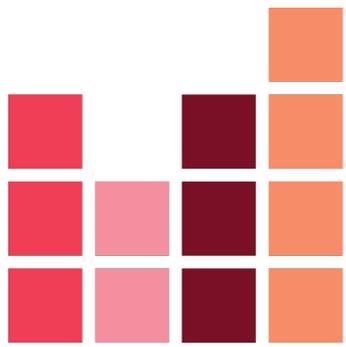




VCU Research Institute
for Social Equity
L. Douglas Wilder School of
Government and Public Affairs

A graphic consisting of a grid of colored squares in shades of red, pink, and orange, arranged in a pattern that suggests the letters 'RVA' and 'LAB'.

RVA EVICTION LAB

Quarterly Data Report

4th Quarter 2023: October through December

March 2024

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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.

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. The Legal Services Corporation (LSC) collects court case data and makes them available for use by researchers and other advocates through the Civil Court Data Initiative. For our analysis, we requested fully deanonymized unlawful detainer data that include case numbers, plaintiff and defendant names, and defendant addresses from LSC.

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). 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. 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.

¹ Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative. 2023, <https://www.lsc.gov/initiatives/civil-court-data-initiative>.

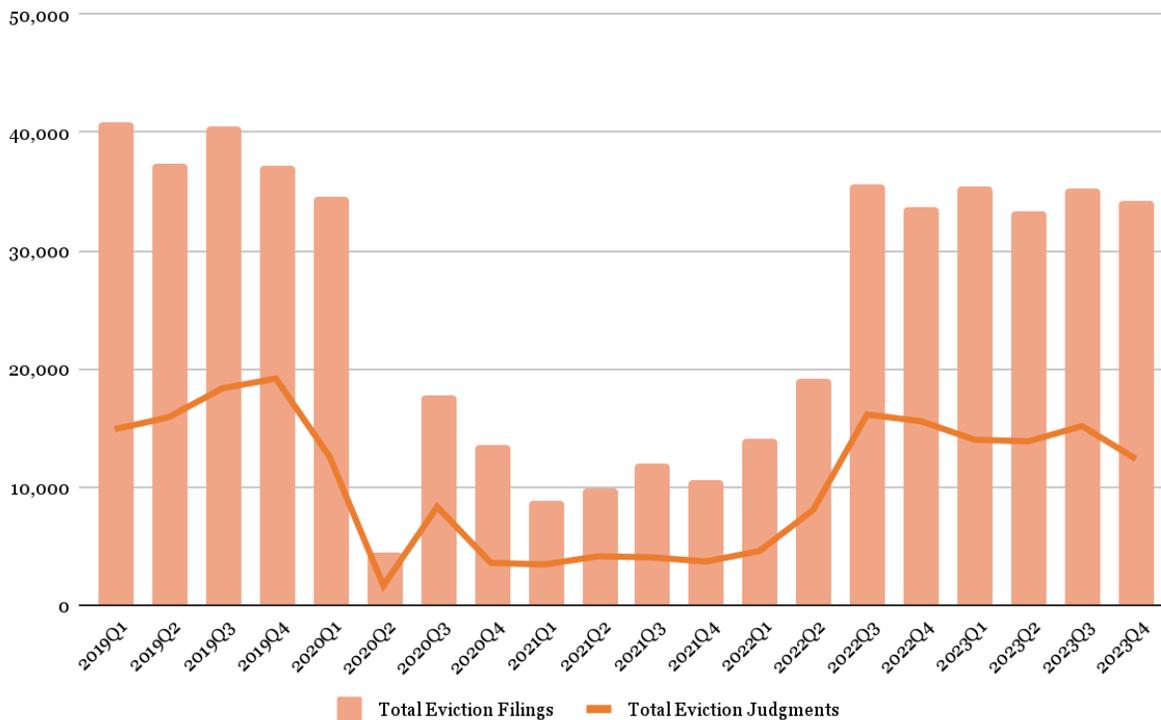
² Matthew Desmond, Ashley Gromis, Lavar Edmonds, James Hendrickson, Katie Krywokulski, Lillian Leung, and Adam Porton. Eviction Lab Methodology Report: Version 1.0. Princeton: Princeton University, 2018, www.evictionlab.org/methods.

Introduction

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes data on eviction and housing instability in Virginia during the fourth quarter of 2023. As in our previous reports, we compare 2023 quarterly eviction data to pre-pandemic levels, using the 2019 quarterly data as a benchmark. This report is broken down into three scales of analysis: state, region (Central Virginia, Hampton Roads and Northern Virginia) and cities (Charlottesville and Richmond). Fourth quarter eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

As Figure 1 shows, eviction filings and judgments across the Commonwealth are steadily increasing to their highest volume since the pandemic's start. When compared to the fourth quarter in previous years, eviction filings are at their peak and have neared pre-pandemic levels, reaching 34,166 filings. This translates to 91.9% of the 2019 total for the fourth quarter of 2023, eclipsing Q4 2022 (90.7%) and Q4 2021 (28.4%). When compared to the fourth quarter in previous years, eviction judgments are at their second-highest peak, reaching 12,385 judgments. This translates to 64.6% of the 2019 total for the fourth quarter of 2023, which is less than Q4 2022 (81.2%) but more than Q4 2021 (19.2%).

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2023



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Highlights of 2023's fourth quarter across the Commonwealth include:

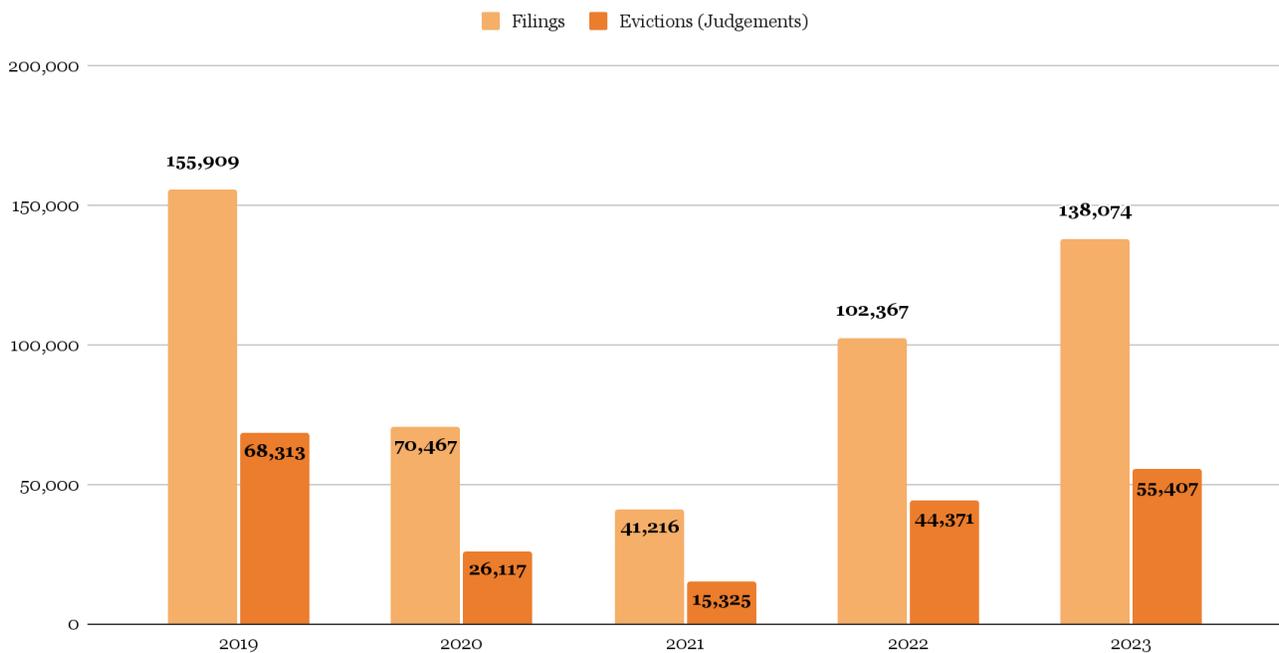
- The U.S. Census Pulse Survey indicates that 61% of Virginia renters surveyed experienced an increase in rent.
- The statewide median principal owed at the jurisdictional level has decreased from \$2,050 to \$1,827.
- The median percentage of tenants facing eviction who have legal representation in Virginia jurisdictions is 0.3% (3 tenants represented for every 1,000 cases). Only two jurisdictions (out of those that have at least 20 filings) have more than 5% of tenants with legal representation.
- Statewide filings decreased by 3% between the third quarter of 2023 and the fourth quarter of 2023, while judgments decreased by 18.3%.
- Eviction filings have surpassed pre-pandemic levels by the biggest margins in Arlington (195%) and Fairfax Co. (165%).
- Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels by the biggest margins in Alexandria (104%) and Arlington (144%).

