INDEPENDENT CASE STUDY

Loudoun County, Virginia

A Data Center Case Study

The Endgame Case — What It Costs to Change the Rules After the Industry Is Load-Bearing

Companion to What Virginia Is Spending, What Virginia Is Getting (v5.5)

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November 2026 · Version 1.1

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.22374193 ORCID: 0009-0005-7422-9881

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The Endgame Case — What It Costs to Change the Rules After the Industry Is Load-Bearing

Series: Companion to What Virginia Is Spending, What Virginia Is Getting (v5.5)
Version: 1.1 (supersedes v1.0, November 2026)
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ORCID: 0009-0005-7422-9881
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.22374193
Current through: September 5, 2026
Last full source audit: September 5, 2026
Published: September 2026 (v1.0) · Revised November 2026 (v1.1)

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Version note: This is version 1.1 of the case study, the largest volume in the series. It keeps the record dates of version 1.0. **The volume carries two snapshot dates and they are different, deliberately.** The hearing record — the fifteen locally transcribed meetings on which every attributed quotation rests — closed on **July 25, 2026**, two days after the Planning Commission's recommendation on Spring Valley. The documentary record runs through **September 5, 2026**, because material bearing directly on the volume's central finding emerged after July: an Amazon by-right filing on July 28, a Zoning Administrator's advisory opinion on July 30, a zoning determination request on August 14, and Board of Supervisors action on September 1. A moratorium item was on the board's September 15, 2026 agenda when this edition closed; its outcome is not recorded in this version. Those events are documented from county records and press, not from transcripts, and they are dated in the text wherever they appear. Verification passes on the record ran through September 5, 2026 and are recorded in Appendix B. The hearing record rests on fifteen locally transcribed public meetings spanning September 2022 through July 2026; the transcription method, its limits, and the verification standing of every attributed quotation are stated in Purpose, Scope, and Method and must be read before any quotation in this document is relied upon. Research framework references follow the series role-label convention.

Disclosure: The author serves on the advisory board of an Alfred P. Sloan Foundation-funded study at Emory University on data centers and the Southern energy buildout. The study had no role in this case study.

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ABSTRACT

On March 18, 2025, the Loudoun County Board of Supervisors voted 7–2 to require a special exception before a data center could be built in the districts where the use had been permitted by right. That is close to consensus, it is the vote most accounts of the evening report, and it is narrower than it sounds.

The board adopted it over its own Planning Commission's recommendation of denial, forwarded 5–3–1 on December 12, 2024, carved out a grandfathered pipeline by a single vote, and left the standards it imposed modifiable through a lighter procedure the county had opened two years earlier. It never reached the Route 28 corridor, where commercial and industrial zoning is frozen by state statute until 2037 and cannot be reduced by the board that adopted the reform, on a reading of the statute that no court has construed and on which no Attorney General opinion was located, on the search note 7 records; a point-geometry join this study could not re-run puts 51 percent of Loudoun's built data center square footage inside that district, 43.16 percent of built and under-construction square footage, and 26.23 percent of what is under construction alone. The county publishes the constraint on its own website, names the governing Code subsection by letter, and describes its effect in its own zoning FAQ; it went unmentioned across fourteen months of rewriting the ordinance, in the client alerts, the advocacy tracking and the fifteen transcripts examined here. It returned to contention in July and August 2026, through the county's own request for an advisory opinion on the 2000 classification memo, an Amazon by-right site plan filing in Ashburn, the opinion that followed, and a zoning determination request, and on September 1, 2026 the board sent the question to its lawyers.

The evening recorded nine dispositions. Two coalitions produced them: the members who opposed ending by-right development, and the members who supported ending it and thought the county had not gone far enough. The second group voted no on the grandfathering exemption and no again on the individual data center approval that followed. Those two minorities are nearly identical; only the ordinance minority stands apart from both.

Sixteen months later the new pathway had produced twenty-four legislative applications and exactly one public hearing. Fifteen of the twenty-four concern the delivery or generation of electricity, not the buildings that consume it. The grandfathered pipeline kept moving under a 1993 ordinance the county had spent two years replacing, and in February 2026 the Planning Commission processed a data center concept plan on which county staff stated on the record that data centers and substations were permitted without any special exception at all.

This case study documents what it costs to change the rules once the industry is load-bearing. Loudoun is the series' endgame case: every other Virginia county documented here sits somewhere on a curve Loudoun has already traversed. Data center computer equipment revenue reached $879.1 million in the FY2027 adopted budget, against a general fund that roughly doubled over the preceding decade. No growth multiple for that revenue is stated here, because the county did not break the figure out separately before tax year 2021 and the pre-2021 numbers in circulation measure a different population; Part Three sets out why and starts the series at FY2022 instead. In FY2027, the first year the county publishes both halves, data center personal property and real property together account for roughly 40 percent of general fund revenue. The county's real property tax rate fell from $1.145 per $100 in tax year 2016 to $0.805 in 2025 and 2026. In 2016 Loudoun taxed residential property at a higher rate than Fairfax County did; by 2024 it taxed it twenty-six cents lower. That gap opened over a decade, from a standing start, across exactly the years of the buildout.

The volume is built from primary sources: fifteen locally transcribed public meetings, the county's own unauthenticated application database, nine annual comprehensive financial reports, adopted budget documents, the county's commissioned transmission study, the appellate record, and the zoning ordinance text. Provisions that could not be retrieved are named, with what was attempted.

Four findings run against the county's own account of itself. First, the board adopted a grandfathering standard without a stable count of what it was grandfathering: four staff-sourced administrative counts — 36, then 50, then 21, then 31 — moved across fifteen weeks with no bridge offered, and two of the four were spoken under eight minutes apart in the same hearing from the same packet. No supervisor asked why the number had moved by half. Second, every count in the record is a floor, and county staff said so on the record: applications that do not name the use are not counted, and the county had by its own account once advised applicants not to name it. Third, the reform made the special exception mandatory without making the standards fixed. The county wrote explicit opt-out clauses into three other sections of its zoning ordinance, in two distinct formulations; the data center standards carry neither, which leaves every applicable protection modifiable through a lighter pathway the 2023 ordinance rewrite had opened two years before the reform. Fourth, the Route 28 zoning freeze is published by the county on its own website and names the governing subsection of the Code of Virginia by letter, and on the statute's text, which no court has construed, it holds the majority of the county's built data center square footage outside the reform's reach: 51 percent, on a spatial join this study ran and cannot re-run, against 26.23 percent of what is under construction.

PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND METHOD

The subject is data center policy in Loudoun County, Virginia, from the concentration's accidental origins at the eastern edge of the county through the July 23, 2026 Planning Commission hearing on Spring Valley, with the documentary record carried through September 5, 2026 for the reasons set out in the version note. Loudoun is the largest volume in this series and the last of the Northern Virginia jurisdictions to be documented, which is deliberate: the other volumes establish the curve, and Loudoun establishes where it goes.

The intended readers are three: Virginia localities earlier on the curve, for whom Loudoun is the only available account of the mature phase written from inside the record; Loudoun residents and journalists seeking the documentary basis for figures that circulate widely and are sourced thinly; and the principal investigators and consultants of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation study on the energy implications of data center expansion in Georgia, Virginia, and Tennessee. Following project convention, that study's five research frameworks are named by type of work instead of by individual researcher, and each finds its material below: institutional behavior in a board that recorded nine dispositions in one evening and a governance structure in which industry representatives co-chair nine of the eleven task force groups revising the county's land-use review process; utility finance in a Commissioner of the Revenue who lengthened the depreciation life of data center equipment in the year the county's own published materials forecast a revenue plateau; energy, labor, and infrastructure in a board that decoupled power from land use in 2022 and a post-cutoff docket in which fifteen of twenty-four filings concern the delivery or generation of the electricity that decoupling was supposed to place beyond its reach; distributional justice in five requested waivers, four of which apply precisely because a site sits near houses; and energy geography in the terminal question of what a jurisdiction can still do after the industry funds roughly 40 percent of its general fund revenue.

Method, and the limits that bind every quotation

The hearing record rests on fifteen public meetings of the Board of Supervisors, the Planning Commission, the Transportation and Land Use Committee, and the Finance/Government Operations Committee, running from September 20, 2022 to July 23, 2026 and totaling roughly seventy-nine hours of recorded proceedings. The county publishes these through a streaming archive that does not permit automated retrieval and returns errors to automated clients on its media endpoints. Rather than attempt to circumvent that, the recordings were obtained by ordinary means and transcribed locally using faster-whisper on the CTranslate2 runtime, small model, int8 quantization, voice-activity-detection filtering, beam size 1.

Three consequences follow, and they condition everything downstream.

There is no speaker diarization. The transcription produces text and timestamps, not speaker labels. Every speaker attribution here is inferred from content, from the flow of debate, and from the chair's own references. Timestamps are reliable. Attributions are reconstructions.

Proper nouns are systematically mangled. The model renders "Loudoun" as *loudon*, *laden*, *Laudan*, *louda*, *Ladin*, *Lowney* and *lounging*; "Kershner" as *Kirschner*, *Kersener*, *christner* and *curse nurse*; "Briskman" as *bricksman*, *Prickman*, *Brisbane* and *riskman*; "TeKrony" as *Troni*, *to crony*, *Mr. Cooney* and *Dr. Croning*; "grandfathering" as *grand bothering*. The full concordance, running to more than sixty names and terms, is reproduced in the appendix, because any researcher reconstructing this record by the same method will hit the same wall.

No roll call by name appears anywhere in the corpus. Every vote in fifteen meetings is a voice vote, and the chair announces an aggregate tally for all but three of them, sometimes self-correcting mid-sentence; the exceptions are recorded at notes 163, 220 and 235. On the 5–4 grandfathering vote the chair could not count it by ear at all and asked for a show of hands. Closer votes than that are in the corpus. Two motions failed 4–4–1, on March 18 and September 16, 2025, and two more were announced as failing on a four-to-four tie, on February 6, 2024 and March 4, 2025; the recordings state no roster for any of the four. All tallies quoted here are chair-announced, not clerk-certified, and are so labeled. Where a named breakdown appears, it comes from a staff member's recollection at a later meeting or from press coverage, and it is identified as such.

The verification standard follows from those three facts. No attributed quotation appears without a note stating its verification status. Quotations checked against the published video are marked as such. Quotations resting on inference alone are marked with an asterisk at the endnote, and the appendix lists them in one place. One passage is load-bearing and unresolved: the exchange in which a total is corrected into a subset, on which two independent readings of the transcript corpus produced two different speakers. Both readings are reported.

The provision at the center of the analysis, the approval criteria governing a minor special exception, was declared unobtainable through four internal passes and then retrieved in full on the fifth from a county server that had been serving it publicly the entire time. The barrier was a rendering limit on the wrong host. That error is recorded in the text where it occurs, and it is the reason the search scope behind every negative finding is stated.

Sources beyond the hearing record

The fiscal series is built from the county's annual comprehensive financial reports, nine of which were retrieved in full, and from adopted budget documents. ACFR figures are cited to a named fiscal-year volume rather than to "the ACFR," because assessed values are restated between vintages — the FY2017 total taxable value differs by $874 million between the FY2017 and FY2025 books — and because one table in the FY2023 volume contains a comparison column copied from the prior year's book. Neither is unusual in municipal reporting. Both are why the vintage is named.

The application data comes from the county's own public land-use database, which is served by an unauthenticated endpoint that accepts arbitrary queries. It is the best public land-use dataset this series has encountered in Virginia, and two limits bind every use of it here. Its status field records workflow position, not board disposition, and it silently omits any application without mapped geometry. A case central to the analysis is absent from it entirely.

Records that could not be retrieved are named in Part Fourteen with what was attempted and what remains. Two categories were deliberately not pursued: material behind the county's streaming archive and material behind its document portal, both of which exclude automated clients. No attempt was made to work around either by any means. That is a methodological commitment of this series, and it costs real evidence, some of it decisive.

No interviews were conducted for this version and no records requests were filed. This is a no-FOIA build, consistent with series practice. Documents that could not be retrieved from open sources are listed in Part Fourteen with what each would settle, and are deferred to a later revision rather than to any records request.

PART ONE: THE ACCIDENT OF GEOGRAPHY

Ashburn holds what the county calls the largest concentration of data centers on earth, and no one decided that it should.

The sequence is well documented and compressed here; the press has covered it thoroughly and three previous volumes in this series have told versions of it. What matters is a single structural point: the concentration was not planned. Parts Six, Thirteen and Fourteen turn on that fact, where the county argues that it cannot unplan it.

MAE-East and the fiber

In the early 1990s a substantial share of the world's internet traffic passed through a facility in a parking garage in Tysons Corner. Metropolitan Area Exchange-East began as an informal arrangement among a handful of regional networks and became, by accident of being first and being adequate, one of the two points where the American internet interconnected. Traffic that had no business transiting Northern Virginia transited Northern Virginia, because that is where the exchange was.

America Online sat a few miles west, relocating its headquarters to Dulles in the mid-1990s. Its growth put enormous capacity demands on the corridor and produced, as a byproduct, dense fiber running out Route 7 and Route 28 into what was then farmland.

Who actually built that fiber, and when, is not established by any primary source this study located. The only attributable statement is a commercial broker's recollection two decades later that AOL "facilitated a lot of the early fiber and power infrastructure buildout there."[1]

What is documented, and is stronger than the anecdote, is that Loudoun County could not have stopped it. Va. Code § 56-458(A) authorizes telecommunications companies to occupy state highway rights-of-way without county consent, subject only to a permit from the Commonwealth Transportation Board decided within forty-five days.[2] Route 7 and Route 28 are state highways. The infrastructure that made the corridor possible was placed there under a statute that gave the county no say, and nothing in the record suggests the county wanted one.

Equinix was founded in June 1998 and completed its Ashburn exchange in July 1999, taking no revenue there until November.[3] The logic from that point is self-reinforcing and requires no policy at all: networks locate near other networks because interconnection is the product, and each new arrival raises the value of arriving.

Two things the standard account gets wrong

The received explanation for Ashburn runs: cheap land, cheap power, fiber, airport. Two of those four do not survive contact with the record.

Land in Loudoun was not cheap. USDA figures for 1982 through 1997 put Loudoun farmland at the top of its comparison column among Virginia counties, and by a wide margin. Loudoun ran $2,697 an acre in 1982 against $1,424 in Louisa, $1,030 in Lunenburg and $946 in Mecklenburg.[4] Loudoun land cost three to four times what land cost in the counties this series has examined elsewhere.

Cheap power is not documented at all as a historical siting driver. No source located in this study establishes that Loudoun's electricity was unusually cheap when the cluster formed. The only power finding of any weight runs the other way, and it arrives thirty years later as the constraint described in Part Five.

What actually made the land available was federal aviation law. Loudoun adopted an Airport Impact Overlay District in June 1993, implementing the FAA's Part 150 noise program for Dulles, which bars new residential construction inside the Ldn 65 contour. Part 77 separately restricts building heights across a wider radius.[5] The land near the airport was constrained twice: it could not hold houses and it could not go up. What remained was low, sprawling, windowless and largely unoccupied, which is a fair description of a data center.

The county did not foreclose the alternatives. The Federal Aviation Administration did, and the county wrote the overlay that implemented it.

Roughly ninety percent of today's data center parcels sit inside the *current* noise contour, which was drawn in 2019. The 1993 contour's geometry is not published in the county's own geographic information systems, on an examination of the county's own geographic information feature services made July 25, 2026, so the overlap proves present-day co-location and not 1990s causation. Whether the geometry survives in a county or federal records series was not searched. The mechanism is well documented. The spatial proof is not.

The decision nobody made

Loudoun's affirmative choices in this period were modest. It zoned permissively for industrial use along Route 28 and Route 7 under a 1972 ordinance. It created, jointly with Fairfax in December 1987, the transportation improvement tax district that the Federal Highway Administration describes as the Commonwealth's first, to widen Route 28.[6] It set a personal property tax rate on computer equipment that was competitive without being remarkable.

The tax district froze the zoning, and the freeze is still running. Everything that follows should be read in its light.

The district could be created only on the joint petition of owners of at least 51 percent of the land area or assessed value of the corridor's commercial and industrial land.[6] The landowners asked for it. And the enabling statute, at what is now Va. Code § 15.2-4603(C), carries a second paragraph applying to districts created before July 1, 1992 — which Route 28 was:

> "…all commercial and industrial zoning classifications, and all zoning ordinance text and regulations relating thereto, **including site plan regulations, regarding allowable uses, densities, setbacks, building heights, required parking, and open space** in force in the district on the date of the district's creation, shall be deemed to have been a part of the ordinance creating the district and **shall remain at least as permissive without limitation, reduction, or restriction**, except as provided in this section with respect to land use approvals of any kind or nature arising from requests initiated by landowners or as required to comply with the Chesapeake Bay Preservation Act or regulations adopted pursuant thereto, other state law or the requirements of the federal Clean Water Act (33 U.S.C. § 1342(p)) and regulations promulgated thereunder by the federal Environmental Protection Agency or applicable state regulations, until the earlier of July 1, 2037, or for so long as there remain any outstanding monetary obligations of the district or the commission incurred pursuant to the powers of the commission set forth in this chapter." (emphasis added)[7]

It binds the county. The carve-outs are landowner-initiated approvals, the Chesapeake Bay Preservation Act, the federal Clean Water Act stormwater provisions, and other state or federal law.[7] Loudoun publishes this about itself, names the subsection by letter in its own zoning FAQ, and states that Route 28 properties "continue to be administered under the Loudoun County 1972 Zoning Ordinance, unless and until the owner chooses to waive their Route 28 Tax District protections."[7]

Fifty-one percent of Loudoun's built data center square footage sits on that land: 18,432,912 of 36,109,859 square feet, by a point-in-polygon join of the county's own building-level geographic data against its own district boundary, run by this study rather than by the county, and re-runnable as arithmetic but not as a join, for the reason note 7 gives. The same join yields two further measures. Built and under-construction square footage taken together give 22,846,586 of 52,935,194, or 43.16 percent. Under-construction square footage alone gives 4,413,674 of 16,825,335, or 26.23 percent. That last figure is the forward-looking one, and it is roughly half the headline. The district's share of what Loudoun is building now is materially lower than its share of what Loudoun has already built,

and a reader who carries the 51 percent forward as a projection will overstate the freeze's reach over the inventory of 2030.[7]

The permissive 1972 districts that data centers now occupy were locked in place by a highway financing instrument adopted to widen a two-lane road, at the request of the landowners it protects, for fifty years. An accident nested inside an accident. It is the reason the reform documented in Parts Seven through Twelve could not reach the majority of the square footage Loudoun had already built, on a reading of the statute that no court has construed.

No judicial construction of § 15.2-4603(C) was located, and no Attorney General opinion, on a search of the section number and of "transportation improvement district" zoning freeze. The reading above rests on the statute's text and on the county's own published description of its effect, and the county is not a tribunal. Whether a by-right site plan approval counts as a land use approval "arising from requests initiated by landowners" is live and unresolved. A construction that it does would return to the county the power to attach conditions on the corridor, and would narrow the finding accordingly.

The decision that carried furthest was not a decision of the Board of Supervisors at all.

The county states it in its own voice, in a fact sheet whose only date line reads "As of March 1, 2026," as the second entry in its own published timeline of how it became what it is:

> "2000 — Loudoun County's zoning administrator classifies data centers as similar to offices from a zoning perspective and determines they can be built by-right in any area where office buildings are allowed."[8]

That is an administrative interpretation issued by a staff official. It did not come before the Planning Commission. It was not voted on by the board. It was not advertised, and no public hearing preceded it. The memo itself has never been retrieved by this study, and three exhaustive searches failed to find it. What has been established is the county's own account of what it did and what followed, published twenty-six years later as the origin of its data center industry. Virginia's legislative oversight commission corroborates one element of that account and no more. JLARC found that Loudoun "originally treated data centers as an office use and continues to allow by-right data center development in areas zoned for office uses in some parts of the county."[9] That is the classification and its survival. Report 598 supplies no date, does not mention a zoning administrator, does not describe a memo, and says nothing about whether the interpretation was advertised, heard or voted on. The 2000 date and the administrative mechanism rest on the county's own published timeline. Part Thirteen adds the day, February 14, 2000, from the county's

July 30, 2026 advisory opinion and from county materials referencing the memo; note 252 names both, and note 255 records that the opinion itself was not retrieved as a document and is known through verbatim press quotation.

It governed Loudoun land use for twenty-five years.

Everything that follows proceeds from that ruling. By-right status meant no special exception and no public hearing. It also meant the board had no lawful basis on which to refuse a compliant application. Part Fourteen shows that it also meant no appealable decision, so that neighbors had almost no route into court. A single interpretive act by an unelected official set the legal form the concentration took. The fiber, the airport overlay, the tax district and the network effect had already put the industry in eastern Loudoun; the 2000 classification made its growth something no board had to approve, and the revenue structure that followed now funds roughly 40 percent of the county's general fund revenue.

What a locality chooses and what a locality permits are different things. Loudoun chose very little. It permitted a great deal, through a mechanism that required nobody to reaffirm it, at a moment when nobody involved could have described what they were permitting.

Recruitment came later, and the sequence matters

The county did eventually recruit, deliberately and well. Its economic development office initiated a marketing strategy aimed at data centers in 2008, explicitly to diversify a tax base then drawing only nineteen percent of its revenue from commercial sources.[10] Annual reports through the 2010s document escalating campaigns.

That is a decade after the fact. AOL's headquarters arrived in 1996. Equinix finished Ashburn in July 1999. The by-right classification was set administratively in 2000. Every element of the cluster existed before the county's first documented recruitment campaign.

The cluster also went dormant in between. Growth stalled through the dot-com bust and did not resume until roughly 2007, when hyperscale cloud demand arrived and gave developers a repeatable design.[11] The network effect was necessary and it was not sufficient.

Recruitment amplified an accident. It did not cause one, and the two phases belong apart, because the county's later argument that it cannot unplan the concentration depends on which phase is being described.

The figures the county publishes about itself

Loudoun's public account of its own scale rests substantially on numbers with no source. Four are named here and used as evidence nowhere in the analysis.

"Seventy percent of the world's internet traffic." Traced to a 2012 newspaper account attributing it to the county's economic development office, initially hedged as "up to 70 percent." The hedge eroded across a decade of repetition until the claim entered the county's adopted 2019 general plan unattributed. The Virginia Economic Development Partnership, cited as the source by others, told a reporter in July 2025 that it "doesn't know where or when that figure came from."[12] A network measurement firm's analyst put it plainly in 2019 and again in 2025: only about twenty-three percent of the world's international internet capacity connects to the United States at all, and Miami, New York and Los Angeles each have more international circuits than Washington.[13] The defensible range, from the Commonwealth's own legislative oversight commission, is thirteen percent of global capacity and twenty-five percent of the Americas.[14]

"More than 15,000 data center jobs." Three figures circulate. An industry-commissioned study gives 5,400, derived from an industry classification code that sweeps in web hosts and payroll processors. The county's own FAQ gives "more than 12,000." The county's economic development page gave "more than 15,000" when retrieved on July 25, 2026 and "more than 17,000" when re-read on September 5, 2026.[15] The extremes differ by a factor of 2.8 on the July figure and 3.1 on the September one; two arms of the same county government publish figures 25 to 42 percent apart at the same time; the larger figure moved by 2,000 in six weeks; and none of the three states a methodology.

"Roughly 53 million square feet," attributed to county economic development. The office does publish it. Its current sector page gives "53.3 million square feet of data centers … currently in operation or under development," and its predecessor site said "more than 25 million" for three years and then carried "more than 30 million" and "another 5 million in development" on the same page as a panel giving a different total. The 53 million figure is real and is the county's GIS built-plus-under-construction total as of March 2026, which is what the office's own "or under development" clause describes. It is quoted elsewhere without that clause. It should be cited to the GIS layer with the definition attached, and not to the prose.[16]

"$609 per square foot of assessed value" and "$26 in revenue for every $1 in services." Both appear in the county FAQ with no study, no methodology and no date behind either. The $26 figure was $9.50 in 2016 and $15.10 in 2020, a seventy percent change in four years that no document explains. And the $609 does not reconcile with the county's own numbers on its own page: the FAQ states that data

centers reached $41 billion in assessed value, and $41 billion divided by $609 implies 67.3 million square feet, which is eighty-six percent above the county's built figure. A separate county fact sheet gives $858 per square foot for the following year. Neither document states its assessment year.[17]

None of these is a scandal. Together they describe an information environment in which the county's most-repeated facts about itself are unsourced, internally inconsistent, and reproduced by the county from industry material as though it were county data. Part Two shows the same habit operating on the numbers the board actually votes on.

The scale that resulted

By the time the county began the process documented here, the concentration was without parallel. County staff told the Planning Commission in September 2024 that the county held roughly 43 million square feet of existing data center space with another 47 million in the pipeline, up from 40 million and 36 million four months earlier, which staff characterized on the record as "substantial growth of 14 million square feet in just five months."[18] The interval on the staff's own snapshot dates, March 1 to July 1, 2024, is four months. The 14 million is the two figures moving together; the pipeline alone grew by 11 million. The county's own summary combines a stock and a flow, the first appearance of a habit that recurs.[18] Figures given at other meetings differ, sometimes substantially, and Part Two is largely about why.

The comparison that matters is to the county's own industrial base, not to other Virginia counties. In February 2025, staff and members put existing data center square footage at roughly 105 million against a total county industrial inventory of about 20 million square feet.[19] That 105 million does not reconcile with the 43 million staff had given five months earlier or with the county's GIS total of 52.9 million as of March 2026. The ratio survives whichever figure is used. Data centers are not a large industrial sector in Loudoun. They are several times the rest of the industrial economy combined, and the rest of the industrial economy is what the zoning districts were originally written to hold.

The three quantities that ought to move together do not. Data center parcels occupy roughly one percent of the county's land. The industry supplies roughly 40 percent of general fund revenue, on the FY2027 derivation Part Three sets out, and about three-quarters of commercial assessed value. It employs, on the most defensible count, perhaps two to three percent of the covered workforce.[20]

A land use that takes almost no space, generates enormous revenue and creates few jobs is unlike anything a zoning ordinance was built to regulate. It is also, for exactly

those reasons, very difficult to argue against and very difficult to replace. The rest of this volume is a county discovering both halves of that at once.

PART TWO: THE BUILDOUT RECORD

The county cannot state its own inventory to within several million square feet, and it says so on the record without appearing to notice that it has.

The square footage

County staff told the Planning Commission in September 2024 that Loudoun held roughly 43 million square feet of existing data center space. In February 2025, staff and members put existing square footage at roughly 105 million. The county's own GIS layer records 52,935,194 square feet built plus under construction as of March 1, 2026, eighteen months after the first of the three.[19]

Those three cannot all describe the same thing. The likeliest reading is that the 105 million folds pipeline and entitled-but-unbuilt space into a number presented as existing, and that the GIS figure is the only one with a stated definition attached. The record does not say so, and that reading is not asserted here. No county document located in this study's corpus reconciles the three, and no supervisor asked in the fifteen transcribed meetings.

What survives whichever figure is right is narrower: the county's published account of the size of its own largest industry moved by a factor of nearly two and a half within five months, and the only figure carrying an explicit definition is the one the county does not quote.

The county's two public instruments answer different questions, and neither answers both

The reason the counts cannot be made to agree is structural, and it is visible in what the county publishes.

The geographic data answers how much and where. It cannot answer whose. Loudoun's building-level feature services carry 239 permitted data center buildings, 52,935,194 square feet, 3,702 acres, the split between 187 built and 52 under construction, a year-by-year build curve, and permit numbers. Machine-readable, dated March 1, 2026, and good. They carry no owner or operator field.[21]

Scope of that negative: three named ArcGIS feature services and two county FAQ pages, examined July 25, 2026. It is not a claim that the county holds no such data internally.

The taxable-value register answers whose. It cannot answer how many. The assessor's records carry owners, at the level of the special-purpose entity that holds the parcel. That is a different question from which operator runs the building, and the register makes the gap visible in two ways.

Nine of the twenty-five names on the county's own 2026 top-valuations list are not an operator's brand — Darab Ventures One, Iskandar Ventures, Jamshid Ventures, Alshain Ventures, Wheeler Survey Company, 21673 Beaumeade Circle LLC, Hayden Technologies, Fox Properties, and the C1 Northern Virginia Sterling series.[22]

And the register does not consolidate. In tax year 2024 the county printed "Amazon Data Services INC" at rank 8 and "Amazon Data Services, INC" at rank 10 — the same company, twice, separated by a comma. Consolidated, it would have ranked second.[22]

The county can say how much it has and it can say who pays. No county instrument this study examined does both. The examined set is the three ArcGIS feature services, the two county FAQ pages and the 2026 and tax-year-2024 top-valuations lists. That is the mechanism underneath every count above. Two administrative systems built for different purposes produced it, and neither was designed to yield an inventory. The county's largest industry is invisible to both at the level anyone would want to know.

An independent count, and why it does not resolve anything

A compiled third-party dataset covering Loudoun is the only instrument in this corpus carrying facility, address, operator and status in the same row for every record.

It carries 121 named Loudoun facility records as of March 2026: 100 operating, 16 under construction, 3 proposed, 2 decommissioned, attributable to 21 named operators plus four facilities whose operator the workbook records only as "Private." The status split records no denial or withdrawal. Loudoun has zero rows in the workbook's Canceled-Rejected sheet, and its Summary by County sheet records "Withdrawn/Rejected: 0" for Loudoun. Scope of that negative: those two sheets of this one workbook at its March 2026 vintage, which makes it a fact about the dataset rather than about the county. The zero is not shown here to be a coverage gap. The two Loudoun cases that might have tested it do not. Belmont Innovation Campus, denied 5–4 in March 2024, was reconsidered six days later and approved 6–3 on April 10, 2024, so a sheet of cancelled and rejected projects is right to omit it; and the Spring Valley denial recommendation is dated July 23, 2026, four months after the workbook's vintage. What the zero establishes is that this workbook records no Loudoun refusal, and nothing about whether one existed. Its own rows contradict each other on scale. Separate records give 350-plus, 66-plus and 450-plus buildings for overlapping entities, and some addresses appear twice. It is a compilation. It is not a register.[23]

It does not support an independent square-footage or megawatt total, and none is printed here as a measurement of Loudoun's stock. Square footage appears on 38 of 121 rows and megawatts on 39. The gaps concentrate in the operators with the most records: Amazon holds 32 rows and carries square footage on four. The megawatt column over those 39 rows sums to 3,935.5, a figure computed here and printed nowhere in the workbook, and a third of it is a single proposed application the Planning Commission recommended for denial. A sum over a third of the rows, weighted toward whoever discloses most, is not a measurement.[23]

Nor is 121 comparable to the county's 239. The units differ. The county counts building footprints with permit numbers; the dataset counts facilities and campuses, and its rows are internally inconsistent — some are one building, some are three. Its basis is company pages, industry directories, trade press, property records, and in two cases a large language model.[23]

Two counts that cannot be reconciled now stand against a county that cannot reconcile its own three. An industry occupying roughly one percent of a county's land and funding roughly 40 percent of its general fund revenue has no authoritative inventory in any instrument this study examined, public or private. The examined set is the three ArcGIS feature services, the two county FAQ pages, the two top-valuations lists and this compiled third-party workbook. None of them was built to carry one.

The counts, and what they were counting

Nine figures for the scale of data center development in Loudoun circulate in the record between December 2024 and March 2025. They are reproduced here with their sources and dates because the movement is the point:

Date given	Figure	Speaker	Meeting
as of Dec 1, 2024	36 active by-right applications	County staff	Feb 12, 2025 BOS
as of Dec 1, 2024	74 in pipeline; 50 administrative; ~60M sq ft	Supervisor, reading from board packet	Feb 12, 2025 BOS
—	45 projected to meet the cutoff	County staff	Feb 12, 2025 BOS
—	199 built, 117 in pipeline	Supervisor, attributing to county study	Feb 12, 2025 BOS
Mar 4, 2025	41 under review: 20 legislative, 21 administrative; only 14 of the 20 subject to the resolution	County staff	Mar 4, 2025 BOS
Mar 18, 2025	22 administrative without prior legislative approval; 9 with; 31 total	County staff chart	Mar 18, 2025 BOS
Mar 18, 2025	22 applications, ~61M sq ft	Supervisor	Mar 18, 2025 BOS
Mar 18, 2025	"And I believe there's actually 24"	Supervisor	Mar 18, 2025 BOS
Mar 18, 2025	21, then accepts 22	Supervisor	Mar 18, 2025 BOS

The chair noticed. On February 12, 2025, the night the cutoff date was set, she said aloud of the figures then in circulation: "you said 36, Laura said, Mr. [TeKrony] said 50, I'm not sure where you got that number for."[24] No one produced a reconciliation, and the record does not show that anyone was asked to.

The count was already visibly unstable when the board fixed the date that would determine which applications it governed.

What is not a conflict

Most of the apparent contradiction dissolves on inspection.

Five of the nine do not compete with the other four. Two are supervisors restating the March 18 staff chart, a third is a supervisor's figure of 24 that matches no bucket and no total on that chart and is treated here as an error, one is a staff projection of how many applications would meet the cutoff, and one counts built and pipeline data centers rather than applications. The count of 41 is internally sound: twenty legislative plus twenty-one administrative closes, and the sub-split of six pre-rewrite legislative applications plus fourteen subject to the resolution closes as well. The March 18 staff chart is also internally sound: three inside the buffer plus nineteen

outside makes twenty-two administrative applications without prior legislative approval, four plus five makes nine with it, thirty-one in total. The number thirty-one is never spoken aloud in the hearing; it is arithmetic on the staff's own three-column exhibit.

And 22 is a proper subset of 31. The correction comes from the County Attorney, and it comes because a supervisor stopped the debate to ask for legal advice. Briskman is recognized at [05:26:16] and opens "Madam chair, I'd like advice from counsel." Leo Rogers answers, and in answering he corrects the county's own arithmetic: "all the numbers up there are administrative applications. There are nine of them that are administrative applications in that have come after previous legislative approvals, the other 22 have not, so we've got two buckets."[25]

That provenance matters more than the arithmetic. The exchange was confirmed on the video August 28, 2026. No member of the board reconciled the count. The county's lawyer did it in passing, while answering a different question, and the figures he sorted into two buckets were staff's own, from the chart on the screen that evening, at the end of a series that had been moving since a December 1, 2024 snapshot and in public from the dais since February 12.

One category error should be kept out of the analysis entirely, because two advocacy speakers and two supervisors made it on the record. The figure of 41 counts *applications*, not data centers. A single legislative application can carry a multi-building campus. When a speaker at the March 4 hearing described the resolution as "allowing 41 more data centers through with minimal oversight," she converted a paper count into a building count, and two members repeated the conversion later. [26]* The record's own critics lost that distinction.

Two false friends compound the difficulty. "41 million square feet" appears twice in the corpus and has no relationship to the 41 applications; on the night of March 18 a single member used "41" and "22" within one evening attached to two entirely different quantities.[27]* And a reference to "21 projects currently listed" in a July 2024 discussion is the planning department's own work program, a staffing matter numerically identical to the 21 administrative applications and unrelated to them. [28]*

The four counts that do not reconcile

Four counts remain, all sourced to staff or to a board packet, all describing the administrative pipeline, and they do not reconcile:

Snapshot	Administrative	Legislative	Total	Source
Dec 1, 2024, staff, spoken Feb 12	36	—	—	Feb 12, 2025 BOS
Dec 1, 2024, board packet, read aloud Feb 12	50	24 implied	74	Feb 12, 2025 BOS
Mar 4, 2025, staff	21	20	41	Mar 4, 2025 BOS
Mar 18, 2025, staff chart	31	not restated	not stated	Mar 18, 2025 BOS

The first two were spoken under eight minutes apart in the same hearing, at [03:22:42] and [03:30:23], both sourced to the same packet, both stated as of the same date. Neither speaker acknowledged the other's number.

For 36 to fall to 21 in thirteen weeks would require clearing 42 percent of the administrative pipeline in a period when staff described applications as still arriving and characterized the March cohort as mostly in first submission. And if the administrative count is 31 on March 18 while the legislative count holds at 20, the total is 51 — a number no one states, ten more than the 41 that had structured the entire public argument two weeks earlier.

One assumption partially rescues the February-to-March gap. "In the pipeline" and "under review" may be different populations, the first including projects approved but not yet permitted; staff defined pipeline that way in a different meeting in July 2024, and the 74 carries the same 60-million-square-foot denominator another official used elsewhere.[29]* The bridge is plausible, and no one in the room states it. It stands here as an inference.

The Board of Supervisors adopted the grandfathering resolution on March 18, 2025 without a stable count of what it was grandfathering, and no supervisor asked why the number had moved by half.

Every count is a floor

The instability is the visible part of the problem. The structural part is worse, and the county put it on the record.

The counting rule excludes any application that does not name the use. A staff member explained it in full on March 18:

> "If an application, um, does not reference data center at all in its application, we have not captured that in our analysis. The applications that we have been looking at when we provide these numbers to you into the commission has

> been applications that either obviously show a data center or it's referenced in their statement of justification or there's there's some linkage to them having an intent to put a data center on that site. If an application does not provide that we have not considered that in our analysis."[30]

A member had set this up moments earlier by asking whether staff was telling applicants not to put in specific uses. The answer: "Three four years ago. That was probably absolutely true."[31]

The county was counting the applications that declared themselves, having by its own account previously advised applicants not to declare themselves. The size of the undercount is unknown and cannot be recovered from the hearing record. The only instrument that could quantify it is an extract from the county's application database joined on zoning and site characteristics rather than on stated use, a research project the county has not undertaken.

A smaller exchange confirms the reach of the problem. Asked at a committee meeting in July 2025 whether any data center applications were pending in the county's Transition Policy Area, staff answered yes, named one, and then said "We don't know" when pressed for a count.[32]* Sixteen months into a rewrite of the county's data center regulations, for a single sub-area of the county.

The count instability shows a county that could not hold a number still across fifteen weeks. The counting rule shows that every one of those numbers was structurally low to begin with, and that the reason was the county's own earlier practice. The second reframes the first: the instability is only the part of the measurement problem that happened to be visible.

PART THREE: THE FISCAL ENGINE

Loudoun's tax on data center computer equipment produced $879.1 million in the FY2027 adopted budget, against a general fund of $3.22 billion.

Data center revenue funds roughly 40 percent of Loudoun's general fund, and almost nothing about that sentence is stable. The series behind it runs six years on a consistent basis and cannot be extended backward. The share it produces depends on which base is used, and the parties who quote it use different ones: three shares circulate in Loudoun on two bases, and the Commonwealth's own measurement of the same quantity stands apart from all three. The county has published a forecast that the revenue will stop growing and has published nothing behind the forecast. And an assessment schedule split off from the rate in the last eighteen months now lets the effective tax on data center equipment move without a vote of the board.

The series, and the break in the middle of it

The revenue series most often quoted about Loudoun runs from FY2017 to FY2027, and it does not measure one thing.

The county did not break out data center computer equipment separately until tax year 2021. Any FY2017 figure is therefore all-payer computer equipment; the FY2027 figure of $879.1 million is data-center-specific. FY2021 is the one year the county publishes both: data center computer equipment at $215.0 million against all other computer equipment at $173.9 million.[33] The non-data-center share is smaller than the data-center share, and it is still 45 percent of the combined line. A starting figure that folds in that much non-data-center revenue cannot be set against a data-center-only endpoint and the difference reported as data center growth.

The anchor is also unsourced. The $150.5 million FY2017 figure traces only to an adopted budget volume held on the county's document portal, which excludes automated clients, and was not retrieved.[34]

So the series starts where the measurement starts. Data center computer equipment revenue runs FY2022 through FY2027, six years on a consistent basis, and no growth multiple is stated for any period before FY2022. No long-run fiscal series is printed here. Two endpoints are cited from the audited financial reports, a general fund of $1.48 billion in FY2017 against $3.22 billion in FY2027, and Part Fourteen records that those reports would support a continuous FY2008 to FY2025 series that was not built.

The FY2027 position can be stated without qualification, because the county publishes both halves that year for the first time: data center personal property and

data center real property together account for approximately 40.3 percent of total general fund revenue.[35]

Denominator discipline

Three shares circulate in Loudoun and two bases carry them. The county's own published figure of 38 percent is measured against general fund revenue, which is the base its FAQ names. A conservation coalition's 42.0 percent is measured against total local tax funding. Dividing data center personal and real property by total general fund revenue produces roughly 40.3 percent for FY2027, on the county's own base.

