GATEKEEPERS TO OPPORTUNITY

GENDER DISPARITIES IN CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS TO THE MILITARY SERVICE ACADEMIES

CONNECTICUT VETERANS LEGAL CENTER

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ABOUT CVLC

The Connecticut Veterans Legal Center is dedicated to removing the legal barriers to housing, healthcare, and income for veterans recovering from homelessness and mental illness. CVLC provides free legal services to homeless, low-income, and mentally ill veterans and advances veterans law through advocacy and education, reaching audiences within Connecticut[1] and across the nation through reports on key issues affecting veterans,[2] practice manuals used by veterans and advocates,[3] and in national media.[4] 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.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The nation's military service academies — United States Air Force Academy (USAFA), United States Naval Academy (USNA), and United States Military Academy at West Point (USMA) — are elite, highly selective educational institutions whose graduates consistently populate the highest-ranking positions in the Armed Services.[5] They are also institutions with dramatic gender disparities in enrollment and alarming rates of sexual harassment and sexual assault.

This report illuminates an aspect of the service academy admissions process that has received comparatively little attention: congressional nominations. In order to be considered for admission to one of these academies, most applicants must first obtain a nomination from their U.S. Representative or U.S. Senator. While congressional committees and individual members have spoken about a concerning lack of gender diversity in the service academies, they have rarely acknowledged the disparate rates at which Members of Congress themselves nominate female candidates for admission.[6] This analysis, the first of its kind, finds that Members of Congress have overwhelmingly nominated young men rather than young women, thus depriving the academies of a more balanced pool of candidates.[7]

Examining the procedures and disparities in congressional nominations will help future applicants, nominators, and the public to understand and improve the opaque processes that continue to produce steep gender imbalances at the service academies and in the Armed Forces more broadly. To evaluate congressional nominations, the Connecticut Veterans Legal Center (CVLC) requested records from USAFA, USNA, and USMA in 2018 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 cycle to the 2019-2020 cycle. The analysis in this report is based on Defense Department records obtained by CVLC and provides an overview of the stark gender disparities in congressional nominations to the service academies.

The data in this report are based on all current Members of Congress who have nominated over 10 candidates to the academies. Out of the current Congress, 91 Senators, 342 Representatives, and 5 Delegates have submitted over 10 nominations and are included in the analysis.[8]

Key Findings

- In every year since 1995, women have **never exceeded 27%** of the nominees of current Members of Congress to the service academies.
- The nomination gap **cuts across party lines**. Democrats in Congress have nominated 22% women, while Republicans have nominated 20%.
- **Only one member** of the House or Senate has nominated more women than men to the service academies: Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen, the Republican delegate from American Samoa. The **437 other Members and delegates** of Congress included in our analysis have all nominated more men than women.
- Out of the 438 current voting Members and Delegates of Congress analyzed here, **49 have female nomination rates of 15% or lower**. 187 Members—more than 40% of current Members—have rates of 20% or lower.

Key Recommendations

Members of Congress should consider the gender distribution of their nominations. To create a more equitable application process, congressional offices should:

- Compile detailed application information on an accessible website.
- Explicitly highlight a desire for a diverse applicant pool in promotional materials.
- Track characteristics of their applicant pool from year to year.
- Host multiple Academy Days and invite service academy alumnae to attend.
- Contact high school guidance counselors to identify promising students from under-represented backgrounds.
- Train interview panels and selection staff to recognize nontraditional markers of academy potential.
- Provide the opportunity for interested candidates to receive feedback on their application before they apply.
- Require the military service academies to publish an annual report that details how many candidates, by race, ethnicity, and gender have been nominated to each military service academy that year by every congressional representative.
- Mandate Government Accountability Office (GAO) review of congressional nominations procedures.

MILITARY SERVICE ACADEMY NOMINATIONS PROCESS

Admission to the military service academies is extremely competitive. To even be considered for admission, candidates must first secure a nomination. There are two main types of nominations: congressional and service-connected nominations. This report focuses on nominations by members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. At any time, a maximum of five admits nominated by any given Member of Congress may attend each academy. For each admit vacancy, which occur whenever admits graduate or withdraw from the school, a member may nominate up to 10 new candidates for consideration by the academy. Each year, typically one vacancy per military service academy becomes available per representative.[9] For residents in U.S. territories, the admit quota differs slightly.[10]

The congressional nominations process is highly decentralized, and Representatives and Senators do not use one, uniform selection process. Congress originally created the nominations system to help diversify the ranks of military officers. Congress intended for the military to draw its officers from all geographic regions, and also to ensure that officers be appointed democratically, free of political patronage.[11] In practice, some dispute how well this goal has been achieved.[12] As one application guidance document put together by a Missouri high school states, "If your family has connections to your Representative or to either of the Senators, this would be a good time to utilize them."[13]

> **THE CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS PROCESS IS HIGHLY DECENTRALIZED.**

Each congressional office may set its own selection process. Offices frequently follow a holistic model that evaluates qualifications such as character, scholarship, leadership, physical aptitude, medical fitness, and motivation.[14] However, as former Rep. John Hall has stated, the "X factor" for most applicants is leadership ability.[15] The academies consider leadership ability nearly as important as academic achievement.[16] As for athletic ability, about 9 out of every 10 cadets in the West Point 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.[17]

Representatives and Senators commonly devote a page on their official websites to the office's nomination process. The webpages of Senators Kirsten Gillibrand,[18] Kamala Harris,[19] and Marco Rubio[20] illustrate differences among the nominations processes. Sen. Gillibrand requires at least one recommendation letter from a math/science teacher, while Senators Harris and Rubio set no such requirements. Some ask for a photograph.[21] Common components of application files to offices include SAT/ACT scores, an official high school transcript, essays, two or three letters of recommendation, and a resume. Promising candidates may be interviewed by offices.

Congressional offices also differ as to whom they choose to oversee the nominations process. Some offices handle the nominations process internally, assigning the entire task to staff, while other offices delegate the screening and recommendation process to a volunteer panel.[22] These volunteer panels, which sometimes conduct candidate interviews, may include community leaders, educators, service academy alumni, and veterans' group representatives.[23]

In conversations with several congressional offices, we learned that in practice, 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 20 or so interview panels. Using volunteer panels to interview and evaluate candidates proved popular, although another office preferred to conduct one-on-one interviews. In our non-representative sample, Members of Congress appeared to all play a minor personal role in the process, largely delegating the evaluation and selection of candidates to staff or volunteers.

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.[24] A candidate who receives a principal nomination *must* be admitted as long as they meet the minimum qualifications. Of the offices we spoke to, most members nominated a slate of candidates and chose not to use the principal nomination. However, a 2014 *USA Today* investigation found that as many as a third of Congress members use the principal nomination system depending on the year and service academy.[25] A director of admissions at the Air Force Academy has stated that she wishes Congress members would submit slates, as it would enable the admissions office to create a rank order by order of merit.[26]

Applications often open in the spring or summer of the year before nominations are due to the academies. During the application period, some representatives 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 are made by mid-April.

DATA ANALYSIS

Members of the 116th Congress have nominated far more men than women. Female students have received 19,414 nominations, or 21%, while male students have received 72,506 nominations, or 79%.

Of the 438 current Members of Congress with more than 10 total nominations, 49 have female nomination rates of 15% or lower. 187— over 40% of current members with more than 10 total nominations—have rates of 20% or lower.

In the sections that follow, this report highlights the records of individual nominators in the House and the Senate, lists the fifteen most and least equitable nominators in each chamber, and summarizes geographic and party-related trends in nominations.

Women consistently account for less than 27% of congressional nominations to the service academies.

