

Article

Politics of Gender Modification in the Twenty-First Century Nigeria: The Case of Bobrisky

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Abstract

Born Idris Olarenwaju Okuneye in 1991, Bobrisky has arguably taken the politics of gender modification to a height worthy of a certain degree of scholarly attention. The self-acclaimed Mummy of Lagos, and the biggest girl in Nigeria has been a sensational cross-dresser and transgender activist for over a decade. This article focuses on Bobrisky and his subversive cross-dressing and body modification attempts. It explores his power, influence, wealth, connections, and many contradictions that his lifestyle epitomizes. Archival and secondary sources have yielded the data underpinning this paper. It specifically draws from the conceptual frame, "warrior cross-dresser," found in the recent article by Unoma Azuah on Bobrisky to argue that Bobrisky exemplifies the politics of gender modification in twenty-first century Nigeria. The authors argue that Bobrisky's lavish lifestyle seen online and offline serves as an inducement for future male cross-dressers in Nigeria and beyond.

Keywords: Bobrisky, cross-dressing, transgender, body modification, fashion

Introduction

The history of the politics of gender modification appears shrouded in mystery in Nigeria until recently. This is because of extant gender codes which forbid cross-dressing and homosexual relationships. In recent times, many people (male and female) cross-dress. A few dared to spend millions to go under surgery for body modification, to achieve a desired body shape. This might not necessarily be done under the guise of cross-dressing. Some dared the high-risk venture of cosmetic surgery for the sake of beauty and elegance.

Amadiume (1987) and Oyeronke (1997) shared in their works some gender experiences peculiar to some Igbo and Yoruba groups, respectively. The uncommon gendered practices tend to contradict the Western understanding of heterosexuality in Africa. For instance, Amadiume (1987) wrote about the marriage headed by female husbands. This is different from homosexual relations. On the other hand, Oyeronke observed that a woman in her Yoruba cultural background could be a hunter.

Nwankwo (2019) has argued that queer or gender non-binary identity in the Western sense is "African." He cited the case of Area Scatter, a young man who traversed parts of southeastern Nigeria in the 1970s, dressed in female attires, as an example. The cross-dresser entertained people with thumb piano and songs. Another case is Igbo masked men who transformed themselves into female masquerades. However, the context of the queerness of Area Scatter and that of the Igbo female masquerade is different. Area Scatter was a comical entertainer who was said to have disappeared and

reappeared after seven months and seven days in the fashion of a woman. This goes to suggest that traditional forms of cross-dressing are permissible in Southeastern Nigeria under spiritual and sports contexts.

Issues of propriety and respectability in gendered contexts are central to African life (Allman 2004 and Masquelier 2005). The people mostly frown at indecent looks, especially in gendered and moral contexts. Herein lies the concept of gender power relations as those who challenge improper appearances and those bent on breaking fashion and gender codes are often opposed to each other. This is a part of the politics of fashion and beauty in Africa (Dosekun 2016). The code 'breakers' often defend themselves verbally with such expressions as "Keep your eyes off my thighs" (Tamela 2016). Such boldness could be seen in Bobrisky.

Here one sees that African fashion is deeply laced with moral concern; the human body is equally central in African life. Practices that objectify the body could destabilize an embodied normative tradition as in the case of Bobrisky. Cases of throwing objects at cross-dressers in parts of Nigeria in the past illustrate the point clearly.

Certainly, cross-dressing or wearing clothes that traditionally belong to the opposite gender has been historically forbidden in many cultures. It used to be so even in Western contexts (Hotchkiss 1996, Cressy 1996, Bill 1993, V. Bullough and B. Bullough 1993, Garber 1992). For instance, the story of Silence in Hotchkiss' (1996) text is about a woman who adopted male characteristics and lived as a knight in deception until her sexuality was discovered. Recently, we heard that about 13 countries live under specific laws that criminalize members of the transgender community. Their punishments include prison sentences and sometimes death penalties. Many Western countries have also come together to enact rights that protect the lives and properties of transgender and intersex people. It has severely aroused moral panic and cultural anxiety in history. This has been the case since particularly since 2014 when the same-sex marriage contract was banned in Nigeria under anti-gay law (Eniola 2019).

