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Mobile Learning, Emerging Learning Design and Learning 2.0

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CONTENTS

Empathic Technologies and Virtual, Contextual and Mobile Learning in VR/AR/MR Environments ..	3
Mobilizing the Troops: a Review of the Contested Terrain of App-Enabled Learning	13
Moving Toward a Mobile Learning Landscape: Presenting a Mlearning Integration Framework	25
Enhancing A Mobile and Personalized Learning Platform Through Facial Analytics and Interactive Quizzes.....	40
Using wearable technology to improve the acquisition of new literacies	49
A Snapshot of Teacher Educators' Mobile Learning Practices	59
The growing tendency of mobile-assisted language learning development in Kazakhstan	78
The QR Code- as a Mobile Learning Tool for Labor Room Nurses at the San Pablo Colleges Medical Center.....	87
Teachers' Readiness in Using Mobile Devices for Mathematics Teaching and Learning: A Case Study in Banten Province, Indonesia	103
The Effect of Multimedia Blurb on Second Language Narrative Reading Comprehension	122
Developing Hong Kong Community College Students' Digital Literacy through Digital Storytelling	133
The role of Universitas Terbuka-Indonesia as an Institution of Higher Education in Establishing the Existence of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia through Multicultural Education.....	147
LOWA operator in application on online student assessment.....	158
The Development of An Open Educational Resources (OER) Model based on Connectivism Theory to Enhance Knowledge Sharing between Thai OER and Malaysian OER.....	163
Utilization of Online Radio for Learning Media. Case study at Universitas Terbuka	177
Design and adoption factors of an m-learning application to support self-exploratory guide visits ...	189
The Impact and Benefits of Internet Usage in Presidential Election Campaign.....	200

The Impact and Benefits of Internet Usage in Presidential Election Campaign

(A Case Study on the 2014 Indonesian Presidential Election)

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Abstract

The emergence of technology, in this particular case internet, has affected the dynamics of politics in Indonesia. Internet has been used as a medium in achieving political power, for instance in presidential, members of the legislature, or district head election campaign. In the said campaigns, many efforts have been attempted, both negative and black campaigns. Unfortunately, even though the campaign period has ended, the competition between both parties is still yet to come to an end. This paper aims to discuss the positive and negative impacts of internet usage as a campaign medium and how to overcome its negative impacts. To elaborate and answer the questions, the author of this study did a literature study regarding the use of internet in 2014 presidential election campaign. The results found that, despite its negative impacts, internet is an effective medium of campaign. The efforts in resolving the negative impacts shall include building an improved structure of political communication based on political ethics.

Keywords: *internet, campaign*

1. Introduction

The usage of internet nowadays is getting massive. Internet is not only utilized to share thoughts, but also to influence political power. Internet user in Indonesia reached 83.7 million people in 2014, compared to a total population of 245.862.034 people.³⁷ The number depicts just how big the number of internet user in Indonesia, that the country even took place as the 6th biggest in the world.

Considering the rapid development of internet user, a study regarding the matter becomes more interesting as the development itself is hugely influencing every aspect of the Indonesian society, including the political aspect. From the political aspect, internet has been employed to increase coverage, speed, and efficiency in political communication, therefore it may be expected to increase and strengthen the quality of democracy (Towner, 2013).

The utilization of internet in Indonesia's political process started not long before the fall of Soeharto's regime. Krisna Sen and David suggested that within the last two years of Soeharto's order, the internet was widely used by middle-class groups to plan movements and measure international support to

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³⁷ *See: <http://www.sinarharapan.co/news/read/140916057/mendagri-pastikan-jumlah-penduduk-254-juta-span-span>*

overthrow Soeharto's authoritarian regime.³⁸ After the dethronement of Soeharto, the usage of internet intensified with increasing variety of communication channels such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Blog, Blackberry messenger, Whatsapp, and others. Society utilizes the internet to carry out political pressure and mobilize public opinion. For instance, the pressure to solve the Century Bank scandal, and the mobilization of public opinion on POLRI vs KPK case, or Prita Mulyasari's case.

