

Mark Scheme (Results)

Summer 2017

Pearson Edexcel GCE in Government and Politics (6GP04) Paper 4A: EU Political Issues



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General Marking Guidance

- All candidates must receive the same treatment. Examiners must mark the first candidate in exactly the same way as they mark the last.
- Mark schemes should be applied positively. Candidates must be rewarded for what they have shown they can do rather than penalised for omissions.
- Examiners should mark according to the mark scheme not according to their perception of where the grade boundaries may lie.
- There is no ceiling on achievement. All marks on the mark scheme should be used appropriately.
- All the marks on the mark scheme are designed to be awarded. Examiners should always award full marks if deserved, i.e. if the answer matches the mark scheme. Examiners should also be prepared to award zero marks if the candidate's response is not worthy of credit according to the mark scheme.
- Where some judgement is required, mark schemes will provide the principles by which marks will be awarded and exemplification may be limited.
- When examiners are in doubt regarding the application of the mark scheme to a candidate's response, the team leader must be consulted.
- Crossed out work should be marked UNLESS the candidate has replaced it with an alternative response.

Question Number	Question
1.	Explain the arguments for and against the free movement of labour within the EU.

Candidates should demonstrate an understanding of the significance of freedom of movement within the EU, although explicit reference to the Single European Act or to the 'four freedoms' is not essential to achieve the full range of marks.

Arguments advanced in support of the freedom of movement <u>may</u> include:

- It improves the economic opportunities for workers in less developed member states, as well as boosting those economies through wages sent home.
- It leads to increased competitiveness in net immigration member states as businesses have a wider pool of available labour.
- It also contributes to improved opportunities for worker travel and education, with a consequent benefit to inter-cultural understanding, as well as a practical benefit in terms of improved language skills.
- The principle of free movement could be seen as both a human right and a natural complement to the EU's free movement of capital and services.

Arguments advanced against the freedom of movement <u>may</u> include:

- Continued expansion of the EU has led to increasing westwards migration leading to a 'brain drain' in Eastern member states which adversely affects their economy.
- This can also cause both political controversy and economic instability in the net immigration member states due to the influx of workers from new EU states, and was a significant factor in the Brexit vote and the 2015 General Election.
- There are fears that organised crime and terrorism will increase as border controls are relaxed.
- Freedom of movement is also seen as increasing the challenges posed by immigration and asylum from outside the EU as, once inside, arrivals can move freely.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

 Limited understanding of the arguments for and against the free movement of labour within the EU; or a clear understanding of one side of the question.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

 Clear understanding of the arguments for and against the free movement of labour within the EU.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question
2.	How and why has the EU implemented the principle of
	subsidiarity?

Candidates should demonstrate an awareness of the nature of subsidiarity as the principle that policy-decisions should be taken as close to those affected as possible - policy should only be made at EU level if local or national governments are less able to achieve its goals.

Ways in which the EU has implemented subsidiarity (how) may include:

- Through the creation of the Committee for the Regions to deal with locally or regionally decided policy issues.
- Through the moves towards greater regional control of EU convergence funding.
- The Lisbon Treaty, through the 'yellow and orange card' system, potentially allows national parliaments to decide whether EU legislation complies with the principle of subsidiarity, which could limit integration and keep more power at a lower levels.
- Subsidiarity has also been used to justify the national retention of control in some areas such as defence and foreign affairs.

Reasons why the EU has implemented subsidiarity may include:

- To respond to concerns over perceived excessive centralisation and a democratic deficit within the EU.
- As part of attempts to create a genuinely federal structure or 'Europe of the Regions' where power is moved 'down' as much as 'up'.
- Euro-sceptics may also perceive it as a 'sop' or an alibi for "creeping federalism" giving minor issues to lower levels whilst permitting further integration on key issues.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of both the reasons behind subsidiarity (why) and the ways it has been implemented (how), or clear understanding of one of those aspects.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Clear understanding of both the reasons behind subsidiarity (why) and the ways it has been implemented (how).

