Lieutenant Governor Fetterman Statewide Cannabis Listening Tour Report

July 2019
Executive Summary

On January 24, 2019, Governor Tom Wolf asked Lieutenant Governor John Fetterman to launch an unbiased statewide listening tour to hear Pennsylvanians’ opinions – whether they were in favor of, opposed to, or undecided – about legalizing adult-use retail cannabis.

Protocol: At least a week before each stop, Lieutenant Governor Fetterman personally called every State Representative and State Senator to invite them to the stops in their respective districts/counties. After each call, Fetterman’s office sent an email to the elected official to provide full details about the stop. This uniform procedure was performed for each and every tour stop.

The tour started on February 11, 2019 in Dauphin County and ended May 19, 2019 in Philadelphia County. Over 98 days and 70 stops, Lieutenant Governor John Fetterman handed the floor to residents from Greene to Wayne and from Erie to Philadelphia. The largest single-county showing was in Lancaster, with more than 400 attendees. Philadelphia, the state’s most populous county, had the lowest attendance, with a few dozen residents.

By show of hands, a majority of attendees supported legalization in all but a handful of counties. Key takeaways from tour attendees are as follows:

1. 65-70% approve of adult-use cannabis legalization.
2. Residents favored creation of an oversight entity to regulate sales in a strict, controlled manner.
3. Residents expressed near-unanimous support for decriminalization and mass expungement of non-violent and small cannabis-related offenses.
4. People see economic potential, saying the state would save money on prosecution and incarceration of cannabis-related offenses. Residents who commented said regulated sales could create jobs. They specified that income generated should be used for infrastructure, education, and property tax relief.
5. Many emphasized that cannabis, if legalized, should be grown on Pennsylvania farms and should create jobs in Pennsylvania. Residents were also interested in a provision allowing six to eight homegrown cannabis plants for personal use.
6. There was near-unanimous support for removing cannabis from its current classification as a Schedule 1 drug, alongside deadly drugs like heroin.
7. The tour showed widespread, universal support for the state’s medical marijuana program. Residents want to see distinct programs for medical marijuana and adult recreational use.
8. Support or opposition does not appear to be contained to certain demographics or party affiliations.
9. People are concerned about an increase of people **driving under the influence**.

10. Most are **opposed to candy-like edibles**, such as gummy worms, because of their potential appeal for children.

11. People have concerns about cannabis acting as a “**gateway**” drug.

The report that follows is comprised of two sections. The first section examines the volumes of correspondence received through an online form hosted by the governor’s website, remarks made, and comment cards received at tour stops, and all other cannabis-related comments received by the lieutenant governor’s office in various formats.

It includes a county-by-county breakdown of support and opposition, including breakdowns of the most common arguments received for and against legalization during the tour. The second section highlights positive and negative results of legalization among individual states where cannabis has been legalized.
Part I:

State and County Profiles
Statewide

Number of Attendees: 10,275
Number of Comments: 44,407

Tour Stop Comments
10,275 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
44,407 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization or Opposition:

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice: releasing/expunging past non-violent cannabis convictions
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Autonomy: restoring personal rights/freedoms over one’s body
4. Cannabis is safer than alcohol and opioids

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Increased vehicular accidents, concern with measuring DUI level
3. Workplace Concerns: workforce lethargy, increased insurance costs, industrial accidents
4. Potential negative effects on the development of youth and students

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.
This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.
Tour Stop Comments

Percent of those supporting legalization
Adams County

Date of Event: April 24, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~200

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Criminal justice: releasing/expunging past non-violent cannabis convictions
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Autonomy: restoring personal rights/freedoms over one’s body

**Opposition:**
1. Potential negative effects on youth, students, and non-smoking members of the community
2. Increased vehicular accidents, concern with measuring DUI level
3. Insufficient information and research available
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Criminal justice: releasing/expunging past non-violent cannabis convictions
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure

**Opposition:**
1. Concerns about full legalization, preferring decriminalization first
Armstrong County

Date of Event: March 28, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~100

Tour Stop Comments
100 Total Responses

- For: 72%
- Against: 18%
- Undecided: 10%

Overall Feedback
277 Total Responses

- For: 75%
- Against: 22%
- Undecided: 3%

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, voicemail inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
2. Cannabis is a plant, and people should be able to grow it
3. Economic stimulus: increase competition, small-business development, and job creation

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Negative effects on youth and students
3. Increased vehicular accidents, concern with measuring DUI level
Beaver County

Date of Event: March 31, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~100

Tour Stop Comments
100 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
493 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice: releasing/expunging past non-violent cannabis convictions
2. Regulation will increase state tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Concern with measuring DUI level
2. “Sends a terrible message to children”
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: Increased tax revenue
2. Criminal justice: releasing/expunging past non-violent cannabis convictions
3. Autonomy: restoring personal rights/freedoms over one’s body

Opposition
1. Increased public health and safety concerns
2. Legalization will add to the current drug crisis
3. Negative effects on youth and students
**Berks County**

**Date of Event:** April 9, 2019  
**Number of Attendees:** ~225

**Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition**

**Legalization:**
1. Medical effects without prohibitive medical costs
2. Tax revenue could offset school taxes, business investment, and infrastructure
3. Would like the ability to grow at home

**Opposition:**
1. Concern with measuring DUI level
2. Insufficient information and research available
3. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: possessing and using cannabis should not be a crime
2. Increased tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Increased vehicular accidents, concern with measuring DUI level
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Tax revenue: fix roads, support public education
2. Criminal justice reform: county jails are burdened from non-violent cannabis arrests

**Opposition:**
1. Abuse of cannabis
2. Workplace concerns, such as workforce lethargy, increase in insurance costs, and industrial accidents
3. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
**Bucks County**

**Date of Event:** May 15, 2019

**Number of Attendees:** ~150

### Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Economic benefits: additional tax revenue
2. Criminal justice reform: expunging non-violent cannabis-related criminal records, saving the money the state spends prosecuting and imprisoning non-violent users

**Opposition:**
1. Could lead to impaired judgment on the road or among those operating machinery
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Insufficient information and research available
Butler County

Date of Event: March 21, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~275

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Potential of lower crime rates
2. Health benefits akin to medical marijuana

