



Quarterly Data Report
1st Quarter 2021: January to March

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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.

Methodology

Court Data Acquisition

In Virginia, eviction cases are heard in civil courts at the city or county level and are designated with an “unlawful detainer” classification in court records. Virginia Court Data has collected court case data and made them available in an anonymized format.¹ For our analysis, we requested the original data with case numbers and names.

Data Deduplication

We deduplicated court records to remove true duplicate cases (cases with matching key variables) and serial cases (consecutive filings by a landlord against a single household).² True duplicate cases were identified by matching filing dates, judgment outcomes, case costs and fees, plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses. Serial cases were identified by matching plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses, and were deduplicated by removing consecutive filings made within the same year that appear to have occurred in a single ZIP code. The most recent judgment in a set of serial cases was used to determine whether an eviction occurred.

Evictions Totals

Eviction filing and judgment totals for each jurisdiction were calculated based on the number of cases with a given geographic FIPS (Federal Information Processing Standards) code. Totals for each ZIP code were calculated based on the number of cases with a given defendant address. Default judgment totals were calculated based on the number of cases with a hearing resulting in a default judgment.

¹ Ben Schoenfeld. 2020, <http://virginiacourtdata.org>.

² Matthew Desmond, Ashley Gromis, Lavar Edmonds, James Hendrickson, Katie Krywokulski, Lillian Leung, and Adam Porton. Eviction Lab Methodology Report: Version 1.0. Princeton: Princeton University, 2018, www.evictionlab.org/methods.



INTRODUCTION

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes a series of data on eviction and housing instability in Virginia during the first quarter of 2021. We compare Q1 2021 data to pre-pandemic data on eviction and housing instability, using the first quarter of 2019 as a benchmark. As with our past quarterly data reports, 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 eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia are provided in the appendix.

Data highlights of 2021's first quarter include:

- Eviction filings and judgments across the Commonwealth amounted to about 10% of pre-pandemic totals.
- Eviction filings and judgments across Virginia decreased by nearly 70% and 60%, respectively, from the fourth quarter of 2020 to the first quarter of 2021.
- US Census survey responses of Virginia renters continue to indicate high levels of housing instability and eviction pressures.
- 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. While only fewer than 10% of Richmond's eviction filings and judgments were located in Richmond's West End, ZIP codes in the Southside and East End accounted for over 60% of evictions filings and judgments.

From March 2020 through the end of this March 2021, 17,125 eviction judgments were issued across the Commonwealth. At the regional scale, there were 3,648 evictions in Central Virginia, 5,885 evictions in Hampton Roads, and 2,284 in Northern Virginia. And finally, the City of Richmond had a total of 1,492 evictions since the pandemic began. While this represents a decrease statewide from pre-pandemic totals, these numbers illustrate ongoing housing instability statewide. Moreover, these reductions have been sustained through significant policy interventions at the state and federal levels.

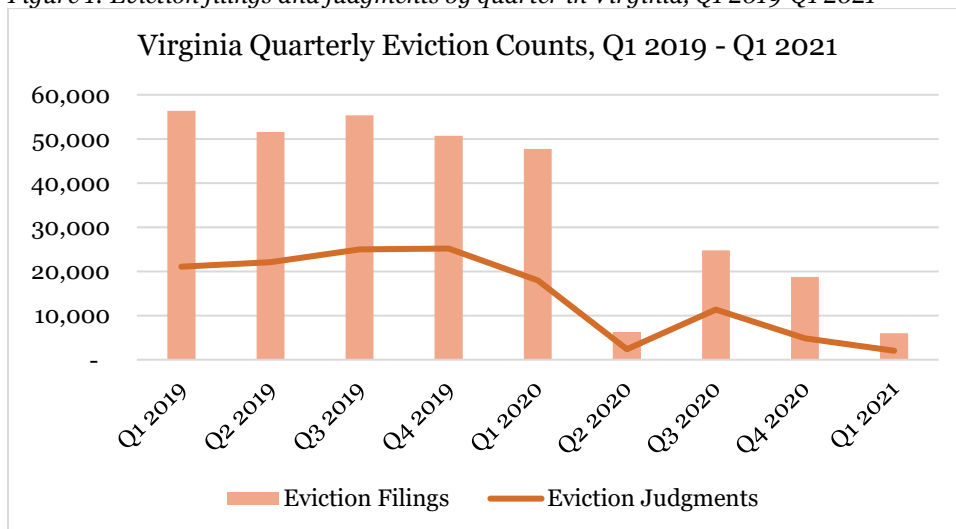
Amid persisting concerns about the inability of countless renters across the nation to make rent payments, [the CDC again extended the federal eviction moratorium](#), this time through June 30, 2021. Eviction moratoria are necessary, but insufficient in the long run, in helping renters stay housed and [curbing the spread of COVID](#). In addition, [noncompliance with and inconsistent enforcement](#) of such COVID-19 eviction protections remain a challenge, highlighting the need for expanded legal support to protect tenants' rights. Further, while we examine evictions that move through the courts, tenants continue to face instability through non-renewals of their leases and other informal forms of displacement.



HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Statewide eviction filings and judgments declined significantly from the previous quarter’s levels. Specifically, as Figure 1 illustrates, the first quarter of 2021 saw 68% fewer filings and 58% fewer judgments across Virginia than those reported for the fourth quarter of 2020. When eviction filings and judgments over the past five quarters are benchmarked against pre-pandemic 2019 quarterly numbers, these decreases in both filings and judgments from Q4 2020 to Q1 2021 remain. In other words, as shown in Figure 2, evictions in the fourth quarter of 2020 were 19% of the pre-pandemic evictions and 37% of the filings. This may be the result of increases in funding and accessibility of rental assistance statewide. Meanwhile, evictions in the first quarter of 2021 were 10% of the filings in the first quarter of 2020, while evictions filings were 11% of the first quarter of 2020. In the first quarter of 2020, 21,083 households received an eviction judgment, compared to just 2,036 in the first quarter of 2021, a decrease of 90%, year over year. Nevertheless, renter households across Virginia continue to face the threat of eviction. As displayed in the data callouts in Figure 2, despite ongoing measures to prevent eviction during the COVID-19 crisis, there were still 6,034 eviction filings and 2,036 eviction judgments across Virginia in the first quarter of 2021.

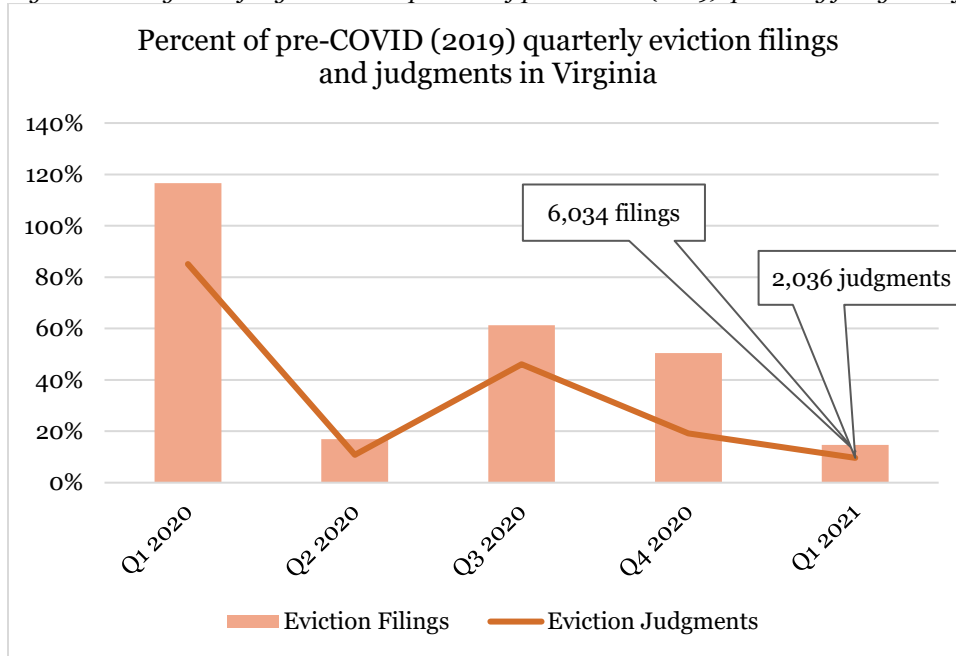
Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q1 2021



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Figure 2: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Virginia



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 1 shows that the statewide default judgment rate continues to be comparable to pre-pandemic levels, with both the 2019 and 2021 first quarter rates hovering around 25% of all eviction filings. Moreover, while eviction filings and judgments decreased from the fourth quarter of 2020 to the first quarter of 2021, the default judgment rate increased by over 6 percentage points.

Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, January-March 2019 and 2021.

	1 st Quarter 2019	1 st Quarter 2021	Percent Change
Default Judgments	10,808	1,461	-86%
Default Judgment Rate	26%	24%	-8%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Finally, as housing advocates have been warning for the last several months, a moratorium on eviction, while an essential response to the COVID crisis, only postpones the wave of evictions after its eventual expiration. The US Census Bureau’s week 27 Household Pulse Survey, which collected responses from Virginia renters at the end of March, confirms the mounting threat of an eviction crisis across the state. While renters’ confidence in their ability to pay next month’s rent increased from the last quarterly report, nearly 50% of those behind in rent reported that they are somewhat or very likely to leave their house in the next two months due to eviction (see Table 2 below).



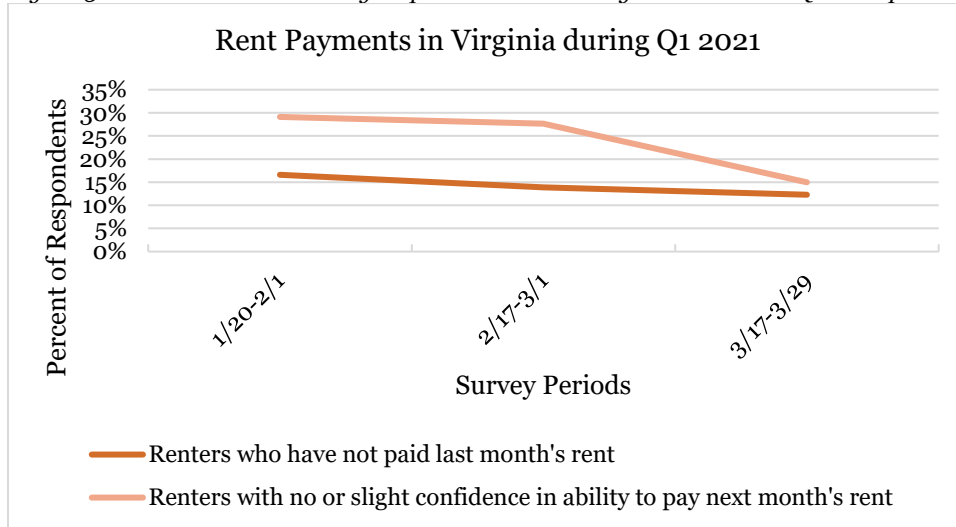
Table 2: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters, March 17-29, 2021.

