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The Analysis of Photo Images of Varosha (Cyprus)**Assist. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Muhtarogullari**

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Abstract: Space is the “envelop of time” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp.339-40) and “(Social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre, 1991, p.26) same as Varosha, which is an abounded city since 1974, at Famagusta, known to the Greeks as Ammohostos, meaning “buried in the sand” (2020). Varosha has political, economic, and geographical importance for the Island and Europe. Thus, after the war of 1974, it is fenced off with barbed wires and is guarded by Turkish soldiers. In other words, it is impossible to cross the UN Buffer Zone (“Green Line”) and see the inside of Varosha. Signs/photos warn people to cross the fences and take photos and movies. Thus, this analysis aims to analyze the photos to reveal the hidden meanings of Varosha, because of this the writer uses Barthes's theory to find the connotation, denotation, and Saussure's theory to find the signifier and signified meanings. Then, the analysis will be supported by Color theory and Althusser's Apparatuses. Shortly, the paper tries to answer the question of what do the signs in Varosha's photos mean according to Semiotics, Ideology and Color Theories? Consequently, in the end, the study shows that the real inhabitants/Cypriots miss the old days of Varosha.

Keywords: *Semiotics, Photos, Varosha-Cyprus, Before and After 1974, Sign***INTRODUCTION**

According to Lefebvre space is the “envelop of time” (1991, pp.339-40) and “(Social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre, 1991, P.26) same as Varosha, which is an abounded city since 1974, at Famagusta, known to the Greeks as Ammohostos, meaning “buried in the sand” (2020). Varosha as a space has political, economical, and geographical importance for the Island and Europe. Thus, after the war of 1974, it is fenced off with the barbed wires and is guarded by Turkish soldiers. In other words, it is impossible to cross the UN Buffer Zone (“Green Line”) and see the inside of Varosha, because signs/photos warn people to cross the fences and take photos and movies as well.

Photos as an image are the real reflection of our world. Sometimes we use them for entertainment, but mostly they have manipulative effects over us, because, they show “us what we want to see, what we would not otherwise see, and even what we don't want to see. For most of us, photographic seeing is still believing” (Davey, 1992, p. 2). Because of their meanings, photo “images are a collection of signs” (Bulut & Yurdaşık, 2018) that convey the messages for us. Therefore, signs, codes, and colors that appear on the photos reveal the hidden meanings of spaces and people. For example, Varosha Border as

space contains emotions and memories of Cypriots, because as Lefebrev (1991) mentions According to Beck (2015) emotions has close relation with our behaviors, physiology, and specific circumstances of real inhabitants of Varosha. In other words, the photos of Varosha contain different visual and verbal signs that lead us to interpret them to reach different understandings.

Interpretation of the signs in photos known as semiology. As Saussure mentions in his book “language is a system of signs” (Saussure, 2011, p. 16). A sign from Greek “semeion”-“sign”, (Saussure, 2011, p. 16) or an object, can be a visual image, a sound, or a word. Visual and Verbal signs are some of the ways to organize or influence people's ideas, lifestyle, social spaces, and their ideological realities.

Another scientist who applied the ‘Linguistic and Semiology Model of Saussurean’ (Rifa’I, 2010, p.4) is Ronald Barthes. Ronald Barthes points out the meanings of connotation and denotation of the signs. Thus, in this analysis paper, the writer applies the Theory of Semiotics and the Apparatuses of Althusser to reveal the signifier, signified, connotation, and denotation meanings of Varosha for Cypriots. In short, the writer uses Barthes's theory to find the connotation, denotation, and Saussure's theory to find the signifier and signified meanings. Then, the analysis will be supported by Color theory and Althusser's Apparatuses. Shortly, the paper tries to answer the question of what do the signs in Varosha’s photos mean according to Semiotics, Ideology and Color Theories?

