Stagnant Promises

Analyzing Treaty Dynamics in Canadian-Indigenous Relations

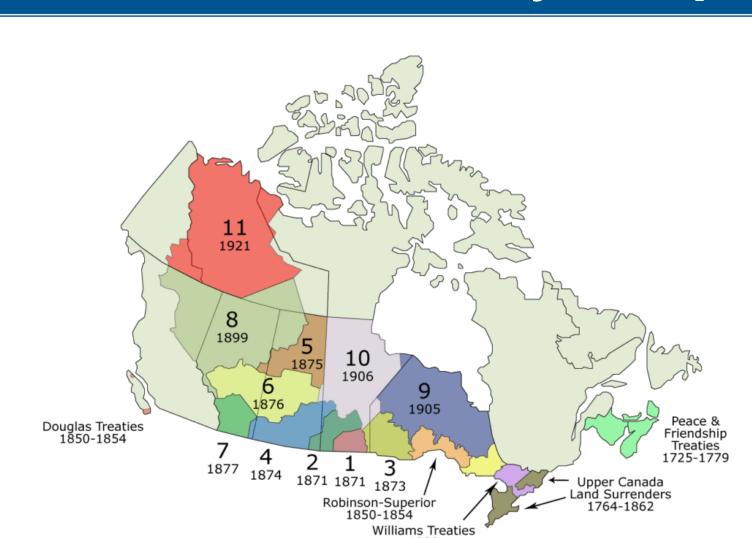
Cowan, M., Cowie, C., Greenaway C., & Schnurbusch, P. (n.d.)

Introduction

The historical relationship between Indigenous nations and the Canadian state has been shaped by forms of Indigenous-European diplomacy. Treaties are living documents that continue to influence legal, political, and social landscapes in Canada—with implications for land rights, resource management, and the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples that affecting contemporary policy-making and reconciliation efforts.

Spirling (2012) employed natural language processing (NLP) and string kernel principal components analysis (KPCA) to explore how lexical changes in U.S.-Indian treaty language reflected the country's relative bargaining power, contributing to worsening terms for Indigenous Nations over the 19th century. We apply KPCA to Crown-Indigenous treaties, contextualizing the interplay between colonial objectives and Indigenous self-determination within a two-century historical framework.

Treaty Sample (n = 59)



Treaties	Sample
Treaties of Peace & Neutrality (1701)	1
Peace & Friendship (1725–1779)	4
Upper Canada Land Surrenders (1763–1862)	25
Royal Proclamation (1763)	1
Robinson Treaties (1850)	2
Douglas Treaties (1850–1854)	13
The Numbered Treaties (1871–1921)	11
Williams Treaties (1923)	2

NLP: from Words to Numbers



3. String Kernels:

"The q"

"he qu"

• "e qui"

"quic "

"quick"

"uick "

"ick b"

Calculates similarity

using all sequences

length (e.g., length = 5).

within a specified



brown fox jumps over

the lazy dog.

1. Bag-of-Words: Count only the frequency of the words (ignores

word order).

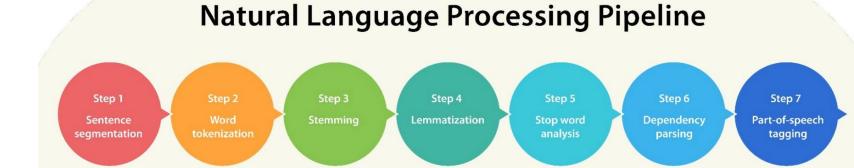
• "the" = 2

- "quick" = 1 • "brown" = 1
- "fox" = 1 "jumps" = 1
- "over" = 1
- "lazy" = 1 • "dog" = 1
- Captures small **n** sequential words or characters

2. N-grams:

- (e.g., n = 2).
- "The quick" "quick brown"
- "brown fox"
- "fox jumps"
- "jumps over"
- "lazy dog"
- "the lazy"
- "over the"

"ck br"



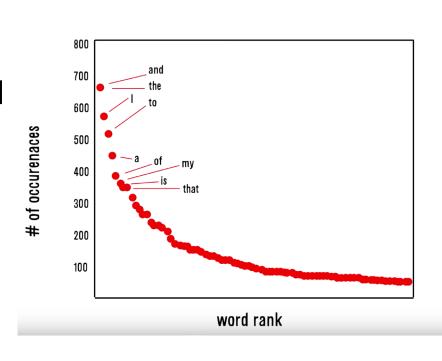
Term Document Matrix with TF-IDF Weighting

Tokenization is the process of breaking text into individual tokens (words, characters, or sub-words) when we have:

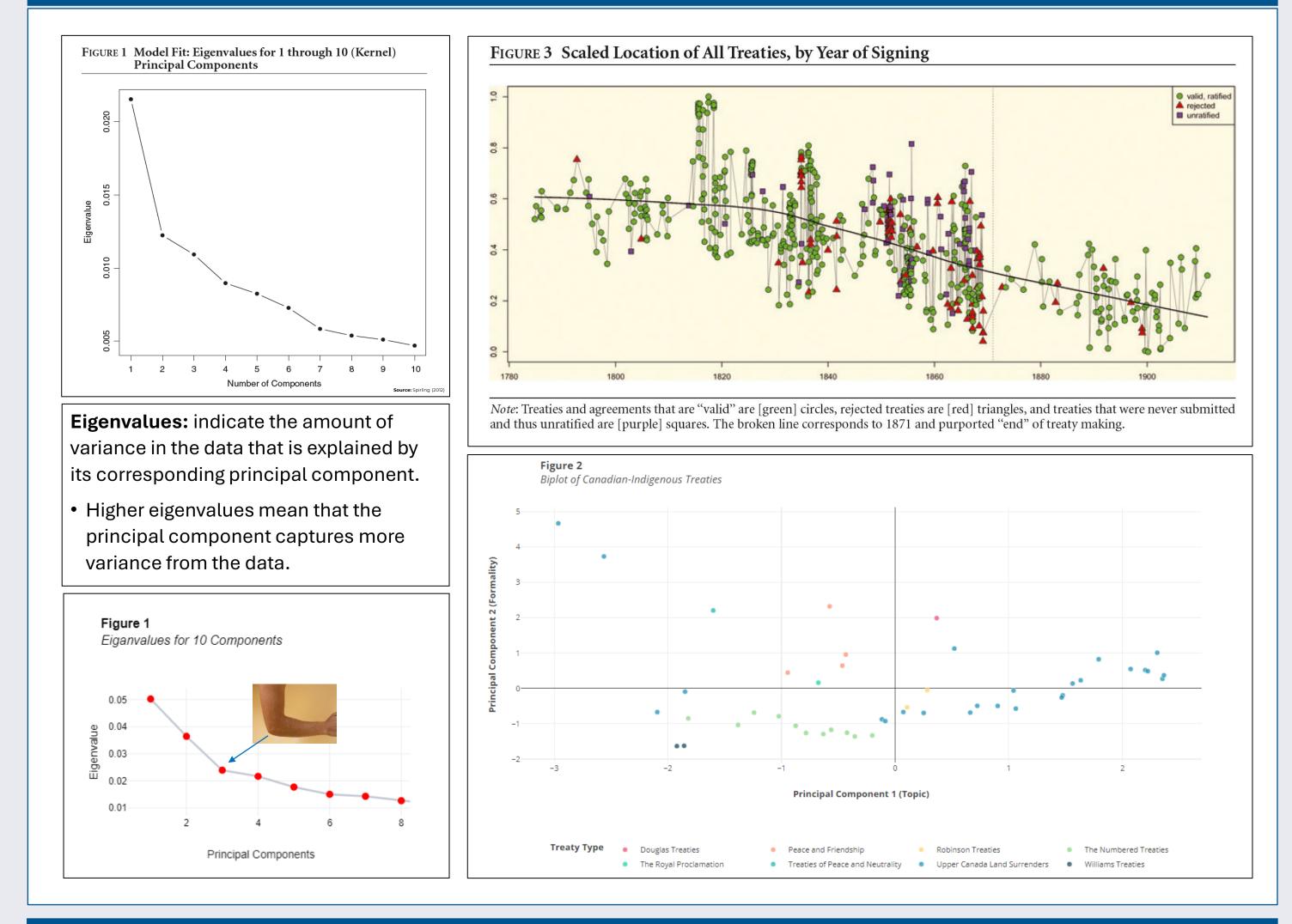
- Standardized (e.g., lowercase, remove accents); Removed noise (e.g., *stop words*, sparse terms, !@#\$%^&*;
- Reduced dimensionality (e.g., stemming, lemmatization);
- Extract meaningful features.

TF-IDF weighting adjusts term frequencies by penalizing common terms that appear across many documents and highlighting terms that are significant within specific documents.

