

claims in his writing on bureaucracy as a utopia. His strongest argument, opposing claims of efficiency, is bureaucracy's blindness to what it is efficiently regulating. Considering the differences between regimes, especially on an ideological level, Graeber illustrates the broad spectrum of efficiently regulated as follows: „[...] civil servants pride themselves on being able to find the most efficient means to pursue whatever national destiny their country's rulers happen to dream up: whether that might be rooted in the pursuit of cultural brilliance, imperial conquest, the pursuit of a genuinely egalitarian social order, or the literal application of Biblical law" (Graeber 2015: 20). Efficiency as a goal in itself, is therefore neither genuinely good or bad in a normative sense - it simply depends on the regime whether efficiency is to be feared or praised. In a less skeptical perspective Weber (1978) indicated a similar uneasiness, although for Weber this aspect was also part of a necessary separation of powers that would limit the administrative, an therefore executive branch.

Another critique in that context is that bureaucracy might seem efficient from the top perspective, assessing reality and breaking it down into cases and numbers. But from a bottom perspective, or from the point of view of the administered this is often not the case (Graeber 2015: 41). Basing a further aspect on Weber's work, he then goes on remarking that an administration once put into place, will always try to make itself indispensable to ruling powers, as in monopolizing access to information and knowledge. As a consequence it becomes nearly impossible to get rid of an already existing administrative apparatus (Graeber 2015: 150-151). The catchy, appealing buzzword it appears to be, 'de-regulation' in many cases is likely to inflate bureaucracy even further (ibid. 17).

Nonetheless, Weber has rightfully pointed out some appeals of bureaucracy, as Graeber acknowledges in his discussion, referring to impersonality: „Cold, impersonal, bureaucratic relations are much like cash transactions, and both offer