

Amy Casselman-Hontalas

Stanford University, Department of Sociology

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Education

Ph.D.	Sociology Minor:	Stanford University Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies	Expected June 2027
M.A.	Sociology Qualifying areas:	Stanford University Gender; Social Inequality	2019
M.A.	Ethnic Studies Highest honors	San Francisco State University	2011
B.A.	American Studies Highest honors	University of California, Santa Cruz	2006

Areas of Specialization

Law and Society; Race, Ethnicity, and Indigeneity; Gender, Intersectionality, and Feminist Theory;
Legal Mobilization and Right-Wing Movements; Qualitative Methods and Discourse Analysis

Academic Appointments

Lecturer	Stanford University Sociology	Winter–Spring 2027, appointed
Lecturer	California State University, Stanislaus Gender Studies; Ethnic Studies	2012–present
Lecturer	San Francisco State University Ethnic Studies; American Indian Studies	2011–present
Lecturer	Laney College Ethnic Studies; Native American Studies	2012–2018

Publications

Book

Casselmann, Amy L. 2016. *Injustice in Indian Country: Jurisdiction, American Law, and Sexual Violence Against Native Women*. New York: Peter Lang. Paperback edition, 2022.

Articles and Chapters

Casselmann-Hontalas, Amy. 2025. “Taking the Children to Take the Land: Indian Child Welfare and the Enduring Epidemic of Family Separation.” Pp. 53–72 in *Policing Not Protecting Families: The Child Welfare System as Poverty Governance*, edited by Kerry Woodward and Jennifer Randles. New York: New York University Press.

Casselman-Hontalas, Amy, Dominique Adams-Santos, and Celeste Watkins-Hayes. 2024. "Discourses of Distrust: How Lack of Trust in the U.S. Healthcare System Shaped COVID-19 Vaccine Hesitancy." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*. 10(4): 154–72.

Casselman, Amy L. 2016. "Oliphant v. Suquamish, 1978." In *50 Events that Shaped American Indian History: An Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic*. Eds. Donna Martinez and Jennifer W. Bordeaux. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Dissertation

Contested Institutions: Law, Legitimacy, and Inequality in the United States

Breaking Rank: Decision-Making and Judicial Behavior in Indian Law Cases on the Roberts Court

- Examines thirty-five U.S. Supreme Court Indian law cases to analyze how the distinctive political status of tribal nations shapes judicial decision-making.

Taking the Children to Take the Land: Indian Child Welfare and the Enduring Epidemic of Family Separation

- Published dissertation paper in *Policing Not Protecting Families* (NYU Press, 2025); situates Indian child welfare within the historical context of family separation and settler colonialism.

Gendered Discourse in the ERA of Change: The Equal Rights Amendment, Discursive Framing, and Anti-Feminist Activism

- Draws on archival research to show how anti-ERA activists leveraged patriarchal scripts and gendered appeals to block ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s.

Working Papers

Speculative Victimhood: A Framework for Understanding Right-Wing Mobilization

- Develops a framework for understanding how right-wing movements justify opposition to rights-expanding policies by framing protections for marginalized groups as sources of harm.

Discursive Framing and Rhetorical Strategies in Opposition to the Violence Against Women Act

- Uses qualitative coding of Congressional records, public statements, and archival sources to examine racialized and gendered rhetoric in opposition to VAWA reauthorization.

Research Experience

Research Affiliate – American Voices Project

2020–present

Stanford and Princeton Universities

- Analyze the American Voices Project dataset, a nationally representative qualitative study of over 2,000 interviews; produce peer-reviewed scholarship.

Research Assistant

2019–2020

Stanford University

- Bay Area Law School Project: Longitudinal study of the experiences of Bay Area law school students; Qualitative analysis of interviews.
- Race as a Conceptual Category in American Sociology, 2000-2020: Qualitative analysis of race as an analytical category in top sociology journals.

Teaching Experience

Instructor of Record

Stanford University

- Capstone Research Seminar Series, Winter–Spring 2027, appointed

San Francisco State University

- Critical Thinking and the Ethnic Studies Experience
- American Indians and U.S. Laws
- Power and Politics in American Indian History
- American Indian History in the United States
- American Indian Women

California State University, Stanislaus

- Society and Gender
- Women's and Feminist Activism
- Gender, Environment, and Sustainability
- Racial and Ethnic Experiences
- Multiculturalism

Laney College

- Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- Native American History
- Native American Indians in Contemporary Society

Teaching Assistant

Stanford University

- Introduction to Sociology
- Introduction to Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity
- Capstone Research Seminar
- America: Unequal
- Monitoring the Crisis

San Francisco State University

- Introduction to Women and Gender Studies
- Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- American Indian Women

College of Marin

- U.S. History, Reconstruction to Present

Instructional Training

Certificate	Pedagogy for Inclusive Excellence	San Francisco State University	2019
Certificate	Quality Learning and Teaching	San Francisco State University	2019
Certificate	Community College Teaching	CSU Dominguez Hills	2011

