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**The Migration of Lithuanian Jews to the United States, 1880 – 1918, and the
Decisions Involved in the Process, Exemplified by Five Individual Migration Stories**

Honors Thesis in Geography

Advisor: Dr. Kari B. Jensen

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Introduction

It was 1908 in the greater Lithuanian region of the Russian Empire. A 16-year-old Jewish girl said goodbye to her parents for the last time and then boarded a crowded train. The girl, Nechama Adelman sat on her small suitcase in between the cars and cried. The suitcase was the only piece of luggage she possessed as she began her immigration to America. Nechama Adelman is my great-grandmother; she gave this description of the beginning of her migration to her daughter, my grandmother.

Nechama, who became known as Annie in the United States, was just one of roughly one million Jewish Lithuanians, or Litvaks, who emigrated out of Lita¹, the greater Lithuania area where Litvaks lived (Ozer 2009). While the large-scale migration of an ethnic group is not unusual, there is something unusual about the Litvak migration. It likely saved the Litvak ethnic group from near extinction.

Ninety percent of Litvaks who were still living in Lita died in the Holocaust (Ozer 2009, 90). The Litvaks who emigrated prior to the Holocaust not only saved their own lives, but their unborn descendants. Nechama alone had three children, eight grandchildren, 18 great-grandchildren (including myself), and, in 2012, her first great-great-grandchild was born.

The period of migration examined in this thesis ranges from the early 1880s to 1918. This time period was chosen for several reasons: An outbreak of pogroms occurred in Russia in the early 1880's as a result of the extreme anti-Jewish policies of Tsarist Russia, resulting in almost two million Jews emigrating out of Russia from 1881 to 1914 (Schappes 1954, 18), out of 5,189,401 Jews in Russia according to the 1897 Russian

¹Lita was a vernacular region in greater Lithuania. Further explanation and map of Lita follows on pages 7 and 8.

census (Jewish Virtual Library). The Pale of Settlement,² an area in western Russia, the only part of Russia where Jews were allowed to live, lasted until 1917, when the Tsarist government was overthrown, and the Russian Empire fell.

The purpose of this paper is to explore possible answers to two questions involving the Litvak migration. First, why did Litvaks decide to migrate? Second, how did they choose a destination? In addition to studying relevant literature, the most desirable way to obtain the answers to these questions would have been to ask the Litvak immigrants themselves. That, however, is not an option because almost all of the immigrants have died. Instead, I interviewed descendants of Litvak immigrants. These descendants shared their knowledge of their parents and grandparents' lives in Lita and their migration. This is qualitative research based on five case studies. Each case study is based on an interview with a descendant of a person who emigrated from Lita, except for one case study based on an interview with a daughter-in-law of an immigrant. There is one case study in this research that falls after the end of the Pale in 1917. The migrant in this case study emigrated from the newly independent Republic of Lithuania in 1921. However, he was joining his family in the United States who had previously emigrated when Lithuania was still part of the Russian Empire.

Regarding the question of why Litvaks emigrated, there is no clear event or specific crisis that instigated the migration. Instead, the Litvak migration took place due to a combined set of circumstances that made the decision to emigrate not a difficult one

² The Pale of Settlement was the part of Russia where Jews were allowed to live. A further explanation of the Pale of Settlement, including a map, will follow on pages 9 and 10.

for most. It was a matter of opportunity. If a Litvak individual was healthy enough to make the journey, and had the means to do so, he or she would be unlikely to stay in Lita.

In order to adequately answer the research questions and also in order to understand the information obtained in the interviews conducted for this research, it is essential to be familiar with the history of Lithuanian Jews and the history of the region. Based on the relevant literature, I will argue that the combination of the following factors created an environment in Lita that made migration a far superior option than staying in Lita:

- Anti-Semitism (Including anti-Semitic state policies)
- Poverty and lack of opportunity
- Escaping conscription into the Russian military (prior to 1918)

This paper applies six theories of migration to the five individual case studies. The six theories of migration examined in this paper are:

- Chain migration (Macdonald and Macdonald 1964, Choldin 1973)
- Push-pull model (Lee 1966)
- Behavioral model (Roseman 1971)
- Political perspective (Zolberg 1981)
- Typology of migration, and sociological perspective (Peterson 1958, 1978)
- Laws of migration (Ravenstein 1885)

When answering the question “how did they choose a destination,” I use data from my interviews with family members of the five deceased immigrants. Unlike the first question, there was one factor that stood out in determining a destination – family. The presence of at least one family member at a location, whether it be a sibling, parent, uncle, or cousin, without exception, determined the destination among my case studies. Given the scale of the Litvak emigration from 1880 to 1918 and its worldwide effects, this thesis is meant to shed light on questions involving this period of migration that have

not yet been fully explored. Why did Litvaks leave their homes, and how did they choose a destination?

Jews in Lita and Reasons for Their Emigration According to the Literature

During the time period researched, the state borders in Eastern Europe changed frequently (see figures 1 and 2). For only one of the subjects in the five case studies did the change in borders result in a change in the country from which the subject was emigrating (case 5). In this case the change was due to the fall of the Russian Empire, and the creation of the independent Republic of Lithuania in 1918.

Figure 1: Europe 1871. Russia is in green.



Source: Haywood 2011

Figure 2: Europe 1923. The Soviet Union is in green.



Source: Haywood 2011

Two of the subjects of the case studies came from what was then called Vilna. Several countries have laid claim to the city, and therefore it has been known by several names. Russians and Jews called it “Vilna.” It was part of the Russian Empire until World War I. Following the War the city was seized by Poland. The Polish word for the city is “Wilno.” The Soviet Union captured the city and handed it to the Republic of Lithuania in 1939. The Lithuanian word for the city is “Vilnius” (Weeks 2004, iii) (Zalkin n.d.) In both of the case studies involving this city the subject emigrated during the time when the city was under Russian control. Therefore, in this paper the city will be referred to as “Vilna.” As of 2013, the city is called Vilnius and is the capital of the Republic of Lithuania (see figure 3).

