
The Penington Cannabis Control Plan

A 21-point action plan
to safely legalise and
regulate cannabis.

July 2025



PENINGTON
INSTITUTE



About Penington Institute

Frank and fiercely independent, Penington Institute connects lived experience with research to improve the management of drugs through community engagement and knowledge sharing. Our mission is to support cost-effective approaches that maximise community health and safety in relation to drugs.

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Glossary

Cannabis

Also known as marijuana, pot or weed, among many other slang terms. Can refer to the cannabis plant, the dried flowers of the plant or products manufactured from the plant.

Cannabinoids

A class of chemicals produced naturally by the cannabis plant. Over 200 different cannabinoids have been identified, but cannabis plants primarily produce THC and CBD, with other cannabinoids usually only present in trace amounts.

CBD

Stands for cannabidiol, a non-intoxicating compound found in cannabis plants. When used intentionally, it is usually for medical purposes.

Liquid vape cartridges

A manufactured cannabis product similar to a nicotine vape cartridge but filled with a concentrated liquid cannabis resin.

Concentrates

A variety of manufactured cannabis products made from extracting and concentrating cannabis resin. Concentrates can be manufactured using different solvents and extraction processes to produce different kinds of products.

Criminalisation

Making it illegal to cultivate, manufacture, sell, buy or use cannabis.

Dabs

A manufactured cannabis product. Concentrated resin that is usually solid but malleable at room temperature. Consumed by applying very small amounts to a heated element, which produces a vapour that is inhaled.

Decriminalisation

Removal of criminal penalties for specified low-level offences. Often occurs without corresponding establishment of a regulated market, in which case people who use non-prescribed cannabis are afforded some protection from criminal sanction but must continue buying unregulated products from the illicit market.

Delta-8-THC

An intoxicating compound with similar effects to THC. Delta-8-THC products are legally sold and common in many US states where delta-9-THC remains illegal. Found naturally at very low trace levels in cannabis plants, but more commonly manufactured through chemical processes.

Dry herb vapouriser

A device that heats up cannabis flower without combusting it so the active ingredients can be vapourised and inhaled without also inhaling smoke.

Dry weight

Harvested cannabis flower is full of moisture and must be dried before it can be used, with weight reduction of up to one half. Therefore, dry weight is used as a consistent measure.

Edibles	A manufactured cannabis product that can be eaten, usually as a food that has had cannabis added to it. The manufacturing process allows for edible products to contain specific and consistent amounts of cannabinoids.
Flower	The bud of the female cannabis plant and the part of the plant with the highest concentration of cannabinoids. Also known as dry flower.
Medicinal cannabis	Cannabis products that are regulated as medicines. In Australia, products must meet pharmaceutical quality standards, be prescribed by a healthcare practitioner to a patient and be dispensed via a pharmacy.
Personal cultivation	The private, non-commercial cultivation of a small number of cannabis plants at home for personal use only, not for sale or supply.
Prohibition	Under prohibition certain behaviours are defined in law as illegal. When applied to cannabis, prohibition refers to the existence of penalties for these offences and the ban on establishment of a regulated market.
Regulation	Controlling the supply of cannabis by regulating its cultivation, sale or supply, and use. Adults can purchase and use regulated cannabis products supplied by legal, licensed businesses.
Resin	Cannabis extract. Usually referring to the initial, raw extract of cannabinoids from the cannabis plant. Can be made using a variety of chemical or physical processes, resulting in different appearances ranging from a dry powder to a dense and viscous liquid.
Synthetic cannabinoids	Also known as SCRA: synthetic cannabinoid receptor agonists. Chemicals manufactured synthetically but designed to mimic the effects of cannabinoids. Often highly potent with dangerous or unknown side effects.
Tetrahydrocannabinols	A group of intoxicating cannabinoids, which includes delta-9 and delta-8 THC, as well as tetrahydrocannabinolic acid (THCA) and tetrahydrocannabivarin (THCV).
THC	Short for delta-9-tetrahydrocannabinol. A substance that is the primary intoxicating compound found in cannabis plants.
Traffick	To illegally sell illicit drugs.

CEO foreword

In Australia, we pride ourselves on pragmatic solutions – approaches that balance personal responsibility with community safety. Yet when it comes to cannabis, our laws remain outdated, ineffective and, frankly, harmful.

Most Australians know that criminal syndicates profit massively from the unregulated illicit drug market, but few appreciate the scale of cannabis's share – over \$5 billion per year – or are aware that these funds facilitate violent crime, corruption and the flow of dirty money through the economy. And while Australians know that illegal cannabis is easily available, it is less widely understood that it has actually become cheaper and stronger.

The choice is clear: maintain the status quo – an unregulated, crime-driven black market – or take the reins and plan a responsible, controlled framework that protects Australians while unlocking economic opportunities.

We are pleased to provide such a common-sense plan.

The Penington Cannabis Control Plan represents the culmination of years of research, backed by innumerable expert interviews and extensive community consultation. Penington Institute is grateful to the many experts and community members from Australia and around the world who kindly shared their knowledge and insights with us during its development.

On behalf of Penington Institute, I would also like to acknowledge the late but still inspirational Professor David Penington AC, whose bequest enabled this work to happen.

I would also like to thank all of my colleagues at Penington Institute for their diverse contributions, especially Dr Jake Dizard, Rhys Cohen and Anna Northey.

This isn't about promoting cannabis use – it's about taking back control. Regulation means strict oversight, clear controls on access and use and penalties for trafficking. It means resources for police to focus on serious crime. It means better health knowledge, safer communities and a smarter use of taxpayer dollars. It is common sense.



John Ryan

Executive summary

Penington Institute is an independent non-profit committed to harm minimisation in the community.

As part of the above commitment, Penington Institute has engaged in a long-term effort to research and report on cannabis policy in Australia. Australian state and territory cannabis models vary, with most prohibiting cannabis production, distribution, possession and use. They mostly rely on criminal penalties enforced by police and courts. Overwhelming evidence shows that these models hurt people and communities and are more harmful than cannabis itself.

No regulatory model can perfectly resolve the risks of cannabis use, but Penington Institute embraced the challenge of finding a better approach. We focussed on developing a plan to improve community safety through aggressive reduction of the illicit cannabis market. We also prioritised protecting and promoting physical and mental health, especially of children and young people, and empowering communities to make informed choices about their health.

