

## SEXISM ON DISPLAY: THE IMAGE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS THROUGH THE PRISM OF JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE

Silvana Neshkovska

*Faculty of Education, "St. Kliment Ohridski" University,  
Bitola, Republic of North Macedonia*

**Abstract:** *From 1960s onwards sexist language intended to denigrate, objectify and trivialize women has been seriously exposed internationally and huge efforts were made to replace it with gender-neutral language. However, to date, sexism has not been fully suppressed and it is especially conspicuous in relation to women who assume active roles in public life.*

*This study has both qualitative and quantitative design and looks into the presence of overt and implicit sexism (as categorized by Mills, 2008) in journalistic discourse and the role of sexist language in molding the image of modern day women politicians. For the purposes of this study, we conduct a critical discourse analysis of a corpus of 40 news articles published on various online news portals and electronic platforms of traditional media. All analyzed articles comment on the political statements and actions of two Macedonian female politicians currently in office – the Minister of Defense and the Mayor of the city of Skopje.*

*The findings suggest that Macedonian journalistic discourse, under the pretext that politicians' dealings need to be monitored closely, scrutinized and even criticized, still leaves the door slightly open for both overt and implicit sexist linguistic forms, which, in turn, depicts female politicians as ill-suited for this type of professional occupation.*

**Keywords:** *sexism, women politicians, journalistic discourse*

**About the author:** *Dr. Silvana Neshkovska is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education – Bitola, St. Kliment Ohridski University – Bitola. She teaches a number of courses in English linguistics such as Syntax, Pragmatics, Contrastive Analysis and Phonetics and Phonology as well as Translation, at the Department of Macedonian and Other Foreign Languages. Her main research interests lie in the field of pragmatics, contrastive analysis, English language teaching and translation. She has published a number of research paper in various domestic and foreign scientific journals (e.g. Lodz Papers of Pragmatics; Acta Neophilologica; Respectus Philologicus; Linguistics, Culture and Identity in Foreign Language Education; Teacher International Journal (IJET), Studies in Linguistics, Culture, and FLT; International Journal of Language and Linguistics (IJLL), International Journal of Applied Language Studies and Culture, Thesis International Research Journal, etc.).*

**e-mail:** *silvana.neshkovska@uklo.edu.mk*

**ORCID iD:** *<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4417-7783>*

**Copyright © 2022 Silvana Neshkovska**

**Article history:** Received: 15 November 2022; Reviewed: 30 November 2022; Revised: 1 December 2022;

Accepted: 2 December 2022; Published: 12 December 2022



This open access article is published and distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

**Citation (APA):** Neshkovska, S. (2022). Sexism on display: The image of women politicians through the prism of journalistic discourse. *Studies in Linguistics, Culture, and FLT*, 10(3), 30-50. <http://doi.org/10.46687/HLSM8688>.

## Introduction

Sexism has been a keenly debated topic since the 1960s especially in the English language (Lillian, 2007; Mills, 2008). Feminist theorists and activists put special efforts to change the way women were represented in advertisements, newspapers and magazines, and also the way they were named and addressed in texts and in interaction (Mills, 2008, p. 1).

Literature review shows that a lot of definitions of sexism have been offered so far, depicting sexism as “language which discriminated against women by representing them negatively” (Vetterling-Braggin, 1981), or as “a set of traditional beliefs about the characteristics and behaviors considered appropriate for women and men, which have a pernicious influence on women by perpetuating their subordination to men” (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Glick et al., 2000); “the ideology and practice of relegating women to a lower rung on the social hierarchy than men simply by virtue of their femaleness” (Lillian, 2007, p. 720); etc.

As can be seen in the definitions, sexism reflects discriminatory attitude mainly towards women, most frequently expressed via sexist language intended to belittle women and trivialize the activities associated with them.

Parks and Robertson (1998, p. 478) identify a number of linguistic forms that can be characterized as sexist language. These include: false generics (e.g. *he*, *mankind*), hierarchical and separatist terms (e.g. *man and wife*, sex differentiated job titles), and words that can decrease self-esteem and negate personal identity (e.g. referring to adult females as *girls* rather than *women*, emphasizing the importance of women’s marital status with titles such as *Miss* and *Mrs.*). Similarly, under sexist language Mills (2008) lists different elements such as: the use of generic pronouns such as *he* (when used to refer to both males and females); word endings such as *-ette* used to refer to women (e.g. *usherette*); nouns referring to men and women which seem to have a different range of meanings (e.g. *landlord* and *landlady*, *manager* and *manageress*); insult terms which seem to differ for men and women; the names women are given and those which are used for parts of their bodies, etc. In fact, Mills (2008) adopts a wider perspective on sexism and advocates for a much more fluid and pragmatic, context-dependent view of sexism. She purports that statements may be considered to be sexist if they rely on stereotypical and outdated beliefs regarding women’s roles in society; when they imply that men’s experience is human experience, or when they are based on the presupposition that any activity associated with women is necessarily trivial or secondary in relation to male activities (Mills, 2008, pp. 1-2).

Research shows that people learn sexist language at an early age (Hyde, 1984), and that in the course of time it becomes a linguistic habit (Lips, 1997). Swim

et al. (2004) discuss the reasons why people resort to using sexist language, and mention that it is traditional and ingrained in the current written and spoken language practice; people lack knowledge about what constitutes sexist language; some people do not even believe that such a language is sexist, and, in some cases, people use it simply to protect the already established social hierarchies. Mills (2008) also brings forth interesting arguments about the motivation behind using sexist language – sexism is sometimes motivated by fear and hatred; people align themselves with particular conservative models of social formation; there exists “a conflict and competition over resources and status” and “women’s ‘natural’ role is at odds with women’s actual roles in contemporary society” (Mills, 2008, p. 41). And this final argument clearly refers to women who assume active roles in public life, particularly women who engage in politics, as in the past the political arena was mainly reserved only for male individuals. As contemporary societies around the world are making huge progress in many respects, politics seems to become increasingly more welcoming of women; however, these changes do not transpire without any opposition and resistance.

Sexist language has been a widely explored topic in English but this certainly is not the case with the Macedonian language. Furthermore, the Macedonian society which is rather traditional and patriarchal in the recent decades is faced with a surge of female politicians who undertake active roles in making important political decisions. Their actions and words surely do not go unnoticed on the part of the general public that is gradually getting used to this new reality, but also by the Macedonian media whose reporting molds public opinion about women politicians to a great extent. Considering the above stated, this study, by means of critical discourse analysis, focuses on researching the presence of sexist language in Macedonian journalistic discourse.

## **Theoretical background**

### **Sexism in journalistic discourse targeting female politicians**

Analyzing sexism in politics has attracted the attention of a number of researchers who explored the forms of sexism used in newspapers, television, radio programs, social media, etc. Thus, for instance, Hellinger (2006), analyzed German national newspapers in an attempt to detect the ways in which the former German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, was named. The findings of this study show that the most frequently used title with reference to Merkel was the social title which discloses her marital status – ‘Frau Merkel’, and that, understandably, was not the case with her male colleagues.

