

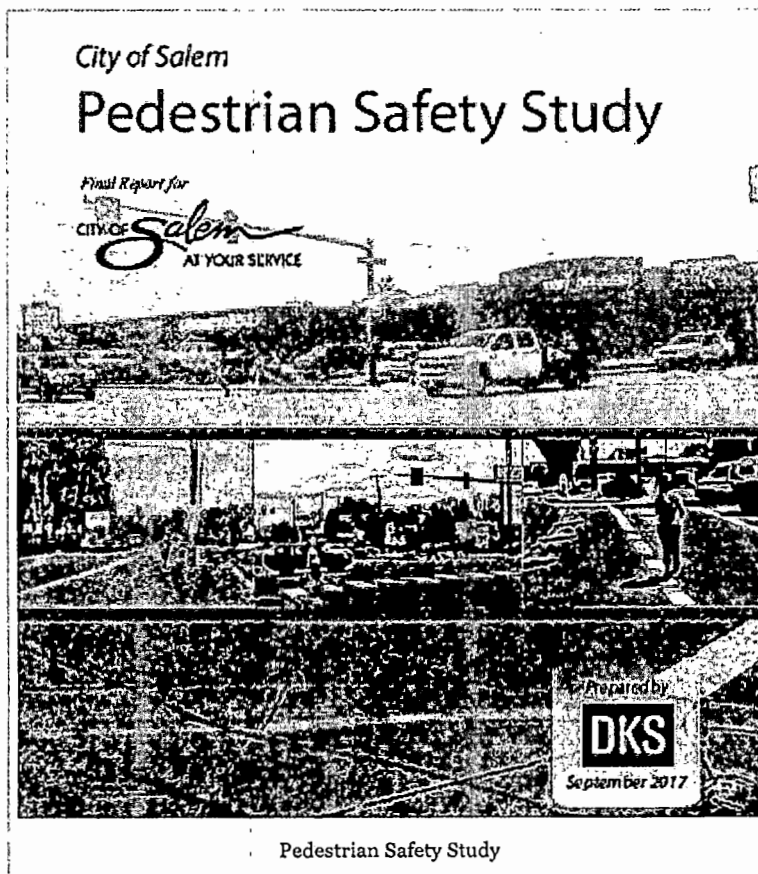
# SALEM BREAKFAST ON BIKES

## FROM: COUNCILOR ANDERSEN

Home Reference Library Third Bridge - Rivercrossing

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2017

With Call to Revive Jaywalking Laws, City Study Whiffs on Speed

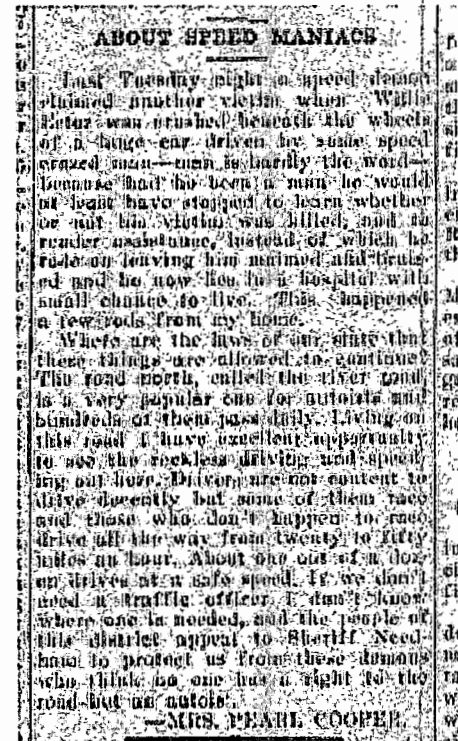


The City has released a "Pedestrian Safety Study," but in important ways it reverts to early 20th-century patterns of blame for people on foot and even of criminalizing walking. While the recommendation to "reconsider the lack of jaywalking laws," is not itself the central and most important recommendation, it is symptomatic and a

FEATURED POST

### A Century Ago: Speed Maniacs, Autoists, and the Fight over Road Space

Routinely we hear about how it is "common sense" for people on foot to "get out of the way," to wear bright clothing, to...



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Boise Redevelopment (49)

real reflection of the study's limitations.

More than anything else, the study avoids the asymmetry in speed, power, and lethality between people in cars and people on foot.

The study ends up being more about channelizing people walking into "the right place," about getting pedestrians out of the way, and about protecting drivers from unwanted crashes and mess



**DANGER INCREASES  
WITH SPEED!**

They knew better  
in 1937

#### Address Concerning Driver and Pedestrian Behavior

The crash data and field observations confirmed a prevalence of illegal and aggressive behavior by both drivers and pedestrians. Consider implementing educational campaigns and targeted enforcement to reduce the incidence of unsafe pedestrian crossings, aggressive driving (including speeding), and impaired travel. Additionally, the City should reconsider the lack of jaywalking laws, which may be contributing to pedestrians crossing at undesired locations.

Recommendation: Reconsider jaywalking laws

complications, than it is about making walking in Salem a *delightful, inviting, and preferred choice for short trips*. It assumes a baseline of driving as the preferred and prioritized choice. In this way its orientation remains fundamentally autoist and represents a reversion to 20th century norms rather than a development that supports modern, 21st century travel choice and the increasingly exigent demands for responding to climate disruption.



