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Research Paper



Delving into the world of Mother-Daughter relationship: A Qualitative Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The current qualitative study focuses on exploring the relationship shared between mothers and their adult daughters using in-depth interviews of 12 dyads (N=24) of mothers and their daughters. Following the interviews, the data was analyzed using the method of Thematic Network Analysis. The results generated the following organizing and global themes. The organizing themes found for the mother were as follows: Reliance of mother's happiness on daughter, Daughter's Birth: A turning point in the life of parents, Daughter: A Guiding Force for the mother, Birth of Daughter: Completion of Womanhood, Daughter: As a friend, Emotional Closeness Unperturbed by Physical Distance, Conflict Resolution: An Approachable Resolution, New Dimension to Relationship: Shared Role of Mother, Solitary Care Giving. The organizing themes for the daughter were as follows: Mother Performing Multiple Roles, Mother: As a friend, Emotional Closeness Unperturbed by Physical Distance, Conflict Resolution: An Approachable Resolution, New Dimension to Relationship: Shared Role of Mother, Mother a Protective Shield for the Daughter. Lastly, the Global themes found were as follows: Daughter as an Individual; Mother as a Role and Transition to a Friend: Defined /Undefined boundaries.

Keywords: Qualitative, Mother-Daughter Relationship, Thematic Network Analysis

The mother-daughter relationship is an intricate, diverse, long-lasting, ever-changing connection that significantly impacts all of development, starting with the daughter's total dependence upon their mother for care and nurturance during infancy, through her emerging individuality and search for her own identity (adolescence),to both mother and daughter functioning as independent adults (adulthood), and finally a phase of dependence when mothers are frail and more dependent upon their offspring. Therefore, various theoretical perspectives namely – life course, feminist, family systems and psychoanalytic consider the mother-daughter bond as lifelong, intimate and developmentally important and its significance has also been documented well across various cultures.

Each of the women in the relationship brings their early history along with the anticipation of the future, which in turn shapes their present relationship. Thus factors such as role,

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biological, generational, chronological and historical differences strongly influence the perception of both the women in the relationship.

Mother-Daughter relationship in Adulthood

Understanding the period during which the mothers are middle-aged and the daughters are young adults, has recently become the area of interest for researchers. Arnett (2000) emphasizes on the idea of emerging adulthood as a distinct period of the life course, generally during which the young adults explore a wide variety of areas in life such as work, love, worldviews, etc. Similarly Middle-aged women also experience an array of distinct trajectories pertaining to marriage, employment, parenthood, etc.

Therefore, such diverse pathways in the life course of both the mother and daughter have innumerable implications for the relationship they share. For instance, Fingerman (2000) emphasized in his study that as daughters are in their young adulthood phase, their need of dependence on their mothers generally tends to diminish and in a complementary fashion, the importance of their mothers' nurturing and caring role may lessen. Thus the mother-daughter bond then transforms from a dyadic interest in the daughter's individual psychological development to a shared investment into a larger network of relationships. Similarly Rastogi & Wampler (1999) argued in their study that as compared to other relationship dyads the interdependence and emotional intensity is found to be the highest in a mother-daughter relationship and this bond tends to have significant effects on different areas of daughters life such as self-concept and identification, marriage, career decisions, coping skills, etc. Also Hammer (1975) interviewed about 75 mothers and daughters and concluded a significant lifelong level of identification and emotional attachment between the two. She also argued in her study that both the mothers and daughters share a semi-symbiotic relationship that is emotionally bound up with each other and doesn't see one another as separate individuals.

Various studies have also pointed out the primacy of the generation gap and the evolution of the mother-daughter relationship in adulthood. For instance: Umberson and Weishaus (1978) argued that mothers and daughters belonging to different age groups tend to report different emotional qualities in relationship they share with each other. Similarly Fingerman (2000) argued that mothers and daughters of different ages tend to enjoy distinct features of their relationships that generally emphasize their developmental needs. On the other hand research pertaining to evolution of mother-daughter relationship emphasizes on the idea of how negotiation of independence and redefinition of relationship continues into emerging adulthood, wherein many parents continue to serve as prominent figures of affection and instrumental aid. There are phases wherein the emerging adult may depend on their parents for financial support and other practical advice, and at other times they may attempt to struggle with negotiating life's challenges on their own. However, emerging adults tend to continue turning to their parents for emotional support and assurance throughout their transition to adulthood and beyond. Similarly, Gleason (1983) in her study found that more than two-thirds of the daughters felt positive about their mothers, felt closer to their mother and shared more with mother than with anyone other than her best friends, and even anticipated the relationship would continue to be close, although perhaps evolving. However only a small number of respondents felt tension and distance with their mothers and wanted a closer, more open, and friendlier relationship.

Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships through the lens of Life-Course Perspective

As children grow into mature adults and their mothers turn old, the relationship they share with each other often becomes the object of reflection and meaning-making for them. Thus

the present study uses a narrative approach, reflecting upon a social constructivist perspective and focuses on the significance of meaning-making in relationship, as both the individuals develop an understanding of themselves in correspondence to the other.

When people give accounts of an important relationship they generally tend to do so by imparting meaning to various actions, events, and emotions of the past, present and anticipated future together. Thus a narrative is generally defined as a meaningful structure or story that organizes various events and actions of life. Thus relationship narratives, on the other hand, could be described as an individual's story about himself/herself, in relation to the other in the relationship. Therefore such a narrative could be described as a subjective and individual psychological construct. As each member describes and evaluates the relationship, they generally tend to communicate various aspects of others narratives, consequently influencing the other and dynamically constructing the understanding of the other of the relationship. Thus, according to the understanding mentioned above, relationship narratives are considered to be co-constructed in nature. However, the present study emphasizes on the idea of how relationship narratives are an individual and cognitive construct which not only has various shared but also unshared elements along with opposing elements. Thus in the above light the current study asses how mothers and their adult daughters individually and independently recount narratives about the relationship they share with one another and also emphasize on the themes for the same. Therefore, the major research question posed is as follows:

Research Question: What are the dominant themes that characterize the relationship shared between the mother-daughter, from each of their individual perspectives?

METHODO LOGY

Sample

A purposive, snowball sampling method was used for recruiting the mothers and their adult daughters. Word-of mouth was used to recruit the participants. Thus, the final sample included 24 mothers and daughters (12 pairs). Before conducting the interview, each pair of mother and daughter independently completed a demographic questionnaire. All the participants were interviewed in person, after their signed consent and a demographic questionnaire was received.

The mean age for mothers was found to be 52.47 (range= 45-55 years), whereas the mean age for daughters was found to be 23.58 (range= 22- 26 years).

Specifically, the participants were chosen from the Northern part of the country, particularly belonging to the state of New Delhi. All the mothers stayed at home mothers, whereas all the daughters were engaged in full-time employment. For both the mothers and daughters, the minimum level of education was graduation.

Interview Protocol

In the current study, the mother and the daughter pairs were asked to describe their relationship from the beginning (i.e. from the childhood) to the present description of the bond they shared with each other. Both the women were also asked to describe the changes each of them experienced in their relationship and also identify the various influences on their relationships (such as work, other family member's etcetera).

The interview questions were mainly formulated on the basis of an exploration of major themes found on the basis of review of literature along with pilot interviews of two pairs of mothers and daughters. Thus, on the basis of the above-mentioned information, the final protocol was made which consisted of 19 open-ended questions for mothers and 15 open-ended questions for daughters.

Procedure

Both the mothers and daughters were interviewed independently and individually by the two interviewers (the two researchers), both of whom had previous interviewing experience. All the interviews lasted for about 1 to 1.5 hours, which were then audio-recorded and transcribed. Two pilot interviews (one pair each), were conducted by both the researchers, on the basis of which certain pertinent changes in the questions of the interviews were made and consequently the final questions were framed.

Analysis

Thematic Network analysis was used as the prime method for analyzing the data. The transcripts were read line by line to extract the basic themes. The basic themes were then clubbed around similar ideas and the organizing themes were formulated. Lastly, on the basis of all the gathered information of the themes, the global themes, capturing the principal metaphor of the textual data were formulated.

