



Quarterly Data Report
4th Quarter 2021: October through December

RVA Eviction Lab Staff
March 4, 2022



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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.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

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.



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. 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 fourth quarter of 2021 as well as an overview of 2021 as a whole. 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 31st,³ we also include the number of unlawful detainers filed in Virginia with a pending hearing date of February 22nd or later. This report is broken down into three scales of analysis: state, region (Central Virginia, Hampton Roads, and Northern Virginia), and city (City of Richmond and City of Charlottesville). Fourth quarter eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

Highlights of 2021’s fourth quarter include:

- U.S. Census survey of Virginia renters not caught up on rent indicate improving levels of housing instability and eviction pressures, with about 28% of households (compared to 52% during the third quarter) fearing eviction in the next two months.
- As of the end of fourth quarter, there were 3,708 pending eviction cases with a hearing date of February 22nd 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 23227 had a default judgment rate of 50% for the fourth quarter and 45% for 2021 (Page 32)

During the COVID-19 pandemic (measured Q2 2020 to Q4 2021), 28,892 eviction judgments were issued across the Commonwealth. At the regional scale, there were 5,627 evictions in Central Virginia, 6,989 evictions in Hampton Roads, and 4,265 in Northern Virginia.

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. Virginia law requires that landlords apply for rent relief before evicting tenants for non-payment of rent.⁴

³ The repeatedly-extended CDC federal eviction moratorium was originally set to expire on June 30th. However, in the days leading up to this date, the Biden administration again extended it—this time through July 31st. 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>

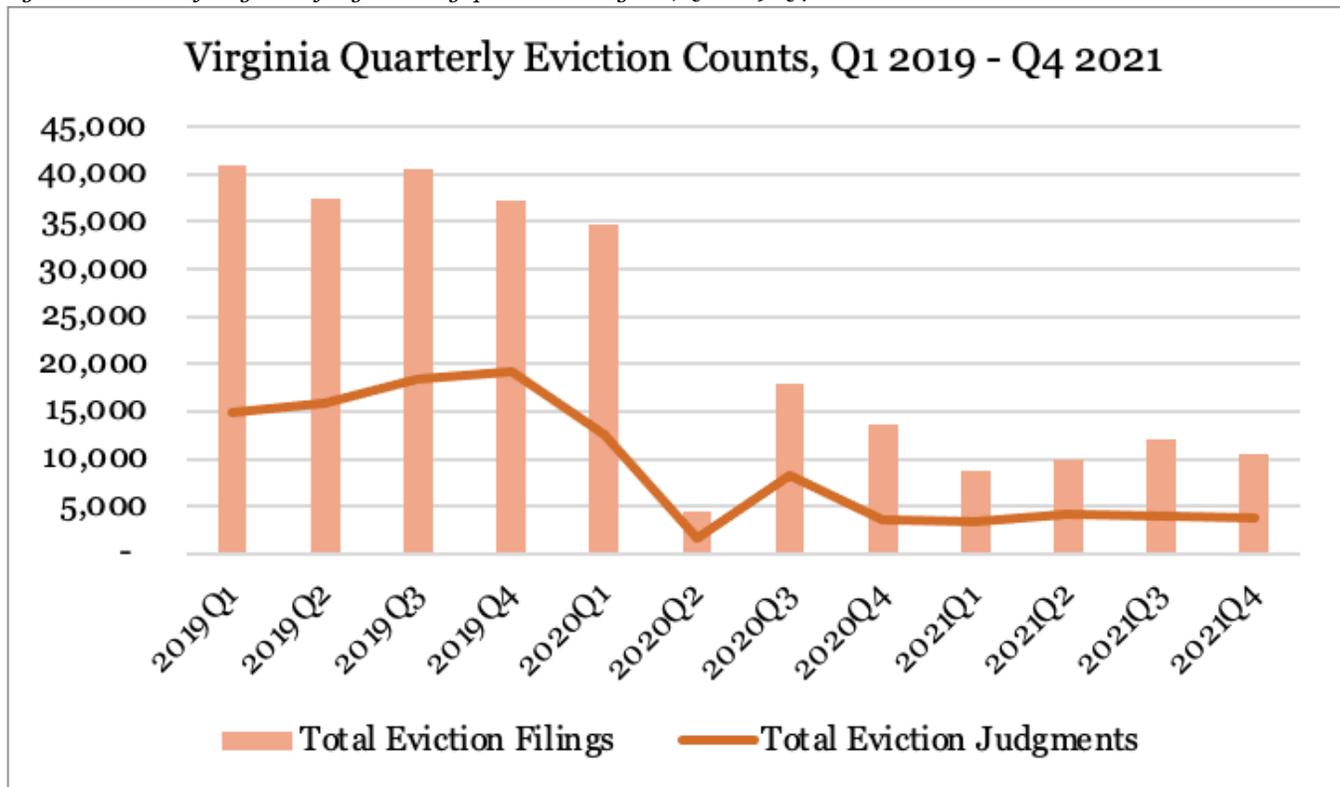
⁴ The Commonwealth is a leader in the use of the federal Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA), spending more than 70% of the funding received. Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition’s Treasury Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA) Dashboard (October 18, 2021). <https://nlihc.org/era-dashboard>



HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Statewide eviction filings and judgments during the fourth quarter decreased from the previous quarter's levels. As shown in Figure 1, eviction filings are relatively close to numbers from the previous quarter (11,965 in the third quarter to 10,561 in the fourth quarter), while eviction judgments increased from 2,628 to 3,691. 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-Q4 2021



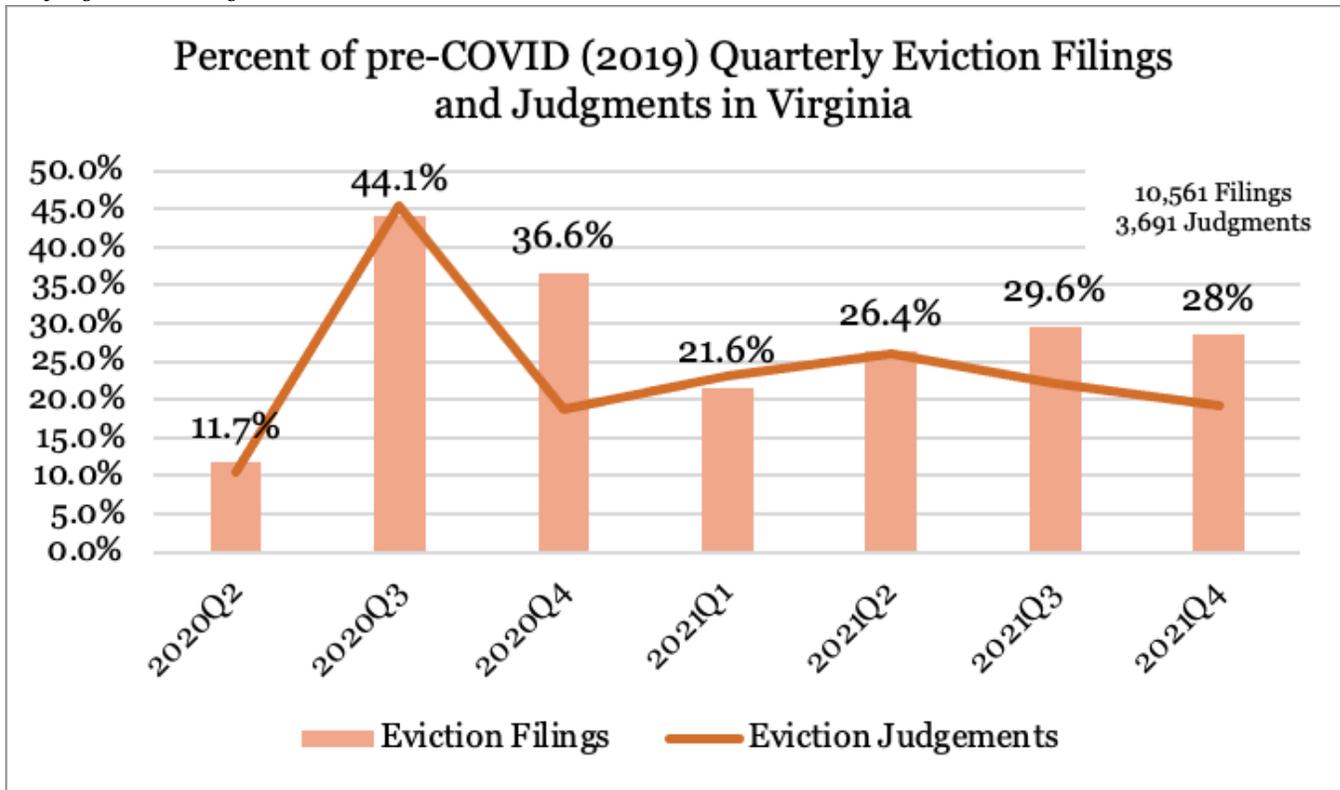
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

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 decreased from the preceding quarter's 29% of pre-pandemic filings to 28%. Eviction judgments decreased from 21% to 19% of pre-pandemic levels. In part gap reflects the courts' enforcement of the requirement to apply for rent relief⁵.

