The Ever-Evolving Dark Side Emotions of the Football Supporters: A Study on Adaptation of Schadenfreude Scale

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ABSTRACT

Enjoying from others' maleficence, defined as schadenfreude, is a common emotion among football team supporters. Based on the social identity of supporters, schadenfreude develops as part of the rivalry, which the main sources of it are 'similarity', 'repeated competition', and 'competitiveness'. This study is aimed to understand and classify supporters' schadenfreude reasons based on an adapted scale. For this aim, the data gathered from a questionnaire consisting of a sample of 1.163 supporters of 14 Turkish football teams is examined by SPSS in order to reveal participants' schadenfreude and their reasons for evaluating their rivals. As a result of participants' rivalry classifications, the most common reasons for considering a team as a rival are determined respectively as 'image', 'neighborhood', and 'worldview difference'. Moreover, schadenfreude is mostly felt towards the archrival, and supporters would be happiest with negativities experienced by the rival team's managers. However, damage to rival team facilities is found as an unhappy situation. The study is the first that demonstrates the relationship between schadenfreude and rivalry and proposes 'unique incident' and 'feasible contingencies' as new rivalry factors. With these factors, different perspectives on the formation and continuity of rivalry are presented.

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INTRODUCTION

Today, football has become a global phenomenon. This sports branch, legitimated in different cultures and at all levels of society, has now gone beyond "just a game" in which only two teams compete for 90 minutes. 2022 World Cup Final was watched by 1.5 billion people, and a total of 6 billion interactions were recorded as a result of 93.6 million shares on social media in the one-month period until the cup was held. This indicates how much the phenomenon has grown (FIFA, 2023). Dominantly formed by political and socio-cultural factors, the unique culture of football, which has continuously developed until today, causes permanent changes on individuals. This changing process begins with interest in matches; after that, individuals first become fans of football. It is not enough for fans to support a team and watch their matches, as they become increasingly immersed in the phenomenon over time. Not only the team but all elements of their club form a part of their daily lives, and this becomes their routine. Consequently, large communities with supporter identities emerge.

The socio-cultural factors that are effective in forming and strengthening supporter identity also have the power to deepen differences. While these factors strengthen football fans' identities, the continuation of the polarizations is further accepted, which can be observed from examples around the world. In contrast to mostly Catholic Celtic fans who support the independence of Ireland and Scotland, there are mainly Protestant fans of Glasgow Rangers who want to keep the idea of the 'United Kingdom' alive (BBC, 2006). While the elites of Buenos Aires support the River Plate team, Boca Juniors has adopted the adjectives 'poor' and 'immigrant' as a huge part of their identity (Reuters, 2013). The archrival of Roma, which has mainly left-wing fans, is Lazio, which continues its far-right and yet fascist fan structure even today (The Athletic, 2023). For such rivalries shaped by religious, class, and political factors respectively, countless violent incidents, chants containing criminal elements, or derogatory banners have been recorded in history. However, the globalizing phenomenon of 'being a supporter' has now begun to produce news that comes at unexpected moments, in addition to the usual events among specific teams. For instance, an upset fan of Manchester United which lost the Champions League Final in 2009, could not control his anger and quickly drove his car to the bus stop where Barcelona fans were waiting and celebrating the victory. The remarkable aspect of this misfortune in which four people lost their lives is that the incident took place in Nigeria, and the fans were Nigerian, not British or Spanish (BBC, 2009). Although this incident is a radical example, it shows that supporters' emotions have dark sides

and must be investigated. In the dark emotional spectrum of football supporters, matches are no longer for fun and sympathetic jokes are old-fashioned things of the past: "The favorite team must win at all times and under all circumstances". Moreover, winning is not enough to be happy; different malign events must happen to the opponent beyond losing a match. One of the concepts that offer insight into this increasingly darkening structure of supporter identity is schadenfreude. Focusing on this emotion, this study investigates the supporters' schadenfreude and their reasons for evaluating and classifying rivals. Following the literature discussion on schadenfreude, rival teams' classification is explained in detail in the methodology part, and schadenfreude level and its reasons are determined based on supporters' rival classifications. The study concludes with a discussion of findings, suggestions for revised scale and limitations.

Schadenfreude Literature

Schadenfreude and Its Historical Reflections in Different Cultures

Schadenfreude is derived from the German words *Schaden*, meaning harm, and *Freude*, meaning pleasure. The word, which means *"rejoicing from harms of other persons"* in German, is a common concept in many languages today. English has a leading role in terms of usage in different languages. The word was used in different texts in the first half of the 19th century and was first defined in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) in 1895 (van Dijk et al., 2015). However, the first word that means *"rejoicing at someone else's loss"* was derived at the Ancient Greek Period. In this context, the oldest example encountered is the works of Aristotle. The famous Greek Philosopher, using the word *Epichairekakia*, analyzed rejoicing at the loss of others on an emotional and actional basis. Thus, the word was transferred to the conceptual dimension for the first time (Simon, 2017).

There are different words meaning *"rejoicing from harms of other persons"* in many languages with widespread usage in daily life. In countries such as Denmark, Hungary, Russia and China, words with the same meaning have found their place in routine jargon. On the contrary, no specific words match the meaning in Italian, Japanese and Spanish. The number of examples where the word has a conceptual dimension, as in Ancient Greece, is limited. Apart from schadenfreude in German, similar conceptual and cultural usage is encountered with the example of *joie maligne* term in French (van Dijk & Ouwerkerk, 2014). On the other hand, *şematet* word in Turkish, is equivalent to rejoicing from harms suffered by others. This word, which has extremely limited daily usage and is not considered conceptually, has important historical roots. During the Siege of Constantinople, Akşemseddin, mentor of

Mehmed II, stated that the Ottoman Navy could not pass the Great Chain of the Golden Horn in the first trials and emphasized that this situation corresponded to "şematet" by the enemy (İnalcık, 2007). Another remarkable use of the word was during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period, approximately 455 years after the Conquest of İstanbul. In this period, it was emphasized that any educational reform whose implementation was postponed would weaken the Ottoman Empire and the enemy states were feeling "şematet" to these delays (Gündüz, 2007).

Schadenfreude in Social Sciences Literature

'Schadenfreude' term in social sciences has the same meaning as the German word: that is, "rejoicing from harms of other persons" (Li et al., 2019). German psychologist Martha Moers used the term for the first time in social sciences in 1930. Moers (1930) described the concept of schadenfreude as a human emotion and aimed to analyze its moral dimensions. She stated that a momentary event and emotional instincts such as long-term hate or jealousy could trigger this emotion. According to her study, schadenfreude is an emotion dependent on different factors, can become permanent, is a sign of moral corruption, and should be condemned. Despite this classification for the emotion, Moers (1930) stated that schadenfreude has an overly complex structure (van Dijk & Ouwerkerk, 2014). The main focus of schadenfreude research, which became widespread after Moers's study, was identification of the sources of emotion. Factors like income level, education, and gender have been identified as its effective sources. However, individuals' subjective evaluations have been determined as the primary source of schadenfreude. If an individual think that the possible harm to be experienced by other people will benefit him/her, (s)he begins to feel schadenfreude (Roseman & Steele, 2018).

In the studies that followed pioneer research, the complex structure of emotion and its dependence on different factors was generally accepted. However, those theoretical debates on schadenfreude, which started on a moral basis, turned into determining the expectations of individual benefits from suffering harm by others created great changes in the examination of schadenfreude research. At this point, the major implication that "schadenfreude is an expected result of being a bad person" was abandoned; rigid definitions such as immorality or corruption were evaluated within the scope of personality disorders, especially psychopathy (Boddy et al., 2010). In the newly drawn framework, schadenfreude is described as a negative emotion with cynical dimensions. Being motivated for a specific goal or the pleasure felt after achievements are not related to the emotion. Schadenfreude is a whole of

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opportunistic emotions that the individual experiences in his/her inner world and tries not to show with his/her actions (Leach et al., 2003).

The development process of theoretical knowledge on schadenfreude has increased interest in field studies. Researchers have focused on determining under what conditions, against whom, and when individuals will develop this emotion. The analysis conducted in this context shared that biological, evolutionary and cultural factors trigger personality differences. It has been found that individuals constantly make social comparisons, especially when resources are limited or when there is a specific goal. As a result of the comparisons, those who are advantageous in reaching the reward or resources are determined. Each identified individual becomes a natural target for schadenfreude. Social comparisons and schadenfreude have a systematic relation since almost the beginning of human life. According to research findings, schadenfreude has been observed even in 24-month-old babies (Shamay-Tsoory et al., 2014). It is important that the subjective evaluations made by individuals as a result of social comparisons are aimed at being ahead of the competition. Briefly, schadenfreude is an instinctive feeling that will develop regardless of gender, culture, education or income level; any person can feel this emotion when they determine a competitor (James et al., 2014).

Even though recent research about schadenfreude has diverted to different areas, the similarities for the sources of the emotion include major topics, which are social comparisons, competition, resources, and rewards. One of the remarkable studies was completed by Abell and Brewer (2018). The authors suggested that even close friends began to develop a high level of schadenfreude against each other as competition and reward came to the fore in business life. This proposal was explored by focusing on women whose close friendships have more intense characteristics than men. Schadenfreude was found to be more likely to develop especially for women with Machiavellian characteristics with increase in competition (Abell & Brewer, 2019). In addition, it has been analyzed that social comparisons are not only between individuals but also could be occurred for purchased products. Individuals tend to learn about the preferences of other consumers after purchasing a product. The fact that other consumers are less satisfied with the same product or are unhappy for buying a different product triggers schadenfreude and improves consumer satisfaction (Moisieiev et al., 2020).

