



**Manchester
Metropolitan
University**

Van De Ven, K, Zahnow, R, McVeigh, J ORCID logoORCID:
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5319-6885> and Winstock, A (2019) The modes
of administration of anabolic-androgenic steroid users (AAS): Are non-
injecting people who use steroids overlooked? *Drugs: Education, Preven-
tion, and Policy*. ISSN 0968-7637

Downloaded from: <https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/624826/>

Version: Accepted Version

Publisher: Taylor & Francis

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687637.2019.1608910>

Please cite the published version

<https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk>

1 **SHORT REPORT**

2
3 **The modes of administration of anabolic-androgenic steroid users (AAS): Are non-injecting**
4 **people who use steroids overlooked?**

5
6 By Katinka van de Ven^{a,*}, Renee Zahnow^b, Jim McVeigh^c, and Adam Winstock^d

7
8 ^a Drug Policy Modelling Program, Social Policy Research Centre, UNSW, Sydney, NSW, Australia.

9 Twitter: @KatinkavandeVen and @EnhancementDrug. ORCID: 0000-0003-3026-9978.

10 ^b School of Social Science, University of Queensland, St Lucia, QLD Australia. Twitter:

11 @ReneeZahnow. ORCID: 0000-0001-5796-9443.

12 ^c Public Health Institute, Liverpool John Moores University. Twitter: @mcveigh_jim.

13 ^d Director Global Drug Survey, Kings College London. Twitter: @GlobalDrugSurvey.

14 *Corresponding author Email: k.vandeven@unsw.edu.au

15
16 **Abstract**

17 *Introduction:* There is increasing public health concern about the use of anabolic-androgenic
18 steroids (AAS). Understanding of drug use patterns and practices is important if we are to
19 develop appropriate risk-reduction interventions. Yet, much remains unclear about the
20 modes of administration adopted by AAS users.

21 *Methods:* We used data from a sub-sample of participants from the Global Drug Survey 2015;
22 males who reported using injectable or oral AAS in their lifetime (n=1008).

23 *Results:* Amongst our sample, approximately one third (35.62%) reported using only
24 injectable AAS during their lifetime while 35.84% reported using only oral, with less than one
25 third (28.54%) using both.

26 *Conclusion:* These findings suggest there may be a sub-population of individuals who only use
27 AAS orally. Needle and syringe programs (NSPs) are currently the primary point of health
28 service engagement; forming the main healthcare environment for medical and harm
29 reduction advice on steroids. Yet, NSP-based resources are unlikely to reach or be appropriate
30 to those who do not inject AAS. While there is a general need for health services to be more
31 accessible when it comes to AAS use, non-injectors are an overlooked group that require
32 attention.

33
34 **Keywords**

35 Performance and image enhancing drugs; PIED; IPED; anabolic-androgenic steroids; AAS;
36 Global Drug Survey; needle and syringe programs; harm reduction

37
38 **Words:** 2,580

39
40 **1. Introduction**

41 While prevalence surveys suggest lifetime use of anabolic-androgenic steroids (AAS) and
42 other performance and image enhancing drugs has remained relatively low over time, there
43 is a growing body of evidence which suggests that the use of these substances is widespread
44 across the globe (Sagoe, Molde, Andreassen, Torsheim, & Pallesen, 2014). Of particular
45 concern is the use of AAS among young men (Home Office, 2017). There are various short-
46 and long-term health harms associated with the use of AAS (Pope et al., 2014); non-prescribed
47 AAS use is now a recognised public health concern (McVeigh, Evans-Brown, & Bellis, 2012).

