

***'Down the Rabbit Hole': A Case Study on Russell Williams
and Severe Sexual Sadism***

By
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Author’s note: While through the course of this dialogue it may appear as if to glorify the offences of Russell Williams, and others like him; however, that is far from the case. Truly, the in-depth considerations provided through this study are in no way intended to condone his crimes but solely an attempt to further understand them objectively. Lastly, I wish to make clear that there is no association between Russell Williams and me beyond our common surname.

Abstract

In 2010, Russell Williams was a senior officer in the Canadian Forces and a respected figure of the community. He was also a serial rapist and sexual killer whose crimes shook those few closest to him and the nation itself. Of particular interest, his assaults contained tangible elements of sadism grounded in themes of control and domination; yet, in other ways he expressed pseudo-sympathy towards his victims thus representing a behavioural enigma. Moreover, at 44 years of age, his apparent late-onset of extreme sexual deviancy along with no apparent catalyzing factors make Williams a unique and even rarer type of offender. This study qualitatively assesses Williams's sadistic nature through a contemporary measurement scale and attempts to ascertain its aetiological basis through the Federal Bureau of Investigation's *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide*. Analysis confirmed the presence of sadism within Williams to a level comparable with other severe sadistic offenders. An analysis of Williams formative developmental experiences, however, showed them to be significantly inconsistent with those proposed by the Motivational Model.

Keywords: Colonel Russell Williams, sadism, lust murder, erotophonophilia, motivational model of sexual homicide

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'What is normal for the spider is chaos for the fly.'

~ Charles Addams

Prologue

In early 2010, Russell Williams was a high-profile Colonel in the Canadian Forces who commanded Canada's most prominent air force base, at the time being integral to the war effort in Afghanistan. Married, without children, his career focus propelled him expeditiously through the ranks with his superiors acknowledging him as a "bright shining star" (Watt, 2015, p. 2) and the "embodiment of the military ideals of duty and honour" (McKeown, 2010, 1:42). However, in private, he harboured multiple abnormal sexual preferences that manifested primarily as fetishism, transvestic fetishism and sadism (Watt, 2015). Otherwise known as paraphilias, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (5th ed.; DSM-5) broadly define them as "any intense and persistent sexual interest other than sexual interest in genital stimulation or preparatory fondling with phenotypically normal, physically mature, consenting human partners" (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013, p. 685).

These urges eventually evolved from fantasy to criminal reality in September 2007 when he broke into a neighbour's home and spent almost three hours in the bedroom of their 12-year-old daughter. There, he took numerous photographs of her underwear specifically arranged, and of himself wearing them. The final self-photographs depict him laying on the girl's bed while masturbating with her underwear to ejaculation. He stole those same items of lingerie which would then be used at later sessions, ostensibly to revisit the event (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). In this way, over the ensuing two years, Williams conducted a series of break-and-enters with the theft of personal female underwear, otherwise known as *fetish burglaries* (Brankley, Goodwill, & Reale, 2014). During these events he recorded upwards of 3,000 photographs and absconded

with nearly 1,400 items of intimate clothing and belongings through which he generated deviant *Proustian* memories to sate his fetishistic and transvestic urges (Austen & Carey, 2010). In the same way, Wright Jr., Hatcher, and Willerick (2006) observe, “a panty thief does not take women’s underwear because he cannot afford to buy them; the theft is motivated by the sexual images related to the items, the fantasy, and the associated sexual arousal” (p. 263). Throughout his crimes, as documented extensively through photographs and journal entries, his behaviour can be seen to escalate beyond the fetish items towards the owners themselves.

Accordingly, in September 2009, two years after his initial fetish burglary, Williams perpetrated his first sexual assault by overpowering a young mother as she slept. With minimal sexual contact, Williams recorded several photographs of her naked and in humiliating positions while bound and blindfolded. The next sexual assault occurred less than two weeks later. While similar in nature, the photographs were more numerous and invasive. Then, in November 2009, Williams entered the home of a known Canadian Forces member, Marie-France Comeau. The ensuing five-hour overnight assault involved physical violence, bondage, blindfolding, and rape. As the first of Williams’s victims to offer a significant degree of resistance, her treatment was especially aggressive. This entire assault was extensively captured through photograph and video which culminated in her death via asphyxiation thereby amounting to Williams’s personal fantasy-driven pornography (Warren, Dietz, & Hazelwood, 2013). Her body was finally positioned on the bed and covered with her duvet. His second murder transpired two months later which involved Jessica Lloyd. Her complicity garnered less violence. It commenced with his characteristic photoshoot leading to multiple sessions of reciprocatory oral sex and rape. After this initial session he transported Lloyd to his cottage which permitted the assault to endure for almost 20 total hours. Lloyd’s life was ended under the pretence of being released when she was

struck unconscious and strangled with a rope. Four days later Williams dumped her body in a wooded area (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

Problem Statement

This case contains some intriguing elements. For instance, throughout some media discourse Williams was sensationally referred to as both sadistic and a serial killer (e.g., Austen & Carey, 2010). While possibly accurate, this ascription is presumptuous. For instance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) criteria for a serial killer designation requires there to be at least three victims (Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988), whereas Williams was solely responsible for two. Similarly, sadism is a complex psychological construct that specifically requires the derivation of sexual gratification from the otherwise non-sexual acts committed. Indeed, all too often sadism is fallaciously synonymized with that of rare and extreme cruelty. While some of Williams's behaviours expressed throughout his offences are certainly congruent with that of sadism, others are uncharacteristically benevolent. Yet, those same 'pseudo-compassionate' behaviours may, in fact, coincide with sadistic motivations. Furthermore, at over 40 years old, his late age of (known) criminal onset with no apparent triggering event, and the rapidity of offence escalation, are anomalous among other similar sadistic offenders. As such, a deeper level of insight into the underlying motivations is certainly warranted.

Despite the uniqueness of this case, there exists a dearth of research devoted to Williams's case history. Of the available literature, one study by Watt (2015) adopted a multi-dimensional approach towards ascertaining individual factors contributing to his criminal sexual behaviour (e.g., developmental, psychopathological and pharmacological), with results that were inherently inconclusive. While illuminating, the research provided only a cursory analysis into the existing integrated models explaining sadistic development and therefore did not fully

consider the interrelatedness of contributing factors in a systematic and consequential manner. This may be especially important as dimensional constructs such as sadism are believed to be “more likely due to the interplay of several additive factors” (Mokros, Schilling, Weiss, Nitschke, & Eher, 2014, p. 144). Otherwise stated, it may be that not one factor alone is responsible for Williams’s behaviour but, rather, a *coalescence of multiple factors* that creates a perfect storm of criminal sexual deviancy. Thus, a more methodical level of developmental and behavioural examination is required in order to accurately categorize him as sadistic. Indeed, Williams is a distinct member of an already statistically rare group, and it is because of this unique set of features that he was selected as the primary topic of focus for this study.

With these themes in mind, this two-part thesis is primarily guided by the following question: Does Russell Williams meet the threshold for severe sexual sadism and, if so, how well does the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide* (MMoSH) account for its aetiology? In order to explore these topics, this thesis is comprised of a case study delving into the life history and criminal behaviour of Russell Williams. The study commences with a synopsis of Williams’s background followed by an extensive literature review on sadism in conjunction with a summation of the MMoSH which considers each developmental stage of a potential offender’s life (Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas & McCormack, 1986). The first part of the discussion entails a qualitative interpretation of Williams’s criminal behaviour so as to establish his sadistic nature as a contingent factor of the model. This is followed by a stage-by-stage analysis of his development through the perspective of the MMoSH. It is predicted that Williams will meet the threshold for diagnostic sadism whose developmental roots will only marginally conform to the MMoSH though deeper examination of obscure events, defined in this study as the *creation* process. It is also predicted that his paraphilic and criminal escalation is

consistent with the model's cyclical feedback system, herein demarcated as the *evolution* process. In turn, the results of this study speak to the reliability of the MMoSH as a theory.

Chapter 1 - Background

The aim of this section is to provide a comprehensive overview of the life of Russell Williams (RW), from his birth on March 7th, 1963 until his conviction on October 21st, 2010. As a core component of sadism, violent fantasies are believed to first emerge during childhood development. As such, this summary commences with that of his early life which is foundational to the present research. The second segment focuses on Williams's offences as detailed in the *Agreed Statement of Facts* (ASoF) derived from his criminal trial in October 2010. It is further complimented by specific authors who bore witness to the video transcripts that provide key behaviourisms that were otherwise legally irrelevant to the ASoF, and therefore omitted.

Williams's Early Life

David Russell Williams (RW) was born to Cedric David 'Dave' Williams and Christine Nonie Williams (née Chivers) in England, with his brother Harvey arriving two years later (Appleby, 2011). Shortly before his fifth birthday, in early 1968, the family immigrated to Deep River, Ontario for Cedric's work. There, they lived as upper-middle class where sexual partner-swapping was rampant among married couples. As part of this sexual liberation, Dave and Christine would often co-exchange partners with another couple, Jerry and Marilyn Sovka. In 1970, this alternative pairing eventually resulted in concurrent divorces for both marriages where, in turn, each partner married the reciprocal person. Russell and his brother remained with their mother and new stepfather. Despite never living with his father again, they maintained close ties over the years (Appleby, 2011).

Williams's newly formed family settled in Scarborough, a suburb of Toronto, where he

attended a Montessori elementary school and assumed 'Sovka' as his family name. This family arrangement was observed to be cheerful with no stress or lack of money. In 1978, at 15 years old, Russell attended the Birchmount Park Collegiate Institute where he developed an affinity for jazz music and trumpet playing that would be abruptly abandoned in university. In 1979, the family followed Jerry Sovka to South Korea for an employment. However, after only one year, RW and his brother returned to Ontario where they boarded at the renowned Upper Canada College. After graduating in 1982, he immediately enrolled at the University of Toronto - Scarborough Campus (UTSC) where he reclaimed the 'Williams' last name. There, he undertook a Bachelor of Arts degree in politics and economics, eventually graduating his degree with honours. During university he lived with five roommates who occupied the upper two floors of a rental house (Appleby, 2011).

Despite these roommates, he was described as being surrounded by an air of loneliness and a strict refusal to discuss his family or history. That said, despite his apparent introverted nature, he conducted elaborate practical jokes on those around him. During these formative years, including his time at university, Williams was known to have only one serious girlfriend until his marriage 10 years later. After graduation in 1986, his fixation with the movie *Top Gun* spurred his interest in becoming a pilot. He submitted concurrent applications to both the Canadian Forces and RCMP. He declined the RCMP offer, vying instead for the Canadian Forces. As such, in 1987, Williams enrolled in the military and was of the one percent to succeed in the pilot selection process. Three years later, as a flight instructor in Manitoba, he met Mary Elizabeth Harriman who was five years his senior and 33 at the time; they married the next year, on June 1st, 1991.

In 1995, RW was transferred to Ottawa where his wife accepted an executive position

with the Heart and Stroke Foundation. The couple purchased a house in Orleans, a suburb of Ottawa and were described by neighbours as a very private couple who hosted few guests. In August 2004, Williams and Harriman purchased their cottage on Cosy Cove Lane in Tweed, the future site of Jessica Lloyd's murder. In 2005, Williams received the honour of personally piloting Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, Prime Minister Harper and other dignitaries. Shortly thereafter Williams assumed command of the Canadian Forces air base in Dubai directly supporting the conflict in Afghanistan. Upon returning, he was assigned an administrative role in Ottawa and commenced medication consisting of Prednisone and Sulfasalazine to combat chronic back arthritis which threatened his career in the military.

It is during this period, in September 2007, that his (known) criminal activities commenced, as outlined below. After almost two years, in July 2009, he was promoted to colonel and assumed command of *8 Wing Trenton*. Almost immediately, and over the next six months, his sexual crimes escalated from that of simple fetish burglary to that of rape and murder. Interestingly, his nightly offences appeared to have little effect on his daily routine inclusive of high-profile events associated with command (McKeown, 2010). In December 2009, midway between his two murders, Williams and Harriman upgraded to a new home in Ottawa. This move would prove to be a significant factor during his later confession. On February 4th, 2010, Williams was identified as a suspect at an Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) roadside checkpoint due to a potential match between his vehicle and evidence left at Lloyd's house. On February 7th, 2010, he was interviewed by the OPP during which he confessed to the sexual assaults of Doe and Massicotte, and the murders of Comeau and Lloyd. On April 3rd, 2010, while remanded at the Quinte Detention Centre in Nappanee, Ontario, Williams disabled the lock of his cell and attempted to commit suicide by shoving a foil-filled toilet paper roll down his throat. He

had written a suicide note on the wall of his cell in mustard stating that his affairs were all in order and his feelings were too much to bear (Tripp, 2010). Additionally, he wrote several apologetic letters to the families of his victims and his wife indicating his remorse.

In court he pleaded guilty to 88 charges including first-degree murder, sexual assault, forcible confinement and over 80 offences related to break-and-enters. However, as a condition of his confession, he refused to acknowledge the evidence of child pornography that was found on his personal hard drives collected via internet distribution. Throughout his trial he was reported to have wept and maintained a meek demeanour with eyes averted during the display of some of the less graphic evidence (Appleby, 2011). His conviction, on October 21st, 2010, included a prison sentence consisting of 25 years for each of the two murders, 10 years for each of the two sexual assaults, and one year for each of his 82 break-ins; altogether amounting to 152 years of imprisonment to be served concurrently (“Col. Russell Williams Timeline,” 2010).

Synopsis of Crimes

As derived from the ASoF, Williams was 44 years of age at the time of first known offence which occurred on September 8th, 2007 when he broke into his neighbour’s home during the night while knowing the family to be away. He spent almost three hours in the bedroom of their 12-year-old daughter who was known through family get-togethers. During this raid he recorded 36 photographs of the girl’s bedroom with a specific focus on her closet, underwear drawer and bed. The final pictures depict him masturbating while lying on her bed and wearing or handling the young female’s underwear into which he finally ejaculated. Upon leaving, he stole six items of her underwear. He returned three weeks later, on September 28th, 2007, re-entering the home three more times over a 24-hour period. He stole two other items of underwear and recorded 53 additional photographs. Lastly, an additional 41 self-portrait photographs were

recorded at a wooded third-party site while Williams was naked or wearing the girl's underwear and masturbating (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

This delineation of behaviour was congruent across the majority of Williams's break-and-enters that occurred sporadically over the next two years before finally escalating to rape and murder. In particular, Williams would generally target a home at night, between the hours of 11 p.m. and 1 a.m., within walking distance of either of his own homes and when he knew the occupants to be absent. Due to the low expectancy of crime in Tweed, he was most often able to acquire access through an unlocked rear door or by removing the basement screen from a window. When doors were locked, such as in Ottawa, Williams took care to leave no trace of his presence by attempting to pick locks. Once inside, he targeted the bedrooms, closets and personal belongings of female occupants with their underwear constituting his primary focus. He wore or handled them to achieve sexual gratification by way of masturbation. Notably, he demonstrated no interest towards male occupants. All his activities were extensively captured on camera. At the end of each session Williams would steal most, if not all, of those same personal female belongings. There were multiple occasions in the following weeks and months where he would again dress in that underwear and masturbate, ostensibly to relive the experience. Williams stated to police that his sexual preference was for "women in their late teens to early 30s" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 2); yet, females under the age of 18 were directly targeted in slightly more than a quarter of the homes he raided, with some as young as 12 years old. That said, as part of his plea, he refused to acknowledge his inclinations towards these young females, both from those directly targeted and the child pornography downloaded to his computer (Appleby, 2011).

Brankley and colleagues (2014) classify Williams's early offences as *fetish burglaries*,

specifically defining them as “break and enters with a supposed sexual paraphilic intent” (p. 116). He expanded these offences from Tweed to the Orleans area, proximal to his home on Wilkie Drive, on May 10th, 2008. In all, he entered 48 separate residences (almost evenly divided between Tweed and Ottawa), revisiting some for a total of 82 fetish burglary-related offences. Indeed, he returned to one residence a total of nine times and stole 186 items of clothing from another (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). They typically occurred on the weekends, with 18 and 28 occurring on Friday and Saturday nights, respectively. The remainder were conducted throughout the week with 18 on Thursdays, seven on both Tuesdays and Wednesdays, five on Sundays and three on Mondays (Appleby, 2011). On six occasions he broke into more than one residence on the same night. Conversely, his attempts were unsuccessful on approximately 15 occasions due to house alarms, the presence of dogs, owners returning home or were already at home, or an inability to gain access. On 12 occasions he spent in excess of one hour in a residence, four of which directly involved a youth female. Initially, Williams took such care in concealing his crimes that most went undetected. As such, only 17 break-ins were ever reported to police, with a single report originating from Tweed.

In this way, throughout his brief criminal career Williams amassed a collection of stolen lingerie in excess of 1366 items which, when unmanageably large, required incendiary destruction on two separate occasions, June 21st, 2008 and March 29th, 2009 (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Additionally, his digital collection consisted of 2937 photographs of his offences (Brankley et al., 2014) which primarily depict pictures of the victims’ bedrooms and underwear, both as they were found in drawers and also when arranged categorically. Pictures were also found of Williams masturbating while wearing the underwear or using them for sexual gratification both during the break-and-enter and later, at tertiary locations. Further, many

Table 1. Frequency of Fetish Burglaries

	2007	2008	2009
January	-	0	4
February	-	0	1
March	-	3	2
April	-	2	4
May	-	3	4
June	-	6	2
July	-	2	5
August	-	11	5
September	3	1	5
October	2	7	1
November	1	3	3
December	0	2	0

Source: *R. v. Williams* (2010)

photographs were also recorded during the sexual

assaults and murders, for which the latter also

included video footage (*R v Williams*, 2010).

Along with these pictures were numerous

screenshots of news and police reports of the

offences and copious logs that documented each

of his crimes in detail, all deeply nested on two

personal hard drives. This information, with associated timestamps, allowed police to compile a

comprehensive account of his offences which is chronologically reflected through the ASoF.

Accordingly, Appendix A outlines RW's criminal career from the first break-and-enter to the

murder of Jessica Lloyd (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

Escalation towards Rape and Murder

Despite the many consistencies among Williams's offences as stipulated, his criminal

regimen was not 'cookie-cutter'; rather, much of his fetish burglary-related behaviour evolved

over the two-year span in a number of distinct ways. First, his level of preplanning deteriorated

to where he entered some homes where the occupants were home or that housed no females at

all. Second, he began to take less care to conceal his presence, especially when damaging

windows and doors during entry. Indicatively, in one journal entry he noted "unlike last year's

entry, after which I'll guess they had no idea that I'd been in the house, I made no effort to

conceal this entry. In fact, I left plenty of signs that I was there" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 55).

Third, his fetish burglaries escalated not only in scope, as outlined, but also in frequency. As

Table 1 indicates, Williams's heavily sporadic invasions ranged from periods of abstinence

lasting upwards of three months, to a peak of 11 in a single month. Despite these ebbs and flows,

the frequency of his fetish burglaries trended up near mid-2009 before trailing off completely after Comeau's murder.

