59 Title	Was There Really a Hawthorne Effect at the Hawthorne Plant? An Analysis of the Original
	Illumination Experiments
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Abstract	The "Hawthorne effect" draws its name from a landmark set of studies conducted at the Hawthorne
	plant in the 1920s. The data from the first and most influential of these studies, the "Illumination
	Experiment," were never formally analyzed and were thought to have been destroyed. Our research
	has uncovered these data. Existing descriptions of supposedly remarkable data patterns prove to be
	entirely fictional. We do find more subtle manifestations of possible Hawthorne effects. We also
	propose a new means of testing for Hawthorne effects based on excess responsiveness to
	experimenter-induced variations relative to naturally occurring variation. (JEL C90, J24, J28, M12,
	M54, N32)