The county's 38 percent and the 40.3 percent computed here therefore stand on the same base and differ by two points, and no county publication located here resolves the difference. The FAQ carries no publication or revision date, states no fiscal year for the figure, and gives no derivation.[36]

The denominator is named here every time a share is. A reader who does not know which base is in play cannot check the arithmetic, and the three figures in circulation differ from one another by more than the disagreement between the parties quoting them.

One measurement in the field is clean of all this. Virginia's legislative oversight commission measured the same quantity across five localities on one denominator, and published it:

> "Loudoun and Prince William have the largest and most mature markets, and data center revenue accounted for 31 percent and 7 percent, respectively, of total local tax revenue… Loudoun collects substantially more revenue from data centers primarily because its data center market size is three times larger than Prince William's."[37]

That is a FY2023 measurement. Figure 2-4 is titled "Data center tax revenue can be substantial for local governments (FY23)" and is sourced to the commission's analysis of locality revenue collections and to the Auditor of Public Accounts' Local Government Comparative Report for the same year.[37] Across the five mature markets, Loudoun, Prince William, Mecklenburg, Henrico and Fairfax, the range runs from less than 1 percent to 31 percent, and the commission states that range against *total local revenue* in one sentence and Loudoun's 31 percent against *total local tax revenue* in the next.[37] The commission withholds revenue estimates for some of the five to protect taxpayer confidentiality. It publishes Loudoun's share. That is a state primary source, on a stated denominator, measuring Loudoun against its nearest comparator with a stated reason for the gap.

The 31 percent cannot be set beside the 38, 42.0 and 40.3 percent figures above and the difference read as movement over time. The 40.3 percent is an FY2027 quantity, the coalition's 42.0 percent is its FY2026 point, and the county's 38 percent carries no stated year at all. Four fiscal years and at least one change of base separate them from the commission's number, and neither the commission's report nor the county's own published share supplies what would be needed to hold one of those constant while measuring the other.

The same problem afflicts the number everyone quotes about Loudoun's future. Three separate "60 percent" figures are in circulation. They share a number and nothing else.

Figure	Horizon	Denominator	What it measures
"more than 60% of the total General Fund"	five to seven years	total general fund	data centers, a *ceiling*
"over 60% of total local tax funding"	about three years	total local tax funding	data centers, a *ceiling*
"60 percent of total own source tax revenue"	consultant recommendation, no horizon	own-source tax revenue	*real property, a floor*

The third row is a consultant's recommendation to the county that real property should carry *at least* 60 percent of own-source tax revenue.[38][39] It is a target for a different tax, pointing the opposite way, and it shares a number with the other two by coincidence. The second row is an advocacy organization's model, measured against total local tax funding and put at "within about 3 years," roughly half the county's own horizon.

The first row is a county staff projection, and its provenance is worth setting out, because the projection is routinely attributed to the press instead. The sentence as published reads: "Today, data centers generate 38% of the county's General Fund revenue. If the general personal property tax rate is not lowered, data centers could grow to represent more than 60% of the total General Fund within the next five to seven years as the county's growth rate stabilizes, according to the presentation."[40] The attributive phrase names a county document, the FY2027 budget outlook staff report delivered to the Finance, Government Operations and Economic Development Committee on July 8, 2025. The outlet attributes the projection to no person. The county's budget director is quoted in the same article on other propositions and is not the named source for this one. And the article quotes the written staff report directly, in quotation marks, twice, which establishes that the reporter had the document rather than only the oral briefing. The projection is

therefore a county staff projection reported by the press, from a county document that was not retrieved: the underlying report sits behind the county's meeting archive, which excludes automated clients, and no attempt was made to work around the exclusion. It is the highest-value item on the deferred-records list in Part Fourteen.

All three sixties have to be named together. A reader who meets two of them will assume a contradiction that does not exist.

What the county asserts about its own future, and what it cites for it

The county's published position on the plateau carries more in its phrasing than in its number:

> "One challenge with managing the vast increase in revenue generated by data centers is that the county must limit the growth in its budget to a level that is sustainable over time and in recognition that the growth of data center personal property tax will plateau in the next five to 10 years. A responsible and equitable annual budget will require the balancing of tax rates to ensure a fiscally sound proportion of revenue sources… so that the county is not solely depending on a single revenue stream, particularly one that will stop growing over time. When that revenue source does stop growing and if expenditure growth has not been better managed, the Board will need to consider an increase in tax rates for real property or vehicle personal property to meet future expenditure obligations."[41]

Three features of that passage matter.

It is scoped narrowly. The plateau attaches to data center personal property tax, not to data center revenue generally and not to the real property side.

It is stated in the indicative. Not "may plateau," not a scenario, not a range: will plateau, will stop growing. The county writes its central fiscal risk as settled fact.

And it cites nothing. No model, no study, no consultant, no date. The FAQ carries no publication or revision date either; internal references place the retrieved version at mid-July 2026 or later, and the language cannot be dated earlier than that from the page.

The horizon number is the part that gets quoted. The county has published a forecast of its own central fiscal risk with nothing behind it.

The county's own budget page closes its account of what the revenue funds with its own statement of the risk: "While it is clear that the revenue generated by the data center industry has benefited the community in many ways, the Board of Supervisors

is mindful that the county cannot become overly dependent on a single revenue source that may evolve in the future."[42]

Nobody at the county has run the counterfactual, and two advocacy groups have

What the real property rate would have to be without a revenue stream that funds roughly 40 percent of the general fund is the obvious question, and no county document answers it. Not the budget revenue chapters, not the FAQ, and not the 2021 study the county commissioned specifically to examine its revenue structure. That study runs a *rebalancing* exercise toward a 60 percent real property share and identifies exactly three routes: raise the real property rate and hold personal property rates, which it calls likely not feasible; hold the real property rate and cut personal property rates, which it also calls likely not feasible; or combine the two, which it calls the most plausible approach.[38][39] Every one of the three assumes data center revenue continues. A rebalancing is not a counterfactual.

What exists instead is two counterfactuals, both produced by advocacy organizations, on opposite sides.

A conservation coalition models four scenarios, from a 25 percent reduction in data center revenue to total loss, giving required real property rates from $1.027 to $1.691 and average homeowner increases from $1,728 to $6,912.[43] An industry group, using an industry-commissioned employment study and a commercial home-value estimate, produces a no-data-center rate of $1.537 and a figure of "$5,800 higher."[44] Neither traces to county data at any step.

The fiscal counterfactual for Loudoun County is the exclusive property of the people arguing about Loudoun County. Both sides of the argument have built one; the government whose budget is at issue has not. A jurisdiction that draws roughly 40 percent of its general fund from one industry, and that publishes a five-to-ten-year plateau horizon for that revenue, has published no analysis of what the plateau does to its rate structure. The claims in circulation that residential tax bills would be thousands of dollars higher without the industry are advocacy reconstructions. They may be roughly right. No county document tests them.

The board's own position, in its own words

Staff have recommended lowering the data center personal property rate. The board has not adopted the recommendation, and at the FY2027 budget adoption a supervisor said on the record that she opposes lowering the rate and "probably will be supporting increasing it."[45]*

Neither "38 percent" nor "60 percent" is spoken in a fiscal sense at either budget adoption, by any speaker, against any denominator; both strings were searched across both files, and the single occurrence of "60%" is a parks-access statistic. The words "plateau," "reliance," and "dependence" are likewise absent in any fiscal sense. Those figures live in a county FAQ and in press coverage of a committee briefing. They are not how the Board of Supervisors talks about its own position when adopting its own budget.

What the board says instead is blunter.

> "It's as much as 67 cents on our tax rate is coming from data center revenue. The entire operation of Loudoun County government is being funded by data center revenue, $1.1 billion."[46]

Supervisor Letourneau, at the FY2027 adoption on April 7, 2026. The chair's immediate response was "I appreciate you saying that and here, here."

The 67 cents is a counterfactual rate statement and the only one in the corpus. It says that replacing data center revenue would require roughly sixty-seven cents per hundred dollars of assessed value, against a real property rate of 80.5 cents, and it reconciles against the county's own arithmetic: a penny of the rate is stated elsewhere in the same proceedings as $17 to $18 million, and 67 cents at $17.5 million is about $1.17 billion. The hedge "as much as" is the speaker's.

The $1.1 billion carries no stated denominator, and the phrase around it is rhetoric, not accounting. The county's total budget was given a year earlier as roughly $6.9 billion, against which $1.1 billion is about sixteen percent. "The entire operation of Loudoun County government" plainly excludes the school division, which is the largest single expenditure. The sentence is quoted here because a supervisor said it in public and meant it, and it is not adopted as a measurement.

The FY2026 counterpart, quoted in full in Part Four under "The itemized trade," is structurally the same claim with a comparative frame in place of a rate equivalent. The figure there is $1 billion rather than $1.1 billion, a year earlier, and the pair is the only adjacent-year statement of the same proposition in the corpus. It too carries no denominator.[47]*

The same evening as the 67-cent statement, the finance committee chair described the dependence horizon in terms that match the FAQ's, with a policy response already attached:

> "We started with holding ourselves to a 9% growth rate… we decided early on that because we foresee data center revenue leveling off, not going away, but leveling off in the next five to seven years, that we wanted to start restricting ourselves to a certain growth rate. And we did that and then stuck to 9%. And

we also asked the schools to stick to an 8% growth rate and they did that."[48] [39]*

The leveling off is a forecast, not an observation. The horizon is five to seven years from April 2026, which is fiscal 2031 through 2033. The framing is deliberately soft: "not going away, but leveling off." And the response is a self-imposed expenditure growth cap, nine percent for the county and eight for the schools, adopted because of a revenue forecast the county has never published a model for.

A supervisor of the opposite party converged on the same horizon the same evening, warning that the nine percent target "is going to be a much more difficult target going into future years, perhaps not the next two or three, but four or five or six down the road."[49]* Two members of opposing parties, on one night, arrived independently at roughly FY2030 to FY2033 as the point of difficulty.

Neither budget adoption produced a rate amendment. Both were unanimous. The rate-setting argument happens in the finance committee between July and February, and by April the outcome is a motion nobody contests.

Those statements are the county's current voice on the mechanism this chapter describes, and none of them appears in the county's published FAQ or budget documents, which is where a reader would look for the county's position on its own rate. The board's resolution and minutes record was not searched, and it sits on a portal that was not worked around.

Nine years in one direction

Loudoun's personal property tax collections exceeded the county's own final amended budget in every year from FY2017 through FY2025 — nine consecutive years, cumulatively about $420.6 million, peaking at $141.1 million and 18.1 percent above budget in FY2024.[50]

Nine years of one-directional error is structural understatement, not forecasting noise, and it means the county was continuously absorbing revenue it had not planned to spend. The county's own budget director described the consequence to the press in 2025, in the course of explaining why staff would recommend lowering the data center rate: "You cannot do that while continuing to collect the substantial amount of revenue that's coming from data centers. If you continue to collect that revenue, you have to spend it."[51]*

That is the dependence mechanism stated by the office that operates it, and the nine-year series is the evidence that it operated.

The county built an instrument to absorb exactly this variability, the Revenue Stabilization Fund. It was not drawn in the two budget files this study read, and the FY2026 adoption motion reduced the planned contribution to it by $8 million.[52]

ACFR figures are restated between vintages, the pattern reaches back to at least FY2008, and the discrepancies are sometimes larger than the FY2017 case, an $874 million difference in FY2017 total taxable assessed value between the FY2017 and FY2025 books.[53] Every ACFR figure in this volume is cited to a named vintage, never to "the ACFR," and where a restatement moves a number the book used is named.

The rate history, and the classification the county built before it used it

Loudoun's general personal property tax rate stood at $4.20 per $100 from tax year 2016 through tax year 2022 and was reduced to $4.15 thereafter. For most of that period the same rate applied to vehicles and to business equipment, including the computer equipment in data centers.[54]

Two changes since 2024 have separated them, in that order.

In tax year 2025 the county adopted a separate statutory classification for personal-use vehicles under Virginia Code § 58.1-3506(A)(48), enacted by the General Assembly in 2024 — and set the new classification at $4.15, the same rate. The mechanism was built and not used.

In tax year 2026 the county used it. Vehicles were cut to $3.09, with $2.94 planned for tax year 2027. The general rate that catches data center computer equipment was held at $4.15.[55]

Loudoun does not tax data center computer equipment at a special rate. It taxes it at the general business rate, and it does not use either of the Virginia Code provisions that would permit a distinct computer-equipment classification.[56][57] What it has done instead is quieter and more durable.

Effective January 1, 2026, the county split "Computer Equipment in a Data Center" into its own assessment schedule, separate from the schedule governing other business equipment, while holding the rate identical.[58] The rate is set by the Board of Supervisors in a public vote. The assessment schedule is not. Two schedules that are identical today can diverge tomorrow without a roll call, and the effective tax on data center equipment can move without the board taking a recorded position on moving it.

The first divergence has already happened, and it runs against the county's own forecast. In the same action the Commissioner of the Revenue lengthened the

depreciation life of data center equipment from five years to six and raised the first-year assessment factor from 50 percent to 60 percent, on the stated ground that the equipment holds its value longer than the previous schedule assumed.[58]

Set that against the county's published position that data center personal property tax revenue will plateau within five to ten years. One county office forecasts the flattening. Another has just determined that the asset base depreciates more slowly than it thought, has adjusted the schedule upward accordingly, and has installed a mechanism by which the effective tax on that equipment can move without a rate vote. Neither document acknowledges the other. The county's fiscal warning and its operational practice are produced by different offices that are not reading each other, which says more about its position than either document alone.

What the county already rejected

In October 2021 the county's own consultants examined a data center computer-equipment classification and recommended against it. The study priced the option, found the revenue loss substantial, and concluded that even if the entire reduction were targeted at data centers the resulting rate would still not match the lower rates in place in peer data center jurisdictions.[59]

The county considered five years ago, in writing, the policy it is now approaching by another route. The approach is now running through an assessment schedule instead of a rate.

PART FOUR: WHAT THE MONEY BOUGHT

The bargain reaches most Loudoun residents in one number, and the number moved a great deal.

Rate suppression and expenditure are the two halves of what the revenue bought, and Loudoun's own record itemizes both from the dais. What the record does not carry is a ranking: the county publishes a rule about which kind of spending data center revenue should support, and no measurement against it. Underneath the bargain sits a governance question, because the industry that funds it co-chairs nine of the eleven groups now rewriting the county's land-use review process.

The rate series

Loudoun's real property tax rate fell from $1.145 per $100 in tax year 2016 to $0.805 in tax year 2025, and was held at $0.805 for tax year 2026.[60] The intervening years:

Tax Year	Loudoun	Fairfax	Difference
2016	$1.145	$1.130	Loudoun higher by $0.015
2017	$1.125	$1.130	$0.005
2018	$1.085	$1.150	$0.065
2019	$1.045	$1.150	$0.105
2020	$1.035	$1.150	$0.115
2021	$0.980	$1.140	$0.160
2022	$0.890	$1.110	$0.220
2023	$0.875	$1.095	$0.220
2024	$0.865	$1.125	$0.260

The endpoint comparison is the one that circulates. The year-by-year series shows the shape.

In 2016 Loudoun taxed residential property at a *higher* rate than Fairfax County. Every year after that it taxed it lower, and the gap widened almost monotonically to twenty-six cents by 2024. Loudoun's advantage over its larger neighbor is a decade-long divergence with an identifiable start date, and the start date sits inside the buildout. It is not a standing condition of being Loudoun, and no difference in service levels or cost structure appears in the record to explain it.

A methodological note for anyone reproducing this table. The county's own recurring rate-history graph, which appears in successive budget volumes, is labeled by fiscal

year while plotting tax-year rates. Reading it without applying the offset shifts every figure by one year and produces, among other errors, an apparent Fairfax rate of $1.155 that is in fact Loudoun's own tax year 2014 rate.

The 60 percent target, and who set it

The third of the three sixties set out in Part Three is the consultants' recommendation: real property should carry at least 60 percent of own-source tax revenue, with 51.5 percent as a floor. Whether the board ever adopted either figure as binding policy is not established.[61][38] Loudoun has been running in the low fifties, and the county describes that in its own published materials as a deviation from the Virginia norm.[61]

The county publishes the measure without naming what it measures. The distance between the recommended 60 percent and the low-fifties reality is a direct measure of how far data center revenue has displaced the residential base. The county reports the gap and does not name its cause.

The itemized trade

Rate suppression is the visible half of the bargain. The expenditure half is rarely stated as a trade, because stating it requires a supervisor to say out loud that a particular service exists because of a particular industry. On April 1, 2025, at the adoption of the FY2026 budget, one did.

> "I would like to thank the data centers for providing the $1 billion in revenue to the county that allows us to fully fund the schools, expand our affordable housing fund from half a penny to a full penny of the tax rate, taking that up to, I think, about $17 to $18 million in this upcoming budget, to pay for raises for law enforcement, firefighters, county staff, and to just make sure that we can beef up our mental health services and other critical services like social services, child protective services."[47]*

That is the county's own itemization, delivered from the dais at the moment of adoption. Unpacked, the list runs to six items: full funding of the school division's budget request; a doubling of the affordable housing fund from half a penny of the tax rate to a full penny, which the speaker prices at $17 to $18 million; compensation increases for law enforcement, fire and rescue, and general county staff; expanded mental health services; social services; and child protective services.

The same turn supplies the counterfactual:

> "If we did not have the data center industry that we do in Loudoun County, we would not be able to come anywhere near funding this budget and lowering critical taxes."[47]*

The comparative frame in the same passage is Fairfax again, and it is the mirror of the rate table above. Fairfax was working to close a $300 million shortfall and examining a real estate rate increase. Its personal property rate was already higher than Loudoun's. Its population is roughly three times larger. Its data center industry, in the speaker's own characterization, was thriving and not nearly as large.[47]*

Two further statements of the same trade appear at the FY2027 adoption a year later, both weaker. Revenue from data centers is described as money "which we then put back in the community… it's tax dollars that we then can use to fund our school system and other things."[46]* And the growth of county government is called sustainable "unless of course our revenue side continues to grow dramatically, which of course we have much to thank for the data center revenue that we have and we enjoy that kind of quality of life here in Loudoun County."[49]* The second formulation is conditional in a way the first is not. It makes the level of service contingent on the revenue continuing to grow, which is a stronger claim about dependence than the speaker appears to intend.

The chair refuses the framing, on the record, four minutes later

The itemization was rejected four minutes later. Two members spoke after it. The second was the chair, who was not recognized by anyone because she was presiding, and who used her turn to reject the framing without naming the member who had offered it:

> "But to say that I would specifically thank the data center community because of the revenue would be wrong headed. I just as well and just as much wanna thank the mom and pop shop that used all their money to import all of their savings into opening their shop… Yes, we thank the, what the chamber calls the large whales, but we thank the small fish too, who are actually making our economy run… And to focus on just the one that is bringing in the revenue because they're bringing in the revenue, not maybe realizing how much of a burden and how hard it is for somebody else to live out their life dream of starting their own business… And by percentage, they're paying taxes as well."[62]*

"Wrong headed" is the chair's phrase. The exchange is the clearest instance in the corpus of Loudoun's political leadership disagreeing in public about how to describe its own revenue base, and it happens inside a four-minute window at a budget adoption that was otherwise unanimous and uneventful.

Between the two came a third statement, from the vice chair, which belongs with them:

> "This was certainly the easiest budget session that I've ever been through in my five years… And that was a testament to having a lot of money. The

> cautionary note is I cannot emphasize enough the amount of turbulence going on in the data center industry right now. It is like a hurricane force going through the data center industry… there's always this sort of little tickler in the back of my mind when we're lowering taxes, which we always strive to do, that in this kind of a turbulent market, what goes down may very well go back up."[63]*

A supervisor warning, at the moment of adopting a tax cut, that the cut may have to be reversed is the sharpest fiscal caution in either budget file. It produced no motion, no staff direction, and no added deposit to reserves. The adopted motion that night *reduced* the contribution to the Revenue Stabilization Fund by $8 million and created a school contingency in the general fund in the same amount, which runs in the opposite direction from the warning.[64]

The county publishes the rule, and its own account of its spending falls on both sides of it

Loudoun distributes a data center fact sheet carrying the date line "As of March 1, 2026," closing on ten items it introduces as "the top 10 lessons learned." The tenth and last:

> "Tax Revenue: Use data center revenue strategically to support capital improvement projects and one-time expenditures, rather than ongoing or recurring expenses, to avoid becoming reliant on a revenue stream that may change over time."[65]

The sheet frames all ten as retrospect, twice. Its opening paragraph says the county and community "have learned valuable lessons about data center development," and the list is introduced with "At the outset, it was difficult for Loudoun County to foresee what the data center industry would become."[65] That framing supports a reading weighed here and not adopted: the tenth item records an error Loudoun made rather than a standard Loudoun holds itself to, in which case there is no rule to break. Two features of the sheet cut against it. The list is imperative throughout, and its first item addresses a reader who has still to decide "whether data center development should be permitted by right or as a conditional approval," which Loudoun decided in 2000 and reversed in 2025. And a lesson learned in the confessional sense names the conduct it corrects; the tenth item names no Loudoun conduct, and neither does any of the other nine. No sentence on the sheet identifies an audience. That the ten items are offered to other localities is an inference from the imperatives, and it is stated as one.[65]

The county's own public account of what the revenue funds falls on both sides of the tenth item's line. The recurring side: school operating increases, Sheriff's Office and Loudoun County Fire and Rescue resources, libraries, parks, recreation and

community centers, child protection and mental health services. The capital side, in the same paragraph of the same page: "capital improvements, such as schools, roads, bridges, and a broad range of facilities."[66] The itemization below is the second kind. $250,000 for Fleetwood Road, $1.2 million for the Beaver Dam Run crossing, $500,000 each for the Southern Service Center and Eastern Loudoun library planning, $120,000 for the Old Stone School, a $308,000 Lovettsville water tower match, $500,000 for water quality monitoring, and roughly $505 million of bond issuance carried on the same revenue.

Loudoun spends data center revenue on both kinds of expenditure, and it publishes a rule that ranks them. What it does not publish is the ranking. No county document located states what share of data center revenue supports capital improvement projects and one-time expenditure and what share supports ongoing operations. That negative is bounded to the search recorded for this chapter: the FY2027 Adopted Budget's Executive Summary, General Fund Revenue, Capital Improvement Program Overview, Debt Service and Fiscal Trends chapters; the FY2026 General Fund Revenue chapter; the /6408 and /6409 County Administrator pages; and the March 2026 fact sheet and resident sheet, all read on September 4, 2026. The county publishes a test and, on that search, no measurement against it.

Neither document refers to the other in its text. The fact sheet, as retrieved September 4, 2026, carries one outbound URL in its text layer, loudoun.gov/DataCenters, the parent section under which the /6409 page sits; it does not name the /6409 page and does not refer to that page's account of what the revenue funds. The sheet also carries a QR code whose destination did not extract, so the negative reaches what the text layer holds and no further. The /6409 page, as retrieved the same day, does not name or link the fact sheet, in its text or in either of its two resource lists.[65][66]

The fact sheet then closes on a figure that does not survive contact with the rest of this chapter. Its timeline ends by projecting FY2027 data center revenue at $1.3 billion, "representing 40% of the total budget."[65]

The county's total budget is not the denominator that produces 40 percent. The board's own working figure for the total budget is roughly $6.9 billion, and $1.3 billion against $6.9 billion is under 20 percent.[67] The denominator that produces 40 percent is the general fund: $417,666,456 in data center real property plus $879,094,354 in computer equipment, against a total general fund of $3,218,218,368, is 40.30 percent.[35] The match to two figures is close enough that the fact sheet is almost certainly reporting a general fund share under a total budget label, though the document itself supplies no denominator and the inference cannot be confirmed from its face.

That makes four denominators in play, and two of the four are carried by county public-information documents, not by budget documents: the county FAQ's 38 percent, quoted above, and the fact sheet's 40 percent quoted here.

The reserve that was built for this

The Revenue Stabilization Fund is not a general reserve. The county established it in October 2023 as "a buffer specific to the County's data center revenues," and its written fiscal policy, as revised July 15, 2025, sizes it at 10 percent of data center property tax revenue and makes it accessible "should actual business personal property tax revenue be below forecast."[68]

The fund was not drawn in either budget file this study read. The FY2026 adoption motion reduced the contribution to the fund by $8 million and created a Loudoun County Public Schools contingency in the general fund in the same amount.[64] The FY2027 budget describes that contingency as a reserve "planned pending resolution of revenue anticipated from the Commonwealth of Virginia."[68] Nothing left the fund, so the condition on which the policy allows access never came into play.

The FY2027 budget records what became of the contingency: the money "ultimately devolved back to the County General Fund," unused.[68]

So the county built an instrument against the specific risk it says it faces, put $8 million less into it on the night a supervisor warned that the tax cut might have to be reversed, and did not need the money it held back.

What the general fund actually built

The $6.9 billion came from the April 2025 adoption, offered to visiting student supervisors as an explanation of what the board was doing: a budget of "roughly $6.9 billion, which for comparison's sake, it's bigger than the state of West Virginia's budget."[67]* That is the denominator against which Part Three's billion-dollar data center figures should be read.

The capital line items adopted in the two budget motions are small individually and are the texture of what a revenue surplus buys a Virginia county. FY2026 moved $250,000 into a newly created Fleetwood Road improvement project and appropriated $1.2 million of cash proffer revenue to build a pedestrian crossing over Beaver Dam Run. FY2027 sent planning money to fund balance for a Southern Service Center and for Eastern Loudoun library projects at $500,000 each, $120,000 for the Old Stone School renovation in Hillsborough, a $308,000 local match for Lovettsville's second water tower, and $500,000 for a five-year water quality monitoring program on Goose Creek and Broad Run.[69]

The borrowing capacity is the more consequential number. At the Finance, Government Operations and Economic Development Committee on April 8, 2025, a single consent agenda carried roughly $505 million of bond issuance, about $124 million appropriation-backed and $381 million in voter-approved general obligation bonds. The county administrator described the ratings split on the record: AAA on the general obligation debt, one grade lower at AA+ on the appropriation-backed debt, because the latter rests on a board pledge rather than a referendum. County fiscal policy caps total debt service at 10 percent of expenditures, and the administrator's assessment was that Loudoun sits "well below that."[70]* Debt capacity of that kind is bought with revenue.

Schools are the largest single item and the one most often named. The county fully funded the school division's request in both years examined here. In FY2027 the division was asked to hold to an 8 percent growth rate and did.[71]* The $8 million school contingency was held pending resolution of state revenue the county anticipated.[68] A supervisor tied it to the K-12 support gap JLARC had identified, saying the Governor had declined to fully fund it, and characterized Loudoun's position in that fight without ornament: "Loudoun County and other jurisdictions, if they want to get rid of that gap, they are going to have to use taxpayer funds, which is exactly what we're doing with that 8 million. Again, Loudoun County's really lucky we can do that."[72]*

Dependence stated as luck. The county is aware it can do things its neighbors cannot, it is aware of why, and at the level of the individual budget line it is precise about both. What it does not do anywhere in either file is model the arrangement's end.

Concentration, and who the taxpayers are

The county's audited financial reports publish a principal property taxpayers table annually. No concentration ratio is computed from those tables here, because such registers name the special-purpose entity that holds the parcel, and the county's own top-valuations list for tax year 2024, examined in Part Two, prints one company twice under names differing by a comma. What the tables carry is the direction: a general fund whose largest single contributors are a small number of operators, most of them subsidiaries or holding entities of a smaller number of parents, in an industry whose siting decisions are made elsewhere.

The company-town literature is the comparator, and the analogy has one important limit. A company town depends on an employer. Loudoun depends on an *asset class*. The direct jobs are not what funds the schools; the equipment inside the buildings is. That distinction cuts both ways. Loudoun is less exposed to a single firm's decision than a company town is, and more exposed to a technology transition, because the

equipment can be depreciated, relocated, or rendered obsolete without anyone laying off a Loudoun resident.

The dependence question as politics

At the FY2027 budget adoption on April 7, 2026, a supervisor said:

> "Loudoun doesn't need any more data centers. We are pretty much oversaturated. I believe we need to diversify our economy."[73]*

She said it inside an ex parte disclosure turn, not in the budget debate. A sitting supervisor stating oversaturation during a budget adoption, in a jurisdiction where the industry funds roughly 40 percent of the general fund, is the dependence question expressed as politics and not as staff caution. On this record it is also a minority position that has not translated into a vote.

Who is revising the rules

At a committee meeting on July 28, 2025, staff described a comprehensive revision of the county's land use review process, running on sixty-nine consultant recommendations.

The initiative has no name on the record. Staff call it "this project." The only title of record is the agenda item's: the Administrative and Legislative Land Use Review Assessment.

The structure is what matters. Staff, describing it:

> "we have identified 11 Task Force Groups to deal with the various recommendations… each of those Task Force Groups are co-chaired by a representative from industry, sometimes a couple, as well as staff."[74]*

And, a moment later, on the distribution:

> "there's industry representation on all of the Task Force Groups with the exception of organization and leadership and recruitment and HR and they are, I guess removed from those components at their own request."[75]*

Industry co-chairs nine of the eleven groups. It declined the two concerning county staffing and internal organization, by its own request. The steering committee seats three representatives of a homebuilders association, three of a commercial real estate association, and one from the chamber of commerce. Roughly thirty-six industry participants sit across the structure, approximately matching the number of staff. The consultant's project manager authored the sixty-nine recommendations and was subsequently retained to implement them.

Board reaction was uniformly commendatory. One member: "If we all got together in a room and served refreshments, good things could really happen."[76]*

No supervisor raised a governance concern anywhere in the July 28, 2025 committee file, which is the only meeting in this study's record where the initiative was presented. The negative is clean, and it is not an accusation. Industry participation in process reform is ordinary, is usually disclosed, and often produces better rules than staff working alone, and the industry's own decision to step out of the staffing and organizational groups suggests some line-drawing was going on internally. What the record shows is that the regulated parties co-chair nine of eleven groups revising the process that regulates them, that this was presented to the committee as a virtue, and that nobody on the dais remarked on it.

PART FIVE: THE GRID

Loudoun's power crisis began with a document nobody in Loudoun read, five months before the technology now blamed for it existed.

July 2022, in order

On July 1, 2022, PJM Interconnection issued an Immediate Need Statement covering violations in Dominion's Northern Virginia area.[77] Eleven days later PJM presented the problem to its Transmission Expansion Advisory Committee in nineteen slides.[78] Neither document is about data centers in the abstract. Both are about whether the wires into eastern Loudoun could carry what had already been contracted.

Dominion convened its Loudoun Reliability Engagement Group for the first time on July 20, at Founders Hall in Ashburn, three hours on a Wednesday.[79]

The public found out eight days after that, and not from the county or the utility. On July 28 the president of Digital Realty told an earnings call that Dominion "informed its major customers very recently of a potential pinch point in Eastern Loudoun County that could delay deliveries until 2026," and specified the mechanism: "The cause has been described to me as transmission, not generation, i.e. the pipes or the power line infrastructure, not the actual power."[80] A trade publication had it the next day.[81]

The sequence is worth stating plainly. The grid operator identified the problem on July 1. The utility briefed the affected customers and convened a stakeholder body on July 20. A publicly traded tenant disclosed it to analysts on July 28. Residents of the county whose substations were at issue learned of it from the trade press on July 29, twenty-eight days after PJM wrote it down.

Dominion's own account, given at the second stakeholder meeting on August 17, is that this is not what happened. Asked "Why did we just hear about this, and then two weeks later, we read another news story that said Dominion had already developed a solution?", the answer was: "Dominion Energy has been in contact with impacted customers since the start of the issue. The news media discovered the transmission constraint."[82] Both halves of that answer are true. Impacted customers and the public are different populations, and the answer names the distinction without appearing to notice it.

The county's public outreach that September is the other half of the picture. Dominion sent 8,800 invitations to an open house. Thirty-five people came.[83]

What the county was told, and what it did with it

Loudoun County staff reported to the Board of Supervisors on September 20, 2022 that the constraints "impact two-thirds of Loudoun's substations and most of the projected data center growth in Loudoun," and that "early projections indicate most of the current construction and planned data center development will receive a significantly reduced allocation of the anticipated power through January of 2026."[84]

That forecast was close to exact. A NOVEC filing at PJM in January 2026 records that "several major customers currently limited by transmission constraints in Eastern Loudoun County, VA, will be able to access their full contracted capacity as these constraints are removed in early 2026."[85] The county's staff, in September 2022, called the release date within a month.

Part Six documents what the board did with that briefing on the same afternoon, which was to conclude that power delivery was not its business.

The pause and the constraint are different lengths

The formal pause on new connections lasted three months. That figure comes from JLARC, writing in December 2024: "In 2022, Dominion paused adding new data center loads in Loudoun County for three months as it worked to resolve regional transmission constraints."[86] Dominion's media relations confirmed the lift on or before September 26, 2022: "We've been able to lift the temporary pause and resume new data center service connections on an incremental basis."[87]

The underlying constraint bound for roughly three and a half years, from the summer of 2022 to the release NOVEC recorded in early 2026.

That interval is computed, not quoted. No document in the record gives "three and a half years" as a figure; it is the distance between a mid-2022 origin and an early-2026 release, each of which is sourced. The pause is a sourced three months. The constraint is a derived forty-two.

The distinction matters because the two numbers get used interchangeably and they support opposite arguments. Three months describes a utility resolving a problem quickly. Three and a half years describes a county whose growth was rate-limited by infrastructure for the entire period in which it was rewriting its zoning ordinance. Both are accurate. The second is the one that explains the politics in Parts Seven through Twelve, and it is the one that no single document states.

Loudoun's problem becomes the Commonwealth's policy, probably

JLARC's Report 598 contains, on a single page, both the finding about Loudoun and a recommendation that would generalize it.[88]

The finding:

> "Transmission planning processes appear to be working properly to protect reliability. In 2022, Dominion paused adding new data center loads in Loudoun County for three months as it worked to resolve regional transmission constraints."

The recommendation, on the same page:

> "RECOMMENDATION 2. The General Assembly may wish to consider amending the Code of Virginia to clarify that electric utilities have the authority to delay, but not deny, service to customers when the addition of customer load cannot be supported by the transmission system or available generation capacity."

And its rationale, also on the same page:

> "Utilities appear to have the authority to delay large load additions for transmission-related concerns because this has already been done without legal objections. It is less clear if utilities are allowed to delay adding new load because of generation concerns."

The rationale does not name Loudoun. Reading "this has already been done without legal objections" as a citation of the 2022 Loudoun pause is an inference. It is a reasonable one, because Loudoun's is the only utility pause the report discusses and the two passages sit on the same page, but the report does not close the loop.

What the document establishes is this. Virginia's legislative oversight commission examined a county in which a utility had unilaterally paused service, found no legal objection had been raised, and recommended the General Assembly write that authority into the Code. Whether the commission had Loudoun specifically in mind when it wrote the rationale is not established by the document. That the Loudoun pause is the only instance the report describes is established, and a reader can draw the inference the report declines to state.

The report carries one further item the county should have found alarming. In July 2024 Dominion wrote to customers that future large load additions anywhere in its transmission zone would take "12 to 36 months longer than they have previously taken."[88] Loudoun's constraint had become the region's baseline.

The cost of putting it underground, and whose number it is

The Golden-to-Mars line is the transmission project Loudoun most wanted buried. Dominion estimated roughly $513 million overhead. A hybrid underground configuration reached as high as $1.5 billion, which the press characterized as "triple what Dominion is estimating" and which works out to 2.92 times.[89]

The high-end figure came from a witness retained by Loudoun County. The SCC's own note on it, as reported, is that the county's analysis showed "stark potential variation in the presented numbers," and the $1.5 billion sits at the top of that variation.[89] A locality arguing for undergrounding introduced the number that made undergrounding look unaffordable, at the high end of its own range.

The State Corporation Commission rejected undergrounding in April 2026 on grounds that were partly geological:

> "Placing these lines underground is not feasible. The underground alternatives offered by participants in the case present significant obstacles such as delays, additional costs, and construction challenges including existing infrastructure and a geography known to contain exceptionally hard diabase rock."[90]

Two cautions travel with these figures. Dominion's own Underground Feasibility Report was not retrievable, so the $513 million and $1.5 billion are press characterizations of the SCC record and not engineering documents read directly. And several other transmission cost figures circulate for Loudoun projects that are not this project: roughly $715.7 million for Mars–Wishing Star, $689 to $705 million for the approved Aspen–Golden overhead line, and $280.7 million for Apollo–Twin Creeks.[91] None of those is an undergrounding comparison and none should be set beside the $513 million.

One of those figures is routinely quoted wrong. Aspen–Golden is widely cited at roughly $1 billion. On this study's reading it belongs to the partial-underground alternative the Commission rejected, the configuration Loudoun County itself advocated for, and not to the approved project — a reconciliation of two costings rather than a statement either document makes, and marked as such at the note. Set beside overhead costs for other projects it is an undergrounding figure among non-undergrounding ones, which is the comparison the paragraph above warns against.[92]

The anachronism

ChatGPT launched on November 30, 2022. Every dated milestone above precedes it, the earliest by five months and the last by two. PJM's statement, the stakeholder group, the earnings call, the press disclosure, and the lifting of the pause all

happened before the public release of the product that is now routinely offered as the cause.

PJM's own account puts the load growth that produced the constraint as starting in 2018.

The retrospective framing is not a media invention and it is not confined to outsiders. A sitting Loudoun supervisor's own briefing document, dated July 1, 2026, lists the year this way:

> "2022: Pivotal year! 1) PJM informs Dominion its infrastructure plan is insufficient; 2) Chat GPT launches; 3) Post COVID demand for data explodes."[93]

Three items in a list, presented as a single year's causes. The first happened in July. The second happened in November, after the utility had lifted its three-month pause and while the underlying constraint still bound. The document carries a disclaimer that its opinions are the author's alone, and it is cited here as an individual supervisor's characterization rather than a county position.

The correction is not pedantic. A county that believes its 2022 constraint was caused by generative AI will plan for a technology shock. A county that recognizes the constraint as the arrival of load it had already approved will plan for its own approval pipeline. Loudoun's zoning reform, described in Parts Seven through Twelve, is the second kind of response, written by a board that mostly described the first kind of cause.

The substations, enumerated

The county commissioned a power transmission evaluation from Kimley-Horn, delivered in September 2024 and presented as an attachment to a committee item that October.[94] It rests on a filed engineering document rather than on an inferred speaker attribution.

The study identifies nine new utility substations across three State Corporation Commission cases, and documents a further fifteen mixed-ownership substation plans.[94] The nine are Wishing Star and Mars in PUR-2022-00183; Aspen and Golden in PUR-2024-00032; and Twin Creeks, Sycolin Creek, Starlight, Lunar and Apollo in PUR-2024-00044, which the Commission consolidated with PUR-2024-00032.[95] The fifteen are of mixed Dominion, NOVEC and private ownership, digitized from the county's own land-management records between January 2020 and April 2024.[95]

The list belongs to the county and not to the utility, and it is a September 2024 county snapshot. Dominion names at least six substations the county list omits:

Aviator, Takeoff, Lockridge, Sojourner, Prentice Drive, and Towerview. And the utility substitutes substations mid-case, replacing Lockridge with Prentice Drive in an October 2025 filing. A named substation list in this industry is a photograph, not an inventory.

Three of the nine, Sycolin Creek, Starlight and Lunar, are named in Dominion's own SCC filing in PUR-2024-00044. What they are absent from is Dominion's Northern Virginia project webpage. A utility's public-facing summary and its regulatory filings are different corpora, and an absence from the first is not an absence from the second.

The same study carries the county's building counts. For built stock it gives 162 data center buildings permitted through December 2023, sourced to county geographic information systems, against 117 buildings in the pipeline, of which 33 are modeled from floor-area ratios rather than counted from filed plans.[94]

Two figures circulate as Kimley-Horn's and are not, and a third that is the study's own circulates without its composition.

The figure of 199 built facilities, cited from the dais in February 2025 and attributed to the Kimley-Horn study, does not appear in it. The study's built-stock number is 162 buildings. Whether the figure was misspoken, drawn from another source, or counted differently cannot be determined from the record; what can be determined is that the study does not contain it.

A load figure of 11.59 gigawatts by 2028, sometimes attributed to the same study, is not in it.

The third figure is the study's own. The 117 counts buildings, not facilities, campuses, or applications, and more than a quarter of it is modeled and not counted. It is quotable with its composition stated and misleading without.

