

## Analysis of Robert Entman's Framing in The Netflix's Documentary Film “Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso”

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**Abstract** — Jessica Kumala Wongso suddenly became a “celebrity” because of the murder case she was accused of in 2016. In 2023, after more than 5 years since the case was decided by the court, the Netflix reconstruct this case in a documentary film “Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso”. This research wants to see the media construction by using Robert Entman's framing analysis model, which have some categorizations: Issue Selection and Highlighting of Certain Aspects of the Issue, Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgment and Treatment Recommendations. The results show that the media constructs messages by taking opinions and statements from various sources; before, during, and after the trial process ends. This documentary does not side with or against Mirna or Jessica, but rather highlights how the criminal justice system in Indonesia actually works. This film highlights what the criminal justice system, really is in Indonesia. The victim here is not only Mirna (if there is a case), but also Jessica as a victim of injustice in the criminal justice system in Indonesia, and the Indonesian people because the public in general has the right to know how the situation actually happened. When connected to the Sustainable Development Goals, it can be seen that one of element at number 16, Justice, is still a concern, especially in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Construction; Media; Documentary Film; Entman's Framing Analysis Model

**Abstrak** — Jessica Kumala Wongso seolah mendadak menjadi “selebritas” karena kasus pembunuhan yang dituduhkan padanya di tahun 2016 lalu. Pada tahun 2023, setelah lebih dari 5 tahun sejak kasus ini diputus oleh pengadilan, Netflix merekonstruksi kasus ini dalam film dokumenter “Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso”. Penelitian ini ingin melihat konstruksi media dengan menggunakan model analisis framing Robert Entman yang mempunyai beberapa kategorisasi: Seleksi Isu dan Penonjolan Aspek Tertentu dari Isu, Pendefinisian Masalah, Memperkirakan Masalah atau Sumber Masalah, Membuat Keputusan Moral dan Menekankan Penyelesaian. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa media mengkonstruksi pesan dengan cara mengambil pendapat dan keterangan dari berbagai narasumber; sebelum, selama, maupun setelah proses persidangan berakhir. Film dokumenter ini tidak memihak atau menentang Mirna maupun Jessica, melainkan menyoroti bagaimana sebenarnya sistem peradilan pidana di Indonesia. Korban disini bukan hanya Mirna (kalau memang ada kasus), tapi juga Jessica sebagai korban ketidakadilan sistem peradilan pidana di Indonesia, dan masyarakat Indonesia karena masyarakat berhak mengetahui bagaimana keadaan yang sebenarnya terjadi. Apabila dikaitkan dengan *Sustainable Development Goals*, terlihat bahwa salah satu elemen nomor 16, yaitu Keadilan, masih menjadi perhatian khususnya di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** Konstruksi, Media, Film Dokumenter, Analisis Framing Model Entman

### INTRODUCTION

In 2016, the public in Indonesia, was shocked by the the murder case of Wayan Mirna Salihin with the suspect Jessica Kumala Wongso. Reports about this case have been widely reported in a number of media, both online, print and electronic media. Reporting

from the investigation, investigation, trial, to the decision at the District Court (First Level).

After this case was finally declared final at the Supreme Court, Jessica was found guilty and sentenced to 20 (twenty) years in prison. Although, the legal efforts carried out by Jessica and the team of

lawyers reached Judicial Review (PK), the trial process that was broadcast in the media only in District Court.

After 7 (seven) years, in 2023, the public seems to be reminded of this case again, with the documentary film: "Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso" (hereinafter it will just be written "Ice Cold") which is shown in Netflix. This documentary film was directed by Rob Sixsmith, who is British. In this documentary, the filmmakers interviewed a number of parties, such as Mirna Salihin's family, Jessica Kumala Wongso's lawyer, the Public Prosecutor, and several experts related to this case. This documentary received an IMDb rating of 6.0/10 (IMDb, 2023)



Figure 1. Documentary Film "Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso" (Sixsmith, 2023)

Several parties, after watching this documentary, made a number of statements, especially regarding true justice in the criminal justice system in Indonesia. Because, in this documentary, it seems to want to show what has been hidden in the courts, and at the same time wants to show how the justice system is in Indonesia, especially the criminal justice system. After this documentary was broadcast, a number of hashtags (#) reading #JusticeForJessicaWongso appeared on a number of social media, for example on the following social media "X":

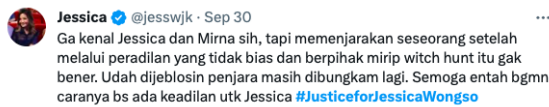


Figure 2. #JusticeForJessicaWongso on Social Media "X" (Twitter.com., 2023)

Meanwhile on social media Instagram:



Figure 3. #JusticeForJessicaWongso on Instagram (Instagram, 2023)

This research intends to see how Netflix, through the documentary film "Ice Cold", constructs a reality into the film, using Robert Entman's framing analysis model.

