
Tourism travel patterns and Mexican millennial women: a comparative study of their conditions and meanings

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Abstract: This paper presents a comparative study of the living conditions, practices and meanings of tourist travel for young millennial women in Mexico City's metropolitan area within the framework of youth tourism in order to identify how travel contributes to the social construction of their identity. Through comparative, mixed and gendered research, a methodological convergence strategy was applied in which quantitative research was carried out through surveys and qualitative research through interviews, aimed at two groups of young female students in different educational institutions, with different economic situations, and located in a central area vs. the outskirts of Mexico City. The results reveal similarities in both groups' travel practices, but there are differences with respect to the meanings they grant them and, therefore, the role that travel has in constructing their identities.

Keywords: tourism; millennial youth; travel; identity; meanings; living conditions; lifestyle; Mexico.

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1 Introduction

According to estimates from the World Youth Student & Educational Travel Confederation (WYSE) (2018), in 2017, youth trips accounted for 23% of all recorded international arrivals. That is more than one fifth of all international arrivals, which makes this flow of travellers an important object of attention that merits further study. Youth tourism is defined as the set of:

“International independent travel for periods of less than one year by people aged 15 to 29 motivated, in part or in full, by a desire to experience other cultures (including cultural exchange visits), build life experience and/or benefit from formal and informal learning opportunities outside one’s usual environment.” (WYSE, 2018, p.11).

Several peculiarities surround the trips young people take in relation to tourism consumption. For example, they plan their trips, open new routes and destinations, practice adventure activities, take long trips (52 days on average), continually use the internet, enhance dialogue with other cultures and continually thirst for more travel (WYSE, 2018; Lobby Report, 2017; Miranda and Yanchaguano, 2017; Richards, 2015; Posso and Cardona, 2016; Hu et al., 2015; Korstanje, 2010). A large part of these travelers are students (60% according to the 2018 WYSE survey), combining their trips with study (mainly language learning) or with work (full-time, part-time or flexible).

The majority of this segment (80% of travelers) are millennials (WYSE, 2018; Allende, 2018), i.e., young people who belong to the so-called generation Y and born between the years 1980 and 2000. Several scholars on this subject (Jacomio, 2016; Lund, 2015; Geifman, 2014; The Council of Economic Advisers, 2014; Dwyer et al., 2008) argue that millennials are characterised as individuals who work to live and not vice versa. They look for new forms of entertainment, gratifying resolutions and spiritual meanings; they are digital natives and permanently connected to their social networks in real time.

It is important to further study this segment not just to develop tourism products oriented to their particular travel styles, but also for better social understanding of a generation that has incorporated travel as an essential part of their daily lives (Allende, 2018) in a sense that differs from preceding generations (baby boomers and generation X), who look at travel as a 'brief escape from reality' (Matteucci, in Unwto, 2012). Young millennials look forward to deepening their knowledge about the 'authentic' and 'real life' outside their own cultural boundaries; in their travels, they seek experiences that allow them to 'live like a local,' that is, to become 'temporary locals' in order to experience everyday life in the destination (WYSE, 2018, 2014).

Young people make up a heterogeneous, diverse, multiple and variable social subject (Ortega et al., 2016; Mendoza, 2011; Urteaga and Ortega, 2004; Brito, 2002) whose behaviour tends more towards divergence than convergence. This means that their social expressions are usually differentiated. Travel also reflects this heterogeneity (Richards, 2015) based on the motivations behind it and the style it takes on, making it a presumable part of the varied symbolic social expressions that young people incorporate into the construction of their identities (Vázquez, 2010). It is part of the set of life values that young people express in response to their living conditions (Mendoza, 2011; García, 1995). Global cities particularly offer a variety of living conditions and lifestyles that articulate different social, traditional and avant-garde expressions, which expose young people to a breadth of elements that shape their identities (Bermúdez, 2008).

Certainly, this research assumes that travel is particularly expressed in the construction of young women's identity, attending to gender difference. Recognised in the literature as a line of research, this study corresponds to tourism and gender, specifically studies focused on male and female tourists (Gibson, 2001). These studies have delved into women's participation in leisure activities (Henderson and Gibson, 2013) and in tourism (Swain, 2005; Gibson, 2001). Yet, in Latin America, little relevant research exists and that which does rather focuses on the status of women in employment and their roles in tourist services (Vizcaino et al., 2016). The present research contributes to the literature in relation to gender, giving visibility to young millennial women with respect to tourist travel, as well as recognises the inequalities that exist based on living conditions and lifestyles. Therefore, this research aims to approach the subjectivity

involved in millennial women's tourist travel, specifically studying women from Mexico City's metropolitan area with different living conditions and lifestyles, in order to contrast the motivations, meanings and values that accompany their tourist travel.

