

The role of academic entitlement in college cheating: A comparison between China and the United States

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a cross-cultural comparison between China and the United States of neutralization and academic entitlement on academic dishonesty, often referred to as college cheating. The sample consisted of 434 American Students and 180 Chinese students. Neutralization was a predictor of cheating in college for both the Chinese and American students, although Chinese students engaged in more neutralization than did the American students. While academic entitlement was found to be a predictor of college cheating among American students, it was not a predictor of cheating among Chinese students, even though Chinese students exhibited higher levels of academic entitlement. For American students, cheating was highest on class assignments, but for Chinese students the highest percentage of cheating was for copying an internet document. Explanations for cross-cultural differences and similarities are suggested.

Keywords: Cheating in college, Academic dishonesty, Neutralization, Academic entitlement

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INTRODUCTION

Widespread concern for college cheating has resulted in a robust and growing body of literature on academic dishonesty published over the last 30 years. The present study is a continuation of a project that began in the early 1980s in an attempt to understand undergraduate cheating (previous studies include: Haines, Diekhoff, LaBeff, & Clark, 1986; LaBeff, Clark, Haines, & Diekhoff, 1990; Diekhoff, LaBeff, Clark, Williams, Francis, & Haines, 1996; Diekhoff, LaBeff, Shinohara, & Yasukawa, 1999; Vandehey, Diekhoff, & LaBeff, 2007; Stiles, Wong, & LaBeff, 2017). Most recently this research has identified academic entitlement (AE) as a predictor of cheating in college (Stiles et al., 2017). While the predictors of academic dishonesty are numerous (for thorough reviews of the literature see Davis, Drinan, & Gallant, 2009; Hsiao, 2015), the primary purpose of the present study is to provide a cross-cultural comparison between China and the United States of not only the traditional explanatory variables of cheating in college, specifically neutralization, but also the relationship between AE and college cheating.

Millennials and Academic Entitlement

Students in college today are members of the millennial generation, those born between 1980 and 2000. At about 80 million strong, they have overtaken Baby Boomers as the largest generation in American history (Ricketts, 2009; Stein, 2013; Taylor, 2013). Much has been written about this generation's digital connectedness, crisis of unmet expectations, and narcissism. Examine any list of recent non-fiction books and many will be about the millennial generation's effects on education, business, politics, diversity, and jobs. Twenge (2013) described millennial college students as overconfident with unrealistically high expectations, having strong desires to achieve, having high self-esteem and reported narcissism, studying fewer hours, and being unwilling to read longer texts.

According to Stein (2013), the effect of narcissism is entitlement. "Academic entitlement is generally defined as preferring to receive more from one's academic experience than one's peers and preferring to get more from one's academic experience than one gives to it" (Miller, 2013, p. 655-656). In other words, academic entitlement (AE) is the perception that one is entitled to higher grades than earned and regardless of one's ability or how much one studied or prepared for an exam or course requirement (Miller, 2013). "Student entitlement, at its core, indicates that on some level students believe they are entitled to or deserving of certain goods and services to be provided by their institutions and professors, something that is outside of the students' actual performance or responsibilities inside the classroom" (Singleton-Jackson, Jackson, Reinhardt, 2010, p. 344). Students believe they are entitled to achieving a degree. Therefore, by its very definition, entitlement threatens the integrity of the educational process.

Singleton-Jackson, et al. (2010) approached the understanding of entitlement by examining millennials as a cohort. While they did not examine cheating behavior among students, they did examine their impact on higher education and their entitled behaviors. They found that "accessibility" and "attention to the student" were perceived as more

important characteristics of professors than actual teaching behaviors. Therefore, students operate from a consumer orientation model. “Academic entitlement is generally defined as preferring to receive more from one's academic experience than one's peers and preferring to get more from one's academic experience than one gives to it” (Miller, 2013, p. 655-656).

Today's millennial students insist more often than previous generations that they are rewarded unfairly regardless of their effort or contribution, and they are sometimes perceived by employers, co-workers, and teachers as more entitled than previous generations (Stout, 2000 ; Twenge, 2006 ; Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008a, 2008b; Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010). Stout (2000) suggested that the lowering of educational standards has given rise to an entire generation of young persons who demand high grades for low performance and who are unhappy when their expectations regarding grades are unmet.

