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Restoring cultural plant communities at sacred water sites

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ABSTRACT

Water places have been critical to central Australian Indigenous peoples for thousands of years. However, many waterhole communities have been degraded by factors including invasion by large feral herbivores and non-native plants. We document the restoration of two waterholes near Santa Teresa (Lyentye Apurte), with a focus on culturally significant plants. We described plant communities around waterholes in 2007, before fences were erected to exclude large feral animals, and again in 2018. Plant cover and diversity were higher after fencing and the occurrence of culturally significant plants greatly increased. However, invasive buffel grass was the dominant ground cover after fencing and will require active suppression to allow culturally significant native plants to proliferate. Traditional Owners identified excellent opportunities to achieve restoration through educating young people, with a focus on sharing intergenerational knowledge and engaging local Indigenous rangers in management, enabling them to meet the traditional obligations to care for country.

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1. Introduction

Waterholes are a critical component of Central Australian Indigenous communities' way of life, with water commonly identified as 'the most valued and rarest of resources' (CLC 2015). Local people relied, and continue to rely, on a variety of water features to sustain them. These water places, which range from small isolated springs and soakages to large (>3 km) spring runs, continue to hold great cultural significance (Bayly 1999). Water places are not only vital for the sustainability of local bush foods, but also feature strongly in the *Tjukurpa* (Aboriginal law), which is central to the spiritual and cultural well-being of Indigenous people and communities (James 2015; Judd 2019). Historically water sites were actively managed to limit sediment in-filling, prevent sites from drying out and to maintain their overall integrity in terms of water quality and ecological community composition. These activities had important cultural and ecological benefits (Dobson 2009).

"Our old people always looked after and cared for these waters, and we are carrying on this legacy. It's our responsibility because these sites are just as important to our people as other sacred sites." Veronica Perrurle Hayes (Dobson), Traditional Owner, as quoted from *Caring for Country: Hayes Springs, Mparntwenge. Salt Springs, Irlkerteye, Dialogue 28* (2009)

Beyond their cultural values, aboriginal people also recognised the ecological values provided by freshwater

systems. Central Australia waterbodies provide distinct and isolated habitats for both aquatic and terrestrial species and support a significant percentage of the biodiversity within the region (Brim Box et al. 2014). Given the floristic and faunal richness of these sites, it is not surprising that Aboriginal people often retreated to areas of permanent water during drought for both water and food (Bayly 1999; Latz 2018).

The plant communities associated with water places in central Australia are extremely important to Aboriginal people (Latz 2018), who had an encyclopaedic knowledge of plant species within their traditional lands. At least 140 plant species are still used by Aboriginal people for food (Latz 2018), with additional plant species used either for medicinal or cultural purposes (Dobson and Nano 2005). Most water places host plant communities that differ from the surrounding landscape, with concomitant differences in faunal biodiversity. For example, wild figs (*Ficus platypoda*) occur throughout central Australia, but grow to their largest (and heaviest fruiting) size near permanent water (Latz 2018). Wild figs are an important bush food for Aboriginal people and are eaten by a variety of bird and mammal species.

Similar to the plight of freshwater ecosystems in other arid regions of the world (Sada, Fleishman, and Murphy 2005), many central Australian waterbodies have been degraded by multiple interacting processes that followed settler colonialism. These include the introduction of herbivores (stock and feral) and non-

native predators, colonisation by invasive plants and groundwater extraction (Brim Box et al. 2008; Brim Box et al. 2016a). In addition, the movement of Aboriginal people off their traditional lands (hereafter 'Country') has meant that many water places are not visited as frequently as in the past (CLC 2015). As a consequence, water place names, locations and associated *Tjukurpa* stories and ceremonies have been lost, as have traditions and practices of managing water sites (CLC 2015). Aboriginal elders, who knew the traditional ways of taking care of water sites, continue to pass and, 'the younger people are not learning their traditional responsibilities for their ancestral land' (Dobson 2009).

