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**THE LEADERSHIP STYLE
OF U.S. PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP**

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Abstract

The Leadership Style of U.S. President Donald J. Trump

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This working paper presents a personality-based analysis of newly elected U.S. president Donald Trump's likely leadership style as president, inferred from the results of an indirect personality assessment conducted 2015–2016 from the conceptual perspective of personologist Theodore Millon.

Trump's predominant personality patterns were found to be Ambitious/exploitative (a measure of narcissism) and Outgoing/impulsive, infused with secondary features of the Dominant/controlling pattern and supplemented by a Dauntless/adventurous tendency.

Ambitious individuals are bold, competitive, and self-assured; they easily assume leadership roles, expect others to recognize their special qualities, and often act as though entitled. *Outgoing* individuals are dramatic attention-getters who thrive on being the center of social events, go out of their way to be popular with others, have confidence in their social abilities, tend to be impulsive and undisciplined, and become easily bored — especially when faced with repetitive or mundane tasks. *Dominant* individuals enjoy the power to direct others and to evoke obedience and respect; they are tough and unsentimental and often make effective leaders. *Dauntless* individuals tend to flout tradition, dislike following routine, sometimes act impulsively and irresponsibly, and are inclined to elaborate on or shade the truth and skirt the law.

Trump's core personality-based leadership traits may be summarized as follows: an *active-positive* presidential character with *mobilization* — the ability to arouse, engage, and direct the public — as his key leadership asset; an overall leadership style that is distinctively *charismatic* and nondeliberative; and a *high-dominance, extraverted, influential* foreign policy orientation.

Introduction

On Friday, January 20, 2017, Donald John Trump was inaugurated as the 45th president of the United States in what for some was not so much an occasion for celebration as one of trepidation. Indeed, an observer no less than his predecessor, Barack Obama, contemptuously dismissed Trump during the election campaign as “not qualified to be president.” That raises the question: Does Trump have what it takes, in his words, to “Make America Great Again?” The absence of a track record in elected office poses a special challenge with respect to predicting Trump’s leadership behavior.

Within the field of [political psychology](#), the study of personality in politics offers a window to the future. That’s because personality — a person’s ingrained behavior patterns — partially dictates how an individual will act over time across a broad range of situations. In short, accurate personality assessment enables presidential scholars to hypothesize general expectancies for leadership behavior in office.

I employ the term *personality* in Fred Greenstein’s (1992) narrowly construed sense, which “excludes political attitudes and opinions ... and applies only to nonpolitical personal differences” (p. 107).

Following Theodore Millon (1996), personality may be concisely defined as:

a complex pattern of deeply embedded psychological characteristics that are largely nonconscious and not easily altered, expressing themselves automatically in almost every facet of functioning. Intrinsic and pervasive, these traits emerge from a complicated matrix of biological dispositions and experiential learnings, and ultimately comprise the individual’s distinctive pattern of perceiving, feeling, thinking, coping, and behaving. (Millon, 1996, p. 4)

Greenstein (1992) makes a compelling case for studying personality in politics: “Political institutions and processes operate through human agency. It would be remarkable if they were *not* influenced by the properties that distinguish one individual from another” (p. 124).

That perspective provides the context for the current report, which presents a personality-based analysis of Donald Trump’s likely leadership style as president, including his policy preferences and executive performance. Conceptually, the personality assessment aspect of the study is informed by Millon’s (1969, 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 2003; Millon & Davis, 2000; Millon & Everly, 1985) model of personality as adapted (Immelman, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2005; Immelman & Millon, 2003) for the study of personality in politics. The prediction of leadership style is informed by the work of James David Barber (1972/1992), Lloyd Etheredge (1978), Margaret Hermann (1987; Hermann & Preston, 1995), Dean Keith Simonton (1988), Stanley Renshon (1996), Juliet Kaarbo (1997; Kaarbo & Hermann, 1998), and Blema Steinberg (2008).

As reported in this paper's companion report, "The Political Personality of 2016 Republican Presidential Nominee Donald J. Trump" (Immelman, 2016), Trump's predominant personality patterns are Outgoing/impulsive and Ambitious/exploitative (a measure of narcissism), infused with secondary features of the Dominant/controlling pattern and low conscientiousness — a personality composite characterized as a *high-dominance charismatic*.

