

## SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

Since the adoption of Maui County’s 1990 General Plan, which was approved by the Council in 1991, Maui County has experienced significant changes—economically, demographically, socially, and physically—that must be addressed in the scope of this Countywide Policy Plan. This document presents a comprehensive Policy Plan for the islands of Maui County to the year 2030 and provides the basis for updating the Maui Island Plan as well as nine detailed Community Plans that include Lana`i, Moloka`i, and Kaho`olawe.



*Wailuku, Maui, Hawai`i.*

### **A. PURPOSE OF THE COUNTYWIDE POLICY PLAN**

The Countywide Policy Plan provides broad goals, objectives, policies, and implementing actions that portray the desired direction of the County’s future. This includes: (1) a vision statement and core values for the County to the year 2030; (2) an explanation of the plan-making process; (3) a description and background information regarding Maui County today; (4) identification of guiding principles; and (5) a list of countywide goals, objectives, policies, and implementing actions related to the following core themes:<sup>1</sup>

- Protect the Natural Environment
- Preserve Local Cultures and Traditions
- Improve Education
- Strengthen Social and Healthcare Services
- Expand Housing Opportunities for Residents
- Strengthen the Local Economy
- Improve Parks and Public Facilities
- Diversify Transportation Options
- Improve Physical Infrastructure
- Promote Sustainable Land Use and Growth Management
- Strive for Good Governance

Furthermore, this Countywide Policy Plan will provide the policy framework for the development of the Maui Island Plan and the nine Community Plans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 2.80B, Maui County Code, requires at a minimum that the Countywide Policy Plan address “population, land use, the environment, the economy, and housing.”

<sup>2</sup> The nine Community Plan Areas are Hana, Kaho`olawe, Lana`i, Moloka`i, Kihei-Makena, Makawao-Pukalani-Kula, Pa`ia-Ha`iku, Wailuku-Kahului, and West Maui.

The Community Plans are intended to reflect the unique characteristics of each Community Plan Area and enable residents and stakeholders to address challenges that are specific to their regions.

## **B. THE PLANNING PROCESS**

The General Plan is a term for a bundle of plan documents that guide future growth and policy direction in the County. The Countywide Policy Plan acts as an over-arching values statement and is an umbrella policy document for the Island and Community Plans. The Maui Island Plan functions as a regional plan and addresses the policies and issues that are not confined to just one Community Plan Area, including regional systems such as transportation, utilities, and growth management, for the Island of Maui.

*Figure 1:  
General Plan Documents*

*The Countywide Policy Plan acts as an over-arching values statement and is an umbrella document for the Island and Community Plans.*

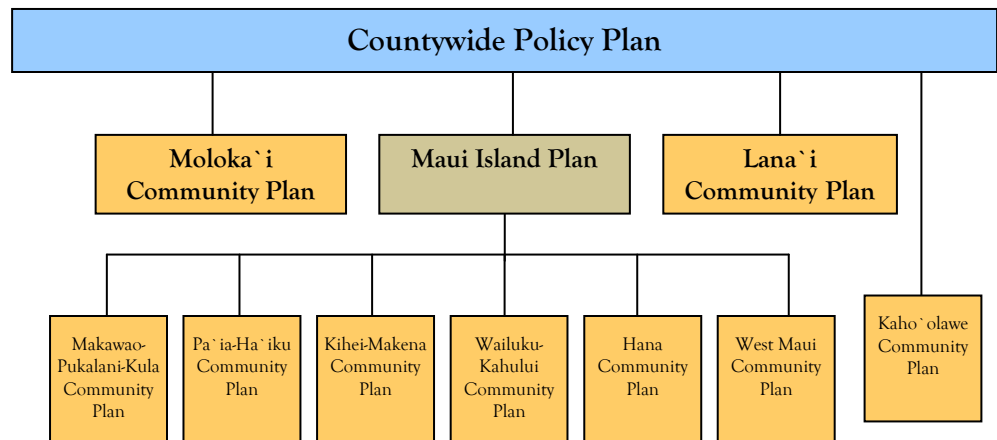


Figure 1 illustrates the relationship of the various planning documents that comprise the Maui County General Plan.

