



Quarterly Data Report
4th Quarter 2022: October through December

RVA Eviction Lab Staff
January 2023

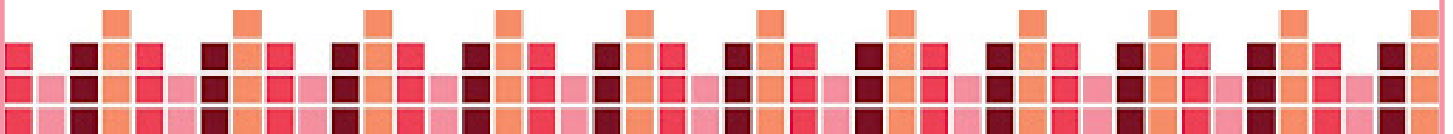


VCU L. Douglas Wilder School of
Government and Public Affairs



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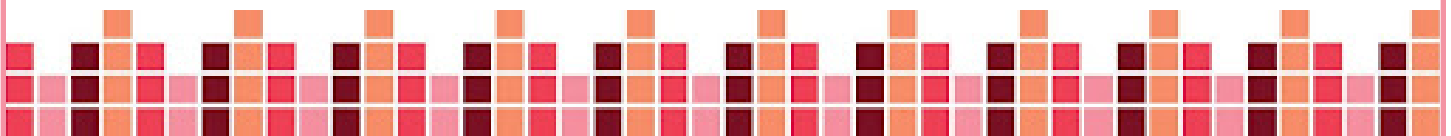
About the RVA Eviction Lab

Created in August 2018, the RVA Eviction Lab has a primary mission of collecting, analyzing and disseminating data and research that will:

- Inform policy-making that will support stable housing for low- and moderate-income households;
- Facilitate shared knowledge production about community needs and opportunities; and
- Support efforts of communities most impacted by housing instability to research and advocate for themselves.

We use two primary approaches to advance these goals. First, we provide data analysis and written reports to decision-makers, policy advocates and government agency staff about eviction-related trends, policies and structural bases. Second, we engage with community-based organizations to provide community-relevant research and data that can be used for knowledge-building and action.

Our work is supported through grants from the Richmond Memorial Health Foundation and the VCU Office of Community-engaged Research that enable us to respond to community-identified needs for data analysis across the Commonwealth.



Methodology

Court Data Acquisition

In Virginia, eviction cases are heard in civil courts at the city or county level and are designated with an “unlawful detainer” classification in court records. Court case data has been provided by Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative¹, as per a data sharing agreement between the RVA Eviction Lab and LSC, for the purposes of this and subsequent reports. 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

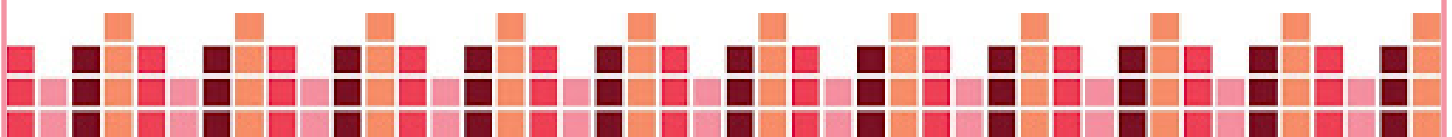
We deduplicated court records to remove true duplicate cases (cases with matching key variables) and serial cases (consecutive filings by a landlord against a single household)². True duplicate cases were identified by matching filing dates, judgment outcomes, case costs and fees, plaintiff names, defendant 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.

Evictions Totals

Eviction filing and judgment totals for each jurisdiction were calculated based on the number of cases with a given geographic FIPS (Federal Information Processing Standards) code. Totals for each ZIP code were calculated based on the number of cases with a given defendant address. Default judgment totals were calculated based on the number of cases with a hearing resulting in a default judgment. We compare these numbers to the same quarter of 2019 to simulate a “typical” year. These comparisons illustrate how the current eviction landscape compares to the Commonwealth’s historic patterns of eviction. While we report the most up-to-date numbers available, data reporting delays will likely result in an upward revision of eviction filing and judgment data in subsequent reports.

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 Krywokuski, Lillian Leung, and Adam Porton. Eviction Lab Methodology Report: Version 1.0. Princeton: Princeton University, 2018, www.evictionlab.org/methods.

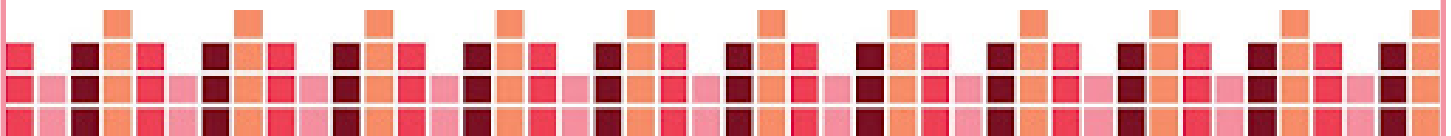
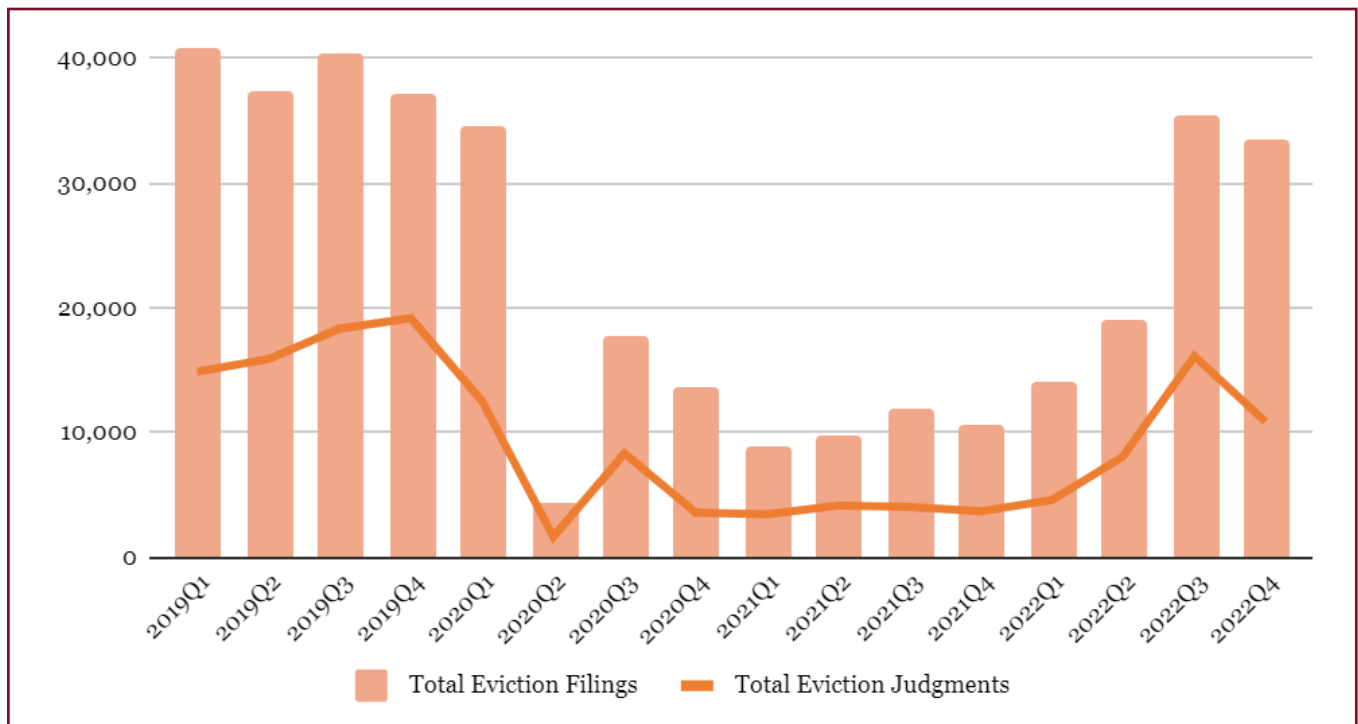


Introduction

In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes a series of data on eviction and housing instability in Virginia during the fourth quarter of 2022, as well as for the year overall. As in our previous reports, we compare 2022 quarterly eviction data to pre-pandemic levels, using the 2019 quarterly data as a benchmark. This report is broken down into three scales of analysis: state, region (Central Virginia, Hampton Roads and Northern Virginia) and cities (Charlottesville and Richmond). Fourth quarter eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

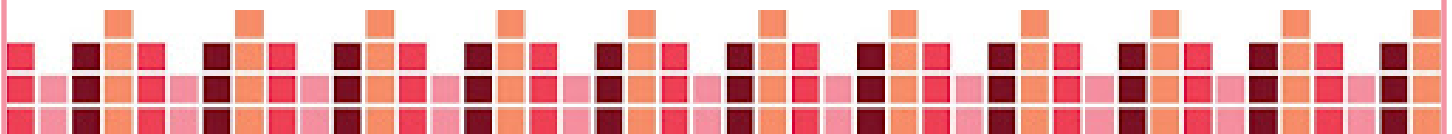
As Figure A shows, evictions and filings across the Commonwealth hit their highest volume since the start of the pandemic in the previous quarter, and dipped slightly in the fourth quarter to indicate that filings may be leveling off. However, when compared to fourth quarter filings in previous periods, it is clear that eviction filings continue to rise. Filings reached 90.3% of the 2019 total for the fourth quarter, reflecting a continued approach towards pre-pandemic levels. Judgments, however, were at 57% of their pre-pandemic levels for the fourth quarter, indicating that eviction judgments continue to lag filings, potentially reflecting new and ongoing efforts for eviction prevention in the courthouse.

Figure A: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2022



Regional Highlights of 2022's fourth quarter include:

- The U.S. Census Pulse survey indicates almost 60% of Virginia renters have had their rents increase over the last 12 months. While FY 2023 Fair Market Rents for a two-bedroom unit in Charlottesville MSA, Richmond MSA, Virginia Beach MSA and Washington, D.C. MSA has increased by 11%, 12%, 11% and 3%, respectively, from FY 2022, more than half of Black renters have seen increases of greater than \$100 per month.
- Eviction filings, eviction judgments and default judgments appear to be leveling off statewide and in every region. Statewide filings decreased by 6% between the third and fourth quarter, while judgements increased 33%. However, when compared to previous 4th quarter data this still represents an increase.
- Eviction filings increased from the third quarter to fourth quarter 2022 in the cities of Richmond (6%), Newport News (11%), Virginia Beach (3%), Alexandria (7%) and Loudoun County (32%).
- Eviction filings and judgements remain below pre-pandemic levels across the state, with one exception. In the fourth quarter of 2022, Richmond exceeded their pre-pandemic levels in Richmond by 6%.
- In the City of Richmond, eviction filings are continuing to exceed pre-pandemic levels. Eviction filings continue to surpass pre-pandemic levels in all areas of Richmond City, except for the west end. ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23224, 23225, 23230 and 23235 by 93%, 19%, 13%, 26%, 228% and 13%, respectively.
- Half of all eviction judgments originated with just 19 landlords in the city of Richmond.
- The year-end total number of evictions filed in Virginia in 2022 was 102,224. 25,855 were filed in Central Virginia (9,434 in Richmond), 35,141 were filed in Hampton Roads, and 15,974 were filed in Northern Virginia. 332 filings took place in Charlottesville. The year-end total number of eviction judgments in the Commonwealth was 39,690. 10,175 took place in Central Virginia (3,599 in Richmond), 13,027 took place in Hampton Roads, and 5,864 took place in Northern Virginia. 134 took place in Charlottesville.

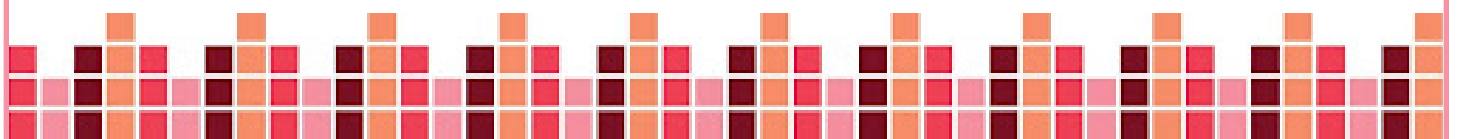




During the COVID-19 pandemic (measured Q2 2020 to Q4 2022), 68,582 eviction judgments were issued across the Commonwealth. Nearly 40% were filed in the second half of 2022. At the regional scale, there were 11,795 evictions in Central Virginia, 17,196 evictions in Hampton Roads, and 7,736 in Northern Virginia. Fourth quarter eviction judgements were 25%, 25% and 20% of their respective regional totals.

While the Commonwealth responded strongly to the COVID-19 pandemic with rental assistance and protections, these policies ended in the second quarter of 2022³. Although the number of evictions remains lower than pre-pandemic levels in the majority of regions and cities, both eviction filings and eviction judgments have steadily increased since the Spring of 2021. Further, due to a lag in the data from the General District Court website, we anticipate that many of these totals will exceed the pre-pandemic numbers. This report should raise alarms about the potential for high levels of housing instability through both formal and informal evictions for Virginia families this winter.

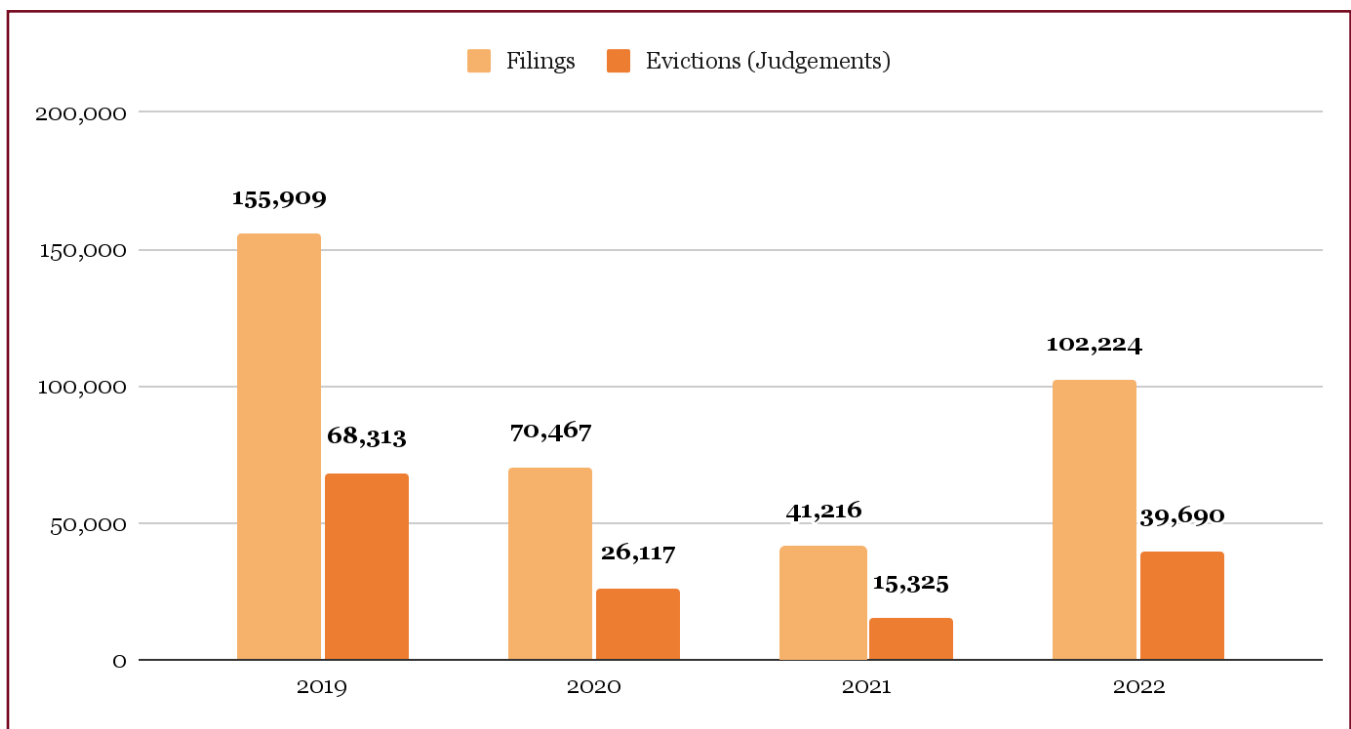
3 The Commonwealth is a leader in the use of the federal Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA), spending more than 70% of the funding received. Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition's Treasury Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA) Dashboard (October 18, 2021). <https://nlihc.org/era-dashboard>



HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Figure 1 shows the annual totals for eviction filings and judgments in Virginia since 2019. In 2022, filings totaled 102,224, and judgments totaled 39,690. Filings have reached 65.57% of the 2019 total, and judgments reached 58.1%. Both have risen significantly from the 2020 and 2021 totals.

