



# Household Wealth in Europe

Post-crisis recovery leaves  
big differences between countries  
and households

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### Consumer Economics at ING

This report is part of ING's growing research into consumer economics. Our aim is to deepen understanding of economic and financial decision-making of individuals and households. The first step is to examine the impact of economic, social, political, and technological change. We are looking not just at the household sector as a whole, but also at particular socio-economic segments. The second step is to analyse how individual behaviour is changing. What are the challenges and opportunities that people face? The third, and most important, step is to address the question: **how can we help people make better financial decisions?**

To that end, we are also drawing on the expertise of external partners through the Think Forward Initiative<sup>1</sup>, an open-source collaboration aimed at helping people make better financial decisions.

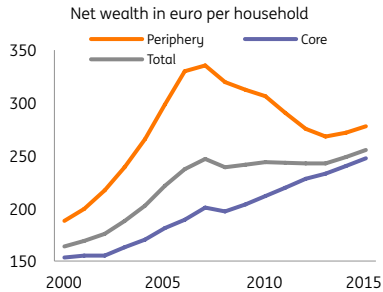
Seeking ways to improve people's financial decision-making will need not just combining macro and micro-economics. It will take us beyond economics, to the tools of other disciplines. Helping people to learn or avoid mistakes will call upon psychological and educational insights. Addressing social influences on decisions will pull in other social sciences such as sociology and social anthropology.

We invite readers to join the debate. You can contact us directly, or on Twitter @thinkforward, or via the Think Forward Initiative LinkedIn community.

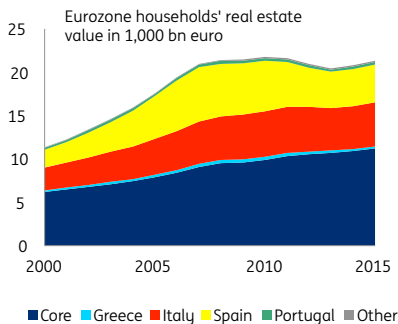
**Mark Cliffe**  
Chief Economist

## Main observations

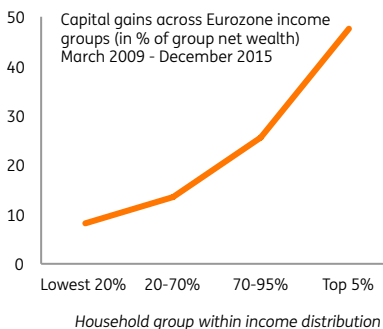
### Diverging trends in Eurozone households' wealth



### Real estate now worth 10 trillion euro more than in 2000



### Increasing wealth inequality



- Wealth – be it in the form of a home, a bank deposit or an equity portfolio – provides a distinct value to households that supplements the benefits of income. Income may allow families to escape poverty and maintain a certain standard of living but assets can generate longer-term stability as they create a financial buffer for emergencies or retirement.
- The amount of wealth Eurozone households own has been significantly affected by both the financial and subsequent eurocrisis but is above its pre-crisis peak again.
- The recovery of (net) household wealth however differs substantially across the Eurozone. In Southern European countries wealth has not yet recovered from the crisis whereas in core Eurozone countries it is already above pre-crisis levels for years. Net wealth per household in Spain and Greece is now some 30% below its pre-crisis peak, whereas households living in Eurozone's core countries are about 23% wealthier.
- Nevertheless, households' (net) wealth in Southern-Europe is still significantly higher than at the start of the century and also higher than in core European countries.
- An in general higher rate of home ownership in Southern-Europe explains why households' net wealth in Southern-Europe is generally higher than in core European countries.
- Possession of real estate is also important in explaining why net wealth in this region is still higher than in 2000 despite the dramatic effects of the financial and subsequent eurocrisis. Although house prices have dropped sharply from their peaks, by some 10-35% in the peripheral countries, prices are still above the level registered at the start of the century
- The recovery of net wealth has not only been uneven between countries but also between households. After the global economy started to recover from the financial crisis in 2009, asset price developments have on balance increased wealth inequality. Due to the combined impact of bond, equity and house price developments households have been able to realize capital gains varying from 8% for households in the lowest income group to 48% for the top 5%. But, of course, households not owning any assets, have not at all benefitted from this. This will in particular be true for households with lower incomes as the participation in equity and mutual fund holdings generally increases with income.

# Introduction and bird's eye view on Eurozone wealth

## Household wealth serves as a buffer to weather emergencies

The financial and subsequent euro crisis have had dramatic consequences for people's lives and finances. Not only have many people lost their jobs or experienced a fall of income, the value of their assets – financial or non-financial – has been affected as well. The importance of the latter is often overlooked, but assets – such as a home, a bank deposit or an equity portfolio – provide a distinct value to the owner that supplements the benefits of income<sup>1</sup>. Income may allow families to escape poverty and maintain a certain standard of living but assets can generate longer-term stability as they create a financial buffer for emergencies or retirement. Assets can also be used to pay for education and therefore increase future income and standard of living.

This paper looks into the development of households' assets and liabilities ('wealth') in a number of European countries prior to, during and after the crises. The paper takes stock of the main developments and highlights striking differences between households in various countries. Such differences cannot always be explained easily by one or two specific factors and often are the result of a complex set of demographic, institutional, financial and cultural factors.

## Eurozone households wealthier than at the start of the century

Despite the depth of both crises, in aggregate Eurozone households are substantially wealthier than they were at the start of the century. Looking at the balance of assets and liabilities, Eurozone households currently hold net wealth equal to almost 5 times annual disposable income, whereas this was around 4 in the early 2000s when income was some 30% lower as well.

## Uninterrupted rise in Germany, France & Belgium. Boom and bust in Spain & Greece

The **rise of net wealth per household has been almost uninterrupted in Germany, France and Belgium**, rising by 3-4% on average per year since 2000 (see figure 1). But, **households in Spain and Greece have experienced a major boom and bust**. Following an extraordinarily strong increase in net wealth, since 2008 households in Spain and Greece have seen their net wealth falling by 4-5% on average per year. In Greece net wealth of households has fallen to even below the level registered at the beginning of this century. In all, net wealth per household in Spain and Greece is now some 30% below the level of 2007 whereas households living in Eurozone's core countries are about 23% wealthier.

## Net wealth in the periphery still higher than in 2000, due to house prices

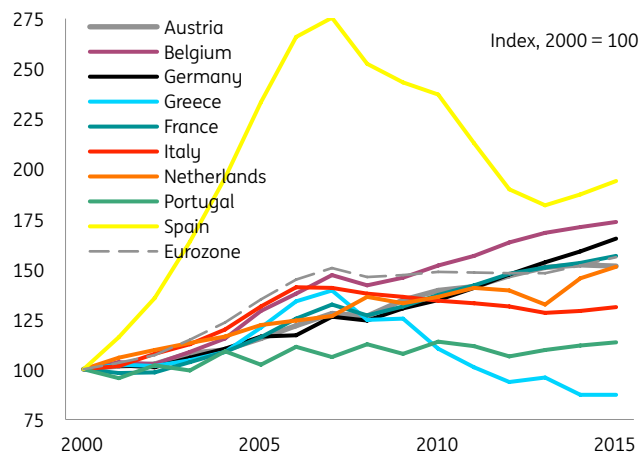
Real estate is an important element in household wealth as its share within total assets is around 50% on average in the Eurozone. While house prices have dropped sharply from their peaks, by some 10-35% in the peripheral countries, prices in these countries are still above the level registered at the start of the century. This is an important reason why net wealth in this region currently is still higher than in 2000. House prices in most other countries continued to rise in this period. As a consequence, the total value of Eurozone

<sup>1</sup> See for a detailed analysis of the development of household income and saving throughout the years of crisis and recovery *Seven fat years, seven lean years*, ING, 14 January 2016.



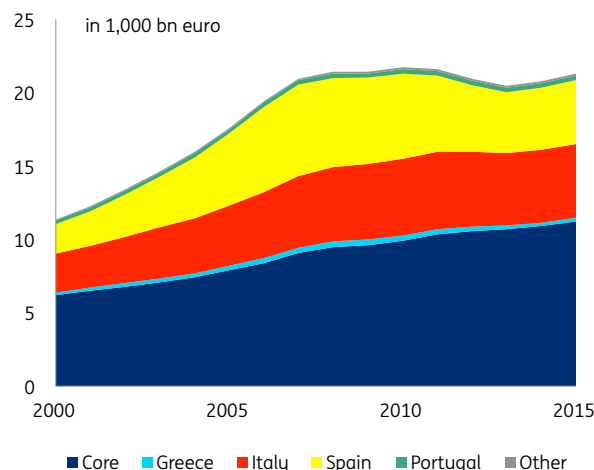
households' real estate is now almost 10 trillion euro, or 87%, higher than at the start of the century (see figure 2).

Fig 1 Net wealth in euro per household



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 2 Eurozone households' value of real estate



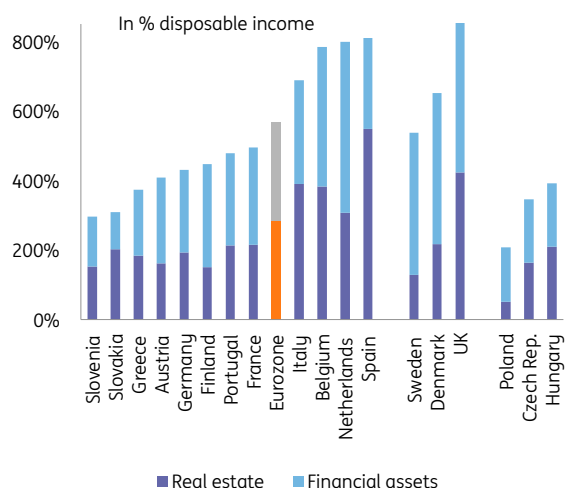
Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

### Large differences in financial buffers

#### High financial buffers in the Netherlands, Spain and Belgium

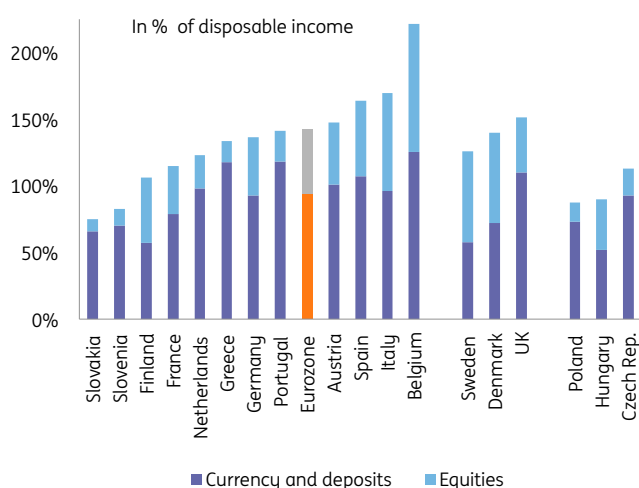
Between Eurozone households there are large differences in financial buffers (see figure 3). Relative to income, households in the Netherlands, Spain and Belgium have on average assets (real estate and financial assets) equal 8 times their income. For their counterparts in Slovenia and Slovakia this ratio is around three. On average a household in the Eurozone holds gross assets of around 5½ times disposable income.

Fig 3 Total assets in European countries, 2015



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING. For Poland see footnote 3.

Fig 4 Liquid financial assets European countries, 2015



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING. For Poland see footnote 3.

#### Liquid assets – high in Belgium, low in Germany and the Netherlands

But not all assets are created equal. As a cushion for unforeseen circumstances, assets that can be liquidated quickly (deposits, mutual fund investments, etc.) are of more importance than illiquid assets such as savings tied up in a pension scheme or assets that need time to sell, such as real estate. Liquid assets are most important when it comes to weathering the consequences of income volatility. Belgian households rank high with liquid

assets of more than 2 times annual disposable income (see figure 4). But **the financial buffer of Dutch households is lower than what Greek households keep** (around 1.3 times income). This is a level also held by German households.

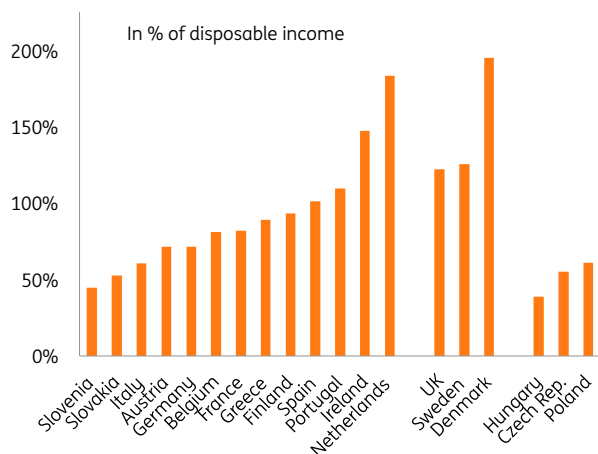
### High household debt in the Netherlands

Limiting the risk of financial misfortune also has to do with reducing loan exposure as it is uncertain how long the current environment of historically low levels of interest rates will last. Within the Eurozone, **Dutch households are most indebted**, with debt equal to almost two times annual income (see figure 5). Countries located in the Eurozone's periphery generally have - with the exception of Italy - high debt levels as well.

### Households with highest debt levels deleverage most

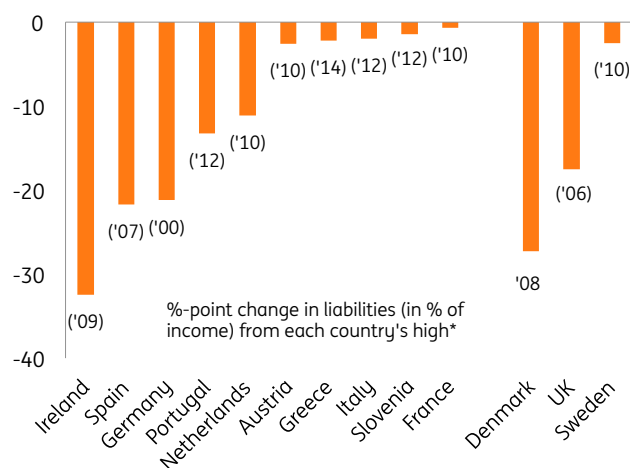
Broadly speaking, households with the highest debt levels are also making most progress in reducing their vulnerability, albeit to varying degrees (see figure 6). Noteworthy is that German households, with already a low debt level relative to income, are also among the group of countries bringing down relative debt levels most.

Fig 5 Financial liabilities of households, 2015



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 6 Deleveraging league table



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING. Countries not shown have still increasing loan to income ratios. \*Year of country high is shown between brackets.

### QE: some countries profit more than others

Current central bank policies of low interest rates and quantitative easing (QE) can effect households through various channels. Low rates are negative for households with high savings. But insofar low interest rates inflate equity prices, households that have invested in shares will benefit from the extremely loose monetary policy stance. Low interest rates may also have a positive effect on real estate prices and thus be beneficial to home owners. Households with loans may also benefit as lower interest rates will reduce debt service costs, the effect of which will manifest itself quicker through loans with a shorter maturity than through longer term loans.

### Households in Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain profit most from QE

In figure 7, the Eurozone countries are being ranked according to the relative share of the asset classes mentioned above in household disposable income. The more green a cell is shaded, the more positive the effect of QE will be relative to that in another country for the same type of asset (or in the case of bank deposits the least negative). The more red a cell is, the less households in a country will benefit from QE. When looking at the rankings in the last four

columns (shares, real estate and loans), one can observe that **Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain** have overall most green shaded cells and therefore seem to **profit most from QE**. Households in these countries have relatively large holdings of listed equity and investment funds and own a lot of real estate (or, in the case of the Netherlands, have a lot of liabilities). Households in **Greece, Slovenia and Slovakia** seem to **profit least** as they have relatively few shares and the value of their real estate is relatively low.

Figure 7 Households' assets in % of disposable income, 2014

|             | Bank deposits | Shares | Real estate | ST Loans | LT Loans |
|-------------|---------------|--------|-------------|----------|----------|
| Austria     | 92%           | 28%    | 163%        | 5%       | 64%      |
| Belgium     | 112%          | 66%    | 381%        | 4%       | 74%      |
| Germany     | 86%           | 33%    | 186%        | 3%       | 68%      |
| Greece      | 103%          | 6%     | 189%        | 12%      | 72%      |
| France      | 73%           | 28%    | 214%        | 2%       | 67%      |
| Italy       | 85%           | 36%    | 385%        | 5%       | 49%      |
| Netherlands | 90%           | 21%    | 295%        | 6%       | 163%     |
| Portugal    | 114%          | 14%    | 212%        | 4%       | 98%      |
| Slovenia    | 60%           | 11%    | 150%        | 4%       | 35%      |
| Slovakia    | 52%           | 8%     | 187%        | 3%       | 41%      |
| Spain       | 98%           | 49%    | 539%        | 3%       | 92%      |
| Finland     | 53%           | 40%    | 146%        | 5%       | 81%      |

Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, Macrobond, ING. ST Loans are short-term loans with a maturity of less than one year. LT Loans are long-term loans with a maturity of one year or more.

### Asset prices have increased wealth inequality

#### Asset prices have increased wealth inequality between households

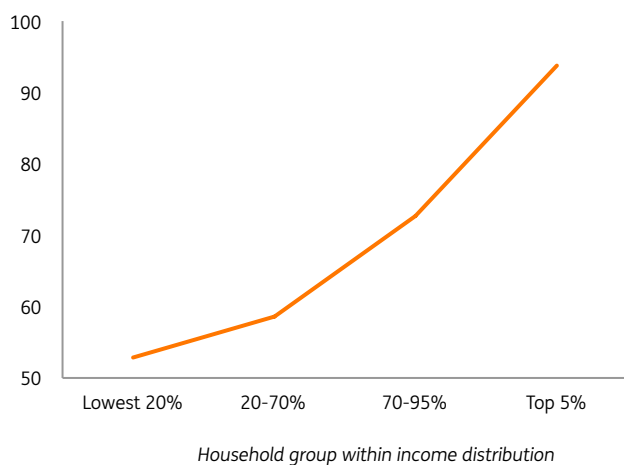
Since the start of the century, asset price developments have on balance increased wealth inequality between households. In times of rising asset prices, inequality generally increases while in times of declining prices inequality falls. Looking at the combined impact of bond, equity and house price developments on wealth inequality since March 2000 (when stock markets peaked just before the burst of the dotcom bubble), households have been able to realize **capital gains varying from 53% for households in the lowest income group to 94% for the top 5%** (see figure 8).

