



Quarterly Data Report **1st Quarter 2022: January through March**

RVA Eviction Lab Staff
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VCU

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About the RVA Eviction Lab



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

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

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

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

Methodology

Court Data Acquisition

In Virginia, eviction cases are heard in civil courts at the city or county level and are designated with an “unlawful detainer” classification in court records. Virginia Court Data has collected court case data and made them available in an anonymized format.¹ For our analysis, we requested the original data with case numbers and names.

Data Deduplication

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

¹ Ben Schoenfeld. 2020, <http://virginiacourtdata.org>.

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



Evictions Totals

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



INTRODUCTION



In this quarterly report, the RVA Eviction Lab presents and analyzes a series of data on eviction and housing instability in Virginia during the first quarter of 2022. 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, Northern Virginia, and Charlottesville), and the City of Richmond. Fourth quarter eviction data for every jurisdiction in Virginia is provided in the appendix.

Highlights of 2022's first quarter include:

- U.S. Census survey of Virginia renters not caught up on rent indicate improving levels of housing instability and eviction pressures, with about 58% of households (compared to 28% during the fourth quarter of 2021) fearing eviction in the next two months.
- While filings appear down statewide and regionally, judgements are up. Filings decreased from 10,561 in the fourth quarter of 2021 to 9,192 in this quarter, but judgements increased from 3,691 to 3,840.
- In the City of Richmond, eviction filings and judgments remain spatially concentrated in ZIP codes in Southside neighborhoods. The Southside ZIP codes of 23225 and 23224 had the most eviction judgments this past quarter while the North Side ZIP codes 23226 had a substantial default judgment rate—67% of eviction filings during the first quarter.

During the COVID-19 pandemic (measured Q2 2020 to Q1 2022), 32,732 eviction judgments were issued across the Commonwealth. At the regional scale, there were 6,544 evictions in Central Virginia, 8,000 evictions in Hampton Roads, and 4,891 in Northern Virginia.

This quarterly report should be read within the context of the imminent closure of the Commonwealth's Rent Relief Program on May 15th, 2022. While the number of evictions continues to be low relative to the pre-pandemic levels, both eviction filings and eviction judgments have steadily increased since the Spring of 2021. The relatively slow pace of eviction growth is likely the result of efforts across the Commonwealth from attorneys, community-based organizations and government agencies to prevent evictions. Virginia law requires that landlords apply for rent relief before evicting tenants for non-payment of rent, protections which will also expire at the end of June 2022.³

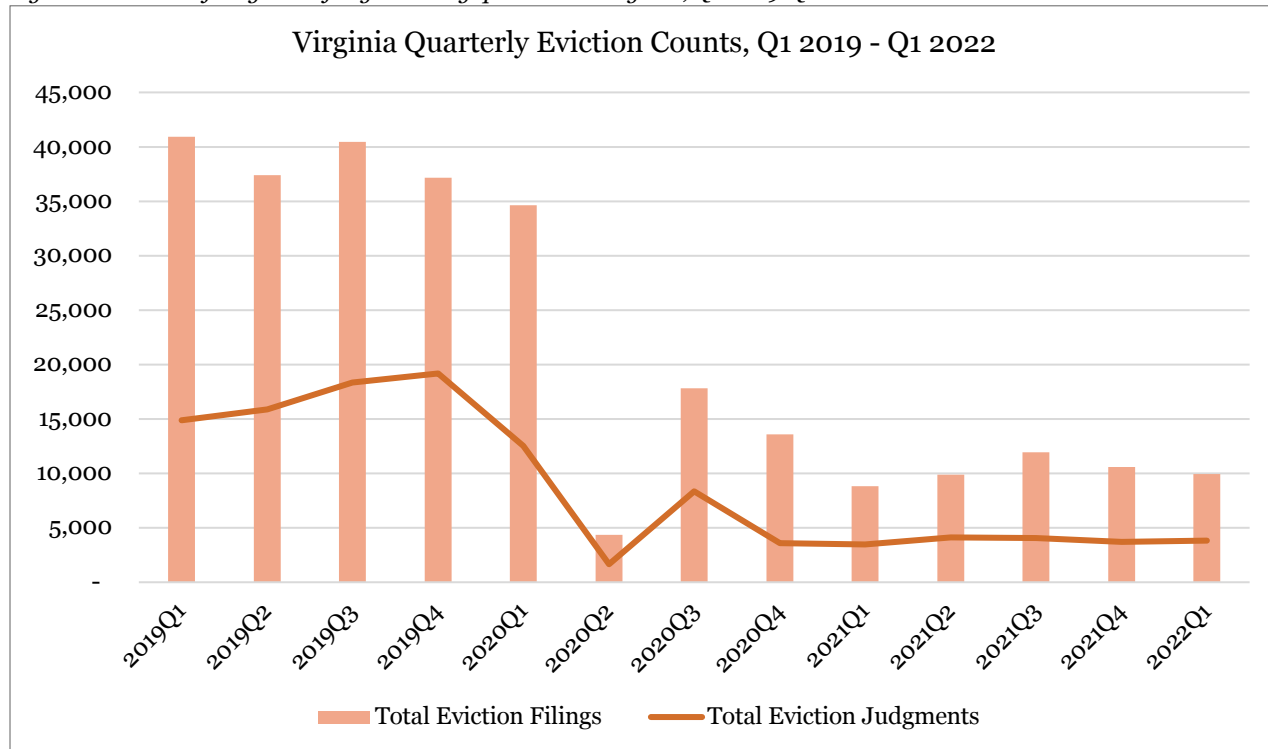
³ The Commonwealth is a leader in the use of the federal Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA), spending more than 70% of the funding received. Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition's Treasury Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA) Dashboard (October 18, 2021). <https://nlihc.org/era-dashboard>



HOUSING INSTABILITY ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Statewide eviction filings and judgments during the first quarter decreased from the previous quarter's levels. As shown in Figure 1, eviction filings are relatively close to numbers from the previous quarter (10,561 in the 2021 fourth quarter to 9,912 in the 2022 first quarter), while eviction judgments increased from 3,691 to 3,840. The chart attempts to visualize that these numbers likely do not capture the true scope of housing instability and evictions in the Commonwealth this past quarter.

