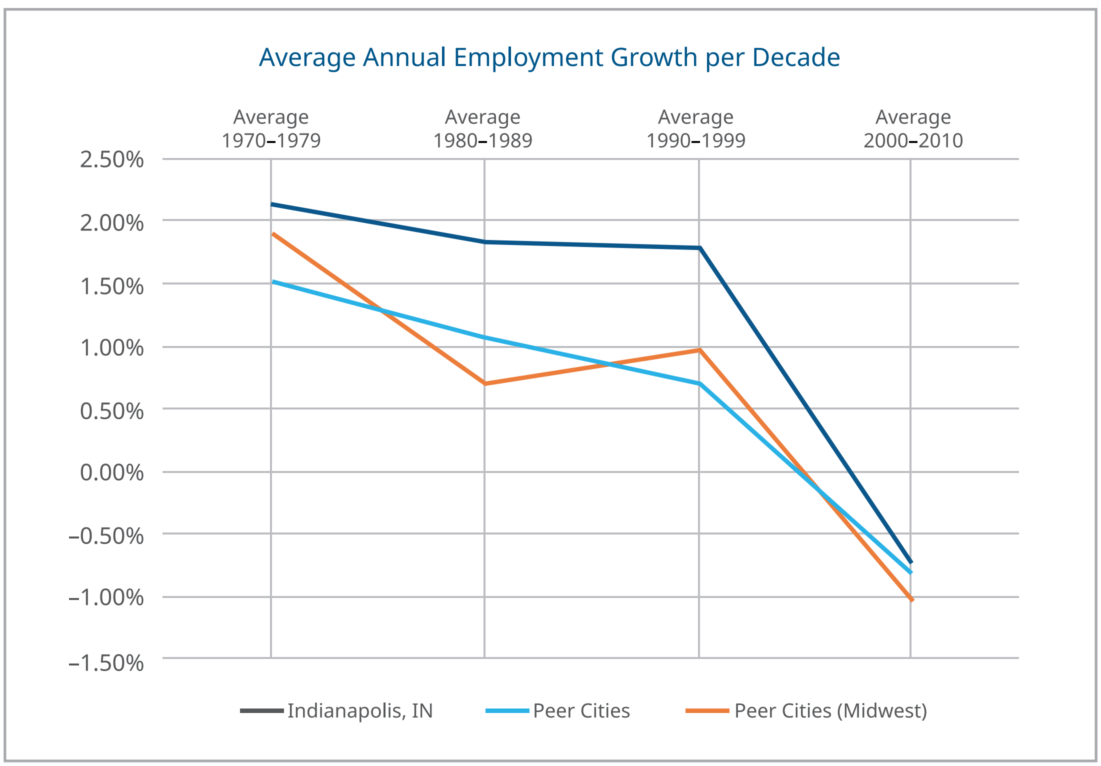

Chart 1

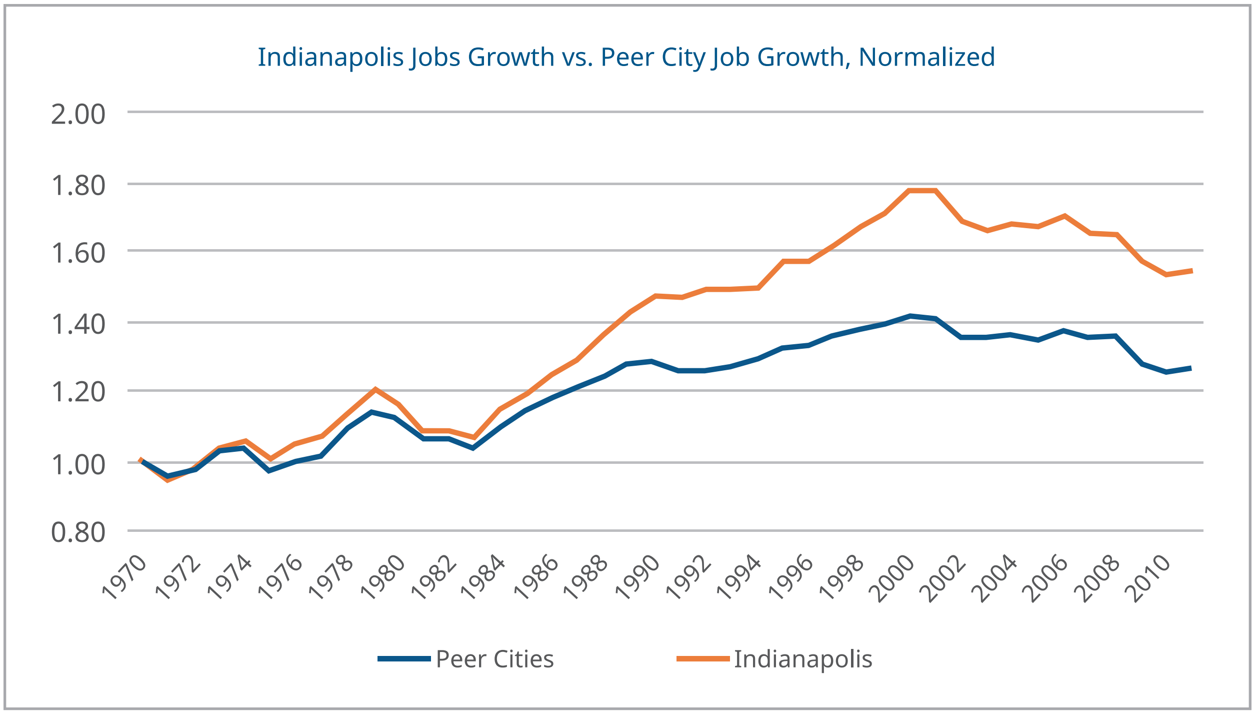

Chart 2

By way of comparison, over the same period employment in Baltimore City declined by 0.67 percent on average per year, with a slight uptick in the 1980s (approximately 0.25 percent per year). This yearly decline resulted in a loss of one-quarter of jobs in Baltimore City from 1970 to 2011, with the largest decline occurring during the 1970s. The suburbanization of employment in the Baltimore metropolitan area becomes evident when you compare the city to Baltimore County, which saw employment double from 1970 to 1989 (98.52 percent growth in employment). However, this accelerated growth halted almost entirely in the 1990s, which saw employment in Baltimore County grow by a relatively paltry 1.9 percent during the 1990s (most similar to Detroit and Buffalo); employment growth during the economically turbulent 2000s came in at 2.47 percent, which would slot into 2nd place among the peer cities considered in this study. Combining employment in Baltimore City and County, together the two rank in the middle of the pack when compared to this set of peer cities in each decade since 1970.

While overall employment growth increased in Indianapolis, consolidation does not appear to have had a significant impact on manufacturing jobs. The manufacturing sector was in decline around the region, and Indianapolis was not spared this reality by Unigov. According to Census Bureau numbers, Indianapolis' manufacturing sector decline outpaced the average Midwestern city by 4 percentage points in the 1970s, before closely mirroring the average Midwestern city from 1980 through 2010.

Decline in Manufacturing Jobs, 1970-2010

Region	1970–1980	1980–1990	1990–2000	2000–2010
Midwest	–5.77%	–19.66%	–10.29%	–17.93%
Northeast	–14.53%	–27.81%	–29.68%	–21.28%
South	24.89%	–7.48%	–13.17%	–9.32%
West	38.49%	8.87%	–15.39%	–11.27%