Cannabis policy should be judged by how well it safeguards health, enhances community safety and effectively uses public resources. Australia's current system of managing cannabis fails on all counts. Instead of minimising health risks, it heightens them; instead of hindering criminals, it helps them; and instead of optimising resources, it misallocates them.

Decades of investment reinforcing the criminalisation of cannabis has produced negative returns. Throughout Australia, cannabis remains easily accessible, with varieties that are more potent and cheaper than ever.

The illicit cannabis market stands at an estimated \$5 billion per year, fuelling the growth of criminal syndicates throughout the country. The billions of dollars spent each year enforcing cannabis prohibition diverts resources from tackling serious and violent crime, even as data shows that minor use and possession offences accounted for 90% of the 364,035 arrests reported in the most recent 5-year period for which data is available.¹

Abandoning criminalised cannabis models has community support. Over 80% of Australians do not believe the possession of cannabis for personal use should be a criminal offence, and fewer than 3% believe it is the drug of most concern for the general community.

Over a decade of major reform in the United States, Canada and Europe provides compelling evidence that thoughtful cannabis regulation offers benefits that are unattainable as long as cannabis remains prohibited. Regulation brings significant advantages, including controls in relation to product quality, marketing and minimum purchasing age, as well as replacing organised crime revenue with economic benefits and the capacity to transparently monitor regulatory performance. Each of these benefits can only occur with the establishment of a sensible regulated market.

Through extensive consultation and analysis, we developed a model for a carefully regulated market that enables strict controls on supply, products, access and use. This model occupies the sensible middle ground between strict prohibition with criminal penalties at one end and fully commercialised profit-driven models at the other. Adopting it will result in controlled availability of cannabis products and subsequent improvement in the health, safety and wellbeing of the community in any Australian jurisdictions that implement it.

¹ See Appendix – Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission. *Illicit Drug Data Report 2020–21*.

The Penington Cannabis Control Plan (PCCP) is based around 4 principles:

1) Protecting health

Risks to the health of our communities must be minimised through policies, practices and services that safeguard people's physical and mental health. People must be empowered to understand, openly discuss and address the use of and harms from cannabis in their communities.

2) Improving community safety and fighting crime

A reliable and sustainable regulated cannabis market must improve community safety by ensuring access to safer products and undermining criminal cannabis syndicates. Government efficiency must be improved by freeing up police and court resources to tackle serious crime.

3) Controlling cannabis and ensuring effective oversight

Community concerns about cannabis use must be addressed. Regulations must be carefully implemented, regulators must be informed by ongoing monitoring and evaluation to adapt policies to emerging evidence and comprehensive monitoring data must be accessible to the community.

4) Protecting the legal economy

A regulated cannabis model should contribute to economic growth, create jobs and generate government revenue to fund key services that address the social costs of cannabis in our communities.

It is our hope that this plan will drive community understanding and support for the necessary legislative reforms across Australian jurisdictions.

Principles



Protecting health

- Strict limits on potency and strength
- Certification and testing for all products
- Tools to minimise harms from cannabis
- Reliable community education about cannabis
- Protection for medicinal cannabis patients



Keeping the community safe and fighting crime

- Regulated products sold only in licensed outlets
- Limited personal cultivation
- No online sales
- Zero access for children
- Purchase and possession limits
- Clear and enforced rules for licensed businesses
- Penalties for violations of the laws



Controlling cannabis and ensuring effective oversight

- A complete ban on advertising
- Strict controls on packaging
- Maintaining standards for roads and workplaces
- No cannabis use in public spaces
- A dedicated regulator
- Careful implementation
- A robust licensing scheme



Protecting the legal economy

- Jobs and growth
- Additional government revenue

The Penington Cannabis Control Plan

The Penington Cannabis Control Plan (PCCP) envisions a vibrant *but stringently regulated* cannabis market for adult use. Under this plan, legal access to regulated products will erode the power and influence of underground suppliers, replacing criminal dealers with licensed outlets operating under strict controls.

Plan summary



Key features of the PCCP include:

Licensed production

Commercial licensing allows governments to establish transparent criteria for operating regulated cannabis businesses to ensure companies are run safely.

- Regulated cannabis products will only be produced by licensed companies.
- Cannabis producers will be required to ensure facility and organisational security.
- All license applicants, both businesses and individuals, will undergo significant background checks.
- Tobacco companies will be excluded from the cannabis industry.

Regulated products

Cannabis products containing higher levels of tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), which are common in the criminal market as well as weakly regulated legal markets, pose a greater health risk than less potent products. Therefore, regulated products will be limited to dried flower and edible products only, with limits on the permissible amount of THC in these products.

- No extracts or concentrates such as dabs, resin or liquid vape cartridges will be permitted.
- Dried flower products to contain no more than 25% tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) by dry weight.
- Edibles must contain no more than 10 milligrams of THC per package and must not be sold as lollies, confectionary or any other product appealing to children.
- All products must come in plain, uniform, unbranded packaging with mandatory health warnings tailored to reflect specific product risks.
- All products must comply with stringent quality and safety standards.

Regulated access

Regulated cannabis will be accessed only from licensed outlets, enabling and encouraging people to move away from the illicit market while providing control over where and how cannabis may be accessed, ensuring cannabis is sold responsibly and in ways that accord with community expectations.

- Access will be restricted to adults aged 18 and over.
- Outlets will be discreet, with a standardised logo visible externally that identifies the store as a licensed cannabis outlet. Products will only be visible from inside the store.
- No advertising or promotion of any cannabis products will be permitted.
- Only necessary, factual product information will be displayed in outlets.
- Outlets will not sell more than 50 grams of dried flower or its equivalent in edibles to any individual customer per transaction.

Outlets will be required by law to promote and support evidence-based public health measures.

- Mandatory health information and warnings will be displayed in outlets.
- Management and retail staff at licensed outlets will be trained and accredited in cannabis harm minimisation according to standards established by the regulator.
- Cannabis harm minimisation education kits will be provided to every purchaser.
- Targeted advice will be provided to people aged 18-25 and other vulnerable people.
- Retail staff will be trained to provide people with information regarding relevant health services.

Limits on public use

The experience of overseas jurisdictions reveals the importance of establishing clear limits on the presence of cannabis in public spaces. Cannabis use will be subject to restrictions to shield people who do not use it from unwanted or unsafe exposure.

