Politics, personality and surviving the workplace by Ashley Weinberg
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'Politics is a dirty word', we are told: 'Anyone who is a politician should not be trusted'. And so the cycle of disbelief in the people and processes that govern so many countries and organisations continues. Yet herein lies a common self-deception. Whether we like it or not, we are all politicians! Let anyone who has never attempted to persuade another person nor support a course of action nor resolve a dispute show their hand. For those who are less public in their dealings, who has never prioritised one piece of information over another, nor secretly given to charity nor conformed to what others think because it suited their aims? Politics is essentially about exercising – privately or publicly - some kind of control, influence or power. Whether it is at the level of the individual, group or organisation, political acts are part of our everyday dealings. There is a clear purpose to this, as 'political animals' we naturally keep aware of opportunities as well as threats to our survival. In this sense politics may indeed be a 'dirty' word, because it is something we may not wish to advertise, but is actually fundamental to ensuring we can survive and prosper. This chapter examines the role of political behaviour in the workplace, the extent to which this reflects aspects of our personality and its significance for individual psychological well-being.

What is political behaviour? Far from exclusively being a set of arts attributable to less desirable human habits, it comprises activities such as building social networks, gaining the support of influential others, self-promotion (Buchanan and Badham, 2008), relating to others, employing analytical skills (Silvester, Wyatt and Randall, 2013), controlling information and using rules and structures to one's advantage (Morgan, 2006). The use of each presumes we are capable of understanding politics as it is enacted in our workplaces. Naturally there may be resistance to recognising these as political skills as these resemble the features of 'how I get my job done', but this is curiously close to how political skills are defined, i.e. 'the ability to effectively understand others at work and to use such knowledge to influence others to act in ways that enhance one's personal and/or organizational objectives' (Ferris et al, 2005, p.127). Depending on the specific job, such things that underpin the social expectations of the workplace can be distinguishable from those aspects of the job which give it its title. In other words, political skills may be considered separate from the purely technical aspects of work which overtly define our roles as engineers, customer service agents, machine operators, social workers, etc. However organisational politics surround us and to varying degrees engage us, as the dynamics of our workplaces flex to daily and strategic demands. 'I love my job, but I hate the politics of this place' is a common mantra and a heartfelt expression of emotion about this extrinsic feature of work. It is noteworthy that even those who actually have the job of politician and would be considered as 'better than others at "doing" organisational politics' (Kwiatkowski, 2012, p.55) are not exempt from the frustrations it brings.

Arguably it is impossible to escape involvement in the politics which characterise human relations in at least some part of our daily work. Indeed politics is the lifeblood of the

psychological contract which directly describes unmet or violated expectations connected with work and mediates how we may respond (Conway and Coyle-Shapiro, 2012). For example a teacher may feel happy that they have enjoyed a rewarding day encouraging their students, yet at the end of it discover that factors beyond their control have blocked funding for an educational trip they had planned; an electrician may have successfully fixed all the electrical faults they were asked to mend, but goes home worrying about a complaint from a customer who refuses to pay for the work done. In other words, the nature of the job task may not be the challenge to the employee, but instead the conditions surrounding this aspect of work clearly have the potential to fulfil or frustrate. If political behaviour is the medium we use to facilitate our goals and/or those of our organisation, this is often seen as an added dimension to our job, but is actually fundamental in helping us achieve satisfactory work outcomes. As such, the influence of political behaviour on job satisfaction, as well as on well-being cannot be underestimated (Malik, Danish and Ghafoor, 2009). This begs the question of how well equipped are we to deal with this type of political challenge?

In fact there are apparent similarities between political awareness and functioning and those factors highlighted by known models of personality. Emotional Intelligence (EI), which emphasises the capacity for intra- and interpersonal insights and their use to achieve goals, has received considerable attention since the turn of the century, while Machiavellianism, which is centred around deceptive capacities has been widely researched for almost fifty years (Christie and Geis, 1970). It is tempting to consider these traits as opposite sides of the same coin – with EI viewed as positive and Machiavellianism as negative – however they have been found to be distinct (Austin, Farrelly, Black and Moore, 2007; Dahling, Whitaker and Levy, 2009). As such it can be expected that both politically-oriented traits can play important, albeit different, roles in influencing individual well-being at work. Perhaps this is no coincidence, as the ability to calculate at some level what is good for achieving our own goals is likely to have implications for our own psychological and physical health. Indeed this is fundamental to our survival. Our social antennae are attuned to potential opportunities and threats, so political behaviours are required to make the most of the former and to minimise the latter. However given our inclination towards social groupings – inside and out of the workplace - it is particularly relevant to examine the respective roles of EI and Machiavellianism.

