



**Quarterly Data Report**  
**3rd Quarter 2021: July through September**

RVA Eviction Lab Staff  
November 1, 2021



**VCU** L. Douglas Wilder School of  
Government and Public Affairs

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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 grants from the Richmond Memorial Health Foundation and the VCU Office of Community-engaged Research that enable 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.<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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.

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

<sup>2</sup> 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](http://www.evictionlab.org/methods).



## 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. We compare these numbers to the same quarter of 2019 to simulate a “typical” year. These comparisons illustrate how the current eviction landscape compares to the Commonwealth’s historic patterns of eviction. While we report the most up-to-date numbers available, data reporting delays will likely result in an upward revision of eviction filing and judgment data in subsequent reports.



## 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 third quarter of 2021. As in our previous reports, we compare 2021 quarterly eviction data to pre-pandemic levels, using the 2019 quarterly data as a benchmark. In light of the expiration of the CDC federal eviction moratorium on July 31<sup>st</sup>,<sup>3</sup> we also include the number of unlawful detainers filed in Virginia with a pending hearing date of October 13<sup>th</sup> or later. This report is broken down into three scales of analysis: state, region (Central Virginia, Hampton Roads, and Northern Virginia), and the City of Richmond. Third quarter eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

Highlights of 2021's third quarter include:

- Statewide eviction totals in July and August show eviction filings rising across the Commonwealth from July to August. While September totals show a decrease in filings, typical delays in data reporting, along with the number of pending cases, suggest cases are on the rise (see page 4 for more details).
- U.S. Census survey responses of Virginia renters indicate improving levels of housing instability and eviction pressures across the state, with about 52% of households (compared to 62% during the second quarter) who are not caught up on rent fearing eviction in the next two months.
- As of the end of third quarter, there were 5,268 pending eviction cases with a hearing date of October 13<sup>th</sup> or later.
- In the City of Richmond, eviction filings and judgments remain spatially concentrated in ZIP codes in Southside neighborhoods. The North Side ZIP code of 23227 had a default judgment rate of 60% (Page 24)

From March 2020 through the end of this past quarter, 28,957 eviction judgments were issued across the Commonwealth. At the regional scale, there were 4,523 evictions in Central Virginia, 6,989 evictions in Hampton Roads, and 3,138 in Northern Virginia. And finally, the City of Richmond had a total of 1,688 evictions since the pandemic began.

It is important to note that when looking at quarterly data, a lag is typically observed in the courts' reporting of eviction filings and judgments across the state, most significantly in the final month of the quarter. This results in an undercount of quarterly eviction numbers in our reports, particularly in September.<sup>4</sup> Thus, based on the revisions of the second quarter's eviction data, we expect third quarter numbers, specifically September's (which currently are well below the July and August numbers), provided in this report to increase, and, in some cases, likely exceed the second quarter's numbers.

<sup>3</sup> The repeatedly-extended CDC federal eviction moratorium was originally set to expire on June 30<sup>th</sup>. However, in the days leading up to this date, the Biden administration again extended it—this time through July 31<sup>st</sup>. Source: Khalil, A. & Casey, M. (24 June 2021). "CDC extends eviction moratorium a month, says it's last time." AP News.

<https://apnews.com/article/eviction-ban-extended-biden-coronavirus-9e7c4dc97c49cbb42a1ecb55b06e3b4c>

<sup>4</sup> For example, in the data collected for this quarterly report, the statewide filings in Q2 are higher than the filings reported in our Q2 report (9,830 vs. 6,921, respectively). We use these updated figures in this report.



For example, in the 2021 Q1 report, 1,035 statewide eviction filings were reported in March. However, in the Q2 report, updated court data indicated that March filings increased to 3,737, a 261% increase. Based on previous court data revisions to quarters 1 and 2, we have estimated the expected increase for the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter:

- Estimated 1,999 more statewide eviction filings will be reported in September
- Estimated 753 more statewide eviction judgments will be reported in September
- Estimated 74 more eviction filings in Richmond will be reported in September
- Estimated 6 more eviction judgments in Richmond will be reported in September

This quarterly report should be read within the context of the expiring CDC protections and COVID-19, and the ongoing impact of the Commonwealth’s Rent Relief Program. While the number of evictions continues to be low relative to the pre-pandemic levels, both eviction filings and eviction judgments have steadily increased since the Spring of 2021. The relatively slow pace of eviction growth is likely the result of efforts across the Commonwealth from attorneys, community-based organizations and government agencies to prevent evictions. Importantly, Virginia law requires that landlords apply for rent relief before evicting tenants for non-payment of rent.<sup>5</sup>

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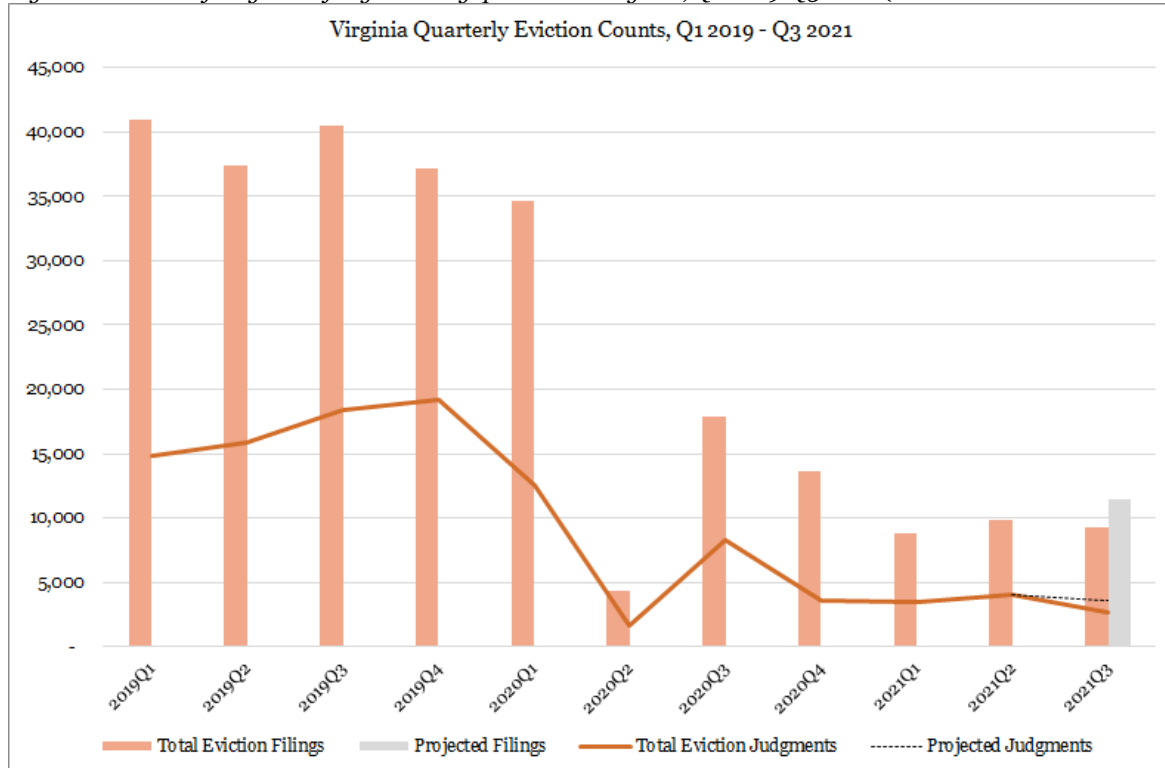
<sup>5</sup> The Commonwealth is a leader in the use of the federal Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA), spending more than 70% of the funding received. Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition’s Treasury Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA) Dashboard (October 18, 2021). <https://nlihc.org/era-dashboard>



## HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Statewide eviction filings and judgments during the third quarter decreased from the previous quarter's levels. As shown in Figure 1, eviction filings are relatively close to numbers from the previous quarter (9,930 in the second quarter to 9,297 in the third quarter), while eviction judgments decreased from 4,049 to 2,628. However, a projected 2,160 additional filings and 968 additional judgments will be reported as additional data is collected. The chart attempts to visualize that these numbers likely do not capture the true scope of housing instability and evictions in the Commonwealth this past quarter.

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q3 2021 (with estimated data increases)<sup>6</sup>



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Eviction filings and judgments since the start of the pandemic in March 2020 are benchmarked against 2019 quarterly numbers in Figure 2. Statewide, eviction filings during this past quarter increased from the preceding quarter's 19% of pre-pandemic filings to 23%. Eviction judgments decreased from 26% to 14% of pre-pandemic levels. This gap reflects the courts' enforcement of the requirement to apply for rent relief<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless, renter households across Virginia continue to face the threat of eviction. The

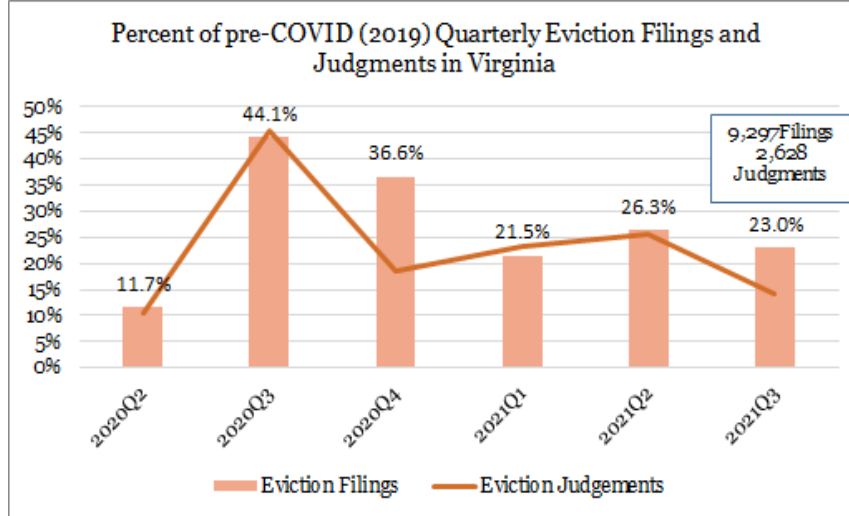
<sup>6</sup> Projected filings and judgments based on previous court data revisions from Q1 and Q2 in 2021.

<sup>7</sup> In Courtroom observation through the fall of 2021, we find that judges have continued cases to facilitate the application to the state's Rent Relief Program, delaying or preventing eviction judgments.



end of the federal eviction moratorium suggests a growing risk of eviction for many of Virginia’s households. As of now, the statewide eviction rate in the third quarter of 2021 was 0.25%.<sup>8</sup>

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 this past quarter’s statewide default judgment rate of 20% is a decrease compared to its pre-pandemic counterpart of 32%. It represents a decline of 9% from this year’s second quarter rate of 29%, although with further data updates, this decline will likely turn into an increase.

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

	Q3 2019	Q3 2021	Q3 2021 percent of Q3 2019
<b>Default Judgments</b>	13,115	1,821	13.9%
<b>Default Judgment Rate</b>	32%	20%	60%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

The US Census Bureau’s Household Pulse Survey continues to shine a light on slightly improving housing instability across the Commonwealth, as Table 2’s responses to the three renter-targeted questions collected from September 15<sup>th</sup> to September 27<sup>th</sup> make clear. Fewer than eight percent of Virginia renters that responded to the survey during this timeframe were not caught up on their rent payments, compared to 15% at the end of June. The share of respondents with no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month’s rent did not significantly change at about 25%. And finally, about 52% of respondents not caught up on rent reported that they were very or somewhat likely to leave their house in the next two months due to eviction. This marks a decrease from the 62% of respondents in June.

<sup>8</sup> Eviction rates throughout this report are calculated by dividing the given geography’s number of eviction judgments by the number of renter-occupied units according to the US Census Bureau’s 2019 ACS 5-Year Estimates.



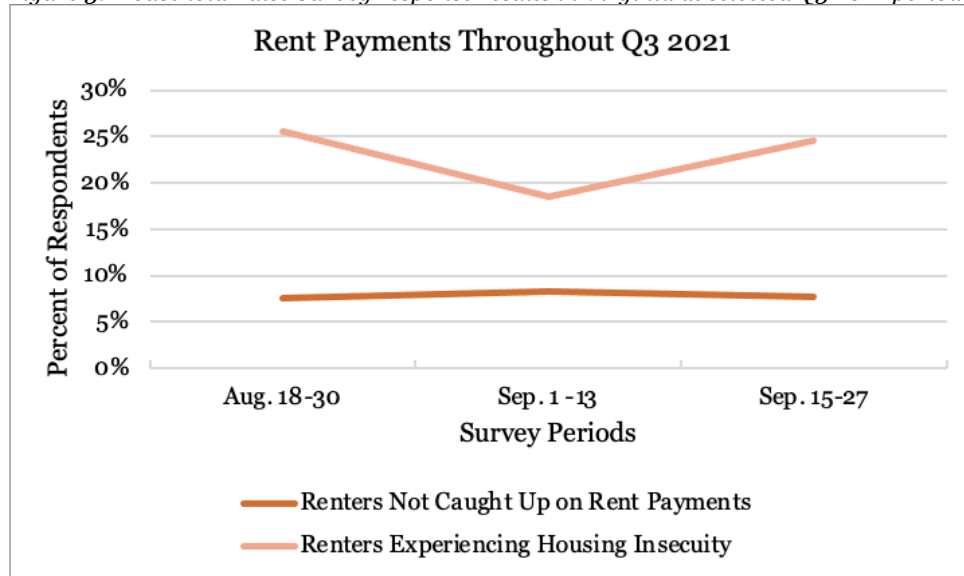
Table 2: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters, September 15 – September 27, 2021.