Large feral herbivores, mainly cattle, horses and camels, are a particular threat to Central Australian ecosystems (Roberts et al. 2001). Invasive grazing animals are much larger than native animals, with the largest native grazer being the red kangaroo (*Macropus rufus*). Non-native herbivores consume more water than native animals, and often occur in large groups. Impacts from large feral animals occur via several pathways including grazing, trampling and degradation of water quality. For example, unregulated drinking by feral animals with very high water needs can reduce the water availability at springs and waterholes because those sites rely on ground or rain water to be replenished (Brim Box et al. 2010). Furthermore, large feral ungulates have hooves that damage fragile desert soils and can cause major erosion. They also impact on water quality by increasing sediment and nutrients and defaecating directly in the water, which decreases aquatic animal diversity (McBurnie et al. 2015; Brim Box et al. 2016a). In very dry times it is not uncommon for feral animals to perish in waterholes, making the waters unusable for both people and native animals (Edwards et al. 2008). Large feral animals impact on native species directly by outcompeting them for access to water and subsequently, decrease visitation rates of native species that need to drink daily, such as dingoes and seed-eating birds (Brim Box et al. 2019). Large feral animals further impact water sites by affecting vegetation. They graze selectively on vegetation, causing stunting of woody shrub and trees (Brim Box et al. 2016b), suppressing plant recruitment (Edwards et al. 2010) and contributing to weed dispersal (Dobbie, Berman, and Braysher 1993; Ansong and Pickering 2013). As camels can eat 80% of the common plants in central Australia, many with important cultural uses (Edwards et al. 2010), their impact on sacred water places can be profound.

Aboriginal people across Central Australia have clearly identified the need to restore and manage water places within their traditional Countries (Dobson 2009; CLC 2015). Active restoration is often needed to mitigate threatening processes, with local Indigenous rangers groups playing an essential role (e.g. Weston et al. 2012; Dobbs et al. 2016; Waltham et al. 2018). Vegetation cover and diversity are important to the health of the water places

and therefore can be used to indicate successful restoration. In addition, intergenerational transfer of both cultural and ecological knowledge is a key component of restoration efforts, because it is vital to long-term management success. Working with Traditional Owners (i.e. Veronica and Victor Dobson, two of the authors), local Aboriginal rangers and school students, our study looked at the outcomes of restoration of two Eastern Arrernte sacred water sites, Salt Springs *Irlkerteye* and Hayes Springs *Mparntwenge*. Our research had two main foci;

- (1) To describe restoration outcomes (exclusion of large exotic grazers by fencing) by comparing plant composition and cover before (2007) and after (2018) fencing.
- (2) To determine whether fencing can restore native plant taxa which provide a range of cultural ecosystem services, based on a catalogue of culturally significant plants collated more than 50 years ago.

2. Methods

2.1. Sites

Salt and Hayes Springs are located in the Ulampe-Arenye ranges and are part of a five-spring complex near Ltyentye Apurte (aka Santa Teresa). All five spring sites have cultural and ecological significance for the Eastern Arrernte people. Before the Santa Teresa mission was established in the 1950s, people lived near the springs and when conditions were good, could stay for months at a time (V.P. Dobson, traditional knowledge).

Hayes and Salt Springs are approximately 7 km apart, and both occur as a series of small, groundwater-fed shallow pools in small drainage lines surrounded by steep rocky cliffs, forming gorges. The pools at Hayes Springs are freshwater (salinities less than >1,000 mgL), while the pools at Salt Springs range from freshwater to hypersaline (salinity >35,000 mgL). Within both gorges the dominant large woody plant species is paperbark (*Melaleuca glomerata*). While the vegetation at both springs was once diverse, and included many important cultural plants, flora diversity has decreased in recent years, associated with the presence of feral cattle and horses (Dobson 2009).

2.2. Site management

To exclude feral animals, fences were erected at both sites in late 2006. Since then, the fence at Hayes Springs has continued to exclude feral herbivores from within the spring complex, mainly because of the presence of an accessible spring outside the fence which provides an alternative water source for feral animals. In contrast, no alternative water source was

available at Salt Springs, and feral animals continually knocked the fencing down to access water from the springs. To provide an alternative drinking source for feral cattle and horses at Salt Springs, a trough sourcing water from a disused bore was installed outside the fence in 2018.

