

Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of capitalism: *Parasite* movie

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Received: September 2023 • Final Acceptance: September 2024

Abstract

Spatial fragmentation due to unequal distribution of resources plays an important role in the human-space relationship. David Harvey (1935, United Kingdom) one of the prominent thinkers of spatial science, sees the changes in capital accumulation as a game played in space. The fragmentation of spaces, produced at the center of capitalism and contributed to its continuity, brings about the transformation of social relations which give rise to class consciousness and reveal class differences.

Based on the interaction of philosophy, cinema, architecture, this study analyses the spatial fragmentations in the contemporary society under the shadow of capitalism over Parasite Movie. The research question of the study mainly bases on the axes of class inequalities and spatial formations suggested by Harvey's phenomenon of social justice and spatial differentiation, and exemplifies it through the spaces of the Parasite movie, directed by Bong Joon-ho in 2019. In this context, the study aims to discuss Harvey's phenomenon of spatial organizations due to class inequality in the specific case of the Parasite movie and, to reveal the other dynamics of the disciplines of philosophy, cinema, and architecture that feed each other. Another goal of the study is to reveal the elements of the space that the individual uses while defining their existence and making sense of their surroundings, which affect them intellectually and visually with the data presented in the fictional world of cinema.

The spaces in the movie depicting the relationship between two families of different socio-economic levels have been analyzed through descriptive analysis method.

Keywords

Capitalism, David Harvey, *Parasite* movie, Space, Spatial fragmentation.

1. Introduction and methodology

Contemporary, architectural spaces are differentiated depending on the unequal distribution of resources. David Harvey, who stands out with his work on this subject, which is attractive to sociologists and philosophers, sees spatial fragmentation as capitalism-centered. According to Harvey, capitalism, as defined by Marx, results from the interaction between social relations, labor, and power. Spaces exist due to social processes and practices and thus constitute the cause and effect of social life (Harvey, 2010).

In capitalist societies, class differences arise between those representing production, the rent obtained from production, labor, and capital (Harvey, 2022). Capitalism-centered cities are differentiated by differentiating at the point of resource access (Giddens, 1973). The system reproduces and redefines the spaces where communities live with the appropriate labor force. For example, communities with white-collar labor live in white-collar spaces, while people with blue-collar labor live in the same units as blue-collar workers (Harvey, 2010).

Harvey critiques the neoliberal world where all aspects of life, including the economy, have been commodified, and success or failure is attributed solely to individual efforts. He argues against the reduction of everything to personal performance, highlighting that in a world where institutional and class contexts are disregarded, all individual activities will come under the pressure of market relations.

Drawing from various political, social, and cultural structures, neoliberalism manifests in cinema studies through the concepts of urban privilege and injustice. In this context, Cooper (2019) highlights in film studies' insights into the liberal transformations of society, culture, and aesthetics. The intersections between labor, selfishness, gender, race, colonialism, urban space, and the aesthetic, creative, and dramatic aspects of cinema are significantly interconnected.

In this context, the study exemplifies spatial fragmentations under the shadow of capitalism, addressing them within the axes of "class inequalities

and spatial formations" proposed by Harvey's concept of "social justice and spatial differentiations". Because the *Parasite* movie addresses the issues of class inequality and spatial divisions, specifically the study uses the spaces depicted in the movie directed by Bong Joon-ho in 2019, to illustrate these concepts.

The movie tells the story of two families representing the capitalist and working classes of the socio-economic level, where the family representing the working class enters the living spaces of the family representing the capitalist class like a parasite and feeds on them. In the series of bad events that occur in the process, the director makes us question who or what the natural parasites are.

When reviewing the literature, the *Parasite* movie has been the subject of numerous studies. Related to the subject, Karabağ and Yazıcı's study focuses on analyzing the interior-exterior relationship of the windows used in the *Parasite* movie and the narrative/discourse, as well as the ways of looking and seeing within the same frame. They argue that by examining these aspects, the study reveals the construction of the "meaning" of social segregation (Karabağ & Yazıcı, 2023). Us, on the other hand, evaluates the spatial elements in the *Parasite* movie within the context of class distinction (Us, 2023). In contrast to previous studies focusing on the subject and examples, this study questions how capitalism-centered spatial forms affect individuals' modes of thinking and behavior in social life. It aims to reveal the factors of space used by individuals in defining their existence and understanding their surroundings, both intellectually and visually. The selection of the *Parasite* movie as the subject for the study was influenced by the effective portrayal of relationships in the story through architectural spaces and elements. This is because the individual and societal relationships in the film setting are conveyed through spatial fragmentations and organizations. Class inequalities are observed through metaphors associated with architectural spaces. In this context, the study aims to discuss Harvey's concept of spatial organiza-

tion through the lens of the *Parasite* movie, thereby revealing the interplay between the disciplines of philosophy, cinema, and architecture, which mutually enrich each other's dynamics.