To this end, two groups of young millennial women were chosen as subjects of this study. They are all students at higher education institutions in the Mexico City metropolitan area, and are differentiated by their membership in different socioeconomic strata, as well as different living conditions and lifestyles in spatial and cultural terms. This study is framed in a country with marked social inequalities that mingles its ancestral values with modern metropolitan life on a daily basis.

This paper has four sections. The first references the study's conceptual framework regarding youth and the factors involved in the construction of their identities. In the second, reference is made to the conditions in the center and outskirts of Mexico City where the different groups of young women in the study live. The third explains the application of a mixed methodology with a both quantitative and qualitative approach to the object of study. The fourth discusses the results obtained in each of the research processes, pointing out the convergences and divergences found. The text closes with final reflections on the meaning of travel in the construction of millennial identity.

2 Youth, travel, and tourism: conceptual elements

Several authors (Bizirgianni and Dionysopoulou, 2013; Guillén, cited by Mendoza, 2011) argue that, as a life stage, youth should be understood as a social product determined by the place that a young person occupies within society's hierarchical structure and by the type of relationships that he or she establishes with other social elements. It is basically made up of intersubjective processes: "When talking about youth groups, it should be noted that... Far from being a self-evident category, this refers to a relational, social and historical construction that is, therefore, dynamic and polysemic" (Tapia, 2018, p.107). Thus, today's young people are the result of global transformations, regional character (García, 1995) and local interactions with which they build and define themselves.

Mendoza (2011) and García (1995) affirm that the intersubjective processes that young people go through help them form dynamic ascriptions to groups, communities and territories, with the appropriation of a territory and independence as fundamental factors in the identity construction process. The appropriation of territory refers to the fact that, "...youth territory is a physical and symbolic space that is constituted as a place of enunciation, where subjects express their belonging" (Mendoza, 2011, p.198). Young people's primary physical and symbolic space of belonging is found in the family sphere. A WYSE survey of millennials (2014) revealed that young people trust their parents most among their social relationships and tend to see them as role models. In addition, studies in Mexico on youth culture reveal that young people acquire substantial values influence in their homes (Luengo, 2000; Palomera, 1990) that outweighs what they receive in any other area (school or church, for example).

It is generally recognised that much of this travel is motivated by reunions with family and community stories (Schrooten et al., 2015; Glick and Salazar, 2013; Coles and Timothy, 2004) as a way of reaffirming or recreating inherited and identity elements. Vacation periods, for example, are particularly noteworthy in terms of identity construction during this space-time since they present at least two relationship possibilities. The first is associated with spending time with the family, nuclear or

extended (Tapia, 2018), helping them strengthen historical relationships and symbols; the other is associated with getting to know places and people on a trip that offers an encounter with the 'other' in a non-everyday space, that is, an encounter with 'otherness' (Chávez, 2018). In this regard, Richards and Wilson (2003) note that 83% of young people are mainly motivated to travel in order to explore other cultures, demonstrating their desire to encounter 'different' people and places. Independence as a factor in the construction of identity emerges in the desire to encounter the 'other' during travel. It involves independence from the old, the known, and the familiar.

Studies on young people's identity and self-understanding are quite recent. The concept of individuality linked to adolescence is a postindustrial matter where the construction of adult identity is a personal choice and not a parental decision in a limited context (Baumeister, 1986). In the case of tourist activity, young people's experiences in different cultural settings become moments of unlearning, learning and identity discovery (Gabowski et al., 2017).

Researchers such as Hibbert et al. (2013) have analysed the effects of interpersonal relationships on young travelers and found that they impact their perception of themselves and their behaviour during travel. Thus, culture is an essential component of identity (Sussman, 2000) and cultural identity constitutes an integrating image – of the self and of culture – for the individual with regard to her reality (Casmir, 1984). Hall (1976) highlights that young people's perceptions of themselves and their identification as a social group differ from one culture to another; in contexts of greater familiar attachment, as is the case in Latin American countries, youth self perception as a group does not stand out as an identity separate from the community to which they belong. Young people feel part of a social and cultural group with which they share customs, values and beliefs. However, "The construction of cultural identity must be understood as a complex and dynamic process that goes beyond a sense of belonging and that involves the production, transformation and updating of symbols and meanings ascribed to a given cultural context" (Guerrero Rodríguez, 2015). In this way, in the practice of travel, common social practices and behaviours are reproduced and renewed.

In their theory of identity, authors such as De Cremer and van Vugt (1999) have highlighted that social interaction among young people influences their social consciousness, altruistic behaviour and awareness of climate change and environmental degradation. On the other hand, Desforges (2000) sustains that young people see travel as part of a rite that provides them with answers to identity questions at critical moments. Thus, the search to 'live as a local' is conceived of as a search for local stand-ins that are left behind to encounter the new with the intention of establishing bonds, relationships, and practices that allow one to temporarily reconfigure one's living space (Osorio, 2007). Studies on motivations behind millennial travel report that 55% of respondents wished to interact with locals and 46% wished to experience everyday reality (WYSE, 2014).

