

Skin Lightening as Appearance Management Procedure: The Zimbabwean Situation

Sithole Lucia

Chinhoyi University of Technology, Zimbabwe North China University of Technology, China Tel: 263-773-593-368 E-mail: lsithoram@gmail.com

Fungai Kumbulani Sithole Chinhoyi University of Technology, Zimbabwe North China University of Technology, China

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Abstract

The desire for lighter skin as a sign of class and wealth has trickled down many generations to now deeply impact the darker coloured races making skin whitening almost an outbreak. There is a general myth that light skinned women are more attractive to men, get employed faster and have sound effect. Beauty products today have soared in the Zimbabwean market due to the growing demand. However, what is not promoted is the harm that a lot of these products can do in the medium to long term application. Eating healthy and exercising can improve the skin's texture. Application of sunscreen and intake of at least two litres of water per day are some of the natural ways of having great skin rather than applying skin bleaching creams. Some cost-effective easy homemade skin lightening remedies which will brighten and whiten the skin and impart it with a natural glow can be used and these can manifest good results. However, due to colonial mind-sets, people always believe that white is better and beautiful hence the use of skin lightening products, consequently there is need for change of mind-set.

Keywords: Skin lightening, Bleaching creams, Sunscreen, Colonial mindset, Appearance management



1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore skin lightening products as appearance management procedures in Zimbabwe. These skin lightening products are widely used and can be purchased over the counter and are sold illegally on the streets. This is a contemporary issue as it is widely practiced by both man and woman. From observation, this practice is prevalent among sex workers. Black is beautiful, but some people associate light skin with higher status, income, education and job opportunities as pointed out by Kpanake and Mullet (2011). Issues and concepts presented in this paper are: background to the problem, statement of the problem, research questions, and objectives of the study, significance of the study, delimitations, limitations and definition of terms, literature review, research methodology, interpretation and discussion of research findings.

1.1 Background of Study

Skin bleaching, a practice to chemically lighten the skin, has become increasingly more common around the world in the past 30 to 40 years (Banner, 2016). Despite these great risks, skin bleaching is prevalent in Africa, with estimated rates nearing 30% in East Africa and 34% in Zimbabwe and Zambia (Bartky, 2016).

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 77% of Nigerian women—the highest percentage in the world—use skin-lightening products on a regular basis (Chapkis, 2014). Usage is sky-high in South Africa as well as in other parts of Africa such as Zimbabwe. It is fuelled by the widespread availability of a plethora of cheap, purported skin-whitening products. In South Africa researchers pinpoint the apartheid-era as a major driver in the quest for lighter skin in that country and across Africa (Bruch, 2015). Although there is evidence that the desire for whiter skin among women particularly goes back much further than the apartheid-era. In the United States of America during the slavery and post-slavery eras, the possession of dark skin was associated with lower social status, since social status was legislated by colour (Bruch, 2015).

In Apartheid era in South Africa, the manufacturing of bleaching creams similar to those that had been developed as a cottage industry in the southern United States of America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries began in earnest. Today that industry is still flourishing in South Africa and is partly responsible for the distribution of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa (Bordo et al., 2017).

Skin lightening products also known as bleaching creams have for a long time been on high demand in Zimbabwe. Traders are mainly cross-borders risking jail as they smuggle these illicit goods into the country from neighbouring countries like Zambia and South Africa (Bordo et al., 2017).

Skin bleaching is increasingly popular in Zimbabwe, especially as images of Hollywood celebrities are more frequently on display (Bartky, 2016). Fans of skin bleaching are convinced that a fair complexion is more appealing than dark skin, and that fair-skinned people even have more opportunities due to their appearance (Bell, 2015).



Skin bleaching creams have been available in Zimbabwe since the 1960s, when the cream Ambi became popular. The agency, then known as the Drugs Control Council, eventually banned that product in the 1970s because it contained harmful substances. Ambi was thought to be the only widely available skin bleaching cream on the market at that time (Bruch, 2015). A popular skin bleaching cream (Ambi) was banned in Zimbabwe in the 1970s because of the health risks it posed. Now, new creams are being brought in from other countries and are sold without being licensed or tested (Bronell, 2016). Most of the illegal skin bleaching creams are sold in cosmetics shops or on the street from handbags (Bronell, 2016).

