

CHAOS IN TRUMP WHITE HOUSE

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FOR TWO YEARS, DONALD TRUMP mastered the art of disruption. Name a political precept and he probably broke it during his improbable march to the White House. But disruption in government—the rulebreaker breaking the rules—turns out to be more costly. In the first month of his presidency, the New York billionaire has witnessed the lesson of Samson: toppling the temple can be painful if you try it from the inside.

Federal judges in four courts froze a hastily issued Executive Order barring certain immigrants from entering the country. Intelligence officials leaked

descriptions of classified intercepts in a winning attempt to force Trump to fire his National Security Adviser, Michael Flynn, who had misled the nation about his ties with a Russian diplomat. Then more leaks came, from current and former officials to the *New York Times*, asserting that Trump campaign aides and senior Russian intelligence officials had been in contact during the 2016 presidential campaign. And the President of China, Xi Jinping, successfully pushed Trump to retreat from his pledge in December to give more recognition to the government in Taiwan.

Disruption can take many forms. Protesters have filled the streets, blocked airports and interrupted town-hall meetings by lawmakers across the country. Republicans, meanwhile, have been growing increasingly restless, with the House Oversight Committee probing Trump's security protocols for discussing classified information at his weekend retreat in Mar-a-Lago, and Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell suggesting that the Senate investigation of Russian interference in the election would expand. Others in the GOP have raised concerns that their legislative hopes under unified Republican control could fade, given the confusion over Trump's priorities on issues such as tax reform and trade. "There are a lot of questions on the part of the people who took the President home after the dance," explains Republican Senator Pat Roberts of Kansas.

In response, the White House has fallen back on its reality-show ways, distracted by the internecine drama of senior aides who spend their days mixing government business with jockeying for position and favor with the boss. No one has felt the pressure more than White House chief of staff Reince Priebus, who was christened as the man "in charge" by the President mere weeks ago yet has been trailed ever since by snipers regarding his aptitude and longevity for the job. Running the White House in a normal environment can be overwhelming. But the affable 44-year-old routinely finds himself rushing down the hallway from his office to intercept unscheduled visitors to the Oval Office. He had to break up one impromptu meeting of Trump and his Homeland Security adviser after an aide asked the chief if there had been a change to the schedule.

Little takes place in the White House these days without a complication or contradiction. Take the dismissal of Flynn. As senior aides prepared to announce his departure as a resignation, counselor Kellyanne Conway, who often boasts of her direct access to Trump, went on television to declare that Flynn had "the full confidence of the President." Then as officials quickly tried to correct that statement,

Priebus received notice on his phone that a release had misspelled the name Colombia, a South American ally whom Trump had called earlier in the evening. At roughly the same time, others close to Trump were telling Breitbart News, a conservative website once run by Trump strategist Steve Bannon, that aides were drawing up a list of replacements for Priebus. (Bannon denounced the statement as "This guy is doing an amazing job,")

EMOTIONAL DIVIDE

TRUMP'S PRESIDENCY HAS CHEERED SOME
AND BROUGHT CRIPPLING STRESS TO OTHERS

BY KARL VICK

WHAT YOU'RE EXPERIENCING IS NORMAL. THESE FEELINGS ARE entirely appropriate. Major news events really do press in at every turn, and the pace—yes, absolutely breakneck lately. It is the best of times, you bet. It's also the worst of times, no doubt about that either. Both things can be true—philosophers and scientists agree on this—because reality is subjective. Especially since Election Day.

Among Donald Trump's true believers, it's all good. The candidate said he would shake things up, and as President, he produces temblors more reliably than the San Andreas Fault. "Mentally, it's great," says Mike Meyer, 69, a Trump voter in Saginaw, Mich. "Everything seems upbeat now."

For those who voted for someone else, what the Disrupter in Chief is most disrupting is their ability to sleep soundly and maintain an optimal level of serotonin.

"I would wake up in the morning feeling as though I had a rock in my stomach," says Carol McGuire, 66, of Columbus, Ohio, about the days following the election. "The word *dread* would apply."

In other words, the country is not the only thing that's split. So is its mental health.

Every election produces winners and losers, and the Nov. 8 vote was not America's first presidential contest; it was its 58th. Republicans won the White House, so it's the Democrats' turn to be sad. That's the dynamic that has propelled U.S. politics since the dawn of the two-party system.

But here's something both sides agree on: There's something unusual going on this time. The angle of the sun isn't quite right. Birds fall silent at midday. Trump has engendered a qualitatively different response from the public, as befits a qualitatively different presidency. But the logic of the matter ends there. Emotions, in large sections of the population and in states of all colors, are as febrile as Trump at his most raw.

