

# The Fire Book

Fire has always been important to people, plants and animals in the desert country. People have been burning this country for a long time...

Bushcare





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**Cover page:** photos Michael Barritt

# Introduction

This book has been written for Indigenous communities in central Australia. It has been designed for use by Indigenous community rangers, educators working with schools and ranger groups, and land management agencies working with communities. Other landowners, users and managers in central Australia may also find the book useful.

In preparing the book Tangentyere Landcare staff met with people from the major land user and manager groups in central Australia. We have tried to present cultural and scientific experiences of fire in Central Australia, to the best of our knowledge with limited time and resources. Thankyou to everyone who shared their ideas, photographs and time in discussion and review.

This book is not a burning manual. It is a resource for facilitating discussion about burning, and about the use of fire in land management. It is one step in the process of different land management groups and different land owners working together to better understand each other and the effects of fire in desert country.

Some examples of Warlpiri and Eastern Arrernte burning practices and stories have been included in the book. We recognise that fire stories and practices vary between language groups. It is not possible to include the experiences of all language groups in such a small book.

What we have learnt is that the topic of fire in desert country is a 'hot' issue. While there are some things we do know, there is also a large amount of cultural and scientific information that has not been documented.

Tell us if you have found the book useful. If you would like to contribute information, experiences and stories to this book please contact us.

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# Aboriginal people and fire

In central Australia, Aboriginal people have been using fire to manage their country for thousands of years. The longterm use of fire has undoubtedly influenced the evolution of plants and animals in the landscape. Many plants and animals in central Australia depend on fire for their survival.

Managed fires are generally good for the country. But poorly-managed fires or wildfires can damage large areas of country and make it difficult for some plants and animals to survive.

Fire continues to be important in the life and culture of Aboriginal people today.

Aboriginal people still use fire -

- to cook
- to hunt
- to clear country
- for ceremony
- for signalling
- for warmth
- to encourage bushtucker and medicine plants to grow
- to protect sacred sites
- to keep the dreaming and the country alive



Traditional hunting techniques - using fire to hunt mala



Young girls learn how to make traditional cooking pits.

Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

As part of the Marna Marra (healthy food program) at Ntaria, School, senior Arrernte women have been teaching young girls how to use traditional fire pits for cooking kangaroo tails.



# Fire stories and Aboriginal language

## Arrernte fire pit story

Veronica Dobson, a skilled educator and senior Eastern Arrernte woman, shared her story of growing up with fire.

*Fire is really important. It has its own dreaming. There are people and families who are responsible for the fire dreaming. They know the songs and the ceremony.*

*When I was a small girl, children were not allowed to play with fire. At the camp site the area around the fire pit was cleared, just like making a fire break, making a safe place for sleeping.*

*My grandfather used to talk with the other men about the best time and place to burn. They would wait for the right wind and pick the right grass. They were careful not to burn country belonging to other people.*

*As we travelled around our grandmothers would tell us stories. When we camped at old camping sites, they would dig out the fire pits showing us the different coloured ash. The different colours showed the different times people had camped there.*

*As small kids we would go to the river, collect little pebbles and crush them up. Then we would make patterns in the ground telling fire pit stories.*



Photograph & patterns: Veronica Dobson

## Warlpiri fire and spinifex vocabulary

The importance of fire in the life of Aboriginal people is reflected through richness of traditional languages. For example, in Warlpiri there are over 16 different words to describe spinifex and 115 different words to describe types of fire used in caring for the country and its plants and animals.

### Warlpiri spinifex vocabulary

marna - grass especially spinifex  
marnanganpa - feather-top spinifex  
warrpa - seed heads; spinifex *Triodia* spp.  
yawirlara - seed heads (of spinifex grass)  
manangkarra - open country with spinifex cover, spinifex plains  
kalajirdi - soft/sticky spinifex, *Triodia pungens*  
muna - includes *Triodia spicata*,  
pujuwaja - bull spinifex, *Triodia longiceps* (giant grey spinifex; contains no resin)  
wini - freshly burnt country  
kuntara - young regrowth stage of burnt-off country  
tingkirrkari-tingkirrkari - area of spinifex with gaps between hummocks, not really suitable for burning  
yarlu-yarlu - area with patches of bare ground, not really suitable for burning  
tarltarlanu - large clumps of spinifex (name possibly because it burns with big bangs)  
tarlajirri - old spinifex, very dry, very tall  
puka - rotten (applied to meat); of spinifex, considered to be at a regrettable stage, best avoided by burning before it gets this old  
palya - spinifex resin; adze

Warlpiri word list sourced, with permission, from the paper "Warlpiri Fire management" by linguist David Nash.

By listening to the stories and studying language we learn that Aboriginal people had a lot of knowledge about using fire and understood that during different times of the year **different country needs different fire.**



# Fire use has changed

**Since whitefellas came to Australia traditional burning has changed.** Whitefellas did not understand fire. They were very frightened by fire and tried to stop Aboriginal people from burning country. They also made settlements for Aboriginal people to live in and stopped Aboriginal people from travelling through country. Because people were not free to travel on country, fire ceremonies, dreaming songs, skills and knowledge were and are being lost.

## Traditional burning

Aboriginal people used to light lots of small fires as they walked through the country. People knew where the firebreaks were: the burnt patches, sandhills, rivers, rocks, claypans and other things that stopped fire. They knew where there were sacred places, people's camps, special plants and areas that shouldn't be burnt.

People used to make fire by rubbing sticks together or by carrying hot coals or fire torches. Only wood from certain types of trees was used for making fire. Because of traditional laws only certain people used fire-making tools.

Fire was (and still is) used for hunting and for encouraging bushtucker and medicine plants, looking after sacred sites and water places. Only bosses and managers for country could burn it. They did this after a lot of discussion.

Fire was an important part of traditional ceremony. Fire also had its own ceremony and songs. Only certain people were (and still are) responsible for fire ceremony, songs and stories.

## Modern burning

These days people live in communities and towns. They are not travelling across country as much as they used to. When people travel through country they mostly use motorcars, and they mostly drive on bush tracks and roads. Fire is often started from roads, tracks, communities and outstations.

