

GENERAL PLAN 2030

MAUI ISLAND PLAN

MAUI ISLAND HISTORY: LESSONS FROM THE PAST – A GUIDE TO THE FUTURE



Site of King Kamehameha III's Lahaina home, 1893



September, 2006

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INTRODUCTION

Maui No Ka Oi, Maui is the best. Loved by its residents, i.e. its caretakers, and by thousands of visitors from around the world who visit each year, Maui is unique, different from anywhere else in the world. Its dramatic physical beauty, blended culture, traditional arts, pleasant climate, and spirit of aloha make it special. However, in this rapidly developing, and increasingly homogenous world, how do we keep Maui, Maui? This is the challenge - to take lessons from the past as a guide to the future, so that we can preserve the island's uniqueness in a way that insures our children, and their children, a Maui island they are proud to call home.

Maui's history is a rich, interesting, and sometimes tragic, but instructive account of a sophisticated pre-contact Polynesian society, western explorers, missionaries, entrepreneurialism, immigrant laborers from diverse cultures, and the modern era of flourishing tourism, real estate development, and dramatic population growth. The island's history is defined by distinct stages, initiated by key events or decisions, which have converged to form present day Maui. Maui's history is also closely tied to the island's abundant natural resources and phenomenal scenic beauty. Beginning with the Hawaiian's deep connection to the land, followed by large-scale agricultural planting and irrigation, and concluding with natural resource and scenic beauty based tourism; Maui's history and landscapes have been impacted by the interaction between humans and the natural environment.

Maui's rich and diverse past has significantly influenced the challenges and opportunities that present as well as future island generations must face. Understanding the decisions and events that have led to the accomplishments and failures of the past provide valuable lessons that aid decision making and priority setting. These lessons equip us with essential tools for achieving a desired future for Maui.



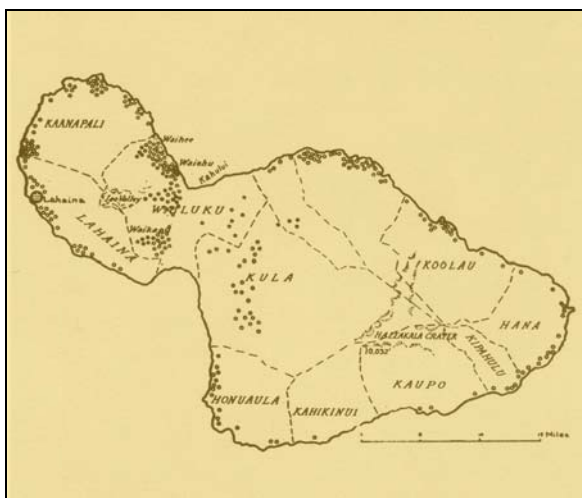
Front Street, Lahaina, 1930

MAUI'S EARLY HAWAIIAN LANDSCAPE

Maui's original inhabitants traveled from the southern islands of Polynesia across treacherous seas to settle a new home. They developed a successful and sophisticated society that thrived for hundreds of years prior to western contact. Hawaiian's did not believe in the private ownership of land. A unique system, utilized throughout Hawaii, divided land into ahupuaa, land divisions running from the mountains to the sea, which were administered by each district alii. Hawaiian

society was separated into distinct classes, from chief to laborer, each with their defined duties and responsibilities within the ahupuaa.

While Captain James Cook is noted as discovering the Hawaiian Islands for the Western World, it was Captain Jean Francois de Galaup de La Prouse, in 1786, who was the first outsider to set foot on Maui's shore and interact with the Hawaiians. The explorations of these two captains signified the beginning of Hawaii's introduction to the Western world. In the following years, missionary work, the whaling industry, and flourishing trade of diverse goods brought American and European immigrants to the island. By the mid 1800's, the island's population was dispersed throughout the land from east to west.



Hawaiian villages 1853

With much of the island remaining arid and inhospitable, the towns of Hana, Makawao, Wailuku, and Lahaina housed the majority of the population. Diversified agriculture rapidly expanded during the 1840's and 1850's to support the transient and resident population. Cultivated crops included taro, potatoes, vegetables, native and foreign fruits, wheat, corn, and sugar.

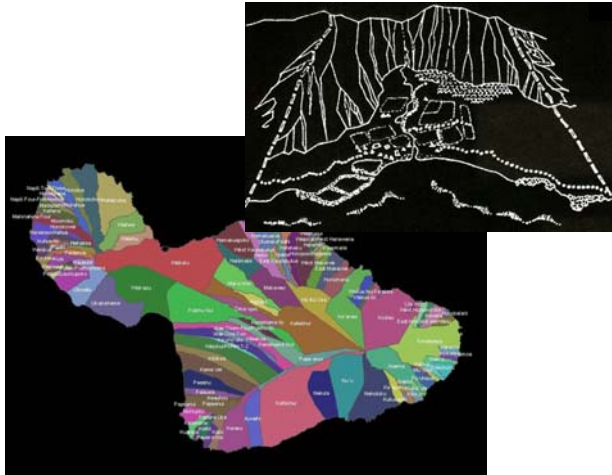
Having no resistance to introduced Western diseases, the Hawaiian population suffered significantly with the arrival of foreigners. Maui's population dropped dramatically subsequent to Western discovery and inhabitation. Regardless of the influx of new groups of people, the population steadily decreased.

Maui's Population 1831 - 1878 ¹	
Year	Population
1831	35,062
1850	21,047
1860	16,400
1878	12,109

THE GREAT MAHELE

The concept of land ownership was introduced by Westerners who recognized a great opportunity in the vast Hawaiian Islands and were becoming increasingly frustrated with the land tenure system. In 1848, Kamehameha III, under immense pressure from foreigners, set into motion a series of events that dramatically altered the distribution of land in Hawaii.

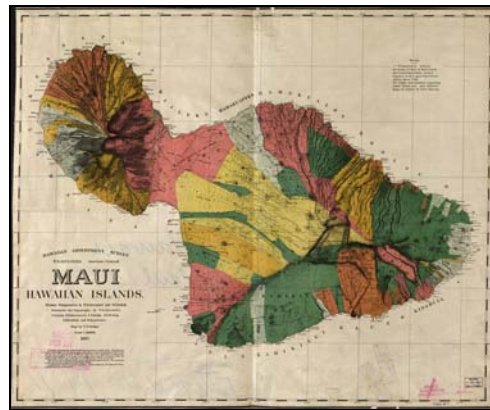
¹ Schmitt, Robert C. 1977. *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*. The University Press of Hawaii. Honolulu, Hawaii.



Maui's ahupuaa

Living for hundreds of years with the self-sufficient ahupuaa land tenure system and communal subsistence economy, Hawaiians, particularly commoners, were drastically unaccustomed to the concept of fee simple ownership of land. This unfamiliarity with a new concept of landownership, coupled with numerous legal and logistical constraints, led to foreign acquisition of lands intended for native Hawaiians on an unprecedented scale.

The Great Mahele, or land division, established a land commission and provided the means whereby land claims could be presented to the commission and adjudicated. As part of the Great Mahele, the Kuleana Act of 1850 allowed the Land Commission to award small parcels of land to commoners for subsistence. The intent of the Great Mahele and the Kuleana Act was to protect lands from foreign acquisition and provide native Hawaiians with the security of landownership. However, there existed a vast disconnect between the king's intentions and the actual events that ensued as a result of the Great Mahele.



Hawaiian Government Survey of Maui, 1885

Many Hawaiian families were required to leave lands they had cultivated for generations and were forced to move to populated towns such as Wailuku and Lahaina. Separated from the land and traditional subsistence lifestyle, displaced Hawaiians for the first time had to find employment in order to buy food and goods.

MAUI GOES FOR SUGAR

Following the events of the Great Mahele, Hawaiian land became available for private ownership and capitalist development. Between 1836 and 1861 there was an initial flurry of sugar planting and refining throughout Hawaii; however lack of capital and an adequate market forced many planters out of business. Also, failure to convert the Hawaiian commoner into a western-oriented labor force left sugar plantations with few options for labor supply.



Chinese laborers harvesting sugarcane, n.d.

In 1850, an indentured labor system was established through the Masters and Servants Act which supplied plantation workers from foreign markets². From 1860 to 1865, the Hawaiian sugar industry received an additional boost created by the American Civil War. During this time, the Louisiana sugar supply ceased, giving Hawaii a larger share of the market.

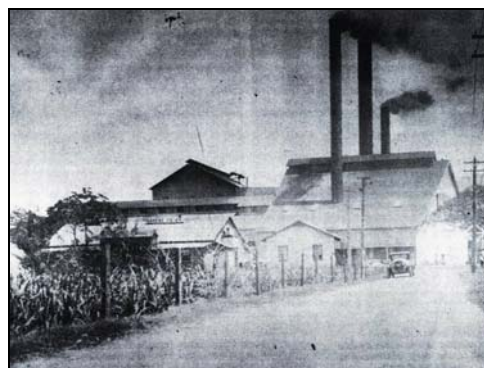
In 1876, with the signing of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty, the islands received the final catalyst necessary to drive the Hawaiian sugar industry into the future. The treaty with the United States allowed for duty free admission of Hawaiian sugar, resulting in a substantial increase of profits for island growers. With this economic boost, growers immediately began increasing cultivation of sugarcane. On Maui, acres cultivated in sugarcane expanded from 5,080 in 1867 to 12,000 in 1880, an increase of 136 percent³.

