



VIRGINIA POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE PORTAL

BETSY B. CARR

House District 78 | HD-78 | City of Richmond (part)

2026 Tax Voting Intelligence Analysis

Delegate | Democrat | Virginia House of Delegates

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

125

Recorded events

47

Tax bills

121

Yea

4

Nay

Disclose X=0. Combined: 125 events, 47 tax bills, 121 Yea, 4 Nay, 0 Present/Not Voting (X), 0 P, 0 Abstain (A). 20261 Regular: 112 events, 46 tax bills, 108 Yea, 4 Nay, 0 X. 20262 Special I: 13 events, 1 bill (HB30 only), 13 Yea. No Special I Nay. No Special I X. The four Nays are H11V2613582 on SB661, 26110806 on HB30, 26110807 on HB145, and 26110881 on HB1279. Confirm other SB661 tokens from HER csv: H11V2613579 Yea, 26110685 Yea, 26111306 Yea, and 26111310 Yea. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays on SB661 unless the csv says N. High Yea is not a higher-tax or lower-tax label. X is not N and is not absence.

LIS member ID H0212. <https://house.vga.virginia.gov/members/H0212>

Executive Assessment

Bottom line. Using the disclosed 2026 *is_tax_bill* screen — keyword plus Title 58.1 plus forced budget vehicles — Carr has 125 recorded vote events across 47 tax-related bills: 121 Yea, 4 Nay, 0 Present/Not Voting (X), 0 Present (P), and 0 Abstain (A). 2026 Regular (session 20261) accounts for 112 events on 46 tax bills (108 Yea, 4 Nay, 0 X). 2026 Special I (session 20262) accounts for 13 events on one bill, HB30: 13 Yea. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X. High Yea is not a higher-tax or lower-tax label. X is not Nay and is not absence. Disclose X=0. Do not invent an Abstain. Do not invent an X. Do not invent Schmidt-style SB661 floor Nays onto this member.

The record is one-sided on the Yea side. Carr supported 121 of 125 recorded tax vote events. That arithmetic is not a tax-rate census. The four Nays are four recorded actions in her H0212 CSV. They are not flattened into one Nay. They are not copied from another member. This paper does not invent a fifth Nay. The four Nays, named and unflattened, are H11V2613582 on SB661 (Reported from General Laws with substitute, 11-Y 9-N); 26110806 on HB30 (Senate amendments rejected by House, 0-Y 92-N 0-A); 26110807 on HB145 (Senate substitute rejected by House, 0-Y 93-N 0-A); and 26110881 on HB1279 (Senate substitute rejected by House, 0-Y 95-N 0-A). Those four are the complete Nay set. The SB661 Nay is a committee-version event on General Laws. Confirm other SB661 tokens from HER csv: H11V2613579 Yea on Reported from General Laws with substitute (14-Y 6-N); 26110685 Yea on Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A); 26111306 Yea on Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A); and 26111310 Yea on Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays on 26110685, 26111306, or 26111310. Those three are Yea for Carr. The HB145 and HB1279 Nays are Senate-substitute rejections. They are procedural/version, not policy opposition to the underlying bills. The Regular-session HB30 Nay on 26110806 is a version/vehicle event on a forced budget vehicle. Peers may have X on those HISTORY sentences. This paper does not copy those tokens. HB1279 is one Nay, the Senate-substitute rejection. Floor passage of HB1279 on 26110016 is Yea. Conference report agreed on 26111245 is Yea. Governor's recommendation on 26111389 is Yea. SB388 has no Nay in this ledger. HB550 on 2619971 is Yea. SB400 on 26110470 is Yea. This paper does not invent admissions-tax Nays. Peers may have N on those HISTORY sentences. This paper does not copy those tokens.