Because presidential behavior is dictated as much by circumstances and structural constraints on the power of the presidency as by personality — frequently more so — personality analysis can go only so far, painting presidential prospects in broad strokes rather than in minute detail. In short, personality can point only to the general tenor of a prospective presidency.

Method

Materials

The materials for constructing Donald Trump's personality profile (Immelman, 2016) consisted of biographical sources and the personality inventory employed to systematize and synthesize diagnostically relevant information collected from the literature on Trump.

Sources of data. Diagnostic information pertaining to Trump was collected from a broad array of approximately 150 media reports that offered useful, diagnostically relevant psychobiographical information.

Personality inventory. The assessment instrument, the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC; Immelman & Steinberg, 1999; Immelman, 2015), was compiled and adapted from Millon's (1969, 1986b; 1990, 1996; Millon & Everly, 1985) prototypical features and diagnostic criteria for normal personality styles and their pathological variants. Information concerning the construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation of the MIDC is provided in the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria manual (Immelman, 2014).¹

The 12 MIDC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (1994, 1996), which are congruent with the syndromes described on Axis II of the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)* of the American Psychiatric Association (APA; 1994) and coordinated with the normal personality styles in which these disorders are rooted, as described by Millon and Everly (1985), Millon (1994), Oldham and Morris (1995), and Strack (1997). Scales 1 through 8 (comprising 10 scales and subscales) have three gradations (a, b, c) yielding 30 personality variants, whereas Scales 9 and 0 have two gradations (d, e) yielding four variants, for a total of 34 personality designations, or types. Table 1 displays the full taxonomy.

¹ Inventory and manual available to qualified professionals upon request.

Table 1
Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Scale 1A: | Dominant pattern a. Asserting b. Controlling c. Aggressive (Sadistic; <i>DSM-III-R</i> , Appendix A) |
| Scale 1B: | Dauntless pattern a. Adventurous b. Dissenting c. Aggrandizing (Antisocial; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.7) |
| Scale 2: | Ambitious pattern a. Confident b. Self-serving c. Exploitative (Narcissistic; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.81) |
| Scale 3: | Outgoing pattern a. Congenial b. Gregarious c. Impulsive (Histrionic; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.50) |
| Scale 4: | Accommodating pattern a. Cooperative b. Agreeable c. Submissive (Dependent; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.6) |
| Scale 5A: | Aggrieved pattern a. Unpresuming b. Self-denying c. Self-defeating (<i>DSM-III-R</i> , Appendix A) |
| Scale 5B: | Contentious pattern a. Resolute b. Oppositional c. Negativistic (Passive-aggressive; <i>DSM-III-R</i> , 301.84) |
| Scale 6: | Conscientious pattern a. Respectful b. Dutiful c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.4) |
| Scale 7: | Reticent pattern a. Circumspect b. Inhibited c. Withdrawn (Avoidant; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.82) |
| Scale 8: | Retiring pattern a. Reserved b. Aloof c. Solitary (Schizoid; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.20) |
| Scale 9: | Distrusting pattern d. Suspicious e. Paranoid (<i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.0) |
| Scale 0: | Erratic pattern d. Unstable e. Borderline (<i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.83) |

Note. Equivalent *DSM* terminology and codes are specified in parentheses.

Diagnostic Procedure

Personality assessment. The diagnostic procedure for constructing the personality profile, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*, can be conceptualized as a three-part process: first, an *analysis* phase (data collection) during which source materials are reviewed and analyzed to extract and code diagnostically relevant content; second, a *synthesis* phase (scoring and interpretation) during which the unifying framework provided by the MIDC prototypal features, keyed for attribute domain and personality pattern, is employed to classify the diagnostically relevant information extracted in phase 1; and finally, an *evaluation* phase (inference) during which theoretically grounded descriptions, explanations, inferences, and predictions are extrapolated from Millon's theory of personality based on the personality profile constructed in phase 2 (see Immelman, 2003, 2005, 2014 for a more detailed account of the procedure).

