

'Doris, You Old Slag': The Sexist and Gendered-Ageist Discourses of Twitter Users Concerning a Female-Named UK Storm

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This paper aims to explore the sexist and gendered-ageist language used by Twitter users in conjunction with Storm Doris, a UK female-named storm. UK Storms are named in alphabetical order and alternate between male and female (Met Office 2017b). In 2015, the Met Office introduced the Name Our Storms Campaign to raise awareness of severe weather and ensure public safety (Met Office 2017b). The Name Our Storms Campaign asked the public to submit names for future storms and 'Doris' was one of those put forward (Met Office 2017b). Storm Doris occurred on the 23rd February 2017 and was labelled a weather bomb (Met Office 2017a). The storm was issued yellow and amber warnings for wind, snow and rain with winds reaching a maximum speed of 94 miles per hour (Met Office 2017a). This resulted in transport being disrupted throughout the UK, causing delays and cancellations to train services and flights (Met Office 2017a). This led to a lot of inconveniences and frustrations were aired on social media platforms, enabling data collection for this study.

1. Introduction

This study uses a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis approach to uncover sexism within a specialised corpus of Twitter data. Analysis focuses on the discourses of sexism and gendered-ageism. There is a particular focus on the representation of Storm Doris as a reconstructed woman and the stereotypes surrounding the name 'Doris', as well as the ideologies that can be inferred from sexist and gendered-ageist language. This study exposes and exemplifies the direct and indirect sexism that many women experience every day (Mills 2008), as the literature review will discuss.

2. Literature review

The subject of sexist language has been well-established by researchers (e.g. Spender, 1985; Cameron, 1992; Mills, 2008). However, sexist language research concerning microblogging platforms, such as Twitter, is relatively new (Megarry, 2014: 46). Research considering women's experience of the digital medium is becoming more frequent (e.g. Rightler-McDaniels and Henderickson, 2014; Hardaker and McGlashan, 2016). Hardaker and McGlashan (2016), for example, studied sexually aggressive language aimed at women on Twitter. There is very little research on ageism in terms of gender (Chrisler et al., 2016: 86-87), however, Moon (2014) and Chrisler et al. (2016) have begun to rectify and fill this gap, the details of which will be discussed later in this article.

Due to computer-mediated communication (including interaction on social media and microblogging websites) being somewhat anonymous, researchers thought the digital medium would help women gain equality (Herring and Stoerger, 2014). More recent research, however, has revealed that this is not necessarily the case (e.g. Rightler-McDaniels and Henderickson, 2014; Hardaker and McGlashan, 2016). Hardaker and McGlashan (2016), for example, found that women are threatened with rape and murder on Twitter on a regular basis, whilst the perpetrators of such threats, most of whom are male, are protected by the anonymity that is supposed to elevate women. Hardaker and McGlashan (2016) used a corpus-assisted discourse analysis approach to investigate the language surrounding sexual aggression on Twitter. The language of sexual aggression focused primarily around rape as a threat (Hardaker and McGlashan, 2016: 86-87), prompting Hardaker and McGlashan (2016: 91) to argue that rape threats are used as a 'misogynistic weapon utilised to control the discourse of women online'. This was due to the fact that women were primary recipients of these threats in both the literal and grammatical sense. Although threats of rape were not found in conjunction with Storm Doris, this is the type of online interaction that many women experience on a daily basis, thus suggesting that research of all forms of sexist and misogynistic language that occurs on online mediums should be a priority. Hardaker and McGlashan (2016) highlight a direct form of sexism and misogyny, which becomes confused when it is used towards a female-named weather phenomenon. In this case, even the most direct forms of sexism become indirect. Macomber et al. (2011) found similar results when they investigated the representations of women's sexuality written on Hurricane Katrina souvenir t-shirts, which were being sold in New Orleans.

