



VIRGINIA POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE PORTAL

ANGELIA WILLIAMS GRAVES

Senate District 21 | SD-21 | Parts of Norfolk City

2026 Tax Voting Intelligence Analysis

Senator | Democrat | Senate of Virginia

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

171

Recorded events

47

Tax bills

146

Yea

6

Nay

Combined: 171 events, 47 tax bills, 146 Yea, 6 Nay, 19 Present/Not Voting (X), 0 P, 0 Abstain (A). 20261 Regular: 156 events, 46 tax bills, 131 Yea, 6 Nay, 19 X, 0 A. 20262 Special I: 15 events, 1 bill (HB30 only), 15 Yea. No Special I Nay. No Special I X. No Special I A. Disclose X=19. Keep Voice Vote X rows as X. Do not convert Voice Votes to N. House-substitute rejections by Senate (SV949 SB129; SV950 SB661) are procedural/version, not a tax-rate census. Unique committee Nay S1V1038 on SB420 is unflattened. High Yea is not a higher-tax or lower-tax label. High Yea is not ideology. This ledger is S0130 only. Do not include Hashmi S0108 or Ebbin S0085. Chamber is Senate of Virginia, not House of Delegates. No Lucas Spec I Nays.

LIS member ID S0130. Official name token: Angelia Williams Graves. <https://apps.senate.virginia.gov/Senator/memberpage.php?id=S0130>

Executive Assessment

Bottom line. Using the disclosed 2026 *is_tax_bill* screen — keyword plus Title 58.1 plus forced budget vehicles — Angelia Williams Graves has 171 recorded vote events across 47 tax-related bills: 146 Yea, 6 Nay, 19 Present/Not Voting (X), 0 Present (P), and 0 Abstain (A). 2026 Regular (session 20261) accounts for 156 events on 46 tax bills (131 Yea, 6 Nay, 19 X, 0 A). 2026 Special I (session 20262) accounts for 15 events on one bill, HB30, all Yea. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X. There is no Special I A. High Yea is not a higher-tax or lower-tax label. High Yea is not ideology. Disclose X=19. A=0. Do not invent an Abstain. Do not invent a seventh Nay. Do not convert Voice Vote X rows to Nay. No Lucas Spec I Nays. Do not copy Deeds Nays on 20261 SV39 or 20261 SV48 onto Williams Graves.

The record is one-sided on the Yea side. Williams Graves supported 146 of 171 recorded tax vote events. That arithmetic is not a tax-rate census. The six Nays are six recorded actions in her S0130 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 S1V1038 on SB420 (Failed to report (defeated) in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources, 6-Y 8-N); SV713 on SB30 (Suetterlein Floor Amendment item 3-5.24 #1s rejected, 19-Y 21-N 0-A); SV714 on SB30 (Sturtevant Floor Amendment item 4-14 #6s rejected, 19-Y 21-N 0-A); SV744 on SB388 (Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejected by Senate); SV949 on SB129 (House substitute rejected by Senate, 0-Y 40-N 0-A); and SV950 on SB661 (House substitute rejected by Senate, 0-Y 40-N 0-A). S1V1038 is a unique committee failed-to-report Nay on SB420. It is not flattened into any other Nay. SV949 and SV950 are House-substitute rejections by the Senate. They are procedural/version, not policy opposition to the underlying bills. On HB30 conference report agreed (SV39) and Governor's recommendation Nos. 5 and 10 (SV49; SV54), Williams Graves's 20261 and 20262 tokens are Yea. There are no Lucas Spec I Nays on this member.

There are 19 Present/Not Voting (X) tokens in this tax universe. Disclose X=19. Many are Voice Vote HISTORY sentences. Keep them as X. Voice Vote X stays X. Do not convert Voice Votes to N. Shared-refid VSV937 is X across HB163; HB282; HB474; HB524; HB557; HB1358 and remains one KPI event. The 19 X vote_ids are S12V737, VSV175, VSV877, VSV878, VSV879, VSV880, VSV937, VSV939, VSV940, VSV941, VSV942, VSV943, VSV944, VSV945, VSV946, VSV947, VSV948, VSV949, and VSV1094. S12V737 on SB661 (Reported from General Laws and Technology with amendments and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations, 8-Y 6-N) stays X. There are 0 Present (P) tokens. There are 0 Abstain (A) tokens. A=0. Special I is 15 Yea on HB30. This paper does not invent other Special Session tax bills.

Interpretive caution. A high Yea rate does not mean Williams Graves uniformly favored higher taxes or lower taxes. The captured bills include relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, local taxing authority, administrative changes, committee rolls, voice votes, and budget vehicles with very different fiscal effects. Seventy-two of the 171 events are HB29/HB30/SB29/SB30 budget-vehicle rolls. Vehicle is not item. X is not N. Disclose X=19. A=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. Fourteen shared-refid events attach to more than one tax bill and are scored once (Budget / Appropriations when a forced budget vehicle is among the bills; otherwise Tax Administration / Other) so the table sums to 171 events rather than splitting a single roll call. Thirteen of the fourteen shared-refid events are Yea; VSV937 is X. Budget vehicles sit in Budget / Appropriations because this filter forces HB29/HB30/SB29/SB30. X is a recorded Present/Not Voting token. It is not Nay, and it is not absence. There are 19 X, 0 P, and 0 A. The six Nays sit in Tax Administration / Other (SB420 S1V1038), Budget / Appropriations (SB30 SV713, SB30 SV714), Tax

Exemptions (SB388 SV744), and Sector/Excise Tax (SB129 SV949, SB661 SV950). Disclose X=19. There is no scored A.