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



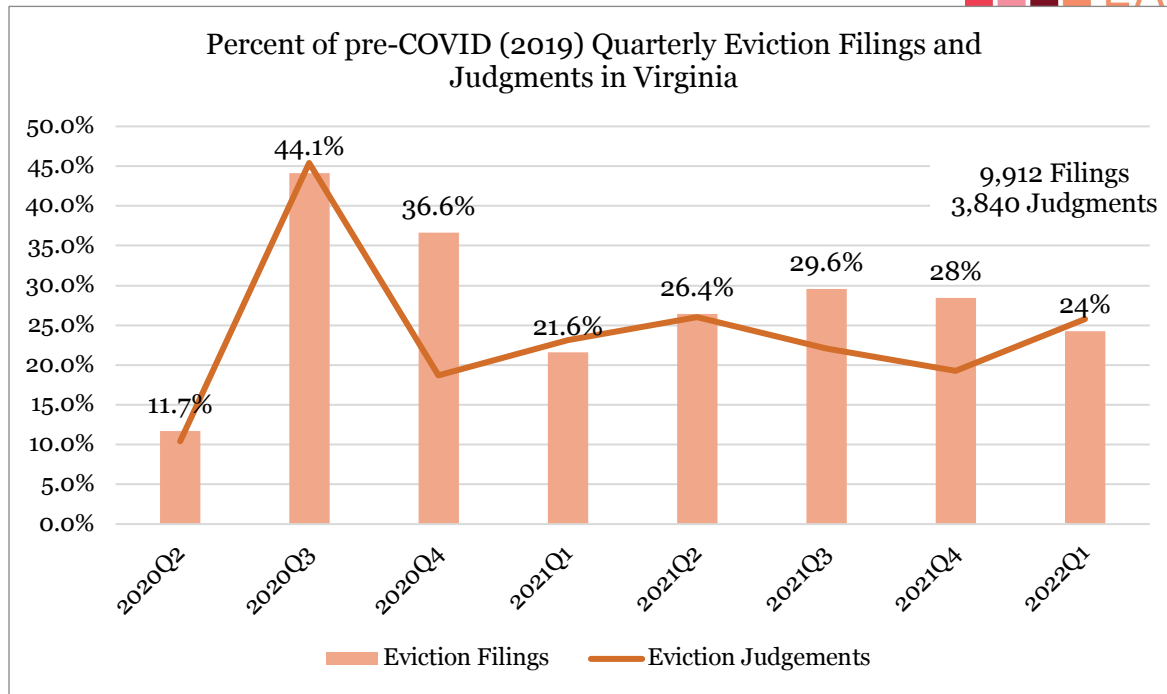
Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Eviction filings and judgments since the start of the pandemic in March 2020 are benchmarked against 2019 quarterly numbers in Figure 2. Statewide, eviction filings during this past quarter decreased from the preceding quarter's 28% of pre-pandemic filings to 24%. Eviction judgments increased from 19% to 26% of pre-pandemic levels. In part gap reflects the courts' enforcement of the requirement to apply for rent relief⁴.

⁴ In Courtroom observation through the fall of 2021, we find that judges have continued cases to facilitate the application to the state's Rent Relief Program, delaying or preventing eviction judgments.



Figure 2: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Virginia.



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 1 shows that this past quarter's statewide default judgment rate of 27% is an increase compared to its pre-pandemic counterpart of 26%.

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

	Q1 2019	Q1 2022	Q1 2022 percent of Q1 2019
Default Judgments	10,808	2,658	25%
Default Judgment Rate	26%	27%	102%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

The US Census Bureau's Household Pulse Survey continues to shine a light on slightly improving housing instability across the Commonwealth, as Table 2's responses to the three renter-targeted questions collected from January 26th to February 7th make clear. Fifty-two percent of Virginia renters that responded to the survey during this timeframe were not caught up on their rent payments, compared to the 16% at the end of 2021. The share of respondents with no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month's was about 91%, the highest share of respondents indicating this since the pandemic began. And finally, about 58% of respondents not caught up on rent reported that they were very or somewhat likely to leave their house in the next two months due to eviction. This marks an increase from the 28% of respondents in December.



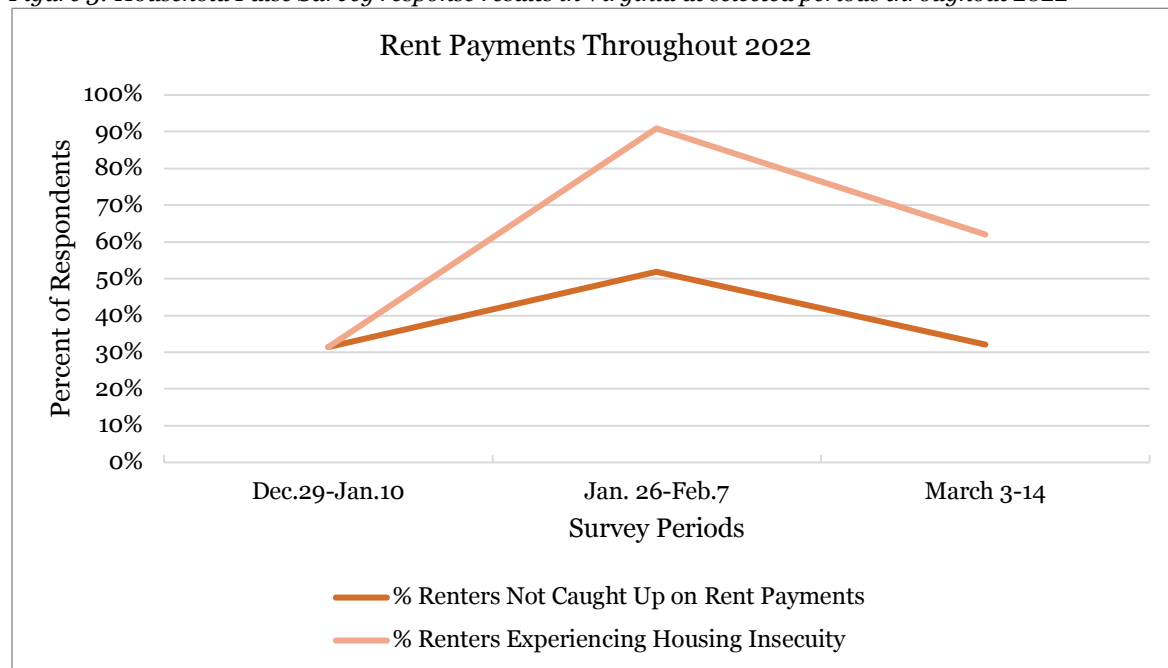
Table 2: Household Pulse Survey responses of Virginia renters, January 26 – February 7, 2022.

