as she does so expertly in all of her work, Verdery argues not only that secrecy was fundamental to the opaque parallel worlds created by the Securitate but that it was part and parcel of the very cosmology of the communist Romanian state. She instructs us that making and harbouring secret knowledge, along with practices of concealing, deceiving and surveilling, were used as means to set up boundaries of exclusion and inclusion, and to make up pernicious "others," as well as to spread uncertainty and fear, all of which were important technologies of governance and state power under communist rule. Yet, as in her earlier writings, Verdery cautions against reductionist conceptualisations of the Marxist-Leninist state and its supporting institutions in terms of ironclad centralisation and totalitarianism. Through a close reading of her file, Verdery shows how the Securitate never really operated with a single monologic script. Rather, multi-voicedness, fragmentation and disjunction were part of the modus operandi of this clandestine organisation. Neither the Securitate nor the oppressive state it served were rigid totalities. For an in-depth theoretical discussion of such secrecy, see Verdery's historical ethnography *Secrets and Truths* (2014), a prequel and companion volume to *My Life as a Spy*.

What is surprisingly absent from this deeply personal book is an expression of the author's stance toward the Securitate. Ceaușescu's spy service may not have been as monolithic, efficient or ruthless as some of us would like to believe, but it did cause tremendous harm to Verdery's respondents and to countless other Romanians. Moreover, its agents unscrupulously interfered with the author's research and violated her personal life in most invasive and disruptive ways, as the book so vividly reveals. Yet Verdery remains a detached, if never "objective," observer, for the sake of a more penetrating scholarly insight into Romanian surveillance and its secret operatives. She passes no judgment, she does not condemn, and nor does she express much indignation toward the secus, seeking instead "to understand them *as part of a social system*" (270; original emphasis). Yet one wonders whether a more robust expression of the author's position vis-à-vis Securitate agents and their actions might not add another dimension to the volume that could further enhance our understanding of *secu* lifeworlds and of the larger political system in which they were embedded. Our affective and moral responses in the field hold much potential to produce valuable new insights and revelations.

Seasoned scholars working in Eastern Europe, graduate students preparing for fieldwork (especially in authoritarian settings) and researchers in expanding surveillance studies, as well as anyone interested in the machinery of state socialism in Romania and elsewhere, would benefit greatly from reading *My Life as a Spy*.

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Data are ubiquitous in global health. Charts, statistical calculations and trends provide evidence for intervention need, for policy direction and of program effectiveness. But where do the underlying numbers come from? And, central to Crystal Biruk's *Cooking Data*, what kinds of worlds and persons do quantitative health data reflect and bring into being?

Cooking Data is an ethnography of demographic survey research in Malawi. It is "research on research" (15), as the Malawian fieldworkers, who Biruk embedded herself among, so often joked. In a context where rural residents widely associate the term *AIDS* with the word *kafukufuku* – Chichewa for *research* or *survey* – Biruk follows the life course and materiality of public health data: from crafting of survey instruments in Chapter 1, to training Malawian fieldworkers in Chapter 2, to deployment in the field in Chapter 3, to "raw" data's return to the office for data entry in Chapter 4 and to the dissemination of data in Chapter 5.

Biruk's volume takes its title from the concept of *cooking data*, the falsification or fudging of information by presumably lazy or incompetent fieldworkers, an often-racialised accusation long levelled against African research assistants. Resultant "dirty data" are unreliable (neither accurate nor valid). But, Biruk argues, the idea of raw, "clean" data – representative of reality, measured and counted accurately and bias-free, in standardised units, comparable across time and space – is fictional. All data are produced, negotiated and thus "cooked," often through demographers' own processes and practices of production to fit research templates. Only, in fact, through African fieldworkers' responsiveness to the messiness of lived reality, which requires improvisation, creativity and other diversions from research protocols and survey "recipes," and only because of their dedication to and embodiment of clean data paradigms can demographers obtain their clean data at all.

On that point, it is worth noting the quiet symbolism found in the cover image of the volume – cardboard boxes of yellowing survey forms in a project storage room. On the outside of the repurposed boxes, three prominent brand names are visible: Xerox, Kazinga and Omo. The Xerox paper was necessary to produce data collection forms. Kazinga is a popular brand of oil and an essential ingredient in Malawian cooking. Omo is a popular brand of washing powder. Combined, these products embody Biruk's central argument – that it is only *through the process of cooking*, by demographers and fieldworkers both, that clean data can be produced. The metaphor is splendid.

While encouraging scepticism of numbers, especially when reality is quantified by those seeking to control a population, and a wariness of fetishising statistics as representative of lived realities, the volume is notably not a polemic delivered against demography and the enterprise of statistical assessment. Indeed, Biruk adopts demographic standards for clean data when she carries out and reports the results of a randomised survey. A good portion of Chapter 5 also defends the validity

of data that have been dismissed by Malawian colleagues due to their unexpectedness. Data, Biruk notes, can do important work. The author's aim is not to expose the uncertainty of numbers (though this is certainly a by-product of the ethnography) but instead to account for what, beyond counting, numbers actually accomplish.

