International Sustainable Development Studies Institute สถาบันการศึกษาการพัฒนาที่ยั่งยืนนานาชาติ

Thai History and Politics

Semester in Chiang Mai: Thai History and Politics

Short Name: Thai Society, Culture & Art

Credits: 4

Contact hours: 56 total Lecture Hours: 33

Directed Field Studies: 23 (46 hours at 2:1 ratio)

Thai History and Politics

Course Description

Thailand's history is marked by the rise and fall of powerful kingdoms, the influence of religion and trade, colonial-era negotiations, and modern political transformations. This course provides an interdisciplinary exploration of Thai history and politics, tracing developments from the ancient civilizations of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya to the contemporary political landscape.

Students will examine key historical periods, including the establishment of the Thai monarchy, the transition from absolute to constitutional rule, the impact of regional and global forces on Thailand's economy and governance, and the evolving role of Buddhism and cultural identity in shaping Thai society. Particular attention will be given to modern political movements, power structures, and ongoing debates about democracy, monarchy, and governance.

Through field visits to historic sites, political and religious institutions, and discussions with local historians, activists, and academics, students will engage critically with how Thailand's past informs its present. The course encourages reflection on broader themes of state-building, nationalism, and Thailand's position in Southeast Asia and the world.

Course Objectives

The objectives for this course are to:

- · Analyze major historical developments in Thailand, from ancient kingdoms to the modern state.
- Examine the role of Buddhism, monarchy, and political institutions in shaping Thai society.
- Explore the impact of colonialism, globalization, and regional conflicts on Thailand's political and economic systems.
- Investigate key political movements, including Thailand's constitutional changes, protests, and democratic transitions.
- · Compare Thailand's political and historical trajectory with other Southeast Asian nations.
- Engage with local experts, historians, and activists to gain diverse perspectives on Thai history and politics.
- Critically assess contemporary political challenges, including governance, human rights, and social movements.
- · Reflect on the relationship between history, identity, and political power in Thailand today.

Methodology

The course will integrate course lectures and readings with group discussions and seminars. Experiential field studies will be an important component of the course, both formal and informal. Guest lecturers will be a part of the course to share their experiences and perspective with students. Keeping up with readings, materials presented in class, and assignments is critical for success during this course.

Course Component Details	Total
Participation	15
In class participation: This means being an active participant in classes, contributing	5
meaningfully to the discussions, questions, and ongoing learning.	
Field Studies: Participating in field studies outside of the classroom, both through asking	10
questions in the field, engaging in activities, and being an active and engaged learner during field	
studies.	
Writing	45
Seminar Notes: An important component of learning to observe and analyze the issues during	5
this course is taking notes in class. Include questions and analysis as you go along.	-
Observation Notes: Keeping an on-going journal of observations outside the classroom. This	5
means writing daily in your journal, even if only for brief or signifiant observations. This is NOT a	
daily diary, but your field observations, questions, and analysis. Field Study Assignments: Each course will assign work to do during some of the field studies.	15
You need to take notes and answer questions that you are assigned to observe and answer.	13
Essays: For this course essays are longer reflections and analysis. There are four essays during	20
the course. Essays should be 2-3 A4 pages, and cover the following points:	
How this issue or topic links to the overall topic of the course.	
Why you are interested in this specific issue or topic?	
 An analysis of a specific issue observed or learned about during that week — describe this and 	
why it is important.	
 Reference to a reading either from the course readings or outside sources. 	
Other questions that this issue raises for you to explore further.	
Independent Field Research Project/Focused Inquiry	30
Each student will choose an issue related to the course to study independently. This should be a	
combination of research, observations, and analysis of a topic that the student is interested in. The	
emphasis is primarily on field observations broadly defined, drawing on both class related field	
studies as well as independent observations in Thailand on your own time.	_
Proposal: The IFRP proposal will be a 1 page written description explaining what you are	5
interested in studying, how data will be gathered, the feasibility of studying this during the course,	
and any potential challenges you may anticipate running into.	10
Progress update : This part of the IFRP is a short update during the course delivered orally on what the student has discovered about their topic so far, what further questions this raises, any	10
challenges they have faced and how they have overcome them, as well as further information they	
will be looking for during the second half of the field study.	
Final Presentation : On the last day of the course each student will give a presentation on their	15
topic, focusing on the initial question, methods, challenges, and the outcome of their focused	.0
inquiry. This should be presented with supporting slides. This will be followed by questions and	
comments from fellow students and instructors.	
Rubric for final presentation	
1. Clarity and organization — is the issue clearly explained, linked to the topic and readings of the	
course, and well organized?	
2. Experiential learning/field studies/observations — does the presentation link to specific	
examples of observations?	
3. Interviews — does the presentation reflect discussions, interviews, and talks with local people	
and community members?	
4. Depth — is the issue analyzed and explained well and thoroughly?	10
Final Exam	10
Final: The final exam is a series of short answer questions drawn from the entire semester of the	10
course.	