Travel allows for the formation of new symbolic elements, or reinforces those already acquired, through a space-time experience that cultivates a worldview during this specific life stage (Patiño, 2009, Cardoso, 2005, Alpízar and Bernal, 2003). Research into youth tourism has been little attended to in the field of tourism knowledge (Ferrer, 2013), but, in recent years, several researchers (Orgaz and López, 2015; Forsey and Low, 2014; Martín-Cabello, 2014; Monterrubio, 2013; Prayaga and Hosany, 2013; Chronis, 2012; Korstanje, 2010; Ortiz and Linares, 2009; Morgan and Xu, 2009; Granero et al., 2005; De Salazar, 2003; Richards and Wilson, 2003; Jefferson, 1991) have written about the type of travel young people are doing, describing their practices and motivations.

Typologies generated to classify young travelers are generally associated with marketing objectives (WYSE, 2018; Gallo, 2014) or with studying their mobility (Richards, 2015), but for the purposes of this research, Tapia's classification (2018) focused on travel experiences is most pertinent. She distinguishes between trips generated within the framework of family ties, those associated with camping and survival in nature, and others that are desired or planned. Tapia (2018) also points out that young people's experiences from different social sectors and regions differ significantly and travel is thus an expression of social inequalities around mobility (Frändberg, 2009). In this sense, young people in different sectors live out travel experiences differently; it should be added that they also configure associated meanings differently in light of unequal living conditions and gender differences, as various researchers have shown (Mejía, 2019; Vizcaino, 2016; Schlüter, 2010). Therefore, the research questions to be answered herein include the following:

- 1 What meanings do millennial women in Mexico predominately assign to travel?
- 2 What similarities and differences arise with respect to their living conditions and lifestyles?
- 3 How do these meanings intervene in the construction of their identity?

3 Mexican youth: life in the center and on the outskirts of Mexico city

There is little information regarding youth tourism in Mexico. Estimates reveal that 4 out of 10 travelers who use land-based transportation and airlines are part of the youth sector (Sectur, 2011), which accounts for significant mobility in the domestic market. However, scholars have paid little attention to their motivations and travel practices – with research only available from Castro et al. (2018) and Ordaz-Mejía and Osorio-García (2018).

According to official data from the Mexican Youth Institute, (Imjuve for its initials in Spanish) (2019), in Mexico, young people number around 37.5 million or 31.4% of the total population. According to official sources (Imjuve, 2019; Inegi, 2014), living conditions therein are unequal. For example, only 4 in 10 young people received a higher education, 7 in 10 earned income below the living-wage, and 1 in 10 lived in poverty. The status of women is even more fraught since their education and income rates are lower (Paz and Campos, 2013).

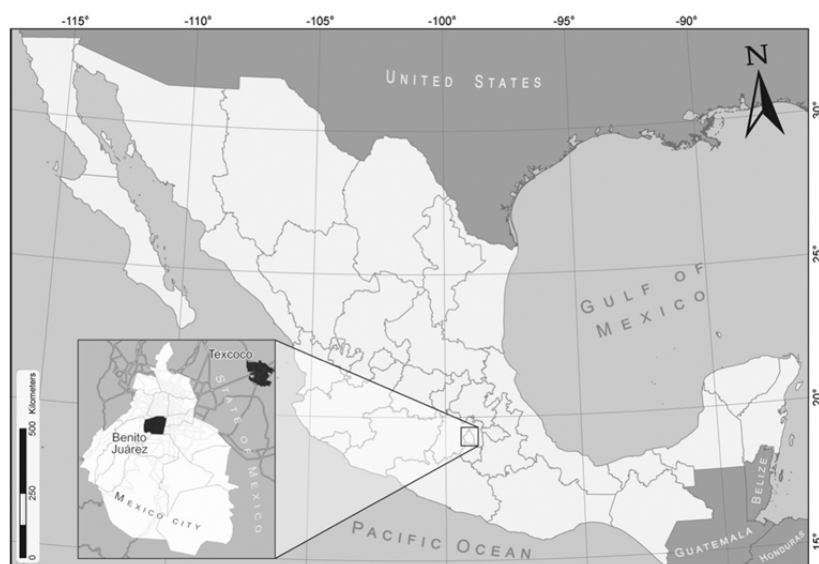
2.2 million young people converge in Mexico City, and its suburban areas contain a similar or greater proportion of young people. The State of Mexico, an entity that surrounds the capital (Figure 1), has 4 million young people, the largest volume of which is located in the metropolitan area of Mexico City (OECD, 2015; Inegi, 2014).

Young people's education, labour, work benefits and housing conditions are better in Mexico City than in the State of Mexico, as they also are for women since fewer have children at a young age (*Diario oficial de la federación*, 2014). Both young people in the capital and those on the outskirts are exposed to high levels of stress that result from daily activities. In recent years, increased alcohol and drug consumption, particularly for women, has been noted (*Diario Oficial de la Federación*, 2014).