The lightening creams have resurfaced in illegal markets, mostly after being smuggled into Zimbabwe from neighbouring countries. Most skin lightening creams sold on the streets are not authorized by the Medicines Control Authority's licensing and regulatory board, which tests products for banned substances (Bell, 2015). But there's no legislation that specifically targets the cosmetics sector in Zimbabwe, so it is difficult to regulate the illicit trade of skin bleaching products (Bronell, 2016).

Movate and Epiderm, both illegal in Zimbabwe, are among the more popular skin lightening creams (Bordo et al., 2017). Most of the creams sold on the market are a dangerous combination of compounds including steroids, hydroquinone and mercury. The hydroquinone found in some skin bleaching products could act as a carcinogen causing health effects to the user (Bordo et al., 2017).

However, there is no empirical evidence that skin bleaching creams cause cancer, but when melanin, the pigment that gives human skin, hair and eyes their colour, is removed, cancer could result (Bell, 2015). Melanin is protective skin layer, and is especially important for people who live in the tropics such as in Zimbabwe and who are exposed to strong sunlight.

In general, skin lightening creams come with risks. Some brands sold without licences and untested by the Medicines Control Authority of Zimbabwe, contain potentially dangerous substances, including mercury. Mercury can interfere with kidney and nervous system function, and steroids, which can cause a thinning of the skin. Common side effects of these creams include uneven bleaching, intense irritation or even cancer (Bartky, 2016). It is in this light that this study sought to investigate the challenges of skin lightening products used as appearance management procedures in Zimbabwe.

1.2 Problem Statement

The cosmetic use of chemical agents to lighten the complexion of one's skin, also referred to as skin whitening, skin lightening, and/or skin bleaching, is currently a widespread national phenomenon. While the history of skin bleaching can be traced to the Elizabethan age of powder and paint, in its current manifestations, skin bleaching is practiced disproportionately within Zimbabwean communities. Among these populations, colourism constructs a spectrum upon which individuals attempt to circumnavigate the parameters of the white/non-white binary racial hierarchy by instead assigning and assuming colour privilege based upon proximity to whiteness. In Zimbabwe, the practice is especially problematic because users, especially women, combine dangerous caustic agents (automotive battery acid, washing



power, toothpaste, cloth bleaching agents) with common bleaching products that are high in mercury and lead. These increase the risks for severe health problems, such as irreversible skin damage, skin cancer, leukemia, and liver or kidney failure. Despite these great risks, skin bleaching is prevalent in the country. In Africa, little research has examined how the historical legacies of slavery, colonization, and westernization may have shaped internalised dominant cultural ideals, resulting in the dangerous practice of skin bleaching. However, this study sought to explore the challenges of skin lightening products as appearance management procedures in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Research Objectives

The study sought:

- To identify appearance enhancement practices in Zimbabwe.
- To identify reasons for skin lightening in Zimbabwe.
- To assess the challenges of the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe.
- To provide recommendations on the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Skin bleaching is a widespread global phenomenon. Within the context of global white supremacy, skin colour communicates one's position to and within the dominant power structure (Bell, 2015). Given this reality, many people, namely those historically subjected to white domination, colonisation, and enslavement, have internalized projected notions that the basis of their inferior condition is their skin colour. In this context, skin bleaching would manifest as the seemingly most "logical" method through which to approximate the White ideal and thus empower oneself (Bronell, 2016). The political offshoot of European/White nationalism, global White supremacy continually creates an image of itself in order to perpetuate itself. Consequently, this continues to employ and rely upon the fabrication and projection of imagery to forcibly convince the masses, particularly those oppressed under its systemic exploitation, that the white ideal is in fact the human ideal (Brumberg, 2015:45). This section discusses issues under challenges for skin lightening.

2.2 Reasons for the Use of Skin Lightening Products

There are several reasons that are said to be influencing the use of skin lightening products across the globe and examples of such are; white supremacy, advertising, stereotypes and low self-esteem (Crowne & Marlowe, 2017).