<b>Renters who are not caught up on rent payments (% of respondents)</b>	7.7%
<b>Renters with no or slight confidence in ability to pay next month's (October) rent (% of respondents)</b>	24.6%
<b>Renters who are somewhat or very likely to leave their house in next two months due to eviction<sup>9</sup>(% of respondents)</b>	51.8%

US Census Bureau, 2021, Week 38 Household Pulse Survey.

As seen in Figure 3, the percent of respondents of Virginia renter households surveyed by the US Census Bureau who were not caught up on their rent payments remained relatively steady throughout the quarter. In contrast, the percent of renters with no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month's rent saw more fluctuation, dipping in the middle of the quarter before climbing back up mid-September.

Figure 3: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected Q3 2021 periods.



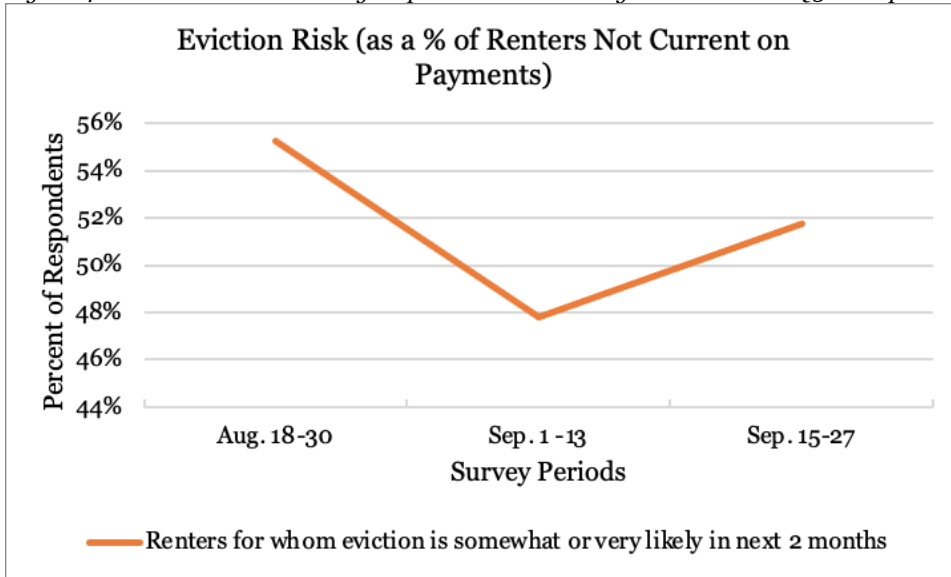
Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 36, 37 & 38 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Sample size is 210,306 (respondents not caught up on rent), compared to 1,358,578 for the preceding survey responses.



While there was a slight decline in Week 37 of the Household Pulse survey, the share of those not caught up on rent who reported facing a very or somewhat likely threat of eviction in the next two months was still high. Figure 4 shows that displacement fears were above 45% for all three weeks.

Figure 4: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected Q3 2021 periods.



Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 36, 37 & 38 2021.

By the end of the third quarter, a total of 5,268 eviction filings have a pending hearing date of October 13<sup>th</sup> or later.

Table 3: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Virginia with a pending hearing date of 10/13 or later

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting October 13, 2021
<b>Virginia</b>	5,268

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



## REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

### Central Virginia

Table 4 shows that eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the third quarter of 2021—after the end of the CDC’s eviction protection—now amount to less than 15% of pre-pandemic quarterly numbers. While the quarterly totals of eviction filings increased from the second quarter to the third, both evictions and default judgments decreased. As at the statewide level, there were more eviction filings and judgments in Central Virginia in the first two months of Q3 (1,993 filings and 435 evictions) than there were in April and May (1,198 filings and 433 evictions).

Table 4: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, July-September 2019 and 2021.

	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
<b>Chesterfield</b>	1,793	740	442	90	24.7%	12.2%
<b>Henrico</b>	2,609	1,112	609	172	23.3%	15.5%
<b>Hopewell</b>	416	268	95	16	22.8%	6.0%
<b>Petersburg</b>	761	366	166	51	21.8%	13.9%
<b>Richmond</b>	4,199	2,015	785	122	18.7%	6.1%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

As Table 5 shows, all Central Virginia jurisdictions’ default judgment rates were lower than those seen before the pandemic. In all Central Virginia jurisdictions, except for Petersburg (+8.5%), default judgment rates decreased from the preceding quarter.

Table 5: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, July-September 2019 and 2021.

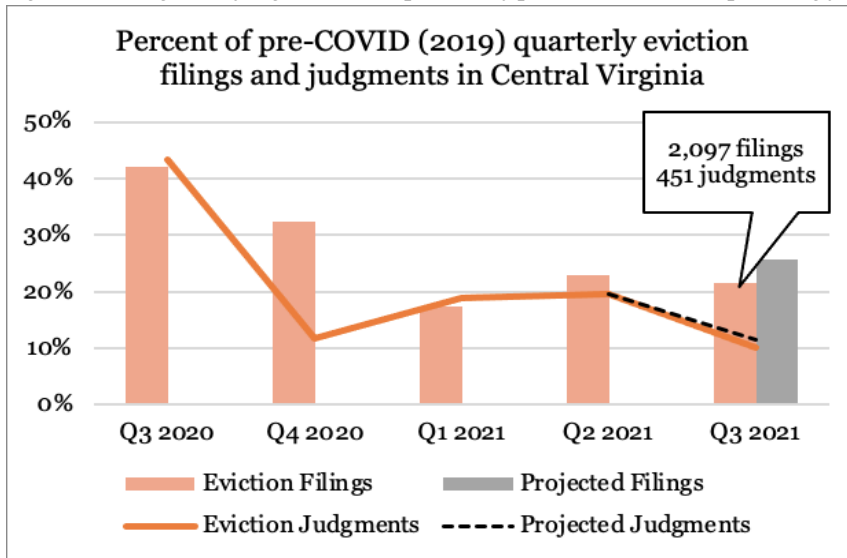
	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
<b>Chesterfield</b>	559	31.2%	74	16.7%	13.2%	53.7%
<b>Henrico</b>	882	33.8%	140	23.0%	15.9%	68.0%
<b>Hopewell</b>	208	50%	16	16.8%	7.7%	33.7%
<b>Petersburg</b>	259	34.0%	38	22.9%	14.7%	67.3%
<b>Richmond</b>	1,480	35.8%	87	11.1%	5.9%	31%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Figure 5 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last five quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. The chart shows a pattern similar to that at the state-level. Filings increased slightly this quarter from last quarter (from 2,015 to 2,097) and judgments decreasing from last quarter from 743 to 451. Eviction filings for the third quarter are slightly over 20% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are at 10% of pre-pandemic levels.