Male nominations

Female nominations
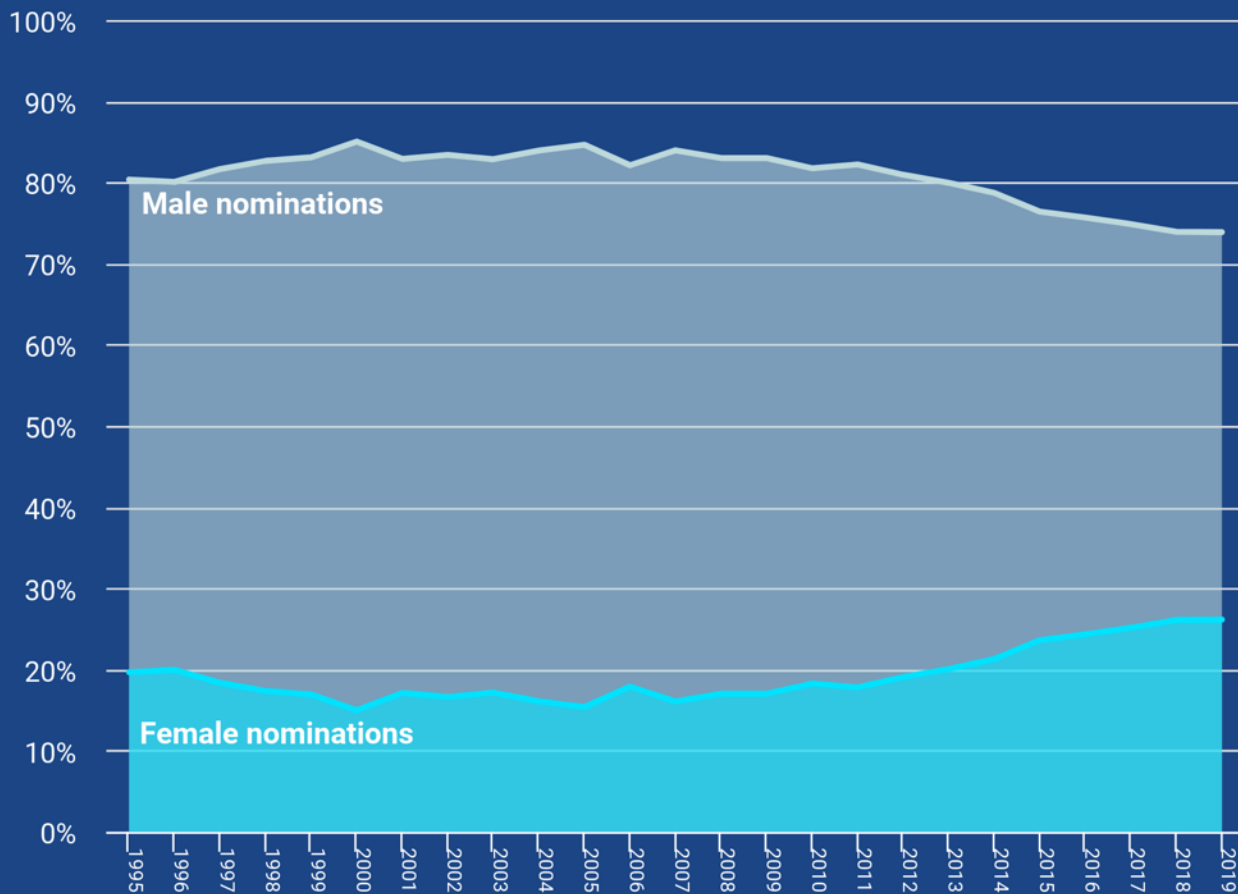
Percent of total nominations granted to male and female students by current Members of Congress from 1995-present

Nominations in the House[27]

Members of the current House have nominated 21% women and 79% men. The average U.S. Representative has nominated 191 people in total. Of the voting members of the House, Brian Fitzpatrick (R-PA) has nominated the greatest proportion of women, 19 women and 21 men, a 48% female field. Each voting member of the House has nominated at least one woman to the academies.

Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen (R-AS)

45%	55%

Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen (R-AS) is the only member of the 116th Congress to have nominated as many women as men to the service academies. Radewagen is the nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives from American Samoa.[28]

U.S. Representatives

Top 15 and Bottom 15 Ranked by Gender Distribution of Nominations

■ Women   ■ Men

Bottom 15

Representative	Women	Men
Jodey Arrington (R-TX)	3%	97%
Kevin Hern (R-OK)	8%	92%
Terri Sewell (D-AL)	9%	91%
Hal Rogers (R-KY)	10%	90%
John Moolenaar (R-MI)	11%	89%
Ralph Abraham (R-LA)	11%	89%
Trey Hollingsworth (R-IN)	11%	89%
Dwight Evans (D-PA)	11%	89%
José Serrano (D-NY)	11%	89%
Adrian Smith (R-NE)	11%	89%
Alma Adams (D-NC)	12%	88%
Tom Graves (R-GA)	12%	88%
Emanuel Cleaver (D-MO)	12%	88%
Bill Flores (R-TX)	12%	88%
Robert Aderholt (R-AL)	12%	88%

Top 15

Representative	Men	Women
Brian Fitzpatrick (R-PA)	53%	48%
Greg Gianforte (R-MT)	55%	45%
Frederica Wilson (D-FL)	57%	43%
Francis Rooney (R-FL)	58%	42%
Pete Aguilar (D-CA)	60%	40%
Pramila Jayapal (D-WA)	60%	40%
Andy Biggs (R-AZ)	60%	40%
Mike Johnson (R-LA)	61%	39%
Bonnie W. Coleman (D-NJ)	61%	39%
Lou Correa (D-CA)	62%	38%
Jack Bergman (R-MI)	62%	38%
John Rutherford (R-FL)	62%	38%
Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI)	62%	38%
Jamie Raskin (D-MD)	63%	37%
Val Demings (D-FL)	63%	37%

U.S. Senators

Top 15 and Bottom 15 Ranked by Gender Distribution of Nominations

■ Women   ■ Men

Bottom 15

Senator	Women	Men
Richard Burr (R-NC)	12%	88%
Tom Cotton (R-AR)	13%	87%
John Kennedy (R-LA)	13%	87%
Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)	15%	85%
Rand Paul (R-KY)	15%	85%
Amy Klobuchar (D-MN)	16%	84%
Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	17%	83%
Tina Smith (D-MN)	17%	83%
Shelley Capito (R-WV)	17%	83%
Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	17%	83%
John Boozman (R-AR)	17%	83%
James Inhofe (R-OK)	17%	83%
Chuck Grassley (R-IA)	17%	83%
Richard Shelby (R-AL)	17%	83%
John Barasso (R-WY)	17%	83%

Top 15

Senator	Men	Women
Cory Booker (D-NJ)	60%	40%
Mazie Hirono (D-HI)	62%	38%
Martha McSally (R-AZ)	62%	38%
Cory Gardner (R-CO)	63%	37%
Brian Schatz (D-HI)	63%	37%
Thom Tillis (R-NC)	63%	37%
Maggie Hassan (D-NH)	63%	37%
Deb Fischer (R-NE)	65%	35%
Kamala Harris (D-CA)	66%	34%
Marco Rubio (R-FL)	66%	34%
Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY)	66%	34%
Steve Daines (R-MT)	67%	33%
David Perdue (R-GA)	67%	33%
Mike Rounds (R-SD)	68%	32%
Michael Bennet (D-CO)	68%	32%

Nominations in the Senate

Nominations of women in the Senate are slightly higher than those in the House. Women account for 23% of Senate nominations, and men account for 77%. In our set of 91 current Senators, the average Senator has nominated 217 people total. Senator Cory Booker (D-NJ) has nominated the highest proportion of women—40%—as female candidates account for 35 out of his 88 total nominations. At the other end of the spectrum, women make up only 12% of Senator Richard Burr (R-NC)'s nominations. He has nominated 44 women out of his total 358 nominations.

