

UNDER THE MACROSCOPE

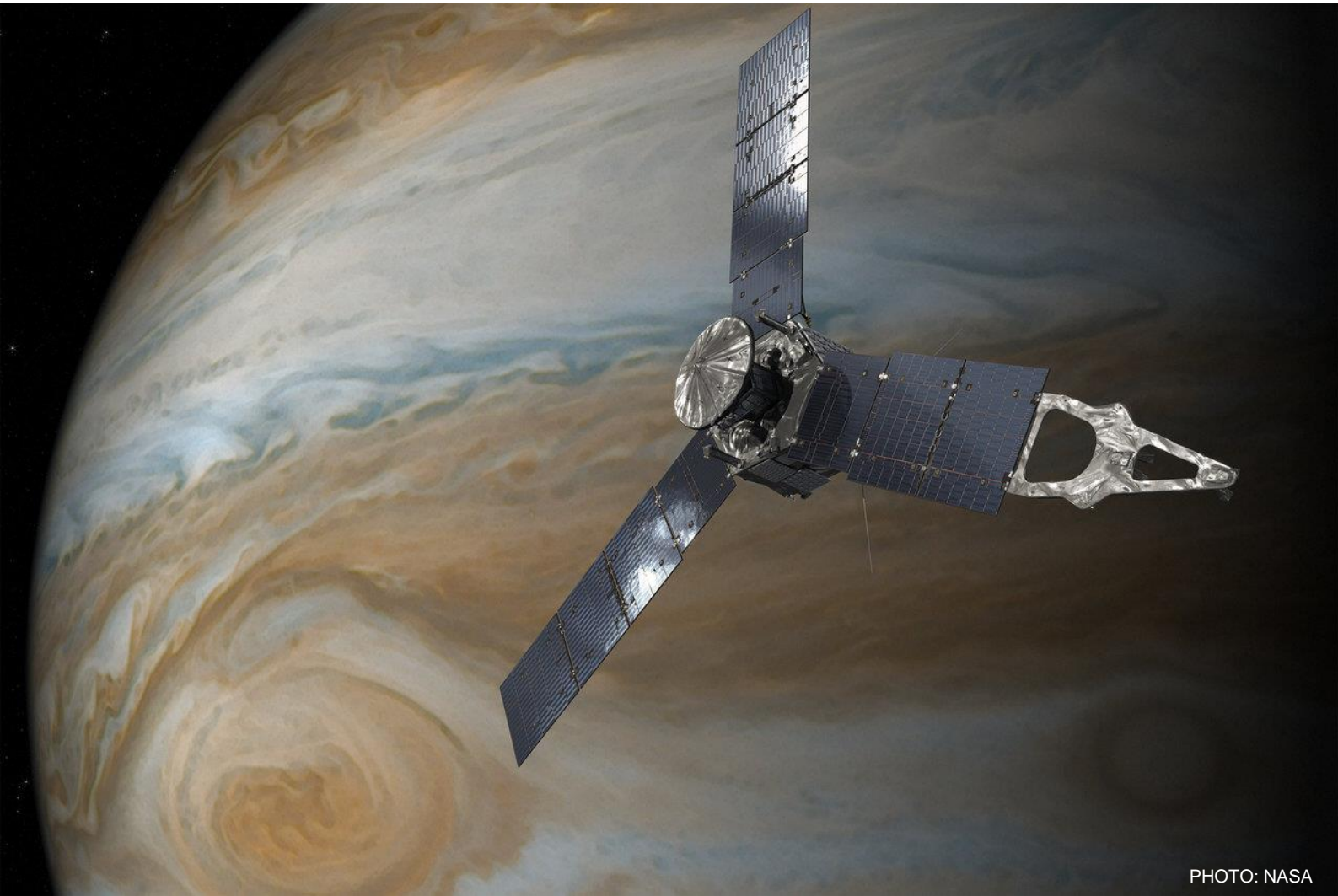


PHOTO: NASA

T3

**Juno probe enters orbit around
Jupiter**

W4

**Fallout from Turkish coup
threatens democracy**

Democrat Clinton picks Kaine, able governing partner, as running mate

WASHINGTON/TAMPA, Florida (REUTERS) - Hillary Clinton named US Senator Tim Kaine as her running mate on Friday (July 22), opting for

an experienced governing partner who will help her present the Democratic ticket as a steady alternative to the unpredictable campaign of Republican presidential rival Donald Trump.

