Researching Legislative History

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The General Assembly is a group of individuals, each of whom may have a different opinion as to the “intent” of any particular provision of the law, and no single legislator can definitively say what the collective intent of the entire General Assembly was in enacting a provision of law. Legislative history research is used for discovering sources of information about the legislative intent of a provision of law. Legislative histories cannot be found in a single document or resource. They are not automatically prepared or compiled. Rather, they must be constructed by a researcher from many different sources and materials.

Legislative histories are not written at the time the legislation is adopted, and the information that comprises the legislative history of a bill is not contained in one place. Legislative histories must be compiled by the researcher from many sources and materials. Reconstructing the legislative history on a piece of legislation may require several hours of research and preparation. The Office of Legislative Legal Services is unable to provide this service to the public, so the information in this article may be helpful in researching legislative history. Although this article may be a helpful starting point, it is not an exhaustive resource nor does it constitute legal advice.

Steps for Researching Legislative History

1. Identify the statutory section you wish to research.
2. Determine the bill number that enacted the statutory language and the session of the General Assembly at which it was enacted.
3. Trace the procedural history of the bill during its passage.
4. Listen to audio recordings of legislative hearings and floor debates on the bill.
5. Compare all versions of the bill.
6. Review the bill drafting and research records.
7. Consult other helpful documents and resources.

Step 1. Identify the statutory section you wish to research.

To find a Colorado statutory section by subject, at the General Assembly website, click on "LAWS" and then select "Colorado Revised Statutes" to access the statutes. At the next screen, follow the link: "Click here to access the Colorado Revised Statutes hosted by LexisNexis". At the Lexis Advance® screen, scroll down, beneath the Welcome information box, to a listing of all of the Colorado Revised Statutes (C.R.S) titles (for example, "Title 1 Elections," "Title 2 Legislative"). To see more details about the contents of a specific title, click on the + icon to the left of the title name.

If you do not know the statutory section you are interested in researching, you can conduct a keyword search of the statutes. To do this, insert your keywords in the search bar located above the listing of the C.R.S. titles. If you know the statutory section you are interested in researching, insert the section number in the search bar. The list of results generated by either method of searching will identify the citations to the statutes that contain references to your keyword term or statutory section. Once you identify one or more statutes you want to research, your next steps are:

- Review the source note following the text of the statute to find the year of the Session Laws containing the bill that enacted or amended the statute.

Example


Example


Source note information. A source note1 shows the legislative history of a section of the C.R.S, and is located immediately after the text of the section. The source note for each section indicates the year the section was added, each year it was amended, the page of the Session Laws of Colorado, and the section of the bill where the amendment can be found. When applicable, the source note includes the number of the section of law as it existed in prior codifications. Starting in 2009, reference to the bill number adding, amending, or repealing a provision in statute has been included in the source note. Table A at the end of this article shows a chronological list of publications of Colorado Statutes and the correct citation for each publication.

The legislative history is arranged by year of passage; if a section was amended by two or more bills in the same year, the order of the information for that year is determined by the effective dates of the bills. The effective date in the source note indicates the date the bill or portion of the bill took effect even if the operative date in the text of the bill indicates a different date. If the year is not included with the month and day, the provision is effective the year of passage. Table B at the end of this article provides further explanation of the information found in a source note.
To determine which bill added or amended the statutory language in question, it may be necessary to look at several bills in the Session Laws. If the statutory section has been amended several times, begin by looking at the latest amendment. Work backward through each amendment listed in the source note until you locate the bill in which the language in question appeared.

- Look for cross-references following the statutory section to determine whether the bill contained a nonstatutory legislative declaration.

**Example**

**Cross-references:** For the legislative declaration in SB 08-080, see section 1 of chapter 318, Session Laws of Colorado 2008.

- Watch for any statutory legislative declaration applicable for an entire article or part when the source note indicates that an entire article or part was added, repealed & reenacted, amended with relocations, or recreated & reenacted.

**Examples**

1-1.5-101. Legislative declaration. (1) The general assembly hereby finds, determines, and declares that:

(a) The “Help America Vote Act of 2002”, Pub.L. 107-252, was passed by the United States congress and signed into law by president George W. Bush.