In line with these aims and objectives, the study employs a qualitative approach. The case study, defined as the collection of comprehensive data on a single case through qualitative research, determines the research type of this paper (Kümbetoğlu, 2020). In qualitative research, the data analysis process is categorized as descriptive and content analysis (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). Since the research aims to examine the movie scenes through spatial descriptions, this study adopts a descriptive analysis design. Descriptive analysis is typically used in situations that do not require a detailed examination of qualitative data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The purpose of descriptive analysis is to describe individuals' thoughts about an event or phenomenon in a direct manner, involving the interpretation of data based on predetermined variables (Willis et al., 2016; Sandelowski, 2000; Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016). Additionally, a descriptive analysis can be conducted based on the symbolic expressions and analogies used (Kümbetoğlu, 2021). When analyzing qualitative data using descriptive analysis, researchers can make their own interpretations and draw conclusions (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016).

Within the scope of the study, descriptive analysis has been conducted based on the living spaces of the two families. Fragmentations through the spaces of the two families, representing the visible and invisible aspects of the upper and lower parts of the city, have been discussed within the axes of class inequalities and spatial formations proposed by Harvey's concept of social justice and spatial differentiations. The scenes selected within the scope of the study focus on the living spaces of both families, from building interiors to urban exteriors. The living spaces of both families align with Harvey's concept of spatial organization as it relates to class inequality. Another factor considered in the selection of scenes is their contribution to the story's breaking points.

In the subsequent sections of the study, emphasis is placed on the theoretical framework consisting of cinema, architecture and space concepts. Following this, the representation of space in architecture and in the city is discussed, after which Harvey's theory of class structure and spatial differentiations within the axis of social justice and spatial formations is presented over *Parasite* movie.

2. On cinema, architecture and space

Born out of the basic needs of humanity, such as protection and shelter, architecture is defined as the art of creating space (Zevi, 2015). Architectural space, which has many definitions in the literature, is, in its most general description, a space that contains people, human relations, and the necessary equipment for these relations, a space whose boundaries are determined depending on the structure and character (Gür, 1995). Architectural spaces also contain elements that affect human behavior and emotions (Roth, 2000). In this sense, spaces have a structure that envelops individuals throughout their lives. Spaces exist as they are put into certain patterns and arranged formally (Ching, 2019). Humans cannot think of themselves independently from the spaces that play a decisive role in their relationships, behaviors, and emotions. This is because human existence is spatial, and human consciousness cannot be imagined before space (Merleau-Ponty, 1962).

The concept of space, which accompanies us throughout our lives, interacts with visual and auditory art branches. In this sense, cinema is one of the branches of art that makes space its subject (Neumann, 1999). Compared to other art components, space experiences are more successfully conveyed in cinema (Grigor, 1994). In cinema, the director uses space, which is used in architecture to define oneself and make sense of one's surroundings, as an effective form of expression (Bowman, 1992). Just as the architect conveys the spaces he designs in his mind by using the language of architectural terms such as plans and sections, and the space transforms and takes shape

with the user over time, the process of the director using the space while telling his story shows parallels (Allmer, 2010). At this point, depending on the story the director wants to tell in cinema, the spaces sometimes appear as a background, sometimes as a complementary element, and sometimes as a focal point. Tanyeli expressed how the space is handled in the interaction between cinema and architecture in three different ways. According to Tanyeli, the first of these is a virtual space that is not used in the plane of reality, the second is the construction and production of real spaces in its time fiction, and the third is the handling of architect and architecture in the event fiction (Tanyeli, 2001). The point to be noted here is that, according to Atilla Dorsay, successful examples of cinema are passed on to the audience through the correct use of the concepts of time and space. Dorsay explains this situation by stating that it is not a coincidence that Fritz Lang and Nicholas Ray, directors who studied architecture, came to the fore worldwide with their success (Dorsay, 2004).

With the bond between people and space, spaces gain identity and become places. In cinema, space transformation into place occurs with the concern of identifying with the characters. In this sense, architecture, and cinema exist by integrating space with movement (O'Herlihy, 1994). The contribution of cinematic space to the production of architectural space is that it creates the foresight of spaces that cannot be constructed in the present moment. The spaces of the future, which are the subject of many movies, also create different design ideas for architects with their fictions and assumptions (Vidler, 2001).

