

The Emerging Conception of the Policy Sciences

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ABSTRACT

The policy sciences may be conceived as knowledge *of* the policy process and of the relevance of knowledge *in* the process. Professional careers in the theoretical branches of policy analysis have been typically academic and include professors of political science, jurisprudence, political economy, and public administration. One novelty of recent decades has been the prodigious multiplication of policy careers having little direct contact with traditional policy theory, though grounded in some specialized knowledge of the physical, biological, or cultural sciences. New specialties have arisen that affect the procedures of the policy making process itself, such as the handling of computerized information.

Whatever their origin policy scientists appear to be converging toward a distinctive outlook. *Contextuality* calls for a cognitive map of the whole social process in reference to which each specific activity is considered. *Problem orientation* includes five intellectual tasks: goal clarification; trend description; analysis of conditions; projection of future developments; invention, evaluation and selection of alternatives. There is also a *distinctive synthesis of technique*, guided by principles of content and procedure.

A distinctive identity image is evolving in which the role of the mediator-integrator among men of knowledge and between knowledge and action is becoming more explicit.

Policy science careers have come into existence with little fanfare and little awareness of an identity in common or of a distinctive outlook or synthesis of skills. We are, somewhat belatedly, engaged in appraising these developments and proposing future lines of growth. Hence our current interest in the emerging conception of the policy sciences. As a working formula I describe the policy sciences as concerned with two separable though entwined frames of reference: knowledge *of* the policy process; knowledge *in* the process.¹

Policy Science Careers

Professional careers in the theoretical branches of policy analysis are no novelty in the United States or in Western Europe; or, for that matter, in any past or present

¹ Harold D. Lasswell, "Policy Sciences," in D. L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (The Macmillan Company of the Free Press, New York, 1969), Vol. 12; Lasswell, "The Policy Orientation," in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method* (Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford, 1951), pp. 3ff.

center of urban civilization. Typically these careers are in academic departments and schools where, by tradition, they have had relatively little to do with one another. The reference is to professors of political science, jurisprudence, political economy, public administration, business administration, and so on.

The novelty of recent decades has been the prodigious multiplication of policy science careers in fields having little direct contact with traditional policy theory. The primitive beginnings of such a career may be a laboratory, a field station, or an archive at a time when the scientist or scholar is absorbed in contributing directly to the advancement of knowledge in his special field. Perhaps he becomes head of a laboratory, a field station, or a library and discovers that he has a gift for mediating between his colleagues and the social environment. The relationship to the environment is twofold: knowledge specialists must be protected; they must receive positive support.

The initial environment may be the modest campus of a college or a university or a public or private research installation. The assets obtained may be equally modest—a few thousand dollars, the political support of an ambitious dean or president, inside knowledge of future plans and possibilities for expansion, the respect of colleagues, the capacity to attract promising theoretical and empirical talent who want to associate themselves with a growing center, and so on. Possibly the mediator is surprised at his own capacity to talk simply and persuasively to colleagues in neighboring fields; and others may take note of the talent.

Hence the next step toward a policy science career may be to move from the care and feeding of a small band of intimate associates to the task of looking after a larger corps of knowledge specialists in relation to a wider social setting. As Dean of a school, President of a university, Director of a public or private institute or professional society, the individual adapts to an environment whose nonscientific and nonscholarly components are especially important. It is at once apparent, if it were not obvious before, that the social environment is uninterested in knowledge as an end in itself. The inference is that support for the pursuit of knowledge must be obtained by presenting science and scholarship as means, as base values with which to pursue safety and health, wealth, power, prestige, and similar major outcomes.

As the career of a successful intermediary evolves, his perspectives and modes of operation undergo typical transformations. At the beginning he identifies himself with the small group to which he is bound by a common and intensively held subculture of science or scholarship. He perceives himself as a responsible "agent," "delegate," or "spokesman" of his immediate colleagues. Hence his specific demands on the social environment are to defend or to improve their position. His cognitive map is full of detail about the past, present, and prospective interests of the group. Somewhere along the line the intermediary is likely to undergo a fundamental reorientation. His operations begin to be affected by a map of the social process that is larger than the self-centered extrapolations with which he began. He may make no contribution to the theory of decision but he is increasingly theoretical in his understanding of what he is doing. A career that began as a purveyor of knowledge for

immediate or potential use in policy moves toward the complex role of a full-scale policy scientist who is knowledgeable *of* the policy process.

