THE TEACHER'S FORUM Volume: 21, N°: 01, December 2025, Page: 987 -1005

A TribalCrit Analysis of Howard Zinn's *People's History of the United States* and Paul Johnson's *History of the American People*

Ms. Hakima GHERRAS [1], Professor Hachemi ABOUBOU [2]

[1] University Larbi Ben Mhidi, Oum El Bouaghi (Algeria), gherras.hakima@ensc.dz
DECLIC/SLADD Laboratory

[2] University2, Mostefa Benboulaid, Batna (Algeria), h.aboubou@univ-batna2.dz

Received: 28/09/ 2025 Accepted: 03/12/2025

Keywords:
Tribal Critical Race Theory, Comparative Historical Analysis, settler colonialism, Indigenous sovereignty, Indigenous epistemology, Howard Zinn and Paul Johnson.

ABSTRACT:

Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* (1980) and Paul Johnson's *A History of the American People* (1997) have occupied prominent positions in both academic discourse and popular readership. Yet, little scholarly attention has directly compared their constructions of Indigenous history and settler-colonial power using Tribal Critical Theory (TribalCrit). This research addressed this gap by asking: How do Zinn's and Johnson's historical narratives align with or diverge from the core principles or tenets of TribalCrit? The study employed Comparative Historical Analysis (CHA) as its methodological approach to systematically examine how each text constructs the themes of material dispossession, sovereignty/self-determination, and Indigenous agency. TribalCrit worked as the theoretical framework operationalized through deductive coding which focused on colonization, policy, sovereignty, and story as theory. The AI-assisted texts analysis observed that Zinn foregrounded Indigenous resistance and critiqued state violence but at times embedded Indigenous sovereignty within broader anti-capitalist narratives. In contrast, Johnson reinforces settler sovereignty by means of erasure, civilizational and assimilationist rhetoric. The findings also revealed that even revisionist narratives seeking to challenge dominant paradigms can unintentionally replicate historical silences by not fully articulating ongoing-colonialism and Indigenous self-determination as a present-day political reality.

* Hakima Gherras

Introduction

Despite a growing emphasis on decolonial and Indigenous-centered approaches in historical scholarship, significant gaps remain in our understanding of how some major U.S. historians have constructed narratives of Indigenous peoples. At the same time, major works such as those by Howard Zinn *A People's History of the United States* (1980) and Paul Johnson *A History of the American People* (1997) continue to shape public and academic perceptions; they have received significant scholarly attention, especially regarding their ideological positioning and pedagogical influence. Both have been compared but never in comparative historiography informed by this Indigenous paradigm; that is, to date no study has applied Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) to a comparative textual analysis of these texts.

It is then from this premise that the present study builds its analysis of the narratives. Over and above this, it extends the reach of TribalCrit beyond education research by using it to expose narrative choices which either sustain or challenge settler-colonial worldviews. Informed by this theory, the study asks the following question: How do Zinn's and Johnson's historical narratives align with or diverge from the core principles or tenets of TribalCrit?

I. Literature Review

1. Historiographical Context and Positioning

With the ascent of the New Social historians in the 1960s and 1970s, Eurocentric historiographical traditions lost much of their momentum. Historians such as E.P. Thompson and Gerda Lerner, under the influenced of Marxist and social historiography, replaced these top-down accounts with perspectives attentive to labor marginalized groups (Thompson, 1963; Lerner, 1979). This "history from below", also called "bottom-up history" or "people's history", generally focused on the experiences of ordinary people, including Native communities, rather than framing the past as a succession of elite achievements.

From the 1990s onward, scholarship expressed a pressing interest in Indigenous issues. The discipline, thereby, changed fundamentally as settler colonialism was finally perceived as a reality of the present and not a past historical fact. Vine Deloria Jr.'s Custer Died for Your Sins (1969), for instance, stressed sovereignty and Native self-determination.

Decades later, Dunbar-Ortiz (2014)explicitly explains that “The history of the United States is a history of settler colonialism-the founding of a state based on the ideology of white supremacy, the widespread practice of African slavery, and a policy of genocide and land theft” (p.2) and added, “Writing US history

from an Indigenous peoples' perspective requires rethinking the consensual national narrative. That narrative is wrong or deficient, not in its facts, dates, or details but rather in its essence" (p.2). In the same vein, Ned Blackhawk's recent contribution (2023) made understanding U.S. history contingent upon the focus on Indigenous nations' cultures, epistemologies, and communal interconnections.

