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These Tats Are Made for Talking: Why Tattoos and Tattooing Are Protected Speech Under the First Amendment

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THESE TATS ARE MADE FOR TALKING: WHY TATTOOS AND TATTOOING ARE PROTECTED SPEECH UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT

“The First Amendment serves not only the needs of the polity but also those of the human spirit—a spirit that demands self-expression.”
- Thurgood Marshall in Procunier v. Martinez

This Comment examines the current split among the federal circuit courts of appeal on the issue of First Amendment protection of tattoos and argues for the United States Supreme Court to grant certiorari to Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach and adopt the approach taken by the Ninth Circuit Court. Traditionally, courts have viewed a restriction on the process of creating pure speech as a restriction on the speech itself. As a result, the courts vigorously protect the process of creating the speech. Tattooing, a process inexplicably linked to the creation of tattoos, must be protected with the same fervor as the process that creates any other pure speech. Subsequently, zoning laws restricting tattoo establishments would be examined under stricter constitutional standards leading to greater freedom of expression.

I. INTRODUCTION

Tattoos, lifelong commitments to particular expressions, have become pervasive in modern society. For most, the choice to get a tattoo is not a rash decision but the result of thorough contemplation—the desire to make “permanent that which is fleeting.” Tattoos can mark rites of passage, express feelings about others, show religious devotion, or symbolize a collec-

2. See Susan Benson, Inscriptions of the Self: Reflections on Tattooing and Piercing in Contemporary Euro-America, in WRITTEN ON THE BODY: THE TATTOO IN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN HISTORY 234, 240 (Jane Caplan ed., Princeton Univ. Press 2000) (explaining that in recent years the “tattoo community” has become more organized, visible, and numerous); see also Tattoos Leave Mark on Ads, L.A. TIMES, Nov. 27, 2007, at C8 (asserting that two out of every five Americans between the ages of 26 and 40 have tattoos, reducing the edginess of tattoos and thus making them less effective marketing tools).
tion of significant moments in one’s life. Whereas tattoos were previously viewed as the “seedy province of old salts, sideshow freaks and biker[s,]” today, tattoos have firmly planted themselves within mainstream society.

In part, the widespread popularity of tattoos is attributed to both technological advances in the field and refined artistic techniques developed by tattoo artists. New machinery and ink formulations have allowed artists to create detailed tattoos with “thinner lines and more vibrant colors.” Furthermore, many tattoo artists are art school graduates who create “sophisticated, colorful graphic designs,” which sometimes take more than thirty-six hours to complete. Moreover, advancements such as autoclave sterilization and similar tattooing techniques make tattooing safer by preventing the spread of communicable diseases, such as Hepatitis B. These advances have transformed the industry from that of a dark and unwieldy subculture to a mainstream art form in which the general public desires the creation of a variety of unique images. Despite society’s general recognition of tattoos and tattooing as forms of art, most courts deny tattoos’ artistic merit, and thus refrain from awarding tattoos and tattooing the full protection afforded other art forms under the First Amendment.

The issue of First Amendment protection for tattoos and tattooing has recently taken center stage in California’s legal arena. California, like all other states within the United States, permits the establishment of tattoo parlors.

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4. Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, 621 F.3d 1051, 1061 (9th Cir. 2010); Hedges, supra note 3, at B3.
5. See Michael Kimmelman, Tattoo Moves from Fringes to Fashion. But Is It Art?, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 15, 1995, at C1 (asserting that today more middle-class teenagers and adults are getting tattoos).
6. Id.
10. See Rhodese supra note 8, at N5 (describing Jim Barron’s technicolor outdoor scenes); see also Richard Abowitz, Tattoo Trendiness Has the Strip Awash in Ink, L.A. TIMES, Oct. 11, 2009, at D10 (stating that for thirty years, tattoo artists have tried to go mainstream and that it has finally happened).
11. See State v. White, 560 S.E.2d 420, 423 (S.C. 2002) (responding to the dissent’s proposition that tattooing is equivalent to painting, writing, or sculpting, the court asserts that tattooing is “unique in that it involves invasion of human tissue and, therefore, may be subject to state regulation to which other art forms (on non-human mediums) may not be lawfully subjected”); see also Kimmelman, supra note 5, at C1 (stating that art galleries have begun to exhibit shows of tattoo designs, such as “Pierced Hearts and True Love: A Century of Drawings for Tattoos”).
parlors. However, in order to protect its citizens from communicable diseases, each state places different regulations upon the practice of tattooing. In California, tattoo artists must register with the county health department. The County of Los Angeles permits tattooing; however, the City of Hermosa Beach, a city within Los Angeles County, legislated a complete ban on tattooing within its city limits. The City of Hermosa Beach ordinance provides that, “[c]xcept as provided in this title, no . . . building or land [shall] be used for any purpose except as hereinafter specifically provided . . .” The ordinance does not name tattooing in the list of permitted uses. However, upon request, the community development director may grant a similar use permit by finding that the proposed “commercial use not listed in the zoning code . . . ’is similar to and not more objection[able] than other uses listed.”

In May 2007, Johnny Anderson, a co-owner of a tattoo shop in the City of Los Angeles, attempted to have his plans for a tattoo parlor approved for a similar use permit by the City of Hermosa Beach community development director. Anderson’s request was denied, and he was prevented from establishing a tattoo parlor in the City of Hermosa Beach. Subsequently, Anderson brought a 42 U.S.C. § 1983 action against the City. He petitioned that the zoning ordinance was facially unconstitutional under the First and Fourteenth Amendments and sought declaratory and injunctive relief.

Anderson’s relief was dependent on whether the court found that tattoos and tattooing fell under the protection of the First Amendment. The district court denied this protection because it found that tattooing was not “sufficiently imbued with the elements of communication[.]” The court

14. Id.
15. Id. at 1056
16. Id. at 1056–57.
17. Id. at 1057.
18. Id.
19. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1057.
20. Id. at 1055, 1057.
21. Id. at 1057.
22. See id. at 1057–58 (explaining the procedural history of the case and Anderson’s suit against the City of Hermosa Beach under Civil Action for Deprivation of Rights or 42 U.S.C. § 1983).
23. Id. at 1057.
24. Id. at 1055.
opined that since “the customer has ultimate control over which design she wants tattooed on her skin” the tattoo artist is not conveying the artist’s own message or idea to others.\(^\text{26}\) As a result, the district court applied a rational basis test to the zoning law and upheld the ordinance as a rational means of preventing the alleged health risks of tattooing.\(^\text{27}\) However, when Anderson appealed, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals found that tattoos and the associated process and business of tattooing are purely expressive activities that are fully protected under the First Amendment.\(^\text{28}\) Under the stricter test applied to zoning laws that infringe upon protected speech, the zoning ordinance was declared unconstitutional.\(^\text{29}\)

This Comment addresses the historic denial of First Amendment protection to tattoos and tattooing that has resulted in a complete ban of tattoo parlors in certain cities. Part II of this Comment addresses how courts have incorrectly interpreted tattoos under the First Amendment. Part III explains that tattoos and tattooing are entitled to full First Amendment protection because: (1) tattoos are pure speech; (2) pure speech is fully protected under the First Amendment; (3) the process of tattooing is inextricably intertwined with the creation of the tattoo and thus must be fully protected as well; and (4) if viewed separately from the tattoo, the process of tattooing is an expressive activity, in and of itself. Part IV of this Comment urges the Supreme Court to grant certiorari to Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach to resolve a circuit conflict and to affirm the Ninth Circuit’s decision. Finally, Part V describes how a grant of First Amendment protection to tattooing would potentially affect anti-tattooing zoning laws.

II. COURTS HAVE PERMITTED MUNICIPALITIES TO CONSTRUCTIVELY BAN TATTOO PARLORS BY HOLDING THAT THE PROCESS OF TATTOOING IS NOT PROTECTED UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT

A. Historically Courts Have Upheld Zoning Laws Forbidding or Severely Restricting the Establishment of Tattoo Parlors

Despite the widespread popularity and influence tattoos have garnered in the last few decades,\(^\text{30}\) some lawmakers still view tattooing as a “bar-
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baric” activity desired by those of “morbid or abnormal personalit[ies].” As a result, some cities have banned the establishment of tattoo parlors within their limits suggesting that the “health, safety and general welfare” of its citizens warrants protection from this grotesque activity.

Cities attempt to prevent the establishment of tattoo shops in a variety of ways. Some cities completely prohibit tattoo parlors. For example, three Coachella Valley cities in California enacted outright bans on the operation of tattoo parlors. Other places restrict the establishment of tattoo parlors only in certain areas within a municipality. Finally, some cities prohibit “tattooing of human beings except by licensed medical doctors for medical purposes. . . .” These localities justify the enactment of their respective ordinances by citing the health and safety of their citizens while also alluding to the “unsavory clientele prone to crime” that the localities perceive tattoo shops attract.