Historically Eastern Arrernte people would keep Hayes and Salt Springs from filling in by the periodic removal of algae and sediment (Dobson 2009). For several years prior to 2006, little maintenance was done at Hayes Spring, and consequently one of the small pools filled with dung and sediments. This was removed in 2006, which restored groundwater flow to the pool. In addition, bulrushes (genus *Typha*), a species not previously known from Salt or Hayes Springs (V.P. Dobson, traditional knowledge) were removed. From 2017, both springs have been maintained to prevent infilling, and the weed grasses couch (*Cynodon dactylon*) and buffel (*Cenchrus ciliaris*) have been periodically removed from inside the fences.

2.3. Vegetation survey

Plant surveys were conducted soon after the fences were erected in 2007 and 11 years later, in 2018. Point-intersect transects at both sites were used to quantify ground cover, in April 2007 and in April 2018. Five transects, 5 m apart, were established at each site, and ran perpendicular to the drainage line from rock face to rock face and across the main water pools. Transect lengths varied from 20 m to 28 m. Point-intersects were established at 1 m intervals along each transect, and all plants as well as substrate (i.e. rock, bare ground, etc.), were identified at these points. A total of 112 points were sampled for Hayes Springs in 2007 and 107 points in 2018, compared to 144 point for Salt Springs in 2007 and 141 in 2018. Percentage cover was calculated as the percentage of points where plants were found.

To assess whether native propagules were present that would allow recovery of native plant communities, a seedbank study was conducted in April 2017 at Salt Springs. Soil samples were taken along the point transects. Six 1 m x 1 m quadrats were placed randomly along transects 1–4. Only three quadrats were sampled from transect 5 because of the rockiness of the transect. Five soil samples were taken from each quadrat using a 9-cm diameter plastic pipe to ensure even sampling of the area. The soil samples were not taken from a standard depth, as soil depth varied greatly across the quadrats. The soil was homogenised and transported to a glasshouse at the University of Canberra. The soil samples were distributed into 8 x 8 x 10 cm (w x l x d) pots, by spreading 3–4 cm (depth) of the soil sample up top of a river sand potting mix. Samples were soaked and

watered every 2–3 days and on hot days. Germination was recorded every week and continued until no new plants were germinating. The seedlings were then separated into individual pots to allow for continued growth to aid in identification. All plants were identified using (Cunningham 1992) and PlantNET (<http://plantnet.rbgsyd.nsw.gov.au/>). Identification was verified by plant experts and the traditional knowledge of Veronica Dobson.

To determine cultural values associated with plant communities, the 2018 plant list was annotated with reference to the traditional ethnobotanical knowledge of Veronica Dobson, a Traditional Owner of the site. Plants with known cultural uses were identified (hereafter ‘traditional use plants’) and their response to restoration assessed.

2.4. Data analyses

A two-way ANOVA was used to test for differences in plant cover between years (i.e. before and after fencing) and sites. As transects were not placed exactly in the same place, they were considered independent through time. Data were arcsine transformed prior to the analyses to meet assumptions of normality of residuals and homogeneity of variances of the data. To assess the potential for seedbank saturation by buffel grass, a linear regression was used to assess the relationship between the number of buffelgrass seedlings and other seedlings that emerged from the soil samples. All univariate analyses were performed in JMP (version 14).

To assess changes in plant communities through time, percentage cover of plants at each year, transect and site were collated into a single matrix. Similarity percentages (SIMPER) analysis was used to assess which plant taxa increased or decreased, using a two-factor crossed design (site x sampling time). Community similarity between each sampling point was calculated using Bray–Curtis similarities. Very high values were down-weighted through a log (X + 1) transformation. To visualise differences in community composition, the similarity matrix was plotted as a non-metric multi-dimensional scaling ordination. One outlier (a Hayes Spring sample that included only *Typha*) was removed to aid in visualisation. Two-factor analysis of Similarities (ANOSIM) was used with a two-factor crossed design (site x sampling time) to analyse for differences between communities. All analyses were carried out in Primer v7 (Clarke and Gorley 2015) and references therein for specific analyses).

