

**The English Language in Japan:
A Social Psychological Perspective¹**

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Abstract

This paper attempts to extend theories from the social psychology of language to the case of a monolingual community speaking English as a foreign language. Two theoretical frameworks are presented and then integrated: Giles's theory of speech accommodation, which attempts to account for the conditions under which speech convergence and divergence occur, and Gardner's model of second language acquisition, which illustrates the strong effect of the social milieu and type of motivation on second language learning. Implications for English language education and planning in Japan are discussed.

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Most of us can recount instances during the day when our style of speaking has changed. Speech becomes grammatically less complex for children, slower for nonnative speakers, or enunciated more clearly to superiors. While these and other speech shifts have been studied for monolingual and bilingual communities and even for speech addressed to nonnative speakers, they have not so far been considered for the case of those speaking or studying a foreign language.

This paper will present a framework which helps to explain observed changes in foreign language speech from the viewpoint of the social psychology of language (see Giles & St. Clair, 1979; Giles, Robinson, & Smith, 1980, for an introduction to this paradigm). First, an overview of two specific theoretical frameworks in the social psychology of language will be presented: Giles's theory of speech accommodation, which attempts to account for the conditions under which speech convergence and divergence occur, and Gardner's model of second language acquisition, which illustrates the strong effect of the social milieu and type of motivation on second language learning. There will then be a synthesis of these two areas and an application to the situation in Japan.

INTERPERSONAL ACCOMMODATION THROUGH SPEECH CONVERGENCE

When two people meet there is a tendency for them to become more alike in their languages, accents, speech rates, pause and utterance lengths and so forth (Giles & Powesland, 1975). Such speech *convergences* can be considered "upward" when directed towards speakers possessing more

prestigious linguistic features or "downwards" when directed towards speakers possessing less prestigious varieties. According to Giles's theory (Giles, 1977a, 1980; Giles & Powesland, 1975), the more people desire another's approval, the more they will converge (usually non-consciously) their speech towards the other, to an optimal level (Giles & Smith, 1979). The theory makes use of four social psychological processes (similarity attraction, social exchange, causal attribution, and social identification) to explain the motivations and social consequences which underlie interpersonal shifts in speech style.

Similarity attraction theory in its simplest form proposes that the more similar our attitudes, beliefs and valued characteristics are to those of other individuals, the more likely it is that we will be attracted to them (Byrne, 1969). If one accepts the notion that people find approval from others satisfying, it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that people would attempt to reduce linguistic dissimilarities in order to gain the listener's social approval, since increasing similarity between people along such an important dimension as communication is likely to increase attraction as well as intelligibility (Triandis, 1960) and predictability (Berger, 1979). In support of this prediction, Natalé (1975) found that speakers with high needs for approval converge more to another's vocal intensity and pause length than those with low such needs.

Many factors could affect the intensity of a need for social approval, including the probability of future interactions with another, recollections of previous convergences from that person, and his or her social power over you.

Of these, the power dimension is perhaps the most crucial, and thus it is not surprising to learn that in New York City, Puerto Ricans assimilate the language of blacks (who consensually hold more power and prestige) than vice-versa (Wolfram, 1973). The power dimension also explains why most countries are using English, the language of the economically dominant countries, as a *lingua franca* in international dealings.

However, it is likely that there are costs as well as rewards for converging. Social exchange theory, again in its simplest form, states that prior to acting, we attempt to assess the rewards and costs of alternate modes of behavior (Homans, 1961) and then choose that which maximizes the chance of positive outcomes and minimizes the possibility of unpleasant ones. Potential "rewards" for speech convergence could include a gain in listener's approval as already mentioned, while "costs" might include excessive effort expended in convergence and/or the loss of perceived integrity and personal/group identity. Thus, one could predict that in a job interview where the applicant has a less prestigious accent than the interviewer, the applicant will shift his or her accent more in the direction of the interviewer than vice-versa because of their relative needs for each other's approval.

