

# How many jobs could the AHCA cost your state?

The AHCA's drag on potential job growth

**Report** • By [Josh Bivens](#) • March 24, 2017

# Summary

The report provides a rough estimate of the potential drag on job growth that will occur if Congress enacts the American Health Care Act (AHCA), which repeals the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Specifically, it estimates where we would be on jobs if the AHCA is enacted and everything else stays the same (the “all-else-equal effect”) relative to the jobs picture under the ACA in coming years, by state and congressional district (CD). Our methodology and rationale were explained in detail in a report (Bivens 2017) released in January that estimated the drag on aggregate demand, and hence on job growth, that would have resulted from a partial repeal of the Affordable Care Act. Our current methodology adjusts for the specific provisions in the AHCA but the overall forces remain the same. In short, by repealing the ACA and enacting the AHCA, Congress would impose a large spending cut as subsidies to purchase health care under the ACA give way to smaller tax credits under the AHCA. The benefit cuts would come mostly out of the pockets of cash-constrained households that will be likely to significantly cut back their spending in response to lower disposable income, while the tax cuts in the ACA repeal would disproportionately go to high-income households who tend to save a significant portion of increases in disposable income. On net, the shortfall in spending (or aggregate demand) would translate into slower job growth. Our full results are provided in Figures A and B.

Key findings are:

- Nationally, all-else-equal, the AHCA could slow job growth by 409,000 in 2019, by 1.1 million in 2020, by 1.6 million in 2021, and by 1.8 million in 2022.
- The 15 states with the largest reductions in job growth, ranked by jobs-reduced expressed as a share of the total employed population in 2015 are: New Mexico, Kentucky, Montana, Oregon, West Virginia, Rhode Island, Louisiana, New Jersey, Arizona, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, Vermont, Michigan, and Ohio.
- The degree to which the AHCA drags on job growth varies dramatically by congressional district. On average, congressional districts experience a potential

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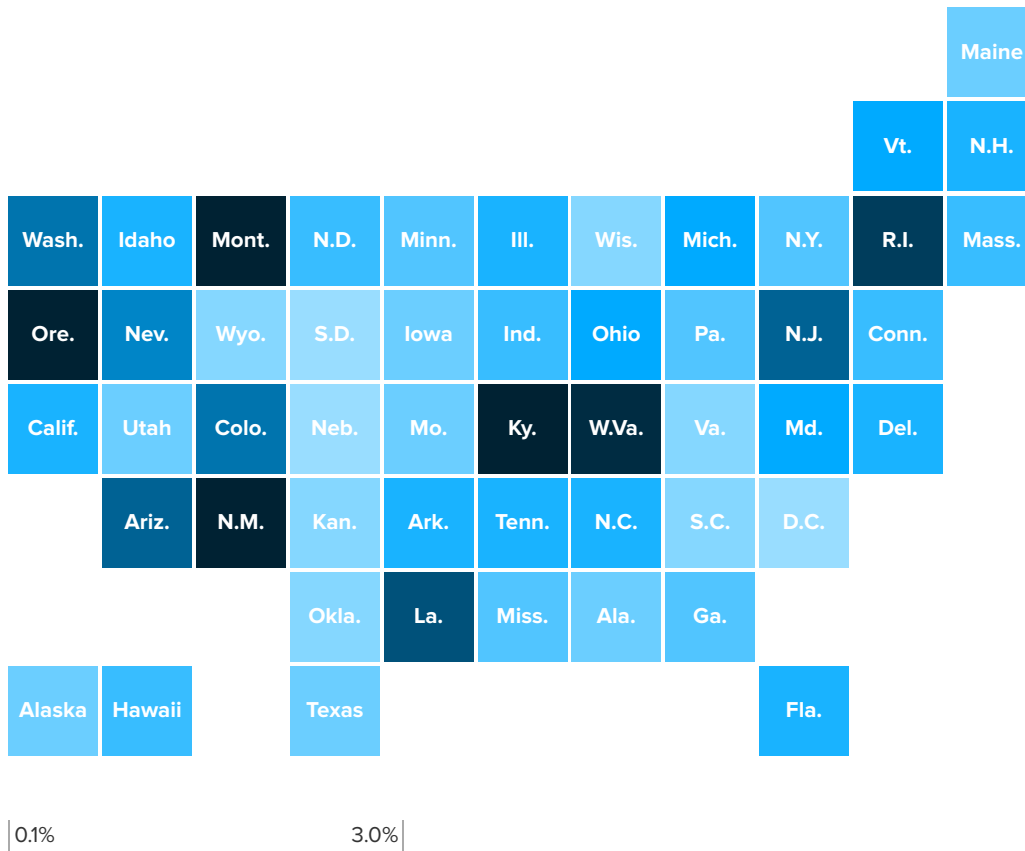
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Figure 1

## How many jobs could the AHCA cost your state?

Potential fewer jobs per state due to drag on growth from the AHCA, 2017–2022



Click map to view data.

Map is colored to illustrate relative impact by showing average annual job loss as a share of total state employment.

**Source:** Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau (2013), U.S. International Trade Commission (USITC 2016a), Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS 2016e), and BLS Employment Projections program (BLS-EP 2014a and 2014b).

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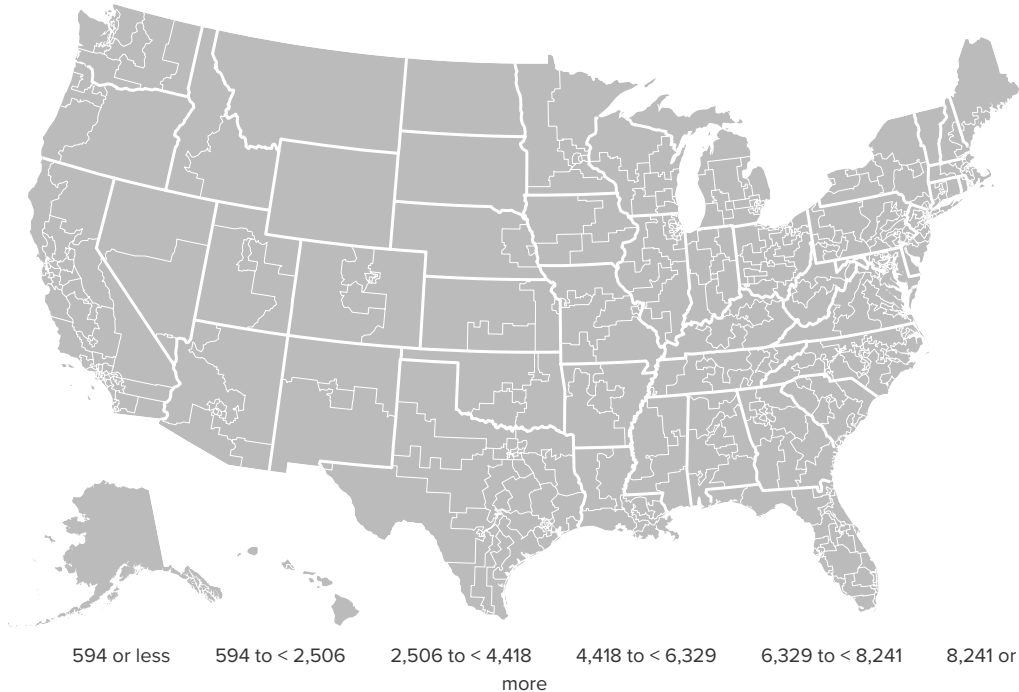
drag on jobs of 4,000 in 2022, but in a couple of districts there were essentially zero job-growth reductions and in at least one district the job-growth reduction reached 20,000.

