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Norwegian households' high debt levels have long been cited as a financial stability risk (see e.g. Norges Bank's Financial Stability Report*). Household borrowing is closely associated with the financing of home purchases, but there are also alternative sources of financing such as proceeds from the sale of a home or household savings. We show how households finance their real estate purchases by dividing buyers into five groups based on age, housing market status and whether they are buying a dwelling or holiday home. We compare financial transactions of real estate buyers with reference groups of non-buyers. As expected, an increase in indebtedness is the most important contribution to financing a home. But these households also draw on bank deposits and other savings. Holiday home buyers rely on savings the most. For first-home buyers, there is an unexplained contribution. This may reflect transfers from parents and receipt of inheritances.*

1 Introduction

In financial stability analyses, high household debt ratios are cited as a major vulnerability to the financial system.[1] There is a close relationship between household borrowing and purchases of homes (and other real estate). However, debt is not the only financing source available to households. Two other important sources of financing are proceeds from the sale of existing real estate and savings in the form of bank deposits and other financial wealth.

Understanding how households finance their home purchases is important for understanding the relationship between developments in households' vulnerability and developments in the real estate market. Understanding how households finance their home purchases is also important for assessing the effectiveness of macroprudential measures such as the regulation of residential mortgage loans.

Real estate buyers are in different stages of life, and show considerable variation in existing housing wealth and savings. To shed light on this heterogeneity, in this analysis, we divide buyers into five groups based on age, housing market status and whether they are buying a dwelling or a holiday home. The age of households is determined by the age of the main income earner.

1. *First-home buyers* are households aged between 20 and 40 with no housing wealth stated on their tax return at year-end 2014 and who did not sell a home in 2015, but are registered as home buyers in 2015.

2. *Younger homebuyers* are households aged between 20 and 40 with housing wealth stated on their tax return at year-end 2014 who purchased a home in 2015.

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[1] See e.g. Norges Bank (2017).

3. *Established homebuyers* are households aged between 41 and 60 with housing wealth stated on their tax return at year-end 2014 who purchased a home in 2015.

4. *Older homebuyers* are households aged between 61 and 80 with housing wealth stated on their tax return at year-end 2014 who purchased a home in 2015.

5. *Holiday home buyers* are households aged between 20 and 80 who did not purchase a home in 2015, but are registered as buyers of a holiday home in 2015. They may have sold real estate.

Real estate purchases serve various purposes: a place to live or spend weekends and holidays and/or as an investment. Investment in an owner-occupied dwelling yields a return in the form of housing consumption and price appreciation, if any.[2] Use of a holiday home can replace other holiday outlays, but unlike variable costs, the fixed costs associated with holiday home ownership cannot simply be cut if income should fall. Traditionally, there has been little renting out of holiday homes in Norway. Moreover, it must be assumed that the liquidity in the holiday home market is procyclical.

On the basis of standard portfolio theory, we assume that household financing preferences will depend on the households' financial position, the purpose of the purchase and their investment horizon. A first-home purchase can be considered a long-term investment yielding a stable return, which is suited to being debt-financed. First-home buyers lack housing capital and their financial wealth is often meagre. We expect that when households move house, this is to a greater degree financed by savings, especially proceeds from the sale of other real estate. A holiday home purchase will probably involve the largest drawdown of financial wealth. Investments associated with higher levels of uncertainty or a higher consumption ratio should normally not be highly leveraged.

A related question in the analysis is to what extent intergenerational transfers in the form of gifts and inheritance are used to finance real estate purchases. Transfers of inheritances reported on tax returns can shed light on this.

We present the data set and our grouping of households in Section 2. The results of the analyses of financing sources are presented in Section 3, while Section 4 concludes.

2 Data set and trimming of groups

The analysis begins with household income and wealth statistics compiled by Statistics Norway on the basis of tax returns.[3] In the data set, amounts reported for persons sharing a common dwelling unit are combined into households. In this analysis, we use data from year-end 2014 and year-end 2015, so that we can observe changes in the course of the 2015 tax year.

