

# Why do people trust (or mistrust) health organizations? A systematic review

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# **Why do people trust (or mistrust) health organizations? A systematic review**

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## **Abstract**

### **Background**

Trust and mistrust shape how people engage with health organizations, influencing cooperation, compliance, and institutional legitimacy. While trust supports collective action, mistrust can reflect rational responses to inequity or institutional failure. Yet evidence on how these constructs are defined, measured, and addressed remains fragmented. This review synthesizes two decades of research to clarify definitions, determinants, measurement tools, and interventions related to trust and mistrust in health organizations.

### **Methods**

PRISMA guidelines were followed and the protocol was registered at PROSPERO registry for systematic reviews. We searched PubMed, Scopus, Web of Science and PsycINFO from inception to October 2025 for studies on trust or mistrust directed at health organizations. Eligible studies examined conceptualisations, determinants, instruments, and interventions. Two reviewers independently screened, extracted data, and appraised study quality (KMET, JBI).

### **Results**

We included 149 studies from 52 countries (2003–2025); 71.8% came from high-income settings, and 92.6% were empirical, predominantly cross-sectional (55.7%). Trust was defined in 91.3% of studies; mistrust was conceptualized as a distinct construct shaped by structural, historical, and social inequities, rather than simply the absence of trust. Determinants clustered at individual, organizational, and systemic levels. Across quantitative studies, organizational characteristics constituted approximately two-thirds of all statistically tested

predictors of trust, particularly transparent communication (42.3%), competence and service quality (38.3%), and perceived fairness (18.1%). Individual factors were key drivers of mistrust, while systemic factors were shaped by governance quality, corruption, and broader issues of equity. Only 29.5% of studies used validated instruments (14 distinct scales), mostly developed and applied in U.S. settings, with limited cross-cultural validation. Thirty-seven intervention studies (24.8%) evaluated strategies across five domains; community engagement and governance reforms showed the most consistent improvements in trust-related indicators, but evidence was largely short-term and rarely linked to behavioural or system-level outcomes.

## **Conclusions**

Trust functions as both a determinant and an indicator of equitable health-system performance. Progress requires validated, culturally adaptable measures and interventions that address the structural and historical roots of mistrust, especially among marginalized groups. Sustained investment in transparent governance, participatory communication, fair service delivery, and responsible digital infrastructures is essential to building trusted and resilient health organizations.

**Registration:** Prospero Protocol number CRD420251155996

**Keywords:** trust; mistrust; health organizations; health systems; medical mistrust; health equity

## **1. Introduction**

Trust is widely regarded as a cornerstone of effective health care and public health systems, yet it remains a complex and multifaceted construct [1-2]. Within these contexts, trust functions as the social foundation that sustains cooperation among individuals, professionals, and institutions, shaping whether people accept medical advice, comply with public health measures, and engage

with services designed to protect them [3]. In this review, we adopted the World Health Organization (WHO) definition of health organizations, understood as *“the people, institutions and resources, arranged together in accordance with established policies, to improve the health of the population they serve, while responding to people’s legitimate expectations and protecting them against the cost of ill health through a variety of activities whose primary intent is to improve health”* [1]. More broadly, these organizations operate within health systems, defined by the World Health Organization as *“the ensemble of all organizations, people and actions whose primary intent is to promote, restore or maintain health”* [1]. Trust in such health organizations reflects an optimistic acceptance of vulnerability, grounded in the belief that they will act competently, fairly, and in the best interests of individuals and communities.

Conceptually, trust embodies expectations of competence, integrity, benevolence, and fairness, assumptions that institutions will perform their duties responsibly and ethically [2-3]. It operates at multiple levels: interpersonal trust, concerning relationships between patients and clinicians, and institutional or social trust, referring to confidence in health systems and organizations [4]. Empirical research consistently links higher trust in healthcare with improved adherence, satisfaction, and self-reported health outcomes [5,6]. Conversely, low trust or mistrust correlates with reduced service utilization, discontinuity of care, and poorer physical and mental health indicators across diverse populations [7-9]. Evidence from high- and low-income countries shows that confidence in public institutions strongly influences healthcare use, with low trust acting as a barrier to engagement with government systems [1]. At the organizational level, trust fosters professional collaboration, reinforces institutional legitimacy, and enhances overall system performance [3,4,11].

Public trust also underpins collective behaviours crucial to population health. Confidence that authorities act competently and fairly increases participation in vaccination, screening, and preventive programs [12,13]. When trust weakens, individuals are more likely to question scientific recommendations and resist institutional guidance, fueling vaccine hesitancy and noncompliance with public health measures [14,15]. Studies of vaccine confidence suggest that trust mediates the relationship between public health

communication and behavioral uptake, while mistrust amplifies susceptibility to misinformation and conspiracy beliefs [15]. Thus, trust is not merely an ethical ideal but a structural determinant of population health, influencing both individual outcomes and collective preparedness for health emergencies [8,11].

The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted how crucial trust is for effective public health responses. Countries with higher trust in governments and health agencies saw greater compliance with preventive measures such as masking, distancing, and vaccination [16–19]. Confidence in authorities' competence, transparency, and integrity fostered cooperation, while mistrust fueled skepticism and resistance [18]. Trust also proved a key driver of vaccination: those who trusted health organizations were far more likely to be vaccinated, demonstrating that trust directly influences both attitudes and health outcomes [16–19].

At the same time, the pandemic revealed how quickly trust can erode amid uncertainty and polarization. Inconsistent communication, misinformation, and the politicization of science led to declining confidence in healthcare professionals and organizations across diverse populations [17,20]. Comparative studies also showed weakening trust in international health authorities, especially in regions hardest hit by repeated infection waves [20,21].

This widespread erosion of trust has been interpreted as evidence of deeper institutional vulnerabilities: even technically competent performance may fail to sustain legitimacy in the absence of transparency, accountability, and responsiveness [20,22]. These dynamics underline that trust in health organizations is both essential and precarious. When present, it enhances the reach and effectiveness of health interventions; when absent, it compromises cooperation and endangers public welfare [22].

Despite its clear importance, trust in health organizations has received relatively limited systematic attention. Most empirical work has focused on patient-provider relationships, showing that greater trust in clinicians enhances adherence, satisfaction, and perceived care quality [23]. In contrast, research on organizational and system-level trust remains conceptually fragmented and geographically concentrated in high-income settings [24–26]. Studies of medical mistrust among racial and ethnic minorities further highlight

that mistrust, rooted in structural and historical discrimination, reduces engagement in preventive care and satisfaction with health services [27]. Evidence from vaccine confidence and COVID-19 research likewise underscores that trust in governments, public health agencies, and pharmaceutical organizations strongly shapes compliance, vaccine uptake, and broader public health behaviors [28–30].

While these findings offer valuable insights, they remain scattered across diverse domains, ranging from measurement and equity-focused health research to crisis communication, highlighting the need for a unified, systematic synthesis of knowledge on trust and mistrust in health organizations.

This review addresses this gap by examining four interrelated aspects of the literature: (1) how trust and mistrust in health organizations are defined and conceptualized; (2) the individual, social, and institutional determinants that shape them; (3) the tools and methodologies used to measure trust and mistrust; and (4) the interventions empirically tested to build, maintain, or restore trust.

This review synthesizes evidence across these domains and seeks to inform future research and guide strategies for strengthening public confidence in health organizations. In an era of recurrent health crises, digital transformation, and growing demands for transparency and accountability, such evidence is essential to support equitable and trustworthy health governance.

## **2. Materials and methods**

This systematic review was conducted and reported in accordance with the preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses (PRISMA) statement [31] and followed a predefined protocol registered in the international prospective register of systematic reviews (PROSPERO; protocol number CRD420251155996).

### **2.1 Research questions and PICO framework**

The overarching aim of this review was to systematically synthesize evidence on how trust and mistrust in health organizations are conceptualized, what factors influence them, how they are measured, and which interventions have been implemented to build, maintain, or restore trust. To ensure methodological clarity, the research design was structured according to the PICO framework [32]. The population (P) included healthcare and public health organizations, such as hospitals, clinics, health systems, and international health institutions (e.g., the World Health Organization). The intervention (I) encompassed any initiative, strategy, or tool designed to evaluate, enhance, or restore trust in these organizations or mitigate mistrust. No specific comparison (C) group was defined, as the review sought to describe and integrate findings rather than compare interventions. The outcomes (O) included conceptual definitions, identified determinants, validated or applied trust measurement instruments, and documented intervention outcomes.