Government safety posters ridicule jaywalking in the 1920s and '30s (National Safety Council/Library of Congress)

Our earlier campaign to criminalize walking:

"The forgotten history of how automakers  
invented the crime of 'jaywalking'"

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#### ABOUT US



SALEM BREAKFAST ON BIKES

SALEM, OREGON

The Breakfast Blog is about bicycling and the built environment here in Salem, focusing mostly on transportation but with significant servings of bike fun, land use, planning, and design. And other miscellaneous stuff. Write: [breakfastonbikes \[at\] gmail \[dot\] com](mailto:breakfastonbikes[at]gmail[dot]com)

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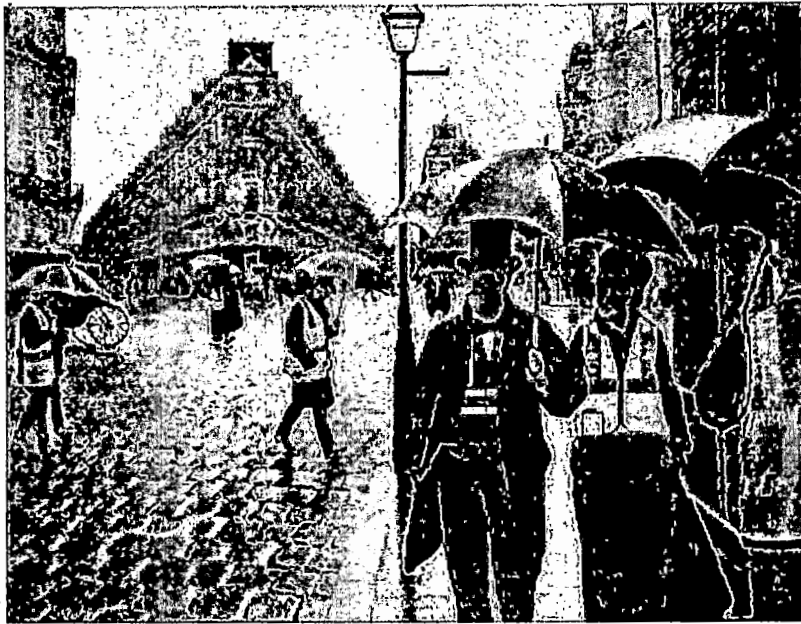
#### PROJECT ADVOCACY

Arts and Parks Corridor

No Third Bridge

Northwest Hub

Salem Area Trail Alliance



Hopefully we are not heading towards  
requirements for Pedestrian Safety Equipment

The historical perspective is not a matter of trivia. Just as we navigated a tremendous shift in the 1910s - 1930s in vehicles, road design, and planning, the transition to autonomous vehicles looms similarly large. Manufacturers and the larger auto-industrial complex, including engineers and consultants, probably would like to engineer as much predictability for pedestrians as possible, even to the point of requiring reflective gear or transponders. What if you had to have a smart phone or RFID chip to walk anywhere? Software and liability law could totally impose that requirement on people. It is important to note we are at, or approaching close to, something of an inflection point, able to choose one way or another.

Back in January 2016, City Council received a report from Public Works and the Police on people killed while walking in Salem. (Notes on the first version here, and on a slightly revised version here.) This led the City to commission a more detailed report from an outside consultant. That report has been published and the City will hold a brown bag open house on it November 13th at noon in the Library as well as present more formally the findings to Council that evening in a work session before the Council meeting proper. (See the City facebook for the event announcement.)

### Where is a discussion of speed?

One of the biggest, maybe outright *the biggest* period, omission is a map or table of posted speeds where the crashes occurred.



## Salem Bike Boulevard Advocates

### LOCAL CLUBS AND FUN

Black Rock Mountain Bike Association  
Capitol Velo Racing Club  
Half Penny Cycling  
Just Walk Salem  
Salem Bicycle Club  
Salem Sunday Streets  
Selle Salem Womens Cycling  
Willamette Valley Vintage Bicycle Club

### OUR BIKE SHOPS

Northwest Hub  
Santiam Bicycle  
Scott's Cycle  
South Salem Cycleworks  
The Bike Peddler

### OTHER USEFUL LINKS

Bike Commuting in Salem  
Cherriots Rideshare  
How Not to Get Hit by Cars on Bicycle Safe  
Oregon Bicycle & Pedestrian Program

### THE REFERENCE LIBRARY

Reference Library Page  
Salem River Crossing Reference

### LOCAL BICYCLE BLOGS

#### **BikePortland.org » Front Page**

Keeping an eye on opposition to street updates on Lincoln and Willamette  
16 hours ago

#### **Doug's Transportation Ramblings**

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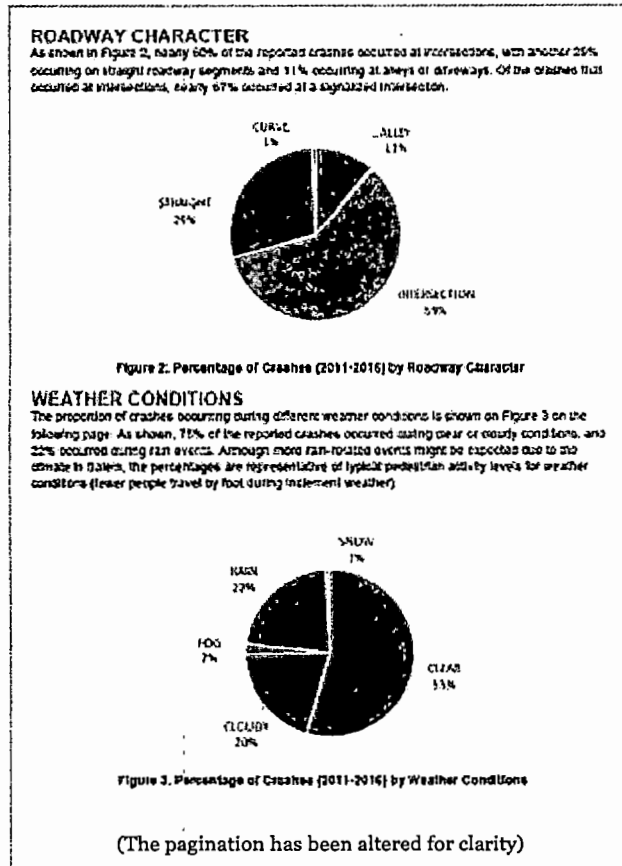
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Know what's missing? Posted Speed.

The study correlates all kinds of variables, but not the posted speed on the roadway.

Here for example is a pie chart for roadway character and for weather.



