Ethnic Diversity in Boxing: To what Extent is a Boxing Club in West Yorkshire Affecting Young People's Views on Ethnic Diversity?

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Abstract

Boxing gyms in West Yorkshire have become more diverse in recent years since boxers of different ethnic backgrounds have joined the clubs (England Boxing, 2018). This research examined the views of boxers on ethnic diversity and how these were influenced by the environment in their boxing gym. This small-scale qualitative research used narrative inquiry to examine the views of five boxers of different ethnicities using a focus group and semi-structured interviews. The boxers were questioned on their motivation, discipline and views on ethnic diversity before and after they were members of the same club. The data shows that they did not consider ethnic diversity an important aspect in their lives before they joined the club. However, having been part of the boxing culture for many years, their thinking and actions changed. This research suggests boxers are initially motivated by their personal goals which lead them to learn and practice self-discipline because it is seen as the way to reach their goals. Their intense focus on goal seeking has relaxed their views on ethnic diversity so that differences in ethnicities were overlooked due to the common and personal goals of the boxers.

Introduction

Boxing gyms in West Yorkshire have traditionally been associated with white working-class males but, over time, this perception has changed as more and more boxing gyms are reflecting diverse groups of participants (England Boxing, 2018). New members joining boxing from different ethnic backgrounds have shown how sport can provide a neutral common ground for young people from different communities to come together, integrate and influence social change (Green, 2008). The sport of boxing has been used for outreach programmes throughout the UK with results showing significant benefits in social, community and educational development. The sport puts emphasises on motivation and self-discipline and sees this as an important quality in the success of athletes (England Boxing, 2016). This shows that these two mental characteristics are as important as an individual's skills and physical ability which all combine to produce a successful boxer. Developing and possessing these qualities also brings positive change in terms of social and educational capacity because behaviours are produced which inspire and enhance success in different aspects of a boxer's life (England Boxing, 2016; Dortants & Knoppers, 2013).

This study aims to increase understanding of how and why the motivation and selfdiscipline of boxers in a West Yorkshire gym affects their perceptions of ethnic diversity. The research was carried out in an ethnically diverse boxing club in West Yorkshire which mirrors the demographics of the area it is located in. The club has around 80 regular members aged 8 to 30 who train four times a week. The ethnic demographics (at the time of the research) was 36% Asian, 35% White English, 16% Afro-Caribbean, 8% Irish Gypsy and 5% others. The club has six coaches: three white, two Asian and one from a black mixed race. Among the boxers are three national champions and four regional champions. The boxers vary in education levels: some are university students, others are in further education and there are members who have left education and are working or looking for work.

Methodology

Conforming to the BERA (2011) regulations, consents were obtained from participating boxers and procedures outlined to protect their confidentiality. Boxers were protected from the risk of repercussions such as stress and ostracism by keeping their identities anonymous (Pseudonyms have been used for the purpose of this report). Debriefing was offered along with contact details for help and advice to deal with any issues surrounding the research. As I was immersed in the culture that I was researching, I had some preconceptions about some of the boxers. There was the risk that boxers may withhold information because I was the one listening or they might say what they thought I wanted to hear. They were assured that any honest information disclosed would not have any consequences. The fact that I knew the boxers made things easier; there were no awkward introductions or lengthy explanations. They felt comfortable talking to me and trusted me which was important in order to get the boxers to open up honestly.

The research used narrative inquiry and examined the life stories of five male boxers aged 18 to 21 from different ethnic backgrounds. The study exclusively used boxers who have been members at the same gym for a long time. The same questions were asked to retain authenticity. The following is a list of the boxers who took part in the research:

Jamal is 20 years old from a mixed White English and Black Caribbean descent and has been boxing for eight years. Ameen is an 18-year-old Asian Pakistani and has been boxing for 10 years. Sean is a 20-year-old White Irish Gypsy and has been boxing for 12 years. Hassan is an 18-year-old Asian Pakistani and has been boxing for six years. Ryan is a 20-year-old of White English background who came to the club from another gym four years ago.

