

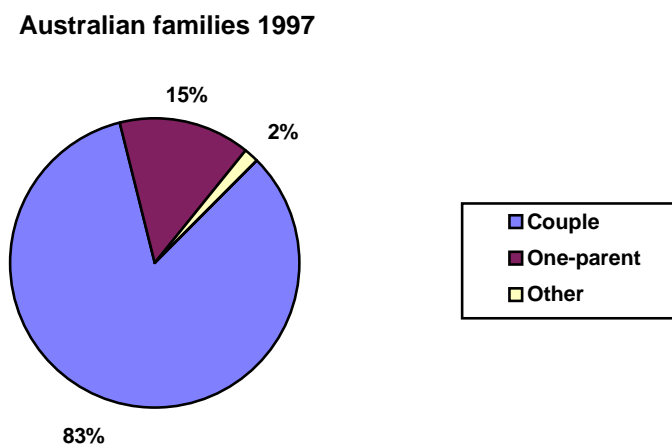
Chapter 2

Marriage and family in Australia

Following the Second World War, marriages and births that had been delayed by the conflict soared – a trend which continued through the fifties and early sixties, while divorce rates fell.

A series of changes during subsequent decades had a major impact on family life: the advent of the contraceptive pill, the entry of married women into the paid workforce, the widening of sole parents benefits, and the introduction of no-fault divorce legislation. By the 1980s, the divorce rate had soared, out-of-wedlock confinements had increased, marriages were delayed, and birthrates fell. The structure of the Australian family had changed remarkably. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the changes and trends that have occurred to family structures.

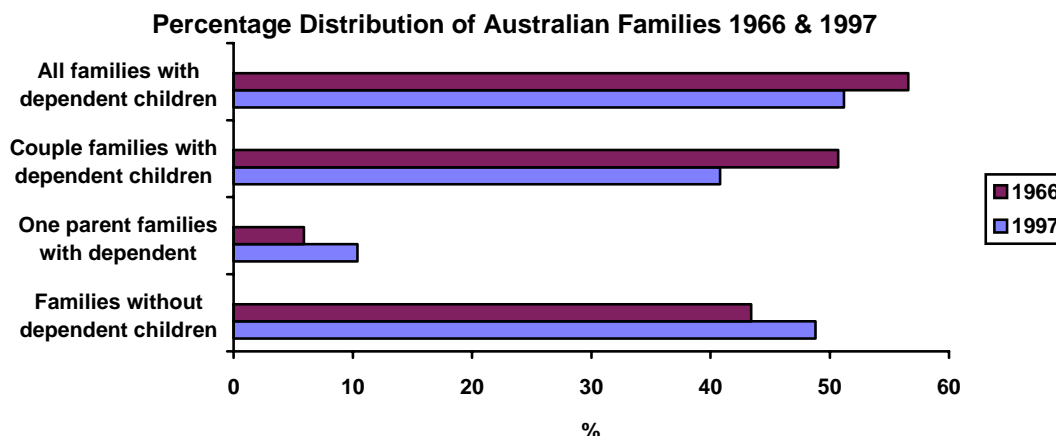
Family structure



Source: ABS *Labour Force Status & Other Characteristics of Families* Cat 6224.0

Families and children

Of 4,775,200 families in 1992, 4,097,100 (86 per cent) were couple families, 620,000 (13 per cent) were single parent families, and 58,100 (1 per cent) were other families. Of the couples families, 3,752,500 (92 per cent) were married, of which 1,908,200 (51 per cent) had dependent children. Another 344,600 (8 per cent) were de facto relationships, of which 123,100 (36 per cent) had dependent children. By 1997, the proportion of single-parent families had risen to 14.5 per cent. Of the 620,000 single parent families, 522,100 (84 per cent) were mother-headed, and 97,900 (16 per cent) were father-headed.



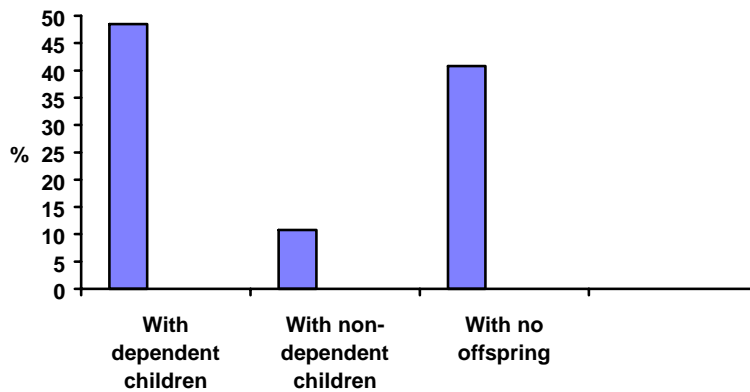
Source: ABS Census Data *Australia's Families* Cat 4418.0 and ABS *Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families* Cat 6224.0

By 1996, 48 per cent of Australian couples had dependent children. A further 11 per cent had non-dependent children, while 41 per cent had no offspring at all. Some 80 per cent of children were living with both parents, 12 per cent in a single parent family, and 5 per cent as a step-child.

Earlier in the century, when families were much larger and life expectancy shorter, a higher proportion of households had dependent children. Dr Moira Eastman, author of *Family – The Vital Factor*, observes, 'As a greater proportion of the population is single or childless, marriage and family may have less status and commitment from the society at large, and the concerns and issues of parents may recede from public consciousness.'¹

1 M Eastman (1992) *Family: the vital factor* Melbourne: Collins Dove.

Australian couple families 1996

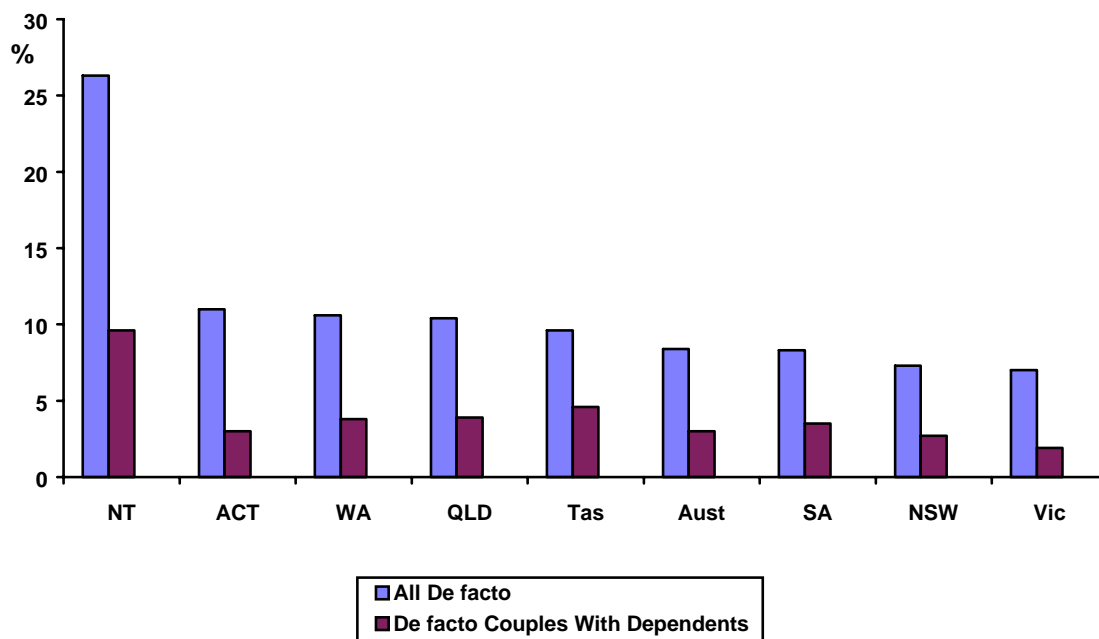


Source: ABS 1996 Census

De facto couples

De facto couples as a proportion of all couples varies across the states and territories. In 1992, the highest proportion was 26 per cent in the Northern Territory, and the lowest was 7 per cent in Victoria. The proportion of de facto couples with dependent children varied from 10 per cent in the Northern Territory to 2 per cent in Victoria.

