



Organizational Support and Work Engagement: Onsite, Hybrid, and Remote Work during COVID-19¹

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ABSTRACT

We analyzed the association of job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support on work engagement and the moderating role of organizational support between mental demands and work engagement. We also examined differences in these factors among onsite, hybrid, and remote workers during the COVID-19 pandemic using data from the Finnish MEADOW survey. Results showed that the remote workers had highest job autonomy, but no other significant differences were found. Job autonomy was positively associated with work engagement, while mental demands had a negative association with it. Organizational support had the strongest positive association with work engagement, and it was able to moderate the negative association between mental demands and work engagement. We conclude that the remote work cannot be classified as good or bad; rather, the question is more on how work is organized and managed. The new environment where remote work is increasingly done, however, presents several challenges for managers and supervisors.

KEYWORDS:

mental demands / organizational support / remote work / work engagement

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic, which swept across the globe with unprecedented speed and magnitude, not only challenged the public health system but also changed working life faster than anyone could have imagined. The Nordic countries were not an exception. Until the end of February 2020, all five Nordic countries had registered their first coronavirus infection. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, and Norway adopted a strict policy against the disease by declaring state of emergency that closed the borders and locked out schools and announcing nationwide remote work recommendation, whereas Sweden remained open and only urged citizens to be cautious (Saunes et al. 2022).

In the Nordic countries, the ability of work organizations to switch to remote work was facilitated by the fact that remote work was already more common there than elsewhere in Europe. This was partly due to the countries' industrial structure, that is, a high share of people employed in knowledge-based and ICT-intensive services, but also

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to their high levels of digital skills and institutional trust in society (Grzegorzczak 2021; Kovalainen et al. 2022; Sostero et al. 2020). The factors that contributed to such rapid and flexible adjustment – high skills, advanced ICT infrastructure, and strong institutional trust – can be considered reflections of the key features of the Nordic model of capitalism in the context of working life (Dølvik & Steen 2018), witnessing the strengths of the model during an abrupt crisis. In this study, we use Finland as a case study, and a national variant of the Nordic model, of forced remote work during the pandemic. As in the other Nordic countries, most Finnish work organizations followed the government's remote work recommendations. However, there were probably significant variations in how well the organizations were prepared for forced remote work and could support employees in remote and hybrid work environments.

The consequences of forced remote work on employees were contradictory. On the one hand, forced remote work caused by the COVID-19 pandemic enhanced experiences of work engagement, job satisfaction, and autonomy, but at the same time, it also gave rise to increased mental demands at work and feelings of loneliness (Costin et al. 2023; Ernst et al. 2022; Ferrera et al. 2022; Giauque et al. 2022). In this study, we focus on this discrepancy by analyzing it with the help of the concept of work engagement, which is an understudied topic among studies on wellbeing of remote workers (Mäkinen et al. 2022). We will focus on the association of (a) job autonomy, (b) mental demands and (c) organizational support to work engagement, and (d) the potentially moderating role of organizational support between mental demands and work engagement. We also examine whether the level of work engagement, job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support differed during the COVID-19 pandemic for employees working onsite, hybrid, or remotely. Onsite workers refer here to employees, who did not work remotely at all. As for the rest, hybrid workers refer to employees who worked an average one to three days per week remotely and remote workers to those who worked remotely more than this or even entirely. As remote work has become not just a temporary change of practice but an enduring reality in many organizations, understanding how the negative side effects of remote work can be mitigated has become essential.

The next section includes a review of literature on work engagement and remote work and our hypotheses (see Figure 1). This is followed by a description of the data, measurements, and methods. Thereafter, the results are presented. The last section includes discussion and conclusions.