⁵ 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.



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 25% is a decrease compared to its pre-pandemic counterpart of 38%; however, it represents an increase of almost 2% from this year’s third quarter rate of 23.3%. As Table 2 shows, a total of almost 50,000 evictions were filed and more than 15,000 eviction judgments were issued in Virginia during 2021.

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

	Q4 2019	Q4 2021	Q4 2021 percent of Q4 2019
Default Judgments	14,111	2,597	18%
Default Judgment Rate	38%	25%	65%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 2: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Virginia, 2020 and 2021.

	Yearly total 2020	Yearly total 2021	Percent Change
Eviction Filings	70,467	41,216	-42%
Eviction Judgments	26,117	15,325	-41%

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 3’s responses to the three renter-targeted questions collected from December 1st to December 13th make clear. Sixteen percent of Virginia renters that responded to the survey during this timeframe were not caught up on their rent payments, compared to the less than 8% at the end of September. The share of respondents with no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month’s rent represented a five percent increase at about 30%. And finally, about 28% 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 52% of respondents in September.

Table 3: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters, December 1 – December 13, 2021.

Renters who are not caught up on rent payments (% of respondents)	16%
Renters with no or slight confidence in ability to pay next month's rent (% of respondents)	30%
Renters who are somewhat or very likely to leave their house in next two months due to eviction⁶(% of respondents)	28%

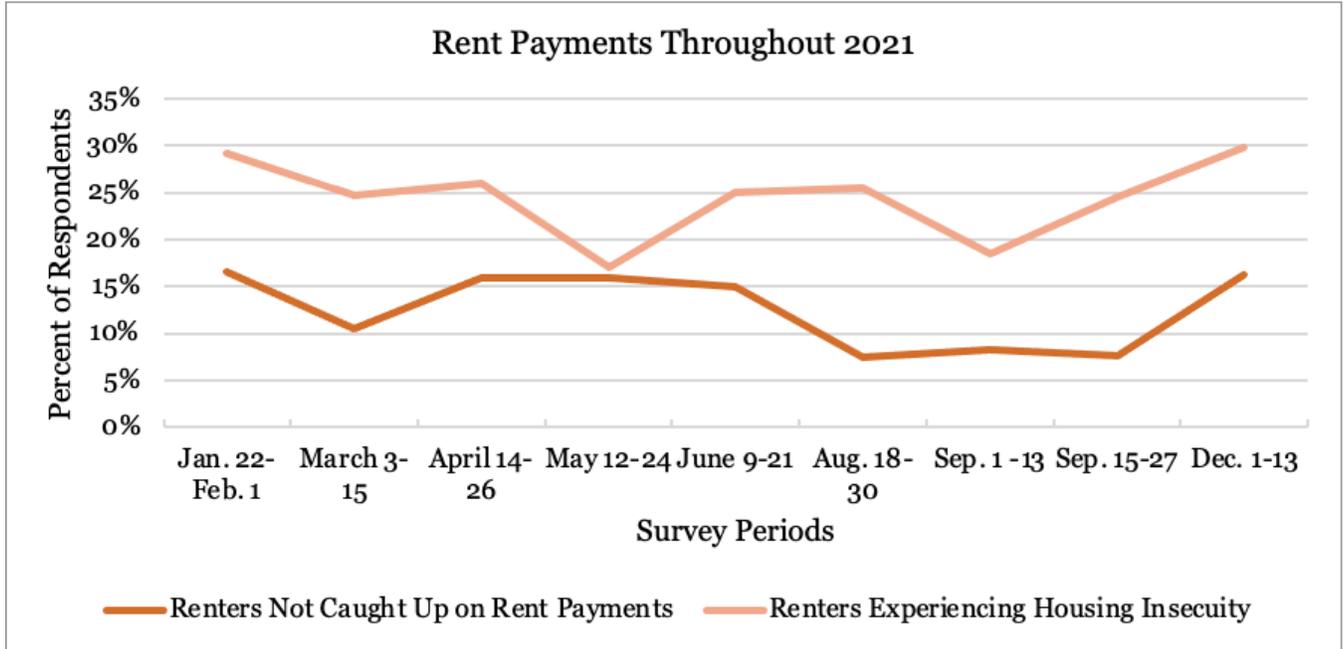
US Census Bureau, 2021, Week 40 Household Pulse Survey.

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 and the percent of renters with no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month’s rent saw fluctuation throughout the year.

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

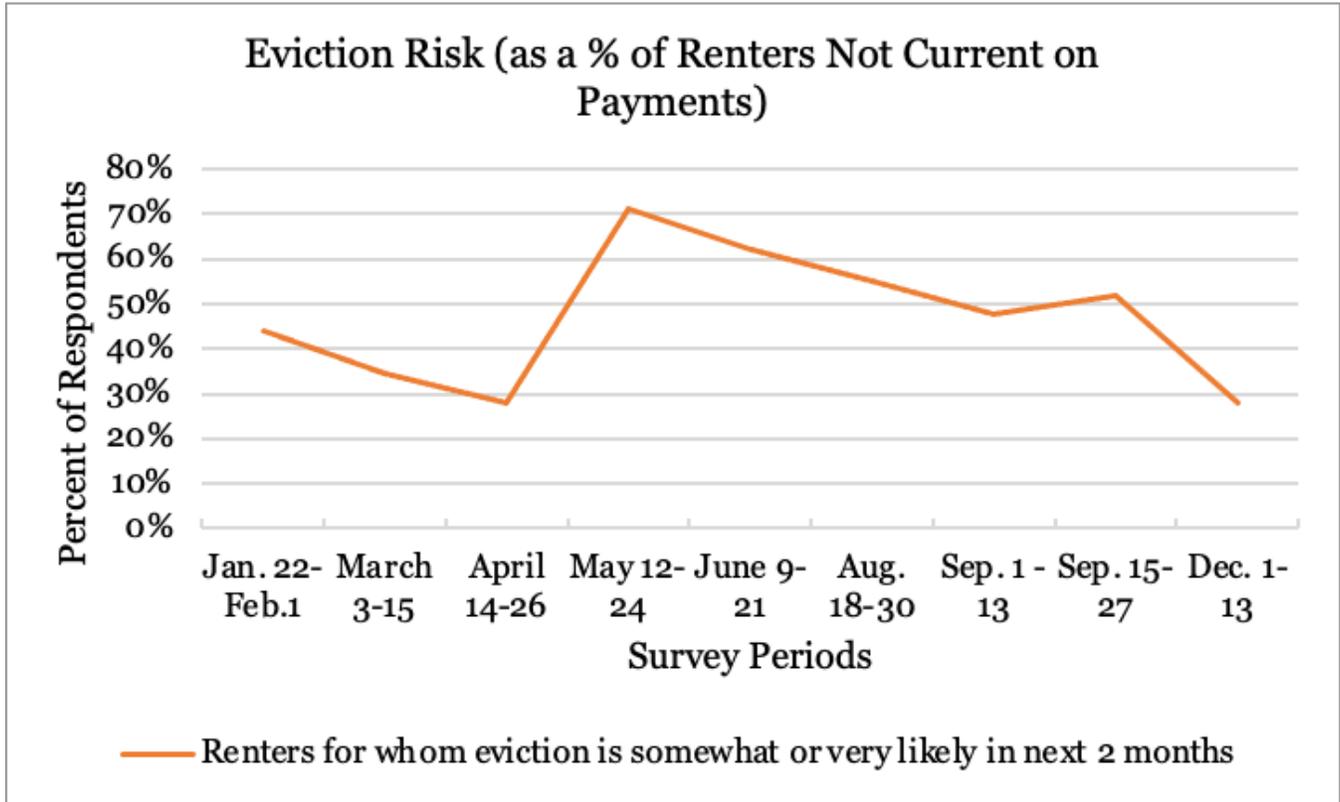


Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 23, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40 2021.



Figure 4 shows that displacement fears for individuals surveyed as part of the Household Pulse Survey. As the figure shows, displacement fears varied throughout the year, peaking during Week 30 (May 12-24) and started to steadily decrease starting week 38 (Sept. 15-27).

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



Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 23, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40 2021.

By the end of the third quarter, a total of 3,708 eviction filings have a pending hearing date of February 22nd or later.

Table 4: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Virginia with a pending hearing date from February 22nd through March 31st, 2022

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting on February 22, 2022
Virginia	3,708

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

Central Virginia

Table 5 shows eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the fourth quarter of 2021 after the end of the CDC’s eviction protection. Eviction filings now represent 20% of the 2019 pre-pandemic filings while eviction judgments represent 8% of their pre-pandemic counterparts. Only Hopewell and Richmond saw decreases in eviction filings from quarter three to quarter four, while all localities’ evictions increased.

Table 5: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesterfield	1,731	957	524	189	30%	20%
Henrico	2,566	1,436	862	217	34%	15%
Hopewell	310	178	92	23	30%	13%
Petersburg	822	822	202	77	25%	16%
Richmond	3,330	1,796	659	148	20%	8%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 6 illustrates the annual totals of eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions for 2020 and 2021. Of all jurisdictions in the Commonwealth, Richmond had the second most eviction filings and had the fifth most judgments during 2021.

Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, 2020 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesterfield	2,748	934	1,761	649	64%	69%
Henrico	4,376	1,541	2,623	826	60%	54%
Hopewell	623	238	386	130	62%	55%
Petersburg	1,558	658	800	322	51%	49%
Richmond	6,543	2,179	3,157	808	48%	37%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



As Table 7 shows, all of Central Virginia’s default judgment rates were lower than seen before the pandemic. In all Central Virginia jurisdictions, except for Henrico (-3%), default judgment rates increased from the preceding quarter.

Table 7: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesterfield	748	43%	142	27%	19%	49%
Henrico	1139	44%	170	20%	15%	63%
Hopewell	132	43%	16	17%	12%	44%
Petersburg	359	44%	55	27%	15%	41%
Richmond	1,349	41%	104	16%	8%	62%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

The default judgment rates of 2020 and 2021 are shown in Table 8. In 2021, the rates of all Central Virginia jurisdictions, except Chesterfield and Petersburg, were less than Virginia’s rate of 26 percent. Similarly, all jurisdictions’ default judgment rates in 2020 exceeded or matched the Commonwealth’s rate of 25 percent.

Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, 2020 and 2021.

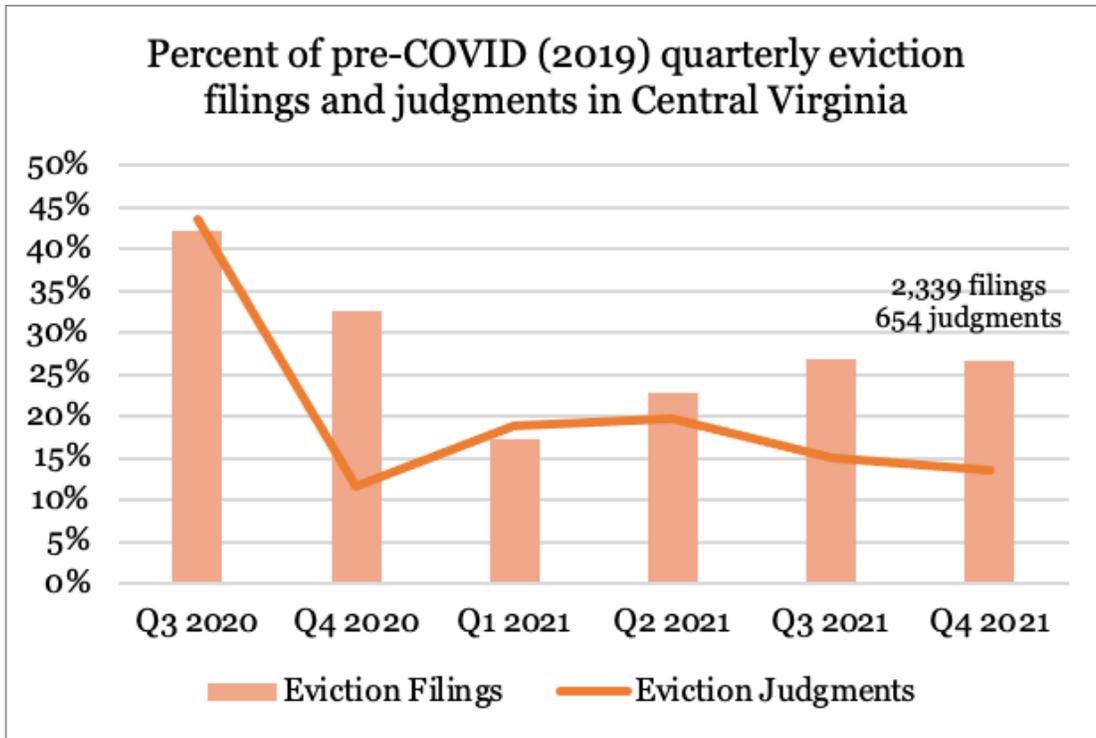
	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesterfield	677	25%	487	28%	-28%	12%
Henrico	1,181	27%	666	25%	-44%	-7%
Hopewell	163	26%	97	25%	-40%	-4%
Petersburg	452	29%	226	28%	-50%	-3%
Richmond	1,612	25%	624	20%	-61%	-20%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Figure 5 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last six 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 decreased this quarter from last quarter (from 2,626 to 2,339) and judgments decreased from last quarter from 682 to 654. Eviction filings for the fourth quarter are slightly over 25% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are at 13.5% of pre-pandemic levels.

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



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

As seen in Table 9, eviction cases with a pending hearing date scheduled for February 22nd or later in the Central Virginia region have slightly decreased (Q3: 1,404). 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. These hearings represent 28.8% of hearings scheduled starting February 22nd statewide.



Table 9: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Central Virginia with a pending hearing date of 2/22 or later.

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting February 22, 2022
Chesterfield	468
Henrico	314
Hopewell	50
Petersburg	113
Richmond	124
Total	1,069

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Hampton Roads

Table 10 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2021. Across the region, except Virginia Beach, filings and judgments increased in the fourth quarter from the third quarter. Chesapeake saw a 350% increase in judgments in the fourth quarter (87) compared to the third quarter (19), while filings in this locality increased only 34% (Q3: 230; Q4: 309).

Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	1,364	660	309	87	23%	13%
Hampton	1,787	1,018	497	165	28%	16%
Newport News	3,543	1,902	612	204	17%	11%
Norfolk	3,059	1,428	901	235	29%	16%
Portsmouth	1,466	893	353	126	24%	14%
Virginia Beach	2,180	1,457	668	203	21%	14%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 11 illustrates eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region in all of 2020 and 2021. Similar to the quarterly data all rank in the top ten for filings during 2021. Norfolk had the most filings and eviction judgments of all jurisdictions in the Commonwealth in 2021.

Table 11: Eviction filings and eviction judgments Hampton Roads jurisdictions, 2020 and 2021.

	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	2,021	784	1,080	395	-47%	-50%
Hampton	3,031	1,197	1,814	669	-40%	-44%
Newport News	5,458	2,091	2,175	759	-60%	-64%
Norfolk	6,351	2,173	3,813	1,065	-40%	-51%
Portsmouth	2,492	1,221	1,457	538	-42%	-56%
Virginia Beach	5,506	2,026	2,961	1,019	-46%	-50%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 12 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 Hampton, Newport News, and Portsmouth (all 25%), are lower than the statewide rate of 24.6% this past quarter. In addition, only Chesapeake saw a decline in its rates from the previous quarter. As seen in Table 13, the annual default judgment rates of all Hampton Roads jurisdictions, except Portsmouth, are greater than or equal to the Virginia-wide rate in 2021.



Table 12: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	529	39%	67	22%	13%	56%
Hampton	810	45%	125	25%	15%	55%
Newport News	1,415	40%	156	25%	11%	64%
Norfolk	1,097	36%	175	19%	16%	54%
Portsmouth	649	44%	90	25%	14%	58%
Virginia Beach	1,170	37%	153	23%	13%	62%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 13: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, 2020 and 2021.

