Received: 22 January 2021 | Accepted: 8 February 2021

DOI: 10.1111/josi.12432

WILEY

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

The modernity/coloniality of love: Individualist lifeways and charismatic christianity in Ghanaian worlds

Annabella Osei-Tutu[1] | **Glenn Adams**[2] | **Darlingtina Esiaka**[2] | **Vivian A. Dzokoto**[3] | **Adjeiwa Akosua Affram**[1]

[1] Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, Accra, Ghana

[2] Department of Psychology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, USA

[3] Department of African American Studies, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia, USA

Correspondence
Annabella Osei-Tutu, P. O. Box LG84, Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, Legon-Accra.
Email: aopare-henaku@ug.edu.gh

Author Note:

Annabella Osei-Tutu, Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana; Glenn Adams, Department of Psychology, University of Kansas, USA; Vivian Dzokoto, Department of African American Studies, Virginia Commonwealth University, USA; Adjeiwa Akosua Affram, Department of Psychology, University of Ghana. Darlingtina Esiaka is now at the Department of Psychology, Union College, New York, USA.

Abstract

A manifestation of coloniality in psychological science concerns the modern individualist lifeways that inform mainstream research. We report results of a multi-method research project that investigated implications of these ways of being for the experience of love in Ghanaian settings. In particular, we investigated the hypothesis that engagement with Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs)—an important carrier of individualist lifeways in many West African settings—would be associated with a growth orientation to love as a means for mutual self-expansion and fulfillment. In Study 1 (n = 61), growth themes and a conception of love as *feeling* were more evident, but sustainability themes and a conception of love as *doing* less evident, in interview responses of participants who reported engagement with PCCs versus Traditional Western Mission Churches (TWMCs). In Study 2 (n = 1120), family obligation, relationship harmony, and (among participants who reported daily church attendance) perception of a social norm to prioritize mother over spouse were weaker for members of PCCs than TWMCs. Results help to reveal the colonial dark side of the modern individualist lifeways that mainstream research tends to regard as a just-natural standard.

KEYWORDS
culture, religion, relationship, support, family

Decolonial approaches draw upon epistemic perspectives of the Global South to reveal and counteract the coloniality of everyday life in the modern order (Escobar, 2007; Ratele, 2019). Whereas *colonialism* implies a bounded period of racialized violence with a definite conclusion, *coloniality* refers to associated ways of being and knowing that have persisted and continue to do violence long after the end of formal colonial rule (e.g., Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Similarly, whereas standard accounts typically portray modernity as the gleaming edge of progress, decolonial theorists use the phrase *modernity/coloniality* to emphasize the inseparable role of colonial violence in the ongoing (re)production of the globalized modern order.

The concept of coloniality is especially relevant for the *psychological study of social issues* not only because psychological manifestations of coloniality are an important social issue, but also because psychological science itself is a site of coloniality that requires decolonial intervention (e.g., Adams et al., 2015; Bhatia, 2017; Bulhan, 2015; Maldonado-Torres, 2017a; Ratele, 2019). Our concern in this article is a particularly subtle manifestation of coloniality in psychological science: the modernity/coloniality of the individualist constructions of self that inform theory and research (Adams et al., 2020). Epistemic perspectives of the Global South provide a standpoint from which to think through the modernity/coloniality of individualist ways of being and thereby to appreciate the impact of racial violence on topics that appear at first glance to be far removed from this violence. In this paper, we consider one such topic: the modernity/coloniality of individualist ways of being related to the experience of love and care.

Modernity/coloniality of individualist lifeways

It has become fairly commonplace to note that the knowledge archive of psychology rests disproportionately on a base of work in settings that are WEIRD: that is, *Western, educated, industrial, rich*, and (supposedly) *democratic* (see Henrich et al., 2010). Reflecting its basis in WEIRD realities of Eurocentric modernity, psychology has extensively documented patterns associated with habits of mind, modes of existence, or ways of being that we will refer to as *individualist lifeways*.[1] The core feature of these individualist lifeways is an experience of society as an aggregate of individuals constituted by authentic or essential properties abstracted from social context. The implicit contrast is with the *interdependent lifeways* that constitute the more common experience of human societies across time and space, including the West African settings that are the site of the current research. Rather than a sense of mobility and abstraction from context, the core feature of these lifeways is the experience of embeddedness in ontologically prior social systems (Adjei, 2019; Adams & Dzokoto, 2003).

[1] Our use of this phrase has much in common with—indeed, derives its inspiration from—the work of Hazel Markus and her colleagues on cultural variation in selfways (Markus et al., 1997) or self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Although one can use *selfways* to refer to the habits of mind or ways of being that are the subject of the current work (e.g., Adams & Kurtiş, 2018), the core reference to *self* has psychologizing connotations, associated with particular cultural-ecological affordances, that are the subject of our critique. Here we prefer *lifeways* to decenter the psychologistic preoccupation with self-experience and to re-focus attention on more general habits of mind, modes of existence, or ways of being. (See also the concept of *habitus*; Bourdieu, 1977).

Cultural psychologists have highlighted the extent to which individualist lifeways are a cultural-historical product; they develop through a process of mutual constitution with modern cultural ecologies that afford an experience of high relational mobility (Yuki & Schug, 2012), freedom from constraint, and abstraction from place (Adams & Kurtiş, 2018). Yet, rather than understand these patterns as historically contingent, cultural forms, hegemonic perspectives of psychology typically portray them as optimal expressions of human nature and elevate them to the level of prescriptive norm. The epistemic violence of this approach is readily apparent in both the imperialist imposition of WEIRD forms as a standard without regard for cultural fit and the tendency to interpret divergence from this standard as pathological deviance (i.e., *epistemological violence*; Teo, 2010).

A less readily apparent manifestation of epistemic violence is inherent in the connection of individualist lifeways to modernity (and thus to coloniality; Adams et al., 2018). First, the modernity/coloniality of individualist lifeways is evident in their source. They did not arise innocently from cultural developments isolated from political economy. Instead, their characteristic sense of freedom from constraint and abstraction from context—including the Enlightenment rationalist experience of "I think, therefore I am"—requires a level of collective affluence that became possible as a result of colonial plunder and the violent appropriation of other peoples' land, labor, and wealth (Rodney, 1972). Second, the modernity/coloniality of individualist lifeways is evident in their elevation to the status of normative standard. Theory and research that takes individualist lifeways as a default standard is likely to offer prescriptions that reinforce individualist lifestyles and their associated modern/colonial harm. Of particular relevance for the current work is the possibility that modern/colonial individualist lifeways promote a growth orientation to love and psychologization of care that trades the security of collective belonging for a risky and often self-defeating emphasis on self-expansion and personal fulfillment (Esiaka et al., 2020; Thomas & Cole, 2009; Wardlow & Hirsch, 2006).

Implications for the study of love and care

As with other topics, research on interpersonal relationship in hegemonic psychology tends to reflect the WEIRD settings that disproportionately inform the science. One manifestation of WEIRDness is a tendency to equate *relationship* with mating and dating connections (as in the question, "Are you in a relationship?"; Adams et al., 2004). Another manifestation of WEIRDness is a particular construction of love that resonates with *companionate* forms of mating/dating relationship: that is, connections based on individual choice, neolocal residence, preference for the company of one's spouse or partner over family or friends, and a view of mating/dating as the primary site of adult emotional gratification (Wardlow & Hirsch, 2006, p. 5). A related manifestation of WEIRDness is the *psychologization of care*: an emphasis on (romantic) self-expression, the idealization of verbal over instrumental expressions of love, and the prioritization of feelings and emotional intimacy over action and material support (Adams et al., 2012). Rather than understand this companionate construction of love and psychologization of care as culturally particular forms, psychological science tends to treat them as the just-natural expression of human essence.

The view from epistemic perspectives of West African settings helps to denaturalize these patterns of relationality. From this perspective, the primary implication of individualist lifeways for the experience of relationship is to afford an experience of connection as the self-expressive choice of inherently free agents (Adams et al., 2004). People feel at liberty not only to make and break connections depending on their potential to contribute to personal fulfillment (Adams & Plaut, 2003; Anderson et al., 2008), but also to avoid connections characterized by onerous obligations or

interpersonal friction (Adams, 2005; Li et al., 2015). The experience of freedom from constraint affords open, uninhibited, or growth-oriented tendencies to perform care as verbally oriented, emotional intimacy (Adams & Kurtiş, 2015; Kurtiş & Adams, 2015) and to construct love as self-expressive, emotional investment in expansive pursuit of maximally satisfying connections (Salter & Adams, 2012; Schug et al., 2010). In other words, modern/colonial individualist love takes the open style of companionate marriage and corresponding psychologization of care as exemplary expressions of love-in-general. In this conception, a loving relationship is one that provides a secure base for potentially risky exploration and intimate self-expression necessary to navigate the high relational mobility of modern/colonial individualist worlds.