Leadership inference. The prediction of leadership style involves a more subjective process in which Millon-based inferences from the personality profile are coordinated with leadership models developed by Barber (1972/1992), Etheredge (1978), Hermann (1987), Simonton (1988), Hermann and Preston (1995), Renshon (1996), Kaarbo (1997; Kaarbo & Hermann, 1998), and Steinberg (2008).

Results

The analysis of the data includes a summary of descriptive statistics yielded by the MIDC scoring procedure, the MIDC profile for Donald Trump, diagnostic classification of the subject, and the clinical interpretation of significant MIDC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure.

Trump received 47 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Judging from endorsement-rate deviations from the mean (see Table 2), data on Trump's expressive behavior (12 endorsements) were most easily obtained, whereas data on his cognitive style and mood/temperament (8 endorsements each) were most difficult to obtain. Descriptive statistics for Trump's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain for Donald Trump

| Attribute domain | Items |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Expressive behavior | 12 |
| Interpersonal conduct | 10 |
| Cognitive style | 8 |
| Mood/temperament | 9 |
| Self-image | 9 |
| Sum | 47 |
| Mean | 9.4 |
| Standard deviation | 1.5 |

Trump's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 3. The MIDC profile yielded by Trump's raw scores is displayed in Figure 1.²

Table 3
MIDC Scale Scores for Donald Trump

| Scale | Personality pattern | Raw | RT% |
|-------|--|-----|-------|
| 1A | Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive (Sadistic) | 17 | 21.8 |
| 1B | Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing (Antisocial) | 9 | 11.5 |
| 2 | Ambitious: Confident–Self-serving–Exploitative (Narcissistic) | 24 | 30.8 |
| 3 | Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive (Histrionic) | 24 | 30.8 |
| 4 | Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive (Dependent) | 0 | 0.0 |
| 5A | Aggrieved: Unpresuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating (Masochistic) | 0 | 0.0 |
| 5B | Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic (Passive-aggressive) | 4 | 5.1 |
| 6 | Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive) | 0 | 0.0 |
| 7 | Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn (Avoidant) | 0 | 0.0 |
| 8 | Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary (Schizoid) | 0 | 0.0 |
| | Subtotal for basic personality scales | 78 | 100.0 |
| 9 | Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid (Paranoid) | 0 | 0.0 |
| 0 | Erratic: Unstable–Borderline (Borderline) | 0 | 0.0 |
| | Full-scale total | 78 | 100.0 |

Note. For Scales 1–8, ratio-transformed (RT%) scores are the scores for each scale expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for the ten basic scales only. For Scales 9 and 0, ratio-transformed scores are scores expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for all twelve MIDC scales (therefore, full-scale RT% totals can exceed 100). Personality patterns are enumerated with scale gradations and equivalent *DSM* terminology (in parentheses).