Opposition:
1. Negative effects on public health, youth
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Insufficient information and research available
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Allow people to grow cannabis
3. Criminal justice reform: expungement for non-violent cannabis-related records

Opposition:
1. Not going well in Colorado
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Concerns about youth being exposed
Date of Event: May 16, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~60

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Recreational cannabis has the same benefits of medical marijuana but costs significantly less

Opposition:
1. Insufficient information and research available, specifically long-term effects
2. Workforce recruitment: employees testing positive for cannabis could have problem
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Criminal justice reform: expungement for non-violent cannabis-related sentences
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue

**Opposition:**
1. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood
2. Immediate negative effects on the surrounding areas, such as odor and crime
Centre County

Date of Event: April 16, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~100

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: expungement for non-violent cannabis related sentences
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue
3. Creates opportunities for cannabis research

Opposition:
1. Could lead to increased DUI-related accidents
2. More research is needed on long-term effects
3. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faces.
Chester County

Date of Event: April 15, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~160

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: small businesses would thrive and the state would have increased revenue
2. Criminal justice reform: We spend too much money on non-violent cannabis-related prosecution and incarceration.

Opposition
1. Concerns about youth, schools, and future health effects
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood; more research needed

Tour Stop Comments
160 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
1,506 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.
Date of Event: April 18, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~140

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: small business/state revenue positives
2. Criminal justice reform: non-violent cannabis-related drug convictions tear families apart

Opposition:
1. Could lead to increased DUI-related accidents
2. Concerns that regular use leads to mental illness
Clearfield County

Date of Event:  February 21, 2019

Number of Attendees:  ~200

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Cannabis provides health benefits
3. Less harmful than alcohol or opioids

Opposition
1. Insufficient information and research available
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Concerns about people prone to psychosis
Clinton County

Date of Event: April 27, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~60

Tour Stop Comments
60 Total Responses

- For: 78%
- Against: 12%
- Undecided: 9%

Overall Feedback
203 Total Responses

- For: 85%
- Against: 13%
- Undecided: 2%

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: record expungement of non-violent cannabis-related convictions
2. Autonomy: restoring personal rights and freedoms over one’s body

Opposition:
1. Could lead to workforce problems like lethargy or poor performance
2. Insufficient information and research available

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.
Columbia County

Date of Event: April 30, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~115

Tour Stop Comments
115 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Overall Feedback
344 Total Responses

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Continued Opposition has disproportionate racial ramifications
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Insufficient information and research available
Crawford County

Date of Event: February 27, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~200

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Autonomy: restoring personal rights and freedoms over one’s body
2. Cannabis provides health benefits
3. Current law is unfair and targets marginalized communities

Opposition
1. Secondhand smoke from cannabis could be harmful to the community
2. Usage could prejudice businesses against hiring somebody
3. Concerns that cannabis increases risks of addiction and abuse, is a gateway drug
**Cumberland County**

**Date of Event:** February 13, 2019  
**Number of Attendees:** ~100

**Tour Stop Comments**  
100 Total Responses

- For: 71%
- Against: 24%
- Undecided: 5%

*This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.*

**Overall Feedback**  
1,018 Total Responses

- For: 81%
- Against: 17%
- Undecided: 2%

*This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.*

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**Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition**

**Legalization:**
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Less harm than alcohol or opioids
3. Current law is unfair and targets marginalized communities

**Opposition**
1. More education/research about cannabis needed
2. Concerns that cannabis leads to more health problems
3. Concerns about where the tax revenue would be spent
Dauphin County

Date of Event: February 11, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~350

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Recreational cannabis would provide another option to people using it for health benefits

Opposition:
1. Concerns of increased risk of addiction
2. Concerns about increased DUI-related accidents
Delaware County

Date of Event: April 22, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~150

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue, increase funding for schools
2. Criminal justice reform: expunge non-violent cannabis-related convictions

Opposition:
1. Cannabis is “unsafe and unhealthy”
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. There’s no way to test somebody during a DUI stop
Elk County

Date of Event: March 9, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~80

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Health benefits
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue
3. Decriminalization for those who use cannabis

Opposition:
1. Lack of information about regulating cannabis
2. Concerns that it will add to the current drug crisis
3. Cannabis could lead to increased DUI charges
Erie County

Date of Event: February 16, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~280

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: increased tax revenue
2. Recreational cannabis has the same benefits of medical marijuana but costs significantly less
3. Regulation of cannabis will decrease abuse of other substances

Opposition:
1. Exposure to children
2. Does not promote a healthy lifestyle

Tour Stop Comments
280 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
1,129 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.
Fayette County

Date of Event:  March 5, 2019
Number of Attendees:  ~125

Tour Stop Comments
125 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
412 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Cannabis is a naturally occurring substance

Opposition:
1. Regular cannabis use could adversely affect families and communities
2. Does not promote a healthy lifestyle
3. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Cannabis is less harmful than alcohol
2. Economic benefits: education and infrastructure funding could increase
3. Autonomy: restoring personal rights and freedoms over one’s body

Opposition:
1. Legalizing cannabis shouldn’t be purely an economic decision
2. Potential for increased DUI charges
**Franklin County**

**Date of Event:** May 2, 2019

**Number of Attendees:** ~300

### Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Recreational cannabis offers same benefits as medical marijuana but costs significantly less
2. Criminal justice reform: stop arresting people for non-violent cannabis offenses
3. Fiscal benefit for counties to reduce school taxes

**Opposition:**
1. Concern that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. There is not enough research on cannabis and its effects
3. Could lead to an increase in DUI charges and insurance increases
Date of Event: April 17, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~100

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Cannabis is safer than tobacco and alcohol
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue, school/property tax relief

Opposition:
1. Long-term health effects, not enough research or data points yet
2. Societal effects
3. Many consider it a “gateway drug”
Greene County

**Date of Event:** February 19, 2019

**Number of Attendees:** ~150

### Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

#### Legalization:
1. Cannabis is a naturally occurring substance
2. Alcohol presents more issues than cannabis but is still completely legal
3. Health benefits

#### Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Potential for increased DUI charges
3. Not enough research yet
Huntingdon County

Date of Event: March 20, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~150

Tour Stop Comments
150 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
238 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Criminal justice reform: stop arresting for possession and use of cannabis
3. Less harmful than alcohol or opioids

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Could have negative effects on youth
3. Increased DUI charges
Indiana County

