

Fox Foundation following his death. Grants from the foundation to cancer researchers have been cited as critical in the development of several innovations in the detection and treatment of cancers. The foundation continued to grow into the twenty-first century, receiving annual funding from "Terry Fox Runs" conducted in numerous localities across Canada. Charity road races inspired by the Terry Fox Runs would become a staple of the running boom of the 1980's in the United States and Canada. Terry Fox became a legend in his native Canada, the subject of a plethora of books, films, and documentaries and a role model for cancer patients and survivors.

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Michael H. Burchett

See also Cancer research; Medicine; Sports.

■ Mariel boatlift

The Event Massive influx of Cuban immigrants to the United States

Date April 1-September 26, 1980

The Cuban government opened the port of Mariel, 119 miles from Key West, Florida, to massive migration from the island. During the next six months, some 125,000 Cubans left for the United States, including an estimated 5,000 forcibly deported former convicts, jailed criminals, and those formerly confined to mental health facilities. The undesirables were confined in American institutions for up to twenty-five years.

The Mariel exodus had a historic pattern. After Cuban leader Fidel Castro seized power in 1959, he resorted to large-scale emigration to rid Cuba of his opponents. Some 200,000 Cubans left for the United States between 1960 and 1962. On September 28, 1965, Castro opened the port of Camarioca to boats with Miami exiles seeking their relatives and friends. The United States and Cuba reached an agreement on November 6, 1965, for an orderly airlift of 3,000 to 4,000 refugees from Cuba to the United States each month. The Freedom Flights,

paid by the U.S. government, brought 260,561 Cubans to America before ending on April 6, 1973.

On April 1, 1980, six Cubans seeking asylum crashed a bus into the Peruvian embassy in Havana. Cuban gendarmes outside the embassy opened fire on the vehicle and one guard was killed by a ricochet bullet. Castro responded by publicly announcing the removal of the sentries. Within twenty-four hours, 10,800 Cubans had crowded into the embassy grounds.

Castro then invited the exile community abroad to pick up their relatives at the port of Mariel. A huge makeshift flotilla sailed from Florida to Mariel in late April. Those seeking their relatives were forced by Cuban authorities to overload their boats with strangers and were told that their family members would later depart in other vessels. Dozens of unseaworthy boats capsized on the return trip, with scores of people drowning, and the U.S. Coast Guard had to be enlisted to perform an average of twenty rescues a day.

Castro soon authorized the forced deportation of former convicts, jailed criminals, known homosexuals, prostitutes, and those formerly confined to mental institutions. U.S. president Jimmy Carter, who nine days earlier had welcomed the refugees to the United States with "open heart and open arms," ordered a halt to the flotilla to exclude undesirables and offered a government-run sealift or airlift if Cuba agreed. Nearly two hundred boats were seized by the U.S. Coast Guard, but Castro scoffed at the cutoff proposal.

Some forcibly expelled refugees hijacked commercial planes to Cuba while the boatlift was still in progress. There were thirty-nine successful skyjackings during the next three years. Castro closed the port of Mariel on September 26, 1980, out of concern that the exodus had damaged Carter's bid for reelection against Ronald Reagan.

The refugees were accommodated in U.S. military bases until they could be resettled. In spite of the knowledge that criminals and the mentally disturbed were being sent along with families, minors, and unaccompanied males, no effort was made to segregate those groups. This population mix created disturbances within the camps. Eventually, more than 62,500 refugees were interned in Eglin, Florida (10,025), Fort Chaffee, Arkansas (19,060), Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania (19,094), and Fort McCoy, Wisconsin (14,362).

Approximately 71 percent of the exiles were blue-



A boatload of Cuban refugees departs from Mariel, Cuba, as a soldier watches them wave good-bye on April 28, 1980. (AP/Wide World Photos)

collar workers, and another 8.7 percent were at the professional-managerial level. Males made up a lopsided majority of 70.2 percent. Of the total refugee population, 68.5 percent were less than thirty-six years old. Their average education level was the ninth grade. The majority of the refugees, 28.5 percent of whom had relatives in the United States, eventually settled in Miami.