- Adults will be able to possess up to 50 grams of cannabis in public spaces.
- Adults will be prohibited from using cannabis in public spaces.
- Using cannabis will only be permitted on private property, out of view from public spaces.
- Public venues offering on-site consumption will not be permitted.
- Adults will be permitted to grow no more than 2 cannabis plants per household, and only for personal use.

Rigorous oversight

While a robust federal government role in a regulated cannabis model is possible, drug policy in Australia is an established state and territory responsibility. The PCCP can therefore be adopted by state and territory governments, with a regulated cannabis market managed by a dedicated regulator identified by the state or territory government and evaluated by an independent oversight board, funded by cost recovery fees on industry participants.

- The regulator will be responsible for assessing, approving and monitoring licensed cannabis businesses.
- The regulator will ensure compliance with quality, safety, advertising and packaging laws.
- The regulator will promote cannabis-related health education, prevention efforts and treatment for cannabis-related health problems.
- The regulator will track and report on public health, economic and safety metrics.
- The oversight board will be comprised of relevant experts and officials from government agencies including law enforcement and health.
- Regulatory costs will be covered by fees paid by licensed companies.

Maintaining key legislative protections

Important checks and balances are essential to protect community health and safety. Implementation of the PCCP does not require changes to:

- Existing laws barring driving while impaired by cannabis.
- Existing legislation and policies regarding workplace safety.
- Current laws and penalties for cannabis trafficking and underage supply.
- The existing medicinal cannabis framework.

Background

Penington Institute's mission to support cost-effective approaches that maximise community health and safety in relation to drugs is reflected in our work on the status of cannabis in Australia, including:

- The annual *Cannabis in Australia* reports, which comprehensively cover the history and status of medicinal and illicit cannabis and industrial hemp.
- *Cannabis regulation in Australia: Putting community safety first*, a report released in 2024 that examined the links between illicit cannabis, organised crime and community harms.
- Engaging with state and federal parliamentarians and governments in relation to cannabis policy.
- Hosting education sessions featuring expert analysis about cannabis policy and international cannabis regulation.

In March 2024 we announced a plan to develop a regulated adult-access cannabis model to reduce drug harms, better protect young people and empower Australian communities instead of criminals. Since then, we have surveyed thousands of people to test public sentiment, and engaged deeply with community members, including people who have and have not used cannabis. To sharpen the analysis, we consulted a diverse group of Australian and international specialists, including health, legal, public policy and law enforcement experts.

We also undertook a thorough review of international experience with cannabis regulation, allowing us to identify key opportunities and pitfalls, and enabling us to design a model at the forefront of cannabis regulation best practice. We found that overseas regulatory models primarily fall into 3 categories:

The standard twentieth-century model installed across the globe, cannabis **criminalisation**, represents the status quo in most Australian states and territories. The criminalisation model leads to large-scale illicit markets in which unsafe cannabis of unknown strength is sold to anyone, frequent arrests are made for low-level use and possession and public spending does little to hinder criminal profits.

An alternative is **decriminalising** possession of small amounts of cannabis, a policy adopted in the Australian Capital Territory and several overseas jurisdictions. By reducing the number of people subjected to the negative consequences that accompany minor cannabis offences and freeing up police and court resources for more serious offences, decriminalisation represents a clear step forward. However, decriminalisation cannot remedy key structural issues with cannabis prohibition: it leaves the criminal supply chain intact, exposes cannabis consumers to criminals and more harmful drugs, does nothing to ensure product safety and foregoes opportunities for economic growth and more efficient government spending.

Regulated adult-use cannabis markets

arose in many jurisdictions this century to address the shortcomings of criminalisation and decriminalisation. These markets are most widespread in North America, with a noticeable difference between the laissez-faire approaches implemented in many US states and the more tightly regulated systems in most Canadian provinces. The most evident drawback of these markets is overcommercialisation. In particular, US models have relatively loose standards for packaging, advertising and potency, creating unacceptable health risks.

As with alcohol or any other psychoactive substance, no model can eliminate cannabis harms entirely. However, sensibly regulated markets can undercut the illicit market and generate taxable returns that can be invested in community services to produce better public health and safety outcomes. These benefits make strictly regulated markets preferable to unconstrained commercial markets or over-criminalised systems that perpetuate harms to people, criminal profits and wasteful public spending.

The following sections present each component of the PCCP in detail.



Protecting health



A regulated cannabis market will include:

Strict limits on potency and strength

Certification and testing for all products

Tools to minimise harms from cannabis

Reliable community education about cannabis

Protection for medicinal cannabis patients

The health and wellbeing of Australian communities will be better protected through a regulated cannabis market. The PCCP is designed to engender a health focus that is not achievable with an unregulated cannabis market or an unrestrained commercial market.

Improving product safety

Cannabis supplied by the current unregulated market is a serious health risk. Without regulation, people who buy cannabis do not know what they are buying. Illicit cannabis is sometimes contaminated with harmful substances like pesticides, mould and heavy metals. Health regulators have no say over the ingredients and potency of products supplied by criminal syndicates, risking the health of Australians who use cannabis.

The sensible alternative is not a wide-open market in which commercial interests enjoy free rein. In a regulated cannabis market, all products will be tested for contaminants, ensuring people are no longer subjected to the serious health risks that are present in the unregulated market. Accurate testing and labelling will allow people to make informed decisions and use products responsibly. People inquiring about cannabis for medical purposes at regulated outlets will be referred to medical professionals, maintaining the necessary separation between the adult-use and medicinal cannabis frameworks.

Reducing health harms

A regulated cannabis market will empower Australians to make choices that better protect their health and wellbeing. Instead of the unknown composition and strength of products sold on the illicit market, Australians will know what they are buying.

In both regulated and unregulated markets, cannabis strength has increased over time. Some cannabis products legally available in fully commercialised markets can reach THC levels over 90%, far beyond the natural limits of the cannabis plant. Under the PCCP, potent extract and concentrate products, including 'dabs', 'resin' and 'liquid vape cartridges', along with all synthetic cannabinoids, will remain banned due to their unacceptable health risks.

In the PCCP, potency will be tested and clearly labelled. THC will be capped at 25% for flower products and strictly limited in edibles. Knowing the potency and strength will give people control over how much THC they are consuming. Banning higher-risk products such as concentrates and lollies or confectionary edibles will reduce the risk of acute intoxication and chronic overuse.