Various models of EI have been proposed of which Goleman, Boyatzis and McKee's (2002) mixed model is probably the best known, featuring self-awareness and self-regulation (oriented towards the person), social awareness and social skills/management (highlighting social competencies). Goleman et al's model differs from Mayer and Salovey's (1997) ability-focused approach, combining aspects of ability and personality, but similarly he does incorporate the capacity to recognise and regulate emotions. Bar-On's (2005) emotional-social intelligence model is another mixed model which includes stress management and general mood. For the purposes of this chapter, reference will be made to components of Goleman's model, thus avoiding the potential for duplication between Bar-On's conceptualisation of stress and the psychological health outcomes featured later. Machiavellianism provides a stark contrast to EI and has as its main

features the capacity to ascribe cynicism to the motives of others, a lack of adherence to ethical behaviour and the desire to manipulate others for gain (Dahling, Kuyumcu and Librizzi 2012) which therefore promotes a short-term focus to problems. It is not considered a personality disorder (Kessler et al, 2010). This trait is rooted in self-interest (Furnham, 2008) and it is not surprising that controversy has long surrounded the inspiration for it which is the work 'On Principalities' by Niccolo Machiavelli, written in 1513 and given the title 'The Prince' by the publisher after the author's death (Parks, 2009).

For illustrative purposes, it is useful to consider the operation of EI and Machiavellianism in the workplace example of the teacher. The teacher who receives bad news about their cancelled trip may feel under-valued for the extra work which had been invested in the idea, frustration that an educational opportunity had been missed, as well as disappointment on behalf of the enthusiastic students. Any or all of these emotions may motivate the teacher to seek an appointment with the head of the school to query the decision and begin a search for alternative ways of funding the trip. These actions may not be considered 'teaching', but are necessary for the personal and public reasons given. These are political actions and have the potential to yield a solution to the problem, or indeed further discontent. The stance of the individual teacher is likely to be influenced not only by insight into their own motives. These would include the degree of importance attached to the educational goal, the ability to cope with unmet expectations, as well as their own levels of emotional intelligence and Machiavellianism. In other words, 'I am here to teach but am denied the resources which will help me deliver the best teaching to the students, so how do I feel inclined to address the situation?' In theory at least, emotionally intelligent actions by the teacher should result in exploration of the alternatives and careful communication of the outcome to students without resulting in conflict with the school or its pupils and their families. However a more Machiavellian approach might lead to leaking news about insufficient support for education to local media to try to force the situation. Given the potential for the situation to end positively or negatively for all concerned – including the teacher and school's working relationship and respective reputations - attention to the relevant political processes and implications is clearly important. Preparation for treading the fine line between a more or less successful political outcome would not have featured in the teacher training qualification and yet it has the greater potential than most technical errors in class for a negative impact on the teacher's psychological health and career prospects. This example is designed to illustrate how important political awareness can be, yet how this is often overlooked in preparing workers for organisational life. Without relevant training, individuals are more reliant on the inclinations of their personality to guide their reactions to events. The respective implications for well-being of higher levels of EI or Machiavellianism are considered next in relation to categories of political activity identified by relevant researchers into organisational life. First it is important to consider the shared territory between political behaviour and psychological health.

Control is so often found to be the key to our psychological well-being, featuring in established models of mental health (e.g. Rotter, 1966; Warr, 1989), as well as psychosocial theories of the workplace (e.g. Hackman and Oldham, 1976; Karasek,

