



Quarterly Data Report
4th Quarter 2020: October to December

RVA Eviction Lab Staff
January 29, 2021



TABLE OF CONTENTS

About the RVA Eviction Lab	2
INTRODUCTION	3
HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH	4
REGIONAL DATA UPDATES	7
Central Virginia	7
Hampton Roads	8
Northern Virginia	10
CITY OF RICHMOND	12
Appendix: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4 th Quarter and Yearly Total of 2020.	19



About the RVA Eviction Lab

Created in August 2018, the RVA Eviction Lab has a primary mission of collecting, analyzing and disseminating data and research that will:

- Inform policy-making that will support stable housing for low- and moderate-income households;
- Facilitate shared knowledge production about community needs and opportunities; and
- Support efforts of communities most impacted by housing instability to research and advocate for themselves.

We use two primary approaches to advance these goals. First, we provide data analysis and written reports to decision-makers, policy advocates and government agency staff about eviction-related trends, policies and structural bases. Second, we engage with community-based organizations to provide community-relevant research and data that can be used for knowledge-building and action.

Our work is supported through a grant from the Richmond Memorial Health Foundation that enables us to respond to community-identified needs for data analysis across the Commonwealth.



INTRODUCTION

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes a series of data on eviction and housing instability in Virginia. We provide recent data for the last quarter of 2020 (October through December) and compare it with data from the same quarter in 2019. Similarly, we compare 2020 annual data with that of 2019. Our analysis first concentrates on the Commonwealth of Virginia as a whole and then covers three regions: Central Virginia, Hampton Roads, and Northern Virginia. Finally, we look at eviction data in the City of Richmond at the ZIP code-level. Quarterly and annual eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia are provided in the appendix.

Data highlights of 2020's fourth quarter include:

- Eviction filings, eviction judgments, and default judgments across the Commonwealth remain significantly below pre-pandemic levels.
- However, eviction filings, eviction judgments, and default judgments all increased—to varying extents—from the third to the fourth quarter of 2020.
- US Census survey responses of Virginia renters indicate consistently high levels of housing instability and eviction pressures throughout the COVID-19 pandemic.
- In the City of Richmond, eviction filings and judgments remain spatially concentrated in ZIP codes in the East End, Southside, and North Side neighborhoods—those hardest hit by the COVID-19 pandemic.

In the face of the mounting eviction and housing instability pressures seen during the fourth quarter, [Congress passed a COVID relief package at the end of December](#). As part of this package, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) federal moratorium on eviction, originally set to expire at the end of the 2020, was extended until January 31, 2021. In addition, the federal government extended funding to support rental assistance across the United States. Then, on January 20, 2021, [the CDC again extended the eviction moratorium until at least March 31, 2021](#). At the state level, [the Virginia Rent and Mortgage Relief Program \(RMRP\)](#) provides financial assistance to eligible households who are unable to make rent and mortgage payments due to a COVID-related loss of income.

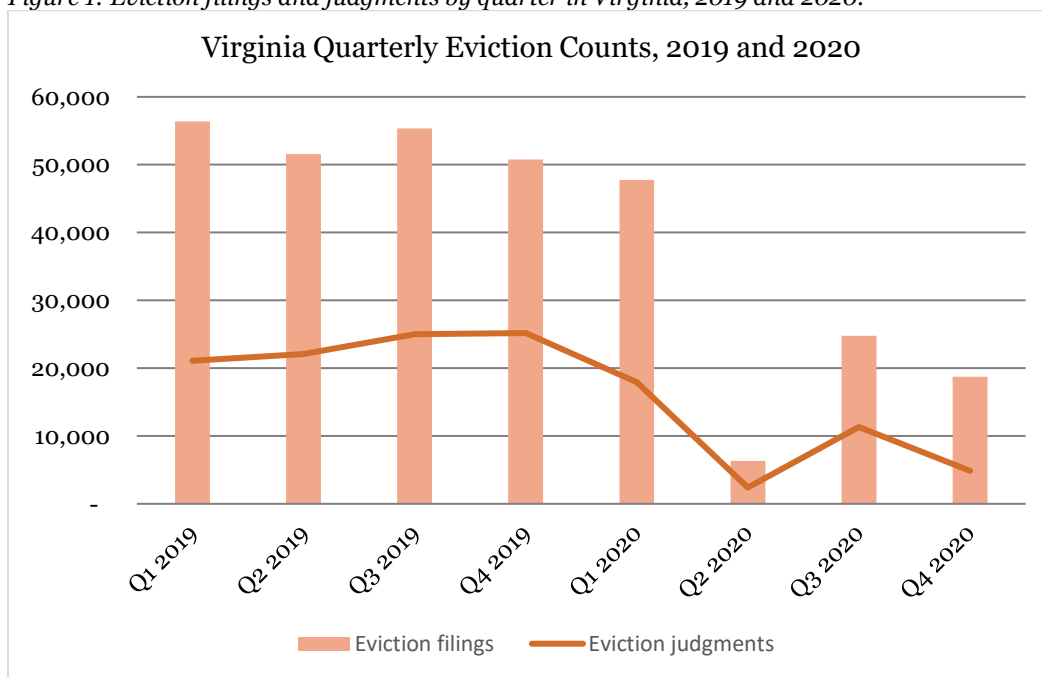
Despite a range of policy efforts to stop evictions during the COVID-19 pandemic, evictions continued across Virginia. Statewide, eviction filings during the fourth quarter rose by 78 percent from the previous quarter, while judgments saw a more modest increase of 2 percent. The number of default judgments issued across the Commonwealth grew by 6 percent. The substantial increase in filings statewide was reflected in jurisdictions across Central Virginia, Hampton Roads, and Northern Virginia. The quarterly change in eviction judgments, on the other hand, was more variable and less significant across the jurisdictions studied, possibly indicating an expanded application of moratoria and rent relief programs.



HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Table 1 offers a picture of evictions and housing instability across the Commonwealth during the October to December quarter of 2019 and 2020. As with the second and third quarters, the impact of eviction moratoria and rental assistance programs enacted at the state and federal levels in response to the COVID-19 crisis remains evident in the fourth quarter’s lower numbers for both eviction filings and judgments compared to the 2019 quarter (see Figure 1 below for a visual comparison of 2019 and 2020 quarterly eviction data). Despite the CDC eviction moratorium, nearly 19,000 evictions were filed (up from last quarter by over 8,000); similar to the preceding quarter, almost 5,000 eviction judgments were issued in Virginia this past quarter. As Table 2 shows, a total of almost 100,000 evictions were filed and more than 36,000 eviction judgments were issued in Virginia during 2020.

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, 2019 and 2020.



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 1: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Virginia, October–December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019	4 th Quarter 2020	Percent Change
Eviction Filings	50,744	18,748	-63%
Eviction Judgments	25,178	4,839	-81%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 2: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Virginia, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019	Yearly total 2020	Percent Change
Eviction Filings	214,031	97,577	-54%
Eviction Judgments	92,964	36,530	-61%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

While Table 3 and Table 4 reveal a decrease in default judgments by number and rate in 2020 (both quarterly and annually) from 2019, the statewide default judgment rate during the COVID-19 pandemic nevertheless remains substantial.¹ A default judgment means that an eviction judgment was automatically made in the landlord’s favor because the tenant failed to appear in court to challenge their eviction case.² However, when measured as a share of total judgements instead of all eviction filings, the significant impact of default judgments becomes clear: 72 percent of the Commonwealth’s eviction judgments during the fourth quarter of 2020 were a result of tenants’ missing their hearings.³

Table 3: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4th Quarter 2019	4th Quarter 2020	Percent Change
Default Judgments	17,949	3,495	-81%
Default Judgment Rate	35%	19%	-46%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 4: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019	Yearly total 2020	Percent Change
Default Judgments	65,099	24,177	-63%
Default Judgment Rate	30%	25%	-17%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Finally, eviction moratoria only delay an inevitable surge in evictions: according to the US Census Bureau’s latest Household Pulse Survey released at the end of December, 12 percent of renters in Virginia had not paid last month’s rent and 24 percent had no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month’s rent (see Table 5). As Table 5 also shows, of those 12 percent of renters not

¹ The previous quarterly report used a different methodology to report default judgement rates. This report reflects the methodology used by our community partners.

² Virginia Poverty Law Center, May 21, 2020: <https://vplc.org/press-release-advocates-lawmakers-turn-to-governor-northam-to-protect-tenants-after-supreme-court-of-virginia-dismisses-petition-seeking-to-halt-eviction-hearings-in-petersburg/>

³ Though the particular factors contributing to a high incidence of default judgments across Virginia have not been studied in depth, they have been studied in other contexts. Issues of inadequate or nonexistent notification of tenants about pending eviction cases in Philadelphia were reported on in July 2020 by The Philadelphia Inquirer’s Editorial Board. In addition, issues pertaining to a lack of transparency and awareness about the particular protections under eviction moratoria have been uncovered across the country.



current on rent, 61 percent responded that they were somewhat or very likely to leave their house in the next two months due to eviction.

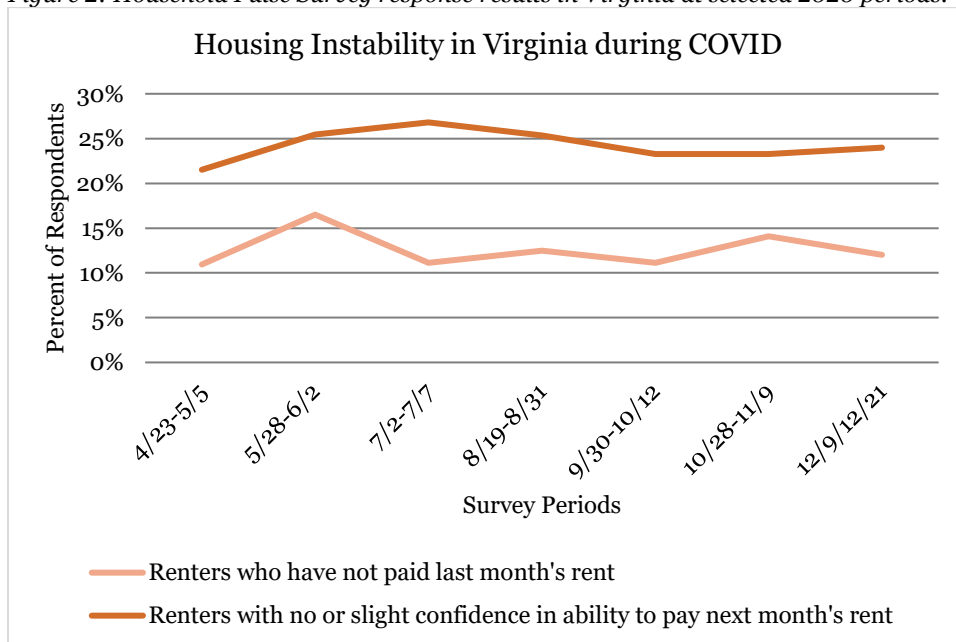
Table 5: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters, December 9 – December 21, 2020.

