

Can Metaphysical Values Protect Mountain Wildlands from Development Damage?

Lawrence S. Hamilton and Jeneda Benally

Abstract—This paper addresses the question of whether spiritual, religious or cultural values held by humans for some wild mountain areas can protect these special places from developments that impair both these values and wild nature. The answer is sometimes yes, sometimes no, and sometimes a minimization of damage. Examples of each of these scenarios are briefly given, along with a more detailed current battle between the sacred and the profane in the case of the San Francisco Peaks in Arizona, USA. Some recommendations are given that help to strengthen the case when intangible values of reverence, cultural tradition, worship and iconic significance come up against destruction or impairment of nature in mountains.

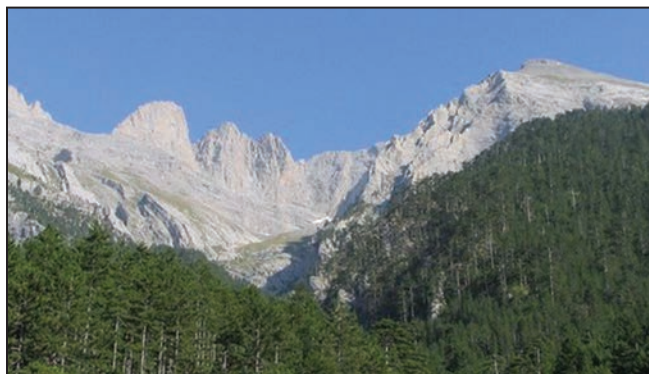
Introduction

It is indeed gratifying to see these WILD Congresses bringing into their fora the spiritual and cultural values of wild places. While these special places may be forests, groves, caves, springs, wells or water-bodies, we want to deal only with mountains as wild places with sacred or iconic value. While there are many physical definitions of what constitutes a mountain, (e.g. Kapos et al. 2000), the “Oh, WOW!” emotional reaction upon viewing one from the lowlands is an important definer, —an intangible criterion. Mountains have inspired humans since first ancestral contact with them. Sometimes this has been awe or fear, and sometimes it has been religious significance. The names conjure up deep feelings among both traditional peoples and moderns: Olympus, Everest, Chimborazo, Elbrus, Tongariro, Ti’a Shan, Nanda Devi, Matterhorn, Fuji, Mountains of the Moon, Shasta. See *Sacred Mountains of the World* (Bernbaum 1990) for many others. Are these very special wild places, these mountains, revered by so many millions of people safe from harmful development that supposedly furthers progress? Not by a long shot! Metaphysical values usually do help. Let us look at a few of the many cases.

Lawrence S. Hamilton is Emeritus Professor of Forest Conservation, Cornell University, and Senior Advisor to IUCN’s World Commission on Protected Areas, 342 Bittersweet Lane, Charlotte VT, 05445, U.S.A., e-mail silverfox@gmavt.net. Jeneda Benally is of the Dine’ (Navajo) Nation and Founder of the Save the Peaks Coalition, P.O. Box 1492, Flagstaff, AZ, 86002, U.S.A. e-mail jeneda@blackfire.net

In: Watson, Alan; Carver, Stephen; Krenova, Zdenka; McBride, Brooke, comps. 2015. Science and stewardship to protect and sustain wilderness values: Tenth World Wilderness Congress symposium; 2013, 4-10 October; Salamanca, Spain. Proceedings RMRS-P-74. Fort Collins, CO: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station. 208 p.

Some Battles Won and Lost



Mount Olympus (Greece)

To the early Greeks, their loftiest peak, Mount Olympus, one of the most famous mountains in the world, was the primary home of the 12 Gods, clustered around the mighty Zeus. The power to inspire and create awe has persisted through the ages to modern times, and indeed the fame and mythical value of Olympus has spread throughout the world. It was declared a National Park in 1938 with a core area of 4,000 hectares of the summit and east side, and a wider area around the mountain as Peripheral Zone of the National Park so that adverse development would not impact core values. In 1981 the area became a Biosphere Reserve. It now covers some 238,410 hectares. The mythical sanctity of the mountain is reinforced by the presence of 5 monasteries on the lower slopes.

