The Obedient and Well-Trained "Military" Body: Disciplinary Practices in Hellenic Air Forces

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Abstract

In this paper we present the results of a qualitative study that was designed to examine the social-psychological attitudes and the interpretive perceptions of a particular social microcosm; namely the students of the Hellenic Air Force Academy Members (Icaroi) towards disciplinary techniques. It as well examines-through nine semi-structured interviews-the significance of the obedient and well-trained body regarding the fulfillment of the professional objectives posed by the military hierarchy. It seems that the uniform lifestyle that includes physical appearance, diet, sleep, the pursuit of good health and even collective punishment, as well as the custom of hazing, particularly socialize students in a military environment. In this coercive and demanding context, the body is perceived as a crucial material property and as a dynamic symbolic instrument of power. In this sense, physical and psychological stress, as well as disciplinary techniques, are understood, within this strict environment, as absolutely reasonable and accepted if certain, rational, limits are not exceeded.

Keywords: Disciplinary techniques, embodiment, Air Force Academy, military standards, qualitative research

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Introduction

For many professional and social groups, the human body could be perceived as a critical tool for cultural recognition and acceptance (Alexias & Dimitropoulou 2011; Dilaki et al., 2012; Savvakis et al., 2015). For instance, Hellenic Air Force Academy Members (Icaroi), largely base their status on their body physical conditioning; the latter has been linked to the performance and to the feeling of confidence they experience (Alexias et al., 2012; Savvakis et al., 2015). The body, however, often experiences psychological discomforts which are manifested by physical symptoms, harrying the body with pain, reducing performance and potentially exacerbating the negative psychological state (Dilaki et al., 2012; Alexias et al., 2015a; Alexias et al., 2015b). Embodiment constitutes a process during which the psychological fret is expressed physically, causing somatic effects (Dilaki et al., 2012) and psychologists are increasingly interested in embodiment based on the assumption that thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are grounded in bodily interaction with the environment (Meier et al., 2012).

The concept of embodiment is applied in many different research areas retaining several related meanings (Zatti & Zarbo, 2015) and is defined as being specifically concerned with the lived experience of one's own body. This lived experience refers specifically to the way that individuals negotiate their everyday lives via the utility of their bodies, and how they mediate, interpret, and interact with their physical and social environments (Jaye, 2004). According to the embodiment approach, the biological body is not exclusively a natural entity but rather a multidimensional project, a living experience that is to be realized as a result of historical processes; a social construction and a constituting element of cultural life (Alexias et al., 2015a; Alexias et al., 2015c; Savvakis et al., 2015).

The students of the Hellenic Air Force Academy are called "Icaroi" and they are soldiers in a specific field. People, who serve in this Academy, as well as other soldiers, experience in their training a series of important changes and transformations that can be empirically studied through the concept of embodiment.

This transformation also affects the shaping of the body, which is not constituted as an instrument of demonstration, but as a means to serve the military purpose through acquiring the desirable shape that is solely based on hard work and intensive training.

It is often stated that the most crucial purpose of the body models in the army has always been to choose soldiers (and consequently Icaroi) who fit better the physical demands of the military service. This implies that they have to carry burden and fight well (Friedl, 1990). There are many reasons for the assessment and the evaluation of the body of the military staff. One of the basic reasons is to secure the "objective" criterions of recruiting this staff in order to compose an excellent and superior collective entity (Lukaski, 1990).

This quest requires a well-trained body, highest performance in an actual battle and definitely good health. These requirements assess the body as a duty which is largely defined by the priorities of the military forces. It is clear that the soldiers are expected to preserve the highest possible level of physical alertness, since they have to be ready to act according to their duty, at any geographical zone, virtually any time. These body models have been of a long-term existence along with the conditions of the right weight and height as well as the establishment of the appropriateness of the service, which goes back to the 19th century (Foucault, 1977).

The majority of the military units today, which search for at least a minimum level of physical strength and sturdiness, follow these established models and preserve them by regularly checking their appropriateness through severe and intensive physical exercise (Defense Health Broad, 2013). Such criterions are applied by the military system of every country and there is also a report concerning the Greek cadets (Spartali et al., 2014). The systematic physical exercise of the soldier constitutes a significant factor of the military preparation and mentality.