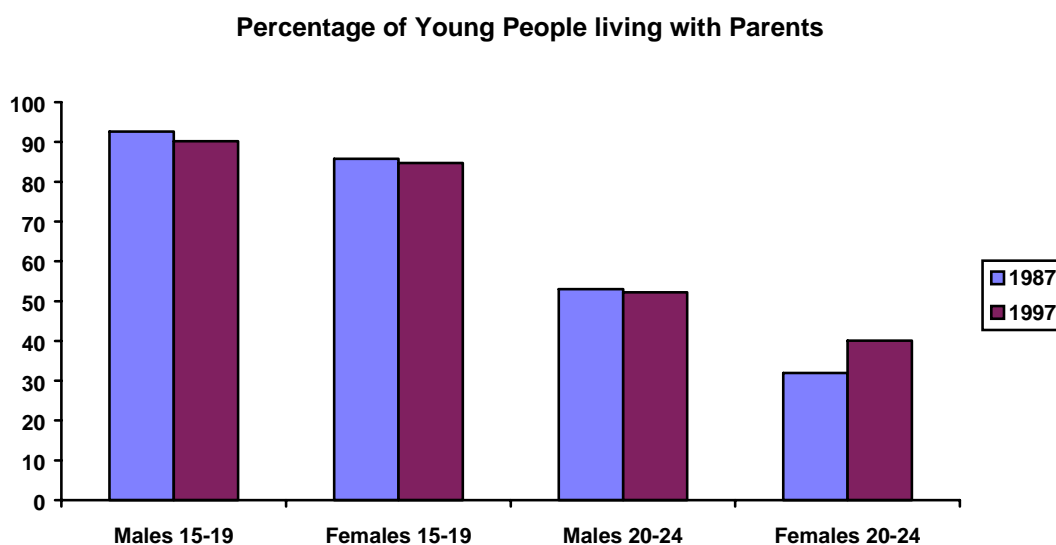
De facto couples as a % of all couples 1992



Source: ABS *Australian Families* Cat 4418.0

Children at home

The earlier pattern of young people living at home with parents, which declined in the 1970s and 80s, has emerged again in the 1990s, due to longer years of formal education and higher levels of unemployment. In 1981, more than 6 in 10 single people aged 15 to 24 years were recorded as living at home with their parents. By 1992, four out of five single people aged 15 to 24 were living with one or two parents.



Source: ABS Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families 6224.0

Most young people aged 15 to 19 live with a parent or parents. Between 1987 and 1997, the number of people aged 20 to 34 living with their parents increased substantially. It is estimated that the median age for leaving home over the past decade is about 19 for women and 20 for men. Since the 1970s, people have left home for reasons of independence rather than just marriage, work and study.

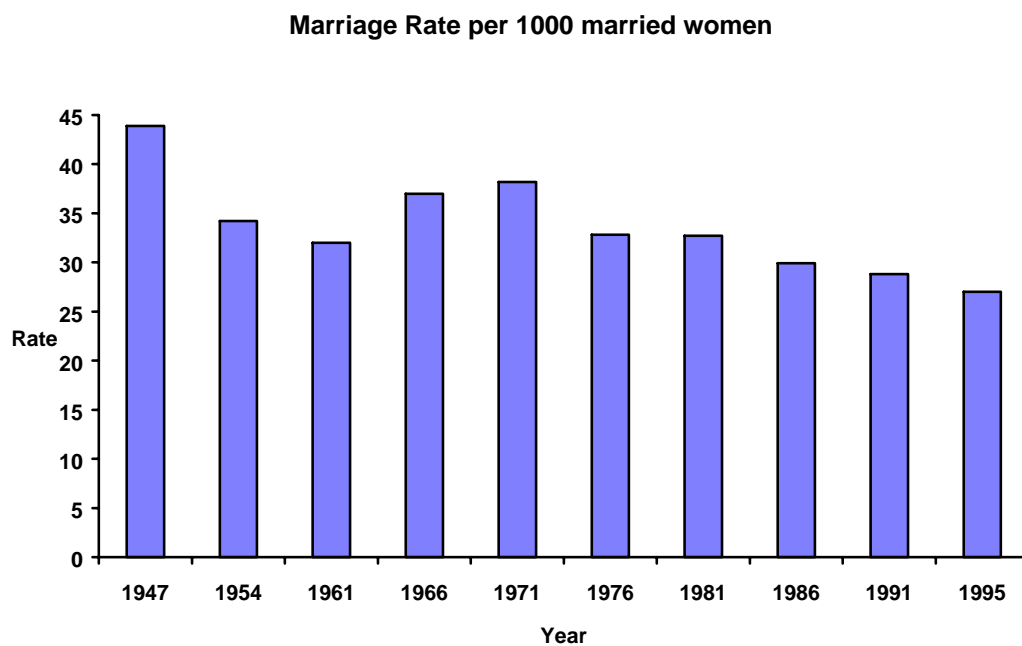
Trends

The changes in family patterns involve a number of discernible trends.

People are marrying less

Marriage rate per 1000 married women

1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1995
43.9	34.2	32.0	37.0	38.2	32.8	32.7	29.9	28.8	27.0



Source: ABS *Marriages and Divorces* Cat 3310.0

Australia has experienced a declining rate of marriages since 1947. The crude marriage rate (the number of marriages per 1,000 people) fell to 6.2 in 1994, almost as low as the rate during the Great Depression, and half the rate during World War II. After rising again in the 1960s and 1970s, the rate has fallen again to 6.1 in 1995 when 109,386 marriages were registered. The number of people aged over 15 who are married fell from 65.4 per cent in 1976 to 57.4 per cent in 1994. There were 106,100 marriages in 1996. In terms of weddings per 1000 people, this was the lowest rate since 1900. These figures reflect trends in other western nations.

According to Dr Don Edgar, the former Director of the Australian Institute of Family Studies, the factors shaping 'modern marriage' are:

- the certainty of contraception and the careful planning of births;

- the new preparation pathway to marriage via multiple relationships and prolonged autonomy as an individual earner;
- a growing realisation on the part of women that they cannot and ought not rely upon or be dependants of men; and
- a legal framework progressively enacting equal opportunity, human rights and joint responsibility for men and women in fulfilling the obligations of marriage and parenthood.²

For the first half of this century, less than 10 per cent of women never married during their lifetime. However, the trend has been steadily moving upwards since the end of the Second World War. Sociologist Peter McDonald concluded that on present indicators, 22 per cent of women will not have married by age 35 by the end of the century – the highest level in Australian history.³

According to the 1996 Census, more men – 2,359,842 – than women – 1,941,876 – had never married.