There's a chart on gender, but the disparity is hardly noticed for more discussion. We know men are more aggressive drivers, but it's also

Legislature Addresses Suspended Driving  
4 years ago

Portland Bicycle Transportation Alliance  
Holiday Party: Come kick it with The Street Trust squad!  
23 hours ago

Ride Bikes, Drink Coffee  
Back to the Gorge for a Longer Ride  
2 years ago

The Upright Cyclist  
Blocked Arterial  
1 month ago

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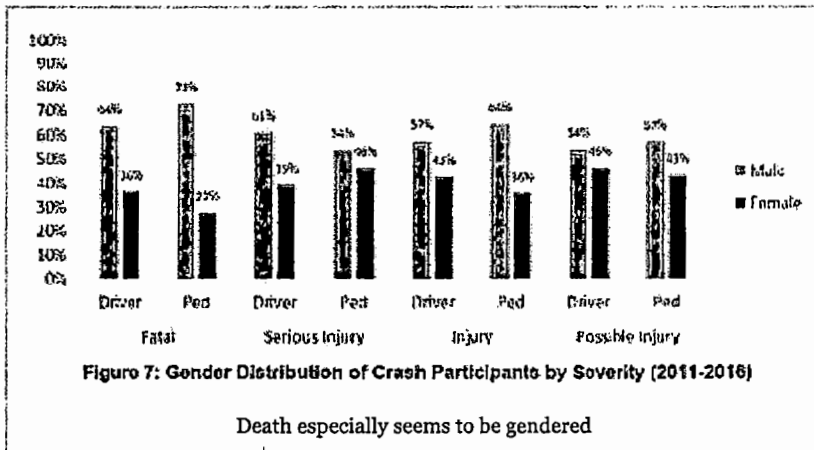
Budget, Transit, Age-Friendly Committees to Meet t...

Don't Forget about the Exclusion Laws in the Newly...

Old Leslie Junior High Possibly at Risk in Propose...

Eugene Releases Draft Vision Zero Action Plan, Sal...

possible they are more assertive street-crossers. Conversely, because of harassment and safety concerns, fewer women walk and they are likely to be less assertive about crossing mid-block or at unmarked crosswalks. There is almost certainly a full sidewalk ethnography of social and cultural factors that shapes our choices to walk or not to walk, and even if that wasn't the primary thrust of the study, it might usefully have been given more room. (A full treatment of safety for people walking will at least include mention of the specific problem of safety for women walking alone; for, of course, if they are not even on the sidewalk, they will never try to cross the street.)



But there is nothing in the analysis on speed itself.

Instead, the section on behavior dwells oddly on "illegal," "distracted," or "impaired" walking, and crucially relies on a fabricated category that has no basis in City of Salem statute or code. It is hard not to think it is fundamentally premised on impugning and marginalizing "bad behavior" by people on foot. There is a real bias here.

#### DRIVER AND PEDESTRIAN BEHAVIOR

The most commonly reported contributing factor to pedestrian crashes during the study period was the driver's failure to yield (53%). Other reported factors include: pedestrian illegally in the roadway (30%), pedestrian not visible (14%), driver disregarding a traffic signal (11%), and inattention (3%). Although intoxication was not listed as a contributing factor in the ODOT crash database, a review of the police report narratives indicated that four of the 13 fatal crashes and three of the 29 serious injury crashes involved a pedestrian that was likely impaired (alcohol, drugs, or both).

It should be noted that all Oregon crash data is maintained by the State of Oregon, and thus references to "illegal" behavior (such as "pedestrian illegally in roadway" or "pedestrian violation") are categorized based on State laws. Such "illegal" behaviors include pedestrians crossing at unmarked mid-block locations, pedestrians crossing against signals or signs, pedestrians lying or standing in the roadway, and pedestrians entering the roadway unexpectedly. In the City of Salem, however, there are no jaywalking laws and it is legal for pedestrians to cross a roadway at any location. Because it is difficult or even impossible to isolate the exact behavior that warranted the "illegal" categorization, there is no way to re-categorize the crashes based on City of Salem laws. Therefore, the terms "pedestrian illegally in roadway" and "pedestrian violation" are still referenced in this report, even though a subset of the behaviors may not actually be illegal in the City of Salem.

From the report:

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"Truck hits bicycle path" -  
Where's the Driver?

- October (21)
- September (16)
- August (17)
- July (14)
- June (25)
- May (22)
- April (20)
- March (21)
- February (19)
- January (23)

- 2016 (313)
- 2015 (301)
- 2014 (296)
- 2013 (321)
- 2012 (361)
- 2011 (285)
- 2010 (224)
- 2009 (196)
- 2008 (35)

