



X Netizens' Response to the Wayan Mirna Salihin Case after the Ice Cold Documentary Film was Released in George Gerbner's Model of Mass Communication

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A B S T R A C T

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This research tries to analyze netizen Mirna Salihin's case's viral response in the mass media in 2016, and the whole public was talking about it. The case became popular again after the murder documentary was released on Netflix and sparked various discussions on social media. Netizens tried to find out what was considered odd about the murder. This research uses a qualitative descriptive method with netnographic analysis to explore social media phenomena. In this research, individuals or accounts on social media have the same capabilities as mass media. Individuals can summarize an event and choose which message (M1) will be shared with those closest to them or the public. The event summary is then spread to other individuals, triggering other opinions and being able to use the message (M1) to create other messages (M2), and so on. This research shows that the X Tirto.id account is a Man or Machine (M) who sees events and makes selections, then presents his views via social media, resulting in responses from other users such as the Bro Win and Ridwansyah Putra (E3) accounts as individuals who reinterpreted the Mirna Salihin case until other users responded again.

Introduction

The Mirna Cyanide Coffee case shocked all of Indonesia in 2016 because Jessica Wongso was suspected of poisoning her best friend, Mirna Salihin (Rosel & Suyanto, 2017). Jessica was named the sole suspect and picked up by the police at the Mangga Dua area hotel on January 30, 2016, 24 days after the case emerged. During this time, the police conducted an investigation and deepened the case using the evidence and tools that had been collected (Putera, 2016).

The Mirna Cyanide Coffee case attracted the attention of many people through the mass media, which broadcast it in various media (Hapsari, 2018). This news is considered attractive because it presents various significant facts or opinions that have made the public curious and regularly follow developments in the case (Muslimin, 2021). Apart from following developments in a case, content in mass media can also be used as a consideration for the public in making decisions (Shambodo, 2020). Not only was it widely discussed in the mass media, but it also became one of the cases that shocked the legal system in Indonesia because the autopsy results were considered odd (Saputro & Afifah, 2023).

After various reports and drama in the mass media for approximately nine months, Jessica Wongso was legally named, as regulated in Article 340 of the Criminal Code (Handayanti, 2019), as the perpetrator of premeditated murder in the Mirna Cyanide Coffee murder case on October 27, 2016 at the Central Jakarta Court. Jessica was sentenced to 20 years in prison (Franciska et al., 2016).

After seven years and Jessica serving a prison sentence, the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case is being widely discussed again, especially on social media after the documentary *Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso* was released on Netflix on September 28, 2023 (Mola, 2023). This film, directed by Rob Sixsmith, was produced by Beach House Pictures, based in Singapore. This documentary discusses several unanswered questions surrounding the trial of Jessica Kumala Wongso (Sianturi, 2023). The film succeeded in attracting the attention of many people, including netizens on social media, with various discussions on everything considered strange (Aditiya, 2023).

This research analyzes netizens' responses after the film *Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso* was officially released. Various studies related to the film have been carried out. First, research was conducted by Maria Septian Riasanti Mola. In this research, Mola examines the role of popular mass media, including

Netflix, which is the film's distributor. For Mola, Netflix has a significant role in shaping public opinion by presenting this film (Mola, 2023). Therefore, after this film was released, the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case was again discussed in more detail by the general public by linking the case to various recent legal cases in Indonesia. Second, research conducted by Larisu et al. In this study, the researchers tried to examine how this film became quite controversial in society. This research raises two points of view, which state that, on the one hand, there is something strange in the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case. Meanwhile, on the other hand, this film is said to lead public opinion and is a commercialization tool for Netflix to attract many people to subscribe. Apart from that, this research's conclusion states that this film is indirectly trying to review the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case based on the unrest it has caused in the general public (Larisu et al., 2024).

