

MOBILITY IN TOURIST SMALL TOWNS

Redesigning practices and methodologies towards better answers to differentiated demands

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ABSTRACT

Over the last years a renewed interest in mobility issues has been noticed. A number of approaches were brought about, and the majority of them stress its importance both in environmental and social terms. Mobility is a concept with an interdisciplinary character, and therefore the study of mobility structures requires a more holistic approach. This paper presents and discusses the Mobility Plan for Armação dos Búzios, a tourist small town situated in the State of Rio de Janeiro. The Plan, developed under the premises of the Urban Mobility Program of the Ministry of Cities, aims to promote the coordination of transport policies, traffic and accessibility, to provide broad and democratic access to urban space. The Mobility Plan for Armação dos Búzios has been developed by the municipality staff of the Planning, Budget and Management Office.

Keywords: mobility, landscape, urban space

1. INTRODUCTION

Concerns as to issues of urban mobility have come to put a premium on our ability to address technical aspects of displacements in the context of social and environmental values. Qualities usually pursued in the design of a transportation system, such as speed, are not desirable when it comes to the planning of tourist destinations. Aspirations as to certain kinds of sociability and socialization must also be taken into account, as indeed must considerations of aesthetics, scale, and even charm.

The discussion about mobility in the cities, although traditionally settled in the functional aspects of the infrastructure, permeates nowadays the field of study on the urban space, establishing a relation between technical aspects of displacements with issues arising in other areas of knowledge. The qualitative aspects of urban environments – essential elements of tourist urbanizations – are among the important issues to be considered in the planning of transport in a tourist town like Armação dos Búzios, situated in the State of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, studies on the sociability that occurs in public spaces, on transportation planning as an instrument for reverting the processes of social segregation that have come to characterize the evolution of tourist urbanizations everywhere, and studies on concepts about the construction of the urban landscape are relevant issues when working on a mobility plan.

From this perspective, urbanists may contribute to mobility issues in tourist towns taking into account its reflection in environments of public spaces and in the way different forms of mobility influence the diversity of activities and the vitality of places. The transformation of uses and habits related to mobility in the cities can be reached from the development of new practices. Decisions about mobility in Búzios have the potential to significantly interfere with the architecture of public environments, contributing decisively to the definition of the nature and quality of these spaces. It is in this field of interaction - the effects of different areas of knowledge in city life - that a team of the municipality staff is developing a mobility masterplan with four strategic guidelines to be implemented by the public sector when dealing with infrastructure and public spaces.

2. MOBILITY IN TOURIST TOWNS

Within the urban context, the importance of mobility in shaping urban structure, values, and mainly the city experience has been acknowledged by many authors (p.e. Meyer et alli 2004). Concerning the transformation of the physical and functional organization of cities, mobility and accessibility have been regarded as central elements, two essential functions deeply related to the very structure of cities.

Ascher (2002) argues that the desired individual autonomy, with regard to mobility, is still strongly linked to the intensive use of the private automobile for transportation, disregarding the negative aspects of a costly and congested street system. He notes that the private car

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option demands large surfaces for displacements, bringing huge financial and social costs. The culture of autonomous mobility – which can be seen in the large proportion of solitary journeys in private vehicles -, is recognized as a strong obstacle to the renewal of concepts at the basis of mobility projects (see Jacobs 2009; Ascher 2002; Santos 1996).

Concerning tourist cities, the mobility issue is a very sensitive point. It deals with the daily lives of local people as well as with the city experience of outsiders who have a different sense of time. Bloch (2010) argues that, for the tourists, the concrete experience of the touristic place brings a number of practical issues, among them the movement around the chosen destiny. The permanence in the visited city implies in a number of ways of passive and active entertainment, the contact with people directly involved or not with the touristic activity and the enjoyment of landscapes, in a creative interaction between the tourist and the place. From this perspective, place displacement is, for the tourist, more than a simple need – it is a sensory experience.

However, mobility issues concerning touristic activities are not restricted to tourist mobility around the visited places, involving the displacement of those who live or work in the same places or around, therefore directly or indirectly participating in the construction of the environment. Nicolas (1996) notes that the touristic practice implies in such a space displacement that makes it a truly social territorial practice, while Luchiari (1998) argues that the process of diversification of activities that take place in and around touristic areas leads to the production of new places and stresses the intensity of these transformations. Bloch (2010) argues that tourist cities have specific characteristics concerning urban mobility, subverting the usual logic of displacement demands. Tourists expectations, when moving around the visited localities, usually contradict usual assumptions of efficiency concerning mobility projects.

Displacements are an important part of the visitor experience in relation to values of great importance in tourist places, such as hospitality (Bordreuil 2002). These values, which take place in public spaces, may be encouraged through a comprehensive mobility planning in these areas regarding sociability as a critical and inseparable aspect of the tourist product. Walking, for instance, might be regarded as the best way of displacement in certain situations, according to the beauty of the journey or the opportunity to exercise, and, in this context, speed reduces the interest of the tour and of the place experience. The importance of streets, trails and other pedestrian paths within touristic urbanizations is stressed by Luchiari (2001). She considers these pathways important parts of the tourism product, allowing the visitor to transit through everyday places and people, getting in touch with the culture and ways of life of the visited community.