Figure 1: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2022



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

Statewide eviction filings and judgments during the fourth quarter decreased from third quarter levels. As shown in Figure 2, eviction filings decreased 5.7% from the previous quarter (35,558 in the third quarter of 2022 to 33,539 in the fourth quarter of 2022), while eviction judgments decreased by 32.5% from 16,134 to 10,887. Figure 2 visualizes these numbers. However, we estimate that these numbers do not capture the true scope of housing instability and evictions in the Commonwealth this past quarter due to the rise in rents statewide, lease non-renewals and other forms of informal eviction. Further due to a lag in the data from the state courts, we anticipate that the final totals will be higher.

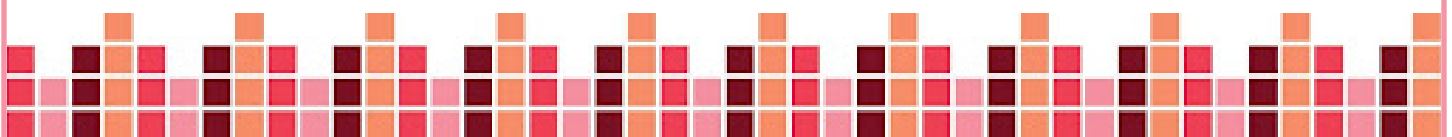
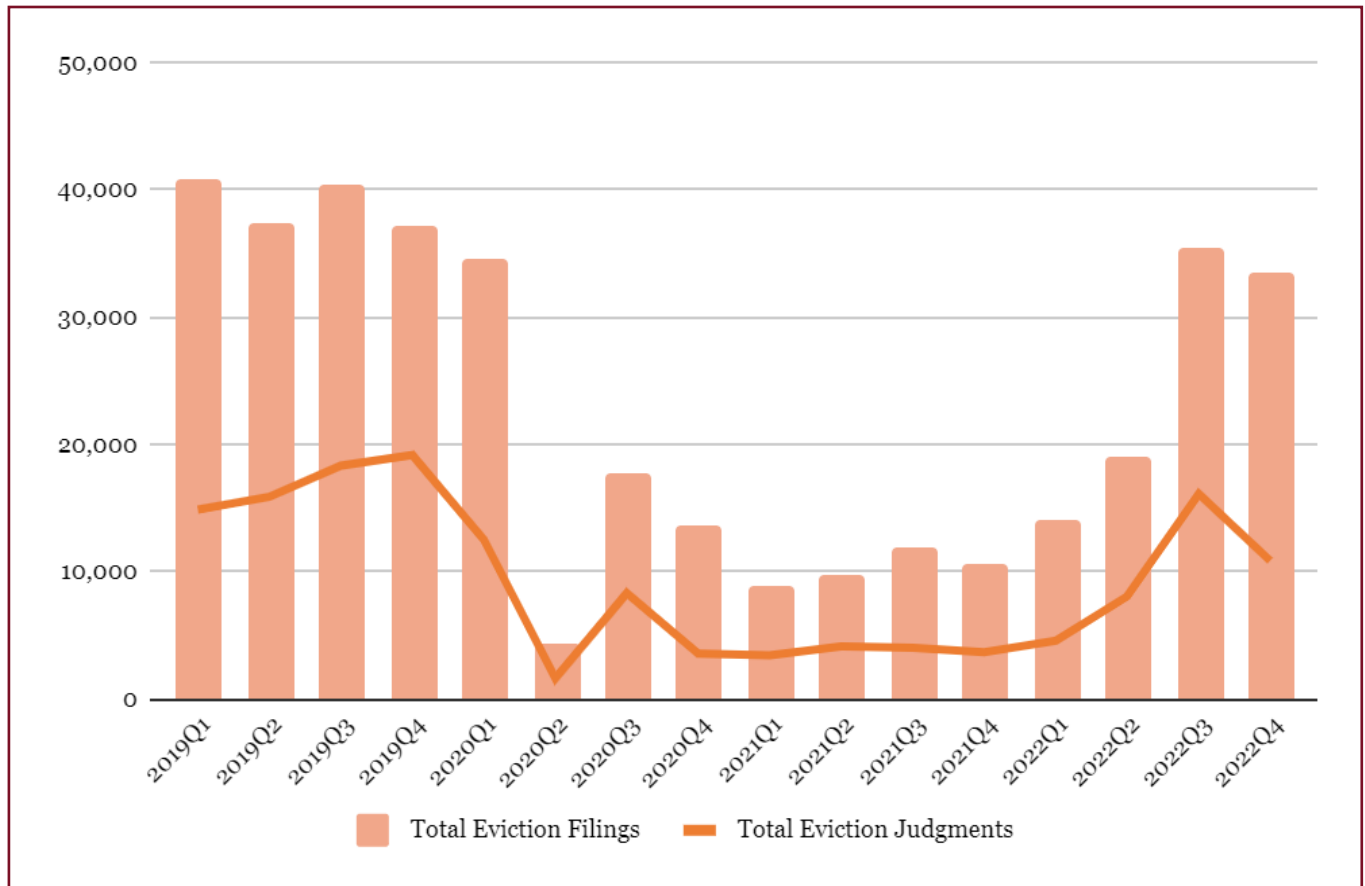


Figure 2: Eviction filings and judgments by quarter in Virginia, Q1 2019-Q4 2022



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

To provide further context of the change over time, eviction filings and judgments since the start of the pandemic in March 2020 are benchmarked against 2019 quarterly numbers in Figure 3. Despite quarter-over-quarter declines, when compared to 2019 numbers, statewide eviction filings during this past quarter increased by 2.4 percentage points from the third quarter's 87.9% of pre-pandemic filings to 90.3% of pre-pandemic filings. Eviction judgments decreased by 31.1 percentage points from 87.9% to 56.8% of pre-pandemic levels. While judgments remain half of pre-pandemic levels, the near pre-pandemic volume of eviction filings should be read as a leading indicator for the coming months. These data suggest that eviction judgments could rise in 2023.

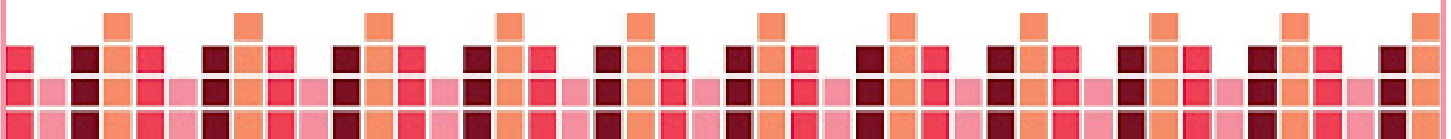
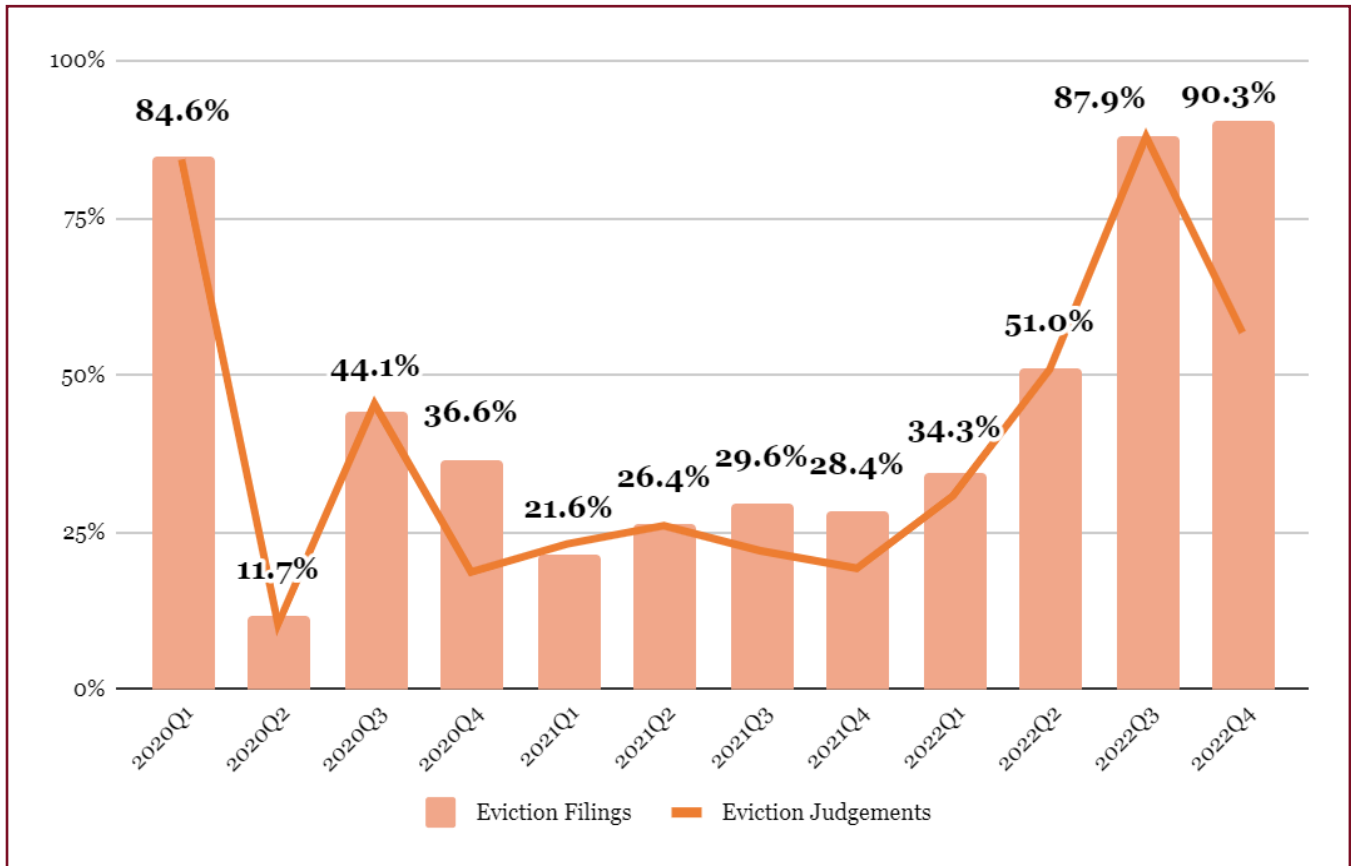


Figure 3: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Virginia.



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

Table 1 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, the statewide default judgment rate of 21% is considerably less than the pre-pandemic rate of 38%. Across the Commonwealth, 65% of all eviction judgments resulted from a default judgment.

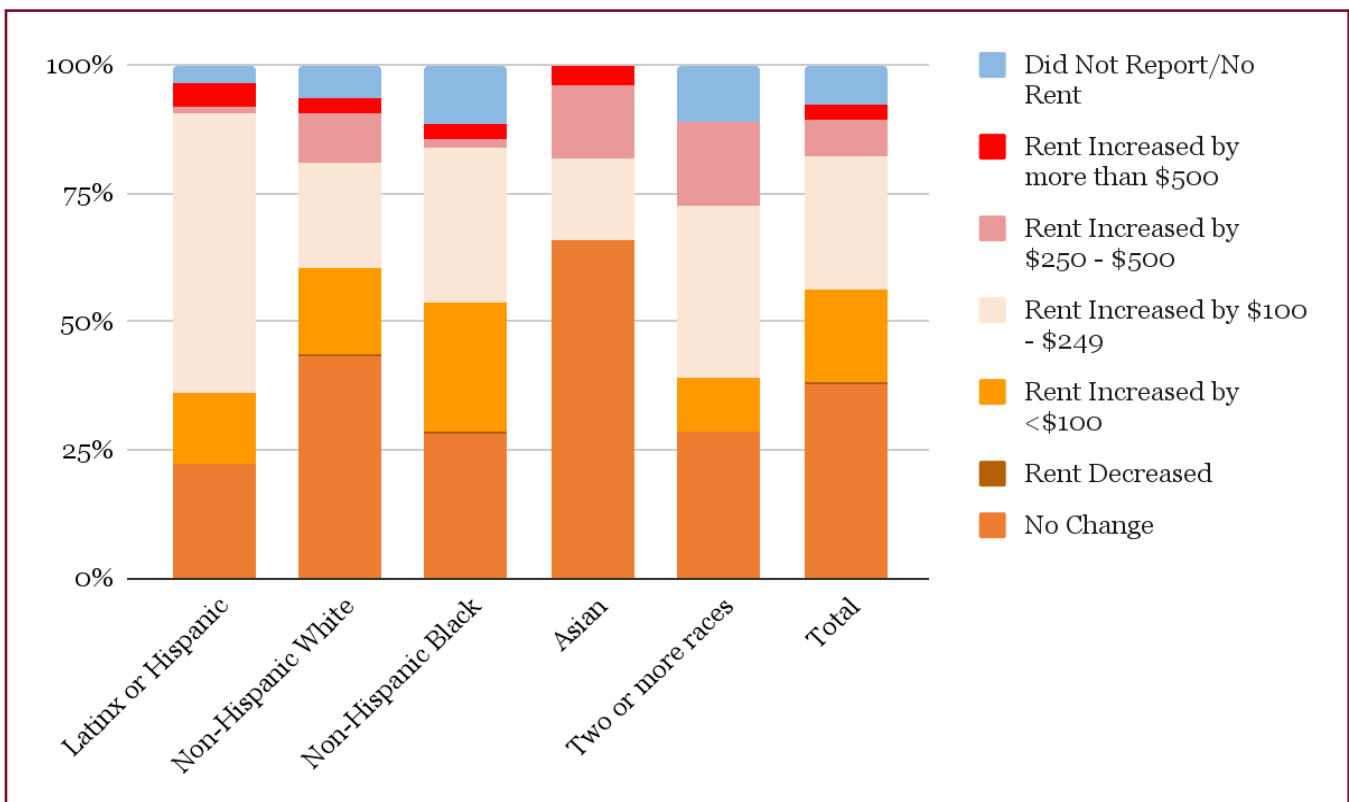
Table 1: Default judgments and default judgment rates in Virginia, October - December 2019 and 2022.

