

THE OKLAHOMA STATE CAPITAL

# CAPITOL CONFORMITY TRACKER

FINAL REPORT



First signs of independent thought emerge  
in the Oklahoma House Republican caucus

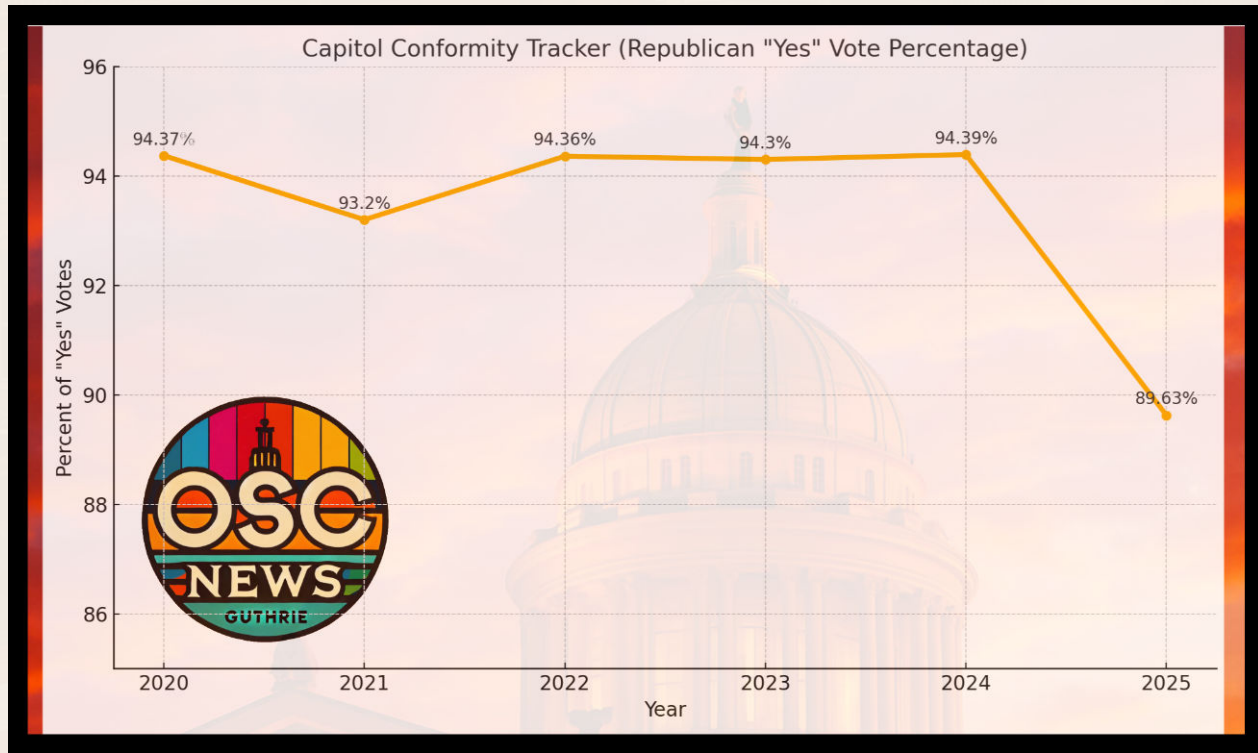


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# IT'S WORKING



In 2024, the first edition of this publication startled readers with a striking statistic: More than 94% of votes cast by Republican members of the Oklahoma House of Representatives were "yes."

If that near-unanimity raises concerns, it's because history offers a warning. A 94% conformity rate mirrors something more common in the Soviet Politburo—where top-down control, prearranged consensus, fear of reprisal, and enforced ideological unity were the norm. It's the political equivalent of "do it for the team, and the team will take care of you."

But in 2025, something changed. After hovering between 93% and 95% over the past five years, the conformity rate took a significant dive. Records now show that uniform "yes" voting has dropped to 89.63%—the first major shift in half a decade.

Perhaps even more encouraging, much of this drop appears to have been driven by the class of 2024: newly elected Republican legislators who voted "yes" just 83.43% of the time. These freshmen are prime targets for co-option by leadership and special interest groups. Yet, at first glance, it appears that about half are, to some degree, holding their ground and resisting the pressure.