People use fire for warmth and safety, to hunt, cook, signal breakdowns and to look after country. Matches and lighters are used to start fires. Compared to fires sticks these are very fast and easy to use, and anyone can use these tools.

There are now two laws affecting the use of fire, Aboriginal law and whitefella law.

These days people can go to the shop for food, so they don't think about fire and burning like the old people did. Some old people still know how to burn in the traditional way, they can remember and sing the songs. Young people can still learn from them.

Photo: David Winstanley



# Managing fire today

There are a lot of different groups - Aboriginal groups, pastoralists, Parks & Wildlife, mining companies and others who now own and/or manage the land. Often different groups of people have different ways of burning and looking after country. With so many different ideas it is important to work together.



Photo: Nic Gambold

## Patch burning

Fire frequency, intensity, timing and size affect the life cycle of plants and animals in desert country. The way people burnt in the old days meant there were lots of small burnt patches, some new and some old, and a few big burnt areas. Working together with Aboriginal people, scientists have learnt that burning some patches of country and leaving other patches unburnt usually leaves enough food and shelter for all the different plants and animals. Some people call this '**patch burning**'.



# Uncontrolled fire

Scientists think that desert country is changing because the use of fire has changed. These days fires are often bigger and hotter and they occur more often in some places.

It seems that 'big fire events' have occurred every 25 to 30 years in the last 100 years. These big fires are happening because land ownership and land management has changed. There are less people living and travelling out on country, so country is not being burnt as often. People still travel around a lot but they stay close to roads.

**Big and hot fires** - Burning at the wrong time of the year or in the wrong weather conditions (eg in the middle of summer with strong winds) can mean fires get too big and burn out of control.

**Larger fuel loads** - Fuel loads can build up over large areas if there is not enough patch burning to break up the country. In some places introduced weeds like buffel grass grow more quickly and thickly than native plants and produce larger amounts of fuel. While a fire in spinifex grass is hotter than a buffel fire, spinifex is not as thick as buffel. So a fire in spinifex does not spread as quickly.

**Not enough burning** - Because people are not visiting some country very often, maybe only every 5 to 10 years, these areas are not getting burnt enough. Big fuel loads can feed big, hot, fast fires.

**Too much burning** - A lot of fires are lit along roads or around settlements. Sometimes fires are lit in the same place every year. This can kill the soil's living crust (made of lichen) and so cause erosion and dust storms. If burning is too frequent it can be difficult for some plant species to grow and for some animals to survive.



Photo: Michael Barritt

**Hot summer fire near Mt Sonder - 2001**

In 2001 and 2003 a lot of country was burnt by wildfires. These big fires were, in part, a result of big fuel loads built up during two years of good rainfall.