## **2.2 Information sources and search strategy**

A comprehensive literature search was conducted across four major electronic databases: PubMed, Scopus, Web of Science, and PsycINFO, covering all publications from inception to 15th October 2025. These databases were selected to capture the multidisciplinary nature of trust, spanning health communication, psychology, and public health systems. The search strategy employed both Medical Subject Headings (MeSH) and free-text terms. The general search string applied across databases was:

("medical mistrust" OR "trust" OR "mistrust" OR "distrust" OR "confidence")  
AND ("health organization\*" OR "healthcare institution\*" OR "hospital\*" OR  
"clinic\*" OR "public health agenc\*" OR "health system\*")

Search syntax was tailored to each database to optimize retrieval accuracy. The full search strategy for each database, together with the date of each search and the number of records identified per database, is provided in the appendix. Reference lists of included studies and relevant reviews were manually screened to identify additional eligible publications.

### 2.3 Eligibility criteria, study selection, and data extraction

Eligible studies included empirical and non-empirical peer-reviewed research focusing on trust or mistrust in health organizations or health systems. Studies were included if they: (i) examined the conceptualization, determinants, measurement, or interventions related to trust or mistrust; (ii) addressed healthcare or public health organizations at the institutional or system level; and (iii) were published in English before 15 October 2025. Because trust in healthcare is shaped not only by provider organizations but also by the broader institutional environment that governs, regulates, and communicates health services, an expanded operational scope was applied. Studies examining trust or mistrust directed toward governmental health authorities, public-health agencies, pharmaceutical or regulatory bodies were included when these entities acted in ways that explicitly influenced public confidence in healthcare organizations or in the legitimacy of the health system. This approach reflects contemporary public-health and health-systems frameworks that view healthcare organizations as interdependent with the governance structures that shape their performance and credibility. Studies were excluded if they focused exclusively on interpersonal trust between patients and individual healthcare professionals, or on trust in information systems, social media, or digital health technologies without an explicit institutional focus. No restrictions were placed on geographical setting or study design. All retrieved records were imported into Zotero software, which was used as the reference management platform to support duplicate detection and to manage the screening process. Duplicate entries were identified using a two-step verification system combining automated detection within Zotero with manual screening [33]. Title, abstract, and full-text screening were conducted independently by two reviewers (NP and MV) within the Zotero environment, with disagreements resolved through discussion or, when necessary, adjudication by a third reviewer (UG). Data extraction followed a structured charting table developed *a priori* and pilot tested on a subset of twenty included studies to assess clarity, consistency, and completeness of extraction fields. Following pilot testing, data extraction was performed independently by two

reviewers (NP and MV), working in parallel. Extracted variables included author(s), year, country, study design, organizational context, conceptual definitions of trust or mistrust, identified determinants, measurement instruments, intervention characteristics, and principal findings. To ensure analytic transparency, determinants were coded using a multilevel framework [3, 26, 179] and grouped into three domains: individual, organizational, and contextual/systemic. Interventions were classified according to the multidimensional framework of McKee et al. [2]. Extracted data were compared across reviewers, and discrepancies were resolved through discussion and consensus; no automated data-extraction tools were used, and study authors were not contacted for additional data. Owing to heterogeneity in study designs, contexts, and outcomes, meta-analysis was not feasible, and findings were synthesized narratively.

#### **2.4 Quality assessment and data synthesis**

The methodological quality and credibility of each study were independently assessed by two reviewers (NP and MV) using distinct tools according to study type. Any discrepancies were resolved through structured discussion, and unresolved disagreements were adjudicated by a third investigator (UG) to reach consensus. For empirical studies, defined as studies based on the collection and analysis of primary data through observational, survey, or experimental designs, the KMET standard quality assessment criteria [34] were applied. The KMET tool comprises structured checklists for quantitative (14 items) and qualitative (10 items) studies, with each item scored as Yes (2 points), Partial (1 point), or No (0 points). Total scores were normalized to a continuous scale ranging from 0 to 1. Assessment items include clarity of research question, appropriateness of study design, description of participants, control of confounding variables, and suitability of statistical analyses. Quality thresholds were defined *a priori*, in line with established scoring conventions and prior applications of normalized KMET scores in evidence synthesis: studies scoring  $> 0.75$  were classified as high quality, those scoring between 0.55 and 0.75 as moderate quality, and those scoring  $< 0.55$  as low quality. For non-empirical studies, including narrative, opinion, or textual analyses, the JBI

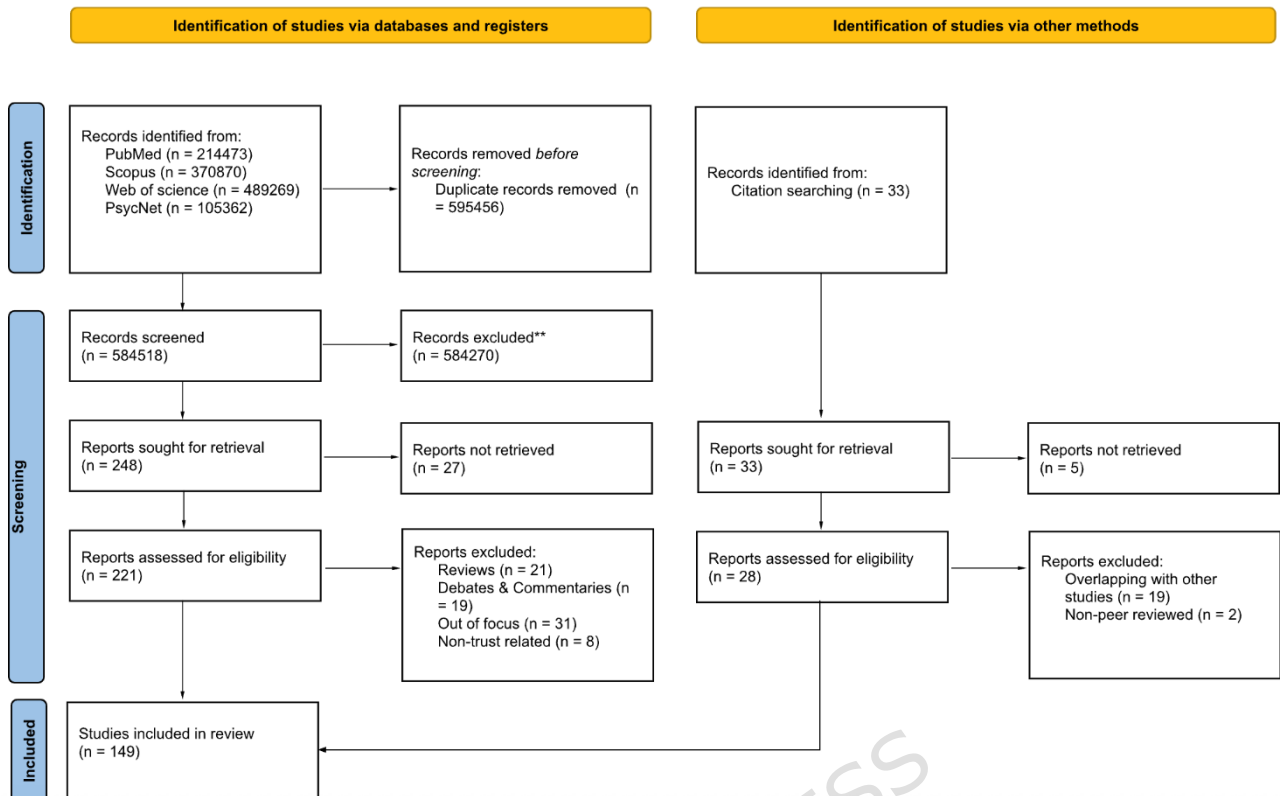
critical appraisal checklist [35] was used to evaluate methodological credibility and identify potential sources of bias in design, argumentation, and evidence use. Items include clarity of the source and its standing in the field, relevance to the population or issue discussed, coherence and transparency of reasoning, support from peers or the literature, and acknowledgement of inconsistencies. Based on the predefined checklist criteria, studies were categorized as high credibility (scores 6-5), moderate credibility (scores 4-2), or low credibility (scores 1-0). Across both empirical and non-empirical studies, quality and credibility assessments were conducted to characterise the strength of the evidence and to inform interpretive synthesis only. No study was excluded on the basis of methodological quality or risk of bias. Quality ratings were subsequently considered during narrative synthesis to contextualize findings and discussed in the limitations.