Efforts to normalize cross-dressing in African cultures appear to have been steady since the 1990s. For instance, the first lesbian voice heard in Nigeria in feminist literature was in the 1990s (Azuah 2005). On the other hand, the Western world has over time become more accommodating towards cross-dressers since the Eighteenth century when cross-dressing became associated with transgender behavior (Nwigwe 2019, 4). It was in the 20th century that cross-dressers' advocacy groups emerged in the West. Thenceforth, gender boundaries have become more blurred, especially with the establishment of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) communities. This has resulted in pressures from the West on the Nigerian Government to preserve the rights of transgendered individuals and those with same-sex inclinations. Nevertheless, the Government has not heeded the call as all forms of homosexuality and transgender behaviours remain illegal at the time of this writing. "As President of Nigeria at that time", says Jonathan, "I

came under almost unbearable pressure from the Cameron administration to pass legislation supporting LGBTQ Same-Sex Marriage in Nigeria" (Eniola 2019).

Unoma Azuah (2021) has described Bobrisky as a "warrior cross-dresser." This description suggests that Bobrisky has withstood all oppositions to his dream transgender lifestyle, which is succeeding against all odds. He has acquired the knowledge of how to don the aristocratic Yoruba women's buba and wrapper. Bobrisky's dress, the style seen in his social media apps and other online sources, appears splendid. His make-up appears stunning when judged from the perspective of modern Southern Nigerian aesthetics. He takes time to craft and maintain such a beautiful appearance. He has been able to acquaint himself with the highly performative and time-consuming dressing-up acts.

Background of Bobrisky's Female Look

Bobrisky was born on August 31, 1991, in Lagos where he lives at the time of this writing. He was born into a polygamous, Muslim family. His father married three wives and his mother was the last. Bobrisky's parents could no longer live together as man and wife, and they separated. Following the parting, Bob lived with his mother who eventually died around 2008. While living with his mother, he got deeply involved in the women's world. He went to University and in a bid to support him financially began to sell female cosmetics and accessories. He wore them as a marketing strategy. Bobrisky began to dress in feminine attire around 2012. He emerged as a celebrated cross-dresser around 2017, the time "LGBT acceptance [was] slowly grow[ing] in Nigeria, despite anti-gay laws" (Nwaubani, 2017). Meanwhile, there is something special about the decade of his birth. This was a time of unusual interest in the body, sexuality, and other gender concerns around the world.

Bobrisky's photos and videos where he dressed in female attires, wearing nail and eye-lash extensions and other female cosmetics appear ubiquitous online. Early pictures of Bobrisky present him as a dark-skinned young man who has had a fair share of the challenges of life. However, recent pictures present him as a light-skinned female socialite with red lipstick, headgear, necklace, earrings, artificial eyelashes, and brows that enhance her matronly look. A video and photo surfaced on the internet in 2020 taken when Bobrisky attended his father's birthday.³ He stood side by side with his father and other members of his Muslim family. The group family photo does not portray Bobrisky in splendid attire. His visage appears as ordinary as that of an average man on the street.

An account of his initial parade in a street of Lagos in gaudy female attire indicates that he was arrested by the police for cross-dressing. The arrest was allegedly sponsored by a man who in an attempt to woo a young lady discovered that the person was not a woman but a man, Bobrisky. During his

undergraduate days at the University of Lagos, Nigeria, he perfected his plan to become a cross-dresser. He sold and used women's cosmetics, including bleaching cream. Over time, his dark-skinned complexion turned to light. He has continued the business up until the time of this writing. He could compete with and even beat several women in fashioning an adorable self. His combination of different feminine elements is outstanding. Lately, he manifests a female body form, a feminine elegance, and a sexualized figure capable of attracting masculine desire.

Bobrisky is arguably the most powerful of all male cross-dressers in Nigeria. He came into the limelight around 2013 and has constantly caused a stir on the internet through his social media posts. Over the years, he has gone through some modification processes. His use of drugs, pills, and bleaching creams is to ensure a bodily conformation to a female identity. His recent photos and videos have shown a considerable degree of success in this regard. He has severally announced his plan to undergo plastic surgery. This news kept his followers on the edge as they appeared eager to know the result of the process until he released a video of the surgery meant to enlarge his buttocks.

He started by selling and using bleaching creams, and ingesting pills to grow breasts, buttocks, and hips (Odunsi 2019). The business gave him the brand name, Bobrisky. An agential, purposeful, and narcissistic cross-dresser, Bobrisky revealed that his desire to be rich made him objectify and feminize his body. He saw this as a shortcut to get rich. Effacing of maleness has a high price tag which Bobrisky was determined to pay. Taking drugs for body and hormone modification is one while change of voice is another. Facing vituperative attacks from the public and arrest attempts by security operatives appear as a major challenge. He paid these prices and earned the description, "a warrior cross-dresser" (Azuah, 2021). This is perhaps because he has fought many 'wars' to maintain his status and appearance as a transgender. With proceeds from his body scrub, knuckle cream, body shower gels, and face soap business as well as from his trans lifestyle, he built a celebrity status.