2 D Edgar (1988) 'The new marriage: changing rules for changing times' *Threshold* 22: 9.

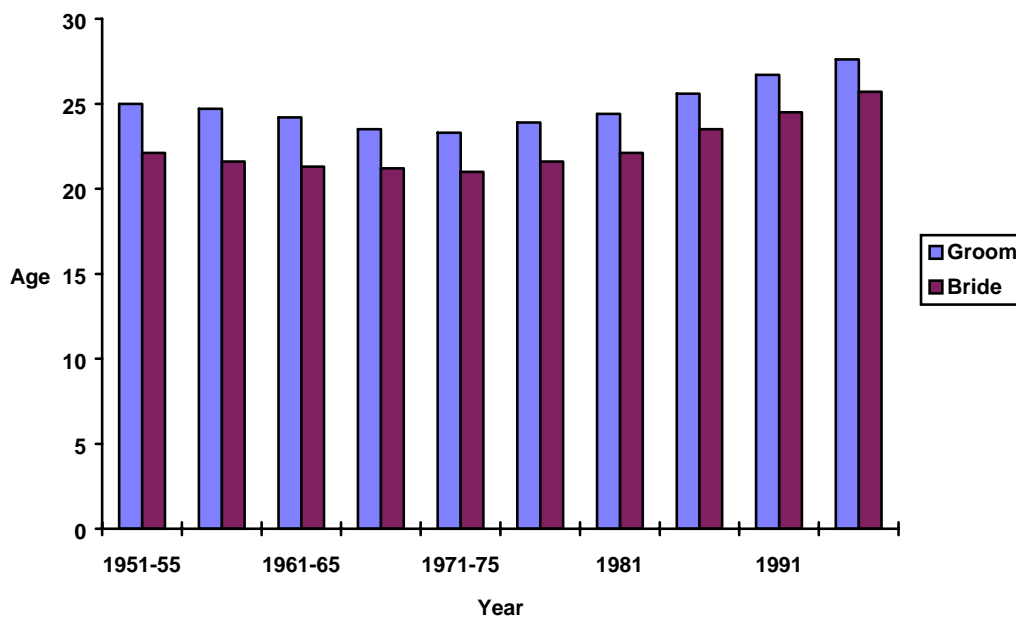
3 P McDonald (1995) *Families in Australia – A socio-demographic perspective* Melbourne: AIFS.

Those couples who marry do so at an older age

Median ages at marriage

	1951 -55	1956 -60	1961 -65	1966 -70	1971 -75	1976 -80	1981	1986	1991	1996
Groom	25.	24.7	24.2	23.5	23.3	23.9	24.4	25.6	26.7	27.6
Bride	22.1	21.6	21.3	21.2	21.0	21.6	22.1	23.5	24.5	25.7

Median Age (years) at Marriage of Bride and Bridegroom
(never previously married)



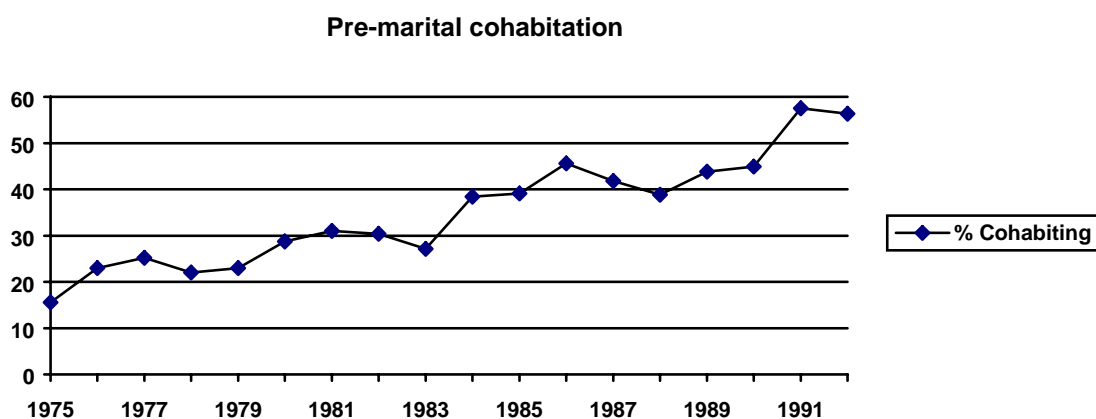
Source: ABS *Marriages* Cat 3306.0 and *Marriages and Divorces* Cat 3310.0

In Australia from 1951–55, the median age at marriage was 25 years for grooms and 22.1 years for brides. These ages dropped to 23.3 and 21 in the early 1970s. By 1996, the median age had risen markedly for grooms and for brides.

Although men still marry on average later than women, women are increasingly marrying at a later age. In 1972, 33 per cent of women had married by the time they turned 20, and 83 per cent of those reaching 25 had married. By 1991, these figures had dropped to 5 per cent and 47 per cent – levels closer to 1934, when the figures were 14 per cent and 48 per cent.

More couples cohabit before marriage

There have been major changes in the pathways that couples take into marriage. By 1992 about 56 per cent of marriages were preceded by a period of cohabitation. This figure has almost quadrupled in two decades. These trends have been supported in changes to laws governing the rights of cohabiting persons.



Source: ABS *Australia's Families* Cat 4418.0

Although cohabitation has become popular since the 1970s, these relationships tend to be of short duration. According to the *Australian Family Formation Project*, 25 per cent of de facto relationships lasted 12 months, around half ended after two years, and three quarters ended by four years. Many ended in marriage. A fifth of those in existing de facto relationships had been involved in their relationship three months or less before moving in together; a further 25 per cent had known each other four to six months; another 28 per cent seven to twelve months; 18 per cent between one and two years; and 7 per cent had known each other for more than two years before they started living together.⁴

The *Australian Family Formation Project* found that after five years of marriage, 13 per cent of those who had cohabited would divorce, compared to 6 per cent of those who had not cohabited. Ten years later the proportions were 26 per cent for those who had cohabited and 14 per cent for those who had not. These findings have been supported by research in Britain, Canada, the United States and Sweden.⁵

Kerry James, a Sydney marriage counsellor, has noted that 'people who do decide not to get married and to live together may be unsure of their commitment in the