2. Research Gaps and Theoretical Framework Applications

a. TribalCrit in Historical Analysis: Expanding Beyond Educational Contexts

Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy's seminal article *Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education* (2005) extended Critical Race Theory (CRT) to Indigenous settler-colonial contexts. Brayboy argues that colonization, not race alone, is endemic to U.S. society. To support this claim, he developed a purely Indigenous nine-tenet framework for analyzing Native-American experiences, including ongoing colonization (Tenet 1), material dispossession through policy (Tenet 2), sovereignty and self-determination (Tenet 4), the role of community storytelling and epistemology as theory (Tenet 8), and theory as action (Tenet 9). (For a detailed description of all nine tenets, refer to Brayboy's article).

Recent scholarship has demonstrated the effectiveness of applying TribalCrit to historical and textual analysis beyond its original educational context. For his doctoral dissertation, Dr. G. Padgett (2015) used TribalCrit research in qualitative methodology to analyze six U.S. history textbooks for omissions and misrepresentations. Dr. Marisela Martinez-Cola (2020) used Brayboy's interest-convergence tenet to examine court records and policy texts; i.e. she used TribalCrit as a framework to show that policies and legal decisions often appear to favor Indigenous and racial minority interests only insofar as they coincide with the priorities of the dominant group.

In a 2023 Stanford dissertation by Benjamin W. Ramirez (2023)TribalCrit was further developed. The author used qualitative research tools (inductive coding and discourse analysis) to examine the language and content of U.S. history textbooks. Ramirez used Ojibwe epistemologies as a critical lens. This approach allowed him to question not only the narratives found in textbooks but also the modes of expression and the interests those narratives serve.

b. Comparative-Historical Methodology and Indigenous Applications

In Indigenous studies, CHA has been applied to investigate varied settler colonial strategies, institutional relationships, and policy impacts across tribal nations. However, CHA cannot be applied effectively to Indigenous research unless it is integrated with decolonizing methodologies that honor Indigenous

values of relationality, reciprocity, and community accountability rather than extractive academic practices (Brayboy 2005).

c. Research Gaps and Contribution

While the ideological positions of Zinn and Johnson have been extensively studied, scholars have made no systematic attempt to compare them through CHA methodology or evaluate them through the lens of TribalCrit. Most comparative studies focus on debates over objectivity, bias, or narrative style (Novick, 1988; Loewen, 1995) while issues of sovereignty, Indigenous epistemologies, and storytelling remain marginal. This gap is particularly significant given the continued influence of both works in academic and popular discourse about American history.

Recent scholarship in Indigenous studies has demonstrated the effectiveness of applying TribalCrit to historical analysis, but these applications have primarily focused on textbooks, educational materials, or contemporary institutional practices. No study has applied TribalCrit's analytical framework to major historiographical works that continue to shape public understanding of Indigenous history and settler colonialism.

II. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

1. Integrated TribalCrit-CHA Framework

The analysis draws on TribalCrit tenets focusing on material dispossession, sovereignty, and epistemological authority. It pairs TribalCrit and CHA to create an Indigenous-oriented framework that helps examine historiographical representations of Indigenous peoples in the two books. CHA supplies the methodological rigor for cross-case examination and TribalCrit anchors this rigor in the lived epistemologies and political priorities of Indigenous communities.

It follows then that the study generated three analytical domains (see Operational Definitions for full tenets and codes). The first, Policy as Dispossession, draws on TribalCrit Tenet 2 together with CHA’s concern for power relations to assess how historians depict government policies directed at Indigenous peoples. The second, Self-Determination Struggles, links TribalCrit Tenet 4 to CHA’s attention to historical agency in order to examine portrayals of Indigenous resistance and assertions of autonomy. The third, Counter-Narratives or Stories, applies TribalCrit Tenet 8 to evaluate the extent to which historians engage Indigenous voices and alternative interpretive frameworks.

It is important that the scope of the study is clarified. Although the theory consists of nine analytical tenets, this project omits detailed discussion of tenets 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9. These tenets, on the one hand, address cultural and social

dimensions that extend beyond the primary focus of this comparative historiographical analysis and, on the other, raise complex issues that are significant but require dedicated space to explore fully.

2. Operational Coding Framework

To operationalize the three domains, the study adapts the Framework Method (Ritchie & Spencer, 2013) through computational content analysis via Perplexity Labs (2025), Perplexity AI's experimental workspace that can run complex tasks such as analyzing big text corpora. Each of the three domains (aforementioned) subdivides into two specific codes, yielding a six-category system that systematically captures how colonial structures, Indigenous resistance, and epistemological authority manifest within historical texts. The Three-Tenet CHA–TribalCrit

Also, the history books were not examined manually because these principles required consistent and replicable application across large texts,. Thus, instead, they were analyzed through computational content analysis (CCA), also known as digital text analytics. In this study, it refers to the use of NLP (natural language processing) algorithms and machine learning routines, embedded within Perplexity Labs 2025.