Figure 9 gives a breakdown of these capital gains. Capital gains as a result of bond price increases have been fairly limited (between 3 - 7%) and relatively evenly spread across the household income distribution. But **capital gains related to equity price increases have been highly concentrated within the top 5%** as households from this income group have a high presence on the stock market. Households in this group saw their net wealth increase by 58% due to their equity investments, compared to 31% for the upper middle income group<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The total return of the Euro Stoxx 50 was 161% in this period.

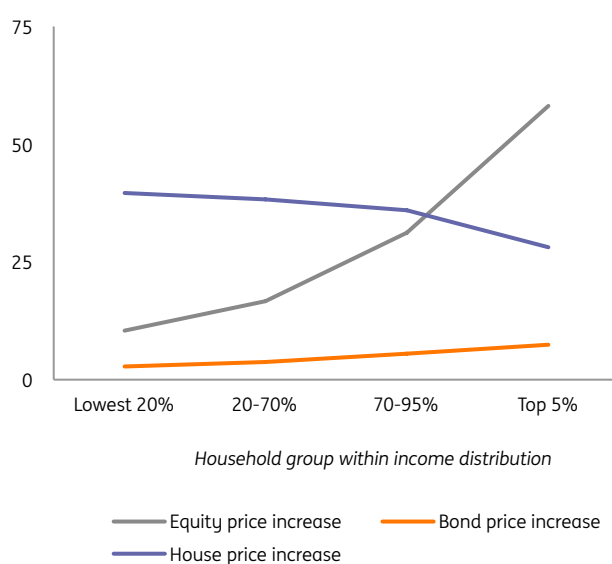
Middle and lower income groups realized even smaller gains (10-17%). Real estate gains, of about 30-40%, were more evenly spread across the income distribution as home-ownership is more evenly spread over the population. With a gain of 28%, the richest households lagged somewhat as they in general are (relative to their net wealth holdings) more invested in equity and less in real estate.

**Fig 8 Capital gains across Eurozone income groups (in % of group net wealth), March 2000 – December 2015**



Source: ING.

**Fig 9 Capital gains across Eurozone income groups (in % of group net wealth), March 2000 – December 2015**



Source: ING.



### Household wealth – definition and methodological comments

Household wealth is determined by the value of the assets households hold and the liabilities they have. The difference between them is net wealth. Broadly speaking, households' assets consist of the value of the real estate they own (home residences, second homes, land), other non-financial assets (such as cars, paintings, jewelry, etc.), the amount of money they hold in currency and bank deposits, what they have invested in shares and equity and what they have put aside in private pension schemes. Liabilities consist of loans, often related to the ownership of real estate. Due to data limitations the 'other non-financial assets' are not being included in this report.

Although the paper will focus on the development of financial assets and real estate, it should be recognized that intangible assets, such as education or the provision of public services, also play an important role in people's well-being. However, the valuation of intangible assets and public wealth is even more challenging than that of tangible assets. We will nevertheless provide some indication of the significance of public services.

Throughout this paper we will (mostly) express household assets and wealth as a share of household income. This gives an indication of the number of years a household will be able to maintain its living standard in the future by drawing down its accumulated net wealth. It is important to note that, according to this measure, households in a particular country may look relatively poor in the sense that they have fewer numbers of years available to draw down their assets compared to households living elsewhere. However, this outcome can for those households result in a higher standard of living compared to households living elsewhere (albeit for a smaller number of years). Equally, households may seem relatively rich but that may merely reflect that they are able to maintain their current lower standard of living for a relatively long period.

Households in this report comprise not only 'regular' households but also unincorporated household enterprises and non-profit institutions serving households (NPISH) such as charities and trade unions. Separating private households from the total of households and NPISH would change the outcomes in terms of only digits after the decimal point.

Due to reasons of data availability the Eurozone aggregate in this paper consists of Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain and Finland. Households in these countries make up 98% of total household disposable income in the euro area.

The analysis presented in this paper draws on data provided by official sources such as the ECB, Eurostat and the OECD<sup>3</sup>. However, as asset prices may not always properly reflect the actual market situation, the data presented may not always paint a 'real' picture of household wealth. This may in particular be true for real estate prices in distressed Southern European markets.

All data on households' balance sheet items are year-end data. Data mentioned for 2015 reflect the situation at the end of the second quarter of 2015. The cut-off date for updating the numbers is 15 December 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Results from the Polish central bank survey, conducted in the framework of the ECB's "Household Finance and Consumption Network (HFCN)", differ from data supplied by Eurostat. The value of real estate in particular is higher in the HFCN compared to the numbers provided by Eurostat. As a consequence, based on the HFCN total assets of Polish households are, when expressed in percent of disposable income, higher than the Eurozone average. The same is true for real estate assets and net wealth.

# A brief international comparison

Internationally, Eurozone households have relatively few assets...

...as they have put less savings aside for retirement

Eurozone's pension system reduces volatility of households' wealth

## Eurozone households have relatively few assets

Households living in the Eurozone on average have assets (real estate and financial assets) equal to 5.5 times their annual disposable income<sup>4</sup>. Compared to households in the US, UK, Canada and Australia this is relatively low, as they have total assets of 6.5 to 8 times disposable income (see figure 10).

An important reason why **households in the Eurozone** have relatively few assets is that they have **put less savings aside for retirement**. Households living in the four countries mentioned have on average set aside twice as much (at or around 175% of disposable income) for private pension schemes compared to their Eurozone counterparts (approximately 90% of income).

Eurozone households still predominantly rely on public pay as you go (PAYGO) funded pension schemes in which current contributions are used directly to finance current pension endowments and hence no (pension) assets are built up. In a funded system, contributions are accumulated and paid out later when eligibility requirements are met. The average net replacement rate<sup>5</sup> from public pension schemes for an average earner in the Eurozone is 64%, whereas this is 38% on average for households living in the four Anglo-Saxon countries mentioned<sup>6</sup>.

## Eurozone households' wealth less volatile

The difference in pension systems not only shows up in a different relative level of assets but also in terms of volatility, as a PAYGO system is not affected by developments on financial markets. In combination with a more stable development of house prices<sup>7</sup> in the Eurozone as a whole (see figure 11), this may explain the less volatile development of total assets in the euro area compared to that in the four Anglo-Saxon countries.

In the US for example, total household assets grew by an annual 7.2% on average in the first seven years of this century, dropped by 6.7% during the years of crisis and recovered by an annual average of 6.3% during the years thereafter. Eurozone households' assets grew by 6.9%, at about the same pace as their US counterparts during the first seven years of this century, but shrank by only 0.2% during the global financial crisis and recovered only modestly by 1.3% on average per year in 2010-2014.

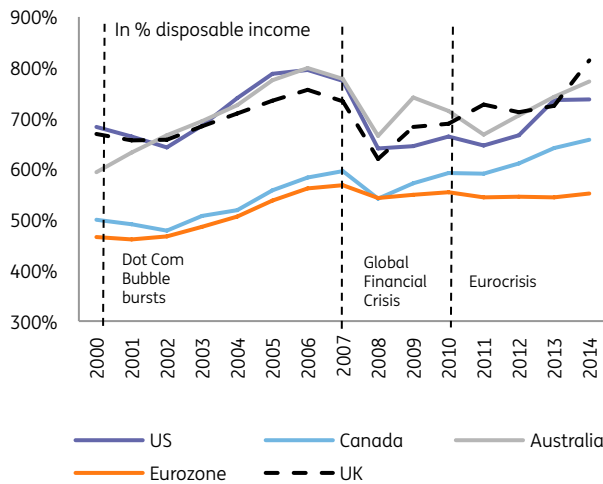
<sup>4</sup> Disposable household income is the amount of money that households have available for spending or saving. It is income after deduction of taxes, social contributions and provision for future pension income.

<sup>5</sup> The net replacement rate shows the level of pensions relative to earnings when working (both after taxes).

<sup>6</sup> ING calculations based on OECD, *Pensions at a Glance 2013*, table 4.10.

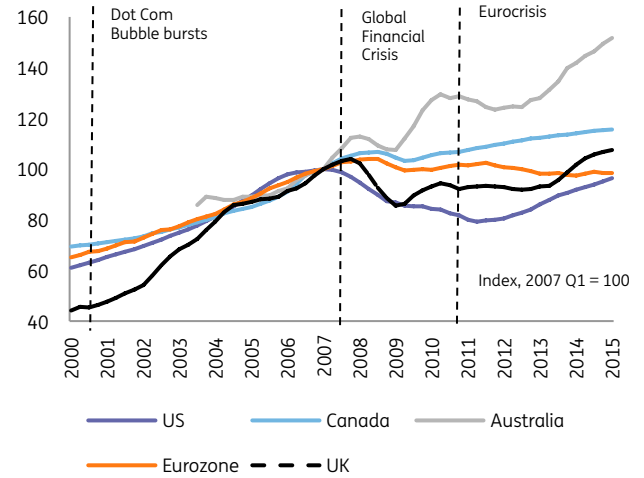
<sup>7</sup> The value of real estate is – with a share of some 35-60% – relatively important in the total of household assets.

Fig 10 Household gross wealth: total assets



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, Macrobond, OECD, ING.

Fig 11 House prices



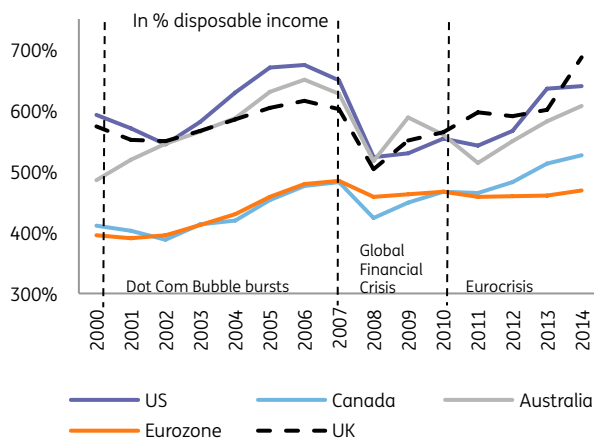
Source: Bloomberg, Macrobond, ING.

The higher degree of volatility on the asset side of Anglo-Saxon households' balance sheets also manifests itself in a more volatile development of net wealth (see figure 12). This is a feature that is being accentuated for the US and the UK by a more pronounced development of liabilities (see figure 13). In particular in the US, the combination of deleveraging and a recovery of house prices has resulted in a strong increase in households' net wealth since the start of the current decade.

### Anglo-Saxon households take on more debt than Eurozone counterparts

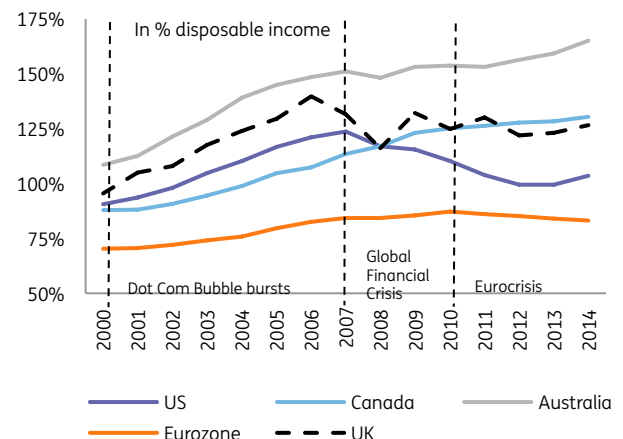
Anglo-Saxon households in general take on more debt than their Eurozone counterparts. The higher debt level is partly related to a higher rate of home ownership. Whereas the home ownership rate in the Eurozone is 60%, it varies between 65 and 68% in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Also differences in the use of credit card debt and student loans play a role. In literature<sup>8</sup> many other explanations can be found, ranging from differences in the taxation of mortgage interest rate payments, differences in financial regulation and competitiveness of the banking sector, financial literacy of households, and cultural differences in the social acceptance of debt.

Fig 12 Household net wealth



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, Macrobond, OECD, ING.

Fig 13 Household total liabilities



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, Macrobond, OECD, ING.

<sup>8</sup> See for example *International Comparative Household Finance*, Cristian Badarinza, John Y. Campbell and Tarun Ramadorai, August 15, 2015

On average a wealth portfolio is comprised of half real estate and half financial assets

### The average Eurozone 'wealth portfolio'

The average 'wealth portfolio' of a household living in the Eurozone usually consists of roughly half real estate possessions and half financial assets. Figure 14 shows the development of the average wealth portfolio since the start of this century.

After markets started to recover from the dotcom crisis, growth of assets generally outpaced that of income by a factor higher than two. Between 2002 and 2006 gross assets grew on average by 8.6% per year whereas income grew by an average of 3.6%. During the years of the financial and euro crises the ratio dropped to below one. In the years 2007-2013 assets grew on average by 1.2% per year compared to 1.7 % for household disposable income.

In 2014 the ratio between the growth rate of assets and that of income returned to its 'common' value of approximately two; assets – helped by a strong inflow in equities – grew by 2.9% and income by 1.5%. As a result, gross assets of Eurozone households amounted to 567% of annual disposable income in mid 2015. This is close to the pre-crisis peak of 569% in 2007 and considerably above the 2001 low of 461%.

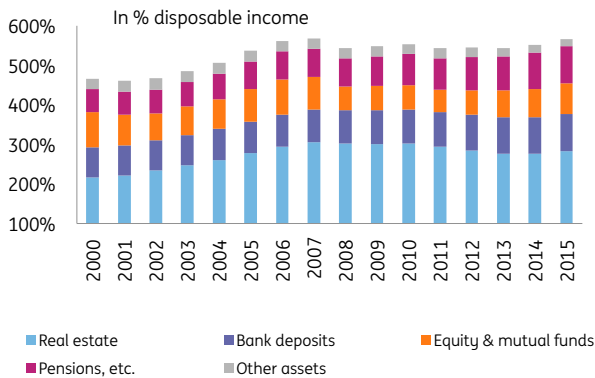
Historically the share of **real estate** within total gross assets has been around 50%. At the start of the century this share was 47%, but with booming real estate markets in many parts of the Eurozone the share increased to 56% in 2008. Between 2001 and 2007 the value of real estate grew at an annual rate of 9.4%, strongly outpacing that of income which grew by on average 3.7% during those years. Since then, with the peripheral real estate markets souring, the share of real estate has fallen to 50% as the value of real estate roughly stabilized (for the Eurozone as a whole) while income grew at an annual rate of 1.3%.

Financial assets are made up of 33% currency & deposits, 33% pension savings & 25% shares

**Currency and bank deposits** consist of one-third of total financial assets (being gross assets excluding real estate). **Insurance, pensions and standardised guarantees** also make up for one-third, while investments in **equity and mutual funds** represent around 25% of financial assets<sup>9</sup>. Figure 15 shows that most of the changes in households' net wealth are accounted for by changes in the value of real estate and equity holdings. Within the total wealth portfolio, these asset categories are the most volatile.

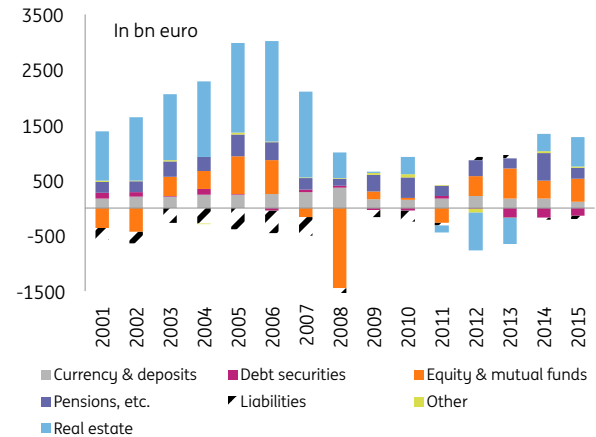
<sup>9</sup> Holdings of debt securities, loans, financial derivatives and employee stock options make up for the remainder.

Fig 14 Household gross wealth, Eurozone total



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 15 Contribution to yearly changes in net-wealth, Eurozone total



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

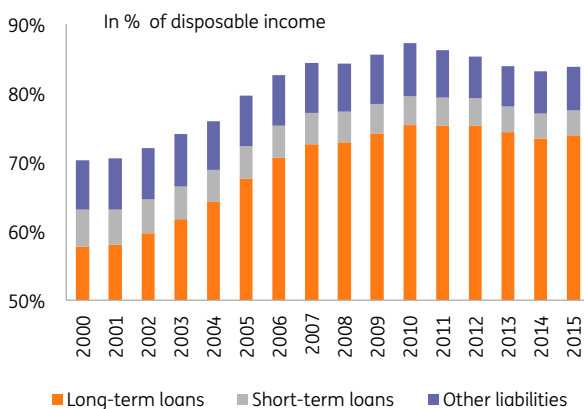
### Eurozone household debt remains high

#### Eurozone households have not significantly reduced debt

As a consequence of a steady increase in **debt** of some 5.5% on average per year, the ratio of total liabilities to disposable income rose from 70% in 2000 to 87% in 2010. In the years thereafter, total liabilities declined only marginally by 0.4% per year in 2011-2013 and have since then shown a tendency to increase again. At present, the ratio of total liabilities to disposable income stands at 84%; only 3%-points below the peak of 2010 (see figure 16). The increase, as well as the decrease can be attributed almost in full to the development of long-term loans<sup>10</sup>.