So, as argued by Bloch (2010), these values become important references in the discussion about the roles played by the mobility system and its physical structures in the quality and vitality of public spaces of small tourist cities. He continues pointing out that in these localities, where landscape and culture constitute the raw material of its primary activity, the transformation of circulation spaces due to new demands for mobility plays an important role in the sustainable development of these communities concerning their vocation for tourism.

In tourist small towns, the benefits of walking as means of transportation has been largely neglected, considering that a significant portion of these displacements are short, and promote an excellent opportunity for a physical activity which is accessible to almost everyone. Forms of displacement practiced in a small tourist town might either stimulate contact between locals and visitors, or, conversely, promote isolation and social segregation. Although the contact between residents and visitors in public spaces often are only superficial, the mere presence of both tourists and residents in public spaces during the displacement reinforces the vitality of the environment and at the same time provides a sense of security (Bloch 2010).

Politicians, planners, urban designers, landscape architects and traffic experts are faced with the urgent need to propose solutions to address the growing demand for displacements due to local population growth and the tourist activity itself, especially in high season. Emelianoff (1999) and Joseph (2002), among many others, believe that governments can play an important role in promoting change by organizing debates on alternatives to mobility that have not being developed or experienced. This perspective opens the way for the development of original solutions, tailored to different locations (Bloch 2010).

3. METHODOLOGY

Given the objectives of the Mobility Plan for Armação dos Búzios, and the understanding of mobility discussed above, the methodological approach dealt with an interdisciplinary triangulation and a variety of methods. In fact, methods approached through field work quantitative data collection are effective for a variety of purposes, as for instance routes sizing and programming, as well as public transport timetable, among many others. However, for the planning of touristic towns – a reality in a continuous mutation - a less deterministic approach could highlight more fitted strategic solutions, sometimes better than those pointed out by transport engineer projects only.

The methodological strategy of the study, then, combined a variety of research methods: literature review and iconographic research; participant observation and interviews. The adopted methodological approach also aims to overcome the limitation of the experts to address questions that are not related only to technical competence, contributing to the democratization of decision-making. Within this perspective we seek to deepen the understanding of the urban process while promoting the interaction of compartmentalized knowledge and techniques, re-establishing connections in order to understand the multidimensionality of the urban problem. When the complexity of the urban problems is acknowledged, the scope of the objectives are expanded in order to be addressed by the mobility plan (Morin 2008).

Literature review was important to get into account former research concerning mobility in Búzios, especially those which looked at transport systems and traffic conditions from local people point of view (p.e. Planet 2005). The results of this study was reviewed in order to bring users and local people's point of view concerning mobility. The well succeeded work

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from Bloch (2002) and Gal (2002) for the French touristic town Nantes is an important reference of how a political approach open to experimentation allows new conceptions of street design aiming to a better mobility. On the same perspective the work of Devisme (2002), which stresses the importance of movement fluidity, of the humanization of streets urban scale, and also the pursuit of historical references, was particularly important for this Búzios' study.

The main focus of the iconographic research was on maps and photographs. Information from different maps were synthesized in order to focus on the mobility system, seeking to establish links between different parts of the city. Photographs were used to record information during local observation.

The objective of local observation was both to experience the mobility structures and learn the habits and practices of residents and visitors from formal and informal contacts. This methodological choice follows what is called participant observation. The fact that three of the authors live and work in Armação de Búzios and also actively participate in different field works and group dynamics for the design and the formulation of studies and strategic plans, corroborate and complement the participant observation.

Many studies stress the importance of contact with users for the study of open public spaces and routes (Cadiou 2002, Tixier 2002). This approach allows a sensitive evaluation, enabling the researcher to take into account the cultural dimension of places from the knowledge of those who use the place. With this approach we seek an understanding of places which cannot be grasped through interviews with staff from the public sector or professionals such as architects and engineers only. Tixier (2002) notes that this methodological procedure usually avoids undesirable and un-effective actions concerning urban design and mobility for a particular place. She argues that this understanding of places allows both the assessment of public places as well as local people real demands, preventing wrong technical decisions.

From this perspective, then, qualitative information such as local values and uses, aesthetic dimension, social data, appropriation and representation of a particular place, among others, are added to quantitative data from traditional methods of traffic and mobility research. This methodological approach can open up a multidimensional reading of the city, acknowledging not only the ways people move around but also the ways people live and experience the city.

The research methodological strategy also included interviews with professionals, public authorities and technical staff from the public sector. The objective of the interviews was to get their views about the mobility issue in Búzios. Throughout the interviews photos, maps, drawings and sketches of the city were presented, focusing on structures of the existing mobility. This approach was very useful, stressing the importance of the design practice in the understanding and solving the city mobility problems.

Before discussing the research findings and the guidelines for the plan itself, we briefly present Armação dos Búzios, focusing mainly on the city's structure and mobility.

4. ARMAÇÃO DOS BÚZIOS

Armação dos Búzios, a beach resort town 180 kilometers up the coast from the city of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil's Southeastern Region, was generously endowed by nature. The offer of nautical tourism, architectural heritage, protected areas and cultural traditions, takes place around the more than 20 beaches with varied vegetation, formats, water temperature and unique features (Master plan-Profile of the Municipality). There are numerous significant hills, even cliffs, presenting in a small space a great diversity of landscapes such as wetlands, ponds, sand banks, islands, beaches and rocky shores (DRM 2006).

