

TO: INTERESTED PARTIES
FROM: STEALTH ANALYTICS
SUBJECT: ARIZONA 2026 GENERAL LV STATEWIDE STUDY
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ARIZONA'S BALLOT SPLITS ON INCUMBENCY: HOBBS, MAYES, AND FONTES LEAD AN ELECTORATE THAT RECALLS VOTING TRUMP +6, WHILE REPUBLICANS LEAD EVERY LOWER-PROFILE CONTEST

*Independent analysis of the Stealth Analytics Arizona statewide survey, fielded August 11-13, 2026 -
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The **Stealth Analytics** study of 530 likely November 2026 voters (margin of error 4.3 points) describes an electorate whose fundamentals point one direction and whose ballot points two. The weighted sample is 44% conservative to 28% liberal, 35% Republican to 28% Democratic with 36% independent, and recalls voting for Donald Trump over Kamala Harris by 6 points in 2024 – within half a point of the certified 52.2-46.7 result. Yet the three sitting Democratic statewide officers lead their races: Governor Katie Hobbs by 5 points (43-38 over Andy Biggs), Attorney General Kris Mayes by 4 (41-38 over Senate President Warren Petersen), and Secretary of State Adrian Fontes by 1 (39-38 over Alexander Kolodin).

Every contest without a Democratic incumbent breaks the other way: Republicans lead for Treasurer by 4 points, Superintendent of Public Instruction by 4, Mine Inspector by 6, and the two-seat Corporation Commission by 7 (38-31). The 12-point spread from Governor to Commission tracks one variable – whether voters know the Democratic name – and a second gradient rises with it: undecided shares climb from

14% on the generic congressional ballot and 18% for Governor to 29% for Mine Inspector.

