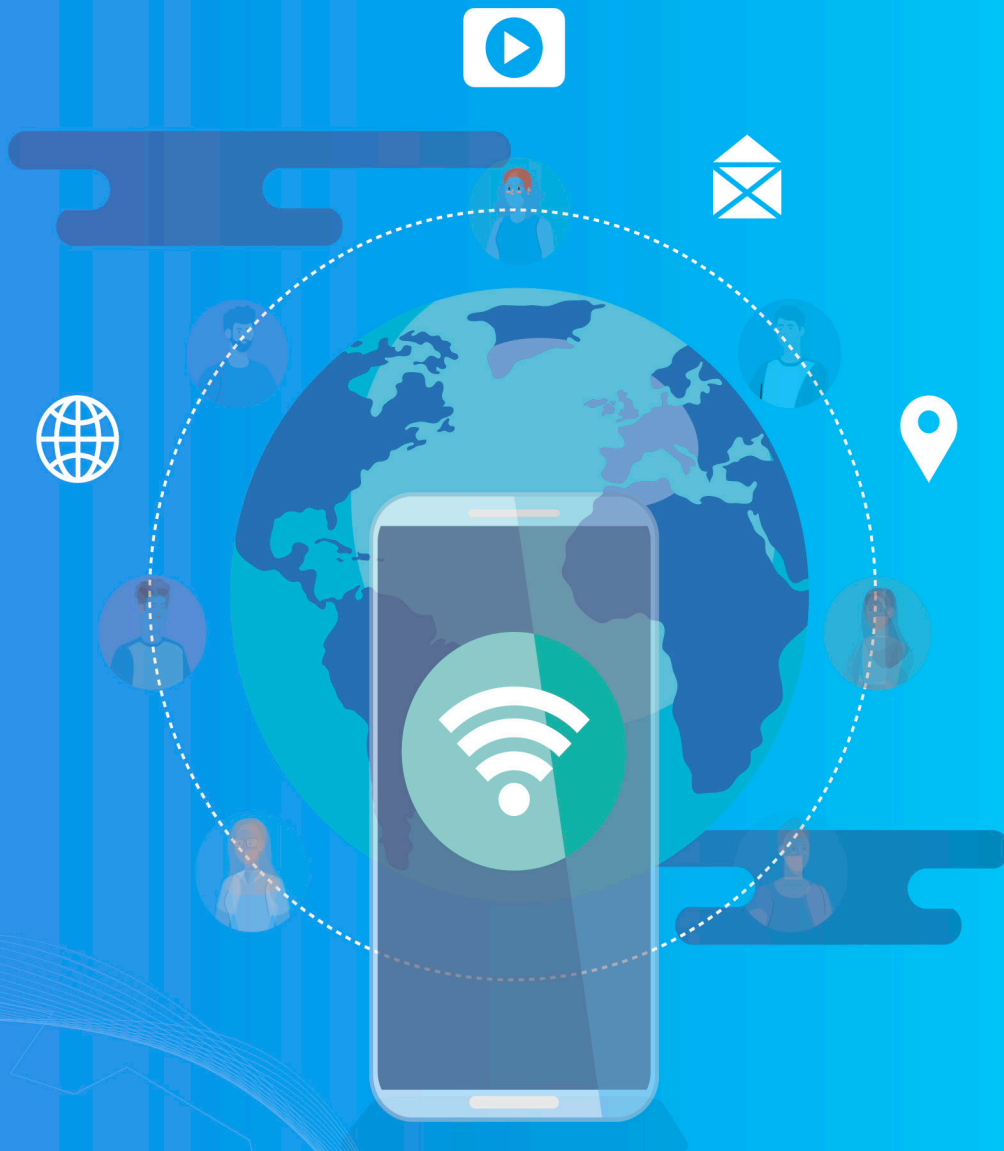




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Broadcast Campaign Promises and Post-Electoral Performance Perception: A Study of the 10th Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly, Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the relationship between broadcast campaign promises and post-electoral performance perception among residents of Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, focusing on the 10th Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly. Anchored on Agenda-Setting Theory, the study adopted a survey research design, collecting data from 359 valid respondents across six local government areas through multi-stage sampling. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics, Pearson Product Moment Correlation, and Analysis of Variance at a 0.05 significance level. Findings revealed that the content of broadcast campaign promises significantly shaped expectations for accountability and responsiveness (grand mean = 2.90), though a performance-perception gap emerged as respondents disagreed that Assembly members delivered on specific promises (mean = 2.28). Frequency of exposure significantly predicted perception of effectiveness (grand mean = 3.09). Content analysis identified infrastructure development as the dominant theme (100%), followed by youth empowerment (90%), education (80%), and agriculture (80%). The study concludes that broadcast campaign promises establish the psychological contract against which elected officials are evaluated, and recommends annual constituency scorecards, balanced communication strategies, and a public database of campaign promises to strengthen democratic accountability.

INTRODUCTION

Broadcast campaign promises constitute the core communicative content through which political candidates articulate their policy intentions, developmental visions, and governance commitments to the electorate through radio and television. These promises are strategic communicative acts that establish explicit expectations of future governance and create a psychological contract between candidates and voters (Naurin, 2021). They are forward-looking commitments transmitted through pervasive media channels that reach diverse audiences, establishing specific benchmarks against which subsequent performance can be measured (Bennett & Livingston, 2020; Okorn, 2022). In Nigeria, broadcast media remain the most dominant and trusted sources of political information, particularly in states such as Akwa Ibom where internet access remains unevenly distributed (Ajasa *et al.*, 2023).