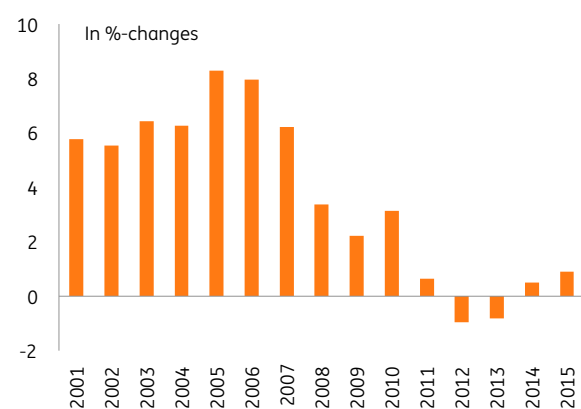
Eurozone households have therefore, as a group, not significantly reduced their liabilities. Only in 2012 and 2013 did the absolute amount of liabilities fall (somewhat) for the Eurozone aggregate (see figure 17) thereby slightly improving their net wealth position.

Fig 16 Household liabilities, Eurozone total



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 17 Change in Eurozone household liabilities



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

<sup>10</sup> Loans of which the original maturity is one year or more.

## Surprising differences between countries

### Southern European households can better keep up their standard of living than those living in the core countries

When dividing the Eurozone into a group of countries often labeled as 'core'<sup>11</sup> and a group of Southern-European<sup>12</sup> countries, it turns out that Southern-European households are more capable of keeping up their standard of living compared with those living in the core countries (see figure 18)<sup>13</sup>.

### High level of household assets in Southern Europe because of high home-ownership rates

Total assets in Southern Europe are currently close to 700% of household disposable income in this region, whereas core Eurozone households hold assets somewhat above 500% of disposable income. An important factor as to why Southern European households have such a relatively high level of assets is that in Southern-Europe it is more common to own the house one lives in (see figure 26).

But not only does the asset position of the group of Southern-European countries compare more favorably, the liability side does so as well (see figure 19). Relative to income, **households living in Southern Europe have less debt than those living in the core**. Surprising at first, this outcome is very much the result of a compositional effect. The debt level in the core is being pushed up by a very high debt level of Dutch households while southern countries' debt ratio is being depressed by a low relative debt level of Italian households who have a large weight in this group.

However, the increase in the relative level of household debt in Southern Europe since the start of this century is remarkable. Between 2000 and 2010, household debt in these countries increased by on average 10% per year, strongly outpacing the increase of their income, compared to 4% for the core countries. In the years thereafter, Southern European households have reduced their debt levels by on average 3% per annum, while households in the core countries continued to take on debt by some 1% per year.

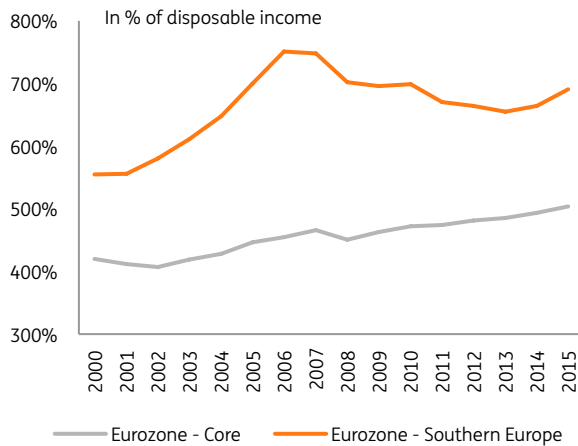
<sup>11</sup> In this note Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany and the Netherlands.

<sup>12</sup> In this note Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain.

<sup>13</sup> It should be taken into account however, that the standard of living that 'needs' to be maintained is generally higher in the core than in the South.

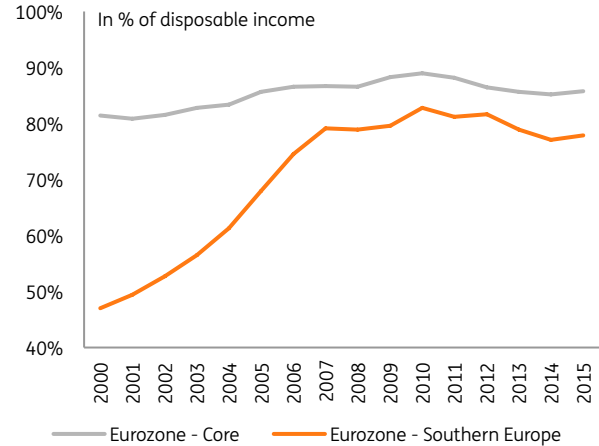


Fig 18 Total assets in the Eurozone core &amp; periphery



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 19 Total liabilities in the Eurozone core &amp; periphery



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

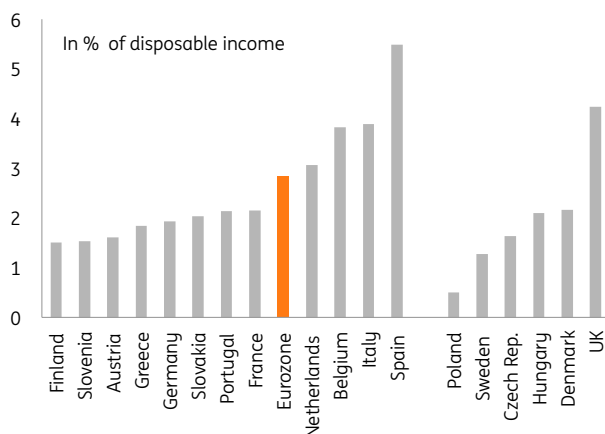
### German households have relatively few assets

When breaking the average wealth portfolio down further into individual countries even larger differences become manifest. Relative to income, households in Belgium, Spain and the Netherlands for example have on average 2.4 more assets than their counterparts in Slovakia, Slovenia and Greece (see figure 3).

When breaking down total assets in real estate and financial assets, differences between countries are even bigger. The relative level of real estate assets of households living in Spain, Belgium and Italy for instance is 2.8 times as high as that of households living in Finland, Slovenia and Austria (see figure 20). For financial assets the difference between the top-3 and bottom-3 Eurozone countries is about the same. Households living in the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy have on average 2.8 times more financial assets than households living in Slovakia, Slovenia and Greece.

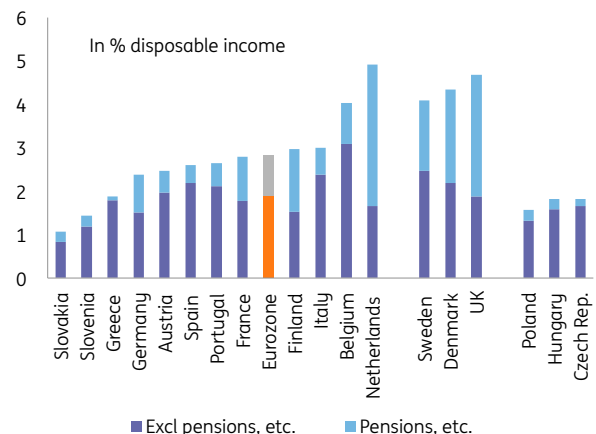
It is striking that **German households** have fewer assets than Eurozone households have on average. They **not only own relatively little real estate** (see figure 20) **but also hold less financial assets than is common in the Eurozone** (see figure 21).

Fig 20 Real estate assets in European countries, 2015



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 21 Financial assets in European countries, 2015



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING. For Poland see footnote 3.

### Capital gains more volatile than wealth accumulation through saving

Not only the level of assets but the composition is important as well because capital gains or losses on households' equities and real estate can be much more volatile than the yearly accumulation of wealth through saving (see figure 22) and may therefore impact households psychologically as well.

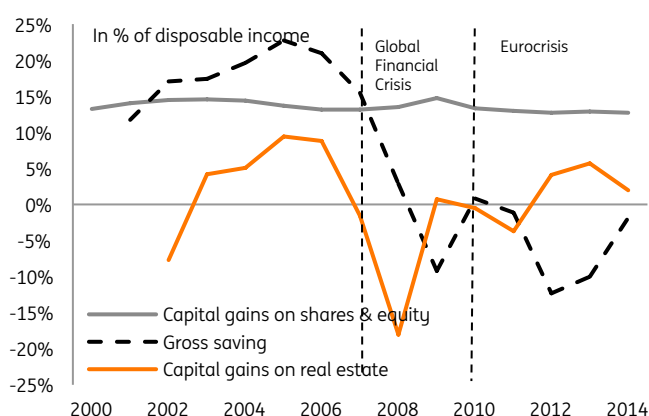
### High shares of currency and bank deposits in Greece, Slovenia and Slovakia

When looking at the composition of households' financial assets, major differences between countries can be observed (see figure 23). Whereas households in **Greece, Slovenia and Slovakia hold over 50% of total financial assets in currency and bank deposits**, this is 20% or less in Finland and the Netherlands.

### Large equity investments in Belgium and Spain. High pension savings in the Netherlands and UK

Households in **Belgium and Spain have a relative large share of their assets invested in listed equity** (close to 20%) whereas this is below 5% in the Netherlands, Ireland and Greece. **The Netherlands and the UK stand out because of a large share of assets in pension schemes** of approximately 60% or higher<sup>14</sup>.

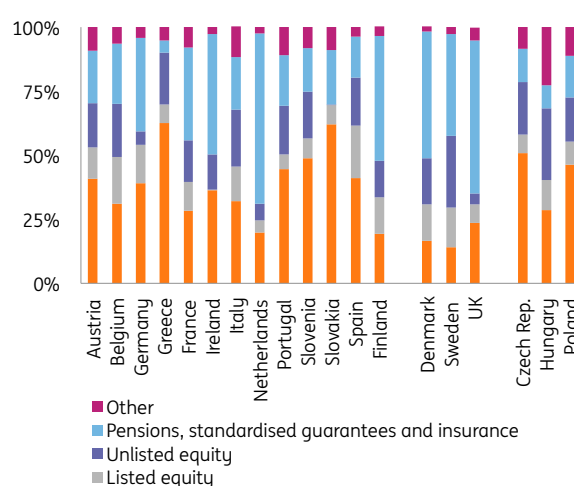
Fig 22 Households' capital gains and saving, Eurozone



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Note: Capital gains on shares & equity is the difference between the nominal change in the value of these assets minus the change on account of household transactions. Capital gains on real estate have been approximated by the yearly increase in house prices.

Fig 23 Financial assets in European countries, 2014



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

### Factors explaining cross-country differences

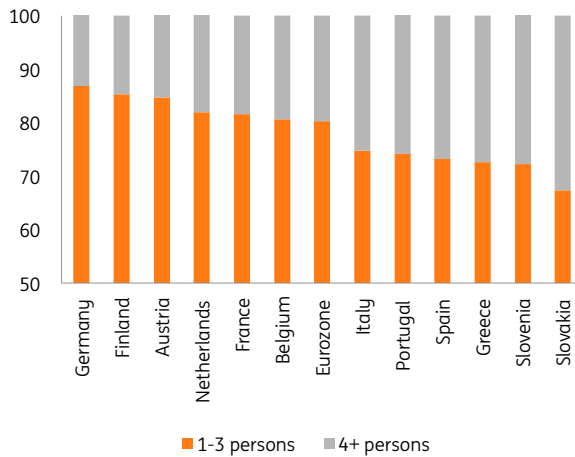
### Bigger families in the periphery, smaller in the core

Differences in the size of, and how households allocate their assets can be related to a wide variety of factors, among them differences in household characteristics (average age, number of people). Older people tend to run down their financial assets during their retirement and the number of people forming a household may affect the wealth numbers per household. And indeed, within the Eurozone the **composition of households** varies considerably between countries. The share of households with a size of 4 persons or more is on average 20% in the Eurozone but varies from roughly 13-15% in Austria, Finland and Germany to 25% or more in Greece, Italy and Spain (see figure 24).

<sup>14</sup> For reasons of comparison, throughout this note social security funds in Finland have been added to households' pensions as the Finnish work pension system is classified in social security funds.

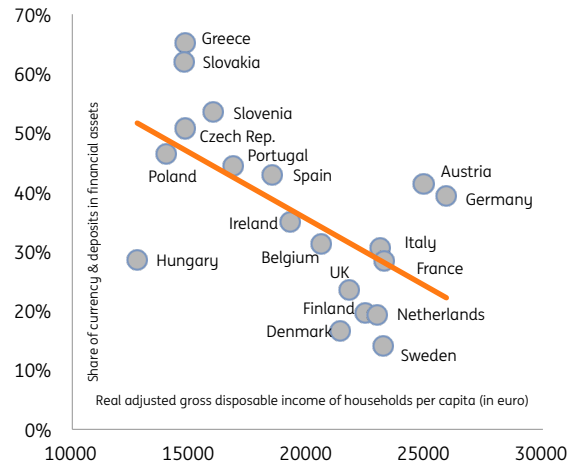
Differences in the **age structure** between countries are not likely to have a major effect on differences in household wealth as there is not much variation between countries in the relative shares of elderly. On average the share of people being older than 65 in the Eurozone is 19%, varying from lows of 17-18% in Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Spain to a high of 21% in Germany, Greece and Italy.

**Fig 24 Household size in various Eurozone countries**  
Relative shares (in %)



Source: ECB. Data reflect the situation around 2010.

**Fig 25 Income and share of currency & deposits, 2014**

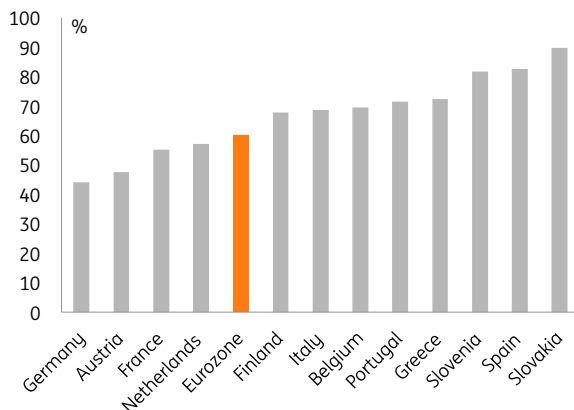


Source: Eurostat, ING.

Differences in **financial literacy**, **risk aversion** or preference for liquidity will also be reflected in differences in households' financial portfolios. A high liquidity ratio may reflect low financial literacy, high risk aversion or 'just' a strong preference for liquidity. It may also be related to the degree the economy, and related to that financial markets, are developed. In general, there is a negative correlation between the share of financial assets households hold in currency and bank deposits and per capita income (see figure 25).

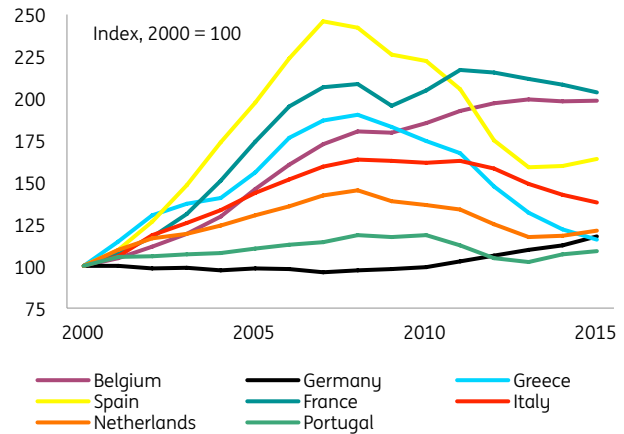
Differences in **taxation and institutional factors** such as the existence of public pension schemes and other public services such as healthcare, education and social services may also play a role. The high share of assets in pension schemes in the Netherlands and the UK for instance reflects the presence of fully funded, mandatory private pension schemes in these countries.

Fig 26 Fraction of households owning their own house



Source: ECB. Data reflect situation around 2010.

Fig 27 House prices in some Eurozone countries

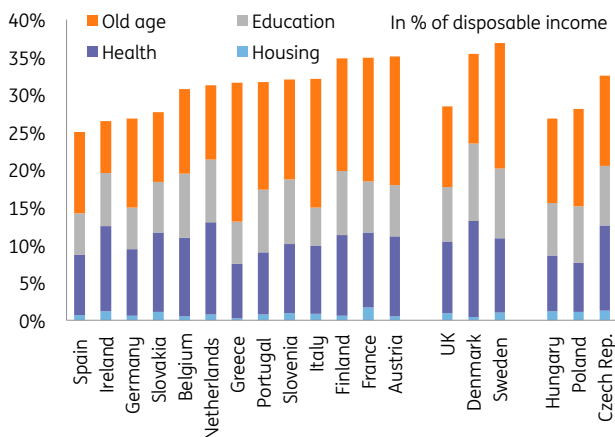


Source: Eurostat, ING.

**Home-ownership rates; low in Germany, high in the periphery**

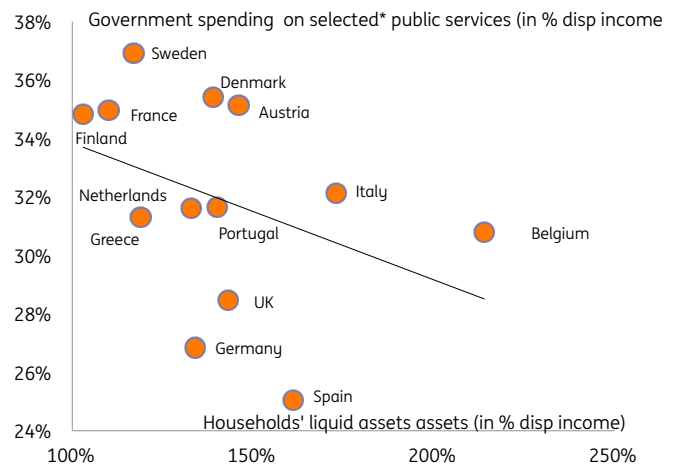
**Social and cultural factors** play a role as well. For instance, whereas the average German typically rents a house, most households in Southern-Europe own the house they live in. According to the ECB, around 2010, 60% of Eurozone households owned their main residence. A number varying from a low of around 45% in Germany and Austria to highs of 80-90% in Spain, Slovenia and Slovakia (see figure 26)<sup>15</sup>. However, within the Eurozone, cross-country differences in the relative value of households' real estate are on a declining trend as house prices seem to converge (somewhat) (see figure 27).