As a conclusion, in its relationship with architecture, cinema highlights the ways in which time and space are produced, more prominently compared to other arts. The concepts of time and space are uniquely and distinctly produced within the disciplines of cinema and architecture. While architecture produces space by utilizing data from the current production time, cinema manipulates time within its own universe to use or reproduce spaces.

3. On space: Urban, spatial fragmentation, capitalism and David Harvey

Urban settlements are described as where agricultural activities are limited, and the population density is higher compared to rural areas. They are characterized by meeting the needs of communities such as settlement, housing, recreation, and relaxation (Keleş, 1998). The structures are the elements that make up the urban spaces (Rossi, 1982). Urban space is defined as a whole perceived by urban dwellers, formed by structures and associated with all urban events (Konuk, 1991). In determining urban forms, variables such as transportation, accessibility, socio-economic factors, and labor force ratio are influential (Erdoğan, 2015). In this respect, cities are like living organisms in constant change. They form the consciousness of urbanity as centers where social developments and cultural activities emerge and intensify. The urban architecture influences the behavior and lifestyle of the society living there and shaping those cities (Hasol, 2008).

Cities, as areas where new ideas and products are generated, increase individuals' social and physical mobility under the influence of capitalism (Yırtıcı, 2005). With the growth of the globalized economy, different spatial divisions emerge (Sassen, 2010). The increase in the service sector in globalizing cities enables the city to grow by attracting migration from other cities and rural areas. This situation also leads to fragmented structuring in the city both socio-economically and physically. Global cities contribute to the formation of unjust spaces (Burdett & Rode, 2007). Urban spaces, which are subject to various disciplines such as architecture, sociology, geography, and cinema, are described by Harvey as difficult and complex concepts. In his book "Social Justice and the City", he discusses the concept of the city by evaluating it through the theories produced by the disciplines of architecture, geography, and sociology within their own frameworks. According to Harvey, the main reason for the inability to explain the complexity of the city is the attempt to explain urban space

itself. In this sense, it is important to reveal the concepts that encompass the relationship between the spatial areas of the city and social practices (Harvey, 2010). He argues that spaces are formed due to social processes and practices. In this sense, he sees space as social life's cause and result. He draws attention to the point that he rejects the idea that space has social or personal effects. In other words, space is produced within capitalism (Harvey, 2022). Space appears as a structure that shapes human beings and consequently shapes society. At this point, the question is which human practices are used in conceptualizing space (Katznelson, 2003).

In the capitalist system where space constantly renews and produces itself, cities become products from which high profits can be made. In this sense, cities are instruments of capital in the capitalist order (Harvey, 1982). Because in the capitalist production process, production is carried out through spaces instead of machines and raw materials. Investments in urban spaces create the face of cities. The transformation of capital into a means of rent in the production of spaces that turn into an industrial product also stimulates the real estate market. Harvey argues that the importance of urbanity parallels the increase in demand for capital products (Harvey, 2022). While the increasing demand for the products of the consumption sector divides urbanization into subdivisions, firms' location choices become an essential tool in shaping spaces. Every investment from land to real estate is a step towards increasing the profitability of the industrial sector, and urban systems are shaped in this context (Harvey, 1982). From factories to schools, from shopping centers to parks, settlements have been created in this direction (Harvey, 1982). In this sense, spaces and spatial differentiation in cities in the capitalist order cause the restructuring of social relations and differences in access to limited resources (Giddens, 1973; Harvey, 2022).

In sum, the relationship between spatial organization and social structure is specific. Spaces are fragmented according to the social relations of so-

cieties in the capitalist order. Population densities shaped according to the distribution of capital accumulations serve the formation of different communities. While those with an advantageous socio-economic status can be free in their spatial choices, those outside of the capital can acquire space with what is left over. As a result, urban spaces are fragmented, and class division occurs. Suburbanization, which emerged due to the fragmentation of urban spaces, initially contributed to capital accumulation, but over time, it led to the overgrowth of urban space. This is due to the dynamic structure of capitalism, which harbors crises within itself. Urbanization has also brought about a process that leads people living in cities and towns to think and act differently in producing physical and social spaces. For instance, Harvey explains the impossibility of living without a car in the suburbs or the high crime rates in shantytowns by attributing them to poor housing or the production of suburbs by automobiles. This situation signifies not only the capital but also the consciousness urbanization with capitalism. The consciousness focuses identified by Harvey are the individual, community, family, and the state. The fundamental focus of consciousness in capitalist societies, however, is class (Harvey, 2022).