Figure 5: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Central Virginia.<sup>10</sup>



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

As seen in Table 6, eviction cases with a pending hearing date scheduled for October 13<sup>th</sup> or later in the Central Virginia region are on the rise. Significantly more eviction cases with pending hearing dates of October 13<sup>th</sup> or later were filed in Richmond than in the other Central Virginia jurisdictions. This suggests that the coming months, in light of the ending of the eviction moratorium, will result in growing instability for the region’s renters.

Table 6: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Central Virginia with a pending hearing date of 10/13 or later.

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting October 13, 2021
<b>Chesterfield</b>	265
<b>Henrico</b>	332
<b>Hopewell</b>	53
<b>Petersburg</b>	122
<b>Richmond</b>	632
<b>Total</b>	1,404

<sup>10</sup> Projected filings and judgments calculated by extrapolating change in filings and judgments from Q2 to Q3 with updated data.



## Hampton Roads

Table 7 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the third quarters of 2019 and 2021. Across the region, filings increased while judgments decreased in the third quarter from the second quarter. When drilling down to monthly eviction data, however, all jurisdictions but Chesapeake and Newport News had less evictions in August than in May and all jurisdictions, but Newport News, had more filings in July than in April. June filings, evictions, and judgments (1,272; 435; and 319, respectively) far surpasses those of September (214; 68; and 58, respectively).

Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, July-September 2019 and 2021.

	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
<b>Chesapeake</b>	1,468	587	230	19	15.7%	3.2%
<b>Hampton</b>	1,891	853	369	119	19.5%	14.0%
<b>Newport News</b>	3,552	1,559	414	114	11.7%	7.3%
<b>Norfolk</b>	3,459	1,359	860	146	24.9%	10.8%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	1,550	833	295	103	19.0%	12.3%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	2,762	1,111	722	222	26.1%	20.0%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 8 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the third quarter of 2019 and 2021 in the Hampton Roads region. The default judgment rates of all Hampton Roads jurisdictions, except Newport News (19.7%) and Virginia Beach (21.7%), are lower than the statewide rate of 28.3% this past quarter. In addition, all jurisdictions saw declines in their rates from the previous quarter.

Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, July-September 2019 and 2021.

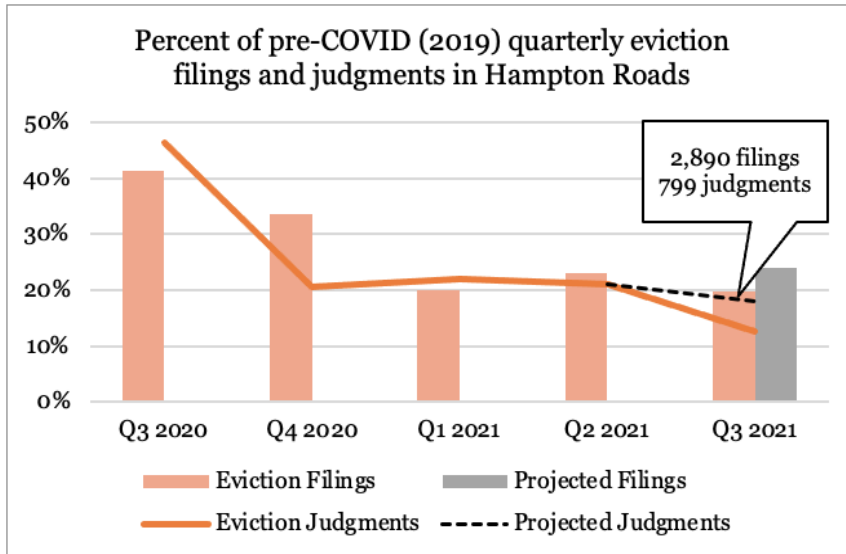
	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
<b>Chesapeake</b>	431	29.4%	71	30.9%	16.5%	105.1%
<b>Hampton</b>	670	35.4%	93	25.2%	13.9%	71.1%
<b>Newport News</b>	1,172	33.0%	88	21.3%	7.5%	64.4%
<b>Norfolk</b>	1,007	34.0%	114	13.3%	11.3%	39.0%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	594	38.3%	62	21.0%	10.4%	54.9%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	871	31.5%	171	23.7%	19.6%	75.1%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Figure 6 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Hampton Roads region. In the third quarter, the eviction filings in the region were approximately 21% of 2019 pre-pandemic filings, and eviction judgments were 10% of 2019 pre-pandemic judgments.



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



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

In Table 9, eviction cases in Hampton Roads jurisdictions with pending hearing dates of October 13<sup>th</sup> or later are shown. Newport News and Norfolk top the list, and all jurisdictions saw increases from the first half of 2021.

Table 9: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Hampton Roads with a pending hearing date of 10/13 or later.

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting October 13, 2021
<b>Chesapeake</b>	142
<b>Hampton</b>	225
<b>Newport News</b>	324
<b>Norfolk</b>	356
<b>Portsmouth</b>	165
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	271
<b>Total</b>	1,483

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



## Northern Virginia

Eviction filings and judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the third quarters of 2019 and 2021 are presented in Table 10. Eviction rates were lower across Northern Virginia during the third quarter, with a regionwide eviction rate of .12%—under the statewide rate. Monthly eviction data suggest that updated data might reveal an increase this quarter. Specifically, both filings and evictions were greater across the region in July than they were in April (814 vs. 466 filings and 224 vs. 2211 evictions); however, while August’s filings were significantly higher than May’s (741 vs. 453), May’s evictions were higher than August’s (200 vs. 128).

Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, July-September 2019 and 2021.

	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
<b>Arlington</b>	632	230	151	46	23.9%	20.00%
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	1,948	734	567	150	29.1%	20.4%
<b>Loudoun</b>	479	190	106	20	22.1%	10.5%
<b>Prince William</b>	1,549	676	380	89	24.5%	13.2%
<b>Stafford</b>	375	139	78	13	20.8%	9.4%
<b>Alexandria</b>	1,063	393	295	47	27.8%	12.0%
<b>Falls Church</b>	7	4	5	1	71.4%	25.00%
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	350	147	65	8	18.6%	5.4%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

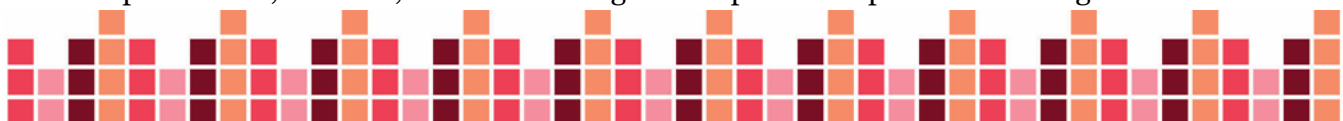
Table 11 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the 2019 and 2021 third quarters. Default judgment rates decreased from the second to third quarter in every jurisdiction. As seen in the table, while default judgments remained a fraction of their pre-pandemic levels in absolute terms, there is variability in the comparison of 2021 third quarter rates to 2019 third quarter figures, spanning from 24.9% to 96.9% of the rates seen before COVID.

Table 11: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, July-September 2019 and 2021.

	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
<b>Arlington</b>	172	27.2%	37	24.5%	21.5%	90.0%
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	543	27.9%	126	22.2%	23.2%	79.7%
<b>Loudoun</b>	127	26.5%	14	13.2%	11.0%	49.8%
<b>Prince William</b>	489	31.6%	63	16.6%	12.9%	52.5%
<b>Stafford</b>	82	21.9%	9	11.5%	10.98%	52.8%
<b>Alexandria</b>	302	28.4%	45	15.3%	14.9%	53.7%
<b>Falls Church</b>	1	14.3%	1	20.0%	100%	140.0%
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	98	28.0%	6	9.2%	6.1%	33.0%

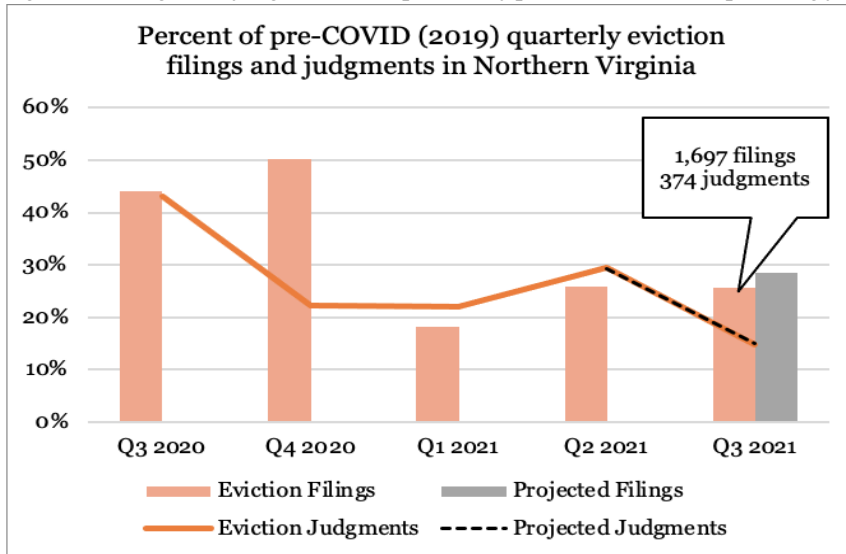
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Figure 6 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Hampton Roads region. The pattern is like preceding regional breakdowns in Central Virginia and Hampton Roads, however, in Northern Virginia the percent of pre-COVID filings from the second



quarter to the third quarter held steady (25.8% in Q2 and 25.7% in Q3). Eviction judgments decreased from 29.4% of pre-pandemic levels in Q2 to 14.9% in Q3.

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



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 12 displays the pending eviction hearings scheduled for October 13<sup>th</sup> onward. The counties of Fairfax and Prince William lead the list, with more than double the eviction cases filed in the first half of 2021 of all other jurisdictions but Alexandria in the third quarter.

Table 12: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Northern Virginia with a pending hearing date of 10/13 or later.

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting October 13 <sup>th</sup> , 2021
<b>Arlington</b>	86
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	211
<b>Loudoun</b>	80
<b>Prince William</b>	196
<b>Stafford</b>	33
<b>Alexandria</b>	121
<b>Falls Church</b>	6
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	50
<b>Total</b>	783

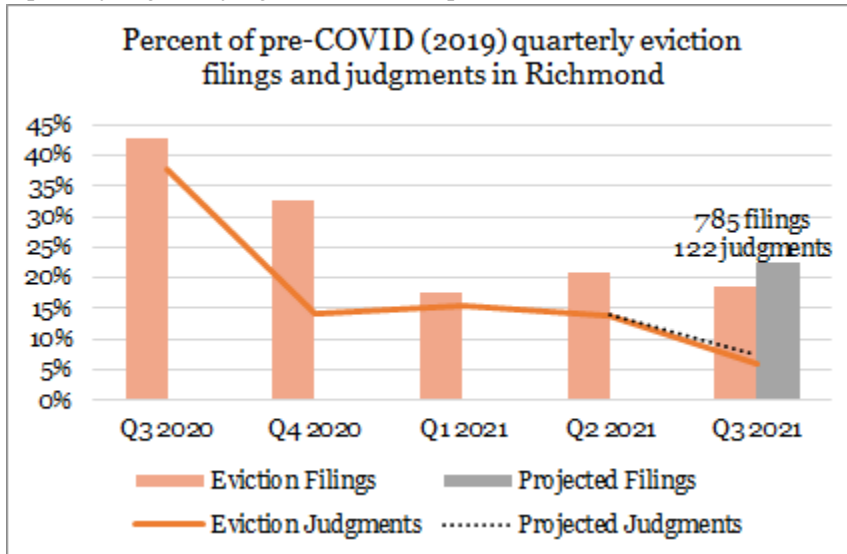
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



### CITY OF RICHMOND

Figure 8 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. Richmond’s filings and evictions as percentages of pre-pandemic numbers decreased this past quarter, according to our court data. During the second quarter of 2021, Richmond’s updated total eviction filings represented 21% of pre-COVID 2019 first quarter filings, and its eviction judgments represented 14% of 2019 Q1 judgments. In contrast, the third quarter’s filings amounted to 18.7% of pre-pandemic numbers, while judgments declined to 6%.

