LANGUAGE AND ONLINE IDENTITIES

Forensic linguistics is at the cutting edge of the undercover policing of child sexual abuse on the open Internet and Dark Web, and language and identity is a fundamental part of this. The authors have drawn on their extensive experience in training undercover officers to develop innovative methods in identifying the creation and performance of online personas, crucial in detecting identity disguise online. This groundbreaking book demonstrates these methods through case studies, while also exploring the link between language and identity. By bringing together previously opposed positions in forensic authorship analysis, the book develops a novel theory of linguistic identity, which will resonate not just in forensic authorship research but in sociolinguistics more widely. This unique forensic linguistic project has real-life impact in assisting the police in their investigation of online abusers, and has impact for students and researchers of linguistics, through its contribution to the research of linguistic identities.

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LANGUAGE AND ONLINE IDENTITIES

The Undercover Policing of Internet Sexual Crime

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> For Kerrie, Andrew, Flo, Stephany, George.

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Preface

This book provides an account of our theoretical approach to identity and its relationship with linguistic performance, particularly within the context of online criminal interactions and communities. We report on findings from a project investigating the assumption of identities online, drawing on instant messaging (IM) data from a variety of contexts, both 'real life' and experimental, in order to expound the implications of our approach for the training and professional practice of online undercover investigators.

Chapter I provides a general introduction to the book, outlining the need for police investigators to engage in online identity assumption and justifying a linguistic contribution that can be made in terms of the variety of ways in which linguists and forensic linguists have approached questions of language and identity. We set out the context of online sexual abuse, in particular the abuse of children, and describe the current impact forensic linguistics is having in the training of investigators of these crimes.

Chapter 2 outlines the various sources of our data, which include logs of IM, conversations collected from genuine resolved cases of child sexual grooming, from a range of Dark Web fora dedicated to the topic of child sexual abuse, from undercover operations targeting the producers and disseminators of indecent images and videos of children, from role playing exercises that take place within a course for online investigators, and from a series of experiments we designed in order to systematically investigate key questions around language and identity performance. The chapter continues by describing our methodological approach to these data, starting with the micro-analysis at the structural level of language, including of vocabulary and orthographic features as we first began setting out in MacLeod and Grant (2012). We then move through our modifications of Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory and Gumperz's (1982) approach to topic management inasmuch as they relate to IM and the operational context, before finally setting out our theory about how these stratified

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levels of language interface in the performance of identities. Finally the chapter concludes with a discussion of ethics, both the research ethics of engaging with this area of criminal activity and the operational ethics of assisting the police in these contexts.

Chapter 3 expands on the experimental phase of the project, providing an account of its design and a thorough discussion of the results and their implications. The chapter explores the level of accuracy with which participants in IM are able to detect the substitution of one interlocutor with another, and the levels of confidence with which such decisions are made. It also addresses the effects of impersonator preparation on these scores. Finally, the linguistic criteria that people report having relied upon in making these assessments are scrutinised, and we are thus able to formulate opinions about which features are the most salient for the construction of one's linguistic identity.

These findings feed in to the linguistic identity assumption training we currently provide to undercover officers, which is the subject of Chapter 4. Here we focus in particular on how our component of the undercover training has been influenced by our own theories of identity performance as supported by our analyses. We outline the input we provide to trainees at the levels of linguistic structure, meaning and interaction, and describe the pro forma we provide for the analysis of online linguistic personae. We also report here on the findings of a small-scale experiment comparing trainees' competence at linguistic identity assumption before our training versus afterwards.

This theoretical underpinning to the concept of identity is the central topic of Chapter 5, where we examine particular facets of identity such as the performance of age, relationships and communities of practice. Keeping in mind our view of identity as being continuously negotiated through discursive practices, we focus here particularly on how age is treated as a relevant identity category by participants, and how relationships between adult offenders and child victims are performed. We probe the question of how these performances are situated in the wider social context, and in relation to other, more recognisable types of relationship that might be relied upon as resources.

Drawing together all the previous chapters, Chapter 6 explicates the ways in which forensic linguistics can continue to provide support to the work of undercover online operatives. Breaking down traditional constraints that have seen the work of the forensic linguist in this area limited to authorship analysis tasks, we sustain the argument here that we can usefully contribute to the strategy of authorship synthesis. While there is

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enormous potential for linguistic contributions to these policing tasks of identity assumption and infiltration, there are, of course, limitations. Both are discussed in detail in this chapter.

Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the implications of our work for the operational task of identity assumption, and for the more theoretical concerns around the linguistic individual and language and identity more generally. We conclude the chapter with our thoughts for the directions similar research might take in the future.

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