Apart from two studies related to the response to the film *Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso*, this research also uses netnography or visual ethnography as a research analysis method on social media. Many studies have been conducted using netnography. First, research conducted by Muntu et al. tried to examine the Instagram social media account @indozone.id, which concluded that the account used symbolic interaction, both in the form of visuals produced and the use of reaction features on the platform (Muntu et al., 2021). Second, research conducted by Yasya tried to explore a breastfeeding community Facebook group. The research concluded that the group was emotionally effective communication for breastfeeding mothers (Yasya, 2017). Third, research conducted by Wahyu et al. tried to analyze consumer decisions when using online delivery services in Sidoarjo. This research found that the products offered on digital platforms have little impact. The most important thing is the practicality and use of digital applications (Wahyu et al., 2020).

Indonesia is a country with a majority Muslim population; as many as 240.62 million people are recorded as Indonesian Muslims according to (Annur, 2023). As the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, we should be wiser in using social media and make better use of it. As in the word of Allah in Surah Al-Hujurat verse 6: *"O you who believe, if a wicked person comes to you bringing news, then scrutinize it so that you do not cause a disaster to a people without knowing the situation which causes you to regret it. what you did."* Social media such as that way, the information circulating on social media X will be filtered and can produce more valid data.

Of the various studies that have been carried out, no other research has touched on netizens' responses, especially on X when the film *Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso* was officially released. Additionally, netnographic research on social media, especially X, must be carried out. Even though there are similarities regarding the platforms studied, the research has different research subjects and objects from various previous studies.

Method

This netnographic research focuses on netizens' responses to current hot issues on social media. This research uses a descriptive-qualitative method with a mass communication theory approach modeled by George Gerbner. This research is also equipped with netnographic or visual ethnographic analysis of the accounts that are the subjects and objects of the research.

In the book by Asemah., et al., it is stated that George Gerbner was one of the pioneer researchers in mass communication, later referred to as the Gerbner model (Asemah et al., 2022). The Gerbner model describes a mass communication event in a model for use in understanding and researching events or elements in mass communication. Gerbner, as a scientist and expert in the field of communication, realizes that man (M) do not understand an event or occurrence completely but rather choose interesting things or information needed from the whole event or event and filter the message to understand it more deeply. These events will contain a context, making it easier to complete the previously understood information. Apart from that, according to Gerbner, the availability of information will be influenced by several things that M has. A more concise understanding of Gerbner's communication model can be seen by paying attention to the following three contexts;

- a) Selection: man (M) as people who receive content from an event or incident select interesting and needed information.
- b) Context: information created by M will contain the context so that readers more readily accept the delivery of information.
- c) Availability: the availability of information created by M will be influenced by M's attitudes, feelings, and personality, which will then create news or information that will be disseminated.

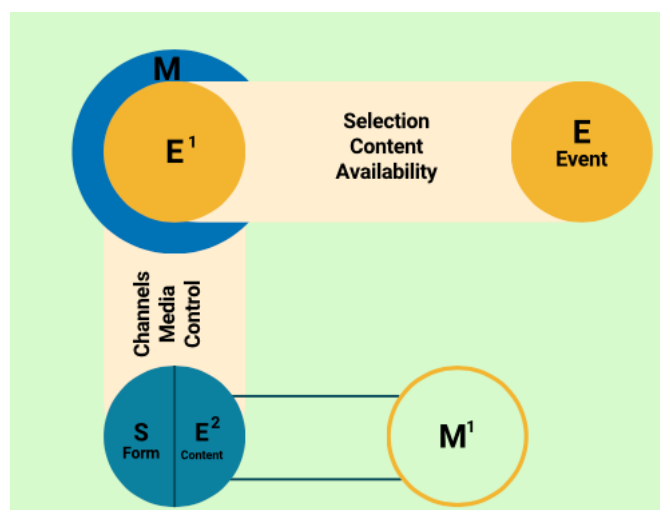


Figure 2. 1 Gerbner's Communication Model

Source: Fitriani & Yusvita, (2021)

Figure 2.1 shows several elements of communication in Gerbner's communication model, along with the explanation;