The participants selected for this study are young people with a high socioeconomic status in Mexico City (the urban center) and young people with a medium level status in the State of Mexico, namely Texcoco, which is located in Mexico City's greater

metropolitan area (the outskirts) (Figure 1). The group from the capital are undergraduate students at the School of Institutional Administration (ESDAI for its initials in Spanish) at the Universidad Panamericana (UP), a private institution ranked fourth among higher education institutions in Mexico according to the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) 2020 ranking (topuniversities.com). The Texcoco group is made up of students from the Centro Universitario Texcoco (CUT) of the Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México (UAEMex), a public institution ranked eleventh in Mexico according to the same ranking.

Figure 1 Location of the Benito Juárez District in Mexico City and the city of Texcoco, Mexico (see online version for colours)



Source: Carlos Viesca, personal communication from 22 November, 2019

ESDAI is located in the Benito Juárez District of Mexico City (Figure 1), a place with the highest quality of life in the country; in 2015, its Human Development Index (HDI) was 0.944, (higher than Switzerland or the United Kingdom) (UNDP, 2019). The socioeconomic profile of the average student at ESDAI is located in the High (A and B) and Medium High (C +) sectors, which means that their basic needs are covered, as well as their housing, income, education and health needs, with overall high levels of well-being (ESDAI, 2019). ESDAI has 226 students in its Institution and Hospitality Administration program; they can opt for semiannual exchanges or academic summers in France. The average per-semester cost is more than US\$ 5000 (Universidad Panamericana, 2019) (Figures 2 and 3).

CUT is located in the Municipality of Texcoco, State of Mexico (Figure 1); its HDI corresponds to 0.810, which is still greater than the national average (0.759) (PNDU, 2019). Although among the HDI's Highest Rank, it is 13 points below the Benito Juárez District. The average CUT student is part of the so-called 'middle class' (Inegi, 2013) and manages to cover basic needs with access to certain products and services at a socioeconomic level (C and C-) (Alejo et al., 2012). CUT offers 9 majors related to social, economic-administrative and engineering sciences, with an enrolment of 4086

(men and women) in the 2018–2019 academic year (UAEMex, 2019). The average cost per semester is less than US\$ 200 (mextudia.com) (Figures 4 and 5).

Figures 2 and 3 Young ESDAI students (see online version for colours)



Source: Personal archive

Figures 4 and 5 Young CUT students (see online version for colours)



Source: Personal archive

4 Methodology

To study meanings among young millennials, we chose a mixed methods methodology (Dominguez and Hollstein, 2014; Cressweell, 2014) that would allow us to work quantitatively and qualitatively, and to systematically generate different types of data. This methodology is enriching when applied in tourism studies (Molina-Azorin and Font, 2015) since it reaches complementarity and triangulation in the research process (Hernández et al., 2014). The strategy followed was convergence (Cressweell, 2014; Morgan, 1983), where a quantitative method (Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis, Quan) and a qualitative method (Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis, Qual) produced information from different perspectives. Table 1 specifies the technical datasheet associated with the Quan and Qual methods applied.

Table 1 Technical datasheet of the methods applied to this research

<i>Item</i>	<i>Quantitative method (Quan)</i>	<i>Qualitative method (Qual)</i>
Variables/analysis units	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living conditions • Motivations, meanings and values connected to travel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meaning associated with travel in the construction of identity
Techniques	Survey	Semi-structured interview
Instrument	Questionnaire with 26 closed-ended questions and 3 open-ended questions; nominal scale with two blocks: socio-demographic data and tourist travel	Interview script with open-ended questions using tourism travel as the interpretive key
Sample type	Random, stratified, direct and intentional statistical sampling	Voluntary participation after the quantitative study

Source: Authors' elaboration

This research was carried out over different periods, with the first study applied at CUT and the second at ESDAI. It should be noted that the sample at CUT included both male and female young people, with a total sample of 350 students, of which 162 were men and 188 women, however, given that the ESDAI student population is 100% female, we decided to perform this analysis with just women in both groups to ensure consistency in the research. A technical datasheet that includes both studies can be found below (Table 2).

