Agenda

Sentencing Classification Workgroup – October 10th, 3:30pm – 5:30pm

1. Introduction – Representative Smith

- 2. Drug policy in South Carolina Emily Levett (Pew)
 - a. Overview of the data on South Carolina's drug offender population
 - b. What the research says about effective responses to drug crime
 - i. The multiple objectives of incarceration
 - ii. What does not work to reduce drug crime
 - iii. What works to reduce drug crime
 - c. South Carolina's possession and possession with intent drug statutes in context with neighboring states
 - i. Policy options: possession and commercial drug offenses
 - d. South Carolina's trafficking statutes in context with neighboring states
 - i. Policy options: trafficking offenses
 - 1. Weight-based policy options
 - 2. Criminal history-based policy options
 - 3. Conduct-based policy options

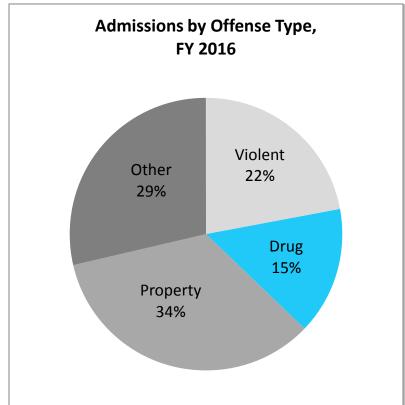
3. Potential policy discussions for upcoming weeks

- a. Property offenses
- b. Felony F/Misd. A offenses
- c. Best practices in alternatives to incarceration

4. Proposed Meeting Times

- a. 2nd Sentencing Classification Workgroup Meeting: October 25th at 11am
- b. 3rd Sentencing Classification Workgroup Meeting: November 7th at 10am
 - i. Sentencing Reform Oversight Commission: November 8th at 2pm
- c. 4th Sentencing Classification Workgroup Meeting: December 5th at 10am
 - i. Sentencing Reform Oversight Commission: December 13th at 10am

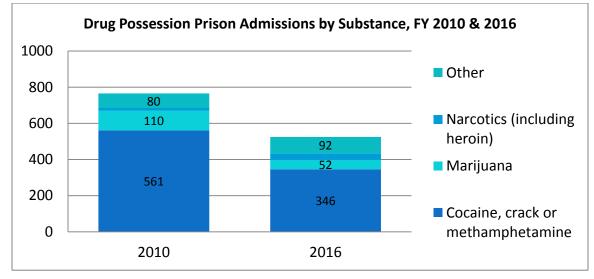
Overview of the data on South Carolina's drug offender population.-



People convicted of drug offenses accounted for 15% of all admissions to prison in 2016.—

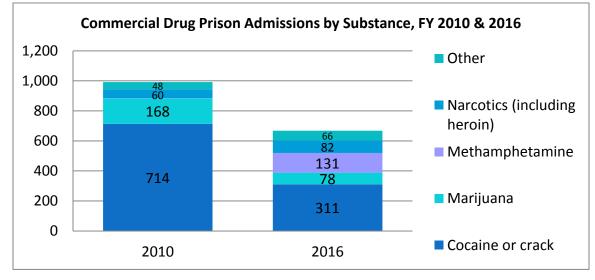
Four of the top 10 most common offenses at admission in 2016 were drug-related.—

Top 10 Offenses at Admission in FY 2016							
Offense	Number of Admissions						
Burglary (2nd degree nonviolent and 3rd degree)	952						
Commercial drug offense	668						
Possession drug offense	525						
Assault and battery – nonviolent	504						
Shoplifting	497						
Forgery/fraud	475						
Burglary (2nd degree violent)	312						
Common law robbery	288						
Manufacture methamphetamine	280						
Drug trafficking	271						