Seminar Schedule: Monday 1-4

Please note: An important part of this course happens outside of seminars, including field studies, extended field studies, and other experiential learning opportunities. Each of these field studies are an integral part of the course, and will include assignments for the course.

Field Studies

An important part of the course are experiential field studies outside of the classroom. Field studies will have assignments based on the topics of each course, and are an important part of the academic focus of the semester. Field studies may be re-scheduled based on community and organizational availability.

Weekly Schedule

Week 1: Introduction to Thai Historiography and National Identity: This session introduces students to the study of Thai historiography, focusing on how history is written, interpreted, and utilized in constructing national identity. The seminar will explore how historical narratives shape Thailand's understanding of itself and influence contemporary political and social issues. We will critically assess whose histories are recorded, how they are framed, and how historical memory is shaped by political forces.

- · What is historiography? Understanding the methods and debates in writing history
- · State-sponsored vs. alternative histories: How national narratives are constructed
- · The concept of the Thai "geo-body": Mapping identity and territoriality
- · The role of monarchy, Buddhism, and nationalism in shaping Thai historical narratives

Readings:

Winichakul, T. (1994). Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation. University of Hawaii Press. (Chapters 1 & 3: The Territoriality of Siam and The Geobody and National Identity) https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/siam-mapped-a-history-of-the-geo-body-of-a-nation/

Reynolds, C. J. (2006). Seditious Histories: Contesting Thai and Southeast Asian Pasts. University of Washington Press. (Chapter 2: National Identity and Cultural Nationalism in Thailand) https://uwapress.uw.edu/book/9780295986409/seditious-histories/

Thongchai, W. (2000). The quest for 'Siwilai': A geographical discourse of civilizational thinking in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Siam. The Journal of Asian Studies, 59(3), 528–549. https://doi.org/10.2307/2658942

Jory, P. (2003). The Vessantara Jataka, Barami, and the Bodhisatta-Kings: The origin and spread of a Thai concept of power. Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 17(2), 36–78. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40860702

Week 2: The Sukhothai and Ayutthaya Kingdoms: This seminar examines the foundations of early Thai political structures, focusing on the Sukhothai (13th-15th centuries) and Ayutthaya (14th-18th centuries) kingdoms. Students will explore the formation of Thai identity, statecraft, religious influences, and regional interactions. The session will also critically assess the concept of "Sukhothai as a golden age", an idea often presented in official historical narratives.

- · The foundations of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya: Political structures, governance, and regional influences
- Buddhism and kingship: The role of Theravada Buddhism in legitimizing rule
- · The fall of Ayutthaya: Regional conflict and the consequences of Burmese invasions
- The myth of Sukhothai as a "golden age": How historical narratives shape perceptions of the past Readings:

Baker, C., & Phongpaichit, P. (2017). A History of Ayutthaya: Siam in the Early Modern World. Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 2 & 5: The Foundations of Ayutthaya & Ayutthaya and the Outside World) https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/history-of-ayutthaya/

