



VCU

Research Institute
for Social Equity

L. Douglas Wilder School of
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RVA EVICTION LAB

Quarterly Data Report

3rd Quarter 2024: July through September

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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 Initiative¹. 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)². True duplicate cases were identified by matching filing dates, judgment outcomes, case costs and fees, plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses. Serial cases were identified by matching plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses, and were deduplicated by removing consecutive filings made within the same year that appear to have occurred in a single ZIP code. The most recent judgment in a set of serial cases was used to determine whether an eviction occurred.

Analysis

Our analysis primarily focuses on lead residential evictions at the household level. While court files show case data at the defendant level, not all members of a household are necessarily listed as defendants.³ We aggregated court files to show cases at the household level as it is not clear to what extent the data accounts for individuals who are not leaseholders that are facing eviction.

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.

³ *ibid.*

INTRODUCTION

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes data on housing instability in Virginia during the third quarter of 2024. As in our previous reports, we compare 2024 quarterly 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). Data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

As Figure 1 shows, eviction filings and judgments across the Commonwealth have overall increased in volume since the pandemic's start, but have not returned to pre-pandemic heights. When compared to a pre-pandemic average quarter (2019), eviction filings neared pre-pandemic levels but have not peaked, reaching 33,230 filings. This translates to 91% of the 2019 average quarter for the third quarter of 2024. When compared to the pre-pandemic average quarter, eviction judgments are not at their highest peak, reaching 17,909 judgments. This translates to 83% of the 2019 average quarter for the third quarter of 2024.

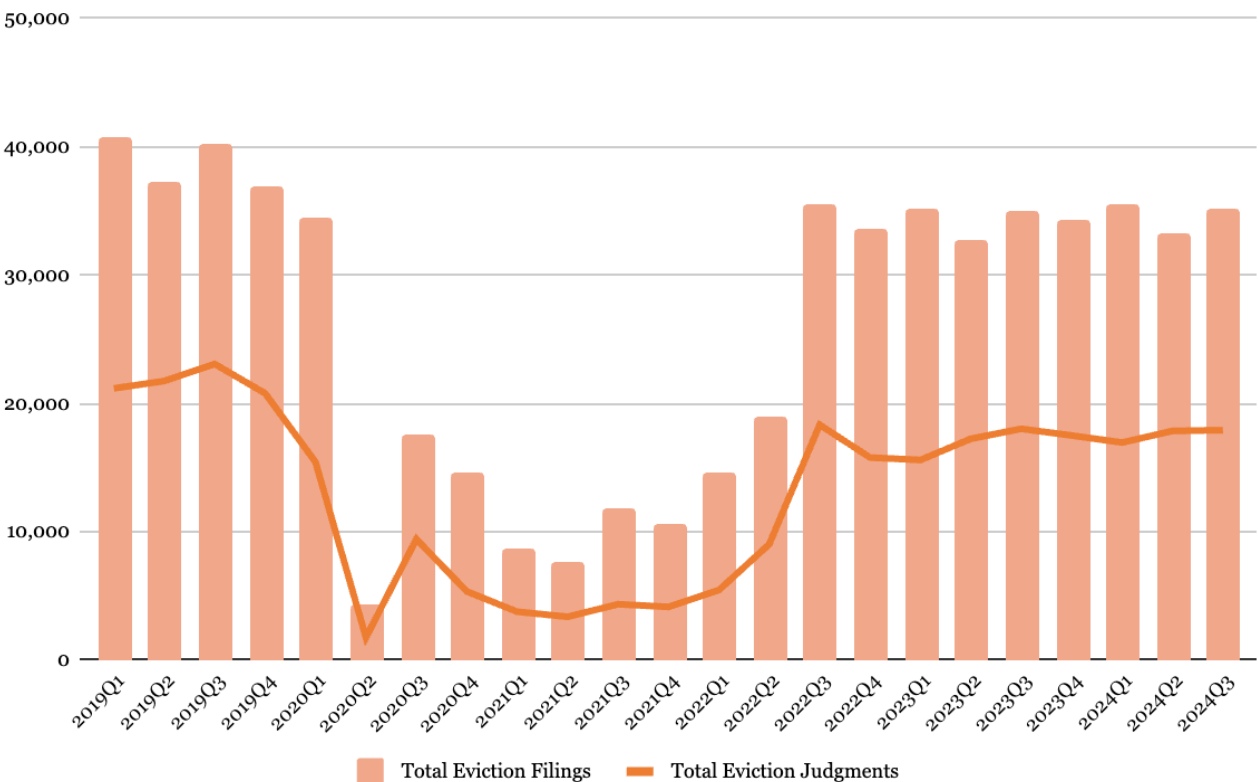


Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q3 2024
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Highlights of 2024's third quarter across the Commonwealth include:

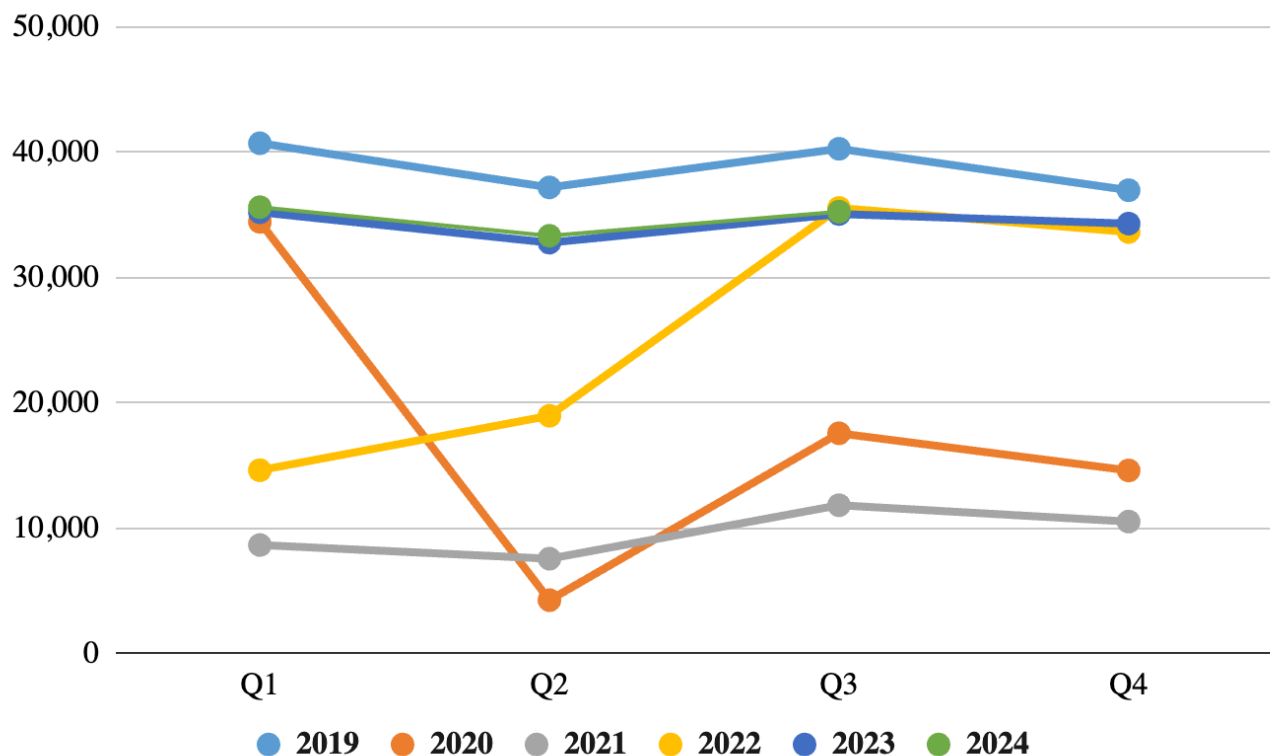
- The U.S. Census Pulse survey indicates that rent increased for many renters, though the report does not give a specific percentage for Q3 due to limited data availability. However, Figure 5 and Figure 6 show increases in rent burden and persistent housing instability across racial groups.
- From 2019 to 2024, the statewide median principal owed at the jurisdictional level has increased by 51%, from \$1,200 to \$1,813, approximately 1.4 to 2.1 months of rent statewide.
- The median percentage of tenants with legal representation in Virginia jurisdictions is less than 1% (5 tenants represented for every 1,000 cases) and only 4 jurisdictions have over 5% of tenants represented.
- Statewide filings increased by 6% between the second quarter of 2024 and the third quarter of 2024, while judgments increased by less than 1%.
- Eviction filings have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in Chesterfield (107%), Henrico (113%), Petersburg (111%) and Richmond ZIP Codes 23219, 23220, 23225, 23221, and 23230.
- Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels by the biggest margins in Petersburg (109%), Arlington (155%), Alexandria (118%) and Richmond ZIP Codes 23219, 23220, 23225, and 23230.
- Default judgments have decreased across the entire state with the statewide default judgement rate of 35%, down from 42% pre-pandemic.

HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Eviction Filings and Judgments

Figure 2 shows the quarterly totals for eviction filings in Virginia since 2019. Filings are mostly increasing since COVID pandemic protections were rolled back in the second quarter of 2022, but have not hit the pre-pandemic peak. Eviction filings decreased by 5 percentage points from 86% to 91% of pre-pandemic levels between Q2 2024 and Q3 2024. Eviction filings during the third quarter of 2024 are the second highest of all the third quarters since the start of the pandemic. However, the eviction filing numbers for Q3 2024 are lower than an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019).

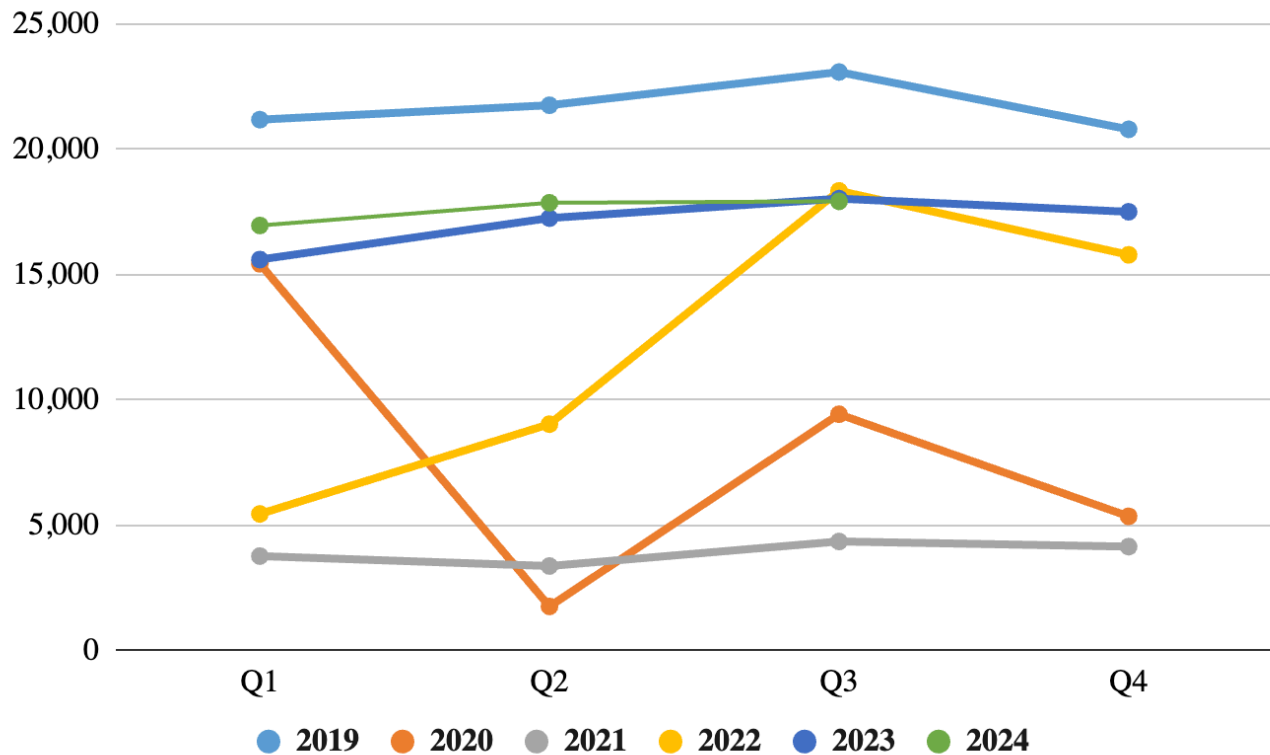
Figure 2: Eviction filings by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q3 2024



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

Figure 3 shows the quarterly totals for eviction judgements in Virginia since 2019. Judgments are also continuing to mostly increase since COVID pandemic protections were rolled back in the second quarter of 2022. When rounding to the nearest whole number, eviction judgments were 83% of the average pre-pandemic quarter in Q3 2024.

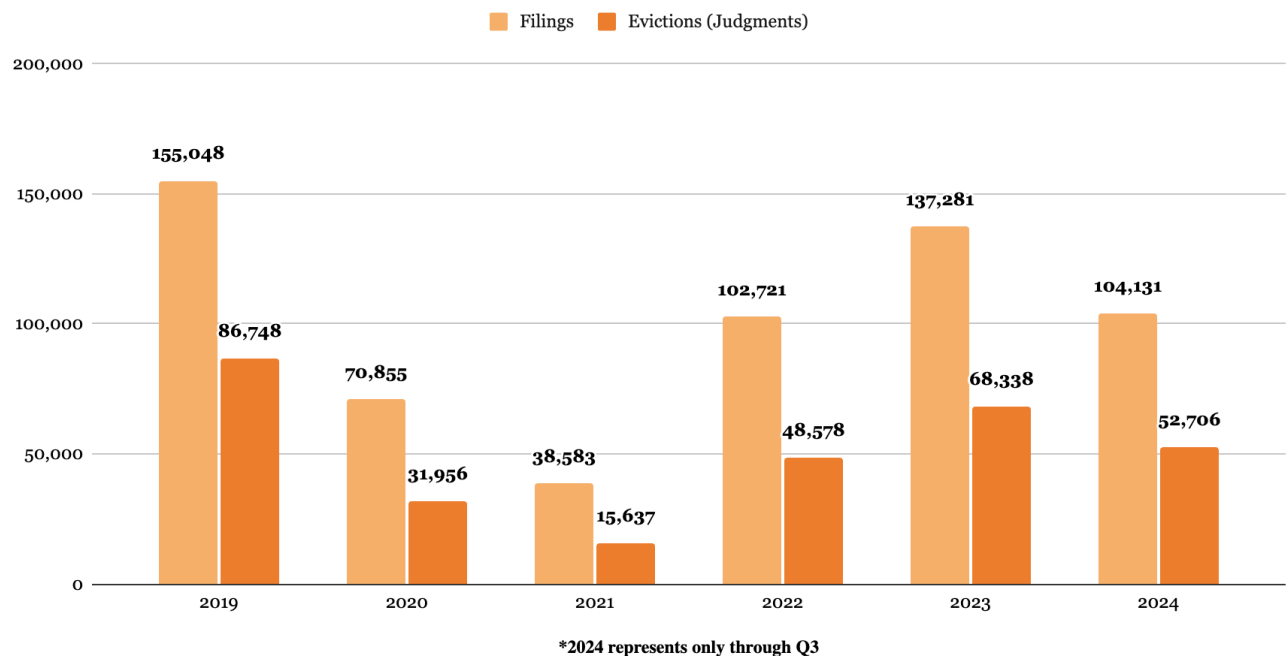
Figure 3: Eviction judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q3 2024



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

Statewide eviction filings during the third quarter of 2024 decreased slightly from second quarter of 2024 levels, while eviction judgments increased slightly between Q2 2024 and Q3 2024. As shown in Figure 2, eviction filings increased almost 6% from the previous quarter (33,311 in the second quarter of 2024 to 35,230 in the third quarter of 2024). As shown in Figure 3, eviction judgments increased by less than 1% from second quarter 2024 levels (from 17,851 to 17,909). Figure 4 visualizes eviction filings and judgements in year format. 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. The 2024 columns represent only Q1, Q2, and Q3.

Figure 4: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2020-Q3 2024



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

Table 1, below, measures default judgements, or the total number of eviction filings resulting in judgements in favor of the landlord when a tenant does not attend their hearing. In the third quarter of 2024, the statewide default judgment rate of 35% is below the pre-pandemic rate of 42%.

Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, average pre-pandemic quarter and July - September 2024			
	Average 2019 Quarter	Q3 2024	2024 % of 2019
Default Judgments	16,370	12,160	74%
Default Judgment Rate	42%	35%	

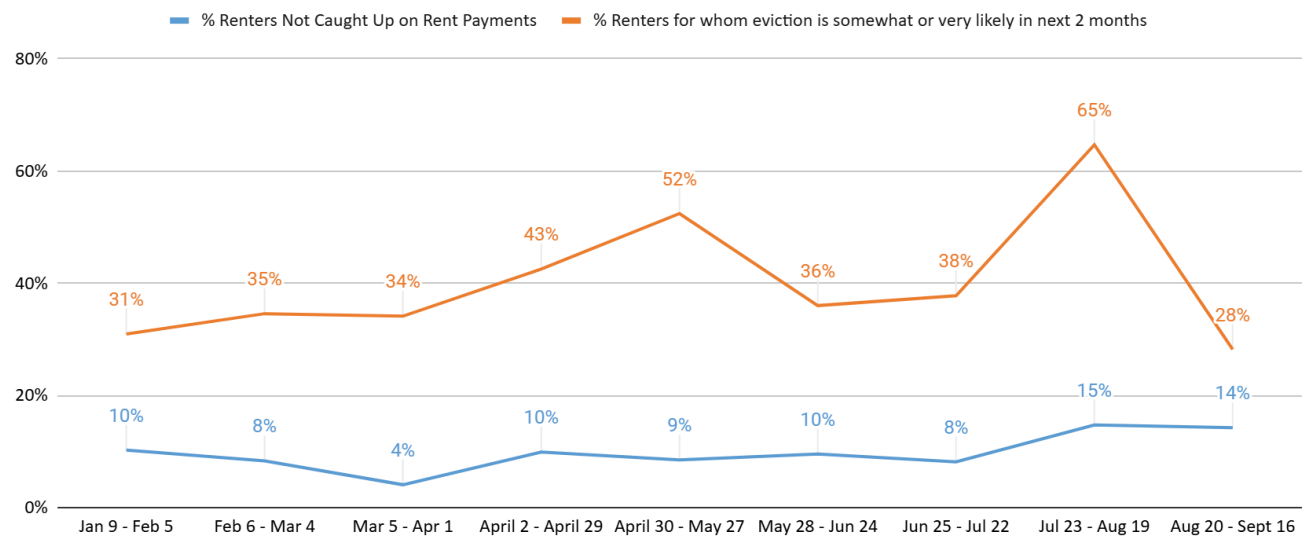
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative , RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Rents and Amounts Owed

The US Census Bureau has discontinued the Household Pulse Survey. At the time of writing this report (mid-April 2025) PULSE data is only available through September 16, 2024. The third quarter data reports normally cover the entirety of September. For the Q3 2024 and Q4 2024 reports, ‘change in monthly rent by race’ will be excluded.