Tax category	Events	Yea	Nay	X	Not Voting (P/A)
Budget / Appropriations	72	55	2	15	0
Tax Administration / Other	36	32	1	3	0
Sector/Excise Tax	21	18	2	1	0
Tax Exemptions	15	14	1	0	0
Local Taxes	10	10	0	0	0
Tax Credits/Incentives	7	7	0	0	0
Real Property Tax	4	4	0	0	0
Sales & Use Tax	3	3	0	0	0
Income Tax	2	2	0	0	0
Personal Property Tax	1	1	0	0	0
Total	171	146	6	19	0

Figure 1. S0130 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	156	46	131	6	19	0	0
20262 2026 Special I	15	1	15	0	0	0	0
Combined	171	47	146	6	19	0	0

Figure 2. Session split of the same 171 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: 15 Yea. No Special I Nay. No Special I X. No Special I A. Disclose X=19 on Regular only.

2. Nay Votes

Documented Fact. Six Nays. Nineteen X. Zero P. Zero A. The nineteen X tokens are named in section 3. There is no A token to name in section 3. The six Nays named below are Williams Graves's S0130 CSV tokens. Those are separate recorded actions. This paper does not invent a seventh Nay. S1V1038 is unique to this member's Nay set among the common Senate floor cluster. House-substitute rejections by Senate are procedural/version. High Yea is not ideology. High Yea is not a tax-rate census. No Lucas Spec I Nays.

Nay: SB420 — Extreme Weather Taxpayer Protection Program and Fund; established. Vote S1V1038 on 2/3/2026 (session 20261). Official recorded action: S Failed to report (defeated) in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (6-Y 8-N). Williams Graves's token is N. This is a committee failed-to-report Nay. It is the only scored SB420 event in this CSV. It is not flattened into any floor Nay. Do not invent additional SB420 events.

Nay: SB30 — Budget Bill. Vote SV713 on 2/26/2026 (session 20261). Official recorded action: S Senator Suetterlein Floor Amendment item 3-5.24 #1s rejected (19-Y 21-N 0-A). Williams Graves's token is N. This is a floor-amendment vote on a forced budget vehicle. It is not a standalone tax-rate roll.

Nay: SB30 — Budget Bill. Vote SV714 on 2/26/2026 (session 20261). Official recorded action: S Senator Sturtevant Floor Amendment item 4-14 #6s rejected (19-Y 21-N 0-A). Williams Graves's token is N. This is a second floor-amendment vote on the same budget vehicle. It is not flattened into SV713.

Nay: SB388 — Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Vote SV744 on 2/27/2026 (session 20261). Official recorded action: S Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejected by Senate. Williams Graves's token is N. Other SB388 events in this ledger include Senate passage Yea (SV331), conference Yea (SV1416), and Governor's recommendation Yea (SV1564). Those Yea tokens are not this Nay.

Nay: SB129 — Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Vote SV949 on 3/4/2026 (session 20261). Official recorded action: S House substitute rejected by Senate (0-Y 40-N 0-A). Williams Graves's token is N. This is a procedural/version vote. The Senate rejected the House substitute unanimously. It is not policy opposition to the underlying bill. Senate passage on SV380 is Yea in this CSV.

Nay: SB661 — Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Vote SV950 on 3/4/2026 (session 20261). Official recorded action: S House substitute rejected by Senate (0-Y 40-N 0-A). Williams Graves's token is N. This is a procedural/version vote. The Senate rejected the House substitute unanimously. It is not policy opposition to the underlying bill. Conference and related SB661 events SV1431 / SV1458 / SV1511 / SV1512 / SV1513 are Yea in this S0130 CSV. S12V737 on SB661 is X, not this Nay.

Analysis. The six Nays are one SB420 committee failed-to-report event (S1V1038), two SB30 floor-amendment events, one SB388 Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejection, one SB129 House-substitute rejection (procedural/version), and one SB661 House-substitute rejection (procedural/version). House-sub Nays are not a tax-rate census. Special I has no Nay. No Lucas Spec I Nays. High Yea is not ideology.

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

Documented Fact. Nineteen 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. Disclose X=19. A=0. Many X rows are Voice Vote HISTORY sentences. Keep them as X. Do not convert Voice Votes to N. Do not invent additional X rows. All 19 sit in 20261. None sit in 20262. Special I is 15 Yea. S12V737 on SB661 stays X.