4 AIFS (1991) *Australian Family Formation Study* Melbourne: AIFS.

5 See Chapter 4 above.

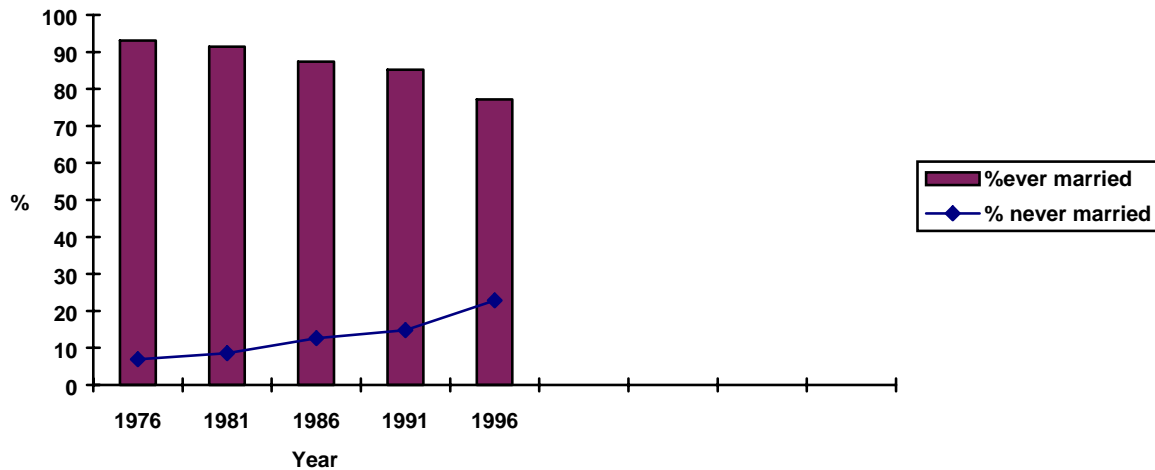
first place, and then they may decide to get married. The lack of certainty about the commitment continues and that's when the marriage can break down.'⁶

More people remain unmarried

Females Aged 30–34

	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
% ever married	93.1	91.4	87.4	85.2	77.2
% never married	6.9	8.6	12.6	14.8	22.8

Females Aged 30 - 34 % ever married & % never married



Source: ABS Estimated Resident Population by Marital Status, Age and Sex Cat 3220.0 and ABS 1996 Census data

The proportion of never married men and women has doubled over the past 25 years. There has also been a dramatic decrease in the number of young married adults. In 1991, only 19.6 per cent of women aged 20–24 had married, compared to 64.3 per cent in 1971 and 59 per cent in 1954. For men aged 25-29, 45.2 per cent had married in 1991, compared to 74.3 per cent in 1971 and 63.5 per cent in 1954.

6 K James *The Midday Show* Channel 9: Sydney 14 June 1994.

Remarriage

The rates of remarriage have fallen in Australia over the past 20 years. Prior to the introduction of the Family Law Act in 1975, about a quarter of divorced people aged 25–40 remarried in any given year.

According to sociologist Peter McDonald the remarriage rate has more than halved since 1971, falling for males from 246 per thousand divorced persons to 120 by 1991; and for females from 215 per thousand divorced persons to just 101 by 1991. Denis Ladbrook, Professor of Social Work at Curtin University, Perth, suggests that ‘this halving of remarriage rates over a sixteen year period probably reflects a rise in cohabitation on the part of men and women who have already been divorced.’⁷

By 1992, one in three marriages included at least one partner who had been married previously.

	Neither married before	One divorced	Both divorced	Other
1966	86.5	7.8	2.0	3.7
1992	67.2	19.8	11.2	1.8

Source: ABS *Marriages and Divorces* Cat 3306.0

In 1993, 69 per cent of men and 65 per cent of women had remarried within five years of being divorced. The proportion of widowed who had remarried after five years was lower – 61 per cent for men and 43 per cent for woman.

The median interval between divorce and remarriage was 2.8 years for men and 3.2 years for women. ‘While this figure obscures the important length of time between separation and remarriage,’ states Professor Ladbrook, ‘it does suggest that the possibility of marriages being hastily contracted without adequate time for debriefing the past and rebuilding life securely in the present.’

By contrast, the median interval between the death of a spouse and remarriage is 3 years for men and 5.7 years for women.

Weddings

The proportion of Australian weddings celebrated by ministers of religion declined from 84 per cent in 1973 to 57 per cent in 1994. Despite the decline in the proportion

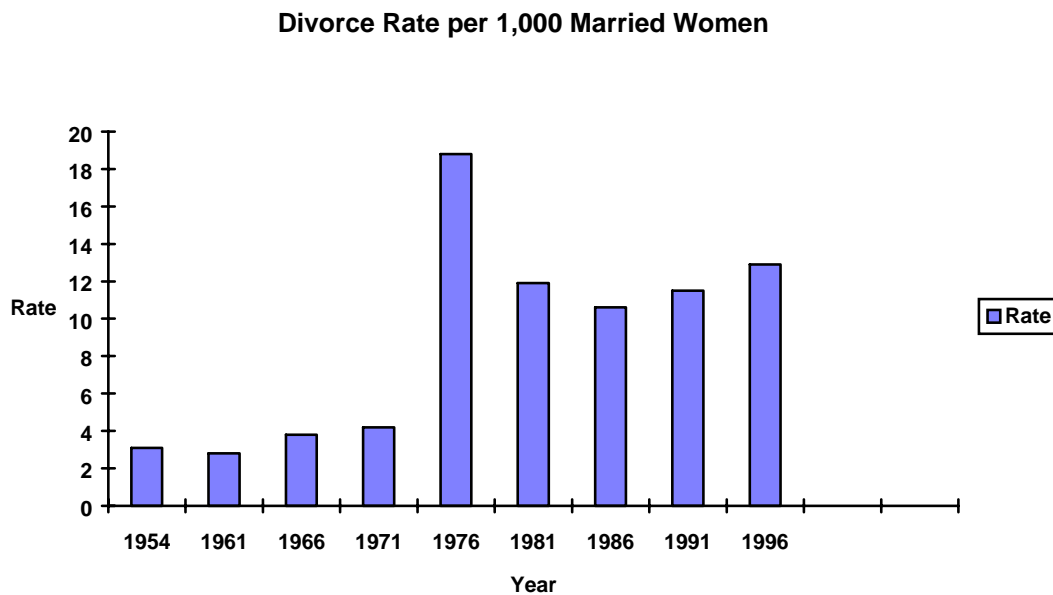
⁷ D Ladbrook (1995) *Social Contexts of Marriage and Family in Australia in the Mid to Late 1980s* Kenmore Qld: PREPARE-ENRICH Australia.

of people participating in a wedding celebrated by a minister of religion, Professor Denis Ladbrook, believes that ‘a rising number of people are turning away from secularism and are renewing their spirituality in informal ways.’⁸

There has been a dramatic increase in divorce

Divorce rate per 1,000 married women

1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
3.1	2.8	3.8	4.2	18.8	11.9	10.6	11.5	12.9



Source: ABS *Divorces* Cat 3307.0 and *Marriages and Divorces* Cat 3310.0

For most of the century there has been a steady increase in the number of divorces granted each year. From 1901–10, there were about 400 divorces granted each year. By 1961–70, this had risen to about 9,000 divorces per year. Following the introduction of the no-fault Family Law Act, an average of 45,220 divorces were granted in the years 1976–80, with 63,200 in 1976 alone. The proportion of the population divorced has risen from 0.15 per cent in 1911 to 6.4 per cent in 1996. Divorce is increasing in Australia, rising 12 per cent over the decade. Given the increase in de facto relationships, the divorce statistics underestimate the real level of separations. There were 52,500 divorces granted in 1996. This is the second highest since the record number granted in 1976 (63,230) when the Family Law Act was introduced.

8 D Ladbrook *ibid.*

According to a 1995 study, ten per cent of marriages failed within six years, 20 per cent within 10 years, 30 per cent by 20 years, and 40 per cent by 30 years. Of the couples who divorced in 1996, 27 per cent separated within the first five years of marriage, and a further 22 per cent within the next five years. The average length of marriage was 7.6 years.