Average Peer City	–19.21%	–27.43%	–22.92%	–19.10%
Indianapolis	–9.21%	–22.96%	–9.05%	–16.97%

SOURCE: US Census Bureau. Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010

Number of Businesses

Another key indicator of economic development is the growth in total number of businesses. Using this metric, Indianapolis saw an impressive amount of economic development in the first two decades following consolidation, and continued growth into the 1990s. Business establishments increased by over 30 percent in both the 1970s and 1980s, and by 9.7 percent during the 1990s. Compared with peer cities, these growth rates rank among the top 15 in each decade through 2000, peaking at 9th in the 1970s. By 2011, Indianapolis had added more than 10,000 businesses, an increase of 77 percent since 1970, which ranked 11th overall among peer cities. In the chart below, it is clear that Indianapolis saw a burst of new businesses in the mid-1970s and a higher growth rate in the early 1990s, both compared with peer cities. During the 2000s, Indianapolis' business establishments declined by 3.66 percent, almost identical to the peer city average of a 3.58 percent decline. Nashville, the other major peer city that had undergone city-county consolidation saw a similarly large increase in business establishments, more than doubling the city's businesses since 1970. On the other hand, the number of business establishments in Baltimore City declined by 24 percent from 1970 to 2011, with modest 5 percent growth in the 1980s the only decade that the city added businesses. Among the peer cities, Baltimore City ranked 46th out of 47, one of only six cities with a net loss in businesses. Baltimore County was clearly on the rise, increasing business establishments by 89 percent in the 1970s and another 52 percent in the 1980s, for an overall increase of 213 percent since 1970. The Baltimore metropolitan area was clearly decentralizing at a significant rate.

