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A Study of Sex, Gender, and Power: Cunnilingus and Fellacio in Casual Sex Ads

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Sociology

by

Lori Melissa Walkington

June 2016

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Sex, Gender, and Power: Cunnilingus and Fellatio in Casual Sex Ads

by

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Master of Arts, Graduate Program in Sociology

University of California, Riverside, June 2016

Dr. Karen Pyke, Chairperson

Casual sexual hook ups are becoming more prevalent among heterosexual adults than in previous years. Although this may indicate a loosening of traditional sexual scripts that center male pleasure and relegate women as sexual submissives within heterosexual interactions, men and women are always ‘doing gender’, therefore, are in a constant state of power negotiations. Existing sociological research on oral sex in heterosexual hook-ups focuses on college women and adolescents and does not explicitly interrogate the association of oral sex with power. Drawing on a sample of 386 women’s advertisements for casual hook-up sex on Craig’s list, this study finds language that clearly associates oral sex with power. Fellatio is mentioned more often than cunnilingus and is linked in the ads to women’s sexual submission and dominance. Cunnilingus, on the other hand, is linked only with women’s dominance. These findings support previous research that casual hook-up sex tends to emphasize men’s domination as well as sexual pleasure. I argue that men’s domination and women’s submission, in the context of heterosexual sex is a mechanism for the doing of gender.

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Introduction

Traditional dating, where the man asks the woman out and chooses the day, time, and location, is not as common as in the past. Rather, some research finds that in the United States, heterosexual individuals increasingly choose to “hook-up,” or engage in casual sexual encounters that vary in frequency (England, 2006; Armstrong and England, 2012). As with any new trend, sociologists are interested in what social changes may appear along with hooking-up. With this new medium, choices for potential sexual partners are vast, suggesting women can exercise more sexual agency through hooking up than in traditional dating relationships, where sexual scripts direct sexual pleasure toward the men in heterosexual sexual interactions. However, Armstrong and England (2012) find that in monogamous dating relationships, women actually have more pleasure and experience more orgasms because they are able to direct and train their boyfriends to perform in ways that give them pleasure, which is more difficult for women to achieve in casual hook ups. England further argues that rather than achieving greater sexual agency, casual hook ups follow traditional sexual scripts regarding male pleasure. As doing gender is relational, constant, and constituted through social interactions including heterosexual sex, in an era when women’s sexuality and sexual pleasure is simultaneously celebrated and controlled, is cunnilingus, which focuses on women’s pleasure, becoming equal to fellatio, which focuses on men’s pleasure, in heterosexual negotiations? What kinds of power is attached to these sex acts in negotiations?

Literature Review

In this society heterosexual sex is marked by male dominance and a focus on male pleasure. Men are expected to initiate romantic unions, initiate sex, and to take charge in the performance of sex (Villanueva, 2010). Further, as women and men are always doing gender (West and Zimmerman, 1987), heterosexual casual hook ups, like traditional dates, are also informed by gender. Contemporary sexual scripts assign women the role of sexual passivity and submission such as waiting for the man to initiate traditional romantic interactions, and orchestrate sexual activities while submitting to his desires (Armstrong and England, 2012; Sanchez et al., 2012). However, more recent research finds that traditional dating is increasingly being replaced by hooking up among college age adults (Bradshaw et al., 2010; England, 2006). Paula England's (2006) study foregrounds the emergence of hook up culture on college campuses finding that among college students, dating was considered an interaction between two individuals already in a relationship, whereas 'hooking up' was a more casual event often occurring between individuals at the end of an evening of partying that may or may not include sexual intercourse. Hook ups may or may not lead to long term romantic relationships, however, recent research claims the hook up has replaced the traditional date among college heterosexual interactions (Bradshaw et al., 2010).

Recent research on oral sex within college hook up culture finds that outside of long-term monogamous relationships, cunnilingus is performed far less than fellatio. College women reported cunnilingus had to be requested and negotiated within casual hook ups, where fellatio is more often assumed to occur (Backstrom et al., 2012).

