

1 **Prevalence, nature, and determinants of COVID-19-related**
2 **conspiracy theories among healthcare workers: a scoping review**

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13 **ABSTRACT**

14 **Background:** Healthcare workers (HCWs) are pivotal in managing the global COVID-19
15 pandemic, particularly in regions with vulnerable health systems. COVID-19 vaccination
16 hesitancy due to conspiracy theories (CTs), however, has been observed among HCWs. Not
17 only poses this a threat to global health efforts fighting the COVID-19 pandemic, it may also
18 fuel public fear and erode trust towards the healthcare system. Understanding the extent of
19 and the factors involved in COVID-19-related CTs therefore is needed.

20 **Methods:** A systematic literature search of Medline, EMBASE, Web of Science, Scopus, and
21 CINAHL electronic databases (from inception to October 2023) was conducted for studies
22 examining the impact of COVID-19-related CTs on vaccination willingness among HCWs
23 and health students and/or factors driving HCWs into believing CTs.

24 **Results:** Prevalence rates of Covid-19 related CTs among HCWs varied widely across
25 studies, ranging from 0.89% to 75.6%. Higher prevalence rates of CTs were found in the Arab
26 world, Ethiopia and Nigeria, compared to other African and Western countries. Limited and
27 heterogeneous data prevented conclusive findings on the relationship between CTs and
28 sociodemographic factors, ethnicity and psychological traits among HCWs. However, a
29 consistent observation emerged regarding the level of education, indicating HCWs with
30 higher educational attainment tend to endorse CTs less frequently.

31 **Conclusion:** Although COVID-19 related CTs may be highly prevalent among HCWs, gaps
32 in understanding the drivers of CTs among HCWs remain. Given HCWs' critical role in
33 public health, especially during pandemics, further research is therefore essential to mitigate
34 the impact of COVID-19-related CTs on vaccine willingness among HCWs.

35 **Keywords:** Healthcare workers; vaccine hesitancy; conspiracy theory; COVID-19

36

37 **BACKGROUND**

38

39 Vaccine hesitancy has been defined by the World Health Organization (WHO)
40 Strategic Advisory Group of Experts on Vaccine Hesitancy as the “*delay in acceptance or*
41 *refusal of vaccination despite the availability of vaccine services*”[1]. Vaccine hesitancy is
42 complex and context-specific, with variability across time, place and type of vaccines [1,2].
43 Vaccine-hesitant individuals are a heterogeneous group along this spectrum of variability.
44 Their state of ambivalence towards vaccination should not always be seen as irrational, as it
45 can reflect legitimate doubts and concerns about vaccines [3].

46 In 2019, the WHO identified vaccine hesitancy as one of the 10 threats to global health
47 [4]. Although there have always been people hesitant towards receiving vaccinations, this
48 threat has only increased since the COVID-19 pandemic [1,2]. The rapidity of the COVID-19
49 vaccine development and concerns regarding the vaccine’s safety certainly have contributed
50 to the lack of vaccine confidence [5,6].

51 Several factors have been found to be associated with vaccine hesitancy towards the
52 COVID-19 vaccine, such as sociodemographic factors (e.g. age, gender, education), health-
53 related factors (e.g. vaccination history/medical conditions), and vaccine-related factors (e.g.
54 concerns about the safety or quality of the vaccine) [7]. However, another important factor
55 associated with vaccine hesitancy is vaccination beliefs and attitudes, such as conspiracy
56 theories (CTs).

57 CTs can be defined as secret plans hatched by powerful groups or individuals with the
58 intention to harm a given individual or group of people, often to the benefit of the powerful
59 group [8–10]. They are attempts to understand complex social and political events and
60 circumstances [11–13].

61 Despite their scientific and medical training, healthcare workers (HCWs) and
62 healthcare students have been identified as a sub-group displaying considerable hesitancy
63 towards accepting a COVID-19 vaccine [5,14,15]. Although the prevalence of COVID-19
64 vaccination hesitancy in HCWs varied widely, a large-scale review published in 2021 found
65 that among HCWs (n=76,471) more than a fifth of HCWs worldwide reported COVID-19
66 vaccination hesitancy [15]. The vaccine hesitancy rate among healthcare students has been
67 found to be almost equal to the hesitancy rate in practicing HCWs [14]. Limited information
68 exists about the nature and extent of the impact of CTs on COVID-19 vaccination hesitancy in
69 HCWs and healthcare students worldwide. The purpose of this study therefore was to conduct
70 a comprehensive worldwide assessment of published evidence on the impact of CTs on
71 COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy among HCWs and healthcare students. More specifically, we
72 wanted to (a) estimate the prevalence of conspiracy beliefs on COVID-19 vaccines among
73 HCWs and healthcare students worldwide, and (b) identify the nature and determinants of
74 CTs on COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy among this population. Getting insight in the factors
75 contributing to these beliefs among this population is pivotal as vaccine hesitancy among
76 HCWs and healthcare students may have consequences for the acceptance of vaccines in the
77 general population. CTs held by these people may foster (more) distrust towards health
78 authorities and their recommendations, which could impede efforts to end pandemics [13].

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80

81 **METHODS**

82

83 *Search strategy*

84

85 A comprehensive and systematic literature search of Medline, EMBASE, Web of
86 Science Core Collection, Scopus, and CINAHL electronic databases (from inception to
87 October 2023) was conducted for English, Dutch and German studies examining the impact
88 of COVID-19-related CTs on vaccination willingness among HCWs and healthcare students,
89 and/or the nature of CTs and factors driving HCWs into believing these theories. Full search
90 strategies are available as Supplementary Material. Duplicates were removed by J.D., using
91 EndNote X9. After removing duplicates, titles and abstracts were screened by H.L, using
92 Rayyan QCRI. H.L. and J.D. did the full-text screening. Articles that were deemed potentially
93 relevant according to the selection criteria were included. Any disagreements were solved by
94 consensus or by decision of a third reviewer (M.D.H.). References of the identified studies
95 and pertinent reviews were carefully cross-checked for additional relevant studies.

