

Soundtrack of the School Shootings: Cultural Script, Music and Male Rage

Young
19(3) 247–269
© 2011 SAGE Publications and
YOUNG Editorial Group
SAGE Publications
Los Angeles, London,
New Delhi, Singapore,
Washington DC
DOI: 10.1177/110330881101900301
<http://you.sagepub.com>



Tomi Kiilakoski

Finnish Youth Research Network, Finland

Atte Oksanen¹

School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Tampere, Finland

Abstract

School shootings have had an enormous cultural impact on discussions about youth worldwide. Studies on school shootings have not yet considered the complex nature of youth subcultures, often blaming particular subcultures or cultural products. This article analyzes how school shooters use different cultural products including books, films and, especially, music. The interest lies in examining how particular cultural products are woven into the fabric of the cultural script of school shootings. The music of 46 videos left by the Finnish Jokela High School shooter is analyzed in the context of the cultural script of the shootings. School shooters are not only fascinated by previous shootings but are also fans of similar cultural products. Music is actively used as a reference. Shooters actively searched for lyrics that enforce the idea of revolutionary violence. Internet videos offered a channel for shooters to interact with other people.

Keywords

School shootings, violence, music, media, subcultures

Introduction

School shootings have had an enormous cultural impact on youth cultures since the Columbine shooting in Littleton Colorado, USA, in 1999. Although this was not the first such incident in a school, it served to publicize the phenomenon. The Columbine killers sought fame through the shootings, a model that later school shooters have often emulated (Larkin, 2007: 193–95; Lee, 2009: 337–53). The killers had a meticulous plan to blow up the whole school. They produced a media kit and intentionally tried to communicate their thoughts, actions and personae to a putative audience. They left behind videos, photos, diaries, proto-blog Internet pages and created a brand for school shootings to come. The killers made reference to music,

films and video games in their diaries and videos. The extensive media coverage amplified the effect of these cultural references.

School shootings have become an international phenomenon after the Columbine high school massacre and many post-Columbine shooters have imitated certain aspects of it (Larkin, 2009: 1314). There have been, for example, several fatal school shootings in Germany (Bondü and Scheithauer, 2009; Hoffman et al., 2009). Finland has recently had two fatal cases in Jokela (2007) and Kauhajoki (2008). School shooters have been active in re-circulating the cultural material of earlier shootings and sometimes even misinformation disseminated by the media. Writings by the shooters, media material, television shows and films have created a web of inter-textual references on shootings, violence and the school context.

There have been several myths surrounding the Columbine shooting that have subsequently been only partly debunked. These myths include the notion that the shooters belonged to the so-called Trenchcoat mafia, were part of Goth subculture and listened to Marilyn Manson (Cullen, 2009: 149–51). Research literature on school shootings has perpetuated these myths ever since (e.g., Fast, 2008: 187; Wilson, 2008: 133). Goth subculture has come in for particular blame. The moral panic that followed Columbine guaranteed that the term Goth became a byword for troubled youth in the United States (Siegel, 2005: 1, 30–33).

There is a long tradition of studying youth subcultures in sociology and cultural studies (Gelder and Thornton, 1997). In psychology and health sciences, various subcultures are still portrayed as vulnerable and risky. Belonging to Goth subculture, for example, has been seen as ‘the best predictor of self-harm and suicide attempt’ (Young and West, 2006). In addition to this, Goths are linked to various psychosocial problems such as depression, violence and suicide which ‘can either be inherent reasons the teen has sought to be part of the Goth subculture or be the result of participation within the culture’ (Rutledge et al., 2008: 460). These studies give little information on the characteristics of the subculture and enforce popular stereotypes. We underline that research on school shootings should pay more attention to the complex nature of youth subcultures.

In this article, we analyze the cultural meaning system related to school shootings and study how school shooters use cultural products including books, films and music to create what some authors have called the ‘cultural script of school shootings’ (Henry, 2009; Larkin, 2009; Newman et al., 2004, Newman and Fox 2009). The concept of cultural script refers to a schema which organizes a person’s understanding of school violence situation and allows that person to have expectations about the nature of the event and about its subsequent media reception (cf. Wilkinson and Carr, 2008: 1031). By using the concept of script, we wish to emphasize both the textual and the performative nature of the script: while script clearly has a discursive element, it has more to do with performing in social situations (Schmidt, 2007), for example, in changing the power relations in the school during the act. The idea of script, which takes into account wider cultural perspectives on school shootings, helps us to discuss the connection of school shootings and cultural products.

Cultural products, films such as *Natural Born Killers* (1994) and *Basketball Diaries* (1995) and music by the German-American industrial rock group KMFDM, have become points of reference because of the interest shown in them by previous school shooters. Similarly, school shooters have been fascinated by first-person shooter computer games such as *Doom* and *Counter Strike*. Some of them have referred to manifestos by terrorists (e.g., Unabomber) and to philosophy (e.g., Friedrich Nietzsche). School shooters have actively used cultural products in their identity construction. Furthermore, the shootings themselves have become material for creating further films, books and documents.

Our interest lies in examining how certain cultural products are woven into the fabric of a cultural script. We propose to concentrate on the musical references made by the school shooters, but other intertextual elements will also be taken into consideration. The focus is on the Finnish Jokela case. Pekka-Eric Auvinen, an 18-year-old high school student, shot eight people dead on 7 November 2007. A media package he uploaded onto Internet before his act included videos he had made, pictures and a manifesto. Beside this, the police found and published 46 videos from his computer. We will begin by presenting the idea of the cultural script and then analyze the role of music in this script. The Internet videos made by the Jokela shooter exemplify how different cultural products are used in the construction of identity. Lastly, we analyze how particular songs and bands contribute to the production of masculinity and male rage in the shooter's Internet profile.

The Cultural Script of School Shootings

A cultural script is one of the five necessary but not sufficient conditions for rampage school shootings described by Katherine Newman and her colleagues in their seminal work *Rampage* (2004). They claim that in order to be able to explain why school shootings take place, one has to have a theory capable of tackling the combination of factors necessary to produce such events. Their theory combines individual, communal, cultural and policy elements.

The necessary conditions are the shooter's perception of himself as marginal in the social worlds that are meaningful and important to him; the shooter must suffer from psychosocial problems that magnify the impact of marginality; there has to be a cultural script available to the shooter that emphasizes violence as a solution to one's problems; there must be a failure of surveillance systems allowing shooters to pass 'under the radar' and lastly, guns have to be available (Newman et al., 2004). The authors claim that these five conditions remain adequate taking into account the newest high school and college shootings in the 2000s (Newman and Fox, 2009).

The necessary conditions postulated by Newman take account of individual factors, both experienced (marginality) and clinical (mental health problems). They also consider social psychological factors such as intergenerational relationships between students and teachers and the school-surveillance systems more generally (getting 'under the radar'). They also refer to firearms control and policy decisions on the availability of hand guns and to the regulations on how easy it is to get a gun. The cultural script, however, is the wider cultural background which makes

school shootings appear as a meaningful act. It is the prescription for behaviour. To use Wittgensteinian terms, the cultural script is meaningful in a life form that views violence as a solution, combines manly behaviour with violent acts and views school shootings as a way to reverse intra-generational power relations in schools.

