



**VCU**

Research Institute  
for Social Equity

L. Douglas Wilder School of  
Government and Public Affairs



## Quarterly Data Report

**1st Quarter 2025: January through March**

**December 2025**

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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 advocates through the Civil Court Data Initiative.<sup>1</sup> 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 filings, which were identified as being cases with matching filing dates, judgment outcomes, case costs and fees, plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses. Serial filings (consecutive filings by a landlord against a single household)<sup>2</sup> were identified as being cases with matching plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses, and were retained.

## Analysis

Our analysis primarily focuses on legal residential evictions at the household level. While court files show case data at the individual level (i.e., there is a unique record for each defendant involved in each case), not all members of a household are necessarily listed as defendants.<sup>3</sup> We aggregated court files to show cases at the household level as it is not clear to what extent the data account 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 final hearing resulting in a default judgment. We compare these numbers to the quarterly average in 2019 to simulate a “typical” year. These comparisons illustrate how the current eviction landscape compares to the Commonwealth’s historic patterns of eviction.

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

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

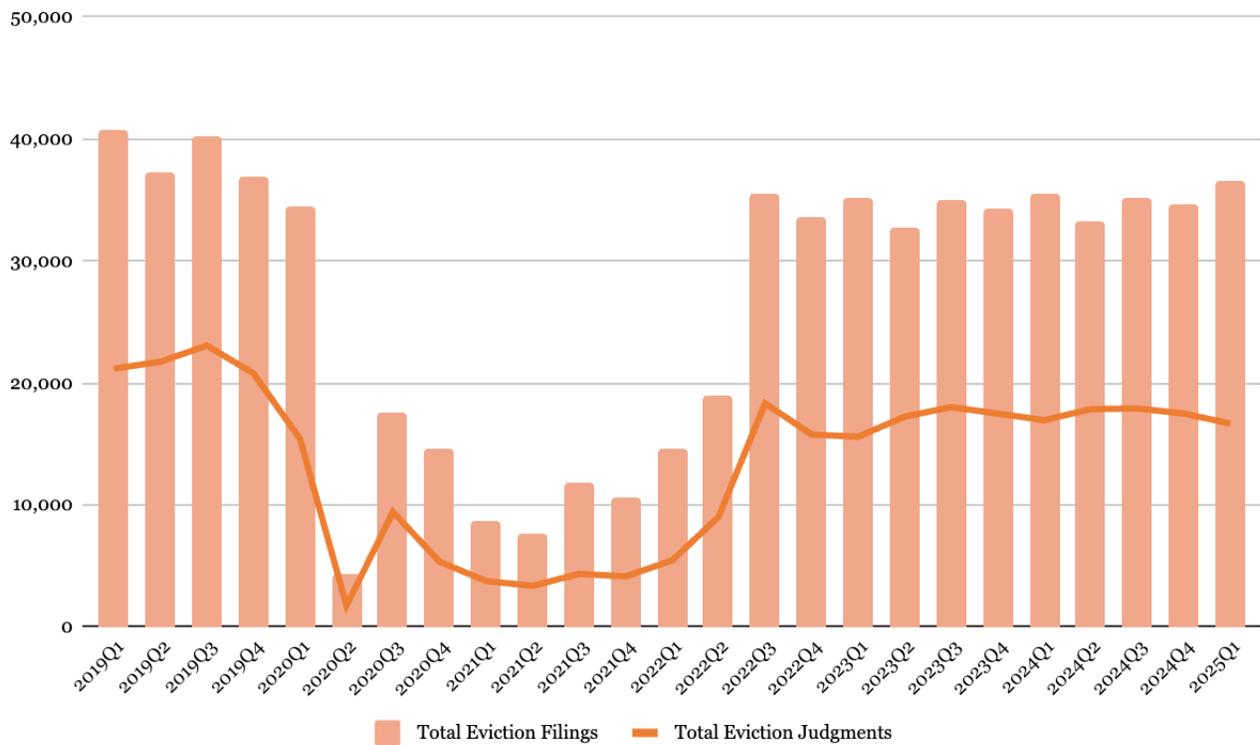
<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

## INTRODUCTION

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes data on housing instability in Virginia during the first quarter of 2025. As in our previous reports, we compare 2025 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 36,613 filings. This translates to 94.5% of the 2019 average quarter for the first quarter of 2025. When compared to the pre-pandemic average quarter, eviction judgments are not at their highest peak, reaching 16,672 judgments. This translates to 77% of the 2019 average quarter for the first quarter of 2025.

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q1 2025.



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

Highlights of 2025's first quarter across the Commonwealth include:

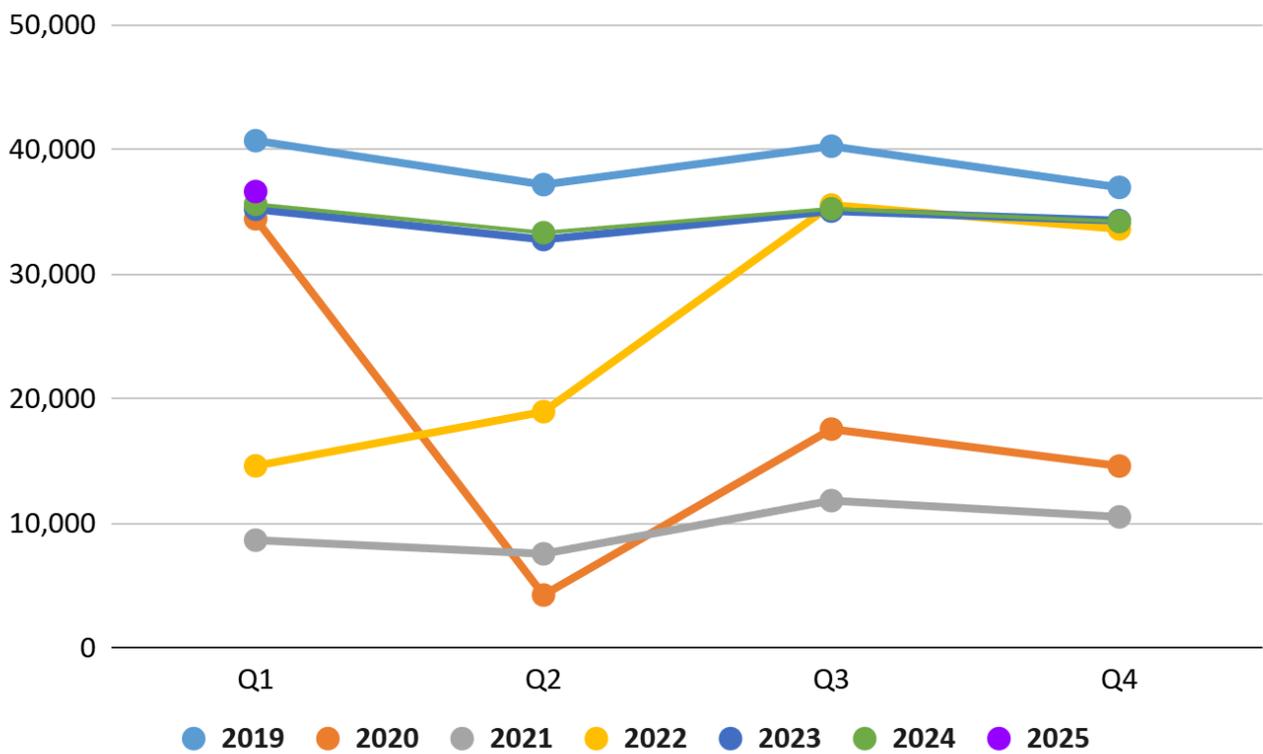
- From 2019 to 2025, the statewide median principal owed at the jurisdictional level has increased by 70%, from \$1,200 to \$2,036, approximately 1.6 to 2.3 months of rent statewide.
- The median percentage of tenants with legal representation in Virginia jurisdictions is less than 1% (6 tenants represented for every 1,000 cases) and only 2 jurisdictions have over 5% of tenants represented.
- Statewide filings increased by 5% between the fourth quarter of 2024 and the first quarter of 2025, while judgments decreased by 5%.
- Eviction filings have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in Northern Virginia (131%), Chesterfield (113%), Henrico (105%), and Richmond ZIP codes 23219, 23220, 23224, 23225, 23225, 23226, and 23230.
- Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in Alexandria (127%), Arlington (173%), Fairfax County (111%), and Richmond ZIP codes 23219, 23220, 23226, and 23230.
- Default judgments have decreased across the state as a whole, with the statewide default judgment rate of 32% down from a pre-pandemic default judgment rate of 42%.

# 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 increased by 5 percentage points from 90% to 95% of pre-pandemic levels between Q4 2024 and Q1 2025. Eviction filings during the first quarter of 2025 are the highest of all the first quarters since 2019. However, the eviction filing numbers for Q1 2025 are lower than an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019).

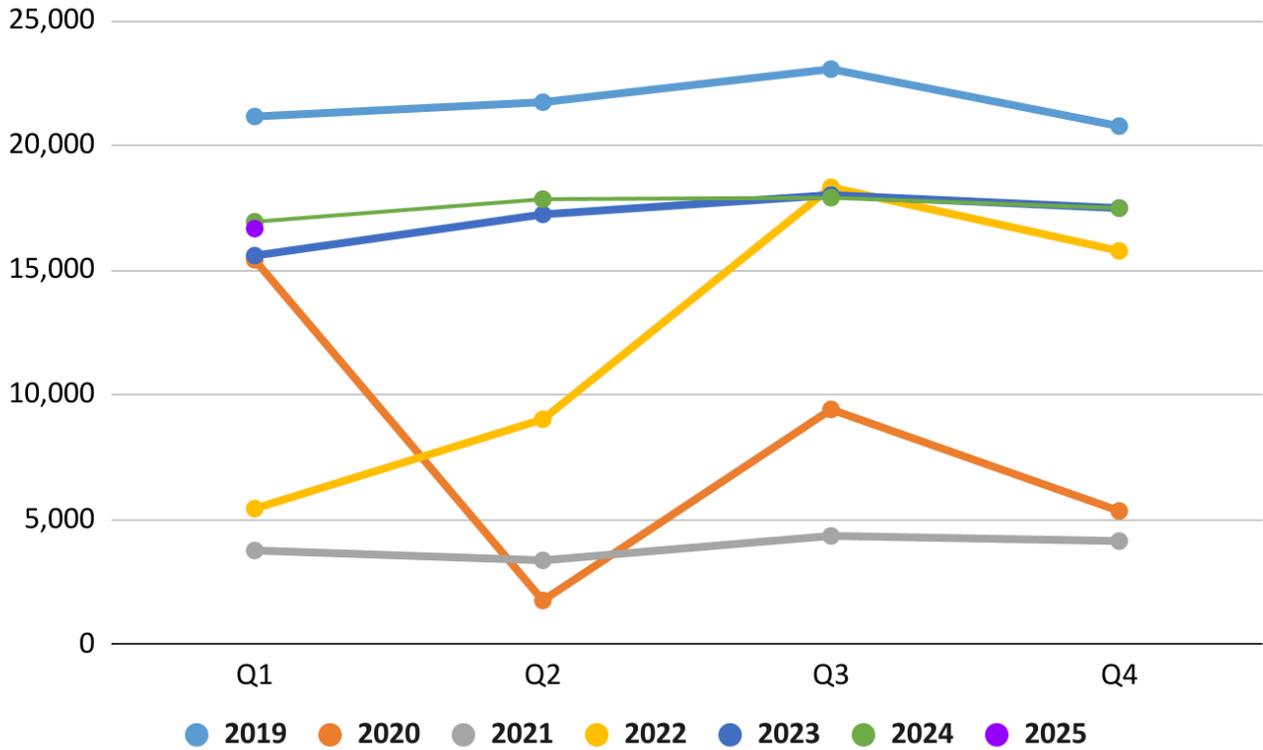
Figure 2: Eviction filings by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q1 2025.



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

Figure 3 shows the quarterly totals for eviction judgments 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 77% of the average pre-pandemic quarter in Q1 2025. Eviction judgments during the first quarter of 2025 are the second highest of all the first quarters since 2019.

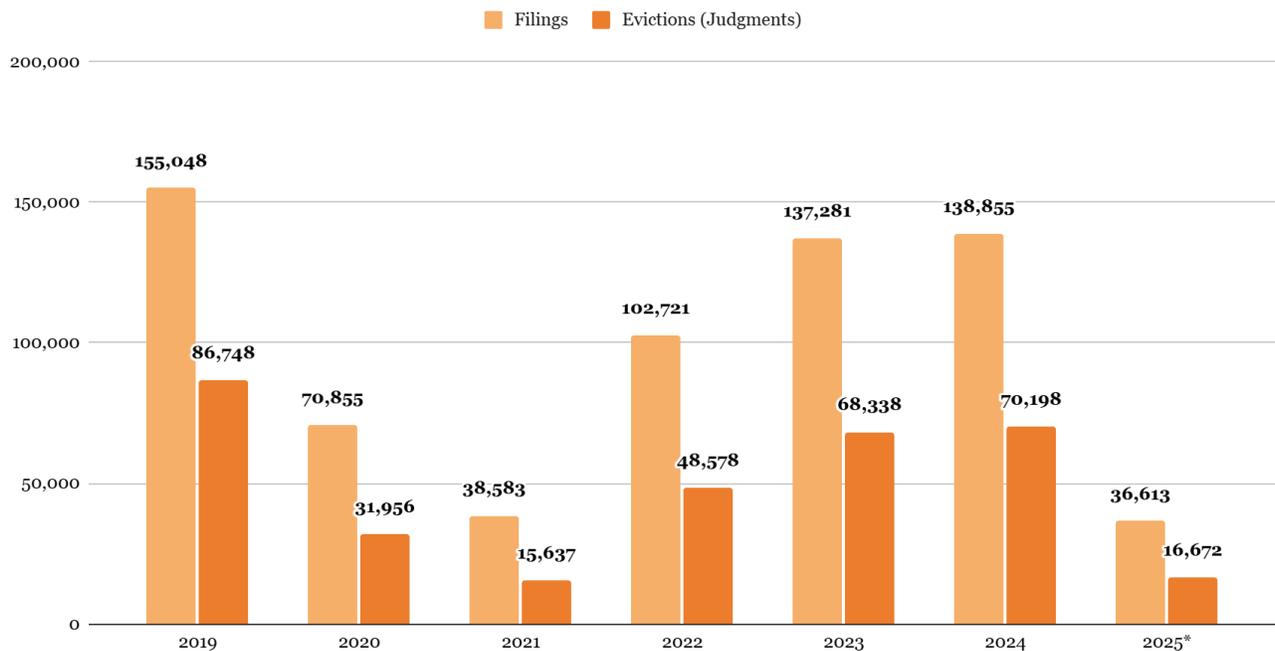
Figure 3: Eviction judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q1 2025.



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

Statewide eviction filings during the first quarter of 2025 increased from the fourth quarter of 2024 levels, while eviction judgments decreased between Q4 2024 and Q1 2025. As shown in Figure 2, eviction filings increased a little over 5% from the previous quarter (34,724 in the fourth quarter of 2024 to 36,613 in the first quarter of 2025). As shown in Figure 3, eviction judgments decreased by almost 5% from fourth quarter 2024 levels (17,492 to 16,672). Figure 4 visualizes eviction filings and judgments 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 2025 columns represent only Q1.

Figure 4: Eviction filings and judgments by year in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q1 2025.



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

\*Note: 2025 columns only represent Q1 so far.

Table 1, below, 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 first quarter of 2025, the statewide default judgment rate of 32% is below the pre-pandemic rate of 42%.

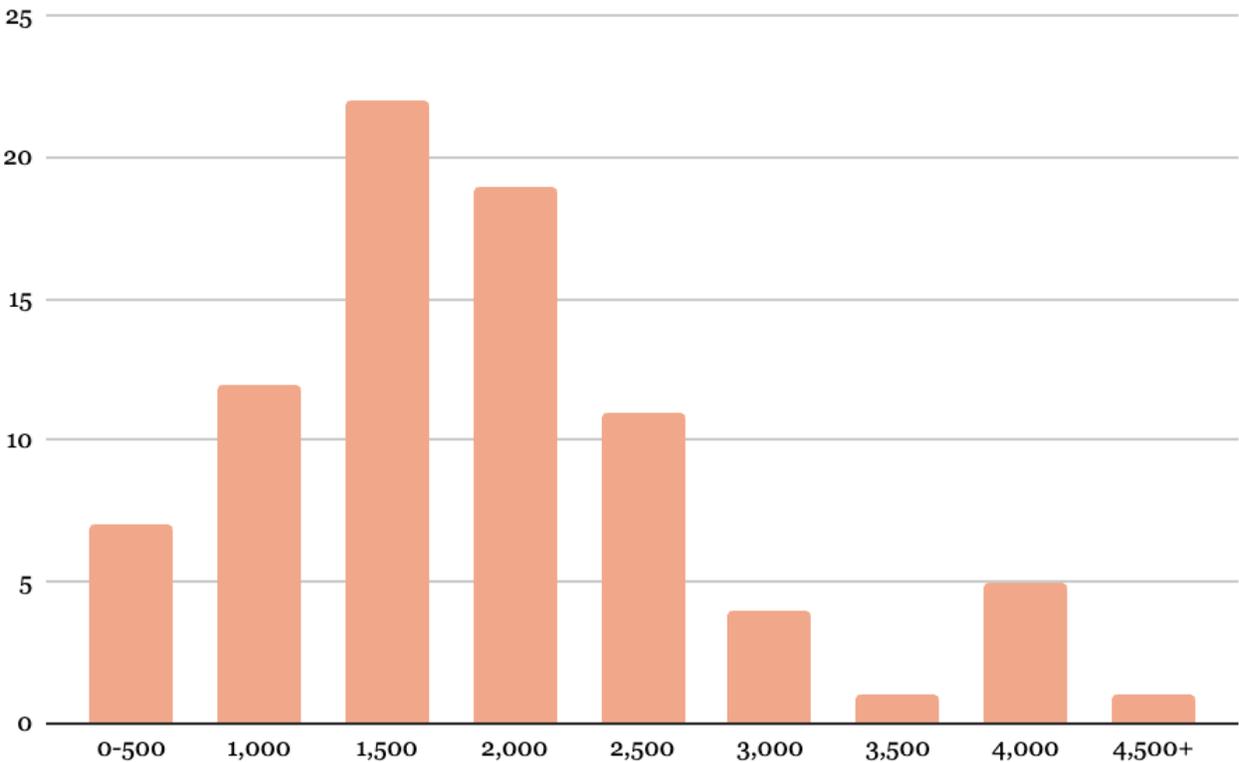
Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, average pre-pandemic quarter and January-March 2025.			
	Average 2019 Quarter	Q1 2025	2025 % of 2019
<b>Default Judgments</b>	16,370	11,552	75%
<b>Default Judgment Rate</b>	42%	32%	

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

## Rents and Amounts Owed

Figure 5 shows the distribution of median principal owed by jurisdiction in Virginia during the first quarter of 2025. 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 first quarter of 2025. A total of 14% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,000 and \$1,499 and 27% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,500 and \$1,999. Overall, for the first quarter of 2025 the statewide median principal owed is \$2,036, which is up from the fourth quarter of 2024. The statewide median principal owed in 2018 was \$1,100 and in 2019 was \$1,200. From 2019 to 2025, the statewide median principal owed has increased by 70%. This indicates that the financial burden on tenants as a result of the pandemic is persistent and, quite possibly, permanent.