By the 1950's, the city began to receive basic infrastructure. The first road - the current Avenue José Bento Ribeiro Dantas - that cuts across the town was open, and the first lots were sold to some vacationers to build weekend homes. (Master plan-Profile of the Municipality). But there were also foreigners of many different nationalities from the very start. Lodgings and restaurants sprang up alongside free-standing summer homes and then, increasingly, the condominiums that were built to serve the weekend and summer-vacation needs of a prospering middle class and upper middle class in Rio. The expansion of tourism, coupled with a strong presence of foreigners, Argentines and Frenchmen mostly, established in the city, notably from the 1970's, encouraged the inclusion of Búzios in major international tours, becoming the meeting point for numerous nationalities, languages and cultures. (Master plan-Profile of the Municipality).

Búzios ceased to be a fishing village, and touristic activity based on so called pousadas - intimate establishments, typically owner-managed, with highly personalized service, with less than twelve rooms - evolved to a big amount of lodgings with thirty, forty, fifty, even ninety rooms. This significant change in the sector's profile has an obvious repercussion on the type of tourism coming to town. The Secretary of Tourism accounts 6000 beds in the different types of establishments, however, a survey including informal settlements would find up to 9000 beds, making it difficult to specify the amount of tourists staying in the city and driving or strolling through the streets and beaches.

The topography of the peninsular side of Búzios can be made out clearly enough in figure 1. The man-made aspects of Búzios will also be easy to make out in the picture by virtue of the characteristically orange-colored roofs, unique in coastal Brazil due to an ordinance that prohibits construction above two floors in height. No one will have any difficulty in imagining the small clusters of fishermen's cottages that once dotted the coast, and the tracks and trails that knit the isolated settlements together, however real estate speculation, and the construction of more and more condominium units in smaller and smaller spaces has put intense pressure on a fragile road network and a single important trunk corridor. Developments that have contributed to the shaping of Búzios in recent decades include the inauguration of the Rio-Niterói Bridge in the seventies, across Guanabara Bay, (FGV – Master plan), and the subsequent privatization and improvement of a principal connecting road.

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Figure 1 – Aerial view of peninsula (Image Google Earth - captured 14 may 2013)

An aggravating factor for local mobility has been the spectacular increase of day-tripping from nearby towns and daily commutes to and from work (Fig. 2), and this has been on top of increasing weekday traffic.



Figure 2 – Schematic map of regional flows

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The main transit conflict - due to the physical configuration of the peninsula - takes place in the entrance to the city, where virtually all vehicles must go through in their way to the Centre or the beaches. Another serious problem is the lack of parking lots. (Plano Diretor - Perfil do Município – p.108). (Fig. 3).



Figure 3 – Main Avenue of the city (photo Alberto Bloch)

The appropriation of space by the tourism economy and by residential real estate development have resulted in reduced access to beaches in Búzios. In most of Búzios, there is no road to separate real estate development from the beaches, and this means that a series of high-walled condominiums side by side can inhibit common access to beaches except at intervals of several hundred meters. A gain for the few has been at a cost for the many, both residents and tourists, pedestrians and cyclists, and even for many motorists who would often prefer their feet to their cars, if only walking were not so complicated. The circle, moreover, is a vicious one. The harder it is to walk or cycle, the more intensely automobiles are used. Roads are widened to accommodate the increased movement of automobiles and buses and vans, as well as trucks, and the space available for non-motorized displacements shrinks even further. In addition, the local landscape is modified and not manifestly for the better.

This last is a point worth emphasizing. The bicycle has long been the preferred means of medium-distance locomotion in social groups with limited purchasing power, for example, laborers in civil construction. Physical fitness enthusiasts in all social classes also continue to cycle simply for the fun of it, and they do so despite the absence of infrastructure, and the not uncommon mercilessness of motorists. Petitions, public demonstrations, and articles and editorials in the local press have repeatedly called on the municipality to develop a system of

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bike lanes as a precondition for reducing dependence on motor vehicles but so far with little in the way of results.

As an exception, the Orla Bardot (Fig. 4) draws tourists and locals alike because of its charming seascape on one side and restaurants on the other and not least of all because sidewalks on both sides and limited vehicular traffic make it possible for persons to stroll and socialize.



Figure 4 – Orla Bardot. Foto Alberto Bloch.

A public consultation process (Planet 2005) revealed the disparity between what Búzios residents would deem an ideal transportation system, and the transportation resources they now rely on. The large number of displacements in cars, it was discovered, was not as a result of a preference for the automobile but rather to a large extent was a function of the deficient infrastructure for walking and cycling and the precariousness of public transportation. Results of the public consultation process were not widely disseminated, however. Discussion was limited. The discussion over urban mobility was restricted to the movement of vehicles along the principal trunk corridor. With access by automobile to the City Center as principal objective, the environments that have always constituted the real appeal of the city were left quite literally by the wayside.

Notwithstanding the extensive public consultation (Planet 2005) - showing the automobile not to be deemed the most suitable means of transportation for in-city displacements - municipal government committed itself to a traffic and transportation plan whose centerpiece was the duplication of the principal road axis, the effect of which plan would be to facilitate access to

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central Búzios precisely by private automobile first and foremost. This project was developed in disregard of the guidelines of Búzios' own Master Plan, which had foreseen the creation of a ring road on the peninsula. The schematic map below (Fig. 5) showing the redesigned mobility structures in the peninsular area, is part of this Master Plan that was voted in 2006 - consistent with Brazil's Ministry of Cities guidelines – and sought to promote new vectors of connectivity between districts.

