



Political crowdfunding and resource mobilization for collective action: The keys to success

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Political crowdfunding
Success
Collective action
Resource mobilization
Advocacy groups
Spain

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the determination and analysis of the keys to success in the mobilization of resources through *political crowdfunding* projects aimed to develop activities linked to collective action for social and political change. For that purpose, based on financial success, we have carried out benchmarking and statistical analysis through diverse variables related to communicative, financial, relational and organizational elements. This study was conducted on 233 campaigns developed in Spain between 2012 and 2017. The results show the importance of the intensity of the campaign posts and the impact through Twitter. Furthermore, as new findings, the partnership between the campaign news in digital media and the financial success should be pointed out as well as the importance of dissemination and the success of cooperation at a communicative level between agents of a socio-political nature. To conclude, we must stress the importance of the organizational and communicative role of the promoters for success and its ability to articulate an external structure configured on identity and technical elements that facilitate the cooperation and activation of ties of different intensity through a media ecosystem, specially Twitter.

1. Introduction

The growth of project funding through crowdfunding in recent years has been subject to increasing academic interest, especially the initiatives linked to business projects and, to a lesser extent, social action and community services. Nevertheless, we can notice less attention regarding projects aimed towards political activity and collective action. This is a fact that is not linked with the increasing use of this digital tool among the agents that participate in the political process. In Spain, the expansion of *political crowdfunding* follows the 15-M protests and mobilizations. Afterwards, this would be introduced by several organizations and collectives linked to the Catalanian sovereignty movement and to many initiatives aimed towards social change with local, autonomic and international roots.

In order to fill the existent gap, a list of collective actions for social change promoted and funded by *political crowdfunding* in Spain between 2012 and 2017 has been created through an extensive search on specialized platforms. Moreover, a data matrix with several qualitative and quantitative variables concerning diverse financial, communicative, relational and organizational elements has been created. The main objective of the paper consists of determining the keys to success of the

233 projects through the comparison and correlation of the variables in the study.

In the following lines and as the basis for the elaboration of the study hypothesis, a review of the literature on resource mobilization for collective action, the functioning, the characteristics and the determinants that explain the success in the crowdfunding projects will be carried out. Also, in addition to the literature analyzed, we will delimit the concepts used for the present paper.

1.1. Resource mobilization and collective action

Collective action, understood as political commitment with a specific political or cultural conflict where the objective is based on the achievement of social change or the continuation of the status quo and based on a specific shared identity [1,2] needs for its development a prior minimum volume of resources. This way, resource mobilization can be defined as the procedure by which the social collectives gather enough resources to participate in the social conflict through collective action [3–5]. The postulates defended from the theory of resource mobilization are developed from a rational and economic perspective. Thus, fundraising activities would be the result of particular interests

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and the centralized, organized and planned action of the organizations that make up the social movements [6].

The resources needed for collective action can be classified, according to specific academic literature, as human or financial [5] or as tangible and intangible [4]. According to Oliver and Marwell [7]; social collectives in the process of mobilization of resources are subject to a strategic dilemma: to mobilize volunteers or money. This fact, according to the authors, is the result of the different organizational nature implied by the orientation towards either of the two goals. Thus, while the fundraising is structured around hierarchical and professionalized models, the volunteer recruitment to develop all kind of activities linked to collective action is based on emotional elements that rely on solidarity and are related to direct participation [65]. Edwards and McCarthy [8] point out that, despite the mobilization of activists possibly being important for the collective action, it would not be sustainable over time without a minimum monetary income, in as much as the litigation work always has financial costs.