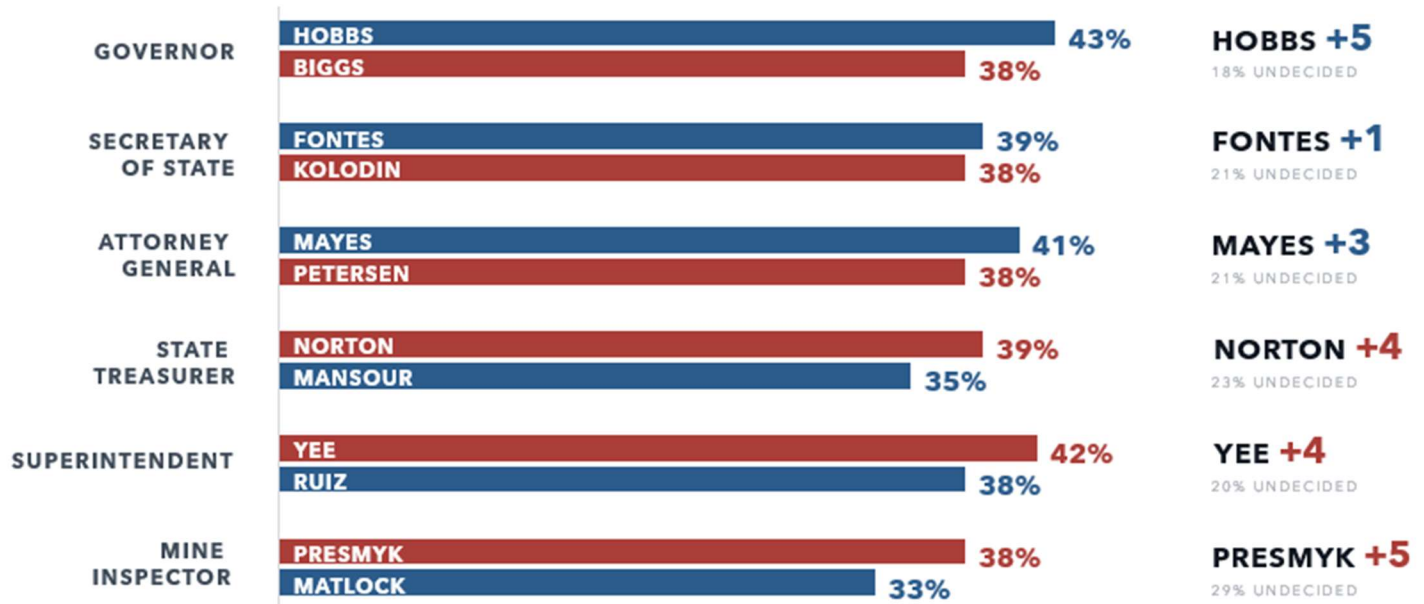


Figure 1: Down Ballot Toplines

Because Arizona has no U.S. Senate race in 2026, the Governor's contest tops the ticket, and the survey frames November as arithmetic. Sixteen to 20% of Trump-2024 voters are undecided in the three races Democrats lead, and in each case those parked voters outnumber the Democratic margin in weighted respondents. August's split ballot is real, but it is held in place by voters who, on the anonymous lines of the same questionnaire, already vote Republican.

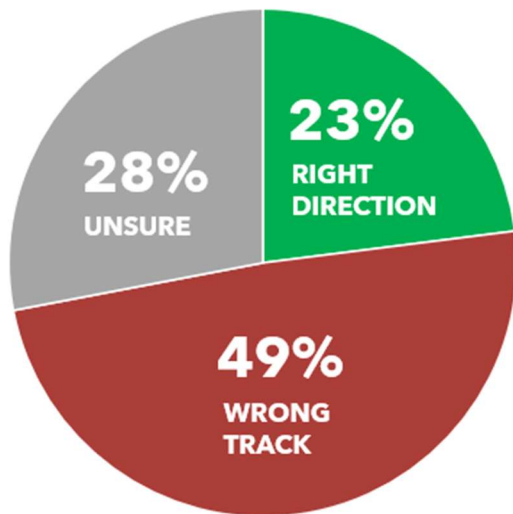
KEY FINDINGS

- Hobbs/Giles lead Biggs/Kerr 43-38 for Governor (+5), with 18% undecided; definite support runs 36-33.
- Mayes leads Petersen 41-38 for Attorney General (+4); Fontes leads Kolodin 39-38 for Secretary of State (+1), the poll's closest race.

- Republican leads begin at the first lines without a Democratic incumbent: Norton 39-35 for Treasurer, Yee 42-38 for Superintendent – both 4-point nets. Yee's 84% of Republicans and 31% of independents are the poll's best Republican subgroup showings.
- The partisan floor is Republican: Corporation Commission 38-31 both-Republican (7 points), Mine Inspector 38-33 (6 points); the generic House ballot runs 42-39 Democratic (+3).
- Undecided shares climb down-ballot from 14% to 29% (one exception: Superintendent, at 20%, sits below Treasurer's 23%) and concentrate among independents (29-41%), voters under 35 (25-42%; unweighted n=45, suggestive), and non-college voters (24-35%).
- Cohesion is asymmetric at the top: Harris-2024 voters give the three incumbents 88%, 85%, and 82%; Trump-2024 voters give the challengers 77%, 74%, and 74%, with 16-20% undecided – parked voters who outnumber each Democratic lead in weighted respondents (40 vs. 25, 52 vs. 19, 50 vs. 5).
- The environment cuts both ways: 49% wrong track to 23% right direction, the majority supplied by Republicans (70%) under a Democratic governor; Trump's job rating is 40-47 (net -7) with 44% strong disapproval. Cost of living (42%) leads the issue agenda in every party.
- All nine ballot measures lead: Prop 316's grocery-tax cap is broadest (60-9), Prop 144's election-rules package closest and most polarized (39-31), Prop 212's voucher limits (41-21) opposed on net only by Republicans among party groups.
- The sample passes an out-of-sample check: recalled 2024 vote of Trump +6 against the certified +5.5.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Arizona voters read the state as off course, 23% right direction to 49%



wrong track (28% unsure), but the composition inverts the usual reading. Under a Democratic governor and a Republican president, wrong track is a Republican answer – 70% of Republicans and 71% of Trump-2024 voters, against 27% of Democrats, the group likeliest to say right direction (37%). The item functions as a verdict on

state government, not on Washington. Independents lean negative, 28-45, with 27% unsure.