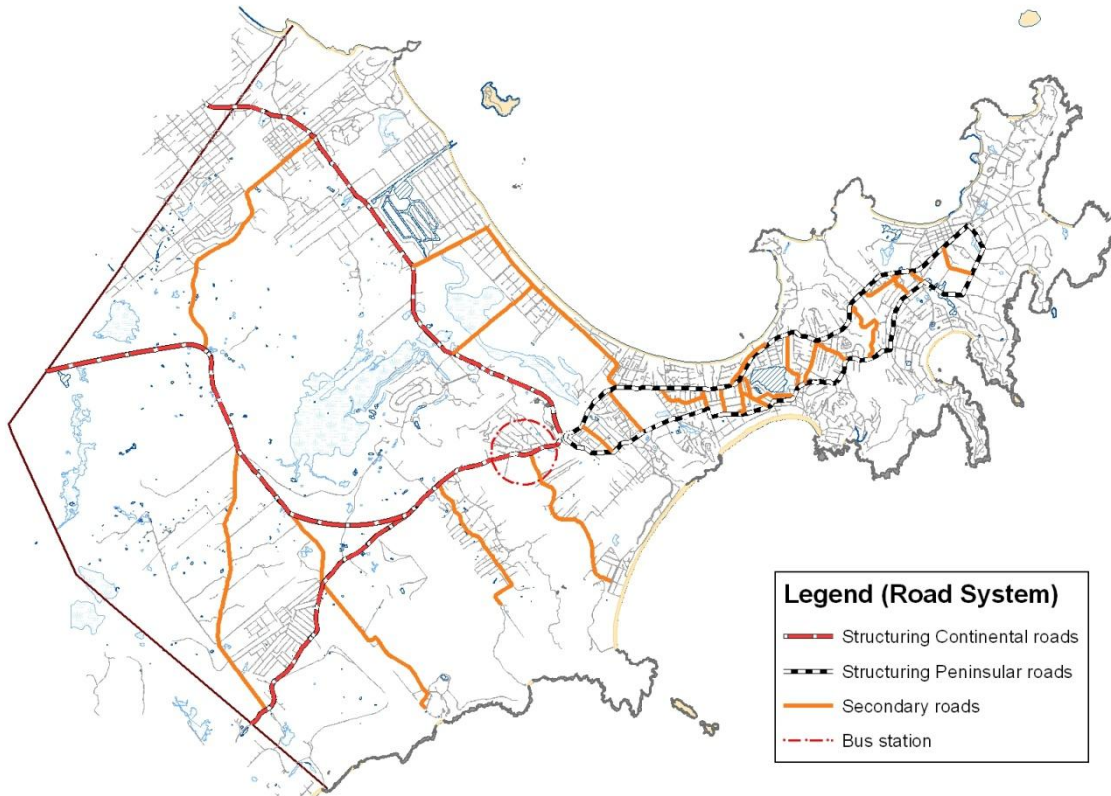


Figure 5 – Sketch map of the Master plan road hierarchy in Búzios

The ring road, passing through and integrating numerous neighbourhoods, would have allowed for the creation of a public transportation system at once inclusive and comprehensive. The structural ideas that were developed for Búzios' Master Plan based the strategic guidelines for the mobility plan that we discuss here.

5. FINDINGS

Armação dos Búzios has in its natural landscape and built heritage important resources to promote the sustainability of its economic activity. Research findings highlighted the fact that mobility structures should be conceived acknowledging spatial and cultural characteristics and stressed the important role played by mobility in promoting urban sociability besides taking people from one place to another. The Planning and Management Secretary, Mr Ruy

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Borba, argued that “deficiency in transport in Buzios is the biggest factor of social exclusion” (interview with Mr Borba, 2010). The results also indicated that both tourists and local people were willing to use other modes of transport rather than the private car (Planet 2005). On this perspective the Mayor, Mr Mirinho Braga, also argued that “our commitment is to provide quality transportation to Buzios’ residents” (interview with Mr Braga in 2010).

While the quantity and range of visitors' profile is continually increasing, this potential wealth is barely exploited due to local mobility conflicts. As also noted by the Mayor, “a number of former visitors are not coming to Buzios any longer due to the city’s traffic jams during the weekends” (interview with Mr Braga in 2010). Armação dos Búzios unplanned mobility makes it difficult for people to get around, thus reducing a city’s ability to be a place where people can meet and greet. Without the necessary sidewalks and bike lanes, there is much less sociable contact between people.

Clearly the issues of mobility in a tourist center such as Búzios are not restricted just to the visitors, but involve the ways that residents and workers get around as well. Although unusual, given the current practices, it is possible to have residents and workers share transportation with visitors, thereby increasing the chances of interaction between tourists and locals.

Concerning spatial and cultural characteristics, the municipal territory has two main areas, defined by its geographical configuration: the Mainland and the Peninsula. We can say that the attractiveness of Búzios is related to the beauty and diversity of beaches and landscapes of the peninsular area, even if some tourist resorts and vacation homes are located in the Mainland.

Population growth in the municipality of Búzios has developed in tandem with the growth of tourism, mainly due to two trends: (1) the native population has migrated to the Mainland, an area less coveted by tourist activity, and enough newcomers have followed to cause significant growth in these new population centers; (2) the Peninsula, more concentratedly touristic, is where most of the hotels, shops, summer homes and condominiums are located. Here there has been moderate growth.