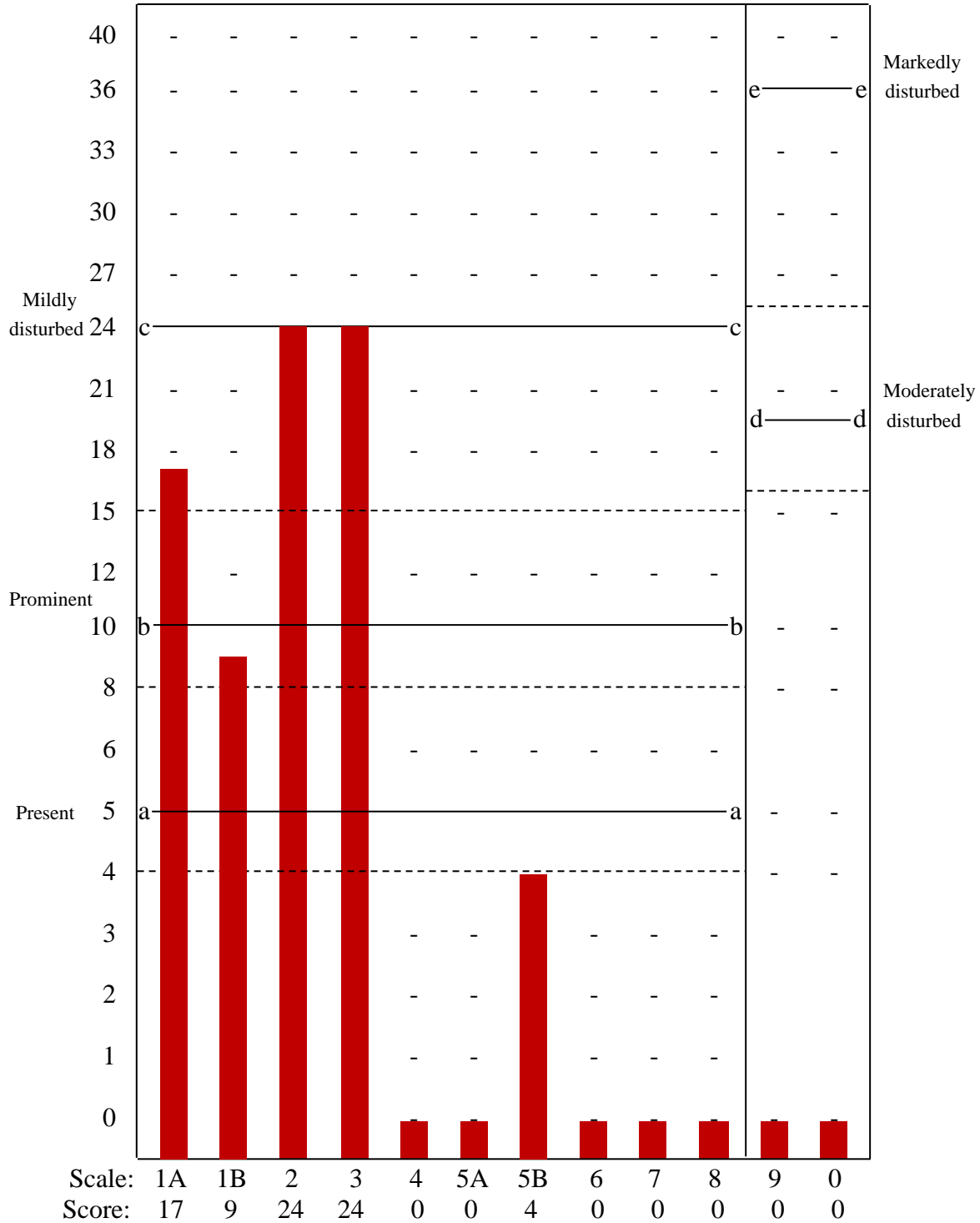
Trump's primary scale elevations occur on Scale 2 (Ambitious) and Scale 3 (Outgoing), both at the lower limit of the *mildly dysfunctional* (24–30) range, with identical scores of 24. The secondary Scale 1A (Dominant) scale elevation of 17 is well within the *prominent* (10–23) range, followed by a Scale 1B (Dauntless) elevation of 9, at the upper limit of the *present* (5–9) range. No other scale elevation is remarkable or of psychodiagnostic significance.

In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 1 and Figure 1) criteria, supplemented by clinical judgment, Trump was classified as having an Ambitious/exploitative and Outgoing/impulsive personality, complemented by Dominant/controlling and Dauntless/adventurous patterns. In addition, he has a Contentious/resolute tendency.³

² Solid horizontal lines on the profile form signify cut-off scores between adjacent scale gradations. For Scales 1–8, scores of 5 through 9 signify the *presence* (gradation *a*) of the personality pattern in question; scores of 10 through 23 indicate a *prominent* (gradation *b*) variant; and scores of 24 to 30 indicate an exaggerated, *mildly dysfunctional* (gradation *c*) variation of the pattern. For Scales 9 and 0, scores of 20 through 35 indicate a *moderately disturbed* syndrome and scores of 36 through 45 a *markedly disturbed* syndrome. See Table 1 for scale names.

³ In each case, the label preceding the slash signifies the categorical personality pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or personality type, on the dimensional continuum; see Table 1.

Figure 1. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for Donald Trump



Discussion

For a discussion of the personality profile yielded by the psychological assessment of Donald Trump, see Immelman (2016). The present discussion is limited to a synthesis of Trump's likely leadership style and its political implications, derived from Trump's personality profile.