Mills (2008) discusses the representation of the former UK Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett in newspapers where she discerns that there is very little

direct quotation of Beckett herself and many quotations of other politicians and journalists' commenting Beckett's political dealings. This, in Mills' (2008) view, means that women's voices are being relatively 'unaccessed' when they are represented in the media, and that they do not get the same treatment as their male politicians. Instead, women are associated with the private sphere, and an emphasis is put on their private life roles of daughters, wives, mothers, etc. Additionally, Mills (2008) underlines the fact that female politicians are often attacked through sexist language by drawing attention to their sexuality or attractiveness, as if that disqualifies them from claiming a place in the public sphere. Similarly, Page (2005), who investigated the way that Cherie Blair and Hillary Rodham Clinton have been described in the media, notices that media focus is on the crises in their personal lives, rather than on their professional careers and achievements. White (2006) analyses a news report in the Guardian about Margaret Beckett when she was appointed Foreign Secretary in the Labour government. White (2006) notices that despite that overall positive message about Beckett, there are still a number of ways in which the report undermines her political role by shifting the focus on her private life.

### **Mills' (2008) classification of sexist language**

A number of researchers who have analyzed the concept of sexism pointed to the existence of different types of sexism (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1999, 2000; Lorenzi-Cioldi & Kulich, 2015; Mills, 2008). For the purposes of this study we draw on Mills' (2008) classification of sexism into *overt sexism* and *indirect sexism*, presented in her book *Sexism and Language*. Overt or direct sexism is the type of usage which can be straightforwardly identified through the use of linguistic markers, or through the analysis of presupposition, which has historically been associated with the expression of discriminatory opinions about women, which signals to hearers that women are seen as an inferior group in relation to males. Drawing on previous researchers' findings and on her own, Mills (2008) identifies a number of categories of overt sexist language. The 'generic pronouns' 'he'/'him'/'his'/'himself' when used to refer to both men and women are considered an instance of overt sexism as their usage is interpreted to suggest that male is the norm and female is the marked form, and thus contribute to the general invisibility of females within language and society. Similarly, 'generic' nouns such as the noun *man* are also deemed sexist as they are used to refer to both men and women but, in essence, more often than not, they refer only to men. Feminist theorists have noted that the insult terms used for women such as *bitch*, *ho*, *pimp* and *faggot* are also overtly sexualized (Braun, 1999; Braun & Kitzinger, 1999, in Mills, 2008). Semantic derogation of terms which have been associated with powerful women or with femininity such as *lady*, *governess*, *mistress*, *madam* and *dame*, have historically become pejorative, whereas their male equivalents retained their associations with high

status (Schultz, 1990, p. 136, in Mills, 2008). Also, in the pairs of words for women and men (e.g. *host* and *hostess*), the word to denote the female tends to pick up a sexual overtone, which is not present in the word used for the male; thus, *hostess* can mean (a) a bar worker who is sometimes a sex worker, (b) an air stewardess and (c) someone who hosts a party; whereas only the latter meaning, a *host*, is available for males. The first names given to women tend to have diminutive forms (e.g. *Debbie*, *Nikki*, *Maggie*, *Mandy*), whereas male names tend not to have diminutive forms (Mills, 2008, p. 26). The titles *Mrs.* and *Miss* draw attention to the marital status of women in a way that the term for men *Mr.* does not. The term *Ms.* was introduced in the 1970s in the UK and US in order to give women the option of choosing to represent themselves as something other than married or unmarried (Mills, 2008, p. 31). *Transitivity* refers to women often being represented as the recipient of others' actions, i.e. in the object rather than in the subject position in sentences (Wareing, 1994 and Mills, 1995b, in Mills, 2008). As for *reported speech*, Mills (2008) draws attention to Caldas-Coulthard's (1995) contention that there is a tendency in news reports for the speech of females to be represented in indirect rather than in direct speech, which suggests that women's statements are often mediated by newspapers.

The above stated forms of overt sexist language have been contested by feminists for a very long time and, as a result, they became stigmatized by most language users. However, Mills (2008, p. 7) argues that has led to an increased use of a more indirect or discourse level of sexism which manages to express sexism whilst at the same time denying responsibility for it. Actually, Mills (2008) claims that it is not always possible to agree on what is sexist, in that sexism is an evaluation of an intent to be sexist rather than an inherent quality of the utterance or text alone. Thus, in Mills' (2008) terms, *humor* often exaggerates certain features associated with a group or draws on and plays with stereotypical knowledge for comic effect. For example, humorous utterances will presuppose that men and women are different and exaggerate that supposed difference. This type of a joke can help to create a sense of solidarity amongst men and will reinforce the unequal power relations. Also, Mills (2008) argues that *collocations*, which are used to represent women in the public sphere, associated with conflict or problems, and which trivialize women's roles, characterizing women as unfit to fully assume males' role are instances of indirect sexism. Indirect sexism is also deemed to occur in prefacing sexist statements with disclaimers or hesitation (e.g. *I don't want to be sexist or politically incorrect but...*), which allows for the sexist statement to be made whilst permitting the speaker to avoid charges of intentional sexism. *Androcentric perspective* refers to a great number of words in the English language which etymologically display a male perspective at work; whereas *narrative pathways or scripts* and *metaphors* according to Mills (2008) are brought into play in news reports about women and men in the

public sphere and present an institutionalized indirect sexism, where sexual or romantic scenarios or scripts are drawn on when referring to women in positions of institutional power.

Mills' (2008) discussion of sexist language is not limited only to these forms; however, to discuss and analyze all of them would be far beyond the scope of the study at hand.

## Research methodology

In this study we analyze the way Macedonian women politicians are represented in journalistic discourse and whether sexist language is employed in reference to them to degrade their contribution in politics. More specifically, drawing on Mills' (2008) classification of sexist language, we wanted to inspect the presence of overt sexism (the modes of address used in reference to the female politician and the use of reported speech in conveying their actual statements) and the existence of implicit forms of sexism (humor, collocations, scripts and metaphors). The ultimate goal of this research was to inspect how these forms, if present, mold female politicians' public image.

For the purposes of this study we compiled a corpus of 40 newspaper articles, published on various Macedonian internet news portals (e.g. Alon, Makfaks, Kurir, MKD, Sakam da kazam, etc.) and online platforms of traditional Macedonian television programs (e.g. Telma, Alfa, etc.), in the period from January to October, 2022 (see Appendix for links and titles of news articles). Twenty of the articles in the corpus pertain to the current Macedonian Minister of Defense, Slavjanka Petrovska's public statements and political moves. Given that the Minister of Defense assumed office shortly before the outburst of the war in Ukraine at the beginning of 2022, her public statements and interviews mainly pertain to this major military conflict, which affects the world at large, our country including. As Macedonia has recently become a member of NATO, its position regarding the war is in line with the position of NATO. The articles included in the corpus were retrieved randomly as a result of online research by using the following key words: *Slavjanka, Petrovska, Minister of Defense*. The other 20 news articles refer to the current mayor of the City of Skopje, Danela Arsovska, who assumed office in 2021. All the analyzed articles about her were released in September and October, 2022 and were about the sudden and rather unexpected feud between the mayor and the opposition party, VMRO DPMNE<sup>1</sup>, which supported her candidature in the pre-election campaign. The key words used in finding these articles were: *Danela, Arsovska, Mayor, Skopje*.