	Q4 2019	Q4 2022	Q3 2022 percent of Q3 2019
Default Judgments	14,111	7,049	50%
Default Judgment Rate	38%	21%	55%

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

Figure 4 shows the US Census Bureau’s Household Pulse Survey of the change in monthly rent for Virginia renters, separated by race of the respondent. Nonwhite households in Virginia were most impacted by rent increases in 2022. While 54% of all Virginians saw a rent increase, 60% of Black and 74% of Latinx households reported seeing their rents increase this year. At the same time, 36.2% of Virginia household rents increased by more than \$100. Among Latinx or Hispanic respondents, more than 60% indicated that their rent increased by more than

Figure 4: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters change in monthly rent by race in the past 12 months, December 9 - December 19, 2022.



Source: US Census Bureau, 2022, Week 52 Household Pulse Survey; RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

\$100. 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 continued to decrease in the fourth quarter. This percentage has remained low through the second half of the year, a phenomenon that coincides with the end of the Rent Relief Program in Q2. As of week 52 of the Pulse Survey, just 5.2% of respondents were not caught up on rent payments.

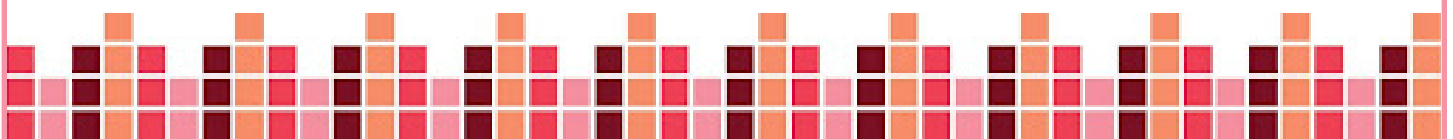
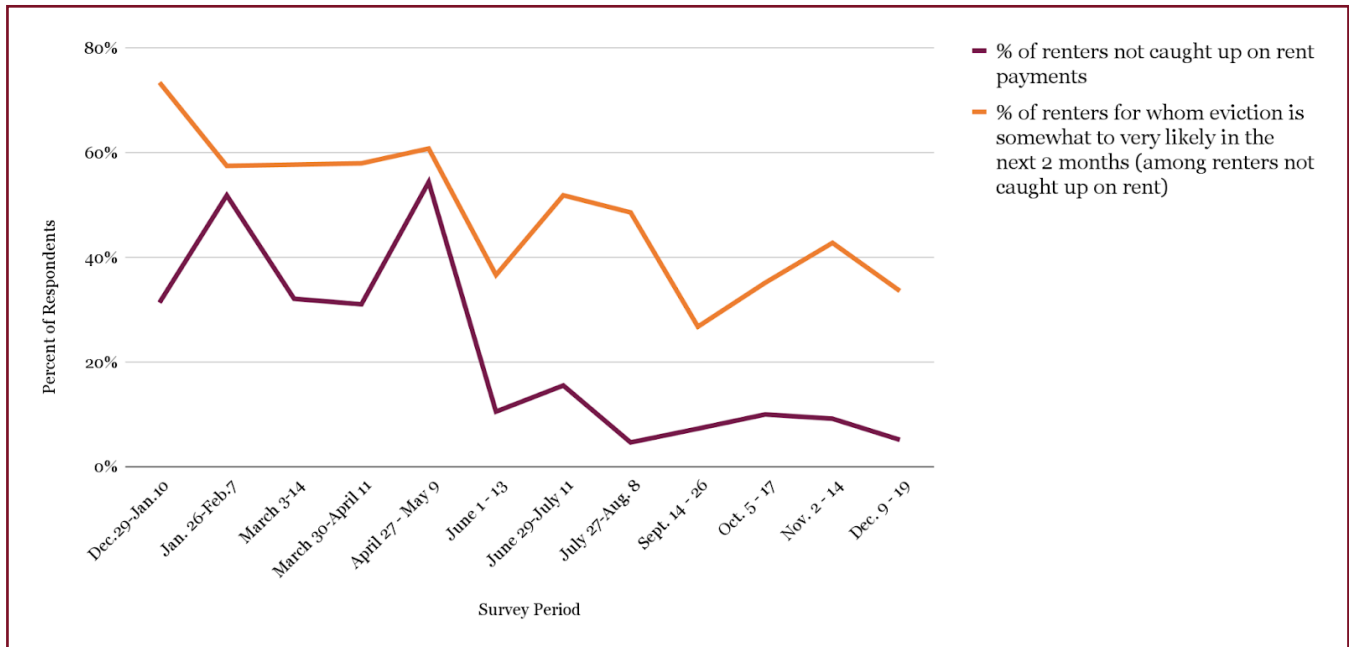
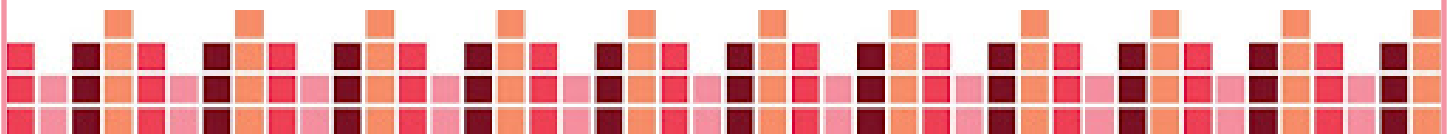


Figure 5 also shows displacement fears for individuals surveyed as part of the Household Pulse Survey. As the figure shows, displacement fears remained consistent from the midpoint of Q1 to the midpoint of Q2, before dropping significantly at the end of Q2. At the beginning of Q3 the trend rose, before leveling off and dropping again at the end of the Q3. At the midpoint of Q3, the week of July 27-August 8, 49% of respondents indicated that they were somewhat or very likely to leave their house in the next two months due to eviction, coinciding with the low point of renters not caught up on rent payments. The percentage of respondents facing the threat of eviction rose from the end of the third quarter to the midpoint of the fourth quarter, before dropping again. As the percentage of renters not caught up on payments shrinks, the pool of renters who may be facing eviction shrinks, making increases and decreases in the later category appear more sharp.

Figure 5: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected periods throughout 2022



Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52 2022; RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

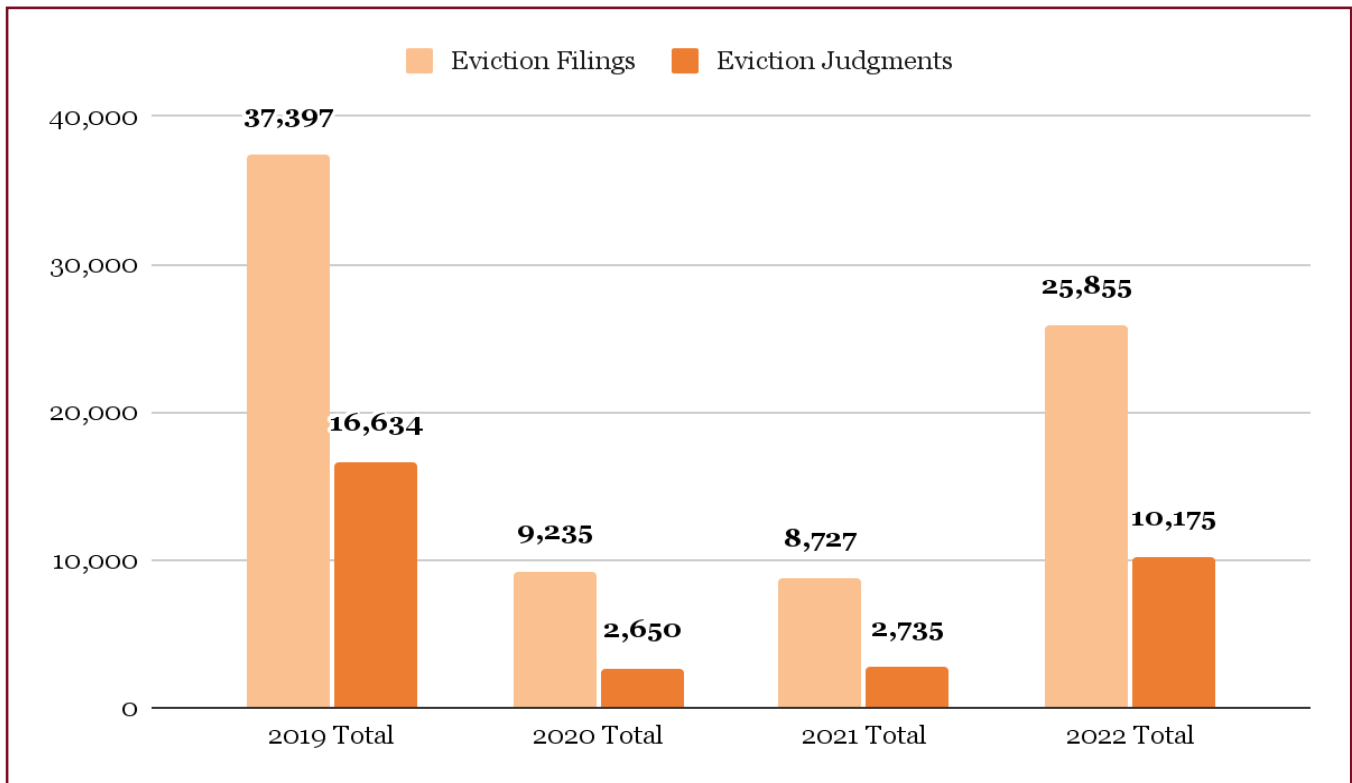


REGIONAL DATA UPDATES

Central Virginia

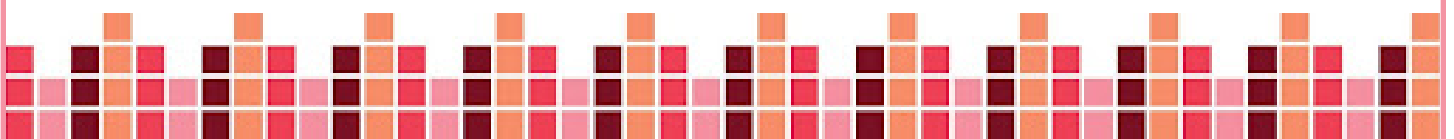
Figure 6 shows the filing and judgment annual totals for Central Virginia. As with the commonwealth as a whole, the totals for both filings and judgments have reached their highest point since 2019. Also like the commonwealth as a whole, total filings are closer to their 2019 counterpart than the number of judgments, with filings reaching 69% of 2019 levels in 2022 and judgments reaching 61%. However, Central Virginia's 2022 totals are closer to pre-pandemic numbers in both categories than the Virginia state-wide totals.

Figure 6: Annual Total Number of Eviction Filings and Judgements in Central Virginia, 2019 - 2022.



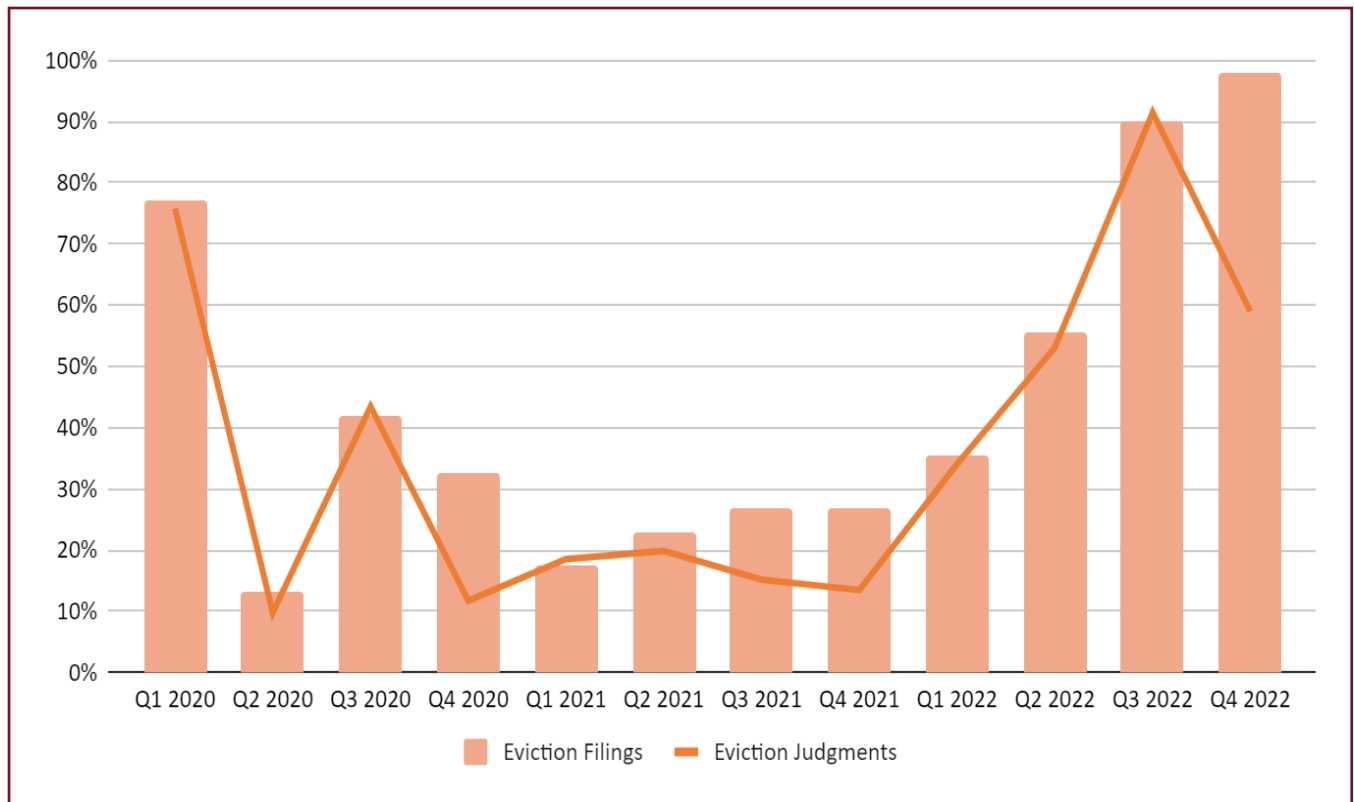
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Figure 7 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last twelve quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. Filings decreased by 3% from the previous quarter (from 8,806 to



8,569) and judgments decreased by 30% (from 4,116 to 2,628). However, eviction filings for the fourth quarter are 97.81% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 59.0% of pre-pandemic levels. The continued rise in filings against pre-pandemic levels may indicate future increases in eviction judgments.

Figure 7: 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 2 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region from the third to the fourth quarter of 2022. Eviction filings and judgments decreased in every jurisdiction in Central Virginia with one exception. Eviction filings increased in Richmond by 6%.