48 People use AAS orally and via injection. Many individuals use both modes of
49 administration during the same time-period (cycle) while others may shift from one mode to
50 the other as their AAS using career progresses. Typically, a person's first experience using
51 steroids, regardless of whether mode of administration is oral or injecting, occurs before the
52 mid- to late-twenties (Begley et al., 2017). The onset of oral consumption of AAS is likely to
53 be slightly earlier than the onset of the use of injectable substances. In some cases
54 participating in certain sports (particularly power sports), negative body image and
55 psychological disorders (e.g. body image disorders) may precede initiation of AAS use (Sagoe,
56 Andreassen, & Pallesen, 2014). Use of legal sport supplements is also an important predictor
57 of AAS use within fitness and sport contexts (Boardley & Grix, 2014). Yet, much remains
58 unclear regarding patterns of AAS use, particularly our knowledge of typical patterns in modes
59 of AAS administration is limited to specific sub populations of people who use AAS; i.e. oral
60 or injection first, or simultaneous use of both forms of AAS. Given the link between modes of
61 administration and health risks associated with AAS use, identifying various patterns of
62 administration is vital to inform appropriate harm reduction strategies.

63 Data on AAS use is generally collected via ethnographic work (Christiansen, Vinther, &
64 Liokaftos, 2017; Underwood, 2017; van de Ven & Mulrooney, 2017) and surveys (Begley et
65 al., 2017; Zahnnow et al., 2018) within needle and syringe programs (NSPs) or
66 gym/bodybuilding settings. Even with the limited diversity in recruitment samples, variation
67 in motivations for use and associated health risk behaviours have been identified (van de Ven
68 et al., 2018; Zahnnow et al., 2018). For example, the use of steroids by older men may be
69 motivated by anti-ageing aims (Begley et al., 2017; Evans Brown, McVeigh, Perkins, & Bellis,
70 2012), while police personnel may use AAS for recovery and/or strength purposes
71 (Hoberman, 2005; Hoberman, 2017).

72 In contrast to the variability in motivations for using AAS, harm reduction responses
73 tend to be limited to advice delivered through NSPs. Given individuals who use AAS report
74 low levels of trust in medical professionals and a reluctance to seek advice or health care from
75 doctors (Pope, Kanayama, Ionescu-Pioggia, & Hudson, 2004), in regards to their substance
76 use, it is not surprising that NSPs are noted as their main source of healthcare (e.g. see
77 Iversen, Hope, & McVeigh, 2016). While NSPs are an important avenue for AAS users to obtain
78 credible information, these programs are primarily designed to deliver services to injecting
79 drug users, such as distributing injecting equipment and promoting safe injecting practises.
80 These services are neither relevant nor attractive to oral users of AAS who do not inject drugs.
81 As such, a subset of people who use AAS may not be in contact with any form of intervention
82 or health service provider. A better understanding of different drug use patterns may
83 therefore provide new insights for planning harm reduction interventions and other public
84 health initiatives aimed at AAS users. We will therefore explore patterns of AAS use in a
85 sample of people declaring the use of psychoactive drugs derived from the Global Drug Survey
86 (GDS). The GDS may be a valuable source to study this drug-using population as data on AAS
87 use is generally collected via NSPs or gym/bodybuilding settings and this study therefore
88 provides unique insights into the routes of administration of AAS users.

89

90 **2. Methods**

91 *Design and Measures*

92 The Global Drug Survey (GDS) is an online, anonymous survey designed to capture in-depth
93 information about the use of alcohol, tobacco and illicit substances. Since its inception in 2009
94 the GDS has been conducted annually. It is actively promoted via social networking sites such

95 as Twitter, Facebook and Reddit for a period of 1–2 months from its launch in mid-November
96 each year. Here we use data from the GDS 2015, which was collected between November
97 2014 and January 2015 from around the world. A total of 89,509 responses were completed
98 during this time. The GDS survey is self-completed on a self-nominating basis. Other
99 publications provide details on the design, utility and limitations of the GDS (Barratt et al.,
100 2017). In this study we are interested in a sub-sample of the GDS; males who reported using
101 injectable or oral AAS in their lifetime (n=1008). Demographics and prevalence of lifetime use
102 (ever used) of a large number of substances including AAS were collected (see also Zahnow,
103 McVeigh, Ferris, & Winstock, 2017). In addition, we assessed the average age of first use and
104 modes of administration including oral, injection or simultaneous use of both forms of AAS.
105

