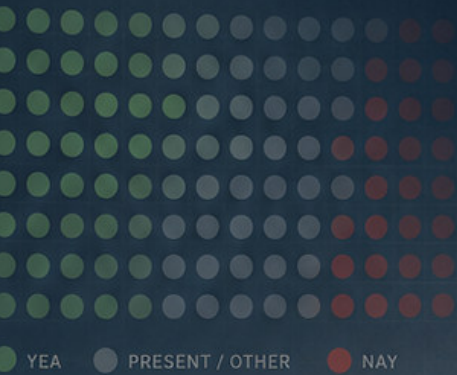


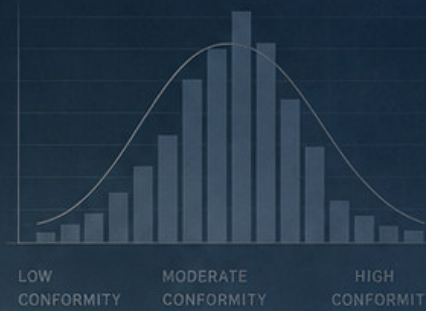
2026 CAPITOL CONFORMITY INDEX

HOUSE VOTE ANALYSIS



Oklahoma House Voting Trends,
Compliance, and Independent Thought

CONFORMITY SCORE DISTRIBUTION



INDEPENDENT THOUGHT
STANDS APART

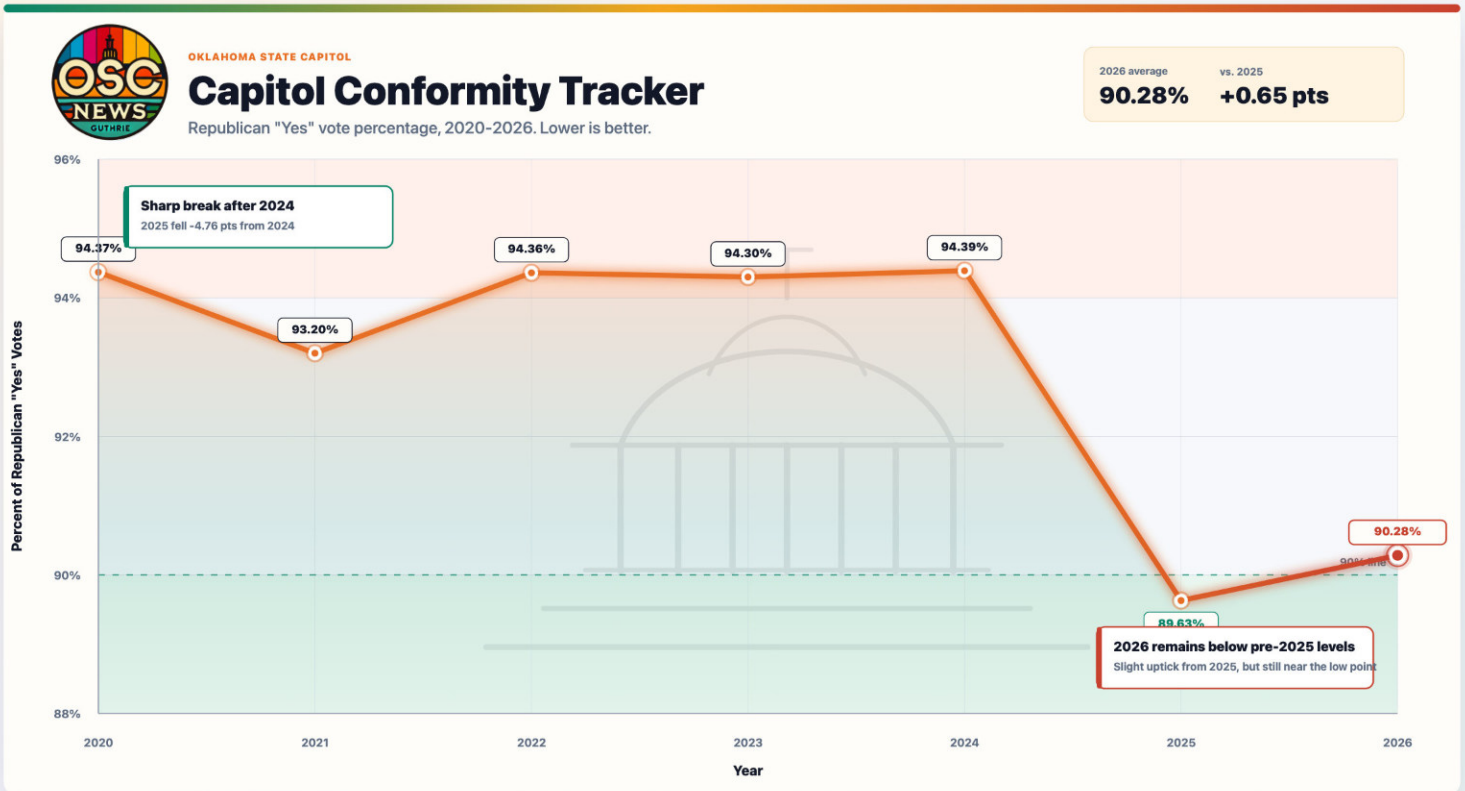




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You have on your screen the latest publication of The Oklahoma State Capital: the final of the 2026 Capitol Conformity Report, a special publication based on a simple rule of thumb: those lazy legislators who frequently vote “yes” on legislation are more likely to be approving many of the new government programs, fees, expansions of bureaucracy, mandates on the private sector, exemptions from transparency and best practices, corporate welfare, special interest giveaways, and worse, that dominate each legislative session.

As a simple rule of thumb, it has proven to be effective in quickly sizing up the quality of one’s representation in the people’s House—the Oklahoma House of Representatives—due to its correlation with many of the other indices that track legislators’ commitment to the principles most campaign on, but then frequently betray after election day.

These other indices include the Oklahoma Conservative Index, Oklahoma’s gold standard of conservative grading since 1979, (*OklahomaConstitution.com*) the Oklahoma Grassroots Republican Platform Scorecard (*OkGrassroots.com*), and The Oklahoma State Capital’s People’s Audit (*OklahomaStateCapital.com*).

Thank you for your interests in this project.

Please send comments and questions to JMurphey@OklahomaStateCapital.com.

2026 Capitol Conformity: Gann to Most Compliant

Lower yes-vote rates are stronger performance. Green means the yes rate fell; red means it rose.

How to read it

yes rate down: improved yes rate up: regressed no comp

90.28%
average 2026 score

30
improved

50
regressed

1
flat/no comp

Freshman comparison