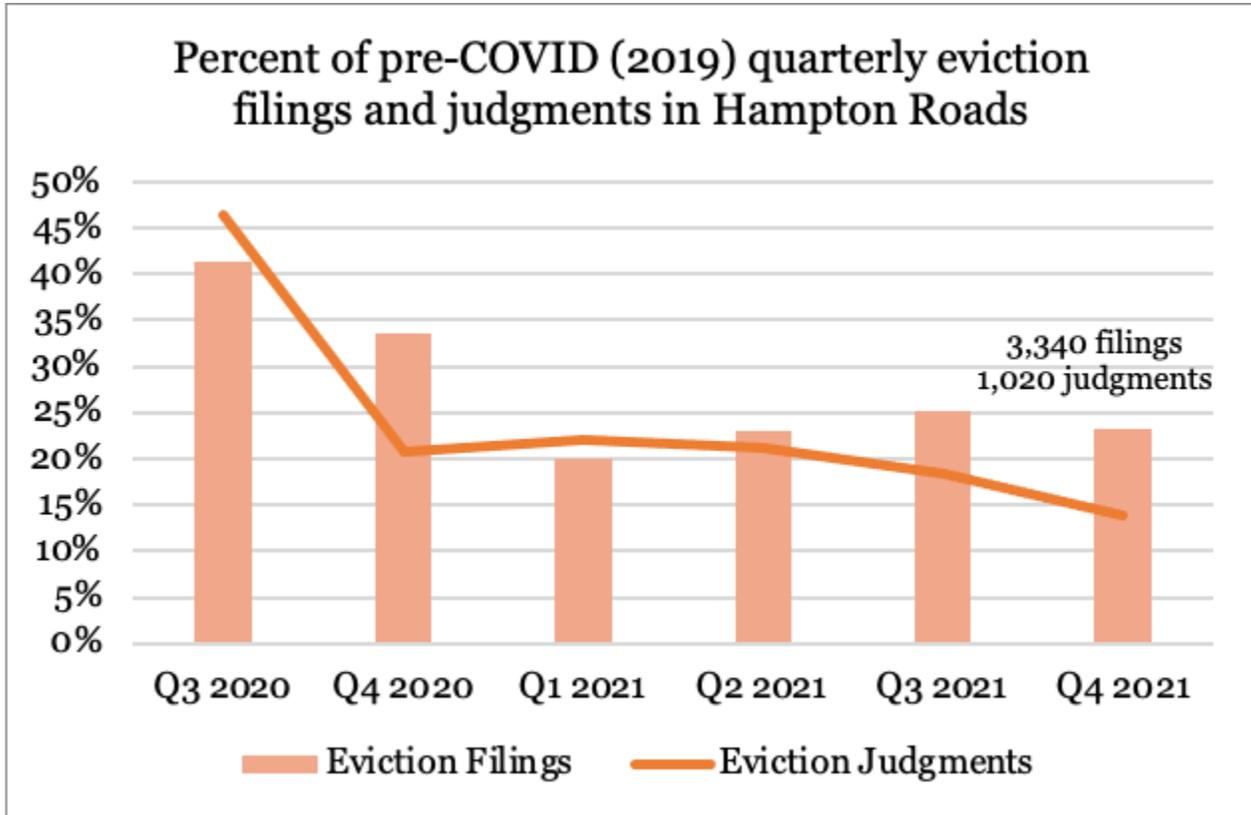
	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment
Chesapeake	575	28%	282	26%	-51%	-7%
Hampton	861	28%	512	28%	-41%	0%
Newport News	1,551	28%	580	27%	-63%	-4%
Norfolk	1,593	25%	824	22%	-48%	-12%
Portsmouth	859	34%	346	24%	-60%	-29%
Virginia Beach	1,559	28%	793	27%	-49%	-4%

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 23% of 2019 pre-pandemic filings, and eviction judgments were 14% 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 14, eviction cases in Hampton Roads jurisdictions with pending hearing dates of February 22nd or later are shown. Newport News and Virginia Beach top the list, and all jurisdictions saw decreases from the third quarter of 2021. These hearings represent 30.2% of hearings scheduled starting February 22nd statewide.



Table 14: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Hampton Roads with a pending hearing date of 2/22/22 or later.

	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting February 22, 2022
Chesapeake	96
Hampton	170
Newport News	279
Norfolk	215
Portsmouth	98
Virginia Beach	262
Total	1,120

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Northern Virginia

Eviction filings and judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2021 are presented in Table 15. All localities throughout the region, except Fairfax Co. and Fredericksburg, saw a decrease in filings from the third quarter to the fourth quarter, while all localities saw a decrease in judgments.

Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Alexandria	1,014	405	277	99	27%	24%
Arlington	496	206	145	68	29%	33%
Fairfax Co.	1,649	669	592	238	36%	36%
Falls Church	20	10	3	1	15%	10%
Fredericksburg	268	152	67	25	25%	16%
Loudoun	393	147	90	38	23%	26%
Prince William	1,318	664	337	137	26%	21%
Stafford	342	151	69	23	20%	15%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 16 shows annual totals for eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia in 2020 and 2021.

Table 16: Eviction Filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, 2020 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Alexandria	2,603	624	1,022	368	-61%	-41%
Arlington	1,172	320	599	258	-49%	-19%
Fairfax Co.	3,552	1,061	2,240	846	-37%	-20%
Falls Church	30	13	25	10	-17%	-23%
Fredericksburg	633	241	283	106	-55%	-56%
Loudoun	920	327	434	174	-53%	-47%
Prince William	2,736	957	1,422	560	-48%	-41%
Stafford	638	247	341	114	-47%	-54%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 17 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the 2019 and 2021 fourth quarters. Default judgment rates decreased from the third to fourth quarter in every jurisdiction except Falls Church. As seen in the table, default judgments started to rise above their pre-pandemic levels in the comparison of 2021 fourth quarter rates to 2019 fourth quarter figures, spanning from 0% to 120% of the rates seen before COVID. With respect to annual default judgment totals (see Table 18), all Northern Virginia jurisdictions', except Fredericksburg, default judgment rates exceeded that of Virginia (26%).



Table 17: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment
Alexandria	291	29%	82	30%	28%	103%
Arlington	165	33%	55	38%	33%	114%
Fairfax Co.	539	33%	204	34%	38%	105%
Falls Church	10	50%	-	0%	0%	0%
Fredericksburg	100	37%	17	25%	17%	68%
Loudoun	109	28%	30	33%	28%	120%
Prince William	459	35%	99	29%	22%	84%
Stafford	99	29%	10	14%	10%	50%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 18: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, 2020 and 2021.

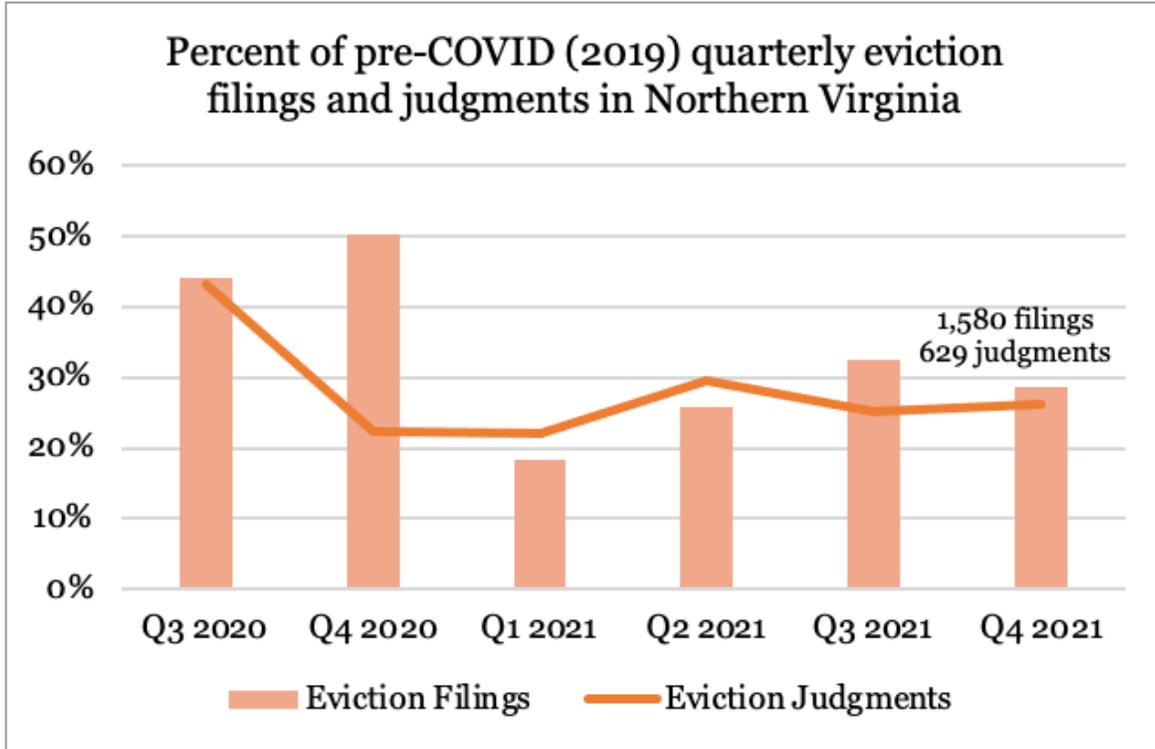
	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment
Alexandria	492	19%	326	32%	-34%	68%
Arlington	240	20%	198	33%	-18%	65%
Fairfax Co.	754	21%	696	31%	-8%	48%
Falls Church	8	27%	8	32%	0%	19%
Fredericksburg	157	25%	76	27%	-52%	8%
Loudoun	205	22%	124	29%	-40%	32%
Prince William	625	23%	405	28%	-35%	22%
Stafford	144	23%	75	22%	-48%	-4%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Figure 7 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. The region saw an decrease in judgments rates from the third quarter to the fourth quarter (32% in Q3 to 29% in Q4). Eviction judgments increased from 25% of pre-pandemic levels in Q3 to 26% in Q4.

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 19 displays the pending eviction hearings scheduled for February 22nd onward. The counties of Fairfax and Prince William lead the list. These hearings represent 11.8% of hearings scheduled starting February 22nd statewide.



Table 19: Number of unlawful detainers filed in Northern Virginia with a pending hearing date of 2/22/22 or later.

