IMAGINARY AND IDENTIFICATION IN THE DISCOURSE ABOUT DONALD TRUMP: ANALYSIS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF *EXAME* AND *ISTOÉ* MAGAZINE COVERS

IMAGINÁRIO E IDENTIFICAÇÃO NO DISCURSO SOBRE DONALD TRUMP: ANÁLISE DO FUNCIONAMENTO DE CAPAS DAS REVISTAS *EXAME* E *ISTOÉ* 1

IMAGINARIO E IDENTIFICACIÓN EN EL DISCURSO SOBRE DONALD TRUMP: ANÁLISIS DEL FUNCIONAMIENTO DE PORTADAS DE LAS REVISTAS *EXAME* E *ISTOÉ*

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ABSTRACT: The objective of the present work, affiliated to the theoretical and methodological principles of the Pecheutian Discourse Analysis, in an interface with the Freudo-Lacanian psychoanalysis, is to analyze the image about Donald Trump in Brazilian magazines of great circulation. More specifically, taking the cover of two magazines (*Exame* and *IstoÉ*) as materiality, we

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sought to understand how the magazine covers position themselves in relation to Trump, based on the analysis of the projected image to the US President and the (counter) identification relations. This has allowed us to conclude that the ideological-discursive position with which journalists identify themselves is contrary to the position assumed by Trump. Such a conclusion is corroborated by the dominant image attributed to him by the magazines: that of an extreme right-wing politician, a 'US Hitler,' capable of destroying the ideas of liberal politics and economics.

KEYWORDS: Discourse Analysis. Donald Trump. Identification. Imaginary.

RESUMO: O objetivo do presente trabalho, filiado aos princípios teóricos e metodológicos da Análise do Discurso Pecheutiana, em uma interface com a psicanálise Freudo-Lacaniana, é o de analisar a imagem sobre Donald Trump em revistas brasileiras de grande circulação. Mais especificamente, tomando como materialidade a capa de duas revistas (Exame e IstoÉ), buscamos compreender a tomada de posição das revistas em relação a Trump, a partir da análise da imagem projetada ao Presidente Americano e das relações de (contra)identificação. Isso nos permitiu concluir que a posição ideológico-discursiva com as quais os sujeito-jornalistas se identificam é contrária à posição assumida por Trump. Tal conclusão é corroborada pela imagem dominante, atribuída a ele pelas revistas, qual seja: a de um político de extrema direita, um "Hitler americano", capaz de destruir as ideias da política e economia liberais .

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Análise do Discurso. Donald Trump. Identificação. Imaginário.

RESUMEN: El objetivo del presente trabajo, inscrito en los principios teóricos y metodológicos del Análisis del Discurso Pecheutiano, en una interrelación con el psicoanálisis Freudo-Lacaniano, es analizar la imagen de Donald Trump en revistas brasileñas de gran circulación. Específicamente, tomando como materialidad la portada de dos revistas (Exame e IstoÉ), buscamos comprender la toma de posición de dichas revistas con relación a Trump, a partir del análisis de la imagen proyectada del Presidente Americano y de las relaciones de (contra)identificación. Esto nos permitió concluir que la posición ideológico-discursiva con la cual se identifican los sujeto-periodistas es opuesta a la posición asumida por Trump. Tal conclusión es corroborada por la imagen dominante, que le atribuyen a él las revistas, que es: la de un político de extrema derecha, un "Hitler americano", capaz de destruir las ideas de la política y economía liberales.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Análisis del Discurso. Donald Trump. Identificación. Imaginario.

1 INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

This work is part of a broader project that aims to analyze the discourse about Donald Trump in Brazilian magazines of wide circulation, based on the French Analysis of Discourse (hereafter AD) as its theoretical-methodological assumption with a Pecheutian orientation. More specifically, this article deals with the issue of the relationship among subject, imaginary and identification in this discourse, in a dialogue with Psychoanalysis. It is emphasized that Pêcheux used the psychoanalytical concept of identification to formulate his notion of subject, given the interdisciplinary character and the interspersed discipline (ORLANDI, 1996) of the Analysis of Discourse.

In a previous paper (TFOUNI, 2018a), the election of Trump was considered a historical event that has been widely treated by the media and, therefore, requires analysts' eyes to be understood. Starting from Le Goff (1990, p. 290), it is understood as a historical event "a punctual fact which, due to its relevance in the world, starts to be remembered in history, becoming part of the past sayings of a people, narrated by the historical science." While the historical science treats a fact from the historian's perspective, the media treats it from the perspective of the journalist's interpretation. Nonetheless, in both cases, it is possible to say that we are facing, no longer the fact itself, but some sort of narrative or discursiveness about the fact. It is when the fact is narrated by the media, as it is the case under analysis here, or by the historical science (which does not concern this present work), that it gains the stability of a historical event. In other words, any social fact that is 'discursivized' (mobilized through discourse), due to its relevance, gains visibility in the media and can be considered a historical event, once it inscribes itself in social memory.

Hence, along with Gregolin (2007), it is liable to state that the media makes a "history of the present", which means that, in the position of a medium authorized to speak, it provides ordinary subjects with the ways through which they can and must read the

historical events of the world. Considering that common sense generally understands the media as an opinion leader, it is important that we, as analysts, manage to take another look at the media discourse, questioning the evidences of meaning and showing readers that the meaning can be a different one. Moreover, it is also important to analyze how the Brazilian media dealt with the election of Donald Trump, in particular, the image this media projected in some cover stories of the US President.