The analysis of the selected articles was based on critical discourse analysis (CDA), which according to Fairclough (1995, p. 131) views language as a social

1. VMRO DPMNE stands for Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity. – a. n.

practice, i.e. both a socially shaped and socially shaping mode of action that is historically and socially situated. The discussion on the obtained results was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Overall, the analysis tried to provide answers to the following three research questions:

*Q1. Is sexist language targeting female politicians present in Macedonian journalistic discourse?*

*Q2. If present, is the sexist language in journalistic discourse overt or implicit, or both?*

*Q3. If present, how does sexist language mold the image of female politicians in journalistic discourse?*

## Results

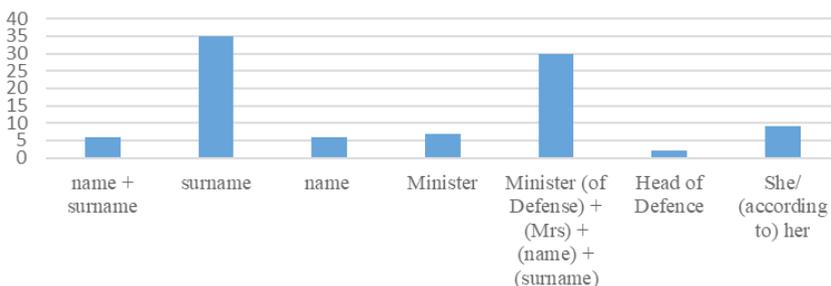
### Analysis of the news articles about the Minister of Defense, Slavjanka Petrovska

First, we were interested in the overt form of sexism and we investigated the ways this female politician was referred to in the analyzed articles. A number of modes of reference surfaced in that respect: name; surname; name + surname; Minister; Minister (of Defense) + (Mrs.) + (name) + surname; Head of Defense, and the pronouns *she* and *her* (in the phrase ‘*according to her*’) (Table 1).

The analysis showed that of all these options the current Macedonian Minister of Defense in journalistic discourse was predominantly addressed by her *surname* (36%). The omission of her professional title, Minister of Defense, could be attributed to the tendency to employ economical linguistic expression in the news articles to avoid overburdening the news with unnecessary information already known to the readers. However, it could also be interpreted as a deliberate avoidance of her professional title as a result of implicit disapproval of her holding what traditionally used to be a typically male political post in the Macedonian political arena.

**Table 2.**

*Modes of reference used for the Minister of Defense in news articles*



■ Slavjanka Petrovska

As far as the professional title *minister* is concerned, as Macedonian is a grammatically gendered language, there are two separate terms, one for males – *министер*, and one for females – *министерка*. In all the analyzed news articles, the female term – *министерка* was used, which points to the fact that this type of overt sexism is avoided and that this term has entered into common use in the Macedonian context as the number of women holding this political post has increased over the past decades.

Now, it is important to mention that the professional title *министерка* (*minister* (fem.)) on its own was not very frequently used (7.4%). In fact, in most of the cases the title was combined with other terms/titles and that was the second most frequently used mode of reference in the analyzed articles (31.5%). More specifically, there were cases in which the title was used in its full form but without the name and the surname (*Министерката за одбрана*) (*Minister* (fem.) *of Defense*) (2.1%), in some cases the title Minister was combined with the surname (*Министерката Петровска*) (*Minister* (fem.) *Petrovska*) (5.2%), or with both the name and the surname (*Министерката Славјанка Петровска*) (*Minister* (fem.) *Slavjanka Petrovska*) (6.3%). In most cases, the full title was combined with the full name of the female politician (*Министерката за одбрана Славјанка Петровска*) (*Minister* (fem.) *of Defense Slavjanka Petrovska*) (16.8%). There was only one instance in which the title *Minister* was combined with the title that indicates the politician's marital status *госпоѓа* (Mrs.) and her surname (*Министерката за одбрана г-ѓа Петровска*) (*Minister* (fem.) *of Defense Mrs. Petrovska*) (1.05%).

The other modes of reference that were rather infrequently used included the following: *Head of Defense* (2.1%); name + surname (6.3%); name (6.3%), and the pronouns *she* and *her* (in the phrase '*according to her*') (9.4%). The use of all of these, apart from *Head of Defense*, could be indicative of using overt sexist language, intended to trivialize the politician's professional role. Of all these modes of reference, the least respectful and, perhaps, the most sexist one is using the politician's first *name*, which points to adopting a highly informal tone, which, in turn, clearly signals disregard for the politician's position. In addition, the content of the news articles which make use of the Minister's name is purely ironical or even sarcastic and is intended to question the politician's capacity for holding such a demanding public position (see Ex. 1 and Ex. 2).

*Ex. 1 Доколку ја нападне Украина: Славјанка ќе го бомбардира Путин со пораки на Вибер.*

*(If an attack is launched on Ukraine, Slavjanka will bombard Putin with viber messages)*

*Ex. 2 Славјанка го искара Путин: Руската инвазија врз Украина го наруши мирот во Европа, со сојузниците во НАТО ќе ја браниме и ќе ја одбраниме демократијата.*

*(Slavjanka scolds Putin: Russian invasion of Ukraine undermines peace in Europe, we will defend democracy with our NATO allies and we shall prevail)*

Both examples above are intended to disclose to the readers the apparent ‘ludicrousness’ and ‘lack of rationality’ of the politician, who with her statements condemning Putin, in fact, sounds as if she is instigating a conflict with Russia, despite the fact that Macedonia is no match for Russia in any possible respect. In other words, the humor in the form of irony, or sarcasm used in these articles depicts the Minister of Defense as someone who lacks military training and, consequently, military reasoning abilities, or in other words, is not cast into the soldier mode, and as a result cannot make for successful Minister of Defense, which, of course, is based on sexist grounds, and can be interpreted as an instance of implicit sexism. The same intent can be recognized in the following examples (Ex. 3).

*Ex. 3 „Држ се Украина стигне Славјанка, да сум на место на Путин не би се задевал“, смеа без престан на социјалните мрежи*

*(“Hang on Ukraine, Slavjanka is coming to your rescue. If I were Putin, I wouldn’t mess with her”, incessant laughter on social media)*

Some of these articles whose purpose is evidently more in the direction of entertaining the readers than informing them, feature other Macedonian politicians’ reactions to the Minister of Defense’s statements. The content of these articles is intended to denigrate the Minister by hurling her way offensive words such as *shortsighted servant* (*кусоглед слуга*), *dumb-headed* (*акмак*), *shallow-minded puppet* (*недоветна послушнице*). Clearly, the aim of this overt form of sexism, termed *insults* by Mills (2008), is to draw attention to the ‘fact’ that the politician is not worthy of the position she has been entrusted with.

Given that conveying female politicians’ statements indirectly, i.e. via reported speech, is interpreted as depriving politicians of their actual ‘voice’, and, consequently, is treated as overt sexism, we looked into whether the Minister of Defense’s statements were conveyed directly (via quotations), or indirectly by means of reporting verbs (e.g. *say*, *announce*, *explain*, etc.) followed by paraphrases of their actual statements.

**Chart 1.** *Defense Minister's statements in the news articles: quotations vs. reported speech*



The analysis showed that although the majority of the Minister's statements were conveyed directly (quotations) (57.5%) (Ex. 4), a significant percentage of the Minister's statements were conveyed indirectly (42.4%) (Ex. 5). The fact that reported speech was used for almost half of the Minister's statements is indicative of the existence of implicit sexism, as these instances can be interpreted as an attempt at taking something out of context and distorting the politicians' actual message to the public.