RESULTS

Table No. 1: Showing the Basic and Organizing Themes of the Mother

Basic Themes	Organizing Themes
Daughter's Happiness of Prime importance for the Mother Daughter's Happiness of Prime importance Daug	Reliance on Mother's happiness on Daughter
Efforts made to make daughter happy	
Focus from Self to the Other	
• Daughter's birth: A shared priority of husband and wife	• Daughter's Birth: A turning point in the life of parents
• Children lead to a stronger bond between husband and wife	
Daughter teaches life lessons	• Daughter: A guiding force for the
Daughter a Motivator	mother
and Supporter	
• The arrival of daughter: An inexplicable feeling	Birth of Daughter: Completion of womanhood
The emergence of New Identity	
Adulthood: A phase of increased sharing for mother with daughter	Daughter: As a friend
 Perception of increased comfort and understanding at daughter's end for the mother 	
 Daughter a confidant, secret keeper 	
 Daughter is considered dependable 	
Daughter: Mother's first resort for emotional disclosure	
Work-life resulting in less hours spent with daughter	• Emotional closeness Unperturbed by Physical Distance

Basic Themes	Organizing Themes
Relationship unaffected by a decrease in time apart together.	
time spent together	
• No critical Negative experience affecting	Conflict Resolution: An approachable
the relationship	resolution
• Temporary Distancing: A method of	
Resolution	
• Space for Reciprocal Feedback between	
Mother and Daughter	
• Daughter acting as a support to the mother	• New Dimension to Relationship:
in raising the Second child	Shared role of mother
Mother as a Sole caregiver	Solitary caregiving
• The feeling of a single parent	
• Raising the daughter alone in the physical	
absence of the father	

Table No. 2: Showing the Basic and Organizing Themes of the Daughter

	Table No. 2: Showing the Basic and Organizing Themes of the Daughter				
Basic Themes		Oı	rganizing Themes		
•	Mother: A constant support for daughter in her exploration of the career path Mother: An important support system and guide Mother shares personal experiences to	•	Mother Performing Multiple Roles		
	guide her				
•	Mother is like a Friend Sharing without inhibitions with mother Mother: A secret keeper Domain-specific sharing with the mother Mother: A listening ear Change: Controlling mother to supporting the mother	•	Mother: As a friend		
•	Work-life resulting in less hours spent with daughter Relationship unaffected by a decrease in time spent together	•	Emotional closeness unperturbed by physical distance		
•	No critical negative experience affecting the relationship Temporary Distancing: A method of Resolution Space for reciprocal feedback between mother and daughter	•	Conflict Resolution: An approachable Resolution		
•	Motherly feeling translated into her as an elder sibling	•	New Dimension to the relationship: Shared role of Mother		
•	Mother a comforter during an emotional crisis Bearer of difficulties for the daughter Transmission of pain from daughter to mother	•	Mother:A Protective shield for the Daughter		

Table No.3: Showing the Global Themes

Global Themes	Daughter as an Individual; Mother as a Role
	 Transition to a Friend: Defined /Undefined boundaries

DISCUSSION

The mother-daughter relation is often characterized as one of paramount significance in the lives of both the adult daughters and their mothers. Mothers are often considered important for transferring values and preparing their children as functioning members of society (Johnson, 2000). They are believed to be the most important models for their daughters (Chodorow, 1989) and the values and attitudes which are taught by mothers are often internalized into daughters' value system (Looker & Magee, 2000). Similarly, Research has also shown that the interdependence and emotional intensity of the mother-daughter bond are higher than other dyads (Rastogi & Wampler, 1999) and that this relationship may have significant effects on the daughter's employment and career decisions, self-concept and identification, resilience, and coping skills.

In the current study, individual narratives of mothers and daughters about the relationship they shared with each other were gathered. It involved the examination of the relationship narratives and present quality of their relationship along with each pair revisiting, revaluating and consequently understanding their shared past. For this, 12 Mother –Daughter dyads were interviewed and the data were analysed using the method of thematic network analysis. The following organizing and global themes were found.

The results suggested the following organizing themes for the Mother:

Reliance on Mother's happiness on Daughter: The theme highlights how a daughter's happiness becomes the focal point of the life of the mother. Her happiness and well-being are of utmost importance to her, so much so that her daughter's happiness becomes a precursor to her own happiness.

This evident from the following verbatim:

One of the mothers described: "My life is good. But you know I am little tensed these days because my daughter is tensed about her career. I just want her to be happy you know. She stays very worried about her future. I also get very unhappy then. I wish she gets successful in life"

Daughter's birth: A turning point in the life of Parents: This theme centers around the idea of how the birth of a daughter is considered a shared critical event in the life of husband and wife. It not only gives them a sense of shared responsibility but also becomes the ground of common prioritization. Along with the new sense of responsibility, it also leads to growth in affection towards each other.

