

THE BREAK FROM CONFORMITY HOLDS

Capitol Conformity Tracker • 2026 Report

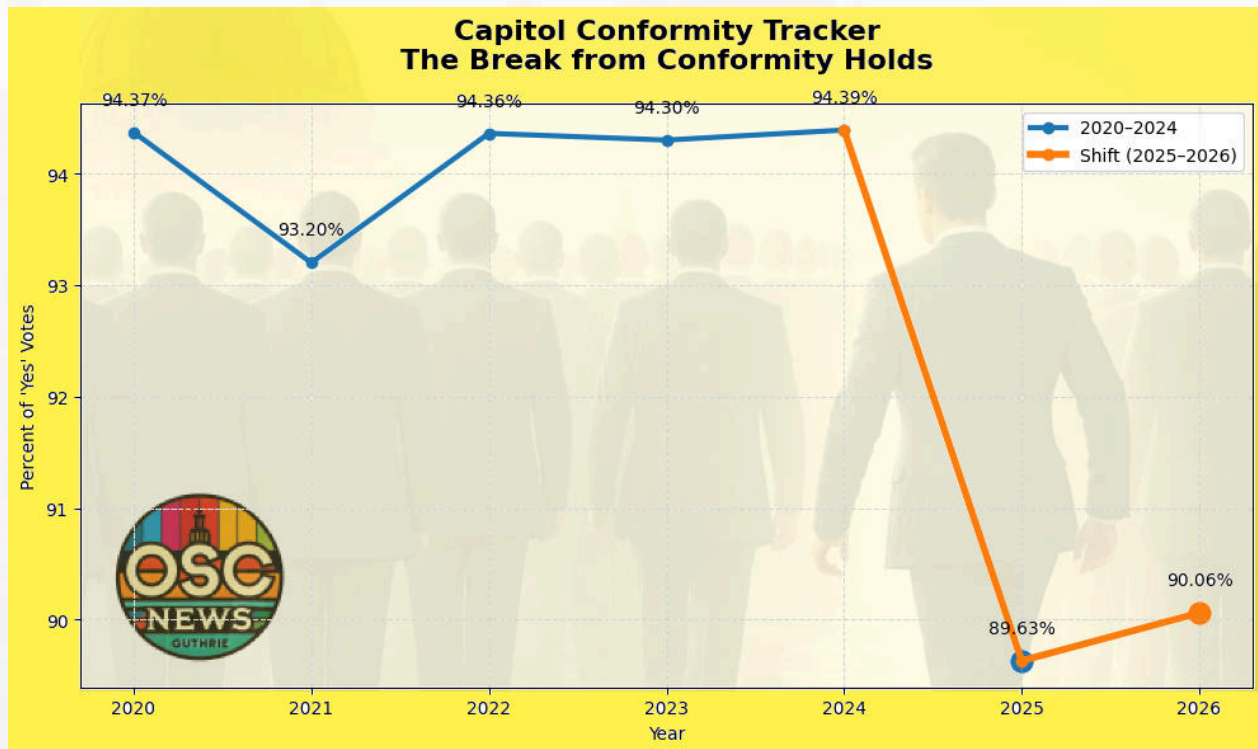




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You have on your screen the latest publication of *The Oklahoma State Capital: the mid-year version of the 2026 Capitol Conformity Report*, a special publication based on a simple rule of thumb: those lazy legislators who frequently vote “yes” on legislation 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.