In the case of KPK (The Indonesian Corruption Eradication Commission) vs POLRI (The Indonesian National Police), for example, the utilization of internet became phenomenal since it was capable of engaging more than one million facebookers within a relatively short time (less than a month).³⁹ In this context, as stated by Idy Subandi Ibrahim (2011), the phenomena was a form of cyber democracy, cyber politics, or cyber protest in Indonesia. According to John Hartley, cyber democracy is defined as a virtual community with its own rules who interacts and participates in the issues regarding democracy within the scope of its own or society (John Hartley: 2004). Cyber politics is any activity that is conducted within the scope of internet utilization in political activities. These activities include every form of softwares, including journalism, fundraising, blogging, volunteer recruitment, and organization development. The term cyber-politics itself can be reflected into one sentence; "internet based conflict involving politically motivated attacks on information and the system of information", which means an internet that is underpinned on conflicts that involve attacks motivated by politics on information and information system (Amnestika, 2014). Cyber protest refers to a phenomenon which involves protest movements in the cyberspace.⁴⁰

The forms of cyber democracy, cyber politic, or cyber protest, not only exist in the case of the mobilization of public opinion on some issues that is of society's concern but also in presidential election process (Pilpres), for example the 2014 presidential election in 2014. The tenet of democracy which resounds throughout Indonesia also popularize the utilization of internet in campaigns, whether it is in the context of cyber democracy, cyber politics, or cyber protest.

Ahead of the 2014 presidential election, the cyberspace was livened by internet campaigns conducted by supporters of Prabowo and Jokowi. The campaigns were leading towards negative campaigns and black campaigns. Prabowo was attacked on the issue of humanity, the kidnapping of activists in 1998, his discharge as an active military soldier (TNI) by the honorary board of officers (DKP), and the emergence of Hendro Priyono's statement, who used to be Prabowo's superior-regarding Prabowo's

³⁸ Salim Alatas, *Media Baru, Partisipasi Politik dan Kualitas Demokrasi*.

http://www.academia.edu/6433955/MEDIA_BARU_PARTISIPASI_POLITIK_DAN_KUALITAS_DEMOKRASI

³⁹ *ibid*

⁴⁰ Meike Lusye Karolus, *Socio-Emotional Content dalam New Media sebagai Solusi Alternatif Terciptanya Media yang Humanis di Indonesia (Studi terhadap Akun Twitter Blood For Life dalam Membangkitkan Kesadaran Kolektif Masyarakat)*, Universitas Gadjah Mada, JURNAL KOMUNIKASI - Vol. 05, No. 1, Mei 2015

mental health, which was suggested to be on the level of great 4, or equivalent to a psychopath.⁴¹

On the other hand, Jokowi was attacked on being a Chinese descendant, his unidentified parents, being a descendant of ex-PKI and ex-Gerwani members, and being surrounded by PKI activists. In addition, Jokowi was also said to be dishonest about his origin, and involved in the corruption of Transjakarta bus procurement. It was also rumored by the presidential special staff on disasters and social assistance, Andi Arief, that Jokowi's son and Luhut Panjaitan colluded in establishing a company. (nasional.inilah.com, 2014).

Prabowo's campaign on social media were centred on social media accounts, particularly twitter, which were directly affiliated to Gerindra, his major supporting party. Several account of Prabowo's supporters include @Gerindra, @FansGerindra, @GarudaPrabowo, @Fadlizon, and @Info_Prabowo. On the other hand, accounts of Jokowi's supporters were more dispersed and dependent on volunteers. Jokowi's supporters' accounts include: @Jokowi4Me, @PDI_Perjuangan, @InfoJKW4P, @Jokowi_Ina, @Bara_Jokowi, @Relawan_Jokowi, @Jasmev2014, @IwanPiliang, and @KartikaDjoemadi.⁴²

According to the description above, it can be suggested that internet has brought significant impacts on the development of Indonesia's democracy. Society is getting more freedom of expression. Internet is able to describe the actual situation regarding the political participation of the people who actively care and aware of the existing public issues. This is suggested by the up-to-date information from the internet prior to the presidential election. The improvement of society's participation is a good thing for democracy. Terri L. Towner (2013) suggested that the usage of internet is a positive predictor in political participation; it also has played a big role in politics. Some analysts boost the role of internet as a tool which may help the process of democracy by exposing the society to political information and accommodating participation.

Within the context of the internet having a big role in political process, this paper aims to discuss the positive and negative impact of the use of internet as a campaign vehicle; how to solve its negative impacts. The case study discussed in this paper is the 2014 presidential election of Indonesia.