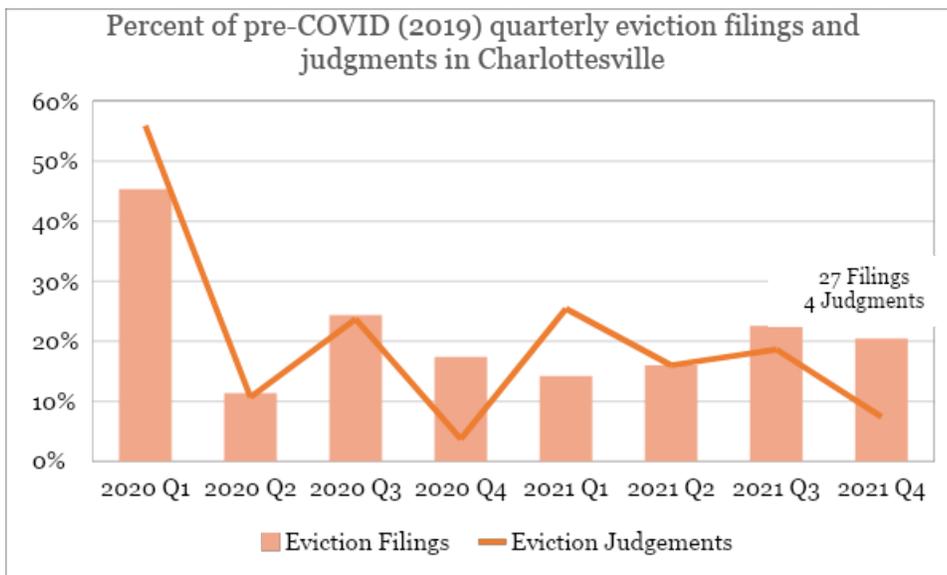
	Number of Pending Eviction Hearings starting February 22, 2022
Arlington	45
Fairfax Co.	136
Loudoun	17
Prince William	105
Stafford	21
Alexandria	80
Falls Church	1
Fredericksburg	30
Total	435

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

CITY OF CHARLOTTESVILLE

Figure 15 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last six quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. The chart shows a pattern similar to that at the state-level.

Figure 15: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Charlottesville



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Table 25 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in Charlottesville during the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2021. 2021 Q4 eviction filings were still down compared to their 2019 Q4 counterparts.

Table 25: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, October-December 2019 and 2021.

2019 Q4		2021 Q4		2021 % of 2019	
Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
132	54	27	4	20%	7%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 26 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the third quarter of 2019 and 2021 in Charlottesville. The default judgment rate of Charlottesville is lower than the statewide rate of 24.6% this past quarter. As seen in Table 27, the annual default judgment rate of Charlottesville is less than the statewide rate as well.

Table 26: Default judgments and rates in Charlottesville, October-December 2019 and 2021.

2019 Q4		2021 Q4		2021 % of 2019	
Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate
32	24%	1	4%	3%	15%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 27: Default judgments and rates in Charlottesville, 2019 and 2021.

2020		2021		Percent Change	
Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate
30	18%	24	21%	-20%	14%

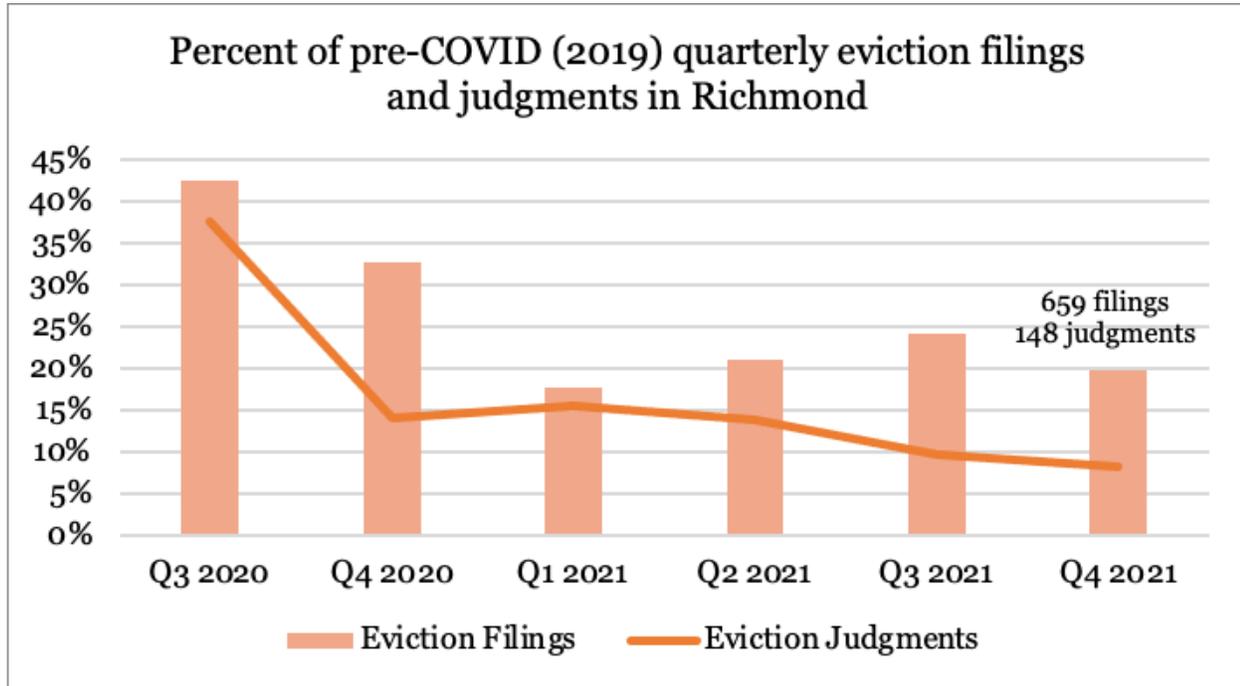
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



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 fourth quarter of 2021, Richmond’s updated total eviction filings represented 18.7% of pre-COVID 2019 fourth quarter filings, and its eviction judgments represented 8% of 2019 Q4 judgments.

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

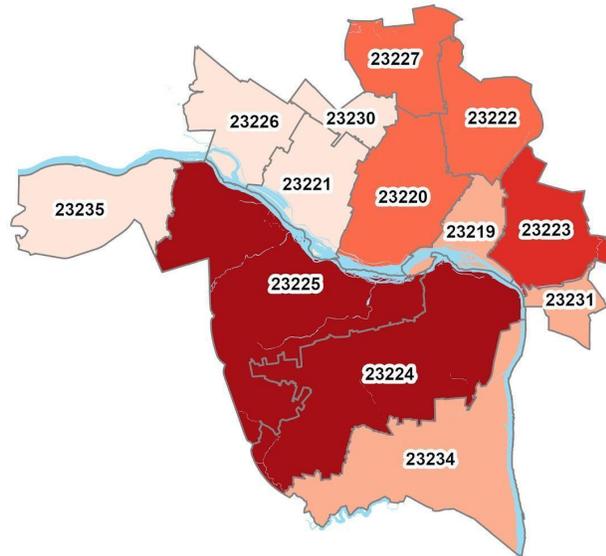


Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

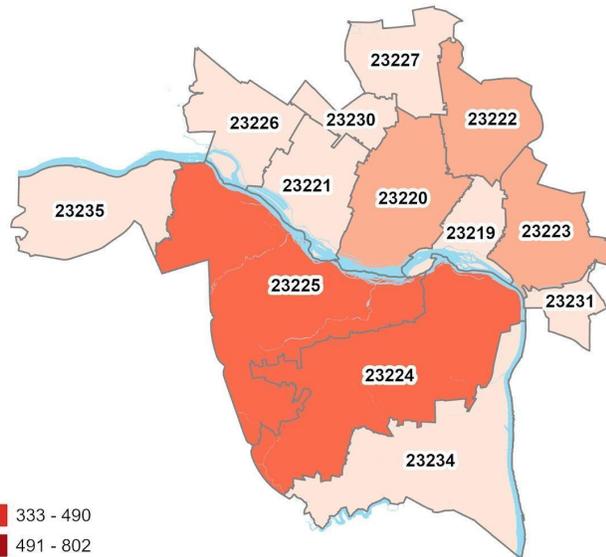
The maps on the following pages visually represent the spatial distribution of eviction filings, eviction judgments, and default judgments across ZIP codes in Richmond in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2021. As shown in Figure 9, eviction filings this past quarter were concentrated in ZIP codes in Richmond’s 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 codes 23227 and 23219 had substantial default judgment rates—both 50%, of eviction filings during the fourth quarter.



