Marijuana Legalization 2016: Understanding the policy landscape and design considerations

Beau Kilmer, PhD

Co-Director, RAND Drug Policy Research Center Senior Policy Researcher, RAND Corporation Professor, Pardee RAND Graduate School

SAPC-UCLA, April 2016



Roadmap

• Unprecedented changes in marijuana policy

 Design considerations for legal marijuana: The 10 P's

• What are we learning from jurisdictions that have legalized?

Altered State?

and Public Budgets

Peter H. Reuter

Beau Kilmer, Jonathan P. Caulkins,

Rosalie Liccardo Pacula, Robert J. MacCoun

Assessing How Marijuana

Legalization in California Could Influence Marijuana Consumption

Addiction FOR DEBATE

doi:10.1111/j.1360-0443.2011.03561.

Design considerations for legalizing cannabis: lessons inspired by analysis of California's Proposition 19

Jonathan P. Caulkins¹, Beau Kilmer², Robert J. MacCoun³, Rosalie Liccardo Pacula² & Peter Reuter⁴ inz College and Qatar Campus, Pittsburgh, PA, USA,¹ RAND Drug Policy Research Center, Santa Monica, CA, USA,² Goldmar

> egalized commer s insights about oices. Methods

PAPER

Mexico

California Help?

Beau Kilmer, Jonathan P. Caulkins,

Brittany M. Bond, Peter H. Reuter

Reducing Drug Trafficking

Revenues and Violence in

Would Legalizing Marijuana in



Office of National Drug Control Policy

X

What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs





SECOND EDITION JONATHAN P. CAULKINS, BEAU KILMER, MARK A. R. KLEIMAN

MARIJUANA

LEGALIZATION

WHAT EVERYONE NEEDS TO KNOW



INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS and

DRUG POLICY RESEARCH CENTER

dprc.rand.org

Insights based on interactions with government agencies

- Washington State Liquor Control Board
- Dutch Ministry of Security and Justice
- Uruguay's Junta Nacional de Drogas
- State of Vermont







Prohibition

Decriminalization N

Medical

Legalization

Reduce penalty for small transactions

Possession of small amounts a civil rather than criminal offense



Prohibition

Decriminalization Medical

Reduce penalty for small transactions

Possession of small amounts a civil rather than criminal offense Legal to possess, distribute, and produce

Legalization



Legalization

Prohibition

Decriminalization Medical

Reduce penalty for small transactions Possession of small amounts a civil rather than criminal offense Remove criminal sanctions for medical use

Access through home cultivation and/or dispensaries

Legal to possess, distribute, and produce

Why is marijuana legalization controversial?

Why is marijuana legalization controversial?



- Generate revenue
- Free up criminal justice resources
- Prevent users from getting a criminal record
- Make it easier to use for medical purposes

Why is marijuana legalization controversial?



- Generate revenue
- Free up criminal justice resources
- Prevent users from getting a criminal record
- Make it easier to use for medical purposes



- Increase youth use and clinical disorders
- More "drugged driving"
- Increase emergency room visits
- Increase psychotic symptoms
- Correlated with other outcomes

What is happening in the U.S. is unprecedented



Not even the Netherlands goes this far



Voters in Alaska and Oregon also passed initiatives to create for-profit marijuana industry



Voters in Washington DC passed an initiative to legalize home growing and "gifting"



Other states are considering legalization

- State legislators in U.S. have introduced bills
- Will be on the ballot in California and other states in 2016

But this is still <u>illegal</u> under U.S. federal law

• U.S. Department of Justice has decided not to block implementation

• Federal policy can change

• Sent a signal to other states and other countries

Roadmap

Unprecedented changes in marijuana policy

 Design considerations for legal marijuana: The 10 P's

• What are we learning from jurisdictions that have legalized?

Design Considerations: The 10 P's



Legalization will drive down production and distribution costs

Lower risk

Change scale of production

New technology

One pound of processed, high-potency marijuana

California black market "farm gate"



Caulkins et al., 2012; Daly, 2014

One pound of processed, high-potency marijuana

California black market "farm gate" ~\$1,500

Legalize indoor home-production only < \$400

Caulkins, 2010; Kilmer et al., 2010

One pound of processed, high-potency marijuana

California black market "farm gate" ~\$1,500

Legalize indoor home-production only < \$400

Legalize outdoor grows (THC equivalent) < \$40

Caulkins et al., 2012; 2016

Design Considerations: The 10 P's

1. Production

2. Profit Motive

Is the commercial alcohol model desirable?

- Heavy users drive market for alcohol
 - 80/20 rule (Cook, 2008)
 - Same for marijuana (Kilmer et al., 2014)

 Creates strong profit motive for private companies to maintain and nurture heavy users

Powerful lobby that fights regulations and taxes

Many alternatives to status quo prohibition



Commonly-discussed options in the US





Middle-ground options (small scale)



Middle-ground options (large scale)



Design Considerations: The 10 P's

1. Production

2. Profit Motive

3. Promotion

Promotion poses enormous challenges

Competition & profit -> incentives to promote

• Think about promotion in communities and in stores

• Countering promotion can be difficult in the U.S.

- Colorado and Washington are working to limit advertising
- Hard to eliminate in the U.S. with the "Commercial free speech" doctrine

Design Considerations: The 10 P's

- **1.** Production
- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion

4. Prevention

Many questions related to prevention

• Will resources be devoted to prevention and countering promotion?

