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Virtually Hidden: A Theoretical Framework for understanding and conceptualising Online Drug Use Pornography

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Abstract

Online drug use pornography has been freely available through websites on the open internet for at least 7 years. Surprisingly there is almost no exploration of its nature, character or impacts on both performers and those engaging with this type of content within the research literature. Nor is it an issue that has engaged health care providers and other statutory and non-statutory agencies even though it may have implications within their respective domains. A preliminary scoping of the online environment is used to propose a theoretical framework that combines Goffman's performance theory with that of Turner and Schechner's positioning of ritual theory within performance theory, Butler's concept of performativity online and Luppichi's concept of the 'technoself'. Utilizing the proposed theoretical framework, it is postulated that the presence, performance and engagement of online drug use pornography is a social boundary testing and possibly breaking performance centred on iterative relationships between performer and consumers of this content.

Key Words

Online; digital; pornography; porn; drug use

1 **Introduction**

2 It is generally recognised that online behaviours can have public health and personal
3 health implications which can lead to harms (Centola, 2013). This article focuses on
4 the convergence of social media, drug use and pornography on social media platforms
5 and pornography sites as online drug use pornography. We define online drug use
6 pornography where the content always contains scenes of drug use (injecting,
7 smoking etc.) and scenes of sexual activity (sex, masturbation, signs of sexual
8 excitement etc.) and/or sexualised language to describe drug use. The aim of this
9 article is to propose theoretical foundations that may be used to inform empirical
10 research on online sexualised drug use content in this context. These theoretical
11 foundations, and any resulting empirical research, are likely to contribute to increased
12 interest in public health and harm reduction outreach interventions with online
13 communities of people who use drugs (Lakhov, 2021) and increasing debates around
14 content regulation of online media (Young, 2021).

15
16 Utilizing performance theory, this article focuses on the presentation of self (Goffman,
17 1956) through rituals (Schrechner,1985; Schrechner and Schrechner,1988; Turner,
18 1982,1987; Bell, 1997), “performative utterances” (Butler, 1990), the concept of the
19 “technoself” (Luppicini, 2013) and the historical, sociological and cultural context of
20 drugs, sex and their hybridization. Referencing these theoretical perspectives, we
21 draw on an initial scoping (that is searching for this content and identifying
22 methodological approaches to study the phenomenon empirically) of one popular
23 pornography website (Pornhub) and one social media website (Tumblr) with a view to
24 generate a unique theoretical framework that we suggest can be used to guide the

25 methodological investigation of the phenomenon of online drug use pornography in
26 future studies.

27

28 **The convergence of drug use and pornography through the internet**

29 Differing technological platforms can enable or restrict different forms of online
30 expression through their various 'affordances', such as the capacity to upload,
31 promote categorise, interact with and charge for amateur produced content. Such
32 digital affordances have catalysed profound changes in how individuals interact with
33 people, obtain information, produce and purchase goods and services (McNair, 2012).
34 This includes new forms of online social expression through pornography (Attwood,
35 2018); greater diversity and increased availability of pornography and the amateur
36 production of pornographic materials (McNair, 2012); the amateur journalistic reporting
37 of drug experiences (Paarsonen, 2011) and the online purchase of drugs through deep
38 web and social media sites (Lakhov, 2021; Van Hout and Hearne, 2017).

39

40 Online drug use pornography appears to be influenced by the Web 2.0 phenomenon
41 (diNucci, 1999), whereby, the lines between the production and consumption of content
42 are blurred with the emergence of amateur-produced pornography (Paarsonen, 2011).
43 The convergence of digitalised pornography and drug consumption as drug use
44 pornography lies at the intersection of both phenomena, whereby, individuals become
45 both amateur porn producers and reporters of their own drug use. Content of this
46 nature dating from at least 2016 continues to exist on well-established and popular
47 pornography sites on the surface web whilst the material is also readily available on
48 lesser-known pornography sites as well as on social media.

