



VIRGINIA POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE PORTAL

GRETCHEN M. BULOVA

House District 11 | HD-11 | Fairfax (part); City of Fairfax

2026 Tax Voting Intelligence Analysis

Delegate | Democrat | Virginia House of Delegates

Standalone statewide tax-policy analysis | Official Virginia LIS session data

175

Recorded events

75

Tax bills

165

Yea

9

Nay

Executive Assessment

Bottom line. Using the disclosed 2026 *is_tax_bill* screen — keyword plus Title 58.1 plus forced budget vehicles — Bulova has 175 recorded vote events across 75 tax-related bills: 165 Yea, 9 Nay, and 1 Present/Not Voting (X). There are no Present (P) and no Abstain (A) records in this tax universe. 2026 Regular (session 20261) accounts for 162 events on 74 tax bills (152 Yea, 9 Nay, 1 X). 2026 Special I (session 20262) accounts for 13 events on one bill, HB30, all Yea. Special I is 13 Yea. X is named in this body. It is not a cover KPI.

The record is one-sided on the Yea side. Bulova supported 165 of 175 recorded tax vote events. That arithmetic is not a tax-rate census. High Yea is not a higher-tax or lower-tax label. The nine Nays are nine recorded actions in her H0403 CSV. They are not flattened into one Nay. They are not copied from another member. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26110016, HB1279, is House passage (60-Y 36-N 0-A). That token is N. It is a floor passage Nay, not a version vote. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26110528, SB388, is House passage with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A). That token is N. It is a floor passage Nay, not a version vote. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26110806, HB30, is the House rejection of Senate amendments (0-Y 92-N 0-A). That token is N. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26110807, HB145, is the House rejection of a Senate substitute (0-Y 93-N 0-A). That token is N. That event is procedural/version, not policy opposition to the underlying bill titled Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26110881, HB1279, is the House rejection of a Senate substitute (0-Y 95-N 0-A). That token is N. That event is procedural/version, not policy opposition to the underlying bill titled Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26111245, HB1279, is the conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A). Conference-agreed N is still N on that action. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26111279, SB388, is the conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A). Conference-agreed N is still N on that action. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26111306, SB661, is the conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A). That token is N. Bulova's Nay on 20261 vote 26111310, SB661, is the conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). Conference-agreed N is still N on that action. The three HB1279 Nays are three recorded actions (floor passage, Senate-sub, conference agreed). The two SB388 Nays are two recorded actions (House amendments, conference agreed). The two SB661 Nays are two recorded conference actions. This paper does not flatten those bills into one Nay each. Those nine Nays are the complete Nay set in her CSV. This paper does not invent a tenth Nay. Bulova's token on HB1279 vote 26111389, House concurrence in the Governor's recommendation (62-Y 38-N 0-A), is Yea. This paper does not treat 26111389 as a Nay. Bulova's token on SB661 vote 26110685, Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A), is Yea. This paper does not treat 26110685 as X or as N.

Bulova recorded one Present/Not Voting (X) token. X is not N. X is not Y. That X is 20261 vote 26110865 on HB854 (Senate substitute agreed to by House, 90-Y 5-N 0-A). Peers may have Y or N on this event. This paper does not copy those tokens. Bulova recorded Yea on the earlier HB854 Finance report and on House passage. Special I has no X. All thirteen 20262 events are Yea, including 26211488, conference report agreed to by House (71-Y 22-N 0-A). This paper does not write a peer Special I mix onto this CSV.

Interpretive caution. A high Yea rate does not mean Bulova uniformly favored higher taxes or lower taxes. The captured bills include relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, local taxing authority, administrative changes, and budget vehicles with very different fiscal effects. Fifty-eight of the 175 events are HB29/HB30 budget-vehicle rolls. Vehicle is not item. This universe is larger than a floor-only screen because Finance committee vote_ids (H10 prefix) and Finance subcommittee vote_ids (H10001 prefix) are joined when they match HISTORY and pass the tax filter. Those committee and subcommittee rolls are recorded events. They are not invented bills.

1. Quantitative Tax Profile

Categories are assigned from official LIS titles only, using the same buckets as the Martinez sample where the title clearly fits. Six shared-refid events attach to more than one tax bill and are scored once in Tax Administration /

Other so the table sums to 175 events rather than splitting a single roll call. All six shared-refid events are Yea, including 2619915. Budget vehicles sit in Budget / Appropriations because this filter forces HB29/HB30. X is a recorded Present/Not Voting token. It is not Nay, and it is not absence. Bulova has 1 X, 0 P, and 0 A in this tax universe. That X sits in Real Property Tax with HB854 vote 26110865. It does not sit on HB30. Vote 26110590 on HB30 Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h is Yea. Vote 26211488 on the 20262 HB30 conference report is Yea. Vote 26110685 on SB661 House passage with substitute is Yea. It is not this X.