Academic Dishonesty Literature

One persistent finding in the academic dishonesty literature is that those who engage in cheating in college adopt neutralizing attitudes to justify their cheating behavior (McCabe, 1992). Sykes and Matza (1957) first developed the concept of neutralization to explain delinquent behavior in which behavior is situationally defined. Through various techniques of neutralization, individuals justify their violation of accepted norms to protect themselves from self-blame or the blame of others. Individuals may profess a conviction about a particular norm but argue that special circumstances existed which caused them to violate the norms in a specific instance. According to Sykes and Matza (1957), norm-violators use neutralization before, during, and after the act. Denial of responsibility, such as claiming there was too much work required, was found to be the most commonly used neutralization in several studies (LaBeff et al., 1990; McCabe, 1992; Storch & Storch, 2002). Neutralizing attitudes were employed because students still felt cheating was wrong. Students placed emphasis on intrinsic values and the value of learning. That is, academic achievements for the sake of achieving a valid and valued education.

Changes began to occur in the 1990s. According to Lang (2013), academics began placing an emphasis on testing in the 1990s. This meant that instead of intrinsic values of education, we began to see a shift toward the placement of values on extrinsic rewards; grades or an achievement focus (McCabe et al., 2012). Thus a cultural shift has taken place in academics. Not surprisingly, findings on cheating behavior indicated that both cheaters and non-cheaters evidenced less neutralizing over the years. Researchers have assumed that academic dishonesty has become so normative that it is no longer viewed by students as a deviant behavior that needs justification (Diekhoff et al., 1996; Haines et al.1986; McCabe et al. 2012; Vandehey et al. 2007). An even more plausible explanation involves understanding cultural changes that involve age cohorts, or generations. This is important because age cohorts share similar cultural experiences and values based on their ages (Taylor, 2013). One would expect that as education experiences a cultural shift, evidence of its effect on students would soon be apparent. What we do not yet know is if AE is a characteristic of students in China and if this is a predictor of cheating in the Chinese education system.

Education and Academic Dishonesty in China

Like the United States, China places emphasis on education, achievement, and success.

However, Chinese traditional education is influenced by Confucian thought, and therefore, centuries of tradition. Traditional Chinese education places emphasis on self-motivation of students (Hofstede, 2001). Another characteristic of Chinese education is that it is examination and rote-oriented, with less emphasis on creativity (Yu, 2004). Some even refer to the system as one of “high-stakes” testing (Chu, 2017). In fact, the so called “education fever” or test fever has been instilled in Chinese culture since the 7th century when the “keju” system, the civil services exam, was utilized to select officials to serve the emperor (Lan and Hoi, 2005). The current national college entrance exam in China, the “gaokao,” which was created in 1952, discontinued in 1966, and resumed in 1977, has since been the sole criteria for college and university admission. Although some students today have the opportunity to be admitted to colleges and universities, provided they excel in certain areas (e.g., athletics, music, art, and etc.), the majority of students still have to go through the gaokao system if they want to obtain higher education. This exam is of such importance that it is considered a national event. Given the population and unequal distribution of resources between rural areas and major cities (Gao 2014), it is not hard to understand that entering a prestigious college or university has been viewed as the only means of upward mobility in the Chinese culture (Lan and Hoi, 2005). Therefore, pressure to pass this exam, and all those leading up to this one, is enormous for there is so much at stake. China’s one-child policy also contributed an element of pressure for success.

According to Chen (2003), China’s one-child policy has produced concern for children who have no brothers or sisters. The concern is that these only-children will be self-centered “little emperors” and “empresses” (p. 74). The one-child policy was instituted in 1979 and began to be formally phased out only recently (in 2015). The one-child policy resulted in a great deal of pressure for academic performance by only-children (Chen, 2003). Does this increase the likelihood of entitlement in these only-children? Does this entitlement translate to a sense of entitlement within academics?

Exams are incredibly important in the Chinese system because they are not only used to evaluate a student’s progress, but they also determine a teacher’s worth (Chu, 2017). As a result of Confucian influence, Chinese students are accepting of an unequal distribution of power between themselves and their teachers. Therefore, it should be of no surprise that Chinese students are very respectful of their teachers and they typically do not challenge their authority (Yuan, 2005). Does this mean that students in China might be less likely to exhibit a sense of AE?

