Selfies of victims: image and authenticity in social networks posts

Angie Gomes Biondi

Abstract
The purpose of the article is to reflect on the growing exposure of self-portraits, more commonly known as selfies, of people presented as victims in the social network sites. Victims of violence declare and present themselves in photographs that expose situations of pain and suffering. Designed as a gesture that represents a form of self-reporting, it indicates certain aspects of the online process of visibility. Therefore, our analysis indicates two standing out points a) the selfie is a kind of resource for the affirmation of authenticity, as a cultural indicator of morality that defines acceptance of declaration of the one who calls himself a victim; b) it promotes forms of affective interaction with other users. Our analysis favors recent examples that have been distributed through a hashtag campaign on Instagram.

Keywords
Authenticity; image; social networks; victim

Introduction
According to the most recent studies, some sites such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, among others, play a networking role considering that these tools had enlarged the range of activities going beyond the focus on the user profile. They are integrating content streams that can be updated by the users themselves with the possibility of producing, sharing, consuming and making connections openly (Recuero, Bastos & Zago, 2015). These places work as communication platforms in which the individual experience
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varies according to the developed network and the shared contents. This development dimension brings a major difference when we consider the online social networks as metaphors of offline groupings, which do not accomplish in the same way, but its specificity can offer important indications about what is highlighted or what disappears in this new digital ecosystem.

At least two characteristics are important for our observation of networks. The first one refers to the traces left by users (contacts, exchanges, conversations, messages), who remain and can be retrieved and sought. The second one refers to the representations that are constituted and remain active or not, according to the various actions of the users themselves, through the use of the tools offered by the networks. “In the online space, these social networks are demarcated not only by the traces left by social actors and their productions but also by their representations” (Recuero et al., 2015, p. 23). Therefore, the participation of the individual is amplified according to the possibilities of production and content intervention, as well as their connections are spread over the time by the sites themselves forming representations that may be more evident and more visible in one case than in another. However, it does not mean that there is an egalitarian content expansion, on the contrary.

In this competitive context, the posts of victims, especially those marked by sexual and gender violence, have gained relevance among the users of social networks to the point of being reproduced and appropriated by various media and press firms looking for new features. It is possible to find the repercussions of these numerous cases posted on television programs, radio, newspapers, news websites etc. as if the day-by-day life exhibited in social networks had reached sufficient appeal and legitimacy from its testimonial content to mobilize the interest of different publics and for the most diverse purposes. Hence, this recursion between two or more medias is a relevant aspect in this recomposition of the places of speech in the current society, mainly, by the production and sharing of several personal histories in social networks platforms.

In this informational overflow including contents related to violence, some posts stand out in the form of personal, autobiographical reports, in which the personal statement gains a privileged position by the individuals that are enunciated and who do not only seek to register their unhappiness but to reaffirm themselves through these shared productions online. More precisely, we are interested in the selective aspect of exposure when the individual declares himself a victim or tries to affirm its condition through self-portraits as a legitimate and authentic personal attestation. Among the various cases available in the networks, our research observed the images conveyed by the #creating-consentculture, through Instagram, between 2015 and 2016, as an example of an international campaign against sexual and gender violence. This article presents some examples worked on our research.

The personal statement of the victim in the moral displacements of authenticity

Besides the great explanations about the historical and cultural characteristics of a society that would be influenced by technological constraints, our text seeks to deepen
this discussion through the direct observation of the contents that circulate on a daily basis. We avoid the immediate justification based on the association of the “life-world” and the media environment as a characteristic of the technological contemporaneity.

Initially, it is important to point out that the power articulations under consideration in this socio-technical context deal with processes of sociability in which the production, sharing and circulation of personal contents and real life histories are framed by moral and political values in complex level of the relationship between individuals and communication and technological tools.

From this peculiar context, how to think about the social networking sites as relevant places of conversation in the public place? And to what extent we can consider the shared content, like the photographs shared by the victims themselves, as a privileged reference of an original experience of pain and suffering? What criteria define its repercussion and legitimacy in this fluid and constantly changing context? In order to understand these issues, it is necessary to emphasize that an important cultural characteristic is placed on the modes of enunciation of the victim in the networking environment. If in the modern period the individual who experienced pain or suffering had to be inscribed in a condition of vulnerability through a normative and external designation, legitimized by political and religious instances or by the “ritualized sets of discourses”, as indicated by Foucault (1999), nowadays he anticipates his condition of victim and enunciate it himself from the communicational resources easily available.