96

97 *Eligibility criteria*

98

99 Studies were eligible for inclusion if they:

- 100 (1) were peer-reviewed articles exploring the relationship between vaccine hesitancy and
101 conspiracy belief(s). We used the description of the WHO Strategic Advisory Group
102 of Experts on Vaccine Hesitancy to define vaccine hesitancy: the “*delay in acceptance*
103 *or refusal of vaccination despite the availability of vaccine services*” [1]. The first
104 vaccines therefore had to be available in the country or region at the time the study
105 was conducted;

- 106 (2) labelled CTs as beliefs featuring a secret plot by a group of powerful elites that
107 involve the harm of a given individual or group of people, often to the benefit of the
108 powerful group [8,10];
- 109 (3) included a population of HCWs and/or healthcare students. For defining HCWs, we
110 used the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), also used by
111 WHO [16]. This classification includes health professionals (e.g. generalist medical
112 doctors, nursing professionals, midwifery professionals, dentists, pharmacists,
113 physiotherapists, dieticians and nutritionists), health associate professionals (e.g.
114 technicians for medical imaging, laboratory work and dental prosthetics,
115 pharmaceutical and dental assistants, community health workers, ambulance workers),
116 personal care workers in health services (e.g. healthcare assistants, home-based
117 personal care workers), health management and support personnel (e.g. health service
118 managers, biomedical engineers, medical secretaries) and other health service
119 providers;
- 120 (4) presented prevalence rates of COVID-19-related CTs and/or explored the nature and
121 determinants of CTs on COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy among HCWs and/or healthcare
122 students;
- 123 (5) provided quantitative data (e.g. prospective and retrospective cohort studies, case-
124 control studies, cross-sectional studies).

125

126 Studies that were not peer-reviewed or published (preprints, dissertations, conference
127 papers, books/book sections, commentary/opinion pieces), studies exclusively presenting
128 qualitative data, case reports and non-original research were excluded. Studies including other
129 professions not covered by the WHO definition of HCWs (e.g. studies with first-responders
130 that also include enforcement officers and firefighters, next to HCWs) without providing

131 separate data for this subpopulation, as well as studies written in other languages than
132 English, Dutch or German were excluded. When conspiracy beliefs were not embedded into a
133 belief system involving a secret plot, the study was also excluded.

134

135 *Data extraction*

136

137 Data were extracted and mapped descriptively by H.L., using a data extraction form.
138 This form included the following information: author(s), year of publication, country/region
139 where the study has been conducted, study design, specific population of HCWs and/or
140 healthcare students, sample size, mean age, gender, ethnicity, vaccine hesitancy rate(s) due to
141 CTs, and/or information on the determinants or nature of CTs. We refrained from employing
142 meta-analytical methods due to the significant heterogeneity of the included studies regarding
143 methodology, measures and outcomes.

144

145 **RESULTS**

146 *Search strategy*

147 The original search in the Medline, EMBASE, Web of Science, Scopus, and CINAHL
148 databases yielded a total of 12,538 reports (Medline: 2,671; Embase: 3,983; Web of Science:
149 2,749; Scopus: 2,633; CINAHL: 502). Of these, 7,539 duplicate reports were removed (**see**
150 **Fig. 1**). Overall, 272 references of published reports were selected as potentially eligible,
151 together with additionally 2 published reports identified through references, of which 39
152 original reports met the inclusion criteria (**Fig. 1**) [9,17–54].

153

154

155

156 *Study and patient characteristics*

157 The 39 eligible reports included 37 studies with a total of 55,556 participants. Roberts
158 (2022) [39] and Dubov (2022) [40] extracted their data from Dubov (2021) [41] for secondary
159 analysis. These reports therefore were counted as one study. All studies were performed
160 between 2021 and 2023. Most studies were conducted in the Arab world (n=10). The other
161 studies were conducted in African (n=9) and Asian countries (n=3) not belonging to the Arab
162 world, European countries (n=6), Turkey (n=4) and North America (n=3). Two studies were
163 conducted worldwide (n=2). Of the 37 eligible studies, 33 had a cross-sectional design, 1 was
164 a prospective cohort study and 3 were mixed-method studies. Mean age was 32.8 years
165 (SD=6, range: 18-78); 58.0% of the participants were female. All patient and study
166 characteristics of the included studies are presented in **Table 1**.

167

168 *Prevalence of COVID-19-related CTs among HCWs*

169

170 Prevalence rates of COVID-19-related CTs among HCWs varied widely, ranging from
171 0.89 % [17] to 75.6 % [21] (average rate across 22 studies = 21.7%, median = 14.4).

172 When comparing prevalence rates by geographical location, higher rates of COVID-
173 19-related CTs among HCWs were found in most countries of the Arab world. Studies
174 conducted in Jordan consistently found 30% to 45.5% of their HCWs believing in CTs
175 [23,27,34]. Studies performed in Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya also found almost
176 one third to half of their HCWs believing in CTs [24,35,49,51]. A large-scale multinational
177 study (n=5,708), measuring vaccine hesitancy among Arabic-speaking HCWs in 21 Arab
178 countries (87.5%) and 54 other countries (e.g. European countries, Turkey and North
179 America) (12.5%), however, observed a lower prevalence rate of CTs among HCWs (12.3%)
180 [47]. Lower CT prevalence rates (2.6%-5%) were also found among HCWs in three other

181 studies from the Arab World [22,42,50]. Among African countries not belonging to the Arab
182 world, highest prevalence rates of CTs among HCWs were found in two studies from Ethiopia
183 (30.1% and 75.6%) [21,30] and one from Nigeria (52.8%) [54]. In the remaining African
184 countries less than 10 % of HCWs were found to believe in COVID-19-related CTs
185 [18,29,45]. US studies showed heterogeneous results. While Dubov et al. found conspiracy
186 prevalence rates up to 38 % among HCWs [41], no conspiracy thinking was found in the
187 study by Hoffman et al. [31]. Prevalence rates of COVID-19-related CTs among European
188 HCWs were less than 10% [32,37,43,44,46] except for one study conducted in Croatia and
189 Bosnia where prevalence rates of CTs among medical students reached up to 46.4% [26].

