**Pictures suggested to accompany, Jeffrey and Doron piece, Feburary, *JAS.***



Figure X1. A transmission tower for mobile phones and a billboard proclaiming the achievements of Mayawati, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, dominate intersection in state capital, Lucknow, June 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.



Figure X2. Text message in 2009 to remind BSP workers that their leader, Mayawati, would make a better Prime Minister than Rahul Gandhi or L. K. Advani. Workers were instructed to to “forward this message to at least ten people.” PHOTO: Robin Jeffrey.



Figure X3. Kanshi Ram bicycle *yatra,* or propaganda procession, 1980s. This grainy photograph is from <http://blog.insightyv.com/?p=754>, a website called “Roundtable, [Insight Young Voices Blog](http://blog.insightyv.com/). A Dalit Youth Magazine,” which does not seem to have been active since 2009 (downloaded 26 October 2011).



Figure X4. The bicycle *yatras* of Kanshi ram are celebrated in one of the bronze tableaux in the Prerna Kendra, the monument to Dalit achievement, built by the Mayawati government in Lucknow. A translation reads: “...and we embarked upon a journey by bicycle to build an India of our dreams.” June 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.



Figure X5. BSP heroes in the Prerna Kendra, Lucknow. *Left to right,* Mayawati, Dr B. R. Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram. The young man stands beside a donations box. June 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.



Figure X6. Staging posts of the digital age. More than 300,000 transmission towers dot India in 2012. Rural Uttar Pradesh, June 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.



Figure X7. Top up your talk-time where you buy soap, snacks and cigarettes. Lucknow , June 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.



Figure X8. Friendly, find-them-everywhere phone-wallas fix phones and sell second-hand ones. Lucknow, 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.



Figure X9: New kids in the old bazaar. Mobile phones and accessories are bought and solid in market-places and on pavements across India. New Delhi, June 2010. PHOTO: Assa Doron.