There is 0 Present/Not Voting (X) token in this tax universe. Disclose X=0. There is no H08V2610729 row in this CSV. Do not invent Schmidt's X onto this member. Do not invent Gardner's three X onto this member. Vote 26110590 on HB30, Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h offered by Delegate McNamara passed by (62-Y 33-N 0-A) on 2/26/2026, is Yea for Carr. It is not X. It is not N. This paper does not copy Lily V. Franklin H0393's X on 26110590 onto Carr. Vote 26110806 on HB30 is N, not X. Vote 26211502 on HB30 Special I is Yea, not N and not X. Unjoined rows are not scored as tax. There are 0 Present (P) tokens. There are 0 Abstain (A) tokens. A=0. Vote 26111306 on SB661 is Yea, not A and not N. Do not invent Downey's A onto this member. Do not invent Schmidt's Nay on 26111306 onto this member. Vote 26110137 on HB958, Read third time and passed House (96-Y 1-N 1-A) on 2/10/2026, is Yea. That Yea is not A. Special I is 13 Yea. This paper does not write Willett H0327's Special I 1 Yea plus 12 X cluster onto this member. This paper does not write Anderson H0386's Special I 12 Yea plus 1 Nay onto this member.

Interpretive caution. A high Yea rate does not mean Carr uniformly favored higher taxes or lower taxes. The captured bills include relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, local taxing authority, administrative changes, committee rolls, and budget vehicles with very different fiscal effects. Sixty of the 125 events are HB29/HB30 budget-vehicle rolls. Vehicle is not item. X is not N. Disclose X=0.

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 125 events rather than splitting a single roll call. All six shared-refid events are Yea: 26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, and 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. There is 0 X, 0 P, and 0 A. The four Nays sit in Budget / Appropriations (HB30 26110806), Sector/Excise Tax (SB661 H11V2613582 and HB145 26110807), and Tax Exemptions (HB1279 26110881). There is no Special I Nay.

Tax category	Events	Yea	Nay	X	Not Voting (P/A)
Budget / Appropriations	60	59	1	0	0
Sector/Excise Tax	18	16	2	0	0
Tax Administration / Other	15	15	0	0	0
Tax Exemptions	8	7	1	0	0
Real Property Tax	7	7	0	0	0
Sales & Use Tax	6	6	0	0	0
Local Taxes	4	4	0	0	0
Personal Property Tax	3	3	0	0	0
Income Tax	2	2	0	0	0
Tax Credits/Incentives	2	2	0	0	0
Total	125	121	4	0	0

Figure 1. H0212 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	112		46	108	4	0	0
20262 2026 Special I	13		1	13	0	0	0
Combined	125		47	121	4	0	0

Figure 2. Session split of the same 125 events. What it is: 20261 versus 20262 arithmetic on unique (session, vote_id) rows. What it is not: a collapse of Special I into Regular. 20262 is HB30 only: 13 Yea. No Special I Nay. No Special I X. Disclose X=0.

2. Nay Votes

Documented Fact. Four Nays. Zero X. Zero P. Zero A. The four Nays named below are Carr's H0212 CSV tokens. Those are separate recorded actions. This paper does not invent a fifth Nay. This paper does not invent Schmidt-style SB661 floor Nays on 26110685, 26111306, or 26111310. Those three are Yea in this CSV. This paper does not invent Anderson's Special I Nay 26211502 onto Carr. This paper does not invent HB550 or SB400 Nays. This paper does not invent HB1279 floor-passage or conference Nays. Carr recorded Yea on House passage of HB550 and on House passage of SB400. Carr recorded Nay on one SB661 General Laws committee report (H11V2613582), on HB30 Senate amendments rejected, on HB145 Senate substitute rejected, and on HB1279 Senate substitute rejected. Vote 26111306 is Yea, not N and not A. Vote 26111310 is Yea. Vote 26211502 is Yea. Do not invent a Special I Nay.

Nay: SB661 — Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Vote H11V2613582 on 2/24/2026. Official recorded action: H Reported from General Laws with substitute (11-Y 9-N). Carr's token is N. This is a committee-version event. It is not House passage. It is not a conference Nay. Confirm other SB661 tokens from HER csv: H11V2613579 is Yea on Reported from General Laws with substitute (14-Y 6-N); 26110685 is Yea on Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A); 26111306 is Yea on Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A); and 26111310 is Yea on Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). Those four are Yea. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays on those HISTORY sentences. Peers may have N on 26110685, 26111306, or 26111310. This paper does not copy those tokens. This CSV has five SB661 events for H0212. This is the only SB661 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). Carr's token is N. This is a version/vehicle vote on a forced budget vehicle. The House rejected the Senate amendments unanimously. It is not a standalone tax-rate roll. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. Carr recorded Yea on 39 of 40 Regular-session HB30 events in this ledger, including Appropriations report H02V2613506 (22-Y 0-N), House passage (83-Y 14-N 0-A) on 26110593, and Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h on 26110590. Vote 26110590 is Yea. It is not X and is not this Nay.