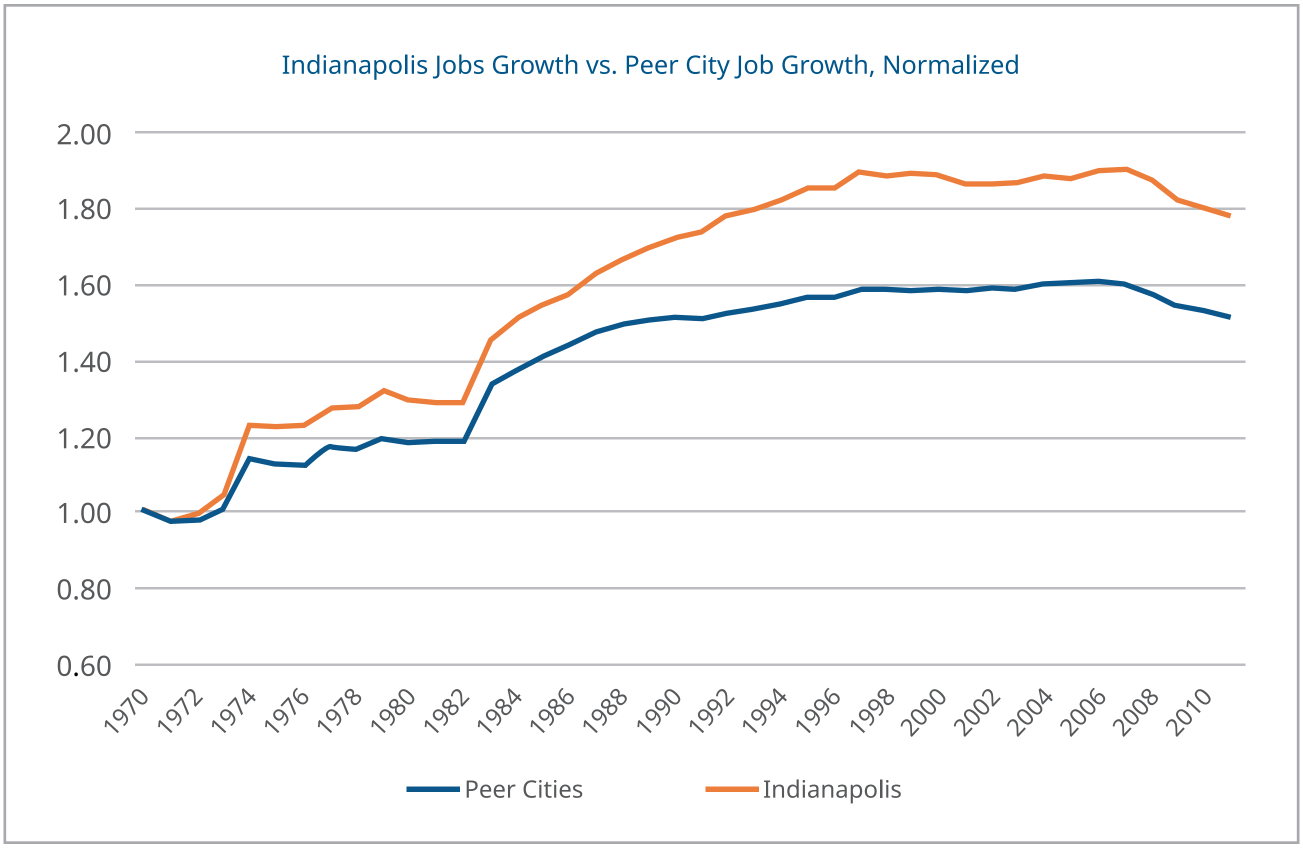

Chart 3

The numbers in Chart 3 again reinforce the idea that consolidation had a substantial impact in the first decades following Unigov's establishment, followed by a relative decline in advantage. By the 2000s, Indianapolis' growth performance was average amongst its peer cities. However, this data does suggest that the overall growth in businesses and jobs advantaged Unigov into the 2000s and allowed it to avoid the more traumatic declines of some other Midwestern cities.

Municipal Budget, Taxes, and Federal Funding

Debt Limit

One of the key benefits of consolidation was the ability to increase the amount of debt Unigov could hold. The Indiana constitution restricts the amount of total money local governments may borrow to 2 percent of the value of taxable land within their boundaries.[40] The increased debt limit allowed Indianapolis to invest in some of the major development projects that have significantly enhanced the reputation and economic prospects of the metropolitan area. In addition to the ability to borrow, the expanded tax base helped "to stabilize city finances and achieve an AAA bond rating."[41]

Municipal Budget and Federal Spending[42]

In the first full year of Unigov in 1971, the city's expenditures totaled $763 million. The following year, expenditures topped $1 billion and then remained in the $1.1 to $1.25 billion range until the late 1980s, when the city's expenditures began to rise steadily through the 1990s and 2000s.[43] Total revenues increased on a similar trajectory, topping $1 billion in 1973 and remaining very stable through the end of the 1980s. Contrary to some proponents' expectations, total governmental expenditures increased precipitously in the years after consolidation after two decades of only modest growth in spending. However, revenues grew along with expenditures, while taxes remained relatively constant, keeping budgets mostly balanced and taxes modest. By expanding the city's boundaries and keeping the growth of higher income residents of the northern Marion County suburbs within city limits, Indianapolis likely prevented a rise in tax rates to support city services.