Macomber et al. (2011) critically evaluated the t-shirts, alongside gathering public responses. Although Macomber et al. (2011) are not using strict linguistic methodology, similar sexist discourses appear in both this and Macomber et al.'s (2011) study. Nine of twenty-five t-shirt slogans were gendered, sexualised or both. The gendered category made explicit reference to Hurricane Katrina as a woman by using pronouns such 'she' and 'her', as well as female-coded words such as 'sisters' and 'girls', or more pejorative gender-coded terms, such as 'bitch' (Macomber et al., 2011: 527). Slogans in the sexualised category made reference to sexual activity involving the hurricane, for example, there was a play on words surrounding the word 'blow', which was also found in this study on Storm Doris. The slogans that were both gendered and sexualised contained sexual slang ('I Got Blown, Pissed On and Fucked by Katrina/What a Whore') and contained female-coded words (e.g. nouns such as 'whore'), which work to link sex acts to female-named hurricanes (Macomber et al., 2011: 527-528). The researchers note that Hurricane Katrina was reconceptualised as a 'sexually aggressive

woman' through the use of sexual slang, showing a similarity with the subject of the forthcoming study's findings (Macomber et al., 2011: 529). Much like this study, Macomber et al. (2011) find sexist language is employed in a way which can be seen as a joke or seen as acceptable because it is used to refer to a hurricane, not a female human being. This resembles Mills' (2008) ideas involving direct and indirect sexism. Direct sexism is more difficult to articulate in modern times due to changes in societal attitudes and the creation of laws centering around discrimination and has therefore become more indirect. Indirect sexism is hidden under the guise of jokes and irony or, as this study found, aimed at a storm and not a human being (Mills, 2008). The discussion regarding sexist language has been well established in the linguistic field, however, research concerning ageism in terms of gender is scarce (Chrisler et al., 2016: 86-87).

Chrisler et al. (2016) review and critique the way older women are treated by health care professionals and suggest ways in which these practices can be improved. The researchers point to a correlation between gendered-ageism and women's ill-health. Chrisler et al. (2016) also suggest that older women are more likely to be infantilised through the use of child-directed speech and with the use of adjectives such as 'little' and 'cute', which are usually reserved for young children, than older men. Older people's names are also automatically stereotyped in terms of age (Cuddy and Fiske, 2002) as women's names are with gender (Spender, 1985), showing a similarity with the results found surrounding the name 'Doris' is in this study. Older men are also described more positively than older women, as Moon (2014) demonstrated in a corpus analysis of English adjectives of Bank of English corpus. Moon (2014) focuses on adjectives that are used to describe men and women of different ages with a focus on gender- and aged-based stereotypes. Moon (2014: 20) finds that some of the adjectival collocates for older men are negative with a focus on being old, unhealthy and unhappy. However, the recurrent collocates for older man/men, such as rich, powerful and (more) experienced, suggest that they are discussed in a much more positive manner and seen as powerful (Moon, 2014: 20-21). The adjectival collocates for women, however, are mostly negative, describing older women as in stereotypical ways such as physically and intellectually frail, mentally incompetent, witch-like and isolated (Moon, 2014: 23-24). Even more positive representations of older women are stereotypical, for example, older women being discussed in terms of kind, grandmotherly figures (Moon, 2014: 24). It is these kinds of stereotypical assumptions that lead Twitter users' in this study to become confused and conflicted between the older woman's name 'Doris' and a dangerous storm.

3. Data and method

The data was collected from the microblogging website Twitter to create a specialised corpus. Corpus linguistics involves 'the study of language based on examples of real life use' (McEnery and Wilson, 1996: 1) and allows large bodies of text to be studied both qualitatively and quantitatively when used alongside discourse analysis (Baker 2006: 1). This study has utilised corpora due to the large number of tweets found involving the phrase 'Storm Doris'. I have focused solely on the linguistic aspects of Twitter that involve 'typed words on that are read on digital screens' (Herring and Stoerger, 2014: 570) as this was most appropriate considering the study's analysis of sexist and gendered-ageist discourses. Hardaker and McGlashan (2016) did this successfully when investigating the interactions surrounding the Twitter account of Caroline Criado-Perez and the threats she received.

Twitter's advanced search feature was used to search for the term 'Storm Doris'. The term was put into the 'any of these words' option and dates were set to 23rd February – 24th February 2017. These dates were appropriate due to the storm taking place on 23rd February and damage incurred by the storm could not be fully evaluated until the following day when it had subsided. Once all Tweets were collected, the corpus was cleaned and removed of any irrelevant tweets, such as those that did not make sense without multimodal features and any unnecessary duplicates. There were 5,364 tweets included in the finalised corpus with a word count of 75,960. All Twitter usernames were removed and usernames used in the data were anonymised and will appear as @ [REDACTED] for ethical reasons.