In this sense, the problems around the organizational dilemma to mobilize resources can be diminished depending on the external structure adopted for the connection between social foundations and the establishment of alliances [9]. The constitution of collaboration relations and coalitions with other agents is, according to Tarrow [10]; decisive for the mobilization of resources among collectives and organizations with weak structures. According to Diani Della Porta and Diani [65], the cooperation level between collectives and organizations will depend on the level of agreement in the definition of the social problem and the orientation towards differentiated social foundations. Under this scenario, the incentives for cooperation in order to mobilize resources will be high. In addition, the unintended consequences of the processes of dissemination of key information for obtaining resources should be taken into account as opposed to the perspective of intentional, planned and rational activity for resource mobilization. The idea supported by Granovetter [11] about the strength of weak ties and how those individuals and organizations not directly linked to the issuing node can play an important role in the dissemination of information. Thus, to analyze the mobilization of resources, the effects of interactions produced unintentionally and sustained on weak ties must be considered. This perspective goes beyond the classic approach to resource mobilization that focuses on planning, organizational structure, and the level of strong ties established within and outside the organization.

Another element that we cannot overlook that influences the configuration of the external structure in order to mobilize resources, bears relation to the identity nature built on common values and a framework for the collective action that is clearly defined and dialectically articulated regarding the antagonists and political opponents [12, 13,72]. Thus, the exclusive identities, configured based on a homogeneous character, tend to isolate the organization and its members around itself. These identities are more useful in order to mobilize activists with a high degree of commitment. In contrast, the collectives based on inclusive identities will develop a greater ability to connect and communicate with the outside world. This identity configuration facilitates the affiliation of wider segments of the population and is more useful when mobilizing financial resources [65].

In recent years, adding the communication and information technologies (ICTs) to the collective action repertoire has introduced important changes and new approaches to the debate around the mobilization of resources and collective action. Several authors have stressed the possibilities that the ICTs introduce in order to coordinate and mobilize resources, according to the flexible and decentralized nature of the virtual networks and the efficiency of these technologies in space-time terms [14,15,69].

In practice, the result has been the growth of the repertoire and the forms of mobilization [3,75], either through once-off actions or connective actions [63] or through complex formulations that combine online and offline elements and have a greater time continuity. Thus, the collectives and social movements have taken advantage of the potential

of the websites and social networks such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp or Telegram in order to mobilize tangible and intangible resources [4]. In relation to the first of the typologies pointed out by Sommerfelt [4], the emergency of crowdfunding as a tool to mobilize resources for collective action should be noted. In order to illustrate the use of that digital mechanism, Ramos and González-Cacheda [74], point out that in Spain, between 2012 and 2014, 186 projects linked to collective actions oriented towards social and cultural change were funded. To specify the theoretical approach of the present research, the characteristics, functioning and main elements of the crowdfunding as a tool to mobilize resources are explained in the following section.

1.2. Political crowdfunding: hybrid organization and the media ecosystem

In specialized literature, it is possible to find different definitions of *crowdfunding* due to the lack of consensus and the different types of this fundraising technology [16,70]. In this way, some authors highlight the distributive and decentralized character of the audiences and the potential contributions network [17]. From a different point of view [18, 19], highlight the precision of the objectives to be achieved with the funding projects. Other research studies stress the small quantities of the financial contributions that sustain the crowdfunding projects and the need to achieve a previously established amount, under the “all or nothing” rule, before a previously established deadline [16,20,21].

In any case, and despite the lack of conceptual unity, it is possible to find several common elements in the different definitions existing. First of all, the main role that the Internet and the ITCs have played regarding the configuration of crowdfunding projects. Secondly, the crowdfunding projects are formed by a promoter, an intermediary platform and the people that contribute through small donations. Finally, it is possible to find diverse classifications according to the nature of the contributions. They are structured in two groups: investment crowdfunding and donations crowdfunding¹ [16,19,22,70].