Media framing, which always involves a battle over meaning and an attempt to offer a dominant interpretation of an international issue, could thus be considered a strategic international communication process (Yi, 2024)

Robert Entman's framing, which is explained by Eriyanto (2011): "refers to the provision of definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations in a discourse to emphasize a certain framework of thinking regarding the events being discussed." (Ikbal, 2023). Framing is defined by Entman (1993) as "a process whereby a frame suggests which aspects of reality are selected, rejected, emphasized, or modified (providing) the audience with context and suggested meaning" (Hyzen, 2024). Entman (1993) argued that framing involves selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text in a way that promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Gao, 2023). Entman's framing concept is the most dominant, likely because it can be applied to (almost) any social and political issue and because the designation of four concrete frame elements allows for improved operationalization (Rochyadi-Reetz, 2019)

The reality in this documentary is a real incident that happened in Indonesia, related to the legal system, especially the criminal justice system. Here what will be seen is a selection of issues contained in the documentary film "Ice Cold" which generally were not raised in previous news.

This model was chosen because in the Entman model there is Issue Selection and Highlighting of Certain Aspects of the Issue (Olivia, 2023). Apart from that, in Entman's framing there are also categorizations, namely Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgment and Treatment Recommendations. (Setiawan, 2023) (Wisnutomo, 2023).

Meanwhile, the theory used is the mass media construction theory from Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman. This theory is a concept that explains that social reality is the result of social processes and interactions between individuals in society. The concepts of externalization, objectification and internalization are also important components in this theory. Individuals continuously create and experience subjective social realities through their interactions in society. In the context of the social construction of mass media, this concept explains that mass media has an important role in shaping social reality. Mass media acts as a shaper and controller of information that is disseminated to the wider community. The construction of social reality in mass media occurs through several stages, such as selection, embodiment, interpretation, and internalization. This process involves filtering, compiling and interpreting news or information which

is then received and understood by the community (Hadiwijaya, 2023).

The issue in this documentary relates to crimes against life and also elements of justice, not only justice for the victim but also the perpetrator. Also, what is the real criminal justice system in Indonesia, considering that some people do not really trust the justice (legal) system in Indonesia.

Based on the background above, the focus of this research is how is the Media Construction in the Netflix's Documentary Film "Ice Cold: Murder, Coffee, and Jessica Wongso" using Robert Entman's Framing Model Analysis)?

## RESEARCH METHOD

Here are 3 (three) previous researches that used Robert Entman's framing analysis:

The first research from Ikbal and Sukmawati, AI., "Robert N. Entman's Framing Analysis on Chronological Case of Minor Assault in Online Media *kompas.com*." (*Robert N. Entman's Framing Analysis on Chronological Case of Minor Assault in Online Media *kompas.com**), published in *Jurnal Ilmiah Multimedia dan Komunikasi*, Vol. 8, No. 2. This study found that *kompas.com* uses framing that emphasizes empathy for victims, raises issues related to preventing violence against children, and emphasizes legal aspects, as well as the responsibility of the individuals involved. This media chooses words and images carefully to maintain the privacy and identity of the victim. This study seeks to open insights into how online news media such as *kompas.com* play a role in shaping public opinion and reactions to sensitive cases (Ikbal, 2023)

The second research is *Analisis Framing Robert Entman Tentang Berita Kompas.Com Dan Detik.Com Tentang Kasus "Idi Kacung WHO"* (Robert Entman's Framing Analysis of Kompas.Com and Detik.Com News About the "Idi Kacung WHO" Case) by Muhammad Alberian Reformansyah and Pratiwi Wahyu Widiarti, published in *Lektur, Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, Vol 5 No 4, 2022. The results indicate that; 1) There is a framing pattern of the "IDI Kacung WHO" case in the news on Detik.com and Kompas.com. 2) Overall, Detik.com's news highlights the violation of the ITE Law committed by Jerinx. 3) Overall, Kompas.com presents a different perspective where Jerinx is placed as the main source in order to provide space for the reasons behind the "IDI Kacung WHO" post (Reformansyah, 2022).

The third research is *Explaining the Media's Framing of Renewable Energies: An International Comparison* by Rochyadi-Reetz, M., Arlt, D., Wolling, J., and Bräuer, M, published in *Frontiers in Environmental Science*, Vol. 7, Article 119, 2019. The findings show that renewable energies were covered through three different frames, (1) the first highlighting economic and technological problems, (2) the second focusing on environmental and social

problems and (3) the third considering positive aspects of the technologies. To some extent, the occurrence of these frames is influenced by the national structural conditions. The study revealed that the Fukushima accident did not cause the expected changes in framing (Rochyadi-Reetz, 2019).

The similarity all the previous researches is that they all use Robert Entman's Framing analysis, while the difference is the object or unit of analysis, where in this study the object of research is a Documentary Film distributed by Netflix.

This research approach is qualitative with a constructivist paradigm, using mass media construction theory and Robert Entman's framing method, which consists of Issue Selection and Highlighting Aspects of Issues, in addition to the categorization of Define problems, Diagnose causes, Make moral judgments and Treatment recommendations.

The media will do framing by highlighting a certain thing or covering up other things. Therefore, it is possible to find differences in the emphasis of context and topics carried out by one mass media with another in reporting the same event. In conveying information, the media can develop certain events or things that are considered to be able to influence the public and ignore other elements according to their interests (Nurhayati, 2013).

In framing analysis, content to be analyzed is basically studied in terms of its three aspects, that is, 'thematic framing', 'contextual framing' and 'picture framing' of the work (AKMEŞE, 2019).

