



Production Strategies and Marketing Expertise: Tracing the Paradigm Shift of Indian Popular Campus Fiction

Harpreet Kaur*

Abstract

Over the last few decades, the paradigm of the Indian English book market has considerably shifted in terms of production and consumption. The striking reason behind this is the emergence of new globalised technological policies that took place in the last decade of the 20th century which significantly changed Indian social, economic and demographic structures. Adhering to the capitalistic system, these changes have transformed societal conditions, consequently making it favourable to easily produce, circulate and consume the products of popular culture, including music, movies, games, artworks and literature at large. Technological developments, such as cheap binding of books, automated case-binding machines and coloured dust wrappers, make it possible to popularise ‘paperbacks’ in the publishing industry. This paper is an attempt to capture the paradigmatic shift in the publication and marketing of the texts of Indian popular campus fiction as a significant result of the aforementioned developments.

Keywords: Popular-Fiction, Production Strategies, Social-Media.

The Indian publication industry and book market have undergone several changes during the last few decades due to emerging global technological developments. The inception of free trade policies across the world has transformed not only Indian economic conditions by opening up industrial and business platforms but also

* Department of Evening Studies, Panjab University.

has brought significant changes in the socio-cultural scenario. These changes have led to a huge demographic shift in the Indian social setup, resulting in the birth of middle-class professionals in multinational companies and other technology-oriented organisations. This new middle class is a product of the amalgamation of different cultures; it shuns society's orthodox and conventional value system and inclines more towards westernised policies and lifestyles. The impetus behind the immense popularity of 'popular' or 'commercial' fiction is the emergence of this young English-speaking community with completely different tastes, interests and attitudes. To meet their tastes and interests, several new IIT- and IIM-based professionals started penning down societal transformations in the form of different fictional and non-fictional narratives. Their narrations, constituting the elements of contemporary mass media culture, gave birth to a new literary market in India. The present paper explores the possibilities of why popular fiction texts are enjoying a specialised emporium in the current scenario and how flourishing technological advancements are facilitating the publishing industry in the production of popular literature in India. It elaborates how writers, editors, publishers and readers work together to conform to this mode of production and keep sharpening the market strategies for the global dissemination of literature products. They provide design and shape to the manuscripts of these texts as per readers' choices and tastes and also produce "with the expectation that it will enjoy a profitable career within the Indian market" (Gupta, "Commercial Fiction" 46). These issues are exhibited through an analysis of the of Indian Popular Campus Fiction texts: Chetan Bhagat's *Five Points Someone*, Soma Das' *Sumthing of a Mocktale*, Amitabha Bagchi's *Above Average* and Abhijit Bhaduri's *Mediocre But Arrogant*. Popular culture functions as a law governing tendency which processes the fashioning of individuals and governs their personal worlds. It is unconsciously diffusing the textures and structures of everyday lives as "the artist is becoming debased to a petty commodity that he or she will lay claim to their transcendent genius" (Eagleton 65). Therefore, popular fiction, while undertaking the elements of the popular culture, primarily represents the cultural standards and individualistic notions of the prevailing social setups. Its subject matter largely depends upon the common beliefs, customs and ideas

influenced by the respective societies within a specific timeframe. The products of popular fiction engage the audience in prevailing cultural contexts in apparent and unconscious ways. Ken Gelder scrutinises how the whole field of popular fiction “is made up not simply of novels themselves but an entire apparatus of production, distribution, and consumption: as I have noted already, it is both cultural and industrial/commercial in character” (75). Therefore, it is produced and marketed with a focus on mass distribution and consumption. The publication sector of popular genres demands its authors to write spiced content and garnish it with appropriate marketing techniques by “bringing a few things to the table that most Indian publishers don't — a clever marketing strategy, excellent pricing, a clear pitch and a willingness to spend on advertising and wait for people to turn up and read his books” (*Forbes India* n.p.). Significantly, these phenomena have become the heart and soul of the success and embellishment of ‘bestselling’ trends in the contemporary Indian publishing industry.