### **2.5 Ethical considerations**

Because this study analysed data from previously published sources, no new data collection involving human participants was performed. Ethical approval was therefore not required. All review activities were conducted in accordance with the registered protocol adhering to principles of transparency, reproducibility, and research integrity.

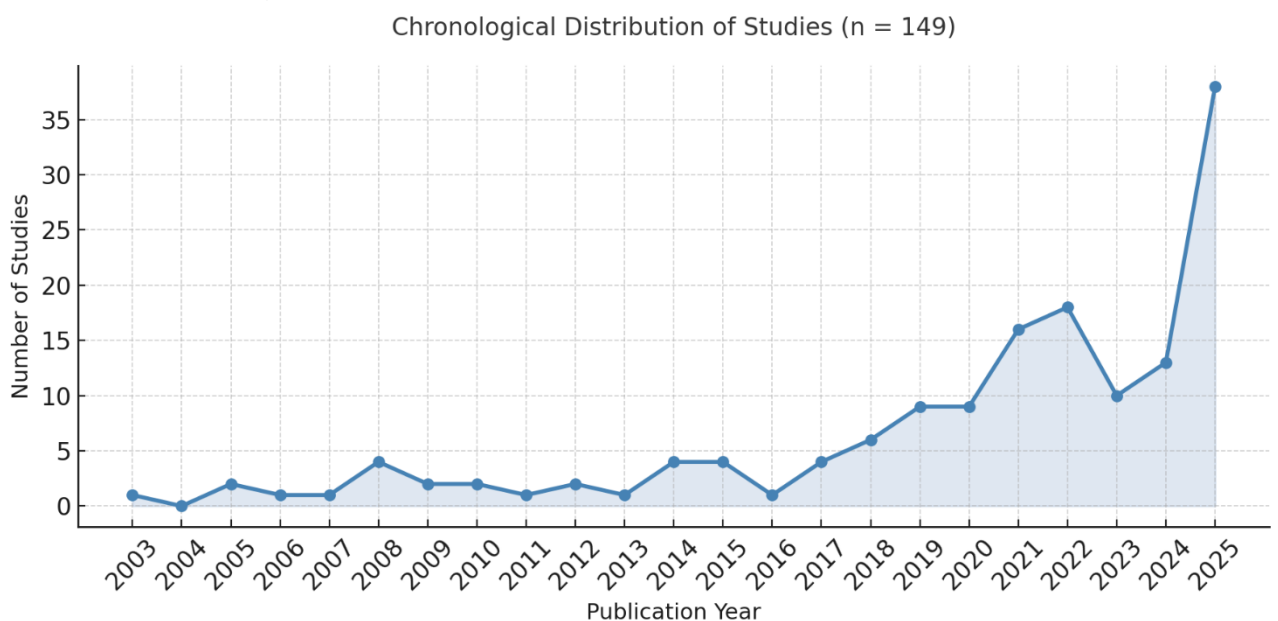
## **3. Results**

The screening and study selection process is presented in Figure 1. In total, 149 studies fulfilled the eligibility criteria and were included in this review [36-185]. A full list of the selected study and their characteristics is available in the appendix. In accordance with PRISMA, the appendix also documents studies that appeared, on initial assessment, to meet the inclusion criteria but were subsequently excluded after full-text review, together with a detailed justification for their exclusion.



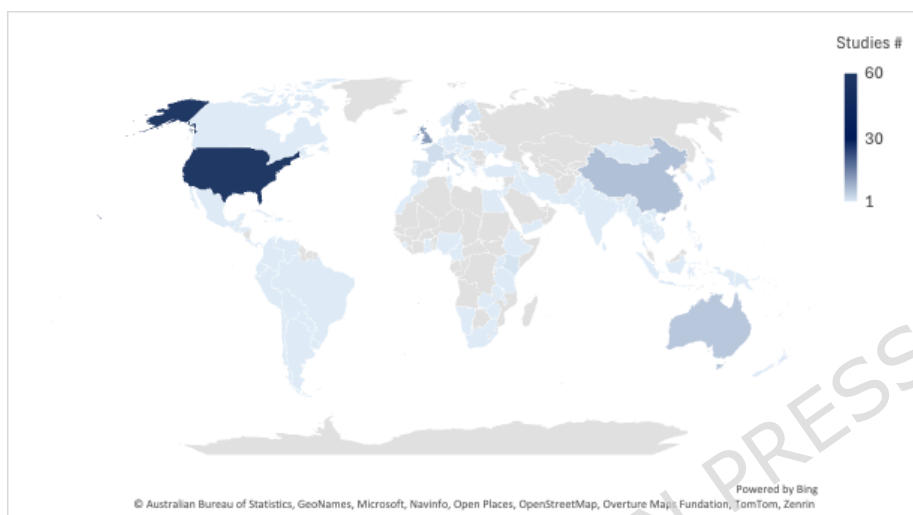
**Figure 1.** PRISMA flowchart of the screening process

Publications spanned the period 2003–2025 (Figure 2), showing a marked increase in output in recent years. The majority (n=104) were published from 2020 onward, with the highest annual frequency recorded in 2025 (n=38), followed by 2022 (n=18) and 2021 (n=16).



**Figure 2.** Chronological distribution of selected studies

As presented in Figure 3, studies were conducted across 52 countries, with the United States accounting for 40.3% of the sample, followed by the United Kingdom (8.1%) and China (4.7%). Ten studies (6.7%) represented international collaborations, frequently within WHO-affiliated or multilateral research frameworks. High-income settings represented 71.8% of the total.



**Figure 3.** Geographical distribution of selected studies

Most studies were empirical (92.6%), while eleven (7.4%) were theoretical, conceptual, or policy analyses. Among empirical studies, the dominant design was cross-sectional quantitative (55.7%), followed by qualitative (18.1%), mixed-methods (14.1%), and experimental or interventional studies (6.1%). A further nine studies (6%) focused on instrument development or psychometric validation of trust or mistrust measures.

Studies addressed trust and mistrust across diverse health-system levels and organizational settings. The largest group examined national or regional health-system or institutional health contexts (40.9%), typically focusing on public trust in government-managed health systems, ministries of health, and service-governance structures. Hospitals and healthcare organizations (20.8%)

represented the second most frequent setting, often analysing organizational relationships among staff, management, and patients. A further 23 studies (15.4%) addressed public-health authorities and pandemic-governance contexts, most conducted during or after the COVID-19 pandemic, while 19 studies (12.8%) investigated community or primary-care services, including those involving community health workers, clinics, and outreach programmes. Smaller subsets focused on research, data-governance, or biobanking settings (5.4%) and on digital, technology-assisted, or AI-enabled healthcare systems (4.7%), reflecting emerging interest in data protection, algorithmic transparency, and technology-mediated care. The study populations were equally diverse. Most investigations targeted patients and members of the general public (67.8%), followed by health professionals (14%), mixed stakeholder samples (10.1%), and policy or institutional representatives (8.1%). Sample sizes varied substantially, ranging from qualitative studies with 20–50 participants to national and multinational surveys exceeding 40,000 respondents. Trust was most often examined at the institutional level (41%), followed by relational or patient-provider trust (33%) and organizational or managerial trust (15%), whereas mistrust was predominantly studied at the institutional level (77%), reflecting its systemic orientation within contemporary research.

### 3.1 Quality assessment

Overall, most studies demonstrated good methodological quality and credibility (Table 1). As shown below, 67.8% of all studies were rated as good quality, 30.2% as adequate quality, and only 0.7% as poor quality, indicating that low-quality evidence was exceptionally rare across the corpus.