Few people exhibit personality patterns in "pure" or prototypical form; more often, individual personalities represent a blend of two or more primary orientations. With his highly elevated scores on Scale 2 (Ambitious) and Scale 3 (Outgoing), Trump emerged from the assessment as a blend of the *exploitative* and *impulsive* types — mildly dysfunctional variants of, respectively, the Ambitious and Outgoing patterns. The Millon Index of Personality Styles manual (Millon, 1994), employing the label *Asserting*, describes Ambitious personalities as bold, competitive, and self-assured individuals who easily assume leadership roles, expect others to recognize their special qualities, and often act as though entitled (p. 32). *Outgoing* personalities are described as dramatic attention-getters who thrive on being the center of social events, go out of their way to be popular with others, have confidence in their social abilities, and become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks (pp. 31–32).

The interpretation of Trump's profile must also account for a secondary elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant) and a subsidiary elevation on Scale 1B (Dauntless). Dominant personalities — labeled *Controlling* — enjoy the power to direct others and to evoke obedience and respect. They are tough, competitive, and unsentimental, and often make effective leaders (Millon, 1994, p. 34). Dauntless personalities — labeled *Dissenting* — tend to flout tradition, act in a notably autonomous fashion, dislike following the same routine day after day, sometimes act impulsively and irresponsibly, and are inclined to elaborate on or shade the truth and skirt the law (p. 33).

Presidential Temperament

Of particular interest are the stable *temperamental* features of the key personality patterns that drive Trump's political behavior:

- **Outgoing (histrionic) pattern: Poor impulse control.** Outgoing individuals are emotionally expressive; they are animated, uninhibited, and emotionally responsive. Their moods are subject to rapid fluctuation, with occasional displays of short-lived and superficial moods. Regarding political leadership, the attendant risk is a predisposition to impulsive acts; they may be over-excitable, exhibit a pervasive tendency to be easily enthused and as easily bored or angered, make thoughtless, imprudent judgments, and embark on rash or reckless courses of action.
- **Ambitious (narcissistic) pattern: Knee-jerk response to criticism.** Narcissistic individuals are self-possessed and socially poised; at their best they are self-confident, optimistic, and cool and levelheaded under pressure or in the face of adversity. Though appearing carefree, nonchalant, and suave, their Achilles' heel is responding reflexively and petulantly to personal slights or criticism.
- **Dominant (aggressive) pattern: A volatile temper.** Dominant individuals present themselves as strong leaders but tend to lack empathy and are prone to irritability; they

have a volatile temper they may at times find difficult to control, flaring readily into petty or contentious argument.

In summary, Trump's personality composite can be described in political-psychological terms as a *high-dominance charismatic* — “charismatic” by virtue of the highly elevated primary Ambitious–Outgoing amalgam (Scales 2 and 3) and “high-dominance” on account of the substantial Dominant (Scale 1A) elevation.

Leadership Implications of Donald Trump's Personality Profile

As a “high-dominance charismatic,” Donald Trump assumes the mantle of leadership with a Clintonian combination of extraversion and self-confidence, buttressed by a level of dominance not seen since Lyndon B. Johnson. In addition, he is practically devoid of Barack Obama's accommodating disposition or George H. W. Bush's prudent conscientiousness.

Trump's personality profile (Immelman, 2016) offers an empirically based framework for anticipating Donald Trump's performance as chief executive; there is utility in coordinating the results of the personality assessment with complementary theories of political leadership.

Stanley Renshon (1996), for example, has proposed “three distinct aspects” (p. 226) of political leadership shaped by character: mobilization — the ability to arouse, engage, and direct the public; orchestration — the organizational skill and ability to craft specific policies; and consolidation — the skills and tasks required to preserve the supportive relationships necessary for an executive leader to implement and institutionalize his or her policy judgments (pp. 227, 411).

Dean Keith Simonton's (1988) empirically derived presidential styles (charismatic, interpersonal, deliberative, neurotic, and creative) offer another promising frame of reference. Given the fidelity with which his leadership styles mirror the currently popular five-factor model, whose correlates with Millon's personality patterns have been empirically established (Millon, 1994, p. 82), Simonton's stylistic dimensions may have considerable heuristic value in linking personality to political leadership behavior.