Renters who have not paid last month's (November) rent	12%
Renters with no or slight confidence in ability to pay next month's (January) rent	24%
Renters who are somewhat or very likely to leave house in next two months due to eviction⁴	61%

US Census Bureau, 2020, Week 21 Household Pulse Survey.

Figure 2 shows Virginia's Household Pulse Survey responses at selected points across time since the survey began in April 2020. As the line graph illustrates, the percent of renters who had not paid last month's rent and who had no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month's rent remained relatively constant throughout the pandemic, suggesting a persistent threat of housing instability for roughly a quarter of the Commonwealth's renters.

Figure 2: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected 2020 periods.



Source: US Census Bureau, 2020.

⁴ Sample size is 169,623 (respondents who had not paid last month's rent), compared to 1,453,271 for the preceding survey responses.



REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

Central Virginia

Table 6 shows eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2020. In all jurisdictions, eviction filings increased significantly from the third to the fourth quarter, while eviction judgments declined in all but Henrico County. Of all jurisdictions in Virginia, Richmond and Henrico County ranked in the top ten for both eviction filings and judgments during the fourth quarter of 2020. In fact, with the exception of Hopewell, all of the Central Virginia jurisdictions fell in the top 20 for both eviction filings and judgments.

Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Richmond	4,136	2,183	1,401	326	-66%	-85%
Chesterfield	2,330	1,160	691	77	-70%	-93%
Henrico	3,417	1,735	1,099	220	-68%	-87%
Petersburg	1,060	616	337	104	-68%	-83%
Hopewell	386	227	151	30	-61%	-87%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 7 illustrates the annual totals of eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions for 2019 and 2020. Of all jurisdictions in the Commonwealth, Richmond remained in the top spot for eviction filings and had the second most judgments during 2020. Henrico County and Chesterfield County ranked fifth and tenth, respectively, in judgments this past year.

Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019		Yearly total 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Richmond	18,795	8,451	8,296	2,833	-56%	-66%
Chesterfield	9,639	3,863	3,802	1,338	-61%	-65%
Henrico	13,858	5,887	5,865	2,160	-58%	-63%
Petersburg	4,169	1,981	1,948	830	-53%	-58%
Hopewell	1,755	1,056	811	327	-54%	-69%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

As seen in Table 8, the default judgment rates in all Central Virginia jurisdictions over the last quarter vary considerably. Only the rates in Richmond and Petersburg equal or surpass that of the Commonwealth. In contrast, all jurisdictions' default judgment rates exceeded the statewide rate in the pre-pandemic fourth quarter of 2019.



Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Richmond	1,587	38%	260	19%	-84%	-50%
Chesterfield	878	38%	57	8%	-94%	-79%
Henrico	1,327	39%	171	16%	-87%	-59%
Petersburg	446	42%	78	23%	-83%	-45%
Hopewell	171	44%	22	15%	-87%	-66%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

The default judgment rates of 2019 and 2020 are shown in Table 9. In 2020, the rates of all five Central Virginia jurisdictions were greater than Virginia’s rate of 25 percent. Similarly, with the exception of Chesterfield, all jurisdictions’ default judgment rates in 2019 exceeded the Commonwealth’s rate of 30 percent.

Table 9: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019		Yearly total 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Richmond	6,107	33%	2,115	26%	-65%	-21%
Chesterfield	2,846	30%	974	26%	-66%	-13%
Henrico	4,587	33%	1,615	28%	-65%	-15%
Petersburg	1,407	34%	540	28%	-62%	-18%
Hopewell	766	44%	230	28%	-70%	-36%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Hampton Roads

Table 10 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the last quarter of 2019 and 2020. Norfolk, followed by Virginia Beach, had the most eviction filings in 2020 of all Virginia jurisdictions; other than Chesapeake (twelfth), the rest fell in the top ten. Virginia Beach, Portsmouth, Newport News, and Norfolk had the top four places for eviction judgments in Virginia in the fourth quarter, and Hampton and Chesapeake ranked eighth and ninth.



Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	1,974	949	507	162	-74%	-83%
Hampton	2,445	1,378	752	179	-69%	-87%
Newport News	4,382	2,312	1,321	399	-70%	-83%
Norfolk	3,958	1,773	1,480	342	-63%	-81%
Portsmouth	1,823	1,084	847	440	-54%	-59%
Virginia Beach	4,478	2,012	1,436	441	-68%	-78%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 11 illustrates eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region in all of 2019 and 2020. Similar to the quarterly data, all but Chesapeake rank in the top ten for total eviction judgments during 2020. Virginia Beach had the most eviction judgments of all jurisdictions in the Commonwealth in 2020. For 2020 filings, Portsmouth joined Chesapeake just outside the top ten.