Further, among college women, cunnilingus was seen as solely centering on women's pleasure (Backstrom et al., 2012). Outside of college hook up culture, the bulk of research on oral sex focuses on oral sex as an alternative to sexually transmitted infections (Brill, 2015), and the prevalence of oral sex among adolescents (Leichliter et al., 2007; Lindberg et al., 2008; Vanier and Sullivan, 2012). Among both adolescents and college age women, these studies look at the acts performed and find these tend to center on male pleasure in heterosexual hook ups (Backstrom et al. 2012, Leichliter et al., 2007). Although traditional dating in the U.S. has significantly decreased since 1980 (England et al., 2005), women still orgasm more often in traditional relationships (Armstrong and England, 2012), traditional sexual scripts still place women as submissive in casual heterosexual interactions (Armstrong and England, 2012; Sanchez et al., 2012), and negotiations for cunnilingus within heterosexual hook ups are the women's responsibility (Backstrom et al., 2012). Although research finds that fellatio is more likely to occur in heterosexual casual hook ups, and cunnilingus is more likely to occur within long term relationships, these studies examined only adolescents and college students (Backstrom et al. 2012; England et al. 2005; Leichliter et al., 2007). This study examines women's on-line hook-up ads for heterosexual hook-up sex with a focus on how women ad writers frame their description of fellatio and cunnilingus. Moving beyond adolescents and college women, I examine women's casual hook up ads on Craigslist referring to cunnilingus and fellatio. I want to understand if oral sex combines the doing of gender and power, where pleasure is centered, and what role power plays in these written descriptions.

Methods

This study analyzes heterosexual women's advertisements for casual hook up sex posted in the "Casual Encounters" section of Craigslist, a local, free community website. Unlike dating websites like Match.com and eHarmony, the Craigslist 'Casual Encounters' page is for individuals desiring casual sexual encounters, rather than those looking for possible ongoing, romantic relationships. For the purpose of this research, I wanted an easy access site, which Craigslist 'Casual Encounters' pages provide. Unlike websites catering to members of the Bondage/Dominance/Submission/Masochism (BDSM) community, wherein sexual dominance and submission are expected and desired explicitly, Craigslist personals do not have a section specifically dedicated to BDSM. Thus, the Craigslist 'Casual Encounters' pages provide me the ability to analyze any association of cunnilingus and fellatio to women's sexual domination/submission outside of a BDSM-specific context. Given that women requesting sex defy the traditional sexual script that men should initiate sex, do the women posting in Craigslist Casual Encounters also defy other aspects by putting more emphasis on their active role or their sexual pleasure? If so, where is the association to power when fellatio and cunnilingus are present?

I collected data in three separate waves between December 2010, January 2014, and February 2015 from the Craigslist 'Casual Encounters' "Women Seeking Men" (W-4-M) pages. During the first wave, I collected all new ads each day for two weeks. During each of the subsequent waves, I collected ads dated from the day of data collection to two weeks prior in one sitting, resulting in 386 ads. From this pool, I

selected for analysis all ads that referred to fellatio and/or cunnilingus, resulting in a sample size of 144.

As some advertisements included photos with possibly identifying images, photos were deleted and replaced with general, written descriptions of the photos/images when copying data to my personal files. Only demographic indicators are used when referring to the ads, thus any information indicating specific location such as a city, town, zip code, or neighborhood area, sometimes included at the top of ads, was not copied to my personal files, and will not be disclosed.

Cunnilingus is assessed in terms of the advertisement poster's written description of oral sex performed on the woman by the man in the proposed hook up. Criteria selection here included statements desiring cunnilingus either explicitly or directly, or slang terms referring to cunnilingus. There are many slang terms that refer to fellatio and cunnilingus that I identified in the ads. These include ads that reference cunnilingus as "eating" with reference to female genitalia, "licking" with reference to female genitalia, "sucking" in reference to female genitalia, "going down," "face-sitting" and "oral pleasure."