Initial analysis showed that bare ground before fencing and exotic grasses after fencing dominated patterns of community composition. Therefore, the analyses were repeated three more times excluding samples with no plants and firstly excluding grasses,

then excluding all non-native plants and finally only including traditional use plants. As a result, four sets of results were produced a) all plants, b) all plants except exotic grasses, c) native plants only and d) traditional use plants only.

3. Results

3.1. Vegetation survey

A total of 21 plant species were identified in the point transects (Table 1). The number of native species found increased at both springs between the two sample periods. In 2007, only four native plant species were identified in the point transects at each spring. In 2018, 10 and 12 native species were found at Salt and Hayes springs, respectively. Native plants found in 2007 were also detected in 2018, with the exception of *Typha*, which was actively managed and removed from the sites and native fuchsia (*Eremophila freelingii*) which was still present on the rocky slopes where it usually grows, but not detected in the transects. All native plants found in 2018 were also present historically, except for *Typha* which did not occur at the two sites. Sow thistle (*Sonchus oleraceus*) is the only exotic species detected in 2018 that also occurred historically (Table 1).

From 2007 to 2018 the percentage cover of plants increased dramatically from 15% to 83% at Hayes Springs and 34% to 82% at Salt Springs (Figure 1, Table 2). This was caused by significant increases in the cover of both exotic species and native shrubs. While there was an increase in native herbaceous cover (from not detectable to 5%), this was not significant (Table 2).

Some of the plants detected in 2018 are important culturally, such as native grasses, paperbark (*Melaleuca glomerata*), ruby saltbush (*Enchylaena tomentosa*), mistletoe (*Amyena* sp.), peppergrass (*Lepidium* sp.), pigweed (*Portulaca oleracea*) and sandhill wattle (*Acacia ligulata*) (Table 1). Prior to fencing, with the exception of paperbarks, only two of 10 transects (one at each site) contained traditional use plants. After fencing, 8 of 10 transects (4 of 5 at each site) contained traditional use plants.

There was no significant evidence of differences in vegetation assemblages between sites either before or after fencing (Site effect, Global R = 1, $p = 0.333$; Figure 2a), although the Hayes Springs site tended to have more paperbark and had no records for couch. Similarities in communities between sites were largely driven by paperbark and non-native grasses (Table 3).

Significant changes in vegetation assemblages occurred between 2007 and 2018, coinciding with the installation of fencing (Fence effect, Global R = 0.312, $p = 0.004$; Figure 2) at both spring sites. These changes were mainly driven by increases in paperbark, couch

and buffel grass, which collectively accounted for 80.1% of the differences between 2007 (pre-fencing) and 2018 (post-fencing) assemblages (SIMPER). We are interpreting this as an effect of removing exotic grazing pressure, as we also measured a reduction in manure presence in quadrats from 4.9% (Salt Springs) and 12.5% (Hayes Springs) in 2007, to not detected in 2018. There was also evidence of reduced variability between samples after fencing, likely due to a reduction in bare ground. This was best illustrated by the Index of Multivariate Dispersion which reduced from 1.20 to 0.92 after fencing.

When the three dominant taxa were excluded from analyses, a number of native taxa were shown to be increasing in abundance between 2007 and 2018 (Table 4). After fencing, and excluding the dominant taxa, plant communities at the two sites differed substantially, with Hayes Springs characterised by tar vine (*Boerhavia diffusa*) and pigweed, and Salt Springs by ruby saltbush, sandy twinleaf (*Zygophyllum ammodendrum*), sandhill wattle and mistletoe.

3.2. Seedbank

A total of 147 plants germinated from the soil samples collected; 113 of these were monocot species and 34 were eudicots. Of these, 120 (82%) of the germinated plants survived to a stage where they could be identified. The most frequently identified species were the introduced buffel grass (88 seedlings equivalent to 73% of all seedlings) and sow thistles (16% of seedlings). Introduced couch grass and native paperbark each comprised 3% of all seedlings. Other species that were present included the native species sandy twinleaf, sandhill wattle, ruby saltbush, climbing saltbush (*Einadia nutans*), apple bush (*Pterocaulon sphacelatum*) and peppergrass (Table 1). These latter species, with the exception of sandy twinleaf, have traditional uses.