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Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Questio	n									
3.	Explain	the	role	and	significance	of	the	Council	of	the	EU
	(Counci	l of N	1inist	ers).							

Candidates should demonstrate an understanding of the basic nature of the Council of Ministers as a meeting of Ministers from each member country covering a specific area, and should link this to both its role and significance.

The role of the Council includes:

- Responding to, and making final decisions on, policy proposals from the European Commission (in consultation or co-decision with the EU parliament).
- As an arena for discussion and negotiation of these proposals.
- Negotiating, and on occasion suspending or terminating, international agreements.

Ways in which the Council could be seen to be significant include:

- It makes the final decisions on policy in such key issues as trade, environment, budget, foreign relations, and employment rights, and has co-decision in other policy areas, meaning that there are virtually no aspects of EU policy to which it does not make a significant contribution.
- It has an effective apparatus for preparing and co-ordinating national responses to policy proposals.
- It is where key inter-ministerial negotiations take place.
- The reduction of the national veto, and greater use of QMV, further increase the Council's significance.
- Its roles will cause the Council to have a potentially significant impact on the Brexit deal.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of both the role and significance of the Council of the EU, or clear understanding of one of those aspects.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Clear understanding of both the role and significance of the Council of the EU.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
<i>Level 1</i> (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question
4.	Why are the Liberal Democrats the most pro-EU of the UK
	political parties?

Candidates should demonstrate awareness that the Liberal Democrats are the most pro-European of Britain's major parties.

Reasons for this stance may include:

- The Lib Dems see the EU as economically very beneficial to the UK, as it tallies with their emphasis on free trade and free movement.
- The Lib Dems have generally taken an internationalist, as opposed to nationalist, stance in terms of co-operation, aid and intervention.
- The Lib Dems are also the strongest voice for human rights and personal protections offered by the Charter on Fundamental Rights and, to an extent, the Social Chapter.
- The EU receptiveness to pressure groups tallies closely with the Lib Dem emphasis on pluralism.
- Subsidiarity and the 'EU of the regions' approach, both fit with Lib Dem support for devolution, whilst their generally pro-constitutional reform position means that they will have less concerns than others about the ways in which the EU has altered the traditional UK constitution.

Discussion of the policies of other parties is legitimate and should be credited <u>if</u> such content is tied back to the question in terms of the comparison to the Lib Dens.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

 Limited understanding of why the Liberal Democrats are the most pro-EU of the UK political parties.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

 Clear understanding of why the Liberal Democrats are the most pro-EU of the UK political parties.

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question
5.	How and why has the EU sought to achieve monetary union?

Candidates should show awareness of both the motivations and mechanisms for achieving full monetary union.

Ways in which the EU has sought to achieve monetary union (how) may include:

- The introduction of the single currency, which is compulsory for new member states once they meet the criteria.
- The introduction of the European Central Bank (successor to the European Monetary Institute) to set, define and implement monetary policy, manage reserves and promote smooth market operations.
- Creditable reference may also be made to steps taken in preparation for the single currency, such as the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), Convergence Criteria, and Stability and Growth Pact.

Reasons why the EU has sought to achieve monetary union may include:

- To strengthen European business via competition in a single currency zone, enabling them to be more robust world competitors.
- To improve convenience for both travellers and businesses by reducing the time, money and uncertainty involved in exchange transactions.
- To promote monetary stability by removing members' ability to engage in competitive devaluations to support exports.
- As a staging post on the road to further integration economic, political or both.

Reference to full fiscal or economic union should only be credited insofar as they explicitly relate to monetary union, whilst arguments against it are not creditable.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Limited understanding of both the reasons behind monetary (why) and the ways it has been sought (how), or clear understanding of one of those aspects.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

• Clear understanding of both the reasons behind monetary (why) and the ways it has been sought (how).

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS
Level 3 (11-15 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (6-10 marks)	 knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-5 marks)	 Very poor to weak: knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates ability to analyse and explain political information, arguments and explanations ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question
6.	'Over the years, membership of the EU did not diminish
	Britain's sovereignty.' Discuss.