Date of Event: April 14, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~200

Tour Stop Comments
200 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
389 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: increased tax revenues and job growth
2. Criminal justice reform: the government shouldn’t lock people up for non-violent cannabis-related offenses
3. Regulation of cannabis will decrease abuse of other substances

Opposition:
1. Could lead to opioid usage
2. There’s not enough research or information available
3. Too much focus on tax benefits
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: increased tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Could lead to impaired judgment/dangerous drivers and machine operators
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Potential negative effects on youth and schools, and the general community
Juniata County

Date of Event: February 24, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~75

Tour Stop Comments
75 Total Responses

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<th>Against</th>
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Overall Feedback
141 Total Responses

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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</table>

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: stop spending so much money prosecuting non-violent cannabis-related crimes
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue
3. Recreational cannabis offers the same health benefits as medical marijuana

Opposition:
1. Concerns about exposure to children
2. Could lead to an increase in violent crimes
3. Shouldn’t legalize cannabis during the current drug crisis
Lackawanna County

Date of Event: March 2, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~200

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: stop spending so much money prosecuting non-violent cannabis-related crimes
2. Recreational cannabis offers the same health benefits as medical marijuana
3. Economic benefits: tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Concerns of exposure to children
2. Concerns that society will be more dangerous
Lancaster County

Date of Event: March 18, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~355

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Cannabis is a naturally occurring substance
3. Regulated products would be much safer than the illegal market

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis increases mental illnesses and violence
2. Legalization could be detrimental to young people
3. Can cause impairment and lack of judgment
Lawrence County

Date of Event: April 3, 2019

Number of Attendees: ~180

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue, funding for public schools
2. Can be an alternative to harmful drugs

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Operating machinery/vehicles under the influence is not safe
3. Could be detrimental to the workforce and lead to many people being fired due to drug testing

Tour Stop Comments
180 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
384 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.
Lebanon County

Date of Event: April 10, 2019
Number of Attendees: ~235

Tour Stop Comments
235 Total Responses

- For: 63%
- Against: 28%
- Undecided: 10%

Overall Feedback
637 Total Responses

- For: 72%
- Against: 25%
- Undecided: 3%

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: disproportionately affects minorities, should expunge records of non-violent cannabis-related convictions
2. Autonomy: restoring personal rights and freedoms over one’s body
3. Economic benefits: tax revenue, lower gas prices, fund state budget

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Driving under the influence can’t be measured accurately
3. Not enough education on the issue and more research is needed
Lehigh County

Date of Event: April 6, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~110

Tour Stop Comments
110 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
916 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: property tax relief
2. Criminal justice reform: non-violent cannabis-related charges can ruin lives

Opposition
1. Concerns about youth
2. Concerns cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood; more research needed
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legislation:**
1. Economic benefits: property tax relief
2. Criminal justice reform: non-violent cannabis-related charges can ruin lives

**Opposition**
1. More intoxicated drivers could lead to an increase in vehicular accidents
2. Cannabis use leads to mental disorders
3. Could have negative impact on youth and community as a whole
Lycoming County

Date of Event: May 1, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~240

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: too many are arrested, need to expunge records for non-violent cannabis-related charges
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue

Opposition
1. Could lead to impaired judgment, dangerous drivers on the road, and dangerous machine operators
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood; more research needed
McKean County

Date of Event:  March 9, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees:  ~80

Tour Stop Comments
80 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Overall Feedback
177 Total Responses

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue, decrease in prosecution costs
2. Decriminalization of cannabis: lower crime rates
3. Remove the negative (criminal) stigma around cannabis

Opposition
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Produces potential public health issue
3. Increases the risk of addiction to opioids and other drugs
Mercer County

Date of Event: March 29, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~160

Tour Stop Comments
160 Total Responses

- 43% For
- 8% Against
- 49% Undecided

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Overall Feedback
431 Total Responses

- 72% For
- 25% Against
- 3% Undecided

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Potential health benefits
3. Cannabis does less harm than alcohol or opioids

Opposition
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Increased risk of addiction and abuse
3. Concerns about unintentional exposure to children
Mifflin County

Date of Event: March 26, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~150

Tour Stop Comments
150 Total Responses

For: 23%
Against: 13%
Undecided: 64%

Overall Feedback
288 Total Responses

For: 75%
Against: 7%
Undecided: 18%

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Would combat the opioid epidemic
3. Medical marijuana is too expensive and difficult to obtain

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Produces potential public health issue
3. Increases the risk of addiction to opioids and other drugs
Monroe County

Date of Event: April 7, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~100

Tour Stop Comments
100 Total Responses

- 73% For
- 14% Against
- 14% Undecided

Overall Feedback
570 Total Responses

- 90% For
- 7% Against
- 3% Undecided

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Health benefits from cannabis
3. Decriminalization of non-violent cannabis users

Opposition:
1. Produces potential public health issue
2. Causes impairment in driving and employee performance
3. Potential issue with secondhand smoke
Montgomery County

Date of Event: March 12, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~350

Tour Stop Comments
350 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
2,762 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. The unsuccessful war on drugs needs to end
3. Cannabis is a natural substance, not a drug

Opposition:
1. Increased number of DUI charges
2. Produces potential public health issue
3. Concerns about exposure to youth
Montour County

Date of Event: May 7, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~90

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: tax revenue
2. Help with social acceptance and getting a job while using medical marijuana

Opposition:
1. American Medical Association’s concerns on recreational cannabis
2. Potential negative societal effects on youth
3. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood; more research needed
Northampton County

Date of Event: April 7, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~200

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Scientific research shows support
2. Autonomy: restoring rights and freedoms over one’s body
3. Economic benefits: tax revenue could offset property taxes and fund education

Opposition:
1. Concerns about unintentional exposure to children
Northumberland County

Date of Event: May 8, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~100

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Medical benefits without medical-grade cost
2. Autonomy: restoring personal rights and freedoms over one’s body

Opposition:
1. Increased number of impaired drivers on the roads
2. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood; more research needed
**Perry County**

**Date of Event:** March 25, 2019

**Approximate # of Attendees:** ~175

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**Tour Stop Comments**

*175 Total Responses*

- **For:** 51%
- **Against:** 43%
- **Undecided:** 6%

*This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.*

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**Overall Feedback**

*373 Total Responses*

- **For:** 68%
- **Against:** 29%
- **Undecided:** 3%

*This includes all tour stop comments, web form inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.*