Language is indispensable in exploring and expanding the boundaries of literature, and contemporary popular genres are no exception. The phenomenon has been given the utmost gaze to understand the nuances of linguistic styles of popular fiction texts. In addition to its distinct aesthetic dimensions, language also highlights market perspectives for inducing a particular linguistic pattern in popular fiction texts. Unlike academic authors, who tend to build fiction as a strenuous exercise for their readers through “a ‘newly commissioned introduction’ to texts, ‘footnotes’ (‘designed to inform, and never to intrude’), ‘endnotes’ (which ‘may explore a controversy, clarify an historical reference, or provide important information relevant to the text’) ‘further reading’, and . . . with its introductions and footnotes” (Gelder 77), popular fiction texts are written in a very informal style and casual language that leave a lasting impact on the readers. Writers deliberately adopt “a version of English that is much closer to the version of Indian English spoken in contemporary India—with a frequently intense sprinkling of terms and ideas from Indian languages that are presented matter-of-factly and without annotation” (Singh 4). These texts introduce the youngsters with contemporary linguistic slang through the mouthpieces of their texts: “MIJ had its own version of English

language, full of acronyms and words that were part English and part another language” (MBA 48). The authors preferably choose the language spoken by the young audience; therefore, it is always informal, simple and straightforward, as Soma Das admits in her “Claims”: “Read it if you ever desired to know openly or secretly, the unofficial unedited account, if you believe in books that talk” (SMT). There is an intentional demolition of the centrality of the English language through the direct penetration of various informal words like ‘bro’, ‘dude’, ‘chick’ etc. and abusive words such as ‘fuck’, ‘bastard’ and ‘rascal’ which helps young readers to resonate with the storylines of these texts. While speaking about the need for incorporating these words, Amitabha Bagchi argues: “It suggests a particular time and sensibility. When you are writing, you have to try to understand what is the register in which you’re writing to your audience and understand how word choice forms that” (“How to Write” n.p.).

Baudrillard has explored the present-day printed media for its load of excessive information consisting of a flood of simulation. He underlines that the information provided by these media forms is so blurred that it beautifully mixes both imaginary and real; hence constituting a different sort of aesthetic fascination (Baudrillard, *Simulations* 148). It marks a considerable shift in its simple marketing technique in which words and pictures have now become visual representations of the same by displaying the products in the most desired and captivating ways. Attributed with taglines like ‘Must Read’, ‘National Bestseller’ or ‘International Bestseller’, popular fiction texts must always incorporate several aromatic and spicy elements that maintain entertainment and enjoyment. Apart from this, the writers enclose drawings and pictures while explaining the events to make their products more attractive and appealing. Abhijit Bhaduri, in an interview, explains that the texts must have the power to captivate readers’ attention even in the most crowded places to keep them engaged in the storyline. It must also leave space for readers to imagine the incidents in their minds, as he opines: “Everyone likes a good story. No one likes information and chunks of data thrown at them . . . Chances are that you even remember the drawing that accompanied the story” (“Interview” n.p.). Amitabha Bagchi also insists on using a particular writing

style in his texts. He chooses interesting anecdotes from the lives of ordinary individuals, and his approach to characterisation is probably the same as that of other writers, that is, “to enter into the character’s consciousness, try to feel what they feel and guess how they will respond to situations as they arise” (Quadri n.p.). He ensures his readers’ association with his fictional individuals so that their reading experiences can be livelier and more memorable. Moreover, the writers of popular fiction are usually people from some higher business firms, celebrities or market professionals who opt for fiction writing as their part-time activity only. The texts they produce are mostly about something they experience in respective fields as business persons, corporates, academicians, etc.; hence, they do not insist on producing any literary quality or in-depth analysis. The corporate sector offers them several backdrops and ideas to write about. Abhijit Bhaduri reveals how as a part-time writer, he always prefers his professional front and writes only when inspiration and opportunity coincide for him without following any deadline: “When I am home I write in the morning. When I travel, I get a lot of writing done at airports and in the flight” (NAW n.p.). Bagchi also openly affirms his decision to be a part-time professional as he has many other responsibilities and tasks to perform: “I have a day job and a family. However, when I am writing, I do but when I am not writing, it can even be months and years” (Saha n.p.). He further clarifies how his writings have nothing to do with greatness as he doesn’t follow any prescription involving higher literary standards: “I see what engages my contemporaries and I try to understand what it says about the times they, and I live in” (Quadri n.p.).

