**Submission on the Financialization of Purpose-Built Rental Housing for Canada's Review Panel on the Financialization of Purpose-Built Rental Housing**

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**Introduction:**

In this Submission I will draw on my research undertaken into the experience of the financialization of housing internationally, and particularly on the case study of Ireland in order to provide guidance for Canada on developing policy relating to the financialization of purpose-built rental housing.

In this Submission I refer to corporate entities developing financialised Build to Rent as mainly REITs – Real Estate Investment Trusts, and I use this term to include entities developing and owning for-profit private rental property on large scale, such as property companies, investor funds, real estate companies, corporate landlords and other entities. For the purpose of this report REIT is being used as short hand to cover all these entities.

To explain first my background expertise in this area. I have been researching the area of housing for over two decades. I have published three books on housing and multiple academic papers and research reports, including specifically on the area of the financialisation of housing. Furthermore, in my current position I am an Assistant Professor in Maynooth University, where I teach housing as a key subject within social policy in the Department of Applied Social Studies. There are three publications in particular that are directly relevant for this panel as they analyse the development and impact of financialisation on housing, with detail the theory and policy of financialisation of housing and the empirical experience in Ireland. They are:

Books:

Hearne, R. (2022) 'Gaffs: Why No One Can Get a House and What You Can Do About It' HarperCollinsIreland, 2022

Hearne, R. (2020) Housing Shock: The Irish Housing Crisis and How to Solve It. Policy Press

Academic peer reviewed paper:

Lima, V., Hearne, R. & Murphy, M (2022)

Housing financialisation and the creation of homelessness in Ireland Housing Studies, DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2022.2042493

1. **Purpose built financialised Build-to-Rent is about turning the maximum amount of housing into financial assets and creating a permanent Generation Rent**

There has been increasing focus academically and research wise on the growing *'financialization of rental housing'* which is contributing to a paradigm shift within urban housing systems. This includes the entry of institutional investors into urban rental housing markets - such as private equity funds, hedge funds and Real Estate Investment Funds (REITs) (Aalbers, 2016; August & Walks, 2018; Byrne, 2019; Fields & Uffer, 2016; Waldron, 2018). These new 'financialised landlords', are also termed 'corporate landlords' or institutional landlords (August & Walks, 2018; Charles, 2019). In Ireland they have recently been described as 'Cuckoo funds' for the way they bulk buy residential property, that before would have been purchased by home buyers (Hearne, 2020). These institutional investor landlords have been involved in large-volume acquisitions of existing housing stock, including large portfolios of distressed property assets and its conversion to rental accommodation (bulk buy-to-let) and more recently in the development of new multi-unit residential developments of purpose-built rental housing (Build-to-rent).

In my research which is published in these three publications I have shown that the financialisation of the private rental sector in Ireland has been a significant contributory factor to the dramatic increase in rental prices and in homelessness over the period from 2013 to 2023.

There is a housing crisis in most major cities across the world, from Barcelona to London, from Toronto to Berlin. The reason for the crisis across different countries and cities is the same – all governments have implemented, in one way or another, similar misguided policies. First, over the last three decades, governments have stopped building social and affordable housing. Second, they have turned housing into a commodity, an investment asset – by giving global and domestic real estate investment funds and trusts (REITs, corporate company landlords, CLs) a major role in controlling the supply of private rental properties in their housing markets, which have taken over housing and made it unaffordable everywhere.

Since the 2008 crash the global and local real estate investor funds have increasingly turned to buying property and then managing and renting it out over the long term, or building and developing it as 'Build to Rent', over twenty or thirty years (and even longer). These are the REITs or different forms of corporate/company landlords. REITs have become massive corporate landlords, owning, managing and renting out millions of properties in cities across the world, including in Dublin.

The REIT corporate landlords saw a new potential market in Generation Rent, who were locked out of homes during the final years of the property boom and the resultant financial crash, and the recession from 2008 onwards. They were being locked out of buying their own home because of being squeezed out by property investors (including 'mom and pop' landlord property purchasers), the lack of bank lending, unemployment, precarious wages, and the lack of affordable housing, so they have had to rely on the private rental market to get a home.