	<b>Score &gt; 0.75 (Good quality)</b>	<b>Between 0.55 and 0.75 (Adequate quality)</b>	<b>Score &lt; 0.55 (Poor quality)</b>
<b>Empirical studies (n = 138)</b>	69.6%, (n=96)	29.7%, (n=41)	0.7%, (n=1)
	<b>Score 6-5</b>	<b>Score 4-2 Moderate credibility studies</b>	<b>Score 1-0</b>

	<b>High credibility studies</b>		<b>Low credibility studies</b>
<b>Non-empirical studies (n = 11)</b>	63.6%, (n=7)	36.4%, (n=4)	0%, (n=0)

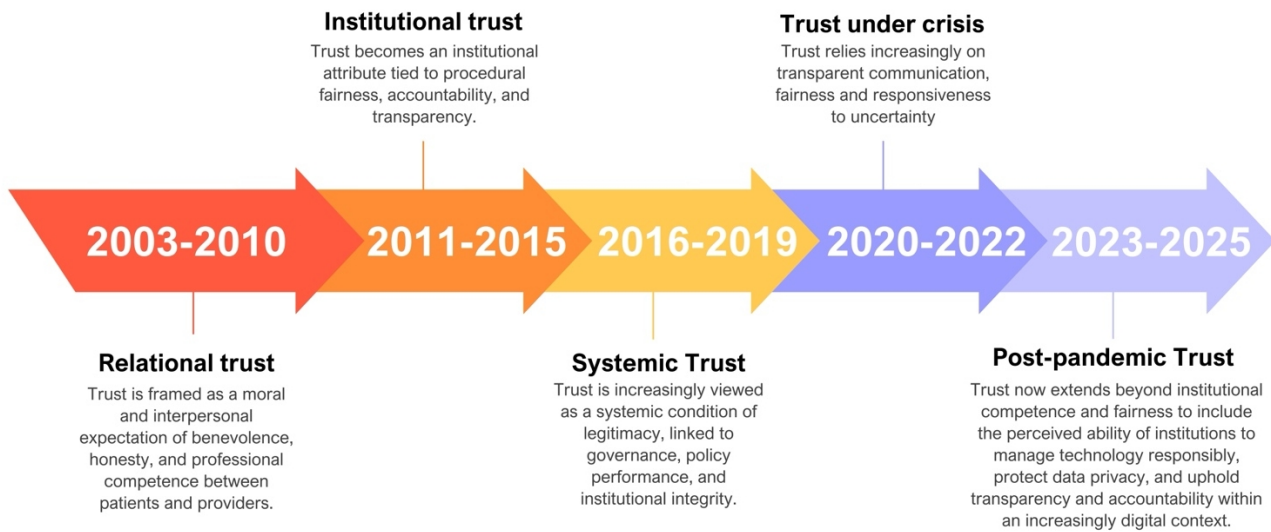
**Table 1.** Distribution of quality and credibility scores among studies (n=149)

Good-quality studies were more likely to provide explicit and theoretically grounded definitions of trust and mistrust and to employ validated instruments or multilevel analytical frameworks. They consistently linked higher trust with favourable outcomes, including better treatment adherence, greater participation in preventive and screening programmes, and higher compliance with public-health measures. Adequate-quality studies generally examined narrower antecedents, such as transparency, fairness, or communication, but provided less methodological detail and rarely tested behavioural outcomes. Poor-quality studies were uncommon and mainly descriptive, often lacking validated measures or theoretical framing, and typically focused on isolated dimensions of trust without systematic analysis.

### **3.2 Definitions and conceptual frameworks of trust and mistrust in health organizations**

136 studies (91.3%) provided a conceptual or operational definition of trust or mistrust in health organizations. Among these, 79 (53.0%) defined trust only, 43 (28.9%) defined mistrust or distrust only, and 14 (9.4%) addressed both constructs as distinct yet interrelated. Thirteen studies (8.7%) used the terms empirically without explicit conceptual clarification. Trust was most frequently defined as a positive expectation under conditions of vulnerability that individuals, professionals, or institutions will act competently, fairly, and benevolently in the public interest. Over time, conceptualizations progressively expanded while retaining these core features (see figure 4).

## Evolution of trust in health organizations



**Figure 4.** *Evolution of trust*

Early studies (2003–2010) emphasized interpersonal and moral dimensions, framing trust as grounded in perceived benevolence and integrity [37,79,104]. Between 2011 and 2019, definitions built on this foundation, increasingly focusing on institutional accountability, transparency, and procedural justice, positioning trust as a feature of health systems rather than individuals [74,77,125]. From 2020 onward, definitions became multi-layered and system-embedded, further extending to domains of digital governance, AI reliability, and organizational transparency [94,116,159]. Across this evolution, trust was conceptualized as both a determinant and an indicator of institutional legitimacy, grounded in competence, fairness, and integrity.

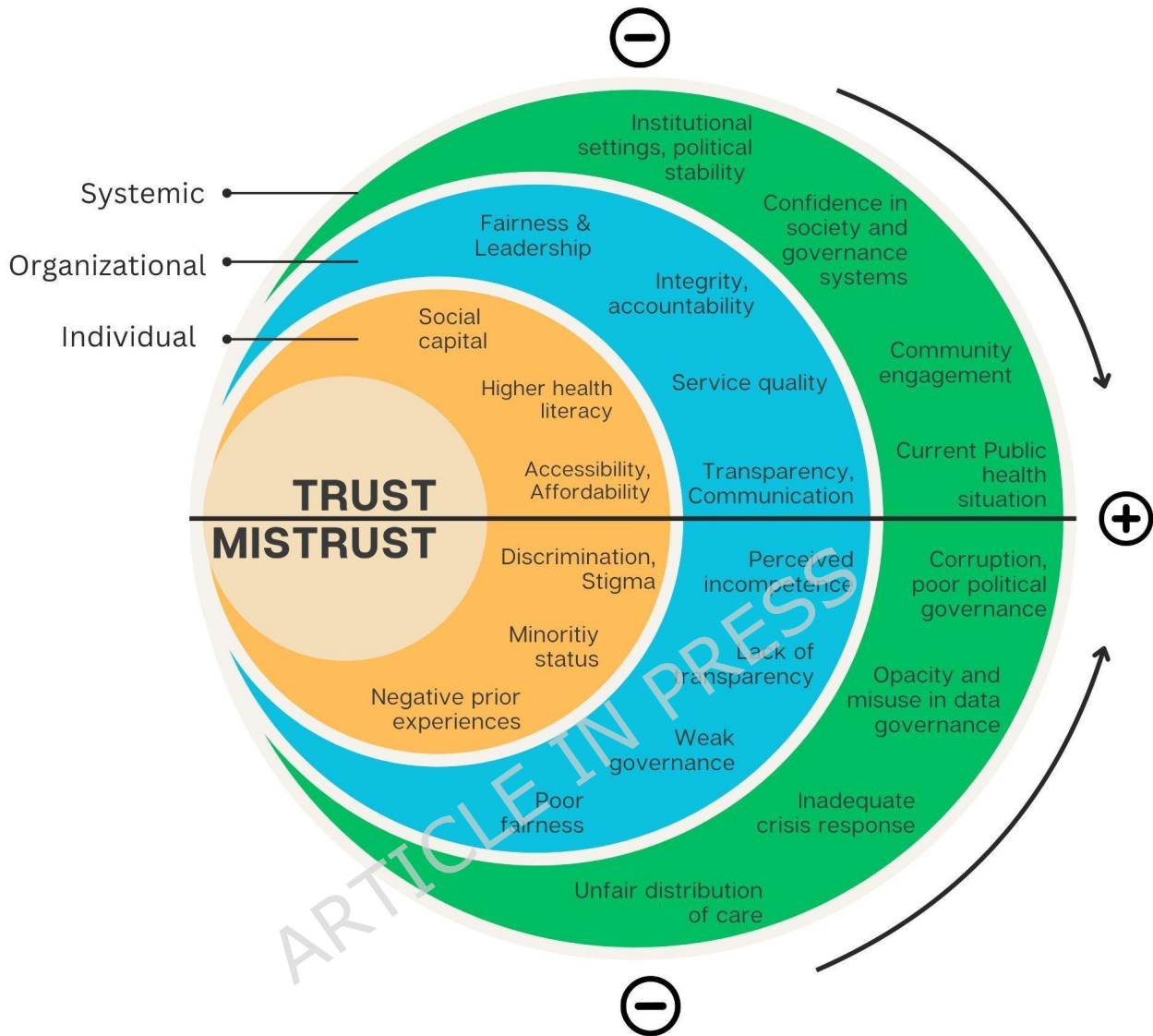
Mistrust has evolved as an independent construct rather than merely representing the absence of trust. The most widely cited framework distinguishes between competence-based mistrust, which arises when institutions are perceived as ineffective or inconsistent, and values-based mistrust, which stems from perceived violations of fairness or moral integrity [54,163]. Unlike distrust, which typically denotes an explicit and situational

withdrawal of confidence in response to identifiable institutional failures, mistrust represents a more enduring, experience-based stance of caution. It is shaped by broader historical, social, and structural contexts rather than by discrete events. From 2015 onward, especially in U.S. research, scholars have increasingly linked mistrust to structural inequities and histories of exclusion, particularly among racial and ethnic minority communities [47,66,86,166,181]. In this sense, mistrust reflects not simply disbelief in institutions, but a learned wariness rooted in lived and inherited experiences of marginalization. Rather than portraying mistrust as a personal unwillingness or inability to trust, studies conceptualised it as a response emerging from people's lived experiences of discrimination, limited transparency, and institutional failure. After 2020, mistrust expanded to encompass political and digital domains, including skepticism toward governments, pharmaceutical industries, and AI-driven health technologies [111,121,159].

