

A RESEARCH REPORT

Racial Misclassification in American Crime Statistics

How arrest, jail and court records count Hispanic, Black, Asian, Native American and Middle Eastern people as White, how much it changes the numbers, and how to fix it

Working paper · Version 3.1 · November 2026

Racial Misclassification in American Crime Statistics

AUTHORSHIP AND STATUS

Drafted by Claude (AI-generated) at Nicholas Niehaus's direction, from his project idea and his widening of its scope to every non-White group. Not yet reviewed by Nicholas. Stage: Draft. Version 3.1, November 22, 2026, adding the reverse direction, California's record from 1985 to 2023 and recommended next steps; extends version 2 (Hispanic people only) to all groups. Confidence: high on the Census-linked and San Francisco findings; medium on the national and state estimates; low on the city estimates and on the Native American, Asian and Middle Eastern parts. Content source: about 5% from material Nicholas gave (the idea, the scope and direction), about 95% from Claude's research. Next step: Nicholas's review and the three San Francisco records requests.

Cover: a Census Bureau clerk punching population cards, 1910. U.S. Census Bureau photo library, public domain.

Suggested citation: Claude (Anthropic), for Nicholas Niehaus, Ascent of the West. Racial Misclassification in American Crime Statistics. Working paper, version 3.1, November 2026.

ABSTRACT

American crime statistics count people by race, and "White" is the category most often quoted. This report measures how much of that White count is made up of people who are not non-Hispanic White: Hispanic, Black, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, multiracial, and Middle Eastern or North African people. Using the only study that checks agency records against people's own Census answers, the FBI's 2024 arrest counts for every state and the fifty largest cities, California's own race-and-ethnicity arrest file, and five independent San Francisco records, it finds that about 31% of arrests recorded as White nationally (range 24 to 37%) are not nonHispanic White. Correcting for this moves the White share of arrests from 64% to about 46%. Hispanic people are nine-tenths of the error. Black people are recorded as White at low rates that are largely offset by the reverse error, though the effect is large in majority-Black cities. Middle Eastern people have been White by definition since 1977 and cannot be measured at all. The cause is the federal race standard and how its two fields are published, not falsification. The report sets out the fix and three records requests to settle the open questions in San Francisco.

Essential learnings

About one in three people recorded as White in US arrest data is not non-Hispanic White. That moves the official White share of arrests by about 18 points, and the error is almost all Hispanic people. Other groups add a few points nationally but matter in specific places.

1. How deep. In 2024 FBI arrest data, 64% of arrestees are recorded as White. An estimated 31% of them (range 24 to 37%) are not non-Hispanic White. Corrected, non-Hispanic White people are about 46% of arrests (41 to 51%). The White count is inflated by roughly 38%. The reverse error is real but four to ten times smaller: courts recorded 5% of non-Hispanic White people as another race, prisons 3%, mostly as Black or "other." For every White person recorded as non-White, about 4.5 non-White people were recorded as White in courts and prisons, and about 10 in arrests.
2. Who is inside "White." Hispanic people are about 27 of those 31 points. Native American people add about 1.3, Black people about 0.9, Asian and Pacific Islander people about 0.9, multiracial people about 0.3. Middle Eastern and North African people are White by definition in every federal crime table; they are probably 1 to 3% of the White count nationally and about 6% in San Francisco.
3. How widespread. Every state has it. The share runs from 4 to 5% in West Virginia, Vermont and Maine to 56 to 66% in Texas, California and New Mexico. In big cities it runs from about 20% (Seattle, Virginia Beach) to about 88% (Miami, El Paso); in Los Angeles it is about 69%.
4. Black people recorded as White are real, small in total and large in some cities. Census-linked records show 0.9 to 2.7% of Black defendants and prisoners recorded as White, about 1 to 1.6% of the White count. The reverse error, 1.3 to 1.5% of White people recorded as Black, cancels most of it nationally. In majority-Black cities such as Detroit, Atlanta and Baltimore, the same small error rate on a large Black arrest count can make up 10 to 20% of a small White count.
5. Native American and Asian people are recorded as White far more often per person (34 to 46%) than Black people. Their small numbers keep the national effect small, but in Alaska, the Dakotas, Montana, Oklahoma and New Mexico the Native American share is material.
6. The method checks out where the truth is known. California's Justice Department records Hispanic as a race. For the same 776,000 California arrests in 2023, the FBI shows 79% White; the state shows 32% White and 45%

Hispanic. In San Francisco, the FBI shows 61% White; the state, the Sheriff's ethnicity field and officers' own perceptions all show 30 to 32%. The model gives 31% for California and 38% for San Francisco, so its state and city figures are conservative.

