

Drag Queen Performers in Urban Pink Tourism: Community of People, Place, and Poverty

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Abstract

The research focuses on “front and back stage” such as exposed in in-depth interviews of two drag queens: Mami Salsa and Mami Sisca, the first one from Denpasar, the second from Singaraja in North Bali. Mami Salsa started working as a drag queen in the late 90s and retired from performing in 2020. Having had a wife and children, he dresses as a man and is now considered a senior drag queen; he is not in good health, so he rarely performs and instead mentors young drag queen performers. As for Mami Sisca, “she” stopped performing as a drag queen in November 2019 and now works as a popular English teacher for kids as well as a cat and dog rescuer. She still dresses as a woman, and having gained wide social recognition during her “front stage” drag queen days, “she” is now a respected figure of Singaraja’s community. Socially integrated, both Mami Salsa and Mami Sisca show the type of positive evolution of urban tourism that shows people, place and poverty as aspects of the lives of drag queens. One of the ways that could help ordinary drag queens to follow the steps of Mami Salsa and Mami Sisca would indeed be for the hotel and restaurant association to give full recognition to their performing arts profession. This research advocates the drag queens coalition of Bali to have the pocket book and the web site to make their profession sound and legal.

Keywords: Drag queens; Dramaturgy theory; Front and back stages.

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Introduction

The study of the sociology of tourism includes an approach to urban tourism areas or MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions) including restaurants and accommodation as well as bars or nightclubs facilitated by the Bali Tourism Office. Under the national tourism office, there is also the Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association/PHRI at the provincial and district levels, which have the authority to protect the human rights of tourism workers. Especially the workers at the MICE facilities, PHRI must protecting the entertainment arts workers "Drag Queens" whose performances impersonate the divas. These performances are staged in cafes, bars and hotels and even on cruise ships to Nusa Penida, the nearest island to Bali. Drag queens are included in the promotion of pink tourism (Hughes, 2006), which targets LGBT guests as well as heteronormative guests to watch this impersonator in the style of the diva they imitate. Some of the drag queens are transwomen (biological men at birth who now identify as women). Transwomen may or may not have had surgery. Other drag queens are ‘cis’ men who wear men's clothes (in the day) and may be married with children. They are comfortable with the gender duality they perform on the professional stage (at night). In other words, their gender identity is not ‘trans woman’ but ‘cis man’.

This study examines the front stage and back stage of the impersonators with the dramaturgical theory of "The presentation of self in everyday life" from Erving Goffman (1956)

which is connected with his psycho-social work entitled, "Stigma" (1963), This analysis is informed by research about 'waria' (Palupi & Tobing, 2017; and Pastini & Tobing, 2020) in Bali. Waria is an Indonesian term referring to trans-women. In this study, one actor is a man who likes to perform as a drag queen (mami Salsa) while the other, Mami Sisca is a transwoman or waria. In addition, the study is informed by research by Hughes (2006). The promotion of pink tourism reinforces the presence of other genders as social facts but Rorong (2018) uses the concept of 'dramaturgy' to make community in social situation play their roles as people, person in places that could be not far from poverty.

This alerts us to abnormal 'social situations' which Goffman says are "the moments when stigmatized and normal are in the same 'social situation', that is, in one another's immediate physical presence, whether in a conversation-like encounter or in the co-presence of an unfocused gathering". However, what is not normal in the urban tourism community in Bali invites us to consider dramaturgy theory and look at the stigma of the body that changes according to the social context to perform gender duality. This means that the social body in Bali in the gender duality of a man becomes an economic body that is attached to the front stage of the two impersonators in this study and the back stage at the same time. The focus of the study in these two examples of impersonators is on urban communities consisting of people, where drag queens perform arts that cannot be separated from poverty and the necessities of life that befall them. Rorong (2018) analyzes Goffman's theory with the words; "We play many roles at any given moment", Thus Goffman assures us that we are the actors of the theater. Therefore, in his book "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Goffman explains perfectly how, when, where, why, and what our roles are in the theater. Goffman is like the theater's "script writer"