Framing theory plays a substantial role in several branches of social sciences. For example, in the early stage of framing theory, the influential sociologist Goffman (1986) believed that framing is an analytical tool for individuals to actively classify various events in life and interpret their meanings (Wang, 2024). Scheufele (1999) classified frames as both media and individual; Entman said they can be found in the communicator, text, receiver, and culture (Li, 2023)

The constructivist paradigm has a basic assumption that social reality is relative. In this view, social reality is considered as the result of social construction involving the subject as a significant actor in forming the view. According to Burhan Bungin (2014), constructivism is an individual's cognitive effort in interpreting existing reality (Ananda, 2023)

The unit of analysis in this research is the scene in the documentary film "Ice Cold", connected with Issue Selection and Highlighting Aspects of the Issue, in addition to the categorization of Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgment and Treatment Recommendation.

Framing is premised on the idea that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, and presented as having implications for various values and considerations (Klein, 2023). Framing is an

inherent part of communication and occurs when actors use messages to alter people's preferences by changing the presentation of an issue or an event (Fesenfeld, 2024). Entman (1993): framing refers to the organisation and structure of information in three areas: (1) the problem; (2) the parties responsible for that problem; and (3) the solutions (Odriozola-Chéné, 2024).

Eriyanto (Eriyanto, 2011) said that the Entman model of news framing can be done in 4 ways. Among them are Define Problems; Framing can be done by describing an issue, Diagnose Causes; Framing is done by naming the actor or figure behind the emergence of a problem, Make Moral Judgment; Framing can be done by providing an assessment of a problem, and Treatment Recommendations; Framing can be done by providing recommendations or solutions to a problem.

Table 1. Entman's Framing Analysis 1 (Eriyanto, 2011)

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Issues Selection                   | This aspect relates to the selection of facts. Of this complex and diverse reality, which aspects are selected for display? This process always contains parts that are intended (included), but there is also news that is released (excluded). Not all aspects or parts of an issue are shown, journalists choose certain aspects of an issue. |
| Highlight Certain Aspect of Issues | This aspect is related to writing facts. Once a particular aspect of an issue has been selected, how is that aspect written? This is closely related to the use of certain words, sentences, pictures and images to be displayed to the public.  |

Entman, namely, concerning the enunciation of the four framings of problem definition, cause diagnosis, moral judgement, and solutions suggestion to ascertain which framings are more applicable in each news item

Table 2. Entman's Framing Analysis 2 (Eriyanto, 2011)

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Define Problems</i>          | How is an issue viewed? As a what? Or what problem?  |
| <i>Diagnose Causes</i>          | What is the cause of this incident seen? What is considered to be the cause of a problem? Who (actors) is considered to be the cause of the problem? |
| <i>Make Moral Judgment</i>      | What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delegitimize an action?                          |
| <i>Treatment Recommendation</i> | What solutions are offered to address the problem/issue? What paths  |

are offered and should be taken to overcome the problem?

## RESULT AND ANALYSIS

### When The Incident Happened

Table 3. When The Incident Happened 1

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Issues Selection</b>                       | Chronology of the incident in January 6, 2016 at Café Olivier. From the moment Jessica arrived, until Mirna was taken by the medical staff.   |
| <b>Highlight Certain Aspects of the Issue</b> | Describes in chronological detail the time of incident since Jessica arrived. Equipped with CCTV in the Café, and direct information from the Manager (Devi Siagian) and Café Barista (Rangga Saputro). |



Figure 4. CCTV footage when Jessica arrived at the cafe. (Sixsmith, 2023)



Figure 5. CCTV footage after Mirna drank coffee (Sixsmith, 2023)



Figure 6. CCTV footage when Mirna started to lose consciousness (Sixsmith, 2023)



Figure 7. Café Olivier Manager's Statement Regarding the Incident (Sixsmith, 2023)

Devi Siagian: "I saw Mirna's condition was indeed very worrying, because she had seizures and difficulty breathing. So, I also saw it as an emergency."

“On my right was Jessica. I was very suspicious of her at that time because she wouldn't hold her friend even though she was right next to her. So I saw that there might be something odd. There was something wrong with Jessica. That's it.”



Figure 8. Barista Café Olivier's Description (Sixsmith, 2023)

Rangga Saputro: “When I saw it, it was yellow like turmeric. When I smelled it up close, it really stung.”

Table 4. When The Incident Happened 2

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <b>Define Problems</b>     | <p>The chronology from the beginning of how Mirna arrived at Café Olivier until she became unconscious.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Devi Siagian (Café Olivier Manager): “There's something wrong with Jessica.”</li> <li>- Rangga Saputro (Barista Cafe Olivier): “When I saw (the coffee that Mirna was drinking) it was yellow like turmeric. When I smelled it, it was really strong.”</li> <li>- CCTV footage showing the chronology from when Jessica arrived, after Mirna drank coffee, until Mirna became unconscious.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Diagnose Causes</b>     | <p>Wayan Mirna died allegedly due to poison in Vietnamese coffee, even though when the Barista checked the ingredients again there was nothing wrong at all. The Vietnamese coffee that Wayan Mirna consumed also changed, both in color and taste, it was not the same as the one previously served by the Barista. Here, both the Manager and Barista suspect that Jessica is the most responsible for what happened to Mirna, because Jessica was the first person to arrive at the Café, and she was the one who ordered coffee for Mirna.</p>         |
| <b>Make Moral Judgment</b> | <p>Look for as much information as possible at the time of the incident, including information from parties who</p>  |

**Treatment Recommendation**

were on duty in the field at that time (Café Olivier Manager and Barista) to CCTV footage. Submit directly to the authorities (police).