Schadenfreude mostly leads to negative outcomes. For instance, the relationship between depression, which is a negative situation for human health, and schadenfreude has been studied among students in the USA and Poland. It was determined that individuals who

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are competitive and focused on individual achievement have a tendency of schadenfreude. It has been observed that students with high levels of schadenfreude have an increased chance of becoming depressed over time (Pietraszkiewicz & Chambliss, 2015). Another recent study examined the relationship between social media, which is a part of daily life with different applications, and schadenfreude. It was found that social media users, when evaluating a person, primarily focused on similar or opposite characteristics. The subjective evaluation mechanism is quite simple; similarities increase empathy, while contrasts increase prejudice. With increasing prejudices, people with opposite characteristics are considered first as strangers and then as enemies. The reason that reveals schadenfreude is a social media post stating that the person who is described as a foreigner or an enemy has been harmed. It's normal to feel happy with these posts because enemies deserve to be hurt (Wei & Liu, 2020).

Schadenfreude within Social Identity Theory

The concept of identity answers individuals' questions of "who am I" from different perspectives. The answers to individuals' personalities are replied within the scope of personal identity, while the answers to the conditions under which they are a part of a group are considered in the context of social identity. Many studies are conducted in order to understand these identities, which often reveal different behaviors (Korte, 2007). The concept of social identity was theorized by Tajfel (1972) in order to understand how individuals, define their place in society and how they express themselves among groups (Hogg, 2001). After becoming a member of a group, individuals try to have a positive social identity by exalting their group from other groups. At the core of these efforts of individuals is the need for self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Another characteristic of the social identity gained through group membership is the exclusion and rejection of other groups and their members along with the feelings of belonging developed to the group they are a member of (Huddy, 2001).

Schadenfreude is related to individuals' social identity. Although individual-oriented analyses are more common in schadenfreude research, currently developing research areas have focused on how this subjectively experienced emotion is responded to at the social level. In the studies, the emotions of individuals in the groups they belong to are examined. According to the findings, schadenfreude is an emotion that can be shared and spread within the group boundaries. The schadenfreude experience within the group directs individual feelings to new targets. Feelings have started to develop against individuals or groups that are different or opposite to the characteristics that make up the group and its boundaries (Combs et al., 2009). In order for the schadenfreude to become a phenomenon at the social level, social

comparisons at the group level are required. Each of the comparisons to be made should refer to the values around which the group is organized and group members belong. With the increase in intra-group interactions, shared values are more embraced. Individuals or groups with different values are perceived as a threat to the group itself. Each of the threats is considered a rival for the survival of the group. In-group support becomes increasingly stronger with interactions among rivals. Schadenfreude will develop against these rivals at the group level (Smith et. al, 2009).

Social comparisons made specifically for the group level schadenfreude should be multi-layered, complex, and continuous. Human nature leads each individual to classify them according to their basic physical characteristics such as gender or height. In situations where interaction will increase, the classification process encourages learning more detailed characteristics such as ethnicity or occupation. Every learned detail is used in the process of creating identity. Finally, in-groups formed according to similar characteristics, this identity is considered as a social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The most important issues for social identities are the protection of the values that determine the group boundaries and the achievement of a homogeneous structure within the group. It is aimed to keep the differences at minimum possible level. Homogeneous social identities shape the relationships of each individual in the group with those inside or outside the group. This situation is also true for individual emotions (Ouwerkerk et al., 2018). A prototype, defined as "definition and prescription of attitudes, feelings, norms, and behaviors that characterize one group and distinguish it from other groups" (Hogg, 2001), is formed, which is ideal for everyone in the group. Ideal members are represented as group prototypes, as viewed by in-group members (Hogg et al., 1995), and based on these prototypes, group members compare their attributes with other groups. According to Hogg and Reid (2006), group members evaluate other members as not individuals but as in-group prototypes. When any individual matches the prototype closely, they become socially attractive so that others like and respect them. For sport fans, Behrens and Uhrich (2019) suggest that to gain acceptance as a group member, individuals are expected to behave like a prototypical team fan. The prototypicality of a team extensively focuses on the perception of others' prototypicality (Hoffman et al., 2020). Social comparisons and rivalry continue by acting in accordance with the prototype characteristics. Owning or accessing resources is only possible with the collective action of the group. Social identities also determine what the rewards are. Accepted social identities increase in-group

favoritism and marginalization of the different. At this stage, schadenfreude is a natural consequence of the social identity (Li et al., 2019).

Role of Schadenfreude in Emergence of Social Identity of Sport Clubs' Supporters

Currently, sports competitions mean much more than just a few hours of good time. Regardless of sports, being a supporter of a football team requires constant allocation of financial resources and time. Watching the competitions on the spot or from the broadcast, purchasing official merchandise, and following all the possible news of the football team became major duties of supporters. Supporters who fulfill these duties are able to interact with each other, even if they continue their lives in completely different environments (Wann et al., 2011). Countless interactions between supporters in daily life, sports arenas, or social media are based on the values of the supported football team. The team's history, special traditions, culture, and unique features should be known, shared, and maintained by the supporters. Thus, being a supporter turns into a social identity and the characteristics of the ideal supporter design the prototype. For the supporter identity, similarity to the prototype is more important than support for the team (Katz et al., 2020).

In addition to individuals' social identities of professional, political, religious and other origin, being a supporter is also a social identity. Their subjective feelings and thoughts change, and their actions and behaviors develop in accordance with the prototype. Supporters think they have a paradigm that gives meaning to life. They can be described as fanatics who rely on their team's values, even in routine social comparisons in their daily lives. There are no longer any resources or rewards determined by subjective evaluations. All players of the football team are a resource, all match wins are a reward. Rivalry is identified between different teams and their supporters. The team and its supporters, which have similar conditions and socio-cultural interaction opportunities at the national or global level, are determined as the archrival that should be defeated to achieve desired awards (Kilduff et al., 2010). In other words, conditions and interactions can be able to create many rivalries, but the most repeated and most intense one becomes an archrival, which makes the difference from other rivals.

Victories against the archrival are enjoyable but they are short-term entertainment for supporters and it is not enough to defeat the rival. Supporters always want their team to be the biggest team due to their social identity, and this position can only be reached if their team remains unrivaled. Because of these unlimited demands, rivals are considered a threat. Any

event that reduces the strength of the rivals is a benefit for the supported team. Schadenfreude arises with these kinds of thoughts and can reach an aggressive level, such as being happy for the injuries of the rival's players and being sad for their recovery (Hoogland et al., 2015). Moreover, an intensely experienced schadenfreude may not be able to accurately assess the damage taken by the supported team, as they focus too much on the rival's negativity. As an example, the early elimination of the Netherlands in the 1998 World Cup was quickly forgotten as the archrival Germany was eliminated in the previous rounds (Leach et al., 2003).

The Influence of Schadenfreude on the Development Process of Rivalries

Schadenfreude, which is a part of the supporter prototype today, has turned into a common emotion shared by different football team supporters living in different geographies. By examining eleven major rivalries in six popular sports in the USA, researchers determined that all team supporters who participated in the study had schadenfreude. Within the scope of the same research, it was found that as the match dates between the rivals approached, the special campaigns organized by the sponsors brought more income and increased schadenfreude level among all supporters (Tyler et al., 2021). The fact that schadenfreude is considered as a part of rivalry for supporters has led researchers to identify the main sources of rivalry. In the studies conducted in this context, it has been determined that the teams that continue their major rivalries have values and similarities which they share almost as much as their differences. As a result of the analysis conducted for the main sources of rivalry and therefore schadenfreude, *similarity*, *repeated competition* and *competitiveness* were classified as the main factors (Kilduff et al., 2010).

The first-factor, 'similarity,' can be defined as the origin point of rivalry because it represents organizations in close geographies. Increasing proximity between football teams, includes having similar environmental conditions. Teams that are stakeholders of the same environment are the first visible rivals of each other. Even in today's globalizing conditions, proximity continues to be the first trigger of rivalry (Yu & Cannella, 2007). However, the similarity factor is not enough for the ongoing interactions to turn into rivalry. For the social identity of supporters, victories are not enough. Better players, more supporters, larger facilities, and increased team budgets are major goals. But the result of more interaction with a particular team on the way to these goals initiates social comparisons. In addition to the performance of the football team, social comparisons include supporter groups, manager status, sponsor support, and facilities' features. The acceptance of the two sides will encounter and struggle against each other not only in the game but also in everyday life, brings out the

other factor named 'repeated competition'. Explained as the last source of rivalry, 'competitiveness' factor indicates who the archrival is, due to the common history between the teams. Competition has existed since the teams were founded and will continue to exist in the future. Supporters learn that their team can't get all the awards through their archrivals (Kilduff et al., 2010).

METHODS

Participants

A total of 1.217 football supporters participated in the study. The answers of those who filled out the survey incorrectly or the questionnaires completed by the participants of a football team that total number of supporters do not exceed 30 of their favourite team, are deemed invalid. The 19 incorrect answers consist of the unstated team and rival teams' names. In addition, 'same team answers' for the supported team and rival classification (n = 14) are also considered as invalid. Furthermore, this study follows the assumption of Central Limit Theorem, which identifies the minimum data limit as 30. Therefore, 21 questionnaires of different team supporters (ie. Bodrumspor; İzmirspor) are disregarded. After elimination of these 54 questionnaires, the analysis is completed with the answers of 1.163 supporters. Most of the participants (n = 746, 64%) are male and single (n = 826, 71%); the average age of participants is 28. 54% of the participants' birthplaces are either İstanbul, Ankara or Adana. While 491 (42%) participants stated that they are students, the rate of full-time employees constituted approximately 1/4 of the sample (n = 278; 24%). The supporters of 14 different football teams participated in the study, and most of the participants were supporters of Galatasaray football team (n = 203; 17.5%). Summary of descriptive statistics of the sample is demonstrated in Table 1.