HISTORY OF VAROSHA

Before the interpretation of photo images, it will be helpful to understand some historical facts about Varosha that this part will give a brief historical background. In his book *Cyprus*, Sir Harry Luke mentions that Varosha was:

the new Greek quarters of Famagusta has grown up outside the wall; and Varosha, once a lowly suburb, is now a busy, thriving, and rapidly expanding town with modern hotels and shops, extending with its orange-gardens far down the southern curve of the bay. (1965, p.130)

It means that Kapalı Maraş/Varosha (Greek: Βαρώσια; Turkish: Maraş) was one of the famous touristic places on the Island. Before 1974 Famagusta was “the rich and famous were drawn by some of the best beaches on the Island. Richard Burton and Brigitte Bardot all dropped by - the Argo Hotel on JFK Avenue was said to be Elizabeth Taylor's favorite” (*BBC World Service*, 2014). Also, before 1974 “Varosha was a famous resort region in Cyprus which boasted a capacity of 10,000 beds across more than 100 hotels, however, it has been closed since 1974” (*Daily Sabah*, 2019).

However, because of the conflict between Turks and Greeks, the Turkish army “re-shaped” (Şat, 2015, p.5) the city on 13-15 August 1974. Due to this re-shaping, the Turkish Army fenced off the village, and inhabitants left their homes and abandoned the town. Then, “Turkish military forces intervened in the Island following a Greek-inspired coup. ----- The city is protected by a 1984 U.N. Security Council resolution, stating that the empty town can only be resettled by its original inhabitants” (*Daily Sabah*, 2019). In other words, after the U.N. Security Council Resolution, the Turkish military started to use the village. However, six or seven years ago, and since last summer (2018), a part of the beach has been opened to the Turkish Cypriot people by the military. In addition, the beachfront of the Varosha reopened

again. “The part open to visitors includes Eras street, Eleftheria Avenue leading to Ermou street, the Ayia Triada roundabout and street with the same name leading to Aspelia hotel, and the coastal area spanning from Faliros restaurant to King George hotel” (Andreou, 2020). Nonetheless, there was limited open space, and people are not allowed to walk around the village, they can only use the beach and the restaurant. Likewise, as Reuters mentions “on Thursday it would reopen the beach area of an abandoned resort in no man's land, a move likely to anger Greek Cypriots and conjure up memories of the 1974 Turkish invasion that partitioned the island” (Gumrukcu & Kambas, 2020). Because of the War, military forces, and the fences, Varosha is known as a Ghost, Closed or Death Town. Because through the fences all the buildings, such as homes, hotels, banks, airport, cinema and the roads are falling apart. Furthermore, the plants wrap or spread over the buildings.

Another important information that one can find about Varosha is the book of *Tarih İçinde Kıbrıs* by Haşmet Muzaffer Gürkan (2000). In his book, Gürkan discourses the history and mentions a book named ‘Kıbrıs Vakayinamesi’, which was written first in Cyprus-Greek language by Leondiyos Mahera and then was translated into English by R.M. Dawkins. The book mentions the famous and prosperous years of Varosha in the Lusignan period. As Gürkan mentions that because of Varosha's richness, some of the merchants came to the village to export their products to European countries (Gürkan, 2000, p. 14). Even, as Gürkan suggests that merchants lived in beautiful houses and they built churches, but it is impossible to enter and see those places. The only thing that one can see is the visual and verbal signs that symbolize the forbidden entrance for tourists and Cypriots as well. The place is far away from the sight of people, and words, because the military power holds Varosha as a card for negotiations. Thus, through the paper, these visual and verbal photo images will be analyzed by using the Semiotic Analysis with the supports of Ideological Analysis and Color Theory.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Photographs present a certain period of time quietly by freezing it. Photographs relate the ‘frozen’ event to the people looking at them. Photographs do not flow, they stay up” (Topbaş, 2011, p. 20) and because of this “what you saw was relative to your position in time and space” (Topbaş, 2011, p. 20); therefore, those frozen images have polysemic meanings for different cultures, which is the main aim of this paper. Everyone can read the known meanings, but sometimes we need a more in-depth understanding to find the hidden messages, because of this, the semiotic analysis will be helpful to reveal the hidden meanings of photos.