As seen in Figure 5, the percent of respondents of Virginia renter households surveyed by the US Census Bureau who were not caught up on their rent payments overall increased in the third quarter of 2024. As the figure shows, the percentage of renters who felt eviction likely increased but fell in the third quarter of 2024. 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.

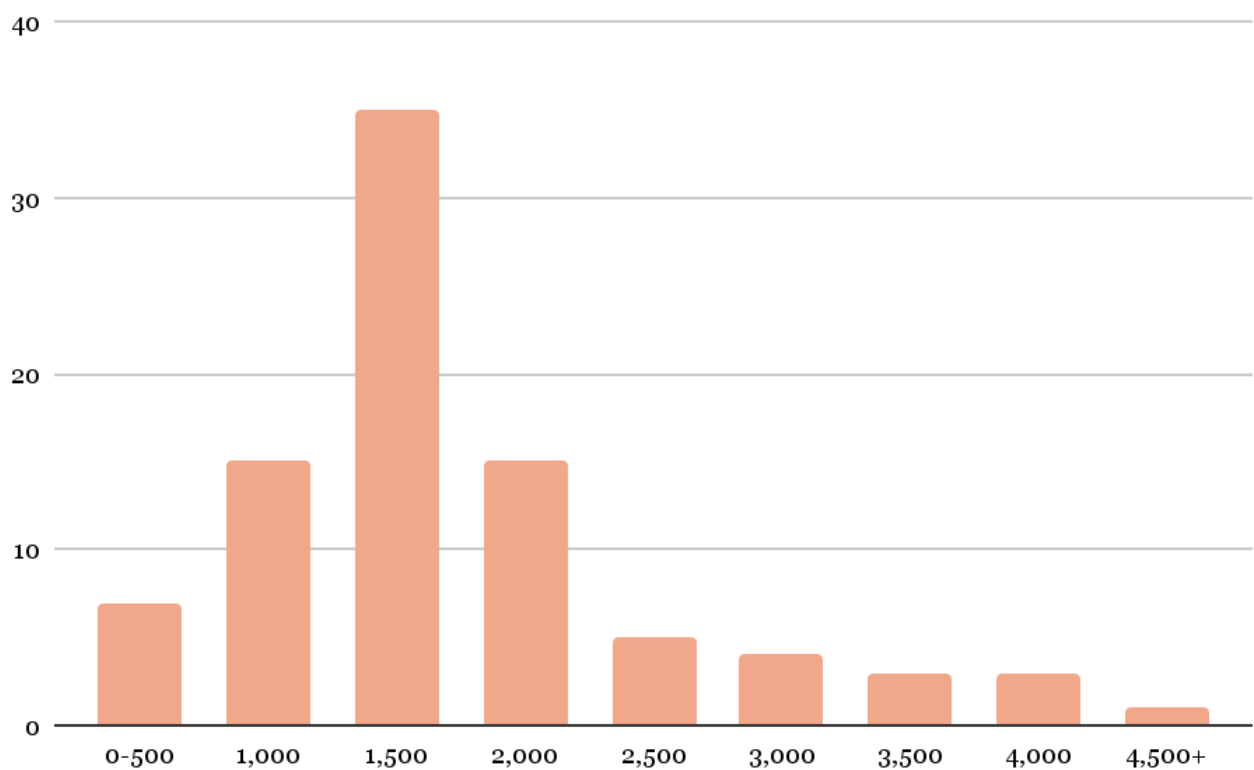
Figure 5: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected periods throughout 2024



Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Select Periods Jan 9, 2024 - September 16, 2024; RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Figure 6 shows the distribution of median principal owed by jurisdiction in Virginia during the third quarter of 2024. A jurisdiction's median principal amount owed is calculated by taking the median amount of all unlawful detainers filed in the local court jurisdiction during the third quarter of 2024. A total of 17% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,000 and \$1,499 and 40% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,500 to \$1,999. Overall, for the third quarter of 2024 the statewide median principal owed is \$1,813 which is up slightly from Quarter 2 of 2024. The statewide median principal owed in 2018 was \$1,100 and 2019 was \$1,200. From 2019 to 2024, the statewide median principal owed has increased by 51%. This indicates that the financial burden on tenants as a result of the pandemic continues is persistent and, quite possibly, permanent.

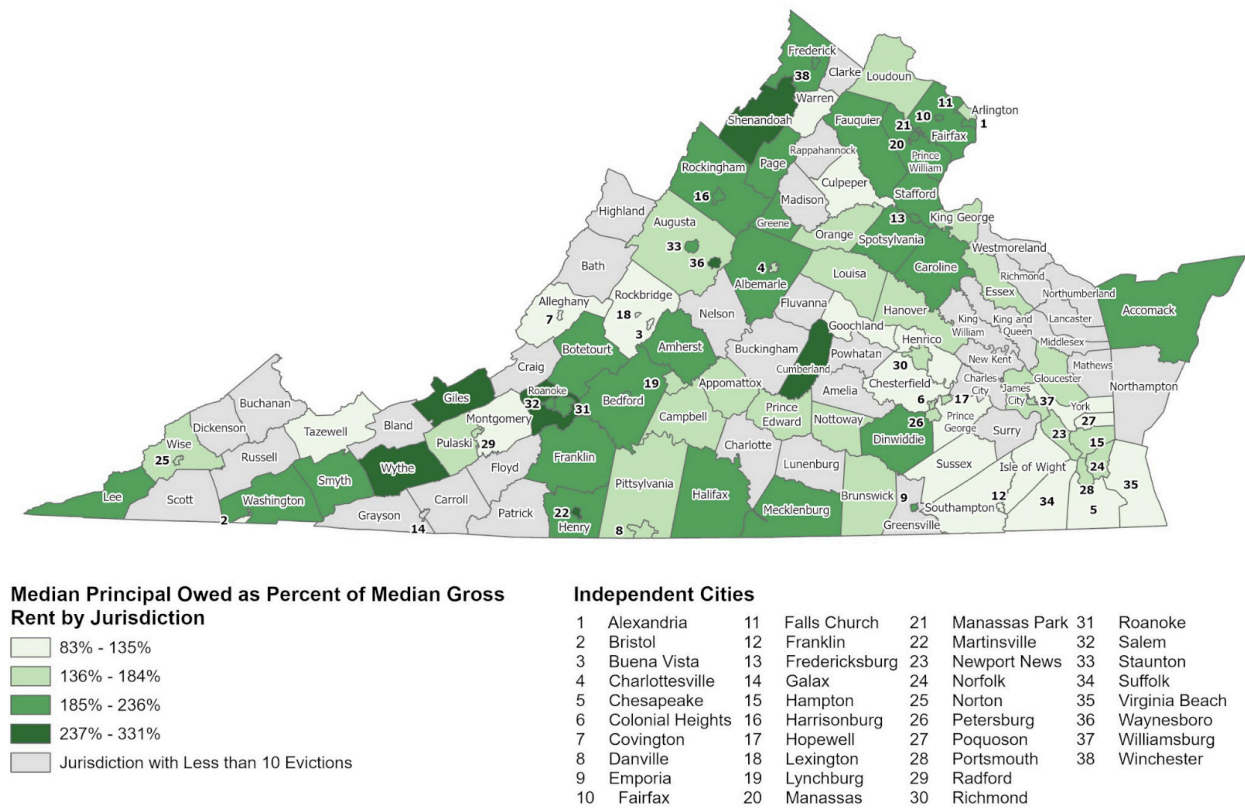
Figure 6: Distribution of Median Principal Owed by Jurisdiction, July - September 2024



Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 10 eviction judgments in the quarter are excluded to remove skew
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

In many Virginia jurisdictions the median principal amount owed exceeds the median rent. Figure 7 displays a map of the median principal amount owed as a percentage of regional median rent by jurisdiction in the third quarter of 2024. This indicates that renters in varying Virginia regions are behind on their rent. Hotspots include portions of Appalachian Virginia among other non-clustered areas.

Figure 7: Median Principal Owed as a Percentage of Median Gross Rent, Q3 2024



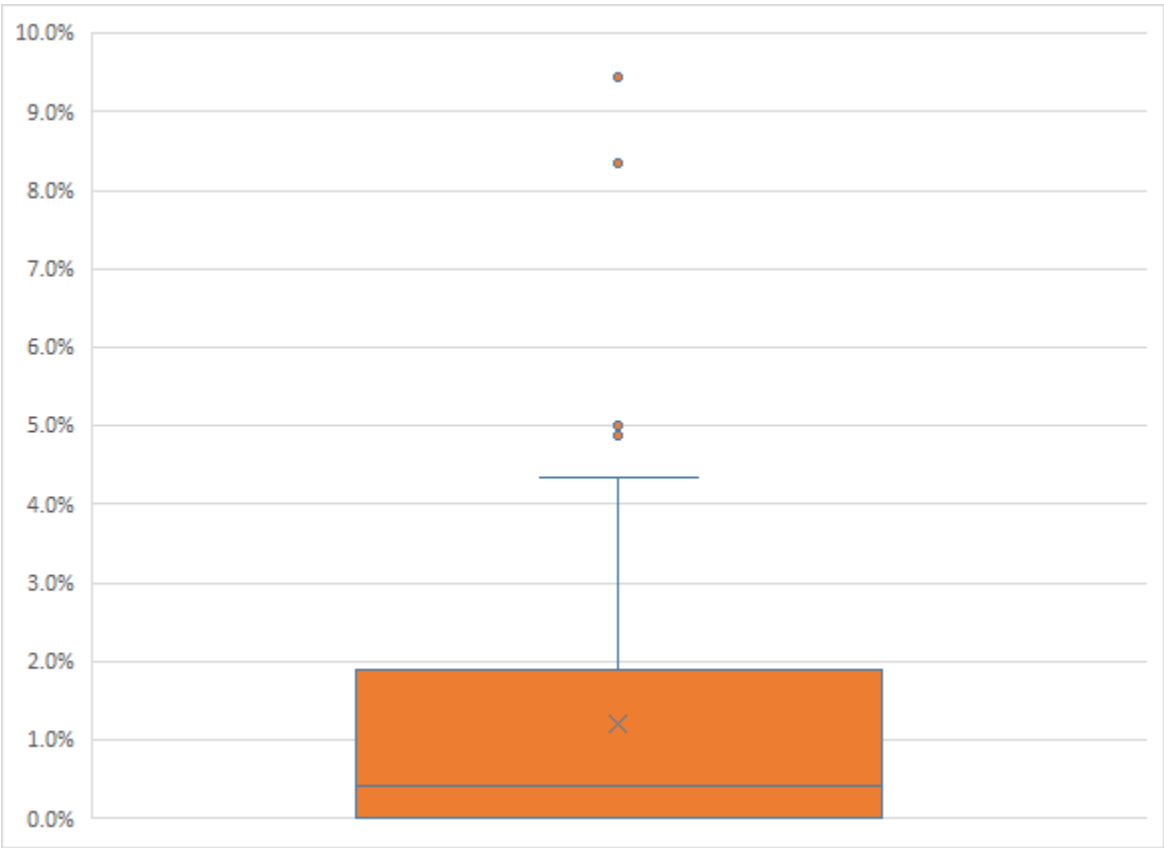
Source: Census, Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

**Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 10 eviction judgments in the quarter are excluded

Legal Representation

Figure 8 shows the percentage of defendants in Virginia jurisdictions that had attorney representation during eviction proceedings in the third quarter of 2024. Excluding jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings, the median percentage of attorney representation in Virginia jurisdictions was less than 1% and only 4 jurisdictions had at least 5% attorney representation. Wythe County had the highest level of representation at 9%, which is partly explained by a relatively lower number of cases (53), with 5 of those having had tenant legal representation. Legal representation has been long touted as vital for tenants to understand and exercise their legal rights during eviction proceedings. Virginia’s low level of representation may be an indicator that this an area for opportunity for cost-effective eviction mitigation post-pandemic¹.

Figure 8: Percentage of Defendants with Attorney Representation by Jurisdiction, July-September 2024.



***Jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings are excluded.*

Source: 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.

Table 2: Median Gross Rent, Median Principal Owed, and Median Number of Months of Rent Owed by Region, July-September 2024.

Table 2: Median Gross Rent, Median Principal Owed, and Median Number of Months of Rent Owed by Region, July-September 2024.			
	Median Gross Rent	Median Principal Owed	Median Number of Months of Rent Owed
Central Virginia/ Richmond VA MSA	\$1,202	\$1,695	1.4
Hampton Roads/ Virginia Beach - Norfolk - Newport News, VA - NC HUD Metro FMR Area	\$1,229	\$1,867	1.5
Northern Virginia/ Washington - Arlington - Alexandria, DC-VA-MD HUD Metro FMR Area	\$1,892	\$4,007	2.1

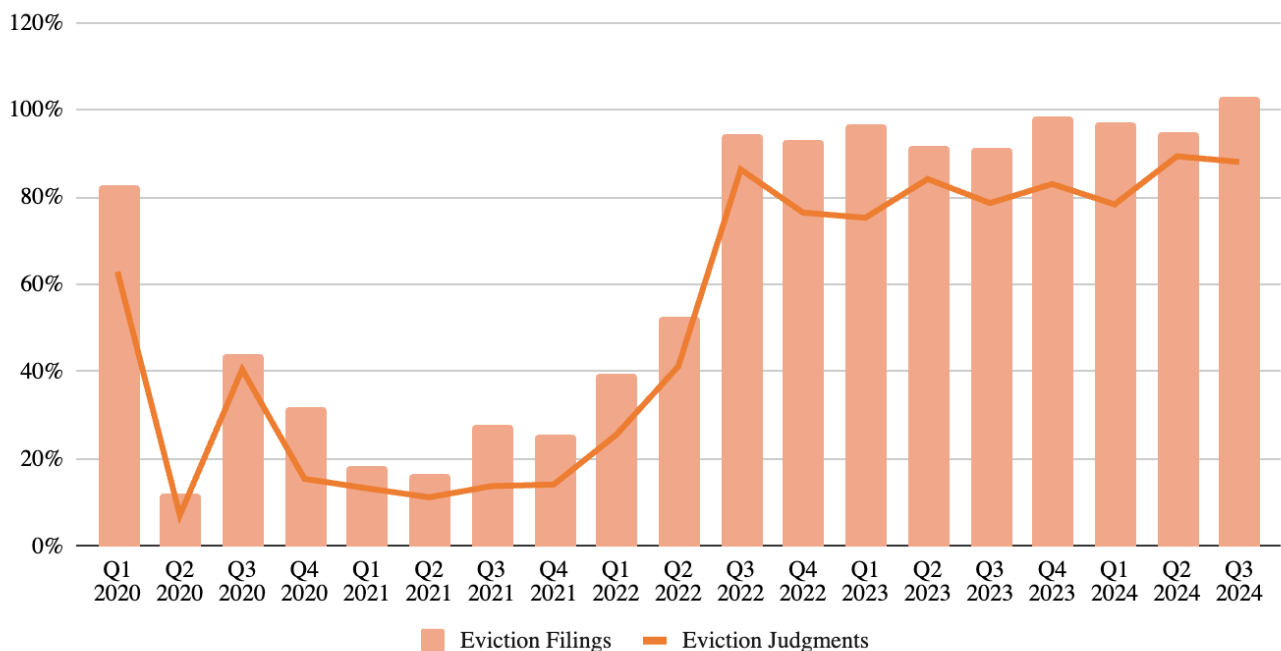
Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (2021), Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

Central Virginia

Figure 9 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last nineteen quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) levels. Filings increased by 9% from the previous quarter (from 8,840 to 9595) and judgments decreased by 1% (from 5,065 to 4,992). However, eviction filings for the third quarter of 2024 are 103% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 88% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 9: 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 percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region from the second quarter of 2024 to the third quarter of 2024. Filings increased in all jurisdictions and Judgements increased only in Chesterfield, Henrico, and Petersburg.

Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from April - June 2024 to July - September 2024.

	Q2 2024		Q3 2024		Q3 2024 % change from Q2 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesterfield	1,733	941	1,878	981	8%	4%
Henrico	2,564	1,437	2,951	1,524	15%	6%
Hopewell	257	164	267	144	4%	-12%
Petersburg	787	518	900	557	14%	8%
Richmond	3,499	2,005	3,598	1,786	3%	-11%

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 third quarter of 2024 compared to pre-pandemic levels (an average pre-pandemic quarter). Eviction filings were higher than pre-pandemic levels in Chesterfield, Henrico, and Petersburg. Judgments were higher than pre-pandemic levels only in Petersburg.

Table 4: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, July - September 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesterfield	1,759	1,038	1,878	981	107%	95%
Henrico	2,607	1,580	2,951	1,524	113%	96%
Hopewell	349	227	267	144	77%	63%
Petersburg	810	510	900	557	111%	109%
Richmond	3,793	2,315	3,598	1,786	95%	77%

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 third quarter of 2024 compared to pre-pandemic levels (an average pre-pandemic quarter). All of Central Virginia's default judgments and default judgment rates were lower than seen before the pandemic. In Q3 of 2024, Petersburg and Chesterfield had the highest percentages (38%) of evictions resulting from default judgments, while Richmond had the lowest percentage (34%). Default judgments in the Central Virginia region represent 36% of all evictions in Q3 2024.