A focus group was used as a method of data collection and held during quiet times at the gym. Semi-structured interviews (prepared using the information gathered from the focus group) were then used as the second data collection method to clarify any misconceptions, retrieve specific information and allow participants to disclose any sensitive information. This process was effective in reinforcing points made in the focus group, and also for providing participants with the confidentiality to disclose information on a one-to-one basis. It provided internal validity and accurate results for the research which, in turn, worked hand-in-hand with narrative inquiry, allowing it to achieve its potential by producing rich knowledge for analysis. Interactively, they produced views and opinions on the research topic, where everyone took part in verbalising experiences that stimulated recollections and ideas. Boxers were able to 'paint a picture' of specific events allowing conversation patterns to be studied in a natural environment with the added benefit of observing participant's reactions and interactions for additional information. Data was recorded continuously throughout the focus group and interviews, and memos were taken describing the content of these recordings. Using the 'coding method', relevant information which was specific to the research questions was obtained from the raw data and then reduced through the cleaning process to manageable meaningful data. McLafferty (2014) recommends basic grouping of overall themes, followed by a detailed categorisation and connections which are interpreted to give the results. The condensed data was grouped under each question, and then into themes to allow connections and distinctions to be made between existing literature and the knowledge attained from the boxers.

Findings

A qualitative method was adopted as the research approach for this study. The approach particularly suited this study, which aimed to gain a better understanding of individuals' experiences on motivation, discipline and views on ethnic diversity before and after they were members of the club. The following is the aim and the research questions:

Aim:

 To what extent is a boxing club in West Yorkshire affecting young people's views on ethnic diversity?

Research questions:

- What were the boxers' views on ethnic diversity before joining the club?
- How has the club affected their views on ethnic diversity?
- How are they utilising the knowledge and experience learned from the club?

The study set out to address the research questions above which are used for the presentation and grouping of the data.

What were the boxer's views on ethnic- diversity before joining the club?

The focus group discussion around perceptions of ethnic diversity in their childhood and early teens, reflected similarities in their personal feelings. They did not hold feelings of prejudice towards any group and did not feel that ethnic diversity was an important aspect in their lives, thus failing to see a need for trying to get to know particular people and make inter-ethnic friendships. 'I never really thought about it (ethnic diversity) in my school days ... didn't see the reason why I should' (Jamal).

Ameen socialised within his own local community, which he deemed normal and held no particular views on ethnic-diversity.

However, their personal perceptions have slight distinctions. All of them conceded that they had witnessed segregation on ethnic grounds, although, it was not a cause for concern because they deemed it as the normal thing in society. Ryan, however, had contrary views and describes it as 'strange': 'You have the White estates, Asian areas, Black areas, so how can we get to know each other ...? You just didn't bother.'

There was only a small number of Black and Asian students in Ryan's school year and he did not get the chance to form friendships with them. When asked if he had hoped to build friendships with them, he replied: 'Yes, but school never allowed you time to do things like that ... teachers were like ... constantly telling me to shut up for talking and disrupting the class'. Verkuyten and Thijs (2013) stress the need for adequate time and opportunity for people to know each other to aid inter-ethnic relations. Upon reflection Ryan pointed out that he found it strange how students in class sat with their own ethnic group and teachers never took the opportunity to mix groups up. Describing this as 'strange' and complaining that nothing was done suggested that he felt it was unacceptable.

How has the club affected their views on ethnic diversity?

Jamal reported that his attitude had changed as he witnessed the similarities he had with other boxers. This encouraged him to build bonds with fellow boxers and coaches who were from various ethnic backgrounds. Laurence (2014) highlights how adequate contact between people of different ethnicities in places like a boxing gym, aids positive interactions and eliminates negative stereotypes allowing similarities to be discovered. Jamal went on to say 'the atmosphere at the club is very relaxed and nobody cares who you are; everyone accepts you, as boxing is the common interest for all of us'. Breen (2009) reported good inter-ethnic contact when students were associated with one group and encouraged by student-teacher relationships: 'It's all about discipline and improving in the sport and also enjoying it too; colour or religion doesn't matter'.

When asked why learning in boxing was different from school, he mentioned that he was good at boxing and found it interesting and easier; he also indicated how his relationship with his coaches had motivated him to continue and achieve his goals. Verkuyten & Thijs (2013) stress the need for positive student-teacher relationships to motivate students. Feeling engaged was key to the turnaround in attitude of Jamal

7

and this is reiterated in Meyer & Turner's (2006) research on motivation to learn in a classroom, which found engagement of learners to be one of the essential components in improving teaching and learning. England Boxing (2016) mentions how the gym provides a learning environment where the boxers are loved and respected for their ability, whereas at school they feel incompetent and disliked.