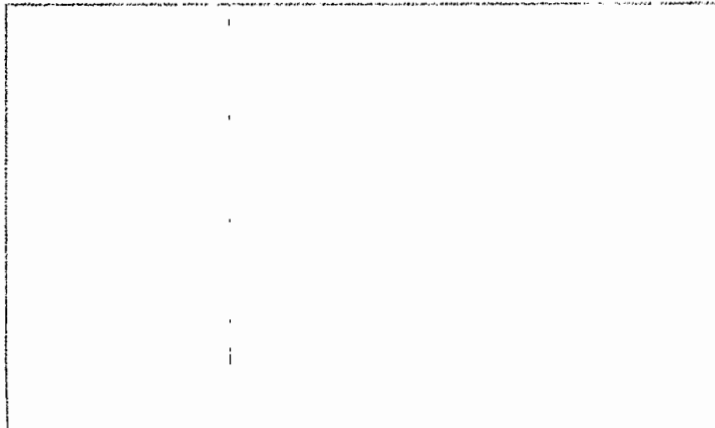
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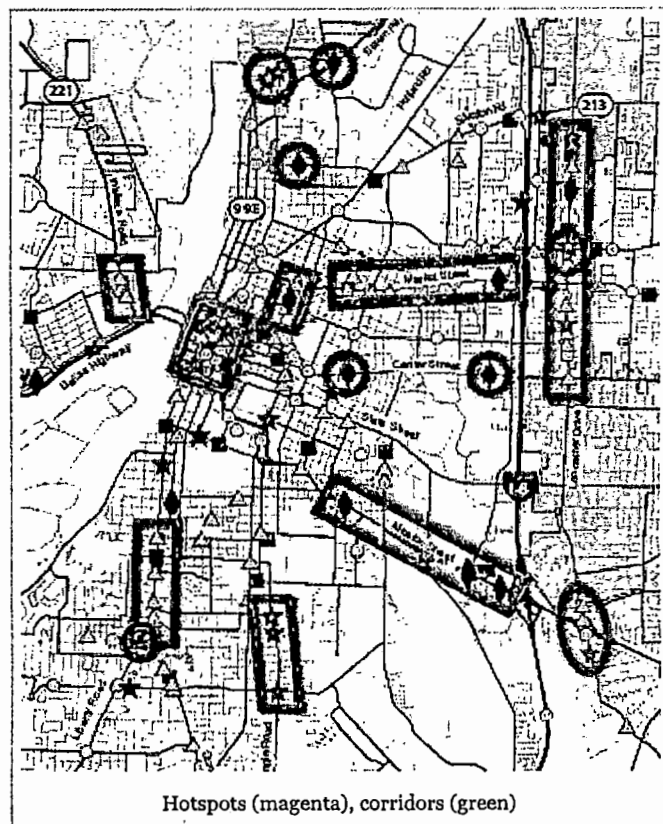
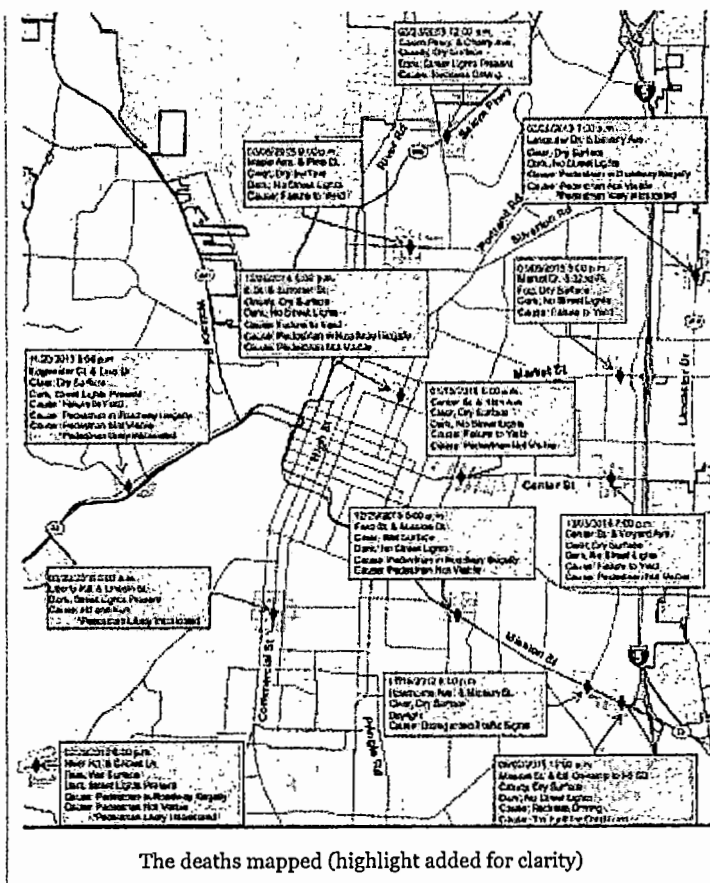
### Hotspot and Corridor Assessment

There are several maps that usefully locate crashes, but the one that specifically lists fatalities is hampered by the way it erases the identity of the dead. Without names or photos, we abstract them into statistics and rob them of essential human dignity. It is not to be ghoulish to think we should more squarely face the human cost of our roadways and autoism. Additionally, the lack of names and personhood makes it easier to blame them for "illegal" walking. This is a rhetorical move that supports autoism. (See below on Mission Street for more on this.)

Crucially, none of the deaths happens on a neighborhood "local street" or even a "collector street." One death is on a "minor arterial," and all the others on "major arterials" or greater. It's not just traffic volumes that are higher on these streets! Speeds are higher also, and speed, not count of cars, is what kills people. Count of cars might be an important ingredient in the probability of a crash - more cars, more people, more opportunities - but the lethality of the crash is largely determined by speed.







Significantly, the most general set of "citywide observations" leads with speeding and the behavior of drivers. It doesn't lead with "illegal" walking. It follows this with barriers people on foot encounter like long distances between signalized crossings. Then there is a paragraph

about "illegal" walking.

### CITYWIDE OBSERVATIONS

At several of the field study locations, increased conflicts were observed where major traffic flows and popular pedestrian travel paths intersected. In addition, vehicles were often seen speeding, driving aggressively, and failing to yield to pedestrians.

Increased levels of midblock conflicts were observed on roadways with wide cross sections (four or more lanes), long distances between signalized crossings (up to 3,000 feet) and unique



Pedestrian crossing mid-block on Lancaster Drive



Pedestrians crossing High Street NE

midblock attractions such as transit stops, convenience stores, and restaurants.

Many pedestrians were seen crossing mid-block or crossing against the pedestrian signal. This trend is supported by the crash data that indicates 65% of non-intersection pedestrian crashes involved pedestrians illegally in the roadway.

Speeding, aggression, non-yielding

There is a bit of a shift in the "corridor observations," which do not dwell on speed. The pattern I see here road design that discourages walking: inadequate lighting, conflict points, aggressive driving, few gaps in traffic, long distances between signalized crossings. There is a little about speeding, but nothing about posted speed. Mostly it's about the formidable barriers, physical and psychological, people on foot encounter.