Table 2 Technical datasheet that includes both CUT and ESDAI samples

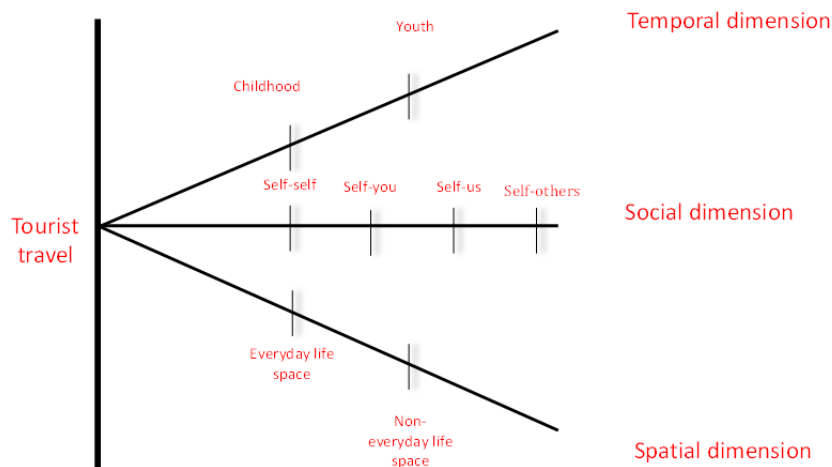
<i>Item</i>	<i>CUT</i>	<i>ESDAI</i>
Instrument application period	Pilot: August 2016 September 2016–February 2017	May–October 2019
Total enrollment	2136 students	226 students
Quantitative study sample	188 students	147 students
Age range	18–25 years old	
Data collection system	PAPI	
Confidence level	95% and 7% margin of error	95% and 5% margin of error
Number of interviews for the qualitative study	15 students	16 students

Source: Authors' elaboration

With respect to the quantitative research, responses from the questionnaire were tabulated and variables were crosschecked to obtain profiles. The questionnaire allowed for the collection of information on living conditions by obtaining sociodemographic and economic data, such as age, place of origin and housing, marital status, work, monthly income, among others. It also collected data on meanings linked to the study groups' motivations in order to identify their similarities and differences in relation to trips taken, places visited, travel companions, travel satisfaction and values, among others.

With respect to the qualitative research, the interview script was constructed with semi-structured, open questions. It sought to elicit dialogue on travel memories, acquired experiences, behaviour, values, travel fascinations, changing ideas, travel wishes, among other issues that require a suitable environment for free expression. The interviews were thus carried out at both educational centers' facilities and lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The interviews were then transcribed and a discourse analysis was carried out (Urra et al., 2013) that allowed for interpretation of the subjectivity immersed in the biographical accounts obtained. Based on a phenomenological framework, Lalive's interpretative model (1990) was employed. This model purports that it is possible to recognise the subjective aspects of human life inserted in three-dimensional space, which includes the temporal, social and spatial dimensions. It is illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6 Lalive de Epinay's Interpretive Model (1990) (see online version for colours)



Source: Authors' elaboration based on Lalive (1990)

Each dimension is interdependent and can only be distinguished through the artifice of analysis. In the temporal dimension, the relationship of time in the subject's life stands out, as does her life stages and insertion in history; in the social dimension, the subject's relationships with herself and with others are of note, distinguishing relationships related to groups of belonging (us) from otherness (them). In the spatial dimension, personal and external spaces related to everyday and non-everyday life are included. This research specifically focuses on analysing the significance of travel in the construction of each group's identity, specifically in relation to their symbolic appropriation of territory and sense of independence.

Integrating quantitative and qualitative data allows us to analyse young women travelers as social subjects who interact with their peers, their family and social environments and for whom the spatial, social and temporal dimensions are distinguished. The results of this analysis are presented below.

5 Results

5.1 Quantitative analysis

Data regarding the living conditions, motivations, meanings and values that both groups conveyed are reported below.

5.1.1 Living conditions

A comparison of the relevant variables (marital status, number of children, housemates, employment status and income) is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Living conditions of both groups

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Options</i>	<i>ESDAI</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>	<i>CUT</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
Marital status	Single	147	100	170	90
	Married	0	0	8	4
	Civil union	0	0	8	4
	Separated	0	0	1	1
	Widowed	0	0	1	1
	Divorced	0	0	0	0
Number of children	None	144	98	171	91
	One	2	1	16	9
	Two	0	0	1	1
	Three or more	1	1	0	0
Housemate(s)	Parents	91	62	139	74
	Mother	23	16	28	15
	Father	8	5	3	2
	Siblings	7	5	1	1
	Roommate(s)	1	1	0	0
	Spouse/partner	0	0	11	6
	Alone	0	0	4	2
	Extended family	0	0	2	1
Remunerated work	Currently yes	40	27	44	23
	Never	50	34	63	34
	Currently no	57	39	81	43
Monthly personal income	Less than \$1000 MXN	14	10	53	28
	\$1000–3000 MXN	17	12	54	29
	\$3000–5000 MXN	10	7	18	10
	\$5000–10,000 MXN	16	11	3	2
	More than \$10,000 MXN	2	1	3	2
	No income	88	60	22	12
	No answer	0	0	33	18

Table 3 Living conditions of both groups (continued)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Options</i>	<i>ESDAI</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>	<i>CUT</i>	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
Monthly family income	Less than \$20,000 MXN	18	12	175	93
	\$20,000–\$40,000 MXN	33	22	7	4
	\$40,000–\$60,000 MXN	51	35	0	0
	More than \$60,000 MXN	45	31	0	0
	No answer	0	0	6	3