When Ameen was asked about his views on ethnic diversity he mentioned that his attitude had changed after seeing more people from his own background involved and interacting with boxers and coaches of different backgrounds. 'I got the chance to know guys from different backgrounds and we share a lot of common stuff ... stuff other than boxing' (Ameen).

When Sean came to the gym he was known for his anger problems. When asked if his views had changed, he mentioned that he felt respected and supported by everyone and this had changed his behaviour towards people in general. This has been a motivating factor for Sean: 'I never had any goals in life or looked up to anyone ... but I just feel focused knowing someone is bothered about how well I do, it's like a family and this includes the guys I have met here.. They're all cool ... it makes me feel part of something ... and before I didn't.'

He received help from his trainers and this grew into a good working relationship when he began listening and practicing self-discipline. This change in behaviour is explained by Perry (1994), who defines self-discipline as a concept of regulating behaviour without supervision and with the use of external rewards and punishment. England Boxing (2016) found relationships with coaches improve boxers' behaviours and lead to co-operation. Grusec & Goodnow (1994) explain how young people develop values as they get older by replicating the ways of their peers such as

8

coaches. Sean felt the club was ethnically inclusive and he found common ground with his fellow boxers.

Boxing at the club has introduced Hassan to new people and improved his confidence: 'I felt reluctant to speak to people; I had no confidence at school ... I've built up a lot of confidence since I've been at the club.'

He has goals in place and feels motivated; boxing has made him resilient and mentally stronger than before.

People don't bother me now, coz l've had 6 bouts ... the discipline and confidence l've gained from coming to this club is fantastic ... I enjoy the whole process ... It's a nice feeling to know I can go to a place which is successful and known for being mixed (ethnically diverse) ... that's pretty cool ... it's something I didn't realise earlier but I think it's important and I feel included at the club and the mix of people is great.

Ryan commented that:

When I joined boxing I didn't expect to see so many members and boxing coaches of different ethnicities at the club ... the training was really good and each time I went I got addicted to the sport, I don't see the difference in anyone as I did initially ... cos they all treated me the same, we spar with different boxers all the time and you soon build a rapport ... it's just normal ... once you're in that boxing lifestyle its really good ... you meet people when you go to boxing shows but it's better at our club, we have different ethnicities ... and we have some girls boxing too ... everyone

brings their own experiences and talent ... I've had no problems at the club, everyone is welcoming ... doesn't matter about your ethnic background.

How are they utilising the knowledge and experiences learned at the club?

They all see boxing as having played a significant part in the situations they find themselves in today. They speak about hard work and self-discipline as a marker which has established the way they think, make choices and define their outlook on life.

Today Jamal is an extremely talented boxer looking to go professional. He says opportunities are never restricted because of other people, rather it is up to individuals to strive for and achieve what they want in life. He does not see the aspect of race or religion anymore and rather chooses friends according to temperament and personality. Jamal also speaks about how boxing has given him focus in life by teaching him self-discipline and the ability to deal with different people and situations. Perry (1994) views self-discipline as an important characteristic of success, which has an impact throughout all areas of life. Jamal is more positive and confident in mixing with others because he has a focus in life which helps him dispel any negative feelings towards different people. Ameen is passionate when talking about the motivation to achieve his goals, which he feels are possible through selfdiscipline. His view mirrors that of Zimmerman (2008), who makes the link between motivation and self-discipline and describes intrinsic motivation as an initial inspiration, which uses self-discipline as the driving force to help reach the goals set. He is also a very proud member of the club as he mentions: 'I've seen the comments people make on Facebook after they've been to our home shows, they're amazed by the hospitality and (ethnic) diversity. It's something new for some of the clubs.'

Boxing also motivated and influenced him to study for a diploma in Sport Science which he hopes will get him a job as a sports and fitness instructor.

Sean is now more confident in himself as an individual. Other boxers have also noticed that he is a lot calmer and has a respectful approach towards everyone. This has made him interact and make close friends from different backgrounds. He has developed close relationships with the coaches who have provided a sense of belonging: 'I'm glad I carried on with boxing ... it kept me away from all the trouble I was getting into on the streets and with the police ...that lifestyle was not good. It also means that my mum doesn't have to worry about the police knocking on our door'.