*Ex. 4 Петровска: Тенковите за Украина се транспортирани и со нивната донација не се нарушува борбената готовност на Армијата*

*(Petrovska: The tanks have been transported to Ukraine and this donation does not undermine our Army's combat readiness)*

*Ex. 5 Петровска најави дека ќе се набавуваат нови хеликоптери кои се мултифункционални и тоа е на линија на плановите за развој на одбранбените способности и капацитети на нашата Армија*

*(Petrovska announced that new multifunctional helicopters will be procured, which is in line with the plans for developing our Army's defensive capacity)*

All verbs used in the articles in relation to the Minister's actions and comments regarding the war in Ukraine are typical of journalistic discourse (e.g. *say, announce, clarify, add, explain, point out*, etc.) and do not collocate with other words to create some kind of negative connotation. This shows that journalists are careful not to use this form of implicit sexism. With regard to collocations as an implicit form of sexism generated by combining words to create negative connotation, in the analyzed news articles about the Minister of Defense, only a few examples were detected. Thus, in Ex. 6, the use of the collocation *ги брани одлуки на владата* (*defends the government's decisions*) suggests that the Minister, instead of having a mind of her own about the issues of importance, is just echoing the words previously said by other politicians in the government.

*Ex. 6 Помогнавме на земја која ја брани територијата, и не важно од која земја е нападната. Вака, министерката за одрбана Славјанка Петровска ги брани трите одлуки на владата за воени донации кон Украина.*

*(We are helping a country that defends its territory; it is completely irrelevant what country attacked it. This is how the Minister of Defense, Slavjanka Petrovska, defends the three decisions of the government about the military donations to Ukraine)*

In Ex. 7 the collocation *не кажува што друго донираме* (*doesn't say what else we donate*) presents the Minister's actions as secretive and devoid of transparency, which, given that politicians are expected to be transparent and honest, is a major instance of overstepping one's official duties and violating the professional conduct.

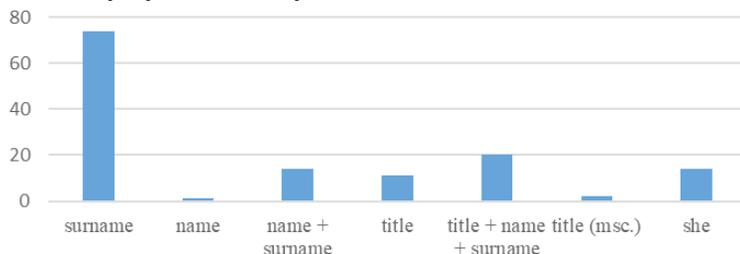
*Ex. 7 Освен тенкови, министерката Петровска не кажува што друго ѝ донираме на Украина*

*(Apart from the tanks, Minister Petrovska does not say what else we donate to Ukraine)*

### **Analysis of the news articles about the Mayor of Skopje, Danela Arsovska**

In this part of the analysis, first, we looked at the modes of reference used for the female politician, holding the post Mayor of Skopje, Danela Arsovska. Unlike the English noun Mayor which is used to refer to both male and female politicians, in Macedonian, this noun has two forms, one for masculine gender – *градоначалник* and one for female gender – *градоначалничка*. As more and more women assume this public office, the feminine form of this noun becomes quite common in Macedonian.

The analysis of this portion of the corpus shows that, here too, the most frequent mode of reference was the politician's *surname* (*Arsovska*) (55.1%). The fact that there is no mention of her title along with her surname could be attributed to the conciseness and brevity and the rather formal register required in journalistic discourse. However, as in the previous case, this could be interpreted as avoidance to mention her title due to non-acceptance of the fact that a female has been entrusted with managing the capital city of the country.

**Table 2.** Modes of reference used for Danela Arsovska in the news articles

The second most frequently used mode of reference is a combination of the title with: a) her full name – *Градоначалничката Дanela Арсовска (Mayor (fem.) Danela Arsovska)*, b) her surname – *Градоначалничката Арсовска (Mayor (fem.) Arsovska)*, and c) the full name and the name of the city (*Skopje*) – *Градоначалничката на Скопје Дanela Арсовска (Mayor (fem.) of Skopje Danela Arsovska)* (14.7%). In some of the articles, she was referred to with the title only – *градоначалничката (Mayor (fem.))*, (8.1%).

The third position in terms of the frequency of use in the analyzed corpus was shared by the following modes of reference: *name + surname* (10.3%) and the pronouns *she* and *her* (in the phrase ‘*according to her*’) (10.3%). Their presence can also be interpreted as overt sexism due to the avoidance to make an explicit mention of her professional title in the case of the former, and both her name and title in the case of the latter. This suggests hidden but palpable deprivation of the credit the female politician deserves for such a responsible and at the same time demanding public service.

There were few instances of addressing the female politician with the masculine form of this noun in Macedonian – *градоначалник (Mayor (masc.))* (1.5%), which is also an instance of overt sexism, particularly given the fact that this mode of reference was used in an article which reported on an opposition politician’s strongly negative reaction of the way the mayor handles certain city matters.

With respect to the how the mayor’s statements were conveyed in the analyzed news articles, what was noted is an almost equal tendency of using both direct speech (quotation) (46.5%) and reported speech (53.4%).

**Chart 2.** The Mayor of Skopje’s statements: quotations vs. reported speech

As mentioned previously, according to Mills (2008), conveying a politician's public statements indirectly, i.e. via reported speech, always leaves room for distorting the original message and potentially for devaluing it, to a certain extent (Ex. 8).

*Ex. 8 Арсовска демантира дека Обвинителството „влегло” во Град Скопје*

*(Arsovska denounces that the Public Prosecution has “entered” the city of Skopje)*

Also, the analysis of the corpus shows that the use of quotations of politician's statements, on the other hand, seems to be reserved for achieving primarily the effect of shock on the part of the readers. In other words, journalists seem to prefer quotations when they have a specific attention-getting appeal and vouchsafe a strong reaction on the part of readers (Ex. 9 and Ex. 10).

*Ex. 9 Арсовска до ВМРО-ДПМНЕ: Ви го фатив директорчето со рачето во медот и сега одеднаш не чинам*

*(Arsovska to VMRO-DPMNE: I caught your little director with his little hand in the honey, and all of sudden you find me inadequate)*

*Ex. 10 Арсовска: Немој да се криеш Мицкоски, дојди тука кажи ми што имааш!*

*(Arsovska: Mickovski, don't hide, come out and show me what you've got)*

In Ex. 9, the Mayor addresses the representatives of the opposition party, VMRO DPMNE, and accuses their leader, who supported her candidature in the election campaign, for illicit dealings; whereas in Ex. 10 she challenges the leader himself, Mickovski, to face her and explain his actions.