And as younger generations would have to spend their income on rent, they would become even less able to buy a home, or at least they would spend longer renting, so the business strategy of the funds is to lock Generation Rent out of home ownership and into permanently renting from them. That is why I call them vampire funds. They want to feed off people's rent for ever. Instead of forever homes, it's forever rent from the REITs to their profits and returns to the wealthy investors, billionaires, pension funds and shareholders who put the money into the investment funds and REITs. They already own massive amounts of land in our cities; they are already building huge student accommodation developments (that no student can afford); they are building offices; and they are targeting elderly housing, social and affordable housing, primary healthcare facilities, and now even renewable energy. They want to turn as many of the buildings and as much of the infrastructure we need as they can into financial assets for them.

The REITs and funds, in partnership with our governments, are taking us down a very, very dangerous road. They are playing an overly dominant, disruptive, distorting and disproportionate role in our housing markets. They are making housing more unaffordable and not addressing housing need. They build what maximizes returns for their investors, not what will meet our population's housing needs. The investment funds are delivering not housing as homes to meet the needs of people, but income generating assets for their shareholders and investors. We have to understand that this is the business model of investor funds and REITs. They are not a charity; their aim is not to provide a supply of homes that will make housing affordable.

Property economists argue that we need these funds, and they are providing a supply of houses that meets people's housing needs – that provides homes and will reduce house prices. But it is not 'homes' they are supplying. Investor funds don't build homes. They build unaffordable housing units that do not meet the definition of what a home is, that does not meet housing as a human right. It's not an affordable, secure place where someone can plan their lives, have space to develop and grow and belong, and be part of communities.

***The BTR model bakes in every rising rents = perpetually unaffordable housing***

The REIT business model requires a constant expansion in rents to generate ever-higher returns, so they need to keep devouring more of the housing market so that they become the only option for people. And they want (as their shareholders and investors demand) rents to keep increasing. This has major implications for the future of housing. If REITs continue to play a larger and larger role, given that rents are so high already, that means even higher and more unaffordable rents. The REIT corporate landlords want to keep buying more and more property, building more and more build-to-rent developments, locking more and more people into their rental homes with ever increasing rents.

***REITs want a permanent renting class***

That is why the investor funds have made it clear that the most significant threat to their investments would be if governments built affordable homes on a major scale. REITs buying up property and developing the co-living and build-to-rent apartments don't want renters to have the option to buy or rent an affordable home. That is their global investment strategy – to create a permanent renting class. Their business strategy is based on making Generation Rent bigger and permanent. The investment funds said it clearly: they 'like the private rented sector because of the increased propensity to rent and the unaffordability of housing markets generally'. They do not just want a niche role in housing – they want to dominate it.

## 2. The example of Ireland -shows the rapid expansion of Build to Rent if it is not controlled

The rapid expansion of REITs/investor funds in Ireland is nothing short of phenomenal. Since 2016, Irish and international investors have spent €7bn on purchasing and developing private rental sector apartments. In 2016, they bought up 6,266 homes. But in 2020, they bought 12,378 homes – a third of all homes purchased in that year. In 2021, they bought around 4,000 newly built residential units, 27 per cent of all the new supply of houses and apartments for sale in the country. In Dublin in 2021, 'non-household buyers' (mainly investor funds, but also local Irish property investors, Irish landlords, as well as the state through local authorities and housing associations) bought a half of all newly built homes (2,031 homes). That means investor funds bought almost twice as many newly built homes as did first-time buyers (1,060) in Dublin in 2021. The Irish Times described it accurately as 'foreign investors [flooding] into the capital's private rental sector market to avail of comparatively strong returns.' It continued into 2022. While 1,175 new homes were built in Dublin in the first three months of 2022, just 219 (19 per cent) were bought by first-time buyers; 739 (63 per cent) were bought by 'non-households' – mainly investor funds. It is unclear exactly how many homes global and Irish investor funds and REIT corporate landlords now own. Residential Tenancies Board (RTB) figures state that investor funds and REITs own in the region of 18,000 private rental homes in Ireland. But Revenue property tax returns for 2021 show that large corporate landlords. (owning 200 or more properties) own 45,600 properties in Ireland. That is up by 60 per cent from the 28,000 units they owned in 2017. At the current rate of expansion, within the next decade REIT corporate landlords and funds could own 85,000 rental properties in Ireland, or a quarter of all private rental homes in Ireland. That is a massive and dominant market share of homes, which would give them effective control over the rental market.