Anti-tattoo zoning laws have garnered support from courts that find complete or area-specific bans on tattooing constitutional. Courts reason that tattooing is dangerous because it involves “puncturing the skin” with a needle creating openings in the human skin through which diseases can pass. As a result, any regulation restricting a person’s ability to tattoo bears a significant relationship to the state’s police power. Unfortunately, these courts fail to consider the fact that prohibiting legal tattoo parlors

32. See id. (holding that the “right to engage in tattooing is not paramount to the public’s right to good health.”).
33. See, e.g., Jake Remaly, Chatham Weighing Tattoo Parlor Limits, DAILY REC. (New Jersey), Aug. 12, 2009 (noting that Chatham, New Jersey had a complete ban on tattooing); Gary Nelson, Mesa Council Ponders Zoning Changes Aimed at Low-End Businesses, ARIZ. REPUBLIC, Feb. 5, 2010, at 7 (noting that in Mesa, Arizona, tattoo and body piercing shops are required to have a council use permit to establish businesses).
35. See Amy Picard, Art-4-Long?, Newark Advoc. (Ohio), Apr. 24, 2008, at A1 (declaring that tattoo shops were not allowed in a neighborhood business district because the zoning laws only allowed for services that residents would need on a day-to-day basis).
38. See State v. White, 560 S.E.2d 420, 424 (S.C. 2002) (applying a rational basis test after concluding that tattooing is not constitutionally protected conduct under the First Amendment).
40. Id.
within city limits pushes tattoo parlors underground. Consequently, the risks associated with tattooing become harder to regulate since there can be no state-funded agency to monitor tattoo shops’ compliance with sterile tattooing conditions.

B. Some Courts Deny First Amendment Protection to Tattooing

Many tattoo artists have attempted to challenge anti-tattooing zoning laws by arguing that these zoning laws are a restriction on their First Amendment rights. However, courts have denied the process of tattooing First Amendment protection, thus allowing zoning laws to ban tattoo parlors. Three basic mistakes support the denial of First Amendment protection to tattooing: (1) tattoos are not pure speech, (2) tattoos and the process of tattooing are viewed as separate expressions, and (3) the process of tattooing is devoid of any expression.

1. Past Courts Have Not Found that Tattoos Are Pure Speech

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prevents the federal government from implementing laws that infringe upon a person’s right to free speech. The Fourteenth Amendment, which applies the protections listed in the Bill of Rights to state government actions, prohibits the states from creating laws that abridge the free expression of ideas. When devis-

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41. See James V. O’Connor, Tattooing: More Female Clients Enter a Formerly Male Realm, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 6, 1996, § 13 (Westchester Wkly.) at 1 (noting that Becky Shaffner got a tattoo from an illegal parlor in Manhattan since tattoo parlors are illegal in New York City).

42. See State ex rel. Crabtree v. Franklin Cnty. Bd. of Health, 673 N.E.2d 1281, 1283–84 (Ohio 1997) (supporting the state’s assertion that banning tattoo parlors would drive the establishments underground and would thus prevent government regulation of sterile equipment in legal tattoo shops).


44. See Blue Horseshoe Tattoo, V, Ltd. v. City of Norfolk, 2007 WL 6002098, at *2 (Va. Cir. Ct. 2007) (stating that in the city’s brief, the city cited numerous federal and state court cases supporting the allegation that tattooing is not constitutionally protected speech).

45. See id. (summarizing past laws on tattoos and tattooing and finding that tattoos are not protected expressions under the First Amendment and that tattooing is not sufficiently communicative in nature to be encompassed by the First Amendment).

46. See U.S. CONST. amend. I (prohibiting Congress from making a “law . . . abridging the freedom of speech”).

ing the Constitution, the Framers sought to ensure that Americans could communicate freely about their country, their government, and its laws.\textsuperscript{48} Laws regulating the free expression of ideas are subjected to strict scrutiny to prevent chilling constitutionally protected speech.\textsuperscript{39}

When deciding First Amendment cases, courts are especially careful to protect pure speech.\textsuperscript{50} Pure speech is the term used for ideas expressed verbally or through written words.\textsuperscript{51} In order to achieve the status of pure speech, the speech must be “relatively pure[,]” consisting mainly of verbal and written utterances as opposed to conduct.\textsuperscript{52} For example, picketing is not pure speech since it involves conduct that can convey a message absent the spoken or written word.\textsuperscript{53} On the other hand, a newspaper qualifies as pure speech because it consists of words and images absent any conduct.\textsuperscript{54} The Supreme Court believes the protection of pure speech is of the utmost importance because even though speech “is often provocative and challenging . . . [t]here is no room under our Constitution for a more restrictive view [because] the alternative would lead to the standardization of ideas either by legislatures, courts, or dominant political or community groups.”\textsuperscript{55}

Despite the similarities between tattoos and the words and images in newspapers, many courts refuse to acknowledge that tattoos are pure speech entitled to full protection under the First Amendment.\textsuperscript{56} In \textit{Riggs v. City of Fort Worth}, the court held that a tattoo is simply a way for a person to express personal views and beliefs.\textsuperscript{57} The court stated that protected speech must address a legitimate public concern and that the tattoo at issue—a Celtic design of the plaintiff’s heritage—was not of concern to the

\textsuperscript{48} See \textit{Erwin Chemerinsky, Constitutional Law} 1206 (3d ed. 2009) (noting that the First Amendment was intended to protect against common law sedition laws and prevent prosecution for speaking out against the government).

\textsuperscript{49} See \textit{id.} at 1248 (emphasizing the importance of avoiding vagueness in laws restricting free speech so as to avoid chilling speech).

\textsuperscript{50} See Picchione, \textit{supra} note 47, at 834 (stating that pure speech is of the highest concern).


\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{54} See \textit{City of Lakewood v. Plain Dealer Publ’g Co.}, 486 U.S. 750, 755 (1988) (holding that there is “explicit protection” for speech and the press in the text of the First Amendment).

\textsuperscript{55} Cox v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 536, 552 (1965) (quoting \textit{Terminiello v. Chicago}, 337 U.S. 1, 4–5 (1949)).

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Riggs v. City of Fort Worth}, 229 F. Supp. 2d 572, 580 (N.D. Tex. 2002) (stating that a police officer’s tattoo was not protected under the First Amendment right of free speech).

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Id.} at 580 n.11.
public.\textsuperscript{58} Likewise, in \textit{Stephenson v. Davenport Community School District}, the Eighth Circuit declared that the tattoo at issue—a small cross between the thumb and index finger—was “simply ‘a form of self-expression’” not protected by the First Amendment.\textsuperscript{59} In conclusion, some courts refuse to grant tattoos protection under the First Amendment because they view tattoos as self-expression.\textsuperscript{60} To these courts, only expression or conduct that addresses issues of public concern are protected under the First Amendment.\textsuperscript{61}

2. Courts Analyze the Process of Tattooing Separately from the Tattoo

When determining if the process of tattooing is entitled to First Amendment protection, some courts look at the product separately from the process.\textsuperscript{62} For example, in \textit{Yurkew v. Sinclair}, the court argued “that the issue of whether certain conduct comes within the protection of the First Amendment should not invariably depend on whether the final product of the conduct can by some stretch of the imagination be characterized as art or an art form.”\textsuperscript{63} Then, the court held that even if a tattoo was an art form entitled to First Amendment protection, such protection did not extend to the process of tattooing.\textsuperscript{64} The court reasoned that a tattoo was clearly more communicative than the process.\textsuperscript{65} Likewise, the court in \textit{Hold Fast Tattoo v. City of North Chicago} found that the process of tattooing is “one step removed” from the expressive tattoo and thus not entitled to First Amendment protection.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{58} Id.
\textsuperscript{59} Stephenson v. Davenport Cmty. Sch. Dist., 110 F.3d 1303, 1305, 1307 n.4 (8th Cir. 1997).
\textsuperscript{60} Id. at 1307 n.4.
\textsuperscript{61} See id. (stating that Plaintiff’s tattoo is a mere self-expression and not in the same category as wearing an armband in protest of the Vietnam War); see also Riggs, 229 F. Supp. 2d 572 at 581 n.11 (relegating the Plaintiff’s tattoo to simply his own personal views and beliefs and not speech about “legitimate public concern”).
\textsuperscript{62} See Yurkew, 495 F. Supp. at 1254 (arguing that even if a tattoo was entitled to First Amendment protection, the process of creating a tattoo is not).
\textsuperscript{63} Id.
\textsuperscript{64} Id.
\textsuperscript{65} Id.
3. Separated from the Product, the Process of Tattooing Is Viewed by the Courts as Not Expressive Enough to Be Entitled to First Amendment Protection

Courts have not limited First Amendment protection to just pure speech but have also provided protection to sufficiently communicative conduct. In *Spence v. Washington*, the United States Supreme Court held that conduct is “sufficiently imbued with elements of communication” when there is “[a]n intent to convey a particularized message,” and “the likelihood [is] great that the message would be understood by those who view[] it.” The *Spence* test was created to avoid awarding First Amendment protection to a limitless list of conduct, as doing so would make legislation almost impossible. For example, a person walking down the street is engaged in conduct, but it is not the type of conduct that needs to be protected by the First Amendment. *Texas v. Johnson* explained that only conduct performed with the intention of expressing an idea warrants protection under the First Amendment. For instance, a person burning an American flag at a political event needs protection because they are engaged in controversial conduct that is sufficiently imbued with the necessary elements of communication to be afforded First Amendment protection. Under the *Spence* test, a wide range of conduct that is not pure speech has been determined to be expressive, such as taping a black peace sign to an American flag, wearing black arm bands in opposition to the war in Vietnam, marching peaceably to express grievances against the government, protesting discrimination by engaging in sit-ins, refusing to salute the American flag, and “parad[ing] with or without banners or written messages.”