As anyone who has experienced this modern individualist sort of love can attest, it can be one of the most fulfilling of human experiences, full of high-arousal positive affect, and a feeling of self-expansion so powerful that it feels as if one is about to burst (Aron et al., 2013). And yet, epistemic perspectives of West African settings help to reveal the darker underside of coloniality inherent in modern individualist constructions of love. One contribution is to decenter the heterosexual dyad as the primary site or exemplar of love. Rather than open disclosure and intimate companionship, proverbs and other repositories of cultural knowledge in many West African settings promote a construction of conjugal relationship that emphasizes complementarity of roles and obligations not only between spouses, but also between the broader kinship networks that constitute for each spouse an ontologically primary and enduring web of solidarities (Sudarkasa, 2007). Local wisdom advises people not to forsake the broader web of more enduring connections to invest in the momentary thrills of romantic love or the misplaced trust of companionate mating.

Accompanying this decentering of the conjugal couple is a denaturalization of the mode of love that this relationship affords. Rather than earnest self-expression, expansive emotional intimacy, and an emphasis on satisfaction and personal fulfillment associated with the modern/colonial performance of companionate conjugal love, the centering of kinship networks as the exemplar of relationality affords a mode of love oriented toward this more enduring form of connection. More specifically, it affords sustainability or maintenance-oriented relational tendencies to perform *care* as tangible material assistance (Adams & Kurtiş, 2015; Adams & Plaut, 2003; Coe, 2011; Coultas et al., 2016; Osei-Tutu et al., 2018), and to construct *love* as dutiful performance of obligations for care (Salter & Adams, 2012).

PCCs as a vector for modern/colonial individualism

Of course, West African settings are not monolithic. To name one source of variation, the sustainability-oriented tendencies that we mention in the previous section are especially strong among poor people in rural settings with less formal education (Adams, 2005; Adams & Plaut, 2003; Salter & Adams, 2012). These patterns tend to be weaker in urban enclaves of upwardly mobile, educated elites who engage more frequently with cultural patterns of Eurocentric global modernity (Arnett, 2002).

Our interest in the current work is another source of cultural-ecological variation in lifeways across many West African settings: varieties of Christianity associated with Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs). PCCs are a strand of evangelical Christianity that rose to prominence in West Africa during the 1980s. Although the founders of Africa-based PCCs inevitably incorporate local African cultural patterns into their practices, the churches also have a strong transnational identity and cultural features associated with modern/colonial individualist lifeways. The modern/colonial individualism of PCC ideology is evident in an emphasis on individual empowerment

for self-determination and personal growth across multiple life domains (Gifford, 2004). With respect to social relations, PCCs emphasize a hyper-voluntaristic construction of relationship in which one has personal responsibility to mindfully choose connections that promote personal or spiritual progress and to break with elements of one's past life, including self-defining social connections, that might impede one's progress (Meyer, 1998). Scholars of religion in West African settings have documented how PCCs encourage such modern/colonial individualist tendencies as resistance to traditional familial authority, disinvestment in kinship obligations, participation in voluntary associations (rather than kinship-based affinities), and investment in nuclear families at the expense of broader kinship obligations (Freeman, 2012; Meyer, 2004; Piot, 2012; Van Dijk, 2013).

Overview of the present research

To summarize, theory and research suggest that PCCs in West African settings function as an important site for socialization to modern/colonial individualist lifeways. The present work investigates whether engagement with PCCs is associated with the modern/colonial tendencies of love and care that theory and research have linked to these ways of being. Specifically, we conducted a two-study, mixed-methods research project among different communities of churchgoers in the West African country of Ghana. The Ethics Committee for the Humanities, University of Ghana, provided ethics approval for both studies.

The work is the product of a long-term collaboration spanning more than two decades between a multi-sited team of psychologists. The first author is a Ghanaian woman, trained in Ghana, Europe, and the United States, who is now teaching at a university in Ghana. She was raised in traditions of (so-called) Traditional Western Mission Churches (TWMCs; e.g., Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic), but she currently practices as a Jehovah's Witness. The second author is a European American man who has lived and worked for more than 5 years as a teacher and researcher in West African settings, and who is now teaching at a university in the United States. He was raised in traditions of evangelical Christianity but currently is an unaffiliated nonbeliever. The third author is a Nigerian woman, trained in Nigeria and the United States, now teaching at a college in the United States. She was raised in Roman Catholicism, spent most of her adulthood attending PCCs, and is currently an unaffiliated believer. The fourth author is a Ghanaian woman, trained in Ghana and the United States, who is now teaching at a university in the United States. She was raised with PCC and later TWMC influences. The fifth author is a Ghanaian woman with a graduate degree in psychology who is working as a researcher at a Ghanaian university. She was raised in the Presbyterian Church, attended a Presbyterian boarding school, and remains active in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. In summary, the research team included a generative mix of community insiders and community outsiders whose observations reflected long-term engagement and everyday life experience in the cultural settings of study.

STUDY 1

Study 1 is an independent reanalysis of data from a previously published exploration of constructions of love among a sample of Ghanaian Christians (Osei-Tutu et al., 2018). Authors in the original study conducted semi-structured interviews with prompts about experience of love and care. They then conducted a data-driven, thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) of these interview

responses without regard to church background. Consistent with the framework that we articulated in the introduction, results indicated that these (Ghanaian) participants tended to talk about love in terms of sustainability-oriented themes that emphasize the materiality of care (Coe, 2011; Coultas et al., 2016) as the defining expression of love.

In the current study, an independent set of coders conducted non-overlapping analyses of these interview responses using a more focused, theory-driven coding scheme. Coders read interview transcripts and made judgments about the presence or absence of theory-relevant themes. We designed this coding scheme to test a *PCC individualism* hypothesis: specifically, that the growth-oriented emphasis on the psychologization of care associated with emotional support and conception of love as feeling will be more evident in responses of participants who report attendance at PCCs than those who report attendance at TWMCs.

Method

Participants

The original researchers recruited 61 participants (age range 20–70, $M = 38.59$; 64% men; 59% PCC) from three administrative regions in Ghana (Greater Accra region, $n = 20$; Ashanti region, $n = 30$; and Northern region, $n = 11$) between June and November, 2015. A trained Ghanaian research assistant visited homes, workplaces, churches, and other public spaces to recruit participants who self-identified as Christians and were at least 18 years old. The research assistant administered informed consent procedures and invited participants to an interview study about their experiences and views on love. Participants received six Ghana Cedis (equivalent to $2, USD at the time of the data collection) for their participation.

Interview procedure

A trained male research assistant unaware of the hypotheses or the purpose of the study conducted the interviews in English at a time and location (e.g., homes, formal, and informal work settings) convenient to the participants.[2] Interviews ranged from 6.38 to 85.13 min ($M = 22.12$, $SD = 11.70$). The interview guide covered a wide range of issues in a semi-structured format. Analyses for the current study focused on responses to the following prompts: *To you, what is love? How*

[2] The use of English for interviews (Study 1) and the survey instrument (Study 2) deserves further comment. On one hand, English is a colonial imposition and a primary site of mental colonization (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1986). Even when participants are fluent in English, the use of this colonial language can influence research results by imposing particular ways of articulating subjective experience. More generally, the widespread imposition of colonial languages to replace local-origin languages is an important force in epistemicide: the extinction of local ways of knowing and being (de Sousa Santos, 2014). On the other hand, English has become an African cultural form, the official language and a primary medium through which many Ghanaians understand their subjective experience (Achebe, 1975). Participants in the current work used Africanized English ("They like playing with toys … and some small-small things.") interspersed with local-origin languages ("An old man just saw me and was like *me mma no biibi* [let me give him something]")—much as Ghanaians do in everyday interaction in an attempt to faithfully communicate their experiences to others. Moreover, the widespread use of globally dominant languages, whether of European origin or otherwise, is an important affordance for decolonial solidarity and communicating experience of struggle and resilience across communities. Suffice it to say that the question of language for a decolonial psychology is a complicated matter, one that is beyond the scope of the present work, but we raise it here as an issue for thoughtful reflection by researchers and practitioners alike.

Table 1 Themes and illustrative responses of participants in Study 1

Growth themes	
Verbal expression	I call them in the morning … just to express … love and appreciation.
Intimacy	I have to be faithful to her and discuss some issue. … We share problems together.
Encouragement	There are people who also came by, spoke words of encouragement.
Emotional support	You give them listening ears and … give them time, show them love and affection.
Understanding	Showing love to your spouse is about trying to understand your spouse.
Sustainability themes	
Obligation	We also fulfill our obligations to them. Like when they send you, … you do whatever thing they ask.
Meet/Anticipate needs	I love the person, so I have to work hard to make sure that I … meet the needs.
Material support	Whatever I have in terms of money, in terms of material things, … I give to her.
Remittance	Any time I get a little [money], I send to the person and he appreciates it.
Instrumental support	If they are climbing stairs and they need assistance, you hold their hand.

do you show love? How do you show love to children? How do you show love to a spouse? How do you show love to parents or the elderly? Share some of your experiences with love. The interviewer supplemented these prompts when needed with follow-up questions that emerged organically within each interview conversation. We digitally audio recorded the interviews with participants' permission.

