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The Pseudo-Low Price' Trap by "Go-Food and Grab Food" Online Food Delivery Services

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Abstract

Language

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THE PSEUDO-LOW PRICE' TRAP BY "GO-FOOD AND GRAB FOOD" ONLINE FOOD DELIVERY SERVICES

JEBAKAN 'HARGA MURAH SEMU' LAYANAN DARING PENGANTAR MAKANAN GO-FOOD DAN GRAB FOOD

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ABSTRACT

Delivery service applications such as Gojek and Grab in recent years have become part of the lives of urban people, becoming one of the instruments to fulfill the needs of urban consumers who are called "living in high mobility". Especially the online food delivery service GO-FOOD and GRAB FOOD which promise to fulfill the need for food delivery services at low prices, even with discounts that look fantastic. With all the intents and purposes, these two services are not only able to help solve the problem of "time" for urban residents who are too busy with their activities, but are also provided at low prices so that they are attractive and difficult to ignore. But with some observations, the cheap price of this food delivery service hides academic suspicions, Is it true that this lifestyle has no risk for urban residents?. This question makes a search to see what kind of lifestyle is behind the cheap consumption of this online food delivery service, an important topic to talk about. Especially with the current Covid-19 pandemic where the service business is crucial. This research uses a phenomenological study with observations and in-depth interviews with gojek and grab driver partners, business actors who partner with grab and gojek, to consumers in the Surabaya city area, and juxtaposed it with pop culture and consumer culture perspectives to provide a comprehensive picture of how consumers' lifestyles consume services. - this online service. As a result, it was found that cheap online delivery services and lots of discounts were just a "trap" for consumers. Consumers are being forced to live a "high cost consumption" lifestyle that is shrouded in the label of "low prices and discounts".

1. Introduction

Today, the internet has become a necessity that is difficult to separate. Starting from trivial things such as accessing information, communicating with other people, to quite serious ones such as *holding meetings* with clients via *video conferencing* , accessing and sending office work results to *cloud drivers* , controlling all home furnishings ranging from TVs, refrigerators, cookers. rice, air conditioning, even CCTV with *internet of think* (IoT), to shopping can be done

by accessing the internet. Widyaningrum (2021) explained that the internet has not only changed social society in general, but has also changed the landscape of many fields of science in particular. Especially in scientific fields that are affected by the internet, such as communication studies.

The emergence *of smartphones* as a means of internet access initiates many changes in lifestyle and even one's consumption patterns. Only by accessing a smartphone with the internet, a person can buy clothes that are sold in shopping centers without having to go to the shopping center, "culinary lovers" can enjoy their favorite dishes without having to go far to access restaurants which can be hours away from where they live. Everything can be done with just a "click" of the smartphone. This is certainly very helpful for some people who don't even have time to access conventional markets, their lives move very fast, work from 07:00 in the morning to 18:00 in the afternoon, live with high mobility. Lindgren (2017) has explained that living in the world of the internet - which he calls a *digital society* - means that all relationships, whether human, social, cultural, political, will be fully affected, and influenced by the process of digitization and networking. That means indirectly our lifestyle, without us realizing it, has changed massively as a result of the existence of the internet. Ali (et al., 2020) explained that in recent years the growth of the younger generation in Indonesia has been massively influenced by internet technology, ranging from social interaction, political decisions, meeting consumer needs such as shopping and entertainment, almost everything is done using technology. Internet, has changed the young generation of Indonesia into a generation that is engaged in high mobility, full of multitasking work.

Lifestyles that require us to move a lot, make efficiency and effectiveness in managing time an absolute requirement. This is a high-mobility lifestyle. A person doesn't want to waste an hour of time just to go to a Padang depot or restaurant, spend Rp. 5,000,- for parking his car, and waste half a liter of gasoline because of traffic jams on his way home. It would be easier if the hour was used to do other useful purposes while waiting for 'Nasi Padang' to "approach" him. This can be done since the emergence of "food delivery" internet services on *smartphones* . By Hasanudin Ali, (et sl., 2017), the impact of a high mobility lifestyle that occurs in areas with high internet access (urban areas of Indonesia), occurs because urban people tend to be productive and technologically *minded* so they prefer to use digital technology and network (internet) for activities, work, and shopping. Because apart from being easier for urban residents who are very tech-savvy, shopping is more time efficient when using an app. Therefore, to accommodate the needs of the urban community, many online applications prefer urban areas to provide their services. In Indonesia, this is manifested through *online delivery* services brought by two service companies, Gojek and Grab.

