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THE RISE AND FALL OF PIRATE POLITICAL PARTIES

Abstract

This paper was created as an aspiration to view the pirate movement as a predecessor and herald of the anti-establishment wave that followed on the political scenes of Western liberal democracies in the mid-2010s. Based on a brief history of pirate parties in the four countries that were considered relevant to the development of the pirate movement, it was determined that in each of them there was a sharp increase in the popularity of pirate parties, which was soon followed by an equally rapid decline in the number of votes for the pirates. The reasons for this established rule among pirate parties were sought in the very ideology of the pirate movement, as well as in the nature of the support that derived from it. Namely, the pirate movement is seen as a new social movement, whose supporters are young, urban and rebellious people. Such an unstable body politic, prone to abstention, is characterised by getting quickly and massively enthusiastic about a certain political option. However, it even faster gets massively disappointed and stops voting again or redirects the votes to other options, which inspire a new sensation and enthusiasm. Another reason for the rapid growth and decline of the pirates' popularity was found in the overlap of the

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overlap of the ideas of the pirate movement with the ideas of the green parties, which resulted in the fact that these parties were fighting each other for the same or similar electorate. Hence, the pirates in some countries took advantage of the slight fall in support of the green parties. In the long run, however, it has been an unequal struggle, due to the established and branched party structure of the environmental parties, which, unlike inexperienced pirates, represented a relevant factor on the political stages of many European countries for several decades.

INTRODUCTION

There have been many surprising phenomena on the political scenes of Western countries in the last decade. Many former political elites and established parties have disappeared under the invasion of so-called anti-establishment movements and leaders. Those new political movements and leaders who emerged as relevant factors on the political scene are often labelled as populist or anti-systemic. Brexit, the victory and the entire mandate of Trump, the rise of the radical left and right and the downfall of the old parties of the centre left and right in France are just some of the many examples of such movements. In a sea of such examples from the second half of 2010s, a somewhat forgotten and unexplored phenomenon remained, which existed in the decade before, and which could be viewed as a forerunner, i.e. a precursor of the aforementioned anti-establishment wave that followed. This was the phenomenon of pirate parties.

Namely, from the founding of the first pirate party in 2006 in Sweden, until the big failure of the Berlin Pirate Party in the regional elections in 2016, a whole decade passed marked by a sudden rise, but no less sudden decline in the popularity of the so-called pirate movement throughout Europe and the world. In this paper we will attempt to determine and analyse the causes of the fate of these political

organizations, especially the causes of their failure to remain, for a longer time, a relevant political force on the political scenes of the countries where they appeared.

Based on the experiences of pirate parties in Sweden, Germany, Czechia and Iceland, and in accordance with the theoretical framework set by Patrick Burkart, we will try to determine their main features, which contributed to their sudden rise after the appearance on the political scene. The assumption is that the same characteristics of these organizations and the wider society that helped them grow, later contributed to their political downfall. We will try to establish that by the end of this paper.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PIRATE PARTIES

The first pirate party was established in Sweden, at the beginning of 2006. The Swedish Pirate Party, as its official name is, was founded as a reaction to the European Union's adoption of increasingly stricter regulations on copyright protection on the Internet, which was interpreted by the "cyber community" as an attack on the freedom of speech and expression, viewed more broadly. Therefore, "Rick Falkvinge, an IT engineer without any significant political experience, published a website declaring his intention to found a party dedicated to legalizing file sharing" (Fredriksson, 2015).

Party membership grew surprisingly fast, although it was not enough for a significant result in the Swedish Parliamentary elections held in September 2006. Namely, the new Swedish Pirate Party won a disappointing 0.63% in these elections (Rydell & Sundberg, 2010). As for the political program "the Swedish Pirate Party originally identified three core issues: the protection of personal integrity, the freedom of culture, and the opposition to patents and private monopolies" (Fredriksson, 2015). Closely related to this last issue was an event that was extremely important not so much for the establishment, but for the very beginnings of the Party's development. That was the trial of the founders of the website The Pirate Bay, which resonated extremely loudly in the Swedish, as well as European and global public. That trial

raised the importance of the topic of copyright in the Swedish public so much that, riding the wave, the Swedish Pirate Party managed to win 7.1% of the votes in the elections for the European Parliament held in June 2009, just three months after the guilty verdict was passed, and thus it got 2 mandates. After these elections, the party was considered to have a good chance of establishing itself as relevant on the Swedish political scene. However, it turned out that it never managed to win mandates in the National Parliament and that the result in the 2009 European elections was just a shining moment for this political group.