The study also contains an internal inconsistency that anyone citing it should carry: it names one substation both "Sycolin Creek" and "Sycolin Road," and the SCC caption settles it as Sycolin Creek. Its reference to "125 miles of 200-kV" transmission is plainly an error for 230-kV.

The fifty substations

In the middle of the March 18, 2025 debate a supervisor said: "at the recent our LEG meeting Dominion said we need 50 more substations in Loudoun County. Fifty."[96]*

No source for the figure exists in the utility's own published record, on the searches recorded below. Its earliest published appearance located here is an advocacy organization's call to action four days before the vote.

The Piedmont Environmental Council published it on March 14, 2025, four days before the hearing, in a message urging supporters to attend that meeting, and attributed the list to Dominion. The framing sentence reads: "To meet the current demand, Dominion has indicated it will need to build a lot of new transmission lines and substations including the list below." The last item on the list is "50 more substations in eastern Loudoun County." The page gives no hyperlink, footnote or citation for the number, on its rendered text as retrieved. It links a county page for the count of applications in the pipeline, a web map for the count of approved data centers, and an academic preprint for the health-cost range; six of its numbers carry no citation at all, the fifty among them, and so do the gigawatt estimates it attaches to the applications filed before the February 12 cutoff.[97]

The formulation the record supports is narrower. A supervisor said on the record that the utility told a meeting it needed fifty more substations. The utility has published no such figure in the materials searched here. What the supervisor was working from is not established, and the Council's page four days earlier is the nearest published statement of it.

Everything else checked is empty. The utility's 2025 integrated resource plan update reports load across its zone with no county breakdown. Its Northern Virginia project pages name individual substations without giving an aggregate. And the county's own commissioned engineering study — the document most likely to contain such a figure if it existed — enumerates nine new substations by name and attributes no aggregate count to the utility at all. The aggregate is what matters, and there is none: no Dominion-attributed substation count for Loudoun County exists in any document this study has examined, no fifty and no total of any kind, and the enumeration above does not total to it.

Fifty additional substations, "about 40 new" scoped only to a single transmission line, and "over 40" already existing are all in circulation and being conflated downstream. A trade publication then rendered the second as "more than 40 new substations." The same organization sits behind all three, on the sourcing compiled at note 97; of the three, only the March 14, 2025 item has been retrieved directly for this volume.

Stated at the width the record bears: *a figure a supervisor attributed to the utility on the record, which the utility has not published and whose origin the searches recorded here could not establish.*

The stronger material is a supervisor's own recommendation, delivered to a state association of counties in October 2025, that utilities be required to state in writing where the power will come from and where the substations will be located. It concedes the gap from the dais.

PART SIX: THE COSTS LEDGER

Every account of Loudoun's transmission problem begins with the capacity crisis set out above, and the natural next document is the utility briefing the board received. There is no such briefing anywhere in the fifteen-meeting corpus.

There is no transmission item either. No agenda item on the power constraint appears on the September 20, 2022 agenda, though county staff reported on the constraint to the Board in writing that day. Its only transmission business is a consent-agenda contract award for relocating an overhead line, passed 8–0–1 with no discussion. The conversation this volume and every other account treats as pivotal is about fifteen minutes of question-and-answer inside a ninety-seven-minute land use item. The county's most consequential energy moment was never scheduled.

The 2022 decoupling, and the advice it contradicted

On the afternoon of September 20, 2022, with the county's power constraint fully public, the board arrived at the position that power delivery was not its business.

The proposition originates with staff rather than with a member. A search of the full seven-hour file on thirteen distinct formulations found no member stating it before the staff table did.

It had been contradicted four and a half minutes earlier, from the staff table. Asked whether power availability could bear on a land use decision, the answering voice drew a distinction the board then failed to carry:

> "So in a legislative application, it's certainly something you can consider. I'm not sure I wanna go so far as to say it's contingent."[98]

Legislative applications, meaning rezonings and special exceptions, are the category in which power *can* be weighed. By-right and administrative applications are the category in which it cannot. The distinction is legally coherent and it is the whole question. The board's decoupling statement collapsed it, and nobody reconciled the two.

The answering voice is staff, confirmed on the recording August 28, 2026: the same person who gave the staff statement gives the answer, without leaving the table and with no handoff. That narrows the finding. A staff planner drawing the legislative-versus-administrative distinction is a characterization the board declined to carry forward, where counsel drawing it would have meant the board proceeded against legal advice.

The proposition itself is stated most clearly a few minutes later, at [04:54:52]–[04:55:19], where a member frames it directly — that "all we really have control over is a land use discussion" and that power "should not influence our land use discussion." A second person, seated separately, answers "That's correct."[99] Two different voices from the staff table endorse the proposition four minutes apart, neither of them counsel, and neither of them contradicted.

The same committee then coupled power to land use procedurally, forty-one seconds later, recommending that staff route applications to Dominion and NOVEC for referral from that point forward. The interval is measured from the last line of the decoupling exchange at [04:55:19] to the referral recommendation at [04:56:00], and an unrelated question about whether new use-specific standards would reach existing as well as future data centers sits between them. A body that had just placed power outside its remit added the utilities to its review process a minute later.

The surrounding material establishes how little the board knew. Staff, answering a member's question: "we know precious little more today than we did when this first came out," followed by an acknowledgment of serious power delivery issues arriving before 2026 across "a large majority of projects that we were counting on or were already in the process."[100]* The speaker is county staff describing the county's own information position. The chair recounted a call from an anonymous utility representative and characterized the relationship afterward: "well, that was a short lived little marriage with Dominion Power."[101]* Another member's figures on undergrounding transmission, four times as expensive and two years longer, are hedged in the delivery and sourced to nothing.[102]*

The file's negatives establish what the 2022 debate was not about. "Megawatt" appears twice, both in public comment, both referring to Prince William County. The regional transmission organization is never named. Ratepayers are never mentioned. Substations come up eight times and not one is named.[103]*

Three years later

On September 16, 2025 the chair of the Board of Supervisors said this from the dais:

> "We cannot make decisions on power. We are not legally allowed to make decisions on power."[104]*

The statement was made while the board was deciding a special exception for a substation. It failed 4–4–1, with the chair abstaining and deferring.[105]*

A special exception is a legislative application. It is exactly and only the category in which county staff had told the board, three years earlier and in that same body's proceedings, that power *is* something it may consider.

Nobody in the room raised it. Applied to by-right applications the chair's proposition is defensible. She was applying it to the one category the 2022 staff answer had carved out of it, and the carve-out had either been forgotten or was never absorbed.

The county's own docket runs the other way. Of the twenty-four legislative applications filed after the February 2025 cutoff, fifteen concern the delivery or generation of electricity, not the buildings that consume it. One applicant seeks five new substations plus removal of one substation's nonconforming status across 447.61 acres. Another has applied for an on-site electric generating facility.[106]

The county is deciding a great deal about power. It is doing so one special exception at a time and without a framework, which is probably closer to what the chair meant and is worse than what she said. Whether the legal claim is accurate is not resolved here. The gap between the statement and the docket is the finding either way.

The county declined to regulate the noise data centers make, in writing, to stay competitive

Noise, water, land consumption and housing pressure are what remains of the ledger, and the noise record is the largest of the four. Loudoun rewrote its noise standard in 2016. The rewrite was prompted by the complaint history of a single facility, Digital Realty at Loudoun Station. The Board acted on ZOAM 2014-0006 on September 22, 2016, effective January 1, 2017, replacing a standard that dated to the 1990s.[107]

Residents complaining about data centers describe a constant low-frequency hum. A-weighted decibel measurement, which is what nearly every American noise ordinance uses, systematically discounts exactly that part of the spectrum. Capturing it requires a tonal or low-frequency penalty, and the question was put to staff during the rewrite.

Staff recommended against it, and gave a reason:

> regulating tonal noise "may place the County at a competitive disadvantage with other regional jurisdictions when competing for businesses such as data centers."[108]

The same staff report priced what it was declining to buy. Adding tonal-noise capability would have cost **approximately $1,000** in additional software and training, on top of an $18,000 base equipment and training cost the county was incurring anyway.[108]

The same amendment created the generator-testing exemption. The staff report says how it came about: after "consulting with representatives from the data center industry who expressed concerns about the proposed time limitations."[108]

The same amendment deleted the nighttime penalty the old ordinance had carried. Loudoun has had no day-night differential in its noise standard since January 1, 2017.[107]

That sits beside Part Three's material on revenue and Part Twelve's on standards. The county wrote down in a staff report that it would not regulate the specific acoustic signature of the industry it was competing to attract, and priced the capability it was declining at approximately a thousand dollars. The same amendment removed the protection that applied when people are asleep. The staff report attributes the generator-testing exemption to consultation with the industry; it attributes the tonal decision to competitive position.

What the current standard does and does not reach

Conflating the two instruments that govern noise in Loudoun produces error.

Zoning Ordinance § 7.05.03, adopted December 13, 2023, is the operative one. It sets numeric dB(A) limits measured at the receiving lot line, enforced by Zoning Enforcement. Table 7.05.03-1 sets those limits by receiving development type rather than by the zoning of the source: a data center's applicable limit is determined by whoever is on the other side of the line.[109]

Its measurement protocol is prescriptive: ANSI Type 1 meters, FAST response, minimum three samples, microphone at five feet, at the closest point on the receiving lot line. And samples may be taken "only when the subject sound can be clearly heard and identified by the operator without any extraneous sounds such as passing traffic or bird songs."[109] A standard that discards readings contaminated by traffic will, in a corridor built around highways, discard a great many readings.

Its exemptions include generator testing "during an emergency or at the request of a utility," and utility substations outright.[109]

Section 7.05.03.G cuts the other way. It requires a pre-construction noise study at site plan review and a post-construction study between one and twelve months after the first certificate of occupancy, each verifying compliance against the table, each prepared by a Commonwealth-licensed professional engineer.[109] That is a real obligation, and it is data-center-specific.

Chapter 654 of the codified ordinances is the other instrument, an older criminal audibility standard enforced by the Sheriff's Office, carrying no decibel limit at all. It is not the data-center-relevant provision and should not be cited as one.[110]

The state found the same problem and said so

JLARC examined data center noise for its 2024 report and reached a conclusion the county's own framework cannot act on:

> "data center noise rarely exceeds the allowable limits set in ordinances, despite the constancy of the sound being problematic for residents."[111]

Its measurements put data centers with noise complaints at 40 to 59 dB(A), which it notes is "typically below the 55 or 60 decibel limit that Loudoun, Prince William, and Fairfax allow." The diagnosis is structural: "Data centers are industrial facilities that are largely incompatible with residential uses." JLARC recommended localities consider a supplemental C-weighted standard, which is the measurement that captures what A-weighting discards.[111]

JLARC's own methodology appendix contains no data-collection subsection for noise. Water use, tax revenue, generator permits, land conversion and residential proximity each received a stated methods paragraph. Noise did not, and the 40-to-59 figure's entire evidentiary apparatus is a source line and a note.[111]

The enforcement record, stated at the width it will bear

The pattern the ordinance produces is visible in individual episodes and not in any published total.

A Sterling resident recorded 60 dB at his property line in July 2026 against a 55 dB limit. No violation was found.[112] A supervisor told a reporter in April 2026 that "the average of the noise readings to determine if there is a noise violation has never exceeded 55 dBA at the residential property adjacent to Vantage" — which is a statement about the average of qualifying readings at one location, and is often quoted as though it were a statement that no violation has ever been found.[113] An earlier complaint sequence in February 2024 ended the same way: "they found that it was in fact below the 55 decibels limits of the ordinance."[114]

In July 2026 the same Sterling campus ran diesel generators for roughly twenty-four hours after its grid connection was interrupted. The Department of Environmental Quality's written reply to the complainant: "DEQ has no regulatory authority to stop these actions undertaken in response to the emergency." No notice of violation issued, from the state or the county.[115] The operator's own public position was that "while we are operating well under noise limits and ordinances of Loudoun County, we have determined that we can do it better."[116]

What cannot be stated is a countywide count. No published county document gives a total for noise complaints or violations at any facility or across the county. The zoning enforcement complaint log exists — JLARC obtained Loudoun complaint data

for its 2024 report — but it is not published, has no open dataset, and was not obtainable free of charge on the retrieval passes recorded here. A widely repeated figure of roughly a dozen complaints and zero violations at one campus traces to a single television report that could not be retrieved on any attempt and that has no archive snapshot. That figure is not used here.[117]

That is where the record is thin, and it is thin in one specific place: the county's own enforcement data is not public. Everything above it is.

What the comparison shows

Warrenton, a town of roughly 10,000 in Fauquier County, imposes the most stringent data center noise conditions located in the Commonwealth: third-party sound testing before each phase's occupancy, an annual test procured by the town and billed to the applicant, forty-eight hours to cure a failure or the certificate of occupancy is automatically suspended, and, from the Town's own ordinance rather than from the permit conditions, a per-octave-band tonal penalty that the zoning administrator held applicable by default.[118]

That last item is the provision Loudoun's staff declined to adopt in 2016 for approximately a thousand dollars.

Loudoun has since reopened the question. A tonal and low-frequency noise review is under way with an outside consultant. It has not been adopted, and any change would ride on the second phase of the zoning amendment.[119]

Water, land, and housing

Water disclosure remains unadopted and is deferred to the same second phase.

A staff line spoken on September 16, 2025 gave the terminal board action as December 2026. The currently scheduled date is **March 2027**, with staff options on a development pause due in September 2026.[119] The September 2025 statement stands as what was said then; March 2027 is what is scheduled now.

Land consumption is treated quantitatively in Part One, Part Two and Part Thirteen, not here. The county's own building-level geographic data supports 52,935,194 square feet built plus under construction across 239 buildings as of March 1, 2026.

Housing pressure is the one of the four where the record is limited. No county-commissioned study of the relationship between data center development and housing supply, affordability or land price was located. What exists is the residential-adjacency treatment in the ordinance, the 500-foot buffer debated in Part Nine, and a commissioner's oversaturation argument in Part Eleven linking land values to the crowding out of affordable housing. No argument here rests on it.

The only place in the corpus where the county's environmental position is stated and contested in the same meeting is an exchange from July 2025. A supervisor asserted that data centers accounted for "less than 4% of the total pollutants" and that the county was "one of the top counties in the state in terms of clean air."[120]* Forty-one minutes earlier, another member had cited regional council of governments data establishing that Loudoun had the region's highest gross and net emissions, with increases of 130 and 140 percent, and data center emissions "more than doubled from 2020 to 2023."[121]* The two statements sit at opposite ends of a long meeting and not back to back, which makes the absence of any reconciliation between them less pointed and more ordinary. Nobody asked either speaker for a source. Both statements are in the record and both are reproduced here.

PART SEVEN: THE POLITICAL TURN

The comprehensive plan said no in 2019. The entitlement path said yes anyway, for four more years.

The doctrinal hinge

At a Planning Commission work session on February 8, 2024, a staff planner from the Department of Planning and Zoning explained why staff was recommending denial of a data center application near a Metrorail station:

> "Data centers are not a core complementary or conditional use in this place type."[122]*

The place type in question was Urban Transit Center, a designation the county's 2019 comprehensive plan had created to concentrate density around rail. The plan had already excluded data centers from it. The application was proceeding anyway, because it was grandfathered under an earlier resolution and processed under the 1993 ordinance, and because the entitlement structure did not require the use to be consistent with the plan.

That sentence states the condition the reform was written to correct. Loudoun's planning documents had said no for four years. Its zoning ordinance had continued to say yes, and the zoning ordinance is what binds.

Four and a half years of saying no in a document that could not enforce it

The 2019 comprehensive plan was adopted June 20, 2019 on an 8–1 vote, Umstattd dissenting.[123] Its place-type framework was the county's answer to a decade of unplanned concentration, and it already excluded data centers from the place types most often attributed to a later amendment: Suburban Mixed Use, Suburban Neighborhood, Suburban Compact Neighborhood and Urban Transit Center.

The Board's September 20, 2022 action did not add those exclusions. What it did that day was vote 7–1–1 to direct staff to draft a plan amendment revising place-type boundaries and mapping. The motion's own language is in the present tense about the exclusions, describing places "where data centers are not envisioned" as an existing condition.[124] The substance was 2019 plan text throughout.

Loudoun's planning policy on data centers was therefore stated once, in 2019, and had no operative effect for four and a half years.

The Zoning Ordinance Rewrite that would carry any of it into binding text was not adopted until December 2023.[125] Through the intervening period the 1993

ordinance as revised continued to govern, and data centers remained buildable by right in districts that predated the plan and in places contradicted it.

Four and a half years separate the plan from the ordinance. That interval is where the buildout documented in Part Two happened, and it is the single most consequential fact in this chapter. A comprehensive plan in Virginia is a guide to future action. A zoning ordinance is the law. A locality that adopts the first and delays the second has expressed a preference and changed nothing. Applications kept arriving under the ordinance that still governed, and the buildout in Part Two is what they produced.

Anyone reading the county's own materials should be careful about which document a given exclusion belongs to. Sources routinely assign the four place-type exclusions to a 2022 amendment. All four are 2019 plan text, and the September 20, 2022 vote directed staff to draft an amendment without adding exclusionary language of its own.

The elections, and the absence of a consequence

Data centers were not a campaign issue in Loudoun's 2019 Board of Supervisors election. The comprehensive plan had been adopted five months earlier. Press accounts of that race name gun violence, climate change, women's rights, transit-oriented density near the incoming Silver Line stations, traffic, school funding and rural protection. None of them names data centers.[126] The outlets that would go on to cover the industry exhaustively are silent on it as a 2023-style campaign theme, which is what makes the absence evidence and not a gap in the search.

By 2023 the rhetoric had entirely reversed. Data centers appear in nearly every candidate questionnaire in the field, across parties and districts. The electoral consequence was zero.

No Loudoun incumbent supervisor lost. Eight incumbents ran and eight won, and the one open seat held. In the three clearest test cases, the candidate running the more explicitly anti-expansion campaign lost each time. A challenger in Ashburn who ran the most pointed anti-data-center attack of the cycle against the sitting supervisor lost 56.3 to 43.1. A challenger in the open Little River seat who campaigned on data-center skepticism lost 53.4 to 46.2 to an opponent whose own platform was, if anything, more skeptical than his. The most anti-expansion candidate in the entire field lost in Catoctin to an incumbent whose framing of the industry was the most industry-friendly in the questionnaire set.[127]

Prince William County replaced its board chair that year, and the removal ran through a primary, not a general election. Chair Ann Wheeler lost the June 20, 2023 Democratic primary to Deshundra Jefferson by 4.5 percentage points, in what the

Washington Post called "a surprise outcome fueled by anger over data center development in the county." Jefferson won the November general election and took office in January 2024.[128] Loudoun replaced nobody, at either stage.

Prince William's ouster turned on a single geographically concentrated fight, the roughly 2,100-acre Digital Gateway rezoning on Pageland Lane, with an organized campaign built around it whose canvassers wore "Fire Ann" shirts. No equivalent Loudoun flashpoint appears in the sources this study examined: the 2023 candidate questionnaire and results coverage behind note 127, and the press and civic record compiled for this volume. Belmont, its closest analogue, came four months *after* the election. The contrast is between a county with one galvanizing project and a county with diffuse saturation, and it says nothing about the relative depth of anger in the two places.[128]

In two of the three test cases the winner had already adopted the restrictionist position. Turner's questionnaire opened on "exponential data center growth in residential areas"; TeKrony proposed a data-center-funded transfer-of-development-rights program.[127] Both "running against data centers did not correlate with winning" and "the anti-expansion position had already been taken by the winners" are true of this record. They are different claims, and the second explains more.

There was no ballot consequence. There was an internal one.

On July 22, 2026 the Board removed Briskman as chair of its finance committee and installed Saines in her place, 5–3–1. Briskman, Umstattd and TeKrony voted against. Letourneau was absent, and that absence is the third figure in the tally; no member abstained.[129]

Her account ties it directly to data centers, on the record:

> "I think this is a manufactured crisis that has nothing to do with board business. This has been a months-long pressure campaign in an attempt to force me to stand down from my stance against data centers, Dominion Energy, and to silence my criticism of policy, which has given big corporations a pass while our residents suffer the consequences."[129]

The chair's stated grounds are conduct rather than policy, and are equally on the record. Randall named a 2021 social media post linking Kershner to the Klan, a 2023 remark about a county staff member, an effort to withhold pay increases from sheriff's deputies until the sheriff changed policy, a photograph with what she called "an effigy" of the sheriff, and a video Briskman posted at a No Kings protest in the summer of 2025, overlaid with a song using a racial slur, in which colleagues' photographs appeared:

> "This is a very uncomfortable moment for I think the entire board. But I will also say, over the past I don't know 18 months or so, with the exception of Ms. Umstattd, every one of my colleagues have come to me with some concerns about the finance chair."[129]

Saines, in the majority, rejected the political reading outright: "That's nowhere close to the reason why we're doing this. So, to say that is a little off-putting, and that's the furthest thing from the truth." Turner, who had replaced Briskman as vice chair, called the video the "straw that broke the camel's back" and put a prior letter sent on vice-chair letterhead alongside it: "for Supervisor Briskman to send out on vice chair letterhead an overtly political statement like that clearly communicates to the public that she is speaking on behalf of the board, which she was not."[129] Umstattd and TeKrony gave the opposing reasons. Umstattd said she had "observed no evidence of illegal activity or an ethical violation" and that the motion would be read as politically motivated; TeKrony called the video "insulting and inappropriate" and concluded that "it is not board business."[129]

Both accounts are printed here and neither is adjudicated. The board majority gave conduct reasons; Briskman gave a data-center reason. Her reform record stands on its own evidence in Part Nine and at the close of this chapter: the motion to strike administrative grandfathering, the vote against the grandfathering resolution, the moratorium research. That record is established, and so is the removal. No link between them is established.

The only measured figure on Loudoun opinion located for this volume reaches it secondhand. A *Washington Post*–Schar School poll fielded March 26–31, 2026 carried 160 Loudoun interviews inside a statewide sample of 1,101 registered voters. In the Loudoun crosstab, **40 percent said life was worse with data centers nearby, 40 percent said no difference, and 19 percent said life had improved.**[130] Statewide, nearly 70 percent wanted the data center sales tax exemption ended, while 56 percent still credited positive job impacts.[130] Those figures are quoted as other publications reproduce them: the *Post*'s published poll PDF and the *Post*'s own April 15, 2026 report on the poll both returned an empty client-rendered page to retrieval on September 4, 2026, and the figures have not been checked against the pollster's document. A 160-interview subsample carries a sampling error wide enough to make the 40/40 split a rough even division and not a measured tie.

A county divided roughly evenly between "worse" and "no difference" is consistent with the electorate that produced saturating rhetoric and zero incumbent losses. It shows neither revolt nor contentment.

The reform sequence that begins in February 2024 is not the product of new members arriving with a mandate, because no new members arrived. The supervisors pushing hardest in 2024 and 2025 are the same people who won in 2019 and again in 2023, and several of them were already saying in their 2023 questionnaires that they wanted to recover board approval authority over data center growth and reduce by-right parcels. What changed was what a continuously serving board had accumulated by way of experience, not its composition, and Belmont in Part Eight is the sharpest single episode of that accumulation.

From plan to initiation

The sequence from the 2019 comprehensive plan through the 2023 elections to the February 6, 2024 initiation of the ordinance amendment is the political spine of this chapter, and it narrows in a way the record documents precisely.

On February 6, 2024, when the board directed staff to begin, the debate was broad. Megawatt figures, the regional transmission organization, water usage, ratepayer impact, and setbacks are all present in that day's record. Two members of the public asked for a moratorium. No supervisor proposed one, so the board rejected none.[131]*

By July 2, 2024, when the board approved the first phase, nearly every one of those subjects had disappeared from the discussion. Megawatts, the transmission organization, ratepayers, setbacks: zero occurrences.[132]* Water survives once, and only as a forward reference — staff list "energy, water, air, light and noise" among the subjects the second phase will eventually address.[132] The subject is named as future work, not discussed. What remained in the room was tax base diversification.

In five months a debate that had encompassed the grid, the water table, and the electricity bills of people who do not live in Loudoun contracted to a discussion about the composition of the county's revenue. Nothing in the record marks the contraction or explains it. The subjects were not resolved. They stopped being raised.

What February 6 actually decided, and in whose words

One correction to the public account of that meeting is required, and it is the kind of error that propagates.

The two-phase structure that organizes everything afterward — a first phase changing the entitlement pathway, a second phase writing the standards — is universally dated to February 6, 2024. The date is right. The words usually quoted for it are from a different meeting.

The phrase "phase" does not appear in the February 6, 2024 record at all. The quotations commonly attributed to that date, including a staff description of the board directing a split into two phases, are from July 2, 2024, five months later, describing February 6 in retrospect.[133]* On February 6 itself the mechanism is unnamed. A supervisor proposes to "split the homework I guess you can say"; staff suggests "two parallel tracks where maps would be adopted sooner."[134]* It was executed through two friendly amendments, and the main motion carried 7–2.[135]*

The distinction matters because the retrospective account is cleaner than the contemporaneous one. On the night itself the board did something improvised and did not name it. A staff member gave it a name and a rationale five months later, and the name is what entered the record.

July 2, 2024 is the date the phase structure enters the record, and what the board approved that night was the revised project plan and the resolution of intent, 7–2, which sent the amendment toward a public hearing with adoption anticipated as early as December.[136]* It was not the adoption of ordinance text. Nine months separate that vote from the March 18, 2025 adoption, and Parts Nine through Twelve are about what happened in them.

The sequence has not stopped

The chapter's arc runs from a plan that could not bind to an ordinance that does, and it would be tidy to end it at March 2025. The record does not end there. In July 2026, sixteen months after adoption, a supervisor moved successfully to direct staff to research whether the board could enact a moratorium on new data centers. The county attorney advised that a legal moratorium is not available to a Virginia county and undertook to report on what other localities had attempted.[137] The supervisor who moved it won her seat in 2019 and was re-elected in 2023 on controlling data center growth.

A board that spent two years replacing its ordinance was, a year after finishing, asking whether it could stop issuing approvals altogether. Parts Eleven and Twelve explain why.

PART EIGHT: BELMONT, AND THE SHAPE OF THE BY-RIGHT PROBLEM

A board denied a data center, reconsidered six days later, and approved it at the figure the applicant could have built without asking.

Act one: the denial, against counsel's advice

On March 13, 2024, five weeks after voting to initiate the ordinance rewrite, the Board of Supervisors denied Belmont Innovation Campus 5–4. The application was 2.9 million square feet of data center plus 989,000 square feet of industrial development between Belmont Ridge Road and Goose Creek, southwest of Route 7 between Leesburg and Ashburn. The 2.9 million was itself a reduction from an original 4.8 million.[138] The site is 111 acres in the county's own release and 112 in the press account; the county's figure is used here and the discrepancy is recorded and not resolved.

Two features of the denial matter more than the tally.

It was reported at the time as the first occasion on which the Loudoun board refused a data center application on grid grounds. That is a press characterization and is carried here as one rather than as an established first.[139] Supervisor Turner, who moved the denial, gave as his reason that "the proposed scale of the development would contribute to the need for additional high voltage transmission lines, which will have adverse impacts on surrounding properties… In this case the surrounding neighborhood is eastern Loudoun County."[140]

And the board did it after being advised that it could not. The county attorney cautioned supervisors that the availability of electricity was not a factor they could weigh, because the power company carried a legal obligation to provide service.[141] That sits beside the 2022 decoupling exchange in Part Six, where county staff drew a distinction between legislative and administrative applications that the board then collapsed. Belmont was a rezoning. Under that 2022 staff framing it was the category in which power *could* be considered. The advice given in March 2024 does not carry the distinction, and no supervisor asked for it.

A note on titles, because they move. In March 2024 the Vice Chair of the Board of Supervisors was Briskman. Turner held the office later, and is Vice Chair throughout the events of Part Nine. Officials are named rather than titled wherever the title changed inside the period under discussion.

A deferral motion to delay the vote to April was made as it became clear the application would fail. It failed first.[142]

Act two: the reconsideration, and the grandfathering window

On March 19, six days later, the board voted 4–3–2 to reconsider. The motion came from Turner, the same member who had moved the denial.[143]

His stated grounds are the chapter's mechanism and they are worth quoting at length, because the reasoning is entirely explicit and almost nobody outside the room heard it. The applicant had approached him after the denial and offered to build only the by-right portion, 1.3 million square feet, while keeping the environmental package attached to the larger project:

> "That's a no brainer. The choice is not… whether or not you're going to get a data center, the question is do you want a world class environmental package or not."
>
> "The reason this is in play, is if they go through by-right, they essentially have to go through a six-month permitting process… if this is approved, they can begin construction right away."[144]

The second quotation is the one that connects Belmont to everything after it. A fresh application would have been filed under the county's new zoning ordinance. Approval of the existing application preserved the project under the pre-December 2023 ordinance and let construction start immediately.[145] What the applicant was buying was a grandfathering window, not square footage, eleven months before the board would spend an entire hearing arguing about who else got one.

The applicant went to the member who had moved the denial and traded scale for speed. He took it, and said why.

Act three: the approval

On April 10, 2024 the board approved the reduced application 6–3, at **1.3 million square feet**.[146]

That figure is the by-right entitlement. It is what the applicant could already build on that land with no rezoning and no board consent.

What the county kept: increased Goose Creek buffers, the environmental package, architectural standards above the by-right minimum, a passive open-space park with trails, and accommodation for the future Gloucester Parkway and Russell Branch Parkway extensions. What came out with the square footage: a substation along the planned Russell Branch extension, the flex-industrial option, the low-noise fan proffer, 10,000 square feet of solar, a park pavilion, and a cash proffer for a Goose Creek canoe launch.[147] Those had been attached to the larger project because the larger project needed permission. The smaller one did not.

The approval raised the floor-area ratio from 0.6 to 1.0, which nominally permits an additional 1.9 million square feet, with the proffer agreement capping actual development at 1.3 million. The applicant's representative explained the increase as a financing technicality, since subdivided parcels can individually exceed 0.6 while the site stays capped.[148] The explanation is plausible and is not disputed here. The structure is still a ratio permitting 3.2 million square feet held down by a proffer. Neither figure reconciles against the 111 acres in the county's own release, where a 1.0 ratio would permit roughly 4.8 million square feet, and nothing in this record explains the gap.

The member who moved both the denial and the reconsideration explained his vote on the night of the approval:

> "There is going to be a 1.32 million square foot data center on this piece of land no matter how we vote tonight."[149]*

Turnout collapsed between the two hearings. More than fifty speakers appeared on March 13, with roughly thirty-nine people wearing red. Eleven spoke on April 10.[150] The public showed up to the vote that could be lost and not to the vote that had already been settled, which is a reasonable allocation of a weeknight and is also how a reconsideration converts a contested approval into an uncontested one. Nothing in this study's record of the two hearings establishes that anyone intended that effect.

And the county's own announcement of the outcome named nobody. Its April 11 news release states that "the majority of the Loudoun County Board of Supervisors voted to approve," gives no tally, and identifies not one vote on its largest contested data center application of the year.[146] The release does state, accurately and without evident discomfort, that the approved figure is "an amount otherwise permitted by right under the existing zoning category."

The same argument, eighteen months later

On September 16, 2025, a different supervisor made the identical argument about a different application, a substation special exception at Tuscarora Crossing:

> "The applicant can build 1.4 million square feet of data centers folks… the data center community will find a way to build it."[151]*

That application failed 4–4–1. The arguments matched; the outcomes did not.

Two members, two cases, two years apart, both voting on the reasoning that no was unavailable. One prevailed and one did not, and nothing in either record explains the difference except the composition of the board on the night.

What Belmont establishes

By-right entitlement is an abstraction until a board denies a project and then approves it anyway, because denial changes nothing except what the county gets in exchange. Belmont is that mechanism operating in public with a supervisor narrating it.

It also explains the shape the 2025 reform took. The board had been approving data centers since the 1990s. What it reacted to in 2025 was a specific and recent experience of discovering it had no leverage. The reform it wrote is precisely a leverage-recovery instrument. Whether it recovered any is the subject of Parts Eleven and Twelve.

Belmont also supplies the grandfathering fight with its rehearsal. The March 2025 debate treated the question of who stays under the old ordinance as a matter of fairness to applicants who had relied in good faith on existing rules. Belmont shows the same question answered a year earlier, in a single case, at the request of an applicant who had not relied on anything and who understood precisely what the old ordinance was worth. The board granted it in six days.

Verification standing

The vote records here are unusually well recovered for this volume and they are still not roll calls. No clerk-certified roll call by name was located for any of the three dates. Every tally below is a chair-announced voice vote as relayed by the county's communications office or by a reporter.

March 13, 2024, denial, 5–4. Complete and independently confirmed. All five nays are named by one outlet: Randall, Briskman, Turner, Glass, TeKrony. All four ayes are named by another: Umstattd, Kershner, Saines, Letourneau. Five plus four is the whole board from two independent sources.

March 19, 2024, reconsideration, 4–3–2. Substantially recovered. The four ayes are named: Turner, Glass, Kershner, Umstattd. The three nays are named by a second outlet: Briskman, Randall, TeKrony. The two members not voting are Saines and Letourneau by subtraction, stated in no source. The county's release says "the majority… who were present," which hints at absence without establishing it. Note that Glass voted no on March 13 and yes on reconsideration.

April 10, 2024, approval, 6–3. The three nays are confirmed by name across two independent outlets: Randall, Briskman, TeKrony. Turner is independently confirmed in favor as the maker of the approving motion. The remaining five ayes, Saines, Umstattd, Kershner, Letourneau and Glass, are inferred by subtraction from a nine-member board. No source, county or press, enumerates the majority by name.

Glass warrants the caveat most, since she voted to deny in March. The roll call remains on the October 2026 field-visit list.

A widely syndicated account misidentifies TeKrony's district as "Little Run." It is Little River.

At the April 10 hearing an environmental advocate argued that the by-right option would better protect Goose Creek, requiring a 900-foot setback against the rezoning's 500-foot buffer. Turner attacked the organization from the dais for "major factual errors," the speaker disputed his characterization, and the reporting outlet appended a clarification two days later. The setback comparison is an advocacy assertion contested on the record, and it is carried here as one.[152]

PART NINE: THE REVERSAL

The board disposed of nine matters on the evening of March 18, 2025. Most accounts of that evening report one of them.

The county's own Planning Commission recommended denial

On December 12, 2024, the Loudoun County Planning Commission forwarded the amendments to the Board with a recommendation of denial, 5–3–1. Barnes, Frank and Keirce opposed the forwarding; Jasper was absent. The commission had held one public hearing and six work sessions over roughly four months. The recital appears in the signed Grandfathering Resolution the Board adopted the same night it overrode the recommendation.[153]

March 18 was near-consensus over the recommendation of the county's own land use body, and the record contains no sustained board engagement with why the commission said no. A reader who knows only the 7–2 tally will take the board to have been ratifying professional advice. It was overriding it.

The commission made a second recommendation, and that one the board followed. If the amendments were to be adopted over its objection, the commission advised, the grandfathering resolution should take effect "as of the Board public hearing date."[153] The Board public hearing was February 12, 2025. That is the cutoff the board adopted, that is the cutoff Kershner moved unsuccessfully to shift, and it is the date on which the entire grandfathering fight turns.

So the commission lost the vote it cared about and won the one nobody attributed to it. No supervisor cited the commission as the source of the February 12 date at any point in the evening.

The chair frames the item and disclaims her own motion

Randall opened the item by explaining, unusually for a business meeting, that staff would give the full presentation because "there's so much going on and there's so much misinformation."[154] She then said she would put the base motion on the table herself "to start the conversation," and disclaimed it as she did so:

> "I'm moving these motions because I'm the chair of the county and we got to start somewhere. Not because I may or may not support the motion."[155]

The instrument the board spent the rest of the evening amending was introduced by a member who declined to say she supported it.

She also gave the evening's most concrete gloss on the 500-foot residential buffer, which staff had derived and no member had interrogated:

> "If you imagine that you can walk that way and walk through walls, at 500 feet you hit Fireworks Pizza. That's exactly 500 feet from this dais. That's very close for a data center to me… I was really close to making a motion to go further than 500 feet, to be honest."[156]

And, on where the number came from:

> "Any distance we choose can be said to be arbitrary. We have to choose a distance. Five hundred feet makes sense, 750 makes sense… 492 doesn't make that much sense to me, but any distance we choose is a distance we choose, and that's a decision of the board."[157]

Nine dispositions

Time	Question	Outcome
[05:24:04]	Briskman: strike all administrative grandfathering	Fails 5–4[158]
[05:35:46]	Letourneau: extend the 500-foot cure to three further applications	Passes 8–1[159]
[05:38:31]	Turner's red-line package	Accepted as friendly, no vote[160]
[05:53:51]	Kershner: move the cutoff from February 12 to March 18	Fails 7–2[161]
[06:00:32]	Grandfathering Resolution as amended	Passes 5–4[162]
[06:19:34]	TeKrony: table footnote 3 to Phase Two	Passes on a voice vote, no tally[163]
[06:32:05]	Umstattd: downgrade data centers in the urban employment place type	Fails 4–4–1[164]
[06:53:43]	CPAM-2024-0001 and ZOAM-2024-0001	Passes 7–2[165]
[07:03:04]	Zebra East data center	Passes 6–3[166]

Nine dispositions inside one hour and thirty-nine minutes, at the close of an item that ran two and a half hours from the staff presentation. Eight went to a vote. The ninth, Turner's red-line package, was accepted as a friendly amendment and never put to one. Of the eight votes, seven produced an announced numeric tally and the tabling of footnote 3 produced none.

Six of the nine carry names, because the chair read out the minority, or on the 8–1 the single dissenter. The tabling, the 4–4–1 and the friendly amendment carry none, and none is reconstructed from the recording here.

The count, at the decisive moment

The instability documented in Part Two reaches its most consequential point here, in the twenty minutes before the board first voted.

Four sets of numbers circulate, and they do not circulate in one exchange. Staff presents a chart: three administrative applications inside the 500-foot residential buffer and nineteen outside, four with prior legislative approval inside and five outside. At [05:08:33] Briskman says 22, and "about 61 million square feet," adding that the county's economic development office "doesn't think that they will develop all 61 million square feet, but that's what they would be approved for."[167] Ninety seconds later TeKrony says "And I believe there's actually 24."[168] Nine minutes and an unrelated quarrel after that, Turner says 21, accepts 22 from the floor,[169] and staff answers that "there are 24 that are outside of that."[170]

Three supervisors use three numbers across two denominators in eleven minutes and nobody on the dais stops to define them. The two-bucket correction quoted in Part Two comes from the County Attorney answering a request for legal advice: nine of the thirty-one administrative applications had come after a prior legislative approval and the other twenty-two had not. It does not change anyone's subsequent usage.

The 500-foot standard applies only to the administrative track, because legislative applications come to the board regardless.[171] And Briskman states the vested-rights predicate plainly: applicants "don't have vested interests until they have an approved site plan… That's the vested interest line. So we are not required to grandfather by any stretch of the imagination."[172]

Briskman's motion, and the argument it produced

Briskman moved to strike the administrative grandfathering provisions entirely. Her ground, stated in her closing after the debate below instead of in opening it, was that the county was under no obligation to grandfather anything.[173]

TeKrony supported it, drawing the distinction that organizes the whole debate: legislative applications yes, administrative no.[174] Letourneau opposed it and used the occasion to thank Turner: "I will support the base resolution on this, and I'd like to thank Mr. Turner in particular who did a lot of work to get to this." The chair interjected, "Absolutely did."[175]

Kershner opposed in terms that drew a rebuke. He characterized the motion as a "property rights snatch" and as "anti-American," and linked it to the rate question.[176] Saines called that "way off base" and "inappropriate."[177]

Turner answered him directly.[178]

> "There's a lot of things happening in this country right now, this anti-American — this is not one of them."[179]
>
> "I think it will end us up in court, and I know some of my colleagues are itching to go to court. I'm not one of them. And if we did have to go to court, I want to win."[180]

He placed himself "almost in the center of these discussions."[181]

He then said on the record that he would vote no on the motion.[182] Four minutes later, announcing its failure, the chair named him among the four in favor.[158] One of the two is wrong. The chair audibly loses the count while announcing it, stopping to ask Glass how she voted. The tally of 5–4 is reliable and the roster is not, and Appendix B records the conflict unresolved.

The 500-foot cure

The two-bucket exchange has a procedural consequence. Four administrative applications with prior legislative approval sat inside the 500-foot buffer, and three without it sat inside as well. The board had to decide what to do about the applications the buffer rule would catch.