Although little is known in the field of drag queens in Indonesia, at least Palupi & Tobing (2017) as well as Pastini & Tobing (2020) have been researching "Waria: at the locus of Camplung Tanduk where one actor of this research came from. There are two actors in this study. Mami Salsa and Mami Sisca. Both of these 'mothers' are experienced and have worked as drag queens. Unlike the earlier research of Tobing with Palupi (2017) and Pastini (2020), Mami Salsa or SS, is a man who for 23 years (1997-2020) worked as a drag queen and became the catalyst for this research was the one worked at Camplung Tanduk in Seminyak area, district of Badung. In Singaraja, a trans woman Mami Sisca or SC performed last time as a drag queen on November 14, 2019 in a show in Jakarta. Zuryani & Erviantono (2021) mention Mami Sisca as the leader of Warga (Waria and Gay Singaraja) since 1990. As a community actor, she asked members of the association to respect eastern ethics, although public performances of drag may be seductive and a little erotic. This may become the novelty of this research as many parts of Indonesian tourism entertainment reluctant to take "Western eroticism". Mami Sisca has been involved as a drag queen for 32 years. The same tone of respectability was conveyed by Mami Salsa when she reminded this research team that drag queens in the Badung district have never committed a crime. This is also the novelty of this research. Revealing the phenomenon of urban communities in the sociology of tourism, the front stage and back stage as the locus of research in connection with the factors of poverty and economic needs that surround the actors.

The purpose of this research is to introduce to the wider community that a profession of dragqueen is not well received even in the famous touristic area as Bali. This makes this research is important as Bali is not as famous as Thailand for the dragqueens. However, urban tourism needs to get more attention as the implications of dragqueens dramaturgy is close to community of people in all layers, either in the place of Camplung Tanduk or the place of their habitant that is not far from poverty. The research problem can be seen on how is dragqueen's dramaturgy of the front stage shown by both actors? And how is the backstage of each actor formed by the people around them, the place and the poverty they experience?

Methods

This study uses qualitative methods with in-depth interviews and FGD/Focus Group Discussions with twenty people whom 12 of them are dragqueens which were held on July 4, 2022 with research partners, namely the Bali Health Foundation/Yakeba. Yakeba or Yayasan

Kesehatan Bali has been a loyal NGOs to maintain and look after the LGBT health being in Bali. The facilitator for FGD was the head program of Yakeba who is familiar with most of the dragqueen's health status, mentally and physically. After FGD in Yakeba, several interviews were held with Mami Salsa whom become an important source of data in this research. Similarly, it was since 2017, researchers Zuryani and Erviantono (2021) have investigated the lives of trans women in the frame of urban society in North Bali. The research team's direct introduction to Mami Sisca took place in 2018 which made it clear that the front stage of the drag queen profession was broad, layered and complex. Therefore, in 2019, Zuryani et al (2021) carried out community service with a group of PLWHA transwomen (people with HIV/AIDS) in the city of Denpasar by providing tengkuluk – a hair styling- training at the Agung salon. For this paper, in-depth interviews with Mami Salsa were conducted in several public places (cafés, restaurants) in the city of Denpasar and the port city of Singaraja. After each interview, the data was transcribed and analysed with the thematic coding. Also an in-depth interview with Mami Sisca was conducted at the location of her house, which is also opposite the free English course she manages, opposite her large yard which is a place to care for abandoned and rescued dogs and cats.

Result and Discussion

An expression of empathy came from an interview with the Chairman of PHRI Bali who is also the Deputy Governor (Wakil Gubernur) of Bali. He revealed the narrative of suffering he received from a trans woman who spoke to him by saying, "I don't want to be born like this, if you want to replace me, how will you know my suffering". He understands what is meant by "LGBT suffering", especially Transpuan/Transwoman (CA's audience, September 14, 2022). The stigma is generated by heteronormative people who do not understand the difficulties of transwomen as another gender.