Post-electoral performance perception represents citizens' subjective assessment of the effectiveness, accountability, responsiveness, and trustworthiness of their elected representatives after elections have been conducted and governance has commenced (Iyengar & Krupenkin, 2018). This perception is not a direct reflection of objective performance indicators but rather a psychosocial construct shaped by pre-existing beliefs, expectations established during campaigns, personal experiences with governance services, and the broader information environment (Grimes, 2023). In democratic systems, performance perception serves as the ultimate

evaluation mechanism that determines whether elected officials retain public confidence and legitimacy.

The relationship between broadcast campaign promises and post-electoral performance perception is fundamental to democratic accountability. When candidates make promises during campaigns, they establish expectations that voters subsequently use to evaluate their performance in office (Naurin *et al.*, 2019). If promises are fulfilled, they validate the democratic process and enhance citizens' trust; if they remain unfulfilled, they breed cynicism, apathy, and declining faith in democratic governance (Nwagboso, 2020). The gap between promise and performance represents a significant challenge to democratic consolidation in emerging democracies such as Nigeria.

Akwa Ibom State provides a compelling context for examining this relationship. The state is an oil-producing region with substantial natural resource wealth, creating high expectations for developmental dividends among its citizens (Udom, 2021). The 2023 general elections, which produced the 10th Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly, featured extensive broadcast campaigns in which candidates made numerous promises across various developmental sectors. Understanding how these broadcast campaign promises shape residents' perception of the performance of their elected representatives is crucial for assessing democratic accountability. This study addresses this gap by investigating how the content of broadcast campaign promises influences residents' perception of accountability and responsiveness, how

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the frequency of exposure predicts perception of effectiveness, and what dominant themes characterised the broadcast campaign messages of candidates who contested for the Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly seats during the 2023 election period.

Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To determine how the content of broadcast campaign promises influences residents' perception of the fulfilment and responsiveness of Assembly members.
2. To find out the extent to which the frequency of broadcast campaign message exposure predicts residents' perception of the effectiveness of Assembly members.
3. To determine the dominant themes contained in the broadcast campaign messages of candidates who contested for the Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly seats during the 2023 election period.