Tax category	Events	Yea	Nay	X	Not Voting (P/A)
Budget / Appropriations	58	57	1	0	0
Income Tax	34	34	0	0	0
Tax Administration / Other	20	20	0	0	0
Real Property Tax	16	15	0	1	0
Sector/Excise Tax	12	9	3	0	0
Sales & Use Tax	10	10	0	0	0
Tax Exemptions	9	4	5	0	0
Local Taxes	6	6	0	0	0
Tax Credits/Incentives	6	6	0	0	0
Personal Property Tax	4	4	0	0	0
Total	175	165	9	1	0

Figure 1. H0403 tax-universe events by title-derived category, 2026 Regular and Special I. What it is: a count of unique (session, vote_id) events assigned from official LIS titles. What it is not: a fiscal-impact ranking, a tax-rate census, or a claim that Yea means higher taxes.

Session	Events	Tax bills	Yea	Nay	X	P	A
20261 2026 Regular	162		74	152	9	1	0
20262 2026 Special I	13		1	13	0	0	0
Combined	175		75	165	9	1	0

Figure 2. Session split of the same 175 events. What it is: 20261 versus 20262 arithmetic on unique (session, vote_id) rows in her CSV. What it is not: a collapse of Special I into Regular. 20262 is HB30 only: 13 Yea.

2. Nay Votes

Documented Fact. Nine Nays. One X. Zero P. Zero A. The one X token is not listed here. It is named in section 3. The nine Nays named below are Bulova's H0403 CSV tokens. HB1279 appears three times as N. SB388 appears twice as N. SB661 appears twice as N. Those are separate recorded actions. This paper does not flatten them. This paper does not invent Nays that are not in her CSV. Vote 26111389 on HB1279 is Yea. It is not a fourth HB1279 Nay.

Nay: HB1279 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Vote 26110016 on 2/5/2026. Official recorded action: H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. This is a floor passage Nay. It is not a Senate-substitute rejection and it is not a conference Nay. The House passed the bill 60-36. Her recorded token on that passage roll is N. This is the first of three HB1279 Nays.

Nay: SB388 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Vote 26110528 on 2/25/2026. Official recorded action: H Passed House with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. This is a floor passage Nay on the House-amended vehicle. It is not the later conference Nay. The House passed the bill with amendments 61-37. Her recorded token on that passage roll is N. This is the first of two SB388 Nays. Bulova recorded Yea on 4/22/2026, House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 36-N 0-A), vote 26111431. That later token is Y. It is not this Nay.

Nay: HB30 — Budget Bill. Vote 26110806 on 3/4/2026. Official recorded action: H Senate amendments rejected by House (0-Y 92-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. The House rejected the Senate amendments unanimously. This is a version/vehicle event on a forced budget vehicle, not a standalone tax-rate roll. Bulova's token on 26110590 (Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h) is Yea. Bulova's token on 26211488 (20262 conference report) is Yea. Those events are not this Senate-amendments rejection.

Nay: HB145 — Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Vote 26110807 on 3/4/2026. Official recorded action: H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 93-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. This is a procedural/version vote. The House rejected the Senate substitute unanimously. It is not policy opposition to the underlying bill. Bulova recorded Yea on 20261 vote 26110434, Read third time and passed House (89-Y 8-N 0-A), and Yea on 20261 vote 26111217, conference report agreed to by House (87-Y 8-N 0-A). That conference token is Y. It is not a second Nay.

Nay: HB1279 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Vote 26110881 on 3/6/2026. Official recorded action: H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 95-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. This is a procedural/version vote. The House rejected the Senate substitute unanimously. It is not policy opposition to the underlying bill. This is the second of three HB1279 Nays. It is not the floor-passage Nay on 26110016, and it is not the conference Nay on 26111245.

Nay: HB1279 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Vote 26111245 on 3/14/2026. Official recorded action: H Conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. Conference-agreed N is still N on that action. This is the third of three HB1279 Nays. It is not the floor-passage Nay and it is not the Senate-substitute Nay. This paper does not flatten those three recorded actions into one Nay. Bulova's later token on 26111389, House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 38-N 0-A), is Yea. That vote_id is not a Nay in her CSV.

Nay: SB388 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Vote 26111279 on 3/14/2026. Official recorded action: H Conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A). Bulova's token is N. Conference-agreed N is still N on that action. This is the second of two SB388 Nays. It is not the House-amendments Nay on 26110528. The Governor-recommendation token on 26111431 is Yea. The conference token is N. It is not X. It is not Y.

Nay: SB661 — Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Vote 26111306 on 3/14/2026. Official recorded action: H Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A). Bulova's token is N. This is the first of two SB661 Nays. It is a recorded token on the rejected conference report. Bulova's earlier token on 26110685, Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A), is Yea. That House-passage token is not X and it is not N.

Nay: SB661 — Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Vote 26111310 on 3/14/2026. Official recorded action: H Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). Bulova's token is N. Conference-agreed N is still N on that action. This is the second of two SB661 Nays. It is not the conference-rejected Nay on 26111306. This paper does not flatten those two conference tokens into one Nay. Peers may have Y on 26111310. This paper does not copy those tokens.

Analysis. Two of the nine Nays are Senate-substitute rejections (HB145 26110807 and HB1279 26110881). Those are procedural/version events. The HB30 Senate-amendments Nay is a version/vehicle event. Two Nays are floor passage breaks: HB1279 House passage (26110016, 60-Y 36-N 0-A) and SB388 House passage with amendments (26110528, 61-Y 37-N 0-A). Those tokens are N on the passage vehicles. They are not version votes. The remaining four Nays are conference tokens: HB1279 conference agreed (26111245), SB388 conference agreed (26111279), SB661 conference rejected (26111306), and SB661 conference agreed (26111310). Conference-agreed N is still N. Conference-rejected N is still N. They are not a tax-rate census. The one X token is not a tenth Nay. HB854 26110865 is X, not N. HB1279 26111389 is Y, not N. SB661 26110685 is Y, not X and not N.