7. The cause is the federal rules, not falsification. Since 1977 Hispanic has been an ethnicity of any race, and Middle Eastern people have been defined as White. The FBI's current arrest tables publish race with no ethnicity at all. Officer guesswork and old software add to it.
8. The rules are in flux. The 2024 revision adds a combined question and a Middle Eastern category, due by March 2029. On September 10, 2026 the Census Bureau proposed dropping race and ethnicity from the 2030 census form, which would weaken the population counts any per-capita comparison needs.

I. How much of the White count is not White

Three independent measures agree that between one in eight and one in three people recorded as White in criminal justice data are not non-Hispanic White. The size depends on the system and the place, not on the method.

The deepest evidence comes from a 2024 study by Census Bureau and university economists that linked about two million court and prison records in eighteen states to the same people's own Census answers, person by person.[1] It shows what "White" in criminal justice records actually contains.

Table 1. Who is inside "White," in percent of everyone recorded as White

Group inside "White"	Courts, 10 states, 2000–2019	Prisons, 14 states, 2000–2019	US arrests, 2024 (estimate)
Non-Hispanic White	79.6	86.9	about 69
Hispanic	16.0	9.5	about 27
Black	1.6	0.9	about 0.9
Native American	1.5	1.6	about 1.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	1.1	0.8	about 0.9
Multiracial or other	0.3	0.2	about 0.3

The arrest column applies those error rates, and each place's population, to the FBI's 2024 arrest counts for every state.[2] Arrests run higher than prisons because police record race by sight and fast, and because the FBI's current arrest tables carry no ethnicity at all.

The other direction

The reverse error, White people recorded as non-White, exists but is four to ten times smaller. Courts recorded 5.2% of non-Hispanic White people as another race and prisons 3.2%, mostly as Black or "other." For every White person recorded as non-White, about 4.5 non-White people were recorded as White in courts and prisons, and about 10 in 2024 arrests.

Table 2. Flows into and out of "White," in percentage points of everyone in the records

Flow	Courts	Prisons	US arrests, 2024 (estimate)
Non-White people recorded as White	11.7	5.6	about 19.5
White people recorded as non-White	2.5	1.2	about 1.9
of whom recorded as Black	0.7	0.5	not separable
of whom recorded as "other"	1.6	0.1	not separable
of whom recorded as Hispanic, Asian or Native American	0.2	0.7	not separable
Net: White count above true non-Hispanic White	+19%	+11%	about +38%

The same records show the Black count is also slightly inflated, by about 4% in both courts and prisons: more people flow into Black, mostly Hispanic people (1.2 to 1.3 points) and White people (0.5 to 0.7), than flow out of it (0.6 to 1.2). Only the Hispanic count shrinks: courts recorded 35,000 of 202,000 Hispanic defendants as Hispanic, an 83% undercount, and prisons undercounted by 28%. This report adds the outflow back when it estimates non-Hispanic White, so the corrected figures account for errors in both directions.

Where the truth is known, the estimate holds or errs low. California's Justice Department, unlike the FBI, records Hispanic as a race of its own.[3] For essentially the same 776,000 California arrests in 2023, the FBI table shows 79% White; the state file shows 32% White and 45% Hispanic. The model, which never sees the state file, estimates 31% (range 24 to 40%). In San Francisco the FBI table shows 61% of police arrests as White; four separate local records put non-Hispanic White at 30 to 32%, and the model gives 38%. For 2019, version 2 of this work used the FBI's own ethnicity counts to move 69% White to about 52%.

Every state has the problem. The share runs from 4% in West Virginia to 66% in New Mexico, and is above 40% in six states (New Mexico, California, Texas, Nevada, Arizona and Florida) that hold about a quarter of all US arrests. Across the fifty largest cities it runs from 20% to 89%, and is above 50% in twenty-three of them. Figure 1 and the full tables appear at the end of the report.

Group by group

Each non-White group is recorded as White at a very different rate. The national effect is that rate times the group's share of arrests, which is why Hispanic people dominate the total while Native American and Asian people, recorded as White far more often per person, add little.

Table 3. How each group is recorded, by their own Census answer

Group	Recorded White, courts	Recorded White, prisons	Recorded correctly, courts / prisons	Recorded Black, courts / prisons
Hispanic	69%	23%	16% / 67%	10% / 7%
Asian or Pacific Islander	46%	41%	28% / 24%	16% / 23%
Multiracial or other	44%	26%	5% / 5%	39% / 31%
Native American	44%	34%	38% / 50%	14% / 12%
Black	2.7%	0.9%	97% / 98%	(correct)
Non-Hispanic White	(correct)	(correct)	95% / 97%	1.5% / 1.3%

Hispanic people. Most police, jail and court systems still follow the 1977 two-question design, so a Hispanic person almost always gets White as a race. Courts recorded 69% of Hispanic defendants as White and only 16% as Hispanic. In San Francisco the Sheriff's race field puts 87 to 89% of Hispanic bookings under White. Where the FBI publishes race alone, as in its 2024 arrest tables, nearly all of them stay there.

