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Visibilising the climate in social policies in Barcelona: connections in the urban context

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Abstract

The paper aims to identify whether the interdependencies between climate action and social policies in the urban context are visible and, if so, in what areas and through what framings. Using a content analysis approach, it compares framings of the news on social policies in Barcelona over the course of a year. The results show that climate action is constructed discursively as an isolated issue, with its own logics and complexities, and with few references to other social policy areas. It also reveals that references to climate change in other social policy areas do not operate as framings. The paper claims that discursive strategies that separate climate change policy from other social policy areas can invisibilise the connections that operate between these policies, links that are key for pursuing the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, especially in the urban context.

KEYWORDS

City; climate change; framing; social policy

INTRODUCTION

Climate policies have become a flagship element in many urban social action plans. The connections between climate change and inequalities are incorporated in the UN's 2030 Agenda and its Sustainable Development Goals. Expressions such as *climate refugees*, *climate gentrification* or *climate justice* already embed these links within social policy discourse. But transcending discourse and engaging in the socio-ecological transformation of society poses many challenges at both state and local level. Citizens' preferences and

priorities also need to be broached, since the implications of climate change for social policy can generate conflicts about the distribution of resources. On the one hand, states are charged with the task of facilitating a comprehensive socio-ecological transition. But they risk arriving at an impasse if their success in providing a relatively safe, healthy and clean environment and protecting material abundance fails to provide solutions for problems regarding environmental inequality and injustice (Hausknost, 2019: 17). As many of these problems and their consequences are manifested mainly in the urban context, cities have emerged as key players. Their leadership in climate governance was recognised in the Paris Agreements. However, climate change policies could add an eco-social divide to the existing social conflicts if they are not perceived as fair by most citizens (Otto and Gugushvili, 2020). It is not surprising that certain influential cities' social action programmes seek to legitimise themselves by placing climate change at the centre of their narratives. This article aims to investigate whether this discursive strategy contributes to highlighting the connections between climate change and other areas of social policy in an effective way. It examines how climate framing is used in communicating social policies. It compares framings of news pieces about social policies in Barcelona over the course of a year, using a sample of written articles in the media and press releases issued by the city council. The aim is to identify whether interdependencies between climate policies and social policies in the city are visible and, if so, in which areas of social policy and through which framings.

Visibilising these interdependencies is important because objective indicators of climate change do not easily translate into the subjective notion of social welfare. Otto and Gugushvili (2020) warn about conflicting public attitudes towards welfare and climate change policies in Europe, where only a minority of citizens support climate and social policies simultaneously. It does not help that competing science/denial discourses about climate change tend to polarise public opinion further and to increase confusion (Fähnrich and Ruser, 2019; McCright and Dunlap, 2011). Although science-based evidence has raised awareness about the risks of climate change, citizens still perceive these vulnerabilities as distant, and the immediate costs of action as too high (Echavarren et al., 2019; Longo et al., 2012). These competing discourses can lead policymakers and citizens to debate, analyse and evaluate climate action as a distinct policy area, thus invisibilising the synergies with other social policies.

In the last decade, climate change has moved from being “a separate agenda, the preserve of distinct academic and policy communities with different institutional structures and modes of governance” (Gough et al., 2008: 325), to being integrated within eco-social policies with the potential to break the growth-related barriers of the environmental state (Koch, 2020). Indeed, studying the relationship between climate change and social policies is a relatively recent endeavour, and it has been mainly analysed from the role of the state. One approach explores this relationship by comparing the major drivers of welfare states and environmental states, and then introducing the concept of more integrated eco-welfare states. While domestic challenges have driven state welfare responsibilities, and to some extent, environmental responsibilities, this does not apply to global threats such as climate change. Looking at their drivers allows us to differentiate between welfare states linked to the provision of social security as public health, housing or labour, and environmental states where green policies are linked to domestic environmental impacts, pollution, and safety issues. Eco-welfare states are driven by climate change, but their role and development are yet to be seen (Gough, 2016; Meadowcroft, 2005). The integrated eco-welfare state is a narrative that is gaining strength in different regions. This discourse introduces ideas such as a Green New Deal that integrates climate action and social policies; the sustainability transition or socio-ecological transformation of society; or the integration of eco-social policies. These visions suggest that the conceptualisation of welfare must go beyond the socio-economic sphere that links equity and redistribution only to economic growth, to also embrace ecological considerations and acknowledge the close links that exist between climate and social issues (Koch, 2016; Spies-Butcher and Stebbing, 2016).

Managing to go beyond the narratives and the impasse of systemic unsustainability seems to be inherently connected to the role of the modern state, its democratic institutions, and its modes of governance (Hausknost, 2019). An alternative vision for looking at the relationship between climate and welfare shifts the focus of analysis from the state to the urban context. This urban climate governance scholarship has addressed the matter of the coordination capacities and the roles of different institutions in developing climate and urban policies. It has focused on clarifying the city's role in global climate governance (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2009; Lee and Koski, 2015; Okereke et al., 2009), and on analysing the institutional arrangements that are required to make it effective (Bulkeley, 2014, 2017; Bulkeley et al., 2014). The scholarship has shifted its initially very optimistic views on the role of cities to more critical views regarding cities' limitations and the dangers of generating expectations

that are difficult to fulfil. Several works on the framing of climate change take this critical stance. Their main contribution has been to unmask the hidden and not-so-hidden agendas of lobbies and corporate and political interests (Bäckstrand and Lövbrand, 2019; Stevenson and Dryzek, 2012), and to examine the effects that framings have on citizens' preferences and on their individual and collective behaviours (Norgaard, 2011).