It is hoped that this pre-release encourages grassroots citizens and everyday Oklahomans to stay engaged like never before.

It's working.

**T**his simple report is based on an easy-to-quantify thesis: As a general rule, legislators who are “playing the game”—not reading the bills, taking money from lobbyists and special interests, indulging in the gossip- and alcohol-fueled nightlife, avoiding waves, and ceding their authority to the centralized control of the House speaker and his lieutenants, who make the real decisions behind closed doors—are the least likely to cast “no” votes on the House floor.

Legislators who vote “yes” more than 90% of the time likely need to be replaced and should be challenged in the next election. These legislators are known as “lemmings.”

Those who vote “yes” more than 80% of the time fall into a category known as the mediocracies. These lawmakers sometimes cast the correct vote on final passage, but on procedural votes, they frequently prop up a system of smoke and mirrors through which leadership controls the agenda in the first place and beyond that, the system is rigged. Until members of the mediocracies become truly independent, they will continue to perpetuate a system that does not reflect the values of the people of Oklahoma.

As an example, a member of the mediocracies might want to vote against a controversial, last-minute bill that was rushed to the floor with little notice or public transparency. But that same legislator may have enabled the bill by voting in favor of a motion to suspend the rules—motions that are just as consequential as the bill itself but are often ignored by major scorecards and indexes.

That dynamic will be exposed in the upcoming release of The Oklahoma State Capital's People's Audit, the first scorecard to evaluate the procedural votes that make legislative abuses possible in the first place.

Finally, there are the tenacities. These lawmakers are the most willing to oppose leadership and cast courageous “no” votes on a wide range of flawed proposals—including the procedural votes that pave the way for those proposals. The tenacities are those who vote “yes” less than 80% of the time.

Readers should use this guide to first identify those legislators who need to be challenged—

and share it with others across the state—as the people of Oklahoma work to determine whether their Republican representative is part of the problem or, instead, a person of independent mind and spirit.

Then, stand by for the release of The Oklahoma State Capital's Peoples' Audit to view the specific votes of the legislators to be used to educate the voters.

As you review the listing, you'll notice that legislators are ranked in order of their propensity to vote “no.” Also listed is the number of excused votes. A high number is a key indicator that a legislator may not be taking the job seriously—or may be intentionally missing votes by “walking” them. The YoY (year-over-year) column shows each legislator's tendency to vote “no” compared to 2024. A positive number indicates improvement; a negative number shows regression. If a “previous legislator” is listed, it means the current lawmaker is a freshman, and their YoY score is compared to that of their predecessor.