TF-IDF
$$(t, d) = \text{TF}(t, d) \times \log \left(\frac{N}{\text{DF}(t)}\right)$$



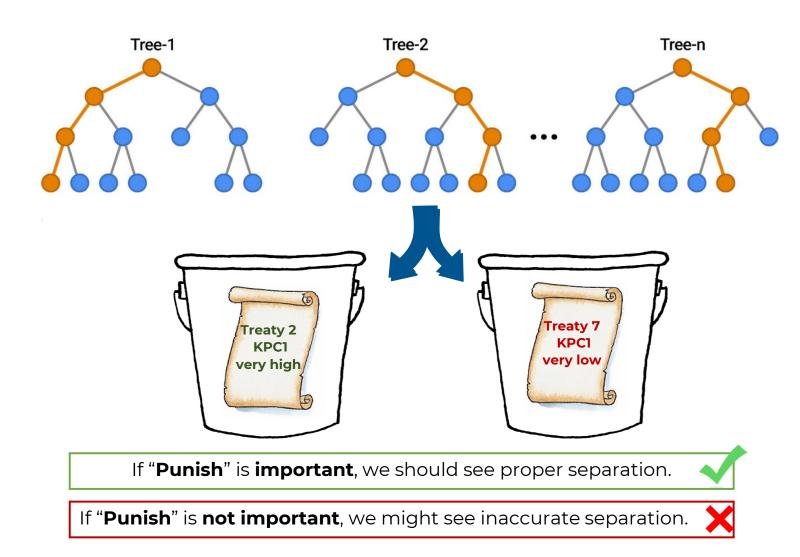
String Kernel Principal Components Analysis



Random Forest (Word Importance) & Correlations

Random Forest Algorithm: think of the entire sample of the treaties as the "forest".

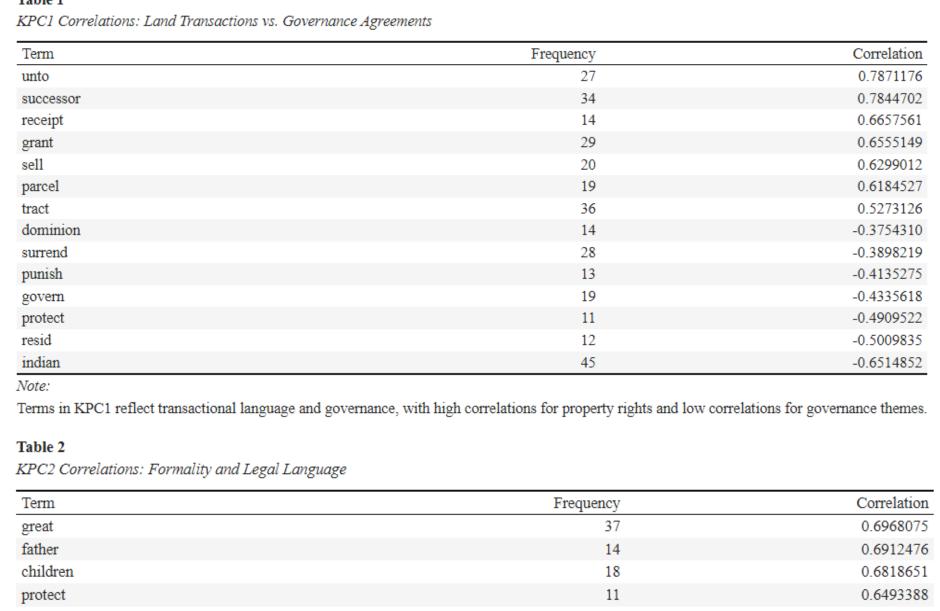
- The algorithm plants word-stem "trees" at random points in the corpus.
- Each tree makes a predictive "bucketing" decision extending throughout the entire corpus before the algorithm aggregates its calculations.



Word stems with a positive <u>correlation</u> appear more frequently/are more prominent in treaties that have high scores on the principal component.

Word stems with a <u>negative</u> <u>correlation</u> appear more frequently/are more prominent in treaties that have low scores

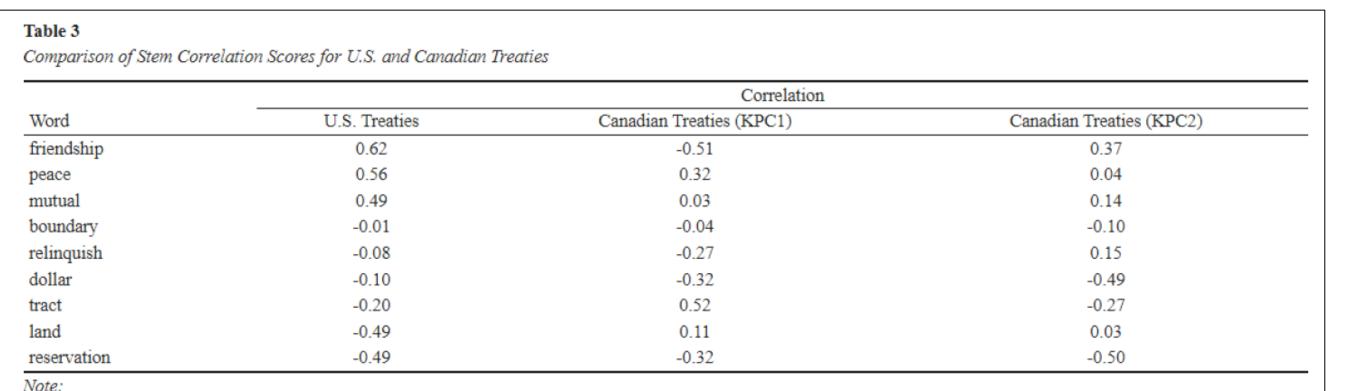
on the principal component.