Causal attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelly, 1973) suggests that we interpret other people's behavior, and evaluate the persons themselves, in terms of the motives and intentions that we attribute as the cause of their actions. For example, we do not label a person giving money to charity as kind and generous if we attribute a motive of personal gain for the act. Such processes can operate in

relation to speech convergences as well. Simard, Taylor, and Giles (1976) found that French Canadian listeners favorably viewed an English Canadian's convergence to French when they felt it was due to a desire to break down cultural barriers, but far less favorably viewed it when they attributed it to external pressures in the situation demanding the use of that language.

Of course speech is not the only dimension along which convergence takes place. Hall (1976, p. 73) has spoken of the synchronization of not only syllables but also eye blinks and even brain waves by two speakers with a similar cultural background. A variety of behavior expressions (e.g., speaking distance, direction of breath, gestures) also convey meaning, although in cross-cultural encounters they are often misinterpreted (Hall, 1966; Jaspars & Hewstone, in press), and hence it is often essential that mutual convergence on nonverbal visual levels occur as well.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND SPEECH DIVERGENCE

People do not always react to each other as individuals; there are occasions when they react, and are seen to react, to each other as representative members of different social or cultural groups. In this vein, Tajfel and Turner (1979) conceived of an interindividual-intergroup continuum where at one extreme (the interindividual pole) would be found an encounter between two or more people which was *fully* determined by their interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics, whereas at the other extreme (the intergroup pole) would be found an encounter between two or more people which was fully determined by their respective memberships of various social groups or categories. The more participants

in an encounter view the situation as towards the intergroup end of the continuum "the more they will tend to treat members of the outgroup as undifferentiated items in a unified social category rather than in terms of their individual characteristics" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 36). (This intergroup process applies to any social categories in contact, including of course ethnic collectivities.)

The fourth social psychological process in speech accommodation theory, Tajfel's social identity theory, helps provide an explanation for why divergence (rather than convergence) usually occurs in an intergroup encounter. This theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1978) describes a sequence of processes simply described as follows. Social categorization of the world involves knowledge of our memberships in certain groups; the values associated with these group memberships (defined as our social identity) have meaning only through social comparison with other groups and form part of the self-concept. Since we seem to derive great satisfaction from possessing a positive social identity, we perceive and act in such a way as to make (or keep) our own social group favorably distinct from other groups, a process termed "psychological distinctiveness." This means that when a particular group affiliation is important to individuals and interaction with a member (or members) of a relevant outgroup occurs, the former will attempt to differentiate themselves from the latter on dimensions they value.

Once again, we would argue that language in its broadest sense would be an extremely important dimension along which speakers may wish to differentiate from each other in an intergroup context. In other words, individuals are likely to want to accentuate any linguistic differences between themselves and outgroup members, that is, *diverge*.

Moreover speech divergence between two speakers who define their encounter in intergroup terms may be based more on the linguistic attributes *thought* to be characteristic of their *group* memberships than their actual idiosyncratic *personal* speech characteristics (cf. Giles, Hewstone, & St. Clair, in press; Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, in press).

Numerous studies have shown the importance of language in ethnic relations (Giles, 1977b; Giles & Saint-Jacques, 1979). Language can be: (i) a criterial attribute for ethnic group membership (you are not considered one of the group unless you speak in a particular manner); (ii) a cue for inter-ethnic categorization (you are identified by the language variety you speak); (iii) an important dimension of ethnic identity (the language expresses the "heart" of the people of the group); and (iv) a means by which intragroup cohesion is facilitated (shared elements can be transmitted without outgroup interference through the language variety). Because of the emotional significance of language for ethnic and cultural groups, it is not surprising to find language issues often at the focal point of interethnic encounters (see for example Trudgill, 1974). Some of the speech variables used to seek a positively-valued distinctiveness and signal ingroup membership are the use (or accentuation) of ingroup language, dialect, slang, content (disparaging and humorous), and certain lexical items (see Giles, 1979, and Giles & Johnson, in press, for a review of such features and strategies of so-called "psycholinguistic distinctiveness").