As an explanatory theoretical tool, a cultural script is considerably less precise than other factors proposed by Newman and her colleagues. The authors also acknowledge this by saying that a script is the hardest element of their theory to test (Newman et al., 2004: 246). One way to illustrate this point is to refer to a recent article in which the authors offer clear and precise tables on the other four conditions but make only generalized remarks on the impact of the cultural script (Newman and Fox, 2009). They consider that the Columbine shootings in 1999 changed the scenario: the earlier script relied on violent films and video games, but the shooting in Columbine received so much media attention that it became a dominant form of the script that has been followed by the post-Columbine shooters. The horrors of Littleton turned into 'an icon for notoriety and antisocial defiance conducted in the name of upending conformist pecking orders'. (Newman and Fox, 2009: 1294–95)

According to Newman (2004: 252–53) and her colleagues, the cultural script of school shootings refers to the actual design of school shootings. The script portrays shooting as a masculine solution to ameliorate an inferior social position. Such a script is represented, for example, in films with macho heroes or villains who kill to gain notoriety (Newman, 2004: 230, 250). The script describes shooting as a solution to one's social problems (thus giving a formal description of how to react) as well as offering explicit guidance on how to conduct a school shooting and gain notoriety by using a precise media strategy (thus giving the content and design of the actual shooting). Newman and her colleagues do not, however, explicitly take account of the different forms of culture such as games, films, music, commercials, television series, masculine discourses in and out of school, inherent systemic violence in language and so forth.

We believe that the concept of a cultural script can be a useful tool, although one should be able to give it a theoretical framework that accounts for the various cultural products and discourses that affect a script. The idea of script emphasizes that there is a pattern, a sequencing of the events that can be followed if one is familiar with the script. Thus, compared, for example, to using the concepts of texts or discourses, one is not restricted to the textual alone. The concept of script emphasizes the performative aspect of these acts (Schmidt, 2007: 283).

The Cultural Script and Public Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy offers a theoretical framework with which to offer a description of cultural scripts and narratives. Within critical pedagogy, culture is seen as both a constitutive and political sphere which reflects larger economic and social forces as well as constructing them. It provides narratives, metaphors, maps and images that

affect the way people perceive themselves and their relation to others. Critical pedagogy claims that culture is both political and pedagogical. Narratives and scripts are a pedagogical force guiding how people see their identities, potentialities and relationships (Giroux, 2008: 117–18).

To put it briefly, education occurs at home and in classrooms but also in popular culture (Grossberg, 1986: 177; Kincheloe, 2004: 59). Young people develop youth cultural learning capital and negotiate their identities within a web of media, commerce, pop culture and people (Diepstraten et al., 2006: 187). Scripts on how to behave and react to one's surroundings are to a large extent accumulated through popular culture and social media.

The concept of the script can be used to analyze various identity and role expectations. A theory of a sexual script for example, takes into account three distinct levels. Cultural scenarios are societal norms and narratives which provide guidelines for conduct. Interpersonal scripts convert general cultural scenarios into specific situations. Intra-psychoic scripts involve fantasies and objects that relate individual desires to social meanings (Markle, 2008: 46–47). The different levels of the script (cultural, interpersonal, intrapersonal) both form the background of the act—they deal with masculinity, revenge, acquiring power in public space—and give detailed guidelines on how to react in given situations. In the Jokela case, for example, the events of Columbine were emulated in an attempt to claim a large number of victims in trying to create destruction to the school building (pipe bombs in Columbine, trying to burn down the building with gasoline in Jokela) and to reach the public and describe the event as a political act.

In the context of school shootings, one can differentiate between general cultural expectations about male violence and masculinity and interpersonal relations of how school shootings are perceived as acts of revenge in specific settings. The idea of the cultural script of school shootings thus combines general cultural scripts on masculinity and violence and more specific scripts on how school shootings take place in public educational institutions. Both these levels are negotiated in popular culture and social media. Popular culture offers exciting role models who use violence as a solution and sometimes glorifies powerful and destructive performances. Popular imaginary offers role models of masculinity and, according to critics, produces a cult of fame which is an integral part of the script of school shootings (Henry, 2009: 1260). This impact of popular culture can be seen as public pedagogy which is at work 'in all those public places where culture works to secure identities; it does the bridging work for negotiating the relationship among knowledge, pleasure and values' (Giroux, 2000: 168–69). To put it briefly, cultural products provide elements for the script and thus work as pedagogical forces in the media-centred modern existence.

An early film portraying a massacre in school is *If...* (1968) by Lindsay Anderson. This controversial British Cannes winner portrays the act of killing as a solution to problems in school. The message of the film is enforced by statements like: 'There's no such thing as a wrong war. Violence and revolution are the only pure acts. ... War is the last possible creative act.' The Hollywood film *Heathers* (1989) talks about

blowing up the whole school that 'infects a generation' and would be 'a Woodstock for the 80s'. These films are taken to fetishize violence and portray violence as a logical choice in a troubled social situation. Another Hollywood film *The Basketball Diaries* (1995) includes a shooting scene which was watched repeatedly by Michael Carneal, the shooter of West Paducah school (1997), who wanted to replicate the act. 'I saw it in a movie. I saw it in *The Basketball Diaries*,' he stated after the shooting in a police station (Webber, 2003: 27).

Henry claims that cultural celebrations of violent heroes are manifest through video, film and the Internet which provide the medium and script through which violent dramas may be acted out (Henry, 2009: 1253). It is evident that the whole media culture plays a role in the school shootings that have themselves become dramatic and spectacular acts. The killers themselves have acknowledged this. The Columbine school shooters famously debated in their basement tapes who would direct their story (Tarantino or Spielberg) (Twenge and Campbell, 2002: 261). In this sense, the drama and the spectacle are embedded in the cultural script of school shootings. School shootings are a perfect example of such media spectacles (Kellner, 2008). The society of the spectacle, a term coined by Guy Debord (1967/1992), refers to a society that underlines the omnipresence of mediated images. Debord's original Marxist statements have been modified by media researchers who use the term of media spectacle to refer to a society that dramatizes the controversies and concentrates on the shocking contents. The current society excels in creating spectacles of every kind: breaking news, media events and scandals related to sex and violence (Kellner, 2003).

According to Dalsgaard and others (2008: 50), individual responses to social situations are influenced by social and material environments. These environments affect how young people respond to cultural scripts. Cultural scripts require individual interpretation. Wilkinson and Carr (2008) argue that young people who have committed violent acts have violence scripts which determine how threatening situations are perceived. According to them, a violence script combines individual and communal elements; it depends on both the neighbourhood and on the individual self. Since the majority of the school shooters have been men, it is important to explain how the culture of male violence and rage contributes to the phenomenon of school shootings. Social and economic status should be taken to account as well as gender (Kellner, 2008: 154–55). The cultural script of school shootings emphasizes the role of violence as a solution to one's problems, as a 'cool' way to react and as a manly exit.

The script has a future-orientated narrative aspect: the shootings become a starting point for a different and better tomorrow. School shooters have actively tried to ensure that their actions will make a difference in the future. The Columbine shooters wanted to 'kickstart a revolution' (Gibbs and Roche, 1999), The Virginia Tech shooter said that he died like Christ 'to inspire generations of the weak and the defenseless people' (Kellner, 2008: 38). The Jokela shooter referred to the limited potential of the individual in his manifesto but was hopeful that his 'actions will inspire all the intelligent people of the world and start some sort of revolution against the current systems'. Images of martyrdom and Robin Hood-type defenders of the

poor, the meek and the downtrodden contribute to the fact that at least some shooters see themselves as part of the ongoing struggle and thus contribute to the existing cultural script of school shootings.