According to Althusser (1998, p. 69), the media is one of the Ideological Apparatuses of the State[2] which 'functions through ideology.' Thus, in AD, the media discourse is regarded as neither neutral nor exempt, but constituted of ideology. For instance, when dealing with media discourses, one of the researcher's tasks in AD is to analyze the ideology and the constitutive ideological positions of the discourses. For AD, ideology works in speech producing evidences: one says the meaning is unique and the other says the subject is the origin of what is said. Consequently, it is also the analyst's task to "[…] propose to the reader heterogeneous cuts of the text to read" (MARANDIN; PÊCHEUX, 2011, p. 113), considering it contrary to the apparent evidence of the senses, or, in other words, the opacity of the text.

Based on these initial considerations, the aim of this article is to analyze the image of Donald Trump in the covers of two Brazilian magazines (*Exame* and *IstoÉ*), seeking to understand, from the projected images and the relations of identification, both the ideological-discursive position attributed to Trump by the magazine and what the magazine's position is in relation to what Trump's election represents for the world political-economical situation.

Moreover, the choice of this *corpus* has been made from the questions formulated for this specific research in order to address its objective[3]. According to Orlandi (2001), the analysis already begins in the *corpus* collection itself and it depends on the questions that the analyst poses: "Analysis is a process that begins with the establishment of the corpus itself and it is organized in view of the nature of the material and the question (point of view) that organizes it. Hence the need for theory to intervene at all times to "govern" the analyst's relationship with his object, with the meanings, with himself, with interpretation."(ORLANDI, 2001, p. 64).

Therefore, the analytical path in AD occurs in a constant relationship between theory and the *corpus*/object chosen for analysis. This way, the theoretical discussion around the notions that will guide this analysis is presented as follows.

2 FROM THE IMAGINARY TO THE RELATIONS OF IDENTIFICATION

For Discourse Analysis, the imaginary acts in the relation among ideology, subject and meaning. Once said that, it is not enough just to treat this notion as a mere "mistake", or, to stop working on it because it supposedly has no relevance or importance in the production and circulation of discourses; it is necessary to understand how the projection of the subjects' images, "as well as the object of discourse, within a socio-historical conjuncture" works in this relation (ORLANDI, 2001, p. 40), which will be determinant towards certain meaning effects. To begin with, the Althusserean thesis states that "ideology is a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (ALTHUSSER, 1998, p. 85). The same way, in AD, it is understood that human's relationship with their real conditions of existence is built via the imaginary. Therefore, it is the ideology that sediments certain social imaginary, as expected, for example, from the President of the world's largest economy. Thus, ideology and imaginary intertwine in the functioning of discourse and the praxis of historical subjects producing two elementary effects, well known in AD theory as "the free subject who is responsible for his acts; the meaning and its effect of evidence." (GRIGOLETTO; SILVA SOBRINHO, 2018, p. 37). In other words, it is ideology that makes it seem, through the imaginary projections attributed to the subject, that he is free and, as such, controls the meaning of what he says. Nevertheless, this is pure illusion, which only works by the imaginary mechanism.

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[2] According to Althusser (1998, p. 68), the ones designated by the name of Ideological Apparatuses of the State (IAS) are "[…] a certain number of realities that present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions."

[3] The explanation of the research questions for analytical entry into the *corpus*, as well as the justification for choosing these two magazines, will be presented in the methodological procedures item.

Pêcheux said (1995 [1975], p. 73): "The ideological as an imaginary 'representation' is, for this reason, necessarily subordinated to the material forces 'that drive men' (the practical ideologies, according to Althusser), re-subscribing these into them." However, at the first moment of his theorization (AAD-69), Pêcheux did not make this articulation, the foundations were already laid for thinking about this relationship between the imaginary and ideology. As shown below:

In the Automatic Analysis of Discourse (AAD-1969), Pêcheux approached the imaginary formations from Jakobson's information scheme. For Pêcheux, Jakobson's scheme had the "advantage of putting in place the protagonists of discourse as well as their referent" (PÊCHEUX, 1997 [1969], p. 81), but the message was treated "as a transmission of information." Then, the communication scheme had several elements, including the sender (A) and the recipient (B). For the author, these elements were different from the "physical presence of individual human organisms" (PÊCHEUX, 1997 [1969], p. 82). A and B were specific social places, such as the teacher's, the priest's, the student's etc. Therefore, "it is not necessarily a transmission of information between A and B but, broadly speaking, an 'effect of meanings' between points A and B" (PÊCHEUX, 1997 [1969],). With this, Pêcheux launches his first notion of discourse, relating it to the imaginary formations and the conditions of production.

In imaginary formations, there is no necessary correspondence between the subject's place and his speech. For example, we can think of a worker who does not have a worker's speech, but a boss' one, or the president of a country who does not produce a consistent speech, considering what is expected from him and so forth. In Pêcheux's words:

> Our hypothesis is that these places are represented in the discursive processes in which they are brought into play. However, it would be naïve to suppose that *this place as a beam of objective traits* functions as such within the discursive process; it finds itself there represented, that is, *present but transformed*; in other terms, what works in discursive processes is a series of imaginary formations that designate the place A and B attributing to *themselves and to each other* the image they make of their own place and the place of the other. (PÊCHEUX, 1997 [1969], p. 82)

Reflecting, at first, about questions such as: "Who am I to speak to him like this?"; "Who is he for me to speak to him like this?", "Who am I for him to speak to me like this?" and "Who is he to speak to me like this?", Pêcheux (1997 [1969]) theorizes about the imaginary relations/projections that go through all and every discursive process.