106 *Analysis*

107 Data were processed and analysed using Stata 14.0. Continuous variables were summarized
108 with means and standard deviations while categorical variables were presented in
109 frequencies and percentages. Student t-tests and Pearson’s chi-square were used to
110 determine statistical significance between groups. We employed logistic regression analysis
111 to examine whether the odds of injecting AAS at first use, compared to using AAS orally at
112 initiation, was associated with demographic characteristics, age first used AAS, prior use of
113 other psychoactive substances and two indicators of lifestyle behaviours; frequency of
114 exercise and frequency of binge drinking. We adopted a stepwise method to first estimate
115 the effects of demographic and drug use variables in Model 1 then assess the impact of adding
116 two lifestyle variables in Model 2. The impact of the addition of variables was assessed using
117 the Likelihood Ratio Test. All statistical tests were two tailed and significance level was set at
118 0.05.
119

120 **3. Results**

121 *Age of first AAS use*

122 The final analytic cohort comprised 1008 men who reported using AAS and at least one other
123 psychoactive drug during their lifetime. The average age of the sample was 32.07 years
124 (SD=11.41). The majority were employed (71.72%) and had engaged in post-secondary school
125 education (75.8%). The average age of first use of AAS was 23.59 years (SD=9.02). There was
126 a significant difference in the average age of first AAS between men who initially used AAS
127 orally compared to those who used by injection; the average age of first use of injectable AAS
128 was 24.33 years (SD=8.18) indicating that those who injected at first use tended to be older
129 than those who used orally. The mean age of first use of other psychoactive substances
130 among men who used steroids was significantly lower than age of first use of AAS (mean=16.9
131 years, SD=5.22). This reflects age of first drug use reported in the broader male GDS sample
132 (see Table 1). In terms of other psychoactive substances, the drug used most commonly by
133 men who used AAS was cannabis (lifetime use: 90.8%), followed by ‘other’ drugs¹ (75.06%),
134 cocaine (61.30%) and/or MDMA (58.56%).
135

136 PLEASE INSERT TABLE 1 HERE
137

138 *Modes of Administration*

¹ Other drugs include ketamine, nitrous, GHB, GBL, PCP, hallucinogens, solvents, paint and glue.

139 Amongst our sample of men who use AAS and other psychoactive substances we found a
140 relatively even split between oral use and intra-muscular injection. Approximately one third
141 (35.62%) of the men in our sample reported using only injectable AAS during their lifetime
142 while 35.84% reported using only oral AAS in their lifetime. Less than one third (28.54%) of
143 the sample reported using both injectable and oral AAS within their lifetime. Of those who
144 used both modalities the majority reported initial use of both oral and injectable AAS at the
145 same age (n=179, 69.38%) (see Table 2). Transition between modes of administration, either
146 from injecting to oral use of AAS or from oral AAS to injecting, occurred among approximately
147 30% of individuals who reported using both injectable and oral AAS in their lifetime. Amongst
148 those who did not initiate both oral and injecting AAS at the same time, those who injected
149 AAS for the first time *after* they started using AAS orally, took an average of 2.69 years to
150 adopt the modality while those who started out using injectable AAS took an average of 3.81
151 years to take up oral use (see Table 2). The difference between time to transition was not
152 statistically significant (t=-1.26, ns).