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



October to December 2019

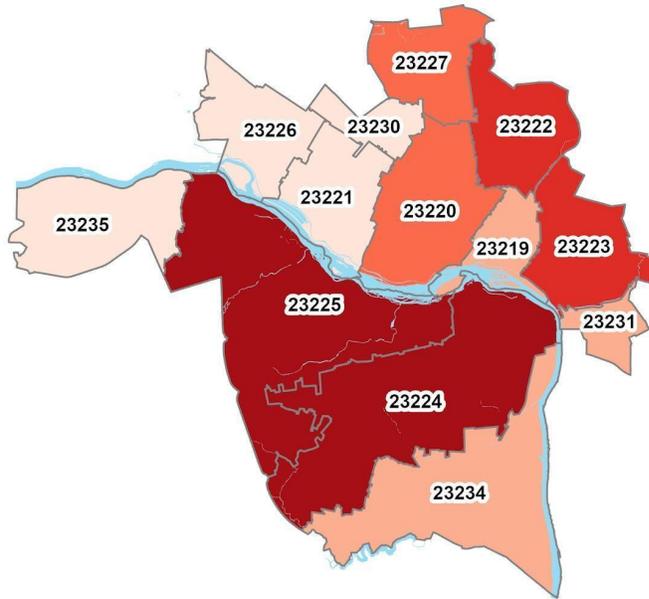


October to December 2021

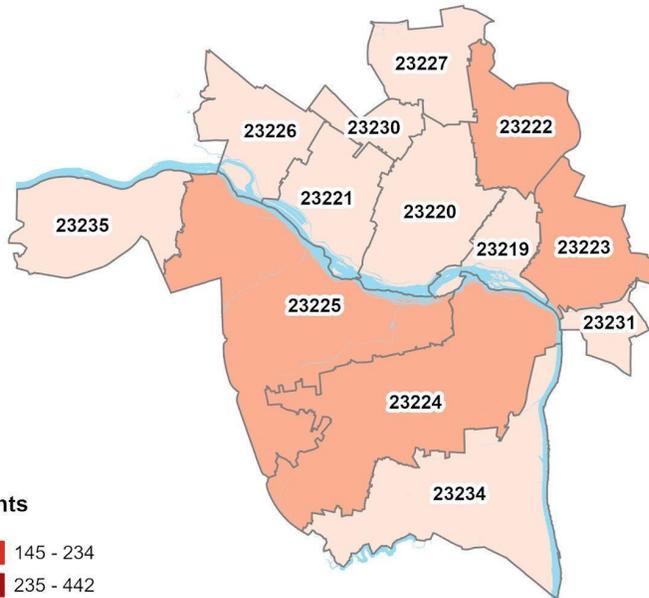
Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



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



October to December 2019



Eviction Judgments

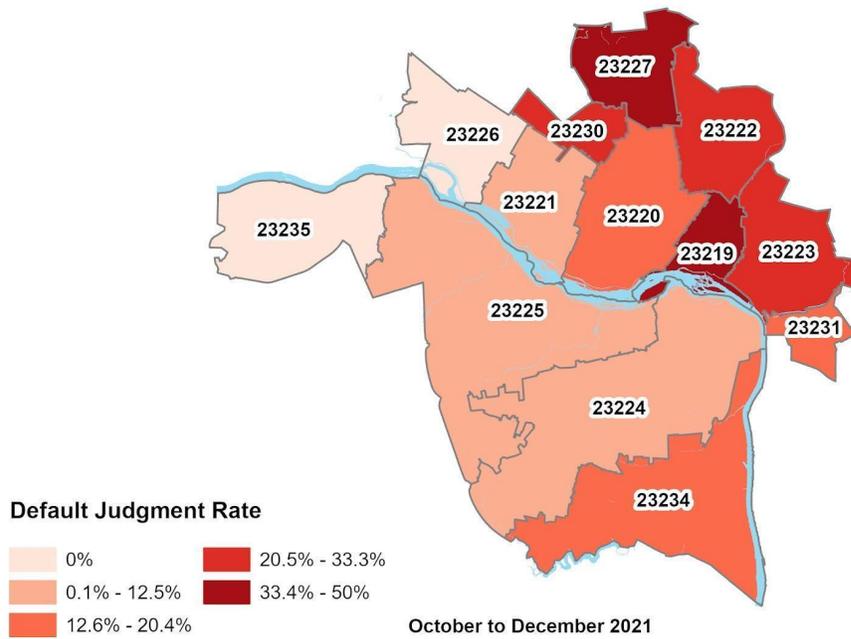
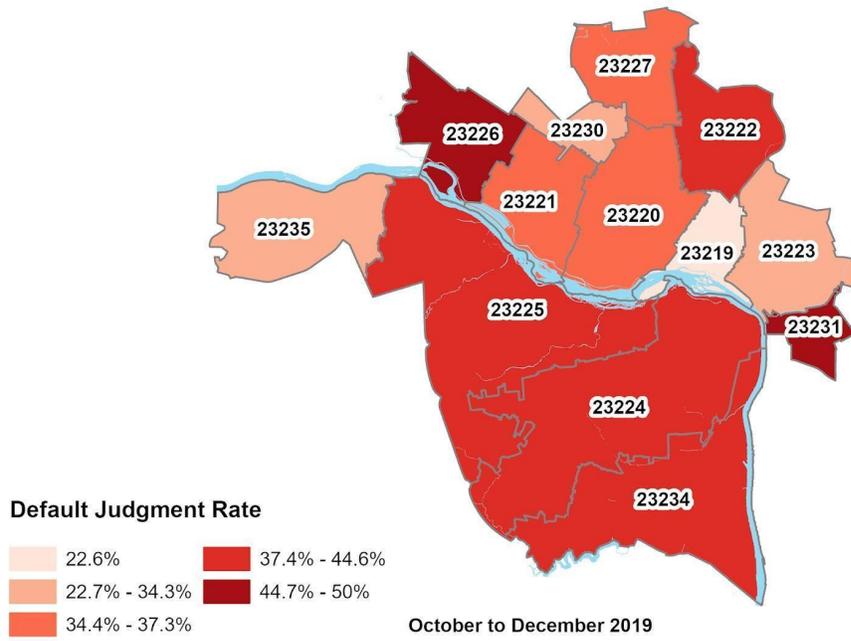


October to December 2021

Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



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



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Table 20 shows the comparison of the number of filings and eviction judgments in each of Richmond’s ZIP codes in the 2019 and 2021 fourth quarters. Filings and evictions continued to fall well below pre-pandemic numbers; however, evictions increased or stayed roughly the same from the third to fourth quarter of this year throughout the city of Richmond.

Table 20: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, October 2019 and 2021.

ZIP Code	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	84	38	14	8	17%	21%
23220	212	101	54	12	25%	12%
23221	25	13	8	2	32%	15%
23222	332	207	35	15	11%	7%
23223	490	234	71	26	14%	11%
23224	791	442	147	30	19%	7%
23225	802	434	227	34	28%	8%
23226	2	2	1	0	50%	0%
23227	304	144	16	10	5%	7%
23230	18	6	3	1	17%	17%
23231	96	70	10	4	10%	6%
23234	130	83	17	6	13%	7%
23235	15	7	3	0	20%	0%
Other	29	15	53	0	183%	0%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



In Table 21, eviction filings and judgments are presented by ZIP code in Richmond for 2020 and 2021. Again, the 23224 and 233225 ZIP codes account for half of Richmond’s filings and judgments during 2021.

Table 21: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, 2020 and 2021.

ZIP Code	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		Percent Change	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	119	34	76	26	-36%	-24%
23220	376	125	207	68	-45%	-46%
23221	27	13	26	7	-4%	-46%
23222	549	197	190	69	-65%	-65%
23223	624	197	324	115	-48%	-42%
23224	1260	406	717	190	-43%	-53%
23225	1400	398	1016	190	-27%	-52%
23226	5	0	4	0	-20%	-
23227	589	70	55	30	-91%	-57%
23230	32	6	20	5	-38%	-17%
23231	80	20	69	23	-14%	15%
23234	211	74	123	27	-42%	-64%
23235	25	8	5	1	-80%	-88%
Other	81	35	325	57	301%	63%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Finally, quarterly default judgment numbers and rates by Richmond ZIP code are presented in Table 22. The 2021 Q4 default judgment rates in ZIP codes 23219 and 23227 exceeded their rates in the fourth quarter of 2019, amounting to 217% and 135% of the pre-pandemic figures, respectively.



Table 22: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, July-September 2019 and 2021.

ZIP Code	Q4 2019		Q4 2021		2021 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	19	23%	7	50%	37%	217%
23220	79	37%	11	20%	14%	54%
23221	9	36%	1	13%	11%	36%
23222	144	43%	9	26%	6%	60%
23223	168	34%	18	25%	11%	74%
23224	349	44%	18	12%	5%	27%
23225	342	43%	26	11%	8%	26%
23226	1	50%	0	0%	0%	0%
23227	112	37%	8	50%	7%	135%
23230	6	33%	1	33%	17%	100%
23231	48	50%	2	20%	4%	40%
23234	58	45%	3	18%	5%	40%
23235	5	33%	0	0%	0%	0%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

In Table 23, default judgment numbers and rates are presented by ZIP code in Richmond for 2020 and 2021.



Table 23: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, 2020 and 2021.