1-2-401. Legislative declaration. It is the intent of the general assembly that, in order to promote and encourage voter registration of all eligible.

A legislative declaration is a declaration by the General Assembly regarding the bill in which the statutory language was included. This declaration may provide information regarding the reasons the General Assembly decided to address the issue and what it hoped to accomplish through the bill. A nonstatutory legislative declaration is not contained in the C.R.S., and you must review the applicable year of the Session Laws to find the declaration.

- Review the annotations located after a statute to determine whether the issue of legislative intent has been examined by a court.

**Step 2. Determine the bill number that enacted the statutory language and the session of the General Assembly at which it was enacted.**

As noted above, a statute’s source note contains the year the statute was enacted or amended and the page number of that year’s Session Laws in which the legislation effecting the change can be found. The Session Laws contain the full text of the enrolled (final) version of all bills passed during a legislative session of the General Assembly and acted on by the Governor. The bills are called "acts" and are organized in numerical chapters. Chapter 1 of each year’s set of Session Laws is the first bill on which the Governor acted, Chapter 2 is the second bill on which the Governor acted, and so on.

Exceptions are that supplemental appropriation bills and the general appropriation bill (commonly referred to as the "long bill") appear at the end of the Session Laws, regardless of the date of the Governor's action. The first page of each chapter in the Session Laws identifies the bill number, as well as the legislators who sponsored the bill.

**Step 3. Trace the procedural history of the bill during its passage.**

The next step is to review the history of the bill. To do this for bills from 2016 to the present, on the General Assembly website, click on "BILLS" and then select "Find A Bill". You then enter the specific bill number in the search box near the top of the page. To do this for bills prior to 2016, use the "Prior Sessions" option under the "BILLS" menu. The information in the Summarized History for a bill identifies the specific dates action was taken on a bill. Information contained in the House and Senate journals from 1998 to the present can be accessed on the General Assembly website through the "Prior Sessions" information link. You may also use bound volumes of the journals available at the Colorado State Archives or the Joint Legislative Library at the Capitol building to access this information.

**Example**

Summarized History for Bill Number HB 08-1001

(The date the bill passed to the committee of the whole reflects the date the bill passed out of committee.)

01/09/2008 Introduced In House - Assigned to Finance + Appropriations
01/30/2008 House Committee on Finance Refer Amended to Appropriations
02/22/2008 House Committee on Appropriations Pass Amended to House Committee of the Whole
02/26/2008 House Second Reading Passed with Amendments
02/27/2008 House Third Reading Passed
03/03/2008 Introduced In Senate - Assigned to Business, Labor and Technology + Finance + Appropriations
03/11/2008 Senate Committee on Business, Labor and Technology Refer Amended to Finance
03/18/2008 Senate Committee on Finance Refer Unamended to Appropriations
03/28/2008 Senate Committee on Appropriations Pass Unamended to Senate Committee of the Whole
04/03/2008 Senate Second Reading Laid Over
04/04/2008 Senate Second Reading Passed with Amendments
04/07/2008 Senate Third Reading Passed with Amendments
04/08/2008 Senate Third Reading Passed with Amendments
04/08/2008 Senate Third Reading Reconsidered
04/10/2008 House Considered Senate Amendments - Result was to Laid Over Daily 04/10/2008
04/11/2008 House Considered Senate Amendments - Result was to Laid Over Daily 04/11/2008
04/14/2008 House Considered Senate Amendments - Result was to Laid Over Daily 04/14/2008
review committee assignments. If the language in question was offered as an amendment, determine whether the amendment was offered in committee as opposed to a floor amendment and, if so, in which committee and in which chamber the language in question was offered and referred. Listening to audio recordings of the committee hearings in the House or Senate may identify the intent of the legislation’s sponsor or that of the sponsor of a particular amendment.

