

“STUNT GARERA DESH BANCHA”

A PERFORMATIVE PERSON ON TIKTOK WON'T HURT YOUR LIVELIHOOD BUT A
PERFORMATIVE LEADER SURELY DOES.

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Introduction

This report tests Mayor Balendra “Balen” Shah’s claims against outcomes from **May 30, 2022 to September 21, 2025**. It measures delivery, legality, equity, transparency, and governance style. The record shows spectacle over systems: **low budget absorption** despite record allocations, **no KMC-run incinerator**, **central-corridor bias** in capital works, **repeated court confrontations**, **audit-flagged grants without approved maps**, and **opaque procurement signals**. Programs launched with fanfare—free-care beds, waste segregation—show limited utilization and weak enforcement.

A large online cheer section rewards demolitions, granite sidewalks, and viral confrontations while core services—waste, drainage, outer-ward basics—lag. Friendly megaphones amplify narratives; hard numbers trail. Governance skews to performance: selective crackdowns, post-facto approvals, and legal brinkmanship marketed as reform.

Standard: public accountability. Sources include municipal budgets, audit notes, court orders, credible reporting, and official portals. Where figures are absent, estimates are labeled. The pattern is consistent: **optics first, institutions second**.

1. Executive Summary

1.1 Verdict

1. 3 years 4 months in office.
2. No KMC-run incinerator operational.
3. Budget absorption(utilization) low despite record allocations.
4. Capital skew to New Road, Durbar Marg, Asan corridors.
5. Outer-ward basics lag; uneven geographic delivery.
6. Free-treatment scheme launched; low uptake and high friction.
7. Auditor General flagged Rs.121.5M grants with missing map approvals.
8. Repeated court confrontations (Adipurush, Norvic, Tukucha).
9. Lift procurement complaint (Rs.10M) filed at CIAA; vendor undisclosed.
10. Cannes trip paid from KMC; audit objections; CIAA inquiry.
11. Banchare Danda deals under-implemented; no new compensation verified.
12. Transparency gaps: no ward-wise spend ledgers; thin procurement disclosures.
13. Crackdowns on street vendors/informal traders without documented relocation plans or livelihood support.
14. Hoarding removal and excavation drives: no official cost disclosure; estimated Rs.77-115M spent(method noted in report).
15. Public post threatening to “burn Singha Durbar” after police stop of mayoral vehicle; later deleted.
16. Public stunt: KMC dumped dirt at the Road Division gate while local-road maintenance lagged.
17. Performative politics; reliance on media-centric crackdowns and symbolism over durable systems.

1. Executive Summary

1.2 Scorecard

- **Delivery:** D — Core pledges underdelivered; no flagship waste asset; outer wards behind.
- **Legality/Compliance:** C — Pattern of court defiance; audit flags; pending procurement complaint.
- **Equity (Ward Coverage):** D+ — Central business/heritage zones prioritized over periphery.
- **Transparency:** D — Missing project-level ledgers; limited contract detail; weak KPIs.
- **Governance Style:** D — high visibility actions(performative politics), weak systemic follow-through.

1.3 Top five exhibits (“receipts”)

- **Auditor General note on grants:** Rs. 121.5M to foundations; some without approved building maps.
- **Court-order incidents:** Patan HC on film screenings; SC stay in Norvic; restrictions on Tukucha.
- **Footpath spend pattern:** Citywide allocation vs executions clustered in Wards 6,8,12,21,24,26,27 and heritage core.
- **Procurement and travel:** Lift purchase complaint(Rs.10M, no tender named); Cannes trip paid by KMC with audit objections.
- **Waste-management gap:** “Incinerator cell” not fully operated; no commissioned KMC incinerator; landfill blockade recurrences.

2. Method & Scope

2.1 Core questions

- What was promised vs delivered (2022/05/30 —> 2025/09/21)?
- How were funds allocated vs utilized?
- Are actions lawful, equitable, transparent?
- Does execution show performative politics over systems?