The physical demands of the military life are increased and the future officer, even from his training period, should retain the necessary skills and principles. An important parameter for the quality of life is the percentage of fat in the body mass. It has been demonstrated that aerobic exercise improves both body fat levels and aerobic capacity. Besides, military staff sometimes reaches extremities so as to respond to the criterions of fat and weight (Bacon, 2011).

Every soldier has to follow a healthy diet, since the nutritious robustness constitutes an important component of the everyday life, compromised nutrition leads to negative effects in relation to a negative way the alertness of his mission (Sbokos, 2014). It as well causes extra health disorders, according to the Military Report of the Dietary Intake. A recent research argues that the staff of the Armed Forces, like the cruisers, the marines and staff of other combat forces, has to consume food of high nutritional value, which will enable them to withstand the demands of each mission, without a negative effect on their performance (Georgiou et al., 2014). In the USA, the food supplements are very usual in the army, and they are also sold in stores outside the army establishments (Coulter et al., 2011).

The basic training seems to have the important result of socialization among the recruits, meaning the reinforcement of a process which could be called "militarization" (Cobb et al., 2011). It seems that the soldier has to face two poles of socialization; the army and the social environment. This "double relationship" with the people around him, is understood by the designers of the military schedules. For instance, the Comprehensive Soldier Fitness Program is meant to increase both the psychical endurance and the positive response of the soldier, as well as to decrease the difficulties in the adaptation responses of the American Army (Cornum et al., 2011).

The cohesive bonds of the soldiers tend to create an emotional binding preserving the organization's priorities and team spirit (Kaffes, 2011). The body is essential in order to guarantee, in the eyes of the colleagues in the military unit, the worthy participation in that team, through hazing. Hazing is every activity that is expected by someone who enters a team that humiliates, undermines, abuses, or puts in danger, despite the will of the subject to participate in that. It does not include activities such as the carrying of the balls by the new members or others which do not cause an atmosphere of humiliation, undermining, abuse, or danger (Hoover, 1999).

Hazing is a part of the initiation rituals of many teams and has to be extricated both logically and psychologically from the initiations and the ritualistic character in general. Certain groups impose hazing outside the ritualistic character of an initiation, while many initiations take place without the slightest form of hazing. His opinion does not refuse the general consideration of hazing as an act of imposition for entering the group which causes it. However, he supports that the ritualistic initiations do not depend on hazing and can be completed without it (Lipkins, 2006; Cimino, 2011). Other scholars believe that hazing was initially applied due to the belief that the needs of the army would be gradually served in an organizational frame. Socialization, cohesiveness, and the differentiation between those who are appropriate to serve and those who are not were supposed to be the benefits of hazing (Ridosa & Goodwin, 2014).

The reasons which are usually projected are the creation of an environment of solidarity within the team, the expression of the feeling or need of domination and the choice of the dedicated ones to the team. It is about a trial of commitment and character that proves if the new-comer is worthy to be a part of the team (Evans, 2013). Hazing, concerning the army of Philippines, contributes to the creation of soldiers who are willing to fight for their country. It is also a necessary process, exercised by every military institution throughout history until today, with the belief that it strengthens the trainees, enhances their fraternity and builds strong faith in military ideals (Dogaojo, 2014).

The aim of this study was to examine the social-psychological attitudes and the interpretive perceptions of the Hellenic Air Force Academy Members (Icaroi) towards disciplinary techniques and severe penalties and the role of the obedient and well-trained body regarding the fulfillment of the professional objectives posed by the military hierarchy.

The elucidation of this topic is essential due to the absence of related researches in Greece and worldwide. The identification of the factors affecting the Icaroi's attitudes towards disciplinary techniques is expected to help developing a set of proposals about their training.

Methods

Procedure

A qualitative study was conducted with a convenience sample consisted of nine Icaroi. The duration of the study was four months (January-April 2015). The total number of Hellenic Air Force Academy students (Icaroi) ranges from 160 to 180 and the vast majority of them are male. Consequently, all of the participants in this study were men. In addition, we selected to interview students that have been trained for much time in Academy. As a result, almost all of the participants studied in the third and fourth year and only one studied in the second year. Contact with the subjects was done through common friends.