For each household, we use data on after-tax income, total debt, bank deposits and holdings of securities registered in VPS (the Norwegian central securities depository), broken down into mutual funds[4] and other securities registered in VPS. The data from the income statistics has been

[2] In addition, owner-occupied dwellings are treated differently from other real estate with regard to wealth tax and capital gains tax.

[3] Statistisk sentralbyrå (2016). See Lindquist et al. (2014) for a broad presentation of the data set and analyses performed on it.

[4] Excluding money market mutual funds.

Table 1: Key figures for the population as a whole and selected buyer groups. Households. Income for 2015, financial wealth at year-end 2014. Purchases completed in 2015. Except for percentages, all values in thousands

		All	First home buyers	Younger homebuyers	Established homebuyers	Older homebuyers	Holiday home buyers
Households	Number[1]	1 903	25	21	16	7	11
	% of total	4.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	0.4	0.6
Purchase price	Mean		2 264	3 223	2 873	2 892	1 429
	Median		2 150	2 890	2 500	2 600	1 000
Sale price[4]	Mean		0	2 545	2 906	3 407	2 704
	Median		0	2 350	2 500	2 850	750
Income	Mean	578	418	638	767	599	893
	Median	514	381	619	706	512	834
Debt	Mean	1 255	337	2 124	1 831	896	1 940
	Median	831	210	1 962	1 535	478	1 692
Bank deposits	Mean	360	276	300	440	742	585
	Median	140	165	174	184	389	292
Mutual funds[2]	Mean	129	42	54	135	230	163
	Median	38	13	18	43	75	57
Mutual fund investors	Number	575	5	7	7	2	6
	% of group	30.2	19.6	31.9	41.9	32.3	49.4
Other securities in VPS[3]	Mean	152	51	82	180	216	171
	Median	42	17	24	47	57	53
VPS investors	Number	256	1	3	3	1	3
	% of group	13.5	5.7	12.3	18.3	21.1	25.8

[1] The total number of households in the sample aged between 20 and 80 without other restrictions is 2 114 176.
[2] Among mutual fund investors at year-end 2014.
[3] Among investors in these securities at year-end 2014.
[4] For those who have sold.
Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway and Norges Bank

linked to housing turnover data in 2015 from the Norwegian Mapping Authority.[5] We can observe which households bought properties in the free real estate market and the price they paid for their properties.

The five groups are mutually exclusive. We trim the sample to prevent outliers from skewing our results (see Appendix A). In all, 4.2 percent of households carried out real estate transactions in 2015 (see Table 1). First-home buyers account for 1.3 percent of the sample, while holiday home buyers account for 0.6 percent. Holiday home buyers are the group with the highest income, while the older homebuyers are the group with the highest financial wealth. First-home buyers are young, and as expected are the group with the lowest income and lowest financial wealth. The purchase price is highest for younger homebuyers and lowest for holiday home buyers.

3 Financing of real estate purchases

We identify the following sources of household financing of real estate purchases:

1. Borrowing

2. Bank deposits

[5] Kartverket (2017).

3. Proceeds from the sale of mutual funds
4. Proceeds from the sale of securities registered in VPS
5. Proceeds from the sale of other real estate during the purchase year

The first four sources are reported precisely on the tax return. Proceeds from the sale of one's own home are normally not taxable [6], but can be observed by linking tax information to the land register.

In practice, these line items on households' tax returns will change regardless of whether the households have completed a real estate purchase. However, we are interested in changes driven by a real estate transaction. To find them, we need to compare real estate buyers with a group of non-buyers.