49

50 When scoping online drug use pornography, it appears to be fetishized, commodified,
51 produced and engaged with by people who use drugs and sex workers who often
52 specialise in producing and selling this type of niche, transgressive content. Featured
53 drug use can include smoking, injecting and 'hottrailing' (where the drug is vaporised
54 through heated glass and ingested nasally). The preparation for administration and
55 the consumption of drugs appears to be used to advertise a performer and it is often
56 a central component to the performance or act. Performers may entice the audience
57 with suggestions of drug use and may engage in communal and virtual drug use with
58 audience viewers sometimes as part of a one-to-one virtual sex work offering.

59

60 People are known to vicariously experience emotions through observation - the 'mirror
61 neuron' effect (Hickock, 2014). Online and staged forms of emotional expression
62 (ranging from emotionally charged movies to online pornography) can elicit emotional
63 arousal states despite no physical connection between actors and audience. In the
64 case of pornography, audience viewers may situate themselves within a performance
65 using both visual (naked images) and audio (moans, groans etc.) cues for
66 masturbation and/or potentially the use of teledildonic devices (which are online
67 connected sex toys). It is conceivable, that the audience for online drug use
68 pornography similarly strives to experience drug use vicariously and may situate
69 themselves within the performance through the ingestion of drugs during the watching
70 of content or during 'live cam' sessions (where they can directly interact with the
71 performer through video sessions).

72

73

74

75 **Establishing the “technoself” through online performance’**

76 Central aspects of the foundational theories underpinning performance theories are
77 how the ‘self’ is performed (Goffman, 1959) and the social functions of rituals
78 (Schrechner, 1985) and other forms of social performances (Bell, 1999). The advent of
79 the mass digitalisation of the self through online profiles on websites and mobile
80 applications, and the centrality of this method of social communication in social and
81 societal processes (such as dating, communication, booking and rating of taxis and
82 accommodation etc.), requires a specific focus on the performance online of the
83 ‘technoself’ through platform-based avatars and profiles (Luppicini, 2013).

84

85 Goffman (1959) in his seminal work “The presentation of self in everyday life”
86 considers the *theatre* and *acting* useful metaphors for understanding social
87 interactions. In Goffman’s sense, *the self* is performed as a character to be perceived
88 by others. The etymological root of “person” is the Latin “persona” or face mask and
89 how we perform, or act can help define our *personality* (Goffman, 1959). Performers
90 can present and act out a self which can be observed by the performer and others.

91

92 Digital devices can project digital reflections into the world through purposefully
93 constructed and online personas or profiles, what Luppicini (2013) refers to as
94 ‘technoselves’. These are performed and curated through posts, comments, images,
95 videos and other forms of media using profiles and online avatars (Luppicini, 2013).
96 that may or may not reflect a person’s identity in non-virtual life in the physical world
97 (Hillis, 2009). Online drug use pornography performers sometimes indicate that they
98 are “actors”, possibly to avoid the attention of law enforcement agencies or the threat

99 of removal by the site owners to demonstrate that they are not engaging in illegal acts
100 but imitating them as part of a performance for the enjoyment of others.

101

102 **Online**

103 Online personas can be cultivated in several ways. Clothing, make-up, tattoos and
104 other signifiers can help develop these digital characters. Background music and the
105 associated lyrics can give insight into tastes, preferences and states of mind. Various
106 symbols can be used to provide context for a character. Satanic imagery, the swastika
107 and other taboo symbols may be used to indicate rejection of taboos and a counter
108 cultural transgressive ideology (Knoops et al., 2015).

109

110 A central aspect of Goffman's performance theory is the concept of *the stage* where
111 performances are presented and performed. Stages tend to have special rules and
112 rituals and can serve a range of functions. Pornography sites and social media sites
113 are existentially the 'technostages' or online spaces where drug use pornography
114 shows are presented and performed. Unlike physical theatre stages, these stages are
115 highly manipulable using effects but are also constrained by the technological
116 affordances of specific platforms (for example, in terms of the length of the videos,
117 limits on text descriptions etc.). Specific stages and their technological affordances will
118 frame the nature of the type of content which can be performed; how it is viewed and
119 how it is interacted with (for example, through 'like' buttons and other affect focussed
120 symbols 'dislike', 'love' etc.). In live streaming, performances are performed live as
121 soon as the streaming begins. However, in non-live performances, performances can
122 be repeated, rehearsed, edited and curated.