### CORRIDOR OBSERVATIONS

- **Mission Street SE from 22<sup>nd</sup> Street to I-5 Southbound:** High vehicle volumes along entire corridor, pedestrian usage is highest west of Airport Road. High density of driveways west of 25<sup>th</sup> Street which creates more conflict points for pedestrians and vehicles. Night observation revealed that several lights along corridor were non-functioning.
- **Summer Street NE from Market Street NE to D Street NE:** Limited and obscured street and intersection lighting.
- **Market Street NE from 14th Street NE to I-5 Southbound:** High vehicle speeds, aggressive driving, and frequent pedestrian activity. Long distances between signalized crossings and few gaps in traffic resulted in limited pedestrian crossing opportunities.
- **Lancaster Drive NE from Devonshire Avenue NE to Center Street NE:** Frequent pedestrian activity, high vehicle volumes, high vehicle speeds, aggressive driving, and a wide roadway cross section. Long distances between pedestrian crossings and the lighting on west side of roadway appeared to be in poor condition.
- **Pringle Road S from Fairview Avenue SE to Madrona Avenue SE:** High vehicle speeds and limited sidewalk facilities create an uncomfortable environment for pedestrians. Several transit stops along the corridor, no midblock crossing locations. Very dark at night with intermittent lighting.
- **Wallace Road NW from Glen Creek Road NW to Taggart Drive NW:** High vehicle volume and speeds, wide roadway cross section can be a barrier to pedestrian crossings. Pedestrians observed darting across Wallace Road NW midblock.
- **Commercial Street SE from Rural Street SE to Fairview Avenue SE:** Permissive left turn phasing with long side street delays causes aggressive vehicle turning movements through crosswalks along Commercial Street. Frequent pedestrian activity and high vehicle volumes in this area. Long pedestrian crossing distances. High driveway density along corridor creates more conflict points for pedestrians and vehicles.
- **Marion Street NE from Commercial Street NE to High Street NE:** Pedestrian visibility is reduced due to on-street parking and adjacent trees along Marion Street. High vehicle speeds and turning volumes.
- **High Street NE from Union Street NE to Court Street NE:** Unique midblock attractions (mall, transit center, parking, Wednesday market) generate increased pedestrian demand.

A little about speeding, but nothing about posted speeds

### Recommendations

Overall the recommendations focus on countermeasures to channelize



or guide people on foot to the right time, manner, and place for walking. They don't talk at all about reducing speed for drivers.

#### 4.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

DKS has developed a set of recommendations that can be applied to improve pedestrian safety across the City of Salem and at specific study locations. These recommendations are based on the crash patterns and behaviors identified through the crash data analysis and field observations and include recommendations outlined in the PEDSAFE document to address the observed risk types.

##### CITYWIDE STRATEGIES

###### Limit Spacing between Protected Crossings

The Institute of Transportation Engineers' *Designing Walkable Urban Thoroughfares: A Context Sensitive Approach* suggests that pedestrians should not be expected to travel more than 400 feet out of direction to utilize a controlled intersection, with a recommended maximum spacing of 650 feet. This is of particular importance in locations where unique attractions and pedestrian generators exist and to encourage pedestrians to cross between intersections. Consider installing enhanced median crossings with median islands, Z-shaped crossings, and rectangular rapid flashing beacons (RRFB) or pedestrian hybrid beacons (PHB), where appropriate based on City guidelines.

###### Limit Conflicts between Pedestrians and Turning Vehicles

At signalized intersections, consider restricting permissive and overlap turns (left or right) when pedestrians are present at locations, where appropriate based on City guidelines. Alternatively, delayed overlap phasing and leading pedestrian intervals can provide additional protection for pedestrian crossings during these phases. Where appropriate for vehicle and pedestrian volumes, protected left-turn phasing can also be implemented to limit these types of conflicts. These types of signal timing adjustments can be permanent or can be limited to specific times of day.

###### Improve Roadway and Intersection Lighting

Many of the field survey observations indicated that lighting at intersections and along corridors did not meet standards. Consider upgrading existing lights and installing additional lights to improve visibility of pedestrians and crossing locations at night.

###### Consider Pedestrian Paths at the Planning Level

Incorporate the concept of pedestrian "desire lines" into land use, zoning, and development decisions to avoid creating environments where the surrounding land use encourages pedestrians to cross at locations where no crossing facilities are present. This includes creating guidelines for the site plan review process that aim to sign enhance crossings with pedestrian access to developments.

###### Address Concerning Driver and Pedestrian Behavior

The crash data and field observations confirmed a prevalence of illegal and aggressive behavior by both drivers and pedestrians. Consider implementing education campaigns and targeted enforcement to reduce the incidence of unsafe pedestrian crossings, aggressive driving (including speeding), and impaired travel. Additionally, the City should reconsider the lack of jaywalking laws, which may be contributing to pedestrians crossing at undesired locations.

Nothing about posted speeds or design speeds

The "site-specific" analysis and recommendations for countermeasures are generally better. There is less to quibble with here. But significantly, while they accurately highlight the problems, they don't dwell enough on the cause.

They mention "speeding," "aggressive driving," "pedestrian delays," "few gaps in traffic," "feels unsafe," etc. But the root cause here is that we have prioritized auto through-put. The cars and their speeds are the problem - not distracted, impaired, or otherwise improper walking.

#### SITE-SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS

In addition to the strategies described in the previous section that are intended for broad application, DKS has also developed site-specific recommendations to improve the safety performance of the 19 study locations included in the field observation effort. The key findings of the field observations and potential countermeasures are shown for study intersections and corridors in Table 4 and Table 5, respectively.