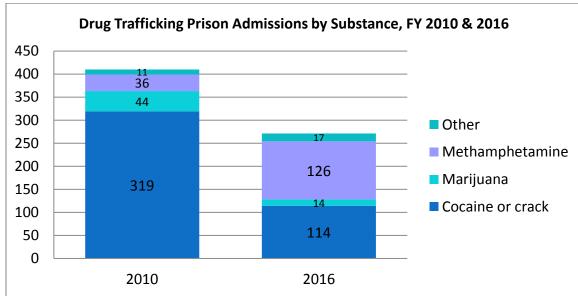


Cocaine, crack and methamphetamine are the most common drugs for possession admissions.—

Cocaine and crack are the most common drugs for commercial admissions.-







What the research says about effective responses to drug crime.-

The multiple objectives of incarceration. -

- There are many different reasons to use incarceration:
 - Incapacitation removing the ability of offenders to commit crimes against the public by holding them in prison;
 - Deterrence reducing the likelihood of future criminal involvement by increasing the punishment for the current offense;
 - *Rehabilitation* reducing the likelihood of future criminal involvement by addressing the criminogenic needs of the offender; and
 - *Retribution* punishment, in the form of imprisonment, for violating community norms.
- Researchers can study the effectiveness of the top three reasons incapacitation, deterrence, and rehabilitation. However, there is no accepted way to study the value of retribution.

What does not work to reduce drug crime. — People who are leading and organizing drug trafficking deserve just punishment for selling substances that damage communities. However, research consistently shows that long prison sentences *for most drug offenders* are ineffective and costly:

- The chances of a typical cocaine street-level drug transaction being detected are about 1 in 15,000.
 With such a low risk of detection, drug dealers on the street are unlikely to be deterred by the remote possibility a prison term associated with each transaction.¹
- Incarceration has a limited deterrent effect even when the potential sentence that an offender faces is
 very long. The National Research Council concluded in a 2014 report that mandatory minimum
 sentences for drug and other offenders "have few if any deterrent effects."²
- Even if street-level drug dealers are apprehended and incarcerated, their absence rarely disrupts the drug market. The "replacement effect" in drug markets – whereby new offenders quickly replace those imprisoned for street-level sale and trafficking roles – means that long sentences for individual offenders do not have an effect on the availability of drugs.³

What works to reduce drug crime.— Overall, there is little evidence for either general or specific deterrent effects based on the harshness of a drug sentencing system. Instead, the most effective responses to drug addiction and drug-related crimes include a combination of:

- Targeted law enforcement to curtail trafficking and limit the emergence of new drug markets;⁴
- Alternative sentencing to divert nonviolent drug offenders from incarceration to evidence-based supervision;⁵
- And prevention efforts that help identify individuals at a high-risk for addiction.⁶

South Carolina's possession and possession with intent statutes in context with neighboring states (cocaine).—

State	South Carolina		Alabama		North Carolina	
Cocaine						
Amount	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence	Crim. History	Sentence
0 to .1g	0 – 1g	Possession: ⁷	0 – 8g	Possession: ⁸	Posse	ession ⁹
.1g to .2g		1: 0 – 3 years		Any: 0 – 2 years	Minimal crim	.2566 years
.2g to .3g		2: 0 – 5 years		(and up to 3 years	history	
.3g to .4g		3+: 0 – 10 years		suspended over a		
.4g to .5g				term of	Moderate	.338 years
.5g to .6g				probation)	crim	
.6g to .7g					history	
.7g to .8g					Serious crim	.5 – 1 years
.8g to .9g					history	
.9g to 1g						
1g to 2g	1 – 10g	PWID: ¹⁰				
2g to 3g		1 [:] 0 – 15 years				
3g to 4g		2: 5 – 30 years				
4g to 5g		3+, all priors			PW	'ID ¹¹
5g to 6g		possession: 10 –			Minimal	.3366 years
6g – 7g		30 years			criminal	
7g – 8g		3+: <u>10</u> – 30 years			history	
8g – 9g			8 – 28g	PWID ¹² :	Moderate	.5 – 1.5 years
9g – 10g				2 – 20 years	criminal	
10g to 20g	10 – 28g	Trafficking: ¹³			history	
20g to 28g		1: <u>3</u> – 10 years			Serious	1 - ~2 years
		2: <u>5</u> – 30 years			criminal	
		3: <u>25</u> – 30 years			history	
28g+	28g+	Trafficking	28g+	Trafficking	28g+	Trafficking
		offenses		offenses		offenses