The biggest change to the city budget came via federal expenditures. In the seven years prior to consolidation, Indianapolis had never received more than $7 million dollars from the federal government, and averaged under $4 million. But in the first year after consolidation, money from the federal government increased five-fold, doubled again in 1972, and topped $100 million dollars every year from 1973 to1990, peaking at over $300 million in 1981. Federal spending in Indianapolis became a substantial portion of the city's revenue from 1972 through 1990, averaging more than 15 percent of the city's budget. From 1978 through 1981, federal dollars supported more than 20 percent of the city's total expenditures. A big portion of the increased federal spending in Indianapolis came via the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972, which brought more than $500 million to Indianapolis from 1974 to 1987. By 1990, federal expenditures leveled off at $50--$100 million.[44]

Consolidation played a significant role in the substantial increase in federal dollars coming into Marion County. There are three compelling reasons for this increase: the increased population of Indianapolis by including areas of Marion County; Mayors Lugar and Hudnut explicitly lobbied for federal dollars, in contrast to previous mayors; and Republican Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Reagan supported the largest city in the country governed by fellow Republicans.[45] While only the federal aid formulas were directly impacted by consolidated Indianapolis' larger population, Mayors Lugar's and Hudnut's successful applications for federal aid were significantly furthered by the perception of modern governance that Unigov gave the city. Mayor Lugar and President Nixon enjoyed a very close relationship, dating to the 1968 presidential election and bolstered by the fact that consolidated Indianapolis was the largest city governed by a Republican. Because of their relationship, Indianapolis gained special treatment and significant federal investment in the early 1970s, serving as "an urban laboratory in which to test new approaches to coping with the problems of cities."[46] Mayor Lugar was more than happy to have Indianapolis serve the White House in this manner. The support of ideas such as urban renewal and public housing by the new leadership of Indianapolis also played a dramatic role in reshaping the city physically. Consolidation does, however, appear to have negatively impacted Indianapolis with regard to some federal "distribution formulas that emphasize need and unemployment," as the wealthier suburban communities now raised the average income levels in the city.[47]

Taxes

While simplifying local government from the voters' perspective was nominally one of the reasons for consolidation, the full complexity of overlapping tax districts in Marion County was not ultimately addressed by Unigov. However, fears from small government advocates regarding a rise in tax rates did not come to fruition either. Marion County collects both property and income taxes to fund local government, with property taxes representing a slightly larger share of revenue. At the time of consolidation, there were dozens of separate tax rates in Marion County, with the average citizen paying approximately $3.95 per $100 in assessed property value in 1969.[48] This rate did increase in the first decade under Unigov, to $4.25 per $100 in 1979, before declining in subsequent years.[49] By 2013, 61 different property tax rates for Marion County remained, with an average rate of $3.24 per $100. Interestingly, the highest taxes in the county were those for the city of Beech Grove, one of the cities excluded from consolidation, which averaged just over $5.00 for its five different tax districts. For those jurisdictions covered under Unigov, the average 2013 property tax rate was $3.08 per $100 in assessed value and ranged from $2.02 to $4.29. Residents in Center Township pay $3.35 per $100. From a regional perspective, Marion County has the highest median property tax in the metro area, at $3.29. Only Madison County has a median as high as $3.00, while 5 of the 11 metro area counties have a median below $2.00.

These tax rate numbers suggest that consolidation or merger does not necessarily result in a rise in property taxes. The wide variability in rates is uniquely due to the many different government organizations that cover different portions of the county – such as schools, township services, included and excluded cities and towns, and municipal corporations. While property taxes are collected at the county level, they do not go into a central fund, but are distributed according to which taxing districts levied what portion of the taxes. This results in uneven tax sharing and a discrepancy in the quality of services for different residents living in the same city.

