

them responsible for particular actions. In short, these practices make it hard to understand who does anything" (Hull 2012: 115). This practice further can be observed with the principle of „plausible deniability“, a concept first termed by the CIA in the 1960s that protects high ranking officials in diffusing responsibility through the chain of command.

In his very unorthodox approach to a critique of bureaucracy, David Graeber (2015: 190 – 205) portrays the game-like character of bureaucracy starting off from a linguistic point of view, from the playing of games. While in most languages the words ‚play‘ and ‚game‘ are not distinguished, hence carry the same meaning, English language reveals their difference. The word ‚play‘ refers to free-form creativity, whereas ‚game‘ refers to a set of rules (ibid. 190). In listing certain features that games have in common, Graeber makes the analogy to bureaucracy obvious: games are restricted in time and space, what sets them apart from real life and sets a frame. Within that frame the actors are clearly defined and the rules define the pool of actions the players can chose from. A goal for the end is clearly defined, and „critically: that’s all there is. Any place, person, action, that falls outside that framework is extraneous; it doesn’t matter; it’s not part of the game“ (Graeber 2015: 190–191). He then goes on describing that despite its clear appeal of absolute freedom, ‚play‘ has a clearly anti-authoritarian side to itself, that can be randomly destructive and therefore can create fear, taking cats playing with mice or kids torturing insects as a form of play into account (ibid. 191). In the trinity of sovereignty, politics, and administration that Graeber takes as a fundament for his critique, ‚play‘ corresponds to sovereignty, while ‚game‘ is assigned to administration. The sovereign has the freedom to change the rules of the game, to play. Witnessing arbitrary acts of power, the governed identify the arbitrariness, the play, and therefore freedom, as the crucial problem instead of power itself. This is where the game becomes contracted by more and more rules in order to limit