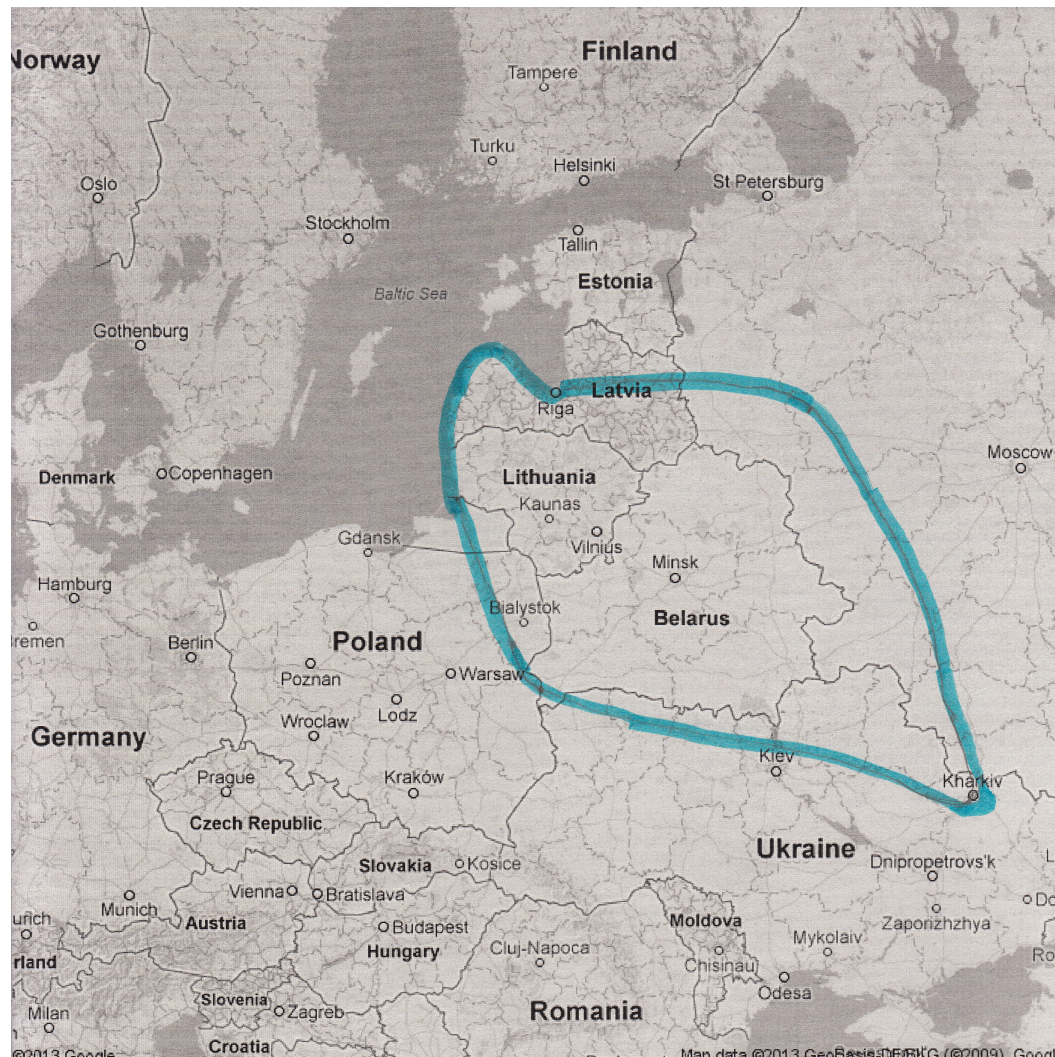
Figure 3: The Republic of Lithuania 2013



Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lh.html>

Ozer (2009) provides a detailed examination of the history of Jews in the region that was called “Lita”. He uses the term “Lita” to refer to the geographic region that Jews, who in that place were called Litvaks, inhabited. Litvaks shared a common identity based around the Jewish cultural center of Vilna (Ozer 2009, 25-26). Lita was a vernacular region, not delineated on any political map, but existing in people’s consciousness and in their talking and writing (See figure 4).

Figure 4: The "Lita" vernacular region superimposed on a 2013 political map.



Source: Google Maps 2013 and Ozer 2009, 27

Based on the 1897 Russian census, the population of greater Lithuania, or Lita, was 757,038. This included the cities of Bialystok, Kovno, Minsk, and Vilna (Levin n.d.). Today, Bialystok is in Poland, Kovno (now called Kaunas) and Vilna (now called Vilnius) are in Lithuania, and Minsk is in Belarus. Since Lita was not a political region, the 1897 census did not refer to the area of greater Lithuania as Lita. Lita's population can be calculated by combining the populations of communities within greater Lithuania.

The Pale of Settlement (figure 5) was the area of the Russian Empire where it was legal for Jews to settle. The word pale means fence. Hence the term Pale of Settlement implies that the Jews were “fenced in.” In 1791, Tsaritsa Catherine the Great issued a decree that “laid the foundations for what was to be styled the Pale of Jewish Settlement.” She “banished the Jewish merchants, at the same time reiterating the legal principle that Jews in the empire enjoyed only those rights specifically allotted to them. These did not include residence in the interior (of Russia).” 1804 and 1835 statutes created the Pale, which ran from the Baltic Sea in the North, to the Black Sea in the South. (Klier n.d.).

Figure 5: The Pale of Settlement. Date unknown.



Source: <http://turkel.org.il/History.htm>

The Pale existed officially until 1917 when the Tsarist government was overthrown (Baron 1976, 18) (Levin n.d.). The Pale was roughly 472,590 square miles (slightly less than three times the size of California) (Klier n.d.). In 1900, 94 percent of Jews in the Russian Empire lived in the Pale of Settlement. Jews needed special permission to live outside the Pale. Jews made up only 12 percent of the population within the Pale. Ninety-five percent of Jews in the Pale lived in cities and towns (Schappes 1954, 19).

An outbreak of pogroms occurred in Russia in the early 1880's as a result of the extreme anti-Jewish policies of Tsar Alexander III. The pogroms "brought death, maiming, and suffering on a very large scale and uprooted masses of Jews." (Greenbaum, 1995, 188) Many of these refugees looked beyond the Pale of Settlement for a new home. This was the beginning of the Litvak emigration.

Litvaks were victims of a wide range of anti-Semitic Tsarist policies. What became known as the May Laws exemplified such policies. The May Laws can be described "as a perpetual administrative pogrom" (Greenbaum 1995, 190). Enacted into law in 1882, the May Laws were supposed to be temporary. This was not the case; the May Laws remained in effect until the fall of Tsarist Russia in 1917. Under the May Laws, Jews were forbidden from purchasing property, obtaining a lease, or getting a mortgage. Jews were also forbidden from doing business on Sundays, which was harmful because Saturday is the Jewish Sabbath. In addition, the laws further restricted the areas of the Pale in which Jews were allowed to live (190-191), and no new Jews were permitted to settle in villages within the Pale (Greenbaum, 1976, 30).

Before 1918, in the Russian part of Lita, Jews were the victims of anti-Semitic state policies and rhetoric. Rhetoric from the Russian Orthodox Church's head clergyman Pobiedonostzev, a top advisor to Tsar Alexander III (1881-1894), was especially frightening. He advocated that "one-third of the Jews should be absorbed into the Orthodox Church, one-third should emigrate, and the remaining third should perish" (Cohen 1943, 293).

The Russian Government's anti-Semitic policies extended into the military. Jews were subject to the same conscription laws as their Christian counterparts; Jews in the military were treated far worse. Jews were, for example, not allowed to be officers (Dubnow 1918, 303). Like other non-Slavic peoples in the Russian military, Jews received very harsh punishments for what seemed to be minor violations. "Late arrival after a leave of absence was treated as desertion, arguing with an immediate commander as disobedience, carelessness in handling armament as self-mutilation" (Petrovsky-Shtern n.d.). Many Jews emigrated to avoid military service. The families of these emigrants were subject to large fines, which they often could not pay. Those who did not pay the fines would be imprisoned (Dubnow 1918, 304-405).