Such a reorientation is often accelerated by the opportunities and requirements of government. The go-between who has operated inside the scientific and academic community may be brought into the decision process at any level: municipal, county, state, national, international. Careers may begin unobtrusively as technical consultants and pass on to full-time administrative commitments, or occasionally to public leadership.

A transition similar to the change from the academy to government may occur in reference to every sector of society. In the United States it is commonplace for a career in the economic process to begin as a business consultant, to advance to full-time executive and thereafter to an entrepreneurial role as owner-operator of a profit-seeking enterprise. A similar sequence occurs in reference to private health and welfare organizations, and so on.

The careers mentioned above may take their origin in any branch of knowledge, whether physical, biological, or cultural. This comes about because collective policies, public or private, may draw upon every scrap of knowledge anywhere in the vast storage system of society. We have been indicating how the knowledge specialists themselves take initiatives to obtain support from the social environment. They call attention to the utility of specific forms of knowledge in contributing to the realization of the value goals of more and more participants in the national, transnational, or subnational community. Note that as yet we have not mentioned a set of developments whose impact on the policy processes of society has been peculiarly important. I refer to knowledge innovations that have influenced policy in a far more fundamental manner than by providing information pertinent to a particular policy issue. Procedures have been changed. These procedure-innovating operations are reflected in the spectacular expansion of the electronics data storage and retrieval industries, the explosive growth of management consultative services, and the proliferation of training and other professional institutions in policy fields.

The careers of those who specialize in some aspect of knowledge-*of*-policy develop in much the same way as the specialists who belong to the knowledge-*in*-policy category. One group, for instance, is interested in a specific computer model, and may or may not provide the enlightenment or skill required to gear it effectively into the policy process of a customer or client. Another advocates or sells a specific cost-benefit-risk system; another emphasizes particular simulation procedures; another stresses a survey technique for obtaining estimates of the future; another promotes free-association techniques of creativity (e.g., "brainstorming"); and so on. In a competitive world—whether of profit or nonprofit operations—those who devise specific techniques are likely to adapt to the prevalent selling patterns of the society, and to leave problems of integration—if they think of them at all—to the invisible hand celebrated by Adam Smith.

Stemming from the fantastic creativity, threat, and opportunity of our time, there is a growing current of interest in cultivating a sounder knowledge of the invisible hand, even where there is no disposition to usurp its function. Looking back at their

experience many policy science operators wonder whether they could save others from the mistake of arousing unfulfillable expectations, hence of giving the newer procedures a black eye, or from the mistake of disregarding destructive side effects on the policy process or on the biological and physical environment.

A Distinctive Outlook: Contextuality

In any case policy scientists of many levels of sophistication appear to be converging toward a distinctive outlook.² The fact of diversity having been amply emphasized, it remains to underline the parallels.

Policy approaches tend toward contextuality in place of fragmentation, and toward a problem-oriented, not problem-blind, orientation.

Consider *contextuality* first. The proposition is that partial approaches tend to become more contextual. The tendency is to operate with an explicit conception of the whole policy process, and of the entire social process (see Table 1). We have noted that points of departure are afforded by a specific policy procedure—in data programming, for instance—or by a body of knowledge highly specialized to a particular problem solution, such as extracting radioactive elements from their sources in nature. Whatever his origin an intellectual tends to develop a comprehensive conceptual map and an inclusive set of terms for thinking and talking about policy and society. In principle, his concepts can be treated as abstract *equivalencies* of every other map, and his terms can be expanded, contracted, or supplemented to designate any component pattern within the whole. It is customary for a newcomer to the policy field gradually to discover that the terms he has used—often by extrapolating from usage in his discipline of origin—are equivalents of well-established categories in older comprehensive formulations of policy and society. The implication is not that his neologisms ought to be dropped, since he may have built a constituency for whom his labels provide a conventional vocabulary. In the future he can re-edit his terms in ways that increase the interconvertibility of jargon systems.

