



GATEKEEPERS TO OPPORTUNITY

Racial Disparities in
Congressional Nominations
to the Military Service
Academies



CONNECTICUT
VETERANS
LEGAL
CENTER



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT CVLC AND THE VETERANS INCLUSION PROJECT	2
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3
Key Findings	5
Key Recommendations	6
RACE IN THE ACADEMIES	8
The Struggle for Integration	8
Race in the Academies Today	10
ACADEMY NOMINATIONS PROCESS	12
Students Apply to a Member of Congress	13
Members of Congress Select Candidates for a Nomination	13
Members of Congress Submit Nominees to the Service Academies	14
New Requirements Under the PANORAMA Act	15
DATA ANALYSIS	17
Overview	17
Nominations in the House and Senate	19
Nominations by Party	21
Systemic Inequities	22
Individual Congressional Nominators	22
I. Nominations Relative to District Demographics	22
II. Nominations to Students of Color	25
III. Nominations to Students of Color by Urban and Rural Nominators	28
RECOMMENDATIONS	30

DATA METHODOLOGY	38
Sources of Nominations Data	38
Coding of Race and Ethnicity Data	39
Coding of Nominators and Nominations	39
Ranking Members of Congress	39
Suggested Data Reforms	40
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	41
APPENDICES	42
Appendix A: Nominations Relative to District Demographics, Full List	42
Appendix B: Nominations to Students of Color, Full List	47
Appendix C: Urban and Rural Nominations to Students of Color, Full List	52
Appendix D: Methodology and Data Sources	58
REFERENCES	61



ABOUT CVLC AND THE VETERANS INCLUSION PROJECT

The Connecticut Veterans Legal Center (CVLC) is dedicated to removing the legal barriers to housing, health-care, and income for veterans recovering from homelessness and mental illness. Its vision is for all military veterans to live with adequate means, affordable healthcare, safe and secure housing, and peace of mind. CVLC provides free legal services to low-income veterans and veterans recovering from homelessness and mental illness. As the first medical-legal partnership co-located at a VA facility, CVLC is a national leader in medical-legal partnerships and veterans’ legal services. Through its national policy arm, the Veterans Inclusion Project, CVLC uses impact litigation, reports on key issues, practice manuals for veterans and advocates, and national media outreach to advance veterans law.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United States Air Force Academy (USAFA), United States Naval Academy (USNA), and United States Military Academy at West Point (USMA) are the nation's three largest military service academies.¹ These publicly funded and highly selective institutions prepare students to serve at the highest ranks of the armed forces. The academies contribute significantly to senior military leadership, and therefore have substantial influence on military culture.² While every congressional district is represented at the service academies, the student body fails to reflect the demographic diversity of our nation.³ A 2019 report published by CVLC showed that Members of Congress have nominated more than three times as many male as female students.⁴ This new report illustrates that congressional nominations have also contributed to significant racial and ethnic disparities in the student bodies of the academies, and therefore, the leadership of the nation's military.⁵

To be considered for admission, all service academy applicants must secure a nomination

from a Member of Congress or another official nominating source. Congressional nominations have not previously been closely studied, but they are vitally important to creating opportunities for diversity in the academies. Students who receive a nomination from their Senator or Representative make up 60-70% of the student body at each academy,

outnumbering those who receive nominations from all other sources, including the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of each military service, and the academy Superintendents.⁶ This report finds that Members of Congress have nominated disproportionately more white students than Black, Hispanic, or Asian and Pacific Islander

students.⁷ While some of these inequities may be attributed to the demographic characteristics of Members' districts, this report demonstrates that Congressional nominations frequently overrepresent white students and underrepresent students of color. Further, the existing distribution of nominations allows longstanding racial inequities to

**THE EXISTING DISTRIBUTION
OF NOMINATIONS ALLOWS
LONGSTANDING RACIAL
INEQUITIES TO PERSIST—
INEQUITIES THAT WOULD REMAIN
EVEN IF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS'
NOMINATIONS BETTER MATCHED
THEIR DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS.**



Parade of cadets on the Plain at the United States Military Academy at West Point

Dave Lowe

persist—inequities that would remain even if Members of Congress’ nominations better matched their district demographics.

As a result, underrepresented students across the nation do not have equitable access to the service academies, and are denied the lifelong opportunities that an appointment can provide. Moreover, the underrepresented students who do secure admission to the academies often face discriminatory treatment during their service.⁸ Further, the lack of diversity in nominations deprives the military service academies of a diverse pool of qualified candidates—and divests our military of a diverse cohort of future leaders. Congress and the Department of Defense must implement broad and comprehensive policies to address the structural shortcomings of the current nominations system.

To evaluate congressional nominations, the Connecticut Veterans Legal Center (CVLC) requested records from USAFA, USNA, and USMA in 2018 and 2019 under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). CVLC combined those records with data obtained in earlier FOIA requests to create a dataset of congressional nominations from the 1994-1995 admissions cycle to the 2019-2020 cycle. The analysis in this report is based on Department of Defense records obtained by CVLC and provides an overview of the stark racial disparities in congressional nominations to the service academies.

The data in this report are based on each current Member of the 117th Congress with more than 10 nominations in the academies’ datasets from 1994 to early 2019. Of the 117th Congress, 81 Senators, 285 Representatives, and 5 Delegates have submitted over 10 nominations and are included in the analysis.⁹

KEY FINDINGS

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE AWARDED ONLY 6% OF THEIR TOTAL NOMINATIONS TO BLACK STUDENTS.

219 of the 371 Members of Congress included in this report's analysis granted less than 5% of their nominations to Black students and *49 Members did not nominate a single Black student.*

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE AWARDED ONLY 8% OF THEIR NOMINATIONS TO HISPANIC STUDENTS.

182 Members of Congress nominated less than 5% Hispanic nominees, and *31 did not nominate a single Hispanic student.*

WHITE STUDENTS ARE DISTINCTLY OVERREPRESENTED IN CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS.

White students received 74% of nominations despite comprising 54% of the U.S. population aged 18 to 24.

MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE HAVE UNDER-NOMINATED YOUNG PEOPLE OF COLOR RELATIVE TO THEIR DISTRICT OR STATE POPULATIONS.

Democrats have nominated a higher ratio of students of color. In 2009-2019, House Democrats nominated 32% compared to Republicans' 15%, while Senate Democrats nominated 20% to Republicans' 13%.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

The Department of Defense, Congress, and individual Members should each take action to ensure that qualified students have equitable access to the military service academies.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE SHOULD:

- Publish annual data showing, for each individual Member of Congress, how many candidates—by race, ethnicity, and gender—the Member has nominated to each military service academy each year.
- Consider the race, ethnicity, and gender of potential nominees and appointees when awarding its discretionary nominations and appointing qualified alternates.
- Investigate the distribution of congressional nominations and assess its impact on the academies' diversity and inclusion initiatives.

CONGRESS SHOULD:

- Ensure the PANORAMA Act is enforced, so that the Department of Defense creates a central nominations portal to collect demographic data of nominees, standardizes the racial and ethnic coding in academy data, and reports the data publicly on an annual basis.
- Instruct the Department of Defense to award supplementary nominations to Members of Congress who equitably nominate students from underrepresented groups.
- Appropriate funding to establish a grant program within the Department of Defense, to which Members of Congress may apply for funding to increase Congressional outreach to underrepresented applicants at Title I-eligible schools.

cont.

Congress should (cont.)

- Require the Department of Defense to expand the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Course (JROTC) program into more Title I-eligible schools and develop programming to help underrepresented JROTC students of color navigate the nominations process.
- Together with the Department of Defense, commission a task force to study the possibility of increasing alternative pathways to the academies for candidates who do not receive a nomination or choose not to apply for a nomination.
- Commission a Government Accountability Office (GAO) review of congressional nominations procedures.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS SHOULD:

- Host multiple “Academy Days” and invite diverse service academy alumni to attend.
- Utilize diverse interview panels and train selection staff to recognize nontraditional markers of academy potential.
- Compile detailed application information on an accessible website.
- Explicitly highlight a desire for a diverse applicant pool in promotional materials.
- Share stories of the success of diverse military service academy students and alumni via social media, press, and a user-friendly website.
- Establish relationships with school counselors in high schools and middle schools to identify promising students from underrepresented backgrounds.
- Track racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of students who apply for nominations from year to year.
- Encourage unsuccessful applicants to reapply to the academies or to pursue alternative routes to admission, such as military academy preparatory school.

RACE IN THE ACADEMIES

Racial diversity among the officer ranks is both a moral imperative and indispensable to a robust and ready military force. As Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin has observed, “recruiting a force reflective of the Nation serves as a critical component of our national security strategy.”¹⁰ A decade ago, service academy Superintendents likewise emphasized that for “the United States military, a highly qualified and racially diverse officer corps is not a lofty ideal.” A diverse officer corps is necessary for “military cohesion and perceptions of institutional legitimacy” and provides the “rich mix of skills and experiences that is needed for modern warfare.”¹¹

The military service academies play a critical role in identifying and developing our nation’s officer corps. USAFA, USMA, and USNA commission nearly 20% of the officer corps,¹² and an even larger proportion of general officers are service academy graduates.¹³ But while the enlisted ranks of the armed forces exhibit a high level of demographic diversity, the service academies do not. The history and current landscape of racial integration in the military service academies reveal the formidable barriers that underrepresented servicemembers of color have faced in the academies.¹⁴ This pattern of discrimination and exclusion underscores the

importance of adopting reforms to ensure that students of color have equitable access to the service academies and to the military leadership opportunities the academies provide.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INTEGRATION

Thomas Jefferson signed legislation establishing the first academy, USMA, in 1802.¹⁵ Subsequently, USNA opened its doors in 1845,¹⁶ and USAFA in 1954.¹⁷ From their founding, the service academies have produced many of the highest-ranking officials in the nation’s military.¹⁸ Three U.S. Presidents graduated from a service academy.¹⁹

Though individuals from communities of color had volunteered or been drafted for military service in large numbers since the American Revolution, very few were admitted to the service academies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁰ USMA enrolled its first Black cadet in 1870, but for decades at a time no Black cadets graduated.²¹ The Naval Academy did not graduate its first Black cadet until 1949, and the Air Force Academy until 1963.²² In

contrast, Black soldiers comprised 11% of the Army during World War I, with additional numbers of Hispanic, Native American, and Asian American soldiers conscripted mostly as “white” soldiers.²³ At the height of World War II, Black soldiers were 7% of a mostly segregated military force.²⁴ The few Black USMA graduates were among that fighting force. For example, Benjamin O. Davis and Felix Kirkpatrick, two of the first Black USMA cadets of the twentieth century, served among the much-lauded, but racially segregated, Tuskegee Airmen.²⁵ Despite graduating in the top fifteen percent of his integrated class at USMA, Davis was denied entry into the Army Air Corps based on the military’s segregation policies.²⁶

The movement to desegregate the military developed in the mid-twentieth century in response to the manpower needs of the Korean War and the growing civil rights movement.²⁷ After President Truman ordered the integration of the military in 1948, the underrepresentation of officers from communities of color created a “demoralizing and

destabilizing period of racial strife.”²⁸ Military leadership quickly appreciated the need for a diverse officer corps. However, integration of the academies occurred haltingly and nonuniformly.

When the first Black cadets and midshipmen arrived at the service academies, they endured discrimination and violence. In 1882, Johnson Chestnut Whittaker, the only Black cadet at West Point at the time, was bound, shaved, and cut by his peers.²⁹ Almost seventy years later, in 1949, Wesley Brown, the first Black graduate of USNA, endured the silence of many of his fellow midshipmen who refused to speak to him.³⁰ He was nearly dismissed as the result of discriminatory demerits, but his Congressional nominator, Adam Clayton Powell, intervened.³¹ These Black graduates had to face racist violence and discrimination from both their peers and the institutions themselves—and reports of racial discrimination and harassment have continued over the decades. However, the endurance of early integrators in the face of adversity paved the way for future classes.



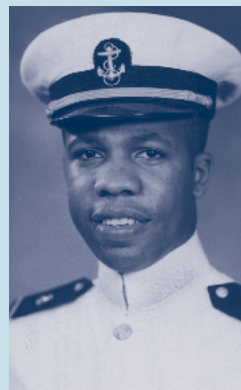
New-York Historical Society



Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site, Facebook page



U.S. Army Photo via Associated Press



USNA

Left to right: Johnson Chestnut Whittaker, Felix Kirkpatrick, Benjamin O. Davis, Wesley Brown

RACE IN THE ACADEMIES TODAY

The military is perhaps the earliest and most successfully racially integrated institution—either public or private—in the United States.³² But the officer corps remains disproportionately white, while the majority of non-white servicemembers serve in the enlisted ranks.³³ Moreover, racial inequities facing today's cadets and midshipmen confirm that the service academies have not adequately addressed their legacies of discrimination.

Many have expressed concern that the overwhelmingly white military leadership and officer corps does not reflect the diversity of the enlisted troops they lead and the nation they serve.³⁴ The active-duty enlisted corps is more racially diverse than the U.S. resident population, with nonwhite servicemembers accounting for roughly one-third of all active-duty enlisted compared with 23% of the total U.S. population ages 16 to 64.³⁵ However, officers of color are underrepresented relative both to the enlisted corps and to the U.S. population.³⁶ For example, roughly 18% of the U.S. population is Hispanic, as is 18% of the active-duty enlisted corps, but only 8% of the officer corps is Hispanic.³⁷ Black Americans are about 14% of the U.S. population and 17% of the active-duty enlisted corps but only 8% of the officer corps.³⁸ As a result, racially diverse enlisted servicemembers often lack mentorship from higher-ranked role models with similar experiences and backgrounds.³⁹ In the absence of diverse leadership, racism and discrimination may go unchecked; one

survey showed that approximately one-third of active duty troops and more than half of service members of color reported having witnessed evidence of white nationalism or ideological-driven racism while serving.⁴⁰

The continued underrepresentation of and discrimination against service members of color exists alongside diversity and inclusion efforts at the service academies. While diversity at each of the academies has increased slightly over the last ten years, all of the schools still enroll a disproportionately low number of Black and Hispanic students.⁴¹ Each academy's demographics also overrepresent white students relative to both the U.S. young adult population and enrollment at four-year public undergraduate institutions.⁴² USAFA maintains the least diverse student body, enrolling only 6% Black cadets and 11% Hispanic cadets, compared to the 63% of cadets who are white.⁴³ Compounding these inequities, congressional nominations, the largest road into the academies, remain significantly behind district and state demographics.

Underrepresentation is not the only obstacle facing students of color at the academies, where racism still looms large.⁴⁴ In August 2020, outgoing USAFA Superintendent General Jay B. Silveria called for new steps to curb discrimination at the academy, saying, “[a]s we deal with an awakening in our country and deal with racism, we have to also deal with that among our cadets”⁴⁵ Months earlier, at USNA, a trustee livestreamed a racist rant disparaging the appointment of Black and Asian students to the academy before resigning his post.⁴⁶ And in September 2020, a group of distinguished recent graduates of



USMA



USMA Public Affairs Office



MC2 Nathan Burke/U.S. Navy, via Associated Press

Left to right: Vincent K. Brooks, Simone Askew, Sydney Barber

USMA released a letter calling for anti-racist reform at USMA and detailing disturbing incidents of racial harassment and discrimination, including being spit on, enduring racially charged derogatory comments, and finding a noose in a Black cadet’s room.⁴⁷ In the letter’s introduction, Simone Askew, the first Black woman to serve in the prestigious role of First Captain of the Corps of Cadets,⁴⁸ recounted that after ascending to the position in 2017, a classmate photo-shopped a monkey’s face over her picture, and other racist caricatures of Askew circulated online. In her narrative, Askew called USMA to action:

“We say that we want more Black Cadets and Officers, but we refuse to acknowledge the racial tax that they must pay just to survive. We place a few Black people into leadership positions, but we will not acknowledge that the dehumanizing backlash they receive is racism. We publicly parade the “firsts” of our institution but use them as a façade to avoid committing in word or action to antiracism.”

Despite this discrimination, the “firsts” and other cadets and midshipmen from underrepresented backgrounds have excelled. One of Askew’s predecessors, then-Cadet Vincent K. Brooks, the first Black man to serve as the First Captain of the Corps of Cadets, embarked on a career of service and is currently a four-star general.⁴⁹ In 2020, Sydney Barber became the first Black woman Brigade Commander at the Naval Academy.⁵⁰ But, as Askew and her fellow USMA graduates make clear, the academies must address the endemic racism facing cadets and midshipmen of color. Appointing more students of color is vital, but more systemic change is necessary to address the legacy of racism in the academies and move towards meaningful inclusion. Continuing vigilance on the racial disparities and discrimination that remain in the service academies is, as Lieutenant General Julius W. Becton stated, “a mission-critical national security interest.”⁵¹

ACADEMY NOMINATIONS PROCESS

The military service academies are four-year, federally established undergraduate institutions that prepare students to become officers in the U.S. Armed Forces.⁵² Cadets and midshipmen receive a tuition-free education, and when they graduate, they are commissioned as active-duty officers with an obligation to serve a minimum of five years.⁵³

Admission to the military service academies is extremely competitive, and the application process, which generally begins in a student's junior year of high school, requires several steps. First, students must submit a preliminary application to the academy of their choice, declaring their interest in becoming an official candidate for the next year's class. Next, students apply for a nomination—often, a congressional nomination, which will usually require a separate application and interview process detailed below. Finally, the student will submit to the academy a full application with various materials including a transcript, personal interview, student statements, SAT or ACT test scores, medical examination results, and fitness test results.⁵⁴

To be considered for admission, candidates must secure a nomination. There are two main types of nominations: congressional and non-congressional.⁵⁵ This report focuses on the former:

TERMINOLOGY

Students at USMA and USAFA are called "cadets," while students at USNA are called "midshipmen."

nominations by members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, which constitute the vast majority of overall nominations. Cadets and midshipmen who receive congressional nominations make up 60-70% of each academy's student body.⁵⁶ The congressional nominations process is intended to create a geographically diverse officer cohort through a system intended to minimize political patronage.⁵⁷

At any time, a maximum of five admitted cadets or midshipmen ("admits") nominated by any given Member of Congress may attend each academy. For each admit vacancy, which occurs whenever admits graduate or withdraw from the school, a Member may nominate up to ten new candidates. Each year, typically one vacancy per military service academy becomes available per Representative.⁵⁸ For residents in U.S. territories, the admit quota differs slightly.⁵⁹

	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	
Nominations applications to congressional offices open	Spring to early summer															
Student nomination applications due to congressional offices								Mid- to late Oct.								
Congressional nominations due to service academies											Jan. 31 ★					
Student admissions materials due to service academies											Feb. 28 ★					
Most service academy appointments made												Mid-April				
Students accept or decline appointments														May 1 ★		

APPLICATION AND NOMINATION TIMELINE

Applications to congressional offices typically open in the spring or summer of the year before nominations are due to the academies. During this period, some offices host “Academy Days”—informational sessions for interested applicants—in their districts. Many congressional offices then ask for applications by mid- to late October. Nominations must be delivered to the academies by January 31, and most “appointments”—or offers of admission—are made by mid-April.

STUDENTS APPLY TO A MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The congressional nominations process is highly decentralized, and Members of Congress do not have a uniform selection process. Each Member has discretion to set the timeline and criteria.⁶⁰ Most offices require students to submit an online application form to request a nomination.

Members of Congress commonly devote a page on their official websites to the office’s nomination process. For example, the webpages of Senators Kirsten Gillibrand⁶¹ and Marco Rubio⁶² illustrate differences among the nominations processes. Senator Gillibrand requires at least one recommendation letter from a math or science teacher, while Senator

Rubio sets no such requirements. Some ask for a photograph.⁶³ Common application components include SAT or ACT scores, an official high school transcript, essays, two or three letters of recommendation, and a resume. Promising candidates may be interviewed by some offices.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SELECT CANDIDATES FOR A NOMINATION

Each congressional office may set its own selection process. In most offices, staff members review applications and select students to interview. To assess candidates, offices frequently follow a “holistic”



model that evaluates qualifications such as character, scholarship, leadership, physical aptitude, medical fitness, and motivation.⁶⁴

However, as former Representative John Hall stated, the “x factor” for applicants is often leadership ability.⁶⁵ The academies consider leadership ability to be nearly as important as academic achievement.⁶⁶ As for athletic ability, about nine out of every ten cadets in the USMA Class of 2014 had earned varsity letters in high school, and over half had served as varsity team captains, with similar numbers across the other academies.⁶⁷

Members’ processes for interviewing and selecting candidates vary widely. Some offices handle the nominations process internally, assigning the entire task to staff; other offices delegate the screening and recommendation process to a volunteer panel.⁶⁸ These volunteer panels, which sometimes conduct candidate interviews, may include community leaders, educators, service academy alumni, and veterans group representatives.⁶⁹

In conversations with several congressional offices, we learned that Members of Congress often try

to grant interviews to each student who completes an application. One office described interviewing approximately 300 applicants in one day, split among twenty or so interview panels. Several staff members reported using volunteer panels to interview and evaluate candidates while another office preferred to conduct one-on-one interviews. In most offices, Members of Congress themselves appeared to play a limited personal role in the process, largely delegating the evaluation of candidates to staff or volunteers.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SUBMIT NOMINEES TO THE SERVICE ACADEMIES

Once Members of Congress have selected their nominees, the Members must submit their nominations to the academies. Offices may submit nominations in three ways: without ranking, with a principal candidate and nine ranked alternates, or with a

principal candidate and nine unranked alternates.⁷⁰ A candidate who receives a principal nomination must be admitted as long as they meet the minimum qualifications.

Of the offices CVLC spoke to, most Members nominated a slate of candidates and chose not to use the principal nomination. A Director of Admissions at USAFA stated that she prefers to receive unranked slates of candidates, rather than a principal candidate, enabling the academy's admissions office to create its own ranking and select students on the basis of merit.⁷¹ However, a 2014 *USA Today* investigation found that as many as one-third of Congressmembers used the principal nomination system in some years for at least one of the service academies.⁷²

As of late 2020, every Member's office submitted its nominations online through each academy's respective web portal.⁷³ From congressional staff members, CVLC learned that Congress has had no chamber-wide guidelines or requirements for maintaining records about nominations from year to year. Instead, each office has had discretion to track its past nominations—or not.