Lastly, and perhaps most revealing of Williams's escalating sexual deviance was his shift in focus. Specifically, his interest appeared to move beyond that of female underwear towards the owners themselves. This initially emerged through his attempts to personalize his victims through photographs of other non-fetish related items such as numerous family portraits displayed throughout the homes, certificates and identifying official documents (e.g., passports). More importantly, RW began leaving direct and indirect messages for his targets. The first consisted of arranging personal photographs belonging to one victim while on the youngest sister's computer he left the word "Merci" on an open Word document (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 21). Indeed, one police profiler assigned to the case observed that, "he could have just stolen the underwear off of a clothesline...but he's getting into the homes. He's in the beds, he's trying the underwear on, and I see that as a psychological movement toward the victims' bodies" (Appleby, 2011, p. 111).

Two notable instances demonstrate Williams's shift towards direct victim contact, both occurring within the month prior to the first sexual assault on Jane Doe. In particular, after watching a woman shower, he knowingly entered her home. His journal entry reflecting the event revealed that: "after having watched [her] for 30 minutes or so, and confident that she was home alone. I entered her house naked just after she got into the shower...very tempting to take her panties/bra from bathroom" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 34-35). He deemed that too risky and instead opted for her bedroom. A second event occurred after a break-in to another home; instead of departing he waited hidden and masturbating in the backyard for the 14-year-old daughter to return. His entry states:

I've been wanting to get into [daughter's] bedroom for a long time...After I'd collected what I'd wanted I'd stripped naked in the back yard. I was jerking off, preparing to go back in and get a shot lying on [daughter's] sheets, when her Dad came home ([daughter] followed within 10 mins). While I was in her room, I took the liberty of moving her guitar slightly, so I could see her bed from outside (little ladder lying there...). I watched her lie down and, within 10 mins, turn out the light. Unfortunately, I didn't catch her changing – maybe tomorrow night...in bed. (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 38-39)

As it were, Williams's transition to contact crimes was imminent.

Sexual Assaults

Two weeks later he sexually assaulted 20-year-old Jane Doe. She was known to Williams only by sight. On September 17th, 2009, RW entered her home by slicing a screen on a side window. Doe was sleeping in her bed with her 8-week-old daughter in the next room. She was sexually assaulted over a two-hour period from approximately 1 a.m. to 3 a.m. which began with Williams pressing her head into the pillow. When asked if she was going to be killed, he replied 'no' without any further clarification. After asking her a series of questions, Williams sat her up on the side of the bed and put her arms behind her back. He struck her three times to the head while ordering her to remain quiet and not look at his face. He then bound her hands using an appropriated pillowcase while uttering that he needed control over her. Doe tried to dissuade him by saying that childbirth had rendered her unattractive, to which he responded that she was "perfect and sweet" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 40) and reiterated that he would not hurt her or the baby. He affixed a pillowcase over her head which he refashioned into a pillowcase after it made her distraught.

Williams proceeded to take a series of nine photographs of Doe, ranging from fully clothed and blindfolded to completely naked and posing. The final picture depicts Doe covered with a blanket and sitting against the bedroom wall, still bound and blindfolded. Throughout the photograph session RW repeatedly fondled her breasts causing Doe distress. He stole five items

of underwear and other items consisting of a shirt, a sheet and baby blanket so as to not leave any evidence behind; however, the pillowcases he used to restrain her were found in the baby's bedroom. He departed after ordering her to count to 300. Police identified several DNA samples, one specifically on the back of her neck which provided for a suitable DNA profile. He returned to Doe's home three times over the next week starting with the very next night, on September 18th, 2009. He arrived to an empty house, where he broke-in and conducted his regular routine of fetish burglary. The spouse had returned home by the next night thus deterring Williams. Finally, on September 22nd, 2009, he entered once more and recorded pictures of her driver's license among other personal items.

During confession Williams stated that he did not personally know Laurie Massicotte; conversely, he also stated that he chose her as a target primarily because she lived alone (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). He raided her home twice in the days leading up to the sexual assault. The first, on September 24th, 2009, was two days after his final visit to Doe's home, with the second on the 26th during both of which he conducted his typical fetish burglary routine. The third invasion to her home, on September 30th, included her sexual assault that lasted upwards of three hours. Notably, at 46 years old, Massicotte was considerably outside of Williams's stated range of sexual preference. At approximately 1 a.m. Williams struck her repeatedly on the head with a flashlight failing to render her unconscious (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). With an arm around her throat so tight that she urinated herself, Williams told her that he was assigned to control her while she was robbed. After a struggle, she was blindfolded with a pillowcase. Williams agreed to fetch her some aspirin for a developing headache, at which point he bound her hands behind her back with wire. He apologized for punching her in the head and iterated that she was a 'nice lady' with a 'nice house' (Friscolanti, 2010). After Massicotte complained that her wrists hurt, he adjusted

her restraints with vinyl ties and a pillowcase. He then asked her a series of personal questions and assured her that she would not be killed. While asking about her boyfriend, he began fondling her breasts and attempted to reach down her pants despite her objections. He then began to take photographs recording 29 in all (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

Williams cut off Massicotte's shirt and bra with a knife he had brought while complimenting her appearance and reiterating she would not be harmed. To avoid abuse she removed her own pants at his request; however, she refused his demand to spread her legs which then caused him to physically pry them open. Massicotte relented once Williams told her that he would not rape her as long as he got the pictures he needed. A photo-session ensued which included a final demand for her to get on her knees with her head down by threatening "don't make me get you into position" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 49). He departed after taking one last photograph portraying her on the couch blindfolded and covered with a blanket with his penis in the foreground. The last picture is a self-portrait from his reflection in the mirror with the stolen black underwear covering his face. This was taken 20 minutes later, likely after returning to his home. Also found on the hard drive were photographs taken of the Tweed newspaper reporting both sexual assaults and referring to him as the 'Tweed Creeper' (Appleby, 2011). He then took seven photographs of that same newspaper burning in the fireplace.

Murders

Five more fetish burglaries occurred before the next direct contact offence, being Comeau's murder, six weeks later. Notably, her home in Brighton was well outside Williams's usual comfort zone and far enough that it required him to drive there. Similar to Massicotte, he broke into her home prior to assaulting her. Aware of her absence out of country, on November 17th, 2009, he broke-in and stole seven pieces of lingerie and recorded 52 photographs over a

two-hour period. That same night, on his return from Comeau's home, RW twice raided another home on consecutive nights. This homeowner, being a civilian employee at CFB Trenton and thus, was also possibly acquainted with Williams. Indeed, Williams stated that he picked this house as he had noticed a young woman living there. Like Massicotte, this woman also was above the preferred age range indicated by Williams. As it were, Williams struck at around 5 a.m. where he stole 44 items of lingerie, a pornographic movie and a sex toy. The homeowner arrived home that afternoon and discussed with a friend concerning the missing sex toys and whether to contact police. Williams broke in again for a second time that night where he stole an additional 116 undergarments and left a message open on the computer stating: "Go ahead and call the police I want to show the judge you're really big dildoes" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 56). It was at first believed that this message was in direct response to the discussion of the homeowner the day before concerning contacting police, thus suggesting that Williams had been in the house during the discussion (McKeown, 2010); though, for that to be true, Williams would have had to have remained in the home for upwards of 20 hours, which is conceivable given his historical level of commitment to practical jokes.

One week later, Williams returned to Comeau's home. On November 23rd, 2009, he entered her basement with a mask and rape kit and concealed himself behind the furnace where he waited for approximately 30 minutes for her to go to bed. However, RW was discovered by Comeau searching for her cat. Williams overcame her resistance by striking her multiple times to the head with his flashlight and bound her hands with rope from his kit. He then affixed her to a support pole and took two photographs of her. By this time duct tape had been applied to her face and rope secured her thighs and pelvis. Williams then concealed his presence by replacing the window screen, broke off a key in the front door lock, fastened a bedsheet over the window

in Comeau's bedroom with kitchen knives and, finally, removed night-lights from their outlets (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

When he returned to the basement another struggle ensued. As she lay unconscious on the stairway Williams took four photographs of the damage to her face and breasts. He then carried her to the bedroom where he commenced videotaping his sexual assault that endured almost two hours. While lying on the bed, the video showed her with a towel wrapped around her head and secured by duct tape. Her nose was the only area left exposed to allow her to breathe. Williams was shown to be completely naked except for the balaclava concealing his face. He then commenced penetrative rape as Comeau regained mild consciousness. After five minutes, he returned to the camera with movements that were "slow and deliberate" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 62). Comeau complained that her hands hurt and requested that he undo the bonds which was altogether ignored. At one point, Williams left the bedroom to see if anyone was approaching. Comeau seized the opportunity to flee to the ensuite bathroom where she was caught and struck additionally to the head. At the end, he looked at the camera and ejaculated into his hand and then discarded into the toilet. Williams then placed pieces of lingerie on top of Comeau while recording pictures. She was evidently distressed and breathing hysterically. She was again raped while moaning due the pain in her hands from the restraints. He attempted to suffocate her with his hand and a pillow to which she successfully resisted. After promising to not kill her, he "walks slowly up to her and places, what is believed to be duct tape, on her nose" (p. 66) where he watched her suffocate to death (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Two more photographs of Comeau's corpse were taken. Finally, he removed the duct tape from her head and placed her on the bed covered with a duvet. He stole nine additional items of lingerie and departed Comeau's home driving straight to Ottawa for a meeting. In the days following, Williams took 89

photographs of his computer screen which displayed news and police reports as well as Facebook dedication pages (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

Two months passed without incident before Williams raped and murdered Jessica Lloyd, on January 28th, 2010. Williams claimed to notice her for the first time the previous morning from his car as she worked out on her treadmill. He broke in the next evening to ensure that she lived alone. He returned later, after she had come home, and parked in an adjacent field. She awoke as he was about to strike her on the head. He tied her hands with rope and placed duct tape over her eyes. As she lay on the bed, he recorded photographs of her underwear while recording video footage. Next, he cut Lloyd's top off with a knife and removed her pants; she was fully compliant with his demands. Williams recorded numerous close-ups of her vagina and anus in a variety of poses before performing oral sex and raping her. She remained fully cooperative despite the obvious pain to her hands, discoloured from the tightness of the restraints. A series of lingerie fashion shows, oral sex and rape followed.

After a three-hour assault, Williams transported Lloyd to his cottage and excused himself from work via email by feigning sickness. While still bound and blindfolded, Williams washed Lloyd in the shower. Interestingly, when she complained that the water was too hot, he adjusted it accordingly. He then allowed her to sleep for a couple of hours. Later, during a stress-induced seizure, Williams comforted her with comments such as: "come on, don't bite your tongue. Relax try and relax, focus, stay with me, Jessica", along with "what can I do to help you in the meantime" and "hang in there baby" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 77-78), yet avidly video recorded her while in extreme distress. She was allowed to sleep for an hour with her hands unbound but still blindfolded. After she awoke, Williams told her that he wanted to have sex with her once more prior to releasing her. He again dressed her in ten sets of lingerie during which they

exchanged oral sex and had intercourse, all recorded photographically. While raping her, he wiped his penis off twice onto Lloyd's face and chest. The final photographs depict Lloyd sitting on the bed fully dressed, with the duct tape still covering her eyes and a plate of fruit given to her. Following photographs display Lloyd sitting on the bed smiling, thereby suggesting that she believed that she was about to be released. Her hands are then rebound, and duct tape placed over her mouth. As they made to leave, he struck her on the head with his flashlight which caused her skull to cave. He strangled her to death with rope and took additional photographs.

In all, Williams's assault on Lloyd transpired over a period of approximately 19 hours. After placing Lloyd's body in his garage, Williams drove to the base as he was required to fly early the next morning. Upon returning that evening, he drove straight to his Ottawa residence. He returned to Tweed on February 2nd, 2009 and dumped Lloyd's corpse in a wooded area wrapped in towels and duct tape (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). In all, Williams recorded 325 photographs of the assault on Lloyd. Ninety subsequent photographs were also taken and, in a manner similar to Comeau, included pictures of his computer screen displaying online news and police reports of the murder. One picture, in particular, shows Williams looking at an article on his computer while one of his videos involving Lloyd is playing next to it. He was arrested 10 days later thereby ending his criminal career.

Chapter 2 - Understanding Sadism

In order to analyze Russell Williams's sadistic development through the *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide*, it must first be shown that his behaviours were indeed sadistic. As this study focuses on an individual and in-depth instance of sadistic behaviour, the entire breadth of sadism must therefore be considered. Certainly, while it is vital to demonstrate how his behaviour was sadistic, it is equally important to identify how it was not. Thus, this section

outlines the foundations and current knowledge of sadism as determined through the available literature in order to portray a general sense of what constitutes sadism. In particular, as the notions of sadism are often conflicting (Dietz, Hazelwood, & Warren, 1990), this guided review navigates through the literature by focusing on those aspects most pertinent to Williams, specifically: its definition and motives; offender and crime characteristics; psychopathological comorbidity; measurement; and developmental factors. Finally, as Williams was significantly outside the typical age window for all manners of sexual offending, a brief consideration of late-onset deviant sexual behaviour completes this chapter.

Preface – Heterogeneity of Sexual Offending

As a category, sexual homicide encompasses all offenders who kill with a sexual component. Accordingly, the FBI considers a homicide sexual if merely *one* of the following conditions is present: victim is in a state of undress, exposure of sexual organs, sexual positioning of the body, insertion of foreign objects into the victim's body cavities, evidence of sexual intercourse (oral, anal, or vaginal), evidence of substitutive sexual activity (e.g., masturbation), or evidence of sadistic fantasy (e.g., ritualism, bondage; Ressler et al., 1988, p. xiii). Within this paradigm there exist multiple driving factors resulting in differing types of sexual murderers. For instance, Marshall and Kennedy (2003) reference four distinct motivations culminating in the death of a sexual homicide victim including: (1) to conceal evidence and silence a witness; (2) from rage in response to victim resistance; (3) accidentally as the result of panic in subduing the victim; and (4) for sexual gratification (p. 7).

As a natural consequence of research, many studies have blended these differing types of sexual murderers and, therefore, do not isolate the characteristics and factors reflective of sadism in particular (Marshall & Hucker, 2006b). For instance, in a study comparing sexual murderers

against sexual aggressors of women, it was determined that only 39.5 percent of the former group had deviant sexual fantasies (Nicole & Proulx, 2007). As fantasies are considered an essential element of criminal sexual sadism (Dietz et al., 1990), those rates are indicative of a heterogeneous sample of sexual murderers. As such, the results of these studies, as illuminating as they are in their own rights, are largely omitted from the current research dedicated specifically towards sadism, its characteristics and its correlates, as outlined below.

The Nature of Sadism

Sadism is an abnormal sexual preference that currently resides under the paraphilic umbrella. Severe sadism is a predominantly male phenomenon with only a handful of females throughout history demonstrating similar sadistic features (Stone, 2010). It was identified and characterized in *Psychopathia Sexualis* as “an innate desire to humiliate, hurt, wound or even destroy others in order thereby to create sexual pleasure in one’s self” (Krafft-Ebing, 1886, p. 53). Similarly, the DSM-5 officially classifies sadism as any “recurrent and intense sexual arousal from the physical or psychological suffering of another person, as manifested by fantasies, urges, or behaviors” (APA, 2013, p. 695). In its milder forms, sadism is neither inherently criminal nor psychopathological. It becomes these through non-consenting actions, thereby exchanging partners for victims (Hazelwood, Dietz, & Warren, 1992). In other words, consent differentiates individuals practicing subclinical *everyday* forms of sadism (e.g., BDSM), from those afflicted with a severe paraphilic disorder, manifesting as sadistic rape or lust murder (i.e., erotophonophilia; Foulkes, 2019). This sadistic expression is often referred to as *dangerous*, *severe* or *predatory* (Nitschke, Mokros, Osterheider, & Marshall, 2012) most often resulting in criminal victimization. As such, for the purposes of this study, only this *criminal manifestation of sexual sadism* is considered.

Though often confused, sadism is not synonymous with that of enjoyment derived from extreme cruelty; the offence *must* be sexually arousing to the individual (Hazelwood et al., 1992; Marshall & Hucker, 2006a). Ressler and colleagues (1988) describe it as a condition in which “aggression and sexuality become fused into a single psychological experience-sadism-in which aggression is eroticized” (p. 6); whereby the stimulation of one, triggers the other (Toates, Smid, & van den Berg, 2017). In this way, sadists are commonly sexually aroused by non-sexual aggression and are therefore thought to exert excessive violence over their victims in comparison to their non-sadistic counterparts (Yates et al., 2008). Indeed, Stefanska, and colleagues (2018) indicate that “sexual sadism is a relevant condition in the most grievous forms of sexual aggression” (p. 5). In their pioneering study based in the United Kingdom, MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood, and Mills (1983) found that while non-sadistic sexual offenders were incited by external precipitating events, sadists were instead spurred through internal deviant violent fantasy consisting of rape, buggery, kidnap, bondage, flagellation, anaesthesia, torture and killing (p. 23). This type of extreme behaviour is the ultimate realization of sadistic fantasy (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001) whereby a sadistic murderer “imagines sadistic scenes and these he acts out in his killings” (Brittain, 1970, p. 199).

With North American community prevalence rates of approximately 10 to 20 percent, the majority of sadists are not sexual offenders (Dietz et al., 1990; Marshall & Marshall, 2016). Likewise, the majority of sexual offenders are not sadistic. While the prevalence of criminal sadism is not entirely certain, it appears to be extremely rare. For instance, only one among a sample of 363 community-based men was found to have sadistic urges deemed to be problematic (Mokros et al., 2014). Among sexual offences themselves, studies have determined that an estimated two to five percent are as a result of sadistic inclinations (Yates, Hucker, & Kingston,

2008; Marshall & Marshall, 2016). Other research has shown that 10 percent of rapists appear to exhibit sadistic motivations while increasing to approximately one-third among sexual murderers (Stefanska, Nitschke, Carter, & Mokros, 2018). Congruently, a study of 166 sexual murderers determined that sadism was detected in 37 percent of the sample who, in turn, were more likely to have killed at least three victims than non-sadistic sexual murderers (37% vs. 11%; Stone, 2010) indicating a sadistic propensity to offend serially. Correspondingly, Stone (2010) discovered higher rates of sadistic motivations in 47 percent of serial sexual murderers. In real numbers, there is an estimated 35 to 200 sadistic serial killers active in the United States at any given time (Wright Jr. et al., 2006).

Sadistic Motivations

There is much debate surrounding the specific motives that drive sadistic sexual offending. It was initially believed that sexual pleasure was obtained through the acts of cruelty themselves, such as stabbing or strangulation (Krafft-Ebing, 1886). Contemporary notions are divided where some researchers theorize that it is not the acts of cruelty but the resultant pain, fear, humiliation and suffering of the victim that is sexually arousing to the offender (Marshall & Kennedy, 2003). For instance, one sadistic offender stated: “I was alive for the sole purpose of causing pain and receiving sexual gratification...I was relishing the pain just as much as the sex” (Hazelwood et al., 1992, p. 12-13). Moreover, Stone (2010) discovered that 73 percent of sexual sadists preferred coercive anal sex, not as a sexual preference *per se* but rather due to its increased capacity to exacerbate the pain and degradation of the victim. Conversely, others believe that the acts of cruelty, and the victim’s reactions of pain, fear and humiliation, are the means through which offenders experience control and dominance over the victim as “a demonstration of their power” (Chéné & Cusson, 2007, p. 73) which, in turn, facilitates sexual

gratification (Brittain, 1970; Marshall & Hucker, 2006b). On this, Terry (2012) explains that “sexual excitement [is] the result of control over the victim” (p. 46) where initial behaviours “can be minor and cause little damage...often increas[ing] in severity over time” (p. 47). This latter objective appears most representative of the majority of sadistic offenders with one in particular declaring that “the person who has complete control over another living being makes this being into his thing, his property, while he becomes the other being’s god” (as cited in Yates et al., 2008, p. 214). According to another:

The wish to inflict pain on others is not the essence of sadism...[but] to have complete mastery over another person...to humiliate her, to enslave her, are means to this end...there is no greater power over another person than that of inflicting pain on her to force her to undergo suffering without her being able to defend herself. The pleasure in the complete domination over another person is the very essence of the Sadistic drive. (Dietz et al., 1990, p. 165)

Conceivably then, sadistic sexual arousal may not be limited to one but is rather the result of a combination of all three; being the acts, the reactions and the overarching power exerted (Stone, 2010). Thus, depending on the offender’s motivation stemming from fantasy, sadistic behaviour may range from verbal control through affective psychological coercion to extreme physical aggression (MacCulloch et al., 1983). In fact, a sadistic offender may experience more sexual gratification from degrading acts than from the rape itself (Marshall & Kennedy, 2003) where sexual stimulation is often supplemented with masturbation (Brittain, 1970). One important notion to this study was observed by Brittain (1970) who suggested that if control and domination are the primary driving forces behind the offender’s behaviour, and the victim is complicit, then the degree of inflicted violence may be unimportant and therefore diminished.