Table 4. Recommended Safety Countermeasures for Study Intersections

Study Location	Major Road	Minor Road	Crash Type(s)	Primary Problem(s)	Recommended Countermeasures
Salem Plaza	Cherry Ave NE		Turning vehicle, walking along roadway, non-suspect	Very long crossing distance with inefficient crossing times. Long pedestrian delays. Vehicles stop in a way to gain better sight distance	Install a "push-out" hand-operated SE and SW corners to shorten pedestrian crossing distances and provide refuge area for first-stage crossings. Ensure that left signal timings are sufficient for pedestrians.
Pine St NE	Maple Ave NE		Dark/dash	Speeding/aggressive driving and turning, low gaps in traffic for pedestrian crossings to cross or enter Pine St	Install marked crosswalks and median islands to restrict vehicle turning movements and allow for two-stage crossings. Install speed feedback signs on Pine Street to reduce vehicle speeds.
Center St NE	Tom St NE		Dark/dash, unique median	Vehicle queue extends through intersection	Consider installation of "No Left Block Intersection" signs for left traffic. Install enhanced crossing with reflectors on west side in front of convenience store.
Center St NE	Vineyard Ave NE		Through vehicle at unsignalized location, walking vehicle	Closely spaced T intersections with (existing) in the middle, turning vehicle use and crossings at chance to enter Center St	Significant crossing crossing with "Stop here for Pedestrians" sign. Improve lighting.

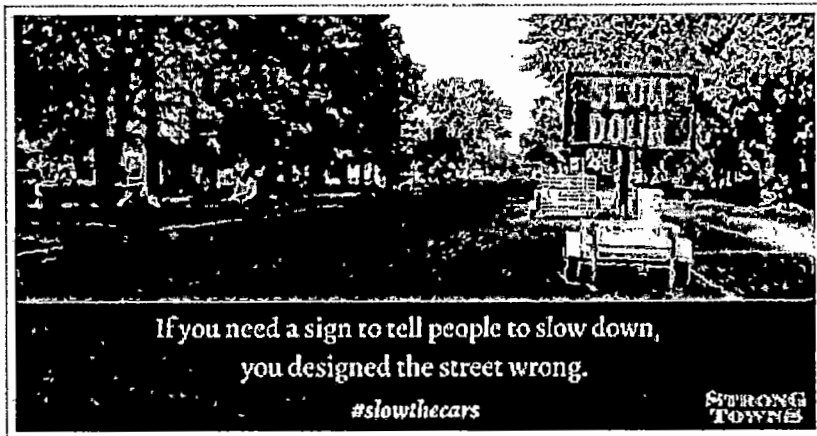
Table 4. (Continued)

Location	Intersection	Current Conditions	Observed Problems	Recommended Countermeasures
River Rd N	Deer Cr N	Overlook, unique midblock, walking along roadway, walking/jaywalking in roadway	No marked crosswalks between east side of River (Fred Meyer) and neighborhood park to the west, no crosswalks in traffic during peak periods; speeding, lane drift and hazardous curves where pedestrians cross (except during event periods)	Install two enhanced midblock crossings with median refuge islands. Suggested locations: between Deer Cr and Stark St, near Scott and of River Rd City Park.
Lancaster Dr NE	Stonyview Rd NE	Overlook, unique midblock, turning vehicle	Good conditions with RT overlap; aggressive driving (speeding) through intersection as a result of long delays, very dark at night	Consider persuasive left turn restriction and duty right turn overlap when ped call; improve lighting
Liberty St S	Triangle Cr SE	Through vehicle at unsignalized location	Speeding, no driver yielding observed; low (40% in traffic during) peak periods, intersection where slows for very fast turning movements, poor crossing sidewalk	Improve RT and left turn lanes; consider driveway to reduce vehicle-ped (and vehicle-vehicle) conflict points; install enhanced crossing near Lincoln St.
Lancaster Dr NE	Dr 22 W Ramp	Overlook	Crossing bridge feels unsafe, high turning volumes, no protected ped crossings	Install crosswalk closed signing. Consider installation of traffic signal (if when warranted)
Lancaster Dr NE	Dr 22 EB Ramp	Overlook	Crossing bridge feels unsafe, high turning volumes, lots of turns on red	Consider right turn restrictions when ped call provided or provide leading pedestrian signal
Trade St SE	Commercial St SE	Turning vehicle, midblock crosswalk	EB vehicles enter crosswalk in gain better sight distance, conflicts and pedestrian, conflicts between EB thru bikes and right turning vehicles	Consider no turn on red for EB right and leading pedestrian signal for east crosswalk; install advanced stop bar on EB approach
Liberty St SE	Terry St SE	Turning vehicle, overlook	Significant conflicts between dual RT & LT movement and pedestrian; bicyclists limit sight distance	Consider closing crosswalk on west leg; consider a pedestrian-only phase; install 4-way extension on SR corner; restrict left turn on red (either during peak periods or at all times)

The Study concludes with a call to "reconsider the lack of jaywalking laws." It puts the burden for safety on people on foot, not people in cars.

The City might instead think more about jaydriving, about posted speeds, design speeds, and even a "twenty is plenty" approach to urban speed.

Until we grapple more seriously with driving, drivers, and road design, our "solutions" will be cosmetic at best.



## Speed and the Mission Street and Commercial Street Corridors

Let's drill into a couple of the most problematic corridors. The first one is a State Highway and is posted for highway speeds.