Source: Authors' elaboration

As can be seen, the marital status of the young women at CUT is more diversified with respect to the young women at ESDAI given that the latter are entirely single. This is related to a higher proportion of young women who have children at CUT. With respect to work, the young women at ESDAI work in greater proportion than those at CUT. It is striking to observe that 88% of the young women at ESDAI report that their monthly family income is greater than \$20,000 MXN, while 93% of the women at CUT report that their family's income is less than that amount. This income indicator demonstrates prominent inequality in living conditions, a determining factor for well-being. These data confirm the characteristics mentioned in the context section regarding the situation of young women in Mexico City and the State of Mexico, both in terms of income and early motherhood.

5.1.2 Motivations, meanings and values

At ESDAI, 97% of young women travel at least once a year, while at CUT that percentage corresponds to 93%. Based on the survey results, two types of travellers predominantly emerge, namely tourists and travelers. Tourists' (A1 and B1) main motivation is to relax and travelers' main motivation is socialisation. For greater profile accuracy, travelers were subdivided into those who travel with family (A2 and B2), those who travel with friends (A3) and those who travel for academic purposes (B3). The travel practices, meanings and values for each subtype are shown below in Table 4.

As seen in Table 4, the main meanings reported center on enjoyment, time with people, and experiences. 'Enjoyment' is the highest-ranking item associated with motivations for recreation and rest and time with friends for ESDAI respondents. 'Time with people' turns out to be the main motivating factor for time with family for both ESDAI and CUT respondents. 'Experiences' focus on motivations for recreation and rest and school internships for CUT respondents. These results point to the fact that time with family is present in both groups as a significant element in travel, revealing a behavioural similarity. They are differentiated by a certain tendency towards 'enjoyment' in the ESDAI group and towards 'experiences' in the CUT group. It should be noted that, for both groups, happiness and freedom are reported as meanings, but less frequently so than the ones mentioned above.

Table 4 Motivations to travel among the female study respondents

<i>Item</i>	<i>ESDAI</i>				<i>CUT</i>	
	<i>Recreation and rest</i>	<i>Time with family</i>	<i>Time with friends</i>	<i>Time with family</i>	<i>Recreation and rest</i>	<i>School internship</i>
Percentage*	40%	37%	11%	47%	21%	14%
Meanings	Enjoyment (32%)	Time with family (41%)	Enjoyment (37%)	Time with family (33%)	Experiences (22%)	Experiences (39%)
	Experiences (24%)	Enjoyment (30%)	Time with friends (18%)	Happiness (16%)	Enjoyment (17%)	Adventure and
	Happiness (15%)	Freedom and	Happiness and	Enjoyment (14%)	Freedom and	Enjoyment (11% per item)
	Time with family (12%)	Happiness (5% per item)	Experiences (12% per item)	Experiences (12%)	Happiness (12% per item)	Freedom, Happiness and
	Other (17%)	Other (19%)	Other (21%)	Nature (8%)	Adventure and Nature (7% per item)	Emotion (7% per item)
				Other (17%)	Other (23%)	Other (18%)
Most satisfying element	Experiences (32%)	Travel companions (35%)	Travel companions (50%)	Experiences (22%)	Experiences (27%)	Experiences and Place (32% per item)
	Travel companions (25%)	Experiences and Place (26% per item)	Place (31%)	People and Place (20% per item)	Place (17%)	Festivals and traditions (18%)
	Place (23%)	Other (13%)	Other (19%)	Emotions (17%)	Festivals and traditions (14%)	Other (18%)
	Knowledge (8%)			Festivals and traditions (6%)	Food and Emotions (12% per item)	
	Other (12%)			Other (15%)	Other (18%)	
Values	Security (30%)	Responsibility (22%)	Security (37%)	Security (27%)	Security and Responsibility (27% per item)	Responsibility (39%)
	Responsibility (24%)	Solidarity and Love (18% per item)	Responsibility (19%)	Responsibility (18%)	Solidarity (17%)	Solidarity (18%)
	Pacifism (14%)	Security (13%)	Freedom and	Solidarity (16%)	Love (10%)	Freedom Security (11%)
	Solidarity (12%)	Pacifism (9%)	Solidarity (12% per item)	Love (14%)	Other (19%)	Other (21%)
	Other (20%)	Other (20%)	Other (20%)	Other (25%)		

Source: Authors' elaboration

*The rest of the young female respondents chose another motivation (contact with nature, work trip or other), but their proportion is not representative so they were not included in this table.

Respondents repeatedly reported travelling as a family, and suggested that time with family is part of the richness of the experience, reinforcing the thesis that, in Latin American contexts, young women construct their identity within the framework of belonging to a family nucleus rather than apart from it. Thus, encountering the ‘other’ during travel occurs in large part between family members. However, the ESDAI group seems to express a chronological break between their first trips as university students and how they think about new travel experiences in which they integrate into their identity knowledge of other cultures and the importance thereof for learning, freedom and autonomy, as well for professional development.