In 1989 a proposal for a major ski center and road arose for this east side in the Core Zone, to complement an existing ski center on the north slope. Mountain Wilderness—Greece, Nature and Ecology magazine, and World Wildlife Fund—Greece brought pressure on the government to oppose a ski center development, with road, on the east side of the mountain, and marshaled both national protest and global protest from the multitudes who regard this as a world icon (Kostas Tsipiras, Pers. Comm). It is widely believed that this outpouring of opposition resulted in halting the proposal. A new Presidential Decree for the Olympus National Park was formulated. Public opposition, the bad economic situation in Greece, plus unreliable snow from climate warming have probably protected Olympus for the foreseeable future, and saved the wild, undeveloped east side of the mountain.

Local mayors however have not given up the battle for economic touristic development. Suddenly in 2012, in the middle of the economic crisis, the same proposal again came

on stage, by the same people, who in 1989, did not succeed to implement their project. Hopefully this will be aborted also. Affording secular protection as a National Park and Biosphere Reserve is not always sufficient to conserve wild land, but it surely helps.



Mount Kailash Tibet, China)

Is there hope, and a case to be made for mountain wilderness being protected by metaphysical values, when even the planet's most sacred mountain, Mount Kailash can be threatened by a road and by climbing? This mountain is held sacred by all Buddhists, Hindus, Jains, Sikhs and Bons (around 2 billion people) (Bernbaum 1990, updated by personal communication with author). The ultimate in merit is a pilgrimage to the mountain (very arduous itself) and then a circumambulation around it (52 km/32 mi). In an effort to boost tourism, in 2003 the Chinese Government supported the building of an airport at Nyan, only 155 miles from Kailash, a road to the site, and a road around the mountain for vehicles. The civil society protest from around the world about desecration of this special place of sacred pilgrimage apparently has stopped the road for the present.

Nor have climbers' boots been on the mountain. The celebrated Reinhold Messner proposed summiting Kailash in 1985, but self-aborted when the sanctity was strongly pointed out. In 2001 there arose a proposal by a Spanish expedition to be the first to summit Mount Kailash. Opposition by Buddhists, including the Dalai Lama, and most formal mountaineering organizations, led to a cancellation of these plans, and it is not clear whether or not a climbing permit was issued by the Chinese. Threats will continue no doubt, but surely this most sacred of all mountains is secure from development? It is not currently in any type of formal protected area, but designating it would surely be helpful. The Chinese government, in a touchy Tibet situation, does not seem to be making moves in this direction. However there is a recent China-Nepal-India agreement that includes this mountain and a nearby sacred Lake Manasarova in a Kailash Sacred Landscape Conservation and Development Initiative (ICIMOD 2012). It may afford greater secular protection. It may even merit World Heritage status, even greater protection?



Mount Sinai (Egypt)

Mount Sinai in Egypt is the site where Moses encountered God and received the Ten Commandments. It is sacred to Jews, to Islam and to Christianity, and a site of pilgrimage,—some 30,000 per year. There are wild areas near the summit, containing over 400 species of plants, 27 of them endemics, and ibex roam the slopes, protected by the sacredness of the mountain, even among the Bedouin who graze livestock. (See Mansourian 2005a). Notwithstanding religious values, in 1990 the Egyptian government proposed a tourism development of hotels, villas and shopping/services center and a cable car to avoid the arduous 2.5 hour climb to the summit where a restaurant would be built. It was estimated that tourism numbers might rise to 565,000 per year. Goodbye wild nature! Public outcry over the “Disneyfication” of the holy site led to the cancellation of this economic development scheme, with protests arising from Jews, Christians and Muslims. In 2002 it was designated as a World Heritage Site (for cultural values but protecting associated wild lands). A win for metaphysical values!



