



VIRGINIA POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE PORTAL

MARGARET A. FRANKLIN

House District 23 | HD-23 | Prince William (part); Stafford (part)

2026 Tax Voting Intelligence Analysis

Delegate | Democrat | Virginia House of Delegates

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

179

Recorded events

63

Tax bills

171

Yea

6

Nay

Combined: 179 events, 63 tax bills, 171 Yea, 6 Nay, 2 Present/Not Voting (X), 0 P, 0 Abstain (A). 20261 Regular: 166 events, 62 tax bills, 158 Yea, 6 Nay, 2 X. 20262 Special I: 13 events, 1 bill (HB30 only), 13 Yea. No Special I Nay. No Special I X. The two X tokens are 26110016 on HB1279, Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A) on 2/5/2026, and 26110396 on HB897, Read third time and passed House (61-Y 34-N 0-A) on 2/17/2026. X is not N and is not absence. There is no A in the scored tax universe.

There is no P in the scored tax universe.

Executive Assessment

Bottom line. Using the disclosed 2026 *is_tax_bill* screen — keyword plus Title 58.1 plus forced budget vehicles — Franklin has 179 recorded vote events across 63 tax-related bills: 171 Yea, 6 Nay, 2 Present/Not Voting (X), 0 Present (P), and 0 Abstain (A). 2026 Regular (session 20261) accounts for 166 events on 62 tax bills (158 Yea, 6 Nay, 2 X). 2026 Special I (session 20262) accounts for 13 events on one bill, HB30, all Yea. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X. High Yea is not a higher-tax or lower-tax label.

The record is one-sided on the Yea side. Franklin supported 171 of 179 recorded tax vote events. That arithmetic is not a tax-rate census. The six Nays are six recorded actions in her H0404 CSV. They are not flattened into one Nay. They are not copied from another member. This paper does not invent a seventh Nay. The six Nays, named and unflattened, are H10002V2610609 on HB1199 (subcommittee failed to recommend reporting, 3-Y 7-N); 26110685 on SB661 (Passed House with substitute, 57-Y 39-N 1-A); 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); 26110881 on HB1279 (Senate substitute rejected by House, 0-Y 95-N 0-A); and 26111306 on SB661 (conference report rejected by House, 49-Y 44-N 3-A). Those six are the complete Nay set. Vote 26111310 on SB661, conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A), is Yea. It is not a seventh Nay. This paper does not invent a conference-agreed Nay.

There are 2 Present/Not Voting (X) tokens in this tax universe: 26110016 on HB1279, Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A) on 2/5/2026, and 26110396 on HB897, Read third time and passed House (61-Y 34-N 0-A) on 2/17/2026. Those tokens are X. They are not N. They are not Y. They are not absence. Peers may have N on those HISTORY sentences. This paper does not copy those tokens and does not flatten those X tokens into Nay. Unjoined 2619982 is X but unjoined and is not scored as tax. There are 0 Present (P) tokens. There are 0 Abstain (A) tokens. Special I is 13 Yea. This paper does not write a Special I 1 Yea plus 12 X cluster onto this member.

The recorded universe is 179 events on 63 tax bills because more H0404 tokens joined tax bills, including Finance committee and subcommittee rolls. Sixty-five of the 179 events carry H10 vote_id prefixes. That is a CSV join count. This paper does not invent a reason beyond the CSV. It is not a thin universe. This paper does not backfill unjoined IDs.

Interpretive caution. A high Yea rate does not mean Franklin uniformly favored higher taxes or lower taxes. The captured bills include relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, local taxing authority, administrative changes, committee and subcommittee rolls, and budget vehicles with very different fiscal effects. Fifty-eight of the 179 events are HB29/HB30 budget-vehicle rolls. Vehicle is not item.

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 179 events rather than splitting a single roll call. All six shared-refid events are Yea, including 26110723. 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 are 2 X, 0 P, and 0 A. The six Nays sit in Tax Administration / Other (HB1199 H10002V2610609), Sector/Excise Tax (SB661 26110685 and 26111306; HB145 26110807), Budget / Appropriations (HB30 26110806), and Tax Exemptions (HB1279 26110881). The two X tokens sit in Tax Exemptions (HB1279 26110016) and Sales & Use Tax (HB897 26110396). There is no scored A.

