Abstract: The article presents the following research hypothesis: reciprocity has a positive impact on the financial resilience of households and thus reduces their susceptibility to financial exclusion. The verification of such a hypothesis was possible as a result of carrying out the main purpose, i.e. determining the importance of the reciprocity principle for establishing financial resilience and the inclusion of households. The analysis is focused on family loans, which constitute the significant source of financing unexpected expenditure to be covered by households and thus an important instrument for creating their financial resilience. Diagnosing the basic motives followed by people while lending money to relatives allows determining whether, and if so, how important is reciprocity in granting financial support to family members.

The following, basic research methods were used in the course of the study: critical analysis of the subject literature, statistical methods and the diagnostic survey method. The empirical data necessary to perform the due analyses originate from two nationwide surveys carried out by the author in Poland in cooperation with the SW Research Agency for Market Research and Opinions in May 2015 and January 2016. The conducted analyses allowed for the positive verification of the presented research hypothesis.

Keywords: reciprocity principle, financial exclusion, financial resilience, sustainable development, family loans.

JEL classification: Q01, D10, D14.
The importance of the reciprocity principle for financial inclusion

Introduction

The economics of sustainable development aims at specifying such conditions for management which ensure sufficiently high ecological, economic and socio-cultural standards for the entire currently living population and also for future generations, within the limits of nature tolerance, by means of implementing the principle of intra- and intergenerational justice. The representatives of such a conception assume fighting all sorts of social inequalities, including the ones in accessing indispensable banking products and services in the form that are adequate for consumers, i.e. with the so-called financial exclusion.

Many factors decide about the susceptibility of households to financial exclusion, including their financial resilience, which refers to the ability of avoiding financial crises or coping with them successfully once they appear. Some households, in spite of unfavourable random events, manifested in their financial situation, are quite successful in dealing with them, whereas
others fail to overcome such a crisis phenomenon – they become over-indebted or even suffer from financial exclusion.

The article presents the following research hypothesis: reciprocity has a positive impact on the financial resilience of households and thus reduces their susceptibility to financial exclusion. The verification of such a hypothesis was possible as a result of carrying out the main purpose, i.e. determining the importance of the reciprocity principle for establishing financial resilience and the inclusion of households. The analysis is focused on family loans, which constitute a significant source of financing unexpected expenditure to be covered by households and thus an important instrument for creating their financial resilience. Diagnosing the basic motives followed by people while lending money to relatives allows determining whether, and if so, how important is reciprocity in granting financial support to family members.

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1. Financial exclusion in sustainable development problems

Sustainable development remains the generally accepted concept of development. It assumes the integration of economic, environmental and social order. It spite of this concept being used quite frequently it did not receive one, generally accepted definition. The subject literature review performed by F. Piontek [2001, pp. 17–44] provides that over forty definitions of sustainable development are currently in use. The most frequently quoted one, however, is that presented in the Report of the World Commission on the Environment and Development “Our common future”, also known as the Brundland Report [United Nations 1987, p. 41]. It provided that “sustainable development means economic and social development which ensures meeting the needs of modern society without violating the possibilities for meeting the needs of future generations”. According to H. Rogall “sustainable development aims at ensuring the entire living population as well as the future generations the sufficiently high ecological, economic and sociocultural standards within the boundaries of natural resilience of the Earth
by applying the principle of intra- and intergenerational justice” [Rogall 2010, p. 25]. F. Piórkowski, in turn, points to the fact that “sustainable development refers to permanent improvement of life quality covering both current and future generations, achieved by establishing adequate proportions in managing three types of capital: economic, social and natural” [Piórkowski 2000, p. 181].

The problems of justice, inspired by J. Rawls’s [1971] theory of justice and A. Sen’s [1999] theory of ensuring chances for self-realization, are broadly discussed in the conception of sustainable development. In accordance with the approaches represented by these scientists the principle of justice provides for the fair access to life opportunities, using resources and welfare. A society is defined as fair if all people have been guaranteed human rights, equal chances and the right for a dignified life. Therefore, ensuring sustainable development requires fighting all sorts of social inequalities, including exclusion.