However, his form of declaration and self-exposure as the appropriation of the place of speech by the ordinary people also encounters limits, tensions, and conflicts that do not come exclusively from technological manipulation but can be considered as repercussions of a sociocultural framework in which they act. One of the observed aspects is the legitimacy attributed to these contents as a form of personal declaration of their victim status. Hence, our study indicates the need to review the discussion of the passage from sincerity to authenticity as variable moral aspects according to the set of references valid in modern society.

In a theoretical and reflective approach, Lionel Trilling (1971, 2014) examined the cognate ideals of sincerity and authenticity as two fundamental principles for the individual formation and social acceptance. The author began his argumentative course questioning which values define and animate the moral life at a certain period of times. According to the period, some values endure, others change and are replaced quickly according to the incessant flow of things that defines the social behavior of the contemporary being. According to the author, this recognition of the transformations of moral life has long been highlighted by literature, but also by thought and science, which show how “moral life is conditioned by a specific culture” (Trilling, 2014, p. 12), although human nature seems, in its own way, perennial, animated by passions considered universals.

It is only possible to note the details of beliefs, thoughts, and behaviors that distinguish the morality of one age from another by observing more closely the phenomena of everyday life. Trilling (2014) pointed out that, historically and culturally, the European moral life in the modern period added to itself the sincerity as a new element or quality
of the “self”. According to him, this moral approach of sincerity over time has shaped the manner in which it is conceived even today, understood as the congruence between a personal statement and the real feeling of what is stated:

if the sincere man is the one who avoids being false by being true to himself, we may infer that this state of personal existence is not to be conquered without an intense effort. Nevertheless, some men and classes of men confer supreme importance in the moral life of such effort at some point in history. Hence, the value attached to the initiative of sincerity became a salient trait, something that defines the western culture. (Trilling, 2014, p. 16)

According to his observation, literary production was a field that had to deal with these issues from early on, because this aspect appeared in discussions about the legitimacy of its productive practice. The writer or the poet, for example, were not considered a person, but a persona, a kind of existence exclusively aesthetic according to the current literary protocol of the time. According to Trilling (2014), in the last two decades of the twentieth century, the English and American poets pragmatically emptied this sacred doctrine of persona and modified the values of sincerity in the literary field, and by extension, in the cultural and social domains.

In parallel, this ambivalence still presents itself in everyday life, but in a naturalized way. When one mentions the professional role of someone – mother and woman role, for example – the moral difference is still what defines the individual according to a social category and according to the performance of a function in the modern society, as if underneath all these layers there was an original and true “self” hidden from society.

This is where the Gordian knot of sincerity resides as congruent will and reality. In his studies, Trilling (2014) observed that the possibility of permanence of this direct association was no longer acceptable and turned to be questioned when modern society attributed a moral value to the appearance of being what it was said to be. The image became a decisive constitution element to the declared word and, by extension, qualified the public opinion as other criteria of evaluation, from which other modes of credibility for personal declarations are imposed. For the author, the suspicion turns the authenticity a requirement and new criteria that affirmed, or not, the alleged personal statement as sincere:

under the requirements of the criteria of authenticity, much of what was once created to compose a culture may seem to be considered with little value, a mere fantasy or rite, a manifest falsification. However, before authenticity arose to insinuate the shortcomings of sincerity and usurp its place in our esteem, sincerity reigned in the cultural domain and dominated the ideas of how men ought to be. (Trilling, 2014, p. 23)

In the field of literary and written productions of self, autobiography had already been consolidated in Europe as a kind of writing adopted mainly by protestants relating their personal religious experiences since the sixteenth century. This form of writing was
engaged in a good faith about the word of the ordinary man. It was understood as a personal revelation of his experience with the divine and spirituality.