Wyatt, D. K. (2003). Thailand: A Short History (2nd ed.). Yale University Press. (Chapters 3 & 4: The Era of Sukhothai & The Rise and Fall of Ayutthaya) https://yalebooks.yale.edu/book/9780300084757/thailand

Chutintaranond, S. (1992). The image of the Burmese enemy in Thai perceptions and historical writings. Journal of the Siam Society, 80(1), 89–104. https://thesiamsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/1992/03/JSS_080_1d_SunaitChutintaranond_ThelmageOfTheBurmeseEnemy.pdf

Peleggi, M. (2007). Thailand: The Worldly Kingdom. Reaktion Books. (Chapter 1: The Making of a Buddhist Kingdom) https://www.reaktionbooks.co.uk/display.asp?ISB=9781861893038

Week 3: The Chakri Dynasty and the Modernization of Siam: This seminar examines the establishment of the Chakri Dynasty in 1782 and the modernization efforts undertaken by Kings Mongkut (Rama IV) and Chulalongkorn (Rama V) in response to colonial pressures. We will explore how these rulers reformed administration, education, and the military, while also analyzing how these changes shaped Thai governance and its relationship with Western powers.

- · The founding of the Chakri Dynasty: Bangkok as the new capital and early consolidation of power
- · Modernization under Rama IV and Rama V: Education, administration, military, and legal reforms
- · Colonial pressures and diplomacy: How Siam navigated Western imperialism to remain independent
- Legacy of modernization: The long-term impact of 19th-century reforms on Thai governance and society Readings:

Batson, B. A. (1984). The End of the Absolute Monarchy in Siam. Oxford University Press. (Chapter 1: The Foundations of the Chakri Dynasty and Early Reforms) https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-end-of-the-absolute-monarchy-in-siam-9780195826715

Wyatt, D. K. (2003). Thailand: A Short History (2nd ed.). Yale University Press. (Chapter 5: Bangkok and the Consolidation of Siamese Power & Chapter 6: Mongkut and the Twentieth Century) https://yalebooks.yale.edu/book/9780300084757/thailand

Peleggi, M. (2002). Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image. Comparative Studies in Society and History, 44(4), 751–779. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3879393

Ramsay, J. (2017). Kingship and Colonial Resistance in 19th Century Siam. South East Asia Research, 25(2), 192–210. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X17710685

Week 4: Extended Excursion and Field Study in Mae Taa Organic Farming Community

Week 5: The 1932 Revolution and the End of Absolute Monarchy: This seminar examines the 1932 revolution, a pivotal moment in Thai history that marked the transition from absolute monarchy to constitutional rule. We will analyze the causes leading up to the coup, the key actors involved—including the People's Party—and the long-term consequences of this political shift. Special attention will be given to the contested legacies of 1932 in contemporary Thai politics.

- Causes of the 1932 revolution: Economic hardship, elite dissatisfaction, and exposure to foreign political ideas
- The role of the People's Party: Who were the key figures, and what were their goals?
- The constitutional transition: What changed politically and socially? What remained the same
- Contemporary debates: How is the 1932 revolution remembered (or forgotten) in modern Thai political discourse?

Readings:

Pridi Banomyong. (2000). Pridi by Pridi: Selected Writings on Life, Politics, and Economy. Silkworm Books. (Chapter 3: The 1932 Revolution and the People's Party) https://silkwormbooks.com/products/pridi-by-pridi

Thongchai, W. (2020). Remembering and Forgetting the 1932 Revolution in Thailand. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 51(1), 15–37. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463420000037

Somsak, J. (2001). The 1932 Revolution in Siam and the Emergence of the Thai Nation. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 32(1), 93–109. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20072336

Kobkua, S.-P. (2003). Kings, Country and Constitutions: Thailand's Political Development 1932–2000. RoutledgeCurzon. (Chapter 2: Constitutional Monarchy and the Legacy of 1932) https://www.routledge.com/Kings-Country-and-Constitutions-Thailands-Political-Development-1932-2000/Suwannathat-Pian/p/book/9780700716247

Week 6: The Cold War, Military Rule, and the Rise of Thai Nationalism: This seminar explores how the Cold War shaped Thailand's political landscape, including the rise of military rule, state-sponsored nationalism, and the country's alignment with the United States. We will examine how anti-communist policies, economic modernization, and propaganda reinforced military dominance and influenced Thai identity.