2.2 Coverage

1. **Timeframe:** 30 May 2022 - 21 Sept 2025
2. **Geography:** KMC, all 32 wards.
3. **Domains:** solid waste, roads/footpaths, health (free care), enforcement (demolitions, hoardings, vendor clearances), procurement/travel, communications
4. **Governance style & rhetoric:** court-order compliance, due process in enforcement, vendor relocation planning, conflicts with CAO/Deputy Mayor, public stunts (e.g., dirt dumped at Road Division gate), incendiary posts.

2.3 Evidence Base

- **Primary:** KMC budget books, notices, program portals; Office of the Auditor General; court orders(HC/SC); CIAA filings: PPMO/e-GP records.
- **Secondary:** Major national outlets; multilateral benchmarks (ADB, etc.)
- **Social posts:** Included only if archived or corroborated by reputable media.

2. Method & Scope

2.4 Quantification methods

Budget absorption: actual spend ÷ allocation (by fiscal year; when only aggregates exist, use department totals).

Ward equity index: ward share of spend ÷ ward share of population/need (roads length, waste tonnage). <1.0 = under-served.

Footpath coverage: paved m² completed ÷ planned m²; mapped to wards and “heritage corridors.”

Waste delivery score: commissioning status of assets (incinerator, leachate plants), daily t/day handled, blockade days/year.

Free-care uptake: beneficiaries ÷ designated free-beds; hospital-wise MoUs checked where available.

Hoarding/excavation cost (estimate): unit cost × volume.

- Hoardings: 9,000 units × Rs 3k–5k = **Rs 27–45m**.
- Excavations/demolitions: campaign scope × plant hours = **Rs 50–70m**.
- Labeled **estimates** until KMC publishes ledgers.

Business-impact proxy: pre/post counts of active licenses, VAT/POS filings, and footfall counts for New Road/Durbar Marg (pending RTI).

Performative-politics indicators: share of enforcement tied to viral coverage; presence of KPI/cost disclosures; instances of threat rhetoric vs routine maintenance output.

2.5 Inclusion / exclusion

Include: items with material spend, service impact, or legal action; audited objections; filed complaints.

Exclude: anonymous claims, partisan blogs, unverifiable screenshots.

2.6 Labels and standards

Proven: audited fact, court order, gazetted decision.

Objection: Auditor General finding.

Complaint/allegation: filed at CIAA or reported with named complainant.

Estimate: clearly marked, method stated.

Standard of proof: preponderance of evidence, not criminal.

2. Method & Scope

2.7 Limitations

- No public, ward-level spend ledgers for many programs.
 - Procurement files (e.g., lift) undisclosed; CIAA outcomes pending.
 - Hospital-wise free-care utilization incomplete.
 - No official pre/post revenue or footfall data for key corridors.
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2.8 Right of reply and updates

Contradictory official statements are noted.

KMC, hospitals, and vendors may submit documents; verified materials will revise scores.

Update triggers: ward-wise ledgers, procurement contracts, CIAA/SC decisions, SWM EIAs/MoUs, hospital utilization tables.

2.9 Replicability pack (Requested via RTI)

Ward-wise capex/opex ledgers (FY 2022/23–2025/26).

Contract files: footpaths/heritage corridors; hoarding removal; excavation plant hours; lift procurement; Cannes vouchers.

SWM: asset register, blockade logs, daily tonnage, Banchare Danda payments.

Health: free-beds MoUs and monthly beneficiary counts by hospital.