Renters who have not paid last month's (February) rent	12%
Renters with no or slight confidence in ability to pay next month's (April) rent	15%
Renters who are somewhat or very likely to leave their house in next two months due to eviction³	49%

US Census Bureau, 2021, Week 27 Household Pulse Survey.

As Figure 3 illustrates, the percent of Virginia renter households surveyed by the US Census Bureau who had no or slight confidence in their ability to next month's rent declined more steeply than the share of renters who had not paid last month's rent throughout the first quarter of 2021. In a stark reflection of housing instability across Virginia, Figure 4 shows that of those who had not paid last month's rent, a growing share at the end of the first quarter—following a mid-quarter dip—reported facing the threat of eviction in the next two months.

Figure 3: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected Q1 2021 periods.

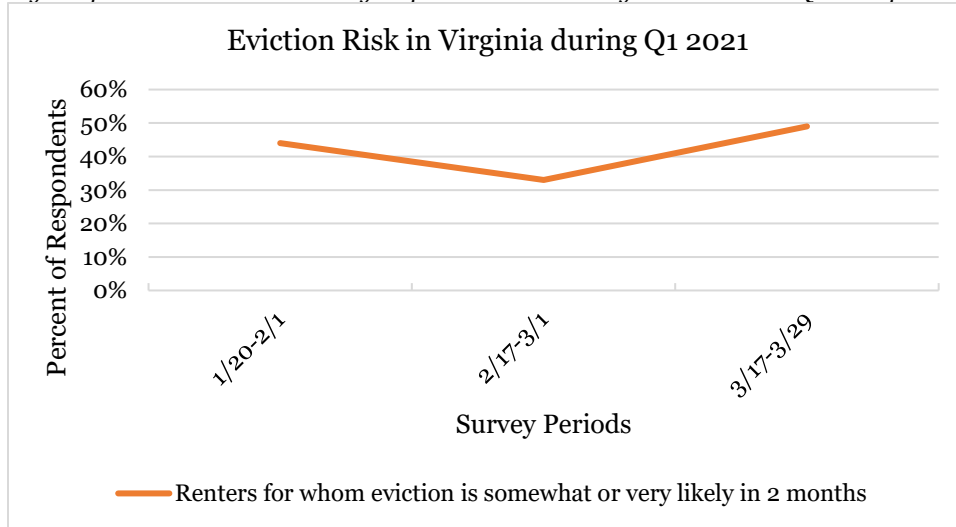


Source: US Census Bureau, 2021.

³ Sample size is 162,343 (respondents who had not paid last month's rent), compared to 1,320,635 for the preceding survey responses.



Figure 4: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected Q1 2021 periods.



Source: US Census Bureau, 2021.

REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

Central Virginia

Table 3 shows eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the first quarters of 2019 and 2021. All five jurisdictions continued the trend of significantly fewer filing and evictions than before the COVID-19 crisis; their decreases in both filings and judgments from Q1 2019 to Q1 2021 range 85% to 92%. Richmond’s 512 filings and 128 judgments during the past quarter represents the second most filings and third most judgments across Virginia. Henrico ranked fourth statewide in both filings and judgments with its respective quarterly totals of 307 and 108. Looking back to our previous quarterly report, the Central Virginia region also saw substantial overall reductions in both eviction filings and judgments from the fourth quarter of 2020 (3,679 and 757, respectively) to the first quarter of 2021, when the region’s filings and judgments totaled 1,152 and 369, respectively. These reductions represent a nearly 70% decrease in filings and a 50% decrease in judgments.

Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, January – March 2019 and 2021.

	1 st Quarter 2019		1 st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Richmond	4,133	1513	512	128	-88%	-92%
Chesterfield	1,890	529	197	75	-90%	-86%
Henrico	2,831	950	307	108	-89%	-89%
Petersburg	856	336	88	41	-90%	-88%
Hopewell	329	179	48	17	-85%	-91%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



As Table 4 shows, the default judgment rates in all Central Virginia jurisdictions but Richmond and Hopewell over the last quarter exceed those of the pre-COVID first quarter in 2019. With the exception of Richmond’s default rate of 22%, the Central Virginia jurisdictions’ default judgment rates are greater than the statewide rate of 24% this past quarter.

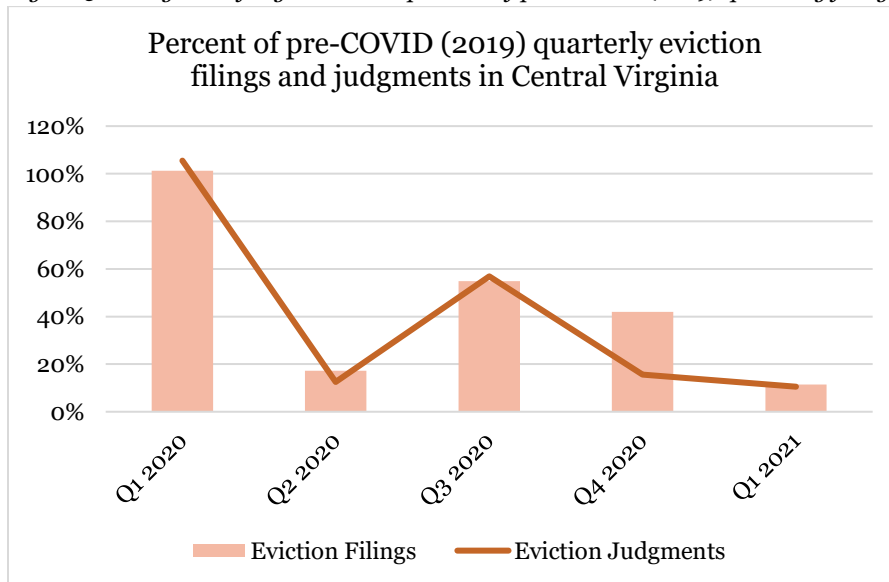
Table 4: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, January – March 2019 and 2021.