Fig 28 Government expenditure by function, 2013



Source: Eurostat, ING.

Fig 29 Household liquid assets &amp; provision of public services



Source: Eurostat, ING. \*Government spending on social housing, healthcare and old age (2011-2013 average). Households liquid assets are 2014 data.

### Governments may provide part of the financial safety net

A more or less generous **public provision of pensions, housing or medical coverage** is also likely to affect the choices of households to accumulate (private) wealth and allocate their portfolio of assets and liabilities. Public services with respect to social housing, healthcare, education and old age

<sup>15</sup> The home-ownership rate for Poland is 77%.

**The stronger the public  
financial safety net, the fewer  
liquid assets households keep**

enhances households' incomes by around 30% on average in the Eurozone, with Spain at the low end (25%) and Finland, France and Austria at the high end (35%) (see figure 28).

Figure 29 provides some evidence that the extent to which a government provides a safety net to counter possible negative income developments, is being reflected in the level of liquid assets households keep. The higher the level of public income enhancing schemes, the lower the amount of liquid assets households keep.

# Households' buffer of liquid assets

## Liquid assets likely to gain in importance

Housing and financial wealth greatly influences the ability of households to maintain or achieve a desired standard of living. They can, for example, serve as a buffer to draw upon in bad economic times or provide (additional) income in case of retirement. But as a cushion for unforeseen circumstances, assets that can be liquidated quickly (deposits, mutual fund investments, etc.) are of more importance than illiquid assets such as savings tied up in a pension scheme or assets that need time to sell such as real estate.

Liquid assets are most important when it comes down to weather the consequences of income volatility. Liquid assets are likely to gain in importance as the volatility of income may increase over the years as lower overall rates of economic growth may raise the probability of a recession and hence a loss of job or fall of income<sup>16</sup>.

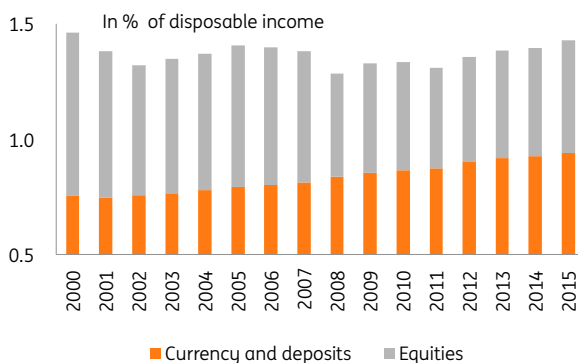
## High financial buffers in Italy and Belgium, low in Germany and the Netherlands

When looking at liquid assets, Dutch households drop from their number one asset-holding position

When comparing the country ranking of total financial assets (figure 3) with the ranking of liquid assets<sup>17</sup> (figure 4), Dutch households drop from their number one position in the Eurozone to a place below average. Relative to disposable income, Dutch households hold fewer liquid assets as those in Greece. German households move up somewhat in the ranking but their liquid asset position remains below to what is common in the Eurozone. Italian and Belgian households keep their high rankings with liquid assets in the range of 2 times annual disposable income.

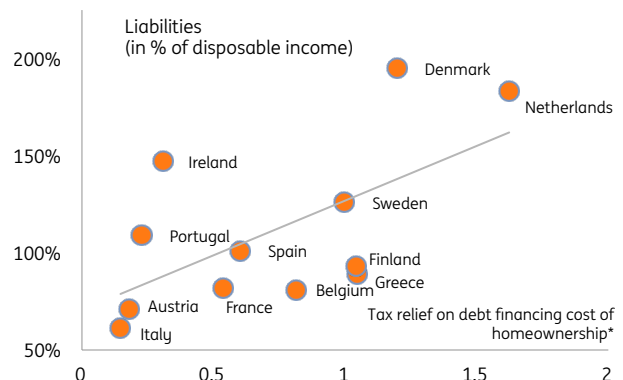
When looking at the development of liquid assets for the Eurozone as a whole (see figure 30) a slow but steady increase in the share of currency and bank deposits can be observed reducing volatility of liquid assets.

Fig 30 Liquid financial assets Eurozone households



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 31 Tax incentives and household debt



Source: Eurostat, OECD, ING.

\*This indicator takes into account whether interest payments on mortgage debt are deductible from taxable income and whether there are any limits on the allowed period of deduction or the deductible amount, and whether tax credits for loans are available. For countries that have no tax relief on debt financing costs, this indicator takes the value of zero. Data reflect the situation in 2009. Data on liabilities are for 2015.

<sup>16</sup> See *The New Abnormal...more shocks are in store*, ING, 7 November 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Liquid assets consist of households' holdings of currency and saving deposits, debt securities, listed equities and mutual funds.



# High debts in the Netherlands and the periphery

## The most indebted households live in the Netherlands and in Southern Europe

### Tax relief incentivizes households to take on more debt

Households in the periphery are - with the exception of Italy - the most indebted of the Eurozone (see figure 5). Of the core Eurozone countries, households are most indebted in the Netherlands and Finland. Within the EU, high household debt in the Netherlands is only matched by Denmark. In Eastern European countries the level of household debt is still relatively low. Most of household liabilities are related to real estate (mortgages) and there seems to be a tendency for households to take on more debt the higher the tax relief offered by governments on debt financing is (see figure 31).

### Most indebted households also deleverage most

Generally speaking, households with the highest debt levels are in the process of reducing their vulnerability, albeit on varying degrees (see figure 6). Noteworthy is that German households, who already have a low debt level relative to income, are also among the group of countries who have been able to bring down relative debt levels most on the back of a continuous rise in income. The debt to income ratio for German households is now 21%-points lower compared to 2000 although the absolute amount of debt increased by 7% since then.

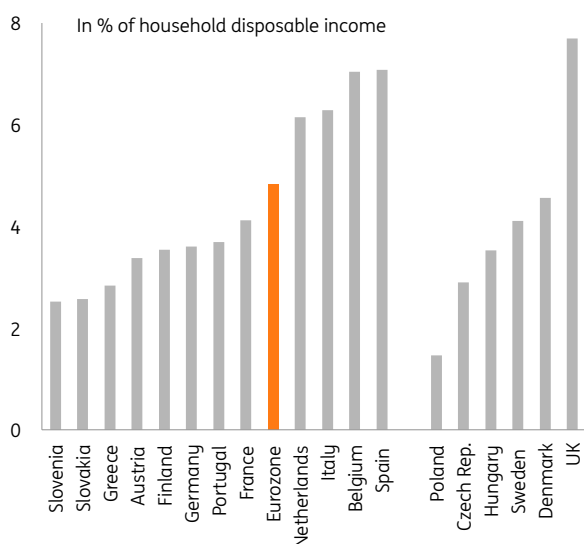
## Greek households have not been able to bring down debt exposure

For Greek households the opposite has occurred. Greek households have, because of a decline in disposable income, not been able to reduce their debt exposure despite a 19% reduction in the nominal value of liabilities from 152 billion euro in 2010 to 119 billion in 2015. For Greek households the ratio of total liabilities to household disposable income has continued to increase from 83% in 2010 to 89% in 2015 (compared to 26% in 2000).

## Net wealth held up relatively well

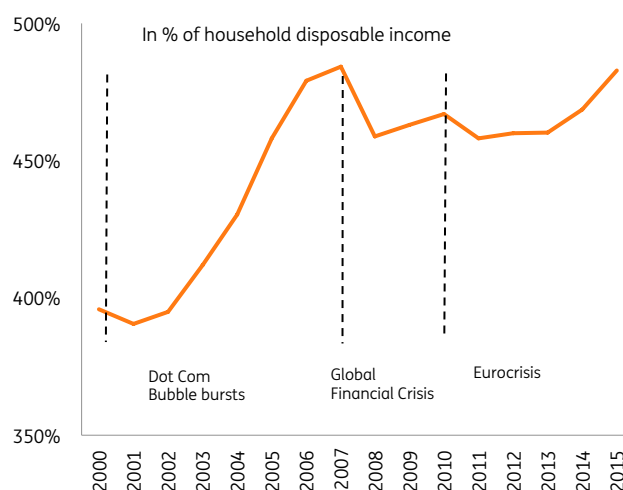
Looking at the balance of assets and liabilities, Eurozone households currently hold net wealth equal to approximately 4.8 times annual disposable income. As there are large differences between countries in terms of asset holdings and liabilities, there are big differences in net wealth as well, varying from around 2.5 times annual income in Slovenia and Slovakia to seven times in Belgium and Spain (see figure 32). As noted before, given many social, cultural and institutional differences, interpretation of these differences has to be done with caution<sup>18</sup>.

Fig 32 Household net wealth European countries, 2015



Source: Eurostat, OECD, ING. For Poland see footnote 3.

Fig 33 Net wealth of Eurozone households



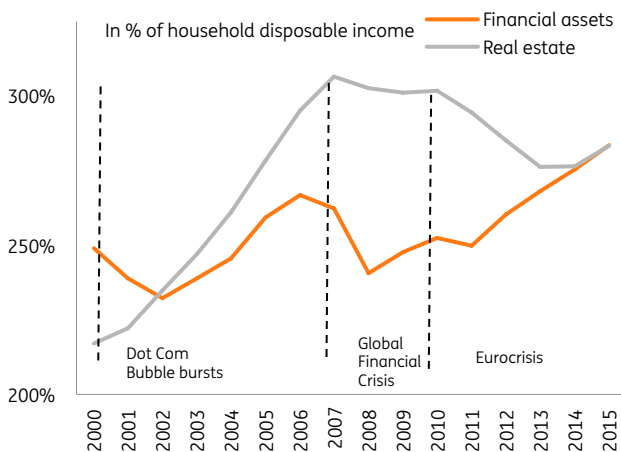
Source: Eurostat, OECD, ING.

### Eurozone net wealth back to pre-crises level

For the aggregate of Eurozone households, net wealth as a percentage of disposable income was hit sharply during the early years of the financial crisis in 2007/2008. It then recovered slightly in 2009-10 but dipped again in 2011 following the outbreak of the euro crisis (see figure 33). Since 2013 a 12% recovery of net wealth has brought the net wealth ratio of Eurozone households in the second quarter of 2015 back to its pre-crisis peak.

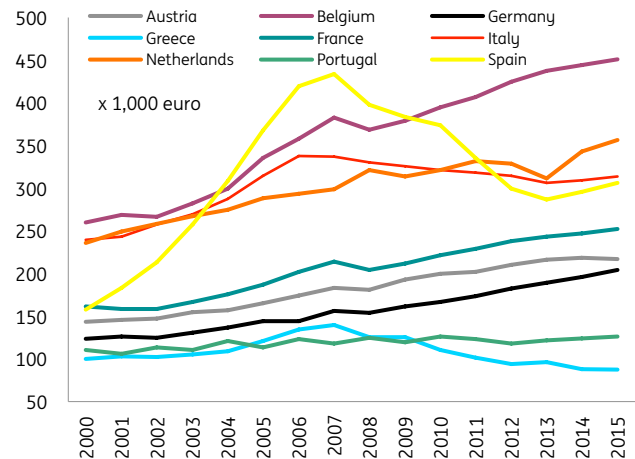
<sup>18</sup> Is someone living with an extended family in his own house on the Spanish country side really better off than someone living on its own in a rental apartment in the centre of Berlin?

Fig 34 Eurozone household financial assets & real estate



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 35 Net wealth in euro per household



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

The two dips in net wealth – in 2007/08 and 2011 – had different drivers. The dip in 2008 was mainly driven by a 5% decline in the value of financial assets, whereas the 2011 dip was mostly the result of a 6% decline in the value of real estate (see figure 34), notably in the Eurozone's periphery and the Netherlands. In the four Southern European countries the value of real estate fell by 18% in the years 2011-2013. In the Netherlands the fall was 14%. Household liabilities have not shown major swings.

### Spanish households the wealthiest of all!

The rise of net wealth per household has been almost uninterrupted in Germany, France and Belgium rising by 3-4% on average per year since 2000 (see figure 35). Due to a booming real estate market, households in Spain were in the years 2005-2009 the wealthiest of all Eurozone households!

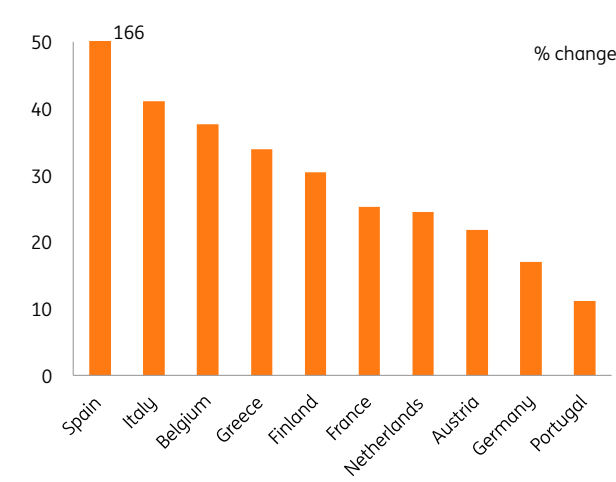
With the onset of the financial crisis, the tide has turned and households in Spain – as well as in Greece – have experienced a major decline since 2008, seeing their net wealth falling by 5-6% on average per year. Greece is the only country where net wealth of households has fallen to below the level registered at the beginning of this century. As per the second quarter of 2015, net wealth of Greek households is 13% below the level of 2000 and developments in Greece thereafter are unlikely to have led to an improvement.

**Greece: the only country where households are poorer than in 2000**

### Net wealth – up 23% in the core, down 30% in Spain and Greece

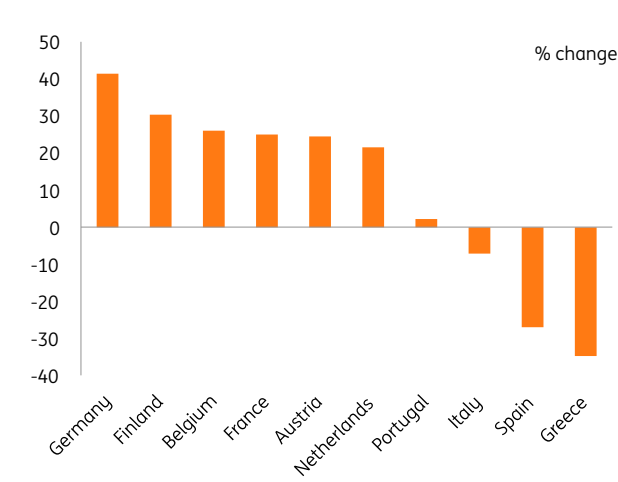
In all, net wealth per household in Spain and Greece is still some 30% below the peak of 2007 whereas households living in the Eurozone's core countries now are 23% wealthier.

Fig 36 Change 2000-2006, net wealth per household



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 37 Change 2007-2015, net wealth per household



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

## Asset prices and wealth inequality

Asset price developments will affect household wealth to the extent households have invested in a particular asset category. Asset prices may therefore affect wealth inequality between households depending on the distribution of the various types of assets over income classes.

However, most households do not directly hold and trade in shares and equity, and will thus be unaffected by the up- and downturns of financial markets. According to the Household Finance and Consumption Survey (HFCS) conducted by the European Central Bank (ECB)<sup>19</sup> around 2010 only 10% of Eurozone households owned publicly traded shares. Between countries there are big differences. Whereas less than 5% of all households in Greece, Italy and Portugal did have shares, this was around 10% in Germany, the Netherlands and Spain and above 20% in Finland. Indirectly, of course, all households will be affected through confidence and following knock-on effects on the economy.

### The top income quintile holds over 60% of all mutual fund holdings

As household income increases, the participation in equity and mutual fund holdings generally increases as well. Of all Eurozone households the top income quintile holds over 60% of all that is invested in mutual funds (see figure 38). The bottom income quintile has a share of approximately 5%<sup>20</sup>. This is very different to home-ownership which is more evenly spread across the population. Of all Eurozone households 47% of those in the bottom quintile own their main residence compared to 78% for the top quintile.

### Home owners are more exposed to financial markets woes than renters

Typically, home owners have a higher presence on the stock market compared to people who rent a house; 12-14% of all Eurozone home owners has shares; more than double that of renters. As a consequence, home owners will be more exposed to financial markets woes than renters as they have to cope with disappointing stock market returns and in some cases a downturn on the housing market as well. But equally, home owners may also profit more than renters from the current extremely loose monetary policy stance as they benefit from the positive effects on shares and house prices as well as from lower interest rates on loans.

<sup>19</sup> See [https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/economic-research/research-networks/html/researcher\\_hfcn.en.html](https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/economic-research/research-networks/html/researcher_hfcn.en.html) for more detailed information on the survey and its findings.

<sup>20</sup> The ECB notes that the relationship between asset values and income is not completely monotonic for all asset types. It in particular notes a relatively high median value for mutual funds for the lowest income decile which might be explained by small-sample issues because for these groups the participation rates are low.