Music and Subcultures as a Part of the Cultural Script

It has been argued that performance and performativity are important factors in the construction of social identities. Judith Butler, among others, has claimed that identities are fabricated. Identity is constructed through performance (Butler, 1999: 171–75). This is especially true when one tries to display the image of belonging to a subculture. In the virtual contexts, performances will produce an image of oneself. Different multimedia options—images, music, videos—can be utilized to communicate various subcultural conventions to the public. In the context of school shootings, one can communicate different parts of the script to the public by referring to the music and films previous school shooters have been fans of.

The Columbine perpetrators were hard-line fans of the German/American industrial rock band KMFDM. They even planned the attack on the day that KMFDM released their *Adios* album. Eric Harris wrote in his diary on 20 December 1998: ‘KMFDM’s new album’s entitled “Adios” and its release date is in April. How fuckin appropriate, a subliminal final “Adios” tribute to Reb and Vodka, thanks KMFDM... I ripped the hell outa the system’ (Harris, 1999). The media did not acknowledge this but claimed that the shooters were Nazis and had chosen the date of the attack because it was Hitler’s birthday (cf. Cullen, 2009: 149).

Since journalists did not really know KMFDM, they picked up on Marilyn Manson who had been criticizing and shocking the American public (Plasketes, 1999: 7). The killers, however, did not listen to Marilyn Manson. Besides this, their connections with the local group of so-called Goth kids were limited (Cullen, 2009: 149; Larkin, 2007: 145). The pre-Columbine school shooting at Heath High in the USA had a connection with the local Goth group. The 14-year-old shooter wanted to belong to the group and acted to shock the Goths into seeing him as worthy (Newman et al., 2004: 29–30). Furthermore, Marilyn Manson had been the focus of moral panic ever since the publication of the *Antichrist Superstar* album (1996). After Columbine, Manson was again accused in 2000 after the Santana High School shootings although the killer was a fan of the Nu metal band Linkin Park (Johnson and Cloonan, 2009: 112–14; Wright, 2000).

Researchers working on school shootings have often erroneously ascribed everything that does not belong to the American mainstream youth culture to the Gothic label. Ralph Larkin, for example, writes straightforwardly: ‘Since the 1980s, punk culture has continued to exist, changing several times, and, in the 1990s, becoming incorporated under the generic term “Goth”’ (Larkin, 2007: 183). Goth culture, however, was globally relatively small before the 1990s success of Nine Inch Nails and Marilyn Manson in the USA. Although both artists use elements from Goth culture in their music and performances, their place in Goth subculture has been problematic.

Marilyn Manson, for example, represents the image of a Goth for everyone else except those who belong to Goth subculture (Gunn, 1999).

The idea of one monolithic Goth subculture is a misleading stereotype. During the 1990s and 2000s, subcultures blended more styles than ever before. Post-subcultural theory has underlined the cultural complexity of different music scenes and the increasing importance of media (Bennett and Kahn-Harris, 2000; McRobbie and Thornton, 1995). Subcultures are not unified and stable from country to country and time to time. Goth-influenced subcultures may include various complex and even contradictory elements. Some scenes, such as the German dark scene (*die schwarze Szene*), have an extensive variety of musical genres ranging from electronic music to black metal (Platz, 2004). Some other scenes do not necessarily play metal music at all. The Finnish Goth scene, for example, does not usually include any metal music in their parties or concerts. Their music ranges from 1980s post-punk and Gothic rock to EBM (i.e., electronic body music).

We have not so far found that any of the school shooters made reference to the classic 1980s' dark wave and Gothic rock artists such as Bauhaus, Siouxsie and the Banshees, Joy Division, Sisters of Mercy, Fields of Nephilim, Christian Death, Clan of Xymox or more recent essential groups of the genre. The school shooters themselves have not usually identified themselves as Goths although researchers and journalists have been inclined to see them as such. One curious exception, however, is the Canadian school shooter Kimveer Gill who claimed to be a Goth enthusiast in his profile on *Vampirefreaks.com* before hitting a school in Montreal in 2006. Almost all of his musical references were, however, mainstream metal music. He cited *À tout le monde* (1995) song by the American metal band Megadeth in his last blog.

Musically, the Goth connection is easier to understand through the references to industrial music often played in the Goth clubs. The genre originated in the late 1970s after the short period of punk. Cabaret Voltaire and other first-wave industrial music groups, Throbbing Gristle (London), NON (USA), Z'EV (USA), SPK (Australia) and Einstürzende Neubauten (West Berlin), followed in the footsteps of the Dada movement and 1960s and 1970s avant-garde art. They used electronic and synthesized sounds or pure noise produced by machines or homemade instruments and stated that they played anti-music. Industrial music has touched the dark side of the twentieth century: torture, cults, war, unusual murders, addiction, concentration camps and psychological techniques of persuasion (Mureck, 1990; Reynolds, 2005; Vale and Juno, 1983).

One of the examples of the controversies surrounding industrial music is the Slovenian (ex-Yugoslavian) band Laibach who have used totalitarian and national systems to deconstruct these very systems since the early 1980s. Sometimes they have been accused of being far left and sometimes right (Monroe, 2005). The Slovenian philosopher and cultural critic Slavoj Žižek underlines that Laibach's importance is in the skilful manipulation of totalitarian symbolism (Žižek and Herscher, 1997: 61–62). Žižek has also claimed that industrial music and Laibach are more pertinent than ever in the post-9/11 world (Žižek, 2005: xv). Laibach is a perfect example of how difficult it is for some people to understand music that uses signs of violence in order to criticize violence.

The problem of industrial music is that the original bands of the 1970s and early 1980s were in fact fascinated by terrorist acts and human atrocities such as the murders by the Charles Manson group. Industrial musicians created their own manifestos and some bands even took their names from terrorist groups. Some bands, like Throbbing Gristle, wanted to present information on such acts without moral judgement (Ford, 1999; Vale and Juno, 1983). Simon Reynolds has underlined this aspect of industrial music. There is a fuzzy line between an anguished awareness of horror and morbid fascination with evil (Reynolds, 2005: 232–34). The idea of total mass destruction still appears in industrial music up to the present, addressing themes such as serial killing, mass murder and atrocities.

Industrial music became popular in the USA in the 1990s with the success of such industrial rock/metal bands as Nine Inch Nails and Ministry. The Columbine killers made references to industrial or industrial-influenced groups like Nine Inch Nails, Rammstein, KMFDM and Pop Will Eat Itself in their notes. KMFDM strongly condemned the Columbine shooting in a press statement. They stated that KMFDM are an art form—not a political party. ‘From the beginning, our music has been a statement against war, oppression, fascism and violence against others. While some of the former band members are German, as reported in the media, none of us condone any Nazi beliefs whatsoever’ (Boehlert, 1999). Their strict political statements offer a view about the political identity of the band. However, in spite of this statement the Columbine school shooting rampage linked the music of KMFDM closely to the cultural script of school shootings.

Rammstein, Nine Inch Nails and KMFDM have been among the favourite bands since the Columbine shooting but the logic of being a fan is quite unclear. It seems that some bands are picked because previous shooters have used them. Furthermore, these bands address themes that fit in with the cultural script of school shooting. The Columbine shooting seem to have led certain shooters to listen to some industrial music, usually bands that are already world-famous such as Rammstein. The music of KMFDM, however, has quite curiously become the emblem of school shootings. The most recent school shooting involving the music by KMFDM happened in Athens in 2009. The Finnish school shooters at Jokela and Kauhajoki also cited KMFDM. By claiming to be a fan, one makes a performative act and constructs an identity which links one to the school shootings. The music one publicly espouses—for example as a soundtrack of net videos, as the Jokela shooter did—plays a part in this performance. Identity acquires meaning through interaction with other people.

