## From Samurai to Skyscrapers: How Transaction Costs Shape Tokyo\*

Junichi Yamasaki<sup>†</sup> Kentaro Nakajima<sup>‡</sup> Kensuke Teshima<sup>§</sup>

First version: May 2020 This version: June 2024

Whether transaction costs to assemble or split land can persistently hinder Abstract: urban land use remains unknown. Constructing a 100 m\*100 m-cell-level dataset of central Tokyo from the 19th-century pre-modern era to the 21st-century skyscraper era, we study how initial lot fragmentation has affected urban development. We exploit a plausibly exogenous supply shock of large lots in 1868, the release of local lords' estates (daimyo yashiki) scattered throughout central Tokyo. Using ordinary least squares and a regression discontinuity design, we find that cells previously used as local lords' estates have larger lots today, implying that lot size persists through transaction costs. Such cells today see more tall buildings, higher land prices, and higher labor productivity of firms. We also find these effects only in the core area, and the effect on land price is 129%. Our conceptual framework suggests this effect as the lower bound of transaction costs to assemble land in the control group. Finally, the effect of lot size on land prices became positive only after the rise of skyscrapers that made optimal lot size larger. Overall, initial lot allocation affects the urban economy, land assembly costs are disproportionately increasing in the local economic potential, and assembly friction became more salient in the skyscraper age.

**Keywords:** Transaction costs, historical persistence, skyscrapers, lot fragmentation, agglomeration economy, Coase theorem **JEL Codes:** R14, R30, O18, N95

<sup>\*</sup>We thank Leah Brooks, Melissa Dell, Federico Finan, Michael Gechter, Edward Glaeser, Jun Goto, Walker Hanlon, Jessie Handbury, Nina Harari, Takahiro Ito, Hiroyuki Kasahara, Ryo Kambayashi, Chun Kuang, Jeffrey Lin, Yuhei Miyauchi, Chiaki Moriguchi, Hisahiro Naito, Nathan Nunn, Atsushi Ohyama, Stephen Redding, Yoichi Sugita, Ryotaro Sugiyama, Yasuo Takatsuki, Masayuki Tanimoto, Shuntaro Washizaki, David Weinstein, Hisaki Yamaga, Atsushi Yamagishi, Jiro Yoshida, and seminar and conference participants for their comments and suggestions. We thank Yuri Enomoto, Kisho Hoshi, Takuto Iguchi, Kyosuke Izuo, Arisa Kawasaki, Chika Kojima, Yukie Kojima, Hiroshi Kumanomido, Yu Osaki, Ryota Tanaka, and Masaya Waki for their excellent research assistance. All the authors are affiliated with TDB-CAREE, Hitotsubashi University, which provided the access to the Teikoku Databank dataset. We thank Yoshiki Hiramine and Keisuke Takano for their assistance with the data. We gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Nos. 19K13682, 18K19955 and 22K18257), Japan Center for Economic Research, Suntory Foundation, Grant for Groundbreaking Young Researchers, Kikawada Foundation, Nomura Foundation, and Hitotsubashi University. We also thank the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, the Research Center for Property Assessment System, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, and Takashi Kirimura for permission to use their data.

<sup>†</sup>Department of Economics, Kobe University and Hitotsubashi University TDB-CAREE. E-mail: yamasaki@econ.kobe-u.ac.jp

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>‡</sup>Institute of Innovation Research, Hitotsubashi University. E-mail: nakajima@iir.hit-u.ac.jp <sup>§</sup>Faculty of Economics, Doshisha University and Hitotsubashi University TDB-CAREE. E-mail: kteshima@mail.doshisha-ac.jp