Key events influencing sugar success on Maui:

- The Great Mahele
- Masters and Servants Act 1850
- American Civil War 1860 – 1865
- Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty 1876
- Hamakua irrigation ditch
- Rail and ocean transportation

Maui's sugar history experienced many stages, beginning with numerous small operations and evolving into a few large plantations. Sugar cultivation on Maui is inextricably linked with the names Samuel T. Alexander and Henry P. Baldwin.

These entrepreneurs were involved in the first sugar operations on Maui and eventually obtained the majority of the market. Other prominent players in the industry, such as Claus Spreckels and American Factors (AMFAC), played a role in Maui's sugar history; however Alexander and Baldwin proved to dominate the industry by way of strategic business acquisitions and obtaining a vast supply of sugar's most vital ingredient, water.



Pioneer Mill, Lahaina, 1920

² Lal, Brij V., Murno, Doug, and Beechert, Edward D. 1993. *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*. University of Hawaii Press. Honolulu, Hawaii.

³ Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.



Ship in Kahului Harbor, 1933

Construction of the Hamakua irrigation ditch, which delivered water from East Maui's expansive watershed to the arid plains of Central Maui, secured the future of sugar cultivation for Alexander and Baldwin. The development of rail and ocean transportation also greatly influenced the growth of the sugar industry on Maui. Rail systems linked the fields, processing facilities, and harbor, allowing for efficient movement of sugarcane and refined sugar. Ocean transportation provided the vital connection between the islands and the world market.

The cultivation of sugarcane has had a long-lasting affect on Maui's landscapes and water supply development. In addition to the vast fields of green, the cultivation of sugarcane also dramatically influenced the social and cultural development of Maui. With the massive growth of the industry, the need for labor also grew, resulting in the importation of workers from places such as Japan, China, the Philippines, Korea, Portugal, Spain, and Puerto Rico. In the early 1900's, each of Maui's sugar estates contained multiple plantation camps that housed the immigrant workers.

Maui's Historic Sugar Plantations:

- Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company (HC&S) (Puunene) (*still in operation*)
- Maui Agricultural Company (Paia)
- Pioneer Mill Company (Lahaina)
- Wailuku Sugar Company (Wailuku)
- Kaeleku Sugar Company (Hana)

The self-sufficient camps, generally divided by ethnicity, were comprised of schools, stores, churches, recreational facilities, and medical centers. Plantation camps, often named for their ethnic inhabitants such as "Portuguese Camp" or "Hawaiian Spanish Village", perpetuated the cultural traditions of each group, which in turn has had a profound influence on modern day Maui.

1939 Glimpse of HC&S Co.'s Sugar Plantation Camps⁴:

- ❖ 30 camps comprised of a total of 1,545 individual houses
- ❖ Plantation population - 7,973 (Maui 1940 population – 46,919)
- ❖ Population composed of men, women, and children
- ❖ Ethnic composition: Japanese; Filipino; Chinese; Korean; Puerto Rican; Portuguese; Hawaiian; and white
- ❖ Largest ethnic group was Japanese
- ❖ Four public schools, three Japanese language schools, and ten churches
- ❖ Recreational facilities: swim tank; gymnasium, three theaters, baseball and athletic fields



Filipino workers maintaining Pioneer Mill railroad line, n.d.

⁴ Gilmore, A. B. 1939. *The Hawaii Sugar Manual*. A. B. Gilmore. New Orleans, Louisiana.

MAUI'S GOLDEN PINEAPPLE

Historically Maui's second largest industry, pineapple cultivation has also played a large role in forming Maui's modern day landscape. The pineapple industry began on Maui in 1890 with Dwight D. Baldwin's Haiku Fruit and Packing Company on the northeast side of the island. West Maui was also cultivated with pineapple in the early 1900's by Baldwin Packers. In 1922, Mala Warf was erected and Baldwin Packers moved their packing operation closer to Lahaina and utilized Pioneer Mill cane cars to transport pineapple from the fields. Within just thirty years the pineapple industry grew steadily, and by 1930 over 28 percent of Maui's cultivated lands were dedicated to pineapple⁵.



Pineapple cultivation, n.d.

As with sugar, the pineapple industry underwent multiple transformations during its long history on Maui. Numerous acquisitions, closures, and mergers resulted in the current representation of the industry on the island. In 1926, California Packing Company began operations in Kahului. Maui Pineapple Company, managed by J. Walter Cameron and headquartered at Haliimaile, eventually purchased California Packing Company. Finally, with the merger of Baldwin Packers and Maui Pineapple Company, the still prominent firm Maui Land and Pineapple Company was formed.

CATTLE RANCHING AND THE PANIOLO

Although the American cowboy is most often associated with places such as Wyoming and Texas, Hawaii also has a strong historical connection to cattle ranching. Hawaii's ranching history began in 1793 when Captain George Vancouver brought cattle from California as a gift for King Kamehameha I. Kamehameha I placed a 10 year kapu on killing the animals and they were allowed to run wild and populate the islands. Horses were also given as a gift to the king in 1803. By 1830, King Kamehameha III recognized that the large populations of cattle were out of control, prompting him to summon vaqueros of Mexican, Indian, and Spanish descent from Vera Cruz to teach the Hawaiians how to handle horses and herd cattle.

⁵ Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.

The Hawaiian cowboys, or paniolo, learned herding techniques quickly, and by 1836 bullock hides became a valuable Hawaiian export, second only to sandalwood⁶. As the cattle ranching industry grew on Maui, multiple ranches dominated the less-fertile upper elevation lands that were left uncultivated. Cattle ranching eventually grew into Maui's third largest industry next to sugar and pineapple. Some of the cattle operations from Maui's history include; Ulupalakua Ranch (formerly Rose Ranch), Haleakala Ranch, Kaupo Ranch, Grove Ranch, Hana Ranch, and Kaonoulu Ranch. With several of these ranches persisting into present day, cattle ranching and the paniolo have had a long-lasting effect on the lifestyle and landscapes of numerous Maui communities.

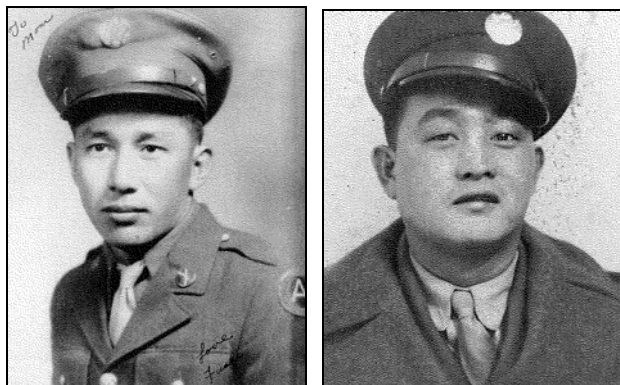


Paniolo, n.d.

1942–1950: WORLD WAR II, THE AUTOMOBILE, AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

World War II signified a transition period for Maui. The war brought new immigrants and most importantly rapid investment in infrastructure to serve the military. Roads, harbors, and airports were built, dramatically altering the character of Maui and paving the way for future events. As private automobiles became more affordable, they also became more prevalent on Maui's expanding road network and allowed for easier access to previously isolated areas.

During the war years, the military population on Maui reached approximately 200,000, resulting in soldiers, sailors, and marines outnumbering local residents four to one⁷. The military presence stretched across the island from the Navy's Demolition Training Station in Kihei to the Fourth Marine Division's Camp Maui in the Kokomo area. Remnants of Maui's military past dot the present day landscape and have left an indelible mark on the island's character.



Barney Hajiro and Kaoru Moto, Maui born Nisei soldiers served in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, both earned the Medal of Honor.

Much of Maui's ethnically diverse population enlisted and fought in the war, including Japanese Americans. At the conclusion of the war, returning Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) soldiers gained new respect and equality on Maui and in the United States at large. With the signing of the Servicemember's Readjustment Act (or GI Bill) in 1944, returning soldiers of all ethnicities found themselves eligible for low-interest loans, education, and career training programs funded by the Veterans Administration.

⁶ Lind, Andrew W. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Greenwood Press Publishers. New York, New York.

⁷ Bartholomew, Gail. 1994. *Maui Remembers: A Local History*. Mutual Publishing. Honolulu, Hawaii.