Renters who are not caught up on rent payments (% of respondents)	52%
Renters with no or slight confidence in ability to pay next month's rent (% of respondents)	91%
Renters who are somewhat or very likely to leave their house in next two months due to eviction⁵(% of respondents)	58%

US Census Bureau, 2022, Week 4 Household Pulse Survey.

As seen in Figure 3, the percent of respondents of Virginia renter households surveyed by the US Census Bureau who were not caught up on their rent payments and the percent of renters with no or slight confidence in their ability to pay next month's rent saw fluctuation throughout the quarter with a significant spike January 26 through February 7.

Figure 3: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected periods throughout 2022

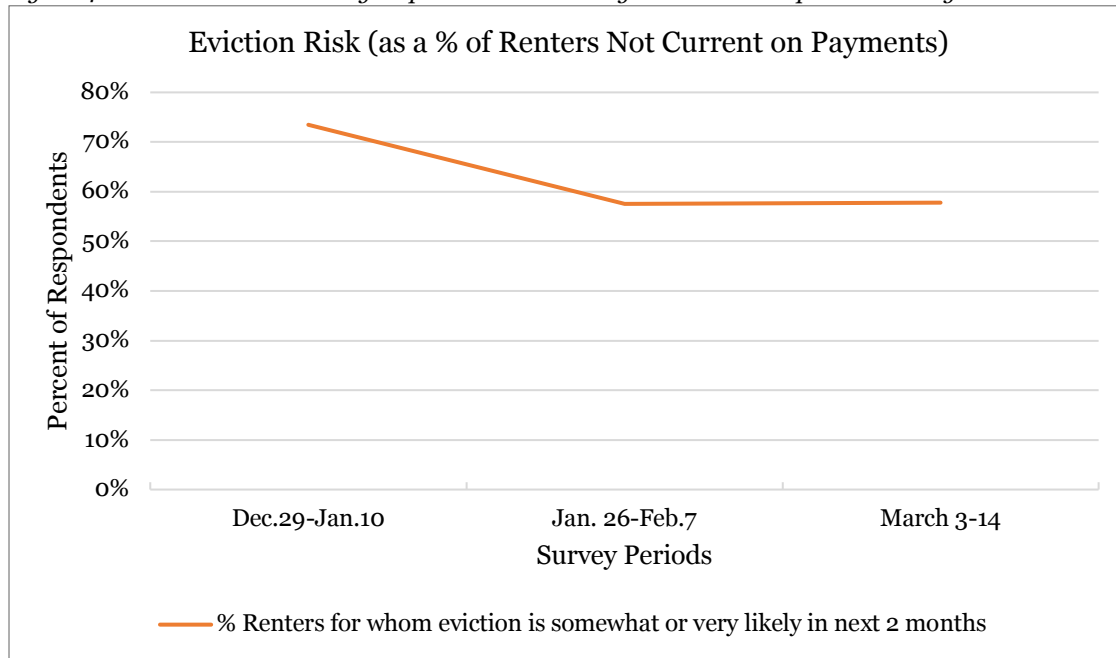


Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 41, 42, 43 2022.



Figure 4 shows displacement fears for individuals surveyed as part of the Household Pulse Survey. As the figure shows, displacement fears varied throughout the quarter, peaking at between December 29 and January 10 before dropping and then leveling off between January 26 and March 14.

Figure 4: Household Pulse Survey response results in Virginia at selected periods throughout 2022.



Source: US Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey, Week 41, 42, 43 2022.



REGIONAL DATA UPDATES



Central Virginia

Table 3 shows eviction filings and eviction judgments in each of the jurisdictions in the Central Virginia region during the first quarter of 2022 after the end of the CDC's eviction protection. Eviction filings now represent 21.9% of the 2019 pre-pandemic filings while eviction judgments represent 26.1% of their pre-pandemic counterparts. Only Henrico saw an increase in eviction filings from the fourth quarter of 2021 to the first quarter of 2022, while only Henrico and Petersburg saw evictions increase.

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

	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesterfield	1,890	529	868	457	46%	86%
Henrico	2,831	950	323	136	11%	14%
Hopewell	329	179	108	48	33%	27%
Petersburg	856	336	215	90	25%	27%
Richmond	4,133	1,513	686	186	17%	12%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

As Table 4 shows all of Central Virginia's default judgment rates were lower than seen before the pandemic. In all Central Virginia jurisdictions, default judgment rates increased from the preceding quarter.

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

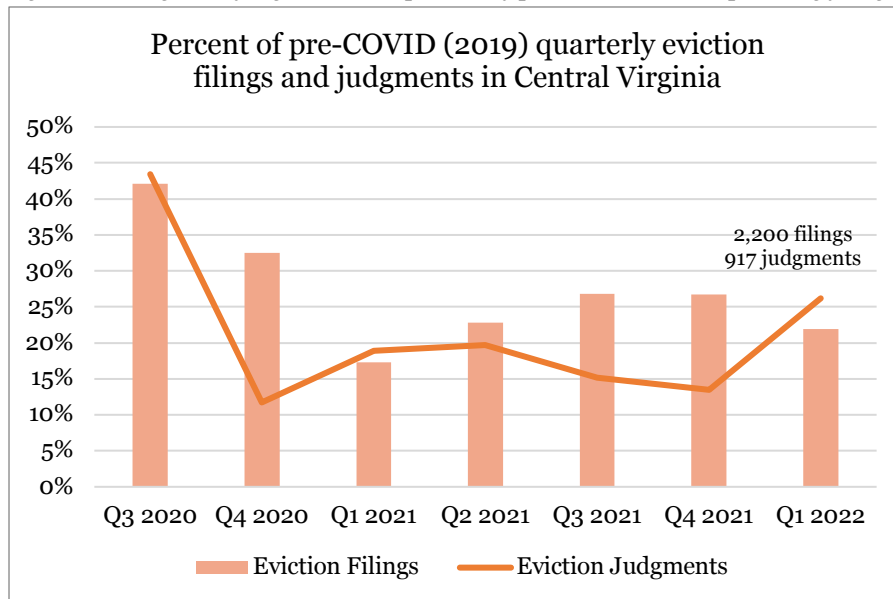
	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesterfield	394	21%	289	33%	73%	160%
Henrico	767	27%	106	33%	14%	121%
Hopewell	119	36%	33	31%	28%	84%
Petersburg	252	29%	64	30%	25%	101%
Richmond	1,112	27%	137	20%	12%	74%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Figure 5 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in the Central Virginia region over the last seven quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. Filings decreased this quarter from last quarter (from 2,339 to 2,200) and judgments decreased from last quarter from 654 to 629. Eviction filings for the first quarter are slightly under 22% of pre-pandemic 2019 levels, and eviction judgments are at 26.1% of pre-pandemic levels.