Travis is a freshman, compared with predecessor Burns



2026 rank order: least compliant on the left, most compliant on the right



The Premise

This 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” 80% or more are, at best, mediocrities—those who play the game and vote for many bad proposals, but who at least tend to have a sense of wider public perception, and a desire to be perceived as holding to the values they claim to support when they campaign for office.

They occasionally show courage and vote in

conjunction with those values from time to time, even at risk of alienating the Capitol creatures: fellow politicians, special interests, donors, lifestyle financiers, and those connected to the institutions of power in both industry and government.

However, as a general rule, it's fair to challenge these mediocrities in the election, and even necessarily, because it's only from grassroots counter pressure that they will tend to move in the right direction.

Without that accountability, and sans counterpressure, they are increasingly likely to give into the overpowering temptations of the capitol world.

Those who vote “yes” less than 80% of the time are those who regularly show independence, may actually be reading the bills and discovering objectionable items, and vote accordingly.

As a general rule, these legislators are the few who are actually taking their job seriously, and giving it the effort that the taxpayers should demand from all legislators.

The Results

The 2025 session of the Oklahoma House of Representatives rightly gave hope to grassroots advocates everywhere, as Oklahoma Republican House members demonstrated a remarkable improvement in their tendency to show independence of thought, with the propensity for Republican representatives to vote “yes” dropping from 94%, after holding at that level for several years, to under 90%—a significant shift driven by a new freshman class of representatives that showed an independent mindset not seen in recent sessions.