Black people. Black people are the best-recorded group, at 97 to 98% correct. Between 0.9 and 2.7% are recorded as White, which fits the individual cases that prompted this project, but about as many White people are recorded as Black, so nationally the two nearly cancel. The effect is real where Black arrestees far outnumber White ones. In Detroit, Black people are 89% of police arrests and White people 10%; an error of 1.8% on the first is about 16% of the second.

Asian and Pacific Islander people. Agencies record them correctly only about a quarter of the time; 41 to 46% end up White and 16 to 23% Black. Nationally that adds about one point to the White count. In San Francisco, where Asian people are a third of residents, officers' perceptions at arrest stops (6.0% Asian or Pacific Islander) match the jail's count (5.9 to 6.1%), so systems used to Asian residents may do better.

Native American people. They are recorded correctly only 38 to 50% of the time, and 34 to 44% go to White. This adds about 1.3 points nationally, but in Alaska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Oklahoma and New Mexico it is several points of the White count. The estimates for those states rest on national rates and are the weakest in this report.

Middle Eastern and North African people. Every federal crime table has counted them as White since 1977, so no US data can show how many are arrested. The 2020 Census counted about 3.5 million people of Middle Eastern or North African origin, about 1% of the population. If their arrest rate equals the non-Hispanic White rate, they are about 2% of the White arrest count; at twice that rate about 4%, at half about 1%. San Francisco gives the one direct reading. California's stop forms let officers record "Middle Eastern or South Asian," and in 2025 that group was 2.0% of stops ending in arrest, about 6% of the combined pool with White arrestees; part of it is South Asian people, whom jails usually record as Asian.[4] Europe shows why measuring matters. Statistics Denmark, which records country of origin, found male descendants of non-Western immigrants convicted at 2.5 times the male average in 2014 after adjusting for age, with Lebanese origin highest.[5] Non-Western is a wider group than Middle Eastern, and Middle Eastern immigrants to the United States are better

educated on average, so that figure does not transfer. It shows that such a gap can be large, and that the United States cannot currently see it.

II. The rules that bent the record

One federal rule, Statistical Policy Directive 15, has set America's race categories since 1977, and its design explains most of what this report measures.[6] It binds federal agencies, including the FBI's national crime tables, but not local police and jails, which mostly copy it.

Table 4. The federal race standard and its effect on crime data

Version	What it set	Effect on crime data
1977	Four races (Native American, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, White) plus Hispanic as a separate ethnicity. White defined as origins in Europe, North Africa or the Middle East. Mixed-race people classed by how their community sees them.	Hispanic people get a race, almost always White. Middle Eastern people are White by definition.
1997	Five races (Asian split from Pacific Islander); more than one may be chosen; self-identification preferred; two questions, ethnicity first.	Same two-question design. The FBI adopted the five races in 2013. Ethnicity stays a separate, often blank field.
2024	One combined question with Hispanic and Middle Eastern or North African as categories of their own; detailed groups by default. Agency plans due March 28, 2027; compliance by March 28, 2029.	Would end both problems in federal tables, if the FBI and the agencies feeding it adopt it.
2025–2026	Planning deadline extended in September 2025; in December 2025 an administration official said a rollback was under consideration. On September 10, 2026 the Census Bureau proposed removing race and ethnicity questions from the 2030 census form.	Unresolved. Without census counts by race, per-capita comparisons of any group become estimates.

Judged only on whether they produce accurate counts, the rules divide cleanly. One combined question with Hispanic as its own category is sound: the Census Bureau's testing found it measures Hispanic people more accurately, and it removes the single largest error in this report.[7] A separate Middle Eastern or North African category is sound for the same reason, since a group that is about 1% of the country, and plausibly over- or under-represented in arrests, cannot be measured while it is defined as White. Self-identification is the most accurate source, but an officer's perception is what matters for questions of profiling, so the best record keeps both side by side.

Three features are unsound in practice. The two-question design is coherent on paper, but users read the race column alone, and that column has inflated the White count for forty-seven years. Ethnicity is still an optional field in the FBI's national system, and a blank leaves the person in White while shrinking the Hispanic count. And the standard does not reach the local agencies that collect almost all crime data. The Census Bureau's proposal to remove race from the census altogether rests on a real argument, that government should not classify citizens by race.[8] Its cost is measurement: without it there are no

reliable denominators for checking any group's crime rate, including the corrections in this report.