A keyword list was referenced with the British National Corpus using AntConc (Anthony, 2014). AntConc is a corpus analysis toolkit for analysis of large amounts of text (Anthony, 2017). The referential strategies were found within this keyword list. Due to the sexist language being somewhat of a minority discourse, the whole list was scanned for potentially sexist words, which were further investigated. During this investigation, the use of the word 'old' was noticed, leading to the analysis of its collocates situated directly to the left and right. AntConc's collocate tool shows the words used either side of search term and allows for investigate non-sequential patterns in language (Anthony, 2016).

This study used a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to analyse the discourses of sexism and gendered-ageism. CDA is an approach to the study of language use and communication in their sociocultural contexts, which allows for the critique social injustices, such as sexism and ageism (Sampert, 2010: 303). The analysis focuses on the sexist representational strategies, particularly referential strategies (Machin and Mayr, 2012), and

collocates surrounding the word 'old'. The representational strategies were sorted into lexical categories and analysed in terms of Whaley and Antonelli's (1983) framework, which proposes that there are four categories of animals to which women are referred: pets, cattle pests and wild animals, as well as domesticated animals that have gone wrong and reverted back to their wild ways (see Sutton, 1995: 281). This framework was used in this study due to Twitter users' use of 'cow' and 'bitch' in conjunction with Storm Doris. The collocates of 'old' were categorised using Cuddy and Fiske's (2002) stereotyping scale. Cuddy and Fiske (2002: 8) propose two core dimensions of stereotyping: competence (e.g. referring to people as skillful and able) and warmth (e.g. referring to people as friendly and sincere). They suggest that different out-groups are categorised into three different clusters within these core dimensions, consisting of warm and incompetent; competent and cold; and incompetent and cold (Cuddy and Fiske, 2002: 9). Elderly people and traditional women (those who conform to stereotypical female traits) are generally stereotyped as warm and incompetent (Cuddy and Fiske, 2002: 9). This cluster was the main focus of this part of the analysis as Storm Doris was stereotyped through the discourses of sexism and ageism.

4. Findings and analysis

4.1 Sexism and representational strategies

The representational strategies found can be separated into three different lexical categories: promiscuity, animals, and female genitalia (see Table 1). Storm Doris is reconceptualised as a female human being through these representational strategies. The storm is represented as everything a woman should not be in a patriarchal society; an overtly sexual ('slag', 'slut', 'sket' and 'mistress') woman who is an aggressive and lewd domesticated animal ('bitch' and 'cow') and is reduced to her sexual organs ('cunt' and 'twat').

Lexical Category	Word	Number of times used	Example Tweets
Promiscuity	Mistress	1	1. Fallen tree 10 mins from my stop. Storm Doris is a cruel mistress #getmehome
	Slag	6	1. Doris is out to blow everything and everyone, the filthy slag . #StormDoris #Doris #DorisDay 2. Storm Doris you fucking slag 3. Doris you old slag . Took out one of my trees and sky gone caput #doris #stormdoris
	Sket	2	1. Who's this sket Doris that everyone keeps talking about ? #StormDoris 2. Storm Doris needs to do one the dirty sket !
	Slut	1	1. Doris out here giving everyone blows, what a slut #stormdoris
Animals	Bitch	31	1. Carnage. #stormdoris is a heartless bitch ! 2. Storm Doris really needs to calm her shit down and take a chill pill. The bitch is disrupting all trains today! #stormdoris 3. Doris is deffo due on, moody little bitch . #StormDoris
	Cow	3	1. Storm Doris you cow ! #needanewfence 2. Wow isn't #stormdoris a moody cow ! 3. No seriously Doris, pack it in you little cow . It's freezing!!!!!!!!!! #stormdoris #dorisneedstochillthefuckout
Female genitalia	Cunt	5	1. storm Doris is a cunt 2. Doris you cunt #stormdoris 3. #stormdoris is a big cunt
	Twat	1	1. Well #stormdoris was a twat . An 'I'm gonna burn three hundred quid off you in two hours' kind of twat

Table 1: Lexical Categories of Representational Strategies Used in Conjunction with Storm Doris

'Mistress', 'slag', 'sket' and 'slut' are pejorative terms that refer to women's sexual relations with men and promote the idea that women should not have these relations with too many men. The category of promiscuity therefore sexualises Storm Doris and condemns the storm for being too sexual, for instance:

*Example 1: Doris is out to **blow** everything and everyone, the **filthy slag**. #StormDoris #Doris #DorisDay*

Here, the Twitter user personifies the storm, takes advantage of the storm's wind speed and uses it to imply that the reconceptualised Storm Doris is performing oral sex to everyone in its proximity. This together with the gendered noun 'slag', which is premodified by 'filthy',

connotes the idea that promiscuous women are unclean. The patriarchal attitude that women should remain pure is implied here and this tweet (Example 1) suggests women should not be overtly sexual and women who are will be viewed as dirty and untouchable. Storm Doris becomes a sexually aggressive woman who needs to be put back in the correct societal place, hence Storm Doris being condemned. Similar representational strategies, such as 'whore', were used for Hurricane Katrina on slogan t-shirts and had the same effect of representing the hurricane as a sexually aggressive woman (Macomber et al., 2011: 529). These attitudes are somewhat contradicted by users referring to Storm Doris a 'cunt' and a 'twat'. When used as a naming strategy for a woman, the words 'cunt' and 'twat' have the function of reducing a woman to a body part, thus sexualising her and making sexual relations a woman's only useful societal function, for example:

Example 2: storm Doris is a cunt

As female names are automatically stereotyped in terms of gender (Spender, 1985), it appears that this user (as well as others) has reconceptualised Storm Doris as a woman and placed the storm's value on the word 'cunt' through relational processing (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Storm Doris therefore becomes a woman who has been reduced to female genitalia. This idea, along with the referring to the storm as a 'filthy slag' suggests that a woman may be sexual, but only under certain circumstances, because it appears that a woman cannot embrace her own sexuality and can only be sexual when it is arbitrarily perceived appropriate. Twitter users are embracing (knowingly or not) patriarchal norms and using them to personify Storm Doris as a woman whose behaviour does not fit into their preconceived idea of how a woman should act. The same preconceived notions are also noticeable in the animal category.

The category of animals resembles Whaley and Antonelli's (1983) framework of women being described as pets (bitch; female dog) and cattle (cow), both of which are domesticated animals (see Sutton, 1995: 281). This category also fits the notion that women are portrayed as domesticated animals gone wrong, meaning women who do not behave as society expects are compared to domesticated animals that have once again become wild and dangerous (see Whaley and Antonelli, 1983; Sutton, 1995: 281). As animals are deemed inferior to humans, reconceptualising Storm Doris as a woman and then placing the storm into the same category as an animal is dehumanising. This not only situates women in the same rank as animals but men as superior beings. Situating women in this way arguably relates to the traditional relationship between men and women: the man as master of the home and woman as the passive, domestic servant, thus uncovering patriarchal attitudes behind the Twitter users'

comments. These ideas are exemplified in reasons Twitter users give for why Storm Doris is a domesticated animal gone wrong (see Table 2).

Reasoning	Freq.	Example tweets
Inconvenience	19	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. thanks storm Doris ya <u>bitch</u>, <u>took me three hours to get home</u> 2. storm Doris <u>threw a paper bag aT MY FACE THE RUDE BITCH</u> 3. Is #StormDoris a kinky <u>bitch</u>. All you moaning about <u>back doors and back yards getting a battering</u>. (YOU fecking wish)
Menstruation	1	1. Doris is deffo <u>due on</u> , moody little <u>bitch</u>
Age	1	1. Storm Doris. <u>Sounds like a sweet old lady when really she's</u> being a total <u>bitch</u>

Table 2: Reasons Why Storm Doris Is a Domesticated Animal Gone Wrong

As seen in Table 2, the storm's interference with the users' everyday lives and the inconvenience it causes (including: interference with commutes/holiday plans, personal attacks, as well as damage to and theft of personal belongings), leads Twitter users to find reasons for calling Storm Doris a bitch. These reasons stem from sexist and stereotypical ideologies of women, for example:

Example 3: storm Doris threw a paper bag aT MY FACE THE RUDE BITCH

There are patriarchal ideologies that surface from this user's tweet. Storm Doris is seen to be acting out of character for woman, including acting in an anti-social and aggressive manner by throwing a paper bag in someone's face. The storm is lewd ('rude bitch') and destructive (throwing a bag in someone's face) like a domesticated pet that is not behaving as society demands. The Twitter users' reconceptualisation of the storm as a woman (done so through calling the storm a 'bitch') and the anger aimed at the storm for actively making its presence known, suggests an underlying ideology that women should be seen and not heard, just like a domesticated animal. Menstruation as a reason why Storm Doris is a domesticated animal gone wrong works slightly differently and relies on stereotypical ideas surrounding how women act during menstruation.