While we may not have a tremendous amount of cross-cultural research on cheating, we know that cheating is problematic in other cultures, including China. Both students and professors engage in academic dishonesty. They both hire ghostwriters and engage in plagiarism as well as falsify scientific results to get published (“Rampant Academic Cheating,” 2010). Similar to findings of students in the United States (Carrell, Malmstrom, & West, 2008), Chinese students are more likely to cheat when observing others cheat (Tsui & Ngo, 2016). Important to cheating in China might also be the fact that Western research has also found support for the relationship between the perception of cheating among peers and the likelihood of one’s own cheating (McCabe & Trevino, 1993). Furthermore, research on academic dishonesty in China supports the use of neutralization techniques to justify cheating (Tsui & Ngo, 2016).

It is also important to study cheating by Chinese students because more students

come from China to study in the U.S. than from any other country in Europe. In fact, almost one-third of all foreign students in the U.S. are from China (Newman, 2014). This research seeks to build on the academic dishonesty research conducted in the United States to provide for a cross-cultural analysis with China. Research on cheating in college needs to incorporate more cross-cultural research to compare trends apparent in the United States.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

Data were initially collected from 518 American undergraduate students attending a southern, state-supported college of approximately 6,000 students, using a modified survey on academic dishonesty developed by Haines et al. (1986). This survey has also been used, in whole or part, in many other studies of college cheating (Diekhoff et al, 1999; Stiles et al., 2017; Vandehey et al., 2007). Data were also collected initially from 257 Chinese undergraduate students attending a public university in eastern-central coastal province of China of approximately 15,000 students, using a translated version of the same survey. Translation was examined by several international students who are proficient in both English and Mandarin Chinese to ensure accuracy. The survey also included several demographic variables, such as age, gender, and year in school, and minor modifications were made to accommodate differences in the Chinese university system and student compositions. Therefore, while the same survey was used for the American and Chinese students, there were a few questions that simply were not applicable to Chinese students and were removed (i.e. there are no fraternities and sororities in China so this question was not included).

Prior to conducting any analysis, we first discarded cases that had missing responses to questions assessing cheating behaviors, leaving 434 American students, and 180 Chinese students in each sample. Given that traditional Chinese students finish their undergraduate study by the age of 25, and only 2 cases in the Chinese sample reported ages older than 25 (26 and 28), we eliminated students older than 25 from the entire sample, leaving 434 American students and 180 Chinese students. This means that all respondents are millennials. To evaluate the appropriateness of cross-cultural comparison, we then compared several demographic variables. Among the 434 American students, 65.7% were female ($n = 285$), and 34.3% were male ($n = 149$), which differed significantly from our Chinese sample, $X^2(1, N = 614) = 7.18$ $p = 0.007$. Chinese students were consisted of 76.7% female ($n = 138$), and 23.3% male ($n = 42$). With regard to age, although our American students ($M=19.88$, $SD=1.80$) were only slightly younger than the Chinese students ($M=20.12$, $SD=0.99$), the large sample size made the difference statistically significant, based on Welch's t-test, $t(567.023) = 4.615$, $p = .032$. Finally, year in school distribution was significantly different between the two samples $X^2(3, N = 614) = 49.71$ $p < .01$. The American sample was composed of 53.5% freshmen ($n = 232$), 22.6% sophomores ($n = 98$), 11.8% juniors ($n = 51$), and 12.2% seniors ($n = 53$), whereas the Chinese sample consisted of 81.1% freshmen ($n = 146$), 15.0% sophomores ($n = 27$), 3.9% juniors ($n = 7$), and no seniors. To sum up, compared to the Chinese students in the sample, the American students consisted of more male participants, slightly younger, and further along in school.

Variables

Dependent variable: College Cheating, also known as Academic Dishonesty (AD) and used interchangeably in this paper, was assessed using a modified survey on academic dishonesty developed by Haines et al. (1986). Since researches have indicated that copying the work of others from the Internet without giving proper citation was common among Chinese students (Ako, 2011), we added a question to assess for this type of behavior. Although exams still constitute the major part of students' grades in college education in China, more emphasis has been placed on indices such as homework and quizzes. Therefore, we broadly define cheating as engaging in any one or more of the academic dishonest behaviors listed below:

1. Have you ever copied an internet document for a classroom assignment?
2. Have you ever cheated on a major exam?
3. Have you ever cheated on a daily or weekly quiz?
4. Have you ever cheated on a class assignment (i.e. term paper, lab assignment, homework assignment, etc.)?
5. Have you ever helped someone else cheat?