Geographic Trends

Gender differences in nominations are a nationwide problem. This map shows the percentage of total nominations that each state's current U.S. Senators and Representatives have granted to women since 1995. While no state's elected officials have nominated more than 34% women, some states are particularly problematic. In Alabama, Kentucky, Minnesota, Oklahoma, and Vermont, nominators have allotted a maximum of 17% of their nominations to female students.
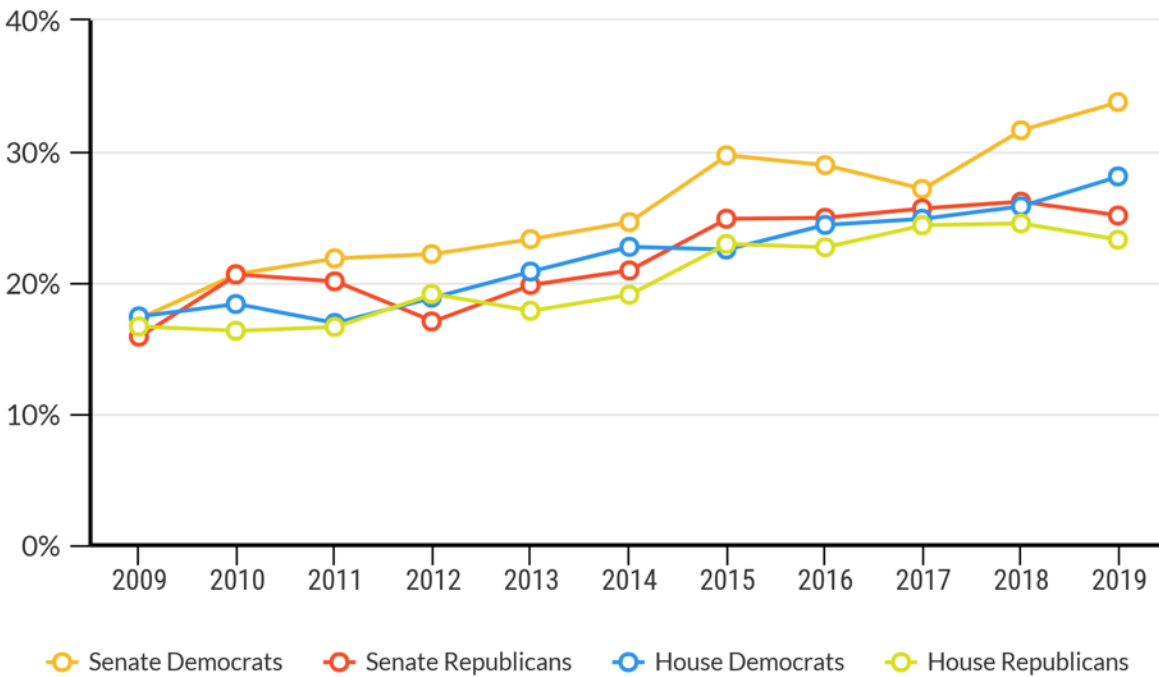
At the upper end of the range, Hawaii's legislators have produced the most equitable nomination rates, as female students have comprised 34% of their total nominations. Nevada is next with a 33% rate. Southwestern states have above-average female nomination rates, with Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico joining Nevada on the list of states with the ten highest female nomination rates.
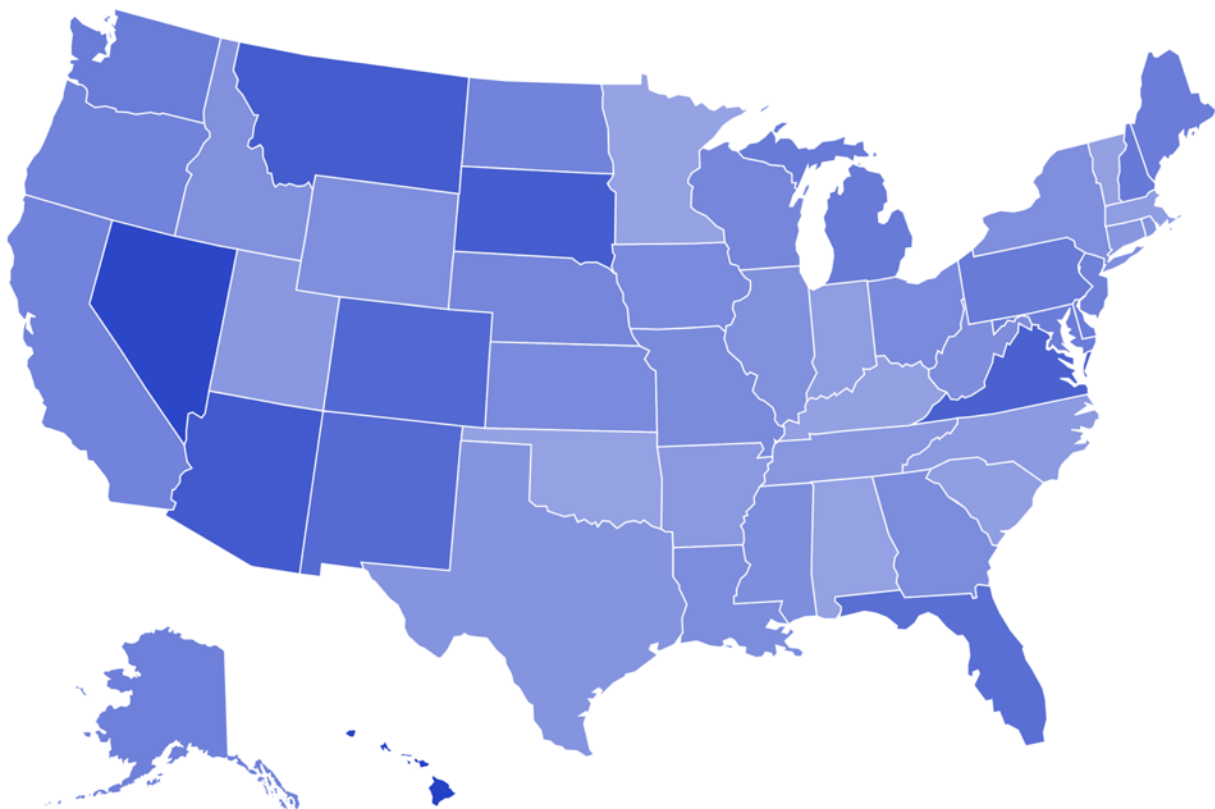
Percent of state's nominations granted to female students

0   10   20   30   40

Percent of nominations granted to female students by party and chamber

Legend: Senate Democrats, Senate Republicans, House Democrats, House Republicans

Nominations by Party

The nomination gap cuts across party lines. Democrats in Congress have nominated 22% women, while Republicans have nominated 20%. In the Senate, Republican nominations are divided with 21% allocated to female candidates and 79% to males. Senate Democrats nominate a higher proportion of women, nominating 25% women and 75% men. Of the two independent Senators, Bernie Sanders (I-VT) has nominated a low proportion of female students, at only 17%. In comparison, Angus King (I-ME) has allotted 28% of his nominations to female students. In the House, Republicans have nominated only 20% women, with 80% of nominations granted to male students. House Democrats' nomination rates are virtually the same, at 21% women and 79% men.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In the current highly decentralized system, each congressional office sets its own nominations process. What can offices do to achieve better gender balance among the candidates they nominate to the service academies? CVLC contacted offices around the country to learn more about their nominations processes. The list below highlights steps that Members of Congress can take to diversify their applicant pool, ordered from easier to more difficult to implement:

(1) Compile detailed application information on a website.

Many Members of Congress include a page on their website outlining their nominations process. The more detail that is provided, the easier it will be for a student to prepare a compelling application. Information transparency levels the playing field and draws in people who might not otherwise have considered applying. To that end, offices should state clear deadlines and expectations of what a complete application entails. Offices should also provide a clear point of contact for anyone who has questions.

(2) Explicitly highlight a desire for a diverse applicant pool in all promotional materials.

Although staff in many offices stated that they valued diversity in conversations with us, websites and promotional materials, such as flyers for information sessions and social media postings, rarely reflect this value explicitly. As an example of a Member of Congress who does expressly highlight interest in a diverse applicant pool, Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand includes the following FAQ on her page:

> **What if my grades are not competitive?**
>
> Students who demonstrate leadership potential, but who lack the current academic capacity to handle the rigors of the academy, may be selected to attend a one-year preparatory program at no cost. Moreover, the academies are particularly eager to receive applications from NYC students, as both urban and minority candidates are underrepresented as officers in the United States military, and **it is important that our nation's leadership reflect the diversity of its people**.[29]

However, even this FAQ can be accessed only through a link at the bottom of Sen. Gillibrand's academy nominations page. We recommend that Members of Congress include this type of language on their main academy nominations page itself.

(3) Track characteristics of applicant pool and nominations from year to year.