Hypotheses

The following hypothesis was formulated and tested at a 0.05 level of significance:

H₁: There is a significant relationship between exposure to broadcast campaign messages and Akwa Ibom residents' perception of the performance of members of the 10th State Assembly.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Conceptual Clarification of Broadcast Campaign Promises

Broadcast campaign promises refer to the explicit, forward-looking commitments that political candidates and parties make through radio and television during election campaigns, specifying policies, actions, or goals they intend to pursue once elected into office (Naurin, 2021). These promises are distinguished from other forms of political communication by three fundamental characteristics. First, they are commitments rather than aspirations, representing clear statements of intention that create reasonable expectations among voters that specific actions will be taken (Naurin *et al.*, 2019). Second, they are forward-looking, directing attention to future governance rather than retrospective evaluations of past performance. Third, they are transmitted through broadcast media, which, as Okorn (2022) and Ajasa *et al.* (2023) have demonstrated, remain the most pervasive and authoritative channels for political communication in Nigeria, capable of reaching large and diverse audiences including urban and rural communities where internet access remains limited.

The conceptualisation of broadcast campaign promises as multifaceted constructs comprising multiple dimensions is essential for understanding their effects on political perception (Bennett & Livingston, 2020). The content dimension refers to what is being promised, encompassing the substantive policy proposals and developmental commitments that form the basis of a candidate's electoral appeal. The frequency dimension concerns the

number of times a promise is repeated and the regularity with which it is communicated to the electorate. The credibility dimension involves the audience's evaluation of the believability and accuracy of the message and the trustworthiness of its source (Metzger *et al.*, 2020). These dimensions do not operate in isolation but interact to shape the overall impact of broadcast campaign promises on voter perception and behaviour.

Content of Broadcast Campaign Promises and Performance Perception

The content of broadcast campaign promises establishes the substantive framework through which citizens evaluate the performance of elected officials (McCombs & Valeriani, 2020). When candidates promise specific developmental projects, policy reforms, or service improvements, they create expectations that voters subsequently use as benchmarks for assessing whether their representatives have fulfilled their mandates. This process is directly linked to the concept of the mandate, where voters grant authority to candidates based on proposed actions and then evaluate their success in implementing those actions (Naurin, 2021). The content of campaign promises, therefore, functions as a psychological contract between representatives and the represented, establishing the terms by which performance will be judged (Naurin *et al.*, 2019).

The specificity of campaign promises significantly influences how voters evaluate their fulfilment (Bélanger & Meguid, 2021). Specific, concrete promises such as building a certain number of classrooms, constructing a named road, or providing a quantified number of scholarships are more easily verifiable and create clearer expectations than vague, thematic promises about improving education or developing infrastructure. Artés and Jurado (2022) found that voters are more likely to punish governments for failing to fulfil specific and quantitative promises than for failing to achieve vague and general objectives. This suggests that the content of broadcast campaign promises, particularly their specificity, plays a crucial role in shaping the intensity of performance evaluation and the likelihood of electoral accountability.

Frequency of Broadcast Campaign Message Exposure and Performance Perception

The frequency of exposure to broadcast campaign messages represents a critical dimension of political communication that influences both the salience of campaign promises and the expectations citizens develop regarding governance outcomes (Prior, 2019). The mere-exposure effect, as articulated by Zajonc (2001), suggests that repeated exposure to a stimulus increases familiarity and positive evaluation. In the context of political campaigns, high-frequency messaging ensures that campaign promises remain accessible in voters' memory and are perceived as important and viable commitments (Vaccari & Valeriani, 2021). The constant presence of

campaign messages on radio and television during election periods creates an environment in which political promises become part of the public consciousness, shaping what citizens consider important and what they expect from their elected representatives.

However, the relationship between message frequency and performance perception is not straightforward. While frequency increases awareness and raises expectations, it does not necessarily translate into positive performance evaluations once elections are concluded (Chadwick & Stromer-Galley, 2021). Voters may distinguish between campaign visibility, which is a function of financial resources and media strategy, and actual governance effectiveness, which is demonstrated through tangible outcomes. Bennett and Livingston (2020) argue that campaign visibility and governance capability are distinct concepts, and sophisticated voters recognise that frequent messaging does not necessarily indicate competence or commitment to fulfilling promises. This suggests that while frequency of exposure shapes expectations, it may not directly determine post-election performance judgments, which are based on more substantive criteria.

