

acknowledgments

So many people supported me throughout this project. First, I would like to thank the women of the daily-rent hotels who shared so much with me. I would especially like to acknowledge Lexi, Ramona, Anita, and Monica. These four women literally took me under their wings while I conducted my fieldwork, and gracefully accepted my presence, my questions, and my tape recorder with wit, grace, tears, and irritability (to name just a few of the emotions we shared). As I hung out in the hotels or on the street many, many women went out of their way to make sure none of the dealers thought I was an undercover cop, which kept me safe. They teased me when I got propositioned for sex work, tried to borrow money, cried on my shoulder, asked about my kids, laughed with me and at me during our four years together. I hope my rendering of their stories will live up to the trust they placed in me.

Many physicians, program directors, psychiatrists, social workers, physicians, policy-makers, activists, pharmacists, neurologists, drug treatment counselors, and other professionals contributed to this project. With few exceptions, everyone I contacted for an interview responded promptly and answered my questions with candor. Many of these professionals agreed to be interviewed multiple times and were very patient with me as I pieced the story together. I was very fortunate to have their cooperation and engagement in my project, and any inaccuracies or misinterpretations that may have been made herein are entirely my own. I would like to thank the volunteer staff of the Women's Community Clinic Outreach Program, especially Leah Morrison, Ej Berhanu, and Laura Sheckler. Leah first escorted me into the daily-rent hotels in 2007. Ej and Laura continued to support my work while also working alongside me in the hotels. From the Ladies Night program I would like to acknowledge the support of Laura Guzman, Vero Majano, Mary Howe, Eliza Wheeler, Brit Creech, Lauren Enteen, and Emalie Huriaux.

This project started as a dissertation, and I would like to thank my committee members: Vincanne Adams, Philippe Bourgois, Charles Briggs, and

Lawrence Cohen. Vincanne Adams was a dedicated critic, a tough audience, and an avid supporter. She truly understood what I was trying to accomplish in this project and she helped me see a way to do it. I can truly thank Vincanne, returning draft after draft to me with extensive comments and challenging me at every turn, for making sure this book got written. Philippe Bourgois kept me honest to my own history—decades of public health work with women who use drugs in San Francisco. He challenged me to never lose sight of the structurally imposed social suffering that addicted women experience. Most important, Philippe encouraged me to identify—rather than to solve—the problem, and he pushed me to focus my work on pregnancy when I was initially resistant. Charles Briggs helped me to gain specificity about what I meant by “evidence,” and to position my work within the larger canon of medical anthropology while remaining in critical conversation with the field of public health. Charles asked me to imagine how I would conduct my project if I didn’t have decades of past experience with drug-using women in San Francisco. Lawrence Cohen supported my project from first hearing about it and steered me toward an analysis of neoliberalism in the sex-drug economy that would match my ethnographic experience. A generous and kind teacher, mentor, and colleague, Lawrence made sure I did not lose sight of the clinical realities that shaped life on the street for urban poor women, which later helped me identify neurocratic practices and their consequences. To all four of my committee members, who took my work so seriously and provided such excellent critique, I am happily and thankfully indebted.

I was privileged to study with many inspiring scholars at the University of California, San Francisco, and the University of California, Berkeley. I would particularly like to acknowledge Judith Barker, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Sharon Kaufman, Deborah Gordon, Brian Dolan, and Donald Moore for helping to shape my studies in medical anthropology. I am fortunate to count them among my colleagues now. There are many additional colleagues at the UCSF Department of Anthropology, History and Social Medicine who have shaped my thinking, for which I am thankful, including Ian Whitmarsh, Seth Holmes, Aimee Medeiros, Nancy Burke, Galen Joseph, Dorothy Porter, Elizabeth Watkins, Akhil Mehra, and Kathy Jackson. Thank you to Carolyn Sufrin who has been a great sounding board and an ally for this project for several years. As a doctoral student I was surrounded by intelligent and challenging peers, who had a tremendous influence on my work. I would like to thank Jeff Schonberg, Liza Buchbinder, and Nicholas Bartlett from my cohort at the University of

California, San Francisco, as well as Suepattra May, Khashayar Beigi, Eric Plemons, Shana Harris, Robin Higashi, Jai-shin Chen, Elena Portocola, Scott Stonington, Xochitl Marsilli Vargas, and Theresa Macphail. Thank you to the students in the Structural Competence course at UC-Berkeley/UCSF and to Helena Hansen for her support.

I would like to thank my colleagues at UCSF, outside of anthropology, who supported my work on this project. Elise Riley, my epidemiological collaborator at the Positive Health Program at San Francisco General Hospital, helped write proposals with me and always sought ways to create interdisciplinary dialogue between our fields. Jennifer Cohen, Megan Comfort, and Andrea Lopez were part of a fantastic qualitative team; working with them stretched my thinking and improved my work. I would also like to acknowledge Cynthia Gomez and Carol Dawson-Rose because all that we shared together brought me to this point.

Working with Kenneth Wissoker at Duke University Press has been a privilege; his insights, feedback, and encouragement were welcomed and have contributed greatly to my work. Three anonymous readers provided me with invaluable feedback that helped to clarify my arguments and improved my manuscript immeasurably, and I am very thankful. I would also like to acknowledge Elizabeth Ault and Jessica Ryan at Duke University Press and thank them for all their support and shepherding through this process. I would also like to thank my research assistant, Kara Zamora, for helping to keep me organized and for proofreading multiple chapters of the manuscript in its later stages.

It is difficult to find enough words to express how thankful I am to my family. I would like to thank my sister, Holly Knight, and father, Mel Knight, who assuaged my fears about balancing my academic pursuits with my home life, and provided me with lots of encouragement when I needed it. I would like to thank Marti Knight for being a great mom. I wish that she could be here to read this book alongside me, but she is, of course, present on every page. I would also like to thank the Kral family—Audrey, Fred, John, and Marianne—for their ongoing support of and interest in my work. My husband, Alex Kral, and my children, Nathaniel and Annika, helped me through this project every step of the way. The three of them gave me the time to dedicate to it when I needed it and the distraction away from it when I needed that too. Many nights I left the house during dinnertime to work in the hotels, looking at the forlorn expressions on my children's faces. Lots of weekends

were spent at the library or in front of my computer, and not with my family. It was possible thanks to Alex. For years, he canceled work trips, came home early, took the kids evenings, weekends, and on vacations so I could get through my studies, conduct my fieldwork, and write this book. I feel fortunate for and inspired by the love Alex, Nate, and Annika have given me from start to finish.