WANT FRIES WITH THAT (POLICY)?

How the National Restaurant Association pushes Big Food's agenda in Congress

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This publication was made possible by the generous support of the Johnson Family Foundation.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Want Fries with That (Policy)? exposes how the National Restaurant Association (the "Other ") is influencing key votes in Congress.

It demonstrates the harmful effects the NRA's agenda is having on policies affecting the food system, worker rights, the environment, and public health.

The report connects the dots between:

- The interests of industry leaders like McDonald's and Darden.
- The policies that the NRA lobbies for.
- The voting record of lawmakers on these policies.

This report makes recommendations to shareholders and investors, lawmakers, the media, and others to address the negative effects the NRA has on policies.

- It calls on investors and shareholders of McDonald's, Darden, and other Big Food corporations to demand they stop supporting and lobbying for policies that harm people and the food system, and that they do not interfere with the passage of policies that protect people's health, improve wages and working conditions, and create a sustainable food system.
- It calls for lawmakers to stop taking financial contributions from the NRA and its biggest members, and instead advance sound policy that protects small businesses, the environment, food workers, and our health.
- It calls on reporters and the media to cover the NRA with a critical eye to the primary corporations behind its policy agenda, looking deeper into the actual policies advanced by the NRA and the effect those policies have on workers, public health, and the environment.

KEY FINDINGS

The NRA and the politicians who advance its agenda have a huge impact on everything from labor to food safety issues. Some of the key findings of this report include the following:

- The NRA has had a tremendous impact. It has watered down or blocked labor laws, preventing passage of minimum wage and sick leave bills. Even a congressional resolution calling for raising the minimum wage did not get through. As a result, with the federal minimum wage at a paltry $7.25 an hour, we have no federal legislation that requires employers to pay people a living wage. And the U.S. remains one of the only countries in the world without a national requirement for paid sick leave.
- The NRA weakens public health laws. For years, it has fought to water down laws requiring junk food restaurants to label the calorie counts of their menu items.
- The NRA aims to keep people in the dark about GMOs. More and more states are seeking to pass legislation that informs people about whether their food is genetically engineered. But at the federal level, the NRA is lobbying hard to prevent states from doing so. Current pending legislation nicknamed "DARK Act" (Deny Americans the Right to Know) could result in a federal law that blocks states from being able to require GMO labeling.

THE ROTTEN CORE OF THE "OTHER NRA": BIG FOOD

The National Restaurant Association is one of the most powerful business lobbies in Congress. It represents the interests of the Fortune 500 corporations that make up its membership, including:

McDonald's, the largest and most profitable fast food corporation in the world with unparalleled influence over production of the staple foods that are the building blocks of every meal. McDonald's is the leading purchaser of beef, pork, potatoes, and apples in the United States.

Darden Restaurants, Inc., Olive Garden's parent company and the largest full-service restaurant corporation in the world. It is the world's largest employer of tipped restaurant workers.

Yum! Brands, the parent company of Taco Bell, KFC, and Pizza Hut.

Burger giants like Burger King and Wendy's. Combined, these two corporations have revenues of $3 billion and operate in at least 73 countries.

These transnational corporations—among the largest and most powerful—are the driving force behind the NRA's policy agenda. McDonald's and Darden's practices—whether marketing, labor, or supply chain practices—are closely followed and often emulated by the rest of the industry. (See "As goes McDonald's, so goes the rest of Big Food.") No surprise, then, that the agenda of McDonald's and Darden is the NRA's agenda.

And this agenda puts the interests of these transnational corporations first and foremost, often at an incredible expense to public health, the environment, and workers.

AS GOES MCDONALD'S, SO GOES THE REST OF BIG FOOD

In September 2015, McDonald's pledged to transition to cage-free eggs in North America by 2025.

Other chain restaurants quickly followed suit, making similar pledges: Starbucks in October, followed closely by Kellogg's and TGI Fridays that same month, Panera Bread in early November, Taco Bell in mid-November, Dunkin' Donuts in early-December, and Nestlé in late December.

The National Restaurant Association represents the interests of the Fortune 500 corporations that make up its membership, including McDonald's, Darden, and YUM! Brands.

NOT REPPING MOM-AND-POP RESTAURANTS

The National Restaurant Association positions itself as representing the interests of the entrepreneurial restaurant owner, the small businesswoman just trying to live out the American Dream.