The population of the study consists of Turkish football team supporters who live in nine cities, which are İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Adana, Kayseri, Eskişehir, Trabzon, and Sivas. In order to evaluate the schadenfreude of supporters living in these cities, the snowball sampling method is used, and the supporters who form the sample are reached through special events organized by supporter groups during 12-week period covering October-November and December 2023. Although snowball technique incurs uncooperative and inaccessible cases for the research as a drawback (Akpan & Piate, 2023), this technique made it possible to reach a large number of supporters of many different teams. Supporter groups and managers of these groups are identified initially as key contacts, and later, they were

communicated via their phone numbers. Group officials who responded positively were interviewed face to face by the authors; and later the supporters that they referred were asked to fill the questionnaires. Before filling out the questionnaires, participants completed 'approval form' indicating their voluntary participation to the study.

The required ethical approval is received from Çankaya University (2023 & E-90705970-050.99-120694) to use the schadenfreude scale of Dalakas and Melancon (2012). The required ethical approval for the study was received by Çankaya University Humanities and Social Sciences Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee with document number E-90705970-050.99-120694 dated 12.01.2023.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics of the Sample

Gender	f	%	Supported Teams	Location	Foundation Year	f	%
Male	746	64	Galatasaray	İstanbul	1905	203	17.5
Female	417	36	Fenerbahçe	İstanbul	1907	188	16.2
Marital Status	f	%	Beşiktaş	İstanbul	1903	146	12.6
Single	826	71	Trabzonspor	Trabzon	1967	98	8.4
Married	337	29	Eskişehirspor	Eskişehir	1965	71	6.1
Occupation	f	%	Ankaragücü	Ankara	1910	66	5.7
Student	491	42	Bursaspor	Bursa	1963	65	5.6
Full-time Employee	278	24	Adana Demirspor	Adana	1940	63	5.4
Other (retired, unemployed)	394	34	Adanaspor	Adana	1954	62	5.3
Birthplace	f	%	Sivasspor	Sivas	1967	56	4.8
İstanbul	277	24	Göztepe	İzmir	1925	43	3.7
Ankara	218	19	Gençlerbirliği	Ankara	1923	38	3.3
Adana	131	11	Kayserispor	Kayseri	1966	34	2.9
Other	537	46	Karşıyaka	İzmir	1912	30	2.6

Data Collection Tools

Scale utilized to measure Schadenfreude

In order to determine the scale to measure supporters' schadenfreude, a comprehensive literature review is conducted. The widely used scale of Crysel and Webster (2018) is not preferred since this scale evaluates the emotion at the individual level and is not related to sports. Considering the scales focusing on sports fandom, initially, Leach et al.'s (2003) scale is examined. It is important that researchers focus on football supporters and inter-group differences at the country level; however, measurement method has remained at a superficial level rather than analyzing the emotion towards various dimensions. Asking to the

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supporters how happy they will be to defeat the national teams of other countries (Leach et al., 2003), have been considered to degrade the emotion to the result of the played matches. Consequently, Dalakas and Melancon's (2012) scale, which consists of one dimension with four items, was chosen to be used in the study. Focusing on football team supporters, the authors aimed for a holistic analysis and examined the inter-group relations; by measuring the feeling against rival's sponsors, managers, players, and stadiums, they included out-of-field dimension. The use of the scale in different studies (Angell et al., 2016; Amani, 2019; Tyler et al., 2021) and the reliability findings are other reasons for preference.

The five-stage method (Brislin et al., 1973) is followed in translating the scale from English, the source language, to Turkish. The only change made before the adaptation of the scale is the use of the "manager" term instead of "owner" in the second item since the transition process of Turkish football teams from association status to sports club continues. The researchers decided this change in the fifth stage after receiving the opinion of four professional football club managers.

Data Analysis

Based on the obtained data, reliability analysis of the scale is conducted and internal consistency reliability technique is adopted. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient (α) value of 0.849 obtained as a result of the analysis is at the central point of the *good reliability* interval defined between 0.70 and 0.80 (Schrepp, 2020). Kaiser – Meyer – Olkin (KMO) analysis is preferred for validity, and the value of 0.786 indicates suitability of the scale for factor analysis (Field, 2000). The total explained variance is 61.238% which is above the 60% threshold; is considered as a good result in studies with a sample size of 50 or more (Hair et al., 2010). For the analysis conducted specific to factor weights, sample size is considered. In studies whose sample size is 300 and more, the 0.32 level is described as the lower limit for the significance of factor loadings (Yong & Pearce, 2013). The factor weights of the items in the scale vary between 0.618 and 0.742, and the single-factor structure is found to be valid.

Validity analyses for the schadenfreude scale are completed with the structural equation modeling. Analyses are performed in accordance with the single-factor structure of the scale and aimed to reduce the margin of error (Carter, 2006). The structural model of the scale, which is shown in Figure 1, is tested using the IBM AMOS-24 software program. The structural equality of the model is confirmed, but recommendations for improvement are suggested, and a single path is added for error variances (Hox and Bechger, 1998).

Finally, within the scope of structural equality analyses, the modification indices of the scale are checked. Although there are many modification indices in the literature, it cannot be suggested that a general consensus has been reached on them (Çapık, 2014). Within the scope of the study, the indices defined by Byrne (2016) are taken as basis by considering the sample size and total observable variable in the scale. The ideal variables, the details of which are presented in Table 2, are valid for studies where the sample is more than 250, and the number of items in the scale is less than or equal to 12. As a result of the analysis, it is determined that the model to be fit because the obtained data are found to be ideal and it is proven to be structurally correct. However, these data should not be considered satisfactory for an ever-evolving industry like football and a complex emotion like schadenfreude.

Figure 1
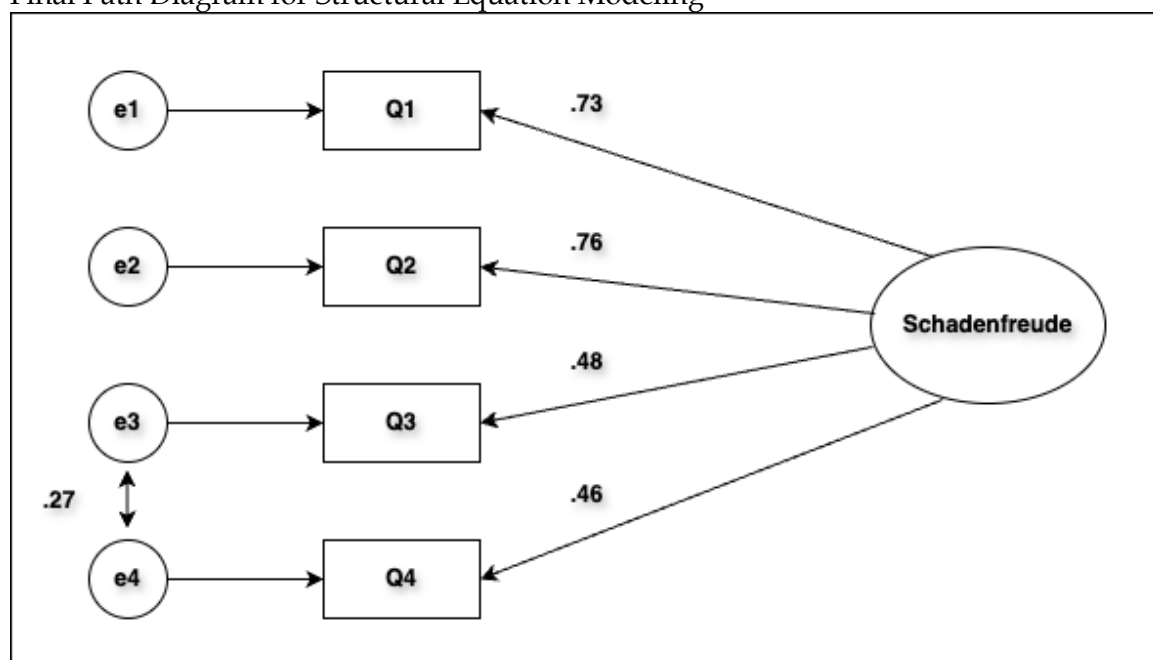Final Path Diagram for Structural Equation Modeling

Table 2
Modification Indices of the Study

Sample Size: > 250; Observable Variable: < = 12		
Modification Indices	**Ideal Variables**	**Model Data**
χ^2/df	< 5	4.039
GFI	> 0.90	0.921
CFI	> 0.92	0.987
NFI	> 0.95	0.998
RMSEA	< 0.07	0.066

RESULTS

Rivalry Classification

Within the scope of the conceptual framework of the study, it is aimed to examine the participants' schadenfreude and their reasons for evaluation and classification of rivals. The participants are first asked about the archrival of their football team. Then, they are requested to complete the schadenfreude questionnaire, which will be valid for the indicated archrival. In order to analyze the complex nature of the emotion in more detail, an additional option is provided to the participants to clarify their possible second and third rivals. At this point, each participant who identified second and third rival is asked to complete additional schadenfreude questionnaire, which will be valid only for the specified rival football teams. No additional requests are made to participants who filled out the questionnaire about their archrival and did not identify any second or third rivals.