190 While some of the included studies examined various CTs related to the pandemic,
191 others did not differ between different CTs. Therefore, it was difficult to determine whether
192 certain CTs were more prevalent among HCWs than other. Despite this, it seems that the
193 prevalence of “irrational CTs” (i.e. CTs that are not based on a deep-rooted mistrust of
194 government, medicine and/or science caused by countless examples of abuse of minority
195 ethnic groups during history) among HCWs, such as the belief that one wants to embed
196 microchips through vaccinations, remained low (between 0.89%-5%) [17,22,28,32,43,44,53] -
197 with the exception of one study conducted in Nigeria where 26.7% of HCWs believed in the
198 microchip CT [19]. On the contrary, “rational CTs”, such as the belief that COVID-19-
199 vaccination is used as a biological weapon for gaining political control, were found to be
200 more prevalent among HCWs (6.6%-44.24%) [25,33,36,38,45,49], with the exception of two
201 studies finding less than 4% of HCWs believing in these CTs [18,28]. Specific prevalence of
202 various types of CTs along with detailed descriptions are found in **Table 1**.

203

204

205

206 *Determinants associated with CTs among HCWs*

207 The majority of studies among HCWs did not investigate sociodemographic,
208 psychological, religious or political determinants of CTs. Moreover, heterogeneous results
209 were found.

210

211 *Sociodemographic determinants*

212 Only three studies investigated the relationship between gender and CTs [19,36,37].
213 Of these, Petersen et al. found that women tended more towards CTs than men ($p<0.001$)
214 [37]. Although Oyeyemi et al. found men to be statistically more likely to believe in “DNA
215 alteration theory” than women, results between genders were not significant for the
216 “microchip injection theory”[19]. Jamil et al. found no correlation between these variables
217 [36].

218 Two studies investigating the relationship between age and CTs, did not find an age-
219 related effect [9,37].

220 Regarding race and ethnicity, the study of Odejinmi et al. found no significant
221 association between ethnicity and conspiracy thinking [32]. Woolf et al. however, found
222 Black and Asian HCWs having higher scores on the COVID-19 conspiracy beliefs scale to be
223 more vaccine hesitant than White people ($p<0.001$) [46]. Moreover, in the US study of Dubov
224 et al., CTs were more widespread among Hispanic HCWs than among Asian-American and
225 African-American HCWs. These groups, however, were not compared with White HCWs
226 [40].

227 Several studies found an association between educational level or profession and
228 conspiracy endorsement. For example, in the study of Habib et al., 97.9% of medical students
229 believing in CTs were undergraduates [35]. Another study demonstrated that medical students
230 in general believed less in CTs than other healthcare students [34]. In a German study, CTs

231 were found to be significantly more prevalent among nursing, medical technical and
232 administrative staff, in comparison to physicians and scientific staff [37]. In a study from
233 Nigeria, nurses were significantly more likely to believe in CTs than physicians [19]. Kaya et
234 al. demonstrated that HCWs with higher educational levels (masters and doctorate degree)
235 believed significantly less in CTs, in comparison to HCWs with a bachelor degree and lower
236 educational level [9].

237

238 *Political orientation, government trust, information sources, and religious beliefs*

239 A US study found that the group of HCWs who had the highest rate of CTs were leaned
240 Republicans and the group with lowest CTs rates were Democrats [41]. One study in Nigeria
241 showed that the odds of believing in the microchip-theory increased significantly with a
242 decreasing level of trust in the government's information regarding the COVID-19 pandemic
243 and vaccines (odds ratio [OR] 4.6, 95% CI 2.6-8.0), when compared to those with a high level
244 of trust. Findings were similar for those who believed in the DNA alteration theory (OR 5.2,
245 95% CI 3.1-8.8) [19].

246 Regarding information sources, HCWs who were more dependent on social media, TV
247 programs and popular newspapers had a higher score on the Vaccine Conspiracy Belief Scale,
248 compared to those who relied on information provided by scientists, doctors (or HCWs in
249 general), or scientific journals [51]. In line with these findings, Oyeyemi et al. found HCWs
250 using health authorities as the main source of information to be less likely to believe in CTs
251 about microchips (OR 0.4, 95% CI 0.2-0.7) and the DNA alteration theory (OR 0.5, 95% CI
252 0.3-0.9) [19].

253 No study was found examining the relationship between religion and CTs among HCWs.

254

255

256 *Psychological aspects*

257 One large international study (n=12,792) suggested that HCWs with current
258 depressive symptoms had higher overall tendency in believing in CTs [25].

259

260

261 **DISCUSSION**

262

263 Our systematic review has shown that HCWs are not immune to CTs. Although
264 prevalence rates of COVID-19-related CTs varied considerably (ranging from 0.89% to
265 75.6%), they generally appeared to be higher among HCWs in most countries of the Arab
266 world, Ethiopia, and Nigeria, in comparison to those in other African and most Western
267 countries. Limited and heterogeneous data prevented conclusive findings on determinants
268 associated with CTs among HCWs. The only consistent observation was that HCWs with
269 higher educational attainment tend to endorse CTs less frequently.

270 The wide variance in prevalence rates of COVID-19-related CTs among HCWs is in
271 line with the results that have been found in the general population (prevalence rates ranging
272 from 0.4% to 82.7%) [55,56]. Despite this wide range, our results suggest that geographical
273 variations exist, with higher prevalence rates in most countries of the Arab world and some
274 countries on the African continent. One potential explanation for this phenomenon is the
275 instability in most of these regions, stemming from political, economic, and/or religious
276 conflicts, as well as natural disasters [19,36,57–59]. This results in ineffective governance and
277 initiatives, fostering mistrust and leading to a conspiracy mentality. Another potential
278 explanation is that some of these regions have had a certain history of alleged unethical
279 practices by pharmaceutical companies, raising suspicions about profit or ethnocide motives
280 [19,60,61]. In European countries, prevalence of COVID-19-related CTs among HCWs
281 remained under 10% [32,37,43,44,46], which is in line with the results that have been

282 reported by the ECDC (European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control) [62]. Western
283 countries usually are politically more stable. However, the recent shift towards more radical
284 right-wing political orientations could become a fueling factor for endorsing more CTs [63].