ZIP Code	Yearly total 2020		Yearly total 2021		Percent Change	
	Default Judgment	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgment	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgment	Default Judgment Rate
23219	22	18%	22	29%	0%	57%
23220	82	22%	58	28%	-29%	28%
23221	6	22%	4	15%	-33%	-31%
23222	136	25%	45	24%	-67%	-4%
23223	140	22%	78	24%	-44%	7%
23224	273	22%	144	20%	-47%	-7%
23225	318	23%	162	16%	-49%	-30%
23226	0	0%	0	0%	-	-
23227	54	9%	25	45%	-54%	396%
23230	2	6%	2	10%	0%	60%
23231	16	20%	17	25%	6%	23%
23234	51	24%	15	12%	-71%	-50%
23235	6	24%	0	0%	-100%	-100%
Other	28	35%	52	16%	86%	-54%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

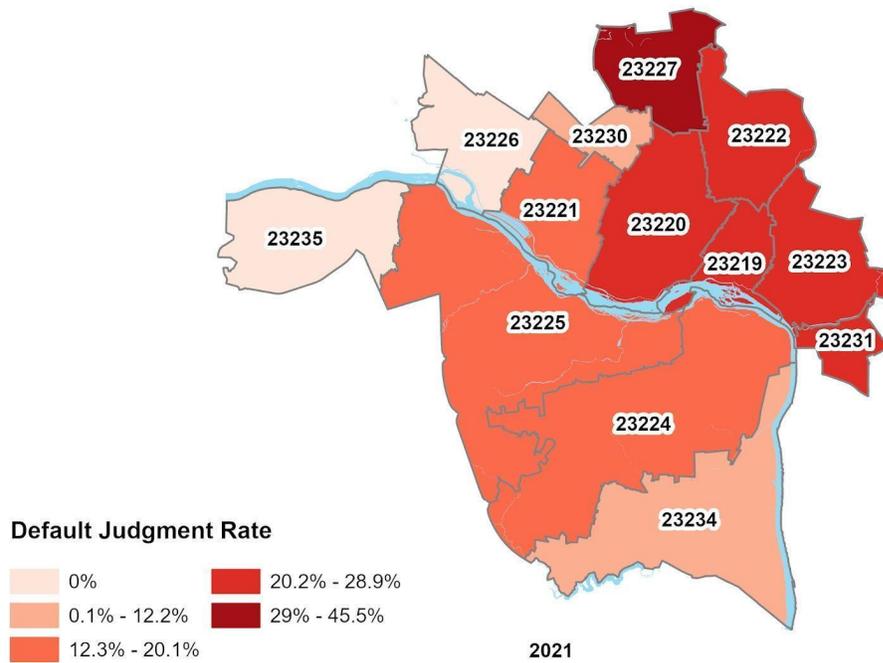
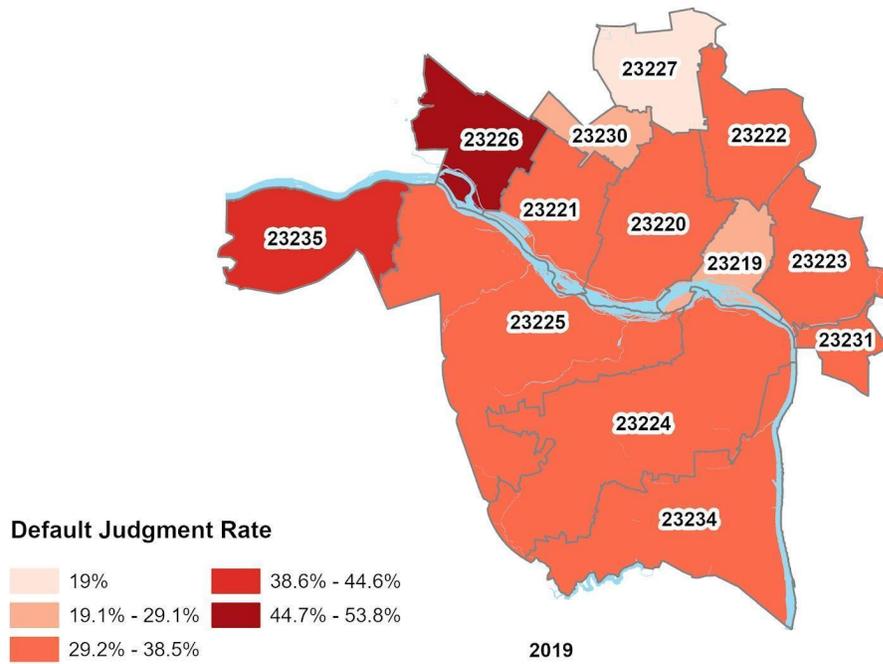
Table 24: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, 2019 and 2021.

2020		2021		Percent Change	
Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
163	57	114	42	-30%	-26%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



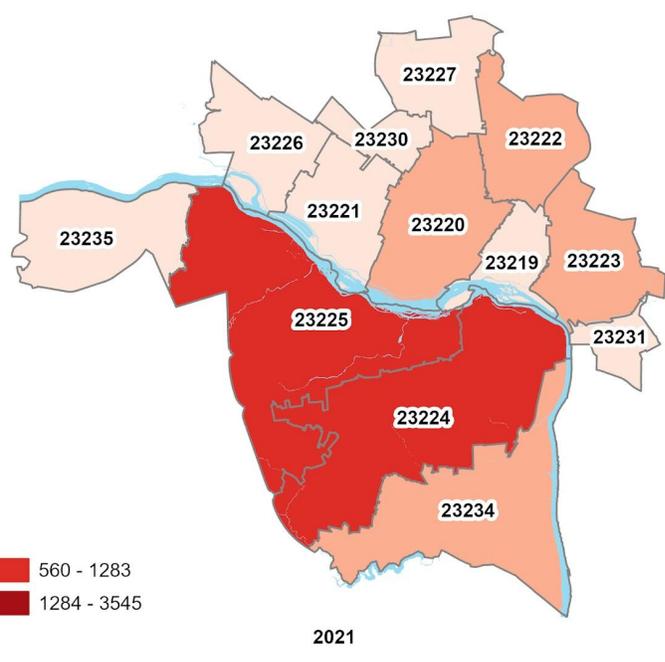
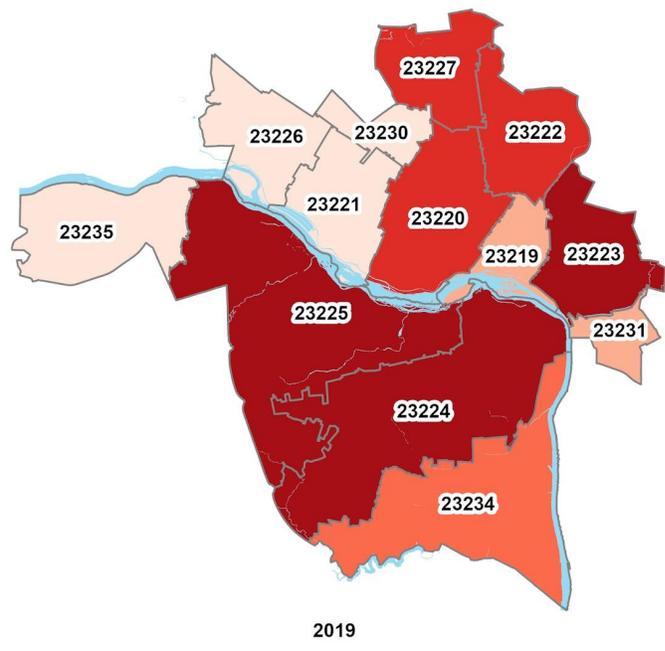
Figure 12: Yearly default judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code, 2019 and 2021.



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



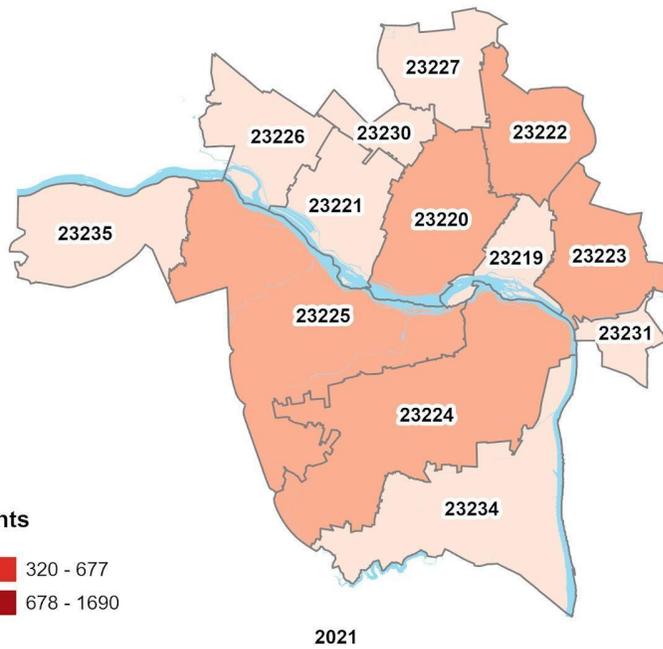
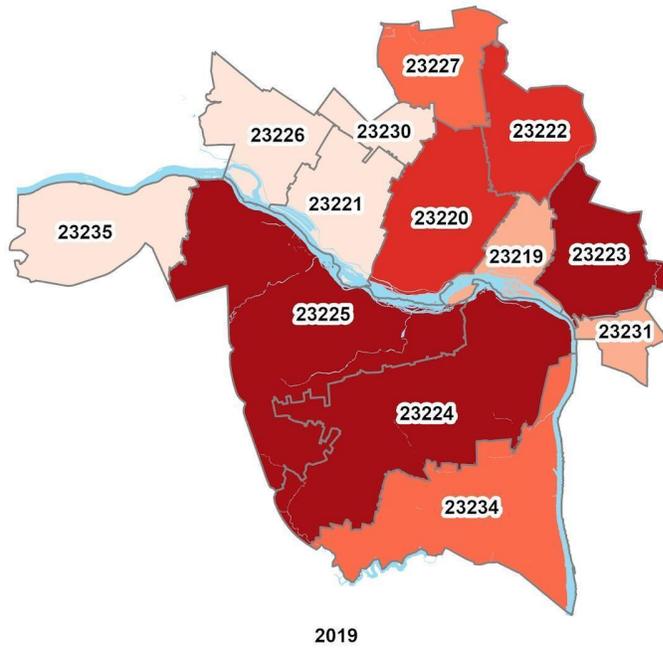
Figure 13: Yearly eviction filings in Richmond by ZIP code, 2019 and 2021.