In our research what is important to state is that the students of the Air Force Academy (Icaroi) stay in the camp five out of seven days a week and socialize themselves out of the field exclusively during the weekends. They train hard for the purposes of the profession, accepting heavy body load and psychological pressure. Hellenic Air Force Academy offers academic, aviation and military training to the students. More specifically, the purpose of the Military Training is to develop the military capacity of Icaroi, to strengthen conscious discipline and responsibility, to develop obedience and self-esteem, as well as the intellectual, mental and physical skills of Icaroi (Hellenic Air Force Academy, 2019).

Additionally, they have to follow a particular way of life, which includes physical appearance, nutrition, sleep and even the punishment of the whole group due to the offenses of one single individual. Last but not least, Icaroi undergo through the process of hazing, which is characterized by the international bibliography as a process of initiation and which has been associated with very heavy physical and psychological trauma.

The interviews took place with every individual separately in a quiet cafeteria, out of the frame of military facilities, and each of them approximately lasted 45-50 minutes. Interviews were conducted by a female psychologist and there weren't other people around.

Participants

The sample of the population consists of nine male participants of the Air Academy Force (Icaroi). Their age ranged from 20 to 23 and all of them had normal weight according to their BMI.

The following table summarizes some of their basic characteristics:

| Number | Year of | Age | Height | Weight | BMI |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----|-------------|----------------|-------|
| of interview | study | | (in metres) | (in Kilograms) | |
| 1 st | 4 th | 22 | 1,72 | 75 | 25,35 |
| 2 nd | 3 rd | 21 | 1,79 | 74 | 23,10 |
| 3 rd | 3 rd | 21 | 1,85 | 93 | 27,17 |
| 4 th | 3 rd | 22 | 1,76 | 76 | 24,54 |
| 5 th | 2 nd | 20 | 1,78 | 79 | 24,93 |
| 6 th | 3 rd | 22 | 1,83 | 82 | 24,49 |
| 7 th | 4 th | 23 | 1,82 | 81 | 24,45 |
| 8 th | 3 rd | 21 | 1,76 | 74 | 23,89 |
| 9 th | 4 th | 23 | 1,78 | 76 | 23,99 |

Table 1.

Data selection and analysis

The empirical material was mainly based on nine semi-structured interviews consisted of 21 questions, which are presented at the appendix of this paper. Reliability and validity of these questions were not examined. This was due to the fact that the questions are open and answered by interview and not by a self-rated questionnaire.

Before the main research, a pilot study was conducted with three subjects, in order to examine the comprehensiveness of the questions. Their comments and suggestions were used in order to prepare the questions and to ensure that participants had no difficulties in answering all of them.

For the analysis of the results the method of triangulation was used, where a psychologist, a sociologist and an expert in social research methodology were involved (Savvakis, 2014). The main conclusions were discussed with five of the nine subjects and they agreed with their interpretation (Alexias et al. 2015a; Savvakis et al., 2015; Alexias et al., 2015c).

Ethics

The research was fully complied with the instructions and the guidelines of Panteion University of Athens research ethics committee. Interviewees completed an application to participate in the survey, were assured that the results will be anonymous and that they could withdraw at any stage of the investigation.

Results

All the participants answered all the questions. From the analysis of the empirical material we proceeded to a classification of the overall answers that broadly fits into four explanatory categories. This taxonomy codes and largely typifies the interpretive schemes of the students casting light on the ways they narratively reconstruct the disciplinary practices exercised over their own bodies. They as well constitute patterns of coping with the requirements of the military and well-trained body, objectives the institutional hierarch poses.

Bodily treatment, frame of responsibilities and successful exercise of profession

The answers given to the first question (*Do you have a certain perception of the state of the body which an lcarus as you and your colleagues should demonstrate?*) of the research shows that the candidates of this Academy shape their body driven by the fact that they primarily understand it as a machine, as an instrument. In other words, they refer to it as a weapon that shall assist them to win the fight or to gain a war. This, machine has to be adequately preserved in terms of height, fitness, strength and health. These viewpoints, justify the answers of the second question (*Do you think that your body is within the target for occupation and specialty panels?*), which reveal that the students have a clear perception of their body condition and they fully realize whether it needs to be improved or not. It should be noted that only the one out of the nine believes that he is absolute suitable regarding the requirements of the profession.