To be able to measure progress, offices need to track the data in the first place. Some offices discussed tracking the racial and gender makeup of the applicant pool, noting trends over the years. Offices should also track the characteristics of the individuals who ultimately receive nominations each year.

(4) Host multiple Academy Days and invite service academy women alumnae to attend.

Offices vary in the number of Academy Days that they hold in their district or state. Academy Days serve as in-person information sessions for interested applicants and therefore provide a valuable tool to reach students from underrepresented backgrounds. Some offices described choosing the locations with care, targeting areas with historically low representation. We recommend that Members of Congress invite service academy women alumnae to attend whenever possible to provide role models for young women interested in attending a service academy.

(5) Reach out to guidance counselors to identify promising high school students from underrepresented backgrounds.

Some offices visit high schools and meet with guidance counselors about their office's particular service academy nominations process. We recommend that Members of Congress engage in such outreach, using these visits to highlight their commitment to diversity and to ask guidance counselors to encourage promising high school students from underrepresented backgrounds to apply. Offices could also ask guidance counselors for the names of promising students and follow up with personalized outreach letters. The Congressional Research Service has provided sample outreach letters.[30]

(6) Train interview panels and selection staff to look for nontraditional markers of potential.

Offices should train interview panels and anyone else who participates in the selection process to look for nontraditional evidence of potential for leadership and other qualities valued by the service academies, such as overcoming various forms of adversity. One office with whom we spoke decided to remove academics entirely as a category from the scoresheet given to interviewers.

Offices should also ensure that the panels themselves represent a diverse cross-section of community members, especially across racial and gender lines. One office rotates interview panels every two years to provide more people the opportunity to help select nominees. Another office publicized the opportunity to serve on an interview panel through their mailing list instead of relying solely on tapping people they already knew.

(7) Provide feedback on the draft applications of interested candidates.

Allowing interested candidates to receive personalized feedback on their application can also reduce information gaps. One office described giving advice such as recommending an applicant increase their amount of community service or number of leadership positions. Providing a dedicated staff member to oversee the nominations process and guide applicants through it can strengthen applications from students who lack outside encouragement or access to networks of former students at military service academies.

DATA METHODOLOGY

The data for this report were obtained from the military service academies' respective offices pursuant to requests submitted under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. § 552. The academies produced two series of FOIA requests: one for nominations from the 1990s to 2015 *see Serv. Women's Action Network v. Dep't of Def.*, No. 3:15-cv-137-SRU (D. Conn. 2016), and a second for nominations from 2016 to early 2019. CVLC's 2018 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, from November 14, 2014 to the present" including year of nomination, the nominee's gender, race, and ethnicity, and "the name of the nominee's Congressional nominator."

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 116th Congress only. A number of current U.S. Senators have previously served as Representatives. When ranking by individual chamber, the report factors in only those nominations made while the member held that particular position. For example, when "Mazie Hirono" or "Martha McSally" appear in the Senate list, those results are based solely on the nominations each made as a Senator.[31]

Because the service academies produced the 2019-2020 application cycle data in January 2019, the data for the 2019-2020 cycle provide 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. In other cases, the service academies failed to provide data sufficient to identify Senate nominators by name.

The data provided by USNA list nominations only by Congressional district and by anonymized "Senator 1" and "Senator 2" of each state. USNA has represented that it does not have records to identify which of a state's Senators was "Senator 1" or "Senator 2" prior to 2018-2019. Despite the implausibility of this representation,[32] to avoid misattribution, the 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.

After assembling the data into a standardized format, we analyzed the data using the statistical programming language R and removed nominators with ten or fewer nominations before ranking by percentage of female candidates nominated.[33] Acknowledging that there are other dimensions along which this data can be evaluated—most notably racial disparities—CVLC is making the data publicly available online so that Congress, journalists, researchers, and members of the public can supplement the findings of this report and offer additional insight.

HISTORY OF GENDER INTEGRATION IN THE SERVICE ACADEMIES

To contextualize the data set forth above, we provide a brief history of the military service academies and their transition from single-sex to integrated institutions.

The Struggle for Co-Education

Thomas Jefferson signed legislation establishing the first academy, USMA, in 1802.[34] Subsequently, USNA opened its doors in 1845,[35] and USAFA in 1954.[36] From their founding, the service academies have produced many of the highest-ranking officials in the nation's military.[37] Indeed, three U.S. Presidents graduated from a service academy.[38]

Initially, the service academies admitted only men. Over time, though, the composition of the United States military changed, as some 350,000 women joined the Armed Services during World War II.[39] In the Women's Army Corps and U.S. Navy's Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service program, women worked in critical non-combat jobs both stateside and abroad.[40] The movement for gender integration of the academies developed in the late 1960s, as a function of women's critical role in World War II and in the midst of a larger movement for women's rights. Notwithstanding women's contributions to the war effort, however, early attempts to establish a women's service academy were unsuccessful.[41]

Undeterred, women continued to pursue access to an elite military education. In 1972, Senator Jacob K. Javits submitted the first serious nomination of a female for admission to the U.S. Naval Academy.[42] Although the Academy rejected the nomination on the basis that admitting women was contrary to law and custom, the nomination marked the beginning of a three-year effort in Congress and in the courts to open academy doors to women.[43]

In 1973, two California House members, Jerome R. Waldie and Don Edwards, filed suit in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., on behalf of women who wanted to attend the Naval and Air Force academies.[44] However, Judge Oliver Gasch held that there was a "legitimate government interest in denying women admission to the academies."[45] Although the suit was not successful in the courts, the legal action captured Congress's attention.

At the end of 1973, Sen. William D. Hathaway offered an amendment to a Senate bill to allow women to attend the military academies. After months of back-and-forth within both chambers of Congress, the Senate and House agreed on a version of Hathaway's amendment in June 1975. On October 7, 1975, President Gerald Ford signed the bill into law, paving the way for women to join the military academies the following summer.[46]

Women Enter the Academies

In 1976, the first women entered the military service academies. One hundred fifty-seven women enrolled in the first co-ed Air Force Academy class, followed by 119 at West Point and 81 at the Naval Academy.[47] In anticipation of a new, coeducational environment, each academy made efforts to prepare for the women's arrival on campus. USAFA enlisted 13 special Air Training Officers, female First and Second Lieutenants, to guide and counsel the incoming female cadets. The academy also hired female faculty and conducted briefings for staff and upperclassmen.[48] At USNA, the academy's Commandant initiated a study of the changes necessary to accommodate the new, female midshipmen.[49] Likewise, USMA conducted a series of studies to gauge women's experiences on campus.[50]

IN **1976**,
THE FIRST **WOMEN** ENROLLED IN THE **SERVICE ACADEMIES.**

Despite their planning, the academies were ill-prepared for the transition to co-education. From living spaces to physical fitness standards, the academies were oriented toward male cadets and midshipmen.[51] Furthermore, the prospect of female students conjured stigma and external doubt. Many military officials had fought to maintain the service academies' status as all-male institutions, including some who had predicted that women would not be able to withstand the pressures of academy life.[52] Even after the first classes of women had completed a year at the academies, General William C. Westmoreland, former Army Chief of Staff, commented, "Maybe you could find one woman in 10,000 who could lead in combat, but she would be a freak and we're not running the military academy for freaks."[53]

A year after women entered the academies, they continued to feel ostracized.[54] One member of the first female class at the academies felt that "there were a lot of people out to get us" and reported experiencing a "verbal barrage" whenever she passed through a certain section of the dorm area.[55] Another female cadet reflected that male cadets perceived her as "someone in a skirt, someone who obviously didn't have a mind or couldn't run a mile."[56]

Sexual Assault and Harassment at the Academies

Since the very beginning of co-education, the academies have tacitly allowed pervasive sexual assault and sexual harassment. According to retired Lieutenant General Bradley Hosmer, a former USAFA Superintendent, "It was typical . . . a female (freshman) cadet would wake up in the middle of the night, and there would be a male cadet with his hands in the wrong places."[57] The first public reports of sexual assault and harassment of women at the service academies surfaced as early as 1983, only three years after the first women had graduated.[58]