Remote work and work engagement considered

Work engagement has been a central area of research and work-related interventions, particularly in the positive psychology literature (Donaldson et al. 2019). Work engagement refers to a positive work-related state of mind in which one is fully absorbed, enthusiastic, and deeply involved in one's work activities. Work engagement is characterized by a high level of energy and mental resilience (vigor), feel of a sense of significance and enthusiasm about what one does (dedication), and being completely engrossed in one's work (absorption) (Schaufeli & Bakker 2023). Organizations may strive to foster employees' work engagement, as it is associated with increased productivity, innovativeness, lower turnover intentions, and greater job satisfaction (Halbesleben 2010; Mazzetti et al. 2021).

According to the well-known Job Demands and Resources (JD-R) model, work engagement occurs when employees have enough job resources and job demands are bearable (Bakker & Demerouti 2017). Especially job resources are important in fostering work engagement but also as buffers against the negative effects of job-related demands (Bakker & Demerouti 2017). Increased opportunities for remote work caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly increased employees' sense of job autonomy (Giauque et al. 2022; Malhotra 2021), which, according to previous studies, is an important contributing factor to the experiences of work engagement (Mazzetti et al. 2021). Based on the above, we make the following hypotheses:

- H1a: The level of work engagement and job autonomy are highest among remote workers, lowest among those working only onsite, with hybrid workers falling in between.
- H1b: Work autonomy is positively associated with work engagement.

The lockdown and forced remote work caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, additionally, brought about negative side effects such as mental health problems and social isolation. At the start of the lockdown, especially young age, low education, and living alone or with children were risk factors for the occurrence of mental health problems (Fancourt et al. 2021). Poor organizational support and lack of social connections during the era of forced remote work, in turn, blurred work-home boundaries, and increased mental demands, burnout and workplace loneliness, deteriorating employees' health and well-being (Costin et al. 2023; Kotera & Vione 2020). High mental demands at work have been found to have a negative effect on work engagement (Halbesleben 2010). Based on the above, we make the following hypotheses:

- H2a: The level of mental demands is highest among remote workers, lowest among those working only onsite, with hybrid workers falling in between.
- H2b: Mental demands are negatively associated with work engagement.

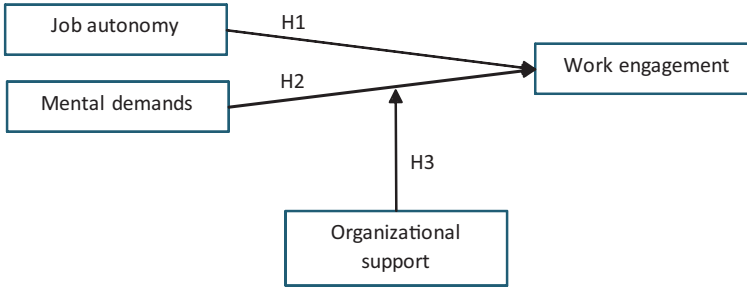
The negative side effects of remote work, however, may be linked to how remote work was implemented and managed (Costin et al. 2023; Lilja et al. 2023; Mihalance & Mihalance 2022). Based on the JD-R model, job resources are essential for fostering work engagement and moderating the negative effects of job demands (Bakker & Demerouti 2017). Previous research shows that especially organizational-level resources, such as social support and flexible work arrangements, are critical in preventing social isolation and stress in contexts where remote work is done intensively (Charalampous et al. 2019; Costin et al. 2023; Mihalance & Mihalance 2022; Mäkineniemi et al. 2021). Supporting factors include appropriate information and communication technology and resources that facilitate flexible scheduling to address the mental demands of remote work (Mihalance & Mihalance 2022; Mäkineniemi et al. 2021). Supervisors, in particular, can play a key role in reducing mental demands and employees' uncertainty about their roles in the organization, such as what is expected of them and how to carry out their jobs (Fernandez & Shaw 2020; Mihalance & Mihalance 2022). Overall, these findings suggest that organizational support from supervisors and co-workers can act



as protective factors for workers coping with high mental demands of work. Thus, we make the following hypothesis:

- H3: Organizational support is positively associated with work engagement and moderates the negative association between mental demands and work engagement.