The answers of the third question (Are you concerned by this thought considering that your body condition is the mean to your acceptance of your professional team, or you are simply answering questions for the first time asked today?) expose the degree to which the students are preoccupied with the condition

of their body. Most of them believe their bodies do not face a serious problem. Only one of them is actually worried about his body, stating that it is not in the desirable shape. Even those who claim that they do not face any problem, nevertheless, point out that the examination regarding the athletic activities is very demanding and the students' readiness has to be increased.

The answers to the fifth question (*Are you satisfied with the education you receive, thinking its efficiency in shaping your body to meet the objectives of your expertise?*) cast light upon to whether the candidates are pleased with the results of their physical activity. Some of them believe that the training schedule is enough for the purpose of the body shaping, and some who support that they should combine training with appropriate nutrition in order to achieve the set goals. For this reason the answers to the sixth question (*Are you satisfied with the progresses that have made your body and your fitness until now?*) are not identical and specific emphasis is given upon the personal and professional needs and requirements of the well trained body.

The answers to the eighth (*Are the exercises you do enough in order your body to be in the desired state or do you need to enhance the progress of results with diet or other means?*) and ninth question (*Do you make diets or use substances that can lead your body to the desired condition for the profession and your specialty?*) indicate a cool response and certain unwillingness for exaggerations and that there were and still are members of the Academy who have resorted to food supplements and other substances so as to enhance the results of physical exercise. On the other hand, they do not think that their nutrition should be different from the one that is suggested by the doctors of the Academy.

According to the answers to the eleventh question (*Did you see any changes in the behavior of others towards you, inside and outside the military framework regarding the changes your body has undergone?*) though, the social environment, both the family and friends, realize the changes in their shape and positively comment on them. This means that the changes are actually achieved, no matter how close they are to the demanding, desirable, purposes of the military training.

The answers regarding the twenty first question (*What is the ideal model standard of lcarus to you?*) display that the candidates use the term *instrument* in order to describe the way they perceive their body. They think that this instrument

requires systematic care and it will potentially reward the person when he faces the hardships of the flights and any other dangers of this difficult profession. In order to respond to the demands of the work, the candidate must have a very good shape.

Becoming an Icarus: Bodily models and patterns of realization

The ideal body model of Icarus seems to exist and students largely criticize the bad shape of their bodies. However, they do not seem to totally reject their costudent who might not be in a good shape. If someone has the best shape (according to the ideal body model of Icarus) and performs well at the athletic activities becomes an object of admiration. Those on the opposite side of the spectrum receive no bad comments nor are set aside from the team. Only two of the participants thought that bad body-shape is an inhibitor for the successful and safe management of the aircraft.

Disciplinary practices: limits and resistance

The students of the Air Academy Force recognize that they have to pay a price for the training, especially concerning the construction of the ideal body. As they state in the tenth question (*Do you feel pain, dissatisfaction or disturbance from physical activity or diets or whatever else you have done and you are doing to bring your body into the desired state?*) this price is both physical and psychological. When the effects are experienced, in the first year of studies and mainly in the first days of the mandatory training, but also occasionally during other periods of the study, the limits of the candidate are exceeded. Thus, they often think about quitting. The change of the environment, as it is stated in the thirteenth question (*Do you think that the limits of your strength are tested by the daily training which you follow?*) is an important reason for this work.

However the dedication to the military purpose does not presuppose the acceptance of every bodily hardship or disciplinary practice without protest. As it is reported in the answers of the *sixteenth question*, protest is both a right and a duty of the student, when the limits are exceeded. Every load, even when it is considered as legitimate, must not overlook the fact that deep inside what remains are fundamental human rights. This means that the offense of the personality and the harm of the physical integrity cannot be accepted.

Haze and socialization: Patterns of coping

The answers to the nineteenth question (*Do you think that all the stresses in education, physical or psychological, have their purpose, which you accept and try to cover up without protest?*) reveal that the candidates do not expect a reward for their efforts from their superiors, especially not a personal one. Many of them believe that the reward is not an end in itself for a variety of reasons. It is possible that it will cause a feeling of complacency. The students have to be in compliance with the schedule and this task does not go in parallel with individual rewards. When a "good word" is spread, should be about the entire team and not just for a particular individual.