Irish Residential Properties REIT (IRES REIT), is one of Ireland's largest new corporate private landlords, is listed on the stock exchange. IRES describes itself as specializing in owning and managing residential and commercial real estate assets located primarily in Dublin. It boasts that at the end of 2020, the group's real estate portfolio' consisted of thirty-five 'assets', which were 3,688 apartments, with a market value of €1.3bn. Its net income listed for 2021 is €53.5m. So who are the shareholders who make the money from IRES REIT's tenants? The largest shareholder, with 18 per cent of their shares, is CAPREIT (Canadian Apartment Properties REIT), a Canadian-based REIT. Other large shareholders include US multinational investor Fidelity; another Canadian company, Vision Capital; UK-based hedge fund investment managers Landsdowne Partners; Irish investment funds such as Setanta Asset Management; and Irish pension funds including Irish Life Investment and Aviva PLC. IRES REIT is pretty upfront about its purpose and intentions. It describes itself as 'a growth-oriented real estate investment trust focused on building a portfolio of residential rental accommodations . . . for the purposes of rental income located in major urban centres across the island of Ireland'. Its main objectives are to create 'growing cash flows through investing primarily in multi-unit residential properties in Ireland . . . to grow asset value and maximize shareholder value' and 'to provide investors with stable and growing dividends'.

These corporate landlords have engaged in a strategy of aggressive rent increases. For example, IRES REIT increased rents in its properties at rates of up to 16% a year (The Irish Times, 2016). IRES REIT, increased rents between 40% and 54% from 2014 to 2021 in one particular apartment complex acquired in 2014 (Nic Lochlainn, 2021).

So Irish homes (and where similar REITs are operating such as in Canada) are now becoming 'assets' for global and Irish investment funds. Renters are the 'growing dividend' for investors who want to maximize and grow their return. There's something deeply disturbing about Irish homes being listed on the Irish Stock Exchange and traded on global stock markets as commodities like stocks and shares. As more people are forced to rent from the funds and REITs, their rents rise. Subsequently share prices rise; and then profits rise. The purpose of housing is being warped into maximizing shareholder returns.

## 3. Financialised BTR housing/REIT/BTR Corporate landlords make the overall housing system more unaffordable through inflating land values – a core input cost to housing

The financialization of purpose-built rental has a major impact on the wider housing market. In particular in the area of land. By having access to global equity, real estate investors have access to endless funds to purchase land. This leads to an overall rising cost of development land in urban areas. This higher cost of land leads to more expensive, and therefore, unaffordable, housing as land is a key input cost in delivering housing. Land costs can be up to a third of the cost of a home, particularly in cities. Real estate Build to Rent companies have in Dublin outbid social and affordable housing providers trying to buy land. The land issue is central. Furthermore, the potential for large build-to-rent developments on land in urban centres also adds to wider land speculation. The most profitable way to develop land is through build-to-rent. So every piece of land becomes a potential build-to-rent site in the eyes of an investor fund or developer. And because they can pay much higher prices for land, they can outbid any small- or medium-sized Irish developer or builder seeking to build medium density family homes, or housing associations or not-for-profit housing providers trying to get land to build affordable homes. But it can also to wider land speculation whereby owners of land, or real estate investors can with their own land, or purchase land, with the intention of accumulating profit by speculating on the potential future use of the land. This is done where they get planning permission for the most intensive and profitable use such as Build to Rent, and then can sell on the land with planning permission (at a higher value than undeveloped land) to a Build to Rent fund. This makes the final rental home even more costly (higher rents) as the land cost is inflated due its speculative development.

This is also shown by the fact there are 70,000 homes that have full planning permission to be built in Ireland, largely owned by Real Estate Investor Funds, but they are not building them.

This is because of the suppliers' speculation on the housing market. The real estate, corporate landlords, REITS and property investors are waiting for prices and rents to rise further before they either sell (flip) that land with planning attached or build on it. So they drip feed a supply onto the market, leaving a housing shortage in place. And because they control the supply, they can control the market. They can produce just enough units – a supply that doesn't meet demand, but keeps prices and rents rising – to maximize their profits. These are also called supply-side distortions, and they are endemic in housing.