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72. *See White*, 560 S.E.2d at 423 (explaining the Court’s holding in *Johnson*, 491 U.S. at 403 n.3).
73. *See Spence*, 418 U.S. at 408–10 (holding that taping a black peace sign to an American flag was an expression of anguish about the government’s foreign and domestic policy).
Even though some courts are willing to acknowledge that the tattoo itself might be sufficiently imbued with communication, most courts are not willing to extend that protection to the actual process of creating tattoos. Even though some courts are willing to acknowledge that the tattoo itself might be sufficiently imbued with communication, most courts are not willing to extend that protection to the actual process of creating tattoos. Courts that separate the process from the product believe that tattooing is non-communicative conduct; to them, engrafting a tattoo on the skin does not suggest political or social thought to the normal observer, nor does it affect public attitudes and behavior. Other courts claim that the process of creating a tattoo is not an effort to create a particularized message, but rather, an attempt to create the expression of the person who is paying for the tattoo. These courts conclude that tattooing is not speech, symbolic speech, or conduct sufficiently communicative to warrant protection by the First Amendment.

III. LIKE OTHER ART FORMS AND THEIR PROCESSES, TATTOOS AND TATTOOMING ARE PURE SPEECH ENTITLED TO FULL PROTECTION UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT

Historically, courts that apply the Spence test have offered inconsistent holdings as to whether tattoos and the associated process and business of tattooing should be protected by the First Amendment. Some courts, like the Eighth Circuit, applied the test and found that tattoos—and thus tattooing—are not sufficiently imbued with communicative elements. Other courts applied the Spence test and found that even though the tattoo might encompass communicative elements, the process of tattooing is pure conduct without any expressive elements. Finally, other courts using the Spence test have held that tattooing is expressive conduct entitled to First Amendment protection. However, the courts need not apply the Spence test to tattoos and tattooing because tattoos are pure speech, not expressive

76. Yurkew, 495 F. Supp. at 1253.
77. Id. at 1254–55.
78. Hold Fast Tattoo, LLC, 580 F. Supp. 2d at 660.
79. See White, 560 S.E.2d at 423 (holding that tattooing is not sufficiently communicative to be protected by the First Amendment); see also O’Sullivan, 409 N.Y.S.2d at 333 (holding that tattooing is not speech or symbolic speech).
81. Stephenson v. Davenport Cmty. Sch. Dist., 110 F.3d 1303, 1307 n.4 (8th Cir. 1997).
82. See Yurkew v. Sinclair, 495 F. Supp. 1248, 1254 (D. Minn. 1980) (providing a list of reasons why tattooing is not “sufficiently communicative”).
conduct, fully protected under the First Amendment. As a result, the process that creates the pure speech is protected as well.

A. Tattoos Are Pure Speech

1. Tattoos Are an Ancient Art Form Older than the United States Itself

The history of tattoos precedes the founding of the United States. In early America, tattoos were viewed as “degraded art”, art for the lower classes, and were ridiculed for being “coarse” and “poorly executed” depictions. Mostly military men wore tattoos as a symbol of their patriotism. However, by the late 1800’s, tattoo artists began establishing their trade in various cities in the United States. Famous tattoo artists emerged, such as Gus Wagner, and advertisements noted that “[t]attooing is quite a fad and many ladies as well as gentlemen have adopted it and their persons bear everlasting symbols of the art.” The acceptance of tattoos in mainstream society led to advances in the tattoo industry, such as the invention of the first electric tattoo machine in New York City in the 1880s. As a result, tattoos became more ornate and were less painful to complete.

However, the pervasive acceptance of tattooing did not last. Conservative Americans began to view tattoos as immoral, vile, and appropriate only for the lower class. By World War I, the military began to reg-

84. See Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, 621 F.3d 1051, 1060 (9th Cir. 2010) (holding that a tattoo is pure speech).
85. See id. at 1059 (holding that the Spence test is used when a process does not produce a pure expression).
86. See Arnold Rubin, General Introduction to MARKS OF CIVILIZATION 13, 14 (Arnold Rubin ed., Regents of the Univ. of Cal. 1988) (noting that body art was practiced by people of Africa, Asia, and the Americans during the Age of Exploration); see also Picchione, supra note 47, at 832 (noting that tattoos were found on soldiers in the Continental Army).
88. Picchione, supra note 47, at 832; see also Govenar, supra note 87, at 213–14 (noting that tattoos were so pervasive in the military that by the late nineteen hundreds “[95 per cent of the 26th US infantry and 90 per cent of the sailors serving on American men-of-war were tattooed.”).
89. Govenar, supra note 87, at 214.
90. Id. at 215 (memorializing Gus Wagner, who traveled around the world studying other tattoo artists’ techniques and was known for his great work and skill).
91. Id.
92. Frederick, supra note 43 at 233; Hedges, supra note 3, at B3.
93. Frederick, supra note 43 at 233; Hedges, supra note 3, at B3.
94. See Govenar, supra note 87, at 226 (describing the attempt to regulate tattooing).
95. Picchione, supra note 47, at 832.
late the more sexually suggestive content of tattoos.96 Concurrently, the government began inspecting tattoo shops to ensure compliance with health codes.97 By the 1950s, journalists lamented that “[t]he venerable art dedicated to skin deep beauty is, unlike its indelible triumphs, fading away.”98 The post-war society emphasized conformity, and thus tattoos became a symbol of adolescent rebellion.99 Once again, tattoos were viewed as an art form of the lower class.100

In the 1960s, an outbreak of Hepatitis in New York was attributed to an unsanitary tattoo shop.101 Through the media, word spread that diseases could be transmitted through tattooing, and many states and cities reacted by banning tattooing completely.102 During the Vietnam War, tattoos moved further away from the mainstream when they became a venue for anti-war and anti-government expression in the counterculture.103 While many older tattoo artists refused to tattoo anti-military images, younger artists quickly embraced the designs of the counterculture and created “[p]eace signs, marijuana leaves, mushrooms, swastikas and motorcycle emblems . . . .”104

During the 1970s, traditionally trained fine artists began applying their skills to tattooing and created a new genre of tattoos with more sophisticated imagery and techniques.105 Contemporary artists such as Bruce Nauman, Dennis Oppenheim, and Chris Burden focused their attention on creating “body pieces” that “explored ways in which the artist could become both the subject and object” of the artwork.106 Concurrently, younger tattoo artists such as Ed Hardy, a student at the San Francisco Art Institute, began to establish uniform ethical and hygienic standards in hopes of overturning laws that restricted tattooing.107 The self-regulation of tattoo artists,

96. See Govenar, supra note 87, at 214 (suggesting that this restriction might be a result of the more suggestive images of nude women depicted in tattoos during the early twentieth century); see also Picchione, supra note 47, at 832 (describing the sexually suggestive tattoos that emerged during the early 1900s).
97. See Govenar, supra note 87, at 229 (discussing military regulations of tattoos and government inspection of tattoo shops).
98. Id. at 230.
99. Id.
100. Id. (noting that tattoos were associated with “blue-collar workers, drunks, hot rods, motorcycle clubs and street gangs”).
102. Id.
103. Picchione, supra note 47, at 833.
104. Govenar, supra note 87, at 233.
105. Meuse, No. 9877 CR 2644, at *2.
106. Govenar, supra note 87, at 233.
107. Id.
combined with the changing attitudes toward body art, created a platform in the 1970s and 1980s that established tattooing as a legitimate art form.\footnote{Id.}

By the 1980s, tattoos reached rock star status.\footnote{See generally Tattoos Leave Mark on Ads, supra note 2, at C8 (describing how tattoos have garnered popularity especially among rock stars and movie stars).} Musicians and their supermodel girlfriends openly displayed their tattoos, and consumer demand for this art form skyrocketed.\footnote{See generally id. (describing the commercial impact of tattoos on advertising).} As tattooing again became more acceptable within mainstream society, states lifted their bans against the process of tattooing.\footnote{See Frederick, supra note 43, at 236 (noting that between 1960 and 2003, statewide tattoo bans had been repealed in all states except South Carolina and Oklahoma); see also Janice Francis-Smith, OK Governor Henry Signs Tattoo Legalization into Law, J. REC. (Okla. City), May 11, 2006 (declaring that Oklahoma was the last state to repeal its ban in 2006, making tattooing legal in all fifty states).} Today, tattooing has become a leading art form, a desirable profession,\footnote{Meuse, No. 9877 CR 2644, at *3.} a profitable sector of the national economy,\footnote{See id. (stating that tattooing “is the sixth-fastest growing retail business in the United States [and] [t]he single fastest growing demographic group seeking tattoo services is . . . middle-class suburban women.”).} and the subject of museum exhibits throughout the United States.\footnote{See id. (noting that the American Museum of Natural History in New York City had a current exhibit titled, “Body Art: Marks of Identity” which was attended by many high-profile Manhattanites dressed in formal attire and tattoos).} Today, tattoo artists are known for their “large-scale, unified, custom designs,” and some have even sought copyrights for their finished pieces.\footnote{Arnold Rubin, The Tattoo Renaissance, in MARKS OF CIVILIZATION, supra note 86, at 235.} Currently, most tattoo artists are graduates of college art programs who seek the “intrinsic appeal of the medium” and desire to break free from the “limitations, distortions and irrelevance of conventional elitist modes of art production.”\footnote{Id.} Tattoos are pervasive; they are found on everyone from athletes to movie stars to public figures who shape American culture.\footnote{Meuse, No. 9877 CR 2644, at *3.}

2. Tattoos, Like All Other Visual Arts, Deserve Protection as Pure Speech

Although the Supreme Court has never heard a case concerning First Amendment protection for visual art, it has held that forms of expression—such as art, music, and entertainment—are protected under the First
In Ward v. Rock Against Racism, the Supreme Court held that the First Amendment protected the music at a concert where there was also political speech. The Court distinguished the speaker’s political remarks from the music to emphasize that the music itself received full First Amendment protection “as a form of expression and communication.”

