

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 90-1056

CHARLES W. BURSON, ATTORNEY GENERAL AND
REPORTER FOR TENNESSEE, PETITIONER v.
MARY REBECCA FREEMAN

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE SUPREME COURT OF
TENNESSEE, MIDDLE DIVISION
[May 26, 1992]

JUSTICE SCALIA, concurring in the judgment.

If the category of “traditional public forum” is to be a tool of analysis rather than a conclusory label, it must remain faithful to its name and derive its content from *tradition*. Because restrictions on speech around polling places on election day are as venerable a part of the American tradition as the secret ballot, Tenn. Code Ann. §2-7-111 (Supp. 1991) does not restrict speech in a traditional public forum, and the “exacting scrutiny” that the Court purports to apply, *ante*, at 6, is inappropriate. Instead, I believe that §2-7-111, though content-based, is constitutional because it is a reasonable, viewpoint-neutral regulation of a nonpublic forum. I therefore concur in the judgment of the Court.

As the Court correctly notes, the 100-foot zone established by §2-7-111 sometimes encompasses streets and sidewalks adjacent to the polling places. *Ante*, at 5, n. 2. The Court's determination that §2-7-111 is subject to strict scrutiny is premised on its view that these areas are “quintessential public forums,” having “*by long tradition . . . been devoted to assembly and debate.*” *Ante*, at 5 (emphasis added). Insofar as areas adjacent to functioning polling places are concerned, that is simply not so. Statutes such as §2-7-111 have an impressively long history of general use. Ever since the widespread adoption of the secret ballot in the late 19th century, viewpoint-neutral restrictions on election-day speech within a specified distance of the polling place—or on

physical presence there—have been commonplace, indeed prevalent. By 1900, at least 34 of the 45 States (including Tennessee) had enacted such restrictions.¹ It is noteworthy that most of the statutes banning election-day speech near the polling place specified the same distance set forth in §2-7-111 (100 feet),² and it is clear that the restricted zones often encompassed streets and sidewalks.

¹Act of Mar. 3, 1875, No. 18, §95, 1874-1875 Ala. Acts 76, 99; Act of Mar. 4, 1891, No. 30, §39, 1891 Ark. Acts 32, 48; Act of Mar. 20, 1891, ch. 130, §32.1215, 1891 Cal. Stats. 165, 178; Act of Mar. 26, 1891, §37, 1891 Colo. Sess. Laws 143, 164; Act of June 22, 1889, ch. 247, §13, 1889 Conn. Pub. Acts 155, 158; Act of May 15, 1891, ch. 37, §33, 1891 Del. Laws 85, 100; Act of May 25, 1895, ch. 4328, §39, 1895 Fla. Laws 56, 76; Act of Feb. 25, 1891, §4, 1891 Idaho Sess. Laws 50, 51; Act of June 22, 1891, §28, 1891 Ill. Laws 107, 119; Act of Mar. 6, 1889, ch. 87, §55, 1889 Ind. Acts 157, 182; Act of Apr. 12, 1886, ch. 161, §13, 1886 Iowa Acts 187, 192; Act of Mar. 11, 1893, ch. 78, §26, 1893 Kan. Sess. Laws 106, 120; Act of June 30, 1892, ch. 65, §25, 1891-1892 Ky. Acts 106, 121; Act of Apr. 2, 1896, ch. 202, §103, 1896 Md. Laws 327, 384; Act of Apr. 12, 1895, ch. 275, 1895 Mass. Acts 276; Act of Apr. 21, 1893, ch. 4, §108, 1893 Minn. Laws 16, 51; Act of 1880, ch. 16, §11, 1880 Miss. Laws 108, 112; Act of May 16, 1889, §35, 1889 Mo. Laws 105, 110; Mont. Code Ann., Title 4, §73 (1895); Act of Mar. 4, 1891, ch. 24, §29, 1891 Neb. Laws 238, 255; Act of Mar. 13, 1891, ch. 40, §30, 1891 Nev. Stats. 40, 46; Act of May 28, 1890, ch. 231, §63, 1890 N.J. Laws 361, 397; Act of May 2, 1890, ch. 262, §35, 1890 N.Y. Laws 482, 494; Act of Mar. 7, 1891, ch. 66, §34, 1891 N.D. Laws 171, 182; Act of May 4, 1885, 1885 Ohio Laws 232, 235; Act of Feb. 13, 1891, §19, 1891 Ore. Laws 8, 13; Act of Mar. 5, 1891, ch. 57, §35, 1891 S.D. Laws 152, 164; Act of Mar. 11, 1890, ch. 24 §13, 1890 Tenn. Pub. Acts 50, 55; Act of Mar. 28, 1896, ch. 69, §37, 1896 Utah Laws 183, 208; Act of

