Figure 2: The Iceberg Tool depicting the root causes of a failed response to a COVID-19 epidemic and the strong leverage points for effective action.

- **Events**
  - Uncontrollable spread of Covid-19

- **Patterns**
  - Overwhelmed health services with unprecedented high mortality rates (both COVID-19 related & unrelated)

- **Systemic structures**
  - Poor adherence of the public to protective policies (social distancing, personal hygiene, wearing masks etc.), poor healthcare facilities adherence to infection control measures (no PPE, no face masks, no handwashing, no isolation units, poor training, or non-testing of staff etc.), poor ventilation in diagnostic facilities, poor staffing (lack of or “frightened” staff etc.), population socioeconomic needs (long hours, severe debtor etc.), poor population immunity (undernutrition, comorbidities etc.)

- **Mental models—personal & social thinking & behaviour**
  - Poor population health literacy, sociocultural values and pressures (family ties, religious beliefs, political affiliations etc.), poor clinician-patient trust and respect