Fellatio is assessed in terms of the advertisement poster's written description of oral sex performed on the man by the woman in the proposed hook up. Criteria selection here included statements desiring fellatio either explicitly or directly, or using slang terms referring to fellatio. Ads that reference fellatio in slang terms include reference to fellatio as "swallowing" with reference to male genitalia, "sucking" with reference to male

genitalia, “licking” with reference to male genitalia, “deep-throating” which is slang for fellatio, and phrases such as “going down”, “blow job”, “bj”, “facial”, “head”, “oral pleasure/please (with reference to male genitalia)”, “throat fucking”, and “cum slut” (refers to oral ingestion of semen). Ads containing reference to both cunnilingus and fellatio are assessed according to the descriptions for each act above. Ads that mention both cunnilingus and fellatio in slang terms include reference to mutual oral sex as “oral69”, and “mutual oral”, or any combination of terms as defined within selection criteria for cunnilingus and fellatio as described above were present.

Power is assessed in terms of women’s sexual domination or submission in the ad poster’s descriptive language. Criteria for notation of power are words that refer to dominance such as “will” (perform oral sex), “must” (perform oral sex with a focus on the receiver’s pleasure), “force”, “control”, “own”, “Dom”, and “dominate”, and phrases such as “use you”, “abuse you”, and “make you” (perform oral sex with a focus on the receiver’s pleasure). For submission, words such as “submit” (to either the ad writer’s sexual desires), “Submissive” or “sub” with reference to either the ad writer or the intended sexual partner, and phrases such as ‘use me’, ‘make me’, and ‘own me’ with reference to the ad writer as sexually submissive.

I excluded from my sample ads with vague or unclear references to power. For analysis, I sorted ads into three separate categories, those that mentioned 1) fellatio only, 2) cunnilingus only, and 3) both fellatio and cunnilingus. My sample of 144 was divided into 89 ads referencing fellatio only, 37 ads referencing cunnilingus only, and 18 ads with reference to both fellatio/cunnilingus.

After reading through the advertisements several times, it became apparent that sexual scripts overlapped with power within a good portion of the ads analyzed, indicating the women ad poster's in this study associate cunnilingus and fellatio with power in some way.

Findings

Although more ads in my sample mention fellatio (87) than cunnilingus (37) or mutual oral sex (18), language clearly associating oral sex with power is present in only 29 of all ads sampled. My findings are consistent with previous research that heterosexual hook-ups (like most heterosexual sex) centers on men's pleasure (Backstrom et al., 2012; Sanchez et al., 2012). Although the majority of ads that reference either fellatio, cunnilingus, or both do not associate oral sex with power, when they do, oral sex is more often associated with dominance than submission regardless of which act will take place during the hook up.

	Woman as Dominant	Woman as Submissive	Neither
Fellatio Only	2	9	78
Cunnilingus Only	11	0	26
Both	6	1	11
Total	19	10	115

Table 1. *N=144 **Dominant/Submissive refer to language used in describing oral sex acts.

Power

Oral sex is most often associated with power when both fellatio and cunnilingus are present, with reference to either women's dominance or submission occurring in 7 out of 18 ads referencing both cunnilingus and fellatio. Cunnilingus is more associated with women's sexual dominance by the women ad writers in my sample occurring in 11 out of 37 cunnilingus only ads. Of the ads that reference cunnilingus, none included language associating this act with female sexual submission. Fellatio is least associated with female sexual dominance and most with female sexual submission. Only 2 out of 89 fellatio only ads include language indicating the women ad writers in my sample associate fellatio with female sexual dominance. Conversely, 9 out of 89 fellatio only ads include language indicating women ad writers in my sample associate fellatio with women's sexual submission.

Female Sexual Dominance and Male Sexual Submission

Of the ads sampled, female dominance was most strongly associated with cunnilingus only, occurring in 11 out of 37 cunnilingus only ads, 2 out of 11 fellatio only ads, and in 6 out of 7 ads referencing both cunnilingus and fellatio, where power language is present. With each of the 11 ads referencing cunnilingus and not fellatio including language associating cunnilingus with women's sexual dominance, I find clear evidence the women ad writers in my sample associate cunnilingus with women's sexual dominance.