285

286 Our results indicated that, during the pandemic, HCWs generally held more “rational”
287 CTs (between 6.6% and 44.1%), such as the belief that (the) government(s) had malevolent
288 plans to control or eliminate specific groups through vaccination, mostly fueled by a historical
289 context filled with numerous examples of abuse against minority ethnic or religious groups
290 [25,33,36,38,45,49]. In contrast, “irrational CTs”, such as belief that the government wanted
291 to embed microchips through vaccinations in large portions of the global population to control
292 people, were less common (between 0.89% and 5%) [17,22,28,32,43,44,53]. Historical CTs
293 surrounding vaccination against other diseases, such as rumors that the polio vaccine
294 contained sterilizing chemicals, may also have contributed to a culture of suspicion within
295 some of these countries [54]. As it has been shown that people who believe in one CT are
296 more likely to believe another, these pre-existing CTs may be a potential danger for the
297 emergence of new CTs, creating a reinforcing cycle of mistrust and conspiracy ideation [64].

298

299 As mentioned above, limited and heterogeneous data prevented conclusive findings on
300 determinants associated with CTs among HCWs. While we only identified one study finding
301 women having statistical significant higher rates of CTs than men [37], data from the general
302 population clearly demonstrated young females having more CT beliefs [55,56]. Although our
303 data on race and ethnicity are difficult to interpret, in general, it is known that CTs flourish
304 particularly among cohesive minority groups that are suppressed by a dominant majority
305 coalition [55,65]. Regarding the level of education, three studies were found showing that
306 HCWs with higher educational levels (master’s and doctorate degrees) believed significantly

307 less in CTs, in comparison to HCWs with bachelor's degrees and lower educational levels
308 (nurses, medical-technical and administrative staff) [9,19,37]. These results are in line with
309 studies that have been conducted in the general population [55].

310 Depending on the information sources HCWs use, CT rates seem to differ. One study
311 showed that HCWs who relied on information provided by scientists, doctors or scientific
312 journals, are less prone to believing CTs than HCWs who relied on other sources, such as
313 social media [51]. This also has been shown within the general population [55]. Moreover,
314 this could potentially lead to HCWs using (social) media platforms themselves to disseminate
315 misinformation and CTs, posing a significant danger for the general population [66].

316 Only one study included in our review examined the relationship between
317 psychological factors and CTs among HCWs, finding that HCWs with current depressive
318 symptoms have higher CT rates [25]. Studies among the general population, however, have
319 also shown that personality traits such as low tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity,
320 impulsivity, low perceived risk, lower analytical thinking and negative emotions are
321 significantly associated with belief in CTs [55,67,68]. An interesting potential psychological
322 contributing factor to CTs among HCWs may be "collective conspiracy thinking". This theory
323 suggests that when a group is under threat or perceived prolonged levels of stress and
324 uncertainty (HCWs faced immense stress and uncertainty during the pandemic [25]), some
325 can experience a lack of inclusion within the vaccine accepting group of HCWs, thereby
326 heightening their susceptibility to CTs and prompting them to seek out others with similar
327 beliefs [69–71].

328 Vaccination hesitancy among HCWs not only poses a threat to global health efforts
329 fighting the COVID-19 pandemic, it may also fuel public fear and erode trust towards the
330 healthcare system [39,72]. Therefore, the following recommendations can be implemented to
331 reduce the likelihood of CTs among HCWs.

332 Delivering counterarguments to people before they encounter CTs (i.e. prebunking),
333 has been shown to increase vaccine willingness, compared to people already exposed to CTs
334 [11,73,74]. Moreover, exposing the manipulative persuasion tactics used to spread CTs (such
335 as the use of emotional language, misleading rhetoric or fake experts that sow doubt about the
336 scientific consensus) may also reduce the likelihood of adapting CTs [11,74]. Another
337 effective preventive approach is to encourage people to be more critical consumers of CTs
338 before they are first exposed to these by stimulating metacognitive reflection or critical
339 thinking [11,74,75].

340 Once they are established, health-related CTs may be extremely resistant to correction
341 [76]. Confrontation by simply presenting fact-based anti-conspiracy arguments may even
342 strengthen CTs [77,78]. An open-minded approach, empathy, active listening by inviting the
343 person towards a deeper examination of the building bricks of their CTs, and reducing
344 concerns by restoring personal control are more productive [76,77]. One such technique (the
345 Empathetic Refutational Interview) has been shown to reduce support for anti-vaccination
346 arguments and to increase vaccine acceptance [79,80]. Complementary approaches may be
347 highlighting and creating social norms, and increasing connections to others. Many people
348 and HCWs with CTs incorrectly believe that their hesitancy to be vaccinated is rather
349 common and overestimate how much others believe anti-vaccine CTs. One therefore should
350 highlight that CTs are not as commonplace they may think, for example by using normative
351 feedback¹, preferably in context of a relevant social group [73,76,81]. Healthcare leaders
352 should act as a role model by being a trusted source of information and creating new social
353 norms by getting publicly vaccinated and explicitly expressing the benefits of vaccination.
354 This way, they can convey through their actions that getting vaccinated is safe and beneficial

¹ intervention designed to correct misperceptions regarding the prevalence of problematic behavior by showing individuals engaging in such behaviors that their own behavior is atypical with respect to actual norms

355 and connect it to a shared collective identity and enhance feelings of control and self-efficacy
356 of their employees [73].

357 There are, however, reasons to suspect that strategies that have been discussed above
358 will be insufficient to convince HCWs who are still unvaccinated. The Empathetic
359 Refutational Interview technique, for example, has only showed small effects [79,80]. Several
360 authors therefore endorse the use of vaccine mandates to lessen the deleterious effects of CTs
361 [73,82]. Although mandatory vaccination interferes with the right to private life, the
362 exceptions under Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (in particular the
363 protection of public health and the protection of the rights and freedom of others) might
364 justify these interferences [83]. Moreover, fear of social sanctions can be a powerful
365 motivator. Although this approach has been proven effective, defenders of this approach
366 admit this measure may also have significant drawbacks. Additionally, even vaccinated
367 individuals sometimes dislike mandates [82]. Despite this, Lewandowsky et al. state that even
368 if mandates prove ineffective in reducing CTs, they will at least save lives [82].

369 Regardless of the above mentioned recommendations it is important to know that
370 HCWs holding CTs probably are not a homogeneous group. Research has shown that next to
371 “COVID-19 conspiracy believers”, there also exist “COVID-19 conspiracy ambivalent
372 believers”. These groups differ in terms of psychological characteristics [84]. Moreover,
373 ambivalent conspiracy believers may come from various social and political backgrounds
374 [85]. The need to tailor interventions for HCWs believing in COVID-19 CTs therefore
375 remains necessary.