Figure 5: Distribution of Median Principal Owed by Jurisdiction, January-March 2025.

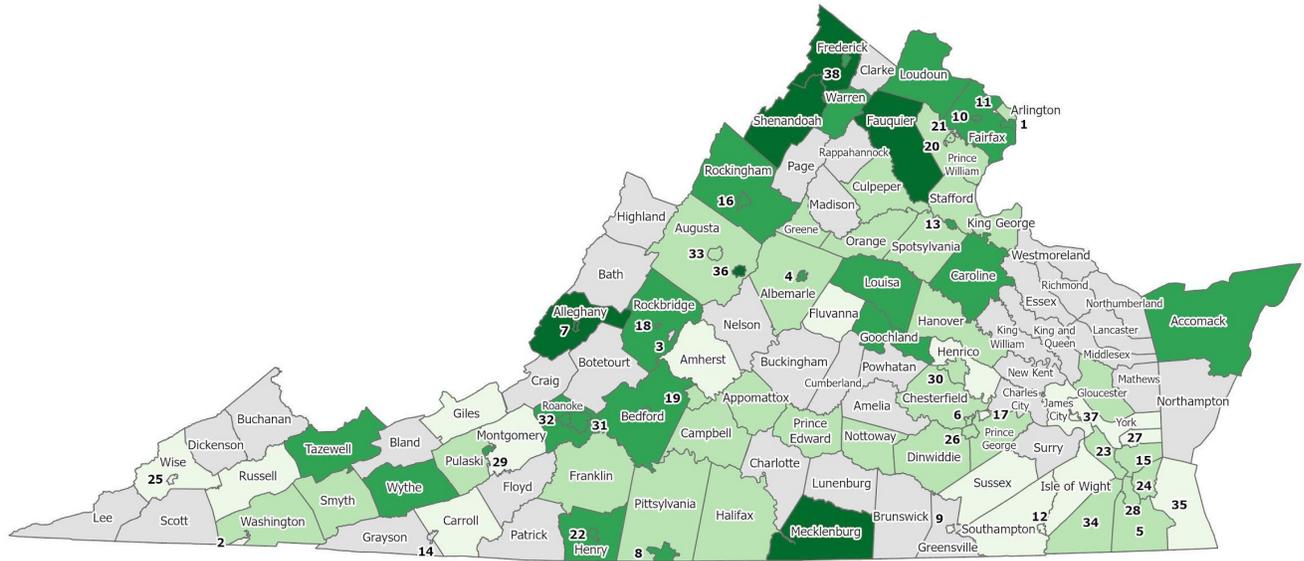


Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

\*\*Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 10 eviction judgments in the quarter are excluded to remove skew.

In many Virginia jurisdictions, the median principal amount owed exceeds the median rent. Figure 6 displays a map of the median principal amount owed as a percentage of regional median rent by jurisdiction in the first quarter of 2025. This indicates that renters in varying Virginia regions are behind on their rent. Hotspots include portions of Northern Virginia among other non-clustered areas.

Figure 6: Median Principal Owed as a Percentage of Median Gross Rent, Q1 2025.



**Median Principal Owed as Percent of Median Gross Rent by Jurisdiction**

- 47% - 132%
- 133% - 199%
- 200% - 274%
- 275% - 424%
- Jurisdiction with Less than 10 Evictions

**Independent Cities**

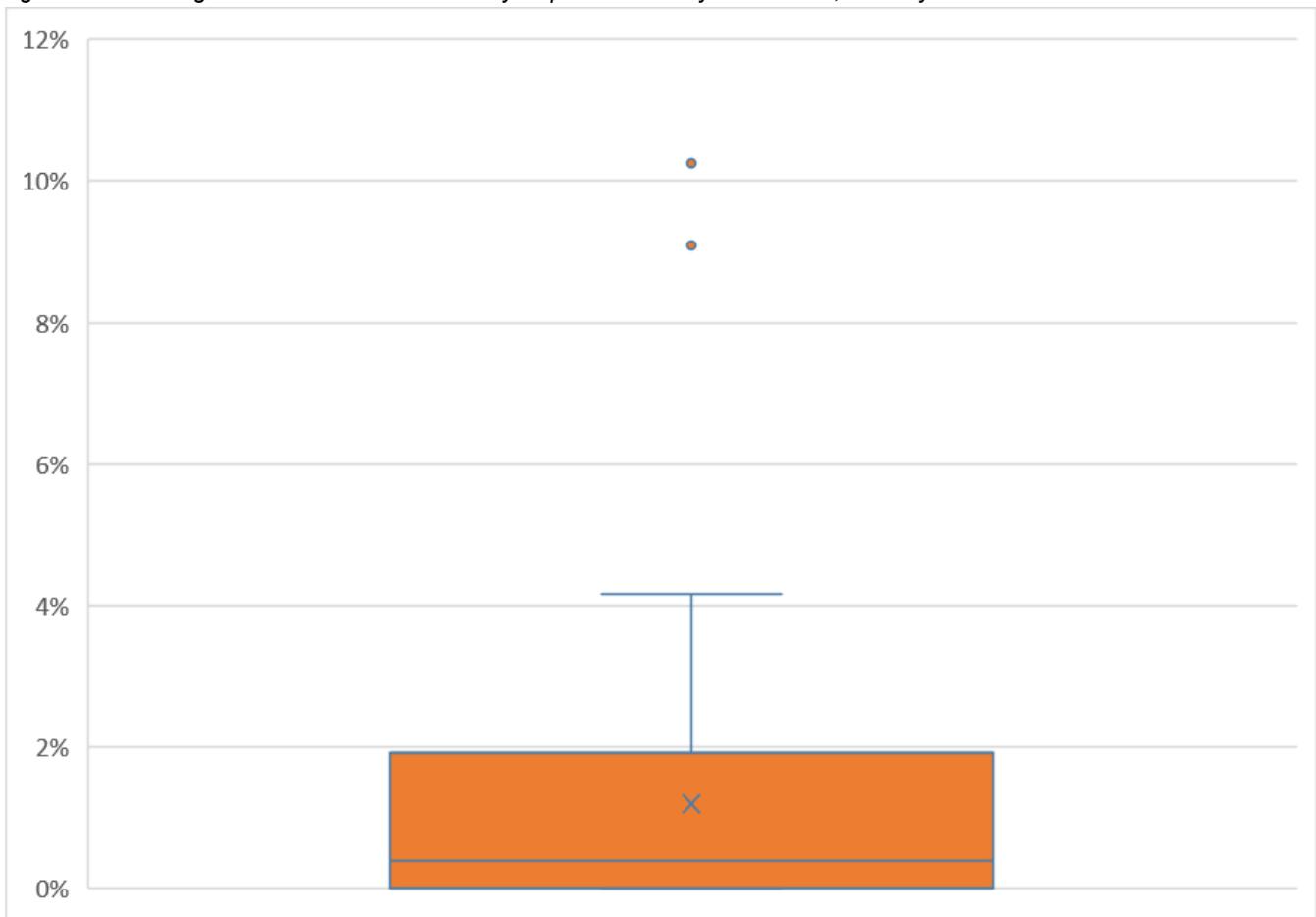
- |                    |                   |                  |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Alexandria       | 11 Falls Church   | 21 Manassas Park | 31 Roanoke        |
| 2 Bristol          | 12 Franklin       | 22 Martinsville  | 32 Salem          |
| 3 Buena Vista      | 13 Fredericksburg | 23 Newport News  | 33 Staunton       |
| 4 Charlottesville  | 14 Galax          | 24 Norfolk       | 34 Suffolk        |
| 5 Chesapeake       | 15 Hampton        | 25 Norton        | 35 Virginia Beach |
| 6 Colonial Heights | 16 Harrisonburg   | 26 Petersburg    | 36 Waynesboro     |
| 7 Covington        | 17 Hopewell       | 27 Poquoson      | 37 Williamsburg   |
| 8 Danville         | 18 Lexington      | 28 Portsmouth    | 38 Winchester     |
| 9 Emporia          | 19 Lynchburg      | 29 Radford       |                   |
| 10 Fairfax         | 20 Manassas       | 30 Richmond      |                   |

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 7 shows the percentage of defendants in Virginia jurisdictions that had attorney representation during eviction proceedings in the first quarter of 2025. 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 10%, which is partly explained by a relatively lower number of cases (39), 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-pandemic<sup>4</sup>.

Figure 7: Percentage of Defendants with Attorney Representation by Jurisdiction, January-March 2025.



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

\*\*Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings are excluded.

<sup>4</sup> 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](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, January-March 2025**

	<b>Median Gross Rent</b>	<b>Median Principal Owed</b>	<b>Median Number of Months of Rent Owed</b>
<b>Central Virginia/ Richmond VA MSA</b>	\$1,202	\$1,950	1.6
<b>Hampton Roads/ Virginia Beach - Norfolk - Newport News, VA - NC HUD Metro FMR Area</b>	\$1,227	\$1,929	1.6
<b>Northern Virginia Washington - Arlington - Alexandria, DC-VA-MD HUD Metro FMR Area</b>	\$1,783	\$4,069	2.3

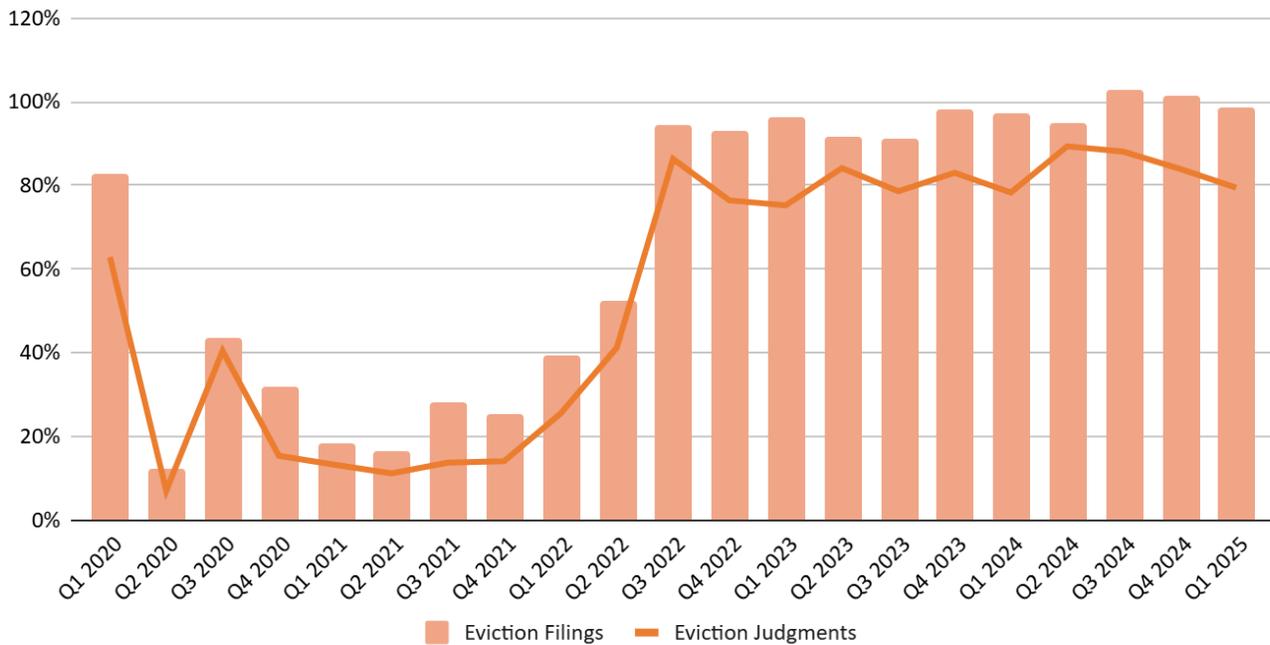
Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (2021), Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

## REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

### Central Virginia

Figure 8 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last twenty-one quarters as a percentage of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) levels. Filings decreased by 3% from the previous quarter (from 9,461 to 9,182) and judgments decreased by 5% (from 4,760 to 4,506). Eviction filings for the first quarter of 2025 are 99% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 80% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 8: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region from the fourth quarter of 2024 to the first quarter of 2025. Filings increased only in Chesterfield and Petersburg, and judgments decreased in all jurisdictions.

**Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from October-December 2024 to January-March 2025.**

	Q4 2024		Q1 2025		Q1 2025 % change from Q4 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesterfield</b>	1,792	939	1,992	929	11%	-1%
<b>Henrico</b>	3,049	1,431	2,726	1,292	-11%	-10%
<b>Hopewell</b>	260	162	207	106	-20%	-35%
<b>Petersburg</b>	730	424	801	391	10%	-8%
<b>Richmond</b>	3,630	1,804	3,456	1,788	-5%	-1%

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 first quarter of 2025 compared to pre-pandemic levels (an average pre-pandemic quarter). Eviction filings were higher than pre-pandemic levels only in Chesterfield and Henrico. Judgments remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

**Table 4: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesterfield</b>	1,759	1,038	1,992	929	113%	90%
<b>Henrico</b>	2,607	1,580	2,726	1,292	105%	82%
<b>Hopewell</b>	349	227	207	106	59%	47%
<b>Petersburg</b>	810	510	801	391	99%	77%
<b>Richmond</b>	3,793	2,315	3,456	1,788	91%	77%

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

Table 5 shows the number and rates of default judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the first quarter of 2025 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 Q1 of 2025, Richmond (40%) and Henrico (36%) had the highest percentages of evictions resulting from default judgments while Hopewell had the lowest percentage (31%). Default judgments in the Central Virginia region represent 75% of all evictions in Q1 2025.

**Table 5: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

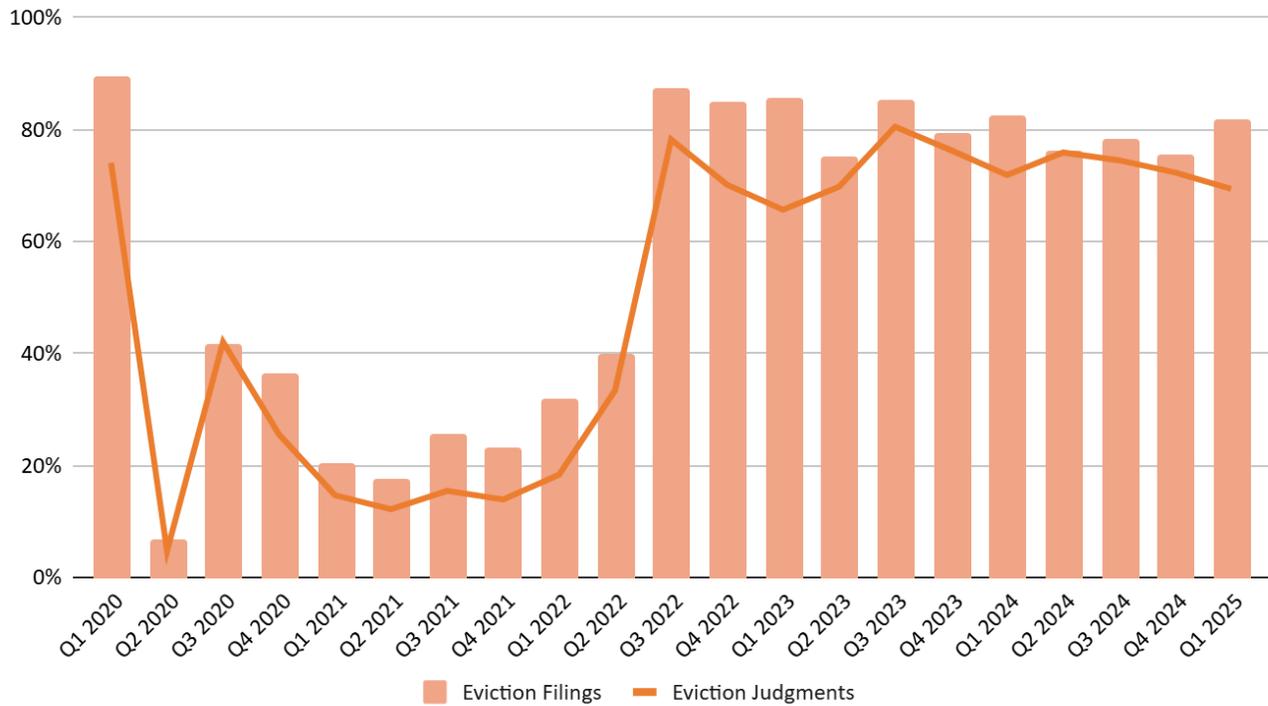
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>Chesterfield</b>	820	47%	677	34%	83%
<b>Henrico</b>	1,286	49%	993	36%	77%
<b>Hopewell</b>	169	48%	64	31%	38%
<b>Petersburg</b>	374	46%	270	34%	72%
<b>Richmond</b>	1,784	47%	1,391	40%	78%

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

## Hampton Roads

In the first quarter of 2025, eviction filings increased by 8% from the previous quarter in the Hampton Roads region (from 10,901 to 11,806) while judgments decreased by 4% (from 6,022 to 5,778). Figure 9 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percentage of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the region. Eviction filings for the first quarter of 2025 are 82% of 2019 pre-pandemic levels and eviction judgments are 69% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 9: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region from the fourth quarter of 2024 to the first quarter of 2025. Eviction filings increased in all Hampton Roads jurisdictions except for Newport News. Eviction judgments increased only in Hampton and Portsmouth.

**Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, Percent Change from October-December 2024 to January-March 2025.**

	Q4 2024		Q1 2025		Q1 2025 % change from Q4 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesapeake</b>	1,052	536	1,159	499	10%	-7%
<b>Hampton</b>	1,519	882	1,786	935	18%	6%
<b>Newport News</b>	2,663	1,423	2,490	1,168	-6%	-18%
<b>Norfolk</b>	2,233	1,227	2,440	1,212	9%	-1%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	927	588	1,072	605	16%	3%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	2,507	1,366	2,859	1,359	14%	-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 an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q1 of 2025. Eviction filings and judgments remain below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

**Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesapeake</b>	1,384	810	1,159	499	84%	62%
<b>Hampton</b>	1,877	1,148	1,786	935	95%	81%
<b>Newport News</b>	3,496	2,056	2,490	1,168	71%	57%
<b>Norfolk</b>	3,223	1,563	2,440	1,212	76%	78%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	1,450	970	1,072	605	74%	62%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	3,032	1,781	2,859	1,359	94%	76%

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 Q1 2025 in the Hampton Roads region. Default judgments and default judgment rates in Q1 of 2025 in all Hampton Roads jurisdictions were lower than the average pre-pandemic quarter. Default judgments in the Hampton Roads region represent 70% of all evictions in Q1 2025.

**Table 8: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

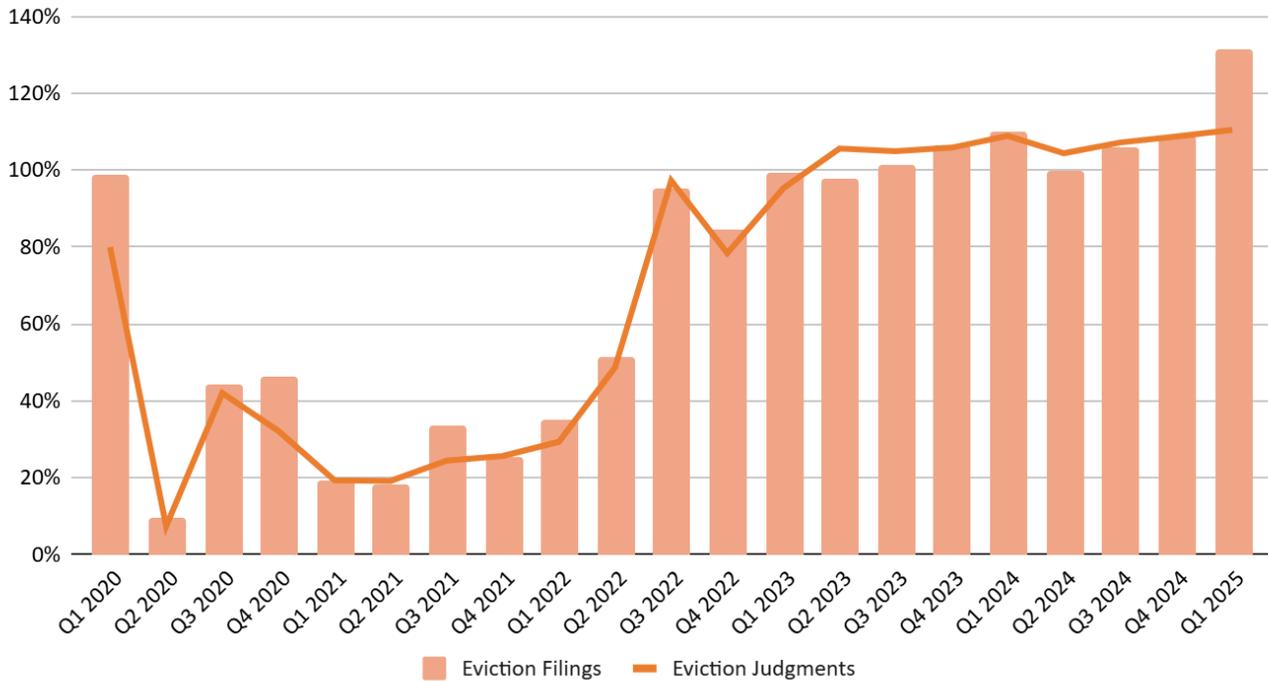
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>Chesapeake</b>	653	47%	370	32%	57%
<b>Hampton</b>	924	49%	657	37%	71%
<b>Newport News</b>	1,598	46%	690	28%	43%
<b>Norfolk</b>	1,218	38%	875	36%	72%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	723	50%	452	42%	63%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	1,466	48%	1,012	35%	69%

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

## Northern Virginia

In the first quarter of 2025, eviction filings in the Northern Virginia region increased by 21% from the previous quarter (from 6,501 to 7,847) and judgments increased by 2% (from 2,853 to 2,898). Figure 10 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percentage of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. Eviction filings for the first quarter of 2025 are 131% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels and eviction judgments are 110% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels.

Figure 10: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Northern Virginia region from the fourth quarter of 2024 to the first quarter of 2025. Eviction filings increased in all jurisdictions except for Fredericksburg. Eviction judgments increased in Alexandria, Arlington, Loudoun, and Prince William, and decreased in Fairfax County, Falls Church, Fredericksburg, and Stafford.

**Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from October-December 2024 to January-March 2025.**

	Q4 2024		Q1 2025		Q1 2025 % change from Q4 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Alexandria</b>	1,025	471	1,519	545	48%	16%
<b>Arlington</b>	808	372	956	410	18%	10%
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	2,214	931	2,383	858	8%	-8%
<b>Falls Church</b>	16	9	26	8	63%*	-11%*
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	315	174	266	110	-16%	-37%
<b>Loudoun</b>	424	149	549	187	29%	26%
<b>Prince William</b>	1,366	594	1,808	634	32%	7%
<b>Stafford</b>	333	153	340	146	2%	-5%

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

*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 Q1 2025 are presented in Table 10. Falls Church is not considered in this section’s discussion because an increase in low eviction filing or judgment 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 164%. Eviction judgments in Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County surpassed pre-pandemic levels.

**Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Alexandria</b>	1,054	431	1,519	545	144%	127%
<b>Arlington</b>	582	237	956	410	164%	173%
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	1,833	771	2,383	858	130%	111%
<b>Falls Church</b>	10	4	26	8	274%*	200%*
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	284	151	266	110	94%	73%
<b>Loudoun</b>	447	192	549	187	123%	98%
<b>Prince William</b>	1,393	665	1,808	634	130%	95%
<b>Stafford</b>	374	175	340	146	91%	83%

*\*An increase or decrease in low eviction filing and judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower, as is the*

*case for Falls Church with relatively small numbers of filings and judgments.*

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

Table 11 shows the number and rates of default judgments in an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q1 2025. Same as above, Falls Church is not considered in this section's discussion because an increase in low eviction default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Default judgments increased in Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County. Northern Virginia's default judgment rates did not surpass pre-pandemic levels in any jurisdiction. Default judgments in the Northern Virginia region represent 69% of all evictions in Q1 2025.

**Table 11: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>Alexandria</b>	323	31%	400	26%	124%
<b>Arlington</b>	178	31%	254	27%	143%
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	614	34%	633	27%	103%
<b>Falls Church</b>	3	24%	5	19%	167%*
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	107	38%	61	23%	57%
<b>Loudoun</b>	139	31%	117	21%	84%
<b>Prince William</b>	489	35%	431	24%	88%
<b>Stafford</b>	121	33%	86	25%	71%

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

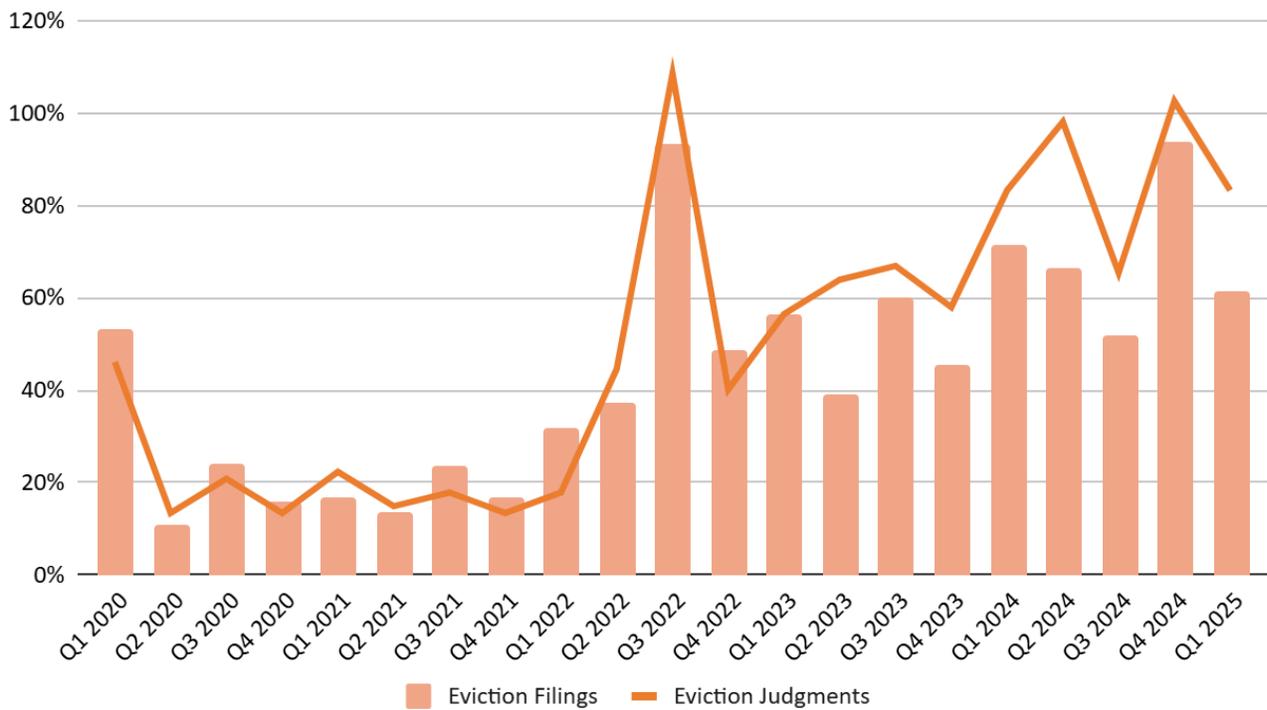
*Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis*

## CITY UPDATES

### City of Charlottesville

Figure 11 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last 21 quarters as a percentage of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. In the first quarter of 2025, eviction filings decreased by 35% from the previous quarter (from 147 to 96) and judgments decreased by 19% (from 69 to 56). In Q1 of 2025, the City of Charlottesville experienced 96 eviction filings and 56 judgments, representing 61% and 83% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 11: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in the City of Charlottesville from the fourth quarter of 2024 to the first quarter of 2025. Eviction filings decreased by 35% and judgments decreased by 19% in the City of Charlottesville.

Table 12: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, Percent Change from October-December 2024 to January-March 2025.					
Q4 2024		Q1 2025		Q1 2025 % change from Q4 2024	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
147	69	96	56	-35%	-19%

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 quarter of 2025 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, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.					
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
157	67	96	56	61%	83%

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 Q1 of 2025 in Charlottesville. The number of default judgments remains lower than pre-pandemic, while the default judgment rate has increased slightly above pre-pandemic levels (rate percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number). Default judgments in the City of Charlottesville represent 43% of all judgments in Q1 2025.

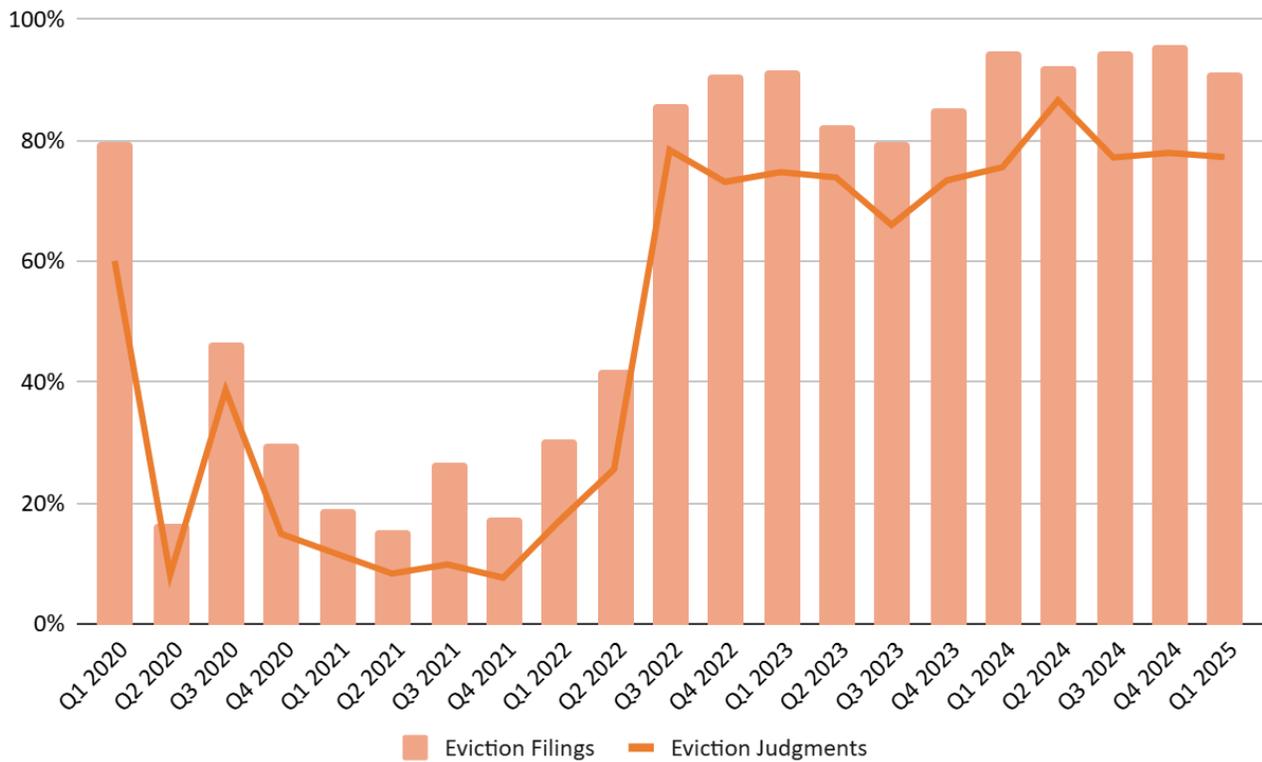
Table 14: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Charlottesville, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.				
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019
Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
38	25%	24	25%	63%

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

## City of Richmond

In the first quarter of 2025, eviction filings in the City of Richmond decreased by 5% from the previous quarter (from 3,630 to 3,456) and judgments decreased by 1% (from 1,804 to 1,788). Figure 12 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. During the first quarter of 2025, Richmond's eviction filings represented 91% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) filings, and its eviction judgments represented 77% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) judgments.

Figure 12: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes from the fourth quarter of 2024 to the first quarter of 2025. From quarter to quarter, eviction filings increased in 4 ZIP codes and judgments increased in 5 ZIP codes. Eviction filings increased in 23221, 23224, 23226, and 23230. Eviction judgments increased in 23220, 23221, 23224, 23226, and 23230. Filings and judgments also increased for Other, Richmond eviction records not tied to a specific ZIP code. Eviction filings increased by 5% while judgments decreased by 1% for the City of Richmond as a whole from Q4 2024 to Q1 2025.

**Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, Percent Change from October-December 2024 to January-March 2025.**

ZIP Code	Q4 2024		Q1 2025		Q1 2025 % change from Q4 2024	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>23219</b>	170	94	151	73	-11%	-22%
<b>23220</b>	367	138	335	161	-9%	17%
<b>23221</b>	15	5	17	7	13%*	40%*
<b>23222</b>	236	125	212	96	-10%	-23%
<b>23223</b>	454	225	369	183	-19%	-19%
<b>23224</b>	829	467	1,036	554	25%	19%
<b>23225</b>	1,194	552	913	498	-24%	-10%
<b>23226</b>	1	0	4	4	300%*	___%**
<b>23227</b>	105	69	72	52	-31%	-25%
<b>23230</b>	41	23	58	31	41%	35%
<b>23231</b>	43	24	39	17	-9%	-29%*
<b>23234</b>	79	40	75	39	-5%	-3%
<b>23235</b>	10	5	10	3	0%	-40%*
<b>Other</b>	86	37	165	70	92%	89%

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

\*\*A percent change from 0 judgments to 4 judgments, for ZIP code 23226, cannot be easily shown as a percent change.

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 first quarter of 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter. Eviction filings exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 6 ZIP codes and judgments exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 4 ZIP codes. Pre-pandemic filing levels have been surpassed in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23224, 23225, 23226, and 23230. Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23226, and 23230. Filings and judgments also surpassed pre-pandemic levels for Other, eviction records not tied to a specific ZIP code. Eviction filings reached 91% of pre-pandemic levels and judgments in the City of Richmond reached 77% of pre-pandemic levels.

**Table 16: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

ZIP Code	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>23219</b>	99	52	151	73	153%	141%
<b>23220</b>	294	155	335	161	114%	104%
<b>23221</b>	25	13	17	7	68%*	53%*
<b>23222</b>	320	204	212	96	66%	47%
<b>23223</b>	645	387	369	183	57%	47%
<b>23224</b>	882	566	1,036	554	118%	98%
<b>23225</b>	885	557	913	498	103%	89%
<b>23226</b>	3	3	4	4	123%*	160%*
<b>23227</b>	319	175	72	52	23%	30%
<b>23230</b>	25	13	58	31	234%*	243%*
<b>23231</b>	96	65	39	17	41%	26%
<b>23234</b>	140	92	75	39	54%	42%
<b>23235</b>	14	8	10	3	73%*	39%*
<b>Other</b>	49	27	165	70	337%	257%

*\*An increase or decrease in low eviction filing and 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 default judgment rates by Richmond ZIP code are presented in Table 17. Default judgments remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all but four of the ZIP codes (23219, 23220, 23226, and 23230) and default judgment rates remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all but five of the ZIP codes (23220, 23221, 23226, 23227, and 23230). Default judgments in the City of Richmond represent 78% of all judgments in Q1 2025.