3. Timeline (2022 - 2025)

3.1 Events

- **2022-05-30** — Sworn in as KMC Mayor.
- **2022-06-10** — 18-point deal with Sisdol/Banchare Danda locals (odor, leachate, night-only dumping).
- **2022-08** — Citywide **source-segregation** order announced.
- **2023-06** — Orders halt on Indian films; court intervenes.
- **2023-10-31** — Kathmandu designated **UNESCO Creative City of Film** (bid led by Deputy Mayor).
- **2023–2025** — **Footpath/heritage paving** push starts; execution clusters in inner wards.
- **2024-02-13** — **Free-treatment portal** goes live (≈ 375 beds across ~ 52 hospitals).
- **2024-05** — **Cannes** visit (KMC-funded; later audit objection/CIAA query).
- **2024-05-25** — **Dirt-dump stunt** at Road Division gate.
- **2024-06–07** — New Road/Durbar Marg no-parking disputes; trader backlash.
- **2024-12-20** — KMC **cluster rebidding** for private waste collection.
- **2025-07-13** — FY **2025/26 budget Rs 25.76b** announced ($\approx 51\%$ infra).
- **2025-08** — Court quashes KMC move to halt earlier **Nepwaste** PDA; long-running SWM PPP revived.

3.2 Court orders and clashes

Adipurush: Patan High Court orders screenings allowed; mayor defies; contempt sought.

Norvic Hospital: Supreme Court **stay** on demolition; contempt explanation sought.

Tukucha: Court **restricts excavation**; KMC argues public interest.

New Road: Jurisdiction fights with Road Division during footpath expansion.

3.3 Budget releases vs absorption

- **FY 2023/24** — Citywide **footpath** allocation \approx **Rs 2.15b**; inner-core execution first.
- **FY 2024/25** — Heritage paving package \approx **Rs 294.788m** (\approx **Rs 281.492m** contracted).
- **FY 2025/26** — Total **Rs 25.76b**; infra \approx **Rs 12.8b**.
- **Absorption** — Repeated reports of **under-utilization** versus allocation; ward-level ledgers not public.

3. Timeline

3.4 Governance style flashpoints

- **Public threat** to “burn Singha Durbar” after police stopped mayoral vehicle (post later deleted).
- **Crackdowns** on vendors/hoardings and **high-visibility excavations** without published KPIs/costs.
- **CAO/Deputy Mayor** standoffs stall meetings and routine administration.

4. Delivery vs Manifesto

4.1 Traceability Matrix

Promise	KPI (how measured)	Target	Current/Outcome (date)	Status	Evidence	Data status
KMC-run incinerator	Commissioned (Y/N); capacity t/day; commissioning date	Y; ≥ 300 t/day	N; 0 t/day (2025-09-21)	Not delivered	E5	Audited
Waste segregation citywide	% households segregating at source	$\geq 70\%$	Orders issued; compliance low/uneven (2025-09-21)	Partial	E5	Gap (no %published)
Landfill mitigation (odor/leachate, night-only)	Systems installed; blockade days/year	All installed; 0 days	Repeated blockades; mitigations under-implemented (2023–25)	Not delivered	E5	Partial records
Footpaths citywide	m ² completed / m ² planned; % completion by ward	32,851 m ² ; 100%	10,729/32,851 m ² ; 32.7% (2025-02-19)	Partial	E3	Official
Public toilets in all wards	# wards with functional public toilets	32/32	Unknown; scattered installs (2025-09-21)	Not delivered	Gap	Gap
GPS in public transport	% public vehicles tracked	$\geq 80\%$	No citywide rollout verified (2025-09-21)	Not delivered	Gap	Gap
CCTV in public vehicles	% public vehicles with CCTV	$\geq 80\%$	No citywide rollout verified (2025-09-21)	Not delivered	Gap	Gap
Free home checkups (70+)	# beneficiaries; ward coverage	All wards; rising trend	Not launched; different free-beds scheme instead (2024–25)	Not delivered (as pledged)	Health exhibits	Official (for beds)
Ambulance via KMC call center	Central dispatch live; SLA compliance	Live; $\geq 90\%$ SLA	No operational citywide system verified	Not delivered	Gap	Gap
Revive stone spouts (hiti)	# sources restored and flowing	Program target set; $\geq X$ /year	Limited pilots; not citywide	Partial	Gap	Gap
One house, one tree	% households planted	$\geq 80\%$	No citywide data	Not delivered	Gap	Gap
Idea bank (jobs/enterprise)	Platform live; # projects funded/placements	Live; $\geq X$ /quarter	No functioning program verified	Not delivered	Gap	Gap
School upgrades (quality/technical)	# schools upgraded; outcome metrics	Annual target met	Some efforts; scale unverified	Partial	Gap	Gap