Housing Instability Across The Commonwealth

Eviction Filings and Judgments

Figure 2 shows the annual totals for eviction filings and judgments in Virginia since 2019. In 2023, filings totaled 138,074, and judgments totaled 55,407. Filings have reached 88.56% of the 2019 total, and judgments reached 81.11%. Both have risen significantly from the 2020, 2021 and 2022 totals.

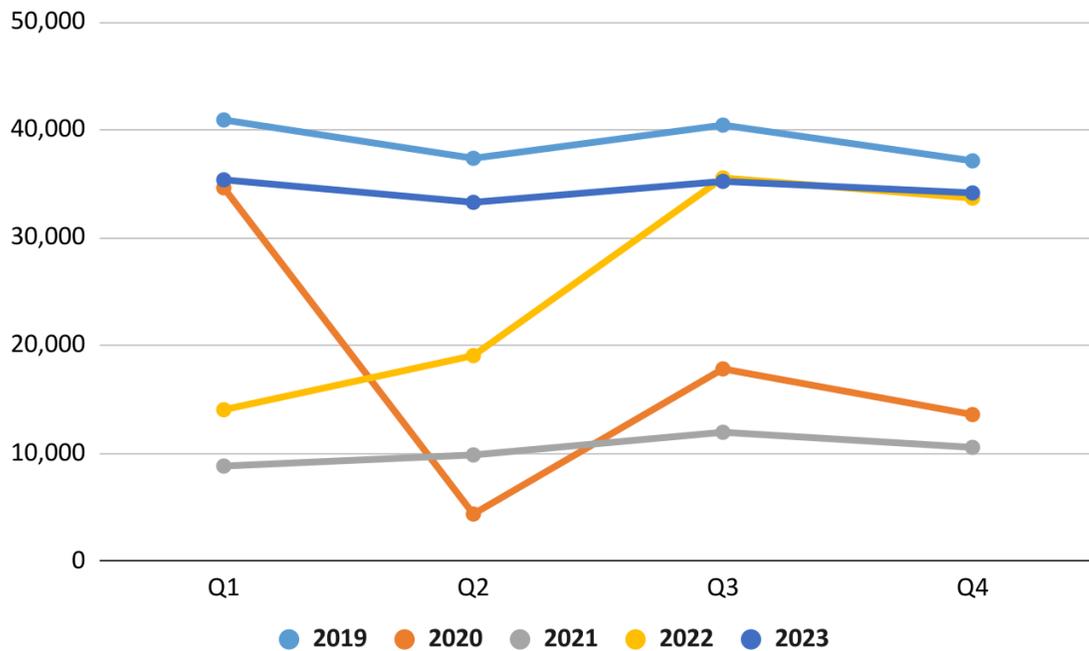
Figure 2: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2023



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Figure 3 shows the quarterly totals for eviction filings in Virginia since 2019. Filings have decreased slightly since Q3 2023, but are higher than in Q2 2023. Eviction filings during the fourth quarter of 2023 are the highest of all fourth quarters since the beginning of the pandemic and have neared pre-pandemic levels. When compared to 2019 numbers, statewide eviction filings during this past quarter were at 91.9% of pre-pandemic levels.

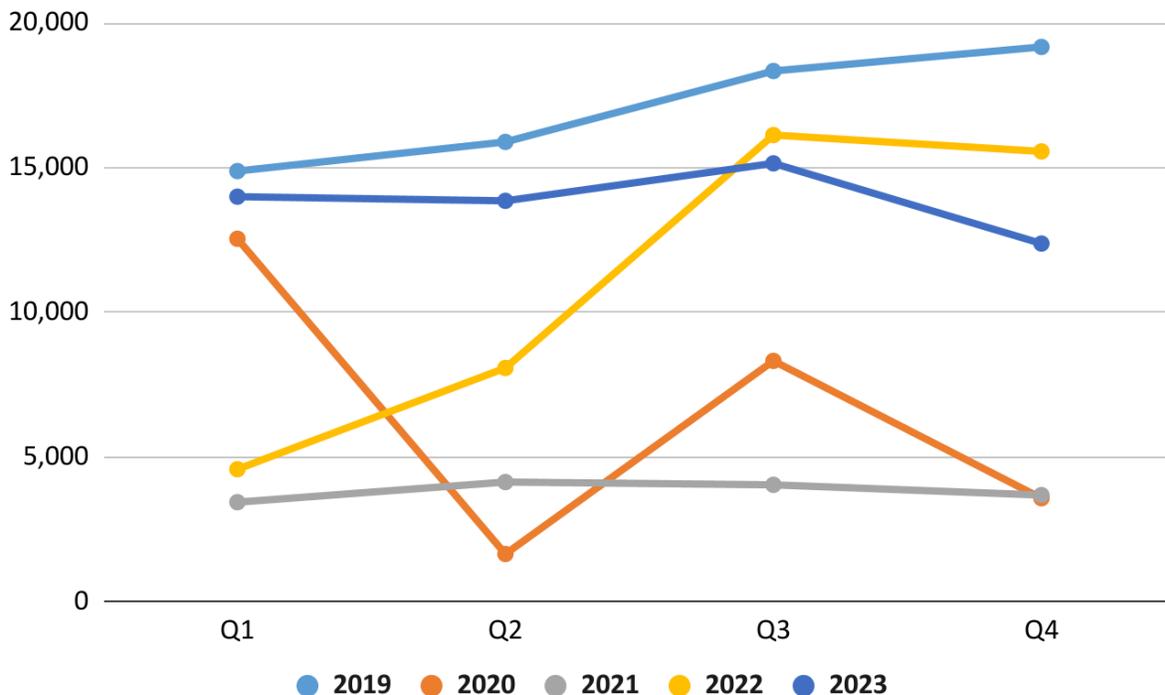
Figure 3: Eviction judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q2 2023



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Figure 4 shows the quarterly totals for eviction judgments in Virginia since 2019. Judgments have stayed relatively stable from Q1 2023 to Q3 2023 and then dropped in Q4 2023. Eviction judgments during the fourth quarter of 2023 are the second highest of all the fourth quarters since the beginning of the pandemic.

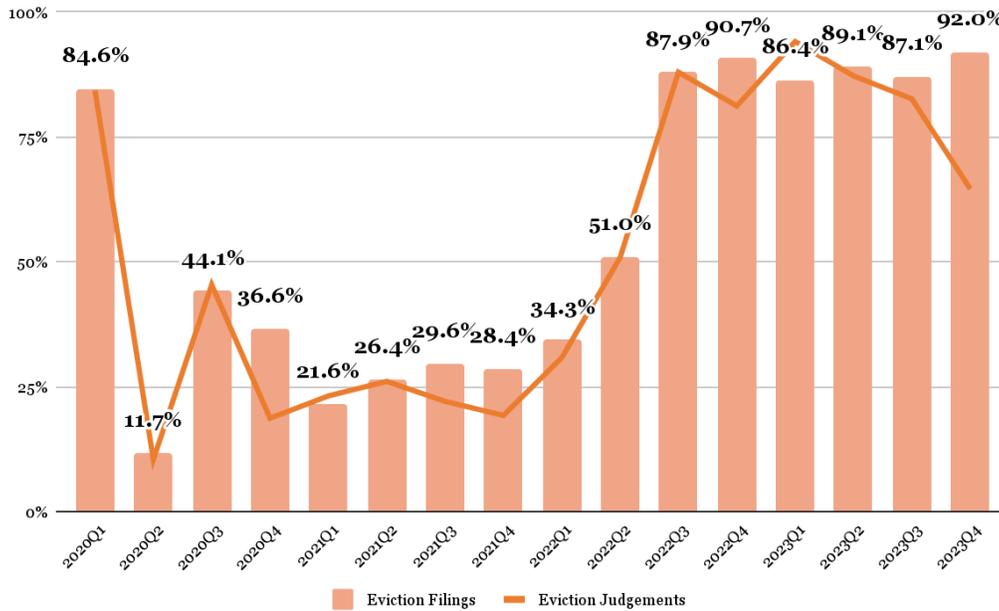
Figure 4: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2020-Q2 2023



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Statewide eviction filings and judgments during the fourth quarter of 2023 decreased from the third quarter of 2023 levels. As shown in Figure 5, eviction filings as a percent of pre-COVID filings in the same quarter of 2019 increased from the previous quarter (87.1% in the third quarter of 2023 to 92% in the fourth quarter of 2023). Eviction judgments decreased from third quarter 2023 levels (from 15,156 to 12,385). Figure 4 visualizes these numbers. However, we estimate that these numbers do not capture the true scope of housing instability and evictions in the Commonwealth this past quarter due to the rise in rents statewide, lease non-renewals, and other forms of informal eviction.