Migration Theory

The case studies in this research were examined through the lens of six theories of migration. The theories that were used were the push-pull model, chain migration, the political perspective, the behavioral perspective, Peterson's typology and sociological perspective, and Ravenstein's laws of migration.

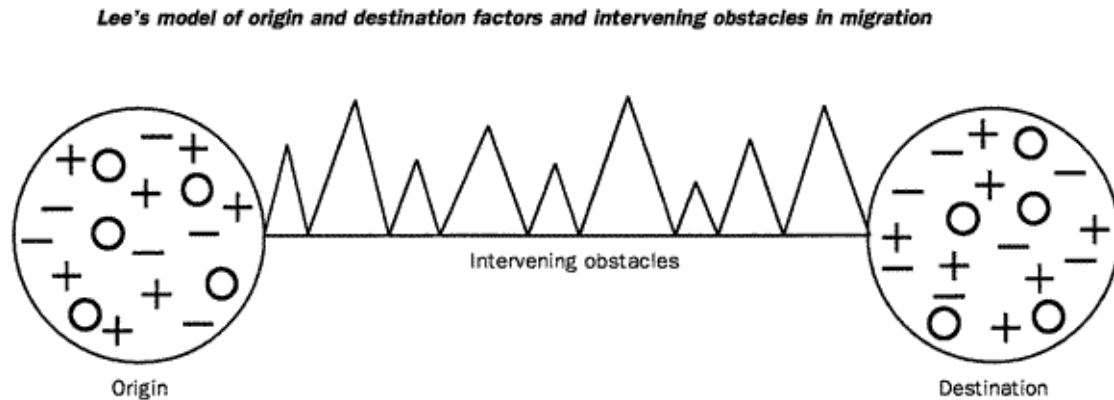
Ravenstein (1885) was the first scholar to identify laws that governed migration. Ravenstein's research is confined to intra-United Kingdom migration (i.e. migration

within or between England, Scotland, and Ireland); however, it is still worth examining when studying international migration. Ravenstein does suggest that his findings apply to migration in general, and they have indeed become essential parts of migration theory.

Using the 1881 British census, Ravenstein observed that migrants travel in what he called currents, and that most migrants migrate only short distances. Ravenstein calls places receiving migrants, “places of absorption”, while migrants emigrate from “places of dispersion” (Ravenstein 1885, 199). Places of absorption tend to be economic hubs, while places of dispersion tend to be agricultural. Ravenstein explains this phenomenon by saying “we can only refer to the mode in which the deficiency of hands in one part of the country is supplied from other parts where population is redundant” (Ravenstein 1885, 198).

Building on Ravenstein’s economy-focused migration theory, Lee (1966) developed a schema explaining human migration, later termed as the “push-pull” model (figure 6), as it focuses on how places of dispersion and absorption are perceived by migrants. He identifies four factors that contribute to the act of human migration: the migrants’ experiences at their place of origin, their perceptions of the place of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors.

Figure 6: Lee's push-pull model.



Source: http://www.geogonline.org.uk/as_g2popki1.3_2.htm

MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) developed the theory of chain migration. They define chain migration as “movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged *by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants*” (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964, 82). Choldin (1973) pointed out three different ways chain migration can take place: “they [the migrants] were preceded to the city by kinfolk, they traveled in the company of other kinfolk, and/or they were received by kinfolk who had preceded them in the migration” (169).

Due to the unpredictable nature of migration, Peterson (1958) suggested that “migration should be in the form of a typology, rather than a law” (265). He identified classes of migration: primitive, forced and impelled, free, and mass. Primitive migration is the product of an ecological push. Forced and impelled migration generally results from actions taken by the state. Free migration accounts for the will of the individual migrant. Mass migration sometimes follows free migration, “they [migrants] blaze trails that others follow” (263).

In another article, Peterson (1978) examined migration through a sociological lens. He contended that economic and geographical factors do not completely explain why migrants move. In addition to economic and geographical factors, Peterson included personal factors, especially family matters as migration triggers. Peterson also emphasized the importance of communication between members of a population as a migration impetus. According to Peterson, such communication creates a “tendency of any migration to generate a further migration” (558).

The behavioral model, developed by Roseman (1971), is concerned with the decision-making of migrants and potential migrants. According to Roseman, not all migrants are directly involved with the decision to migrate. Children are perhaps the most obvious example of this; however, children do have indirect influence on decision-makers, because children’s wellbeing is generally a top concern of the decision-makers (591).

Zolberg (1981) viewed migration through a political perspective. From this perspective, political boundaries and laws influence migration. According to Zolberg, it is necessary to have a historical perspective in order to understand contemporary migration. He emphasizes the fact that international migration creates an abnormal situation. “International migration constitutes a deviance from the prevailing norm of social organization at the world level” (6).

Methodology

The primary method of gathering data for this qualitative research was through interviews with descendants of Litvak immigrants. Each interview served as the

dominant part of each case study. In total, there were five case studies, and four interviews.³

The interviewees were found in one of two ways. Three of the interviewees, Dorothy Traiger, Geraldine Powers Volper, and Rhoda Shapiro, are family members of mine. I asked if they would be willing to be interviewed and they all agreed. The second way of finding interviewees was through JewishGen, an organization that specializes in Jewish genealogy. I posted a message to subscribers of JewishGen's mailing list explaining that I was looking for the descendants of Lithuanian Jews to interview. Marilyn Newman then contacted me.

The interviews were conducted in three different ways. I interviewed Mrs. Volper and Mrs. Newman over the telephone. I interviewed Mrs. Traiger on Skype, therefore I could see her and she could see me. My interview with Mrs. Shapiro was in person, in her New York City apartment. The interviews were semi-structured. I had created an interview guide of 38 questions⁴ that I used for each interview, but I tried to facilitate a natural conversation with each interviewee. I never asked all 38 questions in one interview because the interviewee in answering one question would often answer another before I had asked it.

It should be noted that the accuracy of the data derived from the interviews may not be fully reliable. Much of the data is based on conversations that in some cases occurred over 60 years ago.

³ One of the interviewees, Dorothy Traiger, provided information about both of her parents, and thus two case studies.

⁴ The interview guide is included in the appendix.

To supplement the interviews, primary documents were used to verify ages, the migrant's origin and other facts. These documents were found on ancestry.com and included censuses, naturalization papers, and a ship manifest. For two of the cases personal letters were used. These letters were obtained through LitvakSIG. Literature on Litvaks, Eastern European Jews and relevant history publications were also used in the research.

Since my research is not based on a random sample of Litvak emigrants, but rather on what may be termed an availability sample of only five individual migration stories, empirical generalizations cannot be made about Litvak emigration based on my data.