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



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Hampton Roads



Table 5 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in the Hampton Roads region during the first quarters of 2019 and 2022. Across the region, except Newport News and Virginia Beach, filings decreased between the fourth quarter of 2021 and the first quarter of 2022. Only Chesapeake (+9.6%) and Virginia Beach (+8.3%) saw increases in judgments between the fourth quarter of 2021 and the first quarter of 2022.

Table 5: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, January-March 2019 and 2022.

	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Chesapeake	1,412	472	277	90	20%	19%
Hampton	1,833	615	425	168	23%	27%
Newport News	3,736	1,203	654	248	18%	21%
Norfolk	3,094	991	790	159	26%	16%
Portsmouth	1,427	612	292	100	20%	16%
Virginia Beach	3,235	1,018	680	246	21%	24%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 6 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the first quarter of 2019 and 2022 in the Hampton Roads region. The default judgment rates of all Hampton Roads jurisdictions, except Newport News (27%) are lower than the statewide rate of 27% this past quarter. In addition, only Chesapeake saw a decline in its rates from the previous quarter.

Table 6: Default judgments and rates in Hampton Roads jurisdictions, January-March 2019 and 2022.

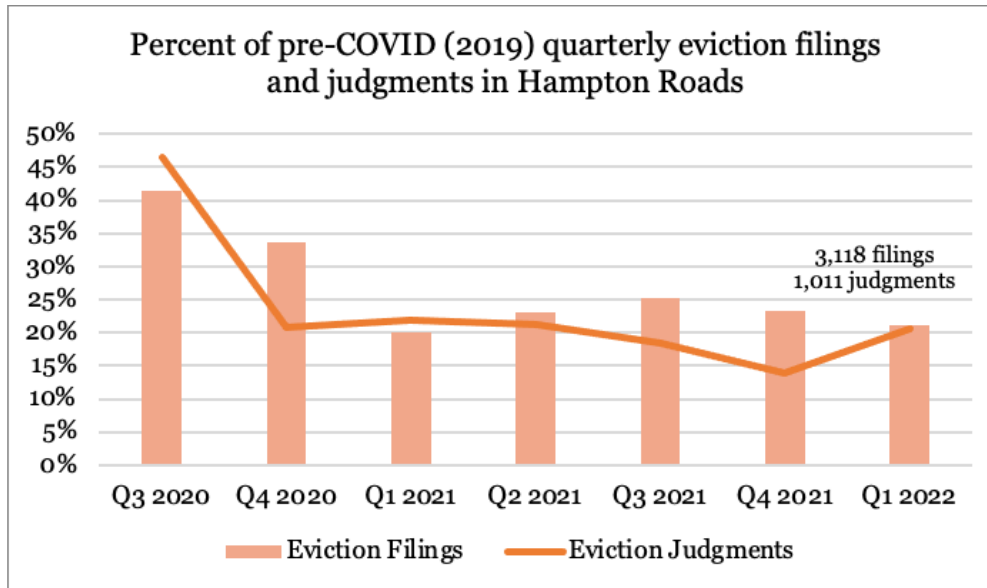
	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
Chesapeake	353	25%	73	26%	21%	105%
Hampton	479	26%	104	24%	22%	94%
Newport News	929	25%	179	27%	19%	110%
Norfolk	787	25%	120	15%	15%	60%
Portsmouth	440	31%	74	25%	17%	82%
Virginia Beach	814	25%	175	26%	21%	102%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Figure 6 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Hampton Roads region. In the first quarter, the eviction filings in the region were approximately 21.2% of 2019 pre-pandemic filings, and eviction judgments were 20.6% of 2019 pre-pandemic judgments.

Figure 6: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Hampton Roads.



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Northern Virginia

Eviction filings and judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions during the first quarters of 2019 and 2022 are presented in Table

15. All localities throughout the region, except Falls Church, Prince William, and Stafford, saw decreases in filings from the previous quarter, while all localities, except Alexandria, saw a decrease in judgments.



Table 7: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, October-December 2019 and 2021.

	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2021 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
Alexandria	1,236	381	254	126	21%	33%
Arlington	704	197	144	63	20%	32%
Fairfax Co.	2,205	695	534	186	24%	27%
Falls Church	5	1	2	0	40%	0%
Fredericksburg	283	99	75	36	27%	36%
Loudoun	528	142	73	39	14%	27%
Prince William	1,507	565	364	150	24%	27%
Stafford	410	143	80	26	20%	18%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 8 displays the default judgment numbers and rates in the 2019 and 2021 first quarters. Default judgment rates decreased from the third to fourth quarter in every jurisdiction except Falls Church. As seen in the table, default judgments started to rise above their pre-pandemic levels in the comparison of 2022 first quarter rates to 2019 first quarter figures, spanning from 0% to 230% of the rates seen before COVID.

Table 8: Default judgments and rates in Northern Virginia jurisdictions, January - March 2019 and 2022.

	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment
Alexandria	291	24%	105	41%	36%	176%
Arlington	135	19%	53	37%	39%	192%
Fairfax Co.	538	24%	158	30%	29%	121%
Falls Church	1	20%	0	0%	0%	0%