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**Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition**

**Legalization:**

1. Allow agriculture industry to get involved and grow it naturally
2. Cannabis does less harm than alcohol
3. Decriminalization of non-violent cannabis users: it is unjust that “small-time” users are incarcerated

**Opposition:**

1. Concern about increased use among youth
2. Increased number of DUI charges
3. Concerns about regulation and enforcement
**Philadelphia County**

**Date of Event:** May 18-19, 2019  
**Approximate # of Attendees:** ~100

**Tour Stop Comments**  
100 Total Responses

- 94% For
- 3% Against
- 3% Undecided

*This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.*

**Overall Feedback**  
2,157 Total Responses

- 96% For
- 3% Against
- 4% Undecided

*This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.*

**Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition**

**Legalization:**
1. Criminal justice reform: records should be expunged, the state wastes money by putting non-violent cannabis users in prison
2. Benefits tax revenue, public education, job creation, and technology innovation

**Opposition:**
1. Could lead to impaired judgment and increase in impaired drivers
Pike County

Date of Event: April 28, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~45

Tour Stop Comments
45 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
180 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: expunge records of non-violent offenders of cannabis-related convictions and release those who are incarcerated for non-violent cannabis-related convictions
2. Economic benefits: revenue could help to fund public schools

Opposition:
1. We need to consider research and results from other states
2. Increased risk of mental illness and violence
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: too many people are arrested for non-violent cannabis-related charges and we need to expunge the records of those charges and convictions
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Long-term health and societal effects are not yet understood; more research needed
Schuylkill County

Date of Event: March 2, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~200

Tour Stop Comments
200 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
633 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Decriminalization of cannabis use
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue
3. Employers shouldn’t be able to hold cannabis use against an employee

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. More education/research needed
3. Increased number of DUI charges
Snyder County

Date of Event: April 29, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~100

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Criminal justice reform: release prisoners incarcerated on non-violent cannabis charges
2. Economic benefits: more tax revenue

Opposition:
1. Too many negative effects of cannabis
2. Violent crimes attributed to use of cannabis
Somerset County

Date of Event: March 7, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~75

Tour Stop Comments
75 Total Responses

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Overall Feedback
243 Total Responses

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Less harm than alcohol or opioids
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue
3. Legalization of state regulating the industry

Opposition:
1. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
2. Increased number of DUI charges
3. Let the public vote, not state lawmakers
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Cannabis does less harm than alcohol
2. Honest and real education on cannabis is a must

**Opposition:**
1. Increased number of DUI charges
2. Opioid addicts can start with cannabis, a potential gateway drug
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Less harmful effects than alcohol
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure

Opposition:
1. Why risk creating more problems with an ongoing drug epidemic in the state
2. Increased number of DUI charges
**Tioga County**

**Date of Event:** April 23, 2019

**Approximate # of Attendees:** ~150

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**Tour Stop Comments**

*150 Total Responses*

- For: 72%
- Against: 18%
- Undecided: 9%

*This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.*

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**Overall Feedback**

*272 Total Responses*

- For: 77%
- Against: 15%
- Undecided: 8%

*This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.*

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**Most Commonly Mentioned Arguments in Support & Opposition:**

**Legalization:**
1. Cannabis is safer than alcohol
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Legalize it, but keep corporate cannabis out of the state

**Opposition:**
1. We already do a poor job of regulating alcohol
2. Increased number of DUI charges
Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

**Legalization:**
1. Opportunity for Pennsylvania small businesses, and potential tax revenue
2. Criminal justice reform: correct the overincarceration of people of color

**Opposition:**
1. Need to educate children about the possible effect of cannabis on the brain
2. Increased use among youth
Venango County

Date of Event: March 10, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~170

Tour Stop Comments
170 Total Responses

- For: 77%
- Against: 16%
- Undecided: 7%

Overall Feedback
401 Total Responses

- For: 75%
- Against: 21%
- Undecided: 4%

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Eliminate the stigma against cannabis
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure

Opposition:
1. Increased risk of addiction and abuse
2. Increased number of DUI charges
3. Will create a potential problem for younger generations
Warren County

Date of Event: February 16, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~150

Tour Stop Comments
150 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
280 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
2. Decriminalization is necessary
3. Regulated products are much safer

Opposition:
1. Why is this needed now? Other more important issues
2. Increased number of DUI charges
3. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.
Washington County

Date of Event:  February 18, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~150

Tour Stop Comments
150 Total Responses

- For: 85%
- Against: 6%
- Undecided: 10%

This includes all written comment cards and remarks from participants during the stops.

Overall Feedback
600 Total Responses

- For: 82%
- Against: 16%
- Undecided: 2%

This includes all tour stop comments, webform inquiries, mail, e-mail, phone calls, and faxes.

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Cannabis is safer than alcohol
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Cannabis is a natural substance

Opposition:
1. More education/research needed
2. Concerns about where the money generated will be spent
3. Concerns about secondhand exposure to children
Wayne County

Date of Event: April 28, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~100

Tour Stop Comments
100 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
285 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Reduces impact on law enforcement officers
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Legalize it, but keep corporate cannabis out of the state

Opposition:
1. Concerns with a federal law still banning the drug
2. Concerns that cannabis is a gateway drug
3. Generated tax revenue will not cover increased hospitalizations/violence
Westmoreland County

Date of Event: March 7, 2019  
Approximate # of Attendees: ~200

Tour Stop Comments  
200 Total Responses

Overall Feedback  
1,196 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Cannabis is not a gateway drug
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Jail time for a non-violent possession charge is wrong

Opposition:
1. Increased violence caused by cannabis
2. Produces potential public health issue
3. Why legalize it when we already have a drug problem
Wyoming County

Date of Event: May 4, 2019
Approximate # of Attendees: ~40

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Cannabis is safer than alcohol
2. Economic benefits: tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure

Opposition:
1. We already do a poor job of regulating alcohol
2. Increased number of DUI charges
York County