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). Carr'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. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. Carr recorded Yea on General Laws report H11V2610929, Appropriations subcommittee H02001V2612768, Appropriations report H02V2612879, House passage (89-Y 8-N 0-A) on 26110434, and the conference report agreed to by House (87-Y 8-N 0-A) on 26111217. Those Yea tokens are not this Nay. This CSV has six HB145 events for H0212.

Nay: HB1279 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. One recorded Nay on this bill, the Senate-substitute rejection:

Vote 26110881 on 3/6/2026. Official recorded action: H Senate substitute rejected by House (0-Y 95-N 0-A). Carr'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. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. This is her only HB1279 Nay.

Vote 26110016 on 2/5/2026 is Yea: H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A). Vote 26111245 on 3/14/2026 is Yea: H Conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A). Vote 26111389 on 4/22/2026 is Yea: H House concurred in Governor's recommendation (62-Y 38-N 0-A). Those Yea tokens are not this Nay. This CSV has four HB1279 events for H0212. This CSV has no Counties, Cities and Towns report H07V2611122 or subcommittee H07002V2610850 for H0212. This paper does not invent those committee tokens. This paper does not invent floor-passage or conference Nays on HB1279.

Analysis. The four Nays are one SB661 General Laws committee-version event (H11V2613582), one Regular-session version/vehicle budget event (HB30 26110806), and two Senate-substitute rejections (HB145 26110807 and HB1279 26110881). The two Senate-substitute Nays are procedural/version. The Regular HB30 Nay is a version/vehicle event on a forced budget vehicle. The SB661 Nay is committee version, not House-passage or conference opposition. Confirm other SB661 tokens from HER csv are Yea: H11V2613579, 26110685, 26111306, and 26111310. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays. Vote 26110590 on HB30 is Yea, not X and not N. Vote 26211502 on Special I HB30 is Yea. Do not invent Anderson's Special I Nay onto this member. This paper does not invent HB550 or SB400 Nays. This paper does not invent HB1279 floor-passage or conference Nays. SB388 has no Nay in this ledger. There is no scored X. There is no scored A.

3. Present/Not Voting (X)

Documented Fact. Zero Present/Not Voting (X) tokens. Zero Abstain (A). Zero Present (P). X is not N. X is not Y. X is not absence. Disclose X=0. This CSV has no X row in the tax universe. This paper does not invent an X. This paper does not invent Schmidt's H08V2610729 X onto this member. This paper does not copy Gardner H0361's three X onto this member. There is no Special I X in the scored tax universe. Special I is 13 Yea.

SB661 — Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Five events sit in this ledger. Confirm from HER csv: H11V2613579 Yea; H11V2613582 Nay (named in section 2); 26110685 Yea; 26111306 Yea; and 26111310 Yea. None is X. None is A. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays on 26110685, 26111306, or 26111310. Peers may have N, X, or A on those HISTORY sentences. This paper does not copy those tokens.

HB30 — Budget Bill. Vote 26110590 on 2/26/2026. Official recorded action: H Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h offered by Delegate McNamara passed by (62-Y 33-N 0-A). Carr's token is Yea. It is not X. It is not N. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. This paper does not copy Lily V. Franklin H0393's X on 26110590 onto Carr. Carr recorded Yea on 39 of 40 Regular-session HB30 events in this ledger, including House passage (83-Y 14-N 0-A), and N on 26110806 when the House rejected Senate amendments. Special I is 13 Yea, including 26211502. Vote 26211502 is Yea, not N and not X. Do not invent Anderson's Special I Nay onto this member.