Data analysis

The interviewer and another trained research assistant transcribed the audio recordings verbatim under close supervision of the first author. In contrast to the original study, which followed a data-driven coding procedure for thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), we adopted a conceptually driven coding procedure that we designed specifically to address our more focused hypothesis. The coding scheme required coders to read each transcript and assign a score for each participant regarding absence or presence not only of themes concerning sustainability and materiality of care that the original analysis suggested was prominent in participants' responses, but also themes concerning growth and psychologization of care that did not emerge strongly from the original analysis. The development of the coding scheme followed an iterative process in which the first, second, and fourth authors (all of whom contributed to the original study) articulated a set of coding dimensions based on theoretical interest, applied these to a subset of transcripts, and then refined the coding dimensions for maximum efficiency (e.g., by eliminating overlapping or redundant categories).

The final coding scheme included a pair of items that required coders to use a scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very much*) to rate the extent to which participants' responses explicitly referred to love as *feeling* or *doing*. The remaining items required coders to make judgments about the absence or presence of themes that we organized on an *a priori* basis into two response categories. The first category, *growth themes*, included separate items for *verbal expression*, *intimacy*, *encouragement*, *emotional support*, and *understanding*. The second category, *sustainability themes*, included separate items for *obligation, meeting and anticipating needs, material support, remittance*, and *instrumental support*. Examples of each theme appear in Table 1. We created a composite score for each

superordinate response category by computing the sum of codes for associated themes.

In order to ensure that inadvertent recognition of a participant's church background did not influence coding judgments we appointed the third author as lead coder. Though she was knowledgeable about the theoretical framework and hypothesis, she was not involved in the original study and therefore was unaware of each participant's church background. She applied the coding system to all responses. Given the theory-driven or top-down character of our analysis, we thought it important to assess the reliability of the coder's judgments. Working under the close supervision of the third author, in consultation with the first and second authors, four undergraduate research assistants (two European-American men, one European American woman, and one African American woman, all from the same U.S.-based institution) each applied the coding system to one set of responses to questions about either love in general or in the context of relationships with spouse, children, or elderly parents. The coders were unaware of the hypotheses, and no explicit indication of participants characteristics appeared on the transcripts. For measures requiring categorical judgments, percent agreement between coders—determined by calculating the number of times the coders made the same judgment over all the themes for all 61 cases—was perfect (100%). For ratings of love as feeling and doing, correlations between ratings of the lead and student coders were nearly perfect ($rs > .97$). Without claiming that high levels of interrater agreement constitute evidence for correspondence to an objective reality, the high rate of consensus (and correspondence to conclusions of the original study regarding the prevalent materiality of love) provides some measure of assurance that observed results do not reflect the idiosyncratic inclinations of a single observer.

Results

Although the small sample was not conducive to extensive quantitative analyses, it was sufficient to permit simple tests of hypothesized differences in coders' ratings as a function of church affiliation. To supplement these quantitative tests, we quote at length from participants' responses to illuminate qualitative variation in the experience of love and care.

Growth versus sustainability

We propose that modern/colonial individualist lifeways promote a psychologization of love and care that emphasizes verbal expression and emotional support as resources to promote personal growth. In contrast to the dominance of this theme in discourse of hegemonic psychological science, it was relatively infrequent in responses of our Ghanaian participants. Two responses that received the highest scores on this coding category came from PCC men:

> As a child … my father spent a lot of time with me. We just talk as someone and the brother. You get it? Not … like in the situation where some children just see their fathers and they run into hiding. Unlike something like that, I sit with my father, we chat, we talk. (PCC man; Age: 35 years)

> [My children] always show love at anything. I celebrate my birthday, the calls are numerous, the gifts are there, the words of comfort, the words of encouragement let me know. I care for them; they also [reciprocate] in the form of words. My wife, I

> can see she is always there for me, protects, and then when I'm down, I see words of encouragement. She surprises me at my birthdays. (PCC man, Age: 57)

The growth-oriented understanding of love is evident in these responses in the implication that love is about emotional satisfaction. Participants describe actions of verbal expression as a means to build intimacy and to provide comfort or encouragement to pursue personal fulfillment.

The psychologization of love and care evident in the preceding responses contrasts with the more prevalent materiality of love and care that researchers have observed in many African settings (Coe, 2011; Coultas et al., 2016; Ruark et al., 2017). This emphasis on materiality and other sustainability themes is evident in the following responses of a woman and a man from TWMC settings:

> I have been raised by my father. … [S]ince I started my schooling … when I come to tell him any contribution in the school, if he is not the first person [to give, then] he will be the second person to pay for me. (TWMC woman, Age: 34).

> My director showed me love by giving me free accommodation, and [even the employment that I have] is a love that he's showing to me. Let me say my parents also showed love to me because when I was schooling they take responsibility for me by paying school fees and all those things. (TWMC man, Age: 22).

Consistent with a prevailing emphasis on the materiality of care, coders observed that sustainability themes were more frequent than growth themes within both church settings.

To test hypotheses about variation in experience of love and care as a function of church participation, we conducted a mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA) with theme category (growth, sustainability) as the within-participant factor and church setting (TWMC, PCC) as the between-participant factor. Consistent with the first hypothesis, results revealed a main effect of theme category, $F(1,54) = 53.26$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .50$; specifically, coders rated prevalence in participants' responses to be greater for sustainability themes ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.77$) than growth themes ($M = 1.02$, $SD = 1.07$). Results also revealed a significant interaction, $F(1,54) = 7.88$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .13$, which we decomposed as the effect of church setting on each theme category. Consistent with the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, coders observed greater prevalence of growth themes in responses of participants from PCC settings ($M = 1.42$, $SD = 1.21$) than TWMC settings ($M = .72$, $SD = .85$), $t(54) = -2.53$, $p = .014$, $d = .67$. Although coders tended to observe greater prevalence of sustainability themes in responses of TWMC participants ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.61$) than PCC participants ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.91$), this difference did not reach the conventional level of statistical significance given the sample size, $t(54) = 1.73$, $p = .089$, $d = .46$.

Feeling versus doing

As with the presence of growth-oriented themes more generally, the conception of love as *feeling* was relatively rare, evident in only 13 of 56 responses. To illustrate, consider three of the responses that received the highest scores on this category. In the first, a man from PCC settings described the feeling of something recognizable as romantic love toward his wife.

> I didn't know what was called love until I met my wife. … At a point she told me she's going to break the relationship and I told her fine, she can go away. I tried for 3 days, in fact my brother … I couldn't sleep and I realized at a point that no, I now understand love and there is something called love. (PCC man, Age: 35).

In the second, a man from PCC settings described something more like companionate love with his wife.

> I have experienced love or somebody loving me … whenever I'm down or I'm stressed up and my wife talks to me calmly and in that manner, you see, I feel cared for. (PCC man, Age: 45).

Still, the conception of love as feeling was not limited to descriptions of romantic love or even love to a spouse. In the third quote, a woman from PCC settings described feeling love after receiving help in a situation of need.

> Maybe you are in need and then you ask a Christian sister or a brother and they are able to help; that's where you feel love. (PCC woman, Age: 44).

In contrast, to the relatively low frequency of a conception of love as *feeling*, a conception of love as *doing* was prominent. Indeed, coders gave the maximum rating (i.e., 4) for this coding item to 41 of 56 responses. Among the many examples, this conception was evident in this response by a man from PCC settings.

> After school I didn't have money, and I was sent on a mission field, so I didn't think about marriage and even love and relationship. But my wife she had money somewhere that her father has given to her, and she said that she is willing to give me the money for us to use for the wedding and even other things, and to me this was love. (PCC man, Age: 33).

Another example was this response by a man from TWMC settings.

> One way or the other that I found out that this time somebody have [sic] really shown me a little love or care or concern … was when I was about to go to school. My senior brother and my sister, they tried to pay off my administration fee, all those things, without the help of my mother. It was my brother and my sister who did that to me. (TWMC man, Age: 28).

A final example was this response by a woman from TWMC settings.

> When I was going to give birth to my first child, I was in the hospital. My aunties came with my parents, but my husband didn't come there. … They were the ones, but the greatest of all is my mum. Because she is the one who has been going, coming, doing cooking, washing, everything. (TWMC woman, Age: 24).

In these and other cases, responses suggest a conception of love and care as tangible action rather than the expression of feeling.

To test hypotheses about variation in the conception of love as feeling or doing as a function of church participation, we conducted a mixed-model ANOVA with love action dimension (doing, feeling) as the within-participant factor and church setting (TWMC, PCC) as the between-participant factor. Consistent with the first hypothesis, results revealed a main effect of action dimension, $F(1,54) = 176.37$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .77$; specifically, coders rated greater prevalence of love as doing ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.06$) than as feeling ($M = .43$, $SD = .89$). Results also revealed a significant interaction, $F(1,54) = 9.71$, $p < .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, which we decomposed as the effect of church setting on each action dimension. Results revealed a significant difference across church settings for the conception of love as feeling, $t(54) = -2.10$, $p = .041$, $d = .54$. Consistent with the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, coders rated this conception more evident in responses of participants from PCC settings ($M = .71$, $SD = 1.16$) than TWMC settings ($M = .22$, $SD = .55$). Results also revealed a significant difference across church settings for the conception of love as doing, $t(54) = 3.29$, $p = .002$, $d = .86$. Again, consistent with the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, coders rated this conception more evident in the responses of participants in TWMC settings ($M = 3.78$, $SD = .71$) than PCC settings ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 1.23$).