**Table 17: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Richmond ZIP codes, January-March 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

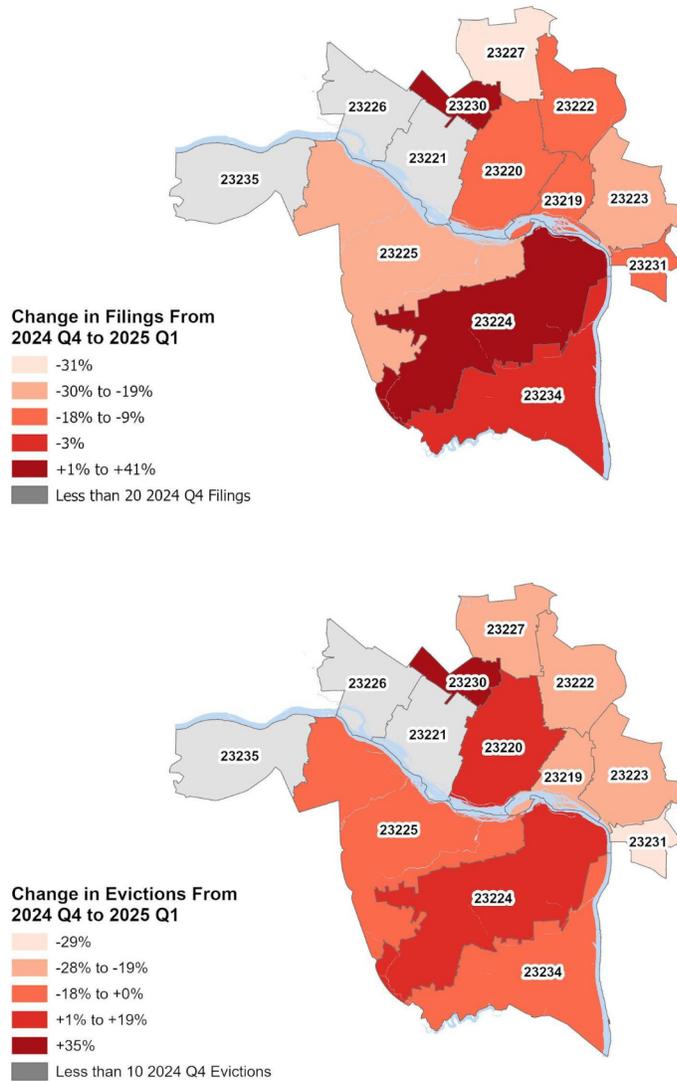
ZIP Code	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q1 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>23219</b>	36	36%	46	30%	128%
<b>23220</b>	116	39%	132	39%	114%
<b>23221</b>	9	35%	7	41%	80%*
<b>23222</b>	139	43%	72	34%	52%
<b>23223</b>	268	41%	141	38%	53%
<b>23224</b>	451	51%	421	41%	93%
<b>23225</b>	465	52%	399	44%	86%
<b>23226</b>	2	50%	3	75%	171%*
<b>23227</b>	145	45%	44	61%	30%
<b>23230</b>	10	41%	28	48%	273%*
<b>23231</b>	45	46%	11	28%	24%*
<b>23234</b>	71	51%	29	39%	41%
<b>23235</b>	7	49%	1	10%	14%*
<b>Other</b>	23	45%	57	35%	251%

*\*An increase or decrease in low default judgment numbers and default rates skews percentages to appear higher/lower.*

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

Figure 13 shows the percent change in eviction filings and judgments from the fourth quarter of 2024 to the first quarter of 2025. Eviction filings decreased in all ZIP codes except for 23230 and 23224. Eviction judgments decreased in all ZIP codes except for 23230, 23220, and 23224. Figure 13 omits data from ZIP codes with less than 20 eviction filings and less than 10 eviction judgments, for data interpretation purposes.

Figure 13: Map of eviction filings and judgments in Richmond by ZIP Code, Percent Change from Q4 2024 to Q1 2025.



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

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 1<sup>st</sup> Quarter, 2025

Jurisdiction	2025 Q1 Eviction Filings	2025 Q1 Evictions Judgments	2025 Q1 Default Judgments	2025 Q1 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	49	17	12	24%
Albemarle	317	137	84	26%
Alleghany	62	21	4	6%
Amelia	3	2	1	33%
Amherst	62	39	17	27%
Appomattox	16	12	6	38%
Arlington	956	410	254	27%
Augusta	95	39	28	29%
Bath	2	1	0	0%
Bedford	100	49	26	26%
Bland	3	3	1	33%
Botetourt	28	9	7	25%
Brunswick	24	8	5	21%
Buchanan	7	1	1	14%
Buckingham	13	4	0	0%
Campbell	157	79	46	29%
Caroline	45	24	2	4%
Carroll	31	20	7	23%
Charles City	1	1	1	100%
Charlotte	4	3	2	50%
Chesterfield	1992	929	677	34%
Clarke	4	1	1	25%
Craig	0	0	0	0%
Culpeper	91	44	22	24%
Cumberland	10	3	3	30%
Dickenson	13	9	6	46%
Dinwiddie	57	27	19	33%
Essex	14	6	3	21%
Fairfax Co.	2383	858	633	27%
Fauquier	62	22	9	15%
Floyd	4	2	1	25%
Fluvanna	13	10	2	15%
Franklin Co.	55	32	17	31%
Frederick	79	34	22	28%
Giles	29	14	6	21%
Gloucester	70	28	18	26%
Goochland	24	12	7	29%

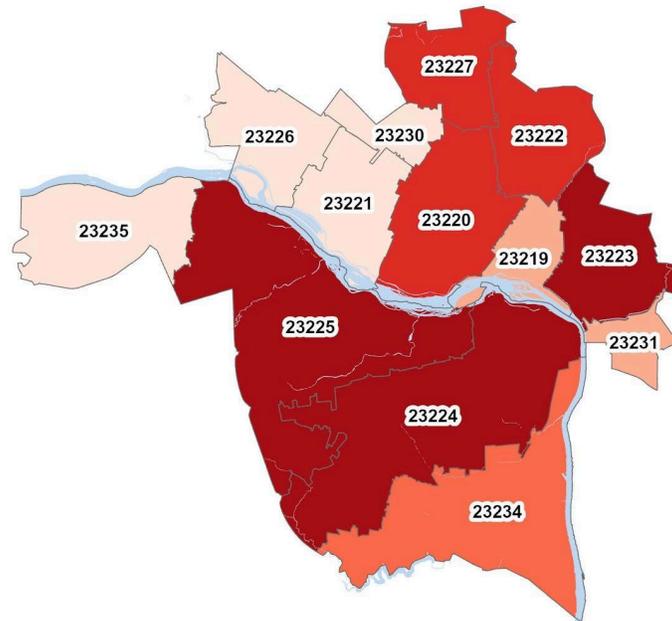
Grayson	9	5	2	22%
Greene	20	11	8	40%
Greensville	17	4	2	12%
Halifax	26	11	8	31%
Hanover	140	69	52	37%
Henrico	2726	1292	993	36%
Henry	110	42	22	20%
Highland	1	0	0	0%
Isle of Wight	161	40	35	22%
King & Queen	3	0	0	0%
King George	87	31	21	24%
King William	18	9	5	28%
Lancaster	13	2	2	15%
Lee	14	5	3	21%
Loudoun	549	187	117	21%
Louisa	35	22	12	34%
Lunenburg	16	6	3	19%
Madison	5	5	1	20%
Mathews	9	5	1	11%
Mecklenburg	49	14	7	14%
Middlesex	10	6	3	30%
Montgomery	233	107	91	39%
Nelson	8	5	2	25%
New Kent	11	6	3	27%
Northampton	15	6	1	7%
Northumberland	9	6	2	22%
Nottoway	39	19	15	38%
Orange	54	23	11	20%
Page	22	9	6	27%
Patrick	4	1	1	25%
Pittsylvania	66	33	23	35%
Powhatan	21	7	1	5%
Prince Edward	73	27	0	0%
Prince George	122	52	1	1%
Prince William	1808	634	431	24%
Pulaski	92	55	33	36%
Rappahannock	4	4	3	75%
Richmond Co.	8	5	1	13%
Roanoke Co.	202	90	58	29%
Rockbridge	27	11	4	15%
Rockingham / Harrisonburg	278	90	62	22%

Russell	15	12	8	53%
Scott	13	7	7	54%
Shenandoah	39	20	10	26%
Smyth	35	29	14	40%
Southampton	42	18	13	31%
Spotsylvania	337	126	92	27%
Stafford	340	146	86	25%
Surry	8	4	0	0%
Sussex	18	14	12	67%
Tazewell	58	34	23	40%
Warren	48	26	15	31%
Washington	44	30	10	23%
Westmoreland	13	6	4	31%
Wise	94	40	33	35%
Wythe	43	21	10	23%
York	199	83	43	22%
Alexandria	1519	545	400	26%
Bristol	125	43	25	20%
Buena Vista	8	3	1	13%
Charlottesville	96	56	24	25%
Chesapeake	1159	499	370	32%
Colonial Heights	137	63	46	34%
Danville	326	165	114	35%
Emporia	19	10	5	26%
Falls Church	26	8	5	19%
Franklin City	43	25	12	28%
Fredericksburg	266	110	61	23%
Galax	13	6	2	15%
Hampton	1786	935	657	37%
Hopewell	207	106	64	31%
Lynchburg	504	247	151	30%
Martinsville	87	39	16	18%
Newport News	2490	1168	690	28%
Norfolk	2440	1212	875	36%
Petersburg	801	391	270	34%
Portsmouth	1072	605	452	42%
Radford	83	30	20	24%
Richmond City	3456	1788	1391	40%
Roanoke City	687	328	215	31%
Salem	92	48	25	27%
Staunton	75	27	18	24%
Suffolk	430	182	121	28%

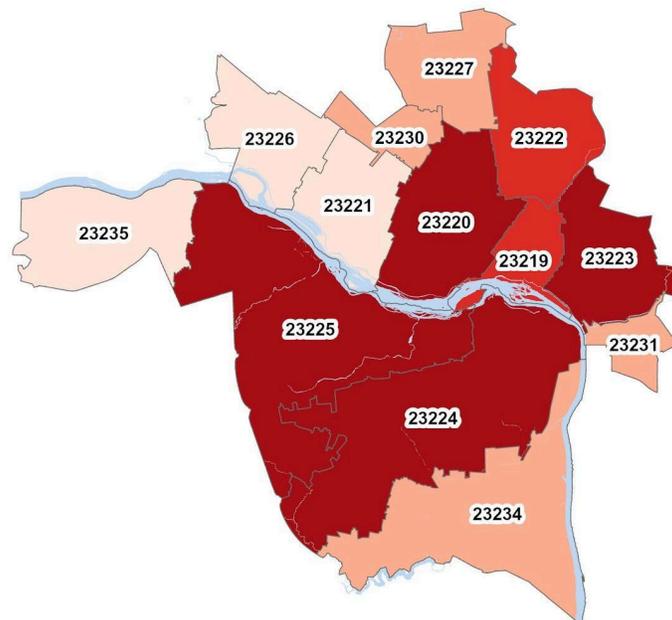
Virginia Beach	2859	1359	1012	35%
Waynesboro	114	42	29	25%
Williamsburg / James City County	260	111	82	32%
Winchester	98	39	23	23%

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 Q1 2025



2019 Quarterly Average

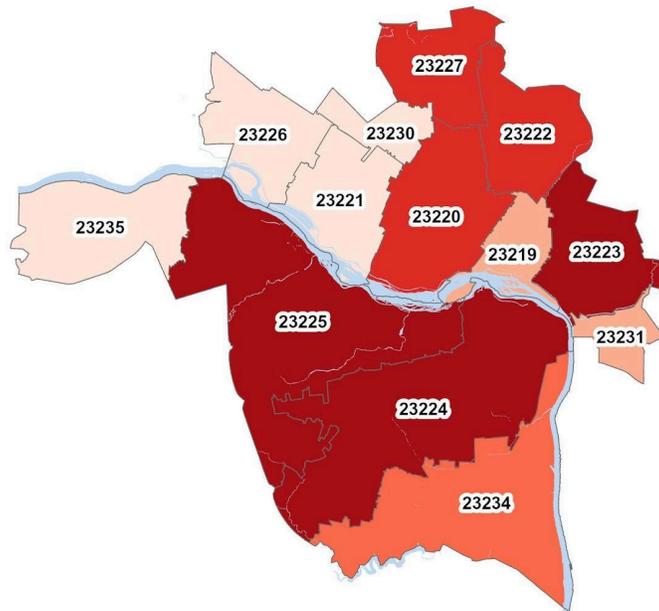


January to March 2025

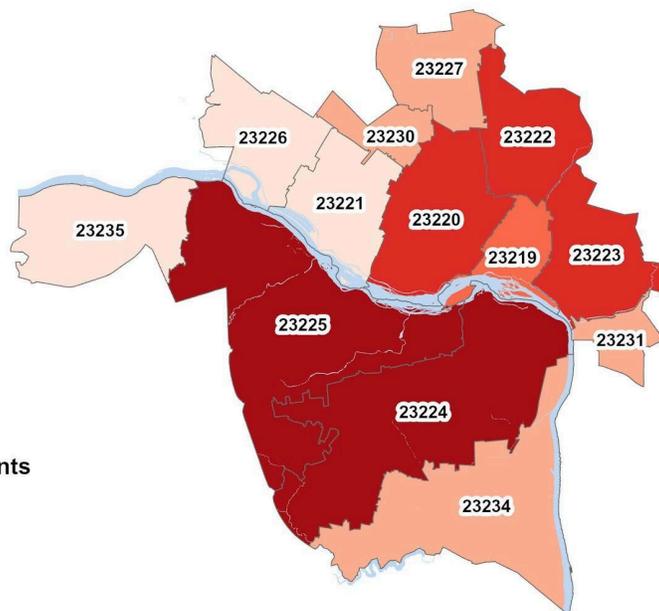


Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix C: Map of Eviction Judgments in Richmond by ZIP code  
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) & Q1 2025



2019 Quarterly Average



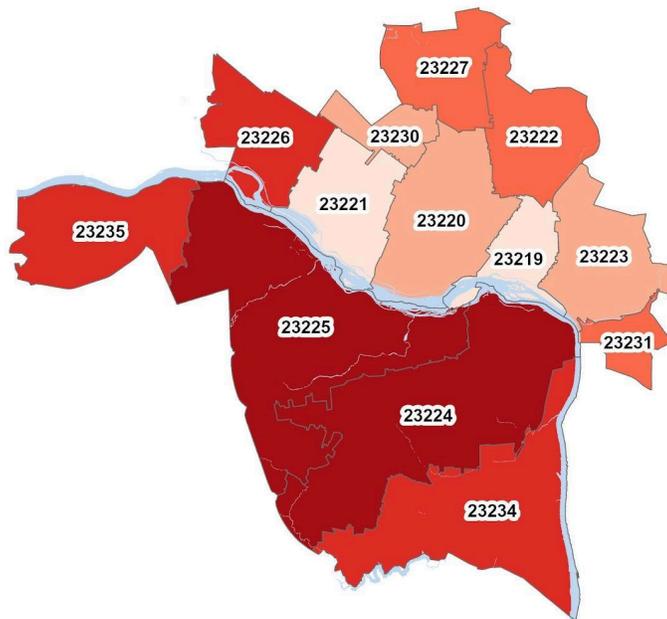
January to March 2025

**Eviction Judgments**

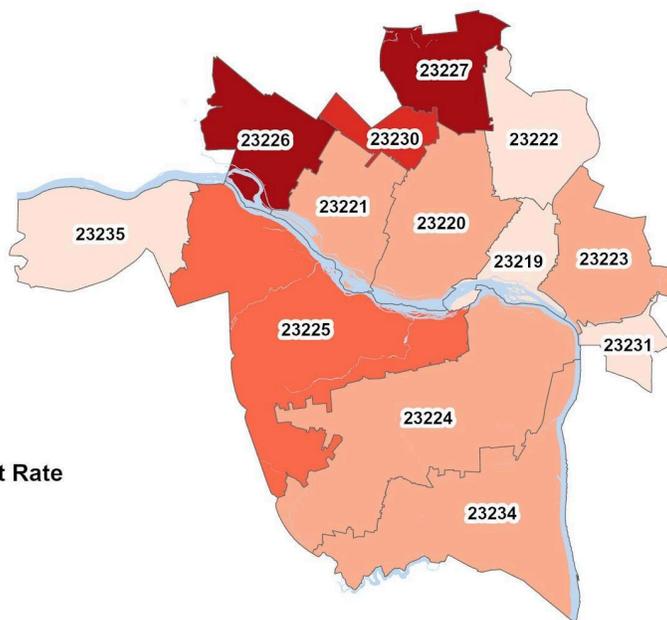
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- 14 - 65
- 66 - 92
- 93 - 204
- 205 - 574

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

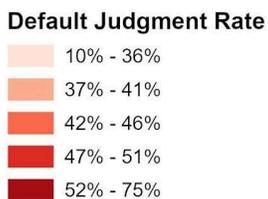
Appendix D: Map of Default Judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code  
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q1 2025



2019 Quarterly Average



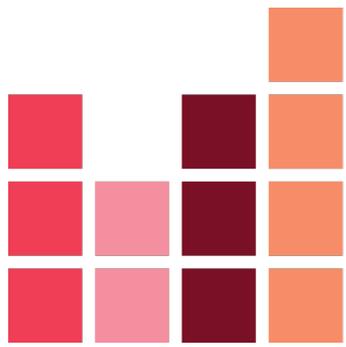
January to March 2025



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



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

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

# RVA EVICTION LAB

## **Quarterly Data Report** **2nd Quarter 2025: April through June**

**December 2025**

Natalie Somerville

Connor White

Atticus Johnson

Dr. Benjamin Teresa

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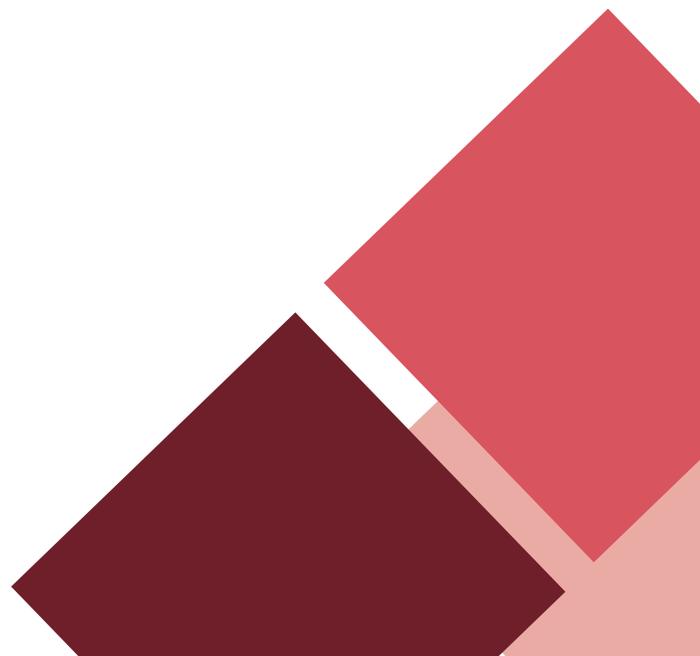
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# About the RVA Eviction Lab

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 advocates through the Civil Court Data Initiative.<sup>5</sup> 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 filings, which were identified as being cases with matching filing dates, judgment outcomes, case costs and fees, plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses. Serial filings (consecutive filings by a landlord against a single household)<sup>6</sup> were identified as being cases with matching plaintiff names, defendant names, and defendant addresses, and were retained.