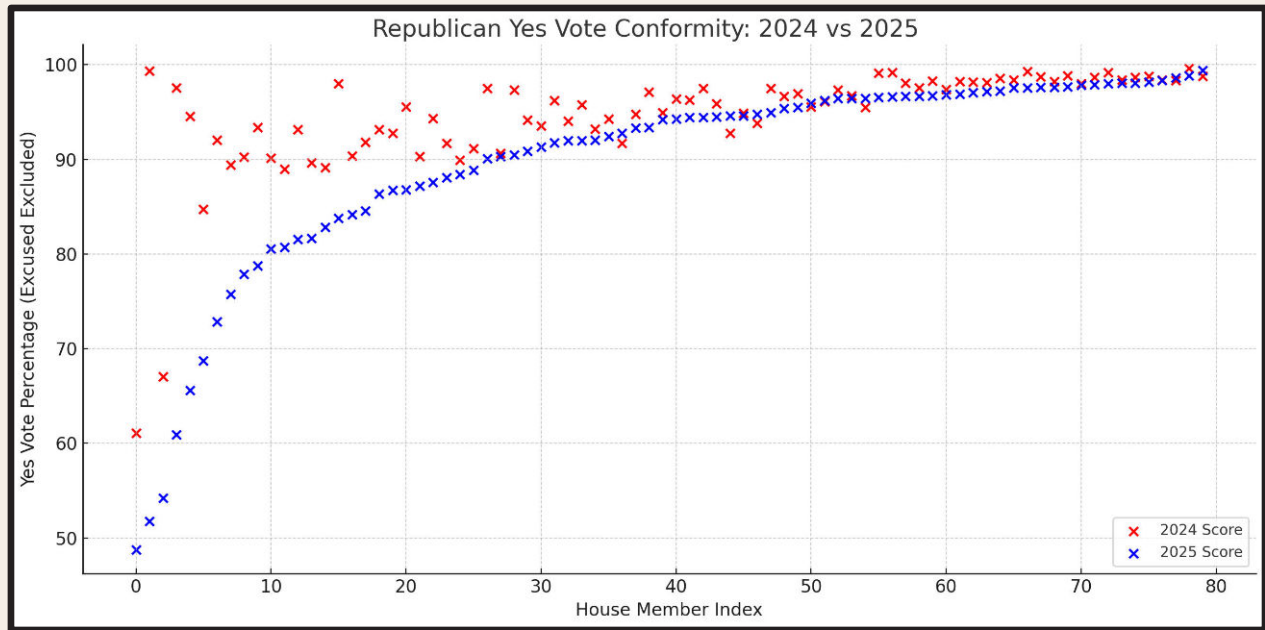
## **The Three Groups**

As readers attempt to discern the mindset of their state representatives, the following basic rule of thumb should be applied.

If the legislator is a lemming, they should be opposed in the next election cycle. These lawmakers have likely sold out to leadership and special interests—whether through fear, influence, or both. They have failed to demonstrate the courage required to truly represent the values of the people. Worse, they are likely on record voting the wrong way on numerous 80-20 issues—those that, when clearly explained to voters, shock the sensibilities of 80% or more of the Republican primary electorate. In many districts, that leaves lemmings vulnerable to a serious challenge.

If the legislator falls into the mediocracies, potential challengers must evaluate them on a case-by-case basis. If a legislator shows little recognition of the need for improvement, or if they've cast the wrong vote on major proposals, then they too may warrant a challenge. Even if the challenge is

# The Oklahoma State Capital's 2025 Capitol Conformity Tracker: Emerging Signs of Independence



unsuccessful, it may prompt the mediocre legislator to become more independent and recommit to the voters. However, this type of legislator is typically less vulnerable, as they have at least occasionally stood firm—particularly on final passage votes for key measures.

If the legislator belongs to the tenacities, they should be supported and aided in their reelection efforts. If your legislator is in this group, congratulations to you, are in order. This is the group most likely to transform the Oklahoma House—moving it toward becoming a transparent and deliberative body worthy of governing Oklahomans and representing their values. The value of each of these rare individuals cannot be overstated. They are both the thin line standing against totalitarian control and the hope for a future Legislature that is truly deserving of the people it claims to represent.

## The 2025 Report

The 2025 Capitol Conformity Tracker identified 10 tenacities, 16 mediocracies, and 54 lemmings.

While this balance still heavily favors the status quo—and continues to enable a top-down, totalitarian leadership model—it represents a significant improvement over 2024, a year in which there were just two

tenacities, six mediocracies, and 73 lemmings.

In total, in 2025, of the 80 graded Republican representatives, just eight showed a higher propensity for voting “yes” compared with either their own 2024 score or, in the case of freshmen, that of their predecessor. Of those eight, only four regressed by more than 1 percent. Just one—term-limited Mark LePak of House District 9—regressed by more than 2 percent.

Other regressors, in order of severity, include term-limited Chad Caldwell of District 40; John Kane of District 11, who notably won office by defeating one of the House’s most conservative members; Josh West of District 5; Kyle Hilbert of District 29; T.J. Marti of District 75; Mark Lawson of District 30; and Ronny Johns of District 25.

## The Freshmen

The class of 2024 not only brought new balance to the House but also offered an encouraging sign for the future of the Oklahoma Legislature.

Of the 14 freshman Republican representatives, every single one showed improvement when compared to their predecessor. There were no regressions.

In 2024, Republican primary and runoff elections unseated three incumbent Republican legislators. In each case, the

defeated incumbent was a deeply entrenched lemming, while the replacement quickly emerged as a member of the tenacities.

This included Molly Jenkins, who replaced John Talley in House District 33. In 2024, Talley voted “yes” an astounding 99.34% of the time, finding his “no” button only six times during the entire session, out of 916 votes cast. By contrast, Jenkins—in her first session—cast 489 “no” votes out of 1,023, for a 51.78% score, second best in the House behind Tom Gann of District 8.