376

377

378

379 *Strengths and limitations*

380 A key strength of this analysis is the extensive search strategies including several
381 databases (see Supplementary Material). One major limitation of this study is the exclusion of
382 qualitative data, which give the opportunity to understand more deeply why HCWs believe in
383 CTs. Moreover, heterogeneity across studies in terms of tools, methods, and survey designs
384 made it hard to perform a thorough quantitative analysis of the data. Although we didn't
385 critically appraise the included studies, we also noticed that several of these studies were
386 poorly performed. Furthermore, we surmise that the actual number of HCWs with conspiracy
387 beliefs may be higher than our results indicate. There may be unidentified "unspoken vaccine
388 hesitancy" cases, a phenomenon where HCWs do not express publicly their hesitancy and
389 potentially conspiratorial concerns about vaccines due to institutional and societal pressure
390 and out of fear of being mocked or stigmatized [86]. Finally, the majority of the included
391 studies had a cross-sectional design, which does not us allow us to infer causal relationships.

392

393 **CONCLUSION**

394

395 Although COVID-19 related CTs may be highly prevalent among HCWs, gaps in
396 understanding the drivers of CTs among HCWs remain. Given HCWs' critical role in public
397 health, especially during pandemics, further research is therefore essential to mitigate the
398 impact of CTs on vaccine willingness among HCWs.

399

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401 strategy. H.L. and J.D. performed the literature search. H.L. wrote the draft of the manuscript.
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412

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681

682 **Table 1: characteristics of quantitative studies, including conspiracy findings and/or correlation between different determinants and CTs**
 683 **among HCWs and healthcare students**

Reference	Country	Study Design	Healthcare Workers	N	Mean age in years (\pm SD)	Female (%)	Race/Ethnicity (%)	Prevalence of CTs and/or correlation between different determinants and CTs among HCWs and students
Azimi et al. (2023) [17]	Afghanistan	Cross-sectional	Medical students in clinical years (4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th year) of five universities	459	21.00 (\pm NR)	70.30%	NR	“There is a chip in the vaccine”: n=4 (0.89%)
Joseph et al. (2023) [18]	Sierra Leone	Cross-sectional	Clinical and non-clinical staff in six facilities (hospital, health center...)	609	NR	45.35%	NR	“Vaccine designed to harm me, e.g. conspiracy”: n= 23 (3.8%) Clinical staff: 3% Non-clinical staff: 4%
Oyeyemi et al. (2023) [19]	Nigeria	Cross-sectional	Medical doctors, nurses, pharmacists, laboratory scientists, community health extension officers or workers, health assistants and others	557	NR	71.70%	NR	“I think COVID-19 vaccine is a means to implant digital microchips to track and control people”: n=147 (26.7%) [aOR] men vs. women (95% CI): 1.4 (0.8-2.5) [OR] low level of trust in government (95%CI): 4.6 (2.6-8.0) [aOR] nurses vs. physicians (95% CI): 3.9 (1.3-12.0) [aOR] pharmacists vs. physicians (95% CI): 3.0 (0.4-22.0) [aOR] laboratory scientists vs. physicians (95% CI): 5.1 (1.0-25.9) [aOR] CHEO vs. physicians (95% CI): 4.0 (1.2-13.8) [aOR] health authority as main source (vs media) (95% CI): 0.4 (0.2-0.7) “I think COVID-19 vaccine will alter my DNA or genetic information” : n=167 (30.5%) [aOR] men vs. women (CI 95%) : 1.8 (1.1-3.2) [OR] low level of trust in government (95%CI): 5.2 (3.1-8.8) [aOR] nurses vs. physicians (95% CI): 2.2 (0.9-5.4) [aOR] pharmacists vs. physicians (95% CI): 3.1 (0.6-16.2) aOR] laboratory scientists vs. physicians (95% CI): 1.9 (0.4-7.9) [aOR] CHEO vs. physicians (95% CI): 1.7 (0.6-4.5) [aOR] health authority as main source and belief in CTs (vs media) (95% CI): 0.5 (0.3-0.9)
Akova et al. (2023) [20]	Turkey	Cross-sectional	Physicians, nurses/midwives and others	1111	34.3 (\pm 9.2)	59.6%	NR	“The virus is man-made and part of a conspiracy plan”: n=516 (46.4%)

Bereda et al. (2023) [21]	Ethiopia	Cross-sectional	HCWs working in a registered healthcare setting (physician, midwife, nurse, health officer, laboratory technician and others)	422	NR	45.5%	NR	“Belief in CTs”: n=319 (75.6 %) [aOR] Belief in CTs and vaccine hesitant vs. non-hesitant (95%CI): 2.43 (1.948–5.170)*
Almojaibel et al. (2023) [22]	Saudi Arabia	Cross-sectional	Physician, nurse, dentist, pharmacist, other health care specialists, technician in allied medical sciences	505	NR	NR	NR	“It has a chip to control me”, “It will change my DNA”: n=25 (5%)
Kaya (2023) [9]	Turkey	Cross-sectional	HCWs at the hospital (midwife, nurse, technician, medical laboratory technician, research assistant)	128	30.97 (±8.07)	NR	NR	Belief in CTs not correlated with age (NS) Belief in CTs negatively associated with positive attitude towards vaccination** Research assistants, participants who had higher education attainments and those with a longer duration of working life: less likely to believe in CTs** HCWs with bachelor’s degrees and below: more likely to believe in CTs than HCWs with master’s and doctorate degrees*
Rezq et al. (2023) [23]	Jordan	Cross-sectional	Nurses at three private hospitals	189	30.2 (±3.7)	75.7%	NR	“COVID-19 is man-made”: n=86 (45.5%)
Satti et al. (2023) [24]	Sudan	Cross-sectional	Community pharmacists	382	30.4 (±5.6)	65.4%	NR	“COVID-19 is a man-made virus and part of a conspiracy plan”: n=111 (29.1%) HCW with CT beliefs were still more likely to accept vaccination: 62.2%** [OR] Vaccine hesitancy and belief in CTs (95%CI): 0.44 (0.23-0.85)*
Fountoulakis et al. (2023) [25]	Worldwide (40 countries)	Cross-sectional	Doctors, nurses, administrative staff in hospitals, other healthcare profession and hospital staff	12,792	NR	62.40%	NR	“Belief in CTs”: approx. 33% “COVID-19 is the result of 5G antenna technology”: 20.81% “Believing in the deliberate inflation of death rates by government”: 44.24% HCWs with current depressive symptoms: higher tendency in believing in CTs*
Vranic et al. (2023) [26]	Bosnia and Croatia	Cross-sectional	Medical students of UNSA university (Bosnia), UNIRI	557	NR	NR	NR	“The pharmaceutical industries are creating infections with the goal of increasing earnings”:

			university (Croatia) and UNIRI-E university (where 85.3% German students of medicine in English)					UNSA: n=27 (16.0%) UNIRI: n=143 (42.9%) UNIRI-E: n=26 (46.4%)
AlKhawaldeh et al. (2022) [27]	Jordan	Cross-sectional	HCWs in public, private and university hospitals: (70.1%) nurses, doctors, pharmacists, respiratory therapists, lab technicians and nutritionist/dietitians	904	35.04 (±9.07)	53.80%	NR	“COVID-19 vaccination is a conspiracy”: n=228 (25.2%)
Azizoğlu et al. (2022) [28]	Turkey	Cross-sectional	HCWs at a private hospital (nurses, technical, medical records and allied health personnel, physicians)	309	28.48 (±9.09)	NR	NR	“I believe that they will inject microchips to people with the coronavirus vaccine”: n=7 (2.2%) “I believe that the coronavirus vaccine will be the end of humanity”: n=11 (3.6%) “I think the coronavirus vaccine is a complete fabrication”: n=23 (7.4%)
Konje et al. (2022) [29]	Tanzania	Cross-sectional	Nurse, clinical officer, medical officer and specialist in different health facilities (dispensary, health center, district hospital, regional hospital and tertiary hospital)	811	35 (±9.04)	48%	NR	“Belief in CTs”: n=42 (5.2%) Correlation belief in CTs (3.5%) and vaccine willingness (1.7%) vs. vaccine hesitancy (3.5%) (NS)
Demeke et al. (2022) [30]	Ethiopia	Cross-sectional	Medical doctors, nurses, pharmacy, midwifery, laboratory, anesthesia, physiotherapy, optometry and others	319	NR	25.1%	NR	“Being a plot or conspiracy”: n=96 (30.1%)
Hoffman et al. (2022) [31]	USA	Mixed-Method	HCWs, health science student on Twitter	106	NR	NR	NR	“Belief in CTs”: n=0 (0%)
Odejinmi et al. (2022) [32]	United Kingdom	Mixed-method	Midwives employed in two teaching hospitals	378	NR	99%	White:66.93% Black:21.16% Asian: 3.44%	“The government is able to track you”: n= 13 (3%) [aOR] Belief in CTs Black vs. White (95%CI): 0.97 (0.24-3.84) (NS)

							Mixed Race: 5.03% Other: 2.38%	
Asres et al. (2022) [33]	Ethiopia	Cross-sectional	Students of medicine, medical laboratory, pharmacy, health officer, nursing, anesthesia, environmental health, midwifery	387	21.97 (±1.67)	44.9%	NR	<p>“It is a biological weapon”: n= 68 (16.8 %)</p> <p>“It is a political game”: n= 118 (30.5%)</p> <p>“Vaccination is a money-making venture”: n=9 (12.7%)</p>
Al-Qudah et al. (2022) [34]	Jordan	Cross-sectional	Healthcare specialties and healthcare students (applied health sciences, dentistry, medicine and surgery, nursing, pharmacy, other healthcare specialties)	1409	NR	NR	NR	<p>“COVID -19 is a political manipulation”: approx. 20%</p> <p>“The virus is bioengineered”: approx. 30%</p> <p>“Vaccines are manufactured to increase pharmaceuticals”: approx. 20%</p> <p>“COVID-19 pandemic aims to place a microchip in”: approx. 5%</p> <p>Medical students and graduates: less CTs compared to other HCWs *(exception vs nurses NS)</p>
Habib et al. (2022) [35]	Saudi Arabia	Cross-sectional	Medical students	1445	NR	11.3%	Saudi: 98.8% Non-Saudi: 1.2%	<p>“The COVID-19 vaccine involves a conspiracy”: n = 234 (48.6%)</p> <p>97.9% of students believing in CTs were preclinical students</p>
Jamil et al. (2022) [36]	Pakistan	Cross-sectional	Undergraduate medical students from different medical universities	401	NR	73.8%	NR	<p>“World superpowers use it as a cover to launch a vaccination program to facilitate a global surveillance regime and establish one world order”: n=153 (38.1%)</p> <p>“COVID-19 virus is a bioweapon released deliberately by the Chinese government to control the world’s population” n=106 (26.4%)</p> <p>“Pandemic is a hoax perpetrated by a global to diverge Muslim belief by shutting down mosques”: n=63 (15.7%)</p> <p>Correlation CT and gender (NS)</p> <p>Correlation CT and year of study (NS)</p> <p>Correlation absence of belief in CTs and vaccinated HCWs*</p>