Since those early reports, high-profile allegations of sexual assault have continued to surface. In 1994, USAFA third-class cadet Elizabeth Saum alleged in a lawsuit that classmates spattered her with urine and subjected her to a mock rape.[59] A media investigation revealed a culture of denigration of women at the academy. Male cadets referred to women as "jail bait," and told female cadets that their bra straps were visible through their uniforms. [60] In one case, an upperclassman ordered female cadets to do push-ups in bed so he could see their breasts. While the academy reprimanded the cadet, he eventually graduated and became an Air Force officer.[61]

In 2003, an Air Force cadet's decision to come forward with her own story of sexual violence prompted a hard look at the academy's culture. From 1993–2003, the academy received 142 allegations of sexual assault,[62] even as a 2003 Defense Department survey revealed that cadets did not report 80 percent of sexual assaults during that period.[63] The academy's problems with sexual violence did not stop there, however. Cadets reported 287 incidents of sexual assaults between 2007 and 2016.[64]

The Air Force Academy is not alone in its culture of sexual assault and harassment. At the Naval Academy, sexual assault reports by midshipmen totaled 151 between 2007 and 2016.[65] In the same period, West Point cadets filed 116 reports.[66] One woman who filed a sexual assault complaint against a fellow midshipman at the Naval Academy pointed to a dangerous school environment: "[T]he atmosphere there, is the problem . . . you have men there who don't want women there. . . . If the academy taught me anything, it's to toe the line and keep my mouth shut."[67]

A *New York Times* article covering women's first year in the academies highlighted the inequitable culture on service academy campuses, and predicted that "as each service academy gets more women, the situation may improve."[68] Similarly, academy officials in the late 1970s expressed their belief that "the reluctance to accept women will tend to disappear when all classes include women members."[69]

Today, sexual assault, sexual harassment, and unwanted sexual contact remain pervasive at all of the academies. According to the Defense Department, during the 2017–18 period, over half of the women enrolled in the academies, 50.2%, experienced sexual harassment, and 15.8% experienced unwanted sexual contact.[70]

In the four decades since women have been admitted, cadets, midshipmen, and outside experts have expressed consistent concerns that the academy environments, where males dominate and the ratio of men to women is heavily skewed, create an alien and inhospitable environment for female cadets.[71] As one female cadet reported in a 2017 survey, "[W]omen are just as capable as men, but it's not necessarily seen that way. And it doesn't really help when there aren't that many of us in the first place."[72]

"[W]OMEN ARE JUST AS CAPABLE AS MEN, BUT IT'S NOT NECESSARILY SEEN THAT WAY. AND IT DOESN'T REALLY HELP WHEN THERE AREN'T THAT MANY OF US IN THE FIRST PLACE."

WOMEN IN THE MILITARY NOW

In recent years, a new wave of concerns has emerged surrounding the recruitment and training of women at the United States Military Service Academies. In 2013, the Defense Department announced that it would open all combat roles to women.[73] This new policy phased out the last of the military's gender-based occupational exclusions and enabled the academies to admit candidates irrespective of the need to fill male-only jobs. "There will be no exceptions," announced then-Secretary of Defense Ash Carter.[74]

In a 2013 radio interview,[75] USMA's then-Superintendent Robert Caslen announced that West Point would immediately begin recruiting more women. "Next year, we're going to recruit a class that will move from 15 to 20 percent," he stated. The twenty percent goal was only an incremental first step: "We don't know yet what the right number is. It could be 25 percent. Heck, it could be 50 percent." However, the gender disparities in the service academies have changed only minimally since 2013. Currently, women compose only about a quarter of each Academy's student body. USNA's Class of 2022 is 27.8% women, USAFA's 25.2%, and USMA's 24.5%.[76] In comparison, the Classes of 2017 for USNA, USAFA, and USMA were 23%, 23.2%, and 16.1% women, respectively.[77]

The continued underrepresentation of women at these institutions has generated debate about diversity and inclusion at the academies, especially in light of reports that the academies' rates of sexual misconduct are on the rise.[78] In January 2019, the Department of Defense's Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office reported that incidents of unwanted sexual contact at USMA were up 47% since 2016.[79] Service advocates and academy officials have disagreed about the appropriate rate of progress as well as the degree to which gender disparities may be caused by a "naturally" smaller female applicant pool,[80] inadequate recruitment of women candidates,[81] or—as some advocates have suggested—an unspoken cap on the number of women the academies are willing to enroll.[82]

Increasing women's access to the training opportunities offered at the service academies is key to neutralizing the perceived "brass ceiling" that has historically limited the advancement of women in the armed services more broadly.[83] Recent achievements by women in uniform underscore the importance of the academies in this broader mission. In 2013, Air Force Academy graduate and three-star General Michelle D. Johnson became the first woman Superintendent of USAFA.[84] In 2014, Naval Academy graduate Michelle J. Howard became the first woman to hold the rank of four-star Admiral in the U.S. Navy.[85] And in 2015, West Point graduates Shaye Haver and Kristen Griest became the first women to complete U.S. Army Ranger School and become infantry officers.[86]

Still, in the face of these barriers and stigma, women at the service academies continue to excel. Despite making up less than 20% of the total class size, women in West Point's graduating class of 2018 accounted for 44% of the academy's Honor Graduates and 6 of the top 10 graduates overall.[87]

Appendix: Complete List of Nominators

Senate Nominators: Percent of Nominations Granted to Female Students[88]

1. Cory Booker: 40%
2. Mazie Hirono: 38%
3. Martha McSally: 38%
4. Cory Gardner: 37%
5. Brian Schatz: 37%
6. Thom Tillis: 37%
7. Margaret Hassan: 37%
8. Deb Fischer: 35%
9. Kamala Harris: 34%
10. Marco Rubio: 34%
11. Kirsten Gillibrand: 34%
12. Steve Daines: 33%
13. David Perdue: 33%
14. Mike Rounds: 32%
15. Michael Bennet: 32%
16. Elizabeth Warren: 31%
17. Ron Wyden: 31%
18. Tim Kaine: 30%
19. Joni Ernst: 30%
20. Chris Van Hollen: 30%
21. Richard Blumenthal: 30%
22. Bob Casey: 30%
23. Mark Warner: 30%
24. Tom Udall: 29%
25. Bill Cassidy: 29%
26. John Thune: 28%
27. Dianne Feinstein: 28%
28. Patrick Toomey: 28%
29. Angus King: 28%
30. Martin Heinrich: 27%
31. Jim Risch: 27%
32. Dan Sullivan: 26%
33. Debbie Stabenow: 26%
34. Robert Menendez: 26%
35. Ron Johnson: 26%
36. Ben Sasse: 25%

37. Joe Manchin: 25%
38. Jon Tester: 25%
39. Christopher Coons: 25%
40. Tammy Duckworth: 24%
41. Catherine Cortez Masto: 24%
42. Patty Murray: 23%
43. Rob Portman: 23%
44. Tammy Baldwin: 23%
45. Maria Cantwell: 23%
46. James Lankford: 23%
47. Roy Blunt: 23%
48. Susan Collins: 23%
49. Sherrod Brown: 22%
50. Todd Young: 22%
51. Jeanne Shaheen: 22%
52. Gary Peters: 22%
53. John Hoeven: 22%
54. Benjamin Cardin: 21%
55. Thomas Carper: 21%
56. Lisa Murkowski: 21%
57. Jeff Merkley: 21%
58. Pat Roberts: 21%
59. Richard Durbin: 20%
60. Michael Crapo: 20%
61. John Cornyn: 20%
62. Roger Wicker: 20%
63. Jerry Moran: 20%
64. Charles Schumer: 20%
65. Michael Enzi: 20%
66. Tim Scott: 20%
67. Christopher Murphy: 19%
68. Ted Cruz: 19%
69. Johnny Isakson: 19%
70. Sheldon Whitehouse: 19%
71. Jack Reed: 19%
72. Mike Lee: 19%

73. Mitch McConnell: 18%
74. Patrick Leahy: 18%
75. Edward Markey: 18%
76. Lamar Alexander: 18%
77. Richard Shelby: 17%
78. John Barrasso: 17%
79. Charles Grassley: 17%
80. James Inhofe: 17%
81. John Boozman: 17%
82. Bernie Sanders: 17%
83. Shelley Capito: 17%
84. Tina Smith: 17%
85. Lindsey Graham: 17%
86. Amy Klobuchar: 16%
87. Rand Paul: 15%
88. Marsha Blackburn: 15%
89. John Kennedy: 13%
90. Tom Cotton: 13%
91. Richard Burr: 12%

10 Nominations or Fewer:
1. Kevin Cramer: 30%
2. Jacky Rosen: 25%
3. Doug Jones: 20%
4. Kyrsten Sinema: 17%
5. Cindy Hyde-Smith: 10%

This list does not include the four current Senators who did not appear in the FOIA data.