Case studies: Five Personal Migration Stories

Case Study Number One

Name of Immigrant	Lily Block
Origin	Vilna, Russia
Destination	Chicago, United States Subsequently settled in New York City
Year of Migration	1893

The first case study examined is the 1893 migration of Lily Block.^{5,6} Lily Block had three children who are now all deceased. To learn about Lily Block's migration I

⁵ In this paper female migrants will always be referred to by their maiden names. Female non-migrants, such as interviewees, may be called by their married names.

⁶ Lily Block is my great-grandmother. She is the mother of my paternal grandfather.

interviewed her daughter-in-law, Rhoda Shapiro.⁷ Mrs. Shapiro knew Lily Block personally and has knowledge of her migration. The information gathered in the interview was supplemented by primary sources such as U.S. censuses, a petition for U.S. citizenship (figures 7 and 8), and a ship manifest (figure 9). From Lily Block's petition for citizenship it was discovered that she sailed under the name "Lea Bloch".

⁷ Rhoda Shapiro is my paternal grandmother.

Figure 7: Full copy of Lily Bloch's petition for United States citizenship.

N. J. - Aug - Dec - 5-6-1935
230539

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by clerk) *12/20*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 230539

has PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

To the Honorable the U. S. District Court of Eastern District at Brooklyn, N. Y.

The petition of LILY BLOCH SHAPIRO hereby filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My place of residence is 188 Martense St., Brooklyn, NY. (2) My occupation is saleswoman

(3) I was born in Vilna, Russia - now POLAND on August 15, 1878 My race is Hebrew

(4) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on March 28, 1930 in the U S District Court of Eastern District, at Brooklyn, NY

(5) I am widow married. The name of my ~~wife~~ husband was George we were married on February 5, 1904 at Brooklyn, NY; he was born at Kovno, Russia on 1878; entered the United States at New York, NY on unknown for permanent residence therein, and now ~~resides~~ died October 1927. I have 3 children, and the name, date, and place of birth, and place of residence of each of said children are as follows: Elliott, March 15, 1911; Edwin, January 6, 1913; David, October 18, 1919. Elliott was born in New York, NY and the other two were born in Brooklyn, NY. All reside in Brooklyn, NY.

(6) My last foreign residence was Vilna, Russia I emigrated to the United States of America from Hamburg, Germany My lawful entry for permanent residence in the United States was at New York, NY, under the name of Lea Bloch on April 1, 1893, on the vessel Gellert as shown by the certificate of my arrival attached hereto.

(7) I am not a disbeliever in or opposed to organized government or a member of or affiliated with any organization or body of persons teaching disbelief in or opposed to organized government. I am not a polygamist nor a believer in the practice of polygamy. I am attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. It is my intention to become a citizen of the United States and to renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly to The Republic of Poland and (or) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

(8) I have resided continuously in the United States of America for the term of five years at least immediately preceding the date of this petition, to wit, since April 1, 1893 and in the County of Kings this State, continuously next preceding the date of this petition, since 1912, being a residence within said county of at least six months next preceding the date of this petition.

(10) I have not heretofore made petition for Naturalization: Number _____ on _____ at _____ and such petition was denied by that Court for the following reasons and causes, to wit: _____ and the cause of such denial has since been cured or removed.

Attached hereto and made a part of this, my petition for citizenship, are my declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States, certificate from the Department of Labor of my said arrival, and the affidavits of the two verifying witnesses required by law.

Wherefore, I, your petitioner, pray that I may be admitted a citizen of the United States of America, and that my name be changed to _____

I, your aforesaid petitioner being duly sworn, depose and say that I have read this petition and know the contents thereof; that the same is true of my own knowledge except as to matters herein stated to be alleged upon information and belief, and that as to those matters I believe it to be true; and that this petition is signed by me with my full, true name.

Lily Bloch Shapiro
(complete and true signature of petitioner)

AFFIDAVITS OF WITNESSES

Elliott Shapiro occupation teacher
residing at 188 Martense St., Brooklyn, NY, and

Edwin Shapiro occupation unemployed
residing at 188 Martense St., Brooklyn, NY
each being severally, duly, and respectively sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States of America; that he has personally known and has been acquainted in the United States with

LILY BLOCH SHAPIRO, the petitioner above mentioned, since January 1, 1932 and that to his personal knowledge the petitioner has resided in the United States continuously preceding the date of filing this petition, of which this affidavit is a part, to wit, since the date last mentioned, and at Brooklyn, New York, in the County of Kings this State, in which the above-entitled petition is made, continuously since January 1, 1932, and that he has personal knowledge that the petitioner is and during all such periods has been a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States, and that in his opinion the petitioner is in every way qualified to be admitted a citizen of the United States.

Elliott Shapiro (Signature of witness)
Edwin Shapiro (Signature of witness)

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named petitioner and witnesses in the office of the Clerk of said Court at Brooklyn, NY this 26th day of March, Anno Domini 1937. I hereby certify that certificate of arrival No. 2-39011 from the Department of Labor, showing the lawful entry for permanent residence of the petitioner above named, together with declaration of intention No. 184469 of such petitioner, has been by me filed with, attached to, and made a part of this petition on this date.

By *James H. Hood* (Signature)
Deputy Clerk. (SEAL)

Form 2304-LA
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
14-2018
NO 77652

Figure 8: Enlarged version of the top portion of figure 7. Note that she sailed under the name Lea Bloch.

No. 230539

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by clerk) *Jan*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

has **PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION**

To the Honorable the U.S. District Court of Eastern District at Brooklyn, N.Y.

The petition of LILY BLOCH ~~SHR~~ SHAPIRO hereby filed, respectfully shows:

(1) My place of residence is 188 Martense St., Brooklyn, NY (2) My occupation is Housewife/saleswoman

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(4) I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States on March 28, 1930 in the U S District Court of Eastern District, at Brooklyn, NY

(5) I am widow married. The name of my ~~was~~ husband was George we were married on February 5, 1904 at Brooklyn, NY; he was born at Kovno, Russia on 1878; entered the United States at New York, NY on unknown for permanent residence therein, and now ~~resides~~ died October 1927. I have 3 children, and the name, date, and place of birth, and place of residence of each of said children are as follows: Elliott, March 15, 1911; Edwin, January 6, 1913; David, October 18, 1919. Elliott was born in New York, NY and the other two were born in Brooklyn, NY All reside In Brooklyn, NY

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Figure 9: Ship manifest from the ship that Lily Block sailed on in 1893.

2/10/13

Ancestry.com - Hamburg Passenger Lists, 1850-1934

Archiv Hamburg, Auswandererlisten VIII A1 Band 03

search.ancestry.com/Browse/print_u.aspx?dbid=106&tid=K_1748_080507_0494&pid=&autoplay=true&imgonly=true&client=SU1&version=EN72rczwg

1/1

Figure 10: Portion taken from figure 9 showing the columns containing Lily Block and the person she traveled with.

Lily Block	Lea Rosen	1/15	Wilma	1/15
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Source for figures 7-10: Ancestry.com.