123

124 The choice of platform or 'technostage' and the type of medium produced can itself
125 signify a message of intent (McLuhan, 1964). For example, posting content on a porn
126 site explicitly signifies that it is *intended* as pornography. Technostages may have
127 'frontstages' where a post, picture or video is uploaded and presented as a form of
128 advertisement or means of drawing attention to content of interest. On these
129 frontstages content can be framed with textual description or images (in the form of
130 emoticons) depending on the affordances (such as character limits) offered by a
131 particular platform. Backstage and offstage in the form of both open and closed forums
132 and groups, performers may discuss performances and, where payments may be
133 involved, discuss the nature and content of performances both personal and
134 communal.

135

136 A digital auditorium may be found in comment threads where a performance can be
137 discussed and appears to involve direct interactions with the performer who may
138 engage with their fans and general audience. A performer may be both an audience
139 member and a performer in this context and may actively participate in discussions
140 around their own performance or that of their peers (Goffman, 1959). They appear to
141 be both producers and consumers of content.

142

143 McLuhan (1964) has commented that when media is 'hot' (heavily contextualised and
144 rich in sensory material such as in pornography videos), little room can be given for
145 the active participation of a viewer in imagining its intended meaning. In contrast, when
146 media is 'cool' (little context given, low in sensory material such as in a comic book or
147 novel) more opportunities are created for the viewer to help create its intended
148 meaning through their own subjective interpretation.

149

150 In the context, of online sexualised drug use, media may be 'hot' or 'cold' in either its
151 portrayal of sexuality or drug use or both. In the process it may steer the potential for
152 subjective interpretation of the material. For example, a performer may show both the
153 preparation or the smoking of the drug, or, in the case of sexual content may choose
154 to show or not show nudity or sexual acts. The degree of either may also be
155 negotiated, including through payment, in live cam sessions.

156

157 Online sexualised drug use can take many forms through various media such as
158 pictures, videos and 'live' streaming sessions where performers interact with an
159 audience in 'real time' either sexually or through their mutual drug use. The use of
160 digital technologies to 'mediate sex' using one-to-one sessions or direct interaction
161 through digitalised sexual devices has been discussed (Dixon, 2015; McNair, 1996).
162 However, little consideration has been given to how drugs are mediated outside of use
163 promotion through advertising (for example, in relation to alcohol, tobacco, cannabis
164 and opioid industries) and use prevention through media prevention campaigns.

165

166 Performers may engage in one-to-one performances (for example, through what are
167 called 'cam sessions', i.e., online live video streaming in which participant perform acts
168 in response collectively or where one or more are passive observers); engage in solo
169 live performances or perform with one or more other performers in the same physical
170 setting. People who have romantic or sexual relationships with one another may also
171 perform and market themselves as a couple performing in this context. At times,
172 members of the audience may be offered to participate in an act either voluntarily or
173 by purchasing time with a performer in drug consumptive-sex work sessions. There

174 may be a solicitation for entry to a personal/ private 'cam room' or a request for
175 donations.

176

177 Goffman's metaphor of the stage and acting can be applied to the study of online drug
178 use pornography. Core elements include the presentation of the self, the type of
179 performance, the content of a performance, drug-related props, sexual props, and the
180 audience which views and interacts with a performance.