Take, for example, the equivalents for a policy outcome that formulates a *prescription*, that is, *a generalized norm to be given effect in contingent circumstances and which is expected to be enforced against challengers if a challenge occurs*. In a conventional organ of government such outcomes may be called “votes” that enact or reject legislative statutes, treaties, general ordinances, or decrees. In universities an equivalent prescriptive outcome is usually the votes of trustees, faculty senates, and the like. In business corporations the equivalent may be votes by the principal stockholders or directors. In private institutions whose concern is with safety, health, and comfort, the prescriptive outcome may be the votes of a hospital board. Associations composed of persons of professional, occupational, or artistic skills may accept or reject prescriptions by votes at membership meetings or by referenda. Ecclesiastical organizations often legislate by decree of the top official, or by councils, legislatures, or assemblies of members. In some societies social ranks or classes act through inclusive structures; likewise kinship groups.

² See especially, Yehezkel Dror, *Public Policy Re-examined* (Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1968), for bibliography and an original presentation of the field.

TABLE 1
Social Process: General

For convenience the social process can be broadly characterized as follows:

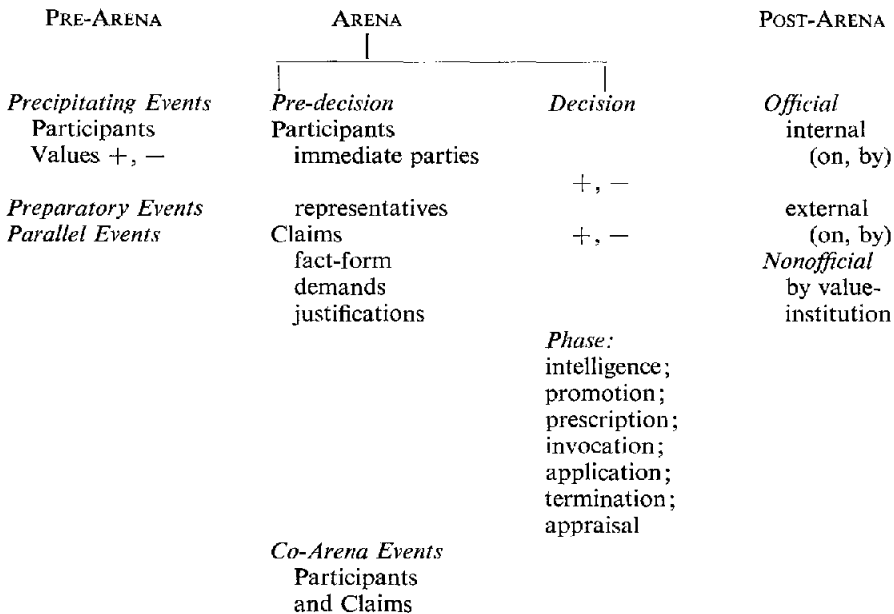
- Participants → seek values
- through institutions
- affecting environment

The process is outlined, with more detail, in the following table:

Participants	Perspectives	Situations	Base values	Strategies	Outcomes	Effects
Individuals	Value demands	<i>Unorganized</i>	<i>Positive assets</i>	Coercive	Value	<i>Values</i>
Groups	Expectations	territorial	perspectives	Persuasive	indulgences	accumulation
<i>Value shapers</i>	Identities	pluralistic	capabilities	assembling,	deprivations	enjoyment
official	Myths	<i>Organized</i>	<i>Negative assets</i>	processing	Decisions	distribution
nonofficial	doctrines	territorial	perspectives	(polarity:	Choices	<i>Institutions</i>
<i>Value sharers</i>	formulas	pluralistic	capabilities	multi-,	1. intelligence	structure
official	mirandas		(power, enlighten-	pluri-,	2. promotion	function
nonofficial			ment, wealth,	bi-tri,	3. prescription	innovation
			well-being, skill,	uni-)	4. invocation	diffusion
			affection, respect,		5. application	restriction
			rectitude)		6. termination	
					7. appraisal	