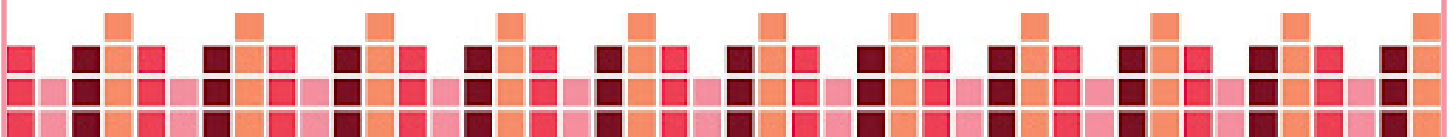


Table 2: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2022 to October - December 2022.

	Q3 2022		Q4 2022		Q4 2022 % change from Q3 2022	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesterfield	1,897	868	1,692	549	-11%	-37%
Henrico	2,602	1,037	2,481	743	-5%	-28%
Hopewell	265	148	233	103	-12%	-30%
Petersburg	789	477	714	294	-10%	-39%
Richmond	3,253	1,586	3,449	1,174	6%	-26%

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

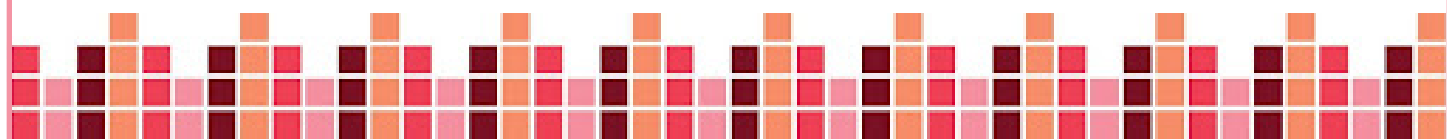
Table 3 shows eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the fourth quarter of 2022 compared to pre-pandemic levels. Eviction filings are continuing to remain high across the region with a few localities close to or above pre-pandemic level in some localities. Eviction filings in Richmond have surpassed pre-pandemic levels (104%). Eviction filing in Chesterfield, Henrico and Petersburg represent 98%, 97% and 87% of their pre-pandemic levels. Due to a lag in the data from the General District Court website, we anticipate that filings and judgements in some of these jurisdictions are underreported and that the final totals will be higher.

Table 3: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2022.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesterfield	1,731	957	1,692	549	98%	57%
Henrico	2,566	1,436	2,481	743	97%	52%
Hopewell	31	178	233	103	75%	58%
Petersburg	822	486	714	293	87%	60%
Richmond	3,330	1,796	3,449	1,174	104%	65%

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

Table 4 shows eviction default and default rates in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the fourth quarter of 2022 compared to pre-pandemic levels. All of Central Virginia's default judgment rates were lower than seen before the pandemic. Henrico





had the highest percentage (71%) of evictions resulting from default judgments, while Hopewell had the lowest percentage (48%).

Table 4: Default judgments and rates in Central Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2022.

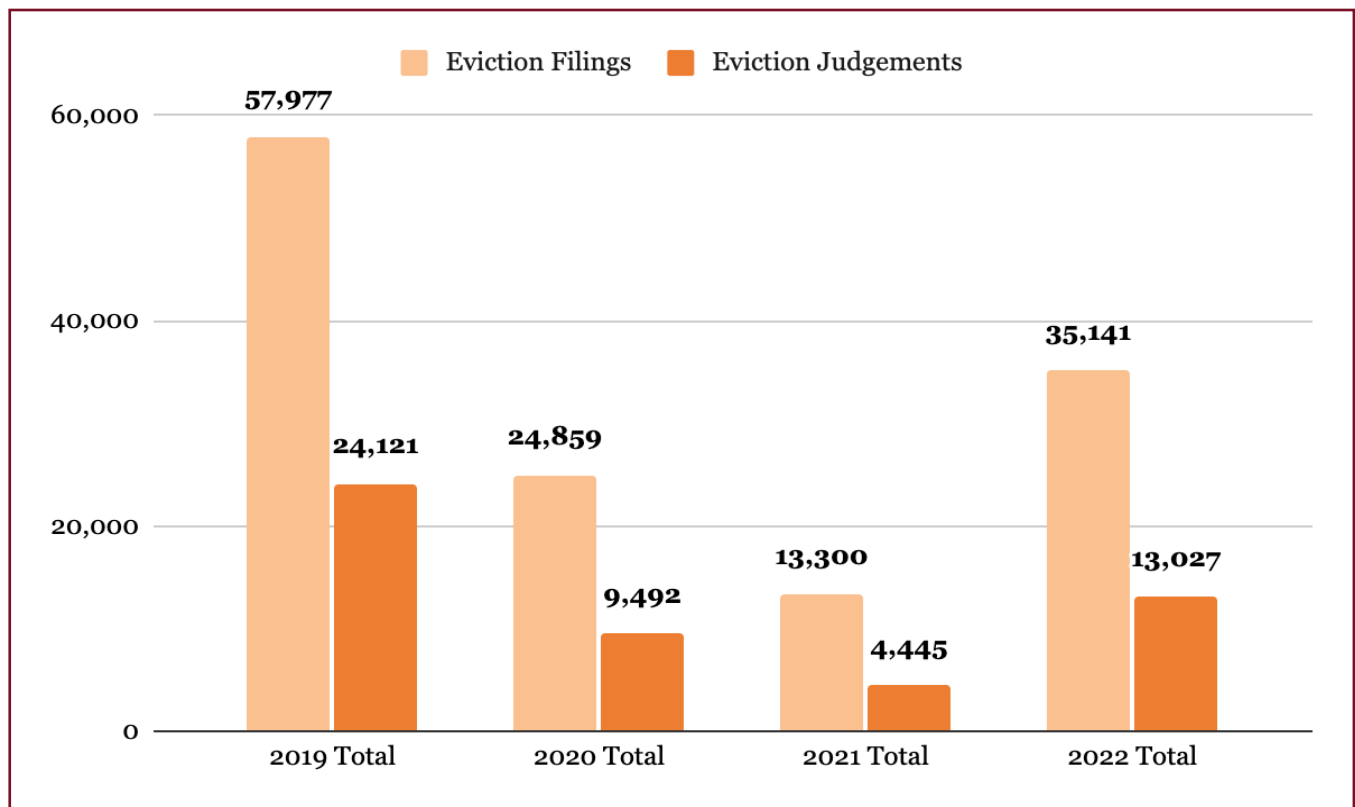
	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesterfield	748	43%	366	22%	49%	50%
Henrico	1,139	44%	531	21%	47%	48%
Hopewell	132	43%	49	21%	37%	49%
Petersburg	359	44%	177	25%	49%	57%
Richmond	1,349	41%	752	22%	56%	54%

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

Hampton Roads

In a similar pattern to the above totals, Figure 8 shows that the total number of eviction filings and judgments in Hampton Roads reached their highest point since 2019 in 2022. However, total filings and judgments in Hampton Roads are lower than the statewide totals in relation to their 2019 counterparts, with filings at 60.61% and judgments at 54%.

Figure 8: Annual Total Number of Eviction Filings and Judgements in Hampton Roads, 2019 - 2022.



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

Figure 9 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Hampton Roads region. In the fourth quarter of 2022, eviction filings decreased by 3% from the previous quarter (from 12,631 to 12,267) and judgments decreased by 28% (from 5,492 to 3,955). Eviction filings for the fourth quarter are 85.2% of 2019 pre-pandemic levels and eviction judgments are 53.8% of pre-pandemic levels.

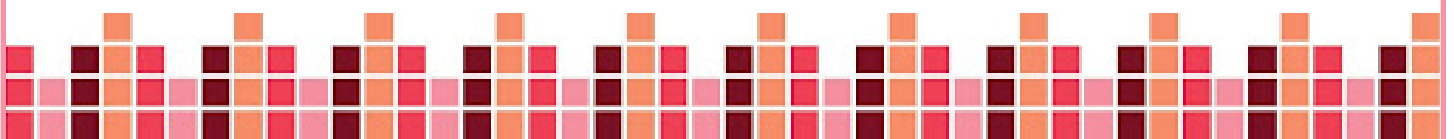
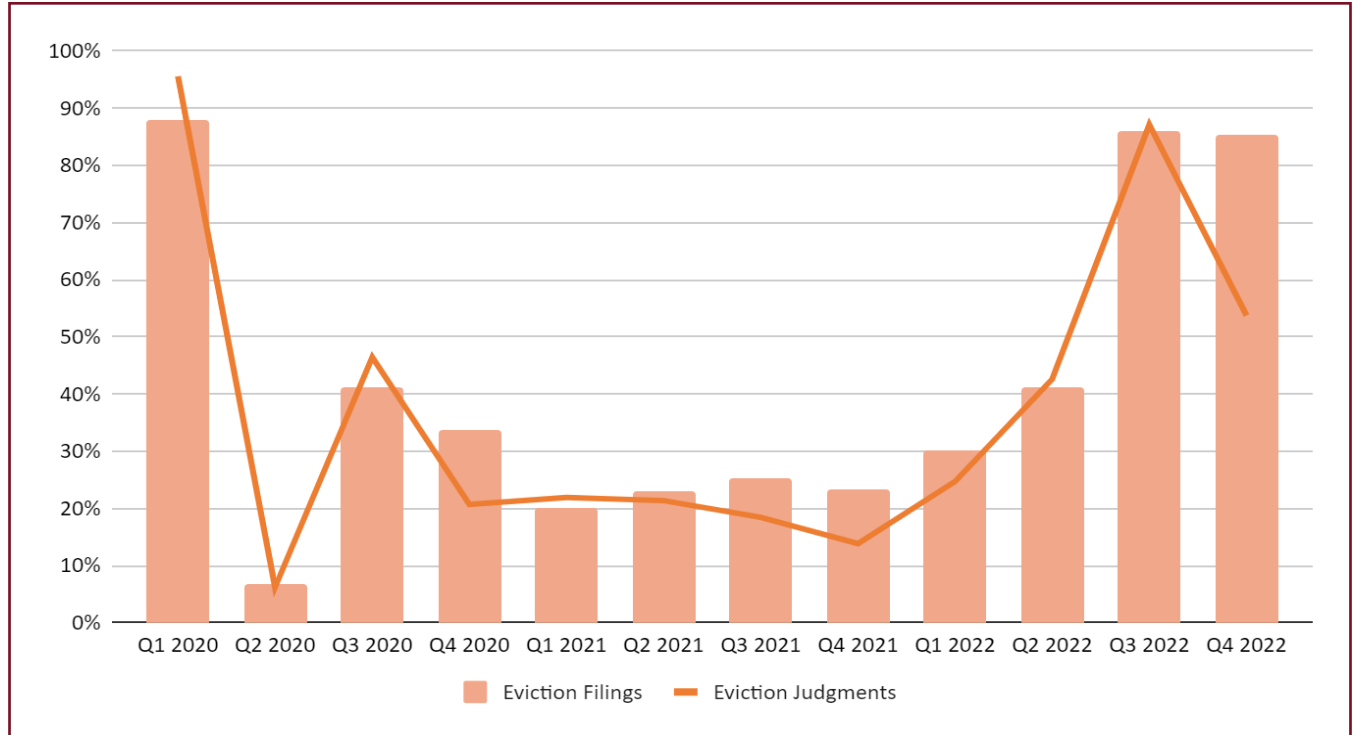


Figure 9: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings & judgments in Hampton Roads.



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

Table 5 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region from the third quarter to the fourth quarter of 2022. Eviction filings and judgments decreased in all but two of the Hampton Roads jurisdictions. Eviction filings increased in Newport News by 11% and in Virginia Beach by 3%.

Table 5: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2022 to October - December 2022.

	Q3 2022		Q4 2022		Q4 2022 % change from Q3 2022	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	1,221	491	1,169	286	-4%	-41%
Hampton	2,030	958	1,576	553	-22%	-42%
Newport News	2,546	1,302	2,815	819	11%	-37%
Norfolk	2,777	1,109	2,603	895	-6%	-19%
Portsmouth	1,081	490	1,036	361	-4%	-26%
Virginia Beach	2,976	1,142	3,068	1,038	3%	-9%

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

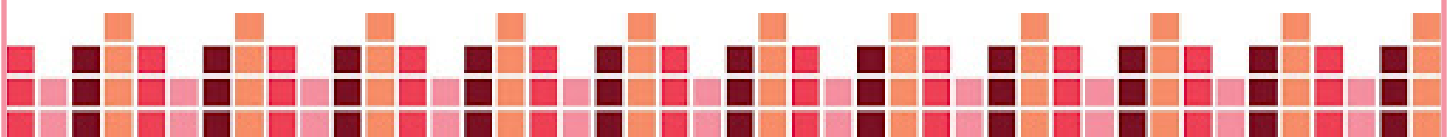




Table 6 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2022. Eviction filings are remaining high across the region with a few localities close to pre-pandemic levels. Eviction filings in Hampton and Virginia Beach have risen to 107 % and 108% of pre-pandemic levels. Eviction judgements in Hampton and Virginia Beach have risen to 88% and 96% of pre-pandemic levels. Due to a lag in the data from the General District Court website, we anticipate that filings and judgements in some of these jurisdictions are underreported and that the final totals will be higher.

Table 6: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2022.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	1,364	660	1,169	289	86%	44%
Hampton	1,787	1,018	1,576	553	88%	54%
Newport News	3,543	1,902	2,815	819	79%	43%
Norfolk	3,059	1,428	2,603	895	85%	63%
Portsmouth	1,466	893	1,036	361	71%	40%
Virginia Beach	3,180	1,457	3,068	1,038	96%	71%

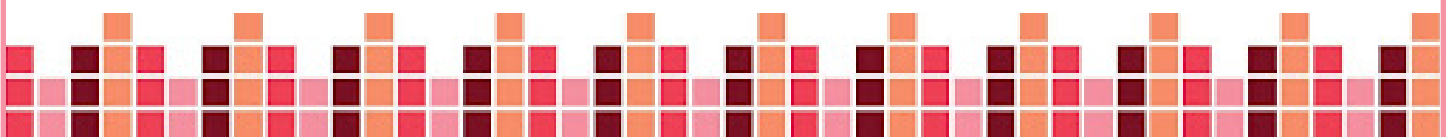
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 7 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2022 in the Hampton Roads region. All of Hampton Roads' default judgment rates were lower than before the pandemic. Norfolk had the highest percentage (70%) of evictions resulting from default judgments, while Hampton had the lowest percentage (59%).