Table 5: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, July - September 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

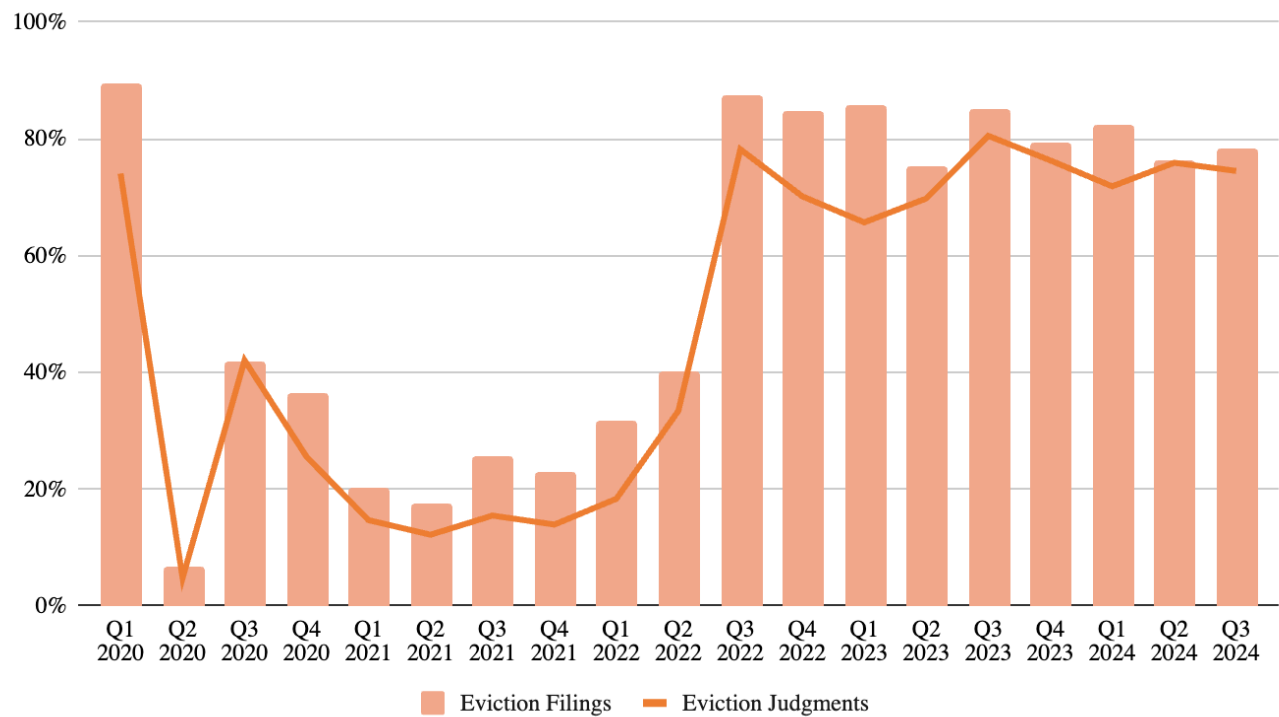
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesterfield	820	47%	713	38%	87%	81%
Henrico	1,286	49%	1,083	37%	84%	74%
Hopewell	169	48%	97	36%	57%	76%
Petersburg	374	46%	345	38%	92%	83%
Richmond	1,784	47%	1,232	34%	69%	73%

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

Hampton Roads

In the third quarter of 2024, eviction filings increased by 3% from the previous quarter in the Hampton Roads region (from 11,029 to 11,348) and judgments decreased by 2%, from 6,319 to 6,203. Figure 10 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the region. Eviction filings for the third quarter of 2024 are 79% of 2019 pre-pandemic levels and eviction judgments are 75% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 10: 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 from the second quarter of 2024 to the third quarter of 2024. Eviction filings increased in all Hampton Roads jurisdictions except for Hampton and Newport News. Eviction judgments increased only in Chesapeake, Portsmouth, and Virginia Beach.

Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, Percent Change from April - June 2024 to July - September 2024.

	Q2 2024		Q3 2024		Q3 2024 % change from Q2 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesapeake	979	558	1,136	614	16%	10%
Hampton	1,483	905	1,392	839	-6%	-7%
Newport News	2,811	1,658	2,570	1,465	-9%	-12%
Norfolk	2,261	1,255	2,419	1,222	7%	-3%
Portsmouth	1,040	673	1,094	700	5%	4%
Virginia Beach	2,455	1,270	2,737	1,363	11%	7%

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 an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q3 of 2024. Eviction filings and judgements remain below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, July - September 2019 and 2024.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesapeake	1,384	810	1,136	614	82%	76%
Hampton	1,877	1,148	1,392	839	74%	73%
Newport News	3,496	2,056	2,570	1,465	74%	71%
Norfolk	3,223	1,563	2,419	1,222	75%	78%
Portsmouth	1,450	970	1,094	700	75%	72%
Virginia Beach	3,032	1,781	2,737	1,363	90%	77%

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

Table 8 shows the number and rates of default judgments in an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q3 2024 in the Hampton Roads region. Default judgments and the default judgement rate in Q3 of 2024 in Hampton Roads were all lower than the average pre-pandemic quarter. Default judgements in the Hampton Roads region represent 71% of all evictions in Q3 2024.

Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, July - September 2019 and 2024.

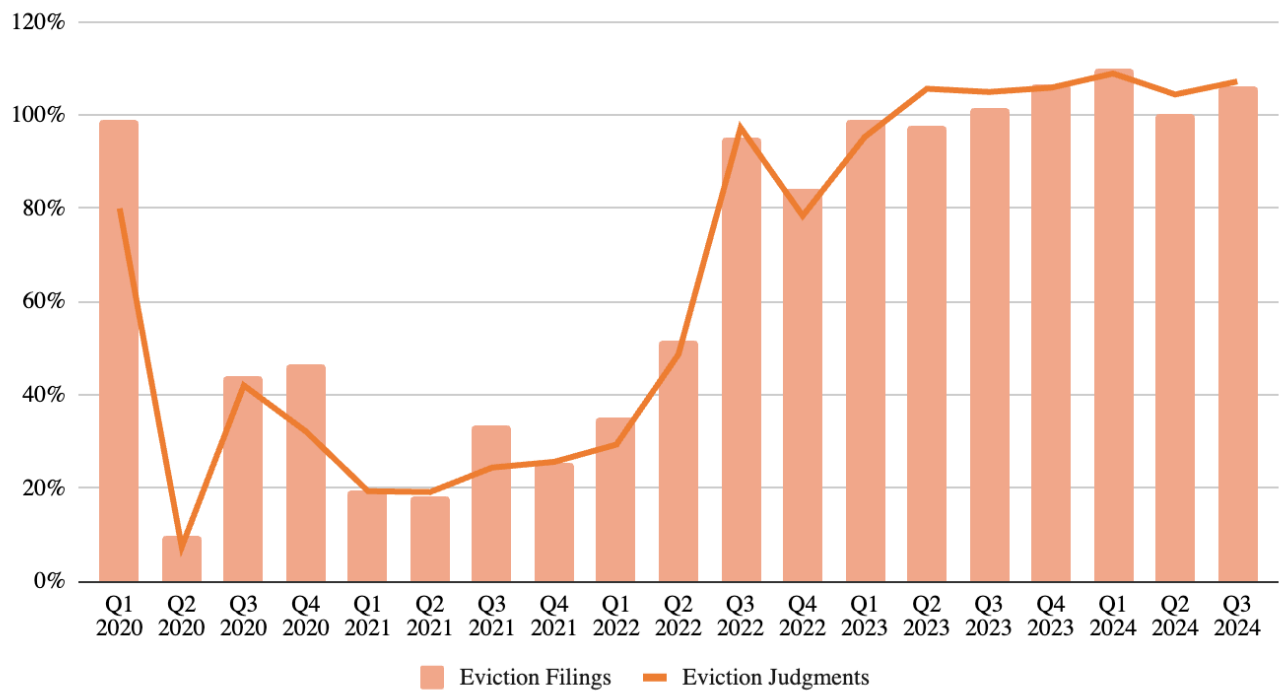
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	653	47%	471	41%	72%	88%
Hampton	924	49%	592	43%	64%	87%
Newport News	1,598	46%	1,035	40%	65%	88%
Norfolk	1,218	38%	857	35%	70%	94%
Portsmouth	723	50%	497	45%	69%	91%
Virginia Beach	1,466	48%	981	36%	67%	74%

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

Northern Virginia

Figure 11 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. Eviction filings for the third quarter of 2024 are 106% pre-pandemic 2019 levels and eviction judgments are 107% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels.

Figure 11: 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 second quarter of 2024 to the third quarter of 2024. Eviction filings increased in all jurisdictions except for Arlington, Fairfax, and Fredericksburg. Eviction judgments increased in the same jurisdictions.

Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from April - June 2024 to July - September 2024.

	Q2 2024		Q3 2024		Q3 2024 % change from Q2 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,037	498	1,065	507	3%	2%
Arlington	854	405	771	366	-10%	-10%
Fairfax Co.	2,021	878	2,009	819	-1%	-7%
Falls Church	28	10	31	12	11%	20%*
Fredericksburg	238	144	234	138	-2%	-4%
Loudoun	365	150	481	194	32%	29%
Prince William	1,152	538	1,355	603	18%	12%
Stafford	279	116	387	173	39%	49%

**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 an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q3 2024 are presented in Table 10. Falls Church is not considered in this section's discussion because an increase in low eviction filing numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Eviction filings in all but two out of the seven considered localities throughout the region were above pre-pandemic levels. Arlington was the highest at 133%. Eviction judgments in Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County, and Loudoun surpassed pre-pandemic levels.

Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, July - September 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,054	431	1,065	507	101%	118%
Arlington	582	237	771	366	133%	155%
Fairfax Co.	1,833	771	2,009	819	110%	106%
Falls Church	10	4	31	12	326%*	300%*
Fredericksburg	284	151	234	138	83%	91%
Loudoun	447	192	481	194	108%	101%
Prince William	1,393	665	1,355	603	97%	91%
Stafford	374	175	387	173	104%	99%

**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 12 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q3 2024. Same as above, Falls Church is not considered in this section’s discussion because an increase in low eviction filing numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Default judgments increased in Alexandria and Arlington. Northern Virginia’s default judgment rates surpassed pre-pandemic levels only in Alexandria. Default judgements in the Northern Virginia region represent 30% of all evictions in Q3 2024.

Table 12: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, July - September 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment
Alexandria	323	31%	363	34%	112%	111%
Arlington	178	31%	224	29%	126%	94%
Fairfax Co.	614	34%	568	28%	92%	84%
Falls Church	3	24%	10	32%	333%*	133%*
Fredericksburg	107	38%	78	33%	73%	87%
Loudoun	139	31%	133	28%	96%	88%
Prince William	489	35%	417	31%	85%	88%
Stafford	121	33%	112	29%	92%	89%

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

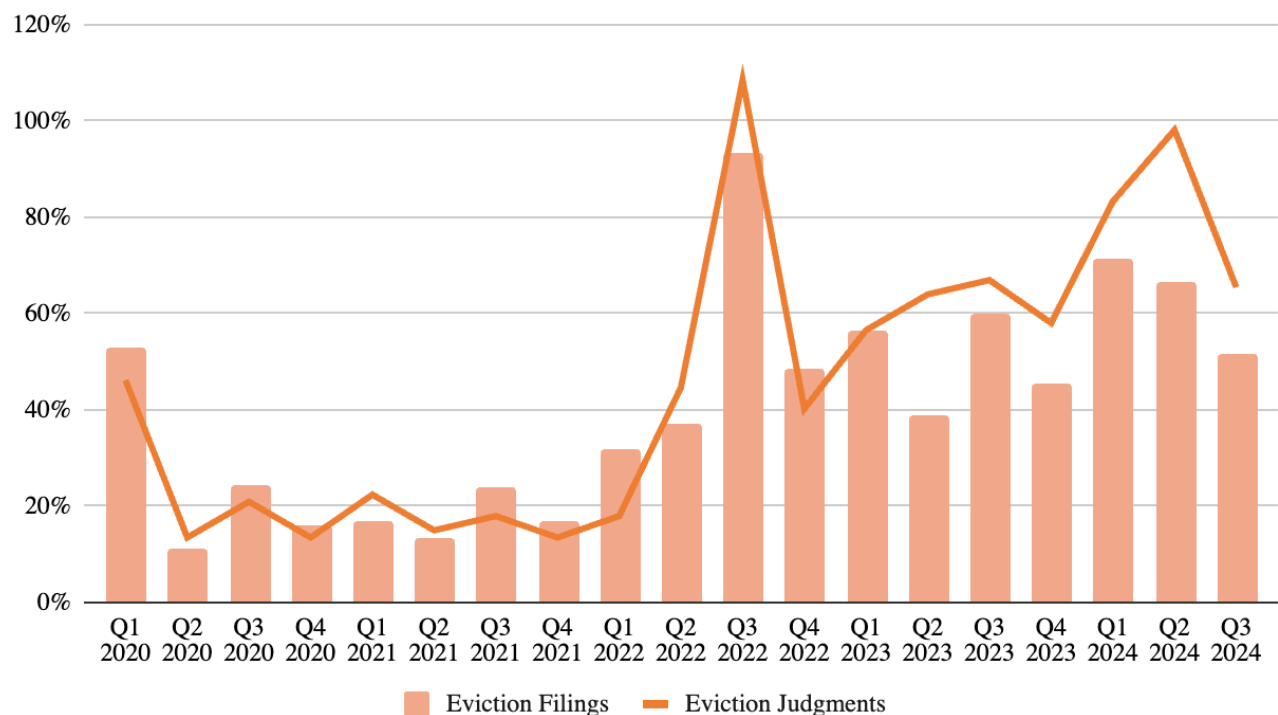
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

CITY UPDATES

City of Charlottesville

Figure 12 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last 19 quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. In the third quarter of 2024, eviction filings decreased by 22% from the previous quarter (from 104 to 81) and judgments decreased by 33% (from 66 to 44). In Q3, The city of Charlottesville experienced 81 eviction filings and 44 judgments, representing 52% and 65% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 12: 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 percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in the City of Charlottesville from the second quarter of 2024 to the third quarter of 2024. Eviction filings decreased by 22% while judgments decreased by 33% in the City of Charlottesville.

Table 12: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, Percent Change from April - June 2024 to July - September 2024.					
Q2 2024		Q3 2024		Q3 2024 % change from Q2 2024	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
104	66	81	44	-22%	-33%

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 third quarter of 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter. Eviction filings and judgments remain below their pre-pandemic levels.

Table 13: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, July - September 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.					
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
157	67	81	44	52%	65%

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

Table 14 shows the number and rates of default judgments in an average pre-pandemic quarter and Q3 of 2024 in Charlottesville. The default judgments remain lower than their pre-pandemic levels. Default judgment rates have grown since pre-pandemic. Default judgments in the the city of Charlottesville represent 52% of all judgments in Q3 2024.

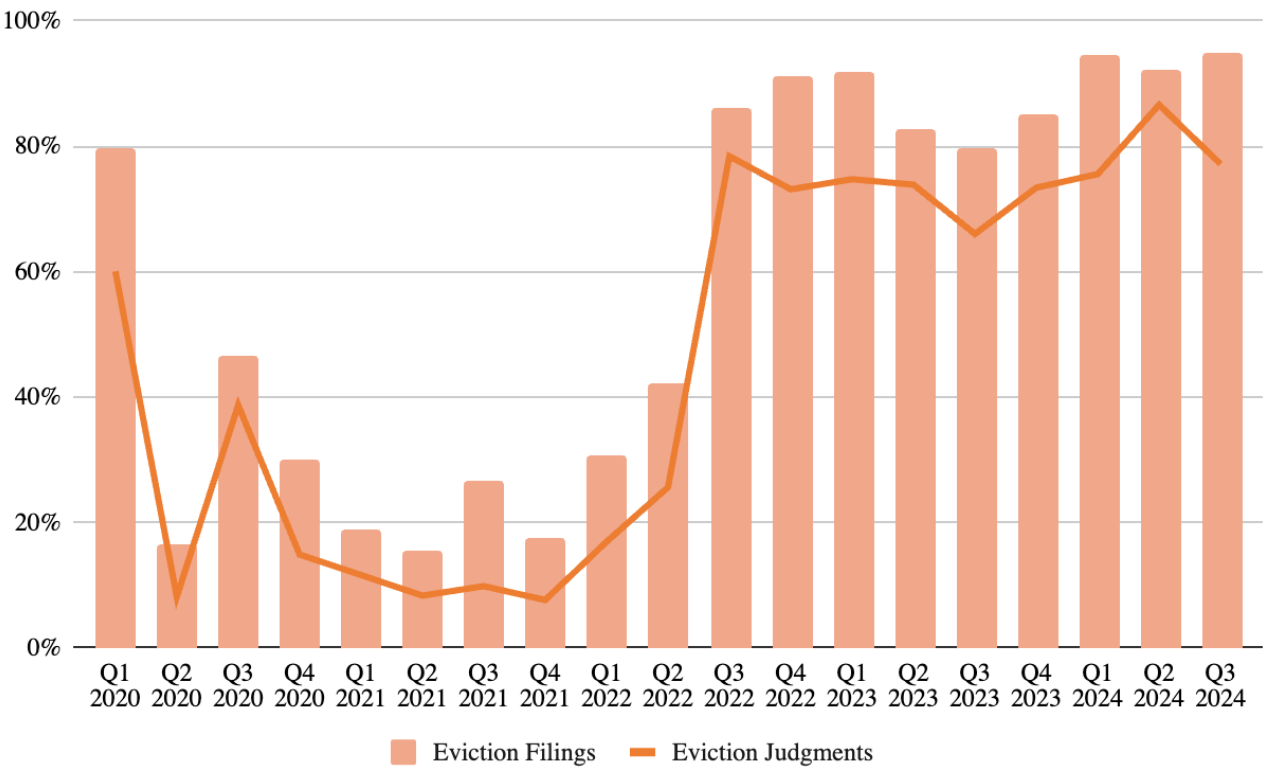
Table 14: Default judgments and rates in Charlottesville, July - September 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.					
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
38	25%	23	28%	60%	115%

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

City of Richmond

In the third quarter of 2024, eviction filings increased by 3% from the previous quarter (from 3,499 to 3,598) and judgments decreased by 11% (from 2,005 to 1,786). Figure 13 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. During the third quarter of 2024, Richmond’s eviction filings represented 95% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) filings, and its eviction judgments represented 77% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) judgments.

Figure 13: 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 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes from the second quarter of 2024 to the third quarter of 2024. From quarter to quarter, eviction filings increased in 9 ZIP Codes while judgments increased in 3 ZIP codes. Eviction filings decreased in 23224, 23227. Eviction judgments decreased in 23219, 23220, 23221, 23222, 23223, 23224, 23225, 23226, 23227, and 23230. Eviction filings increased by 3% and judgments decreased by 11% for the city of Richmond from Q2 2024 to Q3 2024.

Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, Percent Change from April - June 2024 to July - September 2024.

ZIP Code	Q2 2024		Q3 2024		Q3 2024 % change from Q2 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
23219	158	99	164	77	4%	-22%
23220	322	170	349	157	8%	-8%
23221	25	14	32	11	28%	-21%
23222	220	135	235	133	7%	-1%
23223	443	254	469	218	6%	-14%
23224	876	487	832	422	-5%	-13%
23225	1,024	589	1,131	577	10%	-2%
23226	6	5	6	1	0%	-80%
23227	162	115	133	71	-18%	-38%
23230	37	17	37	16	0%	-6%
23231	23	7	42	15	83%	114%
23234	51	28	71	30	39%	7%
23235	3	1	13	8	333%	700%
Other	149	84	85	50	-44%	-40%

**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 third quarter of 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter. Eviction filings exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 6 ZIP codes and judgments exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 5 ZIP Codes. Pre-pandemic filing levels have been surpassed in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23221, 23225, 23226, and 23230. Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in the 23219, 23220, 23225, 23230, and 23235. Eviction filings reached 95% of pre-pandemic levels while judgments in Richmond city reached 77% of pre-pandemic levels.

