

# Understanding Start-up Employees' Communicative Behaviors on an Employer Review

## Website: A Comparison of TikTok and Snapchat

Soojin Kim, PhD  
Lecturer (Assistant Professor)  
School of Communication  
University of Technology Sydney  
Sydney, Australia  
[soojin.pr@gmail.com](mailto:soojin.pr@gmail.com)

Lisa Tam, PhD  
Lecturer (Assistant Professor)  
School of Advertising, Marketing and Public Relations  
Queensland University of Technology  
Brisbane, Australia  
[l.tam@qut.edu.au](mailto:l.tam@qut.edu.au)

Seung B. Bach, PhD  
Associate Dean and Professor of Entrepreneurship & Strategy  
School of Business and Public Administration (CSUB BPA)  
California State University, Bakersfield, CA, U.S.A.  
[bachs@csus.edu](mailto:bachs@csus.edu)

## Abstract

To provide insights into start-ups' reputation management, this study aims to explore how employees of a start-up, being, in a broad sense, an entrepreneurial firm, evaluate their employer on an employer review platform. Specifically, it compares the reputational opportunities and challenges of TikTok as a start-up and Snapchat as a more established company in the same industry. It explores the cognitive and evaluative representations employees associate with their employers in reviews. To do this, a total of 644 English-language employee reviews were collected from Glassdoor, an employer review platform on which former and current employees anonymously post reviews about their organizations. Content analysis was then conducted, unveiling 14 thematic topics. The top three most frequently mentioned topics were work environment, co-workers, and salaries and benefits. A comparison of the two companies showed that TikTok received a proportionately higher number of positive reviews about career progression opportunities, work environment, and office and location. However, it also received proportionately more negative reviews on work arrangements, salaries and benefits, and intrinsic rewards. Theoretical and empirical implications are discussed. (175 words)

Keywords: culture, employee communicative behavior, internal reputation, start-up, reputation management

## Understanding Start-up Employees' Communicative Behaviors on an Employer Review Website: A Comparison of TikTok and Snapchat

Unlike established companies that have a long-standing reputation, start-ups being in a broad sense entrepreneurial firms, are characterized by their fast-paced transitions and high mortality rates (Kollmann et al., 2016). While terms like entrepreneurial firms, new ventures, start-ups, and so on, are often used interchangeably (Men et al., 2020), entrepreneurial firms are in general known as firms that create business opportunities in fast-moving environments (Sarasvathy, 2001; Shane & Venkataraman, 2007). Miller (1983) defines an entrepreneurial firm as “one that engage[s] in product-market innovation, undertakes somewhat risky ventures, and is first to come up with ‘proactive’ innovation, beating competitors to the punch” (p.771). Miller (1983) also delineates an ‘entrepreneurial firm’ with three measurable variables—innovation, proactiveness and risk-taking—with Miller’s study leading the productive research on entrepreneurial orientation (e.g., Lumpkin & Dess, 1996). Zott and Amit (2007) define entrepreneurial firms as “relatively young organizations that have the potential of attaining significant size and profitability” (p. 182).

Based on this literature, we posit that entrepreneurial firms and start-ups are similar in a sense that both are leading market-driven innovation to tap business opportunity, willingly undertake risk, and are proactive and competitively aggressive (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996; Miller, 1983; Shane & Venkataraman, 2007). Therefore, we define start-ups as companies in the relatively early stages of businesses with a strong orientation of innovativeness, risk-taking, proactiveness, and strategic aggressiveness, which aim to outperform incumbents.

As new players in their industries, start-ups are notorious for the uncertain viability of their products and services and their founders’ frequent and radical strategic shifts, as known as entrepreneurial pivoting (Shi, 2019). For these reasons, start-ups tend to have a transitional reputation that is not backed by the quality of organization–public relationships or tractable

organizational performance. As they are not in a position to have a well-established reputation, talent recruitment is a key challenge for start-ups. It is crucial, therefore, for start-ups to nurture a stock of positive reputational resources among key publics and stakeholders to attract good candidates (Men et al., 2020).

To date, there is a dearth of knowledge on how start-ups can devise communication strategies to build relationships with publics and use tactical skills to build and manage reputational resources (Men et al., 2020). In contrast to established companies, start-ups are likely to be constrained by limited resources and will not yet have been able to fully build their brand identity and organizational structure; thus, they require different strategic approaches to those used by established organizations in building a successful corporate image (Mingione & Abratt, 2020). Start-ups use a bootstrap method to establish their footprints in markets, particularly to establish their brand images and reputation (Sommer et al., 2009). Therefore, it is important for start-ups to explore how to build a successful reputation while overcoming barriers and limitations that are unique to start-ups (Boyle, 2003; Bresciani & Eppler, 2010; Merrilees, 2007).

Organizational reputation is commonly known as the cognitive representations shared by publics; in other words, it reflects what comes to mind when people think about an organization (S.-U. Yang & Grunig, 2005). According to Grunig and Hung-Baesecke (2015), cognitive representations can consist of objects, attributes, and behaviors and may or may not have an evaluative component. While most people are unlikely to have direct experiences in dealing with start-ups and are likely to develop cognitive representations of such companies based on hearsay from the media and others (e.g., Grunig, 1993), employees—as internal stakeholders who have first-hand experience in working with start-ups—play a significant role in contributing to their organization’s internal reputation by sharing with others their experiences and evaluations of their organization (Men & Stacks, 2013). Internal reputation is

defined as “employees’ overall evaluation of the organization” (Men & Stacks, 2013, p. 173). Employees are regarded as the most critical stakeholders and the core competitive advantage for start-up businesses (Men et al., 2020). They are also influential ambassadors who build and cultivate relationships with external stakeholders on behalf of their organizations (Men et al., 2020; Rhee, 2004). Their communicative behaviors about their organizations with internal and external networks could significantly affect their organizations’ reputation;<sup>1</sup> thus, organizations are advised to understand employees’ communicative behaviors (J.-N. Kim & Rhee, 2011).

While there has been growing research interest in employee communication (Krishna & Kim, 2015; Lee, 2021; Lee & Kim, 2017, 2020; Men, 2014a; Men & Bowen, 2016; Men & Robinson, 2018; Men & Stacks, 2014), few studies to date have explored how start-up employees evaluate their organizations, which forms the basis of their firm’s internal reputation and, in turn, affects their external reputation in the long term. Acknowledging this, this study seeks to explore how current and former employees of TikTok (owned by the Chinese parent company ByteDance Ltd), an app which was first released in 2016 and became the most downloaded app in 2018, evaluated their employer in comparison to Snapchat (owned by the U.S. parent company Snap Inc.), a more established app which was released in 2011 and plateaued in user numbers in 2018. TikTok became the most valuable start-up in 2018 (Liao, 2020). By comparing employees’ communicative behaviors regarding TikTok (a start-up) with Snapchat (a more established company in the same industry that has already been through its start-up phases), this study identifies the reputational opportunities and challenges which are common in the industry and those unique to a start-up.