A regulated market will contribute to the promotion of health messaging about cannabis and empower individuals to make safer choices. A portion of the tax and fee revenue generated by the regulated market will also be invested in new health resources for people who use cannabis. Health messaging can be tailored to the specific health literacy needs of various populations, including young people, seniors and people with pre-existing health conditions. Regulatory reviews will assess opportunities to promote new harm minimisation practices, such as facilitating access to dry herb vapourisers that are currently unavailable without a prescription.

As an additional layer of safety, licensed retail outlets will be required to educate people about how to reduce the risks of using cannabis and retail staff will be trained to opportunistically provide support services information to people who have cannabis-related health problems.

Key features:

Strict limits on potency and strength

Higher potency cannabis carries greater potential health risks, including acute intoxication and heightened risk of cannabis use disorder and other mental health conditions. International evidence shows that cannabis criminalisation and overcommercialisation both lead to high potency products. Capping the potency of flower – while permitting products potent enough to undermine the illicit market – is a prudent safety measure to protect people's health. Low-THC edible products will provide a less harmful alternative to inhaling cannabis, while limiting CBD content in edible products will help maintain the clear separation between regulated and medicinal cannabis products.

- Licensed outlets will sell only flower and edible products.
- Sale of cannabis concentrates, liquid vape cartridges, and other high-risk products will not be permitted.
- Flower potency will be capped at 25% THC content (including delta-9-THC and other tetrahydrocannabinols) by dry weight.
- Edible strength will be capped at 10 milligrams total cannabinoids (including THC and CBD) per container and 5 milligrams total cannabinoids per portion.
- Edibles may not be sold in the form of lollies or confectionary or be attractive to children in any way.
- All products must be approved by the regulator prior to entering the market.
- Regulatory approval of product types other than cannabis flower and low-strength edibles should occur only after a review of the international evidence, local performance assessment of the model and further community consultation.

Certification and testing for all products

A fundamental benefit of a regulated market is guaranteeing the quality and consistency of available products. This outcome is best achieved through a clear and robust set of quality standards and requiring independent, accredited analytical testing for every batch, with testing costs paid by producers. Regulators will conduct routine verification testing and issue penalties for products that fail to meet established standards.

- Products will contain a known quantity of active ingredients and be free from harmful contaminants and pesticides.
- All products will be produced within Australia and must obtain the appropriate jurisdictional regulatory approval before entering the market.
- Product quality will be monitored and assessed on an ongoing basis, and all cannabis will be tracked from seed to sale.
- Products containing synthetic or chemically altered active ingredients, such as delta-8-THC and synthetic cannabinoid receptor agonists (SCRAs), will remain banned.

Minimising harms from cannabis

The outlets where people access regulated cannabis products will play a crucial role in protecting community health and wellbeing. In overseas jurisdictions, outlets have offered an effective site for harm minimisation and consumer education. Provision of evidence-based education, support and information to everyone who purchases regulated products will help people use cannabis more safely and empower community members with the knowledge they need to identify and address potentially risky cannabis use.

- Management and retail staff at licensed outlets will be required to undergo training and maintain accreditation in cannabis harm minimisation.
- Outlet staff will be trained to provide people with information regarding relevant health services.
- All outlets will be required to display educational material and warnings about the risks of cannabis, approved by the cannabis regulator.
- Outlets will be required to provide evidence-based cannabis harm minimisation education kits to everyone who purchases regulated products, with additional targeted education for young people aged 18 to 25 and vulnerable people.

Reliable community education about cannabis

Research has shown that education campaigns can significantly improve community health and safety around cannabis when done competently and strategically. Cannabis education can be more effective when the stigma of criminalisation is removed, but educational content must be trusted, relevant and appropriate for its target audience. It must also evolve over time to address emerging trends.

- Government will commission evidence-based education campaigns that improve general community knowledge about cannabis and address common misconceptions.

- Education campaigns will commence well in advance of the retail market commencing and continue ongoing to ensure communities are fully prepared and supported.
- Information will be appropriate and relevant to meet the needs of culturally diverse communities.
- Training programs will be developed for community leaders and health professionals to learn and share accurate cannabis education with their community members.

Protection for medicinal cannabis patients

The experience of Australia and overseas jurisdictions shows that when adult-use cannabis is illegal but medicinal cannabis is easily accessible, medicinal frameworks experience significant demand from people who want access to cannabis for non-medicinal purposes. A regulated retail market for adults will support, not replace, medicinal cannabis by alleviating those demand pressures while retaining attentive clinical care for medicinal cannabis patients.

- People who seek cannabis for medical reasons will continue to be able to access medicinal cannabis through health care professionals.
- To differentiate the prescribed medicinal cannabis system from the non-prescribed adult-use market, outlets will not be allowed to promote the medico-therapeutic benefits of cannabis.
- Customers who approach outlets about access to cannabis for medical purposes will be referred to appropriate medical professionals.



Keeping the community safe and fighting crime



A regulated cannabis market will include:

Regulated products sold only in licensed outlets

Limited personal cultivation

No online sales

Zero access for children

Purchase and possession limits

Clear and enforced rules for licensed businesses

Penalties for violations of the laws

The existing uncontrolled cannabis market leaves Australian communities at the mercy of criminal networks that sell dangerous substances to anyone willing to pay.

The current system also undermines community trust in the rule of law, with widespread cannabis use across all sectors of society normalising noncompliance. The PCCP offers benefits that will improve the safety of the entire community.

Dismantling the criminal cannabis market

Under prohibition models, people seeking cannabis are exposed to criminal syndicates that supply various illicit drugs alongside cannabis. In contrast, a regulated cannabis market will undermine the multibillion-dollar illegal cannabis industry that funds criminals and facilitates access to a broad range of dangerous substances.

Providing people with access to regulated products curtails the reach of illicit suppliers. Given the choice between unreliable dealers and regulated licensed outlets, most Australians will choose the latter. International experience demonstrates that only a small minority of people who use cannabis will engage in personal cultivation, but limited personal cultivation of cannabis will provide a lawful and affordable supply option that reduces reliance on both commercial and illicit markets.

These reforms will allow police to focus on more serious crimes. Currently, the billions of dollars spent policing the illicit cannabis market suppresses only a fraction of national demand: cannabis seizures amount to less than 3% of the estimated cannabis market.² Meanwhile, cannabis use and possession offences occupy scarce police and court resources and impose significant negative consequences on people who would not otherwise encounter law enforcement.

