

Amy Casselman-Hontalas

Department of Sociology
Stanford University

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EDUCATION

Ph.D.	Sociology Minor:	Stanford University Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies	<i>Expected– 2026</i>
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

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Lecturer	California State University Stanislaus Ethnic Studies, Gender 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

Casselman-Hontalas, Amy. 2025. “Taking the Children to Take the Land: Indian Child Welfare and the Enduring Epidemic of Family Separation.” In *Policing Not Protecting Families: The Child Welfare System as Poverty Governance*. Eds. 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.” *The Russell Sage Journal of the Social Sciences* 10(4): 154–72.

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

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

COURSES – INSTRUCTOR OF RECORD

California State University Stanislaus

- ETHS 4200 Racial and Ethnic Experiences
- ETHS 4350 Multiculturalism: From Bias to Reality
- GEND 2020 Women’s and Feminist Activism
- GEND 3550 Society and Gender
- GEND 4220 Gender, Environment, and Sustainability

San Francisco State University

- ETHS 110 Critical Thinking and the Ethnic Studies Experience
- AIS 150 American Indian History in the United States
- AIS 205 American Indians and U.S. Laws
- AIS 420 American Indian Women
- AIS 460 Power and Politics in American Indian History

Laney College

- ETHS 1 Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- NATAM 1 Native American History
- NATAM 2 Native American Indians in Contemporary Society

COURSES – GRADUATE STUDENT INSTRUCTOR

Stanford University

- SOC 1 Introduction to Sociology
- SOC 3 America: Unequal
- SOC 141 Monitoring the Crisis
- SOC 146 Introduction to Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity
- SOC 204 Capstone Research Seminar

College of Marin

- HIST 118 U.S. History, Reconstruction – Present

San Francisco State University

- WGS 200 Introduction to Women and Gender Studies
- ETHS 100 Introduction to Ethnic Studies
- AIS 420 American Indian Women

PROFESSIONAL CREDENTIALS

Certificate	Quality Learning and Teaching, California State University	2019
Certificate	Distance Education, San Francisco State University	2019
Certificate	Community College Teaching, CSU Dominguez Hills	2011

AWARDS and FELLOWSHIPS

The Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Program Fellowship 2021– Present
Awarded by the California State University

Distinguished Achievement Award for Academic Excellence 2011
Awarded by San Francisco State University

DISSERTATION – A collection of three journal-length articles

“Breaking Rank: Decision-Making and Judicial Behavior in Indian Law Cases on the Roberts Court”
This project uses qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the relationship between the judicial philosophy of individual U.S. Supreme Court justices and their opinions in cases concerning tribal sovereignty on the Roberts Court (2005 – present). Status: Data analysis complete. Target submission: Law & Society Review.

“Legal Activism Against the Indian Child Welfare Act: Settler-Colonialism as Social Movement”
I use case study methodology to theorize the sharp rise in court cases challenging the constitutionality of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). I argue that the anti-ICWA movement fits within contemporary theories of settler colonialism while also reflecting a neoliberal shift that remains undertheorized. Status: Data analysis complete. Target submission: Law & Social Inquiry.

“Gendered Discourse in the ERA of Change: The Equal Rights Amendment, Discursive Framing, and Anti-Feminist Activism”
In 1972, the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) seemed a foregone conclusion until a small group of women activists successfully swayed public opinion against it. This paper uses archival data to explore how patriarchal scripts and appeals to gender norms can be successfully leveraged as an activist strategy. Status: Data analysis in progress. Target submission: Feminist Studies.

PAPERS – Prepared for Submission

“Discursive Framing and Rhetorical Strategies in Opposition to the Violence Against Women Act”
Qualitative analysis of elite political discourse opposing the Violence Against Women Act during its most recent reauthorization cycles. Common oppositional frameworks are identified, including the “othering” of non-citizen immigrant women, the LGBT community, and Native women. Prepared for: Gender & Society.

“Lost and Found? Studying Women and Gender in the Wake of Sociology’s ‘Missing Feminist Revolution’”
Qualitative meta-analysis of the incorporation of feminist and gender theory into mainstream sociology. I identify common feminist critiques circa the 2006 *Social Problems* symposium on the “Missing Feminist Revolution” and consider the extent to which these critiques have been addressed. Prepared for: Feminist Theory.

RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS – Stanford University

The American Voices Project 2020– 2024

The Stanford Center for Poverty and Inequality

- Qualitative analysis of 1,613 qualitative interviews
- Produce “Crisis Monitoring Reports” on contemporary social issues

Bay Area Law School Project 2020

- 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 2019– 2020

- Qualitative study of gender as an analytical category in top-tier sociology journals
- Data collection and cleaning

MENTORSHIP

Honors Thesis Supervisor

San Francisco State University 2024– 2025

- Stefan Flitner: “A Year After State Sanctions: California State University Compliance with the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act”

Stanford University 2020– 2023

- Elana Begay: “Accountability and Crime Control Through Diné Bi Beehaz’áanii: The Navajo Peacemaking Program and the Relationship Between Law and Justice”
- Huanvy Phan: “Thriving Together: An Exploration of Nonbinary Asian/Asian American Identity Formation and Identity-Based Communities”

Research Assistant Intern Supervisor

Institute for Research in the Social Sciences – Stanford University 2021– 2022

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

INVITED TALKS

“Discourses of Distrust: How COVID-19 Revealed a Fractured System” 2023

Stanford University Center for Poverty and Inequality

Stanford, CA. October 16-17.