South Carolina's possession and possession with intent statutes in context with neighboring states (meth).—

State	South Card	olina	Alabama		North Carolina			
Methamphetamine								
Weights	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence		
0 to .1g	0 – 1g	Possession: 14	0 – 8g	Possession: 15	Posse	ssion ¹⁶		
.1g to .2g		1: 0 – 3 years		0 – 2 years (and	Minimal crim	.2566 years		
.2g to .3g		2: 0 – 5 years		up to 3 years	history			
.4g to .5g		3+: 0 – 10 years		suspended over a				
.5g to .6g				term of	Moderate	.338 years		
.6g to .7g				probation)	crim			
.7g to .8g					history			
.8g to .9g					Serious crim	.5 – 1 years		
.9g to 1g					history			
1g – 2g	1g – 10g	PWID: ¹⁷						
2g to 3g		1: 0 – 15 years						
3g to 4g		2: 5 – 30 years						
4g to 5g		3+, all priors			PW	/ID ¹⁸		
5g to 6g		possession: 10 –			Minimal crim	3366 years		
6g to 7g		30 years			history			
7g to 8g		3+: <u>10</u> – 30 years	8 – 28g	PWID ¹⁹ :				
8g to 9g				2 – 20 years	Moderate	.5 – 1.5 years		
9g to 10g					crim			
10g to 20g	10g – 28g	Trafficking: ²⁰			history			
20g to 28g		1: <u>3</u> – 10 years			Serious crim	1 - ~2 years		
		2: <u>5</u> – 10 years			history			
		3: <u>25</u> – 30 years						
28g+	28g+	Trafficking	28g+	Trafficking	28g+	Trafficking		
		offenses		offenses		offenses		

South Carolina's possession and possession with intent to distribute statutes in context with neighboring states (heroin).—

State	South Card	olina	Alabama		North Carolina			
Heroin								
Weights	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence		
0 to .1g	013g	Possession ²¹ :	0 – 2g	Possession: ²²	Posse	ssion ²⁴		
.1g to .2g	(2 grains)	1: 0 – 2 years		Any: 0 – 2 years	Minimal crim	.2566 years		
		2: 0 – 5 years		(and up to 3 years	history			
		3+: 0 – 5 years		suspended over a	Moderate	.338 years		
.2g to .3g	.13g – 4g	PWID: ²⁵		term of	crim			
		1: 0 – 15 years		probation) ²³	history			
.4g to .5g		2: 5 – 30 years			Serious crim	.5 – 1 years		
.5g to .6g		3+, all priors			history			
.6g to .7g		possession: 10 –						
.7g to .8g		30 years			PW	'ID ²⁶		
.8g to .9g		3+: <u>10</u> – 30 years			Minimal crim	3366 years		
.9g to 1g					history			
					Moderate	.5 – 1.5 years		
1g – 2g					crim			
					history			
2g to 3g			2g – 4g	PWID ²⁷ :	Serious crim	1 - ~2 years		
3g to 4g				Any: 2 – 20 years	history			
4g+	4g+	Trafficking	4g+	Trafficking	4g+	Trafficking		
		offenses		offenses		offenses		

Policy Options: Possession and Commercial Drug Offenses

 How South Carolina's possession and possession with intent to distribute statutes stack up with neighboring states.—