"Gender Trouble" (Buttler, 1990; 205; 2019a; 2019b), claims that feminist theory cannot be called upon to solve the issues related to gender fluidity. Indonesian in general is never admits a gender fluidity. Buttler's point of view is well-known in queer studies. According to Buttler, gender performativity is determined by culturally dominant heterosexual patterns of identity. In Indonesia, gender is not only socio-biological but also a stigma for those who is non biner, means the state also puts them as fragile not inclusively treated as a normal citizen, they need rehabilitation. The Waria is formally included as those mentally ill people, the homeless or the bums. The state of Indonesia wants to rehabilitating them. Unless they create problems openly and commit criminality.

The Social Service in the Ministry of Social Welfare has prepared rehabilitation funds for LGBT people. In addition, the Population/Dukcapil Service may also provide rights to e-KTP (electronic Kartu Tanda Penduduk/ID card) to transgender people. In fact, only a small number of transgender groups (waria) in Badung district and Denpasar city have received e-KTP. The social stigma of LGBT is exacerbated by the normative conceptual framework of the social service bureaucracy. Rehabilitation assistance based on gender and LGBT marks these as social deviations. Meanwhile the population service (e-KTP) requires those to be given assistance to display data on their gender as Male/Female according to the birth certificate and Family card. Preventing trans people from dealing with the bureaucracy in the person of their trans gender identity.

These problems with economic assistance and the civil service bureaucracy are of a piece with stigma that is implemented more directly. Mami Salsa in an audience with the head of the PHRI in Bali, explained that it is not uncommon for diva impersonators to receive harsh treatment, for example being led to the banjar hall by pecalang (traditional village guards), getting their hair shaved (2011) and being stripped naked (2015), tossed with egg or meatball sauce or with an aqua bottle. This treatment has used the pretext that some lady boys (men in women's clothes) have become repeat criminals who cheat or steal in the tourist areas of Seminyak/Kuta/Legian and Kerobokan Kelod. Those who are the victims of these attacks look for the criminal's resemblance to these diva impersonators. Consequently, drag queens are misunderstood as criminals. A head of LKMD in the Legian area stated that these "lady boys are destroying the image of tourism by

bringing tourism diseases". What this official meant is the sex tourism disease (in-depth interview, IWPN, 11/2011; 08/2022). The disease of trans/cross-dressed men in the tourism area, which is referred to as "lady boy," continued the IWPN source, is committing fraud and extortion of foreign tourists. Steal their belongings and offer prostitution services. The interaction of the Lady Boys with the nightlife creates unrest for tourism actors, especially the scapegoating of Drag Queen entertainers.

Maybe in carrying out the drag queens' performing arts profession, there is also a front stage setting where the drag queens return home from the stage where they work with full make-up. So, they are thought to be "lady boys". In living their daily lives, they are surrounded by people-guests-the surrounding community, where they perform different performances from their place of residence and the poverty of life (neighborhood residents and surrounding groups including boarding houses) which involves most of the drag queens living in restrooms / rented houses in Denpasar city or the Badung district and Singaraja district. [Rorong \(2018\)](#) states that the front stage consists of three main parts, namely the setting of the physical environment, expression aids and stage equipment.

Physical Environment

Like Indonesian culture in general, Balinese culture tends to value traditional performing arts more than cabaret shows. Yet, a most interesting phenomenon of contemporary Balinese pink tourism is "drag queens", a performance held in front of LGBT and heteronormative publics ([Pratama & Nugroho, 2019](#)). These drag queens are male or trans performers who imitate singer divas through lip synchronizations. Imitating well known lady singers such as Whitney Houston, Lady Gaga, and Jennifer Lopez, they provide a juicy niche market to bars and café owners. So, at first view, their performances provide fun and glamour. There are two bars for these performances in the neighborhood called the "Gaza Strip" in the Seminyak area. There is one café in the Kerobokan Kelod area and two open-air performances in the Legian Kaja area. There is also a cabaret show schedule (drag queens and gogo dancers) in the Sanur tourism area.