From table 3 and 4, and figure 7 and 8, this section tells the chronology of the death of Wayan Mirna Salihin. The initial framing pointed to Jessica Kumala Wongso, as the party who should be suspected. Jessica is considered the most responsible for Mirna's death, because she was the first person at the crime scene (TKP). Jessica is considered the party most responsible for the drink (coffee) consumed by Mirna. Based on information from Barista, Rangga Saputro, there was nothing wrong when he mixed the drink. There is nothing wrong with the materials used. This means that the barista has carried out his work according to procedures, so it is possible that someone might put certain ingredients in the coffee after it is served at the table. Based on information from the manager, Devi Siagian, Jessica's actions were suspicious when Mirna started to feel sick. The manager questioned Jessica's character and nature.

**Before The Trial**

Table 5. Before the Trial 1

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Issues Selection</b>                       | <p>Starting from the statement that Mirna was a murder victim, to the decision to name Jessica as a suspect.</p>  |
| <b>Highlight Certain Aspects of the Issue</b> | <p>Contains information from various parties, especially those pointing to Jessica as a suspect, which is supported by information from various media. Information was obtained from Mirna's twin sister, Wayan Sandy Salihin, Mirna's biological father, Edi Darmawan Salihin, and Prof. Eddy O.S. Hiariej (Ministry of Law and Human Rights).</p> |



Figure 9. Mirna's Twin Sister's Statement (Sixsmith, 2023)

Wayan Sandi Salihin: “After leaving Abdi Waluyo Hospital, I went straight to the funeral home. Suddenly, the police came and said, she might have been poisoned. The police said, yes, must be autopsied”.

“We were shocked, but it turned out that the suspect was, yes, her own best friend.”

“She was jealous of Mirna, because maybe Mirna’s life was good, and Mirna had a bright future. And maybe Jessica’s life was a mess”



Figure 10. Mirna's Biological Father's Statement (Sixsmith, 2023)

Edi Darmawan Salihin: “At that time, Mr. Krishna Murti came, asked, without saying much, ‘If you don’t want an autopsy, you won’t know who killed her, you know’. Yeah, that’s it, surrender. Pick up Mirna, autopsy. In the morning she was buried, well in the morning I got a call from the police, ‘Your child was poisoned!’. Oh my, she was poisoned with cyanide, true intention to kill.”



Figure 11. Statement from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Sixsmith, 2023)

Prof. Eddy O.S. Hiariej: “So at that time Jessica was asked by a reporter from a TV station. She answered the TV station reporter, she did not look at the reporter, but she looked up. I studied paralinguistic in investigative techniques. When someone is asked and then she looks up, it is as if she is making up a story. If you look at it, maybe she did it.”



Figure 12. News of Jessica's Determination as a Suspect (Sixsmith, 2023)

Reporter: “Investigators from the Jatanras Sub-District of the General Police of the Jakarta Metro Police arrested Jessica Kumala Wongso in connection with the death of

Wayan Mirna Salihin at a hotel in the Mangga Dua area, North Jakarta.”

Table 6. Before the Trial 2

| Define Problems | Tells how Mirna was initially considered a murder victim, entered the investigation and investigation stages, until finally determining Jessica as the suspect in Mirna's murder.   |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wayan Sandi Salihin (Mirna's twin sister): “He is jealous of Mirna, because maybe Mirna's life is good, and Mirna has a bright future. And maybe Jessica's life is a mess.”</li> <li>- Edi Darmawan Salihin (Mirna's father): “At that time, Mr. Krishna Murti, he came, asked, without saying much, 'If you don't want an autopsy, then you won't know who killed your daughter'. Yes, that's it, give it up. Pick up Mirna, autopsy. The morning he was buried, the police called me in the morning, 'Your daughter has been poisoned!'.</li> <li>- Prof. Eddy O.S. Hiariej (Ministry of Law &amp; Human Rights): “So at that time Jessica was asked by a reporter from a TV station. She answered the TV station reporter, she didn't look at the reporter, but he looked up. I studied para linguistics in investigative techniques; when someone is asked and then he looks up, it is as if he is making up a story. If you look around, it could be that he did it.”</li> <li>- Reporter: “Investigators from the Jatanras Subdit Ditreskrim Polda Metro Jaya arrested Jessica Kumala Wongso in connection with the death of Wayan Mirna Salihin at a hotel in the Mangga Dua area, North Jakarta.”</li> </ul> |
| Diagnose Causes | Starting with Mirna's death which was suspected to be unnatural so it had to be autopsied, which then led to the emergence of a case (murder). Based on information from several parties and evidence, especially at the crime scene (TKP), it finally pointed to Jessica as the suspect in Mirna's murder. Jessica is suspected of   |

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <b>Make Moral Judgment</b>      | having her own motives that caused her to do this. Bringing it to the realm of law so that there is justice, especially for the victim's family. |
| <b>Treatment Recommendation</b> | Named Jessica Kumala Wongso as the suspect in the murder of Wayan Mirna Salihin  |

From table 5 and 6, and figure 9-12, this section discusses how Mirna died. Because Mirna was declared dead due to unnatural causes, Mirna had an autopsy performed, the autopsy results of which stated that Mirna died because she was murdered, because she was poisoned. Based on Edi Darmawan Salihin's statement, the request for an autopsy came from the police, Krishna Murti, who suspected that Mirna's death was considered unnatural.