The mean number of buffel grass seedlings was 5.5 per quadrat, equivalent to 865 seedlings per m^2 , with a maximum of 17 buffel grass seedlings from one quadrat (2672 seedlings/ m^2). The highest species richness for one quadrat was four species. We found no evidence that the presence and abundance of buffel grass seedlings interfered with the abundance of seedlings of other species in this study ($F = 0.5148$; $df = 1, 14$; $p = 0.4849$).

4. Discussion

Excluding feral animals can be an effective first step in the restoration of traditionally valuable plant species to water sites. Results from this study showed that plant communities changed drastically following the installation of fencing to exclude large feral ungulates, with a significant increase in both plant cover and plant diversity. A number of native plants, including

Table 1. Combined list of species detected in the transects and seedbank at site for Salt Springs and Hayes Springs. Species marked with * are exotic species.

Common name	Scientific name	Eastern Arrernte name	Traditional use	Historically present	Detected pre-fencing	Detected post-fencing	Detected in seedbank	No of seedlings
Paperbark	<i>Melaleuca glomerata</i>	Ilpeye						3
Sandhill wattle	<i>Acacia ligulata</i>	Aterrike						1
Ruby saltbush	<i>Enchylaena tomentosa</i>	Ntyemene						1
Native fuchsia	<i>Eremophila freelingii</i>	Arrethe						1
Climbing saltbush	<i>Einadia nutans</i>	Ake-alte						1
Apple bush	<i>Pterocaulon</i> sp.	Pintye-pintye						1
Pigweed	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>	Ulyawe						
Tar vine	<i>Boerhavia diffusa</i>	Ayepe						
Peppercress	<i>Lepidium</i> sp.	Ntyarike						1
Sandy twinleaf	<i>Zygophyllum ammophilum</i>	Inmartwe						2
Native grasses	<i>various</i>							
Mistletoe	<i>Amyena</i> sp.						n/a	
Bulrush	<i>Typha domingensis</i>							
Sow thistle*	<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i>							19
Buffel grass*	<i>Cenchrus ciliaris</i>							88
Couch*	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i>							3
Fat hen*	<i>Chenopodium album</i>							
Mallow*	<i>Malva</i> sp.							