Menstruation is associated with premenstrual syndrome, symptoms of which are mood swings and irritability, linked to the changing levels of hormones in the body during a woman's

menstrual cycle (NHS Choices, 2017). A tweet referring to Storm Doris being 'due on' (see Example 4 below) is related to the storm being compared to a woman (or a female dog as the storm is referred to as a 'bitch') who is about to menstruate, for instance:

Example 4: *Doris is deffo **due on**, moody little **bitch***

This tweet first reconceptualises Storm Doris as a woman who is about to menstruate before referring to her as a bitch (a female dog). This has the effect of personifying the storm and then dehumanising the personified weather phenomenon by likening it to a female dog. Storm Doris therefore becomes reconceptualised as a female dog who is about to be in heat, thus being represented a domesticated animal that has gone wrong, and menstruation becomes the reason for the storm's actions. The storm being described as 'moody' also alludes to stereotypical notions of menstruating females being exaggeratedly emotional and unpredictable, thus the storm becoming a female dog gone wrong.

The findings of sexist representational strategies show Twitter users using very direct forms of sexism as they consist of pejorative, gender-coded words (Mills 2008). The recipient of these terms is not a woman but a weather phenomenon, which results in all direct forms becoming indirect. However, the age category works differently as elements of sexism and ageism intertwine.

Table 2 also shows age is used as a reason why Storm Doris as a domesticated animal gone wrong, for example:

Example 5: *Storm Doris. **Sounds like a sweet old lady when really she's being a total bitch***

In example 5, the Twitter user is referring to the storm as being a 'total bitch' because it does not match the sexist and ageist stereotypes concerning how an older woman is supposed to act, which is as a 'sweet old lady'. Storm Doris is active and destructive, thus Twitter users categorising the storm as a 'bitch'. The users' stereotypical ideas of older women create a conflict between the name 'Doris' and the storm because the storm is not acting as the name stereotypically dictates it should, thus age being a reason why the storm is a domestic animal gone wrong. The weather phenomenon is represented as an aggressive, inconvenient older woman, alluding to another discourse occurring within the data: gendered-ageism.

4.2 Gendered-ageism

Rather than reconstructing Storm Doris as an aggressively sexual woman, attitudes surrounding gendered-ageism separate the name 'Doris' from the storm. Users make stereotypical assumptions based on age and gender. The collocates of old and the assumptions implied by their usage resemble Cuddy and Fiske's (2002) scale of stereotyping older people as warm and incompetent (see Table 3). This differs drastically from what Macomber et al. (2011) found when researching slogan t-shirts about Hurricane Katrina. Hurricane Katrina was portrayed as a sexually aggressive woman, but there were no comments made about the hurricane's age, perhaps because Katrina is not viewed as an older woman's name (Macomber et al., 2011: 529).

Stereotyping Scale Category	Word	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)	Example Tweets
Warmth	Sweet	2	0	Names like 'Doris' should be reserved for sweet old ladies not raging storms.
	Cute	1	0	Storm Doris. Sounds like a nice sweet old lady when really she's being a total bitch I feel like this storm should have a more aggressive name like Barry! Dorris reminds me too much of a cute old lady! #stormdoris
	Kind	1	0	"Storm Doris" is such an oxymoron, why would you call something 'dangerous' the name of a small kind old lady??? #StormDoris #DorisDay
	Nice	1	0	Doris sounds like a nice old lady who lives in a little cottage but when you piss her off...all hell breaks loose. #StormDoris
	Good	2	0	Good old storm Doris for ya Hope everyone came away unscathed by today's 'weather bomb' - good old