Thus, the streets and sidewalks around polling places have traditionally *not* been devoted to assembly and debate.

Mar. 6, 1894, ch. 746, §10, 1893–1894 Va. Acts 862, 864; Act of Mar. 19, 1890, ch. 13, §33, 1889–1890 Wash. Laws 400, 412; Act of Mar. 11, 1891, ch. 89, §79, 1891 W. Va. Acts 226, 257; Act of Apr. 3, 1889, ch. 248, §36, 1889 Wis. Laws 253, 267; Act of Jan. 1, 1891, ch. 100, 1890 Wyo. (State) Sess. Laws 392.

²*E. g.*, Act of Mar. 4, 1891, No. 30, §39, 1891 Ark. Acts 32, 48; Act of Mar. 20, 1891, ch. 130, §1215, 1891 Cal. Stats. 165, 178; Act of Mar. 26, 1891, §37, 1891 Colo. Sess. Laws 143, 164; Act of June 22, 1889, ch. 247, §13, 1889 Conn. Pub. Acts 155, 158; Act of Feb. 25, 1891, §4, 1890 Idaho Sess. Laws 50, 51; Act of June 22, 1891, §28, 1891 Ill. Laws 107, 119; Act of Apr. 12, 1886, ch. 161, §13, 1886 Iowa Acts 187, 192; Act of Mar. 11, 1893, ch. 78, §26, 1893 Kan. Sess. Laws 106, 120; Act of Apr. 2, 1896, ch. 202, §103, 1896 Md. Laws 327, 384; Act of May 16, 1889, §35, 1889 Mo. Laws 105, 110; Act of Mar. 4, 1891, ch. 24, §29, 1891 Neb. Laws 238, 255; Act of Mar. 13, 1891, ch. 40, §30, 1891 Nev. Stat. 40, 46; Act of May 28, 1890, ch. 231, §63, 1890 N.J. Laws 361, 397; Act of May 4, 1885, 1885 Ohio Laws 232, 235; Act of Mar. 28, 1896, ch. 69, §37, 1896 Utah Laws 183, 208; Act of Apr. 3, 1889, ch. 248, §36, 1889 Wis. Laws 253, 267.

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Nothing in the public forum doctrine or in this Court's precedents warrants disregard of this longstanding tradition. "Streets and sidewalks" are not public forums *in all places*, see *Greer v. Spock*, 424 U.S. 828 (1976) (streets and sidewalks on military base are not a public forum), and the long usage of our people demonstrates that the portions of streets and sidewalks adjacent to polling places are not public forums *at all times* either. This unquestionable tradition could be accommodated, I suppose, by holding laws such as §2-7-111 to be covered by our doctrine of permissible "time, place, and manner" restrictions upon public forum speech—which doctrine is itself no more than a reflection of our traditions, see *Perry Education Assn. v. Perry Local Educators' Assn.*, 460 U.S. 37, 45 (1983). The problem with this approach, however, is that it would require some expansion of (or a unique exception to) the "time, place, and manner" doctrine, which does not permit restrictions that are not content-neutral (§2-7-111 prohibits only electioneering speech). *Ibid.* It is doctrinally less confusing to acknowledge that the environs of a polling place, on election day, are simply not a "traditional public forum"—which means that they are subject to speech restrictions that are reasonable and viewpoint-neutral. *Id.*, at 46.

For the reasons that the Court believes §2-7-111 survives exacting scrutiny, *ante*, at 7-20, I believe it is at least reasonable; and respondent does not contend that it is viewpoint-discriminatory. I therefore agree with the judgment of the Court that §2-7-111 is constitutional.