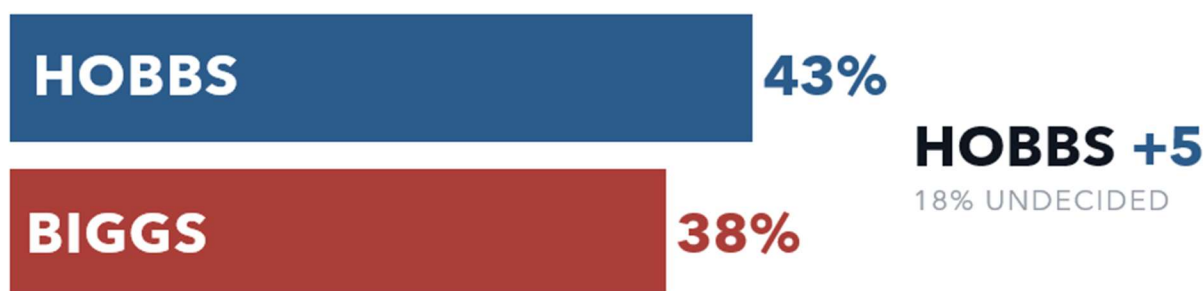
Cost of living and inflation (42%) is the only issue with standing in every coalition – first among Democrats (57%), Republicans (39%), and independents (34%) – and no other issue reaches 15%. Below it the agenda sorts by bloc: immigration draws 25% of conservatives and of Trump-2024 voters but 5% of Democrats; water supply is its mirror, 23% of liberals and 22% of Harris voters; elections and voting concentrates among Republicans, rural voters, and Trump voters (17% each) against 2% of Democrats. Abortion (1%), health care (2%), and crime (3%) barely register.

Trump's job rating is 40-47 (net -7), and its structure is harder than its margin: 29% strongly approve, 44% strongly disapprove, and only 2% somewhat disapprove, leaving the 13% unsure as the only movable pool. Independents disapprove 29-48 (net -19); Maricopa County is net -9, Pima -25, rural Arizona +11. The two referents split the parties' exposure

– national against Republicans, state against Democrats – and the shared issue, prices, is named most by Democrats (57%), consistent with a judgment on national economic management.

THE GOVERNOR'S RACE

Hobbs/Giles lead Biggs/Kerr 43-38, a net of 5 points, with Lombardo (Green) at 1%, Hourihan (No Labels) at 0%, and 18% undecided. This is the first election under the joint Governor/Lieutenant Governor ticket created by Prop 131 in 2022. Hobbs won the office by 0.7 points in 2022; the state voted Trump +5.5 in 2024, so an August lead of 5 sits roughly 10.5 points to the Democratic side of the most recent statewide federal result. The lead is not soft; definite support runs 36-33.



The margin rests on asymmetric consolidation, not persuasion. Hobbs holds 86% of Democrats and 88% of Harris-2024 voters; Biggs holds 82% of Republicans but 77% of Trump-2024 voters, with 16% of Trump voters undecided against 9% of Harris voters. Crossover runs 6-1 toward Hobbs, and independents break 44-25 for her with 30% undecided. One inversion: men favor Hobbs by 8 points, women by 1 – the reverse of the usual gender pattern.

Hobbs leads by 30 points among voters 18-34 (unweighted n=45, suggestive) and 16 among 35-49; Biggs leads by 6 among 50-64 and 9 among 65-plus. College voters favor Hobbs by 14, non-college voters

Biggs by 2; Latino voters break 53-23 Hobbs (n=66). Pima runs +29 Democratic, Maricopa +7, rural Arizona -17. Hobbs leads CD1 by 26 (n=51) and CD7 by 35 (n=46, suggestive); Biggs leads CD9 by 25 but only 42-41 in CD5 (n=88), his congressional district since 2017. Early and mail voters favor Hobbs by 11; in-person voters favor Biggs by 27 (n=63).