In 2026, that trend appears mostly held, with a slight regression pushing the number to 90.06%.

While readers are right to remain optimistic about the general trend, the observant will take note that this year’s session did represent a regression compared to last year, with 50 House members regressing and just 30 showing improvement. One member filled what had been a vacant seat in 2025 and therefore was not measured for regression.

Leading the regression trend was Gabe Woolley, the House District 98 representative, whose encouraging performance in 2025 vastly outpaced that of the incumbent predecessor he defeated in the 2024 election cycle. While Woolley still ranks high in terms of independent voting compared to other members, his tendency to vote yes increased enough to place him first in year-over-year regression. He dropped by 12 points from his impressive 2025 score, falling from fifth to seventh and just staying inside the 80% trend line that separates the mediocrities from the conscientious voters.

House District 19 State Representative and lieutenant governor candidate Justin Humphrey showed the most improvement, moving from 72% green voting to 63% and cracking into the top five alongside the four most independent-minded members: Gann, Jenkins, Rick West and Shaw.

Also of note, the two new House members casting their first votes in 2026 painted

opposite pictures. Grassroots-supported Kevin Norwood of House District 74 actually performed worse than his predecessor, Mark Vancuren, who is widely viewed as an establishment-centric personality.

In contrast, newly elected House District 35 Representative Dillion Travis performed far better than his predecessor, the leadership-adjacent Ty Burns, who resigned in the interim.

Travis’s performance continued the trend by which freshmen representatives outperform their predecessors and are largely responsible for the improvement in independent thought and voting over the past two years, driving down the overall compliance score.

Leading the way, as he did in 2025, was House District 8 State Representative Tom Gann. Not only did Gann lead the House in voting no, but he increased his percentage of no votes, serving as a powerful indicator that the quality of bills sponsored in 2026 likely did not trend more favorably, at least according to the conscientious Gann.

As expected, House Speaker Kyle Hilbert proved to be the most compliant member of the House, voting no only six times. House District 1’s Ed Dempsey gave the speaker a run for his money, casting five no votes. However, because Dempsey missed 195 votes that were not tabulated, he actually voted at a higher rate of noncompliance by percentage. Dempsey is giving up his District 1 seat and will not be standing for re-election.

How to Use This Guide

This 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, living the gossip- and alcohol-fueled nightlife with them, not causing waves, and ceding their authority as lawmakers 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.

Those legislators who vote at more than a 90% “yes” rate likely need to be replaced and should be challenged at the next election.

Use this guide to identify those legislators—and share it with others across the state—as they work to determine whether their own Republican representative is part of the problem or, instead, a person of independent mind and spirit.

As you review the listing, you’ll notice that legislators are ranked in order of their propensity to vote “no.”

Also noted 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” the vote.

The YoY (Year-over-Year) column shows each legislator’s tendency to vote “no” compared to 2025. A positive number means the legislator is voting “no” more frequently; a negative number indicates regression.

Finally, if a “previous legislator” is listed, it means the lawmaker is a freshman, and their YoY score is compared to that of their predecessor.



The Oklahoma State Capital's 2026 End of Session Capitol Conformity Tracker: Minor Regression