- As a general rule, states and congressional districts with large Medicaid spending fare the worst under the AHCA replacement of the ACA, while states with a high share of rich households do better. This is because the Medicaid cuts drag the most on growth, while the only countervailing stimulus provided by the AHCA is tax cuts that disproportionately boost the incomes for the richest households.

Figure 2

## How many jobs could the AHCA cost in your congressional district?

Potential fewer jobs by congressional district due to drag on growth from the AHCA, 2017–2022



**Source:** Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau (2013), U.S. International Trade Commission (USITC 2016a), Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS 2016e), and BLS Employment Projections program (BLS-EP 2014a and 2014b). For a more detailed explanation of data sources and computations, see the appendix.

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## Macroeconomic background

Bivens (2017) provides the necessary macroeconomic context for assessing the overall job-growth implications of ACA repeal. The important points are simply that the AHCA cuts spending on Medicaid and subsidies to help people purchase health insurance (and health care) in the nongroup (individual) market, and cuts taxes that disproportionately fall on higher-income households. This combination of spending cuts borne by low and moderate-income households and tax cuts enjoyed by high-income households makes it a drag on aggregate demand growth. This is simply because low- and moderate-income households spend a higher share of their disposable income.

The AHCA's cuts occur further in the future than those modeled in Bivens (2017). While there is strong evidence that the economy's growth will be constrained by the low level of aggregate demand (spending by households, businesses, and governments) even through 2019, it is hard to speak with certainty about aggregate demand constraints too far after 2019. There are reasons to believe that this growth may still be demand-constrained and hence the AHCA will translate directly into the job losses specified. On the other hand,

many macroeconomic projections indicate that the economy will not be so constrained, and that nonfiscal tools (mostly interest rate reductions engineered by the Federal Reserve) could neutralize the fiscal drag from ACA repeal and replacement such that no downward drag on jobs occurs.

As we emphasized previously, however, since 2008, macroeconomic projections have proven wrong. Since 2008 macroeconomic projections have generally indicated that the economy would break free of aggregate demand constraints in the next three years, but that consistently failed to occur. Given the constant disappointment of these projections, and given rising concerns that “secular stagnation” could lead to a future in which chronic aggregate demand shortfalls become structural features of advanced economies, it seems sensible to worry about demand-constraints even four and five years down the road. (See Summers 2014 for the best summary statement of the potential for secular stagnation and its effects.) The AHCA would impose a considerable fiscal drag on job growth, and policymakers should know just how hard other levers of policy would have to work to overcome it.

Given all of this uncertainty, we present our findings as a *drag on potential job growth*, rather than as clear predictions of “jobs lost.” These estimates are implicitly a measure of how much harder other macroeconomic policy would have to work to neutralize the demand drag stemming from AHCA enactment. Given that policymakers should be deeply uncertain if other tools of macroeconomic policy have the ability to neutralize large negative fiscal shocks, these estimates should be unsettling. Bivens (2017), for example, describes research by Angrist et al. (2013) highlighting the extremely weak effect of interest rate cuts enacted by the Federal Reserve in boosting demand growth. This is particularly true in those congressional districts and states that would be particularly hard-hit by the AHCA. While macroeconomic policy may be able to neutralize the *nationwide* impact of the AHCA fiscal drag, it is highly unlikely to be able to neutralize it in the particularly hard-hit geographic regions, unless it is unusually finely targeted (and again, interest rate reductions enacted by the Federal Reserve are not finely targeted).

## Data and methods

The broad method for estimating the drag on job growth is the same as our earlier paper (Bivens 2017), and interested readers can seek the details there. In a nutshell, the fiscal impulses stemming from the spending and tax cuts are estimated separately, output multipliers drawn from the research literature are applied to them, and a crosswalk between the additional output and additional employment is applied. The net of cross-cutting effects gives us our measure of drag on potential job growth.

For estimating changes in subsidies and tax credits in the nongroup market, we started with Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates of the nationwide spending decline that would be spurred by the elimination of exchange subsidies under the ACA. We then applied these nationwide cuts proportionately across CDs. To apportion these cuts, we used data from the Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) on current ACA exchange enrollment by CD. We then took CBO national estimates for the new tax credits for nongroup

insurance purchase provided by the AHCA. We allocated this new spending by CD by combining the KFF CD data with data estimated by Cutler (2017) on nongroup enrollment *changes* by CD. Combining the KFF data on current enrollment under the ACA and Cutler's data on the size of coverage losses by CD post-AHCA, we then can back out a measure (adjusted for age bands as we noted) to nongroup enrollment *after* the AHCA by CD. We then made an adjustment to spending by CD based on the proportion of the age 18-64 population in each CD that fell into three separate age-bands (19-29, 30-49, 50-64). This adjustment reflects the fact that the AHCA tax credits are more generous for older enrollees than younger enrollees. This lets us allocate the stimulative effect of the AHCA tax credits for nongroup purchase. Implicitly, CDs whose 18-64 population skews older will see larger tax credits flowing into their district from the AHCA. The net impact of ACA spending losses and AHCA tax credits on the nongroup market in each CD is used to calculate output and employment impacts.

For estimating changes in Medicaid spending, we take the national estimate of the reduction in Medicaid spending by the CBO, and allocate it across *states* according to estimates made by Blumberg et al. (2016) in their estimate of partial repeal. This is likely not perfect, but, should work well in the early years of the AHCA (which is what we're examining). In later years, the CBO estimate includes projections about states that have not yet accepted the ACA Medicaid expansion that would do so should current law persist, and Blumberg et al. (2016) make no attempt to estimate these across states. There is a good reasons why we do not use the estimates by Cutler (2017) on falling Medicaid enrollment across CDs to allocate changes in Medicaid spending. His estimates are for 2026, and implicitly include these later years' decisions about new states that would accept the ACA Medicaid expansion under current law, but will not under the AHCA. Given all of this, we think the Blumberg et al. (2016) estimates, which show very large differences (appropriately so) of the effect of Medicaid cuts on expansions versus non-expansion states, are the most useful for allocating these Medicaid cuts across states in the near term.

Once these Medicaid cuts are allocated across states, we allocate them proportionally across CDs within a state by using the CD's share of population beneath the federal poverty line, as reported in the American Community Survey (ACS).

For the share of the AHCA tax cuts accruing across CDs, we assume that 40 percent the nationwide tax cuts are distributed uniformly, while the remaining 60 percent are allocated across CDs proportionally to the district's share of households making over \$150,000 per year, again from the American Community Survey (ACS). This reflects the Tax Policy Center (TPC 2017) estimates of the incidence of tax cuts from ACA repeal.

For output multipliers, we applied 1.4 to the net change in subsidies and tax credits for nongroup insurance purchase, 2 to the Medicaid changes, and 0.4 to the tax changes, with the sources of these provided in Bivens (2017).

For translating output changes into employment changes, in 2019 we divide the output change by \$146,000 (the ratio of output to full-time equivalent employment (FTE) in 2015) and inflated by 6 percent to account for productivity growth between 2015 and 2019. After

2019, we boost this FTE per output measure by 1.5 percent to account for continuing productivity growth.