Here, the framing still points to Jessica Kumala Wongso as the party most responsible for the death of Wayan Mirna Salihin. Why? Because Jessica has her own motives, she should be suspected; Jessica is jealous of the life Mirna has.

From here, the incident developed into a case, namely a murder case. In the criminal procedural law system, there are several stages until finally the Public Prosecutor (JPU) states that a case must be brought to court. The initial stage, namely the investigation, is where a number of witnesses are gathered at the crime scene to be questioned. Furthermore, the witness's status can remain (becoming a witness) or change, namely becoming a suspect. Here, Jessica was declared a suspect in the Wayan Mirna Salihin murder case.

### During the Trial

Table 7. During the Trial 1

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Issues Selection</b>                       | How the trial process occurred from the beginning to naming Jessica Kumala Wongso as the defendant in the murder case of Wayan Mirna Salihin.                     |
| <b>Highlight Certain Aspects of the Issue</b> | In this section, the Team of Public Prosecutors (JPU), Jessica's Attorney, and the Experts take turns providing information about what happened during the trial. |



Figure 13. The Public Prosecutor Team Takes Turns Giving Statements (Sixsmith, 2023)

Shandy Handika: "We are like soldiers on the front lines. If, for example, the verdict is that Jessica is declared not guilty, there is a possibility

that a bad image will stick to the prosecutor's team, because we are the ones who are the display or "poster" of the Jessica Kumala Wongso case."

Ardito Muwardi: "So what we prove first is "What are the facts that happened?", "What was the real perpetrator doing?", "What was the victim doing?". Those are the facts that we reveal."

Shandy Handika: "We did not immediately accuse Jessica of being the perpetrator of the crime. We traced the series from when the coffee was made until the coffee was finally used as evidence. Who touched the coffee? Who was close to the coffee? All of that was recorded on CCTV."

Wahyu Oktaviandi: "There, if our response from looking at the CCTV, there were two odd actions. The first was the shifting of chairs, so that the rear CCTV camera could not be seen. And there was a paper bag placed in front of the glass so that it blocked the view of the front CCTV."

Ardito Muwardi: "In Indonesian society at that time, there was such respect for corpses that when an autopsy was performed, which was by dissecting from the head and then taking the skull, chest cavity, and abdominal cavity, there needed to be a clear permission from the victim's parents. The victim's parents at that time gave their permission, but they did not perform a complete dissection, they only took samples. Samples were taken from the stomach. Just samples."



Figure 14. Jessica Kumala Wongso's Attorney at Law (Sixsmith, 2023)

Otto Hasibuan: The key in this case is "dying of cyanide". But after the trial was underway, witnesses began to be questioned, we could start to uncover a little bit, the untruths in the testimonies. At that time, I asked Slamet (expert witness), "Did you do an autopsy?" Then I asked "Why didn't you do an autopsy?" "The police asked for that". In the case file, there is a letter from the police asking the hospital to do an autopsy. This is very strange. There is proof of that letter."

"There is an impression of untruth here. There is a certain party who wants Jessica to be guilty. Because if not, why can't everyone just be fair?"

"Where is the evidence of Jessica's involvement? Where is the evidence? Only assumptions, only interpretations. This is strange."



Figure 15. Forensic Pathologist (Sixsmith, 2023)

Dr Djaja Surya Atmaja: “During the course of the case, everyone was led to hate Jessica, that she was wrong. At that time, the situation was actually tense, the prosecutors were all shocked. Because I was the person they called to court, but I was presented by the legal counsel.”



Figure 16. Statement from the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (Sixsmith, 2023)

Erasmus Napitupulu: “The guilt rate in Indonesia is very high, why? The police have such great power. The prosecutors who have such great power, it is not balanced with the authority of the advocates. The great power of the prosecutors and the police positions the judges no longer as referees. So, the judges are no longer in the middle. Is there any other evidence that shows that the murder was carried out directly by Jessica Wongso? The answer is no.”



Figure 17. Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Sixsmith, 2023)

Prof. Eddy O.S. Hiariej: “It was said that there was no direct evidence, why did the attorney lose? Because the attorney could not present evidence or experts who could convince the judge that his client was not a murderer. That's actually the problem. Very simple.”



Figure 18. Manager and Barista of Café Olivier Give Another Statement (Sixsmith, 2023)

Reporter: “So what I know is that before the trial, Mas, Mba Devi, and Pak Edi just met, right? There was a meeting. What was the atmosphere What was discussed during the meeting?”