In general terms, an individual is considered excluded if as a member of some community he/she would like to, but cannot participate in typical activities undertaken by other members of the same community [Richardson and Le Grand 2002, p. 11]. Therefore, exclusion means the inability to participate in economic, political and cultural life due to the absence of access to resources, goods and institutions, restricting social rights and the deprivation of needs [Szafrenberg 2006, p. 22]. One of the types of exclusion is created by the world of finance and is manifested by inequalities in accessing offers of financial institutions in an adequate form.

In accordance with the definition presented in the document issued in 2008 by the European Commission financial exclusion refers to the “process in the course of which citizens experience problems in accessing and/or taking advantage of financial products and services available on the mainstream market which are adequate to their needs and allow living a normal life in a society” [Anderloni 2008, p. 9]. The authors emphasize that depriving, for various reasons, both individuals and the entire households of the possibility for active participation in the financial system against their will remain the major reason, but also the effect of advancing social stratification.

Modern financial institutions are not interested in serving the so-called vulnerable consumers, who are not presented with any offer at all, or the offer addressed to them is too expensive and inadequate for their needs. Such clients include low income individuals, people with disabilities, women, poorly educated persons, rural areas residents, ethnic minorities, the un-
employed, as well as young and old people [Anderloni 2008, p. 30]. Moreover, this problem also affects households experiencing financial problems (excessive indebtedness e.g. as a result of sickness, misfortunate circumstances or job loss).

2. Financial resilience as the condition for permanent financial inclusion

The general concept of resilience (resistere in Latin) used in the area of social and economic sciences was defined as the “ability to take up activities necessary to minimize detrimental effects of events and mobilizing the resources which speed up regaining balance” [Bishop and Hydoski 2009, p. 63]. Financial resilience, in turn, refers to the declared, feasible capacity of households to survive financial shocks, the possibility of obtaining money for unexpected expenses. It is mainly related to unforeseen events, generating financial needs in a short period of time, e.g. sudden mishap, sickness, theft, temporary drop in income. However, in the context of the skills necessary to deal with mid-term and long-term financial problems, which result from such circumstances as: unemployment, disability, house fire or retirement, the concept of household financial security is used. The actual ability to raise funds in various situations, representing the derivative of proper personal finance management, allows achieving financial independence. It gives the sense of confidence in the course of an entity functioning, offers opportunities for its development and guarantees overall financial inclusion (Figure 1). On the other hand, a low level of financial resilience referring to a household enhances the occurrence of the financial exclusion problem.

Creating the financial resilience of a household is a long-term process. It requires taking diverse actions in various aspects of personal finance. It

Figure 1. Mutual relations between financial resilience, inclusion and exclusion
is predominantly connected with the need for accumulating savings which are supposed to play the role of a safety buffer in the circumstances of unexpected expenses. Moreover, the level of financial resilience is also determined by the degree to which insurance is used, which allows transferring specified risks to an insurance institution in exchange for the insurance premiums paid. Finally, ensuring creditworthiness, helpful when the need for using external funding arises, e.g. a bank credit is also crucial. Additionally, good relationships with family members and friends, who can offer financial assistance in a crisis situation, can never be underestimated.

The World Bank maintains the international data base regarding financial exclusion. It is called Global Findex and provides information about savings, loans, settling instruments or risk management by natural persons. The report published in 2015 presents research results about e.g. financial resilience [Demirguc-Kunt et al. 2015, p. 54]. Respondents from over 140 countries were asked the question aimed at defining their resilience to unexpected expenditure which they would have to cover in the coming month. The amount of expenses was defined as 1/20 DNB per capita in the local currency. More than half of the respondents claimed that it was highly probable or probable that they would have the possibility of obtaining such an amount, whereas 22% replied that it would be absolutely not possible in their case (Figure 2).

Having compared the presented values against Polish data it can be observed that the situation of Polish households is better than the average. About 65% of the respondents declared that there is a very high probability or high probability for them to have a possibility of obtaining the amount equal to one twentieth of the gross national income per capita for financing unexpected expenses, whereas 15% responded that in their case it would be absolutely not possible.