### **3.3 Determinants of trust in health organizations**

Across the 149 included studies, 144 (96.6%) identified at least one determinant of trust or mistrust in healthcare. A full report is included in the appendix. As described in the method section, determinants were clustered into three broad domains [3,26,179], namely individual, organizational, and contextual/systemic, which often interact across levels. Figure 5 reflects these patterns by synthesizing the most frequently identified determinants across levels.

# DETERMINANTS OF TRUST AND MISTRUST



**Figure 5.** This figure illustrates the most frequently identified determinants of trust and mistrust, categorized across three analytical levels: individual, organizational, and systemic. The determinants positioned closer to the middle line represent those most frequently supported by quantitative evidence. Positive determinants (upper half) promote trust, while negative determinants (lower half) contribute to mistrust.

### 3.3.1 Individual-level determinants

Individual sociodemographic characteristics were the most consistently examined factors. Age, gender, and education were significant correlates in 41 studies (27.5%), though directions varied by context. Higher educational attainment and older age were generally associated with greater trust (e.g., [52,59,100]), whereas younger age and lower socioeconomic status predicted lower trust or higher mistrust (e.g., [53,139]). Racial or ethnic identity emerged as a major determinant in 29 U.S.-based studies (19.5%), with medical mistrust markedly higher among African American, Latino, and Native American populations (e.g., [47,66,83,86]). These associations were frequently mediated by perceived discrimination, historical marginalization, and prior negative healthcare experiences. Psychological variables were also salient: perceived vulnerability, perceived risk, and high health literacy levels were positively associated with trust in 18 studies (12.1%) [36,37,45,50,52,56,67,82,87,92,94,107,129,134,139,161,175,176], while anxiety, stigma, and political cynicism were linked to mistrust [158,181].

Trust in science and general social trust correlated positively with trust in 17 studies (11.4%), suggesting that individuals who have confidence in science, government, or society at large are also more likely to trust health organizations [36,53,75,100,104,111,113,123,124,137,143,154,157,158,162,165,179].

### **3.3.2 Organizational determinants**

At the institutional level, 109 studies (73.1%) highlighted characteristics of healthcare organizations as primary drivers of trust. Three main themes emerged: competence and quality of care (38.3%), referring to professional expertise, safety, and reliability of services; fairness and equity (18.1%), reflecting perceptions of impartial treatment and just distribution of care; and communication and transparency (42.3%), linked to openness in information sharing and institutional accountability. Perceived competence, operationalized through technical proficiency, diagnostic accuracy, and responsiveness, was consistently associated with higher trust across diverse contexts (e.g., [79,113,125]). Conversely, procedural inequities and resource constraints, particularly in low- and middle-income settings (e.g., [74,132]), were reported

as structural sources of distrust. Transparency and effective communication, especially during public-health crises, were among the most cited predictors of trust (42.3%). Studies conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g., [52,75,116]) showed that timely, honest, and evidence-based communication by authorities increased public confidence, whereas inconsistent or politicized messaging amplified mistrust. Leadership integrity and organizational justice were identified as key internal determinants in 16 studies (10.7%), reflecting the role of transparent, ethical, and fair management practices in sustaining trust within organizations. These studies emphasized that consistent leadership behaviour, open communication, and equitable treatment of staff strengthen both employee trust and clinician–management relationships [40,51,89,96,98,99,106,116,118,125,126,143,144,147,148,151].

### 3.3.3 Contextual and systemic determinants

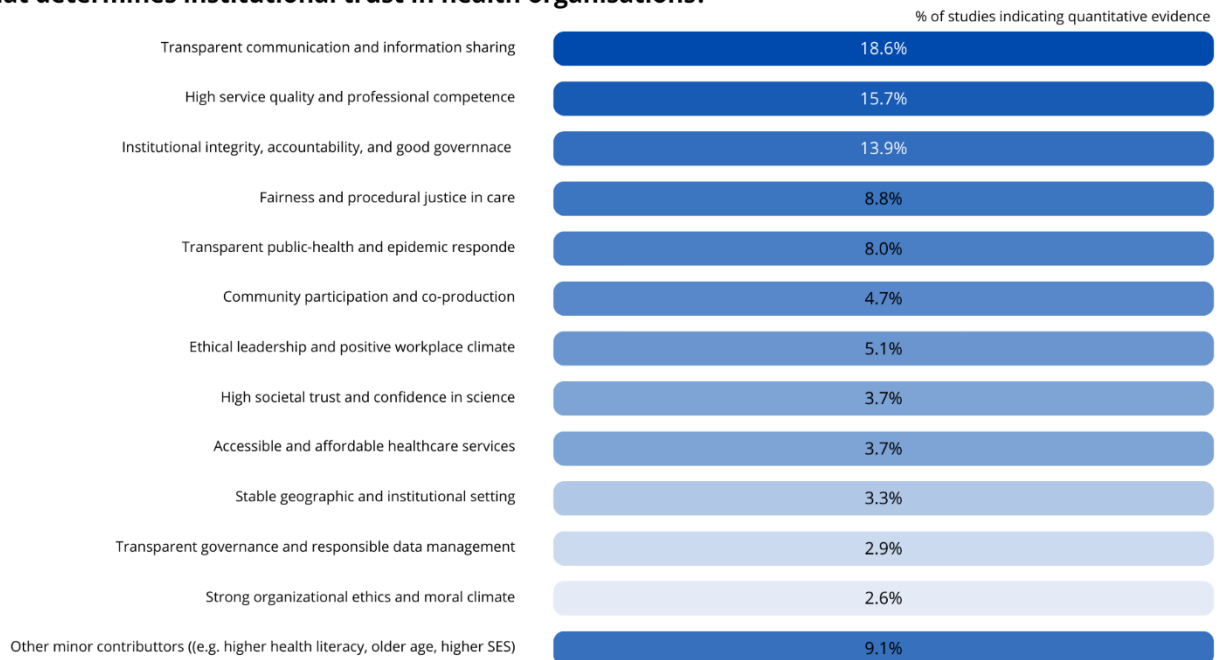
Broader socio-political and policy contexts influenced trust in 118 studies (79.2%). Trust tended to be higher in publicly financed systems perceived as equitable, accountable, and oriented toward the common good (e.g., [37,62,104]), where healthcare was understood as a public good and a shared social responsibility. Conversely, it declined in contexts marked by corruption, opaque decision-making, privatization, or political instability, which undermined perceptions of fairness and legitimacy (e.g., [122,148]). Several studies linked abrupt losses of trust to governance failures and health-related scandals, including vaccine controversies that questioned regulatory independence [172] and pandemic mismanagement that exposed political interference and inadequate crisis leadership [150,158]. Community engagement and participatory governance emerged as trust-enhancing mechanisms in 14 studies (9.4%) [38,44,46,74,85,128,133,137,149,160,167,168,174,177], particularly in African and South Asian contexts [46,85,167]. Conversely, digitalization and AI-based care introduced new forms of institutional vulnerability. Twenty-three studies (15.4%) identified issues related to the opacity of algorithmic decision-making and data protection [4,21,23,34,41,53,57,60,62,75,79,81,87,101,107,109,121,125,127,130,135,143

,144]. Seven recent papers (4.7%) highlighted two interrelated concerns: the limited explainability of how AI systems generate clinical or public-health decisions and the safeguarding of personal health data [42,94,108,116,159,170,177]. Together, these studies indicate that technological trust, grounded in perceptions of algorithmic transparency, data security, and institutional oversight, is emerging as a distinct dimension of institutional confidence.