Tax category	Events	Yea	Nay	X	Not Voting (P/A)
Budget / Appropriations	58	57	1	0	0
Real Property Tax	25	25	0	0	0
Tax Administration / Other	20	19	1	0	0
Sales & Use Tax	17	16	0	1	0

Tax category	Events	Yea	Nay	X	Not Voting (P/A)	
Sector/Excise Tax	14	11	3	0		0
Income Tax	13	13	0	0		0
Tax Exemptions	12	10	1	1		0
Local Taxes	10	10	0	0		0
Personal Property Tax	7	7	0	0		0
Tax Credits/Incentives	3	3	0	0		0
Total	179	171	6	2		0

Figure 1. H0404 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	166		62	158	6	2	0
20262 2026 Special I	13		1	13	0	0	0
Combined	179		63	171	6	2	0

Figure 2. Session split of the same 179 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.

2. Nay Votes

Documented Fact. Six Nays. Two X. Zero P. Zero A. The two X tokens are not listed here. They are named in section 3. The six Nays named below are Franklin's H0404 CSV tokens. Those are separate recorded actions. This paper does not invent a seventh Nay. Vote 26111310 is Yea, not N.

Nay: HB1199 — Local license taxes; authority to exempt, businesses regulated by boards within DHP. Vote H10002V2610609 on 1/27/2026. Official recorded action: H Subcommittee failed to recommend reporting (3-Y 7-N). Franklin's token is N. This is a committee/subcommittee Nay. It is a recorded Finance subcommittee action. It is not a floor Nay and it is not a Senate-substitute Nay. This is the only HB1199 event in this ledger.

Nay: SB661 — Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Two recorded Nays on this bill, plus one Yea that is not a Nay:

Vote 26110685 on 3/3/2026. Official recorded action: H Passed House with substitute (57-Y 39-N 1-A). Franklin's token is N. This is a floor-passage Nay. Peers may have Y on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens.

Vote 26111306 on 3/14/2026. Official recorded action: H Conference report rejected by House (49-Y 44-N 3-A). Franklin's token is N. Peers may have Y on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens.

Vote 26111310 on 3/14/2026 is Yea: H Conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). That Yea is not a Nay. This paper does not invent a conference-agreed Nay. This CSV has no SB661 General Laws committee event. This paper does not invent those committee tokens.

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). Franklin's token is N. This is a version/vehicle vote on a forced budget vehicle, not a standalone tax-rate roll. The House rejected the Senate amendments unanimously. It is N for this member. Peers may have X on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. Franklin recorded Yea on the other 38 of 39 Regular-session HB30 events in this ledger, including House passage (83-Y 14-N 0-A). All 13 Special I HB30 events are Yea.

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). Franklin'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. Franklin recorded Yea on House passage (89-Y 8-N 0-A), vote 26110434; and Yea on the conference report agreed to by House (87-Y 8-N 0-A), vote 26111217. Those Yea tokens are not this Nay. This CSV has no HB145 General Laws or Appropriations committee event. This paper does not invent those tokens.

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). Franklin'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 X, not N: H Read third time and passed House (60-Y 36-N 0-A). That X is named in section 3. Vote H07V2611122 on 1/30/2026 is Yea: H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns with amendment(s) (13-Y 8-N). 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 tokens are not this Nay. This paper does not invent a floor-passage Nay on HB1279.

Analysis. Two of the six Nays are Senate-substitute rejections (HB145 26110807 and HB1279 26110881). Those are procedural/version events. They are not a tax-rate census. One Nay is HB30 26110806, Senate amendments rejected by House (0-Y 92-N 0-A). That is a version/vehicle event on a forced budget vehicle. One Nay is HB1199 H10002V2610609, a Finance subcommittee failed-to-recommend roll (3-Y 7-N). Two Nays are SB661 floor and conference-rejected actions (26110685 and 26111306). Vote 26111310 stays Yea. The two X tokens are not a seventh Nay. There is no scored A.