The selection of Kaine, a self-described “boring” Virginian with a reputation for low-key competence, could appeal to independents and moderates, but it quickly angered liberal groups that object to his advocacy for an Asian free-trade pact.

The Spanish-speaking former Virginia governor and Richmond mayor fit Clinton’s long-stated criteria that the vice presidential choice be a capable and reliable partner who is ready to take over the presidency if necessary.

Clinton made the announcement via Twitter and a text message to supporters after the first day of a two-day campaign swing in Florida. She called Kaine to tell him about 40 minutes before the announcement, and called President Barack Obama shortly after Kaine. “I’m thrilled to tell you this first: I’ve chosen Sen. Tim Kaine as my running mate. Welcome him to my team,” she said in her text message.

Kaine, 58, edged out two other finalists – Cory Booker, a US senator from New Jersey, and Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack, according to a Democratic source familiar with the discussions.

Clinton also bypassed candidates who would have generated more excitement among liberal and Hispanic activists, including progressive favourite US Senator Elizabeth Warren and two Hispanic members of Obama’s Cabinet, Julian Castro and Thomas Perez.



The former secretary of state will be formally nominated as the party's presidential candidate for the Nov 8 election at next week's Democratic convention in Philadelphia. She leads Trump in many opinion polls.

Clinton's choice of a running mate could give her campaign momentum heading into the convention, as the fight for the White House begins a more than three-month push to the finish.

Clinton, 68, acknowledged in an interview earlier this week that even Kaine admits he is boring, and said she did not mind. "I love that about him," she told Charlie Rose of CBS News and PBS. "He's never lost an election. He was a world-class mayor, governor and senator and is one of the most highly respected senators I know."

A campaign official said Clinton was impressed with Kaine's down-to-earth style when she campaigned with him in Virginia last week. Afterwards, Kaine went back to her house in Washington, DC, for a 90-minute evening meeting.

Two days later, Kaine and his wife, Anne, joined Clinton in New York for lunch, along with Clinton's husband, former President Bill Clinton, daughter Chelsea and Chelsea's husband. Kaine was the only vice presidential candidate to have a private family lunch during the vetting process, the official said.

"GLAD TO SEE THEM"

Clinton's campaign chairman, John Podesta, who led the search, offered her advice. "It needs to be someone who whenever they walk into a room you are glad to see them and want to have them as part of any conversation," the campaign official quoted Podesta telling her.

Kaine's first appearance with Clinton will be on Saturday at an event in Miami, a campaign aide said. "Just got off the phone with Hillary. I'm honored to be her running mate. Can't wait to hit the trail tomorrow in Miami," Kaine said on Twitter.

Liberal groups, which had pressured Clinton not to pick Kaine because of his support for fast-track authority for the White House to negotiate the Trans-Pacific Partnership, were dismayed by the choice.

Critics of the Asia free-trade deal, including Trump and Clinton's Democratic primary rival Bernie Sanders, say it would be unfair to US workers and kill jobs. Clinton praised the deal when she was secretary of state, but has since distanced herself from it.

"Republicans will run hard against Democrats on trade this year. Unfortunately, since Tim Kaine voted to fast-track the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Republicans now have a new opening to attack Democrats on this economic populist issue," said Stephanie Taylor, co-founder of the Progressive Change Campaign Committee.

Hispanic activists also may be annoyed with the pick of Kaine given that Latino candidates were again passed over, though some Latino advocacy groups praised the choice.

"She has chosen a running mate that has a track record of advocating and fighting for the issues that affect the Latino community and our nation: immigration, healthcare, women's rights and the environment," said Ben Monterroso, executive director of Mi Familia Vota.

Top Republicans were quick to criticise Clinton's choice.

The Trump campaign called Kaine "an ethically challenged insider" and called Clinton and Kaine a "Status Quo" ticket. "If you think Crooked Hillary and Corrupt Kaine are going to change anything in Washington, it's just the opposite," campaign aide Jason Miller said in a statement.

Republican National Committee Chairman Reince Priebus condemned the pick, saying Clinton spent the past week pandering to Sanders and grassroots Democrats, and now "has chosen someone who holds positions that she's spent the entire primary trying to get to the left of."

But Republican Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona, who has been critical of Trump, said on Twitter that he was trying to count the ways he hated Tim Kaine. "Drawing a blank. Congrats to a good man and a good friend," Flake said.