The present paper is focused on the second typology that appeared in the previous paragraph, which includes non-refundable contributions or donations done in exchange of, usually, a symbolic reward by the promoter collective. The interest in this typology lies in the fact that most of the projects with a social or cultural approach are funded by the *donations crowdfunding* [22,74]. Thus, among the *donations crowdfunding* we find the *civic crowdfunding projects*, exclusively aimed towards social objectives and implemented through the provision of goods and services to the community. These projects are promoted by governmental institutions or by civil society entities that provide social and community services, such as associations, NGOs or other organizations from the third sector. Sometimes in this typology we find causes promoted through the collaboration of agents in public-private mixed formulas [23,24,67].

It should be noted that some of the initiatives originated and promoted by civil society would not fit in that concept, despite the social approach of the projects included in *civic crowdfunding*. For example, the case of projects to fund collective actions linked to social conflict, such as the campaign *15mpaRato* that wanted to judge Rodrigo Rato [66] or initiatives such as the *Multireferendum* in Catalonia or the project linked to historic memory called *Monte Estepar*, just to name a few examples. Besides the rise and the growth of this type of initiatives linked to collective actions that mobilize resources, it is necessary to highlight the adoption of crowdfunding as a tool to fund several political parties. In Spain, the examples of Podemos [25,68]; or the X Party [26] are paradigmatic.

Having noted the relevance of the mobilization of resources for collective and political action through crowdfunding and the lack of classifications until the present time, it is necessary to establish a new

¹ [16] and Ramos and González (2016) classify this in four big groups according to the nature of the project: *equity, lending, reward and donation*.

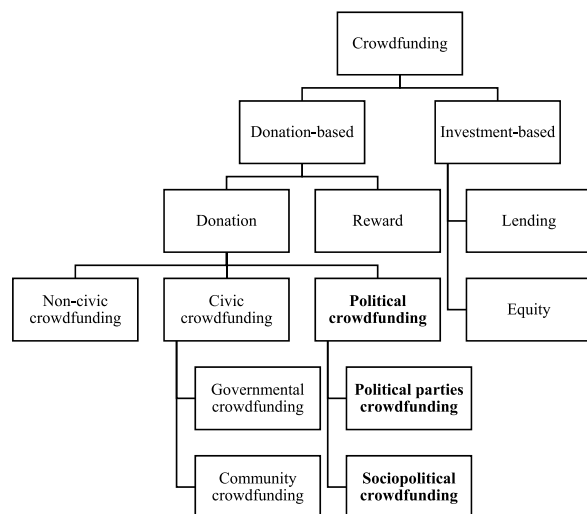
category that collects the typology of the previous projects: *political crowdfunding* (see Fig. 1). Defining politics from a broad approach, it is necessary to place inside the political process all of the agents that aim to influence the management of the conflict and/or oppose themselves to the social and cultural change through different actions and activities. This way, the initiatives that comply with the following characteristics would be included within the category of *political crowdfunding*:

- a) Objective: the funding project would be articulated based on a political intention, taking part in a political process, in the management of the social conflict and, finally, chasing or confronting a social/political change.
- b) Promoter: the planning and management of a funding project would start from a collective agent of political character that would include political parties, associations, social movements or lobbying organizations from any territorial scope.

In essence, it is possible to speak about *political crowdfunding* when the promoter of the funding actions is aimed towards political change and towards influencing the power, understood in a broad sense, beyond the state machinery. This would emerge from the civil society in the case of actions focused on social change through the influence of third parties. On the contrary, promoters with the objective of reaching power through the government would be the political parties.

In this research we will address the sociopolitical crowdfunding campaigns promoted by advocacy groups. Based on the great diversity of entities that appear under this conceptualization, the related projects will be studied those that meet three criteria [27]. In the first place, the objective will be oriented to social and political change [28]. Currently, the objectives and causes linked to advocacy groups are shaped by an important diversity that includes, among others, the following: environment, democracy, labor rights, health, religion, education, trade [29]. Second, we will take into account the degree of organizational formalization. Beyond size, level of professionalization or orientation towards participation, advocacy groups will be configured on the basis of an organized structure with a vocation for permanence [73]. Third, the activities that make up the repertoire of collective action of these organizations will be made up of actions of a conventional and unconventional nature. In this regard, a growing number of scientific publications underline the increasingly diverse character of the repertoire of advocacy groups [28,30].