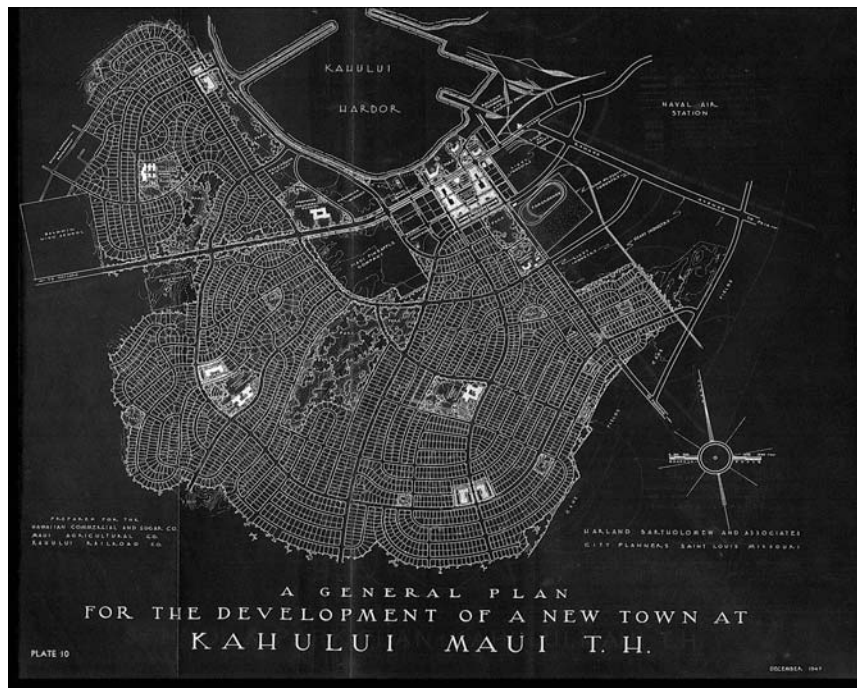
The end of World War II brought about significant change for the sugar and pineapple industries. With rapid mechanization of these industries, rise of unionization, expanding employment opportunities, and growth of private land ownership, plantation camps became a thing of the past. With the camps becoming dilapidated and increasingly expensive to maintain, plantation owners began to look elsewhere for business opportunities. With a growing interest in private home ownership, the emerging market for real estate development provided entrepreneurial plantation owners with a promising business opportunity.

1950–1970: PLANNING FOR NEW TOWNS AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE VISITOR INDUSTRY

Maui's post-war decades are marked by an economy shift from sugar and pineapple to a new and promising crop; visitors. With the emergence of new towns, resort destination areas, and community planning, Maui began a new chapter in its rich history which laid the groundwork for the evolution of the present day island.

Development of the “Dream City” Kahului in Central Maui

With the increasing prosperity of plantation workers, opportunity endowed returning GIs, mechanization of the sugar industry, and the closure of plantation camps; the demand for single-family homes was on the rise and gave birth to a new and sustaining market.



Dream City Plan, 1947

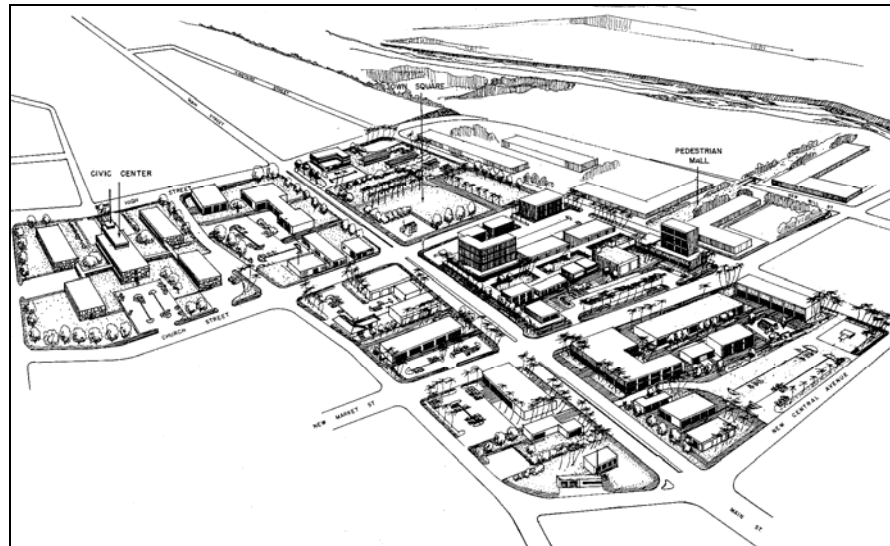
HC&S took hold of this market and hired Harlan Bartholomew in 1947 to prepare a master plan for a community on the vast acreages of sugarcane fields surrounding Kahului harbor which would become known as “Dream City”. This large-scale master planned community, comprised of single-family homes, businesses, schools, churches, and parks, offered the means to realizing the growing dream of home ownership for plantation workers and other Maui residents.

Beginning in 1950 and continuing to 1963, fee simple house and lot packages were sold at a price ranging from \$6,600 to \$9,200⁸. Demand for shopping facilities in the area became apparent, prompting HC&S to construct the Kahului Shopping Center in 1951.

⁸ Smith, Wayne. 2005. ‘Dream City’, *Maui Weekly*, 5 May.

Over the next two decades, Kahului and Wailuku continued to grow and centralize the island's population. In 1962, Community Planning Inc. prepared the region's first general plan. The plan identified Kahului as the dominant trade and service center, with large modern subdivisions and a successful segregation of land uses, resulting in a "pleasant and appealing community". On the other hand, Wailuku was identified as a blighted area with dilapidated structures, narrow streets, and incompatible mixed uses, the combination of which was viewed as a "detriment to business and to the livability of the neighborhood".

The plan made two major recommendations. To address the blighted nature of Wailuku, the plan recommended a complete urban renewal project for the area, that if implemented would have resulted in a drastically different city than we have today.



Perspective of proposed Wailuku Business Area, Community Planning Inc., 1962

The other key element of the plan, which was implemented and has left a long-lasting impression on the area, was the establishment of a new street pattern which emphasized greater roadway capacity and enhanced vehicular circulation throughout the whole Kahului-Wailuku metropolitan area⁹.

Community planning in Central Maui continued in 1972 with the preparation of a second general plan conducted by Eckbo, Dean, Austin & Williams. The 1972 plan came to many of the same conclusion as its predecessor, including the affirmation of the important regional roles of both Wailuku and Kahului, and the identification of blight conditions in Wailuku. The plan also warned of the potential negative affects of current piecemeal planning, and recommended that the County should draft an island-wide general plan. Finally, and most significantly, the plan identified an affordable housing "crisis" and recommended major expansion of residential use in the area through the implementation of two Project Districts¹⁰. This plan, its predecessor, and the "Dream City" development have all shaped the growth and evolution of the area and marked the modern era of population centralization in the Kahului-Wailuku region.

⁹ Community Planning, Inc. September 1962. *Urban Planning: Wailuku-Kahului*. Prepared for County of Maui, Traffic and Planning Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

¹⁰ Eckbo, Dean, Austin & Williams. October 1972. *The Wailuku-Kahului General Plan*. Prepared for County of Maui, Planning Commission. Wailuku, Maui.



Kahului, 1950



Kahului, 1977

Rise of Tourism and the Resort Destination Area

The population decrease experienced in post-war Maui inspired the development of a new island industry. With the decline of the sugar and pineapple industries, improvements in all modes of transportation technology, burgeoning Oahu and mainland U.S. economy, and statehood, Maui lost 24 percent of its population from 1940 to 1960¹¹. Many residents, particularly younger generations, were forced to leave Maui in search of employment on Oahu and the mainland. This mass population exodus and economic stagnation spurred the search for a new industry to provide employment for residents as well as to attract new residents to the island. In 1959, the *Report of Land Use for the Island of Maui*, prepared by Community Planning Inc., identified two options as potential solutions to reversing the downward trend. Maui could either expand and diversify its agricultural base, or capture a greater share of Hawaii's tourist industry. Throughout the previous decades, Maui experienced marginal levels of tourism; however, the lack of visitor facilities prevented the growth of the industry. In 1956, Maui attracted only five percent of Hawaii's visitors and received only one percent of their expenditures¹².

As a result of affordable air transportation and extensive marketing, Oahu was experiencing a rapid growth of its visitor industry. Inspired by Oahu's success, local business and political leaders began to plan Maui's tourism future. The following quote from the *Report of Land Use for the Island of Maui* illustrates the founding vision for tourism development on Maui:

"Maui is not fully utilizing its assets as a tourist attraction. As a result it is missing an opportunity to obtain a rich source of revenue necessary to provide additional income and employment as an aid in maintaining not only its present population, but to encourage future population growth. There are several fine sandy beaches in Maui [that] are on a par with the famous Waikiki Beach. The early construction and development of hotels at Kaanapali and Wailea Point could generate an increase in tourist interest in Maui, eventually resulting in its becoming a key resort island. The only thing that stands in the way of expanding the visitor industry is the ability to (1) persuade the people to vacation in Maui and (2) to accommodate them if they come. Proper planning to encourage development of tourist areas on the island, particularly in the Lahaina, Kihei and Wailea areas, is essential if Maui is to capture a bigger share of this trade."

¹¹ Community Planning, Inc. and R.M. Towill Corporation. July 1959. *Report of Land Use for the Island of Maui*. Prepared for County of Maui, Planning and Traffic Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

¹² See footnote 12

The identified need for additional visitor facilities gave birth to the concept of the resort destination area, and in 1961 Kaanapali became the first of its kind in Hawaii. With numerous amenities to serve visitors including hotels, restaurants, a shopping center, and a golf course, Kaanapali set a precedent for tourism development statewide. The resort destination area trend continued to grow on Maui with the subsequent development of Wailea and Kapalua.