Figure 8: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Richmond (with expected filings and judgments with Q4 updated data)

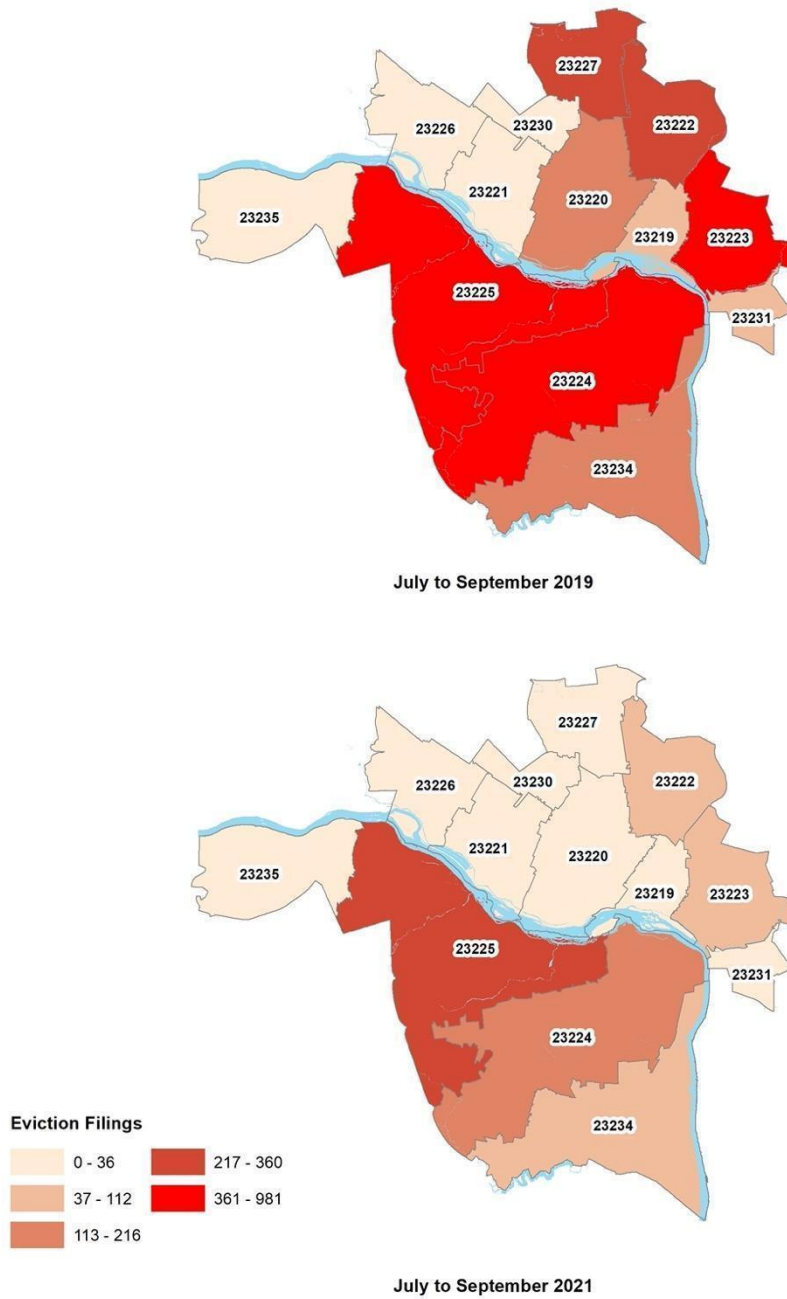


Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

The maps on the following pages visually represent 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 (23225 and 23224). As displayed in Figure 10, the Southside ZIP codes of 23225 had the most eviction judgments this past quarter. Finally, as seen in Figure 11, the North Side ZIP code of 23225 had a substantial default judgment rate—60%, or 3 out of the ZIP code’s 5 eviction filings during the third quarter.



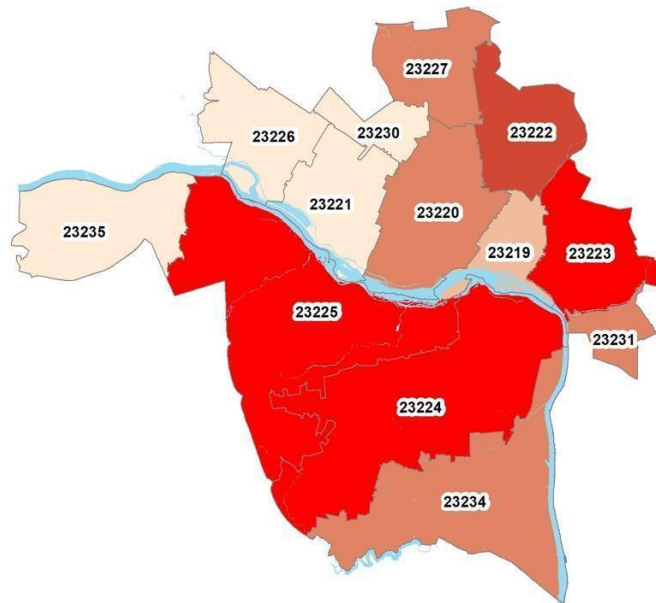
Figure 9: Eviction filings in Richmond by ZIP code, July-September 2019 and 2021.



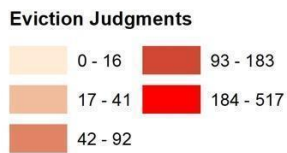
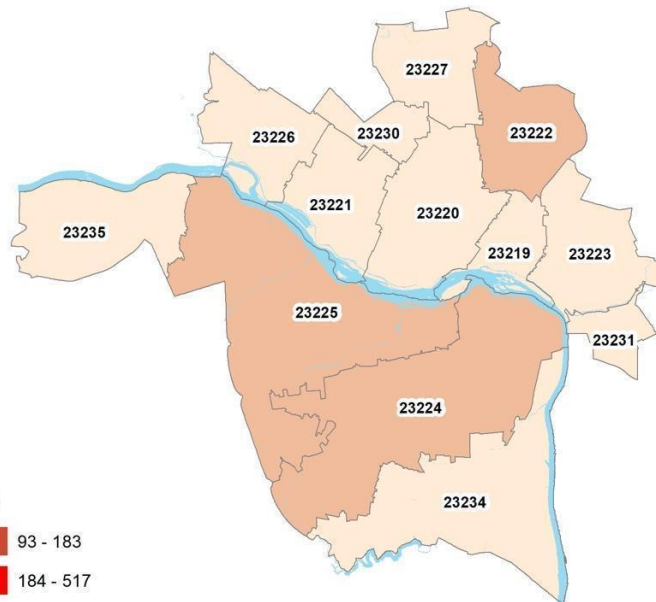
Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 10: Eviction judgments in Richmond by ZIP code, July-September 2019 and 2021.