| # | Legislator | YES | NO | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP |
|----|------------------|-----|-----|------|----|-------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | Gann | 424 | 521 | 2 | 0 | 44.8 | -3.90 | |
| 2 | Jenkins | 442 | 505 | 0 | 0 | 46.6 | -5.11 | |
| 3 | West (R) | 529 | 414 | 2 | 2 | 56.1 | 1.86 | |
| 4 | Shaw | 551 | 396 | 0 | 0 | 58.1 | -2.72 | |
| 5 | Humphrey | 290 | 166 | 491 | 0 | 63.6 | -9.27 | |
| 6 | Olsen | 668 | 267 | 12 | 0 | 71.4 | 2.71 | |
| 7 | Woolley | 725 | 205 | 16 | 1 | 77.9 | 12.3 | |
| 8 | Steagall | 623 | 155 | 167 | 2 | 80.0 | 4.34 | |
| 9 | Smith | 731 | 177 | 39 | 0 | 80.5 | 2.66 | |
| 10 | Hardin | 752 | 154 | 39 | 2 | 83 | -1.15 | |
| 11 | Hays | 755 | 152 | 40 | 0 | 83.2 | 1.71 | |
| 12 | West (K) | 629 | 124 | 194 | 0 | 83.5 | 0.70 | |
| 13 | Hildebrant | 787 | 155 | 3 | 2 | 83.5 | 4.77 | |
| 14 | Crosswhite Hader | 785 | 152 | 7 | 3 | 83.7 | 2.11 | |
| 15 | Maynard | 782 | 151 | 11 | 3 | 83.8 | 3.27 | |
| 16 | Sneed | 683 | 117 | 147 | 0 | 85.3 | -0.98 | |
| 17 | Banning | 782 | 125 | 40 | 0 | 86.2 | 5.52 | |
| 18 | Wolfley | 795 | 125 | 26 | 1 | 86.4 | -1.18 | |
| 19 | Stark | 810 | 120 | 14 | 3 | 87.1 | -3.23 | |
| 20 | Kendrix | 811 | 116 | 20 | 0 | 87.4 | 2.94 | |
| 21 | Eaves | 813 | 114 | 20 | 0 | 87.7 | -2.36 | |
| 22 | Wilk | 780 | 104 | 61 | 2 | 88.2 | -0.59 | |
| 23 | Grego | 779 | 103 | 65 | 0 | 88.3 | 1.13 | |
| 24 | Hall | 814 | 104 | 29 | 0 | 88.6 | 4.91 | |
| 25 | Travis | 838 | 91 | 11 | 1 | 90.2 | -6.26 | <i>Burns</i> |

The Oklahoma State Capital's 2026 End of Session Capitol Conformity Tracker: Minor Regression

| # | Legislator | YES | NO | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP |
|----|--------------|-----|----|------|----|-------|-------|--------------|
| 26 | Archer | 755 | 82 | 110 | 0 | 90.2 | -3.20 | |
| 27 | Adams | 846 | 91 | 10 | 0 | 90.2 | 3.49 | |
| 28 | Worthen | 783 | 80 | 82 | 2 | 90.7 | 2.32 | |
| 29 | Williams | 847 | 82 | 18 | 0 | 91.1 | 4.44 | |
| 30 | Turner | 777 | 74 | 96 | 0 | 91.3 | 0.46 | |
| 31 | Ford | 787 | 74 | 86 | 0 | 91.4 | 0.09 | |
| 32 | Blair | 818 | 76 | 53 | 0 | 91.5 | 1.05 | |
| 33 | Cornwell | 824 | 76 | 45 | 2 | 91.5 | -0.19 | |
| 34 | Lay | 857 | 70 | 20 | 0 | 92.4 | -2.02 | |
| 35 | Boles | 806 | 56 | 84 | 1 | 93.5 | -1.11 | |
| 36 | Caldwell (C) | 642 | 44 | 261 | 0 | 93.5 | 0.82 | |
| 37 | Patzkowsky | 859 | 58 | 30 | 0 | 93.6 | 1.26 | |
| 38 | Chapman | 821 | 55 | 71 | 0 | 93.7 | 1.68 | |
| 39 | Roe | 822 | 54 | 71 | 0 | 93.8 | -1.67 | |
| 40 | Roberts | 853 | 55 | 37 | 2 | 93.9 | 1.94 | |
| 41 | Duel | 842 | 54 | 51 | 0 | 93.9 | -0.25 | |
| 42 | Staires | 800 | 49 | 98 | 0 | 94.2 | 6.17 | |
| 43 | Lepak | 854 | 48 | 45 | 0 | 94.6 | 0.08 | |
| 44 | Caldwell (T) | 654 | 36 | 257 | 0 | 94.7 | 0.32 | |
| 45 | Kane | 857 | 47 | 43 | 0 | 94.8 | 0.01 | |
| 46 | Strom | 849 | 46 | 52 | 0 | 94.8 | 1.53 | |
| 47 | Newton | 832 | 45 | 70 | 0 | 94.8 | 2.88 | |
| 48 | Harris | 884 | 42 | 21 | 0 | 95.4 | -1.18 | |
| 49 | Culver | 902 | 42 | 3 | 0 | 95.5 | 0.64 | |
| 50 | West (J) | 795 | 37 | 114 | 1 | 95.5 | -0.92 | |

