

The History of Food Systems and Accessibility in Madison, WI: 1970-Today

Abstract

The retail food landscape is a dynamic sector: Large chains are constantly forcing locally-run stores out of business, retail capital is becoming increasingly consolidated, and the number of food insecure individuals is growing. It is crucial to have knowledge of how these food landscape changes will impact vulnerable populations. The lack of literature surrounding food insecurity in Madison, WI, drove us to be the first to shed light on this topic. The issue of food insecurity has unfolded over many years, so our research captures the processes that took place in Madison (1970-2014) to create the current foodscape. Madison closely aligns with national trends in retail food sector development by decade and a stark trend of extreme racial inequity within food accessibility stands out. Differential access is not a new phenomenon, but studying this topic from a historical perspective reveals the depth of the existing food accessibility inequity in Madison.

Introduction

Food accessibility is a peculiar topic to address in Madison, Wisconsin. In a city that was historically composed of a majority white population served by numerous local grocery stores, we wanted to see what sort of historical events occurred to shift the food retail landscape into what we see today. Today, many neighborhoods are battling inaccessibility of food and these neighborhoods are predominately composed of minority, low-income people groups. In order to

address this situation and generate probable solutions, there must first be a foundational understanding of what processes caused such drastic transformations in the food system.

To begin such an analysis requires investigating where supermarkets/fast food restaurants exist in Madison. This investigation will begin to reveal spatial trends with regards to “overserved” and underserved neighborhoods in terms of food accessibility. Beyond this, we desired to understand what types of characteristics generally indicate presence or absence of a grocery store. Within these characteristics, we were sure to pay close attention to the aspect of racial composition as it seemed to have the strongest implications for whether a grocery store would be placed in a neighborhood or not. By exploring the different kinds of food sources in relation to the racial makeup of the census tract at ten year intervals, we found clear evidence that certain groups are disproportionately affected by lack of food accessibility. There are very important processes and events that have taken place over the past forty years that have been integral in shaping the foodscape in cities in the United States, and we see that Madison aligns closely with those larger processes. With the use of interviews, historical map analysis, archival newspaper sources, and academic literature about the processes behind the differentiation of food accessibility in cities we take a holistic approach to this research. Before going any further, we would like to clarify that although supermarkets differ from grocery stores based on size, we use the terms interchangeably for the purpose of this research.

Literature Review

The availability of fresh food in cities varies depending on a number of factors. Included in these factors are concerns related to poverty, the built environment, environmental injustice,

education, racial bias in the criminal justice system, and a lack of economic opportunity. All of these factors intersect with food issues to influence health and well-being (Broad, 2016, p. 45). These factors, when compounded, act to isolate groups of people from healthy food sources such as fresh fruits and vegetables, whole grains, and other minimally processed foods. The result of this isolation is to create areas of food insecurity known as “food deserts”. There are multiple definitions of food deserts, such as being defined by “limited access to adequate retail sources of healthy and affordable food” (Russel and Heidkamp, 2011, p. 1198) or “a census tract where there is a certain threshold of poverty where at least 500 people or one-third of the population reside more than a mile from a large grocery store” (Zhang and Ghosh, 2015, p. 81). With many differing indicators, it is necessary to define what exactly constitutes these areas and to define other key terms relevant to our research. These include the factors such as proximity to supermarkets or fast food restaurants/convenience stores (Laminchane et. al., 2013, p. 158) which are used as proxies for food inaccessibility and underlying drivers of insecurity. The particular use of historical data and retrospective analysis of the retail food landscape has proven to be an important theoretical framework seen in the literature (Bedore, 2012, Laminchane et. al., 2013, Baker et. al., 2006, Thibodeaux, 2015, Viticello and Brinkley, 2014). The vast literature on processes driving food security helped us achieve our goal of researching the history of food insecurity through the past fifty years in Madison.

Our research is not only focused on past processes, but also on how they have created many of the issues cities deal with today. The methods that authors in the literature use include interviews, surveys, case studies, map analyses, and formulas. Due to the wide array of approaches, we used a mix of methodologies to assess the historical and current systems of food

networks in order to get a more holistic view of Madison. We believe that, given what we have read, using different approaches is the most effective way to tackle the complications inherent to urban food systems. In our literature, we come across case studies regarding how food system shifts have impacted different communities nationally and internationally. These successfully provided insight into how to effectively study food insecurity which we then used to shape our approach to Madison. The literature in this review cover both space (urban and rural food landscapes) and time (historical account of retail food landscapes) in cities around the US, Canada, and the United Kingdom. This large scope of studied areas was crucial in helping us identify the underlying processes that cause food insecurity in different areas.

Key Concepts

In order to conduct meaningful research on food deserts in Madison, we must be clear about the definitions, key terms, and key concepts composing food insecurity. Broad identifies three main factors which lead to food insecurity: (1) economic and occupational concerns; (2) environmental and nonhuman animal concerns; and (3) dietary and public health concerns. Broad also discusses **deprivation amplification**, defined as the instance of factors working in conjunction with one another, sometimes having a magnifying effect. This is particularly powerful in demographic factors such as income and race (Broad, 2016, p. 46).

Food systems are very complex. The intricate webs of accessibility are measured, perceived, and studied differently by different authors. The article done by McEntee in 2009 argues that instead of food deserts being a proxy for studying issues associated with food security, we should instead focus on a more concrete measure of *food accessibility*. Thus, the

term food deserts should be used as a proxy for studying other associated issues like food accessibility (McEntee, 2009, p. 349-350).

McEntee unpacks food accessibility by discussing two associated tiers. The first tier is a general portrayal of areas where the population experiences inadequate access to healthy and affordable food. The second tier of his research involves a precise application, identifying food deserts through quantifications of physical, economic, and knowledge-based indicators. He argues that because the term food deserts is somewhat contentious and vague, it is better to just look at processes that give rise to food deserts (McEntee, 2009, p. 350). In our research of food systems in Madison, we took both of these tiers into account.

The terms which he studies to investigate the nature of food deserts more in depth are: **social exclusion** and **retail choice**. Social exclusion is explicitly defined as “instances where people or places suffer from a series of problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, ill health and family breakdowns. These, compounded together often lead to a vicious cycle wherein which future life changes are negatively impacted (McEntee, 2009, p. 351). While this is the term used by UK Social Exclusion Task Force, McEntee will use the definition of **social exclusion** as instances where populations are experiencing inadequate access to healthy and affordable food. Inadequate access is an integral part of the definition for social exclusion. This is a form of poverty which manifests itself in class hierarchies such that those who lie at the bottom of these specific hierarchies are put at a great disadvantage in terms of acquiring the means to survive and to live a healthy and happy life (McEntee, 2009, p. 350). After defining social exclusion, he goes on to discuss the concept of retail choice.

McEntee defines **retail choice** as the relationship between the consumer and the retailer which is impacted by the role of choice in itself. This is a very complex exchange, but essentially the goal of studying retail choice is to discover what role choice actually plays in consumer's abilities to eat a healthy, adequate diet. For example, he says that a person may be satisfied with the local food that they have access to, thus they may assume that they are not experiencing inadequate food access. However they may just be inadequately informed as to what entails a healthy diet (McEntee, 2009, p. 353). All of these definitions will be extremely important to keep in mind not only in analyzing the food system, but also in describing the reasons behind the processes. McEntee's article provides integral knowledge when assessing the spatial arrangement of food security in Madison.

In his research, McEntee places a lot of emphasis on choice. He does so using his theory of the four-level decision making tree with questions to assess whether or not someone is suffering in any of these four tiers related to food inadequacy. Choice level 1 begins by asking whether the respondent wants to eat a healthy diet. The second level asks if they know what food is considered healthy. Level 3 asks the question about if people can afford the kinds of food that they desire. The fourth and final level asks if they can physically access the food that the respondent desires. All four of these choices are very important when it comes to assessing food inadequacies. Access, according to McEntee (2009, p. 354), is multidimensional and critical to the formation of **food inadequacy**. Food inadequacy is four-fold: it involves a lack of desire to eat healthfully, a lack of informational access, a lack of financial access, and/or a lack of physical access (the traditional concern with food desert research).

This assessment of food access goes hand in hand with Russell and Heidkamp's (2011, p. 1198) view of accessibility. Most importantly, they posit that there are three different types of food access: ability, or physical barriers of the landscape and individual mobility; assets, or financial barriers related to transport or food costs; and attitude, or states of mind which hinder proper use of food. These different types of accessibility, in conjunction with the barriers put forward in research done by McEntee, were important when considering what could really be holding people back in Madison communities from acquiring and consuming healthy food.

Not only did we find definitions themselves in the literature, but we also discovered different concepts of food security. For example, Laminchane et. al. (2013, p. 158) examined the links between healthy and unhealthy dietary food accessibility in relation to neighborhood characteristics. She uses supermarket prevalence to assess healthy dietary choices and fast food outlets are used as proxies for unhealthy dietary choices (Laminchane, 2013, p. 158). In her article, **supermarkets** are defined as a large, corporate, owned, franchised food store, selling groceries, including fresh produce and meat, as distinguished from smaller, non-corporate owned, food stores. **Fast food outlets** were defined as nationally or internationally known franchised limited service restaurants that sell inexpensive, quickly served processed foods such as hamburgers, pizza and fried chicken with payment made prior to receiving food and expedited food service with limited to or no wait staff (Laminchane et. al., 2013, p. 158). It is also interesting to note that Lamichhane uses supermarkets as a proxy for healthy food and fast food outlets as a proxy for unhealthy food. This takes the assumption that as long as supermarkets exist in an area, people in that area are getting proper nutritional intake. McEntee (2009, p. 353) however, may believe that not be the case. While utilizing the definitions put forward by

Laminchane about food sources, as well as considering the spatial and non-spatial barriers people face with limited access to food, we ensured that our research in Madison was balanced and showed the whole picture behind food security without making too many assumptions.

Because most of Lamichhane's research is centered around the relationship between neighborhood characteristics and the presence of supermarkets or fast food outlets, we think it would be worthwhile to discuss what is meant by neighborhood characteristics. The neighborhood characteristics Lamichhane (2013, p. 158) focuses on includes area, population density, number of supermarkets, number of fast food outlets, median household income (\$), median value of housing (\$), population with high school education and above (%), minority population (%), population below poverty (%), urbanicity (%), race composition (%), and poverty status of area (%). Having all of these characteristics and being able to compare them in terms of food accessibility is a very thorough way of reviewing whether or not a population is food insecure.

In some of the pieces, key concepts and definitions are laid out nicely, but others are a little less clear. The literature on food security shows that there are several differing definitions of the term "**food desert**". Russel and Heidkamp (2011, p. 1197) suggest that food deserts should be defined as areas on the neighborhood scale or greater, where residents have highly limited access to adequate retail sources of healthy and affordable foods. Zhang defines food deserts as "a phenomenon where affordable and healthy food is difficult to access or, more quantitatively by the USDA's definition: a census tract where there is a certain threshold of poverty and if at least 500 people or one-third of the population reside more than a mile from a large grocery store" (2015, p. 79). Zhang also goes on to define **food insecurity** as a limited access to

sufficient, safe, nutritious food to meet daily need for healthy living (2015, p. 79). Finally, Bedore (2012, p. 134) describes **food deserts** to be areas of poor access to provision of healthy, affordable food where the population is characterized by deprivation and compound social exclusion. Despite variation, each definition includes some aspect of relating physical distance from a healthy food source, leading to limited accessibility for certain people. This is central to our research in Madison.

Each of these differing definitions are important in creating our particular research framework. Bedore's addition of "social exclusion" (2012, p. 153) approaches the topic in more of a Marxist way, whereas Zhang's use of the USDA's definition (2015, p. 81) uses a quantitative spatial science perspective to distinguishes food deserts from non-food deserts. Due to the fact that we use a variety of theoretical frameworks in our personal research, keeping one consistent definition is going to be difficult but extremely important. We hope to incorporate both the social and technical aspects of food insecurity in our research so the definition we are utilizing includes parts of both of these definitions with an emphasis on the spatial science aspect, as we are focusing primarily on presence/absence of grocery stores in different census tracts throughout the city.

One concept that is often overlooked by those focusing exclusively on demographics to assess food accessibility is the idea of **supermarket redlining**. Eisenhauer explains this unfortunate and marginalizing process as one used by many grocery and supermarket chains (Eisenhauer, 2001, p. 125). Many companies decide where to place their stores based on the demographics of the area. This definition is similar to that found in Russel and Heidkamp's piece (2011, p.1199) in which supermarket redlining is defined as the relocation of supermarkets out of

the cities and into the suburbs, along major auto-transportation corridors and in middle-class neighborhoods. Both definitions highlight the tendency for supermarkets to leave urban areas and move to suburban areas. This process provides food options to those who do not need them as urgently and puts vulnerable communities at a disadvantage. These disadvantaged communities are the focus of our research in Madison. By looking at where specific stores are located in the city in relation to demographics, a narrative is formed about which of these food outlets have taken income and race into account prior to opening their doors.

Another review of the negative impacts of the shifting supermarket landscape is found in Zhang and Ghosh's article (2015). This research attempts to understand the effects of spatial supermarket redlining on food access in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods in Hartford, Connecticut. Their goal is to further understand the strong impact that supermarket redlining has had on vulnerable populations in the city. They also investigate the scale of supermarket redlining by looking at *spatial* supermarket redlining to see if there is a geographical pattern present (Zhang and Ghosh, 2015, p. 80-81).

In their research, they want to assess if certain characteristics existed that would make communities more vulnerable to food inaccessibility. To do this, they created what they refer to as a Supermarket Redlining Index (SuRI) and a Supermarket Redlining Impact Model (SuRIM) (Zhang and Ghosh, 2015, p. 84-85). These two concepts will be further explained in the "Methods" section below. It is important to understand, though, that this index and model takes many different concepts underlying food accessibility and combine them together to create a singular, more simplified means of assessing who is currently vulnerable and who may become vulnerable if a supermarket were to close down (Zhang and Ghosh, 2015, p. 84-85).

By utilizing these models, they find that the areas with higher supermarket redlining index (SuRI) values were also the areas with higher impact of place-food-vulnerability. This is to say that if a supermarket were to be removed, a larger proportion of the community would be made vulnerable with virtually no access to nearby supermarkets (Zhang and Ghosh, 2015, p. 96). They found that certain areas of Hartford had low SuRI and SuRIM values, indicating that if grocery stores were to close here, the residents would likely have other options for buying fresh groceries (Zhang and Ghosh, 2015, p. 96). A final finding made by Zhang and Ghosh is that these models (SuRI and SuRIM) raise valid concerns about food insecurity and food deserts here and that this should lead to policy changes (2015, p. 96). This research based on supermarket redlining allowed us to see trends in Madison such that more downtown census tracts and tracts along the isthmus would be associated with lower SuRI and SuRIM values whereas tracts on the far north/east and south sides would have high values. These values correspond with where we may expect vulnerable communities to be: The north/east and south sides. Their in-depth explanation of supermarket redlining proved very useful in our analysis of food security throughout the years.

Another important concept that is important to our research is industrialization. Although most people are familiar with the concept of industrialization, it is not always associated with production of food and food systems. Broad explains that the complex processes of industrialization extends to food in many ways. These include: (1) capital substitutes for labor inputs; (2) vertical hierarchy; (3) maximize yields; and (4) profits from processing and distribution instead of farming (Broad, 2016, p. 36).

Site Setting

A crucial part of understanding food deserts in the city of Madison is setting the foundation of what different food landscapes look like, both spatially and temporally. Eisenhauer's piece explains the current food system landscape in the United States – especially in urban areas. She analyzes the way people get food, what kind of food they buy, and where they tend to buy it both spatially and temporally. In her piece, she emphasizes the historical processes that have led to changes in the retail food landscape (Eisenhauer, 2001, p. 125). These shifts can be seen in neighborhoods all over Madison, but one specifically interesting example is the Allied Drive Neighborhood which we will discuss later in our “discussion” section.

This article works well with Bedore's piece. Bedore (2012, p. 134) begins her piece by stating that while the literature surrounding food deserts may be flawed due to the vague nature of the concept, we should not dismiss the study of inner-city food deserts. She suggests that viewing it through political economy lens can provide insight into differential access. This helps us understand which landscapes are at a disadvantage due to capital formation. Her case study is focused on Kingston, Ontario due to its highly-segregated nature. Her study analyzes how the retail food landscape shifted between 1855-2009. One main shift she discusses is the shift from the pre-industrial retail food market before WWII to a post-Fordist retail food market around 1960 where large retail chains emerged and largely out-competed small-scale local vendors. This shift indicates the closure of many locally owned, neighborhood grocery stores due to inability to compete. In 1990, another shift occurred involving the mass consolidation of retail food vendors, which lowered the total number of stores in Ontario from 34,000 to 24,000 (Bedore, 2012, p. 144). These important historical shifts proved valuable in our research to assess similar processes occurring in Madison over these same time scales.

Bedore also lists different implications the shifts in food landscape has had on the communities; especially those that are most vulnerable. She explicitly states that underneath the problems of food deserts in our current society lies the structure of capitalism which has allowed these vulnerable neighborhoods to exist in the first place (Bedore, 2012, p. 144). The idea that the history of retail location movement cannot be disentangled from capital-spatial fixes which perpetuate them helps set the stage for Madison research. We can better understand why the food systems are the way they are and how the shifts in Ontario compare with the shifts in this city.

Domenic Viticello's piece, like Bedore's, discusses important processes that have taken place in creating the food landscape that is experienced, particularly in cities like Madison, today. The complex web of food production, distribution, and consumption have come to be due to urban planning. One of the key planning ideas he discusses that has influenced food systems is the force of the free market. The fact that urban planners have tended to allow free market processes to work has shaped which businesses are able to be successful and which are left unable to compete. This process particularly benefits big box stores and large supermarket chains due to vertical hierarchy and economies of scale, which, in turn, affects the community which they serve (Viticello, 2014, pp. 103-104). Our research will look at what kinds of stores have been able to thrive and we hope to identify trends of scale in those food outlets.

Various socioeconomic factors shifted over the course of urban development. The biggest shift in history occurred during the 1970s and 1980s and is known as the "Urban Crisis". During this period, poverty increased in urban areas and became more concentrated (Thibodeaux, 2015, p. 187). One of the most interesting points from the article involves the functionality of neighborhoods. Thibodeaux states that "properly functioning neighborhoods produce resources

for neighborhood residents.” Due to this finding it is easy to see that changing demographics and economics of neighborhoods played a role in the loss of resources. By analyzing the demographic transformation in different Madison communities we were able to have a clearer understanding of how these areas were established and how this transformation has impacted the accessibility of food for different groups of people.

Relevant Theoretical Frameworks

Bedore’s article (2012) takes a unique historical-geographical approach to the food desert problem by looking at how access to different food suppliers has changed over time. By noting shifts in the retail food landscape of the area, she assesses who may or may not be in a vulnerable position. Her research and analysis of historical food landscapes in Kingston, Ontario proves to be an important model that we attempt to emulate in Madison. Though her scale is different, we still use a historical geographical lens to depict how the food landscape has changed in Madison.

Relevant Research/Case Studies

There is plenty of evidence that substantiates food insecurity as a legitimate issue. However, there can be confusion over the affected areas and people. It would be easy to say that food insecurity is primarily a problem that affects urban areas. Further research indicates, however, that rural areas are also significantly impacted by food insecurity. We examined case studies of both types in order to select the most effective methods for researching Madison. Zenk (2005) evaluated the spatial accessibility of large “chain” supermarkets in relation to neighborhood racial composition and poverty in Detroit. Results indicated that higher income communities had lower distances to the nearest supermarket no matter the racial demographics of that neighborhood. A racial disparity was revealed once the researchers examined the lower

income communities. Lower income communities that were predominantly black were 1.1 miles further from the nearest supermarket than lower income communities that were predominantly white (however both are still afflicted by lack of access to healthy food). This case study serves as a reminder that we must consider that various demographic categories intersect with each other (race and economic standing in this case). Failing to do this may lead to an affected group being overlooked. Some of the outskirts of Madison may even blur the lines into rural. Of course, they are considered a city due to their being a part of Madison, but it may be important in the future to investigate the problems of food security in these areas.

Raja and Yadav found that areas affected by food insecurity may have a food source for healthy foods, but the quality of the food is not guaranteed (Raja, 2008, p.475). Their study on food deserts in Erie County, NY found that lower income areas afflicted by food insecurity did, in fact, have multiple small grocery stores, convenience stores, and fruit and vegetable markets, but the quality was lacking considerably. This was difficult to take into account in our own research of Madison, but it shows that there is more to food security than the physical presence of a food source.