NEW REQUIREMENTS UNDER THE PANORAMA ACT

In December 2020, as part of the Mac Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021, Congress adopted the Public Accountability on Nominations Offered that Result in Admissions to Military Academies Act of 2020 (PANORAMA Act)

to reform the service academy nominations process. This legislation, introduced by Representative Anthony Brown and Senator Kirsten Gillibrand and championed by CVLC, mandates that the Department of Defense provide Congress, the service academies, and the public with essential tools to build a more equitable and transparent nominations process.

First, the PANORAMA Act will make it easier for each Member of Congress to submit nominations and review their previous nominations. The Act establishes one central portal for Members of Congress and non-congressional nominators to nominate students to all three academies, streamlining the highly decentralized nominations process. The portal will also collect and retain demographic data about each Member's nominations from year to year. Though this individualized data will not be publicly reported, the data collection and retention will allow each Member to review their own nominating patterns and trends over time.

Second, the PANORAMA Act will enable the Department of Defense to more accurately assess the demographics of nominees to all three academies by adopting uniform coding for racial and ethnic data. Currently, each school labels nominees' races and ethnicities differently, making cross-academy comparison or combined analysis difficult. In the Department of Defense's ongoing efforts to foster diverse military leadership, understanding and comparing how nominations are granted to future officers at each of the academies is a critical first step. This change will also bring the academies' data

collection practices into line with existing federal standards for racial and ethnic data reporting.⁷⁴

Finally, the PANORAMA Act will provide the public with transparent, consistent data about service academy nominations, allowing constituents to hold their elected officials accountable. The Department of Defense must now publish an annual report detailing the aggregate racial and gender demographics of nominations for the most recent application year. These yearly data will better illuminate Congress's role in promoting diverse candidates to the academies.

While this legislation marks significant progress toward transparency, the required report falls short in several key ways. First, while the report will show the demographics of students who are applying to the academies, it will not show the

demographics of students who are applying to Members of Congress for nominations, failing to provide a clear picture of the pool of applicants from which each Member selects their nominees. Second, the

PANORAMA Act requires the release only of aggregate data about the racial and gender demographics of nominees, and does not specify whether the data must show each individual nominee's race and gender. Thus, it may be impossible to draw intersectional conclusions from the report to show, for example, the number of Black women or Hispanic men

nominated in a year. Finally, the PANORAMA report will not provide data to show the demographics of each individual Member of Congress's nominees, making it difficult for the public to understand their elected officials' specific nominating practices.

THE PANORAMA ACT WILL PROVIDE THE PUBLIC WITH TRANSPARENT, CONSISTENT DATA ABOUT SERVICE ACADEMY NOMINATIONS, ALLOWING CONSTITUENTS TO HOLD THEIR ELECTED OFFICIALS ACCOUNTABLE.

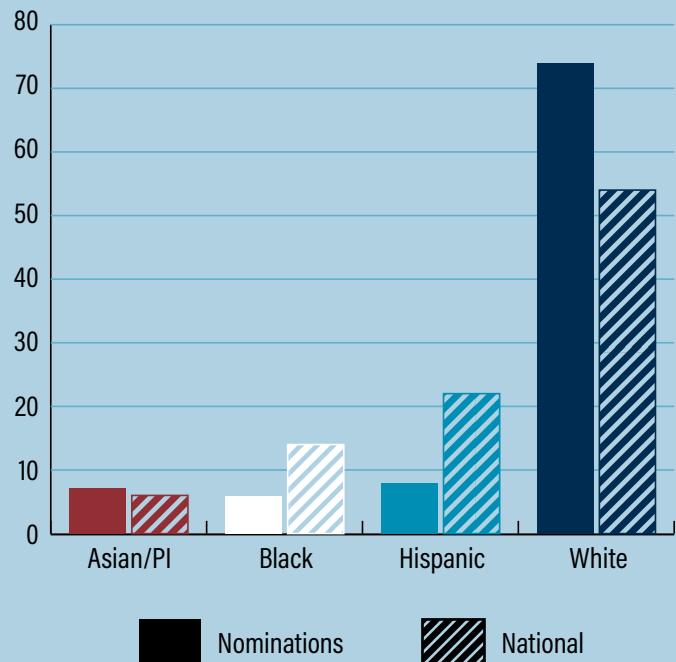
DATA ANALYSIS

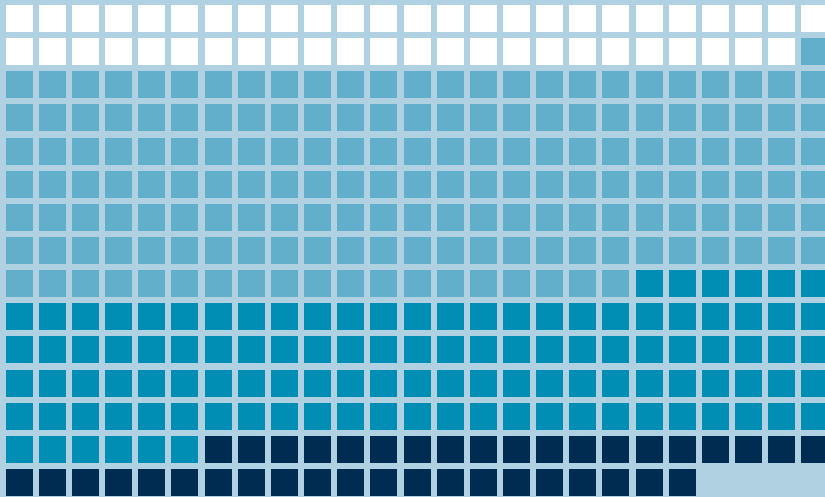
The deficiencies in public reporting of nominations cannot obscure a clear trend: Members of the 117th Congress are nominating disproportionately more white students than Black, Hispanic, and Asian and Pacific Islander students to the military service academies. While this trend appears across political parties and among urban and rural districts, individual Members of Congress vary markedly in their record of nominating diverse candidates.

OVERVIEW

From 1994 to early 2019, Members of the 117th Congress nominated far more white students than Black, Hispanic, and Asian and Pacific Islander students to the service academies. Members of Congress have awarded the fewest nominations to Black students, who received only 6% of nominations despite comprising 15% of the population of young adults aged 18 to 24.⁷⁵ Hispanic students have received only 8% of nominations, despite comprising 22% of young adults. Asian students receive a relatively proportionate share of nominations: 7% compared to their 6% of young adults. Members of Congress, however, have greatly overrepresented white students, who received 74% of nominations despite comprising 54% of the young adult population.

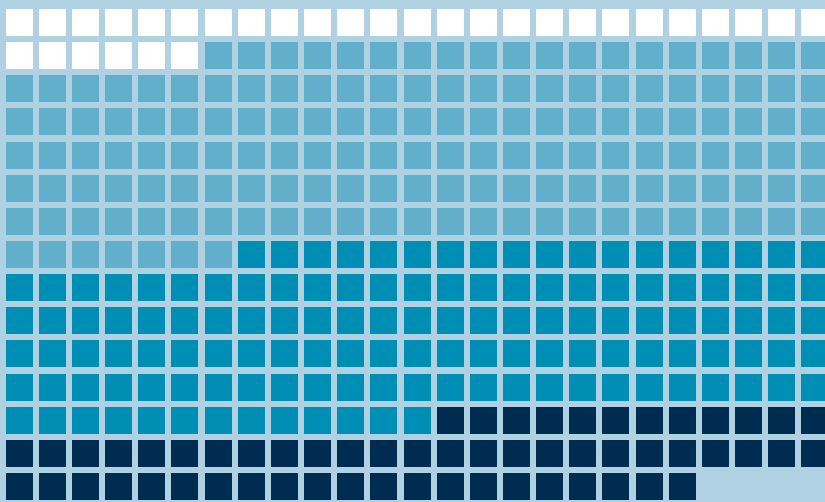
NOMINATIONS GRANTED BY CURRENT MEMBERS OF THE 117TH CONGRESS RELATIVE TO U.S. YOUNG ADULT POPULATION: PERCENT OF TOTAL





PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS GRANTED TO BLACK STUDENTS BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER OF CONGRESS

- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated no Black students
- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated 5% or fewer Black students
- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated between 5% and 15% Black students
- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated more than 15% Black students



PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS GRANTED TO HISPANIC STUDENTS BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER OF CONGRESS

- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated no Hispanic students
- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated 5% or fewer Hispanic students
- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated between 5% and 15% Hispanic students
- Members of the 117th Congress who nominated more than 15% Hispanic students

The vast majority of congressional nominators award only a small fraction of their nominations to Black and Hispanic students. Although 15% of the U.S. population is Black, 219 of the 371 Congressmembers included in this analysis granted less than 5% of their nominations to Black students. 49 Congressmembers did not nominate a single Black student. Similarly, while the U.S. population is 22% Hispanic, nearly 50% of included Members—182—nominated less than 5% Hispanic students, and 31 did not nominate a single Hispanic student.

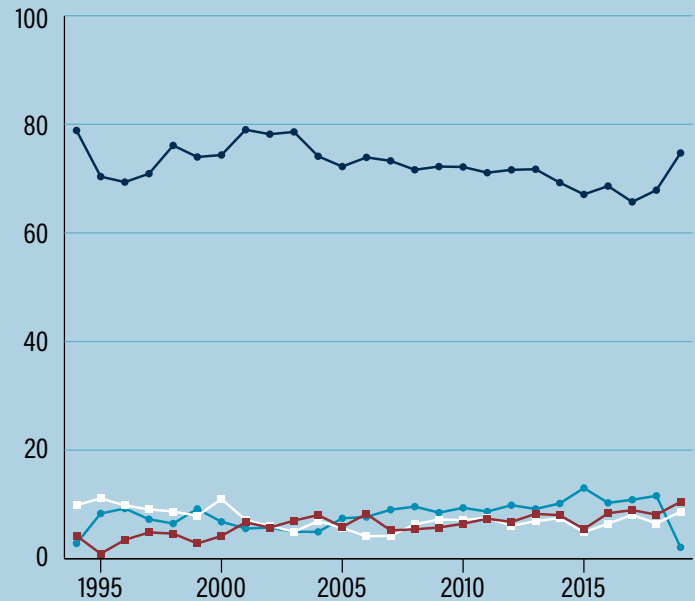
The analysis that follows compares nominating patterns over time and across party and chamber lines and show how individual Members of Congress have allocated their nominations.

NOMINATIONS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE

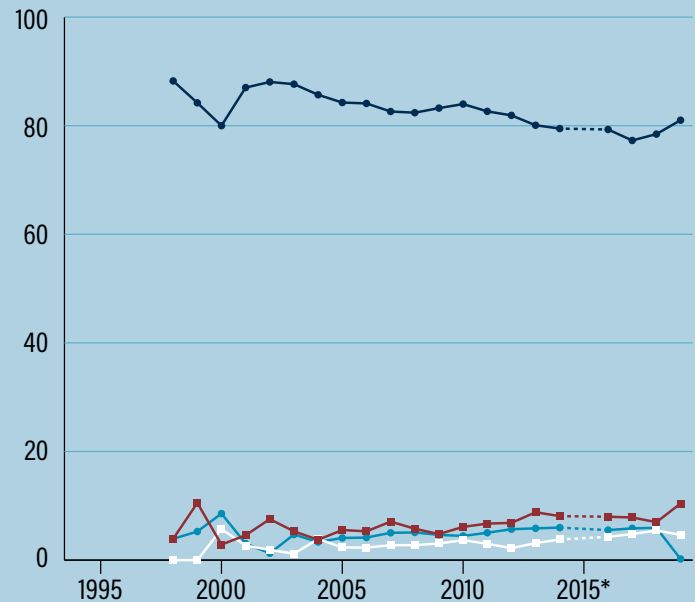
Both chambers of Congress are responsible for the disproportionate racial and ethnic gap in nominations. Members in the House and Senate have consistently nominated Black and Hispanic students at low rates, never awarding more than 13% of nominations to Hispanic students (House, 2015) or 11% to Black students (House, 1995). While both chambers have over-nominated white students relative to the U.S. population, the House has allocated a slightly more equitable percentage of its nominations to Black and Hispanic students than the Senate. Of current House Members' nominations, 7% have gone to Black students and 9% to Hispanic students, while current Senators have nominated only 3% and 5% Black and Hispanic students, respectively.

Over time, Senators and Representatives have selected a slightly higher percentage of underrepresented nominees. Nominations awarded to Asian and Pacific Islander students have accounted for the sharpest increase the diversity of nominees. In both the House and the Senate, Members have awarded 7% of their cumulative nominations to Asian and Pacific Islander students. This has contributed to an increase in the number of nominees of color across chambers over time even while significant discrepancies in Black and Hispanic nominations persist.

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HOUSE NOMINATIONS GRANTED BY STUDENT RACE/ETHNICITY



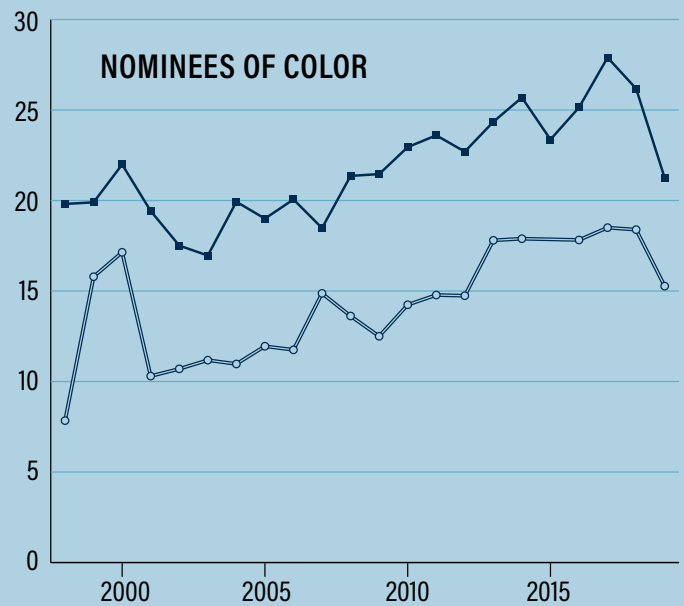
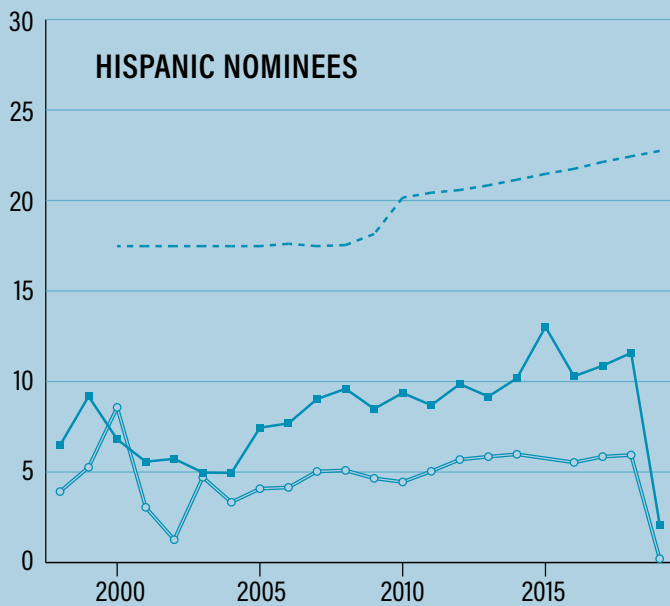
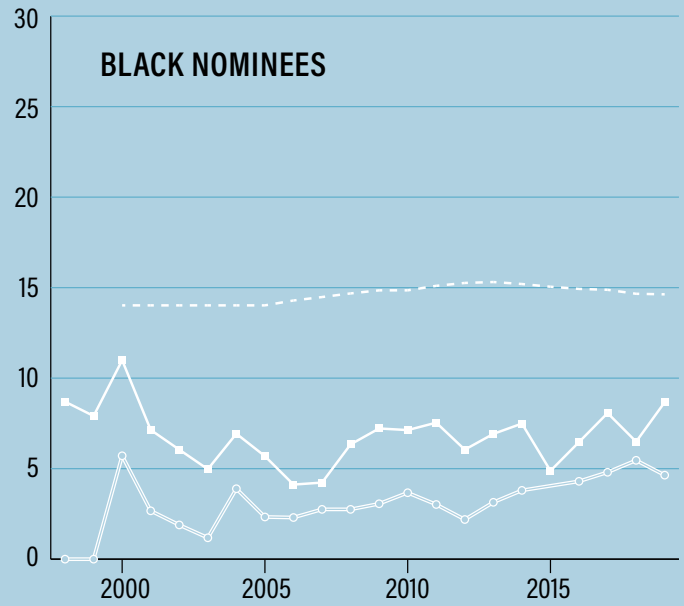
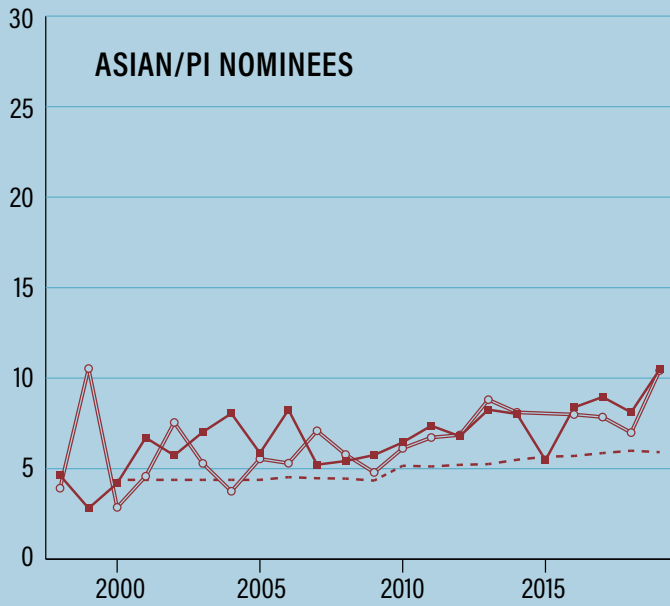
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SENATE NOMINATIONS GRANTED BY STUDENT RACE/ETHNICITY



* Senate trends for 2015 are not included due to the limited number of nominations in the academies' datasets.

● White ■ Asian/PI ● Hispanic ■ Black

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HOUSE AND SENATE NOMINATIONS GRANTED BY STUDENT RACE/ETHNICITY RELATIVE TO U.S. YOUNG ADULT POPULATION



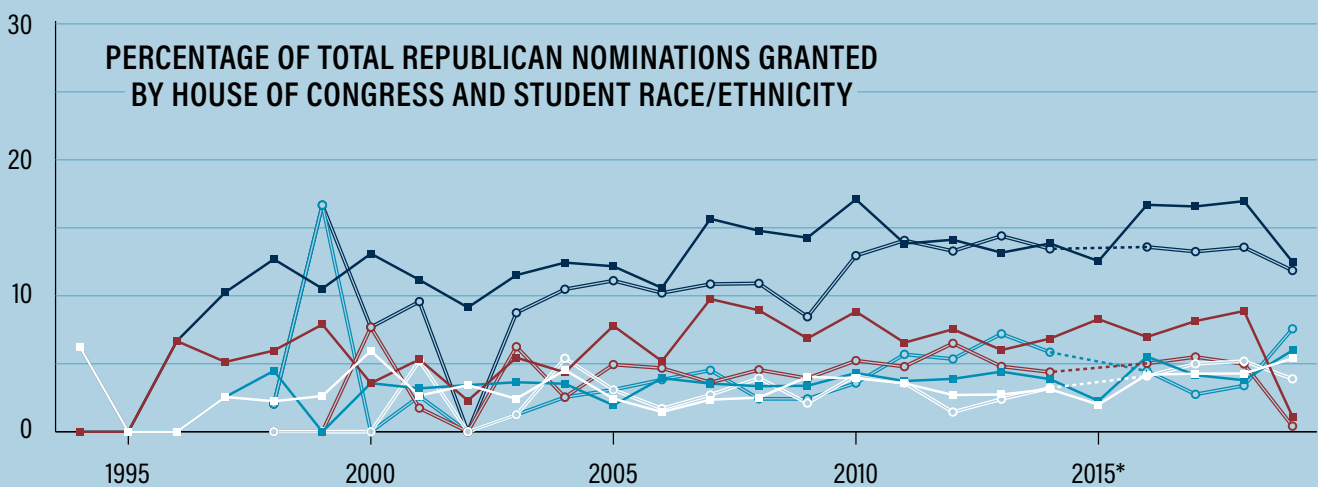
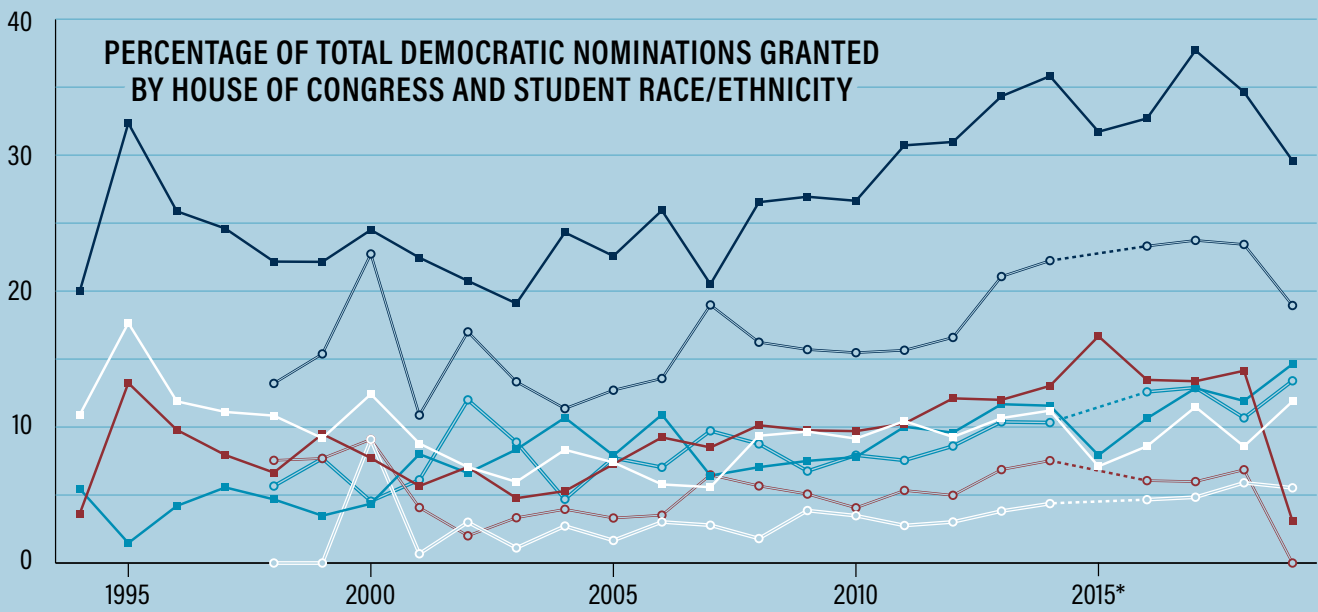
House
 Senate
 National population

* Senate trends for 2015 are not included due to the limited number of nominations in the academies' datasets.