- Thailand's Cold War alignment: Why did Thailand become a U.S. ally?
- The rise of military rule: The role of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat and subsequent military regimes
- · State-sponsored nationalism and anti-communism: How propaganda shaped Thai identity
- The impact of U.S. military presence: Economic and social consequences

Readings:

Fineman, D. (1997). A Special Relationship: The United States and Thailand, 1947-1953. University of Hawaii Press. (Chapter 3: Cold War Alliances and Military Agreements) https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/a-special-relationship-the-united-states-and-thailand-1947-1953/

Kislenko, A. (2004). A Not So Special Relationship: The US, Thailand, and Anti-Communist Strategy in Southeast Asia, 1950-1975. Journal of Conflict Studies, 24(1), 23–50. https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/220

Kullada, K. S. (2004). The Monarchy and the Royalist Movement in Modern Thai Politics, 1945–2001. Asian Survey, 43(5), 775–800. https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2004.43.5.775

Neher, C. (1981). Thailand and the United States: The Development of a Special Relationship. Asian Affairs: An American Review, 9(2), 104–119. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00927678.1981.10553646

Week 7: Chiang Mai and the History of Northern Thailand: This seminar focuses on Chiang Mai's historical development, exploring its origins as the capital of the Lanna Kingdom, its relationship with Siam, and its role in modern Thai politics and culture. We will examine how regional identity, trade, and shifting political allegiances shaped Chiang Mai's integration into the Thai nation-state.

- The Lanna Kingdom: Political structures, cultural influence, and relations with neighboring states
- Chiang Mai's relationship with Siam: How and why did Lanna become part of Thailand?
- Economic and cultural transformations: The impact of trade, tourism, and globalization
- Regionalism vs. Nationalism: Chiang Mai's evolving identity in the Thai nation-state

Readings:

Grabowsky, V. (2004). Regions and National Integration in Thailand, 1892-1992. Harrassowitz Verlag. (Chapter 5: The Integration of Lanna into the Thai State, 1893-1933) https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/title_1709.ahtml

Thongchai, W. (1998). Writing at the Margin: Chiang Mai and the Integration of Peripheral States into Siam. The Journal of Asian Studies, 57(2), 345–377. https://doi.org/10.2307/2659114

Johnson, A. (2013). Ghosts of the New City: Spirits, Urbanity, and the Ruins of Progress in Chiang Mai. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 44(1), 5–28. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002246341200074X

McDaniel, J. (2011). The Spirit and the Skull: Buddhism and the Ritual Use of Human Remains in Northern Thailand. Material Religion, 7(1), 91–113. https://doi.org/10.2752/175183411X12968355481927

Week 8: Extended Field Study and Excursion to Karen Village on Doi Inthanon

Week 9: Semester Break (no classes)

Week 10: The 1970s – Student Movements, Mass Protests, and Political Upheaval: This seminar examines Thailand's turbulent 1970s, a period defined by student activism, political violence, and the struggle between democracy and authoritarianism. We will analyze the factors that led to the October 14, 1973, student uprising and the October 6, 1976, massacre, exploring the roles of the military, monarchy, and Cold War geopolitics.

- The 1973 student uprising: Causes, key actors, and outcomes
- The 1976 massacre: State violence and repression of pro-democracy movements
- · The role of the monarchy and military: Shifting alliances and political power
- The Cold War context: U.S. influence and the fear of communism in shaping state responses

Readings:

Morell, D., & Chai-Anan, S. (1981). Political Conflict in Thailand: Reform, Reaction, and Revolution. Harvard University Press. (Chapter 4: The Student Movement and Political Reform, 1973-1976) https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674682599

Thongchai, W. (2002). Remembering/Forgetting October 6, 1976. Critical Asian Studies, 34(1), 19–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/146727102760166416