3. Present/Not Voting (X) and Abstain (A)

Documented Fact. Two Present/Not Voting (X) tokens. Zero Abstain (A). Zero Present (P). X is not N. X is not Y. X is not absence. A is not N. A is not X. A is not Y. A is not absence. This paper does not invent additional X rows, and it does not copy a peer Nay onto these X tokens. This paper does not invent an Abstain. There is no Special I X in the scored tax universe. Regular session has 2 X. Special I is 13 Yea.

X: 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). Franklin's token is X. It is not N. Peers may have N on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. Floor passage stays X. The Senate-substitute token on 26110881 is N, named in section 2. The conference token on 26111245 is Yea. The Counties, Cities and Towns report on H07V2611122 is Yea.

X: HB897 — Retail Sales and Use Tax; exemption for data centers, delayed effective date. Vote 26110396 on 2/17/2026. Official recorded action: H Read third time and passed House (61-Y 34-N 0-A). Franklin's token is X. It is not N. It is not Y. Peers may have N or Y on this HISTORY sentence. This paper does not copy those tokens. Franklin recorded Yea on the Finance report with substitute referred to Appropriations (16-Y 5-N), vote H10V2612753. That committee Yea is not this X.

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). Franklin'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.

There are 0 Present (P) tokens and 0 Abstain (A) tokens. The scored X set is 26110016 and 26110396 only. Votes 26110807, 26110881, 26110806, 26110685, 26111306, and H10002V2610609 are N, not X. Unjoined 2619982 is X but unjoined; it is not scored as tax. 20262 unjoined 26211490 is Y, not X, and unjoined; it is not scored as a Special I tax

event. 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 that appear only as concatenated floor blocks (HB1358, SB649, HB960) keep their committee events here when those events are not shared-refid. The HB261 subcommittee token is Yea. It is not X.

HB175. Real property; tax exemption, surviving spouses of members of Armed Forces who died in line of duty. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (10-Y 0-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 1-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (8-Y 1-N); Yea on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (9-Y 0-N); 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); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/24/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (11-Y 0-N); 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).

HB261. Real property; tax classification of land and improvements in City of Newport News. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 1-N).

HB72. Real property tax; classification of land and improvements in City of Fredericksburg. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 1-N).

HB10. Real property tax; classification of land and improvements. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (10-Y 0-N).

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

HB557. Tangible personal property tax; establishes classification for electric landscaping equipment. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/3/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N); 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).

HB566. Tangible personal property tax relief; rate of taxation. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

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

HB1358. Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/3/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/4/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (22-Y 0-N).

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

HB960. Personal property taxes; valuation, effective clause. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with amendment(s) (21-Y 0-N).

5. Income Tax, Credits & Exemptions

HB1279 tokens named in sections 2 and 3 remain those recorded actions. One of five 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 X, not N. The conference token on HB1279 26111245 is Yea. The Governor's-recommendation token on 26111389 is Yea. The Counties, Cities and Towns report on H07V2611122 is Yea. SB388 has no Nay in this ledger. 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. Franklin recorded 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. Franklin 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. Franklin recorded 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).

HB137. Income tax, state; increases current cap of military benefits that may be subtracted. Franklin recorded 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).

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

HB12. Income tax, state; standard deduction. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/9/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-N).

HB1461. Income tax, state & corporate; microchip & semiconductor manufacturing & supply chain tax credits. Franklin 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, H Referred from Finance and referred to Appropriations (21-Y 0-N).

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

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

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

HB167. Tax exemptions; Confederacy organizations. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/3/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns with amendment(s) (13-Y 8-N); Present/Not Voting (X) 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/20/2026, H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns with amendment(s) (13-Y 8-N); 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 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 HB897 House-passage token on 26110396 is X, named in section 3, and stays X. The Finance report on HB897 H10V2612753 is Yea.

HB334. Additional local sales and use tax to support schools; referendum. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (8-Y 2-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute and referred to Appropriations (16-Y 5-N); Present/Not Voting (X) 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N); 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. Franklin 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/20/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/3/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns (17-Y 4-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/20/2026, H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns (16-Y 5-N); Yea on 2/25/2026, H Passed House (67-Y 30-N 0-A).