** The U.S. Census Bureau used different population controls for its 2009 and 2010 American Community Survey 1-year estimates, resulting in the shift in population data between those two years. See *Comparing 2010 American Community Survey Data*, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU (September 9, 2020), <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/guidance/comparing-acs-data/2010.html>.

NOMINATIONS BY PARTY

Both Democrats and Republicans in Congress have nominated Black and Hispanic students at numbers that lag behind the U.S. population. In the Senate, there has not been a large partisan gap. Senate Democrats have promoted more Asian and Pacific Islander students than Senate Republicans; however, Democrats and Republicans have nominated similarly low percentages of Black and Hispanic nominees. In the House, Democrats have consistently nominated a higher ratio of Black, Hispanic, and Asian and Pacific Islander students than Republicans. In the decade spanning 2009-2019, House Democrats allotted 32% of their nominations to students of color compared to House Republicans' 15%. Over the same period in the Senate, 20% of Democrats' and 13% of Republicans' nominations went to students of color.



Percentage of House nominations for each group: ■ Students of color ■ Asian/PI ■ Hispanic ■ Black
 Percentage of Senate nominations for each group: ○ Students of color ○ Asian/PI ○ Hispanic ○ Black

* Senate trends for 2015 are not included due to the limited number of nominations in the academies' datasets.

SYSTEMIC INEQUITIES

The institutional structure of Congress itself nearly ensures the trend toward overrepresentation of white students at the expense of students of color. In the Senate, the approximately 2.7 million residents of overwhelmingly white Wyoming, Alaska, Vermont, and North Dakota have the same number of senators as the more diverse 110 million people living in California, Florida, Texas, and New York,⁷⁶ allowing more white students less competition for the same number of Senate nominations. In the House, “district packing,” or concentrating high numbers of people of a given race or ethnicity in one district, may similarly make it more difficult for students of color to compete for the same number of nominations as white students in neighboring districts.⁷⁷ These demographic inequities in the country at large almost certainly weigh against students of color in the nominations process; even if every nominator were to allocate their nominations in proportion with their state or district’s population, Congress’s structure would still leave a dearth of nominees of color. Thus, systemic changes to the nomination system are necessary in order to work affirmatively against the racial inequities that burden the nominations process.

INDIVIDUAL CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATORS

The three sections that follow rank individual nominators according to three metrics: 1) alignment with the racial and ethnic demographics of the Member’s district; 2) percentage of students of color; and 3) percentage of students of color relative to other members in districts classified as urban or rural.

I. NOMINATIONS RELATIVE TO DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS

This section evaluates Members of the 117th Congress by how closely their nominations have mirrored the demographics of their state or district’s population. Applicant pool data is unavailable as neither Congress nor the Department of Defense collects data about the race or ethnicity of students who apply for congressional nominations.⁷⁸ Thus, the racial and ethnic composition of each nominator’s district provides the closest available proxy for the pool of students who might apply for nominations.⁷⁹ By comparing the distribution of each Member’s nominations with the distribution of the Member’s district or state’s population, this section provides insight into whether Congressmembers are successfully identifying and nominating representative arrays of students from their communities.⁸⁰

In the House, Ed Case (D-HI) comes nearest to accurately representing the racial and ethnic demographics of his district, which is 4% Black, 34% Asian or Pacific Islander, 16% Hispanic, and 24% white. Meanwhile,

Alcee Hastings (D-FL) has nominations that stray furthest from his district’s demographics, which is currently 59% Black, 2% Asian or Pacific Islander, 25% Hispanic, and 13% white.

In the Senate, Patrick Leahy (D-VT) awarded nominations that most closely matched his state’s demographics, which are currently 89% white and only 2% Black, 3% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 3% Hispanic. Ted Cruz (R-TX) departs to the greatest degree from his state’s population, which is 13% Black, 4% Asian/Pacific Islander, 45% Hispanic, and 34% white.

The visualizations on the next page show how often students from the different racial or ethnic groups were under- or over-represented in Members’ nominations. Each dot in the visualization represents the difference between the percent of a representative’s total nominations in a two-year session of Congress that went to students of the given group and the percent of that group’s population in the Member’s district at the time. Points above the dotted line indicate that the group was represented in those nominations by a proportion larger than the group’s proportion of the district population (over-represented), while points below the dotted line indicate that the group was represented in those nominations by a proportion smaller than the group’s district population proportion (under-represented).⁸¹ This data illustrates the extent to which white students and Asian or Pacific Islander students were frequently over-represented while Black and Hispanic students were frequently under-represented.

SENATE AND HOUSE NOMINATORS CLOSEST TO MATCHING DEMOGRAPHICS

Name (State/District)

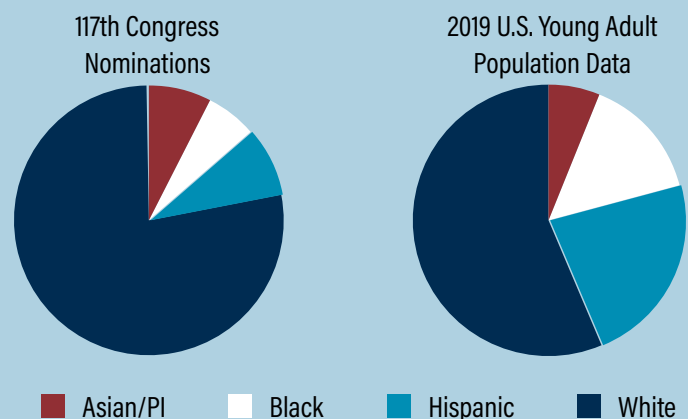
Senate Closest to State Demographics		House Closest to District Demographics	
1	Patrick Leahy (VT)	1	Ed Case (HI)
2	Susan Collins (ME)	2	Peter Welch (VT)
3	Jon Tester (MT)	3	Ron Kind (WI)
4	Joe Manchin (WV)	4	Liz Cheney (WY)
5	Angus King (ME)	5	Brett Guthrie (KY)

SENATE AND HOUSE NOMINATORS FURTHEST FROM MATCHING DEMOGRAPHICS

Name (State/District)

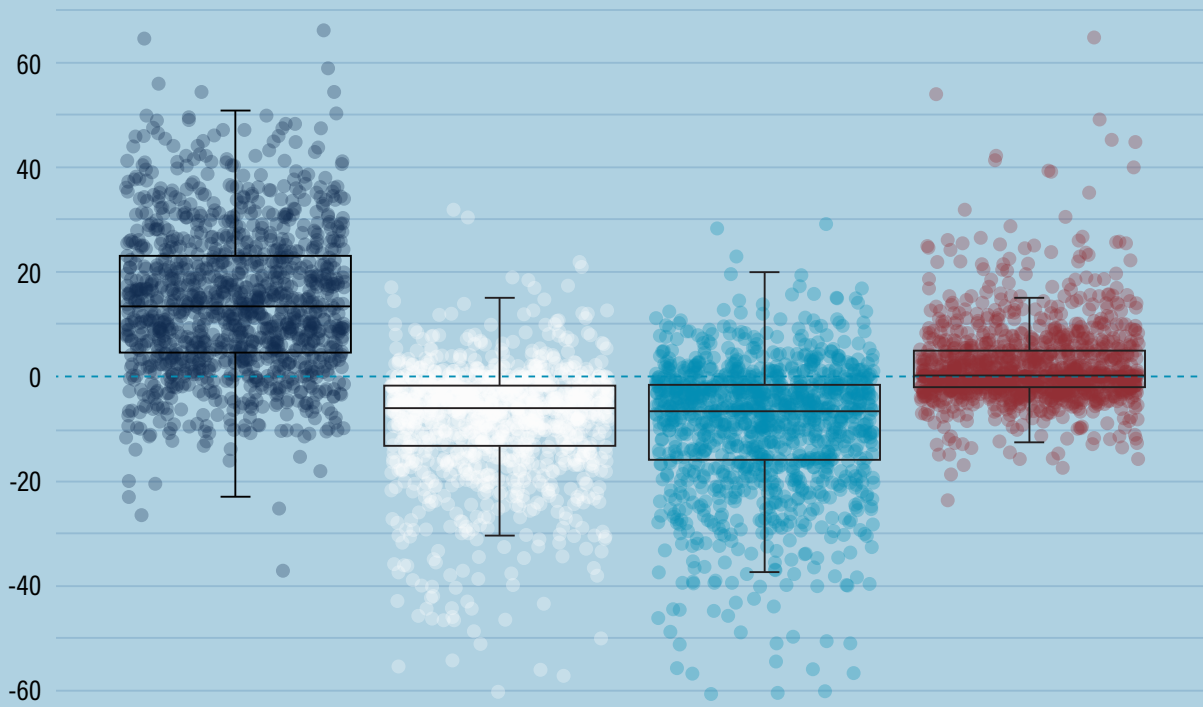
Senate Furthest from State Demographics		House Furthest from District Demographics	
81	Ted Cruz (TX)	285	Alcee Hastings (FL)
80	John Cornyn (TX)	284	Linda Sánchez (CA)
79	Chris Van Hollen (MD)	283	Val Demings (FL)
78	Bill Cassidy (LA)	282	Darren Soto (FL)
77	Roger Wicker (MS)	281	Raul Ruiz (CA)

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NOMINATIONS GRANTED BY CURRENT MEMBERS OF THE 117TH CONGRESS RELATIVE TO U.S. YOUNG ADULT POPULATION



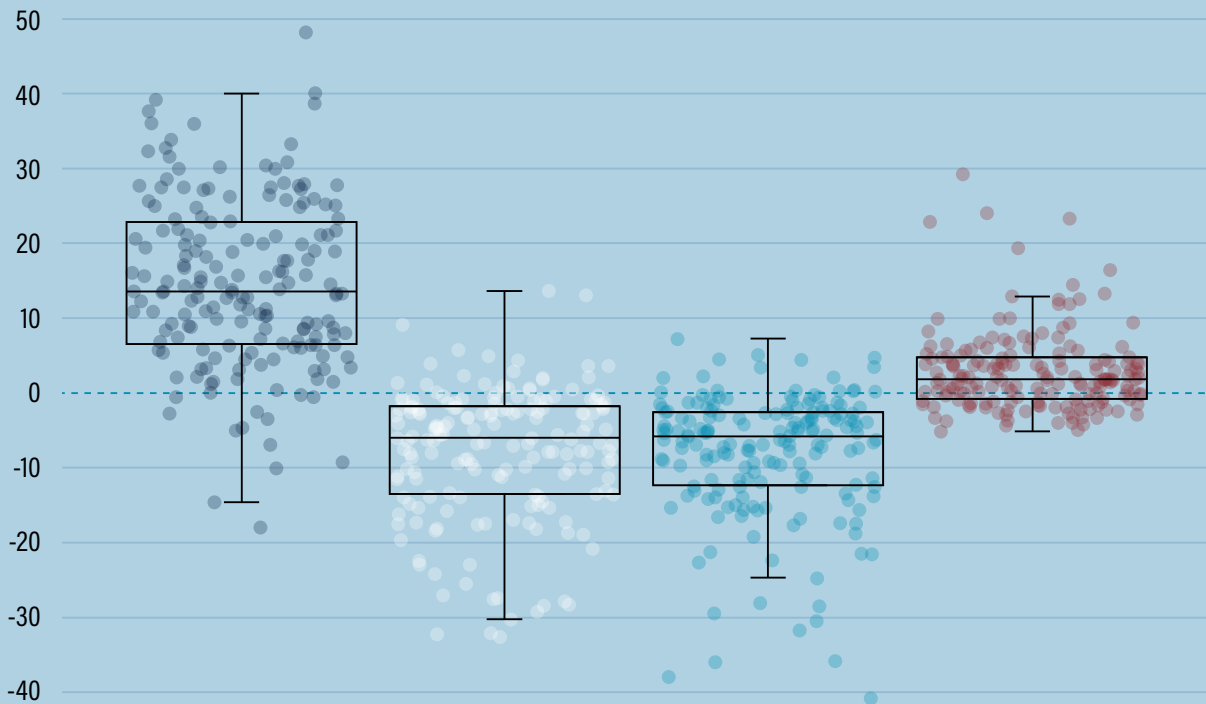
HOUSE

Difference in Percentage of Students of Each Race/Ethnicity Nominated and Percentage of District Population for Each Representative



SENATE

Difference in Percentage of Students of Each Race/Ethnicity Nominated and Percentage of State Population for Each Senator



● White

● Black

● Hispanic

● Asian/PI

II. NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

This section evaluates Members of the 117th Congress by the percentage of nominations that they have awarded to students of color without reference to state or district demographics. Although this metric does not take population composition into account, state or district demographics likely impact the number of students of color that a Member promotes. Thus, this section should be read in connection with the last, and conclusions about a nominator's responsibility for their nominating patterns should be drawn with the data parameters in mind. For example, this section reveals that Leahy has allocated a low proportion of his nominations to students of color—only 3%. However, the previous section showed that Patrick Leahy's nominations most closely match the demographics of his state, Vermont, which is predominantly white.

Of all House members, Ro Khanna (D-CA) has awarded the highest proportion of his nominations to students of color, granting 13 of 14 nominations (93%) to Asian and Pacific Islander students. Khanna is joined at the top of the ranking by Lou Correa (D-CA) and Linda Sánchez (D-CA), who have also allocated a large percentage of their nominations to students of color—86% and 78%, respectively. Notably, none of the top five nominators of students of color top the rankings for the percentage of Black students nominated. Terri Sewell (D-AL) has nominated the greatest proportion of Black students—55%, while Filemon Vela (D-TX) has selected the highest percentage of Hispanic students—78%. Ro Khanna's nomination practices also make him the top nominator of Asian and Pacific Islander students by percentage.

In the Senate, Brian Schatz (D-HI) has nominated the highest proportion of students of color, awarding 64 out of 97 nominations (65%) to Black, Hispanic and Asian and Pacific Islander students. Schatz also tops the Senate ranking of Asian and Pacific Islander nominators. Tammy Duckworth (D-IL) has nominated the highest proportion of Black students (30%). Martin Heinrich (D-NM) has nominated the greatest proportion of Hispanic students, awarding them 24 of his 75 total nominations, or 43%.

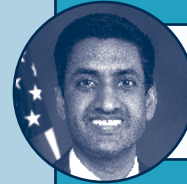
TOP HOUSE NOMINATORS



Filemon Vela (D-TX)
78% HISPANIC STUDENTS



Terri Sewell (D-AL)
55% BLACK STUDENTS

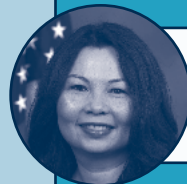


Ro Khanna (D-CA)
93% ASIAN/PI STUDENTS

TOP SENATE NOMINATORS



Martin Heinrich (D-NM)
43% HISPANIC STUDENTS



Tammy Duckworth (D-IL)
30% BLACK STUDENTS



Brian Schatz (D-HI)
53% ASIAN/PI STUDENTS

HOUSE MEMBERS AWARDING HIGHEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

	Most Students of Color Nominated				Most Hispanic Students Nominated			Most Black Students Nominated			Most Asian/PI Students Nominated		
1	Ro Khanna (CA)	93%	[14]	Filemon Vela (TX)	78%	[120]	Terri Sewell (AL)	55%	[51]	Ro Khanna (CA)	93%	[14]	
2	Lou Correa (CA)	86%	[21]	Jennifer González-Colón (PR)	64%	[11]	Hank Johnson (GA)	52%	[254]	Amata Coleman Radewagen (AS)	72%	[72]	
3	Filemon Vela (TX)	80%	[120]	Marc Veasey (TX)	63%	[40]	Stacey Plaskett (VI)	50%	[20]	Gregorio Sablan (MP)	70%	[148]	
4	Linda Sánchez (CA)	78%	[290]	Juan Vargas (CA)	54%	[92]	David Scott (GA)	45%	[315]	Grace Meng (NY)	69%	[121]	
5	Grace Meng (NY)	78%	[121]	Mario Diaz-Balart (FL)	53%	[195]	Robin Kelly (IL)	44%	[71]	Linda Sánchez (CA)	54%	[290]	

HOUSE MEMBERS AWARDING LOWEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

	Fewest Students of Color Nominated				Fewest Hispanic Students Nominated			Fewest Black Students Nominated			Fewest Asian/PI Students Nominated		
290	Rick Crawford (AR)	0%	[60]	Gary Palmer (AL)	0%	[77]	Ron Kind (WI)	0%	[388]	Tim Ryan (OH)	0%	[237]	
289	Jason Smith (MO)	0%	[50]	Amata Coleman Radewagen (AS)	0%	[72]	Peter Welch (VT)	0%	[308]	Robert Aderholt (AL)	0%	[197]	
288	Charlie Crist (FL)	0%	[31]	John Katko (NY)	0%	[62]	Glenn Thompson (PA)	0%	[233]	Mike Kelly (PA)	0%	[162]	
287	Conor Lamb (PA)	0%	[16]	Rick Crawford (AR)	0%	[60]	Adrian Smith (NE)	0%	[177]	Jeffrey Duncan (SC)	0%	[114]	
286	Jim Banks (IN)	0%	[14]	David Kustoff (TN)	0%	[53]	Thomas Massie (KY)	0%	[164]	Ken Buck (CO)	0%	[75]	

SENATE MEMBERS AWARDING HIGHEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

	Most Students of Color Nominated			Most Hispanic Students Nominated			Most Black Students Nominated			Most Asian/PI Students Nominated		
1	Brian Schatz (HI)	66%	[97]	Martin Heinrich (NM)	43%	[75]	Tammy Duckworth (IL)	30%	[20]	Brian Schatz (HI)	53%	[97]
2	Mazie Hirono (HI)	63%	[68]	James Lankford (OK)	21%	[24]	John Kennedy (LA)	20%	[20]	Mazie Hirono (HI)	44%	[68]
3	Martin Heinrich (NM)	43%	[75]	Marco Rubio (FL)	14%	[125]	Tim Scott (SC)	13%	[80]	Tim Kaine (VA)	23%	[112]
4	Tammy Duckworth (IL)*	40%	[20]	Bob Menendez (NJ)	14%	[236]	Roger Wicker (MS)	12%	[266]	Dianne Feinstein (CA)	22%	[370]
5	John Kennedy (LA)*			John Cornyn (TX)	12%	[419]	Mazie Hirono (HI)	63%	[68]	Cory Booker (NJ)	20%	[60]

* Two Senators nominated 5 students of color out of 20 total nominations in the dataset, tying for 4th out of 81 Senate nominators included in the analysis.

SENATE MEMBERS AWARDING LOWEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

	Fewest Students of Color Nominated			Fewest Hispanic Students Nominated			Fewest Black Students Nominated			Fewest Asian/PI Students Nominated			
81	Mike Rounds (SD)	0%	[32]	Tim Scott (SC)	0%	[80]	Patrick Leahy (VT)	0%	[332]	Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)	0%	[139]	
80	Maggie Hassan (NH)	0%	[20]	Gary Peters (MI)	0%	[50]	John Thune (SD)	0%	[221]	Joe Manchin (WV)	0%	[108]	
79	Ben Sasse (NE)	3%	[70]	Mike Rounds (SD)	0%	[32]	John Barrasso (WY)	0%	[171]	Mike Rounds (SD)	0%	[32]	
78	Patrick Leahy (VT)	3%	[332]	Tina Smith (MN)	0%*	[20]*	Bernie Sanders (VT)	0%	[145]	Todd Young (IN)	0%	[26]	
			Tammy Duckworth (IL)										
77	John Barrasso (WY)	5%	[171]	Maggie Hassan (NH)					Roy Blunt (MO)	0%	[124]	Maggie Hassan (NH)	0%
				Chris Van Hollen (MD)									

* Four Senators nominated 0 Hispanic students out of 20 total nominations in the dataset, tying for 78th out of 81 Senate nominators included in the analysis.

III. NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR BY URBAN AND RURAL NOMINATORS

This section separates Members of Congress into two categories—urban and rural—using Census data based on their district or state’s proportion of urban population compared to the median proportion across all districts or states.⁸² Each Member of Congress is ranked within their urban or rural group based on the ratio of nominations made to students of color. As in the metric in Section II, a Member is not rewarded or penalized for matching state or district demographics—the rankings derive solely from the proportion of each Member’s nominations awarded to students of color.