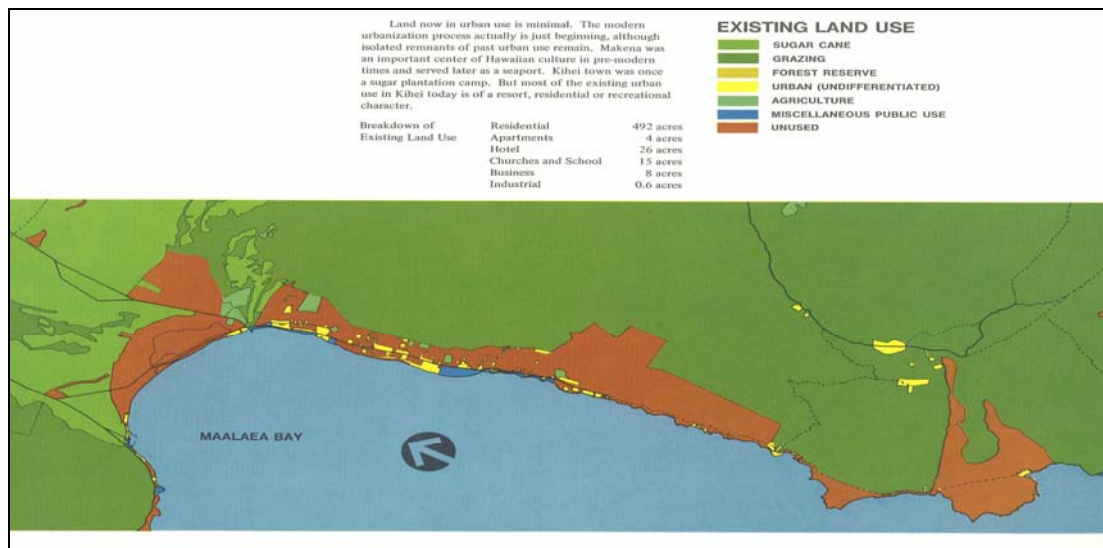


Shoreline near Makena, 1970s

With the birth of a new and vibrant industry, Maui's population and economy began to rebound. Resorts and other visitor services provided employment for Maui's population and attracted new residents. Beginning with the inception of the resort destination area concept, tourism quickly became the island's strongest industry and has had a notable impact on Maui's population, culture, economics, infrastructure, and land use patterns.

Kihei 701 Plan

With Maui's population and economy growing as a product of the newly established visitor industry, business and political leaders began to look toward the sparsely populated and primarily agricultural Kihei region as the island's next residential, resort, and employment center. In 1970, Maui County planning staff and a consultant jointly prepared the *Kihei Civic Development Plan* to provide a long-range plan to guide development of the region through 1990. The plan was partially funded by an urban planning grant from the Federal government under the provisions of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954.



Existing Land Use Map, Kihei Civic Development Plan, 1970

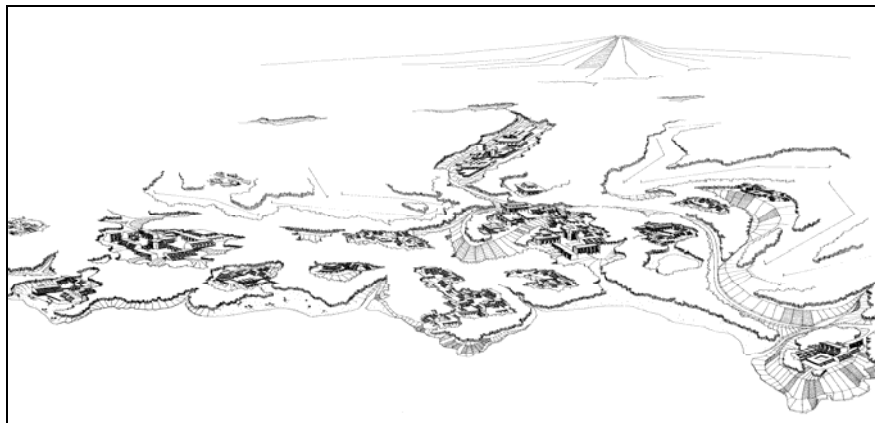
The Kihei 701 plan identified the region's expansive white-sand beaches, spectacular views, mild climate, and vast open space, as ideal characteristics for fostering a mixed community of residents and visitors along Maui's south shore. With a population of approximately 1,600 in 1970, the region was characterized by diversified agriculture, mauka grazing lands, open space, homestead development, and dirt roads. At this time, only one hotel existed in the region, the Maui Lu, offering 100 visitor units¹³. The plan identified this region as significantly underutilized and introduced a future vision for the area, including extensive visitor accommodations and residential units, which would transform it into a massive economic engine.

Key components of the plan that have had a long-lasting affect on the Kihei area and Maui at large are the design of a linear oriented community dependant on a single roadway and the identification of Wailea as a potential major resort community. The plan proposed a significant amount of development, all feeding onto South Kihei Road, without an infrastructure grid system to support the induced large volume of traffic. This inadequate roadway system coupled with the establishment of a linear pattern of single-use commercial, residential, and hotel zoning across the entire region set the foundations for an automobile dependant region with transportation problems and urban sprawl conditions.

**Kihei Region
Population
1970 – 2005¹⁴**

Year	Population
1970	1,636
1980	7,263
1990	15,365
2005	25,609

Additionally, with the designation of Wailea as a major resort community, and other hotel and residential land use designations throughout the Kihei region, the 701 plan set the stage for massive real estate speculation and development. Although there existed no population drive behind the proposed large-scale regional development, the plan induced mass purchase and development of land that signified the brink of the real estate boom on Maui. The region experienced rapid growth in the three and a half decades following the plan, and by 2005, the population reached over 25,000 and the average daily visitor population neared 20,000¹⁵.



Wailea Concept Drawing, Kihei Civic Development Plan, 1970

¹³ Kobayashi, Noboru. February 1970. *Kihei Civic Development Plan*. Prepared for Maui County Planning Commission. Wailuku, Maui.

¹⁴ Maui County Planning Department. June 2006. *Socio-Economic Forecast: The Economic Projections for the Maui County General Plan 2030*. Wailuku, Maui. And see footnote 14.

¹⁵ See footnote 15.

1970 – 2000: THE REAL ESTATE BOOM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE MAUI LANDSCAPE

The strategic shift from an agricultural based economy to a tourism based economy signified the beginning of the next chapter of Maui's diverse history. With the growing number of resorts and increased marketing of the island, Maui's visitor industry grew stronger and the resident population began to rebound. The visitor industry filled the job gap that the mechanization of the sugar industry created. The mass departure of residents greatly slowed and immigration escalated, resulting in a growing demand for housing.

The visitor industry experienced a significant surge beginning in the late 1970's and continuing through the early 1990's as a result of off-shore investments. Mainland U.S. and Japanese resort companies viewed Maui's burgeoning visitor industry as a surefire business investment, and began developing massive, world-class resorts in Wailea and Kaanapali.



Resort in West Maui, 2005

During this surge of construction, hotel visitor units increased in Wailea by roughly 2,700 with the addition of large resorts such as the Aston Wailea Resort, Grand Wailea Resort, and Kea Lani Hotel. Kaanapali also experienced an increase of approximately 3,500 hotel units with construction of multiple resorts including the Hyatt Regency Maui, Maui Marriott Resort, and The Westin Maui¹⁶.

The introduction of direct service from Los Angeles to Maui in 1983 by United Airlines also created a key boost for the island's visitor industry. Maui's popularity quickly grew among U.S. vacationers, and in 1993, and for the next 12 consecutive years, *Conde Nast Traveler* voted Maui the "Best Island in the World", clenching the attention of vacationers across the globe. In 2000, visitor arrivals on Maui surpassed 2,200,000¹⁷. As visitation increased and more people became attracted to the unique qualities of Maui, immigration also steadily grew. Maui's scenic beauty, natural environment, vibrant culture, and strengthening economy drew new residents from other islands, the mainland U.S., and other countries.

¹⁶ Hawaii Department of Economic Development and Tourism. Research and Economic Analysis Division. 1999. *Visitor Plant Inventory*. Honolulu, Hawaii.

¹⁷ See footnote 15.

As anticipated in early plans, the development of a strong visitor industry proved to greatly enhance Maui's economy and population. Between 1970 and 1990, the island experienced a considerable population increase, virtually erasing the fears caused by the decline in the 1950's and 1960's. This rapid population growth has had a strong impression on the island's racial and age demographics, cultural traditions, lifestyle, and built environment.

**Maui Population
1960 – 2000¹⁸**

Year	Population	% Change
1960	35,717	-
1970	38,691	8
1980	62,823	62
1990	91,361	45
2000	117,644	23

As Maui's population grew, so did the urban footprint on the island's landscape. Settlement patterns expanded rapidly, spreading out from existing population centers. (See: Appendix "A", *"Settlement Pattern Maps"* for an in-depth discussion of settlement patterns on Maui.) Maui began to experience "planned urban sprawl" as agricultural and rural lands were released in a continuously contiguous manner of urbanization. Central, South, and West Maui have grown significantly in the last three decades with the birth of new subdivisions and visitor accommodations. With the steadily increasing demand for housing, home prices have risen dramatically, out-pricing many local families and creating a pressing need for affordable housing.