Profit has significantly overtaken literary aspects in the present scenario; especially in the field of popular literature, where the escalation of sales by supplying thrill along with fictional content has become the ultimate goal of the authors and publishers. Popular culture, as Fiske claims, is highly consumerist in nature, therefore, “its commodities produced and distributed by a profit-motivated industry that follows its own economic interests” (19). It has shifted the strategic production of popular fiction from literary aspects to the market perspectives that the popular writers keep in mind while writing these texts. Due to this, the texts of popular fiction always

rebuff any in-depth analysis, as Bagchi claims: "When you situate literary production within the attention economy, it simultaneously increases its power by extending its reach and weakens it by reducing the depth to which its readers contemplate it" (Quadri n.p.). Another significant strategy that authors and publishers employ to attract massive readership is incorporating intriguing and eye-catching titles. As a predominant phenomenon to hook potential readership and boost sales, this includes designing the cover page, incorporating suitable taglines and labelling with compelling blurbs. The titles are often very evocative, unique and attractive, striking the readers' minds through wordplay and imagery. Most popular fiction writers employ specific standardised formats in selecting the titles of their novels. For instance, Chetan Bhagat puts numerical digits while framing the titles of his novels, such as *Five Point Someone*, *Two States*, *One Night at a Call Centre*, *Half Girlfriend*, *Revolution 2020*, etc. When asked about the reason for selecting numerals for the titles of his books, he replies: "I think it's just a tribute to my past when I was a banker and engineer. When I was in a bank all I dealt with was numbers. I miss my banking sometimes" (Mande, para. 9). This is also exemplified in the title selection of Abhijit Bhaduri, representing MBA as a particular abbreviation that he deliberately uses for almost all his novels—*Married But Available* and *Mediocre But Arrogant*, which he is planning to exceed further by adding one more title as he announces: "I am currently working on my next novel which will be a crime thriller. May be I should call it Mind Blowing Accident and make it a part of the MBA series!!" (Bhaduri, "The 6Bridges" n.p.) Moreover, these titles are followed by some catchy taglines which easily attract the reader's attention by providing small quick teasers about the book, such as *Five Points Someone: What Not To Do At IIT*, *Something of a Mocktale: Where Kurta Fell In Love With Jeans*, *Mediocre But Arrogant: From the Author of Married But Available*, etc. The selected texts contain the words like average, mediocre, five pointers etc., which deliver a particular recognition to the readers for being related to the campus genre in the first place. Also, these words reflect how the texts are not the tales of extraordinary, intelligent and disparate characters, but the stories elaborate the experience of fun-loving and ordinary individuals with whom any average reader can easily correlate. These tactics considerably help

popular fiction writers develop their identities among the vast range of writers and create a particular understanding for readers to identify their texts among the plethora of products in the marketplace.

Social media has become an irreplaceable part of our day-to-day lives. Platforms like Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Telegram etc., are constantly used for various activities which keep us updated about the world around us: revitalising connections with family members and friends, checking updates about other social media influencers and celebrities, and also promoting brands, building corporations, and business firms, etc. Therefore, writers' use of the same, for promoting their creative writing skills and literary formations, is not an exception. Stephen Bates and Anthony J. Ferri, while studying the effects of popular culture on contemporary society, examines how it is augmenting its boundaries while ensuring its subsistence in our mundane lifestyles such as in "the television we watch, the movies we see, the fast food, or slow food, we eat, the clothes we wear, the music we sing and hear, the things we spend our money for" (3). The massive exposure that it provides to its consumers through these distinctive channels makes them more passionate to acquaint themselves more with the unprecedented trends of the world outside. Popular culture is fabricating "a whole society we live in which may or may not be distributed by the mass media. It is virtually our whole world" (Bates & Ferri 3). In other words, nowadays, social media plays a significant role in the creation, development and massive dissemination of literary genres, especially in popular literature. Writers are highly engrossed in using these platforms to build a rapport with their readers and hit their nerves by keeping them updated with their regular life routines. There are several ways in which young Indian writers use social media platforms. For instance, Chetan Bhagat is very active on all his social media accounts, and *Forbes* describes him as "one of the Most Interesting Globalists." In 2010, he was listed in the "World's 100 Most Influential People" by *Time* magazine. He has a fan following in millions. These fans actively participate in interacting and conversing with him through these channels. Similarly, Abhijit Bhaduri is quite vigorous on Twitter, where he posts his short-form