Table 16: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, July - September 2024 and the average pre-pandemic quarter.

ZIP Code	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
23219	99	52	164	77	166%	149%
23220	294	155	349	157	119%	102%
23221	25	13	32	11	128%	83%
23222	320	204	235	133	73%	65%
23223	645	387	469	218	73%	56%
23224	882	566	832	422	94%	75%
23225	885	557	1,131	577	128%	104%
23226	3	3	6	1	185%*	40%*
23227	319	175	133	71	42%	41%
23230	25	13	37	16	149%*	125%
23231	96	65	42	15	44%	23%
23234	140	92	71	30	51%	33%
23235	14	8	13	8	95%	103%
Other	49	27	84	50	171%	183%

**An increase/decrease in low eviction filing and default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower.*

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 of the ZIP codes (23219, 23230, and other) while default judgment rates remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all Richmond ZIP codes. Default judgments in the city of Richmond represent 34% of all judgments in Q3 2024, which represents 73% of pre-pandemic levels.

Table 17: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, July - September 2024 and the average pre-pandemic quarter.

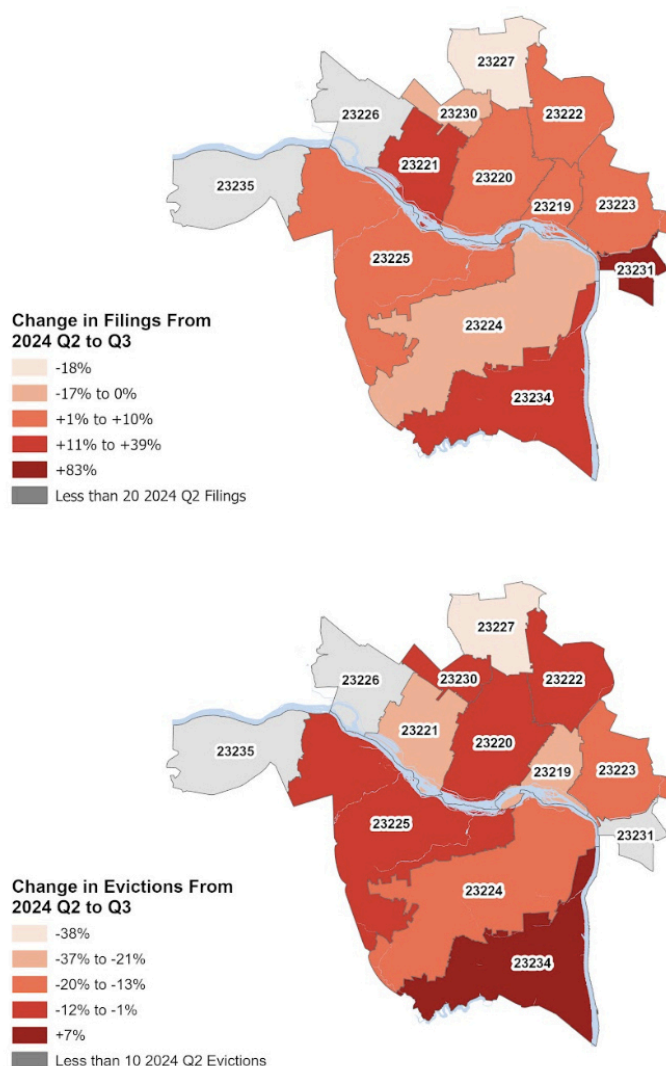
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q3 2024		2024 % of 2019	
ZIP Code	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	36	36%	52	32%	144%	88%
23220	116	39%	96	28%	83%	70%
23221	9	35%	7	22%	80%	63%
23222	139	43%	81	34%	58%	79%
23223	268	41%	149	32%	56%	77%
23224	451	51%	302	36%	67%	71%
23225	465	50%	422	37%	91%	71%
23226	2	50%	1	17%	57%*	33%*
23227	145	45%	42	32%	29%	70%
23230	10	41%	13	35%	127%	86%
23231	45	46%	9	21%	20%	46%
23234	71	51%	16	23%	23%	44%
23235	7	49%	6	46%	86%	94%
Other	23	45%	36	53%	158%	96%

**An increase/decrease in low defaults and default rate numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower*

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

Figure 14 shows the percent change in eviction and judgments from the second quarter 2024 to the third quarter of 2024. Eviction filings increased in all ZIP codes except for 23226, and 23235. Eviction judgements increased in all ZIP codes except for 23226, 23235, and 23231. Figure 15 omits data from ZIP codes with less than 20 eviction filings and less than 10 eviction judgments, for data interpretation purposes.

Figure 14: Map of eviction filings and judgments in Richmond by ZIP Code, Percentage change from Q2 2024 to Q3 2024



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

Appendix

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 3rd Quarter, 2024

Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 3 rd Quarter, 2024				
Jurisdiction	2024 Q3 Eviction Filings	2024 Q3 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	46	24	16	35%
Albemarle	304	143	98	32%
Alleghany	48	18	5	10%
Amelia	8	6	2	25%
Amherst	55	28	12	22%
Appomattox	18	14	8	44%
Arlington	771	366	224	29%
Augusta	132	34	17	13%
Bath	2	0	0	0%
Bedford	88	54	29	33%
Bland	1	1	0	0%
Botetourt	30	18	12	40%
Brunswick	30	11	13	43%
Buchanan	8	6	6	75%
Buckingham	10	3	0	0%
Campbell	179	81	46	26%
Caroline	54	25	11	20%
Carroll	11	8	5	45%
Charles City	4	4	1	25%
Charlotte	7	4	1	14%
Chesterfield	1878	981	713	38%
Clarke	12	7	4	33%
Craig	3	2	1	33%
Culpeper	80	34	21	26%
Cumberland	20	10	6	30%
Dickenson	6	2	1	17%
Dinwiddie	48	24	9	19%
Essex	19	10	7	37%
Fairfax Co.	2009	819	568	28%
Fauquier	60	21	15	25%
Floyd	7	6	4	57%
Fluvanna	5	5	1	20%
Franklin Co.	60	37	22	37%
Frederick	67	29	14	21%
Giles	25	13	7	28%

Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 3rd Quarter, 2024

Jurisdiction	2024 Q3 Eviction Filings	2024 Q3 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgment Rate
Gloucester	75	33	21	28%
Goochland	25	10	4	16%
Grayson	7	5	2	29%
Greene	26	17	8	31%
Greensville	22	9	2	9%
Halifax	41	23	11	27%
Hanover	126	62	40	32%
Henrico	2951	1524	1083	37%
Henry	121	69	42	35%
Highland	2	2	0	0%
Isle of Wight	122	47	43	35%
King & Queen	6	2	0	0%
King George	71	28	19	27%
King William	17	8	4	24%
Lancaster	15	4	2	13%
Lee	22	13	11	50%
Loudoun	481	194	133	28%
Louisa	31	17	9	29%
Lunenburg	22	9	5	23%
Madison	3	3	0	0%
Mathews	10	6	2	20%
Mecklenburg	52	20	6	12%
Middlesex	1	1	0	0%
Montgomery	171	82	67	39%
Nelson	8	5	2	25%
New Kent	11	7	4	36%
Northampton	14	7	4	29%
Northumberland	11	7	2	18%
Nottoway	29	15	11	38%
Orange	54	39	20	37%
Page	29	23	13	45%
Patrick	11	5	2	18%
Pittsylvania	76	51	30	39%
Powhatan	16	5	0	0%
Prince Edward	62	21	0	0%
Prince George	141	57	2	1%

Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 3rd Quarter, 2024

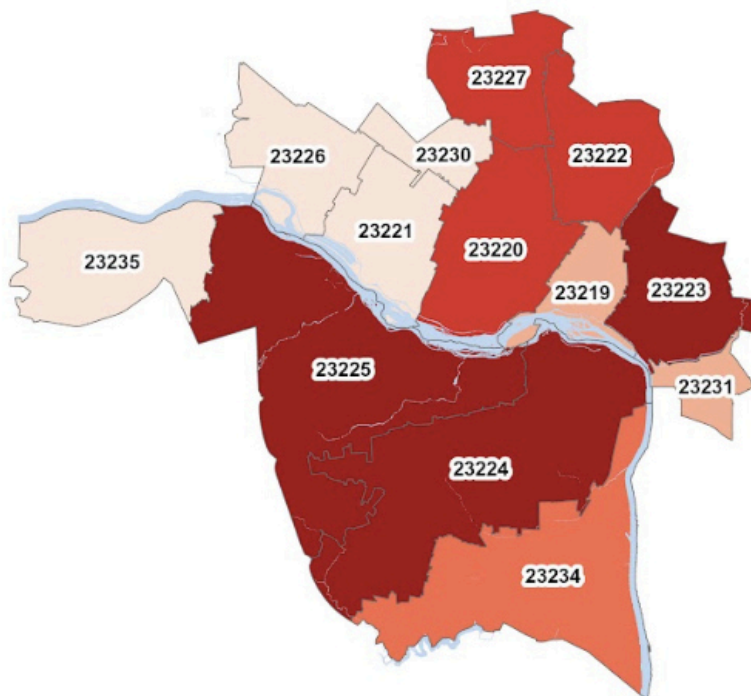
Jurisdiction	2024 Q3 Eviction Filings	2024 Q3 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgment Rate
Prince William	1355	603	417	31%
Pulaski	98	61	33	34%
Rappahannock	1	0	1	100%
Richmond Co.	3	1	0	0%
Roanoke Co.	218	109	67	31%
Rockbridge	44	23	15	34%
Rockingham/ Harrisonburg	227	50	33	15%
Russell	14	7	2	14%
Scott	19	6	4	21%
Shenandoah	75	35	17	23%
Smyth	48	28	17	35%
Southampton	55	17	9	16%
Spotsylvania	359	196	129	36%
Stafford	387	173	112	29%
Surry	6	4	2	33%
Sussex	22	10	11	50%
Tazewell	42	30	21	50%
Warren	63	36	16	25%
Washington	43	26	5	12%
Westmoreland	16	6	5	31%
Wise	77	37	23	30%
Wythe	53	30	10	19%
York	228	89	61	27%
Alexandria	1065	507	363	34%
Bristol	107	53	34	32%
Buena Vista	24	10	4	17%
Charlottesville	81	44	23	28%
Chesapeake	1136	614	471	41%
Colonial Heights	172	98	68	40%
Danville	344	189	134	39%
Emporia	24	10	0	0%
Falls Church	31	12	10	32%
Franklin City	59	35	24	41%
Fredericksburg	234	138	78	33%
Galax	15	7	3	20%
Hampton	1392	839	592	43%

Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 3 rd Quarter, 2024				
Jurisdiction	2024 Q3 Eviction Filings	2024 Q3 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgments	2024 Q3 Default Judgment Rate
Hopewell	267	144	97	36%
Lynchburg	499	318	188	38%
Martinsville	100	41	23	23%
Newport News	2570	1465	1035	40%
Norfolk	2419	1222	857	35%
Petersburg	900	557	345	38%
Portsmouth	1094	700	497	45%
Radford	51	21	15	29%
Richmond City	3598	1786	1232	34%
Roanoke City	709	373	238	34%
Salem	140	55	37	26%
Staunton	67	27	19	28%
Suffolk	489	224	145	30%
Virginia Beach	2737	1363	981	36%
Waynesboro	98	42	26	27%
Williamsburg/ James City County	269	127	88	33%
Winchester	99	33	20	20%

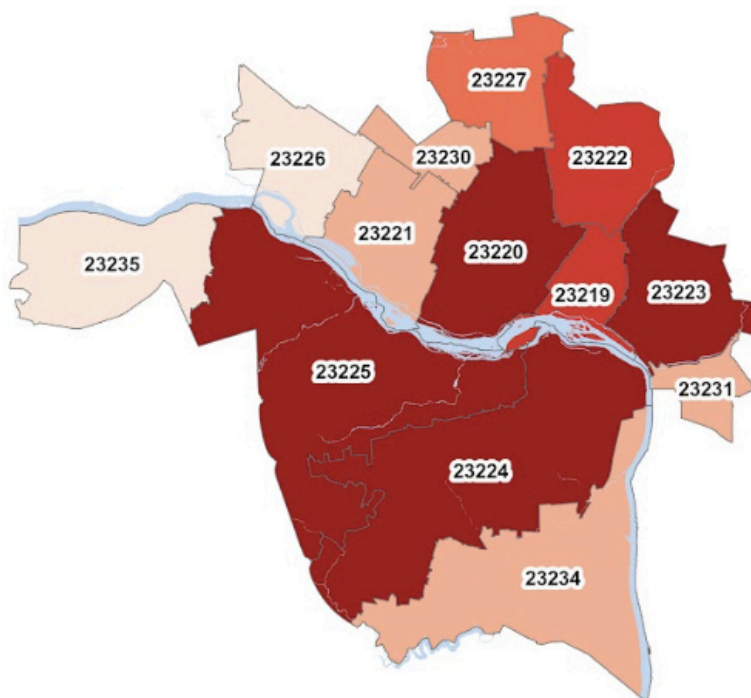
Source: Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

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

Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q3 2024

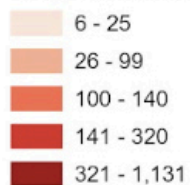


2019 Quarterly Average



July to September 2024

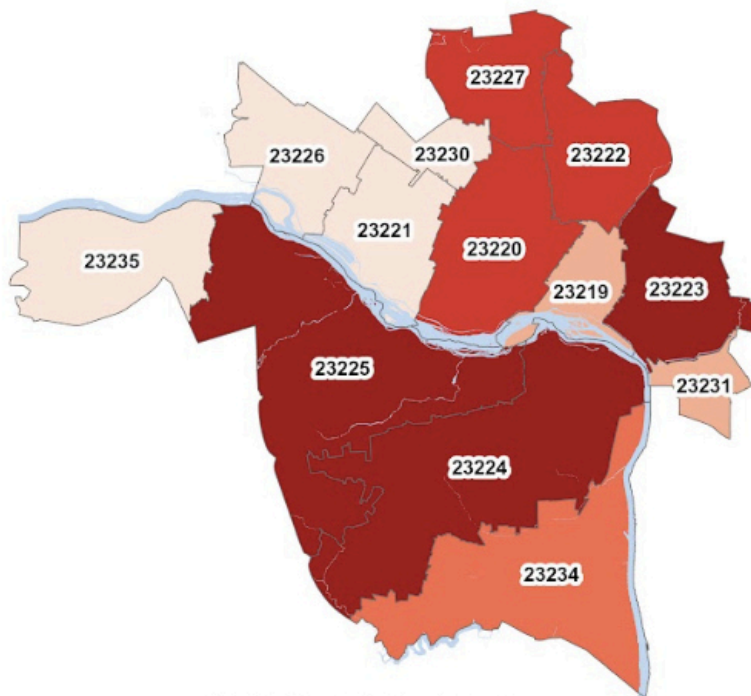
Eviction Filings



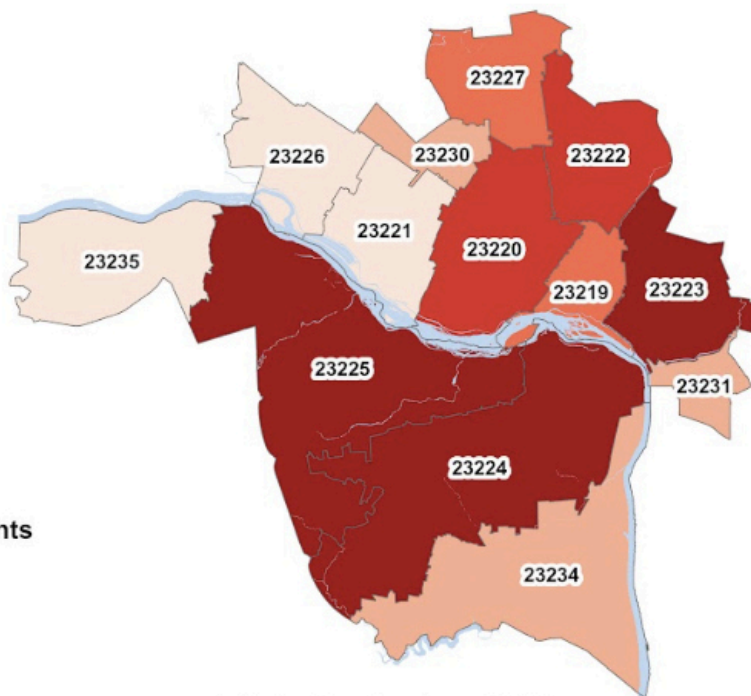
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

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

Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) & Q3 2024

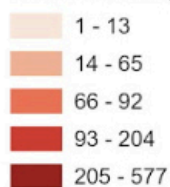


2019 Quarterly Average



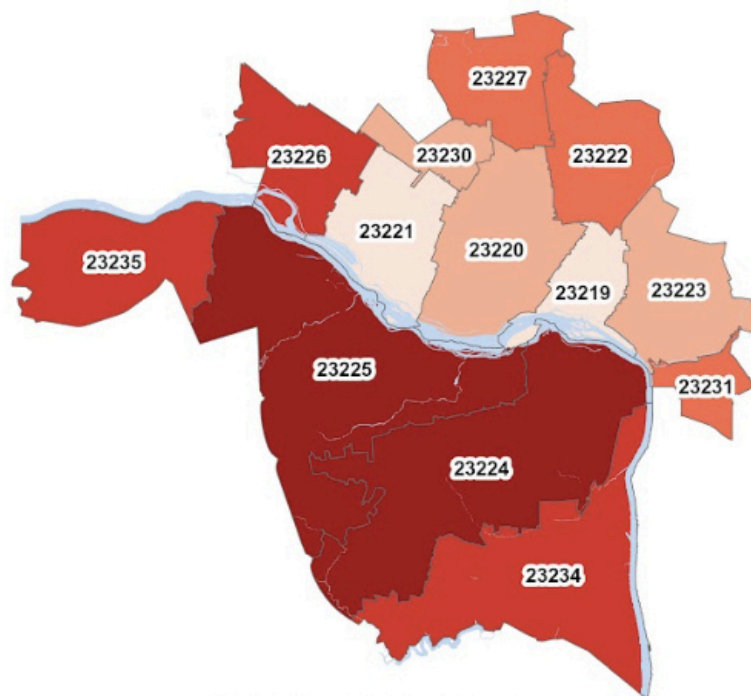
July to September 2024

Eviction Judgments

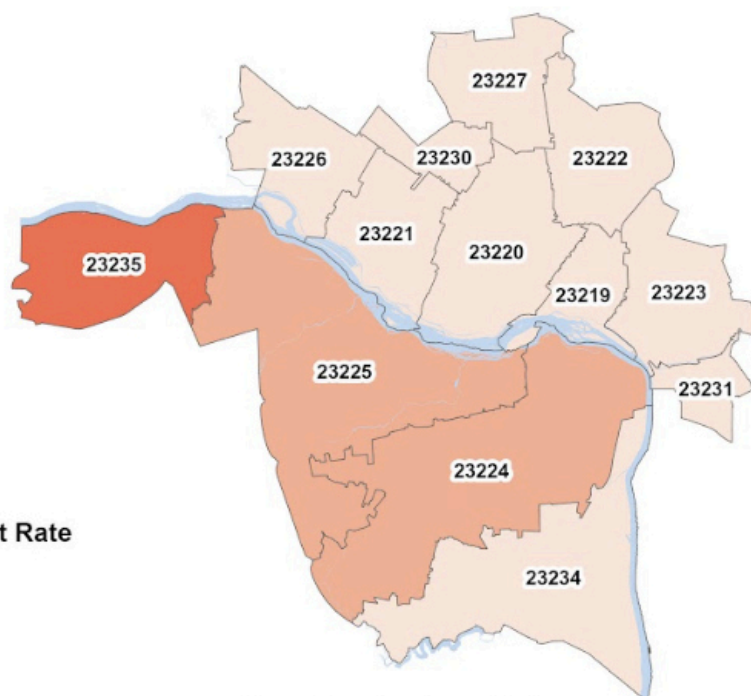


Appendix D: Map of Default Judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code

Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q3 2024



2019 Quarterly Average



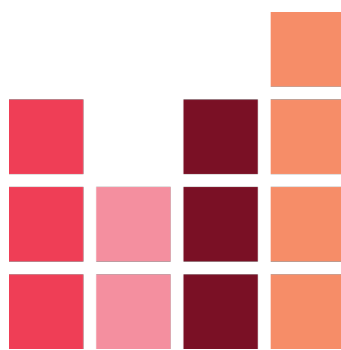
July to September 2024



VCU

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RVA EVICTION LAB

Quarterly Data Report

4th Quarter 2024: October through December

April 2025

Corey Nolan

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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 Initiative¹. 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)². True duplicate cases were identified by matching filing dates, judgment outcomes, case costs and fees, plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses. Serial cases were identified by matching plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses, and were deduplicated by removing consecutive filings made within the same year that appear to have occurred in a single ZIP code. The most recent judgment in a set of serial cases was used to determine whether an eviction occurred.