Cairngorms (Scotland, UK)

To many a present-day Scot, the Cairngorms are a wild domain held in awe and delight. It was officially designated a National Park only in 2003. In 2008 a proposal for a funicular to the summit, and a restaurant, became part of the regional economic development package. In spite of strong protest from the Scottish and British rambling and mountaineering community (and many other mountain lovers) both were built. But, in a compromise, the restaurant and the funicular access to it has been sited 100 rugged vertical meters below the summit (Malcolm Payne, pers. comm.). Visitors coming in by funicular are limited to a small fenced enclosure to prevent them from wandering into the rough terrain and high elevation wild area. This effectively safeguards the alpine tundra summit area and wilderness from throngs of tourists. Those hiking up from the base car park, under Scotland's "freedom to roam" policy, are able to trek into the summit areas if they wish. (Steve Carver, pers. Comm.). Sometimes compromise is the only solution possible for our special places, but it takes the passion of persons who have been smitten by the awesome experience of the mountain to fight for conservation.



Adam's Peak or Sri Pada (Sri Lanka)

Peak Wilderness Sanctuary in Sri Lanka is also known as Adam's Peak and Sri Pada, — the latter two names reflecting something of the spiritual nature of the mountain. Many Christians and Muslims believe that this is the site where the Eden-expelled Adam landed on Earth. He was obliged to stand on one foot for a thousand years, and this ordeal left a sacred (Sri) footprint (Pada) on a large summit boulder (now protected by a wooden shelter). Buddhists believe that this print was left by the Buddha, and Hindus that of Lord Shiva (Mansourian 2005b). At 2243m/7359 ft, this striking pyramidal mountain has for thousands of years been a rugged pilgrimage site.

First declared a Wildlife Sanctuary in 1940, the area is considered Sri Lanka's most untrammelled protected area (aside from the pilgrimage route), with intact forest cover ranging from lowland rainforest to high elevation cloud forest. It is an important source of water and a sanctuary for wildlife. The wilderness together with the adjacent Horton Plains

Nature Reserve hosts all 21 of the native bird endemics of the country, and is one of the Biodiversity "Hotspots". Rich in the forest resource, in gemstones, and at lower elevations a potential for farming and for exotic tree plantations, it seems to be a clear case that the spiritual values, plus subsequent designation as a Wilderness Sanctuary (and inclusion in the 2010 Central Highlands of Sri Lanka World Heritage Site) has minimized damage from resource development (especially gemstones and tourism).



Tongariro (New Zealand)

Tongariro National Park in New Zealand consists of three sacred mountain peaks: Ruapehu, Ngaurohoe and Tongariro. It was and is still revered and feared (active volcano) by the Maori people, — a place of "tapu". It is ancestor and source of "mana" to the regional tribes. Following the Maori/British Wars and subsequent new land laws favoring acquisition by colonists, with attendant logging and clearing of forest, concern arose over the fate of this place of power and sanctity. There had already been problems with "foreigners" wanting to climb these peaks, and even the Governor of New Zealand was prevented from summiting by the "tapu". Facing a dilemma, in 1887, the Paramount Chief, Te Heuheu Tukino IV, on behalf of his people, gave the land to the Crown (Queen Victoria) to protect forever. It thereby became New Zealand's first National Park (Potton 1995).

While limited recreational use (hiking, skiing and nature studies) are permitted by the management agency, no other adverse development is allowed. And special interior sacred places are given total protection. In 1990 it was inscribed on the World Heritage List as a Natural Site, and three years later it was also listed for its Cultural values. The conserved area now covers some 78,815 hectares (194,270 acres). It would be a breach of trust and law, and a violation of World Heritage standards to expand the ski area or to permit mining.

This solution to preventing loss of wild nature and spirituality worked because the land at the time was controlled by the Maori People, and now a vast majority of "new" New Zealanders also cherish and support this Protected Area and take pride in its designation as a World Heritage Site.