Editing a Violent Identity on an Internet Profile and Videos

The Jokela shooter, Pekka-Eric Auvinen, performed a violent identity-play using the Internet. He informed people of his actions on various Internet forums (IRC–Galleria—a popular Finnish site, Youtube and Rapidshare). Auvinen (a.k.a. Natural Selector 89, Natural Selector, Sturmgeist89, Sturmgeist, Eric von Auffoin) lists his

preferences which include violent video games, films, music and the industrial and metal music he listened which portray massacres, the actions of serial killers and the dark side of Western societies generally. His profile combines an interest in societal matters, a fascination with guns and masculine violence.

Auvinen listed his favourite bands on his IRC-Galleria profile. These included industrial bands that the Columbine killers had preferred (KMFDM, Nine Inch Nails and Rammstein), and various metal bands (Impaled Nazarene, Children of Bodom, Slayer, Godsmack, Sturmgeist, Hatebreed, Suffocation, Terrorizer), agrotech/industrial groups (Combichrist, Grendel, Suicide Commando), shock rock/heavy metal (Alice Cooper) and electronic music (Prodigy). This choice, in many respects quite obvious, includes bands mentioned in school shootings before and those that address the question of violence and mass murder. Auvinen's Sturmgeist89 pseudonym is a reference to the Norwegian black/trash/industrial metal band Sturmgeist.²

Auvinen's media strategy was quite decided. He wanted his crime to receive public attention. He left a media package including photos of himself, his manifesto and two videos. He had clearly thought about the cultural script of school shootings. He also introduced a new element into the school shootings script. In his media package, he expressed his contempt for mass society and ordinary people and stated that the shooting was an act of political terrorism. He claimed to attack not only the school but all of society and the human race. His package included a manifesto where he stated that he wanted to start a revolution. He did not blame people for treating him badly on a personal level.

Whereas the Columbine killers left video material for the police to find—some of the material have still not been made to available to the public—and the Virginia Tech killer posted material to NBC, the Jokela shooter connected directly with his audience by using social media. His connection with the public thus involved no mediators. He uploaded his manifesto and videos to Rapidshare.com-server at 11:13.–11:16. He turned off his computer at 11:28, went to his school and shot his first victim at 11:42 (National Bureau of Investigation 2008: 17–19). The fact that he left his media kit on the net prior to the act indicates that his media strategy was clearly thought out and was seen as part of the script of the act itself.

A curious aspect of the Jokela school shooting was that the shooter was able to get his message across at the exact moment he wanted to. He also controlled the content of the news by providing pictures, text and videos. The shooter was given a lot of media space and was thus able to connect to the general public (Hakala 2009: 96–98). It is important to underline that the media spectacle itself was not created solely by Auvinen but by the curious people who devoured all the material Auvinen had given them. Media spectacles in our current societies are increasingly interactive (Kellner, 2008: 4). Most of the news and www-forum discussions concentrated on the shooter, and there was strikingly less discussion about the victims (Hakala, 2009: 66–77, 116). This is a fundamental aspect of the cultural script of school shootings. The media celebrates the lone anti-hero but the terrible consequences of violence, death, sorrow and mourning do not attract similar attention.

The videos by Auvinen underlined the act of school shooting as the revenge of a lonely anti-hero. The first of the videos, *Jokela High School Massacre—11/7/2007*, shows Jokela school and portrays Auvinen posing with the gun pointing towards the camera. The video uses the *Stray Bullet* song by KMFDM. The lyrics of the song underline the shock value of the school shooting: 'I am your holy totem/I am your sick taboo/Radical and radiant/I'm your nightmare coming true.' The video uses red and black colours to enforce the dramatic spectacle. In the second video, *Just Testing My Gun*, Auvinen is firing in the forest. This video, unlike the first one, shows Auvinen more as normal young man which is perhaps even more disturbing. In addition to these two videos, Auvinen had, however, possibly made dozens or even over 100 videos (he says in his introductory video that he had made over 140). His first profile, with the name NaturalSelector89, had been presumably closed and he returned with a new Sturmgeist89 profile just a few weeks before the shooting. Youtube closed this account immediately after the shooting.

The Finnish police later found 46 videos on Auvinen's computer (National Bureau of Investigation, 2008) ranging from 00:07 to 07:26 minutes in length. They include Auvinen's manifestos with music, videos of him posing with the gun, videos about his sexual fantasies, action scenes from the video games, various tributes to the film *Natural Born Killers*, the Columbine shooters and various serial and spree killers. The videos include music by KMFDM, Nine Inch Nails, Rammstein, Slayer, Mötörhead and Marilyn Manson. Some of the videos use the title songs of Hollywood films (*James Bond* and the *Godfather* films) and even classical music, such as Beethoven and Wagner. The content of the videos is summarized in Table 1.

Everything confirms the fact that Auvinen had read carefully through the material related to the previous school shootings as well as the previous domestic acts of terrorism in both the United States and Finland. Besides school shooters, Auvinen was interested in such US serial killers and terrorists as Unabomber and Timothy McVeigh. According to the police records, he was also interested in the Finnish bomb detonation of 2002 at the Myyrmanni shopping mall that killed seven and wounded over hundred. Furthermore, Auvinen even considered going on a shooting rampage in a shopping centre but thought that school would be better because shooting in a school would give him more public attention (National Bureau of Investigation, 2008: 402). Auvinen had probably also read the diary material in which the Columbine killers referred to lyrics by various bands. Auvinen used almost the same songs by KMFDM, for example, that were cited by the Columbine killers.

One of the examples of intertextual chains related to school shootings involves the issue of blame. The Jokela shooter idolized Eric Harris, one of the two Columbine shooters. He even made reference to the similarities of their names (Eric/Pekka-Eric) a day prior to his school shootings (National Bureau of Investigation, 2008: 403). Eric Harris wrote in his journal on 29 July 1998: 'It's my fault! Not my parents', not my brother's, not my friends, not my favourite bands', not computer games, not the media, it's mine' (Harris, 1999). American heavy metal artist Alice Cooper later touched on the issue of family violence and school shootings in his *Brutal Planet* album (2002). The song *Wicked Young Man* which portrays a school shooter,

Table 1. Video Files of Jokela School Shooter Pekka-Eric Auvinen

No.	Name	Content	Music
1	Jokela High School Massacre—11/7/2007	Includes footage of Auvinen posing with a gun and pictures from the Jokela school. The video was included in the Auvinen's media package	KMFDM: <i>Stray Bullet</i> (1997)
2–15	Videocamera shootings	Videos showing Auvinen firing his gun in the forest, walking around Jokela and filming school	
16	Shooting! (Just Testing My Gun)	An edited video of forest shooting video files. The video was included in the Auvinen's media package	
17	NaturalSelector891	A collage of Auvinen's pictures	Alice Cooper: <i>Wicked Young Man</i> (2000)
18	Mel	Collage of Auvinen's photos	
19	Minä1	Collage of Auvinen's pictures	KMFDM: <i>Stray Bullet</i> (1997)
20	Uzi	Shows an Uzi submachine gun	
21	Gun1	A video of a Sig Sauer Musquito handgun	Duran Duran: <i>A View to Kill</i> , the title theme of the James Bond film <i>A View to Kill</i> (1985)
22	Son of A Gun1	A video of a Sig Sauer Musquito handgun and Auvinen posing with the gun	KMFDM: <i>Son of a Gun</i> (1996)
23	Introduction Video1	Introductory video of Natural Selector 89. Web camera footage on Auvinen talking, 'since I already have over 140 videos and not an introduction video yet so I guess it's good time to make one.'	
24	Random Thoughts Again1	Auvinen's critical thoughts on religion and nationalism	Beethoven: <i>Symphony No. 5</i> (1808), first movement