A common feature of these critical perspectives is that they continue to focus on climate action as a distinct policy area in their analysis of discourse framing. In contrast, less is known about the climate framing of social policies. Evidence of the effects of the climate on social areas such as poverty, health, education, housing, employment, inequality or urban planning have been translated into the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. The corresponding 2030 Agenda states that to act decisively on these social policies, climate policies need to change. Initiatives like the C40 network of megacities have taken up this challenge. They identify and promote concrete actions such as prioritising the creation of sustainable jobs, saving health costs by reducing air pollution, delivering electric car sharing schemes to low-income neighbourhoods, increasing portions of zero- or low-carbon social housing, or increasing climate resilience of informal settlements, to name some. But it remains to be seen how reinforcing climate policy in social action affects the interrelationships between all areas of social action. This paper seeks to address this knowledge gap by studying climate framing in social policy discourse.

Why study framing?

Framing studies offer a useful way of understanding the relationship between discourse and how it defines policy problems. A commonly used conceptualisation is provided by Goffman (1974), who said that a frame is a scheme of interpretation that structures the meaning of reality. In a similar vein, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) define a frame as a central organising idea that provides meaning. Reese et al. (2001) point to frames as organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, and that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world (Reese et al., 2001: 11). The common assumption of these and other constructivist conceptualisations of frames is that they present reality in a particularly structured way that influences society. The process of framing refers to the construction, distribution and sense-making of a frame, and also considers the contexts in

which actors develop, interpret or distribute frames. Entman (1993) says that news framing involves selecting certain information and making it more salient and establishes at least four elements to be considered in the process: problem definition, causal interpretation, evaluation and problem solving. Frame analysis helps to clarify which problem definitions compete, and which solutions should be considered.

Many disciplines have embraced the study of framing in discourse analysis, including research on the framing of climate change. In political ecology, research shows how global climate change governance constructs science and policymaking in its discourse by focusing on the costs of policy actions (Bäckstrand and Lövbrand, 2019). In cultural politics, research has shown how cultural frames influence individual behaviours (Coffey and Joseph, 2012); how ideological frames align environmental governance and communication with the interests of the actors involved (Heath and Gifford, 2006; McCright and Dunlap, 2011; Nisbet et al., 2014); or how selecting different moral frames can reinforce or weaken individual perceptions of climate change (Markowitz and Shariff, 2012). In public policy, and particularly in environmental policy, discourse studies show how shifting reasoning affects policy justification in contentious debates (O'Neill et al., 2018). This literature has contributed to our understanding of how climate change is defined as a social problem, and which common frames compete in the process of debating and adopting solutions.

In recent years, post-structuralist conceptualisations of climate framing and discourse have been offering critical perspectives with a normative focus. These perspectives point to how climate framing ought to be purposefully applied to influence social reality and political decisions. Remling (2018) suggests a critical analysis of climate adaptation policies in Europe, by showing how discourse can undermine mitigation. Greenhill et al. (2018) deepen the connections between adaptation and mitigation climate policies by surveying whether the information received by citizens affects their support for these policies. These critical perspectives begin to unveil the need to connect climate change with social policy. While climate adaptation refers to measures to reduce the vulnerability of natural and human systems against climate change effects, mitigation refers to policies to reduce carbon emissions (IPCC, 2007). For example, framing climate policies as a health issue can increase support for adaptation, but it can undermine the mitigation that could prevent climate injustice. How climate and social policies are integrated and formulated will determine their public acceptance as an intertwined eco-social agenda.

Framing in the urban context: the case of Barcelona

Cities are home to more than half of the world's population and are consequently where most people directly experience the consequences of climate change. Cities perform diagnoses and assessments and set specific targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, making specific commitments that directly affect the public. The International Energy Agency estimates that urban areas are responsible for 71% of global energy-related carbon emissions (IEA, 2017). Contradictions emerge when we consider what happens in the global debate, what citizens experience in everyday life, what the media reports, and what political leaders and policymakers are doing. As Otto and Gugushvili (2020) conclude in their study of eco-social divides in Europe, "the mounting needs of responding to climate change are very likely to force European governments to reconsider their tax and spending priorities over time, presenting them with difficult trade-offs between environmental measures and welfare policies. While the influence of public opinion over actual policies should not be overestimated, it is hard to imagine a significant reorientation of public spending in democratic polities without a substantial degree of public consensus" (Otto and Gugushvili, 2020: 12). But rather than consensus discourses, citizens are exposed to complex rhetoric characterised by overlapping framings that tends to polarise public opinion.