HB1362. Retail Sales and Use Tax; sales through vending machines. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N).

HB207. Retail Sales and Use Tax; imposes firearm suppressor tax. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (10-Y 0-N).

HB919. Retail Sales and Use Tax; impose firearm and ammunition tax. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (7-Y 2-N); Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (5-Y 4-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/11/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (21-Y 0-N).

7. Business, Excise & Tax Administration

SB661 tokens in this ledger are two Nays and one Yea: House passage with substitute (26110685, N), conference report rejected (26111306, N), and conference report agreed (26111310, Y). Vote 26111310 stays Yea. This paper does not invent a conference-agreed Nay. This CSV has no SB661 General Laws committee event. The HB145 Senate-substitute token on 26110807 is N, named in section 2, and remains procedural/version. The HB1199 subcommittee Nay is named in section 2. The HB956 subcommittee failed-to-recommend token is Yea (4-Y 6-N). That Yea is not N.

HB145. Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Franklin 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. Franklin 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/24/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (9-Y 0-N); 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/24/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting (10-Y 0-N); 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. Franklin recorded Nay 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); 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. Franklin 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. Franklin 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. Franklin 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N); 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).

HB1199. Local license taxes; authority to exempt, businesses regulated by boards within DHP. Franklin recorded Nay on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee failed to recommend reporting (3-Y 7-N).

HB956. License taxes; deduction for out-of-state receipts. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, H Subcommittee failed to recommend reporting (4-Y 6-N).

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

SB224. Tax administration; award for tax underpayment detection assistance. Franklin recorded 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. Franklin recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, H Reported from Finance with substitute (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, including 26110723: 26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, and 2619915. Peers may have X on 26110723. This paper does not copy those tokens. Franklin 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. Franklin 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). This CSV has no HB29 Appropriations committee report. The unsuffixed 26110458 joins HB29. 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 38 events (committee amendments, floor amendments passed by, 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 N is the unanimous rejection roll. It is a version/vehicle event. It is N for this member. Peers may have X on 26110806. This paper does not copy those tokens. This CSV has no HB30 Appropriations committee report.

20262 is HB30 only: 13 events, all 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: 26211491, 26211492, 26211493, 26211494, 26211495, 26211496, 26211497, 26211498, 26211499, 26211500, 26211501, and 26211502. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X in the scored tax universe. This paper does not write a 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). Franklin supported 171 of 179 recorded tax-universe events. The six Nays are six recorded actions: one HB1199 Finance subcommittee Nay (H10002V2610609, 3-Y 7-N); two SB661 Nays (26110685 House passage with substitute, 57-Y 39-N 1-A, and 26111306 conference report rejected, 49-Y 44-N 3-A); one HB30 Senate-amendments rejection (26110806, House 0-Y 92-N 0-A); one HB145 Senate-substitute rejection (26110807, House 0-Y 93-N 0-A); and one HB1279 Senate-substitute rejection (26110881, House 0-Y 95-N 0-A). The two Senate-substitute Nays are procedural/version. The HB30 Nay is a version/vehicle event on a forced budget vehicle. The HB1199 Nay is a committee/subcommittee recorded action. Vote 26111310 on SB661, conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A), is Yea. HB550 2619971 is Yea. SB400 26110470 is Yea. This paper does not invent admissions-tax Nays. Because the universe includes tax relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, taxing-authority measures, administrative changes, Finance committee and subcommittee 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 six-event Nay set that includes two SB661 floor and conference-rejected actions and two procedural Senate-substitute rejections, than as a higher-tax or lower-tax posture.

Franklin has two 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 26110016 stays X. Vote 26110396 stays X. 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, including 26110723.

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 Franklin's Nay on 26110806 where peers may have X, her X on 26110016 and 26110396 where peers may have N or Y, her Nays on SB661 26110685 and 26111306 where peers may have Y, her Yea on 26111310, her Yea on HB550 2619971 and SB400 26110470 where peers may have N, her Yea on shared-refid 26110723 where some peers recorded X, and her Special I 13 Yea rather than a Present/Not Voting cluster. The 179-event, 63-bill count is the count of H0404 tokens that joined tax bills, including Finance subcommittee rolls. It is not a reconstructed motive. This ledger is behavior, not motive. Vote tokens do not establish why she voted. This ledger is H0404 only.