The participants of this study indicated their schadenfreude in accordance with the 5-point Likert scale for the stated rival team, and they were also asked the reasons for this team to be considered as a rival. The findings are analyzed with IBM SPSS-25 program. The answer options are designed based on competition factors (Kilduff et al., 2010); besides the options determined as neighborhood, glories, worldview difference, image, and incidents, 'other option' is also defined. In this regard, a holistic analysis could be conducted among competition factors, schadenfreude, and reasons for considering the team as a rival. In the analysis of the rival teams chosen by the participants, the majority principle is taken into consideration. The reason for this is to understand which teams are the prominent competitors and to avoid possible errors in the analysis of the teams with which few supporters consider as rivals.

In this context, Galatasaray football team (n = 203) is represented by the maximum number of participants of the study; and in order to classify any team as a rival, the minimum number is calculated as 102 (50.2%). Based on the majority principle, other examples (i.e., Başakşehir football team considered as the archrival only by 5 (5.1%) Trabzonspor supporters; Mersin İdman Yurdu football team considered as the second rival by 11.2% of Adana Demirspor supporters) also are not included in the analysis.

Table 3 shows the participants' rival classifications and evaluations of suitability for competition factors. The teams are classified according to the number of times they are mentioned as rivals and expressed with their percentages. In order to understand the

competition beyond the defined factors, the answer to the question "why do you consider this team a rival" should be examined.

Table 3
Rival Classification of Turkish Football Team Supporters

Rival	Classified by	Classification	Total Number of Supporters	%
Fenerbahçe	Galatasaray	Archrival	161	0.79
	Beşiktaş	Archrival	109	0.75
	Trabzonspor	Archrival	89	0.91
Beşiktaş	Bursaspor	Archival	56	0.86
	Fenerbahçe	2nd Rival	121	0.64
	Galatasaray	2nd Rival	114	0.56
	Ankaragücü	2nd Rival	51	0.77
Galatasaray	Fenerbahçe	Archrival	153	0.81
	Beşiktaş	2nd Rival	106	0.73
Trabzonspor	Fenerbahçe	3rd Rival	133	0.71
Adanaspor	Adana Demirspor	Archrival	58	0.92
Adana Demirspor	Adanaspor	Archrival	54	0.87
Bursaspor	Eskişehirspor	Archrival	53	0.75
Amedspor	Bursaspor	2nd Rival	50	0.77
Gençlerbirliği	Ankaragücü	Archrival	49	0.74
Kayserispor	Sivasspor	Archrival	47	0.84
Eskişehirspor	Bursaspor	Archrival	41	0.63
Karşıyaka	Göztepe	Archrival	40	0.93
Altay	Göztepe	2nd Rival	33	0.77
Ankaragücü	Gençlerbirliği	Archrival	32	0.84
Göztepe	Karşıyaka	Archrival	29	0.97
Sivasspor	Kayserispor	Archrival	27	0.79

Fenerbahçe football team, which is described as the archrival by most participants (n = 359), is considered as the archrival by the highest number of Galatasaray supporters (n = 161); and in proportional terms, Trabzonspor football team supporters came to the fore (91%). The football team most described as rival after Fenerbahçe is Beşiktaş football team, with the choice of 342 participants. The majority of those (68.7%) who consider Beşiktaş as their rival are their neighbor team supporters (Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray). 51 Ankaragücü football team supporters also described Beşiktaş football team as their "second rival", just like İstanbul teams. Only supporters of Bursaspor football team (n = 56; 86%) evaluated Beşiktaş as their archrival. In the classification of rivals, Fenerbahçe and Beşiktaş are followed by Galatasaray with the selection of 259 participants. The football team is considered as the archrival by the majority of Fenerbahçe supporters (81%) and is positioned as the second rival for 106 supporters of Beşiktaş. Trabzonspor, which is followed after three İstanbul teams, is considered a rival only for supporters of Fenerbahçe and is described as the third rival by 133 other participants (71%).

In the classification of rivals, İstanbul's big three football team and Trabzonspor football team are followed by Adana teams. For 58 Adana Demirspor football team supporters (92%), Adanaspor is the only rival. The feelings of Adana Demirspor supporters are requited. For 87% (n = 54) of Adanaspor football team supporters, Adana Demirspor is the only rival. Considered as the archrival by 53 Eskişehirspor football team supporters, Bursaspor followed the Adana teams. With the opinion of 50 participants, the second rival choice of Bursaspor football team supporters after Beşiktaş is Amedspor football team. Gençlerbirliği football team (n = 49), which is the archrival of Ankaragücü supporters, and Kayserispor football team (n = 47), which is the archrival of Sivasspor supporters, ranked after Amedspor. Eskişehirspor is described as the third rival by 63% (n = 41) of Bursaspor supporters. In the rivalries within the borders of İzmir, Karşıyaka football team is chosen as the archrival by 41 Göztepe supporters. In addition, Göztepe supporters chose Altay football team as their second rival (n = 33). The last three ranks in the classification are shared by Gençlerbirliği supporters' archrival Ankaragücü (n = 32), Karşıyaka supporters' archrival Göztepe (n = 29) and Kayserispor supporters' archrival Sivasspor football team (n = 27).

Reasons of Rival Classification

When examined based on the key factors of competition, defined by Kilduff et al. (2010) as similarity, repeated competition, and competitiveness, classification findings are mostly self-explanatory. It is no surprise that the three big İstanbul football teams are the teams considered as the rivals. The fact that Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray supporters consider each other as the archrivals depends on Turkey's most deep-rooted competition. The football match between the two teams was played for the first time on January 17, 1909. These two football teams have played the most matches against each other, defeated each other the most, and won the most championships at the national level. Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray football teams' older and closer relations can be assessed as the basis of Beşiktaş football team's more passive position in the triple competition. The beginning of Beşiktaş's competition with its archrivals occurred in the later years. Beşiktaş played against Galatasaray for the first time on 22 August 1922. At that time, the number of matches played between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray was 28. Within two years, when Beşiktaş played with Fenerbahçe for the first time on 22 November 1924, this number was 34 (Tuncay, 2002). When the current match numbers are evaluated, this difference appears to continue. While Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray played their 400th match, the number of times the two teams have played against Beşiktaş has not yet reached 365

matches. Beşiktaş follows these two football teams in terms of received trophies and achievements. Nevertheless, the competition between the three football teams, which has been going on for a century with all its factors, will most likely continue at the highest level as long as football is played in Turkey.

The impact of the places where football teams are established is decisive on their competitiveness. Football clubs located in cities with high populations and high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) have a higher chance of success. With the addition of factors such as the city's geographical location, traditions, institutions, and culture, success becomes almost inevitable. Major capitals such as Madrid and London are home to global brand football clubs like themselves. However, football teams in historical capitals such as Berlin and Rome have fallen behind teams in industrially richer metropolises such as Munich and Milan (Garcia et al., 2007). In this context, the characteristics of İstanbul city affect not only the competition between Galatasaray, Fenerbahçe and Beşiktaş but also the general competition in Turkey. The aim of the competition of these football teams is national and even international success. Ankara, İzmir, and Adana are cities that host many well-established football teams, but the lower resources compared to İstanbul affect competition factors. For the competition in these cities, similarity and repeated competition are at the forefront; however, the competitiveness factor is behind İstanbul teams. None of the teams from these cities, which were sometimes successful in regional championships or different cups, became national league champions. The main goal of the ongoing competitions for the football teams competing in these cities is to preserve the authentic features and disseminate them as much as possible (Evans & Norcliffe, 2016).

The competition of the football teams of Ankara city is between the educated and elitist Gençlerbirliği supporters and Ankaragücü supporters who are the representatives of the poor districts and workers. 'The tribunes filled with loyal supporters' constitute the power of Ankaragücü, whereas Gençlerbirliği football team supporters consist of few but distinguished supporters (Bora & Cantek, 2000). The main competition in İzmir is between Göztepe and Karşıyaka. Karşıyaka is the first football team of İzmir; and those supporters who left Altay football team laid the foundations of Göztepe football team. Göztepe represents İzmir, while Karşıyaka separates itself from İzmir and considers itself as superior (Güngör, 2015). Adana's most important products, citrus fruits, and cotton combine in the colors of Adanaspor. The team appeals to the middle classes who are engaged in trade. Adana Demirspor is a team founded by railway workers and has gained the support of the working class (Bilir & Sangün,

2014). In the rivalry that started in 1956, the transformation of Adana into a metropolis is an important factor. The advantageous geographical location of the city and the developing trade sectors caused an increase in population with large waves of migration. In the 1970s, the rivalry began to continue in a multicultural city, becoming richer in terms of human resources and capital. However, the fact that both clubs started to be managed by capital owners prevented their institutionalization processes and because of this 'the clubs could not transform into sustainable structures'. As a result, Adana clubs continued their regional rivalries far from achieving success at the national or global level (Yıldırım & Uçar, 2009).

In times when there is no ongoing competition within the same city, football teams are based on different authentic characteristics, and it is possible for teams to develop around identities that encompass the whole city or region. In such cases, competition may occur between cities or regions. The borders of the settlements are actually the limits that determine the identities of the supporters (Edensor & Millington, 2008). The rivalry, called the Anatolian Derby, between Bursa city's team, Bursaspor, and Eskişehir city's team, Eskişehirspor, is the reflection of the challenge of two neighboring provinces on the football field (Fotomaç, 2012). Similar competition continues between Sivasspor, the team of Sivas city which is Turkey's most migratory province (Başel, 2009; Sivas Ekspres, 2024), and Kayserispor, the team of Kayseri city, which attracts attention with its trade and rapid development. There are tensions among supporters of the two neighbor cities due to development and income differences (İlhan, 2014). While these two competitions can be easily explained in terms of similarity and repeated competition, it differs from İstanbul competitions as the goal in terms of competitiveness is limited to intercity superiority.

