

nothing that is specific to post-communist states and societies. Similar narratives about bureaucracy can be found throughout the globe: whether we take a look into neoliberal versions of corporate administration in Western countries or the antiquated over-blown apparatuses prevailing in the Global South – populations, no matter where or what kind are being ordered, counted, administered. And as the example just given shows us, even death and birth are bureaucratically conceptualized events that socially and therefore legally bracket one's existence. For everything that happens in between, one will just as well be able to find a form to be filled out.

The standardization of humans and their bodies, Steven Epstein (2009: 35–36) argues, is being driven by medical research trying to „make use of a typological standard human“. This process has severe consequences, for example when we look into insurance. „[T]o standardize policies is to standardize those administered by them“ (Busch 2000, quoted in Epstein 2009: 36). Not only are our bodies standardized and our life traced back in forms and documents, bureaucracy uses a lot of the most valuable resources of our times – time. „[I]n the late 20th century, middle-class citizens spent ever more hours struggling with phone trees and web interfaces, while the less fortunate spent ever more hours of their day trying to jump through the increasingly elaborate hoops required to access to dwindling social services“ (Graeber 2015: 4). Modern civilization's regulations become more explicit and concrete, regulate more aspects of life, production, trade, etc. and therefore simply quantify exponentially. It's a phenomenon that directly stems from law and administration, as Graeber (2015: 149–150) points out: bureaucratic structures that aim to address a problem, inevitably will create new problems, for which in turn new regulations will be necessary.

How can it therefore be possible that, despite its obvious direct impact on people's lives and its pervasiveness, bureaucracy is still a concept difficult to grasp and often invisible? Graeber (2015: 140) argues