One of the mothers recollected: "That was a very emotional moment because I remember I had to wait for two days as the doctor didn't allow me to see my child, so I was waiting for that moment to have my kid in my hands. There were tears in my eyes on hearing the news. I didn't know before and they (the doctors) informed me that. So I was overwhelmed rather with the feeling of having a child."

Another mother expressed: "With the birth of my daughter, my relationship with my husband became even stronger. We became too close because of her. She became our common priority. Our life was confined around her only. We used to take care of her together and used to stay up late at night to attend to her."

Daughter: A Guiding Force for Mother: This theme revolves around the idea of how the daughter acts a significant motivating force in the life of mother. Not only does the daughter provide the much-needed support to their mother but also encourages the mother to make significant life decisions in her life. Mothers are also still needed by their older adolescent and emerging adult daughters, but the ways in which they are needed are ever-changing throughout the transition and this change has an impact on their sense of self as a mother (Kenemore & Spira, 1996).

One of the mothers expressed: "My Daughter is like big support for me. Whenever I am sad, she gets to know without even me telling her. Once I remember I had a fight with my sister, it was my daughter who explained me and told me how to handle the situation. I am so lucky to have her."

Birth of Daughter: Completion of Womanhood: Birth of the daughter is a life turning event for the mother. It validates her existence as a woman. Culturally in the Indian context also, it is believed that unless motherhood is attained, a female's life is incomplete. Therefore, with birth of a daughter not just a new role is born rather it leads to the emergence of a new identity. La Sorsa and Fodor (1990) saw this relationship as important in the self-definition of women and hence suggested that it should be nurtured as a positive connection rather than severed.

One of the mothers expressed: "The moment I took my child in my hands it felt like a huge pain had subsided and I felt so relieved and I could feel that my life was complete, I can't explain the moment, the feeling which I got when I took her in my arms. It felt like I am a complete woman now. It was a surreal moment."

Daughter: As a Friend: As a daughter approaches adulthood and is perceived to be gaining sensibilities related to worldly affairs, the mother starts seeing her from a different lens of her being a friend. There is an experience of increased comfort in emotional disclosure with the daughter. Additionally, there is a perception of the existence of the utmost reciprocity from the daughter's side, creating a belief that there are no boundaries of hesitation in this relationship.

One of the mother expressed: "I have always tried to support her, so I think our bond has become stronger with time. She has become more of a friend as compared to being a daughter. When I am facing some problems also I can go up and discuss with her almost anything".

Another mother recounted: "She can talk to me whole heartedly on any concern or any matter. From the beginning of our relationship I always tried her to be open with me rather than discussing with other people. She can discuss anything with me. It could be anything related to boyfriend or any affair or anything. That's why, she discusses with me about everything. She is like my best friend you see. We can talk to each other almost about anything. Just like friends, the way they do."

Emotional closeness Unperturbed by Physical Distance: This theme centres around the idea of how physical distance has never acted as barrier for emotional disclosure for the mother with her daughter. Despite not staying in close proximity with each other due to the busy working schedules of the daughter, the emotional closeness in the bond is not compromised. Hammer (1975) in her study found strong lifelong levels of identification and emotional attachment in the mother-daughter relationship. She saw mothers and daughters as tending to remain in a semi-symbiotic relationship and emotionally bound up with one another. Similarly, Fischer (1991) observed that interdependence and emotional connection were higher in mother and daughter relationship than any other dyads.

One of the mother mentioned: "So as she is working these days. We only get to meet each other during weekends. But every day we both make it a point to talk to each other. She calls me every day and we talk for at least one hour and share the routine of her entire day. And even I do so. I can't stay without telling her my entire routine".

Conflict Resolution: An Approachable Resolution: This theme highlights the idea of conflict resolution which is generally perceived as an effortful and intense mechanism to engage in however is dealt with utmost ease and comfort in the mother-daughter relationship. For instance, Fingerman, (2001); Smetana, Daddis & Chuang, (2003) in their study found that bond with daughters tends to be more emotionally intense involving more closeness and conflict.