Possession and Possession with Intent to Distribute							
Scenario	Maximum Prison Time (Unsuspended) *Poss/PWID – designates						
	South Carolina	Alabama	North Carolina (years)				
Possession of .5g of cocaine with 1 prior conviction for	Poss: 0 – 5 years	Poss: 0 – 2 years	Poss: .338				
felony drug possession			PWID: .5 – 1.5				
Possession of .8g of methamphetamine with two prior	Poss: 0 – 3 years	Poss: 0 – 2 years	Poss: .338				
nonviolent felony burglary charges			PWID: .5 – 1.5				
			years				
Possession of .2g of heroin with one prior conviction for	PWID: 5 – 30 years	Poss: 0 – 2 years	Poss: .338				
drug distribution			PWID: .5 – 1.5				
Possession of 4g of methamphetamine no prior	PWID: 0 – 15 years	Poss: 0 – 2 years	Poss: .2566				
convictions			PWID: .3366				
Possession of 2.1g of heroin with 1 prior conviction for	PWID: 5 – 30 years	PWID: 2 – 20 years	Poss: .338				
felony drug possession			PWID: .5 – 1.5				

In general, South Carolina has higher *maximum* sentences for possession and PWID offenses than Alabama and North Carolina.

- a. This is due in part to the fact that South Carolina's presumptive threshold differentiating possession offenses from PWID offenses is comparatively low (e.g. 1 gram of cocaine or methamphetamine in South Carolina, compared to 8 in Alabama; or .13g for heroin in South Carolina, compared to 2g in Alabama).
- b. And part in due to South Carolina's overall higher maximum sentences across possession and lowerweight PWID offenses.
- 2. Potential policies to bring South Carolina into line with neighboring Southern States.
 - a. Raise the presumptive weight threshold differentiating possession from PWID (and other commercial) offenses.
 - i. Within the larger range of possession offenses, create interim penalty tiers according to severity.
 - b. And/or lower maximum sentences across possession and lower-weight commercial offenses.

South Carolina's trafficking statutes in context with neighboring states

(cocaine).—

State	South Carolina ²⁸		Federal Government ²⁹		North Carolina ³⁰	
Cocaine						
Amount	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence, in months min (max w/history)	Amount	Sentence
10g to 20g 20g to 30g	10 – 28g	1: <u>3</u> – 10 years 2: <u>5</u> – 30 years 3: <u>25</u> – 30 years	<50 g	~.8 - ~1.3 years (2.5 -~3 years)	See page 5 for Carolina's pend weights of cocc 28g.	alties for
30g to 40g 40g to 50g	28g to 100g	1: <u>7</u> – 25 years 2: <u>7</u> – 30 years			28g – 200g	Trafficking ~3 – 4.25
50g to 60g 60g to 70g	-	3+: <u>25</u> – 30 years	50 – 100g	1.25 – 1.75 years (3 – ~4 years)		years
70g to 80g 80g to 90g 90g to 100g	-					
100g to 200g	100g – 200g	Any: <u>25</u> years	100 – 200g	1.75 – 2.25 years (~4 – 4.75 years)		
200g to 300g 300g to 400g	200g – 400g	Any: <u>25</u> years	200 – 300g 300 – 400g	2.25 - 2.75 years (4.75 – ~6 years) 2.75 –~3.5 years (~6 – 7.25))	200g – 400g	~6 – 7.75 years
400g to 500g 500g+	400g+	Any: <u>25</u> – 30 years	400 – 500g 500g+	~3.5 – 4.25 years (7– 8.75 years) <u>5 years</u> – life (tiered by additional weights) (With previous drug conviction, <u>10 year</u> <u>minimum</u>)	400g+	175 – 222 mos