	1 st Quarter 2019		1 st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Richmond	1,112	27%	114	22%	-90%	-17%
Chesterfield	394	21%	60	30%	-85%	46%
Henrico	767	27%	95	31%	-88%	14%
Petersburg	252	29%	32	36%	-87%	24%
Hopewell	119	36%	13	27%	-89%	-25%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Figure 5 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments regionwide over the last five quarters as a percent of pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels (so, for example, Q1 2020 and Q1 2021 filings and judgments are expressed as percentages of Q1 2019 filings and judgments). As the graph illustrates, these percentages have been on the decline since their spike in the third quarter of 2020. This pattern necessarily corresponds with the 2019 and 2021 Q1 jurisdiction-level analysis in Table 3: eviction filings and judgments across Central Virginia this past quarter and over the last year have fallen significantly below the number of eviction filings and judgments reported pre-COVID crisis.

Figure 5: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Central Virginia.



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Hampton Roads

Table 5 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the first quarters of 2019 and 2021. The filings and judgments across the region during this past quarter fell by 77% to 95% from the pre-pandemic 2019 first quarter numbers. Additionally, all six jurisdictions saw substantial reductions in filings and evictions from the fourth quarter of 2020 to this past quarter. Specifically, the regional totals of filings and evictions decreased by over 65% from Q4 2020 (6,343 and 1,963, respectively) to Q1 2021 (2,091 filings and 659 judgments). Norfolk had the most eviction filings (708) and eviction judgments (206) of all Virginia jurisdictions in the first quarter of 2021; Virginia Beach ranked third in filings (408) and second in judgments (148).

Table 5: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, January – March 2019 and 2021.

	1st Quarter 2019		1st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	1,412	472	187	62	-87%	-87%
Hampton	1,833	615	277	80	-85%	-87%
Newport News	3,736	1,203	250	62	-93%	-95%
Norfolk	3,094	991	708	206	-77%	-79%
Portsmouth	1,427	612	261	101	-82%	-83%
Virginia Beach	3,235	1,018	408	148	-87%	-85%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 6 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the first quarters of 2019 and 2021 in Hampton Roads. With the exception of Newport News (18%) and Norfolk (22%), all jurisdictions' default judgment rates in the region surpass the Commonwealth's 24% default rate during this past quarter. Four of the Hampton Roads jurisdictions (Chesapeake, Hampton, Norfolk, Virginia Beach) saw increases in their default judgment rates from Q4 2020 to Q1 2021.

Table 6: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, January – March 2019 and 2021.

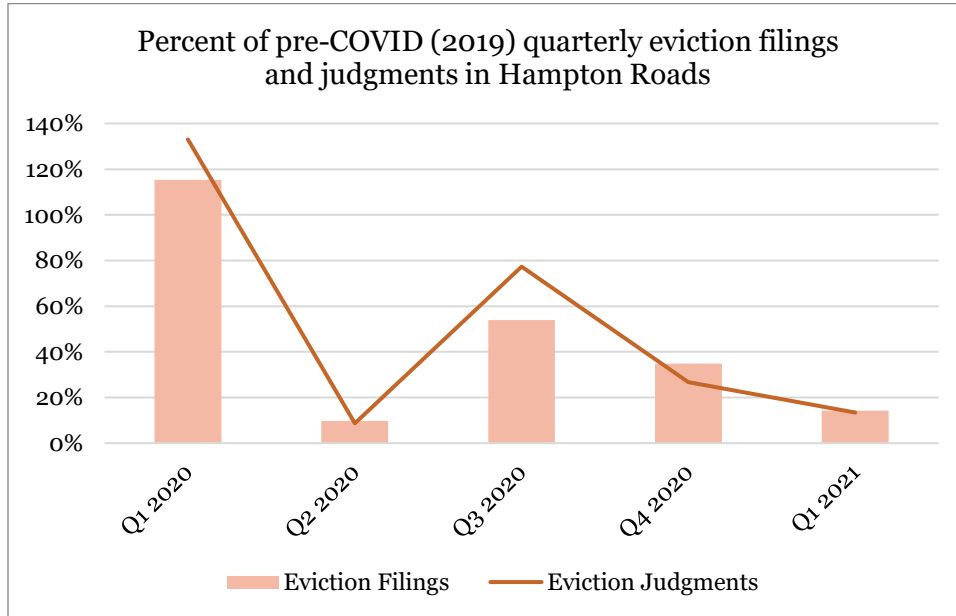
	1st Quarter 2019		1st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	353	25%	50	27%	-86%	7%
Hampton	479	26%	68	25%	-86%	-6%
Newport News	929	25%	44	18%	-95%	-29%
Norfolk	787	25%	154	22%	-80%	-14%
Portsmouth	440	31%	75	29%	-83%	-7%
Virginia Beach	814	25%	113	28%	-86%	10%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Figure 6 shows Hampton Roads’ quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers. After the 1st quarter of 2020, towards the end of which the pandemic began, the region’s eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID levels have declined since the third quarter of 2020 when they peaked at 41% and 46%, respectively. This past quarter, Hampton Road’s total filings and judgments both represented about 10% of the pre-pandemic 2019 first quarter’s totals.

Figure 6: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Hampton Roads.



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Northern Virginia

Eviction filings and judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the first quarters of 2019 and 2021 are presented in Table 7. Fairfax County ranked fifth in eviction filings (288) and eighth in judgments (84) in Virginia during the first quarter of 2021.

Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, January – March 2019 and 2021.