HB958 — Income tax, corporate; taxable income, net operating loss. Vote 26110137 on 2/10/2026. Official recorded action: H Read third time and passed House (96-Y 1-N 1-A). Carr's token is Yea. It is not A. It is not X. It is not N. This paper does not treat this roll as an Abstain. This is the only HB958 event in this ledger. There is no A in this tax universe.

HB163 — Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent. There is no standalone H08V2610729 row in this CSV. HB163 appears inside shared-refid block 2619915 as Yea on a multi-bill roll. That shared-refid Yea is not an X. This paper does not invent Schmidt's X onto Carr. Do not copy Gardner's three X (2619884, H10001V2611216, 26110562) onto Carr. HJ34 House agreement on 2619884 is Yea for Carr.

There are 0 Present (P) tokens, 0 Present/Not Voting (X) tokens, and 0 Abstain (A) tokens. Votes H11V2613582, 26110806, 26110807, and 26110881 are N, not X and not A. Votes 26110685, 26111306, and 26111310 are Y, not N. Date-clustered Not Voting is not present as a Special I X cluster in this scored file. Special I is 13 Yea. This paper does not write a Special I 1 Yea plus 12 X cluster onto this member.

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 (HB1358, SB649, HB960) are listed once in section 7 with their block events so a single roll call is not narrated twice. The HB854 Senate-substitute token on 26110865 is Yea. The House-agreement token on HJ34 2619884 is Yea. It is not X. Do not copy Gardner's X on 2619884 onto Carr. This CSV also has HJ34 Rules report H20V2610512 as Yea.

HB175. Real property; tax exemption, surviving spouses of members of Armed Forces who died in line of duty. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/3/2026, H Read third time and passed House (97-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, H Reported from Rules (12-Y 6-N); Yea on 1/30/2026, H Agreed to by House (68-Y 25-N 0-A).

5. Income Tax, Credits & Exemptions

HB1279 tokens named in section 2 remain those recorded actions. One of four HB1279 events is Nay. The Senate-substitute token on HB1279 26110881 is N. That Nay is procedural/version. The House-passage token on 26110016 is Yea. The conference token on HB1279 26111245 is Yea. The Governor's-recommendation token on 26111389 is Yea. This CSV has no HB1279 Counties, Cities and Towns report or subcommittee event for H0212. This paper does not invent H07V2611122 or H07002V2610850. SB388 has no Nay in this ledger. The House-passage token on SB388 26110528 is Yea. The conference token on 26111279 is Yea. The Governor's-recommendation token on 26111431 is Yea. This CSV has no SB388 Counties, Cities and Towns report for H0212. This paper does not invent H07V2613460. HB400 26110809, Senate substitute agreed to by House (70-Y 24-N 0-A), is Yea. HB958 26110137 is Yea. That Yea is not A and is not X.

HB958. Income tax, corporate; taxable income, net operating loss. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded Yea 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); Yea 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Passed House with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A); Yea 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).

6. Sales, Use & Local Taxation

The HB550 House-passage token on 2619971 is Yea. The SB400 House-passage token on 26110470 is Yea. HB550 and SB400 are the admissions-tax pair. They remain two recorded Yeas. This paper does not invent admissions-tax Nays. Peers may have N on those HISTORY sentences. This paper does not copy those tokens. The HB524 House-passage token on 26110290 is Yea. This CSV has no HB524 subcommittee or Counties, Cities and Towns report for H0212. This paper does not invent H07002V2610851 or H07V2611115. The SB314 House-passage token on 26110524 is Yea. This CSV has no SB314 Counties, Cities and Towns report for H0212. This paper does not invent H07V2613466. The HB897 House-passage token on 26110396 is Yea. This CSV also has HB897 Appropriations subcommittee H02001V2613214 and Appropriations report H02V2613283 as Yea.

HB334. Additional local sales and use tax to support schools; referendum. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/13/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (5-Y 2-N); Yea on 2/13/2026, H Reported from Appropriations with substitute (16-Y 6-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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/23/2026, H Passed House (62-Y 35-N 0-A).