As mentioned before, the analysis is based on the semiotic analysis of photographs to figure out the political, ideological, and emotional messages about Varosha's photo images. Images take an important place in our lives to perceive the world. Otherwise stated, as John Berger mentions “seeing comes before words”, (Berger, 2008, p.7) and semiology as a scientific discipline elucidate the images that we see to reveal the understanding behind the photos. As Jennifer mentions Saussure's ideas in her thesis “his innovation of semiotics is an ancient system used to decode a photograph through examination of the signs within the photograph” (Norwood, 2005, p. 3). Appropriately, according to Saussure semiology, “from Greek *semseion* ‘sign (Saussure, 2011, p. 16) has been applied to the different fields, such as to film, theatre, television programs, and visual texts to discuss “how meaning is generated and conveyed”

(Berger, 2004, p. 5). In short, semiotics as a science of Language is “concerned with how meaning is created and conveyed in texts and, in particular, in narratives (or stories)” (Berger, 2004, p. 16). It means that the visual and verbal texts are the combination of signs, which is related with semiotics, and according to Saussure divides into two parts.

Saussure's Perception of Semiology

Saussure, as the founder of semiology, divided sign into the two parts as signifier and signified (Berger, 2000, p. 38). According to Saussure, signified is made by humans and the signifier, such as the word tree is natural. (Saussure, 2011, p. 67) Simply put according to Saussure:

the word sign [signe] to designate the whole and to replace concept and sound-image respectively by signified [signifié] and signifier [signifiant]; the last two terms have the advantage of indicating the opposition that separates them from each other and from the whole of which they are parts. (Saussure, 2011, p. 67)

This implies that the signifier depends on the known knowledge about the objects, and the signified depends on the universal and individual interpretations of the objects.

And then, Saussure continues with the difference between symbol and sign. According to Saussure (2011) “symbol symbolizes the connection between signifier and the signified” (p. 68), which means it is a kind of balance between them. From a different perspective, according to Barthes, signs are divided into two parts, which are connotation and denotation.

Ronald Barthes's Signs: Connotation and Denotation

As Berger mentions in his article, Semiotic Analysis, connotation as known “connotare from the Latin means “to mark along with”, and refers to the cultural meanings that become attached to words (and other forms of communication). A word's connotations involve the symbolic, historic, and emotional matters connected to it” (Berger, 2004, p. 16). On the other hand, the denotation “refers to the literal or explicit meanings of words and other phenomena” (Berger, 2004, p. 17). Such as the Red Rose, which denotes a type of flower, but the connotation meaning is Love. In other words, the connotation is signified, and denotation is signifier. (Berger, 2004, p. 17). Berger (2004) shows the comparison of connotation and denotation in the table as can be seen below:

Table 1

The comparison of connotation and denotation

Connotation	Denotation
Figurative	Literal
Signified (s)	Signifier (s)
Inferred	Obvious
Suggests Meanings	Describes
Real of Myth	Real of Existence

Moreover, Chandler (2020) uses both Saussure and Barthe's ideas and mentions that “connotation is a sign which derives from the signifier of a denotative sign (so denotation leads to a chain of connotations)”.

As a result of the semiotic analysis has a close relationship between ideology and social space. The reason is that the interpretation of the social space helps us to explore the influences of ideological messages on human beings as Barthes relates photography with power in *Camera Lucida*. He claims that every photograph “is a certificate of presence” (Barthes, 1981, p. 87), whose “power of authentication exceeds the power of representation” (p. 89) to show how photography is related with ideology or power structure.