Legal Status, Repatriation, and Deportation The resettled Mariel refugees received legal status in February, 1984, under the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966. To prevent “a second Mariel,” the Reagan administration signed an immigration agreement with Cuba on December 14, 1984, for the repatriation of 2,746 Mariel undesirables and agreed to provide Cubans with twenty thousand immigrant visas annually. Castro suspended the agreement on May 20, 1985, over a political issue. Meanwhile, Mariel refugees convicted of crimes in the United States were held

for deportation after completing their sentences.

The day after the immigration agreement was renewed on November 20, 1987, about one thousand Cuban inmates, outraged at the prospect of being deported, seized the federal detention center in Oakdale, Louisiana, and took twenty-eight employees hostage. Three days later, another one thousand Cuban prisoners in the Atlanta federal penitentiary also rioted and held 102 hostages. Three days later, the Reagan administration issued a deportation moratorium for seventy-six hundred Mariel detainees and agreed to review each case individually. Half of them had completed their sentences and were being held in indefinite detention.

Within two years, 3,200 detainees were set free, another 2,000 remained incarcerated, and 122 were deported to Cuba. The repatriations would continue at a trickle until January 12, 2005, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the indefinite detention of the 747 Mariel undesirables imprisoned

since 1980 and ordered them released. By then, another 1,700 had been returned to Cuba.

Impact The Mariel crisis reflected deficiencies in U.S. immigration and foreign policy and was partly responsible for President Jimmy Carter's failed reelection bid. For the second time in fifteen years, Castro, in utter defiance of U.S. laws, took advantage of the American government's vacillating policy to decree who could come to the United States. It was the largest wave of Cuban refugees to arrive in America, at a cost of \$2 billion to the U.S. government.

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Antonio Rafael de la Cova

See also Cold War; Crime; Elections in the United States, 1980; Foreign policy of the United States; Immigration to the United States; Latinos; Reagan, Ronald.

■ Marriage and divorce

Definition Social institution under which two people become legally united, and the legal dissolution thereof

During the 1980's, many couples chose to delay—or seek alternatives to—traditional marriage, and single parenthood became a significant aspect both of American demographics and of popular debates about marriage. Counter-

vailing forces generated by these debates rendered marriage both more and less conventional than it had been in earlier eras.

In the 1980's, there was a reaction against many of the cultural changes of the 1960's and 1970's. Ronald Reagan's election as president of the United States signaled a shift from the "anything goes" attitude that seemed to characterize those decades, to one that sought to turn back the clock to what were portrayed as more traditional values in everything from politics to family. Nancy Reagan's Just Say No campaign against drugs quickly generalized to include premarital sexual permissiveness as well. Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority sought to reinstitute conservative values across most of social life. Nevertheless, the forces supporting change saw continued movement of women into the workforce and the first female vice presidential candidate nominated by a major party, Geraldine Ferraro. Such popular movies as *Fatal Attraction* (1987) and *sex, lies, and videotape* (1989) portrayed the dangers of non-marital relationships, while others, such as *When Harry Met Sally . . .* (1989), demonstrated that even those relationships begun non-traditionally could work. Meanwhile, television shows like *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, and *thirtysomething* portrayed the marital woes of otherwise successful people.

Marriage The premarital permissiveness that characterized prior decades continued in the 1980's, albeit with uneven acceleration. While births out of wedlock increased from 650,000 in 1980 to over 1 million by the decade's end, premarital cohabitation increased by only 80 percent—a far slower rate than the 300 percent growth of the 1970's. Increased cohabitation contributed to a significant increase in age at first marriage during the decade, from 24.7 to 26.2 for men and from 22.0 to 23.8 for women. Partly as a result of these factors, the proportion of married Americans decreased from 66 percent in 1980 to 62 percent in 1989. These figures varied by gender and race. In 1989, 64 percent of men were married, while only 60 percent of women were married. During the decade, the percentage of married whites declined from 67 percent to 64 percent, while the percentage of married African Americans fell from 51 percent to 46 percent. Overall, marriage rates declined during the first half of the decade and rebounded a bit during the second half.

THE EIGHTIES IN AMERICA



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Three volumes; 1,250 pages
Includes Online Access Through 12/31/2011
ISBN: 978-1-58765-419-0

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