3. Present/Not Voting (X)

Documented Fact. One Present/Not Voting (X) token. X is not N. X is not Y. That one X sits in her CSV. This paper does not invent additional X rows, and it does not copy a peer Y or N onto this event.

X: HB854 — Real property tax; local classification or designation for property, nonprofit organizations. Vote 26110865 on 3/6/2026. Official recorded action: H Senate substitute agreed to by House (90-Y 5-N 0-A). Bulova's token is X. It is not N. It is not Y. Peers may have Y on this event. This paper does not copy those tokens. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N), vote H10V2610716, and Yea on 2/3/2026, Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A), vote 2619951. The Senate-substitute-agreed token is X. It is not a Nay on the underlying bill, and it is not a Finance miss.

There are 0 Present (P) and 0 Abstain (A) tokens. Date-clustered Not Voting is not present in this file beyond this one named X row. Vote 26110590 on HB30 is Yea, not X. Vote 26211488 on 20262 HB30 is Yea, not X. Vote 26110685 on SB661 is Yea, not X. Unjoined 20262 vote 26211487 is not in the tax CSV; the bill was not guessed, and that row is not this tax-universe X.

4. Real & Personal Property Tax

Titles below are the official LIS short titles. The one-line description of what each bill does is that title. Votes cite official HISTORY text. Shared-refid property titles that also have a concatenated block event (HB1358, SB649, HB960) keep their exact-bill rows here and their block events in section 7 so a single roll call is not narrated twice as two KPI events.

HB175. Real property; tax exemption, surviving spouses of members of Armed Forces who died in line of duty. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/21/2026, H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/27/2026, H Read third time and passed House (99-Y 0-N 0-A).

HB282. Real property tax; classification of land and improvement in Cities of Charlottesville/Falls Church. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/21/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 1-N); Yea on 1/27/2026, H Read third time and passed House (91-Y 8-N 0-A).

HB854. Real property tax; local classification or designation for property, nonprofit organizations. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/3/2026, H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A); Present/Not Voting (X) on 3/6/2026, H Senate substitute agreed to by House (90-Y 5-N 0-A).

HB474. Real estate with delinquent taxes or liens; apptmt. of special commissioner, increases value. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/3/2026, H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB181. Real property tax; partial exemption for repurposing underutilized structures for residential use. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (17-Y 4-N); Yea on 3/2/2026, H Passed House with substitute (70-Y 29-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (65-Y 31-N 0-A).

HB557. Tangible personal property tax; establishes classification for electric landscaping equipment. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N); Yea on 2/10/2026, H Read third time and passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A).

HJ34. Qualifying vehicles, certain; Dept. of Tax. to study options for abolishing personal property tax. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, H Agreed to by House (68-Y 25-N 0-A).

HB1051. Income tax, state; real property tax relief credit. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB697. Income tax, state; credit for surviving spouse's real property taxes. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N).

HB1358. Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N).

HB960. Personal property taxes; valuation, effective clause. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N).

SB649. Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/18/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N).

5. Income Tax, Credits & Exemptions

Finance committee and subcommittee rolls on income, credit, and exemption titles sit in this universe when they join HISTORY. A subcommittee Yea is not a floor passage. HB1279 and SB388 Nays named in section 2 remain those recorded actions; they are not restated as a single bill score here.

HB958. Income tax, corporate; taxable income, net operating loss. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/10/2026, H Read third time and passed House (96-Y 1-N 1-A).

SB612. Motion picture production; extends income tax credit sunset. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/18/2026, H Reported from Finance (18-Y 3-N); Yea on 2/23/2026, H Passed House (74-Y 23-N 0-A).

HB400. Motion picture production; increases aggregate cap on tax credit, extends sunset. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/9/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (11-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (18-Y 3-N); Yea on 2/17/2026, H Read third time and passed House (74-Y 23-N 0-A); Yea on 3/4/2026, H Senate substitute agreed to by House (70-Y 24-N 0-A).

HB167. Tax exemptions; Confederacy organizations. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N); Yea on 2/10/2026, H Read third time and passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A).

HB1279. Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Bulova recorded Nay on 2/5/2026, H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A); Nay on 3/6/2026, H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 95-N 0-A); Nay on 3/14/2026, H Conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 38-N 0-A).

SB388. Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Bulova recorded Nay on 2/25/2026, H Passed House with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A); Nay on 3/14/2026, H Conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 36-N 0-A).

HB137. Income tax, state; increases current cap of military benefits that may be subtracted. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute and referring to Appropriations (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (18-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (22-Y 0-N).

HB716. Income tax, state; innocent spouse tax relief. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N).

HB1180. Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-N).

HB1454. Income tax, state; subtraction for Segal AmeriCorps Education Award. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting and referring to Appropriations (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (22-Y 0-N).

HB1461. Income tax, state & corporate; microchip & semiconductor manufacturing & supply chain tax credits. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Tabled in Finance (19-Y 2-N).