⁴¹<http://www.gresnews.com/berita/politik/23046-buntut-kampanye-hitam-dua-kubu-saling-lapor-ke-polisi/0/>

⁴²<http://www.suara.com/news/2014/05/20/105653/3-perbedaan-pendukung-jokowi-dan-prabowo-di-media-sosial>

2. Discussion

2.1. *Internet as a campaign medium*

In its relation to political activities, the internet has advantages in increasing political participation associated with coverage, speed and efficiency in delivering information to the people. Another advantage of the internet is to have characteristics that are not limited, transparent, global, free, and quick in disseminating information. Meanwhile, conventional campaign medium seems to be more restricted, censored, and limited to space and locality. Within functional orientation, the conventional campaign is putting more emphasis on the elite class and more often than not, ignore the universality of publication; while the internet is more able to penetrate all layers of society with its universal access. Within the context of institution, conventional campaign is more centralized, managed by the owner, requires a big capital; while the internet is more decentralized, flexible, anonymous, and the user is the owner and it is only an instrument for access. In the context of public access, the conventional media, the range is lower and one-way; while internet outreach to various directions, interactive, free and equal. Based on the explanation of its characteristics, Khanisa (2013) argued, internet campaign is believed to be more democratic. The assumption is based on the compatibility of internet and the character of democracy. Democracy reflects equality, tolerance of diversity, freedom, participation, and protection of human rights. All of those aspects were accommodated by the internet, which possesses the characteristics of being free, equal, and independent. The internet has a power which lies in its participative capability, and this participation is the principle which underpins democracy.⁴³

Within the context of democracy, Aeron Davis stated that the potentials of internet is hugely affected by the normative values of democracy and public space initiators such as Habermas, Bohman, Putnam, and others (Davis, 2010:746). According to them, information and communication technology offers a more specialized tool which is associated with a more inclusive society participation and deliberative exchange between civilians and political elites. The point is, a more fluid, inclusive, and direct communication between society and political elites will take place through the internet, without barriers of formality.

To be more precise, the usage of internet as a campaign tool will give more chance to campaign participants (candidates) in quickly and effectively approaching constituents and its people, so that they can predict how big is their support and how their constituents' political participation are doing within a short span of time. This means that the internet also has a positive impact on political participation, and is able to quickly and intensely increase society's knowledge and involvement in

⁴³Khanisa. (2013). *Dilema Kebebasan Dunia Maya: Kajian dari Sudut Pandang Negara*. Widyariset, Vol. 16 No.1, April 2013: 23. Jakarta: LIPI Press.

their interactions with the candidates. Considering its advantages mentioned before, the usage of internet became a variable of importance, which is expected to change the pattern of political communication between the candidates and its constituents, so that they may become closer. Theoretically, the internet has a potential of revolutionizing and improving the development of democracy.

2.2. *Impacts of Negative and Black Campaigns*

From the previous explanation, it is a known fact that the internet has a positive impact on the society, as it is able to develop democracy and drawing the relationship between candidates and its constituents closer. Despite its positive impacts, the internet also has several negative impacts.

In campaigns, the behavior of a candidate, the people, the party, or the supporting group aims to support and convincing other people to be willing to vote for them. These efforts were conducted by showing, offering, or promising what will be carried out, what will be done, and what will be fought for. Within that context, the internet is used to conduct political publicity. Political figures or political parties will utilize every potential medium to increase the popularity of the figure or its own party. The internet is also used to solicit supporters, rooters, and colleagues which comes from various layers of society, using the process of political imaging. However, due to the nature of campaign as a battle to fight for power, the function of the internet is parallel to the urge of fighting. The parties fighting are not only using internet as a media of political imaging but also as a medium for fighting, in which each parties will attempt to knock the opponents down through the internet, or more commonly known as a cyber-war.

In Indonesia, on the 2014 presidential election, campaigns of the two candidates, which were Jokowi-JK and Prabowo-Hatta, were conducted. The campaigns, aside from trying to emphasize the image of its candidates, were also inevitable to black campaigns and negative campaigns, aiming to knock each opponents down. Negative campaigns are the disclosure of facts regarding the shortcoming of one candidate which was truthfully, and relevantly delivered. On the other hand, black campaign is a way of campaign which is conducted in a bad or malicious way. In general, a black campaign is characterized by the spread of one politician's disrepute with the aim of him/her being not liked by its friends in the party, its supporters, and general society.