However, the importance of this party is much wider than the mere success in the elections within Sweden. Its influence on public social discourse is best seen in "the ascendance of Kopimism to the status of a recognized religion in Sweden", which according to Patrick Burkart "illustrates the broader social significance of pirate politics" (Burkart, 2014). Kopimism is a religion whose followers believe in the sanctity of copying and free sharing of information. It was founded in 2010 by a group of philosophy students from the University of Uppsala, who were never formally connected with the founders of The Pirate Bay website, nor with the Swedish Pirate Party, which only shows that there was not a single party or political organization, but a whole pirate movement in Sweden at that time (Sinnreich, 2014).

Entirely in line with the nature of the digital age in the globalized world, the pirate movement did not remain confined to Sweden. It spread very quickly, both to Europe and to the whole world, especially its western part. Therefore, in 2010, the Pirate Parties International was founded with headquarters in Brussels, which today, according to data from their official website, gathers 43 national member parties (Pirate Parties International [PPI]). Apart from Sweden, the most notable results were achieved by the Pirate Party in Germany, which won 8.9% in the regional elections in Berlin in 2011. Further on, this party managed to get mandates in three more provincial parliaments – Saarland, and North Rhine-Westphalia. At its peak in 2012, Germany's Pirate Party had 33,000 members and was Germany's seventh largest party, with half of the membership of the

Liberals, Greens, or Left. Considering that it was a new political organization, these were remarkable achievements (Marktanner, 2012). However, this party, similarly to the Swedish case, failed to transfer the good results of the regional elections to the national level. In the Berlin elections of 2016, after numerous controversies and turmoil within and around the party, the Pirate Party received less than 2% of the vote, which represented a symbolic final collapse of that party and its ideas in the place where it had been the strongest in the world.

As for other countries, the pirates achieved more notable election results in the Czech Republic and Iceland after 2015.In fact, in these countries, pirate parties even entered the national parliaments, while in Iceland the pirates could have been in power at one point. Namely, at one point, before the parliamentary elections in 2016, the Icelandic Pirate Party was the single strongest political force on the island, with over 22% of support (Morgunblaðið, 2016). However, the pirates reached "only" slightly more than 14% of support and won the third place in the election. During the negotiations on post-election coalitions, the pirates failed to stand out as a desirable partner for any of the options, so they remained an opposition party. We could see the same scenario in the next two election cycles, so the Pirate Party of Iceland, although it received the highest percentage of votes in the national elections compared to all the pirate parties in other countries, still remained without significant influence on the public policies in their country. At the same time, a significant fall of support for this party was noticeable, so it dropped from over 27,000 votes in the 2016 elections to around 17,000 votes by Icelanders in the 2021 parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, it was significant that this party, compared to its sister parties in other countries, managed to remain a relevant parliamentary force in as many as 4 election cycles, which is an exception in the analysis on the fate of pirate parties throughout Europe. When we mention Iceland as an exception, we must keep in mind that it is an island country that differs from other European countries in many ways. It is also a very small political system with an electorate of just over 250,000 people. It remains to be seen whether Iceland will also follow the declining trend of

pirate parties in the next election cycles, although it is already certain that this decline in Iceland is significantly slower compared to the other countries where pirates received significant support at one point.