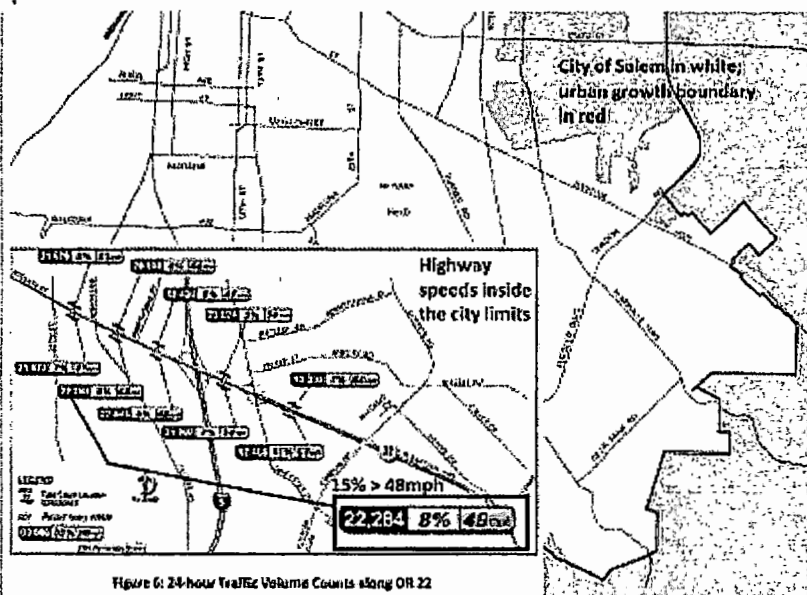


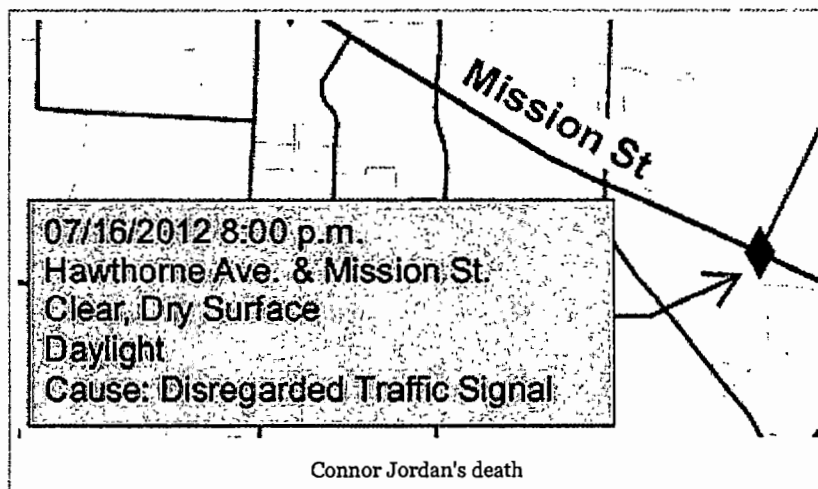
Figure 6: 24-hour Traffic Volume Counts along OR 22

85th percentile speeds on Mission Street

Drivers routinely exceed 50mph here

From the OR-22 Existing Conditions memo and City of Salem

As it happens, the consultant also conducted the OR-22/Mission Street Corridor study that just completed, and it is interesting that their comment here on Mission Street says nothing about the posted speed, which if followed lawfully still guarantees lethality in a crash. And if you look at 85% speeds - so that means 15% of drivers exceed that speed! - west of I-5 they're pretty much at 45mph or more.



One of the deaths in the study is Connor Jordan. He was lawfully crossing Mission Street in a marked crosswalk with the light, but James Sinks blew the light and killed him. Sinks was not speeding, but the 85% speed of 48mph on Mission at that intersection guarantees lethality. There is no forgiveness

in the road design for people on foot if they make an error or if a driver makes an error.

About Mission Street, the study says only:

High vehicle volumes along entire corridor, pedestrian usage is highest west of Airport Road. High density of driveways west of 25th Street which creates more conflict points for pedestrians and vehicles.

Night observation revealed that several lights along corridor were non-functioning.



Connor Jordon, 22  
via The Province

#### CORRIDOR OBSERVATIONS

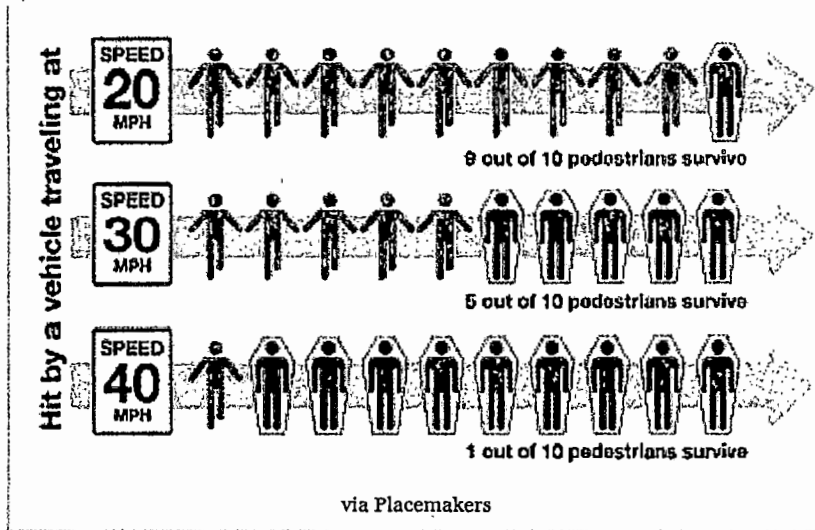
- Mission Street SE from 22<sup>nd</sup> Street to I-5 Southbound: High vehicle volumes along entire corridor, pedestrian usage is highest west of Airport Road. High density of driveways west of 25<sup>th</sup> Street which creates more conflict points for pedestrians and vehicles. Night observation revealed that several lights along corridor were non-functioning.

But this misses the nut of the problem. The painted lines of a crosswalk won't protect you from death when you are struck at 50mph.

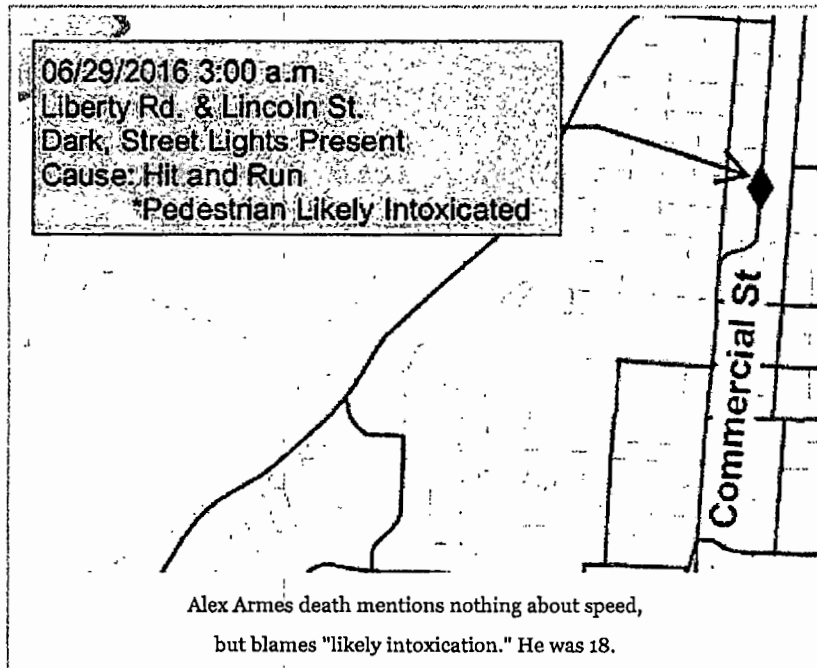


If you are struck at 50mph here on Mission St, you are dead  
(These two photos are from the ODOT project site)