Downtown Redevelopment

The most lauded "win" for advocates of consolidation was the major redevelopment of Indianapolis' downtown. City leadership saw downtown's rebirth as the key element in reviving the city's national image, and one of the first actions the new government took was the development of a new master plan for downtown. The Department of Metropolitan Development worked closely with the business community, bringing the city's elite to the table to implement their vision, which resulted in more than 50 significant development projects over the next several decades (Appendix B). The new arena built downtown in 1974, bucking the contemporaneous trend of building major league venues in suburban locales, "was a direct result of…the downtown development plan" and through these construction projects, the city established itself as a sports destination, for both amateur and professional athletics.[50] Because of consolidation and the higher debt limit the city's new boundaries allowed, the city was able to effectively leverage their limited resources: "a $3.2 billion rebuilding program…was secured with approximately $550 million from the City" over the 30 years after consolidation.[51] Proponents of the downtown reinvestment strategy, such as former Mayor William Hudnut, argued that the increased "activity downtown…created more tax base and more jobs, enhanced economic development opportunities, and [served as] a rallying point for civic spirit and pride."[52] Unigov played a vital role in this redevelopment by "removing some of the institutional barriers to development" and "using acquisition and development assistance to give the necessary impetus to new private construction."[53]

While all of these development projects reshaped the skyline and were celebrated by political leaders and the business community, there was and remains a very serious opposition view that 1970s downtown Indianapolis development was not all that city boosters claimed, and it negatively impacted people living in Center Township. The downtown revitalization efforts advanced by consolidation imposed burdens on residents in at least two key ways: through the use of tax abatements and Tax Increment Financing (TIF); and by building major projects in lower-income neighborhoods, and the displacement of residents. Because the city maintained dozens of taxing districts following consolidation, downtown property tax abatements and TIFs essentially removed significant portions of downtown from the Center Township and Indianapolis Public School tax districts to repay bonds used for projects that were disproportionately utilized by suburban residents (both from Marion County and from around the region).[54] This situation is somewhat unique to Indianapolis due to the number of overlapping taxing districts, where certain services are paid for exclusively by taxpayers in specific districts. Because the mayors and majority of city councilors were elected primarily by Indianapolis-Marion County residents from the suburban communities, the interests of Center Township residents were sometimes subordinated to those of the suburban, and wealthier, majority. Politicians representing Center Township felt overwhelmed by suburban interests and were often indignant that projects like new stadiums and the convention center were prioritized over support for the "woefully underfinance [schools] and other city services."[55]

In addition to the tax burden of redevelopment falling on the shoulders of Center Township residents while many of the benefits accrued to suburban communities, much of this construction displaced Center Township communities without much local input. Indianapolis' Republican leadership in the 1970s argued in favor of a "trickle-down" view of neighborhood and community development, contending that "large downtown projects…create jobs, improve amenities of neighborhood living, stabilize housing conditions, and encourage further private investment."[56] After a generation of decline and a negative national reputation, the revival of downtown Indianapolis and its rebirth as an amateur sports mecca could not have occurred without consolidation. However, if downtown redevelopment is one of the major benefits of Unigov, it suggests that the advantages of consolidation accrued to the business and political elite in a way that has not always led to the far-reaching benefits for the average resident that consolidation advocates promised.

Elections and Voting

One of the significant, and intended, consequences of consolidation has been "solidified Republican party control of city government, which had been controlled most often by the Democratic Party during the two decades before Unigov."[57] Consolidation proponents were clear that political advantage was a central motivation. Republican Party chairman for Marion County, Keith Bulen, bluntly stated, "It's my greatest coup of all time, moving out there and taking in 85,000 Republicans" – and 85,000 was a conservative estimate of the actual electoral impact.[58] From 1927 through 1967, Democrats dominated the Indianapolis' mayoralty (serving 75 percent of the time). However, from 1970 to 2000 only Republicans served as mayor. Democrat Bart Peterson was elected Mayor in 2000, serving two terms before Republican Greg Ballard was elected in 2008. The City Council was similarly dominated by Republicans – who controlled the majority every year from 1970 to 2003, and again in 2009 and 2010.[59] Like many of the changes brought by consolidation, Republican dominance began to wane by the late 1990s, as wealthier, conservative suburbanites continued moving beyond the Marion County boundaries.

A likely unintended consequence of consolidation, however, was a dramatic decline in voter turnout for municipal elections. In 1975, the first year under Unigov that the Mayor's race was open, the Democrats ran a very strong candidate, developer Robert Welch. Welch garnered 110,000 votes, a majority of the pre-Unigov city, but still lost to William Hudnut, who dominated in the suburban parts of the county. Many Democratic voters apparently concluded that they could not get their candidate of choice elected, as turnout in the following municipal election shows. Mayor Hudnut received a similar number of votes in 1979 as he got in 1975, yet 60,000 fewer total votes were cast.[60] Even as Indianapolis continued to grow in population, voter turnout never again topped 200,000. The open election of 1999, the first time a Democrat had been elected mayor of Unigov, came the closest with 196,000 voters, however, that total amounts to just 33 percent of the city's voting age population. While turnout at municipal elections declined, presidential year turnout remained steadily around 55 to 60 percent through the entire Unigov period.