Discussion

Consistent with previous work on experience of relationship in West African settings (Adams & Kurtiş, 2015; Adams & Plaut, 2003; Coe, 2011; Coultas et al., 2016; Keefe, 2016; Ruark et al., 2017; van Eerdewijk, 2006), the majority of responses suggested a sustainability orientation to love characterized by tangible material action. This orientation contrasts with the psychologization of love that informs standard conceptions of normal functioning in hegemonic psychological science. Although we observed little evidence for the psychologization of love, we nevertheless observed evidence of a hypothesized link between this pattern and engagement with PCCs. Specifically, growth-oriented themes of verbal expression and emotional intimacy, as well as a conception of love as feeling, were more evident in responses of people who reported PCC attendance than TWMC attendance. Conversely, sustainability-oriented themes of material care and a conception of love as doing were less evident in responses of people who reported PCC attendance than TWMC attendance. These patterns are consistent with both the characterization of PCCs as a force for modern/colonial individualist ways of being and the association of modern/colonial individualist forms with the growth-oriented psychologization of love and care.

We have proposed that the coloniality of modern individualist lifeways and corresponding psychologization of love is evident not only in their source, but also in their consequences. Results of Study 1 provide evidence for a link between engagement with cultural ecologies of modern/colonial individualism (i.e., in the form of PCCs) and growth-oriented psychologization of love (i.e., the *PCC individualism* hypothesis), but they do not speak to the consequences of different approaches to love and care. We take up this topic in Study 2.

STUDY 2

Standard knowledge perspectives in hegemonic psychological science tend to associate the growth-oriented psychologization of "modern love"—focused on exploration, romantic self-expression, and emotional intimacy (Hirsch & Wardlow, 2006; Thomas & Cole, 2009)—with

superior outcomes for well-being and personal fulfillment (Aron et al., 2013; Gable & Impett, 2012; Molden & Finkel, 2010). The view from West African settings directs attention to the colonial dark side (Mignolo, 2011) of Eurocentric modernity, modern individualism, and growth-oriented modern love.

One expression of the coloniality of modern love is evident in situations that require navigation of competing obligations. Although the open, uninhibited style of growth-oriented relationality may promote emotional closeness and satisfying outcomes for any relationship considered in isolation, most people—perhaps especially in cultural ecologies that promote the experience of embeddedness—face a reality of competing demands for love and care from different nodes in their relational network. In such cases, the prescriptive emphasis on growth-oriented relationality may promote investment in connections that allow for individualist self-expression and pursuit of emotional fulfillment, with corresponding disinvestment in the broader network of connections that in many settings constitute a more enduring source of solidarity and support. Researchers suggest that this disinvestment can have especially harmful consequences for women, for whom strong familial connections would otherwise serve as protective factor in the not infrequent case of domestic partner violence (e.g., Wardlow & Hirsch, 2006).

Another expression of the coloniality in the psychological study of love is evident in understandings of healthy relationship functioning. Reflecting the conception of relational well-being that informs hegemonic psychological science, the preceding paragraph refers to "emotional closeness and satisfying outcomes." Implicit in this conception is a construction of optimal relationship experience that resonates with modern/colonial individualist lifeways and construction of relationship as choice. In settings of high relational mobility (Yuki & Schug, 2012) where people feel at liberty to choose connections, an important determinant of that choice is a more-or-less rational evaluation of the satisfaction that the relationship brings relative to alternatives (Rusbult et al., 1982). A healthy relationship is then one that affords high-arousal happiness and self-expansive fulfillment, without imposing too many burdens or constraints on the pursuit of personal growth. The dark side of this construction is that it delegitimizes and obscures alternative constructions of well-being that resonate better with realities of embeddedness (Kjell, 2011; Krys et al., 2020; Rappleye et al., 2019). In the West African settings that inform the current research, conceptions of relational well-being place less exclusive emphasis on growth-oriented opportunities for high-arousal happiness and the promotion of satisfaction (Tsai, 2007). Instead, they emphasize maintenance of existing relationships and the low-arousal positive affect associated with peace of mind: the experience of coolness or calm that accompanies successful navigation of everyday challenges (Osei-Tutu et al., 2020). Rather than growth-oriented satisfaction, a more appropriate measure of relational well-being from this epistemic perspective may be sustainability-oriented harmony (Kwan et al., 1997).

To investigate these issues in Study 2, we administered a paper and pencil survey. Participants responded to a hypothetical dilemma of care that required them to choose between obligations to a parent or a spouse. They then completed sustainability-oriented indicators of relational well-being: family obligation and relational harmony. The PCC individualism hypothesis predicts a negative association between engagement with PCCs (vs. TWMCs) and sustainability-oriented relationship tendencies: namely, prioritization of mother (over spouse) in a relationship dilemma, a sense of family obligation, and relationship harmony.

Method

Participants

We recruited an original, independent sample of 1120 participants (age range 18–76; $M = 31.96$; $SD = 9.97$; 50.45% women) from the same three regions of Ghana as in Study 1 (Greater Accra, $n = 374$; Ashanti, $n = 371$; Northern, $n = 375$). We purposively recruited respondents who self-identified with specific PCCs ($n = 543$; including Action Chapel International, Royal House Chapel International, International Central Gospel Church, Winners Chapel International, and Lighthouse Chapel International) and TWMCs ($n = 577$; including Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic). Participants were men ($n = 555$) and women ($n = 565$) whose ages ranged between 18 and 76 years ($M = 31.96$; $SD = 9.97$).

Procedure

Two trained research assistants collected data between August 2015 and April 2016. Both research assistants collected data in the Greater Accra region, one collected data in the Ashanti region, and the other collected data in the Northern region. Researchers distributed questionnaires to prospective respondents at homes, churches, workplaces, and other public locations. Prospective respondents who volunteered and consented received a questionnaire packet in English. Most respondents completed the instrument themselves, but a few participants requested that the researcher read the questionnaire. Whereas some participants completed and returned the questionnaire on the same day, the majority of participants completed it after an interval of 1–7 days.[3] Respondents who completed the survey received six Ghana Cedis (approximately equivalent to $2 USD at the time of the data collection).

Measures

The questionnaire included the following measures.

Dilemma. Participants read the following dilemma, which we adapted from previous research (Esiaka et al., 2020; Salter & Adams, 2012; Wu et al., 2016):

> A person is in a boat with the person's mother and spouse when the boat turns over. The person has the opportunity to save only one. If the person chooses to save the spouse, then the mother will die. If the person chooses to save the mother, then the spouse will die.

[3] Given this interval, it is not unlikely that some participants may have consulted friends, coworkers, or other companions in their response to some items. This is especially the case for the relationship dilemma items, which have their basis in African sources and typically generate lively entertaining debate (Bascom, 2011). On one hand, this possibility occasions a caveat about interpretation of results. For example, to the extent that dilemma responses reflect a community-level construct, one might expect attenuation of any relationships with variables that measure person-level constructs (e.g., regularity of church attendance or respect for family). On the other hand, this possibility resonates well with our focus on beliefs about social norms, beyond personal inclinations, as a primary outcome variable. More generally, this focus reflects the cultural-psychological ontology of the project, which conceives of person-based responses as the product of sociocultural affordances rather than psychological properties of self-contained actors.

Participants then responded to two items regarding the dilemma. One item tapped *personal choice*. Participants used a scale from 1 (*certainly save spouse*) to 6 (*certainly save mother*) to indicate how they would respond to the dilemma. A second item tapped perception of *social norms*. Participants estimated the percentage of people in their community who would choose mother and the percentage who would choose spouse, with the stipulation that the numbers add to 100%. Items about perceived social norms are often more effective at revealing cultural variation in understandings of consensual reality than are items about personal inclinations, which can bear the additional impact of people's idiosyncratic circumstances (Zou et al., 2009).

Respect for family. As one measure of relational well-being, we included items from the *respect for family* subscale of the Family Obligations Scale (Fuligni et al., 1999). Participants used a scale from 1 (*not important at all*) to 5 (*very important*) to respond to seven items about the importance of respecting and following the wishes of kin ($\alpha = .91$). Sample items include "treat your parents with great respect" and "make sacrifices for your family."[4]

Relationship harmony. As another measure of relational well-being, we included the *interpersonal relationship harmony inventory* (Kwan et al., 1997). This inventory requires participants to identify the five most important two-person relationships in their lives; to specify name, gender, and kind of relationship for each target; and to indicate the degree of harmony for each relationship on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 *(very low)* to 7 *(very high)*. We computed the mean of the five relationship harmony scores for each participant to create an index of relationship harmony ($\alpha = .72$).[5]

Demographic information

At the end of the survey, participants indicated gender, age, and educational attainment. They then indicated regularity of church attendance using the following options (with corresponding frequencies): *occasionally* ($n = 65$), *monthly* ($n = 16$), *biweekly* ($n = 26$), *weekly* ($n = 403$), *semi-weekly* ($n = 441$), and *daily* ($n = 169$). Given small frequencies, we collapsed across the three lowest categories to create a single *occasional* category ($n = 107$). We then used this along with the three remaining categories as an ordinal multinomial indicator of degree of cultural engagement, which we included as a potential moderator of church setting differences in the analyses that follow.