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<sup>1</sup> Reputation is defined as “collective assessment of a company’s ability to provide valued outcomes to a representative group of stakeholders” (Fombrun et al., 2000. p. 243).

By examining the objects, attributes, and behaviors employees associate these entrepreneurial firms with (i.e., cognitive representations) and whether they evaluate them positively or negatively (i.e., evaluative representations) (Grunig & Hung-Baesecke, 2015), this study explores employees' communicative behaviors on the employer review platform Glassdoor as empirical evidence of *what* topics employees talk about as well as *how* they evaluate them, which reflects each company's internal reputation. The findings uncover the internal reputational opportunities and challenges facing start-ups and provide crucial insights for devising communication strategies for start-ups' reputation management.

## **Literature review**

### ***Reputation management: from internal to external reputation***

While scholars have provided different definitions of organizational reputation, they generally refer to the same phenomenon. Of these different definitions, Fombrun et al.'s (2000) definition of "a collective assessment of a company's ability to provide valued outcomes to a representative group of stakeholders" (p. 243) is most widely accepted. Earlier, Fombrun and van Riel (1997) defined corporate reputation as:

... a collective representation of a firm's past actions and results that describes the firm's ability to deliver valued outcomes to multiple stakeholders. It gauges a firm's relative standing both internally with employees and externally with its stakeholders, in both its competitive and institutional environments. (p. 10)

Barnett et al. (2006) group the different definitions of corporate reputation into three categories: a perception of impression, evaluation about the status of an organization, and value for an organization. Similarly, Grunig and Hung-Baesecke (2015) define organizational reputation as cognitive representations (i.e., objects, attributes, and behaviors one associates an organization with) and evaluative representations (i.e., whether the cognitive representation is evaluated positively or negatively). An example of an object-object

representation is that individuals may associate TikTok (as an object) with China (as another object) because it is owned by a Chinese company. An example of object–attribute representation is that individuals may associate TikTok (as an object) with being viral (as an attribute). An example of a behavioral representation is that individuals may associate TikTok (as an object) with its practice of collecting data to target ads (as a behavior) (Fowler, 2020). When individuals think of these cognitive representations when considering an organization, they may also evaluate them positively or negatively. These representations reflect individuals' collective assessment about an organization based on either their direct experiences or on communication (such as hearsay), or on a combination of both.

While communication plays a significant role in creating an organizational reputation (Argenti & Forman, 2002; Gotsi & Wilson, 2001), J.-N. Kim et al. (2007) propose two approaches to creating a corporate reputation: the symbolic management approach and the strategic behavioral management approach (Grunig, 2006b; Grunig & Grunig, 1998). The former focuses on generating positive symbolic images and impressions via communication. In contrast, the latter focuses on aligning corporate behaviors with key stakeholders' needs and expectations by improving business performance (J.-N. Kim et al., 2007) or managing corporate behaviors ethically (S. Kim & Krishna, 2017). These approaches are aligned with Bromley (1993), who distinguishes between primary and secondary reputation, where the former is formed based on direct experience and the latter is formed based on “hearsay” (p. 42). Grunig (1993) argues that substance (i.e., direct experiences) is more crucial than image (i.e., hearsay) in the formation of reputation.

According to Bronn (2010), reputation “represents the reality of the organization for the stakeholder regardless of what the organization believes about itself, chooses to communicate, or thinks it knows about what stakeholders are thinking” (p. 309). As both internal and external publics assess a company/organization, an organization's overall

reputation consists of two components: an internal reputation and an external reputation (Men & Stacks, 2013). Internal reputation is defined as employees' overall evaluation of the organization, whereas external reputation refers to external publics' overall evaluation of the organization (Men & Stacks, 2013). Because employees have first-hand experience with the organization and share their experiences with their networks and in public domains—especially with the advent of digital and social media platforms and technologies—their communicative behaviors are more influential than ever before. Employees are now in an empowered position where they can freely talk about their employer organizations while staying anonymous (Krishna & Kim, 2015; Lee & Kim, 2020; Ravazzani & Mazzei, 2018).

Start-ups or new business ventures do not have any established corporate reputation (Petkova et al., 2008). Building a solid reputation is of great importance for start-ups' survival and sustainable operations (Boyle, 2003) as well as for talent recruitment (Men et al., 2020). However, start-ups may not be able to afford reputation-building investments due to their limited resources (Petkova et al., 2008). If start-ups are not able to establish their corporate brand in the market over a short time, they may disappear (Timmons, 1999). For start-ups that are in their infancy in building a reputation (Boyle, 2003; Petkova et al., 2008; Rode & Vallaster, 2005), employees' communicative behaviors, such as their online reviews which reflect the start-up's internal reputation, are also influential in affecting an organization's external reputation as employees share their unique experiences with others.

### ***The role of employees' communicative behavior in reputation management***

Employees are communication assets and important ambassadors for organizations (Kang & Sung, 2017; J.-N. Kim & Rhee, 2011; Lee, 2019, 2021; Men, 2011, 2012; Men & Stacks, 2013). However, employees do not always engage in positive word-of-mouth behavior to advocate for their organization. They may also engage in negative word-of-mouth behavior, criticizing or denigrating their organization (Harris & Ogbonna, 2013). In general,



word-of-mouth communication is defined as “informal, person-to-person communication between a perceived non-commercial communicator and a receiver regarding a brand, a product, an organization, or a service” (Harrison-Walker, 2001, p. 63). Therefore, employee word-of-mouth behavior could be interpreted as employees’ interpersonal communication about their organization, products, or services. J.-N. Kim and Rhee (2011) coined the term *megaphoning* to explicate employees’ sharing and forwarding of information about their organization. They defined megaphoning as “the likelihood of employees’ voluntary information forwarding or information sharing about organizational strengths (accomplishments) or weaknesses (problems)” (J.-N. Kim & Rhee, 2011, p. 246). When sharing information about their organizations, they also evaluate their organizations either positively or negatively. While megaphoning can be considered similar to employees’ word-of-mouth behavior in the way that both are employees’ interpersonal communication with valence (i.e., positive or negative), the term megaphoning also implies the effect of amplification. While employees’ positive megaphoning about their organizations would contribute to a positive reputation, their negative megaphoning would be detrimental for their organization’s reputation, especially when the negative information they share is subsequently shared by other internal or external publics (Lee, 2019, 2021).