Candidates should show awareness of the competing views on the question and arguable extent to which Britain's EU membership diminished sovereignty. This should include awareness of both legal (formal) and political (practical) sovereignty, and should be directed towards sovereignty specifically, not to other aspects of the UK constitution.

Arguments advanced in support of the premise of the question may include:

- Sovereignty was pooled rather than lost. Arguably much of the 'standardisation' would have been required anyway, whilst we are now also able to help influence policy in other EU countries. This is in the UK's interest in an era of growing globalisation.
- EU membership did not fundamentally affect parliamentary sovereignty, as EU regulations were reviewed by Parliamentary committees.
- In practice the number of cases of the ECJ overruling parliamentary sovereignty was very small. Factortame was some time ago and there were few prominent cases since.
- Elected representatives from the UK contributed to EU policy-making and were drawn from or appointed by government, which itself governs by virtue of its support in parliament.
- Ultimately parliament could always legally regain any political sovereignty lost by withdrawing from the EU, as was demonstrated by the Brexit vote.
- Britain secured numerous opt-outs, for example from monetary union, the Social Chapter and the Schengen Agreement, whilst the 2016 renegotiation of Britain's terms of membership of the EU would have exempted Britain from the requirement for 'ever closer union'.

Arguments advanced against the premise of the question may include:

- Membership effectively rendered parliamentary sovereignty meaningless, with claims that the majority of laws were passed by the EU rather than Parliament.
- The ECJ replaced the House of Lords/Supreme Court as the highest UK court and unlike the Supreme Court was able to over-rule parliament sovereignty in its judgements Factortame being a notable such case.
- Each treaty progressively extended the policy areas over which the EU has competence, thus infringing sovereignty.
- The increasing use of QMV reinforced this, causing British influence to wane over time, particularly after the 2004 enlargement.
- The 2016 renegotiation did not change the main principles of the EU including the pooling of sovereignty and the supremacy of EU law, it simply slowed down the further loss of sovereignty which was partly why there was a Brexit vote.
- Although the Brexit vote will result in a restoration of sovereignty this is a long and involved process requiring considerable negotiation and expense, suggesting that sovereignty was at the least heavily limited by EU membership.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Limited understanding of the arguments and evidence as to why membership of the EU did not diminish Britain's sovereignty.
- Limited understanding of the arguments and evidence as to why membership of the EU did diminish Britain's sovereignty.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Clear understanding of the arguments and evidence as to why membership of the EU did not diminish Britain's sovereignty.
- Clear understanding of the arguments and evidence as to why membership of the EU did diminish Britain's sovereignty.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
A02	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.

A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question
7.	'More supranational than intergovernmental' Assess this view of EU institutions.

Candidates should demonstrate an awareness of the ongoing debate over whether or not the EU is (or should be) intergovernmental or supranational. Answers should be clearly addressed towards the nature and operation of the institutions, not to the general level of integration within the EU.

Arguments in support of the premise that the EU is an example of supranational governance may include:

- The European Commission is supranational in both theory and practice with commissioners setting aside national loyalties to effectively govern the EU as a supranational 'cabinet'.
- Whilst the Council of Ministers may be considered intergovernmental in its makeup, the extension of QMV and reduction of veto makes it more supranational in practice.
- The altered posts of President of the EU council and new post of High Commission for Foreign Affairs and Security further emphasise the supranational nature of the EU institutions.
- The European Central Bank is supranational in that the Governing Council is fully independent of the Eurozone Member States, devising 'one-size-fits-all' interest rates for the good of the Eurozone as a whole.
- The ECJ possesses the power to overrule national legislature and its role has been extended into Home Affairs.
- The European Parliament operates effectively in supranational blocks of allied parties, with relatively little block voting on a national basis.