Chinese-born people have the highest divorce rate of any ethnic group. The rate of 13.5 for men and 17 per 1,000 for women compared to 4.1 per 1,000 for Italian-born men and 2.8 per 1,000 for Italian-born women. Australian-born rates in 1993 were 4.8 for men and 4.9 for women.

Eventually, 43 per cent of marriages will fail, according to a recent study. However, family researcher Moira Eastman cautions that projections into the future may overestimate the amount of current divorce among younger people.⁹

The trends are particularly grim for couples who marry young. Seven out of ten teenage bridegrooms and a half of teenage brides are divorced within 10 years of their wedding. According to the *Australian Family Formation Study*, the pre-marital experiences contributing most to the risk of marital breakdown are pre-marital cohabitation, having an ex-nuptial child, and leaving home at an early age.¹⁰

The rate of divorce also reflects attitudes to marriage and relationships. Marriage educator Margaret Andrews writes:

In former times, marriages were based around economic factors. Personal relationships were of relatively low priority. The marriage was considered a success if it survived economically. Husband and wife roles were very clearly defined. Man's value was in his ability to provide a living; the woman was primarily the mother and housekeeper.

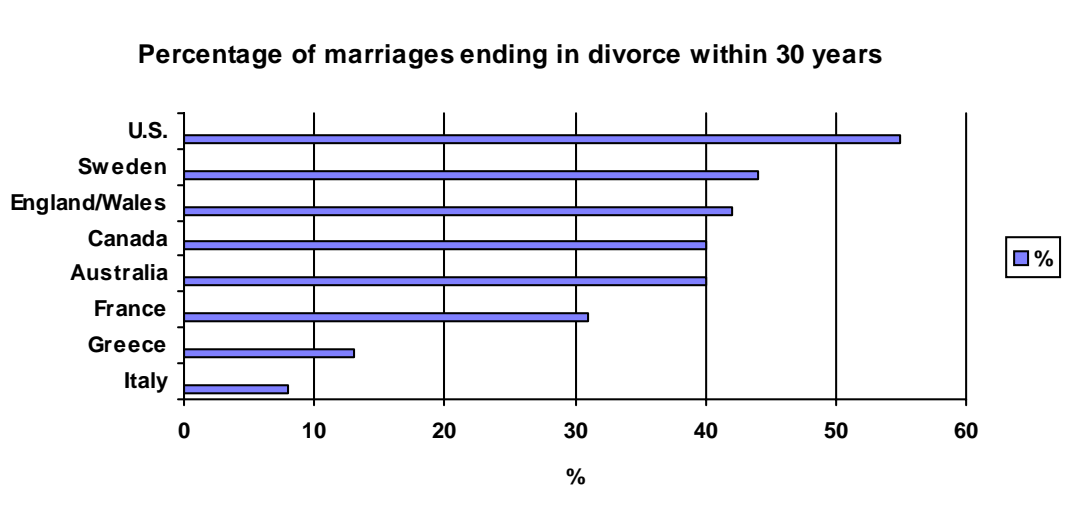
However, we live in an age that places different expectations and pressures on marriage. The advent of labour-saving devices, both within and outside the home, means that the couple experience more leisure time. They look for personal fulfilment, particularly through their marital relationship. Increased education and greater economic independence of women is also a factor in contemporary marriage. Women no longer feel obliged to stay in unhappy marriages. Indeed two out of three divorces are initiated by women.¹¹

9 M Eastman *supra*.

10 H Glezer (1994) 'Family backgrounds and marital breakdown' *Threshold* 43:16-19.

11 M Andrews (1994) *Marriage Education* Melbourne: Threshold Publishing.

International comparisons

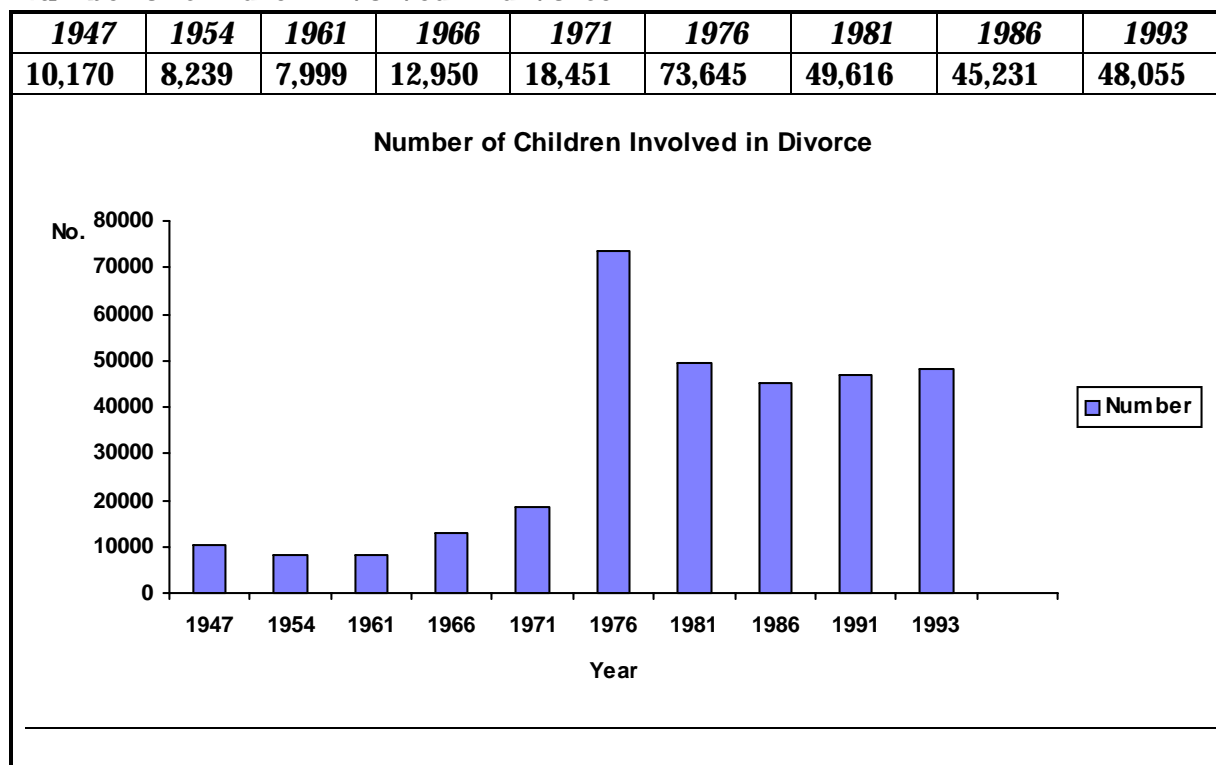


Source: AIFS, using 1989 rates, except for US where 1985 rates are used

The rate of divorce per 1000 people increased from 2.4 in 1987 to 2.9 in 1996, the third highest figure since the introduction of the Family Law Act in 1975. This is the third highest divorce rate in the world, behind the United States (4.6) and the United Kingdom (3.0), but higher than Canada (2.7), New Zealand (2.6), Sweden (2.5), the Netherlands (2.4), Germany (1.9), France (1.9), and Singapore (1.3).