Another country where pirates achieved notable results after 2015 is the Czech Republic. In fact, the Czech Republic was the first country in the world where a pirate party became part of the ruling coalition. The rise of the Czech Pirate Party began in 2017, when it won just under 11% in the national parliamentary elections and became the third strongest political option in the Czech Parliament with 22 deputies. During the four-year term of Prime Minister Andrej Babiš, pirates were among the biggest critics of his government, which was often characterized as populist. Before the 2021 elections, the Czech pirates united with a coalition of several local leaders and jointly appeared in the election under the name STAN. This Pirates-STAN coalition achieved a remarkable result, almost 16% of votes and 37 mandates in the Czech Parliament. However, the Pirates got only four mandates out of those 37 parliamentary seats, due to the electoral system of the Czech Republic, which included preferential voting and open lists. Therefore, it is difficult to call that the electoral success of the Pirates, as there was a drop from 22 parliamentary seats to only four. However, after these elections, the Pirates became part of the ruling coalition, so the leader of the party, Ivan Bartoš, became the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Regional Development. In addition to the position of Deputy Prime Minister, the Pirates also got the very important position of the head of diplomacy, so Jan Lipavský became the new Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, we may claim that the Pirate Party achieved a relatively large influence in the executive branch, given the only four parliamentary mandates it received in the elections. It was particularly significant that Lipavský was appointed the Minister despite a fierce resistance of President Miloš Zeman, who considered this Pirate Party's official too liberal and pro-NATO-oriented. We can, therefore, assert that the election of Lipavský as the Minister of Foreign Affairs was a sort of declaration of the new direction of Czech foreign policy, which would be much more in line with the strongest EU countries and the United

States. Namely, until now the Czech Republic was in a kind of rebel alliance within the EU called the Visegrad Four, which also includes Poland, Slovakia and Hungary. This group of states deviated in many ways from the main elements of the foreign policy of what we call the Political West. Nevertheless, even though it has been by far the greatest success of a pirate party in the world, considering the influence it had on the formation of policies in its country, we must be aware that the drop from 22 to 4 parliamentary seats, rather supports the thesis of a sharp decline of pirate parties than the joining the ruling coalition goes against that thesis. The epilogue will be clearer after the next elections, when it will be measured how the participation in the government affected the support to pirate politics in Czechia, but also what the real amount of that support is, given that it is now largely concealed by the coalition with the STAN movement.

However, while we are waiting for the outcome in Iceland and the Czech Republic, we must bear in mind that these are small political systems. The assumption is that it is a slightly belated echo of the rise of pirate parties throughout the Western world. If we consider that in these two countries there was a sudden rise, followed by a sudden drop in popularity, we will see that here too, there is a similar matrix of the fate of pirate parties on the political scenes of different countries. Of course, one should wait for at least one more election cycle in these countries to reach a conclusion, but it seems that these are not even exceptions that prove the rule, but only belated examples of the exact same matrix.

PIRATE PARTIES AS A NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT

It is significant that the pirate parties did not appear out of the desire to win elections and lead society, but out of the desire to protect, through government institutions, the privacy of individuals and the freedom of information flow on the Internet as the most important form of freedom of expression in the digital age (Khutkyy, 2019). As they were basically created to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens on the Internet, we can also call them the "single-issue movement",

i.e., a movement focused on solving one problem. However, in addition, the pirate movement has developed an ideology that is much broader than the issue and the problem. Thus, we can definitely consider the pirate movement as a "new social movement".

New social movement is a term coined in political and sociological theory to denote a type of social gathering of relatively young people from the end of the 1960s to the present in the conditions of post-industrial society. Namely, what brings people together in the new social movements are new, post-materialist values, as defined by Ronald Inglehart. Whereas previously, the lines of social division and political commitment were of a materialistic type, such as the issue of armament, or class struggle, for generations raised in abundance, other values are those that preoccupy them. Those values relate to the protection of the environment, aspirations for greater inclusiveness in policy making and citizen participation, protection of human and minority rights and freedoms, etc. The main field of social conflict has shifted from the economic to the cultural level. Therefore, we can also consider new social movements as cultural movements (Tomić-Koludrović, 1991). Such movements are various feminist movements, anti-war movements, environmental movements, LGBT movement, etc. Of all of them, only the environmental movement entered the political scene and green parties participate in many political systems of the West.

Analysing the ideas of the pirate movement, as well as the program of the pirate parties, we can read many of the values associated with the new social movements. When we talk about advocating for free sharing of files, which is the main reason for the creation of the pirate movement, in their system of ideas it is not understood as an isolated issue, but as a "variety of free speech or, more broadly, freedom of expression" (Burkart, 2014). Therefore, the fight against strict enforcement of the copyright on the Internet becomes a fight for human rights, not a mere insistence on free Internet content. There is another extremely important dimension to the freedom of file sharing, and that is the protection of privacy on the Internet. Namely, if everything we do on the Internet requires identity verification through a

payment card or some other means, there is no possibility of being anonymous. If we recall that the protection of the private sphere from intrusions of others is one of the most important liberal achievements and the basic idea of a free individual, then, the privacy in the new online sphere is indeed a legitimate political issue (Jääsaari & Hildén, 2015).