House Nominators: Percent of Nominations Granted to Female Students[89]

1. Brian Fitzpatrick: 48%
2. Greg Gianforte: 45%
3. Frederica Wilson: 43%
4. Francis Rooney: 42%
5. Pete Aguilar: 40%
6. Pramila Jayapal: 40%
7. Andy Biggs: 40%
8. Mike Johnson: 39%
9. Bonnie Watson Coleman: 39%
10. Lou Correa: 38%
11. Jack Bergman: 38%
12. John Rutherford: 38%
13. Tulsi Gabbard: 38%
14. Jamie Raskin: 37%
15. Val Demings: 37%
16. Denny Heck: 36%
17. Anthony Brown: 36%
18. Dan Kildee: 36%
19. Lisa Blunt Rochester: 36%
20. Mark Amodei: 36%
21. Dina Titus: 36%
22. Joyce Beatty: 35%
23. Mark Takano: 34%
24. Darren Soto: 34%
25. Ted Yoho: 33%
26. Juan Vargas: 33%
27. Gerry Connolly: 33%
28. Warren Davidson: 33%
29. Paul Cook: 33%
30. Don Beyer: 33%
31. Buddy Carter: 32%
32. Raúl Grijalva: 32%
33. Ken Buck: 32%
34. Blaine Luetkemeyer: 32%
35. Filemon Vela: 32%
36. Raul Ruiz: 32%
37. Alcee Hastings: 32%

38. Cedric Richmond: 31%
39. Liz Cheney: 31%
40. Matt Gaetz: 31%
41. Elise Stefanik: 31%
42. John Garamendi: 30%
43. Donald McEachin: 30%
44. Steven Horsford: 30%
45. Tom O'Halleran: 30%
46. Debbie Dingell: 30%
47. Stephanie Murphy: 29%
48. Ron Estes: 29%
49. David Rouzer: 29%
50. Paul Mitchell: 29%
51. Drew Ferguson: 29%
52. David Schweikert: 29%
53. Diana Degette: 29%
54. Lloyd Smucker: 28%
55. Justin Amash: 28%
56. James Comer: 28%
57. Paul Gosar: 28%
58. Ann Kirkpatrick: 28%
59. Randy Weber: 28%
60. Robin Kelly: 28%
61. Norma Torres: 27%
62. Chris Collins: 27%
63. Jimmy Panetta: 27%
64. Doris Matsui: 27%
65. Lois Frankel: 26%
66. Brian Mast: 26%
67. Troy Balderson: 26%
68. Lacy Clay: 26%
69. David Scott: 26%
70. Barry Loudermilk: 26%
71. Joaquín Castro: 26%
72. Tom McClintock: 26%
73. Kathy Castor: 26%
74. Scott Perry: 26%

75. Adam Smith: 26%
76. Neal Dunn: 26%
77. Judy Chu: 26%
78. Al Green: 26%
79. Albio Sires: 26%
80. Bill Posey: 26%
81. Sean Maloney: 25%
82. Katherine Clark: 25%
83. Ami Bera: 25%
84. Jackie Walorski: 25%
85. Karen Bass: 25%
86. Dutch Ruppersberger: 25%
87. Robert Wittman: 25%
88. Elijah Cummings: 25%
89. Ben Luján: 25%
90. Ann Kuster: 25%
91. Nancy Pelosi: 25%
92. Marcia Fudge: 25%
93. Glenn Grothman: 25%
94. Ruben Gallego: 25%
95. Brenda Lawrence: 25%
96. Susan Wild: 25%
97. Mike Kelly: 25%
98. Bill Pascrell: 25%
99. Dave Loebsack: 25%
100. Bill Foster: 25%
101. Gregory Meeks: 25%
102. Morgan Griffith: 25%
103. Debbie Wasserman Schultz: 24%
104. Ed Perlmutter: 24%
105. Robert Scott: 24%
106. Mark DeSaulnier: 24%
107. Lee Zeldin: 24%
108. Roger Williams: 24%
109. Gary Palmer: 24%
110. Richard Hudson: 24%
111. Hank Johnson: 24%

112. Eliot Engel: 24%
113. Jackie Speier: 24%
114. Brad Schneider: 24%
115. Eddie Johnson: 24%
116. Maxine Waters: 24%
117. Doug Lamborn: 23%
118. Glenn Thompson: 23%
119. Bennie Thompson: 23%
120. Tom Reed: 23%
121. Suzanne Bonamici: 23%
122. Peter DeFazio: 23%
123. Linda Sánchez: 23%
124. Jerrold Nadler: 23%
125. Don Young: 23%
126. Michael Turner: 23%
127. Tom Marino: 23%
128. Mario Diaz-Balart: 23%
129. Austin Scott: 23%
130. Mark Pocan: 23%
131. Scott Peters: 23%
132. Sheila Jackson Lee: 23%
133. Don Bacon: 23%
134. Robert Latta: 23%
135. Mark Walker: 23%
136. Jaime Herrera Beutler: 23%
137. Chellie Pingree: 23%
138. Jeff Fortenberry: 23%
139. French Hill: 23%
140. Ted Budd: 23%
141. Alan Lowenthal: 23%
142. Vern Buchanan: 23%
143. Dave Joyce: 23%
144. Rick Crawford: 23%
145. Sean Duffy: 23%
146. Mark Meadows: 22%
147. Tony Cárdenas: 22%
148. John Ratcliffe: 22%
149. Tom Emmer: 22%
150. Zoe Lofgren: 22%
151. Ted Deutch: 22%

152. Jerry McNerney: 22%
153. Julia Brownley: 22%
154. George Holding: 22%
155. Derek Kilmer: 22%
156. Grace Meng: 22%
157. Brian Babin: 22%
158. Kurt Schrader: 22%
159. Ted Lieu: 22%
160. John Curtis: 22%
161. Bobby Rush: 22%
162. Gwen Moore: 22%
163. Susan Davis: 22%
164. Joe Courtney: 22%
165. Scott Tipton: 22%
166. Ann Wagner: 22%
167. Barbara Lee: 22%
168. Bill Johnson: 22%
169. Brian Higgins: 21%
170. Larry Bucshon: 21%
171. John Sarbanes: 21%
172. Rob Woodall: 21%
173. Phil Roe: 21%
174. Dan Newhouse: 21%
175. Mike Quigley: 21%
176. Kevin McCarthy: 21%
177. Jim Sensenbrenner: 21%
178. Doug LaMalfa: 21%
179. Lucille Roybal-Allard: 21%
180. Bill Keating: 21%
181. Brad Wenstrup: 21%
182. Donald Payne: 21%
183. Vicente Gonzalez: 21%
184. Rick Allen: 21%
185. Jared Huffman: 21%
186. Steny Hoyer: 21%
187. Steve King: 21%
188. Jim Cooper: 21%
189. Billy Long: 21%
190. Ed Case: 20%
191. Andy Harris: 20%