SB96. Income tax, corporate and state; credit for braille labeling program. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Referred from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N).

SB591. Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/18/2026, H Reported from Finance (21-Y 0-N).

HB1004. Income tax, state; creates child tax credit. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB1123. Income tax, state; credit for certain health care providers. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB1135. Income tax, state; tax credit for affordable housing projects. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/9/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 3-N).

HB1155. Income tax, state and corporate; subtraction for broad band grant fund awards. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends striking from the docket (8-Y 0-N).

HB1210. Income tax, state; subtraction for long-term capital gains from sale of principal residence. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB1211. Income tax, state; first-time homebuyer tax credit. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB1351. Income tax, state; subtraction for retirement income of certain federal employees. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 2-N).

HB1412. Child day-care facility investment and child day-care expense reimbursement; income tax credits. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB1422. Solar energy equipment; establishes a nonrefundable income tax credit. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (9-Y 1-N).

HB378. Net investment income tax; imposes a tax on individuals, trusts, and estates. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (10-Y 0-N).

HB403. Income tax, state; credits for child care-related expenses. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N).

HB458. Income tax, corporate and state; subtraction for broadband grant fund awards. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB47. Income tax, state; subtractions, uniformed services and foreign service retirement benefits. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 2-N).

HB588. Income tax, state; subtractions for military benefits. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N).

HB760. Income tax, state; energy-efficient homes tax credits. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/9/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 3-N).

HB959. Income tax, state; retirement income of certain federal employees. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends striking from the docket (10-Y 0-N).

HB991. Income tax, state; subtraction for volunteer firefighters and emergency medical services personnel. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N).

HB405. Health Insurance Premium Stabilization Tax Credit Act; established, report. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 2-N).

HB805. Land preservation; maximum amount of increase of tax credits. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

6. Sales, Use & Local Taxation

HB334. Additional local sales and use tax to support schools; referendum. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/21/2026, H Reported from Finance (16-Y 6-N); Yea on 1/27/2026, H Read third time and passed House (70-Y 28-N 0-A).

HB897. Retail Sales and Use Tax; exemption for data centers, delayed effective date. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (16-Y 5-N); Yea on 2/17/2026, H Read third time and passed House (61-Y 34-N 0-A).

HB550. Admissions tax in counties; retail sales and use tax dedicated to promotion of tourism. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N); Yea on 2/4/2026, H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 37-N 0-A).

SB400. Admissions tax in counties; retail sales and use tax dedicated to promotion of tourism. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/18/2026, H Reported from Finance (15-Y 6-N); Yea on 2/23/2026, H Passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A).

HB341. Plastic bag tax; distribution to towns. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/21/2026, H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N); Yea on 1/27/2026, H Read third time and passed House (67-Y 32-N 0-A).

HB915. Local taxation; tax extension for federal government shutdown. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (20-Y 2-N); Yea on 2/10/2026, H Read third time and passed House (68-Y 30-N 0-A).

HB524. Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/17/2026, H Read third time and passed House (68-Y 28-N 0-A).

SB314. Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Passed House (67-Y 30-N 0-A).

HB919. Retail Sales and Use Tax; impose firearm and ammunition tax. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (14-Y 7-N).

HB1008. Motor vehicle sales and use tax; exemption for electric vehicles, etc. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 0-N).

7. Business, Excise & Tax Administration

HB145. Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/17/2026, H Read third time and passed House (89-Y 8-N 0-A); Nay on 3/4/2026, H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 93-N 0-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, H Conference report agreed to by House (87-Y 8-N 0-A).

SB129. Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Bulova recorded Yea on 3/4/2026, H Passed House with substitute (91-Y 7-N 0-A); Yea on 3/13/2026, H Conference report agreed to by House (88-Y 7-N 0-A).

SB788. Alcoholic beverage control; payment of excise tax on beer, wine coolers, and wine, penalties. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N); Yea on 3/2/2026, H Passed House with amendments (91-Y 6-N 1-A).

SB302. Peanuts; excise tax, sunset extended. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N); Yea on 3/5/2026, H Passed House with substitute (95-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB661. Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Bulova recorded Yea on 3/3/2026, H Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A); Nay on 3/14/2026, H Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A); Nay on 3/14/2026, H Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A).

HB1100. Wage garnishments; treasurers' liens for unpaid taxes and charges. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Read third time and passed House (85-Y 13-N 0-A); Yea on 3/10/2026, H Senate substitute agreed to by House (78-Y 19-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (73-Y 25-N 0-A).

SB597. Wage garnishments; treasurers' liens for unpaid taxes and charges. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/23/2026, H Passed House (83-Y 14-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (76-Y 20-N 0-A).

HB1142. Deferred or installment payment agreements; outstanding court-assessed fines, fees, taxes, or costs. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/13/2026, H Read third time and passed House (96-Y 0-N 0-A).

HB954. Rounding procedures; taxes and fees calculated, report. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 0-N); Yea on 3/6/2026, H Senate substitute agreed to by House (97-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB224. Tax administration; award for tax underpayment detection assistance. Bulova recorded Yea on 2/23/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute and referring to Appropriations (11-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/25/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N).

HB488. Wage garnishment; state tax debt. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N).