Photo: Michael Barritt

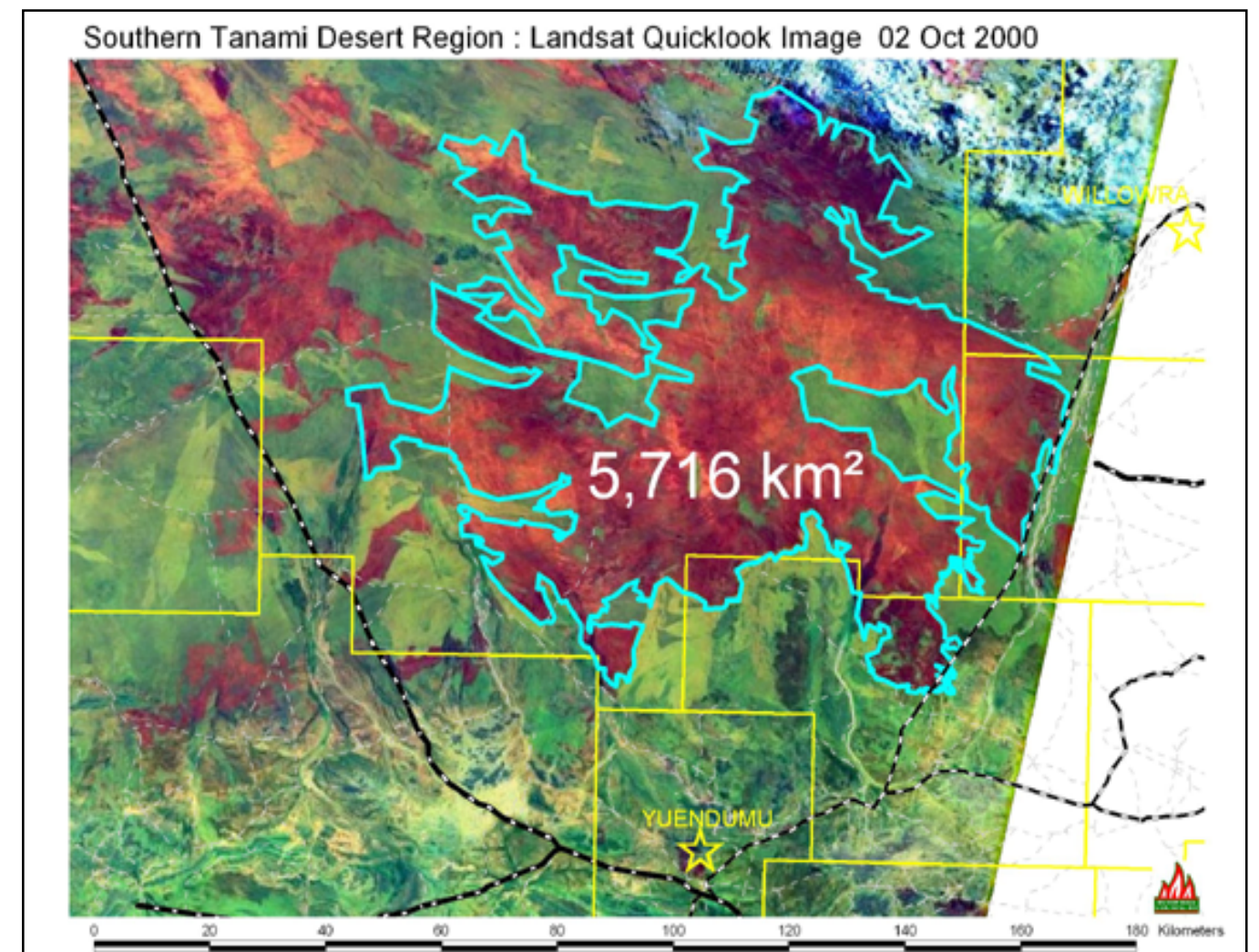
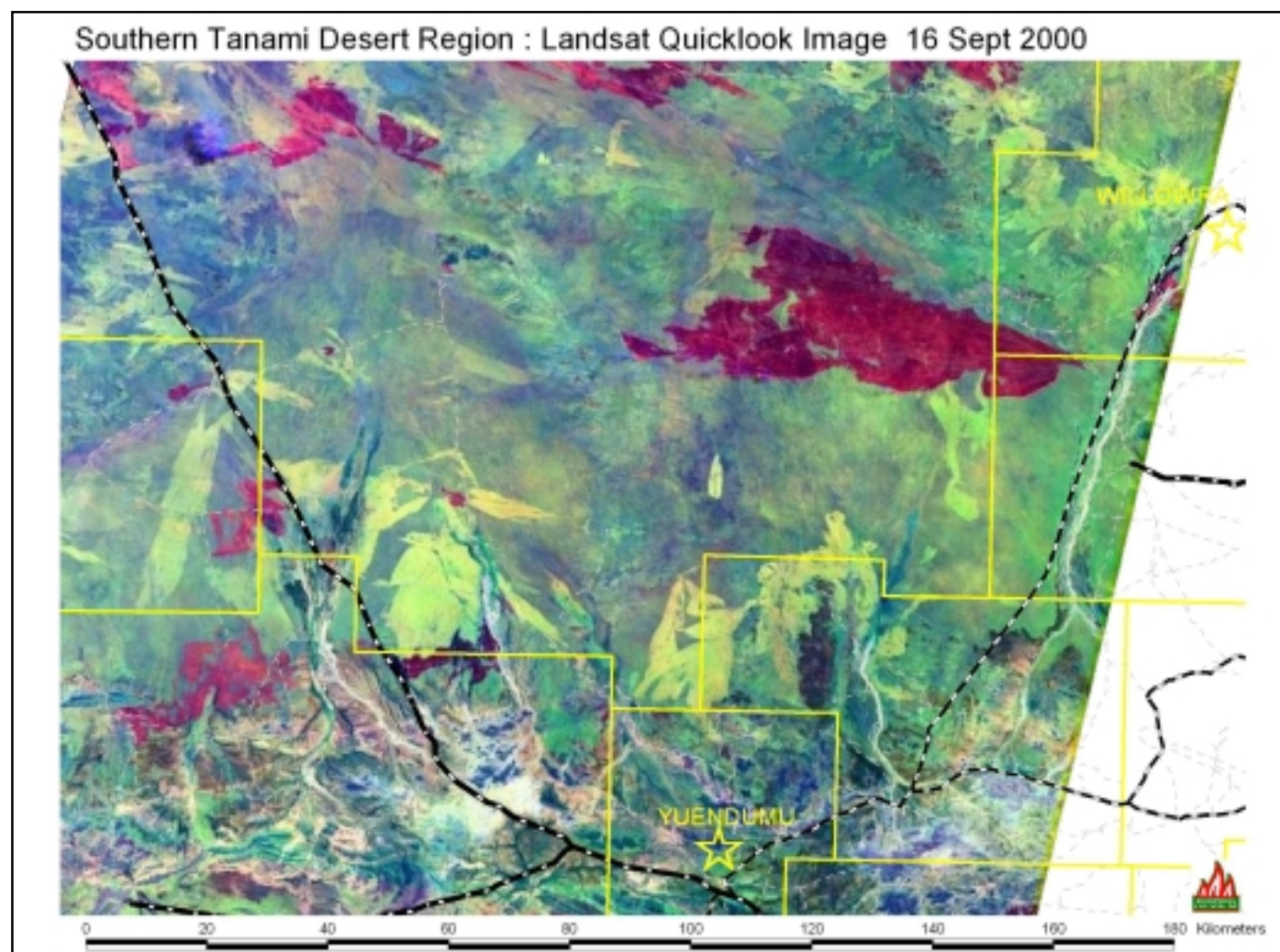
**Ormiston Gorge wildfire - 2001**



# Case study - Tanami wildfires 2000-03

Big, hot fires burning out of control are called 'wildfires'. In years of high fire danger large areas of country can get burnt. The Tanami wildfires 2000-03 show the relationship between weather (high rainfall years), vegetation growth (fuel load build up) and the need for regular controlled burning to manage country. After the unusually high rainfall years of 1999-2001, fuel loads in central Australia were very high. It seems that this increase in fuel combined with not enough patch burning, before and directly after the rains, set the country up for big, hot fires. As the country became drier from 2000 to 2002, huge fires burnt a total area of more than 300,000 square kilometres of the Tanami Desert. There were very few unburnt patches. When large areas are burnt like this there is not enough food or shelter for animals and it can take the land many years to recover.

These maps taken from satellites show country burnt in a big wildfire in mid-September 2000. Map one shows a fire lit from the road southwest of Willowra. Map two, taken two weeks later, shows large areas burnt by the fire, over 5 000 square kilometres of country. (Information from Grant Allan, Bushfires Council.)





2. managed burn



Photo: Michael Barritt

3. freshly burnt



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

4. growing back country  
0-6 months after managed burn



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

5. one year after managed burn



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

# Spinifex country and a healthy fire cycle

In the desert country people, plants and animals need fire. When we burn we affect everything, including plants, large animals, birds, lizards and insects. This is the story of how spinifex sandplain country changes with healthy fire.

1. unburnt, old spinifex



Photo: Michael Barritt

6. five years after burn



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare



# 1. Spinifex fire cycle - unburnt, old spinifex

The spinifex fire cycle story shows how spinifex country changes after burning. This story also shows how fire was used, and in some places still is used, by Aboriginal people to manage plant and animal resources.

Different spinifex species, which grow on different types of country, burn differently. The following pages are about soft spinifex on sandplains.