Similarly, Lloyd Etheredge (1978) and Hermann (1987) have developed personality-based models of foreign policy leadership orientation that can be employed rationally and intuitively to enhance and complement the predictive utility of Millon's model with respect to leadership performance in the arena of international relations.

James David Barber (1972/1992), focusing more narrowly on presidential temperament, developed a simple model of presidential character that has shown some utility in predicting successful (active-positive) and failed (active-negative) presidencies.

In terms of Renshon's (1996) three critical components of political leadership, Trump's greatest strength, by dint of his outgoing personality in concert with supreme self-confidence, is *mobilization*, which will be instrumental in rallying, energizing, and motivating his supporters. In the sphere of *orchestration*, Trump's dearth of personality traits related to conscientiousness

(e.g., diminished capacity for sustained focus and insufficient attention to detail), along with his extravert's impulsiveness and susceptibility to boredom, may serve as an impediment to presidential performance. Finally, his ambition and dominant personality attributes, including the drive to excel, goal-directedness, and proficiency in taking charge and seeing that the job gets done, will serve Trump well in the arena of *consolidation*, potentially augmenting his outgoing, "retail" politician's skills in consummating his policy objectives.

From Simonton's perspective, Trump's MIDC elevations on the Outgoing, Ambitious, and Dominant scales imply a *charismatic* leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Extraversion factor. According to Simonton (1988), the charismatic leader

typically "finds dealing with the press challenging and enjoyable" ... [Outgoing], ... "consciously refines his own public image" ... [Outgoing, Ambitious], "has a flair for the dramatic" ... [Outgoing], "conveys [a] clear-cut, highly visible personality" ... [Outgoing], is a "skilled and self-confident negotiator" ... [Dominant, Ambitious], "uses rhetoric effectively" ... [Ambitious, Dominant], is a "dynamo of energy and determination" ... [Outgoing, Ambitious, Dominant], ... "keeps in contact with the American public and its moods" ... [Outgoing], "has [the] ability to maintain popularity" ... [Outgoing], [and] "exhibits artistry in manipulation" ... [Ambitious, Dominant]. (p. 931; associated Millon patterns added)

In addition, the charismatic leader "rarely permits himself to be outflanked" [Dominant, Ambitious] and rarely "suffers health problems that tend to parallel difficult and critical periods in office" (pp. 930, 931; associated MIDC patterns added).

Trump's weak loadings on the Conscientious (Scale 6) pattern, along with his elevations on the Dauntless (Scale 1B) and Outgoing (Scale 4) patterns, suggest that he is *not* likely to display Simonton's "deliberative" leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Conscientiousness factor. According to Simonton (1988), the deliberative leader

commonly "understands [the] implications of his decisions; exhibits depth of comprehension" ..., is "able to visualize alternatives and weigh long-term consequences" ..., "keeps himself thoroughly informed; reads briefings [and] background reports" ..., is "cautious, conservative in action" ..., and only infrequently "indulges in emotional outbursts." (p. 931)

As a *nondeliberative* leader, Trump would be inclined "to force decisions to be made prematurely," lose sight of his limitations, and place "political success over effective policy" (pp. 930, 931).

Concerning his likely foreign policy orientation, Trump's profile most closely resembles what Etheredge (1978), in his "four-fold speculative typology" of "fundamental personality-based differences in orientation towards America's preferred operating style and role in the international system" (p. 434), has called the *high-dominance extrovert*. Etheredge contends that high-dominance extraverts (such as Presidents Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson) share high-dominance introverts' tendency "to use military force"

[b]ut in general ... are more flexible and pragmatic, more varied in the wide range and scope of major foreign policy initiatives. ... [In contrast to high-dominance introverts, they] want to lead rather than contain. They advocate change, seek to stir up things globally.... [and] are relatively more interested in *inclusion* [compared with high-dominance introverts, who favor exclusion],

initiating programs and institutions for worldwide leadership and cooperative advance on a wide range of issues. (p. 449)

Etheredge's high-dominance extravert appears to be most similar in character to Hermann's (1987) "influential" orientation to foreign affairs, which, with the exception of its hypothesized cognitive complexity, appears to be highly congruent with Trump's psychological profile.