HOUSE RURAL AND URBAN NOMINATORS AWARDING HIGHEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

Top Rural Nominators			
1	Filemon Vela (TX)	80%	[120]
2	Terri Sewell (AL)	65%	[51]
3	Henry Cuellar (TX)	59%	[156]
4	Al Lawson (FL)	56%	[16]
5	Ed Case (HI)	55%	[106]

Top Urban Nominators			
1	Ro Khanna (CA)	93%	[14]
2	Lou Correa (CA)	86%	[21]
3	Linda Sánchez (CA)	78%	[290]
4	Grace Meng (NY)	78%	[121]
5	Juan Vargas (CA)	77%	[91]

HOUSE RURAL AND URBAN NOMINATORS AWARDING LOWEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

Bottom Rural Nominators			
140	Tim Ryan (OH)	0%	[149]
139	Rick Crawford (AR)	0%	[60]
138	Jason Smith (MO)	0%	[50]
137	Jim Banks (IN)	0%	[14]
136	Robert Aderholt (AL)	2%	[188]

Bottom Urban Nominators			
146	Charlie Crist (FL)	0%	[31]
145	Conor Lamb (PA)	0%	[16]
144	Ann Wagner (MO)	4%	[166]
143	David Cicilline (RI)	5%	[130]
142	Jim McGovern (MA)	5%	[301]

SENATE RURAL AND URBAN NOMINATORS AWARDING HIGHEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

Top Rural Nominators			
1	John Kennedy (LA)	40%	[20]
2	James Lankford (OK)	33%	[24]
3	Dan Sullivan (AK)	20%	[87]
4	Tim Scott (SC)	19%	[80]
5	Roger Wicker (MS)	19%	[270]

Top Urban Nominators			
1	Brian Schatz (HI)	66%	[97]
2	Mazie Hirono (HI)	63%	[68]
3	Martin Heinrich (NM)	43%	[75]
4	Tammy Duckworth (IL)	40%	[20]
5	Bob Menendez (NJ)	38%	[236]

SENATE RURAL AND URBAN NOMINATORS AWARDING LOWEST PROPORTION OF NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR

Name (State) – Percent of nominations awarded to students of color [total number of nominations in dataset]

Bottom Rural Nominators			
43	Mike Rounds (SD)	0%	[32]
42	Maggie Hassan (NH)	0%	[20]
41	Ben Sasse (NE)	3%	[70]
40	Patrick Leahy (VT)	3%	[332]
39	John Barrasso (WY)	5%	[171]

Bottom Urban Nominators			
38	Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)	5%	[139]
37	Rob Portman (OH)	7%	[128]
36	Sherrod Brown (OH)	7%	[265]
35	Jack Reed (RI)	8%	[286]
34	Gary Peters (MI)	8%	[50]

Most of the House and Senate nominators who top the Section II rankings by nominations ratio are from more urban districts or states, whose populations generally have higher percentages of racial and ethnic diversity.⁸³ Indeed, the top five House and Senate urban nominators ranked by percentage of students of color nominated nearly mirror the top five nominators for each chamber as a whole, with only Representative Grace Meng (D-NY) and Senator Bob Menendez (D-NJ) replacing rural Representative Filemon Vela (D-TX) and Senator John Kennedy (R-LA).

Among more rural states and districts, Congressman Vela and Senator Kennedy have nominated the most students of color. In the Senate, all five of the top rural nominators of students of color are Republicans, while the top five urban nominators of students of color are Democrats.⁸⁴

RECOMMENDATIONS

The service academy nominations process is highly decentralized, both within Congress and across the service academies, to the detriment of candidates of color, the academies, and the nation. While the PANORAMA Act will establish new policies to standardize and publish data about the nominations process, additional reforms are necessary to hold each Member of Congress accountable for nominating students equitably and to combat the systemic inequities that permeate the nominations process.

An opaque nominations process with virtually inaccessible data on racial and ethnic diversity in individual Members' nominations allows racial disparities to persist. Measures to improve the nominations process—within individual congressional offices, across Congress as a whole, and at the academies themselves—are necessary to improve the racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of the service academies.

This report's recommendations are based on its quantitative analysis and on qualitative data gathered from conversations with congressional offices and a review of congressional nominations resources.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The Department of Defense should take the following actions to create a more equitable service academy nominations process:

- 1 Publish an annual report detailing, by each Member of Congress, how many candidates—by race, ethnicity, and gender—have been nominated to each military service academy each year.**

Until recently, information regarding the demography of candidates to the service academies was practically inaccessible, despite being public by law. Under the newly enacted PANORAMA Act, Congress has instructed the Department of Defense to publish an annual report with demographic information about academy applicants at several stages of the application process.⁸⁵ This change marks an important shift toward transparency and equity in the congressional nominations process.

However, the Department of Defense report will publish only demographic data that is aggregated across all Members of Congress and non-congressional nominators. Thus, the report will not identify

offices or regions where reforms are most needed. More granular data are needed to identify pipeline problems and promote accountability among Members of Congress. Without publicly reported, Member-specific data, each individual office will be able to nominate candidates away from the public eye, providing more opportunities for inconsistencies—and inadequacies—in diversity efforts.

The Department of Defense should also ensure that its public data provide intersectional insights into the academy admissions process by releasing information about the race and ethnicity *and* gender of applicants. In USNA and USMA’s FOIA productions for this report, race, ethnicity and gender were reported on separate spreadsheets, making it impossible to tell how young women of color, for instance, fare in congressional nominations compared to other demographic groups. To illuminate the process’s impact on all students, more detailed data should show the number of men and women of each race or ethnicity at each stage of admissions.

2 Consider the race, ethnicity, and gender of potential nominees and appointees when awarding its discretionary nominations and appointing qualified alternate candidates.

The academy Superintendents and the Secretaries of each Department are also able to nominate students to the service academies.⁸⁶ These nominators have an opportunity to increase diversity at the service academies and should consider the diversity of their nominees when selecting students.⁸⁷

Currently, each academy Superintendent may nominate fifty students from the nation at large.⁸⁸ To promote more diverse classes of cadets and midshipmen, the Superintendents should seek to award these discretionary nominations to students of color and women, who are underrepresented at the academies.

In addition, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force may nominate “qualified alternates”—primarily students who applied for but did not receive nominations from a Member of Congress.⁸⁹ Existing law directs the Secretaries to nominate qualified alternates in order of merit, but the Department of Defense could explicitly include gender, racial, and ethnic diversity considerations in awarding its nominations.⁹⁰ While this practice would not correct inequities in congressional nominations, the non-congressional nominators could help to mitigate them.

3 Direct the Department of Defense Deputy Inspector General for Diversity or the Inspector General for each service academy to assess the distribution of congressional nominations and their impact on the schools’ diversity and inclusion initiatives.

In 2021, the Department of Defense will establish a new Deputy Inspector General for Diversity to evaluate military programs’ effect on diversity and inclusion.⁹¹ The Secretary should direct the Deputy Inspector General to study the impact of congressional nominations on service academy class composition as part of these annual reports. The Inspector

General's report could determine where students are most disadvantaged, how nomination disparities impact students at the academies, and what the Department of Defense must do to address the problem. The new Deputy Inspector General for Diversity should work closely with the existing Inspectors General for each military branch and at each service academy who have already begun examining racial inequities in the armed forces and at the academies.⁹²

CONGRESS

Congress should encourage equity in the service academy admissions process by enacting the following measures:

1 Ensure the PANORAMA Act is enforced—that the Department of Defense creates a central nominations portal that collects the demographic data of nominees, standardizes the racial and ethnic coding in academy data, and reports the data publicly on an annual basis.

Publicly available and standardized data is needed to identify where efforts to recruit and retain diverse students in the admissions process will be most successful. The PANORAMA Act⁹³ was passed in an effort to improve data issues that this report highlights. Congress should direct the Deputy Inspector General for Diversity to ensure compliance with the Act's provisions.

Enforcement would require the Department of Defense to establish a centralized portal for Members of Congress to submit their nominations that collects and retains demographic data of the nominees. This data would standardize the currently variable race and ethnicity coding of nominees, providing a more accurate and holistic picture of the racial and ethnic disparities in the nominations. Moreover, publishing this data publicly in an annual report will enable Members of Congress and the public to track improvements in representation over time and identify where additional efforts are needed.

Further, the Inspector General for Diversity should ensure the Department of Defense publish detailed, disaggregated data for Congressional nominations. First, this disaggregated data should include Member-level data rather than solely Congressional-level data. As this report shows, issues of inclusion for underrepresented groups vary between states and districts because of population demographics, systemic racial inequities, and other factors. Second, the Deputy Inspector General should ensure that the data allows insights about each nominee's race and gender, rather than separating racial data from gender data. Finally, the Deputy Inspector General for Diversity should work with racial and ethnic data experts in the Department of Defense's adoption of OMB compliant data collection categories. It is imperative that these categories are granular enough to capture important differences within demographic populations. Disaggregated data will provide the information necessary to determine the most effective approach for increasing nominations for underrepresented students.

2 Instruct the Department of Defense to award supplementary nominations to Members of Congress who equitably nominate students from underrepresented groups.

In order to inspire a “race to the top,” Congress should direct the Department of Defense to establish a supplementary award system which publicly allocates additional nominations to Members of Congress who establish their commitment to diversity in nominations. With this supplementary system, Members of Congress could petition the Department of Defense and win additional nominations by demonstrating a commitment to racial, ethnic, and gender equity in their nominating practices.⁹⁴

This system of supplementary awards of nominations would encourage Members of Congress to prioritize diversity considerations, while public awards would highlight Members who are meaningfully contributing to academy diversity. Moreover, the public awards would serve as an additional accountability mechanism to identify Members who are not prioritizing diversity in their nominations process.

3 Establish a grant program in the Department of Defense to increase Congressional outreach to underrepresented applicants at Title I-eligible schools.

For many students, informational events such as Academy Days are their first introduction to the service academies and the Congressional nomination process. These events are an important opportunity to establish contact with underrepresented students who may not

have previously considered applying to the academies. However, these events can be resource-intensive, and district offices may struggle to organize more than a few informational events a year. Congress should establish a program allowing Members to apply for grants to support outreach events to underrepresented applicants at Title I-eligible schools.

Title I-eligible schools are those that qualify for federal funding because at least 40% of their students are low income.⁹⁵ In 2015-2016, nearly half of the nation’s 50.3 million public school students received assistance through Title I,⁹⁶ and Black and Hispanic students are overrepresented in Title I-eligible institutions.⁹⁷ Targeted outreach to Title I-eligible schools would ensure that the grant program will reach underrepresented students from schools with fewer resources.

To obtain a grant, a Member should show that a Title I school will host the event. Alternatively, a Member could establish that students from Title I schools will constitute the majority of participants in the event. Grants should also cover targeted outreach to Title I schools other than Academy Days, such as mailings, fact sheets, or information sessions.

4 Direct the Department of Defense to expand the Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps program into more diverse Title I Schools, and require the program to include nomination assistance for underrepresented communities of color.

The Secretary of each military department has statutory authority to establish new Junior Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (JROTC) units under regulations



prescribed by the President.⁹⁸ As federally sponsored programs, JROTC units are established by the armed forces in high schools and some middle schools “to instill in students . . . the values of citizenship, service to the United States, and personal responsibility and a sense of accomplishment.”⁹⁹ JROTC programs are generally more diverse than the academies in their student enrollment and provide a valuable opportunity for high school students to demonstrate their leadership ability—a key component of most service academy applications.¹⁰⁰

Each service considers Title I eligibility in selecting schools for new JROTC units, but only the Navy explicitly considers the share of student of color at each target school.¹⁰¹ By expanding the JROTC program into more Title I-eligible schools and expressly considering student body diversity, the Department of Defense would provide more underrepresented students with a potential pathway to the academies.

The Department of Defense Board on Diversity and Inclusion has advocated for expanding access to internships in science, technology, engineering,

and mathematics at Title I schools with JROTC programs, developing students’ skills for modern military service.¹⁰² To help JROTC members channel these high school experiences into successful academy applications, the Department of Defense should also produce JROTC-specific programming to help underrepresented students of color navigate the congressional nominations process, supporting students that have previously been excluded from the academies.¹⁰³

5 Together with the Department of Defense, commission a task force to study the possibility of increasing alternative pathways to the academies for candidates who do not receive or choose not to apply for a Congressional nomination.

Currently, alternative pathways for admission to the academies are available to some service-connected individuals or family members of certain military personnel.¹⁰⁴ While these individuals still technically receive a nomination, many have a

more straightforward path for evaluation by the academies themselves, bypassing the diffuse Congressional nominations process. No other class of candidates has access to this direct consideration by the academies.

The Department of Defense should commission a task force to analyze alternative admissions pathways for candidates. A new system might allow students to bypass the congressional nominations system, enabling the academies to review these applicants directly and appoint candidates with consideration for the racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of the applicant pool and current cadets and midshipmen.

6 Commission a Government Accountability Office (GAO) review of existing congressional nominations procedures.

There has not been a GAO report on racial disparities in the service academies in over 25 years.¹⁰⁵ A GAO report on the inequities in the nominations process would provide Members of Congress with critical facts and analysis to determine where and whether congressional selection processes allow for bias or have a disparate impact on students of color. The GAO has the authority to conduct independent and thorough review of information and interviews that the general public cannot access and that would not be included in the new Department of Defense annual report on service academy diversity. Additionally, a GAO report should include recommendations

for improving the nominations process. A formal, non-partisan review of congressional nominations procedures could further increase transparency in the nominations process, as well as identify a broad range of policy recommendations the Department of Defense could adopt to elicit more diverse candidates.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Individual Members of Congress should adopt the following policies and best practices for nominee selection:

1 Host multiple “Academy Days” and invite diverse service academy alumni to attend.

Most congressional offices host Academy Days, which serve as in-person information sessions for interested applicants. These are often students’ first exposure to the academies. Members of Congress should invite diverse service academy alumni to attend Academy Day events to provide role models for diverse young students interested in attending a service academy. They should also plan Academy Day at schools with historically low representation in the applicant pool. Hosting events in a range of locations throughout the year will better connect to underrepresented potential applicants to their Member of Congress.

2 Utilize diverse interview panels and train selection staff to avoid bias and recognize nontraditional markers of academy potential.

Many Members of Congress rely on interview panels to recommend candidates for nomination. Members of Congress should intentionally craft a racially and ethnically diverse panel of community members and academy alumni to evaluate, recommend, and support candidates for nomination. To connect with interviewers, Congressional offices can work with local Veterans Service Organizations and Military Service Organizations.¹⁰⁶ This could improve panel decision making processes and help underrepresented candidates feel more comfortable during their interviews, reducing barriers for diverse students.

In addition, interview panels and other selection staff should undergo implicit bias training and be trained to recognize nontraditional markers of academy potential, which can widen and diversify the pool of qualified applicants while maintaining the quality of nominations.¹⁰⁷

3 Compile detailed application information on an accessible website and explicitly highlight a desire for a diverse applicant pool.

A Member of Congress's promotional materials and website may be a student's first introduction to the academy application process. Many Members' websites simply detail the administrative components of the application without highlighting the value of a diverse applicant pool.

Members of Congress should explicitly note their desire for a diverse applicant pool. This may include listing some nontraditional markers of leadership and academy potential that the Member of Congress considers in the process, such as holding a part-time job, adopting caretaking responsibilities, or overcoming adversity. A Member's website might also state a commitment to a diverse application pool using language as below:

We encourage candidates from all backgrounds and experiences to apply if they are interested. For those that show leadership potential but may have academic difficulties, selection to a service academy preparatory school may be an option. Additionally, the service academies strongly encourage urban, minority, and female applicants to apply as these groups are underrepresented as officers in the Armed Services and our nation's leadership should reflect the diversity of our people.¹⁰⁸

4 Share stories of the success of diverse service academy alumni and students via social media, press, and a user-friendly website.

Students are more likely to apply to the service academies when they have representative role models. Members of Congress should affirmatively highlight and publicize the success of underrepresented service academy alumni and students widely and often – through social media, at Academy Day events, and in their application materials.

5 Establish relationships with school counselors in high schools and middle schools to identify promising students from underrepresented backgrounds.

Members of Congress should encourage school counselors to identify promising students from underrepresented backgrounds and provide them with materials and support throughout the application process. Members of Congress can also work with school counselors to find academy alumni to mentor diverse applicants. Establishing relationships with school counselors from historically underrepresented high schools could also increase attendance at recruitment events such as Academy Days, resulting in a more diverse applicant pool.

6 Track racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of the applicant pool from year to year.

Not all congressional offices track and analyze the demographic data of their applicant and nominations pools. Pursuant to the PANORAMA Act, all Members of Congress will be able to view the demographic data of their nominees through one online portal.¹⁰⁹ Individual Members of Congress should closely consider the racial and ethnic diversity of their applicant pool and their nominees from year to year. This will enable offices to note trends over the years, as well as identify which practices encouraged a more diverse applicant pool.

7 Encourage unsuccessful applicants to reapply or to pursue alternative routes to the academies, such as military preparatory schools.

Many first-time applicants are unsuccessful in receiving a nomination through the competitive application process. Members of Congress can encourage diverse candidates to pursue alternative routes to the academies if they are unable to secure a nomination. These alternatives include reapplying at a later date or attending a military preparatory school. It is important to communicate that these are common routes for successful academy graduates. If possible, offices should connect unsuccessful applicants with alumni who have graduated through similar routes.

DATA METHODOLOGY

This report increases transparency in the congressional nominations process by collecting, contextualizing, and analyzing demographic data from the military service academies. Significant inconsistencies and inadequacies in the academies' coding and production of racial and ethnic data complicated this project. Appendix D to this report summarizes the deficiencies in data collected, stored, and produced by the service academies. Appendix D details the statistical choices made to accommodate these deficiencies. This report adopts conservative measures of demographic trends, likely understating the already troubling racial disparities in congressional nominations to service academies.

SOURCES OF NOMINATIONS DATA

The data for this report were obtained from the military service academies pursuant to requests submitted under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).¹⁰ The academies produced two series of FOIA requests: one for nominations from the 1990s to 2015¹¹ and a second for nominations from 2016 to early 2019.¹²

Together, the underlying datasets span application cycles from 1994-1995 to 2019-2020. The combined dataset was limited to reflect nominations by current members of the 117th Congress only. Furthermore, a number of current Senators previously served as Representatives. When ranking by individual chamber, the report factors in only those nominations made while the Member held that particular position in the relevant chamber. For example, when Senator Mazie Hirono appears in the Senate list, her results are based solely on the nominations she made as a Senator, excluding nominations she submitted during her prior terms as a Congresswoman in the House of Representatives.¹³

Because the service academies produced the 2019-2020 application cycle data in January 2019, the data for the 2019-2020 cycle provide only a partial dataset, based on a snapshot of the nominations received as of the dates that the academies retrieved these data. This is also true for the 2015-2016 application cycle, as the 2015 production contained a limited number of nominations for that cycle. USAFA failed to produce any data about the race or ethnicity of nominees for the years 2015-2020. Thus, the rankings do not include nominations for USAFA from the years 2015-2020.

CODING OF RACE AND ETHNICITY DATA

All academies require nominees to self-report their race or ethnicity. However, each academy uses different racial and ethnic categories to describe nominees. USMA reports 26 different race and ethnicity categories, USNA reports 9, and USAFA reports 6. Only one of the academies, USNA, maintains a category that identifies a nominee as having reported two or more races (“Multiple Response”). USAFA also has no category for other, unknown, or undisclosed race. None of the academies report race in a manner consistent with the Census or guidance from the Office of Management and Budget.

In order to report aggregate data for all academies, this report recoded data from all three academies into 8 racial categories, including “Unknown” and “Other.” It reports on the 4 racial categories with enough nominees to generate statistically reliable results: White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian/Pacific Islander. Appendix D explains exactly how race data from each academy was reported and recoded into these 8 categories at Table 1 and accompanying text.

CODING OF NOMINATORS AND NOMINATIONS

Each academy’s dataset also uses different conventions for naming each congressional nominator, describing which district each nominator represents, and identifying the year in which each nomination

occurs. USNA data do not identify Senators or Representatives by name; rather, they label each state’s Representatives according to their district number and each state’s Senators “Senator 1” and “Senator 2.” The data do not specify which Senator is “Senator 1” and which Senator is “Senator 2” in any given year. USMA codes the “date of nomination” as the year a nomination was submitted; USAFA and USNA report this date *and* the would-be class year of nominees. At USNA, there are discrepancies in reporting between the class year and nomination date spreadsheets.

To avoid misattribution, this report’s rankings exclude Senate nominations for USNA. The rankings also exclude all USNA nominators’ first year in office to avoid misattribution of nominations by outgoing Members that may have been counted by the USNA admissions office in January of the next calendar year or in the months following a special election. Appendix D summarizes the academies’ reporting of nominators at Table 2 and accompanying text.

RANKING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

This report uses data about the race of nominees to rank Members of Congress in three ways. First, it ranks Members of Congress by how closely their nominations have **mirrored the demographics of their state or district’s 18- to 24-year-old population**. To account for changes in population demographics over time, the analysis uses values for 18- to 24-year-old state populations from the “Age” and “Sex By

Age” tables from the American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates over 2005-2009, 2010-2014, and 2015-2019 as the benchmarks for Senate nomination comparisons to state demographics.¹¹⁴ For Representatives, the analysis uses district demographic benchmarks drawn from the same table types in the ACS 1-year estimates from 2006-2019. In this ranking system, over-representation and under-representation of racial groups are penalized equivalently.

Second, it ranks House and Senate members by the number of **nominations awarded to students of color** as a percentage of their total nominations. Nominations by House members that have represented multiple districts are aggregated across all districts.

Third, it again ranks House and Senate members by their percent of nominations from each racial or ethnic group – but divides Members of Congress into “**urban**” or “**rural**” states or districts, allowing comparisons among nominators from comparable regions. The classification of each Senator as urban or rural is derived from their state’s proportion of urban population in the decennial Census.¹¹⁵ The classification of each Representative as urban or rural is derived from their district’s proportion of rural population, but due to limitations in available district-level urban population data, the analysis only includes data since 1999. This data subset includes over 96% of all nominations.¹¹⁶

The statistical choices involved in each of these rankings are detailed in Appendix D at pages 58-60.

For each of the three rankings, the analysis includes only House and Senate members that have nominated more than 10 students across all years and districts.¹¹⁷ The report’s unranked, aggregate analyses of congressional nominations includes all nominators, including those with 10 or fewer nominations.

SUGGESTED DATA REFORMS

Each academy produced the data in a different file format, so aggregating the information required a significant time investment in assembling, translating, and standardizing the data.¹¹⁸ At present, the data gathered for this report provide the only window into the congressional nominating process.

CVLC proposed and advocated for the PANORAMA Act’s mandatory data reporting requirement to make this data more accessible in the future. Without reliable public data on each Congressman’s nominations practices, Members of Congress will continue to apply inconsistent and opaque

CONSISTENT, DISAGGREGATED, PUBLICLY AVAILABLE DATA IS NECESSARY TO IDENTIFY WHERE PRE-EXISTING SYSTEMIC RACIAL INEQUITIES AND IMPLICIT BIAS MAY BE IMPACTING STUDENTS OF COLOR DURING THEIR APPLICATION PROCESS.

criteria that result in inequitable access to taxpayer-funded educational opportunities at the academies. Consistent, disaggregated, publicly available data is necessary for Congress and the Department of Defense to identify where pre-existing systemic racial inequities and implicit bias may be impacting students of color during their application process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Veterans Legal Services Clinic at Yale Law School prepared this report on behalf of CVLC. Lauren Blazing, Kyla Eastling, Sarah Purtill and Teddy Brokaw authored this report under the supervision of Michael J. Wishnie, William O. Douglas Clinical Professor of Law; Dana Montalto, Visiting Clinical Lecturer; and Liam Brennan, Executive Director of CVLC.