Because of inflation, rising interest rates, and economic uncertainty, investors and financiers are deeming it unviable (i.e. not making enough profit) to finance and build many build to rent developments in Ireland now. This shows the inherent instability and unreliability of Build to Rent Investor funds to provide housing.

### *The argument that Build to Rent leads to increased supply which will lead to lower rents is delusional. Over reliance on Build to Rent corporate landlord developments leads to oligopoly within housing markets.*

In classical economic theory, the supply of products such as computers and cars is best achieved through allowing the 'hidden hand' of the free market do its work without interference from the State. The market, according to economists, is the best way to allocate resources in the economy. But free market economics assumes lots of suppliers who compete with each other to lower the price. But in housing there are only a few suppliers (large developers, investor funds and Real Estate Investor funds and Trusts) who have enough funding and land to supply housing. Housing developments also take time; and they are risky because you are not guaranteed the price until you build the product, and that could be in a few years' time, when prices might have fallen, so unless you have access to large financing and lots of different projects that spread your risk, it is very difficult to do. So overly relying on Build to Rent investor funds to supply housing leads to monopolistic and oligopolistic control within housing supply. They effectively start to control the market. And thus they don't face competition to reduce their prices or rents, or even to provide a supply, even when housing need is high.

The argument that a larger supply of Build to Rent will lead to lower rents is just flawed economic analysis. Despite significantly increasing the supply of BTR private rental stock in Ireland in the last 8 years as shown above, rents have continued to rise year after year. The BTR REITs keep setting ever higher market rents with their new rental units.

***REITs' business model of constantly increasing rents is utterly unsustainable for our society and economy.***

The Build-to-Rent business model is based on maximizing profits by lowering building standards (building smaller units), constantly raising rents, renting out at the highest rent possible, and by the displacement and turnover of tenants. Their new rental properties are at extortionate rents, which set the new market rents, and thus propel overall rents upwards. Some argue that these corporate landlord REITs are only a small part of the overall market and so do not have a major influence on rents. But they are expanding at such a rate that very soon they will be in control of the market. There are already some parts of Dublin where corporate landlords own up to 50 per cent of all private rental tenancies in the area. That means they get to set the local market rent. They have oligopolistic market control in these areas. And this is only going to increase in the coming years. Their current share will quickly become a much larger share. REITs' business model of constantly increasing rents is utterly unsustainable for our society and economy. More and more of people's income will have to go on rents. That sucks money out of the Irish economy and sends it overseas, or it flows to those who already have money. It is also very risky for our economy to give these global funds a central role in housing provision in Ireland. It puts us at a higher risk of another property and economic crash; it is faulty economic logic. It's inherently risky, based on a flawed assumption of constant rising prices and rents, with a decline or crash inevitable. As the global and Irish economy falters, REITs' investment strategies will change. They are unreliable. REITs have multiple business strategies to make as much money as possible out of their properties. These include 'rennovictions', where they buy a property, evict the tenants, renovate the property and then get in new tenants on much higher rents. They also find other ways of adding extra charges to increase the overall rent. They leave property vacant until they get the rent they want. It might seem illogical to leave a property vacant when they could be getting a good rent, but rental yield – what they get each year – is only part of their business. The other part is what they call 'capital asset value appreciation'. For them, it is about the rising value of the property (the asset) over time – so when they sell the block of apartments in twenty years' time they will make much more than what they paid for it. Rising asset values also grow their investment and returns to shareholders. Their long-term game is to sweat the asset (maximizing rents at minimal cost of managing and maintaining properties) while they own it and then, at some point, sell it. They also use the value of these assets, the properties, to leverage more money into their funds, to invest further. For them, the long-term increase in property prices is important. Because they are investing in long-term assets, they can afford to leave rental property vacant. They treat property as an asset, not as a home. The ethical and human need side is never considered. It is a socially criminal act to allow property to sit vacant while our fellow human beings are homeless, living on the streets or stuck in overcrowded homes or in emergency accommodation. The RTB interviewed a sample of corporate landlords and found that they 'typically buy in blocks with a minimum of 100 or 150 units'. They don't want to have units within the apartment blocks – they want to own them all, because 'having complete control enables them to brand, manage, control and handle the estate as an asset.' This has become an issue with apartment owners citing problems in blocks being taken over by funds. These landlords also say that their intention is to keep on devouring Irish homes. The RTB stated: 'These organizations are ambitious and growing. They all envisage managing property portfolios of several multiples of their current scale in the medium term'.