The Oklahoma State Capital's 2026 End of Session Capitol Conformity Tracker: Minor Regression

| # | Legislator | YES | NO | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP |
|----|------------|-----|----|------|----|-------|-------|--------------|
| 51 | Cantrell | 790 | 35 | 122 | 0 | 95.7 | 1.48 | |
| 52 | Johns | 862 | 38 | 46 | 1 | 95.7 | -0.45 | |
| 53 | Manger | 887 | 38 | 21 | 1 | 95.8 | -0.98 | |
| 54 | Gise | 848 | 34 | 65 | 0 | 96.1 | -0.47 | |
| 55 | Kerbs | 739 | 29 | 179 | 0 | 96.2 | -1.82 | |
| 56 | Lowe | 855 | 33 | 59 | 0 | 96.2 | -0.38 | |
| 57 | Fetgatter | 699 | 26 | 219 | 3 | 96.4 | 1.95 | |
| 58 | Norwood | 910 | 32 | 4 | 0 | 96.6 | NUL | |
| 59 | Marti | 834 | 26 | 82 | 5 | 96.9 | 1.04 | |
| 60 | Hasenbeck | 788 | 24 | 134 | 1 | 97.0 | -0.57 | |
| 61 | Bashore | 891 | 27 | 29 | 0 | 97.0 | -0.17 | |
| 62 | Moore | 850 | 24 | 73 | 0 | 97.2 | 1.87 | |
| 63 | Pae | 764 | 21 | 162 | 0 | 97.3 | 0.50 | |
| 64 | Dobrinski | 883 | 24 | 40 | 0 | 97.3 | 0.60 | |
| 65 | Kelley | 915 | 24 | 6 | 2 | 97.4 | 0.25 | |
| 66 | Sterling | 912 | 23 | 11 | 1 | 97.5 | -0.29 | |
| 67 | Hill | 717 | 18 | 212 | 0 | 97.5 | 0.51 | |
| 68 | May | 866 | 18 | 63 | 0 | 97.9 | 0.34 | |
| 69 | Stinson | 781 | 16 | 149 | 1 | 97.9 | -0.09 | |
| 70 | Osburn | 834 | 16 | 97 | 0 | 98.1 | 0.57 | |
| 71 | Luttrell | 520 | 8 | 419 | 0 | 98.4 | 0.29 | |
| 72 | George | 928 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 98.5 | 0.49 | |
| 73 | Kannady | 475 | 7 | 465 | 0 | 98.5 | 1.01 | |
| 74 | Miller | 881 | 13 | 52 | 1 | 98.5 | 0.87 | |
| 75 | Tedford | 513 | 7 | 427 | 0 | 98.6 | 2.19 | |

| # | Legislator | YES | NO | MISS | CP | % YES | % YoY | PREVIOUS REP |
|----|-------------|-----|----|------|----|-------|-------|--------------|
| 76 | West (T) | 891 | 12 | 44 | 0 | 98.6 | 0.32 | |
| 77 | Lawson | 776 | 10 | 161 | 0 | 98.7 | 0.12 | |
| 78 | Pfeiffer | 790 | 10 | 145 | 2 | 98.7 | -0.12 | |
| 79 | Townley | 824 | 10 | 113 | 0 | 98.8 | 2.26 | |
| 80 | Dempsey | 747 | 5 | 195 | 0 | 99.3 | 1.43 | |
| 81 | Mr. Speaker | 938 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 99.3 | -0.04 | |

END OF REPORT