The court reasoned that music needs First Amendment protection because it is “one of the oldest forms of human expression” that has a long history of censorship. Likewise, tattooing is one of the oldest forms of human expression subjected to censorship by governments in the past, and thus is in need of First Amendment protection.

Similarly, in Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, the Supreme Court ruled that motion pictures fall within the “ambit of protection which the First Amendment, through the Fourteenth, secures to any form of ‘speech’ or ‘the press.’” The First Amendment shelters motion pictures because they are a “significant medium for the communication of ideas.” The Court added that movies are deserving of protection because they have the power to affect public attitudes and behavior, from the “espousal of a political or social doctrine to the subtle shaping of thought which characterizes all artistic expression.”

Similarly, tattoos have the power to shape public attitudes and behavior. Tattoos are often used as “cultural icon[s]” in advertisements and promotions to attract younger consumers. For example, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company has offered a set of free tires to anyone who will tattoo the company’s logo onto his or her body. Furthermore, the website leaseyourbody.com allows advertisers to find people willing to

118. See Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 495, 502 (1952) (holding that motion pictures are protected under the First Amendment as a form of “speech”); see also Ward v. Rock Against Racism, 491 U.S. 781, 790 (1989) (holding that music is protected under the First Amendment).

119. Ward, 491 U.S. at 790.

120. Id.

121. See id. (noting that music has been censored since the time of Plato).

122. See Jane Caplan, Introduction to WRITTEN ON THE BODY: THE TATTOO IN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN HISTORY, supra note 2, at xi–xii (discussing the goal of modern literature on the history of tattooing to establish tattooing as a legitimate art form as opposed to the “dishonorable and penal reputation” it has in Western culture); see also Govenar, supra note 87, at 229 (discussing the censorship of tattoos in the military during the second half of the 20th century).


124. Id.

125. Id.

126. See Tattoos Leave Mark on Ads, supra note 2, at C8 (arguing that the pervasive use of tattoos in advertising has made them less effective marketing tools).

127. Id.

128. Id.
be paid for wearing tattoo advertisements. In a more serious context, other tattoos express pro-war or anti-war sentiments, such as the soldiers during the Vietnam War who tattooed “Sat Cong” (Kill the Communists) on themselves before entering combat, or the anti-war protestors who tattooed peace signs on their bodies to oppose the war.

Some who oppose granting blanket First Amendment protection to tattoos believe that only tattoos making political statements might warrant protection. For example, in Riggs v. City of Fort Worth, the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas stated that a plaintiff’s tattoo of a Celtic tribal design was an “artistic expression” as opposed to a “political message.” As a result, the tattoo did not receive First Amendment protection because the tattoo was a way to express a personal view and not a matter of “legitimate public concern.” However, the Supreme Court has held that First Amendment protection is granted not only to the discussion of political ideas but also to “philosophical, social, artistic, economic, literary [and] ethical matters.” Thus, the First Amendment provides broader protection than that afforded by the Texas District Court, and thus, tattoos do not need to be political statements to be protected by the First Amendment.

Furthermore, appellate courts have afforded more traditional visual arts pure speech status under the First Amendment. In White v. City of Sparks, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals concluded that an artist’s painting ought to be protected as pure speech under the First Amendment because it created thoughtful reflection and discussion and because the Supreme Court has held that “a narrow, succinctly articulable message is not a condition of constitutional protection.” Thus, tattoos, like paintings, provoke thoughtful reflection and discussion by those who view them.

129. Id.
130. Govenar, supra note 87, at 233.
132. Id. at 580 n.11.
133. Id.
135. See White v. City of Sparks, 500 F.3d 953, 955 (9th Cir. 2007) (holding that arts and entertainment are protected forms of expression, and visual art is included in that category).
136. See id. at 956 (illustrating that paintings may express a social position, condemnation of foreign policy, demonstrate an artist’s vision of movement and color, or shape public opinion) (quoting Hurley v. Irish-Am. Gay, Lesbian, & Bisexual Grp. of Bos., 515 U.S. 557, 569 (1995)).
137. See Clinton R. Sanders, Drill and Frill: Client Choice, Client Typologies, and Interactive Control in Commercial Tattooing Settings, in MARKS OF CIVILIZATION, supra note 86,
can express a political position, depict a scene in nature, or show deep understanding of movement and color. Nonetheless, courts have found that all types of paintings elicit thoughtful reflection and discussion. Likewise, tattoos can express those same reflections, and often become conversation pieces when people inquire about the significance of a person’s tattoo.

Opponents of this view argue that a tattoo is unlike a painting or sculpture because a painted canvas or sculpture can be displayed for all to see, but a tattoo cannot. However, tattoos are constantly viewed by the public. In fact, tattoos probably receive more viewership than a piece of art located in a museum. Tattoos are an “intimate art form” that people carry on their bodies, thus enabling all people, not just those who pay admittance to an art museum, to see and understand them. Furthermore, determining whether protection should be afforded based on visibility to the public would result in absurd inconsistencies. For example, under this rule, if a person had the exact same tattoo on the thumb and on the back, the visible thumb tattoo would be protected while the other would not. Similarly, a painting produced by Jackson Pollock that was hidden in his attic would not be protected, but a Pollock painting displayed in a museum would receive full First Amendment protection. Thus, the amount of visibility a piece of artwork receives cannot be determinative of its ability to be protected under the First Amendment.

Others oppose giving First Amendment protection to tattoos because tattoos do not convey particularized messages easily understood by their viewers. For example, the Eighth Circuit declared that a tattoo of a small

at 219, 223 (describing why men and women get tattoos in different locations based on others’ interpretation of the tattoo).

138. White, 500 F.3d at 956.

139. Id.

140. See Rubin, supra note 115, at 238 (showing a picture of a back tattoo called the “Warrior”).

141. See Sanders, supra note 137, at 222–23 (describing five reasons why people get tattoos and then transcribing a conversation between a tattoo artist and a customer concerning why that customer chose a specific tattoo).

142. Brief for Appellee at 3, Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, 621 F.3d 1051 (2009) (No. 08-56914) [hereinafter Brief for Hermosa].

143. See Tattoos Leave Mark on Ads, supra note 2, at C8 (noting that Angelina Jolie, Josef Stalin, and Thomas Edison all have/had viewable tattoos).

144. Sanders, supra note 137, at 223 (quoting one tattoo artist as saying “nobody ever sees [museum art]”).

145. Id.

146. See White, 500 F.3d at 956 (holding that Jackson Pollock’s paintings are protected under the First Amendment).

147. See Stephenson, 110 F.3d at 1307 n.4 (noting that Stephenson’s tattoo does not con-
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The cross located between the thumb and index finger did not convey the requisite particularized message and was instead simply “self-expression.”\textsuperscript{148} However, later, the court acknowledged that the opposing party viewed the cross as a gang symbol and “a significant portion of the world’s population” viewed it as a symbol of devotion to the Christian religion.\textsuperscript{149} The Eighth Circuit might not have found that the tattoo conveyed the same message to everyone, but it definitely did convey a message.\textsuperscript{150}

The Supreme Court has held that if First Amendment protection relied on the delivery of a particularized message, protection would never have been afforded to “unquestionably shielded [speech such as the] painting of Jackson Pollock, music of Arnold Schoenberg, or Jabberwocky verse of Lewis Carroll.”\textsuperscript{151} As with the subjective message conveyed by a cross tattoo, two different people might find different messages in Pollock’s Number 1 located at the Museum of Contemporary Art.\textsuperscript{152} People may even believe that there is no message and that the painting is just a self-expression.\textsuperscript{153} However, regardless of the meaning others read into his work, the work is fully protected by the First Amendment.\textsuperscript{154} Similarly, tattoos convey messages, and although the message a particular tattoo conveys may not be consistent or easily understood by all who view it, that is not a valid reason to deny the tattoo First Amendment protection.\textsuperscript{155}