0.5985758 0.5786606 -0.4032312 -0.4196652 -0.4607742 -0.4710283 -0.5418299

Terms in KPC2 highlight the level of formality and hierarchical legal language, contrasting formal legal discourse with more relational language.

US-Canada Comparison



Correlation scores for selected stems in U.S. treaties (Spirling, 2012) and Canadian treaties (KPC1 and KPC2). Spirling's analysis identified patterns of tonal shifts in U.S. treaties, where positive and negative correlations reflected changes in relational tone over time. In contrast, the Canadian treaty correlations are inconsistent across KPC1 and KPC2, showing no unified pattern that would indicate tonal shifts. This suggests a lack of relational or conflict-driven language dynamics in Canadian treaties, reflecting instead a stable, administrative language that does not respond to historical context in the same way

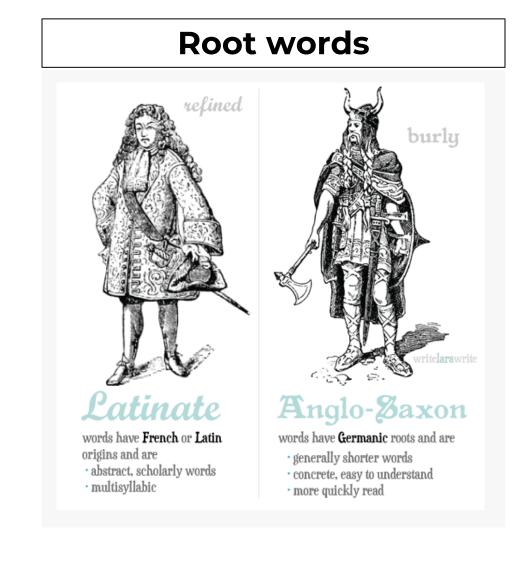
- We contend that the structure of Canadian/British approach to treaty-making was formulaic—unlike the U.S. model, which exhibited greater variation in response to historical context.
- The British, and subsequently **Canadian, authorities employed a** standardized legal language that reinforced their colonial objectives—an approach that contrasts with the diverse negotiators, state-to-state variations, and greater linguistic diversity found in the U.S. context.
- The fact that **treaties cluster based on thematic rather than** temporal-event criteria supports the notion that Canadian treaties were not particularly responsive to historical events or shifts in institutional dynamics—instead, exemplifying a stable treaty-making framework entrenched in broader colonial governance.

Validation

Qualitative



2. Quantitative

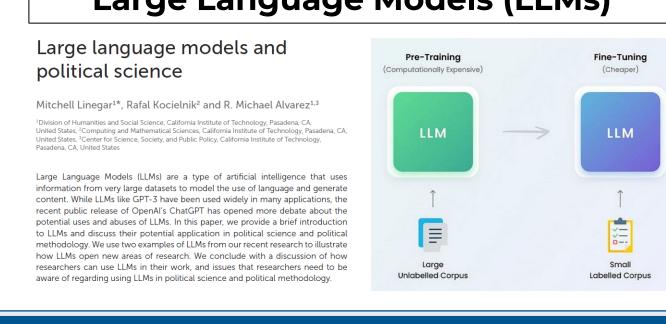




Annotation

GROUP AUTHORITY That in the case of any misunderstanding, quarrel, or injury between the **English** and the **Indians**, no private revenge shall be taken, but application shall be made for redress according to His Majesty's laws. That if the Indians have made any prisoners belonging to the government of Nova Scotia or Acadie during the course of the war, they shall be released at or before the ratification of this Treaty

Large Language Models (LLMs)



References

- Linegar, M., Kocielnik, R., & Alvarez, R. M. (2023). Large language models and political science. Frontiers in Political Science, 5. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2023.1257092
- Spirling, Arthur. 2012. "U.S. Treaty Making with American Indians: Institutional Change and Relative Power, 1784-1911." American Journal of Political Science 56 (1): 84–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00558.x

Acknowledgements

- Join the UTSC Methods Hub discord: https://discord.gg/N4edY2J5 Scan the QR code to visit the SDAC GitHub.
- Look for CCR-Accredited Data Workshops in Fall 2025.