For each group of buyers, we estimate a binary (logit) model to find the probability that a household will be in the group of real estate buyers in 2015. The model is conditioned on age, income, bank deposits and equity holdings at the beginning of 2015. The estimation is restricted to the sample of households that meet the criteria for the group (for example, we find possible first-home buyers in the group aged between 20 and 40 who did not own a home in 2014). As a reference group we use households predicted by the model to be homebuyers, but not registered as homebuyers in the land register. The estimation result is shown in Appendix B. In the analysis we compare households that have purchased real estate with the control group comprising households predicted by the model to be the most likely buyers, but that have not carried out a real estate transaction.

Changes in financial variables and the value of the sale will explain most of the purchase price, but not all of it. After we have taken into consideration changes in the tax return items above, we are left with an unexplained residual item that will represent an increase in net wealth:

$$\text{Net wealth increase} = \text{Purchase price} + \text{change financial wealth} - \text{sale price}$$

Since we look at behaviour relative to a reference group, two factors can explain a change in wealth [7]: (1) lower consumption relative to income (higher saving) than in the reference group, (2) gifts or inheritance. We examine changes in financial items in Section 3.1, and then look at the unexplained residual item in Section 3.2.

3.1 Home sales and financial savings as a funding source for home purchases

We identify the difference in changes between households making a real estate purchase and the reference group. In the estimation we control for age and income. The regressions appear in Table 6 in Appendix B. An example is the increase in debt among first-home buyers in Table 2, line 2, column 2. Borrowing among first-home buyers is NOK 1 810 000 higher than borrowing in the reference group (NOK 118 000 (cf Table 6)). We attribute the NOK 1 810 000 debt increase to the financing of the real estate purchase and look at the amount in relation to the property's average purchase price.

[6] Assuming that the household has owned the home for more than one year.

[7] Note that changes in the value of equity investments should be the same for both the buyer group and the reference group, and should therefore not represent a systematic difference between the two groups.

Table 2: Change in financial variables in the buyer group in excess of change in the non-buyer reference group. Positive values represent an increase, negative a reduction. In NOK. For debt ratio, difference in level at year-end 2015. In brackets: contribution relative to average purchase price [1]. Amounts in thousands

	First-home buyers		Younger homebuyers		Established homebuyers		Older homebuyers		Holiday home buyers	
Debt	1 810	(80.0%)	1 294	(40.1 %)	1 195	(41.6 %)	987	(34.1 %)	958	(67 %)
Bank deposits	-130	(5.8%)	7	(-0.2 %)	34	(-1.2%)	-87	(3.0 %)	-143	(10.0%)
Mutual funds[2]	-16	(0.7%)	-16	(0.5 %)	-68	(2.4%)	-134	(4.6 %)	-101	(7.1 %)
Securities, VPS[2]	-12	(0.5%)	-11	(0.4 %)	-16	(0.6%)	-29	(1.0 %)	-19	(1.4 %)
Proceeds from sale	—	—	1 528	(47.4%)	1 383	(48.1 %)	1 706	(59%)	111	(7.8%)[3]

[1] The sum of changes in excess of the control group will not necessary equal the purchase price - since this is measured relative to the reference group and not the purchase price. But in order to simplify the interpretation, we refer to the variable relative to the purchase price.
[2] Only for investors in securities.
[3] Non-residential real estate.
Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway and Norges Bank

As expected, borrowing is an important source of financing real estate purchases in all groups (Chart 1a. For first-home buyers, debt financing accounts for 80 percent of the purchase price. In buyer groups that already own a home, borrowing accounts for around 40 percent. Borrowing accounts for 2/3 of the purchase price for holiday home buyers.

All groups are more highly leveraged than their reference group at year-end 2015 (Chart 1b). The difference is greatest for first-home buyers. A possible explanation for the considerable difference in debt ratios between first-home buyers and the reference group is that the reference group comprises non-homeowner households. For holiday home buyers, the debt ratio rises by approximately the same amount as for younger homebuyers.