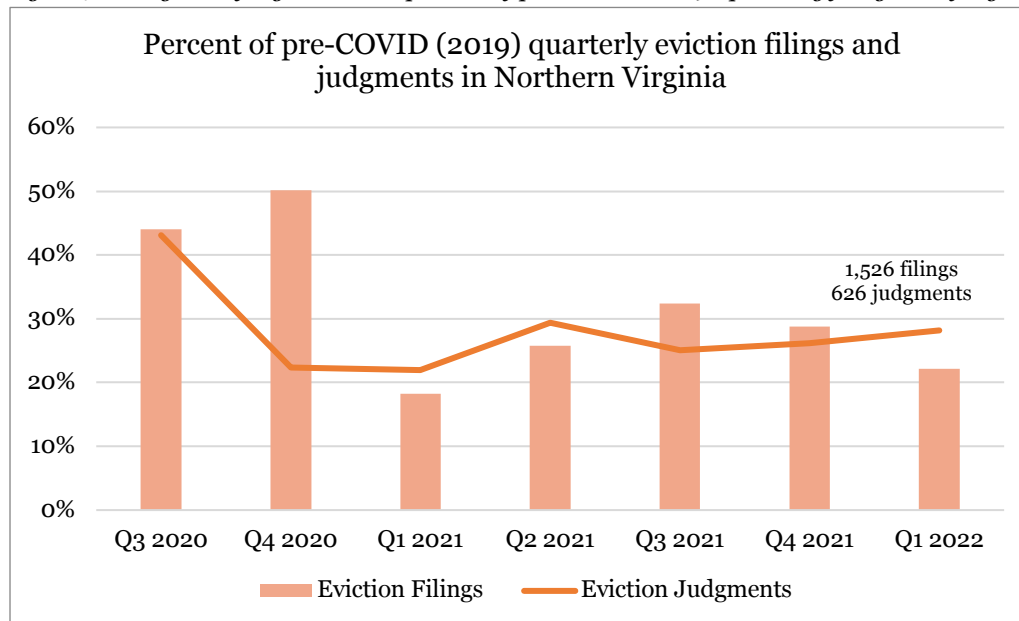


Fredericksburg	70	25%	24	32%	34%	129%
Loudoun	91	17%	29	40%	32%	230%
Prince William	409	27%	123	34%	30%	125%
Stafford	94	23%	18	23%	19%	98%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Figure 7 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID quarterly numbers in the Northern Virginia region. The region saw an decrease in filings rates from the fourth quarter of 2021 to the first quarter of 2022. Eviction filings decreased from 26% of pre-pandemic levels in Q4 2021 to 22% in Q1 in 2022.

Figure 7: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Northern Virginia



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

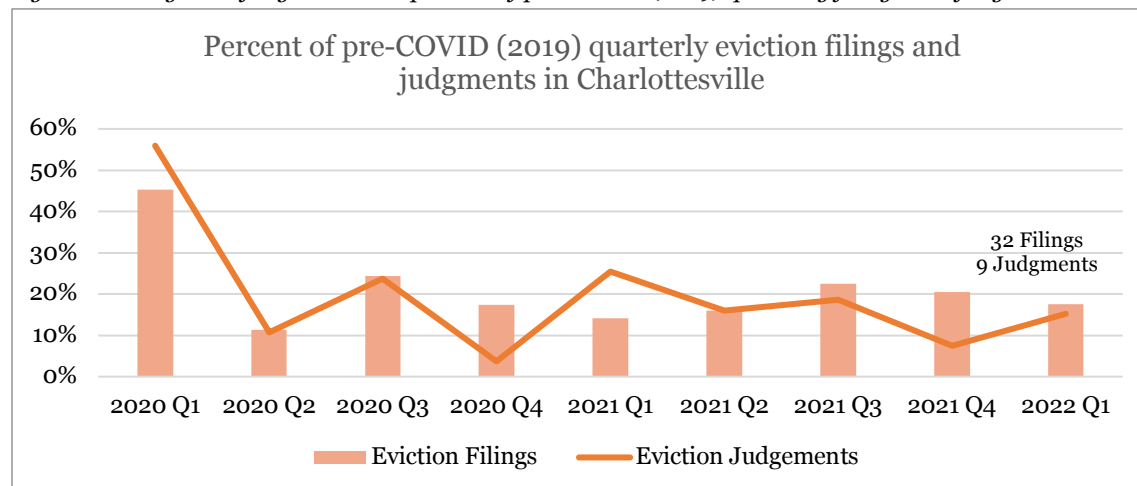


CITY OF CHARLOTTESVILLE



Figure 8 displays the trajectory of quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Charlottesville over the last nine quarters as a percent of the corresponding pre-pandemic (2019) quarterly levels. The chart shows a pattern similar to that at the state-level.

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



Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 9 displays eviction filings and eviction judgments in jurisdictions in Charlottesville during the first quarters of 2019 and 2022. 2022 Q1 eviction filings were still down compared to their 2019 Q1 counterparts.

Table 9: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Charlottesville, January-March 2019 and 2022.

2019 Q1		2022 Q1		2022 % of 2019	
Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
183	59	32	9	17%	15%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

Table 10 shows the number and rates of default judgments in the first quarter of 2019 and 2022 in Charlottesville. The default judgment rate of Charlottesville is lower than the statewide rate of 27% this past quarter.

Table 10: Default judgments and rates in Charlottesville, January-March 2019 and 2022.

2019 Q1		2022 Q1		2022 % of 2019	
Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgement Rate
32	17%	6	19%	19%	107%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

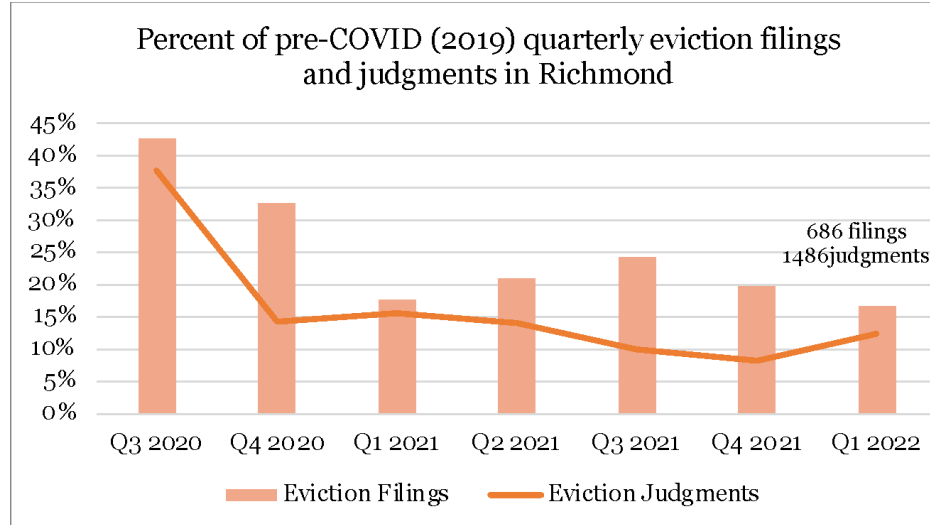


CITY OF RICHMOND



Figure 9 shows quarterly eviction filings and judgments in Richmond compared to pre-COVID levels. Richmond's filings and evictions as percentages of pre-pandemic numbers decreased this past quarter, according to our court data. During the first quarter of 2022, Richmond's updated total eviction filings represented 16.6% of pre-COVID 2019 first quarter filings, and its eviction judgments represented 12.3% of 2019 Q1 judgments.