There were also differences in investments in urban infrastructure, and hence on the quality of public spaces in the touristic areas and in the areas occupied by the vast majority of local residents, according to the priorities assigned to the economic activity.

The wide public consultation held in 2005 (Planet, 2005) with 1500 respondents sought to know how residents and visitors saw and lived the mobility in Búzios, and revealed that the vast majority of respondents did not consider the car the most suitable means of transport for their displacements in the city.

Two basic questions in this research were thus formulated: what kind of transportation did the respondent use, and what kind of transportation would the respondent find more appropriate to Búzios (Fig. 6).

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Nevertheless it has been observed that the preference for automobile is greater in the higher income range, even among respondents with incomes above \$ 5,000.00 per month, only 26% find the car the most suitable means of transport. The results showed that in all the groups of respondents, regardless of income, there was a significant difference between the means of transportation considered suitable in Búzios and the means of transportation the respondents actually used. This reveals an enormous pent-up demand for quality public transportation. The research also showed how much the respondents disapprove of the city's failure to provide accessibility to walking or bike riding.

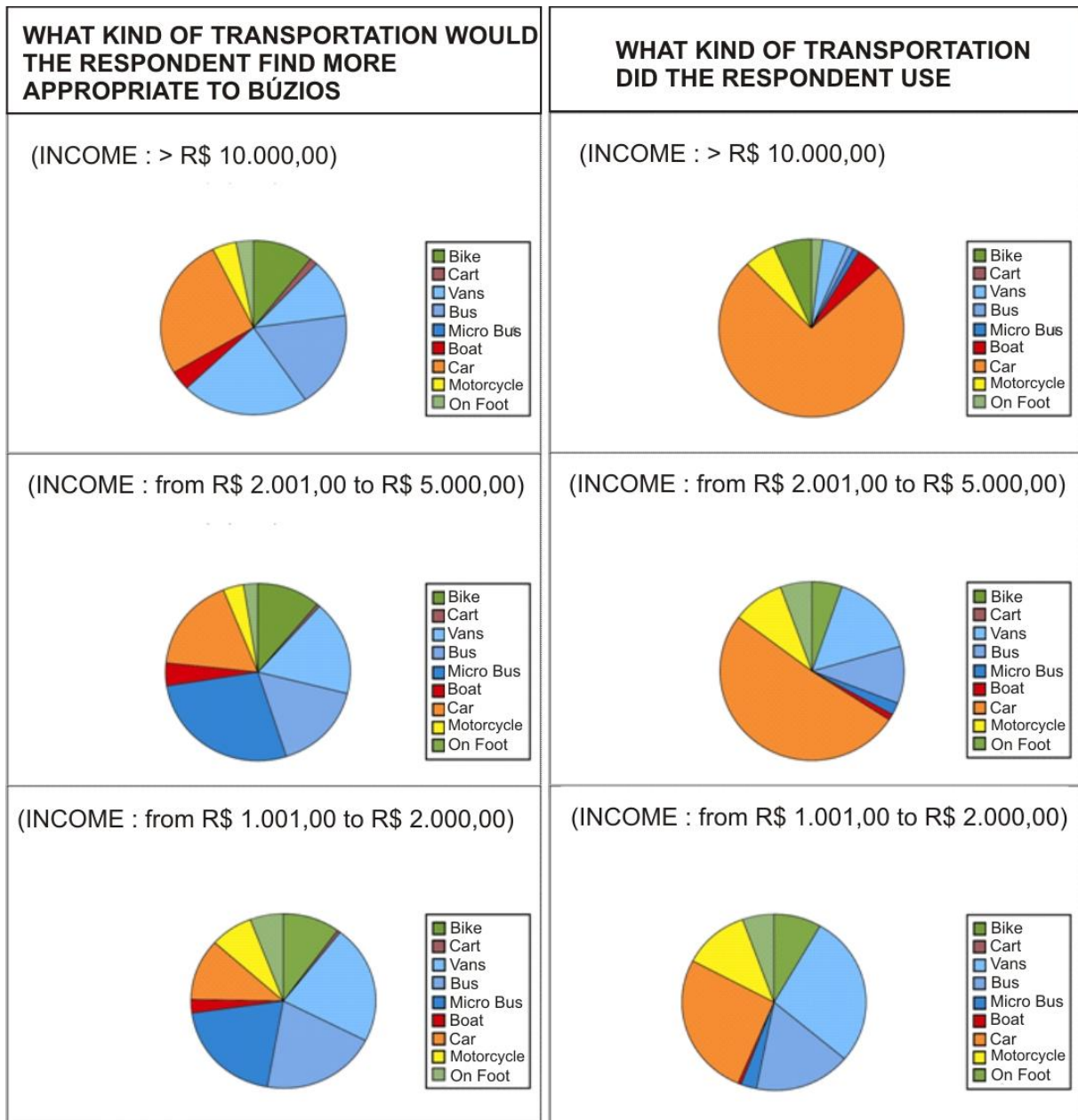


Figure 6 – Graphics : how residents and visitors see and live mobility in Búzios. Source: Planet 2005.