Kaine could help Clinton in Virginia, a heavily contested swing state, and choosing Kaine will not cost Democrats a seat in the Senate, where Republicans now hold a majority. Virginia's Democratic governor, Terry McAuliffe, a close Clinton friend and ally, will name a replacement for Kaine if he and Clinton win the White House.

Some Democrats who know Kaine well dismissed fears that he lacks the toughness to stand up to Republican attacks, given how deftly Trump chewed up “low-energy” Jeb Bush and “little Marco” Rubio in the Republican primaries.

“It’s not the Donald Trump sledgehammer. But he’s not a shrinking violet,” said Luke Albee, a former chief of staff to Democrat Mark Warner, the senior U.S. senator from Virginia.

Albee, who has watched Kaine up close over the years, added, “I wouldn’t mistake a thoughtful and genial disposition for an inability to really forcefully articulate differences.” Kaine has good relations with senators from the opposing party, according to senior Senate Republican congressional aides.

One aide speculated Kaine would be effective in reaching out to congressional Republicans if he becomes vice president, a role that Vice President Joe Biden has played for Obama.

Kaine, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees, has been a leading voice calling for a formal authorisation of war against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) militant group. He played an important role in securing congressional review of the 2015 international deal on Iran’s nuclear program, although he eventually backed it.

He has a track-record of backing liberal causes such as ending across-the-board automatic budget cuts and providing a pathway to citizenship to millions of undocumented immigrants.

Kaine, a Catholic who became fluent in Spanish speaker while serving as a missionary in Honduras, has expressed personal opposition to abortion, but has a public record in support of abortion rights.

How people in Turkey feel about the failed coup one week on

Istanbul (CNN) - A week on from the dramatic and bloody events of last Friday, when a faction of the military launched a failed coup in Turkey, the country is in a state of emergency.

More than 50,000 people have been fired or suspended, including police, generals and admirals, teachers, judges and civil servants, while more than 9,000 remain in detention.

How do people feel about their country's future? We talked to mothers, fathers, workers and business owners in Istanbul. Here's what they had to say.



Yilmaz, a 51-year-old taxi driver and father

"State of emergency means military rule and so does the coup, so what is the difference? I don't know who was behind the coup. You want to believe it was Fethullah [Gulen] because there were so many dead and injured. But then you see tens of thousands of government personnel had their jobs taken away."

Ridvan, a 26-year-old cook

"Those who did this to us are in the wrong. But Turkey will deliver unto them justice, God willing. The state of emergency doesn't make me concerned. This is a coup that was against Turkey in its entirety. We will make them all pay for their actions. This coup won't affect my daily life."

Ali, a 70-year-old teacher

"I'm worried because the people's freedoms will be limited. I'm sad because it is a restriction on society. But I don't think the government will abuse this power. I don't know yet who is behind it. I want to see the evidence. Of course this has impacted me psychologically. This isn't a normal way to live but it's not that big of a deal, yet. I think the President was smart in managing this situation. He put himself out there despite the danger against him. But he was successful. I'm worried about

the future of this country. I want whoever is behind this coup to pay a price, even if it means death."

Erdem, a 38-year-old private sector worker

"I think foreign powers were responsible for the coup. Through Fethullah Gulen, they tried to invade the country but they failed. Turkey has a bright future. In all insincerity, Turkey has entered a new age. Turkey doesn't care about NATO or the EU. We, by ourselves, are a big force."

Tolga, a 37-year-old professional entertainer

"I feel horrible. This is a game played by those who are in power. I offer my condolences to my country. We were already in a horrible situation and now it's even worse ... This is my 20th year as an entertainer. When I started, we went out on the street happy, but now there are constant searches and harassment. We like to make people smile in this horrible situation, but the government is preventing us. If only everyone gave each other flowers instead of hatred."

Damla, a 22-year-old mother

"I think the President has managed the situation very well. Had he not come back to Istanbul, perhaps, most of us would be dead right now. I can't see a situation in which the state of emergency would limit people's freedoms. It's only three months anyways. I don't think he'll abuse his power. What changed in my life is that before we could go out onto the streets without being scared. Now we are afraid on the streets. We used to be able to have our kids play outside our apartments on the streets but now we are afraid for them. I would move away if I had the means, but I don't."