From thus understood pivotal value, on which the movement is based, many other values arise, which are products of the basic one. Pirates, for example, insist on full transparency in making political decisions, from local, through regional and national, to supranational and global levels. Transparency, of course, means that citizens have an important role in the very process of political decision-making (Marktanner, 2012). This concept of participatory democracy is sharply contrasted with various minimalist concepts of democracy, where citizens' participation in the decision-making process is reduced to voting once every four or five years, when a judgment is passed on which of the competing political elites offers a better alternative. In the participatory model, in its various versions, citizens have a significant role either in organizing and participating in protests, as a form of pressure on the government, or simply in participating in a reasoned public debate about a certain political decision or legal solution. In the case of pirate parties, their inclination to the participatory model, i.e. direct democracy, is largely based on the development of prospects of easy and fast online voting on various topics. Such voting would facilitate the implementation of a referendum as a form of direct decision-making by citizens in the process of making political decisions, which is the ideal of any participatory democracy approach (Khutkyy, 2019).

All the values advocated by the pirate parties, therefore, belong to the spectrum of values that we label as post-materialistic, and which is a *differentia specifica* of the new social movements. Therefore, Burkert is right when he analyses the pirate movement through the theoretical prism of the critical theory of new social movements. In the context of Habermas's paradigm of the struggle to preserve the life-world from colonization by the system, Burkart states that the "pirate politics joins the European NSMs of the 1980s in promoting communicatively rational

social programs in the face of colonization and crisis. It inaugurates a period of decolonization of the Internet to save the Internet from irreversible spoilage" (Burkart, 2014).

If we analyse the composition of voters of pirate parties, we will understand that "there are practically no pirate party voters among those born before 1985" (Otjes, 2019). Additionally, "data analysis demonstrated that, compared to the electorate as a whole, young people, males, students and persons living in cities were over-represented among the Swedish PP's voters" (Khutkyy, 2019). If we add the finding that political distrust (toward established political elites) is the most common motive for voting by an average voter of pirate parties (Otjes, 2019), we get a clear-cut profile of a young, urban and rebellious person as a prototype of pirate party voters. That is also another piece of data that fits into the consideration of the pirate movement as a new social movement, given that the profile of an average member of one of the new social movements in the 1970s was very similar to the profile of the voters of the pirate parties.

Given that the critical theory scholars classified, as new social movements, only those organizations that remained an exclusive part of civil society and did not enter the political arena, Burkart wonders if the pirate parties therefore might not be a true new social movement. The answer is rather straightforward:

> The Pirates test how well the political and legal systems are able to address new political grievances. Since the Pirates participate in two national political systems and the EP, they break down some barriers that previously relegated most NSMs to permanent outsider status and redraw the system boundaries (Burkart, 2014).

Namely, the same way they entered the sphere of politics, new social movements can also leave it, but the energy they gathered around, as well as the discourse they initiated, remain alive in the civil society where they originated from. What defines a movement as a new social movement is the post-materialist values it strives for, as well as the orientation against the entrenched consensus of the

political establishment, not whether the movement has its representatives in the political system. After all, the pirate parties are not the first new social movement to embark on a political adventure. Green parties did this long before, and nobody stopped considering environmental movements as part of new social movements because of that.

REASONS FOR POLITICAL FAILURE OF PIRATE PARTIES

Since we have established that the pirate parties belong to the new social movements according to their values and ideological profiling, the next step is to determine which characteristics influenced the sudden growth, but also the loss of support to these parties.

First, let's pay attention to the characteristics of their body of voters. We have found that these are young people from urban areas, academically educated, or most often in the process of education. So, we are talking about students. We know that political abstention is very common among this population, i.e., a much lower percentage of voter turnout compared to older generations. The main reason for this is the sense of rebellion of the youth, which does not permit that a young person votes for any of the options that deal with irrelevant topics in the students' way of thinking. However, the movements and parties that are new and emerge with the aspiration to articulate the interests of that particular generation can greatly influence and reduce the abstention among the younger urban population. In colloquial terms, the pirates "have pulled the abstainers to the polls".