Figure 5: Eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Virginia, Q1 2020-Q4 2023



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 1 measures default judgments or the total number of eviction filings resulting in judgments in favor of the landlord when a tenant does not attend their hearing. In the fourth quarter of 2023, the statewide default judgment rate of 24% is slightly lower than the pre-pandemic rate of 38%. Across the Commonwealth, 67% of all eviction judgments resulted from a default judgment.

Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, April- June 2019 and 2023.

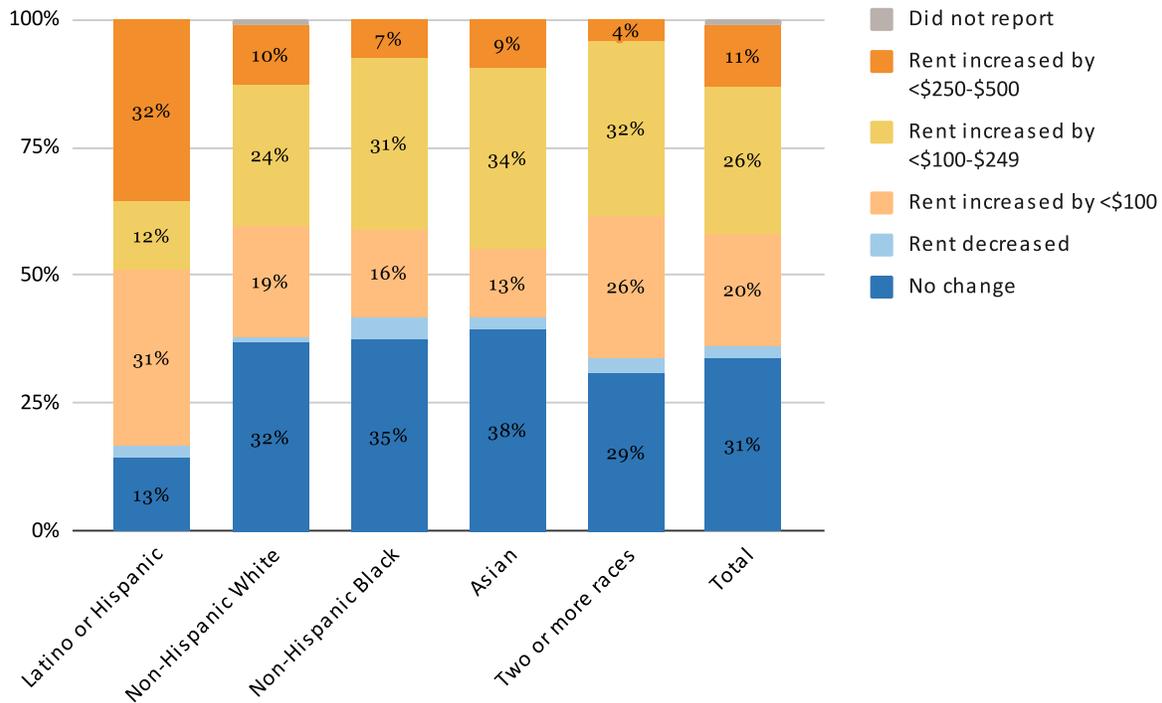
	Q4 2019	Q4 2023	2023 % of 2019
Default Judgments	14,111	8,326	59%
Default Judgment Rate	38%	24%	64%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Rents and Amounts Owed

Figure 6 shows the US Census Bureau’s Household Pulse Survey of the change in monthly rent for Virginia renters, in the fourth quarter of 2023 separated by race of the respondent. In the final quarter of 2023, 61% of Virginia renters surveyed in this time frame indicated that their rent increased in the past twelve months. During the same period, 84% of Latino renters reported an increase. Further, 44% of Asian respondents indicated that their rents increased by more than \$100.

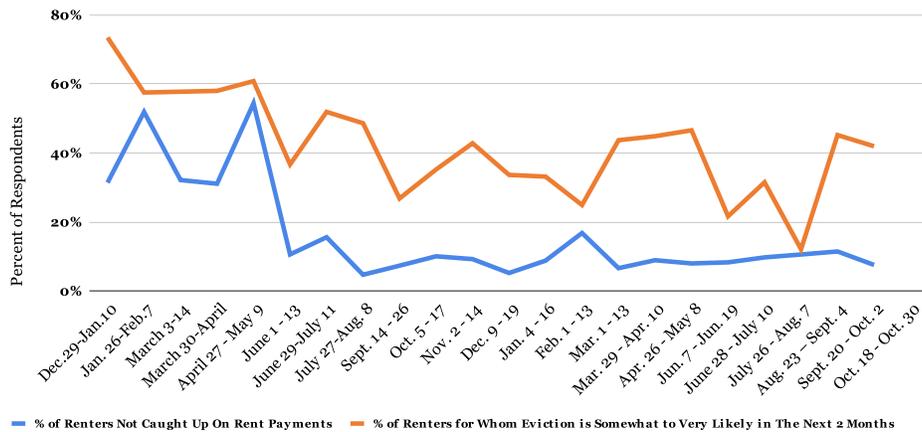
Figure 6: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters change in monthly rent by race in the past 12 months, October 18 - 30, 2023.



Source: US Census Bureau, 2023, Week 59 Household Pulse Survey; RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

As seen in Figure 7, the percentage of respondents of Virginia renter households surveyed by the US Census Bureau who were not caught up on their rent payments held relatively steady throughout the fourth quarter of 2023. For the Pulse Survey conducted between October 18 - October 30, 2023, just 6.8% of respondents were not caught up on rent payments. As the figure shows, the percentage of renters who felt eviction likely fell dramatically during the fourth quarter of 2023. About 6.8% of respondents who were behind on their rent for the Pulse Survey conducted during the October 18 - October 30 2023 time period indicated that they were somewhat or very likely to experience eviction within the next 2 months. This represents the lowest percentage of renters who feel like they will be evicted since 2021. Although there is volatility in these survey results, the longer-term trend is a gradual reduction in reported housing instability, while a subset of tenants report their continued vulnerability to eviction.

Figure 7: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected periods throughout 2022-2023



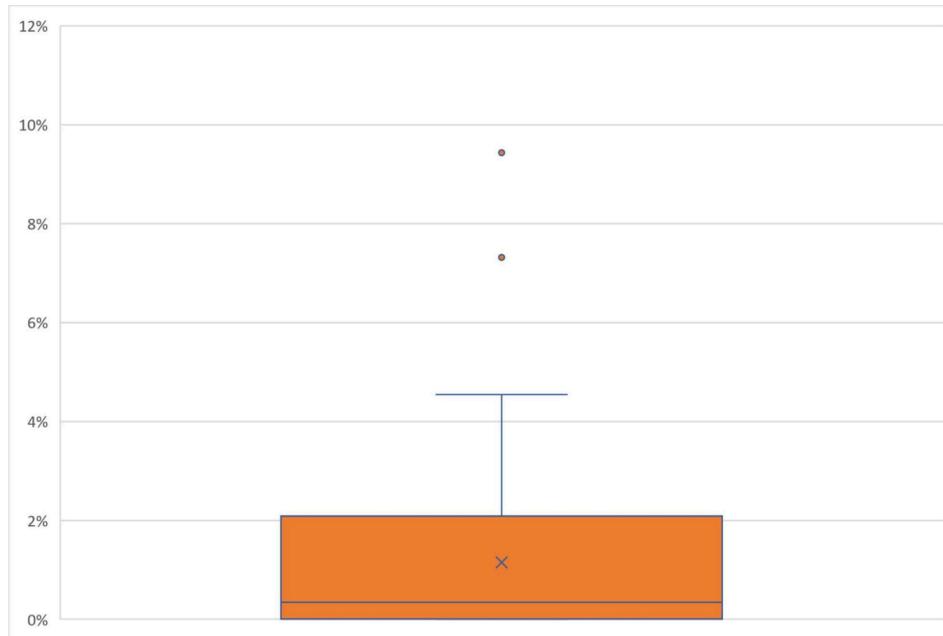
Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Select Periods December 29, 2021 - June 19, 2023; RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Figure 8 shows the distribution of median principal owed by jurisdiction in Virginia during the fourth quarter of 2023. A jurisdiction’s median principal amount owed is calculated by taking the median amount of all eviction judgments in the local court jurisdiction during the fourth quarter of 2023. Of the 80 jurisdictions with 10 or more judgments, 20% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,000 and \$1,499 and 36% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,500 to \$2,000. Overall, for the fourth quarter of 2023, the statewide median principal owed is \$1,827. The statewide median principal owed in 2018 was \$1,100 and in 2019 was \$1,200. From 2019 to 2023, the statewide median principal owed has increased by 52%. This indicates that the increased financial burden on tenants due to rising rents and arrears is a persistent feature of “post-pandemic” housing markets in Virginia and, quite possibly, permanent.

