

RETHINKING SCHOOLING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA FROM A MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America*, a classic book in the field of education, has become more influential in the last twenty years than it was during the first several years following its publication. Interestingly, however, there are some widespread misconceptions about the book. In this paper, Jianguo Zhang investigates four of the primary critiques of *Schooling in Capitalist America* and then offers a critical defense of the book. He argues further that for Chinese scholars in education, this book is not only a classic, but it is also an outstanding model for how to apply Marxism to the field of education. It is particularly significant in the context of recent calls in China for a return to class analysis in the social sciences. On a worldwide scale, *Schooling* depicts the strong link between Karl Marx and education, which may benefit critical analysis of Marx's legacy to the field of education. Finally, the book may also serve to draw our imagination of education back to theoretical resources of socialism.

KEY WORDS. *Schooling in Capitalist America*; Samuel Bowles; Herbert Gintis; schooling; Marxism

INTRODUCTION

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America* (hereafter *Schooling*) became a classic book in education shortly after it was published in 1976.¹ While the book has been very influential and has received much praise, it has also been seriously criticized. Nowadays, the book seems to leave many readers with negative impressions. Bowles and Gintis's analysis has been faulted for its functionalism, economic determinism, pessimism, and ignorance of human agency, and it is denounced for overlooking factors aside from class, including race, gender, state, and ethnicity. Such views are prevalent in some retrospective discussions of *Schooling*,² indicating that these criticisms dominate the current perception of the book. Two additional factors may be consequential to the prevalence of this view of the book: first, soon after *Schooling*'s publication, Bowles and Gintis moved far from the theme of education and focused on developing a new

1. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1976). This work will be cited in the text as *SCA* for all subsequent references.

2. For example, Scott Davies, "Leaps of Faith: Sifting Currents in Critical Sociology of Education," *American Journal of Sociology* 100, no. 6 (1995): 1448–1478; Robin Small, *Marx and Education* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); James Collins, "Social Reproduction in Classrooms and Schools," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 33–48; Michael W. Apple, Wayne Au, and Luis A. Gandin, "Mapping Critical Education," in *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Education*, ed. Michael W. Apple, Wayne Au, and Luis A. Gandin (New York: Routledge, 2009); and Sarah Knopp, "What Do Schools Produce? Review of *Schooling in Capitalist America* by S. Bowles & H. Gintis," *International Socialist Review* 78 (2017): <https://isreview.org/issue/78/what-do-schools-produce/index.html>.

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