HB977. Tax laws of the Commonwealth; conformity to the Internal Revenue Code. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (22-Y 0-N).

HB1080. Collection of taxes; memorandum of lien, time to process requested information. Bulova recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

Shared-refid block events

Six unique vote_ids attach to more than one tax bill. Each is one KPI event. Titles are concatenated in the CSV with a semicolon-space joiner. Bills are not invented, and the block is not flattened into one bill's recorded position. All six tokens are Yea, including 2619915 (HB163; HB488; HB716; HB960). That 2619915 token is Y. It is not X.

Yea on 20261 2619915 (2/3/2026): HB163; HB488; HB716; HB960 — Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent.; Wage garnishment; state tax debt.; Income tax, state; innocent spouse tax relief.; Personal property taxes; valuation, effective clause. Official recorded action: H Read third time and passed House (98-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 26110094 (2/10/2026): HB1180; HB1358 — Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: H Read third time and passed House (98-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 26110289 (2/17/2026): HB954; HB1008; HB1529 — Rounding procedures; taxes and fees calculated, report.; Motor vehicle sales and use tax; exemption for electric vehicles, etc.; Tax Commissioner; information sharing, eligibility for medical assistance. Official recorded action: H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 26110461 (2/23/2026): SB316; SB591; SB649 — Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent.; Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: H Passed House with substitute (97-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 26110723 (3/4/2026): SB660; SB779 — Virginia Self-Service Storage Act; disposal of abandoned personal property in certain cases.; Eminent domain; condemnation proceedings, entry of order and recordation of certificate. Official recorded action: H Passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 26110724 (3/4/2026): SB660; SB779 — Virginia Self-Service Storage Act; disposal of abandoned personal property in certain cases.; Eminent domain; condemnation proceedings, entry of order and recordation of certificate. Official recorded action: H Passed House (99-Y 0-N 0-A).

8. Budget Vehicles (HB29 / HB30)

HB29 and HB30 are forced budget vehicles in this filter. They are not a standalone tax-rate roll. Bulova recorded Yea on all six 20261 HB29 events in this ledger, including House passage (63-Y 35-N 0-A) and Senate amendments agreed to by House (59-Y 35-N 0-A).

On 20261 HB30 she recorded 39 events: 38 Yea and one Nay on 26110806 when the House rejected Senate amendments (0-Y 92-N 0-A). That N is the unanimous rejection roll. Bulova has no X on HB30. Vote 26110590, Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h offered by Delegate McNamara passed by (62-Y 33-N 0-A), is Yea. House passage on 2/26/2026 is Yea (83-Y 14-N 0-A).

20262 is HB30 only: 13 events, 13 Yea. Vote 26211488, conference report agreed to by House (71-Y 22-N 0-A), is Yea. The remaining twelve events are House concurrences in Governor's recommendations numbered 1 through 14, all Yea. Special I is 13 Yea. Do not invent other Special Session tax bills. Vehicle is not item. The complete recorded actions are in Appendix A.

9. Intelligence Assessment

Evidence-supported characterization (Analysis). Bulova supported 165 of 175 recorded tax-universe events. The nine Nays are nine recorded actions: one HB1279 House-passage Nay (60-Y 36-N 0-A), one SB388 House-passage-with-amendments Nay (61-Y 37-N 0-A), one HB30 Senate-amendments rejection (House 0-Y 92-N 0-A), one HB145 Senate-substitute rejection (House 0-Y 93-N 0-A), one HB1279 Senate-substitute rejection (House 0-Y 95-N 0-A), one HB1279 conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A), one SB388 conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A), one SB661 conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A), and one SB661 conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). The three HB1279 Nays are three recorded actions. The two SB388 Nays are two recorded actions. The two SB661 Nays are two recorded actions. This paper does not flatten them. Conference-agreed N is still N. Floor-passage N is still N. The one X token is 26110865 on HB854 (Senate substitute agreed to by House, 90-Y 5-N 0-A). That token is X, not Nay and not Yea. Special I is 13 Yea. Because the universe includes tax relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, taxing-authority measures, administrative changes, Finance committee rolls, and budget vehicles, the record is better described as broad support for the House majority tax-policy agenda represented in this corpus, with documented floor Nays on the HB1279 and SB388 affordable-housing exemption vehicles and on both SB661 conference reports, than as a higher-tax or lower-tax posture.

Bulova has one X token in this tax universe and zero Present (P) and zero Abstain (A) tokens. Date-clustered Not Voting is not an issue beyond that one named X row. HB854 is Yea on Finance report and House passage and X on the Senate substitute agreed. SB661 is Yea on House passage with substitute and Nay on both later conference events. Shared-refid 2619915 is Yea. Bulova's token on 26110590 and on 26211488 is Yea. Bulova's token on HB1279 26111389 is Yea. This paper does not copy a peer Nay onto 26111389.

Comparative significance. Differences with other members, if they exist, are more likely to show up in which bills those members oppose, miss, or break on — including Bulova’s floor-passage Nays on HB1279 (26110016) and SB388 (26110528), her two conference-agreed Nays on those same bills, her two SB661 conference Nays, and her X on HB854 26110865. Special I is 13 Yea. This ledger is behavior, not motive. Vote tokens do not establish why she voted. This ledger is H0403 only.