And yet, the NRA's policy priorities center on the interests of its largest members. For example, the NRA spent millions of dollars lobbying against menu labeling and health insurance coverage: laws that primarily affect the largest of restaurants.

And where McDonald's spends hugely to position itself as pro-worker and pro-health, the NRA—its trade association—advances a legislative agenda that is exactly the opposite. Over the years, the NRA has blocked progress toward ensuring workers are paid fairly, battling minimum wage increases and paid sick time legislation. It has also opposed pro-health policies like nutritional menu labeling and regulation of sodium, trans fats, and sugars.

Further, the NRA, like the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), which it has funded, advances its agenda in part by circumventing local control. It helps pass legislation that prevents local elected officials from protecting the interests of the people they represent. Such pre-emptive legislation has blocked local leaders from enacting policies that give workers paid sick days, protect workers from discrimination when they get pregnant, and provide people nutrition information they need to make informed choices about calories when buying food.

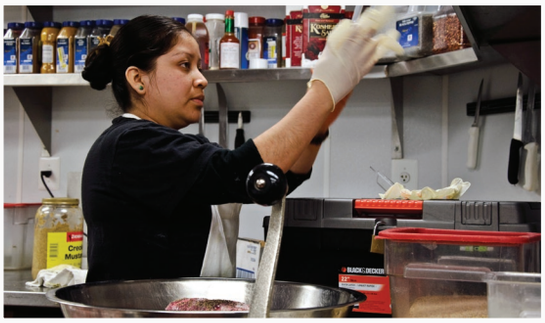

Photo credit: Restaurant Opportunities Centers United

The NRA spends millions of dollars lobbying against minimum wage laws for fast food and restaurant workers.

THE NRA'S DEEP REACH

The tentacles of the NRA run deep. The influence it buys when it comes to legislative votes, as recorded in the scorecard that follows, is just the tip of the iceberg of the restaurant industry's influence in Congress—with the NRA as the lead mouthpiece and lobbyist.

Financial influence

The direct political contributions of the National Restaurant Association classify it as a "Major Political Contributor" by the Center for Responsive Politics, which tracks money in U.S. politics. Since 1989, the NRA and its biggest members have spent $63.8 million in disclosed federal political contributions. In the 2014 election cycle, the NRA gave away $975,000 directly in political contributions to federal candidates. Furthermore, its political action committee (PAC) spent $1.3 million in the 2014 cycle alone.

Moreover, top recipients of contributions from the NRA have received thousands of dollars in contributions directly from corporations like McDonald's and Darden: Reps.Eric Cantor, John Boehner, John Kline, Kevin McCarthy, Pat Tiberi, and Dave Camp, to name just a few. In 2014, Rep. Boehner, for example, received $10,000 from the NRA, another $5,000 from McDonald's, and another $10,000 from Darden.

But this is just the money we can track. It is likely these members of Congress are getting hefty contributions from the restaurant industry through everything from dark money groups and PACs to individual corporate executives' contributions.

The NRA and its biggest members like McDonald's and Darden are not simply buying influence—they are also buying loyalty. And in this area, a little goes a long way. Their political contributions help ensure that the politicians they help get elected will favor their interests. So, the NRA doesn't necessarily even need to lobby on an issue, or pour millions into campaign coffers to get the votes it needs.

Indeed, the top recipients of NRA contributions not only vote in line with the NRA's interests, but often introduce or co-sponsor its high-priority bills, going to bat for its interests time and again.

Lobbying behind closed doors

While the NRA's influence can be seen on the floors of the House and Senate, much of the lobbying and influence-peddling happens behind closed doors on Capitol Hill and in the offices of U.S. agencies like the USDA, the FDA, and the FTC. Because of this lobbying, bills and regulations aimed at protecting people's health, workers, and our environment never even see the light of day.

We can see an example of this influence at work when it comes to marketing junk food to children. In recent years, some lawmakers have attempted to curb the marketing of unhealthy foods to children by ending corporate tax breaks for money spent on this kind of marketing. But the "Stop Subsidizing Childhood Obesity Act" (S. 2342) and its companion bill in the House (H.R. 2831) died in committee and were never voted on.