[Pratama & Nugroho \(2019\)](#) reject the view that only LGBT people like to watch drag queens and gogo dancers (muscular men in skimpy dancing clothes) at nightclubs in Bali. The physical environment of the Gaza Strip allows heteronormative women to be present as spectators. This means that pink tourism is not just the dominance of an LGBTIQ audience. According to Pratama and Nugroho, married women and girls with boyfriends feel comfortable and safe watching drag queens and gogo dance performance. While their dance and lip sync songs refer to erotic movements, the stigma of sex tourism is misplaced where these performances are concerned. Pratama and Nugroho interviewed heterosexual female visitors who attended the performances of drag queens and gogo dancers. They gave the opinion that the performance they attended was unique and needed to be maintained (2019). Guests who are invited to interact may experience some body contact but this is not perceived as a sexual contact but as an amusing part of the performance. The female audience feels safe and comfortable being present for these events. It is notable that these performances do not take place in areas of the city of Denpasar or Singaraja that are associated with sex tourism.

Expression Gadget

An interview (pers.com HS, 19/08/2022) with a man who won a national drag queen competition, revealed that all stage equipment is the responsibility of the impersonator. Expression aids such as wigs, diva costumes, shoes and accessories must be prepared by the drag queens. A drag queen must have various costumes according to the song she is singing. For example, Mami Salsa always has costumes for Whitney Houston, Anastacia and Tony Braxton. Whitney Houston is also a favorite of Mami Sisca in Singaraja. The make-up of each of these mami is always the best, so are the accessories and clothes. Their ability to memorize songs and dance are next to the diva themselves. Reality shows in the USA always tune in to these diva performances but "Indonesian Idol" is more to fame, fortune and fantasi ([Coutas, 2006](#)) that creates by the jury and construction of idol identity. Drag queens are those who enhance performing arts of diva and create

emotional attachment to the audience. They are not having fantasy to be Indonesian celebrity. They do this for income earning and gain a living.

Mami Sisca in addition to performing hits from international divas such as Whitney Houston, Shania Twain, Madonna and Tony Braxton, also presented herself as local singers such as Julia Perez/deceased, Titi DJ, Mulan Jamella and Ruth Sahanaya. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, night shows along the Lovina tourism destination, North Bali were asking Mami Sisca to sing for the biggest fee of one song, one million rupiah, and she frequently sang two songs from Ruth Sahanaya. The last time Mami Sisca performed in Jakarta as a drag queen was on November 14, 2019 at the JS Luwansa hotel in the Kuningan area of Central Jakarta with one song by Whitney Houston and the Bollywood song, Ang La Ga de mix Bali instrumental. Mami Sisca's confidence, swoops down from her chest to her chin. She is decorated with a Cobra snake tattoo.

Stage Equipment

The drag queen drama stage is largely determined by the requirements of self-expression. Mami Salsa performances are very different from those of Mami Sisca even when both imitate the same diva singer. In an interview, Mami Salsa explained that she rented a boarding house to store a collection of clothes, wigs, shoes, cosmetics and accessories for her front stage performances. The large room rented by Mami Salsa has now disappeared into a memory as he has had a hit and run accident on the night of December 19, 2020 after returning from managing the Drag Queen show for New Year's Eve in the Seminyak area. The impact of this hit-and-run and the impact of type 2 diabetes that he suffered worsened the condition of his feet as a result of the accident. The stage equipment has been given to friends and Junior drag queens.

Mami Sisca admits that the Covid-19 pandemic since 2020 has made it difficult to secure performances. A cupboard full of her gear is neatly tucked away in the TM neighborhood house in Singaraja, which she gave to a young drag queen in North Bali last year. Mami Sisca considers the young drag queens to be her children. In the global cultural language of drag, she is their mother and they are her daughters. Meaning both a teacher and supporter. For her, self-expression on stage is not only a matter of stage equipment, such as the shape of the stage, the sound quality of the microphone, wall ornaments and carpet colors. The main thing is the totality of the stage movements that support the show and the costumes and modifications that express particular persona and create audience excitement.