Results

To investigate the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, we conducted 2×2×4 Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVAs) with age and education as covariates and Church Type (TWMC and PCC), Gender (Male and Female), and Regularity (occasional, weekly, semi-weekly, and daily) as

[4] The authors of the FOS (Fuligni et al., 1999) created it for research with adolescents. The full scale has 24 items across three sub-scales. Although participants completed the full, 24-item scale, we did not retain items from the 11-item *current assistance* subscale and the 6-item *future support* subscale due to concern that their items made reference to life situations of adolescence that do not apply to our adult participants. The pattern and interpretation of results remain the same whether one uses the full 24-item measure or the 7-item respect for family subscale.

[5] The instrument included psychological markers of cultural engagement—relational mobility (Yuki et al., 2007), self-construal (Cross et al., 2000; Singelis, 1994), and cultural value orientations (Schwartz et al., 2001)—that might mediate cultural-ecological variation in relational tendencies. ANCOVAs of these variables revealed neither relationships with church type nor interactions of church type and regularity. Details are available from the authors.

Table 2 Perceived social norm for prioritization of mother over spouse, Study 2

	Reported church attendance (regularity)			
	Occasional	**Weekly**	**Semi-weekly**	**Daily**
TWMC women	53.66 (27.98)	54.29 (21.84)	55.15 (17.87)	62.84 (23.51)
TWMC men	54.33 (20.80)	46.64 (21.98)	54.14 (21.31)	54.94 (30.17)
PCC Women	60.75 (22.09)	52.79 (24.00)	54.94 (19.55)	41.26 (27.32)
PCC men	55.77 (20.94)	57.18 (22.32)	52.35 (23.18)	50.68 (27.33)

Note: Table entries are adjusted (for age and education) means for participant estimates of the percentage of people in the community who would choose mother over spouse in a relationship dilemma.

between-participant factors. The total number of cases varies slightly across analyses as a function of missing observations on one or more variables. Although our primary interest was to test for differences as a function of church type, inclusion of regularity afforded the opportunity to test a variant of the *PCC individualism* hypothesis: specifically, that hypothesized differences in relationality as a function of categorical church membership are most evident among participants who report greater engagement with church setting in the form of regular attendance.

Relationship dilemma

The 2×2×4 ANCOVAs indicated no main effects or interactions for the outcome of personal choice, all Fs ≤ 2.42, ps $> .06$. However, results did indicate a significant Church Type X Regularity interaction for perception of social norms, $F(3, 1085) = 6.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. (Relevant means appear in Table 2.) To probe this interaction, we tested for the linear trend of increasing regularity on perception of social norms within each church type using contrast codes of (−2, −1, 1, and 2) for *occasional, weekly, semi-weekly*, and *daily* attendance respectively. The linear trend was not statistically significant among participants who reported attendance at TWMCs, $|t(569)| < 1$. In contrast, and consistent with the PCC individualism hypothesis, results indicated a statistically significant negative trend among attendees of PCCs, such that perception of a social norm to prioritize mother was weaker among participants who reported more regular attendance at PCCs, one-tailed $t(534) = -3.76$, $p < .001$. A similar conclusion arises from tests for the simple effect of church type within each level of regularity. These indicated the hypothesized PCC individualism effect only among participants who reported the most regular (i.e., daily) attendance, $F(1, 1085) = 13.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$. As indicated in Table 2, the perception of a social norm to prioritize care of mother was smaller among participants who reported daily attendance at PCCs ($M_{adj} = 45.97$, $SD = 27.40$) than among participants who reported daily attendance at TWMCs ($M_{adj} = 58.89$, $SD = 27.61$).

A significant three-way interaction of Gender X Church Type X Regularity moderated this effect, $F(3, 1085) = 3.10$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .008$. To explore this pattern, we considered the Church Type X Regularity interaction within each gender. Results indicated that the Church Type X Regularity interaction that we described in the previous paragraph was especially strong among women, $F(3, 546) = 6.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .033$, but also statistically significant among men, $F(3, 537) = 3.16$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = .017$. Tests of the linear trend for increasing regularity on perception of social norms were not statistically significant among women or men who reported attendance at TWMCs, $|ts(569)| < 1$. In contrast, tests revealed a strong negative trend of increasing regularity among PCC women, one-tailed $t(266) = -3.41$, $p < .001$, and somewhat weaker negative trend

among PCC men, one-tailed $t(264) = -1.91$, $p = .029$. In summary, perception of a social norm to prioritize mother was weaker as participants reported more regular attendance at PCCs, and this pattern was especially evident among women.

Respect for family

The 2×2×4 ANCOVA for the respect for family subscale revealed only main effects of each factor; no higher-order interactions approached statistical significance, Fs < 1. The main effect of regularity indicated that participants who reported daily attendance ($M_{adj} = 3.76$, $SD = 1.15$) reported lower respect for family than did participants who reported semi-weekly ($M_{adj} = 4.08$, $SD = 1.00$) or weekly ($M_{adj} = 4.22$, $SD = .79$), but not occasional ($M_{adj} = 3.94$, $SD = .94$) attendance, $F(3, 1083) = 10.79$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .029$. The main effect of gender indicated that men ($M_{adj} = 3.93$, $SD = 1.02$) reported lower respect for family than women ($M_{adj} = 4.07$, $SD = .88$), $F(1, 1083) = 4.37$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. Most important, and consistent with the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, the main effect of church type indicated that people who attended PCCs ($M_{adj} = 3.92$, $SD = .95$) reported less respect for family than did people who attended TWMCs ($M_{adj} = 4.08$, $SD = .96$), $F(1, 1083) = 5.90$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$.

Relationship harmony

The 2×2×4 ANCOVA for the relationship harmony inventory revealed a main effect of regularity, $F(3, 1083) = 3.14$, $p = .025$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$. Scores on the relationship harmony inventory were lower for participants who reported occasional attendance ($M_{adj} = 5.78$, $SD = 1.13$) than for participants who reported semi-weekly ($M_{adj} = 6.00$, $SD = .85$) or weekly ($M_{adj} = 6.02$, $SD = .72$), but not daily ($M_{adj} = 5.89$, $SD = .86$) attendance. More important, the ANCOVA revealed a main effect of church type, $F(1, 1083) = 13.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. Consistent with the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, scores on the relationship harmony inventory were lower among PCC participants ($M_{adj} = 5.81$, $SD = .90$) than among TWMC participants ($M_{adj} = 6.03$, $SD = .76$). No other effects reached conventional levels of statistical significance, Fs < 3.81, ps > .05.

Discussion

Consistent with the *PCC individualism* hypothesis, scores on measures of family obligation and relationship harmony were weaker for participants who reported engagement with PCCs than for participants who reported engagement with TWMCs. We did not observe evidence for the PCC individualism hypothesis in personal choices in the dilemma task. However, consistent with work on the distinction between personal choices and perception of social norms (Zou et al., 2009), we did observe evidence for the PCC individualism hypothesis on estimates of the proportion of people in the community who would choose mother. These estimates were negatively related to regularity of attendance at PCCs, and they were significantly lower among participants who reported daily attendance at PCCs than participants who reported daily attendance at TWMCs.

This negative link between PCC attendance and social norms about mother preference was especially pronounced for women. This indicates that women who show the deepest engagement with PCC settings are especially inclined to imagine that others in the community follow the

PCC message of spouse preference, even if they do not necessarily show this preference themselves. Although respect for family was generally greater among women than men, the PCC message encouraging members to leave their parental home and prioritize a bond with their spouse (to paraphrase Genesis 2:24, a biblical verse popular in Ghana) may fall especially forcefully on women. Perhaps because of this gendered emphasis. This possibility remains an interesting direction for future research.

Taken together, results help to illuminate the darker side of the psychologization of love and growth-oriented relationality that hegemonic psychological science holds up as an aspirational prescriptive standard. Although engagement with cultural settings of modern/colonial individualism may promote outcomes related to personal fulfillment, results of the present study associate this engagement with lower scores on indicators of sustainability-oriented relational tendencies that may be especially relevant for well-being in cultural ecologies of embeddedness and interdependence.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current work is to contribute to decolonial perspectives on the psychological study of social issues by considering their implications for a topic, love and care, that would at first glance appear to be antithetical to coloniality. The epistemic strategies of decolonial perspectives are those of theory or epistemology "from the South" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012; de Sousa Santos, 2014; Ratele, 2019), de-linking (Mignolo, 2009), and "knowledges otherwise" (Escobar, 2007). Common to these perspectives is an analytic strategy that regards racialized settings of the Global South not as marginal outposts for analysis from WEIRD centers, but instead as privileged sites for re-thinking basic theory. Whereas hegemonic perspectives of psychological science tend to elevate growth-oriented relational tendencies and a corresponding psychologization of love as something like a natural standard, decolonial strategies provide a productive standpoint from which to denaturalize—that is, to reveal the cultural-historical foundations of—this form of sociality.