In another example, the NRA and the rest of the food industry effectively scuttled an initiative to limit junk food marketing to children. In 2009, Congress asked several federal agencies to study the impacts of food marketing on children and make recommendations. The study showed a negative impact of food marketing on children's health. As a result, the Federal Trade Commission, along with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention began to produce a set of voluntary guidelines on marketing to children based on the nutritional content of the foods. The reaction from the NRA and food industry was swift and strong. It applied enough pressure that Congress brought the multi-year process to a screeching halt. These guidelines were never completed and implemented.

CHAMPIONS OF FOOD POLICY

While there are plenty of offenders when it comes to food policy, there are champions as well. This report showcases some of those in Congress who are sponsoring policies that support workers, public health, and a sustainable food system.

METHODOLOGY

The following scorecards show a sampling of bills that the NRA lobbied on over the past legislative sessions. It offers a current picture of the NRA's role in influencing food-related and other federal policy. The long and sordid history of NRA influence over our food system goes back for many decades, which we do not cover here.

We identified members of Congress who are most actively advancing the NRA's agenda by looking at the issues and bills on which the NRA lobbied most aggressively, and identified who sponsored and co-sponsored those policies. We used OpenSecrets to identify members of Congress who received the most money in political contributions from the NRA, the NRA PAC, McDonald's, McDonald's PAC, Darden Restaurants, and Yum! Brands.

To highlight food policy champions, we looked at the sponsors and co-sponsors of bills that would have supported or are currently supporting our food system, public health, and workers' rights.

The scorecards below contain bills that the NRA reported lobbying on during 2012-2015 which went to a vote, and they highlight the voting records of select members of Congress on a range of food-related issues. We chose these legislators based on who received the most NRA political contributions, as well as those who did not receive any money from the NRA.

We then scored their records as follows:

- We reviewed each bill and amendment to determine whether each bill or amendment was, on the whole, beneficial or detrimental to the issue in question.
- On this basis, we determined whether each vote was a positive or a negative vote.
- The score for any given member of Congress is the percentage of their total votes that were positive votes.
- We did not count bills or amendments that were voted on while legislators were not in office.

SENATE SCORECARD

The National Restaurant Association—and the senators who advocate its policies on the floor—champion bills in the Senate that do everything from keeping the minimum wage stagnant to stripping environmental protections. In the past several years, the NRA has focused heavily on eroding workers' rights.

The NRA lobbies for policies friendly to Big Food and unfriendly to small farmers, public health, and workers' rights.

BILLS

1 KEEPING THE PUBLIC IN THE DARK ABOUT GMOS

Senate 764 Amendment 3450, 114 session of Congress. Sen. Pat Roberts sponsored an amendment to block states from being able to require GMO labeling, essentially a new version of the DARK Act, which is pending a vote. This amendment, however, was voted down in the Senate.

2 PROVIDING SICK TIME FOR WORKERS

Senate Concurrent Resolution (S. Con. Res.) 11 Amendment 798, 114. Sen. Patty Murray sponsored this bill, which passed the Senate.

3 RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE

S. Con. Res. 11 Amdt. 881, 114. This amendment called on the Senate to raise the minimum wage. It was introduced by Sen. Bernie Sanders and co-sponsored by Murray, but was roundly rejected.

4 UNDERMINING UNIONIZATION

Senate Joint Resolution 8, 114. This resolution would have overturned rules by the National Labor Relations Board that make it easier for workers to unionize. This resolution was driven by Sen. Lamar Alexander and passed both the House and the Senate before being vetoed by President Obama.

5 EXPEDITING THE KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE

S. 1, 114. Cheaper fuel keeps commodity prices low—and leads to more fuel consumption and emissions. This bill passed both the House and Senate but was vetoed by President Obama.

6 ANOTHER BILL TO RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE

S. 2223, 113. This bill would have raised the minimum wage to $10.10 per hour and increased the federal tipped minimum wage to 70 percent of the federal minimum wage. It was voted down.

7 LABELING GMO FOOD

S. 954 Amdt. 965, 113. Introduced by Sen. Sanders, this amendment would have ensured states were able to require food sold within their borders to be labeled as genetically engineered. The amendment was rejected, voted down by many of the senators who received significant contributions from the NRA.

FOOD OFFENDERS

The following senators have received tens of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from the NRA, and consistently advance its interests by sponsoring and introducing bills friendly to Big Food. And while these dollars may appear small in our current political system, when connected to the role legislators have played advocating the NRA's policy line, they raise serious questions about the influence being purchased.

Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-TN). Received $10,000 from the NRA in the 2014 election cycle. The chairman of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, Alexander regularly advances the NRA agenda, introducing legislation that threatens public health and workers' rights. This has included attempts to make it harder for workers to unionize 4 and pushing for a delay of menu labeling laws.

Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME). Received total of $8,000 from the NRA in the 2012 and 2014 election cycles. Collins has repeatedly introduced legislation that would have harmed workers' rights and provided tax breaks for restaurant corporations, which undermines government funding. For example, the Affordable Care Act (ACA) requires employers with more than 50 employees to provide health insurance to employees who work at least 30 hours. The NRA has poured vast resources into weakening this provision, and Collins sponsored legislation raising the requirement to 40 hours *(S. Con. Res 11 Amdt. 442, 114; S. 701, 113; S. 30, 114)*. Respectively, these bills 1) passed but do not have the force of law, 2) died in Congress, or 3) are pending vote.

Sen. Pat Roberts (R-KS). Received a total of $10,000 from the NRA in the 2012 and 2014 election cycles. In furthering the NRA's agenda, Roberts along with his fellow "food offenders" is eroding workers' rights and threatening the environment. Like Collins, he co-sponsored a bill to raise the ACA insurance requirement from 30 hours to 40 hours *(S. 30)*. And he co-sponsored the Keystone XL Pipeline Act 5 to force passage of the Keystone XL pipeline, because cheaper fuel keeps commodity prices low.

FOOD CHAMPIONS

Happily, there are a number of senators who consistently champion legislation on food safety, workers' rights, and sustainable agriculture. They include:

Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-CA). Did not receive any money from the NRA. Boxer co-sponsored a number of bills to raise the minimum wage, including the Minimum Wage Fairness Act 6. Boxer introduced the Genetically Engineered Food Right-to-Know Act *(S. 511, 114)*, which would require any food that contains genetically engineered ingredients to be clearly labeled. It is currently pending vote in the Senate.

Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA). Did not receive any money from the NRA. Murray introduced amendments and legislation to require employers to allow workers to earn paid sick time, including the Healthy Families Act *(S. 497, 114*, which is currently pending vote in the Senate) and the Murray Sick Leave Budget Amendment 2, which passed the Senate. Murray also introduced and co-sponsored a number of other bills to raise the minimum wage, including 6. She has also championed children's health, introducing the "Stop Child Summer Hunger Act of 2015" *(S. 1539, 114)*, which would make sure children who qualify for free and reduced-price school meals during the school year have access to food during the summer, via permanent Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) for their households. This bill is pending a vote in the Senate.

Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT). Did not receive any money from the NRA. Sanders co-sponsored two bills to raise the minimum wage 6 3, both of which were voted down. Sanders has also introduced a number of amendments that would have ensured that states can require GMO labeling 7.

The other NRA and Big Food have helped defeat legislation that would end corporate tax breaks for marketing unhealthy foods to kids.

SENATE SCORECARD

✓ GOOD FOOD POLICY VOTE

✗ BAD FOOD POLICY VOTE

VOTES IN CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS

		STATE	PARTY AFFILIATION	NRA POLITICAL SPENDING CAMPAIGN DONATION (2012-14)	114th						113th	SCORE
					1 BLOCKING GMO LABELING	2 SICK TIME FOR WORKERS	3 RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	4 UNDERMINING UNIONATIZATION	5 EXPEDITING THE KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE	6 RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	7 LABELING GMO FOOD	
	CHAMPIONS											
SENATOR	Boxer, Barbara	CA	D	$0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100%
SENATOR	Blumenthal, Richard	CT	D	$0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100%
SENATOR	Murray, Patty	WA	D	$0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100%
SENATOR	Sanders, Bernie	VT	I	$0	N/A	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100%
SENATOR	Brown, Sherrod	OH	D	$0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	86%
SENATOR	Durbin, Dick	IL	D	$0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	86%
SENATOR	Warren, Elizabeth	MA	D	$0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	86%
	OFFENDERS											
SENATOR	Collins, Susan	ME	R	$8,000	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	43%
SENATOR	Alexander, Lamar	TN	R	$10,000	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	14%
SENATOR	McConnell, Mitch	KY	R	$7,500	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	14%
SENATOR	Cornyn, John	TX	R	$10,250	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
SENATOR	Flake, Jeff	AZ	R	$12,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
SENATOR	Hatch, Orrin	UT	R	$12,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
SENATOR	Roberts, Pat	KS	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%

HOUSE SCORECARD

In the House, as in the Senate, the National Restaurant Association's influence can be most clearly tracked in the area of workers' rights and labor. However, the NRA also lobbies for, and lines up votes on, bills harmful to the environment and public health.