South Carolina's trafficking statutes in context with neighboring states

(meth).—

State	South Card	olina ³¹	Federal Go	overnment ³²	North Carolina	33
Methamphet						
Weights	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence, in months min (max w/crim history)	Amount	Sentence
10g to 20g	10g – 28g	1: <u>3</u> – 10 years 2: <u>5</u> – 10 years	10g – 20g	1.75 – 2.25 years (~4 – 4.75 years)	See page 6 for Carolina's pend	ilties for
20g to 30g		3: <u>25</u> – 30 years	20g – 30g	2.25 - 2.75 years (4.75 – ~6 years)	weights of met less than 28g.	hamphetamine
30g to 40g	28g – 100g	1: 7 – 25 years 2: 7 – 30 years	30g – 40g	2.75 –~3.5 years (~6 – 7.25)	28g – 200g	Any: ~6 – 7.75 years
40g to 50g		3+: <u>25</u> – 30 years	40g – 50 g	~3.5 – 4.25 years (7– 8.75 years)		
50g to 60g 60g to 70g 70g to 80g 80g to 90g 90g to 100g	-		50g – 200g	5 years – 5.25 (~8– ~10.5 years) (With previous drug conviction,		
100g to 200g	100g – 200g	Any: <u>25</u> years	-	<u>10 year</u> <u>minimum</u>)		
200g to 300g 300g to 400g	200g – 400g	Any: <u>25</u> years	200g – 350g	5.25 – 6.5 years (<u>10</u> – 12.5) (With previous drug conviction, <u>10 year</u> <u>minimum</u>)	200g – 4000g	Any: 7.5 – 10 years
400g to 500g	400g+	Any: <u>25</u> – 30 years	350g – 500g	6.5 - ~8 years (~12 - ~14.5 years) (With previous drug conviction, <u>10 year</u> minimum)	400g+	Any: <u>18.75</u> – 23.5 years
500g+			500+	~8 years – life (tiered by additional weights) (With previous drug conviction, <u>10 year</u> <u>minimum</u>)		

South Carolina's trafficking statutes in context with neighboring states

(heroin).—

State	South Card	olina ³⁴	Federal Government ³⁵		North Carolir	1a ³⁶
Heroin						
Weights	Amount	Sentence	Amount	Sentence, in months min (max w/crim history)	Amount	Sentence
4g to 5g	4g – 14g	1: <u>7</u> – 25 years	<10 g	~.8 - ~1.3 years	4g – 14g	Any:
5g to 6g		2+: <u>25</u> years		(2.5 -~3 years)		<u>~6</u> - ~7.5
6g to 7g						years
7g to 8g						
8g to 9g						
9g to 10g						
10g to 20g	14g – 28g	Any: <u>25</u> years	10g – 20g	1.25 – 1.75 years (3 – ~4 years)	14g – 28g	Any: <u>7.5</u> – 10 years
20g to 30g	-		20g – 40g	1.75 – 2.25 years		
30g to 40g	28g+	Any: <u>25</u> – 40 years		(~4 – 4.75 years)	28g+	Any:
40g to 50g			40g – 60g	2.25 - 2.75 years		<u>~19</u> – 23.5
50g to 60g				(4.75 – ~6 years)		years
60g to 70g			60g – 80g	2.75 –~3.5 years		
70g to 80g				(~6 – 7.25)		
80g to 90g			80g –	~3.5 – 4.25 years		
90g to 100g			100g	(7– 8.75 years)		
100g to			100g –	<u>5</u> – 5.25 years		
200g			400g	(~8–~10.5 years)		
200g to				(With previous		
300g	-			drug conviction,		
300g to				<u>10 year</u>		
400g				<u>minimum</u>)		
400g+			400g –	5.25 – 6.5 years		
500g+			700g	(10 – 12.5 years)		
				(With previous		
				drug conviction,		
				<u>10 year</u>		
				<u>minimum</u>)		

Policy Options: Trafficking

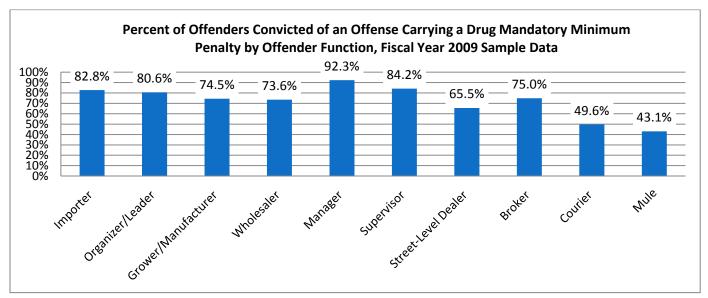
1. How South Carolina's trafficking statutes stack up with other jurisdictions.—