The 18% undecided is the counterweight. Its profile reads as disengagement – 30% of independents, 25% of under-35s (unweighted n=45, suggestive), 24% of non-college voters – but its past vote leans Republican: of 93 weighted undecided respondents, 40 voted Trump in 2024 and 22 voted Harris. A uniform return to 2024 columns would narrow the race by roughly 3 points, leaving the outcome to this disengaged, Republican-recalling remainder.

THE OTHER STATEWIDE CONTESTS

Contest	Democrat	Republican	Undecided	Margin
Attorney General	Mayes 41%	Petersen 38%	21%	D+4
Secretary of State	Fontes 39%	Kolodin 38%	21%	D+1
Treasurer	Mansour 35%	Norton 39%	23%	R+4
Superintendent	Ruiz 38%	Yee 42%	20%	R+4

Margins are NET figures of record, computed from unrounded values. Secretary of State includes Collier (Green) 2%; Treasurer includes Zepeda (No Labels) 2%.

The two contests with Democratic incumbents repeat the Governor's structure at compressed margins. Mayes leads Petersen 41-38 (+4) with a 34-28 edge in definite support, holding 84% of Democrats and 85% of Harris voters; Petersen holds 76% of Republicans and 74% of Trump voters, leaving 20% of Trump voters undecided. Fontes leads Kolodin 39-38 (+1), the poll's closest race, on nearly the same coalition (81% of Democrats, definite support 33-31) against a better-consolidated

opponent: Kolodin takes 80% of Republicans, cutting Republican undecideds to 13%. Each leads independents by 14 points, with 30-34% undecided; Petersen's four-point consolidation deficit accounts for most of the gap between +4 and +1. Both run ahead of the 2024 presidential baseline but sit on opposite sides of their 2022 results: Mayes's 4 points exceed a 2022 margin of 280 votes after a recount – the closest statewide race in Arizona history – while Fontes's 1 point runs about 4 under his 2022 margin of 4.8.

At the first two lines without a sitting Democratic officeholder, the consolidation advantage reverses. For Treasurer, Norton holds 83% of Republicans to Mansour's 75% of Democrats, with the Democratic shortfall parked (23% of Democrats undecided) rather than defecting (1%); Mansour leads independents by 8, but 35% of them are undecided. For Superintendent, Yee – the sitting State Treasurer, re-elected statewide in 2022 with about 56% – leads Ruiz on the strongest Republican profile in the poll: 84% of Republicans, 31% of independents, 3% of Democrats. Her support is broad but soft: 25 of her 42 points are definite, against 31 of Ruiz's 38.

In both races recalled-2024 loyalty is nearly symmetric (nets of 74-78 points each way), so the margins approximate the electorate's Trump +5.5 baseline. The gradients hold: Republicans lead among 65-plus (by 16 and 17 points), non-college voters (12 and 10), rural counties (24 and 26), and in-person voters (40 and 52; n=63); Democrats lead among college graduates (8 and 5), independents (8 and 9), and Latino voters (20 and 24; n=66). Both Republican leads sit inside the margin of error, and both undecided pools – 35% and 29% of independents, 23% and 20% of Democrats – are demographically closer to the Democratic coalition.

DOWN-BALLOT: THE PARTISAN FLOOR

Three items measure the partisan baseline at three information levels. The generic House ballot – party labels in the respondent's own district – runs 42-39 Democratic with 4% others and 14% undecided. The two-seat Corporation Commission slate runs 38% both-Republican, 31% both-Democratic, 7% split, 24% undecided. The Mine Inspector pairing, Presmyk against Matlock, runs 38-33 Republican (net 6 points) with 29% undecided, the survey's highest. Indecision rises as information falls: 14, 24, 29.

The Commission and Mine Inspector contests behave in these numbers like pure partisan defaults. Straight-slate retention is symmetric (Republicans 75%, Democrats 71% on the Commission; 74% and 73% for Mine Inspector) and independents divide evenly (29-29, and 30-29 with 41% undecided). When retention is symmetric and independents flat, composition decides: the weighted electorate is 35% Republican and 28% Democratic, and the 6-to-7-point margins reproduce that gap. An unknown Democrat statewide inherits that deficit as a structural fact.