## Analysis

Our analysis primarily focuses on legal residential evictions at the household level. While court files show case data at the individual level (i.e., there is a unique record for each defendant involved in each case), not all members of a household are necessarily listed as defendants.<sup>7</sup> We aggregated court files to show cases at the household level as it is not clear to what extent the data account 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 final hearing resulting in a default judgment. We compare these numbers to the quarterly average in 2019 to simulate a “typical” year. These comparisons illustrate how the current eviction landscape compares to the Commonwealth’s historic patterns of eviction.

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<sup>5</sup> Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative. 2023, <https://www.lsc.gov/initiatives/civil-court-data-initiative>

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Desmond, Ashley Gromis, Lavar Edmonds, James Hendrickson, Katie Krywokulski, Lillian Leung, and Adam Porton. Eviction Lab Methodology Report: Version 1.0. Princeton: Princeton University, 2018, [www.evictionlab.org/methods](http://www.evictionlab.org/methods).

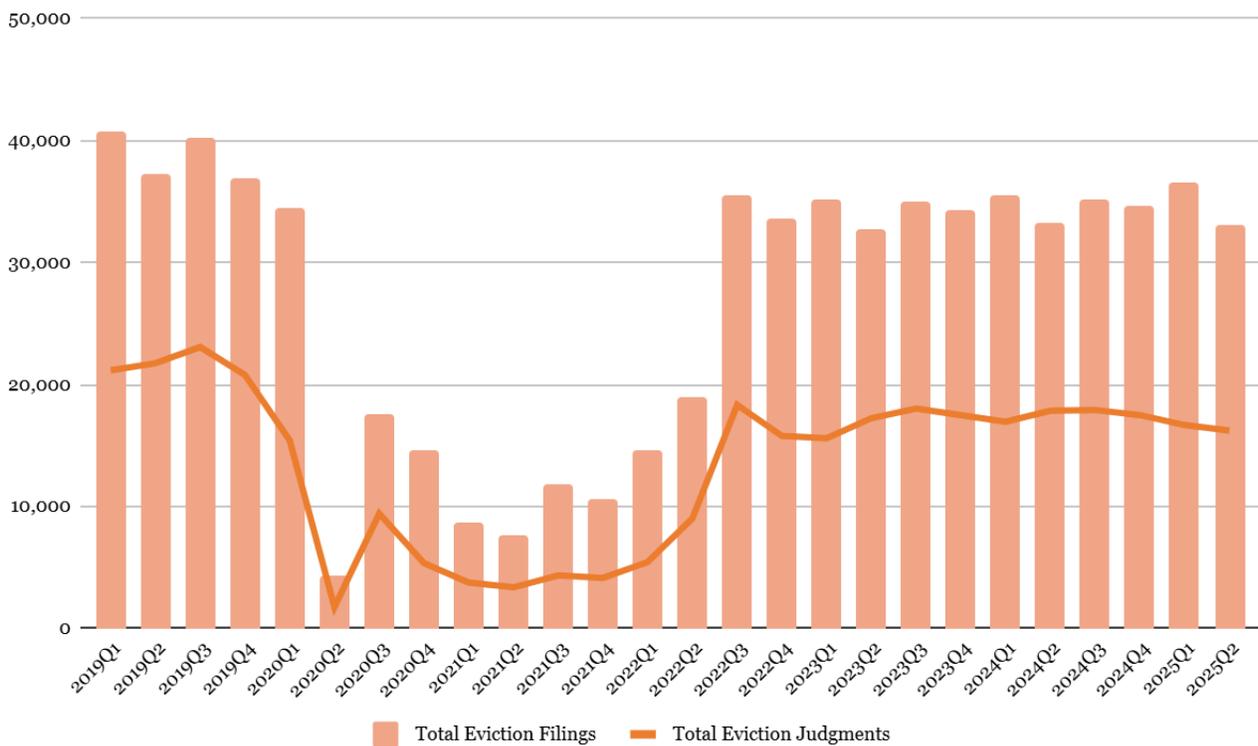
<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

## INTRODUCTION

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes data on housing instability in Virginia during the second quarter of 2025. As in our previous reports, we compare 2025 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 33,079 filings in Q2 of 2025. This translates to 85% of the 2019 average quarter for the second quarter of 2025. When compared to the pre-pandemic average quarter, eviction judgments are not at their highest peak, reaching 16,225 judgments. This translates to 75% of the 2019 average quarter for the second quarter of 2025.

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q2 2025.



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

Highlights of 2025's second quarter across the Commonwealth include:

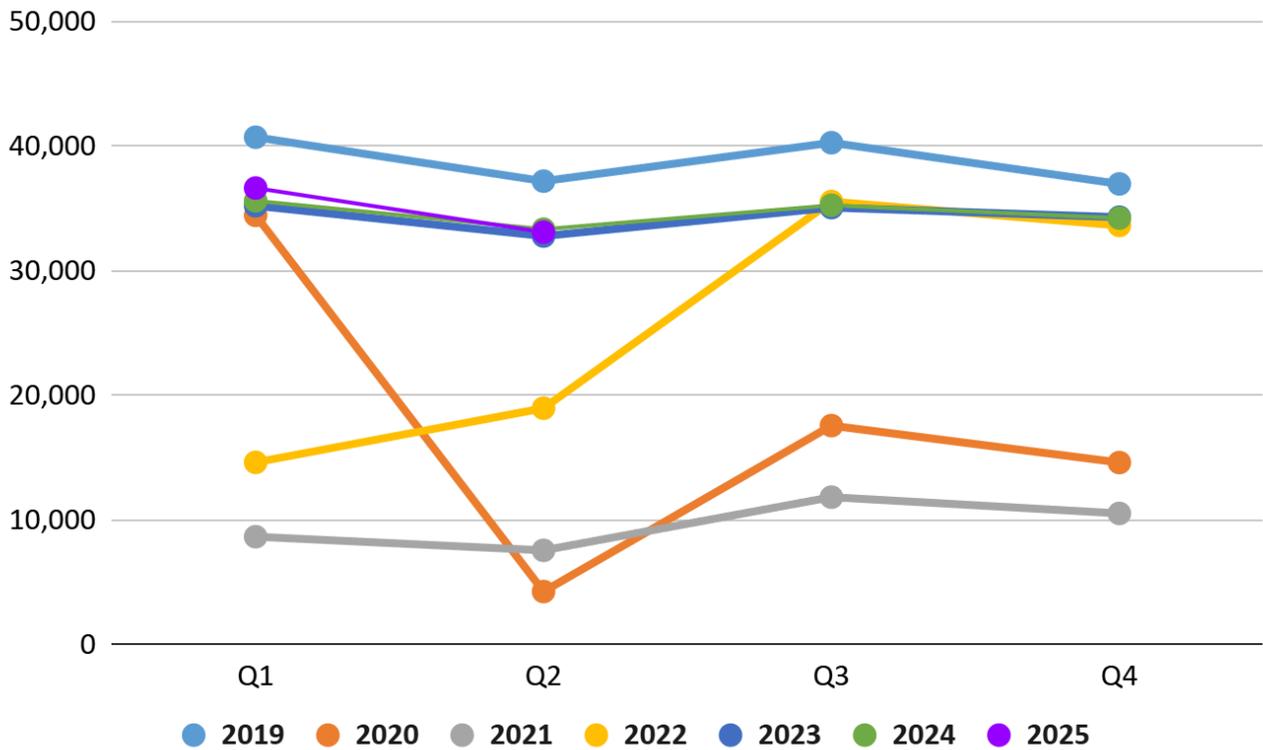
- From 2019 to 2025, the statewide median principal owed at the jurisdictional level has increased by 54%, from \$1,200 to \$1,850, approximately 1.6 to 2.2 months of rent statewide.
- The median percentage of tenants with legal representation in Virginia jurisdictions is less than 1% (6 tenants represented for every 1,000 cases) and only 4 jurisdictions have over 5% of tenants represented.
- Statewide filings decreased by 10% between the first and second quarters of 2025, and judgments decreased by 3%.
- Eviction filings have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in Northern Virginia (111%), Chesterfield (103%), Petersburg (102%), and Richmond ZIP codes 23219, 23224, and 23230.
- Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in Arlington (130%), Fairfax County (106%), and Richmond ZIP code 23219.
- Default judgments have decreased across the state as a whole, with the statewide default judgment rate of 34% down from a pre-pandemic default judgment rate of 42%.

# 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 10 percentage points from 95% to 85% of pre-pandemic levels between Q1 2025 and Q2 2025. Eviction filings during the second quarter of 2025 are the second highest of all the second quarters since 2019. However, the eviction filing numbers for Q2 2025 are lower than an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019).

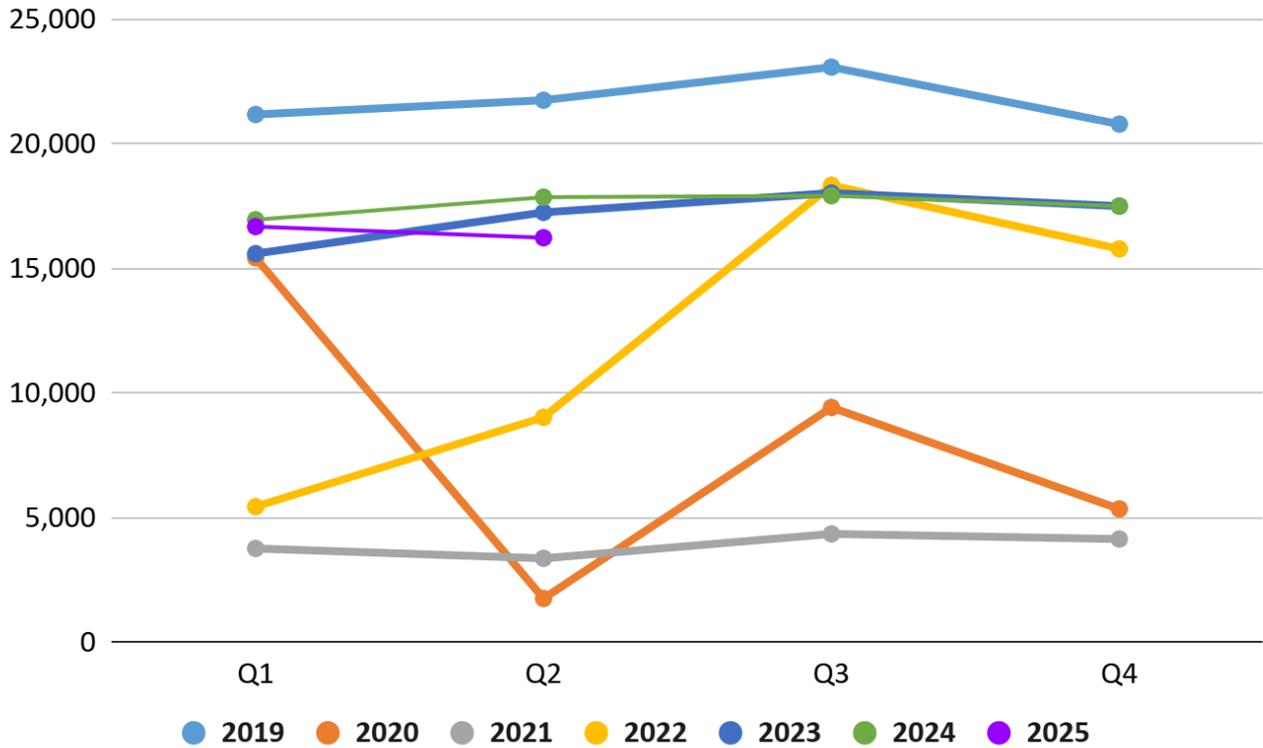
Figure 2: Eviction filings by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q2 2025.



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

Figure 3 shows the quarterly totals for eviction judgments 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 were 75% of the average pre-pandemic quarter in Q2 2025. Eviction judgments during the second quarter of 2025 are the third highest of all the second quarters since 2019.

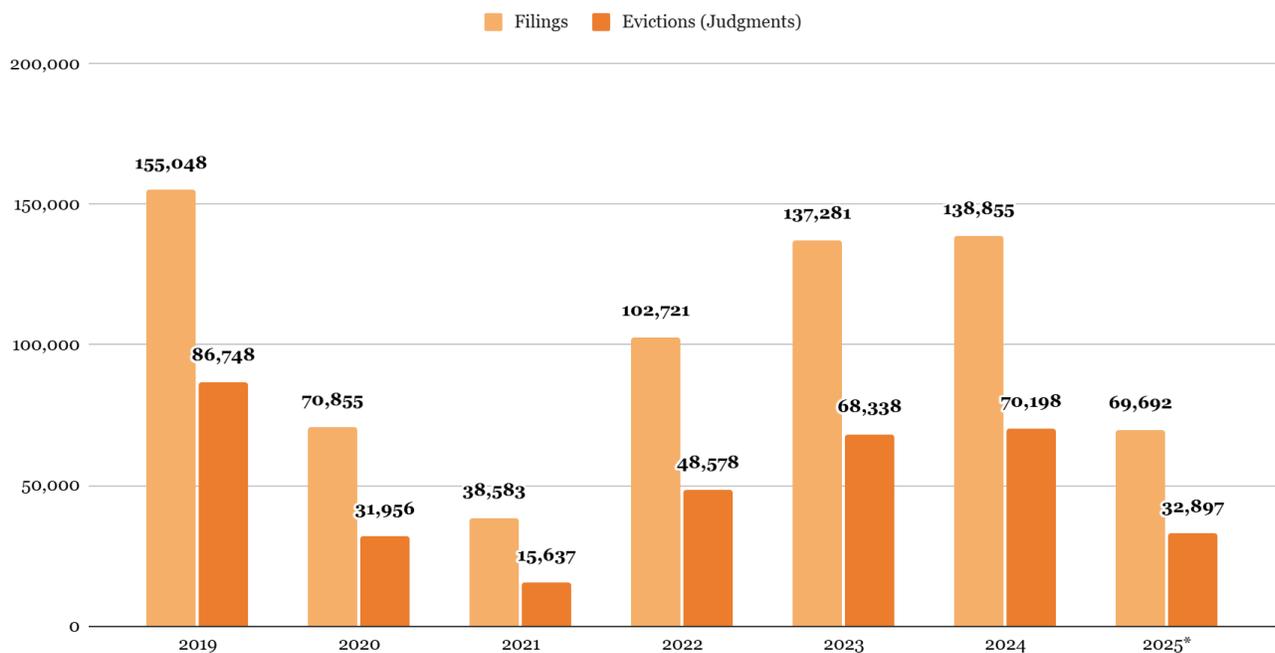
Figure 3: Eviction judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q2 2025.



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

Statewide eviction filings during the second quarter of 2025 decreased from first quarter of 2025 levels, and eviction judgments decreased slightly between Q1 2025 and Q2 2025. As shown in Figure 2, eviction filings decreased 10% from the previous quarter (36,613 in the first quarter of 2025 to 33,079 in the second quarter of 2025). As shown in Figure 3, eviction judgments decreased by 2% from first quarter 2025 levels (from 16,672 to 16,225). Figure 4 visualizes eviction filings and judgments 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 2025 columns represent only Q1 and Q2.

Figure 4: Eviction filings and judgments by year in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q2 2025.



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

\*Note: 2025 columns only represent Q1 and Q2 so far.

Table 1, below, 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 second quarter of 2025, the statewide default judgment rate of 34% is below the pre-pandemic rate of 42%.