Soft, resinous spinifex grass covers large areas of the sandy desert country. If this country has not been burnt for a long time (maybe more than 10 years), it gets taken over by thick, tall clumps of spinifex, with a scattering of mature trees and shrubs. Not much bush tucker grows here. Some people call this 'rubbish country'. Bigger animals do not like living here. Some small lizards, mice and birds live under the bushes, for protection from cats, foxes and dingoes. It is difficult to travel through this type of country.



**Thick spinifex country just north of Papunya.  
This country has not been burnt for more than 5 years.**

Photo: Tangentyere Landcare



**Hunting in this country is hard work.**

Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

Before burning old spinifex country it is important to think about the time of the year and the weather conditions. It is also important to look at the other plants living in and around the spinifex. Important trees, sacred sites and stands of fire-sensitive plants, like mulga, may need to be protected from the fire.



## 2. Spinifex fire cycle - managed burn

When spinifex country is burnt at the right time and under the right weather conditions burrowing animals generally have enough time to go down into their holes (at least 20 cm) to escape the flames and the heat. Brown falcons, black kites, eagles and bush turkeys come to hunt animals that are 'on the go', moving out of the path of the fire, and weakened by smoke. This hunting is a natural part of the fire cycle.



Photo: Rich Tuckwell Central Land Council



Photo: Rich Tuckwell Central Land Council



Photo © Lynn Pedler



Photo: Desert Fire Project - Desert Knowledge- CRC



Photo: Desert Fire Project - Desert Knowledge- CRC

### Knowing about country is essential for good burning

To burn country in the right way, people need to think about the different plants and animals on the country. They also need to think about the season, the amount of rainfall and the weather conditions. People can still learn about traditional burning from experienced elders in Aboriginal communities.

Both of the fires shown on this page were lit in the cool season. Fires lit in the evening usually travel more slowly than fires lit during the day. Burning when it is really hot and windy (eg. in the middle of summer with strong winds) can result in fires getting too big and burning out of control. Wildfires can cause problems for plants, animals and people.

**Remember:** it is important to let your neighbours and the Bushfires Council know when you are going to burn.



### 3. Spinifex fire cycle - freshly burnt

Immediately after fire most of the animals move to a new home. If the country has been burnt in a healthy way using patch burning there should be plenty of food and shelter for animals in unburnt patches nearby.

Birds like pigeons and finches might come to eat seeds uncovered by the fire. These seed-eating birds can spread different types of grass seeds in their droppings. When the supply of seeds is finished the birds fly off to another area.

Burning makes it easier to move through the country. Goanna and other animals are easy to track.



Photo © Trevor Hobbs

Recently burnt spinifex country near Papunya



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

Digging up goanna is easy work in freshly burnt country



Photo: Tangentyere Landcare



## 4. Spinifex fire cycle - country growing back 0-6 months after managed burn

The country grows back quickly after healthy fire, especially if it rains. In two or three months spinifex grass is sprouting.

Some fast-growing plants grow straight up after fire, before the spinifex takes over again. These grasses, sedges, herbs and small bushes use the nutrients released by burning. They grow from seed stored in the soil.

Mallees regrow from their thick swollen roots. Many woody trees and shrubs, like gum trees, bloodwoods, umbrella wattles and conkleberries, re-shoot from their stems.

If there has been good rainfall, seedlings of many shrubs, including witchetty bush and mulga, will grow. Fire is important for cracking the hard seed coats of these and many other native species.

It is easy to hunt kangaroos and other animals returning to eat green pick. Small lizards dig new burrows. Birds will visit the area to eat grass seeds and insects.



Photo:1



Photo: 2



Photo: 3



Photo: 4



Photo: 5



Photo: 6



## 5. Spinifex fire cycle - one year after managed burn

Within a year after fire, bush raisins and other important bush tucker plants have grown and produced fruit. Bush potatoes have resprouted from underground tubers.

The spinifex clumps are still quite small. There is still enough space for seedlings of other plants to grow. If there were good rains after the fire, seedlings of mulga and witchetty bush and other large shrubs will now be quite visible.

Birds and small lizards move back into the area to feed on insects attracted by the new growth and flowering shrubs.



Photo:1



Photo:2



Photo:3



Photo:4

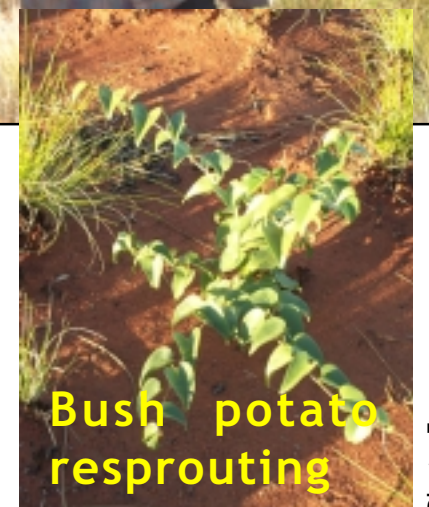


Photo:5



## 6. Spinifex fire cycle - five to ten years after managed fire

When spinifex starts to grow as bigger clumps again, animals like lizards, mice and small birds can live in it with relative safety, as they have some protection from dingoes, cats and foxes.

Animals like the mulgara and great desert skink prefer to live in well-established spinifex country next to recently burnt patches. Patch burning means there are good clumps of spinifex for shelter and enough bare ground for hunting. Scientists think that changes in burning patterns, together with predation from dingoes, foxes and feral cats, have reduced the numbers of mulgaras and desert skinks.