The protagonist of autobiography, from this historical context, was nothing more than a self decided to reveal itself in the fullness of its truth and demonstrating sincerity by its given word. This revealing attitude presented itself with an unquestionable declarative force and should, therefore, be considered a source of admiration and trust, insofar as sincerity prevailed as a moral value.

However, the twentieth century declines sincerity in favor of the necessity for criteria, especially legal ones, that validate personal statements. Henceforth, other aspects would configure authenticity as a social value for any creation of individuals declining the sincerity as a direct and ethical manifestation of the truth.

It is in this conflicting relationship between sincerity and authenticity that Trilling (2014) indicates a greater state of tension in the statement of personal statements as sincere, for the requirement of authenticity, goes beyond sincerity as a volitional and legitimate value to act now in the field of social recognition. From then on all personal production would need to be affirmed not by the declaration alone, but by the current morality of an era that is transformed and establishes new criteria guided by authenticity, by the act of making authentic.

According to Charles Taylor (2012) morality is a field of values collectively established and historically variable. It is a kind of tacit framework of references and ideals that turns individuals decisions and actions meaningful regarding each other and to themselves. Morality is not a set of fixed codes that externally coordinate the actions of individuals, but a reference that encourages certain behaviors and guides individuals from well-considered notions and conceptions in a given period of time. Comparing different studies it is possible to observe that sincerity and authenticity work as two great historical and cultural indexes that reveal a framework of moral values that define and qualify how the word becomes legitimate and therefore possibly sincere.

Trilling (2014) emphasized the important passage in this process of changing the moral values attributed to personal declarations when he clearly indicated that sincerity reigned from the sixteenth century until approximately the eighteenth century. After this period, the moral code of sincerity, presented as a stable link between knowledge and the expression of himself, started to be confronted by the annoyance of seeming to be. In other words, it passed from pure appearance as an artifice to the validation of what was considered sincere. This destabilization of sincerity by the confrontation of the appearance and recrudescence of the image is mainly considered since the philosophy of the eighteenth century, in the critics of Rousseau, where the esthetic vanguards were also committed to transgress the codes of expression considered as sincere and questioned as strong social conventions.

By following this approach, if in sincerity the expression of the self occurs in accordance with social conventions, in authenticity, on the contrary, personal statements would be affirmed by the confrontation with the expression of the self as social condescension, which only values the appearance of being what was declared. It is important
to emphasize that this dichotomy between sincerity and authenticity acquires strength in modern society because until this period there was no separation between interior and exterior, public and private, artifice and reality. The criticisms, especially in Rousseau, have begun to undermine this prevailing moral code and propose a profound change in the way of conceiving visibility as a place of deception and as an artifice par excellence.

Bernard Williams (2006) also presents an important perspective on this agonistic relationship with authenticity. The genealogy, a method chosen by the author, presents the importance of observing a concept as a discourse that tries to explain a civilization phenomenon – as it appears, the conditions of its development, how it disappears. It seeks to analyze the effect of a historical process, not essentially constituted by real facts only, but taking under consideration the fictional ones that intervene. Williams is also interested in the changing produced in the codes of truthfulness, sincerity, and authenticity, as well as Trilling.

Aligned with Trilling’s understanding, Williams conceives truthfulness (understood by the author as sincerity) in its volitional aspect, related to expression. The question pointed out by Williams poses consider the dispositions of the announcer – the one who declares himself – in order to enunciate what he considers to be true, conscious that the context affects the nature of sincerity. However, in this perspective, it does not mean dissimulation or achievement, but there is a context in which sincerity can be exercised and treated as an intrinsic value of discourse, an aspect equivalent to parrhesia in Foucault (2004)¹. The discussion about the requirement of an ideal context that passes through the collective assent would be what would legitimize the declaration. Finally, each time that ruptures and confrontations are placed, truthfulness and sincerity would reflect the changes incorporated throughout this historical and moral process.

The William’s (2006) point of view shows the importance of sharing the same social codes and values in the recognition of sincerity as the virtue of the sincere discourse. Considered under the same historical and moral parameters indicated by Trilling, Williams also uses the analysis of the modifications of sincerity from the conception of forged authenticity in modern society. Hence, authenticity is an invention that deeply touches sincerity because it associates the two values – sincerity and authenticity – to the personal dimension invested in the moral conventions that would frame it. Therefore, a set of needs, concerns, interests, desires would be seen as an aspect to manage in order to be in accordance with the morality of external and normative social life.