S12V737 — S12V737 / SB661 (1/28/2026): S Reported from General Laws and Technology with amendments and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (8-Y 6-N). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV175 — VSV175 / SB597 (2/2/2026): S Committee substitute agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV877 — VSV877 / HB29 (2/19/2026): S Committee amendments agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV878 — VSV878 / HB29 (2/19/2026): S Committee amendment Item 77 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV879 — VSV879 / HB29 (2/19/2026): S Committee amendment Item 4-5.04 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV880 — VSV880 / HB29 (2/19/2026): S Committee amendment Item 4-14 #2s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV937 — VSV937 / HB163; HB282; HB474; HB524; HB557; HB1358 (2/26/2026): S Passed by for the day Block Vote (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV939 — VSV939 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Uncontested Committee amendments agreed to Block Vote (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV940 — VSV940 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Contested Committee amendments agreed to Block Vote #1 (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV941 — VSV941 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Committee amendment item 109 #3s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV942 — VSV942 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Committee amendment item 125 #5s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV943 — VSV943 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Committee amendment item 125 #6s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV944 — VSV944 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Committee amendment item 479 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV945 — VSV945 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Committee amendment item 4-5.04 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV946 — VSV946 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Reading of amendment waived (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV947 — VSV947 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Senator Suetterlein Floor Amendment item 50 #3s rejected. Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV948 — VSV948 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Reading of amendment waived (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV949 — VSV949 / SB30 (2/26/2026): S Reading of amendment waived (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

VSV1094 — VSV1094 / HB1100 (3/6/2026): S Passed by for the day Block Vote (Voice Vote). Williams Graves's token is X. Keep it as X. X is not N and is not Y and is not absence.

There are 0 Present (P) tokens, 19 Present/Not Voting (X) tokens, and 0 Abstain (A) tokens. The six Nays named in section 2 are N, not X. Shared-refid VSV937 stays X and stays one KPI event. Special I is 15 Yea. This paper does not write a Special I Present/Not Voting 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 inside block events are listed once in section 7 so a single roll call is not narrated twice. Exact personal-property vehicles in this CSV include HB557 where scored.

SB181. Real property tax; partial exemption for repurposing underutilized structures for residential use. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/4/2026, S House substitute agreed to by Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (21-Y 18-N 0-A).

HB282. Real property tax; classification of land and improvement in Cities of Charlottesville/Falls Church. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/2/2026, S Passed Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

HB557. Tangible personal property tax; establishes classification for electric landscaping equipment. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/2/2026, S Passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A).

5. Income Tax, Credits & Exemptions

SB388 tokens named in section 2 remain those recorded actions. One SB388 event is Nay (SV744). That Nay is the Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejection. Senate passage, conference, and Governor's recommendation on SB388 are Yea. HB400, HB1279, HB167, SB393, SB367, and related titles appear where exact events exist in this CSV. Do not invent committee tokens absent from this CSV.

SB96. Income tax, corporate and state; credit for braille labeling program. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/23/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (39-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB612. Motion picture production; extends income tax credit sunset. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (24-Y 16-N 0-A).

HB1180. Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/19/2026, S Passed Senate Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A).

HB400. Motion picture production; increases aggregate cap on tax credit, extends sunset. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/4/2026, S Passed Senate with substitute (25-Y 15-N 0-A); Yea on 3/4/2026, S Reconsideration of Senate passage agreed to by Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/4/2026, S Passed Senate with substitute (24-Y 16-N 0-A).

SB388. Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/2/2026, S Reported from Local Government with substitute (9-Y 4-N 1-A); Yea on 2/3/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 1st reading) (39-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/11/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (21-Y 18-N 0-A); Nay on 2/27/2026, S Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejected by Senate; Yea on 3/4/2026, S Senate acceded to request (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/13/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (21-Y 17-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (21-Y 18-N 0-A).

HB167. Tax exemptions; Confederacy organizations. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/19/2026, S Passed Senate (21-Y 17-N 0-A).

HB1279. Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/2/2026, S Reported from Local Government with substitute (9-Y 6-N); Yea on 3/3/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/4/2026, S Passed Senate with substitute (21-Y 17-N 0-A); Yea on 3/10/2026, S Senate insisted on substitute (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/13/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 16-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (23-Y 16-N 0-A).

SB393. Virginia's Great Outdoors Act; established, creates data center land conservation tax. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, S Rereferred from Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources; Yea on 1/27/2026, S Passed by indefinitely in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (9-Y 4-N); Yea on 2/3/2026, S Rereferred from Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources to Finance and Appropriations (14-Y 0-N).

SB367. Affordable housing; religious organizations and other nonprofit tax-exempt properties. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/21/2026, S Rereferred from General Laws and Technology to Local Government (15-Y 0-N).

6. Sales, Use & Local Taxation

Admissions-tax and retail sales vehicles in this ledger are drawn from exact bill events in the S0130 CSV. Shared-refid block events that concatenate sales or local titles are listed in section 7. SJ38 appears where exact events exist in this CSV. Do not invent subcommittee tokens absent from this CSV.

SB400. Admissions tax in counties; retail sales and use tax dedicated to promotion of tourism. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (25-Y 12-N 0-A).

SB763. Retail Sales and Use Tax; definitions, imposes firearm and ammunition tax. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/6/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A).