Regarding the most satisfying element, ‘experiences’ appear again as the dominant response for motivations in the CUT group, while in the ESDAI group, ‘experiences’ appear only as a motivation for recreation and rest; the latter group also prioritises ‘travel companions’ based on the motivation for time with people, both family and friends. Regarding values, it is surprising that both in the ESDAI and CUT groups, security and responsibility are the main values expressed in all items, revealing a constant for all the young women interviewed, regardless of their motivation.

In the following section, we further interpret the predominance of certain meanings for the young women in both groups, as well as their influence on territorial appropriation and independence as factors in the construction of identity.

5.2 *Qualitative analysis*

The following deepens and contrasts the results obtained from the quantitative research with regard to the meanings associated with travel. It is based on results from qualitative interviews with young women in both groups and is interpreted with the temporal, social and spatial dimensions in mind.

5.2.1 *Temporal dimension*

This dimension focuses on the young female respondents’ interpretation of their current life stage, youth, their educational training and their experience during tourist travel. For ESDAI students, there is a tendency to assume that youth is a happy, satisfactory, outgoing, free, independent stage full of personal growth: “It is the best version of myself”. Although there is also a feeling that it is a difficult, stressful stage full of self-responsibility and maturity: “I am starting to realise the meaning of life”. Regarding university education, they value both their major and educational institution because both provide the basis for a working life and progress. They give them identity and pride. In addition, school motivates them to travel abroad and contribute professionally in other countries. As expected, these young women have travelled widely as tourists throughout their life. Travel has been a part of their lifestyle and daily life since childhood.

CUT respondents tend the other way; youth is conceived of as more a stage of responsibilities than of satisfaction: “It is like a punch in the face and shakes you up; it puts your feet on the ground”. Responsibilities are projected onto decision making, acquiring a critical sense, and maturing. Regarding their education, schooling and the institution are valued for the knowledge they provide, allowing them to learn to investigate, detect problems and solve them. “School itself gives you the tools to find out what your goals are”. As far as their experience with travel, the young women do have tourist travel experiences, however, travel is not part of their lifestyle. The majority of

their current trips are based on different types of commitments, including family, religious or school.

5.2.2 Social dimension

This dimension refers to family relationships, the meanings associated with travel and the changes they bring about, expressed in values or attitudes. The young women from ESDAI tell of family relationships that are more harmonious than conflictive, but with few moments together during the day due to each family member's activities. In all cases, they said that travel helps to harmonise or unite their nuclear and extended family groups (grandparents, uncles, cousins). Their main travel companions are family members, but they also refer to trips with female friends. For this group, the meaning of travel has at least two connotations: encountering the other and feelings. Encountering the other includes getting to know other cultures, other views of the world, new places and people, which is facilitated by their mastery of other languages. As for feelings, travel represents happiness, emotion, fun, hospitality, adventure and an encounter with their roots. Of note, the experience of travel gives them a sense of freedom and independence, even if travel is with family members or they meet family members in other countries. Regarding the changes that travel produces, respondents referred more to values than attitudes. Values include respect for cultural diversity, tolerance, appreciation of the family and the country, acceptance of people and "my perspective of what is right and wrong". Attitudes include sustainable practices, local consumption, enjoying life and socialisation with new people.

The young female CUT respondents tell of more conflictive than harmonious family relationships, but travel helps with reunions and time together, particularly with extended family. However, in terms of travel, they most talked about relationships with their schoolmates, with whom they establish bonds of friendship and togetherness. In this group, the meaning of travel has different connotations. Otherness is assumed as a difference, not as an encounter: "I see it as a scene that you don't normally see here," in reference to the landscape, infrastructure, gastronomy and culture. Their feelings include relief, liberation (in alcoholism and sexuality), brief lapses of enjoyment and companionship. However, the meanings they note are shallower and, therefore, travel does not represent something important to them: "You don't necessarily have to go away to live well". Regarding the changes that travel produces, they identified them more in terms of attitudes than values. Attitudes include learning to interact with people, getting along anywhere, controlling stress, sharing with people you love, harmonising relationships, dialoguing with family, dealing with conflict, developing confidence and security. Values refer to respect for people, ambition for more, and freedom.