### **1. ENABLING LEGISLATION**

Chapter 2.80B of the Maui County Code was established in 2004; amendments to the chapter were enacted by ordinances in the following two years. Chapter 2.80B revised the process for updating the Maui County General Plan. Chapter 2.80B requires that the General Plan identify and describe the major problems and opportunities regarding the needs and the development of the County, as well as the social, economic, and environmental effects of development. In addition, Chapter 2.80B mandates that the General Plan set forth the desired sequence, patterns, and characteristics of future development. Chapter 2.80B modified the prior General Plan process by requiring that a Countywide Policy Plan be prepared first, followed by a Maui Island Plan and then the nine Community Plans.

## 2. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

There have been several formats for public-participation opportunities throughout the Policy Plan update process including Focus Maui Nui, General Plan Update outreach events, General Plan Advisory Committee meetings, and the Planning Commission and County Council review process.

### a. Focus Maui Nui Public Outreach

*Focus Maui Nui brought more than 1,700 participants together to define a vision for Maui County's future.*

In 2003, Maui Economic Development Board (MEDB) launched a broad-based public-participation process called Focus Maui Nui to plan for the future of Maui County. The effort brought together more than 1,700 participants into intensive, small-group participatory sessions to begin to define a vision for Maui County's future. Residents articulated what they viewed as the key priorities to guide future actions and decision making. The purpose of Focus Maui Nui was to capture the



*Focus Maui Nui, 2003.*

local needs, priorities, and core values of residents across the County and to identify potential strategies for addressing these challenges and the parties responsible for carrying out the recommendations. Because the General Plan is a statement of residents' current needs and desires, this Countywide Policy Plan largely incorporates the recommendations of Focus Maui Nui.

*Focus Maui Nui facilitated 167 meetings throughout the County to gather citizen input.*

Focus Maui Nui was designed to reach underrepresented groups not traditionally engaged in civic decision making by holding 167 facilitated meetings at locations where these groups normally gather. Groups infrequently heard from in public formats—such as the homeless, at-risk youth, seniors, Head Start parents, and ethnic and language minorities including Tongan Americans and Hispanic Americans—were engaged on a variety of local issues. Representing all Community Plan Areas and a broad range of demographic groups, these participants carefully articulated what they viewed as the key challenges the islands face.

### b. WalkStory and PlanStory Outreach Events

The Focus Maui Nui project provided the basis that informed the Planning Department during development of the Countywide Policy Plan. In addition, Maui County contracted MEDB and Fern Tiger Associates of Oakland, California, to assist with additional



*WalkStory, 2006.*

public-participation events for Maui residents. The WalkStory and PlanStory events focused on identifying critical Maui Island policy and land use issues and provided the Planning Department with a means to disseminate critical information about the General Plan process, interim products, and how the public could participate in the planning process.

### **c. General Plan Advisory Committee (GPAC) Review**

Chapter 2.80B requires the creation of General Plan Advisory Committees (GPACs) for Maui, Moloka'i, and Lana'i. The Maui GPAC was comprised of 25 members, while the Moloka'i and Lana'i GPACs were comprised of 13 members each. GPAC members were either appointed by the Mayor or appointed by the County Council by resolution pursuant to Chapter 2.80B.

*The role of the GPACs was to comment, advise, and provide recommendations to the Planning Director on the Countywide Policy Plan.*

The role of the GPACs for each island was to comment, advise, and provide recommendations to the Planning Director on the draft Countywide Policy Plan that the Planning Director had presented. Each GPAC was provided 120 days to



*Lana'i GPAC, 2007.*

forward its recommendations to the Planning Director, with the Maui GPAC also being granted an extension of a few weeks. Numerous meetings were held during the GPACs' review, each with opportunities for public testimony. The Planning Director revised the draft Countywide Policy Plan based on public input and the recommendations from the three GPACs.

### **d. Planning Commission and County Council Review**

The draft Countywide Policy Plan, as revised by the Planning Director and the GPACs' recommendations, were submitted to the Planning Commissions for their review. Each Planning Commission was provided 120 days to make its recommendations, findings, and proposed revisions to the draft Plan. There were numerous meetings held during the Planning Commissions' review with opportunities for public testimony.