We have been talking about enacted prescriptions. Sooner or later every conceptual system concerned with policy is bound to distinguish between purely formalistic enactments and those that are expected to be, and in fact are, applied in at least a certain percentage of the circumstances to which they nominally refer. Equivalent terms are in frequent use in various vernaculars for distinguishing between formally *authoritative* prescriptions and those that are both authoritative and *controlling* ("lawful"). Another important difference is between *purported* and *legitimate* prescriptions, the former being, for instance, an enactment voted by a self-designated legislator or by a board of directors after their term of office has expired.

Fig. 1. Authoritative Decision Process



For comparative purposes Fig. 1 is useful as a means of locating the events constituting an authoritative decision process. An "arena" is a situation in which officials are involved. It must be identified in the social process in reference to "pre-arena," "co-arena," and "post-arena" events. A court is an arena, for instance, and is subsequent to the occurrences that eventually brought a controversy before it. The audiences that hear about the proceedings are among the "co-arena" events. The post-decision effects of litigation involve changes in both "values" and "institutions." The arena includes the presentation of claims and the making of decisions.

Every comprehensive system of reference to policy can be expanded beyond categories for *prescriptive* outcomes to include as many coordinate outcomes as it is convenient to distinguish. For instance, functional equivalents can be used for the following: *intelligence*, or votes to pass on or block information, including plans; *promotion*, or commitments for or against party or pressure group platforms and

resolutions; *invocation*, or a preliminary characterizing of concrete circumstances in terms of prescriptions; *application*, or the final characterization (e.g., a civil or criminal complaint is an invocation; an administrative or judicial judgment is an application); *termination*, or ending a prescription and coping with expectations aroused when the prescription was in force (e.g., compensation for expropriated plants); *appraisal*, or a declaration of success or failure in realizing policy objectives, and an imputation of responsibility.³

Systematic models provide a means of exploring *interdependence among the functional components of a policy process*. They are also serviceable in studying the interplay among *structures* specialized to each function, such as rival or associated planning agencies, parties, legislative chambers, police and civil claims agencies, administrative departments (commissions, authorities), legislative revision and compensation agencies, or control commissions. Subsystem models can be used to investigate the policy interplay among the *levels of hierarchical structures, or within one entity*. A comprehensive policy model can be employed to describe the *degree to which any person, group, or structure is involved* in each of the policy processes of each arena where it is situated (national, transnational, subnational).

We note that detailed analyses of each outcome function or structure tend to be examined in equivalent terms by all comprehensive systems. There are, for example, terms for identifying the *participants* (individuals, groups), the *perspectives* entertained by the participants (the demands sought, the expectations assumed, the identities accepted), the *situations* involved in the interaction context (organized, unorganized; inclusive or limited in time and space); the *base values* or capabilities available for use in seeking to affect outcomes; the *strategies* employed; the *outcome* results (success, failure, nonclassifiable); *effects* (post-outcome context as affected by pre-outcome and outcome events).

Policy scientists not only operate with latently equivalent maps of the policy process, they locate policy interactions in the social context of which it is part and with which it is in perpetual interaction. The fundamental equivalencies among conceptions of the social process include the distinction between *values* and *institutions*. For purposes of this analysis the term value is a category of reference to the *culminating events (outcomes)* in the sequence of interaction among the participants in a given social context. A fundamental postulate about man and other living forms is that their acts can be viewed as *optimalizing* attempts, as approximations of gratifying events.

Such gratifying (culminating) events can be defined according to the perspectives of an individual participant or of selected participants in a collective context. In our society it is not difficult to locate culminating situations in transactions involving political *power* (e.g., a vote or a military victory or defeat); *enlightenment* (e.g., the publication of a comprehensive scientific theory); *wealth* (e.g., the attainment of a

³ For partial exemplifications see the studies in public order, chiefly published at The Yale University Press, directed by Myres S. McDougal and Harold D. Lasswell, and including treatises on the international law of war, space, sea resources, propaganda, treaty interpretation, etc., by the senior authors and, among others, Florentino P. Feliciano, William T. Burke, Ivan A. Vlassic, Douglas M. Johnston, B. F. Murty, James C. Miller.

higher gross national product); *well-being* (i.e., a lowered incidence of disease); *skill* (i.e., higher levels of mathematical know-how); *affection* (i.e., reduced private quarrels); *respect* (i.e., decreased discrimination against individual merit); *rectitude* (i.e., increased concern for and responsible service of common welfare).