The hidden share has grown with the Hispanic population. Applying this report's method to each census gives the following.

Table 5. Estimated Hispanic share of the "White" count, by year

Year	Hispanic share of US population	Estimated share of the "White" count that was Hispanic
1980	6.4%	about 8%
1990	9.0%	about 11%
2000	12.5%	about 16%
2010	16.3%	about 21%
2020	18.7%	about 25%
2024	20.0%	about 27%

A published White share of arrests that looks steady over decades therefore hides a falling non-Hispanic White share. Comparisons of "White crime" across decades, or between states with different Hispanic populations, are not like for like. The Middle Eastern share has sat inside White the whole time and cannot be backed out of any year's data; the range given above, 1 to 4% of the White count today, is the best available. These figures are estimates at all ages; weighting for the younger Hispanic age structure would raise the later years slightly.

California shows what this looks like with real numbers instead of estimates, because its Justice Department has recorded Hispanic as a race since 1980.[10] For nearly forty years the FBI's table for California showed about 80% of arrestees as White. In the state's own data, the White share fell from 50% to 32% over the same years while the Hispanic share rose from 28% to 45%.

Table 6. California arrests: the federal table against the state's own record

Year	FBI table: White	State data: White	State data: Hispanic
1985	81%	50%	28%
1990	80%	42%	34%
1995	81%	41%	37%
2000	81%	40%	37%
2005	82%	38%	40%
2010	82%	36%	41%
2015	80%	37%	40%
2020	81%	34%	44%
2023	79%	32%	45%

A reader of the federal table would conclude nothing changed. In fact the non-Hispanic White share of California arrests fell by more than a third.

III. San Francisco

San Francisco is the one city where five separate records can be laid side by side, and four of them agree: non-Hispanic White people are 30 to 32% of arrests, not the 54 to 61% that race-only figures show.[9]

Table 7. San Francisco arrests and bookings by group, five records

Group	Sheriff race field, 2025	Sheriff ethnicity field, 2025	Officers' perception, 2025 arrest stops	State Justice Dept., 2023	FBI table, 2023
White	53.9%	30.1%	30.8%	32.4%	61.1%
Hispanic	none	26.7%	27.4%	22.3%	none
Black	34.1%	33.7%	32.2%	32.2%	33.0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	5.9%	6.1%	6.0%	in Other (13.2%)	5.6%
Middle Eastern or South Asian	none	none	2.0%	none	none
Native American	none	none	0.4%	in Other	0.3%
Unknown or other	6.0%	3.3%	1.1%	see above	0.0%

The Sheriff's two fields also show that the flows are not all from White. The ethnicity field has 56 fewer Black bookings than the race field and 476 fewer unknowns, so some Hispanic people sit in Black and Unknown in the race field. That puts the Hispanic share filed under White at 87 to 89%; version 2's 89% assumed every Hispanic booking came from White. Person-level records settle this exactly, and three records requests are drafted to obtain them, from the Sheriff, the Police Department and the District Attorney. Each asks for every year held electronically, one row per booking, arrest or case, with an anonymous person number, every race and ethnicity field, whether each was self-reported or officer-recorded, home ZIP code and the numbers linking the three agencies' records. Surnames are requested with a privacy-safe fallback: the agency applies the Census Bureau's public surname list and releases only the resulting probabilities. Each request also asks for code lists, written race-recording rules and logs of changes to race fields, and marks the essential tables as a first delivery so that a large request cannot stall the core.

IV. What to do

The fix is the same for every group: one combined race-and-ethnicity field, with Hispanic and Middle Eastern or North African as categories of their own, filled in for every arrest and booking, recording both the person's own answer and the officer's perception. Until it lands, no one should publish or quote a race-only White figure.

At the federal level, the FBI should adopt the 2024 categories in its national system on the 2029 schedule, make the field mandatory, and meanwhile publish arrests by combined race and ethnicity using the correction method the Bureau of Justice Statistics applied in 2021; federal justice grants should require the combined field of local agencies. States should pass a data law requiring the combined field for every agency that reports to the state, with an annual published audit of each agency against surname and neighborhood statistics. In San Francisco, the Sheriff should publish one combined field, and DataSF should retire or relabel its race-only bookings table.

This project should publish the state and city tables with its method and code open to critics, then replace each estimate with measured figures as records arrive. Its language should be "counted as White by the system," not "falsified," unless intent is shown.

V. Recommended next steps

The findings change nothing until three groups act on them: the public, which has to see the corrected numbers; the people who set the rules, from state legislators to the FBI and the statistics agencies; and the reporters and researchers who make the issue stick. The steps below are ranked by impact for the effort.