Legal Representation

Figure 10 shows the percentage of defendants in Virginia jurisdictions that have attorney representation during eviction proceedings in the fourth quarter of 2023. The median percentage of attorney representation in Virginia jurisdictions is 0.3% and only 2 jurisdictions had more than 5% attorney representation. Frederick County has the highest level of representation at 9.4%, which is partly explained by relatively fewer cases, 53, with 5 of those having tenant legal representation. Legal representation has been long touted as vital for tenants to understand and exercise their legal rights

Figure 10: Percentage of Defendants with Attorney Representation by Jurisdiction, October - December 2023
 **Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings in the quarter are excluded.



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 2: Median Gross Rent, Median Principal Owed, and Median Number of Months of Rent Owed by Region, Q4 2023.

	Median Gross Rent	Median Principal Owed	Median Number of Months of Rent Owed
Central Virginia/Richmond VA MSA	\$1,202	\$1,880	1.6
Hampton Roads/Virginia Beach - Norfolk - Newport News, VA - NC HUD Metro FMR Area	\$1,227	\$1,820	1.5
Northern Virginia/Washington - Arlington - Alexandria, DC-VA-MD HUD Metro FMR Area	\$1,783	\$4,248	2.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (2021), Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

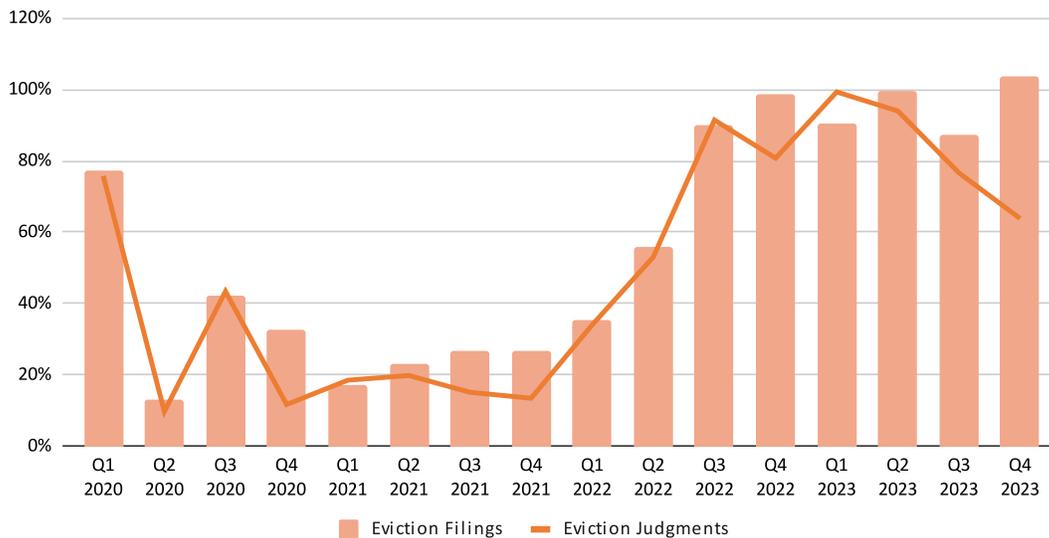
¹ Stout Risius Ross, LLC. 2019. "Cost-Benefit Analysis of Providing a Right to Counsel to Tenants in Eviction Proceedings." Los Angeles: The Los Angeles Right to Counsel Coalition. https://info.stout.com/hubfs/PDF/Eviction-Reports-Articles-Cities-States/Los%20Angeles%20Eviction%20RTC%20Report_12-10-19.pdf.

Regional Data Updates

Central Virginia

Figure 11 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last sixteen quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. Filings increased by 6% from the previous quarter (from 8,539 to 9,089) and judgments decreased by 10% (from 3,449 to 3,099). However, eviction filings for the fourth quarter are 104% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels and eviction judgments are 64% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 11: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Central Virginia



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 3 shows the percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region from the third quarter to the fourth quarter of 2023. Eviction filings increased in all jurisdictions. Eviction judgments decreased in all jurisdictions except Chesterfield.

Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2023 to October - December 2023.

	Q3 2023		Q4 2023		Q4 2023 % change from Q3 2023	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesterfield	1,776	656	1,928	674	9%	3%
Henrico	2,76	969	2,931	827	6%	-15%
Hopewell	194	124	243	120	25%	-3%
Petersburg	786	433	795	378	1%	-13%
Richmond	3,035	1,267	3,192	1,100	5%	-13%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 4 shows eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the fourth quarter of 2023 compared to pre-pandemic levels. Eviction filings in the Central Virginia region exceeded pre-pandemic levels in Chesterfield and Henrico Counties. Eviction judgments remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

Table 4: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2023.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesterfield	1,731	957	1,928	674	111%	70%
Henrico	2,566	1,436	2,931	827	114%	58%
Hopewell	310	178	243	120	78%	67%
Petersburg	822	486	795	378	97%	78%
Richmond	3,330	1,796	3,192	1,100	96%	61%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 5 shows eviction default and default rates in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the fourth quarter of 2023 compared to pre-pandemic levels. Default judgments and judgment rates remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions. Default judgments in the Central Virginia region represent 69% of all evictions in Q4 2023.

Table 5: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2023.

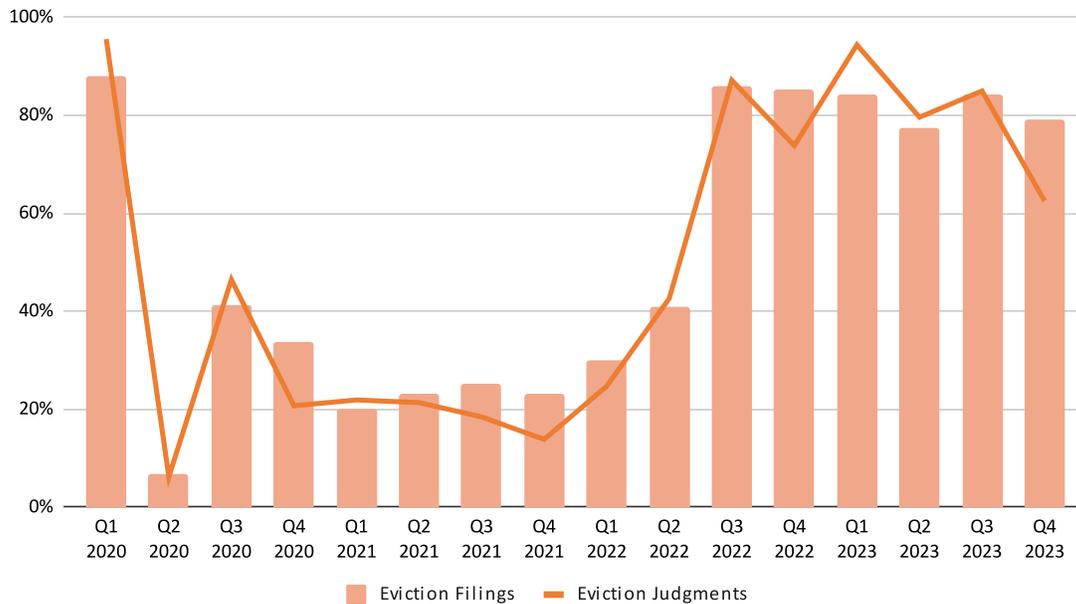
	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate
Chesterfield	748	43%	478	25%	64%	57%
Henrico	1,139	44%	573	20%	50%	44%
Hopewell	132	43%	73	30%	55%	71%
Petersburg	359	44%	232	29%	65%	67%
Richmond	1349	41%	771	24%	57%	60%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Hampton Roads

In the fourth quarter of 2023, eviction filings decreased by 7.8% from the previous quarter in the Hampton Roads region (from 12,347 to 11,389) and judgments decreased by 14.1% (from 5,355 to 4,600). Figure 12 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the region. Eviction filings for the fourth quarter of 2023 are 79% of 2019 pre-pandemic levels and eviction judgments are 63% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 12: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Hampton Roads.



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 6 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region. Eviction filings and judgments decreased in all of the Hampton Roads jurisdictions from third quarter to fourth quarter 2023.

