

THE OKLAHOMA STATE CAPITAL

CAPITOL CONFORMITY TRACKER

MIDYEAR REPORT – 2025



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



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In 2024, the first edition of this publication shocked readers with the following statistic: 94.3% of votes cast by members of the Oklahoma House of Representatives were “yes.”

If this near-unanimity seems alarming, it’s because you know your history. A 94.3% conformity rate resembles something one might expect from the Soviet Politburo. Such near-unanimous votes indicate top-down control, prearranged consensus, fear of reprisal, and enforced ideological unity under the guise of “do it for the team, and the team will take care of you.”

But in 2025, something has changed. After holding steady at 94.3% in three of the last four years, that rate has taken a significant drop and is now struggling to stay above 90%.

The editors hope this pre-release encourages grassroots citizens and everyday Oklahomans to stay engaged like never before. It’s working.

How to Use This Guide

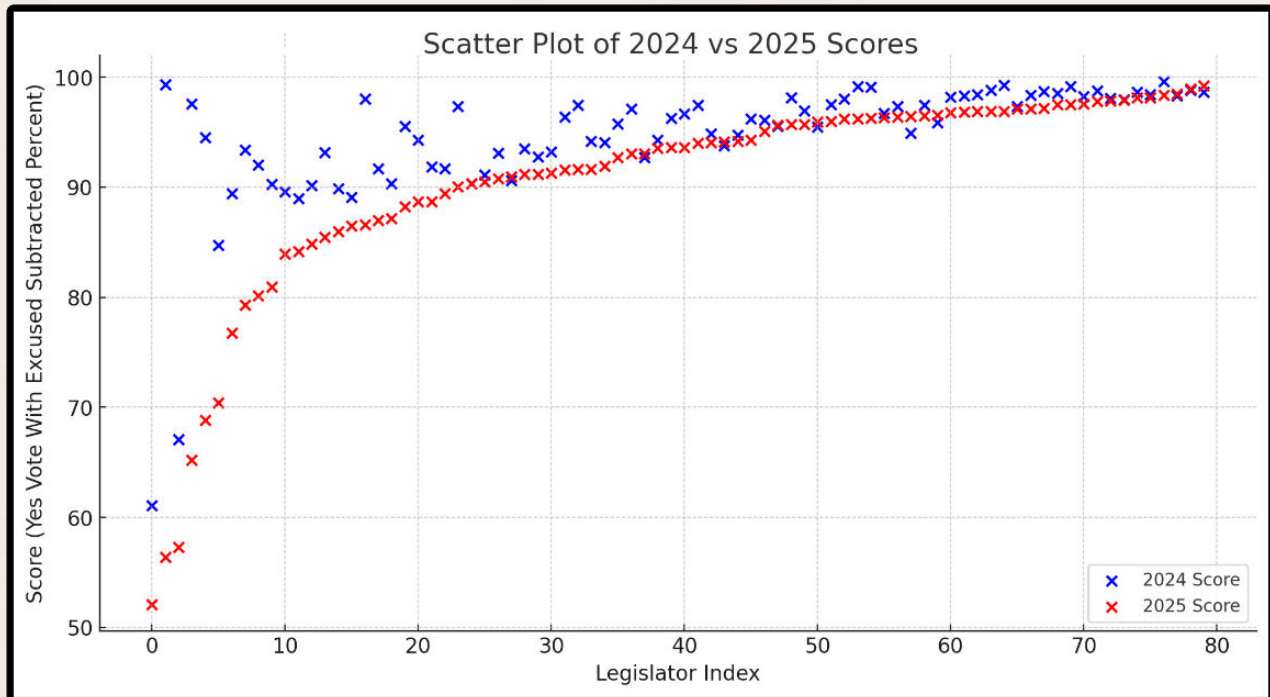
This simple report is based on an easy-to-quantify thesis: as a general rule, legislators who are “playing the game”—not reading the bills, taking money from lobbyists and special interests, living the gossip and alcohol-fueled nightlife with them, not causing waves, and

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 a more than 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 2024. 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.



Take a look at the scatter plot above. It lets you see—at a glance—just how dramatic this shift really is.

Each column represents a Republican legislator. The red X shows their voting trend in 2025, while the blue X shows their voting pattern in 2024. If a legislator is becoming more independent and casting more "no" votes, the blue X will appear above the red X. If they are falling back into the old habit of hitting the green button and voting "yes" more frequently, the blue X will appear below the red X.

Can you see the incredible difference? Out of 80 Republican legislators, only 10 regressed—and just one did so significantly. Meanwhile, numerous legislators improved by double digits.

In 2024, only eight Republican legislators voted "yes" less than 90% of the time. So far this year, that number has jumped to twenty-three.

Starting at the far-left side of the plot, the red X in the first column represents the Republican lawmaker who has voted "yes" the least so far in the 2025 session—just 52% of the time. The blue X above it shows that in 2024, that same legislator was voting "yes" 62% of the time. That's a clear shift toward greater independence.

Now that you understand how the chart works, your eye has probably been drawn to the second column. There, a blue X sits almost at the very top of the graph—while far below, you'll find the red X. It's a jaw-dropping improvement: a 43% shift, falling from a near-perfect 99.34% "yes" rate in 2024 to just 56.42% in 2025—the second-best in the entire House.

At first glance, you might think this is a mistake. How could a legislator change so dramatically in just one year?

Well, it's not a mistake. This is a case of a new legislator who defeated a sycophantic incumbent, who had only found his "no" button a scant six times in 2024—and is now voting independently. Can you imagine a more vivid visualization of why Republican primary elections matter so much?