July to September 2019

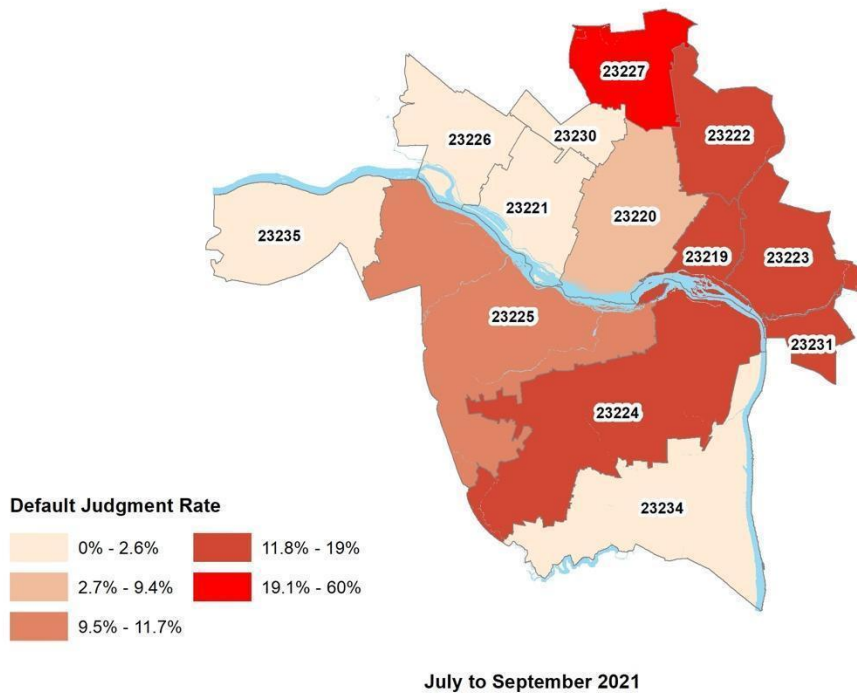
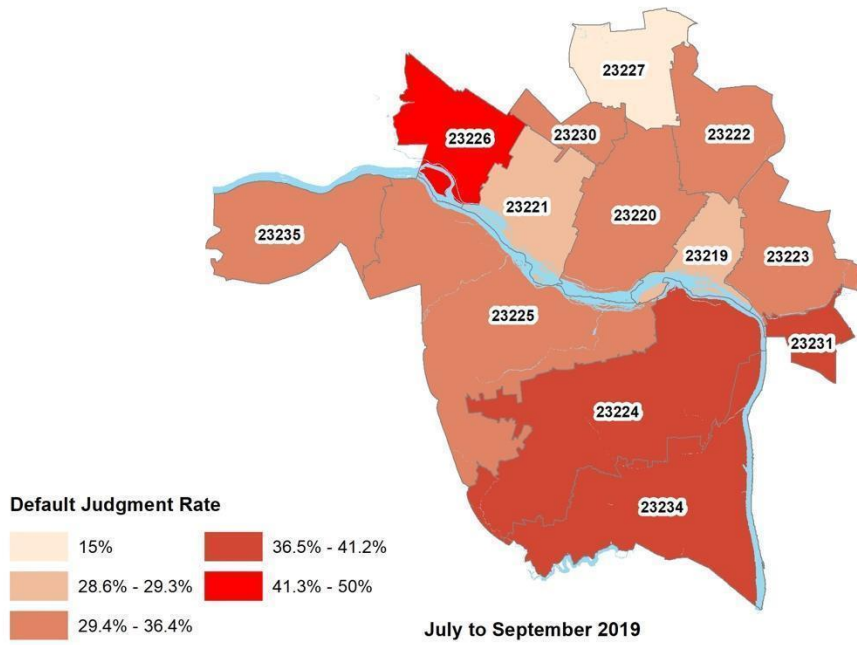


July to September 2021

Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 11: Default judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code, July-September 2019 and 2021.



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Table 13 shows the comparison of the number of filings and eviction judgments in each of Richmond’s ZIP codes in the 2019 and 2021 third quarters. Filings and evictions continued to fall well below pre-pandemic numbers, and evictions declined or stayed the same from the second to third quarter of this year in all, but the Southside ZIP codes of 23224, 23225 and 23234 and the Northside ZIP code of 23222.

Table 13: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, July-September 2019 and 2021.

ZIP Code	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
<b>23219</b>	99	41	7	2	7.1%	4.9%
<b>23220</b>	216	90	32	5	14.8%	5.6%
<b>23221</b>	21	9	4	0	19.1%	--
<b>23222</b>	347	183	58	19	16.7%	10.8%
<b>23223</b>	812	462	48	9	5.9%	2.00%
<b>23224</b>	981	517	169	32	17.2%	6.2%
<b>23225</b>	913	515	282	40	30.9%	7.8%
<b>23226</b>	2	1	0	0	--	--
<b>23227</b>	360	67	5	3	1.4%	4.5%
<b>23230</b>	36	16	2	2	5.6%	12.5%
<b>23231</b>	112	69	14	4	12.5%	5.8%
<b>23234</b>	181	92	39	3	21.6%	3.3%
<b>23235</b>	9	4	1	1	11.1%	25.0%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Finally, quarterly default judgment numbers and rates by Richmond ZIP code are presented in Table 14. The 2021 Q3 default judgment rates in ZIP codes 23219 and 23227 exceeded their rates in the third quarter of 2019, amounting to 48.8% and 400% of the pre-pandemic figures, respectively.



Table 14: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, July-September 2019 and 2021.