The online food delivery service , Gojek and Grab, both emphasize on *consumer to store services* , meaning that it is different from online buying and selling services such as Tokopedia, Lazada, Olx, and Blibli.com which only sell products (without caring about it). store *brand*), Gojek and Grab services are more segmented on consumers who want to access the store, and buy the store's products. In this mini *research* , researchers will focus on *online food delivery* services belonging to both Gojek and Grab service providers. The reason is this service allows customers to choose what food from the store they want to buy. So that it becomes a service that is most often used in conjunction with delivery services (taxi and motorcycle taxis). However, slightly different from taxi services, which are more often used for their *value* as a paid transportation service, online food delivery services contain a strong consumptive lifestyle. Ibrahim (1997) mentions that technology does help humans in the consumption process, to lifestyle. Even according to him, without technology, cultural products that have been commodified are more difficult to disseminate, Hasanudin Ali (et al., 2017) also views that technology has affected the urban youth, from lifestyle, political perspective, consumption, to employment issues. Juditha & Darmawan, (2018) are no different when they explain how technology has influenced the younger generation in making political decisions, or simply choosing the lifestyle they live. Hasanuddin Ali et al., (2020), has seen that technology has changed the perspective of the younger generation towards a consumptive lifestyle, one of

which is that the younger generation currently prefers to consume goods and services based on online applications.

For some people, the emergence of online food delivery services is very helpful. First, a person no longer needs to save every contact of the restaurant he visits, which may number in the hundreds, only to be used once in a while *when he* wants to use the restaurant's delivery service. Even though the restaurant does not necessarily have an introduction service. Second, the time used to access places to eat can be cut and even diverted to other, more productive jobs. Third, by cutting access to places to eat, customers are "considered" cutting expenses that may be incurred when accessing conventional restaurants such as parking fees, gasoline, etc. But for some people, this service actually increases our expenses. There is a delivery fee that must be paid to Gojek and Grab drivers who make deliveries, so there are allegations that there are places to eat that increase the price of their food far from the normal price, when customers make purchases through *online food delivery services* .

Based on the thinking with the thoughts presented in this introduction, then the formulation of the problem taken is which one is correct?. *high cost* or *low cost* – what is the high mobility lifestyle with this *online food delivery service* ? To answer this, the researcher will investigate using phenomenological studies. Phenomenology studies are studies that specifically look at the symptoms or meanings of a social phenomenon that occurs around us (Hasbiansyah, 2008), in a communication perspective, phenomenology looks more at communication phenomena that can be interpreted by the community. In this regard, the researcher uses phenomenology because he sees that the issue of lifestyle is a matter of meaning in the head, so it will be more suitable to use this method to see how food sellers, *drivers* , and consumers of *Grabfood* and *Gofood* interpret the high mobility lifestyle based on the food delivery application.

In Indonesia, research on phenomenological issues is mostly carried out in more communication-social-anthropological studies, meaning that phenomenological research still revolves around the meaning of tradition, culture, or ethnicity, to issues of social economic problems (Fauzan & Supratman, 2019; Irianto & Subandi, 2016; Novianti & Tripambudi, 2014; Rohmawati, 2017). Phenomenological research on lifestyle issues is still rarely done, and has only recently become popular, for example through research by Akhmad, Unde, & Cangara (2018), which presents a phenomenological study in seeing how viewers of K-Pop culture interpret the K-Pop culture lifestyle that is broadcast. in mass media and social media. Of course, this article contains a different point of view, this research looks at how consumers enjoy online application-based consumptive services, as a lifestyle. The limitation in this study is that researchers only take data in the Indonesian city area, specifically the city of Surabaya. The main reason is because in Indonesia, Internet technology is not evenly distributed, only urban areas of Indonesia can fully enjoy the 'luxury' of internet technology. Hadi, (2018) explained that Indonesia is currently divided into two poles due to the uneven distribution of digital technology and networks (internet). Most of those who can fully enjoy the internet are only urban areas. This is because the application of this service basically requires internet that can be accessed without any problems, and according to studies, there are many points of view that say that many urban residents have unique consumption tastes. The Surabaya area is considered suitable to be the scope of the research area, because it has all the data you want to find, from consumptive and *technologically minded citizens* , the development of the food business which continues to grow rapidly, so many residents use Grab and Gojek services.

2. Method

This type of research uses descriptive-explorative qualitative type. Descriptive type is used to explain the meaning of phenomena based on the results of interviews with research subjects, while explorative is used to add depth to the data regarding the situation being explained in the answers to interviews with research subjects. The research paradigm used is the constructivist paradigm, because it sees the construction of meaning based on the results of interviews with the subject. The research method and model used is Phenomenology, a study that looks at the

symptoms or meaning of a social phenomenon that occurs in everyday life (Hasbiansyah, 2008). The result of this observation is usually the subject's pure response to the phenomenon. This method is used by researchers because it is suitable to see how urban residents respond to lifestyle based on online food delivery service applications.

The data collection techniques used were interviews and observations, interviews were used as the main data to see how the subject viewed the online food delivery application, while observation was used to obtain in-depth data about what was intended in the interview with the subject. By comparing the results of interviews and observations, it is hoped that we can get comprehensive data about this phenomenon.