In terms of the essence of financial resilience presented by households it is crucial to determine which sources the means for covering unexpected expenses come from. For this reason in May 2015, in cooperation with the SW Research Agency for Market Research and Opinions the author’s own research was carried out in the course of which the following question was addressed to a representative sample of 800 Polish Internet users: “Imagine the situation in which a car necessary to perform paid work suffered a collision and requires immediate repair. The cost of fixing it equals your monthly salary. Where are you going to obtain the means necessary to repair the car from?”
The respondents, out of seven financing sources for covering unexpected expenses, were choosing the one they would use in the first place. The respective sources were as follows: savings (32.1%), loan from relatives or friends (23.7%), comprehensive coverage insurance policy (21.8%), bank loan (12.9%), selling the damaged property and purchasing a second-hand car at a lower value (3.4%), cash loan in a loan company (2.7%), advance payment on the account of a future salary by an employer (2.5%). High percentage – about one fourth of the respondents declared that they would take advantage of financial assistance offered by their relatives, which confirms that the family represents a very important component of support in crisis situations and it should be assigned a significant role in strengthening the financial resilience of households and thus their financial inclusion.

3. The reciprocity principle – its essence, a review of selected concepts

The Chinese philosopher and thinker – Confucius claimed that in order to summarize the principles of people’s behaviour towards others a single word is sufficient: “reciprocity” [Łukaszyński 2014b, p. 238]. On the other hand, in the opinion of H. Becker and B. Jensen the tendency towards reciprocity remains the adaptive feature of a human being, whereas the term
“reciprocity” can be used to describe it. *Homo reciprocus* is a concept of a human being whose fundamental, natural characteristics are influenced by the reciprocity principle [Becker 1956, p. 1].

Reciprocity represents one of the major issues related to the attempts of explaining social relations. People interact with one another based on mutual benefits: discretionary, economic or political. They support each other in material, informational or emotional matters and by doing so they incur mutual debts of gratitude. Such reciprocal commitments are followed by the principle of paying the debt back and the norm of generalized reciprocity [Łukaszyński 2015, p. 136]. It was already Cicero who wrote about it: “No duty is as urgent as the need of returning favours […], since we all hate the man who forgets about the received benefits” [Cicero 1960, pp. 363, 452].

The essence and the scope of the “reciprocity” concept have been subject to many changes over the centuries. The problem of reciprocity was already present in ancient times. It is included in the classical formula of the reciprocity principle expressed by the Latin sentence: *do ut des* (“I am giving you so that you could give me”). The most popular approaches to the principle of reciprocity were collected and described by J. Łukaszyński [2012, 2014a, 2015] in his studies. Among them the following were included: the principle of equal measure, the principle of human behaviour symmetry (symmetry of claims and obligations), the principle of social exchange, the principle of mutual assistance, the principle setting the terms of standards, or one of the basic principles of the philosophy of a meeting.

The reciprocity principle can be referred to as the norm of social life inducing people towards symmetrical behaviour [Łukaszyński 2015, p. 137]. It assumes that in the case of interpersonal relationships, supplying an individual with a certain good or doing a favour triggers a sense of commitment in this particular individual. Z. Nęcki refers to it as “either moral or emotional debt to the donor” [Nęcki 1996, p. 52]. In other words, the principle of reciprocity represents a kind of contract constituting an obligation of the beneficiary to return the favour. The benefits can take the form of material goods, economic advantages, services, and emotional relations, etc. The obligation to return favours does not require the benefits to be identical or instantaneous; however, it assumes the desire of both parties to accomplish a balance as the condition for maintaining the connecting social relationship.

The study by B. Malinowski entitled *Zwyczaj i zbrodnia w społeczeństwie dzikich* [Custom and crime in the society of the wild] [Malinowski 1958] is of key significance for the interpretation of the reciprocity principle. The
above-mentioned classical phrasing of the reciprocity principle *do ut des* appears in this study with Malinowski’s own theoretical interpretation assigned to it. This Polish social and economic anthropologist created his own concept of social anthropology based on the criticism of two approaches which dominated in his times: evolutionism and diffusionism. The conclusions from his Polynesian research were generalized by B. Malinowski in the following way – “The principle of reciprocity, transparency of transactions and systematic interdependence of mutual services are fundamental for the power of law in all human societies” [op. cit. Łukaszyński 2012, p. 138]. In relation to this approach the most outstanding thinkers analysing the theory of social exchange developed their concepts of the reciprocity principle i.e.: C. Lévi-Strauss, M. Mauss, A.W. Gouldner czy M.D. Sahlins.