Development in the Life Course

Some contemporary research has adopted the premise that the origin of sadism is a multifactorial and complex process that includes biological, environmental and social elements.

In particular, it is theorized to be a result of a genetic inheritance (Foulkes, 2019), or an existing maldevelopment such as neural deformities (Money, 1990) or abnormal endocrinal levels (e.g., testosterone; Terry, 2012). Parenthetically, Kafka (2003) suggests that increased testosterone results in hypersexuality which he links to multiple paraphilias. This biological propensity is then unbound through adverse environmental conditions and developmental abuses and finally unleashed through situational triggers (Yates et al., 2008). Briefly, it is believed that a predisposed child that is unable to cope with trauma retreats into a fantasy world to overcome feelings of helplessness. As a consequence of his ensuing social isolation, he fails to develop self-confidence and appropriate social skills (Burgess et al., 1986). Thus, his fantasies are grounded in themes of domination, power and control that, during adolescence, become increasingly violent and ultimately sexualized through compulsive masturbation. In particular, the timeframe around puberty was found to be especially important in the development of abnormal sexual preferences (Nicole & Proulx, 2007) which remains fixed throughout life (Stone, 2010). Eventually, anxiety from continued and unresolved trauma overcomes the effectiveness of fantasy resulting in delinquent activities. Specifically, sadistic offences were most often pre-empted by behavioural ‘try-outs’ consisting of “discrete components of the sexually sadistic fantasy...before their patterns of violent offending coalesced” (p. 970) which alternated in frequency from several times a week to extended periods of abstinence (Warren, Hazelwood, & Dietz, 1996). Accordingly, the mean age of onset of sexual offending was found to be approximately 18 years of age (Heil & Simons, 2008) with between 27 and 30 years of age representing the mean age of first sexual murder (Alison & Ogan, 2006; Wright Jr. et al., 2006).

There are three primary integrated models aimed at understanding the sadism developmental process in this light: The FBI’s *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide* (Burgess

et al., 1986); the *Trauma Control Model* (Hickey, 1997); and the *Integrated Paraphilic Model* (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Each subsequent framework is an extension of the one prior. Chapter three discusses this perspective at length through the MMoSH and further supporting research.

Offender and Offence Characteristics

Offender traits and demographics. Through extensive clinical experience, Brittain (1970) was one of the first to profile a sadistic murderer. With the recognition that not all offenders would possess all identified traits, he characterizes a sadistic murderer as an unmarried, white male less than 35 years old. Professionally, he is likely to seek employment that places him in a position of power over others. He abstains from using drugs and alcohol and likely has no psychiatric history or prior criminal record. Those who have committed criminal acts have typically done so in support of their sexual deviancy. He maintains few close relationships, instead preferring solitary activities and, as such, maintains a compensatory fantasy life. He can be described as reserved, well-mannered, intelligent, mild-natured, pedantic, prudish, narcissistic, arrogant and may display obsessional traits, especially concerning tidiness.

Many of these traits have subsequently been empirically validated in studies conducted by the FBI. In particular, as sadistic offenders closely align to an *organized* typology (Stone, 2010) they are more likely to be socially and sexually competent and of high birth order (e.g., first-born). They are likely to be adept in skilled employment and, as such, have the means to be highly mobile (Ressler et al., 1988). That said, three-quarters of offenders commit their offences in the same province or state (Warren et al., 1996). On that, Beauregard (2007) cites research indicating that older white offenders who perpetrate throughout the week were more likely to commute to other regions for their crimes. In contrast to Brittain's portrayal, a sadistic offender may be subject to alcoholism and likely lives with a partner (Ressler et al., 1988). That said, one

supposition suggests that the use of alcohol diminishes the potential pleasure due to lowered sexual virility as well as the degree of control exercised over the crime itself and therefore may be avoided by certain sadists who specifically seek control (Proulx, Cusson, & Beauregard, 2007). Moreover, *organized* offenders are more likely to engage in sexual perversions (Wright Jr. et al., 2006) and commit serial sexual homicide over single sexual homicide with crime scenes indicative of sexual sadism (Meloy, 2000). That said, Alison and Ogan (2006) argue that all behaviour, including criminal, lies on a continuum and therefore does not conform specifically to archetypal classifications such as *organized* and *disorganized*. Furthermore, they claim that clusters of behaviours do not map well to clusters of demographic and background characteristics of offenders such as those proposed by Brittain (1970). Accordingly, while many may be primarily classified as *organized*, sexual offenders including sadists are likely mixed cases that are situated somewhere along the organized/disorganized spectrum (Meloy, 2000) demonstrating characteristics of each, as outlined in Appendix B.

Other studies conducted by FBI researchers (see Dietz et al., 1990; Warren et al., 1996) found that all participants in their samples were male and almost exclusively white. Two-thirds originated from a middle-class background and approximately half had unfaithful parents or parents who divorced. Consistently, none had prior psychiatric treatment for sexual deviance. Approximately one-third of the offenders were educated beyond high-school, three quarters had stable employment with another third having previous military service during which two-thirds (62%) were suspected of perpetrating sexual assault. Close to half of the subjects were married at the time of offence with the same amount recounting prior homosexual experiences. Slightly less than half of the samples had issues with substance abuse and one-third had a prior arrest record. Lastly, 80 percent admitted to experiencing violent sexual fantasies.

Pre-crime behaviour. MacCulloch et al.'s (1983) seminal study was based on the premise that sadistic offenders' crimes were objectively motiveless. That is, there was no external force inducing sadistic offending. However, other researchers have indicated that there are indeed situational triggers facilitating their offences; specifically, that they are likely to offend at a time when they have suffered a loss of self-esteem or if they feel that some event has threatened their masculinity (Brittain, 1970). Alternatively, one study discovered among their sample that common life stressors contributed to sadistic offending such as a conflict with a woman (59%), employment (39%), financial (48%), legal (28%), physical injury (11%), marital or relationship (21%), birth or death of a family member (8%) or any combination of said factors (Ressler et al., 1988). Alternatively, Proulx, Blais, and Beauregard (2007) reaffirmed that the time period preceding a sadistic offence was dominated by a conflict with a female (58.5%), as well as general anger (66%), substance abuse (54% to 64%), deviant sexual fantasies (46.5%), a rejection or low self-esteem (35% to 39%), and a notable lack of sexual arousal (13.5%). Extrapolating generally from these results, it is conceivable that sadistic urges are triggered by anger due to an insult to their self-esteem through a rejection from a woman or situational anxiety from external stressors. These affects then may be further fueled through alcohol or drug use. In a sample of 118 sadistic offenders, 49 percent and 35 percent of the sample had consumed alcohol and drugs, respectively, prior to the murder (Ressler et al., 1988). In order to cope with this stressor, he retreats into fantasy in which sexual arousal is then generated through sadistic association.

When the urge to offend reaches catharsis, almost all sadistic offenders (86%) premeditate their offences (Proulx, et al., 2007). This level of planning is required to ensure that the event as closely as possible matches the fantasy of the offender (Ressler et al., 1988) which

may transpire over the course of days to weeks prior to the offence (Meloy, 2000). For instance, while sadistic offenders primarily target unknown victims, they are not randomly selected (Warren et al., 1996). Indeed, they seek victims who coincide with their sexual preferences and therefore may 'hunt' on multiple occasions for a victim who matches their fantasy (Ressler et al., 1988). Furthermore, many murders were pre-empted by various more minor crimes such as fetish burglaries (Ressler et al., 1988) during which the offender may discover or designate a future victim. Finally, this phase of 'hunting' for a victim generates positive affect by way of happiness and excitement (Beauregard, Proulx, & St-Yves, 2007).

Offence characteristics. Once a suitable target has been selected the offender is more likely to use his charm to gain the victim's confidence and lure her into a vulnerable situation as opposed to physically overwhelming her (Ressler et al., 1988). Illustratively, while 90 percent of the offenders employed some type of ruse to gain access to the victim, the remainder used surprise and 'blitz' tactics. Further indicative of planning, 70 percent of the subjects incorporated some type of rape kit to aid with the offence (Dietz et al., 1990). Furthermore, through controlled conversation the offender may personalize his victim to enhance his sadistic fantasy while, at the same time, verbally demand her submissiveness as opposed to traditional rapists who resort to sheer aggression with little discussion (Ressler et al., 1988).

As the underlying motivations of sadistic offenders appear to vary, so too do their actions during an offence. Also, while sadistic features may vary significantly between offenders, the patterns of criminal behavior of each offender are predominantly homologous across crimes especially when pertaining to burglary, rape and serial murder (Alison & Ogan, 2006). Illustratively, two studies conducted by FBI researchers quantified offence characteristics (see Dietz et al., 1990; Warren et al., 1996). Throughout both studies, almost all of the victims were

bound, blindfolded, gagged and tortured via means including beating, intentionally painful bondage and asphyxiation combined with elements of humiliation and psychological torment. Eighty percent of the victims were taken to a preselected location where two-thirds were abused for more than 24 hours with highly ritualized elements. Abuse included forced fellatio, penetration of vagina and anus, and foreign object insertion into body cavities. Two-thirds engaged in at least three different types of sexual coercion consisting of anal (65%) or vaginal penetration (95%), forced fellatio (70%), and foreign object insertion (40%). Markedly, 87 percent of the offenders were noted by the victims as having an “unemotional, detached affect” (Dietz et al., 1990, p. 171). Additionally, more than half of the subjects recorded their offences via means including journals, photographs (13%) and videotapes (7%). Additionally, between 40 and 65 percent of offenders took personal items (e.g., trophies and/or mementos) from their victims which were then hidden throughout the offender’s home or office.

Escalation to murder. As mentioned, sexual homicide is heterogeneous insofar as sexual murders are committed for various reasons including the silence of a victim or to destroy evidence, incidentally from expressive violence, and for sexual gratification (i.e., lust murder; Proulx et al., 2007). Indeed, one study found that a victim was murdered in 37 percent of sadistic offences (Proulx et al., 2007). Furthermore, Healey, Beauregard, Beech, and Vettor (2016) found that sadistic rapists and lust murderers differed as to the number of victims who were murdered (13% versus 76%). As such, another study by the same authors, identified two types of sadistic sexual offenders; specifically, sadistic rapists who are inclined towards victim humiliation, and sadistic murderers who gravitate towards mutilation of their victims (Healey, Lussier, & Beauregard, 2012). In other words, sadistic rapists require the victim to be alive in order to experience their fear, pain, suffering or humiliation (Stone, 2010) and therefore are not likely to

obtain sexual gratification from the murders (Ressler et al., 1988). As such, deaths inflicting by this group are most likely to occur either accidentally or instrumentally. Conversely, lust murderers receive sexual satisfaction primarily from the process of killing another. According to Krafft-Ebing (1886) lust murder represents the ultimate expression of sadism. In particular, “it entails the acting-out of deviant behaviour by means of brutally and sadistically killing the victim in order to achieve ultimate sexual satisfaction” (Arrigo, 2007).

As such, when murder does occur throughout the course of a sadistic offence, it may not be premeditated but rather due to situational factors. For instance, an assault may result in homicide if the victim’s reaction was not in accordance with the offender’s fantasy. Particularly, any resistance by the victim threatens the offender’s need for power (Brittain, 1970) and is therefore met with increasing aggression (Ressler et al., 1988). In essence, situational triggers may activate a *hot* reactive emotional system in the offender that overtakes the *cool* cognitive system thereby undermining his self-control and planning (Davies, Woodhams, & Rainbow, 2018). In these cases, the mechanism of death is generally asphyxiation (62.5%), knife wounds (25%) or blunt force blows to the head (12.5%; Proulx et al., 2007). Therefore, as an instrument towards murder, sadists gravitate towards their hands with methods such as asphyxiation because it permits a heightened degree of control and a direct connection to the victim (Marshall & Kennedy, 2003). Once the threshold of murder has been breached, sadistic offenders are likely to kill again thereby becoming serialized (Arrigo, 2007).

Post-Crime Behaviour. Contrary to most rage-driven offenders who turn themselves in to police, sadistic offenders feel no guilt or remorse (Beauregard et al., 2007) and are instead more likely to feel a strong sense of relief or release of tension (Ressler et al., 1988). Indeed, many resume their daily routine without pause or interruption. After the offence, he is apt to

behave in a self-preserving manner to avoid detection. For instance, two-thirds of sadistic killers concealed the victim's corpse (Warren et al., 1996). He may also change employment or move to another area (Beauregard et al., 2007). That said, the excitement through an offender's behaviour during the aftermath of the crime may rival the excitement achieved throughout the offences themselves (Ressler et al., 1988). As such, he may also demonstrate risky actions by returning to the scene of the crime, attending the victim's funeral, or attempting to be actively involved in the investigation. Furthermore, Warren and colleagues (2013) assert that sadistic killers are more likely to retain elements of their crimes such as trophies or photographs and videotapes despite the overwhelming risk of amassing such potential evidence. In the case of the latter, it may be that the killer "poses the victims, assumes roles of his own, and attempts to create the 'perfect pornography'" (p. 669) for preserving and reliving the experience to which they later masturbate (Ressler et al., 1988). In severe cases, should an offender relocate the victim's actual corpse for revisitation purposes, post-crime behaviour may include post-mortem intercourse, mutilation or cannibalism (Marshall & Hucker, 2006a). That said, most sadistic post-mortem mutilation is done instrumentally to dismember the body for easier disposal (Meloy, 2000).

Victimology. Most victims tend to be the same ethnicity as the offender (Meloy, 2000) being Caucasian women (70%) who are strangers or casual acquaintances to the offender (80%; Dietz et al., 1990; Warren et al., 1996). They are young to middle-aged adults who are typically killed away from their homes (Wright Jr. et al., 2006). They are often less than 30 years old (Beauregard et al., 2007); yet, half the offenders also selected targets under the age of 14 (i.e., suggestive of pedophilia; Dietz et al., 1990). Rossmo (2018) found that only approximately one-third of serial murder victims were attacked in their own homes. They are likely pre-selected based on their solitude and their match to the killer's fantasy (Ressler et al., 1988). It is thought

that sadistic offenders may either be drawn to victims they desire or to destroy what they despise (Wright Jr. et al., 2006). That said, one study found that only 17 percent of victims represented somebody of psychological importance to the offender (Dietz et al., 1990).

Associated Psychopathology

The personality disorders most frequently cited as concomitant with sadism are that of narcissism (Brittain, 1970) and psychopathy (Wright Jr. et al., 2006) primarily due to their mutual lack of empathy and remorse towards their victims (Proulx et al., 2007). Narcissism is characterized through a sense of entitlement, grandiosity, emotional detachment, arrogance, a need for admiration, and a lack of empathy (APA, 2013; Meloy, 2000) which may be most noticeable through their sexual relations (Akhtar & Thomson, 1982). Interestingly, Gabbard (1989) identifies an inverse manifestation to the popular vision of the *oblivious* narcissist as it concerns their interpersonal relatedness. He describes the *hypervigilant* narcissist as one who is keenly aware of others' perceptions of him and from whom he takes cues as to how to behave, is shy and self-effacing, maintains his self-esteem by avoiding vulnerable situations, and who experiences a "deep sense of shame related to their secret wish to exhibit themselves in a grandiose manner" (p. 529). As far as psychopathy, within the DSM-5, it is a derivative of antisocial personality disorder (APD) with its characterization as: predatory, a disregard and violation of the rights of others, manipulative, deceptive, a lack of remorse, aggressive, impulsive, reckless, and irresponsible (APA, 2013). Although sadism and psychopathy are believed to be correlated psychological constructs (Mokros et al., 2014), research has provided varyingly modest results of between .29 and .61 when associating sadism to the *Dark Triad* constructs (i.e., Machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy).

Nevertheless, other research has indicated there to be no direct relationship between

sadism and psychopathy (Yates et al., 2008). Consistently, only one subject (5%) in Warren et al.'s (1996) sample of 20 sadistic offenders exhibited psychopathic symptoms. Furthermore, empirical research by Proulx and colleagues (2007) revealed that antisocial and narcissistic traits were slightly less prevalent among sadistic than non-sadistic rapists and murderers. The same study found that only 7 and ten percent of their sadistic sample reached the disorder thresholds for APD and narcissism, respectively, indicating that antisocial and narcissistic traits emerge coincidental to sadism. This research suggests that sadism is likely a discrete phenomenon as represented by communal *everyday* sadism and that the addition of adverse personality traits or disorders transforms it into differing manifestations of *severe* sexual sadism. Congruently, Krafft-Ebing (1886) posited that the presence of psychopathy functions solely as an *antipathic* disinhibitor towards committing acts of cruelty and Terry (2012) indicates that sexual sadism is grossly exacerbated by the presence of APD. Indeed, as a key trait of certain personality disorders, a lack of empathy and remorse is regarded as an integral component in the transition from fantasy to reality (Mokros, Osterheider, Hucker, & Nitschke, 2011).

One of the theories put forth by Proulx and Sauvêtre (2007) suggests that while sadists may not reach the threshold for diagnosable psychopathological disorders, they may possess certain traits that are expressed solely during their offences. Congruently, Brittain (1970) observed that during an offence, a sadistic offender is “transformed into a very different person from the shy, timid, withdrawn individual he so often appears to his acquaintances” (p. 204). Therefore, it appears as though sadism can occur with the absence, or in tandem, with other mental and personality disorders (Dietz et al., 1990).

Whereas there has been no clear link established between the variously indicated psychopathologies and sadism, the research surrounding paraphilias has been fairly consistent.