This table represents the examples of negative campaigns and black campaigns in 2014 presidential election.

Table 1. Examples of Negative Campaigns

No.	Jokowi	Prabowo
1.	If elected, he will be dictated by Megawati Soekarnoputri and foreign countries	Was involved in the abduction of several human rights (HAM) activists in 1998.
2.	Deceitful, as he did not fulfill his promise of completing his position as the governor of DKI Jakarta for five years	Family not getting along well
3.	Involved in the corruption case of Transjakarta corroded bus procurement from China	Temperamental (not able to control his emotion) and prone to using violence
4.	If elected, he will defend minority groups more and not pay attention to the interest of Muslims	Not successful in business as a lot of his companies were bankrupt

Source: Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, as quoted in Suara Pembaruan, Wednesday May 28th 2014.

Table 2. Examples of Black Campaign

No.	Jokowi-JK	Prabowo-Hatta
1.	Jokowi is accused of being a stooge of Zionist movement	Prabowo was accused of being a citizen of Jordan as he lived in the country for two years
2.	Jokowi-JK will appoint a minister of religion coming from the Syiah Islam group	Prabowo was accused of not paying the salary of Kiani Kertas employees for several months
3.	Jokowi was accused of being a non-muslim and being a person of Chinese ethnicity	The emergence of Prabowo's case of hitting at KPU video
4.	The emergence of grief advertisement stating Jokowi died with the name of Ir. Herbertus Joko Widodo	A twitter account exists on behalf of Abraham Samad, saying that Jokowi needs to be protected from assassination
5.	Jokowi-JK is said to be going to repeal the policy of teacher benefits and certification	

Source: Media Indonesia, Monday, May 26th 2014

In conducting the campaigns above, most of the modus were carried out using the internet. As explained previously, the usage of internet media, with its characteristics of being virtual, interactive, convergent, and global, is effective in raising support, but it also may negatively impact the votes received by a candidate. According to the data from Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI – The Indonesian Survey Institute), the negative and black campaigns may have impacts on votes, which may hinder the support from political parties. As a result, the announcement of Jokowi as a presidential candidate by PDIP only increased, more or less, three percent of PDIP's electability from being 18.2 percent on LSI's survey in January/February 2014, to a number of 21.1 percent on a survey by the end of March 2014. The massive advertisements carried out by Gerindra party as the major supporter of Prabowo only increased, more or less, three percent of its party's electability, from being 8.7 percent in the previous survey to 11.1 percent.

Aside from hindering support, the impact of negative and black campaign on 2014 presidential election does not stop on votes, but also until the president was elected, for instance: first, the fight between the two parties as a continuation from the 2014 presidential election resulted in negative reaction from the market. Several business associations and investors stated that the investment

climate in Indonesia is not conducive to carry out business, due to the unstable government. This was proven when the House of Representatives (DPR) for 2014-2019 period was appointed and conducted the first hearing in deciding the head of the House of Representatives, the fight between the two parties were becoming more palpable, that is the fight between Koalisi Merah Putih (KMP) who supports Prabowo and Koalisi Indonesia Hebat (KIH) who supports Jokowi-JK. KMP attempts to slow inhibit KIH in several divisions of government by taking over the parliament. They prepared a revised law concerning MPR, DPR, DPD, DPRD, or UU MD3 by inserting an article which regulates the mechanism of DPR and MPR chairperson election, which is viewed to be benefiting the KMP. The nuance that KMP will continue the fight is highly readable, with a statement coming from vice chairman of the Board of Gerindra, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, which says that KMP does not only want to act as a counterweight, but also to investigate and inhibit Jokowi's governance.⁴⁴ Second, KIH responded to KMP attacks in efforts to defend its side by placing their people in important positions without considering feedbacks from the people or Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK); for instance, the appointment of Agung Prastyo as General Attorney, who is coming from Nasdem Party; their coalition. Forming Wantimpres where six out of its nine members were people coming from its supporting parties. The appointment of Budi Gunawan as National Police Chief (Kapolri), despite KPK's statement of his indications of being involved in corruption. After the case of Budi Gunawan was processed by KPK, Jokowi appointed Badrodin Haiti as the National Police Chief.