## Data Appendix

The nongroup market spending is the net outcome of repealing ACA subsidies and introducing new AHCA tax credits. We take estimates of current health exchange enrollees by the Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) and apply estimates from Cutler (2017) on the change in enrollment spurred by the AHCA to get a measure of remaining enrollment in nongroup markets by congressional district (CD). We use this measure to allocate the nationwide amount of tax credits estimated by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). We also provide an age adjustment that estimates higher tax credits going to CDs whose age 18–64 population skews older, reflecting the fact that under the AHCA tax credits are larger for older enrollees. Specifically, we multiply the share of the 18–64 population that is between 30 and 49 by 1.375 and the share that is 50 and over by 1.875, reflecting the greater generosity of tax credits for these populations relative to those received by the under-30 population.

For Medicaid spending we allocate the CBO estimates of Medicaid spending reductions across states by using the Blumberg et al. (2016) estimates of how partial ACA repeal would be borne. Within states, we allocate the incidence of these spending cuts across CDs proportionally to each CD's share of the population with incomes beneath the federal poverty line.

For tax cuts, we assume 40 percent of the revenue accrues uniformly across CDs, while allocating 60 percent of it proportionally to each CD's total share of the population with incomes over \$150,000.

Output multipliers are 1.4 for the nongroup spending reductions, 2 for Medicaid spending reductions, and 0.4 for the tax cuts. These parameter choices are explained in Bivens (2017). In 2019, we divide the output change by \$146,000 to get employment changes, also explained in Bivens (2017). For each year after 2019, we increase this divisor by 1.5 percent, reflecting expected productivity growth over that time.

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Figure **How many jobs could the AHCA cost your state?**

Potential fewer jobs per state due to drag on growth from the AHCA, 2017–2022

State	Average annual job loss as share of state employment	2017 potential job loss	2018 potential job loss	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Alabama</i>	0.28%	824	1,680	2,685	7,318	10,168	10,999
<i>Alaska</i>	0.32%	101	243	433	1,416	2,018	2,324
<i>Arizona</i>	1.09%	2,272	9,657	14,274	38,106	52,359	60,174
<i>Arkansas</i>	0.63%	676	2,545	3,783	10,060	13,826	15,745
<i>California</i>	0.61%	10,714	30,513	46,280	130,712	183,356	207,072
<i>Colorado</i>	1.04%	1,992	8,507	12,778	35,082	48,443	55,989
<i>Connecticut</i>	0.54%	880	2,198	3,565	11,728	16,736	19,212
<i>Delaware</i>	0.57%	235	774	1,202	3,381	4,698	5,362
<i>Washington D.C.</i>	0.15%	135	67	303	1,542	2,321	2,691
<i>Florida</i>	0.57%	7,899	16,232	24,922	63,356	86,987	92,017
<i>Georgia</i>	0.43%	2,689	5,983	9,147	24,702	34,246	37,180
<i>Hawaii</i>	0.46%	228	792	1,288	3,908	5,494	6,389
<i>Idaho</i>	0.60%	554	1,464	2,178	5,500	7,516	8,182
<i>Illinois</i>	0.59%	3,217	10,385	15,954	45,842	63,956	73,076
<i>Indiana</i>	0.49%	1,482	4,873	7,349	19,680	27,116	30,610
<i>Iowa</i>	0.33%	468	1,483	2,335	6,682	9,314	10,639
<i>Kansas</i>	0.20%	457	711	1,250	3,735	5,282	5,698
<i>Kentucky</i>	2.19%	2,747	14,402	20,755	54,112	73,919	85,647
<i>Louisiana</i>	1.16%	1,932	7,703	11,319	29,684	40,677	46,379
<i>Maine</i>	0.32%	355	615	976	2,531	3,497	3,637
<i>Maryland</i>	0.73%	1,664	5,139	8,442	25,649	36,094	41,668
<i>Massachusetts</i>	0.45%	1,732	3,872	6,551	20,978	29,841	33,901
<i>Michigan</i>	0.74%	3,003	10,497	15,712	41,877	57,618	65,286
<i>Minnesota</i>	0.40%	876	3,308	4,997	15,146	21,300	24,785
<i>Mississippi</i>	0.42%	540	1,561	2,360	6,234	8,579	9,544
<i>Missouri</i>	0.33%	1,358	2,975	4,509	12,145	16,835	18,207
<i>Montana</i>	1.80%	653	2,897	4,195	10,844	14,807	16,956
<i>Nebraska</i>	0.13%	313	322	608	1,803	2,563	2,596



Figure 1  
(cont.)

State	Average annual job loss as share of state employment	2017 potential job loss	2018 potential job loss	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Nevada</i>	0.94%	999	4,074	6,006	15,887	21,800	24,938
<i>New Hampshire</i>	0.62%	423	1,221	1,920	5,417	7,539	8,522
<i>New Jersey</i>	1.14%	3,622	13,705	20,877	59,926	83,463	96,413
<i>New Mexico</i>	2.94%	1,608	8,375	12,053	31,328	42,772	49,513
<i>New York</i>	0.37%	2,126	11,824	16,144	43,426	60,963	71,639
<i>North Carolina</i>	0.60%	3,068	8,479	12,878	34,015	46,838	51,882
<i>North Dakota</i>	0.46%	188	601	934	2,624	3,646	4,151
<i>Ohio</i>	0.72%	3,110	12,708	18,983	51,385	70,803	81,385
<i>Oklahoma</i>	0.20%	569	877	1,510	4,365	6,144	6,544
<i>Oregon</i>	1.77%	2,380	11,125	16,173	42,352	57,948	66,748
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	0.43%	2,825	7,259	11,503	32,922	45,986	51,586
<i>Rhode Island</i>	1.31%	508	2,101	3,114	8,326	11,447	13,136
<i>South Carolina</i>	0.23%	927	1,426	2,344	6,267	8,718	9,011
<i>South Dakota</i>	0.13%	108	125	239	748	1,069	1,128
<i>Tennessee</i>	0.57%	1,700	5,453	8,239	22,057	30,397	34,241
<i>Texas</i>	0.26%	5,484	8,780	13,982	41,197	58,345	62,143
<i>Utah</i>	0.32%	812	1,465	2,313	6,006	8,292	8,680
<i>Vermont</i>	0.74%	229	760	1,137	3,011	4,140	4,664
<i>Virginia</i>	0.19%	1,677	2,792	3,676	8,882	13,364	13,768
<i>Washington</i>	1.04%	2,612	10,759	16,175	44,300	61,163	70,501
<i>West Virginia</i>	1.45%	769	3,832	5,545	14,499	19,823	22,914
<i>Wisconsin</i>	0.19%	1,056	1,528	2,618	7,380	10,360	10,838
<i>Wyoming</i>	0.16%	90	110	199	582	824	853

Map is colored to illustrate relative impact by showing average annual job loss as a share of total state employment.

**Source:** Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau (2013), U.S. International Trade Commission (USITC 2016a), Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS 2016e), and BLS Employment Projections program (BLS-EP 2014a and 2014b).