A new Paragraph 3 was drafted to give the first four a cure path rather than an outright bar. Turner supplied the language and Briskman read it into the record, a distinction the transcript alone could not make and the video settled; the chair thanked Turner twice for "helping with that."[183]

Letourneau then moved to extend the identical relief to the three administrative applications without prior legislative approval. That passed 8–1, Briskman dissenting because she had wanted a straight 500-foot standard and not a curable one.[159]

The board thus spent the middle of its evening widening the exemption it had spent the first part of the evening narrowing, and did so nearly unanimously.

Turner's red-line package

Offered as a friendly and accepted without a vote, the package narrowed the definition of "substantial modification" in four ways. A floor-area increase would count only if it exceeded the district maximum. Height likewise. A setback decrease would count only if it fell below the district minimum. And subparagraphs (d) and (e) were struck for legislative applications, on the stated ground that "these are legislative applications. We're going to see them anyway."[160]

Three triggers converted from absolute to relative, two use-change triggers struck. The member who wrote them voted against the instrument carrying them twenty-three minutes later.

A Prologis representative asked in public comment at [01:21:08] that footnotes 7d and 7e be deleted from what qualifies as a substantive modification for legislative applications.[184] Turner struck exactly d and e at [05:37:58], four hours and sixteen minutes later.[160] The transcript does not connect them and he does not cite the speaker.

The cutoff date survives a challenge

Kershner moved to shift the grandfathering cutoff from February 12 to March 18, which would have swept in every application filed in the intervening five weeks. It failed 7–2, only Umstattd joining him.[161]

His argument was that the earlier date drew the line in the wrong place: "by choosing the February date we are picking winners and losers."[185] The chair's rebuttal names the mechanism plainly:

> "What you're actually doing now is creating winners and losers, because you actually know who's coming after this… The February date was put out there. Everyone knew it."[186]

Turner did not speak on this motion and voted with the majority to keep February 12, the same date he had moved on March 4 and would vote against carrying four minutes later.

The grandfathering resolution: 5–4

The resolution determining which applications the new rules would reach carried 5–4, with Glass, TeKrony, Turner and Briskman opposed.[162]

The chair could not count it by ear. The announcement of the tally is preceded by "I don't know what that count was — if you aye, please raise your hand."[187] After the hands went up she announced the result and named the four members opposed.

Footnote 3, tabled without a tally

TeKrony moved to table footnote 3, the 5 percent administrative expansion allowance, to Phase Two at [06:19:34]. It passed on a voice vote with no tally announced.[163] Part Twelve describes what survived into the adopted ordinance because of that motion, and what happened to it six months later, which is nothing. The board disposed of its most contested loose end without recording how anyone voted.

Before tabling it, TeKrony itemized what the 5 percent buys, using a football-field comparison and applied examples from Belmont and Zebra East.[188] Briskman and Kershner then debated narrowing it to building-footprint expansion only. Turner proposed 2 percent as a compromise. Kershner called the provision "almost like a poison pill," said the board was "making this decision on the fly," and called it "a disaster waiting to happen."[189] The chair's assessment was blunter:

> "This is really a random number that I agree with, but me agreeing with it doesn't make it any less random."[190]

None of it produced a vote on the merits.

Umstattd's place-type motion

Umstattd moved to downgrade data centers from a core to a conditional use in the urban employment place type and to direct a Phase Two study. It failed 4–4–1, and the chair announced no roster.[164] Letourneau supported it, citing that 82 percent of the place type was already dedicated to data centers and substations.[191] Glass opposed, on the ground that a place type filled with data centers is "just going to be a failing metro station."[192]

Turner opposed it at length, and his reasoning sets out how he understands the market:

> "We all know that every piece of land is going to be a data center application… data centers will and can buy a plan faster than anybody, any day of the week, all the time. What's going to happen is the data center is going to buy it, and then they're going to get far down the road, and then people are going to be talking about how much money they've spent, and in the end we're going to be voting on the data center here."[193]

His objection was that a conditional-use designation would not stop data centers from winning every parcel, and that only an outright exclusion would. He voted against the half-measure and did not move the whole one. "I almost want to say — and I didn't put a motion together — so I'm going to vote against this and hope it doesn't pass."[193]

The closing round, and the ordinance: 7–2

Eight of the nine members are characterized here, seven in this paragraph and the chair below. Saines spoke earlier in the evening; no closing statement is attributable to him in this undiarized transcript, and absence from it is not absence from the room. Kershner against, calling the result "zoning roulette." Umstattd against. TeKrony for, with reservations about fiscal over-reliance. Letourneau for, with reservations about Phase Two priorities. Briskman for, and explicit about why she

had voted the other way forty-five minutes earlier: "I am disappointed with the grandfathering. That's why I voted against it."[194] Glass for. Turner thanked staff and gave no reason for his votes.[195]

The chair closed. The passage is the county's own account of why it acted:

> "This was the '95 ordinance, the 2003 revise, before anybody on this dais was up here… no one could have known what this was going to become, and so when you make data centers an office use, you don't know what's about to happen. And so I don't blame them, but at the same time there are some things that need to be corrected.
>
> "When I first came on, I would call people and say, this is what it does for your tax rate, how much it lowers it, and somebody would say, oh, I didn't know that. Now I say this is what it does for your tax rate and they say, I don't care. I have people say, I will pay more, stop building these. At some point we just cannot ignore the voice of the people.
>
> "No one can say that a county that has the vast majority of the world's data centers is not friendly to data centers… We have been very, very data-center-friendly and very, very data-center-accommodating, and that's fine. But that doesn't mean that we can't at some point say, yeah, but this is enough. The entire data center industry does not have to be located in Loudoun County, Virginia. It just doesn't."[196]

Earlier the same evening she had put the county's grievance more sharply: "The board wasn't the one that … broke that handshake agreement. It was the data centers that broke that handshake agreement."[197] The transcript renders the second sentence "It was the data center broke that handshake agreement"; the plural and the connecting word are this study's, under the cleanup category Appendix B declares. The "'95" above is the 1993 ordinance, misdated from the dais. The transcript renders the segment "95 revise was 2003," and the quotation as printed reconstructs it; the misdating is what survives the reconstruction, and the reconstruction is this study's.

The zoning ordinance amendment and the accompanying comprehensive plan amendment then carried 7–2, Umstattd and Kershner opposed.[165] After thirty-two years, the ordinance adopted in 1993 no longer entitled an applicant with correctly zoned land to build a data center without the board's consent, outside the Route 28 Highway Transportation Improvement District, where a state statute the board did not discuss preserves that entitlement until 2037, on the reading of that statute Part One sets out and no court has construed. Part Thirteen sets out the exception, which reaches more than half the county's built data center square footage. Nobody in the room on March 18 stated it, and nothing in the March 18 record establishes whether anybody in the room knew it.

That is the vote in the headlines, and it is the vote the county's own subsequent materials cite. On its own it describes a consensus reform.

Zebra East, and a second unexplained no

Eight minutes later the board approved an individual data center. Zebra East passed 6–3, with TeKrony, Briskman and Turner opposed.[198] TeKrony gave her reasons on the record: she did not believe the Lockridge Road connection the applicant would fund was needed, citing Shellhorn Road as an adequate alternative and questioning two planned crossings of the Broad Run; and she objected that the proffers carried no water-conservation and no Tier IV generator commitments. Transmission lines are not among her reasons; she does not mention them anywhere in the passage cited here.[199] The chair gave hers for voting yes:

> "These new ones, they don't use the water that used to be. The water usage is not nearly what they used to be. If they were, I'd be saying no to a lot of data centers."[200]

Turner said nothing about his vote. That is his second unexplained no of the evening, a pattern in the night and not a single anomaly, and no motive is reconstructed here for either.

Two coalitions, not three

Vote	Result	In the minority
Zoning ordinance and comprehensive plan amendment	7–2	Umstattd, Kershner
Grandfathering resolution	5–4	Glass, TeKrony, Turner, Briskman
Zebra East data center	6–3	TeKrony, Briskman, Turner

The ordinance minority is disjoint from both of the others, sharing not one member with either. The grandfathering and Zebra East minorities are nearly identical, differing only in that Glass appears in the first and not the second. The board that agreed on the reform split almost exactly in half on its reach, and the halves do not correspond.

Two coalitions, then, not three. One consists of the members who opposed ending by-right development. The other consists of the members who supported ending it and thought the county had not gone far enough, the same four people minus one, voting no on the exemption and no again on the individual approval that followed.

Any account treating March 18 as a consensus reform is describing the 7–2 and ignoring the 5–4. Any account describing it as a bloc vote is describing something

that did not happen. And the 6–3 is not a third, independent grouping; it is the second one again, one member short.

A phantom conflict, resolved

The public record on the grandfathering vote carried two irreconcilable accounts for over a year. A local outlet reported 5–3 with Turner sponsoring the motion and the chair absent.[201] County staff, correcting their own report at a committee meeting four months later, gave 5–4 with Briskman, Glass, TeKrony and Turner opposed.[202]

Both accounts are accurate. They describe different votes two weeks apart.

On March 4, 2025 the board endorsed the February 12 cutoff date on a motion Turner introduced, with the chair absent. That is the outlet's vote, and its tally is uncertain. The chair's announcement is audibly self-correcting: "six two," then "five three," then a trailing "five three five three one one," before naming Glass, Briskman and TeKrony as the noes. The closed-session certification minutes earlier passed 8–0–1 with the chair off the dais, which puts eight members in the room. Five ayes plus three noes accounts for all eight, leaving no seat for an abstention, and the trailing "one one" may be a stutter. The vote is reported here as 5–3 among the eight present, which is the only tally the recording supports; the abstention an earlier draft reported is withdrawn, and the figure stands open against the adopted minutes.[203]

On March 18, 2025 the board adopted the final grandfathering resolution 5–4, with Turner opposed and no absences. That is the staff recollection, and it is correct as to the operative vote.

Researchers working from press coverage alone will hit this wall.

The reversal, written as an absence

Turner introduced the grandfathering date on March 4 and voted against the resolution carrying it on March 18. He gave no reason.

The absence is not a gap in the search. The full 4,923-line March 18 transcript was swept twice, independently, and the entire item was read continuously from the staff presentation through the final data center vote of the evening, roughly two and a half hours of proceedings. There is no explanation before the vote, none after it, and none in the ordinance debate that followed. He never refers to having moved the February 12 cutoff two weeks earlier. He never says he has changed position. That negative is bounded to the March 18 recording; whether he explained the vote at some later meeting is outside the search.

The absence is not an artifact of the meeting's format either. Briskman used the same format to explain her own no in a single sentence, in the closing round quoted above.[194]

And everything he said that night points the other way. He argued against stripping administrative grandfathering because it would end the county in court. He drafted the resolution's new Paragraph 3 and was thanked twice for it from the chair. He wrote the red-line package the board accepted as friendly, converting three triggers from absolute to relative and striking two use-change triggers. Then he voted against the instrument carrying his own edits.

The one tell is not a reason. Shortly before the vote he said:

> "Finally, I have absolutely no idea where [whether] this grandfathering resolution is going to pass. I haven't whipped the vote and I don't know whether it's going to pass or not. However, this language tightens up the language to make it a better grandfathering resolution *if in fact it passes*."[204]

Vote-count uncertainty and conditional improvement, from a member detached from the outcome of an instrument he had just spent the evening improving. It is not a stated reason.

What "diligently pursued" actually says

The phrase appears twice in the March 18 transcript and four times in the March 4 transcript, and every one of those six occurrences sits inside motion or resolution text being read into the record: "diligently pursued to approval without major modification" for the administrative track, "diligently pursued approval without substantial modification" for the legislative track.[205] At neither meeting did a supervisor ask what it means, who determines it, or what evidence satisfies it, and staff never explained it on the floor. That negative is bounded to those two transcripts.

The standard itself was not undefined. The signed Grandfathering Resolution defines it at Paragraph 10, with a working compliance clock: six-month resubmission deadlines on both tracks, and a three-year outer limit on the administrative track only. "Substantial modification" is defined at Paragraphs 8 and 9, separately for the legislative and administrative tracks.[206]

The board adopted a precise standard, with dates in it, that nobody on the dais discussed.

What the evening produced

An ordinance adopted 7–2 over the county Planning Commission's recommendation of denial. A grandfathering rule carried by one vote, on a count that had moved from 36 to 50 to 21 to 31 across fifteen weeks and was corrected on the floor by the County Attorney and not by anyone who had used it. A precisely drafted compliance standard, with dates in it, that no supervisor discussed at either meeting where its language was read into the record. A 5 percent expansion allowance the chair called a random number, tabled on a voice vote with no tally recorded and never taken up again. A motion to downgrade data centers in the one place type where the county had already given them and their substations 82 percent of the land, defeated 4–4–1 by members who agreed the downgrade would not work and did not propose the exclusion that would.

And Turner, who moved the denial at Belmont, drafted the operative paragraph here, wrote the red-lines the board accepted as friendly, was thanked twice by name, and then voted no on the grandfathering resolution and no again on Zebra East without explaining either.

The reform's reach was narrowed three times in one evening by the same board that was widening it, and none of the three narrowings was the one that mattered most, because the largest of them was never named in the room: more than half the county's built data center square footage lay outside the ordinance's reach entirely, on the reading of the highway-district statute Part One sets out and no court has construed.

PART TEN: GRANDFATHERED IS NOT BY-RIGHT

The single most likely error in a Loudoun report is treating grandfathering as a synonym for no review. The corpus contains the case that disproves it, and the case cuts against the argument a critic would want to make.

Innovation Gateway

Innovation Gateway came to the Planning Commission on February 8, 2024 as a work session. Case LEGI-2023-0027. It was grandfathered under the resolution accompanying the 2023 zoning ordinance rewrite and was therefore processed under the revised 1993 ordinance.

Grandfathering did not make it easy. The application still required a zoning map amendment, a special exception to raise floor-area ratio from 0.6 to 1.0, and ten separate zoning modifications.[207]*

The proposal: Fairfield Residential and BlackChamber Group, southeast of the Route 28 and Old Ox Road interchange. Staff put it at 10.74 acres for 425 multifamily units and 17.39 acres for 700,000 square feet of data center; the applicant's counsel called it roughly 29 acres, about a mile from the Innovation Gateway. Substations were proffered out entirely. Buildings at 110 feet, a figure that appears in the recording only when a commissioner recounts it in objection. A road credit reduced by staff's account to $5.2 million; staff gave two different percentages for the same credit in the same presentation, 37.5 and 34, and did not reconcile them.[208]*

The co-applicant's name and the site's position relative to the Route 28 interchange come from the written application; neither appears anywhere in the audio.

The observation that proffering substations out was unprecedented belongs to the applicant's attorney, not to a commissioner. "*There's no other case that I know of that is specifically proffered out of substation… I know of no other case that's proffered out of substation.*" That is counsel characterizing his own client's concession, and it carries the evidentiary weight of counsel doing that. No commissioner echoed it. The transcripts do not label speakers, and a statement's persuasive force depends on who is making it; Appendix C records a misattribution of the same class.[208]

Staff recommended denial on place-type grounds, in the sentence quoted in Part Seven. The commission recommended denial 5–2, two of its nine members being absent. The meeting was styled a work session by its own chair and then opened a public hearing on both agenda items, closed it, and turned to "the agenda items returning for action," which is how a meeting so labelled produced a recorded

recommendation. What a Loudoun Planning Commission work session may generally do is not established here; no rules of procedure were retrieved.[209]*

The most useful line in the file is complimentary, and comes from the presiding commissioner:

> "This is one of the nicest data centers we've ever seen in front of us, if not the nicest… once we do this, it's a several decade commitment."[210]*

The commissioner who moved denial put it more plainly: "So there's a lot of good things with this application. I just wish it was someplace else."[211]*

No member of the public testified in support.

This is not a case where grandfathering let a bad project through. The comprehensive plan disqualified the use. The commission voted it down. The staff report said no. Grandfathering bought the applicant a pathway, not an outcome.

What became of it

No vote by the Board of Supervisors on Innovation Gateway has been located in any source this study reached.

What happened at the July 10, 2024 public hearing is not established by any source this study has been able to reach. No recording of that meeting exists in this study's corpus, and two independent research passes searched for the disposition and found nothing in press, county or advocacy sources.[212]

Innovation Gateway does not appear in the advertised legal notice for the September 11, 2024 hearing as reproduced in this study's press and county-page sources, and no outlet located reports an approval, a denial, or a withdrawal at any point afterward. The county's own legal-notice archive was not searched directly. Whether the board postponed it, whether the applicant withdrew, and whether the file was administratively closed cannot be determined from public sources.

The case stalled. The comprehensive plan disqualified the use, the commission voted it down, no board vote appears in any source reached here, and the file went quiet. That is a real outcome, and it is how an entitlement system resolves cases it does not want to decide. A denial creates a record and a possible appeal. A postponement that is never taken up creates neither.

A caution about this case, and the case number that appeared not to exist

Innovation Gateway does not appear in the county's application database under any spelling. Searches on both applicant names, the acreages, the unit count, the square footage, and the corridor all return nothing.

An intermediate research pass reasoned from that absence, together with a gap in the case numbering sequence, that LEGI-2023-0027 did not exist, and the conclusion propagated across three documents before it was caught.

It was wrong. LEGI-2023-0027 is Innovation Gateway's case number, confirmed by two independent outlets. The gap in the numbering and the missing database record are the same gap, and it is a polygon artifact: the database layer is geometry-based and omits any application without mapped geometry.

Absence from that database is not evidence of nonexistence. The error is recorded here because it is the same error the county's own critics make with its counts, and because a study documenting a locality's information failures should be legible about its own.

Two live conflicts remain in the public record of this case. One outlet gives the February 8 tally as 5–2; another gives 5–2–1 with an abstention and assigns commissioners differently. And the project dimensions drift by source: 425 units and 700,000 square feet on 29 acres in February 2024 coverage; 300 affordable units and 700,000 square feet in July 2024 coverage; 342 units and 600,000 square feet on 26 acres in a third account. Every figure in this section is pinned to a dated source in the endnotes.

A regional outlet refers to Belmont Innovation Campus as "Belmont Innovation Gateway." That is a different applicant, a different district, and a different outcome from the case in this section. Anyone reconstructing this record from press coverage will encounter the collision.

Quantum Park, and the ordinance that would not die

On February 12, 2026 — eleven months after adoption — the Planning Commission processed a data center concept plan amendment under the ordinance the county had spent two years replacing.

Quantum Park is a zoning concept plan amendment, explicitly grandfathered under the revised 1993 ordinance. County staff stated on the record that data centers and substations are permitted on that property without any special exception.[213]* It was a work session with no public testimony. Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the county's own reform are never mentioned in the file.

The commission recommended approval 7–1–1, after building height was negotiated live on the dais from 75 feet down to 65.[214]* Three commissioners describe reversing from opposition to support on the strength of voluntary design concessions.

This is the informal-concession model working roughly as its defenders describe: an applicant, faced with an unhappy commission, gave up ten feet of height and got a recommendation. Nobody was coerced and nobody was deceived.

It is also discretionary, unenforceable as a standard, and available only because a commissioner happened to ask. The next applicant in the same posture faces a different commission on a different night, and nothing in the ordinance requires the same outcome. That is the argument for standards, and it is made better by a case where the informal process worked than by one where it failed.

What this chapter's cases show is the grandfathered pipeline still moving and the second phase still years from adoption. Part Eleven takes up what the new pathway itself has produced.

Three more cases, and the range they describe

The corpus carries at least five cases in which a grandfathered application was still reviewed, three more than the question needs, and together they show a range instead of a rule: the amount of leverage grandfathering leaves the county varies enormously, and the variation is procedural and not principled.

Luckstone Cochran Mill is the sharpest mechanical example, because grandfathered status is the stated reason a matter took the heavier track instead of the lighter one. Staff, on the record:

> "We've also included a reduction to the scenic creek valley buffer. Typically, under the revised 1993 zoning ordinance, that was done as an administrative modification. But due to the applicant's application's grandfathered status, we included it as a zoning modification so that there was certainty at the time of site plan."[215]

Grandfathering there produced *more* process, not less. Staff went on to identify a building height of 105 feet against a comprehensive plan anticipating roughly 48, buffer fragmentation, a layout staff said would "significantly impact stream channels and waterways," tree-conservation language inconsistent with the ordinance where it touched floodplain, and incomplete turn-lane warrant studies. Staff declined to recommend approval and asked that the application go to a work session.[216]

A commissioner on the height: "That's not enough. I don't like to see 105 feet tall. Actually, I don't want any one of them 105 feet."[217] The chair, on an unresolved

setback dispute: "There's a whole lot of head shaking going on. Clearly we have an issue that needs to get worked out because we can't even all agree on what we need to mitigate."[218] An advocacy speaker asked for outright denial.[219]

The Commission voted to defer rather than approve. The transcript renders the tally as "Motion carries 9 2 0," which is garbled and is arithmetically unanimous.[220] The corpus does not contain the later disposition.

Hiddenwood Assemblage is the case where the Commission went against its own staff. It is grandfathered under the revised 1993 ordinance, confirmed from the dais at a pre-briefing held the same night as the Innovation Gateway denial.[221] Commissioners were skeptical there too: "why would we entertain a rezoning like this?"[222] And a supervisor previewing it at the board a week before the public hearing put it as high as it goes:

> "This is a truly challenging situation. It is honestly the most challenging land use case I think I've seen since I've been on the board."[223]*

County staff recommended denial, citing incompatibility with the 2019 plan's Suburban Neighborhood place type. The Planning Commission then voted 4–3 to recommend approval with conditions, per press accounts: reduced building height, increased setbacks, limits on mechanical equipment testing written into proffers, additional landscaping and site-design commitments. This corpus's own transcripts do not cover that vote, and the tally is reported at the strength press reporting supports.[224]

A grandfathered application drew a staff denial recommendation, a split commission, and a substantively renegotiated proffer package. Whatever grandfathering did there, it did not remove review.

The DeMos substation is the counter-case, and it belongs here for exactly that reason. Later on the same night as Quantum Park, staff stated the doctrine again in unambiguous terms:

> "By way of reminder, the active site plan application under staff review for the site is grandfathered to the revised '93 zoning ordinance, which did not require a special exception for the major utility use. So the application is not accompanied by a special exception."[225]*

Here the grandfathered posture left the Commission with almost no leverage at all. A straw poll on extending a fence went nowhere, because as staff explained, "this is a commission permit. So you're voting on it and it becomes static… there's no special exception with it."[226] A commissioner's summary of the trade available: "a 16-foot fence is a whole lot less expensive than a GIS substation."[227]*

The doctrine has a range. At one end, a forty-six-second negotiation that took ten feet off a building. At the other, a commission permit with nothing to negotiate. In between, a heavier procedural track, a staff denial recommendation overridden 4–3, and a unanimous deferral.

What determines where a case lands has little to do with how much the county dislikes it. The deciding factor is which instrument the application happens to require, which follows from when it was filed and under which ordinance. Grandfathering operates as a procedural accident of filing date rather than as a level of scrutiny, and the county's leverage is whatever that accident happens to carry.

PART ELEVEN: THE POST-CUTOFF DOCKET

Sixteen months after the reform, the new pathway had produced twenty-four applications and one public hearing.

The docket

Legislative applications concerning data centers, substations, storage, or generation filed after the February 12, 2025 cutoff number **twenty-four**, running from March 3, 2025 through July 14, 2026.[228] The full docket, by filing date:

Case	Application	Filed
LEGI-2024-0074	Spring Valley Technology Park	2025-03-03
LEGI-2025-0007	Tech Park at Dulles (substation, commission permit, buffer modification)	2025-04-17
LEGI-2025-0015	SDC Ashburn I	2025-05-05
LEGI-2025-0010	Barrister Substation	2025-06-04
LEGI-2025-0012	Golden Substation	2025-06-04
LEGI-2025-0020	Tuscarora Crossing Land Bay 4	2025-06-13
LEGI-2024-0071	Digital Realty, Western Lands	2025-06-26
LEGI-2025-0027	Equinix Ashburn North	2025-07-25
LEGI-2025-0032	Berwick Energy Center	2025-08-07
LEGI-2025-0035	Loudoun County ADC Phase III Expansion	2025-08-13
LEGI-2024-0047	Equinix Ashburn East	2025-08-26
LEGI-2025-0033	Ashburn North Substation	2025-09-10
LEGI-2025-0053	Dulles North Technology Park	2025-10-31
LEGI-2025-0049	Yondr, Tarring	2025-11-10
LEGI-2025-0038	Firehouse Substation	2025-11-13
LEGI-2025-0059	Digital Dulles, Electric Generating Facility	2025-12-02
LEGI-2025-0050	Twin Creeks Substation	2025-12-16
LEGI-2025-0040	Lunar and Apollo Substation	2026-01-07
LEGI-2025-0068	Sterling Substation	2026-01-20
LEGI-2026-0011	Spoonbill Energy Storage	2026-04-17
LEGI-2026-0012	Fractus-Lenticular Substations	2026-04-30
LEGI-2026-0019	Relocation Drive Data Center	2026-06-26
LEGI-2026-0025	Thayer Road Substation	2026-06-26
LEGI-2026-0029	Auto World BESS	2026-07-14

The docket is mostly not data centers. Thirteen of the twenty-four are named for power infrastructure outright: nine substations, an energy center, an electric generating facility, an energy storage project and a battery storage project. Two more carry substation components inside broader applications, including one seeking five of them. The fifteen is a floor: Spring Valley's own application description carries three utility substations and a battery storage system, and it is counted here as a data center application. Fifteen of twenty-four, roughly five

applications in eight, concern the delivery or generation of electricity and not the buildings that consume it.

Applicants did not lose interest. Two dozen filings in sixteen months is a healthy rate. The bottleneck is not applicant appetite. One of the twenty-four has reached a public hearing. One, SDC Ashburn I, is recorded as approved.

Two entries earn separate treatment. Digital Realty's Western Lands application seeks five new substations plus removal of one substation's nonconforming status across 447.61 acres of general industry land. Digital Dulles has applied for an on-site electric generating facility.[228] Set both against the chair's statement, examined in Part Six, that the board is not legally allowed to make decisions on power. These two applications are the largest single block of power decisions on the docket.

The county's application database assigns case numbers at intake rather than at filing, which is why the largest application on this docket carries a 2024 case number against a 2025 filing date. Any grandfathering analysis keyed to case-number year is wrong, and that is precisely why the county's own cutoff test used application date rather than case number.

Spring Valley

Spring Valley is the hearing.

Eight applications under parent case LEGI-2024-0074, filed March 3, 2025: a rezoning from TR-10 to IP, three major utility substations, one utility-scale energy storage use, and three minor special exceptions.[229] Three of the eight arrived between October 2025 and May 2026, after commission review was already underway. The case grew while it was being reviewed.

The figures here come from the application and not from the testimony. The county's own figure is 3.5 million square feet; staff described the package at the hearing as twelve data centers totaling 3,250,000 square feet. Two outlets reported 3.25 million and 3.54 million. Acreage is 325 in the staff report and 362 from multiple speakers, and the applicant clarified at the hearing that a separate 35-acre parcel is not part of the application. Both acreage figures are defensible and they measure different things; the staff figure is the one used here.

The July 23, 2026 hearing gives the chapter its public record: the Transition Policy Area conflict, a cumulative-impact argument pairing Spring Valley with an adjacent case, and sustained noise and water objections. It also produced the largest turnout in the corpus. Staff counted 188 public comments as of 5 p.m., of which 166 opposed,

15 were neutral, and 7 supported.[230] That count is time-stamped and part of the staff record.

Five different turnout counts were spoken from the dais over five hours. Nine seconds before the vote a commissioner gave 183 emails and 68 registered speakers and disclaimed the numbers in the same breath — "*I think that's a record. We got to still validate it.*" Earlier in the evening another count ran "more than 150 emails," "60 plus people signing up," and "out of 160 emails we got 150 of them opposing."

The Planning Commission recommended denial, 6-0-3.[231]* The motion covered the parent case and the five subordinate applications read into the record that night, the later three being known from the application record rather than from the hearing, and adopted the findings in the staff report's first attachment. Three commissioners were absent.

Five separate votes in that one meeting were 6-0-3, and only the last, at [05:14:05], recommends denial of Spring Valley. Two of the others referred different items to work session, and the remaining two are not identified here. One of the five is rendered numerically and not spelled out, which is why a text search of the transcript finds four. Any researcher cross-referencing "the 6-0-3 vote" from a press account has a one-in-five chance of attaching the right disposition. One outlet's reported tally matches the denial; another reports a 5–0 that matches no vote in the file.

The word "grandfather" appears zero times in the entire file, and no commissioner states whether the 2025 reform applies to Spring Valley.

Nobody cites the governing ordinance provisions by number. Staff describe the request functionally: "the applicant is requesting minor special exceptions to modify use specific standards for data centers and specifically those that are related to proximity to residential uses."[232]* An advocacy speaker itemizes them as "modifications to reduce setbacks, eliminate buffers, and allow mechanical equipment next to residential uses."[233]* Neither the data center standards section, nor the special exception review section, nor the minor special exception subsection is named by number by anyone present. Part Twelve is about why that matters.

A commissioner made the oversaturation argument from the dais that night, on data center development squeezing land values and crowding out both other commercial uses and affordable housing.[234]*

Three public speakers gave county-wide totals not used here: roughly 300 built plus 40 million square feet in the pipeline; 250-plus built plus 100 approved; "over 200 permits." The three are mutually inconsistent and none is sourced.

Cochran Tech, and the only load figure an applicant gives in the case-hearing transcripts

Spring Valley was the second data center item that night. Cochran Tech was the first, opening two hours and twenty minutes earlier on the same recording, and it does not belong to the post-cutoff docket at all. It is LEGI-2024-0037, a pre-cutoff application the Board remanded to the commission in May 2026, and it appears here for the exchange it produced, the clearest account in this study's transcripts of how power actually gets approved in Loudoun under either regime.[235]

Seventeen and a half acres east of Cochran Mill Road, zoned for joint land management. The Planning Commission had already forwarded it once with a recommendation of approval. The Board of Supervisors remanded it in May 2026, sending it back to the commission because the application had changed substantially, and changed "just a few days before the business meeting."[235] The Board had denied it before that. Staff put the whole sequence on the record in one line: denied, then reconsidered, then remanded on May 5. A Piedmont Environmental Council speaker on the item dated that denial to April and counted the board's vote against the commission's earlier recommendation of approval. No tally is printed here, because that speaker's count is the only account of the vote in this study's transcripts.[235]

Its problems are the volume's subjects in miniature. The proposed building height was 70 feet where the area anticipates 48, and the applicant proposed to lower the building footprint and the grading by about 20 feet to close the gap. The proposed energy storage facility sat within a third of a mile of two identified historic resources, which the zoning ordinance prohibits. That prohibition did not survive the hearing as a live defect. The applicant withdrew the battery storage request, "because after the board hearing staff alerted us that there would need to be an additional request to do that battery storage," and told the commission that staff had refused a condition preserving the option: "staff was uncomfortable and said they could not make that commitment to a future one. And so, to stay on time, we said we would remove it." Two commissioners objected to the withdrawal on the record, preferring the storage to what its absence implies: "what it's going to lead to [is] the diesel generators and stuff."[235]

The exchange happened because one commissioner kept asking.

Asked what the plan was for powering the site, the applicant's team described one. Substations "already planned for in the Dominion pipeline" could accommodate the project, so no additional transmission or substation infrastructure was being sought. The infrastructure planned for the Belmont Innovation and Twin Creeks campuses had been worked out "in sync with Dominion and that's in their adopted plan." The

substation applications themselves would follow: "Obviously [we] will be in for the substation applications in the future, but [it] has been planned as far as getting transmission capacity here in the next five to seven years to be able to accommodate this project."[235]

The commissioner asked whether those substations existed. They were "in the construction pipeline for Dominion."

Whether the county had approved them, by special exception or commission permit: "Uh, no."

What the backup plan was if they were not approved: "That would be pretty detrimental to existing campuses that were already previously approved by the county."

Pressed again, specifically about this building: "If infrastructure is not approved for data centers, I think there's obviously… it's extremely financially impactful to the county and to the property owners and to the developers."

Pressed a third time on how land that is not data center land is to be powered: "So again, the power for this application is coming from substations that are in the construction pipeline to serve already-approved data center campuses."[235]

Seven questions in under two minutes, and the plan never gets past the substations. The applicant conceded the county had not approved the substations and placed the substation applications themselves in the future, on a transmission schedule of five to seven years. Asked what happens if the approvals do not come, the answer was consequences for third parties instead of an alternative. The substations serving this application are the same ones the docket table above shows arriving one at a time as separate applications, each reviewed on its own merits, none evaluated against the campuses it exists to serve. A Twin Creeks Substation sits on that table as LEGI-2025-0050, filed December 16, 2025, and a substation of that name is among the nine new Dominion substations the county's own commissioned study identifies in the State Corporation Commission cases.

Asked whether the pipeline had capacity for another data center, the applicant gave a number: "This is one 72 megawatt building. So we're not talking about a massive campus here. We're talking about [a] 72 megawatt building."[235]

That is the only megawatt figure any applicant, staff member or commissioner gives for a data center application in the four transcripts covered by this study's case-hearing extraction: the February 8, 2024 Innovation Gateway work session, the February 12, 2026 Quantum Park work session, the July 23, 2026 Planning Commission public hearing, and the July 6, 2026 town hall. Two other power figures

appear in those four files and both come from members of the public. A resident speaking on Spring Valley gives 425 megawatts for Spoonbill Energy Storage, the utility-scale storage application filed April 17, 2026 that sits on this Part's docket table as LEGI-2026-0011, and a town hall speaker gives a countywide 5.33 gigawatts. Neither figure is given for a data center application, and neither comes from an applicant, a staff member or a commissioner. Spring Valley, at twelve buildings, 3.25 million square feet on staff's own description and three substations, is given no megawatt figure anywhere in that file by staff, by the applicant, or by any commissioner. No claim is made here about the other twelve meetings in Appendix A.

A figure for Spring Valley exists off the hearing record. The compiled third-party dataset described in Part Two carries the application at 1,300 megawatts, roughly a third of that dataset's entire recorded megawatt sum, on a basis the dataset does not state. It is a private compilation's number and not the county's, and it appears nowhere in the July 23 file.[23][235]

A county that did not state the load of the largest application on its docket is deciding about power in the sense Part Six describes: one special exception at a time, without a framework, and without the unit of measurement that would let anyone add them up.

Cochran Tech was not decided that night. A motion to forward it to the board with a recommendation of denial was made and seconded, then collapsed on a question from the dais: "Do we have any findings? Are there any findings for denial? I don't see any [in the] report." The answer was "There are no findings for denial at this time. No." The offer that followed was to write them on the spot: "Mr. Chair, if you recess for about 10 minutes or so, we can write those findings for denial for you." A commissioner moved a substitute instead, sending the application to a future Planning Commission work session on the ground that "we have no findings that any of us have seen for denial." The substitute carried. No tally is printed here, because the transcript's announcement of that vote is garbled.[235]

Three hours and thirty minutes later on the single recording clock, from the call for the vote on the Cochran Tech substitute at [01:43:52] to the chair taking up the Spring Valley motion at [05:13:55], the same commission recommended denial of Spring Valley, adopting findings staff had prepared in advance and attached to the staff report. A commissioner said so at that hearing: "We did ask staff to go ahead and prepare, so that we'd be ready for it, and it is in our packet. We have findings done for a denial for tonight." The variable separating the two dispositions inside one five-hour meeting was whether staff had written the findings before the hearing. An application staff could support, pending resolution of its outstanding issues, was

nearly forwarded for denial and went to a work session instead, because the paperwork for denying it did not exist.[235]

Yondr–Tarring

LEGI-2025-0049, filed November 10, 2025, post-cutoff, in review as of this document's snapshot. It carries a data center special exception in a general industry district plus five minor special exceptions: eliminate berm and fencing along a residential lane, reduce structure setback from 200 feet to 100, eliminate the building height requirement within 400 feet of residential, eliminate the required step-back within 400 feet of residential, and eliminate the Type C buffer.[236]

Four of the five strip protections that apply precisely because the site sits near houses. The verb the county's own case record uses, four times, is *eliminate*.

If those standards can be waived through the lighter pathway, the March 2025 reform binds materially less than the March 18 debate assumed.

What sixteen months of the new regime looks like

Read together, the docket describes a regime that has changed the pathway and not yet demonstrated that the pathway constrains anything.

Twenty-four applications entered it. One reached a public hearing, and that hearing produced a recommendation of denial that the Board of Supervisors had not acted on as of the volume's snapshot date. One application was approved. The other twenty-two are in review, which after sixteen months is a fact about throughput and not about outcomes.

The composition matters as much as the count. A reform written to give the board a say over data centers has produced a docket in which the majority of filings are the electrical infrastructure that data centers require, filed separately, reviewed separately, and each individually defensible on its own terms. Nothing in the ordinance requires a substation application to be evaluated against the campus it will serve. Part Six's account of the county's stated position on power and Part Twelve's account of the standards regime meet here, in a queue of substation applications arriving one at a time at a board that has said it cannot decide about power.

And the standards themselves are already under direct attack through the pathway the ordinance left open. Yondr–Tarring is the test case. It was filed eight months into the new regime by an applicant who read the ordinance carefully.

PART TWELVE: THE MINOR SPECIAL EXCEPTION

The reform made the special exception mandatory on the land it reaches. It did not make the standards fixed. Part Thirteen sets out why it does not reach the Route 28 district at all, which holds more than half the county's built data center square footage, on a reading of the governing statute no court has construed; this chapter concerns the remainder.

The architecture

Chapter 10 of Loudoun's zoning ordinance is titled "Procedures." Section 10.11 is Special Exception Review, subdivided into §10.11.01 Special Exception and §10.11.02 Minor Special Exception.[237]

That structure matters because the administrative minor-change authority at §10.11.01(H) sits inside the full *Special Exception* procedure rather than the minor one, which changes what footnote 3 of the adopted amendment was doing when it extended that latitude to administrative applications.

The minor special exception is decided by the Board of Supervisors, after a public hearing, with 21-day placard notice and mailed notice to adjoining owners under §10.01.G.[238] It is not administrative, whatever the name suggests, and it differs from a full special exception in exactly one respect: it omits the mandatory Planning Commission hearing. A residential-proximity standard is not something staff can waive.

The enabling change came in the 2023 zoning ordinance rewrite and not in the 2025 reform. The rewrite's own published change highlights state that it "clarifies that Use-Specific Standards in Chapter 4 are modifiable by minor special exception."[239] The 2025 amendment did not touch this; use-specific standards were deferred to the second phase.

The drafting choice

Scope is governed by a default-on rule at §4.01.A: "The use specific standards of this section may be modified by Minor Special Exception pursuant to Section 10.11, unless otherwise specified."[240] There is no general percentage cap.

The operative words are *unless otherwise specified*, and the county specified elsewhere.

Explicit opt-out clauses, provisions the county wanted immune from modification by minor special exception, appear at §4.03.05.B.1, §4.04.10.A, and §4.04.12.B. All three were retrieved verbatim.[241]

The drafters used two different formulations, and neither appears in the data center standards. §4.03.05.B.1 reads "Notwithstanding Section 4.01.A., this Section 4.03.05.B.1. and Sections… cannot be modified by Minor Special Exception." §4.04.10.A and §4.04.12.B use a different construction: "not modifiable pursuant to Section 4.01.A." A search of §4.06.02 for either formulation returns nothing.[241]

If the county had one boilerplate exemption clause and simply omitted it once, the omission might be inadvertence. It has two, drafted differently, deployed in three places. The drafters knew how to write an exemption in more than one way and did not write one here.

The Data Center standards at §4.06.02 contain none of them, on the part of that section retrieved verbatim; note 242 records that the retrieval was in relevant part and not the complete section.[242]

Every one of Yondr–Tarring's five waivers is facially available, and it is available because of a drafting choice the board made and could unmake. Yondr–Tarring is using the procedure as written, which is the harder fact to answer than a loophole would be.

The retrieved §4.06.02 is the December 13, 2023 text, and whether the March 18, 2025 amendment altered it is unconfirmed.

Footnote 3, and the loose end resolved by not being taken up

On the night of adoption, TeKrony read into the record what footnote 3 of the amendment does, as part of her own friendly amendment. It affords administrative applications "the same flexibility granted to previously approved special exception uses under section 10.11.01(H) of the zoning [ordinance], which authorizes the zoning administrator to administratively permit minor changes."[243] The speaker is a supervisor describing the provision she was amending, which makes the board's later silence about footnote 3 harder to explain, not easier.