Therefore, college cheating is measured as a continuous variable, the total score of cheating is calculated by adding affirmative responses to each of the questions (0= "never," 1= "once" and "two or more times"), ranging from 0 to 5, with higher scores represent more extensive cheating. The inter-item reliability for the enhanced cheating variable is excellent (Cronbach's alpha =.79). The frequencies and percentages for each item of the cheating variable are reported in Table 1 (Appendix).

Independent variable: Academic entitlement (AE) - the perception that one is entitled to higher grades than earned, regardless of one's ability or how much one studied or prepared for an exam or course requirement (Miller, 2013), has been found to be a significant predictor of cheating among American students (Stiles et al., 2017). For the purpose of this study, we used a six-item subset of a fifteen-item AE measurement by Greenberger, Lessard, Chuansheng and Farruggia (2008). This six-item subset of questions is used because these questions pertain specifically to course grades and testing. This is the same AE variable previously used by Stiles et al. (2017):

1. If I have explained to my professor that I am trying hard, I think he/she should give me some consideration with respect to my course grade.
2. If I have completed most of the reading for a class, I deserve a B in the class.
3. If I have attended most classes of a course, I deserve at least a grade of B.
4. Teachers often give me lower grades than I deserve on paper assignments.
5. Professors who won't let me take an exam at a different time because of my personal plans are too strict.
6. Teachers often give me lower grades than I deserve on exams.

AE is measured as a continuous variable using a 4-point Likert scale (from 1 = "Strongly disagree" to 4 = "Strongly agree"), the total score ranges from 6 to 24, with higher score representing higher AE. The inter-item reliability for the AE variable is acceptable (Cronbach's alpha = .75).

Neutralization, the tendency to justify or rationalize cheating, was also included in this study. This is based on Sykes and Matza's (1957) concept of neutralization as a cognitive strategy for reducing guilt and social stigma associated with deviant behavior.

One persistent finding over the last four decades was that those who engage in cheating adopt neutralizing attitudes to justify their behavior. Neutralization is measured by the following 11-item measure:

1. The course material is too hard; no matter how much he studies, he can't understand it.
2. He is in danger of losing his scholarship due to low grades.
3. He doesn't have time to study because he is working to pay for school.
4. The instructor doesn't seem to care if he learns the material.
5. The instructor acts like his/her course is the only one he is taking; too much material is assigned.
6. His cheating isn't hurting anyone.
7. Everyone else in the room seems to be cheating.
8. The people sitting around him made no attempt to cover their papers and he could see the answers.
9. His friend asked him to help him/her cheat and he couldn't say no.
10. The instructor left the room to talk to someone during the test.
11. The course is required for his degree but the information seems useless. He is only interested in the grade.

Neutralization is measured as a continuous variable using a 5-point Likert scale, (from 1 = "Strongly disagree" to 5 = "Strongly agree") total score ranges from 11 to 55, with higher score indicating higher Neutralization. The inter-item reliability for the Neutralization variable is excellent (Cronbach's alpha = .94).

Procedures

Cross cultural comparison was conducted using independent sample t-test for the majority of the variables. Welch's t-test was utilized when the assumption of equal variance was violated for some of the variables ($p < 0.001$). Within each sample, regression analysis using stepwise methods was conducted to identify predictors of cheating. The analysis was conducted by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

RESULTS

Correlations between cheating and the aforementioned demographic variables (i.e., gender, age, and year in school) have been examined in past studies. The relationship between gender and cheating was inconsistent, with some studies reporting more cheating in male than female (e.g. Davis et. al, 1992; Michaels and Miethe, 1989), and others reporting no gender effect on cheating (Diekhoff et al, 1999; Tibbets, 1999). Within this sample, we found no relationship between gender and cheating in either the American or Chinese students. Age and year in school appeared to be related to cheating, as some research reported that older, more mature students were less likely to engage in cheating (Haines et al., 1986; Miller, Shoptaugh, & Parkerson, 2008; Straw, 2002), and other research has found college juniors to be less likely to cheat than freshman or sophomore students (Brown, 2002; Szabo & Underwood, 2004). However, our Chinese students who were slightly older were found to be more inclined to engage in cheating than younger American students. Taken together, readers should bear in mind the demographic differences between our samples when interpreting the results presented in the following sections.