	Q3 2023		Q4 2023		Q3 2023 % change from Q4 2023	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesapeake	1,115	417	1,027	323	-8%	-23%
Hampton	1,796	868	1,674	812	-7%	-6%
Newport News	2,747	1,394	2,444	1,033	-11%	-26%
Norfolk	2,566	1,098	2,486	1,008	-3%	-8%
Portsmouth	1,081	585	937	438	-13%	-25%
Virginia Beach	3,042	993	2,821	986	-7%	-1%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 7 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2023. Eviction filings and judgments remain below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2023.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesapeake	1,364	660	1,027	323	75%	49%
Hampton	1,787	1,018	1,674	812	94%	80%
Newport News	3,543	1,902	2,444	1,033	69%	54%
Norfolk	3,059	1,428	2,486	1,008	81%	71%
Portsmouth	1,466	893	937	438	64%	49%
Virginia Beach	3,180	1,457	2,821	986	89%	68%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 8 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2023 in the Hampton Roads region. Default judgments and default judgment rates in Hampton Roads were lower than before the pandemic. Default judgments in the Hampton Roads region represent 70.6% of all evictions in Q4 2023.

Table 8: Default judgments & rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2023.

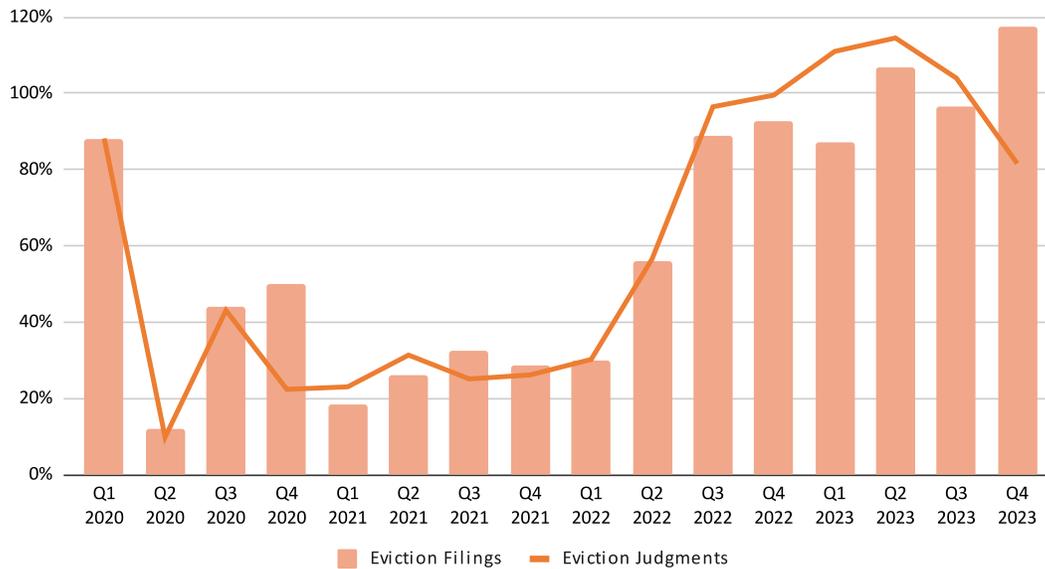
	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	529	39%	238	23%	45%	60%
Hampton	810	45%	559	33%	69%	74%
Newport News	1,415	40%	672	27%	47%	69%
Norfolk	1,097	36%	757	30%	69%	85%
Portsmouth	649	44%	285	30%	44%	69%
Virginia Beach	1,170	37%	736	26%	63%	71%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Northern Virginia

Figure 13 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. Eviction filings for the fourth quarter of 2023 are 117.6% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 81.6% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 13: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Northern Virginia



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 9 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Northern Virginia region from the third quarter of 2023 to the fourth quarter of 2023. Eviction filings increased in five jurisdictions in Northern Virginia while judgments decreased in all but one jurisdiction. Eviction filings increased the most in Alexandria, Fredericksburg, and Stafford by 9%, 23% and 35%, respectively. Eviction judgments in Fredericksburg increased 18%. Eviction filings in the Northern Virginia region grew by 4.4% from the third quarter of 2023 to the fourth quarter, while judgments shrank by 24.9% during the same time period.

	Q3 2023		Q4 2023		Q3 2023 % change from Q4 2023	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,079	461	1,181	422	9%	-8%
Arlington	766	346	754	296	-2%	-14%
Fairfax Co.	2,160	809	2,226	484	3%	-40%
Falls Church	29	9	26	6	-10%	-33%*
Fredericksburg	218	93	269	110	23%	18%
Loudoun	380	150	386	107	2%	-29%
Prince William	1,314	618	1,293	429	-2%	-31%
Stafford	248	128	334	108	35%	-16%

*An increase in low eviction filing numbers skews percentages to appear higher

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Eviction filings and judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2023 are presented in Table 10. Eviction filings exceeded pre-pandemic levels in five jurisdictions while judgments remained below pre-pandemic levels in all but two jurisdictions.

Filings in Arlington, Fairfax Co. and Falls Church reached 152%, 135% and 130% of pandemic levels. Judgments in Alexandria and Arlington reached 104% and 144% of pre-pandemic levels. Eviction filings for the Northern Virginia region reached 117.6% of pre-pandemic levels and judgments reached 81.6% of pre-pandemic levels.

Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2023.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,014	405	1,181	422	116%	104%
Arlington	496	206	754	296	152%	144%
Fairfax Co.	1,649	669	2,226	484	135%	72%
Falls Church	20	10	26	6	130%	60%*
Fredericksburg	268	152	269	110	100%	72%
Loudoun	393	147	386	107	98%	73%
Prince William	1,318	664	1,293	429	98%	65%
Stafford	342	151	334	108	98%	72%

*An increase from low eviction filing numbers can result in a large percentage increase, which is the case for Falls Church with relatively small numbers of filings.

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 11 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2023. Default judgments exceeded pre-pandemic levels in 2 out of the 8 jurisdictions in Northern Virginia and the default judgment rates remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions. Alexandria and Arlington exceeded pre-pandemic levels of default judgments by 7% and 16%, respectively. Default judgments in the Northern Virginia region represent 69.4% of all judgments in Q4 2023.

Table 11: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2023.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate
Alexandria	291	29%	312	26%	107%	92%
Arlington	165	33%	192	25%	116%	77%
Fairfax Co.	539	33%	365	16%	68%	50%
Falls Church	10	50%	5	19%	50%*	38%*
Fredericksburg	100	37%	63	23%	63%	63%
Loudoun	109	28%	79	20%	72%	74%
Prince William	459	35%	289	22%	63%	64%
Stafford	99	29%	57	17%	58%	59%

*An increase in low eviction filing numbers skews percentages to appear higher

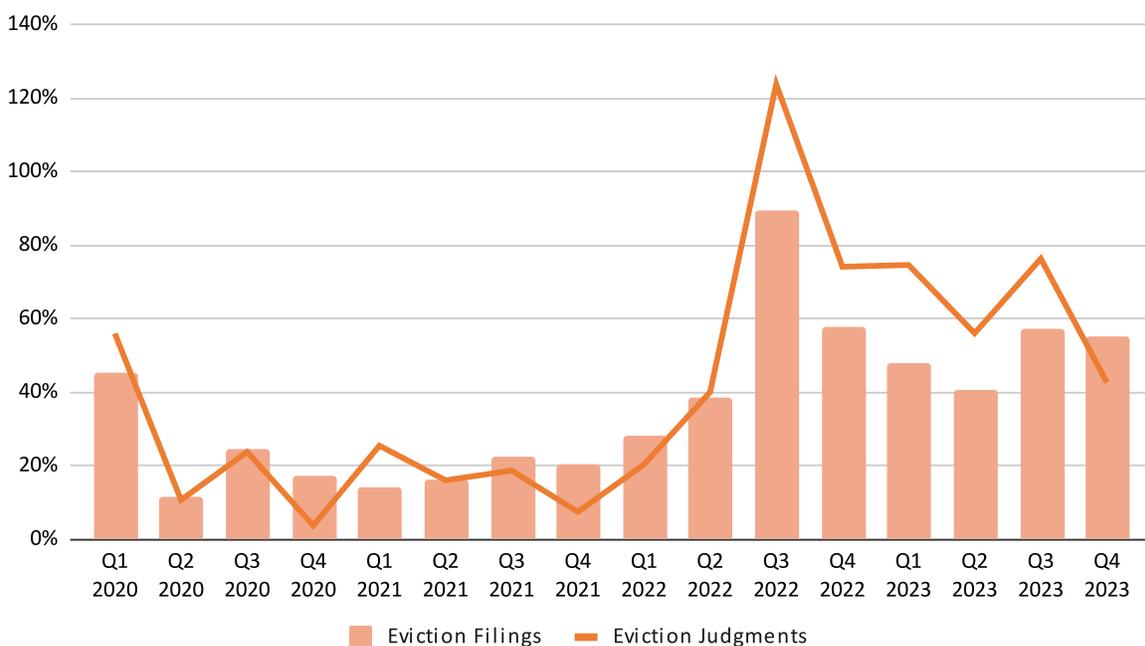
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

City Updates

City of Charlottesville

Figure 14 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last 16 quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. In the fourth quarter of 2023, eviction filings decreased by 22% from the previous quarter (from 94 to 73) and judgments decreased by 49% (from 45 to 23). The city of Charlottesville experienced 73 eviction filings and 23 judgments, representing 55.3% and 42.6% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 14: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Charlottesville



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 12 shows the percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in the City of Charlottesville from the third quarter of 2023 to the fourth quarter of 2023. Eviction filings decreased by 22% while judgments decreased by 49% in the City of Charlottesville.