Regulation will significantly reduce the number of low-level drug offences, easing the burden on the justice system and allowing police and courts to focus resources on large-scale criminal operations including drug trafficking, violent crime and other genuine threats to the community. Law enforcement efforts can also target remaining criminal cannabis operations, which will help protect the emerging regulated industry against unfair illicit competition.

Protecting children and young people

A regulated cannabis market will protect children and young people by undermining the illicit cannabis market and improving knowledge about the risks of cannabis use. Under the existing criminalised cannabis framework, dealers freely sell cannabis to children. By contrast, under a regulated market, people under 18 will have no access to licensed cannabis outlets.

Almost one in 4 Australians aged 20–29 report using cannabis in the past year.³ Regulated outlets will help disentangle that cohort from the illicit drug market by reducing interactions with dealers who may also be supplying a variety of other drugs. Outlets caught selling cannabis to underage purchasers will face severe criminal penalties. To keep the model as simple as possible and facilitate close monitoring of supply, no online sales will be permitted during the implementation period.

A regulated framework for cannabis will enable open and informed family conversations about cannabis without fear of legal repercussions. Parents will be better equipped to discourage their children from using cannabis until they are at least 18. The entire community, including parents, young people and children will have access to accurate information about cannabis, including harm minimisation pamphlets and contact information for health services.

Key features:

Regulated products sold only in licensed outlets

The experience of Canada and other overseas jurisdictions indicates that properly regulated and licensed outlets can help protect community health and safety while also fostering a rapid reduction of the illicit market. Outlets must satisfy community expectations by complying with regulations governing outlet location and appearance.

- Outlet locations and operating hours will be determined using the processes already used to regulate liquor stores.
- Outlets will be discreet in appearance, with minimal signage and no colourful or enticing advertising or displays.

2 See Appendix – Penington Institute. *Cannabis regulation in Australia: Putting community safety first.*

3 See Appendix – Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. *National Drug Strategy Household Survey 2022–2023.*

- Only adults aged 18 and over will be permitted to enter or work in outlets and buy cannabis products.
- Products will be stored behind the counter or in locked cabinets.
- Outlets will display only factual and necessary information about products.
- Outlets will be required to display mandatory health education signage.

Limited personal cultivation

Limited personal cultivation of cannabis will provide an alternative, lawful and affordable supply option that further reduces people's reliance on the illicit market. Personal cultivation is a niche activity pursued by fewer than one in 10 people who use cannabis in Canada. Regulated limits are necessary to ensure cultivation is only for personal use. Recent Australian research has found that, even without the use of artificial lights, plants can produce around 120 grams of dried flower each, meaning a conservative 2-plant limit will enable individual cannabis consumers to harvest sufficient flower for personal use.

- Adults will be permitted to purchase seeds from licensed outlets and cultivate up to 2 plants per household.
- Adults will be permitted to store up to 250 grams by dry weight of cannabis per household, or its equivalent in wet cannabis or edibles.
- Adults engaging in personal cultivation will need to comply with all relevant fire and electrical safety requirements and strata policies.
- Cannabis will be required to be stored out of reach of children.
- Adults will be permitted to make their own cannabis products at home but must not use any flammable or dangerous solvents.

No online sales

Online sales accelerate initial cannabis availability and allow access to cannabis regardless of where people live. However, physical sales are easier to monitor and track, and pose lower risk of diversion and underage access. Starting out with in-person retail sales only will help consumers learn to distinguish between regulated and illicit cannabis

and inhibit the development of 'grey' markets that have emerged in the early stages of some North American markets.

- Only in-person, physical retail sales will be permitted initially.
- Regulators may consider permitting online sales following a review of the regulated cannabis markets that includes analysis of international evidence, expert advice and community consultation.

Zero access for children

Children and young people are most at risk of harm from cannabis. Establishing and enforcing strict age requirements is a sensible policy that will help prevent these potential harms. Eighteen is an appropriate age for Australians because it aligns with similar laws, such as those permitting the purchase and use of alcohol.

- Only adults aged 18 and older will be permitted to purchase, possess, use or cultivate cannabis.

Purchase and possession limits

An important reason for establishing a regulated market is eliminating the unnecessary criminal and civil penalties currently attached to the possession or use of small amounts of cannabis. However, placing limits on the amount of cannabis adults can purchase and possess will assist law enforcement to detect illicit cannabis trafficking and remind the community that cannabis is not without risks and should be used responsibly. A 50-gram threshold for a 'small quantity' of cannabis corresponds to the current drug laws of several Australian states and territories, including Victoria, Queensland and the Northern Territory, and is similar to limits already in force in some overseas regulated cannabis markets.

- Adults will be allowed to purchase up to 50 grams of cannabis from licensed outlets or an equivalent amount in edibles, with one gram of dried flower equivalent to 15 grams of edible cannabis products.
- The same limit will apply to the amount of cannabis that adults may possess in public.

Clear and enforced rules for licensed businesses

Australian and international experience demonstrates the importance of establishing and enforcing clear rules. Compliance is best achieved through swift, proportional penalties for noncompliant businesses.

- Businesses and employees that fail to comply with all relevant laws will be subject to an escalating series of responses, ranging from steep fines and license revocations up to criminal charges and custodial sentences, with license holders and responsible managers subject to more severe penalties than other staff.
- Offences that constitute illegal drug production and trafficking, including the operation of unlicensed producers and outlets, will continue to be punished accordingly.

Penalties for violations of the laws

In some North American jurisdictions with regulated adult-use cannabis markets, the policing of illicit cannabis markets has been deprioritised, reducing the potential benefits to be gained from the regulated market. Under the PCCP, policing and enforcement efforts will remain focused on illicit trafficking and underage supply. Public use of cannabis will remain illegal and the ban will be robustly enforced.

- Individuals who exceed the limits for possession or personal cultivation will face a range of penalties depending on the scale of the offence.
- People under the age of 18 who are caught in possession of up to 50 grams of cannabis will receive a fine via an infringement notice. No criminal record will be recorded upon payment. Alternatively, young offenders may be offered police diversion which could include attendance at a health counselling session.
- Anyone supplying or trafficking cannabis to a person under the age of 18 will face criminal charges and a potential custodial sentence.
- Existing penalties for illicit supply and trafficking will remain in place.
- Consuming cannabis in any public place will be an offence that is subject to a fine.