Figure 9: Filings and judgments as a percent of pre-COVID (2019) quarterly filings and judgments in Richmond

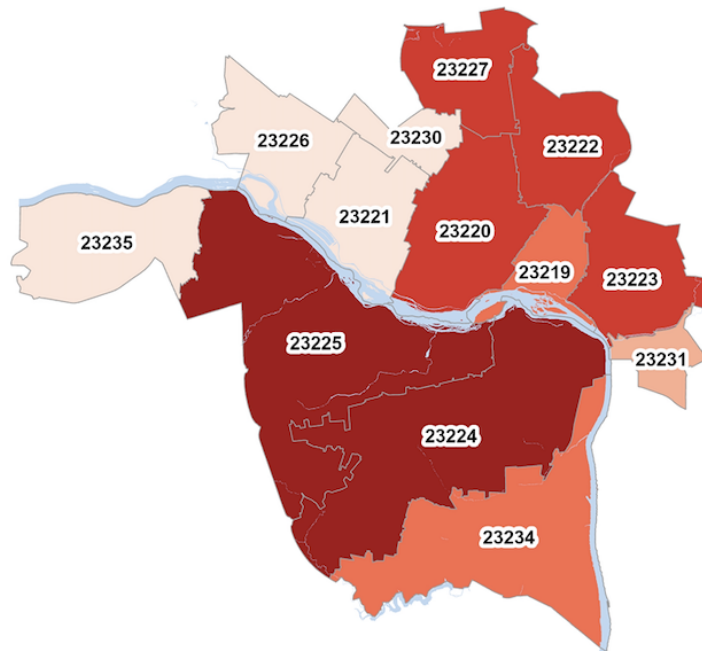


Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld

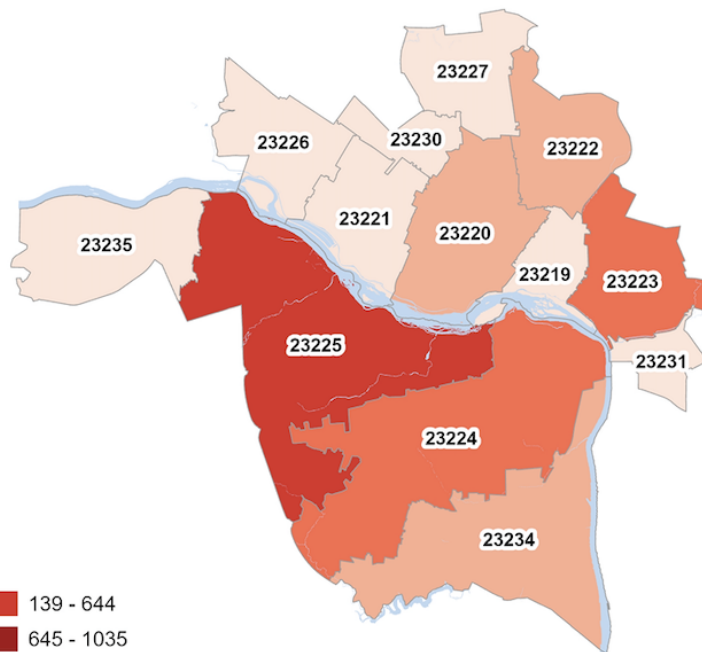
The maps on the following pages visually represent the spatial distribution of eviction filings, eviction judgments, and default judgments across ZIP codes in Richmond in the first quarter of 2019 and 2022. As shown in Figure 9, eviction filings this past quarter were concentrated in ZIP codes in Richmond's Southside (23225 and 23224). As displayed in Figure 10, the Southside ZIP codes of 23225 and 23224 had the most eviction judgments this past quarter. Finally, as seen in Figure 11, the North Side ZIP codes 23226 had a substantial default judgment rate—67%, of eviction filings during the first quarter.



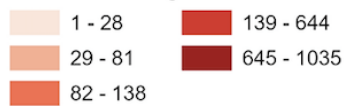
Figure 10: Eviction filings in Richmond by ZIP code, January - March 2019 & 2022.



January to March 2019



Eviction Filings

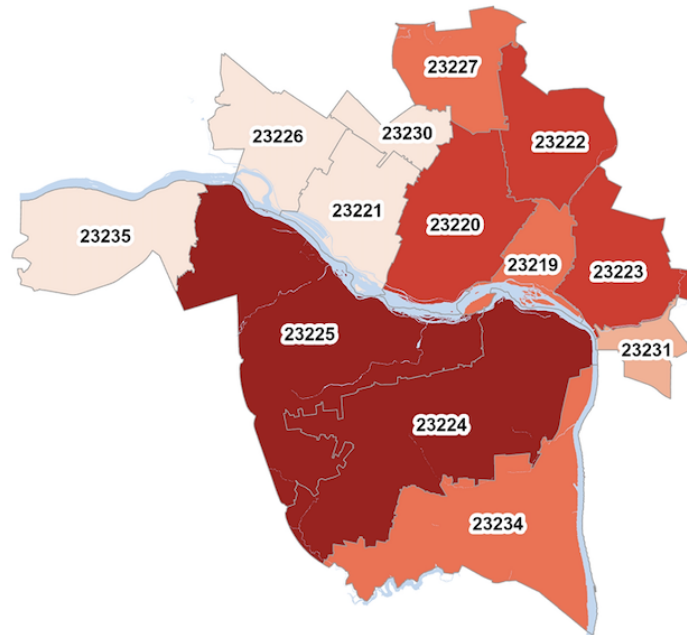


January to March 2022

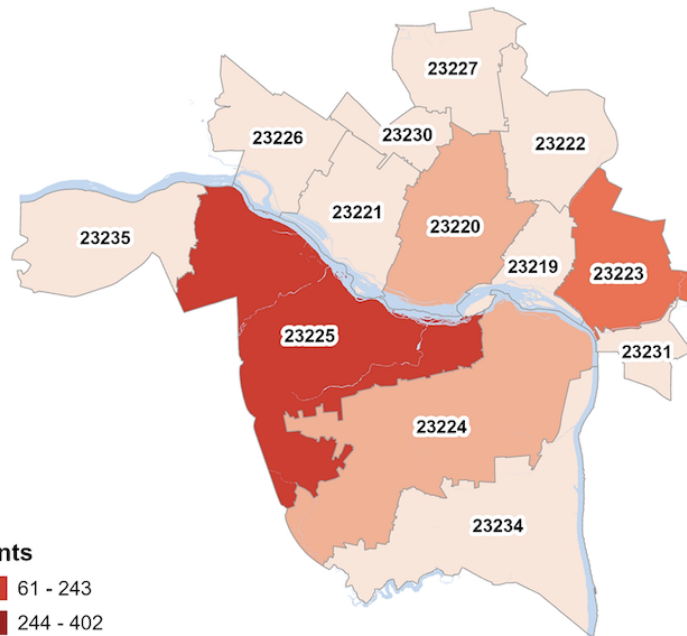
Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