### **3.3.4 Quantitative patterns of determinants of trust and mistrust**

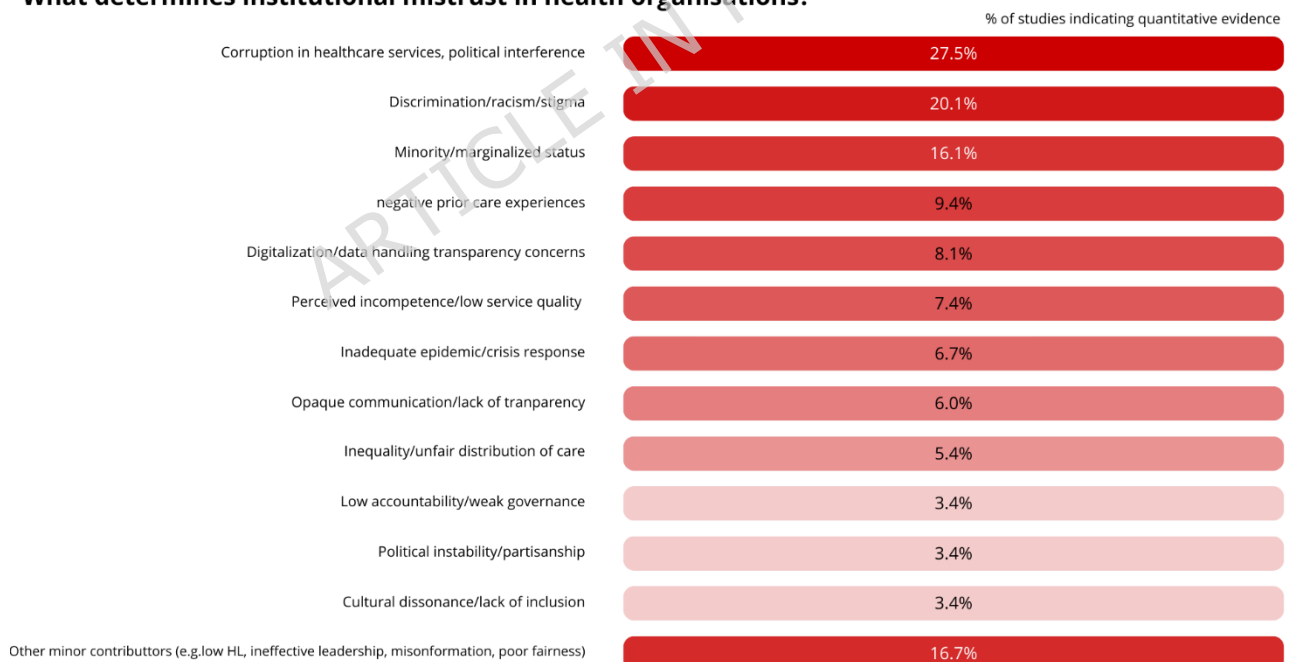
When narrowing the analysis to quantitative evidence only (83 studies, 55.7%), a consistent pattern emerges across both trust and mistrust. As illustrated in figure 6, transparent communication, professional competence, and institutional integrity were the strongest quantitative predictors of trust, whereas figure 7 highlights corruption, discrimination, and social marginalization as the most frequent sources of mistrust. Across both polarities, organizational-level determinants predominated, representing roughly two-thirds ( $\approx 65\%$ ) of all quantitative evidence, while systemic influences accounted for about one-quarter ( $\approx 25\%$ ) and individual characteristics for less than 15%. Overall, the quantitative data indicate that determinants related to organizational performance and governance were examined most frequently, followed by contextual and individual factors with secondary or moderating roles.

### What determines institutional trust in health organisations?



**Figure 6.** Quantitative evidence on trust determinants

### What determines institutional mistrust in health organisations?



**Figure 7.** Quantitative evidence on mistrust determinants

## 3.4 Measurement instruments and methodologies used to assess trust and mistrust

Among the included studies, 44 (29.5%) employed a validated instrument specifically designed to measure trust or mistrust, corresponding to 45 total applications across 14 distinct scales (Table 2). An additional 64 studies (43.0%) assessed trust or mistrust using non-validated or adapted survey items, while 41 (27.5%) explored these constructs qualitatively through interviews, focus groups, ethnography, or document analysis. In qualitative and mixed-method designs, trust was typically conceptualized as a thematic or contextual construct rather than as a quantified outcome. The most frequently used validated instruments were the group-based medical mistrust scale (n=13), the medical mistrust index (n=8), and the health care system distrust scale (n=8), together accounting for nearly two-thirds of all validated applications. Less common but conceptually relevant tools included organizational and workforce trust inventories, multilevel system-trust scales, and context-specific measures of public-health, government, data-governance, and community trust. Validated instruments were used most frequently in U.S.-based studies (68%), whereas research conducted in Europe, Asia, and Africa more often relied on adapted or newly constructed items. Conceptually, validated scales converged on recurring domains, namely competence, integrity, fairness, benevolence, transparency, and accountability, capturing both institutional performance and ethical trustworthiness. Overall, quantitative approaches predominated across the dataset, though nearly one third of studies (n=46, 30.9%) used qualitative or mixed-methods designs that examined trust as a relational, process-oriented construct rather than a measurable attitude.

<b>Instrument</b>	<b>Level of trust assessed *</b>	<b>Study ID (s) **</b>
Group-Based Medical Mistrust Scale (GBMMS)	Institutional	3, 11, 24, 28, 37, 41, 48, 58, 84, 97, 139, 148, 149
Medical Mistrust Index (MMI)	Institutional	10, 29, 49, 55, 61, 110, 118, 132
Health Care System Distrust Scale (HCSD)	Institutional	19, 30, 31, 56, 59, 68, 72, 104
Trust in Physician Scale (TiPS)	Institutional	29, 56, 59
Organizational Trust Inventory (OTI)	Organizational	2, 64, 82
Health Organization & System Trustworthiness Scale (HOST)	Organizational	5

Trust in Health Care Settings Scale (THCSS)	Institutional	83
S-TIMHSS / TIMHSS (System Trust in Medical and Health Systems Scale)	Multilevel	87, 91
Citizen Trust in Government Organizations Scale (CTGO)	Institutional	127
Public Health Disaster Trust Scale	Institutional	79
CHW Trust Scale (Community Health Worker)	Institutional	133
Public Trust in Health Information Sharing Scale	Institutional	109
Primary Care Trust Scale	Institutional	81
Public Trust in Health Care Scale	Institutional	76
<p><b>* Level of trust assessed</b></p> <p>Institutional = trust or mistrust directed toward healthcare systems, ministries, or governance structures.</p> <p>Organizational = trust within healthcare organizations (e.g., hospitals, management, workforce).</p> <p>Multilevel = combined or cross-level constructs (institutional + organizational).</p> <p>** Study IDs correspond to the numbering in Appendix Table A.</p>		

**Table 2.** Validated instruments used to assess trust and mistrust in healthcare organizations

### 3.5 Interventions designed to enhance or restore trust, or to address mistrust, within healthcare organizations

A total of 37 studies (24.8% of the 149 included) described interventions or initiatives explicitly aimed at strengthening trust or mitigating mistrust within healthcare systems. Guided by the multidimensional framework of McKee et al. [2], these interventions were organized into five domains: community engagement and communication (45.9%), organizational culture and workforce development (13.5%), institutional governance and accountability (21.6%), digital and data trust (8.1%), and restorative trust initiatives (10.8%) (Table 3). Most interventions operated at the community–institutional interface, with fewer targeting internal organisational culture or the digital and data

infrastructures underpinning care. Across domains, studies commonly reported improvements in trust-related perceptions, transparency, responsiveness, or user engagement, although a minority described only partial or short-lived effects when structural constraints persisted. Thirteen studies (35.1%) reported at least one statistically significant quantitative association ( $p < .05$ ) between the intervention and a trust-related indicator such as institutional credibility, satisfaction, data-sharing willingness, or care-seeking behaviour. Intervention reports were largely concentrated in the post-2020 period and in North America, sub-Saharan Africa, and South-East Asia, reflecting heightened policy attention to rebuilding trust in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, only a small subset of studies explicitly linked changes in trust to objective performance metrics, limiting inferences about downstream effects on service utilisation or health outcomes.