181

182 **Performative utterances**

183 Identities such as race, gender and class may become embodied by the use of what
184 is termed 'performativity' of messages through vocalisation, text and other
185 'performative utterances' (Butler, 1996). One may become gendered by stating and
186 acting out a first literal designation, for example, as "male" or "female". Notably, the
187 "pornosphere" – the physical and digital space where pornographic materials are
188 hosted, shared and watched- is an environment where content can be literally
189 gendered (for example, "hot girls"), racialized ("interracial") or ascribed a power
190 dynamic ("stepdad and stepdaughter" etc.) and is particularly socially transgressive
191 (for example, incest) outside the realm of what would be considered acceptable in
192 other contexts (McNair, 2012). In the context of online drug use pornography,
193 performative expressions may be used in videos, posts and comments to reinforce
194 and tag identities. This enables this content to become more discoverable for people
195 searching for this content.

196

197 Performers and audience members may perform their race, gender or other identities
198 through digital utterances using posts etc. with the aim of constructing their online

199 identities and/or drawing attention to their content for those who are looking for identity-
200 based material such as that around gender or orientation. On a digital platform, gender
201 identity can be performed through gendered utterances vocalised in videos or written
202 as part of a profile (for example, “she/her”), use of hashtags (#spun girls, #girls who
203 use drugs) or within a profile name by either explicitly stating a name or use of a
204 commonly gendered name like “Jane” or “Jack”. Digital utterances referenced to
205 gender (for example, #spungirl) may serve to highlight gender for the audience
206 searching for gendered content whilst also potentially being used to generate
207 communitas with peers.

208

209 In online pornography, sexuality is performed in several ways, for example, through
210 references to specific kinks (for example, “BDSM”), role (for example, “submissive”),
211 transgressiveness (for example, “pervert”) or interests in specific types of drug-related
212 sexual activity (for example, “slamsex”). Orientation may be signified through profile
213 names (for example, “Bi-girl”) or in profile description (for example, “gay”). Similarly,
214 sexualised openness/ performance inference can be indicated with literal signifiers
215 such as “whore” or “slut. A performer may also indicate the proclivity for engaging in
216 sexual acts or for engaging in racialised sexual experiences.

217

218 The identity of someone who uses and/or sells drugs can also be performed through
219 such performative utterances. A person may identify as being a “junkie” or an “addict”
220 or belonging to the methamphetamine using community through the use of words such
221 as “spun”, “meth” or “ice”. Dealing may be signified through the use of the term “plug”.
222 Emoticons (graphic images) may also be used such as the use of a cloud to signify
223 meth smoking or the use of syringe emoticon to depict an injecting persona (Knoops

224 et al., 2015) and these emotions can also be used to signify belonging to particular
225 subgroups such as people who smoke or people who inject. Codewords or code
226 phrases may also be used to avoid law enforcement detection (ibid.; Lakhov, 2021).

227

228 Identity-related performance utterances may be signified as part of a profile, in posts,
229 in videos, in pictures or using background music which may contain identity-related
230 content (for example, lyrics related to drugs, sex or mental health). Relevant identities
231 include someone who uses drugs, someone who injects, someone who sells drugs
232 and various sexual interests. **Figure 1** outlines some of the core terms associated with
233 each of these identities.

234

235 **Rituals**

236 Turner (1982) analysed a range of ritualised social dramas and identified a number of
237 core facets or stages in how a society responds and deals with these dramas: firstly,
238 a 'breach' is made where social conventions are breached (for example, when a
239 scandal like Watergate is first reported) ; secondly, there is a 'crisis' where society
240 identifies a need to respond; thirdly, there is a 'redressive action'(for example,
241 impeachment proceedings) and, fourthly, there is a reintegration (for example, Nixon
242 resigns). In the context of this drug-related phenomena, this has been seen a number
243 of times including the novel psychoactive substance phenomenon and the emergence
244 of online marketplaces, whereby, a 'breach' from the norm is identified; a 'crisis' forms
245 potentially in the form of a moral panic'; there is a 'redressive action' such as law
246 enforcement responses, legal changes and treatment changes and there is a
247 reintegration where the phenomena either disappears or changes its nature.

248

249 Rituals can present an opportunity to create a space where transgressive content,
250 practices or roles can be explored in a socially sanctioned context. For example,
251 weddings are culturally performed rituals that deal with the topic of sexuality in a
252 socially sanctioned manner whilst pornography is a cultural performance that is
253 considered transgressive or condemned (Bell, 1999).