Date of Event: March 19, 2019

Approximate # of Attendees: ~325

Tour Stop Comments
325 Total Responses

Overall Feedback
2,249 Total Responses

Most Common Reasons Cited for Legalization and Opposition

Legalization:
1. Cannabis is a natural substance
2. Economic benefits: creating additional jobs and tax revenue, increased funding for items such as education and/or infrastructure
3. Less harm than alcohol and harder drugs

Opposition:
1. Employment concerns, such as an intoxicated employee
2. Increased number of DUI charges
Part II:

National Profile
State Recreational Cannabis Regulatory Frameworks

Introduction
As of July 2019, eleven states plus the District of Columbia have fully legalized adult recreational use of cannabis.\(^1\) The rise in recreational cannabis comes on the heels of policies decriminalizing or establishing medicinal cannabis programs. Only 10 states have not adopted any policies relaxing the regulation of cannabis.\(^2\) There is notable variance among states’ regulatory frameworks for both medical and recreational cannabis programs. In fact, Vermont did not include any regulatory system in their enabling legislation.\(^3\) This brief is intended to highlight the regulatory frameworks used by states for adult-use recreational cannabis and the differences therein.

Figure 1 - NCSL Map of State Cannabis Programs (2019, July)\(^4\)

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\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) National Conference of State Legislatures. (2019, March 5). State Medical Marijuana Laws. Retrieved from

The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) performed a deep dive on cannabis policies in the United States and laid out the following key policy considerations:

**Federal Consideration:** Marijuana is a Schedule I drug under federal law. It is defined as dangerous, has no currently accepted medical use and has a high potential for abuse. This complicates taxation, banking, and other areas regulated by federal laws.

**Decriminalization:** Twenty-six states and the District of Columbia have decriminalized the possession of small amounts of cannabis for personal consumption. Generally, in these states, possession is treated as a civil or local infraction (or a minor misdemeanor with no jail time) instead of a crime.

**Medical Marijuana:** With 30 states, the District of Columbia, Guam and Puerto Rico having comprehensive medical marijuana programs and at least another 17 states allowing the use of products with low-THC (the active ingredient in cannabis) for medical purposes, most states have some experience with the legalization of medical marijuana.

**Regulations and Taxation:** Alaska, Colorado, Oregon and Washington are developing their own unique structures to collect tax revenue license and regulate cannabis cultivation facilities and retail shops. The newly approved programs will take some time to finalize their regulations and tax structures.

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6 Ibid.
**Impairment While Driving:** New cannabis products, unfamiliar new strains, and the different metabolism rates of THC and alcohol make it difficult to determine levels of impairment. Currently, Colorado and Washington use a threshold of 5 nanograms or more of THC per milliliter of blood as a measurement for driving under the influence of cannabis.

**Public Safety:** States are trying to balance regulating a legal cannabis market for adults with preventing access by children. This includes requiring identification checks at dispensaries, prohibiting anyone under age 21 inside dispensaries, requiring child-resistant packaging of cannabis products, and prohibiting the use of cannabis in public.

**Education and Prevention:** States are also supporting research and educating the public about the personal health effects of cannabis. In addition to offering prevention programs for adolescents, states are working hard to debunk any possible misperception that cannabis is acceptable, legal, and safe for children, whose brains are still developing.

**Alaska**

In 2014, a ballot initiative was put forward and passed with 53 percent of the vote to legalize and regulate recreational use of cannabis. Following passage, the state legislature passed a bill to create the Marijuana Control Board (MCB) within the Department of Commerce, Community, and Economic Development, which promulgated and adopted regulations, effective as of February 21, 2016, governing recreational cannabis. The MCB has the authority to “control the cultivation, manufacture, and sale of cannabis in the state.”

**Regulatory Framework:**

To purchase cannabis in Alaska, citizens must be 21 years of age or older, show proof of their age, and be “legitimate, taxpaying businesspeople, and not criminal actors…”

Citizens who meet those criteria are able to possess, use, purchase, and transport one ounce or less of cannabis or not more than six cannabis plants with three or fewer being mature, flowering plants, transfer one ounce or less to another eligible citizen, consume cannabis, or assist any eligible citizen in those actions. Notably, Alaska prohibits public consumption of cannabis.

Additionally, all cannabis sold by regulated business must be properly labeled and include warnings that cannabis is intoxicating, potentially habit forming, impairs coordination and judgement, should not be consumed if operating a vehicle or machinery, has health risks, may

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10 Alaska Statute (AS) 17.38 Sec. 17.38.010
11 Id. Sec 17.38.010
12 Id. Sec 17.38.020
13 Id. Sec 17.38.040
only be used by adults over the age of 21, and should not be used by women who are pregnant or breast feeding.\textsuperscript{14}

Cannabis manufacturers and retailers are required to register with the state.\textsuperscript{15} The state does not control the number of cannabis establishments; however, local jurisdictions may limit the number.\textsuperscript{16} In fact, the state provides local jurisdictions and established villages a significant amount of local control regarding cannabis establishments and use.

**California**

California is often used as a benchmark for cannabis laws and regulations, in part because the state approved the Compassionate Use Act in 1996, marking one of the earliest medical marijuana programs in the country.\textsuperscript{17} Then, in 2016, California voters used a ballot initiative, Proposition 64, to legalize recreational adult-use cannabis. That culminated in legal sales by 2018.\textsuperscript{18} California is the most highly populated state with a recreational cannabis program and collected over $350 million in tax revenues in its first full year of sales.\textsuperscript{19} It is notable these revenues were far less than the state originally projected. California attributes its revenue shortfall to a strong illegal market with cheaper prices and no taxes, raising questions about the best way to regulate the market without creating prohibitive prices.\textsuperscript{20}

**Regulatory Framework:**

In California, adults over the age of 21 may purchase up to one ounce of dry leaf cannabis or eight ounces of cannabis concentrates per day.\textsuperscript{21} As with purchasing alcohol or tobacco products, adults need to verify their age prior to purchasing cannabis products. The state also prohibits sale between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., which is not an uncommon regulation on other controlled substances.\textsuperscript{22}

The state prohibits any public consumption of cannabis in any form, including smoking, eating, or vaping, although local jurisdictions have the discretion to relax those rules. Some of the larger cities in California have exercised their jurisdiction, allowing cannabis lounges that offer a legal place for people to consume cannabis.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{14} 3 AAC 306.345.
\textsuperscript{15} AS 17.38 Sec. 17.38.200
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Marijuana Policy Project. (n.d.). State Policy - California. Retrieved from https://www.mpp.org/states/california/
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Associated Press. (2019, January 11).
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
Colorado is one of the most well-known recreational cannabis states. The state took its first step towards cannabis legalization in November 2000, when voters supported a medical marijuana program. The medical marijuana program was limited, never eclipsing 5,000 cardholders over an eight-year period. In 2009, the medical marijuana landscape in Colorado changed due to a court ruling that allowed caregivers to support an unlimited amount of patients and a District Attorney opinion that outlined relaxed enforcement. Because of these shifts, the amount of medical marijuana patients in Colorado exploded to over 100,000 registered cardholders by 2012. By 2013, Colorado passed recreational cannabis through Amendment 64.