Table 12: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, Percent Change from July - September 2023 to October - December 2023.					
Q3 2023		Q4 2023		Q4 2023 % change from Q3 2023	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgment
94	45	73	23	-22%	-49%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 13 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville during the first quarters of 2019 and 2022. Eviction filings and judgments remain below their pre-pandemic levels.

Table 13: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, October - December 2019 and 2023.					
Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
132	54	73	23	55%	43%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 14 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2023 in Charlottesville. The default judgments and default judgment rate remain lower than their pre-pandemic levels. Default judgments in the the city of Charlottesville represent 60.9% of all judgments in Q4 2023.

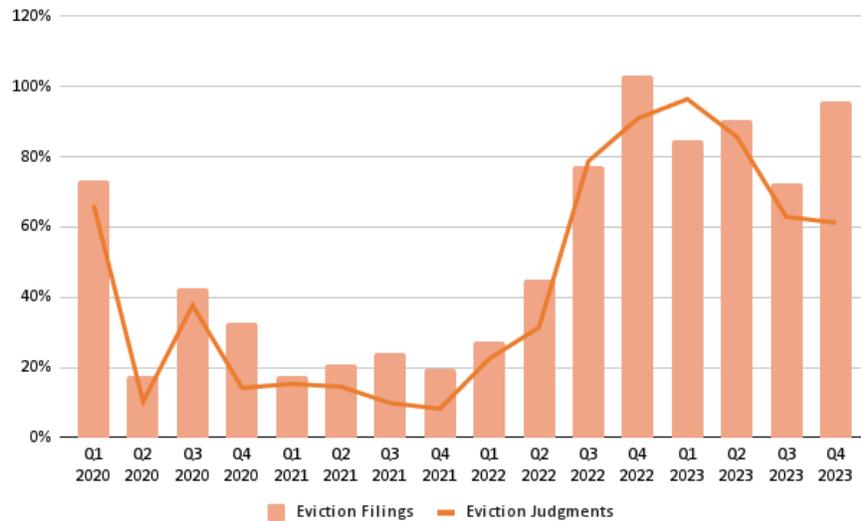
Table 13: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, October - December 2019 and 2023.					
Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023 % of 2019	
Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
32	24%	14	19%	44%	79%

Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

City of Richmond

In the fourth quarter of 2023, eviction filings increased by 5% from the previous quarter (from 3,035 to 3,192) and judgments decreased by 13% (from 1,267 to 1,100). Figure 15 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. During the fourth quarter of 2023, Richmond's eviction filings represented 96% of pre-COVID 2019 fourth quarter filings, and its eviction judgments represented 61% of 2019 Q4 judgments.

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



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, Percent Change from July - September 2023 to October - December 2023.

ZIP Code	Q3 2023		Q4 2023		Q4 2023 % change from Q3 2023	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
23219	120	53	120	41	0%	-23%
23220	236	99	247	80	5%	-19%
23221	25	8	16	4	-36%	-50%
23222	290	139	222	76	-23%	-45%
23223	455	179	418	122	-8%	-32%
23224	775	333	866	296	12%	-11%
23225	809	269	899	266	11%	-1%
23226	5	2	1	0	-80%*	-100%*
23227	69	47	105	53	52%	13%
23230	54	15	42	14	-22%	-7%
23231	40	18	40	18	0%	0%
23234	87	52	79	28	-9%	-46%
23235	5	2	11	4	120%*	100%*
Other	65	51	126	98	94%	92%

*An increase in low eviction filing and default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 16 shows the comparison of the number of filings and eviction judgments in each of Richmond’s ZIP codes in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2023. Eviction filings exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in five ZIP codes and judgments exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in two ZIP codes. Pre-pandemic filing levels have been surpassed in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23224, 23225, and 23230. Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in 23219 and 23230. Eviction filings reached 96% of pre-pandemic levels while judgments in Richmond city reached 61% of pre-pandemic levels.

Table 16: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, October - December 2019 and 2023.						
ZIP Code	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023% of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
23219	84	38	120	41	143%	108%
23220	212	101	247	80	117%	79%
23221	25	13	16	4	64%	31%*
23222	332	207	222	76	67%	37%
23223	490	234	418	122	85%	52%
23224	791	442	866	296	109%	67%
23225	802	434	899	266	112%	61%
23226	2	2	1	0	88850%*	0%*
23227	304	144	105	53	35%	37%
23230	18	6	42	14	233%*	233%*
23231	96	70	40	18	42%	26%
23234	130	83	79	28	61%	34%
23235	15	7	11	4	73%*	57%*
Other	29	15	126	98	434%	653%

*An increase in low eviction filing and default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Quarterly default judgment numbers and rates by Richmond ZIP code are presented in Table 17. Default judgments remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all but two ZIP codes while default judgment rates remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all but one ZIP code. Default judgments in 23219 have risen to represent 147% of its pre-pandemic level. Default judgments in the city of Richmond represent 70.1% of all judgments in Q4 2023, which represents 57.2% of pre-pandemic levels.

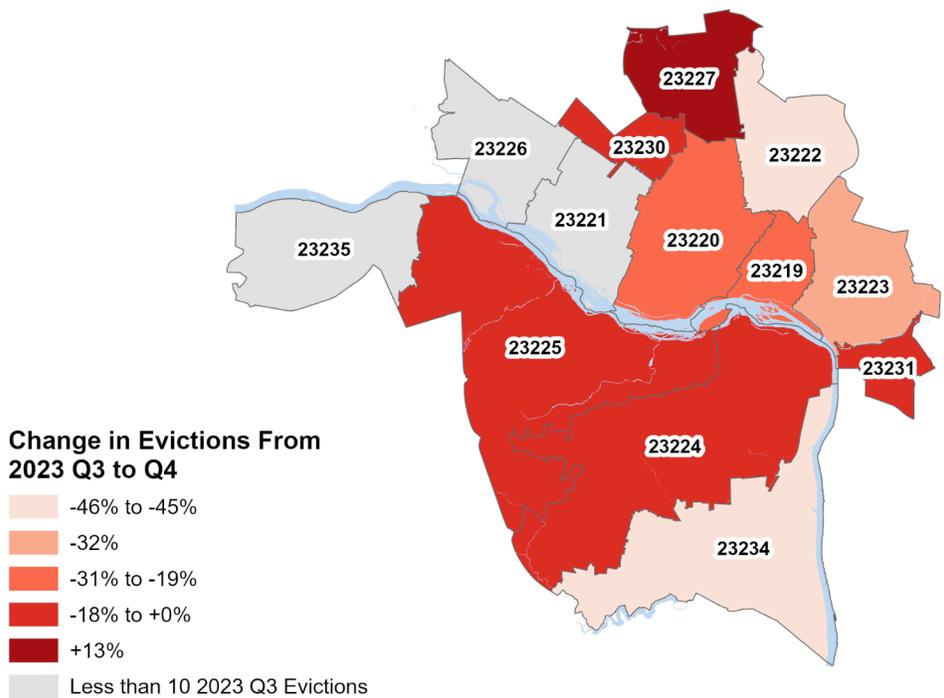
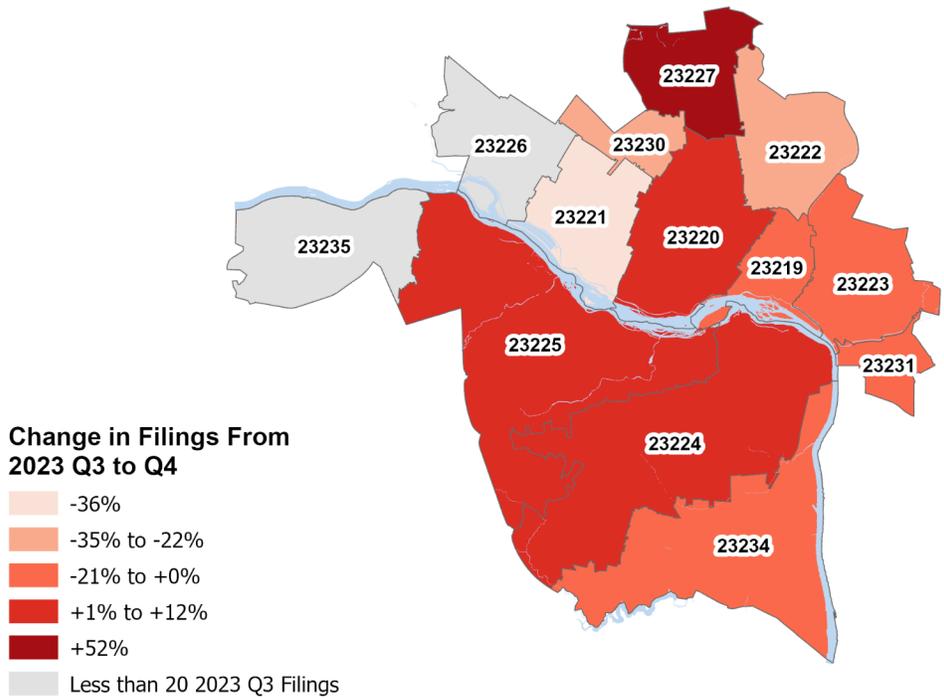
Table 17: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, October - December 2019 and 2023.