Open Question. Version text on the HB145 Senate substitute (Nay on 26110807) versus the conference report (Yea on 26111217), the three HB1279 Nays (House passage, Senate substitute, conference agreed) versus the later Governor-recommendation Yea on 26111389, the two SB388 Nays (House amendments, conference agreed) versus the later Governor-recommendation Yea on 26111431, the HB30 Senate amendments versus the House-passed vehicle, the two SB661 conference Nays versus the earlier House-substitute Yea, and the HB854 Senate-substitute X versus the earlier House-passage Yea, is not compared in this paper. Governor-recommendation text on 20262 HB30 is not lined to any single tax item.

10. Priority Follow-Up Research

- 20262 HB30 — Bulova’s token on 26211488, conference report agreed to by House (71-Y 22-N 0-A), is Y. Special I is 13 Yea. Do not copy a peer Special I mix onto this CSV.
- HB30 Regular — Bulova’s token on the Senate-amendments rejection (0-Y 92-N 0-A), vote 26110806, is N. Bulova’s token on Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h (26110590) is Y, not X. Do not flatten those two events.
- HB145 — Bulova’s token on the Senate-substitute rejection (0-Y 93-N 0-A) is N. Procedural/version, not policy opposition. Bulova’s token on the conference report agreed (87-Y 8-N 0-A), vote 26111217, is Y, not N.
- HB1279 — Three Nays remain three recorded actions: 26110016 House passage (60-Y 36-N 0-A), 26110881 Senate substitute rejected (0-Y 95-N 0-A), and 26111245 conference report agreed (54-Y 41-N 0-A). Conference-agreed N is still N. Floor-passage N is still N. Do not flatten the three HB1279 Nays into one Nay. Vote 26111389, Governor’s recommendation (62-Y 38-N 0-A), is Y in this CSV. Do not treat 26111389 as a Nay. Compare those HISTORY sentences before assigning a single meaning to the bill.
- SB388 — Two Nays remain two recorded actions: 26110528 House passage with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A) and 26111279 conference report agreed (55-Y 40-N 0-A). Conference-agreed N is still N. Floor-passage N is still N. The Governor’s recommendation on 26111431 is Yea.
- SB661 — Two Nays remain two recorded conference actions: 26111306 conference report rejected (49-Y 44-N 3-A) and 26111310 conference report agreed (57-Y 38-N 1-A). Conference-agreed N is still N. Bulova’s token on 26110685, Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A), is Y, not X and not N. Peers may have X or N on 26110685. Do not copy those tokens.
- HB854 — Bulova’s token on 26110865, Senate substitute agreed to by House (90-Y 5-N 0-A), is X, not N and not Y. Peers may have Y on this event. Do not copy those tokens. Finance report and House passage are Yea.
- Shared-refid blocks (26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, 26119915) — all six are Yea. 26119915 is Y, not X. Do not treat a concatenated title as a single-bill position.
- HISTORY join gaps: 48 unjoined 20261 vote_ids and 3 unjoined 20262 vote_ids were not scored as tax. Bills were not guessed. Unjoined 20262 26211487 is not a tax-universe X.
- 20262 HB30 Governor-recommendation text versus any tax item remains unmapped. Vehicle is not item. 20262 is HB30 only, 13 Yea.

Appendix A. Complete Bulova Tax Vote Ledger

Every one of the 175 CSV rows. Sessions stay labeled 20261 versus 20262. Shared-refid events remain one row with concatenated bill_ids. Vote is the recorded token, not a motive. Source is the official LIS bill URL from the CSV. This ledger is H0403 only.