Bobrisky was not the first and only sensational male cross-dresser in Nigeria. A male entertainer and musician whose real name appears replaced with the nickname, Area Scatter, operated as a cross-dresser in the 1970s. Area Scatter as a name is associated with dislodgement and disturbance. However, it was used pejoratively following the myth attached to his identity and social role. For instance, the video revealed the sensational figure dressed in a white blouse and ankle-length red wrapper walking briskly along the road and into a living room of a traditional ruler where performed and trilled the man, his wife, and some cabinet members as seen in a video clip that surfaced online in 2007. A civil servant before the Nigeria-Biafra war, he reportedly disappeared into an unknown location and emerged after seven months and seven days with special musical skills and certain feminine qualities contrasted with his male voice (Nwankwo, 2019). He was said to have traversed different parts of Southeastern Nigeria entertaining people with his

thumb piano until he allegedly died in an auto crash in one of his interstate travels. Shortly afterward, Charley Boy emerged as another sensational figure from the southeastern region of the country. He was known more as an entertainer than a cross-dresser.

He was once caught on camera kissing another male cross-dresser, popularly called Denrele. In response to the verbal attacks that followed, Danrele in an interview explained the symbolism of the act - their shared similarity and difference in terms of lifestyle and time. Adenrele Oluwafemi Edun or Denrele is a popular Television personality who sometimes wears feminine dress including jewelry and hairstyles.

He appears at high-profile events, in sometimes exaggerated female attires, heeled shoes, and long hair. Like Bobrisky, he has granted interviews to several journalists and associated with many local and foreign celebrities. Many people have wondered if he was gay. In an interview with a blogger, Denrele neither confirmed nor denied the speculations because he wanted to 'keep the people pondering' (Obiora, 2018). However, he has not been free of the social stigma and deprivation associated with such a lifestyle. For instance, Denrele's sister was said to have lost her job as a teacher at a time when her employers discovered she was related to him.

James Obialor also known as James Brown is another popular cross-dresser. This self-acclaimed 'Princess of Africa' came to the limelight in 2018 shortly after the emergence of Bobrisky. That was after he and a few other young men were arrested by the police at a gay party in a hotel in Lagos. James Brown has continued to release videos showing his images in female attire at different events in Nigeria. According to him, "Godfather Charley Boy paved the way, followed by Denrele, then Bobrisky and I am the first Generation."⁷ The practice of cross-dressing has become more sensational in recent times. For instance, Bayo Kazim, also known as Funkichacha, Olaide Olaitan, popularly called Seun the Diva, Joshua Agei (Idhe, 2020), Gauri Owolabi, Chimdi Iche popular with the name Jay Bugatti and Golden Oke have all identified themselves as cross-dressers. One of them whose cross-dressing came to public knowledge in 2016 noted that Bobrisky emboldened him and others to cross-dress (Dumo, 2017). Many of these youths started as models during their university days and later began to cross-dress and display other cross-gender behaviors. One Buggatti owned up transgender status on social media with a large following, wherein he shared his raunchy photos.

Bobrisky's Motivation for Cross-dressing

Most mothers treat their female children like themselves and their male children differently while others may encourage their children to play with female toys and wear particular clothes. They believe that they could choose to become a male or be seen as such insofar as they wear dresses of the opposite sex. Davies (2002, p. 284) reported that dress and hairstyle are the "most obvious and superficial form of bodily practice that distinguishes male from female;" this is why girls who dress in tracksuits without girlish

hairstyles, for instance, are sometimes mistaken as boys. It is important to note that cosmetics are integral parts of female dress.

Sex and gender are two words often used interchangeably to distinguish male and female. Sex however is associated with the different biological and physiological characteristics such as organs, hormones, and chromosomes while gender relates to the socially constructed distinctions of men and women. In the past, trousers were solely associated with boys wearing girls' dresses, especially in Western cultures and their former colonial empire. The choice of dress for boys and girls was/is still dependent on the parents' conviction as to the gender of their child. To maintain gender distinction hitherto in these regions, preschool, and school children have gendered dress codes in the aforementioned styles. Such gendered clothing symbols are reflected in the icons used to distinguish male and female restrooms. Some cross-dress by donning dresses of the opposite gender or adopting the behaviours associated with the opposite gender (Davies, 2002).