Figure 1 Graphical presentation of our hypotheses



Data and methods

To answer our research questions, we used data from the Finnish MEADOW survey. The survey was conducted as part of the WORK2030 (TYÖ2030, in Finnish) program, which was part of Prime Minister Sanna Marin's government program. The methodology of the survey was based on an EU project conducted in 2008–2009 to harmonize the way in which EU countries collect information on changes in management and the organization of work (The MEADOW Consortium 2010). A guiding principle in the MEADOW survey is to collect information from employers and employees of the same organizations. This study was part of the research project 'Miksi tulla toimistolle?' (Why Come to the Office?) funded by the Finnish Work Environment Fund. In this study, we use only data of the employee survey.

Statistics Finland conducted the survey using stratified sampling method based on industry and organization size. Based on the Register of Enterprises and Establishments maintained by Statistics Finland, companies and public entities employing at least 10 persons were chosen for the target population. In the first phase, data was collected from the employer representatives using a web-based survey and telephone interviews. Altogether, 1478 organizations responded (response rate 34).

In the second phase, an employee survey was conducted using a web-based survey. In each organization that had responded to the employer survey, a sample of four to eight people was taken. Data collection took place between March and June 2022. 1816 employees responded to the survey (response rate 25). The most active respondents were women, employees with higher education and older employees. Of all sectors, the response activity was highest in education and social and health care, followed by finance, insurance, and real estate. The lowest response activity was in construction. Because the response activity was highest and lowest in these same industries in both surveys, this caused a double bias to the data. The loss of employee data was corrected with the help of survey weights (see more about representativeness Selander et al. 2022).

Thus, the results can be generalized to employees working in the Finnish companies and public entities with at least 10 employees – not to all Finnish employees.

Variables

To measure work engagement (Cronbach alpha = 0.92), we used a modified version of the ultra-short measurement consisting of three questions (Schaufeli et al. 2017). Employees were posed the following statements: ‘At my job, I feel strong and vigorous’ (vigor), ‘I am enthusiastic about my job’ (dedication), and ‘I am immersed in my work’ (absorption). The response scale ranged from 1 ‘not at all’ to 7 ‘daily’.

As independent variables, we used job autonomy, mental demands at work, and organizational support. **Job autonomy** is a mean variable (Cronbach alpha = 0.88) consisting of seven questions. It measures the extent to which a job allows an employee to influence (a) the content of work, (b) the pace of work, (c) the place of work, (d) starting and ending times of work, (e) the allocation of work and holiday periods or work shifts, (f) the allocation of work between employees, and (g) the objectives of work. The response scale ranged from 1 ‘not at all’ to 4 ‘very much’. **Mental demands** are measured using the following statement: ‘My work is mentally demanding’. The response options ranged from 1 ‘totally disagree’ to 5 ‘totally agree’. **Organizational support** is a mean variable (Cronbach alpha = 0.89), consisting of nine items. Respondents were asked whether they considered that in their work community (a) there is a safe atmosphere, (b) development proposals made by staff are usually welcomed, (c) one can trust the people, (d) work duties are distributed unfairly (reversed to analysis), (e) it is possible to get time for joint examination and development if necessary, (f) there is a bad atmosphere (reversed to analysis), (g) new employees are well received, (h) one feels that (s)he is an appreciated member of the community, and (i) one often has fun while working. The response options ranged from 1 ‘totally disagree’ to 5 ‘totally agree’.

Gender (female/male), age (less than 40, 40–59, 60 years, or more), industry (manufacturing company, service company, public organization), size of the organization (small 10–49, medium 50–249, large 250, or more employees), educational level (low, medium, high), and work context were used as background variables. To measure work context, respondents were asked ‘How many days did you work from home in the previous week?’. The response scale was from 0 to 7 days. For the analysis, the responses were categorized into three groups: onsite (not at all), hybrid (1–3 days), and remote (4 days or more) workers.