“Discourses of Distrust: Anti-Vax Narratives in the New Economy” 2022

Russell Sage Foundation

New York, NY. December 8-9.

“Implications of the Violence Against Women Act” 2019

Stanford University Law School

Stanford, CA. April 5-6.

“Justice on the Reservation” 2018
Columbia University Medical School
New York, NY. April 19.

“Seeking Justice for a Legacy of Violence Against Women in Indian Country” 2018
American Association of University Women
Whitewater, WI. April 10.

“Jurisdiction and Justice in Louise Erdrich’s *the Round House*” 2018
University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Whitewater, WI. April 9-10.

“Implications of the Violence Against Women Act” 2017
Stanford University Law School
Stanford, CA. November 6.

“The Violence Against Women Act: Past and Present” 2017
University of Oregon
Eugene, OR. June 1.

CONFERENCES – Select Paper Presentations and Panels

“Breaking Rank: Decision-Making and Judicial Behavior in Indian Law Cases on the Roberts Court”
Law and Society Association (Paper accepted. Withdrawn due to bereavement leave)
Chicago, IL. May 22-25. 2025

“Legal Activism Against the Indian Child Welfare Act: Settler Colonialism as Social Movement”
Pacific Sociological Association
San Francisco, CA. March 27-30. 2025

Seminar Director, “Decolonizing Research”
Sociologists for Women in Society
Los Angeles, CA. Aug 5-9. 2022

“Taking the Children to Take the Land: Indian Child Welfare, *Brackeen v. Haaland*, and the Future of Tribal Sovereignty”
Sociologists for Women in Society
Los Angeles, CA. Aug 5-9. 2022

“Whose Bodies Matter? How Policy Elites Use Anti-immigrant, Anti-Queer, and Anti-Indigenous Rhetoric to Justify Their Opposition to the Violence Against Women Act”
The Society for the Study of Social Problems
Virtual. August 6-8. 2021

“Discursive Framing and Rhetorical Strategies in Opposition to the Violence Against Women Act” <i>Law and Society Association</i> Virtual. May 27-30.	2021
“The Violence Against Women Act and the Trope of ‘Unconstitutionality’” <i>Rights and Wrongs: A Constitution Day Conference</i> San Francisco, CA. September 18-19.	2017
“From Standing Rock to the Urban Rez: Home is Where the Struggle Is” <i>National Association of Ethnic Studies Annual Conference</i> San Francisco, CA. March 23-25.	2017
Seminar Director, “Clash of Cultures/Clash of Bodies” <i>Cultural Studies Association Annual Conference</i> Philadelphia, PA. June 2-6.	2016
“European Conquest Narratives and Indigenous Resistance to Sexual Violence” <i>Cultural Studies Association Annual Conference</i> Philadelphia, PA. June 2-6.	2016
“The Enduring Myth of Savage Justice: The Reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act” <i>Pacific Conference on Politics, Law, and Public Policy</i> San Mateo, CA. November 11-13	2016
 MEDIA – Featured Interviewee or Consultant	
<i>Women Are Sacred</i> Feature-length documentary on missing and murdered Indigenous women. Documentary Film. Directed by Melinda Janko.	<i>Forthcoming</i> 2026
<i>60 Minutes CBS News</i> Investigative report on tribal criminal jurisdiction. Television.	2019
<i>Associated Press</i> Investigative report on missing and murdered Indigenous women.	2018
<i>AJ+ (a division of Al Jazeera Media Network)</i> Investigative report on violence against Native women.	2018
<i>Voice of America</i> “Advocates Seek Justice for Abused Native American Women.”	2018
<i>Cronkite News Arizona PBS</i> “Forgotten Justice: After Decades, Tribal Courts, Police Slowly Regaining Lost Authority.”	2018

The Marshall Project 2018
Investigative report on tribal criminal jurisdiction.

VICE Magazine

“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

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE and PUBLIC SERVICE

Fundraiser 2016– Present

- Sovereign Bodies Institute
- The White Buffalo Calf Woman Society
- International Relief Teams: Medical Relief for Children in Gaza

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Consultant 2020

Audubon Canyon Ranch

Faculty Organizer - California Faculty Association

- Campaign to Defend and Advance Ethnic Studies 2016– 2018
- Fight for Five Campaign 2016

Assistant Teacher, Ethnic Studies 2009– 2011

George Washington High School

Grant Writer 2010

American Indian Child Resource Center

Case Worker - Native TANF Program 2007– 2009

Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California

Program Coordinator 2006– 2007

Harambee Arts: Let’s Pull Together

Program Assistant and Group Facilitator 2003– 2006

DrawBridge: An Arts Program for Homeless Children

SKILLS

- Mastery of NVivo qualitative coding software
- Mastery of Canvas, Blackboard, iLearn, and Moodle online teaching platforms
- Proficient in Dedoose and Atlas.ti qualitative coding software
- Proficient in Stata quantitative software; some experience with R and Python
- Proficient in spoken and written Spanish language

LINKS

- Website <https://www.amyhontalas.com/>
- Stanford University <https://sociology.stanford.edu/people/amy-casselmann-hontalas>
- SF State University <https://sfsuais.sfsu.edu/people/amy-casselmann-hontalas>
- LinkedIn <https://www.linkedin.com/in/amycasselmann/>
- Google Scholar <http://bit.ly/3J7HbK1>
- ORCID <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-7673-441X>

REFERENCES

Michael Rosenfeld, Ph.D.

Professor, Sociology
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David Grusky, Ph.D.

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Betsy Eudey, Ph.D.

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