- Review whether the language in question was offered as a second or third reading amendment. Knowing who sponsored the amendment and communicating with that sponsor could provide an explanation of or specific information about the language in question. Listening to audio recordings of the House or Senate floor debate and the comments made during debate may identify the intent of the legislation’s sponsor or that of the sponsor of a particular amendment.

- Review whether a conference committee report was prepared for the bill. Absent permission from both houses to go beyond the scope of the differences, a conference committee is limited to reconciling differences between the two chambers and may not alter, amend, or omit text on any matter that is not in disagreement or that is not included in either the reengrossed or rerevised version of the bill. Accordingly, it is possible the language in question occurred as the result of the committee’s recommendations and compromise in the conference committee report.

- Review the House and Senate journals. The journals record the daily activities of each chamber of the General Assembly during the legislative session. The bound volumes of the journals contain an index, which can be a helpful guide to tracking the legislative action on a bill. The index also provides references to the page numbers in the journals on which those actions are recorded. The earliest journals recorded the activities in detail, sometimes including speeches or discussion; more recent journals briefly note the actions taken. Actions recorded in the journals include legislative measures’ referrals to committees, votes, and transmittal of bills between the two chambers. The Colorado State Archives, the Joint Legislative Library at the Capitol building, the House of Representatives, the Senate, and most law libraries also keep copies of the journals.

- Review the annotator’s notes in the annotations portion of a section. These notes add commentary on information that identifies the source for a particular statute not found in earlier codification of source notes. Currently, it is the practice of the Office of Legislative Legal Services to provide former C.R.S. section numbers in editor’s notes following those sections that are relocated in the statutes.

- Review the official comments for uniform law (for example, Uniform Principal and Income Act, C.R.S. §§ 15-1-401 et seq.). The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws is composed of lawyers who are qualified to practice law and who are appointed by state governments to research, draft, and promote enactment of uniform state laws in areas of state law where uniformity is desirable and practical. State legislatures are urged to adopt uniform acts exactly as written to promote uniformity in law among the states. Model acts (for example, Colorado Corporation Income Tax Act, C.R.S. §§ 39-22-320 to -330), in comparison, are intended to serve as guideline legislation that states can borrow from or adapt to suit their respective situations. Beginning in 2018, official comments are no longer printed in the statutes. However, a cross reference will refer the reader to the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws website for any available comments.

**Step 4. Listen to audio recordings of legislative hearings and floor debates on the bill.**

In 1973, the General Assembly began making audio recordings of public hearings held by legislative committees and the floor debates in the House and the Senate chambers. Audio recordings can be a valuable source of information on legislative intent. The Colorado State Archives maintains audio recordings from 1973 to the present. The State Archives, in adherence to statutory requirements to protect and preserve historical materials for future generations, limits access to some historical legislative audio recordings. Please contact the State Archives to discuss any applicable special procedures and fees associated with accessing legislative audio records.

The Joint Legislative Library in the Capitol building maintains audio recordings beginning with the 2002 legislative session. Members of the public are welcome to visit the Library to listen to the recordings.

To listen to or request copies of these recordings, you will need the following information from the bill history:

1) names of the House and/or Senate committees to which the bill was referred;
2) dates the bill was considered by committee in public hearings; and
3) dates of the bill’s second and third readings in the House and/or the Senate.

**Legislative Committee Summaries**

Legislative committee summaries are most useful as a companion to the legislative tapes. A legislative committee summary is a brief summary prepared by Legislative Council staff of business conducted at a committee of reference’s hearing on a bill. The legislative committee summaries include information on date, time, place, committee members and others in attendance, bills considered, general nature of discussion, and roll call votes. Staff at the Colorado State Archives may be able to assist you by mail or phone but suggests you conduct any extensive legislative research at its facility whenever possible because of the voluminous nature of the material.

**Audio and Video Broadcasts**

For recent years (2010 to present for video and 2011 to present for audio), recordings of the House and Senate floor debates are available. These recordings can be accessed on the General Assembly website through the "Watch & Listen" link near the top of the website homepage. For a current session, Really Simple Syndication (RSS) feeds allows users to receive notification of up-to-date content as soon as that content is made public. The benefit of RSS is that users do not have to go to multiple websites to receive current information. Instead, the RSS subscription sends the user a summary of updated content and allows the user to access the detailed version of the content through a hyperlink.