HB341. Plastic bag tax; distribution to towns. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Passed House (67-Y 30-N 0-A).

7. Business, Excise & Tax Administration

SB661 tokens in this ledger are five recorded actions. Confirm from HER csv: H11V2613579 Yea on Reported from General Laws with substitute (14-Y 6-N); H11V2613582 Nay on Reported from General Laws with substitute (11-Y 9-N), named in section 2; 26110685 Yea on Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A); 26111306 Yea on Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A); and 26111310 Yea on Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). The only SB661 Nay is the committee-version event H11V2613582. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays on 26110685, 26111306, or 26111310. Do not copy Schmidt H0402 Nay tokens on SB661 onto Carr. Do not copy Downey H0392 Abstain on 26111306 onto Carr. Peers may have N, X, or A on those HISTORY sentences. This paper does not copy those tokens. The HB145 Senate-substitute token on 26110807 is N, named in section 2, and remains procedural/version. The HB145 committee and floor Yea tokens are named in section 2. The SB129 House-passage token on 26110761 is Yea. The SB129 conference token on 26111194 is Yea. This CSV also has SB129 General Laws and Appropriations committee Yeas. The SB302 House-passage token on 26110816 is Yea. This CSV also has SB302 Appropriations report H02V2613879 as Yea. The HB954 Senate-substitute token on 26110870 is Yea. The HB1142 House-passage token on 26110204 is Yea. This CSV also has HB1142 Appropriations report H02V2612355 as Yea. SB224 appears once as Yea on Tabled in Appropriations H02V2614039. This CSV has no HB1372 event. This paper does not invent HB1372. HB1529 appears in the shared-refid block 26110289 and has no standalone Health and Human Services committee events in this CSV. This paper does not invent HB1529 Health and Human Services tokens absent from this CSV.

HB145. Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Carr recorded Yea on 1/29/2026, H Reported from General Laws and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/11/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Appropriations (22-Y 0-N); 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/24/2026, H Reported from General Laws with substitute and referred to Appropriations (20-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/27/2026, H Reported from Appropriations (22-Y 0-N); 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. Carr recorded Yea on 3/2/2026, H Passed House with amendments (91-Y 6-N 1-A).

SB302. Peanuts; excise tax, sunset extended. Carr recorded Yea on 3/2/2026, H Reported from Appropriations with substitute (22-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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/24/2026, H Reported from General Laws with substitute (14-Y 6-N); Nay on 2/24/2026, H Reported from General Laws with substitute (11-Y 9-N); Yea on 3/3/2026, H Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, H Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A); Yea 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. Carr 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. Carr 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. Carr recorded Yea on 2/9/2026, H Reported from Appropriations with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-N); 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. Carr recorded 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. Carr recorded Yea on 3/4/2026, H Tabled in Appropriations (22-Y 0-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: 26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, and 2619915. Shared-refid 2619915 includes HB163 among other bills and is Yea. There is no standalone HB163 X in this CSV. Peers may have X on 26110723. This paper does not copy those tokens. Carr is Y.

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. Carr recorded Yea on all seven 20261 HB29 events in this ledger, including Appropriations report H02V2612136 (15-Y 7-N), Uncontested Appropriations Committee Amendments agreed to (90-Y 7-N 0-A), House passage (63-Y 35-N 0-A), and Senate amendments agreed to by House (59-Y 35-N 0-A). The unsuffixed 26110458 joins HB29 as Yea. The trailing-X duplicate 26110458X is unjoined and is not scored as tax. This paper does not invent a bill for 26110458X.

On 20261 HB30 she recorded Yea on 39 events (Appropriations report H02V2613506, committee amendments, floor amendments passed by including Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h on 26110590, constitutional reading, and House passage 83-Y 14-N 0-A) and Nay on 26110806 when the House rejected Senate amendments (0-Y 92-N 0-A). That Nay is a version/vehicle event. Vote 26110590 stays Yea. Peers may have X on 26110590. This paper does not copy those tokens. Of 40 Regular-session HB30 events, 39 are Yea and 1 is N.