Nuran, a bookstore owner in her 70s

"They declared a state of emergency and they want to pass a lot of laws. It'll be hard to repeal these laws once they are passed. There is no judicial recourse. Because of this we are pessimistic. We are worried about our business because we are selling gifts and books, not necessities ... We don't trust him [Erdogan]. We are guessing he might abuse this power. There were thousands of names on lists, so we believe this was pre-prepared."

Tolga, a 37-year-old product manager

"My feelings are complicated after the coup. In some ways I don't support Erdogan or the AK Party, the conservative party. So in the first hours I saw it like 'oh are they going away? Did we get rid of those guys?' But later on, as I saw the military attacking the civilians, I thought this isn't what I want to happen because people are dying ... we are obliged to live in Turkey at the moment -- but if I had an opportunity to leave and live in another part of the world that would make me feel more important as a person, I would leave."

Betul, a 42-year-old manager and mother

"I have completely lost trust [in the Government] and we are scared. Very insecure, very confused because we don't know what caused it, if it was by Erdogan or the guy they claimed. We are part confused and scared ... I got an SMS from Erdogan this morning saying 'please go to the streets,' which made me feel more scared. I don't think this is the behavior of a president to tell people to go to the streets. It's not right, basically. I don't trust Erdogan. I think his agenda is completely personal and it has nothing to do with the country. It's about his own gains. He is obsessed with being the president of the country. He is doing all of this to accomplish that obsession."

Serap, a 44-year-old housewife

"I feel horrible about what happened in the country. We want the death penalty for the coup plotters. We want Fethullah Gulen to be handed to Turkey. We think Erdogan handled the coup attempt beautifully. We are very happy about our President, Prime Minister, and Government ... Because Gulen is living in exile in the U.S., that's why we think it is Gulen. Whenever the U.S. hands Gulen to Turkey, that's when we'll know the Americans are our friends."

Taner, a 46-year-old construction worker

"Thank God, we overcame this large threat. Still, we should leave the streets or the squares empty so it's more secure. That's why, until this is over, we will continue our fight. We think the U.S. and Fethullah Gulen are behind this coup attempt. That is my opinion. We want to bring Gulen here. If he is not guilty of plotting this coup then he'll be investigated and released."

Nurgul, a 27-year-old waitress

"We aren't exactly pleased with the way the President handled the situation. The state of emergency decision is not right. Instead of re-establishing democracy, they declared a state of emergency. This is not a solution. Yes there was a coup attempt and people are worried and the state of emergency could be to calm the situation or for Erdogan to control the power. This isn't a good thing at all. I'm Kurdish, I know what it means to live under a state of emergency. So I was worried leaving my house this morning. Yes, we are worried about our future because we are at a point in time where we can't imagine what will happen next in Turkey."

Nurdan, a 35-year-old mother and housewife

"The state should tell us whatever is necessary from us, as citizens. For the past year, Turkey has been in an insecure position. Bomb after bomb, the people were fed up and came out to claim their President and country. The coup plotters think the people are against the state and that is not true. What happened was the people standing united against the government. The President was successful in managing the situation. This is the way it was suppose to be and that is why we stand behind him."

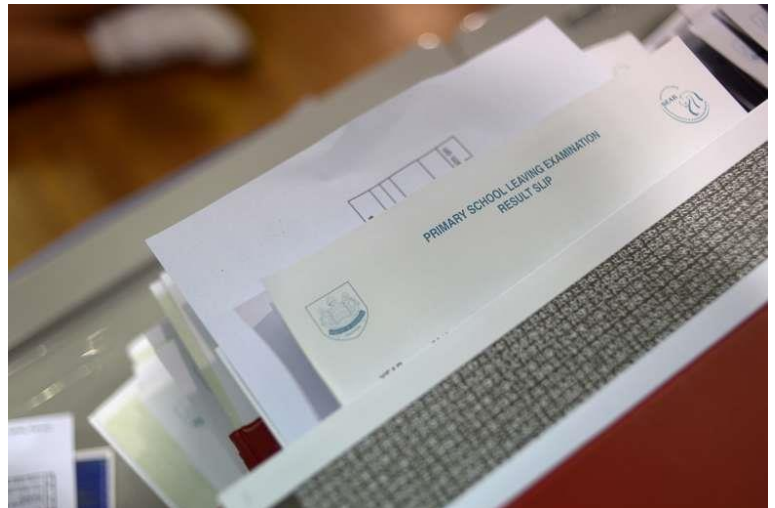
PSLE changes: 8 Achievement Levels offer a good balance, says MOE

On the one hand, pupils should not be pressured into chasing that final mark in the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE). At the same time, scores should still be able to sort them meaningfully for secondary school posting, to cut down on computer balloting.