Table 11: Eviction filings and eviction judgments Hampton Roads jurisdictions, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019		Yearly total 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	7,970	3,204	2,901	1,167	-64%	-64%
Hampton	10,185	4,438	4,085	1,645	-60%	-63%
Newport News	17,492	7,542	6,963	2,706	-60%	-64%
Norfolk	16,642	6,319	8,009	2,792	-52%	-56%
Portsmouth	7,181	3,762	3,078	1,552	-57%	-59%
Virginia Beach	17,136	6,574	7,652	2,913	-55%	-56%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 12 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2020 in Hampton Roads. With the exception of Hampton and Norfolk, all jurisdictions’ default judgment rates in the region surpass the Commonwealth’s rate during the 2020 quarter. As seen in Table 13, the annual default judgment rates of all Hampton Roads jurisdictions are greater than the Virginia-wide rate in 2020.



Table 12: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	733	37%	124	26%	-83%	-30%
Hampton	1,077	44%	125	17%	-88%	-61%
Newport News	1,707	39%	352	27%	-79%	-31%
Norfolk	1,325	34%	239	16%	-82%	-53%
Portsmouth	772	42%	306	36%	-60%	-14%
Virginia Beach	1,575	35%	10	21%	-99%	-40%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 13: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019		Yearly total 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	2,361	30%	733	37%	-69%	23%
Hampton	3,411	34%	1,077	44%	-68%	29%
Newport News	5,630	32%	1,707	39%	-70%	22%
Norfolk	4,673	28%	1,325	34%	-72%	21%
Portsmouth	2,619	37%	772	42%	-71%	14%
Virginia Beach	5,115	30%	1,575	35%	-69%	17%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Northern Virginia

Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2020 are presented in Table 14. Prince William County and Fairfax County rank seventh and tenth, respectively, in eviction judgments in Virginia during the 2020, a switch in their positions from 2019. Fairfax County, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Stafford, and Loudoun all rank in the top 20 from October to December 2020; Arlington was 21st.



Table 14: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Arlington	696	282	273	55	-61%	-80%
Fairfax Co.	2,794	1,041	1,152	160	-59%	-85%
Loudoun	682	238	320	75	-53%	-68%
Prince William	1,904	909	884	183	-54%	-80%
Stafford	519	233	222	60	-57%	-74%
Alexandria	1,425	539	1,112	150	-22%	-72%
Falls Church	23	13	2	0	-91%	-100%
Fredericksburg	403	216	323	109	-20%	-50%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 15 shows annual totals for eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia in 2019 and 2020. All jurisdictions, except for Falls Church, rank in the top 22 for eviction judgments in Virginia during 2020.

Table 15: Eviction Filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019		Yearly total 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Arlington	3,252	1,108	1,687	469	-48%	-58%
Fairfax Co.	13,080	4,316	6,103	1,731	-53%	-60%
Loudoun	3,386	1,140	1,698	562	-50%	-51%
Prince William	8,323	3,575	4,022	1,405	-52%	-61%
Stafford	2,305	898	1,032	394	-55%	-56%
Alexandria	6,168	2,071	3,697	854	-40%	-59%
Falls Church	55	24	44	19	-20%	-21%
Fredericksburg	1,799	749	983	359	-45%	-52%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 16 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the 2020 and 2020 fourth quarters. Fredericksburg is the only jurisdiction with a default judgment rate higher than Virginia’s during the 2020 quarter, as is Falls Church during the 2019 quarter. With respect to annual default judgment totals (see Table 17), Falls Church, again, is the only jurisdiction to exceed the Commonwealth’s rate in 2019. In 2020, Stafford and Falls Church’s default judgment rates both exceeded that of Virginia.



Table 16: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October – December 2019 and 2020.

	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Arlington	223	32%	48	18%	-78%	-44%
Fairfax Co.	800	29%	100	9%	-88%	-69%
Loudoun	173	25%	52	16%	-70%	-36%
Prince William	608	32%	154	17%	-75%	-47%
Stafford	138	27%	38	17%	-72%	-37%
Alexandria	376	26%	141	13%	-63%	-50%
Falls Church	13	57%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
Fredericksburg	134	33%	68	21%	-49%	-36%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 17: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, 2019 and 2020.

	Yearly total 2019		Yearly total 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Arlington	822	25%	343	20%	-58%	-20%
Fairfax Co.	3,161	24%	1,083	18%	-66%	-25%
Loudoun	788	23%	337	20%	-57%	-13%
Prince William	2,451	29%	833	21%	-66%	-28%
Stafford	542	24%	10	53%	-98%	121%
Alexandria	1,458	24%	683	19%	-53%	-21%
Falls Church	19	35%	14	32%	-26%	-9%
Fredericksburg	497	28%	200	20%	-60%	-29%