4. On the movie: *Parasite*

The *Parasite* movie was released in 2019. Directed by Bong Joon-ho, the movie is a black comedy and drama with a duration of 132 minutes. Bong Joon-ho also co-wrote the screenplay with Han Jin-won. *Parasite* won the Palme d'Or at the 2019 Cannes Film Festival and became the first non-English language film to win the Best Picture Award at the 92nd Academy Awards held in 2020. Additionally, at the 92nd Academy Awards, it won awards for Best Director, Best Original Screenplay, and Best International Feature Film. The movie is about the relationship between two families of different socio-economic levels. It is based on the unemployed members of the Kim family, who have low financial means, gradually invade the homes of the Park family, who have advantageous

financial means, with various tricks they devise and take advantage of them like a parasite.

Throughout the movie, the director makes the audience question who or what the “parasite” is. The movie answers this question with the fact that capitalism, which is the cause of injustice in capital accumulation, class differences, and spatial fragmentation due to these differences, is a “parasite”.

5. On the spatial analysis: *Parasite* movie

The *Parasite* movie's opening scene starts in the house of the Kim family, which has a low socio-economic status, as the camera shifts from top to bottom. It is understood from the camera's movement that the house is located below the ground level. The house has a window close to the ceiling that overlooks the street along the road. The windows connect the residents of the house with the outside. The viewing angle of the window, which is designed to be relatively high and narrow from the eye level, can only fully see the passers-by when they get close. The elements within the living space of

the Kim family are used to reinforce their inclusion in the lowest tier of the hierarchical order (Figure 1).

On the other hand, the two-story house of the Park family, which represents the higher economic level, is located in a quiet, calm, isolated place and in a neighborhood where more socio-economically advantaged communities live. The architectural element that draws attention in the design of the house is the large windows that connect the interior and exterior. (Figure 2). In the movie, it is informed that the house was built by a famous architect named Namgoong.

Harvey's theory that spaces are fragmented and produced according to capital accumulation in the capitalist order is seen in the movie regarding the spaces where the Park and Kim families live. The director provides information to the audience who do not yet know about the story with the scenes depicted through the locations from the movie's opening scene. At the same time, the director changes the degree of light in the transitions between the houses to clarify the place of the Park and Kim families, who belong



Figure 1. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “windows”: Kim family's house (IMDb, 2019a).



Figure 2. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “windows”: Park family's house (IMDb, 2019b).

to two different social strata, in the hierarchical order. The scenes of the socio-economically advantaged are depicted as bright, while the scenes of the disadvantaged are depicted as dark.

When we look at the spaces where the two families live on an urban scale, we see the Kim family in gloomy neighborhoods with no infrastructure and the Park family in protected and surrounded neighborhoods. In the neighborhoods where the Kim family is found, apartment buildings and narrow streets without privacy draw attention. The streets are seen as cramped and irregular, just like the interiors of low-income people, and are depicted as dark (Figure 3).

The neighborhood where the Park family lives is seen as an area where high garden walls surround residences, and privacy is prominent. In the streets dominated by greenery, calmness and order prevail despite the chaos in the neighborhood where the Kim family lives (Figure 4).

From the transitions between the spaces used by two families, it is un-

derstood that the city has a high-slope structure. In the higher areas of the city, those representing the economically advantaged find settlement areas for themselves. At the same time, people with low incomes are located in the lower part of the city. This is clearly seen through the use of the element of water, which helps the story and the locations in the movie. In the movie's latter scenes, it is seen that the Kim family members set out from the Park family's house to their own house during the flood disaster caused by heavy rain, run-down ramps, and very high stairs. In these scenes, the members of the Kim family are depicted as descending from the visible high places of the city to the invisible lower places of the city to reach their own homes (Figure 5).

The spaces within the city are established based on the regulation of power resources. According to Harvey, the city's spaces contain symbolic meanings with their hierarchical order and labyrinth-like state. The city's spaces impose ways of thinking and acting on its inhabitants in line with these



Figure 3. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “roads”: Kim family's neighbourhood (IMDb, 2019c).