Legend: Delivered=KPI met; Partial=some action without KPI met citywide; Not delivered=no verifiable

4. Delivery vs Manifesto

4.2 Roll-up

- Delivered: 0
- Partial: 5
- Not delivered:8

4.3 High-leverage gaps

- No ward-wise schedules, KPIs, or completion ledgers.
- Low budget absorption and staggered contracting.
- Legal/jurisdiction disputes consuming cycles.
- Performative operations without cost/KPI disclosure.

5. Waste management (core pledge)

5.1 Incinerator status

- No KMC-run incinerator commissioned. Shah inspected a small airport-area burner in Sept 2022, but KMC did not adopt it.
 - Banchare Danda's "incinerator cell" was acknowledged as **not yet operated**; neither KMC nor the concerned ministry had monitored it at the time. Status after that remains uncommissioned.
 - Patan High Court (7 Aug 2025) **quashed KMC's unilateral halt** of the valley-wide **Nepwaste** PPP, a legal setback to waste-to-energy/processing plans.
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5.2 Segregation and operations

- KMC ordered **source segregation** in July 2022; collection began with that instruction.
 - In Feb 2025 KMC said it would send **only segregated waste** to landfill and placed 1,000-L compost bins at **89** community schools. Compliance level not published.
 - Oct 2024 policy goal: limit landfill disposal to **20%** of generated waste via alternative processing. Implementation metrics not published.
 - Reality check: valley still sends mostly **unsegregated** waste to Banchare Danda.
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5.3 Landfill agreements, blockades, compensation

- **18-point deal (10 Jun 2022)**: night-only dumping; odor/leachate control in 1–2 months. Locals later said KMC **did not implement**; repeated blockades followed.
 - **Pre-Shah cash compensation**: Rs **20m** in 2017; Rs **60m** decided in 2021 with commitments (teachers, treatment, etc.). Comparable post-2022 payouts are not evidenced publicly.
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5.4 Scale and reliability (context)

- Waste generated: **~1,500–1,600 t/day** in the valley; Banchare Danda is the terminal site for most loads.
 - Service reliability: multiple **shutdowns** tied to non-implementation of agreements.
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5.5 Diagnosis

1. **Delivery gap**: No KMC incinerator; landfill mitigations unmet.
2. **Policy-practice gap**: Segregation announced, but unsegregated dumping persists; no published compliance KPIs.
3. **Governance gap**: Court reversal on Nepwaste; repeated local blockades; no fresh compensation record.

Net: The core pledge remains **not delivered**. Announcements exist; commissioning KPIs, and sustained operations do not.

6. Money: allocation, spend, and efficiency

6.1 Budget Overview

- **FY 2025/26:** Rs **25.76b**. Slightly up from Rs 25.70b.
- **FY 2023/24:** Rs **25.54b** presented.

6.2 Sector highlights

- **Footpaths citywide:** Rs **2.15b** (announced Oct 2023).
- **Heritage-paving package (FY 2024/25):** Est. **Rs 294.788m**; contracts **Rs 281.492m**; **Rs 46.246m** disbursed to date. (~16.4% of awards; ~15.7% of estimate).
- **Solid waste line (FY 2023/24):** **Rs 70m** (headline SWM program; not full SWM cost).
- **“Dust-free Kathmandu” (FY 2023/24):** **Rs 1b**.

6.3 Absorption(Utilization)

- Three-year allocation (FY 2022/23–2024/25) \approx **Rs 72.87b**; reported **spend \approx Rs 34.56b** \rightarrow **\sim 47%** combined absorption. Yearly: **40.22%** \rightarrow **$>$ 52%**.
- Budget timing frictions and centre–KMC tussles also delayed approvals in 2025.
- Nepal-wide context: low execution is systemic, but KMC still scores below a credible 85% benchmark

6.4 Geographic equity

- Large citywide footpath allocation, but **payments cluster in inner wards** via the heritage package; outer-ward ledgers not published.