Additionally, consolidation shifted political power out of the former city and into the suburban communities. The 1991 mayoral election, the first open election since 1975, made that clear after Louis Mahern won all the pre-Unigov Indianapolis precincts, but lost the election by 16 points.[61] From another perspective, Mayor Hudnut saw this as a benefit, proudly stating that consolidation "enabled business and civic leaders who resided in the suburbs to become more active in civic affairs."[62] While linking suburban voters to the fate of Indianapolis can be beneficial for the broader metro area, "residents of some older city neighborhoods…particularly blacks…feel that their interests are being neglected."[63]

The strengthening of suburban voters came at a tangible cost for the Indianapolis African American community. *The Wall Street Journal*, in 1971, stated frankly, "The enlarged city also means that the Indianapolis black population will not come to power soon."[64] African Americans' declining proportion of the population limited the amount of influence their community could wield on the city council. Dr. Frank Lloyd, former vice president of the Metropolitan Development Commission, suggested that the black community not only lost political strength in the city, but they also lost power within the Democratic Party, which now needed to increasingly appeal to white suburban voters, though he also discounted the idea that African Americans ever had real influence within the local party.[65] Former Congresswoman and State Senator Julia Carson also felt that African Americans held little sway with regard to major redevelopment projects, even those that directly impacted predominately African American neighborhoods.[66] These concerns did not surprise many African American leaders, some of whom opposed consolidation from the beginning for this very reason. Others saw the increase in economic activity as creating opportunities for African Americans, and therefore the political losses were a small price to pay for economic advancement.

Community Perspectives on Unigov

Immediately after consolidation, reactions to Unigov from the Indianapolis business community, Republican Party leaders, and suburban residents were mostly positive. In the first few years of Unigov, many suburban residents were happy to be living in a jurisdiction with a more responsive government than the former Marion County government. Residents of suburban Drexel Gardens, for example, were exuberant after hearing that area ditches that had been used for sewage overflow would be cleaned up thanks to the consolidated city's increased resources.[67] This initially positive view of Unigov among suburbanites would persist. An IUPUI poll conducted in 1998 found 70.1 percent of "respondents who are familiar with Unigov have a 'very' or 'somewhat favorable' opinion of Unigov."[68] However, by restricting the poll to people familiar with Unigov, it likely undercounted younger people and the urban population, and therefore Democratic leaning voters. Business leaders have praised the proliferation of public-private partnerships made possible through Unigov and contend that the city has dropped the derisive nickname "Indiana-no-place" to become "a solid economic performer" and a viable option for national events ranging from political conventions to major sporting events.[69] Republican politicians have been even more bullish than the business elite. Former Mayor William Hudnut went so far as to argue that Unigov "laid the foundations for the emergence of the modern Indianapolis."[70] Other Republicans look to their Midwestern neighbors such as Toledo or Dayton and imagine a Unigov-less Indianapolis on par with those declining cities.[71]

Because Unigov was enacted through the legislative process, with very limited feedback from the community, proponents and opponents did not clearly line up in 1969. However, the fact that there was not a coordinated opposition effort does not make this consolidation any less controversial than dozens of other consolidation attempts across the country. Two somewhat overlapping groups comprised the primary opposition: Democrats and African Americans. The foundation of the opposition rested in the perception that their interests were subsumed by the suburban, white, conservative-leaning voters in the county. Democrats insisted "that Unigov resulted in an undue tax burden on Center Township," their traditional electoral base, particularly with regard to downtown redevelopment.[72] Former Marion County Democratic chairman James Beatty argued almost immediately after Unigov took affect that "it has shifted power from the city to the suburbs, to the hands of people who don't give a damn about the city."[73] Beatty cited snow removal resources being shifted toward suburban neighborhoods as an early example of the shift in focus away from the pre-Unigov city residents. Democrats also saw Unigov as a lost opportunity to secure a dominant electoral position in Indianapolis and develop an even stronger lock on the mayoralty and city council. Based on the highly partisan creation of Unigov in the first place, complaints from Democrats are not surprising.

Reactions to Unigov from the African American community were more diverse. In the immediate aftermath of consolidation, some African American community leaders argued that the potential for bringing suburban resources into city neighborhoods could have an overall positive effect on their communities.[74] Additionally, some believed, and continue to believe, the economic growth in Indianapolis-Marion County afforded by Unigov outweighs the negative aspects for the black community. Amos Brown, a local public media figure and columnist with the Recorder, an African American newspaper in Indianapolis, has argued that “without Unigov, Indianapolis would now be a city in severe economic straits,” echoing those arguments of Unigov’s staunchest supporters.[75]

While there were pro-Unigov voices among the city’s African American populace, a substantial contingent feels that their community voice is worse off because of Unigov. Patrick Chavis, a former state senator, immediately saw Unigov as a way for white conservatives “to avert a takeover of Indianapolis by blacks.”[76] Chavis joined with others to file lawsuits against Unigov, specifically targeting the at-large council-members, arguing that these seats “would inevitably be white, diluting black voting power.”[77] By the early 1980s, African American residents of some older city neighborhoods began recognizing Unigov’s shortcomings for their neighborhood.[78] More recently, local African American leaders have pointed out that “overwhelmingly in the black community there is an intense dislike of Unigov.”[79]

Thoughts on Unigov: Is Indianapolis Better Off?