Figure 4. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “roads”: Park family's neighbourhood (IMDb, 2019d)

symbolic meanings (Harvey, 2022). In the movie, this situation is depicted through the shopping passion and luxury consumption habits of the Park family, representing the rich, and the struggle for survival of the Kim family, representing the poor. The Park family avoids the Kim family's places. On the other hand, the Kim family is looking for a chance to enter the Park family's spaces. The members of the Kim family, who do not have the opportunity to get an education due to their financial impossibilities, can only enter the sheltered places of the Park family as maids, drivers, or teachers. In the movie's latter scenes, this situation comes to such a point that the Kim family will even give up their moral values to get rid of the places where they live and reach the places where the Park family lives.

The scenes depicted through the lens of two families parallel Harvey's (2022) idea of urban spaces imposing on individuals a way of thinking and acting in their social lives. Capital influences the formation of urban spaces and the development of urban consciousness, which is the productive power of spaces. Spaces play a determinative role in defining who individuals are and what they represent. Spaces that individuals do not need may harbor elements of which they are unaware.

Harvey talks about the inconsistency of capitalism within itself. For example, if machines replace the workers on the production line, this results in a more economical and productive situation. But the workers are a part of the production line, and at the same time, they are consumers of the products they produce. Therefore, laying off workers

eliminates a large market where goods are sold (Hubbard & Kitchen, 2018). The inconsistency of capitalism's reality is evident in the movie through Ki-woo's dreams of attending university despite himself and his family members being unable to afford education due to the roles imposed by the system. The family tries to make a living through temporary jobs such as folding hundreds of pizza boxes. The individual efforts of the family in the face of exclusion in capital accumulation are effective in finding creative solutions. In this sense, their struggle to remain within the system and be visible reveals the production spaces within their residences. All the actions in which they fold pizza boxes, hope for the future, generate new ideas, or make new decisions are carried out in the kitchen spaces in their residences. The kitchen space where they engage in production turns into a consumption space where they consume luxury products as their income increases (Figure 6).

The paths of the two families, representing the visible and the invisible at the extremes of uptown and downtown, intersect in the process that begins when Ki-woo's friend Min, the son of the Kim family, suggests that the Park family's daughter be tutored in English. In the scene in which Min arrives at the Kim family's house, it is seen that Min can get angry with the drunk, whom they could not get angry with even though he had used the toilet and vomited in front of their window many times before. This situation causes Min to be glorified in the eyes of the Kim family, who represent the lower class because Min has a university ed-

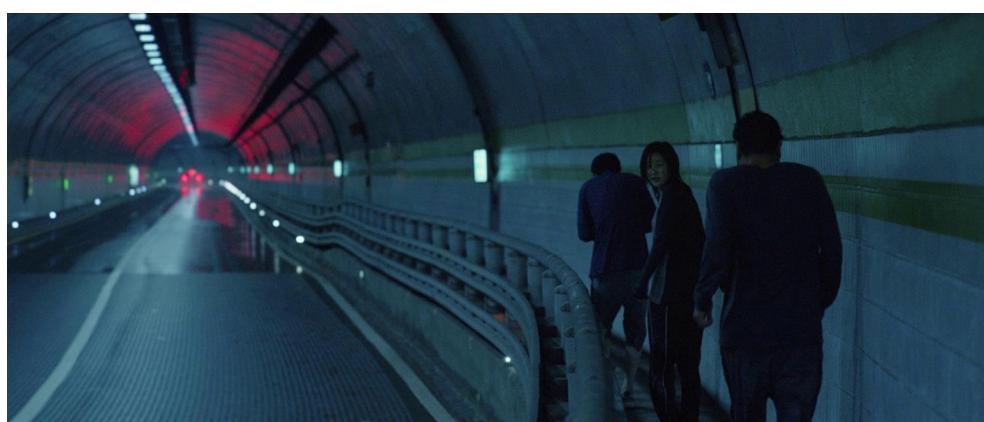


Figure 5. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “transitional spaces”: From Kim's to Park's (IMDb, 2019e).

ucation and belongs to a higher class than the Kim family.

Following Min's job offer, Kim-woo creates a fake university diploma with the help of his sister's digital program knowledge and sets off to the Park family home. In the scenes shown while reaching the Park family's house, the roads he uses in the transitions between places draw attention. Ki-woo walks up the ramps to the Park family home and uses the stairs. Architectural elements such as ramps and stairs have symbolic meanings that describe the transition of the two families in the hierarchical order. In the scene where Ki-woo goes to the Park family's home for the first time, the sun that appears in the scene as Ki-woo climbs the stairs is also used to support the fact that Kim-woo is included in the environment where people belonging to the upper class in the hierarchical order. It is seen that stairs, an important architectural element, are also used in the interiors of the Kim and Park families' residences. The only staircase in the Kim family's house leads to the toilet. In the Park family's house, stairs are used to reach the places where the household performs activities such as sleeping, resting, and working (Figure 7).