Commodity racism, marketing and selling the white ideal - Commodities, with their ability to produce forms of knowledge, subjectivity, identity and consciousness (Burke, 1996), represented vehicles through which the colonial order was able to not only gain capital, but also advance both its White nationals' agendas and its "civilizing mission." Through commodities, such as soap, Europeans positioned and furthermore advertised whiteness as



the colour of civilization.

Low Self-esteem - Low self-esteem has made so many people lose opportunities in life. It has made people to belittle and hinder themselves from getting to the level they want to see themselves (Richins, 2015). Many who bleach their skins currently do it because they see themselves as being inferior to those who are naturally White skinned. Because of this reason, they bleach their skins to look like whites forgetting that artificial skin always looks artificial. Some black women that live in Europe are bleaching their skins forgetting that their dark skin is a gift from nature and has its unique qualities (Richins, 2015).

Self-hate - Some people hate themselves to the extent that they keep blaming their creator. They get tired and formulate other means to change their skin colour through the bleaching process (Crowne & Marlowe, 2015). Self-hate has pushed many persons into taking wrong decisions.

Peer Group - There are some categories of persons that like to do certain things because their friends are doing that. Large numbers of person find themselves into the world of bleaching because their friends were into that kind of lifestyle (Grogan, 2013). Some students including youths who bleach in many universities and high schools do so because they want to conform to a group that is into that practice. Some of the users of skin lightening products seek to be identified in certain groups, cultures and societies which they feel they cannot fit well enough with their natural skin colour.

Quest for Beauty - The word "quest" is the search for something (Grogan, 2013). Some persons are seriously searching for beauty either by hook or by crook. The large numbers who are really searching for this beauty are mainly women (Paxton &Szmuckler, 2015).

2.3 Non Chemical Skin Lightening Options

According to (Morse, 2014), there are several options available to skin lightening other than the use of chemicals such as the following:

Yogurt – This milk by-product contains lactic acid that has bleaching properties.

Honey – Its antibacterial properties helps fade age spots, bleaches your skin, and acts as a moisturizing agent.

Oranges – Just like lemon, orange's vitamin C content is known to lighten your skin and give it an even tone.

Aloe Vera – This herb has cooling effect that aids in new cell regeneration, rebuilds damaged tissue, and improves hyperpigmentation to get back the skin colour.

Oatmeal – It helps exfoliate your skin, thereby gets rid of the old skin cells and out with the new ones.

Gram Flour – This is one of the best natural skin lightening ingredients because of its various nutrients that helps keep the skin healthy.

Turmeric - Helps maintain the right levels of melanin in the skin to maintain an even skin



tone.

Papaya – This tropical fruit contains papain, a natural bleaching agent, and brings glow back to the skin.

Cucumber – This natural food binds collagen and makes sure that the skin remains smooth, firm, and supple.

The above natural methods are being used but their effectiveness has not been scientifically proven. Those who have used them have reported positive results.

2.4 Positive Effects of Skin Lightening Products

Topical skin whitening products may be able to drastically improve one's appearance in a fairly short amount of time (Richins, 2015). In many cases, simply improving one's appearance is enough to improve one's self-esteem. Skin whitening through contemporary methods is nowhere near as costly and there is no needed recovery time from these types of topical treatments. If one has skin problems like: dark spots, hyperpigmentation, old acne scars, age spots, liver spots, skin whitening can be very beneficial, both to his or her overall appearance and to how one feels about oneself (Rudd, 2016).

2.5 Negative Effects of Skin Lightening Products

Skin Cancer - Skin whitening creams contain mainly two chemicals; Hydroquinone or Mercury (Rudd, 2016). But, most creams sold in the market are a dangerous cocktail of compounds like steroids and tretinoin, in conjunction with hydroquinone. These compounds have carcinogenic properties and long term use can lead to deadly health concerns like skin cancer and liver damage (Richins, 2015).

Hyperpigmentation - Using hydroquinone in doses higher than 2% or for periods longer than three months will lead to darkening of the skin (exogenous ochronosis) which is permanent and very resistant to further treatment (Martin, 2016). Over-usage of skin whitening products can also cause hyperpigmentation at the level of the fingers, toes, ears and other extremities, causing them to look darker and incompatible. Another negative effect can develop known as the "Bleach Panda Effect". This is a condition where the skin around the eyes becomes thin and has increased pigmentation.