ZIP Code	Q4 2019		Q4 2023		2023% of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment rate
23219	19	23%	28	23%	147%	103%
23220	79	37%	54	22%	68%	59%
23221	9	36%	3	19%	33%	52%
23222	144	43%	39	18%	27%	41%
23223	168	34%	88	21%	52%	61%
23224	349	44%	222	26%	64%	58%
23225	342	43%	183	20%	54%	48%
23226	1	50%	0	0%	0%	0%
23227	112	37%	31	30%	28%	80%
23230	6	33%	12	29%	200%*	86%*
23231	48	50%	13	33%	27%	65%
23234	58	45%	24	30%	41%	68%
23235	5	33%	2	18%	40%	55%
Other	9	31%	72	57%	800%	184%

**An increase in low eviction filing and default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis*

Figure 16 shows the percent change in eviction and judgments from the third quarter 2023 to the fourth quarter 2023. Eviction filings increased in ZIP codes 23220, 23224, 23225 and 23227. Eviction judgments increased in ZIP code 23227. Figure 17 omits data from ZIP codes with less than 20 eviction filings and less than 10 eviction judgments, for data interpretation purposes.

Figure 16: Map of eviction filings and judgments in Richmond by ZIP Code, Percentage change from Q3 2023 to Q4



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2023

Jurisdiction	2023 Q4 Evictions Filings	2023 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2023 Q4 Default Judgments	2023 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	30	14	7	23.3%
Albemarle	312	95	67	21.5%
Alleghany	42	20	11	26.2%
Amelia	8	3	2	25.0%
Amherst	64	31	16	25.0%
Appomattox	23	14	5	21.7%
Arlington	754	296	192	25.5%
Augusta	97	16	10	10.3%
Bath	2	1	1	50.0%
Bedford	58	31	15	25.9%
Bland	3	2	0	0.0%
Botetourt	39	17	14	35.9%
Brunswick	32	0	0	0.0%
Buchanan	8	5	3	37.5%
Buckingham	12	2	0	0.0%
Campbell	178	71	43	24.2%
Caroline	32	15	8	25.0%
Carroll	31	18	6	19.4%
Charles City	3	2	1	33.3%
Charlotte	12	6	2	16.7%
Chesterfield	1,928	674	478	24.8%
Clarke	6	0	0	0.0%
Craig	3	1	0	0.0%
Culpeper	82	30	21	25.6%
Cumberland	16	7	1	6.3%
Dickenson	11	4	1	9.1%
Dinwiddie	48	17	10	20.8%
Essex	22	12	10	45.5%
Fairfax Co.	2,226	484	365	16.4%
Fauquier	72	26	14	19.4%
Floyd	13	3	0	0.0%
Fluvanna	8	5	1	12.5%
Franklin Co.	80	29	17	21.3%
Frederick	53	23	13	24.5%
Giles	26	7	5	19.2%
Gloucester	71	23	17	23.9%
Goochland	8	3	3	37.5%
Grayson	6	4	0	0.0%
Greene	25	7	0	0.0%

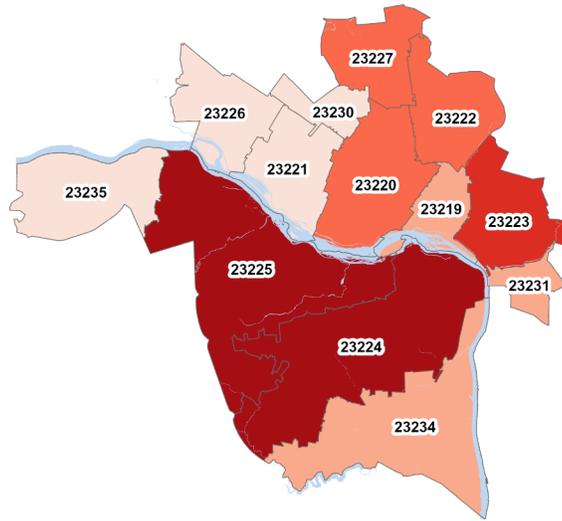
Jurisdiction	2023 Q4 Eviction Filings	2023 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2023 Q4 Default Judgments	2023 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Greensville	21	15	0	0.0%
Halifax	23	13	6	26.1%
Hanover	161	46	30	18.6%
Henrico	2,931	827	573	19.5%
Henry	93	37	25	26.9%
Highland	0	0	0	0.0%
Isle of Wight	140	23	19	13.6%
King & Queen	2	1	0	0.0%
King George	28	10	8	28.6%
King William	24	11	7	29.2%
Lancaster	17	4	3	17.6%
Lee	16	3	2	12.5%
Loudoun	386	107	79	20.5%
Louisa	44	18	7	15.9%
Lunenburg	15	9	3	20.0%
Madison	6	2	1	16.7%
Mathews	9	4	4	44.4%
Mecklenburg	44	18	12	27.3%
Middlesex	11	3	1	9.1%
Montgomery	198	68	52	26.3%
Nelson	13	6	1	7.7%
New Kent	3	0	0	0.0%
Northampton	16	7	4	25.0%
Northumberland	5	4	1	20.0%
Nottoway	27	12	7	25.9%
Orange	44	28	16	36.4%
Page	22	9	3	13.6%
Patrick	8	4	1	12.5%
Pittsylvania	88	49	21	23.9%
Powhatan	13	4	1	7.7%
Prince Edward	59	10	0	0.0%
Prince George	82	26	0	0.0%
Prince William	1,293	429	289	22.4%
Pulaski	79	23	13	16.5%
Rappahannock	4	2	0	0.0%
Richmond Co.	5	1	0	0.0%
Roanoke Co.	168	74	43	25.6%
Rockbridge	35	15	10	28.6%
Rockingham/ Harrisonburg	292	28	12	4.1%
Russell	14	9	5	35.7%
Scott	10	4	2	20.0%
Shenandoah	38	14	7	18.4%
Smyth	52	37	19	36.5%

Jurisdiction	2023 Q4 Eviction Filings	2023 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2023 Q24 Default Judgments	2023 Q2 Default Judgment Rate
Southampton	42	7	5	11.9%
Spotsylvania	303	123	81	26.7%
Stafford	334	108	57	17.1%
Surry	5	2	2	40.0%
Sussex	5	3	1	20.0%
Tazwell	47	23	15	31.9%
Warren	46	23	11	23.9%
Washington	46	32	16	34.8%
Westmoreland	37	10	5	13.5%
Wise	59	7	5	8.5%
Wythe	41	27	10	24.4%
York	161	53	37	23.0%
Alexandria	1,181	422	312	26.4%
Bristol	61	34	13	21.3%
Beuna Vista	24	8	5	20.8%
Charlottesville	73	23	14	19.2%
Chesapeake	1,027	323	238	23.2%
Colonial Heights	99	48	30	30.3%
Danville	267	131	82	30.7%
Emporia	25	16	0	0.0%
Falls Church	26	6	5	19.2%
Franklin City	41	18	13	31.7%
Fredricksburg	269	110	63	23.4%
Galax	12	9	6	50.0%
Hampton	1,674	812	559	33.4%
Hopewell	243	120	73	30.0%
Lynchburg	425	206	108	25.4%
Martinsville	135	37	21	15.6%
Newport News	2,444	1,033	672	27.5%
Norfolk	2,486	1,008	757	30.5%
Petersburg	795	378	232	29.2%
Portsmouth	937	438	285	30.4%
Radford	63	29	22	34.9%
Richmond City	3,192	1,100	771	24.2%
Roanoke City	639	268	173	27.1%
Salem	148	58	33	22.3%
Staunton	62	19	10	16.1%
Suffolk	376	115	82	21.8%
Virginia Beach	2,821	986	736	26.1%
Waynesboro	102	40	26	25.5%
Williamsburg/ James City County	294	101	72	24.5%
Winchester	116	39	22	19.0%