Also, the finding of Simon Otjes, who empirically proved that the distrust in political elites is a much more important motive for voting for pirate parties than the conviction in the correctness of the ideas advocated by the pirates, is very indicative. Namely, Otjes says:

> These results, however, point to the importance of political distrust. In the country where they have been most successful (Iceland), their appeal is quite similar to that of other countries. Their success occurred in the

context of an ongoing crisis of political trust. The root of their success may lie in the ability of these parties to mobilize voters who are disillusioned with established politics (Otjes, 2019).

Here we come to the very nature of the support that the pirate parties enjoyed. In addition to the fact that it came from an unstable political body prone to abstention, the motivation for voting was also unstable, i.e., the support was more related to the rebellious punishment of the existing political elites than to real support for the political project of the pirate parties. In the circumstances of the global economic crisis and numerous scandals related to the violation of privacy rights on the Internet, as well as the trial of the founders of The Pirate Bay, the support for pirate policy seemed, to such a volatile electorate with unstable motivation to vote, as a good threatening message to the political establishment. This explains the sudden rise in the support for pirate parties in certain countries. However, when the topics of pirate politics ceased to be so relevant, the unreliable electorate returned to abstention, or turned to other options which presented new sensationalist anti-elitist platforms. Accordingly, pirate parties can also be considered as the forerunners of today's anti-establishment and populist movements around the world, such as the Five Star Movement in Italy, or many right-wing populists across Europe. Namely, when the pressing issue of online privacy and freedom of expression on the Internet changed to the pressing issue of migration, many young Swedes decided that just as they had previously punished the political elite by voting for pirates, this time they would do the same by voting for the Sweden Democrats, a right-wing anti-immigrant party. Therefore, we can conclude that the characteristic of the pirate movement, being a new social movement, to attract young and rebellious voters, is equally the cause of their sudden rise on the political scenes of certain European countries, but no less of their precipitous fall.

Another possible cause of the drop of support for pirate parties is the fact that they failed to attract women's support. Namely, "in professional realm, the Swedish PP made an explicit focus on membership recruitment from technical universities,

which attracted male software programmers and file-sharing geeks, but then turned to wider political representation" (Baldwin, 2014). So, the fact is that in most cases both the membership and the electorate of the pirate parties were young urban men, while they did not manage to bring their politics close enough to the female part of the population. However, there is an exception to every rule, so the Pirate Party of Iceland has very prominent women in its leadership, and therefore a much more balanced gender structure of voters (Otjes, 2019). Perhaps, this is precisely the reason why the Pirate Party of Iceland is the most successful pirate party in the world according to its results so far.

In the end, the impact that the ideological similarity of pirate parties and ecological parties has had on the support for pirate parties should be analysed, which eventually results in a fight for the same electorate. Namely, considering that both the green parties and the pirate parties are part of the new social movements in a broader sense, as we have already established, clearly they share many post-materialist values and attitudes, which is the basis of their ideology. About the similarity and overlap of the pirates with the greens, Burkert says:

> Like the Greens, the party arose from civil society as an NSM with defensive characteristics. Their utopianisms share a grammar and even some vocabulary. The counterfactual normative ideal expressed as the Internet commons, the public domain, or the Alternative Jukebox has equivalencies in both environmental and ecological politics. Like the European ecological movement, pirate politics aspires "to be both a pressure group and a moral crusade" and also expresses a fear of "the uncontrolled and irrational use of the resources of this world" (Burkart, 2014).

Therefore, the pirate politics, in addition to being a single-issue movement, also has a broader foundation as part of the new social movements. This broader foundation is the same as that of ecological parties because their ideology is jointly based on post-materialist values. Given that no party can survive for long as a single-issue, the pirates had to start a broader narrative on human rights, sustainable development, etc. The problem occurs that by spreading the discourse

like this, the pirates come into a direct clash with the greens over the body of voters. This is because there are not more than (at best) one third of voters in any society who are guided by post-materialist values when choosing whom to vote. Therefore, it is clear that the growth of support for pirate parties is largely due to the decline of support for ecological parties. Given that the green parties appeared much earlier and that in many countries they are already established parties, this race for voters is by far unequal. Because in countries where the pirates were the strongest, such as Germany and even Sweden, the greens are really established political parties. However, if we take Germany as an example, we will understand that in the regional elections in 2011, the Pirates took advantage of the stagnation in support for the Green Party, caused by the yet fresh memory of the participation of the Greens in Schröder's government, when they had betrayed one of their main principles of pacifism and supported the bombing of FRY in 1999. Hard-line supporters of the new social movements certainly did not forget that.