The NRA also consistently lobbies for tax breaks for Big Business, and the legislators most in the NRA's pocket introduce these bill session after session, even as they are voted down time and time again. These corporations exact significant costs to our society in public health, environmental degradation, workers' rights, and more. But they refuse to pay their fair share—or even the not-so-fair share they are currently required to pay.

BILLS

1 UNDERMINING UNIONIZATION

Senate Joint Resolution 8, 114. This resolution, which started in the Senate and moved to the House, would have overturned rules by the National Labor Relations Board that make it easier for workers to unionize. This resolution was driven by Sen. Lamar Alexander and passed both the House and the Senate before being vetoed by President Obama.

2 KEEPING THE PUBLIC IN THE DARK ABOUT GMOS

House Resolution 1599, 114. This bill would prevent states from enacting laws to label GMOs. It was co-sponsored by Rep. Patrick Tiberi. Although the House's "Food Champions" strongly opposed it, it passed the House and is pending a vote in the Senate. 3 *(Amdt. 678)* Rep. Peter DeFazio proposed an amendment to require corporations labeling GMO products in other countries to do the same in the U.S. 4 *(Amdt. 680)* Rep. Rosa DeLauro also tried to include legislation that would have prohibited the use of the term "natural" on foods that contained genetically engineered ingredients. Both amendments were rejected.

5 STRIPPING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTIONS

H.R. 1335, 114. This bill would weaken conservation protections meant to prevent overfishing. It passed the House and is currently in the Senate.

6 CREATING A LOOPHOLE FOR MENU LABELING

H.R. 2017, 114. To help people make informed decisions about calories when eating out, restaurants with 20 or more stores must list the calorie counts for all the items they sell, right on the menu. This bill would allow restaurants that receive the majority of their orders "off-premises" (online or by phone) to list that information online instead of in stores. If this bill passes, delivery and take-out chain restaurants, like NRA members Domino's and Pizza Hut, would not have to follow the menu labeling laws and would not have to post the calorie counts in their stores if they provide that information somewhere on online. This bill passed the House and is pending a vote in the Senate.

7 8 WEAKENING HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR WORKERS

H.R. 30, 114 and H.R. 2575, 113. The Affordable Care Act requires employers with 50 or more full-time employees to provide health insurance to employees who work at least 30 hours. The NRA has poured vast amounts of resources into weakening this provision—raising the requirement to 40 hours. Six of the seven Democrats who voted for *H.R. 2575, 113* received money from the NRA. It passed the House but was never put to a vote in the Senate. The bill in the next session of Congress *(H.R. 30, 114)* passed the House and is pending a vote in the Senate.

9 RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE

H.R. 803, 113 Vote 74. This bill to raise the minimum wage to $10.10 per hour was voted down in the House.

10 EXPEDITING THE KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE

H.R. 3, 113. Cheaper fuel keeps commodity prices low. This bill passed the House but was never passed by the Senate.

11 ENDANGERING SMALL DAIRY FARMERS

H.R 1947 Amdt. 228, 113. A dairy regulation that puts small dairy farmers' businesses in jeopardy to keep commodity prices low. This bill passed the House.

FOOD OFFENDERS

The following representatives have received tens of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from the NRA, and have consistently advanced its interests.

Rep. John Kline (R-MN). Received a total of $20,000 from the NRA during the 2012 and 2014 election cycles. Sponsored *H.R. 3459* in the 114th session of Congress, which he introduced in an attempt to reverse a National Labor Relations Board ruling. Reversing this ruling, which decreed that McDonald's is a "joint employer" along with its franchisees, would benefit McDonald's corporate at the expense of its individual franchise owners. The bill is pending a vote in the House. He also sponsored failed bills that would have provided tax cuts to transnational corporations and created a loophole for menu labeling laws 6.

Rep. Patrick Tiberi (R-OH). Received a total of $17,500 from the NRA during the 2012 and 2014 election cycles. As mentioned above, Tiberi sponsored the bill that would have prevented states from passing laws to label GMO foods 2. He joined Kline in sponsoring *H.R. 3459*, and pushed corporate tax breaks.