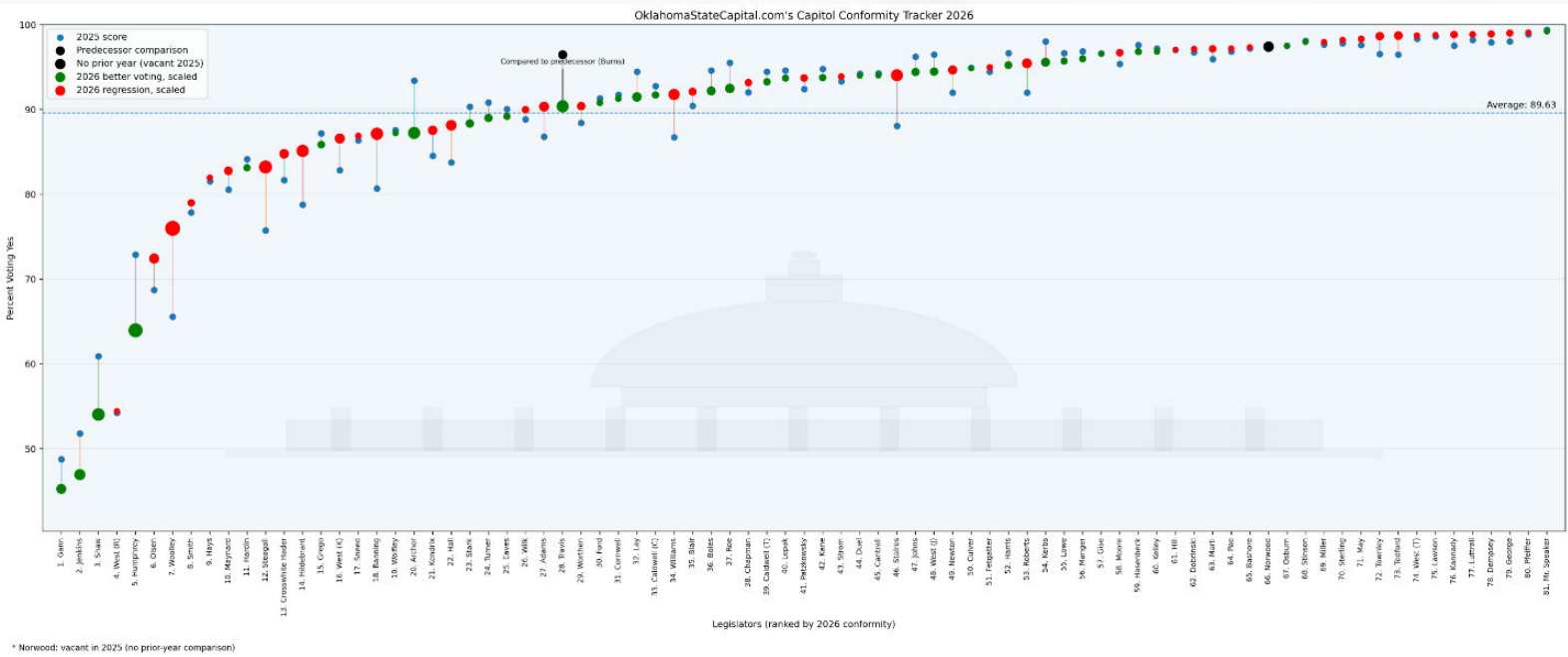
As a simple rule of thumb, it has proven to be effective in quickly sizing up the quality of one’s representation in the people’s House—the Oklahoma House of Representatives—due to its correlation with many of the other indices that track legislators’ commitment to the principles most campaign on, but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

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

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 mediocracies 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 to be holding, checking in at 90.06%.

Take a look at the scatter plot above. It shows—at a glance—where things stand in the Oklahoma House at the midway point of the

2026 session.

Each column represents a Republican legislator.

The blue dot reflects their voting pattern in 2025, while the colored dot shows their performance so far in 2026. If a legislator is becoming more independent and casting more “no” votes, the 2026 dot will appear below the blue—and it will be shaded green, growing larger the more meaningful the improvement. If a legislator is drifting back toward habitual “yes” votes, the 2026 dot rises above the blue—and appears red, increasing in size with the degree of regression.

So what does it show?

After last year’s surge in independence, this year tells a steadier story: We are holding ground.

The gains from 2025 have largely held.

That’s no small thing.

The natural tendency of any top-down-controlled legislative body with centralized power is to snap back into conformity. The fact that it hasn’t—at least not broadly—is a sign that last year’s shift was real.

But the chart also makes clear: the pressure to conform hasn’t gone away.

So far this year, 36 legislators have improved, casting fewer “yes” votes and showing greater independence. Meanwhile, 44 have regressed, drifting back toward higher “yes” vote percentages.

Not a collapse. But not new progress either.

Look to the far-left side of the chart—the most independent members of the House. That ground is still held. The floor has not fallen out. The gains are still visible.

But move to the right, and the familiar pattern remains: a vast cluster of legislators still voting “yes” nearly all the time, reminding us that the culture of conformity is still very much alive.

However, the optimism from last year remains in place.