Once the conceptual clarifications have been made, it is time to



Note. Own elaboration based on Sedlitzky and Franz (2019, p. 29)

Fig. 1. Categorization of the different types of crowdfunding. Note. Own elaboration based on Sedlitzky and Franz (2019, p. 29)

explain the characteristics and the functioning dynamics of *crowdfunding* as a tool to mobilize resources for collective action, far from the binary debate between the pros and cons of the different organizational forms (centralized and decentralized) to raise funds [7,9,65]. Crowdfunding, in as much as it is articulated in a hybrid mode, means the overcoming of the Oliver and Marwell [7] dilemma. The hybrid artifacts stated by Chadwick [31] combine different patterns of organization and mobilization. On one side, combining actions and activities inside and outside the Internet, structured through models that combine formal organizational structures that are well defined and with a certain degree of hierarchical structuring, with a flexible and decentralized external architecture that facilitates informal and *ad hoc* relations [32].

In this way, according to Kreiss [33]; it is important to consider the *offline* reality related to the configuration, the nature and the capabilities of the social collective that is promoting the campaign. The organizational resources and abilities when planning and managing the communication and the social relations would determine the power and the reach of this campaign. In this regard, Putnam [34] stresses the importance and the organizational role as a source of social capital, understood in a relational way: Strong ties, in terms of internal commitment for the correct design and launch of the campaign, and weak ties, essential to transcend borders and organizational edges, important for fostering relations with allies, collaborators and sympathizers through the activation of key elements to exchange resources and cooperation such as trust, identification or reciprocity [35–38].

Thus, the external structure on a social level would be determined by the degree of openness, porosity and inclusiveness at an identity level of the social promoter collective [65], as a previous condition for the dissemination of the campaign messages through the ITC architecture, decentralized and flexible, which promotes the growth of relations and weak ties. The external structure on a social level will also be determined by the resources and the internal commitment regarding planning, coordination and management of the crowdfunding campaigns by the provision of “media ecology” for internal and external communication, understood as the use of a mix of several communication channels and formats, mainly online but also through old technologies and offline formats [39,40], as shows.

The following chapter summarizes the key elements for the success of the *political crowdfunding* funding campaigns, based on the most relevant scientific discoveries until today and the previously mentioned keys.

1.3. Success keys in crowdfunding campaigns

Even though there is little research regarding crowdfunding projects linked to social movements and collectives, several authors [41–45] point out higher success in the collection of funds among projects aimed towards social causes. On the contrary, most of the research studies conducted to date are focused on business projects. In relation with the success factors of crowdfunding projects in general, Koch and Siering [46] have carried out a compilation of three groups depending on the characteristics of the promoters and the funding projects:

- Specifications and objectives of the project: according to different research studies, the requested amount influences the success rate, so that the higher the target amount is, the lower the probabilities of reaching the minimum amount needed within the framework of the “all or nothing” system [16,46]. Another element that negatively influences the campaign bears relation to the duration of it. Thus, the longer the funding period, the lower the probabilities of reaching the target amount. Besides the questions posed by Koch and Siering [46], Verschoore and Araújo [47] add the relevance of the material rewards offered to the funders in the *reward crowdfunding* projects [48].
- Description and information about the project: following the media richness theory, Koch and Siering [46]; stress the importance of the correct description, the existence of videos and images or the

emotional impact of the explanatory content of the project in order to achieve success [16]. In this sense, as Cumming and Zhang [49] point out, the sophistication of the intermediary platform and the correct interaction when giving information through the platform would positively impact the success rate [48].