A study by Bourhis and Giles (1977) demonstrates change in accent as a tactic of speech divergence. The setting was a language laboratory in Wales where Welshmen, who valued their nationality and the Welsh language very highly,

were asked to help in a survey concerned with second language learning techniques. The survey questions were presented on tape to the individual booths and the voice on tape was a speaker using the English prestige accent called "Received Pronunciation" (as might be heard by a BBC news-caster). At one point, the speaker arrogantly challenged their reasons for studying a "dying language with a dismal future." As might be expected, a torrent of divergence ensued in that participants significantly broadened their Welsh accents to him in their replies. Some also introduced Welsh words and phrases, while others used a very aggressive tone of voice. One woman did not reply for a while and then was heard conjugating Welsh verbs softly into the microphone. Another illustration is the case of English and French Canadians in Quebec, who after a while start introducing ingroup phonological markers in the second language (i.e., French and English respectively) they are learning (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Taylor, Meynard, & Rheault, 1977). Indeed, those who converge or assimilate "too much" with (or even "pass" into) the outgroup are often viewed as "cultural traitors" by their own ingroup (cf. Khleif, 1979).

Although convergence and divergence have been viewed here as mutually exclusive categories, it is possible to converge on some linguistic dimensions while diverging on others simultaneously. For example, a speaker might converge by using the language of the outgroup but maintain pronunciation features of the ingroup language as an expression of ingroup solidarity (e.g., Japanese-flavored English). It should also be reemphasized that speech accommodation and interpersonal/intergroup relations are often non-conscious processes; similarly, the cause of divergence is not neces-

sarily a personal dislike of an outgroup speaker per se, but rather, as Tajfel argues, a need to maintain a positive group identity.

JAPANESE ETHNICITY AND ITS LANGUAGE

"Ethnicity" in its popular meaning is not usually a term that comes to mind in reference to the Japanese. There are disagreements as to the definition of the word ethnicity; however, the term could be thought of as "an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition in the eyes of outsiders" (Fishman, 1977, p. 16). Thus, if the Japanese are viewed as an ethnic group rather than simply a nationality, it becomes apparent why, for example, descendants of Japanese who emigrated from Japan (to, for example, California and Brazil) perhaps 100 years ago are still considered Japanese, and why it is extremely difficult for foreign residents, even those born and raised in Japan, to become Japanese citizens.

While the Japanese language is not a criterial attribute for being Japanese, it is indeed an important dimension of cultural identity. One example of the process of intergroup distinctiveness reflected in the Japanese language is the frequent mention of the "unique character of our native language" (Letter to Editor, *Japan Times*, September 1979), and the popularly-held belief that Japanese is one of the most difficult languages in the world. One of the arguments commonly given in the media for not accepting Vietnamese refugees during the 1979 boat exodus was that "the refugees would find it hard to make a living here and learn the language and adapt to the customs" (Editorial, *Mainichi Daily News*, July 21, 1979). As Shibata (1979) says, "the Japanese like to believe that their mother tongue

is very difficult and they won't be satisfied unless they are told so ... if you really do speak Japanese well, they will push you away." Here then we have a classic example of the desire for a positive cultural distinctiveness (cf. Lambert, 1979). Another illustration of the connection between language and cultural identity is the popular concern over the large number of loan words (mostly English) recently entering the language. This condition is all the more noticeable because of the special alphabet (*katakana*) that is used to write foreign words. Mention of the "corruption" of the Japanese language by the proliferation of loan words can be found regularly in the media (as indeed it can in the French media).

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING: MOTIVATION AND THE SOCIAL MILIEU

In an attempt to understand why some students are successful at learning a second language and others are not, extensive research has emanated from Canadian universities over the last two decades or so. One of the significant findings to emerge from the studies, which have been conducted in various countries, is that there are two independent factors associated with achievement in a second language, namely language aptitude and an attitudinal/motivational factor (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). The attitudinal motive was further divided into two basic types: (a) an *integrative* orientation which implies a willingness to be like those of the "other" language community or a goal to interact with or learn more about the other ethnolinguistic community, and (b) an *instrumental* orientation which

is characterized by a desire to gain social or economic rewards through knowledge of a second language such as "becoming cultured" or gaining a competency useful for occupational advancement. It was proposed that the integrative motive (although admittedly sometimes allied with an instrumental orientation) was most related to success in second language learning.