That is the only zoning ordinance section cited by number anywhere on the March 18 record.

A supervisor itemized what it permits: expansion of 5 percent or 50,000 square feet without board review or public hearing, plus accessory structures, realignment, and minor additions. Her scale check: "the size of a football field is about 57,000 square feet." Applied to two projects on the county's own docket, a 5 percent increase on the approved Belmont campus would be 65,000 square feet, and on the data center approved that same evening, almost 37,000.[188]*

That aside independently corroborates from the dais the 1.3-million-square-foot approved figure for Belmont that Part Eight otherwise has only from press.

The objections were vivid. Kershner called it "almost like a poison pill," said "we're kind of making this decision on the fly," and called it "a disaster waiting to happen."[189] The chair said: "this is really a random number that I agree with — but me agreeing with it doesn't make it any less random." She also stated the two-track logic better than the staff report does: "Anything even minor that's being done more, we should see it. Otherwise I'm not going to call it an administrative application anymore."[190]

Disposition: tabled to the second phase, on a voice vote with no tally announced. Footnote 3 survived into the adopted amendment at 5 percent.[244]*

Six months later, on September 16, 2025, footnote 3 appears exactly once in six hours of second-phase proceedings, inside a staff recitation of the work scope: a proposal to "relocate the content of a footnote 3 and footnote 4 into appropriate sections of the zoning ordinance to enhance clarity and consistency with standard formatting." Staff's own gloss, ten seconds later: "Again, it's like housekeeping…"[245]* The clause runs on into the next item without a stop. No supervisor responded. No supervisor asked what footnote 3 contains. The motion approving that scope carried on an announcement that contradicts itself: the chair declared it passed eight to zero with one abstention while naming, in the same sentence, the member opposing it, and that member had said earlier in the evening that she would not be voting for it. Eight to one is the only reading on which the announcement closes, and the adopted minutes are on the deferred-records list.

Absent from that entire 3,608-line record: the 5 percent threshold, §10.11.01(H), "zoning administrator," "minor change," "minor modification," "administratively," the football-field comparison, and the 57,000-square-foot figure. Each searched, each at zero occurrences.

The reform's most contested loose end was resolved by not being taken up. It was tabled without a tally in March 2025, survived into the adopted ordinance, and was next scheduled only to be moved to a different part of the text. Final action on the second phase was stated as approximately December 2026 in September 2025. The current stated terminal date is March 2027; see Part Six, note 119.

Footnote 4, and the three effective dates

Footnote 4 does related work. Legislative applications approved after December 13, 2023 are deemed to include an approved special exception for data center use. Staff: "This approach eliminates the need for developers to seek a vested right determination."[246]*

The same presentation drew the line between the two tracks in one sentence: "This footnote applies to approved applications, whereas the grandfathering resolution applies to applications under review."[247]*

Three different effective dates are load-bearing on the March 18 record alone. December 13, 2023 for footnote 4. February 12, 2025 for grandfathering. March 18, 2025 for adoption. An analysis that collapses them describes a reform that did not happen.

What §10.11.02 actually says

Five renditions of Chapter 10 across two hosts, fetched with six differently-anchored requests, all terminated at an identical point inside §10.10.08. Four research passes read that pattern as a fixed extraction ceiling and treated §10.11.02 as unobtainable.

The provision was posted publicly the entire time. The county's own document center serves the zoning ordinance as complete per-chapter PDFs at sequential addresses, and Chapter 10 is a clean sixty-one pages with no truncation. The stopping point was a rendering artifact of a different host: §10.10.08 is Historic Overlay Districts, a long table-heavy section in the middle of the chapter. There was never a gap, and the county was never the obstacle.

The section reads in full:

> 10.11.02 Minor Special Exception
>
> Purpose. To provide the Board of Supervisors with an opportunity for simplified discretionary review of requests to establish, construct, or modify uses or structures that have less potential for a deleterious impact upon the health, safety, and welfare of the public than typical Special Exception uses and structures; and, in the event such uses or structures are approved, the authority to impose conditions necessary to avoid, minimize, or mitigate potentially adverse effects upon the community or other properties in the vicinity of the proposed use or structure.
>
> A. Minor Special Exception applications are subject to the same requirements for Special Exception applications provided in Section 10.11.01, except that the Planning Commission does not review the proposed use unless the application is concurrently processed with other related application.[248]

That is the whole provision. There is no subsection B.

§10.11.02 contains no independent approval criteria. It is a purpose paragraph and a single incorporation clause. The operative criteria for a minor special exception

are the criteria for a full special exception, applied unchanged. The only substantive difference is procedural: the Planning Commission does not review the use.

Loudoun's "minor" special exception subtracts a hearing, not a criterion. The lighter pathway applies the same bar with one fewer public body watching.

The criteria that get incorporated

§10.11.02 imports §10.11.01.D:

> D. Factors for Consideration.
>
> 1. In considering a Special Exception application, the following factors will be given reasonable consideration, in addition to any other factors provided by the Zoning Ordinance:
>
> a. Consistency with the General Plan;
>
> b. Land use compatibility, including impacts to the surrounding area;
>
> c. Impacts to natural, environmental, and heritage resources;
>
> d. Impacts to public services, utilities, and infrastructure;
>
> e. Consistency with the Countywide Transportation Plan; and
>
> f. Mitigation of impacts.[249]

Three features of that drafting matter.

They are factors to be "given reasonable consideration," not findings the board must make. This is materially weaker than the mandatory-findings language many Virginia special exception ordinances use, and it cuts in both directions: it gives the board very broad discretion to approve and equally broad discretion to deny. A board looking for authority to say no has it. A board looking for authority to say yes has that too.

Grid load, water demand, and substation burden enter through one clause of six — "impacts to public services, utilities, and infrastructure." That is the only obvious hook, and it sits alongside transportation-plan consistency as a coequal consideration.

The ordinance expressly contemplates the modification at issue here. Section 10.11.01.D.2 provides additional factors for modifications to Chapter 4 use-specific standards "(by Minor Special Exception)"; the parenthetical is the county's. Chapter 4 is where the data center standards live. The ordinance anticipates in its own text that a data center applicant will seek relief from the data center standards through the shortened procedure, and it tells the board what to weigh when that happens: whether the modification "achieves the Purpose of the chapter or section from which the modification is sought."[250]

What that resolves, and what it does not

The reform's binding force is measurable rather than speculative. An applicant seeking to eliminate a berm, halve a setback, remove a height limit near houses, and strip a buffer must persuade the Board of Supervisors at a noticed public hearing, against the same six factors that govern any special exception, and must additionally show that each modification achieves the purpose of the standard it is escaping. That is not nothing.

What it costs is the Planning Commission, the body that recommended denial of Innovation Gateway on comprehensive plan grounds, forwarded the Phase 1 amendments to the board with a recommendation of denial, and recommended denial of Spring Valley. On the cases in this record the commission is the more skeptical of the two bodies. It has also recommended approval, of Quantum Park and of Cochran Tech, and Hiddenwood is the one case where it recommended approval over a staff recommendation of denial. The minor special exception is the procedure that routes around it.

The remaining question is empirical rather than textual. Whether the board grants the Yondr–Tarring waivers was unresolved as of July 2026. The governing standard is now on the record; how a board applies a standard drafted to permit almost any outcome is not.

The ordinance also poses a question it does not answer. Whether the incorporation clause carries §10.11.01's criteria wholesale, as the plain text indicates, or whether the "less potential for a deleterious impact" language in the purpose paragraph does independent work, is not resolved anywhere in the text of the ordinance, in the amendment record, or in any county interpretation this study located. No party to the March 2025 debate raised it.

PART THIRTEEN: THE LAND THE REFORM DID NOT REACH

Part One established the mechanism: a 1987 highway financing instrument froze the commercial and industrial zoning on the Route 28 corridor, the freeze binds the county until 2037 on a reading of the statute no court has construed, and 51 percent of Loudoun's built data center square footage sits inside it, on a spatial join this study ran, did not retain, and computed against building point geometry rather than footprint polygons. That land returned to contention in July 2026.

The county's own Zoning Ordinance FAQ names Code of Virginia § 15.2-4603.C by subsection letter as something the December 13, 2023 rewrite could not impair, and the county runs an open planning docket aimed at retiring the district and the 1972 ordinance's footprint with it.[7] Nobody raised it against the data center amendment across the fourteen months of that process, on the corpus named below: fifteen meetings in this study's record, an April 2025 national law-firm client alert on the amendment, and a conservation organization's contemporaneous tracking of it.[251] The fifteen meetings are the set tabulated with dates and durations in Appendix A. Sixteen months after the board adopted a reform premised on ending by-right data center development, the county's Zoning Administrator addressed the surviving pathway in writing, in the first public, named, on-the-record treatment of it this study located.

How it surfaced, sixteen months late

On February 14, 2000, Loudoun's Zoning Administrator issued a memo classifying data centers as "office buildings."[252] Part One describes what that ruling did. Inside the Route 28 district it did something further: it fixed a permissive reading of the frozen classifications, and the freeze held it there.

Nothing in the fourteen-month rewrite reached the memo either, on that same corpus: the fifteen meetings, the April 2025 client alert and the conservation organization's tracking.[253]

The sequence that surfaced it ran eighteen days in the summer of 2026.

On July 12, 2026, the county's Economic Development director requested an advisory opinion on the 2000 memo. On July 28, sixteen days later, Amazon filed a by-right site plan on the former George Washington University Virginia Science and Technology Campus in Ashburn: "Bridgefield Tech Center," roughly 800,000 square feet.[254] On July 30, two days after that filing, the Zoning Administrator issued the opinion, declaring the 2000 memo "no longer in effect" and describing the residual pathway that survives regardless.[255]

The tidy version of that story does not survive the dates. The county's request came sixteen days *before* the filing, so it was not prompted by it. What the dates support is narrower: the county's economic development office went looking for a ruling on the 2000 memo in the same fortnight that a major applicant was preparing a by-right filing on the corridor's most contested parcel, and the ruling issued two days after that filing landed.

Why the office asked when it did is not established by any document this study reached. The dates sit equally well with a request that anticipated the filing and with one that had nothing to do with it. What is established is that the question went unasked for sixteen months after the reform and was asked in July 2026.

The advisory opinion has not been retrieved as a standalone document; its language is recovered from extensive verbatim quotation in press coverage, cross-checked against county and state primary sources.[255] The request and the opinion are both framed sector-wide, and neither names Amazon, the campus, or the parcel. The connection between them rests on press reconstruction plus a supervisor's separate public statements rather than on any document.[255]

An opinion nobody can appeal, about a question now formally asked

The July 30 document is an advisory opinion, and Loudoun's zoning ordinance provides at § 10.02.C.1 that advisory opinions are not appealable. Determinations are; § 10.02.D sends those to the Board of Zoning Appeals.[256] The county's economic development office asked for the category that produces no reviewable decision, and got one.

Part Fourteen describes how by-right approval generated nothing a neighbor could appeal. The same architecture is operating in 2026, at the level of the interpretation and not the permit.

Somebody has since asked the question in the reviewable form. On August 14, 2026, a zoning determination request was filed asking whether data centers are by right on the nine Bridgefield tax parcels, and objecting to the county processing Amazon's application without a special exception.[257] It was in review as of this document's snapshot. The filer is not established.

The Bridgefield parcels' membership in the Route 28 CB overlay appears to be a 2014 base-zoning-map fact rather than a recorded election, and no entry for them appears in the county's own "Elected OD" layer.[257] Whether they made a qualifying pre-December-2023 election is the crux of the live dispute, and no source this study reached answers it.

What the board did about it

On September 1, 2026, the Board of Supervisors took up repeal of the grandfathering resolution. It did not repeal it. A substitute motion sent the matter to legal review, reported as unanimous, with no roll call published.[258] A moratorium item was scheduled for September 15.

A board that discovers it may lack authority to reduce what it has already granted, on the majority of what it has already built, sending the question to counsel is not obviously a failure of nerve. It may be the only available move.

The reach of the reform

The reform is real and it is narrower than its own authors described.

It ended by-right data center development on land the county controls. It did not reach the Route 28 district, where more than half the built inventory sits, because a 1987 instrument for financing a road removed that authority until 2037, on a reading of the statute no court has construed. It did not reach the grandfathered pipeline, because the board voted 5–4 to exempt it. And Part Twelve establishes that on the land it does reach, the standards it imposes are modifiable through a lighter pathway the county left open.

The reform carries three exemptions running on three different mechanisms, and one of them lies beyond the board's power to change. The March 18, 2025 vote was 7–2 and near consensus. What it was consensus about was smaller than anyone in the room said.

PART FOURTEEN: LOUDOUN AND THE COMMONWEALTH, AND WHAT THE RECORD DOES NOT SHOW

The county with what it calls the largest data center concentration on earth has almost no data center case law, on the searches this Part states, and the cases it does have are about transmission lines.

The buildout was, by design, largely unlitigable

Data center approval in Loudoun County, across the thirty-two years from the 1993 ordinance to the March 2025 reform, produced almost no litigation about data centers that this study located, on the search whose scope is stated at the close of this Part: web retrieval across 2024 to 2026 on eleven formulations and a national practitioner survey of July 2026, with the Commonwealth's own case information system not queried. That is not an accident of temperament, and it is not evidence that nobody objected. It follows from the procedural architecture.

Until March 18, 2025, data centers were a by-right use in the districts where offices were permitted. A by-right site plan approval is an administrative act of the Zoning Administrator. It generates no legislative decision for a neighbor to appeal under Va. Code § 15.2-2285(F), because there is no legislative decision. It produces no Board of Zoning Appeals decision to take to circuit court on certiorari under § 15.2-2314, because there is no BZA decision unless someone first files an administrative appeal, and an administrative appeal requires an appealable determination.

The Court of Appeals of Virginia set out what that requires in a 2023 case brought against this same board, in this same circuit court, under this same ordinance. It was not a data center case, and it is the controlling modern authority on the route a data center challenger would have had to travel. "Aggrieved" is a real jurisdictional gate. Until an application is pending asking for specific relief, no personal or property right has been denied. And a determination must have the finality of "an order, requirement, decision or determination" to be appealable at all; a mere interpretation will not do.[259] Loudoun's ordinance states the corollary directly: advisory opinions are not appealable.[260]

The one route around the appeal requirement is narrow. Where a building permit has issued and construction has begun, a person who had no actual notice may sue in circuit court within fifteen days of the start of construction, and the court may reach the issues without any BZA appeal.[261] Fifteen days, no actual notice, construction already visible. It is a real statutory bypass, and no case using it was located on that same search.

The claim needs its scope. The buildout was largely unlitigable *as to the buildings*. It was not unlitigated as to everything else, and the wires are where the county itself went to court.

Loudoun sued, repeatedly, about the wires

The county that generated no reported litigation over data center buildings has been an active appellate litigant over the transmission lines serving them.

On February 19, 2026 the Supreme Court of Virginia decided four consolidated appeals from the State Corporation Commission, Record Nos. 250492 through 250495. Loudoun County was a co-appellant, alongside the Lansdowne Conservancy, in two of the four.[262] At issue were certificates for the Aspen-to-Golden and Apollo-to-Twin-Creeks transmission projects, and the appellants' arguments centered on the Commission's refusal to require any portion of the lines to be placed underground.

The Court affirmed on every point. Staff verification of the grid operator's power-flow models satisfies the statute without an outside consultant. The undergrounding proposal was properly rejected for cost and constructability. "Minimize" does not mean eliminate, and the Commission may balance impacts against the total public interest.

The holding that matters for a land-use volume is the fourth. The Court quoted Code § 56-46.1(F):

> "Approval of a transmission line pursuant to this section shall be deemed to satisfy the requirements of [Code] § 15.2-2232 and local zoning ordinances with respect to such transmission line."

And read it as eliminating any separate substantial-accord analysis.[262]

Taken together, the two findings describe the county's position. Loudoun had no legal handle on the data centers, because they were by-right and by-right approvals are not appealable. It has no legal handle on the transmission lines either, because state law deems their approval to satisfy the local zoning ordinance outright. The chair's statement of September 16, 2025 that the board is "not legally allowed to make decisions on power," examined in Part Six, is wrong about special exceptions and close to right about transmission. Nobody on the dais drew that distinction, and the distinction is the whole of the county's authority.

The litigation has not stopped. An appeal from the June 2026 final order in the Golden-to-Mars case was noticed and was pending at this document's snapshot, with a second parallel appeal by homeowner associations under consideration.[263] A school board parcel was conveyed days before that order in what press accounts

describe as an effort to place land with an entity ordinarily immune from condemnation, and the county attorney is reported as advising that the Commission may condemn public land regardless.[264] If a petition is filed it would be Loudoun's first data-center-driven condemnation docket.

The reform created a right of appeal, which is the least-discussed thing it did

Section 10.11.01(F) of the zoning ordinance provides that appeals of the Board of Supervisors' final decision on a special exception go to the Loudoun Circuit Court under the Code of Virginia.[265]

Every data center that now requires a special exception, and is not grandfathered, produces a decision that somebody can challenge. That is a genuine transfer of power to residents and it went unmentioned in the March 18 debate. Whatever else the reform did or failed to do, it converted an unreviewable administrative act into a reviewable legislative one.

Whether that matters depends on Part Eleven. Sixteen months produced one hearing and no board decision to appeal.

What the Commonwealth found when it looked at Loudoun

Virginia's legislative oversight commission examined the data center industry statewide in December 2024 and made findings about Loudoun specifically. Two of its county-level findings appear earlier, the office-use classification in Part One and the 31 percent revenue share in Part Three, and the report is cited separately for its grid material and its noise conclusion. What follows is the remainder, and it is the more pointed.

The commission estimated that the data center industry "accounted for between 20 and 30 percent of land development in Loudoun and Prince William counties from 2013 to 2021," and that the amount of data center development had already increased 50 percent since then. JLARC's denominator in that sentence is land development without qualifier, and it is not narrowed here. The surrounding paragraph is about the share of undeveloped and agricultural land development in Northern Virginia attributable to data centers, and the report makes the regional point in its own separate sentence.[266]

The commission attaches a caveat: these are among Virginia's fastest-growing counties, so some portion of that land likely would have been developed for something else — housing, mixed-use commercial space, distribution centers. The estimate measures attribution and not preservation. One industry accounts for a fifth to three-tenths of land development across the two counties from 2013 to 2021.

The commission's proximity measurement maps onto the March 18 debate exactly. It measured the distance from each operational data center site to the nearest residential zoning across eight localities holding 93 percent of the state's data center sites, and excluded six sites for want of available or reliable data. The table below reproduces JLARC's Table B-1 entire. Its fifth row combines four localities that JLARC judged individually too small to report separately, and its bottom row is JLARC's own "Total" for those eight localities rather than a statewide count:[267]

Locality	Within 200 feet	Within 500 feet	Sites
Fairfax	55%	70%	20
Henrico	38%	38%	8
Chesterfield, Culpeper, Fauquier, Virginia Beach	25%	38%	8
Loudoun	**24%**	**34%**	**71**
Prince William	21%	21%	24
Total	29%	37%	131

Thirty-four percent of Loudoun's 71 data center sites sit within 500 feet of residential zoning — the same 500 feet the board spent an evening arguing about in Part Nine, and which the chair illustrated by pointing at a pizza restaurant. Loudoun's proportion is the second lowest of the five locality rows: below Fairfax at 70 percent, below Henrico and the four combined localities at 38 percent each, below JLARC's 37 percent total, and above only Prince William at 21 percent. The site count runs the other way. Loudoun's 71 sites exceed the other seven localities in the analysis combined, which hold 60.

The commission quotes the county's own ordinance language against it: Loudoun's ordinances state that "industrial uses […] are incompatible with residential uses due to the prevalence of outdoor storage and emissions of noise, odor, and vibrations."[268] The commission's own conclusion is that "data centers are industrial facilities that are largely incompatible with residential uses."

The commission independently identifies the mechanism Part One opens with:

> "Loudoun originally treated data centers as an office use and continues to allow by-right data center development in areas zoned for office uses in some parts of the county."[9]

The commission corroborates the office-use classification described in Part One and, in its second clause, the survival of by-right development described in Part Thirteen. It corroborates nothing else in that passage. Report 598 gives no date for the

classification, does not mention a zoning administrator, describes no memo, and says nothing about advertisement, hearing or vote in connection with it; "originally" is its only temporal word. The 2000 date and the administrative mechanism rest on the county's own published timeline. What the sentence establishes on its own authority is that a state body, writing in December 2024, recorded the by-right pathway as still open, nineteen months before the county's own Zoning Administrator addressed it in the July 30, 2026 advisory opinion.

The commission also cites Loudoun, by name, for two practices it treats as failures of local process. The board approved the True North development "even though staff recommended denial because the county's 'transitional' long-term plan classification for the site does not support data centers." And it allowed Aligned Energy's Relocation Drive project "to exceed the zone's maximum height and square footage, despite staff recommending against the exemption because of nearby residential areas."[269]

Neither case appears elsewhere here. Both belong beside Part Nine's finding that the March 2025 amendments were adopted over the Planning Commission's recommendation of denial, and beside Part Ten's account of a commission overriding staff on Hiddenwood. Overriding the professional recommendation is a pattern in Loudoun's record and not an anomaly, and the Commonwealth noticed it.

The one Loudoun residential noise episode Report 598 documents took two years to reach a remedy, and residents drove it throughout. Neighbors in Brook Haven contacted the county about noise in 2021. The facility completed an attempted solution in November 2023. Residents observed reductions and emphasized that it "took time and repeated communications from residents to prompt action."[270]

The commission pairs Brook Haven with a Prince William neighborhood where the matter was still unresolved to residents' satisfaction two and a half years on. That second case is Prince William's, not Loudoun's. Loudoun's ended in a remedy, slowly.

Position

Loudoun sits at one end of every Virginia table the series has built. Its computer equipment rate of $4.15 is among the highest in the Commonwealth on those tables, and it is high because the county has never needed to compete on rate. Its real property rate of $0.805 is among the lowest on the same tables, and it is low for the reason Part Four's rate series documents. The two figures are the same fact stated twice.

The statewide consumption tax took effect July 1, 2026, with first payments due in September. Its incidence in Loudoun will be larger in absolute terms than anywhere

else in Virginia, and the county's own budget materials had not modeled it as of the FY2027 adoption.

Loudoun is also an exporter of growth. Applications that Loudoun's reform makes slower, more conditional, or more expensive do not disappear; they appear in Prince William, in Fauquier, in Spotsylvania, and further out. This series has documented the receiving end of that diffusion in the county case studies listed at the front of this one, eleven of the twelve companions named there. Loudoun is the sending end. What the 2025 reform has contributed to that diffusion is not measured here.

The negatives, and their search scope

Four negative findings, each with its scope.

In the Loudoun Circuit Court, no reported data center rezoning, special exception, site plan, proffer or determination case was located. Searched by web retrieval across 2024 to 2026 on eleven distinct formulations, corroborated by a national practitioner survey of July 2026 that names no Loudoun case and by the statutory reasoning above. Not searched: the Commonwealth's own case information system, which is client-rendered and was not queried. The finding rests on search and inference rather than on a queried docket.

No FOIA suit was located. The Virginia FOIA Advisory Council's own opinion archive was searched directly and returned no Loudoun data center opinion. The lawsuit prong is web search only.

No noise nuisance suit was located, and this is the best-corroborated of the four. An independent national survey of data center nuisance litigation lists forums in Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Texas and Michigan, and for Virginia lists only Prince William. The enforcement record beside it is episodic rather than aggregate, and Part Six states it at that width: a 60 dB reading at a Sterling property line in July 2026 against a 55 dB limit, with no violation found;[112] a February 2024 complaint sequence closed at below 55 dB;[114] and a July 2026 generator run of roughly twenty-four hours that drew no notice of violation from the county or the state.[115] No published county document gives a complaint or violation total for that campus or for any other.[117]

The Board of Zoning Appeals record is not a clean negative and is not printed as one. No data center appeal was located, and the BZA publishes no searchable decision index. Its agendas, minutes and findings sit on the two portals this study does not work around. That is a documented access limit rather than a finding that no such decision exists.

What the record does not show

Each volume in this series catalogs what a locality makes hard to reach. Two of the largest entries in Loudoun's catalog turned out to be search failures rather than access limits.

The first was the county's pre-FY2017 revenue lines. Every adopted budget for FY2010 through FY2016 sits on a document portal that excludes automated clients, and those lines cannot be reached there. They can be reached elsewhere. Every annual comprehensive financial report from FY2001 forward is posted on the county's open document center, at direct unauthenticated addresses, in machine-readable text, and their ten-year statistical tables stitch into a continuous series from FY2008 to FY2025. The second entry, the approval criteria governing a minor special exception, is set out in Part Twelve in full from the county's own document server.

Both had the same shape, and it is the shape a researcher approaching a county like this one should expect. A gap that looks like evidence is still not evidence.

The gaps that survive testing

Both gaps that survive testing are the county's own work product.

The first is the meeting archive, which excludes automated clients. The county's most-quoted fiscal projection sits behind it. The staff report projecting 60 percent general fund dependence within five to seven years exists and is identified by its archive identifiers, and what the public can verify is a newspaper's paraphrase and two quoted sentences. The document describes the county's own fiscal trajectory, and the only route to it is a person with a browser. The committee packets sit there too.

The second is the application database, which omits what it cannot map. The county's public land-use database is the best public land-use dataset this series has encountered in Virginia. It is fully queryable without a login and it answers questions the hearing record cannot. It also silently drops any application without mapped geometry, which is how a case central to this volume disappeared from it entirely, and its status field records workflow position and not board disposition, which is how a project the board had denied appeared in it as approved. Neither limit is documented anywhere a user would see it.

The deferred-records list

The following could not be retrieved from open sources and are deferred to a later revision. Each is listed with what it would settle.

§10.11.01(H), verbatim. The administrative minor-change authority, the 5 percent and 50,000 square foot thresholds.

Board of Zoning Appeals decisions, 2019 to present. The BZA publishes no searchable decision index, and its agendas, minutes and findings sit behind the two portals named above. Whether any data center appeal was ever taken turns on them.

The FY2027 budget outlook staff report to the Finance, Government Operations and Economic Development Committee, July 8, 2025. The primary source for the 60 percent projection.

Adopted minutes for March 4, March 18, and September 16, 2025. Resolves the conflict over one member's vote on an amendment, and the second-phase tally the chair announced as 8–0–1 while naming a member as opposing in the same sentence.

The March 4 and March 18, 2025 staff report attachments listing applications by case number. If both list by case number, the movement from 21 to 22-plus-9 resolves by direct comparison, and the count instability documented in Part Two either collapses or hardens.

The February 12, 2025 board packet exhibit showing 74 applications and roughly 60 million square feet. The only document that can adjudicate the 50-versus-36 split inside a single meeting.

FY2017 through FY2020 adopted budget volumes. The only route to the computer equipment revenue lines for those years, including the FY2017 anchor that Part Three flags as unsourced.

The April 10, 2024 roll call for Belmont, by name. Five of nine votes are currently a deduction.

The February 8, 2024 Planning Commission packet, and whatever formally closed the Innovation Gateway file after September 2024.

The fiscal impact analyses attached to the 2024–2025 amendment.

A utility primary source for any Loudoun substation count. The search is closed against secondary sources, against the utility's own resource plan and project pages, and against the county's commissioned engineering study. The remaining routes are a State Corporation Commission docket search or a direct question to the advocacy organization that published the figure without a citation.

What the volume establishes

Loudoun changed the rules. It did so nearly unanimously, thirty-two years after adopting the ordinance it replaced, and one year after discovering in a specific and public way that it had no leverage over a project it wanted to stop.

Then it decided who the new rules would reach, and that decision passed by one vote, on a count the board could not hold still, under a standard the adopted resolution defines at Paragraph 10 and nobody discussed on the floor, with the deciding member declining to say why he voted as he did.

Sixteen months later the new pathway had produced two dozen applications and a single hearing. The grandfathered pipeline kept moving under the old ordinance. The standards that would give the reform its content were deferred to a second phase, whose stated board action date has since moved from December 2026 to March 2027.

Then the corridor came back. In July and August 2026 an advisory opinion nobody can appeal, an Amazon by-right filing on the corridor's most contested parcel, and a determination request from a party this study cannot identify brought the 1987 freeze into contention. On September 1 the board declined to repeal its own grandfathering resolution and sent the question to counsel instead.

Closing the March 18 debate, the chair had told the room that "the entire data center industry does not have to be located in Loudoun County, Virginia. It just doesn't." On the land the highway district froze, that was settled in 1987 and stays settled until 2037 unless a court reads the statute otherwise, and no vote of hers reaches it. Changing the rules is the easy part. On more than half of what Loudoun has already built, the rules changed after the decision that mattered had been made.

APPENDIX A: THE CORPUS

Fifteen public meetings, September 20, 2022 through July 23, 2026. Recordings obtained by ordinary means and transcribed locally with faster-whisper (CTranslate2 runtime), small model, int8 quantization, voice-activity-detection filtering, beam size 1. No speaker diarization. Total recorded duration approximately 79 hours.

Date	Body	Subject	Duration	Transcript lines
2022-09-20	Board of Supervisors	Land use item; transmission constraint in Q&A	7:16:34	—
2024-02-06	Board of Supervisors	Amendment initiation	7:02:08	—
2024-02-08	Planning Commission	Innovation Gateway work session	2:57:07	—
2024-07-02	Board of Supervisors	Two-phase split; Phase 1 approval	6:28:12	—
2024-09-24	Planning Commission	Phase 1 hearing	7:23:47	—
2025-02-12	Board of Supervisors	Public hearing; grandfathering cutoff	3:50:52	—
2025-03-04	Board of Supervisors	Grandfathering	5:35:32	—
2025-03-18	**Board of Supervisors**	**Adoption**	**7:23:58**	**4,923**
2025-04-01	Board of Supervisors	FY2026 budget	6:30:06	—
2025-04-08	Finance / Gov Ops Committee	—	2:43:17	3,541
2025-07-28	Transportation & Land Use Cmte	Land use review assessment; Dulles Cloud South	3:01:47	—
2025-09-16	**Board of Supervisors**	**Phase 2 scope approval**	**6:03:40**	**3,608**
2026-02-12	Planning Commission	Quantum Park	3:40:32	—
2026-04-07	Board of Supervisors	FY2027 budget	3:56:48	—
2026-07-23	Planning Commission	Spring Valley	5:15:33	—

A sixteenth source, a town hall of July 6, 2026, was available with published captions and is used where cited.

Clean negatives established by full-text search across the corpus. Each of the following was searched and returned zero occurrences in the file named:

- **September 20, 2022:** no live utility representative; "PJM" zero; "ratepayer" zero; "megawatt" twice, both in public comment, both referring to Prince William County; "substation" eight times, none named.
- **February 6, 2024:** "phase" zero occurrences.
- **July 2, 2024:** "PJM," megawatt figures, ratepayer language, and setback discussion all zero — each of which is present in the February 6 file. **"Water" is not a clean negative and an earlier draft of this document wrongly reported it as one.** The word occurs eight times, seven of them incidental to other agenda items. The eighth is substantive: staff naming "energy, water, air, light and noise" among the second phase's subjects. The correction is recorded here rather than silently applied, because a clean negative that turns out to have one occurrence is the error this method is most exposed to.
- **April 8, 2025 (Finance/Gov Ops):** data center, data centers, revenue, general fund, tax rate, personal property, plateau, reliance, 38%, 60% — all zero across 3,541 lines.
- **September 16, 2025:** the 5 percent threshold, §10.11.01(H), "zoning administrator," "minor change," "minor modification," "administratively," the football-field comparison, and "57,000" — all zero across 3,608 lines. "Footnote 3" appears exactly once.
- **July 23, 2026:** "grandfather" and all variants, zero occurrences.

One further search is registered outside that list because it is not clean. Across both budget adoptions, April 1, 2025 (4,550 lines) and April 7, 2026 (4,085 lines), the strings "38 percent," "38%," "thirty-eight percent," "60 percent," "sixty percent," "plateau," "reliance" and "dependence" return zero occurrences. "60%" returns one, in the April 1, 2025 file, in a parks-access statistic and in no fiscal sense.

APPENDIX B: VERIFICATION STANDING

Every attributed quotation in this document rests on a transcript produced without speaker diarization. Attributions are inferences. This appendix states the exposure in one place rather than distributing it across the endnotes, so that a reader can see its full extent.

Endnotes marked with an asterisk (*) carry an inferred speaker attribution. The timestamp is reliable; the speaker is a reconstruction from content, debate flow, and the chair's own references to members by name.

Wording was checked separately from attribution. One hundred and two attributed quotations were checked against the transcripts for wording, timestamp accuracy and the fidelity of ellipses: 73 exact, 19 differing only in punctuation or in the silent cleanup of a transcription artifact, 5 materially wrong, 4 not locatable in the transcript cited, and 1 carrying a wrong interval. All ten in the last three categories are corrected, and several are recorded in the text rather than silently repaired. The check covers quotations cited to the fifteen transcribed meetings and says nothing about quotations taken from press accounts or from documents.

No roll call by name exists anywhere in the corpus. All fifteen meetings record voice votes, and the chair announces an aggregate tally for all but three of the votes reached here: the footnote 3 tabling, where no tally was announced and none is recoverable, and two announcements the transcription garbles beyond use. Several tallies are self-corrected mid-sentence: "six two… i'm sorry it was three so it was five three"; "six, one, two… so that will be seven, one, one." On the 5–4 grandfathering vote the chair could not count it aurally and called for a show of hands before announcing.

The single exception is a staff member's recollection at a July 28, 2025 committee meeting, naming the four members who opposed the March 18 grandfathering resolution. It is the only named vote breakdown in the corpus and it should itself be checked against adopted minutes.

A structural pass resolved most of this from text alone. The transcripts carry four signals that do not depend on hearing anyone: the chair's recognition of the next speaker, the member's near-invariable reply of "Thank you, Madam Chair," the chair's end-tag closing a turn, and the self-identification that every member of the public and every staff presenter offers and no elected official ever does. Read together, those signals divide each meeting into bounded turns.

Applied across all fifteen meetings, the pass reached 106 attributions. Sixty-two are resolved by two or more agreeing signals. Twelve rest on a single signal with nothing

contradicting it. Nineteen turn out not to involve an official at all, being public speakers or staff who named themselves on the record. One is not a discrete utterance and was never an attribution problem, being an inference the worksheet itself argued from a surrounding exchange. Twelve remain open, and those are the ones the video is for.

The residual is set out below, because a reader is entitled to know which attributions in this volume are observations, which are structural inferences, and which are neither.

The residual was then closed. Three of the twelve did not go to video: a corpus-wide negative claim with no speaker to attribute, a three-word interjection, and one optional staff-identity item that could not be checked because that stretch of recording is silent, the meeting having gone into closed session. The other nine were reviewed against the video on August 28, 2026. Every one of them resolved, and four resolved against what this study had concluded from text. They are recorded here because the pattern in them is a finding about the method, not only about Loudoun.

The two-bucket passage. Three internal readings of this study gave three different supervisors: the chair, the vice chair, and Briskman. **All three were wrong.** The speaker is Leo Rogers, the County Attorney, answering Briskman's request for legal advice. The correction to the county's own count came from its lawyer in passing, not from any member of the board. Parts Two and Nine are rewritten around that.

The paragraph 3 reading. The vice chair drafted it. **Briskman read it into the record.** The transcript could not separate the drafting from the reading, and the double thank-you that seemed to settle it was thanking him for the drafting.

The 67 cents. Letourneau, confirmed. The transcript's own end-tag renders the chair's thank-you as another sitting supervisor's name. See Appendix C, which now treats that as the most dangerous entry in the concordance.

The September 20, 2022 distinction. An earlier draft assigned it to the county attorney. The video shows no handoff at all: the same person who gave the staff statement gives the answer. The attribution is withdrawn in Part Six, and the finding is weaker for it.

The remainder. The February 12 count-instability remark is the chair, as the draft had it. The poison-pill objection is Kershner. Two March 18 staff answers are Galindo, and they carry three of the nine, because the answer to Kershner is one unbroken turn covering two of them.

What this cost, stated precisely. Every attribution in this volume was inferred from an undiarized transcript. A structural pass over the recognitions, turn-

openings, end-tags and self-identifications assessed 106 of them: it resolved 62 on two or more agreeing signals, put 12 on a single uncontradicted signal, established that 19 never involved an official at all, and set aside 1 that is not a discrete utterance. Twelve remained open, nine of those were checked against the video, and all nine resolved.

Four of those nine went against this study's prior reading. That is a high rate and it is stated here rather than buried. It is also a rate measured on a deliberately adverse sample: the nine were what survived a filter designed to isolate the cases where the text signals conflicted or ran out. **It should not be read as an error rate for the 74 attributions the pass resolved by signal. Those rest on agreeing signals rather than on inference under uncertainty, and none of them was checked against the video.**

Stated exactly: attributions resolved by two or more agreeing signals are reliable. Attributions resting on a single signal are marked in the apparatus and should be treated as probable. Attributions that reached video are observed. A researcher using this method on a similar archive should expect the hard residue to be roughly this hard, and should not expect the whole corpus to be.

Unresolved roster conflict. At one timestamp a member states he will vote no on a colleague's amendment. Four minutes later the chair, announcing that amendment's failure and audibly losing the count mid-announcement, names him among those in favor. The tally is reliable; the roster is not. Resolve against adopted minutes before either fact is relied upon.

Corrections made during drafting

This volume passed through several drafting rounds, and a number of its findings replaced earlier findings the record did not support. Those corrections are recorded here rather than in the running text, so that the body states each fact plainly and a reader who wants the drafting history can find it in one place. Entries are grouped by chapter and ordered within a group by weight rather than by position in the text. Where a correction is also carried in an endnote, the note is named.

Purpose, scope and method

The transcription model's mangling of proper nouns reached this project's own working drafts. One participant appears in earlier drafts under a name the model produced rather than the name he has. The concordance in Appendix C is printed for that reason, and it is why a name in a machine transcript is treated here as a reading rather than as a fact.

Part One

The wrong statutory paragraph was quoted. A first draft of the Route 28 material quoted the opening general rule of Va. Code § 15.2-4603(C), which does not govern a district created in December 1987. The operative provision is the section's second paragraph, applying to districts created before July 1, 1992, and it is materially stronger: it reaches site plan regulations, uses, densities, setbacks, building heights, parking and open space. The corrected text is quoted in Part One and cited at note 7. It was located by a corpus search of this project's own folder, in a file held since July 25, 2026, after Part Thirteen had already been written from a retrieval memo quoting the wrong paragraph.

A negative about the county's economic development office was false. Earlier drafts stated that the office never published the 53 million square foot figure. Its own sector page publishes it, as "53.3 million square feet of data centers are currently in operation or under development," recorded in this project's research files on July 25, 2026 and re-retrieved September 5, 2026. The earlier reading came from this project's own research file, which stated the negative without a bound — "not supported by anything retrievable" — while three other passages in that same file, at the same July 25, 2026 vintage, recorded the office's current page carrying the figure. The evidence behind the negative was the office's predecessor site, whose sector page had gone to 404 by mid-2026; the sentence generalised from it, and nothing in the file stopped it. What survives is narrower and holds: the figure is the county's own built-plus-under-construction GIS total, and it circulates without the definition the office attaches to it. Part One and note 16.

Part Two

The chair's remark on the circulating application counts, "you said 36, Laura said, Mr. [TeKrony] said 50," was placed in an earlier draft at the March 4, 2025 board meeting. It is in the February 12, 2025 recording, three weeks earlier, on the night the cutoff date was set. The corrected date stands in the body at note 24.

The interval between the two December 1 figures was wrong by an order of magnitude. Earlier drafts stated that the 36 and the 50 were spoken sixty-eight minutes apart. Derived from the recording clock this round: staff gives 36 at [03:22:42] and a supervisor reads 74 and 50 from the packet at [03:30:23], seven minutes and forty-one seconds later. The figure came from a project research file that states both timestamps in its own table and then states sixty-eight minutes in its analysis. The corrected interval stands in the abstract and in Part Two under "The four counts that do not reconcile," and it makes the finding stronger rather than weaker.

Part Three

The revenue series was retired and restarted. Earlier drafts ran a data center computer equipment revenue series from FY2017 to FY2027 and stated a growth multiple across it. The two ends measure different populations, the FY2017 anchor being all-payer computer equipment and the FY2027 endpoint data-center-specific, so the pair yields no growth multiple. The $150.5 million FY2017 figure was never inspected by this study either; it traces only to an adopted budget volume held on a county portal that excludes automated clients. The series now runs FY2022 through FY2027, six years on a consistent basis. The volume states no growth multiple for any period before FY2022 and prints no long-run fiscal series. Part Three sets out the reason, and note 34 marks the FY2017 figure unsourced.