Another important facet of food insecurity research is the impact of major changes on the community it affects. This helps to gather more information not only about locations of vulnerable communities, but also to assess resilience in these communities. A study done on New Haven, Connecticut done by Russel and Heidkamp (2011) studies the impacts of food on community. The research seeks to discover the relationships between food inaccessibility with household income, poverty level, vehicular transportation, and convenience stores. By considering the major role of the business model that supermarkets play in the creation of new or

exacerbation of current urban food insecurity, they assess the resilience of the community's food systems. The closure of a popular supermarket left the area with no centrally located grocery stores; a classified food desert. These communities predominantly were characterized by low household incomes, high poverty levels, low access to vehicular transportation and high access to convenience stores. The negative impacts of the closure on the community provides an idea about what has happened in similarly structured communities in Madison, such as in the Allied Drive neighborhood. This research also provides a critique of the common notion that supermarkets are the only solution to urban food insecurity.

Food Desert Consequences

The effects of food deserts are more expansive than simply not having access to healthy foods. According to Elizabeth Baker's (2006) study on St. Louis, MO, rates of obesity, diabetes, and heart disease are higher among some racial and ethnic minority groups as well as lower-income groups (Baker, 2006, p. 1). Initial research of the unequal distribution of poor health looked at individual factors, but studies have increasingly started to examine the correlation between environmental factors such as spatial distribution of food sources and food consumption. Baker's findings indicate that race and income were not only associated with the location of food outlets, but with food selection as well. The quality of fruits and veggies sold at supermarkets situated in food deserts were regarded as poor. The author argues that access to healthy food is just as beneficial to individuals who are already affected by obesity, diabetes, and heart disease as it is to those who are at risk. Although perception of quality is largely subjective, it would deem useful to not only compare the quality but also the selection of food outlets throughout different communities in Madison.

Nicole Larson, like Baker, looks at the relationship between food insecurity and risk factors for chronic disease such as obesity and poor diet. Larson's findings show that being in proximity to just one supermarket would increase the amount of middle-aged black and white Americans meeting the dietary guidelines for fruit and vegetable intake by 32% and 11% respectively (Larson, 2009, p. 75). Alternatively, being in proximity to convenience stores has shown to correlate with low fruit and vegetable consumption. The highest levels of obesity are seen in census tracts with convenience stores as their primary food source. Larson's use of the spatial distribution of obesity in conjunction with spatial distribution of supermarkets offers another angle to examine the food desert problem from. Analyzing the distribution of conditions associated with poor diets could establish the magnitude of the threat food insecurity poses to different groups of people in Madison.

Methods

One particular piece of literature that uses a unique methodology of studying food security can be seen in Zhang and Ghosh's research done in Hartford, Connecticut (2015). Hartford is an ideal place to study this issue due to its diverse demographic, socioeconomic, and health disparity indicators. It also is an area with a high rate of poverty (at 32.9%) and an unemployment rate of 14.8%. In an effort to understand the strong impact that supermarket redlining has had on vulnerable populations in this city, they create their own models for determining vulnerability of certain communities as well as which characteristics are commonly seen in those communities who generally suffer from low food accessibility (Zhang, 2015). The Supermarket Redlining Impact Model (SuRIM), as discussed above, identifies areas where the impact of food access vulnerability will be critical (Zhang, 2015, p. 86). The way these two

models complement one another in that they both serve to address the dynamic relationship between food access and demographic composition is unique and worthy of noting when considering our research in Madison. While it is a bit of a stretch to run this elaborate model here in Madison, given our time constraints, it is still worthy to note that some trends do exist in the Madison area with regards to supermarket redlining. As noted above, values for SuRI and SuRIM would be higher in the vulnerable communities situated on the north/east, and far south side of Madison whereas values seen in less-vulnerable central and west Madison would likely be lower.

In addition to the models they created, Zhang and Ghosh (2015, p. 83) also used personal interviews in their research. Their goal in conducting interviews was to get a better idea on how grocery store closures have personally affected the residents in the communities. For example, one local resident who had shopped at Crown for her entire life told Zhang and Ghosh, in response to Crown's announcement of their possible relocation, "I don't know what I'll do. I'll be devastated if it closes. I am there once a week for a big order" (2015, p. 83). Such personal accounts of local residents allows their research to reach a more personal level by highlighting the severity of this problem and the necessity to come up with possible solutions. The addition of interviews with organizations in Madison (REAP and The River Food Pantry) helped to add more of the personal tone of those who are impacted the most, often times the same people who are silenced.

Our literature not only opened up possibilities for conducting interviews or utilizing models such as SuRI and SuRIM, but it also showed the potential of using spatial statistical methods. Research done by Lamichhane et. al. (2013, p. 158-160) uses these types of methods.

As opposed to conducting more qualitative, ground-based interviews, they approach the topic using a quantitative analysis of the landscape. They use spatial statistics to note spatial clustering of food outlets; both healthy and unhealthy. They acquire demographic and socioeconomic data from the US Census Bureau (population, race/ethnicity make-up). They use supermarkets as proxies for healthy dietary choices and fast food outlets as proxies for unhealthy dietary choices. Through the use of spatial statistical analysis methods, they are able to see where supermarkets are located and then assess the demographics of the surrounding areas which they were located in. While measuring demographic composition of areas can sometimes be an ambiguous and vague task, Lamichhane et. al. does a thorough job of defining exactly what they mean when they say “predominantly white” or “non-poor”. Just to provide an example of the thoroughness they provide, they define “predominantly white” as a white population in the tract of interest more than 80% and predominantly black if the opposite were true. Additionally, they define block-groups as being poor if their tract has greater than 20% of the population living below poverty and if that isn’t the case, then the tract is considered “non-poor” (Laminchhane et. al. 2013, p. 158). These are very important distinctions to make, especially when conducting anthropological research because there’s a wide variety of distinctions that can be made. Due to the fact that our research involved creating maps and using census data of racial composition, these definitions are extremely important.

Much of the research about food deserts utilize spatial statistical methods. Russell and Heidkamp (2011) conduct research in New Haven, Connecticut. They study the relationship between food stores and the people living in a given area. They survey stores, examine food prices, quality, and variety while comparing these results between high income and low income

areas. They additionally conduct a network analysis method when assessing different levels of access to supermarkets in terms of distance. They finally created visual interpretations of this network analysis data into maps to supplement their results. The maps that they use in their research allows any given person to easily interpret and visualize the issue of food deserts in New Haven (2011, p. 1203). The comparison of looking at neighborhood characteristics in relation to distance to supermarkets is easily quantifiable and easy to repeat in future research. They are visually appealing, informative, and easy to interpret. We believe the maps we have created are equally as accessible and engaging for the general public.

Lamichhane et. al., (2013) is another piece that helps contextualize our research by explaining the role that demographics play in the history of food. Specifically, the piece discusses the links found between healthy and unhealthy food accessibility with relation to neighborhood characteristics such as income, minority population, education level, housing value etc (Laminchhane et. al., 2013, p. 157). By looking at correlations in the research, it is easy to get a better picture of the neighborhood characteristics that one is most likely to encounter food desert conditions in. By using spatial statistical analysis and distance to grocery stores as a proxy for food insecurity, these authors qualitatively present general trends seen around food accessibility. This research concludes with the interesting fact that accessibility to supermarkets or fast food outlets differ by neighborhood's socioeconomic and demographic characteristics (Laminchhane et. al., 2013, p. 162). By having this information regarding common trends with food security, we can better interpret the results we have seen in Madison food desert research.

The most informative literature implemented a mixed-methods approach. By conducting quantitative and qualitative research our results are able to answer a wider variety of questions

we may encounter over the course of our research. Renee Walker follows this procedure in order to understand the food buying preferences of food desert residents compared to the preferences of those who reside in food oases (2010). The first step she uses is acquiring the various zip codes of the study area due to their geographical context. Zip codes that don't have a chain supermarket within 0.5 miles of the center of the zip code are considered food deserts. Once the sample is established, Walker surveys adults from the selected zip codes who had lived there for at least a year. By interacting with the individuals who are familiar with the study area, the findings are more useful, or at least more representative of the population's sentiments. Through a combination of qualitative methods and data analysis, she splits the food deserts and food oases up by various demographics/properties ranging from age, sex, and ethnicity to car ownership and bus frequency (Walker, 2010, p. 880). This mixed method enables us to represent our population at multiple scales. We primarily used quantitative analysis in our use of demographics and grocery store presence through visual representation. Due to the wide variety of approaches to understanding food security, we have chosen to use a mix of methodologies.

Summary of Key Points

The research done by Walker et.al. (2010) was a review of 31 other studies centered around food access and food accessibility research in the United States. Very seldom is there a comprehensive study of a large field of research, but Walker et. al. did just that. Their research began as an effort to see if there are any overarching conclusions to be made regarding health disparities in relation to race/ethnicity/income levels (Walker et. al., 2010, p. 876). The research covers ideas such as how food deserts are created, what food deserts are, and the health effects created by food deserts. Their findings from the research they fall into four separate categories:

1) access to supermarkets, 2) racial/ethnic disparities in food deserts, 3) income/socioeconomic status in food deserts, and 4) differences in chain vs. non-chain stores (Walker et. al., 2010, p. 878). The assessment of all of these different categories helped supplement our research in Madison in different ways. We are able to follow in their analyses to look at differential access to supermarkets in Madison communities, paying particular attention to racial/ethnic disparities. We were also sure to look at what roles chain and non-chain stores played in the area to see notable historical shifts. Our wealth of literature surrounding food deserts gave us the key terms and ideas with which to study Madison specifically. This research helped us to be more informed researchers with a holistic approach to the current problems facing our community.

In addition to this broad overview of other literature in the realm of food deserts, there are other crucial conclusions that we must consider and take very seriously when conducting research in Madison. The literature presents many findings that we will discuss briefly as these conclusions reveal much about the foundation of our research.

First and foremost, some of our literature emphasized findings surrounding correlations between neighborhood characteristics and the presence or absence of supermarkets. Laminchane et. al. (2015, p. 162) found that neighborhoods with supermarkets had higher income, higher housing value, larger population with high school education and above, lower minority population and lower population living below poverty. They also discovered that non-hispanic black youth were more likely to have lower-quality diets when compared to non-Hispanic white youth. Going further, another finding in her research was that fewer supermarkets are available to black compared to white neighborhoods and low-income compared to wealthy neighborhoods (2015, p. 160).

In addition to Laminchane's research on these correlations, Zhang and Ghosh (2015) provide similar findings. Based on their usage of the Supermarket Redlining Index and the Supermarket Redlining Impact Model, they found that in the inner city and west side of Hartford, if a supermarket were to close, many minority, poor and disadvantaged residents would experience difficulties accessing health foods (Lamichhane et. al., 2015, p. 90). Additionally, that certain areas like northwest and west side Hartford have low SuRI and SuRIM values such that if supermarkets were to close there, they have other options for buying fresh groceries. These areas were also strongly correlated with levels of high income and low urbanicity (suburban) (2015). This emphasizes that not only are minority, low-income, low education populations more subject to already living in poor food-accessibility conditions, but they are also at a higher risk of living in these conditions if nearby supermarkets were to relocate due to the lower density of supermarkets in their neighborhoods (Lamichhane et. al., 2015, p. 90).

This correlation should create some pause in and of itself, however research done by Russell and Heidkamp (2011, p. 1198) takes this to the next level when saying that food deserts are correlated with negative health consequences for the area's residents. Walker et. al (2010) additionally addresses these health consequences. She discusses one of the consequences of poor supermarket access is that residents have increased exposure to energy-dense food readily available at convenience stores and fast food restaurants. Then she goes on to say that a diet filled with processed foods, frequently containing high contents of fat, sugar and sodium, often lead to poorer health outcomes compared to a diet high in complex carbohydrates and fiber (2010, p. 880). Walker also made the connection between race and supermarket access - namely

that predominantly black neighborhoods have fewer supermarkets compared to predominantly white neighborhoods.

Thus, if food deserts are correlated with negative health consequences for those living in them and if those living in them are predominantly made up of neighborhoods with minority population, lower income, lower education and higher poverty rates then these people are experiencing gross disparities when it comes to health food accessibility. These disparities are exactly what we desired to address in our research in Madison, and while we did not have the ability to focus on all of them due to time constraints, we were able to gather a wealth of information surrounding race and supermarket access.

It is worthy to also note the correlations between socioeconomic status and food deserts brought forth by Walker (2010, p. 880-881) as well. He brings up the point that the majority of smaller (convenience) stores located in urban areas are in low-income areas. Not only this, but additionally that economic barriers impede on low-income families from accessing health foods due to the fact that food prices are often times higher in these areas even though the food quality is lower (Walker, 2010, p. 880-881). This stands to show that differing levels of food accessibility are found based on indicators such as race and income. This knowledge is paramount to our research in that it helps us navigate the retail food environment here with the knowledge that such disparities do exist. Our research findings display this knowledge well.

Methods

Over the course of our research, we collected both primary and secondary data. The secondary data collected includes the literature review, outlined above. To supplement the

findings in the literature, we also looked into newspaper articles from Madison's past to read about firsthand accounts of the changing food business locally. We then combined the two sources to create a timeline from 1970 to today that included both the local and national processes that shape the food landscape (**Appendix 1**).

It's clear that the spatial distribution of food sources has changed over time, so we hoped to analyze the movements that have led to food oases and food deserts in respective parts of Madison. We created 5 different maps representing each time period (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010) (**Appendix 5**). The maps were supplemented with information found in the newspaper archives online. These articles were used to show different trends that have changed the landscape of food in Madison. We looked at available census data, business directories, and the ESRI database to see how the composition of food businesses and racial demographics in Madison have changed over time. This included where grocery stores were and, more importantly, where they were not. Our focus was primarily mapping racial demographics in conjunction with the availability of food in hope that we would establish a correlation between the shift in the locations of grocery stores and the change in the racial demographics of an area.

To acquire the earlier racial demographics of Madison, we accessed the United States Census Bureau's online archives. Each decennial census had a variety of data for areas at every scale. In order to effectively analyze the change in Madison's racial demographics, we measured the non-white percentage of each census tract rather than the city as a whole entity. For the earlier censuses the only races that were accounted for were "White" and "Black". Considering that we wanted to represent all the people of color in Madison, we recorded the percentage of white residents in each census tract. After recording the proportion of white residents, another

field was made in the attribute table to account for the percentage of racial minorities in Dane County's census tracts. The values in this field were acquired by using a function to subtract the percentage of white residents from one hundred. Later censuses created more ethnic/racial groups to identify with. We felt that the previous method of finding the difference between the percentage of white residents and one hundred percent would be the most effective considering that it accounted for the new categories such as White-Hispanic. The next challenge was to display the demographics exclusively in Madison.

The census tracts that included parts of Madison also happened to contain populations from surrounding cities such as Middleton, Fitchburg, and Monona. In order to select Madison from the census tract shapefile (with boundaries included) we used the Clip tool in ArcMap. After creating a layer matching the physical characteristics of Madison that contained the attribute values of the census tract data layer, we debated the best method to display the data. Due to the fact that the data was normalized and under the assumption that the demographics of Madison varied across the city, we chose to present our data as a choropleth map. One of the most important components of choropleth maps is the classification scheme. In our case the only feasible option was the "Jenks natural break" classification scheme. The Jenks scheme focuses on maximizing the variance between the classes while minimizing variance within the class. This scheme was especially necessary for the earlier decades where even though some areas had higher percentages of residents of color, they were still so low that those areas would be considered predominantly white. We were satisfied with how the classification scheme captured the variation, so we proceeded to mapping food sources in Madison.

In order to look into the change in the spatial distribution of food sources in Madison, we utilized the extensive collection of sources found at the Wisconsin Historical Society. Using old business directories from 1970-2010, we recorded the addresses of various food sources in an Excel spreadsheet (**Appendix 4**). After putting this data in the spreadsheet, we then geocoded the addresses onto a map using an address locator made from Dane County's 2014 roads. Despite using current roads as the base for the address locator, we were able to geocode a significant majority of the addresses from the earlier decades. The locations of more recent fast food restaurants and grocery stores were provided to us courtesy of Esri's online database and the City of Madison Planning Division. The combination of the two layers were effective in our analysis in terms of identifying the people most vulnerable to food insecurity.

In order to make the abstract problem of food accessibility more personal, we also conducted interviews with two food groups in Madison. The goal of these interviews was to get a better understanding of the needs within Madison and how that has varied over space and time. The first interview we conducted was with Miriam Grunes, the executive director of REAP Food Group. This nonprofit is concerned with creating a sustainable food system in Southern Wisconsin. Not only does this group work to connect farmers with new customers and restaurants, it is also heavily involved in the schools in Madison. We interviewed Miriam because we were largely interested in seeing the effects of the "farm to school" program. This program provides healthy snacks as well as fresh, locally produced fruits and vegetables for school-aged children. REAP works with multiple schools, but certain aspects of the program are only available to schools that qualify for federal grants as a result of low-income in the area. The

interview (**Appendix 2.1**) provided a lot of insight into the problems faced by the young people in Madison.

The second interview we conducted was with Andy Czerkas, the executive director of River Food Pantry. River Food Pantry is a non-profit food pantry in Madison, Wisconsin. Due to the fact that it is one of the largest food pantries in Madison, the interview led to some very interesting discussion about what areas are in the most need. This interview (**Appendix 2.2**) was extremely insightful on an array of issues that will be explored below in the data results section.

Data Results and Analysis

Due to the fact that our approach to analyzing food systems in Madison, WI is so multifaceted we will go through the results of each constituent part and then look at the bigger picture in the “Discussion” section below.

Interviews

One thing that was made abundantly clear with both of the interviews is that there is a serious need for food assistance in Madison, especially for children. Both interviewees brought up the fact that over 50% of students in Madison qualify for free and reduced lunch. A shocking 80% of school lunches that are served in Madison public schools are served to those who qualify for free or reduced price lunch. Andy Czerkas mentioned that this trend is especially a problem for residents of the north side. He told us that 80% of the students on the north side of Madison qualified for free or reduced lunch. Although this is a bit of an arbitrary demarcation, when looking at the distribution of retail food stores today (**Appendix 5.5**) we see that this particular area has a high concentration of non-white individuals living there. Additionally, it is clear that

this area has limited access to healthy food. The northern part of Madison, particularly the area near River Food Pantry has two convenience stores, one fast food restaurant, and only one grocery store located right on the edge of this particular census tract.

Another interesting thing that was touched upon by both interviewees was food choice. The Farm Fresh Atlas, REAP's publication, is currently being used at the WIC office. Although there has been an increased interest for the general population in eating healthy, that result is not necessarily shared by all. Miriam, of REAP, noted that familiarity strongly affects food choice. She said, "We definitely see a difference in the receptivity to try new vegetables among kids that have already been in our snack schools compared to the kids in non-snack schools." This observation is important as supporting evidence for the amplification of negative effects of food insecurity. People learn to make decisions about food when they are very young. The fact that people in areas with less diverse food availability are not being exposed to the same healthy foods, speaks volumes to the problems that many people who struggle with food availability face later in their lives.

Andy Czerkas of River Food Pantry also touches on the subject of "familiarity with foods" as being a barrier to healthy eating. He says that even when you provide people with a wide variety of foods (healthy and unhealthy) they may gravitate towards the unhealthy processed foods due to lack of education on how to prepare fruits, vegetables, and other healthy options. For this reason, the pantry holds cooking classes and other events to help familiarize local individuals with food preparation in hopes that they would be more inclined to cooking with healthy options in the future. He also made a point to mention that it is not the place of River Food Pantry to shame those they serve, but rather provide the food that they need without

judgement. River Food Pantry also brings in nutritionists from UW-Madison to educate the recipients who are so inclined to learn more about what foods are healthy and how to prepare them. The level of exposure to different foods is affected by a number of things (physical access, financial access, personal desire), as discussed in the literature review, but even if you are only looking at the presence of grocery stores that provide healthy and fresh options, some people are severely limited.

Another aspect of food choice that we had originally not thought of arose while talking with Andy from River Food Pantry. He noted that many of those that River Food Pantry serves are immigrants who do not speak English. Although it is not true for all immigrants, some people moving to the United States are starting over and may not have a lot of opportunities that American's are commonly granted. The areas of Madison that are most affected by food insecurity are lower income, which may have a significant effect on those who are new to the country. Further analysis of this will be explored in the "discussion" section below.

The interview with REAP's Miriam Grune brought up another great point about food security that we had not originally thought to look into. When people are discussing "food justice" they often focus largely on the consumer. Miriam suggested a more comprehensive approach by saying, "When we think about food justice, that needs to extend to the farm as well as to the consumer. Paying farmers and farm labor a fair wage means food shouldn't necessarily be cheaper." This take on food security will be discussed more deeply in the "discussion" section below.