Like indicators for women's sexual submission, indicators of women's sexual dominance include language such as "eat me now", and "no exceptions" (referencing stated desires/preferences), to self-identifying as "very Dominant." Clearly dominant language is present in two of the ads referencing cunnilingus only. The ad posted by a "very Dominant Ebony Goddess," stresses the man *must* be able to meet that day (directing where and when the casual encounter will take place), and the desire to "own you and your cock today." In another ad, the poster writes simply, "Open your fucking mouth, lick, suck, and drain every inch of my cum out of my system. ITS THAT SIMPLE!" (Original emphasis).

Ads mentioning mutual oral sex or both cunnilingus and fellatio are mentioned also include reference to women's sexual domination more than women's sexual submission. In 6 out of 18 ads where the writer mentions both fellatio and cunnilingus, there are also references to female dominance. Reference to women's sexual submission is present in only 1 out of 18 ads referencing both cunnilingus and fellatio. Compared in this way, it is clear that whenever cunnilingus is present, including alongside fellatio, the women ad writers associate this act with women's sexual power, as more ads within this category include language linked with women's dominance than in either the cunnilingus/fellatio only categories.

Women ad writer's written descriptions linking cunnilingus to women's sexual dominance also varies in ads referencing mutual oral sex. In one ad, simply titled "Both," the woman ad writer, looking for mutual oral sex with a couple, writes:

“Straight to the point. This is what I want. I want to lick and suck her sweet pussy as you listen to her moan and watch her squirm under me. I want to lick and suck his cock as you listen to him moan and watch him disappear deep in my throat. I am a BBW (Big Beautiful Woman, an identity referring to a larger woman, most often within the size 16-24 range), 5’5”, 185. If that is an issue for you, then move on, cause I am who I am.” In this ad, the writer positioned herself as sexually dominant while performing both cunnilingus and fellatio, while clearly positioning herself as dominant while in the act of performing oral sex on both a man and a woman, then relinquishes power in decentering her own sexual pleasure. This is an interesting outlier worth investigating later.

In the ad below referencing mutual oral sex, the woman ad writer uses power language, positioning herself as sexually dominant by centering her own pleasure, demanding the man receive pleasure from performing cunnilingus, and even determines possible future meetings:

“[M]ature sexy bbw looking for hot buff younger man who has his shit together who knows how to treat an older woman. [W]ho has a car and is willing to hang out, go to dinner, smoke some weed and pay for a room, or have your own place, and is willing to have oral sex 69, I mean really get into it, cause if you are into it, gets me into it. [Y]ou will also be willing to fuck me for hours and when I want it and where. [I] am not looking to keep you, just date you and fuck and suck each other for the next 2 weeks, that will be swell. [I]f we still like each other after all that, maybe we can still hook up now and then...or not...please send a face pic and a phone number. [I] don’t want to waste anymore time and no endless e-mails, only write me if you will do all i ask.”

One of the ads within those referencing mutual oral sex includes language referring to cunnilingus as “facesitting.” Face-sitting, which refers to the man literally being under the control and weight of the woman, which refers to the man literature being

under the control and weight of the woman, is an act of male submission. The slang terms “riding” and “rocking” are also used to describe cunnilingus. Describing cunnilingus in this way links cunnilingus to women’s sexually dominance, even when fellatio is present. In the ad below, the woman writer clearly situates herself as sexually dominant by listing to which acts the man willingly submit: “Things I Enjoy Role Play tease, facesitting, Denial¹, foot worship Body worship. Sissyboi bb, toys and more Candlewaxing, Bondage torture & punishment all things you want to submit too...I’m waiting for you.” By including cunnilingus here as “facesitting”, while in the context of language clearly denoting male sexual submission, the above ad explicitly associates cunnilingus with women’s sexual dominance.