Faced with this reality, cities such as Barcelona have begun to tackle the climate challenge vigorously in areas such as urban mobility and energy efficiency while also integrating elements of social welfare. But these actions are still perceived as distant by citizens who report barriers such as lack of information, scepticism, feelings that some measures will bring more problems than benefits, or lack of social cohesion, including low community involvement (Echavarren et al., 2019; Geiger and Swim, 2016; Zambrano-Prado et al., 2021). Regardless of the barriers perceived by citizens, the global agreement is that all cities will experience the effects of climate change to a greater or lesser extent through different impacts on their urban metabolism and infrastructure and will suffer increased risk and vulnerability. In Europe, heat waves and extreme weather events, changes in rainfall patterns, extreme soil instability, changes in air quality, the urban heat island effect, droughts, desertification and coastal erosion are effects that should be highlighted (Carter, 2011; European Environment

Agency, 2017). Each of these phenomena generates or can generate an impact on different sectors of a city's activity and on its most vulnerable groups. The most vulnerable population groups according to the European Environment Agency are the elderly, children, people with chronic diseases, people from disadvantaged social strata and traditional societies. Policies promoted in the urban context are, therefore, strongly conditioned by how they contribute to the social, environmental and development goals of a city.

In Barcelona, the main framework for developing public policies to address these challenges is the Barcelona 2018-2030 Climate Plan. It was approved on October 26, 2018, in a plenary session of the Municipal Council. It is articulated around 4 axes: mitigation, adaptation, climate justice and collective action. Immediately after its approval, the plan and its signature policies received international attention in the media, in scholarly research and in global networks. In 2019, the "Barcelona Energia" public agency won the People's Choice Award of the 'Transformative Cities' international organisation. Its measures to fight energy poverty were praised for implementing democracy and ensuring access to basic rights in the context of creating solutions to a systematic economic, social and ecological crisis. Also in 2019, Barcelona was nominated World Sustainable Food Capital for 2021 under the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact Global Forum for its food policies and commitment to sustainable, fair and healthy agri-food models. Mayor Ada Colau presided the 2019 C40 World Mayors Summit in New York as a recognition for the policies being developed by Barcelona to address the climate emergency. These include the Barcelona superblock model, an innovative urban and transport planning strategy that aims to reclaim public space for people, reduce motorized transport, promote sustainable mobility and active lifestyles, provide urban greening and mitigate effects of climate change (Mueller et al., 2020). In the same year, the city received the European Responsible Housing Award in recognition to the best practices and most innovative actions in public housing to combat gentrification and fair financing for sustainable housing. Despite these policies having an integrated eco-social nature and receiving international recognition, specific research in Barcelona has shown that the policies suffer from various barriers concerning citizens' support and perception, such as lack of information and social cohesion (Zambrano, 21). This is aggravated by the fact that neither the most vulnerable groups in Barcelona nor their neighbours even perceive many of the effects suffered as the impact of climate change on social welfare (Díaz-Pont and Reales, 2020). By studying the climate framing of social policies in Barcelona in a set of news pieces,

the paper aims to find further evidence of how the interdependencies between climate action and social policies are constructed and (in)visibilised.

METHOD

The research used content analysis to compare discourses on climate and social policies and identify their framings. The discursive dataset was created through systematic searches in Factiva, ProQuest and MyNews, as well as in the Barcelona City Council press release database. Searches were restricted to media publications in Catalan, Spanish and English, and to the period between 1/3/2019 to 1/3/2020. This period coincides with the initial implementation of the Barcelona 2018-2030 Climate Plan and the first reactions it triggered in the international, national and regional media. The Plan received several awards and international recognition which produced news and press releases that provide an ample dataset for the content analysis. Two types of keyword searches were performed: “Barcelona” AND “climate change”; "Barcelona" AND "social policy" OR "welfare" OR "social". All the articles had to be manually reviewed to confirm that they covered news in the city of Barcelona related to climate action or social policies or both. The final dataset contained the following: 16 Factiva articles (out of a total of 38 reviewed); 56 MyNews articles (out of a total of 201 reviewed); 15 ProQuest articles (out of 34 reviewed); and 97 press releases from the Barcelona City Council (out of a total of 123 reviewed). This final sample includes 184 articles. Of these, 31 were published by international news agencies, 56 by Spanish national and regional newspapers, and 97 were press releases. The fact that the sample includes the news published over a year in international, national and regional media about the city of Barcelona in relation to climate action and social policies, and that this news can be compared with the press releases issued by the city council itself throughout the same year, gives us confidence that the contending discourses to be analysed are adequately represented.

The first part of the data analysis involved reading through all the items to allow the data to inform the theoretical framework (Weber, 1985). Once a sense of the whole had been achieved, there followed a preliminary review of a selection of items from each source; this helped to identify a set of variables and define a coding scheme for the entire sample. Figure 1 synthesises the final coding scheme with the coding variables and their possible values and includes reliability data in the form of Krippendorff’s alpha coefficients. All items were coded

by the author, while a second coder worked with a subsample consisting of 15% of the items in each category. All variables obtained alpha coefficients over 0.8, in compliance with Krippendorff's recommendations (Krippendorff, 2004: 429). Besides the main variable (the presence of climate change discourse), the other variables that emerged as relevant for the research were the social policy area and the framing. Six social policy areas were chosen to group together the different issues addressed in the news pieces: climate and the environment, urbanism and mobility, poverty and social rights, housing, the social economy, and health. Figure 1 provides the basic descriptions of these categories. Five framings were identified: governance, the economic model, justice, management, and health. The framings were conceptualised by identifying dominant meanings, following Entman's (1993) framing theory and method. This task involves identifying a particular definition, evaluation or recommendation regarding an issue that is most heavily supported by the text and has the highest probability of being noticed, processed, and accepted by the audience. As dominant meanings, framings diagnose issues by defining a problem, evaluate them by identifying the forces creating the problem, and recommend solutions by prescribing and justifying remedies. Figure 1 synthesises how framings were conceptualised in accordance with this operational definition of framings. Surprisingly, "climate change" could not be identified as a distinct framing. In the pieces where climate change was mentioned (using that very term or otherwise global warming, the greenhouse effect, carbon emissions, and other related expressions), it was as an additional fact to support an already framed argument, not as an underlying premise to frame causes or consequences in social issues such as poverty or mobility or housing.