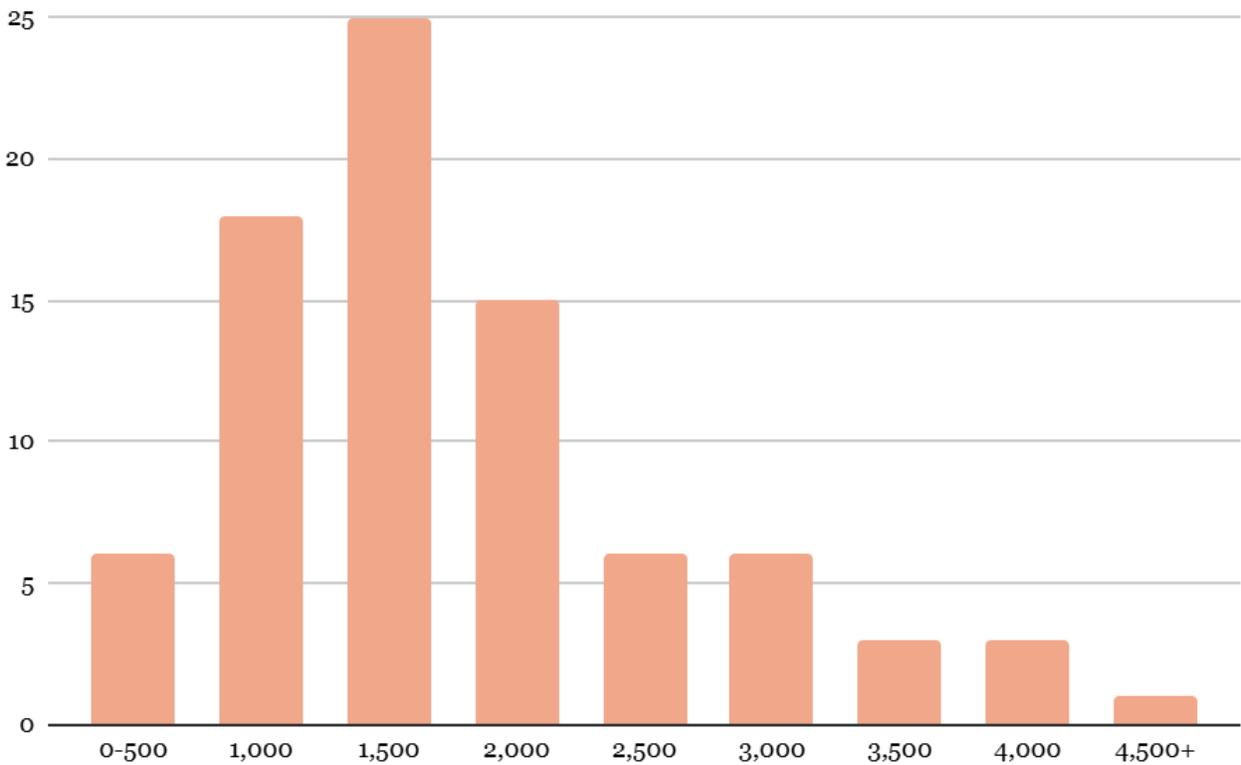
Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, average pre-pandemic quarter and April-June 2025.			
	Average 2019 Quarter	Q2 2025	2025 % of 2019
<b>Default Judgments</b>	16,370	11,316	81%
<b>Default Judgment Rate</b>	42%	34%	

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

## Rents and Amounts Owed

Figure 5 shows the distribution of median principal owed by jurisdiction in Virginia during the second quarter of 2025. 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 second quarter of 2025. A total of 22% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,000 and \$1,499 and 30% of jurisdictions have a median principal amount owed between \$1,500 and \$1,999. Overall, for the second quarter of 2025 the statewide median principal owed is \$1,850, which is down from the first quarter of 2025. The statewide median principal owed in 2018 was \$1,100 and in 2019 was \$1,200. From 2019 to 2025, the statewide median principal owed has increased by 54%. This indicates that the financial burden on tenants as a result of the pandemic is persistent and, quite possibly, permanent.

Figure 5: Distribution of Median Principal Owed by Jurisdiction, April-June 2025.

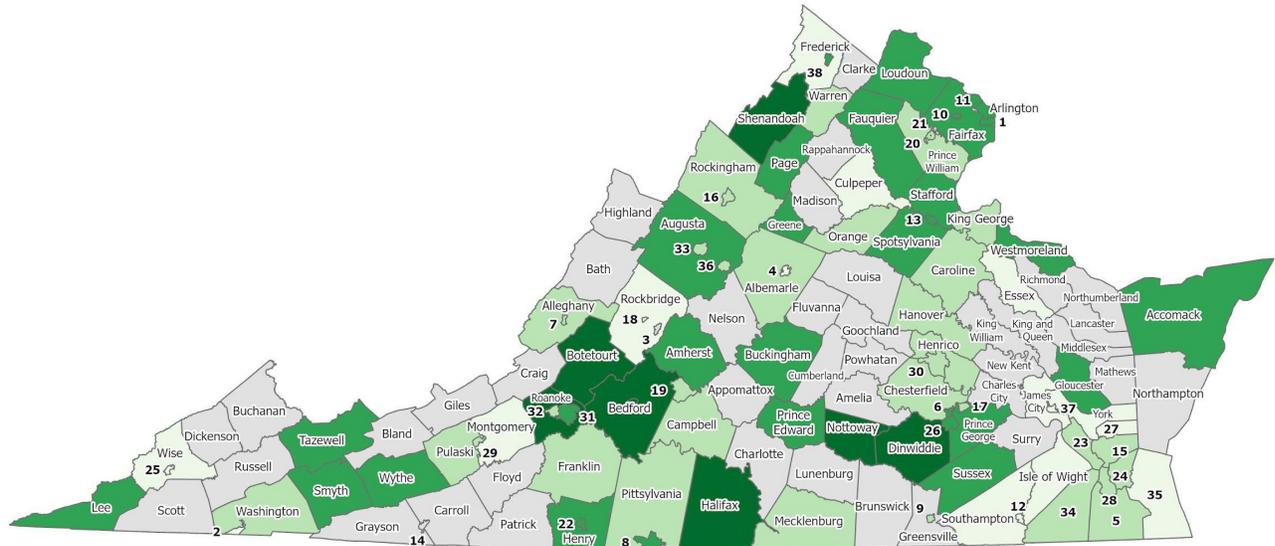


Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

\*\*Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 10 eviction judgments in the quarter are excluded to remove skew.

In many Virginia jurisdictions, the median principal amount owed exceeds the median rent. Figure 6 displays a map of the median principal amount owed as a percentage of regional median rent by jurisdiction in the second quarter of 2025. 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 and northern Virginia regions.

Figure 6: Median Principal Owed as a Percentage of Median Gross Rent, Q2 2025.



**Median Principal Owed as Percent of Median Gross Rent by Jurisdiction**

- 70% - 122%
- 123% - 178%
- 179% - 247%
- 248% - 358%
- Jurisdiction with Less than 10 Evictions

**Independent Cities**

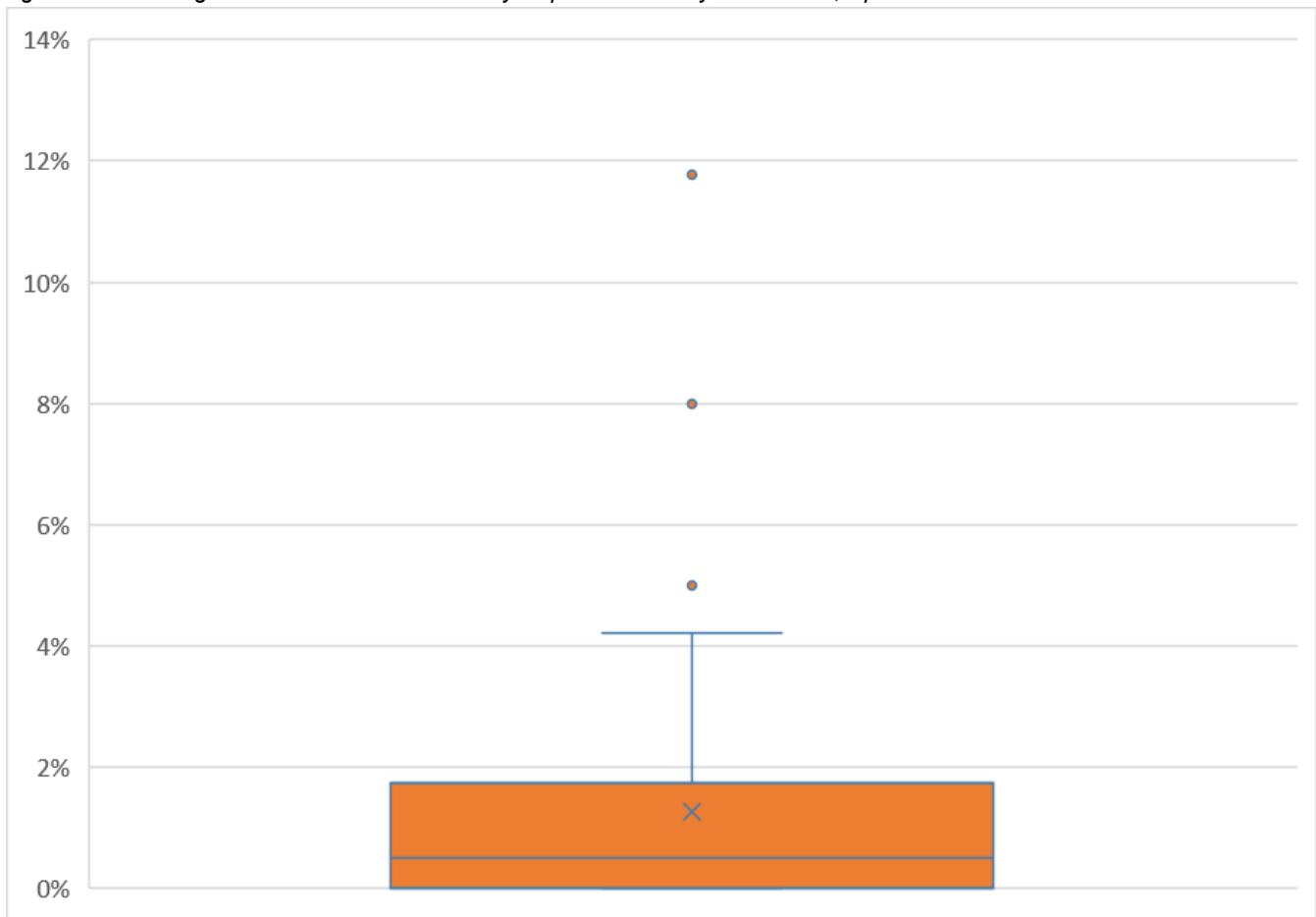
1 Alexandria	11 Falls Church	21 Manassas Park	31 Roanoke
2 Bristol	12 Franklin	22 Martinsville	32 Salem
3 Buena Vista	13 Fredericksburg	23 Newport News	33 Staunton
4 Charlottesville	14 Galax	24 Norfolk	34 Suffolk
5 Chesapeake	15 Hampton	25 Norton	35 Virginia Beach
6 Colonial Heights	16 Harrisonburg	26 Petersburg	36 Waynesboro
7 Covington	17 Hopewell	27 Poquoson	37 Williamsburg
8 Danville	18 Lexington	28 Portsmouth	38 Winchester
9 Emporia	19 Lynchburg	29 Radford	
10 Fairfax	20 Manassas	30 Richmond	

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 7 shows the percentage of defendants in Virginia jurisdictions that had attorney representation during eviction proceedings in the second quarter of 2025. 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. Page County had the highest level of representation at 12%, which is partly explained by a relatively lower number of cases (34), 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-pandemic<sup>8</sup>.

Figure 7: Percentage of Defendants with Attorney Representation by Jurisdiction, April-June 2025.



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

\*\*Note that jurisdictions with fewer than 20 filings are excluded.

<sup>8</sup> 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%20ORTC%20Report\\_12-10-19.pdf](https://info.stout.com/hubfs/PDF/Eviction-Reports-Articles-Cities-States/Los%20Angeles%20Eviction%20ORTC%20Report_12-10-19.pdf).

**Table 2: Median Gross Rent, Median Principal Owed, and Median Number of Months of Rent Owed by Region, April-June 2025.**

	<b>Median Gross Rent</b>	<b>Median Principal Owed</b>	<b>Median Number of Months of Rent Owed</b>
<b>Central Virginia/ Richmond VA MSA</b>	\$1,202	\$1,980	1.6
<b>Hampton Roads/ Virginia Beach - Norfolk - Newport News, VA - NC HUD Metro FMR Area</b>	\$1,227	\$1,959	1.6
<b>Northern Virginia/ Washington - Arlington - Alexandria, DC-VA-MD HUD Metro FMR Area</b>	\$1,783	\$3,841	2.2

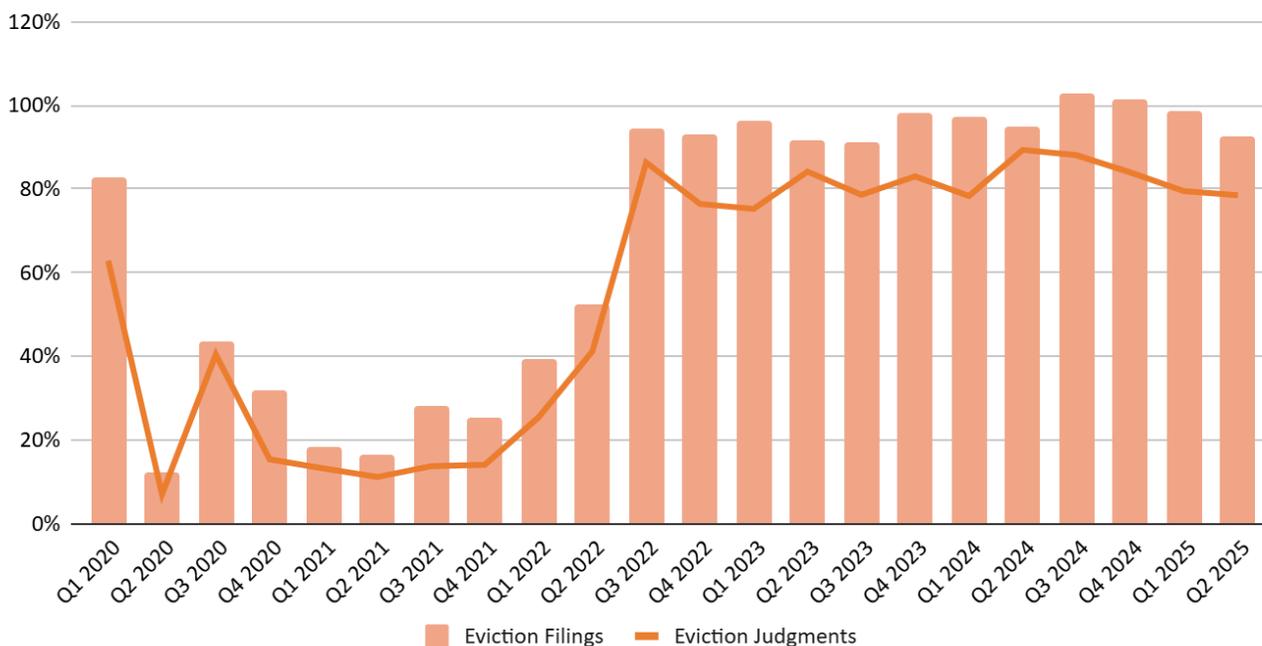
Source: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates (2021), Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

## REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

### Central Virginia

Figure 8 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last twenty-two quarters as a percentage of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) levels. Filings decreased by 6% from the previous quarter (from 9,182 to 8,629) and judgments decreased by 1% (from 4,506 to 4,450). Eviction filings for the second quarter of 2025 are 93% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 79% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 8: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region from the first quarter of 2025 to the second quarter of 2025. Judgments decreased in all jurisdictions except Petersburg, while eviction filings increased in all jurisdictions except Chesterfield and Richmond City.

**Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from January-March 2025 to April-June 2025.**

	Q1 2025		Q2 2025		Q2 2025 % change from Q1 2025	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesterfield</b>	1,992	929	1,809	904	-9%	-3%
<b>Henrico</b>	2,726	1,292	2,589	1,305	-5%	1%
<b>Hopewell</b>	207	106	200	115	-3%	8%
<b>Petersburg</b>	801	391	824	487	3%	25%
<b>Richmond</b>	3,456	1,788	3,207	1,639	-7%	-8%

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 second quarter of 2025 compared to pre-pandemic levels (an average pre-pandemic quarter). Eviction filings remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions other than Chesterfield and Petersburg. Judgments remained below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

**Table 4: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesterfield</b>	1,759	1,038	1,809	904	103%	87%
<b>Henrico</b>	2,607	1,580	2,589	1,305	99%	83%
<b>Hopewell</b>	349	227	200	115	57%	51%
<b>Petersburg</b>	810	510	824	487	102%	95%
<b>Richmond</b>	3,793	2,315	3,207	1,639	85%	71%

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

Table 5 shows the number and rates of default judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the second quarter of 2025 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 Q2 of 2025, Petersburg had the highest percentage (42%) of evictions resulting from default judgments, while Hopewell had the lowest percentage (35%). Default judgments in the Central Virginia region represent 74% of all evictions in Q2 2025.

**Table 5: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

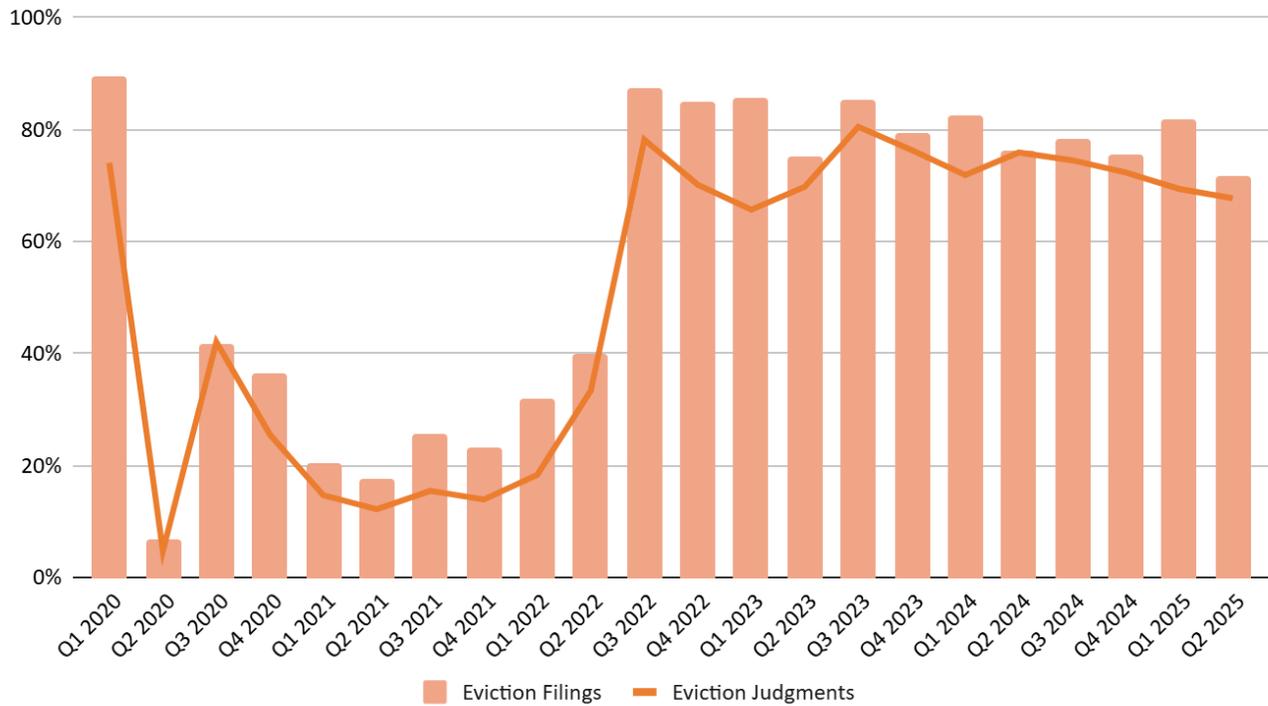
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>Chesterfield</b>	820	47%	690	38%	84%
<b>Henrico</b>	1,286	49%	965	37%	75%
<b>Hopewell</b>	169	48%	69	35%	41%
<b>Petersburg</b>	374	46%	342	42%	91%
<b>Richmond</b>	1,784	47%	1,210	38%	68%

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

## Hampton Roads

In the second quarter of 2025, eviction filings decreased by 12% from the previous quarter in the Hampton Roads region (from 11,806 to 10,373) and judgments decreased by 2% (from 5,778 to 5,639). Figure 9 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percentage of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the region. Eviction filings for the second quarter of 2025 are 72% of 2019 pre-pandemic levels and eviction judgments are 68% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 9: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region from the first quarter of 2025 to the second quarter of 2025. Eviction filings decreased in all jurisdictions. Eviction judgments increased only in the Hampton Roads jurisdictions of Chesapeake, Newport News, and Norfolk.

**Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, Percent Change from January-March 2025 to April-June 2025.**

	Q1 2025		Q2 2025		Q2 2025 % change from Q1 2025	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesapeake</b>	1,159	499	982	561	-15%	12%
<b>Hampton</b>	1,786	935	1,422	783	-20%	-16%
<b>Newport News</b>	2,490	1,168	2,272	1,187	-9%	2%
<b>Norfolk</b>	2,440	1,212	2,365	1,253	-3%	3%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	1,072	605	874	536	-18%	-11%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	2,859	1,359	2,458	1,319	-14%	-3%

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 Q2 of 2025. Eviction filings and judgments remain below pre-pandemic levels in all jurisdictions.

**Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>Chesapeake</b>	1,384	810	982	561	71%	69%
<b>Hampton</b>	1,877	1,148	1,422	783	76%	68%
<b>Newport News</b>	3,496	2,056	2,272	1,187	65%	58%
<b>Norfolk</b>	3,223	1,563	2,365	1,253	73%	80%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	1,450	970	874	536	60%	55%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	3,032	1,781	2,458	1,319	81%	74%

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 Q2 2025 in the Hampton Roads region. Default judgments and default judgment rates in Q2 of 2025 in all Hampton Roads jurisdictions were lower than the average pre-pandemic quarter. Default judgments in the Hampton Roads region represent 71% of all evictions in Q2 2025.

**Table 8: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

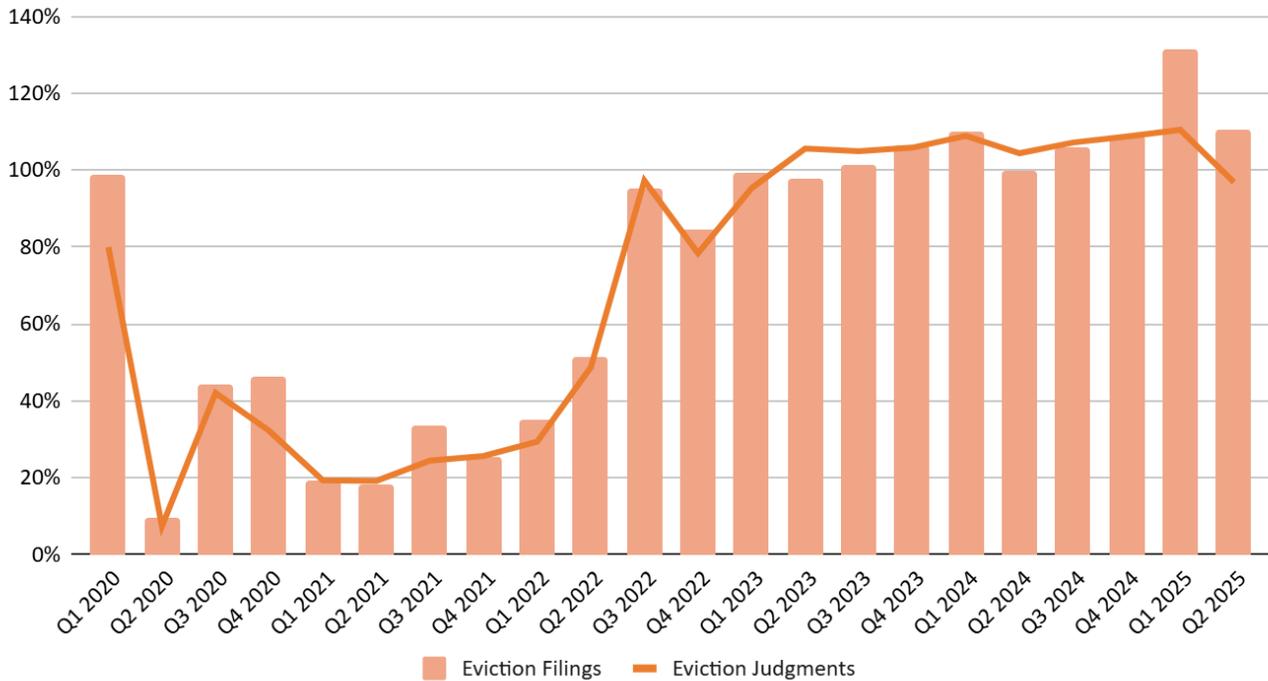
	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>Chesapeake</b>	653	47%	402	41%	62%
<b>Hampton</b>	924	49%	547	38%	59%
<b>Newport News</b>	1,598	46%	813	36%	51%
<b>Norfolk</b>	1,218	38%	888	38%	73%
<b>Portsmouth</b>	723	50%	367	42%	51%
<b>Virginia Beach</b>	1,466	48%	973	40%	66%

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

## Northern Virginia

In the second quarter of 2025, eviction filings in the Northern Virginia region decreased by 16% from the previous quarter (from 7,847 to 6,599) and judgments decreased by 12% (from 2,898 to 2,541). Figure 10 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percentage of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. Eviction filings for the second quarter of 2025 are 111% pre-pandemic 2019 levels and eviction judgments are 97% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels.

Figure 10: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Northern Virginia region from the first quarter of 2025 to the second quarter of 2025. Eviction filings decreased in all jurisdictions. Eviction judgments increased only in two jurisdictions: Falls Church and Fredericksburg.

**Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from January-March 2025 to April-June 2025.**

	Q1 2025		Q2 2025		Q2 2025 % change from Q1 2025	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,519	545	1,093	384	-28%	-30%
Arlington	956	410	714	307	-25%	-25%
Fairfax Co.	2,383	858	2,247	819	-6%	-5%
Falls Church	26	8	26	10	0%	25%*
Fredericksburg	266	110	249	122	-6%	11%
Loudoun	549	187	464	162	-15%	-13%
Prince William	1,808	634	1,513	607	-16%	-4%
Stafford	340	146	293	130	-14%	-11%

*\*An increase or decrease in low eviction filing or judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower.  
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 Q2 2025 are presented in Table 10. Falls Church is not considered in this section's discussion because an increase in low eviction filing or judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Eviction filings in five out of the seven considered localities throughout the region were above pre-pandemic levels. Arlington and Fairfax County were the highest at 123%. Eviction judgments in Arlington and Fairfax County surpassed pre-pandemic levels.

**Table 10: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
Alexandria	1,054	431	1,093	384	104%	89%
Arlington	582	237	714	307	123%	130%
Fairfax Co.	1,833	771	2,247	819	123%	106%
Falls Church	10	4	26	10	274%*	250%*
Fredericksburg	284	151	249	122	88%	81%
Loudoun	447	192	464	162	104%	85%
Prince William	1,393	665	1,513	607	109%	91%
Stafford	374	175	293	130	78%	74%

*\*An increase or decrease in low eviction filing and judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher/lower, as is the case for Falls Church with relatively small numbers of filings and judgments.  
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis*

Table 11 shows the number and rates of default judgments in an average pre-pandemic quarter (2019) and Q2 2025. Same as above, Falls Church is not considered in this section’s discussion because an increase in low eviction default judgment numbers skews percentages to appear higher. Default judgments in Arlington and Fairfax County in Q2 2025 surpassed pre-pandemic numbers. Northern Virginia’s default judgment rates did not surpass pre-pandemic levels in any jurisdiction. Default judgments in the Northern Virginia region represent 71% of all evictions in Q2 2025.

**Table 11: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>Alexandria</b>	323	31%	294	27%	91%
<b>Arlington</b>	178	31%	196	27%	110%
<b>Fairfax Co.</b>	614	34%	630	28%	103%
<b>Falls Church</b>	3	24%	5	19%	167%*
<b>Fredericksburg</b>	107	38%	83	33%	78%
<b>Loudoun</b>	139	31%	111	24%	80%
<b>Prince William</b>	489	35%	414	27%	85%
<b>Stafford</b>	121	33%	76	26%	63%

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

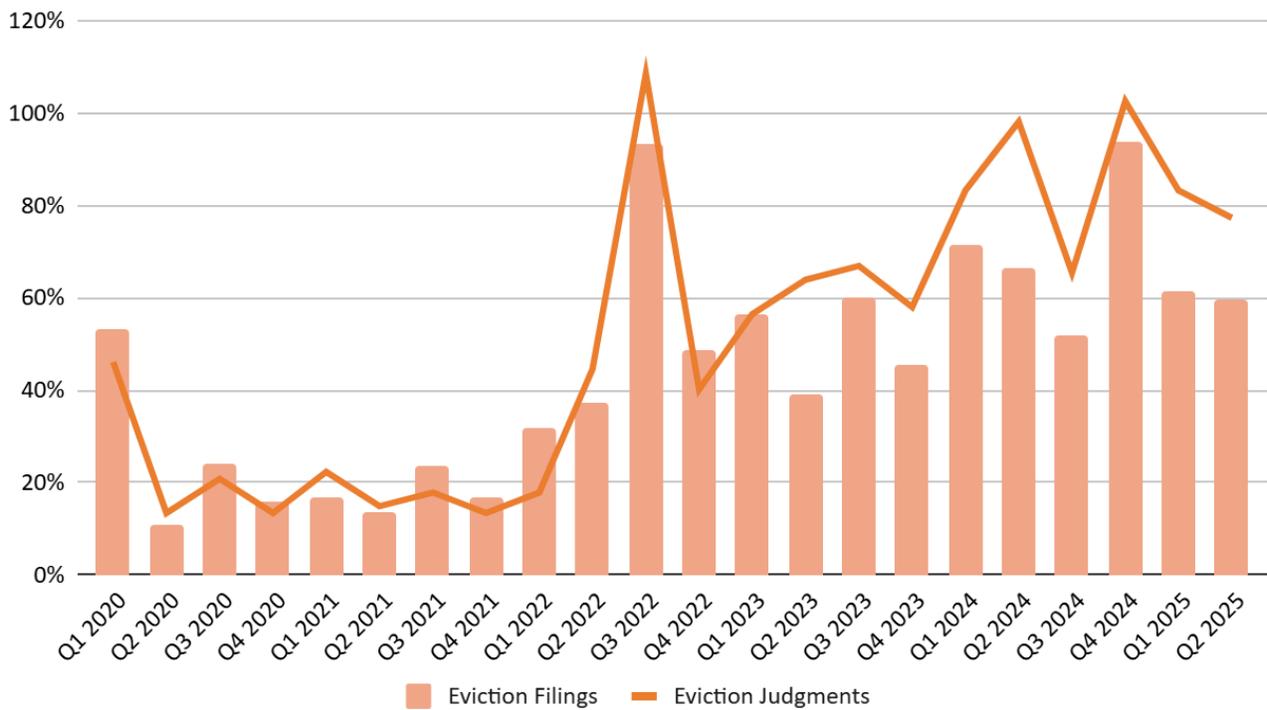
*Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis*

## CITY UPDATES

### City of Charlottesville

Figure 11 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last 22 quarters as a percentage of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. In the second quarter of 2025, eviction filings decreased by 3% from the previous quarter (from 96 to 93) and judgments decreased by 7% (from 56 to 52). In Q2 of 2025, the City of Charlottesville experienced 93 eviction filings and 52 judgments, representing 59% and 77% of pre-pandemic levels.

Figure 11: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in the City of Charlottesville from the first quarter of 2025 to the second quarter of 2025. Eviction filings decreased by 3% and judgments decreased by 7% in the City of Charlottesville.

**Table 12: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, Percent Change from January-March 2025 to April-June 2025.**

Q1 2025		Q2 2025		Q2 2025 % change from Q1 2025	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
96	56	93	52	-3%	-7%

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 second quarter of 2025 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, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019	
Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
157	67	93	52	59%	77%

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 Q2 of 2025 in Charlottesville. The number of default judgments remains lower than pre-pandemic, while the default judgment rate has increased above pre-pandemic levels. Default judgments in the City of Charlottesville represent 62% of all judgments in Q2 2025.

**Table 14: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Charlottesville, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

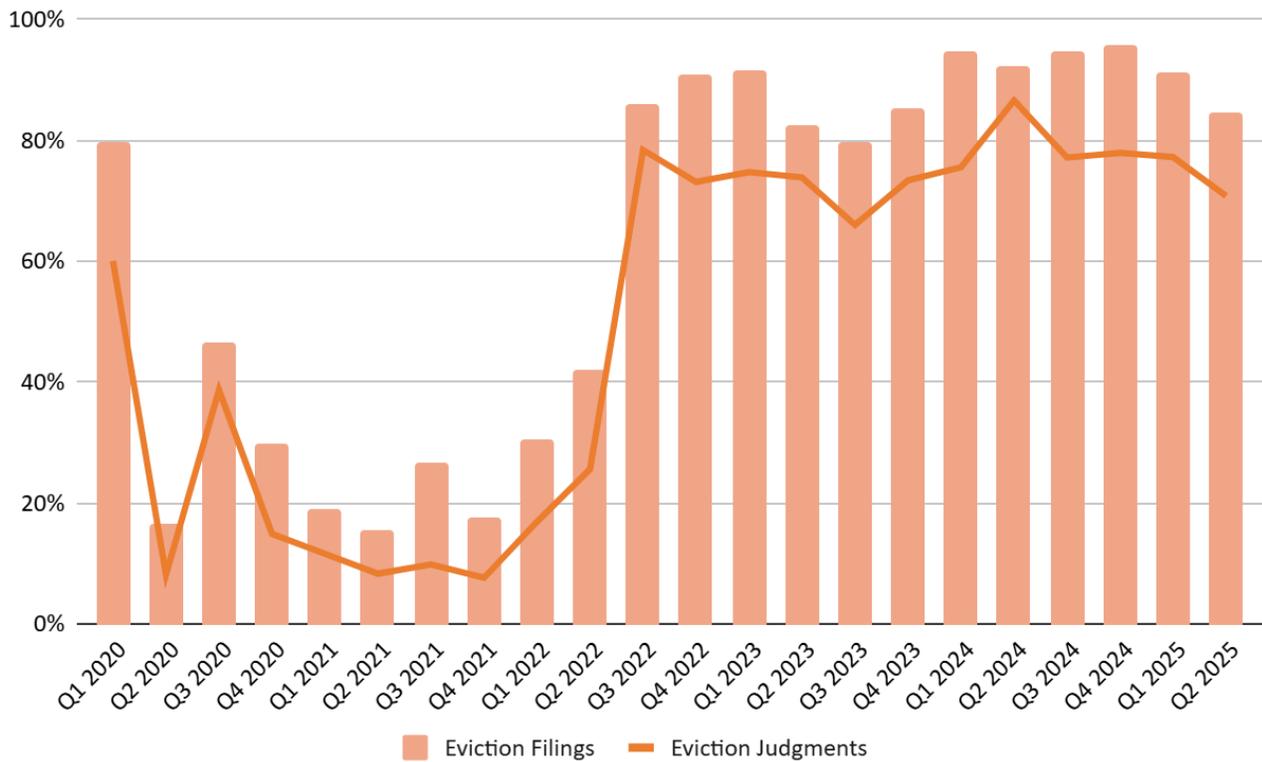
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019
Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
38	25%	32	34%	84%

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

## City of Richmond

In the second quarter of 2025, eviction filings decreased by 7% from the previous quarter (from 3,456 to 3,207) and judgments decreased by 8% (from 1,788 to 1,639). Figure 12 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. During the second quarter of 2025, Richmond's eviction filings represented 85% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) filings, and its eviction judgments represented 71% of the average pre-COVID quarter (2019) judgments.

Figure 12: Filings and judgments as a percentage 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 percent change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes from the first quarter of 2025 to the second quarter of 2025. From quarter to quarter, eviction filings increased in 4 ZIP codes and judgments increased in 5 ZIP codes. Eviction filings increased in 23221, 23222, 23223, and 23227. Eviction judgments increased in 23221, 23222, 23227, 23231, and 23235. Eviction filings decreased by 7% and judgments decreased by 8% for the City of Richmond as a whole from Q1 2025 to Q2 2025.

**Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, Percent Change from January-March 2025 to April-June 2025.**

ZIP Code	Q1 2025		Q2 2025		Q2 2025 % change from Q1 2025	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>23219</b>	151	73	144	64	-5%	-12%
<b>23220</b>	335	161	293	145	-13%	-10%
<b>23221</b>	17	7	20	8	18%*	14%*
<b>23222</b>	212	96	253	130	19%	35%
<b>23223</b>	369	183	410	179	11%	-2%
<b>23224</b>	1,036	554	891	473	-14%	-15%
<b>23225</b>	913	498	819	437	-10%	-12%
<b>23226</b>	4	4	2	2	-50%*	-50%*
<b>23227</b>	72	52	147	97	104%	87%
<b>23230</b>	58	31	37	11	-36%	-65%*
<b>23231</b>	39	17	30	18	-23%	6%*
<b>23234</b>	75	39	57	24	-24%	-38%
<b>23235</b>	10	3	8	6	-20%*	100%*
<b>Other</b>	165	70	96	45	-42%	-36%

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

*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 second quarter of 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter. Eviction filings exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 3 ZIP codes and judgments exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in 1 ZIP code. Pre-pandemic filing levels have been surpassed in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23224, and 23230. Eviction judgments have surpassed pre-pandemic levels in 23219. Filings and judgments also surpassed pre-pandemic levels for Other, Richmond eviction records not tied to a specific ZIP code. Eviction filings reached 85% of pre-pandemic levels and judgments in the City of Richmond reached 71% of pre-pandemic levels.