25	NaturalSelector89's Philosophy I	Animated manifesto text	Nine Inch Nails: <i>Burn from the Natural Born Killers</i> film Soundtrack (1995); KMFDM: <i>Godlike</i> (1990); Marilyn Manson: <i>The Fight Song</i> (2000)
26	NaturalSelector89's Philosophy2 I	Animated manifesto text. Includes a picture of Auvinen posing	NIN: <i>Burn</i> ; KMFDM: <i>Godlike</i> ; Marilyn Manson: <i>The Fight Song</i>
27	The Antichrist I	Auvinen reading his manifesto before the camera	Manson: <i>The Fight Song</i>
28	NaturalSelector89's Manifesto I	Manifesto text	Slayer: <i>The Antichrist</i> (1983)
29	Videography I	Ultra rapid picture collage with text and images of animals, II WW propaganda films, terrorists, tyrants and Columbine. Includes clips from videogames, films, and band logos	KMFDM: <i>Godlike</i> (1990)
30	Invictus I_dvd	A photo of Auvinen with 'Humanity is Overrated' shirt on. He reads out William Ernest Henley's poem <i>Invictus</i>	Prodigy: <i>Climbatize</i> (1997)
31	Fantasies	Animated text in which the narrator tells about his sexual fantasy of dominating women. Text both in English and German	Rammstein: <i>Du Riechst so Gut</i> (1995)
32	Fantasies of Mine2	Video clips of bound and gagged naked and semi-naked women who are struggling to get out of the situation	Nine Inch Nails: <i>Closer</i> (1994)
33	Fantasies of Mine3	Textual sexual fantasies of dominating women and videos clips of bound and gagged women	Rammstein: <i>Du Riechst so Gut</i> (1995)
34	NaturalSelector89 Is Back! I	Animated text stating that NaturalSelector89 is back on Youtube	Wagner: <i>Ride of the Valkyries</i> (1870)
35	Dcl15	Includes textual references to other Youtube members RobinMcVeigh, Tanascheel and TheAmazingAtheist	KMFDM: <i>Anarchy</i> (1997); Combichrist: <i>This Shit Will Fuck You Up</i> (2005); Marilyn Manson: <i>The Fight Song</i> (2000)

(Table 1 continued)

(Table 1 continued)

No.	Name	Content	Music
36	Cold Balded Revenge I	Videogame shooting	The Godfather theme from the Godfather film (1972)
37	Natural Bald Killer I	Videogame clip portraying a male figure killing females in toilet	KMFDM: Professional Killer (2005)
38	Hitman Massacre I	Video game shooting	Godsmack: I Fucking Hate You (2003)
39	NBK I	A tribute to <i>Natural Born Killers</i>	Mötörhead: Born to Raise Hell (1994)
40	Mass of Murderers I	A tribute to serial killers, mass murderers and school shooters	KMFDM: Revenge (2003)
41	REB & V Tribute I	A tribute to the Columbine shooters. Includes clips from films and documentaries	KMFDM: Waste (1997), Son of a Gun (1996), Stray Bullet (1997)
42	Eric Harris	A tribute to the Columbine shooters, includes clips from documentaries, films and videogames	Alice Cooper: Wicked Young Man (2000)
43	Hitmen For Hire I_dvd	A video clip showing the 'Hitmen for Hire' video by the Columbine shooters	
44	Columbine Game Sounds 2 I	Clips from the TV documentary <i>Zero Hour: Massacre at Columbine High</i> (1999)	KMFDM: Son of a Gun (1996)
45	Heaven's Gate I	Includes footage of the cult leader Marshall Applewhite speaking and media clips of the mass suicide of Heaven's Gate	KMFDM: Witness (1999)
46	Gsg9_dvd	A clip from the German TV series <i>Gsg9</i> (<i>Grenzschutzgruppe 9</i> was a counter-terrorist unit) portraying capture of Jewish women athletes. Involves ropes and gagging.	

could be interpreted as critical towards the school shooting phenomenon. The refrain of the song refers to Eric Harris: 'It's not the games that I play the movies I see the music I dig/I'm just a wicked young man.'

Pekka-Eric Auvinen used the same Alice Cooper song in two of his videos. NaturalSelector89 portrays Auvinen posing in several photographs. The second video, *Eric Harris*, is a tribute to the Columbine shooter he admired and whose thoughts meant a lot to him. In the video, he has edited clips from video games, the James Bond film *A View to a Kill* and the KMFDM logo exactly matching the lyrics of *Wicked Young Man* in the refrain. Auvinen created a link between himself and Eric Harris by using the Alice Cooper song that actually reflected the problem of school shooting. More importantly, his manifesto included a line that makes yet another intertextual link: 'Don't blame the movies I see, the music I hear, the games I play or the books I read. No, they had nothing to do with this.' He continued the script of a solitary figure who is unaffected by cultural products and is able to act as he chooses³—despite of course the fact that different songs and video clips carry a clear meaning and communicate his identity to the public as a vile school shooter.

It seems obvious that Auvinen deliberately referred to different cultural products in his videos. An aspect of this intertextual tactic is that he used everything as long as the content matches his doings. The Alice Cooper song can be used since the lyrics do not contain anything that contradicts the cultural script of school shootings. Other important aspects concern reading cultural products in general. Studies on popular music often underline that there is no single fixed reading of rock or pop lyrics in general but that music serves to create affects and feelings (Fornäs, 1995: 169–72; Frith, 1996; Grossberg, 1992). People add their personal meanings to song lyrics that are often deliberately ambiguous. Music is used to reflect memories, hopes, dreams and fantasies (DeNora, 2006).

Portraying Male Rage

In an interview, the philosopher Gilles Deleuze (2004: 143) said: 'Whenever we write, we speak as someone else. And it is a particular form that speaks through us.' He was stating that when writing, we always follow the conventions—or scripts—that are available to us and that we communicate ourselves within these forms. Deleuze, of course, often underlined the processual nature of life. The school shootings underline the fact that people can act upon scripts. According to Jay Martin, some people end up adopting a fictive personality reminiscent of the famous character of Cervantes, Don Quixote. The killer of John Lennon, for example, believed that he himself was John Lennon. In a fictive personality, the characters from fiction or media became the mirrors for identity (Martin, 1988).

The Jokela school shooter, Pekka-Eric Auvinen, had a net identity that was strikingly different from his social self. In his everyday off-line life, the Jokela shooter was a shy person. He suffered from loneliness and from blushing. He had difficulty interacting with other people. He suffered from the fact that he was quite short

(Investigation Commission of the Jokela school shooting, 2009: 50–51). One may postulate that he had difficulty fitting into the masculine image. He did not have girlfriends. His mother thought that before the shooting, Pekka-Eric became more afraid of social situations such as applying for a summer job (National Bureau of Investigation, 2008: 559).