Supply of cannabis in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT)

Cannabis was decriminalised in the ACT in 2020, allowing adults to grow up to 2 cannabis plants (4 per household) and possess up to 50 grams of dried cannabis. ACT Health conducted a review of the reforms, published in August 2024,⁴ which found no increase in rates of cannabis use or availability, hospitalisations, drug treatment episodes or impaired driving offences. The review also found that decriminalisation significantly reduced the number of people charged with cannabis offences, was well integrated alongside other harm minimisation programs and was positively received by key stakeholders including health and law enforcement agencies.

However, data also demonstrates the practical limits of decriminalisation. A 2025 study⁵ of people in the ACT who grew plants for personal use found that while most people adhered to the plant cultivation limit, most people still feared being arrested and charged by police, in part because the 50-gram possession limit also applied to cannabis stored at home. Additionally, the National Drug Strategy Household Survey 2022–23 revealed that among people living in the ACT who used cannabis in the past 12 months, 87.2% did not grow their own and continued to access cannabis illicitly. This problem underscores the need for a comprehensive framework to establish appropriate lines between legal and illegal actions, and to limit people's exposure to illicit suppliers.

⁴ See Appendix – ACT Government. *Review of the operation of the Drugs of Dependence (Personal Cannabis Use) Amendment Act 2019*.

⁵ See Appendix – Zhou, Cilla, et al. *An analysis of the cultivation, consumption and composition of home-grown cannabis following decriminalisation in the Australian Capital Territory*.



Controlling cannabis and ensuring effective oversight



A regulated cannabis market will include:

A complete ban on advertising

Strict controls on packaging

Maintaining standards for roads and workplaces

No cannabis use in public spaces

A dedicated regulator

Careful implementation

A robust licensing scheme

The PCCP is centred on strict and tightly enforced controls. Cannabis consumption will remain an activity exercised by a minority of people.

Governments will be guided by evidence when setting rules and will actively enforce them to remind the community that cannabis is not without risks and create a system that works for everyone.

Preserving safe and welcoming public spaces

Regulation provides the opportunity to establish and enforce clear rules about location, safety and security, ensuring that public spaces remain free for everyone to enjoy.

Current laws incentivise illicit cultivation, leading to criminal grow operations hidden in suburban homes, farms and even national parks. This poses serious risk of fires and environmental damage and attracts criminal activity to otherwise quiet neighbourhoods. Regulation allows more effective management of the risks posed by criminal production, while also allowing for clear and enforced limits on the presence of cannabis in public spaces. People do not want public spaces to be saturated with the smell of cannabis, so public cannabis use will be barred and no cannabis 'cafes' or consumption venues will be permitted.

Driving while impaired on cannabis will remain strictly prohibited, preserving the safety of public roads and reinforcing the message that using cannabis must remain a strictly private activity. By combining robust oversight with clear penalties for violations, regulation ensures a safer, more controlled approach to cannabis, consistent with community expectations.

Active oversight

A regulated cannabis market will maximise benefits to the community by empowering a dedicated regulatory authority to engage in effective and accountable oversight of cannabis laws. The regulator will ensure that only responsible businesses are allowed to produce and sell cannabis products, with clear penalties for violations. The regulator will also enforce plain packaging rules and the ban on advertising and promotion. To maximise accountability, an independent oversight board composed of officials from government agencies and relevant experts in health, law enforcement and regulatory compliance will be charged with reporting on the regulator's fulfilment of its obligations. No interstate or international transport of regulated cannabis will be permitted.

One valuable lesson from other jurisdictions is to implement cannabis reform carefully. Governments and communities should be kept informed about how cannabis regulation is working, including through transparent key performance metrics that measure the health, justice system and economic effects of reform. No substantial regulatory changes should be made without formal assessment of the risks and benefits of any proposed change.

Key features:

A complete ban on advertising

Advertising risks promoting and increasing individual and overall consumption, which is antithetical to the objectives of a regulated cannabis framework. In overseas jurisdictions, comprehensive cannabis advertising restrictions have proven effective at limiting cannabis commercialisation.

- All advertising and promotion of cannabis will be strictly prohibited.
- Clear and specific regulations will be established, with dedicated regulatory powers and enforcement capacity to ensure compliance, paid for through licensing fees.

Strict controls on packaging

- The core functions of packaging and labelling are communicating essential product information to ensure consumers know what they are buying, are aware of potential harms and can avoid unintentional use. Colourful and flashy branding will not be allowed. Regulated cannabis product packaging will be standardised, plain and unenticing, similar to Australian tobacco packaging.
- Packets will include only basic product information, ingredients and health warnings that inform consumers about the risk of cannabis dependence and other risks.
- No logos or branding will be allowed.
- Edible products will be packaged in child-resistant containers.
- To facilitate informed decision making, the regulator will prioritise establishment of a standard THC serving unit for inclusion on product labels, similar to Australia's standard drink unit.

Maintaining standards for roads and workplaces

Driving or performing certain types of work while impaired on any substance is dangerous and will continue to be prohibited. Although there are known flaws with the current approach of presence-based tests for THC, most notably the lack of correlation between the presence of THC and actual impairment, amending driving laws is not necessary to implement a regulated cannabis market.

- Existing road safety laws, including roadside tests for the presence of THC, will be maintained until an evidence-based alternative is adopted.
- Existing legislation and policies regarding cannabis in the workplace can continue to apply.
- Road and workplace safety laws for regulated cannabis must be considered separately from those for prescribed medicinal cannabis.

No cannabis use in public spaces

Regulation should ensure that public spaces remain welcoming to everyone, and the experience of overseas jurisdictions suggests that people perceive the presence of cannabis smoke in public spaces as a significant public amenity issue. Prohibiting cannabis consumption in all public spaces and public venues incorporates the lessons of Australia's successful multi-decade campaign to reduce tobacco smoking rates and smoking-related harms while applying a stricter rule to meet community expectations.

- It will be illegal to use cannabis in any public spaces, including streets, parks and beaches.
- People will only be permitted to consume cannabis on private property, out of view from public spaces.

A dedicated regulator

The experiences of overseas jurisdictions have shown the value of centralising cannabis regulatory functions to ensure governments have sufficient oversight and capacity. Incorporating guidance from a broad range of experts and stakeholders will help the regulator achieve optimal outcomes for communities.