As part of our research, we wanted to look at food spatially and temporally. Both interviews touched on that topic. When asked about the busiest time of the year, Andy mentioned

that January and February had the lowest attendance at River Food Pantry. He attributes this lack of attendance to people receiving their tax returns. During the interview, he took this opportunity to point out that many people who need help with getting food do not like that they need to do so. Mr. Czerkas said, “people do want to provide for their families so when they get such agency, they will use it.” This quote is a good reminder that although many times people who rely on assistance are portrayed or spoken about as being lazy or “cheating the system” that simply is not the case. Miriam Gune provided insight to the flip side of this. According to her, farmers are using new technology to extend the growing season. This technology, however, is limited and even using it, there is less availability of healthy, locally-grown food in the winter months.

On a larger scale, Angy Czerkas walked us through a brief history of how the certain parts of Madison came to be such intense food deserts (**Appendix 5.5**). He noted that the combination of the recession and the closure of some key stores, particularly around the 2000s, in the area increased the number of people who were unable to get food dramatically on the north side. He also mentions the St. Vincent's food pantry's move from Willy Street to the south side as leaving a need for help in Eastern Madison. Due to the fact that there is a grocery store in that region, Willy Street Coop, it is not technically a food desert. The reality faced by those who live in that area, however, is not what a map without context would infer. The fact that Willy Street Coop caters to a specific group of people severely limits its effectiveness in alleviating food insecurity when many of the people it reaches out to serve simply cannot afford to shop there.

One of our main goals in conducting interviews was to bring a more of a personal touch to studying food systems. In a touching story, Mr. Czerkas told us of a man who went from

earning a six-figure salary to being in jeopardy of losing his house. By using the help provided by River Food Pantry, he was able to start attending and paying for classes to get an education after a serious health scare. He now has a job and assurance that he can make it through rough patches in life thanks to assistance from Mr. Czerkas and the pantry. This anecdote emphasizes a couple important points about food insecurity. The first is that anyone can be affected. Although many indicators suggest that certain groups of people (i.e. the elderly, low-income, or minorities) are more susceptible than others, people of all different kinds can end up needing help. Another point is that people rely on assistance for a multitude of reasons. Whether it is because they lost their jobs, are battling health problems, or simply cannot afford it, food insecurity does not have one simple explanation.

Maps

1970s

Because this is the year that we began our analysis, we have no previous year for comparison. This map of Madison in the 1970's (**Appendix 5.1**) sets the tone for the rest of our map analyses. In the 1970's, phonebook entries from the Wisconsin State Historical Society for the year records 25 convenience stores, 29 fast food restaurants, and a high concentration of 80 grocery stores. Convenience stores made up about 19% of all stores, fast food stores made up about 22% of all stores, and grocery stores made up about 60% of all stores. This is the highest number of grocery stores we will see through all our analyses and it really speaks into the validity of the underlying trend here: that grocery stores were dominant in the food retail landscape in Madison in 1970.

The spatial arrangement of grocery stores (yellow dots) was generally well-spread throughout the city, but they were seen in higher concentration within the isthmus and downtown region and slightly beyond. At this point in time, there were twice as many grocery stores as there were convenience stores and fast food restaurants combined. The accessibility to food in 1970 was more evenly distributed than in any other years that we looked at, but there are still inequities present. While certain census tracts on the far east and far west side appear to be food insecure, many census tracts which are more centrally located boast high numbers of healthy eating options. It may have been the case that in the latter half of this decade (1975-1980) more instances of small-chain closures were occurring, however at the beginning of the '70's, the food situation in Madison was more even.

The generally light color scheme of this map (withholding a few darker red census tracts) displays just how homogenous the population of Madison was during the 1970's. We used Jenks natural breaks to create the legend for non-white percentages, but even the darkest red census tracts only are boasting 7.7-16.5% non-white. The racial demographics of Madison was more or less uniform throughout the city. It is worth mentioning, however, that the census tracts which have the highest concentration of non-white percentage have access to only 5 of the 80 grocery stores of this time. The other 75 stores are in the even higher white concentration census groups. Those census groups in the far northeast side (including the tract which today contains River Food Pantry) have none of these 5 grocery stores. The only food options in that particular tract include 3 convenience stores.

1980

As to be expected, the map of the 1980's (**Appendix 5.2**) shows that the composition of retail food stores shifted as a result of the processes which occurred in the 1970's. At this point, the food landscape was made up of about 66 grocery stores, 39 convenience stores, and 26 fast food restaurants. This is a change seen from the 1970's (**Appendix 5.1**) which showed 80 grocery stores, 25 convenience stores, and 29 fast food restaurants. We can see then that the food landscape was already shifting at this time with a higher concentration of convenience stores and a less grocery stores. Perhaps what people were desiring is convenience which lead to an increase of generally unhealthy meals and a decrease in patronage at grocery stores.

While we do see more dots appearing on the north side of Madison, they are in the form of fast food restaurants. So the access that was generated in the 1970s was in the form of unhealthy and highly processed foods. No grocery stores can be seen for the majority of these neighborhoods. In 1980, the neighborhoods surrounding East Towne Mall off of Hwy 151 appear to have very little in the way of healthy eating options. Additionally, the community surrounding the airport was not only categorized as having above 58% non-white population, they also had access to one fast food restaurant and one convenience store, putting them at a high risk of food insecurity. Overall, it appears that those who were most at risk for food accessibility in 1980 were those on the far west side and the north/west side. The census tract which currently contains the River Food Pantry, had only one convenience store and one fast food restaurant. The area did not contain one grocery store.

On the contrary, it is clear that the downtown region had a bounty of available grocery stores. Not surprisingly, this higher access to healthy food options also appears to be correlated with a lower percentage of non-white population. In the ten years between 1970 and 1980,

Madison increased greatly in diversity. There were five census tracts that have between 58.44-100% non-white population whereas in the 1970's, there existed no such concentrations. All of these more diverse tracts have a combined 4 grocery stores whereas the less diverse, higher-white concentration tracts have an astounding 62 grocery stores. That is over 15X more grocery stores in census tracts which have over 50% white composition than the tracts with less than 50% white composition.

1990

There were many changes from the 1980s to the 1990s (**Appendix 5.2, Appendix 5.3**). One of the most glaring is the increase in fast food restaurants. The extreme spike in fast food restaurants is consistent with the general trends of the time, specifically we see number of grocery stores go from just 26 in the 1980's, to 90 in the 1990's. As more and more highly processed foods became available to the masses, less grocery stores were present. It is clear from looking at the changes in the maps from 1980 to 1990 that there were many less grocery stores as well. While there were 66 grocery stores reported in 1980, that number dropped to 58 in 1990. An indication of the consolidation trend already taking place.

Another important note to make is the changing racial composition within the city. According to the census, there were less census tracts with high non-white populations. This is an interesting anomaly, as it would be expected that white flight would have taken more wealthy and middle-class white families to Middleton and other suburban areas. This does not seem to be the case in Madison. One general trend is the high concentration of grocery stores in the downtown area. Fast food restaurants are dispersed generally evenly throughout the city, but grocery stores are limited in many areas. Of these areas that seem to be lacking access are the

west side and the east side. The east side, a largely white area, are located very close to Cottage Grove and may be able to use the abundant grocery stores found there.

Certain census tracts, however, can still be seen as being highly non-white by Madison's standards. There are two census tracts in particular that have between 31%-58% non-white residents. One of these tracts has two grocery stores, but also has two fast food restaurants and a convenience store. The fact that this tract contains two grocery stores is not what we would have expected based on the literature. What is to be expected, however, can be seen in the other tract with similar racial demographics. This particular census tract has no grocery stores, convenient stores, nor fast food restaurants. According to the directories from 1990, the residents in this area of Madison would not have any immediate access to healthy and fresh foods. The census tract that contains the River Food Pantry not only has no grocery stores, it also does not contain any fast food restaurants. The only food sources in 1990 for that region were convenience stores. It is fair to say that for many areas in Madison, the 1990s were a time of food insecurity for people of all races, but this unequal access disproportionately affected those who are not white.

2000

The ten years between 1990 and 2000 resulted in a dramatically different foodscape in Madison (**Appendix 5.3, Appendix 5.4**). One unsurprising thing we found was that grocery stores declined from 58 stores in 1990 to 32 stores. What was surprising, however, was that the number of fast food restaurants also declined. The number of fast food restaurants went from 90 to 69 stores in just ten years. Based on our literature review, newspaper collection, and interviews we expected that the number of fast food restaurants would have grown, but that was not the case. It is important to note that the phone book we used for Madison in 2000 did not

have listings for convenience stores so the map is lacking the full extent of that attribute. Even with the sharp decline in fast food restaurants, there was still twice as many as there were grocery stores. While the number of food sources declined, the percent non-white population grew.

What is perhaps more interesting than the fact that so many food sources closed is where they closed. It is notable that the areas that were hit hardest by the grocery store closures are found in Southern and the Northeastern Madison. There were not many grocery stores located on the north side in the 90s, but nearly all those that were located there were no longer available in 2000. The problems related to not having a readily available grocery store are only amplified by the fact that the number of fast food stores, although decreasing in Madison as a whole, actually increased in the north. This is an example of how complicated food insecurity can be. The accessibility to food sources in an area is just as important as what type of food source it is. Thus, while an area may be completely disadvantaged with no food sources at all, it would only be marginally better to have a McDonalds placed there to “alleviate insecurity”. It is also important to note that the northeast side was one of the more diverse areas in Madison in the 1990s.

One of the other very diverse areas in Madison in the 1990s was the south side, particularly the census tracts located below Lake Wingra and Lake Monona. There is one stretch that spans over 3 miles that is absent of all but one grocery store. This area, however, is different from the food desert on the north side, in that it really doesn't have access to fast food restaurants either. It is clear from analysis of this area that the south side of Madison was extremely affected by food insecurity in the 2000s and that this disproportionately affected the non-white residents.

One of the only areas in Madison that did not face massive closures of grocery stores in the decade of the 1990s was the downtown area. Although the number of grocery stores did decline, it was by a much smaller percent than that seen in the Northeast and South. The number of fast food restaurants declined on the isthmus, as well. The racial demographics of the downtown area did not see much change. One notable change in the 2000s was that Mifflin Co-op and Main Street Market closed. These closures, although it speaks volumes about the attitudes around food choices, did not create a food desert in the area. The residents of this area, presumably many of which were students, still had multiple places to buy fresh, healthy food. This is not the case, however, for the closure of two grocery stores in the same spot in the Allied Drive Neighborhood in the 2000s. The neighborhood was occupied by both a Sentry that closed in 2000 and later a Cub Foods, which closed in 2009. According to the census data from 1990, this area, located in the aforementioned south side, has a large non-white population by Madison's standards. The area, even to this day, is underserved in regards to the availability of healthy foods.

2010

The final decade we analyzed was the 2010's; today. The 2010's leads into what is currently going on in Madison. The census data used to compose this map is from 2010 due to the fact that census data only comes out once every 10 years however the grocery store/fast food data is from 2014, the most recent we could find. The changes in the data are interesting, yet not surprising. Compositionally, the food retail landscape sits at 34 convenience stores, 107 fast food restaurants, and 43 grocery stores. This means that convenience stores make up about 18% of total stores, fast food restaurants make up about 58% of total stores, and grocery stores make up

the last 23%. Because the data for convenience stores in the 2000's were not available we will instead look at the what happened to both fast food restaurants and grocery stores. The raw number of fast food restaurants went drastically up from 69 to 107 and the raw number of grocery stores went up from 32 to 43. Such a trend may be indicative of the economy stabilizing itself out a bit after the Great Recession. It would make sense for fast food restaurants to skyrocket due to the increased need for convenience as well as the ability for fast food restaurants to create jobs in areas they get placed in. Additionally, food at these restaurants is cheap and affordable. To go along with this, the increase in grocery store concentration could be due to the chain stores planted here spreading out and increasing its customer base. It is worthy to note that the current composition of fast food restaurants vs. grocery stores (58% and 23% respectively) completely flipped from the composition dating back in the 1970's where fast food restaurants made up 22% and grocery stores sat at 60%. This dramatic shift speaks volumes to the transformation of the food retail landscape in Madison.

Looking back at the map, it appears as if now, these food sources are a little more evenly distributed, with grocery stores being placed in census tracts which previously had no grocery stores (north and east sides of Madison, below Lake Wingra). It almost appears as if grocery stores are moving out of the inner city into suburban areas. This coincides with literature reviewed talking about how grocery stores are moving towards suburban areas etc. While this sort of trend took place around the 1960's and 1970's nationally, perhaps it is just happening at a later pace in Madison.

The large census tract to the north of Madison near the airport where River Food Pantry planted itself finally received it's first grocery store in the form of a Pick n' Save on Aberg

Avenue in the 2010's. This could mean huge things in terms of accessibility for those in this census tract. However, those who can still not reach this particular location (as it is on the southern fringe) do have access to River Food Pantry thanks to Jenny and Andy Czerkas for opening up this location in an area that has historically been plagued with food accessibility issues.

It is worth noting that inequity is still present in that there are only grocery store(s) available in 33% of the census groups labeled 50.81%-100% non-white population. Whereas for 67% of the census tracts labeled 4.1%-13.1% non-white, grocery stores are present. Additionally, only 5 out of the 43 grocery stores are located in census tracts which are labeled 33% or greater non-white. The other 38 are located in census tracts labeled as "67% white population". Overall, though there may seem to be a greater dispersion of grocery stores around the Madison area, there is still much work to do, specifically in the realm of locating these stores in areas which would begin alleviating the very apparent differential food access we see across racial categories.

Timeline

To compile information for our timeline (**Appendix 1**) we utilized the information in our literature review. Once we put that information in chronological order, we then supplemented it with newspaper articles found in the online archive. Organizing the information in this way proved to be very useful for analyzing how changes in the foodscape of Madison, Wisconsin aligned with national trends.

One trend that emerged in the 1970s was the concentration of grocery stores (Ducatel and Blomley, 1990. Pp. 221). According to their paper, an astounding two firms had control over slightly below $\frac{2}{3}$ of the produce in the United States. This trend was confirmed in our research

into processes in Madison. One interesting article was written in 1976 in the form of a “Dear Abby” letter that was published in the Capital Times (Van Buren, 1976, pp. 23). A small grocer wrote, “With the large chain supermarkets moving in all around, we couldn’t survive.” They also concluded their letter with this plea, “please print this so people will realize that home-owned businesses can’t survive unless people give them a break.” It is clear from this article that people all over the country, including in Madison, felt the pain of large grocery stores moving in and outcompeting small, locally-owned stores. Not only did grocery store composition change, the kinds of shopper also started to change in the 1970s. When F&D on Monroe closed, one article highlighted the decline of small grocers. The owner “attributed that decline of small groceries to problems getting help and to changing neighborhoods” (Leslie, 1970, pp. 29).

Another important process that came out of our lit review was the “urban crisis”. This is a very complex process, but the underlying result was middle and upper class, mostly white, residents moving out of the city and into suburbs, bringing their disposable income with them. Although this process was not mentioned explicitly in any of the newspapers, one article did mention that the combination of the rising cost of real estate in cities and low profit margins largely inhibited the opening of a grocery store in the State Street/Capital area of town. The article also mentioned that the only stores that would be able to afford to open a store in such an area was a larger chain store. No locally-owned grocery store owners thought it would be plausible to open a store in that space. The article from 1970 mentioned in the previous paragraph also stated “Families die off or move to the suburbs.”. This is consistent with information from the literature review about the struggles faced by grocers in the inner-city.

The 1980s brought more interesting changes in the foodscape throughout the country. The main theme was further concentration of grocery stores. The report released by Food Marketing Institute of Washington, D.C. indicated the rise of big-box stores and supermarket warehouses. According to the report, changing needs of consumers can be attributed to this shift. The report states, “Look for traditional supermarkets to continue to dwindle in numbers but remain a healthy portion of the business. Warehouse markets and super stores put traditional groceries out of business” (Hesselberg, 1985, pp. 4). Although this 1985 report indicates that there is still a market for locally owned grocery stores, Madison continued to face more closures throughout the 1980s. In 1988, for example, Millins on Monroe Street closed its doors after 32 years. The closing of this grocery store was a result of business declining for the previous 40 years (Lautenschlager, 1988, pp. 1B). This marks the trend put out by the Food Marketing Institute that local stores will slowly decline as concentration of capital continues being accrued in fewer large-scale chains.

In the 1990s, the effects of the urban crisis and consolidation of grocery stores continued to be felt in cities throughout the United States. According to Eisenhauer in 1995, “the poorest 20% of urban neighborhoods had 44% less retail supermarket space than the richest 20%” (Eisenhauer, 2001, pp. 128). This time period was also marked with an increase in inequality within cities (Thibodeaux, 2015, p. 188). One example of this was the closure of Sentry on East Washington and First Street in 1993, this store was a staple in a working-class neighborhood. This closure was attributed to grocery stores “moving toward bigger stores” (Seely, 1993, pp. 1D-2D).

The 1990s also brought the beginning of people paying closer attention to the differential access to food. The 1998 CDC report titled *Health, United States 1998* found health and access to healthcare among the poor had decreased and environmental risks have increased. We suspect these problems were amplified by lack of access to healthy food. There were no newspaper articles in Madison to corroborate this suspicion, but there were multiple articles highlighting the closure of grocery stores in lower-income areas in town. Ironically, the Wisconsin Grocers Association released a statement in 1998 that indicated that a “Grocery Store Boom” was occurring in Madison. The stores opening, however, were mostly chains. It is also important to mention that a rise in grocery stores does not necessarily mean a rise in access for all. Brandon Scholz, the president of the Wisconsin Grocers Association, said, “You either keep up with it or go out of business” (Gribble, 1998, pp. 5A). Unfortunately, those who must deal with the consequences of grocery stores not being able to “keep up” may already be at a disadvantage.

One thing that came up in our investigation of newspaper archives that did not appear in our literature review was changes to the food system as a result of different regulations. One newspaper indicated that proposed tax cuts to lure businesses to a proposed shopping center actually posed a threat to already established locally-owned businesses. The article said that two co-owners of Mifflin Street Co-op, “are two of several local grocers who fear they’ll be put out of business if the proposed Metropolitan Place is allowed to woo a grocery store into its street-level retail space” (Callender, 1999, Pp. 1A). Locally-owned grocery stores have been facing threats for years, but are only exacerbated by regulation to enhance profits for large-scale businesses.

In the 2000s, many grocery stores faced store closures that were integral to certain communities. One such community was the Allied Drive neighborhood. This neighborhood is a largely working-class area that has had a long struggle with facing food insecurity. In 2000, the closure of a Sentry in the Allied Drive area began what we found to be a long string of difficulties for the area. An article indicated that this neighborhood has had many problems, including drugs and violence, but the reason given by Sentry officials stated the closure was exclusively economic. However, the closing of the store completely ignored the communities reliance on the grocery store, “Fleming said his company did not study the customer base to gauge the impact of closing the store, located on Verona Road just south of the Beltline” (Schneider, 2000, pp. 2A).

This area was left without a grocery store for eight months when a Cub Foods moved in across the Beltline. This store, however closed nine years later. This left the Allied Drive neighborhood, yet again, without healthy food. Cub Foods cited “a difficult economic environment” for the reason for closing this store. The closure of Cub Foods in Madison was accompanied by the closing of 50 other underperforming stores throughout the country. (Schneider, 2000, pp. 2A). The article briefly mentioned the difficulties faced by single-parent households and those without vehicles. The city has offered a \$300,000 incentive to lure in a grocery store to the area that desperately needs it, but as of today, still no grocery exists there. The area did have a Walgreens until it’s closure in 2015. This is another reminder of the many layers of food insecurity. Even during Walgreens’ presence in the neighborhood, the poor residents of the Allied Drive neighborhood were forced to do their “grocery shopping” there due to lack of access. The problems are further complicated when considering how many people in

the area have access to vehicles and the number of residents reliant of the limited availability of public transportation.

The trend of consolidation of food sources did not cease in the 2000s. In fact, many more locally owned stores closed throughout the city. Notable closures include Mifflin Co-op and Main Street Market, which both closed in 2006. A theme in the explanation for both stores closing was community. The Main Street Market owners were quoted as saying, “Small stores like this, more than the large stores, are kind of a nucleus for a small city or neighborhood.” (Kittner, 2006, pp. B1-B3). The benefits of locally owned grocery stores are hard to quantify. The closure of the store did not create a food desert. Although there are other grocery stores in that area, those who benefit from the sense of community created by the market will certainly feel the effects of the closure. Mifflin Co-op, is another example of a grocery store that relied heavily on the sense of community. “Cooperatives have that community connection and commitment. That is lost when something like Mifflin closes” (Adams, 2006, pp. A1-A9). He attributes the stores failure to financial difficulties but also mentions the changing demographics of the area and lack of interest of college students in taking part of the co-op community.