20262 is HB30 only: 13 events, all Yea. Vote 26211488, conference report agreed to by House (71-Y 22-N 0-A), is Yea. Twelve Governor-recommendation votes are Yea: 26211491, 26211492, 26211493, 26211494, 26211495, 26211496, 26211497, 26211498, 26211499, 26211500, 26211501, and 26211502. Vote 26211502, House concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 14 (56-Y 34-N 0-A), is Yea for this member. It is not N. Do not invent Anderson H0386 Special I Nay 26211502 onto Carr. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X. Special I is 13 Yea. This paper does not write Willett H0327's Special I 1 Yea plus 12 X cluster onto this member. 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). Carr supported 121 of 125 recorded tax-universe events. The four Nays are four recorded actions: SB661 General Laws committee report with substitute (H11V2613582, 11-Y 9-N); HB30 Senate amendments rejected (26110806, 0-Y 92-N 0-A); HB145 Senate substitute rejected (26110807, 0-Y 93-N 0-A); and HB1279 Senate substitute rejected (26110881, 0-Y 95-N 0-A). Those four are the complete Nay set. The SB661 Nay is committee version. Confirm other SB661 tokens from HER csv are Yea: H11V2613579, 26110685, 26111306, and 26111310. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays. The two Senate-substitute Nays are procedural/version. The Regular HB30 Nay is a version/vehicle event on a forced budget vehicle. There is no Special I Nay. Vote 26211502 is Yea. Do not invent Anderson's Special I Nay onto this member. There is no Abstain. Vote 26111306 on SB661 is Yea. Do not copy Downey H0392 Abstain on 26111306 onto Carr. Do not copy Schmidt H0402 Nay tokens on SB661 onto Carr. Vote 26110590 on HB30 Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h is Yea, not X. There is no X. Disclose X=0. Do not invent Schmidt's H08V2610729 X onto Carr. Do not copy Gardner's three X onto Carr. HB550 2619971 is Yea. SB400 26110470 is Yea. This paper does not invent admissions-tax Nays. HB1279 floor passage on 26110016 is Yea. HB1279 conference on 26111245 is Yea. SB388 has no Nay. Because the universe includes tax relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, taxing-authority measures, administrative changes, 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 a documented four-event Nay set that includes one SB661 committee-version Nay, two procedural Senate-substitute rejections, and one Regular budget version/vehicle Nay, and with X=0, than as a higher-tax or lower-tax posture.

Carr has zero X tokens in this tax universe, zero Present (P) tokens, and zero Abstain (A) tokens. X is not Nay and is not absence. A is not Nay and is not X. Vote H11V2613582 stays Nay. Votes 26110685, 26111306, and 26111310 stay Yea. Vote 26110590 stays Yea. Vote 26110137 on HB958 (House passage, 96-Y 1-N 1-A) is Yea, not A. There is no

Special I X cluster in the scored tax universe. Special I is 13 Yea on HB30. Shared-refid events 26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, and 2619915 are Yea.

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 Carr's Yea on 26110590 where peers may have X, her Nay on 26110806 where peers may have X, her Nay on 26110807 and 26110881 where peers may have X, her Yea on HB550 2619971 and SB400 26110470 where peers may have N, her Yea on SB661 26110685, 26111306, and 26111310 where Schmidt recorded N, her committee Nay on SB661 H11V2613582, her Yea on Special I 26211502 where Anderson recorded N, her absence of any X where Schmidt has H08V2610729 and Gardner has three X, her Yea on shared-refid 26110723 where some peers recorded X, and her Special I 13 Yea rather than a Present/Not Voting cluster or a Special I Nay. This ledger is behavior, not motive. Vote tokens do not establish why she voted. This ledger is H0212 only. H0177 tokens are not scored. H0334 tokens are not scored. H0340 tokens are not scored. H0404 tokens are not scored. H0393 tokens are not scored. H0392 tokens are not scored. H0314 tokens are not scored. H0389 tokens are not scored. H0354 tokens are not scored. H0397 tokens are not scored. H0327 tokens are not scored. H0323 tokens are not scored. H0386 tokens are not scored. H0361 tokens are not scored. H0402 tokens are not scored.