**Step 5. Compare all versions of the bill.**

Compare all the versions of the bill (introduced, engrossed, reengrossed, revised, rerevised, and final act). This will allow you to determine whether:

1) any language in question appeared in the introduced version of the bill or did not appear until a later version of the bill;
2) any language was added to the bill in the House or in the Senate; (language added by the House will be identified in the bill as shaded text, and language added in the Senate will be denoted by text that is double underlined); and
3) any language was offered in a conference committee report. (The “final act” version is the only version that incorporates the conference committee report into the act.)

Next, compare the bill summary printed on a bill to the entry contained in the bill digest for the bill. Before 2010, the bill summary was never amended, and the content of the summary was the same in all the versions of the bill. The Bill Digest gives the user notice of and summary information on recent changes to the statutes from the bill in its final form. At the General Assembly website, click on "BILLS" and then "Bill Digest" to access bill digests dating as far back as 1943. Beginning in the 2010 legislative session, depending on the nature and volume of any amendments adopted in the first chamber, the bill summary of a bill may have been updated when the bill moved from the first chamber to the second chamber (that is, when a House Bill was sent to the Senate and vice versa). If a bill passed the first chamber and moved to the second chamber, a bill summary that applies to the reengrossed version of the bill will be available through the General Assembly’s website.

To obtain copies of all versions of a bill enacted in 2003 or earlier, contact the State Archives or the Joint Legislative Library in the Capitol building. For legislation enacted in the 2004 and subsequent legislative sessions, the various versions of bills enacted during a given session are available online through the General Assembly website using the "Prior Sessions" link under "BILLS".

**Step 6. Review the bill drafting and research records.**

The Office of Legislative Legal Services provides bill drafting services to each member of the General Assembly. Although drafting records are confidential work product, they may contain useful information about the source or the purpose of the bill, at least based on the introduced version of the bill. As of 2017, the Office of Legislative Legal Services retains original bill drafting files for only eight years. If the statutory language in question was contained in the introduced version of a bill sponsored in the last eight years, you may find it helpful to secure permission to review the applicable bill drafting file. To do so, contact the Office of Legislative Legal Services at (303) 866-2045 to verify whether it still has the applicable drafting file. If the Office does still have the applicable bill drafting file, you must then secure written information from the legislator(s) who sponsored the bill for the Office to release the drafting file to you for review. If the legislative sponsor(s) is no longer serving in the General Assembly, the Office will provide to you the last known contact information it has for the legislative sponsor(s).

**Step 7. Consult other helpful documents and resources.**

Check other sources. For example, on occasion the General Assembly will create special task forces, committees, or commissions to study potential legislation and issue reports of their findings. State agencies may also have filed reports.

In contrast to standing committees, which meet during the legislative session, interim committees meet between legislative sessions to study potential legislation in depth and make recommendations to the General Assembly. An
interim committee may have prepared a report that summarizes its activities, findings, and recommendations. If so, it may be helpful to review the report. Contact the State Archives or the Joint Legislative Library in the Capitol building for copies of these reports.

Review the fiscal note(s) prepared for the bill. The primary function of a fiscal note is to inform the legislators of a piece of legislation’s financial impact on state government (that is, the costs, savings, and/or revenue increases or decreases) and the costs incurred by affected agencies of government. This information has become an important part of the debate on bills and amendments, particularly as the state weathers some tight fiscal years.

Though unofficial sources, newspapers and other media reports may provide a contemporary view of the legislative process and of legislative activities.

Contacting lobbying organizations, former legislators, or persons who testified before committees may be useful.

Contact the National Conference of State Legislatures. This may be helpful in determining how states may treat similar subject matter.

Contact the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws for information regarding legislative activity for uniform acts.

The University of Colorado William A. Wise Law Library website has digitized the Session Laws from 1861 through 2021 as full-text, searchable documents. Session Laws from 1993 through the most recent legislative session are available on the Session Law page of the General Assembly’s website.