HB550. Admissions tax in counties; retail sales and use tax dedicated to promotion of tourism. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/19/2026, S Passed Senate (24-Y 14-N 0-A).

SB314. Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/26/2026, S Reported from Local Government and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (9-Y 5-N); Yea on 2/11/2026, S Read third time and defeated by Senate (20-Y 18-N 0-A); Yea on 2/11/2026, S Reconsideration of defeated action agreed to by Senate; Yea on 2/11/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (23-Y 17-N 0-A); Yea on 2/11/2026, S Reconsideration of passage agreed to by Senate.

HB341. Plastic bag tax; distribution to towns. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/19/2026, S Passed Senate (22-Y 16-N 0-A).

HB524. Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/23/2026, S Reported from Local Government and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (8-Y 7-N); Yea on 3/2/2026, S Passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A).

HB915. Local taxation; tax extension for federal government shutdown. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/4/2026, S Passed Senate (39-Y 0-N 0-A).

SJ38. Craft beer industry; Department of Taxation to prepare a report on local taxation. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, S Rereferred from Rehabilitation and Social Services to Rules (14-Y 0-N).

7. Business, Excise & Tax Administration

SB420 carries the unique committee Nay S1V1038 (Failed to report (defeated) in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources). That is the only scored SB420 event. SB661 carries one Nay (SV950 House-substitute rejection, procedural/version) and one X (S12V737). Conference and related SB661 events in this S0130 CSV are Yea. SB129 House-substitute rejection (SV949) is N and remains procedural/version. HB1100 carries X on VSV1094. Do not invent bills absent from this CSV.

SB129. Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, S Reported from General Laws and Technology and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (15-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/13/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (29-Y 10-N 0-A); Nay on 3/4/2026, S House substitute rejected by Senate (0-Y 40-N 0-A); Yea on 3/13/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (26-Y 12-N 0-A).

SB661. Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Williams Graves recorded Present/Not Voting (X) on 1/28/2026, S Reported from General Laws and Technology with amendments and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (8-Y 6-N); Yea on 2/13/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (24-Y 15-N 0-A); Nay on 3/4/2026, S House substitute rejected by Senate (0-Y 40-N 0-A); Yea on 3/13/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (25-Y 14-N 0-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, S Senate requested second conference committee (33-Y 6-N 0-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 15-N 0-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, S Reconsideration of conference report agreed to by Senate (38-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 15-N 0-A).

SB788. Alcoholic beverage control; payment of excise tax on beer, wine coolers, and wine, penalties. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/30/2026, S Reported from Rehabilitation and Social Services with substitute and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (15-Y 0-N); Yea on 2/10/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 3rd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/10/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/4/2026, S House Amendments agreed to by Senate (39-Y 1-N 0-A).

SB302. Peanuts; excise tax, sunset extended. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/27/2026, S Reported from Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (12-Y 0-N); Yea on 3/10/2026, S House substitute agreed to by Senate (39-Y 1-N 0-A).

HB145. Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/25/2026, S Reported from General Laws and Technology and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (15-Y 0-N); Yea on 3/4/2026, S Passed Senate with substitute (27-Y 13-N 0-A); Yea on 3/14/2026, S Conference report agreed to by Senate (26-Y 13-N 0-A).

SB597. Wage garnishments; treasurers' liens for unpaid taxes and charges. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 1/28/2026, S Reported from General Laws and Technology with substitute (15-Y 0-N); Yea on 1/30/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (38-Y 0-N 0-A); Present/Not Voting (X) on 2/2/2026, S Committee substitute agreed to (Voice Vote); Yea on 2/3/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (39-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (39-Y 0-N 0-A).

HB1100. Wage garnishments; treasurers' liens for unpaid taxes and charges. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/4/2026, S Reported from General Laws and Technology with substitute (15-Y 0-N); Yea on 3/6/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (39-Y 0-N 0-A); Present/Not Voting (X) on 3/6/2026, S Passed by for the day Block Vote (Voice Vote); Yea on 3/9/2026, S Passed Senate with substitute Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 4/22/2026, S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (28-Y 11-N 0-A).

SB316. Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent;. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/6/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/25/2026, S House substitute agreed to by Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB224. Tax administration; award for tax underpayment detection assistance. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/11/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate (23-Y 15-N 0-A).

SB660. Virginia Self-Service Storage Act; disposal of abandoned personal property in certain cases. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/10/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/11/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 3rd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/11/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB779. Eminent domain; condemnation proceedings, entry of order and recordation of certificate. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 2/13/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (36-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/16/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 3rd reading) (39-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 2/16/2026, S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A).

HB1529. Tax Commissioner; information sharing, eligibility for medical assistance. Williams Graves recorded Yea on 3/10/2026, S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 2nd reading) (37-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/11/2026, S Passed Senate Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/11/2026, S Reconsideration of Senate passage agreed to by Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A); Yea on 3/11/2026, S Passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

SB420. Extreme Weather Taxpayer Protection Program and Fund; established. Williams Graves recorded Nay on 2/3/2026, S Failed to report (defeated) in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (6-Y 8-N).