The disciplinary techniques are usual, albeit are not always considered as being rational. These practices cause pressure on the candidates, especially in conjunction with other strategies of personal humiliation, such as the shaving of the head, and the ban from exiting the camp even at the weekends. The candidates observe in the *eighteenth question* (*Do you think that your efforts are properly appreciated by your superiors or they ignore your progress and make you feel bad in the comments and their criticism?*) that hazing is an intentional act connected with the new way of life and the acquisition of the military discipline.

A different side of these disciplinary techniques is the notorious hazing. The general message from the fourteenth question (*What is your opinion about hazing? What purpose does it serve? Is it made to entertain the group of those who impose it or to serve other objectives?*) was that hazing was applied as a multifaceted process, mainly a ritualistic one. However, other participants connected it with fear and punishment or with the irrational amusement of those who impose it. For many of the lcaroi the ritualistic/symbolic process is the most prominent. The newcomer enters an altogether different environment and has to immediately realize this shift. Hazing materializes the physical and symbolic transition to the new environment quickly and effectively. It also helps testing the personal limits, which is an essential qualification for the permanent military service.

There are also cases when hazing is imposed for amusement; however punishments to those who force them are reported. Hazing can be largely considered as a necessary supplement of persuasion based on logic, since the essence of a repeated process goes along with the "team spirit" and contributes to the general purpose. Nevertheless, hazing cannot be imposed beyond that point where collective benefit is exhausted or not served. Answers to the seventeenth question (*What is your opinion about the usefulness of uniformity methods and disciplinary techniques often applied by the military hierarchy?*) reveal that the displeasure which is caused by hazing is bigger in the beginning, as it happens with most of the educational and disciplinary processes.

Discussion

The Greek Icaroi function according to a military model, which promotes the image of an effective soldier, who takes care of his own body expecting effective results for both his personal career and the military service.

Discipline is definitely a way of controlling the movement and the operations of the body in a constant way. It is a type of power that coerces the body by regulating and dividing up its movement, defining the space and time in which it moves. Timetables, ranks into which soldiers are arranged and beds upon which they rest or sleep in prearranged order are some typical examples of this regulation. Disciplinary techniques are the tools through this control became possible.

Foucault traces the origins of discipline back to monasteries and armies. Discipline became a widely used technique to control whole populations. The modern prison, and indeed the modern state, is unthinkable without this idea of the mass control of bodies and movement (Foucault, 1977). Within this context, military hierarchy is precisely specialized - through disciplinary techniques and suitable education – to create obedient bodies in order to shape good soldiers.

As it is stated by other researchers (Lipkins, 2006; Cimino, 2011), the Greek Icaroi do not welcome exaggerations regarding the application of disciplinary practices, i.e. hazing, as a means of socialization in the military environment. However, they recognize its benefit, as a means through which the newcomer can realize that the new situation is psychologically and professionally different from the one he knew when he entered the army. In other words, disciplinary practices form a necessary process that takes place in every military institution throughout history until today. These techniques are accompanied by the belief that they strengthen the

trainees, enhance fraternity and build military faith. These results are consistent with that reported by other scholars (Dogaojo, 2014; Ridosa & Goodwin, 2014; Evans, 2013).

Icaroi care for their bodies and, avoiding exaggerations, strive to keep it in a good shape, following the suggestions for the harmonic proportions of height and weight. These results are consistent with that reported in the bibliography (Spartali et al., 2014; Defense Health Broad, 2013). They do not always succeed in that, however, they attempt it through the military training and the medical advice regarding their nutrition given by the doctors of the Academy.

Within the frame of the training, Icaroi realize that advices and suggestions regarding their bodies do not only concern the pursuit of a good shape. In addition, they concern the issue of acquiring discipline and obeying irrefutable military commands, as it is reported by other scholars (Sbokos, 2014; Cobb et al., 2011). These characteristics are obtained through the uniformity of the way of life and through the application of concrete disciplinary procedures. These practices include "reasonable hazing", that respects the personality and the self-integrity of the newcomers and result in the reinforcement of a process which could be called "militarization" (Cobb et al., 2011).

Consistently with that reported by FriedI (1990), the participants believe that the model of "Icarus" is existing and that is generally specific and the physical dimension is combined with the notion of discipline. In Greece, however, less strict bodily models are proposed regarding the achievement of professional goals and the exaggerated disciplinary practices are under dispute.