Finally, in \emph{Bery v. City of New York}, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals protected visual art as pure speech because it is as “wide ranging in its depiction of ideas, concepts and emotions as any book, treatise, pamphlet or other writing . . . .”\textsuperscript{156} In fact, visual art has the power to convey messages to more people since these expressions can transcend language barriers and reach those who are illiterate.\textsuperscript{157} The court concluded that

\footnotesize{
\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{148} \textit{Id.} at 1307 n.4.
    \item \textsuperscript{149} \textit{Id.} at 1308.
    \item \textsuperscript{150} \textit{See id.} (noting that the meaning of Stephenson’s tattoo is contested).
    \item \textsuperscript{151} \textit{Hurley}, 515 U.S. at 569.
    \item \textsuperscript{153} \textit{See id.}
    \item \textsuperscript{154} \textit{See Hurley}, 515 U.S. at 569 (stating that the First Amendment “unquestionably” protects Jackson Pollock paintings).
    \item \textsuperscript{155} \textit{See Sanders, supra} note 137, at 222-23 (describing five reasons why people get tattoos).
    \item \textsuperscript{156} \textit{Bery v. City of New York}, 97 F.3d 689, 695 (2d Cir. 1996).
    \item \textsuperscript{157} \textit{Id.}
\end{itemize}
}
“words may form part of a work of art, and images may convey messages and stories,” but both forms of expression are protected as pure speech. Similarly, tattoos have the power to convey a wide range of ideas, concepts, and emotions. For example, a tattoo of someone’s name can symbolize a close interpersonal relationship, members of a biking group might chose to tattoo their club’s insignia on their body, or a person who has recently experienced a traumatic experience might tattoo an image conveying the emotions stemming from that experience.

B. The Product of Tattoos and the Process of Tattooing Are Inextricably Linked and Thus Protected Under the First Amendment as Pure Speech

1. Tattoos Cannot Be Created Without the Process of Tattooing

The Supreme Court does not treat the process of creating pure speech and the product of that process differently when determining whether the product and the process should be afforded First Amendment protection. This is because the Court sees the process and the product as inextricably intertwined. Therefore, any restriction on the process would be an obstacle to the production of the protected expression, thus chilling the free expression of ideas. For example, in Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co. v. Minnesota Commissioner of Revenue, the Court cautioned against unfairly burdening the ink and paper used to create a newspaper for fear that it would effectively censor the production of the newspaper. Much like a newspaper that cannot exist without the ink and paper used to create it, a tattoo cannot be created without the process of tattooing. For instance, if a rural town located 500 miles from a tattoo parlor bans the art of tattooing, but not the actual wearing of a tattoo, the town is still effectively banning tattoos, because it leaves no legal place within the town for willing citizens to produce them.

158. Id.
159. Sanders, supra note 137, at 222.
160. See id. (explaining the various reasons for getting a tattoo).
161. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1061.
162. See id. at 1062 (comparing tattooing to writing where the entire purpose of the process is to create the final product).
163. See generally Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co. v. Minn. Comm'r of Revenue, 460 U.S. 575, 585 (1983) (holding that a tax on the production of a newspaper can threaten its operation and in essence censor the press).
164. Id.
165. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1062.
166. Contra Brief for Hermosa, supra note 142, at 47 (arguing that a city that bans tattooing does not ban tattoos).
Even though opponents acknowledge that a ban on the physical act of writing would be the functional equivalent of a restriction on books or on written expression in general, they argue that if an author were no longer able to write in graphite, that author would instead pick up a pen. However, the same cannot be true of tattooing. If a tattoo artist were banned from using a needle and ink to create a tattoo, the artist would be unable to resort to another method to obtain the same result. In fact, it is the process of puncturing the skin with ink-filled needles that creates the most critical aspect of the tattoo: its permanence. Everything involved with that permanence is what makes the tattoo—the “pain, the scarification, the exhibitionism,” the “evocation of the private depths of the self upon the surfaces of the body . . . .” If tattoo artists are banned from using needles and ink, they no longer have a method for producing the tattoo, a permanent marking upon one’s skin.

2. The Only Reason to Undergo the Process of Tattooing Is to Receive a Tattoo

Unlike tattooing, processes that are viewed as not inextricably intertwined contain conduct that can be performed without creating the desired expression. Such symbolic conduct may consist of wearing a black armband or walking in a parade. These activities can be done for reasons that have no connection to any expression. For example, a person might wear an armband to prevent sweat from dripping down his or her arm. In this sense, wearing an armband is pure conduct, devoid of any expressive meaning. However, a person undergoes the process of obtaining a tattoo

167. Id. at 30.
168. See Yurkew, 495 F. Supp. at1252 (noting that tattoos require injecting dye into the person’s skin through the use of a needle).
169. Benson, supra note 2, at 251.
170. Kimmelman, supra note 5, at C1.
171. Benson, supra note 2, at 251.
172. Kimmelman, supra note 5, at C1 (stating that the uniqueness of tattoos stems from their permanence and the control over permanently marking one’s body).
174. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1061.
175. Id.
176. Contra Spence v. Washington, 418 U.S. 405, 410 (1974) (noting that sometimes the context surrounding an action gives that action a symbolic meaning; for example, wearing an armband within the context of the Vietnam War conveyed an unmistakable message about an issue of intense public concern).
in order to permanently express an idea, belief, or feeling on his or her body.\textsuperscript{177} There is never a time when a person is tattooed for any other reason.\textsuperscript{178} Even the least expressive form of permanent tattooing, cosmetic tattooing, is still a process sought to leave a permanent mark upon the skin of a customer.\textsuperscript{179} These women commission a tattoo artist to create for them what they believe is beauty in the most lasting form.\textsuperscript{180} 

Tattooing is not conduct that contains speech; rather, it is more akin to the writing process.\textsuperscript{181} The tattooing process is the only way to create the tattoo, just like the writing process is the only way to create the book.\textsuperscript{182} For both writing and tattooing, only after hours of planning, thought, and work is the final product created in the vision planned by the author and editor.\textsuperscript{183} Just as a book and its author would be protected under the First Amendment, so should the tattoo and its artist.\textsuperscript{184}

\textbf{C. The Process of Tattooing, Viewed Separately from the Tattoo, Is Expressive Activity}

Under the \textit{Spence} test, some courts professed that the process of creating a tattoo is not an effort to create a particularized message, but rather an attempt to create the expression of the person who is paying for the tattoo.\textsuperscript{185} However, the Supreme Court has held that First Amendment protection does not “require [the creator] to generate, as an original matter, each item featured in the communication” in order to receive First Amendment protection.\textsuperscript{186} If First Amendment protection was only given to work that was uninfluenced by another’s creative direction, a mural created by Diego Rivera as a result of a government grant would not be protected because the government was the communicator and not the artist.

\textsuperscript{177} See Sanders, supra note 137, at 222–23 (presenting five reasons why a person would get a tattoo).

\textsuperscript{178} See Kimmelman, supra note 5, at C1 (reporting that tattooing has to do with taking liberty over one’s own body).

\textsuperscript{179} See KP Permanent Make-Up, Inc. v. Lasting Impression I, Inc., 328 F.3d 1061, 1065 (9th Cir. 2003) (describing the types of permanent make-up customers seek).

\textsuperscript{180} See Govenar, supra note 87, at 217 (noting that since the early 1900s, women sought permanent make-up to meet the idea of beauty).

\textsuperscript{181} Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1062.

\textsuperscript{182} Id.

\textsuperscript{183} See Sanders, supra note 137, at 221 (detailing the process of tattooing as a time-consuming, planned activity).

\textsuperscript{184} See Bery, 97 F.3d at 695 (stating that visual artwork is an embodiment of the artist’s expression just like a book is the embodiment of the author’s expression).

\textsuperscript{185} Hold Fast Tattoo, LLC v. City of North Chicago, 580 F. Supp. 2d 656, 660 (N.D. Ill. 2008).

\textsuperscript{186} Hurley, 515 U.S. at 569–71.
himself. Likewise, a newspaper would not be protected speech because individual reporters and editors dictate and edit the content of news stories. Tattooing is similar to a government-sponsored mural or a news story written for the Los Angeles Times because, in creating a tattoo, both the tattoo artist and the customer contribute their artistic vision to the final product. The customer enters the tattoo parlor with an idea, but it is the artist and his artistic talent that creates the image.

Much like a person seeking a commissioned painting, people who desire tattoos seek out certain tattoo artists. For example, Ed Hardy, who would himself become a famous tattoo artist, sought out Phil Sparrow’s studio for his first tattoo, after hearing about his work through Milt Zeis. Later, Hardy flew to Japan to work with and be tattooed by Horihide, a distinguished Japanese tattoo artist. Moreover, like many other art forms, the cost of tattoos depends on the time invested to create the work and the fame of the artist.