- Characteristics and role of the promoter: the experience in launching crowdfunding projects is highlighted as one of the success factors linked to the characteristics of the promoter [46,50,64], as well as the size of the social networks linked to the promoter of the campaign [46]. Borst et al. [51] point out the importance of social networks as a mechanism to reach the financial support of people outside the closest network to the project, which would be a fundamental fact for the consequences of the established objectives. In this regard, Clauss et al. [52] show a positive association between the use of social networks and the amount of support in terms of individual and financial investors [53]. Lastly, Bi et al. [62] highlight the impact measured by the reactions generated on social networks as a quality signal linked to financial success [54].

Additionally, Hsieh et al. [41]; in one of these scarce papers on *crowdfunding* and social movements, stress the influence of context and the environmental factors as determinants for financial success. This way, the causes promoted during the development of cycles of social mobilization and protest would have a higher success rate than the projects linked to other objectives.

Although the ultimate goal the projects aimed towards achieving economic benefits and aimed towards achieving social objectives need different strategies based on their own nature and motivations of the participants [37], it is true that both types of crowdfunding projects may share certain common keys to achieve the fundraising success.

This way, focusing on the second stage of the campaigns, it is expected that the success in the *political crowdfunding* projects linked to collective action would be connected with several factors. First of all, the richness of the media ecosystem to mobilize resources and the intensity of the communication and information actions carried out by the promoter collective online, through the website of the intermediary platform, Facebook and Twitter, which will be linked to a high success level based on the activation of weak ties, key for the campaign funding [51–53,55]. The informative and communicative offline activities, in as much as they strengthen the relation and improve the confidence levels and information of the people linked to the collective promoters through strong ties [42,56], will contribute to a greater online and offline involvement in the fundraising campaign, therefore, contributing towards reaching the objective. In the same way, it is expected that the media richness expressed through the production of audiovisual content for the dissemination during the campaign would be linked to a higher level of success [46].

In the same line as Hui et al., [54]; the researchers of this paper consider the impact on social networks to be relevant for the success of the campaign, measured by the number of reactions generated by the posts on channels such as Facebook or Twitter or the promoter collective of the fundraising campaign. Apart from the role of the social networks, the number of news stories linked to funding projects that appear in the press (either digital or printed press) should be borne in mind. In this respect, it is very interesting to consider the growth that many online headers have had during the last decade. These headers have an independent or alternative style and are close, in many cases, to the social change demands from social collectives and movements, apart from being the source of information for activists [57,58].

The external support for disseminating the messages launched by the promoter collective should be taken into account as a mechanism to activate the weak ties in order to achieve the funds and reach the requested amount and, therefore, the success of the campaign. In line with the idea of opening towards the exterior and the functionality of the inclusive identities in order to connect with the exterior side [59,65] and with the main role of the promoter collective to create social capital,

relationships and alliances to mobilize financial resources [34,60], a greater success rate is expected, especially among projects that are communicatively supported by third parties, regardless of whether they are of a collective (associations, collectives, political parties and social movements) or individual nature, particularly well-known personalities who are relevant in the public space.

Lastly, beyond the identity configuration and the degree of exterior openness, the promoter's internal structure is considered relevant on an organizational level. Following the idea by Thorpe [61]; Kusumarani and Zo [71] which demonstrates the importance for success of the power of the center of the network that initiates the project, we must consider the unitary composition or compound of the same. In this sense, a model articulated in a federal way, around several organizations, would have a greater capability to disseminate its message among greater audiences and, therefore, a higher probability of reaching the requested amount.

Because of the previous theoretical and scientific considerations, the formulation of the following research hypothesis is considered significant:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): The intensity of the information and communication actions driven by the promoter collective will be linked to the projects that reach the success rate.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The impact of the communication actions is linked to the success level.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): The external collaboration level of the dissemination campaign will be linked to the projects that are already successful.

Hypothesis 4 (H4): The internal complexity and organizational multiplicity will be linked to the success variable.