Dominant Themes in Broadcast Campaign Messages

The thematic content of broadcast campaign messages reflects both the strategic priorities of candidates and the developmental concerns of constituents (McCombs & Valeriani, 2020). Candidates craft their campaign messages to address issues they believe will resonate with voters and to position themselves as responsive to local needs. In the Nigerian context, particularly in states such as Akwa Ibom, campaign themes often centre on infrastructure development, education, healthcare, agriculture, youth empowerment, and women empowerment (Okorn, 2022). These themes reflect the developmental challenges facing many Nigerian communities and the expectations citizens hold regarding governmental responsibilities.

The dominance of infrastructure development in campaign messages, as observed in various Nigerian electoral contexts, reflects the visible and experiential nature of infrastructure deficits (Udom, 2021). Roads, bridges, drainage systems, and public buildings are tangible manifestations of development that citizens encounter daily. When candidates promise to construct or rehabilitate infrastructure, they are addressing immediate, experiential needs that resonate deeply with voters (Prior, 2019). Similarly, promises related to education, healthcare, water supply, and electricity address fundamental quality-of-life concerns that citizens experience directly in their daily lives (Kumlin & Haugsgjerd, 2020). The thematic content of campaign messages thus reflects both the strategic calculations of candidates and the genuine developmental aspirations of the electorate.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the Agenda-Setting Theory, propounded by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972 following their seminal study of the 1968 United

States presidential election. The theory emerged from research in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, which discovered a strong correlation between the emphasis placed on particular issues in media content and the importance attributed to these same issues by undecided voters (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The fundamental premise of the theory is that while mass media may not be successful in telling people what to think, it strongly influences what they think about (McCombs & Valeriani, 2020).

The theory operates through two levels. The first level concerns object salience, referring to which issues are perceived as important. When media consistently feature certain topics, these issues become prominent in public consciousness. The second level deals with attribute salience, concerning the characteristics associated with those issues or political actors. At this level, media not only tell us what to think about but also how to think about it (McCombs, 2018). The theory has been further refined through the concept of priming, which refers to the process by which media attention to certain issues activates related knowledge and evaluations that become standards for judging political leaders (Shehata & Strömbäck, 2021). The relationship between Agenda-Setting Theory and this study is direct. Broadcast campaign promises function as a potent form of media that strategically constructs and disseminates agendas through radio and television. When candidates for the Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly repeatedly emphasise specific issues in their broadcast campaigns, they engage in first-level agenda-setting, transferring the salience of these issues to the public agenda. The content of broadcast promises thus becomes instrumental in determining what residents will later consider important indicators of governmental performance (McCombs & Valeriani, 2020). Furthermore, the priming effect explains why campaign-emphasised issues become the benchmarks against which elected officials are subsequently evaluated (Shehata & Strömbäck, 2021).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study adopted a survey research design, a non-experimental method that involves collecting data from a sample of a population to make inferences about the characteristics, attitudes, or behaviours of that larger population (Babbie, 2020). The survey design was selected because the research objectives are inherently quantitative, aiming to measure the relationship between specific, defined variables such as message content, message frequency, and residents' perceptions. The survey method facilitated the collection of numerical data that could be subjected to statistical testing and allowed for the generalisation of findings to the broader population of Akwa Ibom State residents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). A structured questionnaire served as the primary instrument for data collection, ensuring consistency in the way questions were posed to all respondents and minimising interviewer bias. The population for this study comprised all residents of Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, who were of voting age (18

years and above) and were living in the state at the time of the 2023 general elections. According to projections from the National Population Commission, Akwa Ibom State has an estimated population of approximately 7,200,000 people, with approximately 49% of this population being of voting age, yielding an estimated study population of 3,528,000 (Kingmakers, 2024). This population is heterogeneous, encompassing individuals from diverse ethnic groups, occupational backgrounds, educational levels, and geographical locations.