Ideological Criticism

The photo of Varosha is not only related to the emotions of people, even it is related with the Repressive Apparatuses and Ideological State Apparatuses. Such as, ideology plays a significant role in signs because ideology is “a system of beliefs that determines how power relations are organized within a society” (Rayner et al., 2004, p. 78). This argument is acceptable, when one considers the issue of Varosha because the photos of Varosha have ideological messages, such as political, socioeconomic, and geographical.

Althusser, who was a French Marxist, wrote about two different types of ideologies. One of them is Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), which are related to religion, education, politics, trade, communication, and culture. Besides, ISA organizes people in an ideological way, such as media or visual images. The other one is the Repressive State Apparatus, which is different from the Ideological State Apparatus. Conversely, at the same time, both of them are working together for the case of Varosha “the Repressive State Apparatus functions 'by violence', whereas the Ideological State Apparatus functions 'by ideology’” (Rice & Waugh, 1996, p. 54). Both of them (ISA and RSA) are working together “The (Repressive) State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression (including physical repression), while functioning secondarily by ideological. (There is no such thing as a purely repressive apparatus.)” (Rice & Waugh, 1996, p. 54), which is the main issue of Varosha. The reason is that the military and government use both Apparatuses to control the border of Varosha and divided it into two parts by using colorful verbal and non-verbal signs or codes.

Color Codes from the Psychology of Color

“Signs often work through a series of codes that are, like signs, usually socially constructed and, therefore, argued upon by society as a whole, which are: dress codes, color codes, or non-verbal codes, and etc.” (Rayner et al., 2004, p. 33). The photo of Varosha contains different kinds of color codes. As Berger (2004) mentions codes are “secret structures”. They are “in people's minds, affect the ways that individuals interpret the signs and symbols they find in the media and the ways they live” (Berger, 2004, p. 30). In other words, it is possible to call them rules, formulas, value systems, belief systems, and our attitudes about the world that we start to learn them for our childhood (Berger, 2004, p. 32). Such as every dress code or color code helps people to organize their social and power structures.

“Each color is the unit of expression” (Kılıç & Sarıkartal, 2016, p. 7). Colors have close relationships with the individual's emotional expressions according to Sevinç Kurt and Kelechi Kingsley Osueke (2014, p. 1). As the Color & Imaging Institute Project (2003-2004) mentions in their paper, “there are

four primary psychological colors: red, blue, yellow, and green. They relate, respectively, to the body, the mind, the emotions, and the essential balance between these three” (Color & Imaging Institute, August 2003-March 2004). Thus, the combination of colors has different emotional effects over people. As we know that each color has different meanings according to people, because of their “past experiences, culture, religion, natural environment, gender, race, and nationality” (Tavaragi & Sushma, 2016, p. 1). Correspondingly, as Yağmur Ünal summaries Angela Wright's ideas “people's perception on a color depends on their mood, which is directly concerned with their hypothalamus, and the harmony of colors can easily change your perception” (2015, p. 2) and affects emotional or social issues because each color has different meanings according to people who have different backgrounds.

Finally, the theoretical framework shows that the image of Varosha's photos are the object of the research to the analysis and the discussion part will find the meaning of the visual and emotional aspects such as verbal and visual signs by using the semiotic analysis, ideological analysis, and color theory. So, the next part will analyze the photo images to show different meanings about the Varosha Border.

ANALYSIS

For the article the writer uses four photographic images, which are selected from the border of Varosha; therefore, the first part will consecutively analyze photos, and then for the discussion part the hidden meanings of images will be revealed. All the photos are taken from social media because it is not ethical and legal to take photos of Varosha near the border.