1979). Within these perspectives, control may be referred to as autonomy and the process by which it is gained as empowerment. As such it can be hard to divine how much relative importance should be afforded to individual perceptions of control or instead to more objectively assessed criteria. Either way it is known that employees' well-being stands to benefit from perceiving they have (e.g. Leach, Wall and Jackson, 2003) or are objectively assessed as having (e.g. Randall, Griffiths and Cox, 2005) greater control over their job. The key implication for individual psychological health is that this positively encourages an enhanced sense of self-efficacy and self-worth, i.e. 'I did that; I made that happen'. Positive outcomes for well-being are based on competence ('I can do this well'), aspiration ('I want to do this'), positive affect ('I feel good'), personal growth ('I can learn how to do this') and a sense of purpose ('I am making a difference') (Warr, 1987; Ryff, 1989), along with an absence of limiting factors such as cognitive weariness and psychosomatic complaints (van Horn et al, 2004). Whilst it is unlikely that all of these facets of psychological health will be serviced by any given occupational context, awareness of the range of influential factors for well-being is necessary to understand the function of political behaviours. For the individual experiencing unsatisfactory conditions, political actions may provide a route to addressing such deficits. Large scale research studies have shown the negative impact on mental health of having little or no control over work-related events, from downsizing in the Finnish civil service (Vahtera et al, 2004) to job insecurity across 16 European countries (Laszlo et al, 2010). Even in circumstances where we may have little control over events, some level of involvement makes a positive difference leading to reduced incidence of depression, heart disease and smoking (Karasek and Theorell, 1990). Such examples illustrate the significance of political considerations for our well-being and how effectively we cope with challenges within the job. When considering political activities in the remainder of this chapter it will be seen that these are not ostensibly or exclusively about enacting direct control. However it is suggested that their role in creating or maintaining a sense of control does underpin the link with positive experiences of mental health. Figure 1 presents a simplified model of how this might operate in practice. Personality traits recognised as politically important are highlighted, i.e. EI and Machiavellianism, and their relevance to shaping political behaviours at work is also shown. In turn their anticipated links with psychological health outcomes are indicated. The contents of Table 1 and the commentary which follows it expand on this theoretical framework.

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Political skills have been variously studied among ostensibly political and non-political occupations (e.g. Buchanan and Badham, 2008; Morgan, 2006; Silvester, Wyatt and Randall, 2013), however their links with the psychological health of the actors have been less well studied. Table 1 highlights how political behaviours commonly used in the workplace link with psychosocial constructs of known relevance to psychological health outcomes in the workplace.

Table 1 – Hypothesised links between 12 political activities and predicted psychological health outcomes mediated by psychosocial factors in the workplace

Political activity	Psychosocial mediator(s)	Psychological health outcome (predicted)
Building social networks	Social support	+ve
Gaining support of powerful others	Management support	+ve
Self-promotion	Job advancement/personal growth	+ve
Using rules to one's advantage	Perceived control	+ve
Understanding organisational culture	Perceived control	+ve
Taking a lead role	Autonomy	+ve/-ve
Controlling information	Autonomy	+ve/-ve
Relating to others	Social support	+ve
Handling conflict	Emotional labour	+ve/-ve
Analytical skills	Perceived control/competence	+ve
Manipulating others	Lack of social support	-ve
Coping	Perceived control/self-esteem	+ve

Note: Based on political skills highlighted by Buchanan and Badham (2008), Morgan (2006) and Silvester, Wyatt and Randall (2013)

The analysis of social behaviour at work which follows explores the contents of Table 1 in turn and highlights political activities and their implications for our experience of the workplace and of psychological well-being.

Building social networks around us is likely to be a natural consequence of being around others and is not necessarily a conscious act in itself. In this way the gregarious individual likely to score high on extraversion will be socially-oriented for the purposes of assessing this aspect of their emotional intelligence. Those who score higher in Machiavellianism are less likely to invest energy in this activity unless they see the benefit of a particular social network. Whichever predisposition leads to engaging in social contact, the result is the opportunity for increased social support and as the Whitehall studies of UK civil servants have shown this carries positive potential for psychological health (Stansfeld, Fuhrer and Shipley, 1998). In addition the beneficial impact of social support on individuals' determination to persist in the face of challenges at work (Warr, 2007) and its facilitation of employees' identity with the wider workforce (Wood, 2008) have shown how political considerations such as drive towards a common goal and unity with others can positively impact on well-being. On an organisational scale, building social networks can mirror the positive impact of social support as a coping strategy utilised by individuals in talking about, validating and hopefully addressing the problems they face.

Gaining the support of powerful others in the workplace is likely to mean developing positive working relationships with one's line manager and/or with other colleagues at a more senior level in the organisation. In this way the employee should feel comfortable within their job role as well as perceiving a greater degree of organisational support (Rhoades and Eisenberger, 2002). In fact the impact of relationships with managers on the individual worker's psychological health has been highlighted in the research literature to the extent that the UK's Health and Safety Executive (HSE, 2004) included this type of support in its management standards for tackling stress at work. Furthermore the UK's National Institute for Clinical Excellence (NICE) has been developing guidelines for managers recognising the direct effect of their behaviour on the mental health of employees reporting to them (NICE, 2013). Managing one's own relationships is a core component of the construct of emotional intelligence as much as recognising opportunities for advancement for gain are central to Machiavellianism. One may suppose that those scoring high on each predisposition will fare well in drawing support to their cause. However in practice, the resulting behaviours can range from being confident about expressing opinions or even sharing a joke with a manager to having a realistic expectation of support from the manager for a new idea. What is likely to differ between those high in either trait is the capacity for deep or surface acting of the relevant emotions and with this the risk of appearing insincere or obviously fawning. The natural cynicism and short-term focus which informs the Machiavellian approach may actually undermine their desired impact on the manager.