192. David McKinley: 20%
193. Jim Langevin: 20%
194. Cathy McMorris Rodgers: 20%
195. David Cicilline: 20%
196. Suzan DelBene: 20%
197. Tim Walberg: 20%
198. Donald Norcross: 20%
199. Ro Khanna: 20%
200. Roger Marshall: 20%
201. Kenny Marchant: 20%
202. Eric Swalwell: 20%
203. John Yarmuth: 20%
204. Rodney Davis: 20%
205. Gus Bilirakis: 20%
206. Adam Schiff: 20%
207. David Kustoff: 20%
208. Walter Jones: 20%
209. Michael McCaul: 20%
210. Thomas Massie: 19%
211. Pete Olson: 19%
212. Danny Davis: 19%
213. Ralph Norman: 19%
214. Vicky Hartzler: 19%
215. Bill Huizenga: 19%
216. Tim Ryan: 19%
217. G.K. Butterfield: 19%
218. Steven Palazzo: 19%
219. Steve Stivers: 19%
220. Lloyd Doggett: 19%
221. Henry Cuellar: 19%
222. Darin LaHood: 19%
223. Ken Calvert: 19%
224. Joe Wilson: 19%
225. Matt Cartwright: 19%
226. Steve Womack: 19%
227. Rob Bishop: 19%
228. Bradley Byrne: 19%
229. Duncan Hunter: 19%
230. Fred Upton: 19%
231. Will Hurd: 19%

232. John Katko: 19%
233. John Carter: 18%
234. Rick Larsen: 18%
235. Scott DesJarlais: 18%
236. John Shimkus: 18%
237. Charlie Crist: 18%
238. Steven Chabot: 18%
239. Marcy Kaptur: 18%
240. Grace Napolitano: 18%
241. Mike Rogers: 18%
242. Thomas Suozzi: 18%
243. Ron Kind: 18%
244. Greg Walden: 18%
245. Mike Conaway: 18%
246. Adam Kinzinger: 18%
247. Chris Smith: 18%
248. Tom Cole: 18%
249. Jim Jordan: 18%
250. Steve Scalise: 18%
251. Andy Barr: 18%
252. Josh Gottheimer: 18%
253. Jason Smith: 17%
254. Betty McCollum: 17%
255. Kathleen Rice: 17%
256. Steve Cohen: 17%
257. Mac Thornberry: 17%
258. Jody Hice: 17%
259. Patrick McHenry: 17%
260. Markwayne Mullin: 17%
261. Brad Sherman: 17%
262. Mike Doyle: 17%
263. Jim McGovern: 17%
264. Frank Pallone: 17%
265. Hakeem Jeffries: 17%
266. André Carson: 17%
267. Mo Brooks: 17%
268. Susan Brooks: 17%
269. Mike Thompson: 17%
270. Louie Gohmert: 17%
271. Marc Veasey: 17%

272. Nydia Velázquez: 17%
273. Clay Higgins: 17%
274. Jim Banks: 17%
275. Mike Gallagher: 17%
276. Jan Schakowsky: 17%
277. Earl Blumenauer: 17%
278. Rosa DeLauro: 17%
279. Jeffrey Duncan: 16%
280. Mike Simpson: 16%
281. Mike Bost: 16%
282. Bob Gibbs: 16%
283. Anna Eshoo: 16%
284. Martha Roby: 16%
285. Salud Carbajal: 16%
286. Kevin Brady: 16%
287. Tom Rice: 16%
288. John Larson: 16%
289. Chris Stewart: 16%
290. Jim Costa: 16%
291. Bruce Westerman: 16%
292. Joe Kennedy III: 16%
293. Seth Moulton: 16%
294. Daniel Lipinski: 16%
295. Chuck Fleischmann: 16%
296. Paul Tonko: 16%
297. James Clyburn: 16%
298. Peter Welch: 16%
299. Jim Himes: 16%
300. Peter Visclosky: 15%
301. Devin Nunes: 15%
302. Carolyn Maloney: 15%
303. Collin Peterson: 15%
304. Cheri Bustos: 15%
305. Sam Graves: 15%
306. Kay Granger: 15%
307. Stephen Lynch: 15%
308. Michael Burgess: 15%
309. Trent Kelly: 15%
310. Garret Graves: 15%
311. Doug Collins: 15%

312. David Price: 15%
313. Virginia Foxx: 14%
314. Pete King: 14%
315. Daniel Webster: 14%
316. Al Lawson: 14%
317. Frank Lucas: 14%
318. Alex Mooney: 14%
319. Richard Neal: 14%
320. Yvette Clarke: 14%
321. Nita Lowey: 14%
322. Brett Guthrie: 13%
323. Sanford Bishop: 13%
324. John Lewis: 13%
325. Brendan Boyle: 13%
326. Raja Krishnamoorthi: 13%
327. Conor Lamb: 13%
328. Robert Aderholt: 12%
329. Bill Flores: 12%
330. Emanuel Cleaver: 12%
331. Tom Graves: 12%
332. Alma Adams: 12%
333. Adrian Smith: 11%
334. José Serrano: 11%
335. Dwight Evans: 11%
336. Trey Hollingsworth: 11%
337. Ralph Abraham: 11%
338. John Moolenaar: 11%
339. Hal Rogers: 10%
340. Terri Sewell: 9%
341. Kevin Hern: 8%
342. Jodey Arrington: 3%

10 or Fewer Nominations:
1. Carol Miller: 100%
2. Lucy McBath: 100%
3. Adriano Espaillat: 56%
4. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell: 50%
5. Nanette Barragán: 50%
6. Jimmy Gomez: 33%
7. Jefferson Van Drew: 30%

8. Mary Scanlon: 30%

9. Michael Cloud: 20%

10. Debbie Lesko: 13%

11. Michael Waltz: 11%

12. Joe Morelle: 10%

13. Jennifer Wexton: 0%

Delegates:

1. Aumua Amata Radewagen: 55%

2. Jenniffer González-Colón: 26%

3. Eleanor Norton: 25%

4, Gregorio Sablan: 23%

5. Stacey Plaskett: 12%

This list does not include the 80
current Representatives who did
not appear in the FOIA data.

REFERENCES

[1] CVLC's work has been repeatedly covered by Connecticut news organizations. *See, e.g.*, Peggy McCarthy, *Can Legal Services Lead to Better Health Outcomes for Veterans?*, CONN. HEALTH I-TEAM (Jan. 13, 2014), http://c-hit.org/2014/01/13/can-legal-services-lead-to-better-health-outcomes-for-veterans/ [https://perma.cc/YQ57-PKTY]; Lucy Nalpathanchil, *Connecticut Law to Help Veterans Connect to Jobs, College Credit*, WNPR (June 11, 2014), http://wnpr.org/post/connecticut-law-help-veterans-connect-jobs-college-credit [https://perma.cc/A8P8-4WRB].

[2] *See, e.g.*, *Denying Credit: The Failure to Transition Troops to Civilian Employment*, CONN. VETERANS LEGAL CTR. (Sep. 8, 2014), https://law.yale.edu/system/files/documents/pdf/Clinics/wirac_DenyingCredit.pdf [https://perma.cc/B7YD-X7PM].

[3] *Veteran's Discharge Upgrade Manual*, CONN. VETERANS LEGAL CTR. (2011), https://law.yale.edu/system/files/documents/pdf/Clinics/wirac_CTdischargeUpgradeManual.pdf [https://perma.cc/CR27-WX3S].

[4] *See, e.g.*, Ellen Lawton & Martha Bergmark, *One Reason So Many Veterans Are Homeless? They Can't Afford Lawyers*, WASH. POST (July 8, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/07/08/one-reason-so-many-veterans-are-homeless-they-cant-afford-lawyers/?utm_term=.9ad5131591f5 [https://perma.cc/ZAX2-N5EY?type=image].

[5] *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. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, https://www.usmma.edu/admissions/apply-nomination [https://perma.cc/4T8C-NDD4]; *Admissions*, COAST GUARD ACADEMY, https://www.uscga.edu/admissions/ [https://perma.cc/992J-MLWL].

[6] *See Hearing on Sexual Harassment and Violence at Military Service Academies Before the Subcomm. on Mil. Personnel of the H. Comm. on Armed Servs.*, 115th Cong. (2017); Jeff Barker, *Sexual Misconduct Has Reached "Crisis" Point at U.S. Military Academies, Lawmaker Says*, BALT. SUN (Feb. 13, 2019, 6:15 PM), https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-military-academies-sexual-assault-20190213-story.html [http://perma.cc/K9K5-KU6H?type=image]; *see also* Helene Cooper et al., *"I, Too, Was a Survivor": Senator McSally Ends Years of Silence*, N.Y. TIMES (Mar. 26, 2019), https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/26/us/senator-martha-mcsally-rape-assault.html [http://perma.cc/E5KV-XGRP].