E: Event, event that occurs

M: Man or Machine, who gets information

E¹: M's understanding of E

E²: New event produced by M

S: Change in the form of information from E to E²

M¹: Change in the form of information from E to E²

E is an event that occurs in the real world, and M. understands this event. After understanding the information about event E, M will carry out a filtration or selection process to select meaningful and needed information. This is because M needs help understanding the news at event E, which is considered E¹. After that, M will build a context for creating information based on his understanding of E, referred to as context in information. The information available is also the result of M's understanding in the form of E¹, which is then influenced by M's attitudes, feelings, culture, and personality. Furthermore, the message created by M will be conveyed through the chosen media, mass media, considering regulations and the type of media used to convey the message information better.

The message from M will be conveyed to become S and E² when delivering M can regulate the form of the message that will become E² through communication skills and the choice of media to be used. This can be done through print, internet,

or other mass media. Gerbner's communication model occurs in multilevels or stages starting from the first M to infinite M ($M^1, M^2, M^3, E^1, E^2, E^3$, and so on) to understand an incident or event in a continuous flow of information. Gerbner underlined that the message in each stage of this communication model changes. The most memorable thing from Gerbner's communication is the sentence, "someone perceives an event and reacts in a situation through some means to make available materials in some form and context conveying the content of some consequences" Gerbner (in Watson, 2003).

Through Gerbner's model, a person's communication (communicator or communicant) is described as an understanding in the form of perception of an event object, which will then cause a reaction in a situation. These mediated messages are present in a context and have meaning that aims to produce a response from the audience.

Gerbner's communication model tries to see how someone understands and makes perceptions of events and then disseminates them by choosing suitable media. Not only that, but the dissemination of understanding of this information also creates a new event (E_2), which will change the form of the initial event with its communication capabilities and control messages for specific purposes.

Therefore, this research will apply Gerbner's communication model in social media. X is a microblogging site, a simple blog allowing users to upload short messages (Mardiana & Zi'ni, 2020). X, originally called Twitter, appears with various features that make it easy for users to share information in writing, images, graphics, sound, video, and others.

Another characteristic of X as social media is that it is equipped with post, repost, comment, like, and space features (Amal et al., 2022). X users use posts to convey text messages with a maximum of 140 characters, and they can add photos or videos. Apart from that, there is a repost, which functions to repost the selected tweet. This action is taken because the user feels related, likes, or even responds to something else related to the tweet.

Meanwhile, comments and likes are still the same as other social media, which are used as a medium to interact with other users through comments and giving likes to other users' posts. This is also supported by a trending feature that makes it possible to monitor what is currently being discussed on the platform (Hardina & Irwansyah, 2021).

With these various features, apart from appearing as social media, X can also become an online mass media that accommodates various opinions of its users directly without the need for conventional mass media newsroom mediation (Siregar et al., 2023); (Hartawan, 2017). Not only that, X also creates a virtual public space that can accommodate almost all expressions when expressing opinions in discussing an event or phenomenon (S, 2023). Apart from that, X as a virtual space can be a place for public participation to resolve several problems, both morally and urgently, as political policies (Salsabila & Barkah, 2022) as well as being a medium for public literacy on specific issues or information (Rachmawati & Agustine, 2021). The new discussion regarding the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case after the release of the Ice Cold documentary is an exciting thing to examine further regarding the pros and cons on social media, especially on the social media platform X.

Findings and Discussion

The Mirna Cyanide Coffee case, which claimed the life of Mirna Salihin, brought Jessica Wongso to prison with a sentence of 20 years after going through various trials and quite a long mass media drama. From the start, the case attracted much attention, one of which was from legal practitioners who considered the determination of the case to be an irregularity (Saputro & Afifah, 2023); (Nuzan et al., 2023).

The motive for the murder is not strong enough to make Jessica Wongso the sole perpetrator. Because of this, the documentary film Ice Cold, which Netflix distributed on its platform, became a further discussion of the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case. This film made netizens highlight the case again and try to guess who was involved (Adhiyasa & Berlian, 2023).