Due to the significance of negative megaphoning in causing reputational damage, existing research has explored how to increase employees’ positive megaphoning behaviors and to decrease negative megaphoning behaviors, even during organizational crises (Kang & Sung, 2017; Lee & Kim, 2020; Mazzei et al., 2012). J.-N. Kim and Rhee (2011) found that organizations’ symmetrical communication efforts affect employees’ perceived quality of relationships and, in turn, their positive or negative megaphoning behaviors about their organizations. Similarly, Kang and Sung (2017) found that symmetrical employee communication leads to employee engagement and positive employee communicative

behaviors. Lee and Kim (2020) found the importance of public relations in de-motivating employees' negative megaphoning behavior, while Lee (2021) explored the dynamics of organizational injustice, employee–organization relationship quality, negative affect, and negative megaphoning behaviors. Men (2014b) and Men and Stacks (2014) note the significance of leadership in affecting employee outcomes. When employees are empowered by transformational leadership, they make a favorable evaluation of organizational reputation (Men & Stacks, 2014). When employees have a positive perception of organizational reputation, it is likely they will engage in behavior that supports their organization. Men (2014b) found that transformational leadership positively influences the organization's symmetrical communication, which affects the quality of the employee–organization relationship and in turn leads to employee advocacy.

Despite extensive research on employees' communicative behaviors, there is a lack of research on employees' communicative behaviors regarding start-ups that operate in business environments different from established businesses. The recent decade has seen the establishment and growth of successful start-ups in the technology sector, with the rise of technology giants including Facebook, Airbnb, and TripAdvisor (Mingione & Abratt, 2020). At present, there is a dearth of research on the strategic communication efforts of start-ups (Men et al., 2020). While some findings on employee communication may still hold true for start-ups, there are some reputational opportunities and challenges which are unique to this context.

### ***Challenges for start-ups' reputation management***

Start-up companies face unique challenges. Their survival and growth require the generation of innovation in a fast-paced environment, which affects a variety of stakeholders, from investors, customers, employees, government to the media (Men et al., 2020). While it is imperative for start-ups to build and maintain favorable relationships with these

stakeholders in order to create a positive reputation, they are often constrained by the limited internal resources they can deploy. For example, Men et al. (2020) found that CEOs of start-ups often play multiple roles, including human resources, media relations, investor relations, product management, and so on, even though they may not be the best person to be a key strategist or spokesperson. Moreover, in the early stage, start-ups tend to align their priorities with investors' interests to build and cultivate investor relationships due to their dependence on financial resources (Kollmann & Kuckertz, 2006). As a result, this might lead to failures in addressing the concerns of other key stakeholders, especially employees and customers.

Start-ups are preoccupied with the most basic business tasks for their survival, growth, and innovation (Men et al., 2020). In the absence of a well-established organizational reputation, scholars have proposed a storytelling (Martens et al., 2007) or an entrepreneurial story (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001) approach as a strategy to help start-ups legitimize their entrepreneurial identity. But such a 'story' should have substance. As J.-N. Kim et al. (2007) found, although media relations and publicity create a symbolic reputation for companies, they do not lead to tangible outcomes (i.e., profitability), which are crucial for entrepreneurial firms to demonstrate to their key stakeholders, including employees and investors. While reputation is positively associated with organizational performance, start-ups may not yet have enough evidence to demonstrate performance (Men et al., 2020). A positive (performance) reputation influences profitability (Deephouse, 2000; J.-N. Kim et al., 2007; Y. Kim, 2001; Roberts & Dowling, 2002), but it takes time for start-up companies to have visible outcomes in terms of organizational performance. Given that reputation-building is crucial for start-up companies' survival and sustainability in the long term (Bresciani & Eppler, 2010; Mueller et al., 2012; Rode & Vallaster, 2005), start-ups must come up with a strategy to make up for these absences. Without evidence of organizational performance, it is important to identify and invest in other sources which contribute to organizational

reputation, such as goal-oriented communication that helps to achieve sustainable success (Zerfass et al., 2018).

### ***Research questions***

To address the lack of research on employee communication in the context of start-ups, this study comprises a case study on employees' communicative behavior on an employer review platform that reflects their organization's internal reputation. Specifically, this study identifies the topics being mentioned in the reviews, how employees characterize these topics by associating them with objects, attributes, or behaviors, and whether they evaluate them positively or negatively. This will help to unveil the unique reputational opportunities and challenges facing start-ups. In this study, reputational opportunities are defined as issues or actions that contribute to forming a favorable reputation, while reputational challenges or reputational risks are defined as issues or actions that increase an organization's vulnerability and which in turn contribute to damaging or harming the organization's reputation. When an organization is unable to manage its reputation, it could be confronted with reputational risk, which is defined as "a threat to the positive perception others have or should have about our company, our products or services, or about us" (Gonzalez, 2015, p. 54). This reputational risk may lead to several negative consequences, including loss of current and potential clients, loss of current and potential employees (talent), loss of revenue, bad will on behalf of the public, additional scrutiny on behalf of the government and/or regulatory agencies, and embarrassment/loss of face (Gonzalez, 2015). Because of the significance of employees' communicative behaviors in influencing reputation, two research questions are proposed: (1) What are the internal reputational opportunities for start-ups? And (2) What are the internal reputational challenges for start-ups?

### **Methods**

To answer the research questions, two companies in the technology industry were selected for analysis and comparison as a case study: a relatively new start-up, TikTok, and a more established company, Snapchat. TikTok is a video-sharing social networking app that was released in 2016 and became available worldwide in 2018. Snapchat is a picture- and message-sharing social networking app which was first released in 2011. The two companies are competitors, offering similar products (i.e., video-sharing mobile applications). TikTok is considered to still be in its early stage of development as a start-up, whereas Snapchat has already gone through its start-up phases and is now a listed company on the New York Stock Exchange. We chose these two companies from the same industry due to their innovative product features. TikTok became one of the most downloaded mobile apps in the US and Europe in 2018, which affected the popularity of other companies offering similar products including YouTube, Instagram, and Snapchat (Wade & Shan, 2019). TikTok is considered a “version of Instagram or Snapchat” (Wade & Shan, 2019, para. 3). Snapchat was nominated as one of the world’s 50 most innovative companies (Wilson, 2020) due to its innovative technologies such as its ability to 3D paint on selfies and to create content based on users’ Bitmoji characters (Carman, 2020).

Content analysis, as a mixed approach of both quantitative and qualitative methods, is adopted in this study. Macnamara (2018) suggests “social media content analysis, in particular, affords access to stakeholder’s and publics’ responses and comments in their own words” (p. 254). Employees’ reviews were collected from Glassdoor, an employer reviewer platform on which former and current employees anonymously post reviews about their organizations. When collecting those reviews, two researchers chose two filters: employees who have worked as full-time employees and posts which were written in English. Employees can leave positive feedback (“pros”) and negative feedback (“cons”) in separate sections on Glassdoor. All English-language posts related to the two companies were

collected and analyzed, comprising a total of 320 posts about TikTok posted between November 6, 2018, and April 24, 2021, and 324 posts about Snapchat posted between July 7, 2013, and April 17, 2021.