- State governments will legislate a designated regulatory authority to develop, implement and administer the regulated cannabis framework.
- The regulator will be responsible for assessing and approving commercial cannabis licenses, ensuring a free and fair market, and enforcing regulatory compliance.
- The regulator will work collaboratively across government to support public health, community education and law enforcement objectives, informed by evolving knowledge and evidence.
- The regulator will publish annual reports on key performance indicators.
- Cannabis laws will undergo a comprehensive legislative review after 5 years that may include recommendations for policy changes, legislative amendments or repeal.

- An oversight board comprised of relevant independent experts and officials from government agencies including law enforcement and health will evaluate the regulator's administration of the model.

Careful implementation

The goal of a regulated cannabis market is to improve community education and product safety, decisively undermine the illicit market and effectively manage cannabis health risks. A careful approach in which the effects of the system are comprehensively monitored and assessed prior to any significant changes will increase confidence that public health and safety are prioritised over commercial interests.

- Illicit market reduction and regulated product pricing will be closely monitored, and associated policies adjusted as needed, to ensure the legal market is functioning as intended.
- No substantial reforms will be made to the regulated cannabis framework during the initial period of implementation.
- Once the system is well established, any substantial reform, such as permitting or restricting online sales or diversifying the range of available cannabis products, will be informed by international evidence, expert advice and community consultation.
- The impacts of cannabis regulation will be continuously monitored and assessed to help identify challenges and opportunities as they emerge.
- The regulator will oversee the collection of comprehensive data about health, justice, commercial and other relevant categories of indicators to enable evaluation of the system's operations and achievements.
- The regulator will report annually to parliament to ensure transparency and to keep the community informed.

A robust business licensing scheme

Commercial licensing provides governments with the opportunity to ensure the regulated cannabis industry is successful, safe, resilient and free from actors at risk of noncompliance, such as people with established histories of unethical business conduct or criminal affiliations. The licensing scheme will include ongoing monitoring, reporting and compliance obligations for licensees.

- Regulated cannabis will be produced and sold by licensed companies, with robust controls to ensure business security and integrity.
- License applicants will be subject to a fit-and-proper-persons test, including checks for state, territory or Commonwealth convictions and civil offences. They must also demonstrate operational and financial capacity to run a compliant business.
- Businesses will be required to maintain safe and secure premises and comply with rigorous reporting and inspection requirements.
- Cultivation and manufacturing standards specific to the cannabis sector will be developed and enforced.
- Tobacco companies will be excluded from holding a commercial cannabis license.
- The Chief Commissioner of Police may object to a licence application or request an existing license be revoked or amended on any grounds the Chief Commissioner of Police thinks fit.



Protecting the legal economy

A regulated cannabis market will deliver:

Jobs and growth

Additional government revenue



Cannabis prohibition has created a \$5 billion illegal cannabis industry in Australia that generates huge profits for criminal gangs and siphons funds from the legal economy.

The alternative is a regulated cannabis industry that generates revenue and creates a wide range of new legitimate business and employment opportunities.

Criminal syndicates in Australia exploit the steady demand for cannabis to generate quick, recurring cashflow that funds higher-margin, more violent criminal activities. These funds also reinforce international criminal networks that engage in money laundering and tax avoidance operations. Regulating cannabis can help undermine criminal groups, redirecting revenues that would otherwise be used for violence and corruption into the legal economy to benefit Australian communities.

Not only will a regulated cannabis industry drastically curtail the criminal market, it will also directly create jobs in cultivation, processing, retail and logistics. Farmers will have the opportunity to benefit from diversification into cannabis cultivation, while skilled labourers and small business owners will find new opportunities in manufacturing, distribution and sales. It has the potential to be a dynamic key industry, attracting new investment, stimulating research and development, and sparking innovation. The sector also has the potential to provide a much-needed economic boost for regions that are doing it tough, creating new jobs and business opportunities in areas that most need it.

Additionally, many Australians would benefit from the broader economic flow-on effects of a regulated cannabis market as the new economic activity cascades through the community. These benefits will only occur in jurisdictions that adopt a regulated cannabis model, as no cannabis imports or exports across either state and territory or international boundaries will be permitted.

A regulated cannabis market could over time generate billions of dollars of additional tax revenue that can be reinvested into public services, including hospitals, mental health, drug treatment and other harm minimisation programs.

Key features:

Jobs and growth

Overseas markets have shown that jurisdictions that regulate cannabis benefit from the predictable and reliable creation of new, legal, tax-paying businesses and jobs. Governments can direct this growth towards the communities most in need.

- In Canada, with a population 1.5 times that of Australia, the regulated cannabis industry created over 151,000 full-time equivalent jobs during its first 3 years, according to analysis by Deloitte.⁶
- In the US, where half the states (comprising a population roughly 6.5 times bigger than Australia's) have a regulated cannabis market, it is estimated that over 400,000 full-time equivalent positions have been created by the cannabis industry.⁷
- In Australia, new businesses will be incentivised to open in rural and regional areas through established mechanisms such as payroll tax discounts and government grants.

Additional government revenue

A regulated cannabis industry will produce new sources of government revenue from taxes and fees while also boosting overall economic activity. License fees will help recoup some of the social costs of cannabis by funding cannabis education, prevention, harm minimisation and treatment services. Overseas jurisdictions have already

⁶ See Appendix – Deloitte Canada. *An industry makes its mark: the economic and social impact of Canada's cannabis sector.*

⁷ See Appendix – Vangst. *Jobs Report.*

demonstrated the potential scale of government income from the regulated cannabis industry.

- In Canada, the federal and provincial governments collected over CAD\$2 billion of cannabis taxes and government wholesaler revenue during the 2023/24 financial year.
- In the US, states collected more than USD\$4 billion in cannabis taxes during the 2023 calendar year.
- In Australia, licensing fees paid by cannabis companies will cover regulatory costs and contribute funds to address the social costs of cannabis in the community.

The federal government is responsible for tax collection. Penington Institute encourages the federal government to work with states and territories to fix any legislative barriers that may prevent tax being imposed on cannabis products in Australia.



Cannabis pricing and taxation

The PCCP is designed to undermine the illicit market, minimise health risks and generate revenue to fund the government services necessary to address the social costs of cannabis use in Australian communities.

For the benefits to be fully realised, the legal market must provide a service that Australians prefer to the illicit market. This can only be achieved through lawful, convenient access to regulated products that consumers consider good value for money. Taxes and licensing fees that are too burdensome will stifle the creation of new economic activity and slow the transition away from the illicit market.