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Figure 2

## How many jobs could the AHCA cost in your congressional district?

Potential fewer jobs by congressional district due to drag on growth from the AHCA, 2017–2022

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Alabama</i>	1	Bradley Byrne	468	1,229	1,696	1,820
<i>Alabama</i>	2	Martha Roby	375	1,001	1,384	1,505
<i>Alabama</i>	3	Mike Rogers	404	1,071	1,478	1,613
<i>Alabama</i>	4	Robert B. Aderholt	429	1,108	1,522	1,647
<i>Alabama</i>	5	Mo Brooks	307	910	1,287	1,376
<i>Alabama</i>	6	Gary J. Palmer	174	662	974	1,032
<i>Alabama</i>	7	Terri A. Sewell	528	1,338	1,827	2,006
<i>Alaska</i>	Statewide	Don Young	433	1,416	2,018	2,324
<i>Arizona</i>	1	Tom O'Halleran	1,875	4,911	6,719	7,746
<i>Arizona</i>	2	Martha McSally	1,377	3,696	5,085	5,838
<i>Arizona</i>	3	Raúl M. Grijalva	2,182	5,606	7,640	8,789
<i>Arizona</i>	4	Paul A. Gosar	1,498	3,885	5,310	6,074
<i>Arizona</i>	5	Andy Biggs	828	2,375	3,313	3,778
<i>Arizona</i>	6	David Schweikert	795	2,571	3,658	4,214
<i>Arizona</i>	7	Ruben Gallego	3,171	8,148	11,101	12,811
<i>Arizona</i>	8	Trent Franks	958	2,600	3,588	4,084
<i>Arizona</i>	9	Kyrsten Sinema	1,592	4,314	5,946	6,841
<i>Arkansas</i>	1	Eric A. "Rick" Crawford	1,085	2,815	3,849	4,390
<i>Arkansas</i>	2	J. French Hill	777	2,127	2,941	3,342
<i>Arkansas</i>	3	Steve Womack	869	2,380	3,290	3,739
<i>Arkansas</i>	4	Bruce Westerman	1,052	2,738	3,746	4,275
<i>California</i>	1	Doug LaMalfa	1,096	2,880	3,954	4,460
<i>California</i>	2	Jared Huffman	502	1,838	2,670	3,013
<i>California</i>	3	John Garamendi	886	2,440	3,380	3,830
<i>California</i>	4	Tom McClintock	553	1,722	2,444	2,718

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
California	5	Mike Thompson	687	2,041	2,871	3,223
California	6	Doris O. Matsui	1,351	3,540	4,852	5,517
California	7	Ami Bera	725	2,093	2,928	3,293
California	8	Paul Cook	1,262	3,254	4,447	5,036
California	9	Jerry McNerney	1,122	2,988	4,110	4,655
California	10	Jeff Denham	1,072	2,824	3,878	4,382
California	11	Mark DeSaulnier	320	1,494	2,235	2,538
California	12	Nancy Pelosi	76	1,283	2,065	2,370
California	13	Barbara Lee	772	2,483	3,536	4,009
California	14	Jackie Speier	1	802	1,329	1,509
California	15	Eric Swalwell	197	1,159	1,777	1,981
California	16	Jim Costa	1,785	4,574	6,235	7,128
California	17	Ro Khanna	63	707	1,219	1,379
California	18	Anna G. Eshoo	543	21	437	539
California	19	Zoe Lofgren	484	1,754	2,544	2,883
California	20	Jimmy Panetta	942	2,623	3,643	4,107
California	21	David G. Valadao	1,658	4,250	5,793	6,635
California	22	Devin Nunes	1,144	3,075	4,235	4,829
California	23	Kevin McCarthy	1,039	2,800	3,859	4,392
California	24	Salud O. Carbajal	834	2,405	3,364	3,786
California	25	Stephen Knight	781	2,270	3,180	3,561
California	26	Julia Brownley	585	1,878	2,678	2,992
California	27	Judy Chu	585	1,914	2,737	3,064
California	28	Adam B. Schiff	726	2,332	3,321	3,752
California	29	Tony Cárdenas	1,405	3,589	4,897	5,528
California	30	Brad Sherman	518	1,857	2,690	3,025
California	31	Pete Aguilar	1,173	3,112	4,277	4,852
California	32	Grace F. Napolitano	1,018	2,643	3,622	4,048
California	33	Ted Lieu	310	486	1,034	1,191

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>California</i>	34	vacant	1,702	4,385	5,990	6,803
<i>California</i>	35	Norma J. Torres	1,202	3,065	4,181	4,719
<i>California</i>	36	Raul Ruiz	1,208	3,219	4,429	5,017
<i>California</i>	37	Karen Bass	1,152	3,263	4,543	5,156
<i>California</i>	38	Linda T. Sánchez	892	2,354	3,239	3,607
<i>California</i>	39	Edward R. Royce	549	1,768	2,524	2,809
<i>California</i>	40	Lucille Roybal-Allard	1,766	4,465	6,075	6,892
<i>California</i>	41	Mark Takano	1,290	3,338	4,566	5,170
<i>California</i>	42	Ken Calvert	664	1,862	2,593	2,888
<i>California</i>	43	Maxine Waters	1,270	3,340	4,585	5,176
<i>California</i>	44	Nanette Diaz Barragán	1,532	3,886	5,293	5,985
<i>California</i>	45	Mimi Walters	175	1,191	1,846	2,060
<i>California</i>	46	J. Luis Correa	1,262	3,232	4,414	4,960
<i>California</i>	47	Alan S. Lowenthal	1,026	2,827	3,919	4,410
<i>California</i>	48	Dana Rohrabacher	294	1,447	2,180	2,443
<i>California</i>	49	Darrell E. Issa	386	1,590	2,349	2,631
<i>California</i>	50	Duncan Hunter	920	2,509	3,472	3,883
<i>California</i>	51	Juan Vargas	1,618	4,061	5,522	6,205
<i>California</i>	52	Scott H. Peters	258	1,305	1,973	2,201
<i>California</i>	53	Susan A. Davis	897	2,469	3,424	3,830
<i>Colorado</i>	1	Diana DeGette	2,344	6,472	8,944	10,362
<i>Colorado</i>	2	Jared Polis	1,597	4,573	6,368	7,344
<i>Colorado</i>	3	Scott R. Tipton	2,339	6,134	8,395	9,669
<i>Colorado</i>	4	Ken Buck	1,585	4,408	6,103	7,055
<i>Colorado</i>	5	Doug Lamborn	1,722	4,656	6,408	7,421
<i>Colorado</i>	6	Mike Coffman	1,449	4,134	5,750	6,656
<i>Colorado</i>	7	Ed Perlmutter	1,743	4,705	6,476	7,482
<i>Connecticut</i>	1	John B. Larson	982	2,879	4,029	4,616
<i>Connecticut</i>	2	Joe Courtney	632	1,952	2,760	3,136

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Connecticut</i>	3	Rosa L. DeLauro	953	2,768	3,869	4,426
<i>Connecticut</i>	4	James A. Himes	145	1,504	2,372	2,784
<i>Connecticut</i>	5	Elizabeth H. Esty	853	2,626	3,706	4,249
<i>Delaware</i>	Statewide	Lisa Blunt Rochester	1,202	3,381	4,698	5,362
<i>DC</i>	Statewide	Eleanor Holmes Norton	303	1,542	2,321	2,691
<i>Florida</i>	1	Matt Gaetz	557	1,482	2,051	2,208
<i>Florida</i>	2	Neal P. Dunn	652	1,696	2,333	2,533
<i>Florida</i>	3	Ted S. Yoho	699	1,798	2,469	2,667
<i>Florida</i>	4	John H. Rutherford	574	1,563	2,177	2,309
<i>Florida</i>	5	Al Lawson, Jr.	907	2,234	3,034	3,319
<i>Florida</i>	6	Ron DeSantis	777	2,037	2,813	2,983
<i>Florida</i>	7	Stephanie N. Murphy	845	2,176	2,998	3,147
<i>Florida</i>	8	Bill Posey	720	1,862	2,565	2,722
<i>Florida</i>	9	Darren Soto	1,096	2,650	3,597	3,817
<i>Florida</i>	10	Val Butler Demings	969	2,462	3,383	3,550
<i>Florida</i>	11	Daniel Webster	807	1,983	2,699	2,879
<i>Florida</i>	12	Gus M. Bilirakis	639	1,702	2,361	2,492
<i>Florida</i>	13	Charlie Crist	689	1,812	2,506	2,653
<i>Florida</i>	14	Kathy Castor	808	2,107	2,903	3,136
<i>Florida</i>	15	Dennis A. Ross	678	1,773	2,446	2,615
<i>Florida</i>	16	Vern Buchanan	612	1,677	2,339	2,477
<i>Florida</i>	17	Thomas J. Rooney	788	1,953	2,663	2,853
<i>Florida</i>	18	Brian J. Mast	807	2,168	3,013	3,155
<i>Florida</i>	19	Francis Rooney	671	1,897	2,660	2,813
<i>Florida</i>	20	Alcee L. Hastings	1,533	3,616	4,880	5,170
<i>Florida</i>	21	Lois Frankel	910	2,374	3,284	3,411

