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INITIATIVES AND REFERENDA — AN UPDATE ON THEIR USE

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Colorado voters have been increasingly busy at the voting booths in recent years. The three decades of the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, plus the 2000, 2001, and 2002 elections show substantial use of the state's initiative and referendum processes, with a sharp increase in the number of initiatives particulary notable. In the elections of the 1990s there were 38 initiatives on state ballots, compared with a total of 33 for the 1970s and 80s combined.¹ In the 2000, 01, and 02 elections, 24 proposals were on the ballot.

The number of total ballot proposals since 1970 is 149, with 80 proposals (54 percent of the total) presented since 1990. Ballot proposals totaled 39 in the 1970s and 30 in the 1980s.

This paper presents data on the frequency of use of the initiative and referendum in Colorado since 1970 and lists the topics covered in statewide ballot proposals since 1990. It updates earlier issue briefs by including results through the 2002 statewide election.

Number of proposals. Since the election of 1970, there have been 149 statewide ballot proposals, both initiatied and referred. The increased number of ballot issues shows an increased use of the initiative, with 50 proposals on the ballot since 1990 compared with 33 in the ten elections between 1970 and 1988. Table 1

shows the increase in use of the initiative in statewide elections from 1970 through the 2002 election.

Table 1
Statewide Ballot Proposals from 1970 Through the 2002 Elections

	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000 thru 2002	Total
Total Proposals	39	30	56	24	149
Initiated	18	15	38	12	83
Referred	21	15	18	12	66

Success of proposals. As for success of proposals in pass-fail rates, voters are much more likely to approve referenda than initiatives. Table 2 shows the pass-fail results for the initiatives and referenda proposed by decade since 1970.

Table 2
Success of Statewide Ballot Proposals

Decade	Referenda (Approved/ Rejected)	Initiatives (Approved/ Rejected)
1970s	21 (16/5)	18 (6/12)
1980s	15 (13/2)	15 (6/9)
1990s	18 (12/6)	38 (14/24)
2000/01/02	12 (7/5)	12 (4/8)
Totals	66 (48/18)	83 (30/53)

The overall approval of referenda of nearly three to one contrasts sharply with the failure rate of initiatives of almost two to one. Several reasons might

^{1.} The initiative is the process by which citizens can place proposals on the ballot for Colorado citizens to approve or reject. The referendum, as used in this paper means the process by which the General Assembly refers proposals to the people in a statewide elections. State statutes and the Colorado Constitution are subject to amendment by the initiative and referendum.

be offered for this disparity, but the pattern of more of the legislative measures approved and more of the initiatives rejected has been consistent since 1970.

Constitutional and statutory proposals. Of the 149 ballot proposals presented to the voters since 1970, the overwhelming number – 113 – were submitted as amendments to the Colorado constitution. Two were strictly TABOR questions for voter approval of debt. Over half of the constitutional proposals have been approved in contrast to less than half of the statutory amendments being approved. The pass-fail number for constitutional amendments is 64 approved, 49 rejected; statutory proposals resulted in 12 approved, 22 rejected. The two TABOR questions were approved.

Topics of ballot proposals since 1990. The grouping of the statewide proposals on the ballot since 1990 may take many forms. The table which follows lists them in broad categories, beginning with the categories that had the most proposals. The category with the greatest number of proposals concerns taxes and Taxpayer's Bill of Rights issues (14 proposals). The next two categories – elections and the political process and gaming proposals – have each had 13 and 9 proposals, respectively.

The number of questions referred by the General Assembly has increased slightly in recent years. There were 18 referred measures in the 1990s, six in 2000, one in 2001, and five in 2002. There were 15 referred measures in the 1980s. There are two reasons that the number of referred measures in recent years is as high as it is. First, TABOR, adopted in 1992, requires voter approval of tax increase questions and long-term debt obligations; second, elections in odd-numbered years are provided for TABOR issues. In all, 14 TABOR proposals have been on the ballot since 1990, first to adopt TABOR and to then seek permission to raise taxes, retain a portion of the surplus, or issue bonds. Some of these questions probably would not have been submitted to the voters had voter approval not been required.

Many of the controversial issues on a ballot are the result of the initiative process. For example, questions on abortion, animal protection, and water in the San Luis Valley were initiated proposals. In contrast, some of the referred issues have been technical issues or limited in scope, such as the removal of obsolete constitutional provisions and qualifications of county sheriffs and coroners. Also note that there has been diminished interest in initiated proposals for gaming in various cities and counties, with the high point reached in 1992 (four proposals). There have been no proposals to permit gaming in cities or counties since 1996.