The number of subjects interviewed in this study amounted to 4 people, which are detailed in table 1. The researcher deliberately chose the four subjects of this study, because they adjusted to the needs of the data to be obtained. By exploring from entrepreneurs, drivers, to consumers, it is hoped that the data obtained can be used to explain the research phenomenon that researchers want to find.

Table 1 Research Subjects

Relationship with Gojek and Grab Food	Name, Job Description
Gojek and Grab Partner Business Owners	Junaidi, business owner of "Es Pisang Hijau Asipa 354"
Gojek and Grab drivers	Ferdianto, Driver
Consumer	Elvina, Office Worker
	Retno, Office Worker

3. Results and Discussion

This discussion will look at two points of view, first from the point of view of the user as the consumer of the online food delivery service, then from the point of view of the business actor who partners with the online service. The driver subject here is used as additional data and data control on the answers of consumer sources and business partners, because *Drivers* are a bridge between food business owners and consumers, and understand the interaction process between the two. Then it will be discussed according to the formulation of the problem whether the use of online food delivery services is a *low cost* or *high cost* lifestyle with high mobility. Here's the presentation.

Service users, obedient consumers.

That night, Ferdianto, the Gojek and Grab *drivers* along with one of their acquaintances who was also a fellow *driver* were sitting relaxed or "hanging out" at one of their regular stalls located on Tumapel street, Keputeran, Tegalsari, Surabaya. While sipping sweet iced tea, the two of them glared at their *smartphones* that were charged at *the* plugs available at the stall. at a glance at the display of the *smartphone screen* belonging to both, an application is currently open on the *smartphone window,* displaying several options against the background of a map view. This is the Gojek and Grab application interface. Moments later, *the smartphone* belonging to Ferdianto's acquaintance rang, the map display changed to a display showing a person's profile. With a smile, Ferdianto's friend said "*Go food lagi, Geprek Bensu* (Go food again, Geprek Bensu)". Geprek Bensu is one of the restaurants with the main menu of geprek chicken which is quite popular and is located in the Tumapel area. He then showed the

screen display to Ferdianto while continuing to say "*Fer dekat gak sampai 100 meter* (Fer is *not close* to 100 meters)," then left Ferdianto to walk away on his motorbike.

Ferdianto has been working as a *driver for almost two years*, his friend is even longer, he is even making installments on his house with the help of Grab partner bonuses, one of Grab's services to *driver partners* . To note, Ferdi is a *driver* who partners with Gojek and Grab. "In their regulations, these two companies actually prohibit *driver dualism* like this, "namun selama tidak ketahuan tidak masalah (but as long as it's not caught, it's fine)," said the man who is familiarly called Ferdi. As a researcher, I then opened questions to ferdi, about his work and the customers he often met.

> *Ferdianto* : *Saya punya banyak tempat "mangkal" (tempat menunggu ada panggilan pelanggan, biasanya warung kopi), kalau siang sampai sore di warung depan Unitomo (Universitas Dokter Soetomo), kalau malam jam delapan (malam) kesini. Kalau siang kebanyakan ngojek (mengantar penumpang), kalau malam gini biasanya ramai Grab food dan Go food, sebut Ferdi. Untuk memberi gambaran wilayah tempat Ferdi dan temannya nongkrong merupakan wilayah yang banyak dibangun indekost, daerah ini terletak di wilayah pusat kota Surabaya, berdekatan dengan pusat perkantoran, Sekolah (SMA Santa Maria, SMA dan SMP St Louis), dan Universitas Widya Mandala Surabaya.*
> *Ferdianto* : *I have a lot of "hanging out" places (a place to wait for a customer call, usually a coffee shop), from noon to evening at the shop in front of Unitomo (Doctor Soetomo University), at eight o'clock (evening) here. During the day, most of them take ngojek (taking passengers), at night it is usually crowded with Grab food and Go food, said Ferdi. To give an idea of the area where Ferdi and his friends hang out is an area where many boarding houses are built, this area is located in the downtown area of Surabaya, close to office centers, schools (Santa Maria High School, St. Louis High School and Junior High School), and Widya Mandala University Surabaya.*

If you look closely, *Ferdi* 's base is located in a location where people live with high mobility, students who take lessons from seven in the morning to four in the afternoon, students who attend lectures with piled up assignments, workers who work from 07.00 to 18.00. This makes time a very valuable thing to live. The time-consuming jobs seem to be relieved by consuming. One of them is by ordering food *via* Go-food and Grab Food. Ibrahim (1997) has presented the same thought, which states that when people seek satisfaction through consumption, an employee and student may not be enthusiastic at work or in college, but very excited when consuming entertainment such as going to the mall or discotheque.