<p>Petersen et al. (2022) [37]</p>	<p>Germany</p>	<p>Cross-sectional</p>	<p>Nursing, administrative staff, medical-technical staff, physicians, and scientific staff in hospitals</p>	<p>1683</p>	<p>NR</p>	<p>78.7%</p>	<p>NR</p>	<p>CTs negatively associated with vaccination willingness.* Physicians and scientific staff: less CTs beliefs vs. nurses, medical-technical and administrative staff.* Administrative and nursing staff: most CT beliefs.* Women: more CT beliefs vs. men (with small to very small differences)* Correlation age and CTs (NS)</p>
<p>Inah et al. (2022) [38]</p>	<p>Nigeria</p>	<p>Cross-sectional</p>	<p>Medical radiation workers (radiologists, radiographers, radiotherapists, medical physicists, and radiology nurses)</p>	<p>50</p>	<p>38.04 (± 12.25)</p>	<p>32%</p>	<p>NR</p>	<p>“The Western world plans to destroy the world”: 8.40% “Plans to systematically alter DNA signaling”: 10.69% “It has to do with 5G technology”: 5.3%</p>
<p>Dubov et al.(2022, 2021) & Roberts et al. (2022) ^a [39-41]</p>	<p>USA</p>	<p>Cross-sectional</p>	<p>Physicians, nurses, advanced practice providers, pharmacists, other allied health professionals, administrators and nonclinical ancillary staff at academic and private hospitals</p>	<p>2491</p>	<p>NR</p>	<p>74.95%</p>	<p>White: 72.8% Black/ African: 4.94% Asian: 17.58% Pacific Island: 1.89% Native: 2.73%</p>	<p><u>CTs among all HCWs:</u> “The virus is or could be manmade”: n=947 (38%) [aOR] unvaccinated HCWs with “manmade -belief” vs. non-belief (95% CI): 1.37 (1.12-1.68)* Hispanic: 22.98% African-American: 20.33% Asian American: 13.47% “The pandemic is a hoax”: n=149 (6%) [aOR] unvaccinated HCWs with “hoax -belief” vs. non-belief (95%CI): 0.82 (0.62-1.10) (NS) “The pandemic is a hoax”: Hispanic: 3.68% African-American: 1.63% Asian American: 3.42% “Misinformed HCW group” (n=38): up to 92% believed CTs. They were slightly older, leaned Republican, and came from all levels of education. “Unconcerned HCW group” (n = 86): up to 13% believed CTs. They were younger, racially diverse, most educated, and leaned Democrat. <u>CT among nurses:</u></p>

								<p>“COVID-19 is a fabrication or a hoax, a synthetic virus manufactured under nefarious motives such as bioterrorism, economic destabilization, population control”: n=212 (24 %)</p> <p><u>Vaccine acceptance nurses:</u> (Willing to be) Vaccinated who believe in conspiracy: 19.3% Unwilling/not vaccinated who believe in conspiracy: 43%</p> <p>[OR] belief in CTs and vaccine acceptance vs. non-belief (95%CI): 2.05 (1.29-3.25)</p> <p><u>Vaccine acceptance HCW of color:</u> [aOR] lower acceptance of CTs vs higher acceptance with CT belief (95%CI): 1.39 (1.10-1.76)</p>
Nasr et al. (2021) [42]	Lebanon	Cross-sectional	Dentists	529	40.54 (±14.01)	44.80%	NR	“I believe that COVID-19-vaccination is a conspiracy”: (apr. 5%)
Szmyd et al. (2021) [44]	Poland	Cross-sectional	Physicians and administrative healthcare assistants	387	NR	68.50%	NR	<p>“Belief in CTs (overall)”: n=30 (7.75%) Physician: 3.17% Healthcare assistant: 16.3%</p> <p>“Microchip injection”: n= 5 (1.29%) Physician: 0% Healthcare assistant: 3.7%</p> <p>“Control of births by vaccine manufacturers”: n=12 (3.10%)</p>
Ditekemena et al. (2021) [45]	Democratic Republic of Congo	Cross-sectional	HCWs	324	NR	NR	NR	<p>“They want to kill us”: n=10 (6.6%)</p> <p>“They want to make us sterile”: n= 5 (3.3%)</p> <p>“There are several CTs going around”: n=1 (7.1%)</p>
Woolf et al. (2021) [46]	United Kingdom	Prospective cohort study	All HCWs or ancillary workers	11,584	45 (±NR)	75.9%	White: 70.3%; Asian: 19.2%; Black: 4.2%; Other 6.4%	<p>Higher COVID-19 CBS-score with vaccine hesitant HCWs***</p> <p>[OR]: CBS-score with vaccine hesitant HCWs (95%CI): 1.12 (1.08-1.16)**</p> <p>Black and Asian HCWs with higher COVID-19 CBS-scores: more vaccine hesitant vs. White HCWs**</p>

Qunaibi et al. (2021) [47]	Worldwide	Cross-sectional	Arab-speaking HCWs	5708	30.6 (±10)	44.4%	NR	“Coronavirus/vaccine is a conspiracy”: n=700 (12.3%)
Usman et al. (2021) [48]	Pakistan	Cross-sectional	Undergraduate healthcare students	410	NR	46.8 %	NR	“Microchip implantation theory associated with Bill Gates” and “COVID-19 as a part of economic war between developed countries”: n=67 (16.4%)
Elhadi et al. (2021) [49]	Libya	Cross-sectional	Physicians, medical students, paramedics	3967	30.6 (±9.8)	58.7%	NR	“The novel corona virus is undoubtedly human-made to implement particular agendas”: n=1432 (36.1%) Medical Students: 34.9% Physicians: 34.1% Paramedic and nurses: 41.9%
Szmyd et al. (2021) [43]	Poland	Cross-sectional	Medical students (dentistry, dietetics, emergency medical service, laboratory diagnostic, medicine, nursing, obstetric, pharmacy and physiotherapy student)	687	NR	64.77%	NR	“Belief in CTs (overall)”: n=59 (8.59%) “Belief in microchip injection”: n=12 (1.75%) “Belief in control of births by vaccine manufacturers”: n=5 (0.73%)
Shehata et al. (2021) [50]	Egypt	Cross-sectional	Physicians working at various healthcare levels	1268	NR	59.4%	NR	“I think vaccination is a plot”: n=33 (2.6%)
Al-Sanafi et al. (2021) [51]	Kuwait	Cross-sectional	Physicians, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, laboratory technicians, other (physiotherapists; dieticians and nutritionists; optometrists, etc.)	1019	34 (±9.7)	61.4%	Kuwait:75.1% Non-Kuwait: 21.7% Stateless/unknown: 3.2%	“COVID-19 has a human-made origin”: n= 300 (29.4%) Belief in “COVID-19 has a human made origin” (67.3%): more hesitancy vs. non-belief/no opinion** Higher VCBS score correlated with COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy** Rejection of vaccination (vs. hesitancy and acceptance) correlated with higher levels of CT** The dependence on social media platforms, TV programs, newspapers, and news releases correlated with higher VCBS (vs. scientists/scientific journals, doctors/other HCWs**
Castañeda-Vasquez et al. (2021) [52]	Mexico	Cross-sectional	Medical guild, nursing, dental, psychology, and laboratory personnel	543	NR	65%	NR	“The vaccine is part of a worldwide conspiracy”: n=34 (6%) Higher CT beliefs (40%) among vaccine-hesitant HCWs; vs. belief in CTs among vaccine – acceptant HCWs***