A short list of value categories (such as the eight mentioned here) can be used by any one policy analyst to refer to all the events in any social context, and therefore to serve as a means of calibrating equivalencies of reference in the whole-referring language of any other analyst. (Among the many terms that are at least partial equivalencies of "values" are "preferences," "needs," "desires," "drives," or "ends.")

Conceiving of the social process as a *value shaping and sharing* process yields several advantages to a policy analyst. It permits easy focus either on the *aggregate* situation or on the position of *particular* participants. It directs attention to aggregate or particular *gross* or *net outcome flows* over a selected time period. This practice is well established in the description of wealth, since we are accustomed to operationalize the term and to speak of gross and net income changes through time; and also to summarize gross and net wealth statuses at specified time intervals. We also sum up investment flows and consumption flows. When claims to wealth are used as base values to increase wealth as a scope value during a given period, it is *investment*; when claims are used for other value outcomes than investment, the process is *consumption* (well-being, respect, and so on).

It is less well established but analytically important to use value analysis as a technique of describing *all* value shaping and sharing processes. Consider power, or the giving or receiving of support in important decisions (the outcomes that are expected to be and in fact are enforceable if necessary by imposing severe deprivations on challengers). We refer to gross and net power changes in the predispositions and resources available to the public order of a nation-state, or to a participating group or individual; similarly, for gross and net shift in power status from the beginning to the end of a period. Moreover, power may be used as a base for later power (the parallel to investment) or used for other values (the parallel to consumption).

Parallel distinctions can be made for the other values (in our list, they are enlightenment, well-being, skill, affection, respect, rectitude).⁴

For the sake of finer comparisons "institutional" terms are required. They are defined as *patterns relatively specialized to the shaping and sharing of a category of values*. The double-reference technique—of locating outcome events and of identifying subpatterns—is a means of expediting comparative studies. It facilitates the task of describing the significance of any institutional detail or configuration of detail. For instance, policy analysis may be concerned with appraising the impact of institutions primarily specialized to each value process, but having repercussions on every sector.

⁴ See Harold D. Lasswell and Allan R. Holmberg, "Toward a General Theory of Directed Value Accumulation and Institutional Development," in Ralph Braibanti, *Political and Administrative Development* (Duke Univ. Press, Durham, N.C., 1969); Bruce M. Russett, Hayward R. Alker, Jr., Karl W. Deutsch, Harold D. Lasswell, *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1964); C. L. Taylor (ed.), *Aggregate Data Analysis; Political and Social Indicators in Cross-national Research* (International Social Science Council, No. 10, Paris and The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1968).

Consider wealth institutions, such as private capitalism, socialism, consumers' cooperation. They can be compared in terms of income, wealth, or consumption levels. Consider power institutions: it is relevant to compare systems of popular, oligarchic, and monocratic rule in terms of their consequences for power and other values. Similar comparisons can be considered for the many institutional arrangements of the other value-institution sectors and for the component elements of a given institution, such as the degree of specialization of participants, their perspectives, their detailed situational features, strategic (and tactical) devices, outcome routines and effects.

A Distinctive Outlook: Problem-Oriented

The distinctive outlook of policy scientists is *problem-oriented* as well as contextual. Think of the five components which it is convenient to distinguish in any problem-oriented undertaking.

One is the clarification of *goal*, or the formulation of the value postulates to be pursued in policy analysis. By tradition this has been the concern of metaphysicians, theologians, and ethicists. It is the normative (the "preferential" or the "imperative") dimension of a social act, and requires explicit consideration by the actors.

Another dimension is oriented toward *trend*, toward the succession and distribution of past and present events. By tradition this is the historian's province.