Table 7: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2022.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	529	39%	184	16%	35%	40%
Hampton	810	45%	325	21%	40%	45%
Newport News	1,415	40%	516	18%	36%	46%
Norfolk	1,097	36%	629	24%	57%	67%
Portsmouth	649	44%	248	24%	38%	54%
Virginia Beach	1,170	37%	726	24%	62%	64%

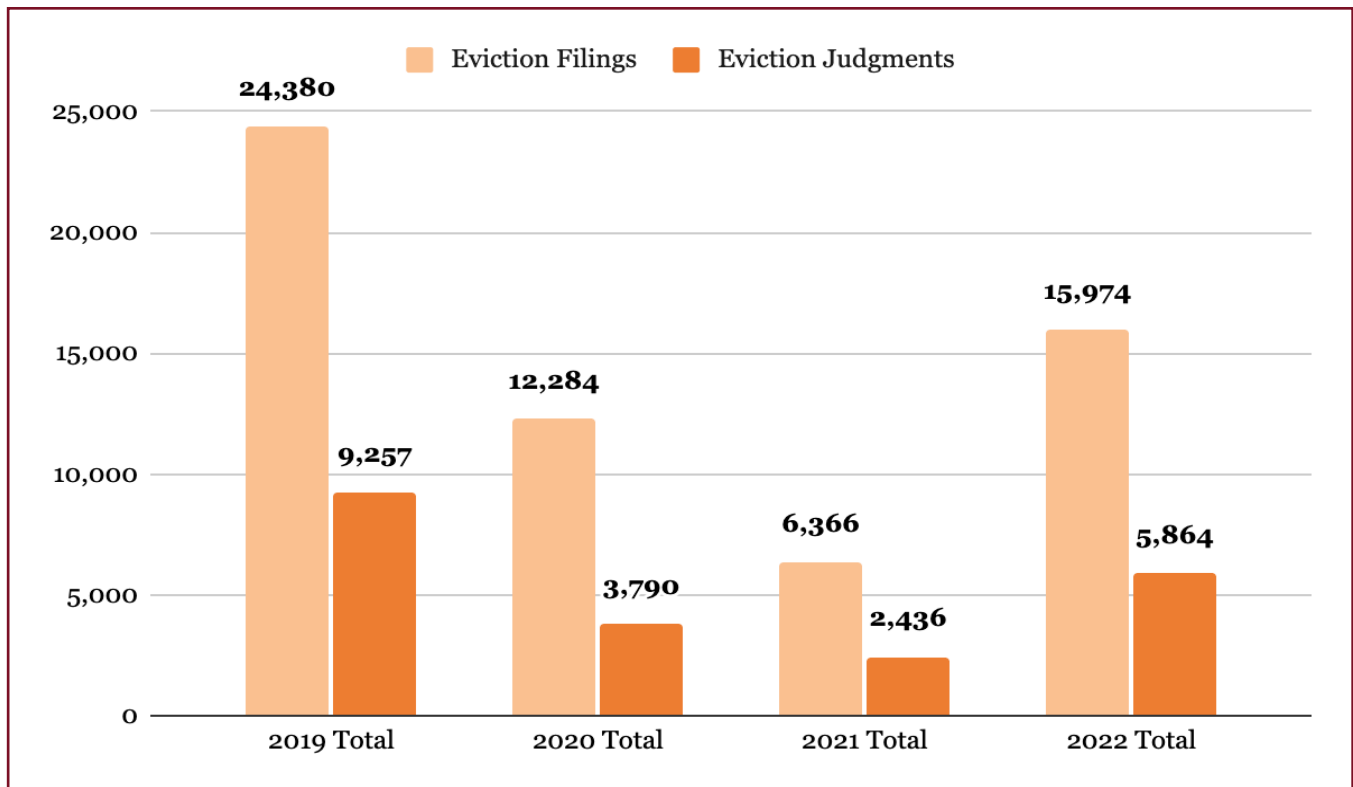
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Northern Virginia

Figure 10 shows Northern Virginia conforming to the trend of the annual total number filings and judgments reaching their highest point since 2019. In the case of Northern Virginia, however, 2022 total filings and judgments have reached the comparable percentages of 65.52% and 63.28% of their 2019 totals, respectively. These numbers are closer to one another than statewide and in other regions, where there is a greater disparity between the rise of filings and the rise in judgments.

Figure 10: Annual Total Number of Eviction Filings and Judgements in Northern Virginia, 2019 - 2022.



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

Figure 11 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. In the fourth quarter, eviction filings decreased by 11% from the previous quarter (from 5,696 to 5,068) and judgments decreased by 35% (from 2,425 to 1,570). Eviction filings for the fourth quarter are 92.1% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are 65.3% of pre-pandemic levels.

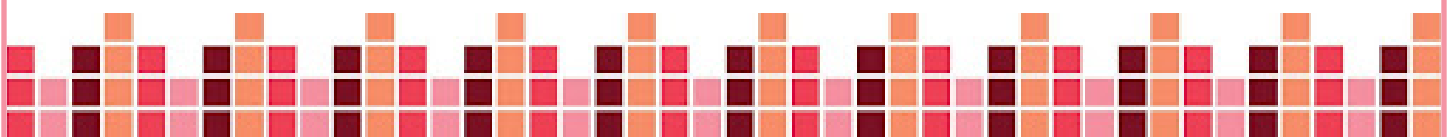
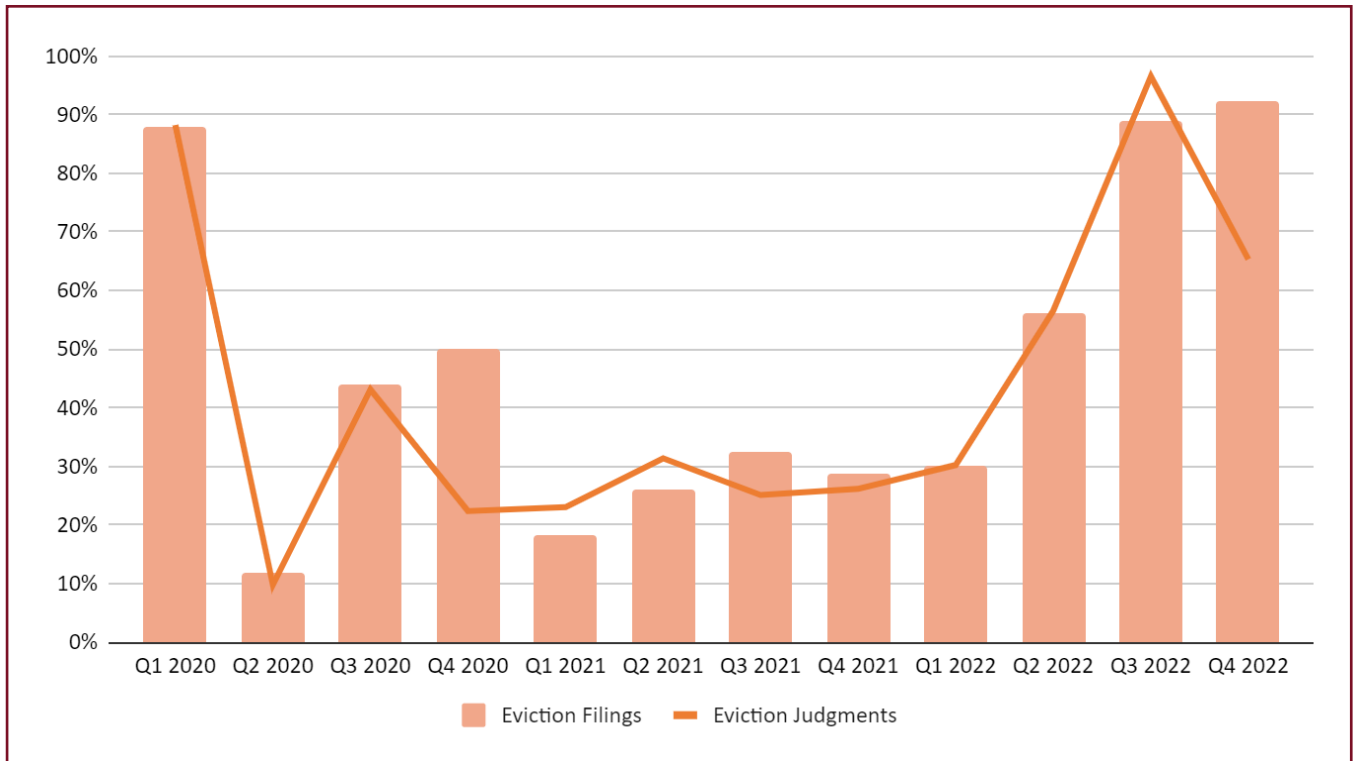


Figure 11: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Northern Virginia



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

Table 8 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Northern Virginia region from the third quarter to the fourth quarter of 2022. Eviction filings and judgments decreased in all jurisdictions, with the exception of Alexandria and Loudon. Eviction filings in Alexandria and Loudon increased by 7% and 32%, respectively.

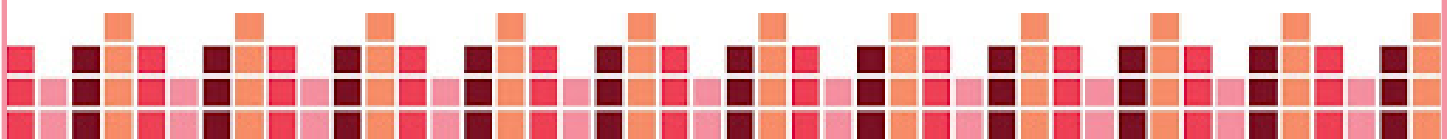


Table 8: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, Percent Change from July - September 2022 to October - December 2022.

	Q3 2022		Q4 2022		Q4 2022 % change from Q3 2022	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Alexandria	1,071	560	1,142	459	7%	-18%
Arlington	509	221	452	167	-11%	-24%
Fairfax Co.	1,975	642	1,624	328	-18%	-49%
Falls Church	28	14	18	8	-36%	-43%*
Fredericksburg	314	145	232	77	-26%	-47%
Loudoun	281	124	371	102	32%	-18%
Prince William	1,176	572	995	370	-15%	-35%
Stafford	342	147	234	59	-32%	-60%

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

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

Eviction filings and judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2022 are presented in Table 9. All localities throughout the region were below pre-pandemic levels, with the exception of Alexandria. Eviction filings and judgments in Alexandria represented 113% of pre-pandemic levels. Due to a lag in the data from the General District Court website, we anticipate that filings and judgements in some of these jurisdictions are underreported and that the final totals will be higher.

Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2022.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Alexandria	1,014	405	1,142	459	113%	113%
Arlington	496	206	452	167	91%	81%
Fairfax Co.	1,649	669	1,624	328	98%	49%
Falls Church	20	10	18	8	90%	80%
Fredericksburg	268	152	232	77	87%	51%
Loudoun	393	147	371	102	94%	69%
Prince William	1,318	664	995	370	75%	56%
Stafford	342	151	234	59	68%	39%

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

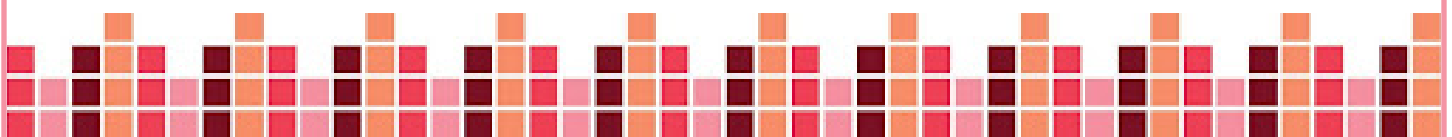


Table 10 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the 2019 and 2021 fourth quarters. All of Northern Virginia’s default judgment rates were lower than before the pandemic, with the exception of Alexandria. Default judgements in Alexandria represented 111% of pre-pandemic levels. The lowest percentage of evictions resulting from a default judgment was in Stafford (42%), while the highest was in Fairfax County (81%).

Table 10: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October - December 2019 and 2022.

	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Alexandria	291	29%	322	28%	111%	98%
Arlington	165	33%	123	27%	75%	82%
Fairfax Co.	539	33%	266	16%	49%	50%
Falls Church	10	50%	4	22%	40%	44%
Fredericksburg	100	37%	40	17%	40%	46%
Loudoun	109	28%	80	22%	73%	78%
Prince William	459	35%	274	28%	60%	79%
Stafford	99	29%	25	11%	25%	37%

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

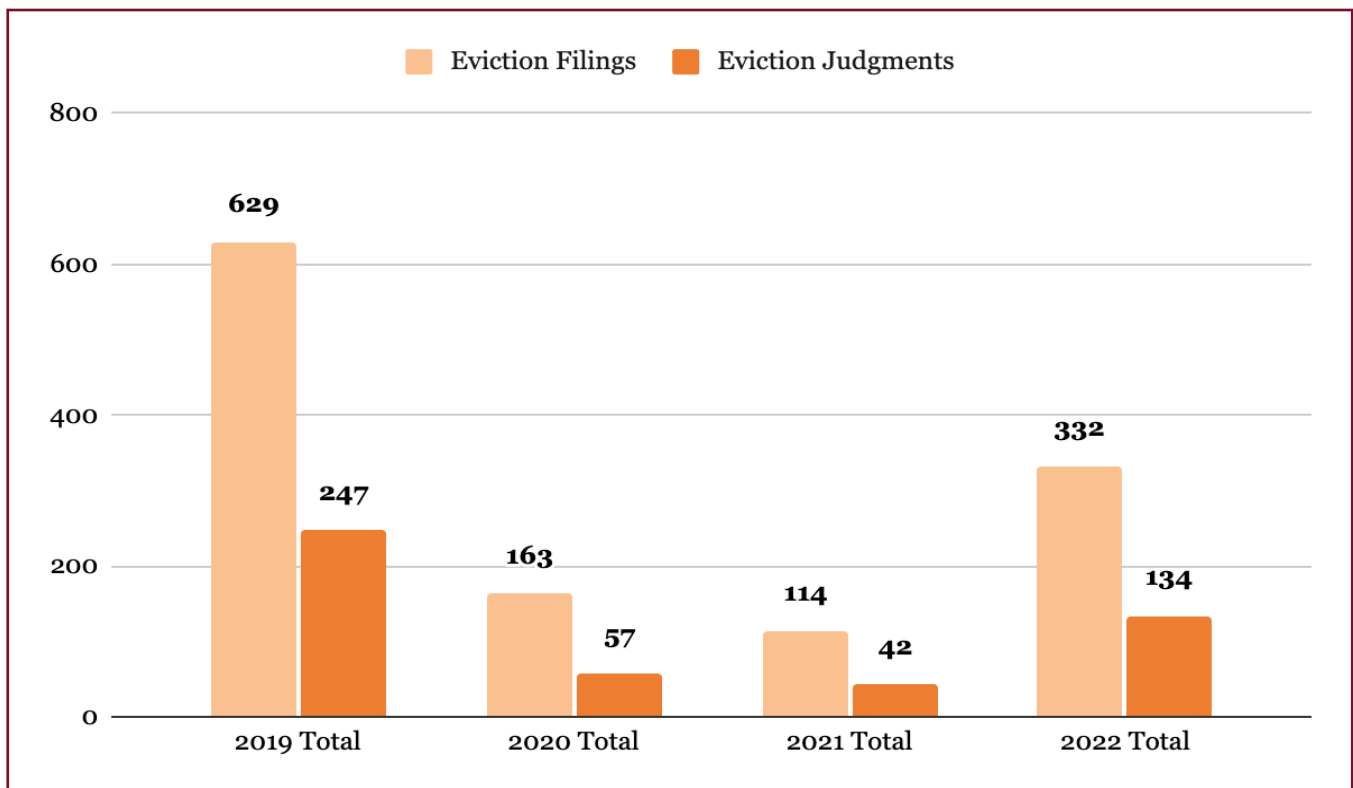
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

CITY UPDATES

City of Charlottesville

Predictably, Figure 12 shows that the total number of filings and judgments reached their highest point in 2022 since 2019. In contrast to other regions, however, the number of filings is still only 52.78% of its 2019 counterpart, and the number of judgments is actually closer to its 2019 counterpart at 54.25%.

Figure 12: Annual Total Number of Eviction Filings and Judgements in City of Charlottesville, 2019 - 2022.