Arguments that the EU remains more intergovernmental than supranational include:

- Whilst the Commission may often act as a group, the appointment (and decision over re-appointment) of commissioners by national governments ensures a degree of governmental control.
- The Council of Ministers is still entirely drawn from members states governments each fighting for their own 'interest', with each Member State given the opportunity to push forward their national agendas when they hold the presidency of the institution.
- The supranational posts within EU institutions are relatively lacking in power in comparison to the intergovernmental representatives on the Council of Ministers and European Council.
- Attempts to establish directly elected supranational elements for example a
 directly elected EU president, have failed, whilst the EU parliament is elected
 geographically. Electoral accountability therefore still comes through national
 channels.
- Enlargement makes institutions less supranational in practice due to the increasing range of diverse national interests and the need to focus any reforms on smoother operations rather than increase supranational powers.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Limited understanding of the arguments and evidence that EU institutions are more supranational than intergovernmental.
- Limited assessment of these arguments and evidence.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Clear understanding of the arguments and evidence that EU institutions are more supranational than intergovernmental.
- Clear assessment of these arguments and evidence.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
AO2	Intellectual skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to analyse and evaluate political information, arguments and explanations.
Level 1	Very poor to weak ability to analyse and evaluate political

A02	Synoptic skills
Level 3 (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and clear insight into how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a reliable awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
Level 1 (0-4 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to identify competing viewpoints or perspectives, and a little awareness of how they affect the interpretation of political events or issues and shape conclusions.
A03	Communication and coherence
Level 3 (7-9 marks)	Good to excellent ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making good use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 2 (4-6 marks)	Limited to sound ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making some use of appropriate vocabulary.
Level 1 (0-3 marks)	Very poor to weak ability to construct and communicate coherent arguments, making little or no use of appropriate vocabulary.

Question Number	Question
8.	"EU enlargement has significantly weakened EU integration".
	Discuss.

Candidates should demonstrate awareness of the 'broadening' vs. 'deepening' debate and the extent to which these two ideas can be seen as mutually contradictory. Specific awareness of recent expansion, and its impacts, is needed to fully address the question.

Arguments that support the premise that expansion has weakened integration <u>may</u> include:

- Expansion has made the EU's bureaucracy and operation even more unwieldy, with the need for further commissioners and a more complex system of voting, as well as increasing practical complications such as more languages and increased distances.
- An expanded EU is less able to achieve consensus in decision making and implement reforms necessary to enable further integration, such as CAP and democratic reform.
- Arguably the new members, such as Bulgaria and Romania, are more interested in economic benefits than integration. They may also be unstable, further threatening integration. Such fears led to the blocking of Montenegro's application in 2011.
- Expansion has placed a greater strain on EU finances, especially the CAP and regional fund it is estimated that even with an annual growth of 2% above the rest of the EU, it will take new members 25-60 years to catch up with the average EU GDP.
- Expansion has decreased the EU's popularity in several countries, including the UK, particularly due to the perceived impact on immigration, weakening potential for further integration.

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Arguments that enlargement has not weakened integration may include:

- The EU has both expanded and integrated further throughout its history.
- Progressive enlargements have enriched and re-invigorated the EU: Nordics brought traditions of social justice and environmental awareness and newly freed nations in south and Eastern Europe reminded jaded older members of the value of democracy.
- Recent expansion has provided an impetus for the internal reform necessary for future integration, since EU apparatus was not suited to a 27-member organisation.
- Expansion has allowed the EU to play a greater role on the world political stage, and address security and environmental issues, giving a platform for further integration.
- With the re-emergence of multi-polarity, as the BRIC countries grow in economic strength, it could be argued that if the EU had not expanded it would not have been economically powerful enough to survive.

A threshold Level 2 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Limited understanding of the arguments that privatisation does and does not remain a political and economic success, or clear understanding of one side of the question.
- Limited use of pertinent illustrative policy examples.

A threshold Level 3 response will typically exhibit the following features:

- Clear understanding of the arguments that privatisation does and does not remain a political and economic success.
- Clear use of pertinent illustrative policy examples.

A01	Knowledge and understanding
<i>Level 3</i> (9-12 marks)	Good to excellent knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
Level 2 (5-8 marks)	Limited to sound knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories or debates.
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A02	Intellectual skills
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