First, the next month

1. Publish it as open data. A working paper with its status label, plus a public page where anyone can look up their state or city: the official White share, the corrected share and the gap, with the code and files downloadable. Every later step points here.
2. One explainer video and a set of shorts. The core video, about five minutes: 64% of arrests are recorded as White; the real figure is about 46%; here is why. Then one short per large state or city, each with its own number. The framing is accurate data for everyone, including the Hispanic people the system erases, not blame on any group. Every video goes through the brand and context check first.
3. Get the person-level records. The three San Francisco requests first, then the same requests in the ten largest cities, which turn estimates into measured figures.

Second, the next quarter

1. A state law, not a petition. A short model bill: one combined race-and-ethnicity field for every arrest and booking, the person's own answer recorded beside the officer's perception, an annual published audit of each agency, and race-only White figures barred from state reports. A petition only shows demand; a bill needs a sponsoring legislator. Texas (56% of its White count is not non-Hispanic White; troopers were caught in 2015), Arizona (49%) and Florida (45%) are the natural first states; California already records Hispanic as a race and is the working model.
2. Letters to the people who run the systems: the FBI's crime-data program and its advisory board, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and the statistics office in each target state. The FBI's plan for the 2024 federal standard is due in March 2027, so the request is specific: adopt the combined field, make it mandatory, and publish corrected tables meanwhile.

3. Reporters and researchers. The state table goes to data reporters and to the newsrooms that already covered the issue in Texas, Louisiana and Florida. The authors of the 2024 Census-linked study are the right people to extend their method to arrests; their confirmation would carry more weight than this report.
4. Opinion pieces in the target states, timed to the bill, each led by that state's own number.

Third, ongoing

1. Preserve the data. If the 2030 census drops race, past counts become the only base for any comparison. This project has archived the FBI's arrest tables for every state since 1985 and for the fifty largest cities' police departments, the California arrest file since 1980, and the Census race series since 2000.[11] It is the first piece of the wider government data backup.
2. Add the measure to City Report Card for every city, refreshed each year.
3. Extend the check to crimes reported by victims and to court and prison data, where the 2024 study shows different error patterns.

Appendix A. Method and limits

The national, state and city figures are estimates, not counts. They apply error rates measured in ten to fourteen states' courts and prisons between 2000 and 2019 to the FBI's 2024 arrest counts by race for every state and for the police departments of the fifty largest cities (2023 where a department reported only part of 2024), using each place's population by age, race and Hispanic origin, weighted to ages 15 to 54.[12] Each estimate is a middle value with a range from the low and high ends of every input.

The Hispanic estimate assumes that Hispanic and non-Hispanic White people of arrest age are arrested at similar rates, calibrated on California's 58 counties (middle value 1.1 times, range 0.75 to 1.5) and on 2019 FBI ethnicity counts. Where arrestees come from outside the city, or Hispanic arrest rates are higher, it understates the problem, as in San Francisco. Native American, Asian and multiracial shares use national error rates scaled to each place's population and capped at three times the national figure; in states with large Native or Pacific Islander populations they are the weakest numbers here. Black people recorded as White are estimated from the FBI's own Black count times the measured error rate, and White people recorded as another race are added back. FBI counts cover reporting agencies only. Arrests are not crimes or people: one person can be arrested several times, and people cited and released may not appear in jail data.

Appendix B. State table, 2024 arrests

"Share not" is the estimated part of the FBI's White count made up of Hispanic, Black, Native American, Asian, Pacific Islander and multiracial people. Estimated non-Hispanic White also adds back White people recorded as another race. Sorted by share.