The first of them, the author of *Structural anthropology* [Lévi-Strauss 1970] in his conception of social reality assumed that human nature is unchanged and unchanged (legal) relations are necessary. They exist in human unconsciousness and have an impact on his/her social functioning regardless of the time and place in which he/she is living. Discovering the necessary truths, including the principle of reciprocity, aims at explaining the proper sense of human activities, separated from consciousness and the material reality. C. Lévi-Strauss adopted the principle of reciprocity as the basis for his theory of kinship assuming the equivalence of benefits between affinity groups related by blood or marriage. He also argued that the conception of exchange in marriage concentrates around multiple mutual commitments [Lévi-Strauss 1991].

M. Mauss [2001, pp. 47–48], in line with the logic described by Lévi-Strauss, discusses the set of orders constituting the canon law, i.e. the principle of reciprocity. The commitments to give, take and return represent three types of imperatives distinguished by him [Bierówka 2007, p. 120].

Initially both anthropologists and sociologists, while emphasizing the great importance of reciprocity for the creation and persistence of a society, were approaching it intuitively. It was A. Gouldner who attempted to define it in view of the absence of a theoretical analytical background. He separated reciprocity from complementarity and transactions [Łukaszyński 2012, p. 145]. Complementarity assumes that the rights of one partner represent the commitments of the other and vice versa. Reciprocity, however, implies that both parties have mutual rights and commitments. Therefore, reciprocity i.e. the coexistence of rights and obligations imposes the exchange and persistence of interaction over time. Eventually A. Gouldner defined the principle of reciprocity by stating that it obliges an individual to
take up actions for the benefit of other people, having in mind their previous actions for its sake rather than their social characteristics or positions [Gouldner 1992, p. 91].

By emphasizing the prevalence of reciprocity occurrence Gouldner brought its universal nature down to two orders: firstly, people should be helping those who helped them and secondly, people should not be hurting the ones who helped them [Gouldner 1992, p. 93].

Another scientist M. D. Shalins presented the typology of reciprocity acts. The following aspects can be distinguished at the background of his theory: generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity [Łukaszyński 2014b, p. 241]. The fist of them is the basis for altruistic exchanges or transactions within the framework of which parties offer help for each other. As a rule, this kind of reciprocity occurs among close and related persons without the requirement of immediacy or equivalence. Balanced reciprocity takes place between any partners, the exchanged goods must be equivalent and the exchange itself is of a direct nature and occurs without any delay. M.D. Sahlins pays attention to the fact that in the case of balanced reciprocity the material factor remains as important as the personal one. The third distinguished reciprocity, i.e. the negative one is present within the circle of individuals either distant or hostile towards each other with the tendency for failing the exchange requirements. The author referred here to such situations in which one party received a particular good without an obligation of returning the favour. In the opinion of J. Bierówka the presented typology is the theoretical construct, far from an ideal one, since it has many inconsistencies. It, however, allows identifying the type of mutual interactions [Bierówka 2007, pp. 128–129].

The behaviours subject to moral evaluation in the context of the reciprocity principle can be classified as one of the reciprocation levels [Łukaszyński 2014b, pp. 245–246]:

1. The iron rule (the law of retaliation, “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth” – the lowest level of morality).
2. The tinsel rule (treat others as they deserve it”, i.e. “evil for evil” or “good for good”. At this level the perpetrator’s intentions are important to assess the merits).
3. The silver rule (it postulates that you cannot act towards others as you would like them to act in relations with you, it can be fulfilled passively).
4. The golden rule (it states that you should treat others as you would like yourself to be treated by them, it includes the obligation to take care of one’s own good and that of the others).
5. *The rule of love* – it rejects the reciprocation referring to reason because it concerns the sphere of human love. Love disregards the symmetry of laws and commitments; it is the only reason and the sufficient one to justify selfless actions resulting from the concern about the welfare of others.