Taking the first question for analysis _"Who am I to speak to him like this?"_ with reference to the magazines being analyzed here, it means what the magazine's image of itself is. Thus, the answer will be: they are an authorized and socially recognized means of communication to talk about social events.

However, as it has been mentioned, magazines offer their readers ways of reading and interpreting the world. So, the answer to the question: "What is it (the magazine) to speak to me like this?" ($I_B(A)$) follows the same previous line, as it can be seen as a socially recognized, accepted and institutionalized means to interpret the historical events before the reader.

On the other hand, the reader-subject, who puts himself in the right place to follow this script, will (ideologically) accept that his position is to read and take in what is said by the magazine, although, in some cases, he can debate, discuss and disagree. Here, what is at stake is the subject's image of himself: "Who am I for it (the magazine) to speak to me like this?" ($I_B(B)$).

In this case, more important than the imaginary projections of the magazine and the reader, are the projections of the discourse's referent: Donald Trump. It means the image that A (the magazines) have of the referent. ($I_A(R)$), that is, from the "A point of view over R" (PÊCHEUX, 1997 [1969], p. 84) bringing as an implicit question: "What am I talking about?" whose answer makes it possible to understand the corresponding imaginary formation: the point of view (image) that both magazines, *Istoé* and *Exame,* have of Trump (the discourse's referent), to be explored in this further analysis.

It is also noteworthy, in relation to the imaginary formations, the fact that they are the result from "[…]~previous discursive processes (coming from other conditions of production) which ceased to function but gave rise to implicit 'position-takings' that assured the possibility of the discursive process in focus." (PÊCHEUX, 1997 [1969], p. 85-86, emphasis added)

It is, then, in this game of images and projections which ideology works, in the interpellation of the individual as a subject, who always takes position. Therefore, for AD, there is a strong relationship between ideological subjection and identification. In this sense, it is right to say that identification is the way in which the subject is interpellated by ideology, as Pêcheux states: "The interpellation of the individual as a subject of his discourse is accomplished by the identification (of the subject) with the discursive formation that dominates him." (PÊCHEUX 1995 [1975], p. 214) Therefore, the subject, when interpellated by ideology, is subjected to the Discursive Formation (DF henceforth)[4] in which he inscribes his discourse, and only within the DF meaning it can be produced. In the words of Pêcheux (1995 [1975], p. 160- 161), "[...] words, expressions, propositions etc. receive their meaning from the discursive formation in which they are produced: [...] individuals are 'interpellated' as subject-speakers (as subjects of *their* discourse) by the discursive formations that represent 'in language' their corresponding ideological formations."

Taking as an assumption of the subject's notion the process of ideological interpellation, and on the basis of Paul Henry's formulations (1992), Pêcheux proposes an unfolding of the interpellation process, which results from the relationship between the subject of enunciation and the universal subject of DF in which the speech is inscribed. Pêcheux explains that this development can take different forms:

1) The first modality, of the **good subject,** "consists of an overlap (a covering) between *the subject of enunciation and the universal subject*, so that the subject's 'position-taking' accomplishes its subjection in the form of '*freely consented*'" (PÊCHEUX, 1995 [1975], p. 215, emphasis added);

2) The second modality, of the **bad subject**, is characterized when "*the subject of enunciation* 'turns' *against the universal subject* by means of a 'position-taking' that consists, this time, of a *separation* (distancing, doubt, questioning, contestation, revolt...) *with respect to what the 'universal subject' 'makes him think*'" (PÊCHEUX, 1995 [1975], p. 215, emphasis added). This is called counter-identification;

3) The third mode, of **deidentification**, "constitutes a work (transformation-displacement) of the *form-subject* and not its pure and simple *annulment*. [...] this effect of deidentification paradoxically occurs through a *subjective process of appropriation of scientific concepts and identification with political organizations of a 'new type'*." (PÊCHEUX, 1995 [1975], p. 217, emphasis added). This transformation of the form-subject results in a process of rupture of the subject with the dominant DF, which does not mean that ideology disappears. It works somehow *in reverse*, warns Pêcheux (PÊCHEUX, 1995 [1975]).

From this theorization of the three-position taking, it is plausible to say that, in the first modality, the subject fully identifies with the form-subject and subjection is complete. However, in the second mode, the subject questions some points of ideology, but he does not break with it - he remains inscribed in the same DF.

In the third mode, though, according to Grigoletto (2005), there is a process of deidentification that gives the subject the possibility of breaking with the DF, in which he has previously inscribed, to inscribe in another discursive formation. Therefore, there is a strong change of position that goes beyond occasional questionings. In the author's words:

> […] in this third modality, different from the first and second, the subject, when relating to the form-subject that dominates him, produces a movement of deidentification, which means that he can break with the Discursive Formation to which he has inscribed and, consequently, identifies with another DF and its respective form-subject. (GRIGOLETTO, 2005, p. 3-4)

Finally, it should be noted that these movements of identification, against or deidentification of the subject occur from the interpellation process of the subject, and that the positions taken, represented by these movements, result, among other things, from imaginary projections, since it is ideology that sediments certain imaginary about the social places occupied by the subject.

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[4] According to Pêcheux (1995 [1975], p. 160), discursive formation is "something which, in a given ideological formation, that is, from a given position in a given conjuncture determined by the history of class struggle, determines what can and must be said." Therefore, the notion of DF in AD is directly related, as we have shown, to the notion of meaning, but also to the notion of subject, since it is within the DF that the subject takes position.

Therefore, our attempt in this article is precisely to make headway in AD towards a reflection between identification and imaginary projections, also, bringing to the dialogue some reflections of Psychoanalysis about identification.