Mirna's Case in the Framing of Tirto.id

After its release on September 28, 2023, the Ice Cold documentary attracted the attention of many people. This made various mass media also report on the film. Tirto.id, one of the online media in Jakarta, also enlivened the discussion about the film Ice Cold by publishing a news item entitled "Chronology of the Mirna and Cyanide Coffee Case in Netflix's Ice Cold." In the news, the chronology of the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case, which was tried in the court version, was told,

which took approximately ten months with 20 trials and a verdict of 20 years in prison (Sulthoni, 2023).

Apart from publishing news on its website, Tirto.id also publishes the content of the Ice Cold film thread on social media X via @TirtoID. This thread is equipped with an illustration of Jessica Wongso with the tagline “Convicted Guilty, Without Accurate Evidence.” From the news and social media content X revealed, Tirto.id framed the case based on what was raised and questioned in the documentary with several explanations.



Figure 1: Tirto.id upload about Jessica

Source: X/@TirtoID

By uploading the Jessica Wongso case, Tirto.id acts as Man or Machine (M) in Gerbner's communication model. The Ice Cold documentary has become a new phenomenon among netizens. Through this film, Tirto.id discovered several new facts that tried to re-examine whether Jessica Wongso was decided as a suspect with a verdict of Circumstantial Evidence or was found guilty based on indirect evidence by the panel of judges.

After selecting information to understand and explore the incident, Tirto.

id summarized the investigation into Jessica through a timeline made in the form of pictures and a short explanation symbolized as E¹. Tirto.id shares this information via social media X so that the information can be read by users who are interested in developments in this information.

As M, Tirto.id can control the written news, word usage, news framing, and other supporting messages. By uploading the thread on X's social media, Tirto.id displays information such as the definition of indirect evidence as the absence of eyewitnesses or CCTV footage that does not show anything. From this explanation, the context presented shows Tirto.id's side with Jessica, who was found guilty in this case.



Figure 2: User X's response to Tirto.id content

Source: Researcher Documentation

Apart from that, the content and news produced by Tirto.id have succeeded in attracting the attention of many netizens. This can be seen from several X accounts that respond to content posted by Tirto.id Users or other X accounts that

respond Tirto.id information is then designated as M^2 , or the second user who sees the event has changed form to S and E^2 or event second. Users are starting to no longer focus on information about Jessica's case as a defendant but instead see how circumstantial evidence can lead someone to get caught in the same problem and end up the same as Jessica Wongso.

E^2 was then seen as a new event that made many people in the post realize how substantial circumstantial evidence is. In Gerbner's model, netizens' responses to issues raised by the primary account can be symbolized as E^3 . They will become E^4 when others forward the news by selecting the main news or content.

Mirna's Case in Bro Win Account Framing

Apart from Tirto.id, Bro Win is one of the accounts that has attracted much attention regarding Mirna's case. Bro Win is one of the X users with 14.4 thousand followers.

With the username @WinnerWave_, Bro Win uses Twitter as a communication medium for conveying information he has and often throws up current issues on social media. Mirna Salihin's death was engineered. This allegation then went viral with 1,980 likes and was reposted 555 times.

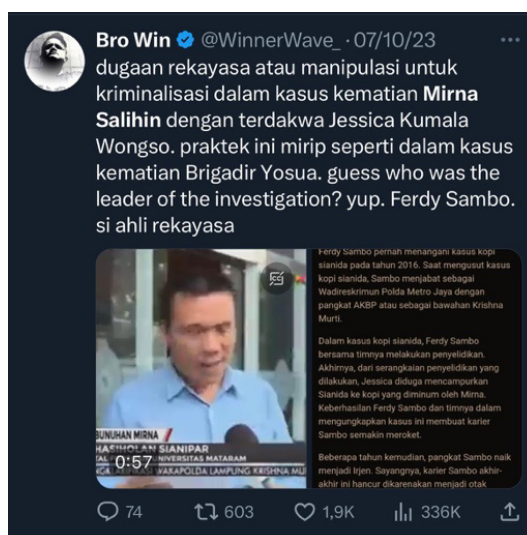


Figure 3: Bro Win's upload
Source: X/@winnerwave

In the upload, Bro Win saw the Mirna Salihin incident, which went viral again and revealed several new facts through the documentary Ice Cold as E.