Analysis

Our analysis primarily focuses on lead residential evictions at the household level. While court files show case data at the defendant level, not all members of a household are necessarily listed as defendants.³ We aggregated court files to show cases at the household level as it is not clear to what extent the data accounts for individuals who are not leaseholders that are facing eviction.

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.

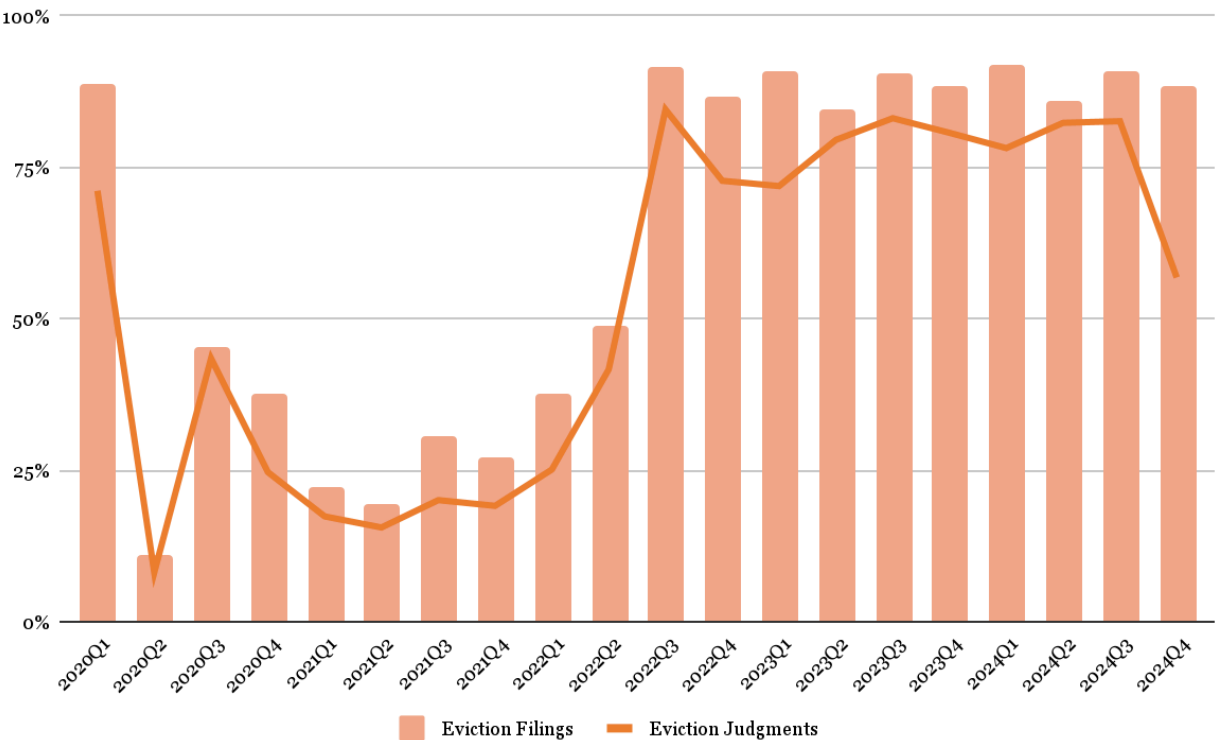
³ *ibid.*

INTRODUCTION

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes data on housing instability in Virginia during the fourth quarter of 2024. As in our previous reports, we compare 2024 quarterly 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). Data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

As Figure 1 shows, eviction filings and judgments across the Commonwealth have overall increased and recently fallen in volume since the pandemic's start, but have not returned to pre-pandemic heights. When compared to a pre-pandemic average quarter (2019), eviction filings neared pre-pandemic levels but have not peaked, reaching 34,205 filings in Q4 of 2024. This translates to 88% of the 2019 average quarter for the fourth quarter of 2024. When compared to the pre-pandemic average quarter, eviction judgments are not at their highest peak, reaching 12,318 judgments. This translates to 57% of the 2019 average quarter for the fourth quarter of 2024.

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2024



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

Highlights of 2024's fourth quarter across the Commonwealth include:

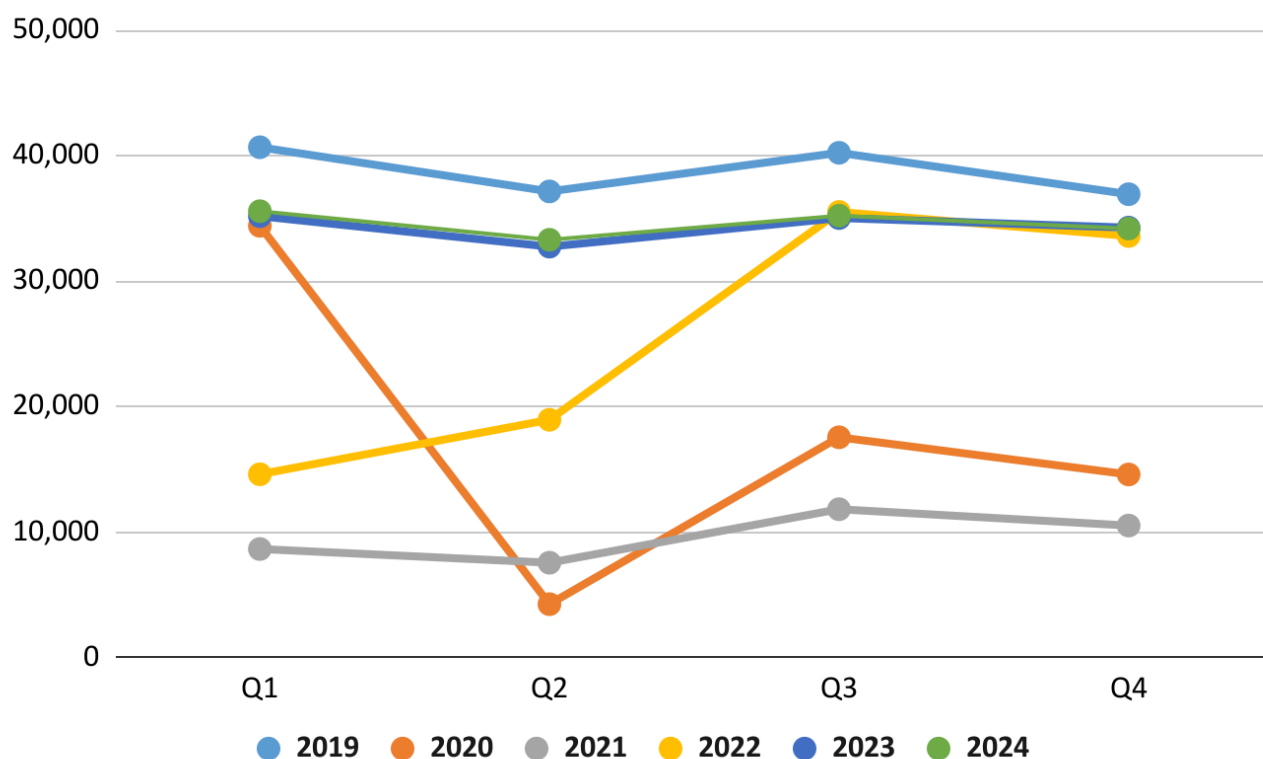
- From 2019 to 2024, the statewide median principal owed at the jurisdictional level has increased by 57%, from \$1,200 to \$1,888, approximately 1.5 to 2.1 months of rent statewide.
- The median percentage of tenants with legal representation in Virginia jurisdictions is 0.25% (2.5 tenants represented for every 1,000 cases) and only 2 jurisdictions have over 5% of tenants represented.
- Statewide filings decreased by 3% between the third and fourth quarters of 2024, while judgements dropped by 31.
- Eviction filings have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in Arlington (138%), Fairfax County (120%) and Richmond ZIP Codes 23225, 23226, and 23230.
- Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels by the biggest margins in Arlington (115%) and Richmond ZIP Codes 23219, 23220, 23225, 23230, and 23235.
- Default judgments have decreased across the entire state with the statewide default judgement rate of 25%, down from 42% pre-pandemic.

HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Eviction Filings and Judgments

Figure 2 shows the quarterly totals for eviction filings in Virginia since 2019. Filings are mostly increasing since COVID pandemic protections were rolled back in the second quarter of 2022, but have not hit the pre-pandemic peak. Eviction filings decreased by 3 percentage points from 91% to 88% of pre-pandemic levels between Q3 2024 and Q4 2024. Eviction filings during the fourth quarter of 2024 are the highest of all the fourth quarters since the start of the pandemic. However, the eviction filing numbers for Q4 2024 are lower than an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019).

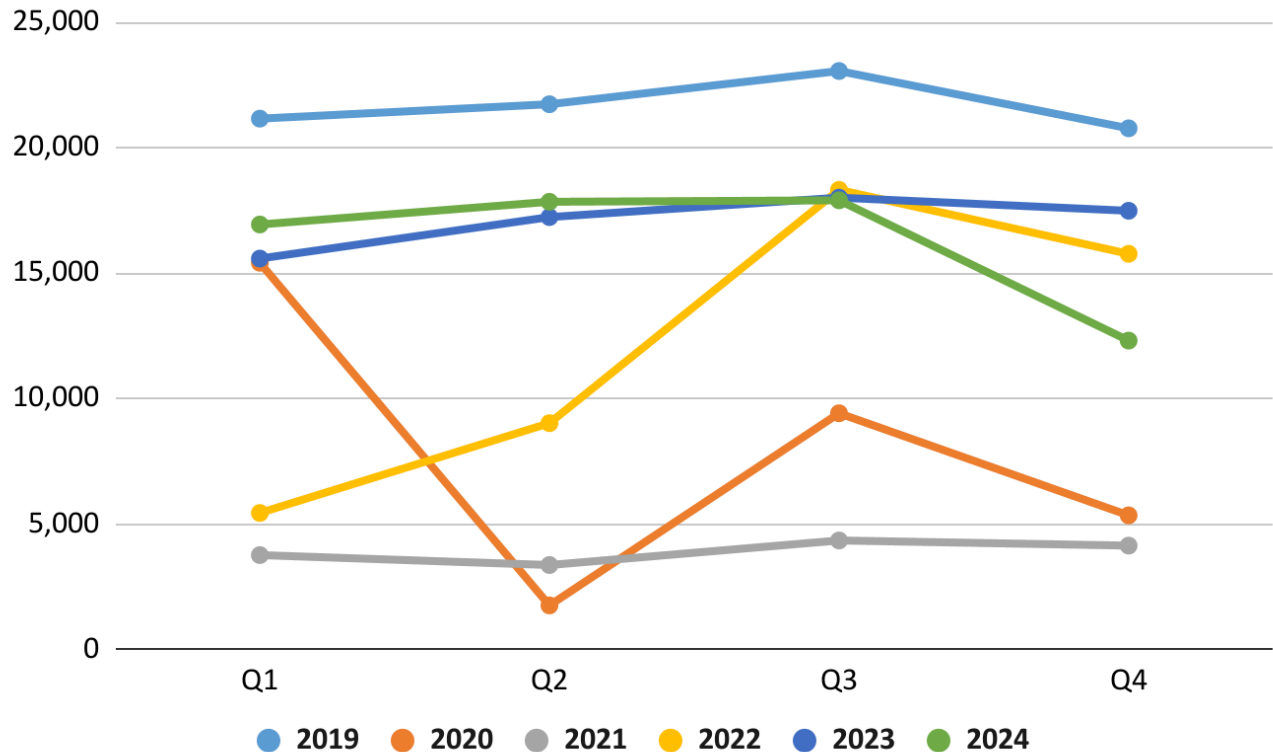
Figure 2: Eviction filings by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2024



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

Figure 3 shows the quarterly totals for eviction judgements in Virginia since 2019. Judgments increased but are now decreasing since COVID pandemic protections were rolled back in the second quarter of 2022. When rounding to the nearest whole number, eviction judgments are at 43% of the average pre-pandemic quarter in Q4 2024. Eviction judgments during the fourth quarter of 2024 are the fourth highest of all the fourth quarters since after 2019.

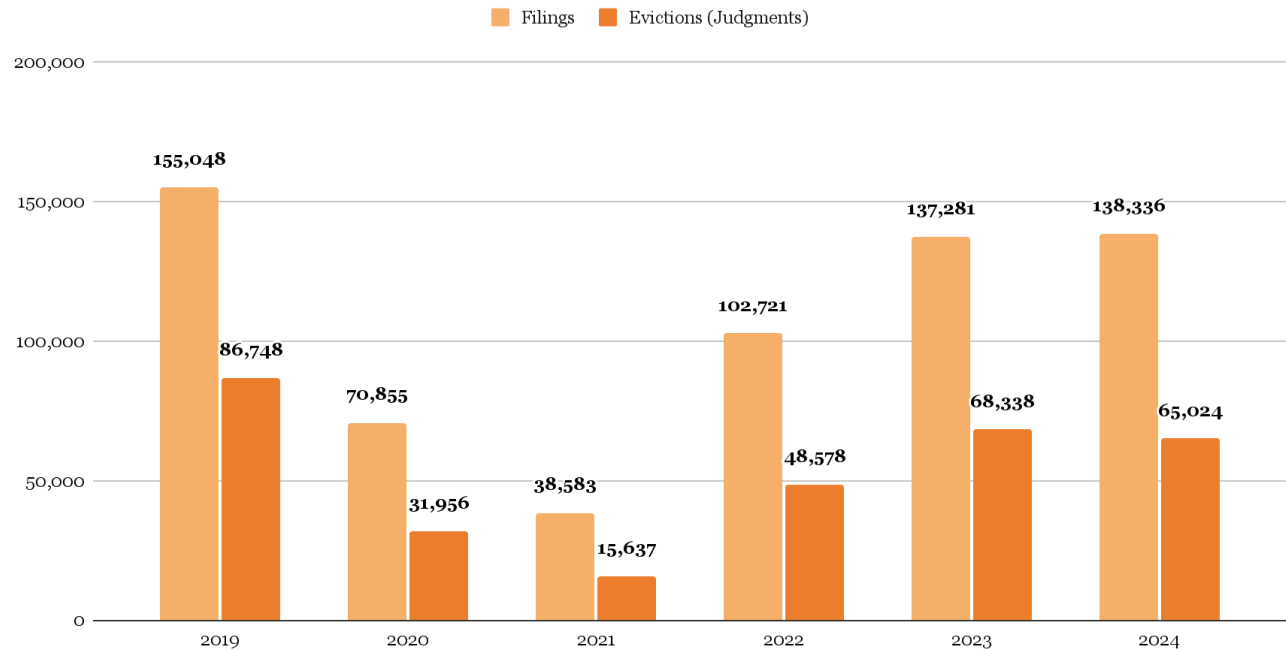
Figure 3: Eviction judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2024



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

Statewide eviction filings during the fourth quarter of 2024 decreased slightly from third quarter of 2024 levels, while eviction judgments decreased between Q3 2024 and Q4 2024. As shown in Figure 2, eviction filings decreased 3% from the previous quarter (35,230 in the third quarter of 2024 to 34,205 in the fourth quarter of 2024). As shown in Figure 3, eviction judgments decreased by 31% from third quarter 2024 levels (from 17,909 to 12,318). Figure 4 visualizes eviction filings and judgements in year format. 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. The 2024 columns represent all four quarters of 2024.

Figure 4: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, 2019 - 2024



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

Table 1, below, measures default judgements, or the total number of eviction filings resulting in judgements in favor of the landlord when a tenant does not attend their hearing. In the fourth quarter of 2024, the statewide default judgment rate of 25% is below the pre-pandemic rate of 42%.

Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, average pre-pandemic quarter and October-December 2024			
	Average 2019 Quarter	Q4 2024	2024 % of 2019
Default Judgments	16,370	8,497	52%
Default Judgment Rate	42%	25%	

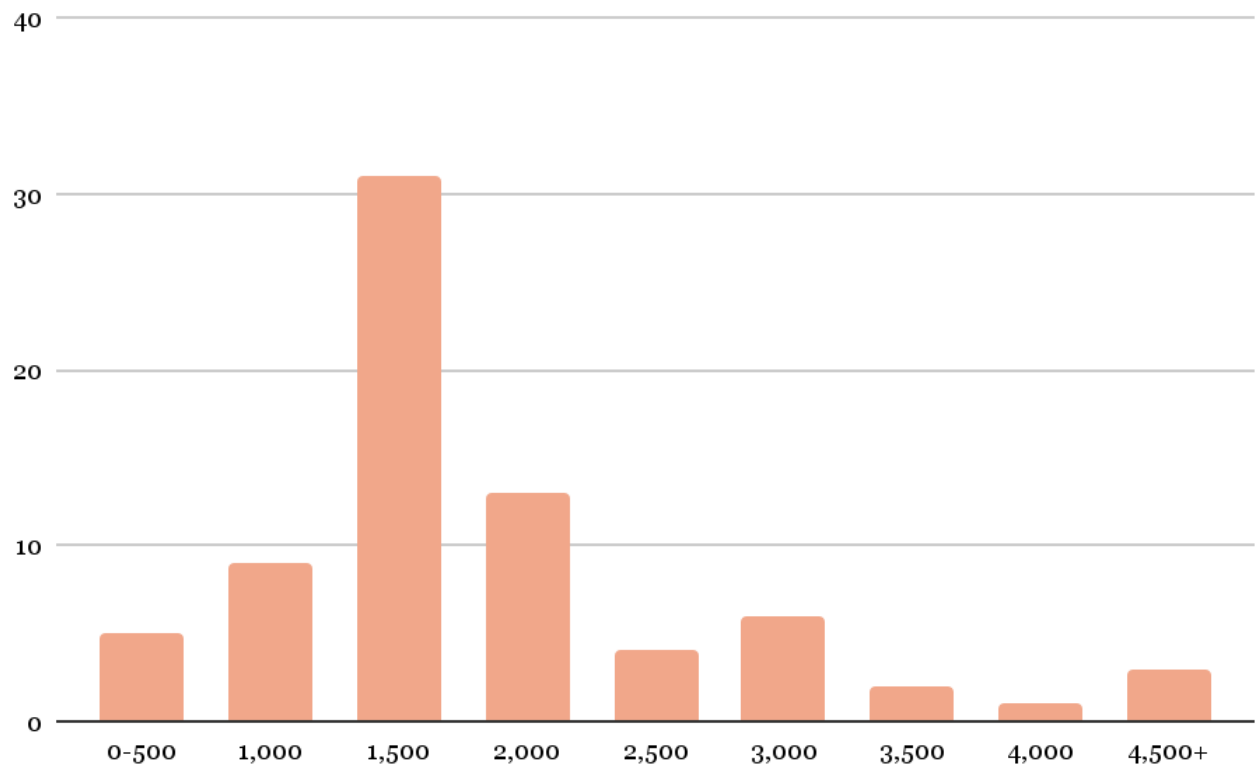
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative , RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Rents and Amounts Owed

The US Census Bureau has discontinued the Household Pulse Survey. At the time of writing this report (mid-April 2025) PULSE data is only available through September 16, 2024. The fourth quarter data reports cover October to December. For the Q4 2024 report, ‘change in monthly rent by race’ and ‘ will be excluded.

Figure 6 shows the distribution of median principal owed by jurisdiction in Virginia during the fourth quarter of 2024. A jurisdiction’s median principal amount owed is calculated by taking the median amount of all unlawful detainers filed in the local court jurisdiction during the fourth quarter of 2024. A total of 12% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,000 and \$1,499 and 42% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,500 to \$1,999. Overall, for the fourth quarter of 2024 the statewide median principal owed is \$1,888 which is up slightly from Quarter 3 of 2024. The statewide median principal owed in 2018 was \$1,100 and 2019 was \$1,200. From 2019 to 2024, the statewide median principal owed has increased by 57%. This indicates that the financial burden on tenants as a result of the pandemic continues is persistent and, quite possibly, permanent.

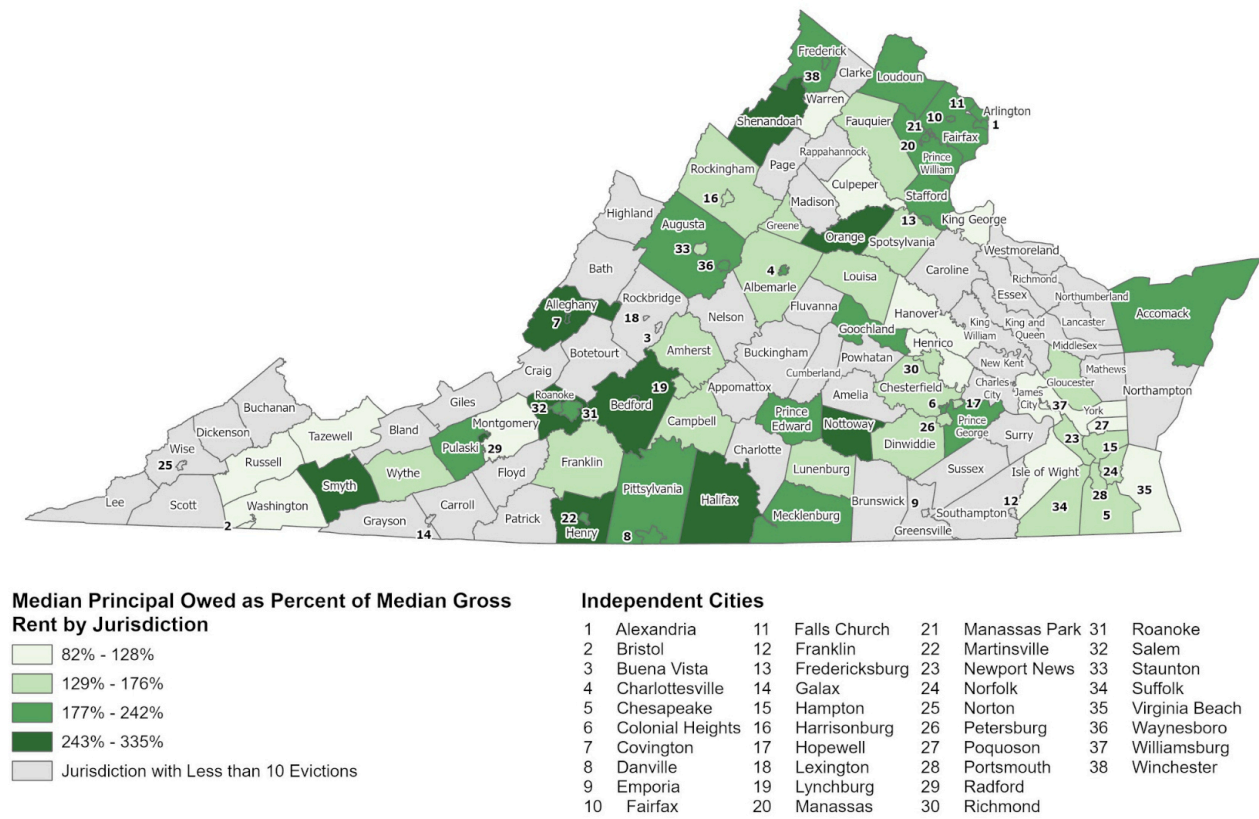
Figure 6: Distribution of Median Principal Owed by Jurisdiction, October-December 2024
Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 10 eviction judgments in the quarter are excluded to remove skew



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

In many Virginia jurisdictions the median principal amount owed exceeds the median rent. Figure 7 displays a map of the median principal amount owed as a percentage of regional median rent by jurisdiction in the fourth quarter of 2024. This indicates that renters in varying Virginia regions are behind on their rent. Hotspots vary geographically across Virginia, but there seem to be high rates in south-central VA and Appalachian regions.

Figure 7: Median Principal Owed as a Percent of Median Gross Rent, Q4 2024

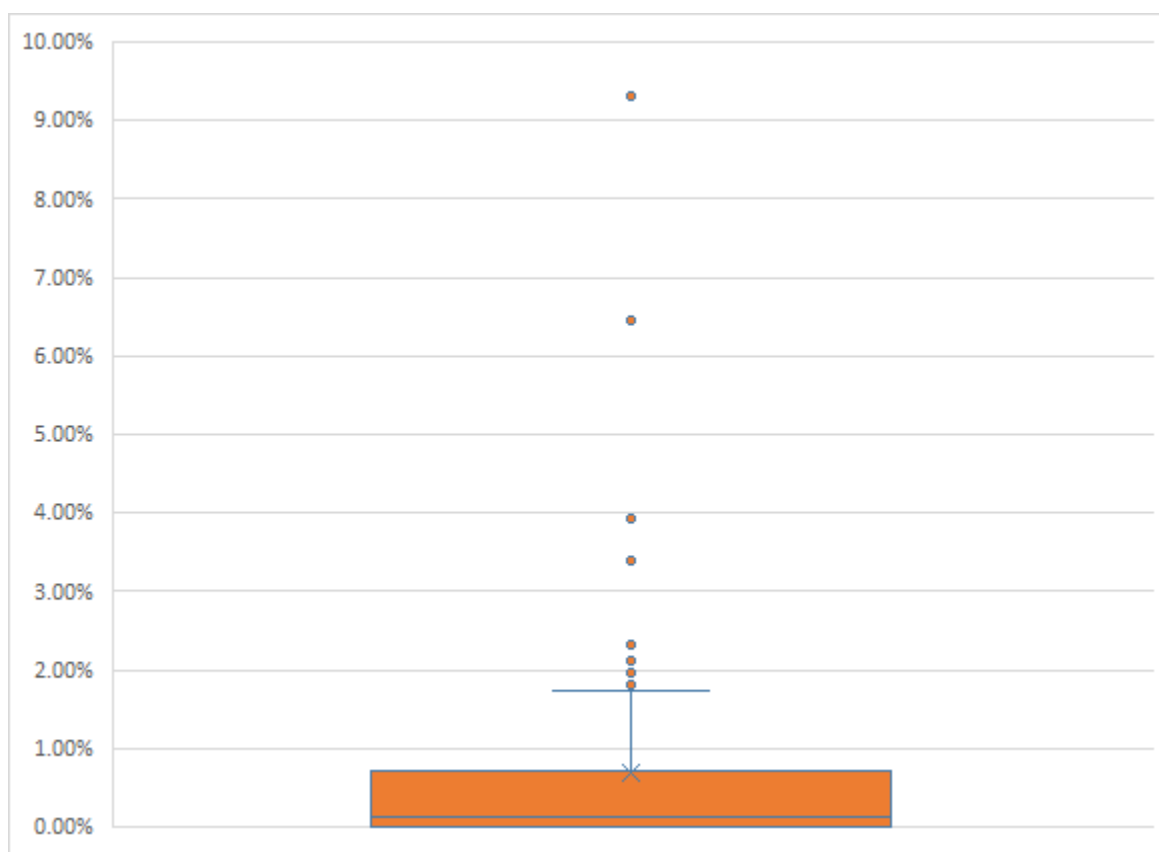


Source: Census, Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis
 **Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 10 eviction judgments in the quarter are excluded

Legal Representation

Figure 8 shows the percentage of defendants in Virginia jurisdictions that had attorney representation during eviction proceedings in the fourth quarter of 2024. Excluding jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings, the median percentage of attorney representation in Virginia jurisdictions was less than 1% and only 2 jurisdictions had at least 5% attorney representation. Shenandoah County had the highest level of representation at 9%, which is partly explained by a relatively lower number of cases (43), with 4 of those having had tenant legal representation. Legal representation has been long touted as vital for tenants to understand and exercise their legal rights during eviction proceedings. Virginia's low level of representation may be an indicator that this an area for opportunity for cost-effective eviction mitigation post-pandemic².

Figure 8: Percentage of Defendants with Attorney Representation by Jurisdiction, October-December 2024. Jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings are excluded.



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

² 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.

Table 2: Median Gross Rent, Median Principal Owed, and Median Number of Months of Rent Owed by Region, October - December 2024.

	Median Gross Rent	Median Principal Owed	Median Number of Months of Rent Owed
Central Virginia/ Richmond VA MSA	\$1,202	\$1,750	1.5
Hampton Roads/ Virginia Beach - Norfolk - Newport News, VA - NC HUD Metro FMR Area	\$1,229	\$1,918	1.6
Northern Virginia/ Washington - Arlington - Alexandria, DC-VA-MD HUD Metro FMR Area	\$1,892	\$3,962	2.1

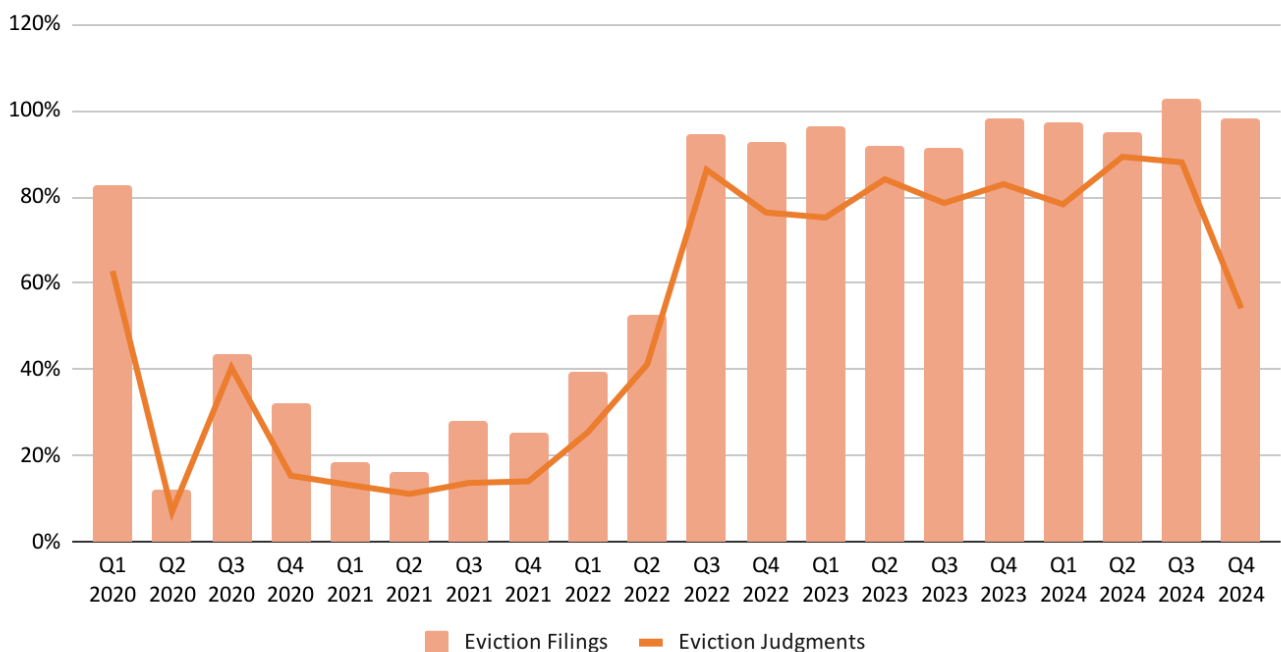
Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (2021), Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

Central Virginia

Figure 9 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last twenty quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) levels. Filings decreased by 5% from the previous quarter (from 9,594 to 9,157) and judgments decreased by 38% (from 4,992 to 3,074). However, eviction filings for the fourth quarter of 2024 are 98% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 54% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 9: 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 percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region from the third quarter of 2024 to the fourth quarter of 2024. Judgements decreased in all jurisdictions and eviction filings increased only in Henrico.

Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2024 to October-December 2024.

	Q3 2024		Q4 2024		Q4 2024 % change from Q3 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesterfield	1,878	981	1,787	642	-5%	-35%
Henrico	2,951	1,524	3,004	987	2%	-35%
Hopewell	267	144	257	124	-4%	-14%
Petersburg	900	557	707	306	-21%	-45%
Richmond	3,598	1,786	3,402	1,015	-5%	-43%

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 2024 compared to pre-pandemic levels (an average pre-pandemic quarter). Eviction filings remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions other than Chesterfield and Henrico. Judgments remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

Table 4: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesterfield	1,759	1,038	1,763	676	98%	91%
Henrico	2,607	1,580	2,761	838	106%	75%
Hopewell	349	227	194	110	47%	41%
Petersburg	810	510	786	348	103%	95%
Richmond	3,793	2,315	3,046	1,033	73%	51%

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 2024 compared to pre-pandemic levels (an average pre-pandemic quarter). All of Central Virginia’s default judgments and default judgment rates were lower than seen before the pandemic. In Q4 of 2024, Hopewell had the highest percentage (32%) of evictions resulting from default judgments, while Richmond had the lowest percentage (21%). Default judgements in the Central Virginia region represent 24% of all evictions in Q4 2024.

Table 5: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

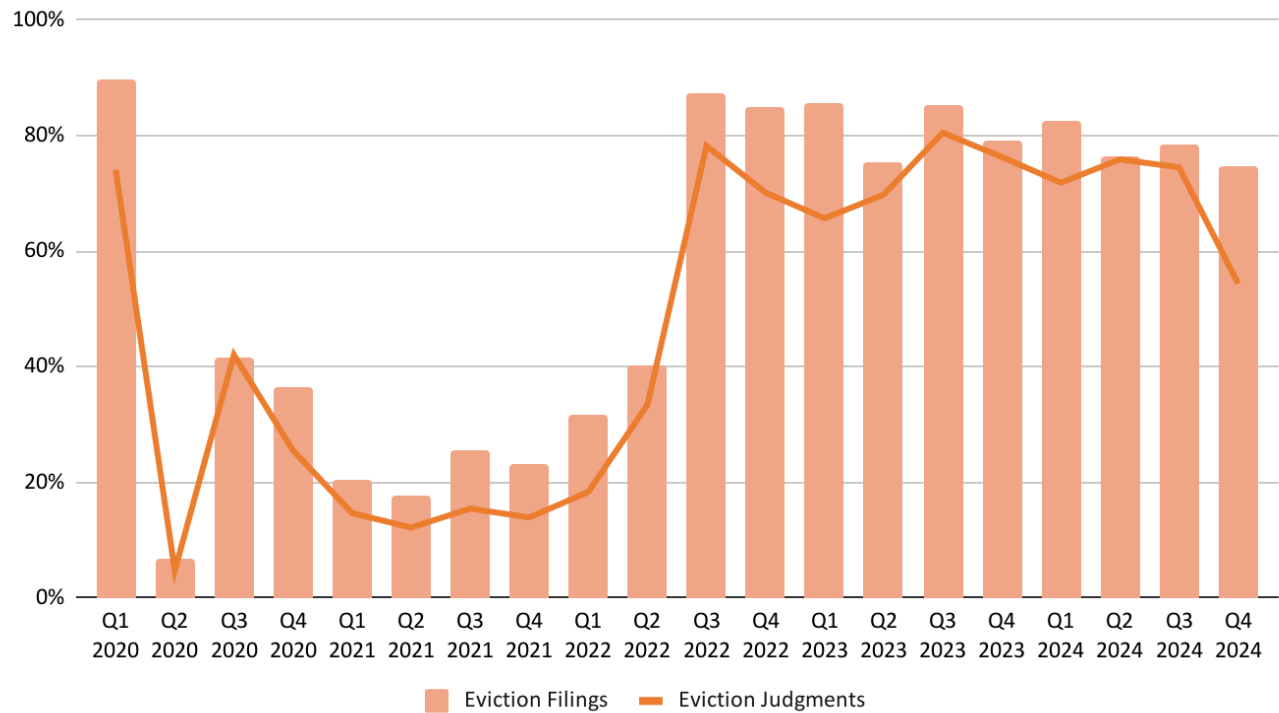
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesterfield	820	47%	475	27%	58%	57%
Henrico	1,286	49%	706	24%	55%	48%
Hopewell	169	48%	81	32%	48%	66%
Petersburg	374	46%	193	27%	52%	59%
Richmond	1,784	47%	721	21%	40%	45%

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

Hampton Roads

In the fourth quarter of 2024, eviction filings decreased by 5% from the previous quarter in the Hampton Roads region (from 11,348 to 10,803) and judgments decreased 27%, from 6,203 to 4,531. Figure 10 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the region. Eviction filings for the fourth quarter of 2024 are 75% of 2019 pre-pandemic levels and eviction judgments are 54% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 10: 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 from the third quarter of 2024 to the fourth quarter of 2024. Eviction filings increased only in the Hampton Roads jurisdictions of Newport News and Hampton. Eviction judgments decreased in all jurisdictions.

Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2024 to October-December 2024.

	Q3 2024		Q4 2024		Q4 2024 % change from Q3 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesapeake	1,136	614	1,115	1,046	-8%	-37%
Hampton	1,392	839	1,795	1,500	8%	-19%
Newport News	2,570	1,465	2,738	2,620	2%	-30%
Norfolk	2,419	1,222	2,566	2,221	-8%	-21%
Portsmouth	1,094	700	1,082	919	-16%	-29%
Virginia Beach	2,737	1,363	3,043	2,497	-9%	-28%

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 an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q4 of 2024. Eviction filings and judgements remain below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2024.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Chesapeake	1,384	810	1,046	384	76%	47%
Hampton	1,877	1,148	1,500	681	80%	59%
Newport News	3,496	2,056	2,620	1,030	75%	50%
Norfolk	3,223	1,563	2,221	965	69%	62%
Portsmouth	1,450	970	919	494	63%	51%
Virginia Beach	3,032	1,781	2,497	977	82%	55%

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

Table 8 shows the number and rates of default judgments in an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q4 2024 in the Hampton Roads region. Default judgments and default judgement rates in Q4 of 2024 in Hampton Roads were lower than the average pre-pandemic quarter. Default judgements in the Hampton Roads region represent 30% of all evictions in Q4 2024.

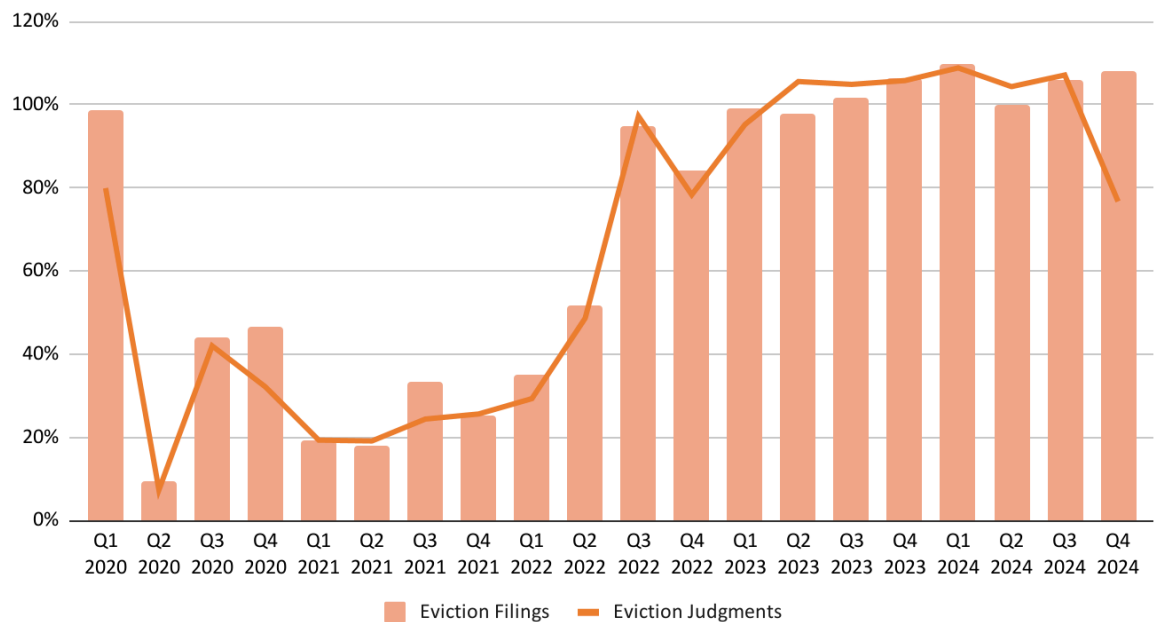
Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2024.						
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	653	47%	285	27%	44%	58%
Hampton	924	49%	485	32%	53%	66%
Newport News	1,598	46%	742	28%	46%	62%
Norfolk	1,218	38%	684	31%	56%	82%
Portsmouth	723	50%	339	37%	47%	74%
Virginia Beach	1,466	48%	741	29%	49%	59%

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

Northern Virginia

Figure 11 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 2024 are 108% pre-pandemic 2019 levels.

Figure 11: 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 2024 to the fourth quarter of 2024. Eviction filings increased in Arlington, Fairfax, Fredericksburg, and Prince William. Eviction judgments decreased in all jurisdictions.

Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2024 to October-December 2024.						
	Q3 2024		Q4 2024		Q4 2024 % change from Q3 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,064	507	1,003	351	-6%	-31%
Arlington	771	366	804	271	4%	-26%
Fairfax Co.	2,009	819	2,198	630	9%	-23%
Falls Church	31	12	16	7	-48%	-42%*
Fredericksburg	234	138	315	106	35%	-23%
Loudoun	481	194	423	93	-12%	-52%
Prince William	1,355	603	1,363	459	1%	-24%
Stafford	387	173	331	97	-14%	-44%

*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 an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q4 2024 are presented in Table 10. Falls Church is not considered in this section's discussion because an increase in low eviction filing numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Eviction filings in three out of the seven considered localities throughout the region were above pre-pandemic levels. Arlington was the highest at 138%. Eviction judgments in just Arlington surpassed pre-pandemic levels.

Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,054	431	1,003	351	95%	82%
Arlington	582	237	804	271	138%	115%
Fairfax Co.	1,833	771	2,198	630	120%	82%
Falls Church	10	4	16	7	168%*	175%*
Fredericksburg	284	151	315	106	111%	70%
Loudoun	447	192	423	93	95%	49%
Prince William	1,393	665	1,363	459	98%	69%
Stafford	374	175	331	97	89%	55%

**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 an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q4 2024. Same as above, Falls Church is not considered in this section's discussion because an increase in low eviction filing numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Default judgments and default judgement rates did not increase in any of the considered jurisdictions. Default judgements in the Northern Virginia region represent 22% of all evictions in Q4 2024.

Table 11: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment
Alexandria	323	31%	262	26%	81%	85%
Arlington	178	31%	163	20%	92%	65%
Fairfax Co.	614	34%	463	21%	75%	129%
Falls Church	3	24%	5	31%	167%*	49%*
Fredericksburg	107	38%	59	19%	55%	57%
Loudoun	139	31%	76	18%	55%	66%
Prince William	489	35%	314	23%	64%	53%
Stafford	121	33%	57	17%	47%	65%

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

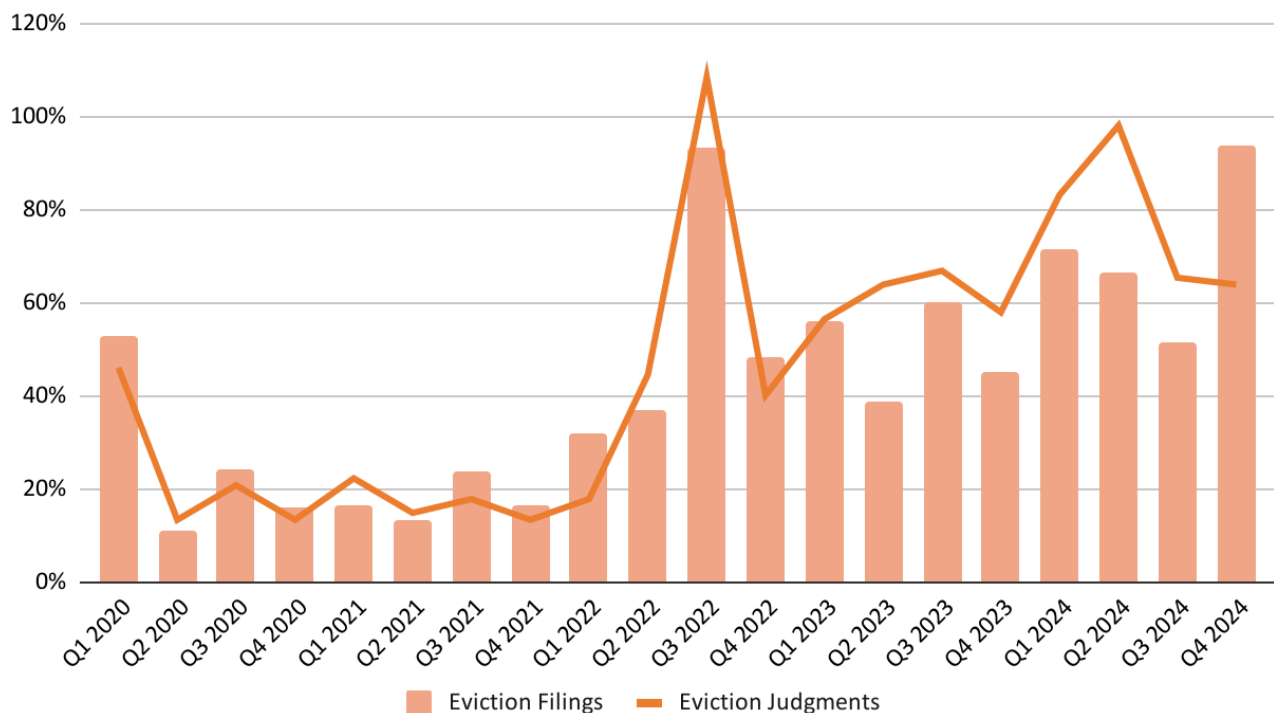
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

CITY UPDATES

City of Charlottesville

Figure 12 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last 20 quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. In the fourth quarter of 2024, eviction filings increased by 81% from the previous quarter (from 81 to 147) and judgments decreased by 2% (from 44 to 43). In Q4, The city of Charlottesville experienced 147 eviction filings and 43 judgements, representing 94% and 64% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 12: 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 percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in the City of Charlottesville from the third quarter of 2024 to the fourth quarter of 2024. Eviction filings grew by 81% while judgments decreased by 2% in the City of Charlottesville.

Table 12: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, Percent Change from July - September 2024 to October-December 2024.					
Q3 2024		Q4 2024		Q4 2024 % change from Q3 2024	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
81	44	147	43	81%	-2%

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 fourth quarter of 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter. Eviction filings and judgments remain below their pre-pandemic levels.

Table 13: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, October-December 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.					
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
157	67	147	343	94%	64%

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

Table 14 shows the number and rates of default judgments in an average pre-pandemic quarter and Q4 of 2024 in Charlottesville. The default judgments and the default judgement rate remain lower than their pre-pandemic levels. Default judgments in the the city of Charlottesville represent 15% of all judgments in Q4 2024.

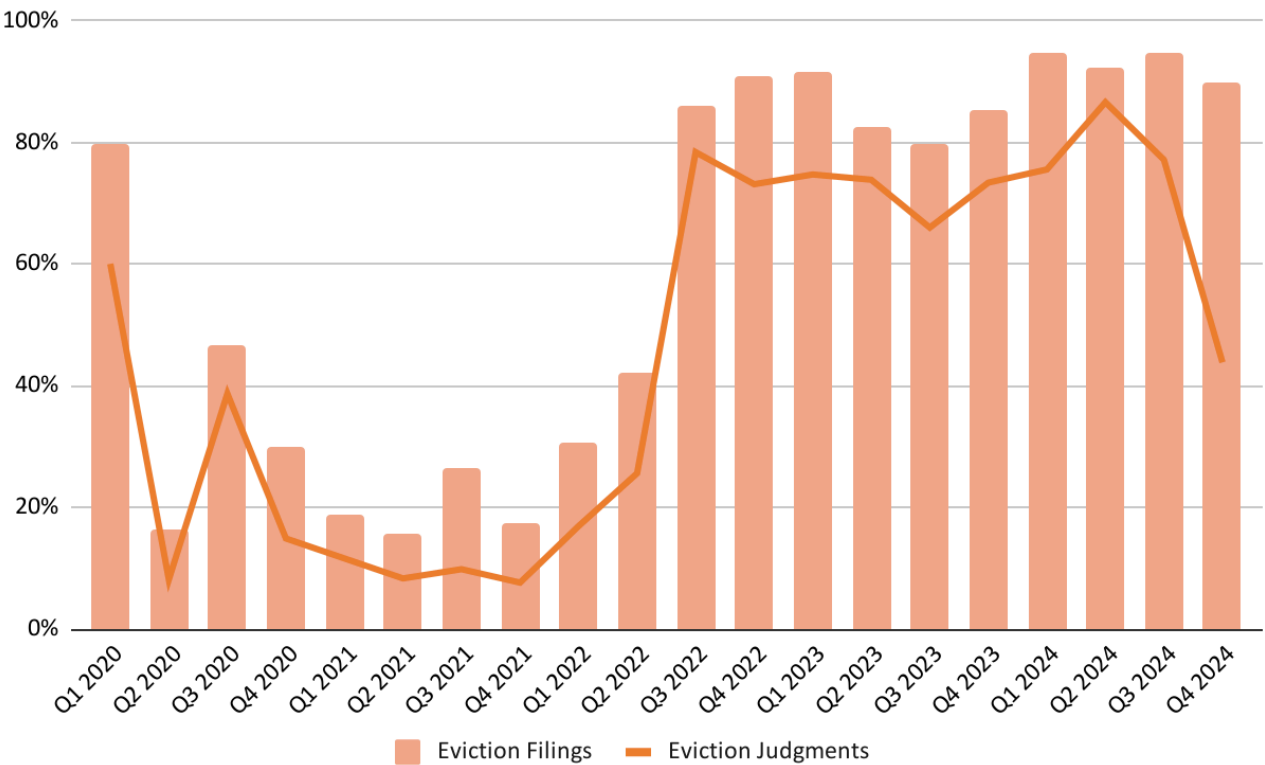
Table 14: Default judgments and rates in Charlottesville, October-December 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.					
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
38	25%	22	15%	58%	60%

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

City of Richmond

In the fourth quarter of 2024, eviction filings decreased by 5% from the previous quarter (from 3,598 to 3,402) and judgments decreased by 43% (from 1,786 to 1,015). Figure 13 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. During the fourth quarter of 2024, Richmond's eviction filings represented 90% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) filings, and its eviction judgments represented 44% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) judgments.

Figure 13: 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 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes from the third quarter of 2024 to the fourth quarter of 2024. From quarter to quarter, eviction filings increased in 3 ZIP Codes while judgments increased in 1 ZIP code. Eviction filings increased in 23230, 23231, and 23234. Eviction judgments increased in 23231. Eviction filings decreased by 5% and judgments decreased by 43% for the city of Richmond from Q3 2024 to Q4 2024.

Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, Percent Change from July - September 2024 to October-December 2024.

	Q3 2024		Q4 2024		Q4 2024 % change from Q3 2024	
ZIP Code	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
23219	164	77	120	61	-1%	-21%
23220	349	157	237	81	-3%	-48%
23221	32	11	25	4	-56%	-64%
23222	235	133	291	77	-7%	-42%
23223	469	218	455	127	-10%	-42%
23224	832	422	780	248	-3%	-41%
23225	1,131	577	813	300	0%	-48%
23226	6	1	5	0	-83%	-100%
23227	133	71	69	47	-23%	-34%
23230	37	16	54	13	8%	-19%
23231	42	15	40	19	27%	27%
23234	71	30	87	26	10%	-13%
23235	13	8	5	3	-31%	-63%
Other	84	50	65	9	-48%	-82%

**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 2024 and an average pre-pandemic quarter. Eviction filings exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 4 ZIP codes and judgments exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 2 ZIP Codes. Pre-pandemic filing levels have been surpassed in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23225, and 23230. Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in 23219 and 12130. Eviction filings reached 90% of pre-pandemic levels while judgments in Richmond city reached 44% of pre-pandemic levels.

Table 16: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, October-December 2024 and the average pre-pandemic quarter.

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
ZIP Code	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
23219	99	52	162	61	164%	118%
23220	294	155	338	81	115%	52%
23221	25	13	14	4	56%	30%
23222	320	204	218	77	68%	38%
23223	645	387	421	127	65%	33%
23224	882	566	805	248	91%	44%
23225	885	557	1,127	300	127%	54%
23226	3	3	1	0	31%*	0%*
23227	319	175	102	47	32%	27%
23230	25	13	40	13	162%*	102%
23231	96	65	43	19	45%	29%
23234	140	92	78	26	56%	28%
23235	14	8	9	3	65%	39%
Other	49	27	44	9	90%	33%

**An increase/decrease in low eviction filing and default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower.*

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 one of the ZIP codes (23219) while default judgment rates remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all ZIP codes. Default judgments in the city of Richmond represent 21% of all judgments in Q4 2024, which represents 45% of pre-pandemic levels.

Table 17: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, July - September 2024 and the average pre-pandemic quarter.