Trafficking	Trafficking							
Scenario	Prison Time							
	South Carolina	Federal Government	North Carolina					
Trafficking 10g of cocaine, with no prior criminal convictions	<u>3</u> – 10 years	.8 – 1.3 years	Considered a possession or PWID case.					
Trafficking 6g of heroin, with three prior non-drug felony convictions	<u>7</u> – 25 years	2.5 -3 years	6 – 7.5 years					
Trafficking 125g of methamphetamine, with one prior felony drug conviction	<u>25</u> years	<u>10</u> years	6 – 7.75 years					
Trafficking 200g of methamphetamine, with no prior felony convictions	<u>25</u> years	5.25 – 6.5 years (<u>5</u> year minimum)	7.5 – 10 years					
Trafficking 100 grams of heroin, with a prior possession conviction	<u>25</u> – 40 years	<u>10</u> - 10.5 years	<u>19</u> – 23.5 years					

In general, South Carolina has higher *minimum* and *maximum* sentences for trafficking offenses than North Carolina and the federal government.

- a. This is due in part to the ratcheting up of sentences in South Carolina based on the offender's previous convictions.
- b. And due in part to South Carolina's overall higher minimum and maximum sentences for trafficking offenses.
- 2. Potential policies to bring South Carolina into line with other jurisdictions.
 - a. Weight-based policies: For lower weights within the trafficking spectrum, reduce maximum sentences in accordance with other jurisdictions.
 - b. Criminal history-based policies: Currently, South Carolina's drug trafficking statutes include criminal history enhancements that significantly ratchet up minimum and maximum penalties for offenders with any type of prior drug conviction. For example, a person with 11g of cocaine with no prior drug offenses would face a penalty range of 3 to 10 years, while a person with the same weight of drugs with two prior possession offenses would face a penalty range of 25 to 30 years. To ensure that South Carolina is focusing its long trafficking sentences on those with a demonstrated criminal history of trafficking not lower-level possession or PWID offenses South Carolina could limit what prior drug offenses trigger these criminal history enhancements to trafficking offenses only.

For trafficking offenses, weight is an imperfect predictor of drug crime severity. — Similar to South Carolina, federal drug trafficking laws rely primarily on weight to determine crime severity. However, a study conducted by the United States Sentencing Commission found that the quantity of drugs and the level of an individual's involvement in drug activity are not necessarily correlated.³⁷ "Mules" – people that transported or carried drugs on their person and had no larger role within a drug trafficking organization – for example, were convicted of offenses carrying a mandatory minimum sentence 43.1% of the time.³⁸



Source: U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2009

- c. Conduct-based policies: Ensure that trafficking statutes are capturing serious offenders who are controlling the marketplace, as opposed to those who are working at the behest of others and have little influence.—
 - Option A [Opt-In]: Currently, mandatory minimums in South Carolina are determined solely by weight, which research from the federal government indicates is not a reliable predictor of the seriousness of offender conduct. To ensure that South Carolina's drug trafficking laws are capturing serious offenders, the state could require trafficking offenses to be proven by two factors: weight, as well as the offender's conduct within the marketplace. Specifically, the policy would define roles – what constitutes a leader, manufacturer, importer etc. – and only apply the trafficking penalty to those who meet both the weight and the conduct threshold.
 - ii. <u>Option B [Opt-out]</u>: To ensure that judges have some flexibility in sentencing people who fall under the trafficking statute, but are not driving the marketplace, provide for a safety valve whereby judges can exempt certain people from the minimum sentence if they meet the requirements of a statutory test.³⁹