Insert Figure 1 here

The qualitative approach of the content analysis was intensified by adopting some of the key premises of critical discourse analysis (CDA). In particular, the paper adopts Carvalho's CDA approach by acknowledging the time plane in discourse analysis, as well as identifying the discursive strategies used by different social actors and their possible effects (Carvalho, 2008). The analysis considers both the features of the texts and their contexts. On one hand, it notes how different events occurring during the year studied triggered the use of specific

frames. On the other, features such as the reach of the journal, or the sources and actors mentioned in the pieces have also been considered in the analysis.

RESULTS

This section starts with a quantitatively-focused characterisation of the sample according to different features of the texts and their contexts. Then it moves on to a more qualitatively-focused analysis.

The texts and their contexts

The period of study is from 1 March, 2019 to 1 March, 2020. Figure 2 shows the ranking and chronological distribution of articles by social policy areas over this period.

Insert Figure 2 here

A first observation is the predominance of articles on climate change and environmental policies compared to other social policy issues. These articles account for 41% of the total analysed and, specifically, 46% of the total press releases and 36% of the total newspaper articles. It is followed by urbanism and mobility (16%), poverty and social rights (15%) and housing (15%). The chronological distribution of the pieces shows that there are peaks of attention close to certain events, which is as to be expected by the very nature of news production (Figure 2). Thus, the peak in climate-related press releases in March coincides with the 15 March World Climate Strike and a Eurocities Meeting in Brussels. During March 2019, the city of Barcelona also held the Energy Transition and the City Congress, and the Week of Responsible Consumption. These events are reported in the press releases, and account for that particular peak. However, this effect is not so pronounced in the case of newsprint articles. There are other events that also caused climate news production to peak: the UN's Climate Action Summit in September 2019, the Copenhagen C40 climate network's

World Mayors Summit in October 2019 or the World Urban Forum in February 2020. The articles addressing these events add up to a total of 20 (12 press releases and 8 printed news articles). Even if the events' effect on the ranking is eliminated, climate change continues to occupy first place as the social policy issue that receives most coverage, both in the written press and in press releases issued by the council.

It should be noted that during the period studied, the city was governed by the leftist formation led by Mayor Ada Colau. On May 26, 2019, municipal elections were held and the mayor renewed her mandate with no major changes in her formation's ideological orientation. Therefore, this analysis does not consider ideological factors as possible modifiers of the framings in news production in this context (Nisbet, 2009).

Comparative analysis of framings in newspaper pieces and press releases

During the preliminary reading of all the news items, carried out to determine the variables and define the coding scheme, five framings were identified as salient: governance, the economic model, health, justice, and management. This section compares how they are used in the different categories of news items. As shown in Figure 2, climate change is the topic that is most addressed, both by the council in its press releases and in the news articles. The other topics that capture the attention of the news are urbanism and mobility, housing, and poverty and social rights. Figure 3 shows how framings are used according to coverage and sources for these four social policy areas.

Insert Figure 3 here

A detailed analysis of the international coverage of the climate policies shows that the governance framing is very present (71%), as well as a discourse that highlights the leadership of the city, as pointed out by some representative headlines from this set of news items:

Want to fight climate change? Start with challenging your mayor and your neighbours to act. Euro News, 27 August 2019

Cities Stepping Up; Global centres will bypass national leaders to tackle climate change. Chatham Daily News, 17 September 2019

European Committee of the Regions: Local and Regional Leaders Call for a Green Deal for the Mediterranean. Targeted News Service, 24 January 2020.

On the other hand, in the articles published in regional media, the most-used framing is the economic model (54%), as some representative headlines also show:

Calor i Economia (Heat and the Economy), Ara, 15 July 2019

El cost inassumible de la contaminació (The crippling cost of pollution), La Vanguardia, 25 July 2019

Canvi climàtic per a rics (Climate change for the rich), El Punt Avui, 15 August 2019

The press releases on climate change are also framed mainly around governance (49%), in a similar way to in the international news. In international news items, the discourse on climate policies is articulated around the leadership of the city, its mayor and its citizens in global climate governance. In regional news, intended for consumption by local actors, the discourse mainly revolves around issues related to political economy, models of consumption and production, and social rights. On the other hand, in the press releases, all the framings are present, with the governance and management framings being pre-eminent. Regarding urbanism and mobility, governance continues to be the most-used framing in the international press (50%), but in the regional press and in the press releases, health becomes the most common framing. In fact, the health framing practically only appears in the news on urban planning and mobility, and barely appears in the pieces on other areas of social policy. Both the news about poverty and social rights and the pieces dedicated to housing are mainly framed as justice. The following are the results regarding the presence of climate discourse in the different social policy areas, the contexts in which they are present and under what framings.