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

Figure 13 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last 12 quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. The chart shows a pattern similar to that at the state-level. In the fourth quarter of 2022 the city of Charlottesville experienced 76 eviction filings and 19 judgements, representing 57.6% and 35.2% of pre-pandemic levels.

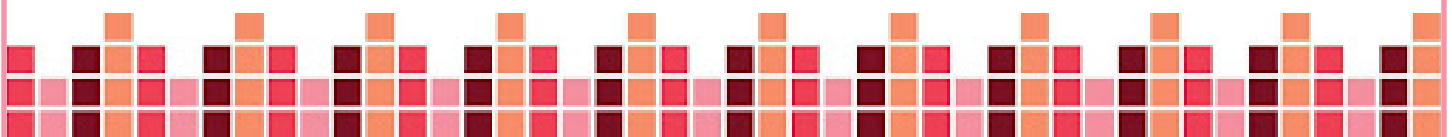
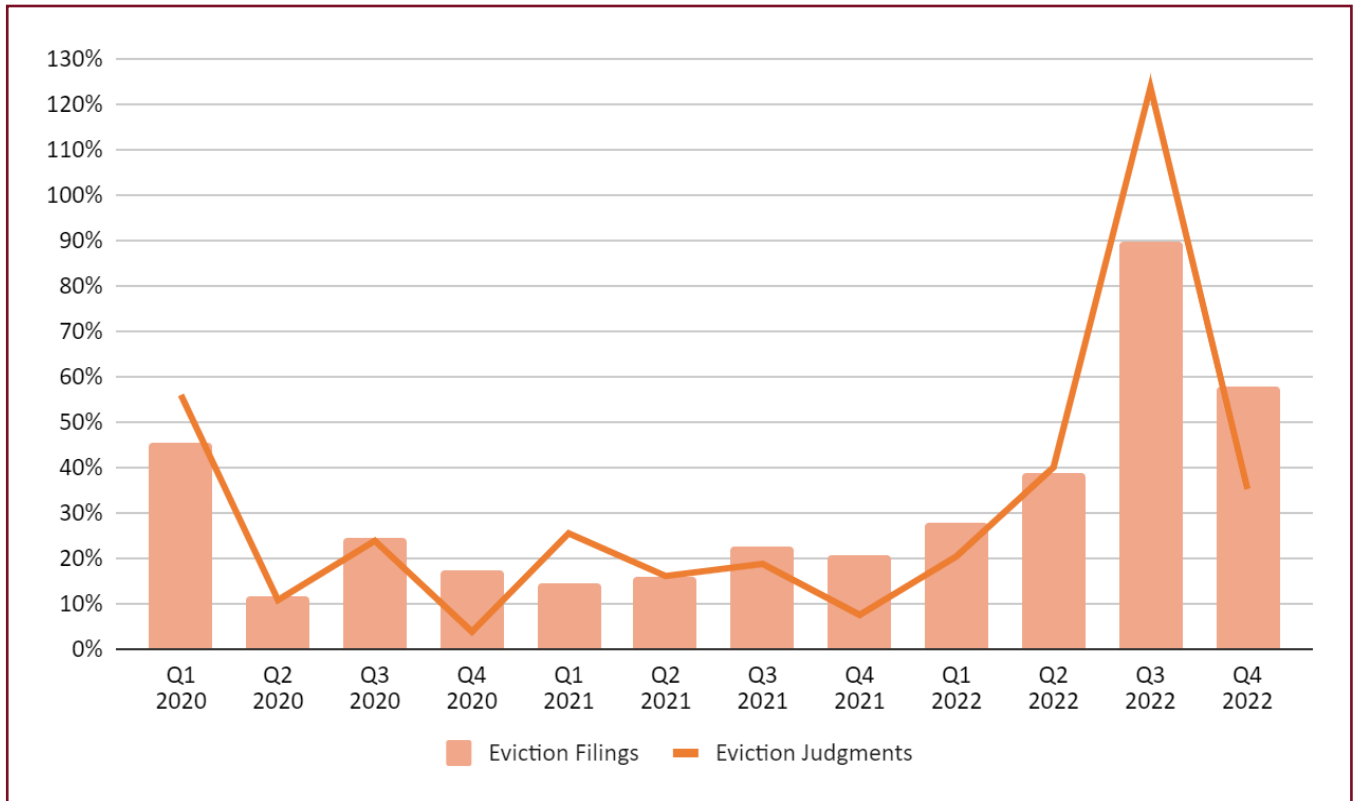


Figure 13: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Charlottesville



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

Table 11 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in the City of Charlottesville from the third quarter of 2022 to the fourth quarter of 2022. Eviction filings and judgments decreased substantially in the City of Charlottesville.

Table 11: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, Percent Change from July - September 2022 to October - December 2022.

Q3 2022		Q4 2022		Q4 2022 % change from Q3 2022	
Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
147	73	76	19	-48%	-74%

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

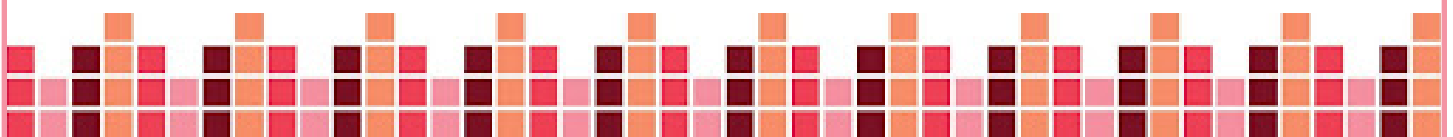




Table 12 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville during the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2022. Eviction filings and judgments were below their pre-pandemic levels. Due to a lag in the data from the General District Court website, we anticipate that filings and judgements in some of these jurisdictions are underreported and that the final totals will be higher.

Table 12: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, October - December 2019 and 2022.

Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
132	54	76	19	58%	35%

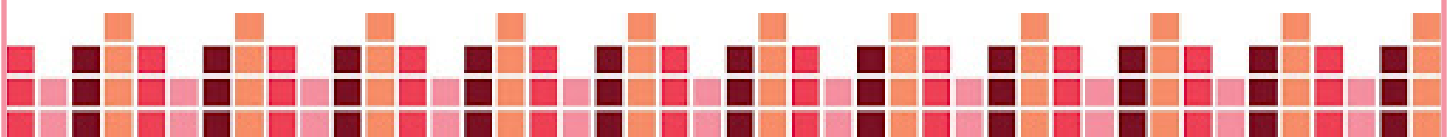
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis

Table 13 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the fourth quarter of 2019 and 2022 in Charlottesville. The default judgments and the default judgment rate for Charlottesville are significantly lower than their pre-pandemic levels. In Charlottesville, 47% of eviction judgments resulted from default judgments.

Table 13: Default judgments and rates in Charlottesville, October - December 2019 and 2022.

Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
32	24%	9	12%	28%	49%

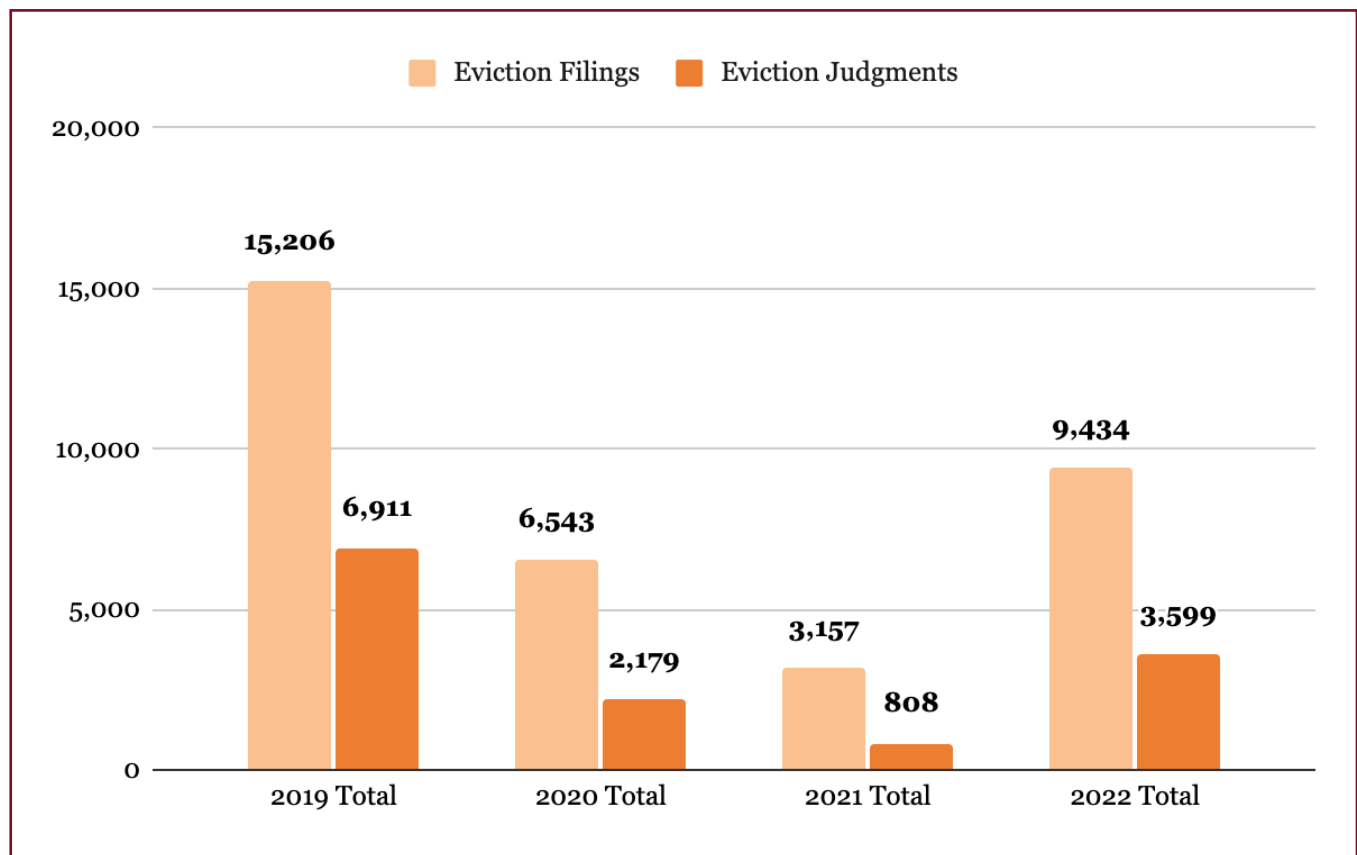
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



City of Richmond

As shown in Figure 14, eviction filings and judgments in Richmond city round out the trend of annual totals approaching their pre-pandemic levels. While the proportion of 2022 filings to their 2019 counterpart (62%) is comparable to the statewide proportion (66%), Richmond’s judgments in 2022 are at 52% of the 2019 numbers. Notably, this is the greatest disparity between the total filings and judgments in 2022 as compared to the 2019 totals, as well as the lowest proportion of judgments in 2022 as compared to 2019 of any region discussed in this report.

Figure 14: Annual Total Number of Eviction Filings and Judgements in Richmond city, 2019 - 2022.



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

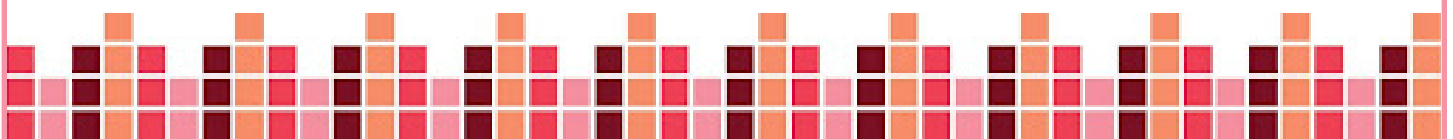
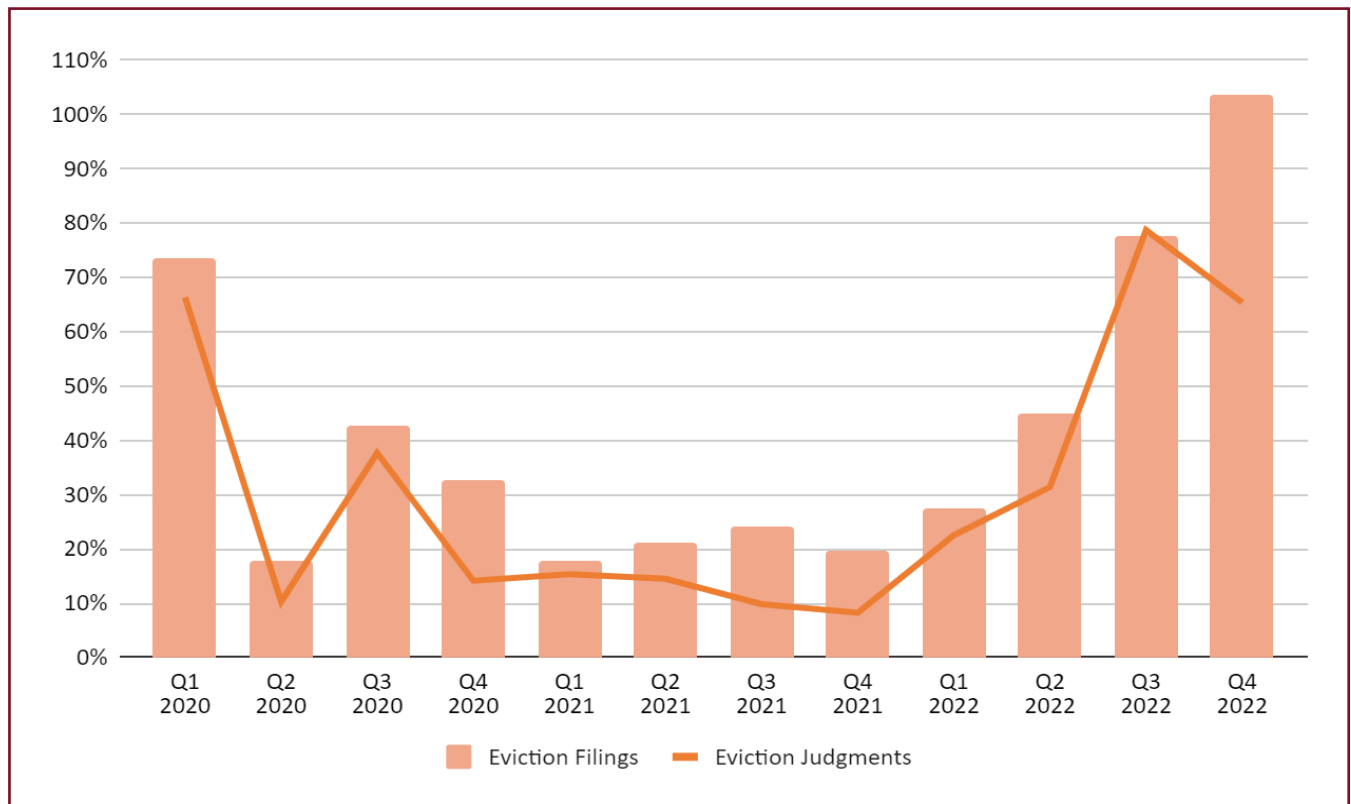


Figure 15 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. Richmond’s filings continue to increase while judgments appear to have tapered off slightly from Q3 to Q4 2022. During the fourth quarter of 2022, Richmond’s eviction filings represented 103.6% of pre-COVID 2019 fourth quarter filings, and its eviction judgments represented 65.4% of 2019 Q3 judgments.