2. Methodology and data analysis

To contrast the formulated hypothesis, a database consisting of 233 projects of political crowdfunding has been created. This database collects several characteristics connected with the communication activity of the social promoter collective, the communicative impact of the campaign activities, the level of alliances to disseminate the project, the internal model of organization and the results and support reached on a financial level. The projects have been selected according to the objective and the nature of the promoter. This way, the focus was on projects linked to collective actions created on the basis of social foundations and oriented towards social and political change. The field of study encompasses 5 years, from 2012 to 2017, comprising the territory of Spain.

The creation of the database began with the establishment of a series of categories linked to the previous items. Afterwards, in order to select the projects that form part of the study, a screening was carried out on the total number of the crowdfunding platforms in Spain. Following the classification of the website *Universo Crowdfunding*, those specialized in entrepreneurial, cultural, artistic, technological, scientific, gastronomic and sport projects have been rejected. Platforms included within the general and social fields have been verified, with the latter being rejected in as much as the objective could be within the so-called *civic crowdfunding*. In relation to the whole of the general platforms gathered in *Universo Crowdfunding* and, after a thorough review, 17 platforms were excluded due to lack of activity. The platform *Lanzanos* was rejected because of lack of information. Three websites were selected, from which 109 projects were collected from *Verkami*, 80 from *Goteo* and 44 from *Totsuma*.

In the second stage, the quantitative and qualitative annotations linked to the predetermined categories were undertaken. These categories were determined based on the systematic monitoring of the intermediary platform websites and Facebook and Twitter profiles linked to the collectives promoters. In order to finish the search linked to the variables of the study (see Table 1), the websites of the social collectives were visited and several searches through the search engines with key words were conducted. The aim of these searches was to register pieces of news linked to the researched projects.

Table 1
Study variables.

Acronym	Typology	Description
SUC	Qualitative	Success or failure according to the minimum amount requested
OFFA	Quantitative	Offline presentation acts
UPDA	Quantitative	Updates through the website of the project
POSF	Quantitative	Facebook posts
POST	Quantitative	Twitter posts
VID	Quantitative	Number of informative videos
FUND	Quantitative	Number of funders
EUR	Quantitative	Fundraising amount
REAF	Quantitative	Reactions to Facebook posts
REAT	Quantitative	Reactions to Twitter posts
SHAF	Quantitative	Shared Facebook posts
ONLN	Quantitative	News in native digital press
PRIN	Quantitative	News in reference printed press
INDT	Quantitative	Posts promoted by supporters in Twitter
PERT	Quantitative	Dissemination actions by personalities in Twitter
PERF	Quantitative	Dissemination actions by personalities in Facebook
COLF	Quantitative	Dissemination actions by allies in Facebook
COLT	Quantitative	Dissemination actions by allies in Twitter
IORG	Quantitative	Internal organizational composition

Source. Own creation

With the STATA program, the association among variables based on the success variable (SUC) will be statistically analyzed. First of all, with the aim of summarizing the information gathered, the statistical descriptive data connected to the different research variables are presented. Hereafter, the Student's t-test will be performed in order to check if there are important differences ($p < 0.05$) among the average variables analyzed based on the success variable (SUC). To complete the inferential analysis, the logistic regression will be used. The objective is to calculate the probability and predict the success (SUC) of the *political crowdfunding* projects based on the quantitative variables shown in Table 1.

3. Results

The data presented in the descriptive analysis show a high percentage of projects that reach the requested amount. There is a success rate of 89.69%, as compared to 10.31% of all analyzed projects that do not reach the requested total. In absolute terms, 209 projects obtain the requested funding as compared with 24 that do not obtain the requested amount (see Table 2).

As Table 3 shows, the average financial support (EUR) of all the projects that reach success is €9,216, donated by 234.72 donors (FUN). The average for non financed projects is substantially less for both variables: €1505 and 43.16 funders.