Methods

First, we present using percentages the demographics of the employees, who worked onsite, hybrid, and remotely during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thereafter, we use covariance analysis to describe the mean level of work engagement, job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support in different work contexts, while controlling for the background variables. Last, we use hierarchical multiple linear regression analysis to study the associations between work engagement and identified antecedents. The first step includes background variables (gender, age, education, industry, organization size,



work context) and the second step job autonomy and mental demands. The third step adds organizational support (moderator) into the model and the last step interaction term of mental demands and organizational support. All variables were standardized before the analysis to avoid multicollinearity (Aiken 1991). Following the regression analysis, graphical representation is used to interpret the interaction term (high 1 SD above the mean and low 1 SD below the mean). The analyses were conducted using SPSS statistics version 27.

Results

Descriptive results

According to the MEADOW survey, roughly half of Finnish employees had worked remotely at least four days during the week before the survey (see Table 1). Approximately one-third were classified as hybrid workers, that is, they had worked remotely one to three days. Seventeen percent were classified as onsite workers, that is, they had not done any remote work in the previous seven days. In line with a previous representative study among Finnish employees (Sutela & Pärnänen 2021), remote work was more common in the public and service sectors than in manufacturing. The extent of remote work was also positively associated with organization size and the level of education. In addition, there was a slight female predominance among those classified as remote and hybrid workers.

Table 1 Demographics in onsite, hybrid, and remote work context

		Work context			
		Onsite	Hybrid	Remote	Total
Gender (%)	Females	46%	56%	56%	60%
	Males	54%	44%	44%	40%
Age (%)	Less than 40 years	12%	13%	6%	13%
	40–49 years	26%	26%	39%	28%
	50–59 years	29%	29%	28%	28%
	60 years or more	33%	33%	28%	31%
Education (%)	Low/medium	38%	24%	20%	47%
	High	62%	76%	80%	53%
Industry (%)	Manufacturing companies	31%	14%	14%	19%
	Service companies	43%	46%	39%	37%
	Public organizations	27%	39%	47%	45%
Size of organization	Small (10–49)	27%	21%	12%	17%
	Medium (50–249)	27%	22%	14%	17%
	Large (250–)	46%	57%	74%	65%
Total (%)		17%	34%	49%	100%

Table presents weighted column percentages.

The level of work engagement, job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support in different work contexts during the pandemic

Only the mean level of job autonomy differed between onsite, hybrid, and remote workers after controlling for gender, age group, education, industry, and organization size, partially supporting Hypothesis 1a. Job autonomy was highest among remote workers, lowest among onsite workers, while hybrid workers falling in between. Contrary to Hypotheses 1a and 2a, statistically significant differences in the mean level of work engagement, mental demands, or organizational support between onsite, hybrid, and remote work contexts were not observed (see Table 2). Differences in the level of work engagement ($F = 13.11, p < 0.001$) and mental demands ($F = 16.19, p < 0.001$) were more strongly associated with age groups, with mental demands also influenced by industry ($F = 7.56, p = 0.006$), rather than being dependent on the work context as such.

Table 2 Mean levels of work engagement and its antecedents, adjusted for gender, age group, education, industry, and organization size

	Works mainly			F-test (p-value)
	Onsite	Hybrid	Remote	
Work engagement (scale 1–7)	5.70 (5.56–5.85)	5.79 (5.67–5.85)	5.62 (5.51–5.74)	1.84 (0.159)
Job autonomy (scale 1–4)	2.61 (2.54–2.68)	2.76 (2.70–2.82)	2.81 (2.75–2.87)	9.28 (<0.001)
Mental demands (scale 1–5)	3.79 (3.66–3.92)	3.78 (3.67–3.89)	3.83 (3.72–3.93)	0.23 (0.798)
Organizational support (scale 1–5)	3.88 (3.79–3.97)	3.97 (3.90–4.05)	3.94 (3.87–4.02)	1.20 (0.330)

The table presents the results of covariance analysis: mean values with corresponding 95% confidence intervals and results of group comparisons (F-tests) to evaluate differences between groups.