The selflessness typical for the highest level of morality is expressed by the principle of love for fellow humans: “You shall love your neighbour as you love yourself.” The critics of this approach indicate that altruism does not exist in its pure form, but takes the form of the so-called reciprocal altruism. This term was introduced in the literature in 1971 by the evolutionist R. L. Trivers, who was studying the motives underlying mutual help in the environment of unrelated individuals. In his opinion helping other fellow humans is beneficial for the one providing help on condition it is returned. Due to such reciprocity the helping person has larger resources, borrowed from others, at their disposal [Trivers 1971, pp. 35–57]. In other words, reciprocal altruism consists in performing altruistic acts in the situations in which the probability of returning the favour (by an individual) and the probability of being in need of help in the future remains relatively high. The examples of such behaviour are quite frequent in real life situations when a person pays favours to others hoping that they will return them in the future. It is hard to call it altruism if not for the fact that in case of a “deferred” payment the component of uncertainty is present, i.e. if the one who received a particular favour will not fail to pay it back in the future.

Acting in accordance with the discussed moral norm is simultaneously beneficial for an individual and for the entire society. A man resorts to reciprocity because it pays back, even though obviously such a profit and loss account does not occur in his/her consciousness and does not result from a cold calculation. A similar conclusion provokes M. Ridley to give the reader of *the origin of virtue* the following advice: “Tell your children to be good, not because it is more noble and better, but it is worth it in a long run” [Ridley 2000, p. 164]. Thus, reciprocal assistance in this case is motivated be genetic egoism [Bierówka 2009, p. 216].

Finally, it should be emphasized that in private life returning a favour deserves applause, whereas in public life it is referred to as corruption or bribery. In private life caring for family members and friends is appreciated – in public life it may be observed as nepotism, bias or partiality in functioning [Łukaszyński 2012, pp. 135–136].
4. Reciprocity as the motive of granting family loans in the light of the research

As it has been mentioned in the second part of this article family loans have been recognized as a very important instrument for strengthening the financial resilience of households. The subject literature qualifies them as private, voluntary, intra-family material transfers [Szukalski 2002, p. 18]. The transfer was defined as passing over the particular means by an individual/group to another individual/group. If these entities are related to each other intra-family transfers take place.

In 2015 the Blue Media Company ordered a public opinion survey to be conducted by ICAN Research entitled “How do Poles lend money to each other”. The results revealed that 42% out of 1,000 respondents borrow money from their family members and primarily for their current expenses – 72% indications [Jak Polacy… 2015]. The amount of money borrowed most frequently is a loan ranging from PLN 101 to 1,000. Among the characteristics of family loans the following should be listed: firstly – no formalities, as many as 95% of agreements are not prepared in writing, secondly – only 36% of the respondents declared that they always pay their debts back within the agreed period of time, the rest either misses the deadline (57%), or simply does not return the borrowed money back (1%). In spite of that half of the moneylenders do not demand debt repayment, and do not impose any penalties on their debtors. If the presented characteristics of family loans are supplemented by the fact that the vast majority of such loans are costless, it is hardly surprising that people are quite eager to use this source of funding.

It is highly interesting to analyse the motives followed by those family members who decide to play the role of a moneylender. For this purpose the author’s own research, covering a representative sample of 1,000 Poles was conducted in January 2016 using the CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interview) method.

Women constitute 49.8% of the studied population and men 50.2%. Regarding the respondents’ age the majority of them ranged from 16 to 29 years of age (25.5%), the detailed aged structure of the respondents is presented in Figure 3.

A third of the descriptive parameters covering the research sample, i.e. education indicates that the questionnaire was filled in by 138 respondents presenting primary or lower-secondary education, 287 with vocational ed-
ucation, 306 secondary education and 270 tertiary education graduates. It is worth mentioning that the majority of respondents (58.2%) do not have children under the age of 18. For the analysis purposes the information about respondents’ place of residence can also remain important. About 39% of them originate from rural areas, 34% of them declared that their city has up to 100,000 residents, the representation of the population originating from cities inhabited by 100,000–500,000 residents amounted to 15%, whereas more than 500,000 – 12%.