The research findings demonstrate exceptional results in terms of factors explaining competition. The first of these is between Fenerbahçe and Trabzonspor. Fenerbahçe supporters indicate their rival priorities as Galatasaray and Beşiktaş; however, most described Trabzonspor as their third rival (71%). For Trabzonspor supporters, Fenerbahçe is stated as the only and absolute rival. In this case, the similarity factor (Kilduff et al., 2010), defined as the beginning of competition between two teams, is not observed. There are reasons for the emergence of repeated competition and competitiveness factors, such as the 2-point system of the 1970s, which emphasized defensive football and the ban on foreign players. Trabzonspor took advantage of these restrictions that reduced the advantages of İstanbul city football teams. Founded in 1967, the team became champion at the national level for the first time in 1976, and following the continuity of the team's successes, it was called the 'Anatolian

Revolution'. In the background of the Anatolian Revolution, there is nearly half a century of football experience of citizens of Trabzon and the decision to merge the four football teams that created Trabzonspor. As the team began to experience its golden age, the managers successfully continued the tradition of training Black Sea region's football players. Trabzonspor is the prominent brand of the region and a cultural element completely identified with the city. During this period, Black Sea region's people who migrated from around Turkey began to provide material and moral support to this team that emerged from their region (Aydın & Taner, 2022; Tunç, 2011). In this period when Beşiktaş and Galatasaray were far from winning cups or glories, the greatest obstacle for Trabzonspor's success was Fenerbahçe. In the early days of the rivalry, Fenerbahçe was perceived as a representative of İstanbul bourgeoisie, with its star football players, financial power, and charm that constantly brought new fans. Conversely, Trabzonspor represented Anatolia and demonstrated that all kinds of inequality could be overcome with systematic practice (Keddie, 2018). The competition between two non-similar teams, which started on the football field in 1974, includes the factors of repeated competition and competitiveness. The question is whether this half-century-old rivalry can be explained by two factors.

In order to find the answer to this question, it is first necessary to examine the classifications that are unrequited and where the factors of competition cannot be determined. According to participants' views, Beşiktaş is determined as the archrival for Bursaspor and the second rival for Ankaragücü. However, Beşiktaş supporters did not identify these two teams as their rivals. The finding that Bursaspor supporters consider Amedspor as a second rival can also be evaluated in this context. But, since a sufficient number of Amedspor supporters could not be included in the research sample, this unilateral classification is doubtful. However, the common feature of all three classifications is the lack of similarity, repeated competition and competitiveness factors (Kilduff et al., 2010) that constitute competition.

As a result of a total of 1.606 classifications identified by 1.163 participants, the most common reason for considering a team as a rival is its image (n = 394, 24.5%). The second selected option is neighborhood (n = 323) and the third is 'worldview difference' (n = 318). 17.2% (n = 276) of the participants based their rival selection on 'incidents'. For 257 participants (16%), glories are the reasoning for their rival teams. The rate of participants who identified their preferences for rival evaluation apart from the provided answers is 2.3% (n = 38). The classifications of rivals by the participants and the reasons considered in the classification are shown in Table 4.

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Table 4
Reasons of Rival Classification

Rival	Classified by	Neighborhood	Glories	Worldview Difference	Image	Incidents	Other	Total
Fenerbahçe	Galatasaray (1)	25	33	14	**78**	8	3	161
	Beşiktaş (2)	7	18	18	**63**	2	1	109
	Trabzonspor (3)	0	9	7	22	**47**	4	89
Beşiktaş	Bursaspor (1)	1	6	2	9	**32**	6	56
	Fenerbahçe (2)	**41**	13	39	22	4	2	121
	Galatasaray (3)	**43**	7	26	31	6	1	114
	Ankaragücü (4)	0	4	9	10	**26**	2	51
Galatasaray	Fenerbahçe (1)	23	**78**	26	19	4	3	153
	Beşiktaş (2)	4	**53**	19	22	7	1	106
Trabzonspor	Fenerbahçe	1	2	15	33	**79**	3	133
Adanaspor	Adana Demirspor	17	2	**26**	9	3	1	58
Adana Demirspor	Adanaspor	19	5	**21**	7	1	1	54
Bursaspor	Eskişehirspor	**29**	11	4	8	1	0	53
Amedspor	Bursaspor	0	0	18	4	**27**	1	50
Gençlerbirliği	Ankaragücü	15	2	**28**	2	0	2	49
Kayserispor	Sivasspor	**16**	3	4	12	9	3	47
Eskişehirspor	Bursaspor	**24**	4	5	7	1	0	41
Karşıyaka	Göztepe	**16**	3	8	7	4	2	40
Altay	Göztepe	**14**	1	5	4	8	1	33
Ankaragücü	Gençlerbirliği	9	2	**13**	8	0	0	32
Göztepe	Karşıyaka	6	0	9	**12**	2	0	29
Sivasspor	Kayserispor	**13**	1	2	5	5	1	27
Total		323	257	318	**394**	276	38	1606

In the detailed examination of the participants' choices, priority is given to Fenerbahçe, Beşiktaş, and Galatasaray, respectively most described as a rival. Among the supporters of İstanbul's three most prominent teams, who live across Turkey; differences have been identified in the reasons for considering rivals. The reason why Fenerbahçe is considered as a rival is its image for both Galatasaray supporters (n = 161) and Beşiktaş supporters (n = 109). The reason why Galatasaray is considered as a rival are the team's glories for both Fenerbahçe supporters (n = 78; 51%) and Beşiktaş supporters (n = 53; 50%). For Fenerbahçe (n = 121) and Galatasaray (n = 114) supporters who identify Beşiktaş as a rival, the neighborhood response indicating 'being the team of the same city' came to the fore. It is noteworthy that glories option is ranked behind in the classification. In this context, it can be evaluated that by focusing on different areas, social comparisons among supporters continue. It can be claimed that Beşiktaş supporters give priority to similarity factor whereas Galatasaray supporters give priority to competitiveness factor.

The findings obtained for the ongoing competition in Ankara, İzmir and Adana support the assumption (Evans & Norcliffe, 2016) of preserving authentic values and disseminating them as much as possible. 'Competing in the same city' and 'worldview differences' came to the fore for competitions where the glories answer is far behind. The majority of Ankaragücü supporters (57.1%) identify Gençlerbirliği as a rival due to 'worldview

difference'. For Gençlerbirliği supporters, although this rate is 40.6% (n = 13), it ranks first. For both teams, 'neighborhood' option is followed by 'worldview difference'. The same ranking is also valid for Adanaspor and Adana Demirspor competition. The priority option of Göztepe supporters in İzmir can be evaluated through the similarity factor. Neighborhood option is at the forefront for evaluating Karşıyaka (n = 16, 40%) and Altay (n = 14, 42.5%) as rivals. Karşıyaka's supporters' choice of Göztepe as a rival is based on image (41.3%). Sufficient number of Altay supporters could not be reached, which prevented rival classification and the reasons for their rival evaluations.

The proposition of competition between cities or regions sustained by overarching identities (Edensor & Millington, 2008) can be supported in the classifications of Bursaspor – Eskişehirspor and Sivasspor – Kayserispor competitions. The majority of Bursaspor supporters (58.5%) identified Eskişehirspor as a rival due to 'neighborhood' option. This rate is 54.8% (n = 29) for Eskişehirspor supporters. Although 'neighborhood' is not the majority option for Sivasspor and Kayserispor supporters, it is the reason for choosing the first rival. In this competition, the sociological differentiation of cities has been observed with the increase in 'worldview difference' and 'image' answers. However, the similarity factor is at the forefront for the competition between the football teams of neighboring cities, and competitiveness factors remain passive.

The adequacy of repeated competition and competitiveness factors among two non-similar teams is examined for Fenerbahçe–Trabzonspor competition. The reason is the 'incidents' for 79 (59.3%) Fenerbahçe supporters, who identify Trabzonspor as a rival. The majority of Trabzonspor supporters (52.8%) also indicated the 'incident' response for Fenerbahçe. The 'incidents' response, which is too prominent among supporters, has a history of approximately 30 years. In the championship match of 1996, Fenerbahçe defeated its rival in Trabzon. In 1998, during the match played in Trabzon, Fenerbahçe team withdrew from the field due to a thrown object that hit the coach. In the match played in İstanbul in 2010, Fenerbahçe lost points to Trabzonspor, and this enabled Bursaspor to become the champion. The process, which started with the match-fixing case for the 2010-2011 season (Hürriyet, 2017), has been the source of ongoing disputes to this day.

The 'incidents' response is not only ranked as the first factor for Fenerbahçe–Trabzonspor competition. 'Incidents' factor received a majority response in classifications where none of the competitive factors are valid. The 'incident' rate for Beşiktaş to be identified as a rival is 57.1% (n = 32) for Bursaspor supporters and 51% (n = 26) for Ankaragücü

supporters. It is necessary to examine approximately 20 years of history of the incidents for the background of this choice. While Bursaspor was relegated in the 2003-2004 season, Beşiktaş lost against the teams Bursaspor competed with in the last two weeks. Bursaspor supporters claimed that this situation occurred consciously and held Beşiktaş responsible for their relegation (Habertürk, 2007). The reason why Ankaragücü supporters identify Beşiktaş as a rival is due to the friendship between Bursaspor and "BursAnkara", which was established at the funeral of the tribune leader who was martyred in the military. Ankaragücü supporters started to dislike Beşiktaş, which upset their friends (Yavuz, 2007). The fact that the fanatic supporters who entered the field and kicked Beşiktaş players in the match played in Ankara on 5 September 2022, showed that the events continue to maintain their freshness.