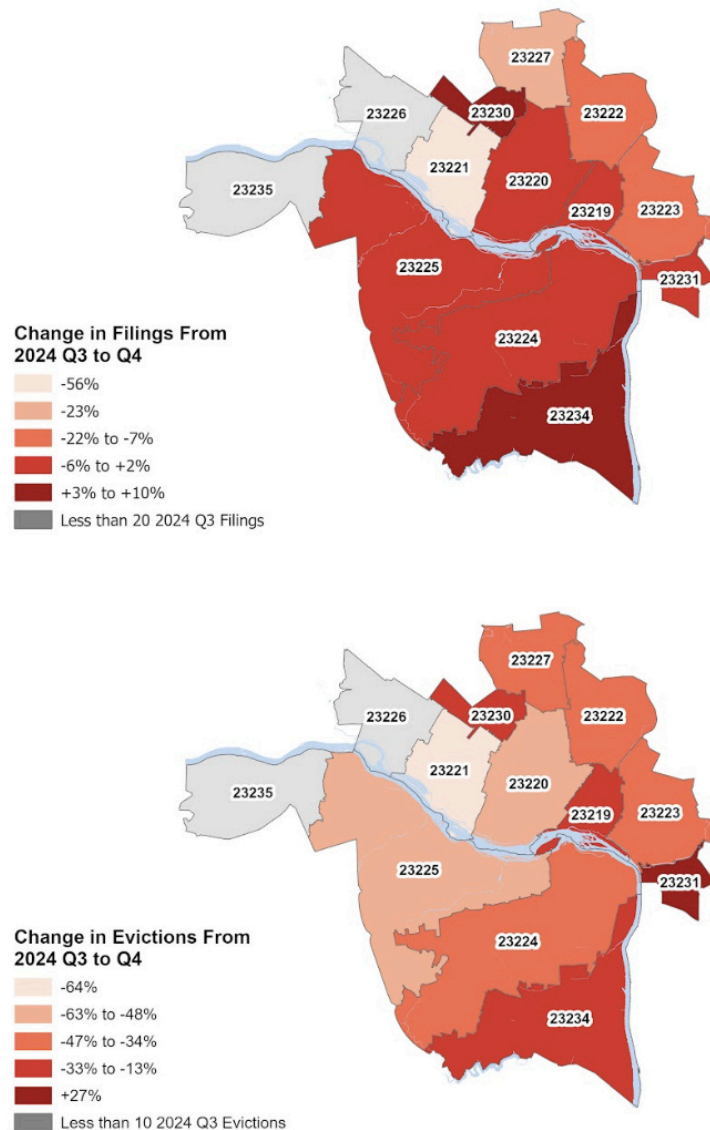
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q4 2024		2024 % of 2019	
ZIP Code	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	36	36%	45	32%	125%	77%
23220	116	39%	58	28%	50%	44%
23221	9	35%	2	22%	23%	41%
23222	139	43%	57	34%	41%	60%
23223	268	41%	98	32%	37%	56%
23224	451	51%	159	36%	35%	39%
23225	465	52%	234	37%	50%	40%
23226	2	50%	0	17%	0%*	0%*
23227	145	45%	27	32%	19%	58%
23230	10	41%	9	35%	88%	55%
23231	45	46%	9	21%	20%	45%
23234	71	51%	14	23%	20%	35%
23235	7	49%	2	46%	29%	45%
Other	23	45%	7	43%	31%	36%

**An increase/decrease in low defaults and default rate numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower*

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

Figure 14 shows the percent change in eviction and judgments from the third quarter 2024 to the fourth quarter of 2024. Eviction filings and judgments increased in all ZIP codes except for 23226, and 23235. Figure 14 omits data from ZIP codes with less than 20 eviction filings and less than 10 eviction judgments, for data interpretation purposes.

Figure 14: Map of eviction filings and judgments in Richmond by ZIP Code, Percentage change from Q3 2024 to Q4 2024



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

Appendix

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2024

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2024

Jurisdiction	2024 Q4 Eviction Filings	2024 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	47	14	6	13%
Albemarle	273	104	79	29%
Alleghany	36	10	9	25%
Amelia	7	2	2	29%
Amherst	60	31	20	33%
Appomattox	10	6	2	20%
Arlington	804	271	163	20%
Augusta	144	18	11	8%
Bath	1	0	0	0%
Bedford	84	25	10	12%
Bland	1	1	0	0%
Botetourt	19	4	1	5%
Brunswick	26	5	0	0%
Buchanan	6	2	0	0%
Buckingham	17	3	0	0%
Campbell	184	75	40	22%
Caroline	42	6	1	2%
Carroll	16	6	3	19%
Charles City	5	2	2	40%
Charlotte	6	3	1	17%
Chesterfield	1787	642	475	27%
Clarke	6	1	0	0%
Craig	2	1	0	0%
Culpeper	81	25	15	19%
Cumberland	16	6	3	19%
Dickenson	6	0	0	0%
Dinwiddie	56	13	9	16%
Essex	23	9	5	22%
Fairfax Co.	2198	630	463	21%
Fauquier	54	15	12	22%
Floyd	9	3	2	22%
Fluvanna	9	5	1	11%
Franklin Co.	59	34	24	41%
Frederick	90	35	17	19%
Giles	13	2	0	0%

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2024

Jurisdiction	2024 Q4 Eviction Filings	2024 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Gloucester	67	23	15	22%
Goochland	18	13	10	56%
Grayson	7	3	2	29%
Greene	24	12	9	38%
Greensville	25	8	7	28%
Halifax	42	19	10	24%
Hanover	133	38	29	22%
Henrico	3004	987	706	24%
Henry	139	65	39	28%
Highland	1	1	1	100%
Isle of Wight	149	48	42	28%
King & Queen	6	5	1	17%
King George	76	20	18	24%
King William	20	5	5	25%
Lancaster	22	6	4	18%
Lee	22	7	4	18%
Loudoun	423	93	76	18%
Louisa	43	16	10	23%
Lunenburg	16	10	7	44%
Madison	3	2	1	33%
Mathews	10	4	3	30%
Mecklenburg	52	18	11	21%
Middlesex	13	6	2	15%
Montgomery	183	75	57	31%
Nelson	8	4	3	38%
New Kent	2	0	0	0%
Northampton	15	3	3	20%
Northumberland	7	1	1	14%
Nottoway	31	15	10	32%
Orange	51	27	18	35%
Page	19	9	4	21%
Patrick	11	7	2	18%
Pittsylvania	72	28	21	29%
Powhatan	16	7	3	19%
Prince Edward	62	16	0	0%
Prince George	135	41	1	1%

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2024

Jurisdiction	2024 Q4 Eviction Filings	2024 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Prince William	1363	459	314	23%
Pulaski	106	49	33	31%
Rappahannock	1	0	0	0%
Richmond Co.	7	1	0	0%
Roanoke Co.	231	60	34	15%
Rockbridge	31	6	5	16%
Rockingham/ Harrisonburg	286	34	13	5%
Russell	20	12	3	15%
Scott	15	4	6	40%
Shenandoah	43	12	7	16%
Smyth	38	23	8	21%
Southampton	44	8	3	7%
Spotsylvania	328	95	53	16%
Stafford	331	97	57	17%
Surry	8	6	2	25%
Sussex	22	5	3	14%
Tazewell	55	30	18	33%
Warren	55	18	10	18%
Washington	37	21	9	24%
Westmoreland	21	9	4	19%
Wise	51	1	0	0%
Wythe	41	16	6	15%
York	204	75	57	28%
Alexandria	1003	351	262	26%
Bristol	86	39	17	20%
Buena Vista	15	4	1	7%
Charlottesville	147	43	22	15%
Chesapeake	1046	384	285	27%
Colonial Heights	154	63	36	23%
Danville	316	130	87	28%
Emporia	24	8	3	13%
Falls Church	16	7	5	31%
Franklin City	57	17	9	16%
Fredericksburg	315	106	59	19%
Galax	17	4	1	6%
Hampton	1500	681	485	32%

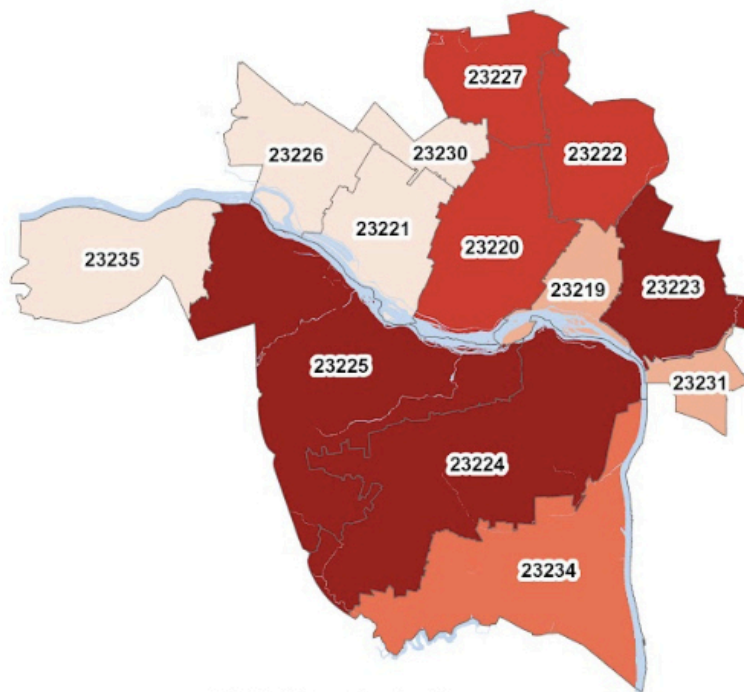
Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2024

Jurisdiction	2024 Q4 Eviction Filings	2024 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgments	2024 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Hopewell	257	124	81	32%
Lynchburg	524	218	137	26%
Martinsville	85	32	17	20%
Newport News	2620	1030	742	28%
Norfolk	2221	965	684	31%
Petersburg	707	306	193	27%
Portsmouth	919	494	339	37%
Radford	49	15	9	18%
Richmond City	3402	1015	721	21%
Roanoke City	755	292	193	26%
Salem	89	31	24	27%
Staunton	57	15	7	12%
Suffolk	437	149	108	25%
Virginia Beach	2497	977	714	29%
Waynesboro	92	21	15	16%
Williamsburg/ James City County	241	67	49	20%
Winchester	95	38	26	27%

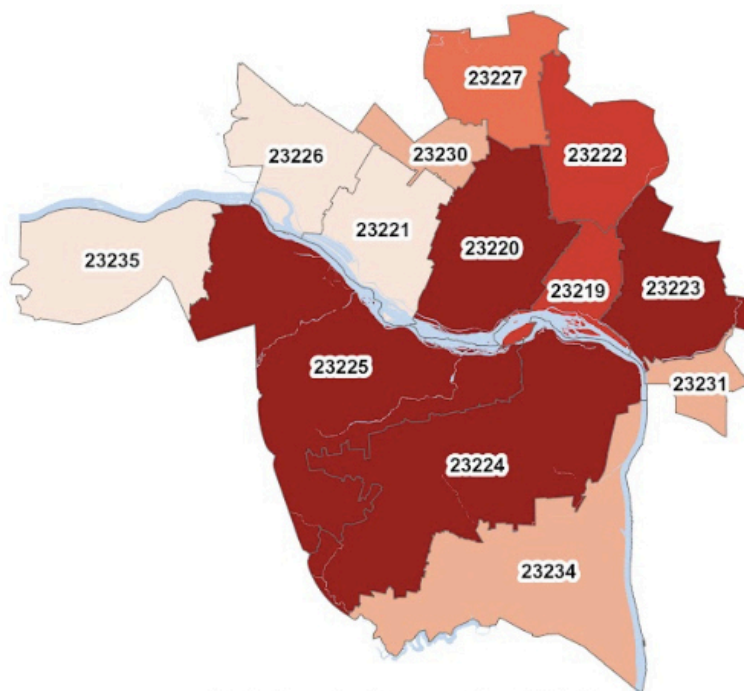
Source: Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

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

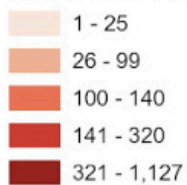
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q4 2024



2019 Quarterly Average



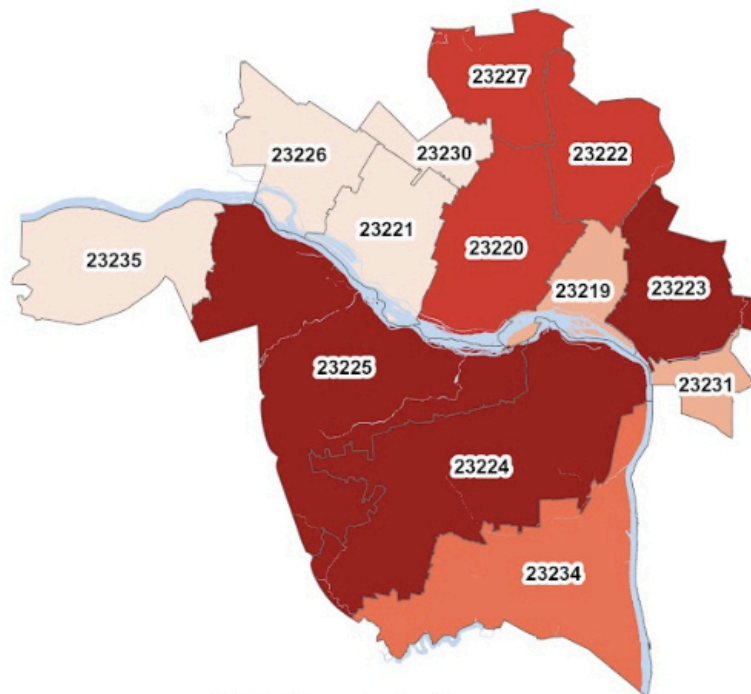
Eviction Filings



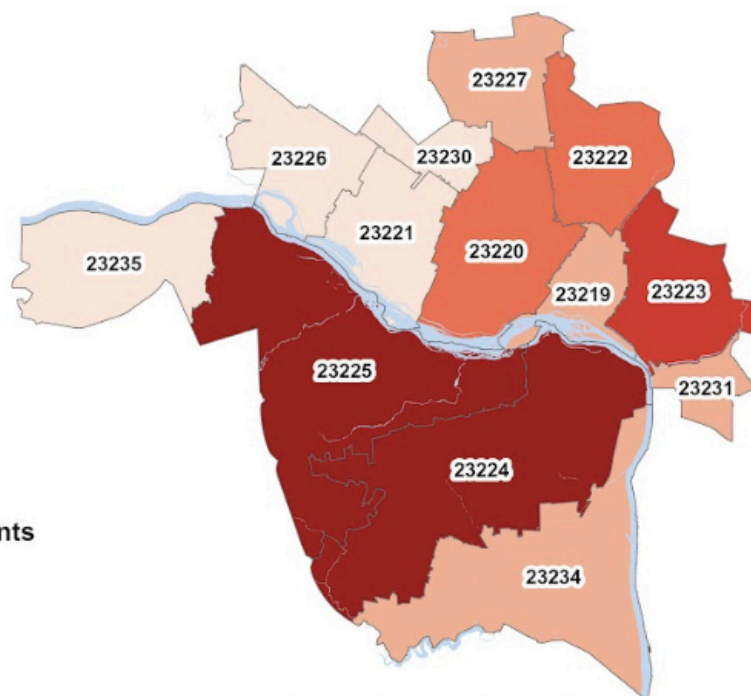
October to December 2024

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

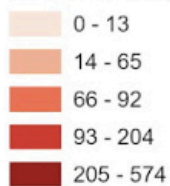
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) & Q4 2024



2019 Quarterly Average



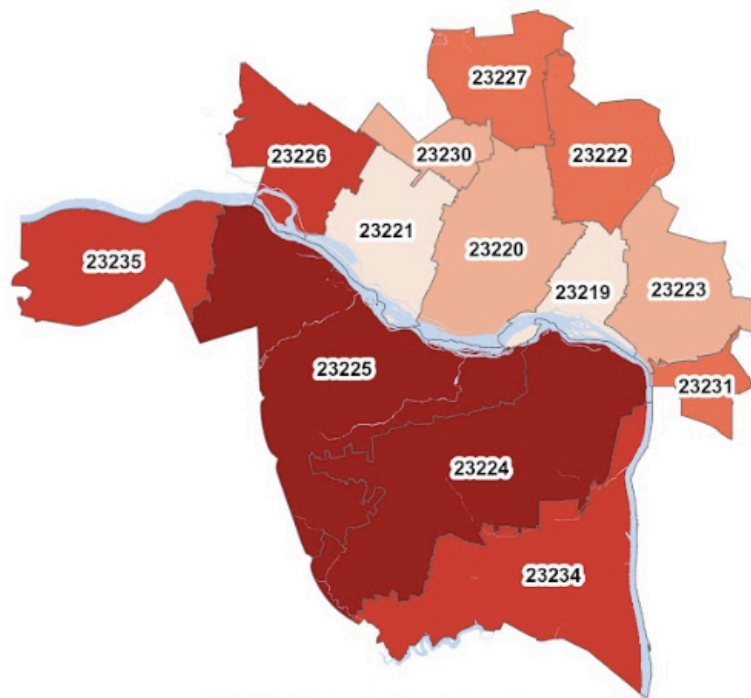
Eviction Judgments



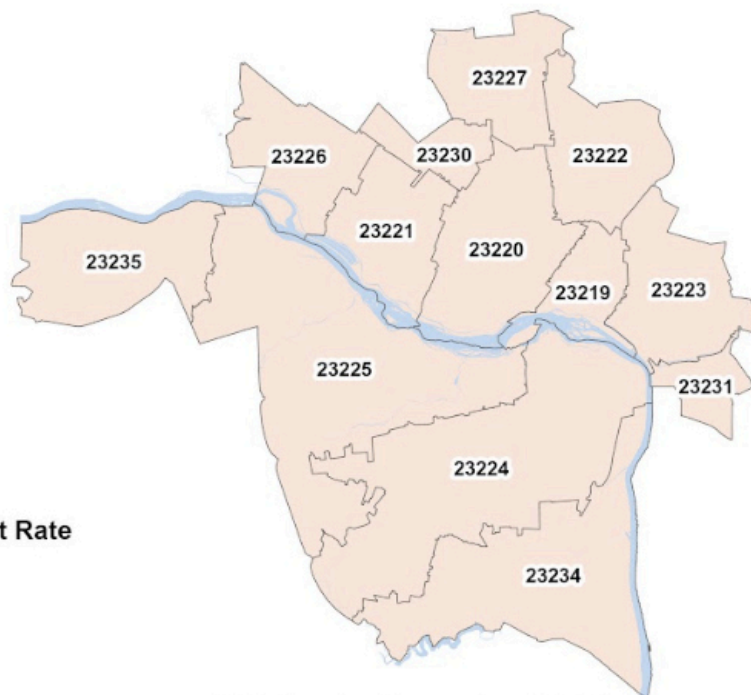
October to December 2024

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

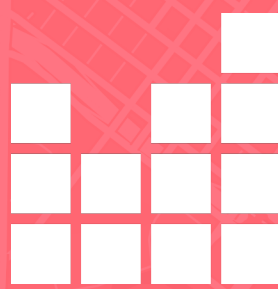
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q4 2024



2019 Quarterly Average



October to December 2024



RVA EVICTION LAB



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