Thinning of the Skin - Repeated use of skin whitening creams may cause thinning of the skin (Martin, 2016). This condition is characterised by severe bruising, exposed (capillaries/veins can easily be seen and are close to the surface of the skin), stretch marks and other skin problems (Richins, 2015).

Skin Healing Properties - Normal and undamaged skin has the ability to heal itself and regenerate skin cells through four processes: haemostasis (blood clotting), inflammation, proliferation (growth of skin tissue) and maturation (re-modeling). When the skin is subjected to heavy and/or continuous doses of the chemicals in skin whitening creams, it loses its ability to heal (Bell, 2015). Hence, injuries, lesions, cuts or rashes are more difficult to treat.

Skin Irritations - Hydroquinone works by inhibiting the enzyme reaction that causes the



production of dark pigments (melanin) (Bordo et al., 2017). Unfortunately, hydroquinone is a fairly caustic substance which generally causes skin irritations like redness, peeling, rash, dryness and burning.

Worsening of Skin Infections - According to several studies which were carried out, people who suffer from skin diseases like acne, dermatitis and eczema are adversely affected by skin bleaching/whitening creams (Martin, 2016). The study also found that hydroquinone caused worsening or the introduction of skin diseases. Furthermore, most skin whitening creams contain steroids which when used on acne (pimples) can block the pores and lead to the development of new acne (Kaiser, 2016).

Mercury Poisoning - One of the more serious risks of unsupervised and continuous use of skin whitening creams is mercury poison (Bruch, 2015). According to the WHO, mercury poisoning can cause the following: kidney damage, skin rashes, skin discoloration and scarring, reduction in skin's resistance to bacterial and fungal infections, anxiety, depression or psychosis and peripheral neuropathy (damage of peripheral nerves) and nephrotic syndrome (a condition marked by high levels of protein in urine) (Hamilton, 2015).

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

According to Burns and Grove (1997), the research design of a study is the end result of a series of decisions made by the researcher concerning how the study will be conducted. It is the blueprint for conducting the study that maximises control over factors that could interfere with validity of the finding (Flick, 2005).

The exploratory case study design was adopted for the study. A case study design focuses on a phenomenon to be studied, the case, unit of analysis and focus of the study (Gall et al., 2007). The phenomenon in this case is the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe.

The users of skin lightening products were key informants and were investigated in their natural setting. Gall et al. (2007) agree and add that, the case study is appropriate for studying the social phenomenon. The case study design therefore enables an in-depth understanding of the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe from the perspective of the research participants (users).

The case study design adopted for this study is exploratory in nature. The research was done on a relatively unknown topic to gain new insights on a phenomenon (Creswell, 2003). This design was the most suitable for exploring the identified knowledge gap. The exploratory case study design adopted consists of both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. Emphasis will however be on qualitative methods to allow contextual description of findings. The research design will ensure a comprehensive understanding of appearance management in the context of Zimbabwe.

The findings of this study will basically be generalised to the users who meet the characteristics of the research participants.



3.2 Population and Sampling

The population for this study comprised of skin lightening cream users in Harare, Zimbabwe. The sample comprised of twenty (20) research participants who were the users of skin lightening products. Population is described by Yin (2001), as the entire number of subjects under study which is the whole. Gall et al. (2007) added that population in a study can be found in two types that is target population and accessible population. Target population includes all the members of a real or hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which researchers wish to generalize the results of their research (Burns & Groove, 2005). In the study at hand the target population refer to the people who actively used skin lightening products.

According to Burns and Grove, (2005) a sample is a subset of the population that is selected for a particular study. Gall et al (1996) say a sample is a part of a whole. Data are generally collected from a sample rather than the entire population because using a sample is more practical and less costly than collecting data from the entire population (Polit and Hungler, 2003). The sample selection ensured equitable representation of all users.

3.3 Research Instruments

Data was collected using recorded structured interviews. These are tools to be used for collecting information and data needed to generate themes to the problem under investigation.

In-depth structured interviews were used to gather qualitative data from the employers and employees working for the selected companies. The structured interviews encompassed questions concerning the appearance enhancement practices, reasons for using skin lightening and the effects of skin lightening upon the user. These interviews allowed the researcher to probe and clarify answers as Yin (2001) states that, skilled interviewing can follow up a respondent's answer to obtain more information and clarify vague statements. Furthermore, non-verbal as well as verbal cues were noted in the face to face interviews.