Fig 38 Holding of mutual funds by income groups, Eurozone

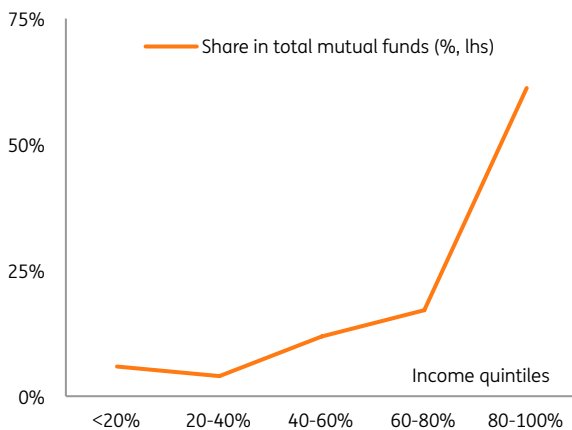
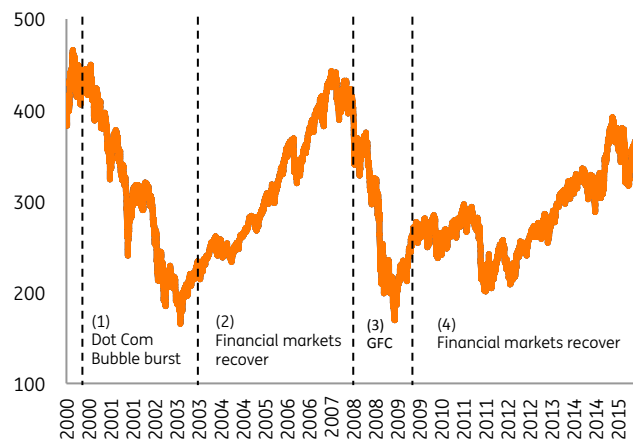


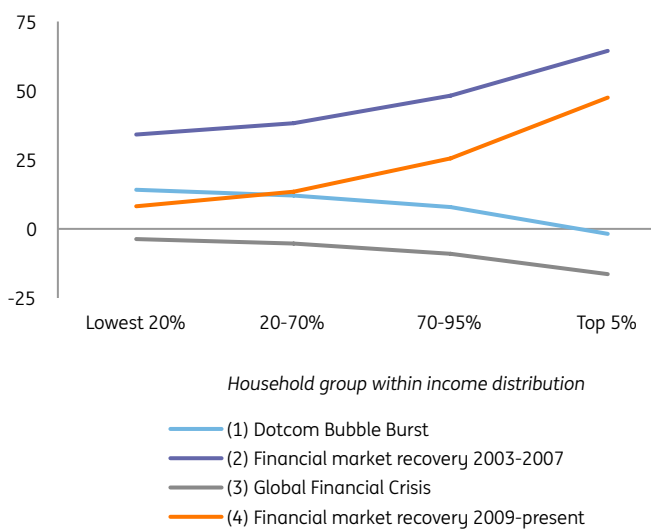
Fig 39 Eurozone equity market, Euro Stoxx Index



Source Indicative estimates ING based on HFCS. Data reflect situation around 2010. Source: Bloomberg.

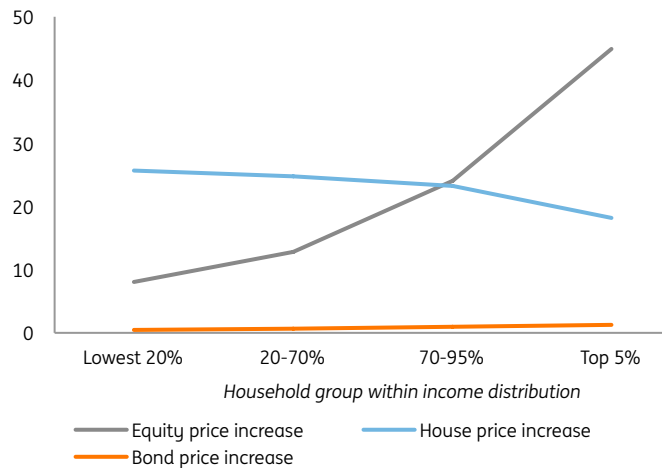
We have analysed the impact of bond, equity and house price developments on wealth inequality since early 2000<sup>21</sup>. We distinguish four sub-periods; (1) the downturn on the financial markets after the collapse of the dotcom bubble (2000-2003), (2) the following recovery (2003-2007), (3) the period of financial market turmoil after the outbreak of the global financial crisis (GFC, 2007-2009) and (4) the following recovery up to now (also see figure 39)<sup>22</sup>. Detailed tables with the full results per individual Eurozone country can be found in the annex to this note.

Fig 40 Capital gains across Eurozone income groups (in % of group net wealth)



Source: ING.

Fig 41 Capital gains across Eurozone income groups (in % of group net wealth) in 2003-2007



Source: ING.

<sup>21</sup> For this we have made extensive use of the ready-reckoners presented by the Deutsche Bundesbank in Klaus Adam, Panagioti Tzamourani, *Distributional consequences of asset price inflation in the euro area*, Discussion Paper, No. 27/2015.

<sup>22</sup> The turning points (15 March 2000, 21 March 2003, 1 July 2007 and 9 March 2009) have been based on the development of the Euro Stoxx index. Assuming (some) investors' home bias, for the development of equity prices we have used the total return performance of each countries' broad market index. For bond prices we have used the total return index of each countries' broad government bond market. For the development of house prices we have used quarterly indices that were most close to the turning points.



Figure 40 displays the capital gains experienced by different household income groups<sup>23</sup> due to the combined effect of bond, equity and house price developments during the four sub-periods mentioned.

**The richest households experienced a capital loss, the others capital gains**

#### **After the bursting of the dotcom bubble wealth inequality decreased**

The figure shows that in the years **following the burst of the dotcom bubble** all households, except the 5% richest households, have still been able to realize a capital gain of 8-14%. The top 5% experienced a loss of 2%. Households experienced capital losses due to their investments in the equity market but many saw this compensated by capital gains on bonds and houses in particular. For the 5% richest households however, a negative balance remained because they not only experienced a higher loss on their equity investments, but also benefitted less from the increase in house prices. The gain on real estate is relatively smaller for higher income groups as they hold a smaller proportion of their wealth in housing. The loss on equity investments for higher income groups is generally higher as the participation in equity and mutual fund holdings generally increases with income (see again figure 38).

As a consequence, during the aftermath of the bursting of the dotcom bubble wealth inequality decreased in the Eurozone.

#### **In 2003-2007 capital gains for the top 5% have been almost double that of the bottom 20% income earners**

During the **following recovery (in 2003 – 2007)**, households have been able to realize capital gains varying from 34% for households in the lowest income group to 64% for the top 5%. The higher income groups in particular benefitted most from the increase of equity prices.

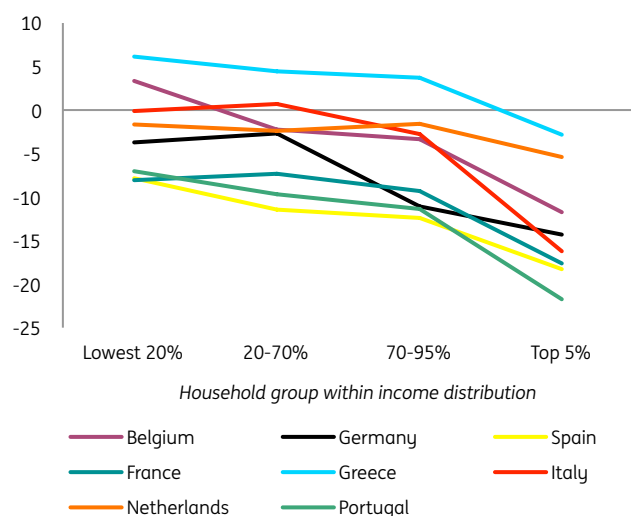
Figure 41 gives a breakdown of the capital gains in this period experienced by different household groups. Capital gains as a result of bond price increases have been fairly limited (between ½ - 1%) and relatively evenly spread across the household income distribution. But capital gains related to equity price increases have been highly concentrated within the top 5%. Households in this group saw their net wealth increase by 45% due to their equity investments, compared to 24% for the upper middle income group. Middle and lower income groups realized even smaller gains (8-13%). Real estate gains, of about 25%, were relatively evenly spread across the income distribution. With a gain of 18%, the richest households lagged behind somewhat as they in general are (relative to their net wealth holdings) more invested in equity and less in real estate.

**Asset prices increased wealth inequality during 2003-2007**

The 2003-2007 economic recovery therefore resulted in an increase of wealth inequality. This is in fact a logical consequence of the fact that the share of financial assets in a household portfolio tends to increase with household income.

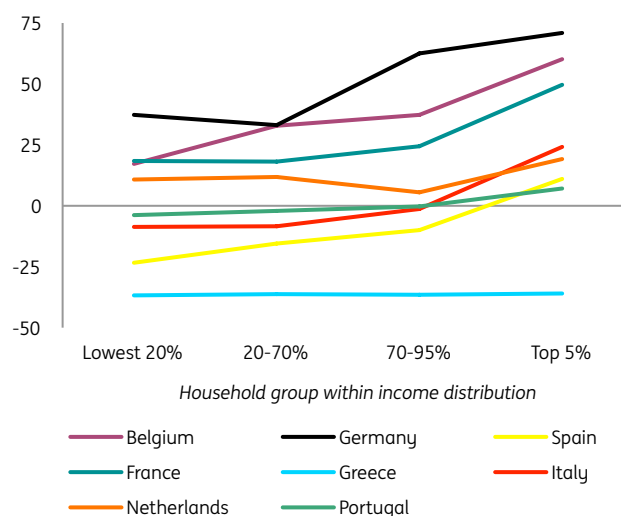
<sup>23</sup> Following the categorization of the Bundesbank (see footnote 21), the figure considers four broad household income groups: low income households (bottom 20% of the distribution), middle income households (the next 50% of the distribution), upper middle income households (the next 25%) and high income households (the top 5% of the distribution).

Fig 42 Capital gains across income groups (in % of group net wealth) in 2007-2009



Source: ING.

Fig 43 Capital gains across Eurozone income groups (in % of group net wealth) in 2009-2015



Source: ING.

### The wealth decline of the top-5% income earners was four times that of the bottom 20%

### Global financial crisis has affected wealth inequality less in Spain, Portugal and France

The **global financial crisis** resulted in a total loss of wealth for all income categories varying from 4% for the lowest income group to 16% for the top 5% (see again figure 40), thereby reducing wealth inequality. In all countries, households suffered from losses on their equity investments varying between 1 and 26%. In general, the richer the household, the bigger the loss. Gains related to households' bond exposure were overall small (3% or less).

The findings for bonds and equities are roughly the same for all individual Eurozone countries but for housing there were significant differences. Households in Spain (house prices fell 6%), Portugal (-5%) and France (-3%) saw their net wealth decline as a consequence of falling house prices. Households in these countries therefore experienced a net wealth decline not only because the value of their equity portfolio declined (the effect of which increases with household income) but also because the value of their real estate dropped (the effect of which is more evenly spread over the income distribution).

Households in the other Eurozone countries experienced some compensation from still rising house prices<sup>24</sup>. Wealth inequality therefore has been less affected in countries where both equity and house prices fell. This is because for higher income groups, a more than average capital loss as a consequence of falling equity prices is being combined with a less than average effect stemming from falling real estate prices. Figure 42 indeed shows that the capital losses for households in Spain, Portugal and France – although being more negative – are more evenly spread across the income distribution than in the other countries.

<sup>24</sup> House prices in Greece started to decline towards the end of 2008 but were for the period under consideration on balance still up by 8%.

**Net wealth increase of 8% for the lower income group, 48% for the top-5% income earners**

**Strong increase in wealth inequality since 2009, but less so in the Netherlands**

The **recovery since 2009** has led to a widening of wealth inequality again. The lowest income group saw their net wealth increase by 8%, whereas the upper middle class registered an increase of 26%. The top 5% even achieved a capital gain of 48%.

However, given more diverse developments on local real estate and equity markets, major differences between various Eurozone countries can be observed (see figure 43). In the Southern European countries, falling house prices have led to capital losses for most income groups. In this region, with the exception of Greece, only the top 5% has seen capital gains (between 7 and 24%) on the back of strong equity markets. In Greece, where stock markets continued to decline, all household groups saw their net wealth fall with more than 35%. In Germany, France and Belgium wealth inequality increased on the back of strongly recovering equity markets. The top 5% in these countries saw their net wealth increase by 50-70%, whereas the middle income groups had a capital gain of roughly half of that. Wealth inequality in the Netherlands has remained relatively stable.

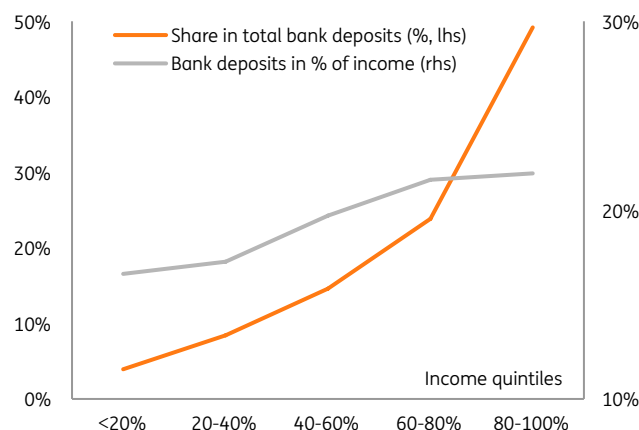
## Transaction behaviour

**Top income quintile owns nearly 50% of all bank deposits**

The most stable and least risky asset featuring on households' balance sheets are bank deposits. In all Eurozone countries a big majority of households have bank deposits (varying from 73% of all households in Greece to 100% in Finland). In general one can observe the tendency that the higher the income, the more households have a deposit and also the higher the average amount per deposit. Based on data from the Household Finance and Consumption Survey (HFCS) one can estimate that for the Eurozone as a whole the top income quintile owns nearly 50% of total bank deposits whereas households from the lowest income quintile have less than 5% of total deposits (see figure 44).

Relative to income, however, the amount held in bank deposits is more stable across income groups, varying from somewhat below 20% for the lower income quintiles to somewhat above 20% for the higher incomes. The income effect of the lowering of (bank) interest rates as of 2008 may therefore have impacted savers in various income groups in more or less the same way in relative terms.

**Fig 44 Bank deposits by income groups, Eurozone**



Source: Indicative estimates ING based on HFCS. Data reflect situation around 2010.

**Savers in Austria and Finland are most responsive to the level of interest rates...**

### Core Eurozone households have responded differently to the crises

For households in the core Eurozone countries there doesn't seem to be a common pattern as to how the financial crisis has affected saving behaviour<sup>25</sup>. Households in Austria and Finland seem to have been most responsive to the level of interest rates (see figure 45). For those countries one can observe a parallel development of active saving and interest rates.

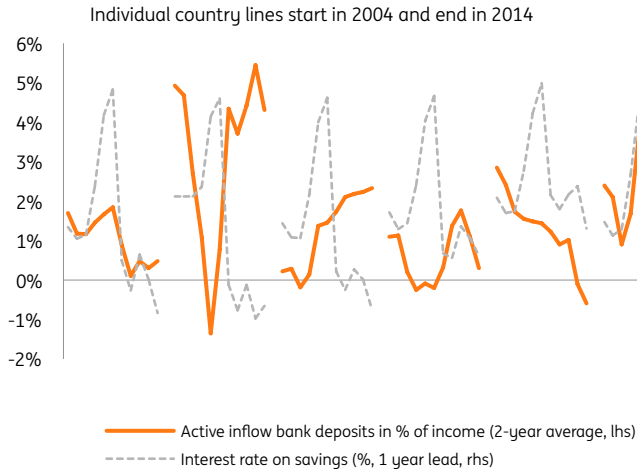
**...while German savers have been relatively insensitive.**

By contrast, German households have, during the years of crisis, constantly stepped up saving (out of and relative to income) seemingly irrespective of the development of interest rates on savings. Households in the Netherlands have continuously scaled down active saving during the years of crisis. Interestingly, households in Belgium and France saved considerably less when the crisis emerged in 2007-2008, notwithstanding relative high rates offered

<sup>25</sup> In this note we have defined saving behaviour as the amount actively saved out of disposable income. This therefore excludes the accumulation of savings by received interest payments.

on their saving accounts in those years. In the years thereafter Belgian and French households quickly increased saving again.

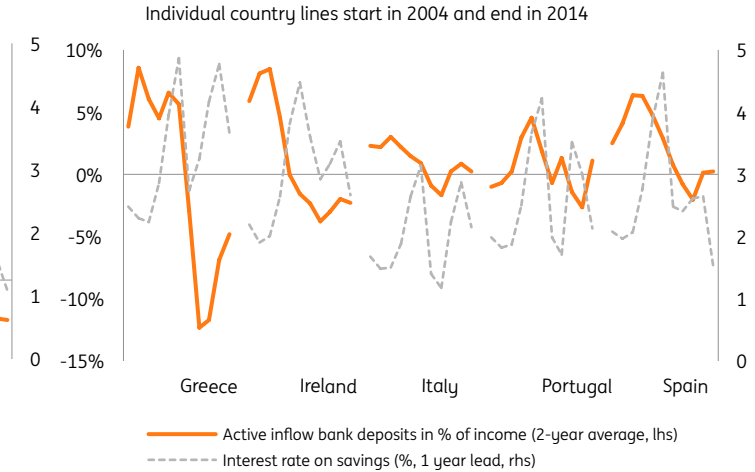
Fig 45 Saving behaviour in core Eurozone countries



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, Macrobond, ING.

Note: Interest rates used are for deposits with an agreed maturity up to 1 year..

Fig 46 Saving behaviour in the Eurozone periphery



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, Macrobond, ING.

Note: Interest rates used are for deposits with an agreed maturity up to 1 year (Ireland up to 2 year).

### Households in the periphery have withdrawn money from their bank accounts

#### Households in the periphery all scaled down saving activity

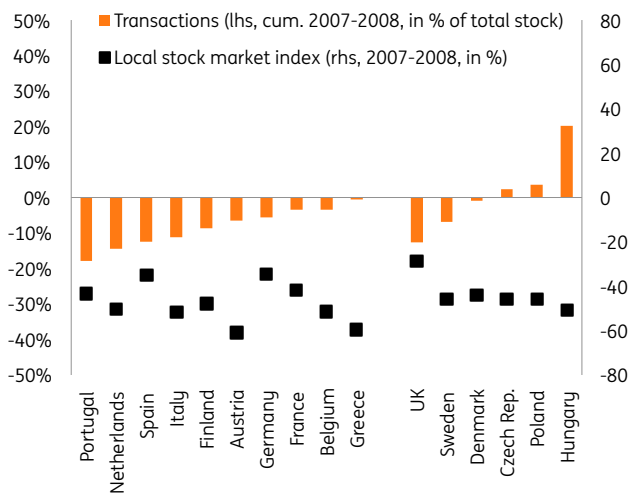
In the Eurozone periphery, households have in general scaled down active saving. In all peripheral countries households have – to various degrees – at some point in time, against the background of the ongoing crisis and accompanying uncertainty, on balance withdrawn money from their bank accounts (see figure 46).

