Besides the aspect of structural violence, David Graeber introduces the notion of physical violence that backs every enforcement of regulations in his comprehensive critique of bureaucracy (Graeber 2015: 32, 57). Some examples for the threat of force have already been provided in the section above on refugee camps and settlements. Historically tracing the invention of modern police back to the formation of free-market liberalism in the nineteenth century, he makes his point as follows:

"In contemporary industrialized democracies, the legitimate administration of violence is turned over to what is euphemistically referred to as "criminal law enforcement" – particularly to police officers. I say "euphemistically" because generations of police sociologists have pointed out that only a very small proportion of what police actually do has anything to do with enforcing criminal law – or with criminal matters of any kind. Most of it has to do with regulations, or, to put it slightly more technically, with the scientific application of physical force, or the threat of physical force, to aid in the resolution of administrative problems. […] So: Police are bureaucrats with weapons" (Graeber 2015: 72-73).

He criticizes the monopoly to define situations and the imposition of bureaucratic schemata that arise from the synergy between police forces and bureaucracy. People insisting on alternative perspectives and interpretations of social reality, he argues, are being attacked by such a bureaucratic violence (Graeber 2015: 80-81). "At the same time, if one accepts Jean Piaget's famous definition of mature intelligence as the ability to coordinate between multiple perspectives (or possible perspectives) one can see, here, precisely how bureaucratic power, at the moment it turns into violence, becomes literally a form of infantile stupidity (ibid. 80-81).

In this chapter various aspects of bureaucracy have been explored and an attempt has been made to provide a narrative for a thorough critique of bureaucracy from several perspectives. Among these perspectives, this particular writing, with the help of the corresponding literature, aims to unveil the relatively unacknowledged facets of bureaucracy and tries to find itself room in this very realm to create