Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea, by Jin-Kyung Lee. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 305 pp., US$82.50, ISBN 9780816651269 (hardcover)

Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea by Jin-Kyung Lee, is a literary analysis that is nothing short of groundbreaking. Interweaving examples from the stories of dozens of contemporary authors including Hwang Sŏk-yŏng, Cho Sŏn-jak, Heinz Insu Fenkl, and Pak Pŏm-sin, Lee unites the social and economic functions of seemingly disparate groups of people: prostitutes, soldiers, and migrant workers. She posits that four different kinds of work—"South Korean military labor in the Vietnam War; female sex labor and sexualized service labor for the domestic clientele; South Korean military prostitution for the U.S. troops from the industrializing era; and immigrant and migrant labor"—have all occupied highly visible, yet unrecognized and undervalued, roles in contemporary Korean society. To articulate their value, she employs Paul Virilo's concept of dromology, and argues that military, migrant, and sex workers were and continue to be "proletarianized," or mobilized, organized, and exploited for productive output. Their mobilization, though, did not promote their biopolitical sustenance. Rather, their labors were and continue to be necropolitical, or "squeezed out" until there is no energy left to extract. Another key theme is that of surrogacy; proletarianization, though productive, is always substitutive, or replaceable by another, and ultimately deteriorative or necropolitical. In connecting the destructive consequences of the military industrial complex, at least to individuals, Lee exposes drawbacks of the much-lauded South Korean economic miracle.

The monograph's chapters evaluate her primary subjects: soldiers, domestic prostitutes, military sex and sexualized workers, and migrant laborers. Chapter 1, titled "Surrogate Military, Subempire, and Masculinity: South Korea in the Vietnam War," focuses on the soldiers who fought with the U.S. Forces in Vietnam. Frequently cited as a war for commodities (71), the Vietnam War did for Korea's development what the Korean War did for Japan's economic recovery. In short, Koreans participated in "producing" destruction for its own wealth. Like other soldiers, members of the Korean military were unique figures in their position as both agent and victim of necropolitical

power. In killing and being killed, they perpetuated a myth of masculinity that embodied "power, authority, and domination" (53). Their new agency, still, was subordinated since South Korean youth served as subimperialist, surrogate soldiers in the other East Asian fratricidal conflict of the cold war. Chapter 2, on "Domestic Prostitution: From Necropolitics to Prosthetic Labor," considers the economic development that followed Korea's participation in the Vietnam War. By the mid-1970s, South Korean society "began to see the accumulated effects of the serious industrialization efforts that had started in the mid-1960s" (85). With the rise of factory towns, corresponding factory town brothels emerged as well as the rise of a sexualized service industry for a newly emerging middle class. Women began to leave the countryside to gain domestic or factory work in the cities; when they experienced hardship due to the high turnover rates of these jobs, they frequently turned to sexualized service work and prostitution. Though not comparable in every way, Lee's emphasis on their "domestic migration" highlights important and often overlooked parallels between Korean sex workers of the developmental era and immigrant and migrant laborers in today's South Korea.

The third chapter featuring camp towns, considers far more, as its title, "Military Prostitution: Gynocentrism, Racial Hybridity, and Diaspora," suggests. Largely an offspring of the fratricidal war of 1950-1953, the women who served the U.S. military held both a stigmatized and privileged position in a U.S.-dependent South Korean society. During a time of economic stagnation, one of the only means of financial security was through sex work for the military. Prostitution became financial means for virtuous mothers and filial daughters, as well as personal ambassadors for the state.

The last chapter on "Migrant and Immigrant Labor: Redefining Korean Identity" is the boldest addition to Lee's book. Though seemingly unrelated to the toils of soldiers and prostitutes, the labors of migrant workers—in their invisibility, surrogacy, and disposability—mirror the conditions of the previous groups. As South Korea transitioned from a labor exporter to importer in the late 1980s, and more conspicuously so after 2002, the (lack of) rights of migrant workers have been issues of critical debate. Usually recruited under the "Industrial Trainee System" (*sanŏp yŏnsusaeng chedo*), it imports workers from various Asian countries and "offers salaries, stipulated by agreements between South Korea and the respective source countries, that are substantially lower than those of South Korean workers who perform similar types of work" (189).

Workers are called "industrial trainees" or *kyoyuksaeng*, perpetuating the pretext of technology transfer and the "training" of workers from "less-developed" countries. Despite such promises of professional mobility, in a 1990s survey of eleven Asian nations that measured the quality of life for migrant workers in areas such as education, health services, and housing, South Korea was ranked as the least satisfactory in terms of convenience and comfort (195). As expressed by a Nepali worker in Pak Pŏm-sin's Namaste, "The three and a half years that I lived through in South Korea is much longer than the twenty years I lived in Nepal" (191). A Korean language handbook for Vietnamese workers illustrates this point, with the most frequent passages being: "We are also human beings"; "Please don't hit me"; and "If you hit me again, I will move to another company" (215). The pervading mistreatment of migrant works has been so severe that in a demonstration of Chinese workers, the characters of Taehan Minguk 大韓民國 ("the Great Han Republic") were altered subversively to mean "the Republic of Great Bitterness" 大恨民國 (204).

What Lee shows in her analysis of soldiers, domestic and military prostitutes, and migrant workers are the substrata of the miracle on the Han. Catch-up industrialization, as praise-worthy as some of its feats, has come at an immeasurable human cost. As South Korea continues to seek economic growth, remuneration for these losses must be prioritized. In its original analysis and bold suggestions, Jin-Kyung Lee's *Service Economies* is must-read and a welcome addition to scholarly literature on contemporary South Korean society.

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