According to Hermann, the *influential* foreign policy orientation is characterized by an "[i]nterest in having an impact on other nations' foreign policy behavior ... [and] in playing a leadership role in regional or international affairs" (p. 168). Its component variables are power motivation (i.e., high dominance), belief in one's ability to control events (i.e., ambition/narcissism), cognitive complexity (not evident in Trump's profile), self-confidence (i.e., ambition/narcissism), and an interpersonal orientation (i.e., outgoing).

In terms of presidential temperament, Trump seems most similar to Barber's (1972/1992) *active-positive* presidential character — leaders like Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, who as president were self-confident, optimistic, and derived pleasure from the exercise of power in pursuit of political objectives.

Employing executive leadership-style models developed by Hermann and Preston (1995) and Kaarbo (1997; Kaarbo & Hermann, 1998), as adapted by Steinberg (2008, pp. 349–356) and Immelman (2011), Trump's psychological profile raises the following generalized expectancies regarding his leadership style as president:

Leadership motivation. As an extraordinarily confident individual with an unshakable belief in his own talents, leadership ability, and potential for success, a quest for *power* will be the prime motivator for Trump's leadership behavior, punctuated by a need to control situations and dominate adversaries. Furthermore, Trump's outgoing nature suggests concern with popular approval and a striving for *self-validation* to affirm his inflated self-esteem. In addition, he will likely be more *pragmatic* than ideological in pursuing his political objectives.

Leadership orientation. Given his supreme self-confidence and high dominance, Trump will likely be more *goal directed* than relationship oriented. As a task-oriented leader, Trump will not permit the maintenance of good relations to stand in the way of goal achievement. This orientation will be offset to some extent by Trump's outgoing tendencies which, in addition, will also prime him to place a high premium on loyalty among his advisers and members of his administration.

Job performance. Big egos have a strong drive to prove themselves. Thus, Trump can be expected to be *tireless* (committed and energetic) in the amount of effort invested in carrying out the duties of his office. This tendency will be reinforced by strong power motivation stemming from high dominance and dynamic energy derived from his extraverted, outgoing personality.

Managerial style. In organizing and managing the decision-making process, Trump will be heavy on self-promotion and persuasion, making him more of an *advocate* for his policy agenda than a consensus builder or an arbitrator.

Executive style. In dealing with Congress, members of his Cabinet, and senior government officials, Trump will likely be highly involved, acting in ways that could variously be described as *attention seeking, demanding, domineering, antagonistic, competitive, controlling, combative, manipulative, and exploitative* — though he certainly is capable of behaving in a *collegial, cooperative, harmonious* fashion if he believes it will serve his own self-interest.

Media relations. In his dealings with the press, Trump will maintain a measure of harmony, to the extent he feels he can dictate or manipulate the media. However, the likelihood of a highly critical press, in conjunction with Trump's sensitivity to personal slights, portends a relatively *closed* (inaccessible, uninformative, unfriendly) relationship with the media characterized by a lack of cooperation that could quickly escalate into outright hostility.

Public relations. In relating to the public, outgoing, confident leaders such as Trump typically are *active* (preferring direct engagement), articulating and defending their policies in person rather than relying on surrogates and proxies. This tendency will be reinforced by Trump's dominant, strong-willed, outspoken personality and fueled by his extraversion, which will feed his preference for direct engagement with the public.

Conclusion

In conclusion, President Donald J. Trump's major personality-based leadership strengths are the important political skills of connecting with critical constituencies, mobilizing popular support, and retaining a following and his self-confidence in the face of adversity.

Trump's major personality-based limitations include the propensity for a superficial grasp of complex issues, a predisposition to be easily bored by routine (with the attendant risk of failing to keep himself adequately informed), an inclination to act impulsively without fully appreciating the implications of his decisions or the long-term consequences of his policy initiatives, and a predilection to favor personal connections and loyalty over competence in his staffing decisions and appointments — all of which could render a Trump administration relatively vulnerable to errors of judgment and political scandal.

In the final analysis, the matter of greatest concern regarding President Trump's fitness to govern is the question of temperament. Specifically, the Trump presidency personifies a perilous combination of sparse political experience and the potential for a level of impulsiveness and hubris rarely — possibly never before — seen in occupants of the Oval Office.

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