Another important part of the 2000s that drastically altered the food landscape in Madison was the economic recession. According to the 2008 Public Health Report: Dane County and Madison, the recession caused a sharp increase in food security in Wisconsin (Heckman, 2008, p. 2). The inability to afford food in conjunction with the closing of many groceries stores in areas that people are the most vulnerable caused a sharp rise for reliance on food shelves (Heckman, 2008, p. 2). This is consistent with what we found in our interview with Andy Czerkas, from River Food Pantry. One important development is the increased awareness of the

problem of food insecurity. The 2008 Farm bill defines the term *food desert* as areas “with limited access to affordable and nutritious food, particularly such an area of predominantly lower income neighborhoods and communities” (Broad, 2016, pp. 33). Recognition of the problem at a federal level is definitely a step in the right direction to put forth more actions to combat differential access of food in cities all over the country.

The study of Madison newspapers throughout the 2010s has shown significant changes. According to Scott Mushkin, an analyst for Wolfe Research, a shocking \$6.7 billion was spent on grocery store takeovers in 2013. He also mentions that Wal-Mart has forced those in the grocery business to change and has, in fact, forced many traditional grocers out of business or join into mergers (Arbel, 2013, pp. B2). This indicates a continuation of the consolidation of grocery stores that began in the 1970s. This increased choice around food has not resulted in equal levels of access, nor to the alleviation of need. According to Broad, 21.5 million children receive free or reduced-price lunch in 2013 (Broad, 2016, pp. 44). This is also consistent with both of our interviews that indicated roughly half of the students in Madison qualify for that. Although there have been grocery stores opening that offer healthy foods, like Hy-vee and other big box stores, those benefits are not necessarily felt by all. Another thing to consider with the rising number of big-box stores and warehouse supermarkets are the impacts of taking public transportation. Such a topic is too broad to go into depth on in our research.

Discussion

The question we set out to answer was who is, and has historically been, more susceptible to dealing with food insecurity in Madison. Not only did we want to see who has had access to

food, we were also interested in how the composition of the food sources has changed over time. We found that the percentage of all food sources that were grocery stores has gone down every decade from 1970's to the present day, while the number of fast food restaurants in proportion to total number of stores by decade has steadily risen from 1970's to the present day (**Appendix 4, Appendix 5**). Grocery stores used to make up about 60% (in 1970) of the retail food sector in Madison whereas now it is merely 23%. Fast food restaurants used to make up only 22% of retail food sector in Madison whereas now it sits at 58%. Fast food restaurants have nearly switched roles with grocery stores' from the 1970's shift to today, when viewing the current retail food sector of this city. This drastic switch can be attributed to consolidation and take-over of small, locally owned grocers and the appearance of grocery giants (such as Woodman's, Shopko, and more recently, Hy-Vee). Additionally, fast food chains have skyrocketed in popularity likely due to less time, less income, and a desire for more convenience. It appears as if grocery stores have almost completely shifted from serving as spaces for meeting, employment, kinship, trust, and building relationships (Bedore, 2012. Pp. 144) to a sector run by a few very successful grocery chains who run impersonal businesses focused on generating capital first and foremost. A shift as drastic as this one cannot happen without creating major waves in the surrounding community.

For Madison, we see this type of shift leaving many census tracts and neighborhoods in vulnerable positions regarding access to food. The areas with a growing population of people of color have been disproportionately affected by food insecurity. The reasons behind differential access for different groups of people are complex. They may be without any sort of food service or may be limited only to foods offered by convenience stores or fast food restaurants; historically, not the healthiest of options. Those in vulnerable positions tend to disproportionately

be the non-white population. Our maps displayed that the racial make-up of the census tracts which are generally most at risk, are those which generally have higher percentage of non-white than those tracts which possess an abundance of accessibility to health foods. One thing that can be said for certain is that food accessibility in Madison is not a level playing field for everyone.

While such research can be a source of discouragement, the ways that particular parts of the community have banded together to assist vulnerable individuals should provide a source of hope. The River Food Pantry has chosen the location in Madison's North Side which historically has been classified as a food desert. Their outreach and effort is commendable and their involvement could be a model to be followed in the future to further work towards alleviating food accessibility issues in Madison, WI. With serving over 30,600 individuals last year alone, they are making huge strides at addressing food insecurity in Madison and will likely only continue to grow.

Additionally, we see the government coming behind specific vulnerable communities and giving a voice to the voiceless. Specifically, the city of Madison has offered \$300,000 for a grocery store to locate in the well-known food-insecure neighborhood, Allied Drive Dunn Marsh on the South Side (**Appendix 5.5**). This neighborhood has been without access to health foods since Cub Foods closed in 2009, leaving thousands highly disadvantaged. Since this time, many efforts have been taken, albeit in vain, there is still hope that eventually a grocery store will move into the neighborhood and alleviate many of the issues food insecurity can bring with it. Newspapers discussed that in March of 2016, a grocery store was supposed to locate in this neighborhood, but for economic purposes, that fell through (Derby, 2015). Though these individuals are still struggling with providing for themselves and their families, hope abounds in

that the government is beginning to recognize how big of an issue food insecurity is and how many people it is impacting. They are beginning to put their foot down and vouch for communities who may not have the enough power to make changes by themselves; a courageous act.

Due to time and money constraints, our group could not do all of the research we would have liked to. One of our biggest regrets during this process is that we were not able to look at the policies that corresponded with the changes in demographics and the spatial distribution of grocery stores in Madison. In particular, we would have liked to look more deeply into policies for place store placement, government policies such as subsidized housing, and the relationship between public services such as bus routes and those who are particularly susceptible for food insecurity. We would also hope to continue research in the future to see if and to what extent those who are considered food insecure are affected by the consequences of poor dietary habits such as obesity, heart disease, and academic achievement.

Another area that we did not have a chance to deeply focus on was the role of community in food systems. We did see throughout our many different approaches that many small, single-unit firms were being put out of business, but we did not have the opportunity to see what implications that would have for the residents of the community. It would be interesting to do a more extensive case study of the many co-ops in Madison and their effects on the communities they serve. We would also be interested in doing a more concrete analysis of how the local and chain grocery store composition has changed in Madison over time.

It would additionally be interesting to see just how much this differential access does impact communities at the ground level. Generating maps, creating timelines and doing

interviews with particular organizations are all very useful methods of understanding the issue of food insecurity in its own sense. However, getting down on the ground-level and seeing how food insecurity manifests itself in individual's lived experiences would be a powerful addition to the literature. Perhaps in the future, steps can be taken to ensure that people's voices get heard. That their stories do not go un-noticed. Because though it may seem as if each census tract is merely a statistic, we know that the individuals living in these census tracts who are dealing with unequal access to healthy foods have anything but ordinary stories to tell. Research of this kind could be revolutionary.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank William Gartner for guidance with research topics, suggested literature to review, and suggested edits for this paper. We also thank Miriam Grunes from REAP Food Group for providing extensive information on this group's program for alleviating food insecurity in Madison area schools through an online interview process. Additionally, we thank Andy Czerkas from The River Food Pantry for the depth of knowledge provided around the pantry's initiatives to aid vulnerable communities in Madison through an in-person interview. We also thank Dan Seidensticker of the City of Madison Planning Division for making available to us grocery store data for the City of Madison. We thank the employees at The UW-Historical Society for assistance in accessing archival data and providing technology to gather information. Finally, we thank the librarians at Robinson Map Library for aid with locating relevant maps and for the high volume of map resources.

Portions of this study have been presented in abstract form at the Symposium for the UW-Madison Undergraduate Geography Colloquium, Madison, WI, on December 15th, 2016.

Sources

- Adams, B. 2006. Mifflin St. Co-op may close doors. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 25 October:A1.
- Alviola, P. A. et al. 2013. Determinants of food deserts. *Agriculture and Applied Economics Association* 95 (5):1259-1265
- Baker, E. A., Schootman, M., Barnidge, E., and Kelly, C. 2006. The role of race and poverty in access to foods that enable individuals to adhere to dietary guidelines. *Prev Chronic Dis*, 3 (3):A76.
- Bartfeld, J., Canto, A. 2010. *Wisconsin Food Security Project*. UW School of Human Ecology. <http://foodsecurity.wisc.edu/index.php> (last accessed 8 December 2016).
- Bedore, M. 2012. Geographies of capital formation and rescaling: A historical-geographical approach to the food desert problem. *The Canadian Geographer* 57 (2):133-153
- Buren, A.V. 1976. Mom and pop store is forced to close. *The Capital Times* 29 December:23.
- Broad, G. M. 2016. *More than Just Food: Food Justice and Community Change*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. 33-46
- Census 1980. <http://www.socialexplorer.com/6f4cdab7a0/explore> (last accessed 7 December 2016) Interactive map showing the percentage of White residents in each of Dane County's census tracts

Census Tract Data Madison. 1990. *1990 Census Tract Data*.

<http://www.cityofmadison.com/planning/dataService.html> (last accessed 14 November 2016)

Census 2000 . <http://www.getfacts.wisc.edu/mapping.php> (last accessed 17 November 2016).

Shapefile showing the percentage of white residents in each census tract

Census 2010 . <http://www.getfacts.wisc.edu/mapping.php> (last accessed 17 November 2016).

Shapefile showing the percentage of white residents in each census tract

City of Madison. 2015. *Neighborhood Indicators*. Applied Population Lab.

<http://madison.apl.wisc.edu/> (last accessed 8 December 2016).

City of Madison. 2016. *Welcome to Allied Dunn's Marsh neighborhood association*.

<http://www.cityofmadison.com/neighborhoods/profile/1.html#> (last accessed 8 December 2016).

Derby, S. K. 2015. Cooperative steps up to bring grocery to Allied Drive neighborhood. Madison

Wisconsin State Journal. [http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/cooperative-steps-up-to-bring-grocery-to-allied-drive-neighborhood/article_292a3432-f88c-5f36-b682-](http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/cooperative-steps-up-to-bring-grocery-to-allied-drive-neighborhood/article_292a3432-f88c-5f36-b682-75c8a0f77aca.html)

[75c8a0f77aca.html](http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/cooperative-steps-up-to-bring-grocery-to-allied-drive-neighborhood/article_292a3432-f88c-5f36-b682-75c8a0f77aca.html) (last accessed 8 December 2016).

Ducatel, K. and Blomley, N. 1990. Rethinking retail capital. *International Journal of Urban and*

Regional Research: 14(2): 207-227.

Eisenhauer, E. 2001. In poor health: Supermarket redlining and urban nutrition. *GeoJournal* 53

(2):125-142

- Feeding America. 2016. *Hunger in America*. http://www.feedingamerica.org/hunger-in-america/our-research/?referrer=http://www.disc.wisc.edu/newcrossroads/search_results.asp?CiMaxRecordsPerPage=10&CiScope=%2F&TemplateName=queryhit&CiSort=rank%5Bd%5D&HTMLQueryForm=%2FSearch%2Findex.html&w1=food%20insecurity&o1=AND&w2=&o2=AND&w3= (last accessed 8 December 2016).
- Gay, L. 1970. Future uncertain for small groceries. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 5 April: Section 3
- Gribble, R.A. 1999. Figuring grocery spending. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 21 November:5A.
- Gribble, R.A. 2000. Sentry workers can transfer. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 17 February:3E.
- Gribble, R.A. 1999. Supermarket business always subject to change. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 21 November:5A.
- Gribble, R.A. 1977. Supermarket outlook bleak for Capitol Square – State St. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 30 January: Section 2.
- Heckman, N. 2016. *A white paper: Hunger & food security in Wisconsin and Dane county*. Public Health Madison & Dane County. <https://www.publichealthmdc.com/documents/foodSecurityWhitePaper.pdf> (last accessed 8 December 2016)
- Hommel, R. H. 1927. New universal food shop has strategic place. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 14 October:1.

- Kalk S. 1999. Nearby grocers fret over big new store. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 23 June:1.
- Kittner, G. 2006. Market is closing. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 5 June:81-83.
- Lamichhane, A.P., Warren, J., Puett, R., Porter, D.E., Bottai, M., Mayer-Davis, E.J., and Liese, A.D. 2013. Spatial patterning of supermarkets and fast food outlets with respect to neighborhood characteristics. *Health & Place* 23 (1):157-164
- Larson, N. I., Story, M. T., and Nelson, M. C. 2009. Neighborhood environments: disparities in access to healthy foods in the US. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 36 (1):74-81.
- Lautenschiager, S. 1988. Grocery store to close doors: Millins' location cited as reason. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 23 November:1B.
- Leslie, G. 1970. Future uncertain for small groceries. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 5 April: Section 3.
- Livingston, D. 2009. Cub. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 13 January:A1.
- Madison, Fitchburg, Middleton, Monona, Stoughton, Sun Prairie and Surrounding Area Directory* [Telephone directory]. [ca. 2000-2001]. Madison, Wisconsin: McLeodUSA.
- Madison Telephone Directory* [Telephone directory]. [ca. 1980]. Madison, Wisconsin: Bell System Yellow Pages.
- Madison White/Yellow Pages* [Telephone directory]. [ca. 1989-1990]. Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Bell.
- Martin, C., and Hesselberg, G. 1985. Food stores likely to diversify. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 12 March:1-4.

Mathison, G. 1984. DiSalvo's Grocery closing after 60 years. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 27 June:3.

McEntee, J. 2009. Highlighting food inadequacies: Does the food desert metaphor help this cause? *Agricola III* (4-5):349-363

Mosiman, D. 2015. Madison may offer \$300,000 to lure grocery to Allied Drive neighborhood. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal*. host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/madison-may-offer-to-lure-grocery-to-allied-drive-neighborhood/article_2305bf07-713b-5345-bcbd-c01351a3820e.html (last accessed 8 December 2016).

Mushkin, S. 2013. What's in store. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 19 October:B2.

Paolino, B. 2003. Copps deal is no bargain for residents. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 3 March:A8.

Punzel, D. 2013. Hy-Vee at Westgate Mall to open Tuesday. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* 11 May:D1.

Raja, S., Ma, C., and Yadav, P. 2008. Beyond food deserts measuring and mapping racial disparities in neighborhood food environments. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 27 (4):469-482

Russell, S.E., and Heidkamp, C.P. 2011. 'Food desertification': The loss of a major supermarket in New Haven, Connecticut. *Applied Geography* 31 (4):1197-1209

Seely, R. 1993. Shoppers say goodbye to Sentry: Another grocery may take its place. *Madison Wisconsin State Journal*. 14 September:1D.

Seidensticker, D. 2014. [DaneCountyGroceryStores.gdb](#)

- Series PHC (1). Census Tracts. 1971. *1970 Census of Population and Housing* :1–7.
<https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> (last accessed November 2016).
- Shaw, H. J. 2006. Food Deserts: Towards the Development of a Classification. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 88 (2):231-247
- Thibodeaux, J. 2015. A historical era of food deserts changes in the correlates of urban supermarket location, 1970–1990. *Social Currents* 3 (2):186-203
- Viticello, D and Brinkley, C. 2014. The hidden history of food system planning. *Journal of Planning History* 13 (2):91-112
- Walker, R. E., Block, J., and Kawachi, I. 2012. Do residents of food deserts express different food buying preferences compared to residents of food oases? A mixed-methods analysis. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, 9 (1):1.
- Walker, R.E., Keane, C.R., and Burke, J.G. 2010. Disparities and access to healthy food in the United States: A review of food deserts literature. *Health & Place* 16 (1):876-884
- Widener, M. J., and Shannon, J. 2014. When are food deserts? Integrating time into research on food accessibility. *Health & Place* 30 (1):1-3
- Wisconsin Historical Society, Sroda, Richard, Opening of A & P Supermarket, 115771. Viewed online at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-658,N:4294963828-4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetails=R:IM115771>

Wisconsin Historical Society, Vinje, Arthur M., Kroger Supermarket Opening, 96617. Viewed

online at: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id->

[658,N:4294963828-](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-658,N:4294963828-)

[4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetail](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetail)

[s=R:IM96617](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetail)

Wisconsin Historical Society, Vinje, Arthur M., Opening of Piggly Wiggly Supermarket, 96974.

Viewed online at:

<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id->

[658,N:4294963828-](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-658,N:4294963828-)

[4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetail](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetail)

[s=R:IM96974](http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=Ny:True,Nrc:id-4294955414&dsNavOnly=Ntk:All%7cgrocery%7c3%7c,Ny:True,Ro:0&dsRecordDetail)

Wisconsin Historical Society, Wisconsin Architecture and History Inventory, “1318-1350 S
Midvale Blvd”, “Madison”, “Dane”, “Wisconsin”, “124603”

Wisconsin Telephone Company: Madison and vicinity [Telephone directory]. [ca. 1969].

Madison, Wisconsin: Yellow Pages Group.

Zenk, S. N., Schulz, A. J., Israel, B. A., James, S. A., Bao, S., and Wilson, M. L. 2005.

Neighborhood racial composition, neighborhood poverty, and the spatial accessibility of
supermarkets in metropolitan Detroit. *American journal of public health* 95 (4):660-667

Zhang, M., and Ghosh, D. 2015. Spatial supermarket redlining and neighborhood vulnerability:

A case study of Hartford, Connecticut. *Transactions in GIS* 20 (1):79-100

Appendix

Appendix 1: Timeline (Page 59-60)

Appendix 2: Interviews (Page 61-67)

2.1: REAP (Page 61-64)

2.2: River Food Pantry (Page 64-67)

Appendix 3: Concept Map (Page 68)

Appendix 4: Spreadsheet Data (Page 69-115)

4.1: Census Data 1970-2000 (Page 69-72)

4.2: Census Data 2010 (Page 72-76)

4.3: Food Sources 1970 (Page 76-84)

4.4: Food Sources 1980 (Page 84-92)

4.5: Food Sources 1990 (Page 92-104)

4.6: Food Sources 2000 (Page 104-109)

4.7: Food Sources 2010 (Page 109-115)

Appendix 5: Maps (Page 116-120)

5.1: 1970 Food Distribution Map (Page 116)

5.2: 1980 Food Distribution Map (Page 117)

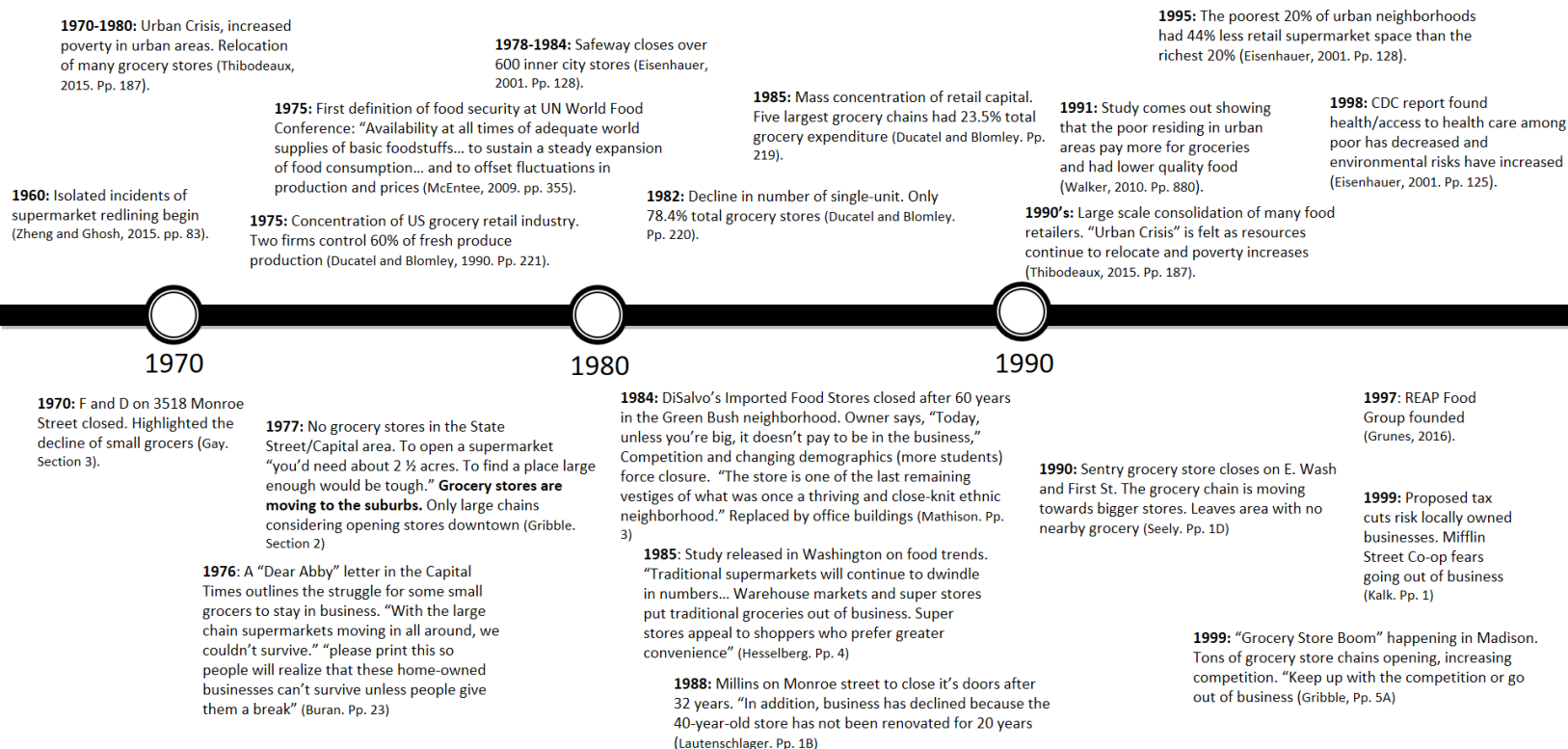
5.3: 1990 Food Distribution Map (Page 118)

5.4: 2000 Food Distribution Map (Page 119)

5.5: 2010 Food Distribution Map (Page 120)

Appendix 1: Timeline

National



Local

National:

2008: Recession hits nationally. Wisconsin sees huge hit in food insecurity (Heckman. Pp. 2).