Thematic analysis was conducted to explore all the themes of topics being discussed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As a first step, the first two authors immersed themselves in the data by repeatedly reading the entire dataset to familiarize themselves with the depth and breadth of the content. Second, based on the definition of reputation as cognitive representations (i.e., objects, attributes, and behaviors) held by members of a collectivity about an organization that may or may not have an evaluative component (Grunig & Hung-Baesecke, 2015), the first two authors started co-developing initial codes in a codebook by extracting from each post the topics which were mentioned and the objects, attributes, and behaviors employee reviewers associated with each topic. For example, for TikTok, the post “The culture is very team-oriented and diverse in terms of cultures represented” (#244) was coded as falling under the topic of “work environment” (which includes organizational culture). The employee reviewer associated it with the attributes of “team-oriented” and “diverse”. Third, the authors revisited the data and identified some common objects, attributes, and behaviors associated with the topics generated. Fourth, the topics were reviewed to ensure that the data within the topics were consistent and that they were mutually exclusive. Fifth, the authors defined and named the 14 different topics: (1) salary and benefits, (2) perks, (3) structure and processes, (4) intrinsic benefits, (5) workload, (6) management and leadership, (7) co-workers, (8) company outlook, (9) work environment, (10) career progression opportunities, (11) turnover and job security, (12) office and location, (13) work arrangements, and (14) learning and growth opportunities. Lastly, the analysis was conducted based on the codebook developed from the previous steps. The first two authors initially coded 10% of the posts and achieved a percent agreement of 87%. Percent agreement is an intercoder reliability technique that

reflects the proportion of agreement on coding by two independent coders and is the most suitable for nominal data (Allen, 2017). Subsequently, the second author proceeded to code all the posts using the codebook. The codebook, which shows the name and definition of each topic as well as examples of objects, attributes, and behaviors falling under each topic, is shown in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 here]

Glassdoor users are asked to give their employers an overall rating using a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being the lowest score and 5 being the highest score. They also need to indicate whether they would recommend their company to a friend (i.e., recommend, no opinion, or do not recommend), whether they evaluate their company as having a positive outlook (i.e., positive, neutral, or negative outlook), and if they approve of their CEOs (i.e., approve, disapprove, no opinion of CEO). They are then asked to comment on the pros and cons of working for their employers. We calculated the average scores as follows: 1 = “don’t recommend,” 3 = “no opinion,” and 5 = “recommend” for *recommendation*; 1 = “negative,” 3 = “no opinion,” and 5 = “positive” for *company outlook*; and 1 = “disapprove,” 3 = “no opinion” and 5 = “approve” for *CEO approval*. The scores are shown in Table 2.

[Insert Table 2 here]

## Results

Out of the 324 English-language posts about Snapchat, the 14 topics as outlined in Table 1 were mentioned 1,115 times, including 660 mentions as pros and 455 mentions as cons. Table 3 shows the number of times each topic was mentioned as a positive or negative, indicating that the top three topics receiving the highest number of mentions were work environment, leadership and management, and co-workers. Table 4 shows the percentages of each topic being mentioned as a pro and a con, as well as the difference between the two. Figure 1 is a stacked chart showing the percentage of each theme evaluated as a positive or a

negative. As shown in the analysis, job security and turnover (defined as the voluntary departure of employees or involuntary layoffs by the organization) was mentioned 35 times in total and was mostly evaluated as a negative. The topics of career progression opportunities, structure and processes, workload, leadership and management, and work environment also received more negative than positive posts. On the other hand, co-workers, salaries and benefits, perks, learning and growth opportunities, and intrinsic rewards received at least 50% more positive than negative evaluations.

[Insert Table 3 here]

[Insert Table 4 here]

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Out of the 320 English-language posts about TikTok, the 14 topics were mentioned 1,066 times, including 638 mentions as pros and 428 mentions as cons. Table 5 shows the number of times each topic was mentioned as a pro or a con, indicating that the top three topics receiving the highest number of mentions were work environment, structures and processes, and salaries and benefits. Table 6 shows the percentages of each topic being mentioned as a positive or a negative, as well as the difference between the two. Figure 2 is a stacked chart showing the percentage of each topic being evaluated as a positive or a negative. Job insecurity and turnover, workload, structures and processes, work arrangements and, leadership and management received more negative than positive mentions. On the other hand, office location, learning and growth opportunities, co-workers, perks, and company outlook were the top five topics that received more positive than negative evaluations.

[Insert Table 5 here]

[Insert Table 6 here]

[Insert Figure 2 here]



Given that the social environment may affect how each company operates and, thus, may affect employees' communicative behaviors, a further analysis was conducted to investigate posts that mentioned the COVID-19 pandemic. For Snapchat, four posts specifically referred to the COVID-19 pandemic, with two posts mentioning helpful team members (coded as "co-workers"), leadership (coded as "leadership and management"), and culture (coded as "work environment") being evaluated as positives, and the limited business scope (coded as "company outlook") and the stress and trauma (coded as "intrinsic rewards") being evaluated as negatives. For TikTok, three posts made specific references to the COVID-19 pandemic, with one post mentioning the successful transition into a work-from-home culture (coded as "work environment") as a positive, and two posts mentioning the lack of flexibility for working from home (i.e., coded as "work arrangements") and the lack of empathy and diversity (coded as "work environment") as negatives.

Table 7 shows a comparison of the two companies in terms of the differences in the proportion of positive and negative evaluations they received on each topic. Topics with a positive percentage are those for which TikTok comparatively received more positive reviews or fewer negative reviews than Snapchat. On the other hand, those with a negative percentage are those for which TikTok comparatively received fewer positive reviews or more negative reviews. Notably, both companies were evaluated negatively for three topics: structures and processes, leadership and management, and workload. However, compared to Snapchat, TikTok received significantly more positive reviews on the topics of career progression opportunities, office and location, work environment, and company outlook. It also received fewer negative reviews on leadership and management and learning and growth opportunities. The two companies received a proportionately similar number of positive and negative posts on perks and co-workers. Meanwhile, TikTok was evaluated more negatively on work arrangements (mostly due to employees having to work during odd hours or on the

weekends to attend meetings to accommodate the time zone of its parent company in China), salary and benefits (as being significantly lower than competitors in the same industry), intrinsic rewards (due to repetitive tasks), and workload.

[Insert Table 7 here]

### ***What are the internal reputational opportunities and challenges for start-ups?***

TikTok received an overall rating of 3.9, while Snapchat received an overall rating of 4.1 out of 5. In terms of average scores, TikTok scored an average of 3.78 out of 5 for recommendation, 3.82 for company outlook, and 3.43 for approval of CEO, while Snapchat recorded an average of 3.47 for recommendation, 3.5 for company outlook and 3.45 for approval of CEO (see Table 2). To further understand why employees do or do not recommend their company, why or why not they approved of their CEOs, and how these evaluations generate reputational opportunities for these companies, results from the analysis are discussed below.