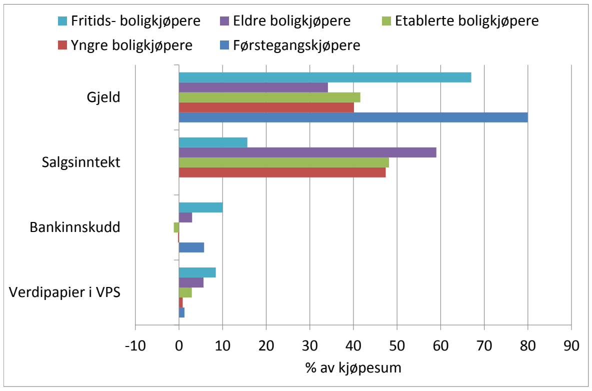
For homebuyers that already own a home, registered sales of existing homes are the most important financing source. Around half of the new home is financed by the sale price of the old one. Also for holiday home buyers, the sale of (non-residential) real estate is of some importance, but the contribution is smaller and the variation more pronounced than for homebuyers.

Bank deposits play a key role as a financing source for real estate purchases, especially for non-seller groups. First-home buyers use on average half of the amount on deposit at the beginning of the purchase year. Holiday home buyers use around 25 percent of their bank deposits to finance their purchases. For younger and established homebuyers, there is a slight increase in deposits, which likely reflects portions of the proceeds from the sale of the previous home going into savings accounts. Older homebuyers draw on bank deposits to some extent to finance their home purchases.

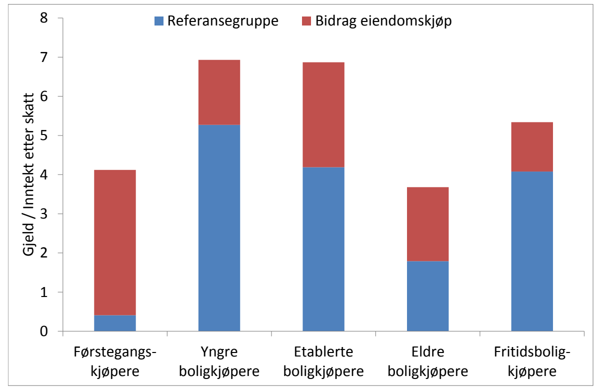
Proceeds from the sale of securities are also used to finance home purchases in all groups. According to portfolio management theory, investors with shorter investment horizons should prefer obtaining a higher share of their financing from the sale of high-risk assets. First-home buyers and younger homebuyers with mutual funds sell on average between 30 and 40 percent of their holdings when buying a home. Established home buyers sell half of their holdings, while older homebuyers on average sell nearly all of their holdings. Proceeds from the sale of mutual funds are a considerably more important financing source than proceeds from the sale of other VPS-registered securities.

Figure 1: Financing sources for real estate purchases

(a) Financing sources relative to purchase price



(b) Increase in debt ratio owing to home purchase[1]



1) Note that the debt ratio cannot be interpreted as the average for the group as it is not controlled for age and income (see Table 6)

Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway and Norges Bank

Table 3: Comparison changes in financial wealth for holiday home buyers with and without mutual funds at year-end 2014. Amounts in thousands of NOK

Change compared with reference group	With mutual fund	Without mutual fund
Bank deposits	-119	-187
Debt	927	1 029
Mutual funds	-101	

Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway and Norges Bank

This probably reflects the popularity of mutual funds as a savings vehicle. Unlisted equities are also held for reasons other than saving.

Also in line with portfolio management theory is that we find a higher share of bank deposit and securities financing for holiday home purchases. These are investments with potentially higher risk profile per krone invested. Holiday home buyers reduced their mutual fund holdings by an average of 2/3 of the amount in the fund at the beginning of the year. If we compare holiday home buyers with and without mutual funds, we find that holiday home buyers without mutual funds will draw somewhat more on their bank deposits, but also borrow more (see Table 3).