This is not surprising, food and drink has indeed become a part of pop culture that allows for social interpretations and criticisms to emerge. So that it attracts social scientific interest to focus more on it (Ibrahim, 1997). Storey (2018)) who has quoted various popular culture thinkers such as Bourdieu, has explained that food and drink are not just economic products, more than that food and drink are products that mark social classes, which mark *and* maintain social class difference (*maintaining/sustaining social difference*). Fajarni, (2019) in his research on the lifestyle of eating in cafes, has shown that food has been used as a marker of exclusivity and *prestige* for consumption actors. Noting that consumption as a marker of lifestyle and class existed even before today's booming internet. It can be said that the existence of internet technology actually does not change people's mindset about consumption, especially since the emergence of consumption groups between the working class and the dominant class. it only changes the way a person consumes. The point is that the class mindset will always exist, only the way of consuming through digital devices and networks will be much different than without this technology, the internet makes consumption possible in high mobility.

> *Ferdianto : Biasanya yang mesan menggunakan Go/Grab Food ya rata-rata mahasiswa daerah sini, pekerja kantoran cewek yang juga "ngekost" di daerah ini, kalau malam biasanya rame, lebih banyak yang pesan malam. Kayaknya mereka "males" keluar, padahal tempat tinggalnya juga ngak jauh (dari lokasi), kalau ngak Dinoyo, Kahuripan, kalau ngak ya Tumapel,(ketiganya adalah*

nama jalan yang saling berdekatan di daerah kelurahan Keputeran, Tegalsari Surabaya, dan merupakan wilayah perkantoran dan pendidikan).
Ferdianto : Usually those who order using Go/Grab Food are mostly students from this area, female office workers who also "board a boarding house" in this area, when it's usually busy at night, more people order at night. It seems that they are "lazy" to go out, even though the place where they live is not far (from the location), if not Dinoyo, Kahuripan, if not, Tumapel, (the three are the names of roads that are close to each other in the Keputeran village area, Tegalsari Surabaya, and are office and residential areas. education).

Ferdianto's remarks above also illustrate that the users of this online food delivery service are middle class consumers. They have a high level of education (high-cost elite high school and university) as their way to improve their grades, work in offices with salaries that follow even more than the regional salary standards. Spend their money on products that highlight the high-end lifestyle. One of them is using online food delivery services, rather than buying your own because they are *lazy* and do*n't* have time. This is similar to the thinking of Bourdieu (1984) which explains that the '*Teste'* of consumers in consuming consumptive products (including food) usually adjusts to what class preferences they want to define for themselves. In this regard, the lower and middle classes are said to always rely on symbols, which they show through the consumption of food and clothing, with the intention of adjusting their appearance with the intention of modifying their social class (Bourdieu, 1984). Swartz (2012) who was also inspired by Bourdieu's thoughts, also believed that the pretensions or desires of the middle class always looked at the standard points determined by the dominant/upper class. That the middle class lifestyle seems to adapt by practicing what is believed to be "cultural goodwill," which is absorbed from the procedures and lifestyles brought by groups within the dominant class.

In addition, Strinati (2016) explains that the emergence of the middle class is the result of changes brought about by the culture of consumerism, that the middle class appears to meet new markets, markets that are raised by class changes due to the inability of cultural products to accommodate the working class and high class. Even though they come from the middle class, consumers who consume online food delivery services have certain patterns. These patterns underlie consumer decisions in using online food delivery services, until in the end these patterns become the characteristics of these consumers.

Ferdianto : "Kalau ditanya pelanggan seringan pakai yang mana, Go-food atau Grabfood, tergantung yang mana yang diskon, tapi biasanya ada juga yang beli (tanpa melihat diskon) kalau tempat makannya sudah terkenal kayak Geprek Bensu".
Ferdianto: "When asked which customers use the lightest, Go-food or Grabfood, depending on which one is discounted, but usually there are also those who buy (without looking at the discount) if the place to eat is already well-known like Geprek Bensu".

The same thing was conveyed by two users of online food delivery services, Elvina and Retno. Before going further, Elvina is an employee of a private company engaged in the gold jewelry business, while Retno is a Relationship Officer at a leading private bank. For Elvina, the reason for using an online food delivery service is because she sometimes doesn't have time to cook herself, or come directly to her favorite place to eat, because of the distance. It was only food that she really liked, which led Elvina to order through an online food delivery service. Meanwhile, for Retno, online food delivery services are part of her daily life as a *boarding house resident*. he often orders his dinner through a food delivery application, because he feels he is tired from a day's work and has no energy, or the sentence he often uses is *mager* (lazy to move) to access conventional places to eat. She orders almost every dinner through online food delivery services, so the promos or *discounts* from each service affect Retno when she decides to buy through this service.

The brief interview above provides an overview of how consumers use online food delivery services Grab and Gojek. There are two user criteria, the first is active consumers,

meaning that consumers select the use of services based on the *discount* that the user will get, in this case consumers of this type will not *hesitate to* switch to rival applications if they have better and more *discounts* . inexpensive. While the second user criterion is that the consumer simply accepts the price that has been determined in the online food delivery service application, this type of consumer does not even double-check whether the price of the food he receives is "more expensive or not" than the usual price, although in the end he knows the price difference. However, this type of consumer usually believes that the price determined by the application is the "best price," with logical consequences such as delivery service fees, well-known places to eat, having to wait in long lines at well-known conventional stores and so on.