The first two photos are from the web newspaper Mail Online, (Kitching, 2016):

Figure 1

Varosha Before 1974



Figure 2

Varosha After 1974



In the first photo, the signifiers and the color codes are the combinations of colorful people, blue sea, green trees, and white buildings. The second photo contains different signifiers, which are empty beach, ruined buildings, yellow and grey environments. As can be seen below the table colors of the photos are different from each other:

Table 2

Meanings of Colors (The combination of different articles)

Colors	Meanings
Blue	Distance, emotion control, water, sky, peace, piety, wisdom, loneliness, intellectual, clear thought, calm, concentration, clear communication
Green	Nature, fertility, balance, youth, envy, good luck, generosity, peace, harmony, support
Grey	Neutrality, fusion of happiness, sadness, nothing, old age, death, lost sense of direction, fear of exposure
Yellow	Hope, joy, rage, illness, decadence, shame, ruin

The next photo shows the current face of Varosha:

Figure 3

The signboard in front of the fences



The photo is from the web page of *Made in Atlantis* (2019). This image contains visual and verbal signs. The visual signifiers are the picture of a soldier with a gun. The color code of the soldier is black and white with an undetermined face. Each letter of the text is a signifier into the different languages, such as 'Yasak Bölge Girilmez, Forbidden Zone, Zone Interdite, Verbotene Zone'. In this line, the main word is 'Forbidden'. The word, 'Forbidden' denotes that "no allowed" (Oxford Advanced Learner's English Dictionary, 2005). The dictionary meaning of the word 'zone' is "an area or a region with a particular feature or use" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2005).

The color of the words is white on the red surface, and the meanings are like this:

Table 3

Meanings of Colors (The combination of different articles.)

Colors	Meanings
Red	Weapons, aggressions, power, hell, fire, life, blood, danger, courage
Black	Authority, pain, evil, hopelessness, death
White	Light, purity, innocence, cleanness, cold

Same as the third photo, the last photo displays the current situation of Varosha that has blue and white with yellow herbs:

Figure 4

The Signboard in front of the fences (Kirian, 2013)



Despite the famous years with colorful ages now Varosha has a yellow color. The verbal sign is 'No Man's Land' and 'Stop' are blue signifiers on the white surface. On this image color codes are listed in the following table:

Table 4

Meanings of Colors (The combination of different articles)

Colors	Meanings
Blue	Distance, emotion control, water, sky, peace, piety, wisdom, loneliness, intellectual, clear thought, calm, concentration, clear communication
Yellow	Hope, joy, rage, illness, decadence, shame, ruin
White	Light, purity, innocence, cleanness, cold

In addition, the words 'No', 'Man', 'Land', and 'Stop' have different denotation meanings, such as
 No: used to give a negative reply or statement.

Man: humans as a group or from a particular period of history

Land: an area of ground, especially of a particular type or used for a particular purpose

Stop: to no longer move; to make sb/sth; to no longer continue to do sth; to make sb/sth no longer do something, to end or finish; to make sth end or finish, to prevent sb from doing sth; to prevent sth from happening, to no longer work or function; to make sth no longer.” (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2005).

In general, the combination of colors, signifiers, and denotation meanings of photo images signified and connote different meanings from the known messages about abandoned Ghost Town of Varosha that the next part will reveal those unseen messages and meanings for people.

DISCUSSION

The first photo shows Varosha's famous times. It was known as long and gold beaches. It was accepted as one of the most famous places around the world “in the early 1970s, the Varosha quarter of Famagusta was a top tourist destination, with golden sands, hotels, and shopping precincts” (Kitching, 2016). During those days, Varosha had high touristic hotels and modern homes. The place was visited by many famous artists, such as Elizabeth Taylor, Brigit Jones, and Richard Burton (Bilefsky, 2012). Also, the real owners had beautiful memories of those days.

Nonetheless, after the 1974 war, as can be seen from photo 2, because of the conflict between North and South Cyprus, Varosha “was enclosed, cleansed and moth-balled. It is a frightening ghost town” (Stewart, 2014). The town is abandoned and fenced it with wires. As can be seen outside of the fences, most of the buildings collapsed. Green turns to yellow and grey, which means ruin, death of the town, nothing, old age, and beautiful memories of people. In brief, the first photo symbolizes the beautiful days of Varosha with colorful people and nature. It means that it symbolizes peace with blue color and fertility and harmony with the green one.