The predominant sexist language used in the analyzed news articles referring to this female politician has the form of indirect sexism and is realized in the form of collocations. The image that is molded for the politician by means of combining words in the analyzed articles is an image of a disruptor, irrational and aggressive person; a politician who is prone to getting into fights and arguments; an inconsiderate politician who forces people to resign and lacks transparency in her dealings. Simply put, the image carved for the politician in this case is an image of a politician who is incapable of delivering her pre-election promises. These are some of the collocations used in reference to the Mayor of Skopje: *business interest, money and tenders, fights against an entire machinery, secret meeting, an argument with VMRO, cornered/blackmailed politician, fierce criticism, Danela's law, started a war, partnership based on interest, comes uninvited, interrupts a press conference, insufficient results, fierce arguments, the conflict escalated*, etc. Ex. 11 and Ex. 12 illustrate this point quite clearly:

*Ex. 11 Андоновски: Арсовска во време на најголема криза од ЈП Водовод брка од работа 100 вработени*

*(Andonovski: Arsovska in times of greatest crisis lays off 100 employees from Public Water Supply)*

*Ex. 12 Неуспешниот партиски пазар на Арсовска и ВМРО-ДПМНЕ на штета на граѓаните*

*(The unsuccessful political bargain of Arsovska and VMRO-DPMNE at the expense of citizens)*

Finally, in the case of this politician, in the analyzed corpus we found instances of another type of implicit sexism – scripts and metaphors where sexual or romantic scenarios are drawn on when referring to the female politician (Mills, 2008) (Ex. 13, Ex. 14 and Ex. 15).

*Ex. 13 Данела Арсовска со отровни стрели кон Христијан Мицкоски*  
*(Danela Arsovska shoots poisonous arrows towards Hristijan Mickovski)*

*Ex. 14 Данела Арсовска: Од зурли и тапани – до обвинувана за kukavichko jajce*

*(Danela Arsovska: From being celebrated with trumpets and drums to being blamed for being a cuckoo's egg)*

*Ex. 15 Данела Арсовска и ВМРО-ДПМНЕ пред разделба*

*(Danela Arsovska and VMRO-DPMNE on the verge of splitting up)*

In all of the examples above, the politician is represented as having a romantic affair with the opposition party, due to their support for her candidature in the pre-election campaign, which was initially pompously celebrated in a way similar to wedding ceremonies (with music and dancing), but which, at this point, is on the verge of falling apart as a result of unsurmountable disagreements between the ‘romantic partners’ (Arsovska and the opposition).

## Discussion and conclusion

This research confirms the presence of overt and implicit sexism in both sets of news articles, i.e. in relation to both female politicians. Namely, despite the fact that in both cases *surnames* and certain combinations with the *title* as a central element were predominantly used to refer to both female politicians, a practice which can be attributed to the curt and precise journalistic style and the formal undertone of media reporting, there were instances of overt sexism in some of the articles in which the female politicians were addressed just by their *first name*; their *first name* and *surname*; the pronouns *she* and *her* (in

the phrase '*according to her*'), clearly, because there is explicit avoidance to mention their title which points to lack of appreciation and acceptance of their role in society. The same applies to the instances in which the masculine noun of their professional title was used (e.g. *Градоначалник (mas.)*) despite the fact that in Macedonian the feminine form of this noun is in existence and in common use. A case of overt sexism is, undoubtedly, addressing a female politician with a title which indicates her marital status (*Г-ѓа -Mrs.*), which, normally in the case of male politicians is not something that is drawn attention to, and, consequently, the same should apply to women politicians as well. The use of insults as an overt form of sexism was mainly avoided, except in the case of one of the politicians, in which case the insults used referred to the politician's alleged lack of reasoning capacity. The high percentage of reported speech in the case of both female politicians also points to the existence of overt sexism as, by not conveying the politician's statements directly, i.e. by reporting them, journalists are left with an option to distort the meaning to a certain extent and present it in a way in which it suits their purposes (among which the top two, undoubtedly, are to attract more readers and to play a crucial role in creating public opinion).

As to the presence of indirect forms of sexism, in the case of the female politician who has the position of Minister of Defense, it was mostly realized as humor in the form of irony and sarcasm, targeting primarily the politician's reasoning abilities. In the case of the Mayor, it was most clearly visible in the abundant use of collocations used with a negative connotation, leaving the readers with the impression that this female politician lacks tactfulness and is prone to rash and not well-thought out actions, features not appreciated in politics, i.e. features that are more likely to harm than enhance political processes. In addition to the collocations, in the case of the latter, instances were found of implicit sexism in the form of scripts and metaphors where sexual or romantic scenarios were invoked to present the politician's political moves.

In conclusion, in the case of both politicians, irrespective of whether it is done consciously or not, the news articles, by means of both overt and implicit sexist language, contribute largely to creating an image for the female politicians which is not exactly preferable and compatible with the already accepted and expected comportment norms in politics in general. This, on the other hand, hints possibly at the Macedonian society's persistent 'clinging' to its traditional and patriarchal values, despite all its ongoing efforts to open itself more to contemporary democratic trends and processes that call for, among other things, gender equality, i.e. greater inclusion and fair treatment of women in all spheres of life, politics in particular.

## References

- Benokraitis, N. V., & Feagin, J. R. (1999). *Modern sexism* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Benokraitis, N. V., & Feagin, J. R. (2000). Women of color: Fighting sexism and racism. In Adalberto Aguirre, Jr. & David V. Baker (eds.), *Structured Inequality in the United States: Discussions on the Continuing Significance of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender* (pp.28-57). New York: Prentice Hall.
- Caldas-Coulthard, C. (1995). Man in the news: The misrepresentation of women speaking in news-as-narrative discourse. In Mills, S. (ed.), *Language and Gender: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (pp. 226–238), Harlow, Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Longman.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>.
- Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., & Masser, et al. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: hostile and benevolent sexism Across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 763-775. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.763>.
- Glick, P. & Fiske, S. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109-118. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109>.
- Hellinger, M. (2006). ‘Why Merkel is not enough: on the representation of fe/male politicians in German newspapers’, paper presented to the International Gender and Language Association, Valencia, Spain.
- Hyde, J. S. (1984). Children’s understanding of sexist language. *Developmental Psychology*, 20(4), 697-706. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.20.4.697>.
- Lillian, L. D. (2007). A thorn by any other name: sexist discourse as hate speech. *Discourse and Society* 18, 719. Accessed at <http://das.sagepub.com/content/18/6/719>, on 9th November, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926507082193>.
- Lips, H. M. (1997). *Sex and gender: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., & Kulich, C. (2015). Sexism. In James D. Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 693-699), 2nd edition, Vol. 21. Oxford: Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.24089-0>.
- Mills, S. (2008). *Language and Sexism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Swim, J. K., Mallett, R., & Stangor, C. (2004). Understanding Subtle Sexism: Detection and Use of Sexist Language. *Sex Roles*, Vol. 51, No. 3/4. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000037757.73192.06>.

Swim, J. K., & Mallet, R. K. (2009). Sex Roles. *A Journal of Research*, 51, 117-128. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000037757.73192.06>.

Page, R. (2005). *Literary and Linguistic Approaches to Feminist Narratology*. London: Palgrave. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230286665>.

Parks, B. J., & Robertson, M. A. (1998). Influence of Age, Gender, and Context on Attitudes Toward Sexist/Nonsexist Language? Is Sport a Special Case. *Sex Roles*, 38(6), 474-494.

Vetterling-Braggin, M. (ed.) (1981). *Sexist Language*. New York: Littlefield Adams.