The number of children involved in divorce has grown markedly in the past two decades

Number of children involved in divorce



Source: Family Court of Australia *Annual Reports* Note: National data is not available for 1994 and 1995

In 1993, there were 25, 461 divorces which involved children. This was 52.6 per cent of all divorces. In 1993, 48, 000 children were affected by divorce, an average of 1.9 children per divorce. About 54 per cent of divorces involve children under 18 years of age. By age 18, some 18 per cent of children will experience their parents divorcing. However, these figures underestimate the total number of children affected by divorce in any given year. According to the Family Court, in 1996 the number of children affected by divorce and divorce related proceedings of some kind was 158, 058.¹² The Chief Executive Officer of the Family Court, Mr Len Glare, indicated that these figures were likely to be conservative.

About 80 per cent of children live with their mothers after separation, about 15 per cent with their fathers, and the rest in a variety of circumstances.

Separation and divorce contribute to the feminisation of poverty in Australia. Although Professor Anne Harding has shown that estimated poverty rates for sole parents had reduced dramatically over the early 1990s, possibly as a consequence of

12 House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs (1997) inquiry into the administration of the Family Court of Australia, submission from Family Court of Australia (1997) *Submissions*, pp. S40–S41.

increased family payments, rent assistance and child support payments, sole parents still remain in the most poor groups in the community.¹³

In its report *Our Homeless Children*, the Inquiry into Youth Homelessness identified family breakdown as a major cause of thousands of children leaving home.¹⁴

Professor Paul Amato has found that children of divorced parents ‘tend to have poorer quality relationships with their parents, in particular their fathers, they tend to have poorer marital quality within their own marriages and they are more prone to divorce.’¹⁵

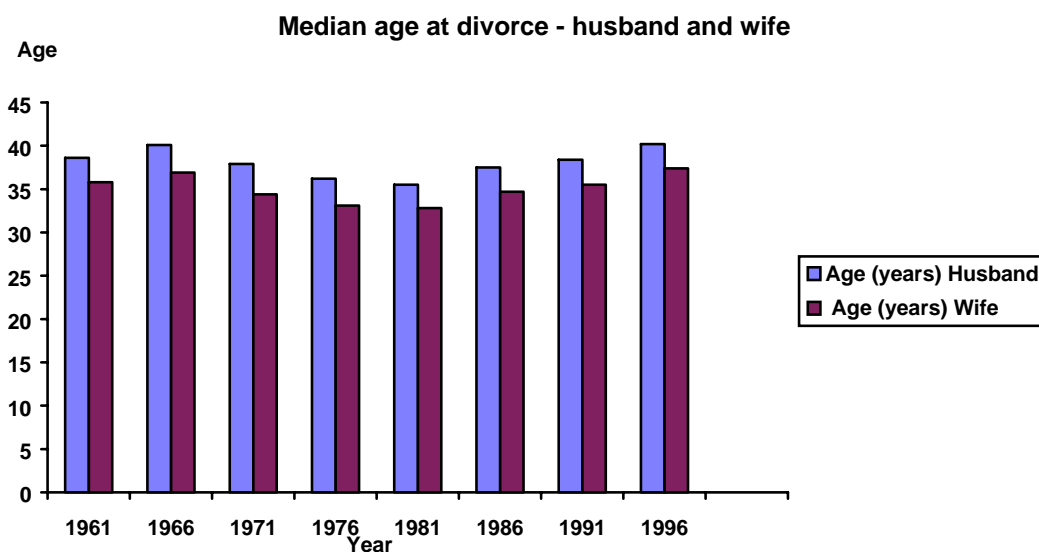
Median age at divorce of husband and wife

Year	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
Age Husband	38.6	40.1	37.9	36.2	35.5	37.5	38.4	40.2
Age Wife	35.8	36.9	34.4	33.1	32.8	34.7	35.5	37.4

13 A Harding (1994) *Family income and social security policy* Canberra: National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling. See also: A Harding & D Mitchell (1992) ‘The efficiency and effectiveness of the tax-transfer system in the 1980s’ *Australian Tax Forum* 9: 277–303; A Harding & D Mitchell (1993) *Changes in poverty among families during the 1980s* Canberra: NATSEM.

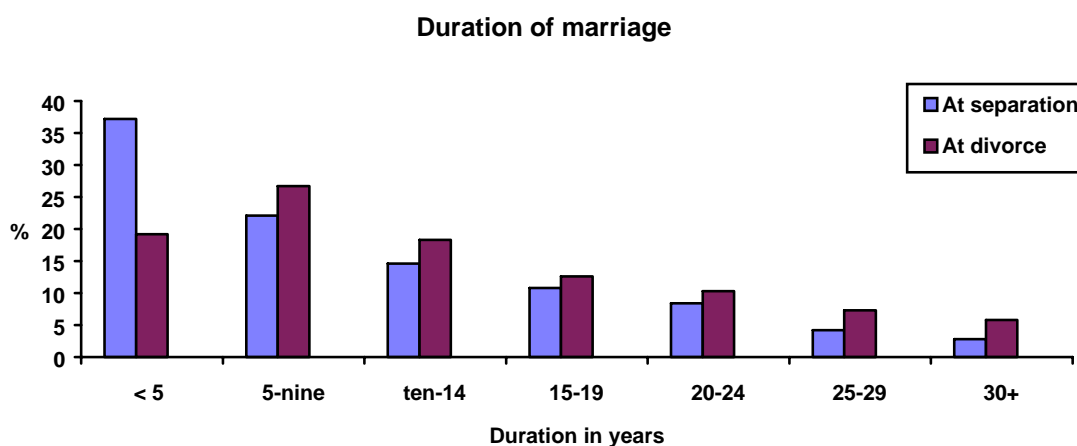
14 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (1989) *Our Homeless Children* Canberra: AGPS.

15 P Amato (1986) ‘Marital conflict and the parent-child relationship and child self esteem’ *Family Relations* 35: 403–410; (1988) ‘Parental divorce and attitudes toward marriage and family life’ *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50: 453–461; (1997) ‘Explaining the intergenerational transmission of divorce’ *Threshold* 54: 15–27; and P Amato & A Booth (1997) *A generation at risk* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.



Source: ABS *Marriages and Divorces* Cat 3310.0 and *Divorces* Cat 3307.0

Although the median age at divorce has remained within a range of 36 to 40 years for men, and 30 to 37 years for women, the median age of marriage has been rising, reflecting a shortening of the length on average of marriages that end in divorce. In 1995, the mean duration of marriage at the point of separation was 7.6 years, and at divorce 11 years. The largest number of marriages that breakdown (38 per cent) do so within the first five years. The final separation of the couple for 59 per cent of the marriages ending in divorce occurs within ten years of the wedding. ‘Divorce leaves its mark upon the entire kinship system as relatives, particularly grandparents, adjust to the changes incurred by parents leading separate lives,’ writes AIFS researcher, Ruth Weston.¹⁶



Source: ABS *Marriages and Divorces* Cat 3310.0

Remarriage

16 R Weston (1992) ‘New families, new finances’ *Family Matters* 31: 29.

Fathers remarry more quickly than mothers, and for both sexes, rates of remarriage are highest in the first year after divorce and second highest in the second year. 'Those who divorce before the age of 35 are more likely to repartner than older divorcees, a trend which that is particularly marked for women,' according to researcher, Siew-Ean Khoo.¹⁷

Between 1971 and 1994, the proportion of people who had previously been married divorcing again increased from 7.4 per cent to 17.2 per cent. Of the men who remarried after divorce in 1974, 35 per cent had divorced by 1994, compared to 32 per cent of those who married for the first time, and 14 per cent for those who were widowed. Of women, 36 per cent of those who remarried after divorce had divorced again by 1994, compared to 31 per cent of the women who had married a first time, and 20 per cent of those who had been widowed.