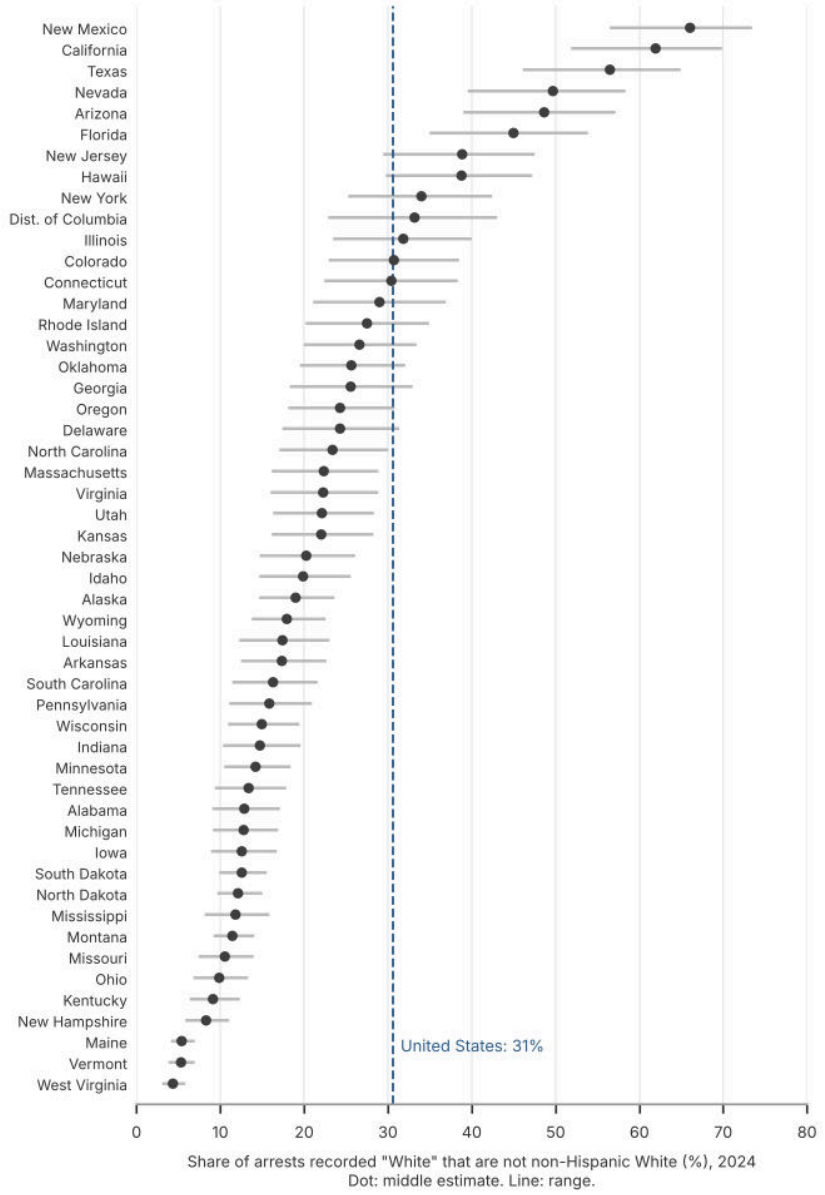


Figure 1. Share of arrests recorded as White that are not non-Hispanic White, by state, 2024. The dot is the middle estimate; the line runs from the low to the high end of every input.

State	Arrests	FBI White	Est. non-Hisp. White (range)	Share not	Largest inside
United States	7,028,490	64%	46% (41%–51%)	31%	Hispanic
New Mexico	55,936	70%	25% (19%–32%)	66%	Hispanic

State	Arrests	FBI White	Est. non-Hisp. White (range)	Share not	Largest inside
California	620,776	78%	31% (24%–40%)	62%	Hispanic
Texas	578,681	69%	31% (25%–39%)	56%	Hispanic
Nevada	115,099	62%	33% (27%–40%)	50%	Hispanic
Arizona	219,867	70%	38% (31%–45%)	49%	Hispanic
Florida	265,006	62%	35% (29%–42%)	45%	Hispanic
New Jersey	156,417	58%	37% (31%–43%)	39%	Hispanic
Hawaii	40,204	34%	21% (18%–25%)	39%	Hispanic
New York	375,970	43%	29% (25%–34%)	34%	Hispanic
District of Columbia	40,101	14%	10% (8%–11%)	33%	Hispanic
Illinois	196,469	56%	40% (35%–45%)	32%	Hispanic
Colorado	181,919	85%	61% (54%–69%)	31%	Hispanic
Connecticut	76,290	65%	47% (41%–53%)	30%	Hispanic
Maryland	116,276	43%	32% (28%–36%)	29%	Hispanic
Rhode Island	24,109	72%	54% (48%–60%)	27%	Hispanic
Washington	155,261	74%	57% (51%–63%)	27%	Hispanic
Oklahoma	90,390	63%	49% (44%–53%)	26%	Hispanic
Georgia	199,891	42%	33% (29%–37%)	26%	Hispanic
Oregon	122,122	86%	68% (61%–74%)	24%	Hispanic
Delaware	26,799	50%	39% (35%–43%)	24%	Hispanic
North Carolina	234,700	52%	41% (37%–45%)	23%	Hispanic
Massachusetts	94,383	72%	58% (53%–63%)	22%	Hispanic
Virginia	209,098	57%	46% (42%–51%)	22%	Hispanic
Utah	107,046	82%	67% (61%–73%)	22%	Hispanic
Kansas	70,917	76%	62% (56%–67%)	22%	Hispanic
Nebraska	58,326	70%	58% (53%–63%)	20%	Hispanic
Idaho	50,824	85%	71% (65%–76%)	20%	Hispanic
Alaska	20,302	46%	39% (36%–41%)	19%	Hispanic
Wyoming	19,022	83%	71% (67%–76%)	18%	Hispanic
Louisiana	88,587	44%	38% (35%–41%)	17%	Hispanic
Arkansas	106,542	63%	54% (50%–58%)	17%	Hispanic
South Carolina	155,550	55%	48% (44%–51%)	16%	Hispanic
Pennsylvania	261,272	67%	59% (55%–63%)	16%	Hispanic
Wisconsin	191,299	68%	60% (56%–64%)	15%	Hispanic
Indiana	132,887	65%	58% (54%–62%)	15%	Hispanic
Minnesota	119,295	48%	43% (40%–45%)	14%	Hispanic
Tennessee	258,153	69%	62% (58%–66%)	13%	Hispanic
Alabama	142,840	54%	49% (46%–52%)	13%	Hispanic
Michigan	179,178	58%	53% (50%–55%)	13%	Hispanic
Iowa	78,513	72%	66% (62%–69%)	13%	Hispanic