	1 st Quarter 2019		1 st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Arlington	704	197	73	31	-90%	-84%
Fairfax Co.	2,205	695	288	84	-87%	-88%
Loudoun	528	142	61	16	-88%	-89%
Prince William	1,507	565	186	68	-88%	-88%
Stafford	410	143	56	16	-86%	-89%
Alexandria	1,236	381	129	35	-90%	-91%
Falls Church	5	1	1	0	-80%	-100%
Fredericksburg	283	99	21	11	-93%	-89%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 8 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the 2019 and 2021 first quarters. Notably, Arlington’s default rate this past quarter was nearly 40%, and Fredericksburg’s was just below 50%, double the statewide rate. Further, the Q1 2021 default judgment rates of Arlington and Fredericksburg represent increases of more than 100% from their respective Q4 2020 rates of 18% and 21%. Besides Falls Church (which remained at 0%), all jurisdictions saw an increase in default judgment rates from the fourth quarter of 2020 to this past quarter. The Q4 2020 to Q1 2021 increases are as follows: from 9% to 23% in Fairfax County; from 16% to 18% in Loudoun; from 17% to 28% in Prince William; from 17% to 21% in Stafford; and from 13% to 26% in Alexandria.

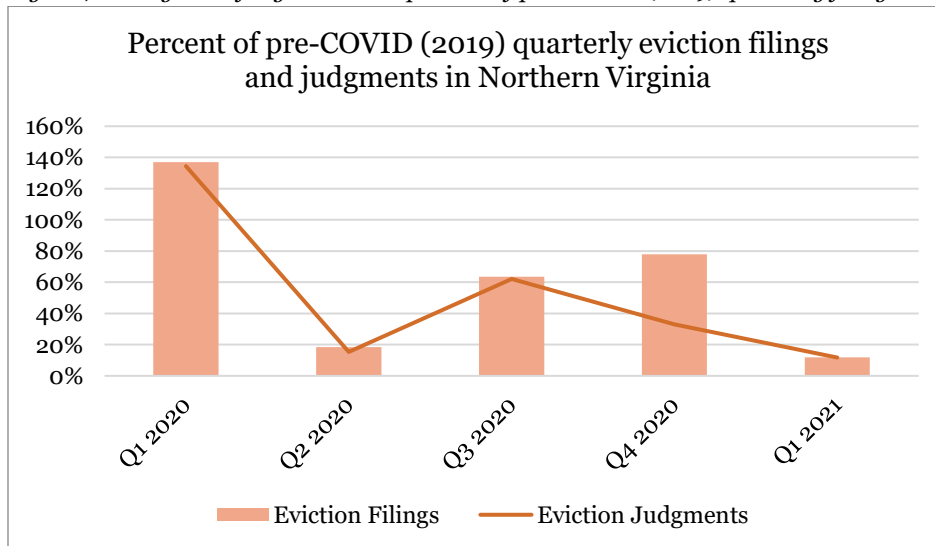
Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, January – March 2019 and 2021.

	1st Quarter 2019		1st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Arlington	135	19%	28	38%	-79%	100%
Fairfax Co.	538	24%	65	23%	-88%	-7%
Loudoun	91	17%	11	18%	-88%	5%
Prince William	409	27%	52	28%	-87%	3%
Stafford	94	23%	12	21%	-87%	-7%
Alexandria	291	24%	33	26%	-89%	9%
Falls Church	1	20%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
Fredericksburg	70	25%	10	48%	-86%	93%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Figure 7 shows a similar pattern to the preceding regional analyses charting eviction filings and judgments as percentages of pre-COVID 2019 levels. However, Northern Virginia’s eviction filings increased to about 50% of pre-pandemic levels in Q4 2020 before this past quarter’s decline to just 7%.

Figure 7: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Northern Virginia



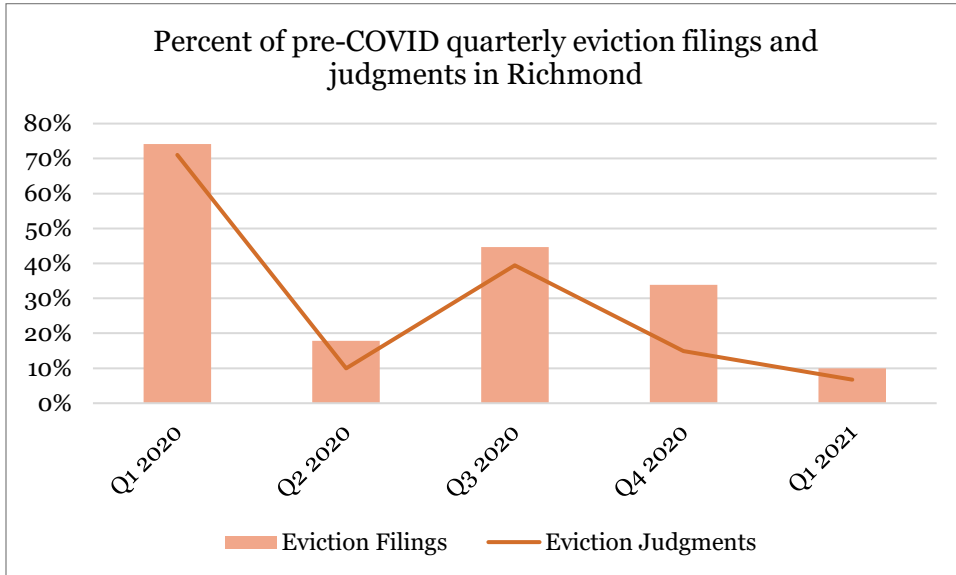
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



CITY OF RICHMOND

Figure 8 offers an overall picture of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. The citywide trajectory tracks with those seen across the Central Virginia region and the state. During the first quarter of 2021, Richmond’s total eviction filings represented 10% of pre-COVID 2019 first quarter filings; its eviction judgments represented 7% of 2019 Q1 judgments.