The DSM-5 acknowledges that paraphilias do not emerge singularly but most often occur clustered with others (APA, 2013). In their study on sadistic murderers, Ressler and colleagues (1988) discovered that more than 70 percent of their subjects possessed paraphilic interests in addition to sadism. In particular, sadism has been found to co-occur with voyeurism, fetishism, transvestic fetishism, and pedophilia (Terry, 2012). Notably, one interesting facet of transvestism involves the offender becoming the object of his own desire where he may masturbate to his own mirrored reflection (Brittain, 1970). Furthermore, as serial sexual offenders, sadists demonstrate higher instances voyeurism (75%), fetishism (71%) and transvestism (25%) over those of their non-serial counterparts (Proulx et al., 2007). On average, there are usually between three and five paraphilias present in an individual, with one particular preference assuming control at any given time. Accordingly, sexual offenders usually perpetrate multiple varieties of sexual offences (Heil & Simons, 2008). It has been suggested that paraphilias are hierarchical in severity and that voyeurism, exhibitionism, rape and finally murder are increasing escalations of the same paraphilic continuum where “the presence of fantasies and paraphilias is proportional to the intensity of ...sexual murderers” (Proulx et al., 2007, p. 25). Thus, sadistic offenders most likely possess multiple other deviant sexual preferences that likely first appear as nuisance sexual offences (e.g., fetish burglary). Indeed, deviant sexual fantasies first emerge through transvestism, fetishism and exhibitionism which subsequently evolve sadistically so as to maintain their efficacy for sexual arousal (Hazelwood et al., 1992).

Diagnostic Measurement

Due to definitional inconsistencies and varying conceptualizations, criminal sadism is difficult to identify in practice (Yates et al., 2008). To that end, there are a number of methods which attempt to identify diagnosable criminal sadism. The first and most prominent means is

via a clinician's inference based on an offender's self-report data with regards to the criteria set forth in the DSM (Marshall & Hucker, 2006b). That said, these criteria are widely regarded to misrepresent the essential features of sadism and therefore fails to accurately distinguish between sadistic and non-sadistic offenders (Nitschke, Osterheider, & Mokros, 2009). In turn, numerous inconsistencies arise among clinicians with respect to their diagnosing criteria (Marshall & Kennedy, 2003). Consequently, most clinicians are left to rely on their own interpretations of sadistic behaviour for diagnosis (Marshall & Hucker, 2006a).

Another method of sadistic measurement is achieved through the use of dimensional scales in an attempt to transition away from the theory-driven criteria of the DSM to more objective behavioural markers (Marshall & Hucker, 2006a). Accordingly, these scales recognize that sadism may variably exist on a continuum as opposed to the strictly dichotomous (yes/no) classificatory system that the DSM advocates (Nitschke et al., 2012). One such scale, the *Sexual Sadism Scale* (SeSaS) was constructed to measure the broad range of potential sadistic behaviours (Mokros et al., 2014). As such, it was compiled from previous iterations that incorporated features deemed by forensic experts to best represent sadism (see Marshall, Kennedy, Yates, & Serran, 2002). The 11 dimensions are directly observable from the crime scene thereby removing inference from the evaluation. Particular emphasis is placed on the first five items, being: sexual arousal; control and power aspects; torture; humiliation; and mutilation, all of which are considered core criteria (Marshall & Hucker, 2006a). A score of at least four of the 11 items, three of which from core traits, is required for a positive diagnosis of sadism with each additional factor indicating an increasing severity or intensity. Subsequent testing found that while all of the sadists scored at least four, the majority exhibited an average of seven behavioural markers of the scale (Nitschke et al., 2009). Lastly, a second part is comprised of the

Table 2. Severe Sexual Sadism Scale (SeSaS)		
Part 1	Crime Details	Description
1	Sexual arousal during the crime scene behaviors.	Subject admitted to feeling sexually aroused, or the victim statements, witness statements, or crime scene details such as trace evidence make this apparent.
2	Exertion of power, control, or dominance.	Exaggerated degree of intimidation toward the victim by the perpetrator. Markedly higher level of power exerted than necessary for a sexual offence.
3	Torturing the victim.	Perpetrator used methods expected to result in the infliction of pain (physical torture) or actions (including verbal behavior).
4	Degrading or humiliating behavior directed towards the victim.	Subject exhibited behavior (verbal or physical) expected to evoke feelings of shame or disgust in the victim.
5	Mutilation of sexual areas of the victim's body.	Mutilation of genitals or breasts in terms of (partial) amputation or disfiguration through use of considerable physical force, either pre/post-mortem.
6	Mutilation of other areas of the victim's body.	As in Item 5, if body parts other than vulva/vagina, penis, or breasts were involved.
7	Excessive physical violence.	Level of violence exceeded the level necessary to control the victim.
8	Insertion of objects into the victim's bodily orifices.	Attempted or accomplished insertion of an object into the vagina, anus, or urethra of a victim, either pre/post-mortem.
9	Ritualistic behavior.	Carrying out peculiar actions, sequences, patterns, or circumstances resembling a screenplay was important to the perpetrator during commission of the offense.
10	Confinement of the victim. (spatial coercion)	Subject deprived the victim of his or her liberty beyond the immediate time and situation of the sexual activity.
11	Taking trophies.	Taking personal (identifiable) objects belonging to the victim for himself or parts of the victim's body (such as hair) or recordings (photographs, video, audio).
Part 2	Biographical Data	Description
1	Planful conduct.	The subject planned the offense in advance.
2	Indications of sadistic acts in the past beyond listed offenses.	Positive information of cruelty to human beings or to animals.
3	Arousability through sadistic fantasies or acts.	Self-reported or observer-rated indication of pleasurable arousal on the part of the subject in response to witnessing acts of torture, humiliation, fear, or hurting of others.

Adapted from Mokros, Schilling, Weiss, Nitschke, & Eher, 2014, p. 147

offender's biographical data and, although not a direct component of the matrix, does allow for further subjective consideration. As such, it is by this scale, as outlined in Table 2, with a four-factor working threshold, that the presence and severity of Williams's sadism is evaluated throughout the first part of the discussion.

Late Onset and Age-Related Sadism

The clear majority of sexual deviancy can be traced to adolescence and puberty (Heil &

Simons, 2008). It is rare, if not impossible, for paraphilias to develop outside of peak sexual maturity. Indeed, one important notion held by many is that “sadism is *not* an adult-onset phenomenon” (emphasis mine; Foulkes, 2019, p. 6). As such, the research into this area of late onset deviancy is as sparse as the offenders themselves. Gannon and Ward (2008) acknowledge that current integrated developmental models do not adequately explain sexual aggression beginning in late adulthood. Interestingly, Krafft-Ebing (1886) differentiated between *natural* and *acquired* sadism by iterating that while some offenders were born with the condition, others “for a long time do everything to conquer the perverse instinct. If they are potent, they are able for some time to lead a normal sex life, often with the assistance of fanciful ideas of a perverse nature” (p. 57). Congruently, Stone (2010) iterates that some offenders have developed a moralistic resistance that inhibits them from acting out their fantasies that develop early but may endure for many years prior to assault. Thus, the individual may experience intense anxiety or depression as a result of resisting his paraphilic urges (Brittain, 1970). When offences do occur, sadistic offenders are able to successfully conceal their crimes for many years; specifically, for an average of six to 16 years (Heil & Simons, 2008). The DSM-5 considers sadism to be a lifelong affliction (APA, 2013). Along this line of thinking, paraphilias including sadism are ubiquitous from adolescence and varyingly repressed throughout the potential offender’s life-course as opposed to developing at different stages and ages. With this in mind, the real issue then becomes the contextual factors that pre-empt the transition from fantasy to reality.

As discussed, sadistic behaviour may become more extreme over time as a result of habituation and conditioned learning. That said, for sadistic behaviour that first emerges at a later stage of life stage, it may be differentially expressed as a factor of age. For instance, Knight and Prentky (1990) identify subtypes of sadistic rapists including *overt* sadists who are gratuitously

physically aggressive and *muted* rapists whose limited aggression is expressed symbolically through ritualistic behaviour. This ritualism may include behaviours such as an elaborate usage of restraints (Burgess, Commons, Safarik, Loooper, & Ross, 2007) that is recognized as *sexual bondage* by Warren and colleagues (1996) of which has central importance to the sadistic offender by symbolically reflecting the subjugation of the victim. As such, a correlation might be made between the *muted* subtype and the age of the offender where younger offenders (e.g., ages 25-30) are more likely to gag and bind their victims than older offenders (e.g., ages 30-35) who may surprisingly resort to kissing and complimenting (Alison & Ogan, 2006). Indeed, younger offenders are known to be more aggressive and violent.

Finally, to reiterate, the goal of this summary is to outline the current literature regarding sadism and its immediate correlates. These notions, as outlined, draw significant parallels to Williams's behaviour which is further examined throughout the initial discussion.

Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework

Researchers at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) sought to determine the motivations driving sexual murderers. In their study of 36 sexual murderers, claiming a total of 118 victims, Burgess and colleagues (1986) determined that sexual homicide was likely to be a result of a multifactorial process rooted in violent fantasy as a result of childhood trauma. In light of this, they conceptualized a developmental framework to provide explanatory depth for the phenomenon specific to these outlying sexual offenders. Known as the *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide* (MMoSH), its underlying conceptual goal is to “understand sexually oriented murder and sadistic violence” (Burgess et al., 1986, p. 261) by considering the interrelation of factors at different developmental stages of an offender's life. Thus, conceivably, all criminal sadistic manifestations should be adequately explained through this model. Consequently, this

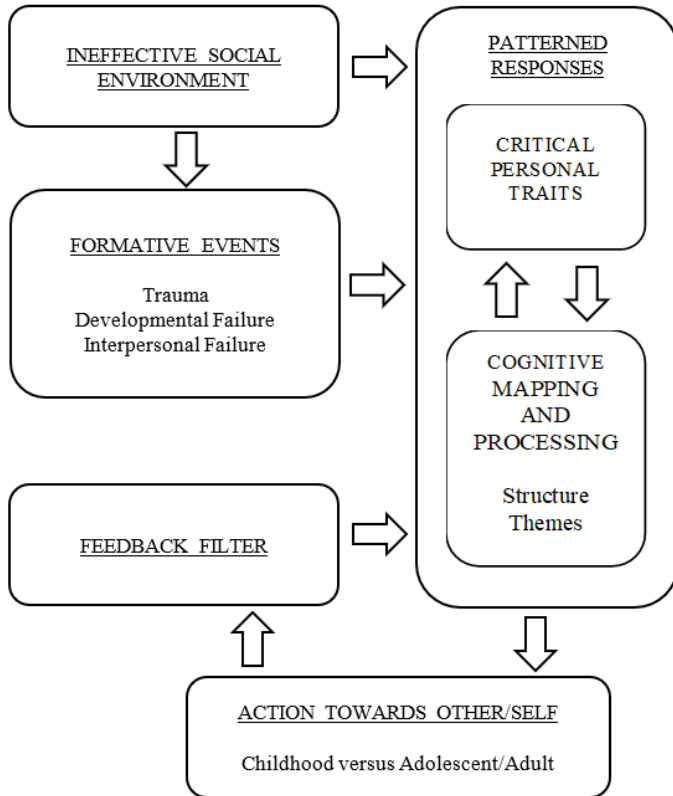


Figure 1. Sexual Homicide: Motivational Model

Adapted from Burgess et al., 1986, p. 262

study applies the above model to Russell Williams in an attempt to discern the developmental challenges spurring his acquisition of sadism.

The MMoSH is comprised of five interrelated stages that initially involves the environment to which the offender is first exposed as a child and traumatic events experienced therein; the resultant core traits and cognitive processes; the emergent behavioural phase; and finally, the mental reactions of the offender towards his own crimes

which affects future offending (Burgess et al., 1986). Figure 1 illustrates this process which is further delineated below. One caveat acknowledged by the researchers is that while an offender's genetics and neurobiology may play a crucial role in the development of sadism, in what way and to what degree remain unknown (Ressler et al., 1988). As such, in the first phase, *ineffective social environment* the child's parents indirectly set the conditions through which proper parental attachments are inhibited; it is the sustained social climate. It is devoid of parental protection, nurturing and support for the child unto whom they impose unrealistic coping expectations (e.g., boys must be tough). In particular, they adopt a non-intervening parenting style through inconsistent and disproportionate discipline (Ressler et al., 1988) thereby normalizing inappropriate behaviours and reinforcing negative distortions (Burgess et al., 1986). Some

conditions identified as being particularly impactful include home instability by way of parents' alcoholism or incarceration, maternal prostitution, separation from parents due to challenges at home, psychiatric issues involving the parents (Wright Jr. et al., 2006) or sheer neglect from parents who are solely concerned with their own interests (Marshall & Barbaree, 1990). In essence, it is the child's initial quality of life within the family environment that plants the seeds for cognitive distortions on sexuality (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001).

Whereas the ineffective social environment consists of the conditions under which the child lives, the second phase of the model, *formative events*, involves his direct experiences further divided into i) *traumatic events*, ii) *developmental failure*, and iii) *interpersonal failure*. Firstly, childhood traumas can manifest as either *normative* or *non-normative* events. Normative traumas are those expected to be experienced by a child as part of regular life, such as the death of a family member, parental divorce or illness (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Conversely, non-normative traumas are those that should not normally be incurred by a child such as direct physical, sexual or psychological abuse, or indirect events like witnessing marital violence, neglect, or social exclusion. These traumatic damages are the crux for the child's future offending whose deleterious effects are exponentially cumulative (Hickey, 1997). Indeed, it has been suggested that sadistic offenders experience a variety of traumas more frequently and severely, and at more vulnerable periods of their youth (Mieczkowski & Beauregard, 2009) with sexual humiliation particularly believed to induce sadistic proclivities (Heil & Simons, 2008). The ensuing distress from these events is compounded by the affective neglect of the parents. Accordingly, frightening memories of these traumas is thought to directly contribute to negative thought patterns and unsuccessful reconciliation reinforces victim helplessness (Burgess et al., 1986). Impact may not solely be from the damaging effects of the traumas themselves, but due to

the inability of the child to adequately cope with them. Instead, coping is achieved through developing daydreams and fantasies surrounding these traumatic events in which he has control so as to manage feelings of helplessness from real life (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001).

Secondly, *developmental failure* entails a negative social attachment to the child's parents or, if emotionally deprived, a bond that is lacking entirely (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Indeed, two of the most important parental responsibilities when raising a child are to foster self-confidence and an emotional attachment to others (Marshall & Barbaree, 1990). His childhood parental attachments may consist of an authoritative father and a "strong, ambivalent relationship to his mother" (Brittain, 1970, p. 202). Regardless, an absent or negative parental bond is accompanied by a failure of the parents to have any sphere of influence or effect over the child (Burgess et al., 1986). Congruently, Ressler and colleagues (1988) cite research indicating that strong parental attachment is resistive towards delinquency. In other words, parents who fail to relate to their child inadvertently facilitate initial antisocial behaviours. Further, this lack of positive familial attachment is eventually reflected in the community where the adolescent's delinquency first emerges throughout phase four.

Thirdly, *interpersonal failure* is an inability of parents to maintain a "sustained and meaningful involvement in the adolescent's life" (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001, p. 13). In effect, they are unable to act as appropriate role-models for the child, either through absence or by demonstrating inappropriate behaviour such as violence or substance abuse. It is within this environment that a child may see, and associate, a combination of aggressive and sexual behaviour from his parents (Burgess et al., 1986).

Both of these initial phases, while interacting themselves, also work in tandem to establish the third phase, a child's *patterned responses* by way of i) *critical personal traits*, and

ii) *cognitive mapping and processing* (see figure 1). Firstly, the killer's personality traits become principally negative and interfere with the development interpersonal relationships. They are characterized as resulting in social isolation, preference for autoerotic activities, fetishes, and indicators of antisociality such as rebelliousness, aggression, chronic lying and a sense of entitlement (Burgess et al., 1986). These traits, along with a lack of self-confidence derived from enduring traumatic helplessness, inhibit prosocial friendships which, in turn, results in social isolation encouraging the child to recede further into fantasy. As one father noted of his son: "As long as I knew him, he seemed to be satisfied to be by himself. I did not think that was natural" (Ressler et al., 1986, p. 18). As fantasies become a proxy for real human interaction, the child relates to others only through this skewed sense of reality which is an emotional blend of sex and aggression. Indeed, "the internal behaviors most consistently reported over the murderers' three developmental periods were daydreaming, compulsive masturbation, and isolation" (Ressler et al., 1988, p. 30). As a result, without external validation, the child fails to develop social values and espouses a disregard for human relationships and an ingrained anger towards the society that has shunned him (Burgess et al., 1986).

These core traits set the foundation for the child's *cognitive mapping and processing* being the thinking patterns that generate the meaning of events and link the individual to the social environment. According to Burgess and colleagues (1986), these "fixed, negative and repetitive" (p. 73) views are aimed towards self-preservation by reducing feelings of helplessness and anxiety. Incidentally, these thinking patterns eventually evolve to incorporate themes of domination and control over others. As a result, the aging child sees the external world through generalizations and absolutes (e.g., all women are the same; Burgess et al., 1986). Furthermore, the individual's thoughts generate violent and sexual images which, through fantasy, become the

motivating force behind sexual offending (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). MacCulloch and colleagues (1983) found that these fantasies gained sadistic elements around puberty and the onset of masturbation which, in response, increased significantly. These fantasies consist of themes in dominance, revenge, violence, rape, molestation, power, control, torture, mutilation, inflicting pain on self/others, and death (Burgess et al., 1986). In turn, the individual becomes aroused by high levels of aggression.

Eventually, when effects of fantasy become unable to mitigate the traumatic anxiety, the soon-to-be offender evolves to behavioural try-outs which constitute the fourth phase, *actions towards others* (Burgess et al., 1986). Specifically, this phase is the eventual behavioural expression of sexualized violent fantasy; it is the transition from thought to action. This behaviour is usually precipitated by stressors such as a conflict with females, marital or employment problems, physical injury, and/or stress from a death (Ressler et al., 1988). Ultimately, the fantasies and eventual murders are inappropriate coping strategies to mitigate stressors (Proulx et al., 2007). In children this behaviour may emerge through cruelty to animals or abuse towards other children, fire starting, stealing, property destruction and hostile play. A lack of consequences by authority figures reinforces these acts which sets the stage for future adult offending. Furthermore, ongoing and increasingly social isolation reinforces a sense of entitlement within the offender who also fails to develop empathy and impulse control. Indeed, adolescents and adults may, in turn, demonstrate many different forms of increased violent crime including assault, burglary, abduction, and nonsexual murder (Burgess et al., 1986). Sadistic behaviours may first consist of acting out their fantasies on objects (e.g., dolls, clothing, corpses) where the suffering is imagined (Hazelwood et al., 1992). Illustratively, “by enacting the paraphilic fantasy...[he] attempts to satisfy, complete, and reify his illusions” (Arrigo & Purcell,

2001, p. 25). The escalation then continues with acts such as rape, torture, mutilation and necrophilia (Burgess et al., 1986) which becomes the fantasy material for subsequent masturbation (Warren, et al., 1996).