The sample size was determined using the sampling guide proposed by Philip Meyer, as cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2014), which recommends a sample size of 384 for populations in the “Infinity” category. This sample size is considered robust for large populations as it provides a sufficient basis for statistical analysis and generalisation while remaining logistically feasible for data collection. The sampling technique employed was multi-stage sampling, which involves selecting respondents in stages, starting with larger groups and progressively narrowing down to smaller, more specific groups (Taherdoost, 2016). In the first stage, all three senatorial districts of Akwa Ibom State, namely Uyo, Eket, and Ikot Ekpene, were included to ensure comprehensive geographical diversity and representation. In the second stage, two local government areas were purposively selected from each senatorial district, ensuring a balance between urban and rural areas. In the final stage, two towns or communities were selected

from each of the chosen LGAs, and within each selected town, simple random sampling was used to select the actual respondents.

The primary instrument for data collection was a structured questionnaire consisting predominantly of closed-ended questions with a four-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly Agree” (4) to “Strongly Disagree” (1). The questionnaire was structured into distinct sections covering socio-demographic characteristics, exposure to broadcast campaign messages, content of broadcast campaign promises, frequency of broadcast campaign message exposure, and personal experience with governance services. The instrument was validated by three experts from the Faculty of Media and Communication Studies at the University of Uyo, and a pilot test was conducted with twenty respondents to establish reliability, yielding Cronbach’s Alpha coefficients exceeding 0.70 for all scales (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Data were analysed using descriptive statistics including frequencies, percentages, mean scores, and standard deviations, as well as inferential statistics including Pearson Product Moment Correlation and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) at a 0.05 level of significance.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 shows that content of broadcast promises significantly shaped expectations for accountability and responsiveness (grand mean = 2.90). However,

Table 1: Mean Analysis of Content of Broadcast Campaign Promises and Perception of Accountability and Responsiveness

S/N	Item Statement	SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. Dev	Decision
1	The promises made on radio/TV were clear and specific, making me believe my representatives would be responsive to my needs.	91	142	91	35	2.80	0.94	Accept
2	Broadcast promises made me expect better accountability and transparency.	181	129	38	11	3.34	0.79	Accept
3	I believe Assembly members are accountable and I hold them responsible based on the promises they made on radio/TV.	88	131	102	38	2.75	0.95	Accept
4	I feel Assembly members have been responsive to the issues highlighted in broadcast campaigns and have delivered on the specific promises made.	45	98	129	87	2.28	0.98	Reject
5	The content of broadcast promises raised my expectations for governance.	172	147	32	8	3.35	0.75	Accept
	Grand Mean/Average Standard Deviation					2.90	0.88	Accept

Source: Field Survey, 2026

respondents disagreed that Assembly members delivered on specific promises (mean = 2.28), revealing a notable performance-perception gap between campaign rhetoric and governance reality.

Table 2 reveals that frequency of exposure significantly shaped expectations for effective governance (grand

mean = 3.09). However, respondents disagreed that they judge effectiveness based on message frequency (mean = 2.30), demonstrating voter sophistication in distinguishing campaign visibility from actual governance performance.

Table 2: Mean Analysis of Frequency of Broadcast Campaign Message Exposure and Perception of Effectiveness

S/N	Item Statement	SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. Dev	Decision
1	I heard or saw campaign messages on radio/TV almost every day during the election period.	215	112	22	10	3.48	0.73	Accept
2	Frequent exposure to broadcast messages made me believe the candidates were capable and convinced me that Assembly members would perform effectively.	102	149	79	29	2.99	0.85	Accept
3	The more I heard campaign promises, the higher my expectations for effective governance and quick results from the Assembly.	192	130	29	8	3.41	0.74	Accept
4	I judge the effectiveness of Assembly members based on how often I heard their promises on radio/TV.	48	91	139	81	2.30	0.98	Reject
5	The frequency of broadcast campaign messages raised my expectations for visible achievements.	182	133	32	12	3.35	0.79	Accept
	Grand Mean/Average Standard Deviation					3.09	0.83	Accept

Source: Field Survey, 2026

Table 3: Distribution of Dominant Themes in Broadcast Campaign Messages

S/N	Theme	Frequency	Percentage
1	Infrastructure Development	10	100%
2	Youth Empowerment	9	90%
3	Education	8	80%
4	Agriculture	8	80%
5	Healthcare	7	70%
6	Women Empowerment	7	70%
7	Water and Sanitation	6	60%
8	Electricity/Rural Electrification	6	60%
9	Security	5	50%
10	Constituency Representation/Accountability	5	50%

Source: Content Analysis of Broadcast Campaign Messages, 2026

Table 3 shows infrastructure development as the dominant theme in all ten messages (100%), followed by youth empowerment (90%), education (80%), agriculture (80%), and healthcare (70%). These themes reflect the developmental priorities candidates believed would resonate with constituents.