Colorado’s recreational cannabis program is often considered a model for other states because of the state’s success. In 2018, state recreational cannabis sales excluding medical sales were a staggering $1.3 billion. Those collections are primarily dedicated to the state’s education system. The state is projecting relatively consistent growth through 2022, expecting over $2 billion in annual revenues by that year.

Regulatory Framework:
To purchase or use cannabis in Colorado, you must be at least 21 years old and purchase it from a legally licensed retailer. Persons under the age of 21 years old may not walk into the portion of a retail store where cannabis products are sold. People may only purchase and be in possession of up to 1 ounce of cannabis at any given time. Consistent with most other recreational cannabis jurisdictions, consuming cannabis in any form is not allowed in public places, including parks, bars, and restaurants. Additionally, all cannabis products must be packaged and labeled according to the Colorado Department of Revenue requirements.

Colorado taxes cannabis products through both an excise tax at the wholesale level and a sales tax at retail. The excise tax on the wholesale price is applied at a rate of 15 percent. There is a 10 percent sales tax added on top of the 2.9 percent standard sales tax to the price of cannabis; however, neither the excise tax nor the sales tax applies to medical marijuana. As mentioned earlier, the state has raised over $1 billion in cannabis-related taxes in the last fiscal year.

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
**District of Columbia**
In 2014, voters in the District of Columbia approved Initiative 71 to legalize possession and cultivation of limited amounts of cannabis by individuals 21 and older.\(^{36}\) The unique relationship between the federal government and the District of Columbia is responsible for the lack of a taxation structure. The District of Columbia’s budget is controlled by Congress, so any taxation or economic regulation of cannabis must be approved in Congress. Consequently, the sale of cannabis is not legalized by Initiative 71. The District of Columbia Council is currently considering proposals to regulate and tax cannabis-related businesses.

**Regulatory Framework:**
Adults 21 and older can possess, purchase, and transport up to two ounces of cannabis for personal use. Personal cultivation of cannabis can consist of up to six plants, no more than three of which can be mature. Up to one ounce of cannabis can be transferred between adults 21 and older, but it cannot be sold.\(^{37}\) In the workplace, employers are still allowed to enforce anti-cannabis policies regarding their employees. Property owners may regulate any cannabis-related activities on their properties.\(^{38}\)

**Illinois**
Illinois is the first in the nation to use the legislature instead of a ballot question to create a system for providing and regulating recreational cannabis.\(^{39}\) Following bipartisan votes in the Illinois House and Senate, Governor J.B. Pritzker signed the bill, HB 1438, into law on June 25, 2019. This comprehensive approach incorporates criminal justice and social equity reforms, home cultivation, cannabis business types, and a tax structure.\(^{40}\)

Convictions up to 30 grams would automatically be expunged, and the state’s attorney can petition the court to vacate convictions of amounts ranging 30-500 grams; the Illinois State Policy Advisory Council estimates over 750,000 cannabis-related cases will be eligible for expungement.\(^{41}\) A “social equity applicant”, an individual impacted by the war on cannabis, will be able to apply for assistance, such as receiving additional points on applications for business licenses, access to financial resources for cannabis business start-ups, and access to the Restore, Reinvest, and Renew Program.\(^{42}\) The law will go into effect January 1, 2020.\(^{43}\)

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\(^{38}\) Ibid.


\(^{41}\) Ibid.

\(^{42}\) Ibid.

\(^{43}\) Ibid.


Regulatory Framework:
Adults 21 and older who are residents will be allowed to purchase and possess cannabis products, but they will be limited to 30 grams of raw cannabis, cannabis-infused product(s) with no more than 250 mg THC, and 5 grams of concentrated cannabis products; non-resident adults will be limited to half the aforementioned amounts.\textsuperscript{44} The law provides for several different types of cannabis-related business licenses: Dispensary, Processor, Transporter, Craft Grower, and Cultivation Center.\textsuperscript{45} Medical marijuana users would be allowed to cultivate plants at home, but recreational users would be prohibited from doing so.\textsuperscript{46}

Illinois will levy taxes based on potency of the cannabis and the type of cannabis product, with higher THC concentration products being taxed at a higher rate. In addition to the potency tax ladder, there is a 6.25% sales tax rate and local taxes up to 3.5% where applicable; the final tax rate range is 19.55% - 34.75%.\textsuperscript{47} Tax revenue from cannabis sales will be applied to several different areas, with administration of the program and expungement of records coming first. Funds remaining are distributed to public education and safety campaigns (2%), Local Government Distributive Fund (8%), Recover, Reinvest, and Renew Program (25%), mental health services and substance abuse programs (20%), unpaid bills (10%), and the state’s General Revenue Fund (35%).\textsuperscript{48}

Maine
Maine has had a tumultuous rollout of adult-use cannabis, due primarily to political divides. In November 2016, voters in Maine supported ballot Question 1, which asked whether cannabis should be legalized, regulated, and taxed similarly to alcohol.\textsuperscript{49} Despite the positive vote, Maine still does not have a commercial adult-use market. Shortly after the passage of Question 1, the legislature passed a moratorium on implementing certain parts of the law until February 2018.\textsuperscript{50} Governor LePage issued an Executive Order with the moratorium that shifted authority to the Bureau of Alcoholic Beverages and Lottery Operations and prohibited state agencies from “expend[ing] funds for the purpose of implementing the Cannabis Legalization Act until an appropriation is made by the Legislature for that purpose.”\textsuperscript{51}

The state legislature eventually passed an “Act to Implement a Regulatory Structure for Adult Use Cannabis,” but Governor LePage vetoed the bill.\textsuperscript{52} On May 2, 2018, the Governor’s veto was overridden by the legislature, allowing the state to begin developing and regulating a