2012-2013: 21.5 million children receive free/reduced-price lunch (Broad, 2016. Pp. 44).

2013: In the United States 14.3% of households (17.5 million) were “food insecure” at some time during 2013, meaning that their access to adequate food was limited at some point by a lack of money or other resources (Broad, 2016. Pp. 43-44).

2010: Obama Administration creation of Healthy Food Financing initiative to help fund in urban and rural food deserts the opening of new retail food stores or the expanded availability of fresh foods in currently existing stores (Russell and Heidkamp, 2011. Pp. 1205).

2008: Farm bill formally defines *food desert* as “places with limited access to affordable and nutritious food, particularly such an area of predominantly lower income neighborhoods and communities” (Broad, 2016. Pp. 33).

1996-2006: Annual average sales per store increased from \$1.225 million to over \$3 million. Store size and sales per square foot of retail space increased as well. Consolidation (Bedore, 2012. Pp. 146).

1990-2006: the number of food stores declined from 34,000 to 24,000 while average annual sales per store more than doubled from 1.25 million to over 3 million (Bedore, 2012. Pp. 146).



2000

2000: Sentry store in Allied Drive neighborhood closes. Low-income Allied Drive struggles with drugs and violence due to economic reasons. 8 months later, Cub Foods gets put in across road from Sentry (Gribble. Pp. 3E).

2006: Mifflin Co-op closes due to competition. Community commitment and connection dwindles. Smaller, locally owned and supported grocery stores better for community (Adams. Pp. A1).

2003: Copps buys out Sherman Plaza Kohls store on North side. This leaves the economically diverse area with out a grocery store (Paolino. Pp. A8).

2006: Main Street Market closes. Possibly to be replaced by a dollar store. “Small stores like this, more than the large stores, are kind of a nucleus or a small city or neighborhood” (Kittner. Pp. 81-83).

2006: River Food Pantry opens on North Side in area with no grocery stores. Serves over 500 people in first month (Czerkas, 2016).

2009: Cub Foods closes in Allied Drive neighborhood. Leaves many residents in the city’s poorest neighborhoods without a supermarket within walking distance. Could not compete with larger chains (Woodman’s, Copps) in other communities (Livingston. Pp. A1).



2010

2013: Hy-Vee opens at Westgate Mall. Second store in Madison over 80,000 square feet (Punzel. Pp. D1).

2008: Combination of the recession and the closure of key stores (St. Vincents Food Pantry) in north side increased number of food insecure individuals dramatically. Willy St. Co-op remains, but caters to only the middle/upper class (Czerkas, 2016).

2013: \$6.7 worth of merging and takeover deals. “The arrival of Wal-Mart as a grocer forced traditional grocers out of business or into mergers” (Mushkin. Pp. B2).

2009-2012: Recession causes great volume of families to seek help from food pantries (Czerkas, 2016).

2015: Allied Community cooperative offers \$300,000 to grocery store chain to locate there. Declined by many large chains. Projected to get grocery store by March, 2016. Failed (Derby).

Local:

Appendix 2: Interviews

2.1 REAP

Purpose: To discover what measures this organization is taking to reducing food insecurity in Madison.

Contact: Miriam Grunes, Executive Director of REAP Food Groups to shed light on food systems and farm to school projects currently in tact in Madison Public Schools

Date/Time: Conducted electronically via email on Wednesday, October 19th 2016 at 3:09 PM.

I: Have there been any efforts to use the Farm Fresh Atlas to alleviate food insecurity? Do you see this as an option in Madison?

M: The atlas has been used at the WIC office. They give it to families on WIC benefits as a guide to area farmers' markets that accept benefits. -

I: REAP food group was originally founded in 1997, named Dane County Research, Education, Action and Policy. Then in 2004, this group officially got listed as a non-profit organization. Many changes have occurred throughout the history of this group. What has lead to the changes this group has undergone since it was introduced to the Madison community?

M: This is a big question!

The biggest change is that public interest in eating fresh local food has evolved greatly since 1997. REAP's early work to build awareness of the issues –the environmental, social justice, and health consequences of the global industrialized food system and national food policy – has shifted to solutions based programming. We're rarely asked to explain why making a shift in our food system is important, and more now asked "how." -I would emphasize that especially concerns for health in light of the obesity and diet related illness epidemic has been a big factor in societal shift.

I: How were these schools chosen to be a part of the Farm to School Program? Do you notice any differences in the reaction of the children participating based on the school?

M: Our farm to school program is working to effect change in school meals in all of Madison's public schools. We have been working to build capacity at the district to purchase produce from local farms. This has involved developing a Request for Information process from farmers, building buying agreements, identifying a vegetable processor to provide produce to the district in a ready to serve form. Over the last five years, we have also been deeply engaged with the effort to install salad bars in all of Madison's schools. (Now in ~2/3 of the schools.)

Our snack program, which serves a fresh local fruit or vegetable once / week is held in 13 Madison Elementary Schools. These 13 schools are the recipients of federal grant funds to purchase and serve healthy snacks. The schools are chosen based on their high percentage of low-income students. They receive fresh fruits and vegetables for snacks 2-3 times per week. REAP's local snack is served once/week. Our staff and volunteers wash, slice, and bag ~1000 lbs. of produce that is served to ~6000 children a week.

Our Educational programming is offered at these same low-income elementary schools. Additionally we offer a chef-in-the-classroom program to teach culinary skills and food education in one middle school and one high school. (Sherman Middle School and East High). When a new salad bar is installed in a school, our AmeriCorps educators offer an assembly to help children understand how the new salad bar is going to work during lunch, and let them practice using the bar before it's used for lunch. We definitely see a difference in the receptivity to try new vegetables among kids that have already been in our snack schools compared to the kids in non-snack schools. E.g. the snack school kids have raw kohlrabi all the time, so it's natural for them to select it off the salad bar without much prompting.

I: What are the biggest barriers that people dealing with food insecurity have to eating healthy, fresh foods? (Money, transportation, distance, food storage, food preparation, lack of knowledge for preparations)

M: All of those things. I don't know that specific research has been done to assess what the biggest barriers are. Certainly, we hope that exposing kids to fresh healthy food early and often throughout their school years will begin to break down some of those barriers and create life-long preferences for eating well. -

I: What effect do you see fast food and big box stores having on food insecure communities in Madison?

M: I don't feel I have the expertise to answer this question. There are complicated factors that affect food access, food cost, cultural preferences, etc.

I: How has the demand for food assistance changed in food insecure communities since REAPs conception?

M: REAP is not involved in programs that provide emergency food assistance. I don't have data at my fingertips for the change in food pantry usage in the last decade – clearly it's grown greatly. I can say the demographics of Madison's public schools have changed dramatically since REAP's inception with more than 50% of kids in our schools now qualifying for free or reduced price meals.

I: Who is most at risk for food insecurity today (in terms of demographic composition)? Is this different than when REAP began?

M: Don't have that data.

I: In light of the fact that 56.85% of the lunches served in Wisconsin Public Schools are free or reduced [Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction] why do you think the Farm to School Program is so important?

M: As the childhood obesity epidemic continues to develop, with disproportionate effect on minority and low-income children, special attention is being given to school-based interventions aimed at increasing healthy habits and fruit and vegetable consumption. Farm to School is one of the most effective of these interventions as it pairs school meals and nutrition education to change student eating habits in and outside of the school setting. Evidence shows that increasing the number of actions a school is taking to promote healthy eating is significantly associated with improved healthy eating behavior among students. Healthier students and reduction of highly processed food at school then also translates to higher academic achievement as it lowers absenteeism and allows children to be more focused at school.

As we look at ways to affect food system change on the production end, schools can play a significant role in building new markets for local, sustainable farms. At the same time, building life-long eating habits and teaching children to be aware of where their food comes from will encourage the next generation to be healthy and responsible eaters.

I: How does this program address the needs of those who are on free/reduced lunch?

M: These children are the most reliant on school meals. In Madison almost 80% of the school meals served are to student who qualify for free or reduced price meals. For many of these kids, school meals constitute a significant percentage of their daily nutrition.

I: Do you believe that this form of outreach is the most effective out of all your programs?

M: Farm to School is definitely the program to which we devote the most resources for all the reasons stated above. But we are working to build a healthful, sustainable, and just food system through a multi-faceted approach that includes building the food chain from local farms to restaurants, hospitals, businesses, homes and schools. It's all interconnected and equally important to us.

I: What measures are being taken to make sure that locally sourced food is more affordable?

M: When we think about food justice, that needs to extend to the farm as well as to the consumer. Paying farmers and farm labor a fair wage means food shouldn't necessarily be cheaper. The issues of national food policy and commodity subsidies and food access are just as important as price.

I will also suggest that it is not necessarily true that locally sourced food is always more expensive.

I: What actions can we individually take to make healthy food more accessible?

M: Volunteer, grow food, advocate, donate, cook with and for friends and neighbors, vote!

I: In a midwestern state such as Wisconsin, long winters can lead to frosted ground for up to a third of our calendar year. When looking at the Farm to School program specifically, what does REAP do during the winter months to ensure that fresh foods are still being administered to the schools during this period of time?

M: There are farmers who are getting more sophisticated about season extension practices which helps a lot. Some school districts around the country freeze vegetables or prepared sauces and dishes in the summer months to be served year round. In the winter, we rely heavily on crops that store well: kohlrabi, apples, sweet potatoes, carrots, etc.

I: Is there anything additional information you would like us to know?

M: N/A

2.2: The River Food Pantry

Purpose: To discover what measures Madison's largest food pantry is taking to reducing food insecurity in Madison, particularly for families in vulnerable communities.

Contact: Andy Czerkas, Executive Director of The River Food Pantry to shed light on the importance of organizations such as food pantries for marginalized communities to work towards alleviation of food insecurity.

Date/Time: Conducted in-person at The River Food Pantry on December 1st 2016 at 3:29 PM.

Sekajibo Major asking questions, Andrea Sherman and Sekajibo Major taking notes.

I: How has the demand for food at The River Food Pantry changed from when it began in 2006?

A: More people are coming to get more food. Demand for food is steadily going up. Going up because more people are coming. The recession had a huge impact from 2009-2012, and it was really tough for people and people who have never been to food pantries before were now coming to food pantries. So it has been really emotional for people. I had a conversation with a man when he first got here who said, "last year I was making six figures and now I am in danger of losing my house". People are becoming less and less able to fend for themselves and this is a countrywide phenomenon. Food pantries have always been places where people came to get help

at the end of the month when they ran out of money. Now, today it is an essential for people's lives who come here. They don't have enough money anymore, they are coming here every week to get by. January and February are the lowest attendance for food pantries because of tax returns and people do want to provide for their families so when they get such agency, they will use it.

I: What has been your personal experience at The River Food Pantry?

A: At first, I was concerned that this place wouldn't really be needed. I was very unsure. Many people that knew about it were worried too because they'd have too much to do [to prepare for it, without it really being used], Within a month we were serving 125 families on Friday nights. Word of mouth goes around really fast in an area. It began to get busier and busier and then we had to add pantry sessions [where people could come and pick out their own groceries for the week]. When we started it, my wife and I were both working full time. After 6 months, she went to half time so she could work here more, I had to stay working full time at my job. Another 6 months passed by and she quit her job completely to work full time here. I had to keep working full time because somebody's gotta pay the bills. Now I'm retired though so I'm here full time as well.

I: Do you have any stories of particularly good memories from the time you have spent at the food pantry?

A: So I used to be an IT instructor at MATC and we try to teach people how to modernize their technology skills to be useful in the workplace. I had this one student in one of my classes who was doing okay when he first was attending. But he began to stop coming and his attendance slipped until he wasn't coming at all anymore. About 6 weeks later, he walks through the door, he looked terrible. He had had a heart attack, and his bills were stacking up, they were threatening to shut down his utilities and evict him from his apartment. He didn't know how he was going to be able to afford these expenses; rent, utilities. I told him that I could help him with the all those things, but that he had to get serious about his classes. I told him about the pantry and said that he could come get food and clothing for his family of 5. So he begins coming here and months down the road tells me that it ended up saving him \$500 a month by allowing him to get so many of his necessities here. So he had this extra money to take care of his impending expenses and it helped him out a lot. He doesn't come here anymore, he has a full time job now. You just have no idea the impact you may have when you put a food pantry into a neighborhood]. 22% of the people that come here are seniors and 40% of the recipients are children. That's 60% of the people that come here are pretty fragile. You begin to realize that it really does make a difference in people's lives in terms of saving money and also getting hope for the future.

I: What do you see as being the most common obstacle to proper nutrition for the clients of The River Food Pantry?

A: Most people who come here are very good cooks and will take whatever they have here and make good nutritional food. But, some people cannot cook. They don't know what's nutritious or not. They don't go after the vegetables and what not. What's interesting is that we are probably more international here than Madison is. We have a higher rate of non-english speakers here than anywhere else in Madison. A lot of Hmong and Spanish (20%) and Middle East. Immigrants are good cooks, they come from more traditional societies so they know what to do with their food to prepare it, unlike here in America where everything is pre-packaged and processed. We've done tastings here, they'll do kale and then make it like greens to show people that they can prepare these health foods in a tasty way. A lot of cranberries and beets and root vegetables. We even have nutritionists here from UW that come in here to talk about stuff. We've tried to figure out cooking classes to.

I: It seems as if kids are most vulnerable to developing habits when they are young. Would you say then that you target them quite a bit with your education of healthy eating habits?

A: We mainly target the kids with weekend meals, we try to produce food though here that is kid friendly. Kids generally do okay here. We don't do anything too exotic. A couple years in a row, a couple women from India came and cooked Indian for us but a lot of people wouldn't like it so we usually stay away from that stuff. We always have multiple vegetables and multiple salads. We do a good job of having a lot of fresh fruit. A lot of people don't cook, but we want them to have their dignity too, so we don't criticize them if they come into our pantry and just buy the instant, pre-packaged stuff.

I: Are there any neighborhoods or areas in Madison that you see as being particularly vulnerable for food insecurity?

A: The North Side is way up there. When we started [here] in 2006, there were no grocery stores over here. St. Vincents food pantry moved from Willy Street to the south side leaving a hole in that area there. St. Paul Lutheran church serves a lot of people in that food pantry. We got going and then Pierces Market started up close by and then they closed and were replaced by Willy St Co-op and that is catered towards new people and their tastes and not catered towards low income. In Madison, in the school system, 51% of students qualify for free/reduced lunch. But on the North side its 80%. On the north side, schools all have free lunches for everybody. We are also working on getting free breakfasts. There are all kinds of initiatives on the north side. The east side also has a food pantry in their school. On the North Side, around this area, its one of the highest poverty areas in Madison. About 1,600 children that are low income, those kids are targeted with the MUNCH program which works towards serving kids lunch on the weekends when they are most likely to be at a nutritional deficit from not eating school lunches.

I: What do you think could be done to reduce the need for food assistance in Madison?

A: *Living wage jobs would reduce need for food pantries. We need education. We need equal education opportunities, not just elite like universities. We need more places like MATC. You just need education to make a living. Not sure what else would do it besides education. If you have an education, you become much more flexible with the direction you can go. Not sure what else you can do. Even at the high school level there is huge educational inequalities, it's clear that in Madison, there is a huge inequality between people of color and people not of color. It's not like we don't know how to move past that, we do. We just aren't willing to try those things out here in Madison. That's why I'm so impressed with the neighborhoods that have 100% high school graduation rates. There was an attempt a couple years ago to start a school for young boys. And the labour union nixed it, the liberals nixed it. Because they needed to be able to have teachers who weren't a part of the union, they needed to be able to control costs and they couldn't do it. That would have been a great thing. There would have been higher expectations on people. People need to know that other people expect [and believe in them] to do well. If you don't expect...*

At this point, he was being motioned over by some of the kitchen staff, he said he had to get going soon to prepare for dinner which was being served at 4:30. So we would have to quickly finish up our three remaining questions

I: From where do you receive most of your donations?

A: *60% of our money is from private donations, about 20% is from large businesses*

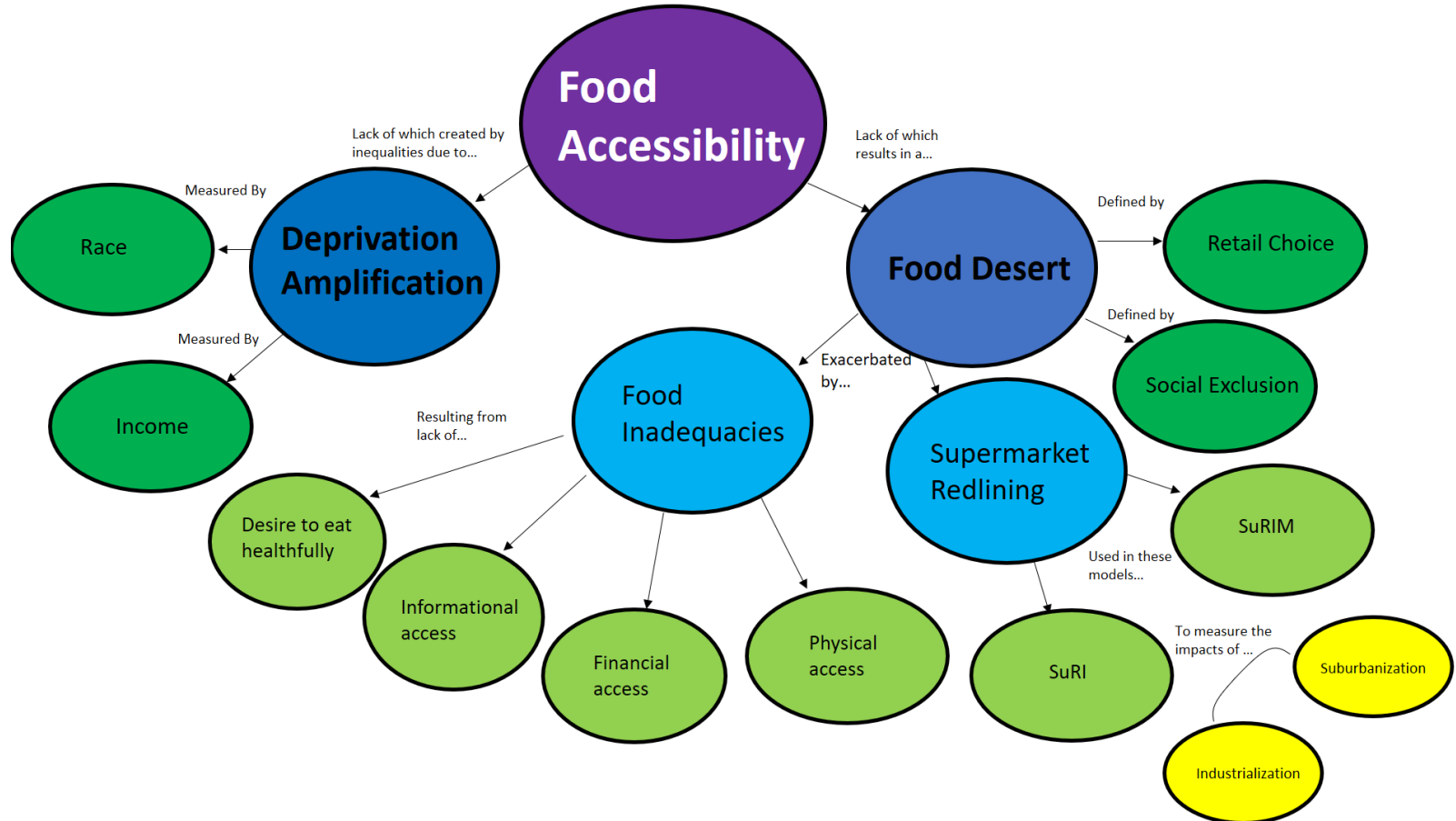
I: Are there any times of the year that are busier than others?