3. Methodological Procedures

a. Sampling: Rationale for Zinn and Johnson Selection

The sampling, Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* and Johnson's *A History of the American People* was guided by a number of criteria: (1) they provide comprehensive, single-volume coverage of U.S. history; (2) they represent sharply contrasting ideologies; and (3) they offer substantial treatment of Indigenous content suitable for TribalCrit analysis.

As for the number of the selected texts, his study employed purposeful comparative case sampling (Selecting information-rich cases to study). As a matter of fact, scholars insist that qualitative research prioritizes small information-rich samples if need is to investigate complex phenomena that demand intensive exploration ((Patton, 2015; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; Palinkas et al., 2015). Patton clearly asserts that "Qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases (n = 1), selected for a quite specific purpose" (p. 401). Thus, although the study's sample is small (n = 2), it emphasized depth of insight rather than breadth of coverage which is methodologically justified within a comparative qualitative design.

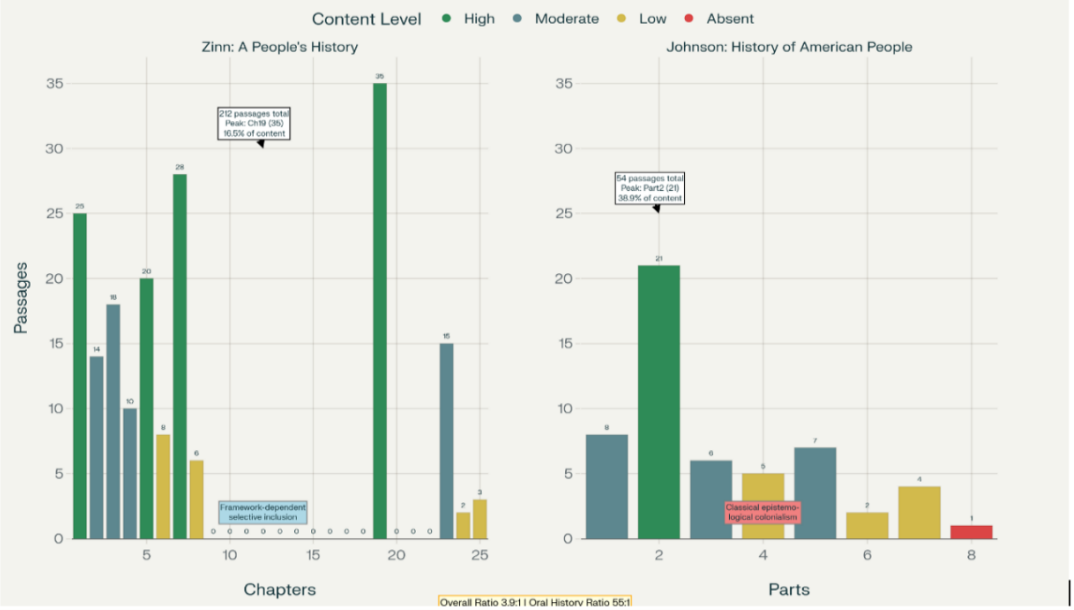
b. Data Collection and Analysis Process

The analytic process involved systematic content analysis across all textual units (25 chapters for Zinn, 8 parts for Johnson). It used human-guided computational analysis via Perplexity Labs. The CHA–TribalCrit coding matrix was applied systematically through computational analysis alongside the full texts. Software-assisted analysis provided codes to each segment according to the five-category analytic framework. The end result is a six-steps analytical process .

III. Findings

1. Quantitative Content Distribution

Figure n° 01: Zinn's and Johnson's Indigenous content distribution patterns



Source: AI-generated table (Perplexity 2025)

Note: Framework-Dependent Inclusion refers to a pattern in which Indigenous peoples' visibility within a historical narrative is strictly governed by the author's analytical or ideological framework rather than by Indigenous priorities or perspectives themselves.

The systematic coding revealed (Figure 1) substantial disparities in Indigenous representation between the two works. Across 25 chapters (8.5 average per chapter) Zinn's text contained 212 passages related to Indigenous history, while Johnson's work included 54 passages across 8 parts (6.8 average per part), representing a 3.9:1 advantage for Zinn in total Indigenous content.