Step-families

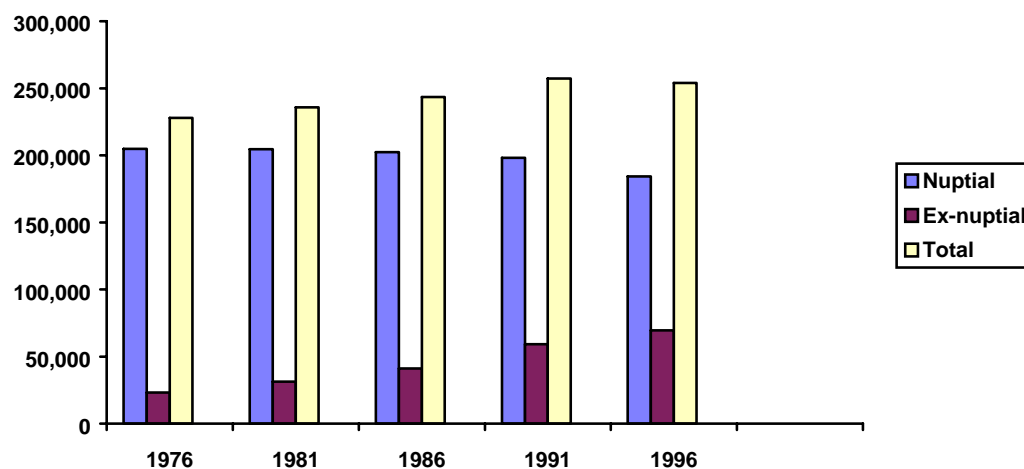
Almost half the children whose mothers divorce have a step father living in the household within the next six years. And about a third of these children also have a half or step sibling living with them.

The proportion of children born out of wedlock has increased

The proportion of ex-nuptial births has grown markedly since the end of the Second World War when just four in one hundred children were born out of wedlock. The proportion doubled to nine in one hundred children by 1971, before increasing rapidly to 24 in 100 by 1992. By 1995, 26.6 per cent of Australian children were born out of wedlock.

17 S Khoo quoted in D Bagnall (1994) 'Children of a lesser mode' *Bulletin* 8 March: 29; and P McDonald & S Khoo (1988) *Ex-nuptial births and unmarried cohabitations in Australia* Melbourne: AIFS.

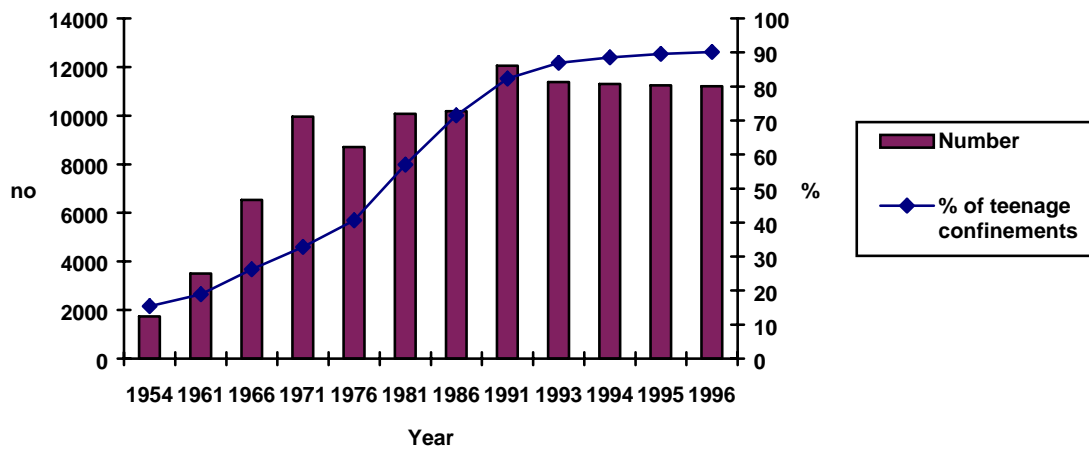
Nuptial and ex-nuptial births



Source: ABS *Births Australia* Cat 3301.0

In 1993, about half of exnuptial births were to women in de facto relationships and about half to unpartnered women. Teenage mothers accounted for about one quarter of all unpartnered mothers, but only 5 per cent of all births. More than one-third of ex-nuptial births are to women aged 20-24. The next largest number is to women aged 25-29 years. There has been a marked increase in ex-nuptial births to women in the their late twenties and early thirties over the past 25 years.

Teenage Ex-nuptial Confinements



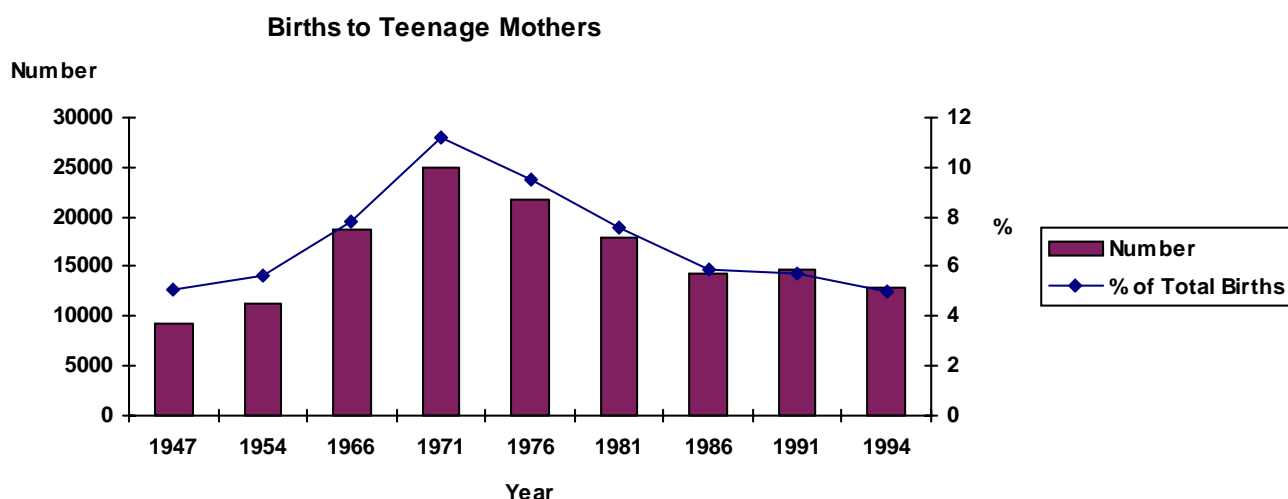
Source: ABS *Births* Cat 3301.0

Eighty per cent of ex-nuptial births are acknowledged by the father in Australia, reflecting the high number of children born to couples in de facto relationships. Australian Institute of Family Studies research has found that de facto couples who have children are of relatively low socioeconomic status compared with de facto couples without children and married couples with children.