254

255 Rituals often have practical functions. They can be used to solidify community identity
256 and can be used to mark certain rites of passage (Bell, 1997). For example, complex
257 and culturally situated rituals occur around the birth of children, marriages and deaths
258 with large variances on how these rituals are organised and performed dependent on
259 cultural identification, context and personal preferences. There are many rituals
260 associated around courtship, sex and drug use in different cultures and certain sexual
261 behaviours (such as penetration) and drug-related behaviours (for example, injecting)
262 can function as rites of passages signifying new identities (for example, losing
263 virginity and becoming someone who injects drugs) (Knoops et al., 2015).

264

265

266 In literature, Aldous Huxley provides two contrasting sets of drug-associated rituals
267 associated with drug use (Schremer, 2007). In both cases, these rituals serve to
268 promote societal cohesion and perform community identity, albeit in communities with
269 opposing values. In *Brave New World* the drug 'soma' is used daily and ritualistically
270 in sex orgies or 'orgie porgies' to solidify community identity as part of a religion of
271 consumer, hypercapitalist, hedonistic and highly hierarchical culture (Huxley, 1932).
272 In this context, the rituals enforce a *communitas* where individuality is considered
273 taboo and hedonistic and hypercapitalist values are promoted. In contrast, in *Island*

274 the drug 'moksha' is consumed as part of a respectful ceremony to solidify community
275 identity in a sustainable and evidence-based egalitarian society and is used to help
276 participants to become "...more intelligent [...] Not more intelligent in relation to
277 science or logical argument but on the deeper level of concrete experience and
278 personal relationships" (Huxley, 1962).

279

280 A wedding may be described as a cultural performance which cements the union
281 between a couple that includes many core components, but weddings can be
282 significantly different in how they rituals are performed (Bell, 1999). Generally, the
283 more a ritual seeks to accomplish something (for example, marrying two people), the
284 more regimented it is and the more it seeks to entertain the more the rituals may also
285 be more open for flexibility or play (Schrechner, 1988) such as in the example of
286 carnivals (for example, in Brazil and Germany)- or in the example of modern day rave
287 festivals- where transgression from the status quo may be celebrated and promoted
288 (Turner, 1987).

289

290 The ritual or 'drunken comportment' associated with drinking alcohol in a nightclub and
291 a wine bar can vary dramatically with differing environments, different drinking rituals
292 and differing cultural practices, for example, in relation to dancing and sexual
293 advances (Egerton and MacAndrew, 1969). These rituals solidify community identity
294 around shared values in a particular space and time. Such psychological 'sets' of why
295 and how one uses drugs in a particular 'setting' can dramatically alter how drugs are
296 experienced and the effects and harms of this drug use (Zinberg, 1984).

297

298 Ritualistic practices associated with drug use are often learned in the process of
299 identity formation adopting ritualised aspects around use/ consumption (Becker,
300 1953). Some drug-related rituals are centuries old. Cannabis, for example, has been
301 consumed culturally and traditionally through special clay pipes with tobacco by Indian
302 'sadhus' as part of their worship of Shiva in ceremonies involving prayers and
303 incantations (Rätsch, 2005). Similarly, various rituals are also associated with heroin
304 injecting (Neale, 2001) and the dance and nightlife culture (Eisner, 1993; Van Hout
305 and Hearne, 2014).

306

307 In online drug use pornography, rituals may be community formed and limited by the
308 technological affordances of a given platform, for example, some rituals may need to
309 be constrained or hidden to avoid detection and removal from a given platform. Central
310 ritual artefacts in online drug use pornography are the syringe, the meth pipe and hot
311 rails (heated glass used to snort powder). There are clear rules associated with each
312 which focus primarily on efficiency (for example, how to maximise a hit) but can also
313 include performative aspects such as swirling the blood within syringes or the slow
314 melting of methamphetamine in a meth pipe. Community members may comment on
315 a performer's adherence to the perceived correctness of a ritual such as heating the
316 bowl of methamphetamine or injecting technique and may be angered by perceived
317 breaches of such rituals.