<b>Intervention domain</b>	<b>Main features</b>	<b>Level targeted</b>	<b>Reported outcomes</b>	<b>Statistically significant findings</b>
Community engagement and communication	Outreach by community health workers, participatory co-design, and transparent dialogue-based campaigns.	Community / Institutional	Greater responsiveness, message credibility, and institutional legitimacy [6, 10, 15, 18, 36, 38, 44, 57, 79, 92, 95, 101, 125, 133, 134, 135, 140].	Improved care-seeking intentions (+9.3%, $p < .05$ ) [10]
				Higher regulatory trust in UK vs US ( $p < .01$ ) [57]
				Lower trust predicted care avoidance ( $p < .001$ ) [95].
Organizational culture and workforce development	Leadership and empathy training, cultural-competence and staff-development programmes.	Organizational / Individual	Enhanced teamwork, patient satisfaction, and perceived organizational reliability [2, 19, 45, 82, 120].	Discrimination increased mistrust ( $p < .001$ ) [19]
				leadership alignment raised clinician trust ( $p < .01$ ) [82]
				Service quality predicted trust ( $p < .001$ ) [120]

Institutional governance and accountability	Transparency reforms, participatory oversight, and integrity audits.	Institutional / Governance	Improved fairness, procedural justice, and institutional integrity [23, 32, 91, 114, 124, 126, 127, 136].	Corruption reduced trust ( $p < .001$ ) [114];
				Transparency reforms increased trust ( $p < .05$ ) [126];
				Trust reduced fatigue and improved adherence ( $p < .001$ ) [127].
Digital and data trust	Ethical AI design, transparent consent, and data-governance safeguards.	Institutional / Digital	Increased data security and fairness; concerns over algorithmic opacity persisted [34, 87, 143].	Digital participation increased trust ( $\beta = .27, p < .01$ ) [87];
				Privacy assurances improved trust ( $p < .05$ ) [143].
Restorative trust initiatives	Public acknowledgment, apology, and inclusion of marginalized groups.	Institutional / Community	Partial restoration of trust and improved dialogue with affected populations [24, 58, 98, 145].	Poor infrastructure decreased trust ( $p < .01$ ) [98];
				apology and inclusion efforts increased trust sentiment ( $p < .05$ ) [145].

\* Study IDs correspond to the numbering assigned to included studies in Appendix.

**Table 3.** *Intervention domains, implementation levels, and trust-related outcomes*

#### 4. Discussion

The body of evidence examined reveals an evolving, yet methodologically fragmented field concerned with how trust and mistrust in health organizations are conceptualized, measured, and addressed. Although their importance for system legitimacy, cooperation, and resilience is now widely recognized [1,3,11], conceptual and methodological inconsistencies persist. Trust is increasingly understood not only as a determinant of health-system performance but also as an indicator of institutional integrity. Yet its boundaries, drivers, and mechanisms of repair remain only partly understood.

#### **4.1 Conceptual evolution of trust and mistrust**

This review shows a clear theoretical progression from individualistic to systemic understandings of trust. Earlier studies treated trust as a relational expectation of competence and benevolence, whereas more recent work interprets it as a structural feature of governance that sustains legitimacy through transparency, accountability, and procedural fairness [37, 78, 113, 124]. Such a shift mirrors broader public-health thinking, where trust is viewed as both an ethical value and a measurable determinant of institutional performance [184, 185].

The growing analytical distinction between trust and mistrust marks a second conceptual advance. Empirical evidence increasingly portrays mistrust not as a lack of confidence but as a lived, contextual reaction to inequity, exclusion, or perceived institutional failure [47, 54, 86, 166, 181].

Recognizing mistrust as contextually grounded rather than irrational clarifies why institutional legitimacy depends as much on communication and perceived fairness as on technical competence: people trust systems that demonstrate openness and respect, not only those that deliver effective outcomes [27, 186].

Finally, recent research extends these constructs to the digital sphere. Studies highlight that confidence in AI-enabled and data-driven health systems depends on algorithmic transparency, consent, and equitable governance [94, 116, 159]. Transparent and equitable governance of digital technologies is increasingly described as important for sustaining trust in modern health systems [184, 185].

#### **4.2 Determinants across levels and contexts**

Trust and mistrust in health organizations are not static attitudes, but relational processes shaped by interactions among individuals, organizations, and broader systems. At the individual level, demographic, psychosocial, and cognitive factors influence perceptions but remain intertwined with lived experience. The association between high health literacy and trust, observed across multiple studies [56, 67, 175, 176], supports earlier findings that health-literate individuals make more accurate judgments about competence and

transparency [187, 188]. Conversely, the recurrent link between racial or ethnic identity and medical mistrust, primarily in U.S.-based studies, reflects enduring structural inequities and experiences of perceived discrimination [47, 66, 86, 166, 181]. At the organizational level, competence, procedural fairness, and transparency remain foundational dimensions of institutional trustworthiness. Technical proficiency alone is insufficient when decision-making lacks transparency or when leadership accountability is questioned [47, 74, 79, 113]. During the COVID-19 pandemic, several studies demonstrated that even evidence-based interventions lost public traction when communication was inconsistent or politicized [16, 52, 75, 116]. Transparent and participatory governance therefore appears to operate not only as an ethical norm but also as a structural mechanism for institutional legitimacy. At the systemic level, contextual factors such as governance, equity, and digitalization further shape institutional confidence. Trust tends to be higher in publicly financed, equitable systems that symbolize solidarity and accountability [37, 62, 104] and lower in contexts affected by corruption, privatization, or political instability [122, 148, 153]. Meanwhile, emerging digital infrastructures have introduced new vulnerabilities. Lack of transparency in AI decision-making (also known as the "*black box problem*"), data-privacy concerns, and lack of oversight in AI-enabled healthcare are increasingly recognized as sources of mistrust [94, 159, 177]. Recent studies highlight that sustaining confidence in digital health systems depends on dataset transparency, bias mitigation, and participatory governance [184, 185] - although these studies represent a relatively small proportion of the total evidence base.

Utilizing the World Bank's income classification, we analyzed the distribution of determinants across countries. Overall, 103 studies were conducted in high-income countries, 23 in upper-middle-income countries, 6 in lower-middle-income countries, and 3 in low-income countries. The classification was not applicable to 14 studies, either because they adopted a global scope or included heterogeneous groups of countries differing in income levels. In high-income countries, determinants of trust tended to appear more evenly distributed across individual, organizational, and systemic domains. Among these, transparency and effective communication were the most frequently reported factors fostering trust [e.g., 2, 33, 143]. Conversely,

determinants of mistrust tended to cluster within the individual domain, though this pattern was largely driven by U.S.-based studies, particularly relating to experiences of discrimination, stigma, minority status, and prior negative encounters with healthcare providers [e.g., 6, 28, 118]. It is important to note, however, that nearly half of these studies (48; 46.6%) were conducted in the United States, which may limit the broader generalizability of these findings due to the country's distinctive socio-political context.

In upper-middle-income countries, trust was most frequently associated with organizational-level determinants, particularly service quality, community engagement, and transparency [e.g., 44, 81, 146]. In contrast, mistrust was primarily linked to institutional factors, including perceived corruption and discrimination [111, 114]. In lower-middle-income countries, community engagement emerged as the predominant driver of trust [39, 133], while perceived unfairness and misinformation were the most frequently cited determinants of mistrust [4, 98]. In low-income countries, social capital, transparent communication, and leadership were key enablers of trust [11, 15, 73], whereas politicization and resource constraints represented the main institutional sources of mistrust.

Across income levels, the relative salience of determinants appeared to shift from individual-level factors in high-income contexts toward organizational and institutional drivers in lower-income settings. Consistent with the quantitative synthesis presented, organizational performance and governance variables were the most frequently tested predictors of trust, whereas individual-level determinants, particularly discrimination, minority status, and prior negative experiences, were more prevalent in qualitative and mixed-methods studies. We also explored the distribution of determinants according to the primary health system financing source (public, private, or external). However, this analysis was considered redundant, as 85.8% of publicly financed systems were located in high-income countries, while no high-income countries were represented within the private or externally financed groups. Consequently, the observed patterns largely overlapped with those derived from the income-based classification.