The House item reverses the sign through two mechanisms: independents break 42-26 Democratic (21% undecided) rather than splitting, and defection is asymmetric – 9% of Republicans select the Democratic candidate against 1% the other way. Partisans also park less (8-12% undecided versus 19-23% on the defaults), consistent with real district context: 61-27 Republican in CD9, 55-34 Democratic in CD1. The persuadable residue: the Commission's 7% split-ticket share rises to 20% among moderates and 12% among independents, and undecideds on the defaults concentrate among independents (30% and 41%), moderates (22% and 43%), and non-college voters (30% and 35%).

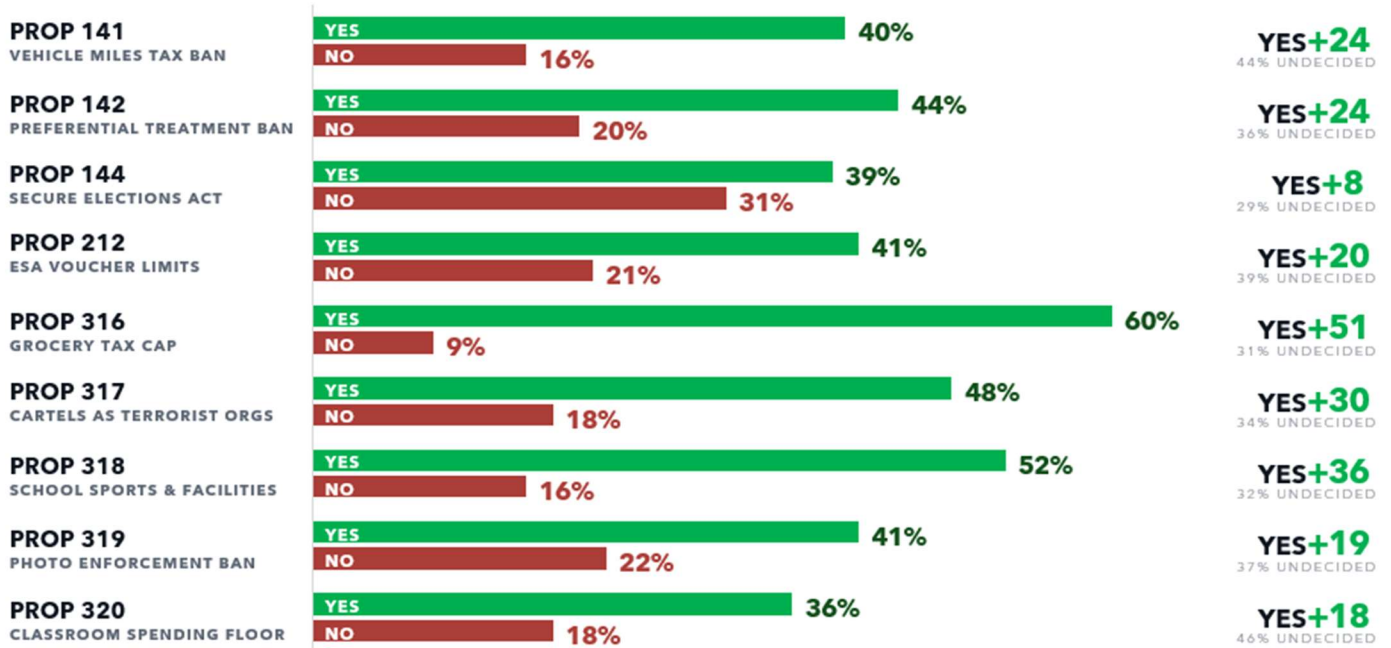
THE NINE BALLOT MEASURES

The nine propositions were split-sampled – Props 141, 144, 319, and 320 on Form A (n=253-258, MOE 6.1-6.2 points), Props 142, 212, 316, 317, and 318 on Form B (n=274, MOE 5.9) – and asked in an informed-ballot format: a neutral description, then one supporting and one opposing argument in randomized order.