Another evaluation for Bursaspor supporters in which none of the competitive factors could be determined is Amedspor classification. While the majority of supporters (54%) describe Amedspor as a rival due to the 'incidents', the other 18 (36%) supporters' preference for 'worldview difference' also actually depends on the 'incidents'. The first incident between the two teams occurred in 2010, when Amedspor supporters boo Turkish National Anthem allegedly during a match played in Bursa. The match played in Diyarbakır in the same year could not be completed. Allegedly of political origin, incidents continued in the matches played in 2019, 2022, and 2023 (Akdemir & Erbay, 2023).

Schadenfreude Level

After analyzing the supporters' rival choices and the reasons considered for being a rival, the data regarding the schadenfreude is examined. During the analysis, 1.606 rival classifications completed by 1.163 supporters participating in the research are considered as basis, and schadenfreude data is obtained for 16 teams. As a result of the questionnaires filled out in 5-point Likert format, the average schadenfreude level is calculated (Table 5), and it is found that supporters would be most happy with the negativities experienced by rival team's managers (3.56). The second item is about sponsors of rivals (3.02), and the third item is about their players (2.64). The least negative aspect supporters would be happy about for their rivals is the damage to stadiums (2.05). The general average for the schadenfreude scale is found as 2.82, indicating an average point of 5 level Likert-scale.

Table 5
Average Schadenfreude Level of the Sample

Schadenfreude Scale (Dalakas & Melancon, 2012)	Average Schadenfreude Level
I will feel great joy if a company that sponsors a team I hate goes out of business.	3.02
I will feel great joy if a manager of a team I hate faces legal troubles.	3.56
I will feel great joy if a player of a team I hate gets suspended for a year, even if the suspension was not completely deserved.	2.64
I will feel great joy if the stadium of a team I hate suffers damage.	2.05

Trabzonspor supporters, who declare Fenerbahçe as their only rival and mostly prefer 'incidents' as the reason for this consideration, are the leader in schadenfreude (3.84). In addition to the general average, schadenfreude that Trabzonspor supporters feel towards Fenerbahçe managers (4.79) and their sponsors (4.22) ranks the top. Bursaspor supporters are the ones stating that they would be happiest with the 1-year punishment the players would receive, even if they did not deserve it. The target of the most intense schadenfreude (4.89) obtained in the study is towards Amedspor, with whom Bursaspor has been experiencing constant events for 12 years and which has recently taken a large place in the country's agenda. Regarding the schadenfreude that supporters feel towards their rivals, the damage to the stadiums makes the supporters least happy. However, the level of Karşıyaka supporters' feelings towards Göztepe stadium (4.13) is an exception of this study findings. It is not surprising to note that the reason behind these feelings is that the stadium project that started earliest in İzmir belongs to Karşıyaka, but the facility could not be completed for 12 years, and Göztepe and Altay had their new stadiums during this time (TRT Haber, 2022).

In the research, 22 schadenfreude emotions are determined based on the source and target. The first thing that draws attention in the emotional analysis is the level of competition arising from 'incidents'. In this context, the most intense schadenfreude is experienced for Fenerbahçe–Trabzonspor rivalry. Schadenfreude that Fenerbahçe supporters feel towards Trabzonspor is at the level of 3.56 and is especially towards the managers. Apart from this intense schadenfreude of the two teams, Bursaspor's supporters' schadenfreude towards Amedspor is also high (3.80). The feelings of Bursaspor and Ankaragücü supporters against Beşiktaş ranked seventh and tenth, respectively. The supporters of both teams feel schadenfreude towards Beşiktaş team managers. As a difference, Bursaspor supporters' schadenfreude is more intense towards the sponsors (2.82) and Ankaragücü supporters' schadenfreude is more towards the players (3.57).

Among the three major İstanbul teams that constitute the oldest rivalries of Turkish football, the highest schadenfreude is the feelings of Galatasaray supporters towards Fenerbahçe. With a mean of 3.12, schadenfreude towards managers (4.38) and sponsors (3.84) came to the fore. Similarly, Beşiktaş supporters also feel schadenfreude for Fenerbahçe at a level of 2.96, focusing on sponsors (3.71) and managers (3.65). Behind these feelings, the financial support provided to the team due to the individual and corporate identity of Ali Koç, who was elected as the Chairman of Fenerbahçe Football Team in 2018, has a large share (Fotomaç, 2021). The schadenfreude towards Galatasaray, which Fenerbahçe supporters classify as their archrival, is found to be 2.81; the most intense feeling is towards managers (4.11). The schadenfreude of Beşiktaş supporters towards Galatasaray, which is at the level of 2.28, are distributed evenly in terms of sponsors, managers and players.

The schadenfreude felt towards Beşiktaş, which is seen as the second rival for Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray supporters and whose similarity is emphasized among the competitive factors due to being in the same city, is low. The schadenfreude towards Beşiktaş is determined as 2.28 for Fenerbahçe supporters and 2.21 for Galatasaray supporters. When the general level of supporters of İstanbul teams is evaluated, it can be said that the rivalry that has been going on for a long time and will continue in the future has been legitimized. In cases where legitimacy is established in competition unless an extraordinary incident occurs, schadenfreude will occur due to periodical effects. Similar to Ali Koç example, the presences of unpopular players of Galatasaray or Beşiktaş gaining sponsorships from global brands are among the examples that will increase schadenfreude.

Schadenfreude data in local competitions in Ankara, İzmir, and Adana differ from each other. In this context, Ankara is with the lowest schadenfreude levels. Gençlerbirliği supporters' schadenfreude towards Ankaragücü, is found to be 2.13, which is the lowest schadenfreude data of the study; and Ankaragücü supporters' schadenfreude towards Gençlerbirliği is also low (2.20). It can be evaluated that due to the sporting and financial difficulties in recent years experienced by these two well-established teams (Anadolu Ajansı, 2021), the priorities are towards their own teams instead of each other. Karşıyaka supporters' stadium priority feelings towards Göztepe are the highest schadenfreude data (3.38) among İzmir teams. While Göztepe supporters' schadenfreude towards Karşıyaka, as their archrival, is at 2.75, their possible joy at the bankruptcy of their sponsors came to the fore with 3.61. The fact behind this choice of Göztepe supporters likely depends on Pınar company's sponsorship of Karşıyaka's basketball team since 1998; because the national and global successes of İzmir

in the 21st century were achieved by Pınar Karşıyaka (Fotomaç, 2021). The feeling of schadenfreude against Altay, which Göztepe supporters consider the second rival, is lower than Karşıyaka, despite the events in 2022.

In local rivalries, a weak schadenfreude is detected in Ankara and a moderate schadenfreude in İzmir. However, schadenfreude is experienced intensely among Adana teams. The emotion level of Adanaspor supporters against Adana Demirspor, determined as 3.45, ranks fourth after the incidents-based competition. Adana Demirspor supporters' feelings for their rivals are also at the level of 2.98. The fact that the teams share the same stadium has ensured that the emotion is directed towards managers, sponsors and players. Adana Demirspor's goal of national championship and world-famous transfers are the factors that increase emotion of Adanaspor supporters. The architect of the team's conscious structuring, President Murat Sancak, has much contribution for schadenfreude preference at 4.66 level (İlkhaber, 2023).

Different levels of schadenfreude are identified in the rivalries of the standing out neighboring cities. The schadenfreude values of 2.16 and 2.14 revealed, respectively, between Sivasspor and Kayserispor constitute the lowest values among neighboring cities. The feeling of schadenfreude among Bursaspor and Eskişehirspor supporters is at a medium level. Sponsors' bankruptcy (3.73) came to the fore among Eskişehirspor supporters' feelings towards Bursaspor (2.76). Similarly, for Bursaspor supporters' feelings towards Eskişehirspor sponsors (3.23) have priority. The continuous support provided by internationally known important brands representing the identity of their cities, which are Uludağ Beverage (of Bursa) and Eti (of Eskişehir) to their teams (Cumhuriyet, 2015), can explain the sponsor-oriented feelings of rival team supporters. Based on these explanations, schadenfreude detected according to the findings is summarized in Table 6.

Within the scope of the study, two issues are researched based on the feelings of Turkish football team supporters: First, the issues of 'supporters' excluding different groups by adopting the values of the groups they belong to' and 'the approach that schadenfreude will develop against rival groups by considering frequently encountered groups as rivals for shared resources and similar success standards' (Combs et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2009). In this context, the relationship between schadenfreude and rival classification is analyzed. Table 7 compares the schadenfreude feelings of supporters who chose more than one rival.