3.2 Change in net wealth and inheritance transfers

An increase in net wealth means that a household has increased its net wealth during the year. Our analysis is designed such that a real estate purchase alone does not result in changes in net wealth relative to a reference group of non-buyers. Any systematic differences must be attributed to factors that do not arise from financial transactions or sales:

1. systematic differences in consumption between buyer groups and reference groups
2. transfers.

Table 4: Receipt of inheritance and net wealth increases among different buyer groups relative to reference group. Negative amounts indicate lower net wealth. In thousands of NOK

	First-home buyers		Younger homebuyers		Established homebuyers		Older homebuyers		Holiday home buyers	
Average reported inheritance[1]	524		660		958		1 177		682	
Median reported inheritance[1]	350		400		500		700		450	
Share receiving inheritance %	3.6		3.1		4.1		2.6		3.8	
Wealth increase – inheritance[1]	451	**	577	**	456	**	456	**	486	*
Wealth increase - non-inheritance[2]	75	**	20		-49	*	-148	*	240	**

[1] For the group that has received reported inheritance.
[2] For the group that has not received reported inheritance.
Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway, and Norges Bank

Note that in this analysis, all housing-related costs that are not embedded in the actual purchase price are considered to be consumption. Moving normally entails fairly large additional outlays, both in connection with the transaction and for renovation and the like. The saving ratio for the buyer group will most likely be lower than for the reference group, which should contribute to faster growth in the wealth of the reference group.[8]

The source of transfers that most readily comes to mind is inheritance. The buyer groups generally receive more in the form of inheritance than non-buyers; 1.8 percent of households reported having received inheritance, while for the buyer groups that figure stands at between 2.6 percent for older homebuyers and 4.1 percent for established homebuyers (see Table 4). Halvorsen and Lindquist (2017) find that the probability that households receiving reported transfers will purchase real estate is very high, but that the number receiving reported transfers is low.[9]

On average, the buyer groups that have received inheritance show an increase in net wealth of approximately NOK 500 000 (Table 2), which is slightly less than the average reported inheritance.

More surprising is that net wealth increases among several buyer groups, including those that have not received inheritance. This applies to both first-home buyers and holiday home buyers. However, observed net wealth among established and older homebuyers declines. For younger homebuyers, we find no significant differences in net wealth relative to the reference group.

A possible explanation for the decline in net wealth among established and older households when purchasing a home may be that many in these groups use realised gains from a housing transaction as an opportunity to *advance* inheritances. However, as this is not recorded in our sources, we are unable to test such a hypothesis.

For first-home and holiday home buyers that have not registered receiving an inheritance, it is likely that there are financing sources not captured in our data set. Unregistered advances on inheritance may be such a source.

Another factor that we do not discuss is buyers' use of their parents' homes as additional collateral, which is something we cannot identify on the basis of our data. We nevertheless observe that the average loan-to-value ratio of first-home buyers is 96 percent, well above the 85 percent

[8] Note, moreover, that in the regressions, we control for income.

[9] In principle, inheritance is reported in tax assessments. Today, inheritance is tax-exempt but in practice there are no sanctions against failure to report. That said - given the degree to which inheritance is related to death - the reported number of inheritance transfers is not unrealistic. In 2017, the mortality rate in Norway was approximately 0.8 percent.

maximum in the regulation on requirements for residential mortgage loans, which was introduced in July 2015. This may indicate that many first-home buyers receive assistance with additional collateral.[10]

4 Conclusion

The financing of real estate purchases is of major importance for the financial position and vulnerability of households. Some of the most relevant observations with regard to financial stability and macroprudential measures are:

- Borrowing is the main source of financing for real estate purchases. However, there are wide variations across household groups. For first-home buyers, 80 percent of the purchase price was debt-financed. For homebuyers that already own a home, approximately half of the purchase price is debt-financed.
- The sale price is important for financing when households relocate, and on average proceeds from the sale constitute half of the financing. Developments in house prices can therefore have an impact on financing if the household trades up or down in the housing market.
- Even though holiday home purchases are financed by financial savings to a greater degree than ordinary home purchases, the share of debt-financing for holiday home purchases is still high.
- Households with equity investments appear to actively rebalance their portfolios and use the proceeds from the sale of these investments for real estate purchases.
- Transfers in the form of inheritance during the purchase year are an important source of financing for those receiving inheritances.
- There is a significant increase in net wealth among first-home and holiday home buyers that have not received reported inheritance. This may indicate the underreporting of transfers.

Household behaviour will be affected by a number of external factors such as interest rates, expected house price inflation and the regulation of mortgage lending. Low interest rates and inflation expectations are likely to contribute to higher leverage, while the regulation of mortgage lending may pull in the opposite direction. There may therefore be reason to believe that these findings can vary somewhat over time. This could be the subject of future analyses.

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[10]Note that the requirement in the mortgage lending regulation is not an absolute limit. Ten percent of banks' new lending by volume is permitted to breach the 85 percent maximum.

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A Trimming of the selection

There is considerable variation in the distribution of household income and assets. In this analysis we are not interested in outliers but rather in ”normal households”. We choose therefore to trim the data set to households that are within a normal range regarding income, wealth and debt:

- At year-end 2014
  - Household after-tax income ranges between NOK 150 000 and NOK 5 000 000
  - Bank deposits do not exceed NOK 5 000 000
  - Total holdings of securities (mutual funds + equities registered in VPS) do not exceed NOK 5 000 000
  - Debt does not exceed NOK 10 000 000
- Real estate purchases in 2015
  - Tax registered housing wealth at year-end 2015 does not exceed NOK 15 000 000
  - Holiday homes are limited to properties with purchase prices ranging between NOK 25 000 and NOK 6 000 000
  - Home purchases are limited to properties with purchase prices ranging between NOK 100 000 and NOK 10 000 000
  - Households that have sold a home for more than NOK 10 000 000 are excluded

B Estimation results

Note that estimates are based on microdata. Significant results can often be found in such regressions, even if the overall explanatory power (for example measured by R2) in the regression is low. This is also the case in many of the regressions presented below. Note also the correlation among the explanatory variables, so the coefficients must be seen in relation to one another. For example, a negative age coefficient when estimating purchase probability will reflect a higher household purchase probability earlier in life for the same income - not a higher purchase probability among younger age groups.

We use the binary logit model to predict the probability that a household will purchase real estate. The reference group is defined on the basis of this probability. Households with a probability above 50 percent would normally be classified as buyers, but since the prediction value is low, such a limit would result in a very small reference group. Instead the cut-off has been set at the highest possible level that does not excessively limit the size of the reference group. The model has the most explanatory power for first-home buyers and younger homebuyers, which therefore have the highest cut-off ratios, at 10 and 7.5 percent, respectively.

Table 5: Logit estimation of purchase probability

	First-home buyers	Younger homebuyers	Established homebuyers	Older homebuyers	Holiday home buyers
Constant	-0.38 **	-1.41 **	-3.25**	-27.3	-5.74**
Age	-0.08 **	-0.5 **	-0.01**	-0.02	-0.01**
Income[1]	1.02E-06 **	1.69E-07 **	1.83E-07**	3.48E-07	1.27E-06**
Bank deposits[1]	1.12E-06 **	3.54E-07 **	2.02E-07**	9.19E-07	2.12E-07**
Mutual funds[1]	-5.13E-07 **	-5.23E-07**	-1.27E-07**	1.30E-08	2.15E-07**
Securities, VPS[1]	-9.96E-07 **	-8.31E-07	1.67E-08	3.38E-08	9.09E-08
No. obs. = 0	227 350	310 537	534 182	376 176	1 792 040
No. obs. = 1	24 579	20 872	16 400	7 095	11 289
McFadden R-sq	0.04	0.008	0.002	0.004	0.05
Cut-off %	10	7.5	4	3	2.5
Number in the reference group	83 211	57 808	19 733	4 678	15 413

[1] At end-2014.