The question that comes to mind as one thinks about the matter of cross-gender boundaries, is the issue of motives pops up. There is a fetishistic angle to this. Some women have desired to overcome the barriers that they faced in terms of economic opportunities and independence and are thus cross-dressed. Many men have decried some social burden on the male gender and attempted to access some privileges traditionally meant for women in society by cross-dressing. Anerua (2020) reveals Bobrisky's motivation for cross-dressing thus:

I was formally a man for 25 yrs [sic], nothing to show for it. I kept struggling even with my certificate as a graduate of accounting in [the] [U]niversity of Lagos, nothing to still show for it. I saw how all my females [sic] friends were cashing out [making a lot of money] back them. I went home and think [sic] about my life...I have a little bit of female features in me, I decide [sic] to try what cross-dressing look like. Under one yr [year] of cross dressing [sic] I started making money. I was still surprise [sic]. So I gave my body more time, rubbing expensive creams, smelling good, and looking out for myself. Boom more money keep [sic] coming."

The main revelation here is the monetary gain behind Bobrisky's cross-dressing. Bobrisky lives in a capitalist society and exudes some capitalist aura. Bobrisky's purpose of commodifying his body and politicizing his cross-dressing is characteristically capitalist. He could spend a huge sum of money to craft a sensational female figure. He revealed on one of his Facebook handles, *Bobrisky*, that he was a high-class prostitute [*ashewo*], patronized by billionaires only. Similar controversial remarks could be seen in the same Facebook handle. Hence, he tries to keep his body as fresh and smooth as possible. His supposed feminized body sparkles with inexpensive jewellery and clothing. Of course, he uses the same bleaching cream he sells to his online and offline clients. His arguably photogenic image attests to the power

of science and technology in modern times.

In every society, capitalists take risks. Bobrisky has taken a long list. His botched birthday party in 2019, for instance, was a risk and a loss. Another risk was his plan to go for sex reassignment surgery in late 2020 (Ebirim, 2020). He must have known the case of the former Nigerian first lady, Stella Obasanjo, who died from complications resulting from surgery done in an attempt to flatten her tummy in 2005 (Laurance, 2012). The news of the death was a rude shock to many people. She had appeared hale and hearty as she prepared for her sixtieth birthday– the very motivation for the plastic surgery. Bobrisky made a similar plan regarding his buttocks, to achieve a curvy shape. According to him, he was firm in this despite fears of the pain associated with such surgery. In the same vein, one would consider the creams and drugs or pills for lightening skin and altering the function of certain hormones. In an online video, someone claimed a doctor's report shows that eighty-five percent of Bobrisky's skin has been damaged. The validity of the statement is unclear; it has been proven that excessive use of certain creams damages the skin. It is perhaps because of the risky nature of his brand of cross-dressing that he chose the name, Bobrisky, a combination of the adjective "risky" and a popular male name, "Bob", a pet and short form of the male name Robert. The politics of body modification in Nigeria has in recent times, gained popularity among members of the elite group and especially among those in the entertainment industry. Despite several fatal reports, many socialites have dammed the consequences and braved the pain of going under the surgeon's blade for different levels of body modification (within and outside Nigeria) mostly for erotic enhancement.

Another thread of capitalism running in Bobrisky's phenomenon is that of competition. The "biggest girl" in Nigeria which he occasionally calls has a prideful undertone and smacks of a competitiveness. This quality can be illustrated further. A few weeks after a Nigerian business mogul, Obi Cubana organized a lavish burial for his mother in Anambra State and realized a huge sum from the event, Bobrisky shared a video where he displayed lots of currency notes he purportedly realized from his 30th birthday party, boasting that his money has surpassed Cubana's (Bamidele, 2021). His expensive parties, cars, houses, clothing, and accessories underscore this point. An online source put his net worth at an estimated \$3.125 million while his Snapchat, Instagram, and Facebook handles have remained his sources of displaying his purported wealth.

Bobrisky's Revealing Confessions about Self

Bobrisky had an Instagram live chat with a local journalist and publisher, around mid- 2020 where he was asked how naughty and adventurous he was and he confessed "wild and crazy." (OVTV Online, 2020). He donned the highly performative dress associated with Yoruba socialite women. He made remarkable revelations about his life, revealing among other things how he considered becoming a bisexual at a point in time. As regards dating, he said he dated only women and would take responsibility if his relations with them resulted in pregnancy. He added that such pregnancy must be a matter of secrecy as such

knowledge, if made public, would work against him. Bobrisky's confession during the interview highlights his virility. It shows that he has not completely effaced his natural sexual potency. Many scientists believe that men and women are inherently different.