That is why there will be eight scoring bands from 2021 onwards, explained the Ministry of Education (MOE), calling it a "good balance".

"While there may not be any difference between a student who scores 65 and another who scores 66 in a subject, there is a difference between one who scores 65 and another who scores 75," the MOE said.

"If there are too few ALs, there will be more students with the same PSLE score, which will lead to more balloting in Secondary 1 posting. This would cause more anxiety for parents and students."



From 2021, pupils will be placed into eight Achievement Levels (ALs) for each subject. Those who get 90 marks and above for a subject will earn an AL1; 85 to 89 is AL2; and 80 to 84 is AL3 and so on. The bands get wider at the bottom - AL5 is a score of 65 to 74, for instance.

Some parents whom The Straits Times spoke to asked why the top scoring bands were placed so close together. Instead of chasing the last mark, pupils may be pushed to chase "the next five marks".

Others felt that the wider bands at the bottom could be demoralising for pupils with lower scores. For instance, five extra marks at the upper bands could see an improved PSLE score, but it could take as much as 20 marks at the lower bands.

Ms Kathleen Goy, 35, a marketing manager who has a six-year-old daughter, said: "For some pupils, every additional mark takes a lot of effort and yet, they will still end up within the same band."

MOE explained that the upper ranges are narrower as majority of pupils do well for PSLE. On average, about half the cohort will score AL4 or better. Finer bands at the top will help to differentiate students at these levels, while the middle to lower bands are "sufficient to give a good indication of a student's progress and further differentiation is less educationally meaningful."

One critical aspect of the changes welcomed by many parents is how a pupil's score will no longer be "transformed" relative to how his peers did. Instead, his actual score will be used. This is more transparent and easier to understand, said parents, a point highlighted by principals as well.

Tweaking scoring system unlikely to have much impact unless mindsets change too

It has been a long wait, but the Ministry of Education (MOE) finally revealed the details of the new Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) scoring system yesterday.

Many parents with pre-schoolers were relieved about the phasing out of the PSLE T-score, where each pupil is compared with his peers.

Under the new system from 2021, the score given to each pupil will be based on how well he has done in the subject, independent of how others fare.

Parents worry kids' weaker subjects will pull down results

Some parents are worried that their children will pay a bigger price for being weak in one subject, even though they excel at others, under the revamped Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) scoring system.

Under the current system, every mark matters. So higher T-scores in English, maths and science can make up for a lower score in Chinese, for instance.

But from 2021, scoring either 90 or 100 for a subject matters little, since the pupil still gets the same Achievement Level (AL) 1 score.

Choice of school and balloting may play bigger role

More pupils sitting the revamped Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) may have to undergo balloting to sort them into secondary schools under the new scoring and posting system.

With wider scoring bands replacing the current T-score system in 2021, more pupils taking the national exam are likely to come away with the same scores.

This could lead to more computerised balloting if many select the same secondary school.

Stress levels unlikely to fall - and may even rise

The Education Ministry made a few significant changes to the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) yesterday.

My daughter will be in the last batch taking the PSLE under the current system. My two younger sons will be under the new regime, from 2021, so they will be directly affected.

Here's my take on the bad and the good of the changes in store.

Juno probe enters into orbit around Jupiter

The US space agency has successfully put a new probe in orbit around Jupiter.

The Juno satellite, which left Earth five years ago, had to fire a rocket engine to slow its approach to the planet and get caught by its gravity.

A sequence of tones transmitted from the spacecraft confirmed the braking manoeuvre had gone as planned.

Receipt of the radio messages prompted wild cheering at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California.

"All stations on Juno co-ord, we have the tone for burn cut-off on Delta V," Juno Mission Control had announced. "Roger Juno, welcome to Jupiter."

Scientists plan to use the spacecraft to sense the planet's deep interior. They think the structure and the chemistry of its insides hold clues to how this giant world formed some four-and-a-half-billion years ago.

Engineers had warned in advance that the engine firing was fraught with danger.

No previous spacecraft has dared pass so close to Jupiter; its intense radiation belts can destroy unprotected electronics.