Social policy areas where climate change is mentioned

Climate change is mentioned in 35% of the news pieces about other areas of social policy. This presence is anecdotical and circumstantial. In none of the cases does it operate as a framing to construct and contextualise the news. Figure 4 shows the percentage of articles that mention climate change and their main framings. As pointed out in the methodology, climate change was not even identified as a framing. It has been operationalised as the presence or absence of climate discourse in the news. Health is the social policy area with the highest percentage of articles that mention climate change: 83% of newspaper articles and 50% of press releases. The governance framing is predominant in both cases.

Insert Figure 4 here

Health. The content analysis shows that the pieces link climate change and health, although not to establish relationships between them, but to stress the urgency of the problem or as a call for action. There are paradigmatic examples of this. An article that links urban pollution to health risks talks about the use of fossil fuels and non-compliance with European regulations and, above all, reviews the role those different actors have played and can play in surveillance, enforcement and monitoring of said regulations. The mention of climate change appears only when the government's Director of Environmental Quality and Climate Change is quoted. No other reference appears, not even when talking about the responses to the European Union. (*Esprint per tenir a punt la zona de baixes emissions – Race to get the low emissions area ready*, 7/26/19, La Vanguardia)

In another example, an interview with a researcher on environmental health addresses the issue of children's exposure to pollution and the possible consequences on their development. However, references to climate change are linked to the economic development model, the institutional declaration of climate emergency and the importance of science. The connections between climate change and health are blurred, and the discourse on climate change connects directly with governance issues. (*La contaminació afecta el desenvolupament dels nens – Pollution affects children's development*, 21/11/19, El Periódico)

Housing. A different pattern was identified in the news pieces on housing. This issue is mostly constructed under the justice framing. Another observation is that articles that refer to climate change are newspaper articles and not press releases. In the news pieces about housing the references to climate change are only in the international press, and not in the regional newspapers or in the council press releases. Furthermore, in the articles in which such references appear, the framing is governance rather than justice. For example, in an international news item that describes the budget that the city wants to allocate to housing, direct connections are established with the climate emergency, as well as connections between housing policies and adaptation and mitigation policies, such as improving insulation, installing solar panels or greening the city. (*Barcelona allocates 80 million to rehabilitate homes and green areas*, 01/20/2020, News Agency). Conversely, all the council press releases that address housing issues are framed as justice and do not include any references to climate change. They address issues related to evictions, scrutiny of vulture funds to limit their actions, the approval of measures for controlling the rents of homes and businesses, or policies for the protection of vulnerable groups.

Poverty and social rights. These pieces are those with least references to climate change (which only appears in 18% of the articles) but, on the other hand, are where these references make the most explicit connections. Specifically, this connection is constructed discursively by using the concept of climate refugees and under the justice framing. For example, an op-ed article reflects on the potential of the city to become a benchmark for technological humanism, defending an alternative smart-city model that enhances multiculturalism and seeks answers to the worst effects of the migratory flows caused, partly, by climate change. (*Barcelona, "human-centred city"*, 10/12/19, La Vanguardia). In another example, in an interview with an anthropologist, the limitations of immigration and asylum policies are directly exposed, and the figure of the climate refugee is introduced. *(L'opció de matar els refugiats climàtics està sobre la taula – The option of killing climate refugees is on the table*, 24/6/19, El Punt Avui).

Social economy. Although only 12 articles were identified in this category, results are relevant since they reveal the systematic lack of connections made between climate change and other areas of social policy. This category includes texts that address topics that range from sustainable food production, local commerce and responsible consumption to social and sustainable entrepreneurship. Half of these articles include references to climate change. The

framing is the economic model, and all of them address sustainable food issues directly or indirectly. Sustainable food production is seen as an economic opportunity that can also contribute to the fight against climate change. For example, an article about an international summit on nutrition and sustainability hosted by the city is framed as the promotion of sustainable models of food production. It brings together issues linked to the local economy, health, nutrition and climate emergency policies for reducing the emissions generated by the current food model (*Food Capital*, 10/10/19, El Periódico). Along the same lines, a press release from the city council about a Social Economy Fair also establishes these connections, and reinforces the link between policies to promote responsible consumption and strategies to mitigate climate change (*La 5a Fira de Consum Responsable i d 'Economia Social i Solidària es consolida conscienciant sobre l'emergència climàtica - The 5th Fair on Responsible Consumption and the Social and Solidarity Economy raises awareness about the climate emergency*, 30/12/19, press release).