Uluru-Kata Tjuta (Australia)

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is a classic case of conflict between indigenous spiritual values (especially to the local aboriginal Anangu community) and tourism promoted by a colonizing culture (Anonymous 2008). Mount Uluru (named Ayers Rock by European explorers and then by Australians) is an amazing red monolith that became a favorite photographic and climbing site for tourists. It and Mount Olga (Tjuta) together were named as a National Park in 1958 (133,500 hectares/330,000 acres) and tourism began in earnest. Greater governmental recognition of cultural values led to restitution of ownership to the Anganu in 1985. It was leased back to the government for management purposes, with understanding that cultural values were to be respected, and Anganu are on the Management Board. It then received listing as a World Heritage Site in 1987. A Cultural Center was built the following year to interpret the great cultural significance and to ask tourists not to climb the mountain. In spite of an agreement to close the mountain to climbing when climbers dropped to below 20 percent of Park visitors (and this has happened as of July 2013), Parks Australia has not closed off climbing. Years of petitioning finally did result in the traditional owners receiving their sacred site back, but all problems have not been resolved just by having a secular protection designation.



San Francisco Peaks rise from a semi-arid plateau

A More Detailed Case: San Francisco Peaks

Rising from the usually dry, high plateau of the American Southwest, three volcanic peaks of around 3,360 meters thrust skyward just north of the City of Flagstaff, Arizona. Their sharpness of outline in the clear air gives them a supernatural appearance and enables them to be seen from great distances. This complex, the San Francisco Peaks, is sacred to most of the Native American peoples of this region, being significant to 22 Tribes, and holy to 13 Tribes, including the Navajo (Dine'), Hopi, Havasupai, Hualapai, Zuni, Acoma, White Mountain Apache and Yavapai-Apache. To the Navajo, the Peaks are the sacred mountain of the west, a key boundary marker, abode of the Holy People, and place where ceremonial and medicinal plants are collected. Its name is a direct reflection of the spiritual radiance, translating to "Shining on Top." To the Hopi, their "Place of Snow on the Very Top" is the home of the Kachina spirits who bring vital rains to the dry-farmed source of food, and corn used for prayer. To other Tribal Nations the Holy Massif has qualities of spiritual nourishment, providing a rare source of medicinal and ceremonial plants, and is central to cultural survival.

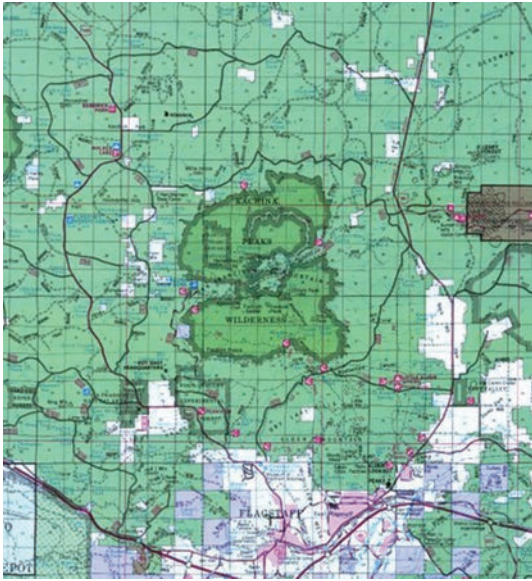


The Peaks are sacred to 13 Native American Tribes



View of the Peaks from Flagstaff shopping center through a car window. (the sacred and the profane?)

Not only are “The Peaks” valued for their spiritual nature, but the mountain “captures” water in the form of both rain and snow due to the orographic effect, and nourishes surrounding farm and ranching lands with streams, springs and groundwater aquifers. The nearby city of Flagstaff is totally dependent on this mountain water. Both plant and animal biological diversity are high. The Peaks are an oasis in the surrounding lands of semi-desert and pinyon pine-juniper woodland and savanna, as they bear closed forests of aspens and conifers, with associated flora and fauna. It is indeed a special place in a vast natural landscape and spiritscape.