articles and sketches. LinkedIn has voted him as “A Must Know Writer,” who has been credited with more than 8,50,000 followers on it. Also, in addition, SHRM described him as “No 1 Influencer” on social media in 2018. Amitabha Bagchi and Soma Das have also established users who handle various social media platforms and keep posting their views on different socio-political and youth-related issues. Therefore, apart from focusing on factors like theme, setting, characterisation etc., the productive usability of these social media platforms, in producing widespread fascination with their works among the readers and achieving phenomenal success in their career, marks a huge paradigm shift in the marketability of popular fiction.

The popularity of popular fiction also lies in its ability to provide a pleasurable experience to its readers. Due to their satisfactory and indulgent nature, mirroring the popular life patterns of the contemporary capitalistic world, the texts of popular fiction are widely read and enjoyed by the young Indian community who seeks pleasure and recreation through literature. The storylines of the popular fictional texts are intentionally interwoven with the elements of popular culture, entertainment junk, visual imagery, escapism etc., to keep them lively and light. Baudrillard, in his milestone work *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (1970), reveals: “What characterizes consumer society is the universality of the news item [Le fait divers] in mass communication. All political, historical and cultural information is received in the same - at once anodyne and miraculous - form of the news item. It is entirely actualized - i.e. dramatized in the spectacular mode . . . the cardinal category of our magical thinking, of our mythology” (33-34). To him, an object has more the sign value than the use value which lures or seduces people for its mass consumption. The selected texts provide a very frisky and refreshing experience to the readers. The protagonists like Abbey, Arindam, Hari, Kaya, Alok, Ryan etc. are not depicted as extraordinary individuals with high intellect and genius but as average students whom the readers can easily recognise in their day-to-day campus journeys. Moreover, these writers scrutinise maximisation in readers’ absorption of the texts and active involvement in their personal lives through various social media accounts and public platforms. The

narratives of these texts are perfectly built up by keeping in mind the readers' needs as they can seek their reflection in the texts. The readers inhabit a particular world provided by the texts and share specific characteristics with the characters. They are encouraged by the authors to be active participants throughout the process—from confirming the newly bloomed ideas to publishing the concept in the form of a product. Bhaduri explicates a similar notion by designating writing as an opportunity to share ideas and learn from the readers' feedback: "I have always enjoyed writing . . . In 2005, when my first novel *Mediocre But Arrogant* was published, I also launched my website abhijitbhaduri.com. I became my own publisher! This helped me explore varied themes and write on topics that I passionately believed in" ("Interview" n.p.). He claims that his interaction with readers through these technological platforms not only provides him an audience to write for but also makes him aware of their preferences and interests. Similarly, in one of his interviews, Chetan Bhagat highlights the importance of building a connection with his readers. He enunciates: "I write to change society and mindsets and achieve this by a two-step process. I try to reach most Indians through books or movies . . . If I do not interact with readers, I will lose interest in writing" (Devulapalli n.p.). Hence, social media platforms provide ample space for authors and readers to corroborate and converse on different aspects. Through live virtual meetings and conferences, the writers can share their content with their readers in advance. These pre-arranged discussions also offer readers the opportunities to share their valuable remarks, ask questions and give feedback for the shared ideas, which, retrospectively, helps the writers to modify the content if required, as Bhaduri confirms: "The reader's response is a critical factor for me. If they had been luke warm in their response I am sure my enthusiasm would have been dampened. Although I still see myself as a novice who is still learning to take baby steps, appreciation of the readers has helped me to be a little more confident" ("The 6Bridges" n.p.).