Open Question. Version text on the HB145 and HB1279 Senate substitutes versus the later conference reports is not compared in this paper. Senate-amendment text on 20261 HB30 26110806 is not lined to any single tax item. Governor-recommendation text on 20262 HB30 is not lined to any single tax item. Why the token on 26110016 and 26110396 is X while House passage succeeded is not established by the vote file beyond the recorded token. Why 26110685 and 26111306 are N while 26111310 is Y is not established by the vote file beyond the recorded tokens.

10. Priority Follow-Up Research

- HB1199 — Franklin's token on the Finance subcommittee failed-to-recommend roll (3-Y 7-N), vote H10002V2610609, is N. Committee/subcommittee Nay. Do not invent later floor events that are not in this CSV.

- SB661 — Keep the two Nays as two recorded actions (26110685 House passage with substitute; 26111306 conference report rejected). Vote 26111310, conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A), is Yea. Do not invent a conference-agreed Nay. This CSV has no SB661 General Laws committee event. Do not invent one. Peers may have Y on 26110685 and 26111306. Do not copy those tokens.
- HB30 Regular — Franklin'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. The other 38 Regular-session HB30 events are Yea. This CSV has no HB30 Appropriations committee report.
- HB145 — Franklin's token on the Senate-substitute rejection (0-Y 93-N 0-A), vote 26110807, is N. Procedural/version, not policy opposition. House passage on 26110434 is Yea. Conference report agreed on 26111217 (87-Y 8-N 0-A) is Yea. This CSV has no HB145 committee event. Do not invent one.
- HB1279 — Keep the one Nay as one recorded action (26110881 Senate substitute rejected, procedural/version). House passage on 26110016 is X, not N. Conference report agreed on 26111245 is Yea. Governor's recommendation on 26111389 is Yea. Counties, Cities and Towns report on H07V2611122 is Yea. Peers may have N on 26110016. Do not copy those tokens.
- HB897 — Floor passage on 26110396 stays X. Finance report H10V2612753 is Yea. Do not flatten X into N.
- 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 four events are Yea, including H07V2613460. Do not invent a committee Nay.
- HB958 — The token on 26110137 is Yea, not A and not X. Do not invent an Abstain on House passage (96-Y 1-N 1-A).
- 20262 HB30 — All 13 scored Special I events are Yea, including 26211488 conference report agreed to by House (71-Y 22-N 0-A) and Governor-recommendation votes 26211491 through 26211502. There is no Special I X cluster in the scored tax universe. Unjoined 26211490 is Y, not X, and unjoined; it is not scored as tax.
- Shared-refid blocks (26110094, 26110289, 26110461, 26110723, 26110724, 2619915) — all six are Yea, including 26110723. Do not treat a concatenated title as a single-bill position. Do not copy a peer X onto 26110723.
- HISTORY join gaps: 51 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. H07V2613148X is a trailing-X duplicate; it is unjoined and is not scored as tax. Unjoined 2619982 is X but unjoined; it is not scored as tax.
- 20262 HB30 Governor-recommendation text versus any tax item remains unmapped. Vehicle is not item.

Appendix A. Complete Franklin Tax Vote Ledger

Every one of the 179 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 H0404 only.

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
20261 — 2026 Regular (166 events)					
1/20/2026	HB261	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 1-N)	LIS
1/20/2026	HB72	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 1-N)	LIS
1/20/2026	HB282	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (9-Y 1-N)	LIS
1/20/2026	HB10	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/20/2026	HB175	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/20/2026	HB334	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (8-Y 2-N)	LIS
1/20/2026	HB341	Local Taxes	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
1/21/2026	HB175	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Reported from Finance (22-Y 0-N)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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
1/27/2026	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	HB474	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB550	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB854	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (8-Y 1-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB854	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (9-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB1199	Tax Administration / Other	Nay	H Subcommittee failed to recommend reporting (3-Y 7-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB956	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Subcommittee failed to recommend reporting (4-Y 6-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	HB960	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N)	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
1/30/2026	HB524	Local Taxes	Yea	H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns (17-Y 4-N)	LIS
1/30/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns with amendment(s) (13-Y 8-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
2/3/2026	HB1358	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/3/2026	HB557	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/3/2026	HB167	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/3/2026	HB915	Local Taxes	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (10-Y 0-N)	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