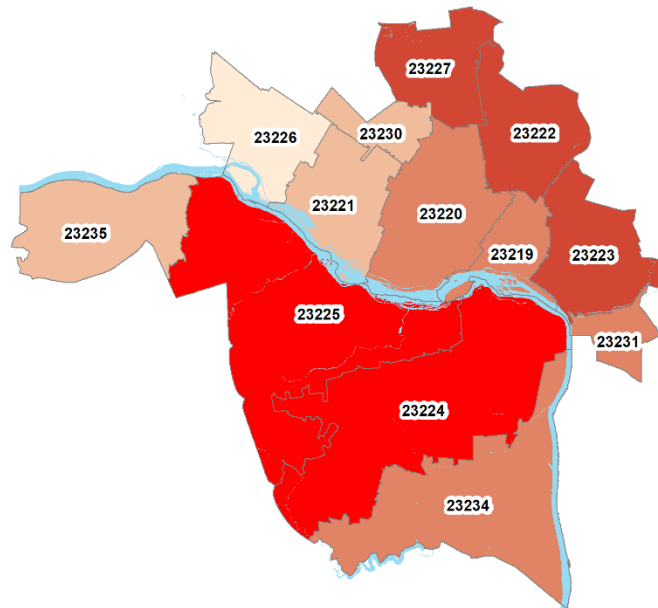
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

CITY OF RICHMOND

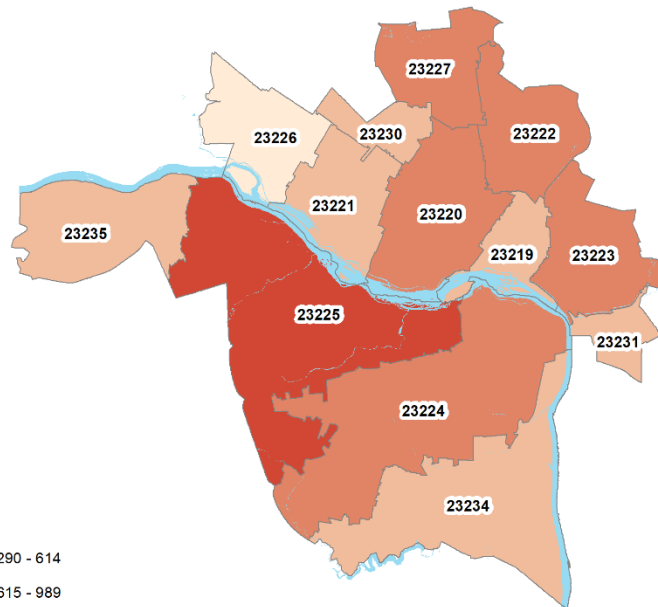
The maps on the following pages illustrate the spatial distribution of eviction filings, eviction judgments, and default judgments across ZIP codes in Richmond in the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2020. As shown in Figure 3, eviction filings this past quarter were concentrated in ZIP codes in Richmond’s Southside, North Side, and East End. As displayed in Figure 4, eviction judgments are greatest in the two Southside ZIP codes of 23225 and 23224. Figure 5 shows that two ZIP codes on the East End and Southside—23219 and 23234—with comparatively fewer eviction filings and judgments had the highest default judgment rates during the fourth quarter of 2020.



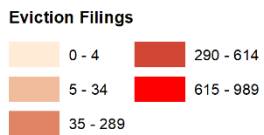
Figure 3: Eviction filings in Richmond by ZIP code, October – December 2019 and 2020.



October to December 2019



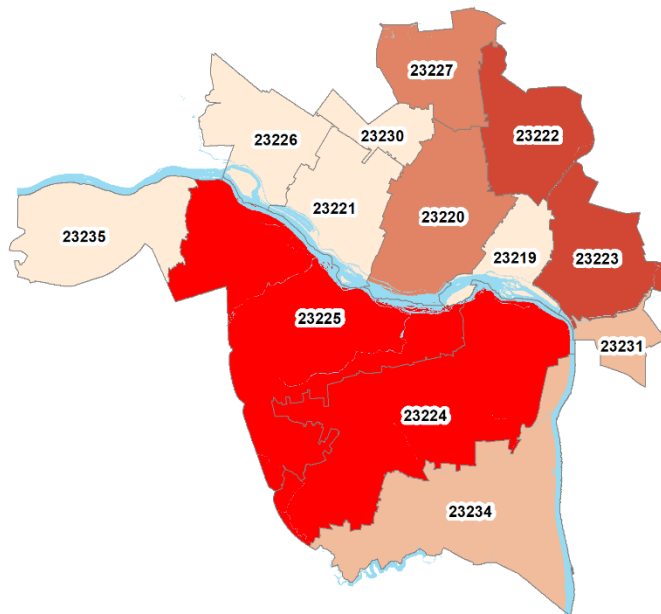
October to December 2020



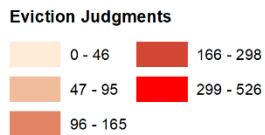
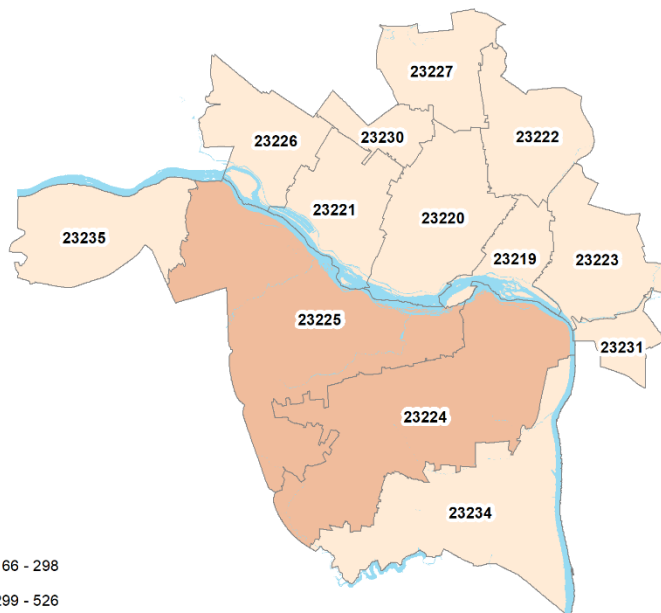
Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 4: Eviction judgments in Richmond by ZIP code, October – December 2019 and 2020.