Consequently, the individual identities in a certain group, for example, would not be mere instances of individual decision, but a negotiation of values in which individuals interact, recognize, constrain themselves, where they drive off the aspects that constitute the demands of the authenticity. It means that authenticity does not only pass through

¹ Foucault (2004) considers as “self-techniques” the procedures by which an individual appropriates himself, transforming himself into the subject of his own practices and constructing himself from an ethical perspective that seeks to move away from the regulations and norms, especially, the State. According to him, the whole set of techniques of meditation, self-writing, diet, physical and spiritual exercises, are related to parrhesia, to the courage of truth, and is concerned about the ability of individuals to act by themselves, carrying out a certain number of operations on their bodies, souls, thoughts and behaviors in order to produce transformation on themselves.
an inner decision of the individual – wanting to be authentic – but it is in conjunction with other values, with the cultural aspects and with the moral and political elements of these interactions with others.

It was necessary to understand that the individual would attend a certain economy of authenticity by an individual effort, by the search for an equivalence between his inner life and social life. Both Trilling and Williams understand authenticity as a strong appeal to the social dimension and the agreements (or disagreements) that took place during interactions.

By prolonging this discussion, it is possible to observe how much the social demands on individual life have intensified today. The “pursuit to be complete and sincere” is no longer done by the exercise of striking a balance between the individual inner life and social life by oikonomia, but imposes itself as an external normative force that constrains the individual the free exercise of conduction and self-control. The dynamic and negotiating character between the two spheres of subjectivity and sociability appears much more determined by the replication of the codes that govern conduct and social conventions than a process of adjustment in the modern period, as the authors pointed out.

In comparative terms, “being authentic” was a process of confrontation - with oneself and with others – whose dynamics sought the adjustment of the inner and outer spheres, the private and the public, in a modern context. Nowadays, the search for “being authentic” is inflated and super-dimensioned the life for appearance or exterior, as a determinant of what the subject “must be” leading to the deactivation of confrontations and adjustments and consolidating repetition as a resource of inner and subjective life. Authenticity as a value, in the author’s point of view, would dissociate itself from the aspects of sincerity or truthfulness as productive aspects and statements of self to the simple repetition of the exterior (social) is taken as the best internal resource to attain social recognition.

Considering the central tension between sincerity and authenticity to legitimize acceptable personal declarations in a given society, it is observed that there is an undeniable extension of the theoretical conception of autobiographical writing in the cases brought here, which is thought much more than a place of the effectiveness of a constitutive heterogeneity of the self, rather than as an extension of a canonical literary genre (Arfuch, 2010), which is close to our approach regarding the contents analyzed.

Two related points of the discussion about sincerity and authenticity emerge from the statements posted by the victims. The first one indicates that the immediate recording and sharing of reported experiences play an important role in the constitution of an externalized subjectivity of the self, not only by enabling the publicizing of the life events of ordinary individuals, instantaneously, but also because it acquires a moral function in the legitimacy of those who speak and are exposed. It was the victim herself who came forward and vindicates the word, embodying the moral and political instance of her singular pains and experiences.

Consequently, there is a construction of the individual’s place of speech – the “narrator self” – that, conscious of its status and the projection it can attain, becomes a
qualified agent of the real and legitimate pains that it experiences, more fundamentally, as authentic bearer of an original experience capable of showing the truth of things that deserves to be shared. The second point refers to the way in which one who declares himself to be a victim organizes the exhibition and exposure of the content, in an environment such as social networks, based on the centrality of image and appearance.

**The conversational value in selfies of victims of violence**

Andre Gunthert (2015) points out that the new relationships between production and distribution of images in our society have been redefined with the development of technological and informational devices. With images, in particular, production and sharing platforms such as Flickr, Youtube, since the early 2000s, have shown that the economy of images focused on self-management of users rather than the specialized production of content and institutions.