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 14: Yearly eviction judgments in Richmond by ZIP code, 2019 and 2021.



Eviction Judgments



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Appendix: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2021

Jurisdiction	2021 Q4 Eviction Filings	2021 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2021 Q4 Default Judgments	2021 Q4 Default Judgment Rate	2021 Q4 Pending Filings	2021 Total Filings	2021 Total Eviction Judgments	2021 Total Default Judgments
Accomack	29	15	9	31.03%	14	100	56	32
Albemarle	71	23	15	21.13%	62	268	93	70
Alexandria	277	99	82	29.60%	80	1022	368	326
Alleghany	29	5	3	10.34%	24	102	31	18
Amelia	7	3	1	14.29%	3	19	13	6
Amherst	49	13	7	14.29%	9	173	73	40
Appomattox	7	2	2	28.57%	0	39	19	9
Arlington	145	68	55	37.93%	45	599	258	198
Augusta	40	12	6	15.00%	17	185	83	50
Bath	1	0	0	0.00%	0	8	5	2
Bedford	48	22	10	20.83%	10	164	77	40
Bland	0	0	0	#DIV/0!	0	5	1	0
Botetourt	9	6	3	33.33%	5	50	23	17
Bristol	40	31	14	35.00%	3	120	86	44
Brunswick	11	5	4	36.36%	2	50	19	10
Buchanan	5	1	1	20.00%	2	20	8	2
Buckingham	5	1	0	0.00%	3	42	10	0
Buena Vista	13	5	3	23.08%	8	28	14	8



Campbell	91	37	22	24.18%	43	404	104	102
Caroline	16	7	2	12.50%	6	74	36	21
Carroll	22	18	9	40.91%	0	73	49	24
Charles City	4	2	0	0.00%	0	14	10	2
Charlotte	6	1	0	0.00%	1	31	7	1
Charlottesville	27	4	1	3.70%	16	114	42	24
Chesapeake	309	87	67	21.68%	96	1080	395	282
Chesterfield	524	189	142	27.10%	468	1761	649	487
Clarke	5	1	1	20.00%	3	16	8	6
Colonial Heights	34	8	6	17.65%	21	167	50	34
Craig	0	0	0	#DIV/0!	3	7	5	3
Culpeper	16	7	2	12.50%	5	91	35	19
Cumberland	10	4	1	10.00%	1	32	12	4
Danville	264	155	123	46.59%	38	977	565	415
Dickenson	2	1	0	0.00%	2	17	11	4
Dinwiddie	17	5	3	17.65%	3	89	37	21
Emporia	24	7	4	16.67%	6	62	18	13
Essex	11	3	2	18.18%	5	33	10	6
Fairfax Co.	592	238	204	34.46%	136	2240	846	696
Falls Church	3	1	0	0.00%	1	25	10	8
Fauquier	16	5	3	18.75%	8	86	36	22
Floyd	8	6	3	37.50%	0	17	11	6
Fluvanna	9	5	2	22.22%	3	30	17	10
Franklin City	10	2	1	10.00%	1	51	11	6



Franklin Co.	36	21	7	19.44%	4	146	91	45
Frederick	54	15	14	25.93%	20	162	66	48
Fredericksburg	67	25	17	25.37%	30	283	106	76
Galax	13	8	4	30.77%	5	39	20	11
Giles	14	6	5	35.71%	1	46	26	17
Gloucester	20	10	3	15.00%	6	99	41	21
Goochland	8	1	1	12.50%	5	26	9	5
Grayson	12	5	4	33.33%	1	31	20	13
Greene	9	4	1	11.11%	3	40	19	3
Greensville	6	2	1	16.67%	3	25	11	8
Halifax	31	21	6	19.35%	4	75	38	16
Hampton	497	165	125	25.15%	170	1814	669	512
Hanover	36	15	11	30.56%	15	152	60	36
Henrico	862	217	170	19.72%	314	2623	826	666
Henry	53	27	18	33.96%	14	184	63	35
Highland	1	0	0	0.00%	0	3	1	0
Hopewell	92	23	16	17.39%	50	386	130	97
Isle of Wight	43	13	11	25.58%	7	136	43	32
King & Queen	4	2	0	0.00%	0	15	8	3
King George	25	9	4	16.00%	6	55	20	10
King William	5	4	1	20.00%	0	20	16	5
Lancaster	10	6	3	30.00%	2	37	21	9
Lee	18	8	3	16.67%	6	74	36	13
Loudoun	90	38	30	33.33%	17	434	174	124



Louisa	14	7	5	35.71%	2	79	57	15
Lunenburg	15	4	1	6.67%	1	36	14	6
Lynchburg	160	52	39	24.38%	23	669	273	177
Madison	2	1	1	50.00%	2	18	13	5
Martinsville	21	7	6	28.57%	5	100	38	23
Mathews	4	4	1	25.00%	2	21	10	3
Mecklenburg	17	8	4	23.53%	1	65	25	12
Middlesex	3	2	0	0.00%	2	21	6	0
Montgomery	72	37	27	37.50%	16	199	87	59
Nelson	10	4	3	30.00%	2	38	19	10
New Kent	4	2	2	50.00%	2	17	11	7
Newport News	612	204	156	25.49%	279	2175	759	580
Norfolk	901	235	175	19.42%	215	3813	1065	824
Northampton	8	4	2	25.00%	1	21	13	7
Northumberland	7	6	2	28.57%	0	30	20	9
Nottoway	9	2	1	11.11%	3	49	17	12
Orange	27	11	3	11.11%	4	87	48	12
Page	34	25	9	26.47%	3	96	75	34
Patrick	4	1	0	0.00%	4	32	16	9
Petersburg	202	77	55	27.23%	113	800	322	226
Pittsylvania	63	38	27	42.86%	13	246	145	89
Portsmouth	353	126	90	25.50%	98	1457	538	346
Powhatan	16	5	1	6.25%	2	36	12	3
Prince Edward	18	8	1	5.56%	7	68	23	7



Prince George	45	14	4	8.89%	43	259	92	12
Prince William	337	137	99	29.38%	105	1422	560	405
Pulaski	42	16	7	16.67%	10	163	74	40
Radford	13	2	2	15.38%	7	62	20	16
Rappahannock	0	0	0	#DIV/0! !	0	6	2	0
Richmond City	659	148	104	15.78%	124	3157	808	624
Richmond Co.	7	3	0	0.00%	1	12	6	1
Roanoke City	314	130	99	31.53%	107	1242	512	336
Roanoke Co.	44	17	8	18.18%	19	212	91	58
Rockbridge	10	3	1	10.00%	7	80	32	18
Rockingham/Harris onburg	136	50	37	27.21%	69	485	206	154
Russell	10	6	2	20.00%	2	39	22	7
Salem	27	9	5	18.52%	7	139	62	42
Scott	13	8	4	30.77%	0	46	29	12
Shenandoah	32	14	7	21.88%	11	110	59	34
Smyth	29	22	9	31.03%	6	121	88	41
Southampton	21	5	3	14.29%	6	59	21	14
Spotsylvania	71	10	7	9.86%	39	333	96	56
Stafford	69	23	10	14.49%	21	341	114	75
Staunton	35	7	5	14.29%	21	143	60	49
Suffolk	114	30	22	19.30%	38	458	123	92
Surry	4	1	0	0.00%	5	13	6	1
Sussex	8	5	4	50.00%	7	26	13	8



Tazewell	27	16	9	33.33%	6	155	74	45
Virginia Beach	668	203	153	22.90%	262	2961	1019	793
Warren	43	29	11	25.58%	10	159	110	62
Washington	48	32	13	27.08%	13	198	136	64
Waynesboro	42	15	8	19.05%	15	112	40	22
Westmoreland	18	11	6	33.33%	3	65	30	15
Williamsburg/James City County	81	26	20	24.69%	23	337	105	73
Winchester	65	34	24	36.92%	18	196	90	66
Wise	62	14	14	22.58%	36	236	108	99
Wythe	25	14	5	20.00%	4	99	62	30
York	54	18	16	29.63%	27	225	84	66