5.2.3 Spatial dimension

In this dimension, emphasis is placed on the places to which the young women have travelled, the feelings they produce, the specific destinations they have visited, as well as those they would like to visit in the future. For the young ESDAI women, it is worth noting that the places they have visited are linked to the places of origin of their parents or family, as well as to well-known national and international tourist sites. Preferred places include beaches and cities with historical heritage. Trips to Disney are referred to with a lot of emotion and are associated with magic, hope, fantasy, and dreams. The

young women express that tourist destination spaces provide them with security and tranquility, in contrast to the feelings of fear, lack of safety and stress with which they live in their everyday space. The destinations they visited that they associate with the most significant experiences include Europe (France, Spain, Italy), North America (California, Las Vegas, San Francisco, Los Angeles), Canada, South America (Peru and Chile) and Asia (China). In Mexico, Cancun and Riviera Maya, Chihuahua, Veracruz, Chiapas, San Luis and Tabasco were mentioned. The trips they talk about for the future, whether to visit, for an academic exchange or for professional experience, are mostly international and to Europe, including Switzerland, Spain, Italy and Germany. Others mentioned Egypt, India, and Dubai. In Mexico, they only talked about visiting the Yucatan peninsula.

The CUT respondents visited places linked to rural populations where their families originate, to religious celebrations or to academic activities (excursions, conferences, professional experiences). Most of these destinations were not freely chosen and include certain obligations. The young women express that the destination spaces associated with their trips offer opportunities and challenges, given the tasks they must perform during them: "It helps you realise just how much you can take on". The destinations they visited that they associate with the most significant experiences are all national, the majority of which are associated with domestic tourism, including Hidalgo, Puebla, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Oaxaca, Veracruz, Tlaxcala, La Huasteca and Zacatecas. Beach areas such as Cancun and Puerto Vallarta were also noted, as well as popular recreational centers (El Rollo Water Park). It is worth mentioning that they speak of few trips in the future, and when they do so, their discourse is rather aspirational and lacks a specific place in mind: "I would like to visit a beach for the first time," "I would like to go to Europe".

Each group's responses reveal a significant difference regarding participation in travel as part of their lifestyles. ESDAI respondents have effectively incorporated travel as a lifelong habit, manifesting changes in how they perceive themselves with respect to their independence and autonomy before and after travel; CUT students assume it as an occasional practice linked to external commitments. For both groups, trips represent experiences of cohesion with family or friends, but there are differences in terms of the meanings and the changes they generate in these young women. For the ESDAI group, travel connotes an encounter with otherness, deep feelings of enjoyment and changes that mostly impact their values upon feeling capable of making decisions outside of the nuclear family. For the CUT group, travel highlights their differences with otherness and provokes feelings that are not the result of transcendence, but rather of mere 'experiences' that basically produce changes that impact their attitudes.

With respect to destinations chosen for family trips, in both groups, they relate to the family's place of origin, whether a city abroad or a town in other parts of Mexico. We can also note that both the family and the institutional environments influence the definition of travel destinations for young women, which reflects very different scopes in terms of their travel aspirations. In the ESDAI group, preference for destinations in Europe prevails for future trips; in the CUT group, repeated visits to destinations in the national context prevail. In other words, among the group with the highest purchasing power, travel to other countries is part of their growth – from adolescence to youth – and contributes to building their identity as university students. In this way, international travel is integrated as part of their personal and professional development.

6 Final remarks

Although all the millennials in this study are located in the socioeconomic strata and have educational levels that correspond to a likelihood to travel, with similarities in their typology and practices, it identifies that different living conditions do produce differences in the social construction of travel. For students who live in the 'center,' as defined herein, travel is effectively part of daily life, which leads to their conception of the possibility of forming connections and references of belonging in their encounters with otherness. The desire to become 'temporary locals' reflects their intention to incorporate new spaces as part of their territories of belonging; the encounter with other cultures, people and visions of the world are assumed as new symbolic elements that contribute to their independence from their known world and to the enrichment of their identity. This also reflects a distinction between the study groups that impacts the meanings they assign to travel and is a product of their socioeconomic conditions. With abundant opportunity to visit other countries, the young women of ESDAI consider travel a part of the process of recognising their autonomy and freedom to approach other cultures and learn from them. Travel thus takes on a preponderant role in the construction of their identity.

For the study participants who live on the 'outskirts,' travel is not a part of their daily life; other territories and people make up a different, foreign, and differentiated material and cultural world. Travel is experienced as an escape from everyday life, which is akin to generation X's view of travel, or as spaces of obligation. It seems that they have a deeper sense of belonging with their territories of origin, produced not only by kinship with family, but also by ancestral cultural anchors, which represent traditions that are important for these young women. Therefore, travel is a weak vehicle in their search for belonging to new territories and for independence from their known world. Other elements, such as social networks or media culture, are more influential for factors associated with identity construction (Mendoza, 2011; García, 1995).

The inequalities observed in the two groups' income levels are reflected in the type of educational institutions that educate these young women and in the local, regional and international contexts in which they socialise. Being part of the 'center' group means travel contributes more to the social construction of their identity and the creation of values of acceptance of 'the other,' opening the way to global opportunities for professional growth and cultural wealth. For the 'outskirts' group, trips are less important in the construction of their identity; their most important construction elements come mostly from their territories and local relationships.

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