Proposed Initiatives and Referenda by Subject Area — 1990 through 2002

(A) Taxes and Taxpayer's Bill of Rights Issues

"Amendment 1" (TABOR) - 1990 (not adopted), 1992 (adopted)

Sales tax for tourist-related purchases – 1993

Tobacco taxes – 1994

Financial obligations – nonstate prisons – 1995

Unemployment compensation – 1996

Property tax – exempt property – 1996

Taxes and fees for highway construction – 1997

State retention of excess state revenues – 1998

Financing state transportation projects – 1999

Tax cuts - 2000

Property tax reduction for senior citizens – 2000 Approval of bonds by Great Outdoors Colorado – 2001

Surplus revenues to test I-70 fixed guideway – 2001

Total 14

(B) Elections and the Political Process

Term limits – 1990, 1992, 1996, 1998, 2002 Presidential primary – 1990 Campaign finance – 1994, 1996, 2002 Mailing ballot information booklets – 1994, 1996 Mail ballot elections – 2002 Eliminate neighborhood caucus – 2002 Election day voter registration – 2002

Total 14

(C) Gaming Proposals

Permit gaming in various cities – 1990, 1992 (4), 1994, 1996 Local vote after statewide vote – 1992 Multi-state lotteries – 2000

Total 9

(D) Education

Vouchers - 1992

Education reform – sales tax – 1992 Income tax credit for education – 1998 Funding for public schools – 2000 Excess state revenue for math and sciences grants – 2000 English language immersion program – 2002

Total 6

(E) Agriculture and Livestock

Uniform regulation of livestock operations – 1998

Regulation of commercial hog facilities – 1998 Water meters in the San Luis Valley – 1998 Payments for water by the Rio Grande Water Conservation District – 1998

Total 4

(F) Process for Amendments – Initiatives and Referenda

Election reform ("Amendment 12") – 1994 Single subject requirement – 1994 Voter approval (60% requirement) – 1996 Petitions – 1996

Total 4

(G) Open Space, State Lands, and Growth

Lottery revenues for parks, recreation, wildlife – 1992

State trust lands – 1996 Voter approval of growth plans – 2000

Total 3

(H) Abortion

Partial birth abortions – 1998 Parental notification – 1998 Requirements for consent prior to an abortion – 2000

Total 3

(I) Bill of Rights Amendments

No protected status ("Amendment 2") – 1992 Obscenity – First Amendment – 1994 Parental rights – 1996

Total 3

(J) Animal Protection

Black bear hunting – 1992 Prohibited methods of taking wildlife – 1996

Total 2

(K) Criminal Procedures

Rights of crime victims – 1992 Post conviction bail – 1994

Total 2

(L) Other Topics

Labor – workers choice of care – 1994 Medicaid – state medical assistance – repayment – 1994

Other Topics – Continued

County sheriffs – qualifications – 1996
Broomfield – creation of city and county – 1998
Private/public ownership of local health care
services – 1998, 2002
Selection of county surveyors – 2000
Background checks at gun shows – 2000
Medical use of marijuana – 2000
County coroners – qualifications – 2002
Cesar Chavez state holiday - 2002

Total 11

(M) Technical Amendments

Removal of obsolete constitutional provision – 1990, 1992, 2000, 2002

Legislative reapportionment timetable – 2000

Total 5

Constitutional changes, 1992 and 1994. Four constitutional changes were adopted in the 1990s relating to the initiative and referendum. The single subject requirement for bills in the General Assembly is now required for initiatives and referenda (1994); referred and initiated Taxpayer's Bill of Rights questions are allowed in odd-year state elections (1992); state and local governments are required to prepare ballot analyses that are mailed to every household with registered voters (1994); and the mailing date for local ballot booklets was changed to allow the coordinated mailing of local and state booklets (1996).

Statutory change, 1996. Another change in the ballot information process affects the content of the ballot information booklet mailed to all voter households in the state. Legislation enacted in 1996 directs that information on the performance of judges and justices of the Supreme Court be included in the booklet for the trial and appellate judges seeking retention. This information is prepared by the Commissions on Judicial Performance.

Statutory changes, 2000 and 2001. Additional changes were made in the 2001 and 2002 sessions, the most notable being the following: establishment of a numbering system for initiated measures using consecutive numbers through 99 before starting over with 1; inclusion of fiscal impact statements on all proposals in the ballot information booklet; and clarification of procedures for rehearing and appeals of decisions regarding the single subject requirement for initiated proposals.

U.S. Supreme Court decisions, 1999. On January 12, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a decision of the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals pertaining to initiatives in Colorado. In Buckley vs. American Constitutional Law Foundation (119 S. Ct. 636 (1999)), the court rejected one constitutional and two statutory requirements in Colorado law: that petition

circulators be registered voters; that circulators of petitions wear identification badges indicating whether they are being paid or are volunteers seeking signatures on petitions; and that sponsors of initiatives file monthly reports which identify their paid circulators and disclose how much they have been paid. The Court held that these requirements interfered with the petitioner's right to "core political speech."

The Court sustained the constitutionality of other provisions of the Colorado initiative process. Petition circulators must be at least 18 years of age; circulators must attach an affidavit to each petition disclosing their name, address, and verification that the signatures were witnessed by the circulator; and the limit of six months is valid as the time in which signatures are to be collected.

10th Circuit Court decision, 2000. The constitutionality of the single subject requirement for initiated proposals was upheld by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals on February 10, 2000. In Campbell vs. Buckley (203 F.3rd 783 (2000)), the Court held that it was ". . .satisfied that the state's reasons for its procedures [relating to the single subject requirements] are sufficiently weighty to justify the procedures."