The ideal body model of Icarus seems to exist and students largely criticize the bad shape of their bodies. However, they do not seem to totally reject their costudent who might not be in a good shape. Most of the students believe their bodies do not face a serious problem and the social environment, both the family and friends, realize the changes in their shape and positively comment on them. This means that the changes are actually achieved, no matter how close they are to the demanding, desirable, purposes of the military training.

They also point out that the examination regarding the athletic activities is very demanding and the students' readiness has to be increased. Some of them believe that the training schedule is enough for the purpose of the body shaping, and some who support that they should combine training with appropriate nutrition in order to achieve the set goals. Consequently, they believe in general that they follow the established models concerning their body and physical activity (Spartali et al., 2014; Defense Health Broad, 2013).

As for the research limitations, it must be highlighted that this is a qualitative study with a small sample and cross-sectional design, in which it is not possible to examine causal relations. Another limitation is that students of the third and fourth year are overrepresented in the sample.

Notwithstanding the limitations discussed above, the results of the research are useful to make suggestions for further understanding the sense of identity, body image and physical experiences of the Icaroi, as well as for giving directions for their training.

Future research is suggested, so that further investigation and clarification of the study's results to be possible. It would be beneficial to carry out a longitudinal survey to overcome the limitations of a cross-sectional study. Moreover, similar research could be conducted with a quantitative design and larger sample. Surveys could also focus on Icaroi's body appreciation, as positive body image literature is growing (Bailey, Cline, and Gammage, 2016). In addition, several related questionnaires (eg. Drive for musculatity scale) (McCreary, 2007) could be standardized for this population, in order to further examine body experiences of Icaroi.

In conclusion, the present study showed that there is an ideal body model of Icaroi and the Greek Icaroi are satisfied with their bodies. They function according to a military model, which promotes the image of an effective soldier, who takes care of his own body expecting effective results for both his personal career and the military service. Military hierarchy is precisely specialized - through disciplinary techniques and suitable education- to create obedient bodies in order to shape good soldiers.

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Appendix: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1. Do you have a certain perception of the state of the body which an Icarus as you and your colleagues should demonstrate?
- 2. Do you think that your body is within the target for occupation and specialty panels?
- 3. Are you concerned by this thought considering that your body condition is the mean to your acceptance of your professional team, or you are simply answering questions for the first time asked today?
- 4. Do you think that physical education you are through serves the aims of your profession? Does it help you to obtain a body harmonious to your profession and does it match with the objectives of your expertise?
- 5. Are you satisfied with the education you receive, thinking its efficiency in shaping your body to meet the objectives of your expertise?
- 6. Are you satisfied with the progresses that have made your body and your fitness until now?
- 7. Do you think that the picture you show concerning your body, namely the combination of height and weight are important for your acceptance in the group?
- 8. Are the exercises you do enough in order your body to be in the desired state or do you need to enhance the progress of results with diet or other means?
- 9. Do you make diets or use substances that can lead your body to the desired condition for the profession and your specialty?
- 10. Do you feel pain, dissatisfaction or disturbance from physical activity or diets or whatever else you have done and you are doing to bring your body into the desired state?
- 11. Did you see any changes in the behavior of others towards you, inside and outside the military framework regarding the changes your body has undergone?
- 12. Do you think that with the physical education you receive are pursued goals that surpass the needs of your profession?
- 13. Do you think that the limits of your strength are tested by the daily training which you follow?
- 14. What is your opinion about hazing? What purpose does it serve? Is it made to entertain the group of those who impose it or to serve other objectives?
- 15. Must the Icarus or any other military complain while receiving intense physical stress or hazing and other psychological stresses and strains?
- 16. How often do you feel bad by strenuous physical exercise, hazing or any other condition that it is consistent or you exceed your strengths every day in the camp?

- 17. What is your opinion about the usefulness of uniformity methods and disciplinary techniques often applied by the military hierarchy?
- 18. Do you think that your efforts are properly appreciated by your superiors or they ignore your progress and make you feel bad in the comments and their criticism?
- 19. Do you think that all the stresses in education, physical or psychological, have their purpose, which you accept and try to cover up without protest?
- 20. What relationship you realize you have with your body considering your profession?
- 21. What is the ideal model standard of Icarus to you?