'She must be really proud of you?' I asked.

You could see his face light up as he smiled and nodded his head. This incident was a prime example of what Bruner (1991) describes as an embodied experience (of narrative inquiry) on display which captures the emotions of the event described with facial expressions giving the narrative power and validity. Boxing has taught Sean self-control; as a result he avoids confrontational situations and deals with circumstances differently. This view is supported by reports published by England boxing, which show how some students with anger problems were able to control and channel their anger through boxing (England Boxing, 2016).

Boxing has given Hassan the chance to build positive connections and relationships with others. After learning to deal with the pressure involved in competitive boxing bouts, he is able to deal with school exam pressure with efficiency. He is very proud of his achievements in boxing. Motivation and discipline have kept him focused and he has improved his skills by observing others and sparring with good boxers. An example of this type of learning is given by Zimmerman (2008), who encourages students to practice learning through watching their peers perform, which improves self-efficacy in future tasks. Winning three of his six bouts has not prevented Hassan from declaring that he wants to continue and enter the national championships. His views are supported by Cook & Artino (2016) who argue that people learn through reciprocal interactions within their environment and through observation of others. They focus on the ability of other individuals and use it as a measure to determine their own capabilities and, provided they believe they can achieve their goals, that is sufficient motivation to succeed. Hassan talks about inter-ethnic friendships which he has always had with different people: 'The environment at the club is more than just friendship ... we're like a big family; everyone is there to support each other. It's a cool atmosphere you get to train hard, and have a laugh'.

He has acquired physical and mental skills which have improved his confidence. He speaks highly of his coaches who have helped him with problems in and out of the gym. He finishes off by reiterating that his confidence has grown and he has goals he wants to achieve. These views echo the findings of Chen, Gully & Eden (2004) who argue that confidence increases hopes and ambitions, which motivate people to achieve personal goals.

Ryan is currently on a full-time paid work placement (at a fitness gym) through the job centre which will see him get a level 3 qualification for a gym fitness instructor. He feels he has good relations with everyone no matter what background they are from. His initial reason for moving to the club was because of a reputable trainer who coached at the club. However, that coach has since left but Ryan has decided to

stay on. 'I love this place; everyone in the club looked after me, even when I was going through all the problems at home. I wouldn't leave the club just to follow M ... (coach) that would be betrayal (he laughs).'

He feels he made the right decision moving to the gym four years ago and since then he has made friendships with boxers of different background whom he socialises with outside of boxing. This is supported by Laurence (2014) who suggests that interethnic relations improve when mixing students from different ethnic groups.

Discussion

How the experience at the gym has affected views

Involvement with the boxing club appears to have changed the opinions of all the boxers. It shows how their attitudes towards ethnic diversity were affected at this point and defined their characters and outlook on life. The ethnically diverse environment at the gym seems to have influenced the boxers into accepting this behaviour as normal. They have come to acquire and understand the importance of respect and the role it plays in success. These skills and experiences have contributed to their social skills and new way of thinking, which is why these boxers continue to respect everyone outside of the gym, regardless of ethnicity or other differences.

Feeling of belonging to one and the same group

Boxers' views suggest that everyone is welcome in the gym, regardless of what background they are from. They describe the ethnic diversity as irrelevant and feel proud of this multi-ethnic gym. When discussing this in the focus group, Hassan (with a big smile on his face) called it 'the melting pot of boxing in West Yorkshire'. When asked about any incidents of discrimination, they were quick to refute the claim with Jamal saying (in a serious tone) 'that's not accepted here – we're all one group ... we back and support each other, that's why we're the best (boxing gym) round here'. However, Ameen reminded the group about an issue a parent (white) had with one of the coaches (black), but they all defined that as a one-off incident which happened over a year ago. The incident involved a white parent who accused a black coach for picking a black boxer instead of his son for a championship tournament. However, the situation was resolved and the parent and boxer are still part of the gym.