Even though these differences seem stark, there are real similarities between the two customers, that these two types of consumers still receive the prices that have been set by the online food delivery service application with consequences that these consumers think and inflict themselves. Even those who choose a *discount* will still receive the price determined by the application. In this case, consumers are not too concerned about how the *discount* is made/formed, and who gives the *discount* whether from the food place or from the service provider company. The consumptive lifestyle with online food delivery services has made customers "submissive," aware but difficult to fight the lifestyle offered by this service company.

Even worse, despite having the awareness that there is a significant price change between the food in the online food delivery service application, and the food sold at conventional restaurants, there are no customers who complain, even detailing the price they have to pay. As shown in the following interview results.

> Ferdianto : *Bahkan biasanya ada juga tempat makan yang menaikan harga, misalnya sate Pak Eko yang disebelah, kalau beli disitu harganya biasanya 28 (Rp28.000,-) tapi kalau udah di Grab atau Gojek harganya dia naikin sampai 35 (Rp 35.000,-)". Tapi selama saya nganter (mengantarkan) makanan, selama ini ngak ada komplain, mereka terima-terima saja harga segitu"*
> Ferdianto *: In fact, usually there are places to eat that increase the price, for example, Pak Eko's satay next door, if you buy it there, the price is usually 28 (Rp. 28.000,-). But if it's on Grab or Gojek, the price will increase to 35 (Rp 35,000,-)". But as long as I deliver (deliver) food, so far there have been no complaints, they just accept that price"*

Continuing Ferdianto's confession, the two interviewed users also agreed with Ferdianto's statement above, that both of them were aware of the increase in food prices by food businesses, whether there was a discount or not. Retno even mentioned that she knew that even though there was a *discount,* the discount only occurred in the delivery fee paid to the *driver* , while the price of food actually cost the same and even increased by a few percent. Unlike Retno, Elvina has even compared the price of food without postage in the application, with prices at conventional restaurants, she dares to mention that there has been a significant price increase. However, both admitted that they could not specify exactly how the food delivery service company works, rules and regulations, in making and forming discounts.

Entrepreneurs, *smart to* see opportunities.

It was hot that day, Ferdianto and I visited one of the businesses that partnered with Gojek and Grab. This is my promise as a researcher with Ferdianto before, to find a business actor who is willing to *open up* about his partnership with Gojek and Grab. The name of his business is Es Pisang Hijau Assipa 354. To explain why I as a researcher chose this resource, I will describe a little bit about Assipa's business run by Junaidi.

Junaidi, the owner of Asippa 354, only had around four million in capital when he first built the product, until he developed his "es pisang hijau" brand. However, thanks to the effort

and proper planning, he now has seven franchised outlets. "*outlet yang kedelapan akan buka di Jombang, dengan sistem bagi hasil* (The eighth outlet will open in Jombang, with a profit-sharing system)," he said explaining his current business development. In the future, he plans to expand the market in various regions until he plans to realize the mascot that he previously designed. "*kedepannya saya akan franchise outlet saya sebesar 15 juta rupiah dengan stand yang lebih bagus dan sistem bagi hasil.* (In the future, I will franchise my outlet for 15 million rupiah with a better stand and a profit-sharing system.)"

> *Junaidi :* "*Bungkus produk saya kasih desain logo es pisang hijau saya. Gerobak tempat berjualan pun saya desain semenarik mungkin dan segmentasi saya saya naikan dari kalangan menengah ke bawah kini naik menjadi menengah-menengah atas karena pada dasarnya packaging juga akan memperlihatkan seberapa higenisnya makanan kita. Untuk lebih menjangkau pangsa pasar saya saya juga bekerja sama dengan jasa ojek online yang khusus makanan (Go food dan Grab food), karena biasanya yang mesan melalui ojek online adalah kalangan menengah-menengah atas. Oleh karena itulah saya berani menaikan sedikit harganya (es pisang hiaju) dari harga biasanya ketika dipesan melalui ojek online.*"

> *Junaidi :* "*I will wrap the product and give you my green banana ice logo design. I also design the cart where I sell it as attractive as possible and I increase my segmentation from the lower middle class to the upper middle class because basically the packaging will also show how hygienic our food is. To better reach my market share, I also work with online motorcycle taxi services that specialize in food (Go food and Grab food), because usually those who order via online motorcycle taxis are the upper middle class. That's why I dared to raise the price a little (es banana hiaju) from the usual price when ordered via online motorcycle taxis.*"

The middle class is indeed the main target for business actors, because of its characteristic that is very fond of consumer goods. Bourdieu's thinking (in Swartz, 2012) is very able to explain this, that consumption is needed by the middle class as part of achieving class change. The desire of the middle class to increase their social class makes them consume products that are "symbols" of the *manner* and lifestyle of a high social class. For that they work very hard just to be able to make money to meet their consumption needs. Storey (2018) which also underlies Bourdieu's thinking, has seen that consumption is a way to mark and classify consumption actors in certain classes, whether he will become a consumer or not. middle class or upper class is determined from the 'standard; consumption that he did.