The overall vision that guides the strategic lines for the mobility plan results from the methodological approach that articulates technical knowhow of the field of transport to knowledge in city planning dealing with the different functions of the city, taking also into account the line of desire expressed by the public consultation. The understanding of the complexity of the urban problem and the interrelation of its multiple aspects prevents from a myopic vision that may result in a poor plan, without the values that can ensure real benefits for the city.

6. STRATEGIC GUIDELINES

This draft for a Mobility Plan for Armação dos Búzios acknowledges that public space is a vital component of a successful city, seeking to improve the various ways people can get around the city by redesigning the streets, with a view towards encouraging walking, bicycling and the use of public transportation for residents and visitors alike. In this way, the strategic guidelines intend to define and promote different means of transportation in order to make all areas in the city accessible.

6.1 Creation of a public and tourist transportation system in Búzios

The public transportation system was proposed to attract residents and visitors who currently use their own cars, tourists who arrive by bus or hotel transfer, and to better accommodate the people now using vans and buses. In that way public transportation will be shared by residents, tourists and visitors, making it the preferred choice for getting around the city by motor vehicle. The following elements are essential for the public transportation system proposal: bus routes, vehicle types, schedule and rates.

6.1.1 Bus routes, type of vehicle, schedule and rates

New routes were created (Fig. 7) to connect neighborhoods that are currently under-served by public transportation, and to interlink the beaches of Tucuns, Geribá, Ferradurinha, Ferradura, Centro, Armação and João Fernandes. The different routes will be connected at various points in order to provide enhanced accessibility. These routes will accommodate the residents and vacationers in each neighborhood who are currently using their own cars, as well as employees who need to get to the hotels, restaurants and houses in those neighborhoods, and the tourists staying in the city's hotels. The type of vehicle used is an important factor in making public transportation attractive. To this end small vehicles were proposed, such as minibuses that accommodate up to 30 passengers. These vehicles are suitable to the scale of the streets in question, and are accessible to people with special needs. The schedule, or frequency, of the buses is fundamental to making the public transportation system attractive. A long wait between buses will make some people opt for their own car. So instead of a 60-passenger bus that runs every 20 minutes, we are proposing 30-passenger minibuses that run every ten minutes. The rate system should be structured so that a resident can buy an annual, semi-annual or monthly pass so as to make

the trips cost effective. Visitors, tourists, and the occasional user should, on the other hand, pay the full per-trip fare, thus keeping the public transportation system financially balanced.

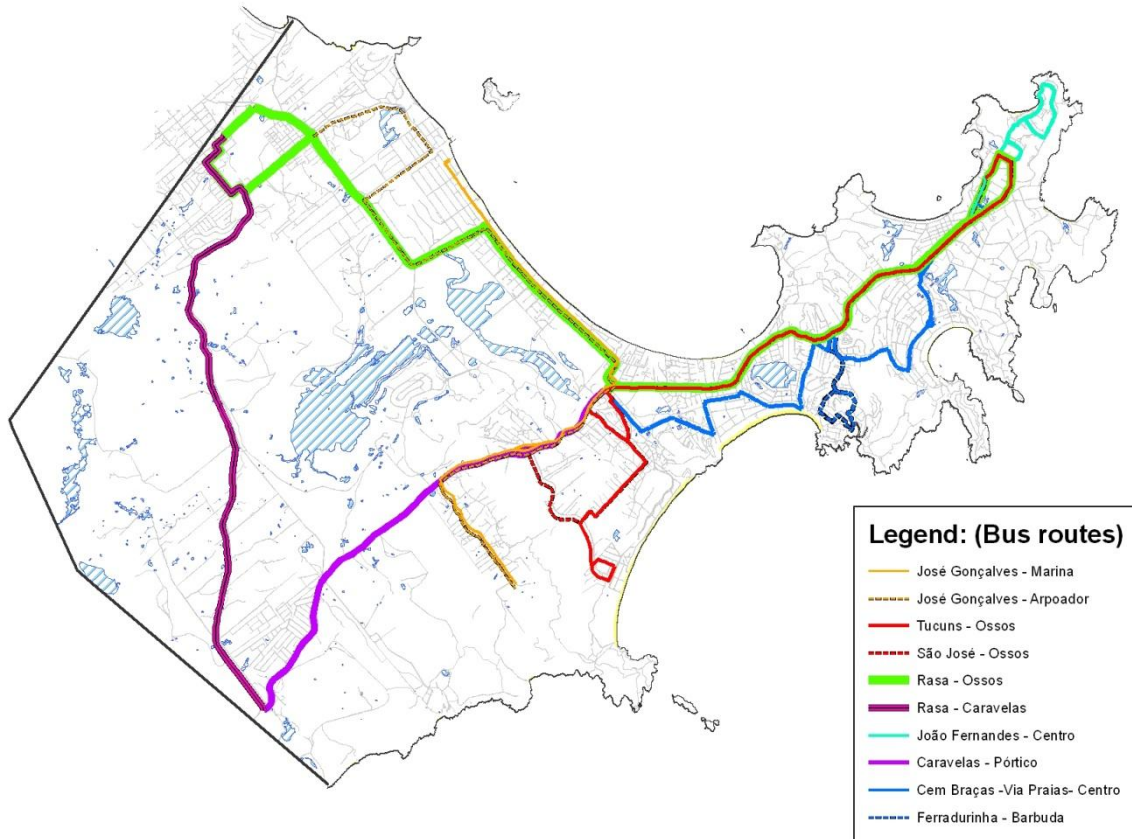


Figure 7 – Routes of public transport

6.2 Making an urban environment that encourages walking

Improving the roads by adding roundabouts and pedestrian crossings at sidewalk level will reduce vehicle speed and provide a more harmonious relationship between the streets and their surroundings, and make walking the preferred way of getting around, as can be seen in figure 8. A whole system of roundabouts and pedestrian crossing is proposed in order to encourage walking (Fig. 9).