Biruk brings to her account the lens of critical global health studies, which exposes the uneven power relations that many researchers rely upon and (re)produce, and which shapes the expectations, identities and relationships that emerge as a result. Chapter 1 considers how Malawian co-principal investigators are often taken on by foreign researchers in a manner that is "additive, rather than substantive" (50) and that overworks and undervalues Malawian social scientists. Chapter 2 observes that boundaries between Malawian fieldworkers and foreign researchers are constructed through the arena of "local knowledge," through which fieldworkers are attributed expertise only where this status stems from their cultural difference. Biruk argues that Malawian fieldworkers are instead "knowledge workers" (67) whose innovations are essential for survey research to take place. Chapter 3 is also couched within a sharp critique of global inequalities, focused here on the ethical foundations of gift-giving and informed consent processes. These standard practices provide an alibi of clean data and enable researchers to escape unaccountable for the impacts of data collection.

The book also details the ways in which training and expectations for professional comportment and standardised data collection produces social boundaries between Malawian fieldworkers and their research subjects, discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 (for fieldworkers) and Chapter 3 (for research subjects). In this way, just as fieldworkers shape the data, so too does the data shape fieldworkers' identities, imaginations, hopes and anxieties. Participants, who often do not fit the ideal model of altruistic research subjects, also carefully inventory and calculate the benefits of participation. At times, they deliver sharp critiques of vampiristic "bloodsucking," which indexes their dissatisfaction with the extractive logics of research projects.

Cooking Data is a sharply written, meticulously organised and creatively argued book. The volume raises important questions about research ethics and the impacts of enumeration while also adding to the burgeoning study of African intermediaries. A commitment to the lens of critical global health, however, means that the cultural elements of the research context are left unelaborated and, one might argue, undertheorised. Still, Biruk gives enough of a nod to context to demonstrate that her rejection of cultural explanations is a deliberate strategy to assert anthropology's value outside of the "savage slot" of cultural expertise, to demolish rather than reify tropes of global and local, and to tell a different kind of story about the worlds that global health creates. This position is outlined with force in the volume's conclusion, where the tone of the text changes to one that is at once outspoken and inward-facing

Drawing on Black feminist theory, Biruk recognises that the positions she articulates in *Cooking Data* are held by others whose interpretive labour is less recognised in academic circles. She also calls attention to the fact that public health researchers often fail to bring their results to community stakeholders, thus reproducing the asymmetries global health seeks to redress. In these ways, *Cooking Data* is more than an ethnography of demographic practice: it is a glimpse into the worlds that enumeration brings into being. It is also a forceful call for all researchers, especially anthropologists, to be more expansive in considering field ethics, more mindful in their participation in asymmetrical relations and more useful in their contributions to global health.

Éric Fassin et Marta Segarra (dir.), *Représentation et non-représentation des Roms en Espagne et en France.* Paris, Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2018, 311 pages.

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Alors que les Roms[1] sont à la fois objets de politiques étatiques et objets de recherche en sciences sociales, il est nécessaire de réfléchir à la manière dont l'image et la place passive qui leur est accordée entretient l'antitsiganisme européen. Cet ouvrage sur les représentations des Roms en Espagne et en France contient huit articles, écrits par des auteurs Roms et non-Roms, qui sont soit chercheurs, artistes, et membres de la société civile. Chaque auteur discute des défis rencontrés par cette communauté hétérogène quant aux représentations stéréotypiques et aux processus d'objectification et d'essentialisation. Au fil des articles émerge une vue d'ensemble sur la multiplicité des trajectoires de vies et des luttes quotidiennes des Roms.

Dans le chapitre introductif, Éric Fassin souligne l'ambivalence de la représentation, qui a la capacité de présenter tant par une présence qu'une absence. Fassin décrit le portrait raciste des Roms dépeint par les milieux politiques, juridiques, et médiatiques français, lequel occulte la violence symbolique subie par la communauté. La survisibilité répressive des Roms en tant qu'objet de politiques est encouragée par leur invisibilisation juridique et médiatique. L'auteur fait état de la lutte que mènent les minorités en France pour modifier le paradigme de l'invisibilité vers l'audible et briser le « silence complice » (16). L'ouvrage dans son ensemble contribue à ce mouvement et s'articule autour de deux questions : comment représenter sans objectifier, et comme prendre la parole (et la plume) pour sortir de l'invisibilité?

Fassin reproduit ensuite la préface qu'il a rédigée pour l'ouvrage de photographies de Gabriela Lupu, ainsi que certaines de ses œuvres. Fassin révèle d'abord le processus d'abstraction effectué par Lupu (dessins de scènes quotidiennes de personnes Roms mis en scène dans un théâtre de papier, puis photographiés et publiés dans un livre qui n'est plus produit). Fassin réfléchit alors au refus social de voir les Roms, même suite à une telle mise en abîme par Lupu. La distance (ou l'absence directe) des Roms ne suffit pas : même leur « présence spectrale » (30, 40) demeure trop réelle et trop insupportable. Ce constat rejoint l'argumentaire de Marta Segarra concernant la représentation des Roms dans les médias espagnols. En s'appuyant sur une analyse de deux émissions télévisées espagnoles, Segarra affirme que l'invisibilisation des personnes Roms s'opère à travers la construction d'une sur-représentation caricaturale et dévalorisante du groupe. L'interaction entre l'émission et le regard du public permet de cantonner les Roms dans un monde parallèle et de légitimer leur infériorisation. La naturalisation de la distanciation culturelle devient alors le critère d'admission des Roms dans l'imaginaire collectif de la majorité.