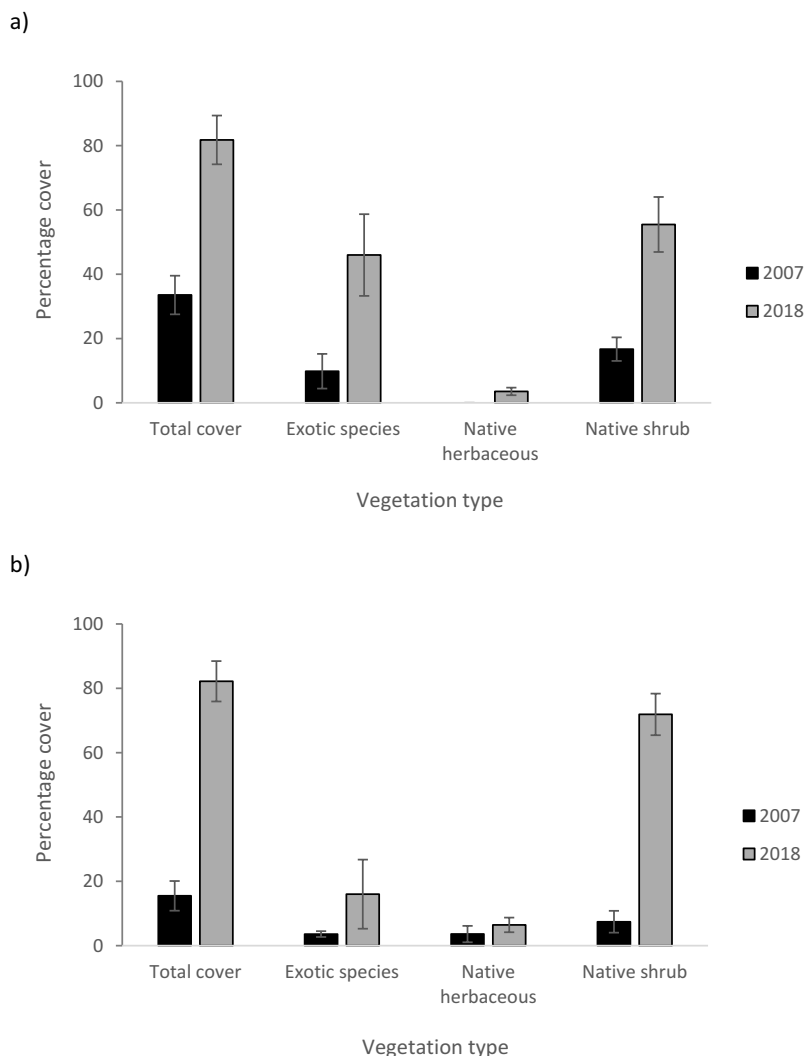


Figure 1. Mean percentage cover for vegetation type at Salt Springs and Hayes Springs in 2007 (black) and 2018 (grey).

culturally significant plants, not detected before fencing were detected following the exclusion of feral animals. This indicates that culturally important plants were still extant in the seed beds of both sites and able to recover when grazing pressure was reduced. With the removal of large feral ungulates, culturally important plants were able to germinate and become part of the floristic community. While our study only looks at two sites at two points in time, our results support observations made by Traditional Owners that both springs are in better condition following fencing (V. P. Dobson, personal observations).

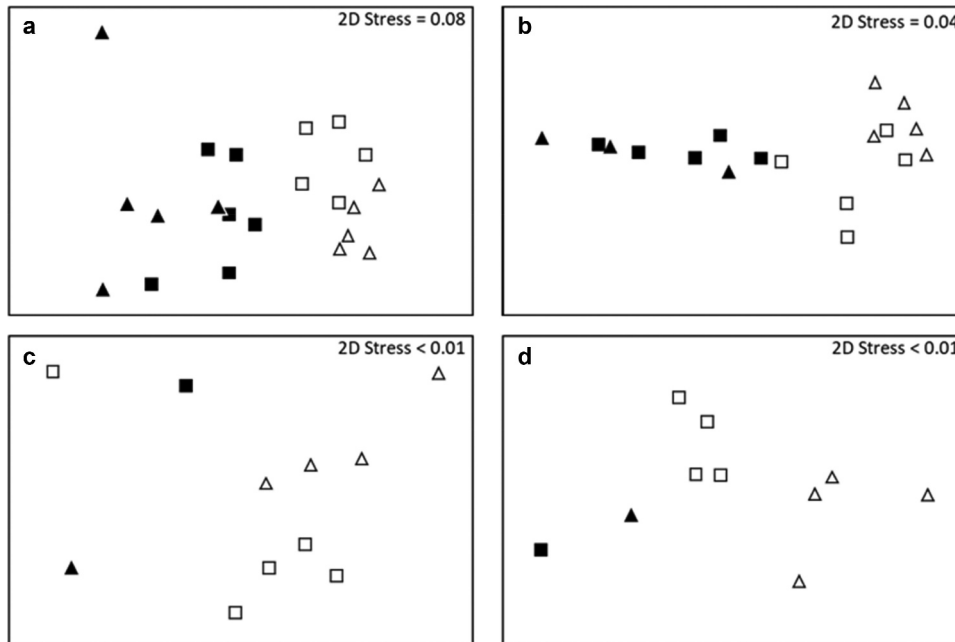
Impacts from large feral animals on central Australian waterholes occur via several pathways including grazing, trampling and degradation of water quality. The significant improvement in vegetation cover and plant growth shown in this study suggests that some of these negative impacts can be mitigated by exclusion in as little as 10 years. Two major drivers of degradation of vegetation communities are likely to be important. First, exclusion of large feral animals reduces soil trampling and further

erosion. At both Hayes and Salt springs, the ground was significantly damaged by feral herbivores before fencing, and very few individual plants and species were detected in areas with significant signs of trampling. In contrast, after fencing the incidence of both herbaceous plants and shrubs increased at both sites in these same areas that were once bare ground. This included a number of culturally important plants. Second, excluding large feral herbivores removes grazing pressure, allowing vegetation to regenerate. Several culturally significant plants found at Hayes and Salt springs are palatable to horses, cows and/or camels, including bush plum (*Santalum lanceolatum*), apple bush (*Pterocaulon* sp.) and *Boerhavia* sp. These three species, in particular, are thought to be at moderate to extreme risk of becoming locally depleted by camels (Edwards et al. 2010). While cattle and horses are less polyphagous than camels, in central Australia both species feed on a variety of grasses, forbs and shrubs (Chippendale 1964).