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Figure 8 – Roundabout and pedestrian crossing leveled with the sidewalks



Figure 9 – Roundabouts on the road system

6.3 Devise and develop hiking trails

The development of a system of hiking trails (Fig. 10) can make for a potentially appealing tourist attraction, one that is as yet under-explored in the city. With good hiking trails tourists will be able to explore more of the town's off-the-beaten-track corners. Hikes can be included in visits to parks, beaches, lagoons and other attractions, and increase the sensory experience of the natural diversity of the region. Since some of the trails are used by residents on a daily basis there can be greater interaction between locals and tourists.

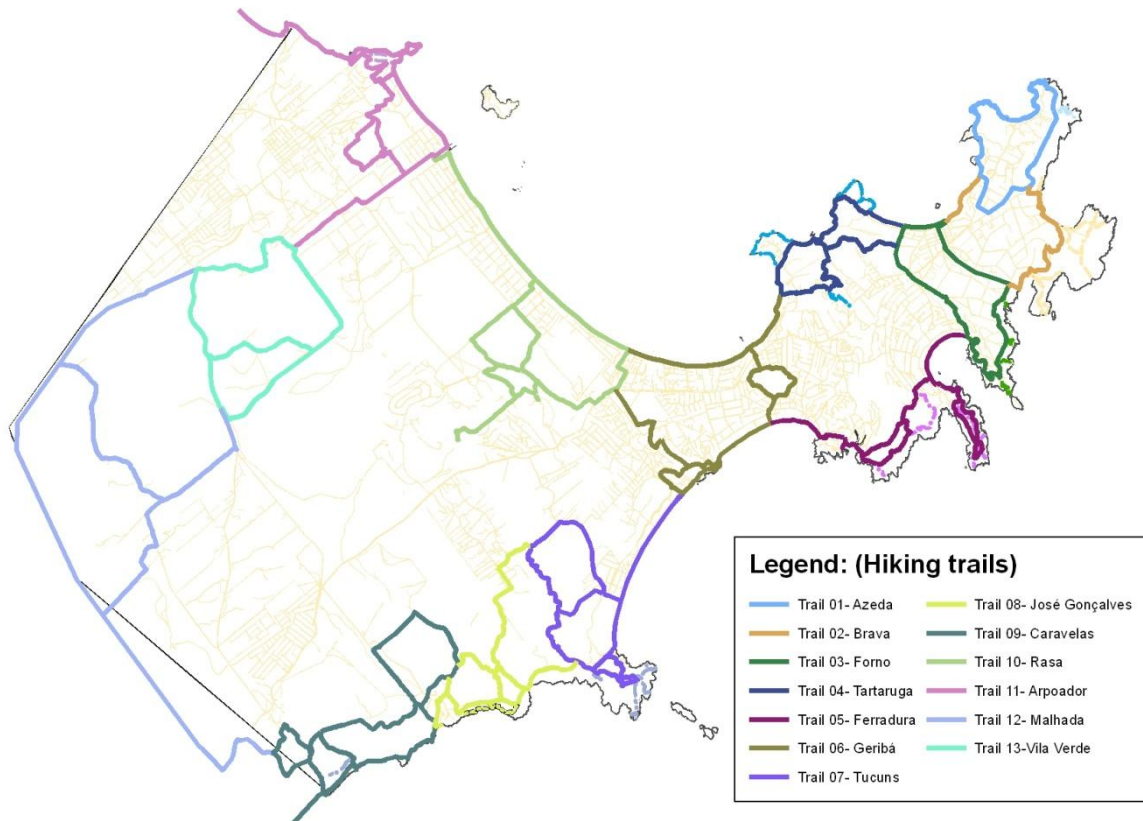


Figure 10 – System of hiking trails

6.4 Devise and develop bike lanes

The development of bike lanes will help residents and visitors to use bicycles as a means of transportation. Different types of bicycle routes will connect central areas with tourist attractions, and encourage visitors to experience the city in an innovative way.

6.5 Integration of transport modes

The integration of different modes of transport (Fig. 11) includes shipping by aqua-taxis, which allows travellers a quick and fun ride to some of the beaches. It only happens on the inside of the peninsula that is protected from strong winds, allowing for a safe and enjoyable travel.