The fight between the two sides finally has its own implication on the stability of governance. This was proven by the first cabinet re-shuffle. Not even a year after being appointed, the working cabinet formed by Jokowi was re-shuffled on August 12th 2015. As 2016 enters, Jokowi also received pressure to realize the second cabinet re-shuffle.

Regarding the instability of governance within the context of internet usage, member of the press council, Nezar Patria, in "Dialog Demokrasi dalam 140 Karakter" discussion at Sari Pan Pacific Hotel, Menteng, Central Jakarta, thinks that social media influences public's perception and preference in 2014 presidential election.⁴⁵ If the elected candidate is assuming the power in the executive branch, then the negative side of the internet is that it is able to weaken the legitimacy of governance. On the internet, political issues could develop into something more dramatical due to the biases in reporting which is mixed with reviews, opinions, or information whose source is unidentifiable. Therefore, although the internet is easing the process of political communication, its impact of destabilizing the government should come to consideration, rather than the high cost of government instability.

⁴⁴ Edward Febriyatri Kusuma, *Sejauh Mana Peran Twitter dalam Politik Indonesia*, Retrieved from <http://news.detik.com/berita/2943818/sejauh-mana-peran-twitter-dalam-politik-indonesia>

⁴⁵ *ibid*

3. Overcoming the Impacts of Negative Campaign and Black Campaign

To overcome the impacts of negative campaign and black campaign is to try building an improved communication structure by: first, making an inventory of the currently-developing negative issues and develop a chronological map of those issues. Second, develop a clarification map. If there exists a spreading of negative issue in society, quickly spread clarification and flood the targets with the prepared clarification. Third, take control of social media. Build a good communication with mass media which are using neutral and non-provocative language. Be calm and keep building a positive image. Fourth, make use of influential community leaders, as an intermediary, in explaining the issues. Fifth, form a loyal and trustworthy team to monitor and clarify attacks from political opponents.

4. Conclusion

Regarding its association with political activities, the internet can be used to increase coverage, speed, and efficiency in communicating with the society; it also has the potential of strengthening and improving the quality of democracy. With its nature of being virtual, interactive, convergent, and global, the internet came as a broader, more accessible public space to accommodate aspirations from the people. However, the internet also has its negative impacts when it is used to knock other political opponents down through negative campaign or black campaign. To solve the shortcomings of irresponsible internet usage in political campaign, the government should establish regulations which may control and sanction campaign participants, so that they will abide the rules in implementing a more ethical ways of conducting campaign, and develop structured communication channels so that it will be able to monitor its use.

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International Mobile Learning Festival 2017

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ABOUT THE FESTIVAL

The 4th International Mobile Learning Festival (IMLF2017) will be held at The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR China. Building upon successes of the previous conferences, we continue to explore Mobile Technologies and Emerging Learning Design in the context of school, higher and corporate education. The IMLF2017 will be located in an exceptional venue for sharing information on contemporary approaches to human development and education at all levels, learning design, mobile learning, e-learning, and Learning 2.0 from around the world. The conference will feature evidence-based developments led by mobile and emerging learning technologies and paradigms.

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- Cloud-based resources
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- Emerging forms of learning resources and interactivity, virtual and augmented reality, holographic technology, interactive toys, 3D printing, and wearable devices.

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- Emerging devices, context awareness, and connectivity of learners
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- Development of life-long/independent learning through support strategies

Building on our standard format, which includes keynote speakers, invited speakers, paper presenters and industry representations, IMLF2017 will introduce Doctoral Consortiums and Virtual Presentations.

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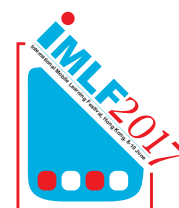
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- Innovative approaches and activities
- Digital storytelling
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- Case studies of mobile learning activities
- Impact of mobile learning tools and activities
- Design of mobile learning environments for blended, open, flexible, distance, distributed and classroom learning

Mobile and Emerging Evaluation and Assessment approaches

- E-portfolio Assessment
- Learning Analytics and educational data mining
- Mobile learning and assessment methodologies
- Assessment of new literacies
- Assessment of creativity and other emerging generic skills
- Feedback strategies



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