Many thanks are owed to those who reviewed or commented on drafts of this report, including Jenn Dane and Peter Perkowski of the Modern Military Association of America; Professor Monica Bell of Yale Law School; Lory Manning of the Service Women's Action Network; Jenny Zhao of Asian Americans Advancing Justice; Algernon Austin of the NAACP Thurgood Marshall Institute; Andy Blevins and Lucy del Gaudio of Minority Veterans of America; Edgar Chen, formerly with the United States Department of Justice, Human Rights and Special Prosecutions Section; Barry Robinson, former Chief Counsel for Economic Affairs, U.S. Department of Commerce; Garry Monk of the National Veterans Council for Legal Redress; Asha Padmanabhan of the Center for American Progress; and Don Christensen of Protect our Defenders.

The Freedom of Information Act requests and lawsuits that resulted in the release of the data on

which this report is based were prepared and litigated by Ashley Anderson, Alexandra Brodsky, Phoebe Clarke, Elizabeth Deutsch, Mekela Panditharatne, Emma Roth, Miriam Becker-Cohen, Ashley Ingram, Jonas Wang, Maria Korzendorfer, Cristen Handley, Maddie Ranum, Alyssa Peterson, Kath Xu, James Campbell, Matt Handley, Lauren Blazing, Kyla Eastling, and Sarah Purtill, law student interns in the Veterans Legal Services Clinic, under the supervision of Professor Wishnie, Bethany Li, and Jason Parkin; Sandra Staub and David J. McGuire of the ACLU of Connecticut; and Ariela Migdal and Lenora M. Lapidus of the ACLU Women's Rights Project.

Other important contributors to the research and advocacy that led to this project include Ashleigh Backman and Margaret Kuzma of the Connecticut Veterans Legal Center; Dan Barrett of the ACLU of Connecticut; Anuradha Bhagwati, Judy Patterson, Lydia Watts, and Ellen Haring of the Service Women's Action Network.

Megan Ayers and Brian Deng, graduate students in the Yale Department of Statistics and Data Science, conducted the report's statistical analysis, and Hannah Gribetz configured the report's graphic design.

APPENDIX A: NOMINATIONS RELATIVE TO DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS, FULL LIST

HOUSE NOMINATORS

Representatives and Delegates
ranked by district demographic
matching

*Nominator (weighted average of the
summed squares of the difference
between district population and
nominations over time)*

1. Ed Case (14.35)
2. Peter Welch (20.91)
3. Ron Kind (43.32)
4. Liz Cheney (44.47)
5. Brett Guthrie (45.12)
6. Glenn Grothman (50.89)
7. Ann McLane Kuster (51.65)
8. Jack Bergman (52.61)
9. Chellie Pingree (52.74)
10. John Moolenaar (54.84)
11. Trey Hollingsworth (63.75)
12. Debbie Dingell (65.35)
13. David McKinley (65.42)
14. Dave Joyce (67.78)
15. Bill Keating (68.58)
16. Matt Cartwright (69.57)
17. Darin LaHood (71.06)
18. Tom Emmer (75.28)
19. Thomas Massie (78.9)
20. Bob Latta (79.77)
21. Mike Kelly (87.57)
22. Morgan Griffith (88.01)
23. Ann Wagner (89.09)
24. Hal Rogers (89.25)
25. Steve Stivers (89.7)
26. Bill Johnson (100.5)
27. Larry Bucshon (108.22)
28. Blaine Luetkemeyer (108.46)
29. Pete Aguilar (112.84)
30. Brian Fitzpatrick (113.74)
31. James Comer (115.19)
32. Alex Mooney (116.85)
33. Gus Bilirakis (117.61)
34. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (123.87)
35. Filemon Vela (124.06)
36. Billy Long (125.15)
37. Warren Davidson (128.84)
38. Peter DeFazio (129.12)
39. Bob Gibbs (129.3)
40. Tom Cole (133.53)
41. Tom Reed (143.46)
42. Mike Simpson (143.69)
43. Glenn Thompson (148.2)
44. Jim Jordan (153.86)
45. Jaime Herrera Beutler (155.09)
46. Mark Pocan (155.37)
47. Brad Wenstrup (157.3)
48. Sam Graves (158.17)
49. Rob Wittman (162.13)

50. Vicky Hartzler (165.27)
51. Jim McGovern (170.05)
52. Tom McClintock (170.79)
53. Scott Peters (170.95)
54. Elise Stefanik (176.96)
55. Jeff Fortenberry (180.19)
56. Terri Sewell (180.67)
57. Markwayne Mullin (182.33)
58. Frank Lucas (187.95)
59. Joe Courtney (192.56)
60. Suzan DelBene (194.18)
61. Rick Larsen (210.84)
62. Andy Barr (215.13)
63. Don Young (215.42)
64. Yvette Clarke (223.51)
65. Tim Walberg (225.97)
66. Adrian Smith (227.11)
67. Nancy Pelosi (232.34)
68. Paul Tonko (234.35)
69. Jason Smith (235.54)
70. Cheri Bustos (242.49)
71. Jeff Duncan (243.83)
72. John Curtis (253.12)
73. Derek Kilmer (254.39)
74. Katherine Clark (257.63)
75. Mike Doyle (263.03)
76. Fred Upton (269.84)
77. Scott DesJarlais (274.49)
78. Clay Higgins (281.46)
79. Albio Sires (287.26)
80. Thomas Suozzi (291.06)
81. Jackie Walorski (304.4)
82. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (310.56)
83. Joaquin Castro (311.13)
84. Carolyn Maloney (313.07)
85. Scott Perry (323.73)
86. Bill Huizenga (337.76)
87. Bobby Rush (353.08)
88. John Carter (363.42)
89. Robert Aderholt (369.1)
90. Ami Bera (371.74)
91. Ann Kirkpatrick (379.79)
92. Doug LaMalfa (380.74)
93. Marc Veasey (396.06)
94. Doug Lamborn (398.19)
95. Barry Loudermilk (398.68)
96. Eleanor Holmes Norton (412.66)
97. Sean Maloney (420.42)
98. Virginia Foxx (422.72)
99. Seth Moulton (428.5)
100. Gary Palmer (436.33)
101. Chris Stewart (439.24)
102. Chris Smith (439.47)
103. Ted Lieu (442.91)
104. Brian Higgins (443.41)
105. Chuck Fleischmann (443.87)
106. David Rouzer (450.12)
107. Kurt Schrader (456.2)
108. Ron Estes (456.71)
109. Conor Lamb (459.65)
110. Adam Smith (473.36)
111. Ted Deutch (476.2)
112. Adam Kinzinger (481.82)
113. Lee Zeldin (485.55)
114. Mike Turner (486.12)
115. Raja Krishnamoorthi (487.57)
116. Trent Kelly (492.02)
117. Andy Harris (493.09)
118. Drew Ferguson (508.1)
119. Dutch Ruppersberger (512.55)
120. Tim Ryan (532.65)
121. Kevin Brady (551.11)
122. Marcy Kaptur (551.63)
123. Juan Vargas (554.94)
124. Rodney Davis (559.63)
125. Patrick McHenry (561.39)
126. Jan Schakowsky (562.34)
127. Jody Hice (570.85)
128. Bruce Westerman (576.84)
129. Mo Brooks (589.12)
130. Roger Williams (592.51)
131. Mike Quigley (596.73)
132. John Sarbanes (602.29)
133. Paul Gosar (602.51)
134. Matt Gaetz (604.78)
135. Mark Takano (609.7)
136. Neal Dunn (616.52)
137. Richard Hudson (627.47)
138. Richard Neal (631.94)
139. Emanuel Cleaver (633.3)
140. Bill Posey (641.71)
141. David Scott (643.66)
142. Suzanne Bonamici (654.19)
143. Brian Babin (656.66)
144. Steve Womack (663.74)
145. Lloyd Doggett (671.89)
146. Barbara Lee (674.56)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| 147. John Yarmuth (679.2) | 181. Joe Morelle(907.14) | 213. Vern Buchanan (1110.61) |
| 148. Mike Thompson (679.89) | 182. Bonnie Watson Coleman
(921.68) | 214. Kevin McCarthy (1127.19) |
| 149. Mike Johnson (681.77) | 183. Michael Burgess (923.66) | 215. Andy Biggs (1128.62) |
| 150. John Katko (684.6) | 184. Stephen Lynch (927.25) | 216. John Larson (1129.53) |
| 151. Jerry McNerney (702.07) | 185. Garret Graves (939.37) | 217. Susan Wild (1132.24) |
| 152. Dan Kildee (702.21) | 186. Jerry Nadler (939.57) | 218. Ken Calvert (1136.7) |
| 153. Frank Pallone (732.3) | 187. Mario Díaz-Balart (941.63) | 219. André Carson (1237.53) |
| 154. Betty McCollum (732.7) | 188. Al Green (950.2) | 220. Brad Sherman (1240.72) |
| 155. Rosa DeLauro (734.28) | 189. Eddie Bernice Johnson
(954.69) | 221. Dan Newhouse (1247.07) |
| 156. Joyce Beatty (737.43) | 190. Lou Correa (955.35) | 222. Brian Mast (1282.39) |
| 157. Kathleen Rice (746.2) | 191. Dina Titus (956.18) | 223. Jim Cooper (1307.92) |
| 158. Randy Weber (748.2) | 192. Gregory Meeks (958.1) | 224. Buddy Carter (1309.84) |
| 159. Adam Schiff (757.19) | 193. Kay Granger (965.26) | 225. Eric Swalwell (1313.76) |
| 160. Hank Johnson (778.06) | 194. Stephanie Murphy (972.41) | 226. Louie Gohmert (1328.01) |
| 161. Jim Langevin (781.3) | 195. Jared Huffman (981.86) | 227. Donald McEachin
(1338.27) |
| 162. Earl Blumenauer (785.41) | 196. Karen Bass (985.68) | 228. Alma Adams (1361.15) |
| 163. Steve Scalise (791.75) | 197. Pramila Jayapal (989.63) | 229. Bobby Scott (1378.73) |
| 164. John Rutherford (795.77) | 198. Grace Napolitano (990.13) | 230. Daniel Webster (1383.89) |
| 165. Jackie Speier (801.68) | 199. Steve Chabot (990.47) | 231. Brad Schneider (1386.3) |
| 166. David Price (811.15) | 200. Jodey Arrington (997.16) | 232. Grace Meng (1391.33) |
| 167. Sheila Jackson Lee (811.49) | 201. Doris Matsui (999.96) | 233. David Cicilline (1403.65) |
| 168. Josh Gottheimer (816.43) | 202. John Garamendi (1007.5) | 234. Ken Buck (1461.97) |
| 169. Steven Palazzo (819.55) | 203. Rick Crawford (1008.51) | 235. Mary Scanlon(1508.98) |
| 170. Don Bacon (835.1) | 204. Bill Foster (1018.05) | 236. Frederica Wilson (1528.08) |
| 171. French Hill (845.64) | 205. Ed Perlmutter (1023.78) | 237. Alan Lowenthal (1538.86) |
| 172. Jamie Raskin (845.99) | 206. Mike Rogers (1047.56) | 238. Jim Himes (1541.24) |
| 173. Robin Kelly (858.22) | 207. Gerry Connolly (1053.62) | 239. Danny Davis (1568.85) |
| 174. Ruben Gallego (860.37) | 208. Dwight Evans (1070.36) | 240. Michael McCaul (1572.79) |
| 175. Anna Eshoo (861.96) | 209. Mark Amodei (1071.74) | 241. Tom Rice (1613.2) |
| 176. Donald Norcross (863.47) | 210. Judy Chu (1079.5) | 242. Steny Hoyer (1635.74) |
| 177. Lois Frankel (871.56) | 211. Steven Horsford (1084.15) | 243. Nydia Velázquez (1646.45) |
| 178. Joe Wilson (890.86) | 212. Norma Torres (1091.05) | 244. Bennie Thompson
(1677.91) |

245. Tom O'Halleran (1693.15)
246. David Kustoff (1708.1)
247. Jim Clyburn (1722.56)
248. Jefferson Van Drew
(1728.37)
249. Rick Allen (1731.29)
250. Lisa Blunt Rochester
(1731.99)
251. Donald Payne Jr. (1741.13)
252. Austin Scott (1751.86)
253. Raúl Grijalva (1799.12)
254. Hakeem Jeffries (1892.71)
255. Ralph Norman (1915.12)
256. Lloyd Smucker (1933.29)
257. Henry Cuellar (1935.21)
258. Kathy Castor (1942.87)
259. Salud Carbajal (1946.79)
260. Bill Pascrell (1965.54)
261. Jim Costa (2052.79)
262. Maxine Waters (2064.11)
263. Sanford Bishop (2090.29)
264. Don Beyer (2094.36)
265. Lucille Roybal-Allard
(2098.31)
266. Diana DeGette (2184.71)
267. Charlie Crist (2216)
268. Ted Budd (2219.91)
269. Mark DeSaulnier (2315.58)
270. Gwen Moore (2319.06)
271. Anthony Brown (2386)
272. Julia Brownley (2451.37)
273. Jimmy Panetta (2697.85)
274. Steve Cohen (2700.95)
275. Marcia Fudge (2900.4)
276. Zoe Lofgren (2950.6)
277. G.K. Butterfield (2952.31)
278. Brendan Boyle (2969.75)
279. Devin Nunes (3102.56)
280. Tony Cárdenas (3257.8)
281. Raul Ruiz (3361.38)
282. Darren Soto (3396.61)
283. Val Demings (3424.26)
284. Linda Sánchez (4561.78)
285. Alcee Hastings (4955.04)

SENATE NOMINATORS

Senators ranked by state
demographic matching

*Nominator (weighted average of the
summed squares of the difference
between district population and
nominations over time)*

1. Patrick Leahy (21.78)
2. Susan Collins (24.48)
3. Jon Tester (24.79)
4. Joe Manchin (28.69)
5. Angus King (32.39)
6. Bernie Sanders (42.08)
7. Steve Daines (42.91)
8. James Lankford (57.68)
9. Chuck Grassley (61.94)
10. Shelley Moore Capito (66.36)
11. Jeanne Shaheen (99.82)
12. John Hoeven (116.39)
13. Mazie Hirono (126.33)
14. Mike Crapo (135.84)
15. John Thune (136.3)
16. Rand Paul (147.99)
17. Mitch McConnell (154.28)
18. Ron Johnson (170.11)
19. Joni Ernst (182.37)
20. Patty Murray (183.68)
21. Amy Klobuchar (190.55)
22. Mike Lee (192.8)
23. John Barrasso (229.1)
24. Tammy Baldwin (230.71)
25. Maggie Hassan (240.93)
26. Jim Risch (243.43)
27. Lisa Murkowski (253.27)
28. Bob Casey (262.26)
29. Jerry Moran (265.59)
30. Jim Inhofe (267.47)
31. Maria Cantwell (280.17)
32. Ron Wyden (285.45)
33. Todd Young (300.46)
34. Brian Schatz (306.9)
35. Sherrod Brown (367.96)
36. Bob Menendez (375.65)
37. Rob Portman (392.15)
38. Pat Toomey (400.86)
39. Jeff Merkley (425.06)
40. Roy Blunt (432.9)
41. Debbie Stabenow (449.3)
42. Dan Sullivan (452.85)
43. Deb Fischer (474.94)
44. Ed Markey (482.02)
45. Michael Bennet (505.92)
46. Tom Cotton (540.77)
47. Tina Smith (558.42)
48. Elizabeth Warren (565.73)
49. John Kennedy (580.64)
50. Mike Rounds (595.37)
51. Mark Warner (674.77)
52. Gary Peters (685.02)
53. Kirsten Gillibrand (690.8)
54. Tammy Duckworth (693)
55. Chris Murphy (714.12)
56. Ben Sasse (726.39)
57. John Boozman (737.69)
58. Jack Reed (753.15)
59. Tom Carper (753.64)
60. Tim Kaine (823.26)
61. Richard Blumenthal (874.07)
62. Sheldon Whitehouse
(893.76)
63. Chuck Schumer (922.34)
64. Cory Booker (974.46)
65. Richard Burr (1164.66)
66. Chris Coons (1171.07)
67. Martin Heinrich (1182.9)
68. Dick Durbin (1183.99)
69. Tim Scott (1187.69)
70. Lindsey Graham (1298.19)
71. Ben Cardin (1355.3)
72. Richard Shelby (1369.88)
73. Marco Rubio (1406.25)
74. Thom Tillis (1422.1)
75. Dianne Feinstein (1872.32)
76. Catherine Cortez Masto
(1914.75)
77. Roger Wicker (1934.2)
78. Bill Cassidy (1961.71)
79. Chris Van Hollen (2421.17)
80. John Cornyn (2470.57)
81. Ted Cruz (2779.51)

APPENDIX B: NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR, FULL LIST

HOUSE NOMINATORS

Representatives and Delegates ranked by proportion of nominations granted to students of color:

*Nominator (Total Nominations):
% Nominees of Color*

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. Ro Khanna (14): 93% | 11. Al Green (146): 73% | 32. Eddie Bernice Johnson (290): 61% |
| 2. Lou Correa (21): 86% | 12. Amata Coleman Radewagen (72): 72% | 33. David Scott (315): 61% |
| 3. Filemon Vela (120): 80% | 13. Albio Sires (43): 72% | 34. Robin Kelly (71): 61% |
| 4. Linda Sánchez (290): 78% | 14. Frederica Wilson (39): 72% | 35. Joaquin Castro (60): 60% |
| 5. Grace Meng (121): 78% | 15. Gregorio Sablan (148): 72% | 36. Hank Johnson (254): 60% |
| 6. Maxine Waters (89): 78% | 16. Hakeem Jeffries (35): 71% | 37. Tony Cárdenas (52): 60% |
| 7. Juan Vargas (92): 77% | 17. Norma Torres (33): 70% | 38. Henry Cuellar (156): 59% |
| 8. Karen Bass (52): 75% | 18. Mario Díaz-Balart (195): 67% | 39. Yvette Clarke (62): 58% |
| 9. Lucille Roybal-Allard (115): 74% | 19. Donald Payne Jr. (138): 66% | 40. Al Lawson (16): 56% |
| 10. Grace Napolitano (178): 73% | 20. Mark Takano (82): 66% | 41. Eric Swalwell (93): 56% |
| | 21. Nydia Velázquez (55): 65% | 42. Ed Case (106): 55% |
| | 22. Marc Veasey (40): 65% | 43. Judy Chu (129): 54% |
| | 23. Ruben Gallego (20): 65% | 44. Raja Krishnamoorthi (17): 53% |
| | 23. Stacey Plaskett (20): 65% | 45. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (364): 51% |
| | 25. Terri Sewell (51): 65% | 46. Jim Costa (74): 49% |
| | 26. Jenniffer González-Colón (11): 64% | 47. Danny Davis (167): 49% |
| | 27. Gregory Meeks (213): 63% | 48. Dina Titus (99): 48% |
| | 28. Pete Aguilar (30): 63% | 49. Bennie Thompson (184): 48% |
| | 29. Nancy Pelosi (109): 62% | 50. Eleanor Holmes Norton (381): 48% |
| | 30. Sheila Jackson Lee (197): 61% | |
| | 31. Alan Lowenthal (134): 61% | |

51. Drew Ferguson (21): 48%
52. Zoe Lofgren (200): 48%
53. Adam Schiff (210): 46%
54. Brad Sherman (373): 46%
55. Raúl Grijalva (131): 45%
56. Bobby Rush (168): 45%
57. Steve Cohen (150): 44%
58. Ted Lieu (66): 44%
59. Barbara Lee (183): 44%
60. Doris Matsui (202): 43%
61. Steven Horsford (91): 43%
62. Bonnie Watson Coleman (69): 42%
63. Jackie Speier (139): 42%
64. Jerry McNerney (270): 41%
65. Raul Ruiz (90): 41%
66. Ami Bera (88): 41%
67. Vicente González (13): 38%
68. Bill Pascrell (273): 38%
69. Anthony Brown (29): 38%
70. Dwight Evans (24): 38%
71. Bobby Scott (243): 37%
72. Ken Calvert (497): 37%
73. Ted Deutch (165): 37%
74. Randy Weber (72): 36%
75. Jim Clyburn (207): 35%
76. Scott Peters (105): 35%
77. Alcee Hastings (205): 35%
78. Alma Adams (61): 34%
79. Lloyd Doggett (324): 32%
80. John Carter (423): 32%
81. Adam Smith (464): 32%
82. Jerry Nadler (126): 32%
83. Julia Brownley (186): 32%
84. Dutch Ruppersberger (274): 31%
85. Darren Soto (29): 31%
86. Marcia Fudge (107): 31%
87. Anna Eshoo (356): 30%
88. Lois Frankel (73): 30%
89. John Garamendi (232): 30%
90. Frank Pallone (400): 29%
91. Buddy Carter (79): 29%
92. Emanuel Cleaver (258): 29%
93. Mike Johnson (28): 29%
94. Kathy Castor (229): 28%
95. Kathleen Rice (66): 27%
96. Kevin McCarthy (251): 27%
97. Rob Wittman (425): 26%
98. Joyce Beatty (38): 26%
99. Richard Hudson (123): 26%
100. Carolyn Maloney (127): 26%
101. Michael McCaul (307): 25%
102. Rick Allen (56): 25%
103. Val Demings (24): 25%
104. Donald McEachin (16): 25%
105. Andy Biggs (16): 25%
106. Gus Bilirakis (311): 25%
107. Mark DeSaulnier (49): 24%
108. André Carson (115): 24%
109. Mike Rogers (95): 24%
110. Katherine Clark (92): 24%
111. Bill Foster (201): 24%
112. Brian Babin (42): 24%
113. Ann Kirkpatrick (106): 24%
114. Sanford Bishop (314): 24%
115. Josh Gottheimer (30): 23%
116. Austin Scott (172): 23%
117. Debbie Dingell (56): 23%
118. Devin Nunes (341): 23%
119. Gerry Connolly (338): 23%
120. Dan Kildee (48): 23%
121. Clay Higgins (22): 23%
121. Jimmy Panetta (22): 23%
121. Ralph Norman (22): 23%
124. Doug LaMalfa (71): 23%
125. G.K. Butterfield (125): 22%
126. Tom O'Halleran (27): 22%
127. Dan Newhouse (32): 22%
128. Trent Kelly (32): 22%
129. Mike Thompson (325): 22%
130. Cheri Bustos (55): 22%
131. Jaime Herrera Beutler (190): 22%
132. John Sarbanes (306): 22%
133. Rick Larsen (373): 21%
134. Barry Loudermilk (80): 21%
135. Tom Rice (100): 21%
136. Roger Williams (146): 21%
137. Steven Palazzo (147): 20%
138. Bill Posey (194): 20%
139. Matt Cartwright (95): 20%
140. Stephanie Murphy (30): 20%
141. Ed Perlmutter (357): 20%
142. Brad Schneider (126): 20%
143. Jan Schakowsky (321): 20%
144. Gwen Moore (139): 19%
145. Suzan DelBene (103): 19%
146. Thomas Suozzi (58): 19%
147. Diana DeGette (387): 19%