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{44} Ibid.
\bibitem{45} Illinois House Bill (HB) 1438 Art. 1 Sec. 1-10
\bibitem{48} Ibid.
\bibitem{51} Governor LePage. Executive Order 2017-002, AN ORDER REGARDING EXECUTIVE BRANCH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION ACT (January 30, 2017)
\bibitem{52} Maine State Legislature. Recreational Marijuana in Maine.
\end{thebibliography}
commercial market. In April of 2019, Maine released its first set of draft rules regulating the adult-use cannabis industry.⁵³

**Regulatory Framework:**
Persons must be 21 years of age to possess, use, or transport up to 2.5 ounces of cannabis in the state.⁵⁴ Persons may not consume cannabis anywhere but their own private residences or another private residence where the owner has provided explicit permission. Eligible citizens are permitted to grow their own cannabis, up to three mature, flowering plants, 12 immature plants, and an unlimited number of seedlings.⁵⁵ Maine requires a buffer of 1,000 feet between cannabis establishments or their advertising and a pre-existing school.⁵⁶

Local jurisdictions may regulate cannabis establishments through zoning, ordinances, or outright bans.⁵⁷ Cannabis establishments cannot operate in municipalities unless the town or county commissioner allows the establishment to do so.⁵⁸ Local governments may additionally impose a stricter buffer zone between cannabis establishments and schools. Maine does not allow local jurisdictions to prohibit or infringe upon a person’s right to cultivate their own cannabis in their private residence.

**Massachusetts**
Massachusetts legalized recreational cannabis in November 2016,⁵⁹ as after having decriminalized it in 2008 and passing a medical cannabis law in 2012. Question 4, the ballot question that opened up recreational cannabis in 2016, led to a bill being signed into law in July 2017.⁶⁰ The law permitted a maximum 75 adult-use dispensaries until October of 2018; however, there is currently no limit in the state.⁶¹ Despite the limited rollout, the state saw $215 million in adult use sales in 2018.⁶²

Adult-use cannabis products are subject to a stacked tax structure of 6.25 percent sales tax, a 10.75 percent excise tax, and up to 3 percent for an optional local tax.³

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⁵⁵ Ibid.
⁵⁶ Ibid.
⁵⁷ Ibid.
⁵⁸ Ibid.
⁶⁰ Ibid.
⁶² Ibid.
**Regulatory Framework:**

Massachusetts requires individuals be 21 years of age to purchase and use adult-use cannabis. As is common in recreational jurisdictions, using cannabis in any form is prohibited in public or on federal land. Persons are permitted to have one ounce on them at any given time and to have 10 ounces in their homes. Persons with more than one ounce in their home must have a locked storage area for their cannabis. Additionally, adults may grow their own cannabis in their homes (six plants for an individual, 12 for a household with more than one adult). It is illegal to drive under the influence of cannabis, which is a highly debated nuance of cannabis programs. Local jurisdictions, such as cities and towns, may ban or limit adult-use recreational cannabis and the associated facilities; however, if the town voted in support of Question 4, it must pass a ballot referendum to do so. In the first five months of 2019, Massachusetts has seen $88.6 million in adult-use cannabis sales with the bulk of sales coming from buds or mature flower.

**Michigan**

On November 6, 2018, Michigan became the 10th state to legalize adult-use cannabis through voter-approved Proposal 1. The ballot initiative was supported by 56 percent of voters and took effect on December 6, 2018. Michigan recently shifted regulatory control from the Medical Marijuana Licensing Board to the Department of Licensing and Regulatory Affairs through an executive order by Governor Gretchen Whitmer. This was in large part because the former board was struggling to process applications in a timely fashion. As of this report, Michigan has not opened any adult-use cannabis dispensaries, but is projected to by early 2020. The hope is that a new board will process applications quickly and accurately. Despite the reportedly slow application process, Michigan is projected to capture $663 million in adult-use sales in 2022.

**Regulatory Framework:**

In Michigan, adults 21 years old or older may possess up to two-and-a-half ounces of cannabis at any given time outside of their private residences. In a private residence, persons are allowed

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65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
71 Id. Adult-use Sales and Product Distribution
76 Ibid.
up to 10 ounces and 12 plants.\textsuperscript{79} Public consumption and driving under the influence of cannabis are both strictly prohibited in Michigan.\textsuperscript{80} Cannabis being transported by an eligible citizen must be in an unbroken, sealed, labeled package and must be in the trunk of the car.\textsuperscript{81} The state also prohibits anyone from exporting cannabis purchased in-state across state lines in any way.\textsuperscript{82} Medical marijuana patients may take their medical marijuana out of state, but they may not sell it or provide it to another person.

Michigan charges a 10 percent sales tax on all cannabis purchases, medical and adult-use.\textsuperscript{83} All tax revenues generated by cannabis sales are earmarked for education, transportation infrastructure, and local governments.\textsuperscript{84}

\textbf{Nevada}

On November 8, 2016, Nevada approved adult-use cannabis through a ballot initiative, Ballot Question 2.\textsuperscript{85} The question was supported by 55 percent of Nevada’s voters, and it proposed legalizing, taxing, and regulating cannabis for adult use.\textsuperscript{86,87} The state approved medical marijuana in 2001 but did not have state-certified medical marijuana establishments until 2015.\textsuperscript{88} In 2018, adult-use cannabis in Nevada generated $317 million through a split tax structure that supports schools and the state’s Rainy Day Fund.\textsuperscript{89}

\textbf{Regulatory Framework:}

In Nevada, persons must be 21 years or older and provide proof to purchase cannabis products.\textsuperscript{90} Qualified adults may then purchase up to 1 ounce of cannabis or an eighth of an ounce of cannabis concentrate.\textsuperscript{91} Home cultivation is prohibited within 25 miles of a dispensary, which leaves few allowable areas.\textsuperscript{92} Consuming cannabis is prohibited in public places and in moving vehicles as well.\textsuperscript{93} Citizens are able to consume cannabis in their own private residences, and there is no limit to how much cannabis a person can have in their residence at one time.