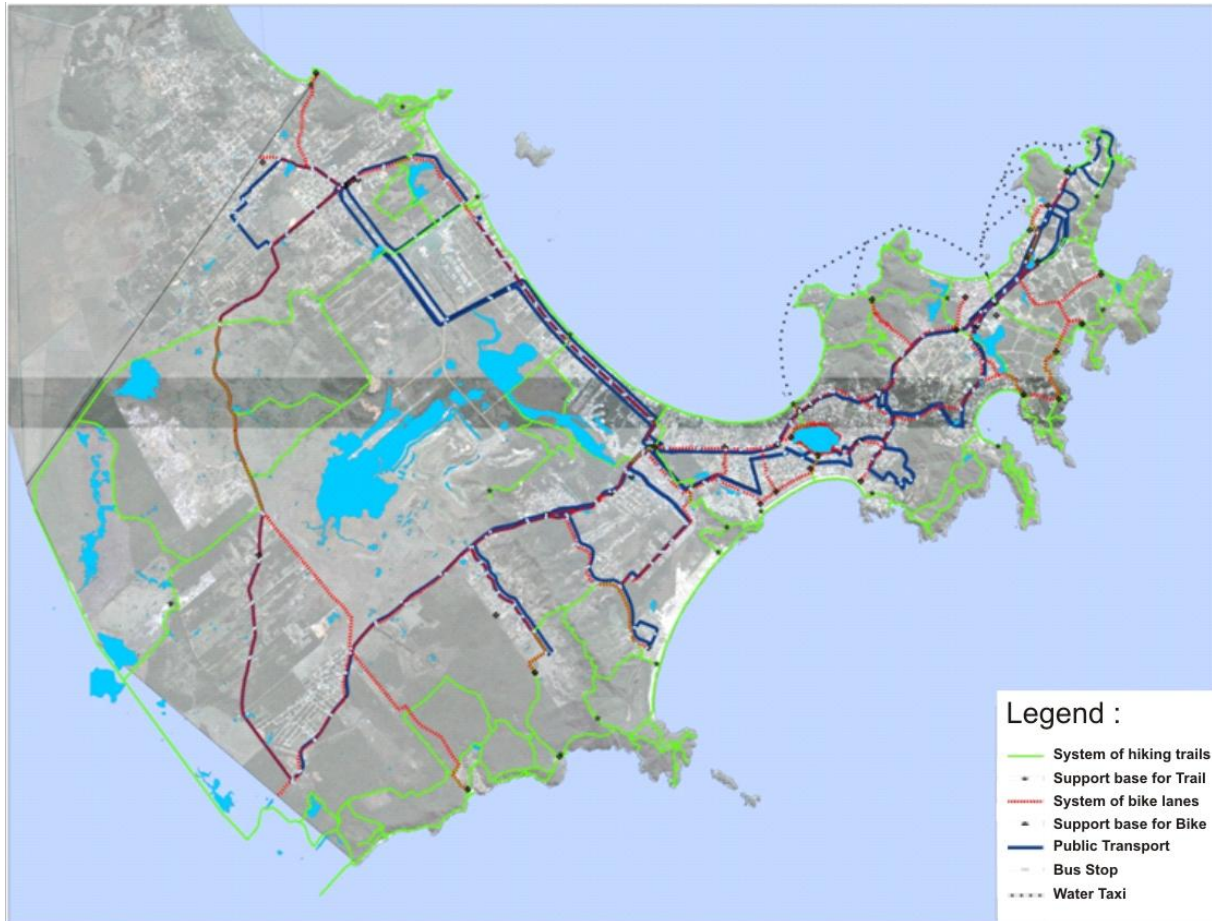


Figure 11 – Integration of transport modes

7. FURTHER PERSPECTIVES

The forthcoming decisions on mobility in Búzios will affect determinantly the future of the city. In this sense it is necessary to deepen the definition of objectives, based on the knowledge of existing conditions, and taking in account the importance of evaluating the relationships and behaviors that will determine the development of future scenarios. The definition of the public transport system to be implemented so as to attend different types of users, and the design of streets and sidewalks in order to stimulate non-motorized forms of displacement are the basis of the mobility plan for Armação dos Búzios, which aims to ensure greater mobility without major works, without big budgets.

The legitimacy of the mobility plan also depends on the realization by the municipal government of public discussions around the future scenarios and the proposals developed. Notwithstanding the current mayor's statements favorable to the work developed by the planning team of the previous government, the recent change of government in January 2013 may slow this process a bit more, due to the significant restructuring of frames that characterizes the change of political leaders.

The working group at the municipality's planning office favors both modified traffic patterns in the city and a new mix of vehicles so as to make the public transportation attractive to both residents and tourists, and as a crucial precondition to the re-humanizing of the city's public spaces. It is important to stress that, when discussing this Mobility Plan, we would like to point out that when mobility policies also cover urban proposals it has more chances to be successful. Following Bloch (2010), it should be emphasized that the urbanist has an important role to play as a promoter of the interaction between knowledge of technical experts and the understanding of sensitive aspects of urban environments. The debate concerning mobility in the configuration of public spaces, and over what should or should not be preserved in the urban landscape, among many other things, is a field of mediation and action of the architect and urbanist (Bloch 2010).

The urbanist education enables a multidimensional reading of the mobility problem, allowing a city analysis from different perspectives. This might lead to a comprehensive reading of the city, looking at other displacement attributes others than the practical ones. It also seeks a compromise among different groups, such as local people, tourists, politicians, private sector, and the like (Bloch 2010).

Finally, addressing the mobility issue in small touristic towns means taking into account the relationships between the new mobility structures with local landscape structures. Although impossible to express in numbers, the variety of commercial and entertainment opportunities made possible by a dense and mixed pedestrian population is the idea of urban vitality we expect to promote by redesigning displacement modes. As argued by Bloch (2010), functionality should work together with qualitative aspects such as comfort and landscape aesthetic dimensions. It is though necessary an understanding of how mobility forms affect diversity and vitality of places.

8. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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