Regarding the front stage costume which was modified by Mami Sisca, it seems that Mami Sisca not only performed solo, but other Warga members (Waria and Gay Singaraja) supported her performance and some also became drag queens which created an enthusiastic reception from audiences in Singaraja. For example, walking with costumes and Superwoman songs in 2017 in the Buleleng Festival/Bulfest parade. Mami Sisca has encouraged other Warga members to perform since the 1990s in Singaraja. These performances are staged both in community events for residents of the city and also in the Lovina tourist destination.

Palupi & Tobing (2017) deplore the general assumption that transwomen or waria are the same as gays or metrosexual men. They also critique the assumption that transwomen are the same as cross dressing drag performers who are attracted to men as their sexual identity. Transwomen or waria are also often called "Lady boy", a person who is cross-dressed or dressing not according to his biological sex which this paper also against with this called. Palupi and Tobing refer to the scientific work of Karmaya (2014) who states "becoming a transgender and being different is not because of the will of the individual". Therefore, the general public should "be positive about sexuality". The process of becoming a waria is very layered, complex and not an easy transition. To close the third part of the front stage of these two drag queens, the following photo collage of Mami Salsa (left) and Mami Sisca (right) is attached:



Figure 1. Drag Queen Performers

Source: Private collection of IG of MSS and from MSC under consent to Zuryani (2022)

After referring to “dramaturgy theory” (Goffman, 1959), it appears that this glamorous side of the drag queen's phenomenon is but a “front stage” behind which lays a more difficult “back stage”: each drag queen's life. Beyond this luxury and often mystical appearance of dragqueens in Bali, there is also extensive prejudice, homophobia, and transphobia which are based in assumptions that transwomen transgress a natural binary order. This leads to many waria working in the informal sector. The preman (thugs) in Bali are part of a de facto social security system (Vandenberg & Zuryani 2020) operates. Although it is clear that dragqueen’s profession is not merely occupy by transwomen or waria, Mami Salsa is not the only one who is heterosexual. Goffman’s concept of “backstage area” is useful in allowing a comprehensive analysis. Backstage is the part of social events where the individual displays the role of his social body. The back stage is the place and event that allows him to prepare for his role in the front area. In the backstage, the actors become pure persons with genuine behavior and character. Goffman realizes the backstage as a pure stage, because like a theatrical performance, the actors prepare the entire performance on the back stage without the need to consider the audience.

The backstage of the Drag Queens can be understood as the sphere of life where the actors behave freely regardless of expectations as to how they should behave. The backstage in the analysis will be divided into two. First, the backstage without an audience which includes daily social life outside performing on stage as Drag Queens. Second, backstage without anyone present — covering a Drag Queen's personal point of view. The analysis of the second part is important considering that in the Balinese environment, especially Singaraja and Badung, the research locations, Drag Queen is socially identical with Transwomen, Lady Boy or generally categorized as LGBTIQ. The stigma incited by heteronormativity negates the existence of LGBT people, plus Drag Queens as activists in the realm of pink tourism. Drag Queens receive a double stigma, as LGBT and as Drag Queens who are associated with prostitution providers that they call “Lady boy”. Below is the statement of Mami Salsa:

"Even though we only perform, we are often misinterpreted by people that we can be ‘rented’ (means as a prostitute), there are things like that, but not all of us can, we are being friendly only" (FGD, July 2022).

In MX bar, when another Focus Group Discussion was held, one drag queen said:

“I was being accused of being a terrorist... The second case happened three days ago... I kindly drove to a hotel, one guest who was very drunk. There was a report that I stole his money... while I put my KTP (ID card) in the front office reception of the hotel to get approval to help him to his room” (FGD, October 2022).

This drag queen was only helping that drunk guest to go back to his hotel but was accused of stealing, his face captured via CCTV in the hotel. For him, this accusation is an effect of the stigma attached to drag queens. In his personal complaint, it appears that his back stage of personality was at that night without an audience, even one of his guests who was drunk was no longer his audience after being helped. GB as another drag queen in Seminyak area, was confused after being accused and he cannot ask help from anyone else as this backstage of him was without anyone, he was all alone to face the stigma. No one present when he got accusation of stealing, only a CCTV capturing his face and not any proven pictures when he acted as a stealer. There are two different back stages. The first one is the backstage without an audience and the second one is the backstage without anyone else present.