#### *Reputational opportunities*

Table 7 shows career progression opportunities and work environment as the two topics for which TikTok was evaluated more positively and Snapchat was evaluated more negatively. Out of 195 posts on the topic of work environment, 72.31% of the posts for TikTok were positive and 27.69% were negative. Employees described TikTok's work environment as having "a good company culture" (#51), being "an amazing place to work" (#128), and "a very welcoming and diverse company" (#54). These attributes were associated with behaviors such as allowing employees "to have a voice and make an impact on a growing company regardless of level" (#80) and senior management truly caring about "having an inclusive team" (#105). In contrast, out of the 167 posts for Snapchat, 41.92% were positive and 58.08% were negative. Snapchat's work environment was described as being "political" (#21), a "bro culture" (#42), and "difficult for some" (#308). These

attributes were associated with behaviors such as the company being secretive and not transparent about the projects it was working on (#245) and the company favoring those who were close to the directors (#274).

TikTok had 33 posts on the topic of career progression opportunities, with 60.61% being positive and 31.93% being negative. Employees described TikTok as providing “great career opportunities” (#188) and “promotion opportunities” (#307). On the other hand, out of the 24 posts on career progression opportunities, Snapchat had only 8.33% positive reviews and 91.67% negative reviews. Many posts mentioned the “lack of career progression opportunities” (#46) and the difficulty “to advance” (#70). These attributes were associated with company behavior making the process biased and frequently changing the requirements (#74) and people not “being treated correctly” (#182) throughout the process.

The three other topics on which TikTok was evaluated more positively included office and location, company outlook, and structures and processes. Easy accessibility (#41), great location (#180), and being fun and inclusive (#216) were among some of the positive descriptions for TikTok’s office. As for company outlook, TikTok’s rapid growth in the industry was most frequently mentioned. This is significantly different from Snapchat, which was described as having “slow growth” (#252), having a decline in share prices (#143), and even not being able to make a profit (#40). As for structures and processes, TikTok’s flat hierarchies (#315) were frequently mentioned, which was associated with the behavior of ensuring that voices and opinions are heard and respected (#317). On the other hand, Snapchat was characterized as being bureaucratic (#2) and disorganized (#21), resulting in slow processes in getting approval (#36) and employees receiving unclear instructions (#149).

### *Reputational challenges*

Table 7 shows that work arrangements, salaries and benefits, intrinsic rewards, and workload were the top topics on which TikTok received significantly more negative reviews or fewer positive reviews than Snapchat.

Out of the 50 posts TikTok received on work arrangements, 30% were positive and 70% were negative. In particular, many employees complained about odd work hours or meeting times due to having to coordinate with offices around the globe, including its parent company in China, resulting in them having to work until 12am (#193), being expected to give immediate replies (#236), and having non-flexible working hours due to time differences (#249). This significantly differs from Snapchat, which allows flexible working hours.

Out of the 119 posts TikTok received on salaries and benefits, even though it had more positive (68.07%) than negative (31.92%) posts, Snapchat was evaluated a lot more positively with 89.84% positive posts. In particular, TikTok was described as “not matching” with competitors (#93) and offering low salaries (#82). In contrast, Snapchat was described as offering great benefits (#43) and a competitive salary (#226).

Out of the 67 posts TikTok received on intrinsic rewards, even though it had more positive (61.54%) than negative (38.46%) posts, Snapchat received proportionately more positive posts (76.12%). In particular, TikTok’s employees described their work as being “really repetitive” (#39), “quite boring” (#171), and “high pressure” (#87); Conversely, Snapchat’s employees described their work as being “entertaining” (#310) and being able to “make an impact” (#178).

Lastly, TikTok had a total of 93 mentions on workload, whereas Snapchat only had 49. Out of the 93 mentions, 11.83% were positive and 88.17% were negative. Many of TikTok’s employees described the lack of work–life balance as a negative because work hours were long (#71), and they were often required to work on weekends (#138) and public holidays (#176). Snapchat also received more negative (75.51%) than positive reviews

(24.49%), and the topic of workload was described quite similarly as having intense workload (#109) and lacking work–life balance (#110).

## **Discussion**

Start-ups are unique because they do not have an established reputation, which is a necessary entrepreneurial asset to scale up the firm's success trajectory. Thus, the formation of reputation tends to heavily rely on the communicative behaviors of those who have direct experiences in dealing with the start-up. Among stakeholders who have such first-hand experiences, employees' communicative behaviors are especially crucial for attracting and retaining talent as start-ups do not have sufficient resources to recruit quality employees. At the same time, for those young firms, key attributes which affect their reputation, such as their organizational culture and leadership styles, are still forming. Therefore, taking a proactive stance in monitoring and addressing internal issues and concerns raised by employees is pivotal. Start-ups with proactive approaches will have a better opportunity to improve employees' workplace experiences and their perceptions regarding the entrepreneurial firm. This positive experience tends to increase their positive megaphoning behaviors (J.-N. Kim & Rhee, 2011).

From the analysis of employees' reviews about TikTok and Snapchat, this study found that they shared similarities on some topics, such as high workload, but TikTok as a start-up had competitive advantages such as a flat hierarchy, which allowed opinions to be collated and considered. Such a comparative approach to understanding employees' cognitive and evaluative representations of their employers allows organizations to explore what is common in their industries and what is unique in their organizations. For example, TikTok's flat hierarchy, as a structure, allows feedback to be more easily directed to top management. Although the two companies shared some similarities in the objects, attributes, and behaviors their employees associated with the topics they had raised in their reviews, the comparison of

the proportion of positive and negative mentions indicates which issues are more prominent in each company. For example, in comparison with Snapchat, TikTok should prioritize the issue of work arrangements and address the concerns associated with odd work hours due to the global nature of its operations. Likewise, despite having a more positive work environment, TikTok's uncompetitive salaries and benefits could also damage its reputation as an employer in the technology industry.

The findings of this study reflect the need for start-ups to put in place a system to constantly monitor and compare employees' communicative behaviors online to immediately address the issues which might lead to employees' turnover or damage an organization's reputation. For example, communication channels should be put in place to reflect both one-way communication (i.e., provision of information) and two-way communication efforts, and leadership styles should be adjusted to encourage communication (Kang & Sung, 2017; Lee & Kim, 2020; Men, 2014b). This will help start-ups seize opportunities to make the most of their reputational opportunities and address their reputational challenges.

It is crucial for start-ups to build a reputation that helps attract the needed talent. From a brand equity perspective, job seekers are "willing to pay a premium in the form of lower salaries to work for firms with positive reputations" (Cable & Turban, 2003, p. 2245). Cable and Turban (2003) found that corporate reputation affects job seekers' perceptions and job pursuit intentions. Job seekers value the pride they would get from membership in organizations with good reputations. Considering the impact of corporate reputation on recruitment for start-ups, issues that specifically affect start-ups, such as long work hours, high levels of uncertainties and risks, and having to multi-task should be addressed.