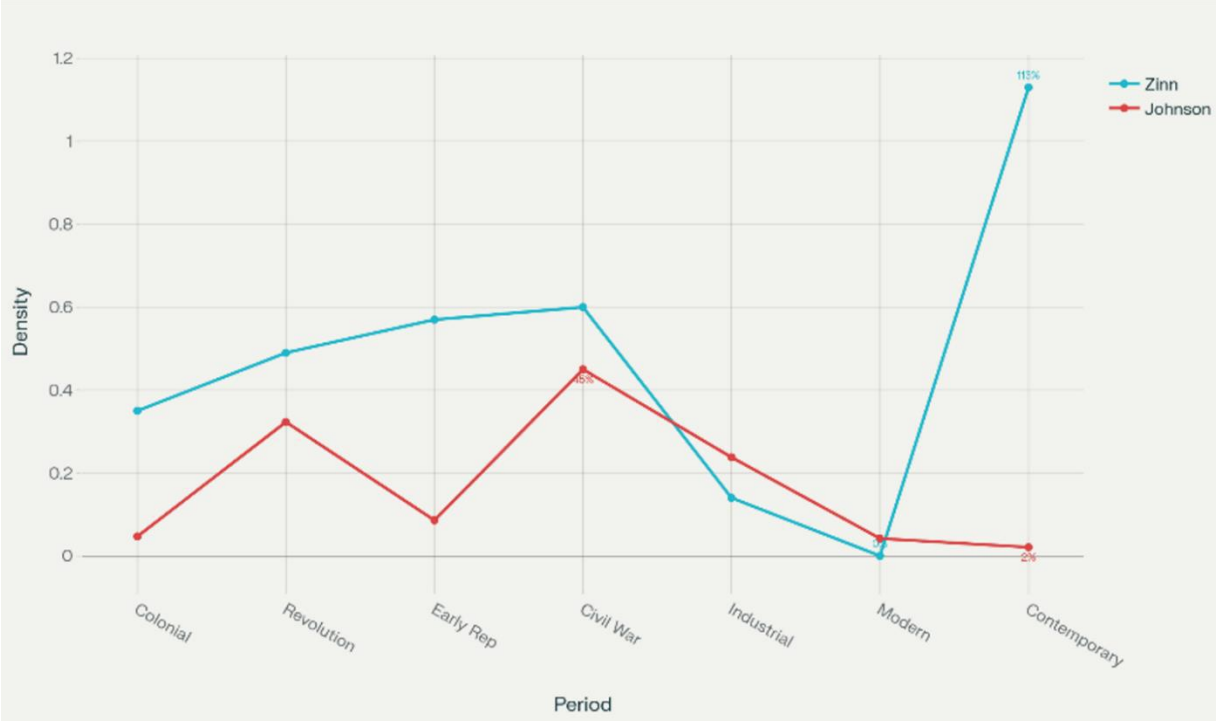
2.Temporal Coverage

Temporal density analysis (Figure 2 and Table 1) demonstrated that Zinn included 0.41 Indigenous passages per year of historical coverage (212 passages across 513 years, from 1492 to 2005), whereas Johnson averaged only 0.13 passages per year (54 passages across 420 years, from 1580 to 2000); that is,

Zinn's narrative incorporates Indigenous content at a rate more than three times higher (about 3.2 times) than Johnson's.

3.3 Temporal Distribution Patterns

Figure n° 02: Temporal Distribution Patterns



Source: AI-generated table by Perplexity 2025

Table n° 01: *Temporal Distribution*

Metric	Zinn	Johnson	Key Finding
Total Ind Pass	212 passages	54 passages	Zinn includes nearly four times more
Temp Coverage	1492–2005	1580–2000	Different temporal scope
Overall Density	0.41 per year	0.13 per year	Zinn's density is about 3.2 times higher
Peak Period	Colonial: 42.9%	Revolutionary: 38.9%	Content peaks at different frames
Contemporary Period	24.1% (51)	1.9% (1)	Dramatic contemporary difference
Modern Era	0% (0)	3.7% (2)	Systematic modern absence
Oral History	55 (26.4%)	1 (1.7%)	Zinn uses fifty-five times more oral history

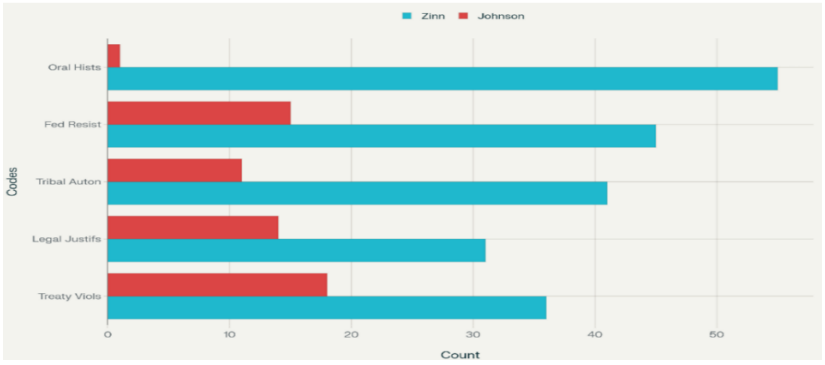
Framework	Colonial Encounter + Social	Imperial Conflict + Nation	Different narrative approach