Urbanism and mobility. These pieces offer a diversity of approaches both in terms of framing and the connections with climate change. A group of articles addresses the debate on reducing flights and on the expansion of Barcelona airport. In all of them, the focus is fundamentally the economic model, with climate change mentioned as one of the factors that affects the debate. Another group of articles addresses the connections between urban pollution from vehicle emissions and health. Here the framings are health and management, the discourse focuses on pollution reduction policies, and the connection with climate change is secondary. Climate change is merely mentioned as a problem to be addressed. Finally, there is another set of texts that address different issues regarding mobility and urban planning, with no mention of climate change, even though they deal with issues that are part of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda. Here we find topics such as car-sharing, the use of bicycles, accessible mobility, the improvement of public transport, the creation of a low-emissions zone, car-free superblocks and the extension of pedestrian areas, or the repair to damage caused by wind and rainstorms. Integrated concepts such as mobility with a gender perspective also appear, mainly in connection to women's mobility patterns in the city, their safety and their role in the economy as primary care providers. But mobility issues are also dealt with here under local management, health and governance framings.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The paper has studied how climate action is used when communicating social policies in the city of Barcelona over the course of a year by examining a set of newspaper articles and press releases issued by the council. The main claim is that the interrelationships between climate action and social policies are invisibilised in the discursive strategies that separate climate policies from other social areas. The research confirms that climate policies are constructed discursively as an almost entirely separate topic, with its own logics and complexities. In addition, climate change captures the focus of attention of news production more than other social policy areas. This could be explained by the fact that news production is conditioned by events and, over the year analysed, various international and national events increased the number of news items and press releases on climate issues. However, even without the effect of these events, climate news topped the ranking of social issues covered by the news pieces, revealing a discourse strategy that uses climate policies as a flagship element in social action plans.

The content analysis reveals three factors: the prominence of climate change in the news about social policies; the salience of climate change manifested in mentions but not as the framing for a news item; climate change is not an interpretative scheme that provides meaning to construe other social problems. This combination of elements results in a discursive strategy that portrays climate change as newsworthy but fails to visibilise the inseparable connections that should characterize an eco-social agenda. Analysing the framing of each social area also sustains this claim. In the news dataset, health is mainly framed as governance, housing is framed as justice, along with poverty and social rights, the social economy is framed as economic models and governance, and urbanism and mobility are framed as governance and health. The implications of these framing choices are that the discursive strategy will reinforce the most common or pre-existent audience schemata rather than providing alternative interpretations. Health provides a good example of how this reasoning operates: climate discourse is most common in these news pieces, but the framing is primarily governance and the idea of coordination between actors and institutions. Detailed analysis of this area of social policy shows that mentions of the climate act as a wake-up call for policymakers. But the underlying premise is that policymakers need to act, not that climate change and health are intertwined and should be dealt with in an integrated social policy. Framed as governance, health policies only connect to climate change with regard to

institutional capacities and, as such, they can be seen by citizens as being in competition with other areas of social policy. The analysis shows that interrelationships between the impact of climate change and health are seldom established. Instead of visibilising the urgency for integrated climate and health policies, this discourse strategy can pit them against one another while also prioritizing climate adaptation (to minimise the health impact of climate change consequences) over mitigation (to prevent or reduce climate change).

The content analysis of the news pieces on housing and poverty and social rights is also paradigmatic of the absence of explicit connections between social policy and climate change. These issues are built mainly under the justice framing. The presence of climate discourse is minor and basically only found in news pieces published in the international media. In the press releases analysed, these issues are addressed under justice and inequality. It is striking that the only times climate change is mentioned is in connection with the concept of climate refugees, but even in this case, the framing is not climate, but justice. Although not endorsed by the United Nations Refugee Agency, the term *climate refugees* refers to people who are displaced in the context of disasters and climate change. In the analysis, no links were identified between the objective indicators of the impact of climate change, the displacement of people caused by climate change, and the precarious living conditions at their destinations, in addition to the way the living conditions of their host neighbours might be affected. For example, the analysis included news of social policies developed to combat the poverty and the precariousness suffered by undocumented street vendors in Barcelona, but they were mainly framed as justice; a climate framing could have visibilised personal stories of climate refugees and contributed to support mitigation policies. Again, this framing strategy can contrast climate policies with poverty policies, leading citizens to perceive that they must choose between one or another rather than integrate them.

More evidence of the lack of interconnection in areas where it could be expected to be more visible is in news about the social economy, which is very focused on sustainable food production. In this social area, the main framing is the economic model, although it should be noted that texts in this category amounted to only a few articles within the sample. Nevertheless, the analysis points to a lost opportunity to highlight the direct links between climate impact indicators and factors that affect the food model, such as the increasing complexity of supplying food under exceptional climatic circumstances and the impact on well-being that this could entail. Finally, urban planning and mobility provide a paradigmatic

example of the difficulties encountered in policy discourse to visibilise interconnections and create synergies rather than divides. Here there are a diversity of approaches, and the opportunities to establish connections between climate impact and welfare are diluted in multiple cross-debates and contending discourses on the use of fossil fuels, the impact of infrastructures and individual and collective commitment. The use of compelling expressions in policy discourse such as "sustainable mobility" or "mobility with a gender perspective" show an effort towards further integration of different social issues. But this effort seems to operate only in one direction, and when analysing the use of these expressions in the news pieces it is not clear that they create synergies between climate and social policies.