The Planning Director again revised the draft Countywide Policy Plan based on public input and the recommendations of the Planning Commissions. The revised draft Plan was then submitted to the County Council for its review, revision, and adoption. The recommendations from all three GPACs and from all three Planning Commissions were also submitted to the County Council. The County Council's Planning Committee also held numerous public meetings with many opportunities for public testimony.

### C. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The islands of Maui County are blessed with dramatic physical beauty, a blend of cultures and traditional arts, and ideal climatic and environmental conditions. Loved by its residents, its caretakers, and millions of visitors, Maui County is known throughout the world as a place of natural- and cultural-resource distinction. The four primary islands of Maui County, at one point in history, were connected as a single land mass; however, because of erosion and the gradual rise of ocean levels, the land was divided. Maui, Lana`i, Moloka`i, and Kaho`olawe, and a collection of islets comprise Maui County.



*Ke`anae, Maui, Hawai`i.*

***Maui County's past has influenced the challenges and opportunities that present and future generations face.***

In a rapidly developing and increasingly homogenous global society, losing the places and characteristics that make Maui County unique and special would be unfortunate. As a preliminary step in planning for the future of Maui County, it is imperative to collectively reflect upon the past. Maui County's past has significantly influenced the challenges and opportunities that present and future island generations face. This chapter is intended to summarize the history of Maui County in its distinct stages, initiated by key events or decisions that have converged to form present-day Maui County.

The decisions and events of the past provide valuable lessons that aid priority setting and decision making. Primary concerns include:

- ***Access to quality education;***
- ***Access to affordable housing;***
- ***Environmental and natural-resource protection;***
- ***Cultural-resource protection;***
- ***Economic stability through sustainable practices;***
- ***Community cohesiveness; and***
- ***Loss of scenic resources.***

Understanding the mistakes of the past will equip the people of Maui County with essential tools for achieving a desired future for the islands.

#### **1. EARLY HAWAIIAN SOCIETY**

Maui County'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. For example, the Hawaiians developed a unique system of land utilization that divided land into large sections called moku. Each moku was comprised of many ahupua`a. Ahupua`a were usually wedge-shaped sections of land that followed natural geographical boundaries, such as ridgelines and streambeds, and ran from the mountains to the sea. A valley bounded by ridges

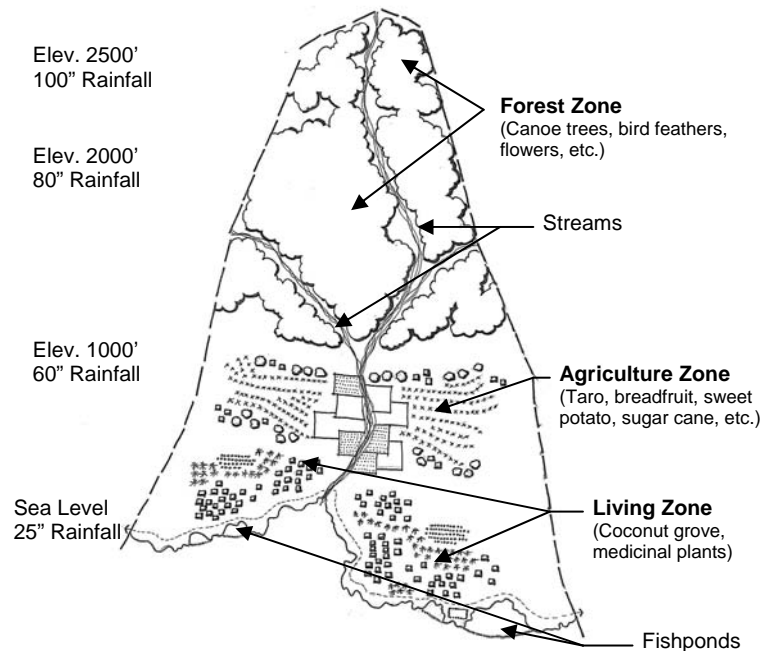
on two or three sides and by the sea on the fourth would be a natural ahupua`a.<sup>3</sup> Ahupua`a varied in size depending on the economic means of the location and were meant to support roughly equal numbers of people.