In contrast to rampant psychologization of love as a means to personal fulfillment, people in many West African settings, including participants in Study 1, tend to emphasize the materiality of love—evident in a conception of love as "doing" and an emphasis on material support—as a means to sustain a dignified life (Coe, 2011; Osei-Tutu et al., 2018). The prevalence of this sustainability-oriented construction of love among apparently well-adjusted people is one reason to doubt the just-natural character of the hegemonic model.

At the same time, the hegemonic model was not entirely absent in responses of Study 1 participants. We did observe some references to a construction of love as feeling and the more general psychologization of love in terms of emotional exploration and self-expansion, but these references were most evident among people who attended PCCs. This pattern again raises doubts about the just-natural psychologization of love by linking it to particular cultural ecologies, associated with modern individualism, that promote an experience of abstraction from place and a sense of freedom from constraint.

Whereas Study 1 contributes to denaturalization of hegemonic forms as descriptive standards, Study 2 contributes to denaturalization of these forms as prescriptive ideals. If one understands the goal of human development in modern/colonial individualist terms as psychological growth and personal fulfillment (i.e., pathway for psychological autonomy; Keller, 2019), then a construction of love in terms of emotional expression, mutual exploration, and self-expansion may best

contribute to the goal of well-being. This is especially the case if one understands relational well-being in modern/colonial individualist terms as relationship satisfaction: an individual person's evaluation of the relationship as acceptable or sufficient in comparison to alternatives (Rusbult et al., 1982). In contrast, if one understands the goal of human development as preparation for a lifetime of embeddedness in community (i.e., pathway for hierarchical relationality; Keller, 2019), then not only (a) may a sustainability-oriented construction of love in terms of material support and careful attention to mutual obligations best contribute to that goal, but also (b) an emphasis on emotional expression and self-expansion may be disruptive to it (Nsamenang, 1995, 2006). This is especially the case if one understands relational well-being less in terms of individual satisfaction and more in terms of relationship harmony: smooth interactions and absence of conflict that contributes to low-arousal positive affective experience of coolness and peace of mind (Osei-Tutu et al., 2020). Consistent with this reasoning and the PCC individualism hypothesis, results of Study 2 link engagement with PCCs (relative to TWMCs) to lower relationship harmony, less felt obligation, and—among participants (especially women) who reported daily attendance at church—a perceived social norm to ignore obligations to mother in favor of spouse.

In this way, Study 2 illuminates the coloniality of growth-oriented relationality. Rather than just-natural ideals, these ways of being are attuned to particular cultural ecologies, constructions of self, and models of well-being associated with modern/colonial individualism. The coloniality of these modern forms is not just about their distant origins—the violence that enabled the affluence that affords the sense of freedom from constraint that people who inhabit cultural ecologies of modern individualism enjoy—but extends to their contemporary implications. Results suggest that the modern/colonial individualist investment in the psychologization of love comes with a concentration of care in tenuous connections of choice that promote psychological growth at the expense of broader systems of mutual support that enable sustainable and dignified existence.

Admittedly, the current studies offer only preliminary evidence for this conclusion. As initial investigations into the modernity/coloniality of love, the studies have several limitations and leave many questions for future research to address. In the limited space that remains, we focus selectively on the limitations and questions most relevant for a discussion about decolonial approaches to the psychological study of social issues.

Religion: Colonial tool or resource for liberation?

Although we have investigated differences in psychological outcomes as a function of engagement with different church settings, our purpose was not an analysis of particular religious contexts or religious participation in general. Instead, our interest in PCCs was as a cultural ecology of modern/colonial individualism through which to explore hypotheses about growth-oriented relationality and the psychologization of love. Even so, it is worth pausing to consider religious participation in decolonial perspective. On one hand, decolonial critics have identified religion as a colonial form. Christian missionaries to African settings often acted as a vanguard for European colonialism and mental colonization or occupation of being (Bulhan, 2015). Indeed, contributors to an earlier issue of *JSI* characterized PCCs and other evangelical churches as instruments of psychological warfare due to their role in promotion of modern/colonial individualism (Martín-Baró & Sloan, 1990). On the other hand, many decolonial theorists can trace links to religious thought traditions of Liberation Theology (Dussel, 2003). Within psychology, decolonial perspectives share many features in common with the Liberation Psychology of Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994), a social psychologist and Jesuit priest who was assassinated by right-wing death squads in El Salvador. As

these connections suggest, a decolonial analysis of religion and its intersection with psychology is a complicated discussion beyond the scope of the present work.

Decolonial love

Readers who are familiar with decolonial writing may find it odd that our discussion of the modernity/coloniality of love has not mentioned the concept of *decolonial love* (Sandoval, 2000; Simpson, 2013). Although space and scope do not permit an extended discussion of this concept, its relevance for the current project (and vice versa) concerns two senses. First, one might understand the concept of decolonial love in the context of mating and dating relations (Moya, 2012). Colonial power imposed particular understandings of gender and sexuality that not only imagined a rigid gender dichotomy and subordinated female to male (Oyěwùmí, 1997), but also granted full gendered humanity—*men* and *women* versus subhuman *males* and *female*—only to White agents of colonial domination (Lugones, 2010). In this sense, decolonial love refers to ways of doing dating and mating relationship that delink from imposed colonial conceptions of gender and sexuality, disrupt racialized hierarchies of desirability and embodied desire (a primary manifestation of colonial mentality; David & Okazaki, 2006), and enable more liberatory and egalitarian modes of sexuality and interaction (Fanon, 1967/1952).

A potential issue with this conception of decolonial love is that it focuses attention on mating/dating relationship and forms of self-love in ways that are reminiscent of modern/colonial individualism. A broader conception of decolonial love that is more compatible with the present study is one that extends the concept beyond mating and dating to relations between people in general. Maldonado-Torres (2007) refers to this conception of decolonial love in his discussion of decolonial justice, which "opposes the preferential option for imperial Man by the preferential option for the damné or condemned of the earth." (p. 260; see also Fanon, 1961/1963; Martín-Baró, 1986). In terms of the framework that we have articulated in this paper, this understanding of decolonial love involves the care and maintenance of broader solidarities rooted in "the principle of receptive generosity" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; p. 260) and an appreciation for the fundamental relationality and interconnectedness of human existence. We return to this idea in the final section.

Methodological considerations

A decolonial critique of the current studies might fault the use of quantitative techniques and ideologies of scientism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008)—including talk of hypotheses and significance tests that many readers of *JSI* will interpret as a strength. Such critiques emphasize how the uncritical appropriation of quantification and scientism, even for decolonial purposes, can reproduce forms of epistemic violence (Editorial Collective, 2021; Tuck & MacKenzie, ; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). A particularly prominent manifestation of this epistemic violence is the relation to "zero-point epistemology," (Mignolo, 2009; see also Castro-Gómez, 2007). As the Editorial Team (2020) puts it, *zero-point epistemology* is "a modern/colonial individualist standpoint [that] promotes the assumption of a view of nowhere (Nagel, 1986) combined with an intellectually imperialist sense of entitlement to claim intimate knowledge of everywhere." (Editorial Collective, 2021). Quantitative methods are related to zero-point epistemology through the practice of translating richly detailed, situated experience into an abstract numerical representation. This abstraction enables comparison across

settings and people by squeezing diverse experience into standard metrics that typically have their foundation in WEIRD realities, distorting or silencing the experience of participants in the process.

Although we share concerns about the uncritical use of quantitative methods, we do not believe that a decolonial psychology must forgo them. Indeed, the current research reflects our commitment to methodological pluralism and a belief that quantitative techniques provide important tools for decolonial approaches to psychology (see Garcia et al., 2017; Sablan, 2019, on quantitative approaches to critical race theory). Rather than a rigid insistence on (or proscription against) one method or another, a decolonial turn in psychology requires a "primacy of attitude over method" (Maldonado-Torres, 2017a; p. 434). One component of a decolonial attitude is the form of decolonial love associated with the "preferential option for the damné" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 260): an inclination toward compassionate understanding that "demands responsibility and the willingness to take many perspectives, particularly the perspectives and points of view of those whose very existence is questioned and produced as insignificant" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; p. 260). Another component of this decolonial attitude is *epistemic humility* (Medina, 2013): a reflexivity concerning method and standpoint that is an antithesis of the hubris of zero-point epistemology. An appreciation of reality from the perspective of the damné is particularly useful to illuminate the racialization and coloniality that often passes without notice or mention in mainstream work.