The boxers see the strict rules and hard work as two of the factors which strengthen their bonds. 'It's like we all have to go through the hard work together ... It's probably the hardest thing I've ever done ... but the buzz you get after a hard training session is better than any drug I've taken.' (Ryan)

Later, at the one-to-one interview, I asked Ryan about taking drugs. He admitted to smoking cannabis but he was keen to assure me that was now in the past. I was aware he could be saying this because there would be implications later so, with a serious look on my face, I let this moment pass with no further questions. This was an example of boxer-coach relationship based on trust and respect. Boxers know not to cross the line otherwise there are serious consequences. This is the self-discipline they learn from the gym; they understand there are punishments as a consequence of unaccepted behaviour but, as boxers move up the ladder in terms of success, the notion of punishment becomes irrelevant because compliance to self-discipline

(committed compliance) turns into a core aspect of their everyday life. This corresponds with the work carried out by Grusec & Goodnow (1994). Everyone adheres to the norms and values of the gym which the boxers described as 'the strict 'culture' of the gym: 'Even the newcomers are quick to pick up on the rules ... the ones who can't (cope with the hard work and discipline) don't last long'. (Sean)

Boxer and coach relationships

Relationships go beyond the club; boxers felt the sense of belonging at the gym due to experiencing difficult situations in their lives or coming from broken homes. The bonds created in the gym appear to resemble family ties. The coach's actions and interaction with everyone form an example of this culture and influence the meaning of ethnic diversity. If the coaches of different ethnicities have strong bonds, then so should the boxers.

The coaches are like father figures. They look after you like family ... I had a problem with a bunch of guys from (local area) ... they were threatening to do this ... and that ... (The severity of the matter was apparent in Sean's voice as it became louder, and he leaned forward in his chair with a serious look on his face). Coach T ... found out and gripped them on the streets. They soon backed off coz no one want to mess with coach T.

All of the boxers spoke highly of their coaches, stating that coaches know how hard boxing is because they have all boxed themselves; a view shared by England Boxing (2016). Having (informally) spoken to the coaches, I heard how they proclaimed to run the club according to professional standards of any good organisation, which excludes no one on the basis of their ethnicity. 'The coaches are the reason of our success, it's coz of them we are who we are ... we do whatever they say' (Hassan in the focus group whilst some of the others were observed nodding in agreement).

Boxers also explained how a fighter preparing for a bout may get extra attention in that week with no objections from anyone: 'That's the rule of the gym and we all respect that ... when we're preparing or train really hard, we also get the extra time'. (Ryan)

Discipline

Discipline seems to be a key concept in the lives of boxers and the set-routine practices of disciplinary techniques are apparent in the narratives told. They perceive this as a very important aspect in their boxing lives and seem to comprehend the physical and mental meaning of the word. That seems to be the reason why they all willingly adapt to organised lives which include intense physical training; control of desires for such things as drugs, alcohol and fast food; getting sufficient sleep; the ability to obey and stay patient which leads to the most important attribute, respect for everyone.

Boxers' views suggest that discipline and respect are linked. Motivated boxers who are well-disciplined will respect everyone, regardless of ability or ethnic background. This was apparent in boxers' views and through what the trainers observe every day. For example, training and sparring with others of lower ability, showed how boxers were willing to help others by adapting to the strength and skill level of their opponent. This ability to hold back when they are getting hit in sparring shows the discipline and respect they have for others and authority, and this is the respect they carry with them outside of the ring. This shows how discipline and respect are related to self-control which Bandura (2007) describes as a concept of regulating behaviour without supervision. This suggests boxers are able to remain disciplined outside of boxing where there is no supervision, just like Sean was able to control himself due to the discipline he has now acquired. A study on boxing by Wacquant (1995) concluded that self-discipline facilitated a small 'civilizing machine', helping boxers to normalise behaviour in and outside the gym.

This suggests boxing is successful in developing skills and knowledge to produce committed compliance which is normalising behaviour. Analysis of the narratives suggests that this behaviour has influenced equality based on respect for all ethnicities. Boxers seem to be focused on their goals (motivation), and the only way they can achieve these goals are by improving through hard-work and dedication (self-discipline). Improving your skills and abilities in boxing involves joint training (with others); everyone has to do the same activity at the same time and learn from each other. This creates mutual respect, strong bonds and uniformity leading to positive attitudes and friendships.