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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	Present/Not Voting (X)	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	HB12	Income Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 2-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
2/10/2026	HB958	Income Tax	Yea	H Read third time and passed House (96-Y 1-N 1-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB207	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB919	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (7-Y 2-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB1362	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB566	Personal Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends laying on the table (7-Y 3-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB919	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (5-Y 4-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB1008	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/10/2026	HB954	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (10-Y 0-N)	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

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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	Present/Not Voting (X)	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
2/20/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns with amendment(s) (13-Y 8-N)	LIS
2/20/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	H Reported from Counties, Cities and Towns (16-Y 5-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	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with substitute (11-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/24/2026	SB302	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting (10-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/24/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	H Subcommittee recommends reporting with amendment(s) (9-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	Yea	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
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

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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
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

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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	Nay	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	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	Nay	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
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

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
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 H0404 tax-universe vote ledger, 179 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 H0404, name token Margaret A. Franklin. House District 23 | HD-23 | Prince William (part); Stafford (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/H0404> This ledger is H0404 only.
- Universe = H0404 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. Finance committee (H10) and related subcommittee vote_ids (H10001, H10002, H10003) and Counties, Cities and Towns (H07) sit in the same filter when they join HISTORY. Sixty-five of the 179 events carry H10 prefixes. That join is why this ledger counts 179 events on 63 tax bills. This paper does not invent a reason beyond the CSV. It is not a thin universe.
- Join: vote_id.strip() == History_refid.strip(). Unique events are counted as (session, vote_id). CSV rows = 179 (20261 = 166, 20262 = 13). Token mix: Y=171, N=6, X=2, P=0, A=0. Unique tax bills with at least one H0404 token: 63 (20261 = 62, 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: 51 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, H07V2613148X, H10002V2610055X, H10002V2610057X, H10V2613317X, H10V2613318X, H10V2613319X, H10V2613320X. 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 and is not copied onto the suffix row. This paper does not invent a tax bill from that suffix row. H07V2613148X (token=Y) is a VOTE.CSV duplicate row with a trailing X on the vote_id; it is unjoined and is not scored as tax. 20262 26211458 is VOTE.CSV line 1 (live vote, H0404 Y) with no History_refid; the bill is not guessed. 20262 26211487 is unjoined (token Y). 20262 26211490 is unjoined (token Y, not X) and is not scored as tax. Unjoined 2619982 is X for this member and unjoined; it is not scored as tax.
- 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. Vote 26110723 is Y.
- 20262 is HB30 only: 13 events, all Yea (26211488 and 26211491 through 26211502). Other Special Session tax bills were not invented. Unjoined 26211490 is not backfilled. There is no Special I X cluster in the scored tax universe.
- 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 by House (0-Y 92-N 0-A). HB1199 H10002V2610609 is N on a Finance subcommittee failed-to-recommend roll. SB661 26110685 and 26111306 are N. SB661 26111310 is Y, conference report agreed to by House (57-Y 38-N 1-A). House passage of HB550 on 2619971 is Yea. House passage of SB400 on 26110470 is Yea. Floor passage of HB1279 on 26110016 is X. Floor passage of HB897 on 26110396 is X. Conference on HB1279 26111245 is Yea.
- X is X. It is not Nay and not Yea. It is not absence. There are 2 scored X tokens: 26110016 and 26110396. Unjoined 2619982 is not scored. A is A. It is not Nay and not X. There are 0 scored A tokens. Vote 26110137 on HB958 is Yea, not A. 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 179. 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 H0404. Manuscript and PDF stems: vpip-franklin-hd23-tax-2026. This file is a client-format intelligence paper. It is not a public posting.