A: *Yep, as I mentioned previously, holidays are the busiest just because people want to feel as if they're a part of a bigger community around the holidays. Then it really dies down afterwards.*

I: Do you have anything else you would like to add?

A: *Nope, I've pretty much given you as much information as I can*

Appendix 3: Concept Map



Appendix 4 - Excel Spreadsheets

4.1: Census Data (1970-2000)

<u>name</u>	<u>2000pctwh</u> <u>ite</u>	<u>2000pctnonw</u> <u>hite</u>	<u>1990pctnonw</u> <u>hite</u>	<u>1970pctnonw</u> <u>hite</u>	<u>1980pctwh</u> <u>ite</u>	<u>1980nonwhite</u>
<u>Tract 32</u>	<u>35.7</u>	<u>64.3</u>	<u>58.1</u>	<u>14.46</u>	<u>41.56</u>	<u>58.44</u>
<u>Tract 15.02</u>	<u>63.3</u>	<u>36.7</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>65.74</u>	<u>34.26</u>
<u>Tract 4.01</u>	<u>91.5</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>0.48</u>	<u>91.05</u>	<u>8.95</u>
<u>Tract 4.02</u>	<u>88.1</u>	<u>11.9</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>0.74</u>	<u>85.91</u>	<u>14.09</u>
<u>Census Tract</u> <u>4.03</u>	<u>79.7</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>1.74</u>	<u>81.52</u>	<u>18.48</u>
<u>Census Tract</u> <u>5.01</u>	<u>87.6</u>	<u>12.4</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>0.81</u>	<u>81.55</u>	<u>18.45</u>
<u>Tract 5.03</u>	<u>83.4</u>	<u>16.6</u>	<u>7.5</u>	<u>1.41</u>	<u>75.27</u>	<u>24.73</u>
<u>Tract 1</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>96.8</u>	<u>3.2</u>
<u>Tract 2.01</u>	<u>90.9</u>	<u>9.1</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>0.52</u>	<u>97.2</u>	<u>2.8</u>
<u>Tract 2.04</u>	<u>78.1</u>	<u>21.9</u>	<u>15.2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>71.47</u>	<u>28.53</u>
<u>Tract 2.05</u>	<u>91.4</u>	<u>8.6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>81.38</u>	<u>18.62</u>
<u>Tract 3</u>	<u>76.3</u>	<u>23.7</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>1.74</u>	<u>73.38</u>	<u>26.62</u>
<u>Tract 110</u>	<u>94.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>86.09</u>	<u>13.91</u>
<u>Tract 111.01</u>	<u>86.4</u>	<u>13.6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>84.33</u>	<u>15.67</u>
<u>Census Tract</u> <u>112</u>	<u>97.4</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>96.82</u>	<u>3.18</u>
<u>Census Tract</u> <u>14.03</u>	<u>74.6</u>	<u>25.4</u>	<u>12.6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>74.4</u>	<u>25.6</u>
<u>Tract 15.01</u>	<u>60.9</u>	<u>39.1</u>	<u>23.2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>72.85</u>	<u>27.15</u>

<u>Census Tract 10</u>	<u>94.3</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>93.89</u>	<u>6.11</u>
<u>Tract 11</u>	<u>82.7</u>	<u>17.3</u>	<u>16.3</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>91.84</u>	<u>8.16</u>
<u>Census Tract 12</u>	<u>84.2</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>13.6</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>83.87</u>	<u>16.13</u>
<u>Census Tract 13</u>	<u>86.3</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>8.8</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>84.16</u>	<u>15.84</u>
<u>Tract 14.01</u>	<u>35.4</u>	<u>64.6</u>	<u>44.8</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>45.19</u>	<u>54.81</u>
<u>Census Tract</u>						
<u>14.02</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>12.6</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>70.15</u>	<u>29.85</u>
<u>Tract 5.04</u>	<u>86.8</u>	<u>13.2</u>	<u>7.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>74.77</u>	<u>25.23</u>
<u>Tract 6</u>	<u>49.1</u>	<u>50.9</u>	<u>24.7</u>	<u>1.58</u>	<u>58.32</u>	<u>41.68</u>
<u>Census Tract 7</u>	<u>89.8</u>	<u>10.2</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>0.85</u>	<u>93.47</u>	<u>6.53</u>
<u>Tract 8</u>	<u>89.6</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>2.04</u>	<u>92.02</u>	<u>7.98</u>
<u>Tract 9</u>	<u>86.2</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>9.1</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>88.09</u>	<u>11.91</u>
<u>Tract 16.01</u>	<u>84.5</u>	<u>15.5</u>	<u>10.8</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>80.94</u>	<u>19.06</u>
<u>Tract 16.02</u>	<u>85.6</u>	<u>14.4</u>	<u>11.4</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>87.59</u>	<u>12.41</u>
<u>Census Tract</u>						
<u>17.01</u>	<u>81.1</u>	<u>18.9</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>84.88</u>	<u>15.12</u>
<u>Census Tract</u>						
<u>17.02</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Tract 18</u>	<u>83.6</u>	<u>16.4</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>90.69</u>	<u>9.31</u>
<u>Tract 19</u>	<u>89.3</u>	<u>10.7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>93.64</u>	<u>6.36</u>
<u>Tract 21</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8.3</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>83.68</u>	<u>16.32</u>
<u>Tract 22</u>	<u>79.6</u>	<u>20.4</u>	<u>8.6</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>79.98</u>	<u>20.02</u>
<u>Tract 23.01</u>	<u>63.6</u>	<u>36.4</u>	<u>16.2</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>62.07</u>	<u>37.93</u>
<u>Tract 23.02</u>	<u>86.3</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>82.21</u>	<u>17.79</u>
<u>Census Tract</u>						
<u>24.01</u>	<u>89.5</u>	<u>10.5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>83.83</u>	<u>16.17</u>

<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>24.02</u>	<u>74.4</u>	<u>25.6</u>	<u>15.5</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>66.56</u>	<u>33.44</u>	
<u>Census Tract 25</u>	<u>71.5</u>	<u>28.5</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>61.17</u>	<u>38.83</u>	
<u>Tract 26.01</u>	<u>83.9</u>	<u>16.1</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>77.25</u>	<u>22.75</u>	
<u>Tract 26.02</u>	<u>79.4</u>	<u>20.6</u>	<u>7.8</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>76.35</u>	<u>23.65</u>	
<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>26.03</u>	<u>83.2</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>7.8</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>66.08</u>	<u>33.92</u>	
<u>Tract 27</u>	<u>93.3</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>94.6</u>	<u>5.4</u>	
<u>Tract 29</u>	<u>88.4</u>	<u>11.6</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>86.99</u>	<u>13.01</u>	
<u>Tract 30.01</u>	<u>91.1</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>87.59</u>	<u>12.41</u>	
<u>Tract 30.02</u>	<u>82.9</u>	<u>17.1</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>74.56</u>	<u>25.44</u>	
<u>Tract 31</u>	<u>92.4</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>13</u>	
<u>Tract 101</u>	<u>90.5</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>89.58</u>	<u>10.42</u>	
<u>Tract 103</u>	<u>95.9</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>96.57</u>	<u>3.43</u>	
<u>Tract 104</u>	<u>90.1</u>	<u>9.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>97.73</u>	<u>2.27</u>	
<u>Tract 105</u>	<u>96.2</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>86.53</u>	<u>13.47</u>	
<u>Tract 106</u>	<u>96.6</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>94.71</u>	<u>5.29</u>	
<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>107.02</u>	<u>93.1</u>	<u>6.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>90.72</u>	<u>9.28</u>	
<u>Tract 108</u>	<u>96.1</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>93.66</u>	<u>6.34</u>	
<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>109.01</u>	<u>90.7</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>81.34</u>	<u>18.66</u>	
<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>109.02</u>	<u>97.1</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>95.1</u>	<u>4.9</u>	
<u>Tract 114</u>	<u>94.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>89.19</u>	<u>10.81</u>	
<u>Tract 117</u>	<u>96.6</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>	

<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>120.02</u>	<u>97.7</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>	
<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>4.04</u>	<u>79.1</u>	<u>20.9</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>79.48</u>	<u>20.52</u>	
<u>Tract 2.02</u>	<u>86.2</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>78.66</u>	<u>21.34</u>	
<u>Tract 20</u>	<u>84.1</u>	<u>15.9</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>82.25</u>	<u>17.75</u>	
<u>Tract 28</u>	<u>93.7</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>94.87</u>	<u>5.13</u>	
<u>Tract 102</u>	<u>97.1</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>97.64</u>	<u>2.36</u>	
<u>Census Tract</u>							
<u>17.03</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	

4.2: Census Data (2010)

<u>name</u>	<u>pctwhite</u>	<u>pctnonwhite</u>
<u>Census Tract 9917.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Census Tract 9917.03; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
<u>Census Tract 1; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>78.8</u>	<u>21.2</u>
<u>Census Tract 2.01; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>86.6</u>	<u>13.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 2.02; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>82.2</u>	<u>17.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 2.04; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>66.7</u>	<u>33.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 2.05; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>86.6</u>	<u>13.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 3; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>66.9</u>	<u>33.1</u>
<u>Census Tract 4.01; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>91.3</u>	<u>8.7</u>
<u>Census Tract 4.02; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.7</u>	<u>19.3</u>

<u>Census Tract 4.05; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>69.4</u>	<u>30.6</u>
<u>Census Tract 4.06; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>79.5</u>	<u>20.5</u>
<u>Census Tract 4.07; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>60.1</u>	<u>39.9</u>
<u>Census Tract 4.08; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>88.5</u>	<u>11.5</u>
<u>Census Tract 5.01; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>75.2</u>	<u>24.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 5.03; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>69.1</u>	<u>30.9</u>
<u>Census Tract 5.04; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>75.6</u>	<u>24.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 6; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>34.3</u>	<u>65.7</u>
<u>Census Tract 7; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>88.8</u>	<u>11.2</u>
<u>Census Tract 8; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>85.1</u>	<u>14.9</u>
<u>Census Tract 9.01; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>90.1</u>	<u>9.9</u>
<u>Census Tract 9.02; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>83.9</u>	<u>16.1</u>
<u>Census Tract 10; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>91.7</u>	<u>8.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 11.01; Dane County;</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.4</u>	<u>19.6</u>
<u>Census Tract 11.02; Dane County;</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Census Tract 12; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>82.6</u>	<u>17.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 13; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>83.6</u>	<u>16.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 14.01; Dane County;</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>25.5</u>	<u>74.5</u>
<u>Census Tract 14.02; Dane County;</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>53.6</u>	<u>46.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 14.03; Dane County;</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>62.2</u>	<u>37.8</u>

<u>Census Tract 15.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>62.9</u>	<u>37.1</u>
<u>Census Tract 15.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>49.2</u>	<u>50.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 16.03; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>25</u>
<u>Census Tract 16.04; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.9</u>	<u>19.1</u>
<u>Census Tract 16.05; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>Census Tract 16.06; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>83.2</u>	<u>16.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 17.04; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>75.7</u>	<u>24.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 17.05; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>84.7</u>	<u>15.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 18.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>86.7</u>	<u>13.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 18.04; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>76.4</u>	<u>23.6</u>
<u>Census Tract 19; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>88.4</u>	<u>11.6</u>
<u>Census Tract 20; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.6</u>	<u>19.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 21; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.7</u>	<u>19.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 22; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>71.5</u>	<u>28.5</u>
<u>Census Tract 23.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>56.5</u>	<u>43.5</u>

<u>Census Tract 23.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>82.7</u>	<u>17.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 24.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.2</u>	<u>19.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 24.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>60.8</u>	<u>39.2</u>
<u>Census Tract 25; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>61.3</u>	<u>38.7</u>
<u>Census Tract 26.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>67.7</u>	<u>32.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 26.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>33</u>
<u>Census Tract 26.03; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>39</u>
<u>Census Tract 27; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>89.6</u>	<u>10.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 28; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>89.4</u>	<u>10.6</u>
<u>Census Tract 29; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>80.7</u>	<u>19.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 30.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>83.7</u>	<u>16.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 30.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>59.2</u>	<u>40.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 31; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>82.2</u>	<u>17.8</u>
<u>Census Tract 32; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>31.6</u>	<u>68.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 101; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>87.8</u>	<u>12.2</u>
<u>Census Tract 102; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>95.9</u>	<u>4.1</u>
<u>Census Tract 103; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>92.3</u>	<u>7.7</u>
<u>Census Tract 104; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>90.3</u>	<u>9.7</u>

<u>Census Tract 105.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>73.8</u>	<u>26.2</u>
<u>Census Tract 105.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>93.3</u>	<u>6.7</u>
<u>Census Tract 108; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>88.3</u>	<u>11.7</u>
<u>Census Tract 109.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>82.9</u>	<u>17.1</u>
<u>Census Tract 109.03; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>83.5</u>	<u>16.5</u>
<u>Census Tract 110; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>89.7</u>	<u>10.3</u>
<u>Census Tract 111.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>77.1</u>	<u>22.9</u>
<u>Census Tract 112; Dane County; Wisconsin</u>	<u>93.5</u>	<u>6.5</u>
<u>Census Tract 114.01; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>84.6</u>	<u>15.4</u>
<u>Census Tract 114.02; Dane County;</u>		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	<u>83.6</u>	<u>16.4</u>

4.3: 1970 Food Sources

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Zip</u>	<u>Store Type</u>
<u>A&P Food Stores</u>	<u>820 WEST WINGRA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>A&P Food Stores</u>	<u>702 MIDVALE BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>A&W Super Market</u>	<u>2331 EAST WASHINGTON AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Badger Super Market</u>	<u>1202 WEST DAYTON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53706</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Bernie's Grocery & Meat Market</u>	<u>334 WEST LAKESIDE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Bill's Shur Sav</u>	<u>3244 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Bishop's Market</u>	<u>2219 ATWOOD AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Brennan's Country Farm Market</u>	<u>5533 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>C&P Shopping Center</u>	<u>108 COTTAGE GROVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>C&P Food Center</u>	<u>678 WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Commercial Avenue Grocery</u>	<u>2633 COMMERCIAL AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Del Farm</u>	<u>4515 WEST BELTLINE HIGHWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53652</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Del Farm Food Stores Inc</u>	<u>1135 SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Di Salvo Ben & Sons</u>	<u>802 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarket</u>	<u>1880 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarket</u>	<u>677 N WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarket</u>	<u>2426 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarket</u>	<u>1313 NORTHPORT DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarket</u>	<u>4530 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Eagle Discount</u>					
<u>Supermarket</u>	<u>3626 MILWAUKEE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>El Rancho Super Market</u>	<u>2701 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>F&D Grocery</u>	<u>3518 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fast Shop Foods</u>	<u>4606 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fauerbach Fine Foods Inc</u>	<u>1864 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Food Center</u>	<u>2 SOUTH MILLS STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Foss Royal Blue Market</u>	<u>2001 ATWOOD AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>2101 WEST BROADWAY</u>				
<u>Four Lane Grocery</u>	<u>STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Freye's Market</u>	<u>3100 MILWAUKEE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>901 EAST JOHNSON</u>				
<u>George's Food Store</u>	<u>STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Goglio's Food Store</u>	<u>1052 EAST DAYTON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>1254 EAST WASHINGTON</u>				
<u>Goglio's Foods</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Gus' Grocery</u>	<u>201 EAST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>301 NORTH HAMILTON</u>				
<u>Hamilton Haus</u>	<u>STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Hill's Grocery</u>	<u>649 EAST DAYTON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Home Food Shop</u>	<u>2418 EAST JOHNSON</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>J&A Food Mart</u>	<u>820 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Johnny's Grocery Store</u>	<u>1801 BELD STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Keegan's Store</u>	<u>401 TROY DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>5372 OLD MIDDLETON</u>				
<u>Knoche's Food Center Inc</u>	<u>ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Knutson's Enterprises Inc</u>	<u>4556 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>3710 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>2525 WINNEBAGO STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>1312 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>4207 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kroger Co</u>	<u>515 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kroger Co</u>	<u>2829 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kroger Co</u>	<u>2302 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kroger Co</u>	<u>2801 NORTH SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kroger Co</u>	<u>4100 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kroger Co</u>	<u>525 SOUTH MIDVALE BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Lens Super Valu Market</u>	<u>2038 JENIFER STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Linden Hill Grocery</u>	<u>36 SOUTH FAIR OAKS AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Martinelli Market</u>	<u>505 WEST OLIN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mc Quigan's Superette</u>	<u>1209 WILLIAMSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Meadowood Sentry Foods Inc</u>	<u>5702 RAYMOND ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mel's Food Shop</u>	<u>2710 ATWOOD AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's Food Store</u>	<u>431 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's Grocery</u>	<u>1342 MOUND STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's International Market</u>	<u>2418 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Miller's International Market</u>	<u>120 NORTH FAIRCHILD STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Millin's Super Market</u>	<u>2701 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Millin's Super Market</u>	<u>553 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mini Mart</u>	<u>1659 SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mini Mart</u>	<u>312 EAST MIFFLIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Nakoma Trading Post</u>	<u>3821 NAKOMA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Napper's Grocery</u>	<u>2532 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Norris Court Grocery</u>	<u>912 EAST JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>PDQ Food Stores</u>	<u>3371 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ Food Stores</u>	<u>3310 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ Food Stores</u>	<u>5725 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ Food Stores</u>	<u>916 SOUTH WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ Food Stores</u>	<u>6420 BRIDGE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Pak-A-Sak Grocery</u>	<u>439 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Pdq Food Stores Inc</u>	<u>2205 NORTH SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Regent Food Market</u>	<u>2136 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Rendahl's Certified Food</u>					
<u>Stores</u>	<u>820 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Schwarz Certified Food</u>					
<u>Store</u>	<u>820 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Market</u>	<u>5413 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Market</u>	<u>3817 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>South Side Superette</u>	<u>1905 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Stevens Super Market</u>	<u>301 NORTH STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>4325 WEST BELTLINE</u>				<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>HIGHWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>4326 BRITTA PARKWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>5213 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>1336 DRAKE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Store</u>
	<u>4525 COTTAGE GROVE</u>				<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>2117 FISH HATCHERY ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>2002 WINNEBAGO STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>
	<u>4002 EAST WASHINGTON</u>				<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>3410 PACKERS AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>

<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>615 NORTH SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>5300 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go Of Madison</u>	<u>2400 WEST BROADWAY STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop & Shop Groery</u>	<u>501 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Streber Food Shop</u>	<u>2904 MILWAUKEE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sunshine Super Market</u>	<u>1402 WILLIAMSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sweet's Food Shop</u>	<u>354 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Tenney Park Foods</u>	<u>1257 EAST JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Treasure Island Super Market</u>	<u>1802 WEST BELTLINE HIGHWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Triangle Superette</u>	<u>302 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>5703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Ullsvik's Food Store</u>	<u>2350 EAST WASHINGTON</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Village Store</u>	<u>4516 WINNEQUAH ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Vitale's Food Shop</u>	<u>1214 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Wilcox Food Shop</u>	<u>1302 MOUND STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Burger Chef</u>	<u>227 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger Chef</u>	<u>616 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Chicken Delight</u>	<u>316 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Colonel Sander's KFC</u>	<u>3920 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Colonel Sander's KFC</u>	<u>5023 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Colonel Sander's KFC</u>	<u>2100 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Colonel Sander's KFC</u>	<u>105 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>2110 NORTH SHERMAN</u>				
<u>Dairy Queen</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Dunkin Donuts</u>	<u>1920 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hilly-Billy Fried Chicken</u>	<u>681 SOUTH WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hilly-Billy Fried Chicken</u>	<u>5918 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MONONA</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>King's Food Host</u>	<u>21 SOUTH PINCKNEY STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>King's Food Host</u>	<u>3609 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>King's Food Host</u>	<u>6202 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MIDDLETON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53562</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>1124 NORTH SHERMAN</u>				
<u>King's Food Host</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>2841 NORTH SHERMAN</u>				
<u>Kwik-Kook</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>702 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>441 NORTH LAKE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>3051 EAST WASHINGTON</u>				
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4901 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MONONA</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>2201 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>3317 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>2405 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4709 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>811 FERN DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
------------------	-----------------------	----------------	-----------	--------------	------------------