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
20261 — 2026 Regular (162 events)					
1/21/2026	HB175	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/21/2026	HB282	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 1-N)	LIS
1/21/2026	HB334	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (16-Y 6-N)	LIS
1/21/2026	HB341	Local Taxes	Yea	H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB959	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends striking from the docket (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB716	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB47	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 2-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB137	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute and referring to Appropriations (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB1351	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 2-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB1080	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
1/26/2026	HB488	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB175	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (99-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB282	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (91-Y 8-N 0-A)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB334	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (70-Y 28-N 0-A)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB341	Local Taxes	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (67-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB137	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (18-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB488	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB716	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB977	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB474	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB550	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB960	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB137	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	HB854	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/30/2026	HJ34	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Agreed to by House (68-Y 25-N 0-A)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1155	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends striking from the docket (8-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB403	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1123	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB458	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB588	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB991	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB958	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1210	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1211	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
2/2/2026	HB378	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1422	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (9-Y 1-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB805	Tax Credits/Incentives	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1004	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1051	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1412	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB405	Tax Credits/Incentives	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1180	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/2/2026	HB1454	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting and referring to Appropriations (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/3/2026	HB163; HB488; HB716; HB960	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (98-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/3/2026	HB854	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/3/2026	HB474	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB550	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 37-N 0-A)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB958	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB1180	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB1454	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB167	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB557	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (15-Y 7-N)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB915	Local Taxes	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (20-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/4/2026	HB1358	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/5/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Nay	H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Uncontested Appropriations Committee Amendments agreed to (90-Y 7-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 4-5.04 #1h agreed to (63-Y 34-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 4-14 #2h agreed to (63-Y 34-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Engrossed by House as amended (63-Y 34-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/Incentives	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (11-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB1135	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/9/2026	HB760	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (8-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB1180; HB1358	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (98-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB167	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB557	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB915	Local Taxes	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (68-Y 30-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (85-Y 13-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (63-Y 35-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
2/10/2026	HB958	Income Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (96-Y 1-N 1-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/Incentives	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (18-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB697	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB897	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (16-Y 5-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB1461	Income Tax	Yea	H Tabled in Finance (19-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB919	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (14-Y 7-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB954	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB1008	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/13/2026	HB1142	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (96-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/17/2026	HB954; HB1008; HB1529	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/17/2026	HB524	Local Taxes	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (68-Y 28-N 0-A)	LIS
2/17/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/Incentives	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (74-Y 23-N 0-A)	LIS
2/17/2026	HB897	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (61-Y 34-N 0-A)	LIS
2/17/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (89-Y 8-N 0-A)	LIS
2/18/2026	SB400	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (15-Y 6-N)	LIS
2/18/2026	SB591	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/18/2026	SB612	Income Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (18-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/18/2026	SB649	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/20/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Senate amendments agreed to by House (59-Y 35-N 0-A)	LIS
2/23/2026	SB316; SB591; SB649	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Passed House with substitute (97-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/23/2026	SB400	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A)	LIS
2/23/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Passed House (83-Y 14-N 0-A)	LIS
2/23/2026	SB612	Income Tax	Yea	H Passed House (74-Y 23-N 0-A)	LIS
2/23/2026	SB224	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute and referring to Appropriations (11-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Motion for Special and Continuing Order for Thursday, February 26, 2026 (93-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	H Passed House (67-Y 30-N 0-A)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Nay	H Passed House with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB224	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB96	Income Tax	Yea	H Referred from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with substitute (17-Y 4-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB302	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Uncontested committee amendments agreed to (89-Y 9-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 1 #8h agreed to (65-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 50 #1h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 50 #2h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 50 #3h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 54 #1h agreed to (63-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 60 #1h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 77 #4h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 102 #6h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 125 #1h agreed to (95-Y 1-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 243 #1h agreed to (63-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 278 #3h agreed to (92-Y 5-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 290 #1h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 328 #1h agreed to (91-Y 5-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 352 #1h agreed to (63-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 352 #3h agreed to (66-Y 31-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 359 #1h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 369 #1h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 399 #2h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 419 #1h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 419 #2h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 420 #3h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 471 #1h agreed to (65-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 471 #2h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 471 #3h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 471 #4h agreed to (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 471 #5h agreed to (95-Y 2-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 491 #1h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item C-18 #1h agreed to (68-Y 29-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 4-5.04 #1h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Contested committee amendment Item 4-14 #2h agreed to (64-Y 32-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Floor Amendment Item 109 #1h offered by Delegate McNamara passed by (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Floor Amendment Item 3-5.24 #1h offered by Delegate Webert passed by (73-Y 22-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h offered by Delegate McNamara passed by (62-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #2h offered by Delegate McNamara passed by (64-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Constitutional reading dispensed (on 3rd reading) (95-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Passed House (83-Y 14-N 0-A)	LIS
3/2/2026	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Passed House with substitute (70-Y 29-N 0-A)	LIS
3/2/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Passed House with amendments (91-Y 6-N 1-A)	LIS
3/3/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB660; SB779	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB660; SB779	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Passed House (99-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Passed House with substitute (91-Y 7-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Nay	H Senate amendments rejected by House (0-Y 92-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Nay	H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 93-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/Incentives	Yea	H Senate substitute agreed to by House (70-Y 24-N 0-A)	LIS
3/5/2026	SB302	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Passed House with substitute (95-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/6/2026	HB854	Real Property Tax	Present/Not Voting (X)	H Senate substitute agreed to by House (90-Y 5-N 0-A)	LIS
3/6/2026	HB954	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Senate substitute agreed to by House (97-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/6/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Nay	H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 95-N 0-A)	LIS
3/10/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Senate substitute agreed to by House (78-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
3/13/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Conference report agreed to by House (88-Y 7-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Conference report agreed to by House (87-Y 8-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Nay	H Conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Nay	H Conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Nay	H Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Nay	H Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (73-Y 25-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 38-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (65-Y 31-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 36-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (76-Y 20-N 0-A)	LIS
2026 — 2026 Special I (13 events, HB30 only, 13 Yea)					
6/22/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Conference report agreed to by House (71-Y 22-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 3, 4, and 5 (88-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 1 (57-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 2 (65-Y 25-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 6.1 (65-Y 23-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 7 (63-Y 24-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 8 (90-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 9 (62-Y 28-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 10 (74-Y 14-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 11 (76-Y 9-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 12 (62-Y 28-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 13 (57-Y 33-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 14 (56-Y 34-N 0-A)	LIS

Figure 3. Complete H0403 tax-universe vote ledger, 175 unique (session, vote_id) events. What it is: the CSV of record, including budget vehicles and version votes. What it is not: a motive file, a tax-rate census, or a reconstructed bill for any unjoined vote_id.