Rangga Saputro: “I forgot. I forgot, it was a long time ago. At most, we met to discuss the case. You have to be consistent in your speech, you have to speak correctly, don't be afraid.”

Devi Siagian: “I'm afraid of saying the wrong thing. When I first met Pak Edi, he was... a father whose heart was broken. I could see that he was very angry and very sad.”

Rangga: “Who could accept it if their child went through that? From Pak Darmawan's perspective, Jessica had to be arrested.”



Figure 19. Jessica's Sentencing Hearing (Sixsmith, 2023)

Chief Judge: “One, declares the defendant, Jessica Kumala, alias Jessica Kumala Wongso, alias Jess, has been proven legally and convincingly guilty of committing the crime of premeditated murder. Two, sentences the defendant to 20 years in prison. Such is the verdict of the panel.”



Figure 20. Edi Darmawan Salihin After the Court's Decision (Sixsmith, 2023)

Edi Darmawan Sahlini: “This is the longest, most explosive, and most historic trial ever. Murder without evidence, 20 years in prison. I convinced the prosecutor and the judge. Finally, that's it, a happy ending. I won.”





Figure 21. Jessica's Legal Team's Objections at Trial (Sixsmith, 2023)

Otto Hasibuan: “Because this judge's decision is very unfair and biased and is completely unlawful, and we see that there is a “death knell of justice” in this court, we hereby firmly declare an appeal.”

Table 8. During the Trial 2

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <b>Define Problems</b> | <p>Tells the story from the beginning of Jessica Kumala Wongso's first trial until the judge's decision that she was declared guilty in the eyes of the law.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prosecutor, “If, for example, the decision is that Jessica is found not guilty, it is possible that a bad image will be attached to the Public Prosecutor.”</li> <li>- Dr Djaja Surya Atmaja (Forensic Pathologist), “In the course of the case, everyone was led to hate Jessica, that she was wrong.”</li> <li>- Erasmus Napitupulu (Institute for Criminal Justice Reform), “The level of guilt in Indonesia is very high, because of what? The police have so much power. Prosecutors have so much power. It is not balanced with the authority of advocates.”</li> <li>- Prof. Eddy O.S. Hiariej (Ministry of Law &amp; Human Rights): “It is said that there is no direct evidence, how come the legal representative lost? Because the attorney could not present evidence or experts who could convince the judge that his client was not a murderer. That's really the problem. Very simple.”</li> <li>- Edi Darmawan Salihin (Mirna's father), “I convince the prosecutor and judge. In the end there it was, a happy ending. I WIN!”</li> <li>- Otto Hasibuan (Jessica's lawyer) regarding “The Death Knell of Justice”.</li> </ul> |
|------------------------|--|

**Diagnose Causes**

- Manager and Barista Café Olivier who confirmed that there had been a meeting between them and Edi Darmawan Salihin, before the trial.

Based on the testimony of a number of witnesses, especially expert witnesses, both those presented in court and those questioned outside of it, namely when this documentary was made, there were a number of irregularities such as “Mirna must have died because she was murdered” and “Mirna's killer must be Jessica” . Here it can also be seen that the prosecutor as a “representative of the State” seems to “cannot be wrong” in determining someone (Jessica) as a suspect in the murder until finally bringing the case to court.

**Make Moral Judgment**

This documentary asked for information from a number of witnesses and experts regarding this case, and also interviewed the Manager and Barista of Café Olivier, at the time of the incident, and afterwards. This is done solely to find out what happened in order to obtain true justice.

**Treatment Recommendation**

The resolution here is still not complete, because we are still asking “Is Jessica really the perpetrator of Mirna's murder?” So here we are still looking for justice and at the same time questioning the justice system, especially the criminal justice system, in Indonesia. Because this film seems to want to inform that Jessica is only a “victim” of the injustice that occurs in Indonesia.

From table 7 and 8, and figure 13-21, in this section the framing undergoes slight changes. Previously, Jessica was the perpetrator, but here Jessica is the victim, the victim of the injustice that occurred in Indonesia. In fact, in this film, the film maker interviews Café Olivier again, asking about the meeting between Café and Pak Edi, Mirna's father, before the trial. In fact, a meeting like this is not justified because it will cause parties, who could be presented as witnesses in court, to act subjectively. Even if there is a meeting with several parties who will be witnesses in court, it is best to go through an official procedure, rather than appearing “private”. Here, too, there seems to be a compulsion that “there must be a case”, a murder case. The case exists because there is a victim (Mirna), which if there is a victim then there must be a perpetrator, namely Jessica. The prosecutor, as a representative of the

state, must not act wrongly from the start of the Investigation Stage, until convincing the Panel of Judges that the defendant has been legally and convincingly proven at trial to be the perpetrator. So here there are several framings that occur in relation to the Justice System in Indonesia: (1) There must be a case: a murder case; (2) There must be a murder victim: Wayan Mirna Salihin; (3) There must be a perpetrator who is proven to have committed the crime: Jessica Kumala Wongso; and (4) The state, represented by the public prosecutor, cannot make mistakes in determining a person's status, so the status of a suspect who then becomes a defendant must ultimately become a convict, meaning that she is proven legally guilty.