Location of San Francisco Peaks within the Coconino National Forest

The San Francisco Peaks are part of the Coconino National Forest that is administered by the U.S. Forest Service. Over the years, under a policy of “multiple use”, the Peaks have received a small, rustic ski development (Arizona Snowbowl), a pumice mine (White Vulcan Mine), some timber harvesting and general outdoor recreation. In spite of protest and a lawsuit by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the Navajo Medicine Mens’ Association and the Hopi Tribe, the ski area was expanded in 1983 to include more trails, four lifts, parking and a lodge. The courts ruled that this did not impede the religious rights guaranteed by the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, even though it offended Native American beliefs. The situation seemed improved by the Forest Service designation of 7,570 hectares (18,690 acres) of the mountain forest as a Kachina Wilderness Zone in 1984. The Tribes also pressed the agency to designate The Peaks as a Traditional Cultural Property, but no action has been taken. In 2000, the Native Americans and environmentalists won a victory over proposed expansion of the pumice mine, on the basis of sacrilege to the holy mountain. The mine was closed in 2002 and the U.S. Department of Interior bought out the mining rights, closing and restoring the site.

Late in 2002, however, another threat to the sanctity of the Peaks arose with another proposed major expansion



Snow capture for water supplies, but an opportunity for winter sports.

of the Snowbowl, which had been suffering from declining snow cover and hence profits (only 4 days of skiing in 2001-2002). To counter unreliable snowfall, it was proposed to use Flagstaff’s reclaimed wastewater to make artificial snow. To the Tribes this would be an extremely sacrilegious action. Thirteen Tribes united in a “Save The Peaks Coalition” and were joined by several environmental NGOs, especially the Sierra Club.

In April 2005 the Forest Service announced its “finding” in favor of the expansion proposal, in spite of two years of negotiation with and petitions from the Coalition. The Navajo Nation and the Sierra Club in August 2005 brought a legal court appeal against the Forest Service decision. In January 2006, an Arizona District Court denied the appeal, apparently feeling that the economic interest of Arizona Snowbowl Resorts was more of a priority than the beliefs of hundreds of thousands of Native Americans. This decision was appealed to a Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco in September 2006. In March 2007, this higher court reversed the lower court’s ruling in favor of the Navajo Nation. But, in 2008 the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals revisited and reversed the decision, upholding the lower court’s ruling in favor of the ski resort. The U.S. Supreme Court denied the appeal to hear the case.

In 2009, The Save the Peaks Coalition and 9 plaintiffs filed a lawsuit against the U.S. Forest Service on the basis that the reclaimed wastewater was not tested for endocrine disruptors. This case was lost in the lower court and in the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals by the Plaintiffs, allowing the ski resort to use the proven endocrine-laden wastewater to be made into artificial snow. In spring of 2013 the Arizona Court of Appeals overturned a 2011 ruling by a former Coconino County Superior Court judge allowing the Hopi Tribe to challenge the city’s water contract with Snowbowl. In winter of 2012/2013 the Arizona Snowbowl became the world’s first ski area to have artificial snow made completely of municipal sewage effluent. (Official signs are posted which caution: “Do Not Eat the Snow”).

The battle continues seemingly without end. A good analysis of the various legal rulings up to 2009 is given by Hutt (2009), along with some other cases where Native American

Cultural Sites went through the courts. And Stumpff (2013) has an excellent, very detailed account and analysis of the issues and court battles that have been carried out over the years, and are still in process, to decide who speaks for the San Francisco Peaks.

In the USA, between 1887 and 1934 some 36,423,000 hectares (90 million acres) in the American West was taken from Native Americans by the U.S. Government, ~98 percent of their land base (Gregg and Cooper 2010). Probably 75 percent of their sacred sites are no longer under their control. In the USA, there is some protection for sacred sites under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, but the last judgment of the court in the case of The Peaks was that “the diminishment of spiritual fulfillment, —serious though it may be— is not a “substantial burden” on the free exercise of religion” (9th Circuit Court En Banc Panel of Judges, 2008). Nor is the American Indian Freedom Act a blanket for protection of large landscape features. There is also a Registry of Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP), emanating from the National Registry of Historic Places. The process of registration is fairly lengthy and complex, especially in regard to boundary delineation. Also the registration has a “magnet effect” to visitors and other users, presenting problems of maintaining the sacrality of revered sites. The San Francisco Peaks have not been designated a TCP in spite of proposals to the Forest Service secular custodians. In the San Francisco Peaks, the secular and profane has so far triumphed over the sacred. The battle is not over!