According to Bro Win, the Mirna Cyanide Coffee case was full of fabrications that he produced from news selections or results from watching Ice Cold movies. Bro Win, as E¹, is an account that processes primary information and produces derivative information considered essential and needed by the netizen public. Apart from that, Bro Win (M) tweeted his opinion and supported it with video documentation that Bro Win himself had, as well as to strengthen his opinion regarding the Mirna case being fabricated.

Mirna's case, which initially focused on finding the perpetrator of the murder, then shifted to allegations of fabrication in the murder. The event changes and becomes another form of S, giving rise to another response with E² as a suspicion of engineering. Bro Win used X features to support his statement regarding the alleged fabrication by showing a video of Mirna's father's interview, supported by an explanation through words documented in a photo. Seeing the connection between Krishna Murti (Investigator in the Mirna case) and Ferdy Sambo (the perpetrator of the murder of his member) made Bro Win see another motive in the case. Bro Win saw that his allegations were related to internal problems within the police agency, which, sometime before the Ice Cold documentary's release, had attracted many people's attention.



Figure 4: User X's Response to Bro Win's Upload
Source: Author Documentation

The response of the user After that, M² responded by understanding and selecting the new event with various forms and new events S² and E³. Changes in forms and events in Gerbner's model continuously occur, and communicators change, even though they are not from the mass media. All the elements in Gerbner's model are essential in the communication process, especially in mass media and online media, whose accessibility and features enable someone to disseminate information in mass media.

Mirna's Case in Ridwansyah Putra's Framing

Apart from Bro Win, other users also responded via personal accounts. Ridwansyah Putra, via his @Buyung__ account, was also one of the posts discussing the Mirna Salihin case after releasing the documentary Ice Cold. Ridwansyah Putra's upload received much attention, with 136 thousand people reading it. Ridwansyah took advantage of the viral moment and shared it on his personal X social media account to respond to the oddities he found.



Figure 5: Upload by Ridwansyah Putra @Buyung__

Source: X/@buyung__

Ridwansyah made a statement regarding the circulation of the first video interview by iNews media regarding Mirna Salihin's twin, Sandy Salihin. The interview was related to his disbelief because Mirna was already lying stiff with her body turning blue and swollen.

Apart from that, Ridwansyah also linked a video from Dr. Djaja as a forensic expert witness was presented to provide information. Various irregularities were then detailed, including the trial court's inability to prove the origin of the cyanide and the evidence that could be produced. This causes a crisis of trust and raises pros and cons in society. Ridwansyah then said, "Indonesia does not need smart people, but Indonesia needs honest people more."

Ridwansyah's framing as M¹ (Man) was then processed as information as a new understanding in viewing the Mirna Salihin case as E (Event). After that, Ridwansyah re-selected several parts that he wanted to be the main focus of his statement, especially the statement from Dr. Djaja as an expert witness. The expert witness stated that if the victim died from cyanide, his body would turn reddish. Meanwhile, according to Sandy Salihin, Mirna Salihin's sibling, when she was first found, Mirna's body was blue and swollen, so it was not easy to recognize. This information in the Gerbner model is called E¹ after being selectively subjected to M.

After that, an understanding of E¹ was added to Ridwansyah's statement, which paid particular attention to the crisis of confidence in law in Indonesia. By connecting the dots, Ridwansyah (M¹) succeeded in identifying and revealing irregularities in the death case of Mirna Salihin (E). However, on the contrary, rather than deepening the analysis of the irregularities encountered, Ridwansyah linked them to the ability of law enforcers to carry out their duties in the field, which became the source of a crisis of trust among the community (E¹). In the next stage, Ridwansyah decided to convey his views through social media X as a virtual open public space to convey messages (E¹) to the public.