Methodology & Evidence Limits

- Subject lock: official LIS member ID H0403, name token Gretchen M. Bulova. House District 11 | HD-11 | Fairfax (part); City of Fairfax | Democrat is the task identity for this product. Members.csv columns on disk are MBR_HOU, MBR_MBRNO, and MBR_NAME only; they do not print party or district. Official member page: <https://house.vga.virginia.gov/members/H0403> This ledger is H0403 only; H0177 leftover tokens are not scored.
- Universe = H0403 token in VOTE.CSV joined to a bill that passes build_taxes.is_tax_bill (imported, not rewritten): keyword plus Title 58.1 summary plus forced budget vehicles (HB29/HB30/SB29/SB30/(HB | SB)600x), minus land-use-only data-center false positives. High Yea is not a tax-rate census. Budget vehicles and version votes sit in the same filter. Finance committee (H10) and Finance subcommittee (H10001) vote_ids sit in the same filter when they join HISTORY.
- Join: vote_id.strip() == History_refid.strip(). Unique events are counted as (session, vote_id). CSV rows = 175 (20261 = 162, 20262 = 13). Token mix: Y=165, N=9, X=1, P=0, A=0. Unique tax bills with at least one H0403 token: 75 (20261 = 74, 20262 = 1). 20261 and 20262 are not collapsed in the appendix.
- The Martinez first-pass paper screen of 34/26/33/1 is a different denominator. This ledger was not forced to look like that screen.
- 2025 files and va-member-votes-wide.csv were not used.

- HISTORY join gaps: 48 unjoined unique 20261 vote_ids and 3 unjoined unique 20262 vote_ids cannot be assigned a bill and were not scored as tax. Bills were not invented for those IDs. 20261 unjoined: 26110037, 26110054, 26110093, 26110138, 26110166, 26110203, 26110242, 26110288, 26110453, 26110456, 26110457, 26110458X, 26110460, 26110478, 26110506, 26110555, 26110609, 26110644, 26110683, 26110722, 26110815, 26110830, 26110888, 26110916, 26110983, 26111099, 26111159, 26111161, 26111209, 26111323, 26111457, 2619808, 2619810, 2619818, 2619819, 2619823, 2619825, 2619839, 2619860, 2619878, 2619885, 2619914, 2619967, 2619982, H10V2613317X, H10V2613318X, H10V2613319X, H10V2613320X. 20262 unjoined: 26211458, 26211487, 26211490. One unjoined ID is a VOTE.CSV duplicate row with a trailing X on the vote_id (26110458X); the unsuffixed 26110458 does join to HB29 and is not copied onto the suffix row. 20262 26211458 is VOTE.CSV line 1 (live vote, H0403 Y) with no History_refid; the bill is not guessed. 20262 26211487 is unjoined (token Y) with no History_refid; that row is not a tax-universe X.
- Six shared-refid events concatenate multiple tax bills with “;” and remain one KPI event and one ledger row, all Yea: 26110094 HB1180;HB1358; 26110289 HB954;HB1008;HB1529; 26110461 SB316;SB591;SB649; 26110723 SB660;SB779; 26110724 SB660;SB779; 2619915 HB163;HB488;HB716;HB960. 2619915 is Y. It is not X.
- 20262 is HB30 only: 13 Yea. Other Special Session tax bills were not invented. Special I is 13 Yea. Vote 26211488 is Y, not X.
- A Nay on a substitute is not automatically opposition to the underlying bill. HB1279 26110016 is N on House passage (60-Y 36-N 0-A); that is a floor passage Nay, not a version vote. SB388 26110528 is N on House passage with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A); that is a floor passage Nay, not a version vote. HB30 26110806 is N on Senate amendments rejected by House (0-Y 92-N 0-A). HB145 26110807 is N on the Senate-substitute rejection. HB1279 26110881 is N on the Senate-substitute rejection. HB1279 26111245 is N on the conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A); conference-agreed N is still N. SB388 26111279 is N on the conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A); conference-agreed N is still N. SB661 26111306 is N on the conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A). SB661 26111310 is N on the conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A); conference-agreed N is still N. The three HB1279 Nays, two SB388 Nays, and two SB661 Nays are separate recorded actions and are not flattened. HB1279 26111389 is Y on House concurrence in the Governor's recommendation; that vote_id is not a Nay. HB145 26111217 is Y on the conference report agreed to by House. SB661 26110685 is Y, not X and not N. HB854 26110865 is X, not N and not Y. HB1199 is not in this CSV.
- Bulova has one X token in this tax universe: 26110865 (HB854 Senate substitute agreed to by House). X is not Nay and not Yea. There are 0 P and 0 A. Vote 26110590 is Yea. Vote 26211488 is Yea. Vote 26110685 is Yea. Vote 2619915 is Yea.
- Category labels are title-derived. Residual Tax Administration / Other is used when a title does not clearly fit a Martinez bucket, including the six mixed shared-refid events. Counts sum to 175. Dollars were not invented.
- Four-tier labels used in the body: Documented Fact, Reported Claim, Analysis, Open Question. The vote ledger is behavior, not motive.
- Source of record: official 20261 and 20262 Virginia LIS session files (VOTE.CSV, BILLS.CSV, HISTORY.CSV, Summaries.csv, Members.csv) joined to H0403. Manuscript and PDF stems: vpip-bulova-hd11-tax-2026. This file is a client-format intelligence paper. It is not a public posting.