Similarly effective **self-promotion** requires careful management of one's own emotional display, whether this is in the course of putting oneself forward to lead or to seek an actual job promotion. The emotionally intelligent individual is likely to have sufficient concern for the impact of their behaviour and with raised levels of self-awareness more embarrassing tactics for putting oneself forward are more readily avoided. Ambition is not the sole domain of the Machiavellian approach, for its purpose to facilitate positive outcomes for the individual is clear to all; however the manner in which it is expressed and pursued sends clear messages to fellow workers and managers alike. There are competitive organisational cultures in which the respectful treatment of others is overlooked in favour of raw methods of advancement, so it would be less surprising to see Machiavellianism reaping more rewards where there is a lack of regulation of employee behaviour. The banking sector, both before and since the economic crisis of 2007-8, has achieved a dubious reputation in this regard. However more recent recognition by some financial institutions of the negative impact of an unforgiving working culture on mental well-being has increased desire for psychologically healthier working (City of London, 2014). Generally job promotion opportunities are seen as desirable and are likely to be linked to positive past achievements. Where this is assessed in terms of dealings with others, the individual with a reputation for integrity based on their inclination towards social awareness should do comparatively well, although the deceptively charming individual has the chance to succeed where this depends on a strong interview performance (Furnham, 2008). Whichever way self-promotion is achieved, improved health prospects can be expected to follow from the resulting enhanced levels of autonomy further up the organisational hierarchy (Marmot et al, 1997)

or simply enhancing one's life options through increased income (Gardner and Oswald, 2007).

This political activity is linked to **taking a lead role,** which is likely to attract those with a range of motivations for exercising power. However the additional responsibility of such a task is that of bringing others along with you and as mentioned earlier this can be achieved in more than one manner, with those scoring high in emotional intelligence likely to try less formal routes to achieve organisational goals with their employees (Kessler et al, 2010). The most effective style of leadership depends in no small part on the circumstances in which it is required. The organisational equivalents of war and of peace carry their own risks for individual and collective well-being. However the effect of leadership on those who are expected to follow is also bound up in the success of the enterprise at hand. Thus leadership which fails to convey its aims, to win trust, to inspire or continue to energise employees is likely to flounder, not least because its impact is unhealthy for organisational survival and therefore collective well-being. One may imagine that the increased chances of such results following the implementation of an unethical Machiavellian approach. On the other hand emotionally intelligent leadership is likelier to recognise the need for careful handling of employees, particularly in change scenarios (Travaglioni and Cross, 2006). The impact on the psychological health of the individual taking the lead role has been the focus of many case studies, but given the considerable number of variables in operation, the definitive answer remains elusive. We might expect that being a leader bolsters one's sense of control and self-esteem, but psychological risks historically accompany such an overtly political role – as one American President John Quincy Adams famously stated, 'The four most miserable years of my life were my four years in the presidency'.

The adage that 'information is power' points to the political nature of actions which acquire, use and manage the flow of knowledge – in other words boosting control over a situation in the short- or long-term. **Using rules to one's advantage**, **understanding organisational culture**, **deploying analytical skills and controlling information** each exemplify the capacity of the individual to shape his/her future by gathering and utilising the necessary resources. Gaining an understanding of 'how things work around here' (Bower, 1966) is underpinned by a predisposition towards more than being inquisitive as it requires the motivation and skills to connect with those who already possess or govern access to this information. To this end and from different motivational viewpoints, both emotionally intelligent and Machiavellian individuals will recognise the importance of building working relationships and alliances. However difficulties with trust as well as the inclination to break with protocol and to stray into unethical practice provide significant risks to the success of the more Machiavellian-minded. The ability to analyse quantities of complex information is recognised by those who have it, and their colleagues, as significantly correlated with conscientiousness (Silvester et al, 2013). The drawback for those inclined to manipulate data for unethical purposes is that there is a negative correlation between conscientiousness and Machiavellianism (Lee and Ashton, 2005) which increases their chances of making mistakes and getting caught. The step represented by controlling information is reliant on subjective judgement and as such is potentially open to abuse. Again the overlap between managing (EI-related) and

manipulating (Machiavellian-related) relationships with others is apparent, but the outcome for the individual in possession of the information is an increased perception of control and therefore a likely boon to well-being.