In many ways, Indianapolis has performed enviably under Unigov compared to its peer cities and other major Midwestern cities. The city’s population outpaced the majority of peer cities each decade while growing at a higher rate than the average Midwestern city in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, achieving Mayor Lugar’s goal of “prevent[ing] an erosion of the city’s tax base.”[80] The city currently ranks as the 12th largest city in the country. The city added a significant number of jobs from 1970 through 2000, averaging nearly 2 percent job growth per year for the first three decades of Unigov. Indianapolis also saw substantial business growth, increasing the number of establishments in the city by more than 30 percent in both the 1970s and 1980s, before this growth slowed in the late 1990s and 2000s. Much of the employment and population benefits have been attributed to the city’s successful and dramatic downtown redevelopment in which Unigov played a vital role – a fact trumpeted by both politicians and academics alike. Unigov also aided efforts by Mayors Lugar and Hudnut to extract increased federal funding for local projects. This funding, as well as increases in state funding to the city, helped to prevent tax rates from rising along with implementation of new development and construction projects.

There have been many reasons to consider city/county consolidation a success for Indianapolis, but it is also important to note for whom the benefits actually accrued. While population increased at an impressive rate since 1970, consolidated government was not able to stem the migration out of the neighborhoods within the former city limits. Downtown redevelopment financing schemes were often implemented by officials elected by suburban voters but disproportionately paid for by Center Township residents, in the form of less money for local services and school funding. Both population decline and downtown financing disproportionately impacted the African American community, which also lost political influence within both the city and the Democratic Party. Consolidation has also made Indianapolis a less democratic city where some voters have felt that their votes do not count, leading to lower vote totals for local elections, even as the population has grown. While the architects of consolidation did not aim to make voters feel disfranchised, many did cheer the Republican dominance, at the expense of Democratic voters in the old city limits.

Consolidation's impact on the residents of the Pre-Unigov city has led scholars William Blomquist and Roger Parks to argue that Indianapolis "is a city captured by its suburbs."[81] In contrast, former Albuquerque Mayor David Rusk viewed Indianapolis as a positive example of an "elastic" city or one that is capable of capturing a greater share of suburban land and population growth within the region. To pose an answer to the question of what might have happened in the absence of consolidation, the alternative for Indianapolis might very well have been population decline, budget shortfalls, and a dearth of economic development, as has been seen in other formerly thriving Midwestern cities.

Many of the benefits that Unigov brought to Indianapolis were most tangible in the first two decades following consolidation. Employment growth and business creation improved meaningfully, and outpaced most peer cities through the late 1980s. However, by the late 1990s and 2000s, Indianapolis was performing on par with many other Midwestern cities. Consolidation brought nearly 60 percent of the metro area's population under Unigov, making it the clear dominant voice for the region in the 1970s. But by 2010 Unigov's population only accounted for 43 percent of the region, the same proportion Indianapolis held in 1960. The Republican Party domination Keith Bulen bragged about had also declined by the late 1990s, as many of the suburban residents of the city had moved to neighboring counties. Today, Indianapolis faces many of the same problems with regard to economic development, tax base decline, and population flight as they did in 1970. The short-term efficacy of consolidation's benefits point to a need to reexamine opportunities for regionalism in the Indianapolis metro area. That being said, the notable growth during the early decades of Unigov moved the city forward so significantly that the declining advantages of consolidation have not diminished its overall benefit.

Conclusion

While Unigov impacted communities in Indianapolis differently, because of consolidation the city is in a better position going forward – the economy is stronger, the tax base is broader, and the city's reputation is greater. Even though the economic advantages of consolidation have lessened over time, the unified economic development operation and a broader vision for the city's future fostered by consolidation helped prevent an economic decline and population exodus that could have had far-reaching impacts on the entire region, as was the case in some of its peer cities. The larger population and secure spot as one of the top 15 largest cities in the country helped to raise the city's stature.

However, the declining advantages do raise the notion that some of the benefits of consolidation might not have been dependent on unified government as much as on a unified vision for the region's future. This is an important distinction that points to the potential for alternate paths forward for cities considering expansion or consolidation. In Indianapolis' case, consolidation established a unified plan for the region, at least through the 1990s when the region increasingly expanded beyond Marion County. Combining some of the taxing districts within Marion County under Unigov was essentially a form of tax sharing amongst neighboring communities, an option worth considering in a broader way today. An agreement among multiple cities and counties within a region to establish a unified economic development body and public works administration, similar to some of the major changes Unigov brought to Indianapolis, might be another option resulting in substantial economic benefits.