The fifth and final phase, the *feedback filter*, encompasses the killer's cognitive responses to his crimes which alter or evolve his future actions by feeding back into his patterned responses. Firstly, the killer justifies his actions (e.g., 'she deserved it') thereby reinforcing his perceptions of the victim. Secondly, for all intents and purposes, this phase describes the learning process in that the killer analyzes the criminal event and implements corrections to his future actions to avoid detection. Thirdly, adjustments are made towards future behaviour in order to preserve the integrity of the killer's inner fantasy world. For instance, due to the increasing refinement of fantasy, the likelihood that the real event will correspond adequately is improbable. Thus, a victim that does not react in a predicted and required manner may interfere with the level of arousal experienced by the killer. As such, modifications are enacted by the offender so as to mitigate future confounding variables. Lastly, he experiences increased arousal through fantasy variations where feelings of dominance, power and control are increased. Otherwise known as *habituation*, the killer requires additional stimulation to meet the heightened levels of arousal. The end result is an ongoing cycle of evolving violent sexual fantasy, escalating sadistic behaviour, and cognitive feedback through positive or negative reinforcement and habituation (Burgess et al., 1986). As his sexual offences progress, they are likely to increase in violence, less planning and less time between murders (Wright Jr. et al., 2006). In this way, there is a natural escalation from sexual sadism to lust murder (Terry, 2012). It is through this lens that Williams's life history and criminal behaviour will be examined in the discussion section.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

To analyze Williams's sadistic preferences, in terms of its presence and origins, is best accomplished through a case study as the primary, non-traditional methodological approach. According to Tellis (1997), the case study method is ideal "when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed" (p. 1) and where pertinent details may be omitted in more quantitative-based research. Indeed, whereas traditional approaches demonstrate the existence of a relationship between variables (the 'how'), it does not adequately articulate the 'why'. Case studies, on the other hand, are designed to compile "richly detailed, complex accounts of individual instances" (Longhofer, Floersch, & Hartmann, 2017, p. 190). As purely anecdotal, it resides at the opposite end of the research spectrum than meta-analyses which amalgamate many studies allowing for generalizations. Accordingly, the case study excels at revealing the "tension between the assumed homogeneity of research subjects and the reality of their singularity" (Longhofer et al., 2017, p. 193). Consequently, as generalizations require that causal mechanisms are present in *every* instance, a case study's power lies in its ability to refute (or further support) an established theory (Tellis, 1997).

Stake (2005) identifies three types of case studies. The first, *intrinsic*, is used to garner a greater understanding of the subject matter as an end unto itself. The second method, *instrumental*, undertakes the case study in support of a greater goal such as the reinforcement of a theoretical generalization. Lastly, the *multiple* or collective case study incorporates numerous instances into one study. In fact, there is no consensus on how a case study should be structured, or even its precise role (Longhofer et al., 2017). Accordingly, the case study can adopt any methodological approach so long as it concentrates on a single instance, as "one among others" (Stake, 2005, p. 444). As units of analysis, case studies may examine anything from an

individual to an organization to a civilization. As such, while a case study may incorporate primary data gathering, it is the qualitative interpretation of that information that is essential. There are many forms of evidence that case studies may utilize including: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artifacts. In order to ensure a high degree of validity and reliability, a case study is strengthened by incorporating various methods of triangulation. One such type, data source triangulation, compares various sources to ensure the accuracy of the information (Tellis, 1997).

The primary goal of the current study is consistent with that of an *intrinsic* approach in that an analysis of Russell Williams's developmental and criminal history is conducted so as to gain a deeper understanding of his sadistic motivations. A secondary, *instrumental* conclusion might also be derived from those results which address the model's reliability. As a purely qualitative analysis that employs no primary data there is no requirement for research ethics approval. The secondary sources of evidence used throughout this study are comprised entirely of documentation obtained digitally.

Data Collection

First, Williams's criminal activity was discerned through the Agreed Statement of Facts (ASoF) from his criminal proceedings. As a legal document, the ASoF resides under the purview of the court system and, as a governmental institution, is available for public access (Brankley et al., 2014). Specifically, the ASoF is a 96-page document compiled by legal representatives that encapsulates the abundance of evidence seized from Williams's residences and corroborated through his confessions. It was obtained digitally through a direct unofficial request to the Ontario Superior Court of Justice in Belleville. Second, as the best available source, Williams's life and developmental history was sourced primarily through the investigative journalism of

Timothy Appleby as illustrated through his book (Appleby, 2011) in which he discusses Williams's life at length. Other similar accounts were written (see Gibb, 2011; Warren 2017); however, due their sensationalistic nature, they are minimally referenced for corroborative purposes. As with previous research utilizing these sources, caution should be exercised with the accuracy of the information contained therein due to potential hindsight bias (e.g., 'I knew it all along') or memory decay (Brankley et al., 2014). Digital media news reports were supplemented where appropriate. Additionally, contained with the ASoF are journal entries and victim letters from Williams, most of which were unsent, that provide insight into his mental inclinations.

This thesis examines all of these sources intricately to establish complete insight into Williams with a specific focus on his criminal sexual deviancy. Specifically, throughout the section on his background, the information provided by the various journalistic sources was compared and contrasted so as to establish the most accurate historical context possible with available information. In the first part of the discussion, the ASoF was examined with respect to the literature on sadism in order to establish the likelihood of its presence within Williams, a necessary prerequisite for the ensuing analysis. The subsequent segment consists of an examination of all available sources on Williams's development through the theoretical lens of the MMoSH. This model was selected as the primary framework due to its base in empirical validity (Nicole & Proulx, 2007) along with its reduced conceptual ambiguity over other models.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

The following discussion focuses first on determining the presence, severity, and type of Williams sadistic nature as a contingent factor of the MMoSH. The second part of the discussion applies the model to Williams's developmental history and early criminal behaviour in an attempt to determine the origins of his sadistic preferences.

Part One: Assessing Williams's Sadistic Nature

This section seeks to establish Williams's sadistic nature through multiple perspectives, namely: the concurrent psychopathological and paraphilic elements as substantiated through Watt (2015); conformity to the FBI's *organized / disorganized* typology (Ressler et al., 1988), diagnostic measurement according to the *sexual sadism scale* (SeSaS; Mokros et al., 2014); and the differentiation between sadistic rape and lust murder. The ASoF constitutes the primary source for analysis of RW's criminal behaviour augmented with certain crime authors privy to the video transcripts of the murders (Appleby, 2011; Gibb, 2011).

Psychopathology. Personality disorders. In her case study, Watt (2015) provides a comprehensive breakdown of extant pathologies that Williams may exhibit such as narcissistic, antisocial, obsessive-compulsive and avoidant personality disorders. She suggests that while not necessarily meeting the diagnostic threshold according to the DSM-5, he demonstrates traits consistent with "narcissism (e.g., lack of empathy, sense of entitlement, arrogance, an expectation of compliance with his wishes), avoidant (sensitivity to rejection, socially inhibited) or schizoid personality disorder (loner, lacking close friends, emotionally detached)" (p. 10). In particular, while Williams does not demonstrate traits consistent with the popular understanding of narcissism such as overt arrogance and boisterousness, his self-effacement and "near-neurotic modesty" (Appleby, 2011, p. 93) are congruent with Gabbard's (1989) vision of the *hypervigilant narcissist*. Conversely, Gibb (2011) notes that Williams is congruent with that of OCPD characterized through his extreme orderliness, obstinacy, workaholic-ness, stubbornness, miserliness, over-meticulousness, over-conscientiousness, and lack of emotionality. Similarly, Williams is consistent with Akhtar and Thomson's (1982) description of obsessive personality in terms of his modesty, respect towards others and rigid value system (aside from his offences).

Notably, while acknowledging that the combination of sadism with psychopathy is exceedingly dangerous, RW does not meet the threshold for psychopathy according to the PCL-R (Watt, 2015). In fact, Williams's forensic psychiatrist contended that he was not a diagnosable psychopath (Mallick, 2014).

As research has shown, personality disorders are weakly correlated to sadism; however, the addition and combination of certain aversive traits may serve to refine and amplify an individual's sadistic nature into its various sub-forms. Thus, if psychopathy generates a subset of sadism likely characterized through excessive aggression and violence, then it follows that traits associated with the other personality disorders more evident in Williams, such as narcissism or OCPD, yield a type of sadism more grounded in themes of power and control. Accordingly, through a lack of excessive violence, RW appears to align with that of a *muted* subtype which may be further consistent with his late age of initial behavioural expression. Congruently, from the video transcript, Gibb (2011) describes Williams's (at times) gentle and caressing disposition towards his victims as an apparent "desire to soothe, to nurture, and to comfort his captive" (p. 142). That is to say, these behaviours were inherently self-serving and in no way of primary benefit to the victims themselves.

Paraphilias. Conversely, as a consequence of hypersexuality, paraphilias often bundle together with one deviant preference assuming dominance at a given time. Additionally, the criminal expression of paraphilias has been suggested to evolve and transition from minor, non-contact offences (i.e., nuisance; e.g., voyeurism, fetishism) to severe assaults (e.g., sadism, pedophilia). Indeed, Williams was likely hypersexual (Gibb, 2011) as illustrated through his ability to sexually perform multiple times over the course of both his assaults on Comeau and Lloyd. Naturally, he demonstrated certain evident paraphilias (e.g., fetishism, transvestism) that

require no further elucidation as they have been amply portrayed through media discourse. Notably, one photograph depicts Williams wearing an item of stolen female underwear underneath his military uniform (Friscolanti, Gulli, & Patriquin, 2011) suggesting that his paraphilias were not compartmentalized. Furthermore, they can be seen to progress in an aggressive trajectory from non-contact fetish burglaries to rape and murder. In fact, the break-ins appear to have ceased after he first breached the threshold of murder (Watt, 2015). Although elements of fetishism and transvestism are evident throughout his four direct-contact offences, those preferences appear to recede into a secondary role behind sadistic desire.

To a lesser degree Williams also exhibits other potential paraphilias such as pedophilia, voyeurism, and necrophilia. First, the ASoF indicates that Williams targeted 13 females under the age of 18, with some being as young as 12, and possibly nine. Indeed, his first target was the bedroom of the neighbours' 12-year-old daughter (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Furthermore, child pornography consisting of teenage females was discovered on his computer hard drives (Warren, 2017). Having said that, none of the female youths were actual subjects of sexual assault indicating non-exclusive pedophilic urges. Second, Gibb (2011) reports that Massicotte witnessed glowing red lights outside her window months prior to her assault which may correspond to those of a camera. Less speculative instances of potential voyeurism are revealed through Williams's own journal entries. Specifically, during one offence immediately prior to his first sexual assault, he waited in the backyard and masturbated while watching a young female prepare for bed and, during another, he masturbated naked from his vantagepoint in the backyard to a female in the shower (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

Third, as Williams reportedly had sexual contact with a victim who was both semi- and unconscious, Brankley and colleagues (2014) suggest that it constitutes initial-stage necrophilia;

specifically, that of *role-playing*. Alternatively, Gibb (2011) asserts that RW demonstrated necrophilic tendencies by posing, photographing and recording video of his deceased victims. Interestingly, whether by coincidence or design, he avoided staying in the same location as Lloyd's corpse for the four days she remained in his garage. As soon as she was killed, he drove to his allocated place at CFB Trenton for an early morning flight. Upon return that evening, he drove straight to Ottawa and did not return to the cottage until the following Tuesday, at which point he immediately transported her body to the woods. In sum, Williams exhibits several paraphilias, some more evident than others, one of which appears to be emergent sadism.

Organized / disorganized typology. As mentioned, severe criminal sadists largely conform to the FBI's *organized* typology (Meloy, 2000) in both personal traits and offence characteristics as stipulated by Ressler and colleagues (1988). That said, as behaviour lies on a continuum, offenders may demonstrate predominantly *organized* traits while also exhibiting *disorganized* traits thereby representing *mixed* cases (Alison & Ogan, 2006). Indeed, an offender's behaviour may even change depending on the type of crime committed. Accordingly, McCulloch and colleagues (1983) indicate that in order to understand criminal sadists, one must consider both his non-fatal and fatal offences as they demonstrate "an escalating sequence of sadistic behavior, which if unchecked, can ultimately lead to loss of life" (p. 26). As such, this section considers all of Williams's offences as they relate to the *organized - disorganized* spectrum, as per Appendix B.

Organized. Williams demonstrates many of the personal traits consistent with *organized* offenders. For instance, he possesses a high level of *intelligence* as demonstrated through achieving a Master of Defence Studies from the Royal Military College (Watt, 2015) as well as his aptitude to succeed in the intensive pilot selection and training processes (Appleby, 2011)

which incidentally alludes to highly *skilled work*. As an older brother, he claims *first-born* status. Williams's stepfather assumed parental control when Williams was five years of age and therefore was the primary patriarchal influence during his critical developmental periods. As a highly sought nuclear physicist, Sovka's *work was stable*, at least consistently if not geographically. In particular, his work forced the family to relocate to South Korea which was reportedly aversive for RW. Throughout his offences, Williams generally maintained a *controlled demeanour* which was described from video as "extremely deliberate and calm" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 80). In fact, at one particular moment he glanced at the camera with a 'half smile' and, during another, he removed his balaclava and while fondling Comeau kissed her cheek while smirking. Also, he immediately travelled to, and conducted, work after both murders. Finally, he was apt to *follow police and news reports* of his offences as demonstrated by the saved reports and screenshots on his computer hard drives. In fact, one of the last photographs Williams recorded was of himself perusing an online news article concerning Lloyd's disappearance while simultaneously watching the video of her assault and murder (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

With regards to the *organized* offence characteristics, without question Williams exemplified them all. For instance, his offences were all extensively *planned*; with few exceptions all his fetish burglaries took place at night when he knew the homeowners to be away. Furthermore, he took precautions to leave as little trace evidence of his presence as possible by mitigating any damage and replacing window screens upon his departure. Of his four direct-contact victims, he broke into all their residences prior to the assault to ensure they lived alone. Additionally, when driving to Comeau's home, he turned off his Blackberry mobile telephone immediately so that it could not be traced. As yet another example, he utilized some

degree of a ‘rape kit’ throughout his assaults (*R. v. Williams*, 2010) that consisted his cameras, vinyl ties, duct tape, green rope, a knife and a heavy-duty red flashlight (Gibb, 2011). His planning was so meticulous that Warren and colleagues (2013) claim that Williams took aerial photographs of Comeau’s home prior to the initial break-in.

As far as Williams’s victims, they were *unfamiliar* to him yet preselected. Indeed, it was rare for Williams to enter a home in which a female consistent with his preferences did not reside. It was equally rare for him to enter a home with its resident present. As such, Williams certainly scouted his targets. Furthermore, he first observed ‘Doe’ while on his boat and thought her to be ‘cute’. While claiming to have not known Massicotte, he acknowledged that he selected her because she lived alone. In fact, she lived only two houses from his own cottage where he would have undoubtedly observed her, at least in passing. Although minimized by Williams, he had previously worked with Comeau through mutual flights and French language mentorship (Appleby, 2011). That said, the connection to Lloyd is more obscure. He claimed to have seen her on a treadmill through the basement window as he drove to work (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). However, this is unlikely as her house is set back from the road (Gibb, 2011). As such, a deeper connection to Lloyd is uncertain.

He *personalized* all of his victims by recording photographs of their personal belongings such as: numerous family portraits displayed throughout the homes; trophies, plaques, certificates and diplomas, especially those belonging to youth females; passports, student cards and transit passes; work documents; and, in one case, a chequebook and a doctor’s letter (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Another method by which he personalized his victims was through *controlled conversation*. He spoke extensively with all his direct assault victims by asking them questions about their family status as well as assuring three of his victims that they would not be harmed

and that they would be released in due course. His heavily *controlled crime scenes* were evident in that he chose to conduct his offences in the victim's residences knowing them to live alone. Furthermore, during his attack on Comeau, he protected the crime scene by disabling the front door lock, disconnecting the nightlights, and fastening a blanket over the bedroom window (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). When his control was threatened, such as being alarmed at a noise during Lloyd's assault (Warren, 2017), instead of retreating he immediately changed venues by transporting her to his own residence which allowed the assault to continue.

His control over the scene and victims included an extensive *use of restraints* and blindfolds that ranged from pillowcases to vinyl ties, duct tape, and rope (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). One of the methods he used to maintain the *submissiveness of his victims*, in lieu of aggression, was to reaffirm that they would not be harmed as long as he got the pictures that he needed. In this way, he demanded cooperation by promising release. Indeed, during his first assault he, repeatedly uttered that he needed control over her to allow him to walk her to another room (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Above and beyond securing the victim's compliance, Williams was not overly aggressive, except with Comeau who resisted his intentions at every opportunity. Thus, she was subject to extensive and excessive *physical violence prior to her death*. Lastly, both victims' *corpses were hidden* and out of plain view with Comeau covered by a duvet on her bed while Lloyd was transported to a wooded area and left unburied.

Disorganized. Conversely, Williams does show some notable *disorganized* traits such as a *minimal use of alcohol* in that he, interestingly, abstained completely in relation to his offences. There were also no overt *situational stressors* (i.e., financial, employment, interpersonal) present that affected Williams (discussed further in Part 2). He also implemented *no significant changes to his lifestyle* throughout the course of his criminal career. On the contrary, after his offences he

resumed his normal daily routine with ease. For instance, throughout the time of his fetish burglaries, he was observed to regularly appear for work despite having been active throughout most of the previous night (McKeown, 2010). Even after committing murder he immediately attended to obligations for the military. Of note, none of his offence characteristics were consistent with those of a *disorganized* offender except where ambiguously determined.

Ambiguous / indeterminable. There were some features of Williams's behaviour that were either consistent with both *organized* and *disorganized* types or were indeterminable through available sources. First, he demonstrated varying degrees of *social capacity*. Specifically, he would not have been able to secure such a prominent position as wing commander if he lacked charismatic ability. Indeed, his superior officer indicated that in order to be selected as a commander, Williams needed to have the ability to connect with subordinates, the media, and the public (McKeown, 2010). As is often the case, those closest to him were shocked at the discovery of his crimes. That said, it appears as though his social adeptness was limited to token professional correspondence. Throughout his personal social life, he was noted as being a stiff, awkward and socially inept person who did not possess ground-level social intuition. Accordingly, one nickname associated to him was 'the cyborg' due to his inability to grasp common humour (Appleby, 2011). As a couple, both Williams and Harriman were described as a private couple who rarely invited guests over to their home. At social gatherings, Williams was characterised as a person who would remain quiet and stare at the ground (Warren, 2017). Second, his level of *sexual competence* is indeterminable. His lack of traditional sexual output throughout college suggests a low level of 'normal' sexual functioning. Furthermore, some reports indicate that his marriage had been sexless for years (Appleby, 2011). That said, his extensive sexual endurance throughout the assaults suggests that his sexual functioning was

adequate, if not heightened (i.e., hypersexualism).

Third, there is little information regarding the type of *childhood discipline* experienced by Williams. His biological father Dave was noted as being strict and authoritative; however, he was not an active parent to RW after the divorce when Williams was approximately five years old. His stepfather, Jerry Sovka was described as easygoing and ‘tolerant’ of his stepsons (Appleby, 2011). Fourth, he perpetrated almost half of his fetish burglaries in Ottawa when *living with his wife*; however, the remainder were committed while *living alone* at his cottage in Tweed (Appleby, 2011). Notably, all four of his assaults were conducted on weeknights when he was alone at the cottage. Fifth, regarding the geographic elements of his offences, his behaviour changed over the course of his criminal career. In particular, while every fetish burglary and the first two assaults were conducted within walking distance of his residences in Tweed and Ottawa, he was required to drive to his murdered victims thereby demonstrating *mobility*.

As for the discrepancies during the offences, there was no intention to *transport any victims*. In fact, Lloyd was only removed from her residence as a contingency in response towards being discovered. However, as mentioned, Lloyd’s corpse was relocated to a wooded area constituting the sole instance of *transportation of a body*. Lastly, Williams was inconsistent with *removing and leaving evidence from the scene*. Indeed, multiple samples of semen were extracted from his fetish burglaries and assaults. That said, all items of his rape kit were brought with him as he departed as well as some inculpatory evidence from ‘Doe’s’ assault such as a shirt, sheet and baby blanket that he had touched. Furthermore, after Comeau’s death, he washed the bedding in bleach so as to destroy any residual evidence. All murder instruments were removed from the scenes.