4.4: 1980 Food Sources

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Zip</u>	<u>Store Type</u>
<u>Amato's Super Mart</u>	<u>2331 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Asian Food Store</u>	<u>910 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Barnard Orchard & Farm Market</u>	<u>6192 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Bernie's Grocery & Market</u>	<u>334 WEST LAKESIDE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Commercial Avenue Grocery</u>	<u>2633 COMMERCIAL AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Di Salvo Imported Foods</u>	<u>802 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarkets</u>	<u>1313 NORTHPORT DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarkets</u>	<u>1880 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarkets</u>	<u>614 WESTGATE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarkets</u>	<u>2330 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarkets</u>	<u>5901 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>El Rancho Supermarket</u>	<u>2701 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fauerbach Fine Foods Inc</u>	<u>1864 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fraboni's Italian Specialties & Delicatessen</u>	<u>822 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Greenleaf Grocery</u>	<u>1214 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Grocery Store</u>	<u>230 W LAKELAWN PLACE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Gus' Grocery</u>	<u>128 SOUTH PINCKNEY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>IGA Foodliner</u>	<u>301 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>IGA Foodliner</u>	<u>525 SOUTH MIDVALE BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>IGA Foodliner</u>	<u>1135 NORTH SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>IGA Foodliner</u>	<u>2038 JENIFER STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>IGA Foodliner</u>	<u>2829 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>IGA Foodliner</u>	<u>3244 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>International Food Market</u>	<u>7 UNIVERSITY SQUARE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>International House of Foods Inc</u>	<u>440 WEST GORHAM STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Jacobs Store</u>	<u>4437 GOODLAND PARK ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>K & J Food Store</u>	<u>4222 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Knoche Food Center</u>	<u>5372 OLD MIDDLETON ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>2525 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>3770 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>1312 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>4205 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>4515 WEST BELTLINE HIGHWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53562</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>2801 NORTH SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Lake Edge Super Mart</u>	<u>4100 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Land O'Lakes Store</u>	<u>2701 PACKERS AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Langdon Area Grocery Collective</u>	<u>606 HOWARD PLACE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Linden Hill Grocery</u>	<u>36 SOUTH FAIR OAKS AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>The Market Basket</u>	<u>312 EAST MIFFLIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Marxgraf's Food Center</u>	<u>108 COTTAGE GROVE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Martinelli Market</u>	<u>505 WEST OLIN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mel's Grocery</u>	<u>2710 ATWOOD AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller Horne Food Products Salvage</u>	<u>722 WILLIAMSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's International Market</u>	<u>120 NORTH FAIRCHILD STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's International Market</u>	<u>2418 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Millins Super Market</u>	<u>553 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Millins Super Market</u>	<u>2701 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mound Street Grocery</u>	<u>1302 MOUND STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Norris Court Grocery</u>	<u>902 EAST JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Olde Towne International</u>	<u>1202 WEST DAYTON</u>				
<u>Foods</u>	<u>STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53706</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2827 ATWOOD AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2022 FORDEM AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>437 WEST GORHAM</u>				
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>1304 SOUTH MIDVALE</u>				
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2201 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2095 RED ARROW TRAIL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>1401 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2504 RIMROCK ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2818 TODD DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>620 NORTH WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Oriental Shop</u>	<u>618 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>3310 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Store</u>
	<u>2205 NORTH SHERMAN</u>				<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>
	<u>3371 EAST WASHINGTON</u>				<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>5725 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>916 SOUTH WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Store</u>

<u>PDQ</u>	<u>6420 BRIDGE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>1438 NORTHPORT DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>5280 WILLIAMSBURG WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Pak-A-Sak Grocery</u>	<u>450 WEST MAIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Port of East</u>	<u>3313 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>R&G Quick Shop</u>	<u>3100 MILWAUKEE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Randall Tower Food & Beer Mart</u>	<u>1314 WEST JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Regent Food Market</u>	<u>2136 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Store</u>	<u>4602 COTTAGE GROVE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Store</u>	<u>726 NORTH MIDVALE BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Store</u>	<u>3817 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Store</u>	<u>5702 RAYMOND ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Shop-Rite Food Center</u>	<u>108 COTTAGE GROVE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Starvin Marvin Food MArt</u>	<u>2050 FISH HATCHERY ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2934 FISH HATCHERY ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>

<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>5300 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>4325 WEST BELTLINE</u> <u>HIGHWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>1336 DRAKE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2002 WINNEBAGO STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2117 FISH HATCHERY</u> <u>ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>5213 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>4525 COTTAGE GROVE</u> <u>ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2526 WEST BROADWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>506 EAST BADGER ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>3510 PACKERS AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>615 NORTH SHERMAN</u> <u>AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>6202 SCHROEDER ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2932 FISH HATCHERY</u> <u>ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>

<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>9 SOUTH STOUGHTON ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop & Shop Grocery</u>	<u>501 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sunshine Super Market</u>	<u>1402 WILLIAMSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Triangle Market</u>	<u>302 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Ullsvik Certified Food Store</u>	<u>2350 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Village Store</u>	<u>4516 WINNEQUAH ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Western Stores</u>	<u>1220 EAST BROADWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Williamson Market</u>	<u>1054 WILLIAMSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Woodman's Food Market</u>	<u>3817 MILWAUKEE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>A&W</u>	<u>900 South Park</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>A&W</u>	<u>3284 East Washington</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Arby's Roast Beef</u>	<u>315 North Lake</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Arby's Roast Beef</u>	<u>1604 South Park</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>3515 University Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>74 East Towne Mall</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>2655 East Washington Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>602 Cottage Grove Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>1516 Greenway Cross</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>4502 Verona Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>KFC</u>	<u>3600 University Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>2958 East Washington</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Dairy Queen Store</u>	<u>2110 North Sherman Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's Family Restaurant</u>	<u>3737 Milwaukee Street</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>6314 Odana Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>441 North Lake</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>1405 University Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53706</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>3051 East Washington Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4502 East Washington Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>2901 Dryden Drive</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>2402 South Park</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4500 University Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>6920 Odana Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>311 Fern Drive</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>2650 South Park</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4700 Verona Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>3053 East Washington Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
------------------	------------------------------------	----------------	-----------	--------------	------------------

4.5: 1990 Food Sources

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Zip</u>	<u>Store Type</u>
<u>Asian Midway Foods</u>	<u>301 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Atwood Express</u>	<u>2827 ATWOOD AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Campus Grocery & Deli</u>	<u>1314 W JOHNSON ST,</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53706</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>The Cannery</u>	<u>99 S STOUGHTON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Capitol Centre</u>	<u>111 N BROOM</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Citgo Quik Mart</u>	<u>4601 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Citgo Quik Mart</u>	<u>2200 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Citgo Quik Mart</u>	<u>1010 N SHERMAN AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>City Food Market</u>	<u>704 S GAMMON RD,</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Cornucopia Produce</u>	<u>2862 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Cornucopia Produce</u>	<u>716 S WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Cub Foods</u>	<u>4141 NAKOOSA TRAIL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Cub Foods</u>	<u>7455 MINERAL POINT RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Eagle Discount Supermarkets</u>	<u>1880 E WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Europa Market</u>	<u>117 E MAIN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fauerbauch Fine Foods</u>	<u>3034 FISH HATCHERY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Food Country IGA</u>	<u>529 S MIDVALE BLVD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Food Country IGA</u>	<u>108 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Food Market</u>	<u>7 UNIVERSITY SQUARE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Gino's Old World Market</u>	<u>4606 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Grocer Marketing Services</u>	<u>206 E OLIN AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Ivy's Market</u>	<u>2633 COMMERCIAL AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Jenifer Street Market</u>	<u>2038 JENIFER ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>K & J Food Store</u>	<u>4222 E WASHINGTON AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Ken Kopp's Fine Foods</u>	<u>1864 MONROE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Knoche Food Center</u>	<u>5372 OLD MIDDLETON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>2525 E WASHINGTON AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>3770 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>5901 MONONA DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>4515 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53562</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>2921 N SHERMAN AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Stores</u>	<u>1312 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Lee's Oriental</u>	<u>3240 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mactaggarts Market</u>	<u>230 W LAKELAWN PLACE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>The Market Basket</u>	<u>312 E MIFFLIN STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Mel's Grocery</u>	<u>2710 ATWOOD AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mifflin St Community Co-Op</u>	<u>32 N BASSETT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's</u>	<u>2405 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Miller's Market & Deli</u>	<u>120 N FAIRCHILD ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Millin's Market</u>	<u>2701 MARKET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Millin's Supermarket</u>	<u>553 W MAIN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mottier's Market</u>	<u>809 TROY DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Norris Court Grocery</u>	<u>902 E JOHNSON</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2022 FORDEM AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2703 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>437 W GORHAM ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2201 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>1412 PFLAUM RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>1401 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>2504 RIMROCK RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Open Pantry Food Marts</u>	<u>620 N WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Oriental Food Mart</u>	<u>1212 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Oriental Shop</u>	<u>1029 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>3310 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>3371 E WASHINGTON AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>5725 MONONA DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>916 S WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>6426 BRIDGE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>1434 NORTHPORT DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>5280 WILLIAMSBURG WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>4202 MILWAUKEE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>

<u>PDQ</u>	<u>4426 E BUCKEYE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>6702 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>7502 MINERAL POINT RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>1434 NORTHPORT DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>2402 W BROADWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>105 E BROADWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ</u>	<u>1623 N STOUGHTON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Pak-A-Sak Grocery</u>	<u>450 W MAIN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Shell</u>	<u>950 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Regent Food Market</u>	<u>2136 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sav-U Warehouse Foods</u>	<u>3801 E WASH AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sav-U Warehouse Foods</u>	<u>1002 ANN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Stores</u>	<u>4602 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Sentry Food Stores</u>	<u>726 N MIDVALE BLVD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Stores</u>	<u>5702 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Stores</u>	<u>1880 E WASHINGTON AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Steckel's Grocery</u>	<u>5555 IRISH LN</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2934 FISH HATCHERY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>5300 MONONA DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>4325 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>5445 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>1336 DRAKE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2002 WINNEBAGO ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2050 FISH HATCHERY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>3510 PACKERS AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>615 N SHERMAN AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>

<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>6202 SCHROEDER RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>2932 FISH HATCHERY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop-N-Go</u>	<u>3734 SPEEDWAY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Stop & Shop</u>	<u>501 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sunshine Super Market</u>	<u>1402 WILLIAMSON ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Triangle Market</u>	<u>302 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Whole Earth Natural Foods</u>	<u>817 E JOHNSON ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Williamson St Grocery Cooperative</u>	<u>1202 WILLIAMSON ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Woodman's Food Market</u>	<u>711 S GAMMON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Woodman's Food Market</u>	<u>3817 MILWAUKEE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Yue-Wah Oriental Foods</u>	<u>2328 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Chicken Express</u>	<u>5439 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Edwardo's Natural Pizza</u>	<u>6601 MINERAL POINT RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>2051 WEST BROADWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>2901 DRYDEN RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>441 N LAKE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>20 W MIFFLIN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>3444 MILLPOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53718</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>4020 MILW</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>6314 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>2402 S PARK</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>4500 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>1405 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53706</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>4687 VERONA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>3051 E WASH AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>4502 E WASH AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>1402 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>626 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>2407 W BROADWAY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>7011 WATTS RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>534 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>3002 EAST WASHINGTON</u>				
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>1920 SOUTH PARK</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>104 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>9 ODANA CT</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>5001 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Johns</u>	<u>1234 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Johns</u>	<u>622 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Arby's</u>	<u>1609 SOUTH PARK</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Burger King</u>	<u>632 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>6315 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53562</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>1121 74 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>2655 EAST WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>2302 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>6909 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousins Submarines</u>	<u>2312 S PARK ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousins Submarines</u>	<u>3720 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousins Submarines</u>	<u>35 UNIVERSITY SQ</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousins Submarines</u>	<u>3715 E WASH AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousins Submarines</u>	<u>6628 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Dairy Queen</u>	<u>2956 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Dairy Queen</u>	<u>4656 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Dairy Queen</u>	<u>6708 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Domino's Pizza</u>	<u>6321 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53526</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Domino's Pizza</u>	<u>2815 E WASH AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Domino's Pizza</u>	<u>525 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>802 WEST BROADWAY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53784</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>1102 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>3737 MILWAUKEE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>1902 NORTHPORT DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>3600 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>701 S GAMMON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Kentucky Fried Chicken</u>	<u>14 ELLIS POTTER CT</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Kentucky Fried Chicken</u>	<u>602 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Kentucky Fried Chicken</u>	<u>2958 E WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Kentucky Fried Chicken</u>	<u>1516 GREENWAY CROSS</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Kentucky Fried Chicken</u>	<u>4502 VERONA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Little Caesar's Pizza</u>	<u>4664 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Lunch-N-Munch</u>	<u>448 WESTGATE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Orange Julius</u>	<u>EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>6502 GRAND TETON PLAZA</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>3059 E WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>2649 E SPRINGS DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>2405 S PARK</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4709 VERONA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>811 FERN DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>662 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>616 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>2803 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>78 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>4527 COTTAGE GROV RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>1349 WILLIAMSON ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>1417 C NORTHPORT DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>1401 EMIL ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>5750 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>6668 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>1618 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>411 W GILMAN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>651 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>3001 N SHERMAN AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>3730 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>4002 E WASH AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>694 S WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>4 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>S'Barro</u>	<u>120 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Suburpia Subs</u>	<u>3030 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Suburpia Subs</u>	<u>1401 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>1 DEMPSEY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>661 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>3910 E WASH AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

4.6: 2000 Food Sources

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Zip</u>	<u>Store Type</u>
<u>Asian Midway Foods</u>	<u>301 S PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Campus Center Foods</u>	<u>626 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Campus Grocery & Deli</u>	<u>1314 WEST JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Capitol Centre Foods</u>	<u>111 NORTH BROOM STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Citgo Quik-Mart</u>	<u>6702 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Copps Food Center</u>	<u>620 SOUTH WHITNEY WAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Cub Foods</u>	<u>4141 NAKOOSA TRAIL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Cub Foods</u>	<u>7455 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Z Gregory Inc</u>	<u>6227 MCKEE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fraboni's Italian Specialties & Delectatessen</u>	<u>822 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Jenifer Street Market</u>	<u>2038 JENIFER STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Store</u>	<u>261 JUNCTION ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Store</u>	<u>2525 EAST WASHINGTON AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Kohl's Food Store</u>	<u>6310 CENTURY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53562</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>MacTaggarts Market</u>	<u>230 EAST LAKE LAWN PLACE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Magic Mill</u>	<u>2862 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Mifflin Street Community Co-op</u>	<u>32 NORTH BASSETT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Norris Court Grocery</u>	<u>902 EAST JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>North Farm Cooperative</u>	<u>204 REGAS ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Oriental Food Mart</u>	<u>1206 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Oriental Shop</u>	<u>1209 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Regent Market Co-op</u>	<u>2136 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Stores</u>	<u>726 NORTH MIDVALE BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry Food Stores</u>	<u>4602 COTTAGE GROVE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Stop & Shop Grocery</u>	<u>501 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sunshine Super Market</u>	<u>1402 WILLIAMSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Triangle Market</u>	<u>302 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>Whole Foods Market</u>	<u>3313 UNIVERSITY AVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Woodman's West Food Market</u>	<u>711 S GAMMON ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Yue-Wah Oriental Foods</u>	<u>2328 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Certco Inc</u>	<u>5321 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Madison Cash & Carry</u>					<u>Grocery</u>
<u>Wholesale Grocers</u>	<u>5309 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Store</u>
<u>North Farm Cooperative</u>	<u>204 REGAS ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sam's Club</u>	<u>7050 WATTS ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Gourmet To Go</u>	<u>4292 EAST TOWNE BLVD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Happy Wok</u>	<u>222 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Mildred's Sandwich Shop</u>	<u>827 E JOHNSON ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Viet Food To Go</u>	<u>1018 SHERMAN AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Arby's</u>	<u>601 S GAMMON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Arby's</u>	<u>216 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Asia Express</u>	<u>721 N HIGH POINT RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Big Mike's Super Subs</u>	<u>4921 COMMERCIAL AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Big Mike's Super Subs</u>	<u>306 JUNCTION RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Big Mike's Super Subs</u>	<u>6702 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Buffalo Wild Wings</u>	<u>529 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>632 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>6909 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Chang Jiang</u>	<u>4929 COMMERCIAL AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Chang Jiang</u>	<u>646 S GAMMON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Chang Jiang</u>	<u>5710 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>China Wok</u>	<u>1724 FORDEM AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>China Wok</u>	<u>6714 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousin's Subs</u>	<u>3715 E WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousin's Subs</u>	<u>35 UNIVERSITY SQ</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousin's Subs</u>	<u>3720 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Cousin's Subs</u>	<u>6628 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Gino's Pizza</u>	<u>540 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Glass Nickel Pizza</u>	<u>5003 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Glass Nickel Pizza</u>	<u>2049 ATWOOD AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Quizno's Subs</u>	<u>WEST TOWN MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Quizno's Subs</u>	<u>611 MCKEE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Quizno's Subs</u>	<u>5 S PICKNEY ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>1301 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>3001 N SHERMAN AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>1618 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>1753 THIERER RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>206 WESTGATE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Rocky Rococo's</u>	<u>7952 TREE LANE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>4814 ANNAMARK DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Kentucky Fried Chicken</u>	<u>4802 ANNAMARK DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>1 Potato 2</u>	<u>231 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>1 Potato 2</u>	<u>108 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Orange Julius</u>	<u>207 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Orient Express</u>	<u>106 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Sbarro's</u>	<u>219 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>Sbarro's</u>	<u>120 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Steak Escape</u>	<u>118 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Steak Escape</u>	<u>89 EAST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>1816 W BELTLINE HWY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>4522 VERONA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>811 FERN DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>652 N HIGH POINT RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Subway</u>	<u>462 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>104 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>421 COMMERCE DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>534 STATE ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>3910 E WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Domino's</u>	<u>703 S GAMMON RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Extreme</u>	<u>605 E WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Extreme</u>	<u>1207 N SHERMAN AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>1426 NORTHPORT DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4762 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4050 UNIVERSITY AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>5706 RAYMOND RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>6668 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>1417 NORTHPORT DR</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>1401 EMIL ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>4527 COTTAGE GROVE RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Pit</u>	<u>1860 E WASHINGTON AV</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>3709 KINSMAN BLVD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>6910 ODANA RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>1102 REGENT ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>110 WEST TOWNE MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonalds</u>	<u>20 W MIFFLIN ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

4.7: Food Sources 2010

<u>Name</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>CITY</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>ZIP</u>	<u>Store Type</u>
<u>Viet Hoa Market</u>	<u>4602 Monona Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Copps Food Ctr</u>	<u>3650 University Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Maharaja Grocery</u>	<u>1701 Thierer Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Knoche Food Ctr & Meat Mart</u>	<u>5372 Old Middleton Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Capitol Centre Market</u>	<u>111 N Broom St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Triangle Market</u>	<u>302 State St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Trader Joe's</u>	<u>1810 Monroe St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Market Basket</u>	<u>312 E Mifflin St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>La Hispana Grocery</u>	<u>4512 E Washington Ave # 3</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Willy Street Co-Op</u>	<u>1221 Williamson St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Copps Food Ctr</u>	<u>620 S Whitney Way</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Whole Foods Market</u>	<u>3313 University Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Santa Maria Grocery Inc</u>	<u>1326 S Midvale Blvd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Asian Midway Foods</u>	<u>301 S Park St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Pierce's Marketplace</u>	<u>2817 N Sherman Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Market</u>	<u>515 S Midvale Blvd # 3</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Y Not Foods Inc</u>	<u>4309 Cottage Grove Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Copps Food Ctr</u>	<u>2502 Shopko Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Guanajuato</u>					
<u>Enterprises</u>	<u>1326 S Midvale Blvd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Hy-Vee</u>	<u>675 S Whitney Way</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Enriques Market</u>	<u>1417 Northport Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Jenifer Street Market</u>	<u>2038 Jenifer St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Woodman's Food</u>					
<u>Market</u>	<u>3817 Milwaukee St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sar Fox River Food Inc</u>	<u>237 East Towne Mall</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Boca Foods</u>	<u>910 Mayer Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>J & P Intl</u>	<u>6634 Watts Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Regent Market Co-Op</u>	<u>2136 Regent St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Brennan's Country Mkt</u>					
<u>& Liquor</u>	<u>8210 Watts Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Tairov LLC</u>	<u>745 S Gammon Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Teirda Los Gemelos</u>	<u>6713 Odana Rd # 9</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Copps Food Ctr</u>	<u>6655 Mckee Rd # B</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Hmoob Oriental Market</u>	<u>1197 N Sherman Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Hy-Vee</u>	<u>3801 E Washington Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>5317 Old Middleton Rd #</u>				
<u>Inter Market</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Copps Food Ctr</u>	<u>1312 S Park St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Mercado Marimar</u>	<u>2102 S Park St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Surco Food</u>	<u>515 Cottage Grove Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>