 How will youth messaging change now that consumption is legal for adults?

• Will the messaging and strategy should be in place before legal marijuana ever hits the streets?

Prevention also includes limiting access or exposure to marijuana

Learn from experiences with alcohol & tobacco

- Pacula et al., 2014

• These decisions can make a big difference

- Number of retail off-premise stores
- Days of operation
- Hours of operation

Design considerations: The 10 P's

1. Production

- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion
- 4. Prevention

5. Policing & Enforcement

Marijuana-related police contacts will still occur

- In U.S., those under 21 years = 20-25% of market
 - In the U.S. (Burns et al., 2013

• Will police spend more or less time dealing with smoking in public?

 Will extra resources be devoted to eliminating black market transactions?
Design considerations: The 10 P's

1. Production



- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion
- 4. Prevention
- 5. Policing & Enforcement

What will the penalty be for breaking new law?

• What will penalties be for minors in possession and those who supply them?

- A criminal offense? Similar to alcohol?

• Will penalties for impaired driving change?

• Will production violations be criminal or just fines?

Design considerations: The 10 P's

- **1.** Production
- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion
- 4. Prevention & Treatment
- 5. Policing & Enforcement



Should THC levels be regulated?

• THC is the main intoxicant, also responsible for increasing anxiety and panic attacks

- E.g., Hall & Pacula, 2003; Room et al., 2010

 Mexican marijuana is 4-8% THC, sinsemilla sold in dispensaries ranges from 10-25% THC

- Kilmer et al., 2010; Kilmer et al., 2014

• Dutch are discussing limiting THC at 15%

Hash oil wax/shatter being used to "Dab"







Creating Cleaner Concentrates

Growing Classic Strains

Roseanne On Reefer

Hash oil wax/shatter being used to "Dab" My goal is not to create a panic about "dabs"; may just be a small-scale regional fad that will fade away.

Since we really don't know anything about prevalence or consequences, researchers and policymakers need to look into this.





CBD is now getting more attention

• CBD is a cannabinoid that is believed to offset some of the effects of THC

- Breeding for maximum THC decreased CBD levels
 - Eg., Burgdorf et al. 2011

• Emerging discussion about THC:CBD ratios

Design considerations: The 10 P's

- **1.** Production
- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion
- 4. Prevention & Treatment
- 5. Policing & Enforcement

6. Penalties7. Potency8. Purity

Need to give serious thought to:

Molds and contaminants

Additives and flavored products

• Will it be legal to infuse marijuana products with nicotine or alcohol?

Hash-oil solutions now used in e-cigarette devices



Design considerations: The 10 P's

- **1.** Production
- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion
- 4. Prevention & Treatment
- **5.** Policing & Enforcement

6. Penalties 7. Potency 8. Purity 9. Price

Price matters

Influences consumption and revenues

- 10% decline in price leads to ~3% increase in marijuana prevalence
 - Pacula & Lundberg, 2014; Gallet, 2014
 - We do not have good data on total price elasticity
 - Would be better if we had price per unit of THC

Options to elevate price

Require product testing

Reduce competition

Impose taxes

Need to think hard about marijuana taxes

• If taxes are too high, there will be evasion

• Will taxes be applied to the medical market?

• There are alternatives to taxing by value – E.g., By weight, % THC, THC:CBD ratio

Design considerations: The 10 P's

- **1.** Production
- 2. Profit Motive
- 3. Promotion
- 4. Prevention & Treatment
- 5. Policing & Enforcement

- 6. Penalties
- 7. Potency
- 8. Purity

9. Price

10.Permanency

How easy will it be to change policies?

 Early adopters will probably suffer growing pains and want to make changes

 Raises questions about how much <u>flexibility</u> to build into the taxation and regulatory regime

Could also consider incremental approach

• Lot of focus on evidence-based policy, but we don't have evidence base for marijuana supply

• Why start with one of the most extreme options?

 Could imagine starting with small-scale or nonprofit approach before alcohol model

Another idea: Sunset clause

• As sunset date approaches, legislature or voters could vote to sustain the law or try something else

 Would give jurisdictions an escape clause, a chance—by simply sitting still—to overcome the lobbying muscle of the new industry

Roadmap

• Unprecedented changes in marijuana policy

 Design considerations for legal marijuana: The 10 P's

• What are we learning from jurisdictions that have legalized?

What are we learning?

• It's very early!

Arrests are decreasing in CO and WA

• Tax revenue coming in, not as much as projected

• Edibles are posing regulatory challenges

What is happening with marijuana prevalence?

- Self-reported past-month use is increasing
 - Up 43% in CO from 2011/2 to 2013/4
 - Up 25% in WA from 2011/2 to 2013/4
 - However, 3 other states saw larger increases than CO

• Colorado leads country in youth prevalence

• But...

...Be very careful about drawing strong inferences

- Only focused on prevalence, not consumption
- Need to put self-report data in perspective
- Need to consider control "groups", rival hypotheses
- Also need to pay close attention to what's happening with use of alcohol, tobacco, and prescription opioids

Concluding thoughts

• You will continue to hear a lot about marijuana

Concluding thoughts

• You will continue to hear a lot about marijuana

• Reasonable people can disagree about marijuana

Concluding thoughts

• You will continue to hear a lot about marijuana

• Reasonable people can disagree about marijuana

 These "10 P's" are a good place to start for those who want to engage in debate, design, and analysis



Drug Policy Research Center