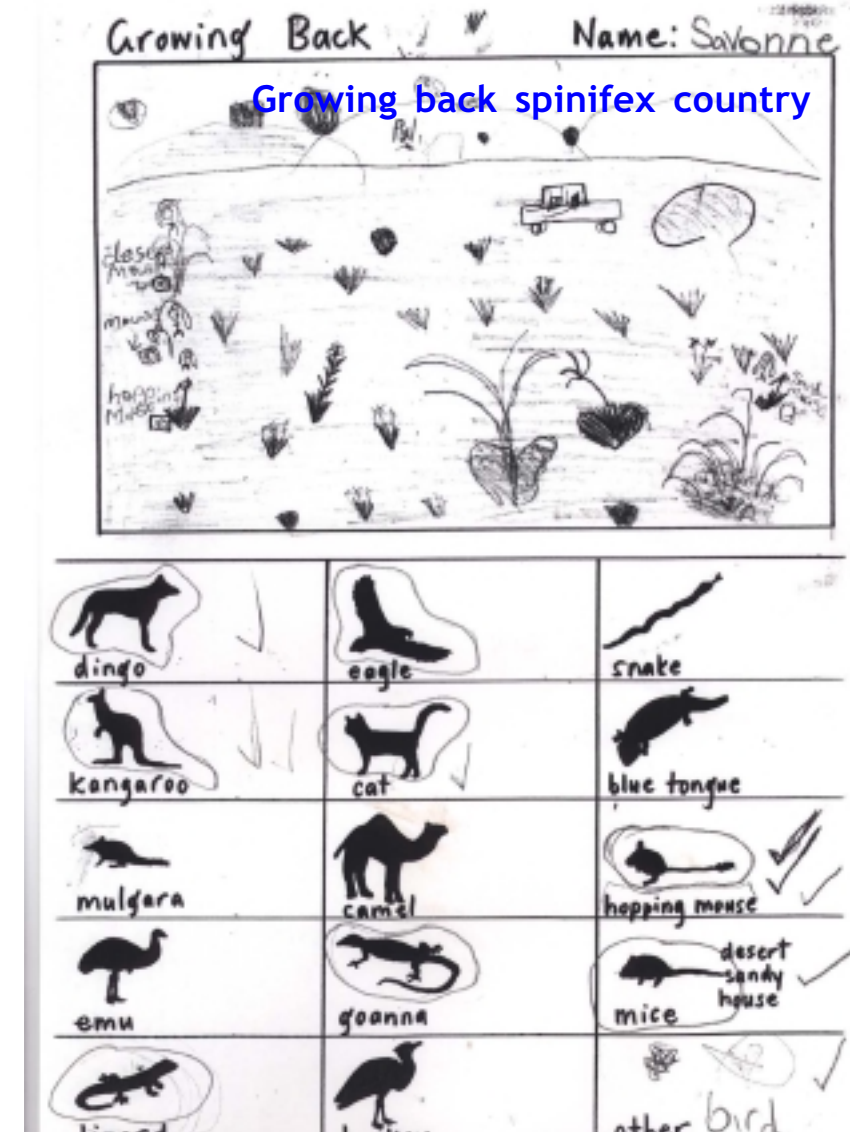
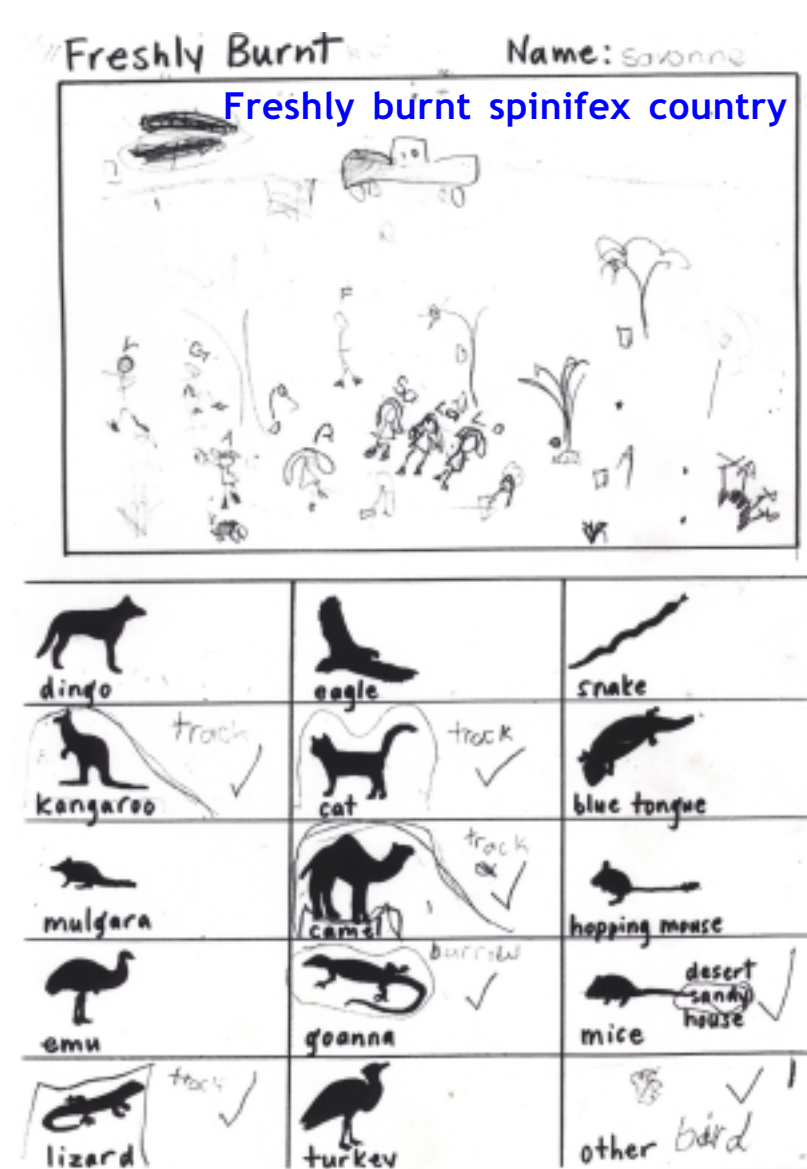


Photo: Tangentyere Landcare

# Teaching kids about traditional burning

To help Papunya schoolchildren learn about the effects of traditional burning, community elders and staff from Tangentyere Landcare's Land & Learning program visited country with the children. The group visited three places along the Yuendumu road. One place was freshly burnt, one was growing back and the other had really thick spinifex. The elders pointed out tracks to the children and told traditional stories about plants and animals and fire. The children used Land & Learning worksheets to draw the different types of country and record tracks and animals that they saw.

Teaching young people about the effects of fire and when to burn is essential for good land management in central Australia.





# Fire-sensitive plants

While some species of trees and shrubs regrow after hot fires, some do not.