**After the Court Ruling**

| Table 9. After the Court Ruling               |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Issues Selection</b>                       | Highlighting Jessica's condition in detention after the court decision and how justice is actually upheld in Indonesia looking at Jessica's condition after the court decision.   |
| <b>Highlight Certain Aspects of the Issue</b> | The conditions experienced by Jessica while in detention centre question the justice she received, accompanied by information from Jessica and her diary, as well as information from Jessica's Legal Advisory Team and also opinions from experts regarding this case. |

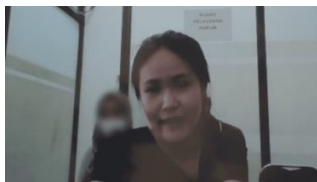


Figure 22. Producer's Interview with Jessica at the Detention Center (Sixsmith, 2023)

Jessica Kumala Wongso: "I don't understand why this happened to me. I was on vacation. I called my friends for coffee, but after that it was unbelievable. It's so hard. It's so hard to stay sane every day. I'm so traumatized by this. The way all the media reported it, and it's completely wrong. They just tried to find out about my life, make up stories, 'Oh, Jess did this because...' 'Oh, why doesn't she just confess? The evidence is clear enough'. What evidence? During the trial, it was really hard. The judges, everything we brought to the trial, they completely ignored. If the media weren't interested in me at that time, would it have been different?"

Prison guard (interrupting): "I'm sorry, Jessica. I'm sorry, I think maybe this is too deep."



Figure 23. The Condition After Interview (Sixsmith, 2023)



Figure 24. Jessica and Producer Conversation Recording (Sixsmith, 2023)

Jessica Kumala Wongso: "It's almost impossible to film me. I don't think it will happen."

Producer: "Honestly, we're a bit angry. Because they allow people to interview terrorists, bank robbers, murderers."

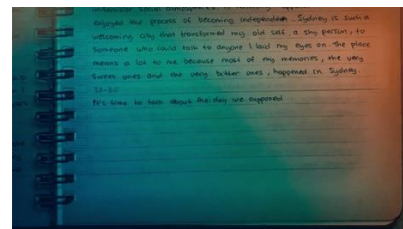


Figure 25. Jessica's Personal Diary (Sixsmith, 2023)

Jessica (voice over): "The footage of me entering and leaving the cafe, played over and over again. The footage of the police entering and leaving the cafe with evidence was said to have been permanently deleted. Is it my turn to be suspicious now?"



Figure 26. Otto Hasibuan's Opinion After Court Ruling (Sixsmith, 2023)

Otto Hasibuan: "Whether someone framed Jessica or not, I want to say, I can think so. From the procedure of examining the evidence, and the evidence presented in the trial, in my opinion it is very unreasonable. Yes, and every time I make a breakthrough to prove otherwise, I am always cut off by them. So, what is really going on? There is a certain party who wants her to be punished. I can

actually tell you more deeply, but not everything can be told, right? Not everything can be told, because, something that I know, right, I have to prove, right? And coincidentally the evidence is lacking, but I know it happened.”



Figure 27. Forensic Pathologist's Statement (Sixsmith, 2023)

Reza Indragiri: “Until now, only in this case, there was a certain party who then called me, and asked me to stop talking. There was a certain party who put money in my bag, so I interpreted that the pocket money was a way for me not to talk too much in this case. If I were an ordinary person, who had nothing to do with this case, why would that person give me money? I am worried that to the law enforcement authorities, this party would irresponsibly also give money, in a larger amount. I am worried like that.”



Figure 28. Jessica's Legal Team's Opinion (Sixsmith, 2023)

Yudi Wibowo: “The police are already embarrassed; the case has already been blown up. Until now there is a kind of karmic law. Police whose careers are stalled. All sorts of things”.

“In Indonesia, no money, no justice. No money, no justice!”



Figure 29. Opinion of the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (Sixsmith, 2023)

Erasmus Napitupulu: “This will sound controversial, but in my opinion, and according to research at least conducted by ICJR, it is possible that Jessica was found guilty because there has to be someone guilty of someone’s death. So, in that

context, the police, the prosecutors, cannot find any other suspects.”

“The criminal justice system needs to be reformed, so what? So that our ideals of reform, the ideals of independence that all Indonesian people can have access to justice, can be achieved. We need to reform the criminal justice system. Because why? Because everyone can be affected. Everyone becomes the next victim. That’s from me. Thank you.”