The anxiety is acute, free-floating and no secret at all. It filled the streets of 600 cities and towns with 3 million to 4 million chanting protesters on Trump's first full day in office, and jammed the lobbies of U.S. airports seven days later, after he signed an Executive Order closing the nation's doors to refugees. The unease haunts the crosstabs of public-opinion surveys: in an American Psychological Association (APA) poll released on Feb. 15, 6 in 10 Americans call the current political environment a source of "significant stress" for them. In the 2016 presidential campaign and its aftermath, the APA poll found the first statistically significant increase in stress levels since it started asking 10 years ago.

More than 10 million Americans don't know what the future of



their health care coverage is going to look like a month from now. Will they continue to receive subsidies to buy health insurance on the public market? Will they be asked to pony up the full cost of a plan on their own? Those who are pregnant, have pre-existing conditions or have young adults rely on their insurance are worried about what comes next—and that goes for Trump voters too.

Meanwhile, Executive Orders

FUTURE OF ZOOS

or a mother escorting her kids through the Philadelphia Zoo, it was a close encounter of the ferocious kind. Directly in front of her as she strolled down the zoo's main walkway was a Siberian tiger, a 400-plus-lb. carnivore capable of tearing apart a wild antelope.

But rather than panic, the family laughed. The tiger was out of its lair, but its pathway was at a safe, meshed-in distance from onlookers, and after a few moments of looking around, the tiger moved on.

The tiger's trail, dubbed Big Cat Crossing, is part of a bigger initiative called Zoo360 that has changed the way humans and animals experience the nation's oldest zoo. There's no question the experience is compelling for the humans. On a recent visit, I watched children drop their lunches in awe of white-faced saki monkeys hanging out in the trees. I witnessed one couple stop midconversation

there, but on the other side of the country, a different vision of the future is playing out. At Seattle's Woodland Park Zoo, the elephant exhibit, where countless children have watched pachyderms play, now sits empty. The zoo, long recognized as a world leader in innovative design, built a \$3 million state-of-the-art facility for the species in the 1980s. But in recent years, animal-rights advocates had criticized the exhibit as inhumane for being too small and not reflective of the elephants' natural habitat. Under pressure from activists following the death of an elephant in 2014, and thanks

families can visit and observe animals is being questioned like never before. Across the U.S. and around the world, zoos are finding that balancing the demands of entertainment, education and conservation is increasingly difficult.

Ethical concerns have been coupled with safety fears—both for people and for critters—following an incident in March when officials at the Cincinnati Zoo shot and killed a 17-year-old gorilla named Harambe to protect a child who'd fallen into the exhibit. More broadly, there's greater sensitivity to the environmental implications of zoos.

Ask a dozen zoo directors why these places should exist today and you'll get different answers every time. Education, conservation and science all come up. But the most common answer—fostering empathy for animals—is becoming harder to do while providing humane care for these animals.

Study after study has shown that many animal species are far smarter and have more feeling than previously understood, giving new insights into how they may suffer from anxiety and depression when

Not every zoo can have an elephant

Many elite zoos in the U.S. have focused on housing fewer animals as new research increasingly shows that animals need space and social interaction to thrive in captivity

SOURCES: SPECIES360 ZIMS DATABASE; ASSOCIATION OF ZOOS AND AQUARIUMS

Number of animals ...
... in this many zoos

Giant panda



15

4

Polar bear



43

24

Tiger



291

100

Gorilla



290

40

Orangutan



184

100

when a gorilla lumbered overhead, and saw more than a few families startled by the appearance of a large cat that seemed eerily close to them. But the bigger impact of Zoo360, says its chief operating officer, Andrew Baker, may be its effort to transform the experience of animals in captivity.

At a time when scientists know more than they ever have before about the inner lives of animals—and when concerns about animal rights loom large—many experts think that zoos need a major overhaul if they're going to last.

To some leaders in the field, the Philadelphia Zoo is the best model out

to new guidelines from the nation's main zoo organization, Woodland Park officials decided to close one of its most popular exhibits and place the elephants elsewhere.

"I am cautiously optimistic we'll be able to overcome this, but I'm not sure," says David Towne, who once oversaw the Woodland Park Zoo. "The animals-rights people have imposed their will on the elephants. I'm not sure that they aren't going to move on to gorillas, then other primates, and then what?"