Table 6
Schadenfreude Levels of Turkish Football Team Supporters

Schadenfreude Resource	Schadenfreude Target	Sponsors	Managers	Players	Stadium	Average
Trabzonspor	Fenerbahçe	**4.22**	**4.79**	3.67	2.68	**3.84**
Bursaspor	Amedspor	2.46	4.14	**4.89**	3.69	3.80
Fenerbahçe	Trabzonspor	3.69	4.44	3.85	2.25	3.56
Adanaspor	Adana Demirspor	3.25	4.66	3.70	2.20	3.45
Karşıyaka	Göztepe	3.47	3.34	2.56	**4.13**	3.38
Galatasaray	Fenerbahçe	3.84	4.36	2.41	1.87	3.12
Bursaspor	Beşiktaş	2.82	4.38	2.99	2.22	3.10
Adana	Adanaspor	3.22	3.93	2.87	1.88	2.98
Beşiktaş	Fenerbahçe	3.71	3.65	2.48	1.99	2.96
Ankaragücü	Beşiktaş	2.39	3.83	3.57	1.91	2.93
Fenerbahçe	Galatasaray	2.67	4.11	2.53	1.94	2.81
Eskişehirspor	Bursaspor	3.73	2.89	2.22	2.18	2.76
Göztepe	Karşıyaka	3.61	3.17	2.33	1.89	2.75
Bursaspor	Eskişehirspor	3.23	3.05	2.09	2.34	2.68
Göztepe	Altay	2.39	3.97	2.12	1.52	2.50
Beşiktaş	Galatasaray	2.70	2.57	2.25	1.60	2.28
Fenerbahçe	Beşiktaş	2.46	2.56	2.24	1.79	2.26
Galatasaray	Beşiktaş	2.28	3.33	1.93	1.28	2.21
Ankaragücü	Gençlerbirliği	2.38	2.91	2.17	1.33	2.20
Sivasspor	Kayserispor	2.79	2.57	1.81	1.48	2.16
Kayserispor	Sivasspor	2.29	2.76	1.97	1.53	2.14
Gençlerbirliği	Ankaragücü	2.86	2.89	1.41	1.35	2.13
Average Schadenfreude Level		**3.02**	**3.56**	**2.64**	**2.05**	**2.82**

Table 7
Schadenfreude Levels of Supporters Choosing Multiple Rivals

Schadenfreude Resource	Schadenfreude Target	Rival Classification	Schadenfreude Level
Ankaragücü	Gençlerbirliği	Archrival	**2.20**
	Beşiktaş	**2ⁿᵈ Rival**	**2.93**
Beşiktaş	Fenerbahçe	Archrival	**2.96**
	Galatasaray	2ⁿᵈ Rival	**2.28**
Bursaspor	Beşiktaş	Archrival	**3.10**
	Amedspor	**2ⁿᵈ Rival**	**3.80**
	Eskişehirspor	3ʳᵈ Rival	**2.68**
Fenerbahçe	Galatasaray	Archrival	**2.81**
	Beşiktaş	2ⁿᵈ Rival	**2.26**
	Trabzonspor	**3ʳᵈ Rival**	**3.56**
Galatasaray	Fenerbahçe	Archrival	**3.12**
	Beşiktaş	2ⁿᵈ Rival	**2.21**
Göztepe	Karşıyaka	Archival	**2.75**
	Altay	2ⁿᵈ Rival	**2.50**

Supporters of Ankaragücü, Beşiktaş, Bursaspor, Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray, and Göztepe football teams defined more than one team as rivals as a meaningful rival for appropriate analysis. According to the findings, Beşiktaş, Galatasaray, and Göztepe football teams' supporters felt the highest schadenfreude against their archrivals, similar to the literature findings; and they experienced the emotion at a lower level for their second rivals. Ankaragücü supporters identified two rivals and felt schadenfreude towards Beşiktaş, which they described as their second rival, with a difference of 0.76 over their archrival Gençlerbirliği. Bursaspor supporters classified three rivals and positioned their neighbor city football team Eskişehirspor as the last rival. Against Amedspor, which they consider as their second rival, they shared the second highest schadenfreude (3.80) identified in the study. Fenerbahçe supporters, like Bursaspor supporters, classified three rivals and evaluated their archrivals in the first two places. The feeling of schadenfreude (3.56) against the last rival, Trabzonspor, is the third highest average in the study.

DISCUSSION

Based on the findings of study, first of all additional competitive factors is proposed. The first suggestion is to consider the incidents between teams as a 'unique incident' factor. When defining this factor, it should not be forgotten that the events that will occur may develop suddenly, may have sociological or cultural contexts, may be due to wrong personal or social choices, may be forgotten, or may be normalized in competition. It is a 'unique incident' which is considered the first big scuffle in Turkish football history during the Galatasaray–Fenerbahçe match dated February 23, 1934, but this incident is forgotten in the ongoing competition. Kayserispor–Sivasspor match, played on September 17, 1967, resulted in 43 deaths, has become an unpleasant memory (Arslan, 2010). Mutual incidents such as Fenerbahçe–Trabzonspor and rivalries of Bursaspor and Ankaragücü against Beşiktaş are unfortunately no longer periodic and are becoming normalized.

The last thing to consider regarding the content of the formation process of the rivalries is that each country, region or city may have 'unique incidents' in accordance with its conditions. The acquisition of English football clubs by foreign investors in recent years is an example of incident differentiation. Chelsea and Manchester City football clubs have reached global power through strategies followed by their owners. For supporters of these football clubs, the old rivalry is continuing routinely. In addition, to achieve global success, the newly developed competition with teams of different countries became more preferred (Weber et al.,

2020). However, it is also possible to observe similar characteristics in different geographies regarding the 'unique incident' factor. A similar match to the chaotic Galatasaray–Fenerbahçe match played in 1934 was played between Athletic Bilbao and Barcelona in 1984. The King's Cup Final, played in Madrid by clubs representing Basque and Catalan nationalism, began as a show of force at the home of the "common enemy", but eventually, the players of the two teams got into a very violent fight. The effect of this unique incident continued for a while, but over time, Real Madrid became the focus of the two clubs again (The Guardian, 2021). Another example of a 'unique incident' between teams from different countries is the Heysel Disaster in Belgium. A total of 39 people, 32 of whom were Italian, died as a result of the stand incidents between Liverpool and Juventus fans at the 1985 Champions' Cup final. However, these two teams met in the European Super Cup Final approximately 5 months ago, and the match ended without any bad experience. This incident, which is similar to the disaster that occurred between Sivasspor and Kayserispor, has never been forgotten, and despite the commemoration ceremonies held every year, the tension, especially among Juventus fans, still continues (Chisari, 2004).

Rivalry factors defined in current literature are accepted and used in studies conducted in different disciplines. The generally recommended situation is to examine the relationship between factors and different variables. Kawarasaki et al (2023) stated in their study in the field of education that competition factors are valid and indicated that the relationship between the performance of students competing in the classroom and the factors should be examined in more detail. Milstein et al. (2022), in their study, which examined similarity, repeated competition, and competitiveness items in depth, suggested that the relationship between rivalry and performance should be investigated in more detail. The number of studies suggesting new factors is exceptionally few. Yip et al. (2018) included trash-talking between individuals among the rivalry factors. The unique incident factor proposed in this study supports the existing factors as well as arguing that rivalries can change and develop adventitious at unexpected times. In this context, an event such as trash-talk can be a unique incident under certain conditions. The main purpose of the proposed factor is to cover individuals or institutions, reject reductionism, and provide a better understanding of the continuity of rivalries in different disciplines.

The second suggestion for competitive factors is to change the narrative to include continuity between similarity, repeated competition, and competitiveness items. In this context, it is thought that each factor can develop independently of each other and interact

with each other. Instead of similarity, the proposed factor should share the primary strategies and constraints of the environment in which the two teams are established. For this reason, 'feasible contingencies' concept is proposed. Due to the effect of comparisons among teams based on the repeated competition factor, an update of social comparisons is recommended. The positions of teams at different levels should be considered when updating the competitiveness factor. It is difficult for competition to develop between the team that has international-level goals and the other team that aims not to be in relegation. Conflicting goals will reveal the competition.

In this context, there are studies in the literature that interpret the factors. Sharapov and Ross (2023) first interpreted the similarity factor. They included the definitions of 'long-term similarity' and 'geographical similarity' in their studies. While evaluating the competitiveness factor within a specific occupational group, they defined 'status dissimilarity' in order to emphasize that people in professional competition differ according to their achievements. Xu et al. (2020) similarly emphasized the similarity factor as 'similarity between actors' and explained that contingencies such as position or rank reveal the factor. Sung et al. (2017) used the competitiveness factor as 'historical competitiveness' but did not explain why the interpretation was made. This study's proposed concept of 'feasible contingencies' suggests examining all environmental conditions in more detail and flexibly instead of interpreting the factors. This concept will be helpful in understanding and classifying competitive processes by considering dissimilarities as well as similarities.

Limitations

The study's main limitation is the conduct of the research within a certain time period. Additionally, the sample consists only of football supporters. The supporter groups that could be reached are limited to 14 teams, and therefore, the schadenfreude of other teams' supporters could not be analyzed. Conducting research at certain intervals, pursuing the research over longer periods of time, and analyzing the competition and schadenfreude for different branches will reveal opportunity for more detailed analysis. Future research about supporters of football teams or sports clubs of different cities or regions will reveal a more holistic schadenfreude map of Turkey.

CONCLUSION

The literature indicating that schadenfreude increases with increasing competition is contradictory with the findings of more intense feelings towards the second or third rivals, so

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this situation requires further analyses for theoretical updates. It is expected that schadenfreude will be felt most towards the archrival, and within the scope of the current study this is found to be repeated more than once. However, competition with the archrival, which is normalized by time factor, may cause schadenfreude to persist at an average level. Normalization of competition could mean gaining legitimacy among supporters. Instead of "being happy about the losses that their rivals suffer", supporters may be prone to the feeling of "their rivals falling behind or failing". At this point, considering the continuity of the relationship of schadenfreude and competition, a distinction can be made between "legit rivalry and incidental matches". In the cases of the three exceptions mentioned above, the definition of incidental matches takes place specifically in rivalries originating from incidents by supporters. In this context, it can be claimed that schadenfreude will be experienced constantly for legit rivalries and intensely for incidental matches. Finally, it should not be forgotten that incidental matches may turn into legit rivalries over time or become history once the incident is resolved.