Non-verbal cues helped in identifying the key points in experiences of the fashion industry. Kumar (2008) says that observation is purposeful, systematic and a selective way of watching interactions or phenomenon as it takes place. In the case of interviews, issues focus on how to capture behaviour in real time and take into account the sequential and reciprocal nature. This is in line with Patton (2002), who stated that in-depth interviewing is repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and the informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their experiences or situations as expressed in own words. The interviewer had the opportunity to probe and motivate the participants leading to higher response.

4. Findings and Discussions

Having used the methodology and research design highlighted in the previous chapter, results were drawn from structured in-depth interview responses from participants using skin lightening products in Zimbabwe.

The study sought to answer the following research questions: what are the appearance



enhancement practices in Zimbabwe? Identify reasons for skin lightening in Zimbabwe and their effects upon users?

4.1 Demographics

Findings of the study have been drawn from discussions with the skin lightening users in Zimbabwe. The study found that of the 15 who took part in the study, 6 had at most attained Advanced Level Education, while 5 had either a college certificate or a diploma and 4 had attained at least a degree.

All the research participants were between 18 and 40 years of age by the time they took part in the study. The study found that 10 participants were in the 18-30 years of age category, 3 were in the 30-35 years of age category and 2 were over 35 years of age by the time they took part in the study. In each of the age groups, the average proportion of male to female respondents was 1:4.

The study found that the research participants had used skin lightening products for different time periods. Twelve research participants had used skin lightening products for not more than 5 years, 2 used skin lightening products for a period between 6 -10 years and only 1 research participant used skin lightening products for over 10 years.

4.2 Appearance Enhancement Practices in Zimbabwe

The study found that there are several appearance management practices that are implemented in Zimbabwe and these are: wearing designer clothes, make-up, hair-do, surgeries, body modifications (rhinoplasty and eye jobs), skin toning and skin lightening, putting on jewellery, eating specific foods, exercises and body lifts (lower body lift, mid body lift and total body lifts).

4.3 Reasons for Skin Lightening in Zimbabwe

The study found that there are several reasons why people in Zimbabwe practice skin lightening and these are presented below.

Skin pigmentation problems - Skin problems such as vitiligo can cause the skin to develop patches that are much lighter than the normal skin tone. For this reason, the study found that two of the research participants to use skin lightening products to correct parchments in their skins.

Pimples and oily face – the study found that 5 of the research participants practiced skin lightening to remove pimples and body oils. According to one of the participants argued that, "I engaged into skin lightening due to the need to fight pimples that were always permanent on my face".

Stigma and stereotypes – the study found that people use skin lightening products to avoid the stigma that is associated with a black skin. Participant 4 said that, "Dark skinned people are stigmatised than light skinned and people use skin lightening products to avoid the stigma". Participant 2 said that, "There is a prevailing stereotype where a light skinned individual is considered beautiful than a dark skinned individual".



Beauty reasons – the study found that 10 of the research participants used skin lightening for beauty reasons – to enhance their appearance and to appeal more to the onlookers.

Giving the skin a glow – The study found that before special occasions such as weddings, anniversaries, or honeymoons, some women choose to use skin bleaching products to give themselves a glow before their special day.

High presence of over-the-counter products – The study found that one of the reasons behind the use of skin lightening products is the high availability of such products in the country. The study found that, many skin bleaching products are sold over the counter in the form of lotions, topical solutions, creams, soaps and sprays.

Anti-ageing measure – the study found that one of the reasons behind the use of skin lightening products in the country is to correct conditions brought about by ageing. The study found that 4 of the research participants used skin-lightening products as an anti-aging measure.

Media adverts – the study found that one of the reasons behind the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe is due to the presence of media adverts that portray an ideal woman as a woman that is light, thin and tall. Thus, some of the women use skin lightening products to appear like the ideal woman.

Price factors – the study found that price issues influence the use of skin lightening products in the country. The study found that 6 of the research participants used skin lightening products due to the fact that they are affordable to them in a long run.?