Table 2 (Appendix) presents the results of comparing American and Chinese students on the extent of cheating, level of AE, and neutralization. Overall, Chinese students reported more extensive cheating than did the American students, and the difference was statistically significant at .05 level, $t(612) = -2.30, p=.02$. However, when the question “Have you ever copied an internet document for a classroom assignment” was excluded from the analysis, American students ($M=1.24, SD=1.48$) in turn report more cheating than Chinese Students ($M=1.08, SD=1.31$), but the difference was not statistically significant. Upon further analysis, 86.2% ($N=374$) of the American students answered “never” to this question, whereas 50.56% of Chinese students chose “two or more times” as the answer. The difference in the responses to this question between the two samples was also statistically significant $X^2(2, N = 614) = 171.561 p < 0.001$.

Regarding attitude toward cheating, Chinese students appeared to be more entitled and more likely to neutralize than the American Students, with both differences being considered as statistically significant. We also examined the relationship between entitlement, neutralization, and cheating, as presented in Table 3 (Appendix). For both American and Chinese students, all three variables were strongly correlated with each other. Further, using multiple linear regression, we found that both entitlement ($\beta = .11, p=.03$) and neutralization ($\beta = .24, p<.01$) served as significant predictors of cheating among American students ($\beta = .11, p=.03$), whereas only neutralization served as a significant predictor of cheating among Chinese students ($\beta = .34, p<.01$).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to provide a cross-cultural comparison between China and the United States and neutralization as a traditional predictor of academic dishonesty (AD), as well as academic entitlement (AE) as a recently identified predictor of AD. Previous research on college cheating has mostly favored neutralization as an explanatory predictor of AD. Only recently has AE been identified as a predictor of cheating in college (Stiles et al., 2017).

The present study finds that neutralization remains a predictor of cheating in college for both the Chinese and the American students. This finding is not surprising given the persistent finding over the last four decades that those who engage in cheating adopt neutralizing attitudes to justify their behavior. Sykes and Matza (1957) are credited for the concept of techniques of neutralization to explain the various strategies that people employ to justify or excuse behavior considered deviant by the larger society. These justifications serve to protect the individual from self-blame or the blame of others. It is important to remember though that there would be no need to engage in neutralizing behavior if one does not perceive cheating to be wrong. The Chinese actually engaged in more neutralization than did the American students.

AE is the belief that one is entitled to higher grades than earned, regardless of one’s ability or how much one studied or prepared for an exam or course requirement (Miller, 2013). Results indicate that Chinese students exhibited higher levels of AE than did American students. A possible explanation for this higher level of entitlement for Chinese students results from the one-child policy that put pressure on only-children for academic performance, resulting in more self-centeredness among current students. We have no way of knowing if this is the source of higher levels of AE among the Chinese

students. Entitlement is also a primary characteristic associated with today's millennial cohort, those born between 1980 and 2000 (Ricketts, 2009; Stein, 2013; Taylor, 2013). All respondents in this sample are millennials. A sense of entitlement, or "the expectation of special privileges over others and special exemptions from normal social demands" (Raskin & Terry, 1988, p. 890), along with the expectations of high rewards for modest effort (Stein, 2013; Miller, 2013), provides a sound explanation for cheating behavior among today's millennial students. It is also not a far leap to understand that academically-entitled students would be more likely than others to engage in AD to enhance their GPAs. However, while AE was found to be a predictor of AD among American students in the present study, AE did not predict cheating among Chinese students.

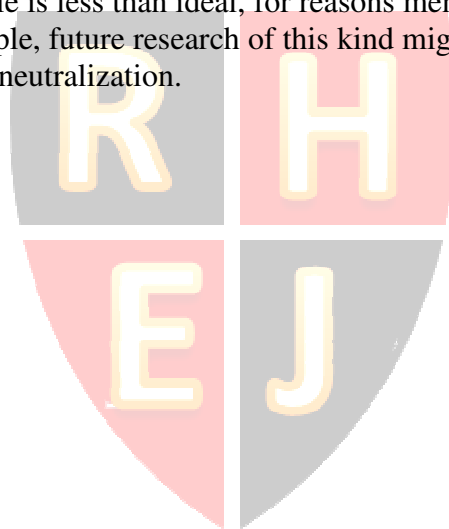
Perhaps an explanation can be derived from the differing responses to the question, "With the pressure to be successful, do you think cheating is the only way some students are able to compete?" A majority of the American students, 60.6%, answered "yes," while only 5% of the Chinese students said "yes" to this question. If AE means that one expects higher grades without taking personal responsibility for one's success and often independent of one's performance, and if cheating is the only way to obtaining higher grades, then naturally AE would predict cheating. However, what if cheating is not perceived to be the only way to be successful and to compete? Chinese students may exhibit higher levels of AE, but unlike American students, do not perceive cheating as the only way to compete and therefore AE does not lead to cheating for Chinese students.