#### Selling equities when prices go down, buying when going up

Households' holding of equities is the most volatile item on the balance sheet. A significant part of the decrease in financial assets in 2007 and 2008 was caused by the downturn of financial markets reducing the value of households' stocks of shares and other equity. But against a backdrop of declining equity prices and general uncertainty, in quite a number of countries, households also actively sold part of their investment portfolio during the first years of the financial crisis (see figure 47)<sup>26</sup>.

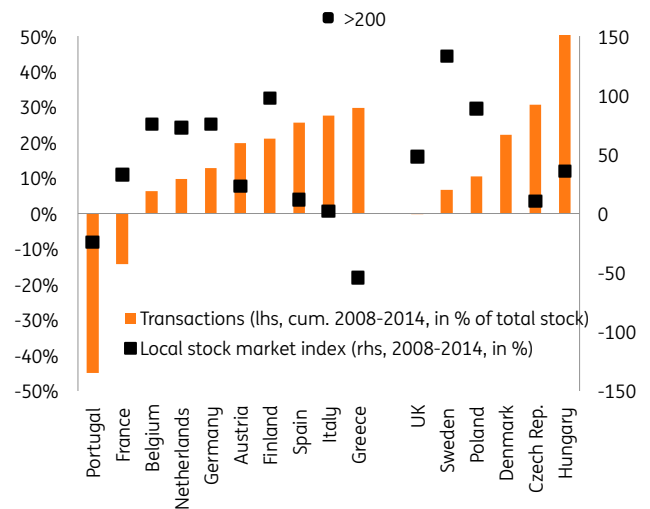
<sup>26</sup> This behaviour can also be observed for US households.

Fig 47 Transactions in listed equity and mutual funds, cumulative 2007-2008



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

Fig 48 Transactions in listed equity and mutual funds, cumulative 2009-2014



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING.

As stock markets recovered from 2009 onwards, in most countries households actively increased their exposure again (see figure 48)<sup>27</sup>. It is striking that households in Southern-Europe, with the exception of Portugal, increased stock market exposure most despite disappointing stock market returns, most notably in Greece.

### Changing borrowing behaviour

#### Outstanding loans fell in the Netherlands...

The crisis years did not only affect saving behaviour but also the take up of debt. When looking at the development of household loans from a transaction perspective (i.e. the take up of new loans) for the core Eurozone countries it can be observed that households in the Netherlands – who are indebted most – have changed loan behaviour most as well (see figure 49). In the Netherlands there has been an outright fall, meaning that on balance households are reducing their debt exposure by among other things pre-payment of mortgages.

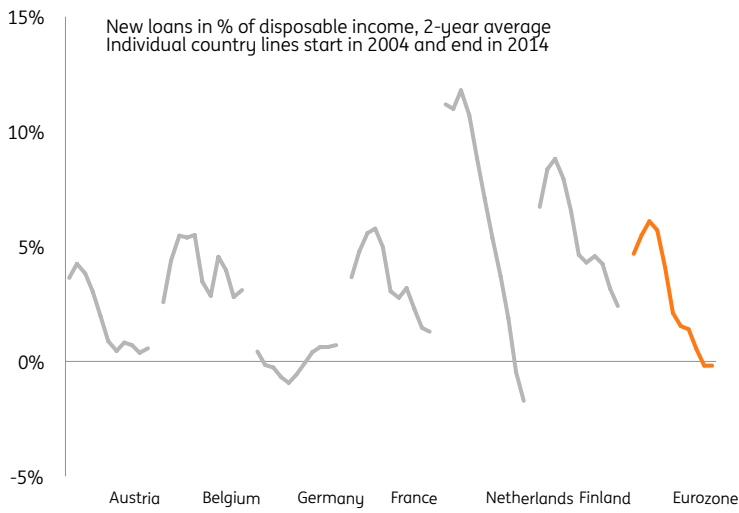
#### ...as well as in the periphery

Outright falls in loans can also be observed for the Eurozone periphery (see figure 50) with Italy, as the least indebted country of this group, deleveraging the least and Ireland, as the most indebted country from this group, reducing loan exposure the most. Reducing the debt burden will make households less vulnerable to a possible increase in interest rates in the future.

<sup>27</sup> Please note that the data in figure 47 and 48 refer to household transactions with respect to listed equities and mutual fund shares only. The category 'financial assets' in other charts includes unlisted and other equity as well.



Fig 49 Take up of new loans in the core



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING

Fig 50 Take up of new loans in the periphery



Source: EcoWin, Eurostat, ING

## Final considerations

This report has highlighted some of the developments of household wealth in a number of European countries since the start of this century. Underlying the macro numbers described in this report are a wide range of meso and micro layers. Some of these have been touched upon but are worthwhile investigating in more detail. What is the dominant factor in explaining differences in households' main financial buffer; liquid financial assets? Is it culturally determined, does it have to do with financial literacy or is it something else? Has the financial crisis induced households to change the composition of their liquid assets. If so, have households from different age segments and income categories responded differently? Have households with different levels of income responded differently to the recent decline of interest rates?

Differences in the distribution of assets over various age and income groups should be of interest to policymakers as it can have important implications for the way an economy will be affected by changes in the financial and economic environment. Households with lower incomes generally have a higher marginal propensity to consume than higher income groups. Distribution of assets over age groups can also be meaningful as wealth generally increases between the ages of 25 and 64 years old and declines thereafter when people start to dissave or increase gifts<sup>28</sup>. What is left will be left as bequests. As the ageing of society has much further to run and will follow different paths in different countries, this may have a profound impact on households' finances in the years to come<sup>29</sup>.

Differences in the development of households' wealth are not only related to income and age but also have to do with (culturally determined) preferences and the general attitude towards risk. Getting a better handle on, and understanding of these aspects should improve our understanding of financial decision making and will be the subject of future research initiated and supported by ING.

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<sup>28</sup> In *Capital in the 21st Century*, Thomas Piketty has alluded to the importance of inheritance of wealth and the increasing role of gifts.

<sup>29</sup> See for the impact of inheritances on household wealth, ECB, *Private wealth across European countries: the role of income, inheritance and the welfare state*, Working Paper Series No. 1847, September 2015.

## Annex – Tables

### Household balance sheet data

- 36 Gross assets in % of household disposable income
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- 38 Financial assets in % of household disposable income
- 39 Liquid financial assets in % of household disposable income
- 40 Financial liabilities in % of household disposable income
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### Distributional consequences of asset price inflation in the Eurozone

- 43 Capital gains 15 March 2000 – 21 March 2003
- 44 Capital gains 21 March 2000 – 1 June 2007
- 45 Capital gains 1 June 2007 – 9 March 2009
- 46 Capital gains 9 March 2009 – 15 December 2015
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Gross assets in % of household disposable income

|             | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006  | 2007  | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria     | 349% | 352% | 354% | 359% | 366% | 371% | 377%  | 381%  | 370% | 389% | 402% | 399% | 398% | 408% | 407% | 409% |
| Belgium     | 618% | 613% | 604% | 629% | 656% | 712% | 732%  | 748%  | 697% | 707% | 736% | 747% | 755% | 772% | 778% | 785% |
| Germany     | 376% | 369% | 366% | 373% | 381% | 390% | 388%  | 404%  | 390% | 402% | 405% | 402% | 411% | 417% | 421% | 431% |
| Greece      | 367% | 363% | 352% | 342% | 343% | 382% | 394%  | 393%  | 346% | 347% | 347% | 349% | 347% | 388% | 374% | 373% |
| France      | 395% | 380% | 371% | 385% | 393% | 415% | 435%  | 444%  | 422% | 439% | 451% | 459% | 470% | 478% | 483% | 494% |
| Italy       | 571% | 557% | 573% | 592% | 613% | 656% | 689%  | 677%  | 661% | 676% | 676% | 665% | 681% | 670% | 681% | 689% |
| Netherlands | 689% | 670% | 676% | 699% | 714% | 746% | 736%  | 728%  | 761% | 746% | 761% | 769% | 766% | 736% | 779% | 798% |
| Portugal    | 465% | 440% | 452% | 439% | 459% | 432% | 458%  | 437%  | 449% | 437% | 453% | 458% | 466% | 466% | 476% | 478% |
| Slovenia    | 295% | 280% | 280% | 287% | 301% | 304% | 311%  | 315%  | 292% | 298% | 304% | 298% | 298% | 296% | 290% | 297% |
| Slovakia    | 300% | 301% | 292% | 288% | 277% | 274% | 279%  | 266%  | 264% | 267% | 268% | 276% | 282% | 286% | 290% | 309% |
| Spain       | 620% | 660% | 710% | 783% | 862% | 949% | 1049% | 1073% | 961% | 920% | 926% | 846% | 799% | 777% | 790% | 810% |
| Finland     | 373% | 365% | 348% | 357% | 370% | 400% | 420%  | 425%  | 378% | 393% | 405% | 386% | 403% | 423% | 439% | 448% |
| Denmark     | 532% | 502% | 489% | 502% | 525% | 589% | 612%  | 620%  | 572% | 595% | 595% | 589% | 603% | 620% | 655% | 651% |
| Sweden      | 322% | 325% | 318% | 345% | 361% | 401% | 438%  | 415%  | 360% | 429% | 464% | 421% | 427% | 441% | 485% | 536% |
| UK          | 666% | 652% | 654% | 682% | 706% | 732% | 753%  | 731%  | 617% | 677% | 683% | 720% | 700% | 714% | 798% | 891% |
| Czech Rep.  | 268% | 273% | 260% | 263% | 266% | 266% | 266%  | 281%  | 267% | 275% | 287% | 283% | 302% | 307% | 333% | 346% |
| Hungary     | 274% | 277% | 271% | 258% | 265% | 267% | 291%  | 301%  | 299% | 331% | 334% | 308% | 332% | 341% | 360% | 392% |
| Poland      | na   | na   | na   | 112% | 136% | 141% | 148%  | 163%  | 124% | 151% | 151% | 141% | 165% | 170% | 196% | 208% |
| Eurozone    | 466% | 461% | 467% | 486% | 506% | 538% | 562%  | 569%  | 543% | 549% | 554% | 544% | 545% | 544% | 552% | 567% |

Real estate (in % of disposable income)

|             | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria     | 145% | 148% | 149% | 149% | 150% | 147% | 148% | 149% | 152% | 156% | 160% | 163% | 163% | 166% | 163% | 161% |
| Belgium     | 239% | 247% | 265% | 282% | 289% | 328% | 350% | 368% | 364% | 355% | 374% | 380% | 382% | 385% | 381% | 382% |
| Germany     | 161% | 158% | 159% | 158% | 161% | 161% | 164% | 172% | 175% | 178% | 178% | 181% | 183% | 186% | 186% | 194% |
| Greece      | 158% | 172% | 187% | 183% | 177% | 194% | 205% | 206% | 202% | 196% | 202% | 206% | 198% | 197% | 189% | 185% |
| France      | 161% | 160% | 161% | 166% | 170% | 180% | 183% | 191% | 194% | 196% | 200% | 211% | 215% | 214% | 214% | 215% |
| Italy       | 271% | 274% | 292% | 311% | 324% | 343% | 362% | 378% | 384% | 399% | 405% | 404% | 400% | 382% | 385% | 389% |
| Netherlands | 307% | 315% | 324% | 333% | 346% | 360% | 362% | 370% | 378% | 365% | 357% | 342% | 319% | 297% | 295% | 307% |
| Portugal    | 252% | 230% | 244% | 219% | 234% | 204% | 226% | 198% | 216% | 202% | 213% | 213% | 207% | 203% | 212% | 214% |
| Slovenia    | 184% | 176% | 169% | 168% | 172% | 172% | 171% | 168% | 164% | 165% | 168% | 170% | 165% | 160% | 150% | 153% |
| Slovakia    | 211% | 211% | 210% | 212% | 205% | 202% | 196% | 185% | 181% | 185% | 181% | 184% | 183% | 186% | 187% | 203% |
| Spain       | 411% | 455% | 515% | 576% | 646% | 719% | 796% | 823% | 752% | 710% | 712% | 632% | 574% | 534% | 539% | 549% |
| Finland     | 133% | 136% | 130% | 127% | 128% | 134% | 138% | 144% | 145% | 138% | 131% | 133% | 138% | 141% | 146% | 151% |
| Denmark     | 219% | 215% | 215% | 215% | 214% | 212% | 210% | 223% | 230% | 228% | 214% | 211% | 198% | 207% | 212% | 217% |
| Sweden      | 82%  | 84%  | 83%  | 84%  | 89%  | 90%  | 90%  | 92%  | 95%  | 96%  | 94%  | 91%  | 89%  | 94%  | 109% | 128% |
| UK          | 248% | 252% | 292% | 311% | 335% | 331% | 349% | 365% | 318% | 315% | 317% | 315% | 314% | 325% | 358% | 424% |
| Czech Rep.  | 142% | 140% | 137% | 135% | 135% | 135% | 133% | 134% | 135% | 134% | 136% | 138% | 139% | 146% | 157% | 163% |
| Hungary     | 165% | 160% | 154% | 148% | 144% | 142% | 147% | 155% | 160% | 167% | 169% | 162% | 166% | 169% | 183% | 210% |
| Poland      | 31%  | 30%  | 30%  | 30%  | 32%  | 33%  | 34%  | 36%  | 38%  | 37%  | 37%  | 37%  | 39%  | 39%  | 47%  | 51%  |
| Eurozone    | 217% | 222% | 235% | 247% | 261% | 278% | 295% | 306% | 303% | 301% | 302% | 295% | 285% | 276% | 276% | 283% |

Financial assets in % of household disposable income

|             | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria     | 204% | 205% | 205% | 210% | 216% | 224% | 230% | 231% | 219% | 233% | 242% | 237% | 236% | 242% | 244% | 247% |
| Belgium     | 379% | 365% | 339% | 348% | 367% | 384% | 382% | 380% | 333% | 352% | 362% | 367% | 373% | 387% | 397% | 403% |
| Germany     | 215% | 212% | 207% | 214% | 221% | 229% | 225% | 231% | 215% | 223% | 226% | 222% | 227% | 231% | 234% | 238% |
| Greece      | 209% | 191% | 165% | 159% | 166% | 188% | 189% | 187% | 144% | 151% | 145% | 142% | 150% | 190% | 185% | 188% |
| France      | 234% | 219% | 210% | 219% | 223% | 235% | 251% | 253% | 228% | 243% | 251% | 248% | 256% | 264% | 269% | 279% |
| Italy       | 300% | 283% | 281% | 280% | 289% | 313% | 327% | 298% | 277% | 277% | 271% | 261% | 281% | 288% | 296% | 300% |
| Netherlands | 381% | 355% | 351% | 365% | 368% | 387% | 374% | 358% | 383% | 381% | 404% | 427% | 447% | 439% | 483% | 492% |
| Portugal    | 213% | 211% | 208% | 220% | 226% | 228% | 232% | 238% | 233% | 235% | 240% | 246% | 258% | 263% | 264% | 265% |
| Slovenia    | 111% | 104% | 112% | 119% | 128% | 131% | 141% | 147% | 128% | 133% | 136% | 129% | 133% | 136% | 141% | 144% |
| Slovakia    | 89%  | 89%  | 82%  | 76%  | 72%  | 72%  | 83%  | 81%  | 84%  | 82%  | 86%  | 93%  | 99%  | 100% | 104% | 106% |
| Spain       | 209% | 205% | 195% | 208% | 216% | 231% | 253% | 249% | 209% | 209% | 213% | 214% | 225% | 242% | 252% | 261% |
| Finland     | 240% | 229% | 218% | 230% | 243% | 266% | 282% | 281% | 233% | 254% | 274% | 253% | 265% | 282% | 293% | 297% |
| Denmark     | 313% | 287% | 274% | 288% | 310% | 377% | 402% | 397% | 342% | 367% | 381% | 379% | 405% | 413% | 443% | 434% |
| Sweden      | 240% | 241% | 236% | 261% | 272% | 311% | 348% | 324% | 264% | 333% | 370% | 331% | 338% | 347% | 375% | 409% |
| UK          | 418% | 400% | 361% | 370% | 371% | 401% | 405% | 366% | 300% | 363% | 366% | 405% | 386% | 389% | 440% | 468% |
| Czech Rep.  | 126% | 133% | 123% | 127% | 131% | 131% | 133% | 147% | 132% | 141% | 151% | 145% | 164% | 161% | 176% | 182% |
| Hungary     | 109% | 117% | 117% | 110% | 121% | 125% | 144% | 146% | 139% | 165% | 166% | 146% | 166% | 172% | 178% | 182% |
| Poland      | na   | na   | na   | 81%  | 104% | 108% | 114% | 127% | 87%  | 115% | 114% | 104% | 126% | 132% | 149% | 157% |
| Eurozone    | 249% | 239% | 232% | 239% | 246% | 259% | 267% | 262% | 241% | 248% | 252% | 250% | 260% | 268% | 275% | 283% |