Work engagement and its antecedent

We used hierarchical multiple regression analysis to study associations of (a) job autonomy, (b) mental demands, and (c) organizational support on work engagement, and (d) the potentially moderating role of organizational support between mental demands and work engagement. The final model is presented in Table 3. The first step included background variables. The results show that being over 40 years old increased work engagement compared to younger respondents. No differences were observed in terms of education, industry, or organization size. Gender differences became statistically significant in the third step, after controlling for organizational support. Differences between remote and onsite workers became statistically significant in the second step, after controlling for job autonomy and mental demands, but lost statistical significance in the following steps. These findings suggest that the associations between work engagement

and gender, as well as between work engagement and work context, are independent of other variables in the model.

Table 3 Associations between work engagement, job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support based on hierarchical multiple regression analysis.

	Step1	Step2	Step3	Step4
Gender (ref.=women)	-0.01	-0.04 (0.225)	-0.08 (0.011)	-0.08 (0.010)
Age (ref. less than 40 years)				
40–59 years	0.15 (0.005)	0.12 (0.009)	0.13 (0.003)	0.13 (0.003)
60 years	0.19 (<0.001)	0.16 (0.002)	0.19 (<0.001)	0.19 (<0.001)
Education (ref.=low/medium)				
High	0.01 (0.760)	-0.02 (0.593)	-0.02 (0.523)	-0.03 (0.397)
Industry (ref.=public organizations)				
Manufacturing companies	0.04 (0.521)	0.02 (0.702)	0.01 (0.858)	0.01 (0.856)
Service companies	0.05 (0.349)	0.00 (0.954)	-0.05 (0.299)	-0.04 (0.339)
Size of organization (ref.=large)				
Small	-0.04 (0.413)	-0.09 (0.045)	-0.06 (0.139)	-0.05 (0.153)
Medium	-0.00 (0.945)	-0.03 (0.491)	-0.02 (0.602)	-0.02 (0.652)
Work context (ref.=onsite)				
Hybrid	0.05 (0.306)	0.04 (0.948)	0.00 (0.953)	0.01 (0.839)
Remote	-0.04 (0.412)	-0.04 (0.038)	-0.07 (0.109)	-0.07 (0.089)
Job autonomy		0.52 (<0.001)	0.28 (<0.001)	0.26 (<0.001)
Mental demands		-0.17 (<0.001)	-0.10 (0.004)	-0.16 (<0.001)
Organizational support			0.52 (<0.001)	0.51 (<0.001)
Organizational support*mental demands				0.15 (<0.001)
Adjusted R ²	0.02	0.18	0.30	0.32
F change (p-value)	1.81	98.7	180.72	19.04
N	1022	1022	1022	1022

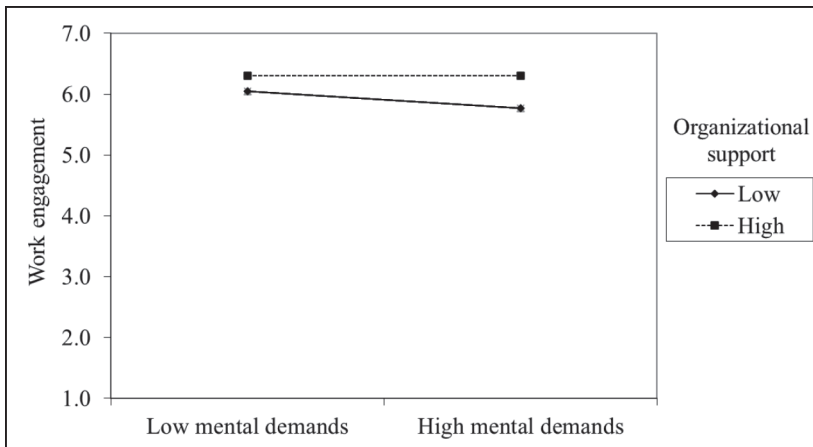
Table presents standardized regression coefficients and their *p*-values. Statistically significant (*p* < 0.05) regression coefficients are bolded.