ZIP Code	Q3 2019		Q3 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	29	29.3%	1	14.3%	3.5%	48.8%
23220	70	32.4%	3	9.4%	4.3%	28.9%
23221	6	28.6%	0	0.00%	--	--
23222	118	34.0%	11	19.0%	9.3%	55.8%
23223	291	35.8%	7	14.6%	2.4%	40.7%
23224	404	41.2%	25	14.8%	6.2%	35.9%
23225	332	36.4%	33	11.7%	10.0%	32.2%
23226	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	--	--
23227	54	15.0%	3	60.0%	5.6%	400.0%
23230	12	33.3%	0	0.0%	--	--
23231	46	41.1%	2	14.3%	4.4%	34.8%
23234	70	38.7%	1	2.6%	1.4%	6.6%
23235	3	33.3%	0	0.0%	--	--

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



## Appendix: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter, 2021

Jurisdiction	Eviction filings	Eviction Judgments	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rates	Filings with pending hearing date of 10/13 or later
Accomack	30	15	9	30.0%	35
Albemarle	45	9	6	13.3%	45
Alleghany	18	5	3	16.7%	33
Amelia	3	3	2	66.7%	2
Amherst	38	13	6	15.8%	25
Appomattox	12	5	0	0.00%	2
Arlington	151	46	37	24.5%	86
Augusta	37	7	6	16.2%	30
Bath	3	2	1	33.3%	2
Bedford	39	20	12	30.8%	13
Bland	0	0	0	0.00%	0
Botetourt	9	3	2	22.2%	2
Brunswick	12	1	1	8.3%	11
Buchanan	6	2	0	0.00%	4
Buckingham	16	2	0	0.00%	1
Campbell	89	37	17	19.1%	44
Caroline	11	5	1	9.1%	7
Carroll	16	11	2	12.5%	10
Charles City	1	0	0	0.0%	2
Charlotte	11	0	0	0.0%	2
Chesterfield	442	90	74	16.7%	265
Clarke	4	2	1	25.0%	3
Craig	3	1	0	00.0%	3
Culpeper	14	3	1	7.1%	7
Cumberland	8	3	2	25.0%	3
Dickenson	4	2	0	0.0%	1
Dinwiddie	19	9	4	21.1%	7
Essex	5	1	1	20.0%	2
Fairfax Co.	567	150	126	22.2%	211
Fauquier	21	10	7	33.3%	1
Floyd	1	0	0	0.0%	2
Fluvanna	5	1	1	20.0%	4
Franklin Co.	31	18	10	32.3%	18



Frederick	42	17	12	28.6%	26
Giles	11	6	4	36.4%	6
Gloucester	19	4	0	0.0%	6
Goochland	2	2	1	50.0%	0
Grayson	6	4	2	33.3%	8
Greene	5	1	0	0.0%	3
Greensville	5	1	1	20.0%	8
Halifax	14	4	2	14.3%	8
Hanover	33	13	6	18.2%	19
Henrico	609	172	140	23.0%	332
Henry	43	9	5	11.7%	13
Highland	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Isle of Wight	31	5	3	9.7%	42
King & Queen	4	2	1	25.0%	4
King George	3	0	0	0.0%	5
King William	4	3	1	25.0%	1
Lancaster	9	4	2	22.2%	8
Lee	19	10	4	21.1%	14
Loudoun	106	20	14	13.2%	80
Louisa	17	7	0	0.0%	7
Lunenburg	4	3	0	0.0%	4
Madison	5	3	1	20.0%	0
Mathews	6	1	1	16.7%	4
Mecklenburg	8	3	2	25.0%	10
Middlesex	6	0	0	0.0%	4
Montgomery	25	7	3	12.0%	21
Nelson	6	2	2	33.3%	4
New Kent	9	4	1	11.1%	2
Northampton	3	1	0	0.0%	5
Northumberland	12	6	4	33.3%	6
Nottoway	7	3	1	14.3%	4
Orange	21	9	2	9.5%	6
Page	20	15	8	40.0%	11
Patrick	8	1	0	0.0%	6
Pittsylvania	46	29	22	47.8%	23
Powhatan	6	2	1	16.7%	8
Prince Edward	14	5	3	21.4%	5



Prince George	80	17	2	2.5%	45
Prince William	380	89	63	16.6%	196
Pulaski	25	16	9	36.0%	11
Rappahannock	3	2	0	0.0%	0
Richmond Co.	2	2	1	50.0%	1
Roanoke Co.	49	18	9	18.4%	25
Rockbridge	20	7	5	25.0%	18
Rockingham/Harrisonburg	107	19	10	9.4%	110
Russell	6	2	2	33.3%	1
Scott	7	4	2	28.6%	7
Shenandoah	18	8	6	33.3%	10
Smyth	32	24	13	40.7%	7
Southampton	8	3	2	25.0%	12
Spotsylvania	78	21	12	15.4%	62
Stafford	78	13	9	11.5%	33
Surry	3	1	0	0.0%	2
Sussex	4	1	0	0.0%	8
Tazewell	33	11	5	15.2%	16
Warren	36	20	10	27.9%	14
Washington	46	31	19	41.3%	25
Westmoreland	14	6	3	21.4%	2
Wise	48	6	5	10.4%	40
Wythe	18	15	5	27.8%	4
York	34	9	8	23.5%	16
Alexandria	295	47	45	15.2%	121
Bristol	28	19	11	39.3%	7
Buena Vista	4	2	1	25.0%	6
Charlottesville	30	6	4	13.3%	12
Chesapeake	230	95	71	30.9%	142
Colonial Heights	54	12	9	16.7%	22
Danville	195	121	85	43.6%	52
Emporia	9	1	0	0.0%	23
Falls Church	5	1	1	20.0%	6
Franklin City	9	0	0	0.0%	6
Fredericksburg	65	8	6	9.2%	50
Galax	13	3	1	7.7%	7
Hampton	369	119	93	25.2%	225



Hopewell	95	16	16	16.8%	53
Lynchburg	126	55	34	27.0%	65
Martinsville	28	10	6	21.4%	10
Newport News	414	114	88	21.3%	324
Norfolk	860	146	114	13.3%	356
Petersburg	166	51	38	22.9%	122
Portsmouth	295	103	62	21.0%	165
Radford	13	5	4	30.8%	7
Richmond City	785	122	87	11.1%	632
Roanoke City	220	82	43	19.6%	141
Salem	30	6	3	10.0%	16
Staunton	30	13	10	33.3%	9
Suffolk	98	15	11	11.2%	73
Virginia Beach	722	222	171	23.7%	271
Waynesboro	18	3	3	16.7%	17
Williamsburg/James City County	63	15	9	14.3%	48
Winchester	40	17	14	35.0%	21