The market expansion of the mobile devices connected to the internet reinforced the emergence of various massive platforms (Gunthert, 2015, p. 80). Social networking sites, by extension, invest in simplifying the user’s operations and consolidate as the new privileged environment of interpersonal communication. In this context, according to the author, daily images assume an unprecedented social standing:

> the interactive devices created original cultural mechanisms much more than primary works. The opening for the publication to a myriad of private interests has resulted in the formation of another documentary space of unprecedented richness and diversity. The equality and reciprocity of interaction instituted conversation in the model of cultural production. In this way, viral diffusion established appropriation as the main condition of cultural circulations. (Gunthert, 2015, p. 99)

In the images that compose the corpus of this research, the individuals declare themselves victims from the personal histories of violence shared and the self-portraits, selfies, which are necessary to confer a face, an identity, more fundamentally, validate the biography, all the experiences of pain and suffering that are conveyed by social networking sites. The selfie is developing as an example and source of inspiration and growing daily as a resource. The authors are considered someone who has been the courage to show and tell about their life experience.

In October 2015, the international campaign “Creating Consent Culture” started one of its actions entitled “Stop rape. Educate”. A website has been launched to publicize its activities and help to disseminate information on sexual and gender-based violence. Along with the website, the campaign also created profiles on social networking sites as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram for general updates. A hashtag was used to record and disseminate photographs and videos of the actions during the different travels and visits. However, on November 21, 2015, the young Amber Amour suffered sexual violence and published on her Instagram timeline and that one of the campaign through the use
of the hashtag, a report of the aggression followed by two photographs taken little after the fact.

In her self-portrait, it is possible to face her tearful and frightened face. In another photo, she appears in the hospital bed while waiting for the medical examination of the rape violence. The image shows part of the legs covered with the hospital sheet, from top to bottom in a first perspective view. It is equivalent to Amber’s point of view that she present herself with irony: “my view of the rape kit,” she says.

The forefront with her wrapped legs in the hospital’s sheet waiting to check for traces of the rape emulates the experience of seeing herself as Amber, in a scene surrounded by intimacy and pain. Therefore, each user of the social network could take the place of that violated body just by looking. It is possible to commune the multiple views of the body-image of Amber through the hashtag.

Encouraged and inspired by the post, other young people published by the same hashtag their self-portraits associated with short reports of their violent experiences.

In the example of January 15 2016, a young woman posted a naked selfie in front of a bathroom mirror, and emphasizes, in capital letters and bold:

I will not silence my sexual assault. Inspired by Amber, the activist, I declare that I was 18 and had went out a few times with a very limited experience with guys. I’ve never had a boyfriend, I mean, I’ve never been kissed. So when this tall and older young men paid attention to me at the nightclub, I was really happy.

The young lady goes on to tell that she met the boy on a barbecue at a friend’s house on a Saturday. After some time talking to him, the boy led her to a room where he tried to undress her. However, she says in her statement that she tried to stop the boy and told him that she did not feel prepared, but she was thrown to the floor while he took off his shorts.

After telling the details of the aggression, the girl ends her story by stating how “guilty, confused and angry she has been for days. (...). This was the first guy I had this intimate experience that marked me for years. It’s important for me to tell my story because I survived and so can you”. Reiterating the exemplary character of the post justified by the duty to reveal herself, to expose herself and tell her experience in the name of truth, in the end, the young woman also attaches her photo with the hashtag campaign.

On March 20 2016, a boy does the same and publishes a selfie with the hashtag where he appears holding a kind of poster that reproduces the speech of his rapist: “come on, cousin, it’s fun. (…) it’s just a game”. Like the others, he presents himself with an image and tells a part of the aggression he experienced.

Discussing about the massive expansion of selfies in the most diverse profiles of social networks, André Gunthert (2016) indicates that it is important to understand the rapid development of instant self-portrait, not by popular access to technological devices only, but from the gesture to produce an image that seeks to establish a particular form of conversation. Summoned to participate in the precise situation that the photo posted
offers, the other users would exceed a certain conventional limit of representation and would be provoked to participate, in some way, in that situation exposed and offered.