White, M. (2006). From Callaghan era to last days of Blair – Labour’s great survivor. *Guardian*, 6 May, 4.

## Appendix

	Title of the article	News portal/ online platform of traditional media	Date	Link
1.	Slavjanka Petrovska: Voenata donacija za Ukraina e suverena odluka na RSM, a ne pritisok od NATO alijansata	TELMA	15.08.2022	<a href="https://telma.com.mk/2022/08/15/slavjanka-petrovska-voenata-donacija-za-ukraina-e-suverna-vladina-odluka-na-rsm-a-ne-pritisok-od-nato-alijansata/">https://telma.com.mk/2022/08/15/slavjanka-petrovska-voenata-donacija-za-ukraina-e-suverna-vladina-odluka-na-rsm-a-ne-pritisok-od-nato-alijansata/</a>
2.	S. Makedonija kje is-rati oprema, no ne I vojnici vo Ukraina	DW	1.03.2022	<a href="https://dw.com/mk/%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%98%D0%B0-%D1%9C%D0%B5-%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BE%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%BE-%D0%BD%D0%B5-%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%98%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D1%83%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B0-a-60970604">https://dw.com/mk/%D1%81%D0%B5%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%98%D0%B0-%D1%9C%D0%B5-%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%BE%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%BE-%D0%BD%D0%B5-%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%98%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D1%83%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B0-a-60970604</a>
3.	Petrovska: Dokolku NATO pobara makedonskata armija mozhe da se vkluchi vo mozhniot konflikt megu Rusija i Ukraina	Kurir vesti vo dvizhenje	24.01.2022	<a href="https://kurir.mk/makedonija/vesti/petrovska-dokolku-nato-pobara-makedonskata-armija-moze-da-se-vkluchi-vo-mozniot-konflikt-megu-rusija-i-ukraina/">https://kurir.mk/makedonija/vesti/petrovska-dokolku-nato-pobara-makedonskata-armija-moze-da-se-vkluchi-vo-mozniot-konflikt-megu-rusija-i-ukraina/</a>
4.	Donacijata za Ukraina nema da ja zasegne borbenata gotovnost na ARM, reche Ministerkata Petrovska	sdk.mk	5.10.2022	<a href="https://sdk.mk/index.php/makedonija/donatsijata-za-ukraina-nema-da-ja-zasegne-borbenata-gotovnost-na-arm-reche-ministerkata-petrovska/">https://sdk.mk/index.php/makedonija/donatsijata-za-ukraina-nema-da-ja-zasegne-borbenata-gotovnost-na-arm-reche-ministerkata-petrovska/</a>
5.	Petrovska: Tenkovite za Ukraina se transportirani I so nivnata donacija ne se narushuva borbenata gotovnost na Armijata	Nova Makedonija	16.08.2022	<a href="https://novamakedonija.com.mk/makedonija/petrovska-tenkovite-za-ukraina-se-transportirani-i-so-nivnata-donacija-ne-se-narushuva-borbenata-gotovnost-na-armijata/">https://novamakedonija.com.mk/makedonija/petrovska-tenkovite-za-ukraina-se-transportirani-i-so-nivnata-donacija-ne-se-narushuva-borbenata-gotovnost-na-armijata/</a>

6.	Ruskata ambasada so reakcija na izjavata na ministerkata za odbrana Slavjanka Petrovska	Kanal 5 TV	29.01.2022	<a href="https://kanal5.com.mk/ruskata-ambasada-so-reakcija-na-izjavata-na-ministerkata-za-odbrana-slavjanka-petrovska/a513459">https://kanal5.com.mk/ruskata-ambasada-so-reakcija-na-izjavata-na-ministerkata-za-odbrana-slavjanka-petrovska/a513459</a>
7.	Osven tenkovi, ministerkata petrovska ne ka\uva shto drugo I donirame na Ukraina	Ohridsky	15.08.2022	<a href="https://ohridsky.com/%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B2%D0%B5%D0%BD-%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8-%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%B5%D1%82%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA/">https://ohridsky.com/%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B2%D0%B5%D0%BD-%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8-%D0%BC%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%B5%D1%82%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA/</a>
8.	Petrovska: Edinstvena pogreshna odluka e ruskata invazija an Ukraina	MRT	25.08.2022	<a href="https://mrt.com.mk/node/77298">https://mrt.com.mk/node/77298</a>
9.	Petrovska od Brisel: Jas sum vo postojana komunikacija so Kiev I ako ima potreba od voena pomosh, podgotveni sme da go storime toa	Deneshen vesnik	16.06.2022	<a href="https://denesen.mk/petrovska-od-brisel-jas-sum-vo-postojana-komunikacija-so-kiev-i-ako-ima-potreba-od-voena-pomosh-podgotveni-sme-da-go-storime-toa/">https://denesen.mk/petrovska-od-brisel-jas-sum-vo-postojana-komunikacija-so-kiev-i-ako-ima-potreba-od-voena-pomosh-podgotveni-sme-da-go-storime-toa/</a>
10.	Dzonson ja popari Slavjanka: Nitu edna chlenka na NATO vo momentov ne e podgotvena da isprati sili vo Ukraina	Infomax.mk	25.01.2022	<a href="https://infomax.mk/%D1%9F%D0%BE%D0%BD%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%BD-%D1%98%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BFa%D1%80%D0%B8-%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D1%98%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%83-%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%87%D0%BB/">https://infomax.mk/%D1%9F%D0%BE%D0%BD%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%BD-%D1%98%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BFa%D1%80%D0%B8-%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D1%98%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D1%83-%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%87%D0%BB/</a>
11.	D`rzh se Ukraino, stizhe Slavjanka, da sum na mesto na Putin ne bi se zadeval, sme bez prestan na socijalnite mrezhi	Skopje1.mk	24.01.2022	<a href="https://skopje1.mk/archives/160516">https://skopje1.mk/archives/160516</a>
12.	Slavjanka go podbra Putin: Rusija deluva provokativno I destabilizirachko so postavuvanje na sili dolzh granicata	News24	23.01.2022	<a href="https://new24live.com/slavjanka-go-podbra-putin-rusija-deluva-provokativno-i-destabilizirachko-so-postavuvanje-na-sili-dolz-granicata/">https://new24live.com/slavjanka-go-podbra-putin-rusija-deluva-provokativno-i-destabilizirachko-so-postavuvanje-na-sili-dolz-granicata/</a>
13.	Slavjanka Petrovska prechekana vo London so "Jovano Jovanke"	Republika.mk	08.03.2022	<a href="https://republika.mk/vesti/makedonija/slavjanka-petrovska-prechekana-vo-london-so-jovano-jovanke/">https://republika.mk/vesti/makedonija/slavjanka-petrovska-prechekana-vo-london-so-jovano-jovanke/</a>
14.	Slavjanka Petrovska od London: NATO e obedineto vo garantiranje na bezbednosta na zemjite-chlenki	Kajgana	08.03.2022	<a href="https://kajgana.com/slavjanka-petrovska-od-london-nato-e-obedineto-vo-garantirane-na-bezbednosta-na-zemjite-chlenki">https://kajgana.com/slavjanka-petrovska-od-london-nato-e-obedineto-vo-garantirane-na-bezbednosta-na-zemjite-chlenki</a>
15.	Poddrshka za Petrovska od celoto rakovodstvo na SDSM, Shilegov poracha" Teshko volkot po koj kuchinja ne laa"	Sloboden pechat	03.2022	<a href="https://www.slobodenpecat.mk/poddrshka-za-petrovska-od-celoto-rakovodstvo-na-sdsm-shilegov-poracha-teshko-volkot-po-koj-shto-kuchinja-ne-laaf/">https://www.slobodenpecat.mk/poddrshka-za-petrovska-od-celoto-rakovodstvo-na-sdsm-shilegov-poracha-teshko-volkot-po-koj-shto-kuchinja-ne-laaf/</a>
16.	Slavjanka Petrovska: Britanija mi napravi golema chest so "Jovano, Jovanke"	Faktor	11.03.2022	<a href="https://faktor.mk/slavjanka-petrovska-britanija-mi-napravi-golema-chest-so-jovano-jovanke">https://faktor.mk/slavjanka-petrovska-britanija-mi-napravi-golema-chest-so-jovano-jovanke</a>