In this context, the change in the form of message (S) from E¹, which initially focused on irregularities in the Mirna Salihin case, developed into an emphasis on the crisis of public trust in law enforcement (E²). Furthermore, Ridwansyah presented detailed arguments supporting his views, including concrete evidence and in-depth analysis regarding law enforcers' responsibilities in maintaining the legal system's honesty and integrity.

The problems in question are limited to individual cases and create a broader

impact on society. By explaining the emerging crisis of trust, Ridwansyah implicitly raises critical questions regarding the legal system's effectiveness in providing justice and maintaining its integrity. In turn, these doubts stimulate further discussion regarding the need for reform or improvement in law enforcement to restore public confidence in police and law enforcement institutions.

Apart from that, the content in Ridwansyah's posts on social media X is an alternative means of communication that can create public opinions and views. The discussion, which initially arose due to responses from the public, then expanded to cover legal issues and the credibility of law enforcement. At a broader level, this could significantly impact changing public opinion towards the justice system and spark demands for positive change.



Figure 6: @myhppylittlepil's response to Ridwansyah's statement

Source: X/@myhppylittlepil

Besides producing information and providing statements, Ridwansyah's posts received responses from other accounts. One of X's social media user accounts is @myhppylittlepil. @myhppylittlepil provides a new dimension to the discussion regarding the irregularities in Mirna Salihin's death case. @myhppylittlepil shared a screenshot and YouTube link showing the condition of Mirna's body during the funeral procession. He stated that even though Mirna's face was covered with

make-up, her face looked blue with a “vague” or faint appearance. The account added that this was his personal opinion regarding the situation. This statement can support Ridwansyah’s view regarding the crisis of public trust in Mirna’s case.

However, the response given by Fachmi Satriyo provides a different perspective on the evidence presented by @myhppyilittlepil. Fachmi noted that uploaded videos have undergone a “grading” process which can affect color characteristics and camera differences and cause color appearance variations. Thus, Fachmi doubts the reliability of the video as the main benchmark. Fachmi Satriyo emphasized that the statement of the doctor who first saw Mirna’s body was more reliable and trustworthy.

The conflict between @myhppyilittlepil and Fachmi Satriyo creates a situation where the assessment of evidence becomes complex. While @myhppyilittlepil tried to provide a new perspective regarding the oddities in the case, Fachmi Satriyo highlighted technical aspects that could affect the validity of the evidence. This discussion highlights the challenges of using social media as a reliable source of information and the importance of considering various technical factors in assessing visual evidence.

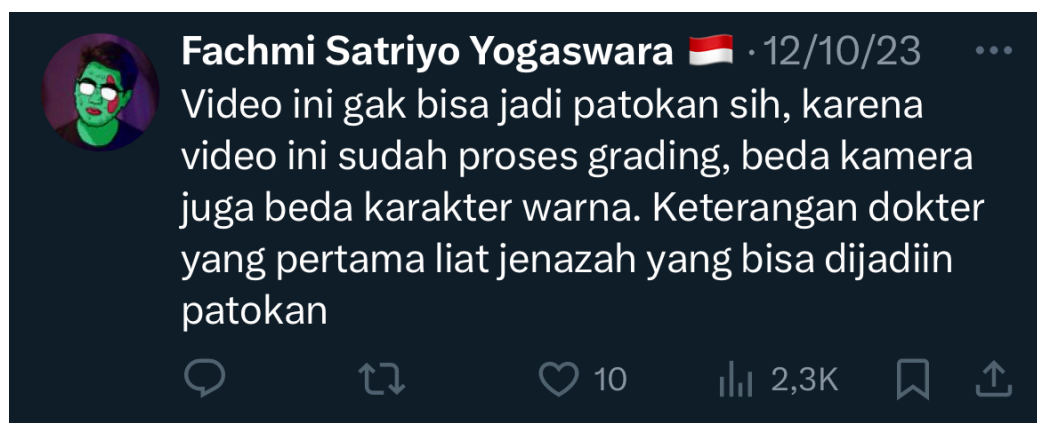


Figure 7: Fachmi Satriyo’s response to @myhppyilittlepil’s statement
Source: X/@FSYogaswara