In the past, courts have opined that since the tattoo artist has “no control over the tattoo once its [sic] engrafted on the skin of someone else[,]” it becomes the expression of the paying customer, not the artist. However, the Supreme Court has held that just because a product is produced for profit, the creator’s right to protection is not terminated. In fact, without payment for the final product, most people would not be able to create the protected expression. For example, although Picasso no longer has control over “Guernica”, the painting still remains entitled to First Amendment

187. See Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1062 (explaining that even commissioned artwork is entitled to protection).
188. Id.
189. Id. (stating that tattooing is a collaborative creative process where both the customer and the tattoo artist engage in expressive activity).
190. See generally Sanders, supra note 137, at 220 (describing the relationship that develops between that tattoo and the tattoo artist who has the “skill and . . . consequent right to control the interaction”).
191. See Abowitz, supra note 10, at D10 (referencing a tattoo artist who has a two-year waiting list for clients who pay a minimum charge of $10,000 for his work).
193. Id. at 245.
194. See Abowitz, supra note 10, at D10 (reporting that Mario Barth has a two-year waiting list of clients willing to pay $10,000 for a piece of artwork); see also O’Connor, supra note 41, at 1 (stating that a tattoo can cost between $75 and $70,000).
197. Bery, 97 F.3d at 696.
Similarly, newspapers are protected even after a customer purchases them. There would be little speech value in newspapers if they were never circulated.

Furthermore, tattoo artists, like other fine artists or news reporters, must be attuned to their customers’ needs. They must employ certain strategies to instill confidence in their customers to show that their shop has the desired level of skill and professionalism. Tattoo artists see themselves in a customer-oriented business where meeting their clients’ needs can result in a profitable business. However, they are not willing to sacrifice their personal beliefs for a paycheck. For example, Big Joe Kaplan, a tattoo artist in New York, refuses to tattoo swastikas or a person’s face. Like other artists, tattoo artists remain true to their art, creating pieces that they are proud of and that have the potential to be worth over $10,000. However, it is important to note that even though tattoo artists share many characteristics with other visual artists, First Amendment protection is not dependent on the price of the art or the values it Portrays.

IV. The United States Supreme Court Should Establish Full First Amendment Protection For Tattoos And Tattooing

The Supreme Court has never ruled on whether tattoos or the process of tattooing is protected under the First Amendment. As a result, different courts have found different levels of protection for tattoos and the asso-

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198. See Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1062 (arguing that Michelangelo’s paintings in the Sistine Chapel are no longer in his possession but are still protected).

199. See City of Lakewood v. Plain Dealer Pub’l’g Co., 486 U.S. 750, 768 (1988) (holding that the activity of circulating newspapers is protected); see also See Joseph Burstyn, Inc., 343 U.S. at 501 (holding that the fact that movies are produced, distributed and exhibited as part of a large-scale, for-profit business does not affect their First Amendment protection).

200. Plain Dealer Pub’l’g Co., 486 U.S. at 768 (citing Ex parte Jackson, 96 U.S. 727, 733 (1878) and Lovell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, 452 (1938))

201. See Sanders, supra note 137, at 221 (describing how to interact with an incoming customer).

202. See id. (describing how to interact with an incoming customer).

203. See id. at 222 (describing how tattoo artists see themselves).

204. O’Connor, supra note 41, at 1.

205. See id. (explaining how tattoo artists can choose to refrain from tattooing certain tattoos).

206. See Abowitz, supra note 10, at D10 (stating that there is a two-year waiting list to be tattooed by Barth at a minimum charge of $10,000).

207. See Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1062 (arguing that the First Amendment protects a commissioned painting completed by Michelangelo which was completed for money and conveyed the commissioner’s values).

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209. See supra, Part III.
210. SUP. CT. R. 10a.
211. Compare Stephenson v. Davenport Cmty. Sch. Dist., 110 F.3d 1303, 1307 n.4 (8th Cir. 1997) (using the Spence test to determine if Stephenson’s conduct is protected by the First Amendment), with Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, 621 F.3d 1051, 1059 (9th Cir. 2010) (holding that tattooing is a purely expressive activity and entitled to full First Amendment protection without applying the Spence test).
212. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1059.
213. Id. at 1061.
214. Id. at 1062.
215. See id. (stating that the purpose of tattooing is to produce the tattoos, which cannot be created without the tattooing process).
216. Stephenson, 110 F.3d at 1307 n.4.
217. Id.
why it applied a test that has only been used to determine whether expressive conduct is entitled to First Amendment protection, rather than applying the test for pure speech. The Spence test is the appropriate test to apply when there is an issue as to whether conduct, like burning a flag or marching in a parade, is sufficiently imbued with communicative elements. However, the test does not apply to situations when speech exists without associated conduct.

The unexplained footnote was then used in subsequent tattooing cases to explain why the process of tattooing was not sufficient to pass the Spence test for expressive conduct. For example, in Blue Horseshoe Tattoo, V, Ltd. v. City of Norfolk, the court not only denied First Amendment protection to a tattoo itself, but also to the process of tattooing. However, courts have not yet explained why the Spence test applies to tattoos or the process of the tattooing.

B. Although Tattooing Previously Conjured Many Negative Associations, These Concerns Are No Longer Realistic

Tattoos and tattooing have received different treatment than other forms of visual art. The Court has never been questioned that “the processes of writing words down on paper, painting a picture, and playing an instrument are purely expressive activities entitled to full First Amendment protection.” However, in cases involving tattoos and First Amendment rights, most courts have consistently applied the Spence test. This decision might stem from the courts view of tattoos and tattooing as attracting criminal elements, spreading diseases and being created upon an objectionable medium. However, First Amendment protection is meant to protect

218. Id.
219. See State v. White, 560 S.E.2d 420, 423 (S.C. 2002) (noting that the First Amendment protects conduct if it is sufficiently imbued with communicative elements according to the Spence test).
220. See id. (noting that the Spence test is applied to conduct when that conduct is at issue).
222. Id. at *2 (discussing Riggs v. City of Fort Worth, 229 F. Supp. 2d 572 (N.D. Tex. 2002) and Stephenson, 110 F.3d 1303).
223. Id.
224. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1061 (noting that the courts typically do not draw “a distinction between the process of creating . . . pure speech . . . and the product of these processes.”).
225. Id. at 1062.
226. See Blue Horseshoe Tattoo, V, 2007 WL 6002098, at *1; see also Hold Fast Tattoo, 580 F. Supp. 2d at 659.
expressions subject to “‘prejudices and preconceptions [that] . . . have profound unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance . . . .'”228 Without the protection of the First Amendment, the tattoo would be eliminated by “legislatures, courts, or dominant political or community groups” under the guise of the government’s police power.229 Furthermore, the concerns of crime and health are no longer applicable in light of the changes in tattooing that have evolved in recent years.230

Tattoos, like a Rembrandt or Picasso, consist of words, images, symbols, or any combination of these to express various messages.231 The only difference between a painting and a tattoo is that the tattoo is created on a human’s skin instead of on a canvas.232 However, a form of speech cannot lose its First Amendment protection solely because of the surface upon which it exists.233 It is irrelevant whether a drawing “is engrafted onto a person’s skin” or impresses ink upon a canvas; the drawing is still protected.234 The First Amendment equally protects Henri Matisse’s “The First Dance” created with oil paints and canvas, his “The Snail” created with gouache on paper, and his “The Back Series” etched out of bronze.235 However, according to the Eighth Circuit and other district courts, if Matisse had created any of these works of art by tattooing the human skin, they would completely lose all protection solely because of his choice of medium.236

229. Id.
230. See Honoré & Atagi, supra note 12, at A1 (describing the court’s opinion in Anderson v. City of Hermosa that complete bans on tattoo parlors in municipalities are an “unconstitutional overreaction to health concerns that can be addressed through regulations to ensure sanitation”); see also Body Art: Tattoos and Piercings, CENTER FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION, http://www.cdc.gov/Features/BodyArt/ (last visited Jan. 3, 2011) [hereinafter Body Art] (listing safety procedures for tattoo shops).
231. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1061.
232. Id.
233. Id.
234. Id.
235. See Piarowski v. Ill. Cnty. Coll. Dist., 759 F.2d 625, 628–32 (7th Cir. 1985) (declaring that art for art’s sake is protected under the First Amendment).
236. See Golden, 337 So. 2d at 391 (stating that the method used for tattooing is sufficient to deny tattooing First Amendment protection).
Furthermore, courts state that they can draw the line between art upon canvas and art tattooed on the human skin because of the associated health hazards. They believe that “injecting dye” into human skin is so repulsive that it must “be subject to state regulation to which other art forms (or non-human mediums) may not be lawfully subjected.” The process is not subjected to a different constitutional standard because it is less communicative, but because of the associated health hazards of invading human tissue. However, even if these health hazards had once been sufficient to outweigh the full First Amendment protection of the tattoos’ expression, they are no longer categorically so.