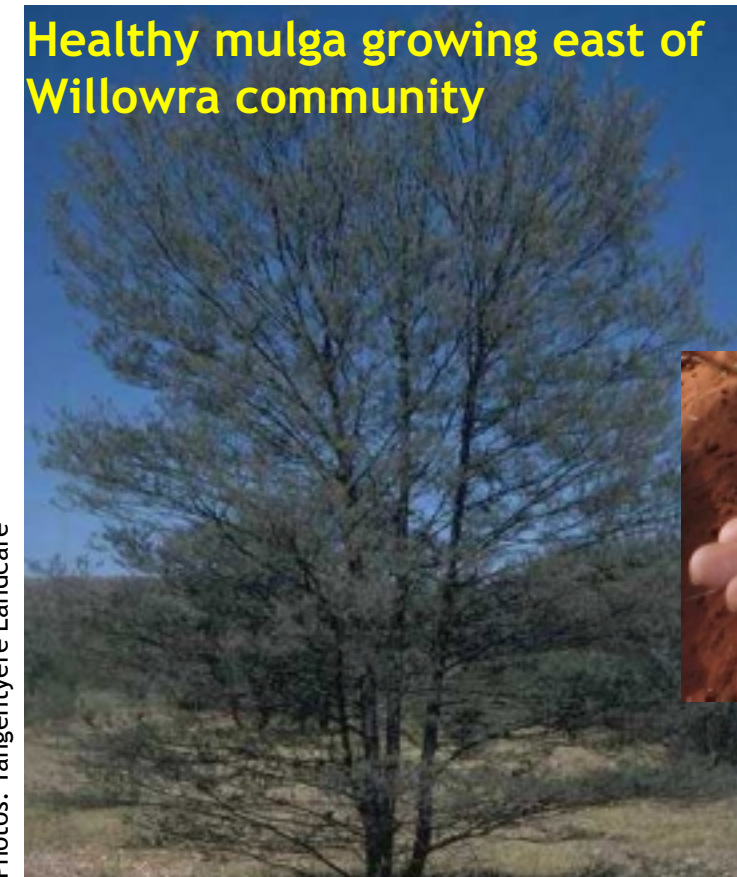
Mulga is widespread throughout central Australia. It is an important fuel, food and wood source for Aboriginal people. Mulga also creates important habitat for plants and animals.

Mulga is not fire-tolerant. Hot fires can kill mature trees, sometimes wiping out whole groves. Seedlings will grow after fire but they grow slowly, taking from 5 to 15 years to produce seed. Since burning patterns have changed, mulga has been replaced by spinifex in some areas. Some scientists and Traditional Owners are worried that if there are too many fires, or fires that are too hot, more and more mulga will disappear from country.

Keeping mulga country healthy is important for honeyants and many native birds, like the grey shrike-thrush. Because of changes in burning some really old mulga (over a hundred years old) has been destroyed. Some people are worried that some birds will disappear from this country forever if they don't have healthy old growth mulga to live in.

Witchetty bush is another very important traditional food source for Aboriginal people. Witchetty bush is fire-sensitive and is easily killed by hot summer fires. Witchetty bush branches sometimes resprout after cool winter fires.

Healthy mulga growing east of Willowra community



Photos: Tangentyere Landcare



Honeyants collected under mulga trees near Papunya.



Photo: Grant Allan Bushfires Council

If fires are too hot or if mulga trees are burnt too often then mulga can disappear!



# Fire-tolerant plants

Plants that survive fire are called fire-tolerant. These plants survive in a number of different ways.



Photo: 1

Thick bark of desert oaks and corkwoods protect them from heat. Very hot fires can still kill corkwood trees.

Shoots grow from the trunk and branches on gum trees, bloodwoods, some wattles and other shrubs after fire. These are called epicormic shoots.



Photo: 2

Mallee roots are swollen and thick and can re-shoot after fire. These roots are called lignotubers.

Underground bulbs or tubers allow some grasses, sedges and other plants, like bush potatoes, to grow back quickly after fire.



Photo: 3

Smooth bark on trees like the ghost gum reflects the heat and stops fires from catching easily. The ghost gum's whiteness also reflects heat and it has thick bark to protect it. Ghost gums can recover a full canopy 4 to 6 months after fire.

# Plants that grow after fire

Some plants grow quickly after fire, making use of the nutrients released by burning. These herbs, grasses and small shrubs are called 'fire weeds' because they grow so quickly, although they are not weeds at all. Bush tomatoes and raisins, sennas and most grasses are fire weeds.

Some plants need fire to germinate. Their seeds are cracked open by fire or stimulated by the smoke produced by the fire.

Desert raisins (*Solanum centrale*) seeds need smoke to germinate. They also need the nutrients released by fire or other disturbance to produce lots of fruit.

Botanist Peter Latz found that in the first season after a fire a colony of bush raisins produced 20 kg of fruit. Three years later he collected only 0.26 kg of fruit from the same colony, as most of the plants had died. Desert raisins are an important and highly nutritious traditional food for Indigenous people living in central Australia.