ANOVA Analysis for Hypothesis

Hypothesis: There is a significant relationship between exposure to broadcast campaign messages and Akwa Ibom residents' perception of the performance of members of the 10th State Assembly.

Table 4: ANOVA Summary of Relationship Between Exposure to Broadcast Campaign Messages and Performance Perception

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	12.456	4	3.114	8.214	0.000
Within Groups	134.289	354	0.379		
Total	146.745	358			

Source: Field Survey, 2026

Table 4 shows an F-value of 8.214 with $p = 0.000$, which is less than 0.05. This confirms a statistically significant relationship between exposure to broadcast campaign messages and performance perception, leading to rejection of the null hypothesis and acceptance of the alternative hypothesis.

Discussion of Findings

The first objective sought to determine how the content of broadcast campaign promises influences residents' perception of the fulfilment and responsiveness of Assembly members. The findings revealed that the content of broadcast promises significantly shaped expectations

for accountability and responsiveness, with a grand mean of 2.90. However, a notable performance-perception gap emerged as respondents disagreed that Assembly members had delivered on specific promises (mean = 2.28). This finding is consistent with Nwagboso's (2020) study on the performance-perception gap in South-South Nigeria, which found that unfulfilled campaign promises breed political cynicism, voter apathy, and erosion of public trust in democratic institutions. The finding also aligns with Naurin's (2021) work on the psychology of campaign promises, which argues that promises create a psychological contract between candidates and voters, and that the content of these promises establishes the terms of this contract. The high mean score for Item 5 (3.35), which assessed whether promise content raised expectations for governance, confirms that the content of broadcast messages successfully created this psychological contract in the minds of Akwa Ibom residents. However, the low mean score for perceived delivery indicates that the contract has been breached from the perspective of many residents. This finding supports Bélanger and Meguid's (2021) observation that voters tend to punish the non-fulfilment of specific, concrete promises more harshly than vague, thematic ones, suggesting that the clarity and specificity of broadcast promises in Akwa Ibom may have created particularly high expectations that are difficult to meet.

The second objective was to find out the extent to which the frequency of broadcast campaign message exposure predicts residents' perception of the effectiveness of Assembly members. The findings revealed a grand mean of 3.09, indicating general agreement that frequency shapes perceptions, but with important nuances. While respondents strongly agreed that they were frequently exposed to messages (mean = 3.48) and that frequency raised expectations (mean = 3.41), they disagreed that they judge effectiveness based on message frequency (mean = 2.30). This nuanced finding aligns with Prior's (2019) analysis of high-frequency messaging in low-information environments, which argues that repetition enhances message recall and imbues issues with a sense of importance. In Akwa Ibom State, the high frequency of broadcast messages successfully elevated the salience of campaign promises and raised expectations for effective governance. However, as Chadwick and Stromer-Galley (2021) note in their concept of the "always-on" campaign, frequency in the modern media environment creates constant presence but does not guarantee that this presence translates into positive performance evaluations once the campaign ends. The finding that respondents do not base effectiveness judgments on message frequency aligns with Bennett and Livingston's (2020) distinction between the persuasive functions of campaigns and the substantive requirements of governance. Voters understand that campaign visibility is a function of financial resources and media strategy, not necessarily an indicator of governance capability. This sophisticated understanding is consistent with the Cognitive Mediation

Model (Eveland, 2018), which posits that individuals actively process media messages rather than passively accepting them. Akwa Ibom residents appear to process campaign messages through a critical lens, using frequency as an indicator of candidate visibility and perhaps viability, but reserving effectiveness judgments for actual governance performance.