@myhppyilittlepil (M2)’s response to Ridwansyah’s statement brings a new dimension to understanding the case of Mirna Salihin’s (E) death. By sharing Sandi Salihin’s video statement, M2 argued that Mirna’s body looked blue (E²). In addition, M² displays a screenshot of a YouTube video documenting Mirna’s funeral procession (E³). This action can be seen as an attempt to validate Ridwansyah’s

claims and strengthen the view that there are irregularities in this case.

However, in response to E³, one of the accounts responded to this statement. Fachmi (M³), in his response to the video uploaded by M², expressed doubts about the validity of this evidence. M³ emphasized that the video cannot be considered an official benchmark because it has gone through various processes, and differences in color characteristics that differences in cameras may cause can reduce the strength of the visual evidence.

When Fachmi (M³) responded to E³, he highlighted the importance of the statement of the doctor who first saw Mirna's body (E⁴). Fachmi emphasized that the doctor's statement, which provides an initial view of the body's condition, is more reliable than visual evidence, which may be changed or interpreted differently. Thus, Fachmi doubts the validity of the statement confirming the change in color of Mirna's body based on the video.

In this way, the actors and messages contained in Ridwansyah's framing of the case of Mirna Salihin's death have pros and cons. The first message from the case of Mirna Salihin (E) experienced changes in shape (S) in several different responses to the irregularities and differences in the body color of Mirna's body (E¹). This then gave rise to a crisis of public trust (E²), which was validated in the form of supporting documents in the form of screenshots of Mirna's funeral video (E³).

These statements and documents were later denied because the videos underwent a different grading process and camera quality. Therefore, the first doctor's statement in the Mirna murder case can be the leading benchmark (E⁴). This upload also involved Ridwansyah (M¹), @myhppyilittlepil (M²), and Fachmi Satriyo (M³). Through the selection carried out by M¹, M², and M³, an event (E¹), (E²), (E³), and (E⁴) was formed, which appeared in a different shape (S) due to the selection process carried out. This also explains that Gerbner's communication model can occur repeatedly on social media X as a virtual public space. As long as the message can be reached and responded to, and other forms of interaction occur, responding to each other will continue.

Conclusion

Gerbner's communication model states, "someone perceives an event and reacts in a situation through some means to make available materials in some form

and context conveying the content of some consequences.” This communication model is implemented to contain information in mass communication. In Mirna Salihin’s case, Tirto.id media used Gerbner’s communication model effectively. They choose and control news selectively, focusing on circumstantial evidence that supports the perspective they highlight. Tirto.id acts as a Man or Machine (M) who sees events and makes selections, then presents them via social media X. They succeeded in influencing the views of X users and creating changes in the form of events (E²) and generating user responses (E³).

On the other hand, Bro Win and Ridwansyah, as individual X users, also used Gerbner by viewing and reinterpreting the Mirna Salihin incident. By presenting new facts, it creates a change in the shape of the event (E²) and responds to the user’s response (E³) even to the point of (E⁴). Gerbner’s model is essential for understanding the impact of the media in shaping public opinion and perception. The presence of social media means that Gerbner’s communication model is not only used by mass media, but individuals on social media can also frame issues regarding news.

X social media users can also use the Gerbner communication model, which can continue to repeat itself and run according to the cycle of the communication model. This can be seen from the presence of M², E², M³, E³, etc. This research is limited to social media X. It has yet to determine whether other social media can enable users to build opinions and frame news in carrying out the Gerbner model cycle like social media X. Therefore, further research is needed regarding similar research on other social media.

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