As before mentioned, it has been chosen as a *corpus* of this work the cover of two Brazilian magazines named *Exame* and *IstoÉ* about Donald Trump. Next, it is given a description of the methodological procedures adopted and then the analyses themselves.

3 FROM THE METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES TO THE MAGAZINE COVERS' ANALYSES

The treatment of methodological procedures in AD is based on the assumption that AD is not a positivist discipline, so its methodology does not resemble the so-called "traditional sciences" (ORLANDI, 2001). Moreover, it is assumed, as well as Tfouni (1992) and Ginzburg (2003), that it is an indiciary discipline.

Orlandi (2001, p. 63) also states that AD is not intended to be exhaustive in data collection (*corpus* formation), but in its verticality (depth) rather than horizontality (quantity). Therefore, chronology is not a criterion for *corpus* survey in the present study; likewise, the covers' dates are not selection or ordering factors. For this survey, physical magazine covers have been widely searched in bookstores, newsstands and other virtual ones on the Internet which dealt with the historical event of interest here: Trump's election.

Nevertheless, as Gregolin (2007) states, analysts can only gather part of the available empirical material, none of which has the ability to capture the entire discursive process. Because of that they need to work with cuttings of data in order to assemble a *corpora* that answers the questions to be investigated. Then, from the collected empirical material, few specific covers that would provide the analytical input for the following questions have been chosen: Which images of Trump do magazines project to their readers? In projecting such images, do the covers convey Trump's ideological and discursive position? If so, how does such a process happen? How do journalists and magazine editors position themselves in relation to the image they project of Trump? Does this positioning allow the understanding of the ideology with which the covers' discursive subject identifies?

Furthermore, among the material collected, it has been sought clues and evidences about the discursive referent, in this case Trump, that would permit the answer to the questions listed above. This way, there happens a shift from "the linguistic surface (the gross *corpus* or texts) to the discursive object and from this to the discursive process." (ORLANDI, 2001, p. 68).

It is important to say, in addition, that the process of gathering discursive clues certainly involves an analysis of the text's semantic component, even because it is rather difficult not to take the content into account, notwithstanding an analysis in AD does not claim to be driven by the content. The AD has as a goal not the task of understanding the content, but of analyzing the process of evidence production, that is: understanding how certain 'contents' are produced.

Mainly due to this, two covers of widely circulated magazines have been chosen for this study, once they allow us to observe an image construction of Trump. Also, a range of already analyzed covers have been excluded (such as TFOUNI, 2018a), as well as covers that dealt with Trump's election but did not allow any analytical input for the proposed objectives. Based on these criteria, the covers of two Brazilian magazines named *Exame* and *IstoÉ* have been analyzed in this article.

As discussed above, it is intended here to deal with the Trump's images in the particularly selected material, as well as the questions related to the ideological and discursive positioning of the magazines' enunciative subject, which, in turn, will allow us to address further questions related to the identification process. The latter will be better explained in the course of the analysis, meaning the aspects of identification to be considered, both in AD and psychoanalysis, in order to fulfill this work's previously established purposes.

Subsequently, it is presented the analysis of the *Exame*'s cover dated 23 November 2016, followed by some discursive sequences (SDs), taken from inside the article, which allow a more detailed analysis of the cover itself. The cover is as follows:

Image 1: Exame Magazine Cover
Source: https://exame.abril.com.br/edicoes/1126/.

SD1 "Missing the old right"

SD2 "The world needs more globalization, freedom and respect for individualities. The new US President, Donald Trump, represents the opposite of all of these."

To start with, Trump's photo takes up almost all the cover space. The cover photo is in black and white, giving Trump's image a sense of 'reality' and truth, unlike the 'fantasy world' effect that a color image would have. In this black and white effect, a white light brightens Trump's face, highlighting it in contrast with the black background. The selected photo is not random; it suggests that this is the actual image of the US President: a frowning, unsmiling fellow who resembles the intolerant ones. The magazine could have put a color picture of Trump on its cover in his serious countenance (which is expected of any public man), however, this is not the image it wants to project to its readers, remembering that every choice is always ideologically determined. Due to this ideological effect, the image intended to be dominant is that of a man who represents the *opposite* of *freedom* and *respect for individualities*, a meaning that is reinforced in the verbal materiality of the cover (SD2).

Besides, the portrait format is similar to that of an ID card, emphasizing that the purpose is to probe, interpret and understand Trump as a character. This metaphor of the ID card is made by Adorno (2016, p. 236) when dealing with Vlogs and the identity question. "Framing refers to the portrait's memory and to a photo of an identity document, that is, the differential/distinctive body features that make it possible to identify one person compared to another."

The text's yellow letters are highlighted in black and white background, bringing the reader closer to the text, offering him/her a more ostensive reading. One way of working with the *corpus* in AD, as mentioned earlier, is to refer the text (linguistic surface) to the discourse in order to understand the latter. Therefore, on the textual surface of SD1, our attention turns to the word 'right', which refers to Trump's ideological and discursive position. This is directly related to the created image of Trump by the magazine as a 'right-wing man.' These are the clues of textual materiality that favor a path of understanding the ideological clash produced there, as of the discursive game between the image created by the magazine and the position it takes in relation to such image.

It is well known that the mainstream media used to insist on speeches about 'the end of ideologies' and 'the end of history', in addition to adopting the discourse of liberal ideology and pro-globalization. It happens that ideology is present in all language

materiality and the AD, in particular, reworks the concept of ideology as something proper to the symbolic and the process of meaning production (ORLANDI, 2001).