Haberkorn, T. (2011). Revolution Interrupted: Farmers, Students, Law, and Violence in Northern Thailand. University of Wisconsin Press. (Chapter 3: The 1970s: A Revolution That Never Was) https://uwpress.wisc.edu/books/4741.htm

Anderson, B. (2014). "Withdrawal Symptoms: Social and Cultural Aspects of the October 6 Coup." Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism. Cornell University Press. https://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/9780877274014/thailand

Week 11: Economic Development, Globalization, and Social Change in Thailand: This seminar explores Thailand's rapid economic development from the 1980s onward, focusing on industrialization, globalization, and their effects on Thai society. We will examine the growth of Bangkok as an economic hub, the impact of foreign investment and tourism, and the resulting inequalities between urban and rural Thailand.

- Thailand's shift from an agricultural economy to industrialization: How and why did this happen?
- The rise of Bangkok as a global city: Urbanization, migration, and economic disparity
- The role of tourism in shaping Thailand's economy and culture
- Social transformations: Changing labor patterns, class structures, and rural-urban divides

Readings:

Pasuk, P., & Baker, C. (2015). Unequal Thailand: Aspects of Income, Wealth and Power. NUS Press. (Chapter 2: Economic Growth and Inequality in Thailand) https://nuspress.nus.edu.sg/products/unequal-thailand

Glassman, J., & Sneddon, C. (2003). Chiang Mai and Khon Kaen as Growth Poles: Regional Development and Industrial Decentralization in Thailand. Journal of Economic Geography, 3(2), 157–181. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/3.2.157

Hewison, K. (1999). Localism in Thailand: A Study of Globalisation and Its Discontents. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 29(1), 24–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472339980000131

Cohen, E. (2001). Thai Tourism: Hill Tribes, Islands and Open-Ended Prostitution. Annals of Tourism Research, 28(4), 977–997. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(01)00003-3

Week 12: Extended Field Study and Excursion: Coastal Community

Week 13: Contemporary Thai Politics – Protests, Monarchy, and Democracy: This seminar explores Thailand's contemporary political landscape, focusing on the ongoing struggles between authoritarianism and democracy. We will analyze the role of the monarchy, military coups, mass protests, and constitutional crises, paying particular attention to the 2010 Red Shirt protests, the 2014 coup, and the recent youth-led movements.

- · Thailand's cycle of military coups and political instability
- The role of the monarchy in contemporary Thai politics
- · Major protest movements: Red Shirts, Yellow Shirts, and recent youth-led demonstrations
- The 2017 Constitution and its implications for democracy

Readings:

McCargo, D. (2021). Future Forward: The Rise and Fall of a Thai Political Party. NIAS Press. (Chapter 5: The Role of the Monarchy in Modern Thai Politics) https://www.niaspress.dk/book/future-forward/

Ferrara, F. (2015). The Political Development of Modern Thailand. Pacific Affairs, 88(2), 221–242. https://doi.org/10.5509/201588221

Hewison, K. (2014). Considerations on Thailand's 2014 Coup. Asian Studies Review, 38(3), 388–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2014.937394

Chachavalpongpun, P. (2020). Royalist Nationalism in Thailand and the Protests of 2020. Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia, 42(3), 369–392. https://doi.org/10.1355/cs42-3a

Week 14: Thailand in the ASEAN and Global Context: This seminar explores Thailand's role in regional and global politics, focusing on its position within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), its relationships with major powers such as China and the United States, and its responses to global challenges like climate change, economic integration, and migration. We will also discuss Thailand's balancing act between national sovereignty and international cooperation.