Very little is known about Lily Block's life in Lithuania. According to the ship manifest of the ship she sailed on, she was 17 years old at the time of migration. Mrs. Shapiro was able to provide some information for the reasons of Lily's emigration. Mrs. Shapiro said she learned through her husband (Lily Block's son) that "because both her parents had died and she was living with her grandparents or grandparent, I'm not sure, she was urged or encouraged to come to the United States." This is the only information regarding the reasons for migration that was gained through the interview.

To understand why Lily Block's grandparents thought it best for her to emigrate, it is necessary to understand the conditions of the origin at the time of migration. In this case the origin was Vilna, which was then part of the Russian Empire. As mentioned in the literature review, the plan of a close advisor of the Tsar was "that one-third of the Jews should be absorbed into the Orthodox Church, one-third should emigrate, and the remaining third should perish" (Cohen, 1943, 293). It is not known if Lily Block's grandparents knew of this plan; however, they were surely aware that the Russian government was very hostile towards Jews. It would seem that this alone might justify Lily Block's grandparents' desire for her to emigrate.

In Vilna, where Jews made up 42.8 percent of the urban population as of the 1897 Russian census (Rowland 1986, 212), there were concrete threats of pogroms. Although there is no evidence, and no reason to believe that Lily Block or her family was ever victim of a pogrom, the threat of pogroms could be enough to instigate emigration. In 1891, two years before she emigrated, there was an outbreak of pogroms in her hometown of Vilna (Cohen, 1943, 296). Clearly, Vilna was not a safe place for Jews.

The fact that Lily Block emigrated in 1893 is noteworthy. Before 1892, Jews were prohibited from emigrating out of Russia. Although there was significant Jewish emigration prior to 1892, it required bribery and good connections to obtain permission to leave (Ozer, 209, 65). It is impossible to know if the legalization of Jewish emigration prompted Lily Block's migration, but it is very possible.

According to Mrs. Shapiro, Lily Block had three younger brothers. This may have influenced the decision to emigrate. Mrs. Shapiro was under the impression that Lily Block emigrated alone, and her three brothers subsequently joined her in the United States. However, the ship manifest showed that she traveled with a 16-year-old male who shared her last name. Regardless of the order in which the siblings emigrated, it is significant that there were males in the family who had either reached, or were approaching the age of conscription into the Tsar's army. Emigration was a way to avoid conscription. It is possible that as the oldest of the siblings, Lily Block, immigrated to the United States with the intention of looking after her brothers in the destination place. In fact, Mrs. Shapiro commented that "she [Lily Block] was sort of in charge of them because they were all quite young."

According to Zolberg's political perspective on migration, international migrants seek to improve their welfare by "transferring from one political jurisdiction to another" (1981, 7). It is clear that for Jews, living under Russian jurisdiction in the late 19th century was not only unpleasant but also dangerous. Transferring political jurisdiction was clearly in Lily Block's best interest.

Roseman looks at migration from a behavioral perspective rather than a political perspective. Roseman says that "the decision is made by one member, or by some

agreement among members, of a household. Consequently, more people in a household are usually affected by the decision than actively participate in the decision-making” (1971, 591). We do not know who the decision-maker(s) were in the Block household. Mrs. Shapiro says Lily Block’s grandparents “encouraged” her to emigrate. At the age of 17, it is possible that her grandparents essentially made the decision for her.

Based on the interview with Mrs. Shapiro, it can be determined that the most significant factor in Lily Block’s decision of where to immigrate was the presence of family in Chicago and New York, the two cities in the United States in which she lived. Initially, when she arrived in Chicago she stayed with a cousin. Interestingly, this cousin was a female doctor, which was very unusual for the time. In Chicago, Lily Block “read the classics,” such as Dickens. It is not known what language she read them in, however it does indicate that she must have received formal education in Lita. She then moved to New York City where she married and had three sons.

Lily Block’s migration is consistent with the “chain migration” theory that MacDonald and MacDonald describe. They state that in chain migration, immigrants “have initial accommodation and employment arranged by *means of primary social relationships with previous migrants*” (1964, 82). Mrs. Shapiro believes that the cousin Lily Block stayed with in Chicago was herself a previous migrant from Lita. It is unknown what role, if any, the cousin had in arranging employment for Lily Block. It is also unknown why Lily moved from Chicago to New York. However, she did have relatives there, which again is consistent with chain migration theory. New York was also an economic hub, which may be seen as another reason to migrate there, in line with Ravenstein’s laws of migration.

According to Peterson, “conservative migrants seek only a place where they can resume their old way of life, and when this is possible they are content. Sometimes it is not possible, and any migration, therefore, may be associated with a fundamental change in culture” (1958, 260). Lily Block did in fact preserve her culture to some degree by moving in with her Litvak cousin in Chicago.

Case Study Number Two

Name of Immigrant	Morris Adelman
Origin	Gelvan ⁸ , Russia
Destination	New York City, United States Subsequently settled in Cleveland
Year of Migration	1906

The primary source of information for the migration of Morris Adelman came from an interview with his daughter, Geraldine Powers Volper. Morris Adelman did not tell Mrs. Volper about his migration or his life in Europe. However, Mrs. Volper has done extensive research on her family history, and therefore has significant knowledge on the subject. In addition to the interview, the research included an analysis of letters written by Morris Adelman’s father to Morris.

Since Morris Adelman did not talk about his life in Europe, most of what is known about his life there does not come from him directly. His sister⁹ did talk about her life in Europe, which provided some information about Morris Adelman. Also the letters

⁸ Gelvan is now called Gelvonai and is now in Vilnius County, Lithuania.

⁹ Annie Adelman will be the next case study.

from Morris Adelman's father expose some of the details of Morris Adelman's life in Europe and his migration.

Figure 11: Left to right: Annie with her grandmother Ettel and brother Morris.



Source: <http://www.litvaksig.org/litvaksig-online-journal/letters-from-gelvan-?task=article>

The letters from Morris Adelman's father, David Peretz Adelman, make it clear that the living conditions for the Adelman family in Gelvan were very poor. In January of 1910, David Peretz wrote to his son Morris, who at this time was in the United States. First David Peretz thanked Morris for sending him six rubles, and also said that he had received five rubles from a nephew. He went on to write,

I can tell you, my dear son that I was going barefoot and I had a pair of shoes made, but they cost me forty rubles. There was a wall missing upstairs. But now, as I write to you, I had a wall made for twelve rubles. Thank God for all his

goodness and wonders. But, I still owe the Gentile thirty rubles for which I have to pay one groshen per ruble interest.

From this passage, and from other letters from David Peretz Adelman it can be presumed that poverty was a major push factor in the migration. While the cause of the poverty is never explicitly mentioned in the letters, it is known that Jews in Lita (while still part of Russia) were subject to harsh policies such as the May Laws that were financially crippling. As mentioned in the literature review, Russia adopted the May Laws as temporary laws in 1882; however, they remained in effect until 1917. The Adelmans' poverty may have been largely due to the state's laws. This is consistent with Zolberg's political perspective. Morris Adelman, and all of the subjects of the case studies who emigrated before 1917, likely found it necessary to move out of Russian jurisdiction in part due to the May Laws and other anti-Semitic government policies.