Upcountry Maui has also been impacted by the rapidly increasing population. The region's cool climate, rural setting, and spectacular views make for a desirable place to live, and as a result the area has experienced a large growth in the residential market since the 1970's. In particular, the traditionally agricultural Kula area has experienced a growth in rural residential development, gentleman estates, and real estate speculation. The gradual urbanization of Upcountry has led to multiple challenges including incompatibilities of land uses, water shortages during periods of prolonged drought, and a loss of the traditional rural character of the area.

2000 – 2030: GUIDING MAUI'S FUTURE; CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Studying the past provides us with an understanding of the decisions and actions that have led to current challenges and opportunities, and allows for better decision making as we charter a preferred future. Maui is blessed by a vibrant host culture, an ethnically diverse population, unique native ecosystems and species, and spectacular scenic beauty. However, with a rapidly growing resident and visitor population, and the subsequent development this growth brings, Maui's unique identity is in jeopardy if strategic steps are not taken to plan for this growth. The quality of life of Maui's residents and the vitality of the visitor industry depend on long-range planning that balances growth with community and environmental needs.

Planning for population growth and development will continue to be a key challenge. Plans must direct development to areas that can efficiently support the growth with key infrastructure. Creating productive and livable urban centers as well as preserving small town character and rural and agricultural landscapes will prove to be an ongoing challenge. With increasing

¹⁸ State of Hawaii, Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism. 2005. *The State of Hawaii Data Book*. Honolulu, Hawaii.

congestion, providing mobility for residents and visitors by accommodating the automobile and planning for and implementing alternative transportation is a growing concern on Maui.

Maui's unique identity continually attracts new residents from across the globe. With growing off-shore investment in the island's housing market; many long-time residents are unable to afford the subsequent elevated housing prices. Creative solutions must be sought to provide affordable housing for Maui's workforce. Providing adequate educational opportunities and employment for younger generations is also a continuing challenge.

Protecting the natural environment for both human and ecological purposes is a key challenge with rapid growth and development. Streams, rainforests, beaches, near shore waters, and native species are among Maui's numerous natural resources that provide critical services and add to a high quality of life. Preserving the multi-ethnic cultural heritage and spirit of aloha in the face of the pervasive American popular culture is a key challenge that will persist into the future.

These and other challenges that current and future generations must face are numerous and often overwhelming; however, by learning from the key lessons of our past, being positive about future possibilities, and implementing bold and visionary planning, we can transform these challenges into opportunities and achieve a desired future for Maui.



Maliko Landing, 2006

APPENDIX A

Settlement Pattern Maps

MAUI ISLAND PLAN

Settlement Pattern Maps

Modern day settlement patterns on Maui have evolved in response to a shifting economic base, town planning, and a growing population. The following maps depict this evolution of settlement patterns within four regions of Maui from 1933 to 2004. Maui's north central region is shown on four separate maps, displaying the change in settlement patterns between the years 1933, 1955, 1978, and 2004. The north central maps also provide population census and urban land area. Lahaina, South Maui, and Upcountry settlement patterns are displayed on three separate maps, one for each region. Each map provides a discussion of the evolving patterns from 1933 to 2004, and the key events that influenced these changes.

North Central Maui – 1933 and 2004

County of Maui General Plan Update 2005

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

1933 AND 2004

NORTH CENTRAL MAUI


North Central Maui in 1933 supported a population concentrated in the towns of Wailuku, Kahului, Puunene, and Paia. This region supported three sugar mills. Wailuku served as the region's civic, administrative, and cultural center. Kahului was home to the region's sole deep-water harbor and served as hub for shipping, warehousing, rail, and ground transportation facilities. A network of rail-ways and roads linked each sugar producing community with Kahului.


Wailuku, Puunene, and Paia each supported a pattern of urban land uses comprised of residential, industrial, business, and community facilities concentrated within close proximity to the mills. A vast network of small self-sufficient plantation camps was located at different field points to support production and harvesting.

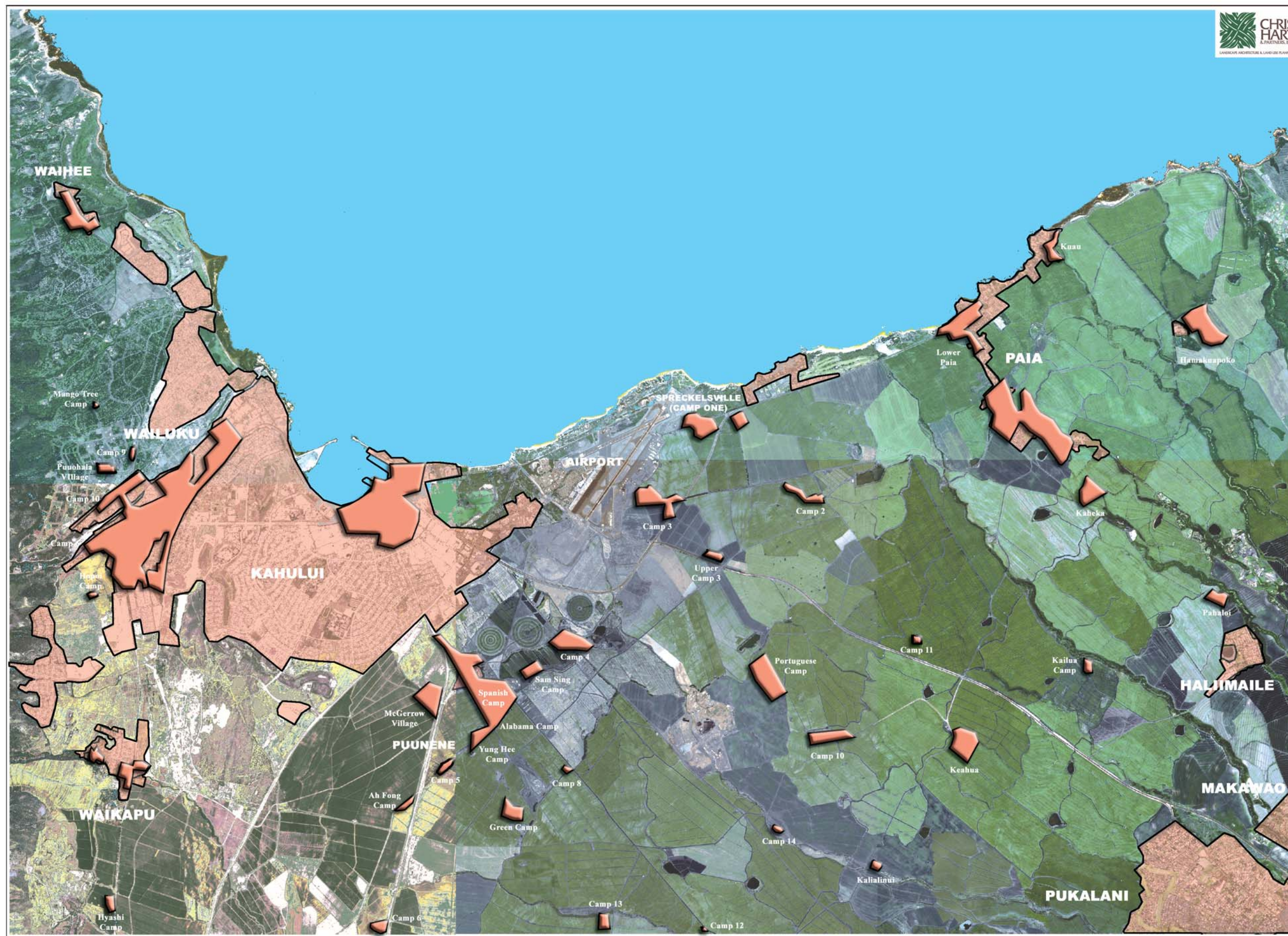
1933 Urban Area
1630 acres

1938 Railway Lines
HC&S 92 miles
Maui Agricultural Co. 44 miles
Wailuku Sugar Co. 22 miles

1940 Population Census
Maui 46,900
Wailuku 7,319
Kahului 2,193
Puunene 4,456
Paia 4,272

 **1933**
Area=1630 acres

 **2004**
Area=6770 acres



North Central Maui – 1955 and 2004



County of Maui General Plan Update 2005
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
1955 AND 2004