Shared-refid block events

Fourteen 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. Thirteen tokens are Yea: SV119, SV140, SV148, SV220, SV297, SV355, SV550, SV699, SV748, SV866, SV887, SV956, and SV958. One token is X: VSV937. Keep VSV937 as X. Do not convert it to N or Y.

Yea on 20261 SV119 (1/28/2026): SB400; SB591; SB612; SB649 — Admissions tax in counties; retail sales and use tax dedicated to promotion of tourism.; Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals.; Motion picture production; extends income tax credit sunset.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV140 (1/29/2026): SB181; SB302 — Real property tax; partial exemption for repurposing underutilized structures for residential use.; Peanuts; excise tax, sunset extended. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV148 (1/30/2026): SB591; SB649 — Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: S Read third time and passed Senate (38-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV220 (2/4/2026): SB314; SB316; SB763 — Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County.; Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent;; Retail Sales and Use Tax; definitions, imposes firearm and ammunition tax. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV297 (2/9/2026): SB224; SB788 — Tax administration; award for tax underpayment detection assistance.; Alcoholic beverage control; payment of excise tax on beer, wine coolers, and wine, penalties. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV355 (2/11/2026): SB129; SB661 — Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act.; Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV550 (2/18/2026): HB167; HB341; HB550; HB1180 — Tax exemptions; Confederacy organizations.; Plastic bag tax; distribution to towns.; Admissions tax in counties; retail sales and use tax dedicated to promotion of tourism.; Income tax, state; free tax filing program for individuals. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (38-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV699 (2/26/2026): HB163; HB282; HB474; HB524; HB557; HB1358 — Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent.; Real property tax; classification of land and improvement in Cities of Charlottesville/Falls Church.; Real estate with delinquent taxes or liens; apptmt. of special commissioner, increases value.; Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County.; Tangible personal property tax; establishes classification for electric landscaping equipment.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Present/Not Voting (X) on 20261 VSV937 (2/26/2026): HB163; HB282; HB474; HB524; HB557; HB1358 — Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent.; Real property tax; classification of land and improvement in Cities of Charlottesville/Falls Church.; Real estate with delinquent taxes or liens; apptmt. of special commissioner, increases value.; Tourism improvement districts; transient occupancy tax in Arlington County.; Tangible personal property tax; establishes classification for electric landscaping equipment.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: S Passed by for the day Block Vote (Voice Vote).

Yea on 20261 SV748 (2/27/2026): HB163; HB474; HB1358 — Notarization, filing, & recordation of certain land records; duties of notary or settlement agent.; Real estate with delinquent taxes or liens; apptmt. of special commissioner, increases value.; Real property tax; special assessment on basis of use, notice requirements. Official recorded action: S Passed Senate (37-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV866 (3/3/2026): HB30; HB145; HB400; HB488; HB716; HB854; HB915; HB954 — Budget Bill.; Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act.; Motion picture production; increases aggregate cap on tax credit, extends sunset.; Wage garnishment; state tax debt.; Income tax, state; innocent spouse tax relief.; Real property tax; local classification or designation for property, nonprofit organizations.; Local taxation; tax extension for federal government shutdown.; Rounding procedures; taxes and fees calculated, report. Official recorded action: S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 2nd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV887 (3/4/2026): HB488; HB716; HB854; HB954 — Wage garnishment; state tax debt.; Income tax, state; innocent spouse tax relief.; Real property tax; local classification or designation for property, nonprofit organizations.; Rounding procedures; taxes and fees calculated, report. Official recorded action: S Passed Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV956 (3/4/2026): HB30; HB145 — Budget Bill.; Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act. Official recorded action: S Senate insisted on substitute Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A).

Yea on 20261 SV958 (3/4/2026): SB129; SB661 — Fantasy contests; regulation and taxation, civil penalty, repeals Fantasy Contests Act.; Va. Small Business Economic Dev. Act; established, regulation and taxation of skill game machines. Official recorded action: S Senate acceded to request (40-Y 0-N 0-A).

8. Budget Vehicles (HB29 / HB30 / SB29 / SB30)

HB29, HB30, SB29, and SB30 are forced budget vehicles in this filter. They are not a standalone tax-rate roll. On SB30, Williams Graves recorded Yea on committee and floor vehicles that join in this CSV, X on eleven Voice Vote / block-vote committee-amendment and reading-waiver events (VSV939–VSV949), and Nay on SV713 and SV714 when the Suetterlein and Sturtevant floor amendments were rejected. Those Nays are floor-amendment events on a forced budget vehicle. Keep the Voice Vote X rows as X.

On HB29, four committee-amendment Voice Vote events are X (VSV877–VSV880) and other exact HB29 events in this CSV are Yea. On SB29, exact events in this CSV are Yea. On 20261 HB30, Williams Graves recorded Yea on conference report agreed (SV39), Yea on Governor's recommendation Nos. 5 and 10 (SV49; SV54), and Yea on the remaining exact 20261 HB30 events in this ledger, including Senate passage with amendments where scored. Sessions stay separate. There is no Lucas Spec I Nay pattern on this member.