October to December 2019

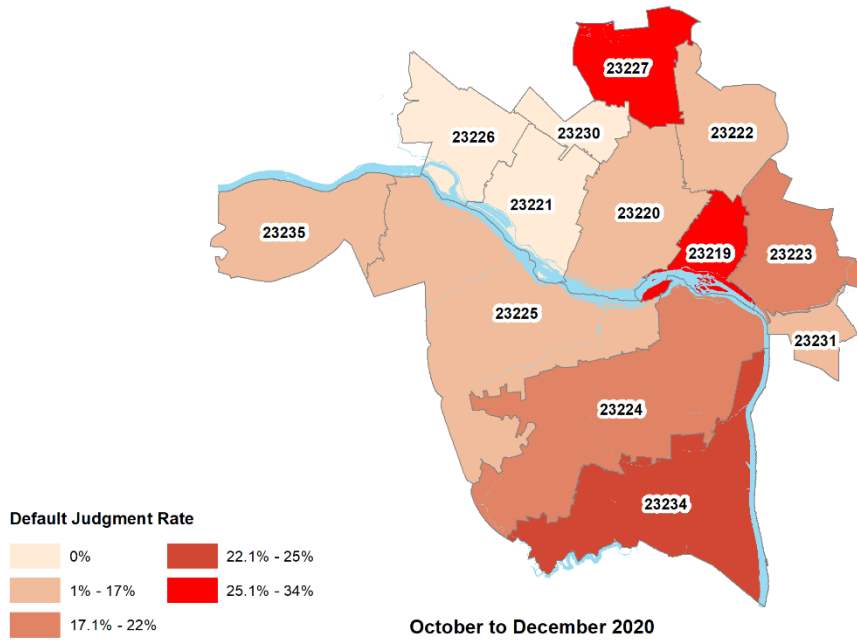
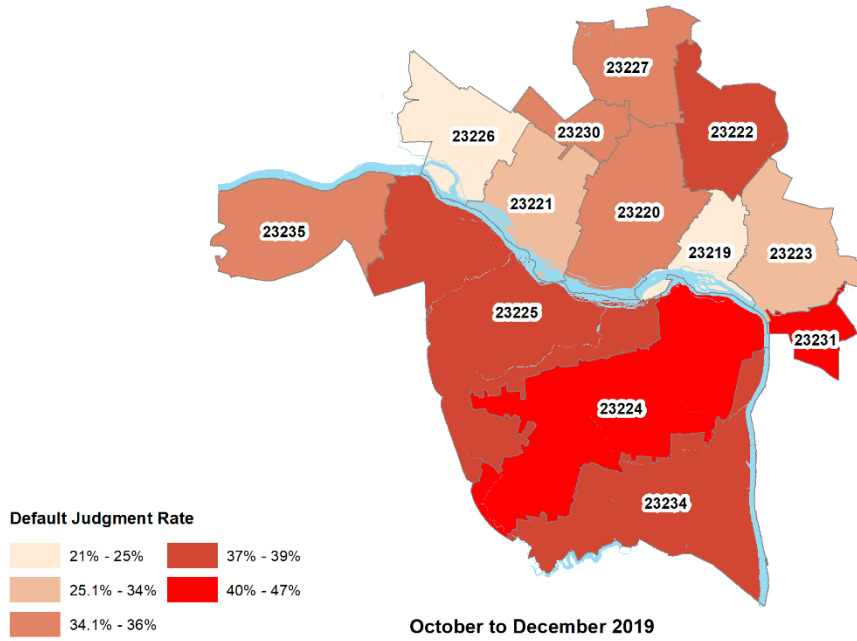


October to December 2020

Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 5: Default judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code, October – December 2019 and 2020.



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Table 18 compares the number of filings and eviction judgments in each of Richmond’s ZIP codes in the 2019 and 2020 fourth quarters. As the numbers reveal, eviction filings remained concentrated from the third to the fourth quarter of 2020. The Southside ZIP codes of 23223 and 23224 together accounted for over half of Richmond’s filings and 49 percent of the city’s judgments. Additionally, more than ten percent of both filings and judgments took place in the East End ZIP code of 23223.

Table 18: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, October – December 2019 and 2020.