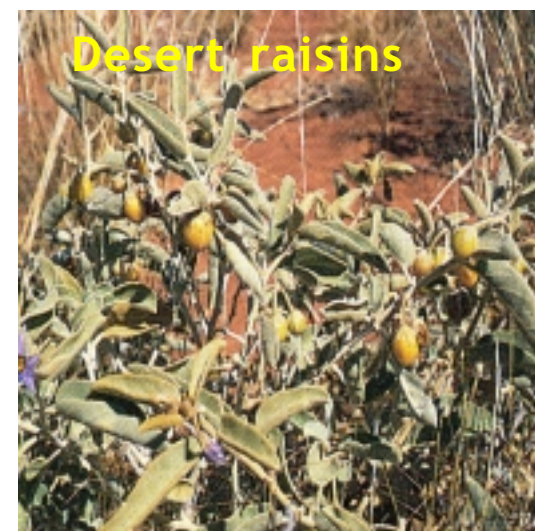


Photo: Peter Latz



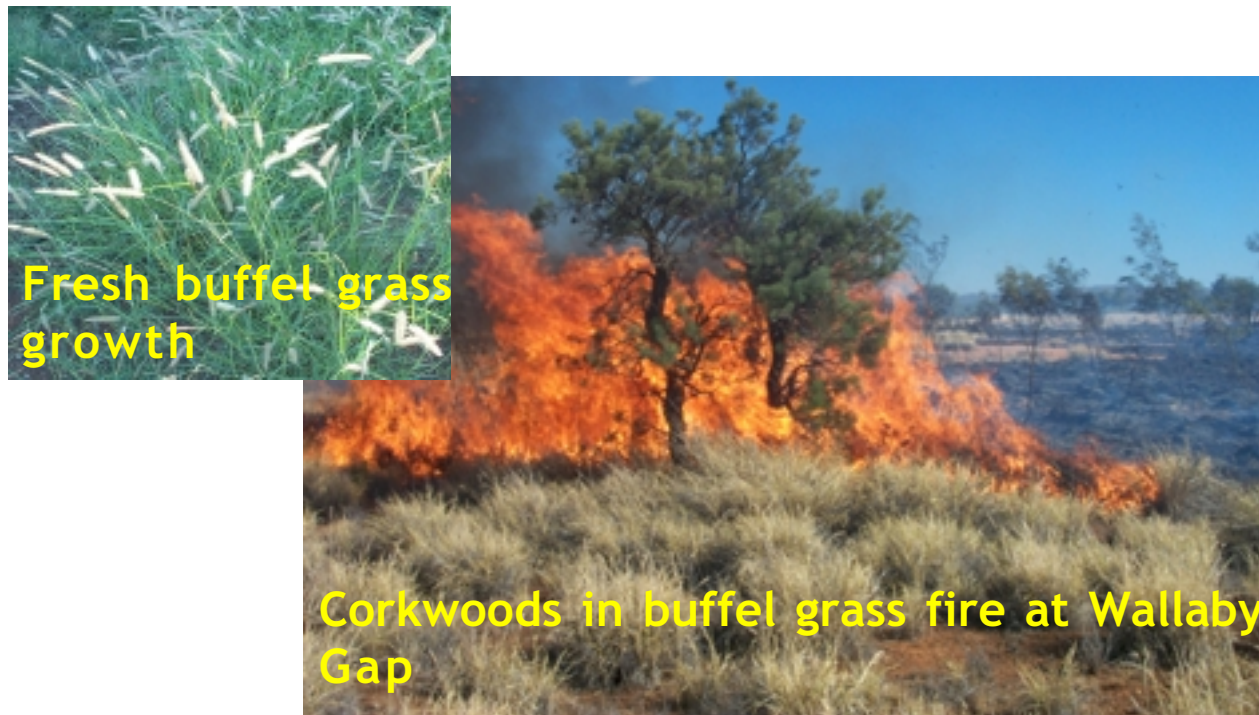
Photo: Peter Latz



# Buffel grass and fire

There is a lot of discussion about the value of introduced buffel grass. Some pastoralists like buffel because it is a good source of drought-resistant cattle feed. Buffel grass competes strongly with native plants and grasses because it grows very quickly after rain and also regenerates quickly after hot fires.

In some places, particularly along sandy river beds and on alluvial flats, buffel grass has replaced many native plants and grasses, including spinifex. Dense areas of dried buffel grass burn easily and make very hot and fast fires, which can kill native vegetation like corkwoods and river red gums.



Corkwoods have thick bark to protect them from fire and can re-shoot after fire. But very hot fires fed by dense buffel grass can completely kill them.

## River red gums burning

Small campfires lit in buffel and couch grass growing close to tree trunks along the Todd River in Alice Springs are damaging the trees.

Some places are getting burnt nearly every year, and so old trees are dying and new trees are not getting a chance to grow.



## Managing buffel grass fuel loads

Buffel grass has dramatically increased in central Australia in the last 10 years. It is a major fuel management issue in some areas. Scientists from the Desert Knowledge CRC are researching ways to manage buffel grass in the desert country.

People living in remote Aboriginal communities say that buffel grass is now a problem around these communities: 'it's really thick, snakes might hide there and when it dries out it can cause really big fires'.

In 2004 and 2005 Parks and Wildlife rangers visited Lyentye Apurte School to talk about weeds and demonstrate fire management practices.





# Animals and fire

## Threatened Species

Threatened species are animals and plants that are less common than they used to be and are in danger of disappearing from country. There are a lot less bilbies, possums and great desert skinks in the deserts than there used to be. Some animals, like the quoll, bettong, mala and another type of bilby, have gone from the wild in central Australia.

Scientists think that changes in burning patterns are one of the reasons these animals are disappearing. Big fires, like the 2000 Tanami wildfire, destroy country where animals shelter (from cats, foxes and dingoes) and feed.

**Bilbies** used to live over most of Australia, but are now only found in the desert country and a small part of south-west Queensland. Bilbies are mostly at risk from feral predators like foxes, cat and dingoes. Some very important food plants for the bilby, like yalka (bush onions), grow well after fire. Changes in burning patterns may have made it harder for the bilby to survive.