Recommendations

Can sacred or high cultural values protect mountains from having their wildlands destroyed by development? As one can see from the array of case studies the answer is not simple. Win some; lose some. Even governmental designation of some of these as Protected Areas of some kind, has not added an effective extra secular mantle. But sites with metaphysical values have often enormous biodiversity and wilderness values also. IUCN, in particular with the Rigoberta Mencha Tum Foundation has initiated a project called “Conservation of Biodiversity-Rich Sacred Natural Sites of Indigenous Peoples.” It focuses on five sub-regions: Meso America, South America, East Africa, West Africa and South Asia. (Oviedo and Jeaneraud 2007). In developed countries there are well organized Conservation NGOs that can bring civil society pressures on decision-makers to at least bring intangible values into the decision process. This is often quite effectively organized and carried out for favorite scenic and recreational places such as Yosemite and Mont Blanc, but less so when sacred values of indigenous peoples are involved. What suggestions can be made? A partial list follows:

- Designation as a secular, formal Protected Area by the Government. The special spiritual significance provides opportunity for designation as a Cultural Landscape Preserve (IUCN Category V). Perú has recently designated a Vilcanato Spiritual Park, having an official label of a Community Conservation Area. Because such special sites are mountainous, they usually have high biodiversity and scenic values, that often qualify them for National Park (Category II) status, or as a Natural Monument (Category III), or even a National Heritage

Area. Such recognition and labels erect barriers to harmful development, and slow down the permitting process, allowing opposition to get organized.

- However, once established as a Protected Area, recreational values of mountains may result in conflicts, as is seen in several case studies. Appropriate zoning that protects sacred places or provides exclusive access should be part of the management plan, whatever the Category of protection. This may include pilgrimage management devices.
- If managed by an agency that is not the belief-system people themselves, proper and consultation-based interpretation of cultural values must be the scenario.
- Since special cultural skills are needed in managing the land and associated resources, management staff should be selected from local people and they should be given special training, involving the Elder Traditionalists.
- An excellent set of guidelines for planning and managing mountain Protected Areas with high cultural values can be found in Hamilton and McMillan (2004).
- A set of general guidelines are provided in “Sacred Natural Sites: Guidelines for Protected Site Managers” (Wild and McLeod 2008).
- The ultimate in secular protection by governments is by designation as a World Heritage Site, if the area meets the standards set by UNESCO. Designation as a Biosphere Reserve also brings an international (UNESCO) layer of conservation.

Listing these special places in some kind of a register (UNESCO? IUCN? National Government?). Too often the claim for the sanctity of a site comes after a development is well into the planning stage and even into the action stage. Having them already listed creates an “official” barrier that has to be at least recognized by the damaging development. The major impediment to this is the secrecy aspect of the site, whose custodians fear the loss of significance if “outsiders,” who do not share the same values, know of them. They may abuse this knowledge, exploiting it as the sacred place becomes spectacle or a tourist magnet (e.g. Uluru). Registering also implies some loss of control to sites that have been protected for years by indigenous group spiritual leaders. We believe however that such listing becomes ever more imperative as younger indigenous people or younger adherents to nature-based spirituality drift from tradition and become less passionate about them. Moreover, virtual reality of wild protected places via computer is becoming more the experience of these special places, and this erodes the passion and belief in sacred sites on the ground.

An examination of the linkage between places of high spiritual/cultural value and nature conservation, in a research report by World Wide Fund for Nature, Equilibrium, and Alliance for Religions and Conservation (Dudley et al. 2005) concluded: “The limited quantitative evidence that does exist suggests that sites protected by faiths for their spiritual values can indeed perform a valuable function in protecting wild nature”. Since many of these sites are wild lands, all mountain wilderness lovers must be aware of their metaphysical nature and value to some faiths or traditional cultures, and not only refrain from damaging behavior, but be supportive of any efforts to protect them from “sacrilegious” development.