				Doris! #stormdoris #geographyinaction #weatherbomb
Incompetence	Fragile	0	1	I wouldn't think of naming a storm Doris. Doris is an old fragile ladies name. Deidre is more of a storm name
	Little/Small	3	0	Storm Doris makes me picture a crazy little old lady with insanely strong lungs, causing havoc, running round knocking things over with her bag I always envisioned Doris to be some sweet, kind, little old lady.. #stormdoris is not
	Dawdling	1	0	"Storm Doris" is such an oxymoron, why would you call something 'dangerous' the name of a small old lady??? #StormDoris #DorisDay I can imagine Storm Doris being a dawdling old lady who wears floral corduroy and has clouds for hair #stormdoris

Table 3: Collocates of 'Old' Categorised by Cuddy and Fiske's (2002) Stereotyping Scale

The collocates of 'old' show that Twitter users situate the name 'Doris' and the storm as separate entities, which works to stereotype older women as being warm and incompetent. The storm is 'raging' and 'dangerous' and therefore cannot be rationally connected to an older woman's name such as 'Doris'. The name 'Doris' causes users to automatically create an imagined stereotypical identity. An example is as follows:

*Example 6: I feel like this storm should have a **more aggressive name like Barry!** Dorris reminds me too much of a **cute old lady!** #stormdoris*

This user, among others, relates the name 'Doris' with a 'cute old lady', rendering the name in the warm category. Incompetence, however, does not emerge from a single word but from suggesting the 'more aggressive' male name, 'Barry'. Although another user suggests a female name ('Deidre'), it is fitting that this user has suggested an older man's name as more

appropriate for an aggressive storm. This resembles Moon's (2014) findings as older men are described as powerful. The ageism featured is gendered as all users continually use gender-coded nouns ('slag', 'grandma', 'lady' and 'woman', for example), suggesting that the sexist and ageist discourses present are intertwined. There is, however, one exception that does not fit neatly into Cuddy and Fiske's (2002) stereotyping scale:

Example 7: *Storm Doris makes me picture a **crazy little old lady** with **insanely strong lungs**, causing havoc, running round **knocking things over with her bag***

In this tweet's case, it appears that Storm Doris is competent yet incompetent and cold yet warm. The storm is represented as incompetent due to being referred to as a 'crazy old lady' who is only capable 'knocking things over with her bag'. However, the storm also has 'insanely strong lungs' and is 'causing havoc', suggesting that the storm is competent and cold. The overarching inference of this tweet is that of a joke, relating to Mill's (2008) definition of indirect sexism. The name 'Doris' causes the user mock older women, whether stereotyped as warm/cold or incompetent/competent, and trivialises the storm's danger level, evident by her/him picturing an older woman 'running round knocking things over with her bag'. This trivialisation is based on sexist and ageist stereotypes of a crazy, older woman and suggests that an older woman, who does not behave in a stereotypical way, must be 'crazy'.

5. Conclusion

Sexist language is indeed used to discuss Storm Doris on Twitter. This is indicated through the appearance of two intertwined discourses: sexism and gendered-ageism. Twitter users gender their language when discussing the storm, taking cue from the storm's female-associated name. The use of representational strategies reconceptualises Storm Doris as a sexually aggressive and lewd woman who is reduced to her genitals, revealing underlying sexist patriarchal attitudes of how a woman should act and how sexual she should be. The characterisation of the sexist discourse is fascinating as many of the representational strategies used are a form of direct sexism. Twitter users were using gender-coded pejorative terms for women towards a storm openly in both an intentionally humorous and serious manner. However, because these terms are aimed at a weather phenomenon even the most direct forms of sexism are technically indirect. Similar sexist ideals are also at play in the discourse of gendered-ageism, however, these ideals are interwoven with ageism and cannot be separated.

Gendered-ageist attitudes develop through the association of the name 'Doris' with an older woman. Twitter users separate the weather phenomenon and the name and make assumptions based on traditional gender and age stereotypes into which the storm does not fit. Twitter users perceive the storm as active and potentially dangerous, whilst the name 'Doris' produces imagery of a sweet old lady. These gendered-ageist stereotypes cause users to understate the dangers of the storm or prompt Twitter users to see the storm's name as inept, causing some users to suggest more aggressive alternative names.

Future research could focus on the comparison of male- and female-named storms in terms of the sexist and/or gendered-ageist language used by Twitter users. An investigation that primarily focuses on storms with male names in terms of gendered-ageism would also be worthwhile. Alternatively, research might focus solely on gendered-ageism concerning female-named storms as gendered-ageism is a relatively under-researched topic.

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