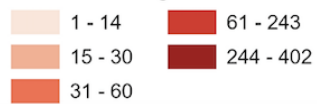
Figure 11: Eviction judgments in Richmond by ZIP code, January - March 2019 and 2022.



January to March 2019



Eviction Judgments

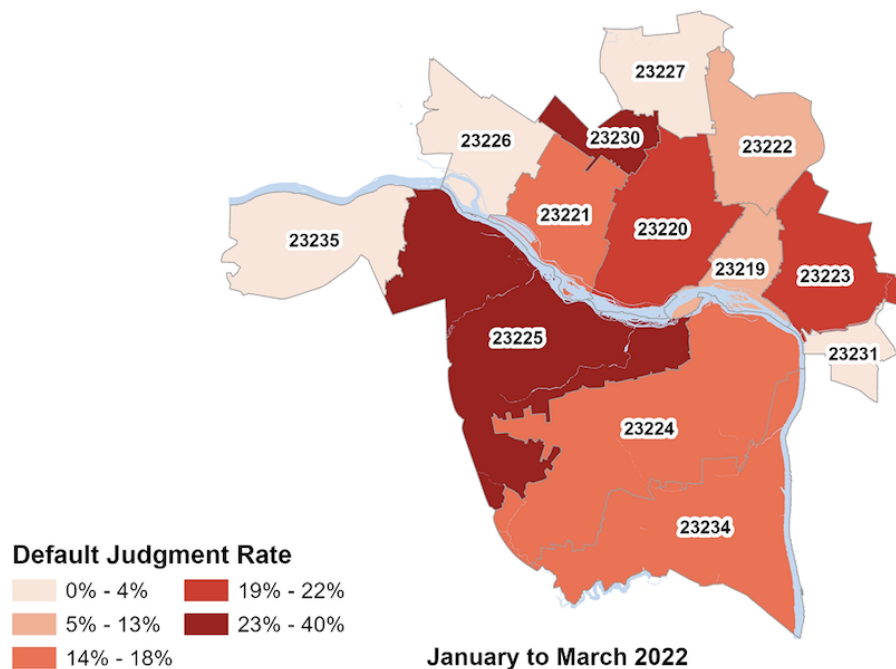
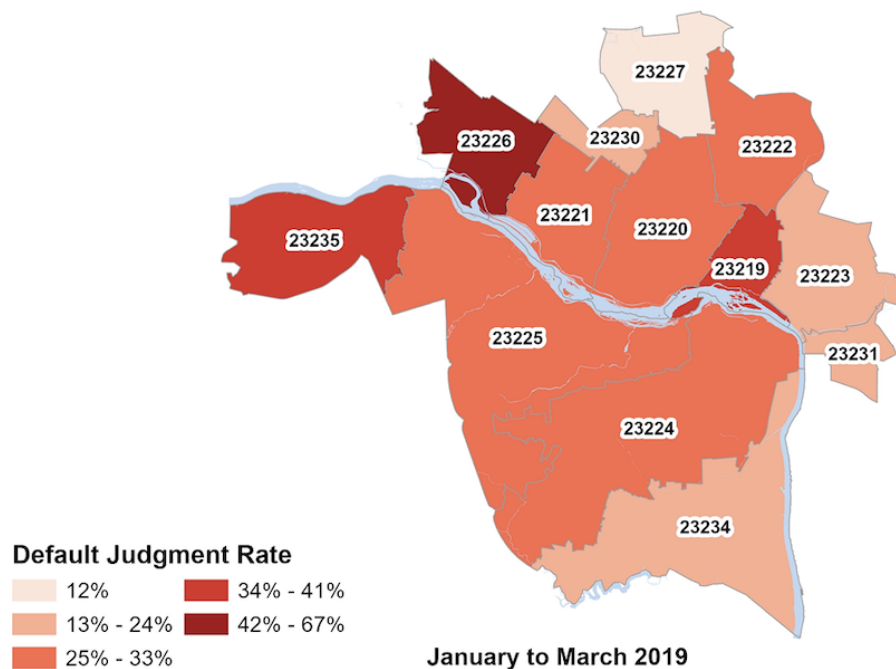


January to March 2022

Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Figure 12: Default judgment rates in Richmond by ZIP code, January - March 2019 and 2022.



Source: Virginia Courts, RVA Eviction Lab Analysis



Table 11 shows the comparison of the number of filings and eviction judgments in each of Richmond's ZIP codes in the 2019 and 2022 first quarters. Filings and evictions continued to fall well below pre-pandemic numbers; however, evictions increased or stayed roughly the same from the fourth quarter of 2021 to the first quarter of this year throughout the city of Richmond.

Table 11: Eviction filings and eviction judgments in Richmond ZIP codes, January-March 2019 and 2022.

ZIP Code	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions	Filings	Evictions
23219	123	60	20	3	16%	5%
23220	411	188	49	17	12%	9%
23221	28	14	6	1	21%	7%
23222	324	140	40	9	12%	6%
23223	644	243	105	36	16%	15%
23224	1,035	402	114	29	11%	7%
23225	966	313	206	78	21%	25%
23226	6	5	1	0	17%	0%
23227	311	48	13	2	4%	4%
23230	22	5	5	2	23%	40%
23231	81	30	28	1	35%	3%
23234	138	46	36	8	26%	17%
23235	17	7	1	0	6%	0%
Other	27	12	62	0	230%	0%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Finally, quarterly default judgment numbers and rates by Richmond ZIP code are presented in Table 22. The 2022 Q1 default judgment rates in ZIP codes 23230 and 23225 exceeded their rates in the first quarter of 2019, amounting to 173% and 118% of the pre-pandemic figures, respectively.