The new legislator isn't a tool of the special interests, and clearly isn't afraid of leadership or the other legislators. Instead, this is an independent mind voting based on the merits of the legislation.

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

#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
1	Gann	252	232	1	1	52.0	14.7	
2	Jenkins	270	209	7	0	56.3	43.2	<i>Talley</i>
3	West (R)	276	206	2	2	57.2	14.6	
4	Shaw	317	169	0	0	65.2	33.1	<i>Wallace</i>
5	Woolley	331	150	5	0	68.8	27.2	<i>Davis</i>
6	Olsen	338	142	6	0	70.4	16.9	
7	Steagall	248	75	162	1	76.7	14.1	
8	Hildebrant	383	100	0	3	79.3	15.0	<i>O'Donnell</i>
9	Humphrey	323	80	82	1	80.1	12.8	
10	Smith	352	83	51	0	80.9	10.3	
11	Crosswhite Hader	407	78	1	0	83.9	6.36	
12	Banning	383	72	29	2	84.1	5.39	
13	Maynard	409	73	4	0	84.8	5.88	
14	Hays	330	56	100	0	85.4	8.23	
15	Worthen	381	62	43	0	86	4.35	
16	West (K)	409	64	13	0	86.4	2.97	
17	Hall	420	65	1	0	86.6	11.6	<i>Boatman</i>
18	Staires	368	55	63	0	87	5.14	
19	Hardin	414	61	10	1	87.1	3.53	
20	Adams	427	57	2	0	88.2	7.67	<i>Mcentire</i>
21	Wolfley	423	54	9	0	88.6	5.96	
22	Kendrix	424	54	8	0	88.7	3.42	
23	Caldwell (C)	313	37	136	0	89.4	2.48	
24	Blair	363	40	83	0	90.0	7.49	<i>Mcbride</i>
25	Grego	373	40	71	2	90.3	0.00	

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#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
26	Wilk	428	45	12	1	90.4	0.72	<i>Conley</i>
27	Sneed	364	37	85	0	90.7	2.53	
28	Stark	433	43	9	1	90.9	-0.36	
29	Ford	352	34	100	0	91.1	2.49	
30	Williams	415	40	31	0	91.2	1.69	
31	Chapman	430	41	15	0	91.3	2.06	<i>Mcdugle</i>
32	Cantrell	402	37	47	0	91.5	5.01	
33	Eaves	438	40	8	0	91.6	6.01	<i>Mccall</i>
34	Turner	438	40	8	0	91.6	2.71	<i>Randleman</i>
35	Newton	375	33	78	0	91.9	2.29	
36	Roberts	446	35	4	1	92.7	3.19	
37	Archer	335	25	126	0	93.0	4.20	
38	Lepak	403	30	53	0	93.0	-0.36	
39	Patzkowsky	435	30	21	0	93.5	0.78	
40	Fetgatter	337	23	126	0	93.6	2.77	
41	Moore	427	29	29	1	93.6	3.13	
42	Caldwell (T)	360	23	103	0	93.9	3.58	
43	Boles	443	28	14	1	94.0	0.86	
44	Kane	447	28	11	0	94.1	-0.32	
45	Strom	435	27	24	0	94.1	0.63	
46	Cornwell	445	27	14	0	94.2	2.03	
47	Johns	429	22	33	2	95.1	1.05	
48	Marti	375	17	94	0	95.6	-0.13	
49	Hill	444	20	22	0	95.6	2.52	
50	Roe	447	20	17	2	95.7	1.29	

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#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
51	West (J)	448	19	18	1	95.9	-0.44	
52	Lowe (D)	453	19	13	1	95.9	1.61	
53	Harris	408	16	62	0	96.2	1.85	
54	Gise	459	18	9	0	96.2	2.98	<i>Echols</i>
55	Townley	441	17	28	0	96.2	2.86	
56	Tedford	366	14	106	0	96.3	0.44	
57	Pae	454	17	15	0	96.3	1.01	
58	Duel	460	17	9	0	96.4	-1.59	
59	Culver	469	17	0	0	96.5	1.02	
60	Lay	450	16	20	0	96.5	-0.72	<i>Sims</i>
61	Manger	453	15	18	0	96.7	1.45	
62	Dobrinski	457	15	13	1	96.8	1.51	
63	Kannady	280	9	197	0	96.8	1.55	
64	Miller	343	11	132	0	96.8	1.96	
65	Osburn	406	13	67	0	96.9	2.40	
66	Burns	437	13	35	1	97.1	0.24	
67	Kerbs	404	12	70	0	97.1	1.28	
68	Hasenbeck	382	11	93	0	97.2	1.53	
69	Bashore	468	12	6	0	97.5	1.06	
70	George	469	12	5	0	97.5	1.69	
71	May	449	11	26	0	97.6	0.65	
72	Luttrell	406	9	71	0	97.8	0.96	
73	Kelley	455	10	20	1	97.8	0.27	<i>Baker</i>
74	Sterling	470	10	4	2	97.9	0.06	
75	Dempsey	420	8	58	0	98.1	0.53	

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#	Legislator	YES	NO	MISS	CP	% YES	% YoY	PREVIOUS REP
76	West (T)	428	8	50	0	98.1	0.24	
77	Pfeiffer	423	7	55	1	98.3	1.24	
78	Lawson	398	6	82	0	98.5	-0.19	
79	Hilbert	477	5	4	0	98.9	-0.16	
80	Stinson	386	3	95	2	99.2	-0.57	

END OF REPORT