The activities of **relating to others** and **handling conflict** are considerations of daily living and by virtue of this they also represent the most commonplace of political behaviours. For those who remain sceptical that we are all indeed politicians, this is the 'acid test'. Social behaviour naturally leads us into dealings with family, friends and colleagues, which inevitably provides opportunities for positive contact as well as challenges. The key difference between those inclined towards emotionally intelligent or Machiavellian practices lies in what these relations mean to that individual. In simple terms the person with raised EI is more likely to genuinely enjoy relations with others and as well as possessing a liking for others may be more able to show this too. Machiavellian priorities make this harder for the individual to experience and to display. This can lead to quite different approaches to conflict where resolution also means different things. On the one hand, higher EI may indeed result in the peaceful resolution (or even prevention) of a potential conflict situation, however this presupposes that the process is required to be peaceful. It can be equally likely there are those for whom specific or ongoing conflict is seen as an alternative political approach to a problem, perhaps preferring to prioritise the use of threat or force over any attempt to win 'hearts and minds'. Machiavelli's 'The Prince' famously ponders this advice to would-be rulers in a range of scenarios, suggesting that both might and persuasion should reside in our political armoury. Indeed one could argue that leadership is loosely categorised according to this model, with transactional and transformational styles representing quite different motivations for the use of power (Burns, 1978) and transformational styles showing more positive effects on employees compared to other approaches (Kelloway et al, 2012). Whilst considerable debate exists around the most effective approach to leadership, it is used here to highlight the likely (but not exclusively) differing priorities for the personality traits under discussion. What the political activities of relating to others and handling conflict say about those for whom EI or Machiavellianism is dominant, is not only linked to how they deal with others but how much this is informed and influenced by how they view themselves.

Personality, psychological health and coping

Reviews of relevant research suggest that higher emotional intelligence is linked to increased levels of well-being (Schutte et al, 2007) and to a reduced risk of depression among men (Salguero, Extremera, and Fernandez-Berrocal, 2012) and lower levels of anxiety among men and women (Lizeretti and Extremera, 2011). This is consistent with holding a positive view of oneself and experiencing accompanying feelings of self-worth and self-esteem (Mikolajczak and Luminet, 2008). With enhanced understanding of one's own emotions as well as awareness of those of others, it is logical to predict more frequently positive social interactions for the high-EI individual. A different picture emerges for Machiavellianism which is negatively correlated with subjective well-being (Jones and Paulhus, 2009). A relationship between this trait and depression is less obvious, however proneness to high anxiety and disconnection from emotions (Jones and

Paulhus, 2009) convey a more negative self-image and a lowered sense of well-being than experienced by those possessing higher levels of EI. Within a work context, Machiavellianism is linked with increased job strain and reduced job and career satisfaction (Jones and Paulhus, 2009), as well as impaired employee performance (O'Boyle et al, 2012). Taken as a whole, the commentary thus far on the relative likelihood of success or failure in work of those individuals so predisposed, suggests more positive outcomes for psychological well-being where EI is higher and more negative ones where Machiavellianism dominates. However this conclusion is not clear-cut in relation to each category of political activity (see Table 1), nor is the certainty of the predicted outcome given the range of individual and organisational variables involved. Nevertheless the list of political behaviours examined here omits an important component (although readers may have additions of their own in mind). The category proposed by this author is that variously known as coping or resilience - in other words actions which directly protect or promote the well-being of the individual.