Jim Shaw, who defeated Kevin Wallace in House District 32, voted “no” 400 times—ranking fourth in the House. Wallace, by comparison, had cast just 15 “no” votes in 2024.

In House District 98, Gabe Woolley defeated Dean Davis, who had cast 46 “no” votes in 2024. Woolley, in 2025, voted “no” 349 times.

These three new representatives made a substantial contribution to the overall improvement in House voting trends. Their elections were clear mandates for change—and in each case, that mandate immediately translated into tangible action at the Capitol, and their example inspires the imagination of the possibility for true reform if more grassroots individuals will step up to challenge and defeat lemming incumbents.

Joining Jenkins, Shaw, and Woolley in the tenacities group was Derrek Hildebrant of House District 23, who cast 208 “no” votes and posted a 78.78% “yes” voting rate.

One notable trait among the independent-minded freshmen: at least three have publicly committed to rejecting all campaign donations from registered lobbying groups.

Three other members of the class of 2024 joined the mediocracies. These include Rob Hall of House District 67, who voted “no” 167 times; Stacy Jo Adams of House District 50, with 137 “no” votes; and Jonathan Wilk of House District 20, who cast just 108 “no” votes. Wilk’s 88.83% tendency to vote “yes” placed him just barely above the lemmings threshold—a disappointing performance for a freshman who had benefitted greatly from grassroots support.

Also disappointing to grassroots observers

was Jason Blair of House District 53. Despite the prestige his last name carries in conservative circles, Blair earned lemming status with a 90.45% “yes” rate.

Other freshmen joining Blair in the lemmings group include Ryan Eaves of District 22, Tim Turner of District 15, Mark Chapman of District 12, and Mike Lay of District 68—all of whom posted “yes” scores between 90% and 95%.

Only two freshmen managed to find themselves in the elite tier of super lemmings, with “yes” voting rates exceeding 95%. Emily Gise of House District 90 found her “no” button just 34 times, while Mike Kelley of District 60 cast just 28 “no” votes.

Gise’s tendency to carry water for House leadership was a particular disappointment to grassroots voters who had hoped she would become a people’s champion—especially after she upset the brother of former House Majority Leader Jon Echols, who had previously represented District 90. Still, despite her 96.62% “yes” score, Gise slightly outperformed Echols’ 2024 score of 99.19%.

## **What is Next**

In the coming days, The Oklahoma State Capital will release its publication titled *The People’s Audit*, the companion study to this survey—a breakdown of specific votes.

The premise?

These are the 80-20 votes: issues where, once the public becomes aware of the details, 80 percent will express dismay to learn that their representative betrayed their values—or, in some cases, relief that their representative stood firm and upheld the principles on which they campaigned.

The report will first be issued to paying subscribers of The Oklahoma State Capital Substack at [oklahomastatecapital.com/substack](https://oklahomastatecapital.com/substack) and then, shortly thereafter, to all subscribers.

Stay tuned.