Through this indigenous land-management system, the Hawaiians employed a complex system of sustainable agriculture and aquaculture practices including extensive auwai (irrigation systems) that were developed to water the kalo (taro) fields.

The ahupua`a system is based upon the ecological interdependence of mauka and makai lands.<sup>4</sup> Dividing the land from mountain peak to ocean shore ensured that the inhabitants of the land would be good stewards, given that the overuse of any resource within the ahupua`a would only stand to hurt its occupants.

*The ahupua`a system was an indigenous land-management practice.*

**Figure 2: Traditional Ahupua`a**



Within streams and along the shoreline, Hawaiians built loko`i`a (fishponds). These were used for fattening and storing fish for food and as a safe place to protect fish that were spawning. The ponds along the ocean's edge were designed with semi-circular walls of lava boulders and coral that would keep the fish inside while allowing the seawater to ebb in and out. This kept the ponds healthy.

These elaborate systems of agriculture and aquaculture were able to sustain upwards of an estimated 35,000 people on the Island of Maui alone.<sup>5</sup> In 1853, there were at least 300 villages on the Island of Maui, located in 141 ahupua`a in 12 districts or moku.

<sup>3</sup> Kame`eleihiwa, Lilikala (1992). *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai?* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu).

<sup>4</sup> Mauka and makai are directions. Mauka refers to lands toward the mountain or upland; makai refers to lands toward the ocean.

<sup>5</sup> Schmitt, Robert C. (1977). *Historical Statistics of Hawai`i* (University of Hawai`i Press, Honolulu).

## 2. WESTERN CONTACT

*Religious conversion and laws prohibiting traditional practices occurred in the 1800s.*

While Captain James Cook of England has often been cited as discovering the Hawaiian Islands for the Western world, it was actually French Captain Jean-Francois de Galaup de La Perouse, in 1786, who was the first outsider to set foot on Maui's shore and interact with the Hawaiians. The explorations of these two explorers signified the beginning of Hawai'i's introduction to Europeans and vice versa. In the following years, Christian missionary work, the whaling industry, and the flourishing trade market brought American and European immigrants to the islands.

In 1795, the Islands of Maui, Kaho`olawe, Lana`i, Moloka`i, Hawai`i, and O`ahu were united under a single monarch, King Kamehameha I (or Kamehameha the Great), with the assistance of a handful of Europeans. Kamehameha I came from Kohala on the Island of Hawai`i and established his capital in Lahaina, Maui. His court became a welcome venue for Europeans.

According to some historical scholars, the overall Hawaiian population was reduced by an estimated 80 percent between 1778 and 1858, falling from about 300,000 to about 60,000.

A majority of Native Hawaiians converted to Christianity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period in which some laws and societal mores were changed to favor perceived Christian values and disavow some Hawaiian cultural practices, including hula, according to historians. King Kamehameha II banned the kapu system and traditional religious and healing practices.

Western influence impacted all forms of natural resources. Over time, the upland sandalwood forests were lumbered and clearcut, impacting both the forest ecology and the climate of the islands. Foreign crops and livestock were introduced to the islands, and free-ranging cattle, sheep, and goats devoured the islands' native vegetation until eventually the herds had to be culled and managed. Early ranchers, *vaqueros* from Vera Cruz, Mexico, taught Hawaiians how to handle



*Upcountry pasture, Maui, Hawai`i.  
(Photo courtesy of Dick Mayer.)*

horses and herd cattle. Cattle became the third-largest industry for the islands, and the ranchers began to seasonally rotate the livestock between pastures at lower and higher elevations to manage the resources more efficiently. Cattle ranching and the paniolo have had a long-lasting effect on the lifestyle and landscapes of Maui County communities with several ranches persisting today on Maui and Moloka`i.

Land ownership as a concept was first introduced to Hawai'i by Westerners. In 1848, King Kamehameha III set into motion the Great Mahele. This event marked the establishment of Western land-management systems in Hawai'i, significantly including the practice of land division by survey and the privatization of land ownership. The Hawai'i Legislature established a land commission and provided a means whereby land claims could be presented 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 King's intent with the Great Mahele and the Kuleana Act was to protect lands from foreign acquisition and to provide Native Hawaiians with the security of land ownership. However, there existed a vast disconnect between the King's intentions and the actual events that ensued as a result of the Great Mahele.