<u>Stop & Shop</u>					
<u>Supermarket</u>	<u>501 State St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>ALDI</u>	<u>3925 Lien Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>ALDI</u>	<u>8222 Watts Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>K B East Towne Food</u>	<u>237 East Towne Mall</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Sentry On the Go</u>	<u>726 N Midvale Blvd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Greenway Foods</u>	<u>5034 Starker Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
<u>Fresh Madison Market</u>	<u>703 University Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Grocery Store</u>
	<u>2655 East Washington</u>				
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>6909 Odana Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Burger King</u>	<u>2501 South Park Street</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Hardee's</u>	<u>4814 Annamark Drive</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>1426 Northport Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>2649 E Springs Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>2935 S Fish Hatchery Rd</u>				
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>Ste 1</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>3150 Maple Valley Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4000 University</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>474 Commerce Drive</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Pizza Hut</u>	<u>4762 Cottage Grove Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>7440 Mineral Point Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>1516 Greenway Cross</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>2958 E. Washington</u>				
<u>KFC</u>	<u>Avenue</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>4502 Verona Rd.</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

<u>KFC</u>	<u>4802 Annamark Drive</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>KFC</u>	<u>604 Cottage Grove Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>7501 Mineral Point Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>1102 Regent St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>2051 W Broadway</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>225 E Towne Mall</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>2402 S Park St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>2901 Dryden Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>3051 E Washington Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>3709 Kinsman Blvd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4020 Milwaukee St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>441 N Lake St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4500 University Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4502 E Washington Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>4687 Verona Dr</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>McDonald's</u>	<u>6910 Odana Rd</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
	<u>West Towne Mall Food</u>				
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>Court 56</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>104 W Town Mall</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>1920 S Park St</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>201 Junction Rd.</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>258 East Towne Mall</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>3002 E Washington Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Taco Bell</u>	<u>421 Commerce Drive</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>5001 University Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>

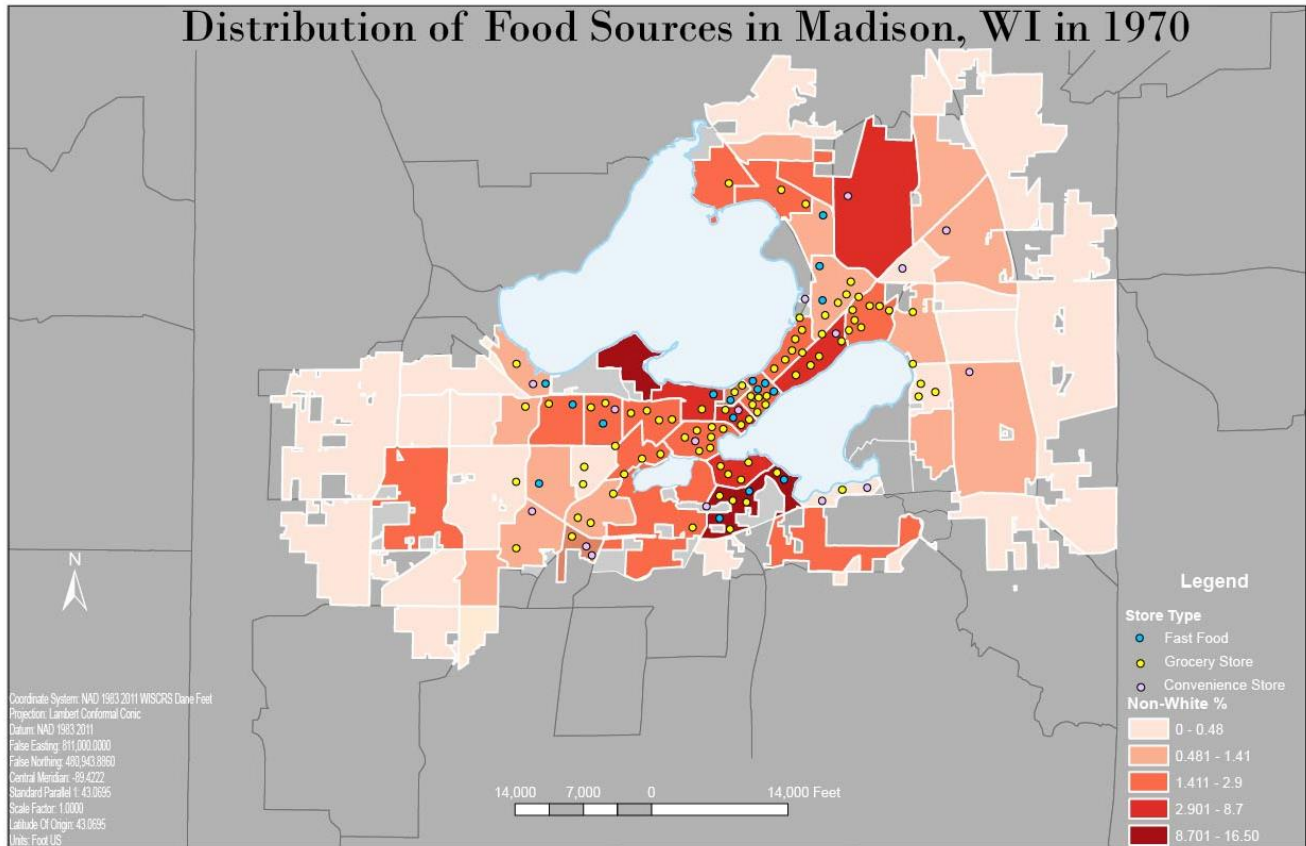
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>534 State Street</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>2421 S. Stoughton</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>3910 Washington Ave</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
<u>Wendy's</u>	<u>633 S. Gammon Road</u>	<u>Madison</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Fast Food</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>7-ELEVEN</u>	<u>1401 REGENT STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PLAZA C STORE</u>	<u>1 S PINCKNEY ST</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>MADISON FOOD MART</u>	<u>902 E JOHNSON STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ FOOD STORES</u>	<u>2538 FISH HATCHERY RD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>STOP-N-GO</u>	<u>2002 WINNEBAGO STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ FOOD STORES</u>	<u>1434 NORTHPORT DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>7-ELEVEN</u>	<u>673 STATE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>7-ELEVEN</u>	<u>2216 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53726</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>PDQ FOOD STORES</u>	<u>7502 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>STOP-N-GO</u>	<u>4624 MONONA DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Store</u>
					<u>Convenience</u>
<u>STOP-N-GO</u>	<u>5445 UNIVERSITY AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Store</u>

<u>STOP-N-GO</u>	<u>3734 SPEEDWAY ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>WALGREENS</u>	<u>311 EAST CAMPUS MALL</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53715</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ FOOD STORES</u>	<u>4112 MILWAUKEE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53714</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>PDQ FOOD STORES</u>	<u>4741 LIEN ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>CAPITOL PETROL MART</u>	<u>6702 MINERAL POINT ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53705</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>KWIK TRIP</u>	<u>1421 MONROE STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>7-ELEVEN</u>	<u>2201 SOUTH PARK STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>CITGO</u>	<u>1010 NORTH SHERMAN AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>K&J FOOD STORE</u>	<u>4222 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>KELLEY'S MARKET</u>	<u>2601 SHOPKO DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>CVS</u>	<u>2 SOUTH BEDFORD STREET</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>WALGREENS</u>	<u>1725 NORTHPORT DRIVE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>
<u>SPEEDWAY</u>	<u>2500 ROYAL AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53713</u>	<u>Convenience Store</u>

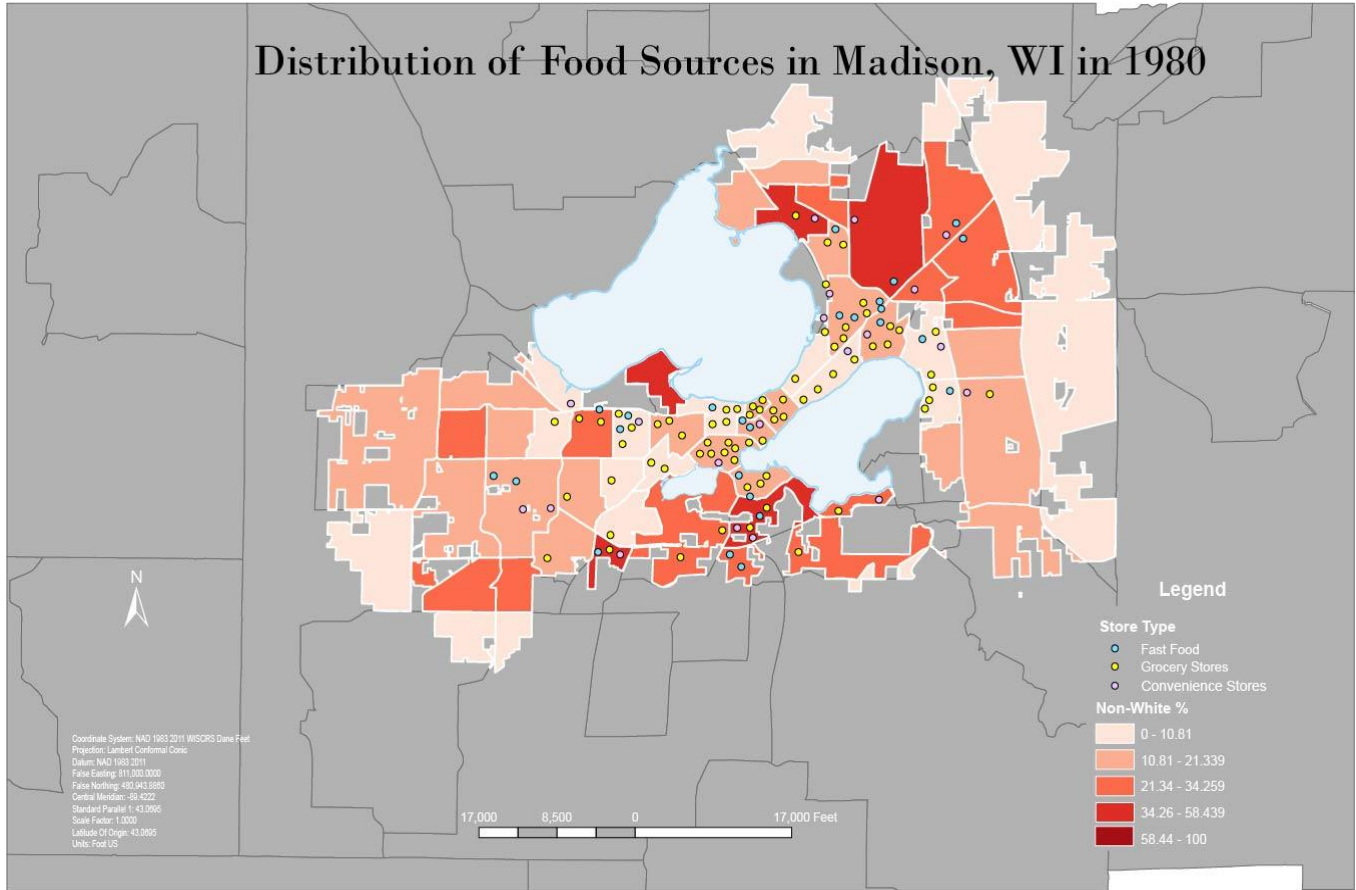
<u>SPEEDWAY</u>	<u>4902 VERONA ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53711</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>MOBIL</u>	<u>605 COTTAGE GROVE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>WALGREENS</u>	<u>3710 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>SINCLAIR</u>	<u>4810 EAST WASHINGTON AVENUE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53704</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>WALGREENS</u>	<u>108 COTTAGE GROVE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>BP</u>	<u>5551 EASTPARK BOULEVARD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53718</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>PHILLIPS 66</u>	<u>4 COLLINS COURT</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53716</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>KELLEY'S MARKET</u>	<u>33 JUNCTION COURT</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53717</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>WALGREENS</u>	<u>6601 MCKEE ROAD</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53719</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>KWIK TRIP</u>	<u>4825 AMERICAN PARKWAY</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53718</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>
<u>MACTAGGART'S</u>	<u>230 WEST LAKELAWN PLACE</u>	<u>MADISON</u>	<u>WI</u>	<u>53703</u>	<u>Convenience</u> <u>Store</u>

Appendix 5 - Maps of Madison (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010)

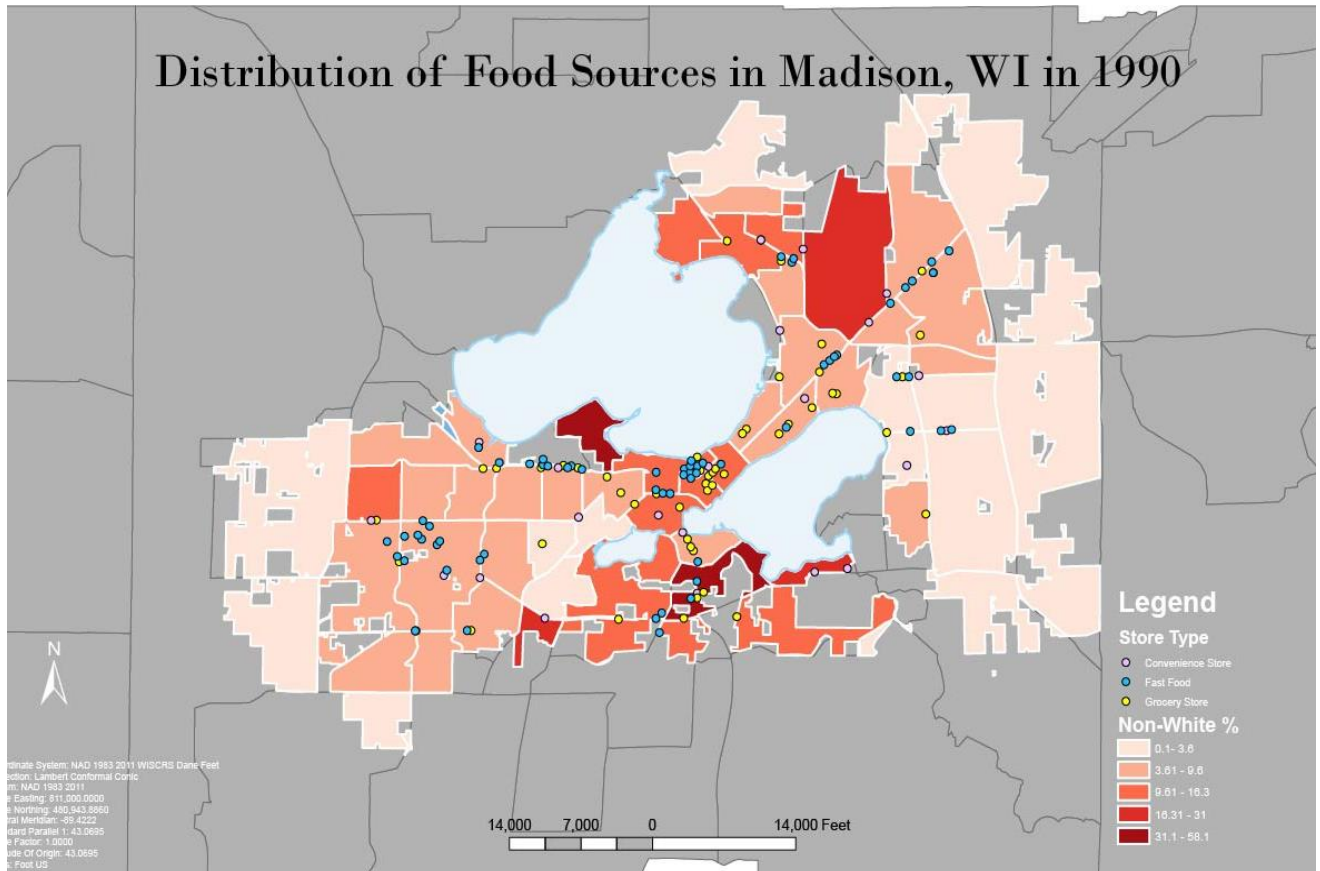
5.1: Race and Food Sources in Madison in 1970



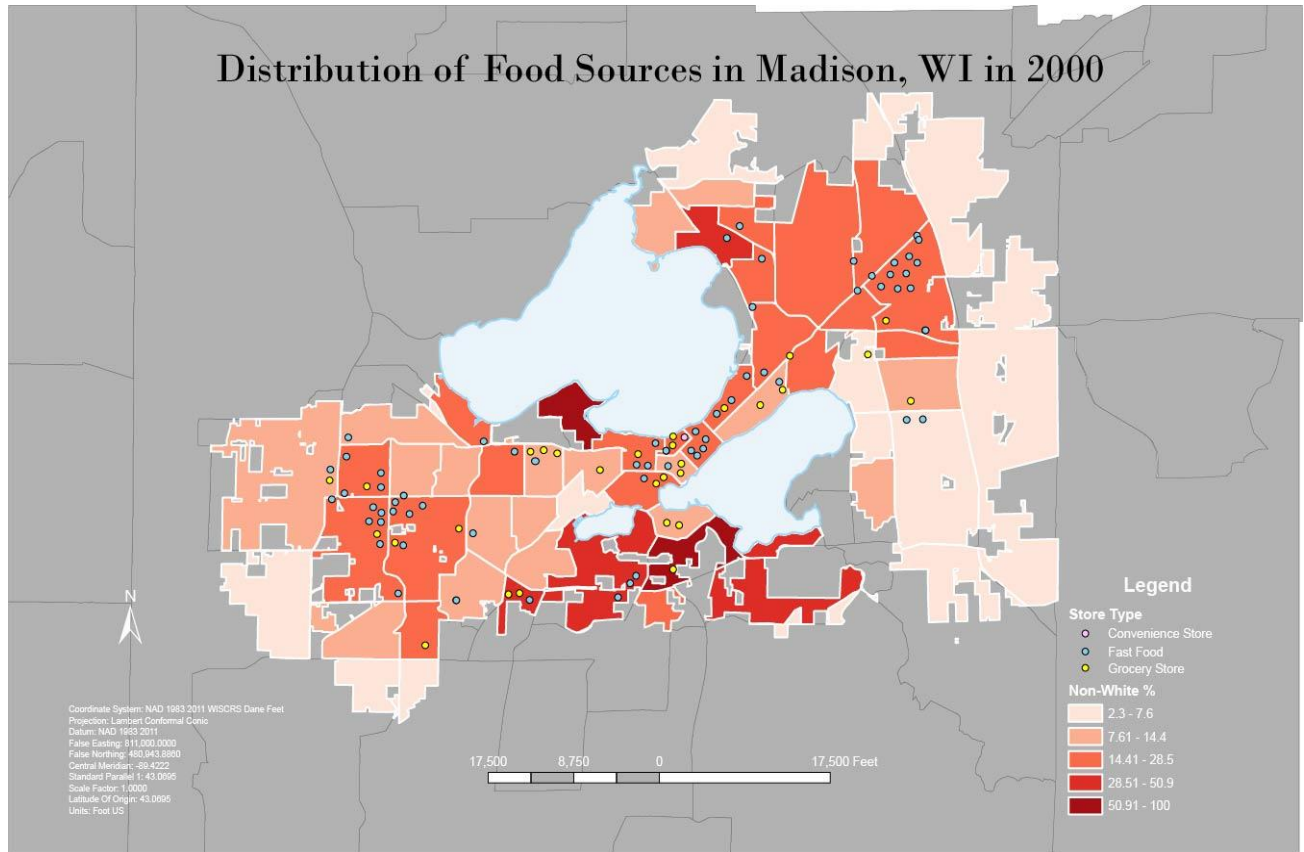
5.2 Race and Food Sources in Madison in 1980



5.3 Food Sources and Race in Madison in 1990



5.4 Race and Food Sources in Madison in 2000



5.5 Race and Food Sources in Madison in 2010