# The Oklahoma State Capital's 2025 Capitol Conformity Tracker: Emerging Signs of Independence

| #  | Legislator       | YES | NO  | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP    |
|----|------------------|-----|-----|------|----|-------|-------|-----------------|
| 1  | Gann             | 497 | 522 | 3    | 1  | 48.7  | 20.1  |                 |
| 2  | Jenkins          | 525 | 489 | 9    | 0  | 51.7  | 47.8  | <i>Talley</i>   |
| 3  | West (R)         | 518 | 437 | 66   | 2  | 54.2  | 19.1  |                 |
| 4  | Shaw             | 623 | 400 | 0    | 0  | 60.9  | 37.5  | <i>Wallace</i>  |
| 5  | Woolley          | 665 | 349 | 9    | 0  | 65.5  | 30.6  | <i>Davis</i>    |
| 6  | Olsen            | 666 | 303 | 54   | 0  | 68.7  | 18.8  |                 |
| 7  | Humphrey         | 607 | 226 | 189  | 1  | 72.8  | 20.8  |                 |
| 8  | Steagall         | 615 | 197 | 210  | 1  | 75.7  | 15.3  |                 |
| 9  | Smith            | 710 | 202 | 111  | 0  | 77.8  | 13.7  |                 |
| 10 | Hildebrant       | 772 | 208 | 40   | 3  | 78.7  | 15.6  | <i>ODonnell</i> |
| 11 | Maynard          | 787 | 190 | 45   | 1  | 80.5  | 10.6  |                 |
| 12 | Banning          | 665 | 159 | 193  | 6  | 80.7  | 9.31  |                 |
| 13 | Hays             | 680 | 154 | 189  | 0  | 81.5  | 12.4  |                 |
| 14 | Crosswhite Hader | 833 | 187 | 3    | 0  | 81.6  | 8.87  |                 |
| 15 | West (K)         | 820 | 170 | 33   | 0  | 82.8  | 7.06  |                 |
| 16 | Hall             | 851 | 165 | 6    | 1  | 83.7  | 14.5  | <i>Boatman</i>  |
| 17 | Hardin           | 738 | 139 | 145  | 1  | 84.1  | 6.86  |                 |
| 18 | Kendrix          | 837 | 153 | 33   | 0  | 84.5  | 7.94  |                 |
| 19 | Sneed            | 709 | 112 | 202  | 0  | 86.3  | 7.27  |                 |
| 20 | Williams         | 830 | 127 | 66   | 0  | 86.7  | 6.52  |                 |
| 21 | Adams            | 881 | 134 | 8    | 0  | 86.8  | 9.16  | <i>Mcentire</i> |
| 22 | Grego            | 708 | 104 | 207  | 4  | 87.1  | 3.45  |                 |
| 23 | Wolfley          | 882 | 125 | 16   | 0  | 87.5  | 7.12  |                 |
| 24 | Staires          | 819 | 111 | 93   | 0  | 88.0  | 3.98  |                 |
| 25 | Worthen          | 824 | 108 | 91   | 0  | 88.4  | 1.67  |                 |

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| #  | Legislator   | YES | NO  | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP     |
|----|--------------|-----|-----|------|----|-------|-------|------------------|
| 26 | Wilk         | 859 | 108 | 55   | 1  | 88.8  | 2.55  | <i>Conley</i>    |
| 27 | Eaves        | 879 | 97  | 47   | 0  | 90.0  | 7.62  | <i>Mccall</i>    |
| 28 | Stark        | 906 | 97  | 19   | 1  | 90.3  | 0.34  |                  |
| 29 | Blair        | 786 | 83  | 154  | 0  | 90.4  | 7.10  | <i>Mcbride</i>   |
| 30 | Turner       | 912 | 92  | 19   | 0  | 90.8  | 3.55  | <i>Randleman</i> |
| 31 | Ford         | 715 | 68  | 240  | 0  | 91.3  | 2.35  |                  |
| 32 | Cornwell     | 879 | 79  | 65   | 0  | 91.7  | 4.66  |                  |
| 33 | Newton       | 815 | 71  | 137  | 0  | 91.9  | 2.20  |                  |
| 34 | Roberts      | 932 | 81  | 9    | 1  | 92    | 3.95  |                  |
| 35 | Chapman      | 856 | 74  | 93   | 0  | 92.0  | 1.27  | <i>Mcdugle</i>   |
| 36 | Patzkowsky   | 902 | 74  | 47   | 0  | 92.4  | 1.98  |                  |
| 37 | Caldwell (C) | 693 | 54  | 276  | 0  | 92.7  | -1.17 |                  |
| 38 | Strom        | 896 | 64  | 63   | 0  | 93.3  | 1.51  |                  |
| 39 | Archer       | 708 | 50  | 262  | 3  | 93.4  | 3.85  |                  |
| 40 | Duel         | 930 | 57  | 36   | 0  | 94.2  | 0.75  |                  |
| 41 | Cantrell     | 907 | 55  | 61   | 0  | 94.2  | 2.20  |                  |
| 42 | Fetgatter    | 733 | 43  | 247  | 0  | 94.4  | 1.89  |                  |
| 43 | Caldwell (T) | 733 | 43  | 246  | 1  | 94.4  | 3.10  |                  |
| 44 | Lay          | 939 | 55  | 29   | 0  | 94.4  | 1.47  | <i>Sims</i>      |
| 45 | Lepak        | 893 | 51  | 79   | 0  | 94.6  | -2.01 |                  |
| 46 | Boles        | 930 | 53  | 36   | 4  | 94.6  | 0.28  |                  |
| 47 | Kane         | 928 | 51  | 44   | 0  | 94.7  | -1.04 |                  |
| 48 | Culver       | 970 | 52  | 1    | 0  | 94.9  | 2.65  |                  |
| 49 | Moore        | 930 | 45  | 46   | 2  | 95.3  | 1.33  |                  |
| 50 | Roe          | 936 | 44  | 39   | 4  | 95.5  | 1.51  |                  |