A third intellectual task is scientific. Its scope is explanatory. It implies theory formation and procedures of empirical confirmation. The challenge is to discover interdeterminative relationships (here called *conditioning*). The reference is to the pursuit of scientific knowledge, often alleged to be value-free, at least of commitment to other value outcomes than enlightenment.

The fourth task is the *projection* of future possibilities and probabilities of value-institution change, especially in reference to postulated goal patterns (such as widespread rather than narrow sharing of values). In modern academic tradition there have been few specialists on the prophetic or forecasting role.

Finally, we come to the invention, evaluation, and selection of *alternative* objectives and strategies. Obviously this is the principal frame of reference of a policy scientist, whether his concern is with an instrumental change in the domain, range, and scope of outcomes, or with revolutionary transformation of systems.

Whatever the set of problems with which he operates comfortably, a policy scientist achieves a conception of policy process and also of social process that is at least latently equivalent to any other comprehensive system of policy analysis.

Distinctive Synthesis of Technique

The distinctive outlook of the emerging policy scientist is conjoined with a variety of technical tools. He is less and less method-bound. The multi-method approach both reflects and contributes to contextuality and problem orientation.

The emerging synthesis of technique brings together two closely related sets of instruments that are often dealt with separately, often with long-run damage to the

realization of their full potential. Some techniques put the accent on *what* is thought about by the policymaker or the analyst. The emphasis is on the manifest content of contextual or problem solving operations. By contrast, some techniques emphasize the *when*, the location in a sequence of attention. Two sets of interrelated principles are involved: *principles of content*; *principles of procedure*.

The five problem solving categories outlined above can be employed by policy-makers or analysts as guides to content or procedure. Statements pertinent to any problem refer to goal, trend, condition, projection, or alternative; and the categories can serve as a check list of the points to be covered in a sequence of problem solving activities.

The search for equivalency of reference among theorists or policy participants is a question of content; the use of technique to establish the "referents" employed in a particular situation is a procedural matter. The interplay of the two principles occurs throughout any problem solving exercise. Consider from this point of view the requirements of theory formation. Contentwise, we distinguish between prescriptive and designative postulates. However, the techniques by which these postulates are elaborated into models are procedural. Hierarchies or co-archies of abstraction are distinctions of content, and they utilize verbal, mathematical, or graphical signs and symbols, and relate them to indices or indicators. Procedural principles are invoked as rules for forming statements, conducting mathematical operations, or of graphing and mapping. Theoretical postulates require interpretation at every step. The categories of syntactic (logical) analysis emphasize the presence or absence of contradiction, for instance, and furnish procedural principles for testing a hypothesis of contradiction in a concrete instance.

The synthesis of techniques appropriate to policy analysis covers *observational modes* as well as *theory formation*. Observational standpoints differ in the degree of *intensiveness* with which events in an observational field are scrutinized. Survey research is much less intensive, for example, than depth interviewing, which requires prolonged training of the interviewer, and a considerable expenditure of time in the specific case.

Because of the vast amount of data that must be utilized in connection with most policy questions, contemporary policy analysts employ many different techniques for choosing what is to be made available (and the *mode of presentation*) at their own focus of attention or at that of policymakers. Consideration is given to the fact that for many people words convey no vivid sense of reality. Hence the advantage of maps and charts. Hence, too, the importance of supplementing mathematical or numerical material with exhibits, dramatizations, or field trips.

The task of mobilizing a policymaker's potential for understanding calls for *insight procedures*, such as sensitivity training, training in free association, or mood control through the use of alcohol and drugs.

A complex strategy, such as the "decision seminar" can be adapted to the incorporation of whatever techniques prove helpful with various groups, in considering either the outer or the inner configuration of salient events. Not the least important feature of a continuing seminar is the mastery that it gives of the input-output flow of information from sophisticated data systems. Contextuality and problem solving

both require a perpetual “back and forth” between images of the whole and particular details of time, place, and figure.