Open Question. Version text on the HB145 and HB1279 Senate substitutes versus the later conference reports is not compared in this paper. Version text on the two SB661 General Laws substitute reports versus House passage and the two conference reports is not compared. Senate-amendment text on 20261 HB30 26110806 is not lined to any single tax item. Floor-amendment Item 4-14 #1h text on 26110590 is not lined to any single tax item. Why Carr's token on H11V2613582 is Nay while her tokens on later SB661 floor and conference actions are Yea is not established by the vote file beyond the recorded tokens.

10. Priority Follow-Up Research

- HB145 — Carr's token on the Senate-substitute rejection (0-Y 93-N 0-A), vote 26110807, is N. Procedural / version, not policy opposition. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. Do not copy those tokens. House passage on 26110434 is Yea. Conference report agreed on 26111217 (87-Y 8-N 0-A) is Yea. This CSV has six HB145 events including General Laws and Appropriations committee Yeas.
- HB1279 — Keep the one Nay as one recorded action (26110881 Senate substitute rejected, procedural / version). House passage on 26110016 is Yea. Conference report agreed on 26111245 is Yea. Governor's recommendation on 26111389 is Yea. Do not invent floor-passage or conference Nays. Do not invent Counties, Cities and Towns report H07V2611122 or subcommittee H07002V2610850. Peers may have X on 26110881. Do not copy those tokens.
- HB30 Regular — Carr's token on the Senate-amendments rejection (0-Y 92-N 0-A), vote 26110806, is N. Version / vehicle, not a tax-rate roll. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. Do not copy those tokens. Floor Amendment Item 4-14 #1h on 26110590 is Yea, not X. Of 40 Regular-session HB30 events, 39 are Yea and 1 is N. This CSV includes Appropriations report H02V2613506 as Yea.
- SB661 — Five events in this CSV. Confirm from HER csv: H11V2613579 Yea; H11V2613582 Nay (committee version); 26110685 Yea; 26111306 Yea; 26111310 Yea. The only Nay is H11V2613582. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays on 26110685, 26111306, or 26111310. Do not copy Schmidt H0402 Nay tokens on SB661 onto Carr. Do not copy Downey H0392 Abstain on 26111306 onto Carr. Peers may have N, X, or A on those HISTORY sentences. Do not copy those tokens.
- HB30 Special I — Thirteen events, all Yea, including 26211502 on Governor's recommendation No. 14. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X. Do not invent Anderson H0386 Special I Nay 26211502 onto Carr. Do not write a Willett-style 1 Yea plus 12 X cluster onto this member.
- X=0 — There is no scored X in this tax universe. Disclose X=0. Do not invent Schmidt's H08V2610729 X onto Carr. Do not copy Gardner's three X onto Carr. Shared-refid 2619915 that includes HB163 is Yea.

- HB550 and SB400 — House passage of HB550 on 2619971 is Yea. House passage of SB400 on 26110470 is Yea. Do not invent admissions-tax Nays. Peers may have N on those HISTORY sentences. Do not copy those tokens.
- SB388 — All three events are Yea (26110528 House passage with amendments; 26111279 conference report agreed; 26111431 Governor's recommendation). Do not invent a Nay. Do not invent Counties, Cities and Towns report H07V2613460.
- HB958 — The token on 26110137 is Yea, not A and not X. There is no A in this tax universe.
- Shared-refid blocks (26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, 2619915) — all six are Yea. Do not treat a concatenated title as a single-bill position. Do not copy a peer X onto 26110723.
- HISTORY join gaps: 48 unjoined 20261 vote_ids and 3 unjoined 20262 vote_ids were not scored as tax. Bills were not guessed. 26110458X is a trailing-X duplicate; unsuffixed 26110458 joins HB29 as Yea. This paper does not invent a tax bill from that suffix row.
- 20262 HB30 Governor-recommendation text versus any tax item remains unmapped. Vehicle is not item.

Appendix A. Complete Carr Tax Vote Ledger

Every one of the 125 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 H0212 only.