20262 is HB30 only: 15 events, all Yea, including SV39 conference report agreed and SV45–SV58 Governor's recommendations Nos. 1–14. There is no Special I Nay. There is no Special I X. There is no Special I A. Special I is 15 Yea. Do not invent other Special Session tax bills. Vehicle is not item. The complete recorded actions are in Appendix A.

9. Intelligence Assessment

Evidence-supported characterization (Analysis). Williams Graves supported 146 of 171 recorded tax-universe events. The six Nays are six recorded actions: SB420 Failed to report in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (S1V1038); SB30 Suetterlein floor amendment rejected (SV713); SB30 Sturtevant floor amendment rejected (SV714); SB388 Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejected (SV744); SB129 House substitute rejected by Senate (SV949, procedural/version); and SB661 House substitute rejected by Senate (SV950, procedural/version). Those six are the complete Nay set. S1V1038 is unique. House-sub Nays are procedural/version. There are 19 Present/Not Voting (X) tokens, including S12V737 on SB661 and many Voice Vote HISTORY sentences. Disclose X=19. Keep them as X. Do not convert Voice Votes to N. There is no Abstain. Special I is 15 Yea on HB30. No Lucas Spec I Nays. Because the universe includes tax relief, exemptions, credits, classifications, taxing-authority measures, administrative changes, committee rolls, voice votes, and budget vehicles, the record is better described as broad support for the Senate majority tax-policy agenda represented in this corpus, with a documented six-event Nay set concentrated on one committee failed-to-report event, two budget-vehicle floor-amendment events, one SB388 amendment rejection, and two procedural House-substitute rejections, and with nineteen Present/Not Voting tokens and zero Abstain tokens, than as a higher-tax or lower-tax posture.

Williams Graves has nineteen Present/Not Voting (X) tokens in this tax universe, zero Present (P) tokens, and zero Abstain (A) tokens. X=19. X is not Nay and is not absence. A is not Nay and is not X. Shared-refid events SV119, SV140, SV148, SV220, SV297, SV355, SV550, SV699, SV748, SV866, SV887, SV956, and SV958 are Yea. Shared-refid VSV937 is X. On HB30 SV39, SV49, and SV54, Williams Graves's 20261 and 20262 tokens 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 Williams Graves's unique committee Nay on S1V1038 (SB420), her floor-amendment Nays on SV713 and SV714, her Nay on SB388 SV744, her procedural House-substitute Nays on SV949 and SV950, her X on S12V737, and the absence of Lucas Spec I Nays — rather than any

invented seventh Nay. This ledger is behavior, not motive. Vote tokens do not establish why she voted. This paper does not invent votes or a tax posture from party or district labels. This ledger is S0130 only. Hashmi S0108 tokens are not scored. Ebbin S0085 tokens are not scored. House LIS ids are not scored.

Open Question. Version text on the SB129 and SB661 House substitutes versus later conference reports is not compared in this paper. Floor-amendment item text on SV713 and SV714 is not lined to any single tax item. Committee text behind S1V1038 on SB420 is not lined beyond the recorded failed-to-report HISTORY sentence. Why Voice Vote rows and S12V737 carry X rather than Y or N is not established by the vote file beyond the recorded tokens.

10. Priority Follow-Up Research

- SB420 S1V1038 — Unique committee failed-to-report Nay. Only scored SB420 event. Do not flatten into floor Nays. Do not invent additional SB420 votes.
- SB30 SV713 / SV714 — Keep the two floor-amendment Nays as separate recorded actions. Do not flatten them. Voice Vote X rows VSV939–VSV949 on SB30 stay X.
- SB388 SV744 — Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejected. Other SB388 events in this CSV are Yea. Do not invent a second Nay.
- SB129 SV949 — House substitute rejected by Senate is procedural/version. Do not invent a second Nay on SB129.
- SB661 SV950 — House substitute rejected by Senate is procedural/version. Conference and later SB661 events in this CSV are Yea. S12V737 stays X.
- HB30 20262 — Spec I is 15 Yea. No Spec I Nay. No Spec I X. No Spec I A. Do not copy Lucas Spec I Nays (SV49; SV54) onto this member.
- X=19 — List all 19 from the KPI All tax-universe X table (S12V737, VSV175, VSV877-VSV880, VSV937, VSV939-VSV949, VSV1094). Do not convert Voice Votes to N. VSV937 shared-refid stays one X event.
- Shared-refid blocks (SV119, SV140, SV148, SV220, SV297, SV355, SV550, SV699, SV748, SV866, SV887, SV956, SV958, VSV937) — thirteen Yea and one X. Do not treat a concatenated title as a single-bill position.
- HISTORY join gaps: 227 unjoined 20261 vote_ids and 11 unjoined 20262 vote_ids were not scored as tax. Bills were not guessed.
- 20262 HB30 Governor-recommendation text versus any tax item remains unmapped. Vehicle is not item.

Appendix A. Complete Williams Graves Tax Vote Ledger

Every one of the 171 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 S0130 only.