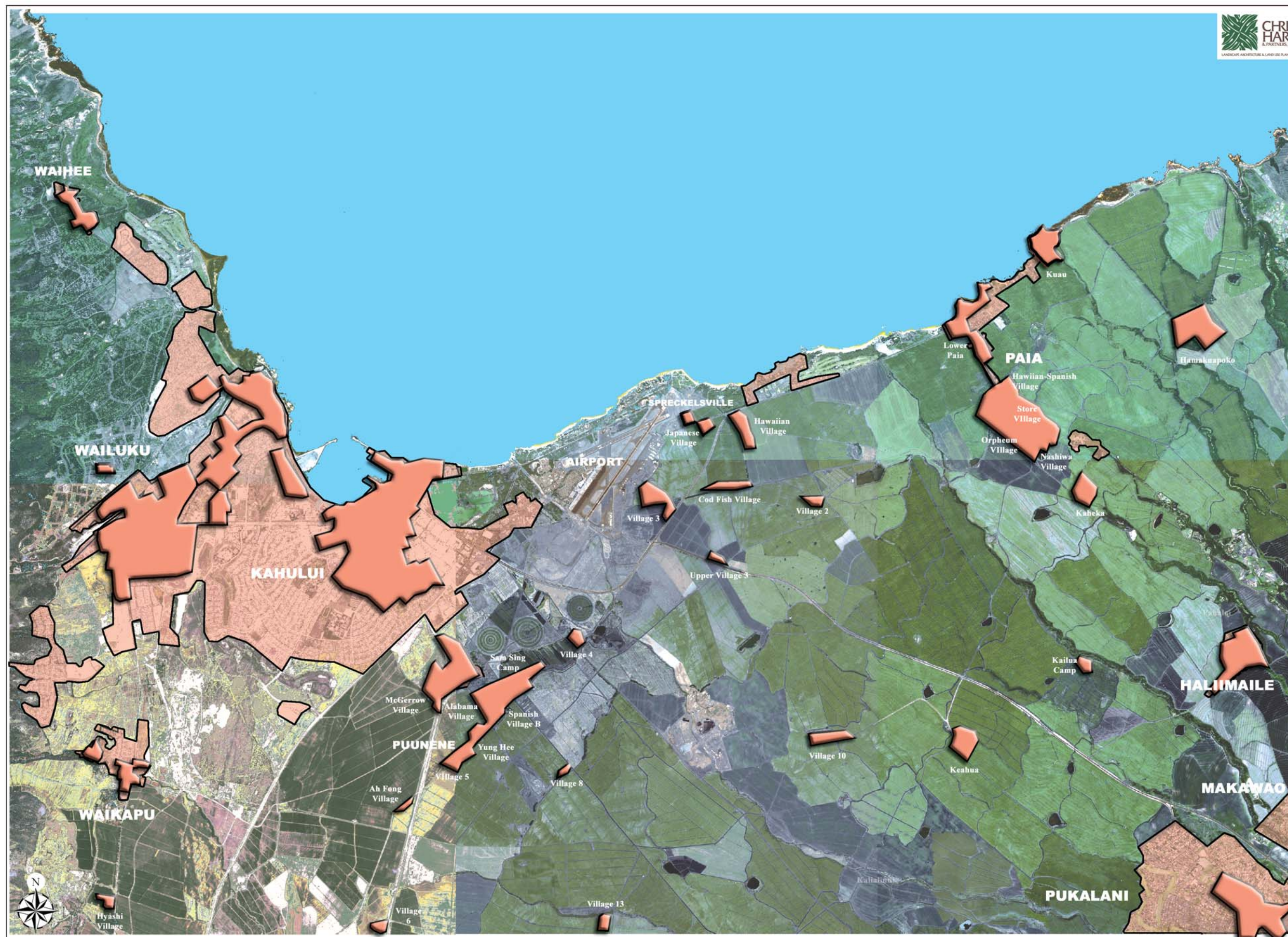
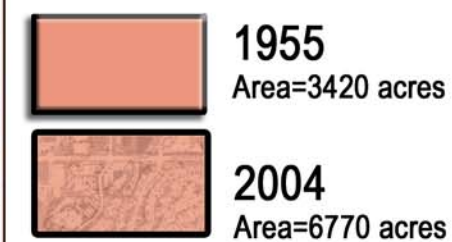
NORTH CENTRAL MAUI

By 1955 North Central Maui's population began to shift from the "company towns" of Paia and Puunene and supporting camps and villages to Wailuku and Kahului. Centralization of the region's population was made possible by the emergence of the automobile and rising equality and standards of living for second and third generation Americans. These same forces created a market for real estate development that the plantations were quick to exploit.

In 1947, Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Co. hired the nationally recognized planning firm of Harlan Bartholomew to prepare plans for "Dream City. Dream City was developed on sugarcane lands around the Kahului harbor, and emerged to be the first large-scale master planned automobile-oriented community of its kind in Hawaii. In 1951, a year after the first homes were sold, the company completed construction of the Kahului Shopping Center, which soon became Maui's dominant retailing destination.

1955 Urban Area
3420 acres

1960 Population Census
Maui Island 35,700
Wailuku 6,969
Kahului 4,223
Puunene 3,050
Paia 2,149



North Central Maui – 1978 and 2004



County of Maui General Plan Update 2005 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS 1978 AND 2004

NORTH CENTRAL MAUI

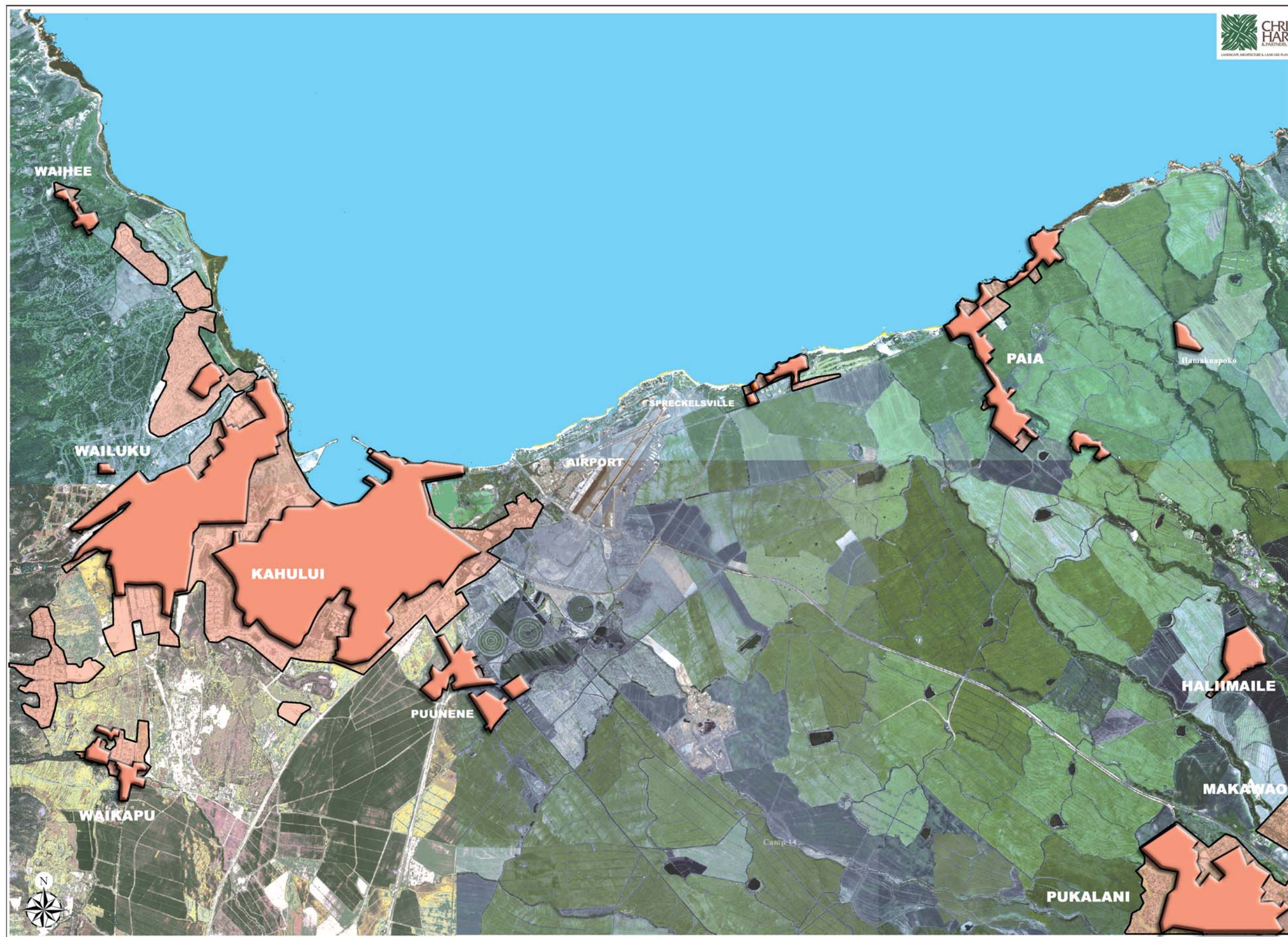
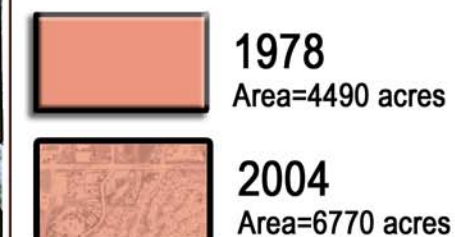
The period from 1955 to 1978 witnessed continued rapid centralization of the island's population in Wailuku-Kahului. This shift was facilitated by further erosion of sugar and pineapple offset by the rapid emergence of construction and tourism. By 1978, plantation owned camps had disappeared and the villages were plowed under and planted in cane.