Endnotes

¹ Pew Charitable Trusts (2016), "Public Safety Aspects of the Heroin Abuse Epidemic, http://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/issuebriefs/2015/07/public-safety-aspects-of-the-heroin-abuse-epidemic. ² National Research Council, The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences (2014), 83, http://www.nap.edu/catalog/18613/the-growth-of-incarceration-in-the-united-states-exploring-causes. 3 Ilyana Kuziemko and Steven D. Levitt, "An Empirical Analysis of Imprisoning Drug Offenders," Journal of Public Economics 88 (2004):2043–2066, https://www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/ikuziemko/papers/kl_ipube.pdf. ⁴ Jonathan P. Caulkins and Peter Reuter, "Towards a Harm-Reduction Approach to Enforcement," Safer Communities 8 (January 2009): Nicholas Corsaro et al., "The Impact of Drug Market Pulling Levers Policing on Neighborhood Violence," Criminology & Public Policy 11, no. 2 (2012),http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2012.00798.x/pdf. ⁵ Ojmarrh Mitchell et al., "Drug Courts' Effects on Criminal Offending for Juveniles and Adults" (Feb. 2, 2012) https://www.campbellcollaboration.org/library/drug-courts-effects-on-criminal-offending.html; Angela Hawken and Mark Kleiman, Managing Drug Involved Probations With Swift and Certain Sanctions: Evaluating Hawaii's HOPE (Dec. 2, 2009). National Institute of Justice. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/229023.pdf. ⁶ The Surgeon General (2016), "Facing Addiction in America," <u>https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK424850/</u>. ⁷ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(d)(3). ⁸ Code of Ala. § 13A-12-212. ⁹ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(d)(2). ¹⁰ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(b)(1); In South Carolina, weight of the controlled substances gives rise to an assumption of intent to distribute, though intent would still need to be proven at trial. ¹¹ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(b)(1). ¹² Code of Ala. § 13A-12-211(c)(1). ¹³ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(e)(2) ¹⁴S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-375(A) ¹⁵ Code of Ala. § 13A-12-212. ¹⁶ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(d)(2). ¹⁷ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-375(B); In South Carolina, weight of the controlled substances gives rise to an assumption of intent to distribute, though intent would still need to be proven at trial. ¹⁸ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(b)(1). ¹⁹ Code of Ala. § 13A-12-211(c)(6). ²⁰ S.C. Code Ann.§ 44-53-375(C). ²¹ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(d)(1). ²² Code of Ala. § 13A-12-212. ²³ Can also be sentenced as unlawful distribution of a controlled substance, if the defendant sells, furnishes, or delivers a controlled substance; Code of Ala. § 13A-12-211(a). ²⁴ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(d)(1). ²⁵ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(d)(1);In South Carolina, weight of the controlled substances gives rise to an assumption of intent to distribute, though intent would still need to be proven at trial. ²⁶ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(b)(1). ²⁷ Code of Ala. § 13A-12-211(c)(2). ²⁸ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(e)(2) ²⁹ United States Sentencing Commission, (2016) "2016 Guidelines Manual," Chapter 2 –D, https://www.ussc.gov/guidelines/2016-guidelinesmanual/2016-chapter-2-d#NaN. ³⁰ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(h)(3). ³¹ S.C. Code Ann.§ 44-53-375(C). ³² United States Sentencing Commission, (2016) "2016 Guidelines Manual," Chapter 2 –D, https://www.ussc.gov/guidelines/2016-guidelinesmanual/2016-chapter-2-d#NaN. ³³ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(h)(3)(b). ³⁴ S.C. Code Ann. § 44-53-370(e)(3) ³⁵ United States Sentencing Commission, (2016) "2016 Guidelines Manual," Chapter 2 –D, https://www.ussc.gov/guidelines/2016-guidelinesmanual/2016-chapter-2-d#NaN. ³⁶ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 90-95(h)(4). ³⁷ U.S. Sentencing Commission, Report to the Congress: Mandatory Minimum Penalties in the Federal Criminal Justice System (October 2011), Chapter 8, https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/news/congressional-testimony-and-reports/mandatory-minimum-penalties/20111031-rtcpdf/Chapter 08.pdf.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ For example, in the federal system, judges can sentence people convicted of federal drug trafficking offenses below the minimum penalty if (1) no one was harmed during the offense; (2) the person has little or no history of criminal convictions; (3) the person does not use violence or a gun; (4) the person was not a leader or organizer of the offense; and (5) the person told the prosecutor all he knows about the offense.