In order to advance in the analysis, some excerpts from inside the journal will be shown once they permit to better analyze and ratify the image the magazine projects of Trump, and, from this projection, to observe how the (de) identification relations of the discourse subject occur. Thus, the aim is also to analyze the positions taken by the magazine in response to the image it has created of Trump itself. If it approves or disapproves of him, for example, it can shed light on certain aspects, through deviation or refraction, following the discourse it identifies with, at the same time, it is relevant to take into account whether or not the journalist-subject identifies with the ideological position attributed to Trump. Look at SD3:

SD3 "The new that causes fear" (p. 28)

In SD3, Trump is referred as someone or something *new*, which is related to the concept of historical event dealt with beforehand. In this sense, Trump's election is regarded as an important event that needs to be reported and understood. In a strange relationship, the *new* is accompanied by the term *fear*, so that the meaning effects on Trump's political-ideological position and image are negative and frightening.

Moreover, the relative pronoun *that* begins a restrictive subordinate clause indicating that not every *new* thing causes *fear*, just a few, such as Trump. The term *fear* also indicates a difference between Trump and the magazine, therefore, we have a clue about the magazine's non-identification neither with Trump's discourse nor with his ideological position.

Still in SD3, there is an ellipse, that is, the lack of *me* or *us*, with which the statement would be "the new that causes *me* fear," or, "the new that causes *us* fear." Again, this ellipse indicates a position contrary to Trump's image, since the magazine, by omitting the object pronoun from the enunciation, suggests to the readers its identification with this empty place, which, in turn, projects a negative image of Trump. This way, the magazine positions itself in relation to Trump's speech, ideology and image. The effect of meaning produced allows one to interpret that the magazine's position is different from Trump's and, therefore, the former does not identify with the latter.

Since Trump's image is associated with the *new*, it is possible to infer that it is the journalist-subject who, according to SD1, would be "Missing the old right." In other words, according to the magazine, Trump would represent the *new right*, which is the one causing *fear*. Then, there comes the feeling of missing the *old right*. Hence, in a wordplay between the old (meaning the *old right*, representing the *classical ideas of economic liberalism*) and the new (meaning the *new right*, represented by Trump's election, whose *agenda* stands for a *blow* to the *old right* and *an unpredictable risk to the world*), the magazine defends the *old right*, as the new one causes *fear*. Such effects of meaning, projected to the reader by the magazine, can be confirmed in SD4:

SD4 "Donald Trump's agenda represents a blow to the classical ideas of economic liberalism and an unpredictable risk to the world" (p. 28)

In SD4, Trump's *new* feature would be ideologically opposed to traditional liberalism and thus it poses a danger (*unpredictable risk*). Therefore, Trump's image, projected by the magazine to the reader, is that of a non-liberal, or even an anti-liberal man (regardless of whether or not this is true) in *striking* these values. By contrast, the effect of meaning is that the magazine is pro liberalism, which is represented by the old right, as it is clearly seen in SD2: "The world needs more globalization, freedom and respect for individualities. The new US President, Donald Trump, represents the opposite of all of these."

Drawing a parallel to SD4, we could say that *globalization, freedom and respect for individualities* refer to *the classical ideas of economic liberalism*, especially *globalization*. Because Trump represents *the opposite of all of these*, the US liberal economy could be threatened. This is reinforced by the magazine in SD5:

SD5 "… most of the world has been terrified with the possibility of the United States elected president… beginning to reverse two historical trends that have produced unquestionable gains for humanity in recent decades. They are the advance of liberal democracy and globalization." (p. 28)

In SD5, it is suggested that the magazine stands beside "most of the world (*that*) has been terrified" by Trump's possible actions as president. Thus, the magazine, discursively, positions itself against these actions and in favor of *liberal democracy* and *globalization*, which have *produced unquestionable gains for humanity in recent decades*. By using the adjective *unquestionable* to qualify the *gains* acquired by the liberal economy, the magazine leaves no room for questioning, projecting this meaning to the reader as the only possible one. In turn, it also erases, for an ideological effect, other possible meanings for the so called liberal economy. This indicates that the magazine does not identify with Trump's ideological stance and, to reinforce such positioning against the newly elected president of the US, it makes use of arguments from authority in some parts of the report, by quoting, for instance, other voices that join its position. It is the case of SD6 below:

SD6 "'Trump is in direct opposition to the conservative US thinking. His ideas mix 17th century mercantilism with 20th century fascism,' says the American historian Joel Mokyr, professor at Northwestern University, in Chicago." (p. 30)

In SD6, there happens a case of shown heterogeneity (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1990) in which the magazine brings the speech of an expert to endorse its position on Trump. At the same time, as it is not the case of the magazine speaking directly, this allows it to deny its agreement on X or Y. By doing so, the magazine disclaims its responsibility of attributing to Trump a fascist image, which has been actually attributed to him by the historian cited by it. So, it does not mean that the magazine disagrees about this image, but it would rather use linguistic strategies, such as quotations, to project to its readers an image of 'neutrality', of whom is authorized to say what it says biased by someone else's saying.