To conclude, another implication of the framing choices identified is that climate change appears to act as a cliffhanger issue, leaving the audience with unanswered questions. The analysis has shown that news about social policies often mentions climate change merely as circumstance and urgency. On the other hand, the news about climate change does not strive to provide answers concerning how it is connected to other social areas. When this does occur, it is under the governance framing, highlighting the leadership of the city in global governance in achieving justice and contributing towards fighting inequalities. However, this framing constructs ideas and debates at the conceptual, moral and ideological levels. The discourse invokes debates about institutional leadership, coordination and decision-making, models of growth, or economic policy. But it does not engage with the implications of climate change for social policy nor highlights the synergies that make an integrated eco-social agenda preferable for citizens. It is probable that relatively privileged citizens do not need to see the impact of climate change in their daily lives to support measures that have distant effects and immediate costs. These groups may have no problem accepting packets of measures under social policies whose discursive focus is on climate change as a priority for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. But more vulnerable groups do not have the necessary financial well-being to uncritically accept measures in which the interrelationships between these climate policies and other areas of social policy that directly affect their quality of life are not clearly visible. Reflecting on appropriate discourse strategies to advance an eco-social agenda is a far more complex exercise than merely coming up with punchy slogans and rhetorical juggling. It will require widening the focus of discourse beyond institutional leadership and connecting with citizens' dilemmas and concerns and will certainly entail gathering further knowledge on how citizens perceive integrated eco-social policies and the factors that might hamper them being accepted.

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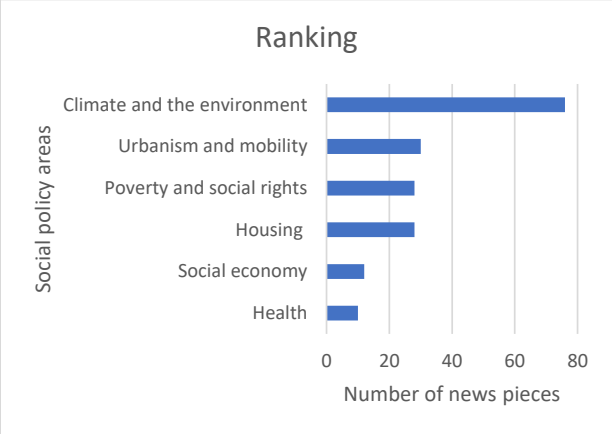
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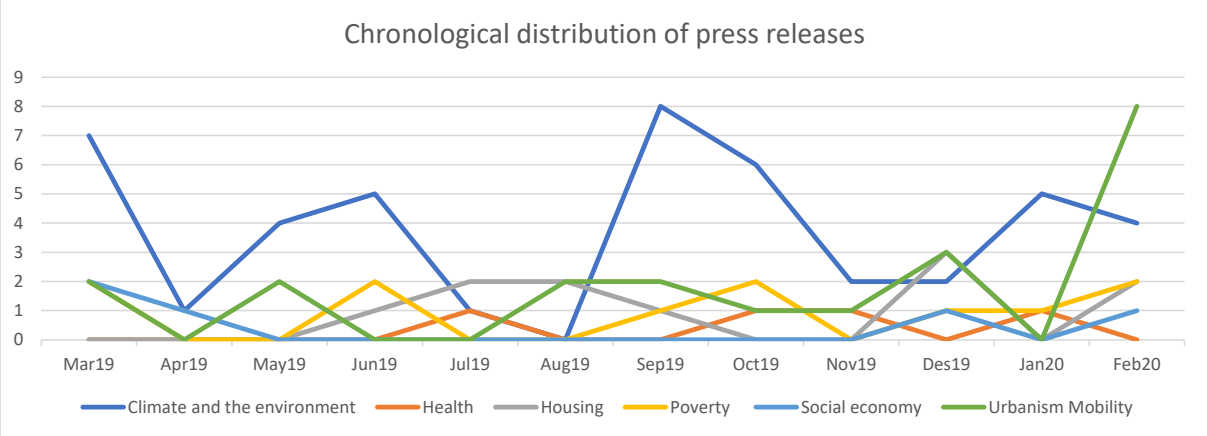
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FIGURE 1. CODING SCHEME AND RELIABILITY DATA

VARIABLES	VALUES	DESCRIPTION
Climate change mention (alpha=0,897)	Yes/No	
Social policy area (alpha=0,931)	Climate and the environment	Covers: carbon emissions, climate change adaptation and mitigation, energy efficiency, water and waste management
	Urbanism and mobility	Covers: accessibility, public transport, bike lanes, repair works, public spaces, pedestrian areas, urban model, neighbourhoods
	Poverty and social rights	Covers: unemployement, immigration, street vendors, vulnerable groups, gender violence, exclusion, international cooperation
	Housing	Covers: rental price regulation, eviction, energy poverty, social housing, gentrification
	Social economy	Covers: responsible consumption, social entrepreneurship, local products, food waste, food systems
	Health	Covers: air quality, noise, risk, mental health, seniors' frailty, addictions
Framing (alpha=0,809)	Governance	Defines the reported themes in terms of leadership and coordination capacity between institutions
	Economic model	Defines problems around debates on growth, value and the capitalist economy
	Justice	Defines problems through moral judgements or evaluating causal agents and their effects
	Management	Defines problems introducing technical diagnoses, innovation and efficiency, as well as results and evaluation
	Health	Defines the reported issues as problems of human well-being, safety or dangers