The second step included job autonomy and mental demands in the model. This increased the model's explanatory power by 16 percentage points. Job autonomy was positively associated with work engagement, supporting Hypothesis 1b, and negatively with mental demands, giving support to Hypothesis 2b.

The third step included organizational support in the model. This increased model explanation by 12 percentage points and revealed a positive association with work engagement, providing support for Hypothesis 3. The addition of organizational support to the model modified the association between mental demands and work engagement

implying that the organizational support may moderate the association between work engagement and mental demands. The moderating association was further supported when the interaction term was found to be statistically significant in the final step. Figure 2 shows that as mental demands increase, work engagement decreases less for employees who have high organizational support than for those with low organizational support.

Figure 2 Organizational support moderates the negative association between mental demands and work engagement



Discussion

We set out to examine the associations of job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support on work engagement, including the moderating role of organizational support between mental demands and work engagement. We also analyzed whether employees in the remote work context experienced higher levels of work engagement, job autonomy, and mental demands during COVID-19 than those who worked onsite or in a hybrid work context. The results based on the Finnish MEADOW employee survey showed that job autonomy and organizational support were positively, and mental demands negatively, associated with work engagement. Organizational support further moderated the negative association between mental demands and work engagement. We also found higher levels of job autonomy in the remote work context, but no evidence of higher work engagement or mental demands compared to hybrid or remote work contexts after adjusting for gender, age group, education, industry, and organization size.

The results provided partial support to Hypothesis 1a suggesting that the level of job autonomy is highest among remote workers, lowest among those working onsite, and hybrid workers falling in between. In contrast to our Hypothesis 1a, however, we found no evidence of higher work engagement in the remote work context. Instead, the findings suggest that the level of work engagement is dependent on other variables, such as age, job autonomy, mental demands, and organizational support, which is in the line with previous research (Delanoëje & Verbruggen 2020; Nagata et al. 2021; Sardeshmukh et al. 2012). Even though remote work in reasonable amounts may have



beneficial effects on work engagement in the form of job autonomy, negative consequences such as lower levels of social support and feedback start to become evident as the amount of remote work increases (Nagata et al. 2021; Sardeshmukh et al. 2012).

High amount of remote work, however, was not reflected as higher levels of mental demands after controlling for gender, age group, education, industry, and organization size. This finding is in contradiction with Hypothesis 2a, and previous literature reviews claiming that employees doing remote work experience more mental demands than onsite employees (Costin et al. 2023; Kotera & Vione 2020). The differences in the level of mental demands were more clearly associated with age and industry than the remote work context as such. This implies that the decline could be more evident among young employees as they have been shown to be more vulnerable to mental health issues (Fancourt et al. 2021). The remote work environment requires self-management skills, including abilities to maintain social relationships, which can be difficult, especially for young and newly hired employees (Espersson et al. 2023; Mäkinen et al. 2022). On the other hand, the contradicting results can also reflect the special nature of the Nordic working life context. Due to their high level of digital skills at the time of outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic (Kovalainen et al. 2022; Sostero et al. 2020), employees in the Nordic countries may have had better ability to cope with the transition to remote work than in many other industrial countries. Watertight conclusions how the transition impacted employees, however, would require longitudinal data design and is thus beyond the scope of this article.

Job autonomy was positively, and mental demands negatively, associated with work engagement supporting Hypotheses 1b and 2b. Organizational support, on the other hand, had the strongest positive association with work engagement, and it was able to moderate the negative association between mental demands and work engagement supporting Hypothesis 3. The final model only included interaction terms that were statistically significant. During the analysis phase, we also tested the interaction term between remote work and organizational support, but as it was statistically insignificant, it was not included in the final model. This, however, implies that the association between organizational support and work engagement is not context-dependent, and thus, it is critical to ensure organizational support regardless of the work context.