In this manner, SD6 suggests that Trump affiliates with old-fashioned lines of thought (even considered outdated), such as mercantilism and fascism. Paradoxically, this makes it possible to question the ideological evidence supported by the magazine itself that Trump would represent the *new*. As far as this other perspective of reading is concerned, it would be Trump who misses the old right, while the magazine would represent the liberal world, post-World War II, with the defeat of fascism. Giving continuity to this discussion, an excerpt from Zizek's *Why We All Love to Hate Haidar* is presented as follows:

The Neue Mitte manipulates the Rightist scare the better to hegemonize the 'democratic' field, i.e., to define the terrain and discipline its real adversary, the radical Left. Therein resides the ultimate rationale of the Third Way: that is, a social democracy purged of its minimal subversive sting, extinguishing even the faintest memory of anti-capitalism and class struggle. The result is what one would expect. The populist Right moves to occupy the terrain evacuated by the Left, as the only 'serious' political force that still employs an anti-capitalist rhetoric — if thickly coated with a nationalist/racist/religious veneer (international corporations are 'betraying' the decent working people of our nation). (ZIZEK, 2000, p. 37-38)

From Zizek's observation, it becomes clearer that the SDs above situate the political debate in a field which lies between Trump's far right ideology and a liberal-globalizing right. As a result, the debate is held in the field of the right undermining the left, while the magazine takes a stand for the liberal right, which is not Trump's right.

Above all, it is important to understand the liberal-democratic position of the magazine openly displayed on its cover, once it reinforces its values confronting Trump's place. Such confrontation is materialized in the signifiers 'represents' and 'opposite.' The cover reaffirms the liberal values the world needs, such as 'globalization, freedom and respect for individualities,' the ones opposed to Trump's.

Even though the subject always recovers meanings from memory and interdiscourse[5], according to AD, the subject's inscription in ideology occurs from a Discursive Formation. In turn, this inscription in a DFx or DFy occurs from the identification process. Thus, the subject's position, materialized in his speech, generates an evidence of the DF, with which the subject identifies. Based on this, the magazine, taken by its cover, puts and identifies itself in a discursive position different from Trump's, in which the right is liberal and pro-globalization, while Trump has been, at least in his discourse, against globalization. It would be probably interesting to ask whether, to the extent of actions, the anti-globalization attitude would prevail in cases in which globalization favors the US, but this analysis will not address this aspect.

So to speak, the clash is not between the right and the left; it is between the *'old'* and the *'new'* right. As far as this analysis goes, it is possible to affirm that the old right is inscribed in a liberal democratic DF, while the new right, especially that represented by Trump, has denied these values. Therefore, the magazine, by projecting a negative image of Trump and associating it with values of opposition to liberals, identifies with the liberal-democratic DF, assuming its position of the 'good subject', while Trump's speech represents the 'bad subject.'

Returning to Zizek's text, it is relevant to remember that the author's analysis is from the year 2000. At that time, it could be said that Trump's position would not have been acceptable. In this sense, it is possible to align him with others like Le Pen and Haidar, as Zizek states: "For what this Right – Buchanan, Le Pen, Haidar – supplies is the negative common denominator of the entire established political spectrum. These are the excluded ones who, by this very exclusion (their 'unacceptability' for governmental office), furnish the proof of the benevolence of the official system." (ZIZEK, 2000, p. 37).

Zizek's excerpts contribute for deeper understanding the clash of positions between the magazines, through the covers analyzed here, and Trump. Whilst the former represents the traditional liberalism, Trump is aligned with Le Pen and Haidar, representing the far right. Observe that such positions materialize in speech, that is, liberals continue to hate the radical right, and yet Trump's election introduces a new fact.

Almost two decades later, this right no longer represents what 'we all love to hate', or, "[…] the negative common denominator of the entire established political spectrum" (ZIZEK, 2000, p. 37); on the contrary, it is a position that has gained strength in society. It would be *the new that causes fear*, according to the magazine. Even though it has occupied an important place, the liberal-democratic discourse remains in a position to delegitimize Trump's discourse, that is, it still loves to hate Trump.

Since the materialized discourse of the magazine cover is positioned in relation to Trump, *Exame* is inscribed in and identifies with a liberal discursive formation, as stated above. This introduces a theoretical-analytical breakthrough by relating the concept of DF from AD to that of the master signifier from psychoanalysis, as we have done in previous work (TFOUNI, 2020). The same way the subject identifies with the DF, in which it is inscribed through ideological identification, it also identifies with the master signifier, which is the signifier that manages a network of signifiers and works as the meaning producer of such network. More importantly, it means that the terms of a discourse are meaningless when isolated, but they are meaningful in the chain due to the remission of one signifier to another. According to Dias (2009), "[…] up to this point, in Lacanian teaching, the master signifier is the manager that generates meaning and signification. In the alienation operation, the meaning is attributed to the identification with the master signifier."

In his 'political reading' of the desire graph, Zizek (1992) works with the concept of master signifier as a generator of meaning. This is the elementary cell of the graph, which has several 'drawings.'
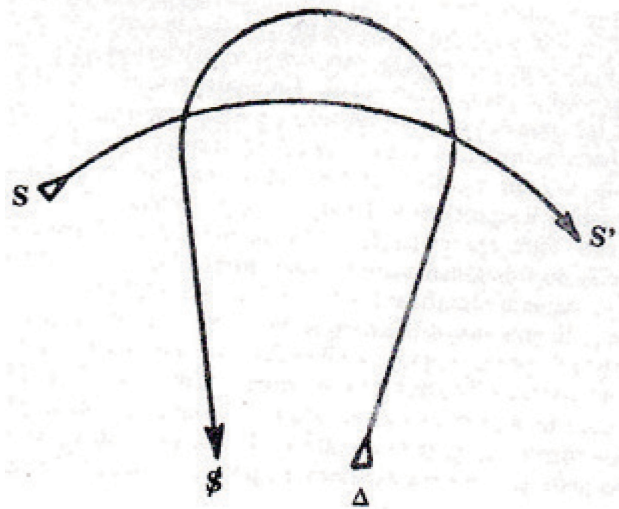

Image 2: master signifier

Source: Zizek (1992, p. 99)

In the desire graph, there are two axes: one, the 'speech', has the S-S' path; while the other goes from Δ to $. The speech goes on and on, being a metonymic chain. In Lacanian theory, the metonymy generates a loss of meaning, so the 'message' is not produced. On the contrary, the second axis works by feedback, so that the second signifier shifts back over the first one, producing a metaphor, and in this process there is a gain in meaning. The point at which the Δ- $ axis first crosses the S-S' axis shows the master signifier that produces the binding of signifiers allowing an interpretation of the previous signifier.