One of the mother recounted: "Nothing special, we just keep calm and silent and after sometime vent out anger at each other and then we become normal. After sometime if she realizes that it was her fault then she comes and talks, sometimes she doesn't. Otherwise there are no issues she accepts almost everything, even if we quarrel also we resolve it easily, it's not like we hesitate to talk to each other."

New Dimension of Relationship: Shared role of Mother: This theme centres around the idea of how a novel dimension is added to the relationship between mother and daughter based on the role played by the daughter in the life of her siblings. Not only does the daughter support the mother in raising her second child, but also helps in the positive growth and nurturance of the second child with the mother.

One of the mother expressed: "My elder daughter provided great support when my second daughter was born. She actually took care of my second child, as if, she was her mother"

Solitary Care Giving: This theme revolves around the idea of how mother also has to play the role of their daughter's father, in their absence due to work engagements. This leads the mothers to act as a single parent, in order to compensate for the immediate physical absence of fathers. In family life, the mother as the main caregiver has a more important role than the father in bringing up children (Akgun, 2008). Anthropologist, Edith Neisser (1973) conducted a study of mothers and daughters in seven cultures, across the world, one of them being a (Rajput) North Indian farming community. She concluded that mother-daughter relationships seem to be made closer under three cultural conditions: when the mother is responsible for teaching her daughter either practical or ritualistic survival skills, when women are systematically excluded from men's recreational pursuits, and when the mother and her daughter live in family rather than communal units.

One of the mother expressed: "There were times when I had to also play the role of a father, along with being a mother, as my husband used to be away for his work. So, for most of the time, I have played a dual role for my daughter."

The organizing themes for the daughter were as follows:

Mother performing multiple roles: The theme emphasizes that a 'mother's role in her daughter's life is not uni-dimensional, rather it ranges from her being a primary caregiver, to a friend and to a guide. These roles in her germinate organically, as her daughter moves from one stage to another. As the daughter enters her adolescence, her mother transitions into being her friend. Then, when she progresses and reaches adulthood, she portrays the role of a guide, supporting her in her independent decisions related to her career and life ahead. Mothers are the primary source of advice and support for issues such as planning for future education, career, and family. This relationship also has an important impact on the daughter's sense of self and her psychological development. (Dick & Rallis, 1991; Domene, Shapka & Keating, 2006; Kniveton, 2004; Paa & McWhirter, 2000; Tucker, Baeber, & Eccles, 2001).

One of the daughter mentioned: "At present, I am trying to find stability in my life. So, my mother tries to guide me, in terms of what can and cannot be done in the future, what could be the possible career options for me, etc. So, she plays the role of a guide for me."

Mother: As a Friend: For the daughter, her mother is an omnipresent emotional comforter, supporting her in the times of pain and distress. However, there is a heightened realization that her mother is generation apart, might not be accepting of certain aspects of her life, especially pertaining to romantic life. Therefore, daughters prefer concealing certain domains of her life which might evoke unpleasant reactions from their mothers. Nancy Gleason(1983) in her study of evolution of mother-daughter relationship found that more than two-thirds of the daughters felt very positively about their mothers, felt closer to mother and shared more with mother than with anyone other than her best friends, and anticipated the relationship would continue to be close, although perhaps evolving. Of the minority of respondents who felt tension and distance with their mothers, most wanted a closer, more open, and friendlier relationship. Only six of the respondents wanted less to do with their mothers.

One of the daughter expressed: "I tell her about each and every thing, no hesitation regarding anything, I have never hesitated whether I should tell this to my mom or not or what she'll think, rather she'll only listen to it and react accordingly and tell what is good. She is like my best friend. But there are certain areas where you know I prefer keeping my filter even with her. Like I know she won't judge me, actually she might also. But I guess you will understand. Sometimes generation gap also comes you know. It's difficult for me to tell her everything, something are only for friends, especially related to love life or boyfriends."

Emotional Closeness unperturbed by Physical Distance: This theme revolves around the idea of how physical distance has never resulted in emotional chasm between the mother and daughter. The busy working schedule of the daughter has not lead to a sense of compromised emotional reciprocity between them. The relationship between adult daughters and their mothers frequently involves closeness, intimacy, and support, that is, the sharing of a deep bond across their life-spans (Rossi, 1993; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Cochran, 1985).