Boxers were often heard using 'warrior' as a metaphor to describe themselves as strong and determined individuals. The use of this metaphor reflects Socas's (2017) notion that self-discipline is the ability to control emotions and behaviours in order to achieve success. There are similarities between the development techniques utilised by some boxers and those described by Zimmerman's (2006) three-phase selfregulation cycle. For example, he encourages forethought (e.g. observing others sparring and picking up cues), performance (implementing the cues in one's own sparring) and self-reflection (looking back at performance and identifying improvements). Given the relationship between self-discipline and behaviour, Bandura (1997) explains that motivation to comply can be achieved through fear of punishment or appreciation for reward. However, he argues that self-discipline allows individuals to respect authority rules out of self-pride and doing the right thing which is necessary to attain a specified goal. As the boxers' stories unfolded in a chronological order they spoke about their time in the junior class. They explained the light punishments (extra push-ups or squats) they had to endure for deviating from expected behaviour whilst some others were rewarded with club T-shirts for performing well. As they grew older and got accustomed to the ways, they developed to follow rules out of respect for authority (coach). However, rewards and punishment are still used, as the boxers explain and, for example, a well-disciplined boxer will get entered for championships whilst undisciplined boxers can be deprived of this opportunity. This is done so boxers remain compliant to the desired behaviour and this defines good or bad boxers. Similarly, Wacquant (1995) concludes by describing the boxing culture as equal, where boxers are treated alike with the same rights and duties irrespective of who they are and what they want to achieve.

Ethnic diversity

Ethnic equality is evident from the stories of the boxers but they suggest it is driven by motivation, self-discipline and through the role modelling of the coaches. The boxers laughed as they talked about how they were prevented from forming groups based on ethnicity in their junior class, years ago. When asked if this happens in the senior class they all answered no and mentioned they aim to pair up with someone with good skills so they can learn and improve. Ethnic cliques are not allowed in the club and Ryan mentioned this as a comforting and welcoming factor which is rarely seen in other organisations (most of the others nodded in acknowledgement). Ryan continued sharing his experiences by mentioning how they maintain the ethnic neutrality in and out of the gym; the neutrality is not achieved due to 'political correctness' rather it is due to mutual feelings of respect. He also mentioned that it is not perceived as a 'taboo subject' as they sometimes joke on ethnic grounds.

Motivations and ambitions

The narratives show boxers have made positive changes and achieved some success, although they remain focused to achieve further goals they have set. Discussions around question three suggest that boxing has increased confidence and enabled boxers to make positive decisions about their personal goals and ambitions. The stories showed how boxers have used their motivations and chosen career paths strongly linked with the sport as in the case of Ryan and Ameen. Others have been further encouraged in terms of educational training. This reflects the views of Daniels (2011) who argues that barriers to access education are removed through developing confidence. Chen et al. (2004) further elaborate that confidence increases hopes and ambitions which motivate people to achieve personal goals (Chen et al. 2004). The choices they have made in their career paths give a sense of their independence which mirrors the view of Ryan and Deci (2000) that autonomy, competence and relatedness are three essential needs which foster intrinsic motivation.

Boxing has been known to use motivation and discipline to produce positive educational and social outcomes (England Boxing, 2016). This research makes an additional contribution by investigating how perceptions of ethnic diversity are affected by it. To the best of my knowledge, no research discussing the effects on

19

ethnic diversity through motivation and discipline has been published. However, the findings of this research draw parallels with the literature available on each theme discussed. The positive findings of this research also raise awareness of the power of motivation and the discipline techniques used in boxing to produce desired behaviour and results.

Conclusion

This work set out to examine the views on ethnic diversity of five boxers who are members of a West Yorkshire boxing club. The results presented are specific to the context and club where the research was undertaken. Narrative inquiry was used and boxers from different ethnic backgrounds took part in a focus group and one-toone semi-structured interviews. The boxers were questioned on their motivation, discipline and views on ethnic diversity before and after they were members of the club. The boxers did not consider ethnic diversity an important aspect in their lives before they joined the club. However, their current views - having been part of the boxing culture for many years - had changed their thinking and actions. The boxers had a unanimous view that ethnic diversity was less noticeable in the club and members were integrated and included. These positive views showed encouraging effects on the boxers' lives ranging from more structured lifestyles to successes in and out of boxing. Discipline was identified as a major marker of difference in boxers' lives. However discipline coupled with motivation was deemed necessary for individuals to achieve their goal as shown by Zimmerman (2008). This work suggests boxers are initially motivated by their personal goals which lead them to learn and practice self-discipline as it is seen as the way to reach their goals. Their intense focus on goal seeking has relaxed their views on ethnic diversity so that differences in ethnicities were overlooked due to the common and personal goals of the boxers.

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