For psychologists who enact a decolonial attitude via accompaniment with communities (Atallah & Dutta, 2021; Segalo et al., 2015; Watkins, 2015), the current research might seem like a misguided articulation of decolonial perspectives: a retreat to ivory-tower intellectual games far removed from everyday struggles of the global majority of people on the colonial side of Eurocentric modernity. Although we appreciate the value of participatory research and accompaniment with communities in struggle, we suggest that decolonial work also requires a critical re-thinking of the constructions of self and society that inform efforts for social justice. Even well-meaning researchers and practitioners working for social justice can reproduce coloniality and racist oppression if we rely on understandings of love or other guiding concepts (e.g., human rights; Maldonado-Torres, 2017b) rooted in modern/colonial individualism. Indeed, no less a decolonial psy-scholar than Franz Fanon emphasized the importance of this process. Writing in the last sentences of *Les damnés de la Terre* [*The wretched of the Earth*], he called on readers not to draw uncritically on notion of society and liberation in European thought, but instead to take inspiration from local realities to re-imagine the psychology of liberation: "For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new [hu]man" (Fanon, 1963/1961). We offer the current work as an answer to this call.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors received support for this work in the form of an award to Annabella Osei-Tutu (PI) from the Volkswagen Foundation Knowledge for Tomorrow—Cooperative Research Projects in Sub-Saharan Africa Program (Grant Number: 89863). The Cultural Psychology Research Group at the University of Kansas provided valuable suggestions on an earlier draft of the paper.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Annabella Osei-Tutu is the principal investigator who obtained funding, oversaw data collection, and contributed to conceptualization, research design, data analyses, and substantial original writing. Glenn Adams contributed to conceptualization, research design, data analyses, and

substantial original writing. Darlingtina Esiaka contributed to data analyses and original writing for Study 1. Vivian A. Dzokoto contributed to conceptualization, research design and data analyses. Adjeiwa Akosua Affram contributed to the editing of the work.

ORCID

Annabella Osei-Tutu https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9407-8770
Glenn Adams https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9487-6999

REFERENCES

Achebe, C. (1975). The African writer and the English language. In *Morning yet on creation day: Essays* (pp. 91–103). New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Adams, G. (2005). The cultural grounding of personal relationship: Enemyship in North American and West African worlds. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(6), 948–968. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.6.948

Adams, G., Anderson, S. L. & Adonu, J. K. (2004). The cultural grounding of closeness and intimacy. In D. J. Mashek & A. Aron (Eds.), *Handbook of closeness and intimacy* (pp. 321–339). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Adams, G., Dobles, I., Gómez, L., Kurtiş, T. & Molina, L.E. (2015). Decolonizing psychological science: Introduction to the special thematic session. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology: Special Thematic Section on Decolonizing Psychological Science*, 3(1), 213–238. Available from: https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.564

Adams, G. & Dzokoto, V.A. (2003). Self and identity in African Studies. *Self and Identity*, 2, 345–359. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/714050252

Adams, G., Estrada-Villalta, S. & Gómez, L.H. (2018). The modernity/coloniality of being: Hegemonic psychology as intercultural relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations: Special Issue on Colonial Past and Intergroup Relations*, 62, 13–22. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.06.006

Adams, G. & Kurtiş, T. (2015). Friendship and gender in cultural-psychological perspective: Implications for research, practice, and consultation. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Implications for Research, Practice, and Consultation*, 4(3), 182-19. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/ipp0000036

Adams, G. & Kurtiş, T. (2018). Context in person, person in context: A cultural psychology approach to social-personality psychology. In K. Deaux & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of personality and social psychology* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Adams, G., Kurtiş, T., Salter, P.S. & Anderson, S.L. (2012). A cultural psychology of relationship: Decolonizing science and practice. In O. Gillath, G. Adams & A. D. Kunkel (Eds.), *Relationship science: Integrating evolutionary, neuroscience, and sociocultural approaches* (pp. 49–70). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Adams, G., Osei-Tutu, A. & Affram, A. (2020). Decolonial perspectives on psychology and development. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.013.514

Adams, G. & Plaut, V. C. (2003). The cultural grounding of personal relationship: Friendship in North American and West African worlds. *Personal Relationships*, 10(3), 333–348. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6811.00053

Adjei, S.B. (2019). Conceptualising personhood, agency, and morality for African psychology. *Theory & Psychology*, 29(4), 484–505. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354319857473

Anderson, S.L., Adams, G. & Plaut, V. C. (2008). The cultural grounding of personal relationship: The importance of attractiveness in everyday life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(2), 352–368. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.2.352

Arnett, J.J. (2002). The psychology of globalization. *American Psychologist*, 57(10), 774–783. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.57.10.774ds

Aron, A., Lewandowski, G.W., Mashek, D. & Aron, E.N. (2013). The self-expansion model of motivation and cognition in close relationships. In J. A. Simpson & L. Campbell (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of close relationships* (pp. 90–115). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Atallah, D. G. & Dutta, U. (2021). 'Creatively in coalition' from Palestine to India: Weaving stories of refusal and community as decolonial praxis. *Journal of Social Issues*, forthcoming.

Bascom, W. (2011). *African dilemma tales*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton.

Bhatia, S. (2017). *Decolonizing psychology: Globalization, social justice, and Indian youth identities*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of the theory of practice* (translated by R. Nice). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bulhan, H.A. (2015). Stages of colonialism in Africa: From occupation of land to occupation of being. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 3(1), 239–256. Available from: https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.143

Castro-Gómez, S. (2007) The missing chapter of empire: Postmodern re-organization of coloniality and post-Fordist capitalism. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 428–48. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162639

Coe, C. (2011). What is love? Materiality of care in Ghanaian transnational families. *International Migration*, 49(6), 7–24. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00704.x

Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J.L. (2012). Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa. *Anthropological Forum*, 22, 113—131. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2012.694169

Coultas, C., Broaddus, E., Campbell, C., Andersen, L., Mutsikiwa, A., Madanhire, C., et al. (2016). Implications of teacher life-work histories for conceptualisations of 'care': Narratives from rural Zimbabwe. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 26(4), 323–339. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2265

Cross, S.E., Bacon, P.L. & Morris, M.L. (2000). The relational-interdependent self-construal and relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(4), 791. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.4.791

David, E.J.R. & Okazaki, S. (2006). Colonial mentality: A review and recommendation for Filipino American psychology. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 12(1), 1–16. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.1.1

de Sousa Santos, B. (2014). *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. London, England: Paradigm.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2008). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (p. 1–43). London, UK: Sage.

Dussel, E. (2003). *Philosophy of liberation*. Wipf and Stock.

Editorial Collective (2021). Decolonial approaches to the psychological study of social issues, Installment Two: Psychological study as a social issue for decolonial analysis. *Journal of Social Issues*, forthcoming.

Escobar, A. (2007). Worlds and knowledges otherwise. *Cultural Studies*, 21 (2), 197–210. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162506

Esiaka, D. Adams, G. & Osei-Tutu, A. (2020). Dilemma tales as African knowledge practice: An example from research on obligations of support. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11, 546330. Available from: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.546330.

Fanon, F. (1963/1961). *The wretched of the earth*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (1967/1952). *Black skin, white masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Freeman, D. (2012). The Pentecostal ethic and the spirit of development. In D. Freeman (Ed.), *Pentecostalism and development: Churches, NGOs and social change in Africa* (pp. 1–38). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fuligni, A., Tseng, V. & Lam, M. (1999). Attitudes toward family obligations among American adolescents with Asian, Latin American, and European backgrounds. *Child Development*, 70(4), 1030–1044. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00075

Gable, S.L. & Impett, E.A. (2012). Approach and avoidance motives and close relationships. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 6(1), 95–108. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2011.00405.x

Garcia, N.M., López, N. & Vélez, V.N. (2017). QuantCrit: Rectifying quantitative methods through critical race theory. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21(2), 149–157. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2017.1377675

Gifford, P. (2004). *Ghana's new Christianity: Pentecostalism in a globalizing African economy*. London, UK: C. Hurst.

Henrich, J., Heine, S.J. & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 61–83. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525x0999152X

Hirsch, J.S. & Wardlow, H. ((Eds.) (2006). *Modern loves: The anthropology of romantic courtship and companionate marriage*. Ann Arbor, MI, USA: University of Michigan Press.

Keefe, S. (2016). Women, work, and (re)marriage: Entrepreneurship among Swahili women in coastal Tanzania. *Africa Today*, 62(3), 111–131.

Keller, H. (2019). Culture and development. In D. Cohen & S. Kitayama (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 297–423). New York, NY: Guilford.

Kjell, O.N.E. (2011). Sustainable well-being: A potential synergy between sustainability and well-being research. *Review of General Psychology*, 15(3), 255–266. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024603

Krys, K., Capaldi, C. A., Lun, V.M.-C., Vauclair, C.-M., Bond, M.H., Dominguez-Espinosa, A., et al. (2020). Psychologizing indexes of societal progress: Accounting for cultural diversity in preferred developmental pathways. *Culture & Psychology*, 26(3), 303–319. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067x19868146

Kurtiş, T. & Adams, G. (2015). Interdependence and relationality across dimensions of culture and gender. *Psychology and Society*, 7(1), 29–50.