6.5 “Stunt ops” cost (estimates)

- **Hoarding removals:** \sim 9,000 boards \rightarrow **Rs 27–45m** (unit Rs 3k–5k). Source for volume only(in three months till Jan 26, 2023).
- **Excavation/demolition drives:** multi-corridor ops \rightarrow **Rs 50–70m** (plant hours + haul).
- **Total est.: Rs 77–115m**. Marked as estimates until KMC releases ledgers.

6.6 Transparency and data gaps

- **No ward-wise spend ledgers** or project KPIs for footpaths/SWM published by KMC; only aggregate budgets and a few package updates exist.
- **Absorption** reported by media from KMC figures; KMC does not host a live execution dashboard.

Takeaway: Big allocations. **Slow execution.** Spend concentrates in highly visible packages. Lack of ward-level ledgers blocks verification and warrants an adverse transparency finding.

7. Aesthetics over essentials

7.1 Scope and spend

- Citywide footpath program announced at **Rs 2.15b** for all 32 wards.
 - **Durbar Marg granite** sidewalks: **Rs 51.4m** contract, per KMC spokesperson.
 - Heritage paving package focus and target: **32,851 m²** in FY 2024/25. Active wards: **6, 8, 12, 21, 26, 27** + Hanuman Dhoka area.
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7.2 Delivery pattern

Execution clusters in inner commercial/heritage corridors (Asan–Indrachowk–New Road–Jamal/Kamaladi; Durbar Marg). Outer wards show limited documented upgrades in public reports.

7.3 Business and public impact signals

- **Durbar Marg traders** claimed daily turnover fell from **Rs 100–120m** to **Rs 40–50m** after parking was banned.
 - **New Road**: KMC pushed no-parking and wider footpaths; traders protested and warned of customer loss.
 - **Jurisdictional conflict** on New Road footpaths with the federal Road Division escalated to standoffs.
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7.4 “Stunt ops” vs maintenance

- **May 25, 2024**: KMC dumped a truckload of dirt at the Road Division gate over federal delays.
- Inside KMC’s own remit (**roads <8 m wide**), **no ward-wise maintenance schedule/KPIs or completion ledger is published**. Routine resurfacing and pothole repair are **not demonstrated**, despite large allocations and low absorption.

Net: protest outside jurisdiction; weak delivery inside it.

7.5 Hoardings and excavations

KMC reported **~9,000** hoardings/signboards removed in ~3 months. No official cost breakdown published alongside counts.

7.6 Opportunity cost

Capital concentrated on visible corridors (granite, heritage streets) while core systems lag: no KMC-run incinerator; landfill mitigation incomplete; uneven ward coverage. The spend pattern favors optics over networked service upgrades.

8. Rule of law and governance style

8.1 Court confrontations

- **Adipurush ban:** Patan High Court ordered screenings allowed; Shah said he would not abide. Contempt petitions followed.
 - **Norvic demolition:** SC stayed KMC's move; Shah ordered to clarify in a contempt case. Hearings have dragged on.
 - **Tukucha excavation:** Patan High Court restricted KMC's excavation; ruling emphasized private property rights over the buried river corridor.
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8.2 Threat rhetoric

After police stopped a KMC vehicle carrying his wife on a public holiday, Shah posted that he would “**set Singha Durbar on fire**,” then deleted it.

8.3 Administrative infighting

- Months-long standoff with **Chief Administrative Officer Saroj Guragain** over the **Kathmandu Tower** design approval; meetings stalled until July 2025. Reports note the tower height was boosted **12→19 storeys** and flagged EIA issues.
- Multiple outlets describe barring the CAO from duty and office access during the dispute.

After fining and approving Kathmandu Tower's revised 19-storey map, Shah later reversed course, locked out the CAO, and tried to halt work until courts intervened—an inconsistent, extra-procedural approach that treats KMC as a personal fief rather than a rules-bound institution.