318

319 The act of injection can be ontologically disruptive (Vitellone, 2017) marking the
320 crossing of boundaries "corporeal, psychological, social" (Fitzgerald et al., 1999: 499)
321 through functioning as "a separation rite" (ibid. 497) distinguishing those who do and
322 those who don't inject. However, when the line is crossed, it can help develop

323 communities of experience (ibid.) as part of “another type of sociality” (Vitellone,2017:
324 pp49).

325

326 It may be hypothesized that drug injection as a performative act can also incorporate
327 performances of other identities such as race and gender, whereby ritualised drug use
328 may include gendered and racialized aspects (Bourgois and Schonberg, 2009).
329 Similarly, the pleasurable effects of injecting can be embodied to inform and express
330 identity (Vitellone, 2017 commenting on Bourgois and Schonberg, 2007). A number of
331 the key ritual and performative aspects are listed in **Table 2**.

332

333

334 **Conceptualising Online Drug Use Pornography**

335 Online drug use pornography is a complex and surprisingly understudied phenomenon
336 bearing in mind its presence on the internet. Amateur pornography can be a medium
337 for self-expression (Attwood, 2018) and central to the theoretical framework suggested
338 here (See: **Figure 1**) is the concept that performers are presenting a technoself
339 through the use of rituals and performative utterances to **curate** an identity as
340 someone who use drugs, as a sexual being and as someone that intersects both of
341 these identities. Desired effects could include a developing autobiographical narrative
342 over time cataloguing their drug and sexual journey over time; building digital and in-
343 person relationships with a like-minded online community and commodifying
344 performances through the sale of content and live sessions. Importantly, pornography
345 producers are also under the influence of the laws of commerce which pushes them
346 *“to generate more content, to talk to more users and to even give away some content*
347 *for free in order to market themselves”* (Paasonen, 2011: pg. 83). These forces can

348 lead to a push towards quantity rather than quality of content (ibid.). There are several
349 aspects within the presentation of oneself on social media and porn sites which may
350 be analysed (See: **Figure 3**).

351

352 In the digital world, identities and intentions may be hidden and not readily accessible
353 for empirical evaluation. Goffman's theory of the 'presentation of self', which applies
354 the lens of theatre and acting as a metaphor, is therefore a useful perceptual lens
355 through which to understand and make sense of the phenomenon, encapsulated for
356 an 'online context' as the 'technoself' (Luppicini, 2013). How a character is developed,
357 presented and perceived provide useful insights into the nature of online drug use
358 pornography. Words, emoticons, hashtags and other 'performative utterances' can
359 provide useful information in regards to what is meant, what is intended and how one
360 would like to be perceived. Additionally, understanding these performative utterances
361 will be of utility when planning and designing public interventions which engage with
362 this population (Lakhov, 2021).

363

364 In this regard, rituals function to develop social cohesion and community identity.
365 Understanding and conceptualising the rituals associated with online drug use
366 pornography will yield useful insights into the particular acts that bind this community
367 together - both online and in the physical world. Research should consider what are
368 the commonalities and what are the deviances in the performance of these rituals?
369 Are there special signifiers that aim to perform particular messages?

370

371 The theoretical framework proposed in this article is part of a larger study in relation
372 to online drug use pornography being conducted by the authors based on the findings

373 of the report. It may inform health policy and interventions with those producers,
374 consumers and prosumers engaging in community-identified risk behaviours (such as
375 poor injecting technique, lack of sleep and maintaining poor oral hygiene). For
376 example, through informing online outreach activities which utilise keywords and
377 hashtags with the aim of identifying people who use drugs and linking them to
378 information, advice and direct harm reduction interventions (United Nations Office of
379 Drugs and Crime, 2021).