Exotic grasses invaded both Hayes and Salt springs following fencing. This is not surprising given both buffel and couch grass are highly successful invaders

Table 2. Analyses of variance for vegetation cover (total cover, exotic species, native herbaceous and native shrubs) at Salt and Hayes Springs (sites), before and after fencing (year).

Factor	Total cover			Exotic species			Native herbaceous			Native shrub		
	SS	F ratio	P	SS	F ratio	p	SS	F ratio	p	SS	F ratio	p
Site	0.052	1.255	0.279	0.196	4.164	0.058	0.005	3.232	0.091	0.020	0.679	0.422
Year	2.812	67.919	<0.001	0.355	7.554	0.014	0.005	3.106	0.097	1.750	60.491	<0.001
SiteXyear	0.037	0.903	0.356	0.091	1.926	0.184	0.0001	0.0393	0.845	0.122	4.230	0.056


Figure 2. Non-metric multidimensional scaling plots for plant communities within sites in 2007 and 2018. Symbols denotes year of sampling: Open triangle: 2007 Dark triangle: 2018. Labels denotes site: HS: Hayes Springs, SS: Salt Springs.

and their distributions continue to expand across central Australia (Miller et al. 2010; Allan 1997). Both species were present in 2007, but in very small numbers, suggesting that feral grazing suppressed these species. In 2018, both buffel and couch grass comprised a significant proportion of the vegetation cover. Interestingly, couch was only found at Salt Springs, where it likely increased in cover because of release from herbivory. Couch requires humidity and soil moisture, so it is likely that its distribution at Salt Springs will be restricted to areas immediately next to open water. Buffel grass colonised expansive areas around both spring sites, including nearby gorges. Many studies throughout Australia have documented the negative ecological impacts from buffel grass infestations, such as competing with native species, reducing local diversity and changing fire regime (Allan 1997; Franks 2002; Miller et al. 2010). The negative impacts most relevant to Hayes and Salt springs appear to be competition with native grasses and ground cover species (Franks 2002). Buffel also changes fire regimes because when it dries, it provides fuel that supports hotter fires than those that burned

historically at these sites. This in turn destroys native foods and refuge areas, and can lead to declines in native mammals, including black-footed rock wallabies and native mice (Schlesinger, White, and Muldoon 2013). Because buffel seeds are not palatable to some finches and parrots, buffel invasion also leads to a decrease in specialist seed-eating bird species (Marshall, Lewis, and Ostendorf 2012). Invasion by buffel grass has also been implicated in reduced reptile diversity because it interferes with food and feeding success of reptiles in buffel-dominated habitats (Sa 2012).

While the seedbank was dominated by buffel grass, the seedbank trial demonstrated the presence of a viable seedbank of native plants, and in particular culturally important species. While the seedbank trials suggested that there was no evidence of buffel grass seedlings interfering with the abundance of other species, elsewhere the invasive nature of buffel grass has been shown to exclude native groundcover species (Franks 2002; Clarke, Latz, and Albrecht 2005; Wardle et al. 2015; see also Marshall, Lewis, and Ostendorf 2012 for review). It is possible that continued buffel suppression/control at Salt and Hayes

Table 4. Changes in SIMPER average abundance for major discriminating taxa between 2007 (before fencing) and 2018 (after fencing) at Hayes and Salt Spring sites. (I) indicates invasive species, (T) indicates traditional use plants (see text for details).