Liquid financial assets in % of household disposable income

|             | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria     | 134% | 133% | 132% | 135% | 139% | 141% | 145% | 145% | 136% | 145% | 150% | 145% | 144% | 145% | 146% | 148% |
| Belgium     | 254% | 240% | 222% | 221% | 226% | 232% | 226% | 216% | 186% | 196% | 197% | 197% | 200% | 207% | 214% | 222% |
| Germany     | 130% | 127% | 124% | 129% | 133% | 137% | 130% | 133% | 124% | 130% | 132% | 128% | 130% | 132% | 134% | 136% |
| Greece      | 186% | 175% | 142% | 135% | 142% | 151% | 147% | 149% | 127% | 129% | 127% | 122% | 125% | 131% | 133% | 134% |
| France      | 119% | 112% | 104% | 106% | 105% | 108% | 110% | 107% | 99%  | 103% | 102% | 102% | 107% | 110% | 110% | 115% |
| Italy       | 196% | 182% | 177% | 179% | 181% | 183% | 181% | 174% | 168% | 172% | 170% | 164% | 175% | 173% | 173% | 170% |
| Netherlands | 132% | 116% | 108% | 113% | 117% | 117% | 116% | 114% | 111% | 115% | 117% | 114% | 117% | 117% | 119% | 123% |
| Portugal    | 139% | 139% | 133% | 134% | 132% | 130% | 133% | 134% | 126% | 129% | 128% | 136% | 142% | 143% | 140% | 141% |
| Slovenia    | 68%  | 64%  | 72%  | 77%  | 86%  | 85%  | 93%  | 95%  | 75%  | 77%  | 78%  | 75%  | 77%  | 77%  | 81%  | 83%  |
| Slovakia    | 71%  | 71%  | 66%  | 62%  | 57%  | 58%  | 63%  | 60%  | 58%  | 58%  | 62%  | 67%  | 70%  | 72%  | 73%  | 75%  |
| Spain       | 139% | 132% | 124% | 127% | 130% | 135% | 147% | 146% | 131% | 135% | 136% | 138% | 146% | 160% | 161% | 164% |
| Finland     | 100% | 87%  | 78%  | 83%  | 87%  | 98%  | 105% | 105% | 85%  | 95%  | 104% | 94%  | 96%  | 101% | 103% | 106% |
| Denmark     | na   | na   | na   | 114% | 120% | 139% | 145% | 147% | 120% | 127% | 131% | 123% | 134% | 135% | 139% | 140% |
| Sweden      | 100% | 100% | 81%  | 91%  | 98%  | 108% | 126% | 116% | 86%  | 112% | 121% | 103% | 108% | 111% | 117% | 126% |
| UK          | 140% | 135% | 117% | 126% | 128% | 136% | 143% | 130% | 104% | 126% | 128% | 131% | 125% | 134% | 143% | 152% |
| Czech Rep.  | 66%  | 71%  | 67%  | 69%  | 76%  | 78%  | 80%  | 89%  | 79%  | 86%  | 90%  | 89%  | 98%  | 98%  | 108% | 113% |
| Hungary     | 62%  | 64%  | 62%  | 57%  | 62%  | 64%  | 72%  | 74%  | 71%  | 82%  | 81%  | 72%  | 81%  | 85%  | 88%  | 90%  |
| Poland      | na   | na   | na   | 44%  | 51%  | 53%  | 59%  | 66%  | 49%  | 63%  | 63%  | 59%  | 67%  | 70%  | 83%  | 87%  |
| Eurozone    | 146% | 138% | 132% | 135% | 137% | 140% | 140% | 138% | 128% | 133% | 133% | 131% | 136% | 138% | 140% | 143% |

Financial liabilities in % of household disposable income

|             | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria     | 60%  | 61%  | 63%  | 63%  | 66%  | 70%  | 71%  | 71%  | 71%  | 71%  | 74%  | 73%  | 70%  | 70%  | 70%  | 71%  |
| Belgium     | 53%  | 52%  | 53%  | 54%  | 57%  | 60%  | 63%  | 66%  | 68%  | 68%  | 71%  | 74%  | 75%  | 77%  | 80%  | 81%  |
| Germany     | 93%  | 90%  | 90%  | 89%  | 88%  | 86%  | 84%  | 81%  | 78%  | 78%  | 76%  | 75%  | 74%  | 73%  | 72%  | 71%  |
| Greece      | 26%  | 30%  | 35%  | 39%  | 44%  | 54%  | 59%  | 66%  | 69%  | 69%  | 83%  | 88%  | 87%  | 90%  | 91%  | 89%  |
| France      | 59%  | 61%  | 61%  | 63%  | 64%  | 69%  | 73%  | 75%  | 76%  | 80%  | 83%  | 82%  | 79%  | 80%  | 80%  | 82%  |
| Italy       | 35%  | 37%  | 39%  | 41%  | 44%  | 48%  | 52%  | 55%  | 56%  | 59%  | 61%  | 62%  | 63%  | 62%  | 61%  | 61%  |
| Netherlands | 147% | 144% | 149% | 160% | 167% | 179% | 178% | 181% | 187% | 191% | 194% | 192% | 192% | 188% | 184% | 183% |
| Portugal    | 86%  | 94%  | 97%  | 98%  | 100% | 107% | 111% | 116% | 119% | 120% | 123% | 115% | 121% | 112% | 111% | 109% |
| Slovenia    | 28%  | 26%  | 26%  | 28%  | 28%  | 32%  | 36%  | 42%  | 43%  | 44%  | 46%  | 45%  | 46%  | 46%  | 45%  | 45%  |
| Slovakia    | 15%  | 17%  | 21%  | 23%  | 22%  | 26%  | 30%  | 33%  | 37%  | 35%  | 36%  | 41%  | 45%  | 47%  | 50%  | 53%  |
| Spain       | 70%  | 72%  | 78%  | 84%  | 93%  | 104% | 116% | 123% | 119% | 114% | 117% | 113% | 113% | 108% | 103% | 101% |
| Finland     | 52%  | 53%  | 56%  | 59%  | 66%  | 73%  | 80%  | 84%  | 85%  | 86%  | 88%  | 89%  | 90%  | 90%  | 92%  | 93%  |
| Denmark     | 156% | 160% | 163% | 167% | 176% | 190% | 202% | 216% | 222% | 222% | 215% | 214% | 210% | 208% | 207% | 195% |
| Sweden      | 73%  | 84%  | 85%  | 89%  | 96%  | 101% | 110% | 108% | 99%  | 119% | 128% | 121% | 121% | 118% | 119% | 126% |
| UK          | 95%  | 105% | 108% | 117% | 124% | 129% | 139% | 131% | 116% | 131% | 124% | 130% | 120% | 122% | 126% | 122% |
| Czech Rep.  | 18%  | 19%  | 21%  | 23%  | 28%  | 32%  | 36%  | 44%  | 44%  | 48%  | 50%  | 49%  | 52%  | 51%  | 54%  | 55%  |
| Hungary     | 13%  | 17%  | 22%  | 27%  | 33%  | 36%  | 44%  | 49%  | 56%  | 62%  | 63%  | 53%  | 50%  | 46%  | 43%  | 39%  |
| Poland      | na   | na   | na   | 16%  | 20%  | 22%  | 27%  | 35%  | 36%  | 46%  | 48%  | 47%  | 50%  | 50%  | 57%  | 61%  |
| Eurozone    | 70%  | 71%  | 72%  | 74%  | 76%  | 80%  | 83%  | 84%  | 84%  | 86%  | 87%  | 86%  | 85%  | 84%  | 83%  | 84%  |



Net total assets in % of household disposable income

|             | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Austria     | 289% | 291% | 292% | 297% | 300% | 302% | 307% | 310% | 299% | 318% | 328% | 326% | 328% | 338% | 337% | 338% |
| Belgium     | 564% | 561% | 552% | 575% | 599% | 652% | 669% | 682% | 630% | 639% | 665% | 672% | 679% | 695% | 699% | 704% |
| Germany     | 283% | 279% | 276% | 284% | 293% | 304% | 304% | 322% | 312% | 323% | 328% | 327% | 337% | 344% | 349% | 360% |
| Greece      | 341% | 333% | 317% | 303% | 299% | 328% | 334% | 327% | 277% | 278% | 264% | 260% | 260% | 298% | 283% | 284% |
| France      | 336% | 319% | 311% | 322% | 330% | 346% | 362% | 369% | 345% | 359% | 368% | 377% | 391% | 399% | 403% | 412% |
| Italy       | 536% | 520% | 535% | 550% | 569% | 608% | 637% | 622% | 606% | 617% | 615% | 603% | 619% | 608% | 620% | 629% |
| Netherlands | 542% | 526% | 527% | 538% | 547% | 567% | 558% | 547% | 574% | 555% | 567% | 577% | 575% | 548% | 595% | 615% |
| Portugal    | 379% | 346% | 356% | 342% | 359% | 325% | 347% | 320% | 330% | 318% | 330% | 344% | 345% | 354% | 364% | 369% |
| Slovenia    | 267% | 253% | 254% | 260% | 272% | 272% | 276% | 274% | 250% | 254% | 258% | 253% | 252% | 250% | 246% | 252% |
| Slovakia    | 285% | 283% | 271% | 265% | 255% | 249% | 250% | 233% | 228% | 232% | 232% | 235% | 236% | 238% | 240% | 257% |
| Spain       | 550% | 588% | 632% | 699% | 769% | 846% | 933% | 950% | 842% | 805% | 809% | 733% | 686% | 669% | 688% | 708% |
| Finland     | 322% | 313% | 292% | 298% | 305% | 327% | 340% | 341% | 293% | 307% | 317% | 297% | 313% | 333% | 347% | 355% |
| Denmark     | 376% | 342% | 325% | 336% | 349% | 399% | 410% | 404% | 349% | 373% | 380% | 375% | 393% | 411% | 448% | 456% |
| Sweden      | 249% | 241% | 233% | 255% | 265% | 300% | 328% | 307% | 261% | 310% | 336% | 300% | 306% | 323% | 366% | 411% |
| UK          | 571% | 547% | 546% | 564% | 582% | 602% | 614% | 600% | 502% | 546% | 559% | 590% | 580% | 592% | 672% | 769% |
| Czech Rep.  | 250% | 254% | 239% | 240% | 238% | 234% | 230% | 237% | 223% | 227% | 237% | 234% | 250% | 256% | 279% | 290% |
| Hungary     | 261% | 261% | 249% | 231% | 232% | 231% | 247% | 253% | 242% | 269% | 271% | 256% | 282% | 295% | 318% | 353% |
| Poland      | na   | na   | na   | 96%  | 116% | 120% | 121% | 129% | 88%  | 105% | 103% | 94%  | 115% | 120% | 138% | 147% |
| Eurozone    | 396% | 391% | 395% | 412% | 430% | 458% | 479% | 484% | 459% | 463% | 467% | 458% | 460% | 460% | 469% | 483% |

**Net total assets in euro per household (x 1,000 euro)**

|             | 2000  | 2001  | 2002  | 2003  | 2004  | 2005  | 2006  | 2007  | 2008  | 2009  | 2010  | 2011  | 2012  | 2013  | 2014  | 2015  |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Austria     | € 143 | € 146 | € 147 | € 155 | € 157 | € 165 | € 174 | € 183 | € 181 | € 193 | € 200 | € 202 | € 210 | € 216 | € 218 | € 217 |
| Belgium     | € 260 | € 269 | € 266 | € 282 | € 300 | € 336 | € 358 | € 382 | € 369 | € 379 | € 395 | € 407 | € 424 | € 437 | € 445 | € 451 |
| Germany     | € 124 | € 126 | € 125 | € 131 | € 136 | € 144 | € 145 | € 156 | € 154 | € 161 | € 167 | € 174 | € 182 | € 190 | € 196 | € 204 |
| Greece      | € 100 | € 103 | € 102 | € 105 | € 109 | € 121 | € 134 | € 140 | € 125 | € 126 | € 111 | € 101 | € 94  | € 96  | € 88  | € 87  |
| France      | € 161 | € 158 | € 159 | € 167 | € 176 | € 187 | € 202 | € 214 | € 205 | € 212 | € 221 | € 229 | € 238 | € 243 | € 247 | € 252 |
| Italy       | € 239 | € 244 | € 258 | € 270 | € 287 | € 314 | € 338 | € 337 | € 330 | € 326 | € 322 | € 318 | € 314 | € 307 | € 309 | € 314 |
| Netherlands | € 236 | € 249 | € 258 | € 267 | € 274 | € 288 | € 294 | € 298 | € 321 | € 314 | € 321 | € 332 | € 329 | € 312 | € 343 | € 357 |
| Portugal    | € 111 | € 106 | € 113 | € 110 | € 121 | € 113 | € 123 | € 118 | € 125 | € 119 | € 126 | € 124 | € 118 | € 122 | € 124 | € 126 |
| Slovenia    | € 67  | € 66  | € 69  | € 70  | € 75  | € 78  | € 83  | € 90  | € 86  | € 87  | € 88  | € 86  | € 82  | € 79  | € 78  | € 80  |
| Slovakia    | € 28  | € 29  | € 30  | € 33  | € 36  | € 39  | € 44  | € 51  | € 59  | € 62  | € 64  | € 65  | € 65  | € 68  | € 71  | € 76  |
| Spain       | € 158 | € 183 | € 213 | € 258 | € 308 | € 368 | € 419 | € 434 | € 398 | € 384 | € 374 | € 336 | € 299 | € 287 | € 295 | € 306 |
| Finland     | € 126 | € 127 | € 123 | € 131 | € 139 | € 153 | € 165 | € 173 | € 156 | € 167 | € 177 | € 172 | € 186 | € 201 | € 209 | € 214 |
| Eurozone    | € 164 | € 169 | € 176 | € 188 | € 202 | € 221 | € 237 | € 247 | € 239 | € 241 | € 244 | € 243 | € 242 | € 243 | € 249 | € 255 |

### Capital gains 15 March 2000 – 21 March 2003 (in % of net wealth)

#### Equity developments

15 March 2000 - 21 March 2003

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | -2.7       | -4.3   | -8.1   | -15.1  |
| Austria     | 0.5        | 0.9    | 1.2    | 1.6    |
| Belgium     | -0.6       | -2.9   | -3.5   | -6.9   |
| Germany     | -5.7       | -4.4   | -14.6  | -18.4  |
| Spain       | -0.9       | -4.1   | -5.5   | -12.0  |
| Finland     | -1.3       | -2.6   | -5.1   | -18.5  |
| France      | -4.6       | -4.1   | -6.1   | -15.2  |
| Greece      | -1.3       | -2.5   | -3.1   | -8.1   |
| Italy       | -2.0       | -1.5   | -4.1   | -13.7  |
| Netherlands | -4.8       | -5.4   | -4.3   | -7.5   |
| Portugal    | -1.1       | -3.7   | -5.8   | -18.0  |

#### Bond developments

15 March 2000 - 21 March 2003

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 0.7        | 1.0    | 1.4    | 1.9    |
| Austria     | 0.7        | 0.7    | 1.0    | 1.0    |
| Belgium     | 2.5        | 2.8    | 2.8    | 2.8    |
| Germany     | 1.4        | 1.4    | 1.6    | 1.6    |
| Spain       | 0.2        | 0.2    | 0.5    | 0.5    |
| Finland     | 0.0        | 0.2    | 0.5    | 0.7    |
| France      | 0.7        | 1.2    | 1.6    | 2.8    |
| Greece      | 0.0        | 0.3    | 0.3    | 0.3    |
| Italy       | 0.2        | 0.7    | 0.9    | 1.2    |
| Netherlands | 4.5        | 4.3    | 3.3    | 3.5    |
| Portugal    | 0.0        | 0.2    | 0.5    | 0.7    |

#### House price developments

15 March 2000 - 21 March 2003

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 16.1       | 15.5   | 14.6   | 11.4   |
| Austria     | 0.1        | 0.1    | 0.1    | 0.0    |
| Belgium     | 14.8       | 12.9   | 13.6   | 11.2   |
| Germany     | -1.1       | -1.1   | -1.1   | -0.9   |
| Spain       | 40.6       | 40.2   | 37.6   | 29.3   |
| Finland     | 16.7       | 18.0   | 18.6   | 13.8   |
| France      | 23.0       | 23.8   | 23.5   | 16.0   |
| Greece      | 41.1       | 39.3   | 38.9   | 33.4   |
| Italy       | 22.5       | 21.8   | 20.5   | 15.8   |
| Netherlands | 23.0       | 23.5   | 25.9   | 20.4   |
| Portugal    | 9.0        | 9.0    | 8.5    | 5.5    |

#### All asset price developments

15 March 2000 - 21 March 2003

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 14.1       | 12.2   | 7.9    | -1.8   |
| Austria     | 1.3        | 1.7    | 2.2    | 2.7    |
| Belgium     | 16.7       | 12.8   | 13.0   | 7.0    |
| Germany     | -5.5       | -4.2   | -14.1  | -17.7  |
| Spain       | 40.0       | 36.3   | 32.6   | 17.8   |
| Finland     | 15.4       | 15.7   | 14.0   | -3.9   |
| France      | 19.1       | 21.0   | 19.1   | 3.6    |
| Greece      | 39.8       | 37.2   | 36.1   | 25.5   |
| Italy       | 20.7       | 21.0   | 17.4   | 3.2    |
| Netherlands | 22.7       | 22.4   | 24.9   | 16.4   |
| Portugal    | 7.9        | 5.6    | 3.2    | -11.7  |

### Capital gains 21 March 2003 – 1 June 2007 (in % of net wealth)

#### Equity developments

21 March 2003 - 1 June 2007

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 8.0        | 12.8   | 24.1   | 45.0   |
| Austria     | 38.2       | 66.8   | 82.7   | 117.7  |
| Belgium     | 4.4        | 21.8   | 26.2   | 52.4   |
| Germany     | 17.5       | 13.6   | 44.7   | 56.3   |
| Spain       | 3.7        | 16.6   | 22.2   | 48.1   |
| Finland     | 3.0        | 5.9    | 11.9   | 43.0   |
| France      | 12.8       | 11.4   | 17.0   | 42.6   |
| Greece      | 5.3        | 10.6   | 13.2   | 34.3   |
| Italy       | 4.6        | 3.5    | 9.2    | 31.2   |
| Netherlands | 11.7       | 13.0   | 10.4   | 18.3   |
| Portugal    | 3.6        | 12.7   | 19.9   | 61.6   |