Optimal tax levels and licensing fees will depend on several interrelated, dynamic factors, including the size and structure of regulatory frameworks, community needs, consumer preferences and the effectiveness of a focused clampdown on the illicit cannabis industry. Taxes, fees and prices should be monitored and adjusted as necessary to ensure regulated cannabis products are affordable enough to curtail the illicit market and provide reasonable tax and other revenue to government.

International experiences have shown this is best achieved through regular, transparent reviews of tax and price policies measured against key performance metrics, combined with strengthened law enforcement targeted at the remaining illicit cannabis suppliers.

Conclusion

Australia’s criminalised cannabis model is broken. It harms people and communities, bankrolls criminal networks and exacerbates the problems it claims to solve. The PCCP offers an achievable and timely solution. It combines learnings from overseas with local knowledge to produce a plan that is uniquely Australian and highly workable. Importantly, it provides a sensible balance between protecting people and communities while also undermining the illicit drug market. Additionally, the PCCP has already been subject to significant scrutiny and feedback from community members, health practitioners and law enforcement experts, making it the most comprehensive and robust cannabis regulation plan ever produced in Australia.

The next step is for politicians and government officials to consider how and when the PCCP will be implemented. The following chart illustrates the plan’s distinctive contribution.

Table 1: Comparative cannabis regulation

Criminalisation (most Australian jurisdictions)	Decriminalisation (ACT)	Penington plan (PCCP)	Commercialisation (many US states)
PRODUCTION			
Cannabis is produced by criminal syndicates and sold by dealers.	Cannabis is produced by criminal syndicates and sold by dealers.	Cannabis is produced and sold by licensed professionals who have passed rigorous background checks.	Cannabis is produced and sold by license holders, and compliance is erratically enforced.
PRODUCTS			
Cannabis is produced in secret, using unknown amounts of pesticides and harmful contaminants.	Cannabis is produced in secret, using unknown amounts of pesticides and harmful contaminants.	Cannabis is produced by licensed companies, with strict controls to ensure products are free from harmful contaminants.	Cannabis is produced by licensed companies, with limited controls to avoid products containing harmful contaminants.
Cannabis potency is unregulated and unknown.	Cannabis potency is unregulated and unknown.	Cannabis potency is known, reliable and limited. Highly potent products are prohibited.	Cannabis potency is known and reliable. Highly potent products are available.
ACCESS			
Dealers sell as much cannabis as they can to anybody who wants to buy it, including children.	Dealers sell as much cannabis as they can to anybody who wants to buy it, including children.	Licensed outlets sell limited quantities of a narrow set of cannabis products to adults.	Licensed outlets sell limited quantities of a broad set of cannabis products to adults.
People are forced to purchase from drug dealers, and risk being arrested and charged by police.	People are forced to purchase from drug dealers.	People can legally buy cannabis from licensed and strictly regulated outlets.	People can legally buy cannabis from licensed outlets.

Criminalisation (most Australian jurisdictions)	Decriminalisation (ACT)	Penington plan (PCCP)	Commercialisation (many US states)
ACCESS (CONT.)			
Dealers do not provide advice on how to reduce harms from using cannabis.	Dealers do not provide advice on how to reduce harms from using cannabis.	Outlets provide evidence-based education and support to customers, especially to young adults. Advertising is strictly prohibited, and products only come in plain, uniform packaging.	Outlets may not provide advice on how to reduce harms from using cannabis.
There are no controls over how cannabis is packaged or promoted.	There are no controls over how cannabis is packaged or promoted.		Advertising is permitted, including in shopfronts and billboards, and products come in colourful, attractive packaging.
USE			
Smoking cannabis in public spaces is illegal.	Smoking cannabis in public spaces is illegal.	Smoking cannabis in public spaces is illegal, and no cannabis ‘cafes’ or consumption venues are permitted. Adults are allowed to grow a limited number of plants for personal use and can legally buy seeds from licensed outlets.	Smoking cannabis is often permitted wherever tobacco smoking is permitted. Some jurisdictions allow cannabis ‘cafes’ and consumption venues.
Personal cannabis cultivation is prohibited.	Adults are allowed to grow a limited number of plants for personal use but have to illegally buy unregulated seeds.		Adults are allowed to grow a limited number of plants for personal use and can legally buy seeds from licensed outlets.
OVERSIGHT			
The cannabis industry has no regulations or government oversight.	The cannabis industry has no regulations or government oversight.	The cannabis industry is regulated and overseen by a government regulator. Regulated cannabis businesses create jobs and economic activity that benefits society.	The cannabis industry is regulated and overseen by a government regulator.
Criminal suppliers receive all the profits from selling illegal cannabis.	Criminal suppliers receive all the profits from selling illegal cannabis.		Regulated cannabis businesses create jobs and economic activity that maximises profits.

Appendix:

Further reading

The following publications and resources offer further detail on the evidence that informed the development of the PCCP:

- ACT Government. 2024. [*Review of the operation of the Drugs of Dependence \(Personal Cannabis Use\) Amendment Act 2019*](#). Canberra: ACT Health.
- Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission. 2023. [*Illicit Drug Data Report 2020-21*](#). Canberra: ACIC.
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. 2024. [*National Drug Strategy Household Survey 2022-23*](#). Canberra: AIHW.
- Deloitte Canada. 2021. [*An industry makes its mark: the economic and social impact of Canada's cannabis sector*](#). Ontario: Deloitte Canada.
- Government of Canada. 2024. [*Legislative Review of the Cannabis Act: Final Report of the Expert Panel*](#). Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- Manthey, Jakob, Tobias Hayer, & Britta Jacobsen et al. 2023. [*Effects of legalizing cannabis: technical report*](#). Hamburg: Institut für interdisziplinäre Sucht- und Drogenforschung (ISD).
- Penington Institute. 2022. [*Cannabis in Australia 2022*](#). Melbourne: Penington Institute.
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- Penington Institute. 2024. [*Cannabis Regulation in Australia: Putting community safety first*](#). Melbourne: Penington Institute.
- Penington Institute. 2025. [*Billions in the balance: the economic impact of cannabis regulation in Victoria*](#). Melbourne: Penington Institute.
- Penington Institute. [*Cannabis reform: It's time for change*](#).
- Vangst. 2024. [*Jobs Report*](#).
- Zhou, Cilla, Isobel Lavender, and Rebecca Gordon et al. 2025. "[*An analysis of the cultivation, consumption and composition of home-grown cannabis following decriminalisation in the Australian Capital Territory*](#)." Scientific Reports 15(2649).