One of the most striking scenes in the movie is the view of art between the two families. Since art is seen as a discipline that upper-class people can appreciate, Ki-woo is congratulated by the mother of the house for his interpretation of the painting drawn by Da-song, the youngest son of the house, and hung on the wall in the first lesson when Ki-woo comes to the Park family's house. A similar scene takes place through the stone that Ki-woo's friend Min gives as a gift to the Kim family. When Min's gift is interpreted as an abstract work by Ki-taek, the father of the Kim family, Min congratulates the father by thinking that he understands art. Another remarkable scene in which art is used in the movie is the move made by the Kim family to enter the Park family's house. Ki-woo's sister, Ki-Jung, enters the Park family's house to give art therapy to the young child of the house. Ki-Jung introduces herself as an art therapist even though she does not have such a talent. Here, it is emphasized that individuals' art consciousness is related to their class levels. Art is seen as a discipline that only socio-economically advantaged families can understand.



Figure 6. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “living rooms/kitchens”: Kim family’s house (IMDb, 2019f; IMDb, 2019g).

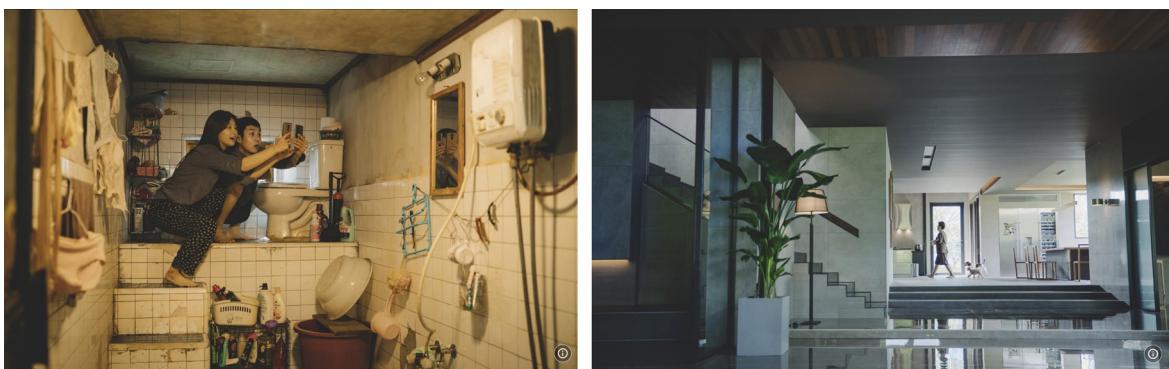


Figure 7. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “stairs”: Kim’s and Park’s (IMDb, 2019h; IMDb, 2019i).

Exclusion triggers the formation of the artist, while art attracts the upper class. Gentrification can occur from bottom to top, but sometimes it happens in the opposite direction as well. For example, structures related to art built in marginalized areas of the city lead to an increase in rents and the departure of residents from that area (Pasquinelli, 2006).

Harvey, on the other hand, discusses a more general process where art and the creative class adapt the concept of monopoly rent to their own needs. Rent and its derivatives possess monopolistic power. In other words, culture sells its material products through capitalist commodities. For example, Barcelona's reputation in Europe is built upon the symbolism of capital and the accumulation of privileges. The artistic achievements and uniqueness of Barcelona's architecture play a significant role in the marketing of the region's culture. At this point, Harvey questions which segments of society benefit the most from this symbolic capital. He draws attention by asking why minorities should be allowed to benefit from this natural monopoly rent from symbolic capital. Whose collective memory and aesthetic feelings does the symbolic capital here serve by prioritizing the benefit of whom? The problem at this point is seen as a powerful weapon in the hands of class struggle (Harvey, 2013). In the movie, this situation is presented by presenting art as a discipline that can be understood by individuals belonging to the upper class in the regions where they live and the communities they belong to (Figure 8).

After Kim-woo finds a job opportunity in the Park family's house with a

fake diploma, all family members realize that they can find a job opportunity by similarly disregarding ethical rules. Accordingly, the family first dismisses the employees of the Park family's house with various tricks and then replaces the people they dismissed. Thus, the Kim family's father started working as a driver, mother as a maid, and daughter as an art therapist at the Park family home. Their struggle to move up to the upper class turns into a ruthless competition with the individuals in the class they belong to in the later scenes of the movie.