153

154 PLEASE INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

155

156 **4. Discussion**

157 In this study we found that the majority of AAS users reported using a single mode of
158 administration for AAS; either oral (35.84%) or injection (35.62%). This was surprising given
159 the high prevalence of ‘stacking’, polydrug use (Sagoe et al., 2015), and the simultaneous use
160 of both forms of administration (Begley et al., 2017), noted among the AAS-using population.
161 While research notes a general reluctance among users of AAS to engage with health services
162 (Zahnow et al., 2017), NSPs in the UK and Australia report the proportion of clients who use
163 AAS has increased in recent years. NSPs are a primary source of clean injecting equipment
164 (e.g. Dunn, Henshaw, & McKay, 2016; McVeigh, Beynon, & Bellis, 2003); other sources include
165 friends, pharmacies, online and social suppliers (Kimergård, 2015; van de Ven & Mulrooney,
166 2017). However, here we highlight a group who do not use injection as a mode of
167 administration. These non-injecting AAS users (oral-only), who also use psychoactive drugs
168 that are less commonly associated with injecting, are unlikely to engage with NSPs restricting
169 their access to drug harm minimization and medical advice. This oral-only using group may
170 therefore never come into contact with harm reduction information, advice and referrals
171 regarding AAS use or any other form of drug use, or not until a late stage of their drug using
172 career when/if transition to injecting AAS use occurs. Transition from oral to injecting AAS use
173 occurs approximately 3 years after the initial experience with AAS. Delayed intervention in
174 drug abuse is associated with greater adverse effects, dependence and risky patterns of use
175 (Modesto-Lowe, Petry, & McCartney, 2008; Stockings et al., 2016). While oral-only users are
176 not exposed to injection-related risks of blood-borne virus, oral AAS use may be associated
177 with a number of adverse health effects, with liver toxicity particularly being an issue
178 (Niedfeldt, 2018). It is therefore important for future studies to explore why people engage
179 in oral-only use (e.g. requires less planning in sourcing equipment) and to explore the barriers
180 to accessing healthcare services for this specific group.

181 Furthermore, although bloodborne viruses (BBVs), such as HIV, hepatitis B and
182 hepatitis C, are an issue of concern among this population (Hope et al., 2013; van de Ven et
183 al., 2018), AAS users tend to have lower levels of BBVs compared to other psychoactive drug
184 users. Adding to this, levels of sharing or reuse of injecting equipment, which is a significant
185 risk factor for BBV transmission, is much lower amongst user amongst this population when

186 compared to those injecting psychoactive drugs (Larance, Degenhardt, Copeland, & Dillon,
187 2008). This is not to say that educating AAS users about safe injection practises is not
188 important but due to health services being largely delivered through NSPs this seems to be
189 the only focus of attention. Yet, recent research indicates that AAS users report having other
190 personal health priorities and needs, such as better access to medical and clinical advice,
191 general health monitoring, post-cycle therapy and referrals for endocrinologists and
192 psychologists, that are currently not being met (Griffiths, Henshaw, McKay, & Dunn, 2017;
193 Kimergård & McVeigh, 2014; Tighe, Dunn, McKay, & Piatkowski, 2017). A wider range of
194 interventions and health services are therefore needed; not just to ensure that non-injecting
195 users are reached but also to address the wider range of medical services important to people
196 who use AAS.

197 Although NSPs offer services to AAS users, even experienced drug workers report to
198 have minimal, if no knowledge at all to meet the needs of users (Dunn, McKay, & Iversen,
199 2014; Kimergård & McVeigh, 2014) and specialised services, such as the SWEAT program in
200 the UK and the Steroid Education program run by Kay Stanton in Australia, are marginal. In
201 addition, although strategies to minimize risks associated with the use of AAS - through both
202 oral and injection modes of administration – have been reported in the last decade (Bates et
203 al., 2017; Kimergård & McVeigh, 2014), research is yet to establish the merit of these
204 approaches empirically. The absence of a clear evidence-base has resulted in inconsistent
205 education and advice for AAS users. Although there is a general need for health services that
206 target those who use AAS, to be more accessible, engaging and well-informed, non-injectors
207 face additional barriers to obtaining harm reduction advice from a medical source. We
208 suggest future research should focus on evaluating, targeted public health strategies that
209 involve the AAS using community in all of their development. Given that peer-to-peer
210 information sharing (both online and face-to-face) is high amongst steroid users (Tighe et al.,
211 2017; van de Ven & Mulrooney, 2017), engaging with and involving steroid communities in
212 designing and implementing harm reduction interventions could prove a fruitful strategy to
213 spread evidence-based health information on a large scale. Programs focussed on harm
214 reduction need to go beyond injecting related risks to provide advice on how to use more
215 safely, recognising adverse effects early, and facilitating engagement with healthcare.