17.	Slavjanka Petrovska so nova poraka za krizata megju Ukraina i Rusija	republika. online	16.02. 2022	<a href="https://republika.mk/vesti/makedonija/slavjanka-petrovska-so-nova-poraka-za-krizata-megju-ukraina-i-rusija/">https://republika.mk/vesti/makedonija/slavjanka-petrovska-so-nova-poraka-za-krizata-megju-ukraina-i-rusija/</a>
18.	Slavjanka kje pravela sojuz za bezbednost so Kosovo i Albanija: Pa tie se trenirani so godini da se borat protiv nas i Srbije	Republika. MK	07.09. 2022	<a href="https://republika.mk/vesti/makedonija/slavjanka-kje-pravela-sojuz-za-bezbednost-so-kosovo-i-albanija-pa-tie-se-trenirani-so-godini-da-se-borat-protiv-nas-i-srbite/">https://republika.mk/vesti/makedonija/slavjanka-kje-pravela-sojuz-za-bezbednost-so-kosovo-i-albanija-pa-tie-se-trenirani-so-godini-da-se-borat-protiv-nas-i-srbite/</a>
19.	Dokolku ja napadne Ukraina: Slavjanka kje go bombardira Putin so poraki na Viber	tvvesti.com	24.01. 2022	<a href="https://tvvesti.com/?p=9241&amp;fbclid=IwAR1ynNb69bkVZLGmSvpp6luzkSLELExZUW32W2jeFcsrFLQuaTeK8809HHc">https://tvvesti.com/?p=9241&amp;fbclid=IwAR1ynNb69bkVZLGmSvpp6luzkSLELExZUW32W2jeFcsrFLQuaTeK8809HHc</a>
20.	Slavjanka go iskara Putin: Ruskata invazija vrz Ukraina go narushi mirot vo Evropa, so sojuznice vo NATO kje ja branime i kje ja odbranime demokratijata	Infomaxs.mk	21. 06. 2022	<a href="https://infomax.mk/%d1%81%d0%bb%d0%b0%d0%b2%d1%98%d0%b0%d0%bd%d0%ba%d0%b0-%d0%b3%d0%be-%d0%b8%d1%81%d0%ba%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b0-%d0%bf%d1%83%d1%82%d0%b8%d0%bd-%d1%80%d1%83%d1%81%d0%ba%d0%b0%d1%82%d0%b0-%d0%b8%d0%bd%d0%b2/?fbclid=IwAR0qYD3MoxDAJoBECVvJulUI9ltHs1ublFuG6RXW5_xj14gqxMENZfJcM">https://infomax.mk/%d1%81%d0%bb%d0%b0%d0%b2%d1%98%d0%b0%d0%bd%d0%ba%d0%b0-%d0%b3%d0%be-%d0%b8%d1%81%d0%ba%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b0-%d0%bf%d1%83%d1%82%d0%b8%d0%bd-%d1%80%d1%83%d1%81%d0%ba%d0%b0%d1%82%d0%b0-%d0%b8%d0%bd%d0%b2/?fbclid=IwAR0qYD3MoxDAJoBECVvJulUI9ltHs1ublFuG6RXW5_xj14gqxMENZfJcM</a>
21.	Arsovska naznachi v.d. direktori na javnite pretprijatija	ohridsky	28.09. 2022	<a href="https://ohridsky.com/%d0%b0%d1%80%d1%81%d0%be%d0%b2%d1%81%d0%ba%d0%b0-%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%b7%d0%bd%d0%b0%d1%87%d0%b8-%d0%b2-%d0%b4-%d0%b4%d0%b8%d1%80%d0%b5%d0%ba-%d1%82%d0%be%d1%80%d0%b8-%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d1%98%d0%b0%d0%b2%d0%bd/">https://ohridsky.com/%d0%b0%d1%80%d1%81%d0%be%d0%b2%d1%81%d0%ba%d0%b0-%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%b7%d0%bd%d0%b0%d1%87%d0%b8-%d0%b2-%d0%b4-%d0%b4%d0%b8%d1%80%d0%b5%d0%ba-%d1%82%d0%be%d1%80%d0%b8-%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d1%98%d0%b0%d0%b2%d0%bd/</a>
22.	Danela Arsovska se združuva so “Ognenata grupa” na DUI – sinot na poraneshniot reis stana director	Fokus	28.09. 2022	<a href="https://fokus.mk/danela-arsovskase-zdruzhumvaso-ognenata-grupa-na-dui-sinot-na-poraneshniot-reis-megu-direktorite/">https://fokus.mk/danela-arsovskase-zdruzhumvaso-ognenata-grupa-na-dui-sinot-na-poraneshniot-reis-megu-direktorite/</a>
23.	Arsovska go nareše “Talat Slaveski” Pretsedatelot na sovetot oti i go iskluchi mikrofonot koga zboruvashve za Mickovski	Sakam da kazam	29.09. 2022	<a href="https://sdk.mk/index.php/dopisna-mrezha/arsovska-go-nareche-talat-slaveski-pretседателот-na-sovetot-oti-go-iskluchival-mikrofonot-dodeka-zboruvashve-za-mickovski">https://sdk.mk/index.php/dopisna-mrezha/arsovska-go-nareche-talat-slaveski-pretседателот-na-sovetot-oti-go-iskluchival-mikrofonot-dodeka-zboruvashve-za-mickovski</a>
24.	Arsovska naznachi novi direktori, GROM go dobi “Gradski parking”, aktivistkata Radmila Pesheva vo “Lajka”, Kadri na DUI vo “Ulici i patishta” i “parkovi i zelenilo”	Sakam da kazam	28.09. 2022	<a href="https://sdk.mk/index.php/dopisna-mrezha/arsovska-naznachi-novi-direktori-grom-go-dobi-gradski-parking-aktivistkata-radmila-pesheva-vo-lajka/?fbclid=IwAR2chowWsVPHfvd7PGI8_jh4d0L3k-BeowPv0W5sKQJJP75bmcSPNe0w6iqM#.YzReDsffGLQ.facebook">https://sdk.mk/index.php/dopisna-mrezha/arsovska-naznachi-novi-direktori-grom-go-dobi-gradski-parking-aktivistkata-radmila-pesheva-vo-lajka/?fbclid=IwAR2chowWsVPHfvd7PGI8_jh4d0L3k-BeowPv0W5sKQJJP75bmcSPNe0w6iqM#.YzReDsffGLQ.facebook</a>
25.	Danela Arsovska so otrovni streli kon Mickovski	DW	15.09. 2022	<a href="https://www.dw.com/mk/arsovska-mickovski-nikogasnema-da-izleze-od-tender-matricata/a-63133430">https://www.dw.com/mk/arsovska-mickovski-nikogasnema-da-izleze-od-tender-matricata/a-63133430</a>
26.	Danela Arsovska: Od zurli i tapani do obvinuvana za kukavichko jajce	DW	16.09. 2022	<a href="https://www.dw.com/mk/danela-arsovska-od-zurli-i-tapani-do-obvinuvana-za-kukavicko-jajce/a-63148292">https://www.dw.com/mk/danela-arsovska-od-zurli-i-tapani-do-obvinuvana-za-kukavicko-jajce/a-63148292</a>
27.	SomnezHITE na Arsovska ispratani vo “prochistitelnata stanica”	DW	15.09. 2022	<a href="https://www.dw.com/mk/somnezHITE-na-arsovska-ispratani-vo-prochistitelnata-stanica/a-63125646">https://www.dw.com/mk/somnezHITE-na-arsovska-ispratani-vo-prochistitelnata-stanica/a-63125646</a>