8.4 Enforcement pattern

- **Street vendors:** Crackdowns continued without published relocation plans; vendors and rights groups protested lack of alternatives. KMC's spokesperson said there was **no plan to designate places** for vending.
 - **Hoardings:** KMC touted removal of **~9,000** hoardings in three months; costs and KPIs were not disclosed with the count.
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8.5 Public theatrics vs upkeep

- **May 25, 2024:** KMC dumped dirt at the **Road Division** gate to protest federal delays, while routine local-road maintenance within KMC's remit remained thinly documented.
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8.3.2 Kathmandu Tower: fine → approval → reversal → court order

- **Dec 18–20, 2023:** KMC **fined the contractor Rs 500,000** and **approved** the revised tower map; the company **paid on Dec 20**. Reports say **Shah signed** the approval. KMC also booked **≈Rs 23.228m** in related fees.
- **Oct 14, 2024:** KMC **permitted 19 storeys**; the company **deposited ≈Rs 23m**.

- **Dec 23, 2024 → Apr 2025:** Shah **suspended CAO Saroj Guragain** over the approval; ward chairs later **forced the CAO back** amid a public standoff.
- **Jul 9, 2025: Patan High Court** issued an **interim order** allowing construction to continue, rejecting KMC's attempt to halt it.

Process note: Building-map approvals are handled by KMC's administration under building by-laws; the mayor's personal sign-off is not normally required. In this case, multiple reports say **the fine and approval moved with the mayor's sign-off**, then the administration **reversed course** months later.

Assessment: Post-facto approval followed by a political reversal and court defeat shows **extra-procedural, owner-style governance** rather than steady, rules-bound administration.

Summary: Recurrent defiance of court orders, incendiary public posts, administrative lock-ups, media-centred crackdowns, and stunts define the governance style more than steady, rules-bound delivery.

9. Procurement & audit flags

9.1 Grants without approved maps (Auditor General)

- KMC disbursed **Rs 121.5m** to foundations; the AG notes **some recipients took building grants without passed maps** and recommends action.

9.2 Lift procurement complaint (CIAA)

- **Complaint filed 12 Jun 2025** alleging a **~Rs 10m** lift was bought for KMC without open tender or quotations, breaching the Public Procurement Act/Regulations. **Vendor not disclosed**; case under inquiry.

9.3 Foreign travel (Cannes) objections

- Audit flags **multiple KMC vouchers** for the mayor and aides for the **May 2024 Cannes trip**; **>Rs 2.25m** paid. CIAA **summoned** him to clarify. No sponsor on record. Status pending.

9.4 Kathmandu Tower approvals

- **Fine** → **approval** of the revised map (payment **Dec 20, 2023**) followed by a political reversal; later **permission to 19 storeys (Oct 14, 2024)** and fees/deposit **~Rs 23m**. Subsequent attempt to halt work failed under **Patan High Court** interim order.

9.5 Footpath procurements (context, not objections)

- KMC used **open NCB** for citywide footpaths; heritage package awards total **Rs 281.492m** on **Rs 294.788m** estimate. **Rs 46.246m** disbursed to date.

9.6 Transparency gaps (material)

- **Transparency gaps (material)**. KMC has not published ward-wise spend ledgers, beneficial-ownership details on awards, or cost/KPI disclosures for hoarding removals and excavation drives. These items are **not demonstrated** and constitute a **material transparency failure**.

Net: not proven corruption, but a clear pattern of opaque procurement, inconsistent compliance, and audit risk. Publish contract files, award ownership, and program ledgers to cure the deficits.

10. Media strategy & amplification

10.1 Channels and megaphones

- **Bypass of legacy press:** Heavy use of official pages and allied large pages to set narrative; mainstream outlets often criticized as biased.
- **Third-party lift:** RONB repeatedly amplified pro-Balen content; public allegations of coordination surfaced during 2022–23 (denied by RONB). The page briefly shut after a Balen-linked controversy, underscoring perceived alignment.
- **Message control:** Deletion of the “burn Singha Durbar” post after backlash shows rapid narrative correction via social feeds, not formal statements.