The following ad further supports Backstrom et. al (2012), as it suggests the women ad writer’s association to sexual scripts regarding cunnilingus as an act to be negotiated rather than assumed within casual sexual hook-ups. For example, in the first line in the advertisement, the ad writer wants a man “who loves to eat pussy,” clearly indicates the desire for a man who enjoys performing cunnilingus:

“I’m looking for a guy that loves to eat pussy!!! I just wanna lay back and let a man kiss, suck and fondle my huge titties... work his way down... and finally suck all my juices 'til I explode and then lick me dry!!! I’m a BBW... drug and disease free. I have no preference for race or size, but I would prefer someone 40 yrs of age or younger.”

¹ Denial refers to the preventing the male from reaching climax through ejaculation.

While cunnilingus is clearly being negotiated by this woman, she still centers her own sexual pleasure. She also assumes power in the proposed hook-up by directing the man to bring her to orgasm. Other ad writers use language that is more direct. For example, the following ad poster writes exactly what the man should do to induce orgasm in the hook-up while also indicating the man enjoy performing cunnilingus:

“I want you tongue deep in my pussy till I cum hard. I know I taste sweet. If you love to eat the kitty let me know and I can spread my legs so your face can go between them.”

Reference to oral sex resulting in orgasm occurs less often in cunnilingus only than in fellatio only ads. Women ad writers in my sample explicitly mention orgasm from performing fellatio more often than from receiving cunnilingus. Women ad writers in my sample explicitly mention men’s orgasm from performing fellatio in 25 out of 89 fellatio only ads, compared with their own orgasm in only 7 out of 37 cunnilingus only ad. This supports previous research (Backstrom et al., 2012; Sanchez et al., 2012) that men’s sexual pleasure is central in heterosexual casual hook-ups. However, when women ad writers explicitly refer to orgasm occurring via cunnilingus by the man, female sexual domination is clearly present. In one such ad, the woman writer’s desire for cunnilingus resulting in orgasm is plainly clear:

“Suck me til I can’t cum anymore, then I leave. Not interested in getting fucked-just licked and sucked.”

In one of the cunnilingus only ads, the woman ad writer's language suggests women's orgasms are less desired by men, directing men to not even bother responding if her ejaculatory orgasm (referred to as being a "squirter") is an issue. Clearly these ads support findings regarding heterosexual scripts (Backstrom et al., 2012; Sanchez et al., 2012), that male orgasm is necessary and female orgasm is secondary. However, the ad writer's statement that men should not respond if they have a "problem" with female ejaculation indicates her sexual dominance.

Female Sexual Submission and Male Dominance

Only 10 of 144 ads associate fellatio, cunnilingus, or both with female submission. Of these, women ad writers associated women's sexual submission with fellatio only in 9 out of 11 ads, with both cunnilingus and fellatio in 1 out of 7 ads, and with none of the cunnilingus only ads sampled. Indicators of women's sexual submission range from the subtle, such as "I take direction well and always swallow," to more explicitly submissive language such as "use me, and not gently." Within ads soliciting fellatio only, there is a clear association with women's sexual submission. Language associating fellatio with women's sexual submission appearing in most of the fellatio only ads. These ads place the man as dominant and the woman as submissive with phrases such as "Dom daddy" and "...the king that you are" in ads referencing fellatio but not cunnilingus. Further, language within some of these ads suggest the woman ad writer's desire for sexual submission to multiple men with reference to "group sex", "gangbangs" and "multiple partners" combined with language coded as submissive.

Of the fellatio only ads, four offer fellatio through a “glory hole”, (fellatio performed by the women on the men through a hole in a screening object such as a curtain or door so that the sex is seemingly anonymous or impersonal). These acts are solely focused on the men’s pleasure while also making the women’s mouths disembodied sex organs. For example, in one ad, the poster writes, “You want your dick sucked? Come to my private gloryhole, where I’ll make your toes curl. Cum over, take off your pants and let me take care of you. We don’t have to talk, I only want to satisfy you.” Another writes, “Come over use my glory hole, get sucked and bust a quick load and leave”, both clearly focused on sexually pleasing the man, without any mention of sexual pleasure for the woman.