Table 12: Default judgments and rates in Richmond ZIP codes, January-March 2019 and 2022.

ZIP Code	Q1 2019		Q1 2022		2022 % of 2019	
	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate	Default Judgments	Default Judgment Rate
23219	44	36%	2	10%	5%	28%
23220	135	33%	11	22%	8%	68%
23221	8	29%	1	17%	13%	58%
23222	90	28%	5	13%	6%	45%
23223	157	24%	23	22%	15%	90%
23224	305	29%	21	18%	7%	63%
23225	259	27%	65	32%	25%	118%
23226	4	67%	0	0%	0%	0%
23227	37	12%	0	0%	0%	0%
23230	5	23%	2	40%	40%	176%
23231	19	23%	1	4%	5%	15%
23234	32	23%	6	17%	19%	72%
23235	7	41%	0	0%	0%	0%
Other	10	37%	0	0%	0%	0%

Source: Virginia Courts, Ben Schoenfeld



Appendix: Eviction Data by Jurisdiction, 1st Quarter, 2022

Jurisdiction	2022 Q 1 Eviction Filings	2022 Q1 Evictions Judgments	2022 Q1 Default Judgments	2022 Q1 Default Judgment Rate
Accomack	20	11	8	40.0%
Albemarle	125	44	37	29.6%
Alleghany	30	6	6	20.0%
Amelia	6	4	0	0.0%
Amherst	27	5	3	11.1%
Appomattox	9	6	5	55.6%
Arlington	144	63	53	36.8%
Augusta	56	14	6	10.7%
Bath	0	0	0	
Bedford	34	15	10	29.4%
Bland	1	0	0	0.0%
Botetourt	8	2	1	12.5%
Brunswick	6	2	2	33.3%
Buchanan	6	1	0	0.0%
Buckingham	9	0	0	0.0%
Campbell	79	33	24	30.4%
Caroline	14	8	3	21.4%
Carroll	14	12	6	42.9%
Charles City	2	2	0	0.0%



Charlotte	5	1	0	0.0%
Chesterfield	868	457	289	33.3%
Clarke	7	1	0	0.0%
Craig	3	2	1	33.3%
Culpeper	15	4	1	6.7%
Cumberland	3	1	0	0.0%
Dickenson	3	1	0	0.0%
Dinwiddie	15	8	3	20.0%
Essex	7	5	2	28.6%
Fairfax Co.	534	186	158	29.6%
Fauquier	17	5	0	0.0%
Floyd	6	6	2	33.3%
Fluvanna	6	3	1	16.7%
Franklin Co.	36	24	16	44.4%
Frederick	30	15	10	33.3%
Giles	10	3	1	10.0%
Gloucester	26	9	7	26.9%
Goochland	5	2	1	20.0%
Grayson	4	3	1	25.0%
Greene	9	0	0	0.0%
Greensville	6	4	4	66.7%
Halifax	22	17	8	36.4%
Hanover	38	18	8	21.1%
Henrico	323	136	106	32.8%



Henry	56	27	20	35.7%
Highland	0	0	0	
Isle of Wight	38	11	10	26.3%
King & Queen	2	2	1	50.0%
King George	18	9	6	33.3%
King William	5	4	4	80.0%
Lancaster	5	3	3	60.0%
Lee	28	15	12	42.9%
Loudoun	73	39	29	39.7%
Louisa	23	8	4	17.4%
Lunenburg	9	1	0	0.0%
Madison	10	5	1	10.0%
Mathews	5	2	1	20.0%
Mecklenburg	17	8	4	23.5%
Middlesex	5	3	2	40.0%
Montgomery	82	42	31	37.8%
Nelson	13	5	2	15.4%
New Kent	7	3	2	28.6%
Northampton	3	2	1	33.3%
Northumberland	3	1	0	0.0%
Nottoway	10	4	2	20.0%
Orange	25	9	5	20.0%
Page	25	16	12	48.0%
Patrick	4	0	0	0.0%



Pittsylvania	50	31	22	44.0%
Powhatan	15	5	1	6.7%
Prince Edward	17	7	4	23.5%
Prince George	74	20	0	0.0%
Prince William	364	150	123	33.8%
Pulaski	55	29	20	36.4%
Rappahannock	1	0	0	0.0%
Richmond Co.	2	0	0	0.0%
Roanoke Co.	52	16	7	13.5%
Rockbridge	18	8	4	22.2%
Rockingham/Harrisonburg	127	36	23	18.1%
Russell	9	3	1	11.1%
Scott	3	2	2	66.7%
Shenandoah	31	16	11	35.5%
Smyth	27	18	10	37.0%
Southampton	13	3	1	7.7%
Spotsylvania	56	13	9	16.1%
Stafford	80	26	18	22.5%
Surry	10	3	3	30.0%
Sussex	6	2	1	16.7%
Tazewell	29	10	4	13.8%
Warren	56	37	20	35.7%
Washington	37	23	11	29.7%



Westmoreland	10	8	4	40.0%
Wise	39	6	5	12.8%
Wythe	24	17	6	25.0%
York	33	14	11	33.3%
Alexandria	254	126	105	41.3%
Bristol	32	20	11	34.4%
Buena Vista	5	3	1	20.0%
Charlottesville	32	9	6	18.8%
Chesapeake	277	90	73	26.4%
Colonial Heights	34	17	10	29.4%
Danville	175	98	64	36.6%
Emporia	8	4	3	37.5%
Falls Church	2	0	0	0.0%
Franklin City	6	0	0	0.0%
Fredericksburg	75	36	24	32.0%
Galax	14	13	4	28.6%
Hampton	425	168	104	24.5%
Hopewell	108	48	33	30.6%
Lynchburg	130	55	35	26.9%
Martinsville	15	7	3	20.0%
Newport News	654	248	179	27.4%
Norfolk	790	159	120	15.2%
Petersburg	215	90	64	29.8%
Portsmouth	292	100	74	25.3%



Radford	19	7	5	26.3%
Richmond City	686	186	137	20.0%
Roanoke City	319	115	78	24.5%
Salem	27	6	2	7.4%
Staunton	30	12	10	33.3%
Suffolk	133	39	31	23.3%
Virginia Beach	680	246	175	25.7%
Waynesboro	48	17	12	25.0%
Williamsburg/James City County	69	29	23	33.3%
Winchester	66	31	16	24.2%