Some 40 per cent of these parents had less than ten years schooling compared with nine per cent of married parents. Twenty per cent had received unemployment benefits preceding the study compared to three per cent of married couples with children. Another survey which interviewed parents eighteen months after the birth of their child found that 19 per cent of de facto couples had separated, compared to 2 per cent of married couples.

Births to Teenage Mothers (nuptial and ex-nuptial)

	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1993	1994
Number	9241	11361	18669	25055	30500	21713	17912	14326	14717	13090	12853
% of total births	5.1	5.6	7.8	11.2	11.0	9.5	7.6	5.9	5.7	5.1	5.0



Source: ABS Yearbooks

After rising sharply throughout the 1950s and 60s, the proportion of births to teenage mothers has fallen again to immediate post-war levels.¹⁸

About 400 unmarried girls under 16 give birth each year. A 1993 study found that, of nearly 9,000 teenage mothers, only 1,709 were married. Two-thirds of teenage mothers leave school before year 10; one out of ten are abandoned by their partner within a year; half of them smoke, compared with 30 per cent of all women; one-third drink regularly during their pregnancy; and many are too embarrassed to breastfeed.¹⁹

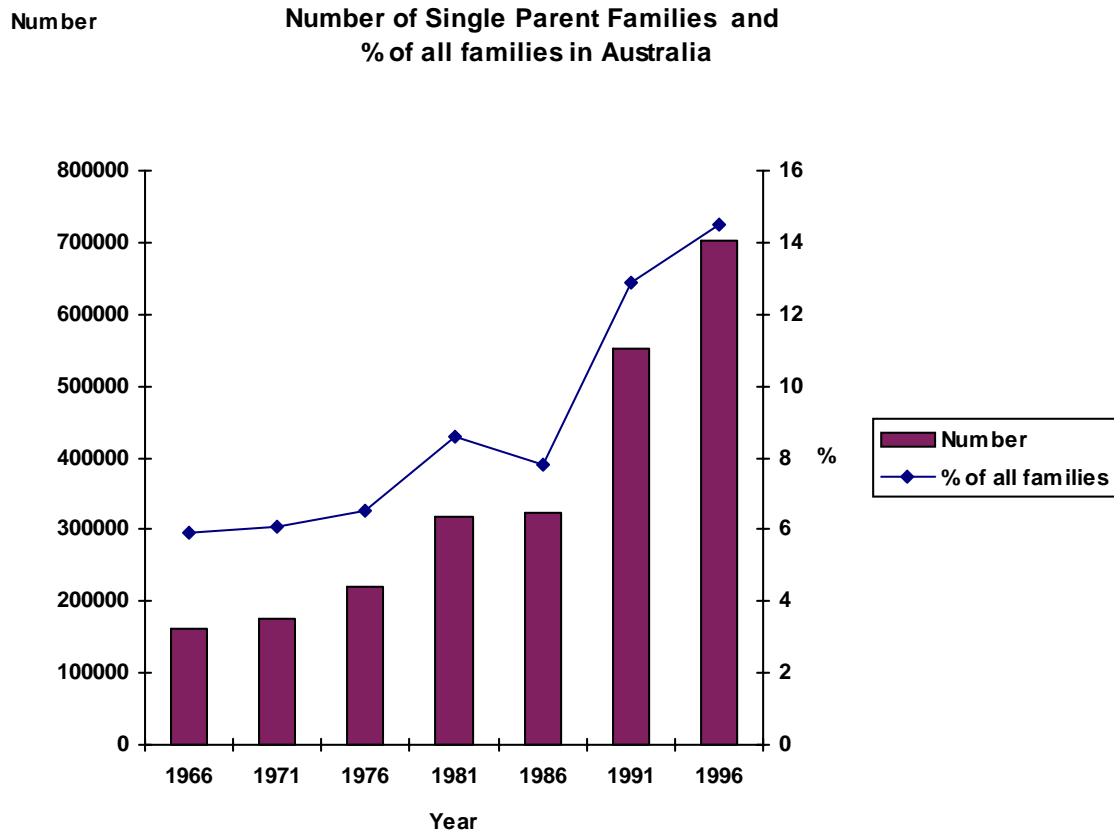
18 C Kilmartin (1997) *Teenage ex-nuptial births* Family Matters 48: 42-43.

19 Cited in K Andrews & M Curtis *Changing Australia* (forthcoming).

There has been a growth in lone parent families

Single parent families as a proportion of all families

Year	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
Number	162,911	175,900	221,469	317,190	356,000	552,412	672,800
% of all families	5.9	6.1	6.5	8.6	9.0	12.9	14.5



Source: ABS Australia's One Parent Families Cat 2511.0 and Australian Families and Households Cat 2506.0; 1991 and 1996 Basic Community Profile Data

There has been a substantial increase of single parent families with dependant children. In 1976, 6.5 per cent of families with dependant children were lone parent families, compared with about 14.5 per cent in 1996.

According to a recent survey by Professor Peter McDonald from the Australian National University, 65 per cent of ex-nuptial births are the women in de facto relationships who have never married, 18 per cent to never married solo women, 8.5 per cent to divorced but solo women, and 8.5 per cent to women divorced but in a de facto relationship. 'About half of the ex-nuptial births are to women who are in and out of relationships, women with complex relationship histories. Even if the child is born in a de facto relationship, that often breaks down,' Professor McDonald is reported saying. The research indicates that a third of the de facto parents marry

after the birth of their child, but 15 per cent of these marriages end within a few years. Where the child's parents don't marry, 38 per cent of these relationships break up in less than five years. Of the women having ex-nuptial children, the ANU research indicates that 51 per cent didn't finish secondary school and 70 per cent had no post-school qualifications.²⁰

Of the 620,000 single parent families in Australia in 1993, 84 per cent were mother-headed. An Australian Institute of Family Studies survey which interviewed parents 18 months after the birth of their child found that 19 per cent of de facto couples had separated, compared to two per cent of married couples.

Conclusion

These trends are not isolated to Australia but are evident in most industrialised nations.²¹ They reflect profound changes for families and children. Professor David Popenoe has summarised the changes as containing five measurable components:

First, rising rates of divorce and unwed child bearing, which mean the steady disintegration of married, mother-father child raising unit. Second, the growing inability of families to carry out their primary social functions: maintaining the population level, regulating sexual behaviour, socialising children, and caring for family members. Third, the transfer of influence and authority from families to other institutions, such as schools, peer groups, the media, and the state. Fourth, smaller and more unstable family units. And fifth, the weakening of familism as a cultural value in relationship to other values, such as personal autonomy and egalitarianism.²²

The impact of these trends is discussed in the following chapter.

20 B Arndt (1998) 'And Baby Makes Two' *Sydney Morning Herald* Spectrum 1 14 February.

21 U Bronfenbrenner 'Discovering What Families Do', in D Blankenhorn, S Bayne and J Bethke Elshtain (eds) (1990) *Rebuilding the Nest: A New Commitment to the American Family* Milwaukee: Family Service America; and K Andrews & M Andrews (1997) *With this ring . . .* Melbourne: Threshold Publishing 2-11.

22 D Popenoe (1988) *Disturbing the Nest: Family Change and Decline in Modern Societies* New York: Walter de Gruyter.