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Florida</i>	22	Theodore E. Deutch	1,024	2,775	3,868	4,028
<i>Florida</i>	23	Debbie Wasserman Schultz	1,120	2,927	4,050	4,207
<i>Florida</i>	24	Frederica S. Wilson	1,717	4,082	5,522	5,828
<i>Florida</i>	25	Mario Diaz-Balart	1,375	3,310	4,494	4,710
<i>Florida</i>	26	Carlos Curbelo	1,482	3,544	4,808	5,013
<i>Florida</i>	27	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	1,468	3,697	5,070	5,321
<i>Georgia</i>	1	Earl L. "Buddy" Carter	682	1,773	2,439	2,653
<i>Georgia</i>	2	Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.	761	1,946	2,660	2,961
<i>Georgia</i>	3	A. Drew Ferguson, IV	561	1,512	2,095	2,275
<i>Georgia</i>	4	Henry C. "Hank" Johnson, Jr.	918	2,285	3,117	3,348
<i>Georgia</i>	5	John Lewis	751	2,122	2,966	3,241
<i>Georgia</i>	6	vacant	81	876	1,402	1,473
<i>Georgia</i>	7	Rob Woodall	745	2,006	2,789	2,940
<i>Georgia</i>	8	Austin Scott	633	1,643	2,254	2,502
<i>Georgia</i>	9	Doug Collins	679	1,755	2,409	2,624
<i>Georgia</i>	10	Jody B. Hice	669	1,736	2,385	2,606
<i>Georgia</i>	11	Barry Loudermilk	438	1,395	1,997	2,131
<i>Georgia</i>	12	Rick W. Allen	751	1,928	2,640	2,907
<i>Georgia</i>	13	David Scott	843	2,112	2,886	3,106
<i>Georgia</i>	14	Tom Graves	636	1,613	2,206	2,413
<i>Hawaii</i>	1	Colleen Hanabusa	422	1,445	2,071	2,424
<i>Hawaii</i>	2	Tulsi Gabbard	866	2,463	3,424	3,965
<i>Idaho</i>	1	Raúl R. Labrador	1,094	2,743	3,743	4,069

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Idaho</i>	2	Michael K. Simpson	1,084	2,757	3,773	4,113
<i>Illinois</i>	1	Bobby L. Rush	1,376	3,656	5,021	5,744
<i>Illinois</i>	2	Robin L. Kelly	1,481	3,850	5,264	6,023
<i>Illinois</i>	3	Daniel Lipinski	821	2,289	3,177	3,606
<i>Illinois</i>	4	Luis V. Gutiérrez	1,593	4,132	5,646	6,464
<i>Illinois</i>	5	Mike Quigley	354	1,574	2,339	2,691
<i>Illinois</i>	6	Peter J. Roskam	9	722	1,202	1,358
<i>Illinois</i>	7	Danny K. Davis	1,480	4,271	5,955	6,875
<i>Illinois</i>	8	Raja Krishnamoorthi	766	2,126	2,951	3,330
<i>Illinois</i>	9	Janice D. Schakowsky	501	1,860	2,701	3,101
<i>Illinois</i>	10	Bradley Scott Schneider	377	1,552	2,286	2,609
<i>Illinois</i>	11	Bill Foster	674	1,994	2,799	3,173
<i>Illinois</i>	12	Mike Bost	1,238	3,265	4,476	5,134
<i>Illinois</i>	13	Rodney Davis	1,146	3,092	4,258	4,891
<i>Illinois</i>	14	Randy Hultgren	327	1,255	1,837	2,066
<i>Illinois</i>	15	John Shimkus	1,053	2,770	3,798	4,328
<i>Illinois</i>	16	Adam Kinzinger	857	2,303	3,173	3,604
<i>Illinois</i>	17	Cheri Bustos	1,259	3,267	4,466	5,105
<i>Illinois</i>	18	Darin LaHood	642	1,864	2,605	2,974
<i>Indiana</i>	1	Peter J. Visclosky	863	2,305	3,173	3,594
<i>Indiana</i>	2	Jackie Walorski	874	2,297	3,152	3,557
<i>Indiana</i>	3	Jim Banks	769	2,050	2,822	3,184
<i>Indiana</i>	4	Todd Rokita	732	1,953	2,690	3,030
<i>Indiana</i>	5	Susan W. Brooks	393	1,380	1,994	2,230
<i>Indiana</i>	6	Luke Messer	827	2,165	2,968	3,354
<i>Indiana</i>	7	André Carson	1,284	3,295	4,496	5,107
<i>Indiana</i>	8	Larry Bucshon	799	2,091	2,868	3,226

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Indiana</i>	9	Trey Hollingsworth	806	2,145	2,952	3,328
<i>Iowa</i>	1	Rod Blum	542	1,538	2,140	2,439
<i>Iowa</i>	2	David Loeb sack	675	1,894	2,630	3,011
<i>Iowa</i>	3	David Young	507	1,546	2,181	2,489
<i>Iowa</i>	4	Steve King	611	1,704	2,363	2,701
<i>Kansas</i>	1	Roger W. Marshall	351	959	1,332	1,448
<i>Kansas</i>	2	Lynn Jenkins	386	1,041	1,443	1,566
<i>Kansas</i>	3	Kevin Yoder	170	767	1,153	1,218
<i>Kansas</i>	4	vacant	343	968	1,353	1,466
<i>Kentucky</i>	1	James Comer	3,623	9,361	12,764	14,783
<i>Kentucky</i>	2	Brett Guthrie	3,172	8,232	11,235	13,005
<i>Kentucky</i>	3	John A. Yarmuth	3,086	8,156	11,172	12,952
<i>Kentucky</i>	4	Thomas Massie	2,495	6,627	9,088	10,524
<i>Kentucky</i>	5	Harold Rogers	4,920	12,672	17,264	20,016
<i>Kentucky</i>	6	Andy Barr	3,459	9,065	12,395	14,367
<i>Louisiana</i>	1	Steve Scalise	1,376	3,743	5,173	5,842
<i>Louisiana</i>	2	Cedric L. Richmond	2,632	6,759	9,221	10,510
<i>Louisiana</i>	3	Clay Higgins	1,693	4,490	6,165	7,041
<i>Louisiana</i>	4	Mike Johnson	1,931	5,035	6,888	7,885
<i>Louisiana</i>	5	Ralph Lee Abraham	2,264	5,834	7,961	9,108
<i>Louisiana</i>	6	Garret Graves	1,422	3,825	5,270	5,993
<i>Maine</i>	1	Chellie Pingree	424	1,177	1,649	1,704
<i>Maine</i>	2	Bruce Poliquin	553	1,355	1,848	1,933
<i>Maryland</i>	1	Andy Harris	1,172	3,334	4,638	5,339
<i>Maryland</i>	2	C. A. Dutch Ruppersberger	1,552	4,199	5,784	6,659
<i>Maryland</i>	3	John P. Sarbanes	794	2,646	3,780	4,373
<i>Maryland</i>	4	Anthony G. Brown	1,042	3,059	4,280	4,929



Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Maryland</i>	5	Steny H. Hoyer	650	2,184	3,123	3,614
<i>Maryland</i>	6	John K. Delaney	942	2,987	4,235	4,879
<i>Maryland</i>	7	Elijah E. Cummings	1,974	5,499	7,613	8,817
<i>Maryland</i>	8	Jamie Raskin	315	1,741	2,642	3,059
<i>Massachusetts</i>	1	Richard E. Neal	1,258	3,365	4,632	5,257
<i>Massachusetts</i>	2	James P. McGovern	920	2,630	3,669	4,154
<i>Massachusetts</i>	3	Niki Tsongas	793	2,466	3,490	3,964
<i>Massachusetts</i>	4	Joseph P. Kennedy, III	107	1,098	1,739	1,976
<i>Massachusetts</i>	5	Katherine M. Clark	236	1,391	2,126	2,423
<i>Massachusetts</i>	6	Seth Moulton	391	1,563	2,298	2,594
<i>Massachusetts</i>	7	Michael E. Capuano	1,528	4,261	5,906	6,772
<i>Massachusetts</i>	8	Stephen F. Lynch	476	1,774	2,582	2,925
<i>Massachusetts</i>	9	William R. Keating	841	2,431	3,398	3,837
<i>Michigan</i>	1	Jack Bergman	1,226	3,128	4,272	4,773
<i>Michigan</i>	2	Bill Huizenga	1,099	2,852	3,904	4,411
<i>Michigan</i>	3	Justin Amash	1,026	2,752	3,791	4,300
<i>Michigan</i>	4	John R. Moolenaar	1,184	3,093	4,236	4,814
<i>Michigan</i>	5	Daniel T. Kildee	1,340	3,470	4,742	5,414
<i>Michigan</i>	6	Fred Upton	1,203	3,146	4,311	4,883
<i>Michigan</i>	7	Tim Walberg	895	2,383	3,280	3,704
<i>Michigan</i>	8	Mike Bishop	769	2,234	3,128	3,524
<i>Michigan</i>	9	Sander M. Levin	1,053	2,825	3,896	4,374
<i>Michigan</i>	10	Paul Mitchell	910	2,396	3,296	3,675
<i>Michigan</i>	11	David A. Trott	321	1,269	1,866	2,075
<i>Michigan</i>	12	Debbie Dingell	1,082	2,925	4,034	4,593
<i>Michigan</i>	13	John Conyers,	2,037	5,211	7,098	8,154

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
		Jr.				
<i>Michigan</i>	14	Brenda L. Lawrence	1,568	4,192	5,765	6,594
<i>Minnesota</i>	1	Timothy J. Walz	715	2,022	2,808	3,253
<i>Minnesota</i>	2	Jason Lewis	291	1,112	1,618	1,893
<i>Minnesota</i>	3	Erik Paulsen	10	642	1,062	1,283
<i>Minnesota</i>	4	Betty McCollum	752	2,294	3,227	3,764
<i>Minnesota</i>	5	Keith Ellison	1,064	3,064	4,266	4,970
<i>Minnesota</i>	6	Tom Emmer	457	1,384	1,945	2,254
<i>Minnesota</i>	7	Collin C. Peterson	799	2,180	3,007	3,476
<i>Minnesota</i>	8	Richard M. Nolan	910	2,448	3,367	3,892
<i>Mississippi</i>	1	Trent Kelly	503	1,339	1,846	2,052
<i>Mississippi</i>	2	Bennie G. Thompson	820	2,075	2,830	3,146
<i>Mississippi</i>	3	Gregg Harper	517	1,434	1,992	2,213
<i>Mississippi</i>	4	Steven M. Palazzo	520	1,387	1,912	2,132
<i>Missouri</i>	1	Wm. Lacy Clay	790	2,035	2,792	3,035
<i>Missouri</i>	2	Ann Wagner	75	681	1,083	1,119
<i>Missouri</i>	3	Blaine Luetkemeyer	472	1,262	1,749	1,879
<i>Missouri</i>	4	Vicky Hartzler	631	1,618	2,218	2,414
<i>Missouri</i>	5	Emanuel Cleaver	665	1,721	2,365	2,569
<i>Missouri</i>	6	Sam Graves	472	1,282	1,782	1,918
<i>Missouri</i>	7	Billy Long	735	1,856	2,539	2,744
<i>Missouri</i>	8	Jason Smith	669	1,689	2,306	2,530
<i>Montana</i>	Statewide	vacant	4,195	10,844	14,807	16,956
<i>Nebraska</i>	1	Jeff Fortenberry	188	554	787	798
<i>Nebraska</i>	2	Don Bacon	84	393	595	598
<i>Nebraska</i>	3	Adrian Smith	336	856	1,181	1,200
<i>Nevada</i>	1	Dina Titus	2,079	5,348	7,293	8,370

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Nevada</i>	2	Mark E. Amodei	1,440	3,826	5,256	5,994
<i>Nevada</i>	3	Jacky Rosen	888	2,541	3,543	4,037
<i>Nevada</i>	4	Ruben Kihuen	1,598	4,172	5,708	6,537
<i>New Hampshire</i>	1	Carol Shea-Porter	968	2,733	3,805	4,295
<i>New Hampshire</i>	2	Ann M. Kuster	952	2,683	3,733	4,227
<i>New Jersey</i>	1	Donald Norcross	2,149	5,769	7,932	9,145
<i>New Jersey</i>	2	Frank A. LoBiondo	2,418	6,419	8,807	10,153
<i>New Jersey</i>	3	Thomas MacArthur	1,004	2,958	4,142	4,753
<i>New Jersey</i>	4	Christopher H. Smith	1,532	4,511	6,312	7,292
<i>New Jersey</i>	5	Josh Gottheimer	705	2,590	3,757	4,322
<i>New Jersey</i>	6	Frank Pallone, Jr.	1,705	4,827	6,706	7,731
<i>New Jersey</i>	7	Leonard Lance	189	1,583	2,471	2,887
<i>New Jersey</i>	8	Albio Sires	3,348	8,947	12,287	14,218
<i>New Jersey</i>	9	Bill Pascrell, Jr.	2,776	7,473	10,280	11,864
<i>New Jersey</i>	10	Donald M. Payne, Jr.	3,553	9,339	12,781	14,782
<i>New Jersey</i>	11	Rodney P. Frelinghuysen	153	1,411	2,215	2,584
<i>New Jersey</i>	12	Bonnie Watson Coleman	1,343	4,101	5,773	6,682
<i>New Mexico</i>	1	Michelle Lujan Grisham	3,748	9,795	13,389	15,497
<i>New Mexico</i>	2	Stevan Pearce	4,438	11,467	15,636	18,106
<i>New Mexico</i>	3	Ben Ray Luján	3,867	10,066	13,748	15,911
<i>New York</i>	1	Lee M. Zeldin	132	271	538	695
<i>New York</i>	2	Peter T. King	102	237	462	594
<i>New York</i>	3	Thomas R. Suozzi	656	531	402	331
<i>New York</i>	4	Kathleen M.	240	150	418	576