As the formation of corporate reputation depends on diverse stakeholder groups' evaluation of the firm, it is important to manage corporate reputation across stakeholders (Fombrun, 1996). As many scholars have emphasized (e.g., J.-N. Kim & Rhee, 2011; Lee,

2017; Lee & Kim, 2020), however, reputation-building starts with the firm's internal reputation. Employees are considered trustworthy sources of information about the firm as well as ambassadors of the firm (J.-N. Kim & Rhee, 2011). Therefore, employees' evaluation of their organization is crucial in building an internal reputation, which in turn affects external reputation among external stakeholders, especially job seekers. In the past, it was difficult for job seekers to find information about the job as well as about the organization (Rynes, 1991 as cited in Cable & Turban, 2003). It is now common practice for job seekers to check an organization's reputation via multiple channels, including de-identified social media platforms where they can read and learn from the current and previous employees' experiences and evaluations.

One of the reputational challenges for start-up companies is a work environment characterized by secrecy, favoritism, backstabbing, and so on. TikTok's and Snapchat's employees both reported a turnover culture, creating fear of layoffs among employees. According to S. Kim et al. (2017), organizational culture is one of the factors that affects employees' perceived quality of the organization–employee relationship as well as their turnover intention. This study found that TikTok's and Snapchat's employees observe high turnover (e.g., TikTok #44, #48, #61; Snapchat #49, #144, #149, #203, #210, #225, #231, #234) and are in constant fear of being laid off, which affects employee morale. Therefore, start-ups need to identify what causes a turnover culture. S. Kim et al. (2017) proposes that an authoritarian culture can be considered a type of turnover culture. Factors such as competitiveness or politics may further generate fear of layoffs or high turnover among employees.

Despite the downside of start-up cultures, there are also reputational opportunities such as an organizational learning culture (Egan et al., 2004) and a team-oriented culture (O'Reilly et al., 1991; Sackmann, 1992), which discourage employee turnover intention.

This study found that co-workers and learning and growth opportunities (e.g., Snapchat #79, #86, #115, #152, #245, #250, #322; TikTok, #22, #64, #80, #88, #92, #146, #187) are the crucial intangible benefits that keep employees motivated to work. Co-workers were evaluated positively by employees in both Snapchat (94.96%) and TikTok (95.92%). However, TikTok received proportionately more positive evaluations (96.83%) than Snapchat (84.85%) regarding learning and growth opportunities.

This study is one of few to explore the importance of primary reputation because primary reputation (i.e., what an employee says about their organization and how they evaluate it) can affect secondary reputation. As discussed earlier in the literature review, scholars focusing on the strategic behavioral paradigm (e.g., Grunig, 2006a; Grunig & Grunig, 1998; J.-N. Kim et al., 2007) believe that substance (i.e., direct experiences) is more crucial than image (i.e., hearsay) in forming an organization's reputation. The findings from this study show that employees make evaluations about their organization based on their experiences and that the number of times a topic is mentioned and evaluated reflects the significance of the topic in positively or negatively affecting employees' experiences in their organizations. As employees are considered trustworthy information sources, their posts on an employer reviewer platform can be read by potential job seekers, in turn enabling job-seekers to develop their own cognitive and evaluative representations about organizations (i.e., secondary reputation). As J.-N. Kim et al. (2007) argue, the strategic behavioral management approach (i.e., aligning organizational behaviors with stakeholder expectations) is important for all organizations. For start-ups that may not have the resources to develop a reputation using means such as paid media, this approach may be even more significant. Employees' endorsement on the Internet—which reflects an organization's internal reputation, affecting external reputation in the long term—could be a cost-effective approach for reputation management.



In addition to proactively monitoring employees' comments and inviting their feedback, start-ups could also practice internal public segmentation to identify active and strategic publics with whom they should invest resources to build and cultivate relationships to resolve issues. According to Grunig and Hung-Baesecke (2015), organizations should cultivate relationships to build their reputation. To do so, they should focus on active and strategic publics because active publics tend to have different cognitive and evaluative representations than inactive publics—they could be the stakeholders who are affected by decisions made by management. In this respect, the role of public relations should be to monitor the consequences of the decisions made by management and to ideally allow those who are affected (e.g., active publics) to participate in decision-making before decisions are made. For example, the topic of work arrangements for TikTok should be treated as an imminent issue on which management should create communication forums to discuss and resolve with its employees—especially those who have been affected.

This study also contributes to the body of knowledge on internal reputation management for start-ups. The findings from this study show that there are reputational opportunities and challenges for the industry; at the same time, there are some opportunities and challenges which are unique to TikTok as a start-up. A comparison of the issues raised, in terms of their number of mentions and the percentages of positive and negative evaluations, reflects what issues start-ups should prioritize. For example, while work environment was the most frequently mentioned topic by employees from both TikTok and Snapchat, TikTok's employees evaluated their company's work arrangements and salaries and benefits a lot more negatively than employees from Snapchat. Although it is typical for start-up employees to experience lower salaries and benefits and higher workload, employees should be rewarded in other ways such as gaining valuable experiences in adapting and pivoting (White, n.d.). Employees could have both positive and negative experiences in their

workplaces and could be engaged in both positive and negative megaphoning. When start-ups are still in their early phases, gradually creating their formal structures and processes and while they still have a rather flat hierarchy for streamlined communication between management and employees, management could work with employees to create and change structures and processes and to improve internal communication. A communicative climate to promote employee voice contributes positively to organizational change and affective commitment (H. Kim & Leach, 2020). When employees have a positive perception of organizational reputation, they are more likely to engage in behavior supporting their organization (Men & Stacks, 2014). By setting up communication channels to build and cultivate relationships with strategic employee publics, start-ups could address the prominent issues experienced by employees and could “earn” employees’ advocacy and endorsement.

### **Conclusion**

Start-up companies need to build a reputation as an entrepreneurial asset to scale up their success trajectory. Employees’ communicative behaviors contribute to their firm’s internal reputation, which in turn affects the firm’s external reputation. This study analyzed the reviews published by current and former employees of TikTok and Snapchat. The findings identified some opportunities and challenges unique to TikTok as a start-up. As TikTok is still in its infancy in regards to building organizational culture and, thus, reputation, communication strategies should be devised to proactively monitor and address these issues to seize reputational opportunities and overcome reputational challenges. This study also shows that certain issues and active publics should be prioritized, given that some topics are mentioned more frequently and evaluated more negatively.

### **Limitations and future directions**

Because this study was conducted based on a case study of two companies in the technology industry, the results cannot be generalized to all start-up companies. However,

high-tech start-ups share certain things in common, such as high growth ambitions (Wallin et al., 2016) and persistence for the desired results (Lasso et al., 2019) which means that they have to thrive amidst technological uncertainty and to manage multiple tasks in a relatively short time (Giardino et al., 2015). In addition, high turnover intention is very common in startups and therefore the role of entrepreneurial leadership is crucial (J. Yang et al., 2019). Future studies could explore employees' reviews for organizations in other industries.