The corridors where people have died mostly all have posted speeds that are too high. Remember, at 30mph, survival is basically a 50/50 coin flip. At 40mph, death is a near certainty.



The total silence in the study on posted speeds, design speed, and 85% speed is a serious defect in the study.



Another problematic corridor is Commercial Street. The consultant also studied a segment of it as part of the Commercial-Vista Corridor Study.

## Motor Vehicle: 24-Hour Volume Trends

### Commercial St SE: South of Vista Ave SE

Average Daily Traffic: 28,300

Heavy Vehicles: 6%

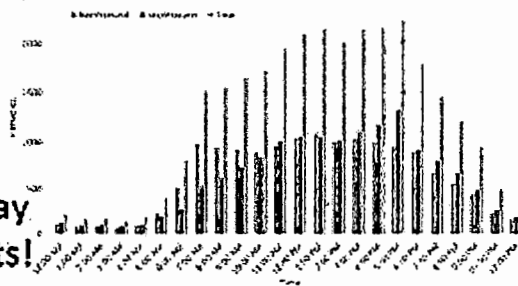
85<sup>th</sup> Percentile Speed: 41 mph

Posted Speed: 30 mph

Routinely going 10mph over the speed limit,

**4245 drivers a day should get tickets!**

If 85% are under 41mph, that means 15% are over, and 15% of 28,300 is 4245.



4245 people/day speed more than 10mph over limit here

Salem Presentation Slides, Dec2014

They also found that 85% speeds were a great problem, especially for people on foot.

- **Commercial Street SE from Rural Street SE to Fairview Avenue SE:** Permissive left turn phasing with long side street delays causes aggressive vehicle turning movements through crosswalks along Commercial Street. Frequent pedestrian activity and high vehicle volumes in this area. Long pedestrian crossing distances. High driveway density along corridor creates more conflict points for pedestrians and vehicles.

Nothing about speed here

But in the current study, although the corridor assessment included mention of "aggressive vehicle turning," it does not talk about the basic fact of posted speeds and 85% speeds. As with Mission Street, there is no forgiveness for people on foot if they make a mistake or if a driver makes a mistake.



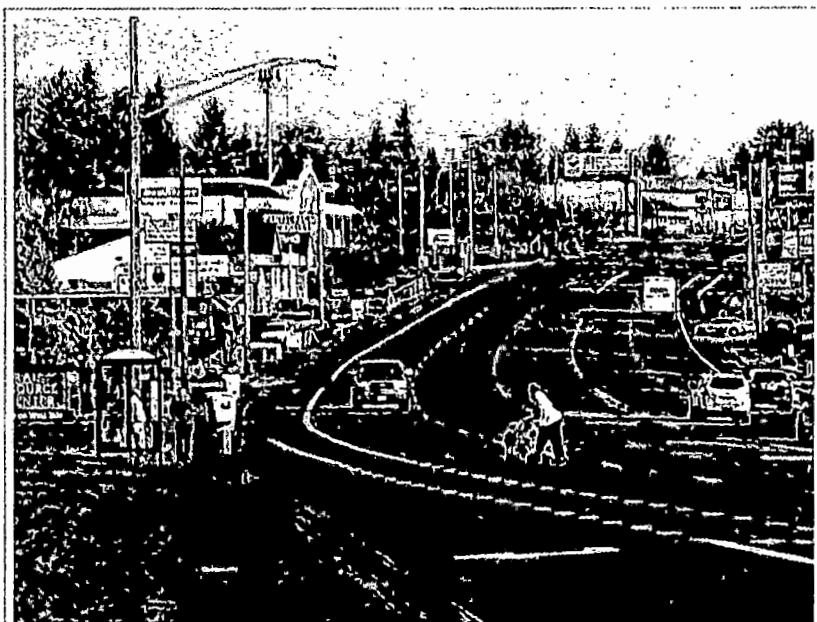
Alex Armes obituary

Even if Alex Armes was intoxicated and underage, he did not deserve to die. Since it was a hit-and-run, we do not know if the driver's lights were on or if the driver was himself intoxicated. Moreover, an elderly person or a young child crossing the road in the morning or early evening might make similar errors of judgement or perception, but they are not intoxicated and also do not deserve censure. A safe roadway system operates for the young and old as well as a person walking home from a bar or party (who might have made the right choice instead of driving).

In a foundational way, the study misses the centrality of lethal posted speeds and 85% speeds on roads where drivers have killed people walking. It also blames victims, shifts too much responsibility to people on foot, and absolves drivers, engineering, and road design too quickly.



The balance is wrong and Council should not accept this study as-is.



With jaywalking laws, this walk to the bus stop would be illegal

For more see:

- "Before Jaywalking: In 1914 Street Crossings Belonged to Pedestrians"
- "Cars Rule, Walkers Drool! Othering the Person on Foot"
- "Why so much Acceptance for Traffic Cone Theory of Walking?"
- "Jay Driving deserves Revival as Term of Opprobrium!"
- "Conflicting Narratives about Walking Jostle in Story on Memorial to Crosslands"
- "Why Pedestrian Rights themselves may not be Sufficient"
- "Before Jaywalking: Pedestrian Rights and a Dangerous Instrumentality in 1921"

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LABELS: FATALITIES

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