State	Arrests	FBI White	Est. non-Hisp. White (range)	Share not	Largest inside
South Dakota	45,593	37%	34% (33%–35%)	12%	Hispanic
North Dakota	33,774	60%	55% (53%–58%)	12%	Hispanic
Mississippi	62,441	43%	39% (37%–41%)	12%	Hispanic
Montana	29,909	64%	59% (57%–62%)	11%	Hispanic
Missouri	137,348	65%	61% (58%–63%)	10%	Hispanic
Ohio	180,763	59%	56% (53%–58%)	10%	Hispanic
Kentucky	183,813	79%	75% (71%–78%)	9%	Hispanic
New Hampshire	38,252	91%	87% (83%–90%)	8%	Hispanic
Maine	32,455	85%	84% (82%–86%)	5%	Hispanic
Vermont	13,754	89%	88% (86%–91%)	5%	Hispanic
West Virginia	34,071	74%	74% (72%–76%)	4%	Hispanic

Appendix C. City table, police department arrests

The fifty largest cities by population, each city's own police department. Arrestees include non-residents, so city figures are rougher than state ones.

City (year)	Arrests	FBI White	Est. non-Hisp. White (range)	Share not	Largest inside
El Paso, TX (2023)	10,770	91%	10% (7%–15%)	89%	Hispanic
Miami, FL (2024)	17,235	64%	8% (6%–11%)	88%	Hispanic
San Antonio, TX (2024)	40,876	79%	18% (14%–25%)	78%	Hispanic
Bakersfield, CA (2024)	10,958	76%	19% (14%–26%)	76%	Hispanic
Fresno, CA (2024)	14,290	72%	18% (14%–25%)	76%	Hispanic
Houston, TX (2023)	34,670	46%	14% (10%–18%)	72%	Hispanic
Long Beach, CA (2024)	6,272	60%	18% (14%–25%)	71%	Hispanic
Los Angeles, CA (2023)	47,490	72%	23% (18%–31%)	69%	Hispanic
Dallas, TX (2024)	20,232	49%	17% (13%–22%)	67%	Hispanic
San Jose, CA (2024)	14,514	75%	26% (20%–34%)	66%	Hispanic
Albuquerque, NM (2024)	16,155	70%	25% (20%–33%)	65%	Hispanic
Phoenix, AZ (2024)	49,439	67%	27% (21%–35%)	61%	Hispanic
Tucson, AZ (2024)	14,602	71%	29% (23%–37%)	61%	Hispanic
Sacramento, CA (2023)	12,237	50%	21% (17%–27%)	59%	Hispanic
Oakland, CA (2023)	5,266	41%	17% (14%–22%)	59%	Hispanic
Detroit, MI (2023)	11,349	10%	4% (3%–6%)	59%	Hispanic
Arlington, TX (2024)	10,388	52%	23% (18%–29%)	58%	Hispanic
Chicago, IL (2024)	31,978	31%	14% (11%–18%)	57%	Hispanic
Las Vegas, NV (2023)	58,430	54%	25% (20%–31%)	56%	Hispanic
New York, NY (2024)	226,794	29%	13% (10%–17%)	56%	Hispanic
Fort Worth, TX (2024)	15,683	54%	25% (20%–31%)	55%	Hispanic
San Diego, CA (2024)	21,378	71%	36% (30%–44%)	51%	Hispanic
Milwaukee, WI (2024)	12,026	22%	11% (9%–14%)	50%	Hispanic
Austin, TX (2024)	20,439	67%	37% (30%–44%)	47%	Hispanic
Tampa, FL (2024)	16,482	44%	25% (21%–30%)	46%	Hispanic
Mesa, AZ (2024)	18,870	75%	45% (38%–52%)	43%	Hispanic
Memphis, TN (2024)	16,417	14%	8% (7%–10%)	42%	Hispanic
Philadelphia, PA (2024)	30,929	32%	20% (16%–23%)	42%	Hispanic
Charlotte, NC (2023)	11,466	26%	16% (13%–19%)	42%	Hispanic
Oklahoma City, OK (2024)	15,103	52%	32% (27%–38%)	40%	Hispanic
Boston, MA (2024)	5,440	38%	24% (20%–28%)	40%	Hispanic
San Francisco, CA (2023)	11,296	61%	38% (32%–45%)	40%	Hispanic
Baltimore, MD (2024)	16,721	11%	7% (6%–9%)	40%	Hispanic