Gardner's (1979) social psychological model of second language acquisition suggests that the social milieu in which the target language is learned has a great influence on other factors involved in successful language acquisition. More specifically, social attitudes affect the relative importance in second language acquisition of various individual difference variables (including intelligence, language aptitude, motivation, and situational anxiety); they *also* tend to determine individual attitudes, which in turn support the effort and desire put into learning the second language (i.e., motivation). In other words, "since attitudes are formed through interaction with one's social environment, they make a direct link between the cultural milieu and the motivation to acquire a second language, and ultimately proficiency in that language" (Gardner, 1979, pp. 205-206). Thus, for a society which views a foreign language as necessary for instrumental purposes, one could predict that individual orientation would also tend to be instrumental and thus affect the entire matrix of factors and their salience involved in the situation (cf. Clément, 1980).

ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN JAPAN

While English is not used as a medium of communication among the Japanese themselves,

Japan's position as a world trader has created a wide range of positions where English ability is necessary or desired. Many companies include an English component in their entrance examinations and will increase an employee's salary if he or she becomes proficient in English to a certain certified level (there is a national proficiency examination which tests proficiency at four levels). English is also a subject which is tested on all university entrance examinations, and to this end English is taught to everyone throughout six years of middle and high school.

While it is true that there is a certain degree of integrative orientation in the society--there is often a desire to be able to speak English well enough to be able to talk to someone from an English-speaking country--the overwhelming social attitudinal orientation is instrumental. An example of the strength of instrumental goals is an incident related by one of the few native speakers of English allowed to teach at the high school level in Japan. The teacher tried to achieve a more communicatively-based class than the usual grammar-translation lecture and was told by the students that they preferred to be taught specifically what would help them pass the future university entrance examinations.

Indeed, the students had little choice. As Yoshima and Sasatani (1980) state, parents feel that English is a "passport" to success and a secure future in "Japan, Inc.," and therefore "a good teacher is a teacher who is able to mold his students into successful candidates for prestigious universities" (p. 11). Conversely, many parents also "are afraid that their children's sense of national identity will be diluted, weakened, or destroyed by their exposure to influential foreign culture" (Honna, this volume). It

is not difficult to see why grammar-translation-based teaching (and testing) persists, in spite of its readily admitted failure to produce speakers of the language. It can be taught as a regular school subject; fulfills parents' expectations, and is not threatening to either students' or teachers' social identity.

An instrumental orientation seems to be stressed at the expense of an integrative orientation outside of the classroom as well. Those who are perceived to have a certain amount of proficiency in spoken English are accorded social prestige and social (instrumental) rewards, but those who speak the language "as a native" and adopt the cultural mannerisms of an English-speaking milieu while doing so are perceived negatively by other Japanese (Honma, 1979). Indeed, such negative consequences for reducing ingroup distinctiveness under certain circumstances are predicted by social identity theory. Thus, it seems likely that when more than one Japanese participates in a conversation with a native English speaker there will be strong pressure to treat the conversation as an intergroup encounter and diverge at least to some extent on some linguistic dimensions as a means of signalling ingroup membership and cultural distinctiveness. (Obviously, the more that speakers define such encounters in interindividual terms rather than on intergroup lines, the less likely that psycholinguistic differentiations will occur.)

To be sure, the speaker's repertoire in the language (or languages) of the interaction determines the maximum convergence or divergence possible, but it is argued here that speech accommodation can exist even at the most basic levels of foreign language proficiency to the extent of a speaker's ability to express a certain function.

A personal experience with students in a university English-conversation class illustrates divergence in a situation requiring little language proficiency. The teacher was a native speaker of English and had never used Japanese in the class. After one class midway through the course, the teacher left through the front door, passed a group of students who had exited by the rear door, said "Goodbye," and heard in reply "*Sayonara*." Clearly this is not a case of the students not knowing what to say in the foreign language; rather it seems that divergence helped to maintain a valued identity.

It may also be divergence that is being observed in some cases where English is spoken with a Japanese-like pronunciation, although the speaker may have previously demonstrated the ability to produce the sounds correctly. In some cases certain aspects of this Japanese-like pronunciation may even be accentuated, for example attaching a final vowel (as in Japanese) to all consonant-final English words and then accenting the final sound: "I would[o] like [ú]/ to take[ú]/ your class[ú]." Marked changes in pronunciation can sometimes be noticed when a particular person is speaking in the presence of other Japanese as opposed to speaking in a situation where no other Japanese is present.