In 1962, Community Planning Inc. prepared the region's first regional plan. This plan recognized the continued dominance of Wailuku as the island's center of government, and Kahului as the dominant trade and service center. Among the plan's major recommendations was an aggressive urban renewal plan for Wailuku.

In 1972 the region's second regional plan was prepared by Eckbo, Dean, Austin & Williams. The plan recommended significant expansion of residential development in Wailuku-Kahului, which established the precedent for further centralization of the regions population in the years to follow.

1978 Urban Area
Approx. 4490 acres

1970 Population Census
Maui Island 35,700
Wailuku 7,979
Kahului 8,280
Puunene 1,132
Paia Unknown



North Central Maui – 2004

County of Maui General Plan Update 2005
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
1933 TO 2004

NORTH CENTRAL MAUI

North Central Maui experienced a significant population increase from 1978 to 2004. Much of this increase was accommodated through urban expansion at the fringes of Wailuku and Kahului.

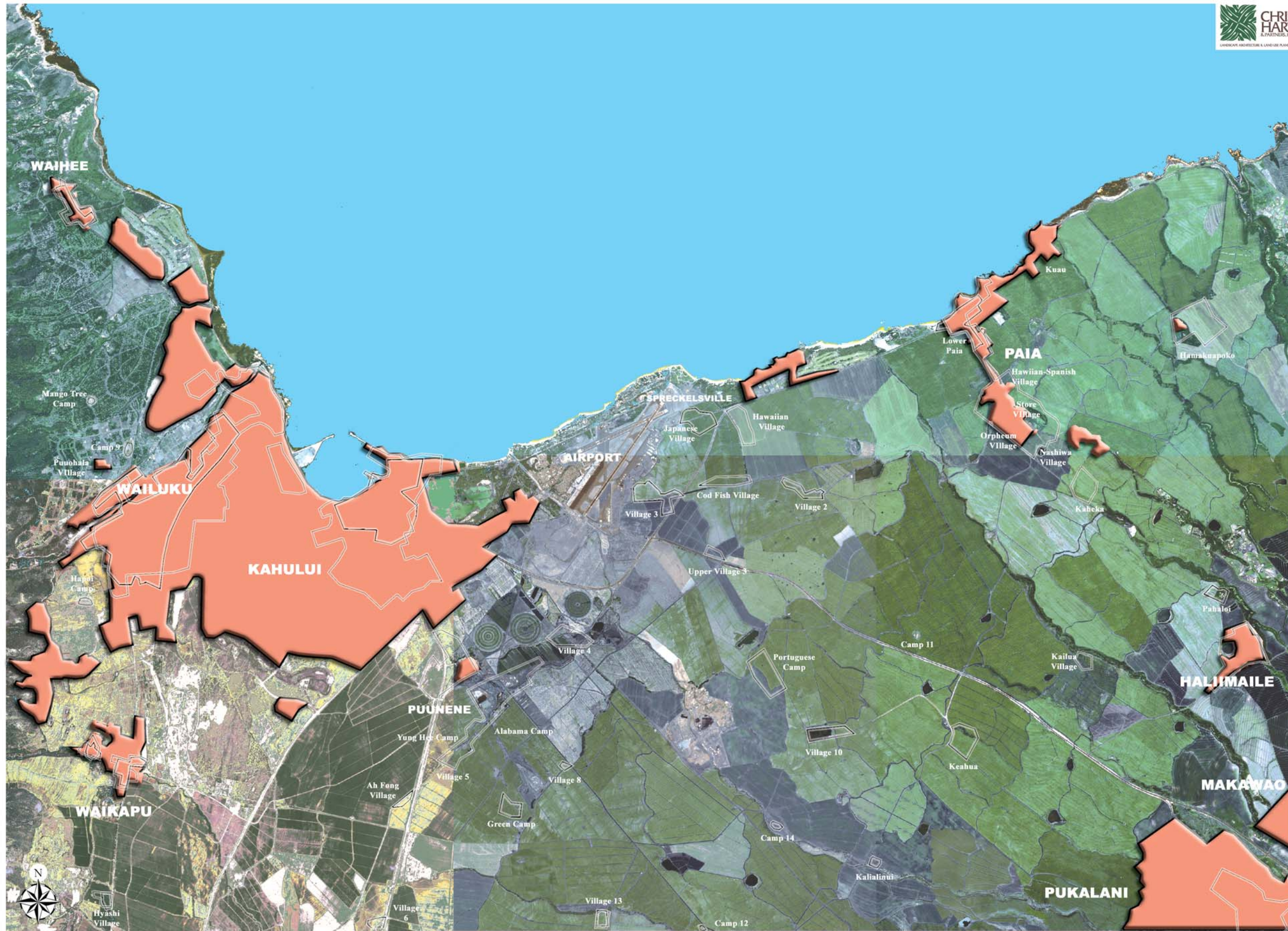
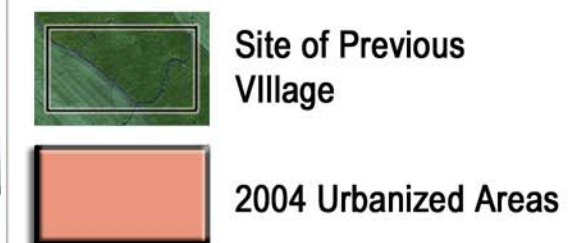
By 2004, Wailuku and Kahului have grown together, virtually eliminating the visual distinction between the two communities.

The region has expanded northwesterly along Kahekili Highway with the growth of Waiehu and Waihee. At the southern end of the region, the community of Waikapu has expanded and the Wailuku Heights Subdivision, and phased buildout of the Wailuku Project District 3, represents a new settlement on the landscape.

Kahului has also expanded southeasterly with commercial development stretching from the Kahului Airport to Hana Highway and continuing along Dairy Road. Puunene, on the contrary, has virtually ceased to exist as a community with the phasing-out of residential development in the area.

2004 Urban Area
6770 acres

2000 Population Census
Maui Island 117,644
Wailuku 12,296
Kahului 20,146
Puunene Unknown



Lahaina – 1933 to 2004

County of Maui General Plan Update 2005
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
1933 to 2004

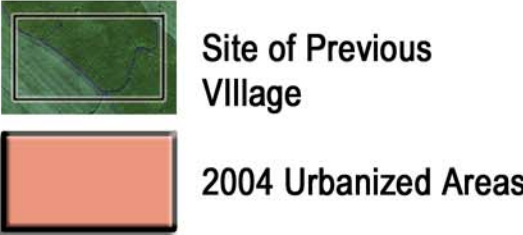
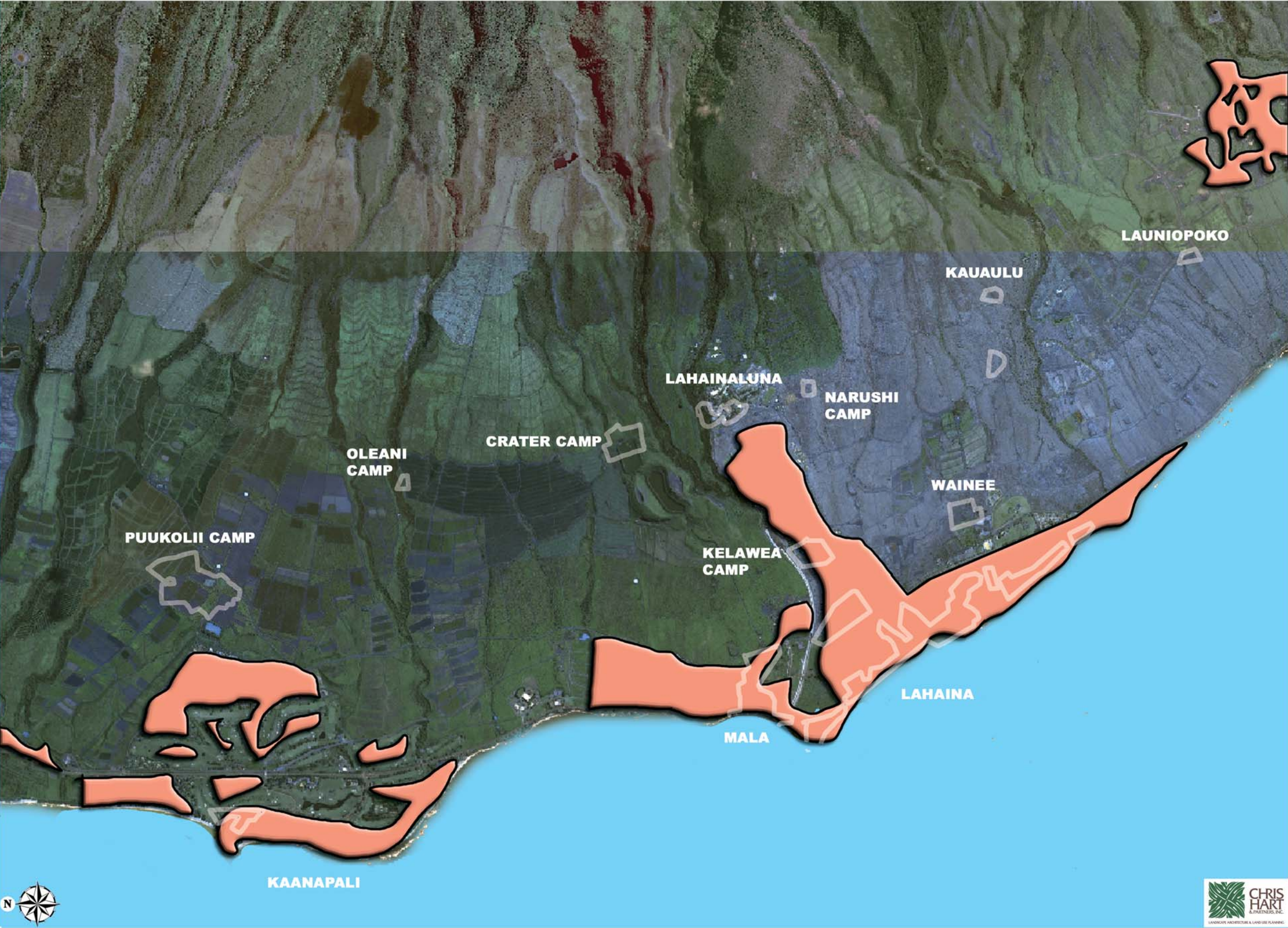
LAHAINA - KAA NAPALI