216 There are several limitations to our study. Firstly, steroid use in our dataset refers to
217 lifetime drug use with a sample that has a mean age of 32. As such, while many AAS users
218 only inject or use orally, it may be that throughout their lifetime users will transition to other
219 modes of administration or simply stop using before adopting an additional mode of
220 administration. The sample employed in this study is comprised of people who have declared
221 their use of psychoactive drugs in the GDS and have also stated the use of AAS at some point
222 in their lifetime. While generalising results to other sub-groups of AAS users such as athletes
223 and bodybuilders is not warranted, this study provides unique insights into a group of people
224 using AAS that are typically not studied. The survey seeks participants from across 174
225 countries worldwide, 58 of which are represented in the AAS using sub-sample employed
226 here. However, due to small numbers from individual countries we could not control for
227 international variation in ease of access to oral/injection AAS, culture of drug use and/or drug
228 policies or legislation.

229

230 **Conclusion**

231 The risk of adverse health implications from using AAS depends on various factors; one of
232 them being the mode of administration. Our data illustrates a population of AAS users who

233 tend to stick to one mode of administration - either oral or injectable steroids. Given the
234 dominant approach to providing services and advice for people who use AAS is through NSPs,
235 there is a need to better understand the propensity for oral use *only* and develop avenues for
236 reaching this sub-population of users. Given that risks associated with AAS use can be reduced
237 through strategies that are unrelated to safe injecting, such as shorter cycles and limited
238 dosages and reduction of polypharmacy, it is important to develop strategies to disseminate
239 this information systematically to AAS users and potential users outside of NSPs.

240

241 **Contributors**

242 All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript.

243

244 **Conflict of interest**

245 The Global Drug Survey is a commercial entity, which is owned by one of the authors of this
246 publication (Adam Winstock).