Nearly two centuries after the first modern zoo opened in London's Regent's Park, the very concept of a place where

they are removed from nature. That has forced a difficult existential question: If we acknowledge that creatures suffer when they're confined, should they be held in captivity? Not even those who have advanced the cause for more humane exhibits have an answer. "Even the best zoos today are based on captivity and coercion," says Jon Coe, the legendary zoo designer who invented the Zoo360 concept for Philadelphia. "To me, that's the fundamental flaw."

"THAT MOMENT AT A ZOO, when a person sees a gorilla look them back in the eye, helps them grasp their role

PROGRESS/GROWTH OF NBA PLAYER JAMES HARDEN

ON A LATE-JANUARY NIGHT IN PHILADELPHIA, Houston Rockets point guard James Harden dribbles the ball toward the foul line and pauses, weighing one of the countless decisions he'll make over the course of the game. A blink later and he's off, driving to the basket with his left hand. But before Harden can launch a shot, the towering 76ers center Joel Embiid obscures his path. Not so long ago, Harden may have taken his chances and fired one off, the defender's 7-in. height advantage be damned. But that was before one of the league's most prolific shot takers discovered the joy of giving the ball away. And so with Embiid closing in, Harden spots teammate Montrezl Harrell rolling toward the hoop and zips it to him for an easy layup.

The score accounted for two of the 123 points Houston needed to pull out the close road win. Harden's pass marked one of 13 assists, part of a record-setting performance that also included 51 points and 13 rebounds. It was the second time this season he recorded a triple double—double digits in three statistical categories—while scoring 50 points. No other NBA player has ever done that more than once in a season. Such feats are one of the main reasons that, after a dismal 2015–16 season in which the Rockets barely made the playoffs, Houston has a real shot at the title and Harden is a leading contender for league MVP. How did this happen?

There are no shortage of explanations. Dwight Howard, an eight-time All-Star, left Houston in free agency, which some players credit with improving team chemistry. And the Rockets brought in a new coach, Mike D'Antoni, who installed an up-tempo offensive system that relies on the three-point shot. It's been a natural fit: Houston is making 14.5 threes per game, a record clip. But the most important reason for Houston's success may be the one that seemed least likely to work.

When D'Antoni took the reins, he asked Harden to become the team's point guard. Harden had never played the position full time in the NBA, and the move had plenty of skeptics—including Harden. "I thought he was crazy," Harden, 27, recently told TIME over dinner at a Houston steak house. The point guard's job is to facilitate a

team's offense, not necessarily to be the offense. And while Harden has always been a better passer than many realize—he finished sixth in the NBA in assists last season—it's his skill as a scorer that made him famous enough to have his own line of gummy candy. "You are who you are a lot of times," former Houston coach Kevin McHale said before the season started. "Can you change and be a facilitator first? I don't know."

With about two months left in the regular season, the answer seems clear. Harden leads the NBA in assists, averaging 11.3, 51% more than last year's rate, while still scoring 29.1 points per game, good for third in the league. And his team owns a 40-17 record, third best in the NBA as of Feb. 13. Fans, players and media voted Harden to start this year's All-Star Game on Feb. 19, the first time he's received that honor. For all of this to happen, for Harden to become the player few thought he could be, is a story with lessons that apply far beyond the basketball court.

"This is my eighth year in the league already, and it's going by like this," says Harden, snapping a finger. "I had to look in the mirror at myself and say, 'This is what you're doing, and this is what you have to be better at, in order to be one of the best basketball players in the world. You have to change. I've changed.'"

AT 6 FT. 5 IN. AND 225 LB., Harden packs power, but he's no freak physical specimen like LeBron James or Kevin Durant. Yet even as a kid in Los Angeles, Harden was certain he would be one of the best basketball players in the world. But he didn't always train like one. "When it was time to run around the gym and do sit-ups," says his mother Monja Willis, "he wasn't trying to do all that." A single

parent who worked in customer service at AT&T for almost 30 years, Willis gave birth to Harden a decade after having her second child, following a series of miscarriages. "We called him lucky," she says, "because he was lucky to be here."

Growing up, Harden was a bit chubby and asthmatic, and launched the ball from his hip. "My shot was quite blockable," Harden says. But he was a natural scorer who loved the game and remained convinced he would play it for a living. "He carried around a basketball as if it was his job," says Harden's older brother, Akili Roberson. "I was like, 'Dude, do you know how many people play in the NBA?'" When Harden was in ninth grade, he left a note for his mother. "Could u leave me a couple of dollars?" Harden wrote. "P.S. Keep this paper. Imma be a star."