In sum, as is apparent, while some of Williams’s behaviour was undoubtedly

disorganized, especially pertaining to his fetish burglaries, the majority of his actions are consistent with that of an *organized* offender. Notably, *organized* crime scenes have been associated with serial offending (Marshall & Kennedy, 2003) where offenders are likely to repeat their escalating offences until caught (Watt 2015). Although not reaching the FBI's threshold of a serial killer, Williams demonstrates serial killer *manque* in that he possesses many of the attributes of sadistic serial offending but was apprehended too early (Stone, 2010). Indeed, as one criminal profiler stated of Williams: "it was plain that for practical purposes he *was* a serial killer [and] that he would have murdered again had he not been caught" (Appleby, 2011, p. 5). Consequently, however, his early apprehension impedes much behavioural analysis as determined through offence patterns, especially as the conduct of his two murders was immensely different. Nevertheless, the presence of his sadistic nature is reinforced through his substantive *organized* traits and repeated nature of his offences along with the key dimensions correlated with sadism, which is considered below.

Sexual sadism scale measurement (SeSaS). As sadistic offenders require some type of direct and active interaction with their victims, the following section considers only those crimes that had physical contact; namely, the four assaults on 'Doe', Massicotte, Comeau, and Lloyd. Furthermore, part two of the scale has been omitted from this study as the authors failed to stipulate how those items should be diagnostically incorporated. Incidentally, the biographical factors constituting *part two* (i.e., planful conduct, indications of sadistic acts in the past beyond listed offences and arousability through sadistic fantasies or acts) are invariably considered elsewhere. Thus, only the features that constitute *part one* are examined. To recap, as per Table 2, the features consist of the following 11-point scale of objective crime scene details that can be used to determine the presence and severity of sadism. There must be evidence of at least four of

the markers with three of them inclusive of core items one through five (Mokros et al., 2014).

1. *Sexual arousal during the crime scene behaviors.* As perhaps the most apparent feature to verify, Williams's sexual arousal was endemic throughout all of his assaults as shown through hundreds of photographs and video recordings. They clearly depict his erection and coinciding sexual activities ultimately culminating in orgasm and ejaculation. Indeed, the entire nature of the assaults appear to be sexually gratifying to Williams.

2. *Exertion of power, control, or dominance.* Elements of control were a central feature throughout all of Williams's assaults. As he told his first victim immediately prior to restraining her: "I need to control you better" (Gibb, 2011, p. 4). Furthermore, there was very little sexual contact between him and 'Doe'; yet, there was an unspecified sample of DNA retrieved from the back of her neck that generated the same genetic profile (i.e., that another person could match the profile being one in 1845 Caucasian males) as that of a sample of semen found from Lloyd's assault. According to Gedes (2010), the RMP method is used when there is a sufficiently large enough sample to generate a decent profile whereas other statistical methods are required if the DNA sample is small, degraded or contaminated. Notably, an evidentiary sample of his blood yielded a more specific DNA profile that is unique to one in 48 billion individuals (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). In light of this, it is conceivable that the specimen obtained from 'Doe's' neck was semen. Thus, with the lack of both sexual contact and intrinsic violence, it stands to reason that Williams obtained sexual gratification from aspects of control and subjugation relieved through masturbation.

Additionally, the level violence towards the victims was proportional to gaining their submission. In fact, once control over his victims was established, he demonstrated several pseudo-compassionate behaviours such as altering a blindfold that was causing distress, fetching

aspirin for a headache, loosening restraints that were severing circulation, adjusting the water temperature of a shower that was too hot, and providing food (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). These benevolent actions might be construed as an alternate variation or tactic of control thereby reinforcing the victims' obedience. Indeed, the complicit victims were verbally complimented, calmed and reassured that they would not be harmed. That said, as the sole victim to physically resist, Comeau garnered an increased level of aggression and degree of injury. Accordingly, her requests to have her restraints loosened were systematically ignored. Consistently, his verbal reassurances were not present with Comeau as they were with his other victims. For instance, at one point his video showed him whispering into Comeau's ear to which she responded "no, no, please...I don't want to die" (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 66) suggesting that he was verbally taunting her. Finally, when she asked to live, Williams replied: "did you expect to?" (Appleby, 2011, p. 153). Lastly, throughout the course of Lloyd's assault, when they both lay down to rest, Williams wrapped the lead of rope binding her hands around his own instead of securing her in another area of the cottage (Gibb, 2011).

3. *Torturing the victim.* Watt (2015) asserts that Comeau was "raped, tortured, and tormented" (p. 5). This behaviour on behalf of Williams appears to be punitive as a result of her resistance and does not seem to be administered to generate further sexual excitement. As this behaviour was largely absent from his other victims, this feature is not relevant to Williams.

4. *Degrading or humiliating behavior directed toward the victim.* Secondary only to his elements of control were the aspects of humiliation and degradation towards his victims. This item is qualified by Mokros and colleagues (2014) as "behavior (verbal or physical) expected to evoke feelings of shame or disgust in the victim" (p. 147). As such, his first two victims, 'Doe' and Massicotte, endured being photographed while forced into increasingly humiliating positions

that caused them distress. In another instance, during the assaults on Comeau and Lloyd, Williams wiped seminal fluid onto their faces and chests (Gibb, 2011). Additionally, as part of his attack on Lloyd, Williams affixed two zip ties around her neck and stated: “I feel something I don’t like, I pull on that and you die, got it?” before forcing her to perform oral sex with cameras positioned mere inches from her face. (*R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 74). Additionally, there are inferences in the ASoF that he conducted anal sex on Lloyd which could further be construed as degrading behaviour.

5. Mutilation of sexual areas of the victim’s body. Throughout the assault on Comeau, it was indicated that she sustained injuries to her breasts (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Those injuries were likely incidental to the assault in general. Thus, as his other victims suffered no known pre- or post-mortem injuries to their sexual organs, his behaviour is inconsistent with this feature.

6. Mutilation of other parts of the victim’s body. There is no evidence of direct pre- or post-mortem mutilation to any of Williams’s victims. Although Comeau and Lloyd suffered significant injuries, they should not be considered mutilative.

7. Excessive physical violence. Again, outside of Comeau’s assault, the amount of aggression was seemingly limited to gaining control over his victims. Truly, the gratuitous violence incurred by Comeau may be explained by her active resistance in that it generated significant frustration and anger in Williams. Indeed, even when actively murdering his victims, it was only to the degree needed to inflict death; there was no overkill.

8. Insertion of objects into the victim’s bodily orifices. While there was no indication of such behaviour throughout Williams’s crimes, he did harbour a particular fascination towards the sexual areas of his victims which make it conceivable that future behaviours would escalate to more invasive actions. For instance, he recorded numerous photographs depicting close-ups of

all four of his victims' sexual regions. Furthermore, several events captured by video reveal a potent interest in the vaginal and anal areas of Comeau and Lloyd seemingly beyond that of simple sexual interest (see *R. v. Williams*, 2010, p. 62, 72, 73). That said, as the insertion of objects into these areas is not objective in his actual offences, this feature cannot be considered as reflective of Williams's sadosexualism.

9. Ritualistic behavior. For clarity, the authors characterize this dimension as "carrying out peculiar actions, sequences, patterns, or circumstances resembling a screenplay" (Mokros et al., 2014, p. 147) where a "a certain structured sequence of action was repeated again and again" (Nitschke et al., 2009, p. 268). This ritualization has been equated to the behavioural *signature* which is unique to each offender; the reasons behind the offences. Whereas the *organized* typology refers to an offender's *modus operandi*, the ritualistic element relates to his *signature* (Stone, 2010). Due to the limited number of victims and the immense difference between offences, patterns of behaviour revealing Williams signature are difficult to deduce. However, some aspects of his offences were highly ritualized; specifically, around the use of restraints, blindfolds and photography. In fact, his entire criminal portfolio appears to be centered around fetishistic and pornographic photography. In particular, his use of restraints was becoming more elaborate with each offence. For instance, during his initial assault on 'Doe', he fashioned *ad-hoc* bindings from appropriated pillowcases which evolved to rope used to bind Comeau's hands whose tail was coiled neatly into a figure-eight. In fact, some photographs recorded by Williams particularly focus on the ropes used to bind Lloyd's hands (*R. v. Williams*, 2010) suggesting that they were an important component of his fantasy particularly reflective of *sexual bondage*.

10. Confinement of the victim. All four of Williams's victims were confined in their own homes through the use of restraints and blindfolds ranging from pillowcases to duct tape, rope

and vinyl ligatures. Furthermore, the rope that bound Lloyd's hands was also attached to the headboard of the master bed further restricting her movements while he prepared for the assault (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Assuredly, two of RW's convictions consisted of forcible confinement.

11. Taking trophies or records. Outside of the traditional lingerie and sex paraphernalia that he stole from all of his victims, likely for fetishistic purposes, he absconded with a multitude of photographs, and in some cases video, of his assaults which constitute records of the events. Furthermore, he kept meticulous logs of all four assaults as well as saving digital copies of news and police reports at the various stages of investigation. As far as physical 'trophies', from Lloyd's residence he seized personal photographs of Lloyd and her friends and her student card (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

Conclusively, Williams has demonstrated substantive behaviour consistent with *six* of the scale items: one, two, four, nine, 10, and 11, with three dimensions consistent with core traits as stipulated. This is notably proximal to the score achieved by the majority of sadistic offenders and is above the required threshold of four. As such, according to the SeSaS, Williams exceeds the theoretical threshold considered for severe sexual sadism.

Typology – sadistic rape versus lust murder. Research has shown there to be three primary reasons in which a sadistic assault might result in murder: accidentally through expressive violence, instrumentally to destroy evidence, or for sexual gratification (i.e., lust murder). A number of factors suggest that those of Williams's victims that died were killed instrumentally. For instance, RW revealed that he killed Comeau and Lloyd so that their assaults would not be linked to one another as well as to the assaults of 'Doe' and Massicotte through the very distinctive aspects of his photography (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Obviously, while such claims certainly require skepticism, the manner by which Williams killed his victims is inconsistent

with lust murder. In particular, initial attempts to kill Comeau, such as manual strangulation and suffocation with a pillow, were unsuccessful. It was only through placing duct tape over her nose that resulted in her death (of which he avidly watched from a distance). Next, Lloyd's murder consisted of rendering her unconscious from a blow to the head before strangling her with a rope. As such, both murders were perpetrated by some degree of separation (e.g., the passiveness with Comeau and diminished consciousness of Lloyd) that is uncharacteristic of lust murderers. Had they both been driven by sadistic motivations (i.e., lust murder) he likely would have directly and actively strangled them while conscious in order to amplify the experience through their reaction and subsequent control.

Furthermore, though his crimes were heavily premeditated, he did not appear to account for Comeau's death in his plans as his first two attempts at suffocation were unsuccessful, as mentioned. As his first murder victim, it is conceivable that he never planned to kill Comeau prior to entering her home. Indeed, her very discovery of him in her basement impeded his standard approach (i.e., *modus operandi*) of physically overwhelming his victims while they slept and the integrity of his fantasy. Added to this, Comeau's resistance served to frustrate Williams thereby potentially activating his 'hot emotional system', as suggested by Davies and colleagues (2018). Illustratively, a sexual assault is five times as likely to result in murder if the victim puts up a front of resistance (3% to 18%; Proulx et al., 2007). Once over the threshold of committing murder, he was further disinhibited from perpetrating it again with Lloyd, especially through elevated confidence as his identity had yet to be discovered. Notably, he also indicated that he had not made the decision to kill Lloyd until after he had transported her back to his residence (McKeown, 2010). Again, with a modicum of skepticism in mind, that he concealed his face initially for each of the murders suggests that he did not have an innate plan to kill

Comeau or Lloyd further inferring that the act of killing is not sexually gratifying to him.

Lastly, as mutilation, especially genital, is a standard feature of lust murder (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001), its absence throughout Williams's assaults further suggests that the murders were not for sexual gratification. This is congruent with the findings by Healey and colleagues (2012) that sadistic rapists tend to incorporate humiliation whereas lust murderers gravitate towards mutilation. Having said that, despite his passive involvement, RW took keen interest in Comeau's murder through intensive video recording suggesting some degree of enjoyment, whether it was sexually-based or not. Thus, from all outward appearances, RW was a sadistic rapist and did not kill his victims for sexual gratification. Nevertheless, there is nothing to suggest that his sadistic nature would not have evolved to a point where killing was the primary avenue of sexual gratification if given the opportunity. Regardless, while the type (or severity) of Williams's sadism is not essential to this study, its examination further establishes its presence as a contingent factor of the MMoSH to determine its aetiological roots, which is now considered.

Part Two: The Application of the MMoSH to Russell Williams

To accomplish the primary research goal of this study, namely the origin of Williams's sadistic preferences, the *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide* (as illustrated by Figure 1) is applied to his developmental history. Understandably, there are large areas of Williams's family history that investigators have been unable to uncover. As such, this section is predominantly inferential thereby providing possibilities rather than definitive answers. For the purposes of this analysis, two overarching processes are identified within the model's framework. The first, termed here as the *creation* process, is comprised of Phases 1, 2, 3 and the initial behavioural expression of Phase 4. These elements together account for development of sadistic preferences. Second, the *evolution* process encompasses Phase 5 and the recurrent elements of Phases 3 and 4

to address the rotation or escalation of paraphilic fantasy and associated behaviour. Each section includes a brief recap of what the model proposes.

Creation process. Phase 1 - Ineffective social environment. As the initial component of the model, Burgess and colleagues (1986) suggest that the quality of familial bonds that a child experiences ultimately establishes his enduring perception of interpersonal relations. It is the environment in which a child is raised. Specifically, parents who fail to nurture, support, protect and intervene in their child's inappropriate behaviour thereby encourage negative cognitive distortions of the external social world throughout later life.

From this lens, there appears to be no indications that Williams experienced abnormal or excessively adverse social conditions. Throughout his life Williams has steadfastly remained silent on any matters relating to his family circumstances, even to his closest friends. As such, there is little information available concerning his early childhood and, of that which was discovered, was gleaned from the external perspectives of neighbours and acquaintances. In near consensus, they portray a relatively normal and happy childhood had by Williams. His biological father was said to be a strict and short-fused patriarchal figure who frequently admonished his wife in public and had little connection to his sons (Appleby, 2011). Speculatively, his treatment of his wife likely worsened in private, possibly extending to his sons by proxy, or at least perhaps witnessed by them. In a young boy these messages may have stimulated persistent negative distortions, especially towards women. Williams's mother, on the other hand, was noted as being charming, sophisticated, conservative and a 'prissy' socialite. Together they were characterized as aloof with neither parent showing much affection towards RW and his brother, instead concerned primarily with their own interests. For instance, when attending the local social club, RW's mother would often leave the boys on their own to play on the waterfront or in

the sandbox (Appleby, 2011). Correspondingly, Williams's mother was noted as uninvolved in her children's early schooling, contrary to most other mothers at the school (Gibb, 2011).

Despite the emotional disconnection from his parents, RW was characterized as a normal albeit shy and self-effacing child. He was noted by one neighbour as a "lively, friendly little boy who would chat across the fence" (p. 39) while another described him to be quiet, yet smart (Appleby, 2011). Importantly, that he was well-behaved and polite demonstrates that his parents' discipline was either appropriately administered or otherwise not required. Nevertheless, when the Williamses divorced, RW's mother arranged a medical assessment out of concern for his welfare. It indicated that, at the age of seven, he was "an active, precocious child with an interest in life and people" (p. 17) and had close relationships with both his mother and father (Warren, 2017). Certainly, they strove to consistently nurture and support his development by enrolling both boys in extra-curricular sports and music programs. Moreover, both boys were enrolled at top-tier boarding schools. Williams's stepfather was very social, energetic, funny, nice and more even-tempered than his predecessor. He also was tolerant of his stepsons and their home was noted to be a cheerful one in which the two brothers were seen to have a close relationship. Notably, a neighbour describes the household as strict, cold and not very loving (Appleby, 2011).

That said, Williams's strict and indefinite moratorium on discussing his family is unusual and suggests that there may have been some austere environmental conditions or events that were not outwardly known. Indeed, a well-adjusted person is generally able to openly discuss his family life (Heil & Simmons, 2008). Having said that, Williams minimized every aspect of his life, not solely that of his family. As such, this may be more indicative of a self-effacing personality trait than childhood adversity. As such, failing further inside clarification concerning Williams's family dynamics, his childhood social environment is inconsistent with that

advocated by the MMoSH.

Phase 2 - Formative events. Whereas the previous phase relates to the child's general environment, this phase captures his direct experiences as they relate to traumas, developmental failure and interpersonal failure throughout childhood and adolescence. These events are an incidental result of the environment to which the child is exposed (Burgess et al., 1986).

Trauma. The researchers suggest that trauma stems from abuse and neglect of which the latter may be subtle and unseen (Ressler et al., 1988). It is unknown to what degree Williams's parents were neglectful; however, it was not such that garnered the attention of neighbours or teachers. The MMoSH discusses two types of abuse, *normalized* (i.e., routine and expected events such as illness and death) and *non-normalized* (e.g., *direct* as in physical, sexual or psychological abuse and *indirect* through witnessing violence) that they consider key elements towards the development of sadistic interests. Notably, the effects of these traumas are compounded by the lack of emotional support stemming from the child's environment. Thus, not only does Phase 1 facilitate these traumas, it also fails to mitigate their consequences (Burgess et al., 1986).

Many attempts to discover explanatory traumatizing or abusive events during Williams's childhood have been met with little success. Indeed, for all intents and purposes, there is no evidence that Williams was abused and therefore incurred no *non-normative* traumas. Nevertheless, he did experience what amounts to some potential *normative* stresses. For instance, the divorce of his parents had a poignant impact on him prompting his mother to arrange a medical assessment (Appleby, 2011). As discovered by Warren and colleagues (1996), half of their sexual murderer sample experienced parental infidelity or divorce; Williams was exposed to both by the age of six. Certainly, divorce in the early 1970s was a much more rigorous and

stigmatizing process than it is today, especially when concerning infidelity. In fact, Gibb (2011) reports that their surname was changed to 'Sovka' in an effort to avoid social dissent. A separate impacting event occurred in South Korea where the family relocated for work. There, being mistaken for being American, Williams was harassed and, at one point, spit in the face. He also felt deep offence to their treatment (e.g., jeering and spitting) of Caucasian women. While seemingly trivial, Williams was reportedly unable to reconcile this event and subsequently generated a negative perception generalized to all Koreans (Appleby, 2011).

While these experiences are *normative* in that they are experienced by a large portion of children, it may not be the specific trauma *per se* but rather the capability of the child to cope with it. In other words, Williams may have been unable to reconcile everyday challenges which, in turn, may have become negative life-altering experiences. However, as this is solely speculation, there does not appear to be any overt traumas that Williams experienced to account for his later sexual deviances above and beyond those experienced by many children. Correspondingly, Burgess and colleagues (1986) acknowledge that not all children who experience trauma develop fantasies or act on those fantasies.

Developmental failure. The authors clarify this as a child's non-existent or *negative social attachment* (i.e., bonding) to his parents and a *diminished emotional response* (e.g., generally cold, aloof or uncaring; Burgess et al., 1986).