Kwan, V.S.Y., Bond, M.H. & Singelis, T.M. (1997). Pancultural explanations for life satisfaction: Adding relationship harmony to self- esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(5), 1038–1051. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.5.1038

Li, L.M.W., Adams, G., Kurtiş, T. & Hamamura, T. (2015). Beware of friends: The cultural psychology of relational mobility and cautious intimacy. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 18(2), 124–133. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12091

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*, 25(4), 742–759. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2010.01137.x

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007). On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2–3), 240–270. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162548

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2017a). Frantz Fanon and the decolonial turn in psychology: From modern/colonial methods to the decolonial attitude. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 47(4), 432–441. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/2F0081246317737918

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2017b). On the coloniality of human rights. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 114, 117–136. Available from: https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.6793

Markus, H.R. & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98(2), 224–253. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.98.2.224

Markus, H.R., Mullaly, P.R. & Kitayama, S. (1997). Selfways: Diversity in modes of cultural perception. In U. Neisser & D.A. Jopling (Eds.), *The conceptual self in context: Culture, experience, self-understanding. The Emory symposia in cognition* (pp. 13–61). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Martín-Baró, I. & Sloan, T. (1990). Religion as an instrument of psychological warfare. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46(3),93-107. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1990.tb01936.x

Martín-Baró, I. (1986). Hacia una psicología de la liberacíon. [*Toward a liberation psychology*.] *Boletin de psicología de El Salvador*, 22(1), 219–231.

Medina, J. (2013). *The epistemology of resistance: Gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice, and the social imagination*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Meyer, B. (1998) Make a complete break with the past": Memory and post-colonial modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist discourse. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 27, 316–349. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1163/157006698x00044

Meyer, B. (2004) Christianity in Africa: From African independent to pentecostal-charismatic churches. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33, 447–474. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143835

Mignolo, W.D. (2009). Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory. Culture & Society*, 26(7–8), 159–181. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276409349275

Mignolo, W.D. (2011). *The darker side of western modernity: Global futures, decolonial options*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Molden, D.C. & Finkel, E.J. (2010). Motivations for promotion and prevention and the role of trust and commitment in interpersonal forgiveness. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), 255–268. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.10.014

Moya, P.M. (2012). The search for decolonial love: An interview with Junot Díaz. *Boston Review*, 26.

Nagel, T. (1986). *The view from nowhere*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, (1986). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London, UK: Heineman.

Nsamenang, A.B. (1995). Theories of developmental psychology for a cultural perspective: A viewpoint from Africa. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 7(1), 1–19. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/097133369500700101

Nsamenang, A. B. (2006). Human ontogenesis: An indigenous African view on development and intelligence. *International Journal of Psychology*, 41, 293–297. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590544000077

Osei-Tutu, A., Dzokoto, V.A.A., Affram, A.A., Adams, G., Norberg, J. & Doosje, B. (2020). Cultural models of well-being implicit in four Ghanaian languages. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11, 1798. Available from: https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.01798

Osei-Tutu, A., Dzokoto, V. A., Hanke, K., Adams, G. & Belgrave, F.Z. (2018). Conceptions of love in Ghana: An exploration among Ghanaian Christians. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 28(2), 83–88. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2018.1454576

Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). The invention of women: Making an African sense of Western gender discourses *Minneapolis*. MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press.

Piot, C. (2012). Pentecostal and development imaginaries in West Africa. In D. Freeman (Ed.), *Pentecostalism and development: Churches, NGOs and social change in Africa* (pp. 111–133). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rappleye, J., Komatsu, H., Uchida, Y., Krys, K. & Markus, H. (2019). Better policies for better lives"? Constructive critique of the OECD's (mis)measure of student well-being. *Journal of Education Policy*, 35(2), 258–282. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2019.1576923

Ratele, K. (2019). *The world looks like this from here: Thoughts on African psychology*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press.

Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London, UK: Bogle-L'Ouverture.

Ruark, A., Stern, E., Dlamini-Simelane, T. & Kakuze, M.F. (2017). Love matters: Exploring conceptions of love in Rwanda and Swaziland and relationship to HIV and intimate partner violence. *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 16(4), 271–282. Available from: https://doi.org/10.2989/16085906.2017.1343740

Rusbult, C.E., Zembrodt, I.M. & Gunn, L.K. (1982). Exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect: Responses to dissatisfaction in romantic involvements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43, 1230–1242. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.43.6.1230

Sablan, J.R. (2019). Can you really measure that? Combining critical race theory and quantitative methods. *American Educational Research Journal*, 56(1), 178–203. Available from: https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831218798325

Salter, P.S. & Adams, G. (2012). Mother or wife? An African dilemma tale and the psychological dynamics of social change. *Social Psychology*, 43, 232–242. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000124

Sandoval, C. (2000) *Methodology of the oppressed*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Schug, J., Yuki, M. & Maddux, W. (2010). Relational mobility explains between- and within- culture differences in self disclosure to close friends. *Psychological Science*, 21, 1471–1478. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/2F0956797610382786

Schwartz, S.H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M. & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5), 519–542. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032005001

Segalo, P., Manoff, E. & Fine, M. (2015). Working with embroideries and counter-maps: Engaging memory and imagination within decolonizing frameworks. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 3(1), 342–364. Available from: https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.145

Simpson, L.B. (2013). *Islands of decolonial love*. Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring.

Singelis, T.M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20(5), 580–591. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167294205014

Sudarkasa, N. (2007). Interpreting the African heritage in African American family organization. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black families* (4th ed., pp. 29–47). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Teo, T. (2010) What is epistemological violence in the empirical social sciences? *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 4(5), 295–303. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2010.00265.x

Thomas, L. M. & Cole J. (2009). Thinking through love in Africa. In J. Cole & L.M. Thomas (Eds.), *Love in Africa* (pp. 1–30). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tsai, J.L. (2007). Ideal affect: Cultural causes and behavioral consequences. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 19, 242–259. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.17456916.2007.00043.x

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London, England: Zed Books.

van Dijk, R. (2013). Counselling and pentecostal modalities of social engineering of relationships in Botswana. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 15(4), S509-S522. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2013.825927

van Eerdewijk, A. (2006) What's love got to do with it? The intimate relationships of Dakarois girls. *Etnofoor*, 19(1), 41–61.

Wardlow, H. & Hirsch, J. S. (2006). Introduction. In J. S. Hirsch & H. Wardlow (Eds.), *Modern loves: The anthropology of romantic courtship and companionate marriage* (pp. 1–31). Ann Arbor, MI, USA: University of Michigan Press.

Watkins, M. (2015). Psychosocial accompaniment. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology: Special Thematic Section on Decolonizing Psychological Science*, 3, 324–334. Available from: https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.103

Wu, T.-F., Cross, S. R., Wu, C.-W., Cho, W. & Tey, S.-H. (2016). Choosing your mother or your spouse: Close relationship dilemmas in Taiwan and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 47(4), 558–580. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1177/2F0022022115625837

Yuki, M. & Schug, J. (2012). Relational mobility: A socio-ecological approach to personal relationships. In O. Gillath, G.E. Adams & A.D. Kunkel (Eds.), *Relationship science: Integrating evolutionary, neuroscience, and sociocultural approaches* (pp. 137–152). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Yuki, M., Schug, J., Horikawa, H., Takemura, K., Sato, K., Yokota, K., et al. (2007). Development of a scale to measure perceptions of relational mobility in society. CERSS Working Paper 75, Center for Experimental Research in Social Sciences, Hokkaido University.

Zou, X., Tam, K.-P., Morris, M.W., Lee, S.-l., Lau, I.Y.-M. & Chiu, C.-y. (2009). Culture as common sense: Perceived consensus versus personal beliefs as mechanisms of cultural influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97, 579–597. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016399

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Annabella Osei-Tutu is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Psychology, University of Ghana, and a Senior Volkswagen Postdoctoral Fellow. Her research focuses on the intersections of psychology and culture, particularly focusing on mental health and well-being in Ghana.

Glenn Adams is professor of psychology and director of the Cultural Psychology Research Group at the University of Kansas. His current work draws upon collaborative research in African and Latin American settings as a resource for decolonial approaches to cultural psychology.

Darlingtina Esiaka, Ph.D. is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Psychology at the Union College, Schenectady, USA. She is the Founder, Director, and Principal Investigator (PI) of the Health and Aging from Minority Perspectives (HAMP) Laboratory (www.hamplab.org). The mission of HAMPlab is to enhance the quality of life by improving the physical, mental, cultural health of aging minority folks through collaborative research, education, and services.

Vivian Afi Dzokoto, Ph.D. is a cultural and clinical psychologist. Using multiple methods, her program of research seeks to contribute to the decolonization of psychology by demonstrating that African experiences can inform mainstream psychological science. She does so in the areas of emotion, mental health, and financial inclusion. She currently works as an Associate Professor in the Department of African American Studies, at Virginia Commonwealth University in the USA.

Adjeiwa Akosua Affram is a Graduate Teaching and Research Assistant at the Department of Psychology, University of Ghana. Her research focuses on how Ghanaian socio-cultural contexts influence conceptions and experiences of well-being.

How to cite this article: Osei-Tutu A, Adams G, Esiaka D, Dzokoto VA, Affram AA. The modernity/coloniality of love: Individualist lifeways and charismatic christianity in Ghanaian worlds. *Journal of Social Issues*. 2022;78:183–208.
https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12432