Conclusion

Legislative history refers to the documents or audio recordings that are assembled as a bill is introduced, considered, and debated. These legislative documents and audio recordings are often used by attorneys and courts in an attempt to determine intent or to clarify vague, ambiguous statutory language. Legislative intent refers to understanding why laws are established and is fundamental in understanding how laws are to be applied. Legislative history records are important resources for interpreting existing laws and framing new laws.

Notes

1. See “Understanding Colorado Statutory Source Notes,” on the Memoranda page on the Office of Legislative Legal Services website under the “Information on Bill Drafting and Statutory Research” heading (additional information on understanding source notes).
2. See Legislative Drafting Manual section 27 (information concerning legislative declarations and legislative intent statements).
3. An act is a bill that has been approved or enacted by both houses of the General Assembly and has become a law with or without the Governor's signature. The acts adopted in each session of the legislature are published annually in bound volumes called the Session Laws of Colorado. Acts are also compiled, edited, and published each year in the Colorado Revised Statutes.
4. Colorado State Archives, 1313 Sherman St., Room 120, Denver, CO 80203; (303) 866-2358; fax (303) 866-2229.
5. Legislative Committee summaries are available online through the General Assembly website from 2004 to the present. For summaries from legislative sessions from 2016 to present, click on "COMMITTEES" on the General Assembly website and then select “Committees”. Then, click on the name of the specific committee for which the summary for the bill of interest was prepared. Once you are at the committee-specific page, find the applicable meeting date in the "Committee Activity" section. There is a "Committee Summary" link within the section for each meeting date. Summaries prepared for the 2004 through the 2015 legislative sessions can be accessed through the "Prior Sessions" link under "BILLS" on the General Assembly’s website.
6. See Joint Rules 22 of the Joint Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives, which are available through the "House and Senate Rules" link at the bottom of the General Assembly’s website.

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Table A
Chronological Listing of Publications of Colorado Statutes
and the Correct Citation for Each Publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Citation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revised Statutes of Colorado</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>R.S. p. __, § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Laws of Colorado</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>G.L. § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Statutes of Colorado</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>G.S. § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revised Statutes of Colorado</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>R.S. 08: § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compiled Laws of Colorado</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>C.L. § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado Statutes Annotated</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CSA: C. __, § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado Revised Statutes 1953*</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>C.R.S 53: § __.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado Revised Statutes***</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>C.R.S.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* There are biennial supplements compiled into a hardbound supplement containing the laws of a general and permanent nature enacted by the General Assembly at each session, beginning with the second regular session of the thirty-ninth General Assembly (1954) and concluding with the second regular session of the forty-second General Assembly (1960). There is a separate supplement for the laws enacted by the forty-third General Assembly at its first regular session in 1961 and at its first extraordinary session in 1961.

** There are hardbound supplements to the C.R.S. 1963 from 1965 through 1971.

*** After 1973, the Revisor of Statutes, at the direction of the Committee on Legal Services, prepared cumulative supplements to the C.R.S. 1973 in the form of pocket parts or replacement volumes. This practice continued through 1996, before the softbound edition, from 1997 to the present.

Before 1921, enacted laws were not compiled into a comparative table, thereby making it more difficult to track the legislative history. Determining the subject matter in the statutory index is the only way to track the history of a statute because a statute did not retain its original number. The General Statutes of 1883 arranged laws into numbered chapters, alphabetically entitled, collated, and arranged by sections. This became the foundation and model for compiling the statutes until the codification of C.R.S. 1973.¹

Some source notes in the C.R.S. contain references to "Code 08," "Code 21," and "Code 35." These refer to the Revised Statutes of Colorado 1908, the Compiled Laws of Colorado 1921, and the Colorado Statutes Annotated 1935, respectively. Each of these volumes set forth the general statutes of the state of Colorado, including the Code of Civil Procedure and, in 1935, the Colorado Supreme Court Rules. On January 6, 1941, the Colorado Supreme Court adopted the new Rules of Civil Procedure, which became effective on April 6, 1941, resulting in the publication of a replacement volume. Thereafter, the publication of the Colorado Court Rules, although a continuing part of the C.R.S., contained a combination of the Federal Rules and the Colorado Code of Civil Procedure. In addition, it included some provisions that were entirely distinct from both the Federal Rules and the Colorado Code of Civil Procedure, as adopted or amended by the Supreme Court of Colorado.