Williams appeared to bond sufficiently with his parents, especially with the male figures in his life. Despite that he would never live with his biological father again after the divorce, he maintained close ties with him throughout the ensuing years. Indeed, he inexplicably reassumed the 'Williams' surname in university. His relationship with his stepfather should also be considered positive. For instance, Sovka would often join his two stepsons in musical 'jam'

sessions and they would also remain in contact throughout adult years (Appleby, 2011). Interestingly, his relationship with his mother appears more tenuous with a bond that was never especially strong despite her being his primary caregiver. Although occurring much later in life, the divorce of his mother and stepfather in 2001 caused a rift in the family that resulted in Williams ceasing communication with his mother and brother for several years. Regardless, all his parental figures were present at his ceremony to assume command of CFB Trenton whereas an invitation was surprisingly not extended to some of his closest friends and neighbours.

Williams's emotional capacity was not diminished; if anything, he was remarked as having an exaggerated emotional response. For instance, the termination of his sole romantic relationship in university caused him great distress (Appleby, 2011). This facet followed him through life as evidenced by the death of his beloved cat in 2008 which caused him significant noteworthy grief (Appleby, 2011). Indeed, his emotional indications of remorse during his trial were deemed to be genuine, if only for himself. Speculatively, it may be this susceptibility that caused him to experience more distress at otherwise normal life events. Additionally, if empathy can be considered emotive, then there are multiple instances illustrative of such concern. For instance, after his roommates' 15-year-old sister died from bone cancer, he often made the four-hour commute to the family to offer his support (Gibb, 2011).

Interpersonal failure. Burgess and colleagues (1986) suggest that a child develops interpersonal failure through *inconsistent care and contact* and *deviant parental models*. It is the inability of his parents to act as positive role models through such conditions as absence, alcohol abuse or domestic violence. This may result in the child associating violence witnessed between parents at home with their sexual behaviour.

While his parents' behaviour was reported to be highly sexualized, there is no indication

that Williams himself was exposed to it. In fact, a babysitter was purportedly hired to watch the five Williams and Sovka children in one home while the two couples met at the other (Warren, 2017). Likewise, there are also no indications that there was any violence within the household, from any of the three parental figures. Having said that, RW's father was condescending towards his wife through which Williams may have gleaned negative perspectives towards women in general. Indeed, that RW reassumed the 'Williams' surname in university suggests that he aligned himself and identified with his father who may have passed along adverse messages. For instance, Williams was suspicious of women believing them to be 'gold diggers' (Appleby, 2011). In this way, sadistic offenders rationalize in absolutes and generalizations (Ressler et al., 1988). This notion is further supported by Williams's negative generalization towards all Koreans stemming from his experiences of bullying. Furthermore, these gender-based distortions may have been solidified and amplified from the context of the relationship with his sole girlfriend in university, and the circumstances of its termination, which was apparently greatly distressing for Williams as mentioned. In particular, the relationship was characterized as unhealthy in that she was very controlling over a normally assertive Williams and "ran him like a whipped horse" (Appleby, 2011, p. 62).

Conclusively, from all external appearances RW experienced a normal, if not privileged childhood bereft of trauma and neglect. The few events present in his past are experienced by millions of children who subsequently do not develop sadistic fantasy. The fact that his brother failed to develop sadistic behaviours when ostensibly subjected to the similar environmental conditions indicates there to be other contributing factors. Accordingly, Williams's early life conditions, events and experiences are inconsistent with the developmental aspects of the model.

Phase 3 - Patterned responses. The third phase of the MMoSH concerns the *patterned*

responses of a child as a cognitive coping reaction to the aforementioned circumstances.

Specifically, the effects of the environment and specific events of the first two phases work in conjunction to develop the *critical personal traits* of the child which subsequently act as the foundation for his *cognitive mapping and processing* (Burgess et al., 1986). Otherwise stated, the child's principal stable personality traits and dynamic thinking processes are the cumulative product of his social environment and experiences.

Critical personal traits. The authors do not specify individual traits other than to say that they are generally negative and interfere with the development of interpersonal relationships. As such, these individuals tend to gravitate towards social isolation and an increased substitutive reliance on fantasy, and a preference for autoerotic activities and fetishes. Furthermore, through social isolation the individual fails to develop prosocial values and instead exhibits elements of antisociality such as rebelliousness, aggression, chronic lying, and a sense of entitlement (Burgess et al., 1986).

Although the initial phases of the MMoSH have not reflected Williams's development well, he does exhibit several traits consistent with the model, regardless of what truly generated them. First, RW was predominantly socially isolated. He was invariably described by multiple acquaintances as a 'quiet guy,' a 'polite loner' and a 'wallflower' at parties who 'only hung around with one or two people,' had 'zero social interaction' and 'stuck to himself' (Appleby, 2011, p. 50-54). By one of his roommates in university, he was a misfit who "completely lacked any social skills whatsoever" (Freeze, 2010). In essence, Watt (2015) portrays him as "socially limited and interpersonally guarded" (p. 9) that many interpreted as creepy, snobby and condescending. Consistently, Williams spent most holidays alone in residence rather than travel to be with family (McKeown, 2010). Notably, after university he did spend some holidays with

family members. This social aversion lasted into adulthood where he avoided involvement in most aspects of the community (e.g., social clubs, church, or charities) outside of what was required by his position of leadership. That said, his social isolation was not absolute. Despite his lack of social connections, he was not considered an outcast. As an avid music player, he joined the school music clubs. Although not especially embraced within those clubs, he was tolerated (Gibb, 2011). This meagre attachment may well have offset the full development of antisociality.

As a consequence of social isolation, romantic relationships were largely non-existent. Correspondingly, Williams had only one serious relationship throughout his developmental phases. As she was fully focused on study and got quite upset at the mere implication of sex (Appleby, 2011), the relationship had an overt lack of intimacy (Gibb, 2011). It is feasible that their relationship was immature and non-sexual. Regardless, throughout the clear majority of his adolescent years, RW was left on his own to develop sexually. In this way, sexual fantasy was likely his primary sexual outlet substituting for the real experience and the basis for his interpretation of (healthy) sex. Accordingly, his preference towards autoeroticism was clearly evident through his early sexual crimes which were infused with masturbation, fetishism and transvestic fetishism. In fact, Williams admitted to police that he was “a chronic, lifelong masturbator with an unquenchable need for gratification” (Appleby, 2011, p. 249).

Nevertheless, as perhaps the supporting characteristic most vital to severe sadism, Williams did not demonstrate any antisocial traits or behaviours that foreshadowed his later sexual deviancy according to his acquaintances. For instance, one neighbour states: “he was always a very correct, nice young man...almost too correct” (Appleby, 2011, p. 51). To some, he appeared as a well-disciplined student who maintained a newspaper route (Appleby, 2011) and was later nicknamed ‘mister by the book’. In fact, his dutifulness and responsibility, as reported

by one of his classmates, resulted in the staff at one of his boarding schools to select him as a prefect to watch over junior students (Gibb, 2011). Conceivably, it is through this same discipline that he was able to restrict his sexual urges for over four decades. As such, there are no indications of antisociality through deceit, rebelliousness, aggression, or entitlement as stipulated by the MMoSH. Consistently, at the age of 24 (by which age paraphilic preferences are likely entrenched) he was able to successfully navigate both the RCMP's and military's screening procedures, likely increasingly robust for pilot candidates, without any issues or flags (Appleby, 2011). In fact, he appeared very rigid to all who describe him which enabled him to excel in a military environment. Indeed, the presence of antisocial traits conceivably allows sadistic desire, as a paraphilia, to escalate to a severe and criminal level. However, the authors indicate an important factor is that, with these types of offenders, sex is associated with aggression. This crucial link is absent with Williams who demonstrated little violence during his formative years. Nevertheless, all of these characteristics were compartmentally evident during his sexual crime spree many years later.

Cognitive Mapping and Processing. An individual's personality traits become the lens through which he interprets social events. With sadists, these thinking patterns are fixed, negative, and repetitive which subsequently generate an antisocial view of the world in an attempt at self-preservation. Specifically, to reduce feelings of helplessness and anxiety, they manifest as daydreams, nightmares, and fantasies involving themes of "dominance, revenge, violence, rape, molestation, power, control, torture, mutilation, inflicting pain on self/others and death" (Burgess et al., 1986, p. 266).

Unfortunately, clear insight into Williams's thought processes is difficult to ascertain especially through his inability or refusal to provide such clarity. When questioned about the

reasons behind his crimes, he stated: “I don’t know the answers, and I’m pretty sure the answers don’t matter” (Gibb, 2011, p. 188). However, they do matter. Accordingly, though not overtly apparent, there are certain aspects of his internal world which may be deciphered through his behaviour. Specifically, while thoughts oriented towards rape and murder would not emerge until much later, some behaviours indicate preoccupations with power and control from early on. This becomes particularly evident from the authority that he asserted over his five roommates in university. For instance, he took it upon himself to assign them all rotating weekly chores insisting on absolutely cleanliness and tidiness becoming colloquially known as ‘Drill Sergeant’, ‘Sarge’ and ‘Mother Goose’ (Appleby, 2011). Elements of control were also apparent through the excessive pranks he inflicted on others. Among some of the more routine pranks RW conducted, he was known to frequently hide in closets for excessive amounts of time until an opportunity presented itself to surprise a roommate. A more notable practical joke occurred at the university where he obtained access to a co-worker’s office overnight where he spent hours crumpling up printer paper and completely covering her office. At her arrival that morning, he caught her reaction on film after revealing himself from his hiding spot (Appleby, 2011). His quest for power can not be any better illustrated than through his inclination to become a military air force pilot.

Interestingly, whatever control over others he deemed so vitally important was abandoned when he subjugated himself entirely to his girlfriend thereby suggesting an interesting dynamic between women and power. In fact, his eventual wife was in a position of power, both in age (e.g., five years senior) and professional position (e.g., associate executive director of the Heart and Stroke Foundation). In fact, the impact of his offences on his wife was a mitigating consideration throughout his confession (Appleby, 2011). Indeed, his need for control extends

beyond his social relationships to every aspect of his life, including over himself. One notable example is when, during university, he returned from a rare social outing and meticulously itemized his expenditures to the penny. Furthermore, in all of his social interactions, he was perceived as being reserved, guarded and calculated (Appleby, 2011). Certainly, when later asked by police how he could be so accurate with his answers (concerning the precise location of Lloyd's body), he responded: "That's just the way I am...I have to know the numbers" (Gibb, 2011, p. 186).

In considering his potential view of the external social world, although not likely as yet antisocial, its aversive trajectory was reinforced through self-administered solitude. As mentioned, he had few friends, seldomly participated in social activities and remained at school throughout the holidays. In fact, even when married, he and his wife were regarded as very private and unsociable (Appleby, 2011). Indications towards a negative view of the world, however, may be gleaned from his stance on children; specifically, that he was not interested in having any so as to not subject them to a world in such an unstable state (Gibb, 2011). What is most evident, however, is that Williams did not possess the types of antisocial thoughts proposed by the MMoSH, especially when considering the often-conflicting perceptions of his personality from his historical, social and professional acquaintances.

Accordingly, when considered individually and cumulatively, the components of the MMoSH as stipulated by a child's social environment, traumatic events and formative experiences, associated negative personality traits and antisocial cognitive processes are not reflective of Williams's developmental period. Indeed, that his first offence occurred at such a late age suggests that the *creation* process identified in this study fails to account for the inception of Williams's deviant sexual interests.

Evolution process. Phase 4 - Action toward others. This phase of the MMoSH represents the transition in behaviour from fantasy to reality. The authors suggest that antisocial behaviour likely begins during childhood as a furtherance to coping when anxiety reaches a level unmitigated by internal fantasy. As such, this behaviour may be reflected through fire-setting, theft, cruelty to animals or other children, or destruction of property. This early deviant behaviour is reinforced through a lack of consequences and by discouraging friendships which increases social isolation. These behaviours reflect the thoughts of the individual that are preoccupied with thoughts of dominance over others and, as such, may escalate during adolescence to assault, burglary, arson, conventional rape, non-sexual murder and ultimately culminate in sadistic activities such as necrophilia, torture, mutilation, rape and murder (Burgess et al., 1986). Interestingly, they do not allude to specific triggers for this transition instead inferring that they are a natural and inevitable result of a lack of parental intervention. Of note, although this study is concerned primarily with Williams's tendencies, as earlier paraphilic offences (e.g., fetish burglaries) are considered precursory to such behaviour, in that light they are briefly considered as part of the MMoSH process.

Unquestionably, Williams demonstrated none of these behaviours throughout his formative years. On the contrary, he was the quintessential model of good behaviour from childhood through to young adulthood eschewing drugs and most alcohol, and other rebellious acts typical to adolescence. The only manner in which he remotely expressed deviant behaviour was through his pranks which, while possibly excessive and distasteful, were regarded at the time as no more than "all in fun" (Appleby, 2011, p. 59). Indeed, despite all attempts to discover otherwise, there was no deviant or antisocial behaviour seen in Williams until his first fetish burglary, at age 44, incidentally representing one of the largest departures from the sadistic

offender depicted in this model. This is convincingly evidenced through an absence of his own documentation detailing the activity that was so endemic in his later crimes, and a lack of connection to cold-case files that had been reopened through police departments all over the country (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). However, any previous crimes would have likely been noncontact offences (e.g., voyeurism, fetish burglary) that would have been undetected and unreported. Congruently, when questioned by the police as to why he started his crimes at such a late age, Williams indicated that: “it was odd and that he was not sure what triggered this behaviour, but insisted that it was a very recent development” (p. 94) and that his sexual deviance began with an interest in stealing female underwear during his twenties or thirties but had restrained himself until the first fetish burglary in 2007 (*R. v. Williams*, 2010).

With this in mind, numerous researchers have attempted to discover the specific reasons behind Williams’s late onset criminal sexual deviancy. Williams’s forensic psychiatrist insinuated that his sadistic deviance can be attributed to a specific (undisclosable) event that caused a discernable change (Mallick, 2014). Whether this experience was an earlier developmental factor, or a later disinhibiting contextual factor is unknown. As Williams’s formative behaviour is not reflective of the pre-emptive behaviour stipulated in the MMoSH, this section deviates slightly from the model to speculate as to what that factor may be. For instance, possible post-traumatic stress disorder stemming from his deployment to the Middle East was quickly discounted as an instigating factor as his role in theatre was limited to a logistical capacity and therefore experienced no active combat (Appleby, 2011). Alternatively, in Watt’s (2015) case study on Williams, she suggests that it was not due to one specific trigger but the result of several cumulative stressors occurring over the years prior to his criminal onset such as a significant family break-up in 2001, the deaths of his in-laws in 2000 and 2004, and increasing

professional stress. In fact, his increasing rank and position would have further socially disconnected him from the military community, the only community of which he was a part. Furthermore, she astutely theorizes that the time spent away from his wife due to conflicting professional requirements may have reignited feelings of loneliness and social isolation. Indeed, this ‘commuter marriage’ arrangement may have allowed him the opportunity to conduct his late-night offences without arousing suspicion, especially at a time when the excitement of being a pilot was replaced by the unremitting role of pure administration. When Williams’s wife was present, he was able to continue offending under the pretence of late-night walks to alleviate his chronic arthritic back pain (Friscolanti et al., 2011). Incidentally, to combat this pain, he was prescribed Prednisone which was also implicated as potentially causative with rare side effects of insomnia mania (Appleby, 2011) while also being linked to violence (Watt, 2015). However, while Williams’s crimes, ranging from break-and-enters to rape and murder, can be described in many ways, manic is not one of them; conversely, they were extremely controlled, calculated and stable. Moreover, its role as a trigger is unlikely as his spree began with fetish crimes that were inherently non-violent.

Nevertheless, this study endeavours to venture another possibility. One unexplored notion concerns the specific victim herself. Specifically, instead of being ‘pushed’ towards sexually deviant behaviour by negative stressors, perhaps Williams was ‘pulled’ over the threshold by a ‘perfect’ individual who exceedingly and irresistibly matched his internal fantasy. When investigating their sadistic murderers’ index crimes, MacCulloch and colleagues (1983) discovered one case in which an offender broke into the home of a victim who was a regular subject of his fantasies. This concept is supported by a number of factors. First, as *victim-zero* was the 12-year-old daughter of Williams’s neighbours in Tweed, she was well known to him in

stark contrast to most sadistic offenders who carefully select their victims from a pool of relative strangers. In fact, she had many natural interactions via neighbourly get togethers consisting of her teaching him to play cribbage, baking him muffins, and choosing him as the subject of a school project. In return, Williams organized water activities with them on his boat and gifted them back-to-school clothing cards. Additionally, she would later be entrusted with caring for his cat while he was away (Gibb, 2011).

Second, through the child pornography on his computer, and his marked orientation towards youthful victims, it is well established that Williams was attracted to pubescent youth females (i.e., hebephilia). Incidentally, this initial victim was ostensibly the first and only female that Williams observed firsthand to make that transition into womanhood which may have played into his fantasy. Regardless, Williams was undoubtedly sexually attracted to females of that age group. Third, most offenders *test-the-waters* with minor offences where subsequent ones gain severity through confidence. However, the audaciousness of Williams's initial break-out crime, both in duration (2:44 hours) and invasiveness (e.g., fully undressed, masturbating on bed with stuffed animals) suggests that it was either not his first offence, or that he was particularly enamoured with her. Indeed, no other offences prior to this one on September 8th, 2007 were discovered despite all investigation to that end. Furthermore, this first break-in ranks amongst the longest of all his invasions that occurred over the ensuing two years. In fact, he returned to that particular victim's home on at least three more occasions before branching out to the next residence, which incidentally also involved a youth female victim (see Appendix 1). These factors may very well indicate the strength of Williams's attraction to this first target, thereby acting as a strong disinhibitor *vice* stressor.

Interestingly, in support of the model, Williams's initial paraphilic behaviour may reflect

a coping mechanism in response to the cumulative aforementioned external stressors and disinhibitors, simply occurring at a later stage of life. Accordingly, his eventual sadistic tendencies may derive from a natural escalation on the paraphilic spectrum requiring no specific identifiable triggers, as the literature suggests. In fact, research has established that sadistic offences are most frequently pre-empted by other less assaultive paraphilic offences such as nuisance sex crimes (e.g., exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism). This notion is supported by Brankley and colleagues' (2014) study which analyzed Williams's fetish burglary patterns in an attempt to predict more serious subsequent sexual offending. Regardless, Williams did not exhibit the type of generalized, non-sexual antisocial behaviour prior to his deviant sexual offences and is therefore inconsistent with this phase of the MMoSH.

Phase 5 - Feedback filter. Phase five of the MMoSH essentially depicts the learning process which represents three separate cognitive processes that serve to reinforce and correct an offender's behaviour. First, the killer justifies his actions (Burgess et al., 1986). Conceptually, this may occur through projections onto the victim for who she may represent, or through perceptual absolutism that, for example, all women are the same and 'get what they deserve'. There is, however, nothing substantial to demonstrate Williams's insight into how he cognitively consolidated his assaults. However, one such indicator may be inferred through how he regarded his victims; specifically, when asked by police as to whether he liked or disliked them: "I didn't know any of them" (Gibb, 2011, p. 189). On the other hand, conceivably a failure of an offender to justify his offence may lead to feelings of remorse. At his trial, Williams's presiding justice, a presumed expert on interpreting human character, iterated that he believed Williams's remorse to be genuine (Appleby, 2011). Whether those feelings are self-oriented or directed towards his victims and their families is debateable. Regardless, that his crimes continued is convincing that

he was able to justify his assaults in some manner, perhaps through a grandiose sense of entitlement.