Figure 8: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Richmond.

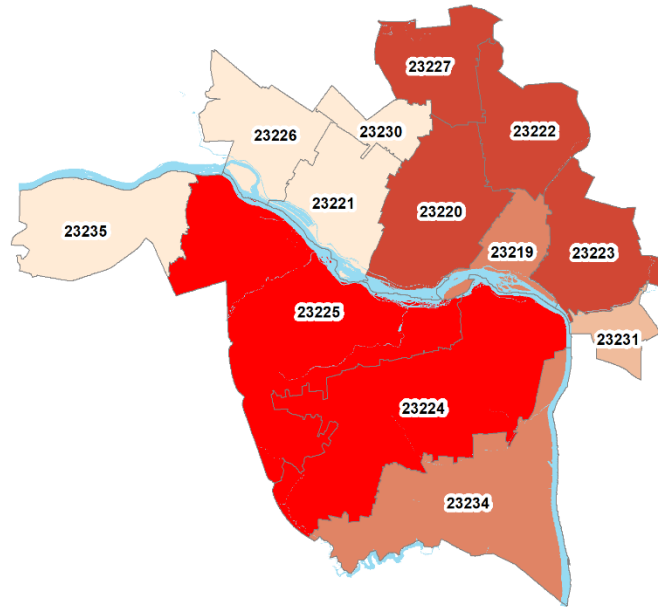


Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

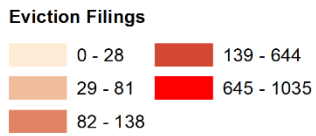
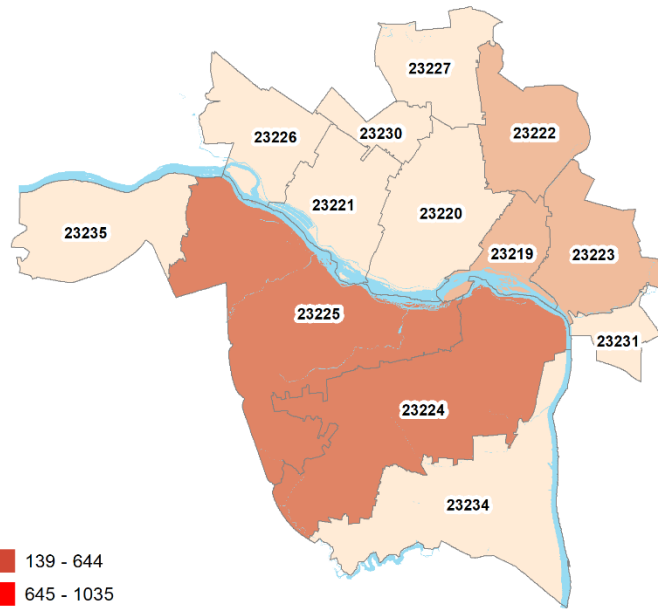
The maps on the following pages illustrate the spatial distribution of eviction filings, eviction judgments, and default judgments across ZIP codes in Richmond in the first quarter of 2019 and 2021. As shown in Figure 9, eviction filings this past quarter were concentrated in ZIP codes in Richmond’s Southside and, to a lesser degree, the North Side and East End. As displayed in Figure 10, eviction judgments were again greatest in the two Southside ZIP codes of 23225 and 23224. Figure 11 shows that the 23219 ZIP code in Richmond’s East End had a 100% default judgment rate; however, it only had two eviction filings this past quarter.



Figure 9: Eviction filings in Richmond by ZIP code, January – March 2019 and 2021.