Speech divergence in a *second* language along phonetic dimensions has been found in other cultures, as mentioned earlier. Gatbonton (1975) found that French Canadian students preferred their group representatives to display a distinctive French Canadian accent rather than an anglicized version when negotiating with English Canadian students in certain situations. In the same cultural context, Segalowitz and Gatbonton (1977) found that certain linguistic

features (certain consonant sounds in this case) may carry the symbolic load of signalling ethnic identification more heavily than do others.

Attitudinal orientation and social identity suggest another area of conflict in the language class and especially a required class where grades are used as measures of achievement. When the "costs" of perceived loss of identity become greater than the "rewards" of pleasing the teacher or getting high marks, it can be predicted that students will diverge. This could be the process operating when students, asked to produce a sound which exists in the foreign language (English) but not in their own, at first produce nearly acceptable pronunciations following the teacher's model, but gradually, looking more and more embarrassed, begin to "retreat" toward pronunciations closer to sounds existing in their native language (Japanese). Occasionally, a student goes beyond this point and refuses to produce any sound at all while looking extremely distressed.

Once again, divergent speech shifts, as well as the definition of a conversation in intergroup terms, are not necessarily conscious or deliberate tactics; rather they might be considered automatic mechanisms. Thus, since participants do not typically have an explicit awareness of all processes in all contexts (Berger, 1980), misunderstandings occur when a particular encounter is not treated in the same way by the two speakers, and the wrong motive is often attributed (cf. Blakar, in press). For example, a teacher hearing a student using highly exaggerated Japanese-English pronunciation just after finishing a pronunciation lesson may attribute the shift to impudence or stubborn resistance, rather than to a need to signal or maintain a

positively-valued group or individual identity.

Other factors related to poor communication in English (besides the obvious reason of simple lack of proficiency in the language itself) have also been suggested in the literature. Some are cultural, such as the "shy" character of the Japanese, or the allegedly reduced importance of language in communication activities in Japan compared to Western cultures (Matsumoto, reported in Bycina, 1979); others are linguistic or educational, such as the extreme linguistic contrasts between Japanese and English production skills (Imamura, 1978). From a psychological viewpoint it has been argued that task overload (in this case the demands of a communicative situation) can cause a reversion to previous habits (Japanese-like pronunciation) (Nord, 1975). It seems likely that in any situation a complex interaction of factors produces the observed behavior. For example, the prevailing attitudes toward speaking English in Japan would tend to discourage confidence and encourage the feeling of "shyness" professed by many Japanese in foreign language interactions. This lack of confidence would further enhance the need for differentiation from the outgroup to increase a positive cultural identity. In any case, the extent and nature of these interactions will remain speculation until examined by empirical research.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The failure of the majority of the Japanese to approach an acceptable level of English-speaking ability is the subject of almost constant discussion and some scholars have become aware of the cultural threat of learning English.

For example, Suzuki (1979) argues that not only do Japanese feel inferior about speaking English, but also Americans and Englishmen communicate the feeling to Japanese people that English really belongs to Anglophones. However, since English is currently serving as an international language, Suzuki says, English "as neutral as possible, devoid of the cultural tint of the original English" should be taught and accepted by other cultures, allowing Japanese-English pronunciation and certain cultural styles of expression (for example, use of the word "yes" to actually mean "no"). In this way, Suzuki argues, Japanese will feel confidence in speaking English that is "their own" and in our terminology, this will allow them to redefine their previously "poor" or "inadequate" English performance more positively and thereby maintain a favorable cultural and linguistic identity (cf. strategies of redefinition, Tajfel, 1974; Giles, 1979). Hence the speaking (and learning) of "Japlish" would be an "additive" experience (Lambert, 1974); that is, it would contribute to, rather than subtract from, the learner's identity.

Such a process, as outlined by Suzuki, is a natural ally of language evolution and can be observed currently in many Anglophone contexts including Puerto Rico and Singapore, as exemplified in the varieties of Engañol (or Spanglish) and Singlish respectively (Nash, 1976; Platt, 1975). It will undoubtedly be a long-term project and may in part have to be legitimized by Anglophones generally; that is, English-speaking foreigners in Japan may expect to be confronted by Japlish, have at least a passive comprehension of it, and even perhaps be encouraged to function in it orally themselves. The use of English outside Japan would be a different matter and second

language training would have to be geared, almost in a trilingual sense, to equip Japanese to negotiate a more international variety in geographically foreign contexts.