FIGURE 2. RANKING AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION, BY SOCIAL POLICY AREAS





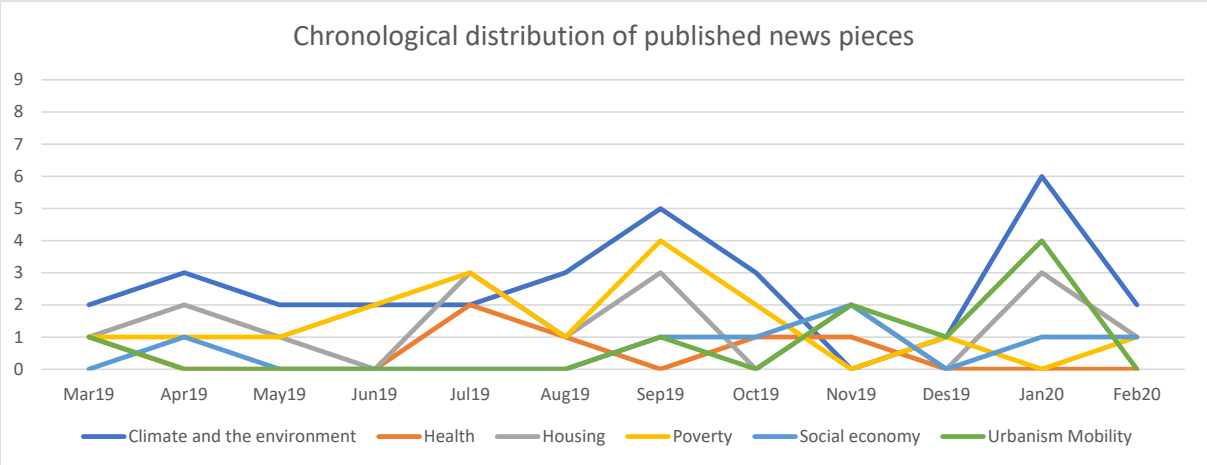


FIGURE 3. FRAMING USE DISTRIBUTION IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF NEWS PIECES

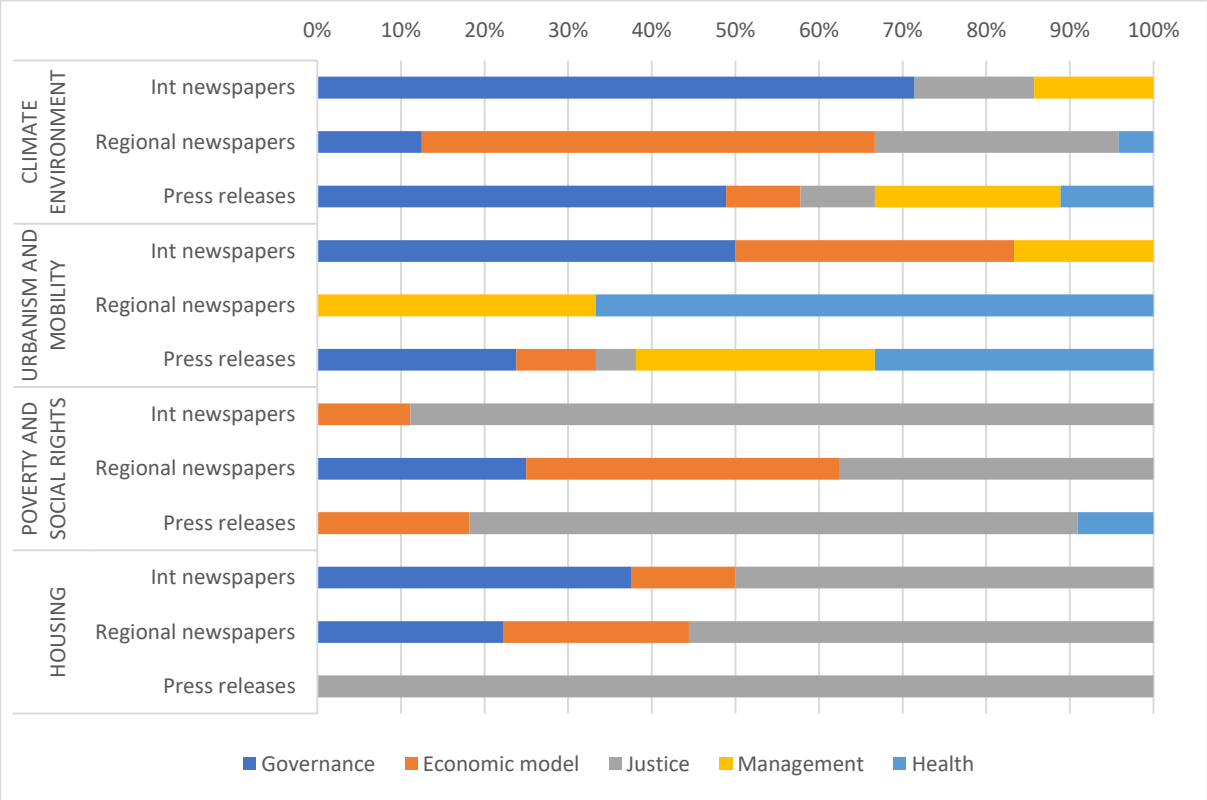


FIGURE 4. SOCIAL POLICY AREA PIECES WHERE CLIMATE CHANGE IS MENTIONED, AND THEIR FRAMINGS

	NEWSPAPER ARTICLES		**PRESS RELEASES**	
	CLIMATE MENTION	*MAIN FRAMING*	*CLIMATE MENTION*	*MAIN FRAMING*
Health	83%	Governance	50%	Governance
Housing	41%	Justice	0%	Justice
Poverty and social rights	18%	Justice	18%	Justice
Social economy	57%	Economic model	40%	Governance
Urbanism and mobility	56%	Governance	38%	Health