10.2 Attention-driven enforcement

- **Viral-led actions:** High-visibility demolitions and crackdowns frequently followed social-media traction, with cameras present.
- **Public stunts:** KMC dumped a truckload of dirt at the federal Road Division gate, generating headlines while routine local-road upkeep remained thinly documented.

10.3 Transparency test

- **What’s missing publicly:** No ward-wise spend ledgers; no cost/KPI disclosures for hoarding removals and excavation drives; limited beneficial-ownership detail on awards.
- **Result:** Announcements dominate feeds, but verifiable delivery data lag. This supports the report’s finding of **performative politics over systems**.

Net: Narrative first, data later. Shah relies on owned and friendly pages to set the story, reacts to viral moments with high-visibility crackdowns and stunts, and publishes little verifiable delivery data. The mix — amplification, deletion-on-backlash, and missing ledgers — supports the finding of performative politics over systems.

11. Findings & liability-safe claims

11.1 Proven (documents or multiple reputable reports)

- Tenure: 30 May 2022–21 Sep 2025.
- No KMC-run incinerator commissioned.
- Footpaths: citywide program announced; heritage package $\approx 32,851 \text{ m}^2$; $\sim 10,729 \text{ m}^2$ done by Feb 2025; work clustered in inner wards.
- Free-treatment scheme live; ~ 375 beds designated; low uptake.
- Court orders: Adipurush (Patan HC), Norvic stay (SC), Tukucha restrictions (Patan HC).
- Cannes trip paid from KMC; audit objections; CIAA inquiry.
- Hoarding removals $\sim 9,000$ reported; no cost published.
- “Burn Singha Durbar” post made then deleted.
- Dirt dumped at Road Division gate (public stunt).
- Footpath tenders run under NCB; awards published.

11.2 Audit objections (not a conviction)

- Rs 121.5 m in grants to foundations; some without approved maps.
- Foreign-trip spending irregularities flagged (incl. Cannes).

11.3 Complaints/allegations (filed; outcome pending)

- Lift procurement (\sim Rs 10 m) to CIAA: alleged tender bypass.
- Kathmandu Tower: fine \rightarrow approval \rightarrow later reversal; interim court order allowed work to continue.
- RONB amplification/alignment allegations; no contract proof.

11.4 Estimates (method stated in report)

- Hoarding removal operational cost: **Rs 27–45 m.**
- Excavation/demolition campaign cost: **Rs 50–70 m.**
- Total “stunt ops” est.: **Rs 77–115 m.**
- Business impacts (New Road/Durbar Marg): claims exist; no verified revenue data.

11.5 Not demonstrated (transparency failure)

- Ward-wise spend ledgers and KPIs (footpaths, SWM, “stunt ops”).
- Street-vendor relocation plans, zone maps, beneficiary lists.
- Citywide GPS/CCTV in public transport.
- Public toilets in all wards; “one house one tree”; idea bank; elderly home-checkups.

11.6 Expected defenses

The administration and its supporters may offer the following defenses. Our investigation finds these insufficient given the documented evidence:

- **Defense:** Federal obstruction and monsoon delays.
Rebuttal: Inner-core concentration, missing schedules/KPIs, low absorption over multiple cycles.
- **Defense:** Projects are ongoing.
Rebuttal: No ward-wise ledgers or progress bills published; treat as not demonstrated.
- **Defense:** Strong action against illegality.
Rebuttal: Selective—grants without maps; court defiance; stunt over upkeep.
- **Defense:** "We are prioritizing long-term structural change over short-term fixes."
Rebuttal: "No evidence of structural change (e.g., no new incinerator, no systemic waste processing, no published vendor relocation policy). Focus remains on short-term, high-visibility projects."

On a preponderance of evidence, the administration shows **performative politics over systems**: weak delivery on core pledges, low budget absorption, central-area bias, recurring legal confrontations, and material transparency gaps. No proven graft, but a consistent pattern of **opaque process and inconsistent compliance**.

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