The success in the marketability of popular fiction texts also lies in their ability to adapt to movies frequently. Conversely, the writers intentionally carve certain events and bawdy content in their texts so that the manuscripts can inspire the makers to produce

different movies or web-series based on and inspired by them. While writing these thrilling drafts, they intentionally follow cinematic techniques and keep in mind the likelihood of the audience pursuing movies and spicy content. The narrative patterns of these texts are quite different, which provide visualisation of the events depicted in these stories, as exemplified in Kaya's description of her first-day visit to JNU: "That night I dreamt of myself running in slow motion ... amidst lush green grass, looking nothing less than a Yash Chopra heroine ... with folios of all colours raining from the sky" (SMT 3). Apart from this, the fast-paced events, flashback techniques, thrilling style, spicy language, westernised content and erotic imagery serve as constructive tools for the cinematography of these texts. The cover of *Above Average*, with interesting glimpses and textual incidents, incorporates readers by asking questions and making imaginative powers run to find the answers from the text itself: "Three years of college, Abbey has no answer to the question 'what next?' . . . Will the two years at MIJ bag Abbey a job? Will this be where he finds love? (Blurb MBA). The whole criterion resembles a trailer released before a movie or a web-series, which makes people familiar with the upcoming events so that they do not miss the opportunity to watch that particular show. The front matter of *Five Points Someone* also holds a similar expression: "Welcome to Five Point Someone by bestselling author Chetan Bhagat. This is not a book that will teach you how to get into IIT or even survive it ... the story of three friends whose measly five-point something GPAs come in the way of everything—their friendship, their love life, their future. Will they make it?"

Also, the selected texts are highly obsessed with Bollywood movies as they are flooded with references to multiple Hindi films, film stars and dialogues. The narrative techniques used in these texts provide us a filmy touch. Bollywood movies and film stars are so frequently taken up in the stories as if the process of unfolding the story's events is impossible without them. In *Something of a Mocktale*, Kaya compares the green fields of the small village to the landscapes in famous Hindi movies in a very sarcastic way: "The fields look so picaresque exactly the way they show in Hindi movies – in *Silsila* and *DDLJ*. But when Rekha ran through those gardens with the romantic take-me-in-your-arms expression, did she

also inhale the foul smell of compost which is assaulting my nose now?" (115). Again, Kaya compares the outfits and looks of Professor Heera with famous Bollywood actor Amitabh Bachchan: "He wore tight clothes, probably to make his stocky figure look leaner. And finally this gentleman had a secret wish, which only he thought was a secret ... After all Amitabh Bachchan is not someone whose style can be left untalked about in India. Yes sir. We all knew about your secret wish to be A.B" (133-34). These writers also employ cinematic features like 'warnings' and 'disclaimers' to clearly explain to the readers what the particular storyline is not about. They proudly mark the texts as pure fun feasts and entertainment material and strictly warn the readers that the texts do not provide any readers' guide for academic life and also that there is nothing serious in it: "BEFORE I REALLY BEGIN THIS BOOK, LET ME FIRST TELL you what this book is not. It is not a guide on how to live through college. On the contrary, it is probably an example of how screwed up your college years can get if you don't think straight ... I think I have made my disclaimers, and it is time for me to commence" (FPS 1-2). "Oath", in *Something of Mocktale*, in which the writer promises the reader to provide ultimate entertainment, also has a similar note: "I swear by the JNU logo that I shall speak only lies, more lies and nothing except lies ... I shall try my level best to spice up the lies to the fullest dramatic effect" (*Claims SMT*). Cinema and literature share a very close relationship as they depend on each other for disseminating their products and introducing each other to a larger audience. The writers have become extremely conscious of the choices and tastes of the masses. They understand that people, nowadays, are engrossed in the content showing fast stories, love, sex, violence, alcohol, abusive words and slang highly demonstrated in movies and web-series. These elements deliver pleasure and gratification to their desires which they find suppressed under the heavy schedules of their professional lives and orthodox Indian social setups. Hence, the use of cinematic elements in popular fiction texts extensively assists the writers in increasing the marketability and readership of their products.

To sum up, the present study explores a paradigm shift in literature whereby a text, instead of its assessment for literary