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



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

Table 14 shows percentage change in eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes from the third quarter of 2022 to the fourth quarter of 2022. Eviction filings and judgments increased or remained the same in all ZIP codes, with the exception of ZIP codes 23226 and 23227. Eviction filings increased in roughly half of the Richmond ZIP codes and decreased in the others. Eviction filings in ZIP code 23227 jumped 243% from Q3 to Q4 2022. Eviction judgments decreased in all ZIP codes, with the exception of ZIP codes 23227, 23230 and 23235.

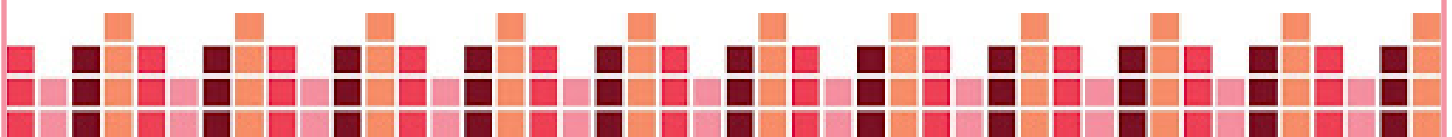


Table 14: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, Percent Change from July - September 2022 to October - December 2022.

ZIP Code	Q3 2022		Q4 2022		Q4 2022 % change from Q3 2022	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	202	82	162	32	-20%	-61%
23220	246	89	253	88	3%	-1%
23221	30	12	22	4	-27%	-67%*
23222	241	116	247	95	2%	-18%
23223	457	235	431	165	-6%	-30%
23224	917	448	897	321	-2%	-28%
23225	808	417	1,010	311	25%	-25%
23226	3	1	5	3	67%*	200%*
23227	30	16	103	40	243%	150%
23230	40	12	59	13	48%	8%
23231	88	43	62	14	-30%	-67%
23234	127	80	72	27	-43%	-66%
23235	16	7	17	10	6%	43%*
Other	48	28	109	51	127%	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 15 shows the comparison of the number of filings and eviction judgments in each of Richmond's ZIP codes in the fourth quarters of 2019 and 2022. Eviction filings are approaching or have exceeded pre-pandemic numbers in many ZIP codes. Pre-pandemic filing levels have been surpassed in the ZIP codes of 23219, 23220, 23224, 23225, 23230 and 23235. Eviction judgments in all Richmond ZIP codes are less than pre-pandemic levels. Due to a lag in the data from the General District Court website, we anticipate that filings and judgements in some of these jurisdictions are underreported and that the final totals will be higher.

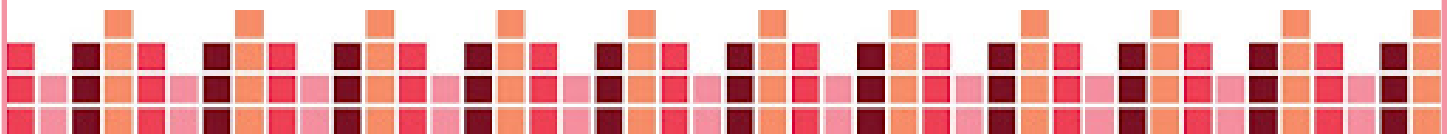


Table 15: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, October - December 2019 and 2022.

ZIP Code	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	84	38	162	32	193%	84%
23220	212	101	253	88	119%	87%
23221	25	13	22	4	88%	31%*
23222	332	207	247	95	74%	46%
23223	490	234	431	165	88%	71%
23224	791	442	897	321	113%	73%
23225	802	434	1,010	311	126%	72%
23226	2	2	5	3	250%*	150%*
23227	304	144	103	40	34%	28%
23230	18	6	59	13	328%	217%*
23231	96	70	62	14	65%	20%
23234	130	83	72	27	55%	33%
23235	15	7	17	10	113%	143%*
Other	29	15	109	51	376%	340%

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

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

Quarterly default judgment numbers and rates by Richmond ZIP code are presented in Table 16. Default judgements and the default judgment rates remain below pre-pandemic numbers in all but one ZIP code. Default judgments in 23219 have surpassed pre-pandemic levels. Aside from ZIP codes 23226 and 23235, both of which represent the far West End of the city and have misleadingly high default judgment rates due to the comparably small total number of filings and judgements, the areas with the highest default judgment rates are 23223 on the far East End of the city (25%) and 23224 on Southside along the Richmond Highway corridor (24%). Default judgments in Richmond represent 64% of evictions. ZIP code 23231 had the highest percentage (79%) of evictions resulting from default judgments, while ZIP code 23234 had the lowest percentage (52%).

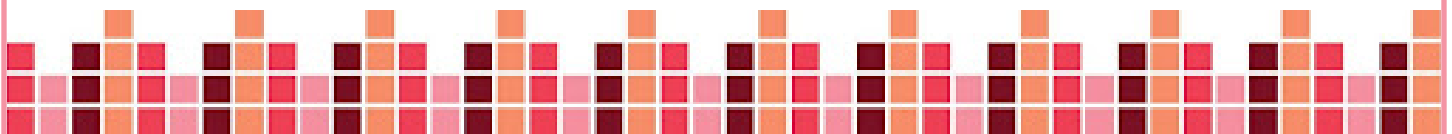


Table 16: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, October - December 2019 and 2022.

ZIP Code	Q4 2019		Q4 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	19	23%	22	14%	116%	60%
23220	79	37%	56	22%	71%	59%
23221	9	36%	2	9%	22%*	25%*
23222	144	43%	54	22%	38%	50%
23223	168	34%	107	25%	64%	72%
23224	349	44%	217	24%	62%	55%
23225	342	43%	202	20%	59%	47%
23226	1	50%	3	60%	300%*	120%*
23227	112	37%	15	15%	13%	40%
23230	6	33%	10	17%	167%*	51%*
23231	48	50%	11	18%	23%*	35%
23234	58	45%	14	19%	24%*	43%
23235	5	33%	6	35%	120%*	106%*
Other	9	31%	33	30%	367%*	98%*

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

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

Figure 16 shows the percent change in eviction and judgments from the third quarter 2022 to the fourth quarter 2022. Eviction filings increased most significantly in the Northside ZIP code of 23227 from the second quarter of 2022 to the third quarter, followed by neighboring ZIP code 23230. Eviction judgments increased by the greatest margin in these ZIP codes as well. Figure K omits data from ZIP codes with less than 20 eviction filings and less than 10 eviction judgements in Q3 2022, for data interpretation purposes.

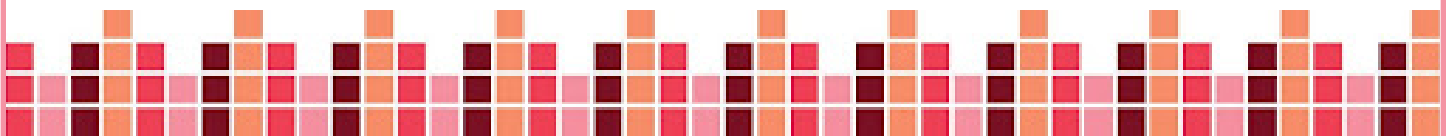
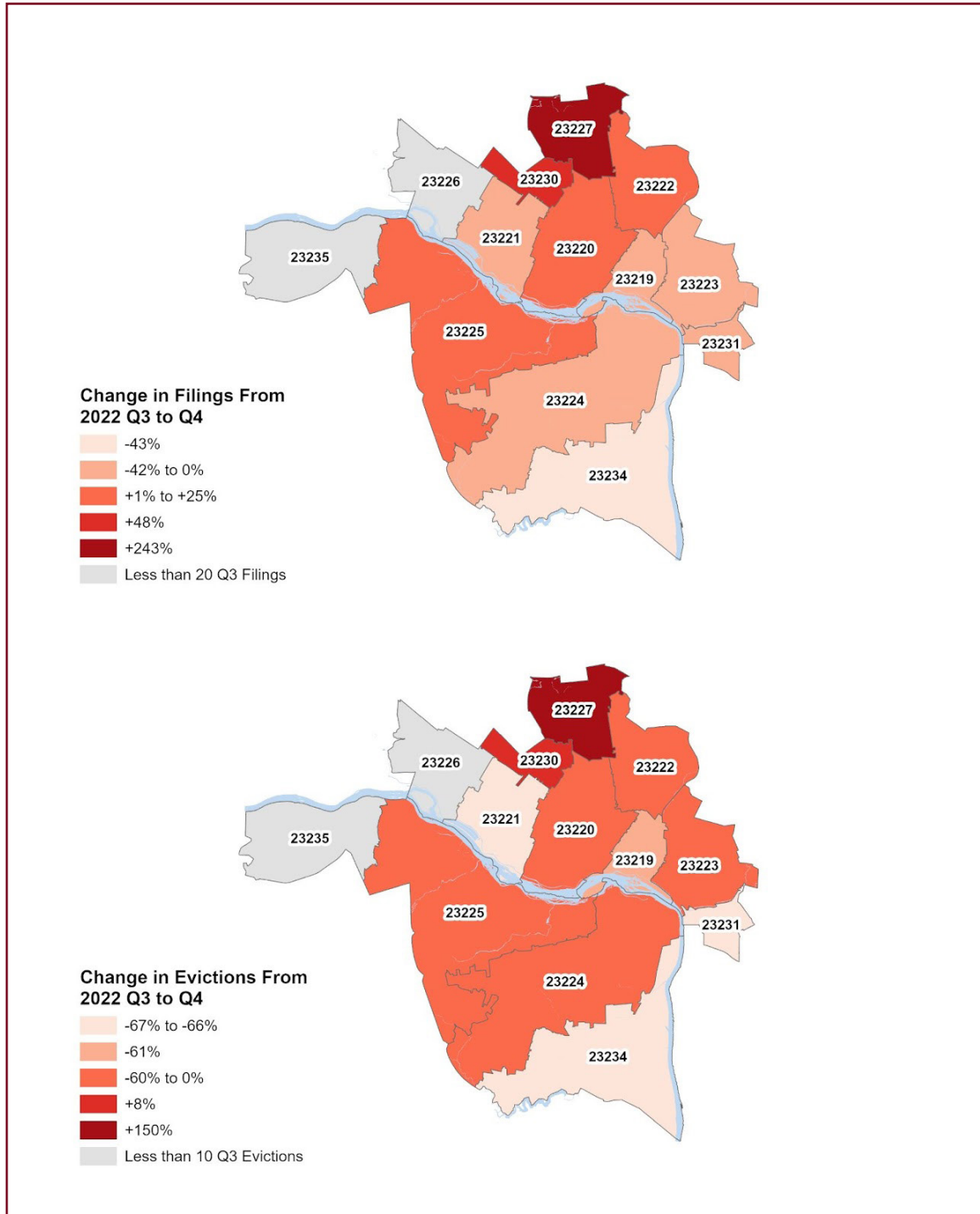
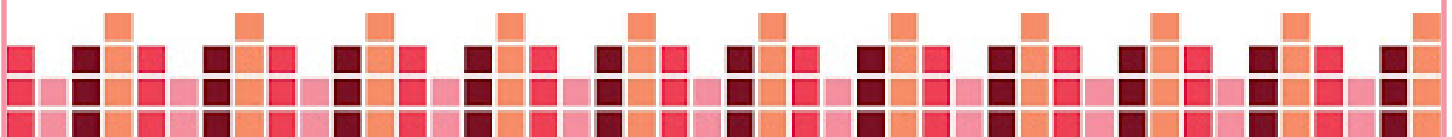


Figure 16: Map of eviction filings and judgments in Richmond by ZIP Code, Percentage change from Q3 2022 to Q4 2022



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

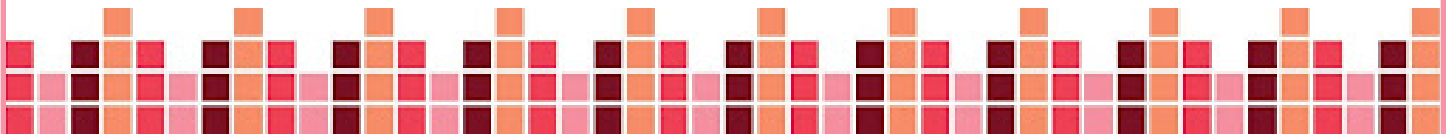


Appendix

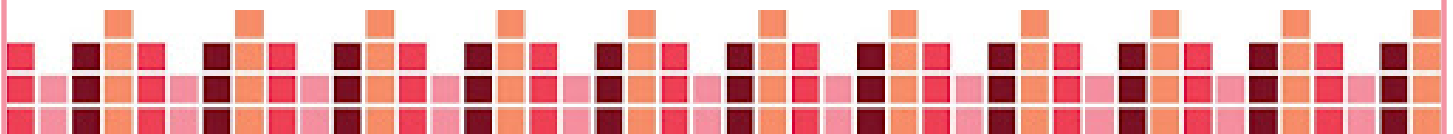


Appendix A: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 4th Quarter, 2022

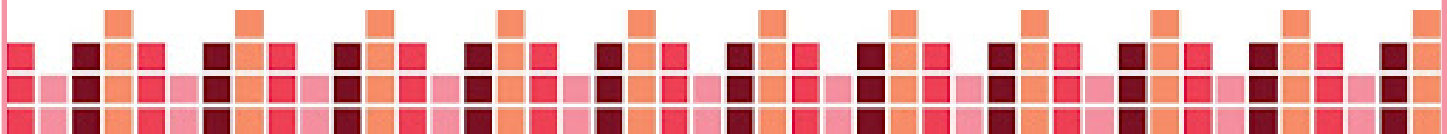
Jurisdiction	2022 Q4 Eviction Filings	2022 Q4 Evictions Judgments	2022 Q4 Default Judgments	2022 Q4 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	37	9	6	16.2%
Albemarle	290	77	53	18.3%
Alleghany	41	12	8	19.5%
Amelia	15	8	2	13.3%
Amherst	66	23	11	16.7%
Appomattox	24	10	7	29.2%
Arlington	452	167	123	27.2%
Augusta	87	19	6	6.9%
Bath	1	1	0	0.0%
Bedford	68	27	17	25.0%
Bland	5	3	0	0.0%
Botetourt	15	5	5	33.3%
Brunswick	24	8	0	0.0%
Buchanan	9	3	3	33.3%
Buckingham	13	4	1	7.7%
Campbell	180	55	34	18.9%
Caroline	34	8	4	11.8%
Carroll	28	7	2	7.1%
Charles City	4	2	0	0.0%
Charlotte	11	3	3	27.3%
Chesterfield	1692	549	366	21.6%
Clarke	6	1	1	16.7%
Craig	7	3	2	28.6%
Culpeper	74	31	8	10.8%
Cumberland	8	4	2	25.0%
Dickenson	2	0	0	0.0%
Dinwiddie	70	30	16	22.9%
Essex	18	8	5	27.8%
Fairfax Co.	1624	328	266	16.4%