247

248 **References**

- 249 Barratt, M.J., Ferris, J.A., Zahnow, R., Palamar, J.J., Maier, L.J., & Winstock, A.R. (2017). Moving on
250 From Representativeness: Testing the Utility of the Global Drug Survey. *Subst Abuse, 11*,
251 1178221817716391. doi:10.1177/1178221817716391
- 252 Bates, G., Begley, E., Tod, D., Jones, L., Leavey, C., & McVeigh, J. (2017). A systematic review
253 investigating the behaviour change strategies in interventions to prevent misuse of anabolic
254 steroids. *J Health Psychol*, 1359105317737607. doi:10.1177/1359105317737607
- 255 Begley, E., McVeigh, J., Hope, V., Bates, G., Glass, R., Campbell, J., . . . Smith, J. (2017). *Image and*
256 *Performance Enhancing Drugs: 2016 National Survey Results* Retrieved from Liverpool, UK:
257 <http://ipedinfor.co.uk>
- 258 Boardley, I.D., & Grix, J. (2014). Doping in bodybuilders: a qualitative investigation of facilitative
259 psychosocial processes. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 6*(3), 422-439.
260 doi:10.1080/2159676X.2013.766809
- 261 Christiansen, A.V., Vinther, A.S., & Liokaftos, D. (2017). Outline of a typology of men's use of anabolic
262 androgenic steroids in fitness and strength training environments*. *Drugs: Education,*
263 *Prevention and Policy, 24*(3), 295-305. doi:10.1080/09687637.2016.1231173
- 264 Dunn, M., Henshaw, R., & McKay, F.H. (2016). Do performance and image enhancing drug users in
265 regional Queensland experience difficulty accessing health services? *Drug Alcohol Rev, 35*.
266 doi:10.1111/dar.12363
- 267 Dunn, M., McKay, F.H., & Iversen, J. (2014). Steroid users and the unique challenge they pose to
268 needle and syringe program (NSP) workers. *Drug Alcohol Rev, 33*. doi:10.1111/dar.12085
- 269 Evans Brown, M., McVeigh, J., Perkins, C., & Bellis, M.A. (2012). *Human enhancement drugs. The*
270 *emerging challenges to public health*. Liverpool: North West Public Health Observatory.
- 271 Griffiths, S., Henshaw, R., McKay, F.H., & Dunn, M. (2017). Post-cycle therapy for performance and
272 image enhancing drug users: A qualitative investigation. *Performance Enhancement &*
273 *Health, 5*(3), 103-107. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.peh.2016.11.002>
- 274 Hoberman, J. (2005). *Dopers in Uniform: Cops on Steroids*. Retrieved from
275 <https://thinksteroids.com/articles/dopers-uniform-cops-steroids/>
- 276 Hoberman, J. (2017). *Dopers in Uniform: The Hidden World of Police on Steroids*. US: University of
277 Texas Press.
- 278 Home Office. (2017). *Crime Survey for England and Wales: Year Ending September 2017*. UK: Office
279 for National Statistics.
- 280 Hope, V.D., McVeigh, J., Marongiu, A., Evans-Brown, M., Smith, J., Kimergård, A., . . . Ncube, F.
281 (2013). Prevalence of, and risk factors for, HIV, hepatitis B and C infections among men who