Ads for fellatio only that more explicitly associate fellatio with women’s sexual submission include women ad writers representing themselves as disembodied sex objects whose only objective is to satisfy men. These were dehumanizing, including one ad where the woman writer claims to be looking for a man who wants to have his “dick worshipped, milked, and *to dump a load down a throat*” (emphasis mine). In another, the ad poster writes, “Use me as you’d like, and use all 3 of my holes. ;) Take me in every way...and not gently.” While another writes, “Hey guys I am a bbw (big beautiful woman, generally size 14-26 or up to 300lbs) looking for play...you get me a room for two days and I’ll give you every hole and dump your load where ever you want.”

The following ad draws on the stereotype that women sexual submissives who crave male dominance are abuse survivors, while it associates fellatio with women’s sexual submission:

“Natural redhead with freckles still sucking (reference to fellatio)...looking for front seat fun. Serious only...older gentlemen most welcome. Does it turn you on to find a vulnerable girl who has been sexually abused already? I’m looking for a much older married man who secretly loves being aggressive and forceful during sex. Make me talk to you about sex all of the time, especially when I’m embarrassed or don’t want to. Make me tell you what guys have done to me in the past in full detail simply bc you get turned on making me relive it. Make me feel bad for you bc you need rough sex and don’t want to lose your family, guilt me into feeling sorry for you and keeping your secret.”

Common to ads which associate fellatio to women’s sexual submission and male dominance, are those in which oral sex leading to male ejaculation was mentioned. Oral sex leading to male ejaculation was mentioned in 25 of fellatio only ads. Of these, 22 indicate the poster’s desire to ingest male ejaculate, while 3 indicate a desire for the man to ejaculate on the woman’s face, referred to as “cum facials.” In one such ad, this act was described as the poster’s “reward” for pleasing “daddy”, clearly associating this act with women’s sexual submission, as the man’s ejaculation (confirming his sexual pleasure) is the main focus, and serves as the measure by which her pleasure is achieved.

Only 1 out of 7 ads with reference to both fellatio and cunnilingus included language in which the women ad writers associated mutual oral sex with female sexual submission, indicating that when fellatio is present, language associated with female sexual submission is also present. The one ad in this category met selection criteria for female sexual submission by including language indicating she will change her personal grooming habits if the man (or maybe even a couple) prefers it, writing “I do have a hairy pussy right now but I can shave that off for you.” Like many ads analyzed for this study, at first glance, the above seems to situate the woman ad writer’s pleasure by starting out with a statement of what she is looking for. However, a discursive read of this ad focuses

my attention on the deference to the man's pleasure, particularly where the woman ad writer associates cunnilingus with female submission through her willingness to alter the hair on her body for him. Notice here there is no mention of the possible other woman beyond the first line, further indicating the man's pleasure is central over both the ad writer's and the man's partner, should he have one.

Discussion

Overall, the advertisements most often associate cunnilingus with women's sexual dominance and fellatio with women's sexual submission. Although the high number of ads placed by women writers in this study appearing in the fellatio only category supports previous research that heterosexual sex centers on men's pleasure, should be assumed by both the man and woman in casual sexual hook ups, and link fellatio with female submission/male domination, association to power is most present in the mutual oral sex category. Mutual oral sex is referenced least often when compared to fellatio only and cunnilingus only ads in my sample. However, 6 of the 7 ads soliciting mutual oral sex that reference power associate mutual oral sex with female dominance. Conversely, in all of the 11 ads selected for analysis in the cunnilingus only category contain the women ad writers use language associating cunnilingus with female dominance. When these two categories are analyzed together, they account for 17 out of 29 ads in which the women writers reference power. More importantly, these account for 17 of the 19 ads in my sample where women writers use language associated with female dominance. Clearly, whenever cunnilingus is present, it is associated with female dominance by the women ad writers in my sample. Looking at the ads this way, my findings further support previous