aspects and standards, is treated as an entity placed against various production apparatuses or other modes of representation, such as cinema, stage and television. The picturesque representation of popular fiction makes it a communicative practice for dramatically portraying the contemporary consumerist society in the most appropriate manner. The arena of popular fiction has developed as an industrial practice in which texts are produced to reach a larger readership, irrespective of age, class, gender or profession. It significantly redefines different nuances of India's contemporary publishing industry and book market. The marketing success of popular genres largely depends upon their production, distribution and consumption, which makes it an active and profitable literary exercise. Various factors, such as the incorporation of contemporary Indian style, selection of young Indians' dialects and slangs, readers' engrossment through several social media platforms and different approaches to marketing and circulation, have played an extensive role in developing these texts as "easily digestible novels of exotic variety" (Kramatschek qtd. in Gupta, "Commercial Fiction" 52). The profit-seeking attitude and market perspectives of the makers of the literary and culture industry have transformed the arena of contemporary Indian English fiction into a desirable leisure time pleasure-seeking activity for readers and brought a paradigm shift in its production and consumption in the Indian marketplace. Therefore, as the other products of mass culture such as music, fashion, styles and movies, these texts serve as extended literary adaptations of the lives of the masses and thus, have achieved wide publicity and relevance in the current scenario. In short, the changing patterns of popular culture provide an insightful treatment of this topical area of research and, therefore, establish an understanding of how this mass-produced culture and commercialisation drive the system to meet its own design.

Works Cited

- Bagchi, Amitabha. *Above Average*. HarperCollins, 2007.
---. "How to Write Literary Prose." *The Lowdown*, 7 Apr. 2020, www.blog.juggernaut.in/11163-2/.

- Bates, Stephen, and Anthony J. Ferri. "What's Entertainment? Notes Towards a Definition." *Studies in Popular Culture*, vol. 33, no. 1, Fall 2010, pp. 1-20.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*. Sage, 1970.
- . *Simulations*. Translated by Paul Foss et.al., Semiotext(e), 1983.
- Bhaduri, Abhijit. *Mediocre but Arrogant*. HarperCollins, 2005.
- . "Interview with Human Capital Magazine". *Human Capital Magazine*, 9 Jan. 2013, www.abhijitbhaduri.com/blog/2013/01/08/interview-human-capital-December-2012.
- . "The 6Bridges Interview." *Blog*, 20 May, 2009, www.abhijitbhaduri.com/blog/2009/05/20/the-6bridges-interview.
- Bhagat, Chetan. *Five Point Someone: What Not to Do at IIT*. Rupa, 2004.
- Das, Soma. *Sumthing of a Mocktale*. Shrishti Publications, 2007.
- Devulapalli, Rahul. "I Write to Change the Society: Chetan Bhagat." *The Hindu*, 4 Apr. 2015, www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Hyderabad/i-write-to-change-society-chetan-bhagat/article7067121.ece.
- Eagleton, Terry. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Fiske, John. *Understanding Popular Culture*. Routledge, 1991.
- Forbes India. "The Writers' Community on Chetan Bhagat." *Magazine Extra*, 23 Dec. 2009, www.forbesindia.com/interview/magazine-extra/the-writers'-community-on-chetan-bhagat/8462/1.
- Gelder, Ken. *Popular Fiction: The Logics and Practices of a New Field*. Routledge, 2004.
- Gupta, Suman. "'Commercial Fiction' in English, the Publishing Industry and Youth Culture." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 47, no. 5, Feb. 2012, pp. 46-53.
- . *Globalization and Literature*. Polity Press, 2009.
- Mande, Abhishek. "EXCLUSIVE: An interview with Chetan Bhagat". Rediff, 16 February, 2012, www.rediff.com/getahead/slide-show/slide-show-1-specials-exclusive-an-interview-with-chetan-bhagat/20120216.html.

- NAW. "Interview with AbhijitBhaduri." *New Asian Writings*, 22 May 2014, www.new-asian-writings.com/naw-interview-with-abhijit-bhaduri/.
- Saha, Shrestha. "Amitabha Bagchi Bags Literary Award." *The Telegraph Online*, 18 Dec. 2019, www.telegraphindia.com/culture/books/amitabha-bagchi-bags-literary-award/cid/1728248.
- Singh, Amardeep. "The Indian Novel in the 21st Century." *Postcolonial Literature and Studies*, Feb. 2018, pp. 1-18. *Academia*, doi:doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.414.
- Quadri, Shireen. "Amitabha Bagchi: Skins of Yarns." *The Punch Magazine*, 14 Dec. 2019, www.thepunchmagazine.com/the-byword/interviews/amitabha-bagchi-skins-of-yarns.

Abbreviation Used:

- FPS- Five Point Someone
- AA- Above Average
- SMT- Sumthing of a Mocktale
- MBA- Mediocre But Arrogant