A paragraph had been quoted in half. The chapter on published shares ran under a heading charging the county with publishing a rule it was breaking. The March 2026 county fact sheet existed in this corpus only as three separate transcriptions and was not held on disk. Retrieved on September 4, 2026 and saved at Loudoun_FactSheet_2026-03-01_FULLTEXT.md, it frames all ten of its items, twice, as lessons learned in retrospect. The county's /6409 page carries a sentence the draft had cut from the middle of a paragraph it was quoting: "The Board of Supervisors has also funded capital improvements, such as schools, roads, bridges, and a broad range of facilities." The volume itemizes seven capital appropriations and roughly $505 million of bond issuance fourteen lines later and had not brought them back against its own charge. The full sentence is restored in Part Four at note 66. What survives is narrower and holds: the county publishes a test that sorts spending into two categories and, on the search recorded for that chapter, publishes no measurement against it.

The 60 percent attribution was reversed. An earlier stage of this project concluded that "more than 60% within five to seven years" appeared only in press coverage, and directed that it be attributed to the press rather than to the county. That instruction was wrong. The figure is a county staff projection carried in a county staff report and reported by the press, and the correction runs in the volume's favor. Part Three sets the three circulating "60 percent" figures side by side and shows that they share a number and nothing else.

The ACFR restatement finding widened. One case had been flagged, an $874 million difference in FY2017 total taxable assessed value between the FY2017 and FY2025 books. The pattern was then found to reach back to at least FY2008, with the discrepancies larger in some years. The widened finding is in Part Three at note 53, and every ACFR figure in this volume is cited to a named vintage rather than to "the ACFR."

The fiscal-year and tax-year offset. Earlier drafts read the county's recurring rate-history graph, which is labeled by fiscal year while plotting tax-year rates, without applying the offset. That produced, among other errors, an apparent Fairfax rate of $1.155 that is in fact Loudoun's own tax year 2014 rate. The rate table is on the corrected basis, and the warning to anyone reproducing it stands in Part Four.

The denominator discussion ran without a measurement already in the apparatus. JLARC Report 598 was cited repeatedly in this volume for other findings before it was cited for Loudoun's 31 percent share, and the chapter's discussion of which denominator data center revenue should be measured against was conducted while a single-denominator measurement of the same quantity sat unused in a report the volume was already using. The share is now quoted at note 37, with the commission's own two denominators distinguished.

An acronym that never existed. An earlier stage of this project compressed the agenda item title "Administrative and Legislative Land Use Review Assessment" into an acronym and printed that acronym as the initiative's name through three project documents. It appears in no county document and no transcript this study examined. Part Four now records that the initiative has no name on the record, that staff call it "this project," and that the only title of record is the agenda item's. It is the second instance in this project of an artifact of the record hardening into a proper noun; the other is in Appendix C.

Part Five

The fifty-substation attribution, corrected twice in opposite directions. The volume attributed the figure of fifty additional substations to the Piedmont Environmental Council on the strength of two of this project's own research files. Two independent searches then failed to locate the post, and an intermediate draft withdrew the attribution, marked the figure unsourced, and stated in the body that it could not be sourced to the organization to which it had been attributed. That withdrawal was wrong. The post was retrieved on September 4, 2026 and is held at Loudoun_Retrieval_PEC_50Substations_2026-09-04.md; this project's own Loudoun_Research_Dominion_Substations_v1_0.md had carried the URL, the byline and both quoted strings throughout. The searches failed and the document did not. The Council's framing sentence and its bullet are now quoted verbatim at the fifty-substation section, and note 97 is a full citation. The lesson runs the other way from the one an intermediate draft drew: where a draft and a reviewer disagree about a document neither of them holds, the disagreement cannot be adjudicated by taking the more cautious side, only by retrieving the document. What survives from the earlier reading is narrower and holds: no Dominion primary source for the number was located, on the searches note 97 names.

Sycolin Creek, Starlight and Lunar. An earlier stage reported the three substations as absent from Dominion's record. They are named in Dominion's own filing in SCC case PUR-2024-00044, and they are absent only from the utility's Northern Virginia project webpage. Part Five now carries the distinction, at the enumeration: a utility's public-facing summary and its regulatory filings are different corpora, and an absence from the first is not an absence from the second. The error was a search that stopped at the wrong host and an absence read as evidence.

Aspen–Golden at roughly $1 billion. An earlier draft set the $1 billion figure beside overhead transmission costs for other Loudoun projects while asserting in the next sentence that none of its figures was an undergrounding comparison. The $1 billion belongs to the partial-underground alternative the Commission rejected, the configuration Loudoun County itself advocated for. The approved overhead project is $689 to $705 million. Both figures and the warning that travels with them are in Part Five at note 91.

JLARC Report 598's rationale. An earlier stage printed the report's line that the measure "has already been done without legal objections" as a direct citation of the 2022 Loudoun pause. The rationale does not name Loudoun, and the inference is the reader's to draw. Note 88 marks it as one.

Part Six

The chapter was wrong about its own evidence. An earlier draft stated that noise, water, land consumption and housing pressure are documented in the county's record more thinly than the fiscal material. That is false for three of the four, and the thinness was in this study rather than in the record. Housing pressure is the fourth, and Part Six states the limit there with the search it rests on. An entire noise research file sat at the top level of the project folder while Part Six gave noise one sentence. The strongest document in the volume came out of the correction, the 2016 noise rewrite in which staff recommended in writing against a tonal-noise penalty on competitive grounds and priced the capability they were declining at approximately $1,000. The material is at notes 107 through 119.

The decoupling proposition's corroboration. An earlier version reported the September 20, 2022 decoupling proposition as voiced by three participants inside ninety seconds and contradicted nowhere in the seven-hour record, and a later draft put the gap between the staff statement and a member's restatement at roughly eleven minutes. Neither is supportable. A search of the full file on thirteen distinct formulations located no second independent member restatement at that interval, and the transcript establishes no interval at all. What the record supports is the order: staff first. Notes 98 and 99.

Partial reporting of the decoupling passages. An earlier pass reported the passages in the file that support the decoupling proposition without those that cut against it. Part Six now prints both, at notes 98 through 103, and prints no tally, no count of either set having been enumerated against a stated search.

"We know precious little more today." An earlier draft attributed the line to a supervisor. The speaker is county staff, describing the county's own information position, which is the harder version of the point. Note 100.

The second phase's terminal date. December 2026 was reported from a single staff line spoken on September 16, 2025. The scheduled date is March 2027. Both are in the body at note 119, the earlier one as what was said at the time.

Part Seven

The September 2022 comprehensive plan amendment does not exist as described. An earlier draft reported that a September 20, 2022 amendment added the place-type exclusions for Suburban Mixed Use, Suburban Neighborhood, Suburban Compact Neighborhood and Urban Transit Center. The Board's action that day was a 7–1–1 vote directing staff to draft an amendment, and all four exclusions were already 2019 plan text; the motion's own language is present tense about them. The correction strengthens the chapter, because it means the policy was stated once, in 2019, and had no operative effect for four and a half years. Part Seven carries it at note 124.

The Washington Post poll figures reach this volume secondhand. The Post's published poll PDF and its April 15, 2026 report on the poll both returned an empty client-rendered page to retrieval on September 4, 2026. The figures are quoted as other publications reproduce them, and that provenance is stated in the body as well as at note 130.

Part Eight

An earlier draft called Turner "the vice chair" throughout a chapter set in March 2024, a year before he held the office. Briskman was Vice Chair then. Part Eight carries a standing note on titles and names officials rather than titling them wherever the title changed inside the period under discussion. That standing note carries no endnote marker; note 140 is the roster citation for the March 13, 2024 vote and does not record the correction.

Part Nine

The chapter had been drafted twice and both drafts were in the volume. Kershner's cutoff motion, Turner's red-line package, the Prologis sequence, the Turner roster conflict, Zebra East and the chair's water quotation each appeared twice, and three

notes to a future drafter were sitting in the running text. The chapter framed the evening as three votes in one place, as seven in another and as nine in a third, and as two coalitions and as three. The drafts are merged into a single narrative in timestamp order, and the count was settled by counting the roll against the transcript: nine dispositions, eight of them put to a vote, seven producing an announced numeric tally. "Five majorities" is dropped as not computable from this record. Rosters are recoverable for six of the nine.

The Planning Commission recommended denial. Earlier drafts described March 18, 2025 as near-consensus reform. On December 12, 2024 the Planning Commission forwarded the amendments to the Board with a recommendation of denial, 5–3–1, after one public hearing and six work sessions, and the Board adopted them 7–2 over its own land use body's recommendation. The recital sits in the signed Grandfathering Resolution the Board adopted the same night, recovered by two independent OCR passes from a scanned PDF that returns nothing to standard text extraction. Part Nine opens on it at note 153. The same recital shows that the commission also chose the cutoff date, and no supervisor attributed it to the commission.

"Diligently pursued" is defined. The volume said twice that the standard appears in the grandfathering record and is nowhere defined. It is defined in the signed Grandfathering Resolution at Paragraph 10, with six-month resubmission deadlines on both tracks and a three-year outer limit on the administrative track alone; "substantial modification" is defined at Paragraphs 8 and 9. Four drafting rounds chased a staff attachment instead of reading the adopted instrument, and the item sat on this volume's deferred-records list through those four rounds in error. The surviving finding is narrower and holds: on the two transcripts searched, the standard was adopted without being discussed on the floor. Part Nine and note 206.

Part Ten

An unsourced recital survived every review by looking sourced. An account of the July 10, 2024 Innovation Gateway hearing entered an early draft carrying four specific facts: a 7–1–1 postponement to September on a named supervisor's motion, the mover's threat to deny unless the data center component came out, the chair calling data centers on the site a non-starter, and the applicant's refusal. None of the four was sourced. No recording of that hearing is in this corpus, and two independent research passes confirmed no element of the account. The recital is out of the body, and note 212 states the gap with its search scope.

The case number that was thought not to exist. An intermediate research pass reasoned from Innovation Gateway's absence from the county's application database, together with a gap in the case-numbering sequence, that LEGI-2023-

0027 did not exist. That conclusion propagated across three project documents, carrying an instruction that the number never appear in print. It was wrong. LEGI-2023-0027 is Innovation Gateway's case number, confirmed by two independent outlets, and the missing database record and the numbering gap are the same artifact: the database layer is geometry-based and omits any application without mapped geometry. Part Ten keeps the finding that absence from a geometry-based database is not evidence of nonexistence.

The substation-proffer observation. An earlier draft attributed the observation that proffering substations out of an application was unprecedented to a planning commissioner, which would have made it an independent assessment from the reviewing body. It is the applicant's attorney characterizing his own client's concession. The transcripts carry no speaker labels, and this is the same class of error as the misattribution recorded in Appendix C. Note 208.

Part Eleven

An earlier draft printed a commissioner's turnout pair, 183 emails and 68 registered speakers, as fact. The commissioner disclaimed both numbers in the same breath, and the draft had taken the pair from this project's own quote register rather than from the staff presentation. Part Eleven now carries the counts spoken from the dais over the evening together with the staff count of 188 public comments taken as of 5 p.m. and its 166 / 15 / 7 breakdown, which is the time-stamped figure and the one the chapter relies on. Those two paragraphs carry no endnote marker; the counts are quotable from the raw transcript and are uncited in this version.

Part Twelve

§10.11.02 was declared unobtainable and then retrieved. Five renditions of Chapter 10 across two hosts, fetched with six differently anchored requests, all terminated at an identical point inside §10.10.08, and four research passes read that pattern as a fixed extraction ceiling. The provision was on the county's own document center the whole time, at a sequential per-chapter address. The text is quoted in full in Part Twelve at note 248. The account had been carried twice, once there and once at the head of the gaps section in Part Fourteen; it is carried once now, and the gaps section's own count was reworked to close after the duplicate came out.

The chapter had been built to carry the opposite finding. Part Twelve was drafted on the hypothesis that the minor special exception applies a lower substantive bar than the full special exception. The retrieved text shows the same bar with one fewer public body reviewing: §10.11.02 contains no independent approval criteria, being a purpose paragraph and a single incorporation clause. The hypothesis is gone from the body and the finding rests on the text.

The architecture of §10.11 was held backwards for four passes. This project treated the administrative minor-change authority at §10.11.01(H) as sitting inside the minor special exception procedure rather than the full one, through four research passes, and the error propagated into three project documents before it was caught. The corrected placement is what makes footnote 3 of the adopted amendment legible. Part Twelve and note 237.

Footnote 3's description was attributed to staff. An earlier draft gave the on-the-record description of what footnote 3 does to county staff. The speaker is TeKrony, describing the provision inside her own friendly amendment, which makes the board's later silence about footnote 3 harder to explain rather than easier. Note 243.

Part Fourteen

A records gap asserted for four passes had not been tested. This project held that Loudoun's fiscal record could not be reconstructed before FY2017, because the FY2010 through FY2016 adopted budgets sit behind a portal that excludes automated clients. Every annual comprehensive financial report from FY2001 forward is posted on the county's open document center in machine-readable text at direct unauthenticated addresses, and their ten-year statistical tables stitch into a continuous FY2008 to FY2025 series. The error was found by an independent research sweep aimed at what this project believed it already knew; three of four such sweeps in one round, and seven of eight across two rounds, returned corrections rather than extensions. The same error shape produced the Innovation Gateway case-number conclusion recorded above, where a gap in a numbering sequence was read as evidence that an application did not exist. Part Fourteen states the corrected position in one sentence.

Brook Haven and Great Oak. An earlier draft placed in Loudoun a residential noise case that was still unresolved to residents' satisfaction two and a half years on. That case is Great Oak, in Prince William County. Loudoun's case is Brook Haven, which reached a remedy after roughly two years, slowly, and on the residents' own initiative throughout. JLARC Report 598 separates the two by a page break at pages 76 and 77, and the draft merged them across it. Corrected September 4, 2026 against the source PDF; Part Fourteen and note 270.

The distinction between a clean negative and an access limit. This project got that distinction wrong four times before the Board of Zoning Appeals entry was written, which is why that entry refuses to print its negative as clean. No data center appeal was located, and the BZA publishes no searchable decision index; its agendas, minutes and findings sit on two portals this study does not work around. Part Fourteen states that as a documented access limit rather than as a finding that no such decision exists.

The apparatus

The endnotes were renumbered on September 5, 2026 into a single sequence in order of first citation. Through drafting they carried nine letter prefixes and two suffixed ranges marking the pass in which each note was added, and five markers had been assigned twice to unrelated facts. Those collisions were resolved before renumbering: the 67-cent quotation and the FY2026 counterpart passage now cite the budget-adoption transcripts they came from; the county's dependence sentence is cited to the budget page held on disk, because the FAQ page that also carries it could not be re-retrieved on September 5, 2026; two duplicate markers on passages already cited were removed. Notes that had described their source as "same meeting" or "same source" relative to a neighbour now name it. Parts were renumbered One through Fourteen after the grid chapter was moved ahead of the costs chapter and the substation material consolidated in it.

APPENDIX C: PROPER-NOUN CONCORDANCE

The transcription model renders proper nouns and land-use terminology unreliably. This concordance is reproduced in full because any researcher using the same method on the same archive will hit the same wall, and because a keyword search of a transcript produced this way will return false negatives without it.

Place and jurisdiction. Loudoun → *loudon, laden, Laudan, louda, Ladin, Lowney, lounging* · Waxpool → *Walkspole, wax pool* · Broad Run → *Broward Run* · Dulles Cloud South → *delis, Dallas, dullis cloud south* · Transition Policy Area → *Transmission Policy Area*

Members of the Board of Supervisors. Kershner → *Kirschner, Kirchner, Kersener, Mr. Kirsten, christner, curse nurse* · Briskman → *bricksman, Prickman, Brisbane, riskman, briggsman, bristman, Berksman, Brismond, brixman* · Letourneau → *Latternell, Latternose, luterno, latino, Ms. Eternal, Saterno,* ***Turner*** · TeKrony → *Troni, to crony, Mr. Cooney, Cronin, Traconi, Tecroni, Dr. Croning, DiCroni, Coney, DeCroni* · Umstattd → *Umstead, Amstad, Emse, Ms. Umpstep, Romstead, Umstong, i'm stopped, Umstotz, Imtug* · Saines → *sainz, shane's, sands, sayings, Sings, Sains*

The most dangerous entry in this table is Letourneau → "Turner." At the FY2027 budget adoption the chair closes Letourneau's turn with a thank-you that the model renders as another sitting supervisor's actual name. It is not a garbled string a reader would flag; it is a plausible, correctly spelled name belonging to a different member of the same board. Two passes of this study reached opposite attributions from that single line, and only the video resolved it. Any researcher using automated transcription on a body whose members have similar-sounding names should assume this class of error exists and check the recognitions rather than the thank-yous.

Planning Commissioners. Keirce → *Kears, Kirsch, Kier, Kiers, my shark ears, Gears* · Dale Polen Myers → *Pollan-Meyers, mires, mire, Rives* · Banks → *Burns, Boynk banks* · Michelle Frank → *Franke, rent frank* · Moderetti → *Moderati, Moner-Ready, Onamab*

Staff and others. Buddy Rizer → *Mr. Reiser, mr. wuh um riser, Croboff* · Hemstreet → *Himstreet, Hamstreet* · Galindo → *Galinda, Gelinda, Glendale* · Kate McConnell → *Connoff, Croboff* · Abdul Jafri → *Abdul-Jafri, Jaffee, Mr. Gilbert, Jaffari* · Joe Kroboth → *Crobuth, Kroba, Joe Crowbeth* · Judy Birkitt → *Birkett, Judy Burke* · Nancy Zelke → *Selke, Elke* · Michael Capretti → *Capredi, Cropretti* · Minchew → *Randy mitchu* · Lerner → *learner*

Land-use vocabulary. SPEX → *specs*, *respects*, *aspects*, *P2S* · ZOR → *Zora*, *zoor*, *zore* · ZOAM → *zoam*, *zoom*, *zoe am*, *ZOO*, *stow am* · CPAM → *c-pam*, *cpm*, *c-pum*, *CPANM* · ZMAP → *Z map*, *Zemad* · ZMOD → *Zmod*, *zima* · grandfathering → *grand bothering*, *grant-filing* · place types → *play styles* · Tier 4 → *tear 4* · RSCOD → *risk or*, *risk-god*

Institutions and technical terms. PJM → *PGM*, *p.m. J.* · JLARC → *JLock*, *jaylark* · TLUC → *T-Luck*, *T-Lock*, *T-Lux*, *team-luck*, *TLAC*, *tealight* · NOVEC → *Novak* · NAIOP → *naot* · Kimley-Horn → *Kimberly Horn*, *Kimley Horne* · W&OD → *WNOD* · Luckstone → *Luxone*, *blockstone*

The consequential case. "Jaffari" is a transcription artifact, not a person. The speaker is Abdul Jafri, Department of Planning and Zoning project manager for the amendment, who self-identifies by name and title three times across the corpus. An earlier stage of this project attributed the county's count of 41 applications to "Jaffari" as a Planning Commissioner's estimate. He is County staff, which makes the figure the county's official position rather than a member's characterization, and it is a March 4, 2025 count rather than a February 12 one. The error is recorded here because it inverted the evidentiary weight of the most-cited number in the grandfathering debate.

APPENDIX D: VIRGINIA LAND-USE VOCABULARY IN PLAY

Provided because this volume's record is dense with acronyms that are not self-explanatory outside Virginia practice.

Application types. CPAM, comprehensive plan amendment · ZOAM, zoning ordinance amendment · ZCPA, zoning concept plan amendment · ZMAP, zoning map amendment (rezoning) · ZMOD, zoning modification · SPEX, special exception · SPMI, minor special exception · CMPT, commission permit · ROI, resolution of intent · ZRTD, zoning conversion in a Route 28 tax district

Other. ZOR, the 2023 Zoning Ordinance Rewrite · TLUC, Transportation and Land Use Committee · LEGI and EPLAN, the county's case-numbering prefixes for legislative and engineering applications

Districts appearing in this volume. PDTC, PDOP, PDGI, PDRDP, PDTRC; IP (industrial park), GI (general industry), TR-10, A-3, R-24, PD-IP, PD-TC

Two operative rules. Vested rights, for administrative applications, means site plan approval. Closed session authority for the March 4, 2025 discussion was Va. Code § 2.2-3711(A)(8).

ENDNOTES

Numbering. Notes are numbered consecutively in order of first citation. Earlier drafts carried prefixed and suffixed provisional labels; those were collapsed into this sequence on September 5, 2026, and Appendix B records the collisions resolved in the process.

Standing conventions. Transcript citations give the meeting, the date, and the timestamp, and carry an asterisk where the speaker attribution is inferred rather than observed. Comprehensive annual financial reports are cited to a named vintage, never to "the ACFR," because assessed values are restated between vintages. County FAQ answers are cited by question identifier. Applications are cited by case number and filing date, never by case-number year, because the county assigns numbers at intake rather than at filing.

Confidence marking in this apparatus

Notes reconstructed in the August 29, 2026 pass carry a confidence mark where they are not firm. **PROBABLE** means one supporting signal with nothing contradicting it. **UNSOURCED** means the claim could not be traced to a document; every such note says what was searched, and the corresponding passage in the text has been rewritten to state the gap rather than assert the claim. Marking uncertainty in the apparatus rather than resolving it silently is a deliberate choice.

Notes resting on a single retrieval

The apparatus stands at 270 notes. Three notes marked PROBABLE rest on one retrieval that has not been repeated: the change-highlights sentence at note 239, § 4.01.A at note 240, and § 4.06.02 in relevant part at note 242. The placard and mailed-notice provisions at note 238 were formerly on this list and came off it on September 5, 2026, when Chapter 10 of the zoning ordinance was retrieved a second time and both provisions were read on the face of § 10.01.G.

Part One

1. Allen Tucker, JLL, quoted in *Data Center Knowledge*, 2018. Recollection offered roughly twenty years after the events described. No primary source establishes who built the long-haul fiber along Routes 267, 7 and 28, or when.

2. Va. Code § 56-458(A) and § 56-458(D).

3. Equinix, Inc., Form S-1 and Form 10-K for fiscal year 2000. Company inception June 22, 1998; first International Business Exchange center, Ashburn, construction completed and customers accepted July 1999; no revenue recognized until

November 1999. The filings do not claim Ashburn was chronologically first among the initial exchange centers, and this document does not either.

4. United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture, farmland values by county, 1982 through 1997.

5. Loudoun County Airport Impact Overlay District, adopted June 16, 1993, implementing the FAA Part 150 noise compatibility program for Dulles International Airport (August 1992); 14 C.F.R. Parts 150 and 77.

6. Route 28 Highway Transportation Improvement District, created jointly by Loudoun and Fairfax counties December 21, 1987; Chapter 676, 1988 Acts of Assembly; $138.5 million in state revenue bonds issued September 1988. Va. Code § 15.2-4603(A) permits creation "only by the resolutions of the boards of supervisors of the adjoining counties… upon the joint petition to each board… of the owners of at least 51 percent of either the land area or the assessed value of land in each county that is within the boundaries of the proposed district and that has been zoned for commercial or industrial use or is used for such purposes." An earlier draft ended that quotation at "commercial or industrial use" and did not mark the elision; the closing words are restored, re-checked against the section on September 5, 2026. The description of the district as the Commonwealth's first is the Federal Highway Administration's, in its Center for Innovative Finance Support case study "Virginia Route 28 Special Tax District," fhwa.dot.gov/ipd/value_capture/case_studies/virginia_route_28_special_tax_district.aspx, which dates the counties' formation of it to 1988 against the county's own December 21, 1987 resolutions. No list of Virginia transportation improvement districts by creation date was compiled here.

7. Va. Code § 15.2-4603(C), second paragraph, law.lis.virginia.gov/vacodefull/title15.2/chapter46/article1/, current through the 2026 session, quoted verbatim. The first paragraph is the general rule and does not govern here; the second applies to districts created before July 1, 1992 and is materially stronger, reaching site plan regulations, uses, densities, setbacks, building heights, parking and open space. Carve-outs at the same subsection: landowner-initiated approvals, the Chesapeake Bay Preservation Act, the federal Clean Water Act stormwater provisions, other state or federal law. See also § 15.2-4609.

Termination corroborated against Fairfax County FY2025 Adopted Budget Plan, Fund 70000, whose consolidated debt-service schedule for the district runs through bond year 2037 with no early payoff. Loudoun County zoning FAQ, quoted verbatim, naming § 15.2-4603.C by subsection and distinguishing it from the vested-rights statutes at §§ 15.2-2307 and 15.2-2303.B; and Loudoun County, "Route 28 Tax

District Zoning and Comprehensive Plan Amendments," loudoun.gov/6351, stating that fulfilling the district's obligations "will end Loudoun County's statutory basis for properties to remain under the 1972 Zoning Ordinance."

Scale figure computed by this study from Loudoun County GIS, building-level data center layer, point-in-polygon join against the county's Route 28 Tax District boundary polygon: built 18,432,912 of 36,109,859 sq ft (51.05 percent); built plus under construction 22,846,586 of 52,935,194 (43.16 percent); under construction alone 4,413,674 of 16,825,335 (26.23 percent). No county document publishes these figures. Method stated so the arithmetic can be reproduced. The join cannot be. The county layer as downloaded, the district boundary polygon and the containment script were not retained, and a search of the project tree for these figures on September 4, 2026 returned narrative markdown only. The three denominators are separately recorded from the same March 1, 2026 GIS vintage at Loudoun_Research_Origins_Operators_v1_0.md §B11.2, written five weeks before the computation, so they have a second source. The two numerators, 18,432,912 and 4,413,674, do not. They rest on one unretained computation set out at Loudoun_Retrieval_Rt28Scale_v1_0.md lines 111–118, and every other file in this project's corpus that carries them postdates it, which makes agreement among those files a fact about the corpus rather than about the layer. One further limit stated at the same lines and not previously carried here: the join tests each building's point geometry, the dataset's own geometry type, not its footprint polygon, so a building whose point sits within a few feet of the district boundary could be misclassified.

No judicial construction and no Attorney General opinion on § 15.2-4603(C) was located, searched on the section number and on "transportation improvement district" zoning freeze.

8. Loudoun County Data Center Fact Sheet, as of March 1, 2026, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/222193, county timeline, 2000 entry, quoted verbatim. This is a county primary source for the 2000 determination, which earlier drafts of this volume sourced only to an advocacy chronology corroborated by a county FAQ. The determination memo itself remains unretrieved after three exhaustive DocumentCenter sweeps; no FOIA was pursued.

9. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Chapter 6, p. 79. "Loudoun originally treated data centers as an office use and continues to allow by-right data center development in areas zoned for office uses in some parts of the county." Corroborates the office-use classification described in Part One and the survival of by-right development described in Part Thirteen. It corroborates nothing else in that passage. The sentence carries no date, no reference to a zoning administrator or to a memo, and no statement about advertisement, hearing or vote

in connection with it; the 2000 date and the administrative mechanism rest on the county's own published timeline at note 8, whose underlying memo this study has never retrieved. JLARC's sentence sits inside a passage about localities that classified data centers as non-industrial uses, the adjacent example being Fairfax's treatment of them as telecommunications facilities until 2021.

10. Loudoun County Department of Economic Development, marketing strategy initiated 2008. Commercial share of county revenue at the time stated as 19 percent.

11. Virginia Economic Development Partnership, 2019. The 2000 through 2007 interval is a documented dormancy in the cluster's growth, not a continuous expansion.

12. Cardinal News, July 29, 2025, reporting the Virginia Economic Development Partnership's statement that it "doesn't know where or when that figure came from." Origin of the claim traced to *Loudoun Times-Mirror*, August 17, 2012, attributing it to the county's Department of Economic Development in the hedged form "up to 70 percent." The unhedged form entered the county's adopted 2019 general plan unattributed and has since been walked back in current county copy to "much of the world's internet traffic."

13. Tim Stronge, TeleGeography, May 30, 2019, and again July 2025.

14. Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024.

15. Three figures, none stating a methodology: 5,400 (Mangum Economics for the Northern Virginia Technology Council, 2022 data, derived from NAICS 518210 in the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages); "more than 12,000" (Loudoun County FAQ and Mangum/NVTC 2024); "more than 15,000" (Loudoun County Department of Economic Development sector page, loudounpossible.com/data-centers, as retrieved July 25, 2026; the same page read "more than 17,000" on September 5, 2026, held at Loudoun_Retrieval_LoudounPossible_2026-09-05b.md). The term "ecosystem" is undefined in every instance.

16. Loudoun County GIS, built plus under construction as of March 1, 2026: 187 buildings and 36,109,859 square feet built, 52 buildings and 16,825,335 square feet under construction, total 52,935,194. Cited to the GIS layer with that definition. An earlier draft of this note stated that the county's Department of Economic Development never published a 53 million figure, and that is withdrawn. The office's sector page at loudounpossible.com/data-centers reads "53.3 million square feet of data centers are currently in operation or under development," recorded July 25, 2026 at Loudoun_Research_Origins_Operators_v1_0.md §1.7, where the sentence is quoted in full, and at PART 0, where the page is cited beside the office's fact sheet;

that file's §2.2 quote bank carries the figure with the "or under development" clause elided, which is how the negative survived a file that had already recorded the page three times. Re-retrieved September 5, 2026 and held at Loudoun_Retrieval_LoudounPossible_2026-09-05b.md. The 25 million and 30-plus-5 million figures described in the text are from the office's predecessor site at biz.loudoun.gov, whose sector page returned 404 by July 2026. What survives is narrower and holds: the figure is the county's own built-plus-under-construction GIS total, and it circulates without the "or under development" half of the office's definition.

17. Loudoun County data center FAQ. The $41 billion assessed-value figure and the $609 per square foot figure appear on the same page. $41,000,000,000 divided by $609 implies 67.3 million square feet, 86 percent above the county's own built figure and 27 percent above built plus under construction. A separate Department of Economic Development fact sheet, May 2025, gives $858 per square foot. Neither document states its assessment year. The $26 per $1 figure was $9.50 in 2016 and $15.10 in 2020; no document explains the change.

18. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, [02:28:18]–[02:29:12]. Staff presentation, Abdul Jafri. Figures as of March 1, 2024 (40M existing / 36M pipeline) and July 1, 2024 (43M / 47M). "Substantial growth of 14 million square feet in just five months" is the staff's own characterization, not this document's.

19. Board of Supervisors public hearing, February 12, 2025, [00:33:21]–[00:33:36] (staff, for the 105 million figure against a ~20 million county industrial inventory); Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, [02:28:18]–[02:29:12] (staff, for 43 million existing); Loudoun County GIS, built plus under construction as of March 1, 2026, 52,935,194 sq ft (187 buildings / 36,109,859 built; 52 buildings / 16,825,335 under construction). The three figures are irreconcilable from the published sources this study reached, and no county document located here bridges them.

20. Land share derived as described in Part Two, from the acreage at note 21; assessed-value share from the county's own budget documents. The workforce share is not derived anywhere in this volume, no covered-workforce denominator being printed here, and the two-to-three percent band in the text should be read on that footing.

Part Two

21. Loudoun County ArcGIS feature services Existing_Permitted_Data_Center_Buildings and Existing_Data_Center_Parcel, machine-readable, dated March 1, 2026: 239 buildings, 52,935,194 sq ft, 3,702 acres, 187 built and 52 under construction, with permit numbers and a year-by-year

build curve. Neither carries an owner or operator field. Scope of that negative: the three named feature services and two county FAQ pages, examined July 25, 2026. It is not a claim that the county holds no such data internally, and not a claim about the assessor's records, which do carry owners at the special-purpose-entity level.

22. Loudoun County, 2026 Top 25 Valuations Countywide, and the tax year 2024 equivalent. Nine of the twenty-five 2026 names are holding entities rather than operator brands. The TY2024 list prints "Amazon Data Services INC" at rank 8 and "Amazon Data Services, INC" at rank 10; consolidated the entity would rank second.

23. Virginia_Data_Centers_COMPLETE_v3_March_2026.xlsx, sheet "Master Inventory," filtered County == Loudoun, returning 121 rows. Workbook title: "VIRGINIA DATA CENTERS — MASTER INVENTORY WITH GEOLOCATION (March 2026)." Five sheets: Master Inventory (286 data rows statewide), Summary by County (24 localities), Canceled-Rejected (17 projects), Key Operators (20 firms), Regulatory Context (14 entries). It is a compiled third-party dataset, not a county record and not a company disclosure. The 121 Loudoun rows: 100 operating, 16 under construction, 3 proposed, 2 decommissioned; 21 named operators, plus four facilities whose operator field reads only "Private" (1501 Moran Rd, 1571 Beaumeade Cir, 22810–22860 International Dr, 22995 Wilder Ct). Square footage on 38 of 121 rows and megawatts on 39; Amazon carries 32 rows and square footage on four; Active Infrastructure's 1,300 MW Spring Valley proposal, which the Planning Commission recommended for denial, is 1,300 megawatts, roughly a third of the 3,935.5 MW those 39 rows sum to. That sum is this study's computation from the rows and is not a total the workbook prints, and it embeds two conventions the workbook does not state: the cell reading "500 (campus)" is taken at 500, and the four "Private" ranges are taken at their lower bounds with "<10" read as 0. On the alternative convention used at Loudoun_Prep_Inventory_Docket_v1_0.md §4.6 the sum is 3,945.5. This document prints the sum only to size the Spring Valley row against it, and prints no square-footage or megawatt figure as a measurement of Loudoun's stock, for the reason the body gives: a sum over 39 of 121 rows, weighted toward whoever discloses most, is not a measurement. Loudoun has zero rows in the Canceled-Rejected sheet, and the Summary by County sheet records "Withdrawn/Rejected: 0" for Loudoun. Scope of that negative: those two sheets of this workbook at its March 2026 vintage. It is recorded as a property of the dataset and is not shown to be a coverage gap. Belmont Innovation Campus, denied 5–4 on March 13, 2024, was reconsidered on March 19 and approved 6–3 on April 10, 2024 (Loudoun_LOLA_Docket_Findings_v1_1.md §D), so a cancelled-and-rejected sheet is right to omit it, and the Spring Valley denial recommendation postdates the workbook's vintage by four months. Loudoun_Prep_Inventory_Docket_v1_0.md line 79(e) offers both as counter-examples to the zero; neither works, and that line is

wrong. Basis: company pages, industry directories, trade press, property records, and in two cases a large language model. Units are inconsistent within the dataset, some rows being one building and some three, and are not comparable to the county's permitted-footprint count.

24. Board of Supervisors, public hearing on the grandfathering cutoff date, February 12, 2025, [03:44:10]–[03:44:13]. Chair Randall. An earlier draft placed this remark at the March 4 meeting.

25. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025. The chair recognizes Supervisor Briskman at [05:26:16]–[05:26:21], "you're coming back to that miss brixman … you have something connected to the grand fathering," the automatic transcript's rendering of the name; Briskman's request follows at [05:26:26], "Madam chair, I I'd like to get uh advice from counsel real quick." The body's [05:26:16] is the recognition and this note's [05:26:26] is the request, ten seconds and one speaking turn apart, and both marks are on the transcript. County Attorney Leo Rogers's answer runs [05:27:06]–[05:27:16]. Speaker attribution confirmed against the Granicus video August 28, 2026, superseding three earlier internal readings that gave three different supervisors.

26. Board of Supervisors, March 4, 2025, [03:03:21] (Tia Earman, Piedmont Environmental Council — advocacy speaker in public comment) and [05:23:57]–[05:26:23] (Supervisor Briskman and Vice Chair Turner repeating the conversion).

27. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:08:09]–[05:08:33] and [06:46:53]–[06:47:05] (Supervisor Briskman); Board of Supervisors, February 6, 2024, [01:28:46]–[01:28:58].

28. Board of Supervisors, July 2, 2024, [00:48:41]–[00:48:59]. **PROBABLE** — speaker not resolved.

29. Board of Supervisors, July 2, 2024, [01:35:23]–[01:36:02] (staff pipeline definition), read with the February 12, 2025 public hearing at [00:33:47]–[00:34:15] (Galindo) and [03:30:29] (Supervisor TeKrony).

30. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:50:31]–[04:50:56]. Staff — Galindo, confirmed on video August 28, 2026.

31. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:50:22] (member's question) and [04:51:59] (staff answer, Galindo).

32. Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [02:44:35]–[02:45:04].

Part Three

33. FY2025 Proposed Budget, General Fund Revenue and Trends, FY2021 Actual line: data center computer equipment $214,973,088; all other computer equipment $173,880,875. Cross-referenced against FY2026 Adopted Budget p. 106 and FY2027 Adopted Budget p. 107. An earlier draft stated that the non-data-center line was the larger of the two. It is the smaller, at 45 percent of the combined line. The basis-break finding survives the correction; the characterization did not.

34. FY2027 Adopted Budget, General Fund Revenue, pp. 105 and 107, for $879.1M, $3.22B and 27.3 percent; FY2017 ACFR, Schedule of Revenues, Expenditures and Changes in Fund Balance, for the FY2017 general fund total of $1.48B. The $150.5 million FY2017 computer-equipment figure is UNSOURCED. It traces only to the FY2017/FY2018 adopted budget volume, held on a county portal that excludes automated clients and never retrieved by this study. The revenue series has been restarted at FY2022 in consequence.

35. FY2027 Adopted Budget, General Fund Revenue, pp. 105–107: data center real property $417,666,456; data center computer equipment $879,094,354; total general fund $3,218,218,368. The ~40.3 percent is this document's arithmetic on three county figures, not a county-published aggregate, and is labelled as such in the text.

36. Loudoun County FAQ, "Why would Loudoun County consider lowering the personal property tax rate on data center equipment?", QID=1790, category "Data Centers – Tax Revenues and the County Budget" (TID=241). This corrects a citation to QID=1793 carried through earlier drafts. The press account of the 60 percent projection is at note 40.

37. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Chapter 2, pp. 16–17, and Figure 2-4. Loudoun 31 percent and Prince William 7 percent of total local tax revenue in FY2023: Figure 2-4 is titled "Data center tax revenue can be substantial for local governments (FY23)" and its source line reads "JLARC staff analysis of revenue collections from localities and the APA Local Government Comparative Report, FY23." Five mature markets ranging from less than 1 percent to 31 percent, which the report states against "total local revenue" in the sentence before it states Loudoun's and Prince William's shares against "total local tax revenue"; Loudoun's market three times Prince William's. On confidentiality the report says: "Revenue estimates are not provided for all of these localities to protect taxpayer confidentiality." That sentence establishes what is withheld and says nothing about shares. Loudoun's 31 percent is printed in the running text on printed p. 16. Whether Figure 2-4 prints or suppresses any locality's share could not be retrieved: the figure's content is an image, and pdftotext returns nothing between

its title line and its source line. Retrieval held at Loudoun_PartThree_SourceVerify_2026-09-04.md.

38. PFM Group Consulting LLC, *Loudoun County, Virginia — Revenue and Tax Policy Study, Final Report*, October 27, 2021. Recommendation 3 sets a 60 percent target for real property as a share of own-source tax revenue; Recommendation 4 sets a 51.5 percent floor. The study's rebalancing exercise names three routes, all of which assume data center revenue continues. It runs no no-data-center counterfactual. Separately, the study expressly priced and rejected a data-center computer-equipment classification. Whether the Board ever adopted 60 percent or 51.5 percent as binding policy is NOT established, and this study cannot call it a clean negative. No adopting action was located in the county's published budget volumes or public-facing materials. The board resolution record itself was not searched, because it sits on the two portals this study does not work around. The targets remain consultant recommendations in every document reached; whether they were ever made policy is open.

39. Board of Supervisors, April 7, 2026, [00:15:09]–[00:16:16]. **PROBABLE** — Supervisor Briskman, as Finance Committee chair. PFM Group Consulting, October 27, 2021, Recommendation 3 and the three-routes passage, both retrieved verbatim.