### 4.3 Methodological and intervention gaps

Although conceptual understanding of trust has advanced, methodological inconsistency continues to limit empirical synthesis and cross-cultural generalization. This review identified 14 validated instruments used to assess trust and mistrust, most developed and psychometrically validated in U.S. contexts. While some have been applied or translated in other regions, few underwent full cross-cultural validation or reliability testing. Evidence of conceptual equivalence therefore remains limited [189]. More recent analyses confirm that heterogeneous operationalizations of trust hinder cumulative knowledge building and obscure how contextual determinants such as governance, communication, and cultural norms shape institutional confidence [190,191]. Quantitative designs have been valuable for identifying attitudinal patterns but capture only static dimensions of trust. By contrast, qualitative and mixed-methods studies reveal its relational and temporal nature, illustrating how trust is negotiated, sustained, or lost [78, 125, 179]. Integrating these methodological traditions through hybrid frameworks (e.g. [192, 193]) may enable a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms through which trust evolves and mistrust can be repaired.

Empirical evidence on interventions remains limited and uneven. Only 37 studies evaluated strategies to strengthen or restore trust, and just 13 (35.1%) reported statistically significant effects on trust-related indicators. Community-based initiatives, especially those involving participatory co-design or trusted health workers, were the most frequently evaluated and consistently improved perceived responsiveness, message credibility, and institutional legitimacy (e.g., [44, 133, 167]), with some demonstrating measurable behavioural effects such as increased care-seeking intentions [10]. Organisational culture and workforce interventions yielded positive impacts on teamwork, perceived reliability, and clinician-management trust [19, 82, 120], while governance and accountability reforms, including transparency audits, citizen oversight, and integrity mechanisms, were associated with improvements in fairness, procedural justice, and institutional integrity [114, 124, 126, 127, 136]. Digital-trust interventions showed promising but still emerging evidence: transparent consent processes and data-governance safeguards increased trust [87, 143],

despite persistent concerns about algorithmic opacity [34]. However, most studies relied on cross-sectional or short-term outcomes, and few linked trust changes to objective performance indicators or long-term service-use patterns. Future implementation research should integrate validated trust metrics with measures of performance, equity, and behavioral outcomes, ensuring that trust is treated not only as a perception but as a measurable determinant of health-system functioning [190,193,194].

#### **4.4 Impact on public health interventions**

Trust underpins the legitimacy on which public health interventions depend to secure compliance and collective action [12,13]. When that legitimacy is weakened, interventions lose authority, credibility, and social acceptance [14,15]. Among the 37 intervention studies identified in this review, the majority reported qualitative improvements in transparency, engagement, or trust-related perceptions, while a smaller subset, most notably studies [114,136], demonstrated measurable increases in service utilisation and reductions in care delays following trust-building initiatives. Taken together, these findings indicate that higher trust facilitates public participation and the uptake of health services and programmes. Conversely, mistrust, particularly when rooted in structural inequities and historical exclusion, was associated with sustained resistance to institutional guidance and diminished responsiveness to health policies and outreach efforts, thereby constraining intervention reach and effectiveness. During public health crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic, several studies (e.g., [52,75,116]) showed that transparent and consistent communication from authorities enhanced public confidence, whereas inconsistent or politicised messaging amplified mistrust. This evidence directly links trust to adherence to preventive measures, risk-communication efficacy, and compliance with emergency directives. At the organisational level, leadership integrity, fairness, and mutual trust between staff and management were shown to strengthen internal cohesion and communication, conditions that support both the effective implementation and the sustainability of public health interventions [40, 51, 89, 96, 98, 99, 106, 116, 118, 125, 126, 143, 144, 147, 148, 151].

#### **4.5 Strengths and limitations**

This review offers a comprehensive synthesis of trust and mistrust in health organizations, integrating conceptual, empirical, and intervention-based evidence across 149 studies from 52 countries. Its main strength lies in the systematic mapping of definitions, determinants, measurement tools, and interventions over time, which provides a coherent overview of a previously fragmented field. By examining both trust and mistrust, it captures their asymmetric yet interrelated dynamics across individual, organizational, and systemic levels. The inclusion of heterogeneous study designs further enabled triangulation of patterns across contexts. Nonetheless, several limitations must be considered. Restricting the search to English-language publications resulted in a dataset dominated by high-income settings (71.8%), with a substantial concentration of U.S.-based studies (40.3%), which may limit global generalizability. Most included studies were cross-sectional and self-reported, with limited examination of institutional or policy-level variables and no consistent sub-analyses by health-system type, despite clear differences across national models. Evidence on interventions was methodologically limited, with few longitudinal or experimental evaluations. These constraints reflect not only the available evidence but also highlight the need for theory-informed, cross-culturally validated, and longitudinal research linking trust dynamics to health-system functioning and outcomes.

#### **5. Conclusions**

Research on trust in health organizations has matured conceptually but remains methodologically fragmented. Three priorities emerge. First, clearer conceptual alignment is needed to distinguish trust from mistrust and to refine competence- and values-based frameworks for empirical testing. Second, the field requires validated, culturally adaptable instruments to support cross-national comparability in monitoring trust as a public-health indicator. Third, intervention research must move beyond descriptive or short-term outcomes toward rigorous evaluations capable of assessing whether trust-building

strategies produce sustained behavioural and system-level effects. Strengthening trust demands coordinated, multilevel action targeting both organizational practices and broader governance processes. Transparent, evidence-based, and timely communication should remain a central policy priority: across the included studies, consistent messaging was among the strongest determinants of public confidence, while opacity or politicization contributed to mistrust, particularly during crises. Embedding fairness and equity into decision-making similarly enhances institutional legitimacy; systems perceived as just and accountable reported higher levels of trust, whereas inequities, corruption, or discriminatory experiences undermined confidence. Demonstrated competence, through quality, safety, responsiveness, and professional integrity, remains fundamental to public perceptions of institutional reliability. Community engagement and participatory governance further reinforce legitimacy by fostering shared accountability and strengthening relationships with underserved groups. Addressing historical and structural sources of mistrust is essential for reconnecting with marginalized communities whose experiences of discrimination were consistently linked to lower institutional trust across multiple contexts in this review. Digital transformation introduces new expectations for transparency and oversight. Evidence from recent studies highlights that data protection, algorithmic explainability, and ethical governance of AI-enabled systems are now integral to maintaining public confidence and preventing the emergence of technology-related mistrust. From a public-health perspective, trust operates as a measurable determinant of intervention reach and effectiveness. Higher trust was associated with improved uptake of services, adherence to public health guidance, and engagement with preventive programmes, whereas mistrust constrained policy effectiveness during emergencies and routine care.

Taken together, the evidence synthesized in this review indicates that investments in transparency, equity, and participatory communication are not ancillary to health system performance but constitute foundational strategies for trust-sensitive governance. For health system leaders, prioritising clear and accountable decision-making, fair and inclusive service delivery, and sustained engagement with communities, particularly those historically marginalised, represents a pragmatic pathway to strengthening institutional legitimacy,

system resilience, and the reach and effectiveness of public-health interventions. Ultimately, trust is not secured through technical capacity alone, but through the continuous demonstration of competence, fairness, transparency, and respect that underpins resilient, inclusive, and credible health systems.

### **List of abbreviations**

AI: Artificial Intelligence

HIC: High-Income Country

HL: Health Literacy

LMIC: Low- and Middle-Income Country

PICO: Population, Intervention, Comparison, Outcome

PRISMA: Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses

UHC: Universal Health Coverage

WHO: World Health Organization

### **Declarations**

#### **Ethics approval and consent to participate**

Not applicable. This study is a systematic review of published literature and does not involve human participants, human data, or human biological material.

#### **Consent for publication**

Not applicable. This manuscript does not include any individual person's data.

#### **Availability of data and materials**

All data and materials are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

#### **Competing interests**

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

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## Authors' contributions

NP conceived the review, developed the protocol, performed the database searches, conducted screening and quality appraisal, extracted and synthesised the data, and drafted the manuscript. MV contributed to screening, data extraction, quality appraisal, interpretation of findings, and drafting of the discussion. UG contributed to the conceptual framing, methodological oversight, and critical revision of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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