In this study, the use of skin lightening creams for males was mainly observed amongst fashion bloggers, fashion designers, music artists and hair dressers.

4.4 Effects of Skin Lightening Products

The research participants were asked the effects of the use of skin lightening products. The study obtained a number of effects from the skin lightening users. The study found that there are two categories of effects of using skin lightening products and these are explained below.

4.4.1 Positive Effects

Better appreciation – Five of the research participants cited that the use of skin lightening products has ensured them to be better appreciated by others and their partners.

Beauty – the study found that the use of skin lightening products made 9 of the research participants appear to be beautiful than prior to the use of skin lightening products.

Increased opportunities and social status -3 research participants argued that their lighter skin increased their chances of gaining employment at the organisation they now work.

Increased self-esteem -12 of the 15 research participants cited that the use of skin lightening products has ensured them to increase their self-esteem and image when in public.

4.4.2 Negative Effects

The study found that there are also negative effects on the use of skin lightening products and



these are:

Low self-esteem – the study found that in the event that skin lightening products failed to deliver as expected and leave visible indications on the user, it will lead to the user having a low self-esteem. The study found that two of the research participants once felt low-self-esteem when the skin lightening products they used failed to deliver as expected.

Ridiculed - the study found that though the skin lightening products achieved their results, the friends and those that knew the user prior to a new skin may ridicule the user of changing the tone of the skin.

Budgetary issues –the study found that some of the skin lightening products is so expensive and difficult to maintain in the long run. Three research participants argued that they had to use other cheaper brands due to budgetary constraints caused by the use of expensive skin lightening products.

Health issues – the study found that the users of skin lightening products were aware of the health concerns brought about by the use of skin lightening products. One of the participants said, "Skin lightening products are said to cause cancer and skin diseases but I am yet to see one that is sick due to the use of skin bleaching products".

Allergies – the study found that there is a possibility of developing allergic reactions, even to natural ingredients after using skin lightening products

Sensitivity – the primary research found that for people with sensitive skin, using natural foods high in vitamin C may cause a rash, irritation, and burning sensation.

5. Conclusions

The study successfully achieved its objectives which are: to identify appearance enhancement practices in Zimbabwe, to identify reasons for skin lightening in Zimbabwe, to assess the effects of the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe and to provide recommendations on the use of skin lightening products in Zimbabwe. The study found that there are several appearance enhancement practices in Zimbabwe: wearing designer clothes, make-up, hair-do, surgeries, body modifications (rhinoplasty and eye jobs), skin toning and skin lightening, putting on jewellery, eating specific foods, exercises and body lifts (lower body lift, mid body lift and total body lifts). The study found that the reasons behind the use of skin lightening products are: skin pigmentation problems, presence of pimples and oily face, stigma and stereotypes, beauty reasons, the need to give the skin a glow, presence of over-the counter drugs, as an anti-aging measure, media adverts, price factors and pear pressure. The study found that there are both negative and positive effects of skin lightening products. Positive effects are: better appreciation, beauty, increased opportunities and social status and increased self-esteem. The negative effects are: low self-esteem, being ridiculed, budgetary issues, health problems and skin sensitivity.

6. Recommendations

From the findings, the study makes the following recommendations:



- It is recommended that the users of skin lightening products should gather as much information as possible about the products they use before using such products. Information can be obtained from the internet, friends and from books or dermatologists.
- Access skin lightening services from qualified dermatologists. The study found that the users of skin lightening products access products from unlicensed vendors which leads to the sale of unsafe products. It is therefore recommended to the skin lightening products users to seek skin lightening services from qualified dermatologists.
- Use alternative appearance enhancement procedures the study found that skin lightening procedures is one of the many appearance management procedures that can be used. It is therefore recommended to the users of skin lightening products to use natural means to enhance their appearance as they have less or no side effects.
- Research about product chemical composition the study found that all skin lightening products contain harmful chemicals which have serious side effects to the user. It is therefore recommended that the user researches information about the chemical composition the product before use.
- Purchase from licensed dealers the study found that most of the skin lightening products are bought from the streets and it is recommended that skin lightening products should be bought from licensed dealers.
- Beware of side effects the study found that there are several side effects that are associated with the use of skin lightening products. It is therefore recommended to the users to be aware of the side effects of such products before using them.

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