Despite his poverty, Morris Adelman was, according to Mrs. Volper, "very learned" and was "extremely knowledgeable in his Judaism." Mrs. Volper said that Morris's sister told her that when he came to the United States he had been offered a scholarship at the Hebrew University in Cincinnati to become a rabbi. Morris, however, turned the offer down.

The fact that Morris Adelman had family in the United States, including at least one uncle and a brother,¹⁰ surely made it easier for Morris Adelman to make the decision to emigrate. It seems that Morris Adelman's uncle, Solomon Levine, played a significant role in Morris's migration, although further details about the uncle were not known to the interviewee, and the letters did not include any further information about this either.

¹⁰ Mrs. Volper said that she believed Morris's uncle came before him, but she does not have any information on his arrival.

As Mrs. Volper put it, Morris Adelman “batted around in New York trying everything.” After Morris Adelman married, he moved to Cleveland to join his wife’s family where he would own a furniture store. Morris Adelman took part in chain migration in two stages. First, he joined his uncle in New York, and then joined his wife’s family in Cleveland.

Case study number three

Name of Immigrant	Annie Adelman
Origin	Gelvan, Russia
Destination	New York City, United States
Year of Migration	1908

Annie Adelman¹¹ was Morris Adelman’s younger sister. She immigrated to the United States at age 16. Annie’s daughter, Dorothy Traiger,¹² was interviewed about Annie’s migration. Unlike the subjects of most of the case studies, who did not like to talk about their migration or their lives in Europe, Annie Adelman shared many of her life experiences with Mrs. Traiger. As with her brother Morris, the letters from her father, David Peretz Adelman, were used to gain insight into her life in Europe and possible reasons for migration.

According to Mrs. Traiger, Annie Adelman received no formal education. Somewhere between the ages of 12 to 14, Annie Adelman began apprenticing for a

¹¹ Annie Adelman would marry Harry Cohen, the subject of the next case study. They met at a party in New York.

¹² Dorothy Traiger is my maternal grandmother.

dressmaker who made dresses for nobility. She did this despite the fact that her father disapproved of her working. Her sewing skills would eventually become useful in America. When she first arrived in New York she worked at a sweatshop doing piecework sewing. The fact that New York was a bustling economic hub with many factories that needed laborers, might very well have influenced Annie's choice to migrate to and stay in New York, supporting Ravenstein's laws of migration.

Based on the interview with Mrs. Traiger and analysis of the letters from Annie's father, it seems that Annie Adelman had been hesitant about emigrating. In 1910, David Peretz wrote to his son Morris and said "her tears that she shed during the time prior to her departure to America are still fresh in my mind." Mrs. Traiger said that Annie hesitated until she received money and papers from Morris in America. At that point, Annie Adelman had no choice but to emigrate. Therefore, Annie Adelman was not the main decision-maker in her own migration. This is consistent with Roseman's description of the decision-making process regarding migration where children do not actively take part in the decision-making process (1971, 592). It is also consistent with Peterson's (1978, 558) assertion that family plays a critical role in spurring migration.

As mentioned in the introduction, Annie Adelman cried as she said goodbye to her parents and started her emigration. Despite her sadness and reluctance to emigrate she apparently enjoyed her voyage to America. On the boat, Mrs. Traiger said, Annie Adelman had "a whale of a time," and "every night there was dancing and she danced."

Annie Adelman's migration was a clear case of chain migration, and an example of Peterson's claim that there is a "tendency of any migration to generate further migration" (1978, 558). Her brother paid for her journey to America, and when she

initially arrived in the United States, she lived with an uncle. Chain migration can be attributed both to Annie Adelman's decision (or rather her older relatives' decision on her behalf) to emigrate, and the choice of destination. It is likely that the only reason she emigrated at all was that her brother, who had previously migrated, insisted. His chain migration most probably was the driving force behind her decision to emigrate, even if she was not the main decision-maker.

Case Study Number Four

Name of Immigrant	Harry Cohen
Origin	Vilna, Russia
Destination	New York City, United States
Year of Migration	Sometime between 1910 and 1912 ¹³

The primary source for research on the migration of Harry Cohen¹⁴ came from an interview with his daughter, Dorothy Traiger. Mrs. Traiger provided information learned directly from her father. She also gave further information about the family and offered some analysis of his situation both at the place of origin and destination. Census data and draft cards were also used to confirm important dates and place of origin.

Harry Cohen received substantial education in Europe. He told Mrs. Traiger that as a child he was selected to attend a state school. It was rare for Jewish children to attend

¹³ Census data from different censuses indicating year of migration are not consistent.

¹⁴ Harry Cohen is my great-grandfather.

state schools. Mrs. Traiger said, “he was very proud of that.” He would later go to university and become a teacher before emigrating.

According to Mrs. Traiger, the main reason Harry Cohen emigrated was to escape conscription into the Tsar’s army. There were good reasons for Jews to avoid Russian military service.

Jews with physical defects which rendered Christians unfit for military service, such as a lower stature and narrower chest, were nevertheless taken into the army. In the case of a shortage of recruits among the Jewish population even only sons, the sole wage-earners of their families or their widowed mothers, were drafted, whereas the same category of conscripts among Christians were unconditionally exempt. Moreover, a Jew serving in the army always remained a private and could never attain to an officer’s rank (Dubnow, 1918, 303).

Harry Cohen “had to hide out on farms” for a year while he waited for his brother in the United States to send the money necessary to emigrate. This process took longer than it should have. Harry Cohen had sent a letter to his older brother Shael in the United States asking for the money. However, his brother’s wife, who was worried that Harry Cohen would be a burden on them, intercepted and concealed the letter from Shael. Harry Cohen wrote to his brother again. This time the letter reached Shael and he sent Harry Cohen the money. While Harry Cohen did ultimately emigrate with the help of family, as Peterson calls it a “collective impulse to leave” (1978, 559), the communication necessary to accomplish this impulse was initially sabotaged by Harry Cohen’s sister-in-law. In the end the communication enabled him to emigrate, as emphasized in Peterson’s sociological perspective.

The sovereign state, in this case Russia, and the jurisdiction it exercised, greatly affected Harry Cohen. Therefore, Harry Cohen’s decision to emigrate is highly consistent with Zolberg’s political perspective of migration. Harry Cohen’s evasion of

military service and his emigration to the United States may have put his family remaining in Lita in danger. The families of Jews who had evaded conscription and had emigrated were held responsible for the emigrant's crime. The families were required to pay 300 rubles (Dubnow, 1918, 304). Many families could not afford to pay such a sum. For this reason many of the families of emigrants "were completely ruined" (Dubnow, 1918, 305). Harry Cohen was the last of his siblings to emigrate; however, he did leave his mother and father behind in Lita. There is no evidence that anyone in Harry Cohen's family was penalized for his evasion of service. Harry Cohen's father eventually came to the United States after Harry Cohen's mother died.