In his net videos, he constructed a violent masculine identity with fantasies of sexual domination, stern political opinions and disdain for the weak. The ultra-masculine character portrayed on the net video clips contrasts with the everyday person known to people in Jokela. Slavoj Žižek argues that the function of such fantasies is to act out ‘the defensive fantasies that protect us from the banal normality that is our truth’. Žižek claims that creating a violent identity on the net is one way of not facing the fact that deep down one is normal, ordinary and boring (Žižek, 2008: 13).

As has been shown above, the music material Auvinen used makes definite references to school shooters who preceded him. For our argument, it does not matter that the files published by the police contain only a fraction of his Internet videos. What is important here is that videos clearly referring to school shootings contain music that is part of the cultural script of the school shootings. These musical choices emphasize the masculine character and display feelings of rage and anger. Similar masculine aggression is displayed in the photos where Auvinen poses with a gun and links himself to the imagery of male heroes in action films. Moreover, Auvinen used the KMFDM song *Son of a Gun* as a soundtrack in his video *Son a Gun1* in which he poses with his newly acquired handgun. He also told his net associates that he ‘is now the son of a gun’ (Sillantaus, 2008: 38).

Auvinen uses the music by KMFDM and others to underline that he is acting ‘according his will’. This is portrayed in the most central of the Jokela videos, *Jokela High School Massacre—11/7/2007*. The lyrics of the KMFDM song, *Stray Bullet*, feature the motive of revenge and the idea that the avenger is supreme compared to others, an aspect that Auvinen also emphasized in his Manifesto: ‘I am your apocalypse/I am your belief unwrought/Monolithic juggernaut/I’m the illegitimate son of god.’ In a similar vein, the Kauhajoki shooter, Matti Saari cited the song *War* (1997) by the German electro-industrial band Wumpscut in his IRC–Galleria profile a year later: ‘All Life is War and all life is pain/And you will fight alone in your personal war’.

One of the videos contains footage from the first person shooter (FPS, a game genre which Auvinen claimed to love) game Hitman. The video clip uses the song *I Fucking hate you* by the metal band Godsmack. A line by Godsmack, ‘And even if you justify every fuckin bullshit lie/It only makes me want to break you’ resonates with the words of the manifesto ‘The people living in the world of delusion and supporting this system are my enemies’. In both the Godsmack song and his manifesto, there is a cultural form that despises lies and ordinary deceit and glorifies anger and feelings of revulsion for people living a lie.

When the killer was writing his manifesto, there was a Deleuzean form-speaking-through-us at play. Several song lines describing male rage, revenge and masculinity found their way into the manifesto. Video 26, *NaturalSelector89’s Philosophy21*, starts with a picture of Auvinen and then turns into a textual animation that expresses

his radical political notions about ‘natural selection’ and the supremacy of the few. Democracy according to him is ‘inferior people as a majority.’ He goes to describe how people are ‘weak-minded retards’, ‘mindless mass humans’ and socialized ‘robots for states’. The Nine Inch Nails song *Burn* plays in the background. *Burn*, like many of the songs used by Auvinen, is about revenge and getting even with the world:

This world rejects me
 This world threw me away
 This world never gave me a chance
 This world’s gonna have to pay

I don’t believe in your institutions
 I did what you wanted me to
 Like the cancer in the system
 I’ve got a little surprise for you

Burn was originally included in the soundtrack of the film *Natural Born Killers* by Oliver Stone. It is a fierce song even by the standards of Nine Inch Nails.⁴ It is about blind rage in which the whole world has to burn. The song also underlines the loneliness of the subject: ‘I never was a part of you’. Before the end of the *Natural Selector 89’s Philosophy 21*, the music turns into the KMFDM song *Godlike* ‘Now it’s time to get the right side and you’ll be godlike’ and finally to Marilyn Manson’s *Fight song*: ‘But I’m not a slave to a god that doesn’t exist. And I’m not a slave to a world that doesn’t give a shit’. Auvinen cleverly picked out parts of the songs that serve to underline the revolutionary message of his manifesto. At the same time, *Burn* and *God-like* were also songs used by the Columbine killers.

The theme of supremacy portrayed in Auvinen’s videos also involves sexuality. Some of the videos edited by him include violent pornographic video clips and fantasies of near-rape (see videos 31–33, Table 1). The videos portray innocent-looking nude or semi-nude women helplessly bound, gagged and struggling to get away. These pictures are coupled with his fantasies of abducting women and forcing them to submit to his will. Auvinen’s IRC–Galleria profile and his *Hate & love.doc* said that he likes BDSM and that he hates equality:

She would try to struggle but she would feel the knife on her skin and surrender to me. She would be totally dominated & helpless and then I’d fuck her like an animal! (from the video 31, fantasies by Pekka-Eric Auvinen, see Table 1)

Auvinen uses both *WeissesFleisch* by Rammstein and *Closer* by Nine Inch Nails as a soundtrack in his videos involving sexual fantasies. *Fantasies* video makes an intertextual reference to the chorus of *Closer* song: ‘I wanna fuck you like an animal/ I wanna feel you from the inside’. Even these disturbing videos might be intertextually linked to previous school shootings. Eric Harris mentioned songs by Rammstein and Nine Inch Nails when he wrote about fantasies of raping someone in his diary:

Weissesfleisch' [Rammstein song]—perfect song for me. Who can I trick into my room first? I can sweep someone off their feet, tell them what they want to hear, be all nice and sweet, and then 'fuck 'em like an animal, feel them from the inside' as Reznor [The Nine Inch Nails frontman] said. Oh—that's something else...that one NIN [Nine Inch Nails] video I saw, 'Broken' or 'Closer' or something. (Harris, 1999)

Ralph Larkin (2007: 135–36) takes the rape fantasy as an example of Eric Harris's feelings of grandiosity. Even the sexual merges into the homicidal. His sexual fantasy was all about power which is also the subtext of all of the writings left by Eric Harris. Auvinen certainly portrays a similar grandiosity in his manifesto. His fantasies are similarly about power and being superior. They exemplify strong masculine will and force and see women as subordinate beings. He stated in his video clip *Random Thoughts* (0:59) that women 'are cheating whores, lying sluts and manipulative bitches. They are best when they are dominated, bound & gagged'. Instead of *WeissesFleisch*, about a schoolyard rapist, Auvinen decided to use *Du riechst so gut* about stalking. Both songs are from Rammstein's *Herzeleid* album (1995).

Conclusion

We have analyzed school shootings using the concept of cultural script. This concept is often mentioned in studies on school shootings, but so far there has been lack of specific cultural analysis. We have tried to show how school shooters position themselves culturally to the existing script of school shootings, concentrating especially on the musical references in Internet videos by the Jokela school shooter. School shooters are not only fascinated by previous school shootings but they are also fans of similar cultural products. The same cultural products circulate among the school shooters, indicating that these films can be seen as celebrating violence and offering a vocabulary of violence to potential shooters. The cultural script of school shootings is the prescription for behaviour.

School shooters are aware of the script and are able to locate themselves within it. They may also try to modify the script, for example, by altering the media strategy. The script also affects how other people see the shootings. Reporters, analysts, scientists and concerned citizens can all use the script and can thus modify their comments and ideas according to the material the script offers (Watson, 2002: 80). The script itself combines larger cultural expectations about masculine violence and more general guidelines on how to perpetrate a school shooting. Furthermore, the cultural script of school shooting becomes part of the media spectacle created around school massacres.