Tattoo parlors have become a profitable business and thus benefit from ensuring customer safety. Like all other businesses, tattoo parlors are dependent on attracting customers and in order to do so, they must convey to their customers that their methods are safe. For this reason, tattoo artists will self-regulate by using sterile conditions in order to attract and maintain customers. Furthermore, as early as 1963, courts have held that tattooing can be carried out in a safe and sanitary manner. Moreover, medical experts believe that safe tattooing procedures can be conducted by artists who are required to pass examinations that demonstrate an understanding of the principles of bacteriology, sterilization, and asepsis. Finally, sterilized machines and sanitary surroundings can ensure that tattooing is conducted in a safe manner. However, despite acknowledging that tattooing can be performed in a safe and sanitary manner, courts still deny the same protection afforded to other artwork based upon the use of a process that requires “injecting dye into a person’s skin through the use of needles.” Tattooing cannot be both safe and unsafe. Furthermore, even if tattooing does involve some health risks, there are hazards in other First Amendment activities which allow governments to regulate but not ban the

237. Id.
238. White, 560 S.E.2d at 423.
239. Id.
240. See Body Art, supra note 230 (listing safety procedures for tattoo shops).
241. See Abowitz, supra note 10, at D10 (relaying that “‘tattoo shops make a lot of money’” and have “‘incredible profit margins’”).
242. See id. (stating that the owner of a tattoo parlor has created an atmosphere in his shop that allows people to know it is safe).
243. See Govenar, supra note 87, at 233 (noting Ed Hardy’s desire to establish health guidelines for tattoo shops).
245. Id.
247. Id. at 1254.
activity.\textsuperscript{249} For example, paint fumes can be noxious and theatrical performances often involve flammable lighting and other electrical equipment; however, these activities cannot be completely suppressed.\textsuperscript{250}

Crime also seems to be a motivation for denying First Amendment protection to tattooing.\textsuperscript{251} Tattoos have a troubled history; they have been associated with criminal activity and delinquent behavior.\textsuperscript{252} However, these accounts no longer accurately describe the demographics of tattoo seekers.\textsuperscript{253} Instead of “servicemen, ex-convicts and members of motorcycle gangs[,]” a growing number of customers at tattoo shops are “teachers, nurses [sic] and grandmothers.”\textsuperscript{254} In fact, tattoos are becoming luxury items sought by the country’s elite.\textsuperscript{255} The changing cultural status of tattoos from “that of an anti-social activity in the 1960s to that of a trendy fashion statement” calls for a re-evaluation of tattooing because the majority of decisions regarding tattoos relied on decisions made in an “era when tattooing was regarded as something of an anti-social sentiment.”\textsuperscript{256}

V. FULL FIRST AMENDMENT PROTECTION FOR TATTOOS AND THE PROCESS OF TATTOOING WILL PROHIBIT MUNICIPALITIES FROM EFFECTIVELY BANNING TATTOO PARLORS

If the Supreme Court affirms the Ninth Circuit’s decision, the product, process, and business of tattooing will be entitled to full First Amendment protection.\textsuperscript{257} Whether a business is protected under the First

\textsuperscript{249} See Ward v. Rock Against Racism, 491 U.S. 781, 791 (1989) (holding that governments can impose reasonable restrictions on activities fully protected under the First Amendment).

\textsuperscript{250} See Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 495, 502–04 (1952) (noting that First Amendment protection is not absolute but that there cannot not be a prior restraint on protected expression unless there exists extraordinary circumstances).

\textsuperscript{251} See Kennedy v. Hughes, 596 F. Supp. 1487, 1494 (D. Del. 1984) (quoting the mayor’s statement that “tattooing was inconsistent with the ‘nice family type town’ image of Rehoboth Beach”).

\textsuperscript{252} See Clare Anderson, Godna: Inscribing Indian Convicts in the Nineteenth Century, in WRITTEN ON THE BODY: THE TATTOO IN EUROPÉAN AND AMERICAN HISTORY, supra note 2, at 102, 106 (tracing the history of the tattoo to ancient cultures that used the tattoo for punitive purposes, to mark delinquent slaves and criminals).

\textsuperscript{253} See O’Connor, supra note 41, at 1 (noting the changing demographics of tattoo customers).

\textsuperscript{254} Id.

\textsuperscript{255} See Abowitz, supra note 10, at D10 (describing Mario Barth’s shop at Mandalay Bay in Las Vegas).

\textsuperscript{256} White, 560 S.E.2d at 425 (Waller, J., dissenting).

\textsuperscript{257} Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, 621 F.3d 1051, 1055 (9th Cir. 2010).
Amendment substantially affects municipal zoning laws since zoning ordinances must conform to the Constitution.\textsuperscript{258} Like other content-based laws that restrict protected expression,\textsuperscript{259} a zoning law that infringes upon free expression is examined under a strict scrutiny, and not a rational basis, test.\textsuperscript{260} On the other hand, laws that are content-neutral are valid regulations of speech only if they are a reasonable “time, place, or manner” restriction.\textsuperscript{261} Currently, courts that deny First Amendment protection to tattoo parlors apply a rational basis test, where any legitimate purpose for the challenged laws render the restriction constitutional.\textsuperscript{262}

\textit{A. If Not Protected, Tattooing Bans Will Remain Constitutional}

Under the rational basis test, courts have found zoning regulations that entirely forbid the act of tattooing within a city or regulations that only permit tattooing by or under the direction of a licensed doctor or dentist to be constitutional.\textsuperscript{263} Even ordinances that further limit the process of tattooing by requiring that tattoos only be performed by doctors for cosmetic or reconstructive purposes are upheld.\textsuperscript{264} Under the rational basis test, these ordinances have been upheld as a legitimate use of the states’ police powers to protect the health, safety, and welfare of would-be tattoo customers.\textsuperscript{265}

The rational basis test is a very deferential test, where a law is presumed valid unless the ordinance is clearly arbitrary and unreasonable.\textsuperscript{266} Courts have found that legislatures intended to protect customers from the “very real risk of infection or transmission of communicable diseases,” especially serum hepatitis, by passing laws that severely restrict tattooing.\textsuperscript{267}


\textsuperscript{259} See Turner Broad. Sys., Inc. v. FCC, 512 U.S. 622, 641–42 (1994) (defining content-based laws as those that “stifle” speech based on its message or a requirement that a particular message be uttered and thus requiring a rigorous scrutiny).

\textsuperscript{260} See United States v. Playboy Entm’t Grp., Inc., 529 U.S. 803, 813 (2000) (holding that content-based regulations must withstand strict scrutiny) (citing Sable Commc’n of Cal., Inc. v. FCC, 492 U.S. 115, 126 (1989); see also CHEMERINSKY, supra note 48, at 1214 (acknowledging that the distinction between neutral and content-based restrictions affects the outcome of a decision).


\textsuperscript{264} White, 560 S.E.2d at 421.

\textsuperscript{265} Id. at 424.

\textsuperscript{266} Hold Fast Tattoo, LLC v. City of North Chicago, 580 F. Supp. 2d 656, 662 (N.D. Ill. 2008) (citing Clark v. County of Winnebago, 817 F.2d 407, 408 (7th Cir. 1987)).

Although courts have found this purpose to be legitimate,\textsuperscript{268} this restriction on tattooing does not appear to be logical. In fact, courts have upheld bans on tattoo parlors for the safety of the public even when they found that a tattoo shop employed “extensive sterilization procedures” and would not create a risk of infection.\textsuperscript{269}

Furthermore, courts such as the Supreme Court of New York have conceded that legislatures have failed to offer a reasonable purpose for complete bans on tattooing, stating that banning tattooing “bear[s] no reasonable relation to the protection of the public health against the contagion of serum hepatitis.”\textsuperscript{270} Unfortunately, the denial of First Amendment protection to tattoos sacrifices the tattoo artists’ “right to engage in tattooing” in order to allegedly protect “the public’s right to good health.”\textsuperscript{271}

B. If Full Protection Is Awarded to Tattoos and Tattooing, Most Zoning Laws Banning Tattoo Parlors Will Be Declared Unconstitutional

1. Content-Based Anti-Tattoo Parlor Laws Must Withstand Strict Scrutiny

Although zoning laws banning tattoo parlors appear neutral on their face, those that ban tattooing by anyone other than a doctor or dentist can be effectively categorized as content-based restrictions on free speech.\textsuperscript{272} Doctors and dentists are not artists and thus cannot create the works of art for which people seek tattoo artists.\textsuperscript{273} Instead, the only tattoos permitted would be those for cosmetic or reconstructive surgery.\textsuperscript{274} For example, a dermatologist would be able create permanent markings of lipstick, eyeliner, and eyebrows for his patients.\textsuperscript{275} However, this would result in a complete ban of all tattoos done for artistic or communicative purposes.\textsuperscript{276} These ordinances would not allow a tattoo artist, even one who completed the rigorous coursework to become a doctor, to be able to practice his expressive art.\textsuperscript{277} He would only be allowed to tattoo for cosmetic or recon-
Thus, these statutes ban tattoos that express messages and ideas that were typically associated with an underclass, but not tattoos that people obtain in order to compete within a society that values a certain idea of beauty.\textsuperscript{279}

Laws which are content-based would “require[] the government to prove that the restriction ‘furthers a compelling interest and is narrowly tailored to achieve that interest.’”\textsuperscript{280} Although a court would likely find the protection of the general public from communicable diseases a compelling interest,\textsuperscript{281} the same court would likely hold that the means to achieve that interest are not narrowly tailored. Tattoo artists can be trained to use safety precautions and prevent the transmission of diseases.\textsuperscript{282} The narrowest means to achieve the compelling interest would be to either require tattoo artists to attend medical training where they could learn how to prevent the transmission of communicable diseases or to require government monitoring of tattoo parlors’ health and safety techniques.\textsuperscript{283} In conclusion, ordinances permitting only medical practitioners to tattoo would be declared unconstitutional as a “complete ban on the right of free speech.”\textsuperscript{284}

2. Content-Neutral Zoning Laws Banning Tattoo Parlors Must Meet the Time, Place, and Manner Test for Regulations of Protected First Amendment Speech

Laws that completely ban tattooing are content-neutral since they seek to eliminate all types of tattooing within their municipalities.\textsuperscript{285} Laws that restrict a means of expression, not the content, are constitutional only if they are reasonable “time, place, [and] manner” restrictions.\textsuperscript{286} A reasonable time, place, and manner restriction is one that is “justified without reference to the content of the regulated speech, [narrowly tailored to

\textsuperscript{278} Id.