Harvey explains this rivalry between laborers by the fact that in the capitalist order, capitalists are in control of the laborer's work process. In an order based on the exploitation of labor power, laborers can also put their labor on sale of their own free will. As a result, they compete with each other. However, when the pressures exerted by the business power in control of the process come to a point, laborers find the solution to form a class and compete among themselves (Harvey, 2022).

One of the consequences of capitalist life is that it leads people to loneliness and unconscious consumption frenzy. This is seen in the movie when all members of the Kim family get jobs, and their eating habits increase as their income increases. The most unconscious consumption of the Park family occurs when they are alone at home on the day they go camping to celebrate the birthday of their young child Da-song. The Kim family's daughter, Ki-Jung, overindulges in food and eats dog food without realizing it.

On the other hand, it is seen that the Park family consumes enough fruits, juices, and packaged products



Figure 8. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “arts”: Kim’s and Park’s (IMDb, 2019j; IMDb, 2019k).

throughout the movie. In addition, the Park family consumes the traditional South Korean dish called ram-dom by putting beef fillet in it. Here, the director wants to underline the eating habits of the rich by consciously showing that individuals belonging to the upper class consume this local dish, which is very popular among all segments, with meat. However, it is not generally consumed with meat.

At this point, we see that consumption varies according to identities and is also a status symbol (Şentürk, 2007). Consumption embodies parameters that play an important role in the lives of individuals, including variables according to their personalities and the classes they are in.

The concept of smell in the movie constitutes the first breaking point of the Park and Kim families—the odors of the places where the members of the Kim family live have gotten on them. Da-song, the youngest son of the house, first reveals this. In one scene, Da-song says that the Kim family's mother, father, son, and daughter smell the same. Here, the director tells his story through Güvenç's (1971) definition that spaces perceived through visual, auditory, sensory, and tactile senses are also audible and tactile spaces (Güvenç, 1971). Because perceptible spaces are also related to smell (Gezer, 2012) and scents evoke memories of places or individuals (Corbin, 2007). In the movie, the Park family's father categorizes the smell of the Kim family's father by saying that it reminds him of the smell of people riding the subway. The classification of the Park family's father as the smell of the lower class also transforms the relationship between the two families in the movie.

Another turning point in the movie begins when Moon-gwang, the former maid of the house, comes to the house on the day the Park family goes camping to celebrate their son's birthday. The former maid, who had previously lost her job due to the Kim family's tricks, takes advantage of the day when the Park family is not at home and comes to the Park family's house. The woman, the maid of Namgoong, the architect and former owner, also dominates the house's architecture. Moon-

gwang, who knew there was a shelter in the house, allowed her husband to live there. This situation actually shows that the Kim family is not the only parasite in the house. There is another parasite living in the shelter. This fact is revealed when Moon-gang comes to care for her husband after she leaves home, curious about his condition. She offers to the mother of the Kim family, Choong-sook, to let her husband live there, but Choong-sook is against it. Choong-sook, who tries to benefit from the Park family like a parasite, cannot tolerate any parasite other than herself when she takes power. However, the balance of power changes when the old maid sees all the members of the Kim family in the house and realizes that there is something strange. While the former maid threatens the Kim family by saying that she will videotape this extraordinary situation in the house with the help of her phone and share it with the owners, the brutality of these two strata belonging to the same class, even to the extent of killing each other, comes to light. The director brings art and the understanding of art back to the agenda in the conflicts between people of the same class. The former maid expresses that the new parasites of the house only enjoy food and luxury, whereas they take artistic pleasure from their spaces in the face of the landscape architecture of the house (Figure 9).

The movie reveals that while population densities shaped according to the distribution of capital accumulations serve the formation of communities belonging to different classes, the lower classes in the hierarchical order make great efforts to move to the upper classes. It also shows that there is ruthless competition within the classes themselves. It is seen in the movie's story that while these two families belonging to the same class aim to survive by improving their conditions, the struggle between them becomes brutal. In the movie, Choong-sook tells her husband that -against his saying that although the Park family's mother, Yeon-kyo, is kind and good even though she is rich, she is kind and good because she is rich and powerful, she can be good and kind if she has a lot of money, but

that she becomes cruel in the first power struggle she comes across. Harvey (2022) argues that this contradiction between classes explains the dynamics of capitalism.