								[OR] Belief in CTs among vaccine – hesitant HCWs vs. belief in CTs and vaccine acceptance (95%CI): 14.879 (6.384–34.677)***
Kükreker et al. (2021) [53]	Turkey	Cross-sectional	Academic physicians, specialist physicians, family physicians, midwives, nurses, health technicians, health officers, and pharmacists in public and private institution hospitals	442	NR	66.5%	NR	“I think it is the sheath theory of implanting traceable microchips in the bodies of millions of people with the vaccine microchip claimed in the media”: n= 14 (3.2%)
Iiyasu et al. (2021) [54]	Nigeria	Mixed-method	Clinical staff (physician, nurse/midwife, pharmacist, laboratory scientist, physiotherapist; CHEO, ward attendant) and non-clinical staff (administrative, management, support service) at a tertiary referral hospital center	284	37.9 (± 10.36)	46.1%	Hausa/Fulani: 82.04% Others:18.06 %	“Concerned about rumors of depopulation (or “population control”) and infertility related to COVID-19 vaccines”: n=150 (52.8%) HCWs believing in CTs but still willing to accept vaccination: 12.7% [OR] HCWs not believing in CTs (vs believing) and vaccine acceptance (95%CI): 2.55 (1.25–5.20)

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685 CBS: Conspiracy Belief Scale; CHEO: community health extension officers; CT: Conspiracy theory; HCW: Healthcare Worker; (a)OR: (adjusted) Odds Ratio with coincidence interval of 95%;

686 NR: not reported; NS: not significant; * p < 0.05, **p < 0.001, ***p<0.0001; VCBS: Vaccine Conspiracy Belief Scale

687 a: Dubov (2022) and Roberts (2022) extracted their data from Dubov (2021) for secondary analysis.

688

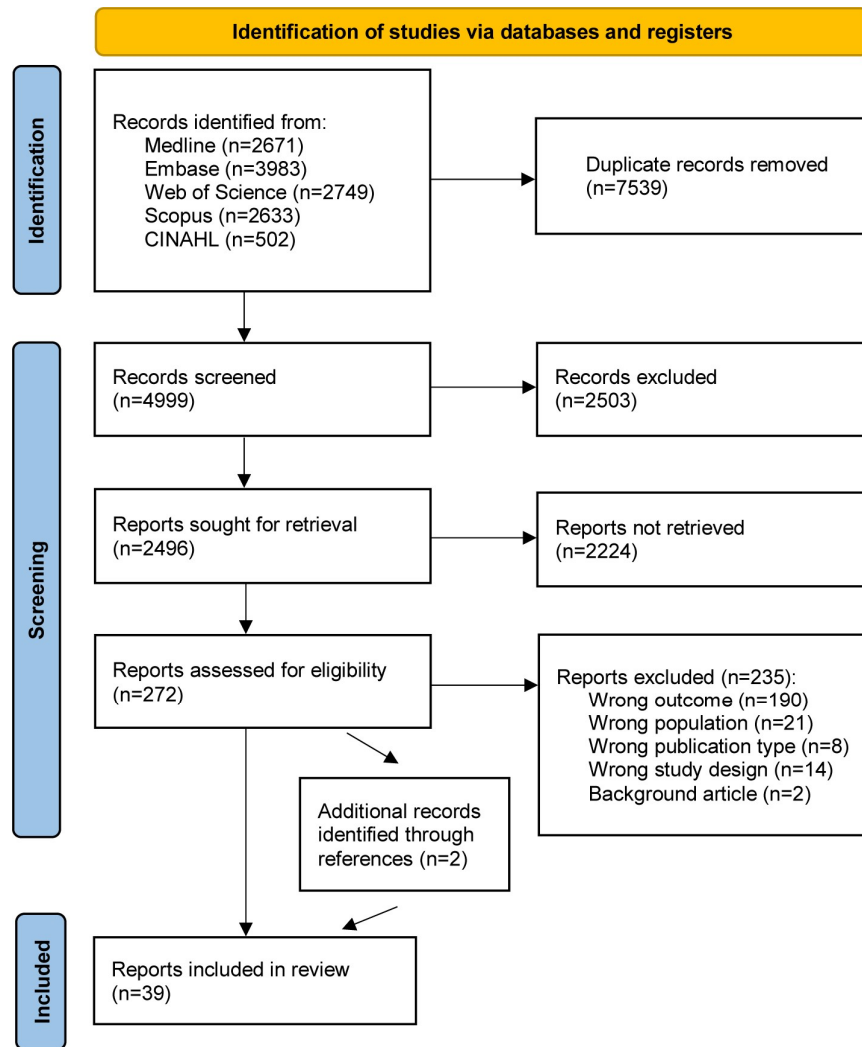
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Table 2: Types of COVID-19-related CTs (based on Fotakis & Simou, 2023) [69]

Types of COVID-19-related CTs	Examples
<u>Destabilization and power gain</u> : <i>prevention and control measures were deployed as destabilizing actions for achieving financial or political power</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - COVID-19 is a biological weapon from China to establish world order. - Spread of the virus is a deliberate attempt by a group of powerful people to make money or to take control.
<u>Population reduction</u> : <i>the virus and vaccines were developed to reduce the global or specific population</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - COVID-19 was intentionally created to reduce the world's population or to get rid of certain groups of people. - Vaccine is used to carry out mass sterilization.
<u>Liberty restriction</u> : <i>the virus and vaccines were developed to reduce liberty</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vaccine contains microchips to control people. - Vaccine is used to alter DNA structures. - Coronavirus is just an excuse to suppress civil liberties.
<u>Big pharma plot</u> : <i>Big Pharma created the virus and/or is knowingly producing ineffective or harmful vaccine</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Big Pharma created coronavirus to profit from the vaccines. - Vaccine's effectiveness data are fabricated by Big Pharma.
<u>5 G</u> : <i>5 G networks promote the spread of COVID-19</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - COVID-19 pandemic is induced by 5 G networks. - 5 G cell phone technology is responsible for the spread of the coronavirus.
<u>Non-existence</u> : <i>COVID-19 does not exist</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coronavirus is a hoax or a myth to force vaccinations on people.
<u>Other</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - COVID-19 is a message from God. - Bill Gates is behind the coronavirus pandemic.

690

691 Figure 1



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