January to March 2019

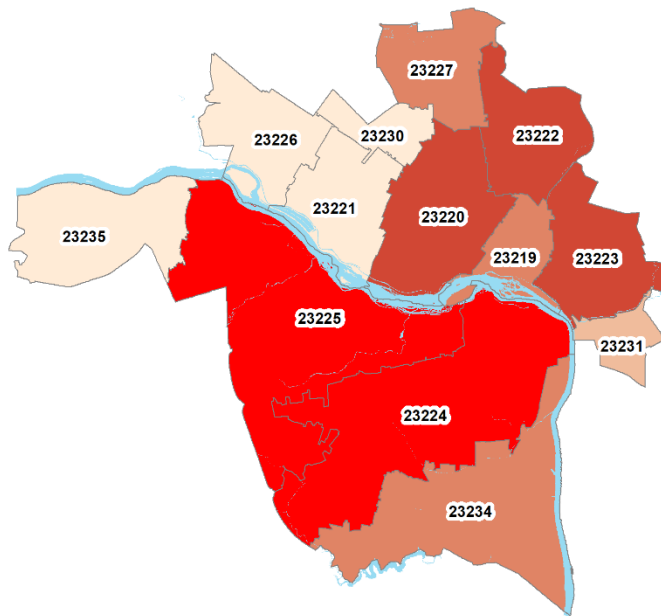


January to March 2021

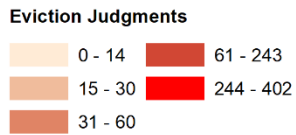
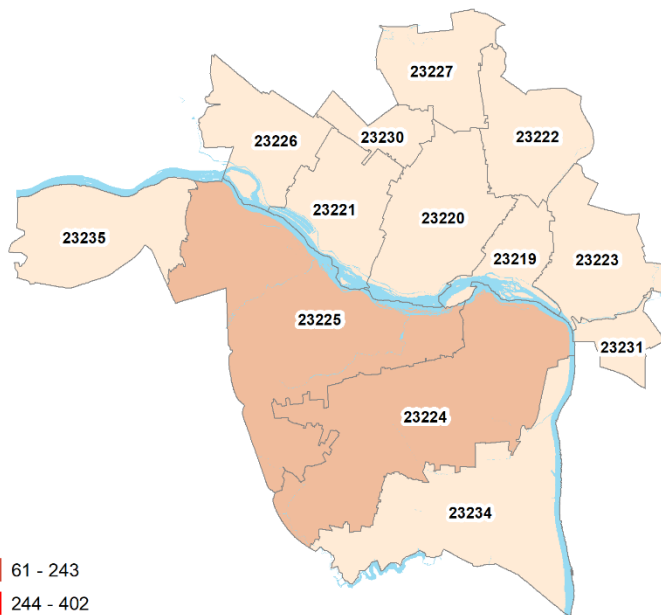
Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 10: Eviction judgments in Richmond by ZIP code, January – March 2019 and 2021.



January to March 2019

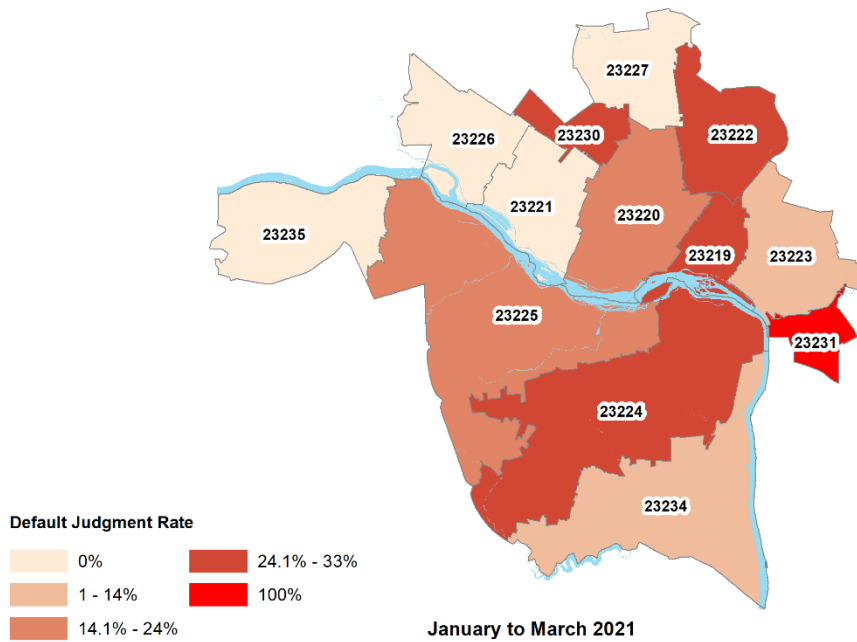
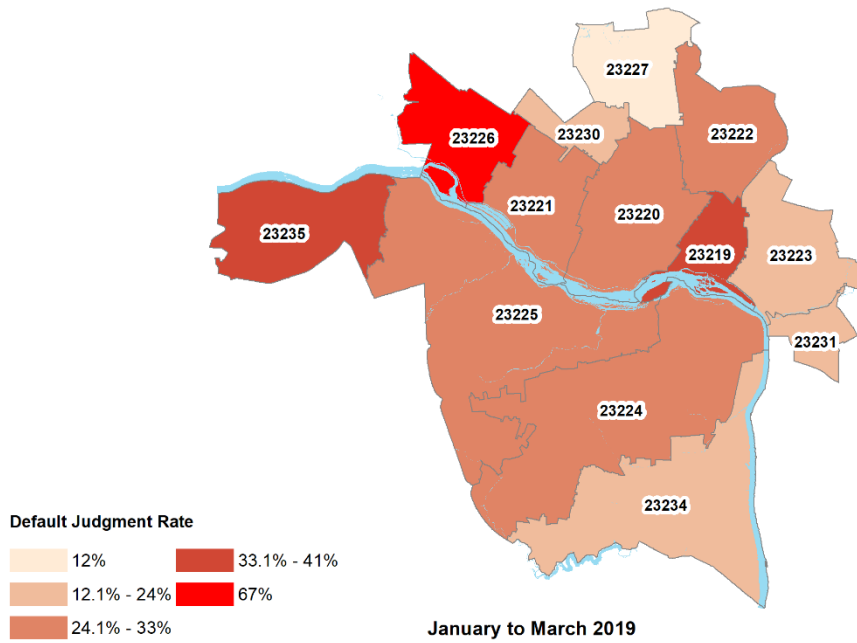


January to March 2021

Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 11: Default judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code, January – March 2019 and 2021.



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Table 9 shows a comparison of 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 fourth quarter of 2020 to the first quarter of 2021. Again, the Southside ZIP codes of 23223 and 23224 together accounted for over half of Richmond’s eviction filings and, also this time, judgments during the past quarter. Additionally, nearly 20% of filings and just under 15% of judgments in Richmond were reported in the East End ZIP code of 23223.

Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, January – March 2019 and 2021.

ZIP Code	1 st Quarter 2019		1 st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	123	60	29	9	-76%	-85%
23220	411	188	25	7	-94%	-96%
23221	28	14	4	1	-86%	-93%
23222	324	140	30	10	-91%	-93%
23223	644	243	76	14	-88%	-94%
23224	1035	402	92	29	-91%	-93%
23225	966	313	132	25	-86%	-92%
23226	6	5	0	0	-100%	-100%
23227	311	48	5	0	-98%	-100%
23230	22	5	3	1	-86%	-80%
23231	81	30	2	2	-98%	-93%
23234	138	46	15	2	-89%	-96%
23235	17	7	0	0	-100%	-100%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Finally, Richmond’s quarterly default judgment numbers and rates are broken down by ZIP code in Table 10 on the following page. The 2021 Q1 default judgment rates in ZIP codes 23222 (30%), 23230 (33%), and 23231 (100%) exceeded their rates in the first quarter of 2019. The default judgment rates of these three ZIP codes, plus 23219 and 23224 (both with rates of 28%), are greater than Virginia’s rate of 24%.