** Significant at the 1 percent level.

Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway and Norges Bank

Table 6: Estimation of relative differences between buyer and reference groups[1]

		First-home buyers	Younger homebuyers	Established homebuyers	Older homebuyers	Holiday home buyers
Debt	Constant	118152**	153168**	44098	183050	23600
	Buyer	1810343**	1293506**	1194671**	987465**	957523**
	Income	0.55**	0.16**	0.11**	0.14**	0.09**
	Age	-7046**	-9430**	-4479**	-7977**	-6241**
	No. obs.	107790	78680	36133	11773	26702
	R2	0.55	0.27	0.21	0.11	0.17
Revenue	Constant		-419084 **	450786 **	-2370540 **	-416409 **
	Buyer		1527806 **	1383277 **	1706483 **	110917
	Income		0.17 **	-0.08 **	-0.18 **	0.13 **
	Age		17625 **	-4507 **	43785 **	11133 **
	No. obs.		78680	36133 **	11773	26702
	R2		0.28	0.17 **	0.21	0.001
Bank deposits	Constant	119797**	222371 **	44815	729091**	314235 **
	Buyer	-130449**	7462 *	34325**	-86569**	-143485 **
	Income	-0.01**	0.02 **	-0.2**	-0.11 **	-0.05 **
	Age	-3667**	-7553 **	-2124**	-9680 **	-4673 **
	No. obs.	107790	78680	36133	11773	26702
	R2	0.073	0.008	0.002	0.007	0.009
Mutual funds	Constant	-17546 **	-45435**	23553	86913 **	88473 **
	Buyer	-16183 **	-16028**	-68203**	-133733**	-101100 **
	Income	0.02 **	0.02 **	0.01 *	-0.01 **	-0.02 **
	Alder	698 **	1975 **	1068 **	891 **	1067 **
	No. obs.	19862	24519	17843	5071	15280
	R2	0,020	0.013	0.018	0.023	0.014
Securities, VPS	Constant	6227	-29576**	13385	168374	58341
	Buyer	-11883 **	-11396**	-16335*	-28721*	-19371
	Income	0.02 **	0.005	0.01 **	-0.007*	0.003
	Age	-385	1453 **	-77	-2259	-764
	No. obs.	5423	10218	11369	4001	10352
	R2	0.010	0.003	0.002	0.003	0.002
Debt ratios	Constant	0.41 **	5.27 **	4.19 **	1.79 **	4.08 **
	Buyer	3.71 **	1.66 **	2.68 **	1.89 **	1.26 **
	Income	6.62E-07 **	-1.89E-06 **	2.23E-0,8	8.40E-09	6.87E-08 **
	Age	0.02 **	-0.016 **	-0.06 **	-0.01 *	-0.05 **
	No. obs.	107790	78680	36133	11773	26702
	R2	0.41	0.15	0.30	0.12	0.17
Net wealth increase	Constant	43813	-30676	459483**	2371370**	600883 **
	Buyers with inheritance	451004 *	577181 **	455510 **	456432**	486088 *
	Buyers without inheritance	75217 **	20491	-48800*	-147879 *	240061 **
	Income	0.20 **	0.15 **	0.13 **	0.21 **	-0.14 **
	Age	-646	2412	-9833 **	-39937 **	-10383 **
	No. obs.	107790	78680	36133	11773	26702
	R2	0.003	0.002	0.005	0.025	0.004

[1] Change in NOK from 2014 to 2015. Inheritance received in 2015. Income for 2014.

* Significant at the 5 percent level.

** Significant at the 1 percent level.

Sources: Norwegian Mapping Authority, Statistics Norway and Norges Bank