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
		Rice				
<i>New York</i>	5	Gregory W. Meeks	588	1,737	2,427	2,843
<i>New York</i>	6	Grace Meng	459	1,483	2,104	2,476
<i>New York</i>	7	Nydia M. Velázquez	1,091	3,203	4,472	5,245
<i>New York</i>	8	Hakeem S. Jeffries	1,076	3,019	4,181	4,888
<i>New York</i>	9	Yvette D. Clarke	789	2,349	3,287	3,857
<i>New York</i>	10	Jerrold Nadler	249	716	1,352	1,735
<i>New York</i>	11	Daniel M. Donovan, Jr.	410	1,444	2,074	2,456
<i>New York</i>	12	Carolyn B. Maloney	896	501	182	5
<i>New York</i>	13	Adriano Espaillat	1,393	3,769	5,183	6,048
<i>New York</i>	14	Joseph Crowley	817	2,268	3,135	3,661
<i>New York</i>	15	José E. Serrano	2,002	5,192	7,080	8,238
<i>New York</i>	16	Eliot L. Engel	114	985	1,533	1,864
<i>New York</i>	17	Nita M. Lowey	190	409	807	1,045
<i>New York</i>	18	Sean Patrick Maloney	51	691	1,096	1,340
<i>New York</i>	19	John J. Faso	374	1,224	1,739	2,051
<i>New York</i>	20	Paul Tonko	386	1,302	1,858	2,196
<i>New York</i>	21	Elise M. Stefanik	585	1,651	2,289	2,678
<i>New York</i>	22	Claudia Tenney	656	1,833	2,536	2,966
<i>New York</i>	23	Tom Reed	687	1,922	2,661	3,112
<i>New York</i>	24	John Katko	561	1,662	2,324	2,727
<i>New York</i>	25	Louise McIntosh Slaughter	590	1,763	2,468	2,898
<i>New York</i>	26	Brian Higgins	800	2,219	3,067	3,585
<i>New York</i>	27	Chris Collins	250	896	1,290	1,528
<i>North Carolina</i>	1	G. K. Butterfield	1,315	3,320	4,522	5,075

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>North Carolina</i>	2	George Holding	878	2,347	3,240	3,580
<i>North Carolina</i>	3	Walter B. Jones	985	2,531	3,464	3,852
<i>North Carolina</i>	4	David E. Price	948	2,611	3,626	4,016
<i>North Carolina</i>	5	Virginia Foxx	1,021	2,677	3,680	4,085
<i>North Carolina</i>	6	Mark Walker	847	2,271	3,138	3,465
<i>North Carolina</i>	7	David Rouzer	1,090	2,804	3,839	4,256
<i>North Carolina</i>	8	Richard Hudson	1,132	2,864	3,904	4,356
<i>North Carolina</i>	9	Robert Pittenger	280	1,248	1,867	2,019
<i>North Carolina</i>	10	Patrick T. McHenry	1,042	2,674	3,660	4,048
<i>North Carolina</i>	11	Mark Meadows	1,148	2,889	3,939	4,349
<i>North Carolina</i>	12	Alma S. Adams	1,580	3,951	5,376	5,966
<i>North Carolina</i>	13	Ted Budd	612	1,829	2,583	2,814
<i>North Dakota</i>	Statewide	Kevin Cramer	934	2,624	3,646	4,151
<i>Ohio</i>	1	Steve Chabot	1,216	3,394	4,704	5,414
<i>Ohio</i>	2	Brad R. Wenstrup	1,057	2,963	4,111	4,725
<i>Ohio</i>	3	Joyce Beatty	1,867	4,879	6,673	7,688
<i>Ohio</i>	4	Jim Jordan	1,129	2,972	4,072	4,680
<i>Ohio</i>	5	Robert E. Latta	957	2,602	3,589	4,122
<i>Ohio</i>	6	Bill Johnson	1,309	3,419	4,677	5,372
<i>Ohio</i>	7	Bob Gibbs	1,105	2,933	4,026	4,614
<i>Ohio</i>	8	Warren Davidson	1,103	2,958	4,068	4,669
<i>Ohio</i>	9	Marcy Kaptur	1,655	4,327	5,919	6,818
<i>Ohio</i>	10	Michael R. Turner	1,298	3,489	4,800	5,525
<i>Ohio</i>	11	Marcia L. Fudge	1,957	5,194	7,124	8,226
<i>Ohio</i>	12	Patrick J. Tiberi	655	2,063	2,922	3,364
<i>Ohio</i>	13	Tim Ryan	1,511	3,926	5,366	6,160
<i>Ohio</i>	14	David P. Joyce	604	1,848	2,607	2,972

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<b>Ohio</b>	15	Steve Stivers	994	2,746	3,798	4,366
<b>Ohio</b>	16	James B. Renacci	565	1,673	2,347	2,673
<b>Oklahoma</b>	1	Jim Bridenstine	245	798	1,147	1,213
<b>Oklahoma</b>	2	Markwayne Mullin	369	957	1,318	1,420
<b>Oklahoma</b>	3	Frank D. Lucas	292	823	1,154	1,226
<b>Oklahoma</b>	4	Tom Cole	291	826	1,159	1,230
<b>Oklahoma</b>	5	Steve Russell	313	961	1,367	1,455
<b>Oregon</b>	1	Suzanne Bonamici	2,371	6,413	8,833	10,176
<b>Oregon</b>	2	Greg Walden	3,546	9,149	12,482	14,352
<b>Oregon</b>	3	Earl Blumenauer	3,493	9,167	12,551	14,441
<b>Oregon</b>	4	Peter A. DeFazio	3,882	10,040	13,698	15,812
<b>Oregon</b>	5	Kurt Schrader	2,881	7,582	10,383	11,968
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	1	Robert A. Brady	1,262	3,318	4,553	5,160
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	2	Dwight Evans	1,239	3,416	4,729	5,388
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	3	Mike Kelly	661	1,812	2,508	2,837
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	4	Scott Perry	585	1,614	2,240	2,497
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	5	Glenn Thompson	732	1,948	2,679	3,035
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	6	Ryan A. Costello	163	912	1,393	1,532
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	7	Patrick Meehan	94	784	1,234	1,343
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	8	Brian K. Fitzpatrick	227	1,013	1,518	1,629
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	9	Bill Shuster	778	2,026	2,776	3,130
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	10	Tom Marino	704	1,868	2,572	2,874
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	11	Lou Barletta	645	1,749	2,418	2,712
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	12	Keith J. Rothfus	417	1,304	1,851	2,067
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	13	Brendan F. Boyle	690	1,975	2,761	3,078
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	14	Michael F. Doyle	901	2,417	3,330	3,768