- Thailand's role in ASEAN: Regional diplomacy, economic integration, and security cooperation
- · China, the U.S., and Thailand: Geopolitical strategies and shifting alliances
- · Globalization and transnational issues: Migration, trade, and climate change policies
- · Soft power and cultural diplomacy: How Thailand projects influence internationally

Readings:

Ganesan, N., & Amer, R. (2010). International Relations in Southeast Asia: Between Bilateralism and Multilateralism. ISEAS Publishing. (Chapter 4: Thailand and the ASEAN Framework) https://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/publication/1265

Weatherbee, D. (2019). International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy. Rowman & Littlefield. (Chapter 6: Thailand's Balancing Act in Great Power Politics) https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781538101888

Jittapong, P. (2015). Thailand's Foreign Policy and ASEAN in the Twenty-First Century. Asian Survey, 55(1), 80–105. https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2015.55.1.80

Nesadurai, H. (2019). The Political Economy of Southeast Asia's Development in an Age of Globalization. Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia, 41(3), 295–316. https://doi.org/10.1355/cs41-3a

Week 15: Reflections and Future Directions for Thailand: In this concluding seminar, we will reflect on the major themes of the course, examining Thailand's political trajectory, social movements, economic challenges, and regional role moving forward. The session will include discussions on potential futures for Thai democracy, governance, and identity, encouraging students to synthesize insights from previous weeks and critically engage with Thailand's evolving place in the world.

- Key takeaways from Thailand's historical and political developments
- Trends in governance, democracy, and monarchy: What's next?
- · Social and economic challenges: Inequality, migration, and environmental concerns
- · Future directions for Thailand in ASEAN and the global community

Readings:

Baker, C., & Phongpaichit, P. (2022). A History of Thailand (4th ed.). Cambridge University Press. (Epilogue: Thailand's Future in a Changing World) https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/a-history-of-thailand/

Ferrara, F. (2021). Thailand's Future Political Landscape: Possibilities and Constraints. Contemporary Southeast Asia, 43(2), 125–146. https://doi.org/10.1355/cs43-2b

McCargo, D. (2020). Thailand's Monarchy and the Challenges of Political Reform. Asian Affairs, 51(1), 18–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2020.1710168

Phongpaichit, P., & Baker, C. (2018). Inequality and the Future of Thai Society. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 48(4), 578–600. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2018.1445323

Week 16: Final Classes and Wrap-Up

Final Exam and Presentations

Attendance Policy

Students are expected to be on time and attend all classes. If you are ill or otherwise need to miss a class, please inform your instructor or teaching assistant.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is essential to a positive teaching and learning environment. All students enrolled in ISDSI courses are expected to complete coursework responsibilities with fairness and honesty. Failure to do so by seeking unfair advantage over others or misrepresenting someone else's work as your own can result in disciplinary action.

Scholastic Dishonesty

Scholastic dishonesty means plagiarizing; cheating on assignments or examinations; engaging in unauthorized collaboration on academic work; taking, acquiring, or using test materials without faculty permission; submitting false or incomplete records of academic achievement; acting alone or in cooperation with another to falsify records or to obtain dishonestly grades, honors, awards, or professional endorsement; altering forging, or misusing an academic record; or fabricating or falsifying data, research procedures, or data analysis. Within this course, a student responsible for scholastic dishonesty can be assigned a penalty up to and including an "F" or "N" for the course. If you have any questions regarding the expectations for a specific assignment or exam, ask.

Grading Standards

Letter grade	Score or percentage	Description
А	93–100	Achievement that is outstanding relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements.
A-	90–92	Achievement that is significantly above the level necessary to meet course requirements.
B+	87–89	Achievement that is significantly above the level necessary to meet course requirements.
В	83–86	Achievement that is significantly above the level necessary to meet course requirements.
B-	80–82	Achievement that meets the course requirements in every respect.
C+	77–79	Achievement that meets the course requirements in every respect.
С	73–76	Achievement that meets the course requirements in every respect.
C-	70-72	Achievement that is worthy of credit even though it fails to meet fully the course requirements.
D+	67-69	Achievement that is worthy of credit even though it fails to meet fully the course requirements.
D	60-66	Achievement that is worthy of credit even though it fails to meet fully the course requirements.
F	0-59	Represents failure (or no credit) and signifies that the work was either (1) completed but at a level of achievement that is not worthy of credit or (2) was not completed and there was no agreement between the instructor and the student that the student would be awarded an Incomplete.