Further examination of cross-cultural differences indicates that the highest percentage of cheating for American students was cheating on class assignments (38.2%). Although not where the Chinese reported the highest percentage of cheating, the Chinese did report a fair amount of cheating on class assignments as well (41.1%). These types of assignments are projects in which there is a reduced risk of being caught. Previous research has found a link between the decision to cheat and the perception of little risk of being caught (Buckley, Wiese, & Harvey, 1998; Diekhoff et al., 1999; McCabe & Trevino, 1993; 1996). For Chinese students the highest percentage of cheating was for copying an internet document (63.3%). This was where American students cheated the least (13.8%). This may have much to do with the increasing use of software in U.S. universities to detect online plagiarism. As for the Chinese students, perhaps copying an internet document is not perceived so much as cheating in China. Chinese students may not regard copying an internet document as cheating because they believe instead that such knowledge is not necessarily owned by the individual, but rather belongs to everyone. Because of the role of Confucian thought in education, "students are not encouraged to create original ideas or works" but instead, "to repeat those of the masters in each subject," as noted in The Cambridge Network ("Root Causes of Plagiarism," 2016). Furthermore, students may perceive it disrespectful to cite their teachers or readers as this implies that they did not already know the material ("Root Causes of Plagiarism," 2016). This points to the role that culture plays in cheating behavior.

Examination of cross-cultural similarities indicates that, for both American and Chinese students, the least amount of cheating occurred on major exams, 17.5% of the American students and 10.6% of the Chinese students cheated on a major exam. This makes sense given the importance placed on cheating on major exams and the deterrent effect of one's perception of the weight of consequences of being caught, including embarrassment as well as the possibility of more stringent punishment (Buckley, Wiese & Harvey, 1998; Diekhoff et al., 1996; McCabe & Trevino, 1993, 1996). Interestingly, a larger percentage of American students than Chinese

students helped someone else cheat. As with cheating on class assignments, helping another cheat has a reduced risk of being caught. What is surprising is that China is a collectivist culture, and therefore is more cooperative, with the Chinese working for the best interest of the group. The United States is known for being an individualistic society, one in which people are more concerned for themselves over the group (Triandis, 1995). Therefore, one would expect that Chinese students would be more likely to assist others in cheating more so than for American students to do so.

This research is not without limitations. First, to capture the increased likelihood of millennials to engage in cheating, we tapped into only one characteristic associated with being a millennial, that of entitlement. Although this is a central characteristic of the millennial cohort, there are other important characteristics. The empirical findings reported in this article point to the need for future research on other characteristics associated with millennials. Second, it is not known if perhaps AE was a characteristic of cohorts prior to those born between 1980 and 2000. Perhaps students who cheat have always been more likely to have been those who have had a sense of AE, and therefore it has nothing to do with being born between 1980 and 2000. Time will tell as research should continue to examine AE in future cohorts. Finally, in conducting this cross cultural comparison, this sample is less than ideal, for reasons mentioned previously. Given a more comparable sample, future research of this kind might yield more insight into college cheating, AE, and neutralization.



Appendix

Table 1.
Frequency table of affirmative response to each cheating item

Items ^a	American Students N=434		Chinese Students N=180	
	N	%	N	%
1. Have you ever copied an internet document for a classroom assignment?	60	13.8	114	63.3
2. Have you ever cheated on a major exam?	76	17.5	19	10.6
3. Have you ever cheated on a daily or weekly quiz?	143	32.9	53	29.4
4. Have you ever cheated on a class assignment	166	38.2	74	41.1
5. Have you ever helped someone else cheat?	153	35.3	48	26.7

an affirmative response was defined as choosing either "once" or "two or more times" as answer

Table 2
Cross cultural comparison of cheating and its attitudinal variable

Variables	American Students N=434		Chinese students N=180		t	df	sig.
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.			
Cheating	1.38	1.64	1.71	1.61	-2.30	612	.02
Neutralization	20.88	9.13	24.48	7.04	-4.74	612	.00
Entitlement	16.42	3.27	17.69	3.58	3.71*	221.44	.00

Table 3
Correlations between cheating, neutralization, and entitlement

Variable	American Students N=434			Chinese students N=180		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1. Cheating	-			-		
2. Neutralization	.24**	-		.34**	-	
3. Entitlement	.18**	.32**	-	.19*	.30**	-

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

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