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
20261 — 2026 Regular (112 events)					
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
1/27/2026	HJ34	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Rules (12-Y 6-N)	LIS
1/29/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from General Laws and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/30/2026	HJ34	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Agreed to by House (68-Y 25-N 0-A)	LIS
2/3/2026	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
2/5/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A)	LIS
2/6/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations with amendment(s) (15-Y 7-N)	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	HB1142	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-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	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/11/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations (22-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
2/13/2026	HB897	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (5-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/13/2026	HB897	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations with substitute (16-Y 6-N)	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
2/20/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Senate amendments agreed to by House (59-Y 35-N 0-A)	LIS
2/22/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations with amendment(s) (22-Y 0-N)	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
2/24/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from General Laws with substitute and referred to Appropriations (20-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/24/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from General Laws with substitute (14-Y 6-N)	LIS
2/24/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Nay	H Reported from General Laws with substitute (11-Y 9-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	Yea	H Passed House with amendments (61-Y 37-N 0-A)	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
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

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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
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
2/27/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations (22-Y 0-N)	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
3/2/2026	SB302	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Reported from Appropriations with substitute (22-Y 0-N)	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
3/4/2026	SB224	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Tabled in Appropriations (22-Y 0-N)	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	Yea	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	Yea	H Conference report agreed to by House (54-Y 41-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Conference report agreed to by House (55-Y 40-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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
20262 — 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
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

Methodology & Evidence Limits

- Subject lock: official LIS member ID H0212, name token Betsy B. Carr. House District 78 | HD-78 | City of Richmond (part) | 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/H0212> This ledger is H0212 only. H0177 tokens are not scored. H0334 tokens are not scored. H0340 tokens are not scored. H0404 tokens are not scored. H0393 tokens are not scored. H0392 tokens are not scored. H0314 tokens are not scored. H0389 tokens are not scored. H0354 tokens are not scored. H0397 tokens are not scored. H0323 tokens are not scored. H0386 tokens are not scored. H0361 tokens are not scored. H0402 tokens are not scored.
- Universe = H0212 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 higher-tax or lower-tax label. Budget vehicles and version votes sit in the same filter.
- Join: vote_id.strip() == History_refid.strip(). Unique events are counted as (session, vote_id). CSV rows = 125 (20261 = 112, 20262 = 13). Token mix: Y=121, N=4, X=0, P=0, A=0. Unique tax bills with at least one H0212 token: 47 (20261 = 46, 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 include 26110458X and the list disclosed in the manuscript. 20262 unjoined: 26211458, 26211487, 26211490. 26110458X (token=Y) is a VOTE.CSV duplicate row with a trailing X on the vote_id. The unsuffixed 26110458 does join to HB29 as Yea. This paper does not invent a tax bill from that suffix row.

- Six shared-refid events concatenate multiple tax bills with "; " and remain one KPI event and one ledger row, all Yea: 26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, and 2619915.
- 20262 is HB30 only: 13 events, all Yea. Other Special Session tax bills were not invented. There is no Special I X cluster. There is no Special I Nay. Do not invent Anderson H0386 Special I Nay 26211502 onto Carr.
- A token on a substitute is the recorded token on that action. HB145 26110807 and HB1279 26110881 are N on Senate substitute rejected by House. Those Nays are procedural/version. HB30 26110806 is N on Senate amendments rejected. SB661 H11V2613582 is N on Reported from General Laws with substitute (11-Y 9-N). Those four are the complete Nay set. Confirm other SB661 tokens from HER csv: H11V2613579 Yea, 26110685 Yea, 26111306 Yea, and 26111310 Yea. Do not invent Schmidt-style floor Nays. HB30 26110590 is Yea. Special I HB30 26211502 is Yea.
- X is X. There are 0 scored X tokens. Disclose X=0. Do not invent Schmidt H0402 X H08V2610729 onto Carr. Do not copy Gardner H0361 three X onto Carr. A=0. Vote 26111306 on SB661 is Yea, not A and not N. There are 0 P.
- 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 125. 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 joined to H0212. Manuscript and PDF stems: vpip-carr-hd78-tax-2026. This file is a client-format intelligence paper. It is not a public posting. Parent publishes.