> *Consumption operates both to identify and to mark social distinction and to sustain social difference. While such strategies of classification do not in themselves produce social inequalities, the making, marking and maintaining of them functions to legitimate such inequalities* (Storey, 2018).

For this reason, business actors take into account the ideas initiated by high-class social groups, such as a lifestyle that prioritizes cleanliness/hygiene and art. This is what business actors bring up in the form of symbols, as did Assipa 354 who thinks about the packaging for the place to eat, the logo used to the way of presentation. Packaging, logo, and presentation are symbols that interpret cleanliness and art. The same picture is also mentioned by Baudrillard who states that in a simulated reality it is often found that the signs that are displayed often cover the main reality that is important and deep, the signs no longer represent the truth, but depict the simulated reality that is reproduced (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1995; Hietanen et al., 2020; Saumantri & Zikrillah, 2020). Long story short, consuming food is no longer consuming food, there is another reality that is simulated in consuming food, that reality is class division, exclusivity, and prestige which should be far beyond the actual meaning of consuming food. Ibrahim (1997) who looks at popular culture and class, also cites Baudrillard as saying that the lifestyle is born from the madness of humans in consuming "real" and "unreal" goods, physical goods and image goods. These two things intertwine to form

impressions and images that are piled up in a *simulacra* (facts, signs, images and codes). So, when symbols such as packaging, logos, and presentation methods were then commodified together with "es pisang hijau". So in the end the consumer no longer buys "es pisang hijau" alone, he has bought the *simulacra* which was built by the Assipa 354 business actor.

Even when consumers are *addicted* to their consumptive lifestyle, business actors are not even worried about increasing the price of their food. This happens because it is the consumer who will automatically "reach" the price determined by the business actor through the consequences that the consumer himself thinks of. The consequences are in the form of identities, images, and signs, that the money spent is not important but the most important thing is the identity, symbols, and images that he can get by consuming the products of business actors. This is like the thinking of Storey (2018) which states that consumption is a form of defining social class, differentiating status and identity. Bourdieu, (1984) also mentions that the working class and middle class often consume 'signs' which they define themselves, as a means of distinguishing and modifying their social status, food and clothing being a small part of the signs that these two classes use to define their social image. The description of these thinkers, in the context of the phenomenon of food delivery services, can be seen in the following statement by Junaidi as a business actor:

> *Junaidi : Ibu saya pernah bertanya apa gak masalah menaikan harga saat es pisang hijau dipesan melalui ojek online (Go Food dan Grab Food), saya bilang gak apa-apa, karena yang mesan via ojek online biasanya adalah yang butuh makanannya, mereka siap ngeluarin uang juga. Jadi anggapannya kalau jualan biasa kita yang butuh pelanggan tetapi kalau sudah dipesan melalui ojek online, itu pelanggan yang membutuhkan kita. Kalau harga normalnya es pisang hijau toping standar saya jual Rp 12.000,- tetapi kalau sudah melalui ojek online saya naikan menjadi 15.000,- Junaidi : My mother once asked if it was okay to increase the price when 'es pisang hijau' was ordered via online motorcycle taxis (Go Food and Grab Food), I said it's okay, because those who order via online motorcycle taxi are usually those who need the food, they are ready to spend money also. So the assumption is that our regular sales need customers, but if they have been ordered via online motorcycle taxis, it's the customers who need us. If the normal price is the standard topping green banana ice, I sell Rp. 12,000, - but if I go through an online motorcycle taxi, I increase it to 15,000.*

From this answer, we can also observe that technology has become a very effective tool in disseminating the products of business actors, with technology for business actors even easily spreading their products, while increasing people's consumption patterns for their products. The thought also conveyed by Ibrahim (1997) is that technology is not only able to make production bigger, technology is also a tool for disseminating products and consumptive lifestyles. Ali (et al., 2017) also explained that the internet has become a tool for exchanging lifestyles, as well as a medium for consumptive activities by young urban Indonesians. More critically, Baudrillard & Glaser (1995) have stated that technology has passively simulated reality, blurring the perspective of consumptive actors from the actual goal of consuming the product. Morris (2021) who also bases his thinking on Baudrilard's perspective, agrees that digitalization and network technology have 'helped' create a reality that is able to break the traditional linguistic relationship about sign and meaning, separate image and reality which should go hand in hand. In short technology has helped in creating many simulated realities which are in fact far different from the 'meaning of truth'. In other words, the existence of online food delivery services brought by Gojek and Grab, assisted by business partners, has become part of the process of creating a new lifestyle, which is full of deception and full of symbols of identity.

Low cost consumption, discounts blind you to consume expensive goods (high cost)

Various discounts are included in online food delivery services, but what's interesting is that there are no discounts when payment is made using *cash* . *The discount* is only given to

those who use the E-Money application, which is also part of the online food delivery service company's business.