282 inject image and performance enhancing drugs: a cross-sectional study. *BMJ Open*, 3(9).
 283 doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2013-003207
 284 Iversen, J., Hope, V.D., & McVeigh, J. (2016). Access to needle and syringe programs by people who
 285 inject image and performance enhancing drugs. *Int J Drug Policy*, 31, 199-200.
 286 doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2016.01.016
 287 Kimergård, A. (2015). A qualitative study of anabolic steroid use amongst gym users in the United
 288 Kingdom: motives, beliefs and experiences. *J Subst Use*, 20.
 289 doi:10.3109/14659891.2014.911977
 290 Kimergård, A., & McVeigh, J. (2014). Variability and dilemmas in harm reduction for anabolic steroid
 291 users in the UK: a multi-area interview study. *Harm Reduction Journal*, 11(1), 19.
 292 doi:10.1186/1477-7517-11-19
 293 Larance, B., Degenhardt, L., Copeland, J., & Dillon, P. (2008). Injecting risk behaviour and related
 294 harm among men who use performance- and image-enhancing drugs. *Drug Alcohol Rev*, 27.
 295 doi:10.1080/09595230802392568
 296 McVeigh, J., Beynon, C., & Bellis, M.A. (2003). New challenges for agency based syringe exchange
 297 schemes: analysis of 11 years of data (1991–2001) in Merseyside and Cheshire, United
 298 Kingdom. *Int J Drug Policy*, 14. doi:10.1016/s0955-3959(03)00141-5
 299 McVeigh, J., Evans-Brown, M., & Bellis, M.A. (2012). Human enhancement drugs and the pursuit of
 300 perfection. *Adicciones*, 24(3), 185-190.
 301 Modesto-Lowe, V., Petry, N.M., & McCartney, M. (2008). Intervening early to reduce
 302 developmentally harmful substance use among youth populations. *Med J Aust*, 188(8), 494-
 303 495.
 304 Niedfeldt, M.W. (2018). Anabolic Steroid Effect on the Liver. *Current Sports Medicine Reports*, 17(3),
 305 97-102. doi:10.1249/jsr.0000000000000467
 306 Pope, H.G., Kanayama, G., Ionescu-Pioggia, M., & Hudson, J.I. (2004). Anabolic steroid users'
 307 attitudes towards physicians. *Addiction*, 99(9), 1189-1194. doi:10.1111/j.1360-
 308 0443.2004.00781.x
 309 Pope, H.G., Wood, R.I., Rogol, A., Nyberg, F., Bowers, L., & Bhasin, S. (2014). Adverse Health
 310 Consequences of Performance-Enhancing Drugs: An Endocrine Society Scientific Statement.
 311 *Endocrine Reviews*, 35(3), 341-375. doi:10.1210/er.2013-1058
 312 Sagoe, D., Andreassen, C.S., & Pallesen, S. (2014). The aetiology and trajectory of anabolic-
 313 androgenic steroid use initiation: a systematic review and synthesis of qualitative research.
 314 *Subst Abuse Treat Prev Policy*, 9, 27. doi:10.1186/1747-597x-9-27
 315 Sagoe, D., McVeigh, J., Bjornebekk, A., Essilfie, M.S., Andreassen, C.S., & Pallesen, S. (2015).
 316 Polypharmacy among anabolic-androgenic steroid users: a descriptive metasynthesis. *Subst*
 317 *Abuse Treat Prev Policy*, 10, 12. doi:10.1186/s13011-015-0006-5
 318 Sagoe, D., Molde, H., Andreassen, C.S., Torsheim, T., & Pallesen, S. (2014). The global epidemiology
 319 of anabolic-androgenic steroid use: a meta-analysis and meta-regression analysis. *Ann*
 320 *Epidemiol*, 24(5), 383-398. doi:10.1016/j.annepidem.2014.01.009
 321 Stockings, E., Hall, W.D., Lynskey, M., Morley, K.I., Reavley, N., Strang, J., . . . Degenhardt, L. (2016).
 322 Prevention, early intervention, harm reduction, and treatment of substance use in young
 323 people. *The Lancet Psychiatry*, 3(3), 280-296. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-
 324 0366\(16\)00002-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(16)00002-X)
 325 Tighe, B., Dunn, M., McKay, F.H., & Piatkowski, T. (2017). Information sought, information shared:
 326 exploring performance and image enhancing drug user-facilitated harm reduction
 327 information in online forums. *Harm Reduction Journal*, 14(1), 48. doi:10.1186/s12954-017-
 328 0176-8
 329 Underwood, M. (2017). Exploring the social lives of image and performance enhancing drugs: An
 330 online ethnography of the Zyzz fandom of recreational bodybuilders. *International Journal of*
 331 *Drug Policy*, 39, 78-85. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2016.08.012>

332 van de Ven, K., Maher, L., Wand, H., Memedovic, S., Jackson, E., & Iversen, J. (2018). Health risk and
333 health seeking behaviours among people who inject performance and image enhancing
334 drugs who access needle syringe programs in Australia. *Drug and Alcohol Review*.
335 doi:10.1111/dar.12831

336 van de Ven, K., & Mulrooney, K.J.D. (2017). Social suppliers: exploring the cultural contours of the
337 performance and image enhancing drug (PIED) market among bodybuilders in the
338 Netherlands and Belgium. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 40, 6-15.
339 doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2016.07.009

340 Zahnw, R., McVeigh, J., Bates, G., Hope, V., Kean, J., Smith, J., & Campbell, J. (2018). Identifying a
341 typology of men who use anabolic androgenic steroids (AAS). *International Journal of Drug*
342 *Policy*, 8(55), 105-112.

343 Zahnw, R., McVeigh, J., Ferris, J., & Winstock, A. (2017). Adverse Effects, Health Service
344 Engagement, and Service Satisfaction Among Anabolic Androgenic Steroid Users.
345 *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 44(1), 69-83. doi:10.1177/0091450917694268

346