The analysis of the media package and the 46 videos by the Jokela school shooter reveal that the shooter had created a complex web of intertextual references. He used music and statements referring to earlier school shootings and terrorist acts. These previous acts of violence served as a reference point for the identity work. He also tried to actively modify and elaborate the meanings inherent in school shootings. These included a statement on school shootings as political radical action. The videos also glorify male rage and domination and include violent sexual fantasies.

In this sense, they underline the complexity and potentially problematic nature of current Internet culture that makes it possible to share ideas and fantasies of hate. As we have shown here, school shooters dig deep into the violent fantasy world of previous cases.

Our analysis of the school shootings underlines that school shooters apparently do not belong to any specific subculture in the traditional sense. Although some scholars have labelled school shooters as Goths, there is actually no proof that Goth culture is associated with such incidents. Rather, school shooters should be loosely labelled as fans of industrial and metal music, but the logic of liking certain bands seems to be that they are liked because previous school shooters have liked similar bands. The school shooters of the 2000s have used the Internet to take part and to modify the cultural script. The Finnish school shooters of Jokela and Kauhajoki are examples of active Internet users who found like-minded people on the Internet although their offline friends were trying to make them understand the severity of violent acts.

School shootings touch on wider cultural scenarios. The theme of revolutionary violence—violence that is needed to set new standards and establish a new way of living—is part of the cultural heritage of western political philosophy. For example, the critical theorist Walter Benjamin (1921/1986) talked about divine violence which destroys laws and wreaks boundless destruction. Divine violence does not preserve existing laws and social systems; it breaks them and opens up new possibilities. This notion is integrated into the cultural script of school shootings in a manner that emphasizes the revolutionary nature of violence and claims that this kind of violent act will open up a new social space and create a new symbolic order within which those formerly oppressed and bullied can gain power.

Such a notion of violence as a purifying act is also one root of the problem. The western media culture desires spectacles. School shooters are seen as bullied victims who rise in revolt. They are disturbing yet uncannily fascinating for people. In this sense, the media culture itself consistently feeds the whole phenomenon of school shooting. The Finnish school shooters, for example, were products of media culture. They were active media and Internet users. They also wanted to gain notoriety through their crimes. In many senses, they were a darker side of the culture that celebrates fame. However, in this case the search for fame was born of rage and hatred.

The American author Julie A. Webber argues that we need to understand that school shootings are embedded in social practices in schools and in society. School shooters were angry at the entire environment of the school (Webber, 2003: 18, 195). School becomes a symbol of what is wrong in one's life. School shootings, if anything, relate to agency. Acting out violence restores the subjective meaning that has perhaps been lost. How to act violently relies on the existing script which offers both the general justification for violence and examples of how to wreak havoc and gain notoriety. The script also offers points of reference (such as films, music and quotes) which one can use to associate oneself with the imagined community of school shooters and to create an individual image and identity with which one can hope and fantasize—to quote a KMFDM song the Jokela shooter used as a soundtrack for his manifesto—to 'be godlike'.

Notes

1. Both authors have contributed equally to this article.
2. Later, the Sturmgeist band reflected the Jokela school shooting on their *Manifesto Futurista* album (2009). The song *Sturmgeist89* does not betray any sympathy for the killings: 'Why did you do it/You bloody moron/Put an end to your problems/By killing innocents...Sturmgeist89/Why did you do it?'
3. Auvinen used existential jargon which emphasizes the role of authentic individual choice and does not put much emphasis on social settings. This is clearly exemplified in his video *Random Thoughts Again* (0.25–0.38) under the title *Life*: 'Life is something that an individual wants and determines it to be. And I...I'm the dictator of my own life'. The individual ethos fits well within a script that emphasizes a strong existential commitment to one's own choices.
4. The original video of *Burn* includes harsh criticism of American consumer society. Images of nature films are linked to both nostalgic images of childhood and domestic violence (Toth, 1997).

References

- Benjamin, Walter (1921/1986) 'Critique of Violence', in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, pp. 277–300. New York: Schocken Books.
- Bennett, Andy and Kahn-Harns, Keith (eds) (2004) *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Boehlert, Eric (1999) 'An Old Debate Emerges in Wake of School Shooting: Manson, KMFDM, RIAA React to Reports of Music-Violence Connection', *Rolling Stone* 22.4.1999, URL (consulted May 2011): <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/an-old-debate-emerges-in-wake-of-shooting-19990422>
- Bondü, Rebecca and Scheithauer, Herbert (2009) 'School Shootings in Deutschland: Aktuelle Trends zur Prävention vor schwerer, zielgerichteter Gewalt an deutschen Schulen (School Shootings in Germany: Current Trends in Preventing Severe Targeted Violence in German Schools)', *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie und Kinderpsychiatrie* 58(9): 685–701.
- Butler, Judith (1999) *Gender Trouble*. London: Routledge.
- Cullen, Dave (2009) *Columbine*. London: Old Street Publishing.
- Dalsgaard, Anne Line, Franch, Mónica and Scott, Russell Parry (2008) 'Dominant Ideas, Uncertain Lives: The Meaning of Youth in Recife', in Karen Tranberg Hansen (ed.) *Youth and the City in the Global South*, pp. 49–73. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Debord, Guy (1967/1992) *La Société du Spectacle* [Society of the Spectacle]. Paris: Gallimard.
- Deleuze, Gilles (2004) *Desert Islands and Other Texts 1953–1974*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- DeNora, Tia (2006) 'Music and Self-Identity', in Andy Bennett, Barry Shank and Jason Toynbee (eds) *Popular Music Studies Reader*, pp. 141–47. London and New York: Routledge.
- Diepstraten, Isabelle, du Bois-Reymond, Manuela and Vinken, Henk (2006) 'Trendsetting Learning Biographies: Concepts of Navigating through Late-modern Life and Learning', *Journal of Youth Studies* 9(2): 175–93.
- Fast, Jonathan (2008) *Ceremonial Violence: A Psychological Explanation of School Shootings*. Woodstock and New York: Overlook Press.
- Ford, Simon (1999) *Wreckers of Civilisation: The Story of COUM Transmissions & Throbbing Gristle*. London: Black Dog.