Our analysis and previous studies clearly indicate that remote work as such cannot be considered as good or bad, but the question is more on how work is organized and managed (Costin et al. 2023; Mihalance & Mihalance 2022). In this study, organizational support included items such as an open atmosphere, a fair distribution of work duties, and the ability to schedule time for joint examination and development if needed. Additional research based on more in-depth, also qualitative research, on the topic is required. Future research should focus on, for example, whether and to what extent some of these dimensions are more important than others, and whether there are other factors that are important in organizing work in remote, hybrid, and onsite work contexts. From a practical standpoint, this information is especially important for managers and supervisors, as they are primarily responsible for organizing work and face the most challenges in the new environments (Fernandez & Shaw 2020; Mihalance & Mihalance 2022). In addition, especially in contexts where a lot of remote work is done in a self-directed manner, the role of employees as part of the organization's support structure may also grow in importance. In situations where superiors meet employees less frequently face to face, employees are in practice increasingly forced to take

shared responsibility for the smooth running of their peers' work and well-being at work (Alasoini et al. 2025).

Before drawing conclusions, however, some limitations of the study should be recognized. First, the use of the Finnish MEADOW survey had both advantages and disadvantages. While it included previously validated measurements, these were based on subjective evaluations and were cross-sectional in nature. As a result, the analysis may have been affected by common method variance, which could dilute the observed differences, for example, in organizational support across onsite, hybrid, and remote work contexts. Although possible associations between work engagement and its antecedents are discussed in this article, it is acknowledged that causality can only be established through future longitudinal research. Second, the MEADOW survey had a low response rate, which is a challenge shared by many surveys. There are few nationally representative datasets available, and the use of survey weights ensured that the findings were applicable to Finnish employees working in organizations with at least 10 employees, thus justifying the use of MEADOW dataset. Last, we did not conduct a thorough analysis of how employees' experiences with remote work differed based on their age and other background variables. This deserves more attention in the future as an interesting topic on both scientific and practical grounds. Overall, additional workplace-level and qualitative research data will be required in the future to gain a better understanding of this topic.

Conclusions

It seems that many organizations where remote work was carried out during the pandemic are not ready to set strict limits on the amount of remote work even after the pandemic is over (Selander et al. 2022), meaning that the level of remote work will remain permanently much higher than before the pandemic. The remote work environment, where face-to-face meetings are less frequent and communication is largely virtually mediated, poses many new challenges to the ways in which managers and supervisors can provide support to employees and how workplace relationships are created (Espersson et al. 2023). Such forms of organizational support, which in the past were essentially based on the physical encounters between supervisors and employees or between co-workers (e.g., different types of meetings, guiding new employees, assigning and teaching new tasks, or informal gatherings such as joint coffee breaks), have to be adapted to the changed circumstances. Thus, more research, also qualitative, is needed to work out new effective ways to provide organizational support also suited to a virtual environment.

As stated above, the high level of institutional trust prevailing in society can be considered one of the cornerstones of the Nordic model in the labor market and the society at large (Dølvik & Steen 2018) that helped Finland and the other Nordic countries adapt to the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, even though such strong institutional trust forms a favorable context for building trust also at the level of the work organization, it does not automatically trickle down as strong *organizational* trust, which must be consciously built in each organization separately. In sociology and organizational psychology, organization-level building of trust has typically been examined as an interaction process between the parties, in which the parties develop a feeling



or knowledge based on experience toward the desirability of intentions or actions of the other party (Dirks & Jong 2022; Schilke et al. 2021). Many of these interaction processes in organizations have been based on the physical presence of different parties and their face-to-face encounters. It is an interesting and important question, especially looking further into the future, how to build trust in work organizations where both formal and informal encounters are increasingly taking place online and becoming less frequent. And what kind of ripple effects can the changed ways of building organizational trust have on people's trust on national working life institutions in general?

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