Honna (1979 and this volume) proposes another solution, which stresses teaching foreign *cultures* through the teaching of foreign languages, offering a variety of language in schools besides just English, and encouraging the development of appreciation of differences, beginning with minority groups already in Japan (Koreans, Chinese, Ainu, etc.). In this way, the learning of standard English (or any other language) could also become additive to their experiences, in that the promotion of cultural pluralism would aid the development of a more integrative motivation, which is so essential for adequate second language proficiency, and which would not threaten any sense of cultural identity (cf. however Drake, 1979). Furthermore, the injection of a sociolinguistics and a social psychology of language component into language education can only increase students' (and teachers') understanding of the complex, *non-linguistic* dynamics involved, thereby facilitating second language acquisition.

This paper does not suggest that the entire reason for problems in speaking English is due to social identity processes and the attitudes of society. Nevertheless, the framework presented here does show that even the best efforts at providing quality English education may meet with failure if the attitudes of the society as a whole are not considered as an important intervening variable and if the language education situation is conceived in an intergroup vacuum. Interestingly, Gardner's (1979) dynamic model is encouraging in this respect: social attitudes

support motivation, which influence achievement, but achievement again influences attitudes. Thus, even in the absence of more radical reforms, it is possible that improved English education could create slightly more positive linguistic outcomes, which could change both specific and general attitudes gradually over a period of time.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized as has been implicit in our discussion that Japanese problems with learning a majority group or international language are in no sense a local, cultural peculiarity. The situation appears, on the contrary, to reflect a universal phenomenon as might be expected when social psychological processes of loss of group distinctiveness, threats of cultural assimilation, and ethnic subtractiveness are involved. Hence, we need to examine other cultures with similar patterns and problems (e.g., Puerto Rico) and thereby consider a wider range of possible solutions and their probable results (which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper). The value of adopting a social psychological perspective, as only briefly outlined herein, to analyze the Japan English-language situation is that it has broader explanatory power than any model hitherto presented. At this moment, the approach cannot readily offer a panacea for the problems encountered--this can only be achieved when empirical research in Japan attends to the relationships between languages and identities, ingroup identifications, motivations and attitudes towards Anglophone culture and language varieties. Yet by discovering the dynamics of these phenomena and processes which have been largely unexplored we will be in a much better position to propose important implications for foreign language education planning.

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Mathematical Analysis of the Economic Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a profound impact on the global economy, leading to widespread job losses, business closures, and a significant decline in consumer spending. This paper aims to analyze the economic impact of the pandemic using mathematical models and data analysis.

One of the primary effects of the pandemic is the reduction in labor force participation. Many workers have been laid off or have left the workforce entirely. This has led to a decrease in aggregate demand, which in turn has caused a contraction in economic activity. The following table illustrates the estimated impact on labor force participation:

Country	Estimated Labor Force Participation Change (%)
United States	-10.0
Germany	-8.5
France	-9.2
United Kingdom	-11.5
Italy	-13.0
Spain	-14.5
China	-1.5

The decline in labor force participation has also led to a significant increase in unemployment rates. In the United States, the unemployment rate rose from 3.6% in February 2020 to 14.7% in May 2020. This has had a devastating impact on the lives of millions of people, leading to increased poverty and social inequality.

Another major impact of the pandemic is the reduction in consumer spending. As people have been forced to stay at home and avoid public places, their ability to spend on goods and services has been severely curtailed. This has led to a sharp decline in retail sales and a corresponding loss of revenue for many businesses. The following table shows the estimated impact on consumer spending:

Country	Estimated Consumer Spending Change (%)
United States	-15.0
Germany	-12.5
France	-13.8
United Kingdom	-16.2
Italy	-18.0
Spain	-19.5
China	-2.0

The economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic is a complex and multifaceted issue. It has led to a global economic recession and has had a profound impact on the lives of people around the world. Further research and analysis are needed to fully understand the long-term consequences of the pandemic and to develop effective strategies for recovery.