28.	Danela arsovska i VMRO – DPMNE pred razdelba	DW	12.09.2022	<a href="https://www.dw.com/mk/danela-arsovska-i-vmrodpmneme-gu-namesteni-tenderi-i-neispolneti-ocekuvana-a-63093089">https://www.dw.com/mk/danela-arsovska-i-vmrodpmneme-gu-namesteni-tenderi-i-neispolneti-ocekuvana-a-63093089</a>
29.	Haos vo grad Skopje, VMRO-DPMNE i Danela Arsovska vo otvorena vojna	24	15.09.2022	<a href="https://24.mk/details/khaos-vo-grad-skopje-vmro-dpmne-i-danela-arsovska-vo-otvorena-vojna">https://24.mk/details/khaos-vo-grad-skopje-vmro-dpmne-i-danela-arsovska-vo-otvorena-vojna</a>
30.	Danela Arsovska: Finansiskata policija i Obvinitelstvoto se vo JP Vodovod i kanalizacija	faktor	16.09.2022	<a href="https://faktor.mk/danela-arsovska-finansiska-policija-i-obvinitelstvoto-se-vo-jp-vodovod-i-kanalizacija">https://faktor.mk/danela-arsovska-finansiska-policija-i-obvinitelstvoto-se-vo-jp-vodovod-i-kanalizacija</a>
31.	Danela arsovska od funkcija go razreshi sekretarot na grad Skopje	A1on	12.09.2022	<a href="https://a1on.mk/macedonia/danela-arsovska-od-funkcija-go-razreshi-i-sekretarot-na-grad-skopje/">https://a1on.mk/macedonia/danela-arsovska-od-funkcija-go-razreshi-i-sekretarot-na-grad-skopje/</a>
32.	Neuspeshniot partiski Pazar na arsovska I VMRO-DPMNE na shteta na graganite	Radio slobodna Evropa	13.09.2022	<a href="https://slobodnaevropa.mk/a/%D0%BD%D0%B5%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%B5%D1%88%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8-%D0%BF%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BC%D1%80%D0%BE-%D0%B4%D0%BF%D0%BC%D0%BD%D0%B5-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%88%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%93%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5/32031670.html">https://slobodnaevropa.mk/a/%D0%BD%D0%B5%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%B5%D1%88%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%BF%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8-%D0%BF%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B0%D1%80-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%B8-%D0%B2%D0%BC%D1%80%D0%BE-%D0%B4%D0%BF%D0%BC%D0%BD%D0%B5-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%88%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%93%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5/32031670.html</a>
33.	Danela Arsovska: Centarot na Skopje mora da bide mesto kade shto kje bide zadovolstvo da se prosheta i da se zhivee	MIA	5.10.2022	<a href="https://mia.mk/%D0%B4%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BF%D1%98%D0%B5-%D0%BC%D0%BE/">https://mia.mk/%D0%B4%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%82-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%BF%D1%98%D0%B5-%D0%BC%D0%BE/</a>
34.	Danela Arsovska go razreshi direktorot na JP Vodovod i kanalizacija Perinski poradi samovolie	MKD	12.09.2022	<a href="https://www.mkd.mk/makedonija/skopje/danela-arsovska-go-razreshi-direktorot-na-jp-vodovod-i-kanalizacija-perinski">https://www.mkd.mk/makedonija/skopje/danela-arsovska-go-razreshi-direktorot-na-jp-vodovod-i-kanalizacija-perinski</a>
35.	Arsovska gi povika direktorite da podnesat ostavki, ostavka podnese I direktorot na “Drisla”	MKD	13.09.2022	<a href="https://www.mkd.mk/makedonija/skopje/arsovska-gi-povika-direktorite-da-si-dadat-ostavki-ostavka-podnese-i-dire">https://www.mkd.mk/makedonija/skopje/arsovska-gi-povika-direktorite-da-si-dadat-ostavki-ostavka-podnese-i-dire</a>
36.	Sudir Arsovska – VMRO DPMNE: Trajko Šlaveski ne razmisluva za ostavka	360 stepeni	13.09.2022	<a href="https://360stepeni.mk/sudir-arsovska-vmro-dpmne-trajko-slaveski-ne-razmisluva-za-ostavka/">https://360stepeni.mk/sudir-arsovska-vmro-dpmne-trajko-slaveski-ne-razmisluva-za-ostavka/</a>
37.	Arsovska: Nemoj da se kriesh Mickoski, dojdi tuka kazhi mi shto imash!	Sloboden pechat	09.2022	<a href="https://www.slobodenpechat.mk/arsovska-nemoj-da-se-kriesh-mickoski-dojdi-tuka-kazhi-mi-shto-imash/">https://www.slobodenpechat.mk/arsovska-nemoj-da-se-kriesh-mickoski-dojdi-tuka-kazhi-mi-shto-imash/</a>

38.	Gradonachalnikata Danela Arsovska poleka kje ostane bez nitu eden director vo javnite pretpriyatija	ALFA	09. 2022	<a href="https://alfa.mk/%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%87%D0%B0%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%B4%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%BF/">https://alfa.mk/%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%87%D0%B0%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%B4%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%BF/</a>
39.	Arsovska demantira dek Obvinitelstvoto "vleglo" vo Grad Skopje	NET PRES	22.09. 2022	<a href="https://netpress.com.mk/arsovska-demantira-deka-obvinitelstvoto-vleglo-vo-grad-skop-e/">https://netpress.com.mk/arsovska-demantira-deka-obvinitelstvoto-vleglo-vo-grad-skop-e/</a>
40.	Zamenichkata na Arsovska podnese ostavka, Grad Skopje reagira deka ja stavila partijata pred skopjani	Makfaks	29.09. 2022	<a href="https://makfax.com.mk/makedonija/%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%B5-%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0/">https://makfax.com.mk/makedonija/%D0%B7%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%B5-%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0/</a>