***Cuckoo funds lock home buyers out***

The investor funds have also been called cuckoo funds because of the fact that a cuckoo lays its eggs in another bird's nest, where the oversized cuckoo chick hatches and quickly elbows the original occupants over the side. In the same way, by buying up entire developments of new properties these cuckoo funds are crowding ordinary home buyers out of being able to get a home. Many big and small investor funds, REITs and investor landlords are buying individual and blocks of second-hand properties for sale as well. Families are being outbid massively by these funds. The Irish Independent reported that institutional buyers paid up to 32 per cent more than the average price paid by household buyers in Ireland for each home they bought. Large investors paid €2.27bn for almost 4,900 private rented sector properties in 2021. That is an average of almost €430,000 a unit, €104,206 more than the average price of €325,502 paid by households who bought homes then. Every unit bought up by an investor or developed as build-to-rent is a home lost. It is a house or apartment taken away from being a secure, affordable home and converted into an investment asset, locking some household into unaffordable housing for their lifetime.

***Adding to growing inequality***

Because these investor funds have a global reach, they provide a channel through which the trillions of dollars washing around in global hedge and wealth funds enters Ireland (the wealth funds of the global 1 per cent, the so-called 'high net worth individuals' – the billionaires). Through their local agents – Irish-based headquarters of the funds, real estate firms and estate agents, Irish developers, Irish investment and asset funds – this global wealth is funnelled in, and buys up, and profits from, the rents and property in this country. Through these funds renters are turned into global investment commodities that provide an ongoing stream of income to global wealth funds, pensions, rich investor and Irish pension funds and investors. This is creating an unprecedented generational transfer of wealth and adds to the growing crisis of wealth inequality. The investor funds buy up the homes that should be going to young people in Ireland, who now instead have to rent, and their rent makes the 1 per cent and the already wealthy and financially secure even wealthier and more secure, leaving others in a permanent state of insecurity, owning very little. And because the funds are part of this global 'wall of money', they have an endless war chest of billions to keep funnelling into Irish property and to outbid Irish home buyers and affordable housing providers. International institutional investors went from investing nothing in Irish real estate before 2008 to investing 74 per cent of total real estate investment in Ireland in 2020. If that isn't game, set and match, I don't know what is. There is no limit to their purchasing of Irish homes and land and development of build-torent. They are not going to pull back or ease off unless we stop them. They will make housing permanently unaffordable in Ireland. They are also adding to another housing bubble.

What is the point of the main supply of new homes being expensive rental homes that nobody can afford to live in, that will be left vacant, that will push renters into poverty and convert a generation into wealth generators for global wealth funds and Irish pension funds? The most important thing about the new supply of housing is that it should be affordable. But in Dublin, new real estate fund developments are advertising two-bedroom apartments to rent at €2,500 a month. That rent would eat up over 70 per cent of the monthly take-home income of someone on €50,000 a year. How can they afford to live on that? These are not homes – when someone, or a family, is paying €2,500 a month in rent, and looking down the road thinking, 'How will I be able to afford this when I retire?' Where is the long-term thinking? These rents are not sustainable for renters. This is not a supply of affordable homes. By being over-dependent on this 'supply', the government has made our housing system unaffordable for all, in order to make it profitable for a few vulture and cuckoo investors and property speculators. Our housing market has been deliberately made and allowed by our government to become unaffordable for most people so that it can make massive profits for a few investors and landlords – a small group of Irish and global wealthy investor funds. It's inequality laid bare. The argument by some economists that we need these investor fund developments because they will add this supply that will (at some hazy point in the future) bring down rents is also flawed. The supply provided by these funds will never lead to reduced rents. It is trickle-down free market economics baloney. There is not a city in the world where real estate funds have led to a drop in rents. They are building apartments now because there is an imbalance between supply and demand. They need that imbalance – they thrive in a situation of housing crisis and shortage. They want a permanent housing shortage, a permanent housing crisis. That is their business model. They will reduce their new building, as will private developers, as soon as it appears there might be a level of supply that could address that imbalance. Why would they build a sufficient supply of homes when that would mean rents and house prices would fall? These funds don't want to build to a point of saturation and flood the market. The funds are able and willing to pay much more than home buyers because the returns from renting their properties are so high. They know that the more they lock people out, combined with the huge demographic demand, and the lack of building of social and affordable homes, the higher the return. But this completely contradicts the government's and property economists' arguments that the supply of housing by investment funds will reduce rents. How can that happen if the investor funds and REITs are investing on the basis that rents will not fall, and will in fact continue at these inflated levels and increase into the future? They will never allow rents to fall, unless they are forced to by policy and an alternative supply of more affordable rental properties (i.e. public affordable and social housing). They will let the properties lie vacant so they don't have to rent them out at lower rates. You can see this in places like London. They can do that because, to them, these are assets; and they will hoard their assets to increase the capital value. The funds and REITs also add to overall house price inflation through the massive global funds they channel in here. It is logical – if you have a limited supply. And these guys are bringing in an unlimited amount of global cash. They drive up the prices by being able to throw more and more cash at buying up property. The Central Bank lending limits, which are supposed to keep a lid on rising house prices and prevent another property price bubble, don't apply to them.