380

381 **Conclusion**

382 This paper highlights the online phenomena of drug use pornography – a phenomena
383 taking place in plain sight in the virtual world. Yet despite being available on the open
384 internet it has received no attention either from statutory agencies or researchers. In
385 this sense, this phenomenon may be described as ‘virtually hidden’. Like ‘mediated
386 sex’ (McNair, 1996), where digital technologies enable sexual experiences (Dixon,
387 2015), the emergence of online drug use pornography may lead to new challenges
388 arising from human adaption to this technological phenomenon.

389

390 The potential negative effects of drug-related cues on people who are dependent on
391 drugs is well known (for example, Perry et al., 2014). However, research suggests that
392 online avatar therapy (where people living with psychiatric conditions create and speak
393 to an avatar) may be effective in treating certain psychiatric conditions (for example,
394 Alderson-Day and Jones, 2018). It could be possible that vicarious viewing of
395 substance use, which seemingly has a pleasurable effect for some people who use
396 drugs, might mediate some form of displacement effect and/or might be of use in
397 desensitization studies. It is hoped that this work informs further empirical study of the

398 topic which could inform new treatment approaches such as those used in virtual
399 reality therapies. A potential displacement effect of the vicarious experience of online
400 drug use rather than the actual experience of consuming a drug, if proven through
401 ethically and methodologically robust studies, could theoretically inform new treatment
402 approaches such as virtual reality therapies in the field.

403

404 Understanding both the performers and the audiences who watch and interact with
405 this type of content is central to understanding its historical, social, cultural and
406 psychological significance. This significance extends beyond that for the performer,
407 the audience to the wider society in a range of domains including but not limited to the
408 use of the internet and internet regulation as a means of information giving and getting,
409 new forms of pornography, social values, new addiction phenomena and personal and
410 public health.

411

412 Future work should consider a range of methodological approaches that are careful to
413 both maximise potential benefits of conducting this research (such as designing more
414 effective public health interventions) whilst limiting potential negative effect (such as
415 the 'Hawthorne effect' where study participants may perform for the researcher).
416 Understanding the words, terms, colloquialisms and cultures of online group is key in
417 designing effective interventions for such groups (UNODC, 2021). Content analysis
418 (including thematic and frame analysis) may be useful in determining the topics
419 considered by this population as well as their framing of core topics. Counting, during
420 content analysis, as well as natural language processing techniques may be useful in
421 determining the core features of 'hot' versus 'cold' form of "mediated online drug use
422 pornography".

423 Schrechner (1984)'s model of 'breach', 'crisis', 'redressive action' and 'reintegration'
424 could help inform us in how, as a society, we respond to this phenomenon. In this
425 context, we should seek to prevent that the breach leads to a 'moral panic' where the
426 participants are considered 'folk devils' (Cohen, 1974) leading to potentially poorly
427 thought-out approaches (Reinarman, 2004) in any 'redressive actions' to address the
428 phenomenon. Ideally, we should ensure that the phenomenon is addressed from a
429 public health and community safety perspective that seeks to minimise any unintended
430 negative consequences of policies used to deal with the phenomenon.

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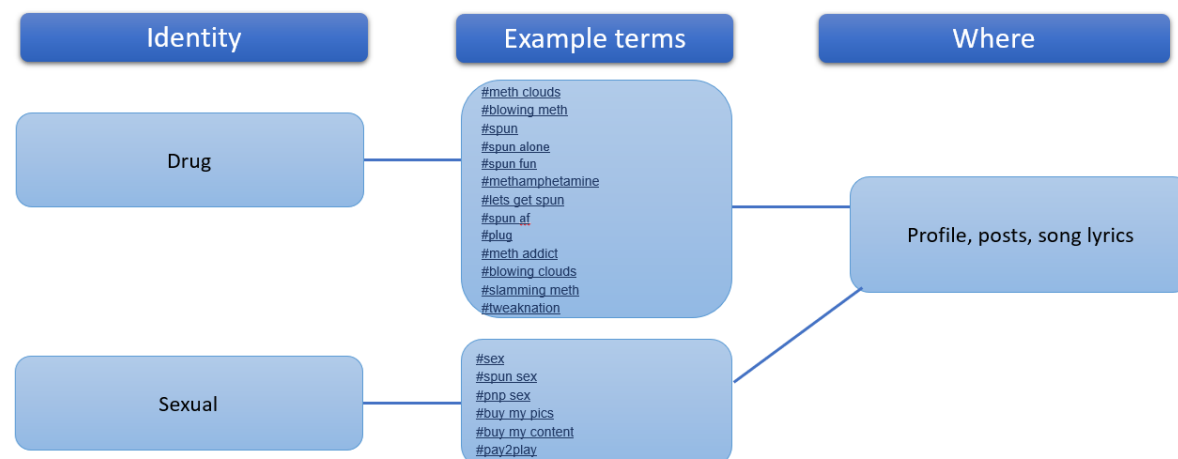
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Table 1: Identity-related performative utterances