ZIP Code	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	104	46	23	9	-78%	-80%
23220	289	135	101	20	-65%	-85%
23221	34	16	5	0	-85%	-100%
23222	435	266	91	27	-79%	-90%
23223	614	298	156	43	-75%	-86%
23224	948	526	277	75	-71%	-86%
23225	989	508	544	85	-45%	-83%
23226	4	4	0	0	-100%	-100%
23227	352	165	79	28	-78%	-83%
23230	22	8	8	1	-64%	-88%
23231	120	84	27	4	-78%	-95%
23234	165	95	32	12	-81%	-87%
23235	19	9	15	2	-21%	-78%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

In Table 19, eviction filings and judgments are presented by ZIP code in Richmond for 2019 and 2020. Again, the 23224 and 233225 ZIP codes account for half of Richmond’s filings and judgments during 2020.



Table 19: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, 2019 and 2020.

ZIP Code	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2019		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	477	204	216	75	-55%	-63%
23220	1,589	698	594	195	-63%	-72%
23221	135	61	57	21	-58%	-66%
23222	1,677	884	811	320	-52%	-64%
23223	2,990	1,479	980	359	-67%	-76%
23224	4,278	2,016	1,915	740	-55%	-63%
23225	4,419	1,860	2,236	680	-49%	-63%
23226	22	16	11	2	-50%	-88%
23227	1,501	375	764	154	-49%	-59%
23230	129	42	44	12	-66%	-71%
23231	478	279	138	50	-71%	-82%
23234	717	362	304	124	-58%	-66%
23235	87	43	48	22	-45%	-49%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Finally, Richmond’s quarterly and annual default judgment numbers and rates are broken down by ZIP code in Tables 20 and 21. The default judgment rate in the East End ZIP code of 23219 in the fourth quarter of 2020 represented a nearly 50 percent increase from its rate in the 2019 quarter. The default judgment rates during 2020 varied widely across ZIP codes.

Table 20: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, October – December 2019 and 2020.

ZIP Code	4 th Quarter 2019		4 th Quarter 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	22	21%	7	30%	-68%	43%
23220	104	36%	16	16%	-85%	-56%
23221	11	32%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
23222	170	39%	15	16%	-91%	-59%
23223	210	34%	35	22%	-83%	-35%
23224	405	43%	55	20%	-86%	-53%
23225	393	40%	75	14%	-81%	-65%
23226	1	25%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
23227	125	36%	27	34%	-78%	-6%
23230	8	36%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
23231	56	47%	4	15%	-93%	-68%
23234	63	38%	8	25%	-87%	-34%
23235	7	37%	2	13%	-71%	-65%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 20: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, 2019 and 2020.

ZIP Code	Yearly Total 2019		Yearly Total 2020		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	137	29%	54	25%	-61%	-14%
23220	504	32%	147	25%	-71%	-22%
23221	39	29%	13	23%	-67%	-21%
23222	546	33%	207	26%	-62%	-21%
23223	978	33%	264	27%	-73%	-18%
23224	1,527	36%	549	29%	-64%	-19%
23225	1,490	34%	544	24%	-63%	-29%
23226	8	36%	2	18%	-75%	-50%
23227	278	19%	117	15%	-58%	-21%
23230	34	26%	7	16%	-79%	-38%
23231	181	38%	37	27%	-80%	-29%
23234	247	34%	92	30%	-63%	-12%
23235	37	43%	20	42%	-46%	-2%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Appendix: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter and Yearly Total of 2020.

Jurisdiction	4 th Quarter 2020				Yearly Total 2020			
	Filings	Evictions	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Filings	Evictions	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	30	15	9	30%	140	86	38	27%
Albemarle	97	9	7	7%	753	179	138	18%
Alleghany	25	1	1	4%	123	55	34	28%
Amelia	2	0	0	0%	26	13	6	23%
Amherst	41	7	3	7%	217	91	42	19%
Appomattox	13	7	4	31%	62	31	16	26%
Arlington	273	55	48	18%	1687	469	343	20%
Augusta	67	8	7	10%	319	96	51	16%
Bath	0	0	0	0%	11	9	4	36%
Bedford	64	17	15	23%	286	142	73	26%
Botetourt	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%
Brunswick	6	2	0	0%	77	39	20	26%
Buchanan	14	10	3	21%	59	47	19	32%
Buckingham	3	1	0	0%	26	11	2	8%
Campbell	10	3	0	0%	47	19	5	11%
Caroline	104	17	10	10%	693	275	162	23%
Carroll	24	13	5	21%	187	89	41	22%
Charles City	22	12	5	23%	85	55	27	32%
Charlotte	6	3	0	0%	29	19	6	21%
Chesterfield	14	9	6	43%	51	34	23	45%
Clarke	691	77	57	8%	3802	1338	974	26%
Culpeper	3	0	0	0%	45	18	5	11%
Cumberland	2	0	0	0%	12	4	1	8%