Even though the average is higher for the successful projects in the variables that collect information regarding direct communication actions, the impact of the campaign, the alliances level and collaboration and the organizational composition of the promoter collective, the level of statistical significance ($p < 0.05$) is linked to success in a limited number of variables once the T-test has been carried out. Regarding the communication and direct information activities promoted by the promoter collectives, we find a statistically important level for the variable POST that informs about Twitter posts. Concerning the impact of the campaign communicative actions, there is a relation among the number

Table 2
Success percentage (%) of the analyzed projects.

Variables	N	%	Standard error	Confidence interval (95%)
SUCCESS				
-Yes	209	89.69	.019	(85.06–93.01)
-No	24	10.31		(6.98–14.93)

Source. Own creation

Table 3
Student t-test to compare the mean of the different variables based on the success variable.

Variables	Successful		Not successful		T-Test P-Value
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	
OFFA	.58	1.80	.16	.38	0.25
UPDA	6.03	6.38	4.25	5.84	0.19
POSF	8.91	13.25	4.12	6.02	0.08
POST	19.19	24.15	8.70	16.34	0.03
VID	1.15	1.42	.83	.38	0.26
FUN	234.72	354.87	43.16	43.44	0.008
EUR	9216	15,598	1505	1402	0.01
REAF	191.39	493.59	111.33	302.26	0.43
REAT	351.05	615.15	108.95	259.67	0.05
SHAF	122.98	359.41	72.16	169.80	0.49
ONLN	3.56	3.63	1.5	1.61	0.006
PRIN	.57	1.10	.20	.58	0.11
INDT	27.90	51.31	5.83	15.71	0.03
PERT	.37	1.16	.041	.20	0.16
PERF	.11	.59	.041	.20	0.52
COLF	2.80	4.42	1.54	2.16	0.17
COLT	4.18	6.49	1	3.28	0.01
IORG	11.83	47.75	8.75	33.20	0.75

Source. Level of statistical significance for the T-test $p < 0.05$.

of pieces of news regarding the funding project in digital press (ONLN) and the success variable. Finally, among the variables regarding the level of individual and collective communicative collaboration, a statistically important association level is observed among INDT, COLT and the success variable (see Table 3).

The results presented in the logistic regression of Table 4 predict a higher possibility of achieving the requested amount (SUC) in projects that post more publications within the framework of a campaign through Twitter. Therefore, the impact on online press, measured as the amount of news related to the project (ONLN), allows the projection of a higher probability of successful completion of the funding campaign. In this line, it is possible to assert that the establishment of collaborative relations and alliances for the dissemination, regarding individuals (INDT) or collective agents (COLT), allows the projection of a higher level of obtaining the requested funding. The differences among the projects that were analyzed based on the success for the previous variables, are, in all cases, relevant on a statistical level.

Table 4
Logistic regression of the variable success based on the different variables.

Variables	Coef	OR	Standard error	Z	P-Value	IC (95%)
OFFA	0.611	1.84	0.817	1.38	0.16	(0.77–4.39)
UPDA	0.056	1.05	0.045	1.31	0.19	(0.97–1.15)
POSF	0.074	1.07	0.043	1.83	0.06	(0.99–1.16)
POST	0.037	1.03	0.018	2.09	0.03	(1.002–1.07)
VID	0.306	1.35	0.380	1.10	0.27	(0.78–2.35)
FUN	0.032	1.03	0.007	4.61	0.01	(1.01–1.04)
EUR	0.0008	1	0.0001	4.25	0.01	(1–1.001)
REAF	0.0007	1	0.001	0.79	0.43	(0.99–1.002)
REAT	0.002	1	0.001	1.87	0.06	(0.99–1.005)
SHAF	0.0008	1	0.001	0.68	0.49	(0.99–1)
ONLN	0.325	1.38	0.163	2.75	0.01	(1.09–1.74)
PRIN	0.651	1.91	0.786	1.59	0.11	(0.85–4.28)
INDT	0.067	1.06	0.026	2.70	0.01	(1.01–1.12)
PERT	1.307	3.69	3.404	1.42	0.15	(0.60–22.1)
PERF	0.55	1.74	1546	0.63	0.52	(0.30–9.90)
COLF	0.113	1.12	0.094	1.34	0.17	(0.95–1.32)
COLT	0.266	1.30	0.149	2.33	0.02	(1.04–1.63)
IORG	0.001	1	0.005	0.31	0.76	(0.99–1.01)

Source. Level of statistical significance for the logistic regression $p < 0.05$.