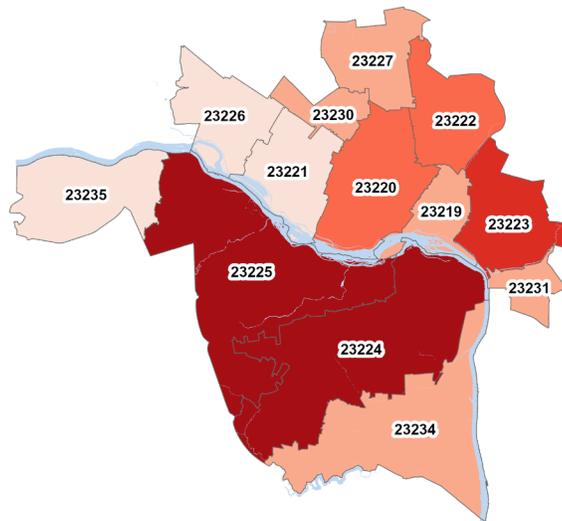
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix B: Map of Eviction Filings in Richmond by ZIP code.

October - December 2019 & 2023



October to December 2019



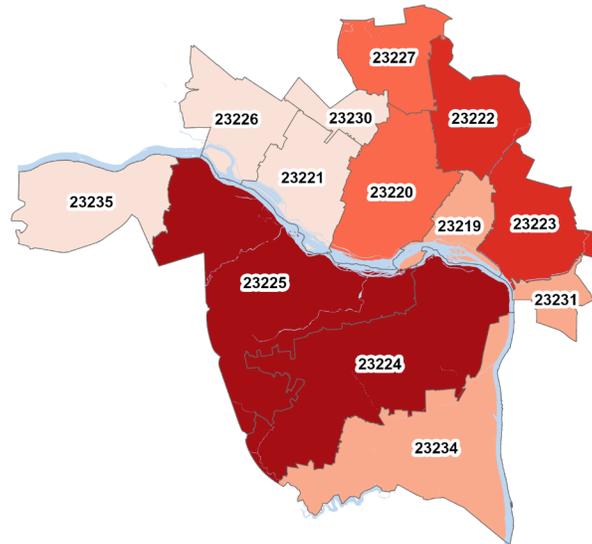
October to December 2023



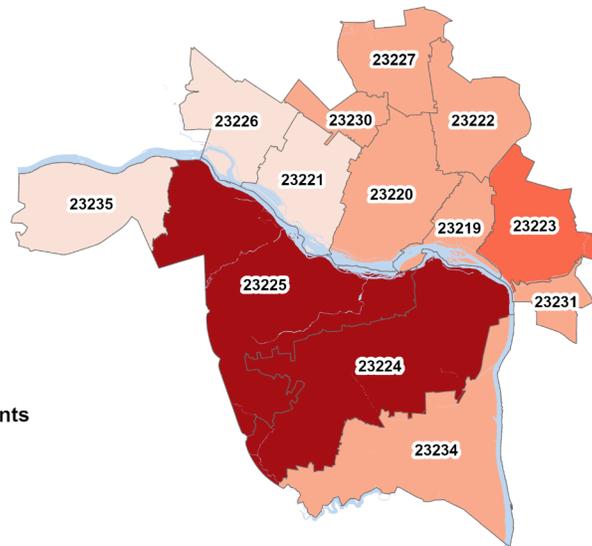
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix C: Map of Eviction Judgments in Richmond by ZIP code

October - December 2019 & 2023



October to December 2019



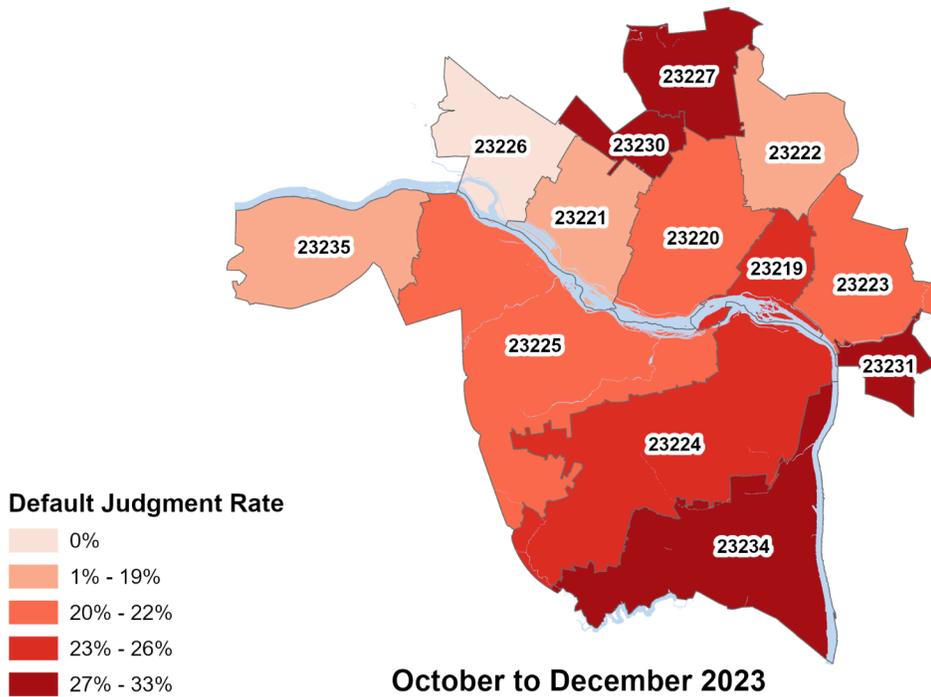
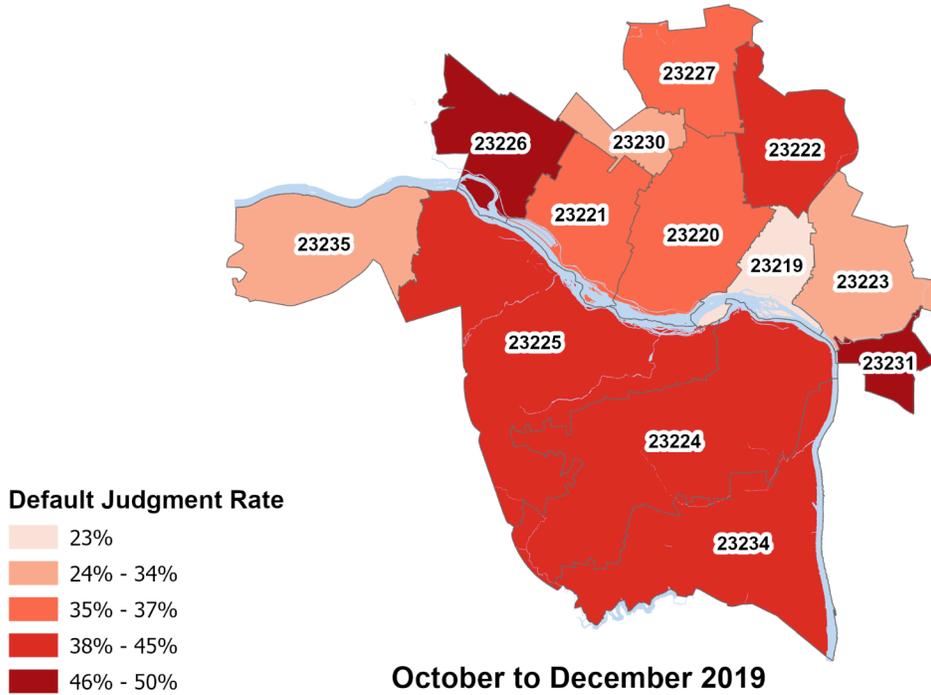
October to December 2023



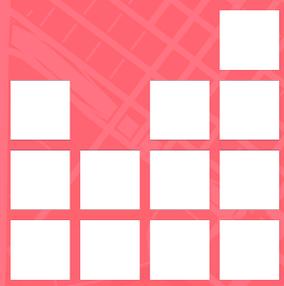
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix D: Map of Default Judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code

October - December 2019 & 2023



Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



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