[7] We acknowledge that individuals fall outside of the gender binary as well. The FOIA data provided by the service academies identified nominees only as "female" or "male," which limited our analysis to those categories.

[8] The analysis of *individual nominators* excludes current Members of Congress who have made 10 or fewer total nominations. There are 435 Representatives (notwithstanding Delegates) in the House, but the FOIA data include only 342 current Representatives who have nominated more than 10 candidates to the service academies. Likewise, there are 100 Senators in the Senate, but the FOIA data include only 91 current Senators who have nominated more than 10 candidates to the service academies,. However, some *aggregated* data in the report include *all* nominators named in the FOIA data—355 Representatives, 5 Delegates, and 96 Senators. The year-to-year total (p. 6) and state-by-state analysis (p. 9) include all nominators, including those with 10 or fewer nominations. Likewise, the year-to-year total and state-by-state analysis include House data for current Senators who have previously served in the House, while analysis that singles out individual Senate nominators does not include their House nominations. In addition, the FOIA datasets did not include some members of the freshman class of the 116th Congress

because they have made no nominations at all. Lastly, the analysis includes the nominations data of former Reps. Tom Marino (R-PA) and Walter Jones (R-NC) although Marino resigned in Jan. 2019 and Jones passed away in Feb. 2019. Adam Levy, *Pennsylvania Republican congressman resigns*, CNN (Jan. 17, 2019), https://www.cnn.com/2019/01/17/politics/tom-marino-announces-resignation/index.html [https://perma.cc/W26J-YREV]; Sarah Ferris, *North Carolina Rep. Walter Jones dies at 76*, POLITICO (Feb. 10, 2019), https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/10/walter-jones-dead-1162668 [https://perma.cc/NJ25-SGM6].

[9] 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).

[10] For the appointment, number, and territorial distribution statutory requirements of the military service academies, see 10 U.S.C. §§ 4342 (USMA), 6954 (USNA), and 9442 (USAFA).

[11] PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 9, at 1 n.1 (2017).

[12] *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).

[13] Beth A. Collier & Barbara K. Sams, *Academy Admissions and Nomination Flow Chart*, SAINT LOUIS PRIORY SCH. & WHITFIELD SCH. OFFICES OF C. COUNSELING (Oct. 16, 2017), https://mehlvillehigh.mehlvilleschooldistrict.com/UserFiles/Servers/Server_125296/File/Military%20Academy%20Nomination%20Flow%20Chart.pdf [https://perma.cc/3Z77-DXZS].

[14] PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 9, at 2.

[15] 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].

[16] *Id.*

[17] *Id.*

[18] *Academy Nominations*, SEN. KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND, https://www.gillibrand.senate.gov/help/academy-nominations [https://perma.cc/Q29D-5NXL].

[19] *Military Academies*, SEN. KAMALA HARRIS, https://www.harris.senate.gov/services/military-academies [https://perma.cc/H988-53G9].

[20] *Academy Nominations*, SEN. MARCO RUBIO, https://www.rubio.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/academy-nominations [https://perma.cc/L82B-D7NX].

[21] *Service Academy Nominations*, CONGRESSMAN JOHN CARTER, https://carter.house.gov/service-academy-nominations [https://perma.cc/T3WD-CE9M].

[22] PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 9, at 2.

[23] *Id.*

[24] *Id.* at 5.

[25] Korte & Schouten, *supra* note 12.

[26] *Id.*

[27] Jack Bergman (R-MI) and John Rutherford (R-FL) have both nominated 22 women and 28 men. Likewise, Trey Hollingsworth (R-IN) and Dwight Evans (D-PA) have each nominated 4 women and 33 men.

[28] *See* 48 U.S.C. § 1731 (2018) ("The Territory of American Samoa shall be represented in the United States Congress by a nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives . . . ."). For more on the legacy of U.S. military service in American Samoa despite the territory's exclusion from voting rights in Congress and the presidency, see Maria Murriel, *Millions of Americans Can't Vote for President Because of Where They Live*, PRI (Nov. 1, 2016), https://www.wgbh.org/news/2017/03/03/millions-americans-cant-vote-president-because-where-they-live [https://perma.cc/L2LN-ZC34].

[29] *FAQ: What You Should Know About the U.S. Service Academies*, SEN. KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND, https://www.gillibrand.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Service_Academy_Nominations_FAQ.pdf [https://perma.cc/P5GZ-5SSG] (emphasis added).

[30] PETERSEN & ECKMAN, *supra* note 9, at 11-15 (2017).

[31] In addition, according to the service academies' data, there were six Members of Congress who served as both a Representative and a Senator in the same Congress. Because it is not possible to determine

which of their nominations were made in each position, the final rankings exclude any nominations made in this scenario.

[32] CVLC has appealed USNA's failure to provide nomination data by Senator name.

[33] Because each academy produced the data in a different format, this report required a significant time investment in assembling, translating, and standardizing the data. For example, the USAFA FOIA office produced image-only PDFs of their spreadsheets (not Excel-compatible), which could not be accurately transposed using various proprietary text-recognition software. Transposition errors were checked and corrected manually.

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[38] 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/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.715286fb0cec [https://perma.cc/966W-ZXDK?type=image].

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[44] *Id.* at 2.

[45] *Id.* at 3.

[46] *Id.*

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[49] H. MICHAEL GELFAND, SEA CHANGE AT ANNAPOLIS: THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY, 1949-2000, at 126 (2006), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9780807877470_gelfand.

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[51] *See, e.g.*, Amanda Flegl, *Up in Arms Over a Co-Ed Plebe Summer*, SMITHSONIAN MAG. (July 2009), https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/up-in-arms-over-a-co-ed-plebe-summer-30290895/ [https://perma.cc/YXR5-LKNF]; Leepson *supra* note 47; *see also* Marcy Reborchick, AT THE GATES OF WEST POINT WOMEN'S MEMORIAL (2007), https://www.womensmemorial.org/oral-history/detail/?s=at-the-gates-of-west-point [https://perma.cc/K9CF-AZE8]; *Women Enter the Military Academies*, THE WOMEN'S MEMORIAL, https://www.womensmemorial.org/history/detail/?s=women-enter-the-military-academies [https://perma.cc/V2F5-NPRM].

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[88] This list does not include the following four current Senators who did not appear in the FOIA data: Mike Braun, Josh Hawley, Mitt Romney, and Rick Scott.

[89] This list does not include the 80 current Representatives who did not appear in the FOIA data: Colin Allred, Kelly Armstrong, Cynthia Axne, James Baird, Anthony Brindisi, Tim Burchett, Sean Casten, Gilbert Ray Cisneros, Jr., Ben Cline, TJ Cox, Angie Craig, Dan Crenshaw, Jason Crow, Joe Cunningham, Sharice Davids, Madeleine Dean, Antonio Delgado, Veronica Escobar, Abby Finkenauer, Lizzie Fletcher, Russ Fulcher, Chuy García, Sylvia Garcia, Jared Golden, Anthony Gonzalez, Lance Gooden, Mark Green, Michael Guest, Debra Haaland, Jim Hagedorn, Josh Harder, Jahana Hayes, Katie Hill, Kendra Horn, Chrissy Houlahan, Dusty Johnson, Mark Joyce, Fred Keller, Andy Kim, Susie Lee, Andy Levin, Mike Levin, Elaine Luria, Tom Malinowski, Ben McAdams, Dan Meuser, Joe Neguse, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ilhan Omar, Chris Pappas, Greg Pence, Dean Phillips, Katie Porter, Ayanna Pressley, Guy Reschenthaler, Denver Riggleman, John Rose, Max Rose, Harley Rouda, Chip Roy, Michael San Nicolas, Kim Schrier, Donna Shalala, Mikie Sherrill, Elissa Slotkin, Abigail Davis Spanberger, Ross Spano, Greg Stanton, Pete Stauber, Bryan Steil, Greg Steube, Haley Stevens, Van Taylor, William Timmons, Rashida Tlaib, Xochitl Torres Small, Lori Trahan, David Trone, Lauren Underwood, Steve Watkins, and Ron Wright.