During the earlier chat, Bobrisky exerts a bad influence on the youth; he unequivocally rebutted the notion that he was a bad influence on the youth by saying that he would normally tell people to follow their hearts. It is clear that lavish lifestyles and utterances online and offline will serve as an inducement for a cross-section of people, especially the youths, in Nigeria and beyond. He claimed to be religious and expressed willingness to travel to Mecca on pilgrimage as a Muslim. Saudi Arabia is against homosexuality. So to embark on such travel would mean his effacing of his female identity, albeit momentarily. Again, this underscores the nature of the democratic and secular system of government in Nigeria, something different from that of Saudi Arabia which is patterned after Islamic tradition.

There is even some degree of difference in which the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria view secularity. The former appears more conservative in the practice of Islamic religion, hence the establishment of Sharia legal codes. That is why offenders of antigay law, could spend up to 14 years in prison in some parts while stricter punishment – death – awaits those convicted of the crime in northern states with strict Sharia codes. However, the Nigerian government and people seem to loosening their moral stand against homosexuality with the increasing presence of male cross-dressers despite the reported cases of homosexual acts which led to the mass arrest of suspects in Lagos in 2017 (Ewokor, 2017).

Bobrisky's international passport is said to bear male, his original gender. Although he denied being transgender, he admitted exhibiting transgender behaviours exemplified in his willingness to undergo sex reassignment. A picture surfaced online where he was seen kissing his fellow man, his supposed billionaire boyfriend, on Valentine's Day. Additionally, his enlarged breasts and buttocks reinforce his homosexual inclinations. Azuah (2021) once remarked that Bobrisky's life is full of contradictions culminating into "arisky whole". Some of the paradoxes include criticizing gay marriage while on one hand promoting same-sex relations by sharing adorable pictures of his kiss with his boyfriend (Odozi, 2020). His criticism of sex workers contrasts with his claims to be doing the job of a prostitute seen in one of his social media posts. Some LGBTG activists from Nigeria joined to criticize Bobrisky for not promoting queerness genuinely and for his brazen display of wealth online and offline (Azuah, 2021). These contradictions are arguably intentional and thus political.

It is difficult for one to fully analyze Bobrisky because his queer character evolves steadily. This view was expressed in an article posted online on May 6, 2021, and was inadvertently corroborated by Bobrisky some months later in his Facebook handle on September 12, 2021, thus, "My reign & era has just begun". However, we are inclined to believe that his underhand dealings and politics of identity pose the greatest challenge to any research attempt on him. This is reminiscent of the

problem of the war on terror, insurgency, and insecurity in Nigeria and elsewhere (Nwigwe, 2017). Bobrisky knows how to remain sensational and maintain a large following online and offline.

Bobrisky's remarkable events and cases

Bobrisky has had some remarkable events and cases. One such is his birthday, especially his 28th birthday celebration. He had planned to host it in Lekki, Lagos. He estimated the cost of the party at 19 million Naira, an amount nearly equivalent to 47,500 USD at the time. The budget might have included the Mercedes Benz SUV allegedly bought as an expensive birthday gift. However, the party was halted by the police who sealed up the venue of the event (Wahab, 2019). This was marked by an attempted arrest to stop him from initiating people into homosexuality. He went into hiding afterward (Fasasi, 2019).

Bobrisky's 30th birthday celebration which was held in Lagos on September 1, 2021, appears more lavish than his previous birthdays. It is said to have engulfed about twenty-four times the amount earlier spent on the 28th birthday. The venue of the party comprised a considerably large and well-decorated hall, adorned with rows of well-decorated chairs, beautiful flowers, and striking chandeliers among other things. The party was well attended by celebrities (Njoku, 2021). No case of molestation was reported. His guests gave gifts. They joined him to dance and spread several notes of money in local and foreign currency on him. No one knows exactly if all the money belongs to him. His fans who did not make it to the event expressed their goodwill to him, some on social media. One of them "prayed that God should enlarge the coast of Bobrisky" and another wished him more success. Fuji maestro, Ayinde Wasiu, also known as K1, performed with his band at the event (Adegori22, 2021). The development however attracted mixed feelings from the artiste's fans. Those who attacked Wasiu saw his presence and role during the event as a tacit support for Bobrisky whose controversial lifestyle is believed to be a poor role model for Nigerian youths. The party indicates the high social status of Bobrisky, one who is rich and highly connected. With these forms of power, he silences critics.