Although salient themes (i.e., topics) were identified from the content analysis conducted, the objects, attributes, and behaviors associated with each topic were included in the codebook but were not included in the quantitative analysis. Future studies may consider conducting surveys with employees of start-up companies to explore possible associations of the different topics reviewed and the objects, attributes, and behaviors associated with them. In addition, one employee reviewer commented: "Don't ask people to do Glassdoor reviews too early for new employees (2 weeks in). Let them decide on their own over time" (TikTok #185). It is possible that the companies controlled the stories told about them by encouraging employees to post their reviews in a certain way or at a certain time. Further research can be conducted to explore factors that motivate employees to post reviews and the effects of these on the reviews. Finally, when we collected data from Glassdoor.com, we chose two filters: employees working full-time and English-language posts only. Therefore, the collected data were not limited to one country (e.g., U.S.A). In addition, Glassdoor.com does not distinguish whether those employees' comments are made by current or former employees.

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Table 1. Definitions and examples of objects, attributes, and behaviors associated with each topic

	Snapchat		TikTok	
	Examples of Positives	Examples of Negatives	Examples of Positives	Examples of Negatives
<b>Salary and Benefits</b> (remuneration for the job, which could be monetary or non-monetary)	Above market average, stock options, good insurance, maternity and paternity leave	Salary at the lower end of tech peers, underpaid for sales	Work-from-home budget, well-being benefits	No overtime payment, not competitive compensation package, hard to get salary increase, no bonus, salary depending on the language spoken
<b>Perks</b> (non-wage offering beyond salary and benefits)	Free food, cool parties, and events	Parties, free breakfast starts at 9am, perks getting worse, no gym, dining facilities reaching capacity	Lots of activities to join apart from work, great office perks, free meals, lots of gift[s] sent to home, celebrity shows	Many engagement activities hampering work, no food
<b>Structure and processes</b> (organizational structure and processes affecting how the work is performed)	Coordination, good support system	Bureaucracy, disorganization, randomization, confusing work streams and priorities, hard to transfer between departments, slow approval processes, disconnection among teams, human resources issues, confusing company structure	Flat structure, efficient	Lengthy processes, poorly designed processes, challenging processes due to growth, lack of clear communication, Mandarin required for strategic positions, busy work due to calls with teams in Asia, chaotic and disorganized, lack of structure and processes, power in China, localized HR policy, teething issues, team-based performance rather than individuals, flat structure, localized centers, a lot of materials in Chinese, too much paperwork
<b>Intrinsic benefits</b> (psychological rewards or pain resulting from the job)	Ownership, fun, exciting, autonomy, interesting engineering problems, promising projects, room for creativity, independence	Uninteresting work, lack of pressure, fear, stress, pressure for new products	Ability to create processes, ownership of projects, empowering, fulfilling, enriching, freedom	Not challenging, too much pressure, repetitive, not much autonomy

<b>Workload</b> (the amount of work and time devoted to the job)	Good work–life balance, no heavy workload, no overtime work	Intense workload, a lot of work at times, long hours	Mental health and life balance awareness	Long hours, intense hours
<b>Management and leadership</b> (the actions or tendencies of the leaders and managers leading the organization)	Access to managers, prioritizing people over profits, transparency, empathetic, caring	Poor communication (from leadership), hierarchy, expenses, weak, lack of transparency (from leadership), pushing ideas out without metrics, never listening to advice, excessive CEO bonus, decision not driven by data	Trust from management, competent leadership	Disorganized management, lack of transparency, abusive managers, nepotism, no clear leadership direction, strict management that only cares about performance, micromanagement
<b>Co-workers</b> (other staff members excluding leaders and managers)	Deeply committed team members, smart, collaborative, creative, kind	People being there for the money	Knowledgeable, talented	Useless people, people try to “leader please”
<b>Company outlook</b> (the current standing of the organization and its products in its operational environment)	Impact of products on people, forward-thinking company, incredible vision, company growth, positive for CV, leader in software development, opportunities to move to other companies, cutting-edge technology	Product being copied, lack of profits, slow launch, trying to be like big tech players, a lot of catching up relative to big players, anxiety about share price, crappy product, business turbulence, volatile stock	One of the most influential product and company, 1M+ users, exciting product, popular brand name, good exposure, fast growing	Company software limitations, lack of visibility, global nature difficult to navigate
<b>Work environment</b> (the internal work climate including organizational culture)	Competitive, diverse, positive, great morale, learning to become a mature company	Fast pace, fast-growing, competitive, selfish, lack of diversity, fast-changing, degrading activities, office politics, awful backstabbing, bullying, low morale, favoritism, nepotism, constant chaos, siloed, slow-moving	International and dynamic workplace, fast pace, collaborative, diverse, no politics	Bullying, grossly political, silo, aggressive, corporate, no diversity, Chinese culture
<b>Career progression opportunities</b>	Great career growth opportunities	Difficult to advance	Full of career opportunities, good place for	Hard to move up



(promotion opportunities to advance within the organization)			promotion, clear career path	
<b>Turnover and job security</b> (layoffs by the organization or voluntary departure of employees)	Low turnover ratio	Lots of layoff[s], high turnover	NA	High turnover, layoffs
<b>Office and Location</b> (the physical space in which the work is performed and its location)	Nice location at Venice Beach, comfortable office, Los Angeles a cool place to visit	Office location not being ideal, high cost of living, office no longer on the beach, unprofessional "beach house" office, buildings, open office layout, a spread-out campus, far parking facilities, distraction from working on the beach	Easy accessibility to office	NA
<b>Work arrangements</b> (where and when the work can be performed which may or may not be flexible)	Remote work, flexible work hours	No home office, no dogs allowed, bad working hours, weird work hours	Work from home, remote work	No flexibility to move computer during pandemic, work hours differ every week, not possible to work from abroad, better if working in the office, non-flexible schedule, silly meeting times, working in different time zones
<b>Learning and growth opportunities</b> (opportunities of personal learning and growth)	Good learning from co-workers, growth opportunities, accelerated learning	Lack of growth opportunities, no care for personal development	Lots of training available, mentorship program	Lack of training

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Table 2. Average scores of employees' ratings on Glassdoor.com (out of 5)

	Recommending the company to others	Company outlook	Approval of CEO
TikTok ( <i>N</i> =320)	3.78	3.82	3.43
Snapchat ( <i>N</i> =324)	3.47	3.5	3.45

Table 3. Number of times each topic was mentioned as a pro or con (in order of total number of mentions) for Snapchat

	<b>Pros</b>	<b>Cons</b>	<b>Total</b>
Work environment	70	97	167
Leadership and management	41	108	149
Co-workers	132	7	139
Salary and benefits	115	13	128
Company outlook	74	28	102
Perks	76	9	85
Intrinsic rewards	51	16	67
Office and location	44	21	65
Structure and processes	6	51	57
Workload	12	37	49
Job security and turnover	1	34	35
Learning and growth opportunities	28	5	33
Career progression opportunities	2	22	24
Work arrangements	8	7	15