Prop	Subject	Yes	No	Undecided	Net
141 (A)	Ban mileage-based vehicle taxes and monitoring	40%	16%	44%	+24
142 (B)	Bar preferences by race, sex, or ethnicity in public employment, education, contracting	44%	20%	36%	+24
144 (A)	Citizen-only voting; ID for every voting method	39%	31%	29%	+8
212 (B)	Income cap and spending limits on ESA vouchers	41%	21%	39%	+20
316 (B)	Cap municipal grocery taxes at 2%	60%	9%	31%	+51
317 (B)	Designate drug cartels terrorist organizations	48%	18%	34%	+30
318 (B)	School sports teams designated by biological sex	52%	16%	32%	+36
319 (A)	Restrict municipal photo-enforcement cameras	41%	22%	37%	+19
320 (A)	Require 60% of district budgets for classroom instruction	36%	18%	46%	+18

Yes, no, and undecided shares are topline figures of record; nets are computed from unrounded values, so rows may sum to 99-101. Cells for voters 18-34 (unweighted n=19-26) and half the congressional-district columns (most on Form A; CD2, CD3, and CD7 on Form B) are suppressed on these half-sample tables; suppressed cells were not used.

All nine measures lead, but the coalitions differ. Prop 316 is the nearest thing to consensus in the survey: 60-9, positive in every reportable subgroup, a worst regional net of +46 in Maricopa, and 42% yes among Democrats. Prop 318 leads 52-16 on Republican near-unanimity (77-4) plus an independent plurality (51-15), with Democrats opposed 20-35 but not mobilized: Harris-2024 voters split 31-35, and women (54% yes) are slightly likelier than men (50%) to support it.



Prop 144 alone faces organized opposition. At 39-31 it is the closest and most polarized measure (Republicans +66, Democrats -51, independents -7), and the argument that a universal ID requirement could restrict mail voting lands on the electorate's own practice: the 83% who vote early or by mail split 36-34, against 62-16 among in-person voters (n=30, suggestive). Prop 212 inverts the partisan map: limits on the state's ESA voucher program draw Democrats +28 and independents +36, while Republicans are the only party group net opposed (35-42); even conservatives stay slightly positive (+11).

Of the rest: Prop 141 is the only measure positive in every partisan column (Republicans +42, Democrats +6, independents +22). Prop 317 leads 48-18, with rank-and-file Democrats split 24-25; liberals (18-36), Harris-2024 voters (25-38), and voters 35-49 (25-33) land net opposed. Prop 142 pairs a +60 Republican net with the form's sharpest education divide (+8 college, +34 non-college). Prop 319 runs on partisanship, not geography: Maricopa sits at +17, near the statewide +19. Prop 320 leads 36-18 beneath the survey's largest undecided share, 46%, with 58% of

Democrats uninformed. With no-shares of 16-22% on three of the four Form A measures and undecideds of 29-46% throughout, August nets record which arguments have arrived, not outcomes.

THE SHAPE OF THE ELECTORATE

The survey's central finding is a gradient. Ordered by Democratic margin, the eight contests run +5 (Governor), +4 (Attorney General), +3 (generic House), +1 (Secretary of State), -4 (Treasurer), -4 (Superintendent), -6 (Mine Inspector), -7 (Corporation Commission). Democrats lead exactly where they run sitting statewide incumbents, in an electorate whose every fundamental – ideology 44-28 conservative, party 35-28-36, recalled 2024 vote 49-43 Trump – leans Republican. The 12-point spread is not persuasion; it is the difference between a known candidate and a bare party label.

Undecided voters trace the same ladder – 14% generic House, 18% Governor, 20-21% Attorney General, Secretary of State, and Superintendent, 23-24% Treasurer and Commission, 29% Mine Inspector – and their composition marks them as low-information rather than cross-pressured: independents run 29-41% undecided against 10-23% among partisans, under-35s 25-42% (n=45, suggestive), non-college voters 24-35% against 8-20% among graduates. Independents favor Democrats on every line except the Commission slate, where they split 29-29, but the lean decays with familiarity: +19 Governor, +14 Attorney General, +8 Treasurer, +2 Mine Inspector.