*Indigenous architecture.*

Living for hundreds of years with the self-sufficient ahupua`a land-tenure system and a communal subsistence economy, Hawaiians, particularly commoners, were drastically unaccustomed to the concept of fee simple land ownership. This unfamiliarity coupled with numerous legal and logistical constraints led to foreign acquisition of lands intended for Native Hawaiians. 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 purchase food, goods, and services.

*The sugarcane industry had an enormous impact on the islands' landscape.*

### **3. PLANTATION INDUSTRY**

Following the events of the Great Mahele, Hawaiian land became widely available for private ownership and capitalist development. Sugar had already been proven to be a hearty crop on the islands, and in 1828 the first sugar mill was built by Hung Tai in Wailuku. In 1876, the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty allowed for duty-free admission of Hawaiian sugar to the United States. On Maui, the number of acres cultivated in sugar cane expanded from 5,080 in 1867 to 12,000 in 1880, an increase of 136 percent.<sup>6</sup> Maui County's sugarcane industry experienced many stages, beginning with numerous small operations and evolving into a few large plantations. The sugarcane industry had an enormous impact on the islands' resources, including water use, worker population, and land utilization.

Construction of the Hamakua irrigation ditch on the Island of Maui delivered water from East Maui's expansive watershed to the arid plains of Central Maui.

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<sup>6</sup> Lind, Andrew W. (1938). *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawai'i* (Greenwood Press Publishers, New York).



## *Introduction*

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*Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, much of the County's land remained dedicated to sugar production, which has preserved vast expanses of land.*

The Maui Island ditch system included: Hamakua Ditch (1878), Ha`iku Ditch (1879), and Waihe`e Ditch (1882). Generally, essential resources, such as water, are held in trust by public entities. Having a privately owned delivery system for water continues to raise questions about water rights throughout Maui County. In the past, some of the aquifers, from which potable water is drawn, have been damaged from overuse or contamination. The utilization of water as a resource has been and will continue to be a critical factor for development in Maui County.

With massive growth of the plantation industry, the need for labor also grew, resulting in the importation of workers from Asia, Europe, South and Central America, and the South Pacific Islands, which created incredible ethnic and cultural diversity within the County. In the early 1900s, Maui County's sugar and pineapple estates contained multiple plantation camps that housed immigrant workers. These camps were comprised of housing, schools, stores, churches, recreational facilities, clinics, and neighborhood facilities and services, such as police, fire, and community centers. These villages were self-sufficient and allowed residents to meet normal health and safety needs and enjoy recreational activities within the confines of their community.

Much of Maui County's agricultural land continued to remain dedicated to sugar production through the 1990s, which ostensibly created a system of land banking. Monocrop agriculture has maintained much of Maui County's land as undeveloped open space, which creates beautiful, unencumbered vistas throughout Maui's Central Valley, Upcountry Maui, West Maui, West Moloka`i, and Lana`i. Maintaining so much of the islands' lands in agriculture has also reduced the available supply of land for development.

*Lana`i became known as the "Pineapple Island" as the landscape was used almost solely for pineapple production.*



*Ha`iku, Maui, Hawai`i.*

Pineapple became Maui County's second-largest agricultural industry and also played a role in forming the modern-day landscape. Pineapple production was primarily focused in the areas of Hali`imaile, Ha`iku, and Kapalua on Maui and dominated the landscape on the Islands of Lana`i and Moloka`i. The majority of Lana`i is privately owned, and a large part of it was

cultivated in pineapple for more than six decades. That monoculture caused the island to be known through the latter part of the 20th century as the "Pineapple Island". The only significant settlement is Lana`i City, a 1.2-square-mile plantation town that was built in 1923 by Hawaiian Pineapple Company to house laborers for its pineapple operations.