4. Discussion and conclusion

After dismissing the connection of OFFA, UPDA, POSF and VID with the success variable (SUC), the results related with the number of posts done via Twitter (POST) by the promoter collective allows for partial verification of hypothesis 1 (H1). This way, in the same line as previous research studies focused on general crowdfunding projects [51–53], the importance of Twitter as a communicative tool to interact, inform and for the activation and mobilization of potential funding supports can be confirmed. These supports would be linked to political crowdfunding projects and the promoter collective through ties of varying intensity. In the same sense, the importance of the capabilities and the organizational resources of the promoter collective of the campaign should be highlighted. The planning and execution of the communication campaign by multiple activities and activating the needed media ecosystem in order to manage the social relations and the mobilization of resources are extremely important.

Hypothesis 2 (H2), which links communicative impact and success, is verified by the results and differential presented by the variables INDT and ONLN. In this way, the interaction on the social network Twitter (INDT) through posts that support the project funding works positively, improving the dissemination, visibility and the trust and credibility levels among the individuals linked through weak ties in the so-called electronic “word of mouth” [62]. Additionally, the link between success and the number of news stories published on native online press (ONLN), apart from being an effective way to disseminate the campaign, suggests a connection between the audiences of the digital media developed during the 2008 economic crisis [57,58] and the political crowdfunding projects oriented towards social and political change.

The results of this research show the importance of cooperation in order to reach the requested financial amount as well as the elements mentioned in the previous paragraphs. In this line, in as much as the projects that have obtained the support of associations, collectives, social movements and political parties on Twitter have achieved a higher success rate, the hypothesis 3 (H3) can be partially verified: This finding reinforces the idea of inclusivity and porosity identity of the external structure of the promoter collective in order to mobilize resources [59, 65], their ability to activate weak ties, key for articulating alliances and collaborative relations in order to exchange resources based on reciprocity [35–38]. It also reaffirms the power of Twitter as a tool to activate and exchange information among individuals linked in a weak way, who are key to mobilize resources [55], in this case, by the dissemination of the campaign message among audiences that may be similar identically and ideologically to the campaign promoter collective. The importance of the support received for the diffusion from other socio-political actors shows the strength of the weak ties [11]. In this way, the analysis of the mobilization of resources for collective action through political crowdfunding reveals the simultaneous importance of the formal and informal structure for the dissemination and financing of campaigns. This finding contrasts with the postulates of the resource mobilization theory [5,6] focused on explaining the obtaining of resources for collective action as a consequence of planning and the coordinated and centralized activity of organizations. Lastly, the results regarding the degree of association between the variables JORG and SUC discard the hypothesis 4 (H4), so that the unitary or multiple composition of the promoter collective does not influence the success of the political crowdfunding campaigns.

The findings and the analysis developed in this research are an important contribution when it comes to understanding the facts that influence the success of the political crowdfunding campaigns towards the collective action. Especially, the communicative and relational role of the promoter collective and the importance of communication channels such as Twitter and native online press websites in order to disseminate the campaign message and to mobilize resources beyond the closest social environment. Regarding the limitations, we must point out the lack of depth due to the chosen quantitative method. This way, in

future researches, it is necessary to address the internal organization and the task allocation for each collective, both in the previous stage and planning and during the development and execution of the communication campaign in the political crowdfunding projects, using questionnaires or in-depth interviews.

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