- Fornäs, Johan (1995) *Cultural Theory and Late Modernity*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE.
- Frith, Simon (1996) *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gelder, Ken and Thornton, Sarah (eds) (1997) *The Subcultures Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Gibbs, Nancy and Roche, Timothy (1999) 'The Columbine Tapes', *Time*, 20 December, URL (Consulted September, 2010): <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,992873-1,00.html>
- Giroux, Henry A. (2008) *Against the Terror of Neoliberalism*. Boulder: Paradigm.
- Grossberg, Lawrence (1986) 'Teaching the Popular', in Cary Nelson (ed.) *Theory in the Classroom*, pp. 177–200. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Grossberg, Lawrence (1992) 'Is There a Fan in the House? The Affective Sensibility of Fandom', in Lisa A. Lewis (ed.) *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, pp. 50–65. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gunn, Joshua (1999) 'Marilyn Manson Is Not Goth: Memorial Struggle and the Rhetoric of Subcultural Identity', *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 23(4): 408–31.
- Hakala, Salli (2009) *Koulusurmat verkostoyhteiskunnassa: Analyysi Jokelan Kauhajoen kriisien viestinnästä*. [School Shootings in the Network Society: An Analysis of the Communication in Jokela and Kauhajoki Crises]. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Communications Research Centre.
- Harris, Eric (1999) 'Journal', URL (consulted 9, 2010): <http://www.davecullen.com/columbine/columbine-guide/journals/eric-journal-main.htm>. See also transcribed version by Peter Langman, URL (consulted 9, 2010): <http://www.schoolshooters.info/eric-harris-journal.pdf>
- Henry, Stuart (2009) 'School Violence Beyond Columbine. A Complex Problem in Need of an Interdisciplinary Analysis', *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(9): 1246–65.
- Hoffmann, Jens, Roshdi, Karoline and Robertz, Frank (2009) 'Zielgerichtete schwere Gewalt und Amok an Schulen. Eine empirische Studie zur Prävention schwerer Gewalttaten' [Severe Targeted Violence and Running Amok in Schools. Empiric Study about Prevention of Severe Violence]. *Kriminalistik* 25(4): 196–204.
- Investigation Commission of the Jokela School Shooting (2009) Jokela School Shooting on 7 November 2007. *Report of the Investigation Commission*. Helsinki: Ministry of Justice. Publication.
- Johnson, Bruce and Cloonan, Martin (2009) *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence*. Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Kellner, Douglas (2003) *Media Spectacles*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kellner, Douglas (2008) *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre*. London: Boulder.
- Kincheloe, Joe L. (2004) *Critical Pedagogy Primer*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Larkin, Ralph W. (2007) *Comprehending Columbine*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Larkin, Ralph W. (2009) 'The Columbine Legacy: Rampage Shootings as Political Acts', *American Behavioral Scientist* 52 (9): 1309–26.
- Lee, Jason (2009) *Celebrity, Pedophilia, and Ideology in American Culture*. Amherst, New York: Cambria Press.
- Markle, Gail (2008) 'Can Women have Sex Like a Man? Sexual Scripts in Sex and the City', *Sexuality and Culture* 12(1): 45–57.
- Martin, Jay (1988) *Who Am I This Time? Uncovering the Fictive Personality*. New York and London: W.W. Norton.

- McRobbie, Angela and Thornton, Sarah (1995) 'Rethinking "Moral Panic" for Multi-Mediated Social Worlds', *The British Journal of Sociology* 46(4): 559–74.
- Monroe, Alexei (2005) *Interrogation Machine: Laibach and NSK*. Cambridge Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press.
- Mureck, Carla (1990) 'Die Hölle ist da, feiern wir das wärmende Feuer': Zur Musik der Industrial Culture, Destroyed Music, Krach- und Geräusch-Music' (Hell is Here—Let's Have a Party in the Heat: On Industrial Culture, Destroyed Music and Noise Music), in Andrea Hoffmann and Kim Riemann (eds) *Partitur der Träume. Über Musik un Klänge*, pp. 128–49. Tübingen: Konkursbuch.
- National Bureau of Investigation (2008) *Jokelan koulusurmien esitutkintapöytäkirja* (Pre-Trial Investigation Report of the Jokela School Killings). Helsinki: National Bureau of Investigation.
- Newman, Katherine S., Fox, Cybelle, Harding, David J., Mehta, Jal and Roth, Wendy (2004) *Rampage: The Social Roots of School Shootings*. New York: Basic Books.
- Newman, Katherine and Fox, Cybelle (2009) 'Repeat Tragedy: Rampage Shootings in American High School and College Settings, 2002–2008', *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(9): 1286–308.
- Plasketes, George (1999) 'Things to do in Littleton When You're Dead: A Post-Columbine Collage', *Popular Music and Society* 23(3): 9–24.
- Platz, J. (2004) 'Die "schwarze" Musik' (The Music of the Goth/Dark Scene in Germany), in A. Schmidt and K. Neumann-Brau (eds) *Die Welt der Gothics: Spielräume duster konnotierten Transzendenz*, pp. 253–84. Wiesbaden: Vs Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Reynolds, Simon (2005) *Rip It Up and Start Again: Post-punk 1978–84*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Rutledge, Carolyn M., Rimer, Don and Scott, Micah (2008) 'Vulnerable Goth Teens: The Role of Schools in this Psychosocial High-Risk Culture', *Journal of School Health* 78(9): 459–64.
- Schmidt, Gunter (2007) The Never-ending Conversation: Two Interviews, in Michael Kimmel (ed.) *The Sexual Self: The Construction of Sexual Scripts*, pp. 265–88. Nashville, Tennessee (US): Vanderbilt University Press.
- Siegel, Carol (2005) *Goth's Dark Empire*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Sillantaus, Teppo (2008) 'Toisessa maailmassa' (In Another World), *Helsingin Sanomat*, Kuukausiliite, December 2008, pp. 34–40.
- Toth, Csaba (1997) 'Like Cancer in the System', in Christoph Grunenberg (ed.) *Gothic: Transmutations of Horror in Late Twentieth Century Art*, pp. 90–80. Boston: The Institute of Contemporary Art and The MIT Press.
- Twenge, Jean M. and Campbell, W. Keith (2003) "'Isn't it Fun to Get the Respect that We're Going to Deserve?'" Narcissism, Social Rejection, and Aggression', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29(2): 261–72.
- Vale, V. and Juno, Andrea (eds) (1983) *The Industrial Music Handbook*, San Francisco: Re/Search Publications.
- Watson, Justin (2002) *Martyrs of Columbine: Faith and the Politics of Tragedy*. New York: Palgrave.
- Webber, Julie A. (2003) *Failure to Hold: The Politics of School Violence*. Lanham, Boulder, New York and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Wilkinson, Deanna and Patrick J. Carr (2008) 'Violent Youth's Responses to High Level of Community Violence: What Violent Events Reveal about Youth Violence', *Journal of Community Psychology* 36(8): 1026–51.

- Wilson, Scott (2008) *Great Satan's Rage: American Negativity and Rap/metal in the Age of Supercapitalism*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Wright, Robert (2000) "'I'd Sell You Suicide": Pop Music and Moral Panic in the Age of Marilyn Manson', *Popular Music* 19(3): 365–85.
- Young, Robert and West, Patrick (2006) 'Prevalence of Deliberate Self Harm and Attempted Suicide within Contemporary Goth Youth Subculture: Longitudinal Cohort Study', *British Medical Journal* 332(7549): 1058–61.
- Žižek, Slavoj and Herscher, Andrew (1997) 'Everything Provokes Fascism: An Interview with Slavoj Žižek', *Assemblage* 33(August): 58–63.
- Žižek, Slavoj (2005) 'Foreword: They Moved the Underground', in Alexei Monroe (ed.) *Interrogation Machine: Laibach and NSK*, pp. xi–xvi. Cambridge Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press.
- Žižek, Slavoj (2008) *In Defence of Lost Causes*. London: Verso.

Tomi Kiilakoski is a researcher at Finnish Youth Research Network. His current areas of research include school violence, youth work and youth participation. He has also studied educational technology, educational policy, cultural philosophy and school as a societal institution. [email: tomi.kiilakoski@uta.fi]

Atte Oksanen is a senior researcher at The School of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Tampere. Oksanen is currently running the research project Images of Addiction in Rock Culture (The Academy of Finland, 2009–2011, decision number 127003). He is also the responsible co-leader of the project Everyday Life and Insecurity: Social Relations after Jokela and Kauhajoki School Shootings in Finland (Aaltonen Foundation 2009–2012). [email: atte.oksanen@uta.fi]