Fauquier	43	8	4	9.3%
Floyd	7	6	3	42.9%
Fluvanna	11	6	1	9.1%
Franklin Co.	69	26	17	24.6%
Frederick	59	14	6	10.2%
Giles	31	9	8	25.8%
Gloucester	79	12	5	6.3%
Goochland	7	3	1	14.3%
Grayson	13	5	3	23.1%
Greene	15	5	1	6.7%
Greensville	26	10	0	0.0%
Halifax	30	12	5	16.7%
Hanover	133	41	24	18.0%
Henrico	2481	743	531	21.4%
Henry	128	51	24	18.8%
Highland	1	0	0	0.0%
Isle of Wight	224	40	29	12.9%
King & Queen	9	4	2	22.2%
King George	31	12	8	25.8%
King William	28	6	4	14.3%
Lancaster	19	3	2	10.5%
Lee	22	5	3	13.6%
Loudoun	371	102	80	21.6%
Louisa	31	8	1	3.2%
Lunenburg	17	6	4	23.5%
Madison	3	2	1	33.3%
Mathews	6	1	0	0.0%
Mecklenburg	54	9	7	13.0%
Middlesex	5	2	0	0.0%
Montgomery	239	66	47	19.7%
Nelson	3	1	1	33.3%
New Kent	10	5	3	30.0%
Northampton	15	2	2	13.3%

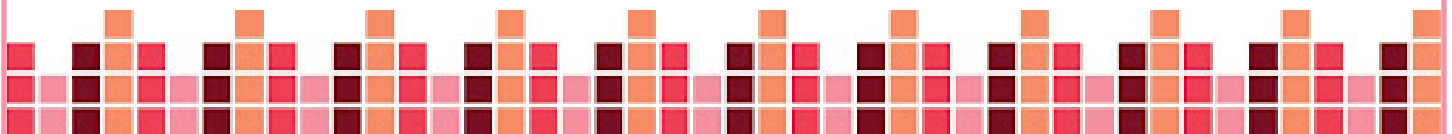


Northumberland	11	5	2	18.2%
Nottoway	44	17	12	27.3%
Orange	42	22	16	38.1%
Page	58	28	16	27.6%
Patrick	14	4	1	7.1%
Pittsylvania	76	29	24	31.6%
Powhatan	20	4	0	0.0%
Prince Edward	77	24	9	11.7%
Prince George	111	46	8	7.2%
Prince William	995	370	274	27.5%
Pulaski	108	40	24	22.2%
Rappahannock	1	0	0	0.0%
Richmond Co.	10	3	1	10.0%
Roanoke Co.	192	65	45	23.4%
Rockbridge	24	5	4	16.7%
“Rockingham/ Harrisonburg”	344	41	28	8.1%
Russell	17	10	4	23.5%
Scott	9	4	1	11.1%
Shenandoah	42	19	13	31.0%
Smyth	57	31	8	14.0%
Southampton	18	1	1	5.6%
Spotsylvania	304	98	60	19.7%
Stafford	234	59	25	10.7%
Surry	3	2	0	0.0%
Sussex	40	10	7	17.5%
Tazewell	57	23	11	19.3%
Warren	76	35	20	26.3%
Washington	86	35	22	25.6%
Westmoreland	21	11	5	23.8%
Wise	72	11	9	12.5%
Wythe	40	26	9	22.5%
York	174	58	36	20.7%
Alexandria	1142	459	322	28.2%



Bristol	123	55	27	22.0%
Buena Vista	12	1	0	0.0%
Charlottesville	76	19	9	11.8%
Chesapeake	1169	289	184	15.7%
Colonial Heights	112	38	17	15.2%
Danville	337	145	91	27.0%
Emporia	19	12	0	0.0%
Falls Church	18	8	4	22.2%
Franklin City	38	8	2	5.3%
Fredericksburg	232	77	40	17.2%
Galax	9	7	2	22.2%
Hampton	1576	553	325	20.6%
Hopewell	233	103	49	21.0%
Lynchburg	457	179	92	20.1%
Martinsville	81	20	13	16.0%
Newport News	2815	819	516	18.3%
Norfolk	2603	895	629	24.2%
Petersburg	714	293	177	24.8%
Portsmouth	1036	361	248	23.9%
Radford	53	14	11	20.8%
Richmond City	3449	1174	752	21.8%
Roanoke City	577	199	129	22.4%
Salem	106	12	4	3.8%
Staunton	66	17	9	13.6%
Suffolk	404	143	93	23.0%
Virginia Beach	3068	1038	726	23.7%
Waynesboro	88	32	17	19.3%
“Williamsburg/ James City County”	296	86	52	17.6%
Winchester	128	65	36	28.1%

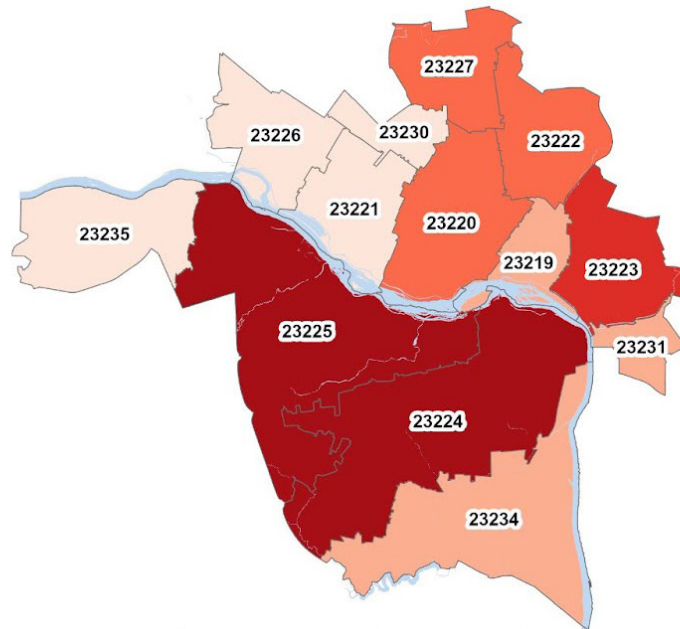
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



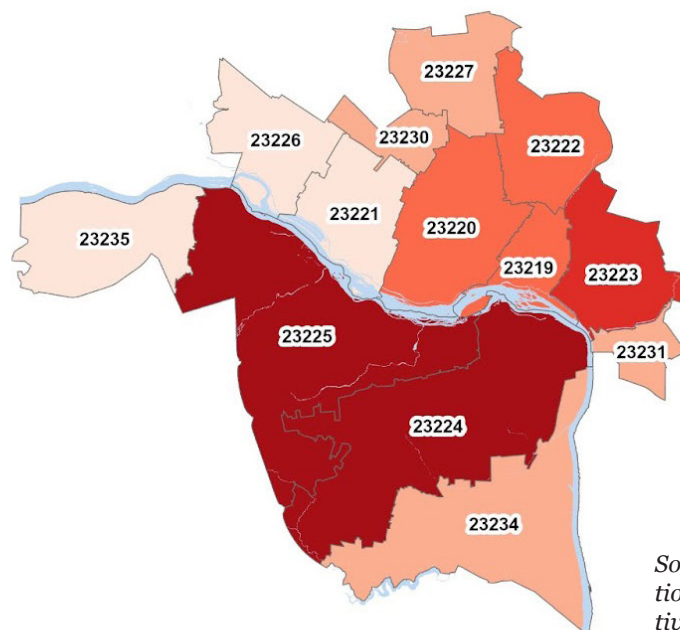
Appendix



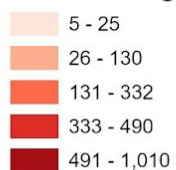
Appendix B: Map of Eviction Filings in Richmond by ZIP code (October - December 2019 & 2022)



October to December 2019

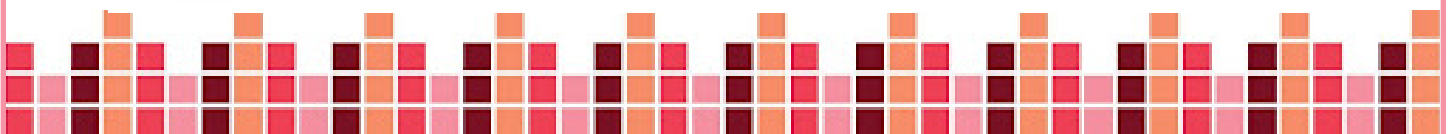


Eviction Filings



October to December 2022

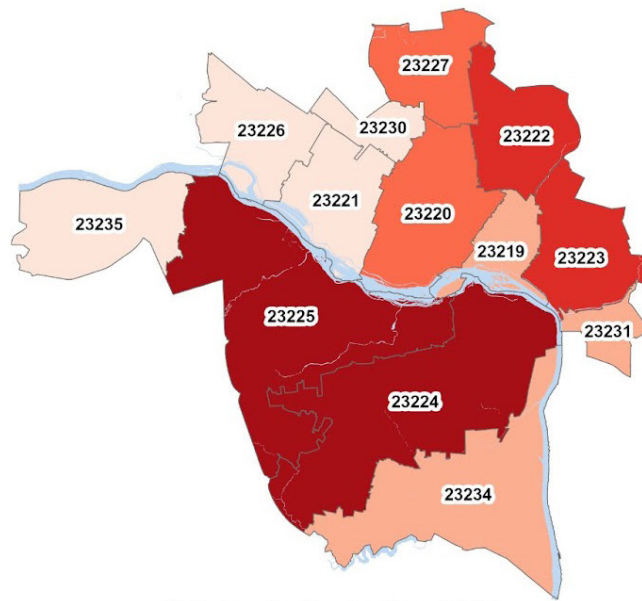
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



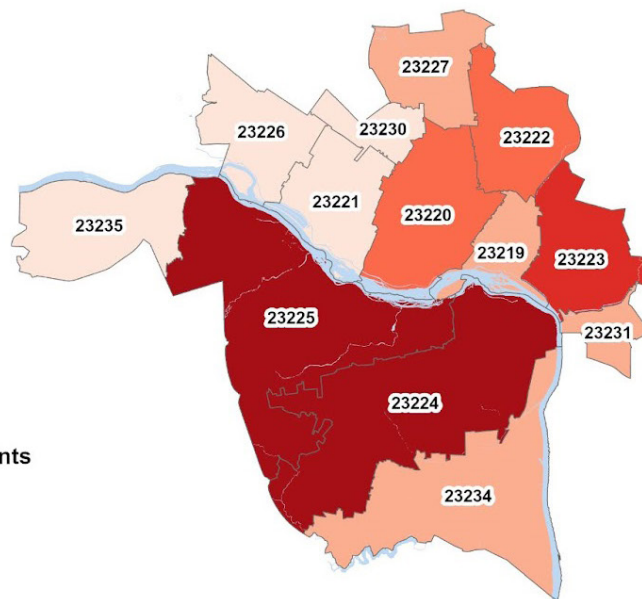
Appendix



Appendix C: Map of Eviction Judgments in Richmond by ZIP code (October - December 2019 and 2022)



October to December 2019

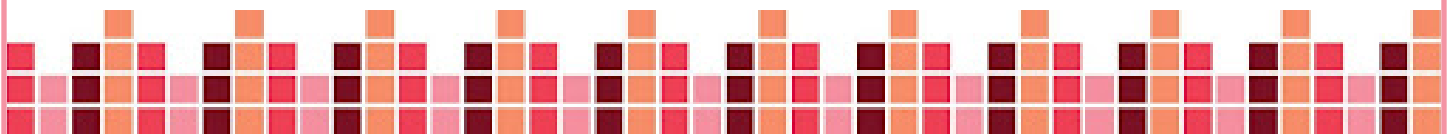


Eviction Judgments

- 2 - 13
- 14 - 83
- 84 - 144
- 145 - 234
- 235 - 442

October to December 2022

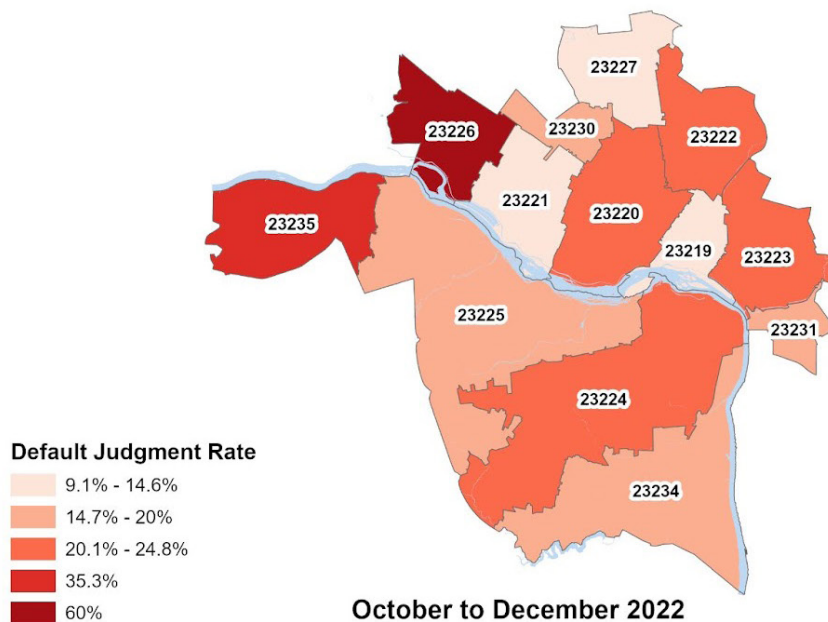
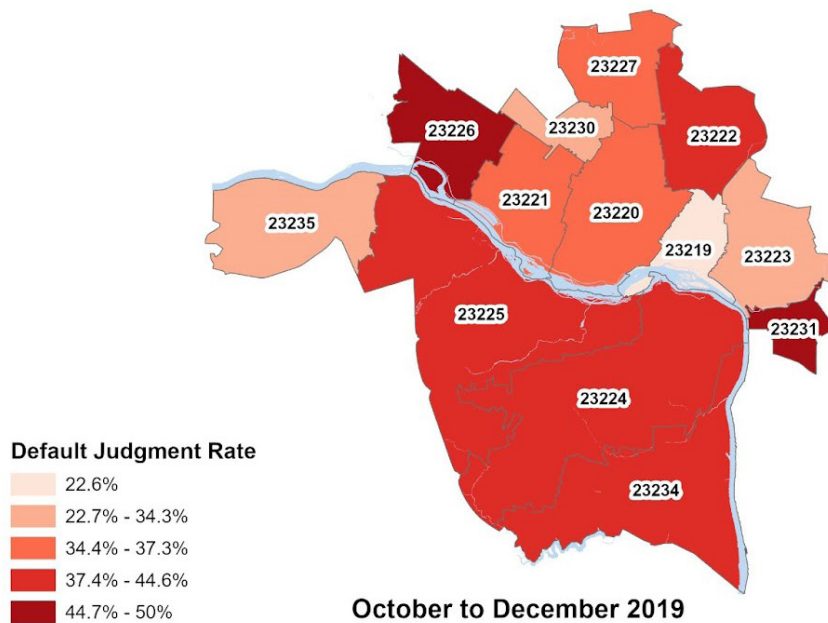
Source: Legal Services Corporation (LSC) Civil Court Data Initiative, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Appendix



Appendix D: Map of Default Judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code (October - December 2019 and 2022)



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

