



Legislative Council Staff

Nonpartisan Services for Colorado's Legislature

Room 029 State Capitol, Denver, CO 80203-1784

Phone: (303) 866-3521 • Fax: (303) 866-3855

lcs.ga@state.co.us • leg.colorado.gov/lcs

Memorandum

December 2021

TO: Interested Persons

FROM: Erin Reynolds, Principal Fiscal Analyst, 303-866-4146
Matt Bishop, Fiscal Analyst, 303-866-4796
Katie Ruedebusch, Principal Research Analyst, 303-866-3001

SUBJECT: Overview and History of Statewide Ballot Measures in Colorado

Summary

This memorandum provides an overview of the statewide ballot measure process; a summary of the measures approved or rejected by Colorado voters between 1880 and 2021; and links to additional resources at the offices of the Colorado Legislative Council Staff and the Colorado Secretary of State.

Contents

Overview of Statewide Ballot Measure Process	1
Statewide Ballot Measures from 1880 to 2021	3
Online Colorado Election Archives	4

Overview of the Statewide Ballot Measure Process

Both the Colorado Constitution and state statutes are subject to amendment by legislatively referred and citizen-initiated measures. The process is governed by the Colorado Constitution and state law.¹

Legislatively referred measures. The Colorado General Assembly may refer constitutional measures to the voters with a two-thirds vote of both houses, and may refer statutory measures to the voters with a majority vote of both houses. A constitutional measure requires 55 percent of the votes cast in an election, except when a proposed measure repeals rather than changes part of the constitution, in which case a simple majority of votes is required.² While the General Assembly has the authority to change the state statutes during legislative session, the Taxpayer's Bill of Rights (TABOR) requires that proposed tax increases receive approval from voters in order to take effect. The General Assembly submitted its first measure to Colorado voters in 1880.

¹Colo. Const. art. V, § 1 and Sections 1-40-101, *et seq.*, and 1-41-101, *et seq.*, C.R.S.

²Colo. Const. art. XIX, § 2.

Citizen-initiated measures. Any Colorado resident may place a constitutional or statutory measure on the ballot. To place a measure on the ballot, proponents must collect the number of signatures equal to 5 percent of the total number of votes cast for the Secretary of State at the previous general election. Additionally, to place a constitutional measure on the ballot, at least 2 percent of registered voters’ signatures in each of the state’s 35 senate districts are required. The constitutional measure must also receive at least 55 percent of all votes cast, unless a proposed measure repeals rather than changes part of the constitution, in which case a simple majority of votes is required.³ The use of citizen-initiated measures for constitutional and statutory changes was voted into law in 1910 and became available in 1912.

Process for placing a citizen-initiated measure on the ballot. The multi-step process for placing a citizen-initiated measure on the ballot includes the submission of a proposed initiative; a review and comment hearing on the proposal with the Office of Legislative Legal Services and the Legislative Council Staff; a hearing with the Title Board to set the single-subject title; and verification of collected signatures by the Secretary of State. These steps are outlined on the [Secretary of State’s](#) and the [Colorado General Assembly’s](#) websites.

Even- and odd-numbered year elections. State law clarifies the types of proposals that may appear on a statewide ballot in odd-numbered years.⁴ Odd-year election proposals are limited to state matters arising under TABOR. These types of proposals include a new tax, a tax rate increase, an extension of an expiring tax, a tax policy change directly causing a net revenue gain, and emergency taxes. They also include the creation of multiple-year fiscal obligations or debt, an increase in the assessment rate for a class of property, the weakening of a state limit on spending, and voter-approved revenue changes. State law does not limit the types of proposals that are eligible for the ballot in even-numbered years.

Numbering and lettering for ballot measures. Beginning in November 2010, statewide citizen-initiated measures are numbered, while those that are legislatively referred are lettered. Table 1 provides further detail on the numbering and lettering schedule for statewide ballot measures.

**Table 1
Ballot Measure Numbering and Lettering Schedule¹**

	Amendment (Constitutional)	Proposition (Statutory)
Citizen-Initiated	1 to 99 (Beginning with 60)	100 to 199 (Beginning with 100)
Legislatively Referred	A to Z (Beginning with P)	AA to ZZ (Beginning with AA)

Source: Section 1-5-407, C.R.S.

¹ Parenthetical notes indicate the number or letter used as a starting point in 2010. As of the 2021 election, the last alphanumeric designations used are Amendment 78, Amendment C, Proposition 120, and Proposition EE.

³Colo. Const. art. V, § 1.

⁴Section 1-41-102, C.R.S.

Statewide Ballot Measures from 1880 to 2021

The tables below provide information about statewide ballot measures from 1880 to 2021. Table 2 displays ballot measures by type, origin, and outcome. Table 3 classifies measures by category.

Table 2
Statewide Ballot Measures by Type, Origin, and Outcome

Type/Origin	Total	Adopted	Rejected
Constitutional¹	362	168	194
Citizen-initiated	160	51	109
Legislatively referred	198	117	81
Citizen-initiated/No vote ²	4	N/A	N/A
Statutory	122	49	73
Citizen-initiated	85	35	50
Legislatively referred	21	10	11
Referendums ³	14	4	10
Citizen-initiated/No vote ²	2	N/A	N/A
Question⁴	11	6	5
Total Measures	495	223	272

Source: Legislative Council Staff.

¹In some cases, constitutional measures include measures that are both constitutional and statutory.

²"Citizen-initiated/No vote" indicates rare instances where ballot measures appeared on the ballot but were withdrawn or later determined to have insufficient signatures.

³Referendums occur when citizens request a vote against any act or section of an act that contains a referendum clause and was passed by the legislature.

⁴A question is a proposition in the form of a question arising under TABOR without reference to specific state legislation or a specific amendment to the state constitution.

Table 3
Statewide Ballot Measures by Category¹

Category*	Total	Adopted	Rejected
Abortion	9	2	7
Agriculture and Livestock	7	2	5
Alcohol	8	3	5
Business and Labor	29	13	16
Children and Domestic Matters	4	1	3
Civil Rights	8	4	4
Criminal Justice and Public Safety	9	5	4
Education	24	10	14
Elections	48	32	16
Energy and Utilities	14	4	10
Gaming	26	11	15
General Assembly	17	10	7
Government Finance	17	5	13
Health and Human Services	11	6	5
Initiative Process	13	6	7
Judiciary and Courts	22	13	9
Local Government	22	11	11
Marijuana	5	3	3
Natural Resources	11	4	7
Public Employee Compensation	16	5	11
Public Pension	7	2	5
Property	7	3	5
State Government	48	21	27
Taxation	73	26	47
Technical Amendments	11	10	1
Term Limits	13	6	7
Transportation	13	5	8
Total	495	223	272

Source: Legislative Council Staff.

¹ Ballot measures are categorized by the most appropriate category; however, many measures fit under multiple categories.

Online Colorado Election Archives

The Colorado Legislative Council Staff maintains an online database of statewide ballot measures dating back to 1880 at:

<https://www.leg.state.co.us/lcs/ballothistory.nsf>.

The Secretary of State's Office also maintains an archive of election results at:

<https://www.sos.state.co.us/pubs/elections/Results/Archives.html>.