> *Ferdianto : Selama saya jadi driver, yang saya tau diskon biasanya kalau kita menggunakan aplikasi E-Money yang cashless, tanpa uang tunai, kalau Grab Food yang pakai OVO, kalau Go-food biasanya pakai Go-pay. Kita driver juga punya aplikasi OVO dan Go-pay, jadi kalau transaksinya via OVO atau Go-pay itu yang biasanya ada potongan dari perusahaan. Ucap Ferdi.*
> *Ferdianto : As long as I am a driver, what I know is that the discount is usually if we use the cashless E-Money application, without cash, if Grab Food uses OVO, Go-food usually uses Go-pay. We drivers also have OVO and Go-pay applications, so if the transaction is via OVO or Go-pay, there is usually a discount from the company. Said Freddy.*

So are the *discounts* presented by Go-Food and Grab-Food really a real price discount, which cuts expenses. The answer is probably no. First of all, researchers need to illustrate that based on observations, E-Money needs to be refilled and there are additional costs borne by users when *top-up* (the term filling cash into E-Money). As a reference, to top up IDR 50,000 in the E-Money application, one needs to pay IDR 51,000-52,000, depending on what service is used. The two money stored in E-Monay will be used by the company that owns the E-Monay, to invest in other places of business, that means the user has volunteered to help the service company, only in exchange for a discount that lasts only a few days or a month. The three *discounts* are usually only given within a certain period of time, that means consumers must be ready and willing to pay large amounts for their favorite foods, when the *discount* period expires.

Some consumers do not know this, even though they know it, consumers also have a tendency to ignore it. In the sense that consumers only use the *discounts* written in the application without further asking about how and the standard of a *discount* is made. This is how Retno felt, as a customer who often uses online food delivery services.

> *Retno : Kadang keberatan sih, soalnya beberapa ada yang dia ngak kerja sama promo ongkir tetapi biaya makanan tetap dimahalin, jadi uang yang kita keluarkan jauh lebih banyak, ongkir (ongkos/biaya pengiriman) udah di harga normal (tanpa promo), terus harga makanannya juga ikut ditambah harganya jadi semaki mahal. Meskipun begitu, Nope, Tidak pernah komplain, karena dari awal saya memang sudang mengetahui bahwa beberapa makanan (tempat menjual makanan) yang bekerja sama dengan ojek food, memang ditambah beberapa persen, jadi meskipun tau harganya naik, saya tidak pernah komplain kepada penyedia jasa pengantar makanan.*

> *Retno: Sometimes I object, because some of them don't cooperate with postage promotions but the cost of food is still expensive, so we spend a lot more money, postage (costs/delivery costs) are already at normal prices (without promos), then the price of food also added the price so the more expensive. Even so, Nope, I never complained, because from the start I knew that some foods (places selling food) that worked with motorcycle taxis had added a few percent, so even though I knew the price was going up, I never complained to the food delivery service provider.*

So discounts, which should be a way to reduce spending, have turned into a strategy to increase consumption of online delivery services, and places that sell food. Customers are given discounts for one week to one month, just to lure customers to consume the product, with pseudo - *low cost* frills*. So the discount is like an advertisement that promotes the product or the *store* where the food is sold. Just like the concept that applies in some *department stores*, when doing *flash sales*, selling products *labeled with discounts* at the actual price the same as the regular price, so that people consume. This means that conventional strategies can also be applied in the online world. Thus technology does not change a person's consumption mindset, it only makes it easier for us to consume – from conventional access that takes time, to online access that is getting faster, with just a click. Baudrillard, himself *satirically enough* to mention that advertising is part of what he calls ' *The Mockery of Sign* ' advertising does not need to be

analyzed as a meaningful language, because all signs, linguistic forms, semiological standards, even artificial and non-artificial meanings. -artificial, all have been formed for only one purpose, namely to consume (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1995)

The interesting thing is that although there is an awareness that *discounts* are often a "trick" of business actors in advertising their products, consumers also often ignore them. They consider that the fulfillment of their consumption needs is far more meaningful than questioning the things behind their consumption. It will be easier to trust the prices displayed in the Go-Food and Grab Food applications, compared to asking how the payments made by the two service companies work, how the two companies partner with other business actors (eateries, restaurants) and how the *discount system* is determined, and whether the *discount system* really affects user spending. Seeing that the discount sign is not a real 'discount' reality, this is like *Baudrilard 's thinking* about simulacra and simulacrum, which explains about simulated reality, signs and images have been used to blur and even eliminate the reality of 'truth' replaced with constructive reality (artificial), and not just replaced, this artificial reality is then defined as the reality of 'truth' itself (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1995; Hietanen et al., 2020; Morris, 2021), in the context of discounts in online food delivery service applications, the sign of 'discount' is a simulacra, a sign that is arranged in such a way as to accumulate and replace the true meaning of a discount, Discount as a simulacra then slowly takes over, becomes a consumptive habit, and without realizing it has become a simulacrum, which hegemons consumers, is left for reasons 'used to be' or 'already comfortable' and unwittingly become a reality of urban lifestyle.