References

- Anonymous. 2008. Case study 12 and Annex 2. p 61-62, 81-83 in *Sacred Natural Sites: Guidelines for Protected Area Managers*. Rob Wild and Christopher McLeod eds. Best Practice Protected Area Guideline Series No 16. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN/WCPA.
- Bernbaum, Edwin. 1990. *Sacred Mountains of the World*. San Francisco: Sierra Club. 201 p
- Bernbaum, Edwin. 1999. Mountain pilgrimages. P 35 in *Mountains of the World: Tourism and Sustainable Mountain Development*. Berne, Switzerland: Mountain Agenda.
- Bernbaum, Edwin. 2014. [Personal communication by telephone] June 17. Writer, Sacred Mountains Project, The Mountain Institute, Berkeley, CA].
- Carver, Steve. 2014. [Review of this paper] May 31. Director Wildland Research Institute, University of Leeds, Leeds, UK].
- Dudley, Nigel, Higgins-Zogib, Liza and Mansourian, Stephanie. 2005. *Beyond Belief: Linking Faiths and Protected Areas to Support Biodiversity Conservation*. Gland, Switzerland: World Wide Fund for Nature. 143 p.
- Gregg, Mathew T. and Cooper, D. Michael. 2010. The political economy of American Indian allotment revisited. *Journal of Business and Economic Research* 8(5):90-104.
- Hamilton, Lawrence and McMillan, Linda eds. 2004. *The Sacred, Spiritual and Cultural Significance of Mountains*. Chapter V p 25-31 in *Guidelines for Planning and Managing Mountain Protected Areas*. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN/WCPA.
- Hutt, Sherry. 2009. The evolution of Federal agency authority to manage Native American cultural sites. *The George Wright Forum* 26(1):45-56.
- Kapos, V., Rhind, J., Edwards, M., Price, M. F. and Ravilious, C. 2000. Developing a map of the world mountain forests. p. 4-9 in *Forests in Sustainable Mountain Development*. Price, M.F. and Butt, N., eds. IUFRO 5 Research Series. Wallingford, U.K: CABI Publishing,
- Mansourian, Stephanie. 2005a. Peak Wilderness Park, Sri Lanka. p. 95-98 in *Beyond Belief: Linking Faiths and Protected Areas to Support Biodiversity Conservation*. Dudley, N., Higgins-Zogib, L., and Mansourian, S. eds. Gland, Switzerland: World Wide Fund for Nature.
- Mansourian, Stephanie. 2005b. St. Catherine's area, Sinai, Egypt. p. 82-84 in *Beyond Belief: Linking Faiths and Protected Areas to Support Biodiversity Conservation*. Dudley, N., Higgins-Zogib, L. and Mansourian, S. Gland, Switzerland: World Wide Fund for Nature. 9th Circuit Court En Banc Panel. 2008. Ruling on San Francisco Peaks, August 8.
- Oviedo, Gonzalo and Jeanrenaud, Sally. 2007. Protecting Sacred Natural Sites of Indigenous and Traditional Peoples. p. 77-99 in *Protected Areas and Spirituality*. Mallarach, J.M. and Papaganis, T. eds. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN/WCPA.
- Potton, Craig. 1995. *Tongariro: A Sacred Gift*. Nelson, New Zealand: Craig Potton Publishing. 192 p.
- Stumpff, Linda Moon. 2013. *Water Quality, Sacred Sites and Climate Change: Who Speaks for the San Francisco Peaks? A Case Study in Enduring Legacies*. Native Case Studies. Evergreen State College, Olympia, Washington, USA. 31 p
- Tsipiris, Costas. 2013. [Personal communication by e-mail] June 20. President, Mountain Wilderness-Greece. Athens, Greece.
- Verschuuren Bas, Wild, Robert, McNeely, Jeffrey, and Oviedo, Gonzalo, eds. 2011. *Sacred natural sites: Conserving nature and culture*. London, UK: Earthscan. 310 p.
- Wild, Robert and McLeod, Christopher eds. 2008. *Sacred Natural Sites: Guidelines for Protected Area Managers*. Best Practice Protected Area Guidelines Series No. 16. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN/WCPA. 106 p.