West Maui's early 1900's landscape was characterized by sugar plantation camps and the bustling port of Lahaina. To house workers for Pioneer Mill Company, plantation camps were scattered among the mauka cane fields from Olowalu to Honokohau. Lahaina was, and still is today, the center of commerce and entertainment within West Maui.

Following the decline of the sugar industry and the birth of the visitor industry, West Maui's settlement patterns dramatically changed. With the mechanization of sugar production, plantation camps became obsolete and disappeared from the landscape. In 1961, in pursuit of a new industry to drive Maui's economy, the concept of the resort destination area became reality with the development of Kaanapali. The precedent setting resort offered lodging, recreation, dining, and shopping to serve the growing number of island visitors.

Shortly after the development of Kaanapali, Lahaina Historic District 1 was created, and in 1967, Lahaina Historic District 2 was created. In addition to preserving the rich history of Lahaina, these historic districts served as a major tourist attraction.

Since the creation of the Kaanapali resort destination areas, West Maui has experienced increased visitor industry and residential development, significantly expanding the footprint of the urbanized area. Current development stretches along the coastline from Lahaina to Kapalua and is increasingly moving mauka into agricultural lands.



Kihei, Makena, Maalaea ~ 1933 to 2004

County of Maui General Plan Update 2005
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
1933 TO 2004

**KIHEI - MAKENA -
 MAALAEA**

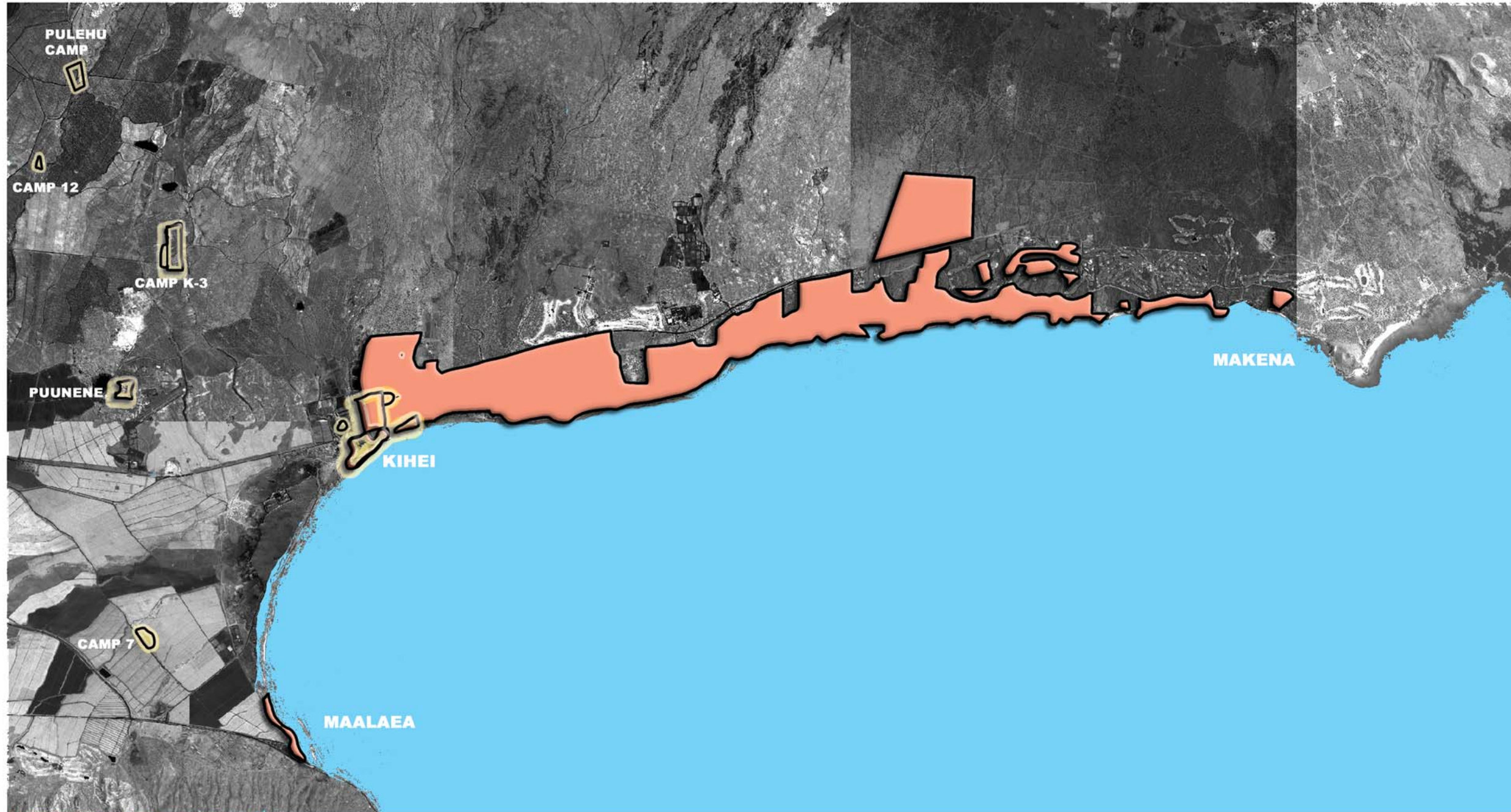
Kihei-Makena in the 1950's was largely barren and undeveloped with isolated pockets of urban land uses intermingled with grazing lands and truck farms. The region sported miles of undeveloped shoreline beaches utilized by residents for fishing and ocean recreation.

However, with the advent of cheap air travel and a significantly depressed plantation agriculture economy, plans were made to transform the region into a bustling tourist center, on a par with Waikiki. In 1959, the Report of Land Use for the Island Maui, prepared for the Planning and Traffic Commission, strongly recommended that Kihei and Wailea be developed as tourist destination areas. This plan prompted the zoning of vast amounts of Kihei lands into urban use.

Other actions soon followed including the creation of the State Land Use Urban District in 1967, which defined the "urban boundary" for what essentially comprises developed Kihei today.

This was then followed by the adoption of a comprehensive zoning map in 1969 and the preparation of the Kihei Civic Development Plan in 1970. The introduction to the 1970 plan states:

"In planning for the inevitable development of the Kihei Region, the highest goals were set. The problem was to insure the balanced and orderly growth of an almost underdeveloped area on the brink of explosive expansion into a resort community with a population that could reach 150,000 by 1985"



Upcountry – 1933 to 2004

County of Maui General Plan Update 2005
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
2004

UPCOUNTRY

Upcountry's early 1900's landscape was characterized by vast open space, cattle ranching, diversified agriculture, and the rural towns of Makawao, Haiku and Pauwela. Other small settlements dotted the landscape east of Haiku. The small town of Makawao provided housing and services for Haleakala Ranch Company employees and other Upcountry residents. At this time, there was no settlement at Pukalani and the Kula area was dominated by open space and small-scale agriculture.

In the mid-1900's, the Pukalani area began to develop, and by the late 1970's had outgrown Makawao. Kula also began to experience significant settlement pattern changes during this time. With the region's cool climate, rural setting, and spectacular view, Kula became a popular location for residential development, particularly large, luxury estates.

With increasing population and development pressure, the historically rural and agricultural landscapes of Upcountry have been impacted by expanding urbanization. Makawao and Pukalani have expanded from their town cores, primarily with residential development, diminishing the separation between these two communities.

Most residential growth in the Haiku area is a result of agricultural subdivisions during the 1980's and 1990's. The rural towns of Haiku and Pauwela represent the densest of development in the Haiku region; with settlement patterns becoming more dispersed moving mauka and east across the landscape.