Table 10. After the Court Ruling

| Define Problems | Questioning why Jessica could not be interviewed further after the court ruling.  |
|-----------------|---|
|                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Jessica Kumala Wungso: “The judges, everything we brought to court, they completely ignored. If the media had not been interested in me at that time, would it have been different?”</li> <li>- Interruption from Prison Guard while Jessica is talking to Reporter: “Sorry, Jessica. I'm sorry, I think maybe this has gone too deep.”</li> <li>- Conditions after the first interview where the Authorities closed access to interview Jessica.</li> <li>- Producer (voice over): “Honestly, we're a bit angry. Because they allow people to interview terrorists, bank robbers, murderers.”</li> <li>- Jessica (voice over): “Recording of me entering and leaving the café, played over and over again. Footage of police entering and leaving the café with evidence is said to have been permanently deleted. Is it my turn to be suspicious now?”</li> <li>- Otto Hasibuan (Jessica's lawyer): “Whether someone framed Jessica or not, I want to say, I can think so. Every time I make a breakthrough to prove otherwise, they always cut me off. So, what's really going on? There is a certain party who wants her to be punished.”</li> <li>- Reza Indragiri (Forensic Pathology): “There was a certain party who put money in my bag, so I interpreted that pocket money as a way for me not to say much in this case. I am worried that this party will irresponsibly give money to law enforcement authorities in</li> </ul> |

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|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
|                                 | larger amounts. I worry like that.”  |
|                                 | - Yudi Wibowo (Jessica's Lawyer Team): “In Indonesia, no money, no justice. NO MONEY, NO JUSTICE!”   |
|                                 | - Erasmus Napitupulu (Institute for Criminal Justice Reform): “This will sound controversial, but in my opinion, and according to research conducted at least by ICJR, it could be that Jessica was found guilty because someone must be guilty of someone's death. So, in that context, the police, prosecutors, cannot find out who the other suspects are.” |
| <b>Diagnose Causes</b>          | Problems arise within the Indonesian court system itself, including in detention centers.  |
| <b>Make Moral Judgment</b>      | Wants improvements in the criminal justice system in Indonesia   |
| <b>Treatment Recommendation</b> | There has been no resolution or answer to date regarding the matter in question (improvements in the criminal justice system in Indonesia).  |

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From table 9 and 10, and figure 22-29, the injustice experienced by Jessica not only occurred during the court trial until the court decision, but also after that. It's as if Jessica shouldn't be interviewed by the media, because when she does, she gets interrupted. The framing here changes to not seeing Jessica as a “victim”, but also as if “taking a picture” of the criminal justice system in Indonesia, which could be said to be unfair because it raises many questions. Not only that, here it looks like money is involved in getting justice. That justice can be bought.

It is no longer a secret that “justice can be bought”, and that also happens in Indonesia. Many people also state that “justice is only for the rich”, which is why the expression emerged which says that “justice is blunt upwards sharp downwards”. This statement indicates that law enforcement officers only act against the lower classes of society, namely those in economically weak groups. The law will not touch those who have position, power or money. These parties are called “Above the Law”, for those who cannot be “touched” by the law, they do not need to obey the law, they can even break it. In fact, all societies in this world should be “Equality Before the Law”, meaning that we are all equal in the eyes of the law; no one is more special than the other.

Before the trial verdict, the public, based on reports in a number of media, had already made their own judgment that Jessica was indeed guilty. In fact, there is a term in the justice system, namely the “Presumption of Innocence”, meaning that a suspect or defendant is still declared innocent before being

declared legally guilty in front of a judge. Indeed, Jessica was declared legally guilty based on the judge's (court) decision, but the public's attitude of “judging” before the court's decision is not something that is justified, because she also has the right to be reported or treated appropriately. However, what needs to be conveyed here is that the public provides “judgment” based on information obtained in several media, both print, electronic and new media (online). Here, the way a number of media convey information, starting from writing the title (Headline), images, and the content of the news, certainly has its own framing. This framing continues during coverage in the courtroom, until the decision is taken.

This documentary does not side with or against Mirna or Jessica. This film even sees that there are several “victims” of the injustice that occurred here; (1) Mirna, even if she died because she was murdered, the real killer has not yet been found. Even if he died due to other reasons, it is not yet known what the actual cause of death was. (2) Jessica, why is so much evidence presented in court, but ignored? Jessica's access was also closed, meaning she was not allowed to give interviews even after the court decision. Are there any concerns that a novum, aka new evidence, will emerge? Jessica here is a victim because there must be a perpetrator in a case, other than the victim herself. (3) The public or people in Indonesia, who have the right to know the actual conditions, especially regarding law enforcement in Indonesia.

This documentary film depicts the criminal justice system that occurs in Indonesia, which coincidentally, the case raised is the Jessica-Mirna case. Once again, neither taking sides nor against either Jessica or Mirna. This documentary film actually wants to seek justice, not only justice for Mirna, Jessica, but also for all levels of Indonesian society, who here also have the right to know what really happened in this case. Don't let justice only apply to the upper class of society, namely those who have position, power and money.

## CONCLUSION

The media constructs messages by taking opinions and statements from various sources; before, during, and after the trial process ends. This documentary is by not siding with either Mirna or Jessica, but by siding with the justice that is happening in Indonesia, especially through the criminal justice system. This film highlights the condition of the justice system, especially criminal justice, in Indonesia.

Initially, this film looked as if Jessica was the perpetrator, however, when it entered the courtroom, there were several changes, which ultimately saw that Jessica was a victim too, namely a victim of injustice in the justice system in Indonesia. Indonesian people in general are also victims, because they have the right to know the real information.

The study itself is limited to discussing only a few stages; when the incident happened, before the trial, during the trial, and after the court ruling, although in fact there are still many things that can be studied more deeply in this documentary. The results of this study are expected to add to research references in the field of media studies, especially framing analysis. Suggestions to be able to further develop research from research results through other methods, both quantitative and qualitative.

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