40. *Loudoun Now*, "County Staff to Push for Lower Data Center Taxes to Balance Revenues," loudounnow.com/news/county-staff-to-push-for-lower-data-center-taxes-to-balance-revenues/article_567df6c2-2179-4eba-9cb5-fc78e2938ccb.html, retrieved July 25, 2026; reading held at Loudoun_Research_Plateau_v1_0.md § 3. The article carries the sentence quoted here verbatim, including the 38 percent, the "more than 60%," the "five to seven years," and the attributive phrase "according to the presentation." It names no person as the source of the projection. Management and Budget Director Megan Bourke is quoted in the same article on other propositions. It quotes the written staff report directly, inside quotation marks, twice. The briefing is the Finance, Government Operations and Economic Development Committee item of Tuesday, July 8, 2025, established two ways: the article's own "provided to the Board of Supervisors' financial committee on Tuesday," July 8, 2025 having been a Tuesday; and an independent reference to "the Staff proposal yet again on July 8, 2025 to the Finance Committee" in James Hanna, *Loudoun's Fiscal Strategy FY2027–FY2030*, Loudoun County Preservation and Conservation Coalition, updated July 19, 2025. The article is by Norman K. Styer and the page carries "Jul 10, 2025" as both its published and its updated date, re-checked against the live page September 5, 2026; July 10, 2025 was a Thursday, which is a third confirmation of the July 8 committee date. An earlier reading of this note reported the page as carrying no dateline; that was wrong and is corrected here. The underlying staff report, titled "FY 2027 Budget Development: Economic

Outlook and Budget Issues," sits in the county's Granicus repository, which this study does not fetch, and was not retrieved.

41. Loudoun County FAQ, QID=1790, "Why would Loudoun County consider lowering the personal property tax rate on data center equipment?", category TID=241. Quoted verbatim including the county's "five to 10 years" numeral form. The page carries no publication or revision date. Internal references to a July 14, 2026 committee meeting and to the adopted FY2027 budget place the retrieved version at mid-July 2026 or later; the language cannot be dated earlier from the page alone. No model, study, consultant or authority is cited anywhere in the FAQ for the plateau assertion.

42. Loudoun County, "Data Centers: Tax Revenues & County Budget," loudoun.gov/6409/Tax-Revenues-County-Budget, "Data Center Revenue" tab, closing paragraph, retrieved September 4, 2026 and held at Loudoun_PartThree_SourceVerify_2026-09-04.md Source 2. The same sentence appears in the county FAQ "How does data center revenue affect the residents of Loudoun County?" (QID=1793) as retrieved July 25, 2026, where the project's transcription reads "While is it clear" and "the Board is mindful"; that page could not be re-retrieved on September 5, 2026 (two attempts, timeout and empty body), so the quotation is given from the budget page, which is on disk verbatim.

43. Loudoun Coalition, four-scenario model. Advocacy publication. Required real property rates $1.027 / $1.248 / $1.470 / $1.691 against reductions of 25, 50, 75 and 100 percent; average homeowner increases $1,728 / $3,456 / $5,184 / $6,912 from a $6,280 base. Method described by the organization as "model projections" and "author calculations."

44. Chamber of Progress, citing Mangum Economics data commissioned by the Northern Virginia Technology Council and a commercial home-value estimate. Industry advocacy publication. No-data-center rate $1.537; "$5,800 higher" on an $800,000 home value. No step of the calculation traces to county data.

45. Board of Supervisors, FY2027 budget adoption, April 7, 2026. Speaker INFERRED as Supervisor TeKrony on content grounds; this passage was not among the items resolved in the August 28, 2026 video pass and no recognition or end-tag confirms it. The substance does not depend on which member said it; the attribution does, and is marked.

46. Board of Supervisors, FY2027 budget adoption, April 7, 2026, [03:16:47] and [03:18:03]. Supervisor Letourneau, confirmed against the Granicus video August 28, 2026. The transcript's end-tag at [03:18:23] renders the chair's thank-you as "Mr. Turner"; she says Letourneau. See Appendix C.

47. Board of Supervisors, FY2026 budget adoption, April 1, 2025, [00:52:45]–[00:55:14]. Speaker inferred as Supervisor Umstattd; the chair recognizes her office at [00:52:43]. Wording verified against the transcript August 1, 2026.

48. Board of Supervisors, FY2027 budget adoption, April 7, 2026, [00:15:33]. **PROBABLE** — Supervisor Briskman as finance committee chair.

49. Board of Supervisors, FY2027 budget adoption, April 7, 2026, [00:20:00]. Speaker inferred as Supervisor Kershner.

50. FY2017 through FY2025 ACFRs, each at the Schedule of Revenues, Expenditures and Changes in Fund Balance — Budget and Actual, General Fund, Personal Property Taxes line, Final Budget against Actual. Nine consecutive vintages, each cited to its own book.

51. Megan Bourke, Loudoun County Management and Budget Director, quoted in *Loudoun Now*, "County Staff to Push for Lower Data Center Taxes to Balance Revenues." **PROBABLE** — press quotation; the underlying staff report was not retrieved.

52. Loudoun County Revenue Stabilization Fund. See note 64 for the FY2026 motion and the FY2027 Executive Summary line on the fund, and note 68 for the fund's policy.

53. ACFR restatement pattern across vintages FY2008–FY2025, compiled in Loudoun_Retrieval_PlanACFR_v1_0.md. The FY2017 total taxable assessed value case is an $874 million difference between the FY2017 and FY2025 books; comparable and in some years larger differences appear across the series back to FY2008.

54. FY2021 Proposed Budget, Revenue and Trends, p. R-7 (CY2016); FY2023 Adopted Budget, p. R-8 (CY2022); FY2026 Adopted Budget, p. 111 (CY2023); county news release, April 5, 2022, on the FY2023 adoption.

55. Loudoun County, "Property Tax Rates," FY2027 adoption release, April 7, 2026.

56. Loudoun County, "Business Tax Rates" and "Calculating BPPT Tax."

57. Va. Code § 58.1-3506(A)(11), which reaches only hardware serving nonrelated or nonaffiliated businesses, and § 58.1-3506(A)(27), the broader provision. Neither is adopted in Loudoun's rate schedule, established by reading the county's published business tax rates against the two Code provisions; the county states no election under either.

58. Loudoun County news release, "Loudoun Business Tax Assessment Schedule Changes Effective Jan. 1," November 19, 2025; *Loudoun Now*, November 2025, quoting Commissioner of the Revenue Robert S. Wertz Jr.

59. PFM Group Consulting LLC, *Loudoun County, Virginia — Revenue and Tax Policy Study, Final Report*, October 27, 2021.

Part Four

60. Loudoun County FY2021 Proposed Budget, General Fund Revenue and Trends, p. R-7 (TY2016 rate); FY2026 Adopted Budget, General Fund Revenue, p. 111 (TY2025 rate); county release, April 7, 2026 (TY2026 held flat).

61. PFM Group Consulting LLC, October 27, 2021, Recommendations 3 and 4; Loudoun County FAQ, QID=1790. **PROBABLE** — these are consultant recommendations, not adopted county policy, and the text should not imply otherwise.

62. Board of Supervisors, FY2026 budget adoption, April 1, 2025, [00:59:35]–[01:01:27]. Speaker inferred as Chair Randall on the ground that she follows the preceding speaker without being recognized, which is the presider's position, and closes by calling the vote. Three transcription artifacts silently corrected in the quotation: "think" for "thank" twice, and "wells" for "whales."

63. Board of Supervisors, FY2026 budget adoption, April 1, 2025, [00:58:25]–[00:59:32]. Speaker inferred as Vice Chair Turner; the chair recognizes "Vice Chair Turner" at [00:58:23] and the speaker refers to "my five years."

64. Board of Supervisors, FY2026 budget adoption motion, April 1, 2025, [00:46:10]–[00:46:20]: "by reducing the contribution to the Revenue Stabilization Fund by $8 million and creating a Loudoun County Public Schools contingency in the county's general fund in that same amount." The motion takes nothing out of the fund; it reduces what goes in. The FY2027 Adopted Budget Executive Summary, p. 38, also carries a line on the fund: "LTF in the County's General Fund increased by $18.4 million or 2.3 percent, which includes a decreased contribution of $39.7 million to the Revenue Stabilization Reserve and $8.0 million in one-time reserve funding for LCPS." Scope of what that sentence establishes: it is a single line inside an FY2027 comparison and assigns no fiscal year to either component on its face, so the $8.0 million it names is matched to the April 1, 2025 motion by amount and purpose rather than by a stated date. Quoted at Loudoun_Prep_Civic_Expenditure_v1_0.md §8.5.

65. Loudoun County Data Center Fact Sheet, as of March 1, 2026, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/222193, retrieved September 4, 2026; full text

held at Loudoun_FactSheet_2026-03-01_FULLTEXT.md. Tenth and final "lesson learned," quoted verbatim. Framing quoted verbatim from the opening paragraph ("Over the past three decades, the county and community have learned valuable lessons about data center development as Loudoun County's data center story continues to evolve") and from the introduction to the list ("At the outset, it was difficult for Loudoun County to foresee what the data center industry would become, how infrastructure would evolve and how it would impact residents over time… Here are the top 10 lessons learned"). Lesson 1 quoted verbatim. No sentence in the sheet's text layer names an audience for the ten items. The reading that they are offered to other localities is this document's inference from the imperative voice throughout the list ("Communities should plan…", "Local first responders will need…", "county officials need to make arrangements…") and from lesson 1's premise that the reader has still to choose between by-right and conditional approval; it is marked as an inference in the text because the finding built on it depends on it. The same document's timeline projects FY2027 data center revenue at $1.3 billion, "representing 40% of the total budget." The fact sheet states no denominator. The 40 percent figure is reconcilable with the FY2027 total general fund (see note 35, computing 40.30 percent) and is not reconcilable with any total budget figure in the record; the reading that the label is wrong rather than the number is this document's inference and is stated as such in the text. The fact sheet also describes the March 2025 reform as ending by-right development of "most" data centers, the county's own hedge, in the same entry that names the grandfathering carve-out. The sheet's only outbound URL in its text layer, given twice, is loudoun.gov/DataCenters, the /6406 parent section; the sheet also carries a QR code headed "MORE INFORMATION SCAN ME!" whose destination sits in a graphic and did not extract, so it is a second outbound pointer of unknown target. Three limits on this retrieval, and they bound every negative in this note. The "BY THE NUMBERS" panel's figures sit in a graphic and did not extract; nothing in this volume rests on that panel and no claim is made about its contents. The QR destination is unread. And the sheet's publication date is not established: the only date string in the text layer is "As of March 1, 2026," which extracts immediately after the "BY THE NUMBERS" heading in the position of a caption to that panel, while the sheet's own 2026 timeline entry describes the FY2027 *adopted* budget, adopted April 7, 2026, five weeks later. This volume prints the date line and asserts no publication date. Scope of all three: the PDF text layer at loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/222193 retrieved September 4, 2026 and held at Loudoun_FactSheet_2026-03-01_FULLTEXT.md; the layout was not inspected visually.

66. Loudoun County, "Data Centers: Tax Revenues & County Budget," loudoun.gov/6409/Tax-Revenues-County-Budget, retrieved September 4, 2026,

itemising what data center revenue funds under the heading "Data Center Revenue." Recurring uses, verbatim: "funding budget increases for the schools amounting to tens of millions of dollars year-over-year," "funding resources for the Sheriff's Office and Loudoun County Fire and Rescue," and "many programs and services… including libraries, parks, recreation and community centers, and critical services in the areas of child protection and mental health." Capital uses, from the fourth sentence of the same paragraph: "The Board of Supervisors has also funded capital improvements, such as schools, roads, bridges, and a broad range of facilities." A third category sits in the preceding paragraph and belongs to neither of the first two: "the revenue from data centers has enabled the Board to reduce the personal property tax rate on vehicles beginning in tax year 2026 and enabled the Board to eliminate the $25 vehicle license fee." Both are permanent reductions in recurring revenue rather than capital projects or one-time expenditures. An earlier draft of this note filed them under capital and one-time uses and placed them in the wrong paragraph. The page states no allocation among the three categories. Full text of the page is reproduced at Loudoun_Prep_Civic_Expenditure_v1_0.md §9.1.

67. Board of Supervisors, FY2026 budget adoption, April 1, 2025, [00:44:13]–[00:45:47]. Speaker inferred as Supervisor Briskman, speaking at the chair's request to visiting student supervisors.

68. Loudoun County fiscal policy, Revenue Stabilization Fund section, as printed in the FY2027 Adopted Budget Executive Summary; the county's fiscal policy was revised by the Board of Supervisors on July 15, 2025 (FY2027 Adopted Budget, Debt Service Fund, p. 730). The policy sets a target size of 10 percent of data center real and business tangible personal property tax revenue and allows access "should actual business personal property tax revenue be below forecast." The fund itself is "a special reserve fund established in October 2023 as a buffer specific to the County's data center revenues" (FY2027 Adopted Budget, Fiscal Trends, p. 860). Note 64 carries the FY2026 motion and the FY2027 Executive Summary line on the fund. Neither records money taken out of the fund. On the $8 million, the FY2027 Adopted Budget, Fiscal Trends, p. 859, footnote 4, records that the FY2026 amounts "included an $8 million contingency reserve planned pending resolution of revenue anticipated from the Commonwealth of Virginia," and that "These funds ultimately devolved back to the County General Fund." The passages in this note are quoted at Loudoun_Prep_Civic_Expenditure_v1_0.md §§7.1, 8.5 and 8.7.

69. FY2026 and FY2027 budget adoption motions. FY2025–FY2030 amended capital improvement program adopted as amended March 10, 2025; FY2027–FY2032 adopted as amended March 9, 2026.

70. Finance, Government Operations and Economic Development Committee, April 8, 2025, [00:10:39]–[00:12:33]. Exchange between the committee chair and the County Administrator. Speakers inferred.

71. Board of Supervisors, FY2027 budget adoption, April 7, 2026, [00:15:49]–[00:15:56]. Speaker inferred.

72. Board of Supervisors, FY2026 budget adoption, April 1, 2025, [00:57:06]–[00:58:20]. Speaker inferred. "J-Larq" in the transcript is JLARC.

73. Board of Supervisors, FY2027 budget adoption, April 7, 2026, [03:25:07]–[03:25:12], inside an ex parte disclosure turn beginning at [03:24:20]. **PROBABLE** — speaker inferred as Supervisor TeKrony, on the chair's recognition immediately before the turn at [03:24:18]. The transcript renders that recognition "Mr. Crony," a variant of the *crony* mangling of the name listed in the Method section and catalogued in Appendix C, and the honorific belongs to the mangling. The pronoun in the text does not rest on the identification alone: at [00:31:30] in the same meeting the chair, recounting the order in which she took motions on the personal property tax, says "I went to Mr. Crony first because she was going," applying a female pronoun to the same mangled name on the recording. "Loudon" in the transcript is Loudoun. Raw segments at Loudoun_transcripts/2026-04-07_BOS_FY2027_Budget_transcript.txt lines 3236–3238, with the corroborating pronoun at line 623. An earlier draft carried this marker as "See note 63," a different speaker at the April 1, 2025 FY2026 adoption; note 63 does not support this quotation.

74. Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [00:29:18]–[00:29:31]. **PROBABLE** — county staff; the presenting official is identified elsewhere in the session as Joe Kroboth, self-identified at [00:20:53], with Betsy Smith and Judy Birkitt also present.

75. Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [00:31:28]–[00:31:44]. **PROBABLE** — county staff, same caveat as note 74.

76. Vice Chair Turner, Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [00:37:28]–[00:37:50]. **PROBABLE** — the recognition cue for this specific turn is not visible in the excerpt.

Part Five

77. PJM Interconnection, *Dominion Northern Virginia Area Violations — Immediate Need Statement*, July 1, 2022.

78. PJM Interconnection, Transmission Expansion Advisory Committee presentation, *Dominion Northern Virginia Area Immediate Need*, July 12, 2022, 19 slides, presented by Sami Abdulsalam.

79. Dominion Energy, Loudoun Reliability Engagement Group, Meeting 1 Executive Summary, July 20, 2022, 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., Founders Hall, Ashburn.

80. Andy Power, then President and Chief Financial Officer, Digital Realty, Q2 2022 earnings call, July 28, 2022.

81. Rich Miller, "Ashburn Power Crunch May Cause Delays in Data Center Construction," *Data Center Frontier*, July 29, 2022.

82. Dominion Energy, Loudoun Reliability Engagement Group, Meeting 2 Executive Summary, August 17, 2022.

83. Dominion Energy, Loudoun Reliability Engagement Group, Meeting 3 Executive Summary, September 22, 2022, recording the September 8, 2022 open house: 8,800 invitations, 35 attendees.

84. Loudoun County staff report to the Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, as quoted in *Data Center Frontier*. The underlying report was not independently retrieved; it sits behind the county's streaming archive and document portal, both of which exclude automated clients and neither of which this study works around. Cited as quoted.

85. NOVEC, PJM Manual 19 Attachment B filing, January 6, 2026.

86. JLARC, Report 598, December 9, 2024, p. 36.

87. Aaron Ruby, Dominion Energy media relations, quoted in Rich Miller, "Dominion Resumes New Connections, But Loudoun Faces Lengthy Power Constraints," *Data Center Frontier*, September 26, 2022.

88. JLARC, Report 598, December 9, 2024, p. 36, for the pause finding, Recommendation 2, and Recommendation 2's rationale, all on the same page; and, same section, the July 2024 Dominion customer letter. The rationale does not name Loudoun. The inference is the reader's to draw and this volume marks it as one.

89. Shannon Heckt, "SCC approves Loudoun transmission line, nixes undergrounding," *Virginia Mercury*, April 10, 2026, reporting the record in Case No. PUR-2025-00056. The $1.5 billion high-end figure derives from an analysis submitted by a witness for Loudoun County. Dominion's own Underground Feasibility Report was not retrievable; both figures are press characterizations of the Commission record rather than engineering documents examined by this study.

90. State Corporation Commission fact sheet, April 9, 2026.

91. Kimley-Horn, *Power Transmission Evaluation of Loudoun County, Virginia — Due Diligence Report*, September 2024, Attachment 2 to Item 09, Transportation and Land Use Committee, October 17, 2024. None of these three figures is an undergrounding comparison.

92. Where the roughly $1 billion figure comes from, and what the record puts against it. The figure is carried for Aspen–Golden by the Kimley-Horn due-diligence report at note 91, alongside the $715.7 million and $280.7 million figures. The correction comes from the Supreme Court of Virginia opinion at note 262, which records the rejected partial-underground "Updated Hybrid Proposal" prepared by RLC Engineering, PLLC and costed at $1,112,000,000. The Conservancy retained RLC for an initial underground proposal that VEPCO rejected; the opinion then records that "the County hired RLC to prepare an updated proposal," and twice describes the UHP as "prepared by RLC on behalf of the County." The $423,000,000 differential was confirmed in testimony by Brian Conroy, an engineer employed by RLC. The rejected alternative is therefore Loudoun's own consultant's costing, not the Conservancy's, which is why the sentence above can say Loudoun advocated the configuration, a figure "exceed[ing] the anticipated cost of the Aspen-Golden Project under VEPCO's proposal by $423,000,000." That arithmetic puts the approved overhead project at about $689 million, consistent with the $689 to $705 million range in the sentence above. Loudoun County was a co-appellant in that proceeding, at Record Nos. 250493 and 250494, and the appellants argued that the Commission should have required undergrounding. Retrieval held at Loudoun_Retrieval_SCC_RateCase_v1_0.md, the PUR-2024-00032 row and § 1. Two bounds travel with this. The proceeding that rejected the hybrid configuration is Case No. PUR-2024-00032, decided February 5, 2025 and affirmed February 19, 2026, and it is a different case from the April 2026 Golden–Mars order at notes 89 and 90. And identifying the widely quoted $1 billion with the hybrid alternative is this study's inference from the two costings, not a statement made by either document; what the documents establish is that the approved overhead project cost about $689 to $705 million and that roughly $1.1 billion is the rejected partial-underground alternative's number.

93. Supervisor Michael R. Turner, *Ashburn, Loudoun County, VA — Data Center Growth: Our Changing Paradigm*, county-hosted version dated July 1, 2026. The document carries its own disclaimer that its opinions "represent those of the author alone." An earlier and shorter version dated October 20, 2025 exists; whether the 2022 framing appears identically in it is unconfirmed.

94. Kimley-Horn, *Power Transmission Evaluation of Loudoun County, Virginia — Due Diligence Report*, September 2024, Attachment 2 to Item 09, Transportation and Land Use Committee, October 17, 2024.

95. Kimley-Horn, *Power Transmission Evaluation of Loudoun County, Virginia — Due Diligence Report*, September 2024, Attachment 2 to Item 09, Transportation and Land Use Committee, October 17, 2024. Nine substations across PUR-2022-00183, PUR-2024-00032 and PUR-2024-00044, the last consolidated into PUR-2024-00032 by Commission order. Fifteen further substation plans digitized from the county's LandMARC records, January 2020 through April 2024, two of them NOVEC rather than Dominion. The study attributes no aggregate substation count to Dominion.

96. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:22:17]–[05:22:28]. Supervisor Briskman.

97. Gem Bingol, "March 18: Loudoun Board to Vote on Proposed Changes to Regulate Data Center Development," Piedmont Environmental Council, March 14, 2025, pecva.org/region/loudoun/march-18-loudoun-board-to-vote-on-proposed-changes-to-regulate-data-center-development/, retrieved September 4, 2026; the retrieval is held at Loudoun_Retrieval_PEC_50Substations_2026-09-04.md. Framing sentence and bullet quoted verbatim; the bullet stands third under the sub-heading "Additional projects that Dominion is developing." An earlier draft of this note recorded the item as UNSOURCED after two searches failed to locate it, while this study's own Loudoun_Research_Dominion_Substations_v1_0.md had carried the URL, the byline and both quoted strings throughout. The searches failed; the document did not. Scope of the finding that the page cites nothing for the number: the rendered text of that page as returned on September 4, 2026, with images on the page not inspected and no document linked from it opened for this purpose. No Dominion primary source for the number was located, on the searches recorded at Loudoun_Research_Grid_v1_0.md §3.7 and Loudoun_Research_KimleyHorn_Belmont_v1_0.md lines 167 and 437, which cover Dominion's 2025 Integrated Resource Plan Update, its Northern Virginia project pages, the State Corporation Commission final orders retrieved there, and the county's commissioned Kimley-Horn transmission evaluation. This retrieval does not extend that search and does not close it.

Part Six

98. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, [04:50:31]–[04:50:36]. Staff answer, given by the same speaker as the immediately preceding staff statement. The county attorney is not present in this exchange; the withdrawn attribution is recorded in Appendix B.

99. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, [04:54:57]–[04:55:19]. **PROBABLE** — a board member frames the proposition and a second, distinct voice answers "That's correct." Confirmed on video as two separately seated people; neither individually identified.

100. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, [04:43:30]–[04:44:20]. Staff, answering a member's question. **PROBABLE** — speaker inferred as Rizer. An earlier draft attributed this to a supervisor.

101. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, [04:41:50]–[04:42:34]. Chair Randall, addressed by name mid-passage.

102. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, [04:48:27]–[04:48:40]. The figures — "four times… I think, as expensive," "two years longer" — carry a mid-sentence hedge and cite nothing.

103. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, full-meeting search. "Megawatt" twice, both in public comment about Prince William County; PJM not named; "ratepayer" absent; "substation" eight times, none identified by a formal project name.

104. Board of Supervisors, September 16, 2025, [04:51:29]–[04:51:32]. **PROBABLE** — Chair Randall inferred.

105. Board of Supervisors, September 16, 2025, [04:59:37]–[05:00:19]. LEGI-2024-0043, Tuscarora Land Bay 3 substation special exception, failed 4–4–1 with the chair abstaining; deferred to the next business meeting.

106. Loudoun County land-use application database (LOLA), post-cutoff legislative applications; see Loudoun_LOLA_Docket_Findings_v1_1.md. Digital Realty Western Lands is LEGI-2024-0071, filed June 26, 2025 — five new substations plus removal of one substation's nonconforming status across 447.61 acres of general industry land. Digital Dulles Electric Generating Facility is LEGI-2025-0059, filed December 2, 2025.

107. ZOAM 2014-0006, Board of Supervisors action September 22, 2016, effective January 1, 2017, replacing Zoning Ordinance § 5-1507. The replaced provision is § 5-1507 of the Revised 1993 Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance as revised June 17, 1998, section footer "Section 5-1500, Revision Date: June 17, 1998," at printed pp. 137–139 of the county's complete pre-January 7, 2003 text, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/99513. That date is the basis for "a standard that dated to the 1990s." The 2016 amendment deleted the time-of-day reduction the 1998 text carried and replaced it with limits that "shall apply any time of day or night," which is why Loudoun has carried no day-night differential since. Scope of

the deleted penalty, in the 1998 ordinance's own words: permissible levels were reduced by 5 dB(A) before 7 a.m. and after 7 p.m. "at residential district boundaries where they adjoin nonresidential districts," and only "in the table for impact noises"; the continuous-noise limits at § 5-1507(B)(1) carried no time-of-day differential. The rewrite was prompted by the complaint history of Digital Realty at Loudoun Station. Ordinance texts quoted at endnotes_block_B_sections_4-5.md, notes B-1, B-9 and B-10.

108. Staff report to the Board of Supervisors on ZOAM 2014-0006, September 22, 2016, p. 3 and Attachment 3. Quotations verbatim. The tonal-noise recommendation, the approximately $1,000 marginal cost against an $18,000 base, and the origin of the generator-testing exemption in consultation with data center industry representatives all appear in the staff report itself. Retrieved in an earlier phase of this project via the county's meeting archive and held in the project's noise research files; not re-fetched in this pass, the archive being on a host this study does not work around.

109. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 7.05.03, adopted December 13, 2023, Chapter 7 (Development Standards), loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176101. Table 7.05.03-1 (limits by receiving development type); § 7.05.03.C (measurement protocol, ANSI Type 1, FAST, three samples, five feet, the "bird songs" exclusion at C.2); § 7.05.03.E (exemptions, including generator testing during an emergency or at utility request at E.4, and utility substations); § 7.05.03.G (data-center-specific pre- and post-construction noise studies by a Commonwealth-licensed professional engineer).

110. Loudoun County Codified Ordinances, Part Six, Chapter 654, § 654.02, amended effective September 1, 2016. Criminal audibility standard, Sheriff-enforced, no decibel limit. Not the data-center-relevant instrument and frequently cited as though it were.

111. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 2024, Chapter 6 and Appendix B, checked against the copy at Generation/primary/jlarc/JLARC_Rpt598_DataCentersInVirginia_20241209.pdf; page numbers are the report's own printed pagination. "Data centers are industrial facilities that are largely incompatible with residential uses" is a section heading at p. 74. The 40-to-59 decibel range and "rarely loud enough to violate noise ordinances" are at p. 75. "Typically below the 55 or 60 decibel limit that Loudoun, Prince William, and Fairfax allow in their ordinances for residential areas" and Figure 6-2 are at p. 76; the figure is sourced in part to "analysis of complaint data from Fairfax and Loudoun" and its note states "The units are A-weighted decibels." The block-quoted sentence is at p. 85. The C-weighting passage runs across pp. 85–

86: "To effectively address data center sounds that cause resident complaints, localities could develop a supplemental noise limit defined using a metric that better accounts for low frequency sounds, such as 'C-weighted' decibels." That sentence sits in the chapter's own text and is addressed to localities. The numbered instrument beside it, Recommendation 8 at p. 86, is addressed to the General Assembly and would "expressly authorize local governments to establish and enforce maximum allowable sound levels for data center facilities, including (i) using alternative low frequency noise metrics and (ii) setting noise rules and enforcement mechanisms in their zoning ordinances, separate from existing noise ordinances." Quotations verbatim. Appendix B contains no data-collection subsection for noise, while water use, tax revenue, generator permits, land conversion and residential proximity each carry one.

112. Sterling resident measurement of 60 dB at the property line against a 55 dB limit, July 2026; no violation found. Press account.

113. Supervisor Koran T. Saines, quoted in *Loudoun Now*, April 16, 2026. The statement is about the average of qualifying readings at one location and is commonly quoted as a broader claim than it makes.

114. Supervisor Jeff Mack, Board of Supervisors, February 6, 2024.

115. Virginia Department of Environmental Quality, written reply to a complainant, July 2026, regarding approximately twenty-four hours of generator operation at the Vantage Sterling campus on July 16–17, 2026 following a grid interruption. Reported secondhand in press accounts; the DEQ letter itself was not retrieved. The county half of the sentence, and its scope. No Loudoun County notice of violation, penalty or corrective order arising from that run was found in any account of the event located by this study, and the county's own response to it was legislative: a Board Member Initiative brought by Supervisor Saines and adopted July 22, 2026, directing staff to find ways to regulate generators already in operation, on his statement that the county's codified and zoning ordinances "limit our authority" over them. Saines separately told *Loudoun Now* that county zoning staff readings at the residential property adjacent to Vantage have never averaged above 55 dBA. The complainant said he would pursue a complaint through the county magistrate's office, and no outcome for that is reported anywhere located. This negative is bounded to press coverage of the event and to the county's published board record. No county zoning-enforcement file for the campus was requested or examined, and note 117 records that no county document publishes a complaint or violation count for it. Underlying reading at noise_research_E_generators.md § 5.4.

116. John Stephenson, Senior Vice President, Vantage Data Centers, on camera, July 2026.

117. **UNSOURCED** and not used. A figure of roughly a dozen noise complaints and zero violations at one campus circulates widely. It traces to a single television report that returned HTTP 403 on every retrieval attempt and has no Internet Archive snapshot. No county document carries the count. Searched: every meeting in the county's 2026 meeting archive index and every board agenda, per a prior project pass.

118. Town of Warrenton, Virginia, Special Use Permit SUP 2022-03, Amazon Data Services, Inc., approved by the Town Council February 14, 2023. Condition 17.a requires a third-party sound test by a qualified full member of the Acoustical Society of America or a Board-Certified member of the Institute of Noise Control Engineering before each phase's conditional certificate of occupancy, and bars commencement of use for any phase whose test fails. Condition 17.b requires an annual test procured by the Town's Director of Community Development and billed to the applicant for the life of the use. Condition 17.c gives the applicant 48 hours to mitigate a violation "or the Certificate(s) of Occupancy are automatically suspended and the Applicant shall cease the use." The octave-band figures are the Town's own, at Warrenton Zoning Ordinance § 9-14.2, reproduced inside the conditions document; the tonal correction is applied by the Zoning Determination Letter of December 16, 2022 from Zoning Administrator Rob Walton, which held the tone correction applicable because the applicant had not supplied information sufficient to show it should not be. Scope of the superlative: the survey at noise_research_M_approval_conditions.md located no other Virginia instrument combining third-party credentialing, town-controlled procurement, perpetual annual testing and automatic certificate-of-occupancy suspension; Pittsylvania's Proffer 13(c) in R-24-011 is the nearest located, and it is a proffer rather than an imposed condition. The conditions text on file is an OCR of a scanned PDF and is flagged as such at its source. Population: 10,057 at the April 1, 2020 census and 10,213 at the July 1, 2025 estimate, U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts for Warrenton town, Virginia, retrieved September 5, 2026, held at Loudoun_Retrieval_WEAK_Closure_2026-09-05.md § 2.

119. Loudoun County tonal and low-frequency noise review, consultant WSP, opened in response to current complaints and not adopted. Phase 2 of the CPAM/ZOAM carries a stated terminal Board date of March 2027, with staff options on a development pause due September 2026. This supersedes the December 2026 date reported elsewhere in this volume from a single staff statement of September 16, 2025; both are recorded, the earlier as what was said then.

120. Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [02:38:51]–[02:38:59]. Supervisor Kershner.

121. Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [01:57:11]–[01:57:40]. **PROBABLE** — Chair TeKrony, on content and behavioural match only, the voice being unrecognized. Citing Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments regional emissions analysis.

Part Seven

122. Planning Commission work session, February 8, 2024, [00:22:09]. Marshall Brown, Department of Planning and Zoning, self-identified at [00:17:49]. **PROBABLE** as to his title; the transcript does not state it.

123. Loudoun County 2019 Comprehensive Plan, adopted June 20, 2019, 8–1. No roll call by name was located; only the tally and the dissenter.

124. Board of Supervisors, September 20, 2022, 7–1–1 directing staff to draft a comprehensive plan amendment revising place-type boundaries and mapping. Not an adopted amendment, and it added no exclusionary language: the motion's own present-tense phrasing ("where data centers are not envisioned") describes the 2019 plan as adopted. This corrects an assertion carried through earlier drafts that the exclusions for Suburban Mixed Use, Suburban Neighborhood, Suburban Compact Neighborhood and Urban Transit Center arrived in 2022. All four were 2019 text.

125. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance Rewrite, adopted December 13, 2023, 8–0–1, Supervisor Glass absent. The date is established on four independent sources: a Clerk-certified Board resolution reciting the December 13 public hearing and adoption; the county's own page at loudoun.gov/5910; contemporaneous press; and JLARC Report 598, Appendix L, Table L-1 ("effective 12/13/2023"). This closes a question earlier drafts left open, having relied only on a "last updated 12/18/2023" footer. Note that the Digital Gateway rezoning was decided at the same meeting on a separate 4–3 vote; the two actions are distinct and are not conflated here.

126. *Washington Post*, November 5, 2019; Patch results roundup; candidate materials for the 2019 cycle. Data centers appear in none of them as a campaign theme.

127. *Loudoun Now*, "On the Ballot: Board of Supervisors," 2023 candidate questionnaire, October 5, 2023, and reported results. Ashburn: 56.3 to 43.1. Little River: 53.4 to 46.2.

128. Prince William County, Democratic primary for board chair, June 20, 2023. Ann Wheeler lost to Deshundra Jefferson by 4.5 percentage points on unofficial results; Jefferson defeated Jeanine Lawson in the November 7, 2023 general election and took office in January 2024. The quoted words are the *Washington Post*'s, "Data center backlash fuels Prince William board chair's election loss," June 21, 2023,

washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2023/06/21/ann-wheeler-data-centers-election/, retrieved in full September 4, 2026: "On Tuesday, Wheeler lost her party's primary election to a relatively unknown challenger — Deshundra Jefferson — a surprise outcome fueled by anger over data center development in the county." The bound stated in the text is load-bearing: the ouster turned on one concentrated rezoning, the roughly 2,100-acre Digital Gateway on Pageland Lane, with an organised campaign around it whose canvassers the *Post* describes wearing "Fire Ann" shirts. Scope of the Loudoun comparison. The sources examined for a Loudoun equivalent are the 2023 *Loudoun Now* candidate questionnaire and results coverage at note 127 and the press and civic record compiled for this volume. The fifteen meeting recordings transcribed for this volume cannot bear on the question: the set runs from September 20, 2022 to July 23, 2026 and contains no 2023 meeting at any point, jumping from September 20, 2022 straight to February 6, 2024. No comparable single project surfaced in the sources searched; the county's 2022–2023 rezoning docket was not read application by application for this purpose. Belmont post-dates the election by four months.

129. Board of Supervisors, Wednesday, July 22, 2026. The motion replaced Briskman with Supervisor Koran T. Saines (D-Sterling) as chair of the finance committee. The roll closes: 5–3–1, with Briskman, Kristen C. Umstattd (D-Leesburg) and Laura A. TeKrony (D-Little River) opposed and Supervisor Matthew F. Letourneau (R-Dulles) absent. The third figure is an absence, not an abstention. Source: Hanna Pampaloni, "Briskman Removed as Finance Chair After Criticism from Board," *Loudoun Now*, July 23, 2026, loudounnow.com/news/briskman-removed-as-finance-chair-after-criticism-from-board/article_b76ae71b-dbc7-4328-ba9e-8b41e711f4ff.html, retrieved in full September 4, 2026. All six quoted speakers were collated word for word against that account on September 4, 2026, Briskman, Chair Phyllis J. Randall, Saines, Turner, Umstattd and TeKrony, and all six now match. Two departures from the article's own presentation are disclosed rather than silent. Randall's two sentences are consecutive in the article and are separated there by the attribution "Randall said," which this text closes up. TeKrony's "it is not board business" is the trailing clause of "My conclusion is that it is not board business," and is introduced here as what she concluded. An earlier draft opened Briskman's quotation at "This is a manufactured crisis," dropping the article's "I think" without marking the cut; the words are restored. The video's date follows the two press accounts and no county record: this article dates it "last summer" on July 23, 2026 and the *Daily Signal* dates it "last year" on July 29, 2026, both of which put it in 2025; neither gives a day, and an earlier draft printed 2026. The retrieved article is held at Loudoun_PartSix_PressVerify_2026-09-04.md, and the speaker-by-speaker collation at Loudoun_Round2_VerifyLog_2026-09-04.md §2. Both accounts are printed in the text and neither is adjudicated. The same article records the only two prior censures

of a Loudoun supervisor it identifies as precedent, Steven Whitmer in 1999 and Eugene Delgaudio in 2013, neither data-center-related. Scope: this note rests on one press account. The Board's own video of the meeting sits on a host this study does not work around, and the adopted minutes were not retrieved, so the roll as printed here is the reporter's and not the clerk's.

130. *Washington Post*–Schar School poll, George Mason University, fielded March 26–31, 2026; 1,101 registered Virginia voters including 160 Loudoun interviews. This note covers both figures the paragraph prints: the Loudoun crosstab (40 percent worse, 40 percent no difference, 19 percent improved) and the statewide results (nearly 70 percent for ending the data center sales tax exemption; 56 percent crediting positive job impacts). Provenance, and it is stated in the body as well as here: the *Post*'s published poll PDF at washingtonpost.com/documents/0eee4c34-9746-492b-babe-116e433209d1.pdf returned an empty client-rendered response on two attempts on September 4, 2026, as did the *Post*'s April 15, 2026 report on the poll at washingtonpost.com/business/2026/04/15/data-centers-poll-virginia/. The Loudoun crosstab reaches this volume from *The American Prospect*'s citation of that PDF; the statewide figures reach it from the press record compiled for this volume. This is a secondhand recovery of a primary poll document, and the PDF has not been opened by this study. No margin of error is available for the 160-interview Loudoun subsample, and none is asserted here.

131. Board of Supervisors, February 6, 2024, across the session. Moratorium requests at [02:41:31] and [02:58:58], both from public speakers.

132. Board of Supervisors, July 2, 2024. Megawatts, PJM, ratepayer and setback language: zero occurrences on full-text search. Water occurs once, at [01:33:52]–[01:33:55], as a forward reference to the second-phase scope.

133. Board of Supervisors, July 2, 2024, [01:22:26]–[01:22:31]. Staff, describing the February 6 directive retrospectively.

134. Board of Supervisors, February 6, 2024, [04:37:42] (Supervisor Saines) and [04:38:22] (staff response).

135. Board of Supervisors, February 6, 2024. Two friendly amendments at [04:59:44]–[05:04:36]; vote announced [05:31:38], 7–2. Kershner is one of the two nays; the second nay's name is mangled in the transcript and is not independently resolved here.

136. Board of Supervisors, July 2, 2024, motion at [01:49:41]–[01:50:03], vote at [02:13:30]–[02:13:43], announced 7–2. What was approved was the revised project plan and resolution of intent, with adoption anticipated "as early as December," rather than final ordinance text.

137. *Loudoun Now*, "Loudoun Supervisors Eye Data Centers Moratorium, More Regulations," July 2026, as reported via Patch, Michelle Witte, July 24, 2026. County Attorney Leo Rogers advised that a legal moratorium is not available and undertook to report on other Virginia localities in September 2026.

Part Eight

138. Patch, "Loudoun Supervisors Deny Belmont Innovation Campus," March 14, 2024 (2.9M sq ft data center, 989,000 sq ft industrial, 112 acres, reduced from an original 4.8M); Loudoun County news release, April 11, 2024 (111 acres). The acreage conflict is unresolved and is reported in the text.

139. *Loudoun Times-Mirror*, Jess Kirby, March 20, 2024: "For the first time in Loudoun County's history, the Board of Supervisors…" Cited as a press characterization. This study has not independently established that no earlier refusal on grid grounds occurred, and does not assert it.

140. *Blue Ridge Leader*, Reed Carver, "Reduced Belmont Innovation Gateway proposal up for reconsideration." The article carries Supervisor Turner's stated ground for denial in the words quoted here, and it names the March 13, 2024 nays as Randall, Briskman, Turner, Glass and TeKrony. It is the only source located that lists those five as an explicit set. It also attributes the motion: "Turner made the motion to deny the application," followed by "The motion to deny passed with four against." The article, dated April 3, 2024, was retrieved and read in full September 5, 2026 and is extracted at Loudoun_Retrieval_WEAK_Verify_2026-09-05.md § 2; an earlier reading of this note reported that the piece does not attribute the motion, which was taken from a project file's silence rather than from the article, and is corrected here. *Loudoun Now*, "Tipping Point: Loudoun Supervisors Reject Plan for Larger Data Center Campus," March 14, 2024, independently reports that Turner "made the motion to deny the project"; that article is not held on disk and the reading of it is the one recorded at Loudoun_Research_KimleyHorn_Belmont_v1_0.md § B.4. Both readings held at Loudoun_Research_KimleyHorn_Belmont_v1_0.md § B.4.