Dickenson	51	19	10	20%	277	131	69	25%
Dinwiddie	12	0	0	0%	53	25	13	25%
Essex	2	1	1	50%	23	12	5	22%
Fairfax Co.	42	8	5	12%	209	76	49	23%
Fauquier	8	1	0	0%	89	44	29	33%
Floyd	1152	160	100	9%	6103	1731	1083	18%
Fluvanna	45	8	3	7%	226	101	50	22%
Franklin Co.	6	2	2	33%	33	15	5	15%
Frederick	6	2	1	17%	46	22	10	22%
Giles	51	27	16	31%	242	171	99	41%
Gloucester	91	19	13	14%	311	125	80	26%
Goochland	21	1	0	0%	104	38	20	19%
Grayson	37	11	2	5%	230	86	48	21%
Greene	8	2	1	13%	41	16	9	22%
Greensville	8	0	0	0%	26	8	2	8%
Halifax	5	0	0	0%	27	10	4	15%
Hanover	15	2	2	13%	66	28	16	24%
Henrico	14	1	1	7%	106	50	25	24%
Henry	82	8	3	4%	403	108	61	15%
Highland	1099	220	171	16%	5865	2160	1615	28%
Isle of Wight	73	18	12	16%	403	164	85	21%
King & Queen	0	0	0	0%	2	2	0	0%
King George	91	4	3	3%	356	93	60	17%
King George	9	0	0	0%	33	13	5	15%
Lancaster	15	6	2	13%	86	40	25	29%
Lee	12	3	2	17%	79	44	23	29%
Loudoun	15	2	1	7%	81	37	23	28%



Louisa	18	9	2	11%	83	56	18	22%
Lunenburg	320	75	52	16%	1698	562	337	20%
Madison	30	18	9	30%	222	109	43	19%
Mathews	13	3	0	0%	40	13	6	15%
Mecklenburg	7	7	3	43%	35	24	9	26%
Middlesex	1	0	0	0%	35	20	9	26%
Montgomery	21	8	0	0%	108	39	21	19%
Nelson	7	3	0	0%	42	20	8	19%
New Kent	82	28	22	27%	624	273	175	28%
Northampton	4	2	1	25%	54	38	14	26%
Northumberland	10	4	0	0%	33	18	5	15%
Nottoway	4	2	0	0%	46	29	9	20%
Orange	2	0	0	0%	37	29	22	59%
Page	15	3	0	0%	105	48	30	29%
Patrick	30	13	5	17%	171	82	33	19%
Pittsylvania	42	24	15	36%	214	137	78	36%
Powhatan	5	0	0	0%	22	8	2	9%
Prince Edward	64	36	26	41%	269	175	115	43%
Prince George	11	4	4	36%	75	43	25	33%
Prince William	42	10	7	17%	167	50	31	19%
Pulaski	97	23	4	4%	437	137	38	9%
Rappahannock	884	183	154	17%	4022	1405	833	21%
Richmond Co.	75	38	27	36%	356	199	110	31%
Roanoke Co.	1	0	0	0%	17	9	2	12%
Rockbridge	1	1	0	0%	20	10	4	20%
Rockingham/Harrisonburg	97	13	11	11%	455	177	85	19%
Russell	8	2	2	25%	88	30	9	10%



Scott	130	21	9	7%	909	276	152	17%
Shenandoah	8	5	2	25%	53	29	10	19%
Smyth	11	9	4	36%	46	31	12	26%
Southampton	33	18	17	52%	201	122	75	37%
Spotsylvania	26	18	9	35%	156	115	49	31%
Stafford	18	1	1	6%	152	58	45	30%
Surry	135	27	15	11%	949	412	233	25%
Sussex	222	60	38	17%	1032	394	204	20%
Tazewell	2	0	0	0%	19	12	10	53%
Warren	11	8	5	45%	74	40	31	42%
Washington	27	15	4	15%	168	106	39	23%
Westmoreland	77	50	25	32%	322	160	77	24%
Wise	62	34	13	21%	241	159	61	25%
Wythe	29	21	14	48%	151	74	42	28%
York	32	8	1	3%	189	92	42	22%
Alexandria	20	15	8	40%	179	113	50	28%
Bristol	99	34	26	26%	545	213	151	28%
Buena Vista	1112	150	141	13%	3697	854	683	18%
Charlottesville	22	15	12	55%	226	131	73	32%
Chesapeake	12	1	0	0%	91	53	26	29%
Colonial Heights	30	2	2	7%	224	71	43	19%
Danville	507	162	124	24%	2901	1167	789	27%
Emporia	54	22	11	20%	300	122	74	25%
Falls Church	183	80	56	31%	820	449	313	38%
Franklin City	31	9	8	26%	101	61	27	27%
Fredericksburg	2	0	0	0%	44	19	14	32%
Galax	16	3	2	13%	106	42	25	24%



Hampton	323	109	68	21%	983	359	200	20%
Hopewell	7	6	2	29%	38	25	6	16%
Lynchburg	752	179	125	17%	4085	1645	1201	29%
Martinsville	151	30	22	15%	811	327	230	28%
Newport News	244	42	35	14%	1584	569	350	22%
Norfolk	30	4	3	10%	285	121	82	29%
Petersburg	1321	399	352	27%	6963	2706	2036	29%
Portsmouth	1480	342	239	16%	8009	2792	1896	24%
Radford	337	104	78	23%	1948	830	540	28%
Richmond City	847	440	306	36%	3078	1552	1036	34%
Roanoke City	23	5	0	0%	102	37	18	18%
Salem	1401	326	260	19%	8296	2833	2115	25%
Staunton	412	119	87	21%	2565	1003	598	23%
Suffolk	34	8	7	21%	285	107	62	22%
Virginia Beach	38	12	10	26%	228	94	51	22%
Waynesboro	262	82	58	22%	1311	454	317	24%
Williamsburg/James City County	1436	441	350	24%	7652	2913	2175	28%
Winchester	47	13	10	21%	358	157	88	25%