The struggle between the classes ends with violent events affecting two families. When the father of the Kim family sees his daughter covered in blood at the birthday party of the Park family's son, and when the Park family's father is indifferent to this and only tries to bring his son to the hospital, he loses control and kills the father. At this point, the father of the Park family dies due to the class fragmentation of social relations. The father of the Kim family, who cannot even kill the cockroach in his house at the beginning of the movie, transforms it to the extent of killing the father of the Park family through class struggles at the end of the movie.

In the hierarchical order in the fiction reality constructed by the director, individuals belonging to the upper class are visible throughout the movie and live in spaces where the connection to the outside is established, while individuals belonging to the lower class live in invisible shelters or spaces be-

low ground level. Those belonging to the lower class even become invisible by hiding under the equipment in the upper-class residences.

The movie ends with Ki-taek, the father of the Kim family, who kills the Park family's father and goes on the run, going to the shelter of the Park family's house, saying that he knew where he was going and continues to live as an invisible parasite with the new owners of the house. The father, who tries to be visible among the upper class in the hierarchical order, chooses to be invisible in the spaces of the lower class in the Park family's house. Kim-woo, the son of the Kim family, returns to their residence below ground level and dreams that one day he will buy the house where his father lives like a parasite and that he will save his father, and they will all live happily together. The last scene that enters the frame is the snow scene from the viewpoint of the narrow window in the Kim family's house, where they connect with the outside. The light that comes with the snow falling outside in a dark environment gives the message that the remaining members of the Kim fam-



Figure 9. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “arts”: Park’s (IMDb, 2019l).



Figure 10. Spatial fragmentations in the shadow of the “windows”: Kim family’s house (IMDb, 2019m).

ily still have hope for the future (Figure 10). Thus, the director reveals that the system within capitalism works the same with slight changes in the roles.

6. Results and discussions

Harvey's theory of class inequalities and spatial differentiation, which constitutes the study's theoretical background, is analyzed by doing spatial readings through the scenes of the *Parasite* movie. In his theory, Harvey argues that the capitalist system differentiates spaces according to the unequal distribution of capital accumulations. In this sense, urban spaces are fragmented, so socio-economically advantaged groups create private spaces for themselves. In contrast, working class finds a place for themselves in the excluded areas of the city. This fragmentation shapes individuals' education, culture, and consumption habits according to their regions. As a result, it serves to create class consciousness by fragmenting individuals. The *Parasite* movie critically examines this system created by the capitalist order through the Kim and Park families, who represent the lowest and highest class in the hierarchical order. Throughout the movie, the reflections of the system on human practices intra-class and inter-class competition are described. In the spatial fiction of the city, the family living in lower, excluded, and invisible spaces strives to reach the economically advantaged, sheltered, and visible areas above. However, by the end of the day, this journey leaves them without space, time, and ultimately homeless. In this respect, the movie reveals the disasters caused by the consequences of inequality in the spatial fragmentation of the city through the capitalist system.

The director, Bong Joon-ho, describes his movie as a comedy without clowns and a drama without villains (Akşam, 2022). In response to questions such as how can bad things happen without bad people or how can funny things happen without clowns, the movie points to the capitalist system as the cause of evil or tragic-comic events. Capitalism, which creates different classes and feeds on the con-

fusion between them, dominates our lives with the spaces it creates and the people it transforms. Questions about whether people are similar because they live close to each other because they are similar have come to the fore again through this movie that criticizes the system. With the ending where the father of the Kim family, one of the protagonists of the movie, aims to rise in the class hierarchy but chooses to become a parasite of his own free will, the movie clearly shows that the system does not change even if the topics and subjects in the system change. This situation supports Harvey's (2022) idea that the injustice between spatial formations constructed by the interests of the powerful and social order can only be rectified through structural change and transformation. The movie clearly depicts how the relationships within the capitalist system foster class consciousness, and it also highlights that spaces are constructed precisely at this juncture.

The director constructs spaces, spatial organizations, and social relations in the reality of the time he creates in the movie, creating a network of relations that parallels Harvey's theory of spatial differences. It is clearly seen in the movie that cinema, architecture, and philosophy contain dynamics that feed each other with different methods and perspectives. The spaces and architectural elements that play a leading role in the movie offer different interpretations to everyone who watches the movie.

Acknowledgment

The content of this paper was developed from the statement entitled 'Harvey and the "Parasite": Class Structure and Spatial Differentiations' published in the full proceedings book of the 6th The Journal of SineFilozofi International Symposium.

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