Can **coping** be a political activity? The answer lies again with definition and motivation. If supporting a cause is political in nature, then it is not unreasonable to suggest that the cause can be 'you'. By taking steps to safeguard one's psychological health or enhance one's capacity to deal with challenges from the psychosocial environment, the potential to survive is increased. The need to perform this political function for ourselves is no less great than in the modern workplace (Weinberg and Cooper, 2012) and it is no coincidence that different forms of coping have received considerable focus. This is not to say that the impact of work has previously been easier on workers' mental health, but that the options for coping have altered. In the UK in days before employment legislation and associated employee rights, the voice afforded to disgruntled workers was noticeably limited. This is exemplified by the action of an apprentice chimney builder who worked for a particularly cruel employer. Such was the young employee's fear that he dared not share his thoughts out loud, but so intense was his sense of dissatisfaction and injustice that he wrote his honest thoughts about the employer on a piece of paper and inserted it into the brickwork behind the fireplace as he was fixing it in place. This silently defiant act went unnoticed by others for over one hundred years until the fireplace was being replaced and the letter discovered. Acts such as this were regarded as examples of stoicism and now find their equivalent in what is widely referred to as 'resilience'. This describes the capacity to use emotions to help us bounce back from negative events (Tugade, Frederickson and Feldman-Barrett, 2004). The overlap between resilience and coping goes further than this as appraisal of the incoming threat to the individual is implicit in both the ability to embrace a challenge and to mobilise resources to meet it (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). This begs the question about individuals' knowledge of their capacity to cope. The self-awareness integral to higher EI may furnish the individual with positive emotional resources (Tugade et al, 2004) which are less accessible to the person with higher Machiavellianism. The Conservation of Resources theory (Hobfoll, 1989) highlights the preventative potential of preparing to cope. As such the political activities examined in this chapter, whether deployed in advance of or in response to, an emerging problem could be regarded as forms of resilience or coping in their own right. However this does not guarantee that professional politicians who routinely use political actions, are inoculated against psychological strain in their own job. Indeed the impact of

changes at work over which national politicians have reduced levels of control have been observed to have just as negative an effect on their mental health as in parallel scenarios for other occupational groups facing job uncertainty (Weinberg, 2013). It would appear that recognition of the explicit need to look after one's psychological health should have no exemptions and therefore deserves its own category in the list of political activities in Table 1. Without positive mental health, our longer term capacity to maintain all other behaviours – political or not - is ultimately limited.

The forms of coping and features which make up individual resilience are linked to the facets of psychological well-being considered previously in this chapter (Warr, 1987; Ryff, 1989) and if deployed successfully will service our needs accordingly. For the teacher mentioned earlier, the challenge to the psychological contract is clear and some readjustment of expectation is required by the individual and/or the organisation to avoid dissatisfaction spiralling into derailment. This example also underlines the potential importance of training employees in how to deal with politically-charged events at work. Herriot and Pemberton's (1995) advice to the employee in such a situation to, 'get out, get safe or get even' encapsulates a stark range of options, but it is arguable that each has its merits for psychological well-being. However the influential role of personality cannot be overlooked, for as it shapes our behavioural style, it also has the capacity to promote outcomes for the betterment or detriment of mental health. Within the specific context of work, attempts at modelling emotionally intelligent behaviours have yielded promising research outcomes (Nelis et al, 2013). The debate about freedom to express 'natural' dispositions cannot be far behind. It should be noted that for ease of contemplation, only the roles of EI and Machiavellianism have received extended attention here and this may risk conveying the impression that 'if x, then y'. Clearly if taken in isolation this would be too simplistic, as the potential impact of other aspects of personality, individual differences and job context cannot be ignored. Notwithstanding this limitation, it is hoped that by focusing on the role of selected personality traits in the context of work, this chapter has made explicit 'political' activities, emphasising their commonplace nature, their clear implications for psychosocial factors at work and in turn their potentially key role in determining our well-being. However successful or otherwise this enterprise, it is hoped that enough evidence has been presented to convince the undecided that political behaviour is not just for those who work in the job of 'politician' – for we are all politicians in our own social sphere.

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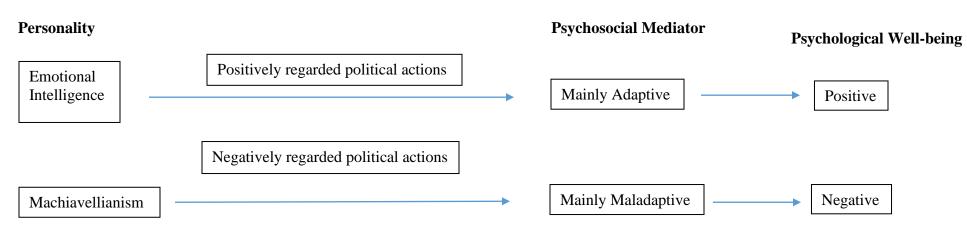
Figure 1 – Politically oriented personality traits leading to psychological health outcomes

Personality　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Psychosocial Mediator**

Psychological Well-being

| Emotional Intelligence |

Positively regarded political actions

| Mainly Adaptive | → | Positive |

Negatively regarded political actions

| Machiavellianism |

| Mainly Maladaptive | → | Negative |