Cohesion data locate the mechanism. Harris-2024 voters deliver 88%, 85%, and 82% to the three incumbents; Trump-2024 voters deliver 77%, 74%, and 74%, leaving 16-20% undecided – and those undecided Trump voters outnumber each Democratic lead in weighted respondents: 40 against Hobbs's 25, 52 against Mayes's 19, 50 against Fontes's 5. Down-

ballot the asymmetry vanishes – 77-77 at Treasurer, and 82-82 at Superintendent even though the Republican there is herself a sitting statewide officer; only Yee's total share, 42%, the highest for any Republican in the poll, distinguishes that race. Familiarity works identically for both parties; Democrats currently hold more of it.

College voters run +11 to +14 Democratic in the incumbent races and +4 to +8 below; non-college voters run -2 to -12. Age is non-monotonic: Democrats carry 18-34 (+7 to +30; n=45, suggestive) and 35-49 (+4 to +16) but lose 50-64 (-6 to -14) and 65-plus (-8 to -17). Latino voters run +16 to +30 Democratic (n=66). Pima runs +7 to +29 Democratic and rural Arizona -12 to -26, leaving Maricopa, 61% of the weighted sample, at the pivot between +7 and -2. Early and mail voters (83% of the sample) lean Democratic by 1 to 11 points; in-person voters Republican by 26 to 52 (n=63, suggestive). Moderates back Democratic candidates by 22 to 38 points yet supply the bulk of the Commission ticket-splitting, consistent with a Republican coalition 85% self-identified conservative facing a Democratic one 66% liberal.

The structure is contingent, not settled: a Republican-default electorate is split-ticket in August because incumbency substitutes for information at the top of the ballot, and the balance rests with undecided Trump-2024 voters and low-information independents.

METHODOLOGY

Stealth Analytics interviewed 530 likely November 2026 general-election voters on August 11-13, 2026, entirely by SMS-to-web; the full-sample margin of error is 4.3 points. The nine propositions were split-sampled: Form A (Props 141, 144, 319, 320) n=253-258, MOE 6.1-6.2; Form B (Props 142, 212, 316, 317, 318) n=274, MOE 5.9. Candidate order was rotated; measure order and the order of supporting and opposing arguments were randomized. The informed-ballot format measures intent after balanced exposure to arguments and can run ahead of unaided opinion.

Weighting targets are administrative – voter-file and matched-vendor benchmarks, not self-reports: party registration 35R/36I/28D, 53% female, 36% aged 65-plus, region 61% Maricopa/24% rural/15% Pima, congressional district, 21% Hispanic, 83% early or mail voting history. The raw pool required large corrections, typical of text-to-web response: college-educated respondents weighted from 315 of 530 to 212 (59% to 40%), registered Democrats from 210 to 149 (40% to 28%), voters 18-34 from 45 to 99, Latinos from 66 to 109. Corrections of this size reduce effective sample size, so the nominal 4.3-point margin modestly understates practical uncertainty, more so in subgroups. A single mode also reaches no voter who cannot or will not complete a text-to-web survey.

One validation is out-of-sample: the weighted sample's recalled 2024 vote, Trump 49 - Harris 43 (+6), sits within half a point of the certified Trump +5.5, and because recalled vote was not among the weighting variables, the match independently corroborates the sample's composition, including the Democratic leads at the top of the instrument.

Reporting conventions are conservative. Significance tests are Bonferroni-corrected at the 95% level; cells under n=30 unweighted are suppressed in the published tables and were not used in this analysis; columns under n=50 are labeled suggestion-quality – voters 18-34 (n=45), CD3 (n=30), CD2 (n=45), CD7 (n=46), per-form Latino cells (n=32-34) – and are flagged wherever cited, as are the modest in-person (n=63) and full-sample Latino (n=66) bases. All topline margins reported here are TOTAL/NET rows computed from unrounded values, the figures of record, and may differ from rounded cell arithmetic.

ABOUT THIS ANALYSIS

This report is an independent academic analysis of survey data collected and released by Stealth Analytics, which sponsored and fielded the poll and is neutral toward all candidates and ballot measures. The interpretations, comparisons to certified election results, and any errors are the analyst's own and should not be attributed to the firm. Media inquiries: admin@stealthanalytics.net