Comparative Tables
R.S. 08 to C.L. 1921—located in the front of the C.L. 1921
C.L. 1921 to CSA 1935—located in the Index to CSA 1935
CSA 1935 to CRS 1953—located in the front of the Index to CRS 1953
CRS 1953 to C.R.S. 1963—located in the front of the Index to C.R.S. 1963
C.R.S. 1963 to current C.R.S.—located in the back of the Index to C.R.S.

For amendments made after 1973, information on each specific provision of a statutory section that was changed by a bill; the specific change to the provision (i.e., when a provision is added, amended, repealed, repealed & reenacted, or recreated & reenacted); and the effective date of the bill are shown.

Note
¹ See Revised Statutes of Colorado 1908, section 3, under An Act Providing For the Compilation, Publication, and Distribution of all the general statutes of the state.
## Table B
Explanation of Information Found in a Source Note

"L." is the abbreviation for "Session Laws" and is followed by a number indicating the year when the C.R.S. section was changed by an act generally creating new law, amending existing law, or repealing existing law; except that, in the Constitution, "L." also means constitutional measures referred by the General Assembly and voted on by the people of Colorado at a general or an odd-year election.

"Ex. Sess." is the abbreviation for "Extraordinary Session." When this abbreviation follows the year, the amended provision appears in the Session Laws for an extraordinary session for that year, not in the Session Laws for the regular session of the General Assembly for that year.

"p." is the abbreviation for "page" and is followed by a number indicating the page of the Session Laws where the section of the act that made the change to the C.R.S. section can be found.

"§" is the symbol for "section" and is followed by a number indicating the section of the act where the change to the C.R.S. section can be found.

"IP" is the abbreviation for the "introductory portion" to a section, subsection, paragraph, or subparagraph.

"Added" means the provision was newly enacted by the act.

"Added with relocations" means the provision in existing law was relocated from one title, article, part, or section to another title, article, part, or section, either with amendments or without amendments by the act.

"Amended" means the provision in existing law was amended by the act.

"Amended with relocations" means the provision in existing law was amended and relocated to reorganize an entire title, article, part, or section by the act.

"Repealed" means the provision was deleted from the existing law by the act through the use of a repeal provision.

"R&RE" is the abbreviation for "repealed and reenacted" and means the provision in existing law was repealed and reenacted by the act.

"RC&RE" is the abbreviation for "recreated and reenacted" and means a previously repealed provision has been recreated by the act.

"Added by revision" means a provision providing for the repeal of a statutory provision on a specified date was added by the Revisor of Statutes as a C.R.S. provision. Adding the provision is necessary because a separate section of the act provided for the repeal of the provision with a future effective date.

"Initiated (followed by the year)" means a provision was amended by means of an initiated petition approved by a vote of the people of Colorado at a general or an odd-year election.

"Referred (followed by the year)" means a provision was amended by a measure referred by the General Assembly and voted on by the people of Colorado at a general or an odd-year election; except that, in the constitution, a referred measure is indicated by "L." and also means constitutional measures referred by the General Assembly and voted on by the people of Colorado at a general or an odd-year election.

Starting in 2009, references to the bill number and chapter number are included in the source note.

Starting in 2017, references to the Amendment or Proposition letter or number are included in the source note to be consistent with section 1-40-115, C.R.S., and these terms are defined below:

"Amendment" means a constitutional provision that was amended by an initiated petition or referred measure and approved by a vote of the people of Colorado at a general or an odd-year election.

"Proposition" means a statutory provision that was amended by an initiated petition or referred measure and approved by vote of the people of Colorado at a general or an odd-year election.

Ballot questions referred by the General Assembly are listed by letter, and ballot questions initiated by the people are listed numerically.