Lee's push-pull model of migration can also be applied to Harry Cohen's migration. Based on the interview with Mrs. Traiger, it can be presumed that the threat of conscription into the Russian Army was the dominant push factor at the origin. Pull factors at the destination were the presence of family, and presumably the possibility of a better life with less discrimination and more opportunities.

Lee also discusses intervening obstacles. Ironically, in the case of Harry Cohen's migration, one of the greatest intervening obstacles was family. Shael's wife's attempt to prevent Harry Cohen from immigrating to the United States was certainly an intervening obstacle. This episode is a demonstration of how intra-family dynamics can create obstacles as well as encourage migration.

The fact that Harry Cohen had a brother in the United States who played an integral role in the migration process, as well as two older sisters in the United States, suggests that chain migration played a major role in Harry Cohen's migration. Not only Harry Cohen's decision to leave Russia and migrate to the US, but also his choice of

exact destination within the US indicates chain migration. He had three siblings living in New York City and according to Mrs. Traiger there were cousins in the place of destination as well. The chain migration continued even after Harry Cohen arrived in the United States. One of his sisters, Anna, lived in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Harry Cohen moved there as well and lived with his sister and her family. Anna had heard that if a person obtained a driver's license he could drive a jitney, which is a small bus. Harry Cohen got his driver's license and drove a jitney in Bridgeport. Mrs. Traiger has Harry Cohen's Connecticut driver's licenses from 1919. At that time, jitneys were one of the most common modes of transportation in Bridgeport (Surguy 1921, 239). He did not stay in Bridgeport for long. He moved back to New York City and according to Mrs. Traiger heard about the opportunity to buy part of a bus line, which he did. Mrs. Traiger said, "apparently from the jitney driving with his partner he could buy the bus and he did extremely well. Grandma (his wife Annie) said when he came home at night he would empty his pockets on the bed and they would count the nickels and there were so many they couldn't believe it."

Mrs. Traiger also had information about Harry Cohen's brothers. His eldest brother, Pasech, had immigrated to South Africa. It is unknown why Pasech went to South Africa while the rest of his family went to the United States. Shael had come to the United States after serving in the Russian Navy in the Russo-Japanese War,¹⁵ where his finger was shot off. Mrs. Traiger does not know how Shael got out of Russian military service and immigrated to the United States. Mrs. Traiger does remember that

¹⁵ Thirty thousand Jews fought in the Russo-Japanese War. According to Dubnow (1920, 94) Jews made up a disproportionately large portion of Russia's front line troops. Dubnow says this is because Jewish recruits were "generally sent to Siberia." Therefore the Jews were near the front from the beginning of the war.

when she was a child, Shael would always show her his hand with the missing finger. Mrs. Traiger said that he “thought it was a point of entertainment.”

One factor of migration that the migration theories do not adequately cover, although Peterson’s sociological perspective alludes to it, is the immigrant’s desire to escape social restrictions rather than just political restrictions. In the cases of Annie Adelman and Harry Cohen, while political restrictions on Jews may have been the dominant cause of emigration, there were also social factors. At least for Annie Adelman, Jewish law dictated nearly every aspect of life. According to Mrs. Traiger, “she (Annie Adelman) and Grandpa (Harry Cohen) were glad to be freed from the restrictions of religion.” While Annie and Harry always considered themselves Jewish, and continued to keep kosher, they lived a relatively secular life style.¹⁶

Case Study Number Five

Name of Immigrant	Ruben Heller
Origin	Krakes, Lithuania
Destination	Montreal, Canada Subsequently immigrated to the United States and settled in Pittsburgh
Year of Migration	Immigrated to Canada in 1921. Immigrated to the United States in 1922

¹⁶ Harry Cohen’s family in Europe may have been as religiously observant as Annie Adelman’s family; however, since he did not talk about his life in Europe and without letters to provide information, it is not known exactly what role Judaism played in his life in Europe.

Research on the migration of Ruben Heller relied solely on an interview with Heller's daughter, Marilyn Newman. Ruben Heller did not talk to Mrs. Newman about his migration experience or his life in Lita. However, Mrs. Newman has done extensive research and has obtained information regarding her father's migration.

Ruben Heller was one of three brothers and the last of the brothers to emigrate. Mrs. Newman also noted that Ruben Heller's "whole family was here [United States]," having immigrated to the United States in the years prior to 1921. The information obtained from the interview suggests that Ruben Heller emigrated to join his family.

Ruben Heller emigrated during a brief period of time when Jews in the newly independent Republic of Lithuania enjoyed relative freedom (Gringauz, 1952). There were still better places for Jews to live, and from the 1880's until World War I there had been a steady stream of Jews emigrating out of Lita. Even though Ruben Heller no longer had to worry about conscription into the Russian Army, or the Tsar's aggressive anti-Semitic policies, it was only natural for him to join his family in the United States.

Ruben Heller's migration seems to be a clear case of chain migration, as the presence of family in the United States most likely was a significant factor in his decision to emigrate. According to Choldin, family is "by far the most important source of help" in the migration process (1973, 169). It is significant that Heller's family in the United States included his brothers. It is likely that the closer the relation, the more helpful the family members will be.

Unfortunately for Ruben Heller, he was unable to immigrate to the United States, which is where his family was living. Heller emigrated from Lithuania in August of 1921. In May of that year the United States passed the Emergency Quota Act. This law

severely restricted immigration to the United States, and is presumably the reason that Ruben Heller initially immigrated to Canada, not the United States. In 1922, he was able to legally immigrate to the United States and join his family in Pittsburgh.

The migration of Ruben Heller highlights the importance that family plays in both the decision to emigrate and the choice of destination. The fact that most of Ruben Heller's family was in Pittsburgh left little doubt that it would be his destination of choice. However, this case also demonstrates the impact of politics, and the power of the state on migration, along the lines of Zolberg's political perspective. Heller spent one year in Canada simply because three months prior to his migration Congress had passed a law that made it very difficult for him to join his family.

Although Ruben Heller emigrated after the collapse of the Russian Empire and was emigrating from the Republic of Lithuania, the former Tsarist government likely influenced his migration. His family had emigrated from the Russian Empire before it collapsed. Considering that Ruben Heller's migration was chain migration, he was following those who had emigrated from the Russian Empire.

Concluding Remarks

The six theories of migration were found to be applicable to the five individual cases studies to different extents. There was some consistency between the individual migration stories and Ravenstein's laws of migration. Certainly all of the subjects of the case studies immigrated to economic hubs, and the availability of jobs may have made the decision to migrate easier and may also have convinced them that it would be viable to live with their family members without being too much of a burden. It seems clear,

however, that the presence of family in itself was the decisive factor for choice of destination in all these cases, along the lines of chain migration theory.

Chain migration was a factor in the decision to emigrate; however, chain migration had the most significant role in the migrant's choice of destination. Without exception, each migrant studied in this research chose his or her destination based on the fact that he or she had family who had previously migrated living in that location. Chain migration can be more than simply following friends or family to a new location. In chain migration, friends and family are a source of information for the newly arrived immigrant. An example of this is when Harry Cohen learned from his sister about the opportunity to drive a jitney.