Source: AI-generated table (Perplexity 2025)

3. Code-Specific Distribution Analysis

The analysis yielded the following chart and table:

Figure n° 03: Comprehensive TribalCrit Code Comparison



Source: AI-generated table by Perplexity 2025

Table n° 02: Comparative Distribution of TribalCrit Codes in Zinn and Johnson

TribalCrit Code	Zinn (n, %)	Johnson (n, %)	Ratio	Critical Finding
Code 1: Treaty violations	36 (17.3%)	18 (30.5%)	2:1	Consistent documentation in both authors
Code 2: Legal justifications	31 (14.9%)	14 (23.7%)	2.2:1	Similar rationalization patterns
Code 3: Tribal autonomy	41 (19.7%)	11 (18.6%)	3.7:1	Zinn highlights nearly four times more agency
Code 4: Federal resistance	45 (21.6%)	15 (25.4%)	3:1	Zinn documents three times more resistance
Code 5: Oral histories	55 (26.4%)	1 (1.7%)	55:1	**Extreme epistemological difference**

Source: AI-generated table by Perplexity 2025

a. Material Dispossession Through Policy (Codes 1-2)

Both authors documented systematic dispossession mechanisms but with different emphases. For Code 1, Zinn included 36 instances compared to Johnson's 18 instances, creating a 2:1 absolute ratio. Zinn's comprehensive

approach was exemplified in his statement: "The United States government had signed more than four hundred treaties with Indians and violated every single one." Johnson's coverage focused on specific cases such as Nez Perce violations and Sand Creek treaty breaches.

For Code 2, Zinn documented 31 instances that centered on Allotment Act provisions, eminent domain claims, and constitutional frameworks used to legitimize dispossession. Johnson included 14 cases, most of which emphasized agricultural gender roles and explicit pro-assimilation advocacy. Put simply, Zinn recorded just over twice as many examples as Johnson, a 2.2 to 1 ratio.

b. Sovereignty and Self-Determination (Codes 3-4)

The most significant disparities emerged in representations of Indigenous political agency. For Code 3 (Tribal Autonomy), Zinn documented 41 instances including Alcatraz occupation proclamations and American Indian Movement political organizing. Johnson included 11 instances focusing on historical examples such as Cherokee constitutional government and Fort Laramie Treaty authority, representing a 3.7:1 ratio.

c. Epistemological Sovereignty (Code 5)

The most dramatic difference appeared in treatment of Indigenous knowledge systems. Zinn incorporated 55 instances of Indigenous oral histories and testimonies (26.4% of total content), including direct testimonies, extensive environmental critiques, Vietnam War connections, and resistance testimonies from AIM activists.

Johnson included only 1 instance (1.7% of total content), Washington remembered by Indians as "towntaker, Caunotaucarius", creating an unprecedented 55:1 ratio that represents systematic epistemological exclusion in Johnson's narrative.

4. Framework-Dependent Inclusion Analysis

Zinn's narrative exhibited "framework-dependent selective inclusion" patterns. That is, despite appearing Indigenous-inclusive, 48% of chapters (12/25) contained zero Indigenous content. Indigenous visibility peaked dramatically during resistance movements, with Chapter 19 containing 35 passages (16.5% of total Indigenous content in a single chapter). Temporal analysis revealed a contemporary peak of 1.27 passages per year during 1960-2000 resistance movements, contrasted with near-absence (0.06 passages per year) during the 1912-1960 period.