Unique to the modern policy analyst is the emphasis put on whatever cultivates the “creative flash” essential to a novel and realistic problem solution. How can exposure to factual data and interpretations be paced so that a *creative rearrangement* occurs? By what sequence of experience does one enlarge the conceptual map, hence the potential contribution of individuals who have been rewarded in the past as specialists on one segment of the relevant whole? (Everyone recognizes the initial limitations of the policymaker who has been a production manager, a market specialist, a lawyer, and the like). What is currently novel is the range of solutions now available for expediting transition to creative participation in top staff matters.

Distinctive Identity

The distinctive outlook and synthesizing techniques of modern policy analysts are interwoven with the evolution of a distinctive identity image. The conception of the policy sciences is at once a by-product of an emerging image and a contributor to its further clarification.

The contemporary policy scientist perceives himself as an integrator of knowledge and action, hence as a specialist in eliciting and giving effect to all the rationality of which individuals and groups are capable at any given time. He is a mediator between those who specialize in specific areas of knowledge and those who make the commitments in public and private life (the public and civic order). He is continually challenged to improve his theory of the policy process itself, and therefore to perform a crucial role, especially at the intelligence and appraisal phases of policy.

In achieving the new identity it has been necessary to overcome the image of a second class man of knowledge and a second class man of action, and to perceive that the integrative role of the policy scientist is indispensable to the security and advancement of a world civilization of science-based technology. The scientist or scholar who becomes the mediator between the social environment and his colleagues is a target of ambivalent sentiment on the part of colleagues and the larger environment; and privately he often shares the ambivalence. Fellow specialists may think of him as a careerist, as a man who tries to substitute power for serious achievement. Presently they regard him as an ex-scientist or ex-scholar. The larger environment is not certain how to categorize a man who stands for knowledge and is nevertheless a man of affairs. As a man of affairs the Dean or the President or the Association Secretary or the consultant seems half-hearted. He is not necessarily a standard brand politician who runs for office or manages a party machine. He is sufficiently intellectual to arouse some inferiority feelings among men of affairs; and he is enough of a man of affairs to introduce a note of constraint in the intellectual community. He is perceived as “half man, half brain.”

Both the intellectual community and the community at large are beginning to acknowledge the indispensable place of the integrator, mediator, and go-between. However, the appropriate image is still semidefined. Perspectives are in flux.

And indeed this somewhat confused, contradictory image is not out of harmony

with the present state of transition. The basic uncertainty is "whose side is he on?" Presumably policy scientists as a whole can be analogized to one of the traditional practitioners of the mediating role, the lawyer. The lawyer is "for hire"; hence he is permitted to serve the presumptively guilty as well as the presumptively innocent. But there are limits on his freedom. He is, after all, an officer of the court, which gives him a semiofficial capacity. There are limits on the strategies that the counselor is permitted to use on behalf of a client, and it is perhaps vaguely perceived that public policy goals are served by giving everyone who is involved in a public controversy an expert who can say whatever there is to say on his behalf. Obviously, this *may* bring to the focus of attention of the community decisionmaker data that would otherwise be neglected. Hence it *may* serve rationality.

But who is served by the man of knowledge, especially by the intermediaries between specialists and the social environment? The answer is not difficult: at first the knowledge mediators seek to serve themselves. Hence they serve the rich if the rich want to buy knowledge. They serve the powerful if the powerful want to buy the know-how for weapons. But this is not all. Many of them hope to serve a broader range of interests. They want to persuade the rich and powerful to support the knowledge that will heal the sick and improve the position of the socially deprived in every category.

Since the policy sciences are concerned with the aggregate as well as the individual value pattern, they are responsible for perfecting the tools required to appraise the consequences of all groups and institutions. This includes all specialists in knowledge and all institutions of knowledge. Hence policy scientists must ask: is the function of men of knowledge to take initiatives on behalf of all man? Or only to serve the rich and powerful? Or shall they try to become the rich and powerful? And if they do, will they serve themselves or will they serve man?

The identity problems of the contemporary policy scientist are as complex as those of any element in society. But the principles already developed for the examination of the self-in-context contain the seeds of solution. Such at least is the opportunity of the new schools and programs existing or in prospect for the emerging profession.