\textsuperscript{279} See Turner Broad. Sys., Inc., 512 U.S. at 641 (holding that content-based laws are those that the government passes because it agrees or disagrees with the message being communicated); see also Piccalo, supra note 275, at E1.


\textsuperscript{281} Brady, 492 N.E.2d at 39.

\textsuperscript{282} See Golden, 337 So. 2d at 391 (Sundberg, J., dissenting) (observing that there is “no reasonable relation between health hazards associated with tattooing and the limitation of its performance to those licensed to practice medicine . . . .”).

\textsuperscript{283} Kennedy, 596 F. Supp. at 1495.

\textsuperscript{284} White, 560 S.E.2d at 426 (Waller, J., dissenting).

\textsuperscript{285} See Turner Broad. Sys., Inc., 512 U.S. at 643 (stating that “laws that confer benefits or impose burdens on speech without reference to the ideas or views expressed are in most instances content neutral”).

\textsuperscript{286} Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1064.
serve a significant governmental interest, and leaves open ample alternative channels for communication of the information.\footnote{287}

Total bans on tattooing would survive the first element of this test because the bans restrict all tattooing regardless of the content; however, the second element might not be met. On one hand, states could argue that complete bans are narrowly tailored to serve a significant government interest. The state could argue that the injection of ink-filled needles into a person’s skin for any reason brings about too great a risk to the public that it must be completely eradicated from a city, regardless of the operator of the needle.\footnote{288} On the other hand, these ordinances might not be narrowly tailored since they are broader than necessary to achieve the government interest.\footnote{289} Studies show that complete bans on tattoo parlors push tattooing underground where the tattoo artist is not held to any state-mandated health or safety standards.\footnote{290} A total ban on tattooing would result in a law that prohibits not just “unsanitary and unsterile tattooing,” but all types of tattoo shops no matter how safe and sterile those establishments may be.\footnote{291} Surely, there are better methods to control the public health hazards involved in tattooing other than a complete ban.\footnote{292} For example, regulations requiring tattooing to be performed in a sanitary manner would accomplish the states’ purpose without eliminating the practice altogether.\footnote{293}

Finally, these restrictions would not leave open an alternative form of similar communication.\footnote{294} As discussed above, the tattoo is a unique expression because it is an “intimate art form” that can be carried on a person’s body for life.\footnote{295} In fact, part of the appeal of expressing oneself through a tattoo instead of a painting or sculpture is that paintings and sculptures are commodities that can be bought and sold, whereas tattoos permanently belong to their owner and can never be removed by a bank re-claiming debt or a government foreclosure.\footnote{296} Since there is no other way

\footnote{287. Id. (citing Clark v. Cmty. for Creative Non-Violence, 468 U.S. 288, 293 (1984)).}{\footnote{288. See Golden, 337 So. 2d at 391 (Sundberg, J., dissenting) (contemplating that an absolute prohibition on tattooing might be what the public health hazards require).}{\footnote{289. See Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1065 (noting Anderson’s argument that the city’s regulation on tattooing is substantially broader than it needs to be).}{\footnote{290. See O’Connor, supra note 41, at 1 (reporting that certain customers go to illegal parlors in Manhattan).}{\footnote{291. Grossman, 242 N.Y.S.2d at 916.}{\footnote{292. Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1065.}{\footnote{293. Id.}{\footnote{294. Id. at 1065–66.}{\footnote{295. Sanders, supra note 137, at 223.}{\footnote{296. See Benson, supra note 2, at 251 (commenting on the permanence of tattoos until}
to permanently mark oneself, these laws would not stand the reasonable
time, place, and manner restriction.

However, ordinances that allowed tattoo shops in business districts
but not in residential districts would most likely be upheld as constitutional
because they would satisfy the time, place, and manner analysis. Like
total bans, partial bans would apply to all tattoos regardless of the content.
They would also be narrowly tailored to serve a significant government inter-
rest. For example, the government interest might be to prevent high traff-
{ b}ic flow in a residential area. Thus, preventing the establishment of tat-
too shops on smaller residential streets would satisfy that government goal.
Furthermore, unlike total bans, partial bans would leave open alternative
channels for communication because tattooing would be allowed in busi-
ness and retail areas.

Furthermore, ordinances like the one in Anderson v. City of Hermosa
Beach would also be declared unconstitutional. These ordinances would
constitute a prior restraint on protected speech and would be subject to
even stricter constitutional review than the time, place, and manner anal-
ysis. The prior restraint analysis holds that “licensing or permitting
scheme[s] which place[ ] unbridled discretion in the hands of government
official[s] or agenc[ies] . . . [or] that are impermissibly vague and that fail
to provide ‘narrow, definite and objective’ standards” are facially unconst-
stitutional. Under this analysis, a zoning ordinance that required that a
conditional use permit for a tattoo parlor be granted only if the specific site
was “an appropriate location for such [a] use” and . . . [the use] will ‘not
adversely affect the neighborhood[]’” would be considered too subjec-
tive. It would leave the decision to grant or deny the permit to the city
officials. Furthermore, ordinances that give city officials the discretion
to determine if a tattoo shop in an area will be in the “best interests of the
community” or for the “public welfare, peace, safety, health, decency, good
order, morals, or conscience” are also constitutionally vague and thus not

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297. See Anderson, 621 F.3d at 1064 (explaining that only laws that are reasonable time,
place, and manner restrictions are constitutional).
298. See Lorillard Tobacco Co. v. Reilly, 533 U.S. 525 (2001) (recognizing that state in-
terests in traffic safety may justify zoning regulations).
51 (1969)).
302. Id.
permitted under the prior restraint analysis.  

VI. CONCLUSION

First Amendment jurisprudence is an ever-expanding category. Courts have granted First Amendment protection to the most unlikely types of speech, such as soundless and wordless parade marching. This is because our nation is committed to protecting speech regardless of the message conveyed. However, up until the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeal’s decision in Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, courts, for the most part, have failed to protect an ancient form of speech: tattoos and tattooing. As a result, legislative zoning ordinances that restrict tattooing only to doctors or complete legislative bans have been held constitutional by district and appellate courts.

However, these courts have erred in their application of First Amendment principles to the issue of tattoos and tattooing. “The Constitution looks beyond written or spoken words as mediums of expression.” In fact, the Constitution protects, as pure speech, all forms of artistic expression. Tattoos are an art form and are thereby entitled to full First Amendment protection. Furthermore, tattoos and tattooing are inexplicably linked, such that any restriction of the process will effectively chill the protected expression. With full protection for tattoos and tattooing, legislatures will no longer be able to eliminate this valuable mode of communication from their municipalities. Once tattoos and tattooing are fully

303. Id. at *19–20.
305. Id. at 581.
306. See Rubin, supra note 86, at 14 (noting that people of Africa, Asia and the Americans practiced body art during the Age of Exploration); see also Picchione, supra note 47, at 832 (noting that tattoos were found on soldiers in the Continental Army).
307. See State v. White, 560 S.E.2d 420, 426 (S.C. 2002) (upholding a statute that limited tattooing to only licensed physicians and only for cosmetic or reconstructive purposes); see also Piperato v. Zuech, 395 So. 2d 1231 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1981) (upholding a statute that allowed tattooing only when performed under the supervision of a doctor or a dentist).
308. Hurley, 515 U.S. at 569.
309. See Piarowski v. Ill. Cmty. Coll. Dist., 759 F.2d 625, 628–32 (7th Cir. 1985) (declaring that art for art’s sake is protected under the First Amendment).
310. Anderson v. City of Hermosa Beach, 621 F.3d 1051, 1055 (9th Cir. 2010).
311. See Spence v. Washington, 418 U.S. 405, 408–10 (1974) (separating conduct from speech when the expression at issue was mainly conduct); see also Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co. v. Minn. Comm’r of Revenue, 460 U.S. 575, 585 (1983) (holding that a restriction on the process is a restriction on the product when the product is pure speech).
protected, laws restricting or banning tattoo parlors will be examined with stricter scrutiny.\textsuperscript{312} As a result, state legislatures will not be able to chill this tool of permanent self-expression.\textsuperscript{313}

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\textsuperscript{312} CHEMERINSKY, \textit{supra} note 48, at 1214.
\textsuperscript{313} Kimmelman, \textit{supra} note 5, at C1.

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