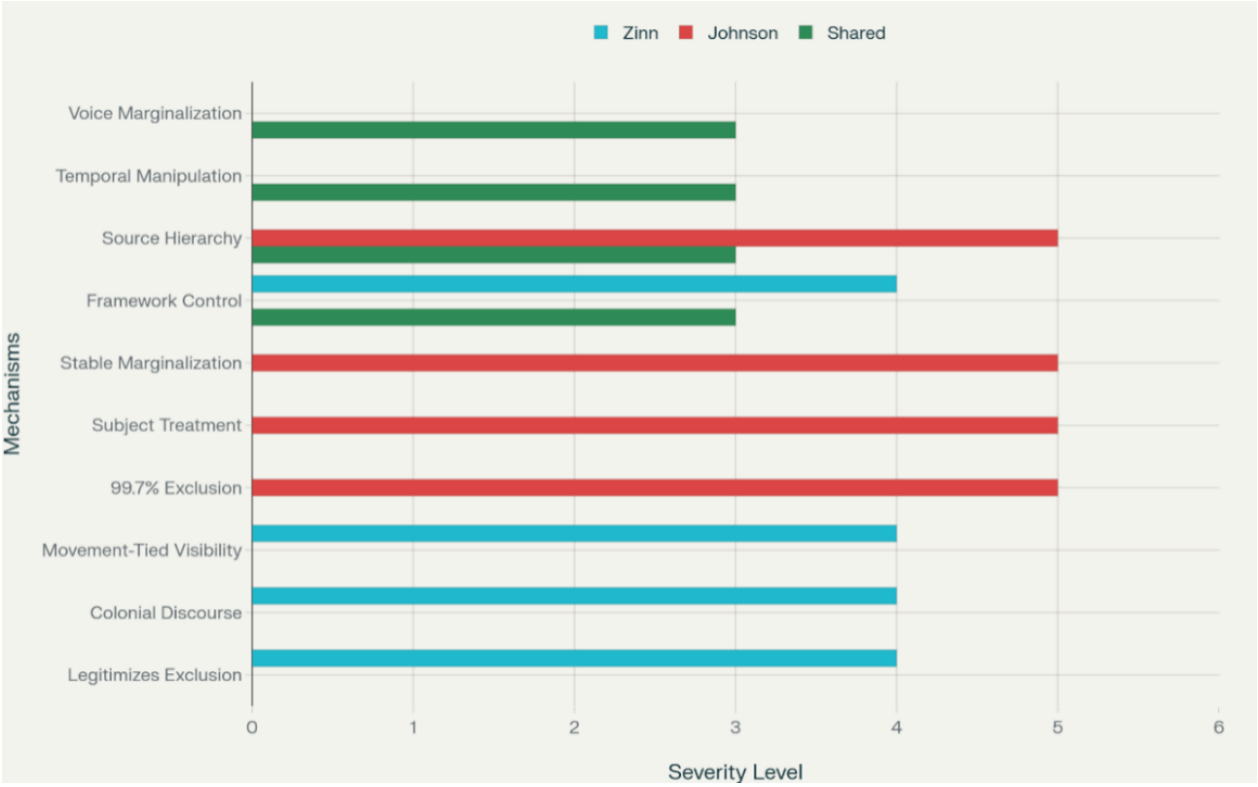
Johnson's pattern reflected "systematic epistemological colonialism" with more consistent but lower-level marginalization. Only 12.5% of parts (1/8)

completely excluded Indigenous content, but Indigenous visibility remained tied to imperial conflict narratives. Part 2 (Revolutionary period) contained 38.9% of total Indigenous content, demonstrating peak coverage during imperial conflicts.

5. Qualitative Discourse Analysis : Forms of Colonial Narrative Control

This section presents the AI-assisted analysis generated by Perplexity Labs, reported in its original form to demonstrate how the application processes data and produces results within a coding-based text analysis.

Figure n° 04: Epistemological Violence Indicators



Source: Perplexity Labs 2025

The visual representation above illustrates the systematic exclusion patterns and colonial discourse mechanisms identified in both authors' works. The analysis revealed two distinct but related forms of colonial discourse:

a. Zinn: Sophisticated Selective Inclusion

Zinn's approach demonstrates framework-dependent Indigenous visibility that maintains epistemological authority while appearing progressive. Key indicators include:

- 48% of chapters contain zero Indigenous content despite the work's reputation for inclusivity
- Indigenous visibility peaks dramatically during resistance movements (35 passages in Chapter 19 representing 16.5% of total Indigenous content)

- Temporal manipulation evident in near-absence during 1912-1960 period (0.06 passages/year) versus contemporary peak of 1.27 passages/year during 1960-2000
- Colonial control method: Subordinates Indigenous sovereignty to predetermined social movement analytical frameworks

b. Johnson: Classical Epistemological Colonialism

Johnson's narrative employs systematic Indigenous knowledge exclusion through direct epistemological marginalization:

- 99.7% exclusion rate for Indigenous oral histories (only 1 instance among 54 total passages)
- Consistent colonial source hierarchy maintained throughout the text
- Indigenous peoples treated as historical objects rather than agents with autonomous political authority
- 38.9% of Indigenous content concentrated during imperial conflicts, demonstrating framework control

c. Shared Colonial Mechanisms

Despite ideological differences, both narratives employ four common colonial control mechanisms:

1. Framework Control

- Colonial Function: Determines when Indigenous peoples achieve historical visibility
- Zinn: Indigenous content appears only when compatible with social movement analysis
- Johnson: Indigenous content tied to imperial conflict narratives

2. Source Hierarchy

- Colonial Function: Maintains epistemological supremacy of colonial knowledge systems
- Zinn: Colonial records provide primary narrative structure despite oral history inclusion
- Johnson: Systematic privileging of European/American documentary sources

3. Temporal Manipulation

- Colonial Function: Controls historical narrative timing to serve colonial purposes

- Zinn: 1.27 passages/year during resistance movements vs. 0.06 during dormant periods
- Johnson: Peak Indigenous visibility concentrated during Revolutionary period conflicts