The idea of *low cost* through *discounts* as a "pseudo" lifestyle, to increasingly consume the products of business actors may be juxtaposed with Ibrahim (1997) thought that humans live in a "nature of *ecstasy* " for a lifestyle that is always feared through false pleasures, which crept under the message of everyday culture and then formed human beings can't be separated from the symbols of commodities. That means that *discount* is *ecstasy,* discount is a "false idea" that "blinds" users to consume *high-cost* goods.

High cost consumption, prioritizing pleasure is the main point of a high mobility lifestyle.

When it comes to *high cost consumption*, without compromising on Ikea *bags and Balenciaga* 's plastic-bin t-shirt raincoats costing tens of millions, Lanvin's black "garbage bag," bags that cost for a sports motorbike, and Hermes bags that price for one car. *High cost consumption* that the researcher means here is more for someone who spends more than he should, just to fulfill the pleasure. When someone consumes food products at inappropriate prices, such as when ordering with an online food delivery service, this is what is called *high cost consumption.*

How much awareness of users about the costs they incur to consume, both food and services. If we ask two users of the Go-food and Grab Food applications, Elvina and Retno, both of them clearly realize that consuming online food delivery services, it means that they must also be prepared with the consequences presented by online delivery services and business actors who "arbitrarily" raise prices.

Online food delivery services may come with slogans and frills that make it easier for people to access consumer products they want to buy. But don't forget that this service is a product of consumption itself. That means that by accessing this service, users also need to pay a fee . When a user makes a purchase using this application, the user performs two consumption processes, the first is to buy food and the second is to use the service. Thus, the prices issued by users will be even greater – of course, don't forget that the prices will increase because there is a habit of business actors raising the price of their food higher when there are users who order via online services.

However, the increasing price for using online food delivery services does not seem to be powerful enough to inspire the minds of customers, such as Elvina and Retno to change their way of life and even their lifestyle, in order to switch from using online services to conventional

access. Users even find that it will be more tiring to walk 50-100 Meters to a food vendor, than spending a few *rupiahs* to order an online food delivery service.

For both of them who are private workers who spend part of their day doing tiring work in the office, enjoying food delivered directly to their homes is a "thirst quencher" as well as a time for them to rest, enjoy their favorite dinner with satisfied expressions, without having to spend time visiting places. conventional dining, or a dream restaurant. Exactly, fun is what both seek when consuming online food delivery services. This is what Storey (2018) might call it when he mentions that consumption is always more than economic activity, using commodities to meet material needs. Consumption is always associated with dreams, desires, identity, and communication. Baudrillard has satirically stated that the idea of consumption has been 'infiltrated' by another 'artificial' and meaningless 'truth' reality which is constructed to create a pseudo-definition of class divisions (Baudrillard & Glaser, 1995). Bourdieu (1984) has seen that consumption is a meaningful activity, consumption creates class boundaries, consumption defines identity, keeps class boundaries and identities valid and is interpreted as a way to move up class, consumption is a standard to distinguish social class. Strinati (2016) sees that consumptive behavior has unconsciously been able to create social classes, create strata/leveling in class division, and make consumption actors unknowingly make social class an ideal that needs to be achieved. If in the end the desire to fulfill pleasure is part of the reason why someone consumes in this high-mobility moving life. Consumption of online food delivery services belonging to Gojek and Grab. So it must be understood that pleasure is false. A falsehood because it is obtained by eliminating the true meaning of 'cheap service' food delivery. it's not really cheap at all.

4. Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion above, the researcher can conclude that the *online food delivery service*, GO-Food (Gojek) and Grab Food (Grab), are high-*cost*, high-mobility lifestyles. In this case, the emergence of *low cost* through discounts is only a marketing strategy, advertisement, "tempter," so that consumptive actors who are the middle class consume a high-mobility lifestyle that is "expensive." discount is like a pleasant illusion or in Baudrillard's term is "ecstasy," which encourages people to consume more and more manufactured goods. In addition, the perpetrators of this service consumption mostly come from the middle class. The middle class with high activity makes money, and spends that money only for consumptive needs. This consumptive need for the middle class must be met as a way for them to achieve the ideal of "upgrading," to become the dominant class. By consuming this service, they think they can satisfy their needs, get a false pleasure. Called pseudo pleasure because to get this pleasure they have to spend more money than they think. *High cost* (high price) – high mobility lifestyle. Present because of the artificial reality of the *pleasure of* enjoying food delivered directly to the house like "kings", for that pleasure they have to pay more. Interestingly, even though they pay more, they don't mind this, for consumptive actors this is a kind of fulfillment of desire after working so hard at the company from morning to evening. But they forget that the money they make comes from hard work, and spend it on consumptive activities that almost certainly have no material value. Expensive price for something quasi.

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