One calculation even suggested the orbit insertion would have subjected Juno to a dose equivalent to a million dental X-rays.

But the probe is built like a tank with titanium shielding, and the 35-minute rocket burn appeared to go off without a hitch.

"Nasa did it again," said an elated Scott Bolton, Juno's principal investigator. "That says it all to me. And I'm so happy to be part of the team that did that. I mean this team has worked so hard and we have such great people. And it's almost like a dream coming true right here."

'Menagerie of possibilities'

While the radiation dangers have not gone away, the probe should now be able to prepare its instruments to start sensing what lies beneath Jupiter's opaque clouds.

Tuesday's orbit insertion has put Juno in a large ellipse around the planet that takes just over 53 days to complete.

A second burn of the rocket engine in mid-October will tighten this orbit to just 14 days. It is then that the science can really start.

This will involve repeat passes just a few thousand kilometres above the cloudtops.

At each close approach, Juno will use its eight remote sensing instruments - plus its camera - to peer down through the gas planet's many layers, to measure their composition, temperature, motion and other properties.

A priority will be to determine the abundance of oxygen at Jupiter. This will be bound up in its water.

"How much water Jupiter has tells us a lot about where the planet formed early in the Solar System," explained team-member Candy Hansen.

"We think that Jupiter may not have formed where it is today, and if it formed further away or closer in - that tells us a lot about how the Solar System in general formed. Because when we look at planets around other stars we see quite a menagerie of possibilities."

The probe will also try to settle old arguments over whether the planet hosts a solid core or whether its gases go all the way down to the centre in an ever more compressed state.

And it will look for the deep swirling sea of liquid metallic hydrogen that theory suggests is the driver behind Jupiter's immense magnetic field and its spectacular auroras.

Scott Bolton said he wanted particularly to understand more about the Great Red Spot - a long-lived, giant storm.

"I love that Great Red Spot. We see it evolving, and it's been getting smaller ever since I first got amazed by it, which was when I was a child," he told reporters.

"The fact that it's lasted so long - there are records of it going back hundreds of years - means that it must have fairly deep roots.

"It looks a little like a hurricane on the Earth but we know it can't be working exactly like that because hurricanes on the Earth need an ocean underneath and feed off the liquid and then change when they go on land. At Jupiter, it's all gas."

NASA plans to run Juno through to February 2018, assuming any radiation damage has not made it inoperable by then. The performance of the camera, for example, is expected to degrade rapidly within a few months.

In line with the practice on many previous planetary missions, the probe will be commanded to end its days by ditching into the atmosphere of Jupiter.

This ensures there is no possibility of Juno crashing into and contaminating the gas giant's large moons, at least one of which, Europa, is considered to have the potential to host microbial life.



The Mind of Donald Trump

In 2006, Donald Trump made plans to purchase the Menie Estate, near Aberdeen, Scotland, aiming to convert the dunes and grassland into a luxury golf resort. He and the estate's owner, Tom Griffin, sat down to discuss the transaction at the Cock & Bull restaurant. Griffin recalls that Trump was a hard-nosed negotiator, reluctant to give in on even the tiniest details. But, as Michael D'Antonio writes in his recent biography of Trump, *Never Enough*, Griffin's most vivid recollection of the evening pertains to the theatrics. It was as if the golden-haired guest sitting across the table were an actor playing a part on the London stage.

"It was Donald Trump playing Donald Trump," Griffin observed. There was something unreal about it.

The same feeling perplexed Mark Singer in the late 1990s when he was working on a profile of Trump for *The New Yorker*. Singer wondered what went through his mind when he was not playing the public role of Donald Trump. What are you thinking about, Singer asked him, when you are shaving in front of the mirror in the morning? Trump, Singer writes, appeared baffled. Hoping to uncover the man behind the actor's mask, Singer tried a different tack:

"O.K., I guess I'm asking, do you consider yourself ideal company?"

"You really want to know what I consider ideal company?," Trump replied. "A total piece of ass."

I might have phrased Singer's question this way: *Who are you, Mr. Trump, when you are alone?* Singer never got an answer, leaving him to conclude that the real-estate mogul who would become a reality-TV star and, after that, a leading candidate for president of the United States had managed to achieve something remarkable: "an existence unmolested by the rumbling of a soul."