Unfortunately, the other one symbolizes the time that stopped for people's memories and the place as well. As Ayşe Şat mentioned the ideas of participants “political issues or the current status of Varosha, and the new inhabitants are not important. The only things that they miss are their childhood memories and Varosha's beautiful times before the conflicts” (2015, p. 75) that we have in the first image with the colorful environment and happy memories. Same as the first and second photos, the third and fourth

photos are related to each other. Such as third one symbolizes the Turkish Army and the fourth one symbolizes Greek Nationality and flags as well.

The third photo reveals the real face of War for Varosha and its inhabitants as well. The colors of the photos are the combination of War, military, authority, death, weapon, and power. Even the dress code is evocative because the soldier has a cap and a gun. It is an official uniform, which symbolizes the gravity of their ideas. The same photo has written signifiers. For example, in the photos, we have words into different languages, and one of them is 'To Take Photos and Movie are Forbidden'. In this line, the main word is 'Forbidden', which denotes that 'no permitted or allowed' (Merriam-Webster's Advanced Learner's English Dictionary, 2008). The words connote the obstructs possibilities of creating images of Varosha. In Table 1, the combination of black, red, and white colors symbolize the time that Greek Cypriots fled their homes during the War, and cannot turn back again to waken and pursue their memories.

Same as the third photo, the last photo connotes the Flag of Greek Cypriots, which is blue and white, and it has the same meaning with photo 3. One of them symbolizes, Greek Cypriots, the other one with the red and white colors symbolize Turkish Cypriots Flags. Both of the images signified the face of Army and politics. Because of the political war and power relations, Varosha cannot breathe and sustain itself since 1974.

Besides, from the Ideological perspective photos 2, 3, and 4 illustrate the combination of Althusser's Apparatuses. From the one side, these photos have close relation with courts, government, prison, administrative, and military, which are Repressive State Apparatuses, such as military controls and the resolutions. The reason is that "two UN Security Council resolutions, 550 in 1984 and 789 in 1992, called on Turkey to hand over the town to the UN to be resettled by its lawful inhabitants" (Psyllides, Cyprus Mail, 2019). In addition, "the Turkish side chose to keep it as a bargaining chip" (Psyllides, Cyprus Mail, 2019), which is another issue that supports Repressive State Apparatuses and then Ideological State Apparatuses.

On the other side, photos have a connection with the Ideological State Apparatuses. (ISA) is related to the religious, political, trade union, communication, and culture. Both apparatuses are working together on this social space to make it the same as a prison to control people's ideas about it and prevent them from creating images. "For example, the army and the police also function by ideology both to ensure their own cohesion and reproduction. Capitalist class at the base controls the superstructure through two tools" (Rice & Waugh, 1996, p. 54). The reason is that Cyprus has two different ethnic groups, and because of this, they have different religious and political ideas. They use different languages, but the culture that they have close to each other because before the conflicts they lived together on this Island. Though, because of the geographical and political importance, power relations hold Varosha as a card for future negotiations or bargains. Shortly, in the third photo, the combination of the red and white colors reveals that the place under the control of the army, and also, they represent Repressive State Apparatuses. The reason is that RSA is a soldier's, gun and they represent discipline and rules for Varosha. In other words, this photo symbolizes the death of memories for inhabitants.

As a summary, the discussion part shows that most of the photos denote the current situation of Varosha, which is known and seen by everyone. Nevertheless, Varosha, a ghost town, is an abounded town and it is not visible. It hides different meanings, which are related with past memories and childhood as Andreou mentions in the Cyprus mail article “Heart-wrenching images mixed with sweet childhood memories have been all over social media and news portals since last week when the Turkish Cypriot ‘government’, with Turkey’s blessings, opened part of the fenced area of Varosha, in the occupied part of Famagusta for visitors.” (2020) All the photos symbolize the current situation of Varosha and memories of the real inhabitants that most often people cannot see. Unfortunately, the only thing that they see is only related with war and victory.