## *Financialisation of private rental housing including BTR breaches right to housing*

Although private landlords have always sought to maximize profits paid by tenants, August (2020) posits that this financialization of rental housing is fundamentally transforming the PRS and includes new and distinct business strategies that expose tenants to the logics of finance capital via "repositioning" strategies based on tenant dispossession and displacement. Institutional investor landlords focus on financial returns for investors, which, according to Haila (2015) accelerates land use changes and displaces groups who cannot afford to pay high rents. Due to investment strategies that often involved harming residents with high housing costs and promoting displacement, this style of investment has been referred to as 'predatory equity' (Fields, 2014).

The financialisation of rental housing is is raising market rents leading to wider housing unaffordability, as I show in the case of Ireland. In this process financial vehicles transform the PRS from providing affordable homes into an investment product for domestic and international finance capital—a new global asset class. I have found that the financialisation of the private rental sector (through growth of corporate landlord/Build to Rent/CLs) caused macro level structural changes to the housing market that worsened affordability and housing insecurity.

Financialisation caused homelessness both in direct and indirect pathways, via its influence on state policy. For example, the refusal to implement legislation proposed by NGOs and opposition parties to stop evictions from the PRS, which were cited as primary causes of homelessness. The state commitment within housing and economic policy to financialisation of the rental sector as a strategy for economy recovery and housing supply, meant that it was not willing to implement rental legislation that would protect tenants from eviction into homelessness as it could have reduced investor ‘appetite’ in buying up Irish property and developing a new supply of housing via the Build-to-rent sector (which it promoted also through reduced planning standards). Two of the key structural factors that we identify as contributing to homelessness in Ireland, rising housing unaffordability and tenant insecurity, were facilitated by Irish government through processes of policy action and policy inaction, in order to facilitate financialisation of the Irish housing system.

We identify then, that along with the direct way in which financialisation contributed to homelessness in Ireland, by worsening affordability and security in the private rental market, it also contributed in an indirect way.

## What could the Government of Canada do to address the impacts of the financialization of purpose-built rental housing and advance the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing? What would successful solutions to this issue look like?

A safe, secure home, of a decent standard, is central to our very existence, our physical health and overall l wellbeing. Access to adequate housing is central to family life and child development, as the home is the place where children grow up and the arena in which the most fundamental social relationships are sustained (Hearne, 2020).

In recognition of the fundamental role that housing plays in our lives in terms of providing a decent standard of living and enabling us to live with dignity, housing is a fundamental human right.

Fulfilling the right to housing means Governments guaranteeing a delivery of sufficient affordable, secure, decent standard housing. The argument that we must sacrifice affordable and secure housing in order to attract a supply of housing from BTR REITs/Corporate landlords is ludicrous. Are we saying that we could build sufficient homes for our populations in the 1950s and 1960s and 70s, but we cannot do it today. It’s just not true. There is another way – governments, local municipalities, cooperatives, not for profit housing bodies – all building directly affordable housing is the way forward. Along with measures to control and reduce new market rents, ensure REIT/ corporate landlords pay a 40 per cent tax on all their rental income, require at least 40 per cent of all build-to-rent developments are allocated for affordable rent and sale, divest all state funding (from REITs/investor funds/ investor fund rental. Divest state pension funds and public sector pensions out of REITs/residential property investment funds.