Rep. Fred Upton (R-MI). Received a total of $15,000 during the 2012 and 2014 election cycles. Upton joined Tiberi in sponsoring a bill to keep the public in the dark about GMOs, as well as the menu labeling loophole 2 6.

FOOD CHAMPIONS

The following representatives consistently champion sound policy to protect our health and workers' rights, in addition to promoting sustainable agriculture.

Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-OR). Did not receive money from the NRA. DeFazio is a champion of children's health and food safety. He co-sponsored *H.R. 2831, 113* with Rep. Rosa DeLauro, to amend the tax code to end corporate tax breaks for marketing unhealthy foods to kids. (This bill died in the previous session of Congress.) In 2015, he joined Rep. Keith Ellison to co-sponsor the School Food Modernization Act *(H.R. 3316, 114)*, which would ensure that children who qualify for free and reduced-price school meals during the school year have access to food during the summer, via permanent EBT for their households. He also sponsored an act that would have required labeling of genetically engineered food *(H.R. 913, 114)*, and co-sponsored the Saving America's Pollinators Act *(H.R. 1284, 114)* to direct the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to protect bees from neonicotinoid pesticides. These bills are currently pending a vote in the House. He also co-sponsored two bills to limit the use of routine, preventative antibiotics for animals, including *H.R. 1552*, which is pending a vote in the House (the previous version never came to a vote).

Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-CT). Did not receive any money from the NRA. DeLauro introduced bills and amendments to require employers to allow workers to earn paid sick time, including the Healthy Families Act *(H.R. 932, 114)*, as well as to raise the minimum wage to $15 an hour *(H.R. 3164, 114)*. Both bills are pending a vote in the House. She also introduced an amendment to the Safe and Accurate Food Labeling Act of 2015 4 that would have prevented the use of the label "natural" for products that include genetically engineered ingredients. And she introduced a bill to amend the tax code to end corporate tax breaks for money spent on marketing unhealthy foods to kids *(H.R. 2831, 113)*. This bill died in the previous session of Congress.

Rep. Keith Ellison (D-MN). Did not receive any money from the NRA. Ellison has also been a stalwart advocate for positive food and food system legislation, including co-sponsoring the Saving America's Pollinators Act with Rep. Peter DeFazio. He's also championed children's health by co-sponsoring the School Food Modernization Act with Rep. DeFazio. These bills are pending a vote in the House.

HOUSE SCORECARD

✔ GOOD FOOD POLICY VOTE

✖ BAD FOOD POLICY VOTE

VOTES IN CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS

REPRESENTATIVE	STATE	PARTY AFFILIATION	NRA POLITICAL SPENDING CAMPAIGN DONATION (2012-14)	114th								113th			SCORE
CHAMPIONS				1 UNDERMINING UNIONIZATION	2 BLOCKING GMO LABELING	3 LABELING GMO FOOD	4 LABELING GMO FOOD	5 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTIONS	6 MENU LABELING LOOPHOLE	7 HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS	8 HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS	9 RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	10 EXPEDITING THE KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE	11 ENDANGERING SMALL DAIRY FARMERS	
Bonamici, Suzanne	OR	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Carson, Andre	IN	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	N/A	100%
Cartwright, Matthew	PA	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Cicilline, David	RI	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Clark, Katherine	MA	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	N/A	N/A	N/A	100%
Cummings, Elijah	MD	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
DeLauro, Rosa	CT	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Ellison, Keith	MN	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Grijalva, Raul	AZ	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	N/A	100%
Higgins, Brian	NY	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Kaptur, Marcy	OH	D	$0	✔	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Lowenthal, Alan	CA	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	100%
Slaughter, Louise	NY	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	N/A	100%
Conyers, John	MI	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	91%
Courtney, Joe	CT	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	91%
DeFazio, Peter	OR	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	91%
Doggett, Lloyd	TX	D	$0	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	91%
Brown, Corrine	FL	D	$0	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✖	82%
Fudge, Marcia	OH	D	$0	✔	✖	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	82%
Hastings, Alcee	FL	D	$0	✔	✖	✔	✖	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	N/A	80%