4. Voice Marginalization

- Colonial Function: Systematic exclusion of Indigenous testimonies as legitimate evidence
- Zinn: 55 oral history instances still embedded within colonial analytical framework
- Johnson: Single oral history instance creating 99.7% exclusion rate

This analysis provides empirical validation of TribalCrit's central assertion that colonization operates as an endemic structural feature extending even into seemingly progressive historical scholarship, requiring Indigenous-centered rather than Indigenous-accommodating methodological approaches.

d. Severity of Epistemological Violence

The most critical violations stem from the near-total exclusion of Indigenous knowledge systems. The ratio of oral to colonial sources (55:1 for Zinn, 99.7% exclusion in Johnson) demonstrates systematic voice suppression. These frameworks make Indigenous presence conditional on colonial approval, ensuring structural control.

Severe violations also appear in how nearly half the chapters contain no Indigenous content at all, and when Indigenous history does appear, it is carefully confined to periods serving colonial narratives. Even at a moderate level, both authors subordinate Indigenous agency to analytical categories shaped by colonial assumptions, limiting recognition of sovereignty and self-determination.

III. Implications

These findings provide empirical validation for core TribalCrit assertions while extending theoretical understanding in several directions. The research confirms Brayboy's (2005) fundamental premise that colonization operates as an endemic structural feature extending into seemingly progressive historical scholarship. The 55:1 oral history ratio provides quantitative evidence of epistemological violence persisting within revisionist frameworks, supporting TribalCrit's emphasis on Indigenous-centered rather than Indigenous-accommodating methodologies**.**

The framework-dependent inclusion patterns revealed in Zinn's work constitute a significant theoretical contribution by demonstrating how

sophisticated colonial discourse operates within apparently anti-colonial historical frameworks. This finding challenges assumptions about the decolonizing potential of "bottom-up" or "people's history" approaches, revealing that such methodologies can maintain colonial epistemological control by determining when and how Indigenous peoples achieve historical visibility.

The finding that both progressive and conservative historiographical approaches maintain colonial epistemological control challenges binary thinking about decolonizing scholarship. The research demonstrates that ideological orientation alone does not determine epistemological decolonization, requiring more sophisticated analysis of how knowledge systems are privileged or marginalized within historical narratives.

IV. Study Limitations

This study is subject to several important limitations that must be acknowledged. First, the coding framework represents one interpretive approach to operationalizing TribalCrit tenets. Alternative coding schemes or different selections of TribalCrit tenets might reveal different patterns or analytical insights. Second, the absence of direct Indigenous community involvement represents a significant limitation. TribalCrit emphasizes praxis and relational accountability (Brayboy, 2005); this work cannot substitute for research rooted in reciprocal relationships with Indigenous communities even if it engages critically with structures of settler colonialism. Third, The analysis AI-assisted coding may raise important concerns about potential computational bias in this textual interpretation. Future research can explore this bias through systematic comparison with manual coding or other text-analysis software like NVivo or Atlas.ti to assess the degree of reliability.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The findings demonstrate that historical scholars need to restructure analytical frameworks rather than simply including Indigenous content within existing colonial ones if they want to achieve genuine epistemological decolonization. The research contributes empirical evidence supporting TribalCrit's core assertions while providing methodological tools for systematic evaluation of epistemological violence in historical scholarship.

The key findings reinforce this conclusion in many respects. First, the quantitative analysis shows a 3.9:1 ratio in total Indigenous content, with Zinn incorporating nearly four times as many references as Johnson. Second, a striking disparity appears in the 55:1 ratio of oral histories, which illustrates the depth of epistemological violence and the exclusion of Indigenous voices in mainstream

historiography. Third, both authors reveal a reliance on framework-dependent inclusion, suggesting that even progressive narratives can perpetuate colonial control mechanisms. Finally, the results show how Indigenous visibility is temporally manipulated; that is, peaks appear only in periods that serve colonial narrative needs; it does not consistently affirm Indigenous sovereignty.

The study's ultimate significance lies in revealing how both progressive and mainstream historiographical approaches can maintain colonial control over Indigenous representation while appearing inclusive. The documented patterns of framework-dependent inclusion, systematic voice marginalization, and epistemological violence provide concrete evidence for the necessity of Indigenous-centered rather than Indigenous-accommodating approaches to historical scholarship.

Reference

Books

Bancroft, G. (1855). *History of the United States, from the discovery of the American continent* (Vol. 5). G. Routledge and Company.

Blackhawk, N. (2023). *The rediscovery of America: Native peoples and the unmaking of U.S. history*. Yale University Press.

Deloria, V., Jr. (1969). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. Macmillan.

Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2014). *An indigenous peoples' history of the United States*. Beacon Press.

Johnson, P. (1998). *A history of the American people*. HarperCollins Publishers.

Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy*. Oxford University Press.

Loewen, J. W. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*. The New Press.

Mahoney, J., & Rueschemeyer, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences*. Cambridge University Press.

Novick, P. (1988). *That noble dream: The "objectivity question" and the American historical profession*. Cambridge University Press.

Parkman, F. (1849). *The California and Oregon trail: Being sketches of prairie and Rocky-Mountain life*. G. P. Putnam.

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (4th ed.). Sage

Articles

Thompson, E. P. (1963). *The making of the English working class*. Gollancz.

Zinn, H. (1980). *A people's history of the United States*. Harper & Row.

Zinn, H., & Barsamian, D. (2006). *Original Zinn: Conversations on history and politics*. City Lights Publishers.

Articles

Brayboy, B. M. J. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *Educational Researcher*, *34*(9), 425–432. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X034009425

Lockard, J. M. (2003). Review of the book A history of the American people, by P. Johnson. *The History Teacher*, *36*(4), 570–573.

Martinez-Cola, M. (2020). Visibly invisible: TribalCrit and Native American segregated schooling. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *6*(3), 393–405. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649219830591

Moser, A., & Korstjens, I. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 3: Sampling, data collection and analysis. *European Journal of General Practice*, *24*(1), 9–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/13814788.2017.1375091

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, *42*(5), 533–544. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y

Perplexity Labs. (2025). *Perplexity Labs* (Version 3.2.1) [Computer software]. Perplexity Labs.

Ramirez, S. (2023). *The (de)colonization of memory: A critical analysis of United States history textbooks and the struggle for Indigenous futurity* [Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University]. Stanford Digital Repository.

Ritchie, J., & Spencer, L. (2013). Qualitative data analysis for applied policy research. In A. Bryman & E. Bell (Eds.), *Analyzing qualitative data* (pp. 173–194). Routledge.

Appendix

The Three-Tenet CHA–TribalCrit Framework Coding Matrix

CHA Domain	Analytical Codes	Operational Definitions	Examples (Zinn)	Examples (Johnson)
TENET 2: Material Dispossession Through Policy *Focus: How policies function as mechanisms of imperialism and resource extraction* **Policy as Dispossession**	**Code 1** (Treaty violations and land theft)	Instances where formal agreements were broken, manipulated, or ignored to dispossess Indigenous peoples	"The United States government had signed more than four hundred treaties with Indians and violated every single one." Seneca treaty violations with dam construction, fishing rights violations	Nez Perce violations: "Gold was found in 1860 on the Nez Perce Indians reservation" with federal abandonment of obligations. Sand Creek treaty violations with peace agreements ignored

	Code 2 (Legal justifications for removal)	Legal, constitutional, or moral justifications for forced relocation, assimilation, or elimination	Allotment Act analysis, federal claims of eminent domain to supersede treaty rights, constitutional frameworks legitimizing dispossession	Agricultural gender arguments: "Indigenous males tended to think agriculture was a female task" to justify dismantling tribal governance. Constitutional supremacy over tribal rights
TENET 4: Sovereignty and Self-Determination				
Focus: Recognition versus erasure of Indigenous political status				

Self-Determination Struggles	**Code 3** (Tribal autonomy assertions)	Passages describing Indigenous peoples acting as independent political nations with sovereign authority	Alcatraz occupation proclamations declaring "We Hold The Rock"; Wounded Knee declarations of "independent sovereign nation, Oglala Sioux Nation"	Fort Laramie Treaty authority: "Indians allowed white wagon-trains safe passage and permitted army to construct roads." Cherokee constitutional government with senate, courts, schools
	Code 4 (Federal/state overreach resistance)	Documentation of Indigenous resistance to colonial/federal authority over tribal territories and governance	Fish-ins defying court orders, occupations resisting federal removal, environmental resistance to strip mining, Akwesasne territory assertions	Sitting Bull's treaty rejection: "You are fools to make yourselves slaves to a piece of fat bacon." Coordinated military responses post-Sand Creek massacre

TENET 8: Epistemological Sovereignty				
Focus: Indigenous knowledge systems as legitimate historical source				
Counter-Narratives	**Code 5** (Oral histories as evidence)	Indigenous oral traditions, testimonies, and knowledge systems presented as primary historical sources	"Civilized people depend too much on man-made printed pages. I turn to the Great Spirit's book which is the whole of his creation." Extensive Indigenous testimonies and critiques	Very limited inclusion - brief acknowledgments of Indigenous perspectives as responses to colonial actions rather than autonomous knowledge producers. Systematic marginalization of Indigenous voices

Source: This matrix was created by the author of this article.