#### Bond developments

21 March 2003 - 1 June 2007

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 0.5        | 0.6    | 0.9    | 1.2    |
| Austria     | 0.4        | 0.4    | 0.6    | 0.6    |
| Belgium     | 1.5        | 1.7    | 1.7    | 1.7    |
| Germany     | 0.9        | 0.9    | 1.1    | 1.1    |
| Spain       | 0.2        | 0.2    | 0.3    | 0.3    |
| Finland     | 0.0        | 0.1    | 0.3    | 0.4    |
| France      | 0.5        | 0.8    | 1.1    | 1.8    |
| Greece      | 0.0        | 0.2    | 0.2    | 0.2    |
| Italy       | 0.2        | 0.5    | 0.6    | 0.8    |
| Netherlands | 2.8        | 2.7    | 2.1    | 2.2    |
| Portugal    | 0.0        | 0.1    | 0.3    | 0.4    |

#### House price developments

21 March 2003 - 1 June 2007

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 25.6       | 24.7   | 23.2   | 18.2   |
| Austria     | 8.4        | 7.7    | 7.1    | 6.0    |
| Belgium     | 52.7       | 46.0   | 48.7   | 39.9   |
| Germany     | -1.7       | -1.7   | -1.6   | -1.4   |
| Spain       | 73.4       | 72.6   | 67.9   | 52.9   |
| Finland     | 37.5       | 40.5   | 41.8   | 31.1   |
| France      | 52.2       | 54.2   | 53.5   | 36.3   |
| Greece      | 33.1       | 31.7   | 31.4   | 26.9   |
| Italy       | 26.0       | 25.1   | 23.7   | 18.2   |
| Netherlands | 16.9       | 17.3   | 19.1   | 15.0   |
| Portugal    | 5.5        | 5.5    | 5.2    | 3.4    |

#### All asset price developments

21 March 2003 - 1 June 2007

#### Household income position

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 34.1       | 38.2   | 48.3   | 64.4   |
| Austria     | 47.0       | 74.9   | 90.4   | 124.3  |
| Belgium     | 58.6       | 69.4   | 76.5   | 93.9   |
| Germany     | 16.7       | 12.8   | 44.1   | 56.0   |
| Spain       | 77.3       | 89.4   | 90.4   | 101.3  |
| Finland     | 40.5       | 46.6   | 53.9   | 74.5   |
| France      | 65.4       | 66.3   | 71.6   | 80.7   |
| Greece      | 38.4       | 42.4   | 44.7   | 61.4   |
| Italy       | 30.8       | 29.1   | 33.6   | 50.2   |
| Netherlands | 31.5       | 33.0   | 31.6   | 35.5   |
| Portugal    | 9.2        | 18.4   | 25.4   | 65.3   |

**Capital gains 1 June 2007 – 9 March 2009 (in % of net wealth)****Equity developments****1 June 2007 - 9 March 2009****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | -3.0       | -4.8   | -9.0   | -16.7  |
| Austria     | -8.4       | -14.8  | -18.3  | -26.0  |
| Belgium     | -1.3       | -6.5   | -7.8   | -15.7  |
| Germany     | -4.8       | -3.8   | -12.4  | -15.6  |
| Spain       | -1.0       | -4.7   | -6.3   | -13.6  |
| Finland     | -1.3       | -2.5   | -5.0   | -18.2  |
| France      | -5.1       | -4.6   | -6.8   | -17.1  |
| Greece      | -1.4       | -2.8   | -3.5   | -9.0   |
| Italy       | -2.7       | -2.1   | -5.5   | -18.5  |
| Netherlands | -5.5       | -6.1   | -4.9   | -8.5   |
| Portugal    | -1.1       | -3.8   | -6.0   | -18.5  |

**Bond developments****1 June 2007 - 9 March 2009****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 0.4        | 0.5    | 0.8    | 1.0    |
| Austria     | 0.4        | 0.4    | 0.5    | 0.5    |
| Belgium     | 1.3        | 1.4    | 1.4    | 1.4    |
| Germany     | 1.0        | 1.0    | 1.2    | 1.2    |
| Spain       | 0.1        | 0.1    | 0.3    | 0.3    |
| Finland     | 0.0        | 0.1    | 0.3    | 0.4    |
| France      | 0.5        | 0.8    | 1.1    | 1.8    |
| Greece      | 0.0        | 0.0    | 0.0    | 0.0    |
| Italy       | 0.1        | 0.3    | 0.4    | 0.5    |
| Netherlands | 2.7        | 2.6    | 2.0    | 2.2    |
| Portugal    | 0.0        | 0.1    | 0.2    | 0.3    |

**House price developments****1 June 2007 - 9 March 2009****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | -1.0       | -1.0   | -0.9   | -0.7   |
| Austria     | 2.9        | 2.7    | 2.5    | 2.1    |
| Belgium     | 3.4        | 2.9    | 3.1    | 2.5    |
| Germany     | 0.1        | 0.1    | 0.1    | 0.1    |
| Spain       | -6.9       | -6.8   | -6.4   | -5.0   |
| Finland     | -0.4       | -0.4   | -0.4   | -0.3   |
| France      | -3.4       | -3.5   | -3.5   | -2.4   |
| Greece      | 7.5        | 7.2    | 7.1    | 6.1    |
| Italy       | 2.5        | 2.4    | 2.3    | 1.8    |
| Netherlands | 1.1        | 1.1    | 1.2    | 1.0    |
| Portugal    | -6.0       | -6.0   | -5.6   | -3.6   |

**All asset price developments****1 June 2007 - 9 March 2009****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | -3.6       | -5.2   | -9.1   | -16.4  |
| Austria     | -5.1       | -11.7  | -15.3  | -23.4  |
| Belgium     | 3.3        | -2.2   | -3.4   | -11.8  |
| Germany     | -3.7       | -2.7   | -11.1  | -14.3  |
| Spain       | -7.8       | -11.4  | -12.4  | -18.3  |
| Finland     | -1.7       | -2.8   | -5.2   | -18.1  |
| France      | -8.1       | -7.3   | -9.3   | -17.6  |
| Greece      | 6.1        | 4.5    | 3.7    | -2.8   |
| Italy       | -0.1       | 0.7    | -2.8   | -16.2  |
| Netherlands | -1.6       | -2.4   | -1.6   | -5.4   |
| Portugal    | -7.1       | -9.7   | -11.4  | -21.8  |

**Capital gains 9 March 2009 – 15 December 2015 (in % of net wealth)****Equity developments**  
**9 March 2009 - 15 December 2015**  
**Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 8.0        | 12.9   | 24.1   | 45.0   |
| Austria     | 12.7       | 22.3   | 27.6   | 39.2   |
| Belgium     | 4.0        | 20.2   | 24.2   | 48.4   |
| Germany     | 16.5       | 12.8   | 42.1   | 53.1   |
| Spain       | 2.2        | 10.0   | 13.3   | 28.8   |
| Finland     | 3.5        | 6.9    | 13.9   | 50.3   |
| France      | 12.5       | 11.1   | 16.6   | 41.5   |
| Greece      | -1.1       | -2.2   | -2.7   | -7.1   |
| Italy       | 4.6        | 3.5    | 9.2    | 31.1   |
| Netherlands | 15.7       | 17.4   | 13.9   | 24.3   |
| Portugal    | 0.5        | 1.6    | 2.65   | 8.0    |

**Bond developments**  
**9 March 2009 - 15 December 2015**  
**Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 1.2        | 1.6    | 2.4    | 3.3    |
| Austria     | 1.4        | 1.4    | 1.9    | 1.9    |
| Belgium     | 4.9        | 5.4    | 5.4    | 5.4    |
| Germany     | 2.0        | 2.0    | 2.4    | 2.4    |
| Spain       | 0.5        | 0.5    | 1.0    | 1.0    |
| Finland     | 0.0        | 0.4    | 0.7    | 1.1    |
| France      | 1.2        | 2.0    | 2.8    | 4.8    |
| Greece      | 0.0        | 0.0    | 0.0    | 0.0    |
| Italy       | 0.6        | 1.7    | 2.2    | 2.8    |
| Netherlands | 7.5        | 7.1    | 5.5    | 5.9    |
| Portugal    | 0.0        | 0.6    | 1.1    | 1.7    |

**House price developments**  
**9 March 2009 - 15 December 2015**  
**Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | -1.1       | -1.1   | -1.0   | -0.8   |
| Austria     | 29.3       | 26.7   | 24.6   | 20.8   |
| Belgium     | 8.3        | 7.2    | 7.7    | 6.3    |
| Germany     | 18.9       | 18.1   | 17.9   | 15.4   |
| Spain       | -26.1      | -25.8  | -24.2  | -18.8  |
| Finland     | 11.5       | 12.5   | 12.9   | 9.6    |
| France      | 4.8        | 5.0    | 4.9    | 3.4    |
| Greece      | -35.7      | -34.2  | -33.8  | -29.0  |
| Italy       | -13.9      | -13.4  | -12.6  | -9.7   |
| Netherlands | -12.4      | -12.7  | -13.9  | -11.0  |
| Portugal    | -4.3       | -4.3   | -4.1   | -2.6   |

**All asset price developments**  
**9 March 2009 - 15 December 2015**  
**Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 8.2        | 13.4   | 25.6   | 47.5   |
| Austria     | 43.5       | 50.5   | 54.1   | 62.0   |
| Belgium     | 17.25      | 32.8   | 37.2   | 60.0   |
| Germany     | 37.4       | 33.0   | 62.4   | 70.8   |
| Spain       | -23.4      | -15.4  | -9.9   | 10.9   |
| Finland     | 15.0       | 19.8   | 27.5   | 61.0   |
| France      | 18.5       | 18.1   | 24.4   | 49.7   |
| Greece      | -36.8      | -36.4  | -36.5  | -36.0  |
| Italy       | -8.7       | -8.3   | -1.2   | 24.2   |
| Netherlands | 10.8       | 11.8   | 5.5    | 19.3   |
| Portugal    | -3.8       | -2.1   | -0.3   | 7.1    |

**Capital gains 15 March 2000 – 15 December 2015 (in % of net wealth)****Equity developments****15 March 2000 - 15 December 2015****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 10.4       | 16.6   | 31.2   | 58.2   |
| Austria     | 43.0       | 75.3   | 93.2   | 132.6  |
| Belgium     | 6.5        | 32.6   | 39.1   | 78.2   |
| Germany     | 23.4       | 18.2   | 59.8   | 75.4   |
| Spain       | 3.9        | 17.8   | 23.7   | 51.3   |
| Finland     | 3.9        | 7.8    | 15.6   | 56.6   |
| France      | 15.5       | 13.8   | 20.7   | 51.8   |
| Greece      | 1.6        | 3.1    | 3.9    | 10.2   |
| Italy       | 4.5        | 3.3    | 8.9    | 30.1   |
| Netherlands | 17.1       | 19.0   | 15.2   | 26.6   |
| Portugal    | 1.9        | 6.8    | 10.7   | 33.1   |

**Bond developments****15 March 2000 - 15 December 2015****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 2.8        | 3.7    | 5.6    | 7.4    |
| Austria     | 3.0        | 3.0    | 4.0    | 4.0    |
| Belgium     | 10.2       | 11.2   | 11.2   | 11.2   |
| Germany     | 5.3        | 5.3    | 6.2    | 6.2    |
| Spain       | 1.0        | 1.0    | 2.0    | 2.0    |
| Finland     | 0.0        | 0.9    | 1.8    | 2.7    |
| France      | 2.8        | 4.7    | 6.6    | 11.3   |
| Greece      | 0.0        | 0.5    | 0.5    | 0.5    |
| Italy       | 1.1        | 3.2    | 4.2    | 5.3    |
| Netherlands | 17.5       | 16.6   | 12.9   | 13.8   |
| Portugal    | 0.0        | 1.1    | 2.1    | 3.2    |

**House price developments****15 March 2000 - 15 December 2015****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 39.6       | 38.3   | 36.0   | 28.1   |
| Austria     | 40.7       | 37.2   | 34.2   | 28.9   |
| Belgium     | 79.1       | 69.0   | 73.0   | 59.9   |
| Germany     | 16.1       | 15.5   | 15.3   | 13.1   |
| Spain       | 81.0       | 80.2   | 74.9   | 58.4   |
| Finland     | 65.3       | 70.5   | 72.8   | 54.2   |
| France      | 76.6       | 79.5   | 78.5   | 53.3   |
| Greece      | 46.0       | 44.1   | 43.6   | 37.4   |
| Italy       | 37.2       | 36.0   | 33.9   | 26.0   |
| Netherlands | 28.7       | 29.3   | 32.3   | 25.4   |
| Portugal    | 4.3        | 4.3    | 4.0    | 2.6    |

**All asset price developments****15 March 2000 - 15 December 2015****Household income position**

|             | Lowest 20% | 20-70% | 70-95% | Top 5% |
|-------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Euro area   | 52.8       | 58.6   | 72.7   | 93.7   |
| Austria     | 86.7       | 115.4  | 131.4  | 165.5  |
| Belgium     | 95.8       | 112.7  | 123.3  | 149.2  |
| Germany     | 44.9       | 39.0   | 81.3   | 94.7   |
| Spain       | 86.0       | 98.9   | 100.7  | 111.7  |
| Finland     | 69.3       | 79.2   | 90.2   | 113.5  |
| France      | 94.9       | 98.0   | 105.8  | 116.4  |
| Greece      | 47.5       | 47.7   | 48.0   | 48.1   |
| Italy       | 42.7       | 42.5   | 47.0   | 61.4   |
| Netherlands | 63.3       | 64.9   | 60.3   | 65.8   |
| Portugal    | 6.2        | 12.2   | 16.9   | 38.9   |

## TFI Contacts

|           |                         |  |                    |  |
|-----------|-------------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| London    | Mark Cliffe             | Head of Global Markets Research                                      | 44 20 7767 6283    | <a href="mailto:mark.cliffe@uk.ing.com">mark.cliffe@uk.ing.com</a>                         |
|           | Rob Carnell             | Chief International Economist  | 44 20 7767 6909    | <a href="mailto:rob.carnell@uk.ing.com">rob.carnell@uk.ing.com</a>                         |
|           | James Knightley         | Senior Economist, UK, US, \$ Bloc                                    | 44 20 7767 6614    | <a href="mailto:james.knightley@uk.ing.com">james.knightley@uk.ing.com</a>                 |
|           | Ian Bright              | Head of International Consumer Economics                             | 44 20 7767 6656    | <a href="mailto:ian.bright@uk.ing.com">ian.bright@uk.ing.com</a>                           |
|           | Martha McKenzie-Minifie | Editor International Consumer Economics                              | 44 20 7767 6465    | <a href="mailto:martha.mckenzie-minifie@uk.ing.com">martha.mckenzie-minifie@uk.ing.com</a> |
|           | Fleur Doidge            | Writer International Consumer Economics                              | 44 20 7767 5565    | <a href="mailto:fleur.doidge@uk.ing.com">fleur.doidge@uk.ing.com</a>                       |
| Amsterdam | Stefan van Woelderen    | Head of International Consumer Economics, Sustainability, Innovation | 31 6 3018 2119     | <a href="mailto:stefan.van.woelderen@ing.com">stefan.van.woelderen@ing.com</a>             |
|           | Maarten Leen            | Head of Macro Economics  | 31 20 563 4406     | <a href="mailto:maarten.leen@ing.nl">maarten.leen@ing.nl</a>                               |
|           | Marieke Bloom           | Chief Economist, Netherlands   | 31 6 5390 4531     | <a href="mailto:marieke.blom@ing.nl">marieke.blom@ing.nl</a>                               |
|           | Marten van Garderen     | Consumer Economist, Netherlands                                      | 31 6 3020 1203     | <a href="mailto:marten.van.garderen@ing.nl">marten.van.garderen@ing.nl</a>                 |
|           | Senne Janssen           | Consumer Economist, Netherlands                                      | 31 6 5787 5332     | <a href="mailto:senne.janssen@ing.nl">senne.janssen@ing.nl</a>                             |
| Brussels  | Peter Vanden Houte      | Chief Economist, Belgium, Eurozone                                   | 32 2 547 8009      | <a href="mailto:peter.vandenhoute@ing.be">peter.vandenhoute@ing.be</a>                     |
|           | Julien Manceaux         | Economist, France, Belgium, Switzerland                              | 32 2 547 3350      | <a href="mailto:julien.manceaux@ing.be">julien.manceaux@ing.be</a>                         |
|           | Philippe Ledent         | Economist, Belgium, Luxembourg                                       | 32 2 547 3161      | <a href="mailto:philippe.ledent@ing.be">philippe.ledent@ing.be</a>                         |
|           | Anthony Baert           | Economist, Ireland, Slovenia, Portugal                               | 32 2 547 3995      | <a href="mailto:anthony.baert@ing.be">anthony.baert@ing.be</a>                             |
|           | Geoffrey Minne          | Economist, Spain   | 32 2 547 3386      | <a href="mailto:geoffrey.minne@ing.be">geoffrey.minne@ing.be</a>                           |
| Germany   | Carsten Brzeski         | Chief Economist, Germany, Austria                                    | 49 69 27 222 64455 | <a href="mailto:c.brzeski@ing-diba.de">c.brzeski@ing-diba.de</a>                           |
|           | Inga Burk               | Economist, Germany, Austria  | 49 69 27 222 66131 | <a href="mailto:i.burk@ing-diba.de">i.burk@ing-diba.de</a>                                 |
| Milan     | Paolo Pizzoli           | Senior Economist, EMU, Italy, Greece                                 | 39 02 55226 2468   | <a href="mailto:paolo.pizzoli@ing.it">paolo.pizzoli@ing.it</a>                             |
| Poland    | Rafal Benecki           | Chief Economist, Poland  | 48 22 820 4696     | <a href="mailto:rafal.benecki@ingbank.pl">rafal.benecki@ingbank.pl</a>                     |
|           | Jakub Rybacki           | Economist, Poland  | 48 22 820 4078     | <a href="mailto:jakub.rybacki2@ingbank.pl">jakub.rybacki2@ingbank.pl</a>                   |



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