**Table 16: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

ZIP Code	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019	
	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments	Filings	Judgments
<b>23219</b>	99	52	144	64	146%	124%
<b>23220</b>	294	155	293	145	100%	94%
<b>23221</b>	25	13	20	8	80%*	60%*
<b>23222</b>	320	204	253	130	79%	64%
<b>23223</b>	645	387	410	179	64%	46%
<b>23224</b>	882	566	891	473	101%	84%
<b>23225</b>	885	557	819	437	93%	78%
<b>23226</b>	3	3	2	2	62%*	80%*
<b>23227</b>	319	175	147	97	46%	56%
<b>23230</b>	25	13	37	11	149%*	86%*
<b>23231</b>	96	65	30	18	31%	28%
<b>23234</b>	140	92	57	24	41%	26%
<b>23235</b>	14	8	8	6	58%*	77%*
<b>Other</b>	49	27	96	45	196%	165%

*\*An increase or decrease in low eviction filing and 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 default judgment 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, and 23226) and default judgment rates remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all but two of the ZIP codes (23221 and 23226). Default judgments in the City of Richmond represent 74% of all judgments in Q2 2025.

**Table 17: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Richmond ZIP codes, April-June 2025 and an average pre-pandemic quarter.**

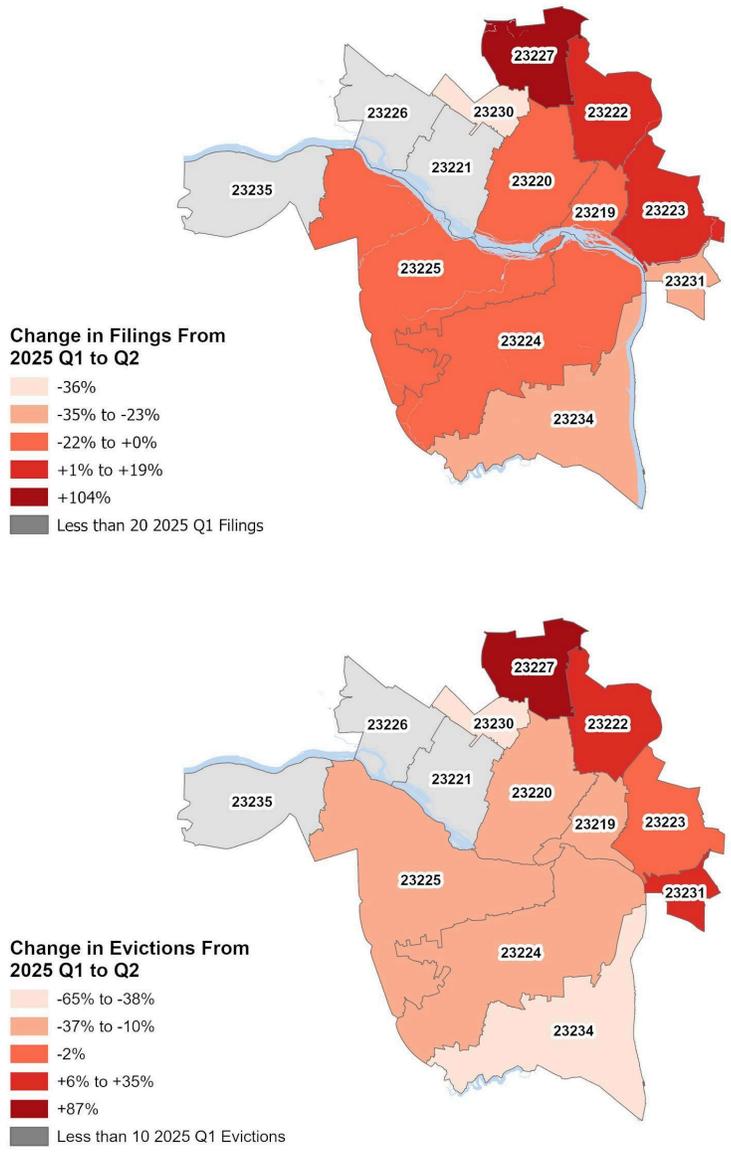
ZIP Code	Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter		Q2 2025		2025 % of 2019
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments
<b>23219</b>	36	36%	47	33%	131%
<b>23220</b>	116	39%	112	38%	97%
<b>23221</b>	9	35%	7	35%	80%
<b>23222</b>	139	43%	90	36%	65%
<b>23223</b>	268	41%	122	30%	46%
<b>23224</b>	451	51%	369	41%	82%
<b>23225</b>	465	52%	326	40%	70%
<b>23226</b>	2	50%	2	100%	114%*
<b>23227</b>	145	45%	65	44%	45%
<b>23230</b>	10	41%	9	24%	88%
<b>23231</b>	45	46%	12	40%	27%
<b>23234</b>	71	51%	14	25%	20%
<b>23235</b>	7	49%	2	25%	29%
<b>Other</b>	23	45%	33	34%	145%

*\*An increase or decrease in low default judgment numbers and default rates skews percentages to appear higher/lower.*

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

Figure 13 shows the percent change in eviction filings and judgments from the first quarter of 2025 to the second quarter of 2025. Eviction filings decreased in all ZIP codes except for 23227, 23222, and 23223. Eviction judgments decreased in all ZIP codes except for 23227, 23222, and 23231. Figure 13 omits data from ZIP codes with less than 20 eviction filings and less than 10 eviction judgments, for data interpretation purposes.

Figure 13: Map of eviction filings and judgments in Richmond by ZIP Code, Percent Change from Q1 2025 to Q2 2025.



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

## Appendices

Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 2<sup>nd</sup> Quarter, 2025

Jurisdiction	2025 Q2 Eviction Filings	2025 Q2 Evictions Judgments	2025 Q2 Default Judgments	2025 Q2 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	40	18	12	30%
Albemarle	249	142	103	41%
Alleghany	66	23	15	23%
Amelia	3	2	1	33%
Amherst	57	32	19	33%
Appomattox	6	4	2	33%
Arlington	714	307	196	27%
Augusta	93	34	19	20%
Bath	5	1	0	0%
Bedford	68	34	24	35%
Bland	5	2	1	20%
Botetourt	29	13	10	34%
Brunswick	12	7	3	25%
Buchanan	7	5	2	29%
Buckingham	20	11	0	0%
Campbell	161	88	57	35%
Caroline	32	12	7	22%
Carroll	10	7	1	10%
Charles City	4	1	1	25%
Charlotte	8	0	0	0%
Chesterfield	1809	904	690	38%
Clarke	7	3	1	14%
Craig	2	2	2	100%
Culpeper	57	27	15	26%
Cumberland	10	5	1	10%
Dickenson	7	6	5	71%
Dinwiddie	39	18	12	31%
Essex	20	11	5	25%
Fairfax Co.	2247	819	630	28%
Fauquier	49	26	17	35%
Floyd	2	2	0	0%
Fluvanna	8	5	4	50%
Franklin Co.	49	32	20	41%
Frederick	71	29	20	28%
Giles	14	4	0	0%
Gloucester	80	30	14	18%
Goochland	21	9	3	14%

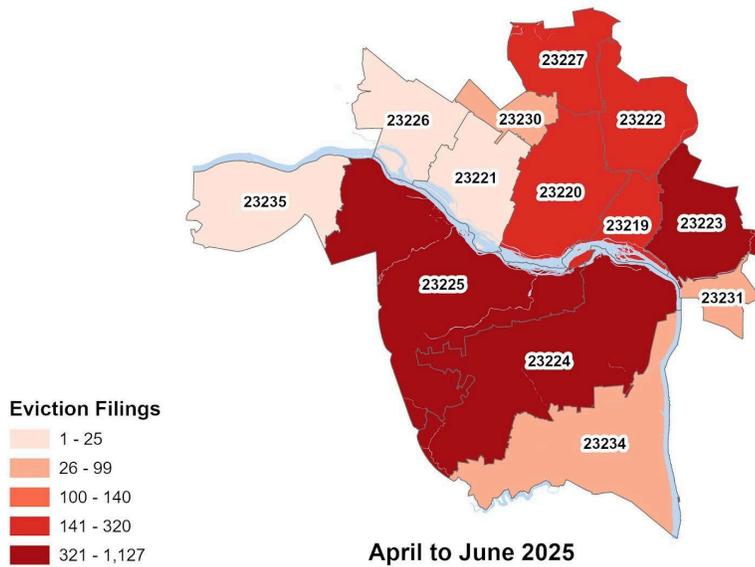
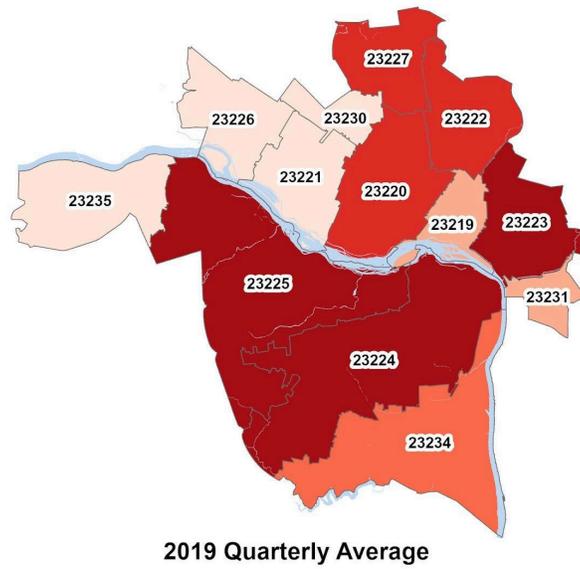
Grayson	8	3	1	13%
Greene	25	12	8	32%
Greensville	22	9	2	9%
Halifax	34	20	14	41%
Hanover	112	47	33	29%
Henrico	2589	1305	965	37%
Henry	127	79	54	43%
Highland	0	0	0	0%
Isle of Wight	152	73	68	45%
King & Queen	4	2	1	25%
King George	75	31	23	31%
King William	11	7	5	45%
Lancaster	16	2	1	6%
Lee	29	12	4	14%
Loudoun	464	162	111	24%
Louisa	15	6	2	13%
Lunenburg	16	9	4	25%
Madison	4	2	2	50%
Mathews	9	6	2	22%
Mecklenburg	40	15	7	18%
Middlesex	8	0	0	0%
Montgomery	204	97	72	35%
Nelson	9	3	1	11%
New Kent	13	4	2	15%
Northampton	16	7	5	31%
Northumberland	3	2	0	0%
Nottoway	28	20	14	50%
Orange	66	23	7	11%
Page	34	22	5	15%
Patrick	7	2	1	14%
Pittsylvania	73	38	22	30%
Powhatan	14	6	1	7%
Prince Edward	65	28	0	0%
Prince George	90	55	1	1%
Prince William	1513	607	414	27%
Pulaski	78	47	28	36%
Rappahannock	5	3	1	20%
Richmond Co.	4	3	1	25%
Roanoke Co.	175	71	47	27%
Rockbridge	29	10	9	31%
Rockingham / Harrisonburg	265	60	45	17%

Russell	19	7	2	11%
Scott	4	4	0	0%
Shenandoah	40	24	14	35%
Smyth	52	36	17	33%
Southampton	36	18	10	28%
Spotsylvania	418	183	120	29%
Stafford	293	130	76	26%
Surry	3	2	0	0%
Sussex	22	10	7	32%
Tazewell	29	18	10	34%
Warren	51	23	15	29%
Washington	64	39	15	23%
Westmoreland	33	13	8	24%
Wise	90	14	10	11%
Wythe	53	25	12	23%
York	225	80	62	28%
Alexandria	1093	384	294	27%
Bristol	84	35	13	15%
Buena Vista	7	2	2	29%
Charlottesville	93	52	32	34%
Chesapeake	982	561	402	41%
Colonial Heights	113	67	45	40%
Danville	383	227	162	42%
Emporia	19	12	5	26%
Falls Church	26	10	5	19%
Franklin City	49	32	21	43%
Fredericksburg	249	122	83	33%
Galax	14	5	3	21%
Hampton	1422	783	547	38%
Hopewell	200	115	69	35%
Lynchburg	458	257	160	35%
Martinsville	81	25	13	16%
Newport News	2272	1187	813	36%
Norfolk	2365	1253	888	38%
Petersburg	824	487	342	42%
Portsmouth	874	536	367	42%
Radford	64	26	19	30%
Richmond City	3207	1639	1210	38%
Roanoke City	770	401	247	32%
Salem	109	59	36	33%
Staunton	46	21	9	20%
Suffolk	417	213	156	37%

Virginia Beach	2458	1319	973	40%
Waynesboro	101	31	17	17%
Williamsburg / James City County	256	126	90	35%
Winchester	79	27	20	25%

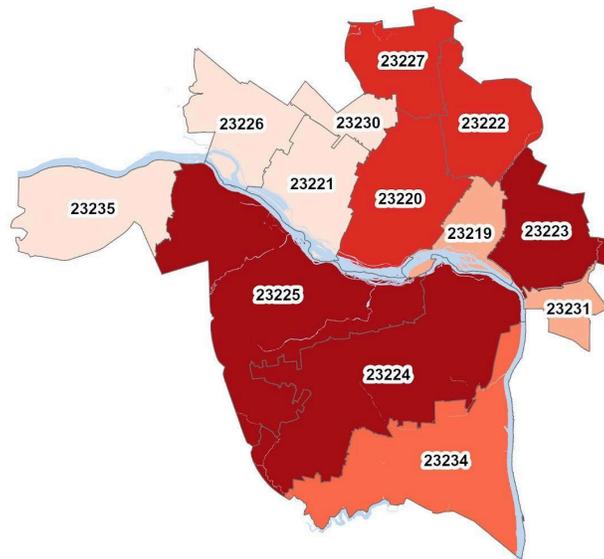
Source: Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix B: Map of Eviction Filings in Richmond by ZIP code  
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q2 2025

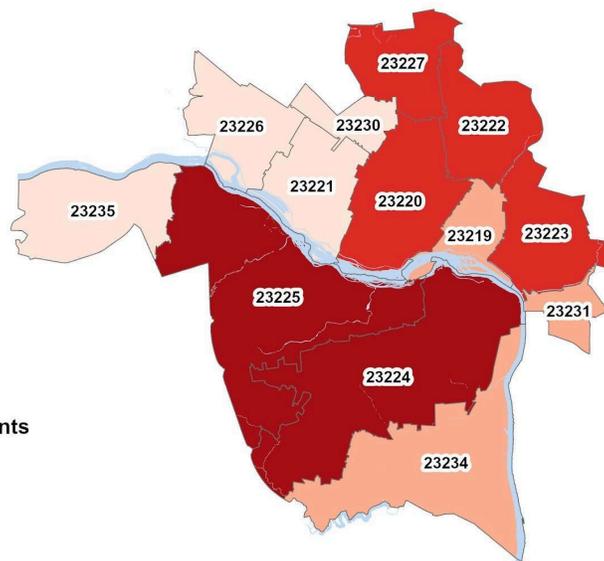


Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Appendix C: Map of Eviction Judgments in Richmond by ZIP code  
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) & Q2 2025



2019 Quarterly Average



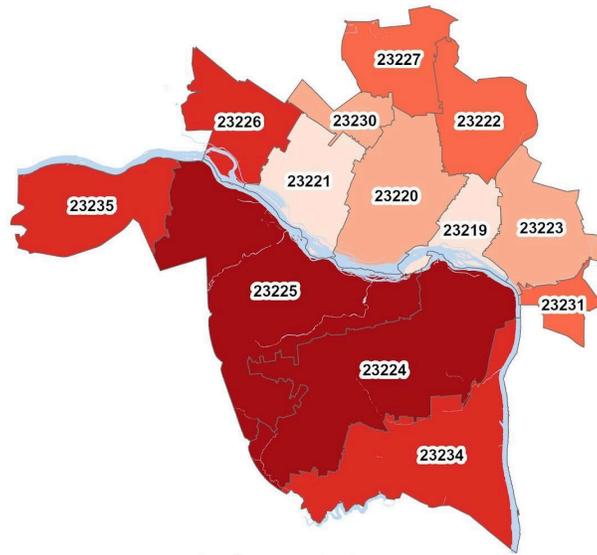
April to June 2025

Eviction Judgments

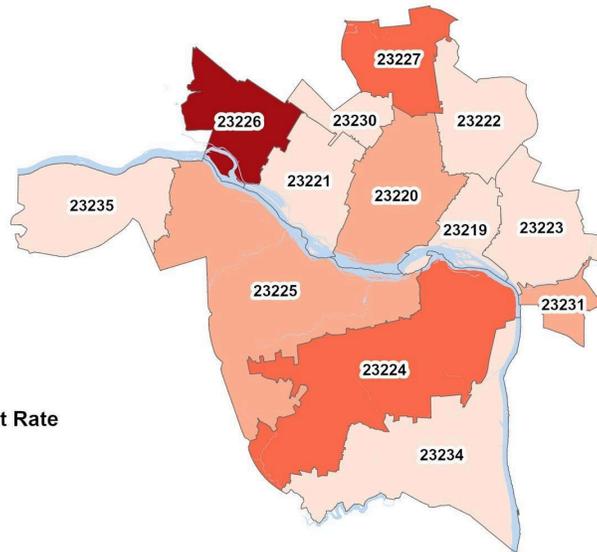
- 0 - 13
- 14 - 65
- 66 - 92
- 93 - 204
- 205 - 574

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  
Average Pre-Pandemic Quarter (2019) and Q2 2025



2019 Quarterly Average



April to June 2025

**Default Judgment Rate**

- 22% - 36%
- 37% - 41%
- 42% - 46%
- 47% - 51%
- 52% - 100%

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