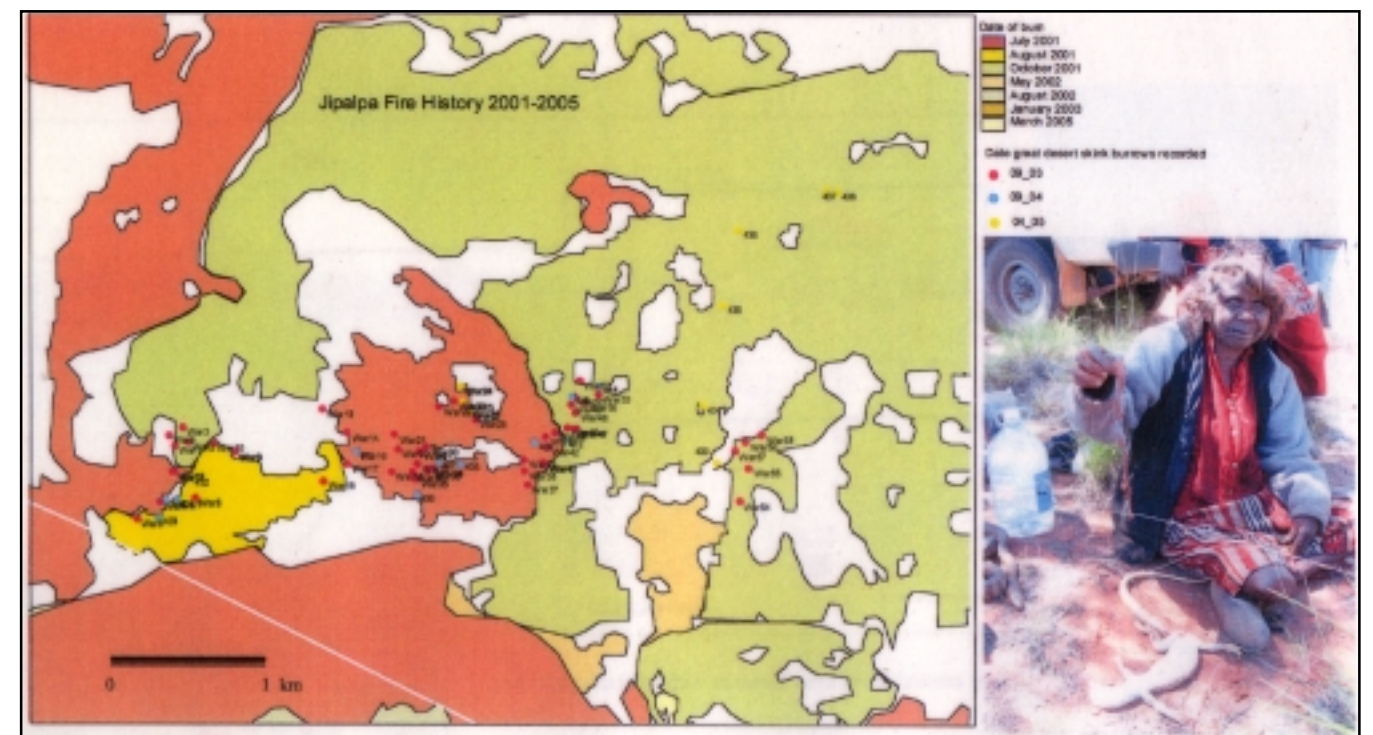
## Great desert skink story

Scientists working with Traditional Owners from Nyirripi found there were lots of desert skinks in places where Aboriginal people regularly burn patches of country. Even though a lot of country was burnt in 2001 and 2002, most of the fires were small, less than 1km wide (see map). Small, cool fires, lit in the winter months, left some shelter for the skinks and good areas for feeding. The desert skink moves away from country that hasn't been burnt for a long time, because the thick old spinifex makes it harder for lizards to hunt.



Photo: Rachel Paltridge

Nyirripi women with a bilby they dug up



The Nyirripi Warrarna Project. Photo and map: Rachel Paltridge



# Fire on cattle stations

When uncontrolled fires burn large areas on a cattle station, cows can go hungry, which is bad for business and bad for the animals. Property managers use controlled fire to look after their country and improve stock production.

**There are many reasons pastoralists use fire:**

- ♦ to control woody weeds, like sennas and eremophilas
- ♦ to create fire breaks
- ♦ to reduce fuel loads
- ♦ to promote green pick
- ♦ to control other weeds
- ♦ to encourage cattle to eat resprouting spinifex

**Pastoralists sometimes worry because wildfires can:**

- ♦ damage infrastructure such as fences, bore pumps, yards
- ♦ burn valuable feed
- ♦ burn livestock
- ♦ sometimes promote the growth of woody shrubs.



**Fencing destroyed by wildfire**

Photos: NT Bushfires Council



**Shed destroyed by wildfire**



**Cattle burnt by wildfire**

Photos: NT Bushfires Council



**Cattle country damaged by wildfire**

Photos: NT Bushfires Council

**Some pastoralists are worried that if wildfires burn through their country they can be fined for not following the Northern Territory Bushfires Council fire laws...**





# Bushfires Council NT

The Bushfires Council of the NT was set up under the Bushfires Act. The purpose of the Act is to protect life, property and the environment from the threat of wildfire.

## **The job of the Bushfires Council is to:**

- ♦ review government laws about bushfires
- ♦ monitor and enforce the law
- ♦ work with landowners and community to make wildfire management plans
- ♦ sometimes help landowners to do controlled burning
- ♦ educate landowners and the public about safe fire use and fire law.

Under the Bushfires Act all landowners are responsible for managing fire on their land. This law says that people must take care not to burn country or property belonging to other people. It also says that they have to get a special permit to burn country within 50 kms of Alice Springs.

**Before lighting fires make sure that you are following the law - you could be fined if you do not follow the law.**

## **What can you do to help manage fire on country?**

- teach young people the right ways of burning country
- talk to the Bushfires Council before burning near cattle stations, towns or communities
- maintain fire breaks along the boundary of your land
- wait for the wind to die down
- burn at the right time of the year and season
- **DON'T LET CHILDREN PLAY WITH MATCHES**

The Bushfires Council recognises that good fire management is important for looking after country. They know it is important that traditional burning happens on Aboriginal lands.

In August 2005 Bushfires Council mob worked with Central Land Council and Indigenous rangers from Willowra to talk about planning for healthy, safe fire management.



Bushfires Council burning a fire break away from fire-sensitive witchetty bush

## **Aerial burning**

Parks & Wildlife and some pastoralists sometimes use helicopters and small planes to light small management fires. This is called Aerial Control Burning (AEB). It means that people can do a lot more burning in areas that are hard to get to on the ground. Some people think there needs to be more AEB in central Australia. It could be a good technique for Aboriginal people to use on their lands.



# Who can you contact?



**Bushfires Council NT**  
Alice Springs  
Phone: 08) 89523066



**Central Land Council - Land Management Unit**  
Alice Springs  
Phone: 08) 8950 5000



**Centralian Land Management Association**  
Alice Springs  
Phone: 08) 8953 4230



**Desert Fire Project - Desert Knowledge CRC**  
Grant Allan - Scientific Officer  
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Nyirripi community & Rachel Paltridge 2005 *The Nyirripi Warrarna Project* landcare@tangentyere.org.au