Table 4. Percentage of each topic being mentioned as a pro or con (in order of difference) for Snapchat

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Pros %</b>	<b>Cons %</b>	<b>Difference%</b>
Co-workers	94.96	5.04	89.93
Salary and benefits	89.84	10.16	79.69
Perks	89.41	10.59	78.82
Learning and growth opportunities	84.85	15.15	69.70
Intrinsic rewards	76.12	23.88	52.24
Company outlook	72.55	27.45	45.10
Office and location	67.69	32.31	35.38
Work arrangements	53.33	46.67	6.67
Work environment	41.92	58.08	-16.17
Leadership and management	27.52	72.48	-44.97
Workload	24.49	75.51	-51.02
Structure and processes	10.53	89.47	-78.95
Career progression opportunities	8.33	91.67	-83.33
Job security and turnover	2.86	97.14	-94.29

Table 5. Number of times each topic was mentioned as a pro or con (in order of total number of mentions) for TikTok

	<b>Pros</b>	<b>Cons</b>	<b>Total</b>
Work environment	141	54	195
Structure and processes	44	117	161
Salary and benefits	81	38	119
Co-workers	94	4	98
Workload	11	82	93
Leadership and management	35	45	80
Company outlook	62	7	69
Intrinsic rewards	40	25	65
Learning and growth opportunities	61	2	63
Work arrangements	15	35	50
Career progression opportunities	20	13	33
Perks	25	2	27
Office and location	9	0	9
Job security and turnover	0	4	4

Table 6. Percentage of each topic being mentioned as a pro or con (in order of difference) for TikTok

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Pros %</b>	<b>Cons %</b>	<b>Difference %</b>
Office and location	100.00	0.00	100.00
Learning and growth opportunities	96.83	3.17	93.65
Co-workers	95.92	4.08	91.84
Perks	92.59	7.41	85.19
Company outlook	89.86	10.14	79.71
Work environment	72.31	27.69	44.62
Salary and benefits	68.07	31.93	36.13
Intrinsic rewards	61.54	38.46	23.08
Career progression opportunities	60.61	39.39	21.21
Leadership and management	43.75	56.25	-12.50
Work arrangements	30.00	70.00	-40.00
Structure and processes	27.33	72.67	-45.34
Workload	11.83	88.17	-76.34
Job security and turnover	0.00	100.00	-100.00

Table 7. Comparison of TikTok and Snapchat on the proportion of differences of positive vs. negative mentions on each theme

<b>Theme</b>	<b>TikTok %</b>	<b>Snapchat %</b>	<b>Difference %</b>
Career progression opportunities	21.21	-83.33	104.55
Office and location	100.00	35.38	64.62
Work environment	44.62	-16.17	60.78
Company outlook	79.71	45.10	34.61
Structure and processes	-45.34	-78.95	33.61
Leadership and management	-12.50	-44.97	32.47
Learning and growth opportunities	93.65	69.70	23.95
Perks	85.19	78.82	6.36
Co-workers	91.84	89.93	1.91
Job security and turnover	100.00	-94.29	-5.71
Workload	-76.34	-51.02	-25.32
Intrinsic rewards	23.08	52.24	-29.16
Salary and benefits	36.13	79.69	-43.55
Work arrangements	-40.00	6.67%	-46.67

Figure 1. A stacked bar showing the percentage of each topic being mentioned as a pro or con for Snapchat

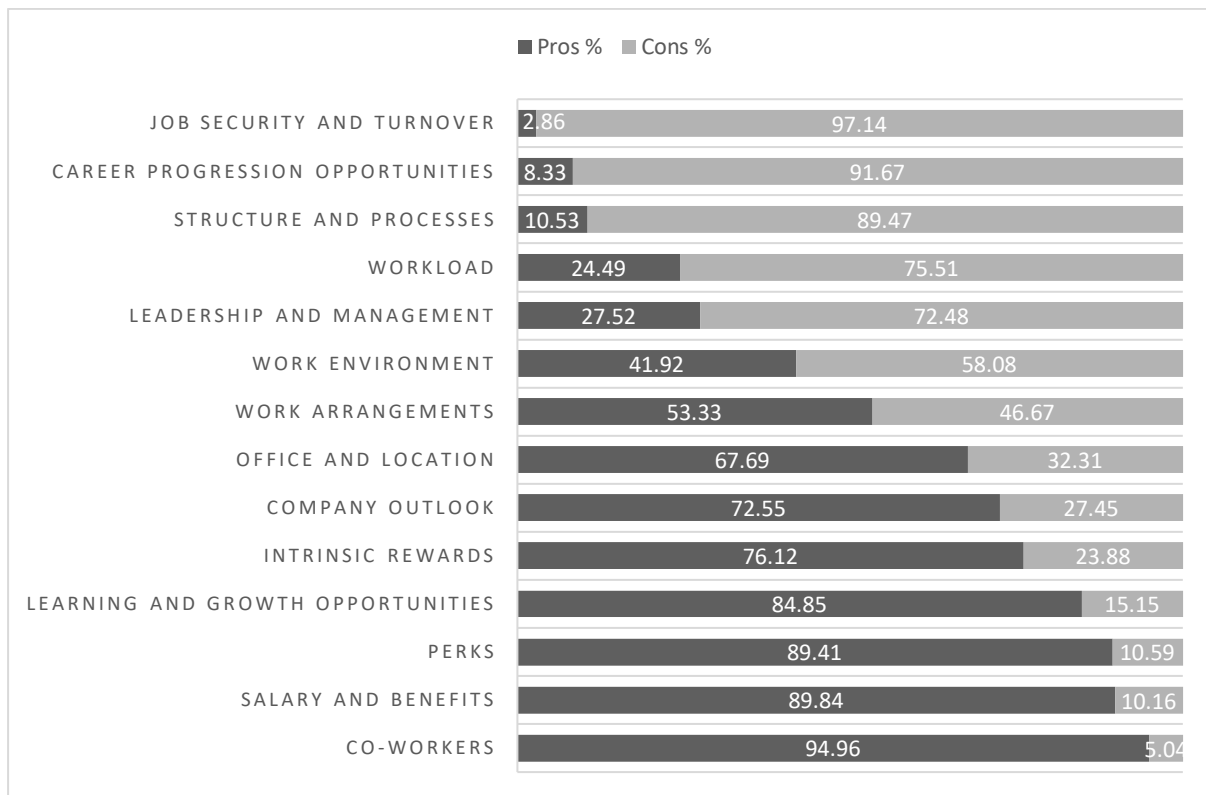




Figure 2. A stacked bar showing the percentage of each topic being mentioned as a pro or a con for TikTok