Another parameter describing the research sample, i.e. the monthly income earned indicates that 10% of the respondents earn less than PLN 1,000, 238 out of 1,000 respondents declared that their income is included in the range PLN 1,000–2,000, monthly income earned by 19.5% of the respondents present the level of PLN 2,000–3,000, 13% of the population pointed to their salary brackets from PLN 3,000 to PLN 5,000, whereas 51 of the respondents stated that their earnings exceed PLN 5,000 monthly. Unfortunately as many as 28.5% of the surveyed population declined to provide answers to the question about their income level.

First the respondents were asked: “Did you lend money to your close or distant family members last year?” A positive response was given by 73% of the respondents. In the second question all of them were asked to indicate up to 3 motives they followed while granting a family loan. The answers provided are presented in Figure 4.

The conducted research by the author confirms that the respondents decided to grant a loan to their family members for various reasons. Among

![Figure 3. The structure of the analysed population by age](image)

Source: Own
them the following were listed, e.g.: lack of assertiveness (43% of indications), kinship altruism (42%), empathy (34%), gratitude (33%), reciprocal altruism (24%), egoism (26%) and moral/religious duty (18%). Reciprocity is present in two responses. More than 33% of the respondents declared that they lend money to their family members since they find it an opportunity to return the favour, to repay for help previously received from their relatives. The carried out the reciprocity principle can be analysed ex post since it takes the form of repaying the debt of gratitude described by J. Łukaszyński [2015, p. 136].

While analysing the socio-demographic characteristics of a population representative and motivated by gratitude in granting family loans it can

Figure 4. Motives followed by Poles while granting loans to their family members (%)  
Source: Own
be concluded that it is a young woman (aged 16–29 – 39.7%), a possessor of primary/lower-secondary education level (44.6%), residing in a city populated by over 500,000 inhabitants (37.9%) in the Mazowieckie province (46.4%) or Lubuskie province (58.0%). Such an individual does not have children under 18, is still a student (37%) and her monthly net income ranges from PLN 1,000 up to PLN 2,000 (32.8%).

The responses – “I help my family members financially because I expect that in the future they will return the favour” was provided by 24.1% of the surveyed population (Figure 4). Such behaviour is an example of reciprocal altruism. From a statistical perspective the analysed attitude is presented by a man aged 40-49 (21.1%), with secondary school education (26.5%), living in a city with over 500,000 inhabitants (28%) in the Wielkopolskie province (43.2%) or Warmińsko-Mazurskie (36.1%). Such an individual has children under 18 years of age, is employed and based on a work agreement (29%) and his monthly net income ranges from PLN 2,000 up to PLN 3,000 (29.2%).

The results of the conducted research indicate that reciprocity remains the major reason for offering financial support to relatives. Therefore, family loans should be recognized as an important source of obtaining money to finance unexpected expenses which, in turn, strengthen the financial resilience of households. The absence of such support in a critical situation could impose resorting to the high interest rates of loan companies, to the offer of pawnbrokers, discontinuation in repaying loans, which over time could result in a debt loop, debt enforcement proceedings or simply poverty. Following the principle of reciprocity in interpersonal relations increases the sense of financial security and the probability of overcoming the threat to the functioning of an individual and, hence, has a favourable impact on an entity’s development as well as supports financial inclusion.

Conclusions

The readiness to offer financial support and its actual granting to someone in need remains one of the fundamental moral norms. Such an attitude is manifested in diverse forms of intensity: from a selfless one, actively expressed help and care about the wellbeing of another person without counting on the favour being returned in the future, through more selfish assistance, however, the one which does not require to resign from one’s own benefits, down to reluctance in providing support to others or an overall lack of readiness for such actions.
In 2015 about 73% of Poles lent money to their closer or more distant family members. The primary motif they followed was the sense of reciprocity (57.5% of indications) observed either as the willingness to repay the previously incurred debt of gratitude, or in order to make the borrower feel the need to return this favour to the moneylender in the future, when the latter will be experiencing a difficult financial situation in the future or will expect support. It should be emphasized yet again that loans from family members or friends are the second most popular (23.7%) source of financing unexpected expenses by Poles. Therefore, they can be considered a very important instrument in creating the financial resilience of households, which increases their ability to withstand financial shocks. It offers an entity confidence in functioning provides opportunities for its development and reduces the likelihood of excessive debt or financial exclusion and, thus, supports the implementation of a sustainable development concept.

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