City (year)	Arrests	FBI White	Est. non-Hisp. White (range)	Share not	Largest inside
Denver, CO (2024)	24,287	69%	44% (37%–51%)	39%	Hispanic
Tulsa, OK (2024)	15,410	56%	36% (31%–41%)	38%	Hispanic
Washington, DC (2024)	21,136	10%	6% (5%–8%)	37%	Hispanic
Atlanta, GA (2023)	11,936	8%	5% (4%–6%)	37%	Black
Jacksonville, FL (2023)	29,920	37%	26% (23%–30%)	33%	Hispanic
Indianapolis, IN (2023)	22,351	43%	31% (27%–35%)	30%	Hispanic
Colorado Springs, CO (2024)	17,376	80%	59% (52%–66%)	29%	Hispanic
Nashville, TN (2024)	19,594	47%	36% (32%–40%)	27%	Hispanic
Raleigh, NC (2024)	22,250	40%	31% (27%–34%)	27%	Hispanic
Omaha, NE (2024)	14,898	51%	39% (35%–44%)	27%	Hispanic
Kansas City, MO (2023)	9,657	42%	32% (28%–35%)	27%	Hispanic
Columbus, OH (2023)	7,694	34%	27% (24%–30%)	24%	Hispanic
Minneapolis, MN (2024)	7,146	28%	23% (20%–25%)	23%	Hispanic
Portland, OR (2024)	12,170	71%	57% (52%–62%)	23%	Hispanic
Louisville, KY (2024)	18,170	50%	41% (37%–44%)	21%	Hispanic
Seattle, WA (2023)	8,408	46%	38% (35%–41%)	21%	Hispanic
Virginia Beach, VA (2023)	7,975	51%	43% (40%–47%)	20%	Hispanic

Notes and sources

1. Jeffrey Finlay, Elizabeth Luh and Michael Mueller-Smith, "Race and Ethnicity (Mis)measurement in the U.S. Criminal Justice System," NBER Working Paper 32657 (2024), Tables 5 and 6. nber.org/papers/w32657.
2. FBI, Crime Data Explorer, arrests by race for each state and agency, 2023 and 2024. cde.ucr.cjis.gov. Population: Census Bureau, state population estimates by age, race and Hispanic origin, 2020 to 2024, and American Community Survey 2024, table B03002.
3. California Department of Justice, OpenJustice arrest data, 1980 to 2023. data-openjustice.doj.ca.gov.
4. DataSF, police stop data (dataset ubqf-aqzw), 2025, stops whose result includes a custodial arrest. data.sfgov.org.
5. Statistics Denmark, Convicted persons and the standardized index of criminality, as reported by the Copenhagen Post, November 26, 2015. dst.dk.
6. Office of Management and Budget, Revisions to Statistical Policy Directive No. 15, Federal Register, March 29, 2024; Congressional Research Service, Insight IN12304, updated September 14, 2026; OMB deadline extension of September 26, 2025; NPR, December 5, 2025.
7. Census Bureau, "What Updates to OMB's Race/Ethnicity Standards Mean for the Census Bureau," April 2024.
8. Census Bureau, proposed rule on the decennial census, September 10, 2026, as summarized by KFF, the National Association of Counties and others.
9. DataSF, Sheriff jail bookings by race and ethnicity (dataset pnsi-p43w), 14,897 bookings in 2025; DataSF police stop data, 6,107 stops ending in custodial arrest in 2025; California Department of Justice arrest file, San Francisco County, 2023; FBI Crime Data Explorer, San Francisco Police Department, 2023.
10. California Department of Justice arrest file, 1980 to 2023, compared with FBI Crime Data Explorer tables for California, 1985 to 2023.
11. Crime Statistics Data Archive, captured November 22, 2026: FBI Crime Data Explorer arrest tables for every state and the fifty largest cities' police departments, 1985 to 2025; California Department of Justice arrest file; Census Bureau state population by race and Hispanic origin, 2000 to 2024; American Community Survey 2024, table B03002.
12. The model code and all input files are kept with the project. Version 2 of this report: "Hispanic Arrestees Counted as White: Final Analysis," November 21, 2026.