	Before	After	Difference
Paperbark	0.11	0.52	+0.41
Buffel grass (I)	0.03	0.14	+0.11
Couch (I)	0.03	0.13	+0.10
Sow thistle (I)	0.00	0.02	+0.02
Ruby saltbrush (T)	0.00	0.01	+0.01
Unidentified grass	0.00	0.02	+0.02
Sandy twinleaf	0.00	0.01	+0.01
Mistletoe (T)	0.00	0.01	+0.01
Tar vine (T)	0.00	0.01	+0.01
Native fuchsia (T)	0.01	0.00	-0.01
Sandhill wattle (T)	0.00	0.02	+0.02

Table 3. SIMPER average percentage similarity within and between sites (Hayes/Salt) and within and between times (2007/2018) for plant communities. Groups are excluded from the analysis as shown in order to remove the effect of dominant species and detect changes in lower abundance taxa. Grey shading indicates between site or between time comparisons.

ALL SPECIES INCLUDED			
Average similarity by site across all time groups		Hayes	Salt
	Hayes	54.63	
	Salt	56.22	55.80
Average similarity by time across all sites		Before	After
	Before	46.62	
	After	26.09	69.57
NON-NATIVE GRASSES REMOVED			
Average similarity by site across all time groups		Hayes	Salt
	Hayes	55.13	
	Salt	56.22	66.94
Average similarity by time across all sites		Before	After
	Before	52.49	
	After	28.97	69.57
NON-NATIVE GRASSES + MELALEUCA + TYPHA REMOVED			
Average similarity by site across all time groups		Hayes	Salt
	Hayes	7.17	
	Salt	2.82	8.83
Average similarity by time across all sites		Before	After
	Before	0	
	After	0	10.84
TRADITIONAL USE PLANTS			
Average similarity by site across all time groups		Hayes	Salt
	Hayes	9.24	
	Salt	0	17.36
Average similarity by time across all sites		Before	After
	Before	No data	
	After	0	13.40

Springs could lead to even greater native plant cover than found in the current study. The control of buffel grass is difficult (Grice et al. 2012), with approaches generally confined to spraying (which can have detrimental effects on native grasses and should not be used close to water), and manual removal (which is resource intensive).

Successful restoration of sacred water places relies on local knowledge and involvement. There is an emerging understanding of the importance of a social context to ensure successful restoration outcomes (e.g. Robertson et al. 2001; Upreti et al. 2012). Local people have cared for these important water sites for thousands of years, and the sharing of intergenerational knowledge is key for their continued cultural

and ecological survival. Local Indigenous ranger groups are a major player in management and restoration of landscape on Indigenous lands (e.g. Ens et al. 2010; Weston et al. 2012; Waltham et al. 2018). At Salt and Hayes Springs, rangers maintain the fence and do occasional weeding. However, as these sites are remote, like many sacred sites in central Australia, and because restoration is an ongoing activity, there is often a lack of resources to effectively manage weed species. The long history of active traditional management of these sites provides an opportunity to carry out resource-intensive restoration practices. Going forward, Traditional Owners prioritised the removal of buffel grass from around

the springs, reducing its spread and the inclusion of the local Indigenous ranger group in management decisions and activities. However, all approaches to controlling buffel grass require ongoing investment. As funding is limited and buffel grass is widespread, careful spatial prioritisation of investments needs to be done as to protect the most vulnerable and culturally important assets. The cultural importance of Hayes and Salt Springs to the local Eastern Arrernte population, and the potential for benefit to culturally important species, suggests the currently fenced areas of the springs should be a priority for ongoing investment.

Aboriginal Traditional Owners at the springs indicated an obligation and desire to work with young people to achieve better management outcomes. People who have grown up with the stories associated with the springs need the opportunity to share this knowledge with the newer generations. In this case, the local school has been involved with monitoring the springs, which allows students to meet elders and scientists and share the importance of the springs, water, animals and plants. Traditional Owners emphasised that people have always taken care of these sites and that it is critical for the newer generations to take over this cultural duty. While there have been tremendous efforts by rangers and by elders, more resources to get people on Country are required. The findings of this project reaffirm previous observations (e.g. Ens et al. 2012; Walsh, Dobson, and Douglas 2013) that the active participation and knowledge of Traditional Owners provides a significant management tool for central Australia wetlands.

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