Is Singer's assessment too harsh? Perhaps it is, in at least one sense. As brainy social animals, human beings evolved to be consummate actors whose survival and ability to reproduce depend on the quality of our performances. We enter the world prepared to perform roles and manage the impressions of others, with the ultimate evolutionary aim of getting along and getting ahead in the social groups that define who we are.

More than even Ronald Reagan, Trump seems supremely cognizant of the fact that he is always acting. He moves through life like a man who knows he is always being observed. If all human beings are, by their very nature, social actors, then Donald Trump seems to be more so—superhuman, in this one primal sense.

Many questions have arisen about Trump during this campaign season—about his platform, his knowledge of issues, his inflammatory language, his level of comfort with political violence. This article touches on some of that. But its central aim is to create a psychological portrait of the man. Who is he, really? How does his mind work? How might he go about making decisions in office, were he to become president? And what does all that suggest about the sort of president he'd be?

In creating this portrait, I will draw from well-validated concepts in the fields of personality, developmental, and social psychology. Ever since Sigmund Freud analyzed the life and art of Leonardo da Vinci, in 1910, scholars have applied psychological lenses to the lives of famous people. Many early efforts relied upon untested, nonscientific ideas. In recent years, however, psychologists have increasingly used the tools and concepts of psychological science to shed light on notable lives, as I did in a 2011 book on George W. Bush. A large and rapidly growing body of research shows that people's temperament, their characteristic motivations and goals, and their internal conceptions of themselves are powerful predictors of what they will feel, think, and do in the future, and powerful aids in explaining why. In the realm of politics, psychologists have recently demonstrated how fundamental features of human personality—such as extroversion and narcissism—shaped the distinctive leadership styles of past U. S. presidents, and the decisions they made. While a range of factors, such as world events and political realities, determine what

political leaders can and will do in office, foundational tendencies in human personality, which differ dramatically from one leader to the next, are among them.

Trump's personality is certainly extreme by any standard, and particularly rare for a presidential candidate; many people who encounter the man—in negotiations or in interviews or on a debate stage or watching that debate on television—seem to find him flummoxing. In this essay, I will seek to uncover the key dispositions, cognitive styles, motivations, and self-conceptions that together comprise his unique psychological makeup. Trump declined to be interviewed for this story, but his life history has been well documented in his own books and speeches, in biographical sources, and in the press. My aim is to develop a dispassionate and analytical perspective on Trump, drawing upon some of the most important ideas and research findings in psychological science today.

I. His Disposition

Fifty years of empirical research in personality psychology have resulted in a scientific consensus regarding the most basic dimensions of human variability. There are countless ways to differentiate one person from the next, but psychological scientists have settled on a relatively simple taxonomy, known widely as the Big Five:

Extroversion: gregariousness, social dominance, enthusiasm, reward-seeking behavior

Neuroticism: anxiety, emotional instability, depressive tendencies, negative emotions

Conscientiousness: industriousness, discipline, rule abidance, organization

Agreeableness: warmth, care for others, altruism, compassion, modesty

Openness: curiosity, unconventionality, imagination, receptivity to new ideas

Most people score near the middle on any given dimension, but some score toward one pole or the other. Research decisively shows that higher scores on extroversion are associated with greater happiness and broader social connections, higher scores on conscientiousness predict greater success in school and at work, and higher scores on agreeableness are associated with deeper relationships. By contrast, higher scores on neuroticism are always bad, having proved to be a risk factor for unhappiness, dysfunctional relationships, and mental-health problems. From adolescence through midlife, many people tend to become more conscientious and agreeable, and

less neurotic, but these changes are typically slight: The Big Five personality traits are pretty stable across a person's lifetime.

The psychologists Steven J. Rubenzer and Thomas R. Faschingbauer, in conjunction with about 120 historians and other experts, have rated all the former U.S. presidents, going back to George Washington, on all five of the trait dimensions. George W. Bush comes out as especially high on extroversion and low on openness to experience—a highly enthusiastic and outgoing social actor who tends to be incurious and intellectually rigid. Barack Obama is relatively introverted, at least for a politician, and almost preternaturally low on neuroticism—emotionally calm and dispassionate, perhaps to a fault.

Across his lifetime, Donald Trump has exhibited a trait profile that you would not expect of a U.S. president: sky-high extroversion combined with off-the-chart low agreeableness. This is my own judgment, of course, but I believe that a great majority of people who observe Trump would agree. There is nothing especially subtle about trait attributions. We are not talking here about deep, unconscious processes or clinical diagnoses. As social actors, our performances are out there for everyone to see.