There have been of several momentous arrest cases in Bobrisky's life. For instance, in 2016, it was rumored that Bobrisky had been arrested though he quickly did a video to debunk the claim. One local media confirmed his arrest by the Lagos State Police Command at Lekki in 2017. The story behind this incident was linked to his gay status. In the morning of May 28, 2020, Bobrisky was arrested consequent upon a petition by a Nigerian woman based abroad that he collected N30m from her for sales and sponsorship of an artificial eyelash brand "but did not keep to the end of the deal" (Adesina, 2020). A lawyer noted that Bobrisky cannot be prosecuted by claiming to be transgender without being caught in the prohibited act. Thus one could see the legal dimension to his controversial life, one that contests the illegality of his words and gestures.

Many people, including local transvestite and transgender activists have joined in condemning him for his undue emphasis on monetary gains. For instance, when

Olusegun Runsewe, the Director-General of National Council of Arts threatened to deal with him, the following groups allegedly stood for him: The Initiative for Equal Rights, Women's Health and Equal Rights, Access to Health and Rights Development Initiative, Life Building Awareness Initiative and Africa Focus for Youth, Development Life Building Awareness Initiative, Initiative for Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights Awareness, Women Crisis Centre, Improved Male Health Initiative, International Center for Advocacy and The Right to Health (Augoye, 2019). Such bodies tend to give Bobrisky some protection. He however does not care about his critics' opinions and threats. This is why despite several cases of arrest he has been active in Nigeria, both online and offline.

Cross-dressing and Unequal Gender Relations in Nigeria

Bobrisky once noted in a video that being a woman has paved the way for her. This highlights the undue attention given to women's fashions and bodies in Nigerian contexts. Little wonder, female cross-dressing does not make news in contemporary times. Women's dress once differed remarkably from men's attire. Before the modern era, tailored dress in the form of loose trousers and shirts was reserved for men while women had wraparound styles. The coming of Christianity and colonial masters in the region ushered in sartorial changes. Women began to wear tailored blouses known as *buba*, previously regarded as an emblem of female Christian converts (Byfield, 2004, 33). The blouse goes with wrapper, headgear, and jewellery and has become the typical women's dress in Southern Nigeria.

Dress reforms that tilt towards the adoption of male styles have continued to trail women's dress practice until they adopted trousers widely associated with men (Nwigwe, 2019). The recent appropriation of trousers by women has divested trousers of certain qualities such as being the male dress of power. Although there are other ways women perform masculinity/cross-dressing besides wearing trousers, this is one of the reasons female cross-dressing has almost lost its significance in many modern contexts. It shows particularly the dynamics in women's dress practice in recent times. Bobrisky's cross-dressing signals many things. One thing is the unequal gender relation in dress practice. Modern society seems to have accepted women dressing like men and not the opposite.

Conclusion

Bobrisky's style of transgender performance and gender fluidity mirrors developments in modern global society. Arguably, his has contributed to what we conceptualize as an integral part of the politics of gender modification in recent times when many more individuals have become more confident in accepting and making public their queer identities and positions. In recent times, many celebrities and skit makers have adopted cross-dressing as content for their comedies, hence subtly promoting cross-dressing. Nonetheless, with the extant laws cross-dressing in Nigeria, there appears to be no clear record of legal sanctions on citizens who have flouted such laws.

This essay has shown that Bobrisky as a sensational figure is a key figure in the

politics of body modification in modern Nigeria. It has shown that some Nigerians regard Bobrisky as a nuisance, delinquent, and a national disgrace. His cross-dressing largely fits into the notion of a warrior cross-dresser. It is worth reiterating that Nigeria's stand against transgender behavior and obscenity has not deterred Bobrisky from cross-dressing. Bobrisky has always leveraged his wealth, connections, and sympathizers to deal with his many challenges. Bobrisky's lavish lifestyle displayed online and offline has some secret dimensions. The obvious parts will continue to serve as an inducement for the emergence of future male cross-dressers in Nigeria and beyond. This is because the youths who constitute the highest users of social media in Nigeria have impressionable minds; they are easily swayed to accept new ways of life they consider profitable, guaranteeing some celebrity status.

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