One of the daughter recounted: "As I have told you, I am working so I stay very busy with work and I hardly get time to spend with my mother. But you know you just have this

feeling with some people, like they will always be there. So with mom it's like that only. I might not get to talk to her for long hours every day, but I know she is just a call away. I can share everything with her that way."

Conflict Resolution: An Approachable Resolution: This theme underscores the idea of how conflict resolution which is generally perceived as an intense and exacting mechanism to engage in, is dealt with utmost ease and comfort in the mother–daughter relationship. Fingerman (1996) found that mothers and daughters who attributed tensions to annoying behaviours/habits reported greater regard for the relationship.

One of the daughter expressed: "We have never really had a big fight you see. We do sometimes disagree about a lot of issues. But it doesn't affect our relationship. So whenever we do fight, we stop talking for a while and it's like I divert my attention and when she comes and talk to me or I go to her. It all gets normal then on its own, we talk to each other as if nothing ever happened. It's comfortable with her."

New dimension to Relationship: Shared role of mother: As the daughter grows, her mother's nurturing instincts are transfused into her and she adopts the role of a second mother to her sibling. This is evident in the present study as all the daughters felt and expressed that they took care of their siblings not just as a sister but more so as a care giver.

One of the daughter expressed: "Sometimes, when my mother feels that my brother would not listen to her or will not abide by what she would say, she asks me to talk to him. So, I try to explain it to him and I often find that he understands me and also obeys to what I say, so you know it gets easy for my mother also, she shares problems related to my brother with me".

Mother a Protective Shield for the Daughter: The present theme reflects how mother tries to protect her daughter from painful experiences of life. She is intuitive towards her problems and makes utmost effort to provide comfort to her in times of distress. Furthermore, the mother doesn't feel detached from her daughter's stresses and feels she should equally bear the pain with her.

One of the daughter mentioned: "Whenever, I am in distress, my mother is the first person with whom I share my feelings. I really get stressed due to my work deadlines and she is the one who comforts me and tells me that 'I am around, so don't worry'. Believe me, her presence, at that time really de-stresses me."

The two major global themes that emerged from the analysis were as follows:

Daughter as an Individual; Mother as a Role: The theme highlights the idea of how deeply the mother is immersed in her role as a 'mother', that its segregation from her as an individual being seems difficult to attain. The role of being a 'Mother' seems too dominant over her 'self' that even her individual goals seem to be directed around the daughter. However the daughter's existence is not solely defined by her role as a 'Daughter' as the segregation between the role of a daughter and an individual is pertinent in defining her 'self'.

Transition to a Friend: Defined /Undefined boundaries: The theme centresaround the idea of how mother-daughter relationship evolves and they both begin seeing each other in a common evolved role of a 'Friend'. However, this shared role branches out into different

directions, assuming different shades of friendship. Hence, holding different meaning for each one of them. Fingerman (2000) concludes that as daughters move through young adulthood, their dependency needs generally diminish and, in complementary fashion, the primacy of their mothers' nurturing role may lessen. The mother—daughter relationship transforms from a dyadic interest in the daughter's individual psychological development to a shared investment in a larger network of relationships.

CONCLUSION

The current study focuses on exploring the relationship shared between mothers and their adult daughters using in-depth interviews of 12 dyads(N=24) of mothers and their daughters. The results were analyzed using the method of thematic network analysis and the results were as follows: The organizing themes found for Mothers were: Reliance of mother's happiness on daughter, Daughter's Birth: A turning point in the life of parents, Daughter: A Guiding Force for the mother, Birth of Daughter: Completion of Womanhood, Daughter: As a friend, Emotional Closeness Unperturbed by Physical Distance, Conflict Resolution: An Approachable Resolution, New Dimension to Relationship: Shared Role of Mother, Solitary Care Giving. The organizing themes for the daughter were as follows: Mother Performing Multiple Roles, Mother: As a friend, Emotional Closeness Unperturbed by Physical Distance, Conflict Resolution: An Approachable Resolution, New Dimension to Relationship: Shared Role of Mother, Mother a Protective Shield for the Daughter. Lastly, the global themes of the study were: Daughter as an Individual; Mother as a Role and Transition to a Friend: Defined /Undefined boundaries.

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Conflict of Interest

The author declared no conflict of interests.

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