> What Lacan highlights with this is precisely the retroactive character of the effect of signification, the fact that the meaning stays behind the progression of the signifying chain: the effect of signification is always produced in posterity. The signifiers that are always in a fluctuating state, because their signification has not been fixed yet, follow one another up to the point — precisely the point in which intention crosses the signifier chain — a signifier retroactively fixes the chain's signification, stitching together the signification to the signifier, stopping the slip of signification. (ZIZEK, 1992, p. 100)

For us, this process correlates with the identification-subjection process approached by Pêcheux. The subject identifies with and becomes subjected to a DF through a master signifier (TFOUNI, 2020). As stated by Zizek (1992, p. 100):

> This minimal articulation already attests to the fact that we are dealing here with the process of questioning individuals as subjects. The point of sufficiency is the point through which the subject is sewed to the signifier and, at the same time, is the point that challenges the individual as subject, addressing him through the appeal to a certain master signifier ('communism', 'God', 'Freedom', 'America'); in a word, it is the point of subjectivation of the signifier chain.

Returning to the analysis, there is from SD1 to SD6 a set of signifiers that places the magazine's position as a liberal-democratic right, which, although it can be read as conservative, is different conservatism from that of Trump, as seen mostly in SD 5 and 6.

In the following, it will be analyzed the cover of *Istoé* magazine, number 2457, dated 13 January 2017:

Image 3: *ISTOÉ* magazine cover
Source: https://istoe.com.br/edicoes/page/4/

SD7: And now?
SD8: Where Trump will lead the world

SD7 reiterates the meanings of doubt, uncertainty and, possibly, fear already discussed in other SDs. SD8 is not a question but a declarative statement; in contrast with SD7, SD8 produces a sense of certainty and allows the interpretation that the magazine knows where Trump will take the world. Furthermore, the cover brings a suspense effect (TFOUNI, 2006, p. 55), however, to have access to this knowledge, the subject needs to buy the magazine.

The cover above refers to issues related to both the images and identification/ideology. It is also possible to say that 'Hitler's mustache' in Trump, materialized by the statement 'What now?', projects an image that associates him with Nazism. For Pêcheux (1999 [1983b], p. 51), "the image would be an operator of social memory, comprising within itself a reading program, a course discursively written elsewhere." Therefore, we understand that the cover image, as a whole, not only the 'mustache', revisits this discursive course of the German Nazism memory as well as Hitler's figure. Even the first cover analyzed, from *Exame* magazine, the projected image of Trump, that is, of a frowning man with no smile on his face, reminds of the German dictator more than the intolerance he may represent. What is striking in this one is the photo's framing which emphasizes the game of colors: the black background and the written statement in black, too, 'And now?', suggesting Hitler's mustache, contrasting with the blue eyes (as the brightest part of the image). Hence, in a game of images and colors, between the present and a memory (PÊCHEUX, 1999 [1983b]), the magazine projects to Trump a far-right political-ideological-discursive position, with which it does not identify. In this case, the encounter between the present day and a memory is produced by the election of the US President, which resonates the memory of Nazism.

The image can be paraphrased, or read, as a merely declarative statement, such as 'Trump is fascist.' Beyond that, though, one can argue that this refers to a denunciation. Following this editorial line, the magazine, in denouncing Trump's extreme rightist position, decided not to corroborate with it.

With regard to the magazine's position and identification, it is necessary to remember that, for Pêcheux (1995 [1975]), the notion of counter-identification refers to the moment when a subject, which is affiliated with a DF, questions some knowledge about the DF, even though it remains inscribing its speech in such DF. This does not seem to be the case of the magazine in analysis, as both the cover image and the discursive sequences of SD7 and SD8 indicate a difference that is not punctual trough Trump's speech. Therefore, the concept of counter-identification must be modified in order to attribute this gesture to the magazine.

Likewise, this does not seem to be the case of *stricto-sensu* deidentification, since it is not possible to state that the magazine has identified with Trump's position, and then, it carried out a movement that culminated with a break of that position. Having stated that, the concepts of counter-identification or deidentification can only be used taking into account the considerations above.

Therefore, the magazine would be, in our view, counter-identified with Trump's discursive position inasmuch as his position is marked by differences, not coincidently. The conveyed meanings represent (create an image of) Trump as the 'bad subject.' By doing so, the magazine at the same time marks its detachment from this image, counter-identifying with Trump's profile.

As it has been already pointed out, in Pêcheux (1997 [1969]), the creation of an image consists of A's point of view about the referent. To summarize a broader discussion about a psychoanalysis perspective, in Lacanian terms, it means that the image depends on the other's look. And this means the look of the great other, not of the small one; the other who is able to tell whether the subject is worthy of love or not, that is, whether it occupies the same position as 'us', whether he identifies with the same ideals etc.