The second cognitive component of the *feedback filter* recognizes and corrects any errors made throughout the conduct of offences to facilitate the offence or to avoid apprehension (Burgess et al., 1986). From the beginning Williams made few mistakes as evidenced in that only a portion of his break-ins were detected by the homeowners and reported to police. However, there were some errors made throughout his assaults that he subsequently corrected. For instance, his failed attempt to render his first victim unconscious with hand strikes led him to employ a large flashlight for his subsequent offences, albeit unsuccessfully. Indeed, his creation of a ‘rape kit’, comprised of zip ties, rope, and duct tape, alleviated the struggle he initially experienced restraining his victims with *ad hoc* materials. He also maintained avid attention on news and police reports concerning his offences in order to keep apprised of the investigations (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Also, aware that his offences were becoming more serious, he undertook precautions to further distance himself. For example, his fetish burglaries were conducted in a ‘comfort zone’ branching out from both of his residences and his two initial sexual assaults occurred literally doors away from his own cottage. However, his final offences which culminated in murder involved him travelling to separate regions.

Nevertheless, his corrective behaviour was juxtaposed with his stated desire to take riskier actions (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Illustratively, whereas he was at one point deterred by a locked door, he increasingly ceased to conceal his presence through broken fences, cut window screens, broken doors and dirt traipsed throughout the victims’ homes as well as the intentional rearrangement of the victims’ personal property in their bedrooms and the messages he left.

The last component of the *feedback filter* concerns alterations made by the offender

towards his future behaviour so as to maintain the integrity of the fantasy (Burgess et al., 1986). As his initial fetish burglary spree involved no direct victims, there were minimal unpredictable variables, such as human interference, to threaten the consistency of his fantasy. As such, his break-ins were accomplished successfully with very little finetuning. In fact, when he was interrupted by the presence of dogs or house alarms, he could easily retreat and target another property. Accordingly, there were a handful evenings where he broke into more than one residence, ostensibly due to the first proving to be insufficiently rewarding. Nevertheless, after escalating to assault, there can be seen some refinement of non-instrumental (i.e., fantasy-driven) behaviour. For instance, to support the quality of his extensive photography and video recording of the offences, during his final assault Williams relocated lamps from adjacent rooms to create optimal lighting which had not been done previously (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Additionally, the intricate use of restraints that he implemented on his last two victims was more than simply a practical correction. Certainly, the rope ‘tail’ from the victims’ hand bindings by which they were physically guided added an element of control that may be consistent with Warren and colleagues’ (1996) notion of *sexual bondage*. Both of these instances represent alterations in ritualistic behaviour that go beyond mere practicality.

That said, the majority of Williams’s ritualistic behavioural change is likely due to the progression of paraphilias and the corresponding fantasy. The MMoSH suggests that the mental appraisals of the *feedback filter* ultimately influence the offender’s *cognitive mapping and processing* component of Phase 3 which serve to hone and intensify his paraphilic fantasy as a product of *habituation*. As Arrigo and Purcell (2001) pointedly observe, “the fantasy life of the individual escalates, particularly in terms of arousal state, feelings of power, and dominance and control” (p. 15). These cognitions are then reflected through more severe future behaviour (i.e.,

Phase 4). Once again, these actions pass through the offender's cognitive filter and the cycle continues. For clarity, this study terms this cycle as the *evolution* process and is supported by research revealing that paraphilias gradually escalate in severity or rotate within a cluster.

Accordingly, in Williams's case, his offence behaviour over time demonstrates a discernable transition from fetishism and transvestism to sadistic assault as reflected through the shift in his interest in female underwear to the victims themselves. For instance, he acquired a keen interest in the non-sexual property of his victims such as family portraits, certificates and other routine identifying belongings. In one instance he stole a young woman's modeling aids and, at another home he arranged her personal photographs as a message intended for her to find (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). Finally, there were two notable non-fetishistic events that occurred immediately prior to his escalation to assault. During the first, he waited in the backyard for a 14-year-old girl to return home and, second, he entered the home of a woman he was watching in the shower (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). These accommodating behaviours indicate a shift in the fantasy itself as the gratification from each fetish burglary waned.

Although Williams's escalating fantasy is apparent through his behaviour, the supporting thought processes themselves are obviously less observable. Indeed, as part of the *feedback filter*, the recurrent mental evaluations of his prior crimes may equate to a 'reliving' of the experience. In fact, Williams demonstrated himself to linger on previous offences indicated through his transvestic photograph sessions of him wearing clothing stolen weeks or months earlier. Furthermore, Williams returned to the homes of his first assault victim upwards of three times ostensibly to relish in the memory. Consequently, due to *habituation*, these mental experiences also effect the *patterned responses* through magnifying the offender's fantasy, as discussed. As such, the offender may 'revisit' previous paraphilic experiences through heavily visual

daydreams or imagine future experiences through the evolution of fantasy. While difficult to ascertain, perhaps the most indicative event of this type of internal cognitive mechanism occurred during a congratulatory speech given by Williams at a graduation dinner in 2009:

He's there making his speech...and then he suddenly just stopped...He just stood there looking at everybody with this grin on his face...People started looking around and looking at him...It was very out of character for him...And he's just standing there looking at everybody. It wasn't like he'd zoned out, he didn't have a lost look on his face—he just stopped...Finally, after the minute or whatever was up, he says something along the lines of, 'Well, that was different,' ...and he went on with his little speech and everything was fine. (Appleby, 2011, p. 136)

Notably, Williams made this speech within days of his escalation to assaultive crimes and the day immediately after his initial fetish burglary on Massicotte. Presumably, he is either reliving his first assault or visualizing his second impending assault; or this instance is simply a result of social ineptitude despite his usual graces at public speaking.

Lastly, when considering the sexual assaults themselves, Williams's escalation in fantasy was clearly demonstrated in that each of his four assaults was markedly more deviant from the previous one. For instance, the number of photographs Williams recorded throughout his four assaults, an integral part of his fantasy, ranged increasingly from nine, 29, 63 (plus video), to 325 (plus video), respectively (*R. v. Williams*, 2010). This is in line with the progressive range of invasive sexual activities that accompanied each assault from minimal fondling to penetrative oral, vaginal and possible anal intercourse. Indeed, one of the puzzles of this particular case centers on the rapid escalation of behaviour from fetish burglary to murder.

Summation. The *creation* process describes the internal process of the MMoSH wherein sadism is developed from the child's adverse environment in Phase 1, traumatic experiences and parental failures of Phase 2, the resulting personality and cognitive development of Phase 3 through to the initial action of Phase 4. The results of this analysis fail to support this

fundamental process. The *evolution* process consists of the evolution and escalation of paraphilic desire through the mental evaluations of Phase 5 and their magnifying effect on an offender's fantasy in Phase 3 and subsequent future behaviour in Phase 4. The results of analysis provide moderate support for this process. In other words, the MMoSH cannot explain how Williams developed deviant sexual interests but may somewhat show the process of escalation towards sadistic inclinations, albeit without specifically explaining how it manifested as sadism versus other paraphilias.

Pertinent Limitations of the model. Due to the age of the MMoSH it is worth noting that it contains some deficiencies that have since been addressed, even if not rectified. First, as mentioned, the researchers indicate that sadism's development is a multi-stage process with its foundation set in a genetic or neurophysiological predisposal (Ressler et al., 1988). As such, their exclusion is an inherent weakness to the comprehensiveness of the model. Indeed, were any definitive biological element revealed, its presence in Williams would remain unknown as part of his protected medical records or simply be undetectable.

Second, it is worth noting that more recent theories have stressed the importance of variables such as violent video games and pornography (see Hickey, 1997) as possible influences towards sadism development. However, the pervasiveness of these variables such as they currently stand, were not relevant when the model was conceived almost four decades ago, let alone during Williams's developmental period. Accordingly, their influence specific to Williams must be considered negligible.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

This research attempted to discern the presence, severity, and origins of Williams's sadosexuality. One clear benefit to this approach has been the consideration towards Williams's

full developmental scope interrelatedly so as to avoid attributing his sadism to one specific factor. In particular, two self-identified processes within the FBI's *Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide* have focused on two specific enigmas: what caused Williams's sadistic interests, and what triggered their late expression? This study has attempted to remain faithful to the intended conceptualizations of the MMoSH; however, some speculation was required due to its vagueness and conceptual overlap. Regardless, some prospective truths have been revealed. First, it was demonstrated through objective criminal analysis and inferential psychopathological association that Williams is sadistic, thereby substantiating the label trivially applied by the media. For instance, by registering a score of six on the SeSaS measurement, he appears to be average among sadistic offenders, even being consistent with the more muted behaviours of the scale. Additionally, the relevant literature suggests that his actions appear to coincide with that of a sadistic rapist who kills as opposed to a lust murderer.

Second, through the newly interpreted *creation* process within the MMoSH framework it was determined that Williams's developmental history is entirely inconsistent with that of the model. While demonstrating some adverse conditions, none appear to be the *x-factor(s)* responsible for sadistic development. Indeed, the innumerable children who share similar (and worse) experiences to Williams and who do not develop sadistic preferences demonstrate that there must be other relevant factors. Third, the *evolution* process within the MMoSH has shown moderate support for the rotation, evolution or escalation of paraphilic behaviour specific to Williams. While the reasons triggering his criminal behaviour remain undetermined, the clear alterations in his behaviour throughout his offences indicate the underlying thought processes consistent with the model.

In their original study, Burgess and colleagues (1986) stated that "of particular

importance is the activation of aggression and its like with sexual expression” (p. 268). As a key ingredient towards sadistic exhibition, there is no such definable and observable correlation in Williams’s past. Conclusively, then, the MMoSH comprehensively fails to provide explanatory depth for the establishment of sadism in Williams. Thus, two possibilities exist: either the model is unreliable as a theory towards the development of severe sadism, or there is a heterogeneity of sadistic offenders with differential origins, one of which is accounted for by the model but is nonetheless irreflexive of Williams.

It is of interest to note that the MMoSH was developed at a time prior to realization of the levels of sadism within community settings (i.e., BDSM). Under this premise, perhaps Williams’s sadistic interests were generated through the same mechanisms as communal sadomasochists. The mystery then becomes not what caused his sadism, but rather the reason behind it becoming severe, antisocial and criminal. This study has been particularly difficult as he is exceptionally unique which prohibited any comparative analysis with other similar offenders. Appleby (2011) echoes this notion: “I thought I’d seen every kind of killer. But Russell Williams did not resemble any of them” (p. 5). As such, Russell Williams does truly appear to be an outlier among outliers.

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Appendix A

Synopsis of Russell Williams's Crimes							
Rgn*	Reported to Police	Address	No. in Series	Date mm/dd/yyyy	Duration of Offence	Items Stolen	Photos Taken
T	No	AA Cosy Cove Lane	1 of 3	9/8/2007	2:44	6	36
		<i>AA Cosy Cove Lane</i>	2 of 3	9/28/2007	0:56	2	20
		<i>AA Cosy Cove Lane</i>		9/29/2007	0:17		22
		<i>AA Cosy Cove Lane</i>		9/29/2007	0:29		11
T	Yes	AA Greenwood Road	1 of 2	10/19/2007	0:07	14	7
		<i>AA Greenwood Road</i>	2 of 2	10/20/2007	0:04	9	3
T	No	BB Cosy Cove Lane	1 of 3	11/01/2007	2:21	19	22
T	No	CC Cosy Cove Lane	1 of 3	3/15/2008	1:26	6	N/A
T	No	<u>AA McCrae Court</u>		3/28/2008	0:21	14	20
		<i>BB Cosy Cove Lane</i>	2 of 3	3/29/2008	2:51	3	38
T	No	AA Charles Court	1 of 9	4/05/2008	0:14	22	15
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	2 of 9	4/05/2008	0:12	27	
O	Yes	AA Cara Crescent	1 of 2	5/10/2008	0:13	15	17
T	No	DD Cosy Cove Lane		5/21/2008			2
		<i>AA Cosy Cove Lane</i>	3 of 3	5/23/2008	0:29	2	22
T	No	AA Charles Road	1 of 2	6/01/2008	0:13	11	9
T	No	BB Charles Court	1 of 4	6/06/2008		0	0
		<i>BB Charles Court</i>	2 of 4	6/07/2008	0:08	35	34
O	No	AA Apollo Way		6/14/2008			
O	Yes	BB Cara Crescent		6/20/2008	1:37	87	46
		<i>BB Charles Court</i>	3 of 4	7/12/2008	0:05	17	4
O	No	AA Simoneau Way	1 of 2	7/29/2008	1:04	20	42
T	No	EE Cosy Cove Lane	1 of 2	8/02/2008	0:33	7	17
		<i>EE Cosy Cove Lane</i>	2 of 2	8/02/2008	0:10	7	3
		<i>CC Cosy Cove Lane</i>	2 of 3	8/03/2008	0:31	5	7
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	3 of 9	8/08/2008	0:04	5	7
T	No	CC Charles Court		8/13/2008	0:01	0	2
T	No	AA Kanata Lane		8/13/2008			
		<i>AA Charles Road</i>	2 of 2	8/17/2008	0:33	9	17
O	No	BB Apollo Way		8/21/2008	0:10	27	12
O	Yes	AA Caminiti Crescent		8/24/2008	0:02	0	3
O	Yes	CC Cara Crescent		8/29/2008	0:04	4	7
T	No	DD Charles Court		8/30/2008	0:25	17	10
O	Yes	CC Apollo Way		9/05/2008		0	0
		<i>AA Cara Crescent</i>	2 of 2	10/03/2008	0:17	13	21
O	Yes	BB Simoneau Way		10/07/2008		24	2
O	No	DD Apollo Way	1 of 3	10/09/2008			
O	Yes	AA Stellar Street		10/23/2008		0	0
O	Yes	EE Apollo Way	1 of 2	10/25/2008	1:16	39	38
		<i>EE Apollo Way</i>	2 of 2	10/25/2008	1:27	3	86
O	Yes	<u>AA Wilkie Drive</u>	1 of 2	10/25/2008	0:07	77	6
		<i>AA Wilkie Drive</i>	2 of 2	10/26/2008	0:20	27	10
T	No	AA Minnie Avenue	1 of 2	11/05/2008	0:25	13	13
O	No	DD Cara Crescent		11/12/2008	0:03	11	5
O	No	AA Canemore Crescent		11/20/2008	0:55	22	10
		<i>AA Simoneau Way</i>	2 of 2	12/06/2008	0:29	42	27
O	Yes	BB Wilkie Drive		12/11/2008	0:16	27	16
O	Yes	EE Cara Crescent	1 of 2	1/01/2009	0:28	68	35
		<i>EE Cara Crescent</i>	2 of 2	1/02/2009	0:38	8	16
O	No	FF Apollo Way		1/17/2009		0	0

O	No	AA Orford Crescent		1/18/2009	0:03	14	6
O	Yes	BB Canemore Crescent		2/14/2009		0	0
		<i>DD Apollo Way</i>	2 of 3	3/14/2009		0	0
		<i>DD Apollo Way</i>	3 of 3	3/15/2009		0	0
O	Yes	CC Canemore Crescent		4/12/2009	0:01	48	3
		<i>BB Charles Court</i>	4 of 4	4/17/2009		0	0
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	4 of 9	4/18/2009	0:09	2	14
T	No	BB Minnie Avenue		4/19/2009	1:56	12	56
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	5 of 9	5/09/2009	0:33	1	14
O	No	CC Simoneau Way	1 of 3	5/28/2009		0	0
		<i>CC Simoneau Way</i>	2 of 3	6/02/2009	0:04	28	4
		<i>CC Simoneau Way</i>	3 of 3	6/04/2009	0:44	21	16
O	No	BB Orford Crescent		6/05/2009		0	0
O	Yes	FF Cara Crescent		6/20/2009	2:33	186	77
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	6 of 9	7/11/2009		1	0
		<i>BB Cosy Cove Lane</i>	3 of 3	7/21/2009		0	0
T	No	AA Sulphide Road		7/24/2009	0:02	0	6
O	No	AA Mathieu Way	1 of 2	7/26/2009	0:22	36	17
		<i>AA Mathieu Way</i>	2 of 2	7/26/2009	1:13	16	33
T	No	BB Charles Road	1 of 2	8/01/2009		0	0
		<i>CC Cosy Cove Lane</i>	3 of 3	8/02/2009		0	0
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	7 of 9	8/27/2009		0	0
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	8 of 9	8/29/2009	0:21	6	15
		<i>AA Charles Court</i>	9 of 9	8/29/2009	0:51		22
		<i>BB Charles Road</i>	2 of 2	9/01/2009	0:08	5	9
T	Yes	XX Cosy Cove Lane	1 of 3	9/17/2009			
		<i>XX Cosy Cove Lane</i>	2 of 3	9/19/2009	0:08	15	15
		<i>XX Cosy Cove Lane</i>	3 of 3	9/22/2009	0:26	15	13
T	Yes	FF Cosy Cove Lane	1 of 3	9/24/2009	0:07	1	8
		<i>FF Cosy Cove Lane</i>	2 of 3	9/26/2009	0:10	4	6
		<i>FF Cosy Cove Lane</i>	3 of 3	9/30/2009			
T	No	BB Sulphide Road		10/25/2009	0:01	0	4
		<i>AA Minnie Avenue</i>	2 of 2	11/05/2009	0:41	9	21
	No	AA River Street West		11/07/2009	0:23	22	32
Be	Yes	AA Highway 37	1 of 2	11/17/2009	1:03	45	34
		<i>AA Highway 37</i>	2 of 2	11/18/2009	0:12	116	
Br	N/A	<u>AA Raglan Street</u>	1 of 2	11/17/2009	1:54	7	52
		<i>AA Raglan Street</i>	2 of 2	11/25/2009		9	67
Be	N/A	BB Highway 37		1/28/2010			

*Region: T=Tweed, O=Orleans/Ottawa, Be=Belleville, Br=Brighton

Italicized addresses: homes targeted in a series.

Underscored addresses: occasions where separate homes were invaded in the same evening.

Bolded addresses: homes with a female victim < 18 years old.

Shaded entries: offences separated by month.

Note: addresses have been masked to respect victim privacy in accordance with publication ban.

Source: Agreed Statement of Facts (*R. v. Williams*, 2010)

Appendix B

Organized / Disorganized Typology	
Organized	Disorganized
Offender Characteristics	
Good intelligence	Average intelligence
Socially competent	Socially immature
Skilled work preferred	Poor work history
Sexually competent	Sexually incompetent
High birth order status	Minimal birth order status
Father's work stable	Father's work unstable
Inconsistent childhood discipline	Harsh discipline in childhood
Controlled mood during crime	Anxious mood during crime
Use of alcohol with crime	Minimal use of alcohol
Precipitating situational stress	Minimal situational stress
Living with partner	Living alone
Mobility, car in working order	Lives and works near crime scene
Follows crime in news media	Minimal interest in news media
May change jobs or leave town	Minimal change in lifestyle
Offence Characteristics	
Planned offence	Spontaneous offence
Stranger victim	Known victim
Personalizes victim	Depersonalizes victim
Controlled conversation	Minimal conversation
Controlled crime scene	Chaotic crime scene
Demands submissive victim	Sudden violence to victim
Restraints used	Minimal use of restraints
Aggressive acts prior to death	Sexual acts after death
Body hidden	Body left in view
Weapon and evidence absent	Evidence and weapon often present
Transports victim or body	Body left at death scene
Source: Ressler et al., 1988, p. 123	