VOTES IN CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS

OFFENDERS	STATE	PARTY AFFILIATION	NRA POLITICAL SPENDING CAMPAIGN DONATION (2012-14)	114th									113th		SCORE
				1 UNDERMINING UNIONIZATION	2 BLOCKING GMO LABELING	3 LABELING GMO FOOD	4 LABELING GMO FOOD	5 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTIONS	6 MENU LABELING LOOPHOLE	7 HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS	8 HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS	9 RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE	10 EXPEDITING THE KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE	11 ENDANGERING SMALL DAIRY FARMERS	
REPRESENTATIVE															
Benishek, Dan	MI	R	$10,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	9%
Coffman, Mike	CO	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Davis, Rodney	OH	R	$16,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Denham, Jeff	CA	R	$11,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Duffy, Sean	WI	R	$10,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Fitzpatrick, Michael	PA	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Heck, Joe	NV	R	$11,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Johnson, Bill	OH	R	$10,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Kline, John	MN	R	$20,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
McCarthy, Kevin	CA	R	$20,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Meehan, Patrick	PA	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Reed, Tom	NY	R	$13,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Roskam, Peter	IL	R	$13,500	N/A	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Ryan, Paul	WI	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	N/A	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Sessions, Peter	TX	R	$17,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Tiberi, Pat	OH	R	$17,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Tipton, Scott	CO	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Upton, Fred	MI	R	$15,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Walden, Greg	OR	R	$15,500	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%
Webster, Daniel	FL	R	$10,000	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0%

CONCLUSION

The NRA seeks to protect the interests of its largest and most powerful members: corporations like McDonald's and Darden.

By engaging in everything from lobbying to direct contributions to back-room dealings, the NRA holds great sway over which pieces of legislation are advanced, defeated, or killed before they reach the floor.

As this report makes clear, measures that lawmakers want to take to address some of the most pressing issues of our time—from GMO labeling to raising the minimum wage—have been blocked by the NRA and the politicians advancing its agenda.

Shareholders and lawmakers can and should take action to curb the influence of the NRA over our food policy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To address the negative impact of the NRA on our food system policies, we recommend the following actions by the following groups:

- **Shareholders, institutional investors, financial analysts.** Those who have a financial stake in transnational corporations like McDonald's and Darden must demand the corporations stop supporting and lobbying for policies that harm people and the food system, and that they do not interfere with the passage of policies that aim to protect people's health and create a sustainable food system. Corporate profits should not come at the expense of people and the environment. The policies these corporations seek to secure erode workers' rights, damage public health, and threaten the planet's sustainability. This is becoming a growing liability as the public climate shifts and people hold corporations accountable for their abuses. Thus, shareholders and investors must demand the corporations stop hiding behind the NRA and end these abusive practices.
- **Policymakers.** Members of Congress should stop taking financial contributions from the NRA and its biggest members, and instead advance sound policy that protects small businesses, the environment, food workers, and the health of their constituents.
- **Media.** Reporters and the media should cover the NRA with a critical eye to the primary corporations behind its policy agenda, looking deeper into the actual policies advanced by the NRA and the effect those policies have on workers, public health, and the environment. In particular, the media should closely examine "voluntary initiative" and "corporate social responsibility" announcements by the NRA and its members. Often these announcements amount to little more than vehicles for generating positive PR as corporations continue business as usual. Indeed, such announcements may even contradict the agenda the NRA is advancing in Congress through its political influence.
- **Global corporations.** Transnational corporations that are members of the NRA, such as McDonald's, Darden, and Yum! Brands, must fully disclose their membership dues to the NRA and other political contributions. Boards of directors should approve shareholder proposals which urge the corporations to 1) disclose their political contributions and lobbying and 2) disclose how their lobbying may be incongruent with the corporation's own stated values.
- **Smaller members of the NRA.** Small business members of the National Restaurant Association must actively let the NRA's leadership know about their concerns regarding the association's harmful and dangerous agenda. They should withhold their support for the NRA's agenda, including withdrawing their membership, following the lead of corporations like Chipotle. As an alternative to being part of the NRA, restaurants should join Restaurants Advancing Industry Standards in Employment (RAISE) to more actively support policy initiatives like paid sick time and paid family leave, raising the minimum wage, and eliminating the tipped minimum wage.

THIS PUBLICATION WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF:

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JOHNSON FAMILY FOUNDATION

IN COLLABORATION WITH:

FOOD CHAIN WORKERS ALLIANCE
www.foodchainworkers.org

ROC UNITED
Restaurant Opportunities Centers United

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