The third objective was to determine the dominant themes contained in the broadcast campaign messages of candidates who contested for the Akwa Ibom State House of Assembly seats during the 2023 election period. The content analysis revealed ten dominant themes, with infrastructure development appearing in all ten messages (100%), followed by youth empowerment (90%), education (80%), agriculture (80%), healthcare (70%), women empowerment (70%), water and sanitation (60%), electricity/rural electrification (60%), security (50%), and constituency representation/accountability (50%). The finding that infrastructure development emerged as the most dominant theme is consistent with Okorn's (2022) study on the influence of mass media campaigns on voter behaviour in Akwa Ibom State, which found that infrastructure-related messages were the most recalled by voters, indicating that both politicians and the electorate prioritise physical development as a key measure of governmental performance. This finding also aligns with Nwagboso's (2020) observation that in South-South Nigeria, campaign rhetoric is heavily centred on the promise of tangible deliverables, particularly roads, bridges, and public buildings, reflecting the developmental expectations of rural and urban populations alike. The prominence of infrastructure themes across all constituencies, from urban Eket to rural Essien Udim and coastal Ibeno, underscores the universal challenge of poor road networks and inadequate public infrastructure in Akwa Ibom State. The finding that youth empowerment appeared in 90% of the messages, with candidates promising specific numerical targets for training and empowerment, reflects the growing political consciousness of Nigeria's youthful population. As Zaini and Bakhitah (2025) found in their study of young voters, political messages that are perceived as relevant and directly connected to issues impacting the daily lives of young voters were significantly more effective in building positive candidate image. From the perspective of Agenda-Setting Theory (McCombs & Valeriani, 2020), these dominant themes collectively represent the issues that candidates sought to transfer to the public agenda. By repeatedly emphasising infrastructure, youth empowerment, education, agriculture, and healthcare, candidates were not merely stating their platforms but actively shaping what voters would consider important criteria for evaluating governmental performance.

The hypothesis testing confirmed a statistically significant relationship between exposure to broadcast campaign messages and performance perception ($F = 8.214$, $p < 0.05$). This finding aligns with Okorn's (2022) study, which found that mass media campaigns significantly impacted

voter behaviour and decision-making in the 2015 general election in Akwa Ibom State. The current study extends this finding by demonstrating that the influence of broadcast messages persists beyond the election period to shape ongoing performance perceptions. Similarly, Ajasa *et al.* (2023) found that radio political broadcasts effectively enlightened electorates about their civic duties and inspired participation in the electoral process. The finding is strongly supported by Agenda-Setting Theory (McCombs & Valeriani, 2020), which posits that media, including broadcast campaign messages, transfer the salience of issues to the public agenda. During the 2023 election campaigns in Akwa Ibom State, broadcast messages consistently emphasised specific issues and promises, thereby setting the agenda for what residents would consider important indicators of governmental performance. As Shehata and Strömbäck (2021) explain, this agenda-setting function is directly linked to priming, where the issues made salient by media become the benchmarks for evaluating political leaders. The significant relationship found in this study confirms that broadcast campaign messages successfully primed Akwa Ibom residents to use campaign-emphasised criteria in their performance evaluations of the 10th Assembly members. Wilson *et al.* (2023) found that online political advertising significantly influenced voting decisions in the 2019 elections in Akwa Ibom State, and the current study complements this finding by demonstrating that broadcast media, which remain more pervasive and authoritative in the Nigerian context, similarly shape post-election perceptions.

CONCLUSION

This study showed that broadcast campaign promises continue to shape residents' expectations and evaluative frameworks long after elections. Although the content and frequency of promises raised expectations of accountability and responsiveness, respondents felt that Assembly members had not delivered on specific promises. This performance-perception gap threatens public trust and democratic consolidation in Akwa Ibom State.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Members of the 10th Assembly should publish annual constituency scorecards on the status of each campaign promise through radio, town halls, and digital platforms.
2. Campaign communication should balance visibility with substance, while media organisations sustain reporting on legislative activities and constituency projects.
3. The Independent National Electoral Commission and civil society organisations should establish a public database of campaign promises, categorised by theme and constituency, to enable tracking of fulfilment.

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