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Table 2 Ritualised and Performative aspects

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	Ritualised aspects	Performative aspects
Preparation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preparation of the drug (swirling of blood in the syringe, swirling of melted methamphetamine) Consumption of the drug (inhaling, injecting etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Background setting (location, music) Sound effects, visual filters, use of angles
Effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical movement (e.g., lying back) Breathing Coughing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Performance of ingestion (injecting, inhaling) Performance of pleasure/drug effect (e.g., eye rolling, vocalisations, body movements) Performance of sexual arousal (orgasm sounds, heavy breathing, body movements)
Reintegration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tidying away equipment Throwing away equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exhaling of smoke, blowing of clouds Signalling gradual reduction of effect

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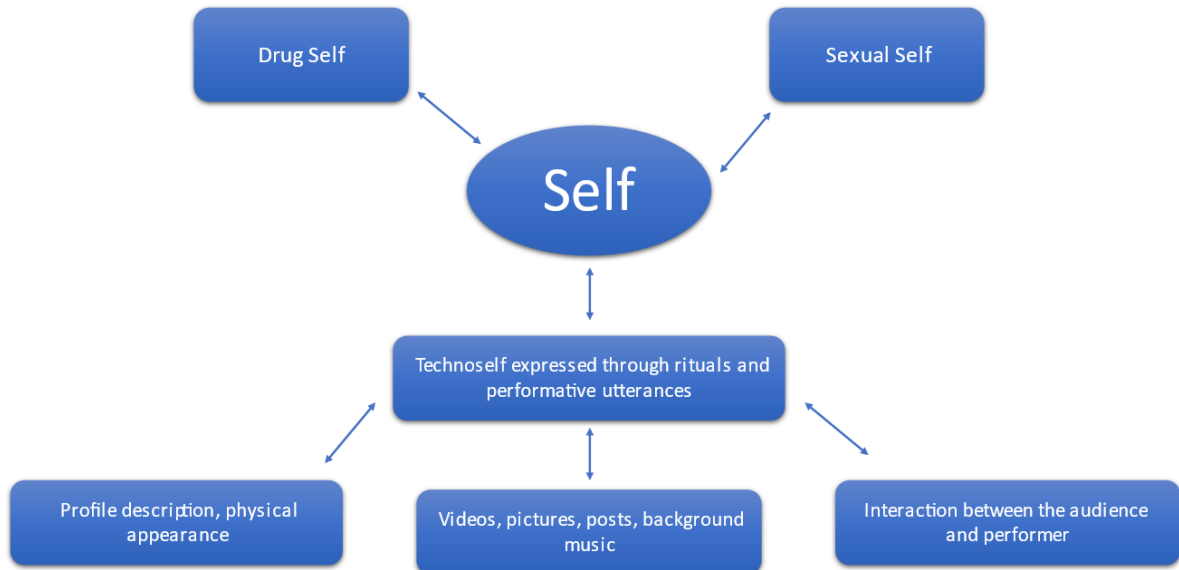
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Figure 1: Components of the online drug use pornography performer's 'technoself'



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