> This ideal signifier is what indicates to the subject, very early in his life, what he must be to answer to the criteria of the Other's love. [...] what the subject has to internalize is, in the first place, the look of the Other. This look is, then, something that makes sign to the subject about the way the other looks at him: with good eyes or bad eyes. (NOMINÉ, 2018, p. 27)

To the extent that criticism of Trump's position can be seen on the cover, it indicates he is not worthy of love, that is, from the position taken by the subject who produced the cover looks at him. And this occurs in both covers analyzed here. In this one, through Hitler's mustache and, in the other one, through the signifiers contrary to Trump's position. If Trump is not worthy of love, in the eyes of the Other enunciator of the magazine, then he is a bad subject.

The subjects identify or not with other subjects and this process is fundamental for the formation of both the subjects themselves and the groups. The formation of the subject always involves a 'passing through the other', in other words, by introjecting characteristics of the other that the subject is formed. For Roudinesco and Plon, identification is a central aspect of the subject's formation, which takes place through the assimilation of traits or attributes of the other. In the authors' words, identification is a term used in psychoanalysis to "designate the central process by which the subject is constituted and transformed, assimilating or appropriating, in key moments of its evolution, the aspects, attributes or traits of human beings around him." (ROUDINECO; PLON, 1998, p. 363).

There is a process of identification which, in psychoanalysis, is called trace identification, and it occurs when the subject takes for himself some aspect of the other. According to Nominé: "What Freud points out is that in both cases (primitive identification and secondary regressive identification), identification is not massive, it is only partial. 'Highly limited, taking only a trace of the object person.'" (NOMINE, 2018, p. 25).

Furthermore, the accomplishment of the affective connection of identification happens through language. In this sense, the trait must be in language, that is, the subject can only attribute 'Hitler's mustache' to Trump because he is a signifier, not purely from the imaginary record. To identify with something, one has to know what that something is, and in turn, it occurs through naming things in language. Therefore, identification means the signifier's identification.

The cover in question makes use of the mechanism described above, however, it does so to create an image: it uses a quite present feature in the discursive memory (Hitler's mustache) to, through this feature, point to what it would be Trump's political position.

Hitler's mustache appears on this cover as the signifier that alone would be able to indicate an ideological-discursive position. In this sense, the mustache can be taken, here, as the master signifier of Trump's position, that is, the signifier through which all other signifiers of his speech must be understood. Hitler's mustache appears as an interpreter of other signifiers, such as freedom, justice etc., which are to be enunciated from this position.

By refraction, the magazine self-enunciates (announces) itself as counter-identified with this image, as it neither agrees nor agrees with it. In this sense, the other's trait (Trump), even if imaginary, constitutes the magazine's position in relation to the mustache that it attributes to Trump itself. During its formation process, the subject necessarily identifies and counter-identifies with others; therefore, the subject does not exist in and by itself. Both AD and psychoanalysis have criticized the essential subject or the original one as a form of criticism of the coincident subject with itself.

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The analysis of the *corpus* allowed us to understand that the election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States was treated by the media as an event, for it broke with some predictions made during the electoral process. Prior to the election, the media in general did not believe in Trump's victory, which gave his election a meaning of rupture with the general public's expectations about politics.

Moreover, the analysis made it possible to understand that the projected image of Trump is that of a subject affiliated to a far right DF, which can also be characterized as 'the US Hitler.' This, in turn, allowed us to understand the position of the journalist-subjects of the reviewed magazines, which defended liberalism and globalization, as well as stood for individual freedoms. Thus, based on reading Zizek (2000), it is observed that the knowledge of two DFs is in dialogue here: one of the far right and the other of the neoliberal.

By positioning Trump's discourse and ideology in the far right field, the analyzed covers give the US President a 'bad subject' image, and the enunciative subjects, responsible for the covers of the selected magazines, show their contrary position to his, what puts them in the 'good subject' position. Hence, our interpretation led us to the fact that these materials are counter-identified with the image of Donald Trump and, consequently, with its positions. For the magazines, the good subject is the one who agrees with his ideals, and who inscribes his discourse in the same DF, following an ideological affiliation to ideas of liberal economics, which is not the case of Trump.

In this process of image construction and identification, magazines produce a discourse that seeks to dispute the hearts and minds of their readers, placing them in a specific position, which would be the identification with the position the formers defend. Defining themselves as the 'good subject', the covers give their readers a positive image of themselves and a negative image of Trump, so they are expected to stand alongside magazines and against Trump.

This discursive game between the good subject and the bad subject has been dealt with in the text of Zizek (2000), in which the author argues that traditional liberalism 'hates' the far right with the intention to construct a 'bad subject' image for the rightists, and he positions himself as the 'good subject', one who is worthy of love in his own eyes and in the eyes of others. Although it is possible to affirm that both covers are somehow positioned, the first one is more explicit, defending values that align differently from the ones of Trump, such as liberalism and globalization. The second one, however, denounces Trump's position, associating him more directly with Nazism, but it brings no direct counterpoint to the question of liberal economics. The fact is that both magazines are opposed to Trump's thinking, putting into operation in their discourses the relationship among imaginary, subject and identification, which do not occur outside the ideological sphere. Analytically speaking, this work has showed us how productive the functioning approximation of the imaginary projections is with regard to the subject's (counter) identification processes, and therefore, we could better understand the functioning of ideological positioning in these covers.

To finish with, equally productive has been dealing with the matter of identifications from the psychoanalytic concept of master signifier. From the analysis, we observe that 'Hitler's moustache' can be used as a trace (Freudian notion) which allows both image projection and subject identification. After all, these traits are traits present in language, so they are significant, semantic, and discursive ones.

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