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 148. Paul Tonko (171): 19% | 181. Michael Burgess (478): 15% | 213. Billy Long (127): 10% |
| 149. Jeff Duncan (114): 18% | 182. Mike Doyle (279): 15% | 214. John Curtis (30): 10% |
| 150. Pramila Jayapal (33): 18% | 183. Chris Stewart (84): 14% | 215. Scott Perry (131): 10% |
| 151. Salud Carbajal (22): 18% | 184. Brenda Lawrence (14): 14% | 216. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (264): 10% |
| 152. Sean Maloney (222): 18% | 185. Alex Mooney (58): 14% | 217. Don Bacon (51): 10% |
| 153. Mo Brooks (162): 18% | 186. Matt Gaetz (29): 14% | 218. Brian Mast (31): 10% |
| 154. Donald Norcross (73): 18% | 187. Steve Scalise (185): 14% | 219. Mike Simpson (500): 10% |
| 155. Kay Granger (427): 18% | 188. James Comer (37): 14% | 220. Joe Courtney (253): 9% |
| 156. Steny Hoyer (652): 18% | 189. Kevin Brady (535): 13% | 221. Vern Buchanan (288): 9% |
| 157. Paul Gosar (135): 18% | 190. John Larson (316): 13% | 222. Liz Cheney (43): 9% |
| 158. Tom McClintock (251): 18% | 191. Lisa Blunt Rochester (38): 13% | 223. Warren Davidson (54): 9% |
| 159. Mike Quigley (143): 17% | 192. Mark Amodei (191): 13% | 224. Bill Huizenga (121): 9% |
| 160. Darin LaHood (58): 17% | 193. Brett Guthrie (246): 13% | 225. Neal Dunn (33): 9% |
| 161. Joe Wilson (477): 17% | 194. Louie Gohmert (262): 13% | 226. Rodney Davis (79): 9% |
| 162. John Yarmuth (217): 17% | 195. David Rouzer (70): 13% | 227. Betty McCollum (365): 9% |
| 163. Gary Palmer (77): 17% | 196. Jim Himes (297): 13% | 228. Andy Harris (252): 9% |
| 164. Lee Zeldin (78): 17% | 197. Daniel Webster (95): 13% | 229. Jim McGovern (463): 9% |
| 165. Kurt Schrader (224): 17% | 198. Mark Pocan (72): 13% | 230. Seth Moulton (71): 8% |
| 166. Don Beyer (79): 16% | 199. Suzanne Bonamici (149): 12% | 231. Jim Jordan (249): 8% |
| 167. Garret Graves (67): 16% | 200. Jared Huffman (116): 12% | 232. Brian Fitzpatrick (36): 8% |
| 168. Bruce Westerman (43): 16% | 201. Mike Turner (349): 12% | 233. Frank Lucas (327): 8% |
| 169. David Schweikert (166): 16% | 202. Brian Higgins (220): 12% | 234. Ann McLane Kuster (97): 8% |
| 170. Tom Cole (394): 16% | 203. Ron Estes (34): 12% | 235. John Katko (62): 8% |
| 171. David Price (625): 16% | 204. Chris Smith (419): 12% | 236. Thomas Massie (164): 8% |
| 172. Doug Lamborn (323): 16% | 205. Brad Wenstrup (132): 11% | 237. Adrian Smith (177): 8% |
| 173. John Rutherford (38): 16% | 206. Derek Kilmer (91): 11% | 238. Fred Upton (343): 8% |
| 174. Jamie Raskin (51): 16% | 207. Elise Stefanik (75): 11% | 239. Steve Chabot (356): 8% |
| 175. Jim Cooper (269): 16% | 208. Mike Bost (47): 11% | 240. Peter DeFazio (357): 8% |
| 176. Rosa DeLauro (363): 15% | 209. Jodey Arrington (19): 11% | 241. Richard Neal (447): 8% |
| 177. Brendan Boyle (91): 15% | 210. Vicky Hartzler (124): 10% | 242. Tim Walberg (183): 8% |
| 178. Jody Hice (78): 15% | 211. Marcy Kaptur (452): 10% | 243. David Kustoff (53): 8% |
| 179. French Hill (66): 15% | 212. Trey Hollingsworth (29): 10% | 244. Andy Barr (148): 7% |
| 180. Don Young (680): 15% | | 245. Bill Keating (202): 7% |

246. Stephen Lynch (405): 7%
 247. Chellie Pingree (264): 7%
 248. Jackie Walorski (89): 7%
 249. Adam Kinzinger (76): 7%
 250. Sam Graves (216): 6%
 251. Glenn Grothman (62): 6%
 252. Markwayne Mullin (32): 6%
 253. Earl Blumenauer (197): 6%
 254. Chuck Fleischmann (135):
 6%
 255. Patrick McHenry (240): 6%
 256. Virginia Foxx (223): 6%
 257. Morgan Griffith (86): 6%
 258. Steve Stivers (190): 6%
 259. Blaine Luetkemeyer (175):
 6%
 260. Bob Latta (300): 6%
 261. Steve Womack (232): 6%
 262. Jeff Fortenberry (168): 5%
 263. Ken Buck (75): 5%
 264. Scott DesJarlais (132): 5%
 265. Jim Langevin (212): 5%
 266. Tim Ryan (237): 5%
 267. Dave Joyce (172): 5%

268. David Cicilline (130): 5%
 268. Larry Bucshon (130): 5%
 270. Tom Reed (184): 4%
 271. Bob Gibbs (116): 4%
 272. Peter Welch (308): 4%
 273. Ann Wagner (166): 4%
 274. Ted Budd (25): 4%
 275. Ron Kind (388): 4%
 276. Hal Rogers (163): 4%
 277. John Moolenaar (59): 3%
 278. Bill Johnson (121): 3%
 279. David McKinley (166): 3%
 280. Lloyd Smucker (38): 3%
 281. Glenn Thompson (233): 3%
 282. Jack Bergman (39): 3%
 283. Mike Kelly (162): 2%
 284. Tom Emmer (41): 2%
 285. Robert Aderholt (197): 2%
 286. Jim Banks (14): 0%
 287. Conor Lamb (16): 0%
 288. Charlie Crist (31): 0%
 289. Jason Smith (50): 0%
 290. Rick Crawford (60): 0%

10 Nominations or Fewer:

1. Jimmy Gomez (4): 100%
 2. Jennifer Wexton (2): 100%
 3. Nanette Barragán (8): 75%
 4. Adriano Espaillat (8): 63%
 5. Kevin Hern (5): 40%
 6. Joe Morelle (10): 20%
 6. Susan Wild (10): 20%
 8. Debbie Lesko (8): 13%
 9. Troy Balderson (9): 11%
 10. Jeff Van Drew (10): 10%
 10. Mary Gay Scanlon (10): 10%
 12. Michael Waltz (8): 0%
 13. Mike Gallagher (5): 0%
 14. Michael Cloud (4): 0%
 15. Carol Miller (1): 0%
 15. Lucy McBath (1): 0%

SENATE NOMINATORS

Senators ranked by proportion of nominations granted to students of color:

Nominator (Total Nominations):
% Nominees of Color

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Brian Schatz (97): 66% | 23. John Cornyn (419): 20% | 56. Roy Blunt (124): 9% |
| 2. Mazie Hirono (68): 63% | 24. Dan Sullivan (87): 20% | 57. Jon Tester (237): 9% |
| 3. Martin Heinrich (75): 43% | 25. Tim Scott (80): 19% | 58. Gary Peters (50): 8% |
| 4. John Kennedy (20): 40% | 26. Roger Wicker (270): 18% | 59. Joni Ernst (50): 8% |
| 4. Tammy Duckworth (20): 40% | 27. Lisa Murkowski (287): 18% | 60. Tammy Baldwin (114): 8% |
| 6. Bob Menendez (236): 38% | 28. Chris Coons (110): 17% | 61. Mitch McConnell (348): 8% |
| 7. Dianne Feinstein (370): 38% | 29. Lindsey Graham (342): 17% | 62. Todd Young (26): 8% |
| 8. Catherine Cortez Masto (50): 36% | 30. Jerry Moran (111): 16% | 63. Shelley Moore Capito (52): 8% |
| 9. James Lankford (24): 33% | 31. Chris Murphy (69): 16% | 64. Jack Reed (286): 8% |
| 10. Kirsten Gillibrand (126): 32% | 32. Tom Cotton (70): 16% | 65. John Thune (221): 7% |
| 11. Cory Booker (60): 32% | 33. Tom Carper (290): 16% | 66. Sherrod Brown (265): 7% |
| 12. Tim Kaine (112): 30% | 34. Chris Van Hollen (20): 15% | 67. Rob Portman (128): 7% |
| 13. Elizabeth Warren (70): 30% | 35. Bill Cassidy (49): 14% | 68. John Hoeven (78): 6% |
| 14. Ben Cardin (198): 27% | 36. Richard Shelby (390): 14% | 69. Chuck Grassley (382): 6% |
| 15. Michael Bennet (232): 27% | 37. Mike Lee (138): 14% | 70. Susan Collins (356): 6% |
| 16. Ed Markey (60): 23% | 38. Richard Burr (291): 14% | 71. Jeanne Shaheen (204): 6% |
| 17. Chuck Schumer (388): 23% | 39. Pat Toomey (114): 13% | 72. Angus King (69): 6% |
| 18. Patty Murray (327): 23% | 40. Richard Blumenthal (137): 13% | 73. Joe Manchin (108): 6% |
| 19. Ted Cruz (80): 23% | 41. Jeff Merkley (146): 13% | 74. Sheldon Whitehouse (139): 5% |
| 20. Marco Rubio (125): 22% | 42. Bob Casey (226): 13% | 75. Tina Smith (20): 5% |
| 21. Maria Cantwell (342): 21% | 43. Thom Tillis (40): 13% | 76. Bernie Sanders (145): 5% |
| 22. Mark Warner (191): 21% | 44. Ron Wyden (312): 12% | 77. John Barrasso (171): 5% |
| | 45. Dick Durbin (446): 12% | 78. Patrick Leahy (332): 3% |
| | 46. Jim Risch (193): 11% | 79. Ben Sasse (70): 3% |
| | 47. Ron Johnson (164): 11% | 80. Maggie Hassan (20): 0% |
| | 48. Mike Crapo (374): 11% | 81. Mike Rounds (32): 0% |
| | 49. Amy Klobuchar (263): 11% | |
| | 50. Steve Daines (47): 11% | |
| | 51. Debbie Stabenow (454): 10% | |
| | 52. Deb Fischer (60): 10% | |
| | 53. John Boozman (137): 9% | |
| | 54. Rand Paul (99): 9% | |
| | 55. Jim Inhofe (369): 9% | |

10 Nominations or Fewer:

1. Cindy Hyde-Smith (10): 10%

APPENDIX C: URBAN AND RURAL NOMINATIONS TO STUDENTS OF COLOR, FULL LIST

HOUSE RURAL NOMINATORS

Representatives and Delegates in more rural districts ranked by proportion of nominations granted to students of color:

Nominator (Total Nominations):
% Nominees of Color

1. Filemon Vela (120): 80%
2. Terri Sewell (51): 65%
3. Henry Cuellar (156): 59%
4. Al Lawson (16): 56%
5. Ed Case (106): 55%
6. Bennie Thompson (165): 51%
7. Drew Ferguson (21): 48%
8. Jim Clyburn (175): 34%
9. John Carter (423): 32%
10. Buddy Carter (79): 29%
11. Mike Johnson (28): 29%
12. Randy Weber (41): 27%
13. Rob Wittman (425): 26%
14. Richard Hudson (123): 26%
15. Michael McCaul (307): 25%
16. Donald McEachin (16): 25%
17. Rick Allen (56): 25%
18. Sanford Bishop (284): 25%
19. Mike Rogers (95): 24%
20. Brian Babin (42): 24%
21. Ann Kirkpatrick (106): 24%
22. Austin Scott (172): 23%
23. Dan Kildee (48): 23%
24. Clay Higgins (22): 23%
24. Ralph Norman (22): 23%
26. Doug LaMalfa (71): 23%
27. G.K. Butterfield (125): 22%
28. Tom O'Halleran (27): 22%
29. Dan Newhouse (32): 22%
30. Trent Kelly (32): 22%
31. Cheri Bustos (55): 22%
32. Jaime Herrera Beutler (190): 22%
33. Rick Larsen (373): 21%
34. Tom Rice (100): 21%
35. Kevin McCarthy (143): 21%
36. Roger Williams (146): 21%
37. Steven Palazzo (147): 20%
38. Matt Cartwright (95): 20%
39. Devin Nunes (252): 19%
40. Kay Granger (380): 19%
41. Mike Thompson (246): 19%
42. Steny Hoyer (590): 19%
43. Jeff Duncan (114): 18%
44. Suzan DelBene (94): 18%
45. Sean Maloney (222): 18%
46. Mo Brooks (162): 18%
47. Paul Gosar (135): 18%
48. Tom McClintock (251): 18%
49. Darin LaHood (58): 17%
50. Joe Wilson (477): 17%

51. Gary Palmer (77): 17%
52. Kurt Schrader (224): 17%
53. Garret Graves (67): 16%
54. Bruce Westerman (43): 16%
55. Tom Cole (394): 16%
56. Don Young (622): 16%
57. Jody Hice (78): 15%
58. French Hill (66): 15%
59. Matt Gaetz (29): 14%
60. Alex Mooney (58): 14%
61. Kevin Brady (509): 14%
62. Steve Scalise (185): 14%
63. James Comer (37): 14%
64. Lisa Blunt Rochester (38): 13%
65. Mark Amodei (191): 13%
66. Brett Guthrie (246): 13%
67. Louie Gohmert (262): 13%
68. David Rouzer (70): 13%
69. Mark Pocan (72): 12%
70. Brian Higgins (139): 12%
71. Jared Huffman (116): 12%
72. Ron Estes (34): 12%
73. Brad Wenstrup (132): 11%
74. Derek Kilmer (91): 11%
75. Elise Stefanik (75): 11%
76. Mike Bost (47): 11%
77. Jodey Arrington (19): 11%
78. Vicky Hartzler (124): 10%
79. Trey Hollingsworth (29): 10%
80. Billy Long (127): 10%
81. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (264): 10%
82. Mike Simpson (500): 10%
83. Scott Perry (125): 10%
84. Joe Courtney (253): 9%
85. Liz Cheney (43): 9%
86. Warren Davidson (54): 9%
87. Bill Huizenga (121): 9%
88. Neal Dunn (33): 9%
89. Rodney Davis (79): 9%
90. Andy Harris (252): 9%
91. Jim Jordan (249): 8%
92. Ann McLane Kuster (97): 8%
93. Frank Lucas (319): 8%
94. Fred Upton (309): 8%
95. John Katko (62): 8%
96. Thomas Massie (164): 8%
97. Adrian Smith (177): 8%
98. Tim Walberg (183): 8%
99. Peter DeFazio (330): 8%
100. David Kustoff (53): 8%
101. Andy Barr (148): 7%
102. Chellie Pingree (264): 7%
103. Jackie Walorski (89): 7%
104. Adam Kinzinger (76): 7%
105. Sam Graves (216): 6%
106. Glenn Grothman (62): 6%
107. Markwayne Mullin (32): 6%
108. Steve Stivers (150): 6%
109. Chuck Fleischmann (135): 6%
110. Patrick McHenry (240): 6%
111. Virginia Foxx (223): 6%
112. Morgan Griffith (86): 6%
113. Blaine Luetkemeyer (175): 6%
114. Bob Latta (300): 6%
115. Steve Womack (232): 6%
116. Jeff Fortenberry (168): 5%
117. Ken Buck (75): 5%
118. Scott DesJarlais (132): 5%
119. Dave Joyce (172): 5%
120. Larry Bucshon (130): 5%
121. Tom Reed (184): 4%
122. Bob Gibbs (116): 4%
123. Peter Welch (308): 4%
124. Jim Langevin (120): 4%
125. Hal Rogers (147): 4%
126. Ron Kind (372): 4%
127. Ted Budd (25): 4%
128. John Moolenaar (59): 3%
129. Bill Johnson (121): 3%
130. David McKinley (166): 3%
131. Lloyd Smucker (38): 3%
132. Glenn Thompson (233): 3%
133. Jack Bergman (39): 3%
134. Mike Kelly (162): 2%
135. Tom Emmer (41): 2%
136. Robert Aderholt (188): 2%
137. Jim Banks (14): 0%
138. Jason Smith (50): 0%
139. Rick Crawford (60): 0%
140. Tim Ryan (149): 0%

HOUSE URBAN NOMINATORS

Representatives and Delegates in more urban districts ranked by proportion of nominations granted to students of color:

*Nominator (Total Nominations):
% Nominees of Color*

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Ro Khanna (14): 93% | 21. Eddie Bernice Johnson (270): 63% | 51. Steven Horsford (91): 43% |
| 2. Lou Correa (21): 86% | 22. Pete Aguilar (30): 63% | 52. Bonnie Watson Coleman (69): 42% |
| 3. Linda Sánchez (290): 78% | 23. Sheila Jackson Lee (182): 62% | 53. Jackie Speier (139): 42% |
| 4. Grace Meng (121): 78% | 24. Nydia Velázquez (50): 62% | 54. Raul Ruiz (90): 41% |
| 5. Juan Vargas (91): 77% | 25. Alan Lowenthal (134): 61% | 55. Jerry McNerney (270): 41% |
| 6. Maxine Waters (81): 77% | 26. Nancy Pelosi (103): 61% | 56. Ami Bera (88): 41% |
| 7. Karen Bass (52): 75% | 27. David Scott (315): 61% | 57. Bill Pascrell (265): 39% |
| 8. Lucille Roybal-Allard (108): 74% | 28. Robin Kelly (71): 61% | 58. Lloyd Doggett (172): 38% |
| 9. Grace Napolitano (178): 73% | 29. Joaquin Castro (60): 60% | 59. Anthony Brown (29): 38% |
| 10. Al Green (146): 73% | 30. Hank Johnson (254): 60% | 60. Ken Calvert (469): 38% |
| 11. Albio Sires (43): 72% | 31. Tony Cárdenas (52): 60% | 61. Dwight Evans (24): 38% |
| 12. Frederica Wilson (39): 72% | 32. Yvette Clarke (62): 58% | 62. Ted Deutch (165): 37% |
| 13. Hakeem Jeffries (35): 71% | 33. Eric Swalwell (93): 56% | 63. Bobby Scott (223): 36% |
| 14. Norma Torres (33): 70% | 34. Vicente González (9): 56% | 64. Scott Peters (105): 35% |
| 15. Donald Payne Jr. (130): 68% | 35. Judy Chu (129): 54% | 65. Alma Adams (61): 34% |
| 16. Mario Díaz-Balart (195): 67% | 36. Raja Krishnamoorthi (17): 53% | 66. Alcee Hastings (190): 34% |
| 17. Mark Takano (82): 66% | 37. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (364): 51% | 67. Jerry Nadler (112): 34% |
| 18. Marc Veasey (40): 65% | 38. Eleanor Holmes Norton (357): 49% | 68. Adam Smith (445): 33% |
| 19. Ruben Gallego (20): 65% | 39. Jim Costa (74): 49% | 69. Julia Brownley (186): 32% |
| 20. Gregory Meeks (213): 63% | 40. Dina Titus (99): 48% | 70. Dutch Ruppersberger (274): 31% |
| | 41. Danny Davis (159): 48% | 71. Frank Pallone (362): 31% |
| | 42. Brad Sherman (354): 47% | 72. Darren Soto (29): 31% |
| | 43. Raúl Grijalva (101): 47% | 73. Marcia Fudge (107): 31% |
| | 44. Adam Schiff (210): 46% | 74. John Garamendi (222): 31% |
| | 45. Zoe Lofgren (181): 46% | 75. Anna Eshoo (323): 30% |
| | 46. Bobby Rush (157): 45% | 76. Lois Frankel (73): 30% |
| | 47. Steve Cohen (150): 44% | 77. Emanuel Cleaver (258): 29% |
| | 48. Ted Lieu (66): 44% | 78. Kathy Castor (229): 28% |
| | 49. Barbara Lee (178): 43% | 79. Kathleen Rice (66): 27% |
| | 50. Doris Matsui (202): 43% | 80. Joyce Beatty (38): 26% |
| | | 81. Carolyn Maloney (118): 25% |
| | | 82. Val Demings (24): 25% |