However, the Greens had an already developed party infrastructure, solid support from an electorate oriented towards the post-materialist left, and the image of a modern party. In all subsequent elections after 2011, all the voters who had given up voting Greens to vote for the Pirates, have voted the Greens again, given that they offer a similar but much more certain and consistent policy than the Pirates, who have not managed to get established. The result of this, considering that the urban population to which the post-materialist paradigm is close is constantly increasing, is the fact that at one point at the end of Angela Merkel's tenure, the Greens became the second strongest party in Germany, right behind the Christian Democrats. Therefore, one of the main problems of the pirate parties and the cause of their failure is the occupation of their political and ideological spectrum by the green parties. This was also the cause of their rise, as they largely followed the well-trodden paths previously taken by the greens, in terms of the support by the young and urban population. However, as soon as the greens recovered, they got those voters back.

CONCLUSION

This paper describes the phenomenon of pirate politics and the political fate of the pirate parties. Based on Patrick Burkart's theoretical framework, the nature of the pirate movement and its affiliation to the new social movements are explained. Some of its characteristics stem from the affiliation with the new social movements, which contributed to the sharp rise of pirate parties on the political scenes of certain European countries. It has also been established that the same characteristics that contributed to the sudden rise were also the cause of a sudden drop of support for the pirate parties.

Finally, we can conclude that the significance of pirate parties is much wider than the limited electoral success they achieved. Namely, the issues and topics they have raised remain and will remain legitimate political topics for political actors to take their position on. Many ideas proclaimed by the pirate parties will remain on the political scene through the political actors ideologically close or relatively close to the pirates, who took them over. Many important issues, such as the Internet privacy, freedom of expression, or the idea of using electronic means for direct participation of citizens in political decision-making, might not have appeared on the political scene if there were no pirate parties, or would have appeared much later. And, if other political actors disregard these political topics again, the pirate movement can very easily move from the civil society to the field of politics and grow into a respectable political party again. This happens when the interests of a part of society remain unrecognized, unarticulated and unrepresented by existing political actors. Until then, the pirate movement continues to exist as a part of global civil society, in various forms, such as the so-called Anonymous.

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УСПОН И ПАД ПИРАТСКИХ ПОЛИТИЧКИХ ПАРТИЈА

Сажетак

Овај рад је настао као тежња да се пиратски покрет сагледа као претеча и најава анти естаблишмент таласа који је уследио на политичким сценама западних либералних демократија средином друге деценије 21. века. На основу кратког историјата пиратских партија у четири државе које су узете као релевантне за развој пиратског покрета, утврђено је да се у свакој од њих десио нагли раст популарности пиратских партија, након чега је убрзо уследио подједнако брзи пад у броју гласова које пирати освајају. Узроци за успостављање овог правила међу пиратским партијама потражени су у самој идеологији пиратског покрета, као и у природи подршке која из ње проистиче. Наиме, пиратски покрет сагледан је као Нови друштвени покрет, чији су подржаваоци млади, урбани и бунтовни људи. Овакво нестално политичко тело, склоно апстиненцији, има карактеристику да се брзо и масовно одушеви одређеном политичком опцијом, али да се још брже и масовније разочара и поново престане да излази на изборе, или своје гласове преусмери на друге опције које изазивају нову сензацију и одушевљење. Још један од узрока наглог раста и брзог пада популарности пирата пронађен је у преклапању идеја пиратског покрета са идејама Зелених партија, што је резултирало чињеницом да се ове партије међусобно боре за исто или слично бирачко тело. Тако су пирати у неким државама искористили благи пад подршке Зеленим партијама за свој успон. На дуже стазе то је ипак била неравноправна борба, због етаблираности и разгранате партијске структуре еколошких партија, које су, за разлику од неискусних пирата, више деценија представљале релевантан фактор на политичким сценама многих европских држава.

Кључне речи: пиратске партије, пиратски покрет, Нови друштвени покрети, пост материјалистичке вредности, анти системски покрети