research that heterosexual sex most often centers men's pleasure, as these account for only 37 out of 144 total ads analyzed, but include reference to female dominance most often. Further, when mutual sex is solicited, cunnilingus is mentioned by the women ad writers before fellatio in 5 out of the 18 ads referencing mutual oral sex, centering her pleasure over the man's a good portion of the time when cunnilingus is solicited. Looking at the ads in this way further exemplifies the women ad writer's association of cunnilingus to female domination.

The cunnilingus only category shows women ad posters associate cunnilingus more with power than with fellatio in heterosexual hook-up ads. Within cunnilingus only ads, women ad writers associated cunnilingus with power in 11 out of 37. Cunnilingus is clearly associated with female dominance by the women ad writers in my study as language consistent with women's sexual dominance is present in 100% of the cunnilingus only ads referencing power. These findings support research indicating cunnilingus is an act socially constructed as solely for women's pleasure, but also that this act is associated with female dominance. Thus, for a man to agree to perform cunnilingus in a heterosexual casual hook up is sexual submission.

Consistent with heterosexual interactions, fellatio only ads are more common than either cunnilingus only or mutual sex ads. However, only 2 of 11 ads written by women soliciting fellatio only associate fellatio with women's sexual submission. I find this supports Backstrom et al. (2012) that both women and men assume fellatio will occur in casual sexual hook ups. Further, following sexual scripts theory, women ad writers do not need to explicitly associate this act with their sexual submission as this is still often

assumed within casual heterosexual interactions. These findings might suggest power is less associated with fellatio than with either mutual oral sex or cunnilingus only.

However, as fellatio ads account for the majority of the total ads sampled, my findings are consistent with the social construction of heterosexual sex norms, which place men's sexual pleasure at the center of heterosexual sex, where women's ability to perform and enjoy fellatio are central to men's sexual pleasure, and their sexual pleasure is secondary, at best.

Conclusion

For this study, I examined Craigslist Casual Encounters ads written by women seeking casual sexual hook-ups with men that drew on a sample of 144 women's ads for casual hook-up sex that included reference to cunnilingus and/or fellatio. Consistent with heterosexual norms in contemporary U.S., within heterosexual casual hook-ups, men's pleasure is central to women's. Within this study, fellatio is referenced more often, but includes far fewer ads where the women ad writers associate fellatio with women's sexual submission than those associating cunnilingus with women's sexual dominance. Women posting ads soliciting cunnilingus only include language that clearly links cunnilingus to women's sexual domination, however, the strongest association to *power* appears in the mutual sex ads. Although these ads appear less often, in only 18 out of 144 totals ads sampled, as compared to 89 fellatio only, and 37 cunnilingus only ads, language indicating an association to power is present in 7 out of the 18 ads referencing mutual oral sex. Further, mutual oral sex is linked to female domination in 6 of the 7 ads in which women solicit mutual oral sex. When both cunnilingus and fellatio are

mentioned, a stronger association to power is present than in ads where cunnilingus or fellatio are mentioned alone.

These findings support previous research that casual hook-up sex tends to emphasize men's pleasure over that of women's. Drawing on the doing gender approach, the ads in this study exemplify that the doing of gender involves the doing of power, specifically male domination and female submission and, further, that heterosexual sex is a prime site in which power and gender are performed. The women ad writers requesting oral sex in this study defy traditional sexual scripts by initiating casual sexual hook ups with men and explicitly stating their desires while simultaneously adhering to traditional sexual scripts by deferring to men's sexual pleasure a majority of the time. Hook-up culture, as England found, seems here to stay, and casual hook-ups sites like Craigslist Casual Encounters may provide women more opportunities to center their sexual pleasure. However, this study shows that at this point, even when the opportunity is there, the majority of women ad writers follow traditional sexual scripts, making their sexual pleasure secondary to men's.

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