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 83. Andy Biggs (16): 25% | 106. Pramila Jayapal (33): 18% | 127. Suzanne Bonamici (149): 12% |
| 84. Gus Bilirakis (311): 25% | 107. Donald Norcross (73): 18% | 128. Mike Turner (231): 12% |
| 85. Mark DeSaulnier (49): 24% | 108. Mike Quigley (143): 17% | 129. John Curtis (30): 10% |
| 86. André Carson (115): 24% | 109. John Yarmuth (217): 17% | 130. Marcy Kaptur (407): 10% |
| 87. Katherine Clark (92): 24% | 110. Lee Zeldin (78): 17% | 131. Don Bacon (51): 10% |
| 88. Bill Foster (201): 24% | 111. Don Beyer (79): 16% | 132. Brian Mast (31): 10% |
| 89. Josh Gottheimer (30): 23% | 112. David Schweikert (166): 16% | 133. Vern Buchanan (288): 9% |
| 90. Debbie Dingell (56): 23% | 113. Mike Doyle (247): 16% | 134. Betty McCollum (365): 9% |
| 91. Gerry Connolly (338): 23% | 114. John Rutherford (38): 16% | 135. Seth Moulton (71): 8% |
| 92. Jimmy Panetta (22): 23% | 115. Jamie Raskin (51): 16% | 136. Brian Fitzpatrick (36): 8% |
| 93. John Sarbanes (306): 22% | 116. Jim Cooper (263): 16% | 137. Steve Chabot (341): 8% |
| 94. Barry Loudermilk (80): 21% | 117. Brendan Boyle (91): 15% | 138. Richard Neal (228): 7% |
| 95. Paul Tonko (105): 21% | 118. Michael Burgess (478): 15% | 139. Bill Keating (202): 7% |
| 96. Bill Posey (194): 20% | 119. Daniel Webster (83): 14% | 140. Stephen Lynch (405): 7% |
| 97. Stephanie Murphy (30): 20% | 120. Rosa DeLauro (329): 14% | 141. Earl Blumenauer (181): 6% |
| 98. Ed Perlmutter (357): 20% | 121. Chris Stewart (84): 14% | 142. Jim McGovern (301): 5% |
| 99. Brad Schneider (126): 20% | 122. Brenda Lawrence (14): 14% | 143. David Cicilline (130): 5% |
| 100. Jan Schakowsky (321): 20% | 123. Doug Lamborn (168): 14% | 144. Ann Wagner (166): 4% |
| 101. Gwen Moore (139): 19% | 124. John Larson (316): 13% | 145. Conor Lamb (16): 0% |
| 102. Thomas Suozzi (58): 19% | 125. Jim Himes (297): 13% | 146. Charlie Crist (31): 0% |
| 103. Diana DeGette (344): 19% | 126. Chris Smith (369): 12% | |
| 104. David Price (340): 18% | | |
| 105. Salud Carbajal (22): 18% | | |

SENATE RURAL NOMINATORS

Senators in more rural states ranked by proportion of nominations granted to students of color:

*Nominator (Total Nominations):
% Nominees of Color*

1. John Kennedy (20): 40%
2. James Lankford (24): 33%
3. Dan Sullivan (87): 20%
4. Tim Scott (80): 19%
5. Roger Wicker (270): 19%
6. Lisa Murkowski (287): 18%
7. Lindsey Graham (342): 17%
8. Jerry Moran (111): 16%
9. Tom Cotton (70): 16%
10. Bill Cassidy (49): 14%
11. Richard Shelby (390): 14%
12. Richard Burr (291): 14%
13. Thom Tillis (40): 12%
14. Jim Risch (193): 11%
15. Ron Johnson (164): 11%
16. Mike Crapo (374): 11%
17. Amy Klobuchar (263): 11%
18. Steve Daines (47): 11%
19. Deb Fischer (60): 10%
20. John Boozman (137): 9%
21. Rand Paul (99): 9%
22. Jim Inhofe (369): 9%
23. Roy Blunt (124): 9%
24. Jon Tester (237): 9%
25. Joni Ernst (50): 8%
26. Tammy Baldwin (114): 8%
27. Mitch McConnell (348): 8%
28. Todd Young (26): 8%
29. Shelley Moore Capito (52): 8%
30. John Thune (221): 7%
31. John Hoeven (78): 6%
32. Chuck Grassley (382): 6%
33. Susan Collins (356): 6%
34. Jeanne Shaheen (204): 6%
35. Angus King (69): 6%
36. Joe Manchin (108): 6%
37. Tina Smith (20): 5%
38. Bernie Sanders (145): 5%
39. John Barrasso (171): 5%
40. Patrick Leahy (332): 3%
41. Ben Sasse (70): 3%
42. Maggie Hassan (20): 0%
43. Mike Rounds (32): 0%

SENATE URBAN NOMINATORS

Senators in more urban states ranked by proportion of nominations granted to students of color:

*Nominator (Total Nominations):
% Nominees of Color*

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Brian Schatz (97): 66% | 7. Catherine Cortez Masto (50): 36% | 24. Tom Carper (290): 16% |
| 2. Mazie Hirono (68): 63% | 8. Kirsten Gillibrand (126): 32% | 25. Chris Van Hollen (20): 15% |
| 3. Martin Heinrich (75): 43% | 9. Cory Booker (60): 32% | 26. Mike Lee (138): 14% |
| 4. Tammy Duckworth (20): 40% | 10. Tim Kaine (112): 30% | 27. Pat Toomey (114): 13% |
| 5. Bob Menendez (236): 38% | 11. Elizabeth Warren (70): 30% | 28. Richard Blumenthal (137): 13% |
| 6. Dianne Feinstein (370): 38% | 12. Ben Cardin (198): 27% | 29. Jeff Merkley (146): 13% |
| | 13. Michael Bennet (232): 27% | 30. Bob Casey (226): 13% |
| | 14. Ed Markey (60): 23% | 31. Ron Wyden (312): 12% |
| | 15. Chuck Schumer (388): 23% | 32. Dick Durbin (446): 12% |
| | 16. Patty Murray (327): 23% | 33. Debbie Stabenow (454): 11% |
| | 17. Ted Cruz (80): 22% | 34. Gary Peters (50): 8% |
| | 18. Marco Rubio (125): 22% | 35. Jack Reed (286): 7% |
| | 19. Maria Cantwell (342): 21% | 36. Sherrod Brown (265): 7% |
| | 20. Mark Warner (191): 21% | 37. Rob Portman (128): 7% |
| | 21. John Cornyn (419): 20% | 38. Sheldon Whitehouse (139): 5% |
| | 22. Chris Coons (110): 17% | |
| | 23. Chris Murphy (69): 16% | |

APPENDIX D: METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

SUPPLEMENT TO CODING OF RACE AND ETHNICITY DATA

The most significant discrepancy among the academies' admissions data is the coding of race and ethnicity associated with congressional nominations. Each academy uses different racial and ethnic categories to describe nominees. Table 1 provides an overview of the various racial categories each academy employs.

^A USMA used the category "White" in its 2015 FOIA production and "White (Caucasian)" in 2019.

^B USMA used the category "Black" in its 2015 FOIA production and "Black or African American" in 2019.

^C USAFA used the category "Asian / Pacific Islander" until 2009. From 2009 to 2015, the Academy's data includes separate "Asian" and "Pacific Islander" categories.

^D USMA used the category "American Indi" in its 2015 FOIA production and "American Indian or Alaska Native" in 2019.

TABLE 1: RACE CATEGORIES EMPLOYED BY MILITARY SERVICE ACADEMY

Race Category Label	USMA	USNA	USAFA
"Caucasian" ^A	X	X	
"White (Caucasian)" ^A	X		
"Non-minority"			X
"Black or African American" ^B	X		
"Black" ^B	X		
"African American"		X	X
"Hispanic"	X	X	X
"Asian"	X		X
"Asian / Pacific Islander" ^C			X
"Asian American"		X	
"American Indi" ^D	X		
"American Indian or Alaska Native" ^D	X		
"Native American"		X	X
"Pacific Islander"			X
"Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander"	X		
"Multiple Response"		X	
"Declined to Respond"		X	
"Unknown"	X	X	
"Other"	X	X	

CVLC sorted the data into eight racial categories as follows:

1. “White” – Includes “White (Caucasian)” and “Caucasian”
2. “Hispanic” – Includes only “Hispanic”
3. “Asian” – Includes “Asian”, “Asian American”, and “Asian / Pacific Islander”
4. “Black” – Includes “Black or African American”, “African American”, and “Black”
5. “American Indian or Alaska Native” – Includes “American Indi”, “Native American”, and “American Indian or Alaska Native”
6. “Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander” – Includes “Pacific Islander” and “Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander”
7. “Unknown” – Includes only “Unknown”
8. “Other” – Includes only “Other”

This report presents the data using the following categories: “White”, “Black”, “Hispanic”, and “Asian / Pacific Islander”. The “Asian / Pacific Islander” group includes both “Asian” and “Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander” data from the above categories. Due to a lack of data, the report excludes the remaining categories—“American Indian or Alaska Native”, “Unknown”, and “Other”. Although federal data standards classify Hispanic as an ethnicity, not a race, the USNA and USAFA datasets did not distinguish a “Hispanic” category separate from the race categories, while USMA included “Hispanic” in its race classification and “Other Hispanic Descent” in its ethnicity classification. Because this report relies entirely on the data produced by the academies, this report considers “Hispanic” nominations alongside “White”, “Black”, and “Asian/Pacific Islander” nominations.

Only one of the three academies, USMA, reports ethnicity alongside race, raising questions about the academies’ coding of race and ethnicity data. Because USMA reports a wide range of race and ethnicity combinations with no category for multiple racial or ethnic identities, USMA might be improperly coding nominations for students of two or more races. For example, there are several hundred nominations listing ethnicities associated with indigenous groups (e.g., “Aleut,” “Eskimo,” “Other Pacific Islands Descent,” “Micronesian,” “Melanesian,” and “US/Canadian Indian Tribes”) that are race-coded only as “White.”

Like the other academies, USMA used “Hispanic” as a racial label. But it also produced several hundred nominations listing “White” race alongside Hispanic or Latinx ethnicities, including “Latin American with Hispanic Descent”, “Other Hispanic Descent”, “Mexican”, “Puerto Rican”, and “Cuban.” This report’s analysis uses Census data to determine the demographics of each state and congressional district, drawing from the Census category “White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino” for demographic comparisons to white populations. Thus, USMA’s data categories do not align with the comparator Census categories.

Consequently, this report has not attempted to draw conclusions about nominees’ race based on ethnicity data. To correct the mismatch between the USMA data and the “White Alone, Not Hispanic or Latino” Census category, this report’s analysis excludes 289 USMA nominations coded with “White” race and “Latin American with Hispanic Descent”, “Other Hispanic Descent”, “Mexican”, “Puerto Rican”, or “Cuban” ethnicity.

SUPPLEMENT TO CODING OF NOMINATORS AND NOMINATIONS

Each academy’s dataset also uses different conventions for naming each congressional nominator, describing which district each nominator represents, and identifying the year in which each nomination occurs. Table 2 details these discrepancies.

USNA data do not identify Senators by name; rather, they label each state’s Senators “Senator 1” and “Senator 2.” Further, the data do not specify which Senator is “Senator 1” and which Senator is “Senator 2” in any given year. When CVLC administratively appealed this response, USNA claimed that it does not have records indicating which Senator nominated which candidates in past years. Because USNA neither provides the names of congressional nominators nor lists nomination dates uniformly, it is impossible to know whether a nomination coded “2017” was submitted by an outgoing member of the 114th Congress or an incoming member of the 115th Congress in those districts that changed members after the 2016 election. It is possible that nominations submitted by the outgoing members of the 115th Congress at the end of 2016 are coded for the following year when processed by academy admissions offices.

Because USNA represents that it does not have records to identify which of a state’s Senators was “Senator 1” or “Senator 2” prior to 2018-2019,¹¹⁹ to avoid misattribution, this report’s rankings exclude Senate nominations for USNA. The rankings also exclude all USNA nominators’ first year in office to avoid misattribution

TABLE 2: NOMINATOR IDENTIFICATION METHOD BY MILITARY SERVICE ACADEMY

	USMA	USNA	USAFA
Listed First and Last Name of Congressional Nominator	X		X
Listed Congressional District Number (without name)		X	
Identified Names of Nominating Senators	X		X
Coded Senate Nominations with “Senator 1” and “Senator 2”		X	
Date of nomination = year of submission (i.e., most recent: 2019)	X ^A	^B	X
Date of nomination = class year applied for (i.e., most recent: 2023)		^B	X

^A After several months of analyzing data, it became apparent that USMA had produced mislabeled datasets in response to CVLC’s 2019 FOIA request. USMA had labeled its 2019 FOIA response by date of submission when the data in fact corresponded to “class year applied for.” The data coded “2018” was identical to a dataset USMA had labeled “2014” in response to previous FOIA requests. After this was brought to the Department of Defense’s attention, USMA provided updated datasets several weeks later.

^B USNA provided two separate spreadsheets: one by year of nomination and one by year of submission. The numbers on these two spreadsheets did not align.

of nominations by outgoing Members that may have been counted by the USNA admissions office in January of the next calendar year or in the months following a special election. This report’s rankings also exclude all USNA nominators’ first year in office to avoid misattribution of nominations by outgoing Members that may have been counted by the USNA admissions office in January of the next calendar year or in the months following a special election.

REFERENCES

1. See James Dao, *Major Military Academies Report Significant Rise in Applicants*, N.Y. TIMES (June 17, 2009), <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/18/education/18academies.html> [https://perma.cc/KM3V-VT97]. This report focuses on the military academies, which are a part of the Department of Defense. The other two federal service academies, the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and U.S. Coast Guard Academy, use different nominations processes and are part of the Departments of Transportation and of Homeland Security, respectively. For the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, a U.S. Representative can nominate a candidate who resides in a district other than their own, as long as the district is still within the nominator's state. For the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, congressional nominations are neither required nor considered. *Apply for a Nomination*, U.S. MERCH. MARINE ACAD., <https://www.usmma.edu/admissions/applynomination> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [https://perma.cc/4T8C-NDD4]; *Admissions*, U.S. COAST GUARD ACAD., <https://www.uscga.edu/admissions/> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [https://perma.cc/992J-MLWL]. This report also does not address the Senior Military Colleges, such as the Citadel, Norwich University, or Virginia Military Institute, which offer similar military training but through a Reserve Officers' Training Corps program. See 10 U.S.C. §2111a(f).
2. This report focuses only on congressional nominations to the military service academies—one important path among many to the officer corps. The service academies commission nearly 20% of the officer corps and produce an even higher proportion of general officers. Further research and reforms are needed to examine the lack of diversity in the officer corps at large and in other sources of commission, including the Reserve Officer Training Corps, Officer Candidate School, and direct appointment.
3. In 2018-2019, the twelve-month enrollment for each academy was as follows: USNA – 7% Black, 12% Hispanic, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, 63% white; USMA – 12% Black, 10% Hispanic, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, 63% white; USAFA – 6% Black, 11% Hispanic, 6% Asian or Pacific Islander, 63% white. U.S. Dep't of Ed. Nat'l Ctr. For Ed. Stat., *Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), 2018-2019 12-Month Enrollment*, <https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/datacenter/institutionlist.aspx?stepId=1> (last visited March 5, 2021) [https://perma.cc/99HP-M66E].
4. CONN. VETERANS LEGAL CTR., *GATEKEEPERS TO OPPORTUNITY: GENDER DISPARITIES IN CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS TO THE MILITARY SERVICE ACADEMIES* (2019), https://law.yale.edu/sites/default/files/area/clinic/document/gatekeepers_to_opportunity_-_gender_disparities_in_congressional_nominations_to_the_military_service_academies_7.26.19.pdf#page=10 [https://perma.cc/2R5N-EPXN].
5. This report analyzes the racial and ethnic composition of the congressional nominations, and follows CVLC's previous report examining gender disparities in academy nominations. Further research is necessary on other metrics of diversity such as sexuality and gender identity. This research is especially imperative because of the often violent discrimination that sexual and gender minorities can experience during their service. See, e.g., Kerry Beckman et al., *Military Sexual Assault in Transgender Veterans: Results From a Nationwide Survey*, 31 J. TRAUMA & STRESS 181 (2018); Sitaji Gurung et al., *Prevalence of Military Sexual Trauma and Sexual Orientation Discrimination Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Military Personnel: A Descriptive Study*, 15 SEXUALITY RES. & SOC. POL'Y 74 (2018).
6. See 10 U.S.C. §§ 7442 (USMA), 8454 (USNA), and 9442 (USAFA). The President is the ultimate appointment authority at each of the academies. 10 U.S.C. §§7441a (USMA), 8453 (USNA), and 9441a (USAFA).

7. This report uses the term “Hispanic,” which is the only identifier of Hispanic or Latinx identity reported in two of the academies’ datasets. Likewise, due to data constrictions, the report uses “Asian or Pacific Islander” to aggregate data across several subcategories. These data limitation may hide disparities between different communities. For a more detailed overview of racial and ethnic categories in the academies’ data, see Appendix D.
8. See, e.g., Meghann Myers & Leo Shane III, *The Military Knows It Has a Problem With Domestic Extremists, White Supremacists*, MILITARY TIMES (Jan. 14, 2021), <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/your-military/2021/01/14/the-military-knows-it-has-a-problem-with-domestic-extremists-white-supremacists/> [https://perma.cc/7G2F-JQ4R] (finding that about one-third of active duty respondents to a Military Times Survey saw signs of white supremacist or racist ideology in the ranks).
9. The datasets provided by the military service academies contained fewer than ten nominations for 16 Representatives and 1 Senator, listed in Appendix B. Because of their small nominations pools, the report excludes these Members from the individual rankings. However, the report’s analyses of current Members’ aggregate nominating practices does include these Members’ nominations. 131 Representatives who have taken office since 2018 were not included in the datasets CVLC received from the military service academies. CVLC’s analysis also excludes 18 Senators: 13 Senators who have entered office since 2018 and do not appear in the academy’s datasets, and 5 Senators whose names appear in the datasets but who previously served in the House and were elected to the Senate in or after 2019. The individual rankings detailed in the Nominations Relative to District Demographics section and Appendix A include all House nominators with 10 or more nominations.
10. Hearing to Examine the Expected Nomination of Lloyd J. Austin III, to be Secretary of Defense, Senate Armed Services Committee, 117 Cong. 112 (2021) (Gen. Lloyd J. Austin Advance Policy Questions).
11. Brief for Lt. Gen. Julius W. Becton, et al. as Amici Curiae Supporting Respondent at 15, *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex.*, 570 U.S. 297 (2013) (No.11-345), 2012 WL 3578590 [hereinafter Fisher Brief].
12. U.S. DEP’T DEF., *Population Representation in the Military Services Report 2017* app. B at 89 tbl. B-32 (2017), [https://prhome.defense.gov/Portals/52/Documents/MRA_Docs/MPP/AP/poprep/2017/Appendix%20B%20-%20\(Active%20Component\).pdf](https://prhome.defense.gov/Portals/52/Documents/MRA_Docs/MPP/AP/poprep/2017/Appendix%20B%20-%20(Active%20Component).pdf) [https://perma.cc/86NF-XZPZ].
13. 131—or 44%—of the projected 297 Air Force general officers for 2018 were USAFA graduates. See Ray Bowden, *The Breakdown: The Stats on USAFA’s Class of 2018*, U.S. A.F. ACAD. (May 21, 2018), <http://www.usafa.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/1527549/the-breakdown-the-stats-on-usafas-class-of-2018/> [https://perma.cc/U5DZ-3XQR]; Dept. of the Air Force, *Fiscal Year (FY) 2018 Budget Estimates*, MIL. PERS. APPROPRIATION 14 (May 2017), <http://www.saffm.hq.af.mil/Portals/84/documents/Air%20Force%20Military%20Personnel,%20FY18.pdf?ver=2017-05-23-154115-183> [https://perma.cc/MLB2-TXDM].
14. As is still the case today, much of the historical data on race in the academies is understudied or unavailable. In particular, during periods where non-Black cadets of color were segregated or else deemed “Black” or “white,” their history is obscured.
15. *A Brief History of West Point*, U.S. MIL. ACAD. WEST POINT, <https://westpoint.edu/about/history-of-west-point> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [https://perma.cc/5W9L-Y9WE].
16. *A Brief History of USNA*, U.S. NAVAL ACAD., <https://www.usna.edu/USNAHistory/History.php> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [https://perma.cc/D4HM-5W4G?type=image].
17. *Air Force Academy History*, U.S. A.F. ACAD., (Jan. 18, 2012), <https://www.usafa.af.mil/News/FactSheets/Display/Article/428274/air-force-academy-history/> [https://perma.cc/5H48-AJXF].
18. *A Brief History of West Point*, supra note 15.
19. Nelson Hernandez, *Presidents on the Podium*, WASH. POST (May 24, 2001), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2001/05/24/presidents-on-the-podium/4e76eb6e-2620-496f-9f6b-127830690927/> [https://perma.cc/966WZXDK?type=image].
20. KRISTY N. KAMARCK, CONG. RSCH. SERV., R44321, DIVERSITY, INCLUSION, AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ARMED SERVS. 12 (2019) (citing MORRIS J. MACGREGOR, JR., INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES 1940-1965 4 (1981)).
21. Susan D. Hansen, *The Racial History of the U.S. Military Academies*, 26 J. BLACKS HIGHER EDUC. 111, 113-4 (1999-2000).
22. *Id.* at 115, 116.