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	15	Charles W. Dent	574	1,652	2,310	2,581
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	16	Lloyd Smucker	743	2,009	2,776	3,114
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	17	Matt Cartwright	748	1,969	2,706	3,027
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	18	Tim Murphy	340	1,136	1,632	1,813
<i>Rhode Island</i>	1	David N. Cicilline	1,736	4,626	6,354	7,303
<i>Rhode Island</i>	2	James R. Langevin	1,378	3,700	5,092	5,833
<i>South Carolina</i>	1	Mark Sanford	218	754	1,099	1,118
<i>South Carolina</i>	2	Joe Wilson	228	682	970	998
<i>South Carolina</i>	3	Jeff Duncan	332	845	1,163	1,208
<i>South Carolina</i>	4	Trey Gowdy	328	902	1,262	1,300
<i>South Carolina</i>	5	vacant	325	850	1,177	1,220
<i>South Carolina</i>	6	James E. Clyburn	426	1,036	1,410	1,472
<i>South Carolina</i>	7	Tom Rice	486	1,197	1,637	1,695
<i>South Dakota</i>	Statewide	Kristi L. Noem	239	748	1,069	1,128
<i>Tennessee</i>	1	David P. Roe	1,049	2,712	3,711	4,181
<i>Tennessee</i>	2	John J. Duncan, Jr.	819	2,223	3,074	3,452
<i>Tennessee</i>	3	Charles J. "Chuck" Fleischmann	928	2,443	3,354	3,779
<i>Tennessee</i>	4	Scott DesJarlais	901	2,365	3,245	3,659
<i>Tennessee</i>	5	Jim Cooper	982	2,666	3,686	4,130
<i>Tennessee</i>	6	Diane Black	861	2,273	3,124	3,508
<i>Tennessee</i>	7	Marsha Blackburn	708	2,038	2,849	3,210
<i>Tennessee</i>	8	David Kustoff	629	1,836	2,573	2,895
<i>Tennessee</i>	9	Steve Cohen	1,361	3,501	4,781	5,426
<i>Texas</i>	1	Louie Gohmert	395	1,072	1,490	1,603
<i>Texas</i>	2	Ted Poe	98	735	1,155	1,200
<i>Texas</i>	3	Sam Johnson	25	621	1,023	1,038
<i>Texas</i>	4	John Ratcliffe	356	998	1,396	1,497

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
Texas	5	Jeb Hensarling	468	1,236	1,708	1,826
Texas	6	Joe Barton	397	1,120	1,571	1,656
Texas	7	John Abney Culberson	100	474	869	899
Texas	8	Kevin Brady	164	754	1,134	1,201
Texas	9	Al Green	681	1,710	2,339	2,499
Texas	10	Michael T. McCaul	239	946	1,401	1,466
Texas	11	K. Michael Conaway	249	820	1,178	1,263
Texas	12	Kay Granger	331	1,027	1,466	1,539
Texas	13	Mac Thornberry	302	843	1,177	1,271
Texas	14	Randy K. Weber, Sr.	291	919	1,314	1,404
Texas	15	Vicente Gonzalez	640	1,622	2,218	2,420
Texas	16	Beto O'Rourke	800	1,956	2,663	2,818
Texas	17	Bill Flores	397	1,104	1,541	1,668
Texas	18	Sheila Jackson Lee	586	1,557	2,154	2,312
Texas	19	Jodey C. Arrington	321	910	1,274	1,383
Texas	20	Joaquin Castro	578	1,448	1,979	2,113
Texas	21	Lamar Smith	225	919	1,367	1,431
Texas	22	Pete Olson	76	738	1,180	1,198
Texas	23	Will Hurd	480	1,334	1,863	1,991
Texas	24	Kenny Marchant	85	684	1,080	1,120
Texas	25	Roger Williams	188	812	1,216	1,277
Texas	26	Michael C. Burgess	165	771	1,166	1,199
Texas	27	Blake Farenthold	378	1,037	1,444	1,553
Texas	28	Henry Cuellar	668	1,667	2,275	2,450
Texas	29	Gene Green	756	1,828	2,477	2,668



Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
<b>Texas</b>	30	Eddie Bernice Johnson	632	1,591	2,176	2,335
<b>Texas</b>	31	John R. Carter	288	886	1,263	1,325
<b>Texas</b>	32	Pete Sessions	117	765	1,189	1,246
<b>Texas</b>	33	Marc A. Veasey	758	1,832	2,480	2,681
<b>Texas</b>	34	Filemon Vela	660	1,662	2,270	2,476
<b>Texas</b>	35	Lloyd Doggett	716	1,748	2,375	2,551
<b>Texas</b>	36	Brian Babin	372	1,051	1,474	1,565
<b>Utah</b>	1	Rob Bishop	503	1,315	1,818	1,903
<b>Utah</b>	2	Chris Stewart	621	1,607	2,217	2,331
<b>Utah</b>	3	Jason Chaffetz	579	1,544	2,143	2,238
<b>Utah</b>	4	Mia B. Love	610	1,540	2,114	2,208
<b>Vermont</b>	Statewide	Peter Welch	1,137	3,011	4,140	4,664
<b>Virginia</b>	1	Robert J. Wittman	156	742	1,125	1,145
<b>Virginia</b>	2	Scott Taylor	295	885	1,257	1,304
<b>Virginia</b>	3	Robert C. "Bobby" Scott	448	1,150	1,580	1,693
<b>Virginia</b>	4	A. Donald McEachin	406	1,103	1,539	1,593
<b>Virginia</b>	5	Thomas A. Garrett, Jr.	440	1,208	1,687	1,762
<b>Virginia</b>	6	Bob Goodlatte	440	1,150	1,590	1,669
<b>Virginia</b>	7	Dave Brat	201	844	1,263	1,283
<b>Virginia</b>	8	Donald S. Beyer, Jr.	310	184	547	520
<b>Virginia</b>	9	H. Morgan Griffith	434	1,124	1,549	1,644
<b>Virginia</b>	10	Barbara Comstock	428	6	319	267
<b>Virginia</b>	11	Gerald E. Connolly	117	486	908	887
<b>Washington</b>	1	Suzan K. DelBene	819	2,627	3,732	4,294
<b>Washington</b>	2	Rick Larsen	1,713	4,539	6,228	7,154
<b>Washington</b>	3	Jaime Herrera	1,797	4,732	6,484	7,453

Figure 2  
(cont.)

State	District	Representative	2019 potential job loss	2020 potential job loss	2021 potential job loss	2022 potential job loss
Beutler						
<i>Washington</i>	4	Dan Newhouse	2,406	6,289	8,598	9,945
<i>Washington</i>	5	Cathy McMorris Rodgers	2,105	5,508	7,534	8,686
<i>Washington</i>	6	Derek Kilmer	1,620	4,338	5,962	6,867
<i>Washington</i>	7	Pramila Jayapal	1,151	3,622	5,127	5,933
<i>Washington</i>	8	David G. Reichert	1,217	3,485	4,855	5,584
<i>Washington</i>	9	Adam Smith	1,718	4,846	6,728	7,765
<i>Washington</i>	10	Denny Heck	1,630	4,315	5,916	6,821
<i>West Virginia</i>	1	David B. McKinley	1,801	4,706	6,435	7,436
<i>West Virginia</i>	2	Alexander X. Mooney	1,623	4,284	5,869	6,778
<i>West Virginia</i>	3	Evan H. Jenkins	2,121	5,509	7,520	8,701
<i>Wisconsin</i>	1	Paul D. Ryan	270	803	1,138	1,187
<i>Wisconsin</i>	2	Mark Pocan	185	668	976	1,026
<i>Wisconsin</i>	3	Ron Kind	395	1,024	1,413	1,482
<i>Wisconsin</i>	4	Gwen Moore	466	1,214	1,673	1,797
<i>Wisconsin</i>	5	F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr.	147	604	901	925
<i>Wisconsin</i>	6	Glenn Grothman	286	817	1,152	1,195
<i>Wisconsin</i>	7	Sean P. Duffy	492	1,244	1,710	1,776
<i>Wisconsin</i>	8	Mike Gallagher	378	1,006	1,398	1,450
<i>Wyoming</i>	Statewide	Liz Cheney	199	582	824	853

**Source:** Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau (2013), U.S. International Trade Commission (USITC 2016a), Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS 2016e), and BLS Employment Projections program (BLS-EP 2014a and 2014b). For a more detailed explanation of data sources and computations, see the appendix.

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