Such images, according to Gunthert (2016), produce the main message that is characterized by the intersubjective situation that is established between its places, that is, inside and outside the image, as well as the temporal limits of past and present of the shared situation, given in the immediate moment or by the recent vestiges brought by the photos:

> the photograph executed in a precise moment is not only an image of oneself, not just an image of the place, but precisely the visual record of this ephemeral articulation; the relation of the actor and the situation, inscribed in the image. (Gunthert, 2016, p. 154)

This type of vernacular and prosaic conversation, predominant in the selfies that circulate in hashtags and social networking sites, seeks to promote precisely the interaction and repercussion among other users. Guided by these aspects, it is appropriate for the subject-author, the victim, to provide, through his images, content that provokes some form of replica that stimulates a conversation:

> it is playing with the uncertainties of framing, visual records of managing, or from amateurism of the point of view, that selfie presents a set of visible failures that are quickly regarded as the mark of the genre. These failures that distanced them from the rules of composition of the portrait, and which give them freshness and originality, were understood as manifestations of authenticity. Contrary to the “iron law” of representation, since Plato’s cave rests on the concealment of the device, the display of the self-produced character of the image has become a guarantee of spontaneity and trustworthiness. (Gunthert, 2016, p. 160)

The proposition of interaction of a selfie becomes attractive insofar as it involves both a personal dimension and provides suggestive contents of the particular situation referenced, turning it possible to establishing some form of conversation, relationship or engagement with other users. In our research, we observe that the self-portraits conveyed by the chosen hashtag assume an important function both to increase the sincerity value of their statements, as discussed in the previous topic, and to establish the conversational lines with the other users, calling the support for the experience exposed, a fundamental and typical resource mobilized online.

From this perspective, it is possible to note that the individual’s exposure practices involved in these forms of networked communication – at the same time mediated, technological and institutional – only acquire a certain relevance in the narrative reordering of a violent experience, such as sexual aggression, passing from the decency of the intimate pain to the exposition of the denunciation and personal statement, due to a certain policy of the gaze that is currently established. In this context, making itself an image, telling its history, sharing, reinforce the self-exposure as a fundamental value in the conduction of the various technological resources available.
According to Heinich (2012), the visibility has become one of the most important social capitals in the social constitution of individuals today:

it is not a simple metaphor of economic capital: the economic capital that should be considered it as a particular type of capital, among other possibilities, in the vast array of resources that enable an individual to occupy a place in the social hierarchy. (Heinich, 2012, p. 51).

The visibility capital is symbolic, peculiar and, constitutively, circular and self-productive and participates actively in the environment marked by the management of self-image as it occurs in social networks.

Conclusions

It is important to highlight that individuals, in present day society, appropriate of the technological tools and medias in various ways. Beyond the technical manipulation, there is a symbolic dimension involved to the uses as the imaginary, the beliefs, the emotions, the values, more fundamentally, manifestations of subjective and social order.

Nowadays, the daily life comprises both the appropriation and the capillarization of devices and tools that make possible discussions and approaches about behaviors, trends, social and cultural orientations. Considering the backflows between on and offline dimensions, an interpretive investigation of these materials can contribute significantly to the perception and orientation of individuals and groups about several issues and facts, but can not be considered absolute truths that translate or determine values, actions or beliefs of any group or community, but rather their indications and traces.

The form of exposure of these experiences and the places of victims presentation, in terms of configuration, are interesting under the specific dimension that refers to the gesture of self-reporting (Butler, 2015; Rago, 2013) and to the production of testimonies. These are based on a truth value of the sufferer that declares his / her own experience of pain and aggregates social and cultural dimension of the victim who has invested in engagements and interactions into the network.

This discussion seeks to deepen a perspective that explores the place of the personal statement, the victim enunciation, by the densification of the notion of self as a privileged expression of the victim’s visibility in a context such as that of social networks. If the victim today claims a legitimacy for having had a painful experience, the visibility associated in the process of self-declaration and statement is the authentication element that ensures its effectiveness.

The personal statement in the storytelling and in the biographical revelation of the victim are necessary to the authentication that also passes through the acceptance and recognition of the group and the other users. Hence, it becomes imperative to reiterate the experience through the sharing. There is a differentiated value that comes up with the process, and it is not the performance, understood as mis-en-scène, but a direct, immediate and instantaneous presentation of a presumed sincere and unfiltered life.

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2 This aspect is also under development and has been discussed in other published books.
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