Mentorship

Thesis Advisor

Stanford University

- Elana Begay, “Law and Justice in The Navajo Peacemaking Program” 2023
- Claudia Nmai, “Police Talk: Narratives Among Black Immigrant American Parents” 2023
- Huanvy Phan, “Thriving Together: Nonbinary Asian American Identity Formation” 2020

Research Assistant Intern Supervisor

2021–2022

Stanford University - Institute for Research in the Social Sciences

- Aya Boubezari, Foothill College
- Afreen Shameem, Diablo Valley College

Awards and Fellowships

The Chancellor’s Doctoral Incentive Program Fellowship

2021–present

The California State University

Distinguished Achievement Award for Academic Excellence

2011

San Francisco State University

Invited Talks (selected)

“How COVID-19 Revealed a Fractured System”

2023

American Voices Project Research: Classical Interpretive Studies

Stanford University Center on Poverty and Inequality, Stanford, CA

“Discourses of Distrust: Anti-Vax Narratives in the New Economy”

2022

American Voices Project: Building an Open Qualitative Social Science

The Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY

“Implications of the Violence Against Women Act”

2019

Federal Indian Policy Speaker Series

Stanford University Law School, Stanford, CA

“Justice on the Reservation”

2018

Sexual Assault Awareness Month Speaker Series

Columbia University Medical School, New York, NY

“Jurisdiction and Justice in Louise Erdrich’s *The Round House*”

2018

Fairhaven Lecture Series

University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, Whitewater, WI

“Gendered Violence in Indian Country”

2017

Stanford University Law School, Stanford, CA

“The Violence Against Women Act: Past and Present”

2017

University of Oregon, Eugene, OR

Conference Presentations (selected)

“Breaking Rank: Judicial Behavior in Indian Law Cases on the Roberts Court” <i>Law & Society Association</i>	2026
“Legal Activism Against ICWA: Settler Colonialism as Social Movement” <i>Pacific Sociological Association</i>	2025
“Taking the Children to Take the Land: Indian Child Welfare, <i>Brackeen v. Haaland</i> , and the Future of Tribal Sovereignty” <i>Sociologists for Women in Society</i>	2022
“Whose Bodies Matter? Rhetorical Strategies Against the Violence Against Women Act” <i>The Society for the Study of Social Problems</i>	2021
“Discursive Framing in Opposition to the Violence Against Women Act” <i>Law & Society Association</i>	2021
“From Standing Rock to the Urban Rez: Home is Where the Struggle Is” <i>National Association of Ethnic Studies</i>	2017
“European Conquest Narratives and Indigenous Resistance to Sexual Violence” <i>Cultural Studies Association</i>	2016

Media and Public Scholarship (selected)

<i>Women Are Sacred</i> Consultant and interviewee. Feature-length documentary film on violence against Native women.	Forthcoming 2027
<i>60 Minutes</i> Consultant. Investigative report on tribal criminal jurisdiction.	2019
<i>Associated Press</i> Consultant. Investigative report on missing and murdered Indigenous women.	2018
<i>Voice of America</i> Consultant and interviewee. “Advocates Seek Justice for Abused Native American Women”	2018
<i>Cronkite News</i> , Arizona PBS Consultant and interviewee. “Forgotten Justice: After Decades, Tribal Courts, Police Slowly Regaining Lost Authority”	2018
<i>VICE Magazine</i> Consultant and interviewee. “Lawmakers Are Finally Addressing the Epidemic of Violence Against Native Women”	2017
“A Brief and Depressing History of Rape Laws”	2016
“Native Women Are Rape Targets Because of a Legislative Loophole”	2015

Professional Experience and Service

Faculty Organizer	2016
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Campaign to Defend and Advance Ethnic Studies

San Francisco State University

- Organized students and faculty to secure resources for the College of Ethnic Studies. Outcomes: approximately \$733,000 in new and restored funding, departmental status for Race and Resistance Studies, new Pacific Islander Studies courses, a minor in Arab and Muslim Ethnic Diaspora Studies.

Caseworker

2008–2009

Native Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)

Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California

- Managed a caseload of approximately 30 Native families in a tribally administered TANF program; conducted eligibility reviews and case management; coordinated education, employment, and support services.

Skills

-
- Qualitative Analysis: NVivo (advanced), Dedoose, ATLAS.ti
 - Quantitative Analysis: Stata (proficient)
 - Instructional Platforms: Canvas (advanced), Blackboard, iLearn, Moodle
 - Languages: Spanish (proficient: speaking, reading, and writing)

References

Michael Rosenfeld, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology

Stanford University

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Falu Bakrania, Ph.D.

Professor of Race and Resistance Studies

San Francisco State University

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David Grusky, Ph.D.

Professor and Chair of Sociology

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Corey Fields, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Sociology

Georgetown University

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Andrew Jolivéte, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology

University of California, Santa Barbara

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Celeste Watkins-Hayes, Ph.D.

Joan and Sanford Weill Dean of Public Policy

Professor of Sociology

University of Michigan

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Betsy Eudey, Ph.D.

Professor of Gender Studies

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