On the other side, as Olga Demetriou wrote about the life stories of Greek Cypriots, and points out that Varosha is a kind of combination of past and present memories. Then, she says that “.... I remember everything about the house that I still miss” (2012, p. 1). In addition, as Bethan McKernan (2020) mentions Pavlos Iakovou’s feelings:

When we left in 1974 we thought we’d be gone for two or three days at the most,” Iakovou said. “This is a bittersweet experience. We always refused to sell the hotel and now I can visit it. But now I don’t think we are ever going to have a solution to reunite the island”.

Not only the Greek Cypriots, also Turkish Cypriots have the same wishes for Varosha, and because of this they are working together for Varosha:

This project assesses the various proposed frameworks for opening the city and provides an overview of efforts to imagine its revitalization. Over the past few years, Turkish Cypriots living in Famagusta had already joined with displaced Greek Cypriots to demand the opening of Varosha under UN supervision. Bi-communal citizens' initiatives grew, and urban planners and architects began to imagine reviving the city. Moreover, various frameworks for opening the city are currently on the table, all of which have differing implications in terms of how they will impact the Cyprus conflict. The project assesses the various plans and prospects for the city's opening, as well as their potential impacts on the resolution of the Cyprus conflict. (Hatay, 2019)

Moreover, same as the Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots have the same ideas about Varosha because as they/we say “Varosha belongs to all Cypriots” (Financial Mirror, 2020), not anyone else. Essentially, all photos as signs show us that because of the political, geographical, or economic benefits, owners of Varosha have to feel pain. Varosha stuck in a time warp to forget their past, present, and future. And again, because of the political issues which is related to ISA and RSA Varosha is “Ghost City”.

CONCLUSION

To put it simply, the photos of Varosha is a sign system, which is the combination of signifier and signified, denotation and connotation. Hence, this study demonstrates that the visual and verbal signs about Varosha are a kind of manipulation process to control people and social space. The repressive and ideological apparatuses, which are used by the political and military ideologies, control Varosha, because of its political, geographical and economic importance. Consequently, Varosha is one of the gates

between the Island and the other countries, such as European countries that makes it essential in geographical ideologies.

As Küçük (2020) points out in his newspaper article:

Varosha is a concrete example of the trauma of war but also a symbol of strength and a potential building block for peace. With this being the case, standing in the way of the rights of the indigenous people of the region will only lead to deeper distrust between communities instead of promoting reconciliation. (Daily Sabah)

The current images of Varosha symbolizes war and hopelessness for peace of the Cypriots, therefore:

it is painful for Greek Cypriots to see their city being reconstructed. There is plenty of anger about this situation, but also sadness. The greatest sadness, of course, is that tens of thousands of people have lost everything they had. However, there is also regret that the harmony in which Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived has been destroyed. Erato Kantouna, daughter of the city's former harbor master, recalls that her father was good friends with many Turkish Cypriots. They were colleagues, she tells me. And some of them only spoke Greek (The Telegraph, 2014).

All those personal ideas and images of Varosha show that “this social space contains our memories, feelings, fears, and desires” (Şat, 2015, p. 93). In short, photos after 1974 signified that people should forget their memories, past, youth, space to create images about Varosha for the future. However, Varosha does not deserve to be forgetting by its owners, because of this, most of the people (we-Cypriots) fight for peace for the Island and Varosha as well. Consequently, as one of the documentaries entailed “Asla Hosçakal Demedik Varosha/We Never Said Goodbye to You Varosha” (Mazlum & Yıldız, 2013) and WE WILL NEVER SAY IT.

Acknowledgments:

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