At Artesia High School, an L.A.-area basketball powerhouse, coach Scott Pera tried to bring Harden's fitness in line with his talent and ambition. Harden complained about the conditioning regimen to his mom—even today, he recalls it as "the worst time of my life"—and they met with Pera in the coach's office. "She looked at him, looked at me and goes, 'He's the coach, listen to him,'" Pera says. That was enough to bond player and coach, and Harden thrived, earning a spot on the prestigious McDonald's All-American team his senior year.

Harden stayed close to Pera for college, spurning top programs like North Carolina to attend Arizona State, where Pera had become an assistant coach. The season before Harden arrived on campus, in 2007, the Sun Devils finished 8-22. Harden engineered a turnaround in Tempe: Arizona State won at least 20 games in each of Harden's two seasons, and he was named Pac-12 Player of the Year in 2009. That June, the Oklahoma City Thunder selected Harden with the third pick in the NBA draft.

In Oklahoma City, Harden joined the young stars Durant and Russell Westbrook to form the core of a budding dynasty. By his third season, in 2012, the Thunder reached the NBA Finals, where they lost to the James-led Miami Heat. The trio tempered that defeat by winning a gold medal together at that summer's London Olympics. But the Thunder determined that the small-market team couldn't afford three superstars. In

**THE MOVE HAD
PLENTY OF
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IMPORTANCE OF SLEEP ON LIVING LONGER

L O N G E V I T Y

'Sleep is the single most effective thing you can do to reset your brain and body for health.'

MATTHEW WALKER, professor of neuroscience and psychology, University of California, Berkeley

MARK ZIELINSKI KNEW HE WAS ONTO SOMETHING when his mice stopped sleeping. Normally, the animals woke and slept on a 12-hour cycle. When the lights were on in the lab, the mice were active. When it went dark on a timer, down they went. But Zielinski, who teaches psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, had recently tweaked their schedule to keep the mice up past their bedtime.

Zielinski and his colleagues would rustle the bedding in the mice's cages to keep them from dozing off when they started to display the telltale signs of sleepiness—drooping lids, sluggish walk, EEG readings showing their brain activity was waning. But Zielinski noticed that when the mice were left alone to slumber at will after the disruption, they didn't, or perhaps couldn't, fall asleep.

That the sleep-deprived rodents slept less than they normally would didn't really surprise Zielinski. The mice had a genetic mutation that he suspected was linked to sleep problems. More striking were the electrical brain readings showing that even when they did sleep, they weren't getting the deep, restorative kind of rest that doctors say matters most—not just to rodents but also to humans.

In the right conditions, researchers believe, the brain produces a signal that essentially tells the body's major systems—the heart, the lungs, the digestive system, the nervous system, even the muscles—that it's time to call it quits for the day. Zielinski's research has found that, just as with the mice with the mutation, it's likely that in some people with chronic sleep problems, that critical signal isn't firing.

Understanding what's behind some forms of insomnia, an aim of Zielinski's research, is a major step in learning how to fix it. That's a big deal in

sleep research, because evidence linking quality rest to good health and longevity has never been more convincing.

Scientists are learning that short-changing sleep can compromise nearly every major body system, from the brain to the heart to the immune system, making our inability—or unwillingness—to sleep enough one of the unhealthiest things we can do.

Studies of people whose sleep sessions are irregular or short show they are at higher risk of developing diseases that can lead to early death, including heart disease, diabetes, high blood pressure and obesity. Poor sleep may have detrimental effects on the brain as well, increasing the risk of dementia, including Alzheimer's disease, as well as mood disorders like depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and anxiety. And like smoking, a terrible diet and not exercising enough, poor sleep is now linked to an overall increased risk of premature death.

"I used to suggest that sleep is the third pillar of good health, along with diet and exercise," says Matthew Walker, a professor of neuroscience and psychology at the University of California, Berkeley. "But I don't agree with that anymore. Sleep is the single most effective thing you can do to reset your brain and body for health."

Despite the mounting evidence of its benefits, Americans are sleeping about two hours less each night than they did a century ago. Blame the technology-fueled 24/7 workplace, social media or the relentless news cycle, but about one-third of U.S. adults sleep less than the recommended seven hours daily, and 40% report feeling drowsy during the day, according to data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The problem begins early: only 15% to 30% of U.S. teens get the 8½ hours a night recommended for adolescents.

While life expectancy has been inching upward over the past century thanks to advances in medicine and technology, those gains could start to sag under the weight of our collective sleeplessness. Many people still dismiss sleep as something they can occasionally (or even regularly) skimp on, but the