**Disparate Effects of Covid-19 on House Apportionment\***

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**Abstract**

Many factors can influence apportionment and even small differences can have a disproportionate impact on representation. Had only 89 more New Yorkers been counted in the 2020 Census the state would not have lost any seats in the 2021 apportionment. By rerunning the apportionment numbers for all states assuming deaths from COVID prior to the start of the Census had not occurred, we show that New York’s congressional delegation would not have lost a seat. New York was the only state whose House seat allocation was affected by disproportionate COVID-19 deaths. However, both New York State and the City of New York were among the top spenders on census outreach, and this outreach almost certainly prevented the loss of an additional seat.