Backstage without an Audience

Backstage without an audience can be seen in the daily social life of the drag queen actors. This research data includes one cis male drag queen and one trans woman. First, for cis male drag queens, when carrying out daily activities, it is important to maintain a masculine identity when dealing with the social environment. Concretely, the condition of maintaining a masculine identity occurs in the context of interactions with family, relatives and the heterosexual and heteronormative social environment. This environment is generally hostile to the world of pink tourism, including LGBTQ people. The complexity of this backstage social negotiation increases when the wife of the drag queen does not know the husband's real profession. On the other hand, some wives know the profession of the husbands and accept it gracefully. This is an example of the fact that there are some backstage social situations in which it is perfectly possible for the cis male drag queen to acknowledge their performance identity.

In "Gender and Power" (1987), Connell proclaims what she calls the "politics of personality", meaning the possibility to degender oneself. For drag queens with a physical transformation it is difficult to have a backstage that ignores their transgressive gender identity. The social consequences of the transformation of physical appearance are realized by the drag queens when they dare to change themselves to permanently resemble women, generally through surgery. Drag queens in this category tend to be more open about their identity in any environment. This is because physically, the bodies of the actors already represent their identity as LGBT even though not everyone knows the profession, they are in. Yet at the same time, their social interactions still require masculinity as a defensive effort. Defensiveness is an effort to protect themselves from any threats from the surrounding environment which may reject their existence. Promoting a masculine nuance is a powerful way for drag queens, both in the first and second categories, to deal with an environment that marginalizes them. Some example will be available before conclusion.

Back Stage without Anyone

Backstage without anyone can be categorized as the purest backstage. Far from the realm where the drag queens stage their performances. So backstage without anyone is Drag Queens being themselves as they understand it. Starting from the data obtained, the drag queens explained that their backstage was relatively different and quite complex than what they displayed when they had to interact with other people whether they were working or not. The backstage of drag queen is full of worries and reflective actions in interpreting themselves with a marginalized identity (Rupp, Taylor, & Saphiro, 2010).

The drag queens admit that when they perform on stage, they get recognition from the surrounding environment, but that recognition becomes a rare item when they are off the stage. This relates to Goffman's view that dramaturgy occurs in a control of social power and construction. That is, when we question the backstage of the drag queens, it becomes a layered arena. The layers are varied according to place, people surrounding arena and how the economic status of each drag queen. Therefore, the purest backstage of drag queens reveals their inner struggle with social construction. First, those who have been able to define themselves by recognizing their gender and being open to their identity (mainly cis man) to the social environment. Second, those who are still burdened with normative values so that they carry out underground resistance as if they are not open to identity with the social environment.

The condition of living in the purest back stage of drag queens can be seen as middle to low condition as their income is not that high. They live in rented rooms or small houses in the area of Denpasar or Badung. They prefer to stay in Denpasar as this place is more cosmopolitan and no one bothers about who they are. Mami Salsa says that his son is still in senior high school and since the accident happened, he prefers to stay in a two bed room studio in Denpasar and be alone when his son is away at school. Mami Sisca needs to see that her rescued cats and dogs are being fed at all times. So she feels busy without any one but herself and only her willingness to rescue those neglected animals.

The contradictions of life on the front stage and back stage are further strengthened by the reality of the transformation of the economic condition of the drag queens into a sudden slide into poverty. The financial stability of the drag queens of course depends on the health of the tourism industry in Bali, in addition to other factors such as age, health and networks. Concretely, the Covid-19 pandemic is felt to have had a significant impact on the income of the drag queens, including Mami Salsa and Mami Sisca. These two well-known drag queens of Bali noted that during 2020-2021 there was not a single offer to perform as drag queens. This resulted in both of them having to find alternative solutions in order to survive. Selling assets is an accurate, practical and fast solution. Sales of assets include houses, electronic equipment, jewelry, and motor vehicles. Mami Sisca's jeep was sold and she is still living in a rented house opposite her English Course for kids. This English course is free and she asks for donations from philanthropy sources. Things got worse in Mami Salsa's life when she had a traffic accident at the end of 2020. The hit and run accident resulted in more than an economic downturn, but was followed by a health slump. Comorbidity with diabetes melitus type 2 forced Mami Salsa to accept that one of her legs (which is a vital asset in the drag queen's profession) could not function properly. However, the crush of fulfilling life still has to continue. Starting a small business is the last option for these Drag Queens. He explained:

"I was in an accident and was in a coma for two days in the hospital, so no real recovery yet, I couldn't get salto or dance anymore, all that I had such as costumes and millions in the cost of make-up, I just let it go, I threw it away and some outfits are given to friends. Now, I am selling perfume. I can't be helped anymore, let alone perform (pointing to his feet). I am all alone with my son now" (Interview, July 2022).

Mami Salsa who met the head of PHRI as the vice governor of Bali would like the drag queens to get a real support system. Especially from the PHRI — the association of Hotels and Restaurants either from district level also from provincial level. He would like to see PHRI give at least "a certificate of professional recognition to drag queens". This research is also created a coalition of drag queens Bali with each of them hold a pocket book of ID. So that people may give recognition for drag queen performance as a real profession and as entertainment. Mami Salsa, Mami Sisca and other drag queens in Bali need a more positive and supportive attitude toward them. [Connell \(1995\)](#) on the other hand, in her seminal book of "Masculinities", proposes the concept of hegemonic masculinity. What was Mami Salsa experience can be said as hegemonic masculinities. Connell then goes about explaining "the science of masculinity" and its dynamics. When she moves to politics, claiming that after the gay liberation movement, the transwomen have no other choice than going into exit politics, meaning endlessly "exiting", with no solution other than provisional and "episodic", from the world of hegemonic and complicit masculinity, into "the moment of contestation".

Conclusion

This study confirms that the world of drag queens is still very vulnerable to acts of violence. Not only violence on the back stage, but essentially also on the front stage. On the front stage they seem happy, but behind the performance they display, the drag queens must still face layers of power. Facing various oppressive powers as a transgender or cross-dressed man, forcing them to pretend to stay happy. On the front stage of the context, there is often not enough space for protection in their profession. Their profession is still sidelined as a consequence of the

stigmatization or labeling of society. This overrides recognition of their undoubted talent and skills. They are regarded as of lesser merit than heteronormative entertainers or workers in the tourism sector, such as dancers, bar singers, tour guides and so on. It is suggested that the PHRI, as a hotel and restaurant association, provide a letter of recognition for professional drag queens in the entertainment industry.

This study confirms the positioning of previous studies related to drag queens which indeed emphasize the disconnection between the cheerful display of power and authority on the front of the stage and the very real difficulties of the backstage life of drag queens. This is the scenario of the dramaturgy of the life of drag queens in pink tourism that shows a different locus from previous studies. Drag queens in Bali experience a variety of kinds of oppression, and live-in poverty, especially in the context of the downturn of the tourist industry with Covid-19. At the same time, their joy in performance, in the front of stage, is an empowering moment in their lives. In relation to their backstage life the two drag queens we interviewed have authority and self-esteem in relation to a number of societal and personal projects. Mami Sisca in Singaraja rescues cats and dogs and has a leading role in the LGBTIQ outreach of Warga. Mami Salsa is committed to raising his son while his eldest daughter is already finished her university degree and his Yuniior drag queens are still consultative to him. For both mami's, clearly that humanitarian activities are a strategy for empowerment and a meaningful life on the back stage, an eastern-style approach to well-being.

However, this research aims at helping the drag queen's coalition members in Bali to get full protection when they hold a profession as art performer as drag queen. A pocket book of drag queens is important to be hold as it shows the front stage of each of them (their name and other jobs and best picture) also will help the drag queen who face danger situation, human safety and stigma to educate the public and show the professionalism. Each drag queen can use this pocket book as another identity supplement along with the web site that is newly developed as part of coalition social media announcement. Finally, this advocacy is part of an on-going research work and open for discussion. This shows the limitation of this research and it is suggested to undertake further research in the future.

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