141. *Blue Ridge Leader*, reporting County Attorney Leo Rogers's caution that the availability of electricity was not a factor the board could weigh, the power company carrying a legal obligation to provide service.

142. *Loudoun Now*, "Tipping Point: Loudoun Supervisors Reject Plan for Larger Data Center Campus," March 14, 2024, recording a failed motion to delay the vote to April immediately preceding the denial. The same account names the four supporters, independently corroborated by *Loudoun Times-Mirror*, March 14, 2024.

143. *Loudoun Times-Mirror*, March 20, 2024, for the 4–3–2 reconsideration tally; the mover is confirmed as Supervisor Turner across four contemporaneous sources.

144. *Blue Ridge Leader*, quoting the March 19, 2024 business meeting.

145. *Loudoun Now*, April 11, 2024: "If the company had to resubmit a new application it would be subject to the county's new zoning ordinance and delay the project, but an approval now would grandfather the project under the old ordinance and allow it to move forward." Reconsideration carried 4–3–2; ayes Turner, Glass, Kershner, Umstattd (Patch, March 20, 2024), nays Briskman, Randall, TeKrony (*Loudoun Times-Mirror*). The two members not voting are Saines and Letourneau by subtraction, named in no source.

146. Loudoun County news release, April 11, 2024, which names no vote tally; *Loudoun Now*, April 11, 2024, for the 6–3 vote.

147. *Loudoun Now*, April 11, 2024, and *DataCenterDynamics*, April 12, 2024, itemizing the differences between the March 13 and April 10 versions.

148. Ron Meyer, applicant's representative, April 10, 2024 hearing, explaining the floor-area-ratio increase as a subdivision and financing technicality with the proffer agreement capping development at 1.3 million square feet.

149. *DataCenterDynamics*, April 12, 2024, quoting the April 10 hearing; corroborated by *Loudoun Times-Mirror*. No transcript of that meeting exists in this corpus.

150. Speaker counts: "more than three dozen" (*Loudoun Now*) and "more than 50" (*Loudoun Times-Mirror*) on March 13, roughly 39 people wearing red (*Blue Ridge Leader*); 11 speakers on April 10.

151. Board of Supervisors, September 16, 2025, [04:38:41]–[04:38:58]. **PROBABLE** — Supervisor Letourneau, inferred from a self-referential detail about a 2015 vote earlier in the same turn.

152. Tia Earman, Piedmont Environmental Council, April 10, 2024 hearing, asserting a 900-foot by-right setback against the rezoning's 500-foot buffer. Contested from the dais in the same hearing; *Loudoun Now* appended a clarification April 12, 2024. Reported as an advocacy assertion contested on the record, and not adopted.

Part Nine

153. Grandfathering Resolution, signed and clerk-certified, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/215835, recitals. Verbatim: "WHEREAS, on December 12, 2024, the Planning Commission forwarded (5-3-1: Barnes, Frank, and Keirce opposed; Jasper absent) the Text Amendments to the Board with a recommendation of denial, and with the further recommendation that the Board adopt a grandfathering resolution effective as of the Board public hearing date if the

Text Amendments are to be adopted." The same recital records one Planning Commission public hearing, September 24, 2024, and six work sessions over approximately four months. The document is a scanned PDF returning nothing to standard text extraction. Recovered by OCR in two independent passes, the second run specifically because a quality gate flagged that the chapter's opening claim rested on a single unreproduced transcription.

154. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:31:40]–[04:32:26]. Chair Randall.

155. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:01:01]–[05:01:04]. Chair Randall.

156. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:01:54]–[05:02:20]. Chair Randall.

157. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:58:54]–[04:59:05]. Chair Randall.

158. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:24:04]–[05:24:18]. Chair Randall calling the vote. The content is the roster conflict itself; see Appendix B.

159. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, motion at [05:33:01]–[05:35:03] (Supervisor Letourneau), vote at [05:35:46]–[05:35:54], 8–1, Briskman dissenting.

160. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:37:58]. Vice Chair Turner, recognized at [05:36:13].

161. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, motion at [05:53:51]–[05:54:06], disposition announced [05:56:56], failing 7–2 with Kershner and Umstattd in the minority.

162. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:01:15]. Chair Randall, immediately following her self-identified motion ownership at [06:00:32] — "This motion was made by me."

163. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, motion at [06:19:34]–[06:19:41], voice vote at [06:19:47]–[06:19:58]. No tally announced, and none is recoverable from the recording.

164. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, motion at [06:20:05]–[06:21:26] (Supervisor Umstattd), vote at [06:32:05]–[06:32:28], failing 4–4–1.

165. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:54:35]. Chair Randall calling the vote; speaker inferred from the chair's vote-calling function.

166. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [07:03:04]–[07:03:19]. Chair Randall calling the vote.

167. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:08:33]–[05:08:51]. Supervisor Briskman, recognized at [05:06:08].

168. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:10:04]. Supervisor TeKrony, recognized at [05:09:33].

169. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:19:03] (Vice Chair Turner, addressing TeKrony in the second person) and [05:19:10]. **PROBABLE** — the interjection at [05:19:10] is unresolved, likely TeKrony correcting from the floor.

170. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:19:48]. Staff — Galindo. Confirmed on video August 28, 2026.

171. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:26:49]–[05:26:56]. **PROBABLE** — County Attorney Leo Rogers, answering Briskman's request for advice at [05:26:26]. The immediately following two-bucket passage at [05:27:06] is confirmed as Rogers on video.

172. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:23:04]–[05:23:31]. Supervisor Briskman, recognized at [05:21:07]; a third-person reference to TeKrony at [05:22:56] excludes TeKrony.

173. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:21:04]–[05:23:52]. Supervisor Briskman, closing on her own motion.

174. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:09:33]–[05:11:58]. Supervisor TeKrony.

175. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:14:50] (Supervisor Letourneau, recognized at [05:12:06]) and [05:14:56] (Chair Randall, interjecting).

176. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:14:56]–[05:17:03]. Supervisor Kershner.

177. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:17:05]–[05:17:19]. Supervisor Saines.

178. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:16:32] (Supervisor Kershner, recognized at [05:14:56]) and [05:18:13] / [05:20:51] (Vice Chair Turner).

179. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:18:13]. Vice Chair Turner.

180. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:18:47]. Vice Chair Turner, recognized at [05:18:07].

181. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:18:29]. Vice Chair Turner, same turn as note 180.

182. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:20:34]. Vice Chair Turner, same turn as notes 180 and 181, no intervening recognition.

183. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:31:20]–[05:32:27]. Vice Chair Turner drafted the paragraph 3 language; Supervisor Briskman read it into the record. Confirmed against the Granicus video August 28, 2026, superseding three earlier internal readings.

184. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [01:21:08]. Samantha Mazzo, East Region Vice President for Entitlements, Prologis, self-identified at [01:19:36]. Public comment, not a board member.

185. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:54:21] (sponsor) and [05:56:14]–[05:56:56] (Chair Randall, rebuttal and vote call). The sponsor is PROBABLE only, inferred from vote arithmetic.

186. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:56:07]–[05:56:41]. Chair Randall.

187. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:01:10]. Chair Randall, same unbroken turn as note 162. The tape is garbled; the reconstruction is defensible and is marked in the text.

188. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:04:31]–[06:06:38]. Supervisor TeKrony.

189. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:12:51]–[06:14:05]. Supervisor Kershner, confirmed against the Granicus video August 28, 2026. The transcript identifies no speaker and the structural pass established only that it was not Vice Chair Turner; the video resolved it.

190. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:15:29] and [06:16:45]. **PROBABLE** — Chair Randall. Three transcript-internal signals support the attribution. The transcript records no recognition of any other member between Vice Chair Turner's 2 percent friendly at [06:15:04] and [06:16:45], so the stretch reads as one speaking turn. The speaker refers to "mr. Kirchner's point" in the third person at [06:16:23] and addresses "mr. Crony" at [06:17:03], the automatic transcript's renderings of Kershner and TeKrony, which excludes both of them. And the reply to this speaker's question to the County Attorney at [06:17:52] opens by naming "randall" at [06:18:08], after which the same speaker returns the floor to TeKrony for a closing at [06:18:28]. Strongest of all, and independent of the chair's procedural role: in her closing at [06:18:51] TeKrony says "I would agree with chair randall that … I'm not comfortable with five percent," naming in the third person the member who had just said at [06:16:52] "I'm comfortable with the five percent. I'm not comfortable with the randomness of five." One countersignal: "thank you for saying" at [06:16:03] could mark a turn boundary inside the stretch, in which case [06:15:29] would belong to the preceding speaker; it does not reach [06:16:45], which the continuity through [06:18:28] fixes on the chair. Nothing else in the

passage marks a boundary and no other member is named or recognized across it. The Granicus video was not consulted for this passage, which is why the mark stands. Note the transcript order: "anything even minor" at [06:15:29] precedes "random number" at [06:16:45]; an earlier project extraction reversed them. Note 189 covers the Kershner quotations at [06:12:51]–[06:14:05] and does not reach these two.

191. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:21:40]–[06:23:00]. Supervisor Letourneau. The 82 percent figure is his, given from the dais without a cited source.

192. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, Supervisor Glass, in the debate at [06:21:40]–[06:32:23].

193. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:28:44]–[06:31:17]. Vice Chair Turner.

194. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:46:53]. Supervisor Briskman, recognized at [06:45:45].

195. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, closing round [06:33:09]–[06:53:43]; Turner's statement at [06:49:39]–[06:50:35].

196. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:51:13]–[06:53:29]. Chair Randall. Quoted at length and with ellipses marked; the passage runs continuously in the recording.

197. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:58:19]. Chair Randall.

198. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [07:03:04]–[07:03:19]. Zebra East, 6–3, TeKrony, Briskman and Turner opposed. New to this study's record.

199. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:58:28]–[07:00:36]. Supervisor TeKrony.

200. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [07:01:48]–[07:01:57]. **PROBABLE** — Chair Randall, inferred from an informal staff-address pattern immediately preceding a chair-only handoff at [07:02:11]. (A duplicate note at this timestamp, formerly numbered 54, has been folded in here.)

201. Board of Supervisors, March 4, 2025, [05:27:00]–[05:27:19]. The 5–3 endorsement of the February 12 cutoff, Glass, Briskman and TeKrony opposed, Chair Randall absent throughout — confirmed independently at [05:04:00]–[05:04:16].

202. Transportation and Land Use Committee, July 28, 2025, [01:27:53]–[01:28:16]. Abdul Jafri, project manager, Department of Planning and Zoning, self-identified at [01:27:20], correcting the staff report: "the vote to approve the grandfathering

resolution was five, four. Supervisors Briskman, Glass, TeKrony and Turner opposed. The staff report incorrectly lists Supervisor Saines instead of Supervisor Turner." Names regularised from the transcript's renderings ("Berksman," "Tecroni," "scenes"); see Appendix C.

203. Board of Supervisors, March 4, 2025. Closed-session certification at [05:04:00]–[05:04:16], 8–0–1, chair off the dais. Cutoff endorsement announcement at [05:27:00]–[05:27:19], self-corrected mid-count. The abstention an earlier draft reported is not supportable from the recording, is withdrawn in the text, and the tally is flagged for resolution against adopted minutes.

204. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [05:38:13]. Vice Chair Turner, same turn as note 160.

205. The two March 18 occurrences: Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:34:30], "the applicant is diligently pursued to approval without major modification," for the administrative track, and [04:35:52]–[04:35:59], "the legislative applications is diligently pursued approval without substantial modification," for the legislative track. Staff — Abdul Jafri, self-identified at [04:32:49], in an unbroken presentation through [04:38:56], reading the board's own motions back to it. The four March 4 occurrences: Board of Supervisors, March 4, 2025, at [05:13:59], inside grandfathering motion one as read from the dais, "provided the administrative application is diligently pursued to approval with no substantial modifications being made to it"; at [05:27:43], inside grandfathering motion two as read; at [05:28:46], inside the substitute motion offered from the floor, which adds a Route 28 tax district carve-out and otherwise repeats the same clause; and at [05:31:54], in the presiding officer's re-reading of motion two immediately before the vote. Each of the four sits inside motion text being read aloud, which is the basis for the sentence's universal. The March 4 transcript labels no speakers and none is asserted here.

206. Grandfathering Resolution, signed and clerk-certified, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/215835. "Substantial modification" at Paragraphs 8 (legislative) and 9 (administrative); "diligently pursued" at Paragraph 10. Six-month resubmission deadlines apply to both tracks; the three-year outer limit appears only in the administrative-track condition. This corrects an assertion carried through four drafting rounds that the standard was never defined. It was defined in the adopted instrument and never discussed on the floor.

Part Ten

207. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024, [00:19:04]. Staff — Marshall Brown, self-identified at [00:17:49].

208. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024. [00:18:13]–[00:20:27] for the acreages and square footages (staff, Marshall Brown, who gives 10.74 and 17.39 acres); [00:25:51] for the "29 acres" and the distance, which are the applicant's counsel, Tony Calabrese, self-identified at [00:24:47] after Brown closed at [00:24:22], and whose stated referent for "about 1.2 miles" is "the Innovation Gateway" and not the Metrorail station; [00:41:32] and [00:43:34] for the 110-foot height, which is Commissioner Jasper recounting the figure in objection, recognized by the chair at [00:39:50] and answered by counsel at [00:44:22]. No staff or applicant statement of the building height appears in the audio. This corrects an attribution of all three marks to staff carried through earlier drafts; [00:28:50]–[00:29:04] for the substation-proffer observation, which is the applicant's counsel and not a commissioner. The road credit is at [00:20:27]: "They have also revised the Shaw Road credit request. It was previously 50% to now 37.5%. This results in a total credit of $5.2 million." The second percentage is at [00:23:24]: "While the applicant has again reduced the credit request for Shaw Road from 50 to 34%, staff continues to recommend against the credit for the improvements as this credit is not supported by the 2019 CTP." Both sit inside Marshall Brown's presentation, which runs unbroken from his self-identification at [00:17:49] to his close at [00:24:22], the chair thanking him at [00:24:25]; the two figures are three minutes apart, and neither he nor any commissioner reconciles them anywhere in this transcript, which is the whole of what was searched; the written staff report and the proffers were not examined. The co-applicant's name and the site's position relative to the Route 28 interchange appear nowhere in the audio and are UNSOURCED within this corpus, coming from the written application.

209. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024, [00:59:44]–[01:00:08]. Chair calling the vote, and naming two members opposed and two absent. The meeting is opened as "the February 8th 2024 Loudoun County Planning Commission work session" at [00:02:23]; the chair opens "the public hearing for, again, both items that are on our agenda tonight" at [00:10:40] and announces "Public hearing is now closed" at [00:17:37], after which she turns to "the agenda items returning for action."

210. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024, [00:59:00] and [00:59:28]. A commissioner, unnamed in the transcript. **PROBABLE** as to which — the speaker solicits further comment, addresses two commissioners by name, and calls the vote sequence, a pattern consistent with the chair.

211. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024, [00:55:12]–[00:55:15]. Commissioner Keirce, named as the motion's mover; the surname is rendered inconsistently across the file.

212. **UNSOURCED.** No recording of the July 10, 2024 Board of Supervisors hearing exists in this corpus, and two independent research passes failed to confirm any element of the account — the tally, the mover, the threat to deny, the "non-starter" characterization, or the applicant's refusal. Searched: the transcript directory, full-text search across the research corpus, and direct fetches to *Loudoun Now*, *Loudoun Times-Mirror*, *DataCenterDynamics* and the Piedmont Environmental Council. The text has been rewritten to state the gap.

213. Planning Commission, February 12, 2026, [00:10:15]–[00:10:26]. Staff, self-identified at [00:09:33].

214. Planning Commission, February 12, 2026, [00:32:01]–[00:32:32] (commissioner and applicant's representative, both unnamed in the transcript) and [00:44:25]–[00:45:05] (chair correcting a mis-announced tally).

215. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, [05:26:21]–[05:26:39]. Staff. LEGI-2023-0060 / ZMAP-2023-0001 / ZMOD-2023-0001 / ZMOD-2024-0011, Luckstone Cochran Mill.

216. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, staff presentation and recommendation, adjacent to [05:29:30].

217. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, [05:35:44]–[05:36:15]. Commissioner Barnes.

218. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, [05:46:38]–[05:46:47]. The chair.

219. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024. Tia Earman, Piedmont Environmental Council. Advocacy speaker in public comment.

220. Planning Commission, September 24, 2024, motion at [05:57:00] area, vote recorded in the transcript as "Motion carries 9 2 0," garbled; arithmetically unanimous to forward to a November 14, 2024 work session. This corpus contains no later transcript establishing the application's ultimate disposition, and this document does not supply one.

221. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024, [02:32:26]–[02:32:50], pre-briefing on Hiddenwood Assemblage (LEGI-2023-0070) held the same night as the Innovation Gateway denial recommendation. **PROBABLE** — speaker inferred as the chair from control of the pre-briefing.

222. Planning Commission, February 8, 2024, [02:30:41]–[02:30:44]. Commissioner Jasper.

223. Board of Supervisors, July 2, 2024, [05:53:08]–[05:54:03]. Speaker INFERRED as Supervisor Letourneau; the transcript renders the name "Latternil/Latternos," which the project concordance maps to Letourneau. Not independently confirmed.

224. Staff denial recommendation and the 4–3 Planning Commission vote to recommend approval with conditions, with one abstention and one absence. Press-sourced — Patch and *Loudoun Times-Mirror*, July 2, 2024. Not established from this study's own transcripts.

225. Planning Commission, February 12, 2026, [02:37:51]–[02:38:07]. **PROBABLE** — staff, inferred as Erin Fisher, Department of Planning and Zoning, self-identified at [02:36:49]–[02:36:58].

226. Planning Commission, February 12, 2026, [03:05:24]–[03:05:56]. Staff.

227. Planning Commission, February 12, 2026, [03:12:41]–[03:12:47]. Commissioner Miller.

Part Eleven

228. Loudoun County land-use application database (LOLA), legislative applications concerning data centers, substations, storage or generation filed after February 12, 2025; enumerated with case numbers and filing dates in Loudoun_LOLA_Docket_Findings_v1_1.md. LOLA assigns case numbers at intake rather than at filing, which is why the largest application on the docket carries a 2024 case number against a 2025 filing date.

229. Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, [02:54:22]–[02:55:29] and [00:11:48]–[00:12:10]. Case numbers read into the record: LEGI-2024-0074, ZMAP-2025-0008, SPEX-2025-0009, SPEX-2025-0010, SPEX-2025-0136, SPEX-2026-0004. **PROBABLE** — the transcript names six; the eight-application figure and the arrival dates of the later three come from the application record rather than the hearing.

230. Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, [02:54:11]–[02:54:18]. Allison Britain, Department of Planning and Zoning, self-identified at [02:53:58], opening the staff presentation: "as of 5 p.m. tonight a total of 188 public comments, 166 of those in opposition, 15 neutral and seven in support." The count is staff's and is the only one of the evening's five turnout figures given with a cutoff time.

231. Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, [05:13:55]–[05:14:14]. Motion by Commissioner Myers, seconded by Commissioner Miller, 6–0–3, Commissioners Combs, Banks and Keirce absent.

232. Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, staff presentation, [02:55:09]–[02:55:29].

233. Emily Johnson, Piedmont Environmental Council, Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, [04:46:30]–[04:46:50]. Advocacy speaker in public comment.

234. Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, [05:08:52]–[05:09:41]. **PROBABLE** — Commissioner Jasper, inferred from the chair's recognition at [05:07:58] and thanks at [05:09:48].

235. Planning Commission, July 23, 2026, agenda item 4, [00:33:22]–[01:44:52]. LEGI-2024-0037, Cochran Tech, with child cases ZMAP-2024-0012 and SPEX-2025-0025, -0029, -0034, -0054, SPEX-2025-0111. Staff description at [00:34:07]–[00:35:11]; the board's remand at [00:35:24]–[00:35:40], the same passage carrying the prior denial, and the board's stated reason at [00:40:13]–[00:40:44]; the commission's earlier recommendation of approval "back in September" at [00:39:37]–[00:40:06]; the height problem and the proposed 20-foot regrade at [00:36:07]–[00:36:34]; the energy-storage historic-resource prohibition at [00:39:10]–[00:39:29]; the withdrawal of the battery storage request at [01:04:51]–[01:05:19]; the applicant's account of staff declining to condition it against Phase 2 at [01:14:38]–[01:15:19]; the objection to that withdrawal at [01:10:53]–[01:11:16], where the second objecting commissioner is identified only by the speaker's alignment with "Commissioner Miller." The April denial is dated, and the board's vote characterized, by a Piedmont Environmental Council speaker at [01:15:41]; no tally for that vote is printed. The power exchange is at [01:05:39]–[01:07:40], with the applicant's team self-identified at [00:47:09] as Molly Novotny (urban planner), Adam Cook (Peterson Companies) and Ron Meyer (SDC); the questioning commissioner is inferred as Frank. Novotny's firm is not settled. The transcript renders it "[Curata] Partners" and the source extraction pairs that reading with Kimley as the probable actual name; this document names neither. The collapse of the denial motion runs [01:38:23]–[01:41:10] and the substitute motion carries at [01:43:52]–[01:44:26], where the tally announcement is garbled and no tally is printed. Two intervals in the text are measured on this single recording clock, and both endpoints of each are here: this item opens at [00:33:22] and the Spring Valley item at [02:53:44], two hours, twenty minutes and twenty-two seconds later; and the call for the vote on the substitute at [01:43:52] stands three hours, thirty minutes and three seconds before the chair takes up the Spring Valley motion at [05:13:55]. The Spring Valley contrast, "We have findings done for a denial for tonight," is at [05:01:40]. No speaker in this file is diarized; every attribution here is an inference and is labeled as one. Quotations follow the source extraction's reassembly of contiguous transcript segments. Its bracketed insertions are not uniform in kind and were checked one by one against the raw transcript on September 4, 2026. Four supply or repair what the transcription dropped: "[we]" at [01:06:08], "[it]" at [01:06:14], "[is]" at [01:11:09], and "[a]" at [01:07:40], where the raw reads "We're

talking about 172 megawatt building" and the segment before it reads "This is one 72 megawatt building," so the stray leading digit is the article. The bracket at [01:15:10] has been withdrawn. An earlier draft printed "could not make that commitment to a future [ordinance]"; the raw reads "to a future one" and is grammatical as spoken, so the bracket supplied a referent rather than repairing a defect, and the raw wording is restored. An earlier draft also carried a sixth bracket, "[there]" at [01:07:04], which bridged a cut of five raw words. Those five words are restored, and the ellipsis now standing at that point marks one elision and nothing else, the stammer "It it" at the head of [01:07:08]. The transcription carries no punctuation, so every mark inside a quotation drawn from it is editorial; on that ground the em-dashes an earlier draft set around "and that's in their adopted plan" at [01:06:03] have been removed, the raw supplying no break there. The same draft ended the diesel-generator quotation at "generators," dropping the raw's "and stuff."; the words are restored. Bracket-by-bracket collation at Loudoun_Round2_VerifyLog_2026-09-04.md §13.

The 72 MW figure is the only megawatt number given for a data center application by an applicant, a staff member or a commissioner in the four transcripts covered by this study's case-hearing extraction: Innovation Gateway (Planning Commission, February 8, 2024), Quantum Park (Planning Commission, February 12, 2026), the Planning Commission public hearing of July 23, 2026, and the data center town hall of July 6, 2026. Scope of that negative: those four files, on a complete sweep for watt, MW, MVA, GW and their spelled forms run September 4, 2026 and recorded at Loudoun_Round2_VerifyLog_2026-09-04.md §4. The sweep returns four hits, not one, and the other three are named in the text: the second 72 MW segment at [01:07:40], a resident's 425 megawatts for the Spoonbill energy storage application at [04:15:07], and a town hall speaker's countywide 5.33 gigawatts, which the transcript renders "gawatts." An earlier draft called the 72 MW figure the only megawatt figure attached to an application in these four files. That was false on the Spoonbill line, which is inside the same transcript and whose application is printed in Part Eleven's own docket table. Two of the four are pre-cutoff cases, and the description of them as "the transcripts covering post-cutoff cases," carried in an earlier draft, was wrong. Three of the fifteen meetings in Appendix A fall inside the extraction; no claim is made here about the other twelve. Spring Valley, twelve buildings, 3.25 million square feet on staff's own description, three substations, carries no megawatt figure from staff, applicant or commissioner anywhere in its file. The 3.25 million figure is staff's; the county's published figure is 3.5 million, and Part Eleven uses staff's throughout. The compiled third-party dataset at note 23 carries the application at 1,300 MW, roughly a third of that dataset's recorded megawatt sum across 39 of its 121 rows. This document prints that figure as the dataset's, not as a county or hearing-record number.

236. LEGI-2025-0049, Yondr–Tarring, filed November 10, 2025. The five-modification list IS traced to a quoted primary document — the county's own LOLA PlanDescription field, quoted verbatim with all six special exception numbers in Loudoun_LOLA_Docket_Findings_v1_1.md §B. Three project files asserted the opposite because a checker searched the outlines rather than the LOLA memo; corrected September 4, 2026. Case existence is confirmed at Board of Supervisors, April 7, 2026, [03:24:20]–[03:26:12], in a disclosure referencing "the Tarring application."

Part Twelve

237. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance, Chapter 10 (Procedures), § 10.11 (Special Exception Review), loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176104, December 13, 2023 version.

238. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance, Chapter 10: Procedures, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176104, December 13, 2023 version. The Board hearing and the absence of a mandatory Planning Commission hearing: §§ 10.11.01.C.3.a and 10.11.02.A. Placard notice: § 10.01.G.1.b.1 lists Minor Special Exception among the applications that must be posted, and § 10.01.G.1.b.6.a requires that "the placard must be posted at least 21 days prior to each public hearing through the date of the public hearing." Mailed notice: § 10.01.G.1.a.1 requires that notice "conform in all respects with the applicable requirements of the Code of Virginia Chapter 22 of Title 15.2," which is the chapter carrying the written notice to adjoining owners at § 15.2-2204, and § 10.01.G.1.c.1 places the duty to send it on the landowner in landowner-initiated cases. The text of § 10.01.G does not itself enumerate adjoining owners, and the body's citation to §10.01.G should be read as the ordinance provision that carries the requirement by incorporation. Chapter 10 was retrieved September 5, 2026 and is held at Loudoun_Retrieval_WEAK_Closure_2026-09-05.md § 1; the PROBABLE mark this note formerly carried on the placard and mailed-notice provisions is withdrawn on that retrieval. The operative findings text of § 10.11.02 remains unread.

239. Loudoun County, "Zoning Ordinance Rewrite Change Highlights — Chapter 4: Use-Specific Standards," last updated December 18, 2023. **PROBABLE** — the document class is confirmed; the exact sentence quoted has not been located verbatim on a re-pull.

240. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 4.01.A, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176098, Chapter 4, December 13, 2023 version. **PROBABLE** — the provision's existence and effect are confirmed by cross-reference in § 10.11.01.D.2; the section itself was not independently retrieved.

241. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance §§ 4.03.05.B.1, 4.04.10.A and 4.04.12.B, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176098, December 13, 2023 version, all retrieved verbatim. § 4.03.05.B.1: "Notwithstanding Section 4.01.A., this Section 4.03.05.B.1. and Sections… cannot be modified by Minor Special Exception." §§ 4.04.10.A and 4.04.12.B use the alternative formulation, "not modifiable pursuant to Section 4.01.A." A search of § 4.06.02 for either formulation returns nothing.

242. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 4.06.02 (Data Centers), loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176098, December 13, 2023 version. **PROBABLE** — retrieved in relevant part rather than complete; the negative claim is slightly broader than what was checked.

243. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:02:50]–[06:03:17]. Supervisor TeKrony, reading the footnote 3 language into the record as part of her own friendly amendment. An earlier draft attributed this to staff.

244. Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [06:18:36]–[06:19:47] (Supervisor TeKrony's motion to table) and [06:19:47]–[06:19:58] (Chair Randall's voice-vote call). What was tabled is the motion to delete footnote 3, in the mover's own words at [06:19:34]–[06:19:41]: "I move to um table … the motion that that deleted footnote number number three in attachment three." Tabling it returned the board to the base motion, which the chair states at [06:19:53] and again at [06:20:01], so footnote 3 stood as drafted at 5 percent and Vice Chair Turner's accepted 2 percent friendly fell with the motion it was attached to. Corroborated at the Phase Two meeting of September 16, 2025, [05:39:00], where staff describe the work scope as a proposal to "relocate the content of a footnote 3 and footnote 4 into appropriate sections of the zoning ordinance," which presupposes footnote 3 is in the adopted ordinance; the search log for that meeting is at Loudoun_Research_Sept16_Footnote3_v1_0.md. Bound: the adopted codified text of footnote 3 has not been retrieved, so the 5 percent figure rests on the March 18 record and the September 16 reference rather than on the ordinance as codified.

245. Board of Supervisors, September 16, 2025, [05:39:00]–[05:39:10]. Staff, not individually named in the passage. The gap between the two quoted clauses is ten seconds and the second runs on into the next agenda item. The vote approving the second-phase scope is at [06:01:28]–[06:01:36], announced as "That motion passed eight zero one with miss umstead opposing the motion"; the member's own statement is at [05:51:30], "I I won't be voting for the motion." Chair-announced, not clerk-certified, and flagged for resolution against the adopted minutes on the deferred-records list.

246. Abdul Jafri, project manager, Department of Planning and Zoning, Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:38:16].

247. Abdul Jafri, project manager, Department of Planning and Zoning, Board of Supervisors, March 18, 2025, [04:38:30]–[04:38:33].

248. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 10.11.02 (Minor Special Exception), loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176104, December 13, 2023 version, complete text.

249. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 10.11.01.D.1, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176104, December 13, 2023 version, complete text.

250. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 10.11.01.D.2, loudoun.gov/DocumentCenter/View/176104, December 13, 2023 version, complete text.

Part Thirteen

251. Holland & Knight client alert, April 2025, on the Loudoun zoning amendment; Loudoun Wildlife Conservancy contemporaneous tracking of the February 2024 – March 2025 amendment process. Neither mentions the Route 28 freeze. Searched against both documents in full.

252. Zoning Administrator memo, February 14, 2000. The memo itself has never been retrieved. Its date and effect are established from the July 30, 2026 advisory opinion and from county materials referencing it; three exhaustive DocumentCenter sweeps did not locate it, and FOIA was not pursued.

253. The negative about the February 14, 2000 memo, and its scope. Fifteen meeting transcripts are tabulated in Appendix A. The seven that fall inside the February 2024 to March 2025 amendment record were searched on September 5, 2026 for "office building," "zoning administrator," "February 14," "in 2000" and "year 2000." The date strings return nothing in any of the seven. The other two strings return eleven hits across five of them, none a reference to the 2000 determination: seven uses of "office building" as a visual comparison, a traffic comparison or the name of a trade association, at the Planning Commission of February 8, 2024, [00:27:05] and [00:36:32], the Planning Commission of September 24, 2024, [03:22:47] and [04:04:45], the Board of February 12, 2025, [01:16:40], and the Board of March 18, 2025, [02:14:57] and [05:03:11]; and four uses of "zoning administrator" naming the officeholder or describing the minor-change authority under the current ordinance, at the Board of July 2, 2024, [00:31:07], the Board of February 12, 2025, [00:30:12], and the Board of March 18, 2025, [04:55:36] and [06:03:07]. The client alert and the tracking at note 251 were read in full for the Route 28 question and neither reading records a reference to the 2000 determination; neither document is held on disk, so that half of the negative rests on the reading recorded at

Loudoun_Retrieval_Rt28Freeze_v1_0.md § 6 rather than on a search run against the documents for this purpose. The negative does not reach the agenda packets, staff reports or minutes for those meetings, which sit on Granicus and LaserFiche and were not fetched.

254. Amazon Data Services by-right site plan, "Bridgefield Tech Center," filed July 28, 2026, former George Washington University Virginia Science and Technology Campus, Ashburn; approximately 800,000 sq ft. Under initial review at this document's snapshot.

255. Advisory opinion of the Loudoun County Zoning Administrator, July 30, 2026, responding to a July 12, 2026 request from the Executive Director of Loudoun Economic Development. **PARTIAL RETRIEVAL** — no standalone document located; the operative language is recovered from extensive verbatim quotation in *Loudoun Now*, cross-checked against county and state primary sources. Both the request and the opinion are framed sector-wide and name neither Amazon, the campus, nor the parcel; the connection is press reconstruction plus Supervisor Briskman's separate public statements of April 3, July 15–16 and August 4, 2026. The opinion does two separable things, and this volume does not merge them. It declares the February 14, 2000 memo no longer in effect, on ordinary supersession grounds. And it addresses the Route 28 Corridor District pathway directly, stating that election into those regulations "was not permitted after Dec. 13, 2023" and that they "only apply to properties for which a decision to develop was made before that date." That second holding is narrower than a blanket exemption of corridor land from the 2025 amendment, and the opinion as recovered does not state one. The press quotation renders one district as "Route 29 CO"; no Route 29 corridor exists in Loudoun County and every other source names Route 28, so this study reads it as a transcription error and says so rather than repeating it. Retrieval, corroboration and the unresolved conflict with the Route 28 Corridor Zoning Regulations Use Table are recorded at Loudoun_Retrieval_1972Pathway_v1_0.md §§ 2b, 2d and 2f.

256. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance §§ 10.02.C.1 and 10.02.D.

257. Zoning determination request ZCOR-2026-0246, filed August 14, 2026, status "In Review" at this document's snapshot. The filer is not established and this document names none. The Bridgefield parcels' CB overlay membership appears as a 2014 base-zoning-map fact with no corresponding entry in the county's "Elected OD" layer; whether a qualifying pre-December-2023 election was made is unresolved in every source reached.

258. Board of Supervisors, September 1, 2026. A substitute motion referred the grandfathering repeal to legal review; reported as unanimous by Patch, September

2, 2026. No numeric roll call was published, consistent with the county's practice throughout this volume.

Part Fourteen

259. *Graydon Manor, LLC v. Board of Supervisors of Loudoun County*, Va. Ct. App. No. 1012-22-4 (November 21, 2023), affirmed; below, Loudoun Circuit Court Nos. CL120682 and CL120683. Not a data center case. Cited for the standing and finality holdings, quoting *Vulcan Materials* and *Rhoads*.

260. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 10.02.C.1.

261. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 10.14, Table 10.14-1, Note 2, codifying Va. Code § 15.2-2311(A). The "Note 2" here is a note within the ordinance's own table and is not an endnote of this volume.

262. *Lansdowne Conservancy v. State Corporation Commission, et al.*, Record Nos. 250492, 250493, 250494 and 250495 (consolidated), Supreme Court of Virginia, decided February 19, 2026, affirmed. Opinion by Justice Chafin; "Present: All the Justices." Whether the decision was unanimous is not established by the record examined here and this document does not describe it as unanimous. Loudoun County was co-appellant in Nos. 250493 and 250494. The § 56-46.1(F) passage is quoted from the opinion. Some secondary commentary spells the appellant "Landsdowne"; the opinion spells it "Lansdowne."

263. Notice of appeal from the Final Order of June 29, 2026 in Case No. PUR-2025-00056. No Supreme Court of Virginia record number had been located as of this document's snapshot. A parallel homeowner-association appeal was reported as under consideration and unresolved.

264. Press accounts, late June and July 2026. No condemnation petition had been filed as of this document's snapshot.

265. Loudoun County Zoning Ordinance § 10.11.01(F).

266. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Chapter 5, p. 67. Data centers accounted for "between 20 and 30 percent of land development in Loudoun and Prince William counties from 2013 to 2021," and "the amount of data center development has already increased 50 percent since then." The report's own caveat is reproduced in the text: these are fast-growing counties and some of that land would have been developed for other uses. JLARC's operative sentence says "land development," not "undeveloped and agricultural land development"; the undeveloped-and-agricultural framing belongs to the sentence immediately before it, which reports that "the share of undeveloped and agricultural land development in Northern Virginia attributable to data centers has been substantial." An earlier

draft of this document inserted the qualifier into the quotation; corrected September 4, 2026 against the source PDF. The statewide comparison is on the facing page, p. 66: the total land area of operating data centers equals about 1.4 percent of Virginia farmland lost between 2017 and 2022, and land conservation experts identified solar energy development as the current primary threat to undeveloped and agricultural land.

267. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Appendix B, pp. 102–103, Table B-1, "Proportion of data center sites near residential zoning varies by Virginia locality," reproduced entire. Loudoun 24 percent within 200 feet and 34 percent within 500 feet across 71 sites; Prince William 21/21 across 24; Fairfax 55/70 across 20; Henrico 38/38 across 8; Chesterfield, Culpeper, Fauquier and Virginia Beach combined 25/38 across 8; Total 29/37 across 131. The five locality rows sum to 131 and close on the printed total. JLARC's bottom row is headed "Total," not "statewide," and it totals the eight localities in the analysis only. The bound is stated at p. 102: the analysis "was limited to eight localities that account for the vast majority (93 percent) of data center sites in the state," and the table's own note records that "[s]ix data center sites were excluded from the analysis because data on proximity to residential zoning was not available or reliable." The four small localities are combined "because the number of data center sites in each locality is very small." An earlier draft of this document labelled the bottom row "Statewide total" and omitted the combined row, leaving four rows summing to 123 against a printed total of 131; corrected September 4, 2026 against the source PDF. JLARC measured property line to property line using localities' interactive maps and states at p. 102 that this "sometimes overstates the distance between a data center site and residences in situations where land is zoned residential but contains no homes," and sometimes understates it where land contains homes but is not zoned residential.

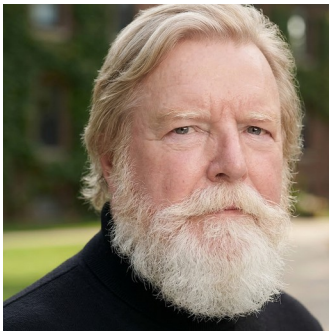
268. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Chapter 6, quoting Loudoun County ordinance language on the incompatibility of industrial and residential uses, and JLARC's own conclusion that "data centers are industrial facilities that are largely incompatible with residential uses."

269. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Chapter 6. The True North approval over a staff denial recommendation grounded in the site's transitional plan classification, and the Aligned Energy Relocation Drive height and square-footage exemption granted over staff objection on residential-proximity grounds. Neither case appears elsewhere in this volume.

270. JLARC, *Data Centers in Virginia*, Report 598, December 9, 2024, Chapter 6, pp. 76–77, the passage running across the page break. Brook Haven neighborhood

residents contacted the county about noise in 2021; the facility completed an attempted remedy in November 2023; residents observed reductions and emphasised that it "took time and repeated communications from residents to prompt action." The adjacent finding that an issue "had not been fully addressed by the data center owner to all residents' satisfaction" as of October 2024 belongs to the Great Oak neighborhood in Prince William, not to Brook Haven. The two cases are separated by a page break in the report and an earlier draft of this document merged them; corrected September 4, 2026 against the source PDF.

About the Author



Tommy N. Turner is an independent researcher and writer who documents the local-government and energy dimensions of the data center build-out in Virginia. His series of jurisdiction-level case studies covers the counties and the fall-line corridor where Virginia's data center decisions have been made, refused, or contested, and the analytical volumes extend that work into the systems those decisions run on. Earlier volumes took the transmission network and the cost-allocation machinery, then generation, then water. This one takes the county where the industry started, and the question of what it costs a locality to change the rules after the industry is load-bearing.

Like the rest of the series, it is assembled from primary records: fifteen locally transcribed public meetings, the county's adopted budgets and comprehensive annual financial reports, its zoning ordinance and the amendment record behind it, land-use case files and staff reports, State Corporation Commission dockets, the Code of Virginia, and the county's own published figures. He spent thirty years in corporate banking, banking technology and international consulting before this work, and holds an MBA from Emory. He writes opinion and analysis on Virginia public affairs for outlets including the Richmond Times-Dispatch, the Virginia Mercury, the Virginian-Pilot, the Roanoke Times, Cardinal News, and RTO Insider. The case studies and analytical volumes are published as open, citable living editions, revised as the record moves. He works from Williamsburg and Christiansburg, Virginia.

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