

Traduza o texto a seguir para o português. Não é necessário traduzir a referência bibliográfica.

*Extrato de Przeworski, Adam (1991), "Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America", Cambridge University Press.*

Democracy is a system in which parties lose elections. There are parties: divisions of interests, values, and opinions. There is competition, organized by rules. And there are periodic winners and losers. Obviously not all democracies are the same; one can list innumerable variations and distinguish several types of democratic institutions. Yet beneath all the institutional diversity, one elementary feature – contestation open to participation (Dahl 1971) – is sufficient to identify a political system as democratic.

[...]

In a democracy, multiple political forces compete inside an institutional framework. Participants in the democratic competition dispose unequal economic, organizational, and ideological resources. Some groups have more money than others to use in politics. Some may have more extensive organizational skills and assets. Some may have greater ideological means, by which I mean arguments that persuade. If democratic institutions are universalistic – blind to the identity of the participants – those with greater resources are more likely to win conflicts processed in a democratic way. Outcomes, I am arguing, are determined jointly by resources and institutions, which means that the probability that any group, identified by its location in the civil society, will realize its interests to a specific degree and in a particular manner is in general different from any other group's.

[...]

Democracy is a system of processing conflicts in which outcomes depend on what participants do but no single force controls what occurs. Outcomes of particular conflicts are not known ex ante by any of the competing political forces, because the consequences of their actions depend on the actions of others, and these cannot be anticipated uniquely. Hence, from the point of view of each participant, outcomes are uncertain: Democracy appears to be a system in which everyone does what he or she expects is for the best and then dice are thrown to see what the outcomes are. Democracy generates the appearance of uncertainty because it is a system of decentralized strategic action in which knowledge is inescapably local.

The fact that uncertainty is inherent in democracy does not mean everything is possible or nothing is predictable. Contrary to the favorite words of conservatives of all kinds, democracy is neither chaos nor anarchy. Note that "uncertainty" can mean that actors do not know what can happen, that they know what is possible but not what is likely, or that they know what is possible and likely but not what will happen. Democracy is uncertain only in the last sense. Actors know what is possible, since the possible outcomes are entailed by the institutional framework; they know what is likely to happen, because the probability of particular outcomes is determined jointly by the institutional framework and the resources that the different political forces bring to the competition. What they do not know is which particular outcome will occur. They know what winning or losing can mean to them, and they know how likely they are to win or lose, but they do not know if they will lose or win. Hence, democracy is a system of ruled open-endedness, or organized uncertainty.

[...]

In sum, in a democracy all forces must struggle repeatedly for the realization of their interests. None are protected by virtue of their political positions. No one can wait to modify outcomes ex post; everyone must subject interests to competition and uncertainty. The crucial moment in any passage from authoritarian to democratic rule is the crossing of the threshold beyond which no one can intervene to reverse the outcomes of the formal political process. Democratization is an act of subjecting all interests to competition, of institutionalizing uncertainty. The decisive step towards democracy is the devolution of power from a group of people to a set of rules.