#### **4. EARLY COUNTY INFRASTRUCTURE**

During the late 1880s, rail systems were developed to link fields, processing facilities, and harbors, thus allowing for the efficient movement of sugar cane and

## Introduction

*The Island of Maui had an extensive rail system for transportation of agricultural products and passengers.*



*Irrigation ditch, East Maui, Hawai`i.*

later became Maui County's main port of entry. During the late 1870s, Maui County's water infrastructure was first planned and developed. In 1876, the Hamakua Ditch Company was formed to bring water via a ditch from East Maui to sugarcane fields in Pa`ia. Claus Spreckels, a San Francisco sugar baron, surveyed undeveloped lands, planned a 30-mile ditch, and requested rights from King Kalakaua to build the drainage structure. In 1877, Spreckels began construction of Maui Island's second-largest watercourse, from Punalu`u to Spreckelsville, which later became known as Spreckels Ditch or Ha`iku Ditch. The second phase of Maui Island's water infrastructure was constructed after 1900 and supplied additional water to Central Maui and new water sources for West Maui. Private irrigation systems still exist on all of the islands.

Air travel made its debut on Maui after an emergency-landing strip was built at Ma`alaea in 1919. After the strip had been upgraded to an airfield, commercial service from Honolulu began in 1929, provided by Inter-island Airways, Ltd. Two more airfields were finally built and became operational on Maui Island during the following decade—at Hamoa (East Maui) in 1935 and at Pu`unene (Central Maui) in 1938.

Interisland freight and passenger service remained largely provided by ship until 1952. Interisland shipping was owned and operated by a variety of companies including Inter-Oceanic Steamship Company (founded in 1881), Island Steamship Navigation Co. (1883), Wilder's Steamship Line (1883), and Matson Navigation Company (1901).

*Tourism stimulated new economies and increased the population in Maui County.*

### **5. THE RISE OF TOURISM AND MODERN DEVELOPMENT**

Following World War II, the economy in Maui County shifted from sugar and pineapple to a new and promising crop: visitors. With the emergence of new towns, resort-destination areas, and community planning, Maui County began a new chapter in its history, which laid the groundwork for present-day economic conditions.

In 1947 Harland Bartholomew prepared a master plan called "Dream City" for lands near Kahului Harbor. Beginning in 1950 and continuing to 1963, fee simple house and lot packages were sold at prices ranging from \$6,600 to \$9,200. Many of these lots were sold to people who came to Maui to work on the plantations and in search of a better life. The contiguous towns of Kahului and Wailuku continued to grow and jointly developed into the civic and population center of the County.

refined sugar. Eventually, these trains carried both products and passengers, and their presence was an enormous instigator for the development of Kahului Harbor. By 1879, a small landing had been erected for passengers and goods at Kahului, on the site of what

## *Introduction*



As the visitor industry gained momentum, Lahaina and Ka'anapali in West Maui became the premier destinations within the Hawaiian Islands. With numerous amenities to serve visitors, including hotels, restaurants, a shopping center, and a golf course, Ka'anapali set a precedent for tourism development statewide. The resort-destination trend continued to grow on Maui Island in the 1970s and 1980s with the subsequent development of Kihei and Wailea in South Maui and Kapalua in West Maui.

Similar trends were realized on Moloka'i in the 1980s and on Lana'i in the 1990s. On Moloka'i, 4,100 acres were purchased for a resort called Kaluakoi, which included a 198-room hotel and an 18-hole golf course. Luxury hotels were built on Lana'i at Koele (1990) and Manele Bay (1991).



*Pioneer Inn, Lahaina, Maui, Hawai'i.*

that has evolved makes this County unique for residents and visitors alike. The quaint country towns, fusion cuisine, and cultural ceremonies play a significant role in the success of this industry today.

With the birth of this new industry, the population and economy of the County began to grow rapidly. Resorts and other visitor services provided employment for the County's population and attracted new residents.

The history of the islands has played an enormous role in making them an attractive visitor destination. While the natural beauty of the islands alone is appealing, the multi-ethnic culture

## **CONCLUSION**

There remains a great deal to protect and preserve within the County of Maui and much to learn from the experiences of the past. The islands that comprise Maui County will be passed from one generation to the next, and it is our responsibility to share the best of the County with each other today, yet preserve this special place for future generations, and ultimately to perpetuate the Hawaiian value of malama`aina.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The Hawaiian concept of malama`aina means caring for and living in harmony with the land.