As a result of the holistic evaluation of the current study's findings, the supporters' schadenfreude levels can be demonstrated. As shown in Figure 2, competition in the cities of İzmir and Adana is not interacted with teams from other cities or regions. The regional competition between Kayseri and Sivas continues to be non-interactive and with low levels of schadenfreude. The arch-rivalry between Beşiktaş, Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray continues with mutual feelings of schadenfreude. The status gained by Trabzonspor over time caused the feeling of schadenfreude especially towards Fenerbahçe. The competition between Beşiktaş and Bursaspor, as well as the intensity of feelings of schadenfreude, should be examined in a way that will extend the existing literature.

On the other hand, Dalakas and Melancon's (2012) scale allows for inferences about supporters' multidimensional schadenfreude, it has shortcomings. First of all, the existing scale items direct the feeling of schadenfreude to elements that a standard supporter has very little chance of viewing or interacting with in daily life, such as a facility, manager or football player. However, all supporters are part of same society and frequently interact with each other in daily life. Moreover, interactions between supporters are not limited only in daily life. Interactions on social media are much faster and more numerous. For this reason, in addition to the existing single-factor structure of the scale, the factor named 'Feelings against Rival Supporters' is proposed. Under this factor, there should be questions about the supporters' feelings of schadenfreude in daily life. Because individuals who consider rival supporters

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suffering material and moral damage are likely to feel happier. In today's global world, supporters who want to form or increase their schadenfreude personally have a lot of options. Doing anything to upset their rival supporters or delivering upsetting news to them in person as soon as possible can be cruel alternatives. Another common behavior of supporters is to make provocative comments on the opposing team's social media accounts after defeats.

Figure 2
Schadenfreude Map of Turkish Football Team Supporters
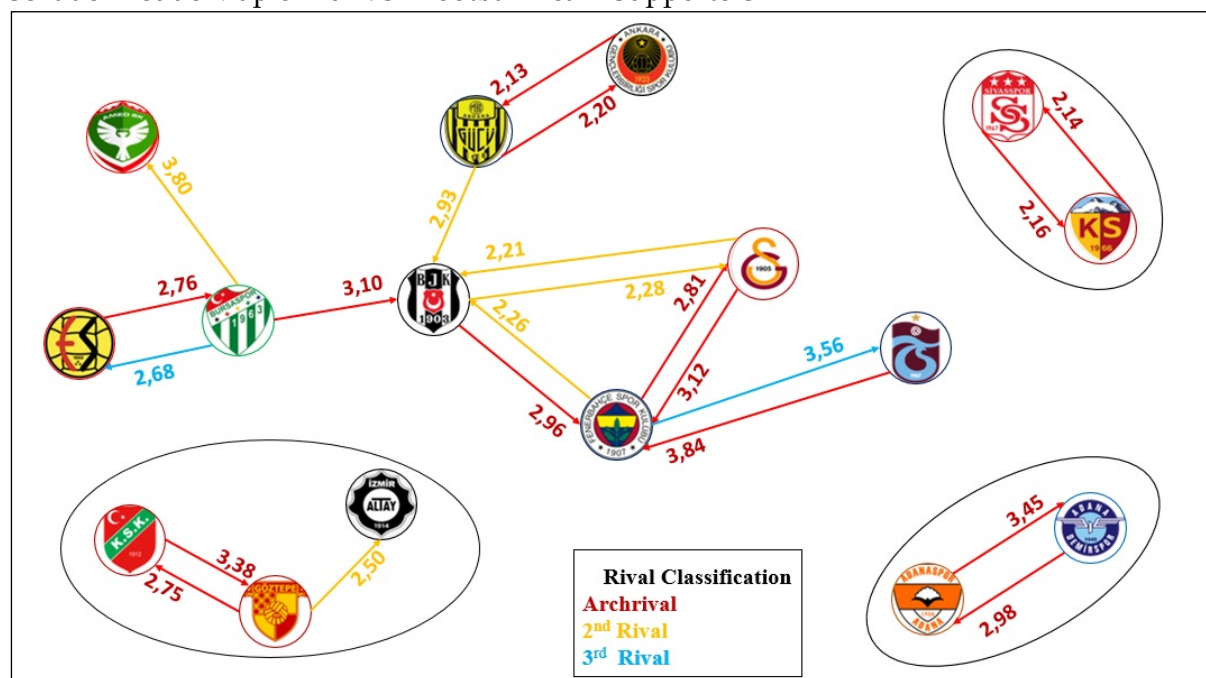
However, with additional items to the existing ones, a more detailed understanding of the feeling can be provided. The factor that can be restated under the dimension 'Feelings against Rival Club' can be a guide for new items on what news the supporters would like to hear from the rival. Spreading bad news about the rival team on social media will help supporters develop more schadenfreude. Additionally, the fact that sports clubs compete in different branches should be considered when updating the schadenfreude scale. A football supporter will be happy when he or she hears that the rival sports club lost a volleyball or basketball game. Although it is indicated that solidarity replaces rivalries in international matches because of the national representation against different countries, this discourse should be examined in terms of schadenfreude. Finally, it should be remembered that a supporter has the potential to damage any object belonging to rival team. In this context, the possible new items that could enable the scale to examine schadenfreude in more detail are listed in Table 8.

Table 8

Possible Items for Updated Schadenfreude Scale

Proposed Items for Current Scale First Dimension: "Schadenfreude against Rival Club"
I would be happy if unfavorable news about my rival is spreading on social media.
I would be happy if my rival loses in different branches.
I would be happy if my rival team loses in international matches.
If I get the opportunity, I would be happy to damage an object related to the opposing team.
Proposed Items for Second Dimension: "Schadenfreude against Rival Supporters"
I would be happy if I witness the material and moral damage caused to rival fans that I don't know.
I would be happy if I witness the material and moral damage of the rival fans that are close to me.
I would be happy to do things that might upset the rival team's fans.
I would like to immediately inform the fans of rival team about a bad event regarding their team.
When the rival team loses, I would be happy if I wrote sarcastic comments on their social media accounts to upset and anger their supporters.

Additionally, relationship of the emotion and periodic or legit rivalries can also be examined. Finally, due to the size of the study sample, the majority principle is applied to analyze rivals. In studies to be conducted with the target of a determined number of supporters, it may be possible to reach the number of rival classifications that are satisfactory to make an analysis instead of the majority principle. Due to the increase of the sample size, rival classification can be made for many more teams and schadenfreude can be examined in detail.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Schadenfreude has been evaluated from various perspectives in different periods and there have been detailed discussions about the feeling. It is quite normal that, the emotion currently defined as rejoicing at someone else's harm finds a response in industrial football, which has become a part of daily life. This study, which provides extensive attention to the relationship between competition and schadenfreude, is set out to learn how Turkish football team supporters experience the emotion. While searching for answers to the classification of rivals and why they are considered as rivals, the focus of the study is on the off-field elements of football rather than the impact of the matches played in determining schadenfreude. In this context, it has been determined that the schadenfreude of Turkish supporters is primarily focused on the managers of the rivals. Except for specific examples, damage to rival team facilities is an unhappy situation. The impact of periodic incidents played a role on the emotion focusing on sponsors and football players.

Moreover, it should also be noted that schadenfreude can easily be affected by major events or daily incidents. One of the significant examples of such major events is the

earthquakes that occurred in Turkey in February 2023, which deeply affected the country. In that period, all sports clubs working together for the Turkish people who suffered from the earthquakes probably reduced schadenfreude. It can be indicated that a similar event that reduced schadenfreude occurred during Super Cup final planned to be played in Saudi Arabia. Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe, the parties of Turkey's biggest rivalry, acted together out of common principles and did not play the match. This common stance, exhibited on December 29, 2023, almost turned the supporters' perceptions from arch-enemies into eternal friendship. However, this friendly ceasefire period was very short-lived; mutual social media posts about daily events like referee decisions returned the supporters to their old schadenfreude routines. The tension between the two clubs has risen so much that even the highly possible 'unique incident' example of Adana Demirspor withdrawal from the field against Galatasaray in response to the referee's penalty decision on 9 February 2025, has turned into an incident in which the two clubs blame each other, despite Adana Demirspor's former president and current owner Murat Sancak stating that it had nothing to do with Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray. As a result of continuously growing tension, Turkish Football Federation had to appoint a foreign referee for the derby played on February 24, 2025, in order to prevent the two clubs from blaming each other and the stakeholders of football. But even this appointment could not reduce the tension and the archrivals found new topics to continue to blame each other. Fenerbahçe claimed that Galatasaray wanted privilege, not justice. On the other hand, Galatasaray declared that end of the match statements of Fenerbahçe's world famous coach Jose Mourinho were racist. In short, incidents that increase schadenfreude will continue to occur (e.g., Jose Mourinho's nose pinching incident) and it is expected that intense schadenfreude data from football supporters will likely be obtained by research conducted during the times of championships, staying in the relegation or derby periods.

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Authors' Contributions

The first author contributed to the conception and design, data collection, analysis and interpretation. The second author contributed to reviewing the conception and design, interpretation of the data, and critical review.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

There is no financial conflict of interest with any institution, organization, or person regarding our article, and there is no conflict of interest between the authors.

Ethics Statements

The required ethical approval for the study was received by Çankaya University Humanities and Social Sciences Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee with document number E-90705970-050.99-120694 dated 12.01.2023.

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