Nevada uses a split tax structure to tax cannabis at the wholesale and retail level.\textsuperscript{94} At the wholesale level, cultivators assess a 15 percent excise tax on each sale. Proceeds help to fund

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} National Cannabis Industry Association. State-by-State Policies (n.d.).
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{87} Secretary of State. (2014). \textit{Initiative to Regulate and Tax Marijuana (State of Nevada)}. NV.
\textsuperscript{89} Id. For Businesses.
\textsuperscript{90} Id. Legal Use.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{94} Id. Taxes.
Nevada’s schools. At the retail level, operators assess a 10 percent excise tax that goes into the state’s Rainy Day Fund. In addition to both of those taxes, any local sales tax rate is applied to both medical and retail purchases. Adult-use sales are projected to eclipse $615 million in 2022.

Oregon
Cannabis has been a part of Oregon’s history since 1973, when it became the first state to decriminalize possession of small amounts of cannabis. In 1998, Oregon authorized and began a medicinal cannabis program for people with certain medical conditions. Recreational adult-use cannabis did not have the same success that decriminalization and medical marijuana experienced, however. In 2010, 55 percent of voters denied a ballot measure (Measure 74) to allow adult-use cannabis sales. Then again, in 2012, voters rejected a ballot measure (Measure 80) to allow adult-use cannabis retail sales. But in 2014, Oregon voters approved retail adult-use cannabis to be regulated, taxed, and sold through the Oregon Liquor Control Commission. In 2018, Oregon generated $553 million in adult-use sales from 606 active licensed dispensaries.

Regulatory Framework:
Oregon requires persons to be at least 21 years of age to buy, possess, or use recreational cannabis. The state allows an eligible person to possess up to one ounce of dried flower cannabis, cannabis concentrates or extracts, four immature plants, or 16 ounces of edible cannabis in public. It follows that a person cannot purchase more than those possession limits from a retail dispenser at one time. Consuming cannabis in any form is prohibited in public. Oregon allows cities and counties to prohibit cannabis retail sales within their jurisdictions. In fact, over 60 cities and counties have banned recreational cannabis retailers. Additionally, it is illegal for a person to drive with any amount of THC in their system. It can take several days or weeks for THC to leave a person’s system after consuming cannabis.

95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 “Oregon Regulated Medical Marijuana Supply System Act, Measure 74 (2010).” Ballotpedia, ballotpedia.org/Oregon_Regulated_Medical_Marijuana_Supply_System_Act, Measure_74 (2010).
101 Id. Measure 80 (2012)
102 Id. Measure 91 (2014)
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
In Oregon, the sale of cannabis products is subject to a 17 percent excise tax. Local jurisdictions may add up to an additional 3 percent sales tax on top of the state excise tax for a maximum rate of 20 percent. In 2016, Oregon reported $73 million in state tax collections from adult-use cannabis sales. Cannabis tax collections in the state are broken out into five different areas:

- The Common School Fund – 40%
- Mental Health Alcoholism and Drug Services Account – 20%
- The State Police – 15%
- Local law enforcement agencies – 20%
- Oregon Health Authority – 5%

The bulk of adult-use cannabis sales occur in the city of Portland and the surrounding area.

**Vermont**

Vermont legalized medical marijuana in 2004 and expanded the program in 2007, both despite opposition from the Executive Branch. In 2013, Governor Shumlin signed a bill (Act 86) decriminalizing cannabis possession of one ounce or less. Despite several attempts in the years following decriminalization, adult-use cannabis was not legalized until mid-2018, when the state government passed a bill to legalize limited possession and cultivation of cannabis. The bill did not include any retail sales, taxation, or other regulatory structure. Multiple efforts to create a full-blown retail system for taxation and regulation have been unsuccessful thus far.

**Regulatory Framework:**

Act 86 allows persons who are at least 21 years of age to possess up to 1 ounce of cannabis at a time. Since there is no retail structure, people may cultivate up to two mature cannabis plants in their homes; however, they may not sell their homegrown cannabis. The law does allow for gifting, which has been used as a loophole in other jurisdictions. One example is people buying extremely expensive T-shirts in Washington DC and receiving cannabis as a “gift” with

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117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
their purchase. Cannabis consumption is restricted to “individual dwellings,” excluding all public places, restaurants, hotel rooms, parks, etc..119

**Washington**

Washington became an early adopter of medicinal marijuana in 1998 when Initiative 692 was passed to allow physicians to prescribe cannabis for certain medical conditions.120 The initiative passed with 59 percent of the voters casting their ballots in the affirmative. Then, in 2012, 56 percent of Washington voters approved Initiative 502, which legalized and taxed cannabis products.121 While Initiative 502 authorized adult-use cannabis, there was still a disconnect with cannabis intended for medicinal use, which operated outside of the new regulatory framework.122 The Washington State General Assembly corrected that gap in 2015, when Senate Bill 5052 merged the unregulated market with the regulated market.123 Retail cannabis sales have steadily grown in the state since its inception, hitting $250 million in the first quarter of 2016.124

**Regulatory Framework:**

In Washington State, adults who are 21 years and older can purchase and consume recreational adult-use cannabis.125 Adults may purchase and possess up to one ounce of dry-leaf cannabis, 16 ounces of edible cannabis products, 72 ounces of cannabis-infused liquids, and seven grams of cannabis concentrates.126 Unlike several other adult-use states, Washington does not permit any personal cultivation or home growing of cannabis.127 Consistent with other states, Washington does not permit any cannabis consumption in public places.128 Additionally, it is illegal to operate a vehicle in Washington if the driver has more than 5 nanograms of THC in his or her blood.129

Initially, Washington imposed a 25 percent excise tax on cannabis producers, processors, and retailers; however, Senate Bill 5052 also reshaped the tax structure.130 The bill moved from the three-tier excise tax to a flat 37-percent excise tax on retail sales.131 In 2016, Washington saw almost $700 million in total sales, which continued to grow into the first quarter of 2017.132

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119 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
132 Ibid.
Conclusion: What’s Next?

Having completed the tour and presented this report, the Office of the Lieutenant Governor has fulfilled the request as issued by the governor.

The lieutenant governor can report that a substantial majority of Pennsylvanians support legalization of adult-use recreational cannabis.

This issue is hereby returned to the governor and to the state legislature for the task of earnest consideration of, or the potential crafting of, meaningful legislation that reflects the viewpoints shared during the tour and reflected in this report.