Table 10: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, January – March 2019 and 2021.

ZIP Code	1 st Quarter 2019		1 st Quarter 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	44	36%	8	28%	-82%	-23%
23220	135	33%	6	24%	-96%	-27%
23221	8	29%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
23222	90	28%	9	30%	-90%	8%
23223	157	24%	11	14%	-93%	-41%
23224	305	29%	26	28%	-91%	-4%
23225	259	27%	22	17%	-92%	-38%
23226	4	67%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
23227	37	12%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
23230	5	23%	1	33%	-80%	47%
23231	19	23%	2	100%	-89%	326%
23234	32	23%	1	7%	-97%	-71%
23235	7	41%	0	0%	-100%	-100%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Appendix: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 1st Quarter, 2021

Jurisdiction	Eviction Filings	Eviction Judgments	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	3	1	0	0%
Albemarle	12	3	2	17%
Alleghany	7	1	0	0%
Amelia	3	3	1	33%
Amherst	30	13	6	20%
Appomattox	7	4	3	43%
Arlington	73	31	28	38%
Augusta	44	8	4	9%
Bath	1	0	0	0%
Bedford	16	4	2	13%
Bland	2	0	0	0%
Botetourt	7	0	0	0%
Brunswick	4	1	0	0%
Buchanan	0	0	0	0%
Buckingham	7	1	0	0%
Campbell	64	15	12	19%
Caroline	6	2	2	33%
Carroll	13	10	6	46%
Charles City	3	1	0	0%
Charlotte	3	2	0	0%
Chesterfield	197	75	60	30%
Clarke	2	1	1	50%
Craig	0	0	0	0%
Culpeper	37	5	4	11%
Cumberland	2	0	0	0%
Dickenson	1	1	0	0%
Dinwiddie	15	7	3	20%
Essex	2	0	0	0%
Fairfax Co.	288	84	65	23%
Fauquier	13	4	3	23%
Floyd	1	0	0	0%
Fluvanna	7	2	2	29%
Franklin Co.	28	20	7	25%
Frederick	14	3	1	7%
Giles	3	1	0	0%



Gloucester	17	4	4	24%
Goochland	4	1	1	25%
Grayson	0	0	0	0%
Greene	7	4	0	0%
Greensville	4	3	2	50%
Halifax	4	0	0	0%
Hanover	24	9	5	21%
Henrico	307	108	95	31%
Henry	24	9	4	17%
Highland	0	0	0	0%
Isle of Wight	8	3	2	25%
King & Queen	0	0	0	0%
King George	12	5	2	17%
King George	2	1	1	50%
Lancaster	5	3	1	20%
Lee	12	1	0	0%
Loudoun	61	16	11	18%
Louisa	9	6	2	22%
Lunenburg	7	0	0	0%
Madison	2	2	0	0%
Mathews	3	0	0	0%
Mecklenburg	8	4	2	25%
Middlesex	3	1	0	0%
Montgomery	10	6	4	40%
Nelson	3	3	0	0%
New Kent	0	0	0	0%
Northampton	2	0	0	0%
Northumberland	4	2	1	25%
Nottoway	8	1	0	0%
Orange	11	10	2	18%
Page	17	12	6	35%
Patrick	6	2	1	17%
Pittsylvania	39	22	15	38%
Powhatan	1	0	0	0%
Prince Edward	13	2	0	0%
Prince George	36	3	0	0%
Prince William	186	68	52	28%
Pulaski	21	4	1	5%
Rappahannock	0	0	0	0%



Richmond Co.	0	0	0	0%
Roanoke Co.	26	9	7	27%
Rockbridge	13	8	3	23%
Rockingham/Harrisonburg	56	9	6	11%
Russell	6	3	0	0%
Scott	5	2	0	0%
Shenandoah	22	12	8	36%
Smyth	30	24	11	37%
Southampton	6	3	1	17%
Spotsylvania	69	18	11	16%
Stafford	56	16	12	21%
Surry	1	0	0	0%
Sussex	3	1	0	0%
Tazewell	13	4	1	8%
Warren	28	19	12	43%
Washington	37	27	15	41%
Westmoreland	8	3	2	25%
Wise	42	9	8	19%
Wythe	18	6	4	22%
York	37	9	6	16%
Alexandria	129	35	33	26%
Bristol	11	9	2	18%
Buena Vista	1	0	0	0%
Charlottesville	19	7	5	26%
Chesapeake	187	62	50	27%
Colonial Heights	32	9	4	13%
Danville	193	110	73	38%
Emporia	5	0	0	0%
Falls Church	1	0	0	0%
Franklin City	4	1	0	0%
Fredericksburg	21	11	10	48%
Galax	3	2	1	33%
Hampton	277	80	68	25%
Hopewell	48	17	13	27%
Lynchburg	110	44	28	25%
Martinsville	12	2	0	0%
Newport News	250	62	44	18%
Norfolk	708	206	154	22%
Petersburg	88	41	32	36%



Portsmouth	261	101	75	29%
Radford	14	3	3	21%
Richmond City	512	128	114	22%
Roanoke City	260	106	65	25%
Salem	22	7	4	18%
Staunton	33	10	8	24%
Suffolk	84	11	11	13%
Virginia Beach	408	148	113	28%
Waynesboro	11	5	3	27%
Williamsburg/James City County	34	8	7	21%
Winchester	25	11	8	32%