23. *Id.* at 13.
24. *Id.*
25. *Id.* at 114.
26. Jimmy Byrn and Gabe Royal, *What Should West Point Do About Its Robert E. Lee Problem?*, MOD. WAR INST. AT WEST POINT (June 22, 2020), <https://mwi.usma.edu/west-point-robert-e-lee-problem/> [https://perma.cc/32ZA-TBDR].
27. Kamarck, *supra* note 20, at 14.
28. Fisher Brief at 9.
29. Hansen, *supra* note 21 at 113.
30. *Id.* at 115.
31. *Id.*
32. *Id.* at 112.
33. Helene Cooper, *African-Americans Are Highly Visible in the Military, but Almost Invisible at the Top*, N.Y. TIMES (May 25, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/25/us/politics/military-minorities-leadership.html?referringSource=articleShare> [https://perma.cc/6E8A-GAYC].
34. Kamarck, *supra* note 20, at 20.
35. *Id.* The demographic statistics cited in this paragraph are for the U.S. population ages 16-64. The U.S. population statistics cited in this report's data analysis section are for ages 18-24.
36. *Id.*
37. *Id.*
38. *Id.* at 21 .
39. Bishop Garrison, *Challenges to Improving Racial Representation in the Military*, CTR. FOR NEW AM. SEC. (Aug. 12, 2020), <https://www.cnas.org/publications/commentary/challenges-to-improving-racial-representation-in-the-military> [https://perma.cc/F8G4-7M9J].
40. Leo Shane, *Signs of White Supremacy, Extremism Up Again in Poll of Active-Duty Troops*, MILITARY TIMES (Feb. 6, 2020), <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2020/02/06/signs-of-white-supremacy-extremism-up-again-in-poll-of-active-duty-troops/> [https://perma.cc/RPX6-YRK5]; Myers & Shane, *supra* note 8.
41. While none of the academies fully reflects the nation's diversity, USAFA and USNA have shown less progress than USMA in increasing the representation of Black cadets and midshipmen. USAFA's 2010-2011 twelve-month enrollment was 6% Black, 8% Hispanic, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, and 75% White. In 2018-2019, USAFA cadets were 6% Black, 11% Hispanic, 6% Asian or Pacific Islander, and 63% white. Similarly, USNA's 2010-2011 enrollment was 6% Black, 12% Hispanic, 5% Asian or Pacific Islander, shifting only slightly in 2018-19 to 7% Black, 12% Hispanic, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, and 63% White. USMA has seen the largest rise in Black cadets—in 2010-11, USMA's twelve-month enrollment was 6% Black, 8% Hispanic, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, and 75% white. In 2018-19, USMA was 12% Black, 10% Hispanic, 8% Asian or Pacific Islander, 63% white. U.S. Dep't of Ed. Nat'l Ctr. For Ed. Stat., *Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), 2010-19 12-Month Enrollment*, <https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/datacenter/institutionlist.aspx?stepId=1> (last visited March 5, 2021) [https://perma.cc/KU53-C8TV].
42. White students, who made up 63% of each academy's cadets or midshipmen in 2018-2019, see *id.*, are overrepresented in the academies relative to the U.S. population of young adults aged 18-24, which is 54% white, and U.S. enrollment at four-year undergraduate institutions, which is 53% white. U.S. DEP'T OF ED., *THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION 2020*, NAT'L CTR. FOR ED. STATS. 141 (2020), <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2020/2020144.pdf> [https://perma.cc/FK2Y-L4DN].
43. *Id.*
44. This report focuses on the impact of racial and ethnic discrimination, but intersectionality can have compounding effects on the discrimination students face in the academies and in the military. See, e.g., Vanessa Meade, *Embracing Diverse Women Veteran Narratives: Intersectionality and Women Veteran's Identity*, 6 J. VETERANS STUD. 47 (2020).

45. Jennifer-Leigh Oprihory, *Silveria: More Work to Do to Curb Racism, Sexual Assault at USAFA*, A.F. MAG. (Aug. 17, 2020), <https://www.airforcemag.com/silveria-more-work-to-do-to-curb-racism-sexual-assault-at-usafa/> [https://perma.cc/EGC2-2RR6].
46. *Naval Academy Alumni Trustee Resigns After Accidentally Streaming Racist Comments*, NBC WASH. (June 9, 2020), <https://www.nbcwashington.com/news/local/naval-academy-alumni-trustee-resigns-after-accidentally-streaming-racist-comments/2325541/> [https://perma.cc/64FB-NVGC]; See also Heather Mongilio, *Naval Academy Rescinds Offer of Appointment for Maryland Student Who Wrote Racist Messages*, CAP. GAZETTE (June 22, 2020), <https://www.capitalgazette.com/education/naval-academy/ac-cn-naval-academy-racism-20200622-hpcynfklefeebgukwu3pk573p4-story.html> [https://perma.cc/FB4N-R9EV].
47. David Bindon et al., *Policy Proposal: An Anti-Racist West Point* (2020), <https://s3.amazonaws.com/static.militarytimes.com/assets/pdfs/1594132558.pdf>; See also Edgar Chen & Barry Robinson, *Déjà vu All Over Again: Racial Disparities in the Military Justice System*, JUST SEC. (Sept. 14, 2020), <https://www.justsecurity.org/72424/deja-vu-all-over-again-racial-disparity-in-the-military-justice-system/>; Kyle Rempfer, *West Point Superintendent Says He's Taking Action on Racism Highlighted By Nine Recent Cadets*, ARMY TIMES (Sept. 3, 2020), <https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2020/09/03/west-point-superintendent-says-hes-taking-action-on-racism-highlighted-by-nine-recent-cadets/> [https://perma.cc/Y7C4-WDNW].
48. Emily Cochrane, *West Point Cadet, Simone Askew, Breaks a Racial and Gender Barrier*, N.Y. TIMES (Aug. 14, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/14/us/west-point-black-female-first.html> [https://perma.cc/7YDV-VQRM].
49. *Id.*
50. John Ismay, *Black Woman, for First Time, Will Lead Midshipmen at the U.S. Naval Academy*, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 10, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/10/us/sydney-barber-navy-brigade.html> [https://perma.cc/NWG7-D5V8].
51. Fisher Brief at 1.
52. 10 U.S.C. § 8451 (2020); 10 U.S.C. § 7431 (2020); 10 U.S.C. § 9431 (2020).
53. R. ERIC PETERSEN & SARAH J. ECKMAN, CONG. RESEARCH SERV., RL33213, CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS TO U.S. SERVICE ACADEMIES: AN OVERVIEW AND RESOURCES FOR OUTREACH AND MANAGEMENT 5 (2017).
54. For a more detailed overview of each Service Academy's admissions requirements, see *How do I Apply*, U.S. AIR FORCE ACAD., <https://www.academyadmissions.com/apply/> (last visited Mar. 5, 2021) [https://perma.cc/5T3J-E69F]; *Steps for Admission*, U.S. NAVAL ACAD., <https://www.usna.edu/Admissions/Apply/index.php#panel9-Steps-for> (last visited Mar. 5, 2021) [https://perma.cc/4LEG-WFRC]; *The 8 Steps of Applying to West Point*, U.S. MIL. ACAD. WEST POINT (2021), <https://www.westpoint.edu/admissions/steps-to-admission> (last visited Mar. 5, 2021) [https://perma.cc/H5L4-ULK5].
55. 100 annual appointments are reserved for recipients of service-connected nominations awarded by the President to children of active-duty service members who serve for at least eight years or missing, 100% disabled, or deceased armed forces veterans. The President may also nominate and appoint an unlimited number of children of Medal of Honor winners. Graduates of schools designated as honor schools by any military branch and the Reserve Officer Training Corps may also receive service-connected nominations. The following authorities may also nominate a limited number of students without service connections to the academies: Vice President (nominations to fill 5 appointments); service academy Superintendent (50 at-large nominations); service academy superintendent (50 at large); Governor of Puerto Rico (1). PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 53, at 7.
56. For the appointment, number, and territorial distribution statutory requirements of the military service academies, see 10 U.S.C. §§ 7442 (USMA), 8454 (USNA), and 9442 (USAFA).
57. Indeed, there are indicators that political patronage can benefit nominees under the existing system. See Gregory Korte & Fredreka Schouten, *Pride and Patronage: How Members of Congress Use a Little-Known Power to Shape the Military and Help Their Constituents*, USA TODAY (Sept. 15, 2014, 1:23 PM), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2014/09/15/service-academies-congress-nomination-army-navy/15452669/> [https://perma.cc/7D2H-8HHT] (finding that nominations sometimes go to children of friends, political supporters, and campaign donors)
58. *Id.* at 5.
59. For the appointment, number, and territorial distribution statutory requirements of the military service academies, see 10 U.S.C. §§ 7442 (USMA), 8454 (USNA), and 9442 (USAFA).

60. *Apply to USNA*, U.S. NAVAL ACAD., <https://www.usna.edu/Admissions/Apply/Nomination-Sources.php> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [<https://perma.cc/B5BA-KRRL>].
61. *Academy Nominations*, SEN. KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND, <https://www.gillibrand.senate.gov/help/academy-nominations> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [<https://perma.cc/Q29D-5NXL>].
62. *Academy Nominations*, SEN. MARCO RUBIO, <https://www.rubio.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/academy-nominations> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [<https://perma.cc/L82B-D7NX>].
63. *Service Academy Nominations*, REP. JOHN CARTER, <https://carter.house.gov/service-academy-nominations> (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [<https://perma.cc/T3WD-CE9M>].
64. PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 53, at 2.
65. James Dao, *Survival of the Fittest*, N.Y. TIMES (July 23, 2010), <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/25/education/edlife/25guidance-t.html> [<https://perma.cc/4KUL-DPUF>].
66. *Id.*
67. *Id.*
68. PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 53, at 2.
69. *Id.*
70. *Id.* at 5.
71. Korte & Schouten, *supra* note 57.
72. *Id.*
73. Congressional Guide 2016: Admission to the United States Military Service Academies, WEST POINT 7 (2016), [https://www.westpoint.edu/sites/default/files/pdfs/ADMISSIONS/Congressional%20Guide%20\(2016\).pdf](https://www.westpoint.edu/sites/default/files/pdfs/ADMISSIONS/Congressional%20Guide%20(2016).pdf).
74. OFF. OF MGMT. & BUDGET, Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity, 62 Fed. Reg. 58,782 (Oct. 30, 1997).
75. Throughout this report's data analysis, references to "U.S. population" demographics refer to values for 18- to 24-year-old individuals—the age group encompassing most service academy nominees, cadets, and midshipmen—drawn from American Community Survey 5-year estimates.
76. Jonathan Chait, *The Senate Is America's Most Structurally Racist Institution*, N.Y. MAG. INTELLIGENCER (Aug. 10, 2020), <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/08/senate-washington-dc-puerto-rico-statehood-filibuster-obama-biden-racist.html> [<https://perma.cc/SU8P-E8F4>].
77. See, e.g., Kim Soffen, *How Racial Gerrymandering Deprives Black People of Political Power*, WASH. POST (June 9, 2016), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/06/09/how-a-widespread-practice-to-politically-empower-african-americans-might-actually-harm-them/> [<https://perma.cc/WF4R-H55P>].
78. The PANORAMA Act requires the Department of Defense to collect demographic data at most stages of the academy application process but will not provide insights about students who apply for a congressional nomination (or multiple congressional nominations). To accurately assess the pool of students who apply for congressional nominations, the Department of Defense should track the demographics of all students who apply for nominations. For more detailed proposals, see the Recommendations section.
79. While data are not available to show where or whether the racial and ethnic demographics of congressional nomination applicant pools differ greatly from those of the general population, any such difference might imply that congressional offices or the academies themselves should be making stronger efforts to reach out to members of underrepresented communities. For instance, if very few students of color apply to a congressional office in a district that is fairly diverse, that office should devote resources to improving its outreach and recruiting. For more specific reforms individual offices can adopt, see the Recommendations section.
80. Some Members may serve in districts or states where external factors have constrained applicants from some communities. For instance, in some districts, fewer students of color might apply due to a history of systemic exclusion that predates a Member's

tenure. In these cases, nominations disparities might not reflect a Member's poor practices, but the numbers should serve as a useful tool to help identify and close gaps where they exist.

81. Note that there is some dependence between points that belong to the same representative during the same Congress (i.e. if a representative in the 112th Congress far over-represented one group, they must have under-represented at least one of the other groups during the 112th Congress). These points are randomly assigned horizontally within their group to prevent over-plotting: horizontal position within a group has no significance. The box plot for each group is super-imposed over the points (the black points are the outliers repeated by the box plot). The average difference in these proportions for each group is not the same (ANOVA p-value < 2.2e-16 for the House data). A similar trend emerges in the Senate, but whether the data satisfies ANOVA assumptions is more questionable (variance differences among groups are larger).
82. Urban and rural classifications are derived from a state or district's rural population proportion as reported in Census data. For more detail, see Methodology Section IV.
83. Kim Parker et al., *What Unites and Divides Urban, Suburban and Rural Communities*, PEW RESEARCH CTR. 17 (May 22, 2018), <https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2018/05/22/demographic-and-economic-trends-in-urban-suburban-and-rural-communities/> [https://perma.cc/HA43-658B].
84. Republicans are more heavily represented in the rural classification and Democrats make up the majority of the urban category. In the Senate, 80% of rural nominators were Republicans, while 84% of urban nominators were Democrats. In the House, Republicans comprised 76% of rural nominators while Democrats accounted for 85% of urban nominators.
85. National Defense Authorization Act of 2021, Pub. L. No. 116-283, §575, 134 Stat. 3388, 3645-3647 (2021).
86. See 10 U.S.C. §9442 (USAFA); 10 U.S.C. § 8454 (USNA); and 10 U.S.C. § 7442 (USMA). In the executive branch, the Vice President may also award five nominations to students selected from the nation at large—but only 5 Vice Presidential nominees may attend each academy at a given time, so only one or two Vice Presidential vacancies typically open each year. The President may also allocate nominations to children of certain career military personnel (nominations to fill 100 annual appointments) or of Medal of Honor recipients (unlimited presidential nominations and appointments).
87. In considering race, ethnicity, and gender in nomination and appointment decisions, the Department would also need to take account of constitutional equal protection requirements. See *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex.*, 136 S.Ct. 2198 (2016). The vital national interest in increasing leadership of color in the Armed Forces could play a role in this analysis.
88. 10 U.S.C. §§ 9442(d) and 9442(a)(2) (USAFA); 10 U.S.C. §§ 8454(d) and 8454(a)(2) (USNA); 10 U.S.C. §§ 7442(d) and 7442(a)(2) (USMA).
89. 10 U.S.C. §§ 9442i and 9443 (USAFA); 10 U.S.C. §§ 8454(b)(5) and 8456 (USNA); and 10 U.S.C. §§ 7442(b)(5) and 7443 (USMA).
90. 32 C.F.R. § 901.27 and 901.18 (USAFA); 32 C.F.R. § 575.3 (USMA); USNA lacks regulations governing this part of the nominations process.
91. National Defense Authorization Act of 2021, Pub. L. No. 116-283, §554, 134 Stat. 3388, 3633-3636 (2021).
92. In December 2020, for example, the Air Force Deputy Inspector General released an Independent Racial Disparity Review detailing the inequities facing Black and African-American Airmen. See Dep't of the Air Force, Report of Inquiry S8918P: Independent Racial Disparity Review, AIR FORCE INSPECTOR GEN. (Dec. 2020), <https://www.af.mil/Portals/1/documents/ig/IRDR.pdf> [https://perma.cc/8WW4-NE86]. As of July 2020, USMA's Inspector General is actively reviewing "all matters involving race" at the academy. See Matthew Cox, *Review Launched into Allegations of Racial Persecution, Bias at West Point*, MILITARY.COM (July 7, 2020), <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2020/07/07/review-launched-allegations-of-racial-persecution-bias-west-point.html> [https://perma.cc/QDV8-ZJFF]. The new Inspector General for Diversity should undertake a parallel, thorough investigation of the role of nominations in perpetuating racial disparities at the academies and, thus, in military leadership.
93. National Defense Authorization Act of 2021, Pub. L. No. 116-283, § 575, 134 Stat. 3388, 3645-3647 (2021).
94. For more information on gender disparities in congressional nominations, see CONN. VETERANS LEGAL CTR., *supra* note 4.
95. 20 U.S.C. § 6314(a)(1)(A).

96. Thomas D. Snyder et al., *Study of the Title I, Part A Grant Program Mathematical Formulas*, NAT'L CTR. EDUC. STATS. 6 (May 2019), <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2019/2019016.pdf> [https://perma.cc/DU6L-UWDR].
97. In 2016-2017, Title I schools enrolled 5.1 million Black students, 8.9 million Hispanic students, and 8 million white students. *Kids Count Data Center, Children in Title I Schools by Race and Ethnicity in the United States*, ANNIE E. CASEY FOUND. (2018), <https://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/8418-children-in-title-i-schools-by-race-and-ethnicity#detailed/1/any/false/1603/167,168,133,3,185,107/17042> [https://perma.cc/4WAY-N3A8] (compiling state data from the Department of Education ED Facts/Consolidated State Performance Report). Meanwhile, in fall 2017, overall public school enrollment totaled 7.1 million Black students, 13.6 million Hispanic students, and 24.1 million white students. Bill Hussar et al., *The Condition of Education 2020*, *Inst. Educ. Studs.* 32 (2020), <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2020/2020144.pdf> [https://perma.cc/JX5Q-MQNH].
98. 10 U.S.C. §§ 2031 and 2032.
99. 10 U.S.C. § 2031(a)(2).
100. For example, in the Army's JROTC program—currently operating in more than 17,000 schools, military institutions, and correctional centers—operates approximately 40% of the programs in inner city schools, with an approximately 50% students of color, and an approximately 40% female students. *Army Junior ROTC Program Overview*, U.S. ARMY JUNIOR ROTC, http://www.usarmyjrotc.com/general/program_overview.php (last visited Feb. 21, 2021) [https://perma.cc/N6DC-9BU8].
101. Charles A. Goldman et al., *Geographic and Demographic Representativeness of the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps*, RAND CORP. 27 (2019), https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR1700/RR1712/RAND_RR1712.pdf [https://perma.cc/GSX9-EMD7].
102. *Recommendations to Improve Racial and Ethnic Diversity and Inclusion in the U.S. Military*, DEP'T DEF. BD. ON DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION 32 (2020) <https://media.defense.gov/2020/Dec/18/2002554852/-1/-1/0/DOD-DIVERSITY-AND-INCLUSION-FINAL-BOARD-REPORT.PDF> [https://perma.cc/T7N2-GDTS].
103. JROTC members also have access to a unique academy nominations pathway: five students from each high school JROTC detachment may be nominated to compete for 20 appointments reserved for a pool of students including JROTC members. See 10 U.S.C. § 9442(b)(4) (USAFA); 10 U.S.C. § 8454(b)(4) (USNA); 10 U.S.C. § 7442(b)(4) (USMA). But given the limited number of JROTC-specific appointments available, many JROTC applicants will rely on a congressional nomination.
104. Children of military personnel killed in action, missing in action, or with a 100% service-connected disability contracted in active service can seek merit-based appointment to the academies (nominations to fill 65 annual appointments, selected in order of merit). The Secretaries of the military departments can nominate enlisted service members (nominations to fill 85 appointments from the regular service and 85 from the reserve component), and the President can nominate and appoint children of certain career military personnel (nominations to fill 100 annual appointments) or of medal of honor recipients (unlimited annual appointments). Twenty annual appointments are authorized at each academy for graduates of honor military and naval schools. See 10 U.S.C. §§ 9442(a)(1), (b) and (c) (USAFA); 10 U.S.C. §§ 8454(a)(1), (b), and (c); 10 U.S.C. §§ 7442(a)(1), (b), and (c) (USMA). See also 32 C.F.R. § 901.14 (USAFA); 32 C.F.R. § 901.10(b) (USAFA); 32 C.F.R. § 575.3(a)(2) (USMA). USNA lacks similar regulations.
105. See U.S. GOV'T ACCOUNTABILITY OFF., GAO/NSIAD-94-95, *MILITARY ACADEMY: GENDER AND RACIAL DISPARITIES* (1994); U.S. GOV'T ACCOUNTABILITY OFF., GAO/NSIAD-93-224, *AIR FORCE ACADEMY: GENDER AND RACIAL DISPARITIES* (1993); U.S. GOV'T ACCOUNTABILITY OFF., GAO/NSIAD-93-54, *NAVAL ACADEMY: GENDER AND RACIAL DISPARITIES* (1993). Over a decade ago, GAO released a report on sexual harassment and assault in the academies indicating that the academies require more federal oversight. See U.S. GOV'T ACCOUNTABILITY OFF., GAO/GAO-08-296, *THE DOD AND COAST GUARD ACADEMIES HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO ADDRESS INCIDENTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND ASSAULT, BUT GREATER FEDERAL OVERSIGHT IS NEEDED* (2008).
106. Congressional offices can also work with local veterans services organizations and military services organizations to establish pathways of support for diverse applicants.

107. The Air Force Officer Training School has incorporated bias training into its board selection process to reduce inequities in the process. Dep't of the Air Force, Report of Inquiry S8918P: Independent Racial Disparity Review, AIR FORCE INSPECTOR GEN. (Dec. 2020), <https://www.af.mil/Portals/1/documents/ig/IRDR.pdf>.
108. *U.S. Service Academy Nominations*, REP. ROSA DELAURO, <https://delauero.house.gov/services/service-academy-nominations> (last visited Nov. 28, 2020) [<https://perma.cc/G39Y-YR3U>].
109. National Defense Authorization Act of 2021, Pub. L. No. 116-283, §575, 134 Stat. 3388, 3645-3647 (2021).
110. 5 U.S.C. § 552.
111. See *Serv. Women's Action Network v. Dep't of Def.*, No. 3:15-cv-137-SRU (D. Conn. 2016).
112. CVLC's FOIA requests asked for "[r]ecords sufficient to show the annual number of nominations and gender of nominees awarded by individual Congressional nominators for each year" including year of nomination, the nominee's gender, race, and ethnicity, and "the name of the nominee's Congressional nominator."
113. In addition, according to when the service academies' data, there were six datasets included Members of Congress who served as both a Representative and a Senator in the same Congress. Because it was not possible to determine which of their nominations were made in each position, the final rankings exclude any nominations made in this scenario.
114. Tables A01001, B01001I, B01001H, B01001E, B01001D, B01001B from the American Community Survey (ACS). Years where Members nominated very few students are excluded from this particular ranking to ensure that comparisons with the yearly demographics are meaningful.
115. These classifications were determined using the P2. Urban and Rural tables from the 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial Censuses.
116. For a given district this classification can vary based on the congressional district boundaries that were in place at the time. To account for this, the analysis classified the districts during each two-year period of Congress using the same decennial Census tables from 2000 and 2010 as used in the Senate rankings combined with mappings that the Census Bureau provides between those values, which were reported by the congressional districts at the time, and subsequent congressional district maps. These maps were not available for Congresses before the 106th Congress, so the analysis only includes data since 1999 to calculate these rankings (which includes over 96% of all nominations in the data). The mappings from Census decennial data to updated congressional districts were downloaded from <https://www2.census.gov/geo/relfiles/> [<https://perma.cc/W624-3NRC>] and <https://www.census.gov/geographies/reference-files/time-series/geo/relationship-files.2010.html> [<https://perma.cc/R7M6-UVYW>] by state for each Congress.
117. Rankings of House members relative to district demographics include all nominators with 10 or more nominations.
118. For example, the USAFA FOIA office produced non-searchable, image-only PDFs of their spreadsheets, which could not be accurately transposed using various proprietary text-recognition software. After trying a number of different text-recognition programs, transposition errors were checked and corrected manually—a task totaling hundreds of hours of human labor. Many Congressmembers' offices have not tracked their own nominations data, and even those offices that have saved their data have not been obligated to share or report it. Congress itself is not subject to FOIA requests. Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552(f)(1).
119. CVLC has appealed USNA's failure to provide nomination data by Senator name.