The case studies have demonstrated a mix of what Peterson (1958) labeled free, impelled, and forced migration. No formal government decree was issued that forced any of the subjects of these case studies to emigrate. Nor did any of them emigrate as a direct result of an ecological disaster such as famine or drought. The difference between forced and impelled migration is that in impelled migration, the migrant has some power to decide whether to emigrate or not. In all the case studies, with the exception of Lily Block and Annie Adelman, who may have had the decision made for them, the subjects of the case studies chose to emigrate.

Decision-making regarding migration, which falls under Roseman's behavioral model, is a factor in every migration. It is worth examining how the decisions were made, and by whom. Two of the case studies feature teenage female migrants, Annie Adelman, 16, and Lily Block, 17. Roseman's (1971) model was useful in shedding light on the possibility that since these emigrants were so young, the decision to emigrate may have

been made for them, regardless of the fact that they were migrating alone / migrating as the eldest of two siblings.

The case studies were also analyzed through a political perspective. State policies, both at the origin and at the destination, played a role in each case study. In four of the five cases, the migrant was escaping oppressive policies, many of which were directed at Jews. Important reasons for emigration were the anti-Semitic policies of Tsarist Russia, evading conscription into the Tsar's Army, poverty, and lack of opportunity. The latter two may often have been the direct result of the anti-Semitic Tsarist policies. In the case of Ruben Heller's migration to the U.S. via Canada, state policies at the place of destination played a more significant role in migration than for the other subjects, as he had to immigrate to another country than his first choice due to new immigration restrictions.

It can be argued that Lee's push-pull theory of migration is a factor in every story of migration. There are always advantages and disadvantages to migration and there will always be some form of intervening obstacles. Some cases have more clearly defined push factors and pull factors than others, as well as more clearly defined intervening obstacles, such as Harry Cohen's sister-in-law's hiding of the letter from him to his brother.

As mentioned in the methodology section of this paper, since my research is not based on a random sample of Litvak emigrants, but rather on only five individual migration stories, empirical generalizations can not be made about the Litvak emigration based on my data. While the literature review and the interviews helped gain insight into reasons for Litvak emigration and reasons for choices of destination, there is a lot more

research to be done. This research needs to be done soon. Already, most of the Litvaks who immigrated before World War II have died. The age span of the interviewees for my case studies was 77 to 90. Therefore, further research should be conducted as soon as possible if the children of Litvak immigrants are to be part of the research methodology. The methodology used for this research, interviewing the descendants of Litvak immigrants, will only become more difficult as time passes. A geographical point to be made is that the subjects of the case studies in this research were all immigrants to North America. Further research should therefore also be done to compare to migration stories of Litvaks who immigrated to places such as South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Argentina.

Endnote

After World War I and the fall of the Tsar, the Republic of Lithuania¹⁷ was formed. In 1923, 155,000 Jews lived in the newly independent Republic of Lithuania which had been created in 1918. The number of Jews in the Republic of Lithuania had been higher previously, but Vilna had been annexed by Poland in 1920. With that annexation, the number of Jews in Lithuania fell by as much as 27 percent (Levin n.d.). At least initially, life for Jews in independent Lithuania was far better than life under Tsarist Russia. The anti-Semitic policies of the Russian government were gone. Instead, Lithuania agreed to give the Jews a certain amount of autonomy and even limited representation in the government, from 1918 (Gringauz, 1952).

There were several factors that led to the development of Jewish autonomy in independent Lithuania. From the outset of independence, both Poland and Lithuania laid claim to the city of Vilna/Wilno/Vilnius. Lithuania hoped it would receive Jewish support in the conflict. Both the Jews and the Lithuanians had been minorities living in the Russian Empire. This may have led the Lithuanians to view the Jews more sympathetically (Gringauz 1952).

Jewish autonomy in Lithuania did not last long. As Lithuania gained stability, it relied less on Jewish support. Soon it became very hard for Jews to get government jobs. In 1924, the government issued a decree forbidding the display of Yiddish signs on storefronts. Two of the leaders of Jewish autonomy in Lithuania migrated to Palestine. “The birth, development, and decline of Jewish national autonomy in Lithuania all occurred in the seven years between 1918 and 1925” (Gringauz 1952, 233). In 1926, a *coup d’etat* brought in a semi-fascist regime.

¹⁷ Lithuania lost its independence in 1940 when the Soviet Union annexed it. The United States did not recognize the annexation. Lithuania regained independence upon the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1990, it became the first of the Soviet Socialist Republics to declare independence. In 1991, Russia recognized Lithuania as an independent country (Central Intelligence Agency).

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Appendix

Interview Questions

1. May I include your name in this survey?
2. *If yes:* Thank you, and your name is?
3. What year were you born?
4. To your knowledge are any of your ancestors Jews who emigrated from Lithuania? If not, are you related by marriage to Jews who emigrated from Lithuania? (If this is the case ask questions 2 and 3 about the spouse)
5. *If yes:* How is this person related to you?
Repeat question number 5 for each ancestor (5a, 5b, etc).
6. What was this person's name?
7. When did he or she emigrate? (if more than one ancestor, record these as 6a, 6b etc)
8. What village/town/city did this person emigrate from?
9. How old was this person when he or she emigrated?
10. What country did this person migrate to?
11. What village/town/city/region did he or she settle in?
12. Did this person live in the destination place for the remainder of his or her life?
13. *If no:* Where did he or she move to?
14. Did he or she emigrate from Lithuania alone?
15. If no, with whom did he or she travel?
16. Did he or she have friends or relatives in the destination place prior to emigrating?
17. *If yes:* Was he or she in contact with this person or persons prior to migrating?
18. If the migrant was an adult, did this person ever tell you why he or she decided to emigrate?
19. *If yes:* Please explain.

20. If the migrant was a child, did this person ever tell you who made the decision to migrate and what were the reasons for the decision?
21. *If yes:* Please explain.
22. Did the migrant leave loved ones behind in Lithuania?
23. *If yes:* Who? Did he/she/they join the migrant at the destination place at a later time?
24. Did this person (/these persons) ever tell you about his or her (/their) life in Lithuania?
25. *If yes:* Please describe.
26. What was the migrant's highest level of education at the time of migration?
27. What was the migrant's occupation in Lithuania?
28. What was this person's occupation in the destination place?
29. If the migrant was an adult, did he or she ever tell you how he or she chose the destination place?
30. *If yes:* Please explain.
31. If the migrant was a child, did he or she ever tell you who chose the destination location and why it was chosen?
32. If yes, please explain.
33. Did this person ever tell you what his or her impressions were of the destination place before migrating?
34. If yes, please explain.
35. If yes to question 32 did this person ever tell you what his or her sources of information were about the destination place?
36. If yes, please explain.
37. Is there anything else that you would like to add?
38. Thank you for participating in this research. If you think of anything else you would like to share in the coming days or weeks please feel free to contact me.