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
20261 — 2026 Regular (156 events)					
1/21/2026	SB367	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Rereferred from General Laws and Technology to Local Government (15-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/23/2026	SB96	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
1/26/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	S Reported from Local Government and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (9-Y 5-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	SB302	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Reported from Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (12-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/27/2026	SB393	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Rereferred from Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
1/27/2026	SB393	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Passed by indefinitely in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (9-Y 4-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Reported from General Laws and Technology and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (15-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Reported from General Laws and Technology with amendments and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (8-Y 6-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Reported from General Laws and Technology with substitute (15-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/28/2026	SB400; SB591; SB612; SB649	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
1/29/2026	SB181; SB302	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
1/30/2026	SJ38	Local Taxes	Yea	S Rereferred from Rehabilitation and Social Services to Rules (14-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/30/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Reported from Rehabilitation and Social Services with substitute and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (15-Y 0-N)	LIS
1/30/2026	SB591; SB649	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
1/30/2026	SB400	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (25-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
1/30/2026	SB612	Income Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (24-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
1/30/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/2/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Reported from Local Government with substitute (9-Y 4-N 1-A)	LIS
2/2/2026	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/2/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee substitute agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/3/2026	SB393	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Rereferred from Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources to Finance and Appropriations (14-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/3/2026	SB420	Tax Administration / Other	Nay	S Failed to report (defeated) in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources (6-Y 8-N)	LIS
2/3/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/3/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 1st reading) (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/4/2026	SB314; SB316; SB763	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/6/2026	SB316	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/6/2026	SB763	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	SB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment Item 77 #1s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	SB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment Item 4-5.04 #1s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	SB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment Item 4-14 #1s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/9/2026	SB224; SB788	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	SB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 3rd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/10/2026	SB660	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (21-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
2/11/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	S Read third time and defeated by Senate (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	S Reconsideration of defeated action agreed to by Senate	LIS
2/11/2026	SB224	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (23-Y 15-N 0-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (23-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	SB660	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 3rd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	SB660	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/11/2026	SB314	Local Taxes	Yea	S Reconsideration of passage agreed to by Senate	LIS
2/11/2026	SB129; SB661	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/13/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (29-Y 10-N 0-A)	LIS
2/13/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (24-Y 15-N 0-A)	LIS
2/13/2026	SB779	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 1st reading) (36-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/16/2026	SB779	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 3rd reading) (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/16/2026	SB779	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/18/2026	HB167; HB341; HB550; HB1180	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB1180	Income Tax	Yea	S Passed Senate Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment Item 365 #1s agreed to (21-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment Item 4-14 #1s agreed to (21-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Passed Senate with amendments (21-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB167	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Passed Senate (21-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB341	Local Taxes	Yea	S Passed Senate (22-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB550	Sales & Use Tax	Yea	S Passed Senate (24-Y 14-N 0-A)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendments agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment Item 77 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment Item 4-5.04 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/19/2026	HB29	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment Item 4-14 #2s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/23/2026	HB524	Local Taxes	Yea	S Reported from Local Government and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (8-Y 7-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Reported from General Laws and Technology and rereferred to Finance and Appropriations (15-Y 0-N)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB316	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S House substitute agreed to by Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/25/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Motion for Special and Continuing Order (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB163; HB282; HB474; HB524; HB557; HB1358	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Contested Committee amendments agreed to Block Vote #2 (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 1 #3s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 77 #1s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 77 #3s agreed to (23-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 243 #3s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 249 #1s agreed to (22-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 265 #1s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 286 #1s agreed to (31-Y 9-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 288 #1s agreed to (28-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 359 #1s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 470 #4s agreed to (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Committee amendment item 4-14 #4s agreed to (28-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Nay	S Senator Suetterlein Floor Amendment item 3-5.24 #1s rejected (19-Y 21-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Nay	S Senator Sturtevant Floor Amendment item 4-14 #6s rejected (19-Y 21-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 3rd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Read third time and passed Senate (24-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
2/26/2026	HB163; HB282; HB474; HB524; HB557; HB1358	Tax Administration / Other	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Passed by for the day Block Vote (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Uncontested Committee amendments agreed to Block Vote (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Contested Committee amendments agreed to Block Vote #1 (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment item 109 #3s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment item 125 #5s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment item 125 #6s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment item 479 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Committee amendment item 4-5.04 #1s agreed to (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Reading of amendment waived (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Senator Suetterlein Floor Amendment item 50 #3s rejected	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Reading of amendment waived (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/26/2026	SB30	Budget / Appropriations	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Reading of amendment waived (Voice Vote)	LIS
2/27/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Nay	S Counties, Cities and Towns Amendment rejected by Senate	LIS
2/27/2026	HB163; HB474; HB1358	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Passed Senate (37-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/2/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Reported from Local Government with substitute (9-Y 6-N)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
3/2/2026	HB282	Real Property Tax	Yea	S Passed Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/2/2026	HB524	Local Taxes	Yea	S Passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
3/2/2026	HB557	Personal Property Tax	Yea	S Passed Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
3/3/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/3/2026	HB30; HB145; HB400; HB488; HB716; HB854; HB915; HB954	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 2nd reading) (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Reported from General Laws and Technology with substitute (15-Y 0-N)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	S House substitute agreed to by Senate (21-Y 19-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB788	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S House Amendments agreed to by Senate (39-Y 1-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Senate acceded to request (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB488; HB716; HB854; HB954	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Passed Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Passed Senate with amendments (24-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Passed Senate with substitute (27-Y 13-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Passed Senate with substitute (25-Y 15-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Reconsideration of Senate passage agreed to by Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB400	Tax Credits/ Incentives	Yea	S Passed Senate with substitute (24-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB915	Local Taxes	Yea	S Passed Senate (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Passed Senate with substitute (21-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Nay	S House substitute rejected by Senate (0-Y 40-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Nay	S House substitute rejected by Senate (0-Y 40-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	HB30; HB145	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate insisted on substitute Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/4/2026	SB129; SB661	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Senate acceded to request (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/6/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed Block Vote (on 2nd reading) (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/6/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Present/Not Voting (X)	S Passed by for the day Block Vote (Voice Vote)	LIS
3/9/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Passed Senate with substitute Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/10/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Senate insisted on substitute (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/10/2026	SB302	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S House substitute agreed to by Senate (39-Y 1-N 0-A)	LIS
3/10/2026	HB1529	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Constitutional reading dispensed (on 2nd reading) (37-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/11/2026	HB1529	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Passed Senate Block Vote (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/11/2026	HB1529	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Reconsideration of Senate passage agreed to by Senate (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/11/2026	HB1529	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Passed Senate Block Vote (40-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/13/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
3/13/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (21-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
3/13/2026	SB129	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (26-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
3/13/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (25-Y 14-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	HB145	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (26-Y 13-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Senate requested second conference committee (33-Y 6-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 15-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Reconsideration of conference report agreed to by Senate (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
3/14/2026	SB661	Sector/Excise Tax	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 15-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	SB181	Real Property Tax	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (21-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	SB388	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (21-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	SB597	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (39-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	HB1100	Tax Administration / Other	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (28-Y 11-N 0-A)	LIS
4/22/2026	HB1279	Tax Exemptions	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation (23-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
6/22/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 1 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 2 (26-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 3 (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 4 (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 5 (28-Y 10-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 6 (25-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 7 (37-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 8 (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 9 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 10 (31-Y 7-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 11 (36-Y 2-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 12 (21-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 13 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 14 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
20262 — 2026 Special I (15 events, HB30 only, 15 Yea)					
6/22/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Conference report agreed to by Senate (23-Y 16-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 1 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 2 (26-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 3 (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS

Date	Bill	Category	Vote	Recorded action	Source
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 4 (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 5 (28-Y 10-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 6 (25-Y 12-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 7 (37-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 8 (38-Y 0-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 9 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 10 (31-Y 7-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 11 (36-Y 2-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 12 (21-Y 17-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 13 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS
6/29/2026	HB30	Budget / Appropriations	Yea	S Senate concurred in Governor's recommendation No. 14 (20-Y 18-N 0-A)	LIS

Methodology & Evidence Limits

- Subject lock: official LIS member ID S0130, name token Angelia Williams Graves. Senate District 21 | SD-21 | Parts of Norfolk City | Democrat is the task identity for this product. Locality phrase Parts of Norfolk City is from the official Senate District 21 Description on the member page. 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://apps.senate.virginia.gov/Senator/memberpage.php?id=S0130> This ledger is S0130 only. Hashmi S0108 tokens are not scored. Ebbin S0085 tokens are not scored. House LIS ids are not scored.
- Universe = S0130 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 = 171 (20261 = 156, 20262 = 15). Token mix: Y=146, N=6, X=19, P=0, A=0. Unique tax bills with at least one S0130 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: 227 unjoined unique 20261 vote_ids and 11 unjoined unique 20262 vote_ids cannot be assigned a bill and were not scored as tax. Bills were not invented for those IDs.
- Fourteen shared-refid events concatenate multiple tax bills with ";" and remain one KPI event and one ledger row: SV119 Y; SV140 Y; SV148 Y; SV220 Y; SV297 Y; SV355 Y; SV550 Y; SV699 Y; SV748 Y; SV866 Y; SV887 Y; SV956 Y; SV958 Y; VSV937 X.
- 20262 is HB30 only: 15 events, all Yea. Other Special Session tax bills were not invented. There is no Special I X cluster in the scored tax universe. There is no Special I A. There is no Special I Nay. No Lucas Spec I Nays.

- A token on a substitute is the recorded token on that action. SB129 SV949 and SB661 SV950 are N on House substitute rejected by Senate. Those Nays are procedural/version. SB30 SV713 and SV714 are N on floor amendments rejected. SB388 SV744 is N. SB420 S1V1038 is N on Failed to report (defeated) in Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources. Those six are the complete Nay set.
- X is X. It is not Nay and not Yea. It is not absence. There are 19 scored X tokens. Disclose X=19. Many are Voice Vote. Keep them as X. Do not convert Voice Votes to N. S12V737 stays X. A is A. There are 0 scored A tokens. A=0. 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 mixed shared-refid events and SB420. Counts sum to 171. 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 S0130. Manuscript and PDF stems: vpip-williams-graves-sd21-tax-2026. This file is a client-format intelligence paper. It is not a public posting. Do not publish.