About the Author

Jeff Wachter is an independent researcher with a Master's degree in history from George Mason University, specializing in the development of American cities and suburbs. His research interests and experience include metropolitan governance, community and economic development, and housing and transportation issues. Previous work has included studies on the city/county consolidation in Louisville, KY, suburban identity in Richmond, VA, the suburbanization of ethnic communities in Metro Atlanta, and the development of African-American community activism in the aftermath of the 1930s race riots in New York City.

Appendix A *– Indianapolis Peer Cities*

Peer cities are defined as those that were both among the 100 largest cities by population in 1970 and had manufacturing employment of at least 20 percent. I have also excluded those cities within the Census-defined regions Pacific, Mountain, and West South Central, due to the significantly different urban development histories of cities in those regions.

City	State	FIPS	Census Region	Census Division
Birmingham	Alabama	01073	South	East South Central
Bridgeport	Connecticut	09001	Northeast	New England
Hartford	Connecticut	09003	Northeast	New England
Columbus	Georgia	13215	South	South Atlantic
Chicago	Illinois	17031	Midwest	East North Central
Rockford	Illinois	17201	Midwest	East North Central
Evansville	Indiana	18163	Midwest	East North Central
Fort Wayne	Indiana	18003	Midwest	East North Central
Gary	Indiana	18089	Midwest	East North Central
Indianapolis	Indiana	18097	Midwest	East North Central
Kansas City	Kansas	20209	Midwest	West North Central
Wichita	Kansas	20173	Midwest	West North Central
Louisville	Kentucky	21111	South	East South Central
Baltimore	Maryland	24510	South	South Atlantic
Springfield	Massachusetts	25013	Northeast	New England
Worcester	Massachusetts	25027	Northeast	New England
Detroit	Michigan	26163	Midwest	East North Central

City	State	FIPS	Census Region	Census Division
Flint	Michigan	26049	Midwest	East North Central
Grand Rapids	Michigan	26081	Midwest	East North Central
Warren	Michigan	26099	Midwest	East North Central
Minneapolis	Minnesota	27053	Midwest	West North Central
St. Paul	Minnesota	27123	Midwest	West North Central
Kansas City	Missouri	29095	Midwest	West North Central
St. Louis	Missouri	29510	Midwest	West North Central
Jersey City	New Jersey	34017	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Newark	New Jersey	34013	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Paterson	New Jersey	34031	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Buffalo	New York	36029	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
New York City	New York	36085	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Rochester	New York	36055	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Syracuse	New York	36067	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Yonkers	New York	36119	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Greensboro	North Carolina	37081	South	South Atlantic
Akron	Ohio	39153	Midwest	East North Central
Cincinnati	Ohio	39061	Midwest	East North Central
Cleveland	Ohio	39035	Midwest	East North Central
Columbus	Ohio	39049	Midwest	East North Central
Dayton	Ohio	39113	Midwest	East North Central
Toledo	Ohio	39095	Midwest	East North Central
Youngstown	Ohio	39099	Midwest	East North Central
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	42101	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania	42003	Northeast	Middle Atlantic
Providence	Rhode Island	44007	Northeast	New England
Memphis	Tennessee	47157	South	East South Central
Nashville-Davidson	Tennessee	47037	South	East South Central
Richmond	Virginia	51760	South	South Atlantic
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	55079	Midwest	East North Central

***Appendix B** – Selected Major Development Projects, 1974-1999*[82]

Market Square Arena	1974
Children's Museum	1976
Hyatt Hotel/Bank	1977
Sports Center	1979
Indiana Theater	1980
Capitol Tunnel	1982
Indiana University Track and Field Stadium	1982
Indiana University Natatorium	1982
Velodrome	1982
2 W. Washington Offices	1982
1 N. Capitol Offices	1982
Hoosier Dome	1984
Lower Canal Apartments	1985
Heliport	1985
Walker Building	1985
Embassy Suite Hotel	1985
Lockerbie Market	1986
Union Station	1986
City Market	1986
Pan Am Plaza	1987
Lockfield Apartments	1987
Canal Overlook Apartments	1988
Zoo	1988
National Institute of Sports	1988
Eitelijorg Museum	1989
Westin Hotel	1989
Indiana University	1975-90
Farm Bureau	1992
State Office Center	1992
Lilly Corporate Expansion	1992

Circle Centre Mall	1995
Victory Field	1997
Conseco Fieldhouse	1999
NCAA Headquarters	1999

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