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| #  | Legislator | YES | NO | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP  |
|----|------------|-----|----|------|----|-------|-------|---------------|
| 51 | Marti      | 615 | 26 | 382  | 0  | 95.9  | -0.42 |               |
| 52 | Johns      | 920 | 36 | 65   | 2  | 96.2  | -0.10 |               |
| 53 | Burns      | 845 | 31 | 146  | 1  | 96.4  | 0.90  |               |
| 54 | Tedford    | 709 | 26 | 288  | 0  | 96.4  | 0.30  |               |
| 55 | West (J)   | 903 | 33 | 84   | 3  | 96.4  | -1.01 |               |
| 56 | Townley    | 892 | 32 | 99   | 0  | 96.5  | 2.60  |               |
| 57 | Gise       | 972 | 34 | 17   | 0  | 96.6  | 2.59  | <i>Echols</i> |
| 58 | Harris     | 920 | 32 | 71   | 0  | 96.6  | 1.43  |               |
| 59 | Lowe (D)   | 925 | 32 | 65   | 1  | 96.6  | 0.90  |               |
| 60 | Dobrinski  | 924 | 31 | 67   | 1  | 96.7  | 1.58  |               |
| 61 | Pae        | 945 | 31 | 47   | 0  | 96.8  | 0.56  |               |
| 62 | Manger     | 959 | 31 | 33   | 0  | 96.8  | 1.36  |               |
| 63 | Hill       | 853 | 26 | 144  | 0  | 97.0  | 1.14  |               |
| 64 | Kelley     | 970 | 28 | 24   | 1  | 97.1  | 0.94  | <i>Baker</i>  |
| 65 | Bashore    | 982 | 28 | 13   | 0  | 97.2  | 1.33  |               |
| 66 | Kannady    | 515 | 13 | 495  | 0  | 97.5  | 0.89  |               |
| 67 | Osburn     | 914 | 23 | 86   | 0  | 97.5  | 1.74  |               |
| 68 | Hasenbeck  | 818 | 20 | 185  | 0  | 97.6  | 1.11  |               |
| 69 | May        | 945 | 23 | 55   | 0  | 97.6  | 0.64  |               |
| 70 | Miller     | 801 | 19 | 203  | 0  | 97.6  | 1.16  |               |
| 71 | Sterling   | 991 | 22 | 8    | 2  | 97.8  | 0.15  |               |
| 72 | Dempsey    | 843 | 18 | 162  | 0  | 97.9  | 0.75  |               |
| 73 | George     | 992 | 20 | 11   | 0  | 98.0  | 1.18  |               |
| 74 | Kerbs      | 851 | 17 | 155  | 0  | 98.0  | 0.35  |               |
| 75 | Stinson    | 561 | 11 | 447  | 4  | 98.0  | 0.60  |               |

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| #  | Legislator | YES | NO | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP |
|----|------------|-----|----|------|----|-------|-------|--------------|
| 76 | Luttrell   | 813 | 15 | 195  | 0  | 98.1  | 0.60  |              |
| 77 | West (T)   | 953 | 16 | 54   | 0  | 98.3  | 0.06  |              |
| 78 | Lawson     | 712 | 10 | 301  | 0  | 98.6  | -0.29 |              |
| 79 | Pfeiffer   | 877 | 10 | 135  | 1  | 98.8  | 0.74  |              |
| 80 | Hilbert    | 992 | 6  | 25   | 0  | 99.4  | -0.61 |              |

**END OF REPORT**