Like George W. Bush and Bill Clinton (and Teddy Roosevelt, who tops the presidential extroversion list), Trump plays his role in an outgoing, exuberant, and socially dominant manner. He is a dynamo—driven, restless, unable to keep still. He gets by with very little sleep. In his 1987 book, *The Art of the Deal*, Trump described his days as stuffed with meetings and phone calls. Some 30 years later, he is still constantly interacting with other people—at rallies, in interviews, on social media. Presidential candidates on the campaign trail are studies in perpetual motion. But nobody else seems to embrace the campaign with the gusto of Trump. And no other candidate seems to have so much fun. A sampling of his tweets at the time of this writing:

3:13 a.m., April 12: "WOW, great new poll—New York! Thank you for your support!"

4:22 a.m., April 9: "Bernie Sanders says that Hillary Clinton is unqualified to be president. Based on her decision making ability, I can go along with that!"

5:03 a.m., April 8: "So great to be in New York. Catching up on many things (remember, I am still running a major business while I campaign), and loving it!"

12:25 p.m., April 5: “Wow, @Politico is in total disarray with almost everyone quitting. Good news—bad, dishonest journalists!”

A cardinal feature of high extroversion is relentless reward-seeking. Prompted by the activity of dopamine circuits in the brain, highly extroverted actors are driven to pursue positive emotional experiences, whether they come in the form of social approval, fame, or wealth. Indeed, it is the pursuit itself, more so even than the actual attainment of the goal, that extroverts find so gratifying. When Barbara Walters asked Trump in 1987 whether he would like to be *appointed* president of the United States, rather than having to run for the job, Trump said no: “It’s the hunt that I believe I love.”

Trump’s agreeableness seems even more extreme than his extroversion, but in the opposite direction. Arguably the most highly valued human trait the world over, agreeableness pertains to the extent to which a person appears to be caring, loving, affectionate, polite, and kind. Trump loves his family, for sure. He is reported to be a generous and fair-minded boss. There is even a famous story about his meeting with a boy who was dying of cancer. A fan of *The Apprentice*, the young boy simply wanted Trump to tell him, “You’re fired!” Trump could not bring himself to do it, but instead wrote the boy a check for several thousand dollars and told him, “Go and have the time of your life.” But like extroversion and the other Big Five traits, agreeableness is about an overall style of relating to others and to the world, and these noteworthy exceptions run against the broad social reputation Trump has garnered as a remarkably disagreeable person, based upon a lifetime of widely observed interactions. People low in agreeableness are described as callous, rude, arrogant, and lacking in empathy. If Donald Trump does not score low on this personality dimension, then probably nobody does.

Researchers rank Richard Nixon as the nation’s most disagreeable president. But he was sweetness and light compared with the man who once sent *The New York Times’* Gail Collins a copy of her own column with her photo circled and the words “The Face of a Dog!” scrawled on it. Complaining in *Never Enough* about “some nasty shit” that Cher, the singer and actress, once said about him, Trump bragged: “I knocked the shit out of her” on Twitter, “and she never said a thing about me after that.” At campaign rallies, Trump has encouraged his supporters to rough up protesters. “Get

'em out of here!" he yells. "I'd like to punch him in the face." From unsympathetic journalists to political rivals, Trump calls his opponents "disgusting" and writes them off as "losers." By the standards of reality TV, Trump's disagreeableness may not be so shocking. But political candidates who want people to vote for them rarely behave like this.

Trump's tendencies toward social ambition and aggressiveness were evident very early in his life, as we will see later. (By his own account, he once punched his second-grade music teacher, giving him a black eye.) According to Barbara Res, who in the early 1980s served as vice president in charge of construction of Trump Tower in Manhattan, the emotional core around which Donald Trump's personality constellates is anger: "As far as the anger is concerned, that's real for sure.

He's not faking it," she told *The Daily Beast* in February. "The fact that he gets mad, that's his personality." Indeed, anger may be the operative emotion behind Trump's high extroversion as well as his low agreeableness. Anger can fuel malice, but it can also motivate social dominance, stoking a desire to win the adoration of others. Combined with a considerable gift for humor (which may also be aggressive), anger lies at the heart of Trump's charisma. And anger permeates his political rhetoric.

Continue reading at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/06/the-mind-of-donald-trump/480771/>



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