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 Midyear 2026 Capitol Conformity Tracker: Holding Gained Ground

#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
1	Gann	229	277	1	0	45.2	-3.51	
2	Jenkins	238	269	0	0	46.9	-4.84	
3	Shaw	274	233	0	0	54.0	-6.86	
4	West (R)	276	231	0	0	54.4	0.2	
5	Humphrey	197	111	199	0	63.9	-8.91	
6	Olsen	365	139	3	0	72.4	3.69	
7	Woolley	383	121	3	0	75.9	10.4	
8	Smith	391	104	12	0	78.9	1.14	
9	Hays	395	87	25	0	81.9	0.42	
10	Maynard	418	87	1	1	82.7	2.22	
11	Hardin	409	83	15	0	83.1	-1.02	
12	Steagall	352	71	84	0	83.2	7.48	
13	Crosswhite Hader	429	77	1	0	84.7	3.11	
14	Hildebrant	429	75	2	1	85.1	6.34	
15	Grego	425	70	12	0	85.8	-1.33	
16	West (K)	400	62	45	0	86.5	3.75	
17	Sneed	351	53	103	0	86.8	0.52	
18	Banning	427	63	17	0	87.1	6.44	
19	Wolfley	437	64	6	0	87.2	-0.36	
20	Archer	417	61	29	0	87.2	-6.16	
21	Kendrix	436	62	9	0	87.5	3	
22	Hall	431	58	18	0	88.1	4.38	
23	Stark	440	58	8	1	88.3	-1.98	
24	Turner	437	54	16	0	89	-1.84	
25	Eaves	445	54	8	0	89.1	-0.88	

The Oklahoma State Capital's Midyear 2026 Capitol Conformity Tracker: Holding Gained Ground

#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
26	Wilk	431	48	28	0	89.9	1.15	
27	Adams	458	49	0	0	90.3	3.54	
28	Travis	451	48	2	0	90.3	-6.08	<i>Burns</i>
29	Worthen	405	43	59	0	90.4	1.99	
30	Ford	434	44	29	0	90.7	-0.53	
31	Cornwell	429	41	35	2	91.2	-0.47	
32	Lay	451	42	14	0	91.4	-2.99	
33	Caldwell (C)	343	31	133	0	91.7	-1.06	
34	Williams	457	41	9	0	91.7	5.04	
35	Blair	443	38	26	0	92.1	1.65	
36	Boles	437	37	33	0	92.1	-2.42	
37	Roe	443	36	28	0	92.4	-3.03	
38	Chapman	450	33	24	0	93.1	1.13	
39	Caldwell (T)	346	25	136	0	93.2	-1.2	
40	Lepak	461	31	15	0	93.7	-0.9	
41	Patzkowsky	463	31	13	0	93.7	1.3	
42	Kane	451	30	26	0	93.7	-1.03	
43	Strom	445	29	33	0	93.8	0.55	
44	Duel	469	30	8	0	93.9	-0.23	
45	Cantrell	440	28	39	0	94.0	-0.26	
46	Staires	442	28	37	0	94.0	5.98	
47	Johns	440	26	41	0	94.4	-1.81	
48	West (J)	444	26	37	0	94.4	-2	
49	Newton	443	25	39	0	94.6	2.67	
50	Culver	480	26	1	0	94.8	-0.05	

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#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
51	Fetgatter	359	19	126	3	94.9	0.51	
52	Harris	479	24	4	0	95.2	-1.41	
53	Roberts	482	23	2	0	95.4	3.45	
54	Kerbs	431	20	56	0	95.5	-2.47	
55	Lowe	468	21	18	0	95.7	-0.95	
56	Manger	479	20	8	0	95.9	-0.88	
57	Gise	476	17	14	0	96.5	-0.07	
58	Moore	439	15	53	0	96.7	1.32	
59	Hasenbeck	426	14	67	0	96.8	-0.79	
60	Kelley	489	16	2	0	96.8	-0.36	
61	Hill	428	13	66	0	97.0	0.01	
62	Dobrinski	474	14	19	0	97.1	0.38	
63	Marti	443	13	49	2	97.1	1.21	
64	Pae	450	13	44	0	97.1	0.37	
65	Bashore	477	13	17	0	97.3	0.12	
66	Norwood	490	13	3	0	97.4	NUL	<i>Vancuren</i>
67	Osburn	426	11	70	0	97.4	-0.07	
68	Stinson	383	8	116	0	97.9	-0.13	
69	Miller	479	10	18	0	97.9	0.28	
70	Sterling	490	9	8	0	98.2	0.37	
71	May	469	8	30	0	98.3	0.7	
72	Townley	437	6	64	0	98.6	2.11	
73	Tedford	308	4	195	0	98.7	2.26	
74	West (T)	462	6	39	0	98.7	0.37	
75	Lawson	412	5	90	0	98.8	0.19	

#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
76	Kannady	254	3	250	0	98.8	1.29	
77	Luttrell	343	4	160	0	98.8	0.66	
78	Dempsey	364	4	139	0	98.9	1	
79	George	499	5	3	0	99.0	0.99	
80	Pfeiffer	433	4	70	0	99.0	0.21	
81	Mr. Speaker	503	4	0	0	99.2	-0.19	

END OF REPORT